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REFLEXIVITY IN MODERN HEBREW AND POLISH – CONTRASTIVE REMARKS*

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Abstract

1. Naturally reflexive actions are expressed by intransitive reflexive stems in Hebrew and by transitive verbs with the reflexive pronoun *się* in Polish. **2.** Actions that are not naturally reflexive are expressed by transitive stems with the reflexive pronoun *'acmo* in Hebrew, and by transitive verbs with the reflexive pronoun *siebie* in Polish. **3.** Adverbials with anaphors referring to a subject contain personal pronouns in Hebrew, the reflexive pronoun *siebie* in Polish, if the reflexive reference of the pronoun is not abnormal. Otherwise the reflexive pronoun *'acmo* and the emphatic pronoun *samego siebie* are used. **4.** If a pronoun referring to the subject is a predicate, then in Hebrew it always has the form of an ordinary personal pronoun, while in Polish both the personal and the reflexive pronoun is possible, depending on the copula.

1. Introduction

Reflexive pronouns are anaphors used instead of ordinary anaphoric pronouns under certain circumstances.[1] The use of reflexive pronouns varies from language to language, for example when an anaphor is an object and refers to the subject, Arabic allows the use of an ordinary personal pronoun (in the suffixed form), at least in the 1st person singular: *ra'aytunī* 'I saw myself' (Badawi, Carter, Gully 2004: 391), while

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[1] Cf. very informative and rich with data entry *Zaimek zwrotny* in Polański (1999: 665–667).

Hebrew and Polish normally disallow it, and one has to use a special, reflexive form of the pronoun in the object position: *ra'iti 'et 'acmi*, *zobaczyłem się/siebie*. Polish reflexive pronouns are *się*, *siebie*, used as an object or a complement of a preposition, and *swój,* used as a noun modifier. Hebrew has the reflexive pronoun *'acmo*, used as a direct object or a complement of a preposition. Some Hebrew transitive verbs, when used reflexively, become intransitive (i. e., they do not have the reflexive object *'acmo*) and change their morphological pattern (the so-called stem), for example, the clause with the transitive verb *hu raxac 'et hayeled* 'he washed the child' has the intransitive, reflexive counterpart *hu hitraxec* 'he washed'.[2] The use of reflexive vs. personal pronouns in Hebrew and Polish, and the use of Hebrew reflexive stems vs. Polish transitive verbs with the reflexive object has not yet been compared. Below various cases of reflexivity in Hebrew and Polish will be compared and classified according to the syntactical function of the anaphoric pronouns. Hebrew sentences are taken from the works of contemporary Israeli writers, their Polish and English equivalents were prepared by me.

2. Naturally reflexive verbs

When an action is "naturally reflexive", i.e. its agent is commonly identical with its patient, to express it Hebrew uses an intransitive stem of reflexive meaning (Doron, Rappaport Hovav 2009: 75–76),[3] and its Polish equivalent is a transitive verb with the reflexive pronoun *się* in the accusative (not *siebie* or *samego*[4] *siebie*, unless contrasted):

> *hitgaleax mul hare'i* 'golił się przed lustrem / he was shaving in front of the mirror' (Meged, Haxayim 22).
>
> *hitgared be'orpo* 'podrapał się po karku / he scratched his neck' (Be'er, 'Et 196).
>
> *hu hitraxec* 'he took a bath / wykąpał się' (Yehošua, Hame'ahev 25).

In some cases, even an action is naturally reflexive, a transitive stem with a reflexive pronoun is preferred in Hebrew, while in Polish one has to use the pronoun *siebie* or *samego siebie* (not *się*):[5]

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[2] The stem *hitpa'el* has also a reciprocal meaning, but here I am not dealing with the reciprocity, as it is never expressed by *'acmo* in Hebrew.

[3] According to Reinhart, Siloni (2005), the set of naturally reflexive verbs is approximately the same across languages. My contrastive analysis confirms it.

[4] According to Karolak (1984: 163), the pronoun *sam* as a modifier of the reflexive pronoun *siebie* intensifies its emphatic meaning.

[5] According to Wilczewska (1966: 32 and the example on p. 59), the pronoun *siebie* is used when 1. a reflexive object is in a row with other objects, or 2. there is a need to stress the identity of the subject and the object. The last criterion explains *ignotum per ignotum*. Examples given by Wilczewska belong to the category of "non-naturally reflexive verbs" and this explains the use of *siebie* with these verbs. Madelska, Warchoł-Schlottmann (2008: 124) explain that the variant *siebie* is used when contrasted: *Myj siebie, a nie lalkę* 'wash yourself and not the doll'.

1) If a verb is naturally reflexive, but its object is a row of a reflexive pronoun and other nominals (cf. Doron 2003: 40, but her examples are not clear):

   haya muxan lesaken 'et 'acmo ve'ota 'gotów był narazić na niebezpieczeństwo (samego) siebie i ją / he was ready to expose himself and her to a danger' (Šaxam, Naknikiyot 78). The intransitive, reflexive stem of the same root is used when the verb has a single (reflexive) object:[6] *'eyn hamehamer mistaken behefsed* 'ten, kto się zakłada, nie naraża się na stratę / the one who bets does not risk a loss' ('Oz, Hamacav 102). In Hebrew, when a naturally reflexive verb has to take two objects and one of them is the reflexive pronoun, the transitive stem with a reflexive pronoun is preferred to the intransitive reflexive stem for two reasons:

   a. if a reflexive action is expressed by the intransitive stem, then one has to add one more clause, with a transitive verb and its non-reflexive object: *haya muxan lehistaken velesaken 'ota* 'he was ready to risk and to expose her to a danger'.
   b. the pronoun *'acmo* (usually as a noun modifier) expresses not only the reflexive reference, but also a non-reflexive reference that is contrasted with the reference expressed by other nominals in the sentence, for example: *lo rak 'imi ve'avi mekavim lahem 'ela gam 'ani 'acmi* 'nie tylko moja matka i ojciec mają na nie nadzieję, ale także ja sam / not only my father and mother have a hope of it, but also I myself' (Yehošua, Hašiva 180). The patient of a reflexive action expressed by an intransitive reflexive stem cannot be contrasted with other nominals, because it is not overt. A patient has to be expressed by separate word (a reflexive pronoun in this case) in order to be contrasted with other nominals.

2) If a Hebrew verb is naturally reflexive (i.e. its intransitive, reflexive stem exists), but the object of the verb is modified by a focus adverb like *rak* 'only', *gam* 'also' (Glinert 2004: 245–254), then the transitive stem with *'acmo* is used, because in Hebrew the patient of a reflexive action can be modified only if it is expressed by a separate word. In Polish the reflexive pronoun *siebie* (not *się*) is used with focus adverbs:

   gam 'et 'acmexa 'ata menaxem bašitot ha'ele? 'także (samego) siebie pocieszasz tymi metodami? / do you console also yourself in these ways?' (Šalev, Xayey 190), cf. the intransitive stem in Hebrew, the pronoun *się* in Polish, when the patient has no modifiers: *hu haya mitnaxem ba'uvda še* […] 'pocieszał się faktem, że […] / he found consolation in the fact that […]' (Yehošua, Hakala 505).

   One has to use the pronoun *'acmo* in these cases, because in Hebrew the patient contained in the reflexive, intransitive stem "is not available for focus" (Doron, Rappaport Hovav 2009: 83).

Karolak (1984: 163) explains that the variant *siebie* is used when the object is "emphasized" and his examples indicate that the author means 1. a row of several objects, 2. a single reflexive object of a non-naturally reflexive verb (*Narcyz kocha samego siebie* 'Narcissus loves himself').

[6] Doron (2008) lists the verb *histaken* among naturally reflexive verbs.

