

POLISH AND ENGLISH PSEUDO-REFLEXIVES

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The Polish "reflexive verbs" have been a troublesome topic for linguists and language teachers. The problem lies not only in the overabundance of expressions using a reflexive pronoun, when the action described is not reflected onto the surface structure subject, but also in the variety of componential features which may be assigned to them. This diversity is confusing even to sophisticated Polish speakers; it becomes further complicated when Polish is contrasted with English, which very seldom uses these pronouns even for authentically reflexive actions.

The approach used in this paper in trying to solve this problem is based on a semantic analysis of over one thousand Polish sentences and their English translation. Seven classes of "reflexive" and "pseudo-reflexive" verbs are established: Total Reflexive, Part Reflexive, Directed Benefactive, Observed Benefactive, Reciprocal, Passive, and Emissive. "Pseudo-reflexives" are either verbs which are not marked for reflexiveness when they should be or verbs which are marked when they should not be. For each category, a semantic representation is provided first in a drawing then through trees in a case-grammar framework similar to that of Fillmore.

All seven types of verbs are analyzed in groups. They are discussed successively, and always in the same order, under each of the following subdivisions: Syntactic Considerations, Semantic Considerations, Underlying Structures, Transformations, and Surface Structures. The description of the semantic contents and deep structure syntactic features, which are common both to Polish and English, offers interesting pedagogical implications as it affords a tool for generating acceptable sentences in either language.

1. *Introductory Remarks.*

There seems to be a connection between English pseudo-intransitives of the type

I wash every day.
He shaves every morning.
She dresses well.

where the direct objects have been deleted, and the following faulty Polish structures produced by English speakers:

Która najlepiej Ci podoba?

instead of: *Która najlepiej Ci się podoba?*
 for: *Which one do you like best?*

Ja wstydzę

instead of: *Ja się wstydzę, or Wstydzę się.*

for: *I am ashamed.*

and *Myję swoje ręce.*

instead of: *Myję ręce or Myję sobie ręce.*

for: *I wash (am washing) my hands.*

What is the nature of this resemblance? It appears that we have a deletion of what is usually called "reflexive pronoun", that is, a form in — *self* in English and *się, siebie, sobie* or *sobą* in Polish. But while the deletion is sometimes permissible in English, it usually creates an incoherent or ungrammatical sentence in Polish.

By way of introduction, let us examine a short paragraph in Polish and a proposed translation into English, paying special attention to the verbs and the noun phrases accompanying them in order to determine what kind of correspondence or equivalence might exist between the Polish and English expressions.

Zainteresowałem się tym dlaczego studenci amerykańscy uczący się polskiego i studenci polscy uczący się angielskiego spotykają się z wielkimi trudnościami i nie dają sobie rady z właściwym użyciem czasowników zwrotnych, nawet kiedy pomagają sobie wzajemnie i razem głośnią się nad tłumaczeniem, które im się podoba. Okazało się, że spośród przeszło tysiąca polskich czasowników tak zwanych zwrotnych, wiele legitymuje się jedynie formą zwrotną.

I became interested in the reason why American students learning Polish and Polish students learning English encounter great difficulties and are unable to cope with the proper usage of reflexive verbs even when they help one another and rack their brains together on a translation which they like. It appeared that among over one thousand Polish so-called reflexive verbs many prove to be reflexive in form only.

2. *The Problem.*

On the basis of these short semantically equivalent paragraphs, several hypotheses can be postulated delineating the problem or difficulties met in translating from Polish into English or vice versa.

2.1. Not all Polish verbs which seem reflexive are genuine reflexive verbs.

2.2. Polish shows an overabundance of 'reflexive' verb phrases, English seldom uses such structures.

2.3. Although all Polish sentences in the sample text use similar structures of complementation in the active voice, the English sentences display various types of verbal structures.

2.4. These structural differences between the two languages do not correspond to semantic differences as the basic meaning of the message is preserved in the translation of the text from one language into the other.

2.5. Semantics might thus be very helpful in setting up a strategy which would enable the language learner to translate pseudo-reflexives from his native or source language into the target language.

3. *The Analysis.*

3.1. *Definitions.*

3.1.1. *Pronominal Verbs.* Polish verb phrases that contain the so-called reflexive pronoun *się* or its variants *siebie, sobie* and *sobą* are sometimes called 'pronominal' (Szlifersztejnowa: 1968, 1969). This term does not seem to appear in the writings dealing with English verbs. It is impractical on several accounts because it lumps together verbs whose deep structure subjects emerge on the surface structure as subjects in

Studenci uczący się polskiego
Studenci nie dają sobie rady.

or complements in various syntactic cases like instrumental *tym* in

Zainteresowałem się tym.

and sometimes even seem not to emerge at all in:

Okazało się.

Some of the pronominal verbs are genuine reflexive verbs; others only look reflexive and for that reason are called here pseudo-reflexives.

3.1.2. *Genuine Reflexive Verbs or Reflexive Verbs.*

3.1.2.1. Any Polish pronominal verb in which *się* (or its variants) is a pronominalized deep structure NP returning or "reflecting" the action back onto the subject which performs the action.

Studenci polscy uczący się

corresponding to the underlying structure

**Studenci polscy uczyć studenci polscy*

where *Studenci polscy* is both agent and patient.

3.1.2.2. Some Polish pronominal verbs in which the deep structure reflexive NP is pronominalized as *sobie*
the deep structure reflexive NP is pronominalized as *sobie*

Zawsze mówi o sobie.

for: *He always speaks about himself, or sobą.*

Widocznie nie gardzi sobą.

for: *Obviously he does not despise himself.*

(cf. Klemensiewicz 1946; Szober 1963; Bisko, Karolak, Wasilewska and Kryński 1966).

3.1.2.3. English transitive verbs where deep structure subject and object are identical and the object is pronominalized in *-self*. (Jespersen 1937; Lees and Klima 1963). This complement may have one of the following functions:

Direct object:	<i>He shaved himself.</i>
Indirect object:	<i>He allowed himself no rest.</i>
Subjective complement:	<i>He is always himself.</i>
Prepositional complement:	<i>He looked at himself.</i>

All these non-emphatic reflexive pronouns may be used either with obligatorily reflexive verbs, such as *pride oneself (on)*, with optionally reflexive verbs such as *dress (oneself)*, or with non-reflexive verbs to indicate co-referentiality of two NP's such as

John protects himself.

in contrast with

John protects me.

(Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1972). The deletion of optional reflexive pronouns or their replacement by objective personal pronouns is described below under English pseudo-reflexives.

3.1.3. *Pseudo-Reflexive Verbs.*

3.1.3.1. Any Polish pronominal verb phrase whose *się* is found not to be reflexive in the deep structure. Hadlich (1968:112) reported the existence of such verbs in Spanish and called them "inherent" reflexives be-

cause they "have a special lexical (not grammatical) characteristic requiring that they have the reflexive form". Various tests may be used to ascertain the deep structure reflexive syntactic feature of *się*. Some of them have been adequately described in other places (cf. Starosta 1971:444). Another very simple test consists in substituting *siebie* for *się* on the surface structure. Generally, pseudo-reflexives can't take *siebie*. However, this test is somewhat imperfect because it does not sift out reciprocals of the type

Jan i Józef patrzą na siebie i nie widzą się.

John and Joseph are looking at each other and don't see one another.

3.1.3.2. Any English pseudo-intransitive verb phrase of the type *I wash* when the meaning is the reflexive *I wash myself*. Some other verbs belonging to this class are *adjust, dress, shave*. The deletion of the reflexive object makes the verb look intransitive but the sentence is somehow not felt ambiguous because in the absence of any object it is assumed that the action performed by the subject is at the same time experienced by the same subject. As Starosta (1971:445) says, "the most common situation in modern shaving is that one shaves oneself, (just as the person one washes most often is oneself). So it is natural that these presumptions come to be associated with the verbs when no object is present".

3.1.3.3. Any English verbal phrase using a possessive adjective to determine the object NP which is a part of the subject of the sentence

I wash my hands.

Van Gogh cut off his own ear. (Postal 1969:208f.15)

3.1.3.4. Most verbal phrases using an objective personal pronoun for a NP despite co-reference with the subject.

John has no covering over him.

These pronouns are usually found in prepositional adverbial phrases expressing spatial relationship between two NP belonging to different component source sentences (Lees and Klima 1963).

3.2. *Frequency and Productivity.*

The variety of pseudo-reflexives observed both in English and Polish may constitute a real problem for the language learner or the translator if these forms are abundant and frequently used. A statistical analysis might help in determining the extent of this problem.

3.2.1. *Polish Pronominal Verbs.*

Since genuine reflexive verbs are structurally practically undistinguishable from pseudo-reflexives, all pronominal verbs had to be counted. About one thousand verbs of this morphological type were found in Szober's (1969)

Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny, which lists difficult lexical items and constructions; another few hundred were discovered in the Stanisławski's (1970) and Kościuszko foundation dictionaries. But a mere reference to quantitative occurrence being insufficient to prove the frequency of usage, the latter was checked in three sample texts of 3000 words each: a literary fragment (Maria Dąbrowska, *Noce i dnie*), a semi-scientific journal (*Problemy*) and an informal daily newspaper (*Gazeta Krakowska*). The percentage of reflexive or pseudo-reflexive forms in comparison with the total number of verbs used on each of these three different stylistic levels is indicated in table 1.

