Статьи

Haspelmath, 1993 — *More on the typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations*

Haspelmath, 2016 — *Universals of causative and anticausative verb formation and the spontaneity scale*

Haspelmath, 1993

An inchoative*/causative verb pair is defined semantically: it is a pair of verbs which express the same basic situation (generally a change of state, more rarely a going-on) and differ only in that the **causative verb meaning includes an agent participant** who causes the situation, whereas the **inchoative verb meaning excludes a causing agent and presents the situation as occurring spontaneously**.

*Термин условный, позднее Хаспельмат от него отказывается и использует более общий ‘noncausal’

Haspelmath, 1993; Падучева 2001

The inchoative member of an inchoative/causative verb pair is semantically similar to the passive of the causative *(the stick was broken),* but it crucially differs from it in that the **agent is not just unexpressed**; **rather, the situation is conceived of as occurring without an agent, spontaneously**. This does not mean that there cannot be an agent in the objective situation. In (4a), the melting process is presumably caused by the same factors as in (4b), but only in (4a) is it conceptualized as occurring spontaneously.

(4) a. (inchoative) *The snowman melted.*

b. (causative) *The sun melted the snowman.*

(1) а. John *broke* the window 'Джон *разбил* окно';
б. The window *broke* 'окно *разбилось*';
(2) а. John *opened* the door 'Джон *открыл* дверь';
б. The door *opened* 'дверь *открылась*'.

У декаузатива, как и у пассива, объект исходного употребления становится субъектом — переходит в позицию подлежащего. Но судьба бывшего субъекта у пассива и декаузатива разная: глагол, переведенный в пассивную форму, по-прежнему понимается как агентивный, т. е. среди участников обозначаемой им ситуации есть целеполагающий каузатор — Агенс; а декаузативы *broke*, *opened* в (1б), (2б) обозначают ситуацию, в которой нет целеполагающего Агенса. Так что таксономическая категория глагола в декаузативном употреблении — это не действие, а происшествие (термин «происшествие» — перевод англ. *happening* из [Wierzbicka 1980], предложенный в [Булыгина 1982]; см. также [Падучева 1996: 103]).

Bohnemeyer, 2007

Inchoative VS Middle Voice

As shown in (5), both cut verbs and break verbs participate in the middle. The difference between inchoative and middle forms is that **inchoatives**, unlike middles, **may refer to individual events under specific time reference**, and do not introduce a cause or agent of these events into the discourse representation.

(5) a. *The vase breaks/cracks/shatters easily.*
b. *The bread cuts/cubes/slices easily.*

Haspelmath, 1993

Direction of semantic derivation is not matched by a uniform direction of formal derivation: central claim of this solution is that the kind of meaning that is relevant for diagrammatic iconicity **is conceptual meaning, not objective meaning**. **Objectively**, the meaning 'melt (tr.)' may be more complex than and derived from the meaning 'melt (intr.)', but **conceptually**, the relation between the two meanings could be quite different (cf. Lakoff (1987) for the distinction between objective and conceptual meaning).

If the semantic properties of a word are only the objective semantic features discovered by semantic decomposition (as, for instance, in Mel'cuk 1967), then ~~causatives are always semantically more complex than inchoatives~~ and the existence of or even preference for anticausatives is a mystery. But **iconicity in language is based on conceptual meaning**, **and the correlation between formal and semantic basic-derived (or markedness) relationships should be understood in cognitive terms**, as in Givón's (1991:106) principle:

(24) Categories that are **cognitively** marked tend also to be **structurally** marked.

Haspelmath, 1993

Verbs like **'break', 'burn', 'melt', 'roll', 'open', typically occur in such alternations** (cf. examples (2)-(ll)), but verbs like **'work', 'dance', 'cut', 'build', 'criticize', 'sleep', never do**.

The basic situation must be **a change of state** or **a going-on**. This excludes three large classes of situations. First, a **state cannot be the inchoative member of an inchoative/causative alternation**. Second, a**n action that does not express a change of state** (e.g. 'help', 'invite', 'cite', 'criticize', 'read') **cannot be the causative member of such an alternation**. Third, **agentive intransitive** verbs like 'talk', 'dance', 'work', etc. cannot be the inchoative member of an inchoative/causative pair **because they are not conceived of as occurring spontaneously**. This still leaves us with a large class of transitive verbs such as 'wash', 'build', 'cut', 'dig', 'paint', etc., which do express a change of state.

Haspelmath, 1993

Absence of **agent-oriented meaning components:** since the inchoative member implies the absence of an agent, it cannot contain agent-oriented semantic elements.

'cut' (='by means of a sharp instrument') VS 'tear (tr.)'

(11) a. *The girl tore her pants.*
b. *The pants tore.*

(12) a. *The tailor cut the cloth.*
b. **The cloth cut.*[8]

Haspelmath, 1993

(13) a. 'wash': agent-oriented meaning element 'by means of soap and/or washing instruments'
no inchoative alternant possible
b. 'clean (tr.)': no agent-oriented meaning element
alternation: e.g. Russian *očiščat'* 'clean (tr.)' anticausative *očiščat'-sja* 'become clean'

(14) a. 'execute': agent-oriented meaning element 'sanctioned by the regime'
no inchoative alternant possible
b. 'kill': no agent-oriented meaning element
alternation: e.g. Lezgian (labile verb) *q'in* 'kill'/'die'

(15) a. 'tie': agent-oriented meaning element 'by wrapping with strings, etc.'
no inchoative alternant possible (Gothic *bindan* 'tie' / anti-causative **bund-nan*)

b. 'untie': no agent-oriented meaning element
alternation: e.g. Gothic *andbindan* 'untie' / anticausative *andbund-nan* 'become loose'

Bohnemeyer, 2007

Guerssel et al. (1985) (see also Hale and Keyser 1987) argue that the syntactic differences between break-type and cut-type verbs derive from their **semantic representations** (their l**exical conceptual structure**; henceforth, **LCS**), as illustrated for break and cut in (6)–(7):

(6) break LCS: y comes to be broken

(7) cut LCS: x produces "cut" on y, by sharp edge coming into contact with y

Break verbs are semantically monadic, encoding a state change event without attributing a cause to it. On this account, the inchoative reading is basic; the causative reading is the result of a productive rule that introduces a (generic) causal event whose participant is linked to subject. **Cut verbs, in contrast, are semantically dyadic—they lexicalize causal impact on a theme as the result of contact between the theme and some instrument or body part. This type of LCS blocks inchoative readings, but licenses conative alternations.**

On Guerssel et al.'s account, the conative reading comes about when the cut component is removed from the main clause of the LCS and inserted into a purposive clause; the main clause is replaced by a motion description. The result is (7'):

(7') cut Conative LCS: x causes sharp edge to move along path toward y, in order to produce cut on y, by sharp edge coming into contact with y

