Evidence that V2 involves two movements: a reply to Müller

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This paper considers a recent proposal by Müller (forthcoming) that the traditional two-movement analysis of verb second (V2) constructions can usefully be replaced by a single movement analysis. Specifically, Müller proposes that V2 structures involve a fronted vP-remnant containing only the finite verb and an XP that has not undergone evacuation from the vP-domain. We argue that there are both empirical and theoretical reasons to doubt the validity of Müller's proposal and that the standard analysis fares better in accounting for a number of phenomena that do not appear to be explicable on a single movement analysis. In particular, we consider three types of problematic data: those which point to the implausibility of the assumption that initial constituents in V2 constructions necessarily originate vP-internally and also those which respectively suggest that it is necessary to identify distinct verb- and XP-raising operations.

1 Introduction

In a very interesting recent paper, Müller (forthcoming) argues that the hitherto standard analysis of verb second (V2) constructions involving two separate movements of the verb and