

# Verbal Agreement in Second Language Acquisition: The Case of Object Pronouns in French

Claire Renaud  
Indiana University

## 1. Introduction

Native English-speaking learners of French often produce morphological mismatches of person and number in the environment of pre-posed object pronouns. Sentences of the type in (1)-(3) have been observed in spontaneous production.

- (1) C'est nécessaire que nous les *instruisent* à gardé ces finances en sécurité!  
it is necessary that we them-ACC instruct-3PL-SUBJ to kept [sic] those finances in security  
Target sentence: C'est nécessaire que nous les **instruisions** à garder ces finances en sécurité!  
(Classroom observation, written production, Spring 2006, 6<sup>th</sup> semester)
- (2) Il nous *avons* présenté à ses amis.  
He us have-1PL-PRES introduced to his friends.  
Target sentence: Il nous **a** présenté à ses amis.  
(Classroom observation, fill-in the blanks, Spring 2007, 4<sup>th</sup> semester)
- (3) Ils l'ont accueilli et lui *est* offert quelque nourriture.  
they him-ACC have-3PL-PRES welcomed and him-ACC is-3SG-PRES offered some food  
Target sentence: Ils l'ont accueilli et lui **ont** offert quelque nourriture.  
(Classroom observation, written production, Spring 2007, 4<sup>th</sup> semester)

A number of studies (e.g., Bock & Eberhard, 1993; Hartsuiker, Anton-Mendez, & Van Zee, 2001) have investigated the processing of agreement in several languages, including English, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and French. These agreement studies have primarily examined the subject position containing two adjacent nouns, which did not match in number, and researchers observed an asymmetry in the error pattern, with the plurality of the local noun—the noun closest to the verb—increasing the number of errors.

Whereas many studies have looked at the acquisition and nature of clitics in French (Herschensohn, 2004; Sportiche, 1995; White, 1996), very few, if any, have been interested in verbal agreement with the pre-posed object clitic in second language (L2) learners of French. The goal of the present study is to attempt to determine the status of subject-verb agreement in learners' knowledge and processing as revealed by sentences as in (1)-(3): Do L2 learners accept sentences containing subject-verb agreement at all? Do L2 learners have knowledge of agreement mechanisms in French, or does their interlanguage rely on different mechanisms? In other words, in the case of the production of sentences such as in (1), do L2 learners reveal a mapping problem at the surface level—thus a performance breakdown—or do they lack the structural representations altogether—suggesting a lack of competence? Furthermore, do L2 learners interpret the object pronoun as a subject in cases such as in (1)? If so, how do they interpret the subject, which is always expressed in French?

## 2. L2 Inflectional Hypotheses

The data from the current study will be used to test the explanatory potential of two competing hypotheses, each of which predicts a different outcome for L2 learners. One considers this subject-verb agreement mismatch as a performance breakdown, whereas the other posits that learners resort to problem-solving strategies.

## 2.1 *The Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis*

Hazdenar and Schwartz (1997) examined the production data of a Turkish speaking child learning English as a L2 in a longitudinal manner. The authors concluded that the absence of verbal morphology in this child's production was not equivalent to the absence of abstract categories altogether, rather it resulted from the absence of the surface manifestation of inflection, which they called Missing inflection hypothesis. Prévost and White (2000) investigated the production data from two Moroccan-Arabic learners of French and two L2 learners of German, native speakers of Spanish and Portuguese. Prévost and White found that there was morphological variability: Finite and nonfinite verb forms co-occurred. Nonetheless, the distribution of finite and non-finite form was not random: Finite forms raised above negation, for instance, as required in French and German, whereas nonfinite forms appeared both in raised and in low positions in the sentence. Hence, Prévost and White expanded the term to "Missing surface inflection hypothesis" (MSIH), to stress the fact that it only concerns a surface level and that the abstract morphosyntactic features are present.