Bohnemeyer, 2007

Guerssel et al.'s account of the syntactic properties of cut and break verbs hinges critically on the assumption that break verbs, unlike cut verbs, are semantically monadic. But this assumption is far from uncontroversial. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) assume that the causative form of break verbs is the basic form in English; the inchoative form is derived by an A-structure operation. If A-structure alternations in the narrow sense are viewed as polysemy patterns, as in the present article (in line with, e.g., Cruse 1986: 74–76; Jackendo. 2002: 339–342), it is not obvious that either direction of derivation is privileged. Either sense may arise as a metonymic extension of the other. And Haspelmath (1993) shows that both directions are found in A-structure derivations in the languages of the world: some languages have unaccusative break verbs that causativize; others have base-transitive break verbs that anticausativize. **Once it is acknowledged that break verbs may be just as dyadic as cut verbs, Guerssel et al.'s explanation for why the former, but not the latter, produce inchoative forms can no longer be maintained.**

Bohnemeyer, 2007

An alternative account of the A-structure properties of C&B verbs, which rests on two basic principles of the lexiconsyntax interface, stated in (8)–(9):

(8) Morpholexical Transparency: productive A-structure alternations that relate two lexemes in a semantically transparent fashion can add or delete generic, but not specific, subevent representations from the event structure of the verb.

(9) Complete Linking: a well-formed syntactic projection from a verb lexeme requires all thematic relations spelled out in the verb's semantics to be linked to arguments or obliques specified in the verb's A-structure, unless they are blocked from linking by voice operations.

Principles (8)–(9) predict the possibility of A-structure alternations that **relate a lexeme meaning 'cause to become broken' to one meaning 'become broken'** (**while barring a lexeme** with the meaning, say, **'cause to become rich'** from being transparently related to a lexeme meaning **'cause to become broken'**). **The causal subevent of break verbs can be removed by A-structure alternations because it is semantically generic** (similarly Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995: 107, 242; Pinker 1989: 106, 198). There is any number of conceivable ways in which one can break, shatter, tear, or split something—**no particular manner of action and no use of a particular kind of instrument, or indeed any instrument at all, is entailed.**

Bohnemeyer, 2007

Cut verbs, too, are rather flexible about the action performed and the instrument used. **What sets cut verbs apart is the notion of contact between the theme and some kind of instrument** (including an Agent's body part). **Cut verbs specify some property of the instrument or of the way it is used*** (cf. Koenig et al., forthc.; e.g., cut, slice, hack and saw entail use of some blade-like object, whereas bore, puncture, and prick entail use of a pointy object). **A particular result state may or may not be specified as well**; **this seems to motivate the distinction between cut verbs (sensu stricto), which undergo the conative alternation in English, and carve verbs (e.g., carve, slice, cube, grind), which do not** (Levin 1993: 156–158)—**the latter are the ones with specific result states**.

* VS break-verbs **no particular manner of action and no use of a particular kind of instrument, or indeed any instrument at all, is entailed.**

Bohnemeyer, 2007

The fact that carve verbs, which specify clear result states, do not appear in conative clauses, whereas **cut verbs** sensu stricto do, strongly suggests that the latter **are not semantically specific on the change the theme undergoes**. As Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 103) argue, what blocks cut verbs from producing transparently related inchoative lexemes is the impossibility of referring, however implicitly, to an instrument without referring to a cause (Keyser and Roeper 1984). It is this same impossibility that prevents inchoative forms of break verbs from combining with instrument phrases (though not with causal adjuncts):

(10) *The cup cracked/broke/shattered (*with a hammer/stone/kick).*

Since cut verbs entail the involvement of an instrument in the event, reference to the cause of the event cannot be suppressed, and thus the verb is blocked from producing transparently related inchoative forms.

Cut verbs (sensu stricto, i.e., not carve verbs) cannot appear in conative constructions because they specify only a generic result. For instance, a cut can vary from mere incision in the theme's surface all the way to separation of the theme into two parts. **In line with (8), this lack of specificity licenses deletion of the state change event and theme from the semantic representation.** The theme is then reintroduced as a goal, since its presence is still required by the contact component. The result is the conative construction. **Break verbs, of course, are barred by (8) from producing conative variants, since they cannot be transparently related to lexical items that do not encode a specific state change.**

Bohnemeyer, 2007

i) Across languages, C&B verbs fall into two semantic classes: those that **specify use of a particular kind of instrument and a generic state change (cut verbs)** and those that **specify a particular kind of change or a particular type of theme argument, but are nonspecific regarding instruments involved (break verbs)**.

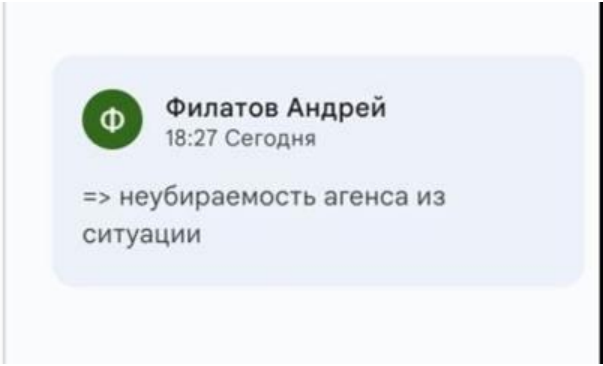
ii) Across languages, **break verbs may (but need not) occur in transparently related causative and inchoative lexemes, whereas cut verbs never produce transparently related inchoatives. Cut verbs, in turn, may (but need not) occur in transparently related causative and conative lexemes, while break verbs do not produce transparently related conatives.**

(iii) Four of the languages—Biak, German, Mandarin, and Yukatek— have complex predicates **that are semantically specific on both the properties of an instrument used in the action (or the manner in which it is used) and the state change inflicted on the theme. These bipolar verbs represent a third type, distinct from both the cut- and the break-type.** In line with the principles of Morpholexical Transparency (8) and Complete Linking (9), bipolar verbs are inert regarding A-structure alternations: since both the causal and the resulting subevent representations are specific, neither can be removed from the meaning of a transparently related stem. This inertness can be illustrated with the English carve verbs, which are simplex bipolar verbs. Carve verbs undergo neither the conative (11b) nor the causative-inchoative alternation (11c):

(11) *a. Carole carved the stone.*
*b. *Carole carved at the stone.*
*c. *The stone carved. (Levin 1993: 158)*

Bipolar verbs make a bipartition of the C&B domain in cut and break A-structure classes impossible in those languages in which they occur, refuting prediction (ii). At the same time, their failure to participate in A-structure alternations offers another source of support for the validity of the crosslinguistic generalizations (8)–(9).

