Covert A-movement out of Coordinate Structures*

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1 Introduction

A very interesting body of work argues that particular types of **overt movement** have **covert** counterparts:

<div align="right">(but see Kayne 1998 and Koopman 2000 for a different view)</div>

(1)   ***Why**$_1$ is [$_{DP}$ the book [$_{CP}$ that you didn't buy ___$_1$]] very good?

(2)   *[[Nǐ **wèishéme** méi mǎi de] nèiběn shū] hěn hǎo?
      you why   not buy DE that   book very good
      int. 'What's the reason such that [the book that you didn't buy for that reason] is very good?'

<div align="right">*Mandarin* (< Huang 1982:380, (33)[1])</div>

(3)   **Kto čto kogda** skazal?
      who what when   said
      'Who said what when?'   <div align="right">*Russian* (< Wachowicz 1974:158, (6))</div>

(4)   a.   Which cathedral inspired John [to photograph a certain side of it]?
      b. *Which cathedral inspired John [to photograph a certain side of itself]?
      c.   Which cathedral inspired John [to photograph which side of it]?
      d. [M]Which cathedral inspired John [to photograph which side of itself]?

<div align="right">(inspired by Nissenbaum 2000:125–126, esp. (6))</div>

(5)   [which cathedral]$_1$ [which side of **itself**$_1$]$_2$ inspired John [to photograph [which side of **itself**$_1$]$_2$]

Empirical observations such as those in (1–4) naturally spur us to ask, for every single type of overt movement, whether it has a covert counterpart.

Today, we'll ask that question about a particularly surprising type of overt movement: **extraction of conjuncts from coordinate structures** (in apparent violation of Ross's [1967:161] Coordinate Structure Constraint).

(6)   **Knigi**$_1$ Paša [___$_1$ i   filmy] kupil.
      books Pasha   and movies bought
      'Pasha bought books and movies.'   <div align="right">*Russian* (< Oda to appear, (13))</div>

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[1] "<" = 'adapted from'. Many thanks to Mars Xu for help with the tones in (2).

1.1 Roadmap

- **§2:** Ingredient A: Overt conjunct extraction (Does it have a covert counterpart?)

- **§3:** Ingredient B: The licensing of nominative pronouns in English

  → Interim conclusion: Nominative but not accusative pronouns should move out of coordinate structures (covertly)

- **§4:** Prediction: Nominative but not accusative pronouns should appear to "command out of" coordinate structures, inducing Condition C violations

- **§5:** Conclusion and theoretical implications: What types of movement should be able to circumvent island constraints?

2 Ingredient A: Overt conjunct extraction

As discussed in Bošković 2009 (pp. 471–472), 2020 (§5), Oda to appear, and refs. cited therein, some languages allow the first conjunct in a coordinate structure to move out of that coordinate structure overtly:[2]

(7) ?**Knjige**$_1$ je Marko [___$_1$ i   filmove] kupio.
    books   is Marko   and movies bought
    'Marko bought books and movies.'   *Serbo-Croatian* (< Stjepanović 2014 via Oda to appear, (12)[3])

(8) ?**Książki**$_1$ Jan [___$_1$ i   filmy] kupil.
    books   John   and movies bought
    'John bought books and movies.'   *Polish* (< Oda to appear, (14))

(9) Ond hē **hine**$_1$ miclum [___$_1$ ond his gefēran]   mid fēo   weorðude.
     and he him   greatly   and his companions with money honored
     'And he greatly honored him and his companions with money.'
                              Old English (*AS Chron. 878*, < Lightfoot 1999 via Oda to appear, (15))

(10) **Gwi-hl**$_1$ gubis   Henry [___$_1$ gan-hl miyup]?
      what-CN eat.TRANS.PN Henry   and-CN rice
      'What$_1$ is such that Henry ate it$_1$ and rice?' *Gitksan* (< Davis & Brown 2011:58 via Oda to appear, (19))

(11) ?**Ndi-∅-ani**$_1$ wa-v-aka-teng-er-a   [___$_1$ na-∅-Tendai] ma-rokwe?
      NI-1a-who   1a.NSE-2.SM-TA-buy-APPL-FV   and-1a-Tendai 6-dress
      'Who$_1$ is such that they bought [them$_1$ and Tendai] dresses?'
                              Shona (< Zentz 2016:137 via Oda to appear, (21))

See Oda to appear (§2) and refs. cited there for examples from Japanese, Korean, Latin, Classical Greek, Sanskrit, Nisga'a, and Tümpisa Shoshone that Oda analyzes as also involving conjunct extraction.

A natural question, then, is whether **overt conjunct extraction** has a **covert** counterpart.

I'll argue below that it does. But before we can start making the argument, we'll need one more ingredient: an understanding of the licensing of nominative pronouns.

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[2] **Abbreviations:** ACC = accusative, APPL = applicative, CN = common noun connective, FV = final vowel, int. = intended interpretation, NI = reflex of the proto-Bantu copula **ni*, NOM = nominative, NSE = nonsubject extraction morpheme, PN = proper noun connective, TRANS = transitive, SM = subject marker, TA = tense and/or aspect, 1a = noun class 1a, 6 = noun class 6.
[3] For further discussion, see Bošković 2009 (pp. 471–472) and Kalin and Weisser 2019 (pp. 670–671).

3   Ingredient B: The licensing of nominative pronouns in English

How are nominative pronouns licensed in English?

Basic empirical generalization:

(12) a.   If a pronoun is the sole occupant of $[\text{Spec},\text{T}_{[+\text{FIN}]}\text{P}]$, then it must be nominative.

     b.   Otherwise, it will typically be accusative, but can be nominative under certain circumstances (particularly if it is a conjunct).

