The cartography of subject positions in copular constructions[1]

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1   Present-tense copular sentences in Hebrew

Copular sentences are formed with copular 'be' in past and future tense clauses, (1)a,b, but without a copular verb in the present tense, (1)c.

(1)   a. Dani   haya   more /   xaver-i   ha tov.
           D.   was   teacher / friend-my the good
       'Dani was a teacher / my good friend.'

       b. Dani   yhye   more /   xaver-i   ha tov.
           D.   will be   teacher / friend-my   the good
       'Dani will be a teacher / my good friend.'

       c. Dani   more /   xaver-i   ha tov.
           D.   teacher /   friend-mine   the good
       'Dani is a teacher / my good friend.'

In English, such copula-less sentences can only occur in embedded contexts:

(2) I consider Dani a teacher/my good friend.

They lack the functional structure of independent clauses:

(3) *I believe that Dani a teacher/ a good friend.

The Hebrew copula-less sentences occur as independent clauses.

(4)   ani   ma'amin še...(1)c.
       I   believe   that

So in Hebrew, the clausal architecture is projected.

1.1   Is the present tense copula simply not phonetically realized?
(5)   Two possibilities
       a. 'Bare' copular sentences contain a phonetically-null, morphosyntactically-conditioned
           (suppletive) variant of BE.   ✗
       b. There is no verb but some sort of T.   ✓
       (Doron 1983; Rapoport 1987; Rothstein 1995; Shlonsky 2000).

Standard Arabic copular sentences provide a *prima facie* reason to doubt (5)a.

(6) a. al-rajul-u   mudarris-un.
        the man-NOM   teacher-NOM
        'The man is a teacher.'

    b. kaana al-rajul-u   mudarris-an.
        was   the-man-NOM   teacher-ACC
        'The man was a teacher.'

2   Subjects of small clauses

Assume that scs have an asymmetric structure. This is motivated, among other things by the fact that they are not reversible. If the two components of the sc were sisters, it would be difficult to explain why they are not reversible:

(7) a. I consider John a linguist/my best friend
    b. *I consider a linguist/my best friend John

Rather, we want to structurally distinguish the "subject" from the "predicative" part. Suppose that the minimal small clause is as in (8), with the AP/DP merged with a Pred head (Bowers 1993; 2010; Svenonius 1994; den Dikken 2006), and the subject merged with the Pred constituent, (den Dikken calls it *Rel*).

(8)   I consider [John [Pred [intelligent / the best director]]]

2.1   Substantial evidence that the subject is actually higher than Spec/PredP (Postal 1974)

(9) a. What does John consider Bill?   (Svenonius 1994)
    b. How do you want your eggs?
    c. How famous did the incident make the criminal?

(10) a. How angry at each other did John think that he has made the men   (Huang 1993)
    b. *How angry at each other did the men think that they have made John?

(11)   [t$_{the\ men}$ How angry at each other] did John think that he has made the men __

(12) a. They made John out the murderer.   (den Dikken 2006)
    b. *They made out John the murderer.

(13) a. Louis considère [ces immeubles **tous** monumentaux].   Sportiche (1995)
        'Louis considers these buildings all monumental.'

    b. Marie voulait [ces enfants **tous** dans son bureau].
        'Mary wanted these children all in her office.'

cf.

    c. *Marie voulait que ces enfants **tous** soient dans son bureau.
        'Marie wanted that these children all be in her office.'

What position does the sc subject occupy?

Rizzi (2015a; 2015b) takes up the problem of sc subjects from the perspective of the theory of labeling. He argues that one has to distinguish "halting" Specs and Specs requiring further movement: Halting specs are criterial positions that do not allow further movement. It follows that $\alpha \neq \beta$ in (14).