Table 1

	Words	Verbs	Pronominal Verbs	Ratio
Dąbrowska, M. <i>Noce i dnie</i> P. 25-37	3000	594	122	20.5%
Brzostkiewicz, S.R. "Księga obrotów" <i>Problemy</i> II, 1973	3000	327	52	15.9%
<i>Gazeta krakowska</i> X, 1973	3700	423	68	16%

3.2.2. English Reflexive Verbs.

The word count of English reflexive verbs entered in various dictionaries is much more difficult because this characteristic is either poorly indicated or not at all (cf. *wash* in *The American college dictionary* 1957 and *The Kościuszko foundation dictionary* 1961, 1972). Because of its inefficiency this task appeared useless and was not performed. I did, however, scan various texts as I had done for Polish and obtained the following figures:

Table 2

	Words	Verbs	Reflexive Verbs	Ratio
Fromm, E. <i>The Art of loving</i>	3000	107	9	9%
Heller, J. <i>Catch 22</i>	3000	528	2	0,4%
<i>The Conn. Alumnus</i> X, 1972	3000	534	2	0,4%

Thus, on the basis of these limited word counts, it seems that our hypothesis has been verified. To a plethora of Polish pronominal verbs corresponds a paucity of English reflexive verbs.

This observation does not mean that English reflexive verbs have not

preoccupied grammarians; the following sentence would quickly disprove such a belief:

John kept himself from expecting himself to prevent himself from believing himself to be proud of himself. (Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1968).

As a matter of fact, English reflexive pronominalization has been studied by many linguists of all schools, described in all bilingual contrastive studies published by the University of Chicago. However, the acute discrepancy in the frequency and productivity of pronominal forms in Polish and English might begin to explain the difficulties encountered by the language learner.

3.3. Syntactic Considerations.

To enable the student to translate Polish pronominal verbs into English non-pronominal verbal structures, one must provide him with a table or a list of these various English structures and a key explaining the correspondences between the two languages. The following structures translate most Polish pronominal verbs and deserve our attention:

A. Transitive Verb+(prep)+-self
generalized from

They behave themselves=*Zachowują się.*

It should be noticed here that although *teaching oneself something* is grammatical, it is not normally used because English prefers *learning something*. However, it is perfectly congruous and belongs to this class of verbs called reflexives.

B. Transitive Verb+possessive+-NP
generalized from

They rack their brains=*Głowią się.*

This structure was called an English pseudo-reflexive in 3.1.3.3.

C. $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Transitive Verb} \\ \text{have, get, take} \end{array} \right] + \text{-self} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{NP} \\ \text{Past Participle} \end{array} \right\}$

generalized from

I am buying myself a new Fiat=
Kupuję sobie nowego Fiata.

and *I got myself hired (by someone)*=
Wynająłem się do pracy (u kogoś).

D. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Find} \\ \text{Observe} \end{array} \right\} + \text{NP} + \text{Adj} + (\text{to one})$

generalized from

*I find this useful (to me)=
To mi się przydaje.*

Just as in structure A it should be noticed that some perfectly grammatical sentences are not used because of the existence of some lexical items which, probably because of their simplicity, have come to replace them. For instance

They like it.

for *They find it pleasing (to them)=*

Im się podoba.

E. Transitive verb + each other, one another

generalized from:

*They look at each other and don't see one another=
Patrzą na siebie i nie widzą się.
They help one another=
Pomagają sobie (wzajemnie).*

F. $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{be, become, get, feel} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{become, get} \\ \text{come, go, grow, turn, wear} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] + \left[\begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Past Participle} \\ \text{Adjective + Infinitive} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{Adjective} \end{array} \right]$

generalized from:

*I became interested=
Zainteresowałem się.
Students are unable to cope=
Studenci nie dają sobie rady.
I feel sleepy=
Chce mi się spać.
He is growing old=
Starzeje się.*

G. $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{make, cause} \\ \text{Intransitive Verb} \end{array} \right] + \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right]$

generalized from

*He made a lot of trouble = He brawled (a lot).
Bardzo awanturował się.*

As one can see, this classification on the basis of surface structures is quite complicated. But still, that is not its major weakness, which is found

rather in the almost absolute impossibility to predict which Polish pronominal verb phrase will be translated by which English verbal phrase belonging to which set of structures.

Confronted with this situation where form and surface syntax are inadequate to solve the problem under investigation, attention was turned to the underlying syntactic features and to semantics.

3.4. Semantic Considerations.

3.4.1. Semantic equivalence in both languages.

After I had a list of one thousand Polish pronominal verbs drawn up with sample sentences translated into English, I asked my forty students in the 4th year translation classes to analyze both the Polish and English sentences and to seek a number of alternative solutions in order to explore the full range of structural contrasts in English (cf. Rivers 1970). Out of all English paraphrasing sentences, we selected the one which was most equivalent to each Polish sentence, whether it was listed in a dictionary or not; equivalent sentences being defined as those sentences which have identical semantic input, including lexical referents and syntactic features (Krzyszowski 1972).

This exercise was found to be very useful because it invalidated my fifth year students' claim that sophisticated Poles are well aware of which pronominal verbs are reflexive and because it showed that these surface structures have very little to do with the semantic input into the sentences (Fillmore 1968; Szlifarsztejnowa 1968, 1969), since they all look alike with pronominal verb phrases. Although perfective verbs derived from imperfectives through some form of prefixation:

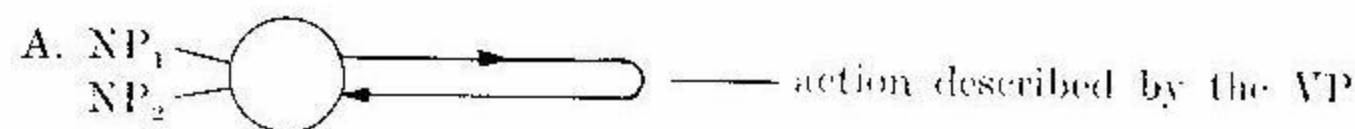
napić się, upić się, popić sobie versus *pić*

seem to be more numerous than other classes of verbs among Polish pseudo-reflexives, I have not been able to discover any rigorous correspondence. We have for instance *przepić, wypić*. The form of reflexive pronoun used is somewhat more helpful, but only to analyze the meaning of the pronominal verb phrase of which it is a constituent. It thus appeared absolutely necessary to establish some kind of procedure to analyze the deep structure relationship among the constituents of each sentence containing a pronominal verb phrase.

3.4.2. Semantic representations.

Since the actions, events or states described in both languages are identical, some non-linguistic semantic representations afford the clearest picture of the abstract concepts at the basis of the linguistic expressions we wish to analyze and interpret.

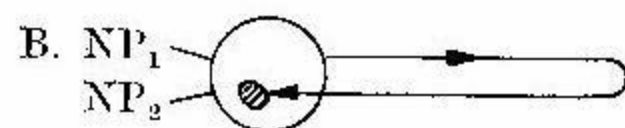
For each of the seven sets of the surface structures discovered through the syntactic analysis, a picture is drawn to define the relationship among the deep structure VP and the various NPs.



Total Reflexive: The action is instigated and performed by NP₁, it is also completely reflected onto NP₁ or NP₂ which is identical with NP₁.

They behave themselves—*Zachowują się.*

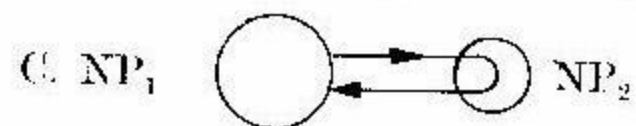
He teaches himself something—*Uczy się czegoś.*



Part Reflexive: The action is instigated and performed by NP₁, it is reflected onto NP₂ which is a part or an inalienable possession of NP₁:

They rack their brains—*Głowią się.*

I washed my hands—*Myłem ręce.*



Directed Benefactive: The action is instigated and performed by NP₁; NP₂ is a kind of passive object or person used by NP₁ for its own benefit, which may be advantageous or detrimental.

I got myself hired (by someone)—

Wynająłem się do pracy (u kogoś).

In both sentences, the emphasis is placed on NP₁ or *Ja*; NP₂ (the employer) has so little importance that it does not even need to be expressed.

In: *Ożenił się*—

He got married (with the meaning: *He got himself a wife*) the same emphasis is placed on NP₁ *On*; NP₂ has no choice in the matter. It is interesting to note in this respect that when a woman gets married it is said that she steps behind a man. However, with the generalized emancipation of women, this formula is being replaced with:

Pobrali się—*They took each other (for husband and wife)* which clearly indicates equality of sexes.



Observed Benefactive: Like in the Directed Benefactive, the action is performed for the benefit of NP₁. However, the emphasis is placed on NP₂ which becomes the apparent instigator of the action and for that reason is chosen to occupy the surface structure position. In reality without the initial instigation by NP₁, the event would not take place. In this group we find mostly *verba affecta* which indicate a feeling, a state experienced by or affecting NP₁. Instead of a benefactive directed by NP₁, we have a benefactive observed by NP₁. The same concept exists in some Romance dialects. In fact, it is easily conceivable that 'any verb may, ad libitum, represent 'a behavior directed by the subject' or 'a behavior observed by the subject'. When the second conception takes root in the mind, one may soon observe an irresistible invasion, and at first quite surprising, of the synthesis voice which is the reflexive voice' (Guillaume)1964: 142), my translation).

The evolution from the directed benefactive to the observed benefactive clearly shows in the following pair of sentences:

Upodobałem sobie tę książkę.

and: *Ta książka mi się podoba*

= *I find this book pleasing (to me).*

Again here, this perfectly grammatical and congruous English sentence is seldom used. Instead:

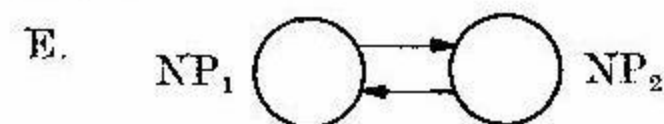
I like this book.

is preferred, possibly because of its concision.

