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Knowledge of the Present Perfect by Albanian/English Bilinguals

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KNOWLEDGE OF THE PRESENT PERFECT BY ALBANIAN/ENGLISH BILINGUALS

by

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ABSTRACT

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This paper concerns the acquisition process of a specific part of English grammar by native speakers of Albanian. The focus is the English present perfect, and the similarities and differences that it bears to the Albanian Compound Perfective. The two constructions are made from similar parts, but they crucially differ in the aspectual nature of their participles. While the Albanian particle is perfective, the English is underspecified. We argue that the process of the acquisition of the PP by Albanian bilinguals is one where input, analogy, and direct grammar teaching do not suffice. We apply Generative Grammar logic to the acquisition puzzle and devise an experiment to ascertain our findings. The experiment shows that the acquisition of the PP by Albanian (L1) speakers is almost unrestricted. We reason that such results are partially possible because of structural hints that are supplied by adverbs in the syntax/semantic interface. In conclusion, we argue that such indirect learning can be achieved by positing parameters as modules that organize input, or through clustering of similar forms.

List of key words: Generative Grammar, principles, parameters, functional categories, formal features, second language acquisition (SLA), initial state, transfer, age effects, Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH).

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1.Background

1.1. Universal Grammar

One of the strongest arguments for the existence of a specialized language acquisition module comes from what has been termed as the "problem of input" (White, 2003). The arguments says essentially, that children are able to produce language that is not supported by the available input, i.e., learners produce language that they have not been explicitly taught. Advocates of the innateness hypothesis, like Chomsky (1995), state that, "Even the most superficial look reveals the chasm that separates the knowledge of the language user from the data of experience". Take for instance, the null subject parameter. Some of the languages of the world, including Albanian, are characterized as pro-drop languages [+null subject]. Such languages differ from English, which is a [-null subject] language, and allow for a sentence to have a null or implied subject, while still being grammatical.

(1)   a.   Mary believes that she is right.
            *Mary believes that ___ is right.

(2)   a.   Maira beson që ajo ka te drejt.
            Mary believes that she has right.
            Mary believes that she is right.

       b.   Maria beson që   ka te drejt.
            Mary believes that (she) has right.
            Mary believes that   is right.

In the examples above there is a clear asymmetry in the necessity for the subject pronoun in the embedded clauses, if we mean to refer back to Mary. While English grammar requires an overt pronoun in the embedded clause, Albanian and other pro-drop languages (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, some Romance Languages), permit both null and overt pronouns in the same position. White (2003) points out some interesting consequences of this cross-linguistic difference. In

English, embedded pronouns can refer to their matrix subject, as in (3) below:

(3)   Bill^i believes that he^i is right.

Bill in this case is coindexed with the embedded pronoun *he* to exemplify the coreferential meaning that *Bill believes himself to be right.* One can also have a quantifier as the subject of the sentence, where the coindexed embedded pronoun again brings about a bound reading.

(4)   Everyone^i believes that he^i will win.

In this case, the sentence can mean that *each person believes himself or herself will win.* The meaning where the embedded pronoun refers to someone other than the matrix subject is also available for sentences (3) and (4), where the pronoun has a contextual reference.

However, if we look at [+null subject] languages like Albanian, we see that the same is not true for their overt pronouns. In the case where there is a null pronoun, as in (2b), the empty category acts the same way as the overt pronouns in pro-drop languages such as Albanian. It can refer to the matrix subject or to something else in context. However, we see a divergence in the case of the overt pronoun, as exemplified by the Albanian sentences below.

(5)   Toni mendon që esht i shkurtër.
         Toni thinks that ___is short.
(6)   Të gjith mendojn që jan te shkurtër.
         Everyone thinks that ___are short.
(7)   Toni^i mendon që ai^i esht i shkurtër.
         Toni^i thinks that he^i is short.
(8)   *Të gjith^i mendojn që ato^i jan te shkurtër.
         Everyone^i believes that they^i are short.

The way we analyze sentences with no embedded pronouns in pro-drop languages is through postulating a phonetically null category that still composes with the rest of the overt lexical items in the syntax. Wherever we see an overt pronoun in the embedded clause, it cannot be bound by a quantifier in the matrix clause i.e., it cannot refer back to it. On the other hand, the covert

pronoun can have both bound and free interpretations. From the data above it seems that overt

pronouns are more restricted in pro-drop languages than covert ones. The pronoun constraint of

[+ null subject] languages is formalized by Montalbetti (1984) in the following way; overt

pronouns cannot receive a bound variable interpretation in situations where a null pronoun could

occur. This is one function, amongst many others, that are argued to be part of the implicit

knowledge derived from UG.

Mature speakers internalize these reflexes. They are aware of the limits of overt or covert

pronouns bound by different types of antecedents. What is difficult to explain without concepts

of UG, is the fact that adults reach these conclusions from input alone. Considering the facts that

the phenomenon in question is very subtle, cases involving the use of quantifier antecedents are

very uncommon, and most importantly, that superficially the constructions are identical; it would

be very unlikely that such phenomenon would be detected by speakers who have internalized it

(White, 2003). Taking these observations summarized above as the underlying logic for part of

language acquisition, that part that UG is responsible for, we can now move on to the central

question of this thesis.

My focus is on a specific construction of the functional category aspect (Asp) called the

Present Perfect (PP), especially with respect to its semantic formal features. We look at the

English PP features and how they differ from the Albanian compound perfective (CP). More

specifically, we focus on the semantic features of the PP aspect that relate to event structures.

The main point of interest that stems from the acquisition of the English PP by Albanian

bilinguals, is the nature and process of the acquisition and of the semantic contributions of the

two constructions.

Before we embark on this ambitious journey, we must first show that this is indeed an

acquisition process under the limitation of *underdetermination*. To demonstrate convincingly

that interlanguage grammars are constrained by principles of UG, the following conditions

should hold:

i. The phenomenon being investigated must be underdetermined by the L2 input. That is, it must not be something that could be acquired by observation of the L2 input, including statistical inferencing based on frequency of occurrence, on the basis of analogy, or on the basis of instruction.

ii. The phenomenon should work differently in the L1 and the L2. That is, it must be underdetermined by the L1 grammar as well. In this way, transfer of surface properties can be ruled out as an explanation of any knowledge that L2 learners attain.

(from White 2003)

The satisfaction of these conditions will be illustrated in section three, suffice it to say at this

point that the Albanian PP, called the compound perfective CP, differs from the American

English PP in one fundamental aspect of its event structure, but is otherwise superficially

identical to it. Before we formulate the specific questions of this paper, we must discuss the

possible similarities and differences between first language acquisition (L1A) and second

language acquisition (L2A).

1.2.Accessibility and Transfer

The logical problems of language acquisition that support the existence of UG, such as

underdetermination, have derived their logic from studies of L1A. Infants start tuning aspects of

their language faculty as early as six months old. "At about five or six years of age, normally

developed children fully acquire the grammar of the language that surrounds them" (Slabakova,

2012). This rapid progress of acquisition hints at an underlying catalyst, a frame that organizes a

limited amount of input to be able to generate abstract linguistic features. While there are

extreme factors that can impede or derail L1A, such as isolation from meaningful input, its

progress and success is almost certain. The same can't be said about L2A, which is a process

riddled with shortcomings. Nonetheless, L2A is a form of language acquisition which enlists, to some extent, the same cognitive faculties of L1A. This begs the question, is interlanguage grammar under the influence of UG, or does it fall under other cognitive processes?

In L2A we are interested in variations which learners must internalize. These variations are accounted for by sets of parameters which are, by hypothesis, binary, meaning either active or inactive, plus or minus. Parameter settings affect formal categories and their functional features. In L1A, "children select from a universal inventory of categories and features those relevant to their language and learn to associate these sets of features with morphemes and certain meanings" (Slabakova, 2012). The mapping of these forms and meanings trigger parameter settings. However, the L2A process might be different. Primarily, the L2A development starts from a point where the first language has already been partially or wholly internalized, with set parametric features. This suggests that L2A operations involve parameter resetting as opposed to setting. The implications of this difference in the acquisition processes suggests that UG might not the be the sole actor in L2A, like it is theorized to be in L1A. In L2A, UG might be the mediator between the two languages L1, L2 and the in-between language. We call the in-between language, "interlanguage" or "interlanguage grammar". Slabakova (2012) states that "the access to UG metaphor has been accepted to mean that interlanguage grammars are within the hypothesis space of UG, that is, in addition to being regulated by universal principles, they also reveal knowledge of the L2 functional categories, including the L2 values of all formal features." If the L1 lacks any of the categories or formal features of the L2, it can access them through the universal language faculty.

Some have argued that access to UG in the interlanguage grammar is either wholly or partially impaired, while others have argued that UG is fully accessible, with different

assumptions of L1 transfer. The strongest of these hypotheses on the impairment side is called

the Global Impairment view (White, 2003). Global Impairment argues that, since the acquisition

process of L2 is one where parameters have already been set, "second language acquisition

proceeds construction by construction and is not dependent on underlying parametric choices"

Clahsen & Hong (1995); Neeleman & Weerman (1997). Proponents of Global Impairment have

been criticized for placing a very high bar on L2A. They claim that different grammatical

constructions, that are subordinate to a specific parametric feature, need to be produced free of

error, something that is not true even of L1A.

A less rigid approach is the Partial or Local Impairment view, where L2 learners are

thought to be able to reset parameters in specific circumstances. Under this view, learners are

able to transfer their L1 features to the L2 but are impaired from acquiring functional features not

present in their L1. Hawkins & Chan's (1997) Failed Functional Features Hypotheses (FFF) is

intended to capture such restrictions. They state that "access to new parametric options as

instantiated in functional categories and their associated features are no longer available in [L2]

acquisition after a critical period, but principles of UG still are" (Slabakova 2012). Theoretically

this would mean that, there exists a period past which, a learner of a language would not be

sensitive to the parametric qualities of specific formal features instantiated in their target

language that are not present in their native language. Referring to the example of [± null

subject], speakers of a [-null subject] language will not be able to indirectly store and retain the

reflexes of covert pronouns in L2 languages with a [+null subject] parameter past a critical

period of attainment.

The last view is that of full access to UG principles and parameters. The full access

hypothesis is based on experiments showing the production of syntactic reflexes of L2 learners

of English without the morphological knowledge of functional categories, such as the past tense -

ed of English (Slabakova, 2012). For the purpose of this paper, full access would entail the

ability of learners to access the semantic reflexes of the AspP in question, the present perfect.

When it comes to semantic reflexes of aspect, acquisition is demonstrated by understanding the

event structure within the timestamp in question. Full access to UG in the semantic paradigm

means that, interlanguage grammar can engage the functional category AspP and its varied

functional features (e.g., event structures) regardless of their existence in the L1. An age effect

would result in the negative correlation between this ability and age of aquistion AoA.