If an action is naturally reflexive in general, but in a given situation the action is performed on purpose, with difficulty, then in Hebrew it can be expressed by the transitive stem with the reflexive pronoun *'acmo*, although the intransitive, reflexive stem exists. In Polish one has to use the reflexive pronoun *się* (not *siebie*):[7]

ve'ani gilgalti 'et 'acmi bekevedut, 'eyvar 'axarey 'eyvar 'a ja obracałam się z wysiłkiem, członek za członkiem / and I was turning round with difficulty, one body part after another' (Nevo, 'Arba'a 265), cf. the intransitive stem of the same root, referring to: 1. an action performed intentionally, but with no difficulty: *hitgalgelu be'afar* 'tarzali się po ziemi / they were rolling on the ground' ('Oz, Lada'at 130), 2. an action performed unintentionally by a human being: *'avi hitgalgel min ha'agala venafal* 'mój ojciec stoczył się z wozu i upadł / my father rolled down the cart, and fell over' (Meged, 'Asa'el 30), 3. an action performed by a thing: *hara'am hitgalgel* 'grom się przetaczał / the thunder was rolling by' (Bartov, Pic'ey 95). The transitive stem with *'acmo* can be used only to express the meaning 1., i.e. only about voluntary action. The examples 2, 3 are not passives, because the active transformation is not available here. More examples of voluntary, naturally reflexive actions, sometimes performed with difficulty, that are expressed in Hebrew by a transitive stem with the reflexive pronoun:

kerev 'acmo 'elay b. 'podszedł do mnie B. / B. came up to me' (Meged, Mikre 10), the intransitive stem about a thing: *mo'ed haleyda hitkarev* 'the day of the childbirth was coming' (Lapid, Kaxeres 89).

ma 'ata roce šehaxalaš ja'ase? šehu yahafox 'et 'acmo lexazak? 'co ty chcesz, żeby słabeusz zrobił? Żeby stał się silny / żeby samego siebie uczynił silnym? / What do you want a weak person to do? To transform himself into a strong person?' (Knaz, Hitganvut 15) – the transitive stem refers to a voluntary, difficult transformation, while the intransitive, reflexive stem refers to an unintentional transformation: *hithapxu hahorim šel ba'ala leme'ikim* 'rodzice jej męża stali się udręką / her husband's parents became troublesome' (Yehošua, Hakala 317).

The construction *transitive stem + 'acmo* can express a voluntary reflexive action also if an intransitive stem, denoting both a voluntary and unintended action, is not a reflexive one:

hevi 'acmo mitox ma'amac vehaxlata 'el txumo 'z wysiłkiem i pod wpływem decyzji wprowadził samego siebie w obszar […] / he entered the domain […] with effort and after making a decision' (Grosman, 'Ayen 99), while the intransitive verb *ba* 'to come / enter' can be used for both voluntary: *ve'elav lo banu* 'but we did not enter it' ('Amir, Tarngol 66), and unintended action: *ba hašitafon hagadol* 'the great flood came' (Bartov, Mitom 322).

hipil 'acmo 'al mištax habeton '[samobójca] rzucił się na betonowy plac / [the suicide] flung himself on the concrete square' (Be'er, 'Et 186) – in Modern Hebrew the verb *nafal* 'to fall' denotes an unintended action, but also a voluntary action that is not abnormal: *hu nafal lo 'al hakatef bece'aka* 'he fell on his shoulder with a cry' (Nevo, 'Arba'a 186). The voluntary action of an abnormal character (for example suicide)

[7] Wilczewska (1966: 40) found several examples like *rzucić siebie* 'to throw oneself' among reflexive verbs of motion, but according to her they are ungrammatical, and are used in jest.

is expressed by the transitive reflexive stem with the reflexive pronoun *hipil 'acmo* 'to fling oneself'. The last expression is an innovation in the Hebrew lexicon, because in Biblical Hebrew both unintended and voluntary action (even of an abnormal character) were expressed by the same verb *nafal*, cf. the Biblical narration about the suicide of Saul: *wayyippol 'aleha* '[he] threw himself on it' (Good News Bible, 1 Sam 31: 4), and its modern paraphrase: *hipil 'acmo ša'ul hamelex 'al xarbo* 'the king Saul threw himself on his own sword' (Be'er, 'Et 188). In Modern Hebrew a voluntary action, but not of an abnormal character, can be expressed also by the intransitive, reflexive stem of the same root: *hitnapla 'alav lehakoto* 'she flung herself on him in order to strike him' (Re'uveni, Kol sipurey 119).

The notion of naturally reflexive verbs refers only to actions that bring two requirements together: 1. the action is usually reflexive (like grooming verbs), 2. there is a need to express a reflexive action or state, because it is not permanent. The last criterion has to be explained by examples: *ani šomea 'et 'acmi* […] *co'ek* 'słyszę (samego) siebie […] krzyczącego / I hear myself cry' (Bartov, Pic'ey 48). The fact that somebody hears his own voice is not astonishing or abnormal at all, exactly as the fact that somebody washes his own body. But the reflexive verb *hitraxec* 'to wash' exists, while the verb *hištamea* does not mean 'to hear oneself' but 'to be implied'. So what is the difference between the two reflexive relations? Only very rarely do we not hear what we say (for example during booth translation), and only very rarely does hearing oneself have any practical impact. In any case we know what we say even without hearing it. That is why only very rarely does one need to express the meaning of 'hearing himself', for example if one is surprised at the contents of one's own words, as in the citation from Bartov. For that reason the reflexive variant of Hebrew *šama* 'to hear' is *šama 'et 'acmo* (transitive stem + reflexive pronoun), and not the intransitive stem *hištamea*, English has *to hear oneself*, and not *to hear* (as opposed to the reflexive verb *to wash*), and in Polish one can say *słyszeć (samego) siebie* even without contrast. The reflexive action of washing is also common, but not all the time do we wash, the fact of washing has a practical impact, and thus there is a need to express the meaning of 'washing oneself'. This leads to the use of: *hitraxec* in Hebrew, *to wash* in English, and *myć się* (not *siebie samego*) in Polish. Similar examples:

rut nista lehavin 'et 'acma 'Rut próbowała zrozumieć (samą) siebie / Ruth tried to understand herself' (Gefen, Bekešer 16) – we do not use the intransitive stem *hitbonen*, or the pronoun *się* with the verb *rozumieć* to express the reflexive meaning, not because the action is rarely reflexive, but because stereotypically one always understands oneself, and usually there is no need to say that one understands oneself.

'ani zoxeret 'et 'acmi begil šloš 'esre 'pamiętam (samą) siebie jako trzynastolatkę / I remember myself when I was 13 years old' (Lapid, Kaxeres 231) – stereotypically one always remembers oneself, thus only rarely does one have to express the meaning 'to remember oneself', so there is no intransitive reflexive stem in Hebrew and in Polish we can say *pamiętać (samego) siebie* even without contrast.

hu 'ahav 'et 'acmo 'kochał samego siebie / he loved himself' (Šavit, Pit'om 70) – obviously everybody constantly loves himself, thus rarely the meaning 'to love oneself'

is to be conveyed, and that is why in Polish the reflexive variant is *kochać (samego) siebie*, while *kochać się* has reciprocal or cooperative meaning, and in Hebrew the reflexive is *'ahav 'et 'acmo*, while the intransitive stem *hit'ahev* has the ingressive meaning 'to fall in love'.

The two verbs *xaš*, *hirgiš* 'to feel' are peculiar. They take a direct object, but when reflexive, they can appear with no overt object (like English naturally reflexive verbs), if a circumstance predicate referring to the object appears. They do not have a reflexive stem:

> *hispakti lehargiš netuša* 'zdążyłam poczuć się opuszczona / I managed to feel abandoned' (Nevo, 'Arba'a 265).
>
> *xaša betuxa yoter* 'poczuła się pewniej / she felt more confident' (Ginzburg, Xaydak 201)

In synonymous clauses the overt reflexive object appears:

> *raxel hirgiša 'acma muka* 'Rachela czuła się pokonana / Rachel felt subdued' (Bar Yosef, 'Anšey 165).
>
> *xašti 'acmi teme'a* 'czułam się nieczysta / I felt unclean' (Meged, Yom 74).

The reflexive pronoun must be used if the patient is in the focus position:

> *'af 'et 'acmo hirgiš kexelek* 'nawet siebie samego uważał za część / he considered even himself as a part of […]' (Re'uveni, 'Ad 29).