A small fragment of the overall paradigm:

(13) a.   He was playing soccer at the time.

     b.   *Him was playing soccer at the time.

     c.   He and Katie were playing soccer at the time.

     d.   Him and Katie were playing soccer at the time.

(see Parrott 2007, §6.3.4, and refs. cited there for related discussion of Norwegian and Danish)

One prominent previous analysis of the licensing of nominative pronouns:

(14) *Emonds 1986*

     a.   PRONOUN – INFLECTION → $\big[$PRONOUN, **SUBJECT**$\big]$ – INFLECTION
       (In our terms, a pronoun in $[\text{Spec},\text{T}_{[+\text{FIN}]}\text{P}]$ will be nominative.)

     b.   Otherwise (setting aside possessive pronouns), a pronoun will remain just PRONOUN, and will hence be accusative.

     c.   The nominative form in (13c) can't be assigned by (14a); it's induced by an ad hoc local transformation, formally similar to (14a), that a speaker adds to their idiolect in response to prescriptive pressure.

(for related discussion, see Chomsky's remarks in Olson & Faigley 1991:30;
Sobin 1997; Grano 2006; Parrott 2007, ch. 6; Lemon 2017; and refs. therein)

Though highly insightful, this analysis faces conceptual problems, particularly in today's theoretical context:

(15) a.   Any local transformation that adds to a pronoun (which would otherwise surface in the accusative form) a feature like SUBJECT (or [Case:NOM]) violates the Inclusiveness Condition (Chomsky 1995a)...

     b.   ...and (at least the spirit of) the No-Tampering Condition (Chomsky 2005:11, 2007:8)...

(for further discussion, see Collins & Stabler 2016, esp. pp. 58–59, and Zyman 2021b)

     c.   ...and seems redundant with Merge: why not just introduce the nominative pronoun from the beginning by (External) Merge?

(cf. Collins 2019, 2020, Collins & Kayne 2020a,b, Koopman 2020, Zyman 2020b,
and refs. therein on [various approaches to] Morphology as Syntax [MAS])

Another prominent previous analysis of the licensing of nominative pronouns in coordinate structures:

(16) *Sobin 1997*

    a. *The "that she..." rule*   (an extragrammatical **virus** that speakers add

        If: ... that [$_{\text{Prn}}$ +3, +sg, NOM] ...   to their idiolects in response to prescriptive pressure)

                 1   2

        then: check NOM on 2.

    b. The *that* in (16a) can alternatively be a covert declarative C (which Sobin hypothesizes heads matrix clauses), so this virus will license (13c), *He and Katie were playing soccer at the time.*

    c. A different virus, the "...*and I*..." rule, licenses nominative pronouns (especially *I*) that immediately follow *and.*

Although Sobin's **virus theory** is also highly insightful, it too has drawbacks:

(17) a. Conceptual drawback: it's ontologically profligate. It posits the existence of two rather different entities: **1)** the grammar, and **2)** extragrammatical viruses.

       This motivates a search for alternative analyses that posit only **1)** and not **2)**, in keeping with minimalist goals (in particular, ontological parsimony).

    b. Empirical drawback: like Emonds', Sobin's analysis posits that (e.g.) *he* and *him* are syntactically almost identical (though they have different Case features), but we'll see empirical evidence against that view below.

So let's take a different tack.

I propose that it's not the case that (e.g.) *he* and *him* are syntactically nearly identical, and the difference between them is primarily a matter of postsyntactic morphophonological **realization**...

...but rather, *he* and *him* are distinct lexical items (even though they clearly have a lot in common), and *he* needs special syntactic **licensing**.

(In the spirit of Morphology as Syntax, these structures should actually be decomposed into [e.g.] *h-e* and *h-i-m* [cf. ***h-i**-s* and *the-**m**, who-**m***], but we'll set that aside today.)

Generalization (12a) suggests that nominative pronouns are tightly linked to T, which in turn suggests (in the present context) that they need to be licensed by T.

Concretely, then, I propose the following:

(18) In English, a nominative pronoun bears a **probe feature** [∗T∗] (Heck & Müller 2007), which must be satisfied under Agree, and which therefore forces the pronoun to undergo **moving-element-driven** (greedy) movement to a position c-commanding T (Bošković 2007).

(Note: it should be possible, and would be desirable, to replace Agree here with Local Agree [Hornstein 2009, ch. 6]; see below.)

(On moving-element-driven movement, see also Chomsky 1995a:201; Bošković 1995, 2002, 2011, 2020, 2021; Grohmann, Drury, & Castillo 2000; Harwood 2015:528, fn. 8; Holmberg, Sheehan, & Van der Wal 2019; and Zyman 2020a; see also Goto 2017.)

This is naturally reminiscent of the early Minimalist hypothesis that all structural Case assignment/checking is fed by greedy movement, but I won't adopt that stronger hypothesis here.

Let's see how (18) works by considering a couple of explicit derivations.

3.1 Derivation A: The basic case (the nominative pronoun isn't a conjunct)

Consider the following:

(19)   He talked.

First, the following structure is built up:

(20)

vP
├── D(P) [∗T∗] he
└── v ── V(P) talk

We can abstract away from V-to-v movement and from the derivational effects of the clause-internal phase (e.g., phasal spellout), since none of that is directly relevant here.