This thesis will look at the semantic reflexes of the functional category AspP to shed

some light on the nature of the initial state, accessibility, and transfer under the Generative

framework. The experiment and logical structure of this paper focuses on the following

questions:

(9)   What is the initial state of the acquisition process of the English PP from Albanian
        L1 learners?

I assume that the initial state should consist of a formal structure partially derived from L1;

meaning that, when input fails to inform the correct grammatical structure, the L2 learner grabs

from L1 what might be relevant, in order to interpret a grammatical structure. Eventually, with

the generative formal structures as a catalyst, learning of forms that do not exist in the L1 takes

its shape.

(10)   Is there transfer from the L1 Albanian to the L2 English functional category?

I also believe that in the specific scenario that is put forth, learners do transfer from L1 those

formal features that might apply to superficially similar grammatical forms.

(11)   Does the learning process show access to UG through instantiating new formal features
         under the conditions of underdetermination?

I will claim that the answer is yes. Learners should show access to UG by adopting the semantic

qualities of the target structure.

> (12)   Presuming a positive answer to the 3rd question, are there age effects regarding the accessibility of UG for the acquisition of the semantic reflexes in the event structure of the PP?

There might be age effects that limit the acquisition process of the English PP, if indeed this is a cognitive mechanism wired into our biology; then, deterioration can be expected, as it is often the case with such systems.

In the process of answering these four questions, the thesis will also make some contributions to the analysis of the Albanian PP phrasal semantics by doing some comparative work, primarily with the American English PP construction, and also with the neighboring language of Greek.

2.   The Present Perfect PP and the Learning Task.

2.1.The American English PP

The American English PP is a construction that has puzzled many linguists. Its most perplexing features are the ambiguity between it being a past or present oriented tense and its semi aspectual nature. Many have proposed that that PP describes a past event with current relevance, but the nature of the current relevance has been hard to define, as demonstrated by McCoard (1978). The non-prototypical nature of the PP on the other hand, provides a great testing tool for UG experiments. This is mainly because the PP is superficially taught in language schools, it is complex, and its properties are not entirely determined by input. We will show in part three, that the constructions from the two subject languages, even though having a different event structure, are built almost identically. These features provide for us the underdetermination conditions that reveal the inner workings of UG, if such a language module is at play. But in order to get at these features, we must have some formalism as a base. Let us start with the basic

event structure that is carved out by the PP construction of American English.

The English PP is made up of a present tense auxiliary and the participle. A typical construction would be the one below:

(13)   Bill has left his keys.

The PP has usually been compared to the simple past construction in order to show the different qualities of the temporal components, i.e., that the PP is more than just a preterit:

(14)   Bill left his keys.

The past event has relevance to the present in the PP as opposed to something being simply in the past; again, not stipulating concretely what that relevance is. A phenomenon, which will be the testing tool of the experiment for this paper, further supports the fact that the PP is not a simple past tense construction. The Present Perfect Puzzle (PPP), coined by Klein (1992), reveals the specific aspect of the PP which does not allow it to combine with position-specific past time adverb, like in the sentences below:

(15)   a. *Tom has left his children yesterday.
        b. *Yesterday, Tom has left his children.
        c. *Mary has finished in December.
        d. *In December, Mary has finished.
        e. *John has loved his kids then.
        f. *The, John has loved his kids.

This phenomenon leads us to believe that there is something more to the tense and/or aspectual nature of the PP, something that is distinct and different from the preterit. What might that be?

A traditional approach to the time references for the PP comes from Reichenbach (1947), where it is said that there are three specific time frames at play in the interaction between tense and the perfect. The first and most concrete time reference is speech time (S) or time of the utterance (TU). This refers to the moment of speech. Next, there is reference time (R), which is described as a point in time to which one refers to, i.e., the present in the PP. Lastly, there is the

event time (E), referring to the time of the event in question. Hence, a PP construction like *John has read the book,* would have the following event structure.

S= time of utterance (TU)
R= present, derived by the tense of the auxiliary (has)
E= past or prior to R (John read the book)

If one were to plot all the perfect constructions, past, present, and future, along a time axes, it would look like the following illustration in (Graphic I).

Graphic I (Perfect Time Frames)

R =Aux (had, has, will have)
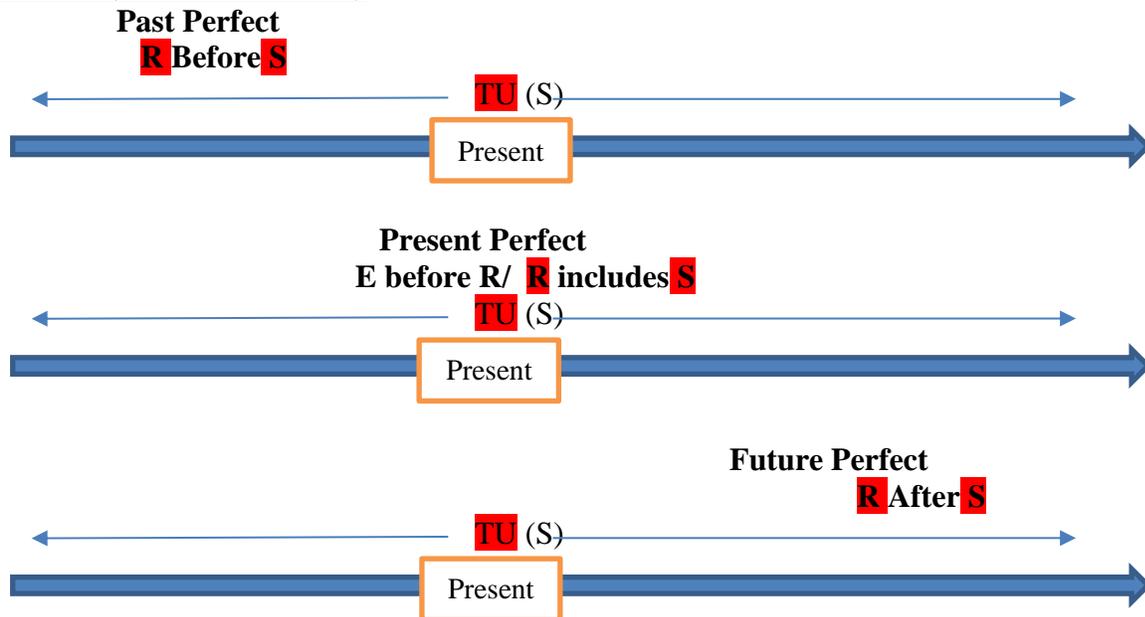
These perfect constructions are endowed with this time split between event time and reference time, contrary to the simple past or present where there is no such split. In the simple past like, *John read the book,* E and R coincide in the same time frame, somewhat like the past perfect. The same is partially true of the simple present form.

The most important feature of the Reichenbachian analysis is the fact that the event is always described as being before R and S in the PP, giving the eventuality of the PP what is called anteriority, an interpretation of the event happening before reference time. We will see that there is an issue with the above analysis when it comes to certain predicates, those described as being

universal perfects (UP). From this departure the paper will follow an extended-now theory as

postulated by Iatridou et al., (2001).

2.2. *An Extended Now Approach to the English PP*

The challenge posed to the traditional Reichenbachian analysis comes from PP

constructions like the one below:

(16)   Mary has always lived in NY.

The frame posited above does not fit the event structure of this specific PP, where the event of

living in NY is clearly not only in the past, but also overlaps with both R and S. This leads us to

question the idea that the PP necessarily places the event in the past (anteriority). The above

construction is known as a universal perfect (UP), as opposed to an existential perfect (EP). The

first perfect is characterized by the event overlapping with R and S, due to its imperfective

(unbound) nature, and the second is an event which is stipulated to exist as a whole prior to R

(bounded). Bounded and unbounded are the terms used by Iatridou et al., (2001) to describe

predicates that provide U or E readings, and they are roughly described as imperfective and

perfective respectively. These aspects are derived from the combination of the lexical items with

the PP participle. Supporters of the Reichenbachian analysis of PP like Klein (1992), consider

the U/E reading ambiguity to stem from pragmatic considerations, and that the PP solely

contributes the E to R separation i.e., anteriority of the event.

The strongest argument put forward against the Reichenbachian analysis comes from

Mittwoch (1988). She argues that in the U-perfect reading of the sentence; *John has lived in NY*

since 1990, John's living in NY must hold in at least some part of 1990, and extend up to the

time of speech (S). On the other hand, the E-perfect reading requires that some living in NY

takes place in a period <u>after </u>1990; if John's stay in NY is contained in 1990, the sentence is false

on its E-reading.

UP
<u>**1990   John lives in NY   Present**</u>
EP
1990<u>   **John lives in NY**   </u>Present

It cannot be the case that the UP is a subcase of the EP. The eventuality of John living in NY is true of 1990 in the U reading, and false in the E reading, making the UP available where the EP is not. The timeframe laid out by the UP includes a time interval that is not part of the EP, and hence it is not a subcase of the EP. The above data is sufficient to challenge the idea that the PP is intrinsically past oriented; therefore, we believe that semantic considerations are at the heart of the matter.

From here, I will follow Iatridou et al.'s, (2001) analysis, where the availability of the U/E readings is taken directly from the composition of the perfect participle with other lexical elements. When we have a language like English, which does not distinguish the preterit/perfective from the imperfective, the readings are derived through different combinatorial possibilities with the participle. What does the PP then contribute to the aspectual nature of the predicate to which it composes with, if not anteriority? According to the version of the extended now theory, which is adopted in this paper, the perfect time span (PTS) as coined by Iatridou et al., (2001), is the only thing that the perfect contributes. PTS is defined as the timeframe that has as its right boundary tense, carried by the auxiliary verb *have*. It originates from tense and expands backwards indefinitely, unless its left boundary is specified by an adverbial modifier like *since 1999*, or by context. The E/U readings of the PP are derived by the interaction of the participle with other lexical items that compose with it.

Iatridou et al., (2001) state that the U-reading of the PP are accessible only through the following structures, individual level and stage level statives combined with durative adverbs.

The individual level statives, where something holds uniformly throughout a specific timespan,

like be *short* or *have blue eyes*, cannot compose with the perfect without durative adverbs like

since:

      (17)   a.   John has been short.   *(since he was born)
                b.   John has had blue eyes.   *(since he was born)

Stage level statives, where there is some change of state hinted by the predicate, like be sick, are

possible without durative adverbs, but their U-reading is not obligatory. One can say for

example,

      (18)   Mary has been sick

And follow it by, *but she is now fine*, demonstrating that the event does not overlap with R or S.

By itself, the form corresponds more to a perfect of recent past than a U-perfect. This specific

construction gets a U-reading when, on the other hand, it is modified with a durative adverb like

always, or ever *since last Monday*. Like stage level statives, there is an important aspectual from

that did not make this list, but it is argued to have a U-reading, the continuous (-ing). Continuous

(-ing) constructions are not necessarily U-perfect for the same reason that stage-level statives are

not, they are felicitous with the negation of the predicate at the time of speech, like in the

following example:

      (19)   I have been working all day, but I am finished now.

