This paper argues that short (clause-internal) scrambling to a pre-subject position has A-properties in Japanese but A'-properties in German, while long scrambling (scrambling across sentence boundaries) from finite clauses, which is possible in Japanese but not in German, has A'-properties throughout. It is shown that these differences between German and Japanese can be traced back to parametric variation of phrase structure and the parameterized properties of functional heads. Due to the properties of Agreement, sentences in Japanese may contain multiple (Agro- and Agro') specifiers whereas German does not allow for this. In Japanese, a scrambled element may be located in a Spec AgrP, i.e., an A- or L-related position, whereas scrambled NPs in German can only appear in an AgrP-adjointed (broadly-L-related) position, which only has A'-properties. Given our assumption that successive cyclic adjunction is generally impossible, elements in German may not be long scrambled because a scrambled element that is moved to an adjunction site inside an embedded clause may not move further. In Japanese, long distance scrambling out of finite ClPs is possible since scrambling may proceed in a successive cyclic manner via embedded Spec-(AgrP) positions. Our analysis of the differences between German and Japanese scrambling provides us with an account of further contrasts between the two languages such as the existence of surprising asymmetries between German and Japanese remnant-movement phenomena, and the fact that, unlike German, Japanese freely allows wh scrambling. Investigation of the properties of Japanese wh-movement also lends us to the formulation of the Wh-cluster Hypothesis, which implies that Japanese is an LF multiple wh-fronting language.

1. Introduction

Crosslinguistic investigations have revealed that languages vary with respect to the systematic properties of syntactic reordering as observed in scrambling languages. Not only has it been argued that scrambling, conceived of as adjunction movement, has A-properties in one language and A'-properties in another language, it has also been claimed that the properties of scrambling vary within one and the same language. For example, Mahajan (1990) has argued, using weak crossover and anaphora...
binding as the familiar diagnostic properties, that clause-internal scrambling in Hindi can in principle be A- or A'-movement, while scrambling out of finite clauses exclusively displays the properties of A'-movement. On the basis of criteria such as weak crossover and parasitic gaps, Webelhuth (1989) has tried to show that scrambling in German is movement to a third kind of position, namely to a non-A, non-operator position which has the binding properties of both A- and A'-positions. With respect to Japanese, Saito (1992, 1994b) has argued, on the basis of the familiar diagnostics (A-binding, reconstruction, weak crossover) that clause-internal (i.e., short) scrambling has A-properties if it is adjunction to VP and A- as well as A'-properties if it is adjunction to IP, while scrambling out of finite clauses, which is not possible in German, has only A'-properties. For example, the A-properties of Japanese clause-internal scrambling to IP are taken to be reflected in the fact that the scrambled phrase can be the antecedent of a lexical anaphor (although slightly marginal for some speakers; see Tada 1989, Saito 1992 for discussion):

(1a) ??[[IP otagai-no sensei]-ga [VP karera-o hihansita]] (koto).
   each other* teacher_gen they_acc criticized fact
   Each other's teacher criticized them.

(1b) ??[[IP karera-o [[IP otagai-no sensei]-ga [VP t hihansita]]]
   they_acc each other* teacher_gen criticized
   fact
   Them, each other's teachers criticized. (Saito 1992, p. 74f.)

The claim that the same kind of scrambling also shows A'-properties is illustrated by pointing out that a configuration of A-binding which has been destroyed by scrambling the anaphor to a position higher than its antecedent can be restored by reconstruction, as shown in (2):

(2a) [IP karera-ga [VP otagai-o hihansita]] (koto).
   they_nom each other_acc criticized fact
   They criticized each other.

(2b) [IP otagai-o [IP karera-ga [VP t hihansita]]] (koto).
   each other_acc they_nom criticized fact
   (Saito 1994b, p. 285)

In this paper we show that, contrary to widely-held generalizations, Ger-