Occasionally also the transitive verb *raxac* 'to wash' without an overt object has a reflexive meaning: *hayinu roxacim bedan* 'myliśmy się w rzece Dan / we washed in the river Dan' (Tamuz, Xayey 161), but more often the stem *hitraxec* is used.

3. Verbs not belonging to the category of "natural reflexives"

The reflexive meaning of verbs denoting actions that are not "naturally reflexive" (because only rarely is their agent identical with their patient), is conveyed in Hebrew by a transitive stem with the object in the form of the reflexive pronoun *'acmo* (Doron, Rappaport 2009: 76–77) and in Polish by the reflexive pronoun *się*/*siebie* (the variant *siebie* possible in most cases, even without contrast, as opposed to naturally reflexive verbs), if a verb has an accusative or genitive object, and by *siebie*, *sobie* if a verb has the object in other case forms or the object with a preposition. Actions depicted by these verbs are somehow abnormal in their reflexive variant, because usually these verbs have non-reflexive objects. This may explain why in this case Hebrew uses the pronoun *'acmo* (and not a personal pronoun with reflexive reference), whose other function is to mark off nominals of unexpected reference.[8] In all the examples

[8] Mandelblit (2000: 247) rightly says that «the pronominal form [i.e. the reflexive pronoun *'acmo* – M.P.] is used as a semantically marked form—when either the causal force or the

given below the reflexive object is not contrasted with any other overt object, nor it is modified by focus adverbs like *rak* 'only', *gam* 'also', so the only reason to use *siebie* in Polish is due to the fact that the verbs are not "naturally reflexive". The use of *siebie* both for the reflexive object (that is not contrasted) of non-naturally reflexive verbs, and for contrasted object of naturally reflexive verbs can be explained if we assume that the reflexive objects of non-naturally reflexive verbs are implicitly contrasted with covert, more expected objects of non-reflexive reference.[9]

3.1. Verbs with a direct object[10] in Hebrew

hayiti make vesoret 'et 'acmi 'biłbym i drapałbym (samego) siebie / I would beat and scratch myself' ('Oz, Sipur 592) – there is no reflexive stem **hitmaka*, because only rarely does one beat oneself. The verb *sarat* means 'to scratch in order to hurt somebody', so there is no reflexive stem **histaret* (the stem exists, but has passive meaning). The verb *gered* means 'to scratch in order to bring relief', so the root has also the reflexive stem, as already mentioned. In Polish the two kinds of scratching are not discerned lexically, i.e. there is only one verb *drapać*. One can differentiate the two meanings by using the reflexive object pronoun *się* for 'to scratch oneself for pleasure', and *(samego) siebie* for 'to scratch oneself in order to hurt oneself'.

> *'ata roce lehar'iv 'et 'acmexa lada'at?* 'czy ty chcesz świadomie zagłodzić się / samego siebie na śmierć? / do you want to starve yourself intentionally to death?' (Meged, Ma'ase 64).

kedey lifcoa 'et 'acmam bemicvat gevirtam 'aby same siebie / się ranić na rozkaz swej pani / to wound themselves by order of their ruler' (Grosman, 'Ayen 151) – the action is voluntary, as the adverbial 'by order of their ruler' indicates, and as such is abnormal in its reflexive variant. That is why the object is *siebie* in Polish, and in Hebrew we have a transitive verb + *'acmo* (and not an intransitive stem). An unintended action, more common and not abnormal at all, is expressed by the reflexive / passive stem in Hebrew, and by *się* (not: *siebie*) in Polish (Wilczewska 1966: 30–31, 58–59): *nifcati ba'agudal* […] *kšetipasti lamadaf hagavoa* 'skaleczyłem się w kciuk […] gdy wspinałem się do najwyższej półki / I hurt my thumb […] when I was climbing up to the highest shelf' (Gefen, 'Iša 34).

tala 'et 'acmo 'powiesił się / he hanged himself' (Gefen, Kursat 169) – the transitive stem with *'acmo* about suicide, which is an abnormal action, while the reflexive

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affected entity is unexpected", but her example is disputable: "Using the form hitgaleax to refer to someone shaving his chest, for example, sounds odd". I think that it sounds no more odd that the clause *hu megaleax 'et 'acmo* referring to the same action. The only natural way to express this meanig is the object referrning to the body part: *hu gilax 'et haroš legamrey* 'he has shaved his head completely' (Šim'oni, Xeder 57). Cf. also Zribi-Hertz (2008) on the development of the English reflexive pronoun *oneself* from the focus marker.

[9] Cf. Goldenberg (1998: 385) on the emphatic sense of the pronoun ‹oneself›.

[10] I mean here an object without a preposition, when indefinite, and often with the preposition *'et*, when definite.

intransitive stem is used about common physical exercise: *titale 'al kama maxširim* 'powieś się na kilku przyrządach gimnastycznych / hang yourself on some gymnastic apparates' (Gefen, Raxok 26).[11]

hayiti moxiax 'et 'acmi 'al morex libi 'łajałem się / (samego) siebie za swe tchórzostwo / I scolded myself for my cowardice' (Meged, 'Avel 27).

hi 'oneset 'acma lexayex 'ona zmusza się / samą siebie do uśmiechu / she forces herself to a smile' (Meged, Ma'ase 12).

'eyna yexola le'alec 'et 'acma 'nie może się / samej siebie zmusić / she is not able to force herself' (Meged, Ma'ase 73).

hu me'orer 'acmo lehamšix veledaber 'pobudza samego siebie do dalszego mówienia / he is prompting himself to talk more' (Meged, Ma'ase 65).

hizhir yulek 'et 'acmo 'Julek przestrzegł samego siebie / Yulek warned himself' ('Oz, Menuxa 52).

hišleti 'acmi šehi tištane 'łudziłem się / samego siebie, że ona się zmieni / I deluded myself that she would change' (Apelfeld, Layla 19).

'ani […] *mištadel lo leramot 'et 'acmi kmo šerimiti bizmano be''bxan 'et 'acmexa"* 'staram się nie oszukiwać samego siebie, jak oszukiwałem kiedyś [samego siebie] w *Sprawdź samego siebie* / I try not to cheat myself, as I have cheated [myself] once in *Try yourself*' (Nevo, 'Arba'a 42).

ke'ilu nisa […] *laharos 'et 'acmo* 'jakby próbował zniszczyć samego siebie / as if he tried to destroy himself' (Šavit, 'Axim 65).

šafat 'et 'acmo be'acmo lexayey kele 'on sam skazał siebie samego na życie w więzieniu / he himself sentenced himself to imprisonment' (Grosman, Hazman 144).

hexel miyad leraxreax 'et 'acmo 'zaczął od razu obwąchiwać się / samego siebie / immediately he started sniffing at himself' (Lapid, Kaxeres 169).

hu ro'e 'et 'acmo posea 'widzi *się/siebie*, jak idzie / he sees himself walking' (Meged, Ma'ase 72).

tafas 'acmo bekešel lešono 'przyłapał się / samego siebie na przejęzyczeniu / he caught himself on a blunder' (Meged, Ma'ase 126).

The verb *sagar* can refer to two different actions:

a. *patax 'et hamekarer velo sagar 'oto* 'otworzył lodówkę, ale jej nie zamknął / he opened the refrigerator but did not close it' ('Oz, Hamacav 96).
b. *'et hanusax hametukan kipel vesagar bema'atafa pšuta* 'poprawioną wersję [listu] złożył i zamknął w zwykłej kopercie / he folded the corrected version [of the letter] and closed it in an ordinary envelope' ('Oz, Menuxa 173).

The place adverbial 'in some place' is impossible in clause (a). Clause (b) has a common reflexive variant with the intransitive verb: *histager* […] *bašerutim* 'zamknął się

[11] Doron, Rappaport Hovav (2009: 95) give a similar example.

[…] w klozecie / he locked himself in the water-closet' ('Oz, Lada'at 186). Clause (a) describes an action that is rarely reflexive (mainly in a figurative sense 'to harden oneself'), so the reflexive pronoun is used: *hu xazar vehitkaped. sagar 'et 'acmo hermetit. lo lehavin. ki lehavin mašma'o kehikana* 'na powrót się zjeżył. Zamknął siebie hermetycznie. Nie rozumieć, bo zrozumieć znaczy poddać się / he showed his bristles once again. He closed himself hermetically. Not to understand because to understand means to surrender' (Meged, Masa 50).