It seems that U-perfect readings can only necessarily surface through durative adverbial

modifiers and only the E-readings seem accessible otherwise. One can say that such adverbs

force aspectual shifts that can only compose with the perfect if the nature of the participle

(underspecified) and PTS are respected.

        Notably, the reading of the PP depends on the nature of the participle and its interaction

with modifiers. Languages with overt aspect marking on verbs, like Albanian and Greek, clearly

specify the aspectual class of their participle and only a particular reading is available. We will

discuss these participles in the next section. English on the other hand, has a participle which is

crucially underspecified, and derives its aspect part lexically and part grammatically. For

example, in using the simple past tense (-ed) form of an accomplishment verb-phrase like *build a*

house, one can modify the direct object of the verb to a plural noun, like *build houses*, to change

the aspectual quality of the predicate lexically. There is a clear difference in the two sentences

below in the quality of their lexical aspect:

> (20)   a.   John built a house.
>   b.   John built houses.

Sentence (20a) is clearly a telic accomplishment predicate, where the event is seen as a whole

and completed, while (20b) is an atelic predicate, where the event can be seen as a continuous

activity. This is a lexical aspect shift because the nature of the time reference is set by the

composition verb with its direct object rather than morphology. The same is true with the nature

of the participle that composes with the present auxiliary in the PP construction. The tense

supplies the PTS, while the participle combined with other lexical items derives the aspectual E

or U-readings. Most importantly, the combination of the English PP with the specific anterior

time adverbs like *yesterday, in 1999, etc*, can't felicitously compose. That is not the case of its

Albanian counterpart, and many other PP like constructions in other languages.

2.3.*The Albanian PP in Comparison.*

The Albanian compound perfective CP is formed from the same building blocks of the

English PP, mainly the present from of the verb *to have (kam)* and, interestingly, a perfective

participle which does not take the morphology of its bare perfective form. Albanian has simple

and compound tenses. The paradigm of the simple tenses is presented below in (Table A).

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Table A (Albanian Paradigm of Simple Tenses)

Singular	PRN	to have (simple present)	Perfective (Plu P)	Imperfective (Pst P)
1st P	Unë	Kam	Pata	Kisha
2nd P	Ti	Ke	Pate	Kishe
3rd P (M/F)	Ai/Ajo	Ka	Pati	Kishte
Plural				
1st P	Ne	Kemi	Patëm	Kishim
2nd P	Ju	Keni	Patët	Kishit
3rd P (M/F)	Ata/Ato	Kanë	Patën	Kishin

As mentioned before, when the perfective is used to construct the CP, its form does not conform

to the simple perfective version.

> (21)   Ti   pate   probleme.
>   You had (perf) problems.

> (22)   Ti   ke   **pasur**   probleme.
>   You have had (perf participle) problems.

The difference between the perfective and the compound perfective is small but important. We

can tease out the non-past like nature of the CP by using the forms in a narrative, commonly told

through the preterit. In a scenario where one individual is telling another about their day, the use

of the CP is ungrammatical in Albanian, demonstrating that it is not like its perfective

counterpart, past oriented.

> (23)   Sot isha (*kam qën) te doktori. Ai me tha (*ka thëne) qe duhet te bëj
>   fiskultur. Kur unë i kërkova (kam kërkuar) arsye, ai me ndërpreu (*ka
>   ndërprer) me inat e me gërthiti (*ka gërthitur).
>
>   Today I was (*have been) at the doctor. He told (*hes told) me that I have to
>   exercise. When I asked (*have asked) why, he interrupted (*has interrupted) me
>   angerly and screamed (*has screamed) at me.

We can see from the translation above that the same is true between the English PP and its

simple past counterpart. In a language like French on the other hand, the PP like construction

termed "passe compose" compound past, is the default mode for narratives.

(24)   Aujourd'hui j'étais chez le médecin Il m'a dit que je devais faire du sport
         Quand j'ai demandé pourquoi il s'est enervé et me cria dessus. Il m'a dit de ne
         pas   discuter ses décisions.

         Today I was at the doctor. He *has told* me that I had to work out. When I *have
         asked* why he himself is mad and screamed at me. He *has told* me not to discuss
         his decisions.

The narrative above demonstrates the different uses and meanings between the perfective and the

CP, and also how these differences compare cross-linguistically. Like the English PP, the CP is

not grammatical in the narrative of past events. Albanian uses the simple perfective to tell such

past oriented stories, paralleling the use of the simple past in English.

It is important to keep in mind that, even though the CP is not necessarily a past

construction, the participle of the CP is indeed perfective. Before continuing, one must ask why

would the Albanian CP be analyzed and considered equal to the American English PP? Besides

the nature of the construction, which uses similar pieces to build the form, the way they are

described in literature is almost synonymous:

"E kryera e mënyrës dëftore përdoret zakonisht për të treguar veprime ose gjendje që kanë marrë
fund, por që në një mënyrë a në një tjetër lidhen me çastin kur flasim."
The 'compund perfective' of the indicative mood is commonly used to speak of an action or state
that has finished, but in one way or another is tied with time of speaking.

Also, in Tomić (2006), the form is described the following way, "the Standard and Tosk

Albanian forms of the active indicative present perfect tense express an action that had begun in

the past and lasts until the moment of speaking."[1] These general definition differentiates the CP

---

[1] In the non-standard dialect (Geg), the CP is used more freely than the Tosk. I leave its thorough
comparison to future work.

construction from the perfective in the same way English PP is differentiated from the simple past. Furthermore, the fact that the nature of the CP is in some way related to the present, makes these two structures formally comparable.

An exact parallel to the Albanian PP seems to be Greek. Compositionally, the aspectual structure consists of the present tense form of the auxiliary verb *have* and a perfective participle, with different morphological application. The PTS is given by tense, the present on *has.* Unlike American English, grammatical aspect is given directly by the participle, which in both Albanian and Greek, is always perfective. This specific feature of the formal category Asp composes only with (bound) predicates. For example:

(25) a. Εχο panta zisi stin Athina[2]
Have-1sg always lived in-the Athens
I have always lived in Athens.

b. *Kam gjithmon jetuar në Athin.
have-1sg always lived in Athens.
I have always lived in Athens.

In the Greek and Albanian examples above, the adverbial modifier, which forces a durative U-reading on the otherwise perfective participle, makes the sentences ungrammatical. At the same time, just like its English counterpart, the Greek perfect is described to have current relevance, "the present perfect tenses denote an event that began to happen at some past moment and lasts until the moment of speaking" Tomić (2006).

On the other hand, because the participle combining with the auxiliary verb is perfective, position specific modifiers are perfectly grammatical, i.e., they do not show the 'present perfect puzzle'; hence, in Albanian, the following sentences are grammatical.

(26) a. Ai ka jetuar në Tiran në 1999
He has lived in Tirana in 1999.

---

[2] Taken directly from Iatridou et al., 2001.

        b.   Dje   ai ka lën gruan.
                   Yesterday he has left his wife

Now we arrive at an important juncture in our analysis. When taking in consideration all the above data, there seems to be some clear similarities and also important differences between the PP constructions. The PPs in Albanian and Greek, carve the temporal structure differently from English but superficially the difference in meaning and structure is elusive.

In summary, the Albanian PP, like the Greek and the English, characterizes an event with some sort of current relevance, which is different from the preterit (simple past) in all three languages. Furthermore, they are all made up by the tense auxiliary *have,* which according to the extended now theory this paper adopts, introduces the PTS, an extension backwards from the right boundary of tense. This is the first and most important functional head that comprises the structure of all three perfects. Tense composes with the perfect participle head, from which it receives its aspectual nature. Albanian and Greek mark aspect through overt morphology on the participle, which is always perfective. English on the other hand has a rich combinatorial nature, where both grammatical and lexical aspect combine to define the aspect of the eventuality (U or E reading). The tree for the PP of English is given below in (Graphic 2) example 27:

Graphic 2 (English PP Syntactic Tree)

(27)
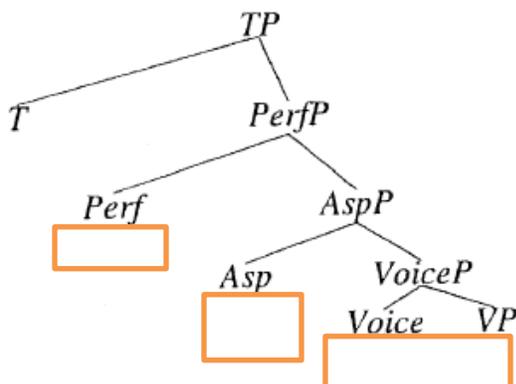
The fundamental learning objective for the L1 Albanian learner must be the underspecified aspectual nature of the Perf head. That is the focus of the next section.

2.4. The Learning Task

What is the process by which the L1 Albanian learner of English acquires the reflexes of the PP construction? Obviously, they need to learn the meanings of the respective morphosyntactic forms. Meanings and forms are reflected in functional categories with sets of formal features (Chomsky, 1995). The language faculty must notice the divergent formal feature (non-perfective/underspecified) of the Asp functional category, in this case the Perf head. The focus of the English learning classrooms, especially the grammar intensive courses, is on the 'current relevance' nature of the PP. They make little to no mention of lexical aspect (aktionsar), primarily because the combinatorial options are vast and difficult to master. Plainly from input, the E-perfects do not reveal the aspectual identity of the non-perfective or non-anteriority nature of the English PP, as E-perfects are very well compatible with perfectivity and anteriority. All E-perfects are anterior and perfective in the sense that the eventuality described by the structure is said to precede the reference time. It is only the U-perfects that hint at the a possible difference between the English PP and the Albanian PP. But even those U-perfect-like constructions have parallels in the Albanian PP, though with a different meaning and crucially, a marginally different structure, as we saw in the previous section.

The learning condition is set up in the following manner. We have a construction which contains the auxiliary that composes with (T) the tense head, present, which introduces PTS. Then the auxiliary that carries the tense feature +present composes with the participle, of which the identity in the L1 is perfective but that of its L2 is underspecified. The classroom experience

does not focus on this difference. The learner must notice, through experience, the non-perfective

aspect of the participle. Going back to the analysis of Iatridou et al., (2001), the U-reading of the

PP is accessible only through individual level and stage level statives combined with durative

adverbs e.g.,

> (28)   a.   John has been tall since 2001.
>   b.   Mary has always been sick.

These are the types of structures that force U-readings and hint at imperfectivity. But there is a

further complication to the noticing process, the fact that both are available in Albanian, with a

forced E-reading.

> (29)   a.   Toni ka qën i   gjat që   ne 2001.
>   Tony has been Agr M   tall since in 2001.
>   There was a period in the past, starting in 2001 where John was tall.
>   **E-perfect reading only**
>
>   b.   Maria ka qën   gjithmon e   sëmurë.
>   Marry has been   always   Agr F sick.
>   There was a period in the past that Marry was always sick
>   **E-perfect reading only**

Notice that crucially, the perfect in (29b) is only ungrammatical in the structure we posited in

(25b), repeated below.

