

Causation in Semantics and Grammatical Structure

Week 14: Force dynamics models and their applications

Perna Nadathur

January 23, 2020

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Recall: we're aiming to develop a formal, computational system of representation that replicates a **mental model** of causation

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Recall: we're aiming to develop a formal, computational system of representation that replicates a **mental model** of causation

- ▶ captures what we have in mind when we reason about causal interactions and make linguistic judgements about causal language

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Recall: we're aiming to develop a formal, computational system of representation that replicates a **mental model** of causation

- ▶ captures what we have in mind when we reason about causal interactions and make linguistic judgements about causal language
- ▶ we can test a model's success as a representation of causal cognition by its ability to capture (and predict) linguistic judgements

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Recall: we're aiming to develop a formal, computational system of representation that replicates a **mental model** of causation

- ▶ captures what we have in mind when we reason about causal interactions and make linguistic judgements about causal language
- ▶ we can test a model's success as a representation of causal cognition by its ability to capture (and predict) linguistic judgements

For instance, last time:

- ▶ structural equation (network) models can define different 'configurations' of causal links which do a reasonably good job of capturing the empirical differences between *cause* and *make*

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Recall: we're aiming to develop a formal, computational system of representation that replicates a **mental model** of causation

- ▶ captures what we have in mind when we reason about causal interactions and make linguistic judgements about causal language
- ▶ we can test a model's success as a representation of causal cognition by its ability to capture (and predict) linguistic judgements

For instance, last time:

- ▶ structural equation (network) models can define different 'configurations' of causal links which do a reasonably good job of capturing the empirical differences between *cause* and *make*
- ▶ (but, we also saw that the model needs some refinement w.r.t. how it deals with the will/intentions of participants)

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Two main kinds of theory so far:

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Two main kinds of theory so far:

- ▶ **dependency theories**

causal relationships are formal, abstract dependences between objects (events), which may or may not be reducible to non-causal descriptions

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Two main kinds of theory so far:

- ▶ **dependency theories**

causal relationships are formal, abstract dependences between objects (events), which may or may not be reducible to non-causal descriptions

- ▶ counterfactual theories: causes change what would have happened without them (e.g., Lewis 1973)

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Two main kinds of theory so far:

- ▶ **dependency theories**

causal relationships are formal, abstract dependences between objects (events), which may or may not be reducible to non-causal descriptions

- ▶ counterfactual theories: causes change what would have happened without them (e.g., Lewis 1973)
- ▶ network models: causal links are primitives, but their configurations represent causation types

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Two main kinds of theory so far:

- ▶ **dependency theories**

causal relationships are formal, abstract dependences between objects (events), which may or may not be reducible to non-causal descriptions

- ▶ counterfactual theories: causes change what would have happened without them (e.g., Lewis 1973)
- ▶ network models: causal links are primitives, but their configurations represent causation types

- ▶ **production theories**

- ▶ “something more than a correlation or regularity is involved in causation” (Copley & Wolff 2014, p.23)

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Two main kinds of theory so far:

- ▶ **dependency theories**

causal relationships are formal, abstract dependences between objects (events), which may or may not be reducible to non-causal descriptions

- ▶ counterfactual theories: causes change what would have happened without them (e.g., Lewis 1973)
- ▶ network models: causal links are primitives, but their configurations represent causation types

- ▶ **production theories**

- ▶ “something more than a correlation or regularity is involved in causation” (Copley & Wolff 2014, p.23)
 - ▶ transmission theories: some energy or other conserved quantity is imparted from cause to effect

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Two main kinds of theory so far:

- ▶ **dependency theories**

causal relationships are formal, abstract dependences between objects (events), which may or may not be reducible to non-causal descriptions

- ▶ counterfactual theories: causes change what would have happened without them (e.g., Lewis 1973)
- ▶ network models: causal links are primitives, but their configurations represent causation types

- ▶ **production theories**

- ▶ “something more than a correlation or regularity is involved in causation” (Copley & Wolff 2014, p.23)

- ▶ transmission theories: some energy or other conserved quantity is imparted from cause to effect
- ▶ **force dynamics:** causal situations are results of the interactions between forces associated with individuals/objects

Models for causal reasoning and causal language

Two main kinds of theory so far:

- ▶ **dependency theories**

causal relationships are formal, abstract dependences between objects (events), which may or may not be reducible to non-causal descriptions

- ▶ counterfactual theories: causes change what would have happened without them (e.g., Lewis 1973)
- ▶ network models: causal links are primitives, but their configurations represent causation types

- ▶ **production theories**

- ▶ “something more than a correlation or regularity is involved in causation” (Copley & Wolff 2014, p.23)

- ▶ transmission theories: some energy or other conserved quantity is imparted from cause to effect
- ▶ **force dynamics:** causal situations are results of the interactions between forces associated with individuals/objects

Today: force dynamics and defeasible causation

Problems for transmission theories

Wolff (2014): both dependency and production theories have strengths and weaknesses

Problems for transmission theories

Wolff (2014): both dependency and production theories have strengths and weaknesses

- ▶ production theories struggle to explain:

Problems for transmission theories

Wolff (2014): both dependency and production theories have strengths and weaknesses

- ▶ production theories struggle to explain:
 - ▶ **causation by omission:** since the cause is an absence, nothing can be *transmitted*
 - (1) Lack of caffeine caused a headache

Problems for transmission theories

Wolff (2014): both dependency and production theories have strengths and weaknesses

- ▶ production theories struggle to explain:
 - ▶ **causation by omission:** since the cause is an absence, nothing can be *transmitted*
 - (1) Lack of caffeine caused a headache
 - ▶ **double prevention:** again, no transmission of energy between cause and effect
 - (2) *Context:* A boy is protecting a town from flooding by keeping his finger on a leak in a dyke. Removing the finger involves a double prevention – he prevents himself from preventing the flood.
 - a. The boy caused the flooding of the town
- ▶ but, no direct link between the boy and the flood

Problems for dependency theories

Dependency theories explain omission/double prevention, but not:

Problems for dependency theories

Dependency theories explain omission/double prevention, but not:

- ▶ **ruling out causation** where certain counterfactuals hold (for a Lewis-style theory)
 - (3) If yesterday had not been Monday, then today would not be Tuesday, but Mondays do not cause Tuesdays

Problems for dependency theories

Dependency theories explain omission/double prevention, but not:

- ▶ **ruling out causation** where certain counterfactuals hold (for a Lewis-style theory)
 - (3) If yesterday had not been Monday, then today would not be Tuesday, but Mondays do not cause Tuesdays
- ▶ **causal pre-emption:** (again, problem for counterfactuals)
 - (4) Billy and Suzy both have rocks, Billy will throw his only if Suzy does not. Suzy throws, hits the bottle, and breaks it.
 - a. Suzy caused the bottle to break.
 - ▶ but, the bottle would still have broken without her

Problems for dependency theories

Dependency theories explain omission/double prevention, but not:

- ▶ **ruling out causation** where certain counterfactuals hold (for a Lewis-style theory)
 - (3) If yesterday had not been Monday, then today would not be Tuesday, but Mondays do not cause Tuesdays
- ▶ **causal pre-emption:** (again, problem for counterfactuals)
 - (4) Billy and Suzy both have rocks, Billy will throw his only if Suzy does not. Suzy throws, hits the bottle, and breaks it.
 - a. Suzy caused the bottle to break.
 - ▶ but, the bottle would still have broken without her
- ▶ **overdetermination/redundancy:**
 - (5) Billy and Suzy both throw their rocks, but Suzy's hits first.
 - a. Suzy caused the bottle to break.
 - ▶ same problem, but even stepwise counterfactuality fails

Problems for dependency theories

Dependency theories explain omission/double prevention, but not:

- ▶ **ruling out causation** where certain counterfactuals hold (for a Lewis-style theory)
 - (3) If yesterday had not been Monday, then today would not be Tuesday, but Mondays do not cause Tuesdays
- ▶ **causal pre-emption:** (again, problem for counterfactuals)
 - (4) Billy and Suzy both have rocks, Billy will throw his only if Suzy does not. Suzy throws, hits the bottle, and breaks it.
 - a. Suzy caused the bottle to break.
 - ▶ but, the bottle would still have broken without her
- ▶ **overdetermination/redundancy:**
 - (5) Billy and Suzy both throw their rocks, but Suzy's hits first.
 - a. Suzy caused the bottle to break.
 - ▶ same problem, but even stepwise counterfactuality fails

Production theories do better on these scenarios, because transmission occurs.

Best of both worlds: causal pluralism

One way of getting around these problems is to adopt a theory of **causal pluralism** (e.g., Hall 2004):

Best of both worlds: causal pluralism

One way of getting around these problems is to adopt a theory of **causal pluralism** (e.g., Hall 2004):

- ▶ by causal pluralism, Wolff (2014) here means a theory which says that causation is sometimes modeling one way, sometimes another

Best of both worlds: causal pluralism

One way of getting around these problems is to adopt a theory of **causal pluralism** (e.g., Hall 2004):

- ▶ by causal pluralism, Wolff (2014) here means a theory which says that causation is sometimes modeling one way, sometimes another
- ▶ so, in omission and double prevention cases, we mentally model it as a dependency

Best of both worlds: causal pluralism

One way of getting around these problems is to adopt a theory of **causal pluralism** (e.g., Hall 2004):

- ▶ by causal pluralism, Wolff (2014) here means a theory which says that causation is sometimes modeling one way, sometimes another
- ▶ so, in omission and double prevention cases, we mentally model it as a dependency
- ▶ but in physical interaction cases, we model it as a process/transmission

Best of both worlds: causal pluralism

One way of getting around these problems is to adopt a theory of **causal pluralism** (e.g., Hall 2004):

- ▶ by causal pluralism, Wolff (2014) here means a theory which says that causation is sometimes modeling one way, sometimes another
- ▶ so, in omission and double prevention cases, we mentally model it as a dependency
- ▶ but in physical interaction cases, we model it as a process/transmission
- ▶ NB: this is a bit like the idea that light is sometimes a wave and sometimes a particle, depending on how we measure

Best of both worlds: causal pluralism

One way of getting around these problems is to adopt a theory of **causal pluralism** (e.g., Hall 2004):

- ▶ by causal pluralism, Wolff (2014) here means a theory which says that causation is sometimes modeling one way, sometimes another
- ▶ so, in omission and double prevention cases, we mentally model it as a dependency
- ▶ but in physical interaction cases, we model it as a process/transmission
- ▶ NB: this is a bit like the idea that light is sometimes a wave and sometimes a particle, depending on how we measure
- ▶ ...but we lack a principled theory of how to decide which phenomena should be modeled which way

Problems for causal pluralism

Wolff (2014): causal pluralism doesn't really help, some causal phenomena aren't captured by either kind of theory

Problems for causal pluralism

Wolff (2014): causal pluralism doesn't really help, some causal phenomena aren't captured by either kind of theory

- ▶ CAUSE and ENABLE/ALLOW are licensed in different situations, and both are recognized to be causal relations

Problems for causal pluralism

Wolff (2014): causal pluralism doesn't really help, some causal phenomena aren't captured by either kind of theory

- ▶ CAUSE and ENABLE/ALLOW are licensed in different situations, and both are recognized to be causal relations
 - ▶ (counterfactual) dependency theories can't explain these differences
- (6)
- a. A blackout caused/#allowed Peter to turn on the flashlight.
 - b. A switch #caused/allowed Peter to turn on the flashlight.
- ▶ the counterfactual criterion holds in both cases

Problems for causal pluralism

Wolff (2014): causal pluralism doesn't really help, some causal phenomena aren't captured by either kind of theory

- ▶ CAUSE and ENABLE/ALLOW are licensed in different situations, and both are recognized to be causal relations
 - ▶ (counterfactual) dependency theories can't explain these differences
- (6)
 - a. A blackout caused/~~#~~allowed Peter to turn on the flashlight.
 - b. A switch ~~#~~caused/allowed Peter to turn on the flashlight.
- ▶ the counterfactual criterion holds in both cases
- ▶ transmission theories can't explain why causation is allowed despite lack of transmission in the blackout case, but not the switch case

Problems for causal pluralism

Wolff (2014): causal pluralism doesn't really help, some causal phenomena aren't captured by either kind of theory

- ▶ CAUSE and ENABLE/ALLOW are licensed in different situations, and both are recognized to be causal relations
 - ▶ (counterfactual) dependency theories can't explain these differences
- (6) a. A blackout caused/~~#~~allowed Peter to turn on the flashlight.
b. A switch ~~#~~caused/allowed Peter to turn on the flashlight.
- ▶ the counterfactual criterion holds in both cases
- ▶ transmission theories can't explain why causation is allowed despite lack of transmission in the blackout case, but not the switch case
- ▶ so, we can't pick a theory that solves the problem here

Problems for causal pluralism

A second problem: negated causatives and synonymy

- (7) a. Salt prevents ice \sim Salt causes the absence of ice
- b. Aspirin prevents clotting $\not\sim$ Lack of aspirin causes clotting

Problems for causal pluralism

A second problem: negated causatives and synonymy

- (7) a. Salt prevents ice \sim Salt causes the absence of ice
 - b. Aspirin prevents clotting $\not\sim$ Lack of aspirin causes clotting
- the representations available in standard dependency and production theories are “too coarse”

Problems for causal pluralism

A second problem: negated causatives and synonymy

- (7) a. Salt prevents ice \sim Salt causes the absence of ice
b. Aspirin prevents clotting $\not\sim$ Lack of aspirin causes clotting

- ▶ the representations available in standard dependency and production theories are “too coarse”
- ▶ we need to be able to ‘get inside’ a causal link and be sensitive to differences in the relationship between objects – the extent to which one influences the other, and so on

Recall: last time, we saw that a network dependency theory *can* handle differences between causatives

Problems for causal pluralism

A second problem: negated causatives and synonymy

- (7) a. Salt prevents ice \sim Salt causes the absence of ice
b. Aspirin prevents clotting $\not\sim$ Lack of aspirin causes clotting

- ▶ the representations available in standard dependency and production theories are “too coarse”
- ▶ we need to be able to ‘get inside’ a causal link and be sensitive to differences in the relationship between objects – the extent to which one influences the other, and so on