The examples indicate that if an action is abnormal in its reflexive variant, it is expressed by a transitive stem + reflexive pronoun in Hebrew. In Polish the difference between "naturally reflexive verbs" and other reflexive verbs with an accusative or genitive object consists in the form of the reflexive pronoun: with natural reflexives only *się*, unless contrasted, and with other verbs the pronoun is *się* or *(samego) siebie*, even if not contrasted.

3.2. Verbs with an indirect object[12] in Hebrew

3.2.1. Object with the preposition *b-*

3.2.1.1. Polish equivalents have an accusative object, and its reflexive form is *się* or *(samego) siebie*, even if not contrasted.

lo hayiti nogea be'acmi 'nie dotknąłbym samego siebie / I would not touch myself' (Keret, Ga'agu'ay 14).

'ani maclif be'acmi 'biczuję się / samego siebie / I am flagellating myself' (Nevo, 'Arba'a 233).

yara be'acmo 'zastrzelił się / samego siebie / he shot himself' (Bartov, Pic'ey 17).

santa be'acma 'zrugała samą siebie / she scolded herself' (Mixa'el, Xasut 320).

3.2.1.2. The Polish equivalent has a prepositional object or an object in a case form other than the accusative. Its reflexive form is *siebie*, *sobie* (the accusative / genitive form *się* with prepositions is obsolete).

hitxalti leha'amin be'acmi 'zaczęłam w (samą) siebie wierzyć / I started to believe in myself' (Garbuz, Tamid 266).

nitkal be'acmo bamar'a 'natykając się na siebie samego w lustrze / falling in with himself in the mirror' (Grosman, Sefer 12).

mistakel be'acmo bamar'a 'przygląda się samemu sobie w lustrze / he looks at himself in the mirror' (Hefner, Kolel 85).

hi ne'eveket be'acma 'walczy z samą sobą / she fights against herself' (Grosman, Mišu 73).

[12] I mean here an object introduced by a preposition other than 'et.

'ani 'ešlot be'acmi 'będę panować nad sobą / I will control myself' (Gefen, Kursat 157).

'ata lo boxel be'acmexa? 'nie brzydzisz się samym sobą? / don't you loathe yourself?' (Ben 'Ezer, 'Anšey 90).

boš be'acmo 'wstydzi się za siebie (samego) / he is ashamed of himself' (Meged, Ma'ase 114).

we'anu mit'askim rak be'acmenu 'my zajmujemy się tylko samymi sobą / we deal only with ourselves' (Meged, Ma'ase 70).

3.2.2. Objects with the prepositions *min* or *mipney*

Polish equivalents have a prepositional object or an object in a case form other than the accusative. Its reflexive form is *(samego) siebie*, *sobie*.

'afilu 'ani kcat nivhalti me'acmi 'nawet ja trochę się samej siebie przestraszyłam / even I became a little afraid of myself' (Nevo, 'Arba'a 77).

'ex hu nehene me'acmo 'jak on się rozkoszuje samym sobą / how he delights in himself' (Kric, Studentit 12).

kol hamedina šelo hayta coxeket mimenu wegam hu haya coxek me'acmo 'cały jego kraj się z niego śmiał, i on też śmiał się z samego siebie / the whole of his country laughed at him, and also he laughed at himself' ('Oz, Sipur 205).

'at yexola […] *lo lehitbayeš mipney 'acmex* 'możesz nie wstydzić się przed samą sobą / you do not have to be ashamed in front of yourself' (Meged, Yom 118), *hu mitbayeš me'acmo* 'on się wstydzi przed samym sobą / he is ashamed in front of himself' (Bar Yosef, Hadag 174).

vedaraš me'acmo lehatxil laxšov 'i wymagał od samego siebie, by zacząć myśleć / he demanded from himself to start thinking' ('Oz, Hamacav 114).

'ex 'egzol 'oto me'acmi 'jakże odbiorę go samemu sobie / how can I take it away from myself' (Bartov, Pic'ey 34).

šel 'adam hamevakeš limnoa me'acmo lir'ot 'et šebilti nimna lehitraxeš 'kogoś, kto chce uniemożliwić samemu sobie zobaczenie tego, co w nieunikniony sposób musi się wydarzyć / of a person who wants to restrain himself from seeing what has to happen inevitably' (Krišek, 'Ose 18).

Here verbs of privative meaning belong:

tuxal lanuax […] *me'acma* 'będzie mogła odpocząć […] od siebie (samej) / she will be able to rest […] from herself' (Nevo, 'Arba'a 215).

hadvarim […] *'azru li lehacil 'et 'acmi me'acmi* 'te słowa […] pomogły mi uratować samego siebie przed samym sobą / these words […] helped me to save myself from myself' (Gefen, 'Iša 13).

nafšah kmo nitpašta me'acma 'jej dusza jakby rozebrała się z (samej) siebie / her soul sort of stripped itself of itself' (Kaniuk, Ximo 44).

3.2.3. Object with the preposition *l-*

kedey la'azor le'acmenu 'aby samym sobie pomóc / in order to help themselves' (Grosman, Hazman 95).

natati le'acmi xeyrut šlema 'dałem (samemu) sobie zupełną swobodę / I gave full freedom to myslef' (Yehošua, Hašiva 43).

salxa le'acma 'wybaczyła samej sobie / she forgave herself' (Grosman, Sefer 21).

Here verbs of speaking belong, and their object with *l-* 'influence' or *'el* 'direction' refers to the addressee:

'et hasvara hazot kvar hišmia le'acmo 'to przypuszczenie on już wyraził wobec sas mego siebie / he has already uttered this supposition to himself' (Meged, Ma'ase 52).

ha'im ha'iš medaber 'el 'acmo 'czy ten człowiek mówi do siebie? / Is this man talking to himself?' (Meged, Ma'ase 122) – about speaking aloud.

lifney šehispakti lehagiv kvar 'ana le'acmo 'zanim zdążyłam zareagować, on już odpowiedział samemu sobie / he had already answered himself before I managed to react' (Nevo, 'Arba'a 274) – the fact that one answers his own question is abnormal, that is why the addressee is expressed by *le'acmo* and not by *lo*. The abnormal relation between the speaker and the addressee who are the same person, is symmetrical, thus the pronoun *'acmo* can modify the subject in an almost synonymous sentence: *ša'al* […] *rega xika latšuwa, ve'axar kax 'ana be'acmo* 'he asked […] and he waited for a while for the answer and then he himself answered / sam odpowiedział' (Šim'oni, Xeder 201).[13]

hisbira le'acma 'wyjaśniła samej sobie / she explained to herself' (Kric, Studentit 470).

kmo matxila legalot le'acma 'et kacehu šel ra'yon 'jakby zaczynając samej sobie wyjawiać rąbek myśli / as if she started revealing a piece of an idea […] to herself' ('Oz, Menuxa 78).

lehoxiax le'acmo šehu mesugal lehitgaber 'al netiya 'išit šelo 'udowodnić samemu sobie, że jest w stanie opanować swą osobistą skłonność / to demonstrate to himself that he was able to overcome his personal inclination' (Meged, Haync 44).

haya macig le'acmo še'elot 'samemu sobie stawiał pytania / he put questions to himself' (Meged, Haync 10).

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[13] Wilczewska (1966: 59) gives an example *Sama się męczyła, innych męczyła* 'she tormented herself, she tormented other people', but she does not explain the function of the pronoun *sama* in this sentence – in my opinion the pronoun marks here contrasted references of the objects (despite the fact that it modifies the subject of the first clause): herself – other people. Usually the pronoun *sam* is attached to the contrasted nominal group (the sentence *męczyła samą siebie, innych męczyła* means the same), but here it is moved to the subject group, which is possible thanks to the fact that the subject and the object have here the same reference. In Polish, like in Hebrew, if a verb is non-naturally reflexive, and it has a simple (not contrasted) reflexive object, then the abnormal relation between the object and the subject (which are the same) can be marked on the subject (*sam siebie zabił*) or on the object (*zabił samego siebie*).