тип глагола	спецификация инструмента	=> возможность non-causal	спецификация change of state?	=> возможность conative (неудачной попытки)
CUT	+	нельзя	-	можно
BREAK	-	можно	+	нельзя
CARVE	+	нельзя	+	нельзя



Bohnemeyer, 2007

Voice VS Anticausative

Many languages have polysemous constructions that encompass both anticausative and middle-voice or passive-like interpretations. Since the latter interpretations occur with both cut- and break-type verbs, such constructions can make it difficult to test hypothesis (ii) that only break verbs have transparently related inchoative lexemes.
Let us assume that anticausative derivations produce inchoative stems from causative bases by removing the causal subevent from the base's meaning, whereas middle voices merely block linking of the causal subevent's participant:

– **Anticausative derivations** satisfy (9) by removing the causal subevent from the semantics of the verb. The result is a derived inchoative stem that **encodes the state change lexicalized in the base without expressing the cause of this event**. The principle of Morpholexical Transparency(8) restricts this process to break verbs: **break verbs encode a semantically generic causal subevent that can be removed by a semantically transparent A-structure-changing derivation, whereas cut verbs encode a semantically specific causal subevent that cannot be deleted without loss of Morpholexical Transparency**.

– **Middle voice operations** satisfy (9) by blocking the linking of the agent role. The result is a verb form that presents the event as caused, but leaves the agent unspecified. Since voice operations do not change the semantics or A-structure of the verb, they are not restricted to break verbs.

See p. 167

Bohnemeyer, 2007

Spanish has a form—the pseudoreflexive— that has **both anticausative and middle-voice functions**. **This form also has a passive function**. As the predictions of (i) and (ii) specify, the anticausative interpretation of the pseudo-reflexive is restricted to break verbs such as *romper* 'break' (18). The pseudo-reflexives of cut verbs like *serrar* 'saw' cannot receive an anticausative interpretation; instead, they require a middle (19a) or a passive (19b) reading (cf. Maldonado 1992):

(18) Spanish
La taza se rompió.
the cup REFL broke
'The cup broke/was broken.' (anticausative or passive)

(19) Spanish
a. *Las ramas de éste árbol se sierran fácilmente.*
the branches of this tree REFL saw easily
'The branches of this tree saw (off) easily.' (middle)
b. *La rama se serró.*
the branch REFL sawed
'The branch was sawed.' (passive)

Haspelmath, 1993

'decapitate': no agent-oriented meaning components

VS

no inchoative alternant – >

inchoative alternation: no agent-oriented meaning components + spontaneity

A verb meaning that **refers to a change of state** or **a going-on** may appear in an inchoative/causative alternation **unless the verb contains agent-oriented meaning components** or other **highly specific meaning components that make the spontaneous occurrence of the event extremely unlikely**.

Haspelmath, 1993

Three main types of inchoative/causative verb pairs:

Causative: the inchoative verb is basic and the causative verb is derived. The causative verb may be marked by an affix (6a), by a causative auxiliary (6b), or by stem modification (6c).

(6)	a.	Georgian	*duɣ-s*	'cook (intr.)'
			a-duɣ-ebs	'cook (tr.)'
	b.	French	*fondre*	'melt (intr.)'
			faire fondre	'melt (tr.)'
	c.	Arabic	*darasa*	'learn'
			darrasa	'teach'

Anticausative: the causative verb is basic and the inchoative verb is derived (hence the term *anticausative,* which was coined in Nedjalkov and Sil'nickij 1969). The anticausative may be marked by an affix (7a), by an anticausative auxiliary (7b), or by stem modification (7c).

(7)	a.	Russian	*katat'-sja*	'roll (intr.)'
			katat'	'roll (tr.)'
	b.	Lezgian	*xkaž xun*	'rise'
			xkažun	'raise'
	c.	Hindi-Urdu	*khul-naa*	'open (intr.)'
			khol-naa	'open (tr.)'

Haspelmath, 1993

This alternation is particularly regular in verbs that are derived from adjectives. For example, every German factitive derivation can form an **anticausative** with the particle *sich,* and every Russian factitive derivation can form an anticausative in *-sja.*

(17) German adjectives, factitives, and anticausatives

flüssig	'liquid':	*verflüssigen*	'make liquid'
		sich verflüssigen	'become liquid'
anders	'different':	*verändern*	'change (tr.)'
		sich verändern	'change (intr.)'
voll	'full':	*füllen*	'fill (tr.)'
		sich füllen	'fill (intr.)'
stark	'strong':	*verstärken*	'reinforce'
		sich verstärken	'become strong'

(18)

lučšij	'better':	*ulučšit'*	'improve (tr.)'
		ulučšit'-sja	'improve (intr.)'
vysokij	'high':	*povysit'*	'raise'
		povysit'-sja	'rise'
širokij	'wide':	*rasširit'*	'widen (tr.)'
		rasširit'-sja	'widen (intr.)'

MWA

La čikʕēx ʕal‿anna corsa, ičber. (Ḥanne)
Don’t sit on this chair, it is broken.

Hanna ḥabla ikṭeʕ, škōl‿iḥrēna. (Abu Šādi, Abū Šaḥīn, Ḥanne)
This rope is torn, take another one.

Hanna korʕa ičleḥ. (Abū Šaḥīn; Ḥanne)
This bag is ripped.

Hanna xūza minəčbar, ŭ hōc‿cuppoyţa ču minčabra. (Abu Šādi, Obəs‿Sarcis)
This teapot is breakable, while this glass is not breakable.

Haspelmath, 1993

Non-directed alternations (or oppositions):

Equipollent alternations: both are derived from the same stem which expresses the basic situation, by means of different affixes (8a), different auxiliary verbs (8b), or different stem modifications (8c).

(8)	a.	Japanese	*atum-aru*	'gather (intr.)'
			atum-eru	'gather (tr.)'
	b.	Hindi-Urdu	*šuruu honaa*	'begin (intr.)'
			šuruu karnaa	'begin (tr.)'
	c.	Lithuanian[6]	*lūžti*	'break (intr.)'
			laužti	'break (tr.)'

Suppletive alternations: different verb roots are used

(9)	Russian	*goret'*	'burn (intr.)'
		žeč'	'burn (tr.)'

Labile alternations: the same verb is used both in the inchoative and in the causative sense

(10)	Modern Greek	*svíno*	1. 'go out'
			2. 'extinguish'

Haspelmath, 1993

The main criteria for identifying the basic stem:

- phonological markedness
  Arabic: *darasa* 'learn' / *darrasa* 'teach'
- direction of neutralization
  Arabic:
  CaCaCa (e.g. *darasa), CaCiCa* (e.g. *rakiba* 'ride' / *rak-kaba* 'make ride'), and *CaCuCa* (e.g. *sarufa* 'be noble') >
  CaCCaCa (II)
  Hindi-Urdu:
  *phir-naa/ph**e**r-naa* 'turn (intr.)/(tr.)', *pit-naa* 'take a licking' / *p**ii**t-naa* 'beat up'
- criterion of productivity
  Arabic:
  ** *CaCCaCa –> CaCVCa*

MWA

iqṭel VS inəqṭal

iqṭel – *equipollent* (?)

inəqṭal – *anticausative* (?)