Recall: last time, we saw that a network dependency theory *can* handle differences between causatives

- ▶ postulate the existence of basic ‘causal links’ that are arranged in different configurations in different situations

Problems for causal pluralism

A second problem: negated causatives and synonymy

- (7) a. Salt prevents ice \sim Salt causes the absence of ice
b. Aspirin prevents clotting $\not\sim$ Lack of aspirin causes clotting

- ▶ the representations available in standard dependency and production theories are “too coarse”
- ▶ we need to be able to ‘get inside’ a causal link and be sensitive to differences in the relationship between objects – the extent to which one influences the other, and so on

Recall: last time, we saw that a network dependency theory *can* handle differences between causatives

- ▶ postulate the existence of basic ‘causal links’ that are arranged in different configurations in different situations
- ▶ looking ahead, the way that Wolff’s force theory tries to solve the *cause/enable* problem is quite similar

Force dynamics: basics (Wolff 2003, Talmy 1988)

Basic relations: CAUSE, ENABLE, PREVENT

Force dynamics: basics (Wolff 2003, Talmy 1988)

Basic relations: CAUSE, ENABLE, PREVENT

- ▶ we distinguish the concepts in terms of (Wolff et al 2002)

Force dynamics: basics (Wolff 2003, Talmy 1988)

Basic relations: CAUSE, ENABLE, PREVENT

- ▶ we distinguish the concepts in terms of (Wolff et al 2002)
 - i. tendency of patient (thing acted on) for a result
 - ▶ *tendency*: momentum, propensities (due to internal properties)

Force dynamics: basics (Wolff 2003, Talmy 1988)

Basic relations: CAUSE, ENABLE, PREVENT

- ▶ we distinguish the concepts in terms of (Wolff et al 2002)
 - i. tendency of patient (thing acted on) for a result
 - ▶ *tendency*: momentum, propensities (due to internal properties)
 - ii. opposition between affector and patient
 - ▶ *opposition*: force exerted by affector is non consistent with patient's tendency

Force dynamics: basics (Wolff 2003, Talmy 1988)

Basic relations: CAUSE, ENABLE, PREVENT

- ▶ we distinguish the concepts in terms of (Wolff et al 2002)
 - i. tendency of patient (thing acted on) for a result
 - ▶ *tendency*: momentum, propensities (due to internal properties)
 - ii. opposition between affector and patient
 - ▶ *opposition*: force exerted by affector is non consistent with patient's tendency
 - iii. occurrence of the result

Force dynamics: basics (Wolff 2003, Talmy 1988)

Basic relations: CAUSE, ENABLE, PREVENT

- ▶ we distinguish the concepts in terms of (Wolff et al 2002)
 - i. tendency of patient (thing acted on) for a result
 - ▶ *tendency*: momentum, propensities (due to internal properties)
 - ii. opposition between affector and patient
 - ▶ *opposition*: force exerted by affector is non consistent with patient's tendency
 - iii. occurrence of the result

	Tendency of patient for the result	Opposition between affector and patient	Occurrence of a result
CAUSE	N	Y	Y
ENABLE	Y	N	Y
PREVENT	Y	Y	N

Force dynamics: basics

We replace `ENABLE` with `HELP` here:

“The force theory predicts that there should be three main causal concepts, `CAUSE`, `HELP`, and `PREVENT`, each associated with a particular configuration of forces.”

Force dynamics: basics

We replace `ENABLE` with `HELP` here:

“The force theory predicts that there should be three main causal concepts, `CAUSE`, `HELP`, and `PREVENT`, each associated with a particular configuration of forces.”

- ▶ `ALLOW`, `ENABLE` are similar to `HELP`, but are complex relations derived from combinations of `PREVENT` relations

Force dynamics: basics

We replace `ENABLE` with `HELP` here:

“The force theory predicts that there should be three main causal concepts, `CAUSE`, `HELP`, and `PREVENT`, each associated with a particular configuration of forces.”

- ▶ `ALLOW`, `ENABLE` are similar to `HELP`, but are complex relations derived from combinations of `PREVENT` relations
- ▶ in a given situation, we're interested in how the affector's force interacts with the patient's force or tendency to produce (or not produce) a result

Force dynamics: basics

We replace `ENABLE` with `HELP` here:

“The force theory predicts that there should be three main causal concepts, `CAUSE`, `HELP`, and `PREVENT`, each associated with a particular configuration of forces.”

- ▶ `ALLOW`, `ENABLE` are similar to `HELP`, but are complex relations derived from combinations of `PREVENT` relations
- ▶ in a given situation, we're interested in how the affector's force interacts with the patient's force or tendency to produce (or not produce) a result
- ▶ forces can be physical (gravity, momentum, friction), but also abstract (ripening, reddening, drying)

Force dynamics: basics

We replace `ENABLE` with `HELP` here:

“The force theory predicts that there should be three main causal concepts, `CAUSE`, `HELP`, and `PREVENT`, each associated with a particular configuration of forces.”

- ▶ `ALLOW`, `ENABLE` are similar to `HELP`, but are complex relations derived from combinations of `PREVENT` relations
- ▶ in a given situation, we're interested in how the affector's force interacts with the patient's force or tendency to produce (or not produce) a result
- ▶ forces can be physical (gravity, momentum, friction), but also abstract (ripening, reddening, drying)
- ▶ forces have distance and direction: length of a 'resulting' vector indicates how close a patient gets to an **end state**

Force dynamics

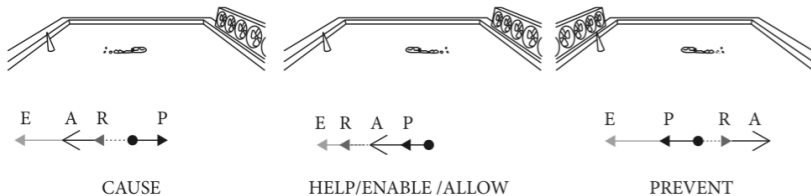


FIG. 5.1

Force dynamics

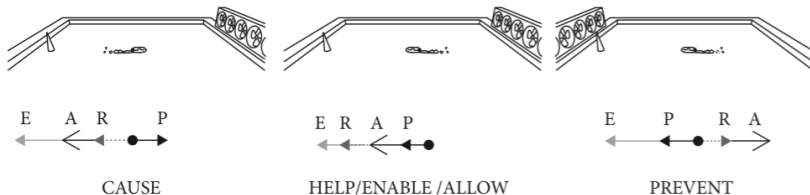


FIG. 5.1

- ▶ in a CAUSE configuration, the patient (P) does not tend to the end state (E), but the affector (A) opposes the patient's tendency, resulting in movement towards the end state

Force dynamics

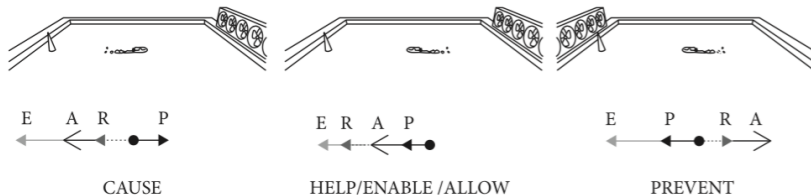


FIG. 5.1

- ▶ in a CAUSE configuration, the patient (P) does not tend to the end state (E), but the affector (A) opposes the patient's tendency, resulting in movement towards the end state
- ▶ HELP/ENABLE/ALLOW: patient and affector vectors are concordant, so result is a tendency towards end state