Other prepositions denoting an addressee also with the reflexive pronoun in Hebrew, and with *samego siebie* in Polish:

xayav haya lehodot bifney 'acmo šehapgiša […] *hixnisa 'eyze "memad ruxani" xadaš lexayav* 'musiał przyznać wobec samego siebie, że to spotkanie […] wzbogaciło jego życie o jakiś nowy wymiar duchowy / he had to admit to himself that this meeting […] had introduced some new spiritual dimension into his life' (Meged, Haync 59).

3.2.4. Object with the preposition *'al* 'location'

tistakli 'al 'acmex 'popatrz na siebie / look at yourself' (Bergman, 'Ahava 251).

hibit 'al 'acmo bamar'a 'popatrzył na samego siebie w lustrze / he looked at himself in the mirror' (Gefen, Bekešer 77).

3.2.5. Objects with the preposition *'al* 'influence'

pakad 'al 'acmo 'nakazał (samemu) sobie / he commanded himself' (Šaxar, Soxen 201).

'asra 'al 'acma laxzor lešam 'zakazała sobie (samej) powrotu tam / she forbade herself to return there' (Grosman, Mišu 66).

hu kafa 'al 'acmo lehitrakez 'zmuszał *się*/*siebie* (samego) do skupienia / he forced himself to concentrate' (Lapid, Kaxeres 223).

3.2.6. Objects with the preposition *'al* 'reason known to the subject'

mištokek […] *lehit'aneg 'al 'acmo* 'pragnie […] rozkoszować się (samym) sobą / he wants […] to delight in himself' (Yehošua, Hašiwa 245).

ka'asti 'al 'acmi 'byłem zły na (samego) siebie / I was angry with myself' (Kašua, Guf 90).

haya mitpale 'al 'acmo 'dziwił się (samemu) sobie / he was surprised at himself' (Šaxar, Soxen 161).

hu tamea 'al 'acmo 'ex hitpogega bo kol hasin'a 'dziwi się samemu sobie, jak cała jego nienawiść minęła / he is surprised at himself, how all his hate disappeared' (Meged, Ma'ase 71).

hayiti ge 'al 'acmi ,byłem z (samego) siebie dumny / I was proud of myself' (Šaxam, Kirot 20).

In the examples below the preposition *'al* has the same meaning 'reason', but the prepositional phrase is rather an adverbial, because of the loose semantic relation to the verb. Hebrew uses here the reflexive pronoun, in Polish *(samego) siebie*:

mexayex 'al 'acmo 'uśmiechając się na myśl o sobie (samym) / smiling at himself' (Yehošua, Hašiva 61).

hu 'acmo coxek 'al 'acmo 'on sam śmiał się z siebie / he himself laughed at himself' (Hame'iri, Hašiga'on 174) – here the strange identity of the scoffer and the object of the derision is expressed twice in Hebrew: by the noun modifier *'acmo* '(he) himself' and by the reflexive pronoun. It seems that in Polish only one pronoun *sam* is possible: either *on sam śmiał się z siebie* or *on śmiał się z samego siebie*.

ca'aka 'al 'acma 'krzyczała na (samą) siebie / she was shouting at herself' (Kacir, Sogrim 129).

3.2.7. Objects with the preposition *'al* 'contents'

Iin Hebrew more often with the reflexive pronoun, in Polish always with the reflexive pronoun *(samym) sobie*:

hu medaber […] *'al 'acmo* 'on mówi […] o sobie (samym) / he talks […] about himself' (Meged, Persefona 239).

hu xašav 'al 'acmo ke'al 'adam boded 'myślał o (samym) sobie jako o człowieku samotnym / he thought about himself as a lonely man' (Gefen, Bekešer 55).

hitxila likro 'al 'acma 'zaczęła czytać o sobie (samej) / she started to read about herself' (Kric, Studentit 24).

In Hebrew a personal pronoun is possible, even if contrasted:

lama še'ani 'asaper la 'alay ve'al moše 'dlaczegóż ja mam opowiadać jej o (samej) sobie i o Mojżeszu / why should I tell her about me and about Moshe' (Nevo, 'Arba'a 97).

lo xašavti 'alay, 'ela 'al 'ima 'nie myślałem o sobie, lecz o mamie / I did not think about myself, but about my mother' (Gefen, 'Iša 149).

3.2.8. Objects with the preposition *'im* 'cooperation'

kemaskim 'im 'acmo 'jakby zgadzając się z samym sobą / as if he agreed with himself' ('Oz, Menuxa 74).

'afilu haguf šeli rav 'im 'acmo 'nawet moje ciało kłóci się z samym sobą / even my body contends with itself' (Grosman, Hazman 139).

sixaka klafim 'im 'acma 'grała w karty z samą sobą / sama ze sobą / she played cards with herself' (Yehošua, Hakala 26).

be'eyzo safa 'ata medaber 'im 'acmexa? 'w jakim języku rozmawiasz sam ze sobą / z samym sobą? / what language do you speak with yourself?' (Gefen, Kursat 177).

haya dan 'im 'acmo babe'ayot 'z samym sobą / sam ze sobą dyskutował o problemach / he discussed the problems […] with himself' (Meged, Haync 10).

'ani nifgešet 'im 'acmi 'spotykam się sama ze sobą / z samą sobą / I meet myself' (Laudon, 'Arim 26).

3.2.9. Objects with the preposition *'im* 'to use sth / to decide the fate of sth'

> *'ani* […] *mitkaše lehaxlit ma la'asot 'im 'acmi* 'trudno mi jest postanowić, co ze sobą zrobić / jak postąpić / it is difficult for me to decide what to do with myself' (Ron Feder Amit, Ziyafnu 198).

What is interesting, is that both in Hebrew and in Polish almost all naturally reflexive verbs take a direct object, i.e. a noun in the accusative in Polish, the preposition *'et* in Hebrew. In Hebrew I found only one example of a verb which is naturally reflexive, as its reflexive stem indicates, but it has a non-reflexive object with the preposition *'al*: *hitgonen hamešorer* 'the poet defended himself' (Mixa'el, Xasut 218), and even this verb tends to appear in the variant *transitive stem + reflexive object*: *hi menasa* […] *lehagen 'al 'acma* 'she tries […] to defend herself' (Yehošua, Hakala 390), *gonena 'al 'acma* 'she defended herself' (Lapid, Kaxeres 198). The conclusion is that most naturally reflexive verbs belong to the category of verbs with direct object. This is a consequence of the fact that the form of the object is not meaningless. Prepositions introducing objects have their own meaning that correspond with various semantic classes of verbs, and those classes of verbs denote actions that are rarely reflexive.

4. Pronouns in clauses with compound predicate

In Hebrew, if a predicate consists of a finite verb expressing modality or instruction and an infinitive, and the infinitive has an object which is a pronoun referring to the subject of the finite verb, then the form of the pronoun depends on whether the object pronoun refers to the agent of the infinitive or not. In Polish the rule is not fast.

4.1. If an object pronoun does not refer to the agent of the infinitive, Hebrew uses ordinary personal pronouns, i.e. Hebrew grammar conceives the event as two separate actions, one expressed by a modal verb, the other expressed by an infinitive. The reflexive meaning is absent in such a Hebrew clause. If a Hebrew infinitive is translated by a verbal noun or subordinated clause into Polish, then a personal pronoun is used in the translation. If a Hebrew infinitive is translated by an infinitive, Polish uses a reflexive pronoun, i.e. the Polish grammar conceives the event as one, reflexive action in this case:

> *'ata roce še'ani 'akel 'aleyhem lexasel 'oti* 'chcesz, bym ja ułatwił im zlikwidowanie mnie? / do you want me to make it easy for them to kill me?' (Šaxam, Naknikiyot 146).

> *'ani 'oseret 'aleyxa lixtov 'alay* 'zabraniam ci pisania o mnie / sobie [?] / I forbid you to write about me' (Kric, Studentit 377).