Polish also uses:

Lubię tę książkę

but makes a distinction between this form reserved for a generality and the observed benefactive applied to a single event, an attenuated feeling, or whenever the emphasis is placed on something or somebody affecting the observer.



Reciprocal: The action is initiated more or less simultaneously by two or more instigators or groups of instigators each acting upon the other. All the actants are both agents and patients.

In addition, it is conceivable in the example above that whoever was crying out in the wilderness hoped consciously or unconsciously that his cries would attract somebody's attention and bring him help. This eventuality is represented in our drawing through a dotted NP₂ and a dotted action line. Whenever the possibility becomes an occurrence, the situation (or action) changes from emissive to directed benefactive. The emphasis switches from the activity itself to the outcome of this activity.

Quite often the same Polish verbal form may be used with different meanings. For instance, *budzić się* may be conceived as a passive in:

Budzę się przy pomocy budzika=
I wake up with (the help of) an alarm clock.

or: *Budzę się z powodu hałasu=*
I wake up because of (some) noise.

where it is the instrument (the alarm-clock, the noise, etc.) that wakes me up. It may also be a reflexive whenever I decide before falling asleep I that must wake up at 6:00 a.m. for some important reason, or whenever I am half awake and I strive very hard to wake up in order to be able to get up:

I wake (myself) up=
Budzę { się } własną wolą.
{ siebie }

The main difference between these spontaneous change-of-state emissive verbs and other change-of-state verbs occurring with a single NP in the deep structure seems to lie in the fact that they may have different meanings or show different emphasis when they appear with more than one NP in the deep structure; as we have seen for *budzę się*, *złamał się* (*I wake up*, *He broke down*), they emphasize the action itself, which, as a matter of fact, is involuntary. Therefore, verbs like *usypiam* (*I fall asleep*) being [-spontaneous], *wstaję* (*I rise*) being [+voluntary] do not qualify as emissive verbs in spite of all the other features they might share with these.

4. Pedagogical Implications.

A linguistic interpretation of these representations would be most useful to reach the goal already stated under 2.5, i.e., to set up an explanatory and descriptive system which would enable the language learner to translate

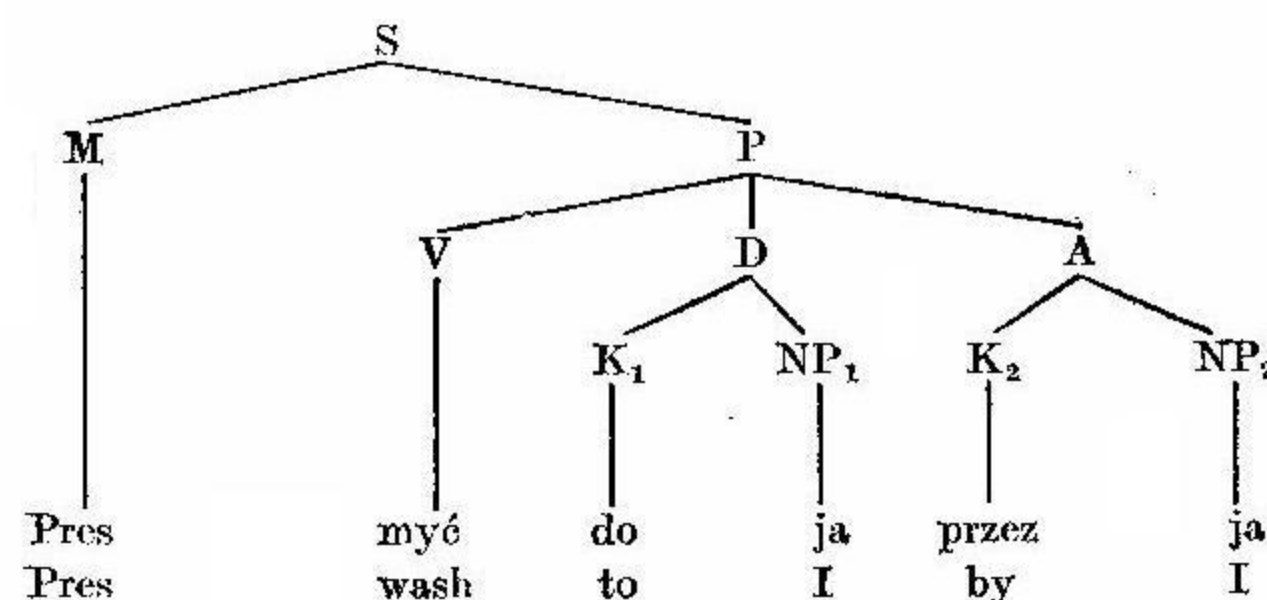
pseudo-reflexives from his native or source language into the target language. The fact that the semantic representations are common both to Polish and English should make it clear that each lexical formative's set of deep structure syntactic features should be the same for both languages. An adequate description of these syntactic features would provide a tool for generating acceptable sentences in either language. Fillmore's framework as expounded in "The case for case" (1968) is probably the most suitable to show correspondences between semantic representations and deep structures.

This relationship is illustrated here for each of our seven categories of pronominal verbs through sample trees and phrase structure rules down only to the level of significantly different features. The phrase structure rules are identical for Polish and English. Differences appear only in later transformational rules.

4.1. Underlying Structures.

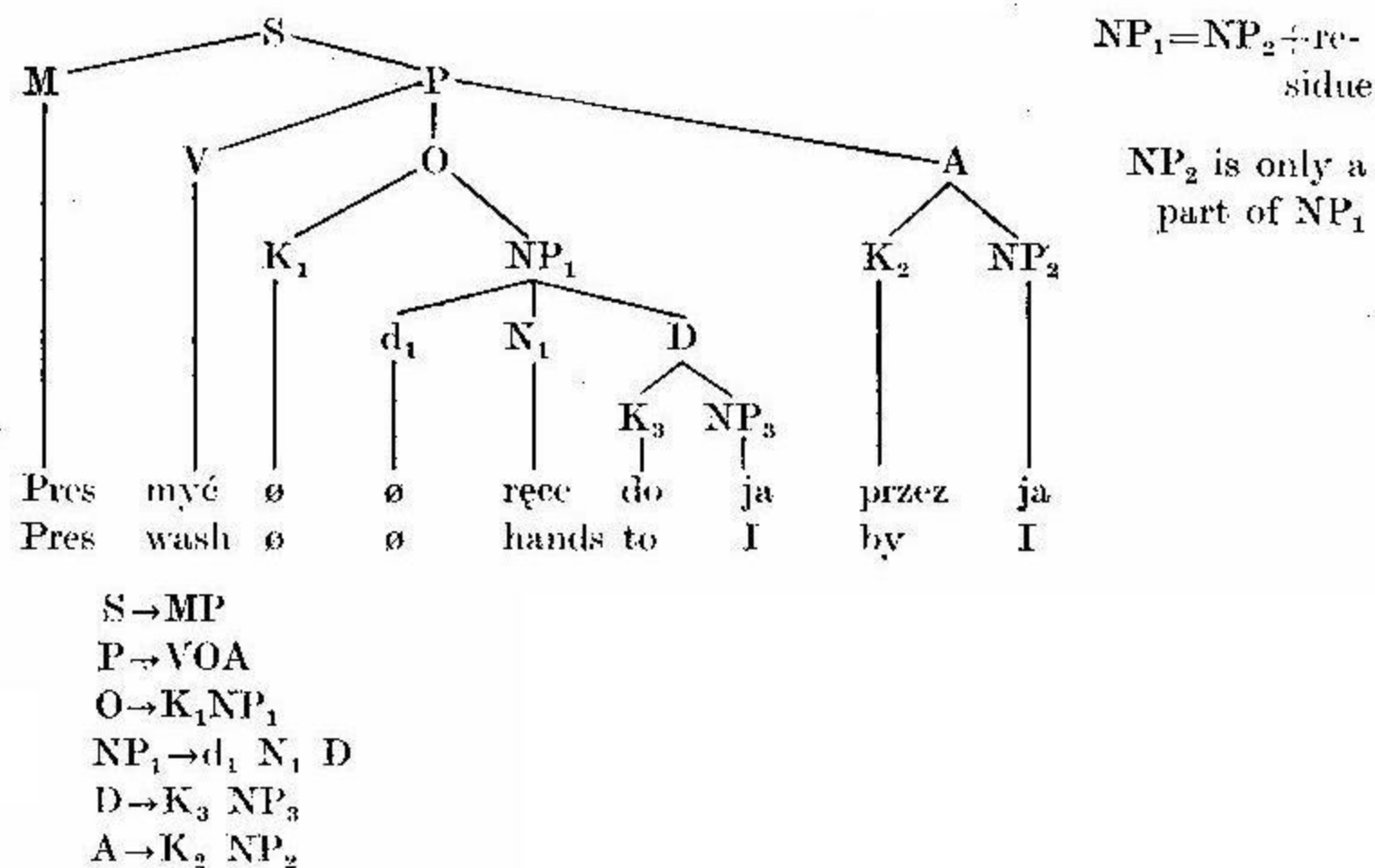
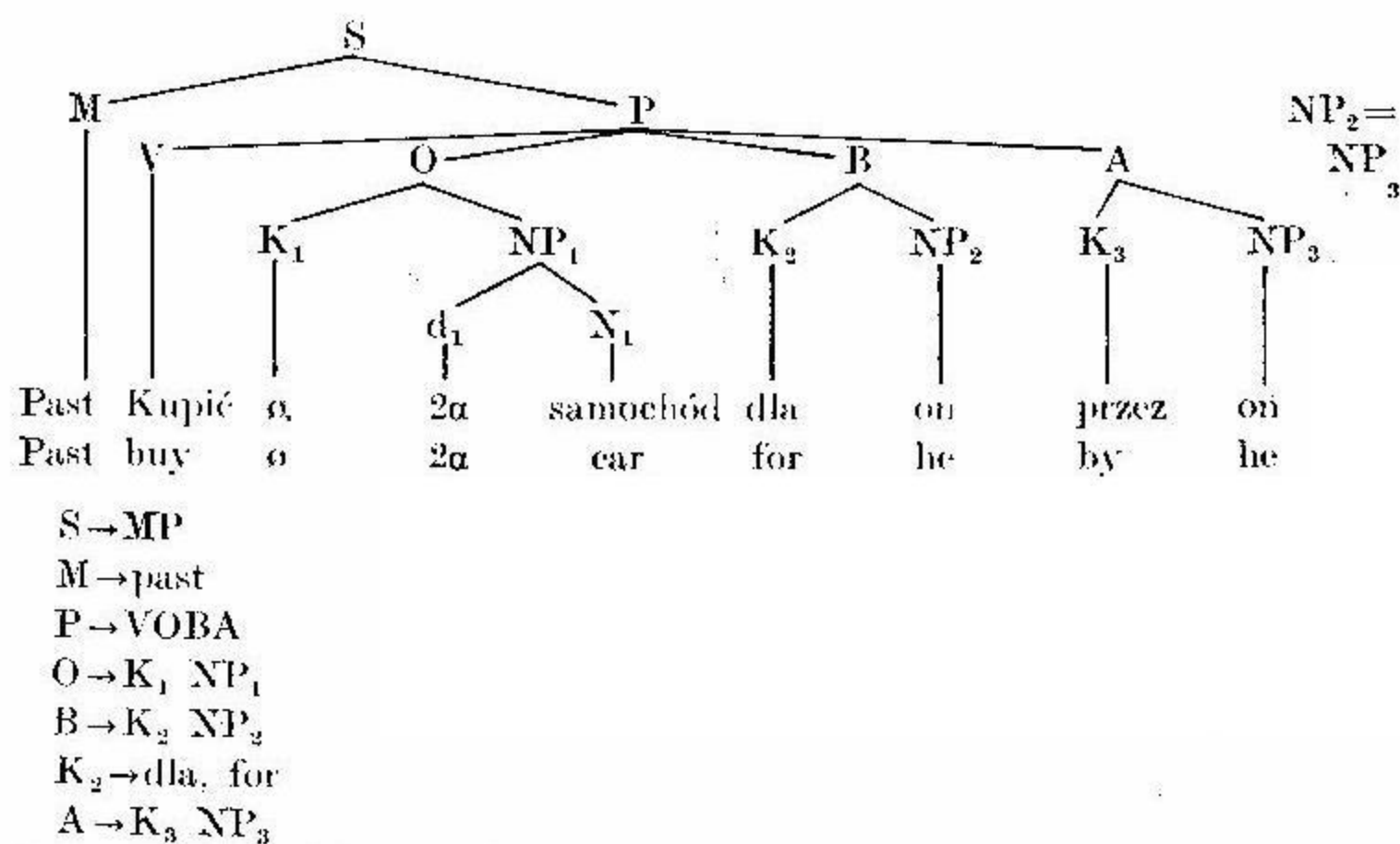
These underlying structures do not represent the deepest intercomponential relationships, but rather reflect the status of such relationships after the application of certain transformations. Some of the less understandable underlying structures will be examined again in the next subdivision of this paper.

