Michael Herslund*

Passive and Antipassive in a Functional Description of French Reflexive Verbs

0.   Functional Principles

Writing a grammar, or just doing grammatical description, presupposes some kind of guiding principle. The guiding principle of most traditional reference grammars of the standard European languages has been the classification offered by the traditional parts of speech or word classes: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, prepositions ... The architecture of the work seems almost to follow automatically from such a list.

One guiding principle - among several - of our work on French which emerges as more and more forceful is the idea of cross-linguistic **functional categories**, i.e. the common functional content of structurally often quite diverse constructions of different languages. Now, for one thing, French does not have a passive in the same sense as Latin does, i.e. a morphologically anchored grammatical process. Yet, the resemblances between Latin and French passives are simply too persuasive to be ignored. And by looking for common functional content, in spite of structural differences - resemblances are not at all rare either! - one is often lead to classify the material in ways different from the tradition and to identify patterns not previously recognised as grammatical patterns, and sometimes even to solve traditional puzzles and paradoxes. This kind of "squinting grammar" - to use Jespersen's term - can be quite fruitful and lead to genuine insights, hopefully not only in the grammarian's mind. This I hope to demonstrate by the example of reflexive constructions in French, which group neatly as passives and antipassives. An analysis which would never have been possible without a good deal of squinting: what grammarian working only on the major European languages has ever heard of the antipassive?

*   *Michael Herslund*
      Handelshøjskolen i København
      Dalgas Have 15
      DK-2000 Frederiksberg

The danger of the approach is of course that the straight-jacket of Latin grammar is replaced by an unprincipled promiscuity of all kinds of categories from the grammars of exotic languages. But this danger should be constrained by two principles. First, by the requirement of the existence of a functional category, i.e. the already mentioned common functional content of different grammatical structures. Secondly, by the awareness that the grammaticalisation of structural patterns occurs in different degrees in different languages: what is e.g. a genuine grammatical process (i.e. an obligatory choice) in one language, may only be an option found with a handful of lexemes in the next, even an option which exhibits only scant superficial internal unity.

Anyway, I think there is a good chance of making sense out of the idea of cross-linguistic functional categories. Such categories could for instance be the ways in which different languages proceed to get rid of Agent- and Patient-arguments under certain pragmatic or textual circumstances. These procedures are, however great the structural differences from language to language, good candidates for the status of cross-linguistic functional categories. And they are well-known in most languages, the second however mostly in exotic languages: they are called respectively PASSIVE and ANTIPASSIVE.

1. Voice Alternations

1.1. Passive

The category of voice is constituted by a systematic variation in the pairing of semantic rôles (SR) with grammatical relations (GR). The standard transitive construction looks like this:

(1) **SR:**   Agent   V   Patient

                    ◊   ◊   ◊

      GR: Subject   V   Object

In such a two participant clause, one participant can be highlighted by marginalising or removing the other. By the marginalisation of a participant is meant the process by which it is so to speak pushed into the peripheral part of the clause by not being linked to - or by losing - one of the central GRs, subject or object. It is instead, if expressed at all, expressed as an oblique or a circumstantial phrase.

This is what typically happens in the passive: the Agent is demoted, i.e. removed or marginalised and realised as a circumstantial. Since the clause needs a subject, the Patient is consequently promoted and takes over the subject relation:

(2) **Passive:**   Patient   V   Agent
                              ◊   ◊   ◊
                         Subject   V   Ø/Circumstantial

By the Patient's usurpation of the subject relation, there is no object relation left in the clause and the resulting structure is an intransitive construction. The passive is, as is well known, realised as a predicative construction in French (cf. Sørensen 1986), which has been fully grammaticalised in the sense that it occurs with almost all transitive verbs[1]:

(3)   *Julie a ouvert la fenêtre.*
      'Julie opened the window'

      La fenêtre a été ouverte (par Julie).
      'The window was opened (by Julie)'

But the same, or at least a very similar, content can be expressed by a reflexive construction. One important difference is however, that the Agent is obligatorily suppressed in that case:

(4)   *La fenêtre s'est ouverte Ø.*
      'The window (was) opened'

This construction is semi-grammaticalised: many, but not all, transitive verbs allow it.

1.2. Antipassive

The less well-known antipassive voice - which until recently has only been recognised in ergative languages - is the mirror image of the passive, because what it does is to remove or marginalise the Patient, thereby concentrating the content of the clause on the Agent:

(5) **Antipassive:**   Agent   V   Patient
                              ◊   ◊   ◊
                         Subject   V   Ø/Oblique

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[1] For some exceptions, see Leclère (1993).