> *velo 'ifšer li likšor 'oto* 'nie pozwalał mi, abym go przywiązał / nie pozwolił mi przywiązać się / he did not allow me to bind him' (Kašua, Guf 88).

> *hi hiršeta li lehazmin 'ota* 'pozwoliła mi, abym ją zaprosił / pozwoliła mi się zaprosić / she let me invite her' (Kašua, Guf 120).

hanax lo lehanxotxa 'pozwól mu, aby cię instruował / pozwól mu się instruować / let him instruct you' (Lapid, Kaxeres 193).

tni li lir'ot 'otxa 'pozwól, bym cię zobaczył / pozwól mi się zobaczyć / let me see you' (Bartov, 'Axot 23).

'aba bikeš leha'aviro 'tato prosił, aby go przenieść / daddy asked to move him' (Lev, 'Arom 14).

pakad 'al banav leseto bamita 'kazał swoim synom, aby go ponieśli na łóżku / kazał synom ponieść się na łóżku / he ordered his sons to carry him on the bed' (Be'er, 'Et 251).

Very rarely is the reflexive pronoun also in Hebrew, when the verb *natan* 'to let' has no object referring to 'the one who receives the permission'. I suppose that omission of the agent of an infinitive leads the speaker to grasp the event as one action, whose agent is the subject of the finite verb:

natnu la'akod 'et 'acmam 'pozwolili, by ich związano / pozwolili związać się / they let themselves be bound' (Re'uveni, Kol sipurey 341).

vehu natan leholix 'et 'acmo 'pozwolił, by go poprowadzono / pozwolił się prowadzić / he let himself be led' (Re'uveni, Kol sipurey 277).

4.2. If an object pronoun refers to the agent of the infinitive, Hebrew uses reflexive pronouns. In Polish the difference between this case and case 4.1 is overt only if an infinitive is translated by a subordinated clause:[14]

notnim lo lehašlot 'acmo 'pozwalają mu łudzić się / pozwalają mu, aby się łudził / they let him delude himself' (Bar Yosef, Xerev 250).

harši li lehacig 'et 'acmi 'pozwól mi się przedstawić / pozwól, abym się przedstawił / let me introduce myself' (Kacir, Sogrim 50).

5. Adverbials in the form of preposition phrases

5.1. Place adverbials

5.1.1. If a preposition with a pronoun referring to the subject of the clause is a place adverbial, then the form of the pronoun depends on the meaning of the clause. If the reflexive reference of the pronoun is not abnormal (i.e. it does not make the whole situation abnormal), then in Polish the pronoun is *siebie* / *sobie* (and not: *samego siebie* / *samym sobie*), and Hebrew uses ordinary personal pronouns in appropriate forms, unless the pronoun is contrasted:

raca lesalek me'alav 'eyzo tinofet 'chciał usunąć z siebie jakiś brud / he wanted to remove some dirt from himself' (Šim'oni, Xeder 372).

[14] The double meaning of clauses like *Pozwól mi się ubrać* is mentioned by Wilczewska (1966: 20, 155–157) and Saloni (1976: 110).

pašatti me'alay 'et habgadim 'zdjąłem z siebie ubranie / I took off my clothes' (Kašua, Guf 118).

henixa 'oto lefaneyha 'położyła ją przed sobą / she put it in front of herself' (Šamir, Bemo 31).

masi'a 'eglat tinok lefaneyha 'pcha przed sobą dziecięcy wózek / she is pushing a pram in front of herself' (Meged, Ma'ase 54).

ve'ani bohe lefanay 'a ja patrzyłem się przed siebie / I was looking in front of me' (Meged, Xedva 277).

hu našaf 'et ha'ašan nixxo 'wydmuchiwał [z ust] dym przed siebie / he puffed out the smoke [of his cigarette] before himself' (Krišek, 'Ose 14).

ra'iti muli 'et naxum 'widziałem naprzeciwko siebie Nachuma / I saw Nachum opposite me' (Knaz, Hitganvut 22).

toreket 'axareyha 'et hadelet 'zatrzaskując za sobą drzwi / banging the door behind him' (Šim'oni, Xeder 279).

hexlit […] *la'azov hakol me'axorav* 'postanowił […] zostawić wszystko za sobą / he decided […] to leave everything behind him' ('Oz, Menuxa 16).

vemašxa 'otxa 'eleyha 'i pociągnęła cię do siebie / she pulled you to herself' (Šim'oni, Xeder 355).

kara 'elav 'et hakomer 'wezwał do siebie księdza / he called the priest to himself' (Lapid, Kaxeres 150).

lakaxti 'elay 'et ktav hayad 'wziąłem do siebie rękopis / I took the manuscript to me / to my room' (Meged, Persefona 22).

vexazarti 'elay laxeder 'wróciłam do siebie do pokoju / I returned to my room' ('Aviram, Tipeš 9) – the place adverbial refers here to 'the place belonging to a person'. If a place adverbial refers to the very person (in a figurative sense), then the reflexive pronoun is used, because the reflexive reference is unexpected with verbs of motion: *yit'ošeš veyaxzor le'acmo* 'odzyska równowagę i dojdzie do siebie / he will regain his poise of mind' (Šaxam, Naknikiyot 185), *šavti 'el 'acmi, 'el 'eyzo nekudat dmama betoxi* 'wróciłam do samej siebie, do jakiegoś punktu milczenia w sobie / I returned to myself, to a point of silence inside me ('Almog, Šoršey 129).

xibka 'oto 'eleyha 'przytuliła go do siebie / she nestled him against herself' (Gefen, Bekešer 24).

hešatti 'et 'eynay svivi 'rozglądałem się dokoła siebie / I was looking about me' (Knaz, Hitganvut 9).

mošex 'alav 'et hamixnasayim 'wciągał na siebie spodnie / he put his trousers on' (Meged, Ma'ase 108).

kol mila mexila betoxa 'et hipuxa 'każdy wyraz zawiera w sobie swoje własne przeciwieństwo / each word contains its own antonym' (Meged, Ma'ase 59).

'alim ka'ele kvar kavru taxtam gam mamtera švura 'takie liście już pogrzebały pod sobą połamany zraszacz / such leaves have already buried a broken irrigation sprinkler under themselves' ('Oz, Menuxa 10).

hamešorer […] *bikeš lehošiv 'ota beyno uveyn kristina* 'poeta […] chciał posadzić ją między sobą a Krystyną / the poet […] wanted to seat her between himself and Christina' (Apelfeld, Layla 18).

One of the locative meanings of the preposition *'im* 'with' is 'he who keeps something in his hand, on his body / he who keeps somebody near himself'. If a thing / person kept near by is not identical with the one who keeps it, then the relation is not abnormal at all, so Hebrew makes use of an ordinary personal pronoun referring to the subject, and in Polish we have *ze sobą* (but not: *z samym sobą*):

kaxeni 'imxa 'weź mnie ze sobą / take me with you' (Calka, Doktor 31).

hevi 'ito lamalon 'iša 'przyprowadził ze sobą do hotelu kobietę / he brought a woman with him to the hotel' (Šim'oni, Xeder 334).

saxava 'ima salim 'tachała ze sobą kosze / she carried baskets with her' (Garbuz, Tamid 41).

lo heveti 'iti pinkas 'nie przyniosłem ze sobą notesu / I did not bring with me a notebook' (Ron Feder Amit, Ziyafnu 60).

If the pronoun referring to the subject is contrasted, then one can use *'acmo* in Hebrew, and *samego siebie* in Polish, although the action is not abnormal because of the reflexive reference of the pronoun:

hivxina pu'a bekitmey hadam 'al 'acma ve'alav 'Pua zauważyła plamy krwi na sobie samej i na nim / Puah noticed bloody stains on herself and on him' (Bar Yosef, Hafotograf 93).