(14)   a. I consider [$_\alpha$ John intelligent / the best director]
        b. John is considered [$_\beta$ ___ intelligent / the best director]
        c. A man who I consider [$_\beta$ ___ intelligent / the best director]

What is α? A criterial subjP above PredP:

(15) ... [John subj [__ Pred [intelligent / the best director]]] = α (or (14)a)

If we now transpose this to Hebrew, we have

(16)   ...[$_{TP}$ T-present[$_{subjP}$ Dani subj   [$_{PredP}$ ~~Dani~~ PRED   xaver-i ha tov]]]
                        Dani   *friend-my the best*

(16) is well-formed; it must also be assumed that the defective T does not probe for a subject.

3   A higher subject position

Negation and emphatic affirmation both precede the verb in Hebrew. When they appear in a 'bare' copular sentence, the subject must precede them.

(17)   a. Dani lo /ken more / xaver-i   ha tov.
          D.   not / yes teacher / friend-mine the good
          'Dani is not / IS a teacher / my good friend.'

        b. *lo /ken Dani more / xaver-i   ha tov.
          not / yes D.   teacher / friend-mine the good

<u>Hypothesis</u>: There is a second subject position above the category housing negation/affirmation (Pol), distinct from the sc-related subj. Let us call it SUBJ (upper case).

I assume that the merge of a polarity element forces the merge of SUBJ and subsequent movement of the sc PredP subject to its spec.

(18)   [$_{SUBJP}$ Dani SUBJ[$_{PolP}$ lo/ken[$_{TP}$ T-present[$_{PredP}$ ~~Dani~~ PRED xaver-i ha tov]]]]
        Dani   *not/yes*   *friend-my the best*

Merge of Pol forces the subject to raise to Spec/SUBJ. Let us now consider cases where merge of SUBJ is independent of a tight link to Pol and is motivated by properties of the subject phrase itself. Copular sentences like (1)c can be 'bare', but there are other types of copular sentences that cannot be bare. For such copular sentences to be grammatical, some functional material must appear between the two terms of the copular construction(Shlonsky 2000)). Examples of such sentences appear in (19) and (20). In the grammatical (a) examples, the negative particle *lo*, the emphatic affirmation particle *ken* and adverbs meaning 'of course', or 'certainly' appear between the two terms of the copular sentences. The (b) cases show that as 'bare' sentences, such copular sentences are ungrammatical. The first pair illustrates generic statements with a generic bare plural subject and the second a type-referring bare singular subject.

(19) a. 'orvim   lo/ken/bevaday/betax   šxorim.
        ravens   neg/yes/of course/certainly black
        'Ravens are not/ARE/of course/certainly black.'

     b. *'orvim   šxorim.
        ravens   black
        'Ravens are black.'   (Greenberg 1998; 2002)

(20) a. namer   lo/ken/bevaday/betax   nadir be arc-enu.
        tiger   neg/yes/of course/certainly rare in country-ours
        'Tigers/the tiger is/are not/IS/ARE/of course/certainly rare in our country.'

     b. *namer   nadir be arc-enu
        tiger   rare in country-ours
        'Tigers/the tiger is/are rare in our country.'   (Doron 2003)

An interim conclusion that we can draw at this point is that Hebrew makes available two halting specs in copular constructions, a low position akin to or perhaps identical to the small-clause-related subject position found in English small clauses, subj, and a higher position in the clausal skeleton, SUBJ.

Generic subjects *must* appear inSUBJ, while non-generic ones may.

4   Inverse copular constructions

Assuming, then, that (1)c is derived by moving *Dani* from Spec/Pred to Spec/Subj and (19)a and (20)a by moving 'ravens' and 'tiger', respectively, or to a higher subject position, we now ask why (21), which superficially involves a reversal of the position of the two constituents of the small clause, is ungrammatical.

(21) *xaver-i   ha tov   Dani
     friend-my   the good Dani
     'My good friend is Dani.'

(22) ...[subjP xaver-i   ha   tov   [PredP ~~xaver i ha   tov~~ [PRED   Dani]]
         friend-my   the   good   *Dani*

(23) ...[subjP xaver-i   ha   tov   [PredP Dani [PRED ~~xaver i   ha   tov~~]]
         friend-my   the   good   *Dani*

(24)   *xaver-i ha tov   lo/ken   Dani
         friend-my   the good not/yes   Dani
         'My good friend is not /IS Dani.'