A. Total Reflexive: *Myję się=I wash myself.*



S → MP
 P → VDA
 D → K₁ NP₁
 A → K₂ NP₂

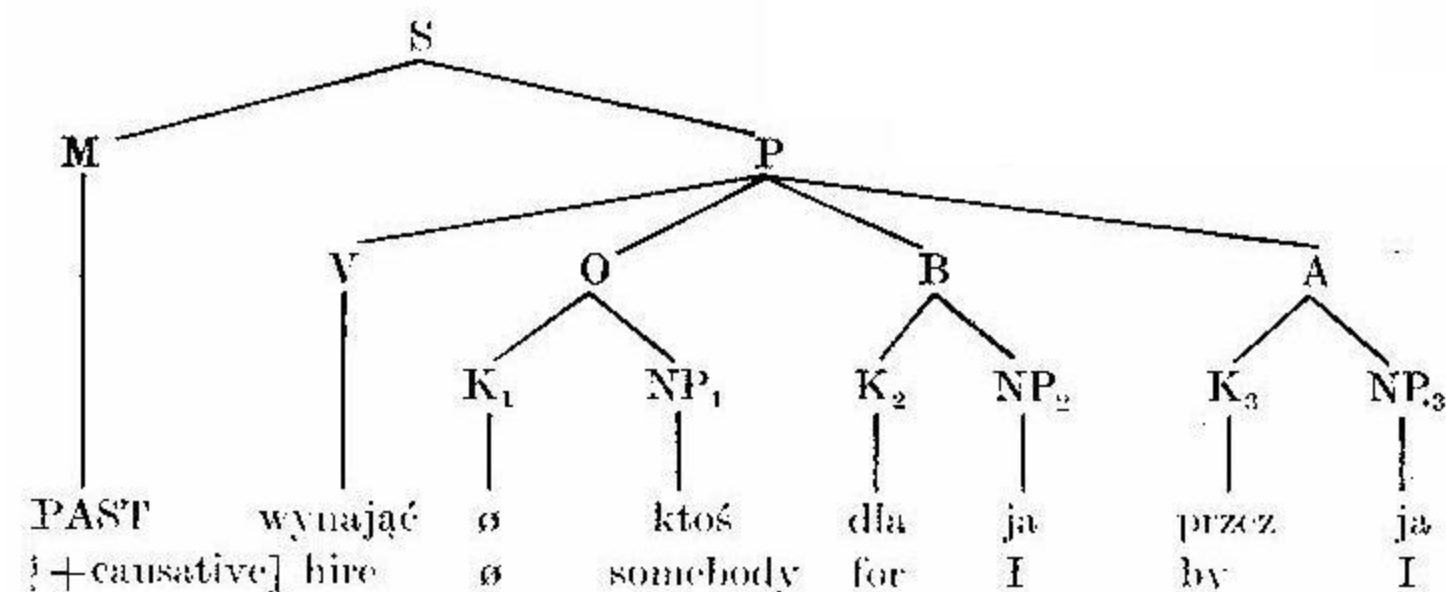
NP₁ = NP₂
 (NP₁ and NP₂
 are co-referential)

B. Part Reflexive: *Myję ręce* = I wash my hands.C. Directed Benefactive: *Kupił sobie samochód* = He bought himself a car.

2α is an existential quantifier (Leech 1969: 51)

Whenever the objective case is occupied by an animate patient, it is conceived as an "ergative initiator" or "non-immediate causer" (Ikegami 1969:11). For instance, in the sentences: *Wynająłem się (do pracy)* = I got myself hired the "agentive initiator" is *Ja* or *I* who plays the most active role, although obviously it does not perform the hiring. The unspecified hirer is an ergative initiator because it is the object, or ergatum of the main causative predication:

Spowodowałem, że ktoś... (*Zmusilem kogoś...*)
= I caused somebody...

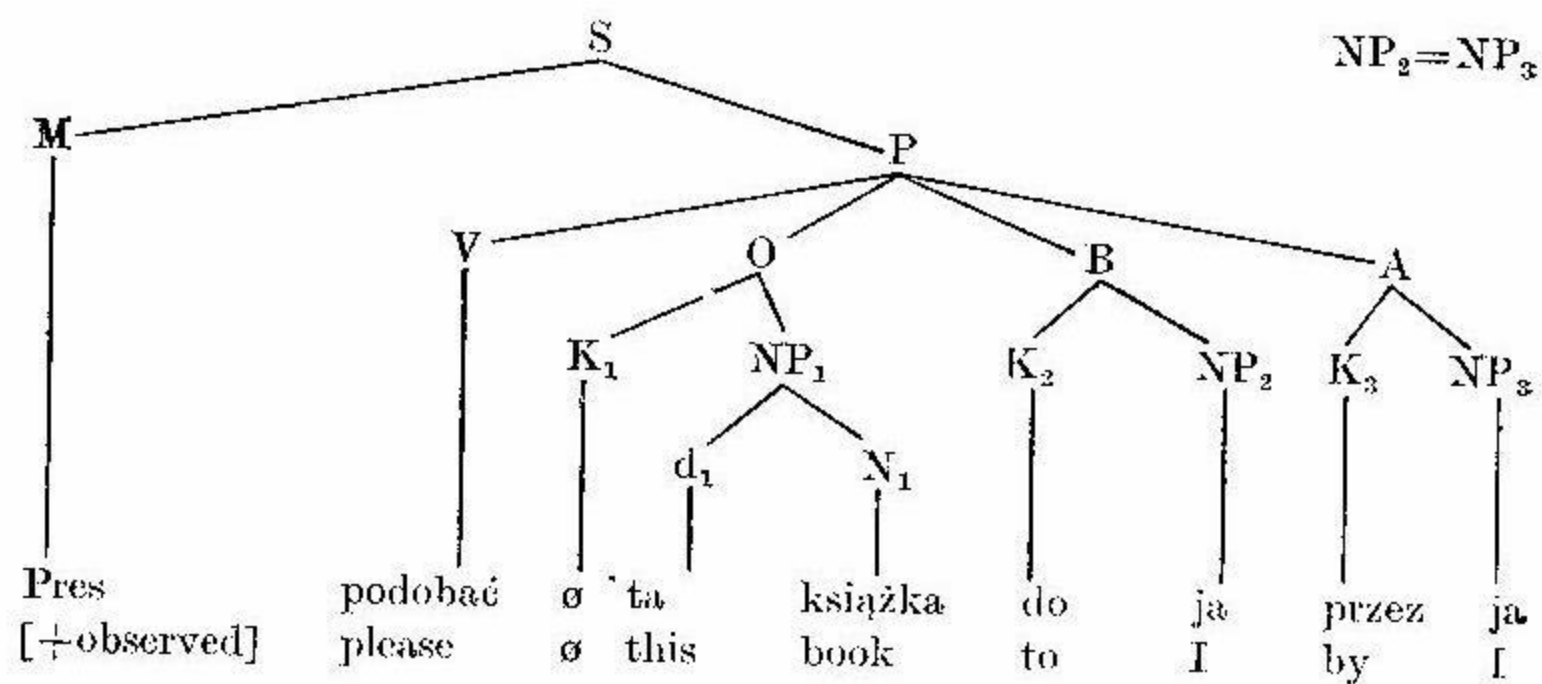


At the same time, the "ergatum" or "object" is the subject of the downgraded predication

.....*Ktoś wynajął mnie.*
=*Somebody hired me.*

and for that reason it is called "ergative initiator", or non-voluntary initiator. *Ja* or *I* is now a beneficiary of the action it initiated voluntarily. The result is that both Polish and English underlying structures contain coreferential Benefactive and Agent, which is reflected in the respective surface structures through a reflexive pronoun.