In a longitudinal study of an adult Chinese speaking learner of L2 English, Lardiere (1998) observed an asymmetry between the acquired syntax and the production of past tense morphology. The learner's production suggested difficulties of "feature-to-form mapping" (p. 22) at the level of the phonetic form due to the complexity of "mapping" for English verbs. Lardiere stated:

The most coherent explanation for the L2 data is that ... learners already have knowledge of functional categories and features via language knowledge...; the problem lies in figuring out how (and whether) to spell out morphologically the categories they already represent syntactically, i.e. the 'mapping problem'. (2000, p.121)

Thus, the MSIH predicts that, although the abstract agreement mechanisms are intact, there will be a performance breakdown at the surface level: Learners cannot access the relevant morphology. In other words, the representations are intact but the computation breaks down. Applying this hypothesis to the morphological mismatch investigated here, this would predict that the learners are fully aware that the subject is the agent of the verb but, when a pronoun intervenes between the subject and the verb, the excess of computation will trigger an erroneous agreement with the object pronoun, or even an agreement that has no referent in the sentence: L2 learners will be unable to retrieve the agreement marker they need. Thus, the outcome of this computational overload is interpreted as a performance breakdown according to the MSIH.

## 2.2 *The Impaired Representation Hypothesis*

The Impaired representation hypothesis (IRH) assumes an impairment "either globally or locally, at the level of functional categories or features" (Prévost & White, 2000, p.110): Learners lack functional categories, features, or feature strength, suggesting an issue of competence.

Assuming global impairment, Meisel (1997) stated that L2 grammars completely lack agreement, and that verb placement is not related to finiteness. He considered that L2 interlanguages are not constrained by Universal Grammar (UG) but rather that L2 adults make use of linear sequencing strategies. In a less extreme view, Beck (1998) and Eubank (1993/1994) suggested local impairment. Both argued that feature strength is impaired in L2 interlanguage, and that the interlanguage is not constrained by UG, so L2 learners' interlanguage could be rogue. Thus, L2 learners do not have access to parameters settings. In the Fundamental difference hypothesis (FDH), Bley-Vroman (1990) also supposed that there is no access to UG for L2 adult learners, as access to UG is subject to the critical period. Hence, L2 learners rely on the parameters posited for their L1 or resort to domain-general problem-solving skills (i.e., strategies).

Under the IRH and the FDH, because the mechanisms necessary for checking agreement features are lacking, the agreement mismatches are easily explained. These hypotheses would predict that a so-called correct verb-subject agreement would result from a random selection of an agreement marker. However, if the agreement appears not to be random but in fact congruent with the application of an agent interpretation most of the time, these hypotheses will be rejected.

### 3. The Experiment

An experiment testing native English-speaking intermediate learners of French on the types of sentences as in (1)-(3) was conducted. The experiment consisted of three tasks: A screening test, a pencil-and-paper picture matching task, and a judgment task in a moving window format.

#### 3.1 Participants

Fifty-six English-speaking learners of French enrolled at Indiana University participated in this study. There were 29 second semester and 27 fourth semester learners. Participation in the study was voluntary, and each participant was compensated with homework points in their respective French class for their participation. There was a single data collection, which lasted approximately 40 minutes, during which all participants completed all three tasks.

#### 3.2 Tasks

##### 3.2.1 The Screening Test

The screening test was a fill-in-the-blanks exercise. It was administered to select those learners who used some morphology to indicate number and person agreement and who showed knowledge of pronouns in general (i.e., that object and subject clitics differ and that object clitics are placed in front of the verb). Participants were asked to conjugate a verb given in parentheses in the passé composé (past tense). The screening test included five targeted forms all consisting of two pronouns in a row and five distractors consisting of a noun coordinated with a pronoun.

Participants who did not produce a mismatch in the screening test were intended to be excluded from further analysis. Nevertheless, all participants were included in the analysis regardless of their score on the screening test. The reason for this is that almost all learners accepted sentences with both agreements on the pencil and paper task. It was hypothesized that learners who did not produce any mismatch on this screening test might have used explicit grammatical knowledge to complete the exercise. Interestingly, however, when provided with a choice, as in the picture matching task, almost all learners accepted sentences that contained verbal agreement with the object clitic.