(25)   *...[SUBJP   xaver-i   ha   tov   [PolP lo/ken   ...[Dani PRED ~~xaver i   ha   tov~~]]
            friend-my   the   good   not/yes   Dani

But inverse copular constructions do exist across languages, e.g., in English and Italian:

(26) a. John is my best friend.
      b. My best friend is John.

(27) a. Gianni è il mio miglior amico.
      b. Il mio miglior amico è Gianni.

5   Enter PRON: Yet an even higher subject position

The first observation that needs to be made is that inverse copular sentences do exist in Hebrew, but they require the presence of a third person pronoun in a position between the two terms of the copular construction.

(28)

	Sing.	Plu.
Masc.	hu	hem
Fem.	hi	hen

(29)b shows that Pron must be higher than Pol,

(29) a. xaver-i   ha tov   *(hu)   Dani.
         friend my   the good PRON.ms Dani
         'My good friend is Dani.'

      b. xaver-i   ha tov   *(hu)   (lo/ken) Dani.
         friend my   the good PRON.ms   neg/yes Dani
         'My good friend is not /IS Dani.'

while inflected verbs, (31), including the verbal copula, (32), obligatorily follow Pol.

(30) *xaver-i   ha tov   lo/ken   hu   Dani.
      friend-my   the good neg/yes   PRON.ms Dani

(31) a. Dani lo/ken   ohev xacilim.
     D.   neg/yes likes eggplants
     'Dani doesn't/does like eggplants.'

   b. *Dani ohev lo/ken xacilim.

(32) a. Dani lo/ken haya more /   xaver-i   ha tov.
     D.   neg/yes was   teacher / friend-my the good
     'Dani was not/WAS a teacher / my good friend.'

   b. *Dani haya lo/ken more /   xaver-i   ha tov.
     D.   was   neg/yes teacher / friend-my the good

(33) PRON lexicalizes SUBJ2°.

(34) ...DP SUBJ2...DP SUBJ1 ...Pol ...DP subj [$_{PredP}$ ...]
               | | |
             PRON   Ø   Ø

PRON only appears with a defective T and cannot occur with a T that selects the copula. Thus, the co-occurrence of PRON and a verbal copula is strictly ungrammatical.[2]

(35) *xaver-i ha tov   hu   haya /yhye Dani.
     friend my   the good PRON.ms   was/will be Dani
     'My good friend was/will be Dani.'

The option of merging both PRON and a tensed copula is apparently found in Polish, where SUBJ is lexicalized with an invariant element, *to*. Citko (2008) characterizes *to* as a 'pronominal copula', glossing it PRON, and provides the following paradigm (her (4) and (5)). As (36)c shows, PRON can co-occur with a verbal copula (a 'dual copula sentence', in Citko's terms). Moreover, *to* can co-occur with 'be' in all tenses in Polish.

(36) a. Jan **jest** mój najlepszym przyjacielem.   *jest*: verbal copula
     Jan   is   my   best   friend
     'Jan is my best friend.'

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[2]   Berman and Grosu (1976) note that (35) is grammatical when hu is a resumptive pronoun and 'my good friend' is a topic . Not only does such a sentence manifest the particular intonational contour of topicalization - a pause between the topic and the following phrase - but it resists a quantifcational subject, a typical property of topics, contrast (ia) with PRON and (ib) with *hu* as a resumptive pronoun.

   (i) a. af student   hu   lo ga'on.
       no student   PRON-ms neggenius
       'No student is a genius.'

      b. *af student   hu lo haya   ga'on.
       no student   he negwas   genius
       lit. 'No student, he was a genius.'

b. Jan **to** mój najlepszy przyjaciel. *to*: pronominal copula
   Jan PRON my best friend.
   'Jan is my best friend.'

c. Jan **to** **jest** mój najlepszy przyjaciel. *to* and *jest*
   Jan PRON is my best friend
   'Jan is my best friend.'

to is obligatory in inverse copular sentences:

(37) a. mój najlepszy przyjaciel to (jest) Jan.
      my best friend PRON is Jan

b.[3] *mój najlepszy przyjaciel jest Jan.
      my best friend is Jan

French is a little different: Spec/SUBJ2 and SPEC/Subj1 are both filled, the latter by an expletive of sorts (see Roy and Shlonsky (to appear)).