D. *Observed Benefactive*: Ta książka mi się podoba = I find this book pleasing (to me).



$S \rightarrow MP$

$M \rightarrow [+Observed]$

$P \rightarrow VOBA$

$O \rightarrow K_1 NP_1$

$B \rightarrow K_2 NP_2$

$K_2 \rightarrow do, to$

$A \rightarrow K_3 NP_3$

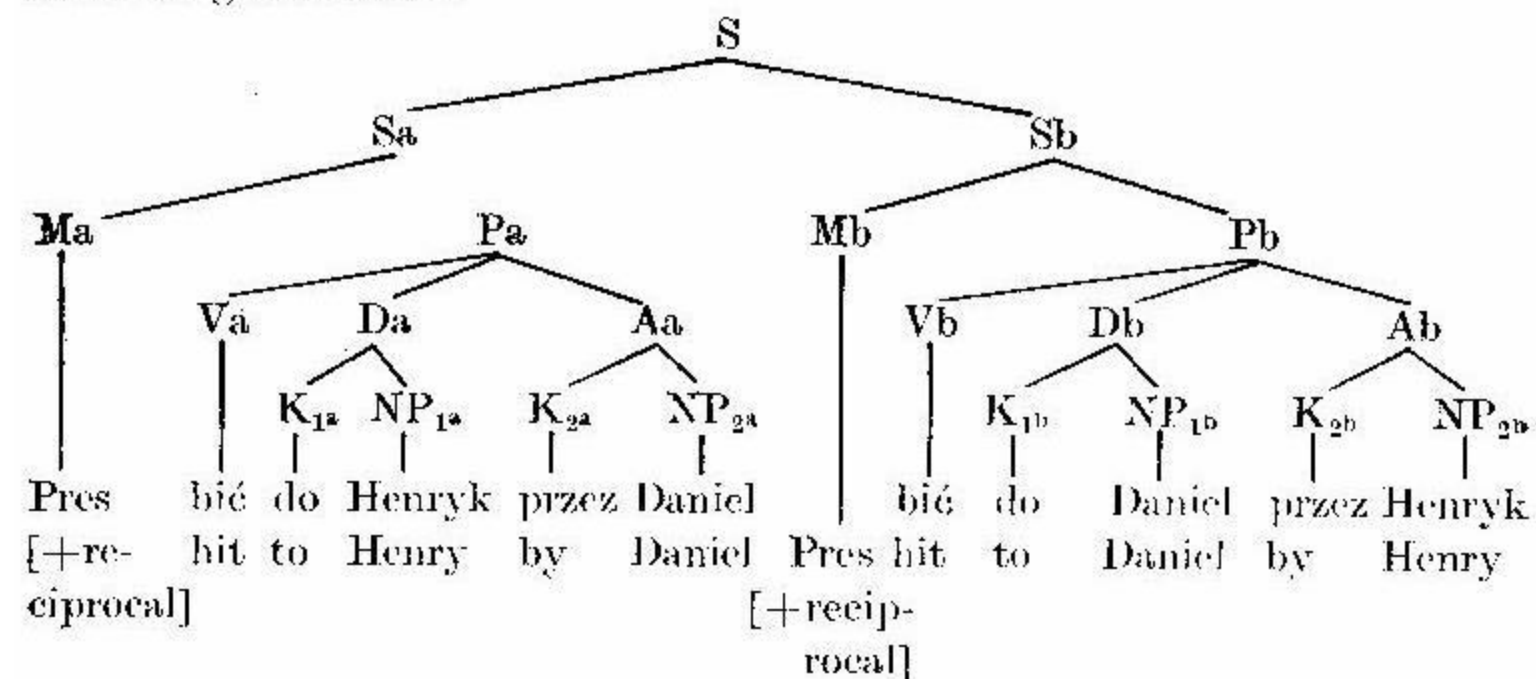
Notice that for the *Observed Benefactive* K_2 , the beneficiary's case marker is *do* in Polish and *to* in English, while in the *Directed Benefactive* it was respectively *dla* and *for*. This difference in case marker corresponds to the difference in the direction of the action line in relation to NP_1 in the semantic representations.

For the somewhat archaic form (Doroszewski 1973:826)

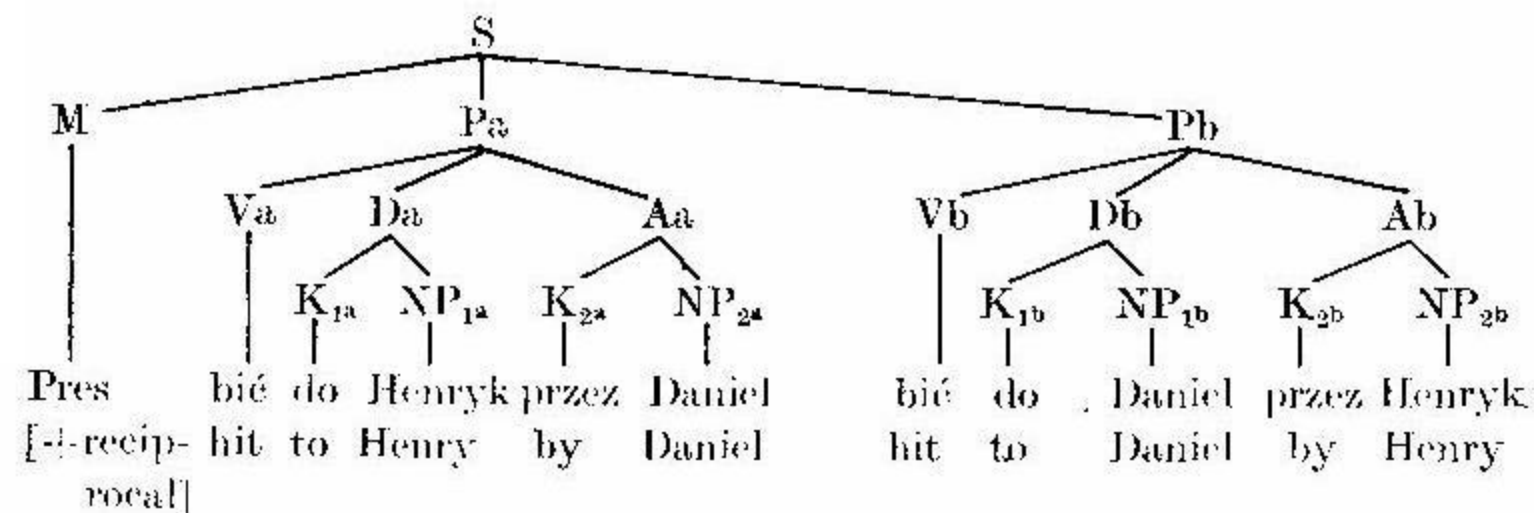
Upodobałem sobie tę książkę =
I took a liking for this book.

which is a *Directed Benefactive*; K_2 would be *dla* or *for*. After this basic notational distinction depending on the *Directed* versus *Observed* feature of modality has been established, we may adopt the procedure recommended in *The major syntactic structures of English* (Stockwell 1973) where a basic, unmarked preposition is assigned to each underlying case, while other prepositions, which occur in surface structures, are marked with respect to the constructions in which they occur and assigned through transformational rules.