Table 1 provides the results for the screening test. The two environments where a ‘mis-agreement’ appeared included *nous* and *vous* in second position: These are ambiguous for nominative, accusative, and dative case.

Table 1. *Answers by Semester for each Context for the Screening Test*

Context	2nd Semester	4th Semester	Total <sup>1</sup>
nous la ____	0/27	0/27	0/54
elle nous ____	17/26	11/25	28/51
nous lui ____	0/27	0/27	0/54
je vous ____	10/26	5/25	15/51
vous me ____	0/22	0/24	0/46

Importantly, Table 1 reveals that learners did not make any errors when the object clitic was in a pronominal form marked for case as in *la* “her,” *lui* “him,” and *me* “me,” which corresponds to the findings in Hartsuiker et al. (2001).

##### 3.2.2 The Picture Matching Task

###### 3.2.2.1 Design and Method

There were several important facts that guided the design of the experiment. The first consideration comes from the pronouns themselves. As illustrated in Table 2, in French, clitics indicate person and number as well as case.

<sup>1</sup> Due to some uninterpretable answers, the total number of sentences for each context varies.

Table 2. *French Pronouns*

Subject		Direct Object		Indirect Object		Strong Pronouns <sup>2</sup>	
je	<i>I</i>	me	<i>me</i>	me	<i>me</i>	moi	<i>me</i>
tu	<i>you</i>	te	<i>you</i>	te	<i>you</i>	toi	<i>you</i>
il / elle / on	<i>he/she</i>	le / la	<i>him/her</i>	lui	<i>him/her</i>	lui / elle	<i>him/her</i>
nous	<i>we</i>	nous	<i>us</i>	nous	<i>us</i>	nous	<i>us</i>
vous	<i>you</i>	vous	<i>you</i>	vous	<i>you</i>	vous	<i>you</i>
ils / elles	<i>they</i>	les	<i>them</i>	leur	<i>them</i>	eux / elles	<i>them</i>

Table 2 shows that direct and indirect objects in the first and second person singular and plural (*me*, *te*, *nous*, and *vous*) are the same phonologically. Moreover, the first and second person plural (*nous* and *vous*) are also identical to the subject pronoun (and to the strong pronoun). The fact that their form is identical to the subject pronoun might be responsible for the agreement mismatches noted in the screening test. Crucially, in French, although a different case is assigned if it is a direct or an indirect object, the structure of the sentence remains the same (i.e., no preposition is used as in English). Therefore, both direct and indirect object clitics were included. The object clitics in the third person singular and all the persons in the plural were selected, resulting in the seven following clitics: *le*, *la*, *les*, *lui*, *leur*, *nous*, *vous*. An important detail to note is that all distractors included the coordination of the subject and a strong pronoun.

The second consideration in the design is the verbal morphology. In French, the morphology of the present paradigm is not very rich, particularly in oral communication, as there are mainly three main oral forms: All forms are pronounced identically except for the 1st and 2nd person of the plural in [ō] and [e] respectively and the final consonant for the verbs with an infinitive in *-ir*. The paradigms provided in Table 3 include three verbs which belong to the main groups in French, classified according to their infinitival endings: *-er* and *-ir*.

Table 3. *Present Forms of marcher “to walk,” choisir “to choose,” and partir “to leave”*

	Marcher	Choisir	Partir
je	marche	choisis	pars
tu	marches	choisis	pars
il / elle / on	marche	choisit	part
nous	marchons	choisissons	partons
vous	marchez	choisissez	partez
ils / elles	marchent	choisissent	partent

Although the experiment does not include an oral component, the fact that several forms of the verbs are similar in their written form as well was found problematic. Therefore, the passé composé (past tense) was used. This tense is built with one of two auxiliaries (*avoir* “to have” or *être* “to be”) in the present followed by a participle. Because only a restricted number of verbs require the use of *être*, *avoir* was selected. The present conjugation of *avoir* is provided in Table 4.

