Cross-clausal A-dependencies

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Case and agreement dependencies that are established across finite clause-boundaries have been documented in many languages. Based on the distribution of long-distance agreement and hyperraising (to subject or object), this talk suggests that clause reduction (CP deletion/omission) is not a necessary condition for cross-clausal A-dependencies and that A-movement and agreement can, in principle, apply across (finite) CPs. I will discuss consequences for the A/A'-distinction, improper movement effects, and the conditions for clause-reduction and restructuring, and suggest a unified account to cross-clausal A-dependencies. To derive the cross-linguistic variation in the availability of cross-clausal A-dependencies, a two-step agreement mechanism (predication and CP-agreement) is developed that turns the CP-domain into an A-domain under certain conditions.