> (30)   *Kam   gjithmon jetuar në Athin.
>   have-1sg always   lived   in Athens.
>   I have always lived in Athens.

In the above sentence, we see the adverb modifying the participle, which is not possible in

Albanian. On the other hand, the modifier is perfectly felicitous under the scope of the participle.

The argument for underdetermination solidifies further as participle and adverb placement seem

to be the only superficial hint. This divergence does not seem semantically transparent. To go

back to section 1.1, what constitutes underdetermination? White (2003) prposes the following

requirements:

The form must not be something that could be,
   a)   acquired by observation of the (L2) input including statistical inferencing based on frequency

b) acquired on the basis of analogy
c) acquired on the basis of instruction.

It would seem highly unlikely to acquire the U-perfect's non-perfective nature of the participle based on inferencing from input. Use, and therefore input of the perfect, is for the most part Eventive, which corresponds to the perfective. The small amount of times which it is of the universal nature, its meaning is not easily accessible as forms are almost identical. One can argue that contextually, the acquisition can happen based upon observation of the predicates of PP constructions. There are certain predicates which either necessitate the use of the perfect morphology or forbid it. Those that forbid it in English constitute of subjects that are deceased or not in existence at the present, like; *Einstein has visited Princeton.* This sentence while grammatical, is not acceptable because it calls for the subject, Einstein, to be alive now. The same is not true for the Albanian CP. These types of predicates do hold of deceased subjects and are grammatical in Albanian. Hence a further contextual hint can be the lack of such utterances in English. Chomsky (1981) suggests that:

"A not unreasonable acquisition system can be devised with the operative principle that if certain structures or rules fail to be exemplified in relatively simple expressions, where they would be expected to be found, then a(n) . . . option is selected excluding them in the grammar, so that a kind of 'negative evidence' can be available even without corrections, adverse reactions, etc."
It is arguable however, that such acquisition can happen from the absence of specific input (negative evidence). This type of acquisition is not straightforward though. The PP construction is not a 'relatively simple expression' and even if it were, better and more logical hints might trigger the correct acquisition.

Another option can be predicates that necessitate the use of the PP like, *Maduro has been a bad president*. This construction calls for the use of the PP because P. Maduro is still very much the president of Venezuela at time of the writing of this paper. Such sentences are grammatical with the Albanian CP;

(31)   Maduro ka   qën   president   i   keq.
         Maduro has been   president Agr bad.

We must remember that Tomić (2006) describes the CP the following way, "…express an action

that had begun in the past and lasts until the moment of speaking." Therefore, the presence of

these type of predicates muddies the water even further in the acquisition process. We argue that

accessibility to such parallel forms in the L1 severely hampers the contextual observational

triggers for acquisition of the L2.

It seems even more difficult to derive the meaning from analogy, which means deriving

formal features for L2 on the bases of analogous features in L1. The two PP structures which are

almost the same syntactically, are very different semantically. Underspecified aspect heads do

not exist in the Albanian verb paradigms; hence, there would be nothing of an analogous

extension to the L2 English form of the PP. Lastly, the academic experience cannot be

considered as a factor of acquisition as the phenomenon this paper is dealing with is not

acknowledged in language learning classrooms.

We have now dealt to some extent with functional categories that generate the PP

constructions and their semantic formal features. Also, we have demonstrated to a degree of

certainty that we are dealing with a learning process that is made difficult by underdetermination.

Now we will present the experiment considering the initial questions in section 1, repeated

below:

(32)   a.   What is the initial state of the acquisition process of the semantic reflex of
                   the English PP from Albanian learners?

         b.   Is there transfer from the L1 Albanian to the L2 English functional
                   category?

         c.   Does the learning process show access to UG through instantiating new
                   formal features under the conditions of underdetermination?

         d.   Presuming a positive answer to the 3rd question, are there age effects
                   regarding the accessibility of UG for the acquisition of the semantic reflexes in

the event structure of the PP.

The experiment that follows, will try to answer the above questions through testing judgments of bilingual participants, on the grammaticality of the Present Perfect Puzzle PPP. At the same time, a detailed language dominance questionnaire will be the background information from which the study will extrapolate trends in acquisition.

3. Experiment

3.1. *The Participants*

The test subjects of this study were 13 English native speakers, which comprised the control group and 30 Albanian/English bilinguals, which were the experimental group. The bilingual experimental group had moved to the USA at different ages, and from different Albanian speaking regions. Bilingual participants were chosen from both Geg and Tosk dialects. The age of the 30 test subjects ranged from 19 to 62, with a mean age of 35 and standard deviation of 11.0. These same test subjects had been exposed to English at the mean age of 11.5, consisting of a range from three to 20+, and a standard deviation of 5.4. Past the age of twenty, the age specific values were calculated as being 20 by the questionnaire.

3.2. *Test Instruments*

There were three main instruments that were used as the data collecting part of the experiment. The first was, Birdsong, D., Gertken, L.M., & Amengual, M. *Bilingual Language Profile* (BLP). This is an on-line resource made available by the authors to quantify language dominance. The BLP achieves this goal by summing up self-evaluated measures of language history, use, proficiency, and attitude. Numerical values are given to each of the four categories subdivided in the two languages spoken by the participants. The difference of the values

calculates dominance on a scale from -100 to +100, depending on whether the participant is

language A or B dominant. In our case the negative values represent Albanian dominance and

positive values represent English dominance. The aggregate dominance is measured by summing

up the figures of the four sub-areas of evaluation. A copy of the BLP can be accessed on-line

through this link: https://sites.la.utexas.edu/bilingual/, and it is also listed in the appendix.

The second and third instruments were grammaticality judgment tests. The native control

group received a grammaticality judgment test of 20 English sentences from which 9 were target

sentences and seven were fillers. The target sentences were made up of PPP constructions, PP

sentences composed with time specific modifiers like *in 1999* or *yesterday*, which should be

deemed ungrammatical in English. The experimental group took grammaticality judgment tests

composed of a total of 24 English sentences. In the list there were seven target sentences which

were PPP constructions. There were three different types of PPP sentences comprising of

different adverbial positioning. One type was with the modifier initial position like the ones

below:

   (33)   Last year, Tony has left his job.
   (34)   Yesterday, John has left his children.

Another type was with the modifier in sentence final position:
   (35)   Bill has arrived on Monday in New York.
   (36)   Mary has left her husband ten years ago.
   (37)   Josh has lived in Italy until 2010.

And the last type were sentences with embedded PPP constructions:
   (38)   Ten years ago, when James has finished school, the classes have been more difficult.
   (39)   Last year, when Tom has worked at the factory, the output was better.

Identical target sentences were given to the native speakers. The target sentences were shuffled

around with grammatical and ungrammatical fillers that were target and non-target like. The

experimental group of 30 participants received three different tests, for every ten participants the

test questions would be reordered to account for order interferences. All the tests were analyzed,

and their results were summed up to see the native like performance range compared to that of the bilinguals.

(All four tests are available in the appendix.)

3.3.Results

We start with the results of the control native group. In table (I) below we have the list of the 13 participants and the nine target sentences without the fillers. The column on the left lists the participants. The rows are their judgments on the grammaticality of the PPP constructions. The color read represents a correct judgment of ungrammaticality, the blue represents uncertainty, and the green represents incorrect judgments of grammaticality. For each row there are all the results corresponding to each sentence, and as we can see, the results are unequivocal. Nine out of the 13 participants correctly judged all nine sentences to be ungrammatical, two missed only one, and another two had issues with four sentences and two sentences respectively.

Table I (Native Group Results)

Sentences	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Partecipants									
1					green				
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8		blue	blue			green	green	green	
9									
10		blue					green	green	
11					green				
12									
13									
	John has left his wife yesterday.	Last year Bill has left his job.	Last week has been very cold.	He has left today at three.	Tony has arrived yesterday in New York.	Last year, when Bob has worked at the factory, the output was better.	Sara has lived in Italy until 2010.	Ted has left his wife some ten years ago.	Ten years ago, when Bryan has finished the university, the classes have been more difficult.

The experimental group of bilinguals had more varied results. They were presented with 24 sentences, of which only seven were target structures, and the rest were fillers. Results for the target sentences are presented in table (II). The data is presented in rendition of participants who made the least to the most mistakes. Ten out of the 30 participants made zero mistaken judgments, i.e., they judged all the PPP constructions to be infelicitous. Eleven of them made one mistake, three made two mistakes, one made three, three made four, and only two made six mistakes. This data is presented in the right most column of table (II). Figures are combined with age of arrival to the USA and place of origin information. The range of the age of arrival is from three to 40 with a mean of 18, standard deviation of 9.2, and mode of 24.

The last row of the table sums up the amount of times the participants judged a sentence to be grammatical. The one that was judged to be more often grammatical, 14 out of 30, was the form with the adverbial modifier *until 2010.* Compared to the native participants, the difference is quite striking. The runner up targets, with seven grammatical judgments each, were the two sentences with the adverbial modifier in final position (+2 uncertain for *ten years ago).* Initial position constructions were judged to be grammatical six times with *the last year* modifier and once (+ 1 uncertain) with the *yesterday* modifier. Embedding constructions received five grammatical judgments for the double PP embedding and four grammatical judgments for the PP embedding a past tense (+2 uncertain for the *last year* adverb).

Table II (Bilingual Group Results)

Boarn	Arived	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sum
Albania	11								0//7
Albania	13								0//7
Albania	10								0//7
Albania	16								0//7
Albania	24								0//7
Kosovo	25								0//7
Kosovo	26								0//7
Albania	24								0//7
Albania	18								0//7
Albania	24								0//7
Albania	15								1//7
Kosovo	14								1//7
Albania	20								1//7
Albania	3								1//7
Kosovo	11								1//7
Kosovo	14								1//7
Shkoder	14								1//7
Albania	10								1//7
Albania	21								1//7
Albania	16								1//7
Albania	3								1//7
Albania	25								2//7
Montene	3								2//7
Albania	28								2//7
Albania	40								3//7
Albania	31								4//7
Albania	20								4//7
Albania	39								4//7
Mtn	21								6//7
Kosovo	18								6//7
		1) Last year, Tony has left his job.	2) Ten years ago, when James has finished school, the classes have been more difficult.	3) Bill has arrived on Monday in New York.	4) Mary has left her husband ten years ago.	5) Yesterday, John has left his children.	6) Last year, when Tom has worked at the factory, the output was better.	7) Josh has lived in Italy until 2010.	
		6//30	5//30	7//30	7//30 2//IDK	1//30 1IDK	4/30 2//IDK	14//30	

Table (II) focuses on the sentences that were judged wrongly to be grammatical. We extrapolate these figures to compare them now with the BLP data, in order to see if there are any correlations. The first step is to compare the aggregate dominance data to the judgment results. This is seen in table (III). The first thing to notice is that, instead of negative or positive values to account for dominance, we have used the letter E or A for English or Albanian dominance for history, use, proficiency, and attitude data. The overall dominance figures under the *sum* column are listed by using positive values for English dominance and negative values for Albanian dominance. The results have been juxtaposed to the grammaticality judgment figures of table

(II). Overall dominance scores seem to have some correlation with correct judgments, listed on the far left of the table. The first four participants with zero mistakes are all English dominant and the last four with the lowest correct judgments are all Albanian dominant. On the other hand, results between these participants very drastically in regard to overall dominance.