Table 4. *The Present of the Auxiliary avoir “to have”*

	Avoir
je	ai
tu	as
Il / elle / on	a
nous	avons
vous	avez
ils / elles	ont

<sup>2</sup> Strong pronouns are used after a preposition or alone and are not considered to be clitics.

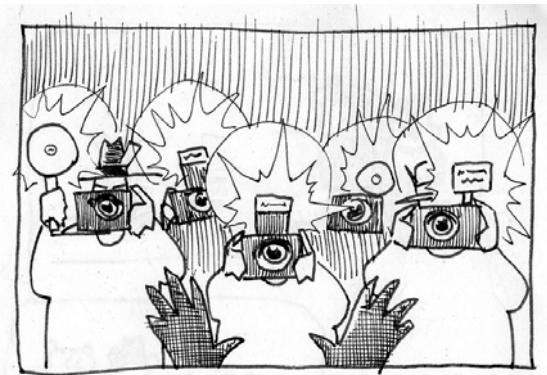
Table 4 illustrates that this verb has a distinct form depending on person and number. Orally, the only exceptions are the 2nd and 3rd person of the singular, both pronounced [a]. Hence, the forms for the 3rd person singular (*a*) and plural (*ont*) as well as those for the 1st and 2nd person plural (*avons* and *avez*) were included in the present study.

To summarize, all sentences were presented in the past tense.<sup>3</sup> All sentences included object pronouns in the 3rd person singular and plural and in the 1st and 2nd person plural. The subject in each sentence was either a subject pronoun or a noun. Finally, verbal agreement was made either with the subject or with the object clitic. The sentences in (4a-d) illustrate a quadruple item that follows from these criteria:

- (4) a. Les parents nous ont lu une histoire.  
the parents us have-3PL read a story  
b. Les parents nous avons lu une histoire.  
the parents us have-1PL read a story  
“The parents read a story to us.”  
c. Nous leur avons lu une histoire.  
we them-DAT have-1PL read a story  
d. Nous leur ont lu une histoire.  
we them-DAT have-3PL read a story  
“We read a story to them.”

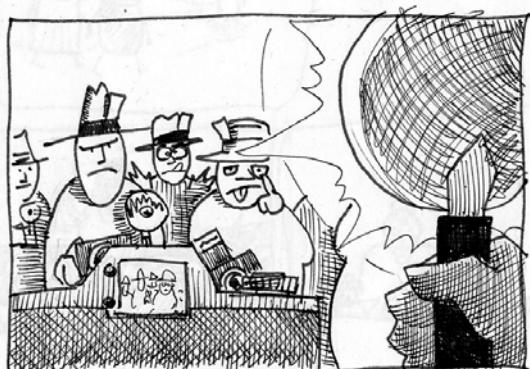
### 3.2.2.2 Materials

This pencil-and-paper task contained 12 pairs of sentences that were each matched with a mirrored picture. So, in (5a-b), the perspective of the picture is through the eyes of *vous* “you,” whereas in (5c-d), the perspective is from *les journalistes* “the journalists.” An example of a pair of sentences with the pictures is given in (5).



- (5) a. Les journalistes vous ont pris en photo.  
The journalists you have-3PL taken in pictures  
OUI                      NON                      JE NE SAIS PAS  
b. Les journalistes vous avez pris en photo.  
The journalists you have-2PL taken in pictures  
OUI                      NON                      JE NE SAIS PAS

<sup>3</sup> I am only concerned with the agreement of the auxiliary leaving aside the past participle agreement (see Sportiche, 1995, pp. 242-246 for discussion).