(38) a. Jean (c')est mon meilleur ami. *canonical: CE is optional*
      Jean (CE).is my best friend

b. Mon meilleur ami ??(c')est Jean. *inverse*: *CE is obligatory*
   my best friend (CE).is Jean.

I know address the following two questions.
   I. **Why must inverted predicate nominals target Spec/SUBJ2** (and not simply move to Spec/SUBJ1)?
   II. **How is this movement compatible with RM** (on the assumption that the predicate nominal moves over the subject.)?

(39) **Derivation of inverse copular sentences** (Rizzi 2015b, Shlonsky & Rizzi (submitted))
   First, the subject in an inverse copular sentence is moved to a low focus position in the clause.
   Second, the remnant PredP is moved (smuggled) over it.
   Third, the predicate nominal is extracted out of the remnant PredP and merged with SUBJ2.

5.1 The derivation of inverse copular sentences

5.1.1 Focalization

It has often been observed that the post-copular nominal in an inverse copular sentence is focalized (Heycock (2012), and references cited therein).

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[3] Acceptable if *is* means 'playing the role of, pretending to be', in which case it is presumably not an inverted sentence.

(40) A: mi   haya ha   ašem?   (Dani o Bill?)
     Who was   the   culprit? (Dani or Bill?)

   B: DANI haya ha   ašem.
      DANI was   the   culprit.

(41) A: sapri li   'al   Dani. hu   haya ha   ašem   o ha   qorban?
     'Tell me   about Dani. He   was   the   culprit or the   victim?'

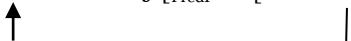   B: Dani haya ha   AŠEM.
      Dani was   the   CULPRIT.
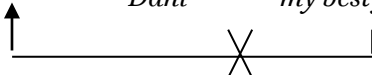
(42) A: Mi   haya ha   ašem?   (Dani o Bill?)
     Who was   the   culprit? (Dani or Bill?)
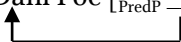
   B: ha   ašem   haya DANI.
      The   culprit was   DANI.

(43) A: sapri li   'al   Dani. hu   haya ha   ašem   o ha   qorban?
     'Tell me   about Dani. He   was   the   culprit or the   victim?'
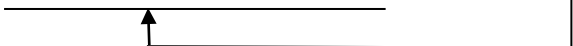
   B: *ha   AŠEM   haya Dani.
      'The   CULPRIT was   Dani.'

(44) The necessarily focal character of the subject in inverse copular constructions can be made to follow from locality (Relativized Minimality).   Rizzi (2015b)

(45)   [[Dani] [Pred   [xaver-i ha tov]]]
            Dani   my best friend

(46)   [Dani Foc [PredP __ [Pred [my best friend]]]]

5.1.2   Smuggling and extraction

(47)   a. SUBJ [PredP __ [Pred [my best friend]]] X [Dani Foc __]

   b. My best friend SUBJ [PredP __ [Pred __]] X [Dani Foc __]

(48)   ...   SUBJ2...   SUBJ1 POL ... DPa Foc ... [__ [Pred DPb]]
              | |
              PRON   Ø
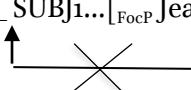
(49)   ... SUBJ2... [__   [Pred DPb]] X ... SUBJ1   POL ... DPa Foc   __ ...
                | |
              PRON   Ø

(50) Why does smuggling necessarily target a position higher than SUBJ1 as in (49).

(51) ... SUBJ1 ... [__   [Pred DPb]]   ... DPa   Foc   __ ...
             |
             Ø

Roy & Shlonsky (to appear) argue that *ce* in inverse copular constructions such as (38)b, repeated below in (52), occupies Spec/SUBJ1. The idea is that the probe in French requires Move and not mere Agree. However, movement of *Jean*, the focalized subject, is barred by criterial freezing. Thus, to satisfy the agreement probe, *ce* is externally-merged in Spec/SUBJ1.