The sub-categories of dominance might show further correlation between results. The column that demonstrates such partial correlation is that of *use* dominance. English use dominance in that category is strongly correlated to correctness of judgments for almost all the first 23 participants, except for number seven and eight. Also, the lowest seven participants, with the most mistakes, are predominantly Albanian use dominant, except for 26 and 30. The other three columns for history, proficiency, and attitude, do not seem to effect correct judgment as much as the use category. They might on the other hand, be partially responsible for deviations like in participant number 30 who is only dominant in use, while having the most incorrect judgments.

Table III (Aggregate Dominance Data)

		dominace		History	Use	Pro	Atitude		Agregat		Sum	
0//7		96.804		16E	30E	41E	10E		184.612	87.808	96.804	1
0//7		39.69		9A	28E	14E	6E		148.11	108.42	39.69	2
0//7		31.608		1E	26E	4E	0		172.444	140.836	31.608	3
0//7		18.532		10A	24E	5E	0		174.532	156	18.532	4
0//7		6.826		34A	44E	0	2A		163.458	156.632	6.826	5
0//7		-50.206		36A	17E	2A	30A		127.95	178.156	-50.206	6
0//7		-53.122		31A	11A	0	11A		138.478	191.6	-53.122	7
0//7		-58.108		19A	11A	11A	41A		97.984	156.092	-58.108	8
0//7		-12.164		14A	15E	2E	8A		132.216	144.38	-12.164	9
0//7		-93.704		32A	4E	18A	48A		91.174	184.878	-93.704	10
1//7		-17.068		14A	7E	0	9A		156.732	173.8	-17.068	11
1//7		-64.194		34A	4E	11A	23A		112.512	176.706	-64.194	12
1//7		-14.974		23A	22E	0	14A		152.558	167.532	-14.974	13
1//7		-16.792		13A	16E	0	20A		154.826	171.618	-16.792	14
1//7		27.702		6E	22E	2E	2A		167.994	140.292	27.702	15
1//7		24.98		2A	27E	0	0		172.898	147.918	24.98	16
1//7		21.618		3A	21E	9E	5E		171.444	149.826	21.618	17
1//7		77.65		2E	44E	18E	13E		178.44	100.79	77.65	18
1//7		67.208		1E	44E	20E	3E		184.342	117.134	67.208	19
1//7		57.4		11A	39E	16E	14E		157.192	99.792	57.4	20
1//7		5.63		5E	1E	0	0		162.542	156.912	5.63	21
2//7		0.278		17A	16E	0	2E		172.26	171.982	0.278	22
2//7		101.894		21E	45E	20E	16E		209.222	107.328	101.894	23
2//7		-74.01		25A	22A	0	27A		113.324	187.334	-74.01	24
3//7		-108.236		38A	7A	25A	39A		76.644	184.88	-108.236	25
4//7	2 IDK	-21.608		19A	6E	11A	2E		136.756	158.364	-21.608	26
4//7		-68.918		33A	2A	11A	23A		120.138	189.056	-68.918	27
4//7	3 IDK	-31.236		15A	2A	14A	0		141.93	173.166	-31.236	28
6//7		-39.498		3A	0	27A	10A		127.13	166.628	-39.498	29
6//7		-28.962		22A	9E	10A	7A		137.392	166.354	-28.962	30

Figure (IV), plots three crucial variables, age of arrival (Arv), age of acquisition (AoA) or time when participant started learning English, and length of stay (LoS), in relation to grammaticality judgment results. The participants are listed in the same order as table (III). We must also keep in mind that the BLP plots AoA only up to 20 years of age for any participant who started learning English at or after the age of 20. The LoS variable does not seem to bear a strong influence on correct judgment, since two of the highest LoSs, 38 and 23 years, have made six and four mistakes respectively. Interestingly, AoA does not seem to strongly correlate either, with ages as low as nine and 14 making six and four wrong judgments respectively. On the other hand, AoA might be responsible for the positive results of participant seven and eight who were

Albanian dominant in all four subcategories but were exposed to English at ages five and nine

respectively. This early exposure might have been meaningful enough that even with an

experience of Albanian predominance, they were able to internalize the semantic aspect of the

PP functional category. Age of acquisition experience conversely, might have been subverted by

LoS and Arv for the last six participants who did not seem to have internalized the necessary

reflexes of the PP for this activity. Age of arrival seems to have the most influence, as one can

see the correlation between some of the least correct participants and their Arv figures.

Figure IV (Arv, AoA, LoS figures VS Judgments)
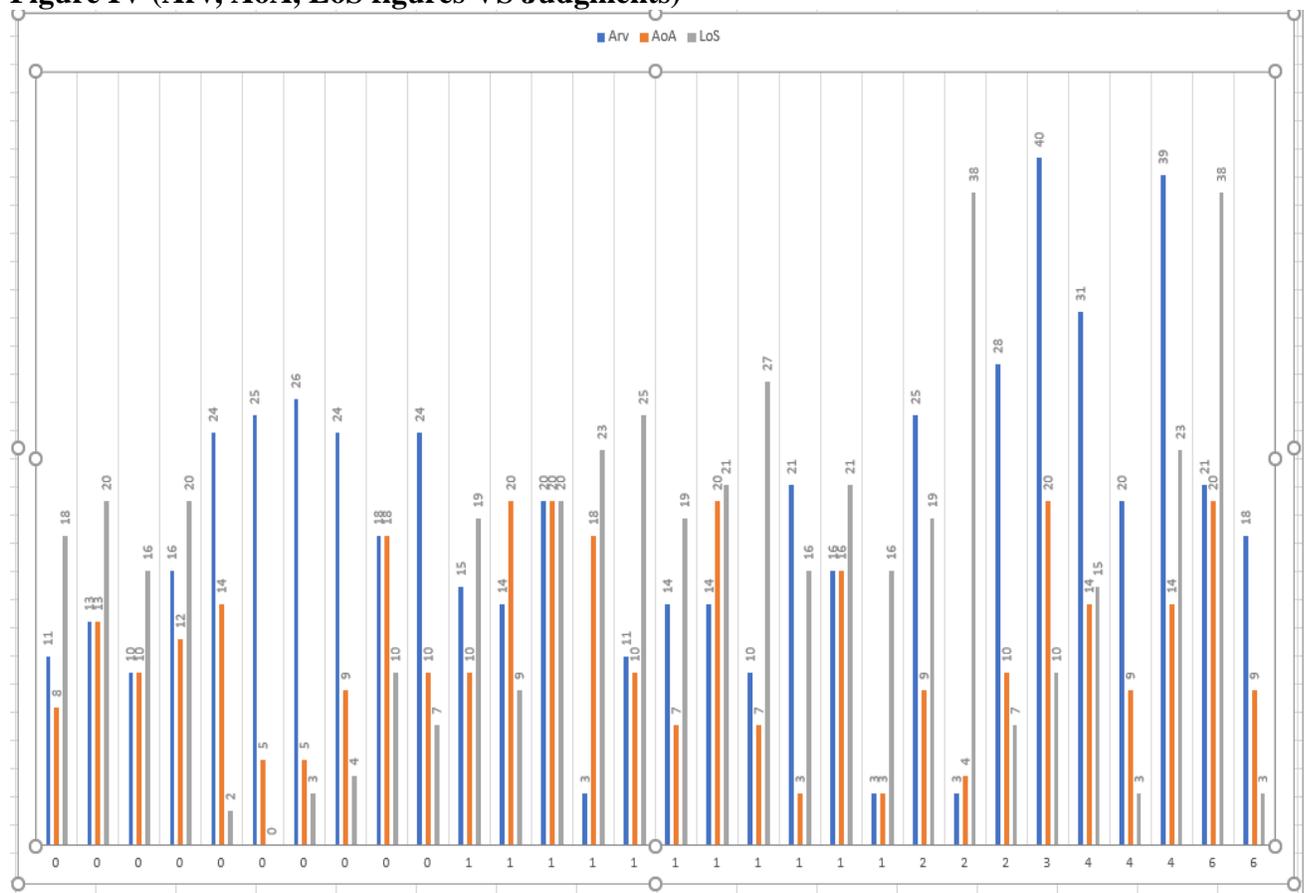
After a thorough and detailed analysis of the phenomenon in question, combined with a

fine-grained study based on grammaticality judgments, we are now equipped to deal with the

questions formulated at the onset of our endeavor. The next section we will directly confront the

question of UG and its role in the acquisition process delineated above.

4. Discussion

4.1. *What is the initial state of the acquisition process: the semantic reflex of the English PP from Albanian learners?*

The initial state of the acquisition process "is variously used to mean the kind of unconscious linguistic knowledge that the L2 learner starts out with in advance of the L2 input and/or to refer to characteristics of the earliest grammar" (White, 2003). We have put forward the idea that the initial state for L1A is UG, as proposed by Chomsky (1981). The difference in L2A is that, parameters of functional categories (i.e., formal features), like in our case with the semantic nature of the PP, are already set. Functional heads like the PP participle would come endowed with the feature +perfective, and its presence in like constructions, would take the form of the Albanian paradigm rather than the English. Does our data show that? In order to answer that question, we must look at participant answers who have recently arrived to the USA and did not have much experience with English. Let us look at the information from figure IV in the last section in tabulated form in V below:

Table V (Arv, AoA, LoS figures VS Judgments, Tabulated Form)

	Arv	AoA	LoS	
Albania	0	11	8	18	1
Albania	0	13	13	20	2
Albania	0	10	10	16	3
Albania	0	16	12	20	4
Albania	0	24	14	2	5
Kosovo	0	25	5	0	6
Kosovo	0	26	5	3	7
Albania	0	24	9	4	8
Albania	0	18	18	10	9
Albania	0	24	10	7	10
Albania	1	15	10	19	11
Kosovo	1	14	20+	9	12
Albania	1	20	20+	20	13
Albania	1	3	18	23	14
Kosovo	1	11	10	25	15
Kosovo	1	14	7	19	16
Shkoder	1	14	20+	21	17
Albania	1	10	7	27	18
Albania	1	21	3	16	19
Albania	1	16	16	21	20
Albania	1	3	3	16	21
Albania	2	25	9	19	22
Montene	2	3	4	38	23
Albania	2	28	10	7	24
Albania	3	40	20+	10	25
Albania	4	31	14	15	26
Albania	4	20	9	3	27
Albania	4	39	14	23	28
Montene	6	21	20+	38	29
Kosovo	6	18	9	3	30

From the above table we try to pick two types of participants who would have some bearing information to our question. From the experimental group we pick those who have had the shortest LoS combined to the oldest AoA. Participants who have the same figure for these two variables, e.g., people who have started learning English at the same time they have arrived in the US, are almost impossible to find; hence, we will make do with the ones who have the

closest values to the variable we need. Participant number 27, 30, 8 and 5 come closest to these criteria. The other group we chose, were the participants who did show Albanian formal features for their English functional category, participants 29, 28, 26, 25, and 22. We chose the last group by having as a standard a minimum of two wrong judgments, but discounting the error with the adverbial modifier *until*. The figures for these two groups are plotted in table (VI).