- c. Vous les avez pris en photo.  
 you them-DAT have-2PL taken in pictures  
 OUI NON JE NE SAIS PAS
- d. Vous les ont pris en photo.  
 You them-DAT have-3PL taken in pictures  
 OUI NON JE NE SAIS PAS

The goal was first to test whether learners could interpret a sentence with subject-verb agreement where the grammatical subject was the agent of the action in the picture, as in (5a) and (5c). Second, this experiment tested whether learners could retain an interpretation of the subject as the agent of the sentence even when the surface verbal morphology agreed with the object clitic, and not the subject, in person and number, as in (5b) and (5d). There were 24 test items and 10 distractors. Two versions of this task were created in which the order of sentences was randomized.

### 3.2.2.3 Procedure and Analysis

Participants had to indicate whether the sentence matched the picture by circling OUI “yes,” or NON “no.” They also had the option JE NE SAIS PAS “I don’t know.”

All sentences were coded for their acceptance. Sentences for which JE NE SAIS PAS “I don’t know” was circled were excluded from coding because the reason for rejection or lack of decision was not clear. However, this exclusion led to an uneven number of responses for each item: Some sentences were rejected more than others.

### 3.2.2.4 Results

Table 5 shows the acceptance rates by agreement type and semester. The 2nd-semester learners accepted both types of sentences above chance; however, they tended to reject object-verb agreement sentences more frequently. The 4th-semester learners’ responses show a greater difference of acceptance towards a nativelike agreement pattern. An ANOVA revealed a main effect of agreement,  $F(1, 57) = 38.249, p < .005$ , and agreement mitigated by semester,  $F(1, 57) = 5.940, p = .018$ . An important finding is that the acceptance of object-verb agreement is significantly lower for 4th-semester than for 2nd-semester learners,  $t(57) = 2.363, p = .022$ .

Table 5. *Acceptance Rate by Sentence Type and Semester*

Agreement Type	2nd Semester	4th Semester
Subject-verb	77.5%	78.25%
Object-verb	62.42%	44.67%

Overall, 2nd- and 4th-semester participants accepted subject-verb agreement sentences with the corresponding picture—where the subject of the sentence is also the agent of the action depicted. However, both 2nd- and 4th-semester learners seem to entertain sentences with object-verb agreement and at the same time to maintain an interpretation of the subject as the agent of the action depicted.

### 3.2.3 The Judgment Task

#### 3.2.3.1 Participants

The same learners participated in this task. However, due to some technical difficulties, only the data of 24 second semester and 27 fourth semester learners were analyzed.

#### 3.2.3.2 Design and Method

This task included the same selection of object clitics. However, the 1st and 2nd person plural (*nous* and *vous*) were excluded. Because reading times (RTs) were measured, eliminating these two clitics enabled a better control for the length of the auxiliary segment being analyzed. Therefore, the following five object pronouns were selected because they are non-ambiguous and non-homophonic object clitics: *le*, *la*, *les*, *lui*, *leur*.

#### 3.2.3.3 Materials

The task consisted of 18 quadruples, such as in (6), and 40 distractors. Each quadruple contained a noun followed by an object pronoun. The first sentence had a singular noun followed by a plural clitic with the auxiliary agreeing with the noun (6a). The second had the same setting with the auxiliary agreeing with the clitic (6b). The second pair of sentences had a plural noun with a singular object pronoun with the auxiliary once agreeing with the noun (6c) and once with the clitic (6d). Each participant saw all sentences, and the computer randomized the order of the items at each trial.

- (6) a. La secrétaire leur a rappelé l'heure.  
the secretary them-DAT have-3SG reminded of the time
- b. La secrétaire leur ont rappelé l'heure.  
the secretary them-DATHave-3PL reminded of the time  
"The secretary reminded them of the time."
- c. Les psychologues lui ont rappelé l'heure.  
the psychologists him/her-DAT have-3PL reminded of the time
- d. Les psychologues lui a rappelé l'heure.  
the psychologists him/her-DAT have-3SG reminded of the time  
"The psychologists reminded him/her of the time."

