**Binding in tenseless domains**

1. **Introduction** This paper presents and analyzes binding in Askim Norwegian (a south-east dialect of Norway), arguing that the binding domain of the 3.sg./pl. reflexive seg is constrained by semantic tense (henceforth ‘tense’). This differs from both standard and dialectal accounts previously given for Norwegian. According to the standard account, the domain of seg is constrained by morphological finiteness, in that it cannot be bound out of a finite clause (Hellan 1988, 1991, Dalrymple 1993, Safir 2004, Büring 2005, Reuland 2006). In north-western Norwegian dialects, the binding domain of seg is constrained by logophoricity (Moshagen/Trosterud 1990, Strahan 2001), in the same manner as in Icelandic (Thráinsson 2007).

2. **Data** In Askim N., seg cannot be bound out of a finite clause selected by most matrix verbs (1a), but it can be when the matrix verb is a perception verb (1b). Since the verbs in (1a) are canonical licensors of logophoricity, and perception verbs are known to block logophoricity (Sigurðsson 1990, Culy 1994, Strahan 2001), logophoricity cannot be a factor.

Finite complement clauses of perception verbs in Askim N. are special also in the domain of tense, in that they are tenseless. This is seen by the obligatory simultaneous reading in past-under-past constructions (2), lack of double access reading (3) and prohibition of temporal conflicts (4).

3. **Analysis** Adhering to the classic movement theory of binding, where the reflexive moves covertly to T (Chomsky 1986, Cole/Sung 1994, Reuland 2001), Reinhart/Reuland 1991 propose that non-local binding out of an infinitival clause occurs as a pied-piping by-product of verb movement from the subordinate to the matrix clause (5), although a motivation for such verb movement is admittedly lacking (Reuland 2006).

I propose that the motivation for verb movement in Askim N. is tenselessness. Interclausal verb raising is a standard analysis of the many phenomena grouped together as ‘restructuring’, one of the most common being that the object of an embedded verb behaves as if it were the morphosyntactic object of the matrix verb, as in clitic climbing or long passive (Wurmbrand 2001). Since restructuring effects only take place with tenseless clauses (Wurmbrand 2001, 2006), I propose that non-local binding of seg in Askim N. is another restructuring effect.

The embedded tenseless verb raises with pied-piping of the reflexive seg to the matrix verb, where seg is bound in a local configuration with the matrix subject, in the same fashion as in (5). Since seg otherwise is only locally bound, non-local binding in Askim N. is thus another case where the object of an embedded verb behaves as if it were the morphosyntactic argument of the matrix verb, in short: restructuring.

4. **Support for restructuring** Independent of non-local binding, it is argued in Wiklund 2007 that restructuring is present in Norwegian in a verb copying process, where a tenseless non-finite clause optionally takes on the morphological finiteness of the matrix verb. In (6), the non-finite tenseless clause of la ‘let’ and se ‘see’ allows verb copying, while the non-finite tensed clause of be ‘tell’ does not.

5. **Predictions** Tying non-local binding of seg to tense in the embedded clause predicts a contrast between matrix verbs that select tensed clauses and matrix verbs that select tenseless clauses, irrespective of whether they are perception verbs or not, and irrespective of the embedded clauses being finite or non-finite. This prediction holds. A matrix verb dromme ‘dream’ selects a tenseless finite clause (7), and allows non-local binding (8). The matrix verbs la ‘let’ and tvinge ‘force’ select tenseless non-finite clauses with object control, and allow non-local binding (9), (10). be ‘tell’ and beordre ‘order’ select tensed non-finite clauses with object control, and disallow non-local binding (9), (10).

6. **Conclusion** Askim N. is to my knowledge the first language where it is now shown that non-local binding of reflexives is not constrained by either the overt finite morphology or logophoricity, but by tense. Any theory of reflexive binding must therefore consider the effect of tense from now on. It further serves as counter-evidence to the claim in Reuland/Koster 1991 and Reuland 2006 that there does not exist any structural, only logophoric, binding of reflexives out of finite clauses.

Askim N. also brings a valuable addition to the theory of restructuring. First in confirming the importance of tense, and second in establishing a link between non-local binding and restructuring, two areas generally held apart.
(1a) *Reveni sa/truddie/frykta [at noen jakta på seg,]
(b) ?Reveni hørte/så/lukta [at noen jakta på seg,]
The-fox said/believed/fear that someone chased (past) on self
heard/saw/smelled

(2) Per sa/så [at Kari var med barn]
Peter said/saw that Kate was with child
Interpretations: Peter said: “Kate is pregnant” or “Kate was pregnant”
Peter saw: /Kate is pregnant/ but not */Kate was pregnant/

(3) Per sa/*så [at Kari er gravid]
Peter said/saw that Kate is pregnant

(4a) I dag sa Per [at det regna i fjord]
(b) I dag så Per [at det regna (*i fjord)]
Today said/saw Peter that it rained last year

(5) Joni bad oss [snakke om seg,]
John asked us talk (inf.) about self
‘John asked us to talk about him’ (The sentence and judgment in Hellan 1988)

(6) Jeg ville ha latt/sett/*bett ’n [gjort det]
I would have let/seen/told (perf.) him done (perf.) it
‘I would have let/seen/told him (to) do it’

(7) Per drømte [at Kari var med barn]
Peter dreamed that Kate was with child
Interpretations: Peter dreamed: /Kate is pregnant/ but not */Kate was pregnant/

(8) Hundeni *truddie/*drømte [at noen leika med seg,]
The-dog believed/dreamed that someone played (past) with self

(9) Lærereni ?lot/*ba elevene i [PROj stå bak seg,]
The-teacher let/told the-students stand (inf.) behind self
‘The teacher let/told the students (to) stand behind him’

(10) Lærereni ?tvang/*beordra elevene til [å PROj stå bak seg,]
The-teacher forced/ordered the-students to to stand (inf.) behind self
‘The teacher forced/ordered the students to stand behind him’

References