5.1.2. If the reference of the pronoun to the subject makes the whole situation abnormal, then Hebrew uses the reflexive pronoun *'acmo*, and in Polish one can use the variant *(samego) siebie*, even if the pronoun is not contrasted:

tec'i me'acmex 'wyjdź z (samej) siebie / go out of yourself' (Grosman, Mišu 71).

ke'ilu soxet me'acmo laxluxit 'axarona 'jakby wyciskał z samego siebie resztkę soku / as if he was extracting the rest of the juices from himself' (Šalev, Xayey 218).

me'acmi lo nimlatti 'od siebie samego nie uciekłem / I did not take shelter from myself' (Bartov, Pic'ey 24).

boreax me'acmo 'ucieka przed samym sobą / is running away from himself' (Gefen, Kursat 9).

ke'ilu nitraxaka me'acma 'jakby oddaliła się od samej siebie / as if she went away from herself' (Luz, 'Agadot 110).

haxote hanas mipney 'acmo 'grzesznik uciekający przed samym sobą / the sinner who is running away from himself' (Ben Ezer, 'Anšey 53).

šegar betox acmo kmo šablul 'który mieszka w samym sobie jak ślimak / who lives in himself like a snail' (Nevo, Arba'a 44).

kol 'exad kalu betox 'acmo 'każdy jest uwięziony w samym sobie / everybody is imprisoned in himself' (Bartov, Pic'ey 10).

calela kax letox 'acma 'tak się w samej sobie zagłębiła / she sank in this way into herself' (Grosman, Mišu 37).

'ata […] *maškia 'oto be'acmexa* 'zanurzasz go w sobie samym / you immerge him in yourself' (Be'er, Xavalim 135).

hu panuy lehacic 'el tox 'acmo 'ma czas, by w siebie samego wejrzeć / he has time to look into himself' (Šaxam, Naknikiyot 8).

lifney ha'ason šehevi 'al 'acmo 'przed nieszczęściem, które on na (samego) siebie sprowadził / before the disaster which he brought on himself' (Meged, Ma'ase 109).

hit'alta 'al 'acma 'wzniosła się ponad samą siebie / she rose over and above herself' (Grosman, Sefer 144).

Clauses with the verbs 'to be / to stay' and with the preposition *'im* + pronoun referring to the subject mean 'to be alone', and they denote an abnormal situation in which one who stays with somebody is identical with the person who accompanies him, so in Hebrew the reflexive pronoun, and in Polish the pronoun *z samym sobą*:

niš'arti 'im 'acmi 'zostałem z (samym) sobą / sam / I stayed with myself' (Gefen, Šiney 88).

lehitboded 'im 'acmexa 'być tylko z (samym) sobą / to be only with oneself' (Xaviv, Laxzor 8).

hu macuy 'im 'acmo 'jest […] sam na sam ze sobą / he is with himself' (Laudon, 'Arim 16).

These sentences, abnormal because of the reflexive reference of the pronoun, are variants of common sentences like *Yo'el niš'ar 'im hanašim* 'Joel stayed with the women' ('Oz, Lada'at 20).

5.2. Other adverbials

'beneficiary' – in Hebrew both with personal (even if contrasted) and (more frequently) reflexive pronouns, in Polish only reflexive pronouns, and if contrasted, the variant *samemu sobie* is possible:

hu saxar, lo vela, xeder nosaf 'wynajął, dla (samego) siebie i dla niej, dodatkowy pokój / he rented an additional room for himself and for her' (Reğuan, 'Al gexalim 40).

hu hizmin 'umca la ve'umca lo 'zamówił stek dla niej i stek dla siebie (samego) / he ordered a beefsteak for her and a beefsteak for himself' (Meged, Haync 127).

'axin li kos te 'zrobię sobie szklankę herbaty / I will make a glass of tea for myself' (Bergman, 'Ahava 384).

macati li […] *'iša* 'znalazłem sobie […] żonę / I have found a wife for myself' (Luz, 'Agadot 95).

hu ciyer le'acmo mapa šel yerušalayim 'narysował sobie mapę Jerozolimy / he drew for himself a map of Jerusalem' (Be'er, Nocot 249).

hi toferet le'acma simla 'szyje dla siebie sukienkę / she is making a dress for herself' (Bar Yosef, Anšey 164).

'maleficiary' – in Hebrew always with the reflexive pronoun, because to injure oneself is more abnormal than to be of service to oneself.

hi po'elet neged 'acma 'ona działa na swoją własną szkodę / she acts to the injury of herself' (Meged, 'Asa'el 181).

tir'i ma šehi 'osa le'acma 'zobacz, co ona sobie robi / look what she is doing to herself' ('Almog, Šoršey 82) – about self-harm.

'influence' – the preposition *l-* with a pronoun referring to a person, in clauses describing physical actions on parts of a human body. The adverbial appears mainly in clauses referring to non-reflexive actions: *'etloš lexa 'et apxa ha'arox* 'urwę ci twój długi nos / I will wrench off your long nose' (Re'uveni, Kol sipurey 16). If one exerts a similar influence on his own body, then in most cases the reflexive pronoun is used:

litafti le'acmi 'et halexi 'pogłaskałam się po policzku / I stroked my cheek' (Nevo, 'Arba'a 267).

xatxa le'acma 'et hayadayim šela 'pocięła sobie ręce / she cut her hands' ('Almog, Šoršey 82).

hu satar le'acmo 'al panav 'uderzył się w twarz / he slapped his own face' (Reğuan, 'Al gexalim 102).

The personal pronoun with reflexive reference is rare:

hi šuv xatxa la 'et kol hayadayim 'ona znowu pocięła sobie całe ręce / she once again cut her whole arms' ('Almog, Šoršey 79).

The adverbial never appears in clauses describing actions on one's own body, if their source is an internal power of a given body part, for example *hu pokeax 'et 'eynav* 'otwiera oczy / he is opening his eyes' (Hefner, Kolel 79), not: *hu pokeax le'acmo 'et 'eynav*. In literary style the adverbial is avoided, instead a name of the body part has a reflexive possessive pronoun that cannot be omitted: *cavat 'et lexyo habo'eret* 'he was pinching his burning cheek' ('Almog, Šoršey 108).

'agent of the passive voice' – in Hebrew always with the reflexive pronoun, in Polish the variant *samemu sobie* is possible, even with no contrast. The active counterparts of passives below are not "naturally reflexive verbs" (naturally reflexive verbs do not have passive voice). This is why also the agent in the passive is referred to by the pronoun *'acmo*.

venišma le'acmi xalul 'i samemu sobie wydaję się pusty / I seem empty to myself, (Nevo, 'Arba'a 144).

'ani hayiti yedu'a le'acmi ke'adam šelo notef 'emuna 'samej sobie byłam znana jako człowiek, który nie jest przepełniony wiarą / I was known to myself as a person who was not full of belief' (Kastel Blum, Hamina 31).

hamerucot me'acman 'zadowolone z samych siebie / satisfied with themselves' (Yehošua, Hakala 273).

me'uxzav me'acmo 'zawiedziony samym sobą / disappointed in himself' (Yehošua, Hakala 522).

'autonomous agent' (cf. Halevy 2007) – in Hebrew always with personal pronoun, because the reflexive reference of the pronoun is the only possible one here, so it cannot be abnormal. In Polish a reflexive pronoun, but never with *samemu*, for the same reason. If an agent is abstract the adverbial of the autonomous agent, which is possible in Hebrew, has to be omitted in Polish translation.

a. 'to do something without paying attention to the environment'

layla šaxor, karir, ve'ani mistovevet li basimla halevana, hakala 'ciemna, zimna noc, a ja chodzę sobie w białej, lekkiej sukni / a dark, cold night, but I am walking in the light, white dress' (Luz, 'Agadot 39).

'omed lo barnaš kaze verokea bemagafav kemin kalgas – 'eynxa yodea ki savta xola? 'stoi sobie ktoś taki i tupie buciorami jak jakiś żołdak – nie wiesz, że babcia jest chora?! / you are standing and stamping your boots like a soldier – don't you know that the grandmother is ill?' (Re'uveni, Kol sipurey 7).

hi šuv holexet la 'eyruma babayit 'ona znów chodzi sobie goła po domu' / once again she is moving about the house naked [and she does not pay attention that she shocks other people]' ('Aviram, Tipeš 19).

b. 'to stop affecting the environment'

hu mecape še'elex li 'on oczekuje, bym sobie poszedł / he expects me to go away' (Hasipur 289).

tiška la bemeculat hašixxa '[jego miłość] zatonie w otchłani zapomnienia / [his love] will sink in the depth of the oblivion' (Yehošua, Hašiva 125).

xazar lo 'el tox štikato 'na powrót zamilkł / he returned to his silence' (Oz, Menuxa 17).

