

Agreement with predicative adjectives, with non-finite verbs, and with predicative nominals

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Among the Germanic and Romance languages, the languages that lack predicative adjective agreement without lacking attributive adjective agreement are all SOV-languages (including Yiddish). I propose to link this to the OV/VO-difference by suggesting that languages with head-final VPs (i.e. OV-languages) also have head-final Adjective Phrases (AdjPs).

I will start out by noting how unexpected it is that a language with so much agreement morphology as German completely lacks predicative adjective agreement, (1a) when predicative adjective agreement is found in languages with very little agreement morphology, like Danish or French, (1b,c). My analysis resolves this paradox, setting the lack of predicative adjective agreement in the OV-languages apart from other kinds of lack of (or loss of) agreement, by attributing it to a particular structural cause, head-finality in the AdjP.

- (1) a. Ge. Die Häuser sind grün__
b. Da. Husene er grønne
c. Fr. Les maisons sont vertes
The houses are green

I will then draw some parallels from adjectival agreement to verbal and nominal agreement.

Distinguishing between finite and non-finite verb agreement, I assume finite verb agreement to take place not in the VP but in IP, and therefore I will focus on non-finite verb agreement, examining to which extent it is parallel to predicative adjective agreement.

Agreement with nominals is a completely different story, and I will argue that the only agreement found here is agreement with a predicative DP. This is very different from the agreement types described above, in that it is agreement **between** phrases, not **inside** a phrase, and therefore it is not surprising that predicative nominal agreement is very different from predicative adjective agreement in that the former is also found in the Germanic SOV-languages, (2a), whereas the latter is not, (1a).

- (2) a. Ge. Die Häuser sind dänischen Ferienhäuser
b. Da. Husene er dansken sommerhuse
c. Fr. Les maisons sont des maisons de campagne danoises
The houses are Danish holiday cottages