Force dynamics

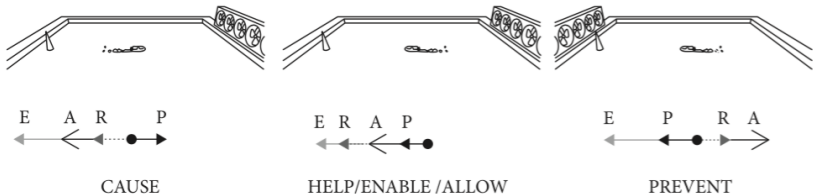


FIG. 5.1

- ▶ in a CAUSE configuration, the patient (P) does not tend to the end state (E), but the affector (A) opposes the patient's tendency, resulting in movement towards the end state
- ▶ HELP/ENABLE/ALLOW: patient and affector vectors are concordant, so result is a tendency towards end state
 - ▶ with ENABLE, ALLOW, the affector's force is already a result of other interactions

Force dynamics

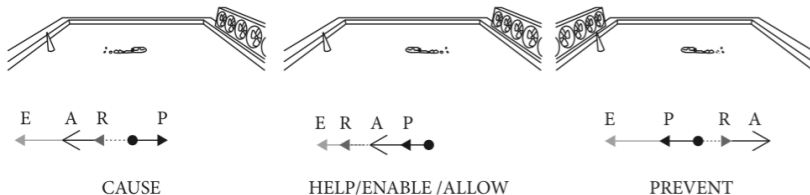


FIG. 5.1

- ▶ in a CAUSE configuration, the patient (P) does not tend to the end state (E), but the affector (A) opposes the patient's tendency, resulting in movement towards the end state
- ▶ HELP/ENABLE/ALLOW: patient and affector vectors are concordant, so result is a tendency towards end state
 - ▶ with ENABLE, ALLOW, the affector's force is already a result of other interactions
- ▶ PREVENT: patient tends to end state, but affector opposes this tendency and moves it away from the end state

Force dynamics

The force theory specifies **relation composition**:

Force dynamics

The force theory specifies **relation composition**:

- ▶ given a collection of forces, we combine them to get net forces that also can be labelled in the same ways

Force dynamics

The force theory specifies **relation composition**:

- ▶ given a collection of forces, we combine them to get net forces that also can be labelled in the same ways
- ▶ **causal chains**: the result vector in one situation is the affector vector for the next (sub)event to consider

Force dynamics

The force theory specifies **relation composition**:

- ▶ given a collection of forces, we combine them to get net forces that also can be labelled in the same ways
- ▶ **causal chains**: the result vector in one situation is the affector vector for the next (sub)event to consider
- ▶ multiple-collision diagrams:

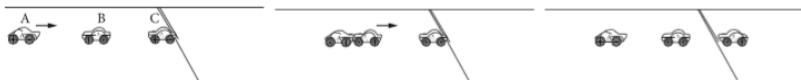


Fig. 5.2

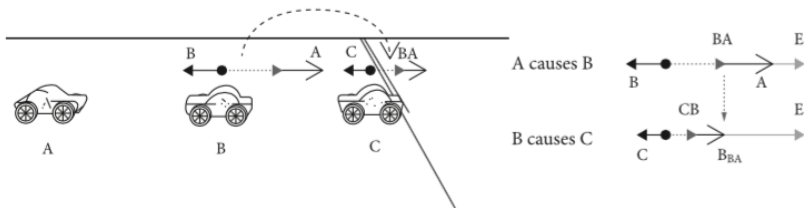


FIG. 5.3

Force dynamics

Removal of forces and double preventions:

- (7) Water in a tub has a tendency to drain. Stopping the drain with a plug prevents this. Removing the plug prevents the prevention, resulting in the water draining.

Force dynamics

Removal of forces and double preventions:

- (7) Water in a tub has a tendency to drain. Stopping the drain with a plug prevents this. Removing the plug prevents the prevention, resulting in the water draining.
- ▶ plug (B) prevents water (C) from draining

Force dynamics

Removal of forces and double preventions:

- (7) Water in a tub has a tendency to drain. Stopping the drain with a plug prevents this. Removing the plug prevents the prevention, resulting in the water draining.
- ▶ plug (B) prevents water (C) from draining
 - ▶ agent (A) prevents B by pulling the plug

Force dynamics

Removal of forces and double preventions:

- (7) Water in a tub has a tendency to drain. Stopping the drain with a plug prevents this. Removing the plug prevents the prevention, resulting in the water draining.
- ▶ plug (B) prevents water (C) from draining
 - ▶ agent (A) prevents B by pulling the plug
 - ▶ **result:** A pulls B , opposing the force associated with B , but also the force associated with C *as a result* of the interaction between B and C

Force dynamics: double prevention

With collision diagrams:

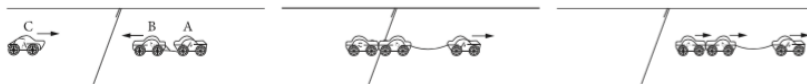


FIG. 5.4

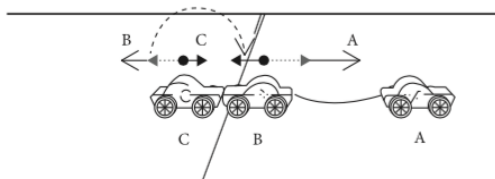
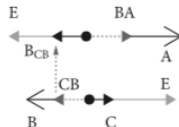


FIG. 5.5

A prevents B

B prevents C



Force dynamics: double prevention

With collision diagrams:

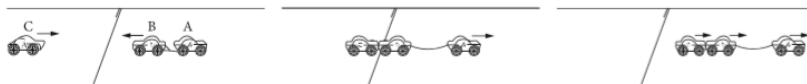
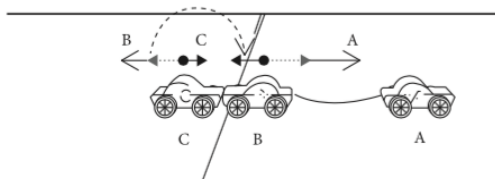


FIG. 5.4



A prevents B

B prevents C

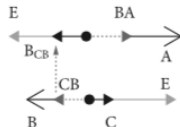


FIG. 5.5

- ▶ C approaches line, B opposes and prevents line-crossing

Force dynamics: double prevention

With collision diagrams:

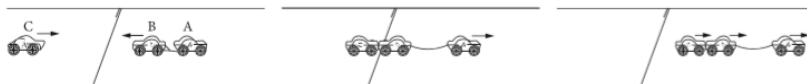
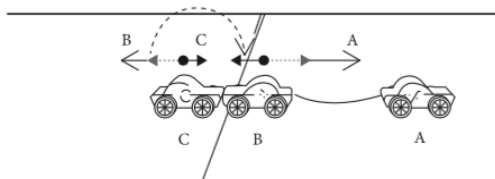
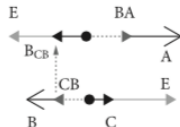


