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"Focus pronouns" in Old Latin reflexive constructions*

Abstract

This paper deals with a Latin reflexivization strategy distinct from other reflexive constructions. It consists of first and second person pronouns which are used to emphasize the first and second person referents in Old Latin comedy by certain emphasizing elements like *-met* in *egomet* or *-te* in *tūte*. The form and function of these emphasizing personal pronouns has not been observed and described yet. Moreover, the grammatical, semantic and pragmatic status of this reflexivization strategy has hitherto been unknown. The elements *-met* and *-te* are likely to be derived from suffixes which have an identifying and emphasizing function similar to German *selbst* 'self'. Reflexivization here obviously is connected to focalization, a typologically well-known relationship.

Keywords: reflexive construction, focus, pronouns, control, semantic roles

1. Problem

Since in Latin the grammatical category *person* is inherent in the verb form, the usage of personal pronouns of the first and second person is constrained in certain ways. For example, in Old Latin comedy the juxtaposition of the pronouns is the normal case, because the first and second persons refer to the actors in lively, everyday discourse (cf. Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 173). In this genre, however, we also encounter pronouns that are extended by an element, e. g. *egomet, tūte*. These elements are suffixes and not clitics, as they are not syntactically free, do not function at phrase or clause level and do not belong to closed classes, etc. Bearing in mind that the texts of Old Latin comedy are metrically bound, one could argue that forms like *egomet*, *tūte* are used out of metrical considerations, if a polysyllabic form is needed instead of the bisyllabic *ego* or the monosyllabic *tū*. It is striking, however, that *egomet, tūte*, etc. are most often used in connection with simple pronominal forms of the first and second person.

The main purpose of this paper is to present a syntactic, semantic and pragmatic analysis of the "focus pronouns" within reflexive constructions vis-à-vis other syntactic constructions. To this end, some of the properties of these reflexive constructions will be presented in what follows. In section 2, the history of the elements *-met* and *-te* will be presented. Section 3 gives an overview of various reflexivization strategies based on typological findings while section 4 introduces to the construction under investigation, namely reflexivization with "focus pronouns". Section 5 discusses the semantic notion of control

properties with respect to reflexive constructions, section 6 deals with verbal semantics, and section 7 demonstrates the relevance of the semantic roles hierarchy, i.e. the Theta Hierarchy for the phenomenon at issue.

2. History of the suffixes *-met* and *-te*

As for the history of the suffixes *-met* and *-te* the morpheme *-met* also occurs in the accusative *nōs-met* 'us', the second element of which is comparable to the Old Indic ablative *asmat* 'from us' < **ṇs-med/t* (Ancient Greek ἡμεδαπός 'ours'; KLINGENSCHMITT 2005: 307). The corresponding Latin form could have been an ablative **nōs-met* with substitution of the continuation of **ṇs* by *nōs* as in the accusative plural *nōs*. In accordance with this accusative plural *nōs* the ablative form **nōs-met* was interpreted as a variant of the accusative plural. Then the ablative function was abandoned in the form *nōs-met*, since the dative plural *nōbis* took over this function. The original ablative morpheme *-met* in the accusative plural *nōs-met* besides *nōs* was reanalyzed as emphasizing morpheme and conferred to other cases of the personal pronoun of the first person and to other pronouns; compare *mihi-met* 'me', *tūti-met* 'you', *vōs-met* 'you' (PL), rarely *ipse-met* 'himself'.

In contrast to this, the second morpheme in *tū-te* is not so clear. Since final *-e* originates in *-e, -i, -o* and perhaps *-u*, there are different possibilities of derivation: locative particle(?) *-ti* as in *tūti-met* (cf. above), doubling of *tū* 'you' to **tū-tu* 'you', the same element *-to* as in Umbrian, South Picenian *esto-* 'this' (cf. Latin *iste* 'this' < **esto* with *i-* adapted from *is* 'he' (MEISER 1998: 163) or *-te* as in Varro's Augural Formula *eas te* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2005: 214). In any case, the second element in the disyllabic form was considered an emphasizing morpheme like the element *-met*. Compared with the shorter forms *ego* and *tū* the longer ones are iconically interpreted as reinforced pronouns to express emphasis.