Most of the general content of the antipassive follows from this concentration upon the Agent by the demotion of the Patient. Instead of stating that the Agent performs an action directed towards a Patient, it is stated that the Agent is involved in an activity which is or isn't relative to a Patient, but this Patient is not integrated into the verbal situation in any central rôle: it has no central GR. It is the Agent and its willful and intentional activity, sometimes in vain, which is highlighted. The different more specific shades of meaning often associated with the antipassive thus follow from the demotion of the Patient (cf. especially Bittner 1987, Cooreman 1994): the Patient is unimportant because it is non-specific or unidentifiable, or it is obvious, therefore often not mentioned at all in the antipassive; if expressed, it is seen as only partially affected by the Agent's activity, or not affected at all, the Agent's activity being an attempted or fruitless, even imaginary, activity; the action intended by the Agent is represented as not carried through to its conclusion, and so on.

The antipassive can be illustrated by the following example from West Greenlandic (Bittner 1987:195):

(6) a. *Jaakup illu* *sanavaa*.
   Jacob-E house(A) be.building-tr.indic-3sgE/3sgA
   'Jacob is/was building house'

   b. *Jaaku illumik* *sanavuq*.
   Jacob(A) house-INS be.building-ap-intr.indic-3sgA
   'Jacob is/was building house'

The crucial differences between the transitive and the antipassive versions are the following: in a., the Agent is ergatively marked, in b. it is in the absolutive; in a. the Patient is in the absolutive, in b. in the instrumental. And most importantly, in a., the verb is inflected transitively and agrees with both participants, whereas in b. it is inflected intransitively (with a Ø antipassive affix, according to Bittner's analysis) and agrees only with one participant, the Agent in the absolutive.

One can make a case for the view that the alternation between transitive and prepositional constructions of verbs in Danish is a case of antipassive too, the more so since certain verbs in the prepositional (= antipassive) construction are inflected intransitively, i.e. with auxiliary *være* 'be' instead of the transitive *have* 'have', cf. Durst-Andersen & Herslund (1996). And the Greenlandic examples translate neatly into

Danish transitive and prepositional respectively:

> (6') a. *Jakob byggede et hus.*
> b. *Jakob byggede **på** et hus.*

The difference between these two is clearly in accordance with the notional characterisation of the antipassive above. The alternation is not however, as is the case in West Greenlandic, fully grammaticalised, although widespread and apparently gaining ground. But this equation with the antipassive has given many important clues to the interpretation of the prepositional construction of Danish transitive verbs.

2. Antipassive in French

Different alternations between transitive and prepositional constructions in French resemble, although on a much smaller scale, what is found in Danish. One finds alternations like the following (cf. Boons et al. 1976:270 ff., Herslund *Forthcoming*):

> (7) *Elle a touché le radiateur.*
> *Elle a touché **au** radiateur.*
> 'She touched (Prep) the radiator'
>
> *Elle a goûté les fraises.*
> *Elle a goûté **aux** fraises.*
> 'She tasted (Prep) the strawberries'
>
> *Julie et Jean discutent l'avenir.*
> *Julie et Jean discutent **de** l'avenir.*
> 'Julie and Jean discuss (Prep) the future'
>
> *Jean fouille le tiroir.*
> *Jean fouille **dans** le tiroir.*
> 'Jean searches (Prep) the drawer'
>
> *Julie cherche ses lunettes.*
> *Julie cherche **après** ses lunettes.*
> 'Julie is searching (Prep) her glasses'

Such alternations are lexically determined and not systematic grammatical choices, but they also exhibit the typical antipassive features: the marginalisation of the Patient and the loss of the object relation whereby the clause concentrates on the Agent. As mentioned above, the antipassive clause states that the Agent is involved in an activity which may be relative to a Patient, but this Patient is not integrated into the

verbal situation with a central GR. It is the Agent's willful and intentional activity which is highlighted. This is also what traditional grammars say about pairs such as (7), to the extent that they say anything about them at all (but see Gougenheim 1970).