FIG. 5.4



A prevents B

B prevents C



- ▶ *C* approaches line, *B* opposes and prevents line-crossing
- ▶ *A* pulls *B* away, opposing the prevention interaction between *B* and *C*

Force dynamics: double prevention

With collision diagrams:

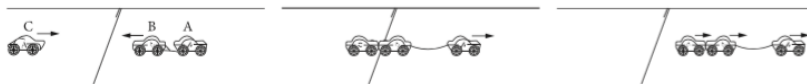
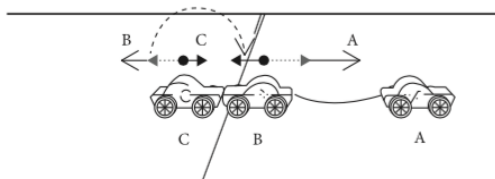


FIG. 5.4



A prevents B

B prevents C

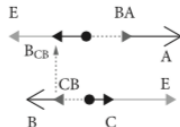


FIG. 5.5

- ▶ *C* approaches line, *B* opposes and prevents line-crossing
- ▶ *A* pulls *B* away, opposing the prevention interaction between *B* and *C*
- ▶ **net:** *C* crosses the line, due to *A*

Force dynamics: ALLOW, ENABLE

Proposal: ALLOW involves double prevention

- ▶ ALLOW relations look, at the net level, like HELP
- ▶ but, necessarily result from composition of forces in a causal chain
- ▶ in an ALLOW relation:
 1. the patient's tendency for a result is opposed by an interim affector (PREVENT_1)
 2. this result tendency away from the end is opposed by the agent of the ALLOW relation, (PREVENT)₂
 3. so that ultimately the agent's force works in tandem with the patient's original tendency

Force dynamics: causation by omission

Proposal: causation by omission also involves double prevention, but of a different sort

Force dynamics: causation by omission

Proposal: causation by omission also involves double prevention, but of a different sort

- ▶ the patient's tendency for a result is opposed by an interim affector

Force dynamics: causation by omission

Proposal: causation by omission also involves double prevention, but of a different sort

- ▶ the patient's tendency for a result is opposed by an interim affector
- ▶ some external agent or affector acts on the interim affector as a patient

Force dynamics: causation by omission

Proposal: causation by omission also involves double prevention, but of a different sort

- ▶ the patient's tendency for a result is opposed by an interim affector
- ▶ some external agent or affector acts on the interim affector as a patient
- ▶ . . . , specifically, by removing the force associated with the interim affector (preventing the interim affector

Force dynamics: causation by omission

Proposal: causation by omission also involves double prevention, but of a different sort

- ▶ the patient's tendency for a result is opposed by an interim affector
- ▶ some external agent or affector acts on the interim affector as a patient
- ▶ ... , specifically, by removing the force associated with the interim affector (preventing the interim affector

- (8)
- a. The absence of the plug caused the water to flow down the drain [omission]
 - b. Pulling the plug allowed the water to flow down the drain [ALLOW]

Force dynamics: causation by omission

Proposal: causation by omission also involves double prevention, but of a different sort

- ▶ the patient's tendency for a result is opposed by an interim affector
- ▶ some external agent or affector acts on the interim affector as a patient
- ▶ ... , specifically, by removing the force associated with the interim affector (preventing the interim affector

- (8) a. The absence of the plug caused the water to flow
 down the drain [omission]
- b. Pulling the plug allowed the water to flow down
 the drain [ALLOW]

- ▶ the difference between (8a) and (8b) is what we focus on as the 'stated' cause/affector

Force dynamics: negation and synonymy

On a probabilistic theory of causation (Cheng & Novick 1992):

- ▶ C causes E iff $\text{Prob}(E|C) > \text{Prob}(E|\neg C)$

Force dynamics: negation and synonymy

On a probabilistic theory of causation (Cheng & Novick 1992):

- ▶ C causes E iff $\text{Prob}(E|C) > \text{Prob}(E|\neg C)$
- ▶ C prevents E in the reverse case: $\text{Prob}(E|\neg C) > \text{Prob}(E|C)$
- ▶ so, *Not* C causes E :
 - ▶ $\text{Prob}(E|\neg C) > \text{Prob}(E|\neg\neg C)$
 - ▶ equivalent: C prevents E

Force dynamics: negation and synonymy

On a probabilistic theory of causation (Cheng & Novick 1992):

- ▶ C causes E iff $\text{Prob}(E|C) > \text{Prob}(E|\neg C)$
- ▶ C prevents E in the reverse case: $\text{Prob}(E|\neg C) > \text{Prob}(E|C)$
- ▶ so, *Not* C causes E :
 - ▶ $\text{Prob}(E|\neg C) > \text{Prob}(E|\neg\neg C)$
 - ▶ equivalent: C prevents E
- ▶ and C causes *not* E :
 - ▶ $\text{Prob}(\neg E|C) > \text{Prob}(\neg E|\neg C)$
 - ▶ which entails: $\text{Prob}(E|C) < \text{Prob}(E|\neg C)$
 - ▶ ... C prevents E

Force dynamics: negation and synonymy

On a probabilistic theory of causation (Cheng & Novick 1992):

- ▶ C causes E iff $\text{Prob}(E|C) > \text{Prob}(E|\neg C)$
- ▶ C prevents E in the reverse case: $\text{Prob}(E|\neg C) > \text{Prob}(E|C)$
- ▶ so, *Not* C causes E :
 - ▶ $\text{Prob}(E|\neg C) > \text{Prob}(E|\neg\neg C)$
 - ▶ equivalent: C prevents E
- ▶ and C causes *not* E :
 - ▶ $\text{Prob}(\neg E|C) > \text{Prob}(\neg E|\neg C)$
 - ▶ which entails: $\text{Prob}(E|C) < \text{Prob}(E|\neg C)$
 - ▶ ... C prevents E

The problem is that empirical studies show that these statements are not always judged identically

- ▶ in the force dynamics theory, the length of vectors matters

Force dynamics: negation and synonymy

On a probabilistic theory of causation (Cheng & Novick 1992):

- ▶ C causes E iff $\text{Prob}(E|C) > \text{Prob}(E|\neg C)$
- ▶ C prevents E in the reverse case: $\text{Prob}(E|\neg C) > \text{Prob}(E|C)$
- ▶ so, *Not* C causes E :
 - ▶ $\text{Prob}(E|\neg C) > \text{Prob}(E|\neg\neg C)$
 - ▶ equivalent: C prevents E
- ▶ and C causes *not* E :
 - ▶ $\text{Prob}(\neg E|C) > \text{Prob}(\neg E|\neg C)$
 - ▶ which entails: $\text{Prob}(E|C) < \text{Prob}(E|\neg C)$
 - ▶ ... C prevents E

The problem is that empirical studies show that these statements are not always judged identically

- ▶ in the force dynamics theory, the length of vectors matters
- ▶ sometimes combinations of PREVENT and CAUSE result in PREVENT configurations, but other times they are undefined