Haspelmath, 1993

	total	A	C	E	L	S	A/C	% non-dir.
Russian	31	23	0	5	0	3	46.00	26
German	31	14.5	0	4	11.5	1	29.00	53
Greek	31	13.5	0	0	16.5	1	27.00	56
Rumanian	30	24	1	0	3	2	24.00	17
French	31	20.50	2	0	7.5	1	10.25	27
Lithuanian	31	17.5	6	6	0.5	1	2.92	24
Hebrew	31	20.5	7.5	2	1	0	2.73	10
Arabic	31	17	8.5	3	1	1.5	2.00	18
Georgian	31	9	4.5	15.5	0	2	2.00	56
Armenian	31	16	8.5	5.5	0	1	1.88	21
Swahili	31	11	11	8	0	1	1.00	29
Finnish	28	12	13.5	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.88	9
Udmurt	31	10.5	12.5	4.5	2.5	1	0.84	26
Hungarian	31	7	9	12	0	3	0.78	48
Lezgian	31	8	12	6	5	0	0.66	35
Hindi-Urdu	31	7.5	14	7.5	2	0	0.54	31
Turkish	30	9	17.5	2.5	0	1	0.51	12
Mongolian	31	6	22	2	0	1	0.27	10
Indonesian	31	0	14	17	0	0	0.04	55
English	31	2	0	1	25	3		94
Japanese	31	3.5	5.5	20.5	0.5	1		71
total	636	243	164.5	128.5	69	310		

Abbreviations:
A = anticausative alternation
C = causative alternation
E = equipollent alternation
L = labile alternation
S = suppletive alternation
A/C = ratio of anticausative to causative pairs
% non-dir. = percentage of non-directed pairs

Table 4. Expression types by verb pairs

	total	A	C	E	L	S	A/C
18. 'boil'	21	0.5	11.5	3	6	0	0.04
25. 'freeze'	21	2	12	3	4	0	0.17
29. 'dry'	20	3	10	4	3	0	0.30
1. 'wake up'	21	3	9	6	2	1	0.33
20. 'go out/put out'	21	3	7.5	5.5	3	2	0.41
11. 'sink'	21	4	9.5	5.5	1.5	0.5	0.42
8. 'learn/teach'	21	3.5	7.5	6	2	3	0.47
13. 'melt'	21	5	10.5	3	2.5	0	0.48
31. 'stop'	21	5.5	9	3.5	3	0	0.61
23. 'turn'	21	8	7.5	4	1.5	0	1.07
26. 'dissolve'	21	10.5	7.5	2	1	0	1.40
3. 'burn'	21	7	5	2	5	2	1.40
14. 'destroy'	20	8.5	5.5	5	1	0	1.55
27. 'fill'	21	8	5	5	3	0	1.60
22. 'finish'	21	7.5	4.5	5	4	0	1.67
7. 'begin'	19	5	3	3	8	0	1.67
10. 'spread'	21	11	6	3	1	0	1.83
24. 'roll'	21	8.5	4.5	5	3	0	1.89
16. 'develop'	21	10	5	5	1	0	2.00
15. 'get lost/lose'	21	11.5	4.5	4.5	0	0.5	2.56
21. 'rise/raise'	21	12	4.5	3.5	0	1	2.67
28. 'improve'	21	8.5	3	8	1.5	0	2.67
19. 'rock'	21	12	40	3.5	1.5	0	3.00
17. 'connect'	21	15	2.5	1.5	1	1	6.00
12. 'change'	21	11	1.5	4.5	4	0	7.33
9. 'gather'	21	15	2	3	1	0	7.50
5. 'open'	21	13	1.5	4	2.5	0	8.67
2. 'break'	21	12.5	1	4	3.5	0	12.50
6. 'close'	21	15.5	1	2.5	2	0	15.50
30. 'split'	20	11.5	0.5	5	3	0	23.00
4. 'die/kill'	21	0	3	1	1	16	—
total	636	243	164.5	128.5	69	31	

Table 5. Expression types by verb pairs (Nedjalkov 1969)

	total	A	C	E	L	S	others	A/C
'laugh/make laugh'	60	0	54	6	0	0	0	0
'boil'	60	2	36	5	9	7	1	0.05
'burn'	60	8	19	5	14	14	0	0.42
'break'	60	22	9	8	19	0	2	2.44
total	240	32	118	17	42	21	3	0.27

MWA

ičbar ~ yičbur ~ čōbar ~ ičber ‘to break (tr); ičbar ~ yičbar ~ čōbar ~ ičber ‘to break (intr)

ikṭaʕ ~ yikṭuʕ ~ kōṭaʕ ~ ikṭeʕ ‘to cut, tear (tr); ikṭaʕ ~ yikṭaʕ ~ kōṭaʕ ~ ikṭeʕ ‘to cut, tear (intr)

ičleḥ ~ yičluḥ ~ čōlaḥ ~ ičleḥ ‘to tear (tr); ičlaḥ ~ yičlaḥ ~ čōlaḥ ~ ičleḥ ‘to tear (intr)

ifraṭ ~ yifruṭ ~ fōreṭ ~ ifreṭ ‘to dismantle’; ifraṭ ~ yifruṭ ~ fōreṭ ~ ifreṭ ‘to fall apart’

ifṣal ~ yifṣul ~ fōṣel ~ ifṣel ‘to separate, divide, cut off (tr); ifṣal ~ yifṣal ~ fōṣel ~ ifṣel ‘to cut off, disconnect (intr)

iġraḥ ~ yiġruḥ ~ ġōraḥ ~ iġreḥ ‘to hurt (tr)’; iġraḥ ~ yiġraḥ ~ ġōraḥ ~ iġreḥ ‘to get hurt (intr)’

iḥraḇ ~ yiḥruḇ ~ ḥōreḇ ~ iḥreḇ ‘to destroy (tr)’; iḥraḇ/iḥreḇ ~ yiḥraḇ ~ ḥōreḇ ~ iḥreḇ ‘to break down, be ruined’

ift̲aḥ ~ yift̲uḥ ~ fōt̲aḥ ~ ift̲eḥ ‘to open (tr)’; ift̲aḥ ~ yift̲aḥ ~ fōt̲aḥ ~ ift̲eḥ ‘to open (intr); become sighted’

