

Long-distance binding of Norwegian reflexives

1. Introduction. This paper presents data from Østfold Norwegian (ØN) showing that a reflexive can be bound out of finite and non-finite clauses if they are semantically tenseless. The analysis proposes that tenseless clauses trigger restructuring with interclausal verb raising, and that non-local binding thus can be reduced to a restructuring effect.

2. ØN Data. The 3. person reflexive *seg* can be bound out of a finite clause when embedded under a perception verb (1):

- (1a) ?Reven_i hørte/så/lukta [at noen jakta på seg_i]
 The-fox heard/saw/smelled that someone chased on self
 'The fox heard/saw/smelled that someone was chasing him'
- (1b) *Reven_i sa/trudde/frykta [at noen jakta på seg_i]
 The-fox said/believed/feared that someone chased on self
 'The fox said/believed/feared that someone was chasing him'

seg can be bound out of a non-finite clause when embedded under verbs such as *la* 'let' (2) and *tvinge* 'force' (3):

- (2) Læreren_i ?lot/*ba elevene_j [PRO_j stå bak seg_i]
 The-teacher let/told the-students stand (inf.) behind self
 'The teacher let/told the students (to) stand behind him'
- (3) Læreren_i ?tvang/*beordra elevene_j til [å PRO_j stå bak seg_i]
 The-teacher forced/ordered the-students to to stand (inf.) behind self
 'The teacher forced/ordered the students to stand behind him'

3. Tenselessness. The non-finite complements of *la* and *tvinge* are tenseless (Wiklund 2007). The finite clauses embedded under perception verbs in ØN are special in three domains that clearly point to tenselessness: 1) Sequence Of Tenses is obligatory (4), 2) Double Access Reading is unavailable (5), 3) Temporal adverbs cannot disagree (6):

- (4) 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/

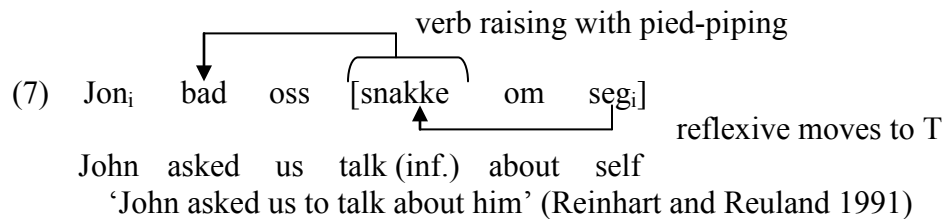
- (5) Per sa/*så [at Kari er gravid]
 Peter said/saw that Kate is pregnant

- (6a) 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

The conclusion becomes: *Complement tenselessness licenses non-local binding*

4. Analysis. In the movement theory of binding (Chomsky 1986, Reuland 2001), where the reflexive moves to T, the reflexive can be structurally bound by a higher subject only if T has

undergone further movement to the matrix T with pied-piping of the reflexive. Reinhart and Reuland (1991) analyze non-local binding in Norwegian (not ØN) precisely in this way, but as admitted in Reuland 2006, no motivation for the raising of T can be identified:



Clausal tenselessness is also a prerequisite for restructuring to occur, where an interclausal T-to-T movement has a wide range of language specific effects (Wurmbrand 2006, Wiklund 2007). I thus analyze the non-local binding in ØN as a restructuring effect, with T-to-T raising with pied-piping of the reflexive, but only for *tenseless* clauses. Tenselessness itself is thus the trigger for the T-raising.

5. Restructuring in ØN. Restructuring exists independently in ØN, when tenseless non-finite clauses optionally copy the finite morphology of the matrix clause (Wiklund 2007). As the following examples show, the same verbs that allow verb copying are the same verbs that license non-local binding:

Verb copying

- (8) Jeg hadde ikke **latt/*bett** 'n_i [PRO_i **gjort** det]
- I had not let (perf.)/told (perf.) him done (perf.) it
- ‘I would not have let/told him (to) do it’

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- (9) Læreren_i ?**lot/*ba** elevene_j [PRO_j stå bak **seg_j**]
- The-teacher let/told the-students stand (inf.) behind self
- ‘The teacher let/told the students (to) stand behind him’

6. Conclusion. Under a movement approach to restructuring and binding, non-local binding in ØN falls out as a restructuring effect. Two seemingly unrelated phenomena in ØN can be seen as effects of a single operation – T-to-T raising. Further research on other languages might reveal how other syntactic processes are able to influence binding, and whether semantic tense is one of them, as in ØN.

7. References.

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