INTRODUCTION: SUBJECT ISLAND?

Extraction out of subjects is generally considered as ungrammatical (Ross 1967, Chomsky 2008...) Subject islands have nonetheless been claimed to vary across languages (Rizzi 1990, Godard 1992...) and across constructions (Sprouse et al. 2015...). Pragmatic (Kuno 1967, Goldberg 2013...) and processing factors also play a role on putative "islands" (Kluender 1992, Hofmeister et al. 2013...).

DON'T RELATIVE CLAUSES IN FRENCH

French don't (of which, whose) relativizes verbal (1), object noun (2,4) or subject noun (3) var complements. Minimal approaches predict (1) to be easier than (2), and (3) to be the reverse: (3) should be easier than (1), and (1) than (2). In terms of linear distance between don't and the gap, DLT also predicts (4), with a 1st person subject je, to be easier than (2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DONT relative clauses</th>
<th>(1) DONT extraction from VP:</th>
<th>(2) DONT extraction from object NP (NP subject):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>... one accord dont nous avons hérité ...</td>
<td>... des fonds dont (at la gestion) ...</td>
<td>(Ftb)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(the agreement of which we have inherited)</td>
<td>(the state has the management)</td>
<td></td>
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(3) DONT extraction from subject NP: des PDG dont le cœur penche à gauche (FTB) |
(4) DONT extraction from object NP (ditic subject): une fille dont je t'ai oublié (le prénom) ... (CFPP)

(DET of which the heart leans toward left)
(a girl of which I forgot the name)

2 CORPUS STUDIES: WRITTEN (FRENCH TREEBANK) AND SPOKEN (CORPS DU FRANCAIS PARLE PARISIEN 2000) FRENCH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DONT extractions of island</th>
<th>Out of subject NP</th>
<th>Out of object NP</th>
<th>Out of others Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FTB</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFP</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- More don't extractions out of subject overall in written French (FTB)
- More don't extractions out of subject than out of object in both FTB (written) and CFPP (spoken)
- More subject extractions (7%) than NP subjects (23%) in spoken French (CFPP).
- NP subjects more frequent than NP objects in both corpora BUT:
- Extraction rate for subjects (77% FTB, 80% CFPP) much higher than extraction rate for objects (48% FTB, 58% CFPP)
- Almost all extractions out of object NP involve a pronoun subject

=> Subject island constraint disconfirmed; predictions of DLT confirmed

EXPERIMENT 1 ACCEPTABILITY JUDGEMENT (57 PARTICIPANTS)

Material for truth statements

A / Extraction from subject NP
Elles travaillent dans un cabinet dont la propreté intimide mes parents à chaque fois.
They work in an office in which the neatness intimidates my parents every time.

B / Extraction from object NP with a pronominal subject
Elles travaillent dans un cabinet dont nous admirons la propreté à chaque fois.
They work in an office in which we admire the neatness every time.

C / Extraction from object NP with a nominal subject
Elles travaillent dans un cabinet dont mes parents admirent la propreté à chaque fois.
They work in an office of which my parents admire the neatness every time.

The participants were asked to rate the sentences on a scale from 1 (bad) to 10 (good)

Results
Linear mixed models show:
- Extraction out of the subject (A) was judged significantly better than extraction out of the object with a nominal subject (C); p<.05
- Extraction out of object NP yielded a significant preference for pronoun (B) over nominal subjects (C); p<.05
- No significant difference have been found between the control conditions.

A PRIVILEGE OF DONT?

Dont is a complementizer (Godard 1988), extraction out of subject ruled out for wh-relativizer (de qui d'où)? Attested examples (contra Teller 1991, Sportiche 1998):

(5) Walter Van Beirendonck n'est pas seulement l'homme de qui le nom est à placer sur un plateau de Scrabble en mot compte triple (WWW, 2015)
Walter Van Beirendonck is not only the man of whom the name is to be placed on a Scrabble board as triple value word

(6) un spout de kilos sur un départ été très sécurisant (WWW, 2015)
a place of kilos from where the departure is very secured

A privilege of French 7
Hale 2003 reports a preference for whose subject over whose object relative clause; genitive of subject relativization easier than genitive of object?

CONCLUSION

- Relativization out of a subject NP cannot be an island, otherwise it would be ungrammatical, intuitively ungrammatical, intuitional or create extra processing cost.
- Our production data (corpora) and comprehension data (experiment 1 and 2) disconfirm the subject island constraint for French and confirm processing accounts like DLT and surprisal.
- The extra cost of a lexical subject when extracting out of an object NP (new discourse referent between don't and the gap) is confirmed as well.
- Further studies: interrogatives with de qui, duquel as well