Force dynamics: negation and synonymy

On a probabilistic theory of causation (Cheng & Novick 1992):

- ▶ C causes E iff $\text{Prob}(E|C) > \text{Prob}(E|\neg C)$
- ▶ C prevents E in the reverse case: $\text{Prob}(E|\neg C) > \text{Prob}(E|C)$
- ▶ so, *Not* C causes E :
 - ▶ $\text{Prob}(E|\neg C) > \text{Prob}(E|\neg\neg C)$
 - ▶ equivalent: C prevents E
- ▶ and C causes *not* E :
 - ▶ $\text{Prob}(\neg E|C) > \text{Prob}(\neg E|\neg C)$
 - ▶ which entails: $\text{Prob}(E|C) < \text{Prob}(E|\neg C)$
 - ▶ ... C prevents E

The problem is that empirical studies show that these statements are not always judged identically

- ▶ in the force dynamics theory, the length of vectors matters
- ▶ sometimes combinations of PREVENT and CAUSE result in PREVENT configurations, but other times they are undefined
- ▶ whereas, in *not* C allows E configurations, combinations always give us a PREVENT vector

An application of force dynamics

Copley & Harley (2014) look at cases of **defeasible causation**:

An application of force dynamics

Copley & Harley (2014) look at cases of **defeasible causation**:

- ▶ *defeasible causation*: one event is asserted or presupposed to normally cause a second, but no entailment that the result occurs arises

An application of force dynamics

Copley & Harley (2014) look at cases of **defeasible causation**:

- ▶ *defeasible causation*: one event is asserted or presupposed to normally cause a second, but no entailment that the result occurs arises
- ▶ **proposal**: we can explain what's going on in these cases by replacing Davidsonian events with forces

Davidsonian events

Recall:

- (9) Brutus killed Caesar with a knife in the kitchen at midnight

Davidsonian events

Recall:

- (9) Brutus killed Caesar with a knife in the kitchen at midnight
- ▶ we adopted events to explain how the adjunct semantic roles (INSTRUMENT, LOCATION, etc) interact with the argument roles

Davidsonian events

Recall:

- (9) Brutus killed Caesar with a knife in the kitchen at midnight
- ▶ we adopted events to explain how the adjunct semantic roles (INSTRUMENT, LOCATION, etc) interact with the argument roles
- ▶ ...and what we are referring to with *it* in a sentence like *Brutus killed Caesar and I saw it happen*

Davidsonian events

Recall:

- (9) Brutus killed Caesar with a knife in the kitchen at midnight
- ▶ we adopted events to explain how the adjunct semantic roles (INSTRUMENT, LOCATION, etc) interact with the argument roles
 - ▶ ...and what we are referring to with *it* in a sentence like *Brutus killed Caesar and I saw it happen*

Problem for defeasible causation:

Davidsonian events

Recall:

- (9) Brutus killed Caesar with a knife in the kitchen at midnight
- ▶ we adopted events to explain how the adjunct semantic roles (INSTRUMENT, LOCATION, etc) interact with the argument roles
 - ▶ ...and what we are referring to with *it* in a sentence like *Brutus killed Caesar and I saw it happen*

Problem for defeasible causation:

- ▶ certain event types (accomplishments) involve two subevents linked causally:
(10) Jones opened the door.

Davidsonian events

Recall:

- (9) Brutus killed Caesar with a knife in the kitchen at midnight
- ▶ we adopted events to explain how the adjunct semantic roles (INSTRUMENT, LOCATION, etc) interact with the argument roles
 - ▶ ...and what we are referring to with *it* in a sentence like *Brutus killed Caesar and I saw it happen*

Problem for defeasible causation:

- ▶ certain event types (accomplishments) involve two subevents linked causally:

(10) Jones opened the door.

 - ▶ initiating subevent: Jones does something to the door

Davidsonian events

Recall:

- (9) Brutus killed Caesar with a knife in the kitchen at midnight
- ▶ we adopted events to explain how the adjunct semantic roles (INSTRUMENT, LOCATION, etc) interact with the argument roles
 - ▶ ...and what we are referring to with *it* in a sentence like *Brutus killed Caesar and I saw it happen*

Problem for defeasible causation:

- ▶ certain event types (accomplishments) involve two subevents linked causally:

(10) Jones opened the door.

 - ▶ initiating subevent: Jones does something to the door
 - ▶ result subevent: the door becomes open

Davidsonian events

Recall:

- (9) Brutus killed Caesar with a knife in the kitchen at midnight
- ▶ we adopted events to explain how the adjunct semantic roles (INSTRUMENT, LOCATION, etc) interact with the argument roles
 - ▶ ...and what we are referring to with *it* in a sentence like *Brutus killed Caesar and I saw it happen*

Problem for defeasible causation:

- ▶ certain event types (accomplishments) involve two subevents linked causally:

(10) Jones opened the door.

 - ▶ initiating subevent: Jones does something to the door
 - ▶ result subevent: the door becomes open
- ▶ **problem:** the result is always entailed

Defeasible causation

1. **Non-culminating accomplishments:**

Defeasible causation

1. **Non-culminating accomplishments:**

- ▶ Malagasy: agentive infix *-an-*

Defeasible causation

1. Non-culminating accomplishments:

- ▶ Malagasy: agentive infix *-an-*
- ▶ entails agent and initiating event, but not successful completion

(11) Namory ny ankizy ny mpampianatra
past.AG.meet the children the teachers
...nefa tsy nanana fotoana izy.
...but NEG past.have time they
'The teachers gathered the children but they
didn't have time (to gather).'

Defeasible causation

1. Non-culminating accomplishments:

- ▶ Malagasy: agentive infix *-an-*
- ▶ entails agent and initiating event, but not successful completion

(11) Namory ny ankizy ny mpampianatra
past.AG.meet the children the teachers
...nefa tsy nanana fotoana izy.
...but NEG past.have time they
'The teachers gathered the children but they
didn't have time (to gather).'

- ▶ also Tagalog, Salish languages, Karachay-Balkar, and many others

Defeasible causation

2. Frustratives:

Defeasible causation

2. Frustratives:

- ▶ frustratives express that the subject intended to do something that didn't happen
- ▶ ...that the subject did something in vain
- ▶ ...that the situation is unsatisfactory
- ▶ ...that a state does not continue

Defeasible causation

2. Frustratives:

- ▶ frustratives express that the subject intended to do something that didn't happen
- ▶ ...that the subject did something in vain
- ▶ ...that the situation is unsatisfactory
- ▶ ...that a state does not continue
- ▶ Tohono O'odham (Uto-Aztecan, Arizona): *cem*

(12) Huan 'o *cem* kukpi'ok g pualt.
 Juan aux-IMPF FRUS open the door
 'Juan pulled on the door but failed to open it.'

Defeasible causation

2. Frustratives:

- ▶ frustratives express that the subject intended to do something that didn't happen
- ▶ ...that the subject did something in vain
- ▶ ...that the situation is unsatisfactory
- ▶ ...that a state does not continue
- ▶ Tohono O'odham (Uto-Aztecan, Arizona): *cem*

(12) Huan 'o cem kukpi'ok g pualt.
 Juan aux-IMPF FRUS open the door
 'Juan pulled on the door but failed to open it.'