3.   Antipassive and Reflexive

The crucial feature of the antipassive is thus the demotion of the Patient and hence the suppression of the object relation, the consequence of which is the creation of an intransitive clause. Another obvious way of getting rid of a Patient is to identify it with the Agent. Certain languages use accordingly their antipassive to express reflexivity (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1985:339 f., Cooreman 1994:83, Palmer 1994:185, Lazard 1994:239). And similar facts are found in Danish where the afore-mentioned prepositional (antipassive) construction is used when the verbs are used reflexively:

(8)   *forstå ngt*   -   *forstå sig på ngt*
       'understand smth   -   understand Refl Prep smth'

       benytte ngt   -   *benytte sig af ngt*
       'use smth   -   use Refl Prep smth'

       forberede ngt   -   *forberede sig på ngt*
       'prepare smth   -   prepare Refl Prep smth'

       beslutte ngt   -   *beslutte sig til ngt*
       'decide smth   -   decide Refl Prep smth'

So it could be possible that the insight afforded by the antipassive as a cross-linguistic functional category could be exploited in analysing the French reflexives too (cf. Lazard 1994:255, Herslund 1996), where expressions with a similar functional content, i.e. Agent perspective and enhanced intentional value, are found:

(9)   *Elle a décidé de partir.*
       'She decided to leave'
       Elle s'est décidée à partir.
       'She decided Refl Prep to leave'

       Le ministre a tu ce problème.
       'The minister kept secret this problem'
       Le ministre s'est tu sur ce problème.
       'The minister Refl was silent Prep this problem'

Le ministre a attaqué ce problème.
'The minister attacked this problem'
Le ministre s'est attaqué à ce problème.
'The minister Refl attacked Prep this problem'

And here we approach something which looks like a grammaticalised antipassive in French.

4. French Reflexives

Within certain limits of variation most descriptions of French reflexive constructions reckon with 5 types of reflexives (cf. Stéfanini 1971, Ruwet 1972, Boons et al. 1976):

1. Ordinary reflexive:

(10) *Les enfants se lavent.*
'The children wash (themselves)'

2. Reciprocal reflexive:

(11) *Pierre et Marie se chatouillent.*
'Pierre and Marie tickle each other'

3. Lexicalised reflexive:

(12) *Pierre s'est évanoui.*
'Pierre fainted'

4. Medio-passive reflexive:

(13) *Le pont-levis s'est abaissé (de lui-même, tout seul).*
'The drawbridge lowered (by itself)'

5. Passive reflexive:

(14) *Les cuisses de grenouilles se mangent avec les doigts.*
'Frogs' legs are eaten with the fingers'

Apart from the fact that different descriptions have partly diverging classifications and labels for the different types[2], the classification con-

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2 There is in fact a good deal of terminological and classificatory confusion in this field, especially with regard to the two last mentioned constructions: 4. is called 'neutre' by Ruwet (1972) and Boons et al. (1976), 5. is called 'moyen' by Ruwet (1972), but 'à

ceals two major problems. The first problem is that such a classification tends to destroy the unity of reflexivity and to make believe that reflexive constructions can be made to mean almost anything; the very unity of the *se*-constructions vanishes, which is sought remedied by treating the entire field of *se*-constructions as an exponent of the middle voice (Stéfanini 1971). But the violation of the "one form - one function" principle remains, because the different uses really do not have much in common. The second problem is that without really looking very far, one finds many examples which do not fit into any of the five classes. To take but one example of this, the verb *tromper* 'cheat' has a reflexive use, as in (15) b.:

(15) a. *Jean trompe Marie.*
    'Jean cheats Marie'

  b. *Jean se trompe.*
    'Jean Refl cheats' (i.e 'Jean is wrong')

which could be seen as the reflexive counterpart of the transitive clause in a. But this analysis seems to be ruled out by the different properties of the transitive and the reflexive clauses, as in c. and d. (cf. Gross 1968:31):

(15) c. *Jean se trompe de chapeau.*
    'Jean gets the wrong hat'

  d. **Jean trompe Marie de chapeau.*

So the reflexive c. cannot simply be derived from the transitive d., which is however the fundamental tenure of the current analysis of ordinary reflexives, i.e. they are variants of transitive clauses where subject and object happen to be identical.