Merged in next is T. I assume for concreteness that the "EPP effect" is due to a structure-building feature [•D•] (cf. Heck & Müller 2007) on T (cf. Bowers 2008:131, fn. 5):

(21)

T [•D•] -ed ── vP
vP
├── D(P) [∗T∗] he
└── v ── V(P) talk
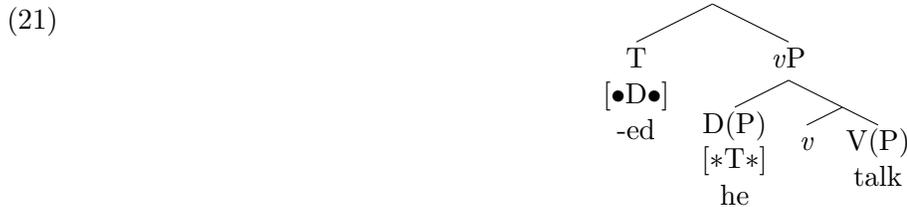
[•D•] on T causes the nominative pronoun to internally merge with the root of the tree, satisfying the feature:

(22)

TP
├── D(P) [∗T∗] he
└── T [•D•] -ed ── vP
    vP
    ├── D(P) [∗T∗] he
    └── v ── V(P) talk

5
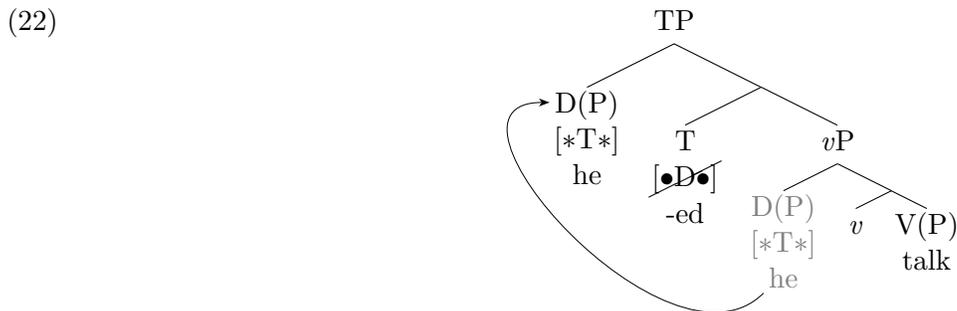
Now that the nominative pronoun c-commands T, it can satisfy its probe feature [∗T∗] under Agree, by probing its c-command domain (cf. Bošković 2007):

(23)

TP
D(P) [∗T∗] he
T [•D•] -ed
vP
D(P) [∗T∗] he
v
V(P) talk
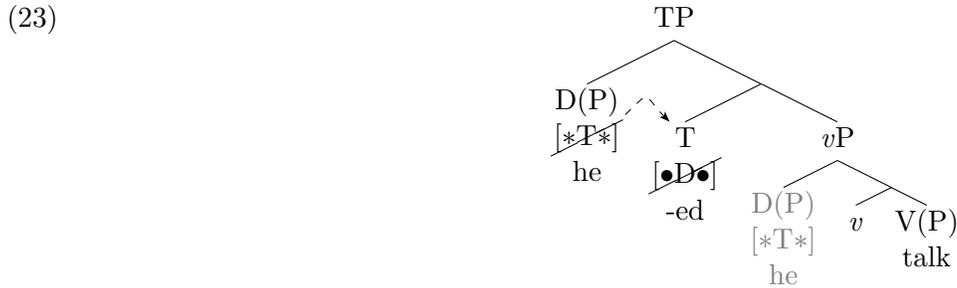
(Note: Hornstein [2009, ch. 6] gives a number of extremely interesting conceptual and empirical arguments that [long-distance] Agree [Chomsky 2001, a.m.o.] should be eliminated in favor of Local Agree [see also Collins '17, §8].

My analysis is perfectly compatible with that view, but I'll continue to cash it out in terms of long-distance Agree because the latter is now more standard/familiar, and the choice between the two isn't directly relevant here.)

Finally, left-peripheral heads are merged in:

(24)

. . .
. . .
TP
D(P) [∗T∗] he
T [•D•] -ed
vP
D(P) [∗T∗] he
v
V(P) talk
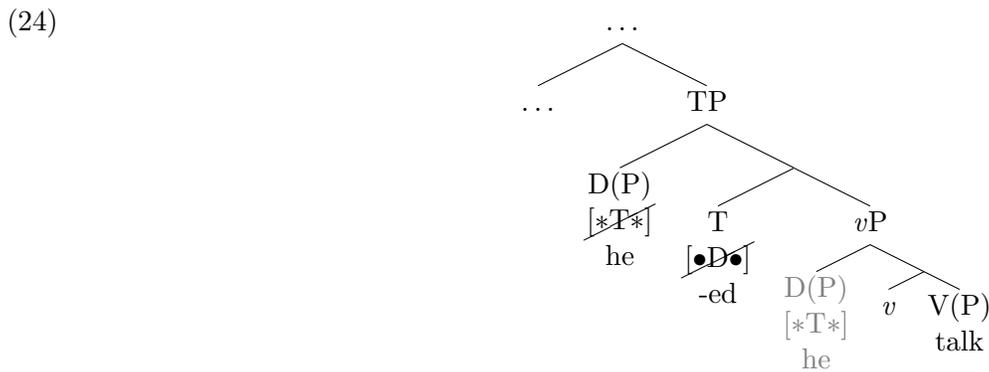
3.2 Derivation B: The nominative pronoun is a conjunct

Now consider the following:

(25)   He and Katie talked.

