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## *That*-trace effects without traces: in favor of a phonological EPP

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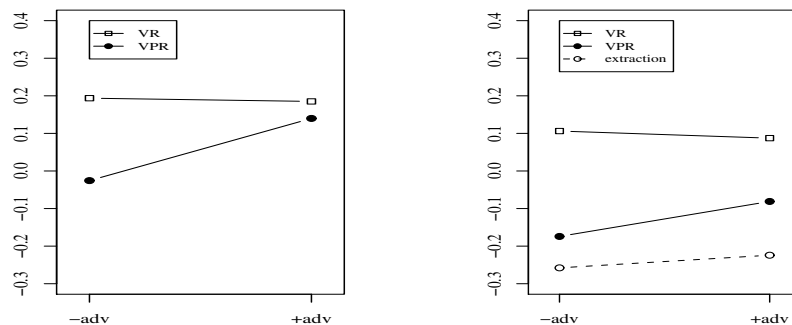
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We argue that *that*-trace effects in German as in (1) are neither due to inherent properties of the extractee (subjecthood) nor due to extraction as such. Rather, the deviance of long subject extraction is due to a violation of a general (subject-unrelated) PF-based EPP-requirement of the middle field. We will demonstrate this by showing that *that*-trace-(like) effects don't only arise with SU-extraction (3) but also in sentences with verb projection raising in the embedded clause (2). Crucially, if complementizer and finite verb are adjacent, both structures are perceived as degraded, while their acceptability improves once an adverb is inserted after the complementizer. The empirical part of the presentation rests on experiments in which the position of the finite verb in the verb cluster as well as its adjacency to the complementizer are systematically varied.

(1) Wer glaubst du, dass \_\_\_ ?\*(morgen) kommt?  
who.NOM believe you that tomorrow comes

(2) (3)



**References:** Culicover 1993. The adverb effect. NELS 97-110. Featherston 2005. *That*-trace in German. *Lingua* 1277-1302. Haider 2006. Mittelfeld phenomena. The Blackwell companion to syntax, 204-274. Kiziak 2010. *Extraction Asymmetries*. Amsterdam: JB. Landau 2007. EPP Extensions. *LI* 485-523.