One way of solving such problems is to start all over and look for functional categories which might yield a better understanding of the reflexive field. One thing that all reflexive clauses have in common is that they are intransitive, and as intransitive you can possibly get in French: they all inflect with the auxiliary *être*. Now, we saw above that

"agent fantôme"' by Boons et al. (1976). Lamiroy (1993) calls 4. 'moyen', which seems to correspond more or less to the tradition, and 5. 'passif'. Melis (1990) calls 4. 'non agentif' and 5. 'médio-passif'. Desclés et al. (1986) call 4. 'medio-passive' and 5. 'passive'. 4. is called 'ergatif' by Zribi-Hertz (1987), cf. Lagaé (1990), and Grimshaw (1982) calls 4. 'inchoative' and 5. 'middle'. Add to this that not all writers classify the same examples in the same categories.

the common denominator of passive and antipassive was their detransitivising effect. If we interpret the reflexive constructions as the meeting ground of passive and antipassive, we get another and, I submit, better and more coherent picture of this field.

4.1. Antipassive Reflexives

This is not the time nor the place to discuss all reflexive verbs and constructions, so I have to limit the discussion to some rather clear types which, like the example in (15) above, are problematic or intractable in the five-way classificatory system. The following cases seem to adapt rather well to an antipassive interpretation.

Ordinary reflexives

The ordinary reflexives which are always seen as unproblematic are in fact, as soon as you move away from the standard text-book examples of *se laver* 'wash' and *se raser* 'shave', quite varied and often quite difficult to reconcile with a standard reflexive meaning. They are for one thing often highly metonymic. And the standard paraphrases seldom or never work, cf. (16):

(16)   ?*Jean se lave*   =   *Jean lave Jean*

A much better paraphrase would be something like (16'):

(16')   *Jean se lave*   =   *Jean fait sa toilette*

And this is exactly the standard meaning of the antipassive: the involvement of the Agent in some activity whose goal is either not mentioned, because it is too obvious to be specified or for other, textual or pragmatic reasons. Similar cases at hand are examples like the following:

(17)   *Julie est allée se changer.*
       'Julie has gone Refl change (i.e. clothes)'

       Julie est allée se préparer.
       'Julie has gone to Refl prepare (i.e. do her make-up)'

It is obvious that standard paraphrases like (16) would be quite nonsensical in cases like these. The shades of meaning associated with so-called "ordinary" reflexives seem always to be derivable from the core meaning of the antipassive.

Verbs of communication

Certain communication verbs have reflexive uses which are not easily derived from their transitive use without setting up yet another type, viz. a "metonymic" reflexive:

(18)   *Jean exprime ses opinions clairement.*
         'Jean expresses his opinions clearly'
         Jean s'exprime clairement (sur ce sujet).
         'Jean expresses himself clearly (on this subject)'

         Jean répète toujours les mêmes choses.
         'Jean repeats always the same thing'
         Jean se répète toujours.
         'Jean always repeats himself'

Functionally, such reflexive clauses are antipassive and whatever metonymic meaning or shades of meaning are involved fall out from the basic meaning of the antipassive and the content of the involved lexemes. They are in fact instances of what Cooreman (1994:52) identifies as the use of the antipassive where the Patient is entirely predictable or obvious.

Psychological verbs

The description of the antipassive in 3. above revealed, but did not discuss, a distinction within antipassives which is crucial for the understanding of certain psychological or emotional verbs. By identifying the Patient with the Agent - which was seen as one way of getting rid of the Patient in the antipassive - what happens is really a kind of promotion of the Patient: the demotion of the Patient-**rôle** is performed by the promotion of the Patient-**phrase** to the Agent-rôle and thereby to the subject relation. Foley & Van Valin (1985) accordingly distinguish **backgrounding** and **foregrounding** antipassives. The case of psychological reflexive verbs in French is a case of foregrounding antipassive. Compare the following:

(19)   *Cette critique irrite le ministre.*
         'This criticism irritates the minister'
         Le ministre s'irrite de cette critique.
         'The minister Refl irritates Prep this criticism'

         Cette situation inquiète/étonne le ministre.
         'This situation worries/astonishes the minister'

> *Le ministre s'inquiète/s'étonne de cette situation.*
> 'The minister Refl worries/astonishes Prep this situation'

Cases like these are impossible to enter into the standard classification of reflexives above.

Isolated cases

Certain verbs do not seem to fit into any major classification. Here is a handful of cases which repeat the same pattern and the same story. The verb *tromper*, treated in (15) above, seems to belong here too. Other examples are:

> (20) *Jean bat son adversaire.*
> 'Jean beats his adversary'
> *Jean se bat (contre son adversaire).*
> 'Jean Refl fights (against his adversary)'
>
> *Jean dépense beaucoup d'énergie.*
> 'Jean spends much energy.
> *Jean se dépense beaucoup.*
> 'Jean Refl spends much'

Examples like these are traditionally seen as the most clear instances of a middle meaning.