- ▶ *roughly*: the forces Juan brought to bear on the door were inadequate to open it

Defeasible causation

Copley & Harley (2014): “the key similarity [between non-culminating accomplishments and frustrative sentences] is that there is an e_1 and an e_2 , where e_1 is expected . . . to cause e_2 , but e_2 does not occur.”

Defeasible causation

Copley & Harley (2014): “the key similarity [between non-culminating accomplishments and frustrative sentences] is that there is an e_1 and an e_2 , where e_1 is expected . . . to cause e_2 , but e_2 does not occur.”

Proposal: we can explain how this happens/how we model it using a force theory

Defeasible causation

Copley & Harley (2014): “the key similarity [between non-culminating accomplishments and frustrative sentences] is that there is an e_1 and an e_2 , where e_1 is expected . . . to cause e_2 , but e_2 does not occur.”

Proposal: we can explain how this happens/how we model it using a force theory

- ▶ Elements of the representations:

Defeasible causation

Copley & Harley (2014): “the key similarity [between non-culminating accomplishments and frustrative sentences] is that there is an e_1 and an e_2 , where e_1 is expected . . . to cause e_2 , but e_2 does not occur.”

Proposal: we can explain how this happens/how we model it using a force theory

- ▶ Elements of the representations:
 - ▶ situations: collections of individuals with certain properties

Defeasible causation

Copley & Harley (2014): “the key similarity [between non-culminating accomplishments and frustrative sentences] is that there is an e_1 and an e_2 , where e_1 is expected . . . to cause e_2 , but e_2 does not occur.”

Proposal: we can explain how this happens/how we model it using a force theory

- ▶ Elements of the representations:
 - ▶ situations: collections of individuals with certain properties
 - ▶ forces: inputs of energy to a situation, which can change it

Defeasible causation

Copley & Harley (2014): “the key similarity [between non-culminating accomplishments and frustrative sentences] is that there is an e_1 and an e_2 , where e_1 is expected . . . to cause e_2 , but e_2 does not occur.”

Proposal: we can explain how this happens/how we model it using a force theory

- ▶ Elements of the representations:
 - ▶ situations: collections of individuals with certain properties
 - ▶ forces: inputs of energy to a situation, which can change it
 - ▶ initial and final situations are related by the set of forces input to the initial situation

Forces and defeasible causation

Forces can be thought of as vectors from one situation to another

Forces and defeasible causation

Forces can be thought of as vectors from one situation to another

- ▶ if we just look at one individual, then we want to consider tendencies of that individual

Forces and defeasible causation

Forces can be thought of as vectors from one situation to another

- ▶ if we just look at one individual, then we want to consider tendencies of that individual
 - ▶ for instance, if it's moving, we might expect it to continue moving

Forces and defeasible causation

Forces can be thought of as vectors from one situation to another

- ▶ if we just look at one individual, then we want to consider tendencies of that individual
 - ▶ for instance, if it's moving, we might expect it to continue moving
 - ▶ or, if we know it's tired, we might expect it to stop

Forces and defeasible causation

Forces can be thought of as vectors from one situation to another

- ▶ if we just look at one individual, then we want to consider tendencies of that individual
 - ▶ for instance, if it's moving, we might expect it to continue moving
 - ▶ or, if we know it's tired, we might expect it to stop
- ▶ our expectations will lead to the next situation **if and only if** we've taken all the relevant individuals and tendencies into account

In general, the future is uncertain because **we don't know all of the forces** that are really involved in a situation

Forces and defeasible causation

Forces can be thought of as vectors from one situation to another

- ▶ if we just look at one individual, then we want to consider tendencies of that individual
 - ▶ for instance, if it's moving, we might expect it to continue moving
 - ▶ or, if we know it's tired, we might expect it to stop
- ▶ our expectations will lead to the next situation **if and only if** we've taken all the relevant individuals and tendencies into account

In general, the future is uncertain because **we don't know all of the forces** that are really involved in a situation

- ▶ though we might learn more after the fact

Forces and defeasible causation

Forces can be thought of as vectors from one situation to another

- ▶ if we just look at one individual, then we want to consider tendencies of that individual
 - ▶ for instance, if it's moving, we might expect it to continue moving
 - ▶ or, if we know it's tired, we might expect it to stop
- ▶ our expectations will lead to the next situation **if and only if** we've taken all the relevant individuals and tendencies into account

In general, the future is uncertain because **we don't know all of the forces** that are really involved in a situation

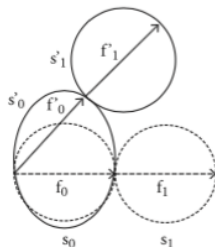
- ▶ though we might learn more after the fact
- ▶ when we were wrong at the beginning and know this based on the result, this is when defeasible causal descriptions are relevant

Forces and defeasible causation

Copley & Harley (2014) introduce a notion of *efficacy*:

Forces and defeasible causation

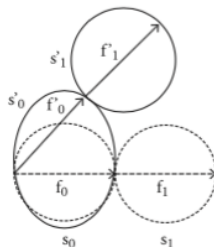
Copley & Harley (2014) introduce a notion of *efficacy*:



- (12) A situation s_n is **efficacious** if its normal successor s_{n+1} actually obtains

Forces and defeasible causation

Copley & Harley (2014) introduce a notion of *efficacy*:

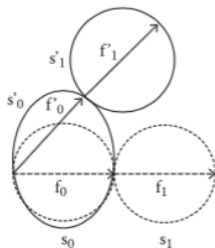


(12) A situation s_n is **efficacious** if its normal successor s_{n+1} actually obtains

- ▶ the 'normal' successor is defined as the result of the net force of the collection of individuals and tendencies modeled in s_n

Forces and defeasible causation

Copley & Harley (2014) introduce a notion of *efficacy*:

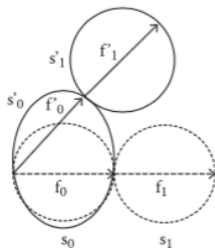


(12) A situation s_n is **efficacious** if its normal successor s_{n+1} actually obtains

- ▶ the 'normal' successor is defined as the result of the net force of the collection of individuals and tendencies modeled in s_n
- ▶ in the diagram, if s_n turns out to actually have been part of a larger situation, the real result could be something different

Forces and defeasible causation

Copley & Harley (2014) introduce a notion of *efficacy*:



(12) A situation s_n is **efficacious** if its normal successor s_{n+1} actually obtains

- ▶ the 'normal' successor is defined as the result of the net force of the collection of individuals and tendencies modeled in s_n
- ▶ in the diagram, if s_n turns out to actually have been part of a larger situation, the real result could be something different
- ▶ ...and in this picture, s_0 is not efficacious

Forces and defeasible causation

Efficacy picks out situations which have a particular relation to their successor situations, defined in terms of forces

Forces and defeasible causation

Efficacy picks out situations which have a particular relation to their successor situations, defined in terms of forces

- ▶ the idea is that efficacy can be referenced in lexical representation

Forces and defeasible causation

Efficacy picks out situations which have a particular relation to their successor situations, defined in terms of forces

- ▶ the idea is that efficacy can be referenced in lexical representation
- ▶ it can be asserted or presupposed as part of an event description

Forces and defeasible causation

Efficacy picks out situations which have a particular relation to their successor situations, defined in terms of forces

- ▶ the idea is that efficacy can be referenced in lexical representation
- ▶ it can be asserted or presupposed as part of an event description
- ▶ ...which has consequences for the entailments of the description

Efficacy and non-culminating accomplishments

(13) Jones opened the door, #but the door didn't open.

