Notes to pages 133-135

occur at LF. In a generic declarative sentence both the existential and quantificational readings of the object are possible:

(i) Jon-wa kanarazu Chomusukii-no hon-o yomu. John without-fail Chomsky-GEN book-ACC read 'John always reads Chomsky's books.'

In a question, only the existential reading is possible:

(ii) Jon-wa kanarazu dare-no hon-o yomu-ka-ne?John without-fail who book read-Q'Who does John always read a book by?'

Thus, the necessary constraint cannot be a constraint on S-structure movement of a *wh*-phrase.

- 30. This raises the question of whether other island effects (such as wh-islands) could also be explained in terms of a syntactic operation of presupposition accommodation. Recent work by Comorovski (1989) and Berman (1991) suggests that they might be. I leave the explanation of wh-islands and other island effects as a matter for future research.
- 31. As pointed out to me by David Pesetsky, it is possible to state the needed restriction as a constraint on movement rather than representations. If positions are characterized as being either "blocking" or "nonblocking," the desired result could be attained by a filter prohibiting nonblocking categories (e.g. L-marked categories) from moving to a blocking position:
- (i) \*[-blocking] in a [+blocking] position.

At first blush, it appears that the movement filter approach is empirically equivalent to the constraint on traces approach. There is one situation that could distinguish the two, however. If an L-marked category could move to a [+blocking] position, and then move back to its original [-blocking] position (by some kind of yo-yo-like movement process), it would violate the filter in (i), but not necessarily a representational subjacency constraint. I do not know of any language with the necessary sort of construction for making the distinction, however. Therefore, I will stick with the simpler representational approach.

32. Guéron (1981) explains the facts in (100) by means of her Complete Constituent Constraint (p. 86), which states that a complete constituent (a constituent governed by a logical operator) cannot contain a free variable.

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