The reflexive antipassive often has a quite different meaning from the corresponding transitive, but a meaning difference always derivable, I surmise, from the general meaning of the antipassive. The differences can be slight, as in the contrast *apercevoir - s'apercevoir de*:

> (21) *Jean aperçoit le trou.*
> 'Jean notices the hole'
> *Jean s'aperçoit de son erreur.*
> 'Jean becomes aware of his mistake'

They can be considerable or even seem unsurmountable as with the foregrounding construction *ennuyer - s'ennuyer de*:

> (22) *Ses enfants ennuient Jean.*
> 'His children bore Jean'
> *Jean s'ennuie de ses enfants.*
> 'Jean misses his children'

Many such reflexive uses are consequently often classified as inherent (lexicalised), cf. e.g. Willems (1981:42).

Verbs of motion

The antipassive characteristic, i.e. the highlighting of the Agent has yet another consequence: the extension of the reflexive marking to transitive or intransitive verbs of motion. Cf. the case of *approcher*, which has a transitive and two antipassive constructions:

(23) **Transitive:** *Jean approche sa main de la lampe.*
'Jean approaches his hand to the lamp'

Intransitive: *Jean approche de la quarantaine.*
'Jean approaches the age of 40'

Reflexive: *Jean s'approche de la maison.*
'Jean Refl approaches Prep the house'

In the intransitive use of symmetrical verbs of motion such as *sortir*, the subject is or can be both Agent and Patient. But in the reflexive only an agentive reading is possible, and as in the case of *décider* vs. *se décider à* there is a nuance of overcoming an obstacle in the meaning of the antipassive:

(24) *On va s'en sortir.*
'We are going to Refl get out of this (dilemma)'

In Old French this was a quite general and systematic pattern, cf. Herslund (1983), traces of which are still visible in intransitive *s'en aller*.

Summary of antipassive reflexives

The antipassive reflexives pattern into three types. In the following table, "S" means that the subject of the reflexive is the same as the subject of the transitive (1.), "S = O" means that the subject of the reflexive can be either the subject or the object of the transitive, or both (2.)[3], and "O" means that the subject of the reflexive is the object of the transitive (3.), cf. the distinction between subjective and objective systems in Melis (1990):

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[3] The consequences of this fundamental aspect of the "ordinary reflexive" have not been sufficiently exploited in previous descriptions. It is exactly this which makes this type the meeting place of the backgrounding and the foregrounding antipassive.

(25) 1. S: *il s'approche de la maison*
        il s'attaque au problème
        il se tait } backgrounding

      2. S = O: *il se lave/se change* }
                                        }
      3. O: *il s'irrite de qc.* } foregrounding
             il s'émeut de qc.
             il s'étonne de qc. }

The foregrounding antipassive (3.), shares some important properties with the passive and constitutes the transition between antipassive and passive reflexives.

4.2. Passive Reflexives

As is well known, French has a regular passive construction with the past participle of transitive verbs and the verb *être*, cf. (3) above. Beside this construction, there are two different reflexive constructions which are also passive-like - albeit variously labelled by different grammarians, cf. note 2 - in the sense that they conform to the over-all passive schema of (2): demotion of the Agent and the consequent promotion of the Patient to subject. With one qualification, however: not only is the Agent demoted, it is so thoroughly demoted that it cannot be expressed in either of them. The promotion of the Patient is what is common to the passive and the foregrounding antipassive.

Passive

This construction can be described by the following schema:

(26) **Reflexive Passive:** Patient   V   Agent
                              ◊   ÿ   ◊   ◊
                              Subject *se* V   Ø (+ Adverbial)

The Agent cannot be expressed, but its presence in the argument structure is attested by the possible presence of adverbs which can only be construed as qualifying an Agent (cf. the "agent fantôme" of Boons et al. 1976):

(27) *Ma chemise se lave à 40°.*
        'My shirt Refl washes at 40°'

Ce tissu se nettoie facilement.
'This fabric Refl cleans easily'

Ce café se boit avec plaisir.
'This coffee Refl drinks with pleasure'

The fundamental characteristic of this construction is its general or even generic, maxim-like, meaning. This meaning is well in accordance with the fact that the understood, but unexpressed and unexpressable Agent is maximally general. Sentences like these can in fact often be paraphrased by transitive sentences with the general human subject pronoun, *on* (cf. Lamiroy 1993:66). The generic aspect is explicitly brought out by a dislocation with *cela*:

(28) *Les vitres, ça se brise avec enthousiasme.*
       'Windows that Refl break with enthusiasm'

      Les erreurs, ça se paie.
      'Errors that Refl pay'

and by the fact that it mainly occurs in the present and the imperfect tenses.