The derivation begins much as the previous one did:

(26)

T [•D•] -ed
vP
ConjP
D(P) [∗T∗] he
Conj and
DP Katie
v
V(P) talk
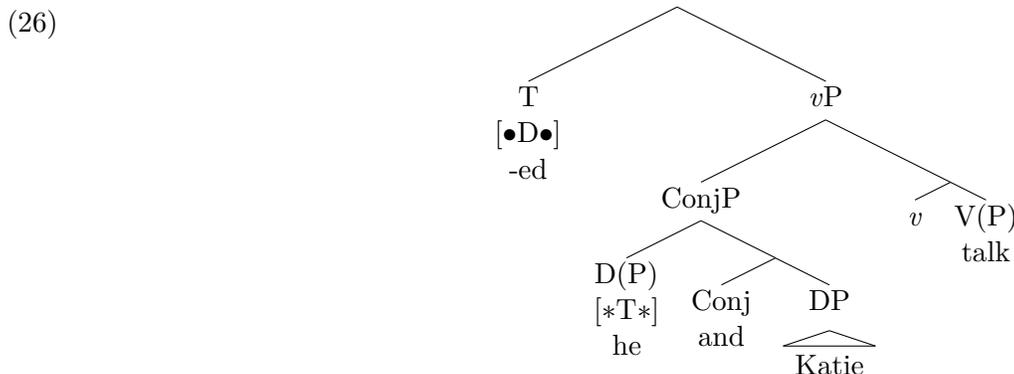
[•D•] on T causes the external argument to internally merge with the root of the tree, satisfying the feature ((27)). (If this feature is indeed [•D•], "Conj" may not be the right categorial feature here, but we can set that aside.)

(27)

TP
- ConjP
  - D(P) [∗T∗] he
  - Conj and
  - DP
    - Katie
- T [•D•] -ed
  - ConjP
    - D(P) [∗T∗] he
    - Conj and
    - DP
      - Katie
- vP
  - v
  - V(P) talk

Next, left-peripheral heads are merged in:

(28)

. . .
- . . .
- TP
  - ConjP
    - D(P) [∗T∗] he
    - Conj and
    - DP
      - Katie
  - T [•D•] -ed
    - ConjP
      - D(P) [∗T∗] he
      - Conj and
      - DP
        - Katie
  - vP
    - v
    - V(P) talk
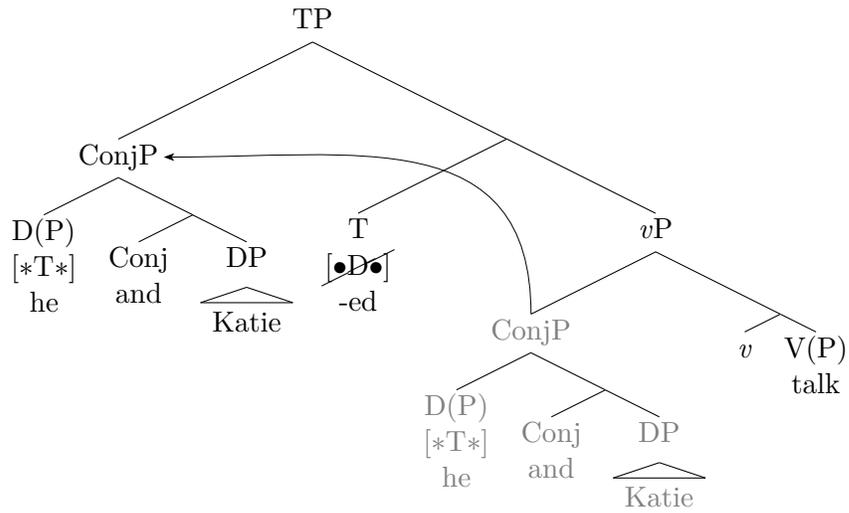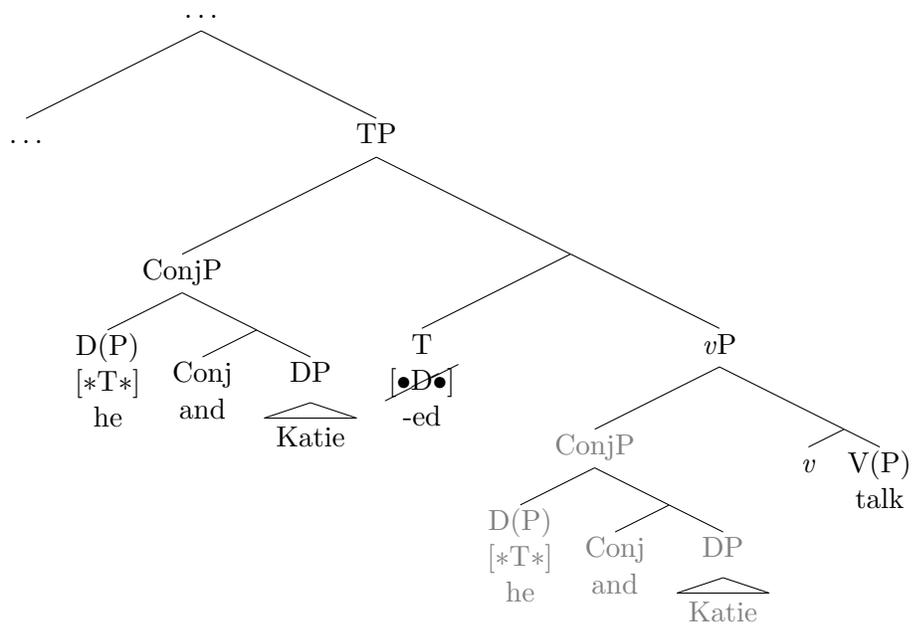
Since the nominative pronoun has to satisfy its probe feature [∗T∗] no matter what, it moves out of the coordinate structure—i.e., we have here a principled exception to the Coordinate Structure Constraint:

(29)

```
                                    CP
                          ╱                    ╲
                    D(P)                        ...
                    [∗T∗]              ╱                    ╲
                     he             ...                      TP
                                               ╱                        ╲
                                          ConjP                          ╲
                                      ╱            ╲                       ╲
                                  D(P)              ╲                       ╲
                                  [∗T∗]    Conj      DP          T           vP
                                   he     and      ╱──╲       [•D•]    ╱          ╲
                                                  Katie        -ed   ConjP          ╲
                                                                  ╱        ╲      v   V(P)
                                                              D(P)          ╲        talk
                                                              [∗T∗]  Conj    DP
                                                               he    and    ╱──╲
                                                                           Katie
```
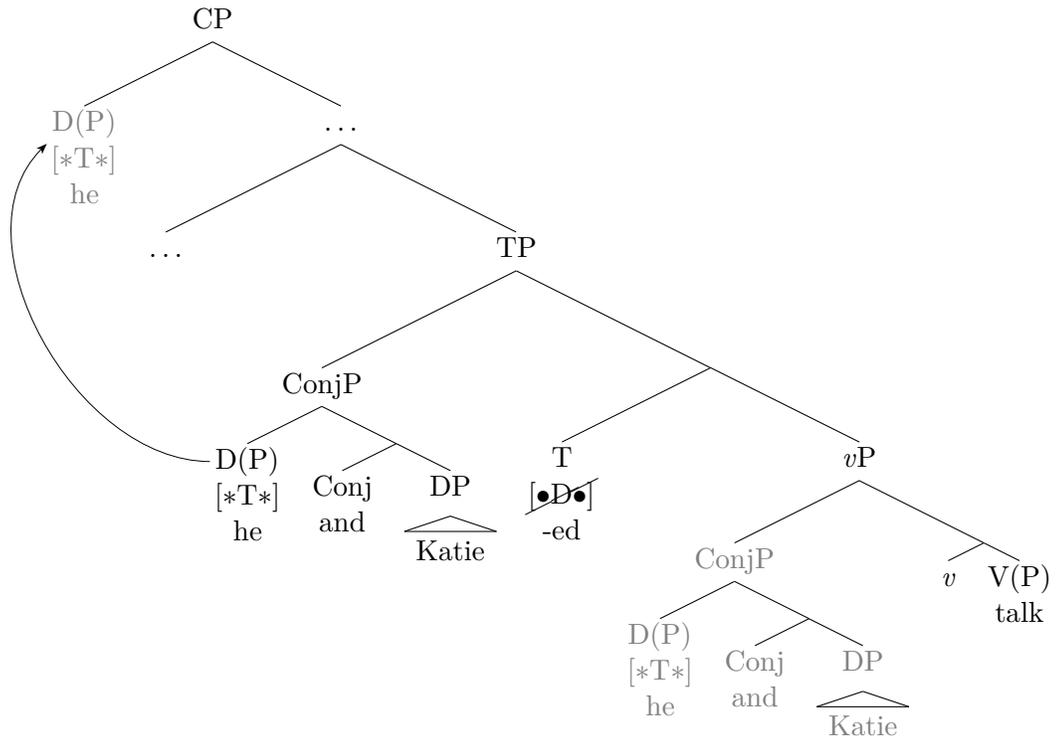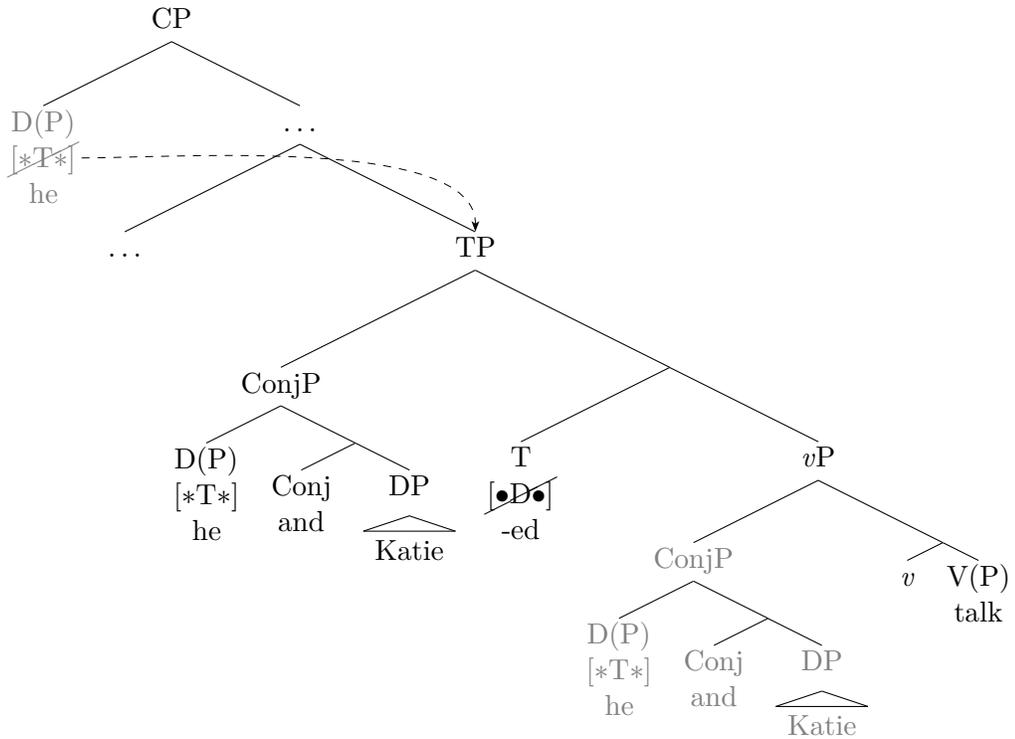
The hypothesis that this movement is covert rather than overt is intuitively plausible, but we'll see concrete empirical evidence for that view below.