3. General account on the various reflexivization strategies

In order to embed the Latin reflexivization strategy with "focus pronouns" in a wider context we will now take a look at reflexivization in general. Following HOPPER & THOMPSON (1980: 277), KEMMER (1993) assumes that in language evolution grammatical prototypes exist which are more robust than others so that their morphosyntactic markers can be conferred to other semantic domains. As for situation types she distinguishes prototypical two-participant events, prototypical one-participant events, prototypical passive and direct-reflexive events. She further assumes that these situation types form a scale with two-participant events occupying the positive end and one-participant events the negative. Reflexive events are located in between. Though two participant roles are given, these are filled by the same entity. On the whole the "minor elaboration of events" is characteristic of middle situation types (KEMMER 1993: 208). However, the related middle constructions are "non-basic or marked" (HUNDT 2007: 76), insofar as "the patient subject takes on a property typically associated with agents: responsibility of a property, or independence of action" (VAN OOSTEN 1984: 129).

As for the special semantics of the middle KEMMER (1993) set up the following typology, working within LANGACKER's framework of "Cognitive Grammar" (cf. KAUFMANN 2004: 8).

I.   Emphatic domain:
  a.   Emphatic/contrastive 'self': English *I did it myself*
  b.   Emphatic reflexive: English *I hit MYSELF*
II. Reflexive middle: A participant has two participant roles. These roles are nearly indistinguishable.
  a.   verbs of grooming or body care: German *sich waschen*, English *wash*, Latin *lavor*, Latin *sē defendere*, *defendī* 'to defend oneself'
  b.   verbs of non-translational movement: German *sich strecken*, English *to stretch out*, Latin *revertor* 'to return'
  c.   verbs of change in body posture: German *sich setzen*, English *to sit down*, Greek πέτεσθαι 'to fly'
  d.   verbs of locomotion: German *sich entfernen*, Latin *convertere* 'to turn'
  e.   indirect middle: German *sich etwas mieten*, English *to rent a house for oneself*, Greek πορίζεσθαι 'to provide for oneself'
III. Middle of emotion and cognition: The participant roles are not distinguishable.
  a.   verbs of emotion: German *sich erschrecken*, English *to get frightened*, Latin *īrāscor* 'to fall into a rage'
  b.   emotive speech acts: *sich beschweren*, English *to complain*, Latin *queror* 'to complain', Greek ὀδύρεσθαι 'to lament'
  c.   verbs of cognition: German *sich überlegen*, English *to consider*, Latin *meditārī* 'to meditate'
IV. Reciprocal middle with identification of events and participant roles
  a.   natural reciprocal events: German *sich umarmen*, English *to embrace*, Latin *amplectārī* 'to embrace'
  b.   natural collective events: German *sich versammeln*, English *to assemble*
V.   Spontaneous and passive situation types and facilitative: no realization of a participant role/of a participant is discoverable.
  a.   spontaneous events: German *sich bilden*, English *to evolve*
  b.   passive events: French *La forge s'allume*, English *The torch inflames*
  c.   facilitative: German *Das Buch verkauft sich gut*, English *The book sells well*.

  The difference between these medial situation types and a reflexive active form lies in the fact that the active allows an alternative, non-coreferent patient. An example for such an active situation type is: *I look at myself, not at another patient.* 'Ich betrachte mich, nicht einen anderen Patiens' (German, cf. Kaufmann 2004: 58).