F. *Reciprocal*: Henryk i Daniel biją się (wzajemnie) = Henry and Daniel are hitting each other.



Sentences labeled as "reciprocal" do not represent simplex sentences, but rather a conflation of two simplex sentences showing coreferentiality between component NP's. The action being symmetrical and the modality identical in the two simplex kernel sentences, the compound sentence may be represented through the following underlying structure obtained after Node Raising and Gapping (Maling 1972: 103 f. 4):



$S \rightarrow S_a S_b$

$S_a \rightarrow M_a P_a$

$M_a \rightarrow [-reciprocal]$

$M_b \rightarrow [+reciprocal]$

$P_a \rightarrow V_a D_a A_a$

$P_b \rightarrow V_b D_b A_b$

$D_a \rightarrow K_{1a} NP_{1a}$

$A_a \rightarrow K_{2a} NP_{2a}$

$D_b \rightarrow K_{1b} NP_{1b}$

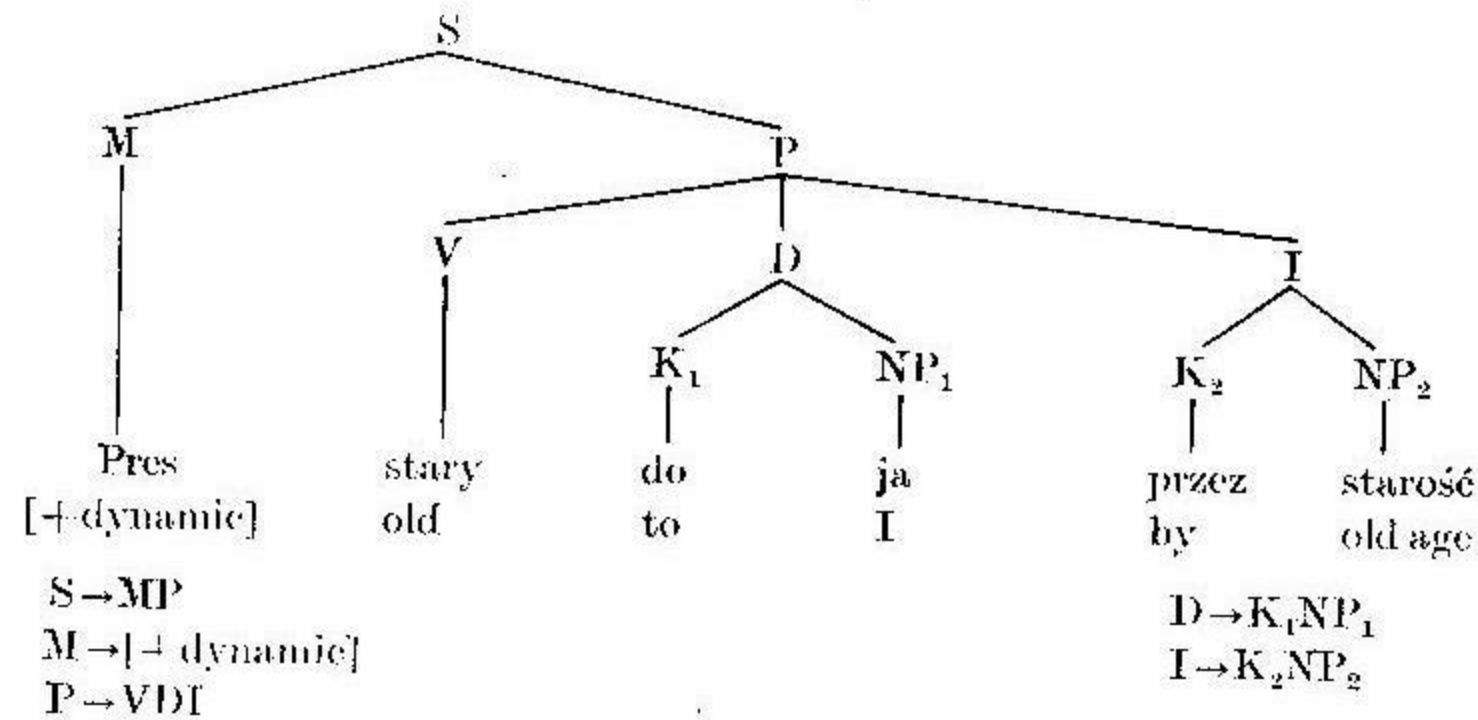
$A_b \rightarrow K_{2b} NP_{2b}$

The reciprocal feature of modality states the obligatory requirement that whenever a NP is chosen out of P_a to occupy the subject position or relation with V_a , its corresponding NP in P_b be simultaneously chosen to occupy the corresponding position in P_b or relation with V_b .

Ex: D_a is chosen and so is D_b

Henryk jest bity przez Daniela | *Daniel jest bity przez Henryka*
 - *Henry is hit by Daniel* + *Daniel is hit by Henry*.

F. *Passive*: *Starzeje się* = I am getting old.



We chose old age for the instrument provoking the process of aging, but we could have chosen time, the years or some similar concept which would be both indefinite and acting upon the dative subject. Actually, it is not so essential, because the dative case of *I* will generate a passive anyway.

It will be noticed here that the preposition *przez* or *by* assigned to the "Instrumental" is the same as for "Agentive" in other underlying structures illustrated in this paper. This homonymy was already reported in 1969 by Fillmore in his now famous sentence:

The rats were killed by fire.

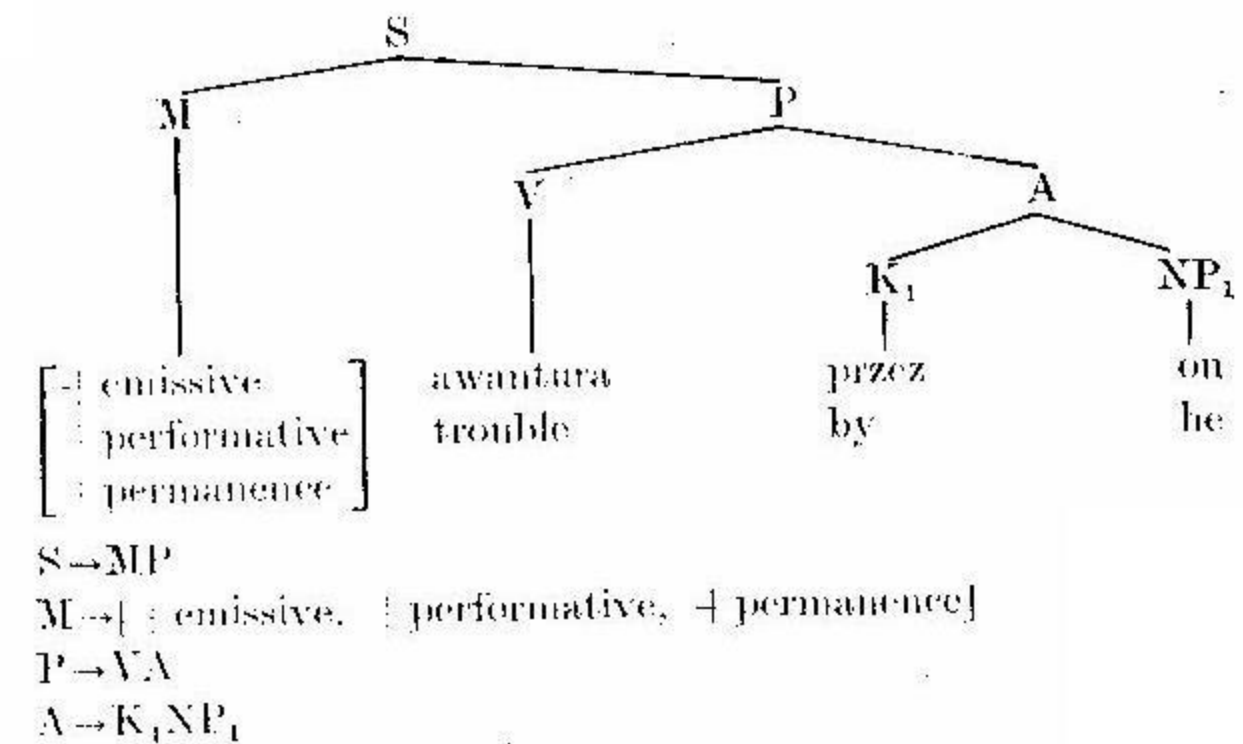
In 1970 at the LSA Summer Linguistic Institute at the Ohio State University, he explained it by the fact that

"... Certain case relationships seemed to be more closely related to each other than to other relationships... [and a way to represent this fact]... would be to somehow decompose them into components and to show that, for example, Agent and Instrument had some kind of shared feature of 'causation', that Object and Dative shared a 'Patient' component, etc." (Starosta 1972).

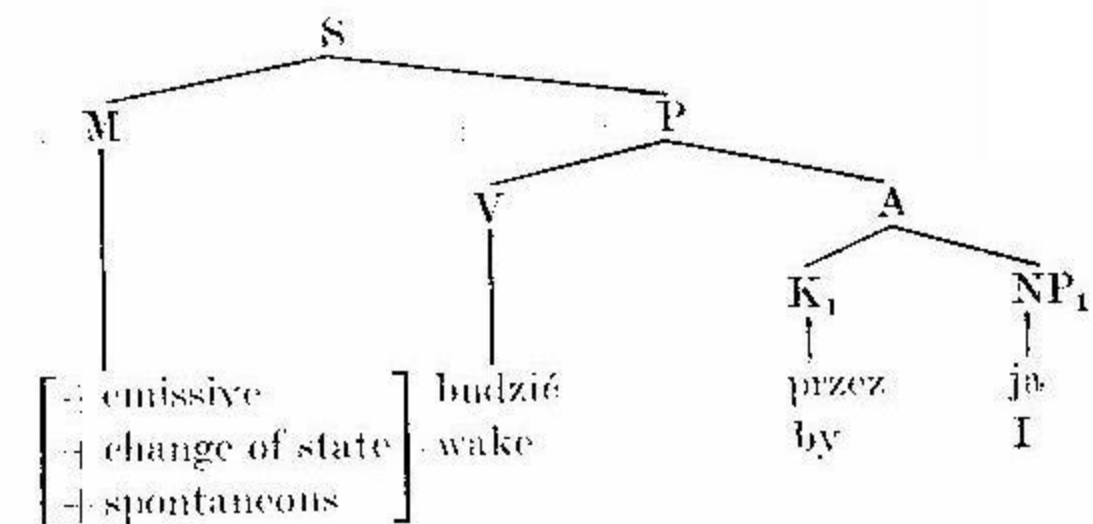
An alternate preposition in Polish is *od* which we find in

Lód porysował się od sanek.
The ice got scratched by the sleigh.

G. *Emissive*: *Zawsze awanturuje się* He always {makes} trouble
 {causes}
 He always brawls.



Budzę się I wake up.



