

# Covert A-movement out of Coordinate Structures

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Particular types of overt movement are often argued to have covert counterparts—spurring us to ask, for every single type of overt movement, whether it has a covert counterpart or not. This talk asks that question about overt extraction of conjuncts from coordinate structures (Bošković 2009, 2020, Oda to appear, a.o.) and answers it in the affirmative—arguing that, in English, a nominative pronoun that is a conjunct in a coordinate structure moves covertly out of the latter. Contra the standard view that nominative and accusative pronouns are syntactically almost identical, the overt differences between them being due to different postsyntactic realizations (Emonds 1986, Sobin 1997, a.o.), it is argued that a nominative pronoun and its accusative counterpart are distinct (though related) lexical items, and the former requires special licensing: it bears a probe feature [*\*T\**] (Heck & Müller 2007) that forces it to move to a specifier position of T (cf. Bošković 2007). If so, then, when the nominative pronoun is a conjunct—and there is good reason to think it does not move to [Spec,TP] overtly—it must move to [Spec,TP] covertly. This analysis makes the subtle prediction that a nominative (but not an accusative) pronominal conjunct in a coordinate structure should give the appearance of “commanding out of” the latter for purposes of Condition C—a prediction that is borne out when confounds are eliminated. The talk concludes by tackling the larger question of why covert movement of nominative pronouns should be exempt from the Coordinate Structure Constraint, arguing that this property of it may be a straightforward consequence of its being moving-element-driven rather than higher-head-driven.