Medio-passive

This type of reflexive construction is characterised by the schema (29), where a change takes place in the argument structure itself, where the Agent is totally removed: the verbal action is presented as happening by itself and not even adverbs which could be seen as qualifying an absent Agent are permitted. To the active transitive schema corresponds an intransitive schema with no Agent. To the causative meaning of the active corresponds an uncausative meaning of the reflexive. So rather than medio-passive, I shall call this type **uncausative**:

(29) **Uncausative:** Patient   V   Agent
                         ↓   ↓   ↓
                        Patient   V   Ø
                         ◊   ÿ   ◊
                        Subject *se*   V

The construction is lexically severely constrained in the sense that not all verbs allow it, only those whose combination with a proper Patient permit a reading like the one mentioned above, i.e. of an action or process which, so to speak, happens by itself:

(30) *La porte s'ouvrit/s'est ouverte/s'ouvrira.*
'The door Refl opened/has opened/will open'

Sa dernière syllabe s'étouffa.
'His last syllable Refl choked'

Là, son regard bleu s'éclaira de tendre ironie.
'There his blue gaze Refl lit up with tender irony'

La route si droite s'incurva après le hameau.
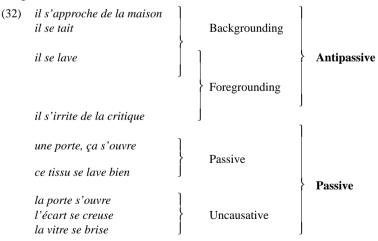'The straight road Refl curved after the hamlet'

Aux tables de lecture les lampes s'éteignirent.
'At the reading tables the lamps Refl put out'

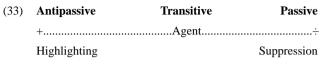The compatibility of the Patient subject and the verb is thus crucial:

(31) *L'écart s'est creusé progressivement.*
'The gap Refl dug progressively'
*Le tunnel s'est creusé petit à petit.
'The tunnel ...'

5.   Summary and Conclusion

The different reflexive constructions discussed are summed up in the following table:

(32) *il s'approche de la maison*
il se tait   Backgrounding

il se lave   **Antipassive**

                              Foregrounding

il s'irrite de la critique

une porte, ça s'ouvre
                              Passive
ce tissu se lave bien
                                                          Passive

la porte s'ouvre
l'écart se creuse   Uncausative
la vitre se brise

The French reflexive constructions of the above picture, where the different types of antipassive and passive reflexives are spread out, depict a scale of agentivity from the most Agent-promoting antipassive con-

struction (i.e. the backgrounding with suppression of the Patient) to the uncausative where there is no trace left of the Agent. So they conform to the following over-all scale:

(33) **Antipassive**   **Transitive**   **Passive**

+...Agent......................................÷

Highlighting   Suppression

The two major types of reflexives, antipassive and passive, meet in the cases where the object of the transitive construction is the subject of the reflexive. What the two patterns have in common besides this, is, functionally speaking, the fact that both highlight one of the two participants of the transitive construction, the Agent in the case of the antipassive, the Patient in the case of the passive. Both types create intransitive structures and this is signalled in the only way in which it is possible in French, namely by the intransitive inflexion of the verb by way of the auxiliary *être*.

The different reflexive constructions are however, as is well known, lexically constrained. But as shown by Kazenin (1994), there is often a clear connection between the semantic content of a verb and the kind of alternations it allows. So the more information on the Agent a verb conveys, the greater its tendency to allow or prefer Agent-preserving operations such as the antipassive. Conversely, the more specific information it conveys on the Patient, the more Patient-preserving operations it will permit, such as the passive or the uncausative. Within the French reflexives, the Agent-oriented verbs, i.e. verbs describing the Agent's manipulation of something (cf. Kazenin 1994:149), have the backgrounding antipassive constructions, whereas the verbs allowing the foregrounding antipassive, the passive or the uncausative typically are verbs describing changes of state of the Patient without conveying much information on a possible Agent's bringing about of such changes.

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