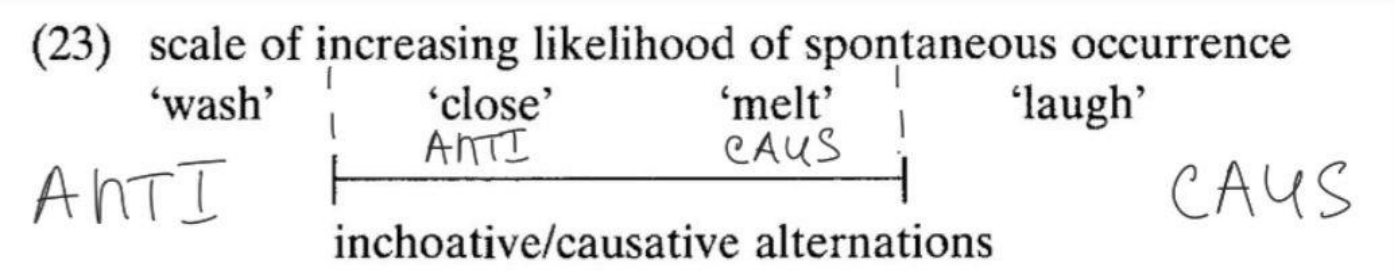
Haspelmath, 1993

A factor favoring the anticausative expression type is the **probability of an outside force bringing about the event**. Conversely, the **causative expression type is favored if the event is quite likely to happen even if no outside force is present**.

Events such as freezing, drying, sinking, going out, and melting occur commonly in nature around us and do not need an agentive instigator.

On the other hand, events such as splitting, breaking, closing, opening, gathering and connecting are typical of the kinds of things that human beings do. In both cases, the correlation is only typical, not necessary.

Direction of derivation: spontaneous vs. caused events



ṣḳᶜ (B Ğ auch mit *s*) [صقع] *II* ***ṣaḳḳaᶜ, yṣaḳḳaᶜ*** **(1)** auskühlen, abkühlen, kalt werden (etwas) - subj. 3 pl. B *maḥḥćilli ta ysaḳḳaᶜ* sie nehmen (die Milch vom Feuer) herunter, damit sie abkühlt I 39.44; **(2)** B kalt werden (jd-m); frieren (intr.) - prät. 1 sg *ṣáḳḳaᶜiṯ ana* es wurde mir kalt I 56.18 - perf. 2 sg. m. *ćṣiḳḳeᶜ?* ist dir kalt geworden? frierst du?

IV M Ğ ***aṣḳaᶜ, yaṣḳaᶜ*** kalt werden (jd-m); frieren (intr.); erfrieren - prät. 3 sg. m M *aṣḳaᶜ hann askra* die Armee fror III 99.50 - prät. 1 sg. Ğ *aṣḳᶜiṯ* II 57.42 - prät. 3 pl. M *aṣḳaᶜ* III 99.57 - präs. 3 pl. m. *ᶜammaṣḳᶜin* III 99.51; Ğ *masᵊḳᶜin* II 40.38

uns zurück II 64.11 - ipt. sg. m. mit suff. 3 sg. f. B *ḳuṣᵊrna!* laß von ihr ab! I 68.20 - perf. 3 sg. m. *ḳaṣṣer* M III 91.19 - perf. 3 pl. c. B *ḳiṣṣīrin* CORRELL 1969 IX,20

ḳuṣṣur kurz, klein (Person) - M *waḳča ḳuṣṣur* kurze Zeit III 52.19; Ğ *ib wa ḳuṣṣur* wenn er klein(er) gewesen wäre II 18.28 - m. sg. det. *ḳuṣṣōra* M SP 355 - f. sg. indet. M *ḳuṣṣōr* IV 15.5 - pl. m. indet. *ḳuṣṣūrin* Ğ II 22.15

aḳṣar el. kürzer

ḳṣr² ***ḳaṣra*** [قصر < lat. *castrum*] **(1)** Burg, Schloß, Palast M IV 4.317; B I 84.13; Ğ II 69.18 - cstr. M *ḳaṣril malka* Königsschloß IV 4.314 - pl. *ḳaṣrō*; **(2)** Zimmer im Obergeschoß [cf. BARTH. S. 661] M PS 71,29

ḳṣṣ [صى, jüd.-pal. קצץ, cf. قص] *I* M ***aḳaṣ, yiḳḳuṣ,*** B Ğ ***iḳḳaṣ, yuḳḳuṣ*** **(1)** abschneiden, beschneiden, (Bäume) fällen - prät. 3 sg. f. mit doppelt. suff. M *ḳaṣṣlalla liššōna* sie schnitt ihr die Zunge ab PS 4,7 - ipt. sg. m. B *ḳoṣṣ* I 88.190 - mit suff. 3 sg. f. M *ḳuṣṣa* IV 55.2 - präs. 3 sg. m. mit suff. 3 sg. f. B *ḳaṣeṣla* I 32.11 - präs. 1 sg. f. Ğ *nḳaṣṣōl lanna xlōṣa* ich schneide die Nachgeburt ab II 6.11 - präs. 3 pl. c. B *ḳōṣṣin* I 32.4 - präs. 2 pl. c. mit doppelt. suff. *ćḳaṣṣlilli rayši* ihr schneidet ihm seinen Kopf ab I 88.185 - präs. 1 pl. m mit suff. 3 sg. f. M *nḳaṣṣilla ᶜa felka* wir schneiden sie in zwei Hälften PS 50,28 - mit suff. 3 pl. c. B *nḳaṣṣillun* I 35.10; **(2)** (Haare) schneiden - prät. 3 sg. m. mit doppelt. suff. M *ḳaṣṣlēle saᶜre* er schnitt ihm sein Haar III 49.28 - präs. 3 sg. f. *ḳaṣṣōs saᶜra* sie schneidet ihr Haar ST 3.2.1,3; **(3)** scheren (Schafe) - prät. 3 pl. m. mit suff. 3 pl. m. M *ḳaṣṣunnun* III 23.7 - subj. 3 sg. m. B *yuḳḳuṣ* I 39.21 - subj. 1 pl. mit suff. 3 pl. f. Ğ *nḳuṣṣennen* II 8.1 - präs. 3 sg. m. B *ḳōṣeṣ* I 39.23 - mit suff. 3 sg. f. M *ḳaṣeṣla* III 23.4 - präs. 1 pl. m. B *nḳaṣṣiṭṭ ṭarša* wir scheren die Herde I 39.20; *nḳaṣṣill ᶜamrun miᶜlēn* wir scheren ihnen die Wolle I 49.11; **(4)** zuschneiden, zurechtschneiden - präs. 1 sg. f. Ğ *nḳaṣṣōl lān ḏahōṭa* ich schneide die Ärmel (beim Nähen) zu II 7.5; **(5)** formen, zurechtbiegen - präs. 3 pl. m. mit suff. 3 sg. m. Ğ *hanna ḳaṣṣille ḥattatō xṣūṣay l-naᶜla* die Schmiede formen es speziell als Hufeisen II 28.3