#### 3.2.3.4 Procedure and Analysis

This task was delivered on a computer in a moving window format. Participants read each sentence in five segments starting at the left of the screen, as shown in (7). To see the following word, participants pressed a button. They were asked to indicate whether, in their opinion, it was an appropriate sentence by pressing YES (the green button) or NO (the red button).

- (7) La secrétaire / leur / a / rappelé / l'heure.  
the secretary them-DAT have-3SG reminded of the time  
YES      NO

RTs reported in milliseconds (ms) were recorded and analyzed. The data was coded with SPSS, and extreme RTs (e.g., at two standard deviations from the mean) were eliminated and replaced with the mean for all participants. Only the auxiliary segment was analyzed. The significance level was set at .05.

#### 3.2.3.5 Results

It was hypothesized that learners selecting an object-verb agreement sentence would spend more time computing the sentence, because they would attempt to revise their computation. In case RTs

were shorter, it would argue for a local interpretation, presumably resulting from a strategy. Table 6 shows that the mean RTs in the singular are rather flat. In contrast, the RTs increased in the plural, especially when the verb agrees with the object.

Table 6. *Interpretation-Dependent Mean RTs by Semester in Milliseconds*

Class	Agreement with Subject		Agreement with Object	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
2nd Semester	812.14	915.7	865.74	1017.99
4th Semester	893.3	924.33	872.15	989.4

A 2X2X3 ANOVA with agreement type and number as within-subject factor and class as between-subject factor revealed a main effect of agreement,  $F(1, 49) = 6.773, p = .012$ , and number,  $F(1, 49) = 21.317, p = .000$ . A  $t$  test was significant in the plural,  $t(50) = -2.728, p = .009$  as well.

To enable a comparison with the results obtained in the picture matching task, the acceptance rates were also considered (Table 7), and these scores revealed that learners accepted subject-verb agreement at 71.76%, a similar rate to the one found in the pencil and paper task. However, the rate of acceptance of object-verb agreement sentences for 2nd-semester learners is 32.71% and drops to 15.74% by the 4th-semester, regardless of number. These rates are lower than those found in the picture matching task.

Table 7. *Percentage of Acceptance by Agreement Type and Semester*

Agreement Type	2nd Semester	4th Semester
Subject-verb	73.12%	70.55%
Object-verb	32.71%	15.74%

An ANOVA with agreement type and number as within-subject factor and semester as between-subject factor revealed a significant main effect of agreement type,  $F(1, 49) = 96.567, p = .000$ , as well as for semester,  $p = .012$ . It is possible to explain these different rates: The picture provided a possible interpretation to the learners, which led them to accept object-verb sentences more easily. In the judgment task, participants did not have a context in the form of a text or a picture, and they also had to process each sentence incrementally as well as immediately provide a judgment. Nonetheless, the reading task partially replicates the findings from the picture matching task: 2nd-semester learners accepted more object-verb sentences than 4th-semester learners did. Overall, all learners exhibited knowledge of subject-verb agreement at a fairly high rate (70% and above). Crucially, the RTs indicate that the number feature might play a role in processing: Plural object-verb sentences took longer to be read—although no difference in acceptance rates was found depending on the number feature.

#### 4. Discussion and Conclusions

The screening test pointed out that object pronouns that are ambiguous for case, such as *nous* and *vous*, might facilitate object-verb agreement (Hartsuiker et al., 2001). Interestingly, the picture matching task revealed that English-French learners can entertain object-verb agreement while maintaining an interpretation in which the first noun is the subject. This finding is in line with the First Noun Strategy proposed by VanPatten (1996) and indicates that agreement features are distinct from theta-role assignment: The subject remained the agent of the action for those learners, even when the verb agreed with the object. Hence, although the person and number feature of the clitic are transferred to the verb, this does not entail that the verb reassigns the nominative case to the object clitic. It is important to note that learners accepted object-verb agreement sentences, which also contained object clitics marked for accusative and dative case. Thus, object pronouns that are unambiguously marked for case still trigger verbal agreement. A more detailed account of acceptance in the picture-matching task shows that the sentences containing *nous* and *vous* did not necessarily involve higher rates of acceptance, contrary to the findings from the screening test.