  The comparison of the reflexive construction in Latin with that of Ancient Greek, English and German shows that the development of a middle marker is essentially a process of grammaticalization (Kemmer 1993: 151ff.). While Ancient Greek continues the inherited medio-passive, the corresponding formation in Latin are deponents in *-r*, i.e. verbs which are active in meaning, but passive or middle in their morphology (Latin *sequī* 'to follow', *laetārī* 'to be glad', *mentīrī* 'to conceive', *potīrī* 'to seize'). But in Latin reflexivation is also formed by an active verb + reflexive pronoun (*sē defendere* 'to defend oneself'), by the passive (*defendī*) and active verbs with middle meaning (*convertere* 'to turn', *delināre* 'to decline', *deflectere* 'to turn away', *insinuāre* 'to delve into'). In the course of time the deponent was replaced by active intransitives in connection with the old reflexive pronouns *mē*, *tē*, *sē* etc. which have reflexes in all of the old and modern Romance languages; cf. Old French *se torner* 'turn'. Also Old and New High German *sih* etc. is related

to the Latin reflexive pronoun *sē* etc., while in Old and Middle English the simple personal pronouns were used as reflexive pronouns. But longer *self*-pronouns gained ground in Middle English and the simple forms fell into disuse in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, the new and longer reflexive pronouns were omitted frequently and ergatives like *wash*, *sell*, *drive* with reflexive meaning developed (for the development in more details cf. HUNDT 2007:129 ff.).

4. Reflexivization with "focus pronouns" in Latin

In what follows the pronouns of the first and second person will be investigated, as they are more readily used reflexively than those of the third person (DOWTY 1980). In Classical Latin, an extended form (*tete*) occurs only once.

(1)   Cicero, Tusculanae Disputationes 2,63
        tibi   si   recta   probanti   placebis,
        2.SG.DAT   if   right   examining   approve.2.SG.FUT1
        tum   non   modo   te-te   viceris …
        then   not   only   2.SG.ACC-EMPH   defeat.2.SG.FUT2
        'if you think your decision to be right, approve of it and be content with it, then you will have won over not only yourself …'

One can assume that this reflexive construction belongs to the emphatic domain of the situation types given above. In this case *tete* is used contrastively and has a contrastive focus.

Among the usual types of reflexivization strategies, Dutch suggests itself as a point of comparison:

(2)   Dutch
        *Max$_1$ hoorde   *zich$_1$/zichself$_1$/*hem ('strong reflexive')*
        Max   hear:3.SG.PST   *self/himself/*him
        'Max heard himself' (on this construction cf. REINHART & REULAND 1995; STEINBACH 2002:184 f.; EVERAERT 2003:10)

Here, the object pronoun is extended by an emphasizer. The data from Old Latin comedy are different, though. If an emphasizer occurs, the expression tends to be *ego-met me*, i.e. subject personal pronoun plus emphasizer + bare reflexive pronoun, as in example (3).

(3)   Amphitruo, I.i 457
        an   ego-met   me   illic   reliqui …?
        PARTICLE   1.SG.NOM-EMPH   1.SG.ACC there   leave.1SG.PF
        'Did I leave myself behind there …?'

A literal translation would be: 'Did I myself leave me behind?' Reflexivization here concerns focalization as in (1). But it is the subject pronoun that is highlighted, not the object pronoun.

There is no such emphasis in normal reflexive constructions without emphasizing suffix:

(4)   Miles II.ii 196 f.
Paulisper   tace,   dum   ego
awhile   be silent.2.SG.IMP   while   1.SG.NOM
mihi   consilia   in   animum   convoco
1.SG.DAT   advice   in   heart   call.1.SG.PRS
'Be silent a while, while I call advice in my heart.'

(5)   Aulularia II.viii 371 f.
Volui   animum   tandem   confirmare   hodie
want.1.SG.PF   sense   finally   make.firm   today
meum   ut   bene   me   haberem
my   that   well   1.SG.ACC   do.1.SG.SUBJ.IMPF
filiai   nuptiis
daughter's   wedding
'Now I did want to be hearty to-day, and do the handsome thing for daughter's wedding.'