Table VI (Initial State Participants)

		Arv	AoA	LoS			His	Use	Pro	Ati
27	Albania	4	20	9	3		-68.918	33A	2A	11A	23A
30	Kosovo	6	18	9	3		-28.962	22A	9E	10A	7A
8	Albania	0	24	9	4		-58.108	19A	11A	11A	41A
5	Albania	0	24	14	2		6.826	34A	44E	0	2A
29	Montene	6	21	20+	38		-39.498	3A	0	27A	10A
28	Albania	4	39	14	23		-31.236	15A	2A	14A	0
26	Albania	4	31	14	15		-21.608	19A	6E	11A	2E
25	Albania	3	40	20+	10		-108.236	38A	7A	25A	39A
22	Albania	2	25	9	19		0.278	17A	16E	0	2E

For the first group of responses we can see that participants 27 and 30 seem to have Albanian features active for the participle, judging sentences with the modifier erroneously four and six out of seven times respectively. On the other hand, participants 8 and 5 did not make the same mistakes, correctly judging the exercise with native like precision. Why did the first two participants show transfer (and therefore an Albanian-like initial state) and the other two did not? A partial answer would be overall English dominance for participant number five, who's *use* dominance is quite strong. What about participant number 8, who shows low AoA, short LoS and strong Albanian dominance? A few reasons can account for this participant's judgments. Obviously the BLP asks very general questions about AoA, mainly the initiation date. What it does not account for, is the quality of the acquisition experience. While some might learn a language through school, others might learn it through more immersive experiences, which tends to have better outcomes. These figures might not disprove the fact that the L1 features are the

underlying initial state, but rather show the limitations of the BLP to account for such variances. Obviously, we can also be dealing with experimental errors or misrepresentations. Let us look at the other group of participants next.

Those few test subjects who did erroneously judge the PP in a manner that was non-native like are listed in the 2nd part of table (VI). Similar reasons stipulated for the results above can be reiterated in the outcomes of this group. Strong Albanian dominance prevails, even though we are now dealing with extensive LoSs. Combined with dominance figures, we also see older ages of arrival and acquisition. These figures represent profiles, similar to many of those in USA neighborhoods, that are predominantly of a specific culture, and provide a buffer for the individuals from meaningful L2 experience. In such cases we see a retainment of L1 features, which hint to an initial state originating from L1. The one individual that we need to account for is participant 22, who seems to be English dominant, even though marginally so. We notice that 22, even though they did not perform native-like, they had much less mistakes than the rest of the participants. This can be accounted for by their low AoA and marginal English dominance. Figures partially support the stipulations that the initial state of acquisition originates from L1 formal features, especially if similar forms are at play. This leads us to the next question which in many ways is similar to this one.

4.2. _Is there transfer from the L1 Albanian to the L2 English functional category?_

As we stated before, in generativist terms, transfer involves the superimposing of L1 features on similar L2 categories, like in our case of the perfect participle. The feature that is transferred is perfectivity, made visible by the availability of the PPP time specific adverb. If we have such a phenomenon in play, we should see false positive judgments of PPP construction. In

the data we collected, there were a few circumstances in which we saw evidence of transfer.

Table (VII) collects these data.

Table VII (Transfer Participants)

		Dom	His	Use	Pro	Ati		Arv	AoA	LoS	
	2	0.278	17A	16E	0	2E	Albania	25	9	19	22
	3	-108.236	38A	7A	25A	39A	Albania	40	20+	10	25
	4	-21.608	19A	6E	11A	2E	Albania	31	14	15	26
	4	-68.918	33A	2A	11A	23A	Albania	20	9	3	27
	4	-31.236	15A	2A	14A	0	Albania	39	14	23	28
	6	-39.498	3A	0	27A	10A	Monteneg	21	20+	38	29
	6	-28.962	22A	9E	10A	7A	Kosovo	18	9	3	30

The primary thing to notice in the above table is that, most participants are Albanian dominant

with negative figures for the Dom column, except for participant number 22, who again, gave

non-native like results but still performed much better than the rest. This group is also

characterized by high (AoA)s, high (Arv)s, and a couple of short (LoS)s, like 27 and 30. A

marginal but maybe important observation is also that, the two participants who showed the most

transfer and had the highest amount of incorrect judgments, were from Geg speaking parts of

Albanian territories, Kosovo and Montenegro. Two characteristics of these communities are that,

first, as we mentioned in the analysis of the PP in section two, the Geg dialect seems to have a

stronger proclivity for the preterit interpretation of the PP than the Tosk, maybe correlating to

some judgment results. The other is that they are predominant cultures that have set up

neighborhoods of Geg speaking communities, which translates to more retention and probably

transfer. In general, both communities show some transfer from L1 to L2.

But what we must account for also, are the rest of the participants, who had almost native

like responses. These are listed in table VIII below. From that table we extract the ones that are

not English dominant, like the first group, and we are left with the participants in Table (IX).

From table (IX), we can see that what can account for their English like performance is the

dominance in their use, which shown in column number five. The only ones that are not accounted for by the category of use dominance are participants 7,8, and 24. The only variable that can account for their lack of transfer is their relatively low AoA, 5, 9, and 10 respectively. Having started at such a young age their L2A, their functional categories and formal features must have adapted to the L2, not showing the intermediate step, at the present moment, the L1 interpretation of L2 functional categories. This leads us to our next question about the accessibility of UG.

Table VIII (No-Transfer Participants)

AoA	Dom	His	Use	Pro	Ati		Arv	AoA	LoS	
8	96.804	16E	30E	41E	10E	Albania	11	8	18	1
13	89.69	9A	28E	14E	6E	Albania	13	13	20	2
10	31.608	1E	26E	4E	0	Albania	10	10	16	3
12	18.532	10A	24E	5E	0	Albania	16	12	20	4
14	6.826	34A	44E	0	2A	Albania	24	14	2	5
5	-50.206	36A	17E	2A	30A	Kosovo	25	5	0	6
5	-53.122	31A	11A	0	11A	Kosovo	26	5	3	7
9	-53.108	19A	11A	11A	41A	Albania	24	9	4	8
18	-12.164	14A	15E	2E	8A	Albania	18	18	10	9
10	-93.704	32A	4E	18A	48A	Albania	24	10	7	10
10	-17.068	14A	7E	0	9A	Albania	15	10	19	11
20+	-64.194	34A	4E	11A	23A	Kosovo	14	20+	9	12
20+	-14.974	23A	22E	0	14A	Albania	20	20+	20	13
18	-15.792	13A	16E	0	20A	Albania	3	18	23	14
10	27.702	6E	22E	2E	2A	Kosovo	11	10	25	15
7	24.98	2A	27E	0	0	Kosovo	14	7	19	16
20+	21.618	3A	21E	9E	5E	Shkoder	14	20+	21	17
7	77.65	2E	44E	18E	13E	Albania	10	7	27	18
3	67.208	1E	44E	20E	3E	Albania	21	3	16	19
16	57.4	11A	39E	16E	14E	Albania	16	16	21	20
3	5.63	5E	1E	0	0	Albania	3	3	16	21
4	103.894	21E	45E	20E	16E	Montene	3	4	38	23
10	74.01	25A	22A	0	27A	Albania	28	10	7	24

Table IX (Non-English Dominant No-Transfer Participants)

AoA	Dom	His	Use	Pro	Ati		Arv	AoA	LoS	
0 5	-50.206	36A	17E	2A	30A	Kosovo	0 25	5	0	6
0 5	-53.122	31A	11A	0	11A	Kosovo	0 26	5	3	7
0 9	-58.108	19A	11A	11A	41A	Albania	0 24	9	4	8
0 18	-12.164	14A	15E	2E	8A	Albania	0 18	18	10	9
0 10	-93.704	32A	4E	18A	48A	Albania	0 24	10	7	10
1 10	-17.068	14A	7E	0	9A	Albania	1 15	10	19	11
1 20+	-64.194	34A	4E	11A	23A	Kosovo	1 14	20+	9	12
1 20+	-14.974	23A	22E	0	14A	Albania	1 20	20+	20	13
1 18	-16.792	13A	16E	0	20A	Albania	1 3	18	23	14
2 10	-74.01	25A	22A	0	27A	Albania	2 28	10	7	24

4.3. *Does the learning process show access to UG through instantiating new formal features under the conditions of underdetermination?*

We have now come to the main section of this thesis. Do we have reason to believe that something beyond what is observable is at play in acquiring the properties of the English PP? Findings of this kind form the basis of arguments in favor of UG. Recall White's (2003) prerequisites for underdetermination restated below:

i.   The phenomenon being investigated must be underdetermined by the L2 input. That is, it must not be something that could be acquired by observation of the L2 input, including statistical inferencing based on frequency of occurrence, on the basis of analogy, or on the basis of instruction.

ii.   The phenomenon should work differently in the L1 and the L2. That is, it must be underdetermined by the L1 grammar as well. In this way, transfer of surface properties can be ruled out as an explanation of any knowledge that L2 learners attain.

We have demonstrated the fulfillment of the 1st precondition. The 2nd precondition is also upheld by the analyses of the PP and CP constructions in section 2; which demonstrated not only that the participles of L1 and L2 are different, but not superficially so. There is nothing obvious in input where learners can derive the ungrammaticality of the PPP in English, if Albanian forms are their initial learning tools. These conditions do not assist in any way the acquisition of the American English PP. The question is, do we see such acquisition taking place, i.e., an acquisition under the limitations of underdetermination from both L2 and L1? The

response is a resounding yes! We saw that only seven of the 30 participants did not seem to have

acquired the reflexes of the PP. For the rest of the participants, they seemed to have native-

English-like intuitions for the aspectual nature of the construction, demonstrating acquisition of

an L2 semantic reflex that is underdetermined and also absent in the L1. These results support

the idea that a language specific cognitive faculty might be at play in the acquisition of the

underspecified functional feature of the American English PP. What can we say about the

participants who did not show the semantic reflexes? This issue will be discussed in the next

section.

4.4. *Presuming a positive answer to the 3rd question, are there age effects regarding the accessibility of UG for the acquisition of the semantic reflexes in the event structure of the PP.*

In section one we juxtaposed the Critical Period hypothesis with age effects and

stipulated that the latter is more appropriate in characterizing L2A. Critical periods have the

downside of being fatalistic and strict, deriving their logic from biological accounts of

development. In L2A a mixture of ingredients seems to be at play, including biology and

experience. This interplay of variables is characterized by more wide-ranging results, which can

be accounted for only through postulating variant dynamic age effects. Are there any age effects

for this process of UG access and reparameterization? In order to answer this question, we must

look at the judgment numbers from our experiment and compare them to the variable of age of

acquisition and age of arrival to the US.

