

BALKAN SLAV СВОИ СИ, СЕБЕ/Ъ СИ AND LATIN
SUUS SIBI, SE SIBI

The pleonastic forms of the possessive and reflexive pronouns of the type: свои си, себе/ъ си appear among the most ancient Balkanisms even in the Old Slav manuscripts, e. g. Codex Suprasliensis (XI cent.): possessive: овъоубожавинъ своихъ си (326,25) почто своему си завидиши спасенню (336,16), отъпусти въ свои си (518,18), etc. reflexive, acc.: себе си акы чловѣка положивъ старѣшина паствинѣ (328, 25-26), dat.-loc.: и страны къ себе/ъ си съвѣкоупи (341, 27), носаште на себе/ъ си тайна написана (344,5), себе/ъ си одеждѣ сътвори (347,30), etc.

This feature is also active in contemporary Balkan Slav languages. The use of the phrase with *svoj si* is very frequent in the modern north-east Bulgarian. Both in Bulgarian and Macedonian the dative enclitic form *si* is an indivisible part of the dat.-acc. full form *sebe*, and in the Macedonian orthography they are written as a compound: *sebesi*.

The origin of this Balkanism has not yet been explained. Prof. Mirčev¹ only states that in Greek there are no parallels of these forms.

It seems to me that its origin is concealed in Latin, where especially in the vernacular and familiar language, examples with pleonastic forms of the possessive and reflexive pronouns *suus sibi* and *se sibi* appear from the archaic epoch, e. g.:

Plaut, *Capt.* 50: *ita nunc ignorans suo sibi servit patri*; *ibid* 81: *suo sibi suo vivont*; — *Truc.* 698: *in tabernam ducor devorsoriam, ubi male accipiar mea mihi pecunia*; . . . *Mil.* 605: *tu opte tibi consilio ocludunt linguam et constringunt manus*; Terent., *Ad.* 958: *suo sibi gladio hunc iugulo*; Hor., *Epist.* 2, I, 51; *ut ipsum etenim Pythagora < m cum > sua sibi metempsychosi ridere videatur*, etc. Terent. *Heaut.* 116: *putavit me et aetate et benevolentia plus scire et providere quam se ipsum sibi*; Lucr. III, 886: *nec videt in vera nullum fore morte alium se qui possit vivus sibi se lugere peremptum*; Paneg. 6, II, 4: *et tamen per te tibi steterit, si iniuriam. . . patieris*; Epitaph. of Allia Potestas: *nil illi placuit nisi quod per se sibi fecerat ipsa*; In the Christian epoch the use of the pleonastic form *se sibi* is more frequent, cf. *Vulg. Math.* 16, 24: *si quis vult post me venire, abneget se sibi. . .*, etc.²

As E. Dahlen (o. c.) noticed, these forms developed from the dative *commodi* which is very frequent in all epochs of Latin (and therefrom in the contemporary Roman languages) along with some verbs, e. g.: *accipere sibi, cognoscere sibi, habere sibi*, etc.³ A reflexion of such also occurs in the Old Slav mss, e. g. *Cod. Suprs.*: повѣждѣ си има (101,1), принеси си рѣкѣ многопрѣвѣжѣ (503,25), etc.

It is remarkable that the first examples with pleonastic forms of the reflexive pronouns are found in the mss (e. g. *Cod. Suprs.*) from a region (NE Bulgaria), which was strongly Romanized in pre-Slavonic times. The influence of the Balkan Latin on the Slav language was strong there, and very likely in the preliterary period there were formed calques of the type свои си, себе/ъ си from Lat. *suus sibi* and *se sibi*.

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¹ *За хронологијата на основните балканизми в българики език*, Български език XVI, 1966, кн. 4, п. 288с.

² More examples of this kind can be found in *Études syntaxiques sur les pronoms réfléchis pléonastiques en latin* by E. Dahlen, Göteborg 1964, pp. 178—201.

³ For their relation with Gr, middle voice cf. M. Grošelj, *Slavj, revija* III, 414s.