IV ***ōḳeṣ, yōḳeṣ*** zuschneiden lassen, schneidern lassen - präs. 3 pl. m. Ğ *maḳiṣṣīl baṭlōṭun* sie lassen sich ihre Anzüge schneidern NAK. 2.7,16 (dort irrt. *maksīl*)

*I*₇ ***inḳaṣ, yinḳaṣ*** geteilt werden, aufgeteilt werden, entfallen - B *inḳaṣ ᶜa xull aḥḥaḏ ḥammeš emᶜa riyāl* es entfielen auf jeden 500 Rial I 60.144

iḳṣeṣ abgeschnitten, zugeschnitten, geformt M PS 4,8; Ğ II 28.2

ḳaṣṣa As (im Kartenspiel)

Haspelmath 2016

Universals of causative and anticausative verb formation and the spontaneity scale

Haspelmath, 2016

In simplified terms, the basic generalization is that:

- **causative coding**, especially analytic coding, of a verb pair is more likely when the noncausal verb's meaning is **on the higher end** (the left-hand part) of the scale,
- **anticausative coding** is more likely when the noncausal verb's meaning is **on the lower end** (the right-hand part) of the scale
- **basic** (non-derived) **verbs** (with either a causal or a noncausal meaning) are most likely to occur **in the middle** of the scale.

(2) the spontaneity scale

transitive ('cut')	>	unergative ('talk')	>	automatic ('freeze (intr.)')	>	costly ('break (intr.)')	>	agentful ('be cut')
<—— more causatives						more anticausatives ——>		

Haspelmath, 2016

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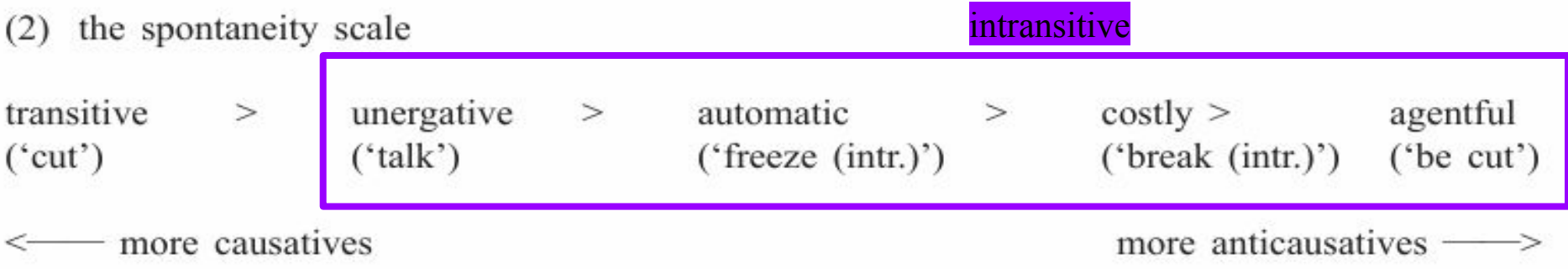

Haspelmath, 2016

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(2) the spontaneity scale

unaccusative

transitive ('cut')	>	unergative ('talk')	>	automatic ('freeze (intr.)')	>	costly ('break (intr.)')	>	agentful ('be cut')

<—— more causatives

more anticausatives ——>

Types of verbs

- **Transitive:** an agent impinges directly on a patient, especially in a physical way.
- **Unergative:** agentive intransitive, (typically volitional) human actions that are not directed specifically at another participant and that have no inherent limit.
- **Unaccusative:** intransitive verbs with non-agentive meanings implying changes of state, typically of inanimate participants
    - **automatic:** a process that is easily construed as occurring on its own, without any external energy input
    - **costly:** a process that does not so easily occur on its own, but typically involves some energy input (“cost”)
- **Agentful:** (potential) verb meanings that refer to processes such as ‘be cut’, ‘be washed’, ‘be beaten’ which are quite difficult to construe as occurring on their own, without an agent, because of agent-oriented manner components in their meaning (i.e. they seem to require reference to an agent in their definition).

Types of verbs

Table 1: Five types of verb meanings on the spontaneity scale: Some examples

Transitive (most spontaneous)	Unergative	Unaccusative		Agentful (least spontaneous)
		Automatic	Costly	
'cut', 'wash', 'throw', 'eat', 'hit', 'see'	'talk', 'dance', 'walk', 'play', 'work', 'scream'	'melt', 'freeze', 'dry', 'wake up', 'sink', 'go out (fire)'	'break (intr.)', 'split (intr.)', 'open (intr.)', 'close (intr.)', 'change (intr.)', 'gather (intr.)'	'be cut', 'be washed', 'be thrown', 'be eaten', 'be hit', 'be seen'

Types of verbs

(3)		basic verb (noncausal meaning)		causative verb (with special coding) (causal meaning)	
a.	Turkish	*öl-*	'die'	*öl-dür-*	'kill' (= 'make die')
b.	Japanese	*kawak-u*	'dry (intr.)'	*kawak-as-u*	'dry (tr.)' (= 'make dry')
c.	Lithuanian	*deg-ti*	'burn (intr.)'	*deg-in-ti*	'burn (tr.)' (= 'make burn')

(4)		basic verb (causal meaning)		anticausative verb (with special coding) (noncausal meaning)	
a.	Russian	*otkryt'*	'open (tr.)'	*otkryt'-sja*	'open (intr.)'
b.	Hebrew	*picel*	'split (tr.)'	*hit-pacel*	'split (intr.)'
c.	Swahili	*vunj-a*	'break (tr.)'	*vunj-ik-a*	'break (intr.)'

Types of verbs

The term **noncausal** comprises what has sometimes been called "inchoative", but it is used in a much broader sense here, for any verb meaning that contrasts with a **causal** verb meaning and lacks its 'cause' component.

Thus, *break* (intr.) is **noncausal** when compared to *break (something)*, but *break something* is **noncausal** when compared to *make someone break something*.

For verb pairs that make no formal difference between the causal and the noncausal use (e.g. *break*), the term **labile** is used.

	CAUSAL	NONCAUSAL
transitive	'make cut'	'cut'
unergative	'make talk'	'talk'
automatic	'make freeze'	'freeze'
costly	'break (tr.)'	'break (intr)'
agentful	'cut'	'be cut'

(2) the spontaneity scale

transitive ('cut')	>	unergative ('talk')	>	automatic ('freeze (intr.)')	>	costly ('break (intr.)')	>	agentful ('be cut')

<—— more causatives more anticausatives ——>

Universals

Universals

- Universal 1: **the higher the noncausal meaning** of a causal-noncausal pair is on the spontaneity scale, **the longer and the more analytic any causative marker** on the **causal** verb form will be.
- Universal 2: **the lower the noncausal meaning** of a causal-noncausal pair is on the spontaneity scale, **the longer and the more analytic any anticausative marker** on the **noncausal** verb form will be.