Chart X below plots the numbers of correct judgments with the AoA:

Chart X (AoA VS Judgments)

AoA
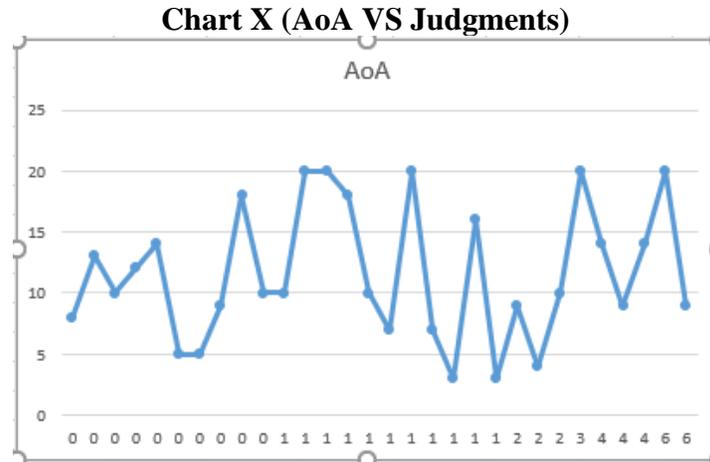
We can see that, contrary to a lot of literature that deems AoA as fundamental variable for L2A, there does not seem to be a strong correlation between correct judgment and AoA. We must keep in mind that AoAs above 20 are only plotted at 20. Four out of the lowest six participants had AoA numbers commensurate to most of the group, who did not show any age effects. We must grant to the above dataset that the density of past 20 AoA members amongst the highest six is much higher than the density of that same age group in the range of the first 14 native-like participants, meaning that there is a higher likelihood of fossilization of forms at older age, something that can be deemed as an age effect. What might be some other origins of the participants' non-English like responses? Let us look again at the numbers plotted against age of arrival Arv in chart XI.

Chart XI (Arv VS Judgments)

Arv
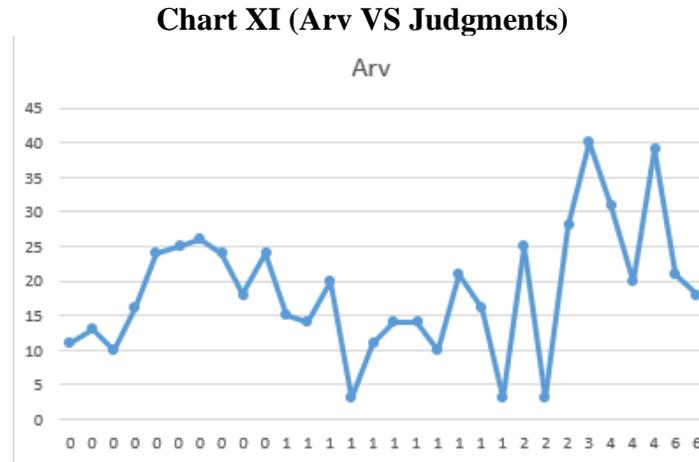
The above graph seems to demonstrate some more correlation between the age of arrival to the US variable and native like judgment. These numbers were taken separately from the BLP, as part of the initial questions to the judgment tests, and when all ages are shown, there seem to be an upward trend as errors increase. Numbers in this graph point at another age effect which stems from the origins of the immersion process to the L2 environment. As we stated before, AoA can only tell us the start of the process but not the quality, while the age of arrival bears information for both variables, quality and time. As any immigrant might tell, the first arrival experience is that of shock, especially that of language and identity. There, the cognitive system is placed at odds with the environment and must at all costs assimilate. It is not a leisurely process like AoA can be; hence its rate of acquisition is predominantly more rapid. But as we can see from chart (VII), seven of the participants with the highest error rate had some of the highest ages of arrival. This constitutes another age effect that leads us to believe that access to the UG seems to be severely hampered past the age of 20-25.

It is worth mentioning however that many other external variables can be at play in the acquisition of this semantic formal feature. Authors like Slabakova (2012) have argued that universal semantic principles are given for free, as long as learners have acquired their syntactic and morphological reflexes. Even though we are not arguing in this paper that the phenomenon

at play is a part of the universal blueprint of semantic composition, the question of acquisition or lack thereof is still open for debate. By this we mean to say that, the lack of resetting of parametric values can be attributed to the attitude and engagement of the learners themselves. The BLP tries in an abstract sense to place a numerical value on the positive or negative attitudes of the participants regarding their L1 and L2. The last seven participants had BLP scores that indicated Albanian dominance in their personal attitude regarding the language. The BLP scores for those participants are shown below. Recall that A indicates Albanian dominance, E English dominance, and 0 means balanced bilinguals.

Table XII (Attitude Dominance)

27A
39A
2E
23A
0
10A
7A

From the table above there seem to be amongst them a general predominance of caring more about their native language being part of their identity, than English. This is not uncommon amongst immigrants, especially the ones that come at older ages, as most of these members from the last group did. One can conclude that, it might not be an age effect per se, that is responsible for the lack of acquisition and formal shift. We believe that it is most probably the merit of these external factors, rather than lack of access to UG, that has prevented these participants from changing their formal understanding of their PP. A cultural buffer zone, both in the environment and attitude of learners, can create what is known in SLA literature as fossilization of language. The figures above only reveal a potential tendency, much more fine-grained research needs to be done in order to unveil the details of the acquisition process. We have only demonstrated in this

paper general trends that support certain maxims of UG and second language acquisition.

5. **Conclusions**

5.1. *Full Access to UG.*

In this section we will take into consideration some implications regarding the acquisition process while stipulating a UG framework. To reiterate, the task facing learners is that of transforming the temporal formal features of the functional category aspect, more specifically, the participle head in the syntactic tree. The PP and CP constructions do not have enough noticeable differences to independently lead learners towards their acquisition through input alone. What, then, are the qualities of the English PP construction that distinguish it from the Albanian CP? Note that finding such differences does not weaken the argument for undetermination from earlier; the differences between the two forms stand in contrast to many similarities, so from input alone, there is no reason for learners to look away from the similarities and use the difference in judging the acceptability of the target sentences.

The structural differences which we primarily focus on are the placement of adverbial modifiers and their effect on their respective predicates. The phenomenon in question is the finding from our experiment that Albanian learners of English have internalized the reflex of rejecting PPP constructions. We have argued thus fare that this reflex is developed in spite of the underdetermined conditions, meaning that similarities between the two structures vastly outweigh their differences. Furthermore, differences are very complex and not obvious. If there is a language device along the lines of UG, it would theoretically be responsible for noticing such fine-grained differences. To extend the fact that such differences might be at the heart of the acquisition process is a very fare stretch, but below I list some of these interesting divergencies which observe non-language-specific rules.

In section 2.3 we saw that the Albanian CP is infelicitous with U-perfect forcing adverb like *always* into the construction. Crucially however, moving this adverb further down the compositional hierarchy fixes the problem.

(40)   a.   *Arditi ka gjithmon jetuar në Tiran.
                     Ardit has always   lived in Tiran.
         b.   Arditi ka jetuar gjithmon në Tiran.
                     Ardit has lived always   in Tiran.

Following the logic presented by Iatridou et al., (2001), U-perfects are never universal unless forced by an adverb. Furthermore, these adverbs can appear in two syntactic positions. The adverbs that appear higher are termed perfect level (PL) adverbs, and the adverbs that appear lower, are eventuality level (EL) adverbs. The former are situated below tense and the latter below the participle. One test that reveals the level of the adverbial interpretation, is the necessity for perfect morphology when using it. The sentences in 41 show this necessity with the adverb *since*.

(41)   a.   I have been sick since yesterday.
         b.   *I am sick since yesterday
         c.   *I was sick since 1990.

Because the perfect is necessary for *since,* it is deemed to be a PL adverb. If we transplant these findings to Albanian, we get some interesting readings. We said that the adverb *always* in Albanian could not be perfect level because, just like in Greek, it leads to ungrammaticality. In English *always* can be either a PL or an EL adverb. When such option is available for U-forcing adverb like *always*, Albanian restricts its use only to the EL to be compatible with the CP. What about an adverb like *since,* which is argued from English to be PL, but does not necessitate a U-reading. Because in Albanian *since* requires CP morphology, like in English, it is interpreted higher in the tree, leading to a quirk. Since the CP is incompatible with U-readings, using this adverb, calls for the changing the participle to neutral present, giving access to U-perfect

readings.

> (42)   Ti   ke   që   dje   qe   vrapon.
>   You have since yesterday that run.
>   You have been running since yesterday.

In the example above, the necessary PL positioning of the adverb, enables the possibility of the

U-reading. *Since* delineates the left boundary through its argument but does not specify an

inclusive or durative interpretations (E/U reading). If you were to add *po (the progressive*

marker) to *vrapon (run)*, you would necessitate a U-perfect reading.

> (43)   Ti   ke   që   dje   që   **po** vrapon..
>   You have since yesterday that (ING) run.
>   You have been running ever since yesterday.

The adverb *since* is PL when its form allows for U-readings but does not necessitate them. On

the other hand, if you change *since* to its U-forcing form, *ever since*, we see it acting like *always*,

i.e., ungrammatical when in PL position, but felicitous at the EL.

> (44)   Ai ka jetuar në NY qe   kur ishte i   vogël.
>   He has lived in NY since ever was AGR young.

> (45)   *Ai ka që   kur ishte   i   vogel jetuar në NY
>   He has since ever was   AGR young lived in NY.

It seems that in Albanian u-forcing adverbs are only felicitous in the EL of composition and

never surface as U-perfect readings, because of their placement. However, the adverbs that are

necessarily PL, and are open to U-readings but don't necessitate them, like *since*, force the

change in the form of the participle, eliminating the possibility of the perfective participle and

calling for the complementizer structure like in the example above.

One can argue that the positive evidence of PL U-forcing adverbs in English resonates to

the language device the fact that the participle and therefore the PP is not to be interpreted perfectively. An adverb that enables/forces U-readings can not compose syntactically at the PL with a perfective participle; theoretically, the learners can unconsciously derive this interpretation of the English participle strictly through exposure to U-forcing adverbs and their placement.

All the above data can stand as a partial argument for re-formation of functional categories. The allowance/necessity of different predicates for varied level adverbs, and their respective different structures in the two languages, instigates, for the language acquisition device, a necessity for redefinition of the participle, more specifically the time stamp that it imprints on the predicate. A perfective participle cannot have a U-perfect interpretation as hinted by the restricted positioning of the U-forcing adverb, or its restructuring of the participle through the complementizer, in Albanian. An underspecified participle, like that of English, allows for U-readings as it is hinted by the allowed PL position of the U-forcing adverb, and crucially, does not allow position definite adverbs to occur with it, i.e., has the PP puzzle. This correlation might not have necessarily a causative relationship, but it can indirectly trigger participial re-formation during SLA. This is a theoretical leap which needs much more support than given in this paper. Some pieces of this puzzle are presented here, more work is needed to have a clear picture.