Also non-reflexive constructions with "focus pronouns" occur:

(6)   Amphitruo, I.i. 425 f.
nam   quod   ego-met   solus   feci,
for   what   1.SG.NOM-EMPH   alone   do.1.SG.PF
nec   quisquam   alius   affuit,   in   tabernacolo
and.not   anybody   else   be.present.3.SG.PF   in   tent
'for what I did for myself alone in the tent, when nobody else was there'

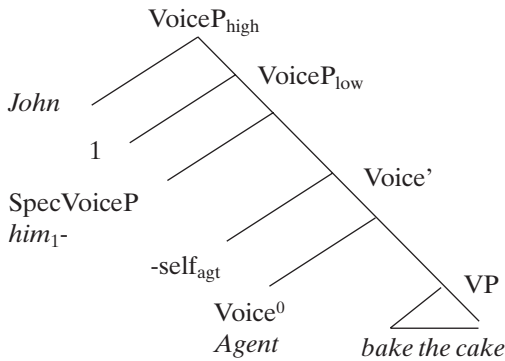In fact, *egomet* is often used in this way in Old Latin:

(7)   Amphitruo, I.i. 434
Quid   ego   ni   negem,   qui
why   1.SG.NOM   not   deny.1.SG.SUBJ.PRS   who
ego-met   siem?
1.SG.NOM-EMPH   be.1.SG.SUBJ.PRS
'How could I not say this, as it is me myself?'

Thus, we can preliminarily say that the semantic and distributional distinction between the reflexive constructions (3) and (4), (5) is focusing or not-focusing of the subject pronoun. (6) and (7) are examples of non-reflexive constructions focusing the subject pronoun. As focusing is indeed a function of the "focus pronoun", -*met* and -*te* cannot be considered as pure metrical fillers.
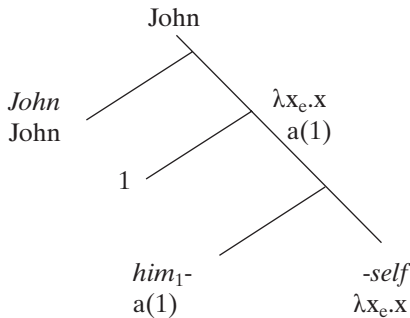
In German, phrases with the adnominal emphasizer *selbst* are comparable. *selbst* functions in this context as focus particle, similar to *nur* 'only' and *auch* 'also' (KÖNIG 1991; SIEMUND 2002a; PRIMUS 1991/92: 85: focus adverb). The reason is that *selbst* interacts with a nominal constituent and evokes alternatives to the semantic value of this constituent (SIEMUND 2002b: 187 f.; FEATHERSTON & STERNEFELD 2003: 41; SIEMUND 2003: 481–483). The problem, however, is that emphasizers in German always have to bear focal accent. Thus the apparent focus particles seem to be in focus themselves. In this respect ECKARDT (2001: 381) characterizes the focal meaning of adnominal *selbst* in connection with proper names

as a function of the type <e, e>, that is as an 'identity function' that maps individuals to individuals. For the Latin combinations of the type *egomet me*, however, Hole's (2007: 27 ff.) analysis of agentive *selbst* is especially relevant, as he connects it with reflexivity. He compares (8a), which contains an agentive emphasizer, with (8b), an adnominal emphasis:

(8a)   *John baked the cake himself.*

VoicePhigh

John

1

SpecVoiceP
him$_1$-

VoicePlow

Voice'

-self$_{agt}$

Voice^0
Agent

VP

bake the cake

(8b)

John

John
John

1

$\lambda x_e.x$
a(1)

him$_1$-
a(1)

-self
$\lambda x_e.x$

The only difference between (8a) and (8b) is that the domain in (8a) is VoiceP, whereas in (8b) it is DP. But in Old Latin we are obviously dealing with a combination of the two types (8a) and (8b). The suffixes *-met* and *-te*, respectively, denote the identity function by focusing, and fuse together with *ego* and *tū*, respectively, to form a prosodic word.

To scrutinize the focus function more thoroughly we will now take a look at the semantics of reflexive constructions as a whole.