(2) the spontaneity scale

transitive	>	unergative	>	automatic	>	costly >	agentful
('cut')		('talk')		('freeze (intr.)')		('break (intr.)')	('be cut')

<—— more causatives more anticausatives ——>

(7)	a.	(causative pair) English	analytic causative (anaC) *make s.o. believe*	basic noncausal *believe*
	b.	(causative pair) Japanese	long causative (lgC) *hasir-ase-* 'make s.o. run'	basic noncausal *hasir-* 'run'
	c.	(causative pair) Japanese	short causative (shC) *kawak-as-* 'dry (tr.)'	basic noncausal *kawak-* 'dry (intr.)'
	d.	(labile pair) English	basic causal *break (tr.)*	basic noncausal *break (intr.)*
	e.	(anticausative pair) Russian	basic causal *otkryt'* 'open (tr.)'	anticausative (A) *otkryt'-sja* 'open (intr.)'
	f.	(anticausative pair) Lezgian	basic causal *xkaž-un* 'raise'	analytic anticausative (anaA) *xkaž xûn* 'rise'

Given these six categories,[6] we can say that the causative-anticausative coding scale in (8a) roughly corresponds to the spontaneity scale in (8b).

(8) a. anaC > lgC > shC > labile > A > anaA
b. transitive > unergative > automatic > costly > agentful (= 2)

Labile pairs are generally used for automatic and costly meanings (e.g. *melt* (tr./intr.), *split* (tr./intr.)), and analytic **anticausatives** are mostly used for agentful meanings (e.g. *be cut*, *be eaten*).

Universals

These universals **are special cases** of the primary Universals 1 and 2, using the less abstract comparative concepts of (7a-f):

Universal 3: If an analytic causative can be used with base verbs of some type, it can be used with base verbs of all types higher on the spontaneity scale.

Universal 4: If a synthetic causative can be used with base verbs of some type, analytic causatives will not be required with base verbs lower on the spontaneity scale.

Universal 5: If an analytic anticausative can be used with base verbs of some type, it can be used with base verbs of all types lower on the spontaneity scale.

transitive	>	unergative	>	automatic	>	costly >	agentful
('cut')		('talk')		('freeze (intr.)')		('break (intr.)')	('be cut')

<—— more causatives more anticausatives ——>

Universals

Universal 6: If a language has synthetic causatives of transitive verbs, it also has synthetic causatives of intransitive verbs.

(12) a. *ašak* *ool-du* *ette-en*
old.man boy-ACC hit-PST
'The old man hit the boy.'

b. *Bajïr* *ašak-ka* *ool-du* *ette-t-ken*
Bajyr old.man-DAT boy-ACC hit-CAUS-PST
'Bajyr made the old man hit the boy.'

(11) a. *ool* *doŋ-gan*
boy freeze-PST
'The boy froze.'

b. *ašak* *ool-du* *doŋ-ur-gan*
old.man boy-ACC freeze-CAUS-PST
'The old man made the boy freeze.'

transitive ('cut') > unergative ('talk') > automatic ('freeze (intr.)') > costly > ('break (intr.)') agentful ('be cut')

<—— more causatives

more anticausatives ——>

Universals

Universal 6: If a language has synthetic causatives of transitive verbs, it also has synthetic causatives of intransitive verbs.

Table 2: Synthetic causatives: Some language types
(C = synthetic causative, anaC = analytic causative)

	Transitive	Intransitive
Tuvan	C	C
Indonesian	(anaC)	C
(unattested)	C	anaC

transitive > unergative > automatic > costly > agentful
('cut') ('talk') ('freeze (intr.)') ('break (intr.)') ('be cut')

<—— more causatives more anticausatives ——>

Universals

Universal 7: If a language has synthetic causatives based on unergative verbs, it also has synthetic causal verbs corresponding to unaccusative noncausal verbs.

Table 3: Synthetic causatives: Some language types
(C = synthetic causative, anaC = analytic causative)

	Transitive ('cut')	Unergative ('talk')	Unaccusative ('freeze; break')
Tuvan	C	C	C
Indonesian	(anaC)	C	C
O'odham	(anaC)	(anaC)	C
(unattested)	anaC	C	anaC
(unattested)	C	C	anaC
(unattested)	C	anaC	C

transitive ('cut') > unergative ('talk') > automatic ('freeze (intr.)') > costly ('break (intr.)') > agentful ('be cut')

<—— more causatives

more anticausatives ——>

Universals

Long and short causative markers:

(22) Georgian: *a-X-eb-* vs. *a-X-ineb-* (Nedjalkov & Sil'nickij 1969)

a.	*duɣ-*	'boil (intr.)'	***a**-duɣ-**eb**-s*	'boils (tr.)'
b.	*c'er-*	'write'	***a**-c'er-**ineb**-s*	'makes s.o. write'

(23) Malayalam (Dravidian): *-CC* vs. *-(pp)ikk-* (Asher & Kumari 1997: 276-277)

a.	*muṟuk-*	'be tight'	*muṟukk-*	'tighten'
b.	*koll-*	'kill'	*koll-**ikk***	'make s.o. kill'

(24) Guaraní: *m(b)o-* vs. *-uka* (Velázquez-Castillo 2002)

a.	*ngakua*	'be big'	***mo**-ngakua*	'make big'
b.	*mopoti*	'clean (tr.)'	*mopoti-**uka***	'make s.o. clean s.th.'

Universal 8: If a language has several causative markers of different lengths, then the longer markers tend to be used with transitive bases, and the shorter markers tend to be used with intransitive bases.

Length of the markers

In another type of language, the choice between the two markers is conditioned by the distinction between unergatives and unaccusatives. Examples are given in (28)-(31), where the (a) examples have an unaccusative base, and the (b) examples have an unergative base.[14]

(28) Halkomelem (Suttles 2004: 234-237)

a.	*méʔ*	'come off'	*méʔ-x*	'take off'
b.	*ʔíməx*	'walk'	*ʔíməx-**stəxʷ***	'make s.o. walk'

(29) Japanese (Shibatanai & Pardeshi 2002: §2.1)

a.	*kawak-*	'dry (intr.)'	*kawak-**as-***	'dry (tr.)'
b.	*hasir-*	'run'	*hasir-**ase-***	'make s.o. run'

(30) Amharic: *a-* vs. *as-* (Amberber 2000: §3.1)

a.	*kʼəllətʼə*	'melt (intr.)'	***a-**kʼəllətʼə*	'melt (tr.)'
b.	*čʼəffərə*	'dance'	***as-**čʼəffərə*	'make s.o. dance'

Universals

Universal 9: If a language has several causative markers of different lengths, then the longer markers tend to be used with unergative bases, and the shorter marker tend to be used with unaccusative bases.