(52) Mon meilleur ami ??(c')est Jean.
      my best friend (CE).is Jean.

(53) a. [$_{FocP}$ Jean FOC [$_{PredP}$ ~~Jean~~ PRED [mon meilleur ami]]]

      b. [$_{SUBJ1}$ __ SUBJ1...[$_{FocP}$ Jean FOC [$_{PredP}$ ~~Jean~~ PRED [mon meilleur ami]]]

      c. [$_{SUBJ1}$ *ce* SUBJ1...[$_{FocP}$ Jean FOC [$_{PredP}$ ~~Jean~~ PRED [mon meilleur ami]]]

Smuggling of PredP then follows and subsequently, *mon meilleur ami* is moved to Spec/Subj2.

Italian differs from French in, among other things, allowing the probe to verify its case features with Agree alone, without Move. One possible consequence of this difference is that the copula agrees with *ce* in French, but with the postcopular DP in focus in Italian:

(54) a. La cause de la révolte c'est les photos du mur.   *be* is singular
      b. La causa della rivolta sono le foto del muro.   *be* is plural
          The cause of the riot is the pictures of the wall.

In Hebrew, unlike French, SUBJ1 is dependent on the presence of POL. This is why POL is required in copular sentences with generic or type-referring subjects: It forces, as it were, the subject nominal to raise to its specifier, just as in non-generic canonical copular sentences such as

(55) [$_{SUBJP}$ Dani SUBJ1[$_{PolP}$ lo/ken ...[$_{PredP}$ ~~Dani~~ PRED xaver-i ha tov]]]
      Dani   ....not/yes   friend-my the best

In bare copular sentences, without POL, I assume that SUBJ1 does not need to be merged and that some sort of default mechanism assures Case on the subject nominal.

6 Optional PRON

In bare copular sentences - with nothing in-between subject and predicate - the subject nominal is in Spec/subj, as it presumably is in embedded scs in English.

It must raise to Spec/SUBJ1 in the generic and type-construed sentences exemplified by the (a) sentences in (19) and (20) as well as in sentences in which Pol is merged.

Now, we should ask

(56) Is PRON (i.e., SUBJ2) restricted to inverted copular sentences?

No. PRON is also an option, alongside SUBJ1 in sentences with generic subjects:

(57) 'orvim   hem   (lo/ken/etc…) šxorim.
      ravens   PRON.3mpl no/yes/etc   black
      'Ravens are/are not(ARE/etc… black.'

(58) . namer hu   (lo/ken/etc…) nadir   be arc-enu.
         tiger PRON.3ms no/yes/etc   rare   in country-ours
         'Tigers are/are not(ARE/etc… rare in our country.'

(59) a. PRON is obligatory in inverted copular constructions.
      b. PRON is optional in sentences with generic subjects .

7 The 'content' of the different subject positions

(60) a. ba'aya   *(axat) hi   Dani.
          problem (one) PRON-fs Dani
          'One/*a problem is Dani.'

      b. Dani hu   ba'aya   (axat).
          Dani PRON-ms   problem (one)
          'Dani is one/a problem.'

      c. ba'aya   (axat)   omedet be-dark-enu
          problem (one)   stands   in-way-our
          'One/a problem stands in our way.'

(61) a. mišehu   hu   xaver šel   Dani
          someone PRON-ms   friend of   Dani
          'Someone (specific) is Dani's friend.'

      b. mišehu   xaver šel Dani
          someone friend of Dani
          'Someone or another is Dani's friend.'

(62) a. *Personne ce (n')est mon ami.
        nobody CE (not) is my friend

    b. *Aucun étudiant ce (n')est un génie.
        no student CE.is a genius

    c. Chaque étudiant c'est un génie potentiel.
        every student CE. is a potential genius

    d. La plupart de mes collègues c'est des amis.
        most of my colleagues CE.is friends

(63) SUBJ2 is +presuppostional

(64) a. ha rofe   šeli   be pariz.
        the doctor   mine   in Paris
        'My doctor is in Paris (now).'

    b. ha rofe   šeli   hu   be pariz.
        the doctor   mine PRON   in Paris
        'My doctor is in Paris (generally).'