5. Control properties

For the present purpose, the notion of control as used by Comrie (1989: 62) is decisive: "a high degree of animacy is necessary for a noun phrase to be interpreted as having a high control …" In the following discussion control will be considered as a semantic notion in the sense that an agent of the situation has more or less control of the result of the situation. As for the verbs of the active and medial situation types the constraints on control of *activa tantum* and *media tantum* have to be taken into consideration (Kaufmann 2004: 51):

(9)   Unmarked control

Predicate control	yes	no
Situation control	yes	no
control properties imposed by the verb	high	low
	(animate)	(inanimate)

Predicate control means that the participant who is represented by the argument of the highest *relatum* position or theta role (see below) controls the situation. He determines whether this situation occurs and how long it lasts. But predicates, the arguments of which are sortally restricted to animate individuals, may assign predicate control or not; cf. WALK, WORK and FORGET, DIE, respectively. In contrast to this, situation control is ontologically motivated: The controller of a situation is the participant who – due to his sortal control properties (human, animate etc.) – has ontological control over the situation.

With *activa tantum* we have canonical control characteristics, i.e. a verb with high sortal control properties has both predicate and situation control; for example Ancient Greek *νοσέω* 'I am ill', *ἀκούω* 'I hear' (KAUFMANN 2004: 118). *Media tantum*, on the other hand, are verbs that show inherently deviant and therefore marked control characteristics. While in active situation types (viz. reflexivized transitive verbs) only the argument of the first position of the relation exhibits control properties, in medial situation types both positions are connected with control properties. Thus, the low distinctiveness of thematic roles follows from the fact that one of the properties which is usually assigned to the argument in first position (viz. the agent) is assigned to the argument in second position (viz. the patient; cf. KAUFMANN 2004: 58). Compare with this the encoding of the direct-reflexive "body-activity-verb" *to wash oneself*:

(10)   direct-reflexive s(ituation) controller = y (patient); x = y

[KAUFMANN 2003: 142]

In this case only a human patient – and not a shirt – has the control properties which are necessary for a washing situation. Up to this point it is to be kept in mind, that in middle systems situation control is not only assigned to the agent, but also to the patient. It is exactly in such cases that a non-canonical situation controller occurs.

To anticipate the semantics of verbs with "focus pronouns", as specified below, the reflexive is a non-canonical situation controller also with verbs of acquisition or verbs of the type *to serve*. For the reflexive has a benefactive role and is involved in control like the agent. The case is different with reflexive verbs of speaking such as *to mumble* and *to be silent*. According to KEMMER (1993: 269) those verbs could be classed with emotion middles; cf. speech acts like *denounce*, *lament* etc. But in the sense of *to mumble (away) to oneself* (German 'vor sich hinmurmeln') and German *vor sich hinschweigen* the reflexives could be considered as adjuncts (cf. ENGELBERG 2000: 128). They denote involvement of the agent and consequently are non-canonical situation controllers themselves. Situation control is missing also with verbs of cognition, as internal cognitive processes cannot entirely be consciously governed (cf. KAUFMANN 2004: 52); cf. KEMMER's (1993: 269) "cognition middle" ('know', 'suppose', 'think' etc).

6. Verbal semantics

6.1. Active situation type

Now we proceed to the verbal semantics of the reflexive construction with "focus pronouns". Reflexive actives occur with the type *egomet me* in Old Latin. Here, the reflexive pronoun contrasts with an independently referring NP in object position. But the agent is emphasized: The contrastive focus picks out this element as prominent new information here: *I myself have deceived myself, not another person.*

(11) Aulularia IV.ix 724
   ego-met   me   defraudavi
   1.SG.NOM-EMPH   1.SG.ACC   deceive.1.SG.PF
   'I myself have deceived myself.'

Similarly: *I myself obey myself, not another person*:

(12) Mercator V.ii 853
   idem   ego-met   mihi   oboedio
   that   1.SG.NOM-EMPH   1.SG.DAT   obey.1.SG.PRS
   'With respect to that I obey myself.'

Even deponent verbs (*Media tantum*) occur with reflexive pronouns in active situation types. However, the semantic roles in (13) are different from those in (11) and (12): *I myself delay myself, it is not another person that delays me*. The contrastive focus on *egomet* does not exclude another patient, but another agent.

(13) Mercator V.ii 930
   ego-met   me   moror.
   1.SG.NOM-EMPH   1.SG.ACC   delay.1.SG.PRS
   'I delay myself.'