S → MP
 M → [-emissive, +change of state, +spontaneous]
 P → VA
 A → K₁NP₁

4.2. Transformations and Surface Structures.

A. *Total Reflexive*.

Myje się = I wash (myself).

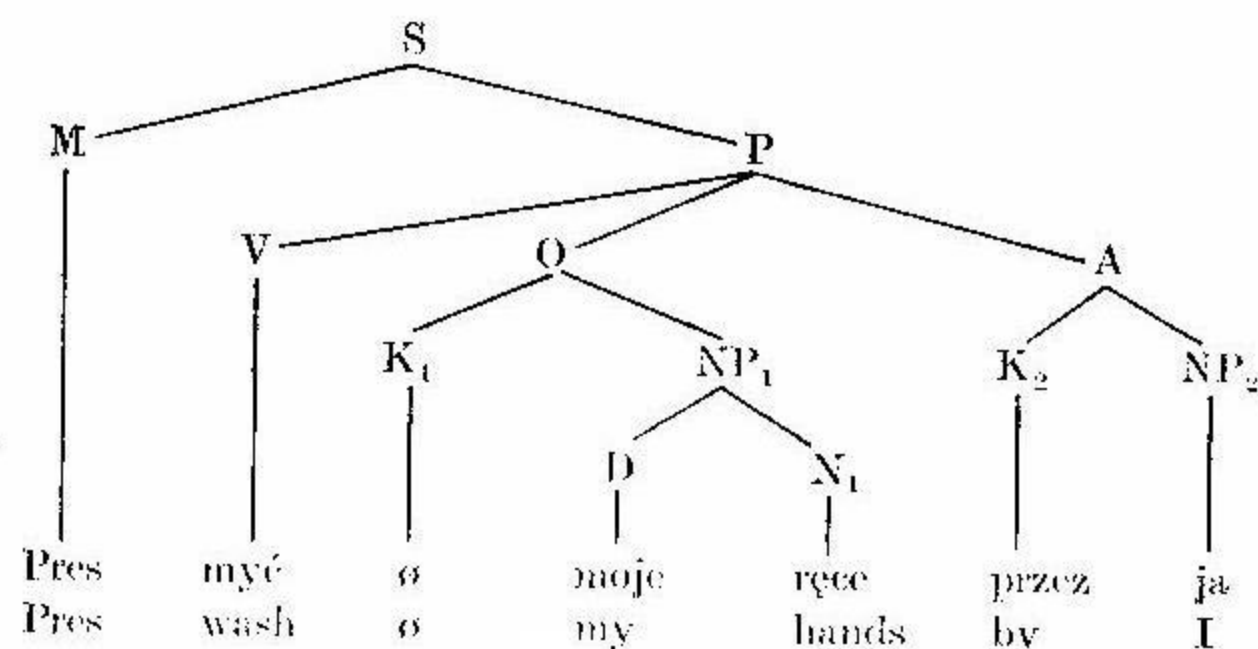
This is the simplest semantic concept and it does not need any further explanation than that already presented in sections 3.1.3.2. and 3.1.3.4. The only additional observation one might wish to make is that in Polish *się* is normally unmarked while *siebie* is marked or used after a preposition.

Patrzy na siebie w lustrze = He looks at himself in the mirror.

B. Part Reflexive.

Myję ręce = I wash my hands.

D. remains inside NP₁ but is preposed to N₁ and converted to the possessive form, displacing the original determiner (cf. Fillmore 1968:68).



The Agentive is then chosen as subject and a subject preposition deletion transformation is applied, yielding

MVOA ⇒ AMVO

AMVO → {*ja myć moje ręce* }
 {*I wash my hands* }

After all agreement transformations have been applied Polish deletes the possessive determiner, probably because it is felt redundant (cf. 3.1.3.2. for similar deletions in English pseudo-reflexives).

C. Directed Benefactive.

Kupił sobie samochód = He bought himself a car.

The Agentive is chosen as a subject and the subject preposition is deleted:

- * *on* [+past] *kupić jeden samochód dla on*
- * *he* [-past] *buy a car for he*

The [+human] indirect object is extraposed into its normal place after the verb, its preposition is deleted in that position, reflexivization takes place and agreement transformations are applied:

- * *on* [+past] *kupić dla on jeden samochód*
- * *on* [+past] *kupić on jeden samochód*
- * *on* [+past] *kupić sobie jeden samochód*

On kupił sobie samochód.

- * *he* [+past] *buy for he a car*
- * *he* [+past] *buy he a car*
- * *he* [+past] *buy himself a car*

He bought himself a car.

Notice that both *sobie* and *himself* are unmarked; in a marked or emphatic sentence Polish would use:

On kupił samochód (tylko) dla siebie.

and English

He bought a car (only) for himself.

Directed Benefactive with two distinct animate NP's:

Wynająłem się (do pracy) =
I got myself hired.

The Agentive is chosen as a subject and the subject preposition is deleted:

- * *ja* [+past, +causative] *wynająć ktoś dla ja.*
- * *I* [+past, +causative] *hire somebody for I.*

The [+causative] feature of modality is expressed by the modal verb *to cause* in English and *spowodować* in Polish; the [+OBJECTIVE] NP, (an ergative initiator) is extraposed into its normal place after the causative verb, post-verbal prepositions are deleted and agreement transformations are applied:

- * *ja* [+past] *spowodować ktoś wynająć dla ja.*
- * *ja* *spowodowałem ktoś wynająć dla mnie.*
- * *I* [+past] *cause somebody hire for I.*
- * *I* [+past] *cause somebody hire for me.*
- * *I* *caused somebody hire for me.*

Because the transitive verb *hire* or *wynająć* has no other object and because emphasis in the action is placed on its benefactive component, the latter

assumes the closest or neutral non-subject relationship with the verb and the ergative initiator (or objective) is deleted:

- * *ja spowodowałem ktoś wynająć mnie.*
- * *ja spowodowałem wynająć mnie.*
- * *I caused somebody hire me.*
- * *I caused hire me.*
- * *I caused me hire.*

The result component of the benefactive is emphasized in Polish through synthetization of the two parts of the verb, in English through the use of the passive with the resulting copula:

- * *ja wynająłem mnie.*
- * *I got me hired.*

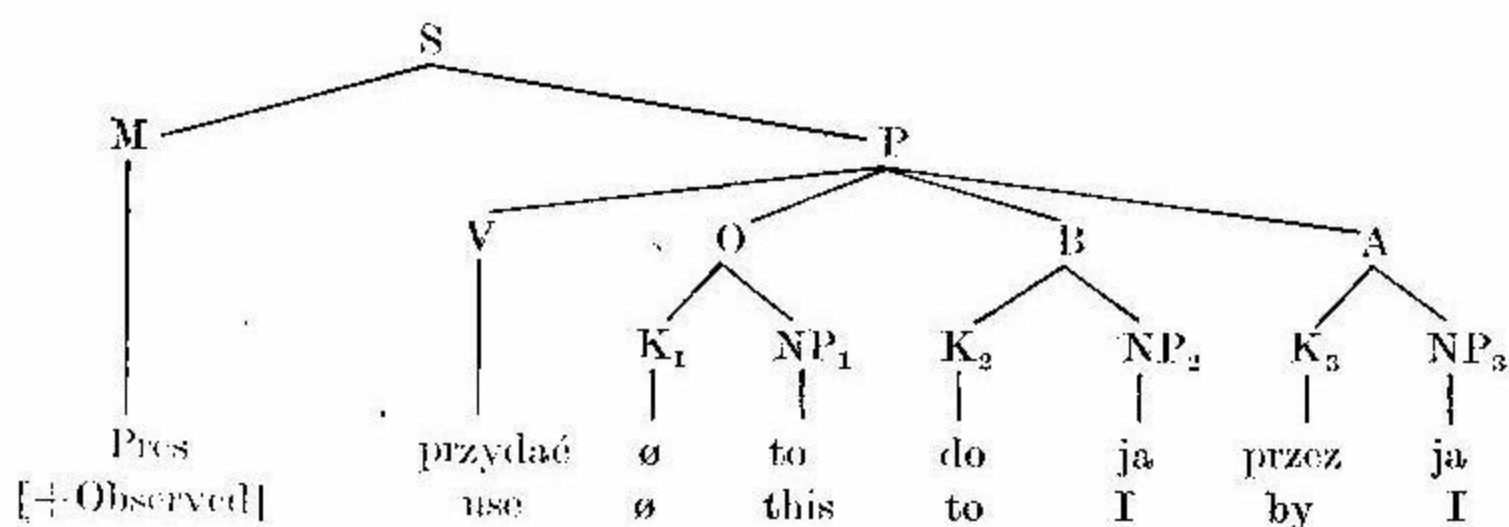
Reflexivization takes place in both languages.

- * *ja wynająłem się.*
Wynająłem się.
- or *Ja się wynająłem.*
I got myself hired.

It is interesting to note that this sentence is quite different in meaning from *I got hired* or *I was hired* because it has an active component which the other two lack.

D. Observed Benefactive.

To mi się przydaje = *I find this useful (to me).*



For Polish the modality feature [+observed] will determine the choice of Objective to perform the function of subject.

- * *to przydać do ja przez ja*

Reflexivization takes place:

- * *to przydać do ja się*

Agreement transformations are applied and Polish word order introduced:

- * *to się przydać do mnie*
- * *to się przydaje do mnie*
To mi się przydaje.

For English, the modality feature [+observed] acts directly on the verb which acquires an observable quality and becomes a kind of verbal adjective.

- * [+observed] *useful this to I by I*

Normal choice for the subject position remains the agentive which is still able to observe the situation.