Finally, [∗T∗] on the nominative pronoun is satisfied under Agree, as above:

(30)

```
                                    CP
                          ╱                    ╲
                    D(P)                        ...
                    [∗T∗]              ╱                    ╲
                     he             ...                      TP
                                               ╱                        ╲
                                          ConjP                          ╲
                                      ╱            ╲                       ╲
                                  D(P)              ╲                       ╲
                                  [∗T∗]    Conj      DP          T           vP
                                   he     and      ╱──╲       [•D•]    ╱          ╲
                                                  Katie        -ed   ConjP          ╲
                                                                  ╱        ╲      v   V(P)
                                                              D(P)          ╲        talk
                                                              [∗T∗]  Conj    DP
                                                               he    and    ╱──╲
                                                                           Katie
```
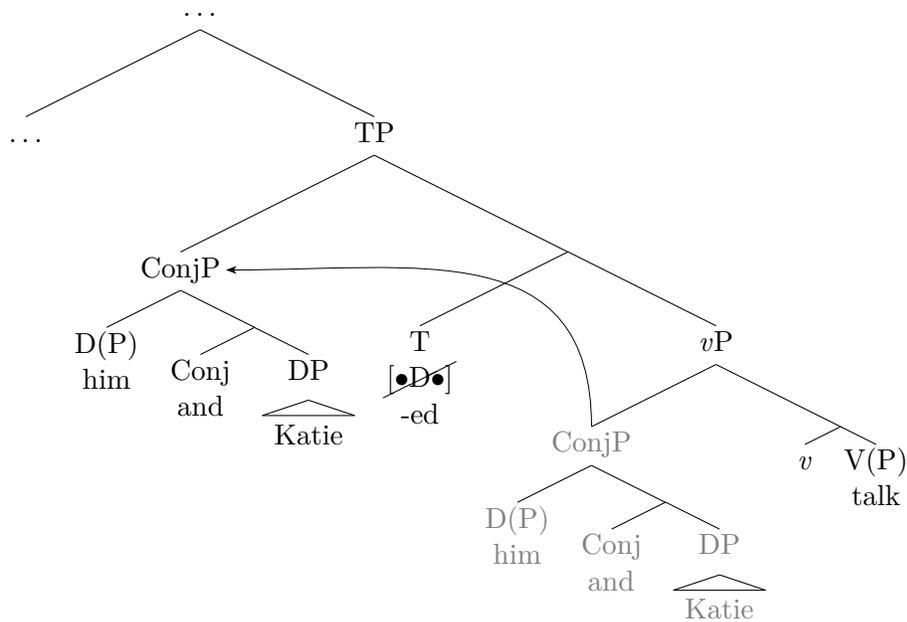
8

3.3 Derivation C: The pronominal conjunct is accusative, not nominative

Finally, consider the following:

(31)   Him and Katie talked.

The derivation of (31) is straightforward:

(32)

Him, being accusative rather than nominative, lacks [∗T∗].

Therefore, there's no feature that would force it to move out of the coordinate structure (covertly or otherwise), so it can't.

3.4 Interim conclusion

If this analysis is on the right track:

(33)   A pronoun that's a conjunct in a coordinate structure,
    a. if **nominative**, <u>should</u> move out of the coordinate structure covertly.
    b. if **accusative**, <u>shouldn't</u> move out of the coordinate structure covertly (or at all).

(34)   a. [CP he … [TP [ConjP he and Katie] -ed [vP v talk]]]   → He and Katie talked.
    b. [CP … [TP [ConjP him and Katie] -ed [vP v talk]]]   → Him and Katie talked.

4   Prediction: A contrast with respect to apparent "commanding out" for Condition C

That interim conclusion leads to the following prediction:

(35)   *Prediction*

A pronoun that's a conjunct in a coordinate structure,

    a.   if **nominative**, should be able to induce a Condition C violation in conjunction with a lower R-expression (within the complement of T). (It should appear—misleadingly—to "command out of" the coordinate structure.)

    b.   if **accusative**, should not be able to induce a Condition C violation in conjunction with an R-expression outside the coordinate structure. (It should not even appear to "command out of" the coordinate structure.)

Strikingly, this rather subtle prediction is correct. Consider the following:

4.1   Paradigm A: Two conjuncts, pronoun first

(36)   So, what about Mikey$_1$?
    a.   He$_1$ and Katie hugged Tommy's$_2$ mom.
    b.   Him$_1$ and Katie hugged Tommy's$_2$ mom.
    c.   ?*He$_1$ and Katie hugged Mikey's$_1$ mom.
    d.   (?)Him$_1$ and Katie hugged Mikey's$_1$ mom.

In accordance with the prediction, (36c) is severely degraded, whereas (36d) is far more innocuous: it's only slightly marginal (and its slight marginality might well be due to the repetition of the name *Mikey*).

<div align="right">(see Chametzky 1996:69, (11a), for an example analogous to (36c))</div>

Note: the context sentence *So, what about Mikey$_1$?* is included because, in the absence of a preceding *Mikey*, even *him* is unacceptable, indicating that cataphora is impossible in this configuration:

<div align="right">(see Kayne 2018, §9, for related discussion)</div>

(37)   *Him$_1$ and Katie hugged Mikey's$_1$ mom.