In any case, verbs like 'to deceive', 'to obey' have no inherent reflexive role.

6.2. Medial situation type

The medial situation types differ from this mode of usage. For them, a *minor elaboration of events* is characteristic and an alternative, non-coreferent patient is excluded, as mentioned above. Along with that goes a low distinctiveness of participant roles. But there is an intergradation, as for instance with verbs of the type *to acquire something for oneself* with an optional reference to the agent, KEMMER's indirect middle type. Cf. PLAUTUS:

(14) Truculentus IV.iii 843
   tu-te   sumpsisti   tibi.
   2.SG.NOM-EMPH   take.2.SG.PF   2.SG.DAT
   'You have taken it for yourself.'

Similarly with benefactives (*dativus commodi*):

(15) Curculio I.i 9
   tu-te   tibi   puer   es
   2.SG.NOM-EMPH   2.SG.DAT   servant   be.2.SG.PRS
   'You act like a servant for yourself.'

Here, one participant takes two thematic roles, which concern the same referent: *You have taken it for yourself, and not for another person.* However, the emphasized element is not the object pronoun, but the subject pronoun like in the active situation types.

There is no overlap of thematic roles with cognitive verbs, though, and the subject pronoun is emphasized, too. This emphasis cannot be explained by contrastive focus; an analysis of *-met* as metrical filler does not work either, because this suffix has a clearly emphasizing function in other contexts. However, the special semantics of the middle might be decisive here. As mentioned above, the middle constructions are "non-basic or marked", as the "patient subject" takes on agent properties such as responsibility of a property, or independence of action. This markedness might be expressed by the "focus pronoun" in (16):

(16)   Aulularia II.viii 379 f.
    deinde   *ego-met*   *me=cum*   *cogitare*
    then   1.SG.NOM-EMPH   1.SG.ABL=with   think.INF
    intervias   *occepi:*
    on.the.way   start.1.SG.PF
    'Then I started to think to myself on the way:'

Another comparable medial type are verbs of speaking that are used to denote soliloquies:

(17)   Miles III.i 714
    ego-met   *me=cum*   *mussito*
    1.SG.NOM-EMPH   1.SG.ABL=with   mumble.1.SG.PRS
    'I mumbled to myself:'

The verb "to be silent" in the sense of German *vor sich hinschweigen* probably belongs to this group as well (cf. above):

(18)   Epidicus V.i 651
    Quod   *boni*   *est*   *id*   *tacitus*
    what   good   be.3.SG.PRS   this   discrete
    taceas   *tu-te*   *te=cum*
    conceal.2.SUBJ.PRS   2.SG.NOM-EMPH   2.SG.ABL=with
    'What's the use of discretely keeping this to yourself?'

To sum up so far: With verbs of cognition, speaking and being silent the suffixes *-met* and *-te* in reflexive constructions denote non-canonical control. In other reflexive constructions they are used as emphasizers.

But why is it the subject pronoun that is emphasized in reflexive constructions? This can best be described as a consequence of its position within the theta-grid. To describe this in more detail we will partially follow the framework of Lexical Decomposition Grammar (LDG).

7. Theta hierarchy

LDG provides a principled account for phenomena in which predicates and/or arguments are added to a base verb (or noun). Four levels of representation are assumed, each having its own structural properties: Conceptual Structure (CS), Semantic Form (SF),

Theta Structure, and Morphology/Syntax (MS), and a set of principles that constrain the mappings between these levels. While the Conceptual Structure contains all extralinguistic knowledge relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions, the Semantic Form comprises all the semantic information that is grammatically determined. For the exceptional position of the subject pronoun in reflexive constructions argument linking is significant. In LDG linking is conceived as a mapping operation, inasmuch as the position of the arguments in the argument hierarchy determines their syntactical realization. The highest individual argument is linked to subject, the lowest to direct object (JOPPEN & WUNDERLICH 1995). The possible structural linkers (agreement affixes, pronominal affixes, and clitics on the head, as well as morphological case on the dependent) are encoded by means of the abstract case features [+hr] (there is a higher theta role), and [+lr] (there is a lower theta role), for example dative: [+hr,+lr], accusative: [+hr], nominative [+lr].