'cooperating agents' – in Hebrew always with a personal pronoun, in Polish a reflexive pronoun, but not *samymi sobą*, unless contrasted, because the reflexive reference to the plural subject is the only one possible here.

hitlaxašu beyneyhem hamitpalelim mi mehem yazmino lebeyto 'wierni szeptali między sobą, kto z nich zaprosi go do swego domu / the worshippers whispered amongst themselves / one to each other, who of them would invite him to his house' (Bar Yosef, Gvilim 14).

6. Comparative expressions

The prepositional phrase with *min* 'than' and a pronoun referring to the subject of the clause, as a modifier of an adjective in comparative that modifies a noun which is not the subject. Hebrew uses ordinary personal pronouns, Polish allows both personal and reflexive pronouns with the emphatic pronoun *sam*:[15]

hi crixa mišu xazak mimena 'ona potrzebuje kogoś silniejszego od niej samej / od siebie (samej) / od niej / she needs somebody stronger than herself' (Luz, 'Agadot 48).

mina 'et 'acmo megen lexalašim mimenu 'mianował się obrońcą słabszych od niego samego / od siebie samego / od niego / he appointed himself protector of people weaker than he was' (Reğuan, 'Al gexalim 75).

ha'aluf lo hizmin 'et sgan ha'aluf hakašiš mimenu laševet 'generał nie poprosił starszego od siebie / od niego / podpułkownika, aby ten usiadł / the general did not invite the Lieutenant-Colonel, who was older than he, to sit down' (Be'er, 'Et 257).

7. The pronoun referring to the subject as a predicate

If a pronoun referring to the subject is a predicate of a nominal clause, then in Hebrew it always has the form of an ordinary personal pronoun, while in Polish both the personal and the reflexive pronoun is possible, depending on the copula, that depends in turn on the meaning of the clause. If the verb *być* or *stać się* is a copula, then the predicate is the pronoun *sobą*, and the sentence means 'to have or to exhibit one's true nature':

hu kvar lo haya hu 'on już nie był sobą / he was no longer himself' (Kric, Studentit 32) – about a dead person, i.e. 'he changed'.

hu hu 'on jest sobą / he is himself' (Meged, 'Asa'el 145), i.e. 'he does not pretend'.

tamid 'ani 'ota 'ani 'zawsze jestem takim samym człowiekiem / tą samą sobą / I am always the same person / myself' (Luz, Agadot 120), i.e. 'I do not change'.

'ani 'af pa'am lo 'ani 'ja nigdy nie jestem sobą / I am never myself' (Bergman, 'Ahava 222), i.e. 'my behaviour is not natural'.

If the pronoun *to* is a copula, then the predicate is an ordinary personal pronoun in the nominative, and the clause identifies two persons. In Hebrew these clauses have the same form as clauses that mean 'to exhibit one's true nature':

hem hem, 'anaxnu 'anaxnu 'oni to oni, a my to my' ('Amir, Tarngol 121), i.e. 'do not mistake us for them'.

[15] Szlifersztejnowa (1968: 72–73) gives more examples of fluctuations between personal and reflexive pronouns in similar sentences.

8. Possessive pronouns

Hebrew possessive pronouns referring to the subject have the same form as possessive pronouns referring to other elements of the clause, while in Polish one has to use the reflexive pronoun *swój*:

> *diber 'al toxniyotav hasifrutiyot* 'mówił o swoich planach literackich / he talked about his literary plans' (Be'er, 'Et 151).

In literary Hebrew possessive pronouns suffixed to the noun (among them those of reflexive reference) are used also to make a noun definite, and not to express the possessive relation, which is obvious or irrelevant. This is frequent in clauses referring to bodily actions, with the names of body parts. In these cases one has to use a noun without a possessive pronoun in Polish:

> *hu pokeax 'et 'eynav* 'otwiera oczy / he opens his eyes' (Hefner, Kolel 79), and not: *swoje oczy*.

In synonymous clauses the noun is grammatically indefinite, but semantically definite, i.e. its reference is clear: *štof panim* 'umyj sobie twarz / wash your face' (Kašua' Guf 248) – in Polish translation the possession is expressed overtly by the adverbial of the affected person, here in its reflexive form *sobie*. In colloquial Hebrew one uses a noun with the article, and not with the possessive pronoun: *'acamti 'et ha'eynayim* 'zamknąłem oczy / I closed my eyes' (Nevo, 'Arba'a 356).

If the meaning of a verb makes the possessive relation dubious, then the possessive pronoun appears even in colloquial Hebrew (in its prepositional form), and it has to be preserved in Polish translation:

> *tir'i 'et hacipornayim šelax* 'popatrz na swoje paznokcie / look at your finger-nails' ('Almog, Šoršey 50).

If the name of a body part has an adjectival modifier that refers to its permanent feature, then the possessive pronoun appears even in colloquial Hebrew, and it can be preserved in Polish translation. The pronoun does not express the possessive relation, which is obvious, but it makes the whole nominal phrase definite, in order to mark the definiteness of the adjective, because indefinite adjectives refer to momentary qualities of the body parts in similar clauses. One can use also the demonstrative pronoun *ten* instead of the possessive one in Polish translation:

> *mistakelet bi ba'eynayim hayerukot šela* 'patrzy na mnie swymi zielonymi oczyma / tymi zielonymi oczyma' (Meged, Foygelman 43).

If an adjective expresses a momentary state of the body part, then in Hebrew an indefinite nominal phrase appears, in Polish the demonstrative pronoun is impossible:

> *hi baxana 'et xatana be'eynayim gdolot vešo'alot* 'badała swego narzeczonego wielkimi [= szeroko otwartymi] i pytającymi oczami / she was surveying her fiancé with big [= wide open] and asking eyes' (Re'uveni, 'Ad 26).

If one wishes to use the possessive pronoun, then the circumstance predicate referring to a momentary state is to be used instead of an adjectival modifier:

> *hayta merima 'elav 'et 'eyneyha, mefikot 'or vetaxanunim* 'podnosiła na niego oczy, pełne blasku i błagania / she looked up at him, with her eyes full of lustre and appeal' ('Almog, Šoršey 111).

Hebrew has many forms of contrasted possessive pronoun, but none of them is exclusively reflexive. Contrasted possessive pronouns indicate also a possessive relation that is abnormal, i.e. contrasted with an expected one. In the Polish translation of these pronouns one can add the adjective *własny* to the possessive pronoun:

> *keyvan šegiliti 'et sodxa, bo we'agale lexa 'et sodi 'ani* 'ponieważ odkryłem twoją tajemnicę, niechaj i ja ci zdradzę swoją własną tajemnicę / since I have discovered your secret, let me reveal my secret to you' (Davidon, Tura 59).
>
> *vetohe 'al cliley kolo šel 'acmo* 'i dziwi się dźwiękowi swego własnego głosu / he is surprised at the sound of his own voice' (Bar Yosef, 'Anšey 239).
>
> *hi* […] *me'ayenet* […] *batmunot šel 'acma vešel ba'ala* 'ogląda […] zdjęcia swoje i męża[16] / she is looking at the pictures of herself and her husband' (Yehošua, Hašiva 146).
>
> *'ata 'elohim šel 'acmexa* 'sam dla siebie jesteś bogiem / jesteś swoim własnym bogiem / you are your own god / you worship yourself' ('Amir, Tarngol 184).

9. Conclusions

The Hebrew reflexive pronoun *'acmo* is used when the reference to the subject of the clause is somehow abnormal. In other cases ordinary personal pronouns or reflexive intransitive verbs are used. The Polish reflexive pronouns *się*, *swój* indicate common reflexive relations, while abnormal ones are expressed by *siebie*, *samego siebie*, *swój własny*.

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[16] It seems that one cannot use here the shorter form of the pronoun (*swe*), because of the contrast.

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