(65) a. ha rofe   šeli   be pariz.
        the doctor   mine in Paris
        'My doctor **ga** is in Paris.'

    b. ha rofe   šeli   hu   be pariz.
        the doctor   mine PRON   in Paris
        'My doctor **wa** is in Paris.'

(66) a. ha šamaym kxulim   compare: a. le ciel est bleu.
        the sky   blue
        'The sky is blue (now).'

    b. ha šamaym hem   kxulim   b. Le ciel c'est bleu
        the sky   PRON blue
        'The sky is of blue color.'

(67) Subjects of PRON sentences are categorical judgements.

Following Ladusaw (1994; 2000), we might consider i-level "predication" to be categorical
judgements (and s-level thetic ones):

(68) a. Rina hi   yafa / nexmada   ha erev.
        Rina PRON.3fs   pretty/nice   this evening

    b. Rina yafa / nexmada.
        Rina pretty/nice

When SUBJ1 is deployed and not SUBJ2, we get the thetic and not the categorical judgement

(69) a. ha šamaym lo kxulim
the sky not blue
'the sky ga is not blue'

    b. ha rofe šeli lo be pariz.
the doctor mine neg in Paris
'My doctor ga is not in Paris.'

This means that SUBJ1, like subj, is not the locus of categorical judgements, only SUBJ2 is. This is perhaps not particularly revealing for these examples but it becomes relevant when we conisder type-referring or generic subjects. Recall that these required access to either SUBJ1 or SUBJ2:

(70) 'orvim hem šxorim.
ravens PRON.3mpl black
'Ravens are black.'

(71) namer hu nadir be arc-enu.
tiger PRON.3ms rare in country-ours
'Tigers are rare in our country.'

(72) 'orvim lo/ken/etc... šxorim.
ravens no/yes/etc black

(73) namer lo/ken/etc...nadir be arc-enu.
tiger no/yes/etc rare in country-ours

8 Focalization and wh movement out of copular constructions

Generic sentences are also fine with contrastive focus.

(74) 'ORVIM šxorim (, lo drorim).
RAVENS black (, not sparrows)

This kind of contrastive focalization involves movement of the focus to the left periphery (Rizzi 1997; Bocci 2013). The crux of the proposal here is that in (74), both the Subject Criterion and the Focus Criterion can be satisfied by internal merge. After merge of the minimal halting subject position, subj (and perhaps T) Focus is merged and subj moves step-wise to Foc in the left periphery. Then, the subject nominal 'ravens' is moved out of the smuggled small clause directly to Spec/FOC+subj, where the Focus-criterion and the subject criterion are both satisfied. (See Rizzi (2011), Shlonsky (2014).)

Left-peripheral focalization does not, however, rescue an inverse copular sentence, where PRON is still required.

(75) HA AXOT   *(hi)   Rina (, lo ha   rofa'a).
     THE NURSE   PRON.3fs Rina (, not the doctor)

Recall that in the course of the derivation of inverse copular sentences, there is a step of smuggling of PredP. So (75) must involve more structure than (74).

If the next step after smuggling in (75) were to involve movement of the subject –embedded in the smuggled constituent – to Spec/SUBJ2, the subject would get criterially frozen and further movement to the left periphery would not be possible.

Suppose; After smuggling and merge of SUBJ2 – lexicalized by PRON - Fin and Focus are merged and SUBJ2 moves step-wise to Foc in the left periphery. Then, the subject nominal is moved out of the smuggled small clause directly to Spec/FOC+SUBJ2, where the Focus-criterion and the subject criterion are both satisfied.

Wh movement in (76) looks like contrastive focalization in (74) and, in the tradition following Rizzi (1997) – both involve A' movement to Spec/Foc.

(76) mi   more ?
      who   teacher

But now notice that whereas contrastive focalization of *ravens* is also possible also with PRON, as in (77) , PRON is excluded in wh movement, (78).