- * *I [+observed] useful this to I*

Agreement transformation is applied:

- * *I [+observed] useful this to me*

Word order transformation:

- * *I [+observed] this useful to me.*

On this level, various choices exist between embedding transformations or without embedding with a verb like *find*:

- I observe that this is useful to me.*
- I find that this is useful to me.*
- I find this useful to me.*

At last optional deletion transformation may be applied to *to me*:

- I find this useful.*

Another alternate form exists in English,

- I find (some) use for this.*

but it is not of direct interest to us at this time, although it is probably an additional support for our feature of [+observed benefactive].

E. Reciprocal.

- Henryk i Daniel biją się (wzajemnie)=*
Henry and Daniel are hitting each other.

This concept does not seem to present any special difficulty. It is already adequately treated in most grammar books and language handbooks. The only additional observation I would like to make here is that *się* is not sub-

stitutable by *siebie* in an unmarked position, (contrarily to total reflexive) and that *siebie* is used after prepositions (like in total reflexive).

Based on our representation of the deep structure of reciprocals, if we choose C_1 to occupy the subject position in English we'll have:

Henry is being hit by Daniel.

and *Henry is hitting Daniel*

In Polish with C_1 performing the subject function we'll have:

Henryk jest bity przez Daniela

and *Henryk bije Daniela*

F. Passive:

Starzeję się = I am getting old.

The Dative is chosen to occupy the subject position in English and its preposition is deleted:

* *I [+dynamic] old by old age.*

The modality feature [+dynamic] which here implies [+continuous] will generate:

I am becoming old (by old age is deleted because it is superfluous, as stated in 4.1.F.).

or *I am getting old.*

In Polish the Dative also chosen to perform the subject function:

* *Ja [+dynamic] stary przez starość.*

The modality feature [+dynamic] will generate:

* *Ja staję stary przez starość.*

Reflexivization transformation is applied:

* *Ja staję stary się.*

Word order:

Ja się staję stary.

Synthetization transformation:

Ja się starzeję or Starzeję się.

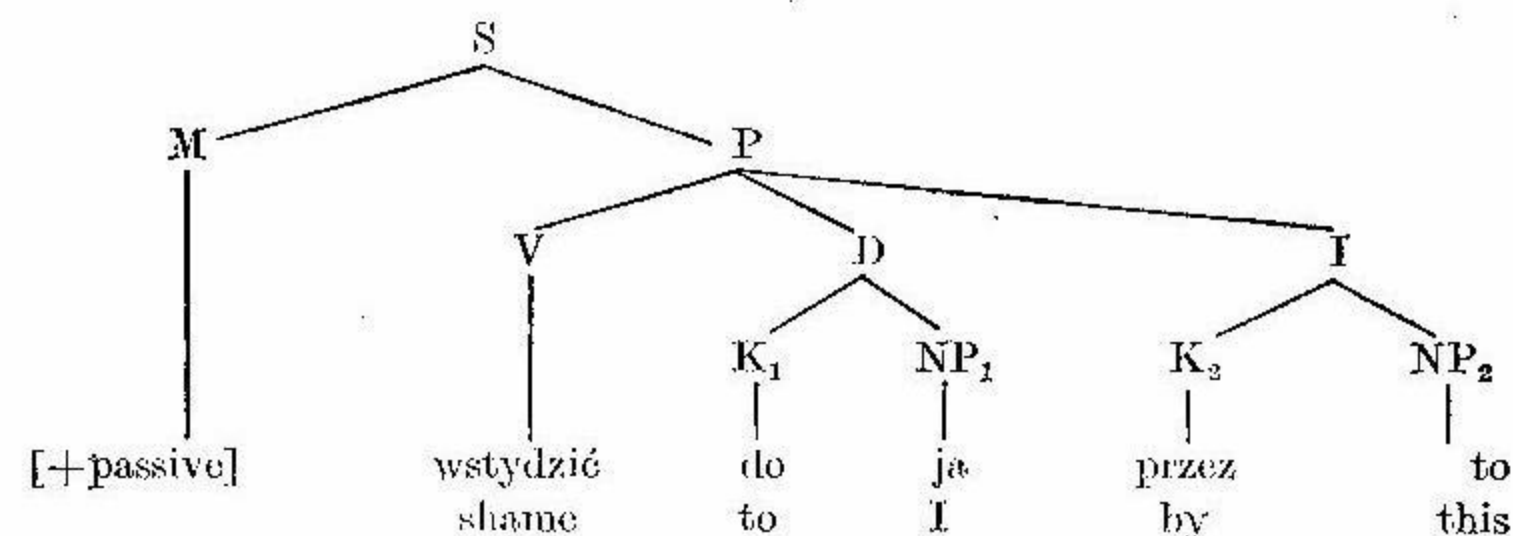
Some inchoatives do not use the reflexive pronoun. They are those for which the Instrumental is not coreferential with the attribute of the Dative.

Kwiaty czerwienieją (od słońca).

Flowers are getting red (from the sun) or Flowers are reddened by the sun.

Note that inchoatives are not all passives. As a matter of fact, most of our categories may be made inchoative, as it is possible to conceive of most actions or states in their developing process. On the other hand, many verbs are passive without being inchoative. An example of this may be:

Wstydzę się = I am ashamed.



The Dative is chosen for the subject:

* *Ja [-passive] wstydzę przez to.*

* *I [-passive] shame by this.*

In English the usual passive voice is used:

I am ashamed by this.

or with an old passive prefixation:

I am ashamed (of this).

In Polish the modality feature [-passive] introduces the marker *się* whenever, for some psycho-sociological reasons, it is preferable not to express the Agentive present in the deep structure, or whenever there is no Agentive at all (cf. 3.4.2.F.).

* *Ja wstydzę się (przez to).*

After agreement transformation and word order:

Ja się wstydzę or Wstydzę się.

It is of some interest to note that the surface forms with the reflexive in Polish correspond to underlying VERB_{obj} — OBJECT or VERB_{dat} — DATIVE

relationship independently from the [\pm dynamic] feature of modality, which observation confirms Fillmore's and Starosta's suggestions (1972).

- Starzeję się* [+Dative, +Dynamic]
= *I am getting old.*
- Ściemnia się* [+Objective, +Dynamic]
= *It is getting dark.*
- Wstydzę się.* [+Dative, +Static]
= *I am ashamed.*
- To się rozumie*
= *It is understood* [+Objective, +Static]

This has probably contributed to the belief that the reflexive pronoun in the Polish passive surface structure merely indicates that through transformations either the Dative or the Objective has become the subject of the surface structure. While this is generally true with verbs of the type *bić* "beat", *nieść* "carry", *widzieć* "see", *gotować* "cook" which allow the distinction between action-author and action-bearer (Polański 1972: 3 sq):

- ex: *Ziemniaki się gotują*
= *The potatoes are cooking.*

It does not explain the absence of *się* in sentences like

- Kwiaty czerwienieją (od słońca).*
= *Flowers are getting red (from the sun).*

due to the lack of coreferentiality between an underlying Agent or Instrument and Dative or Object. Nor does it explain the presence of *się* in intransitive verbs of the type discussed in the following category.

G. Emissive.

As already mentioned in 3.4.2. G, we find under this category:

1. *Spontaneous change-of-state verbs* like *wake up* or *budzić się* which are neither passive, nor reflexive because they contain only one NP in the deep structure.

- * [+emissive, +change of state, +spontaneous] *budzić przez ja*
* [+emissive, +change of state, +spontaneous] *wake by I*

Because the modality features indicate a self-generated action, so to speak, an action by itself for itself, the subject is not extraposed but copied.

- * *ja* [+emissive, +change of state, +spontaneous] *budzić przez ja*
* *I* [+emissive, +change of state, +spontaneous] *wake by I*

Reflexivization:

- **ja* [+emissive, +change of state, +spontaneous] *budzić się przez*
* *I* [+emissive, +change of state, +spontaneous] *wake by myself*

In Polish, a descriptive language, the modality features are abandoned:

- **ja budzić przez się*

In English, an action language, the same dynamic modality features are expressed through the directional preposition *up*:

- I wake up by myself.*

In Polish, Object preposition deletion:

- **ja budzić się*

Morphosyntactic agreements:

- Budzę się.*

In English, Deemphasizing or Neutralization through Deletion of Reflexive:

- I wake up.*

2. Achievement emissive verbs.

Just like the spontaneous change-of-state emissive verbs, these verbs are accompanied by only one NP in the deep structure and for that reason classified together with them. They also emphasize the action itself viewed, however, as an activity, movement, or operation produced or emitted by the single NP, an Agentive. Because the outcome of the action is not directly considered, they are called achievement verbs (Fillmore 1971: 374). In Polish *się* is used to underline the self-contained characteristics of the action. In English, we generally have a two-cluster predication; the final terminal cluster normally occupied by an object is missing or expressed through a null symbol. Quite often, the helping verbs *cause* or *make* may be used, underlining the idea of performance or achievement; *dorozumieć się* (make a guess), *nastawić się* (make a stand), *odzywać się* (answer) belong to this group.

- Awanturuje się* = *He makes trouble*

- * [+emissive, +performative] *awantura przez on*
* [-emissive, +performative] *trouble by he*

Subject copying:

- * *on* [+emissive, +performative] *awantura przez on*
* *he* [-emissive, +performative] *trouble by he*

Reflexivization:

* *on* [+emissive, +performative] *awantura przez się*

* *he* [+emissive, +performative] *trouble by himself*

Verbalization

* *on robi awantura przez się*

he makes trouble by himself

In Polish we have two options, either synthesizing **on awanturować przez się*, or copying the analytical verbal expression:

* *on robi awantura*

Agreements (after object preposition deletion)

* *on awanturować się*

Awanturować się.

or: *Robi awanturę.*

In English, we have deemphasizing or neutralization through reflexive deletion:

He makes trouble.

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