Why this is is unclear, but what's important is that we can control for it (as in (36)) by making the crucial pronoun (*he* or *him*) anaphoric in the strict sense rather than cataphoric—i.e., by giving it a preceding antecedent.

Note that we can't rerun the tests in (36) with the conjuncts switched, as in ＿*Katie and he*, for two reasons:

If *he* is unstressed (i.e., if we use the intonation contour characteristic of *Kátie and I*), the result is unacceptable independently of any potential Condition C violations:

(38)   *{Kátie and he$_1$} hugged Tommy's$_2$ mom.   (see also Grano 2006)

And if we try to circumvent this problem by contrastively focusing *Katie* and *he* in (38), endowing both with heavy stress:

(39)   KATIE and HE$_1$ hugged Tommy's$_2$ mom.

. . .then the sentence becomes acceptable, but the test will be uninformative, because focused pronouns are *independently* able to not induce Condition C violations that would, all else being equal, be expected:

(40) **A:** Did Tommy hug Mikey's$_1$ mom?
      B: No, HE$_1$ hugged Mikey's$_1$ mom.   (cf. Evans 1980:357, (52))

4.2 Paradigm B: Three conjuncts, pronoun second

So let's set _*Katie and he* aside and instead consider coordinate structures with three conjuncts, the pronoun being the second.

As predicted, *he* in this configuration behaves as though it "commanded out of" the coordinate structure, whereas *him* doesn't:

(41) So, what about Mikey$_1$?
      a.   Katie, he$_1$, and Susie hugged Tommy's$_2$ mom.
      b.   Katie, him$_1$, and Susie hugged Tommy's$_2$ mom.
      c. ?*Katie, he$_1$, and Susie hugged Mikey's$_1$ mom.
      d. (?)Katie, him$_1$, and Susie hugged Mikey's$_1$ mom.

4.3 Paradigms C and D: Ditto, but with the coordinate structure in indirect object position

On our analysis, an English nominative pronoun bears a [∗T∗] feature that forces it to move to a position c-commanding T. When it is a conjunct, it moves covertly, hence the "commanding out" illusion.

The analysis therefore predicts that a NOM pronominal conjunct should appear to "command out of" its coordinate structure even when the latter is not in subject position but in, e.g., indirect object position. This is correct:

4.3.1 Paradigm C: Two conjuncts, pronoun first

(42) So, what about Mikey$_1$?
      a.   ?I showed he$_1$ and Katie Tommy's$_2$ mom.   (marginal, but note the contrast with (42c))
      b.   I showed him$_1$ and Katie Tommy's$_2$ mom.
      c. ?*I showed he$_1$ and Katie Mikey's$_1$ mom.
      d. (?)I showed him$_1$ and Katie Mikey's$_1$ mom.

4.3.2 Paradigm D: Three conjuncts, pronoun second

(43) So, what about Mikey$_1$?
      a.   ?I showed Katie, he$_1$, and Susie Tommy's$_2$ mom.
      b.   I showed Katie, him$_1$, and Susie Tommy's$_2$ mom.
      c. ?*I showed Katie, he$_1$, and Susie Mikey's$_1$ mom.
      d. (?)I showed Katie, him$_1$, and Susie Mikey's$_1$ mom.

Note that (41), (42), and (43) confirm that nominative pronouns in coordinate structures move above T **covertly** in English, not overtly.

4.4 A further issue: why $[*T*]$ and not $[*T_{[+\textbf{FIN}]}*]$?

Consider the following:

(44)　a.　(?)I asked Mikey's$_1$ mom for he$_1$ and Katie to be allowed to visit Tommy.

　　　b.　I asked Mikey's$_1$ mom for him$_1$ and Katie to be allowed to visit Tommy.

Sentence (44a) is almost perfect. In the context of our analysis, this indicates that *he* in (44a) need not move to the matrix clause, reaching a position from which it c-commands the matrix finite T (T_{PAST})...

...since, if it did have to, it would c-command *Mikey* from its derived position, violating Condition C.

Instead, *he* can apparently be licensed in its clause of origin, by moving covertly to a left-peripheral position in the embedded clause and satisfying its $[*T*]$ feature by probing *to*.

The same is true of (45a), in which *he* is the second rather than the first conjunct:

(45)　a.　(?)I asked Mikey's$_1$ mom for Katie, he$_1$, and Susie to be allowed to visit Tommy.

　　　b.　I asked Mikey's$_1$ mom for Katie, him$_1$, and Susie to be allowed to visit Tommy.

This suggests that the probe feature that nominative pronouns bear really is $[*T*]$ rather than $[*T_{[+\text{FIN}]}*]$, since it can apparently be satisfied by the nonfinite T *to*.

This conclusion seems surprising, since, all else being equal, we would expect English nominative pronouns to be licensed by finite Ts but not by nonfinite Ts.

But there is independent evidence that nominative pronouns can be licensed in *for*-CPs—even, to some extent, when they aren't conjuncts.

Thus, although *he* cannot at all serve as the complement of the P *for* ((46)), it can marginally occur as the subject just under the C *for* ((47)): 　　　　　　　　　　　　　(see Grano 2006:7 for related discussion)

(46)　a.　For his wife, being picked would be a surprise, whereas for him, being picked would be a shock.

　　　b.　*For his wife, being picked would be a surprise, whereas for he, being picked would be a shock.
　　　($<$ Kayne 2012)

(47)　a.　For his wife to be picked would surprise us, whereas for him to be would shock us.

　　　b.　?For his wife to be picked would surprise us, whereas for he to be would shock us.[4]
　　　($<$ Kayne 2012)

(48)　a.　For his wife to be picked would be a surprise, whereas for him to be would be a shock.

　　　b.　?For his wife to be picked would be a surprise, whereas for he to be would be a shock.