Before this description can be adapted to the Latin reflexive constructions with "focus pronouns", it must be noted that the personal pronoun that is extended by an emphasizer always precedes the reflexive pronoun and stands in subject position. To this type we can compare varieties of English, in which *self*-forms occur only in subject position:

(19)   Irish English
       How is herself? 'How is your wife?'   [SIEMUND 2003: 225]

In a.c.i.-constructions, however, it is the accusative that receives the emphasizer in Old Latin:

(20)   Captivi II.iii 428
       Nec   me   secus   umquam   ei
       and.not   1.SG.ACC   differently ever   him
       facturum   quicquam   quam   me-met   mihi.
       make.PTCP.FUT   anything   than   1.SG.ACC-EMPH   1.SG.DAT
       'And that I will never treat him differently from myself.'

But if the reflexive has an emphasizer, the personal pronoun necessarily has one, too:

(21)   Amphitruo, II.i 607
       {Amph.}   *Quis   te   verberavit?*
                  who   2.SG.ACC   hit.3.SG.PF
       {Sos.}   *Ego-met   me-met.*
                  1.SG.NOM-EMPH   1.SG.ACC-EMPH
       {Amph.}   'Who hit you?
       {Sos.}   'I myself hit myself.'

Thus, the features [+hr] and [+lr] are relevant for the emphasis of pronouns in reflexive structures (cf. on this KAUFMANN 2003: 146). For the suffixes *-met* and *-te* are only obligatory with the argument of the highest theta role, if they are used in reflexive constructions; otherwise they are optional. We have to bear in mind that the Latin reflexive structures are characterized by non-canonical control. Yet pronouns for speaker and addressee always have sortal control, i.e. the control properties that are necessary for the cited verbs apply only to animate individuals. Thus, *-met* and *-te* in "focus pronouns" with the highest case role denote exactly this property in reflexive structures. If there is special emphasis, the reflexive pronoun, which is the non-canonical controller, can be supplied with an emphasizer as well.

8. Conclusions

After having given an overview over the semantics of the middle and the development in Latin the pronominal forms *egomet* and *tūte* in reflexive constructions were investigated. An interpretation of *-met* and *-te* as metrical fillers is out of question, as these suffixes have real semantic functions. Mostly these pronouns function as contrastive focus both in reflexive constructions and in active constructions, wherefore these pronouns were called "focus" pronouns. But there are instances where this interpretation does not make sense. Here, the markedness of the "patient subject" in reflexive constructions is emphasized, namely with verbs of cognition, speaking and being silent. For in middle systems situation control is not only assigned to the agent, but also to the patient. Thus, one can assume that the primary function of the suffixes *-met* and *-te* in reflexive constructions was to denote non-canonical control. Secondarily in indirect middle types, where the two participant roles are clearer than in other reflexive constructions, these suffixes were reanalyzed as focusing elements and from there conferred to other reflexive constructions with focused material.

As for their prehistory, the suffixes *-met* and *-te* themselves arose by reanalysis. In the accusative *nōs-met* 'us' the suffix *-met* is inherited from Indo-European and then propagated throughout the paradigm of the personal pronoun especially of the first person[1]. The interpretation as emphasizer was caused by the coexistence of *ego* and *egomet* etc., whereby the longer forms were iconically considered as emphasis of the shorter ones. Also the longer form *tūte* besides *tū* could be interpreted as an emphasizer, though its origin remains unclear. In any case, *egomet* and *tūte* were grammaticalized as emphasizers and proved to be adequate expressions to denote focus and control functions in reflexive constructions.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative	PF	perfect
DAT	dative	PRS	present
EMPH	emphasizer	PST	past
FUT	future	PTCP	participle
IMP	imperative	SG	singular
IMPF	imperfective	SUBJ	subjunctive
INF	infinitive		

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[1]   Another solution is proposed by DUNKEL (2006; with literature): **egom eti* 'I also, me too'.

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