Table 4: Synthetic causatives: Some language types
(shC = short synthetic causative, lgC = long synthetic causative)

	Transitive ('cut')	Unergative ('talk')	Unaccusative ('freeze; break')
Tuvan	C	C	C
Indonesian	(anaC)	C	C
O'odham	(anaC)	(anaC)	C
Georgian	lgC	shC	shC
Halkomelem	lgC	lgC	shC
(unattested)	shC	lgC	anaC
(unattested)	lgC	anaC	shC
(unattested)	anaC	shC	lgC

Universals

Universals 6’-7’: If a language has an analytic and a synthetic causative, then the analytic causative tends to be used with transitive/unergative base meanings, and the synthetic causative with intransitive/unaccusative verb meanings, respectively.

This universal shows that Universals 8 and 9 are very similar to Universals 6 and 7, and all follow from Universals 1 and 2.

The other side

Automatic noncausal verbs are more likely to have a causative counterpart, while costly noncausal verbs are more likely to be anticausatives, with a causal basic verb as their counterpart.

(36)	automatic verb meanings		noncausal (basic verbs)	causal (causative verbs)
	a. 'melt'	French	*fondre*	*faire fondre*
		Arabic	*saaħa*	*sayyaħa*
		Hindi-Urdu	*pighal-*	*pighl-aa-*

(37)	costly verb meanings		noncausal (anticausative verbs)	causal (basic verbs)
	a. 'break'	Armenian	*ǰard-v-el*	*ǰard-el*
		Hebrew	*ni-šbar*	*šavar*
		Japanese	*war-e-ru*	*war-u*
	b. 'open'	Arabic	*in-fataħa*	*fataħa*
		Finnish	*ava-utu-a*	*ava-ta*

Prominence

Different languages have different propensities for using causatives or anticausatives.

Languages like Russian, which are anticausative-prominent, tend to have anticausatives also for automatic verb meanings (e.g. rasplavit'-sja 'melt (intr.)').

And languages like Indonesian, which are causative-prominent, tend to have causatives also for costly verb meanings (e.g. me-matah-kan 'break (tr.)').

Languages like Udmurt are intermediate, with an equal number of causatives and anticausatives.

Universals

Universal 9: If a language generally has causatives of costly base verbs, then it also generally has causatives of automatic verbs (and all base verbs higher on the spontaneity scale).

Table 5: Causatives and anticausatives: Some language types
(caus = causative, analytic or synthetic, anticaus = anticausative)

	Transitive ('cut')	Unergative ('talk')	Automatic ('freeze')	Costly ('break')
Russian	caus	caus	anticaus	anticaus
Udmurt	caus	caus	caus	anticaus
Indonesian	caus	caus	caus	caus
(unattested)	caus	caus	anticaus	caus
(unattested)	caus	anticaus	caus	caus

Universals

Universal 10: If a language has causatives of any kind of base verb, then it also has causatives of all base verb types higher on the spontaneity scale.

Universal 11: If a language has anticausatives of any kind of base verb, then it also has anticausatives of all base verb types lower on the spontaneity scale.

Table 6: Causatives and anticausatives: Some language types
(caus = causative, analytic or synthetic, anticaus = anticausative)

	Transitive ('cut')	Unergative ('talk')	Automatic ('freeze')	Costly ('break')	Agentful ('be cut')
Russian	caus	caus	anticaus	anticaus	anticaus
Udmurt	caus	caus	caus	anticaus	anticaus
Indonesian	caus	caus	caus	caus	anticaus
(unattested)	caus	caus	anticaus	caus	anticaus
(unattested)	caus	caus	caus	anticaus	caus

of course, just as Universal 10 is a special case of Universal 1, Universal 11 is a special case of Universal 2.

Hypothetical patterns

Table 7: Causative/anticausative patterns allowed by Universals 1 and 2

	Transitive ('cut')	Unergative ('talk')	Automatic ('freeze')	Costly ('break')	Agentful ('be cut')
type 1	anaC	lgC	shC	labile	A
type 2	anaC	anaC	anaC	anaC	anaA
type 3	anaC	anaC	anaC	lgC	shC
type 4	shC	labile	labile	labile	labile
type 5	A	A	A	A	anaA
type 6	anaC	C	C	C	C

More universals

Universals 11a-d (absolute cut-off points for causatives, labile verbs and anticausatives):

a. analytic causatives occur only as far down the scale as automatic meanings.
b. anticausatives occur only as far up the scale as automatic meanings.
c. Labile verbs occur only as far up the scale as automatic meanings.
d. (Synthetic) causatives occur only as far down the scale as costly meanings.

Universal 11

No language allows analytic causatives for costly or agentful meanings (cf. 11a). In other words, no language says '*make s.o. break s.th.*' to express '*break (tr.)*', let alone '*make s.th. be cut*' for '*cut*'.

No language allows anticausatives for unergative (let alone transitive) meanings (cf. 41b). In other words, no language says '*be made to talk*' to express '*talk*', let alone '*be made to cut*' to say '*cut*'.

Almost no language allows labile verbs for meanings higher than automatic (cf. 41c). Unergatives such as '*talk*', '*work*' or '*walk*' are almost never labile, with additional causal meanings '*make s.o. talk*', '*make s.o. work*' or '*make s.o. walk*'.

Universal 11

In the European languages, labile verbs are generally not used for agentful meanings either (i.e. labile verbs never mean ‘cut’ and ‘be cut’), but there seem to be quite a few languages elsewhere where such labile verbs are common (especially in African languages, e.g. in Mandinka, where transitive verbs can be used in a passive-like construction without any coding). Thus, labile verbs actually have the same cut-off behavior as anticausatives.

Finally, almost no language allows causatives for causal counterparts of agentful meanings (cf. 41d). In other words, languages almost never say ‘make something be cut’ for ‘cut’.

Actual patterns

Table 8: Five language types exemplified with concrete languages

	Transitive ('cut')	Unergative ('talk')	Automatic ('freeze')	Costly ('break')	Agentful ('be cut')
English	anaC	anaC	labile	labile	anaA
German	anaC	anaC	labile	A	anaA
Latvian	lgC	lgC	shC	A	anaA
Japanese	lgC	lgC	shC	A	A
Indonesian	anaC	C	C	C	anaA

Explanations

1. Frequency and expectedness/predictability.
2. Alternative explanations (e.g. ease of conceptualisation, iconicity via the notion of transparency, etc.)

“Whatever the virtues of these competing explanations of the correlation between the forms and meanings of causative markers, they are less general than my explanation in terms of form-frequency correspondence, because they do not explain why languages tend to employ anticausatives lower on the spontaneity scale.”