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[4]Also relevant in this connection is the following:

(1)　For Mary to be the winner and {me/??I} to be the loser is unfair. 　　　　　　($<$ Sobin 1997:331, (17b))

In (1), *I* is considerably less acceptable than *me*—but in Sobin's judgment, which I share, it's not completely unacceptable, providing further evidence that nominative pronouns can be licensed in *for*-CPs at least to some extent.

5 Conclusion and theoretical implications

5.1 Recapitulation

The distribution of nominative and accusative pronouns in English is typically thought to be a matter of **realization**:

(49) *Realizational analysis of the nominative/accusative alternation in English pronouns*
   a. If a pronoun is the sole occupant of [Spec,T$_{[+\text{FIN}]}$P], then it will be realized in the nominative form.
   b. Otherwise, it will typically be realized in the accusative form, but it can be realized in the nominative form under certain circumstances (particularly if it is a conjunct). (adapted from (12))

We've argued against some concrete analyses along these lines on conceptual and empirical grounds ((15), (17)), and explored instead a different possibility...

...namely, that the distribution of nominative and accusative pronouns in English is a matter of **licensing**.

More specifically, nominative pronouns need to be licensed by entering into a local relation with T—an idea that was cashed out as follows:

(50) In English, a nominative pronoun bears a probe feature [∗T∗], which must be satisfied under Agree, and which therefore forces the pronoun to undergo moving-element-driven (greedy) movement to a position c-commanding T (Bošković 2007). (adapted from (18))

Unlike the realizational analysis of English nominative and accusative pronouns, this licensing-based analysis makes an asymmetric prediction about pronouns that are conjuncts in coordinate structures:

Nominative ones should, but accusative ones shouldn't, appear to "command out of" those coordinate structures for purposes of Condition C.

Remarkably, this rather subtle prediction was borne out.

5.2 Extensions

This investigation, though, raises a broader theoretical question that we need to address:

The proposal that a nominative pronoun that's a conjunct in a coordinate structure moves covertly out of that coordinate structure pays some real empirical dividends—but is it on solid ground theoretically?

Differently put: although the Coordinate Structure Constraint does not seem to hold in full force in all languages (§2), it is nonetheless highly crosslinguistically robust (see, e.g., Postal 1998:52 and refs. cited there)...

...so what justifies the claim that it can be circumvented in the English derivations investigated here?

One possibility that's worth exploring:

(51) The covert movement investigated here can circumvent the Coordinate Structure Constraint precisely because it's **moving-element-driven** (greedy), not **higher-head-driven** (altruistic).

Consider why this might be. Although islandhood is very likely a heterogeneous phenomenon, suppose for the sake of the discussion that at least some island effects are due to **phases** (more specifically, **phasal spellout**).

In particular, consider the following abstract derivation:

(52) $H_{[\bullet Y\bullet]}$ ... $[_{XP_{Phase}}$ (ZP) X $\boxed{\text{... YP ...}}$]

Here, YP is a constituent with no features that would force it to undergo moving-element-driven movement—so the only kind of movement it can undergo (if any) is higher-head-driven movement.

X is a phase head that happens not to have any lexical "twin" that bears a structure-building feature $[\bullet Y\bullet]$.

Therefore, YP will never be able to make it to the XP phase edge, so it'll get spelled out along with the rest of the complement of the phase head X...

...so, if a higher head H bears $[\bullet Y\bullet]$, it won't be able to attract YP. That is, XP is an island for YP-movement.

Crucially, although this sort of phase-based analysis of (certain) island effects seems viable when the movement in question (here, YP-movement) is higher-head-driven...

...it's far from clear that it would rule out YP-movement if YP-movement were moving-element-driven:

On, e.g., Bošković's (2007) analysis, an element that bears a probe feature $[*H*]$ (notation from Heck & Müller 2007) will keep moving and moving until it reaches a position from which it can value that feature under Agree.

That is, all else being equal, moving-element-driven movement should not be subject to any (syntactic) island constraints at all.

(Side note: that conclusion would, of course, be resisted by advocates of analyses on which all movement is moving-element-driven [e.g., Bošković 2007]. Consider the following:

(53)   a.   Wait, you were wondering [$_{CP}$ who had bought **WHAT**]?!
       b.   ?*Wait, **what**$_1$ were you wondering [$_{CP}$ who had bought ___$_1$]?

Sentence (53b) needs to be ruled out. Bošković [2007:631] makes the "assumption that English [+wh] C does not allow more than one Spec," which would indeed rule (53b) out...

...but that assumption could presumably only be incorporated into the analysis in the form of a highly stipulative representational filter [one that, furthermore, wouldn't find a natural home at either interface]:

Bare Phrase Structure [Chomsky 1995b] permits multiple specifiers, so if there are two *wh*-phrases that are motivated to undergo moving-element-driven movement to the CP edge, then we absolutely expect both of them to, even in English.)

Returning to our analysis: assuming that movement can in principle be driven by a feature either of the moving element or of a higher, c-commanding head (Lasnik 1995, 2003, Hornstein 1999, Nunes 2014, 2021)...

...we can embrace the conclusion that higher-head-driven movement is expected to obey syntactic island constraints, but moving-element-driven movement is not.

If this is on the right track, then any putatively moving-element-driven movement is expected to be island-insensitive—and if it turns out not to be, then a reanalysis in terms of higher-head-driven movement may be in order.

Whether there are other ways to circumvent island constraints—ones that might be available even to higher-head-driven movements—is an open question that awaits further investigation on another occasion.

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