The logic presented above can be a generative narrative of the presumed underspecified acquisition process. Its internal reasoning relies predominantly on structural means to justify the triggering of the re-formation of the functional category aspect. We have focused on a very specific phenomenon to extrapolate larger theoretical implications; hence, more research is needed to solidify such an argument. Thus far, we have followed the full access thread of UG availability, which stipulates UG is always available in the process of formal restructuring,

especially of cross linguistically non-analogous forms.

Lastly, we must tackle a very important wrinkle presented by the data of our experiment; mainly, the fact that one specific adverb, *until*, showed very different results compared to the rest. Adverbial modifier *until,* received twice as many incorrect judgments of grammaticality than its second highest predecessor. A total of 14 out of 30 participants had no issue with *until* modifying the PP. Compared to the native speaker group, from which only one participant judged it to be grammatical, the bilinguals performed drastically differently, both in comparison to the native speakers, and most importantly, compared to their judgments of the other time-specific adverbials. I have little to say at this point about this finding. A likely explanation, but one that must await further work, is that *until* has a different semantics from other adverbs, e.g. in its polarity-sensitivity, durativity, etc.

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Appendix A

Bilingual Language Profile: English-Albanian

We would like to ask you to help us by answering the following questions concerning your language history, use, attitudes, and proficiency. This survey was created with support from the Center for Open Educational Resources and Language Learning at the University of Texas at Austin to better understand the profiles of bilingual speakers in diverse settings with diverse backgrounds. The survey consists of 19 questions and will take less than 10 minutes to complete. This is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers. Please answer every question and give your answers sincerely. Thank you very much for your help.

I. Biographical Information

Name _____ Today's
Date _____/_____/_____

Age_____   ☐ Male ☑ Female ☐ Other | Current place of residence:
city/state_____   country_____

Highest level of formal education	☐ Less than high school	☐ High school	☐
Some college			
	☐ College (B.A., B.S.)	☐ Some graduate school	
Masters			
	☐ PhD/MD/JD	☐ Other: _____	

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II. Language history
In this section, we would like you to answer some factual questions about your language history by placing a check in the appropriate box.

1. At what age did you **start learning** the following languages?

English
Since birth · 1 · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20+

Albanian
Since birth · 1 · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20+

2. At what age did you **start to feel comfortable** using the following languages?

English
As early as I can remember · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20+ · not yet

Albanian
As early as I can remember · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20+ · not yet

3. How many years of **classes (grammar, history, math, etc.)** have you had in the following languages (primary school through university)

English
0 · 1 · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20+

Albanian
0 · 1 · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20+

4. How many years have you spent in a **country/region** where the following languages are spoken?

English
0 · 1 · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20+

Albanian
0 · 1 · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20+

5. How many years have you spent in a **family** where the following languages are spoken?

English
0 · 1 · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20+

Albanian
0 · 1 · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20+

6. How many years have you spent in a **work environment** where the following languages are spoken?

English
0 · 1 · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20+

Albanian
0 · 1 · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20+

III. Language use
In this section, we would like you to answer some questions about your language use by placing a check in the appropriate box. <u>**Total use for all languages in a given question should equal 100%.**</u>

7. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use the following languages **with friends**?

English	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%
Albanian	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%
Other languages	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%

8. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use the following languages **with family**?

English	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%
Albanian	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%
Other languages	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%

9. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use the following languages **at school/work**?

English	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%
Albanian	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%
Other languages	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%

10. When you talk to yourself, how often do you **talk to yourself** in the following languages?

English	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%
Albanian	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%
Other languages	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%

11. When you count, how often do you **count** in the following languages?

English	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%
Albanian	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%
Other languages	☐ 0%	☐ 10%	☐ 20%	☐ 30%	☐ 40%	☐ 50%	☐ 60%	☐ 70%	☐ 80%	☐ 90%	☐ 100%

IV. Language proficiency
In this section, we would like you to rate your language proficiency by giving marks from 0 to 6.

0=not well at all   6=very well

12. a. How well do you speak **English**? ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

    b. How well do you speak **Albanian**? ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

13. a. How well do you understand **English**? ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

    b. How well do you understand **Albanian**? ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

14. a. How well do you read **English**? ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

    b. How well do you read **Albanian**? ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

15. a. How well do you write **English**? ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

    b. How well do you write **Albanian**? ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

V. Language attitudes
In this section, we would like you to respond to statements about language attitudes by giving marks from 0-6.

0=disagree   6=agree

16. a. I feel like myself when I speak **English**. ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

    b. I feel like myself when I speak **Albanian**. ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

17. a. I identify with an **English-speaking** culture. ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

    b. I identify with a **Albanian -speaking** culture. ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

18. a. It is important to me to use (or eventually use) **English** like a native speaker. ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

    b. It is important to me to use (or eventually use) **Albanian** like a native speaker. ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

19. a. I want others to think I am a native speaker of **English**. ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

    b. I want others to think I am a native speaker of **Albanian**. ☐0 ☐1 ☐2 ☐3 ☐4 ☐5 ☐6

Appendix B

Grammaticality Judgment Test For Bilinguals

NAME:

PROFILE QUESTIONS:

1. Where were you born?

2. Where did you spend your childhood and adolescence?

3. At what age did you arrive to the US?

4. On a scale from 0 (not well at all) to 6 (very well), how well do you speak Albanian?

5. Using the same scale, how well do you speak English?

6. Using the same scale, how well do you understand Albanian?

7. Using the same scale, how well do you understand English?

8. What languages, other than Albanian and English, are you familiar with?

9. In each of these languages, how would you rate your overall proficiency (beginner, intermediate, advanced, near-native, or native)?

Exercise:
The sentences below were written by English speakers of varied proficiencies, from beginner to native. Please read each sentence, taking as much time as you need, and categorize them in the following manner: unacceptable Of ENGLISH (X), grammatical (G), I can't tell (#).

Version A

Example:

The plane will stop in Prishtina yesterday (X)

The plane will stop in Prishtina tomorrow. (G)

Practice:

1) The prices in NYC are outrageously high.

2) They works in the city since last month.

3) Bill has recently left the building.

Questionnaire:

1) Bill has been in Paris before.

2) Last year, Tony has left his job.

3) The prices in NYC are outrageously high.

4) The weather is very cold in Chicago.

5) Ten years ago, when James has finished school, the classes have been more difficult.

6) Yesterday, Mary came to John's office at six. But John had left already

7) Bill has arrived on Monday in New York.

8) Bill left her car.

9) Mary has left her husband ten years ago.

10) Finally, the singer started the show.

11) When has John been in Rome?

12) Portugal won the European cup before.

13) The men slept well.

14) Yesterday, John has left his children.

15) Mary but John are in Italy tomorrow.

16) Last year, when Tom has worked at the factory, the output was better.

17) Jim will have left his home.

18) He left tomorrow for Paris.

19) Josh has lived in Italy until 2010.

20) Mary will continue the course yesterday.

21) John has just arrived.

22) The king sold weapons to the militia from 2006 to 2012.

23) Ralph had left his job.

24) Yesterday, Mary came to John's office at seven. But John had left at six.

Version B

Example:

The plane will stop in Prishtina yesterday (X)

The plane will stop in Prishtina tomorrow. (G)

Practice:

1) The prices in NYC are outrageously high.

2) They works in the city since last month.

3) Bill has recently left the building.

Questionnaire:

1) Mary has left her husband ten years ago.

2) Finally, the singer started the show.

3) When has John been in Rome?

4) Portugal won the European cup before.

5) The men slept well.

6) Yesterday, John has left his children.

7) Mary but John are in Italy tomorrow.

8) Last year, when Tom has worked at the factory, the output was better.

9) Jim will have left his home.

10) He left tomorrow for Paris.

11) Josh has lived in Italy until 2010.

12) Bill has been in Paris before.

13) Last year, Tony has left his job.

14) The prices in NYC are outrageously high.

15) The weather is very cold in Chicago.

16) Ten years ago, when James has finished school, the classes have been more difficult.

17) Yesterday, Mary came to John's office at six. But John had left already

18) Bill has arrived on Monday in New York.

19) Bill left her car.

20) Mary will continue the course yesterday.

21) John has just arrived.

22) The king sold weapons to the militia from 2006 to 2012.

23) Ralph had left his job.

24) Yesterday, Mary came to John's office at seven. But John had left at six.

Version C

Example:

The plane will stop in Prishtina yesterday (X)

The plane will stop in Prishtina tomorrow. (G)

Practice:

1) The prices in NYC are outrageously high.

2) They works in the city since last month.

3) Bill has recently left the building.

Questionnaire:

1) Bill has been in Paris before.

2) Last year, Tony has left his job.

3) The prices in NYC are outrageously high.

4) The weather is very cold in Chicago.

5) Ten years ago, when James has finished school, the classes have been more difficult.

6) Yesterday, Mary came to John's office at six. But John had left already

7) Bill has arrived on Monday in New York.

8) Bill left her car.

9) Mary will continue the course yesterday.

10) John has just arrived.

11) The king sold weapons to the militia from 2006 to 2012.

12) Ralph had left his job.

13) Yesterday, Mary came to John's office at seven. But John had left at six.

14) Mary has left her husband ten years ago.

15) Finally, the singer started the show.

16) When has John been in Rome?

17) Portugal won the European cup before.

18) The men slept well.

19) Yesterday, John has left his children.

20) Mary but John are in Italy tomorrow.

21) Last year, when Tom has worked at the factory, the output was better.

22) Jim will have left his home.

23) He left tomorrow for Paris.

24) Josh has lived in Italy until 2010.

Appendix C

English Monolingual Test

Exercise:
The sentences below are of a specific tense. Please read each sentence, taking as much time as you need, and categorize them in the following manner: ungrammatical (X), grammatical (G), I can't tell (#).

Example:

The plain will stop in Boston yesterday (X)

The plain will stop in Boston tomorrow. (G)

1) I had had too much alcohol to remember

2) On Tuesday, they had missed the plane.

3) John has left his wife yesterday.

4) The general was caught by the enemy.

5) John has left for Boston early every Sunday.

6) Mary has been tall.

7) Last year Bill has left his job.

8) Bill had fought well in every match.

9) Last week has been very cold.

10) Bill has recently joined the Army.

11) He has left today at three.

12) They would have had the cup in three years.

13) The bus that had come before noon was empty.

14) Tony has arrived yesterday in New York.

15) My brother will be going home on Monday.

16) Last year, when Bob has worked at the factory, the output was better.

17) Sara has lived in Italy until 2010.

18) Ted has left his wife some ten years ago.

19) The moon had been part of the earth a long time ago.

20) Ten years ago, when Bryan has graduated from university, the classes have been more difficult.