(77) 'ORVIM hem   šxorim (, lo drorim).
      RAVENS PRON.mpl   black   (, not sparrows)

(78) *mi   hu   more ?
      who   PRON-ms   teacher
      'Who is a teacher?'

The impossibility of (78) follows from the semantic/pragmatic signature of *hu* qua SUBJ2, basically, the presuppositionality effect, which is not consistent with the bare wh element *mi*, while *ravens* is presupp.

Indeed, when *mi* is replaced by *eize assistent* 'which assistant', PRON becomes not only possible, but obligatory.

(79) eize assistent   *(hu)   more ?
      which assistant   PRON-ms teacher
      'Which assistant is a teacher?'

Ditto for relatives:
(80) ha   assistant še   *(hu)   gam   more...
      the   assistant that PRON.ms   also   teacher...

(76) involves movement of subj (or SUBJ1, if negated) but no of SUBJ2, to Fin and Foc → multiple criterial satisfaction.
In (78) and (79), SUBJ2 moved to Fin, Foc (or REL).

8.1   Long wh movement out of copular constructions
Houdini: PRON reappears in subject extraction (compare (81)a and (78).

(81)   a.   *mi   / eize yadid šel-xa   ata xošev še   more?
            who /which friend of yours   you think that   teacher

       b.   mi   / eize yadid šel-xa   ata xošev še   hu   more?
            who /which friend of yours   you   think   that   PRON-ms teacher
               'Who/Which one of your friends do you think is a teacher?'

(82)   PRON is obligatory in long extraction indepedendently of the preusppositionality of the wh subject.

(81)a contrasts sharply with long wh movement out of a clause with a tensed verb: (83) is constructed with the past tense form of BE. It shows that subject extraction in Hebrew is possible out of a tensed complement clause with an overt complementizer (Shlonsky 1990; 2014).

(83)   mi   / eize yadid šel-xa   ata xošev še   haya   more ?
       who   /which friend of yours   you   think   that   was   teacher
       'Who/Which one of your friends do you think was a teacher?'

Shlonsky (2014b) argues that (83) is good because Hebrew Fin can satisfy the Subject Criterion in the way French *qui* does (Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007): Endowed with a nominal feature, Fin satisfies the Subject Criterion in a head-head, rather than in the more familiar Spec-head configuration, allowing the subject to proceed directly to the left periphery (and onwards to the main clause) without being criterially-frozen in Spec/Subj.

The question is why PRON is required in (81)a. In a sense, we might expect the opposite, if PRON lexicalizes SUBJ2 and the subject wh is in its specifier, it should be criterially- frozen there and (81)a should be bad while (81)b good.

Hypothesis:
Long wh movement of the subject mobilizes a "nominal" Fin, along the lines of Rizzi & Shlonsky (2006; 2007). The idea is that in (81)a, PRON lexicalizes Fin and not SUBJ2. There is a clear relation between Fin and Tense, a division of labor, one might say, in the representation of tense (and perhaps one of the factors underlying V-to-Fin in verb-second Germanic, cf. Koster (2003)).

If so, the two PRONs are closely related, but not fully identical. In non-wh contexts with a defective T, PRON lexicalizes Subj2. In wh-extraction cases, where nominal FIN is mobilized, PRON lexicalizes a nominal Fin.

Two questions

(i)   Why can't the strategy of moving subj to Foc (as in short wh/focus movement) be exploited in subject extraction?

(ii)   Why does short wh movement not avail itself of the strategy of merging SUBJ2 and lexicalizing a nominal FIN with PRON to satisfy the Subject Criterion?

Answer to (i)

Multiple criterial satisfaction has the consequence of freezing the subject nominal, so that futher movement to the matrix Foc would not be possible. Consequently, multiple criterial satisfaction is only possible in short wh movement.

Answer to (ii)

When the grammar has to choose between a strategy involving internal merge and one which requires access to the Lexicon (the pronominal lexicalization of FIN), it selects internal merge. Ceteris paribus,

(84)   Internal merge preempts external merge.

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