

Clitic heavy reflexives? English *itself* as a marker of middle situation types

Peter Siemund
University of Hamburg

In my talk I will discuss the use of reflexive pronouns as markers of middle situation types and question the traditional generalization that only light or weak reflexives (e.g., German *sich*, Spanish *se*) appear as such markers. Based on an analysis of approximately 2000 examples drawn from the British National Corpus, I explore if and to what extent the English heavy reflexive *itself* can be found in such contexts. Moreover, I provide a typology of the middle situation types in which the form *itself* occurs and analyze the processes that give rise to the use of *itself* in such contexts. While some incipient grammaticalization processes can be found, I argue that *self*-intensification as well as various lexicalization processes need to be considered, too. I also provide an extensive quantitative analysis of the contexts in which *itself* occurs showing that the type and token frequencies of the verbs involved provide a very good diagnostics for differentiating these processes. I conclude that morphologically complex or heavy reflexives can occur as markers of middle situation types, contrary to widely accepted accounts. The reflexive marker *itself* begins to behave like a bound morpheme in these contexts. Moreover, I argue that the traditional grammaticalization account given for the occurrence of reflexive pronouns as markers of middle situation types is too simplistic and needs to be revised.

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