Additionally, 2nd- and 4th-semester learners differ in their willingness to entertain object-verb agreement. This very finding is an argument against the IRH (and the FDH), as we note an improvement over time. Learners do not accept subject-verb agreement sentences at chance level, but show that they possess the features necessary in the Inflection node to realize agreement with person and number. Similarly to the picture matching task, in the reading task, 2nd-semester learners accepted more sentences with object-verb agreement than 4th-semester learners did. Even during processing, learners are able to accept subject-verb agreement sentences and, at the same time, they generally reject object-verb agreement sentences. Crucially, whereas the acceptance rates for object-verb agreement sentences in the singular and the plural were similar, the processing of agreement relations seemed to differ. The object-agreeing auxiliary induced longer RTs in the plural, but not in the singular.

This asymmetry of the number feature, and the fact that the plural behaves differently, is reminiscent of the agreement studies. Bock and Eberhard (1993) and Dekydtspotter (p.c.) suggested that the distinction lies in the specification of the features. They assumed that “singular verb is the processor’s default value” (Bock & Eberhard, p.59). This underspecification can be extended to the assignment of person (Dekydtspotter), and it results in the verbal paradigm in Table 8.

Table 8. *A Possible Representation of the Verbal Paradigm*

Avoir	Person	Number	Tense <sup>4</sup>
ai	1	Ø	past
as	2	Ø	past
a	Ø	Ø	past
avons	1	plural	past
avez	2	plural	past
ont	Ø	plural	past

For person, it is assumed that 3rd person is the default form, and that 1st and 2nd person each has a specific feature, as shown in Table 8. On such an account, the expression with closest fit for person and number is selected. For 3rd person plural, the plural value of the number feature needs to be assigned in syntax. For 3rd person singular, as an underspecified form, no assignment of number is required in syntax. Thus, the effects in RTs observed would reflect the difference in the manner in which agreement is resolved in the 3rd person singular versus plural. Assigning the plural feature requires more computation: Bock and Eberhard (1993) also concluded that “the singular is unspecified for nouns and therefore singular verbs will be retrieved by default unless the head is marked as plural” (p.90). It is possible then that the costlier computations in the plural might obscure the reaction of the parser to the verb-object agreement.

To further investigate the resolution of agreement in the L2, additional experiments might consider clitic sequences in the reading task. The addition of a context in the reading task would also indicate the interpretation learners assign to the sentences as they read. A possible effect of specific pronouns or verbs should be examined as well as the role of person. To test VanPatten’s First Noun Strategy (1996), I plan to examine whether learners who reject object-verb sentences in the picture matching task would continue to do so when presented with a picture in which the object is the agent. If this is the case, then VanPatten’s proposal would need to be revised. However, learners’ rejection of such images would provide strong evidence for VanPatten’s claim. Finally, since 2nd- and 4th-semester learners only differed in their rate of acceptance of object-verb sentences, more advanced learners will be included. The hypothesis is that their acceptance rate of such sentences would be even lower. Importantly, it was assumed that native speakers will reject such sentences as ungrammatical. Nonetheless, some sentences might be accepted by native speakers if they are produced with a specific intonation. This oral component could also possibly shed light on the processing and interpretation of object-verb agreement in learners’ interlanguage.

<sup>4</sup> For simplicity, only past is used in the column Tense; however, note the auxiliary itself is in the present.

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# Proceedings of the 9th Generative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition Conference (GASLA 2007)

edited by Roumyana Slabakova, Jason Rothman, Paula Kempchinsky, and Elena Gavrusseva

Cascadilla Proceedings Project Somerville, MA 2008

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