Efficacy and non-culminating accomplishments

(13) Jones opened the door, #but the door didn't open.

- ▶ Copley & Harley propose that this is contradictory because accomplishment predicates in English **uniformly presuppose efficacy**

Efficacy and non-culminating accomplishments

(13) Jones opened the door, #but the door didn't open.

- ▶ Copley & Harley propose that this is contradictory because accomplishment predicates in English **uniformly presuppose efficacy**
- ▶ in other words, you have to have observed the result in order to use an accomplishment predicate

Efficacy and non-culminating accomplishments

(13) Jones opened the door, #but the door didn't open.

- ▶ Copley & Harley propose that this is contradictory because accomplishment predicates in English **uniformly presuppose efficacy**
- ▶ in other words, you have to have observed the result in order to use an accomplishment predicate
- ▶ ...and then you have to start from an efficacious situation

Efficacy and non-culminating accomplishments

(13) Jones opened the door, #but the door didn't open.

- ▶ Copley & Harley propose that this is contradictory because accomplishment predicates in English **uniformly presuppose efficacy**
- ▶ in other words, you have to have observed the result in order to use an accomplishment predicate
- ▶ ...and then you have to start from an efficacious situation
- ▶ so, you can't describe this situation as an opening if Jones's exerted force was not the only factor

In languages like Malagasy and Tagalog, however, there's no presupposition of efficacy for predicates like *open a door*.

Efficacy and non-culminating accomplishments

(13) Jones opened the door, #but the door didn't open.

- ▶ Copley & Harley propose that this is contradictory because accomplishment predicates in English **uniformly presuppose efficacy**
- ▶ in other words, you have to have observed the result in order to use an accomplishment predicate
- ▶ ...and then you have to start from an efficacious situation
- ▶ so, you can't describe this situation as an opening if Jones's exerted force was not the only factor

In languages like Malagasy and Tagalog, however, there's no presupposition of efficacy for predicates like *open a door*.

- ▶ instead, the default is to assume that the expected result occurs

Efficacy and non-culminating accomplishments

(13) Jones opened the door, #but the door didn't open.

- ▶ Copley & Harley propose that this is contradictory because accomplishment predicates in English **uniformly presuppose efficacy**
- ▶ in other words, you have to have observed the result in order to use an accomplishment predicate
- ▶ ...and then you have to start from an efficacious situation
- ▶ so, you can't describe this situation as an opening if Jones's exerted force was not the only factor

In languages like Malagasy and Tagalog, however, there's no presupposition of efficacy for predicates like *open a door*.

- ▶ instead, the default is to assume that the expected result occurs
- ▶ but this is defeasible, specifically by specifying either what made the initial state non-efficacious
- ▶ ...or just explaining that it was not

Efficacy and frustratives

The frustrative particle *cem* has a variety of uses:

- ▶ combined with a state description, it can mean that the state did not continue
- ▶ or that some goal was not realized

(17) *Cem* 'aň ñ-na:tokc.

FRUS 1SG 1SG-ready

non-continuation: 'I was ready but now I'm no longer ready.'

unachieved-goal: 'I was ready but you weren't there.'

(Copley 2005a: 1)

Efficacy and frustratives

- (29) a. Huan 'at o cem kukpi'ok g pualt.
Juan aux.PERF FUT FRUS open DET door
unachieved-goal: 'Juan tried to/was going to open the door.'
(He tripped before he got there)
- b. Huan 'o cem kukpi'ok g pualt.
Juan aux.IMPF FRUS open DET door
unachieved-goal: 'Juan tried to open the door.'
(He pulled but couldn't get it open)
- c. Huan 'at cem ku:pi'o g pualt.
Juan aux.PERF FRUS open DET door
'Juan opened the door in vain.'
non-continuation: Juan got the door open but it didn't stay open
unachieved-goal: The door's being open didn't have the desired effect

Efficacy and frustratives

- (29) a. Huan 'at o cem kukpi'ok g pualt.
Juan aux.PERF FUT FRUS open DET door
unachieved-goal: 'Juan tried to/was going to open the door.'
(He tripped before he got there)

- b. Huan 'o cem kukpi'ok g pualt.
Juan aux.IMPF FRUS open DET door
unachieved-goal: 'Juan tried to open the door.'
(He pulled but couldn't get it open)

- c. Huan 'at cem ku:pi'o g pualt.
Juan aux.PERF FRUS open DET door
'Juan opened the door in vain.'
non-continuation: Juan got the door open but it didn't stay open
unachieved-goal: The door's being open didn't have the desired effect

- ▶ combined with prospective aspect (future orientation), it can mean that an expected event did not even get started

Efficacy and frustratives

(29) a. Huan 'at o cem kukpi'ok g pualt.
Juan aux.PERF FUT FRUS open DET door
unachieved-goal: 'Juan tried to/was going to open the door.'
(He tripped before he got there)

b. Huan 'o cem kukpi'ok g pualt.
Juan aux.IMPF FRUS open DET door
unachieved-goal: 'Juan tried to open the door.'
(He pulled but couldn't get it open)

c. Huan 'at cem ku:pi'o g pualt.
Juan aux.PERF FRUS open DET door
'Juan opened the door in vain.'
non-continuation: Juan got the door open but it didn't stay open
unachieved-goal: The door's being open didn't have the desired effect

- ▶ combined with prospective aspect (future orientation), it can mean that an expected event did not even get started
- ▶ with imperfective (ongoing orientation), it can indicate an interruption

Efficacy and frustratives

(29) a. Huan 'at o cem kukpi'ok g pualt.
Juan aux.PERF FUT FRUS open DET door
unachieved-goal: 'Juan tried to/was going to open the door.'
(He tripped before he got there)

b. Huan 'o cem kukpi'ok g pualt.
Juan aux.IMPF FRUS open DET door
unachieved-goal: 'Juan tried to open the door.'
(He pulled but couldn't get it open)

c. Huan 'at cem ku:pi'o g pualt.
Juan aux.PERF FRUS open DET door
'Juan opened the door in vain.'
non-continuation: Juan got the door open but it didn't stay open
unachieved-goal: The door's being open didn't have the desired effect

- ▶ combined with prospective aspect (future orientation), it can mean that an expected event did not even get started
- ▶ with imperfective (ongoing orientation), it can indicate an interruption
- ▶ with perfective (completed interpretation), it can indicate either the cessation of the result state or that the result state was not achieved

Efficacy and frustratives

Copley & Harley propose that all of this can be explained if *cem* introduces a presupposition that the **starting situation for the main event description is NOT efficacious**

Efficacy and frustratives

Copley & Harley propose that all of this can be explained if *cem* introduces a presupposition that the **starting situation for the main event description is NOT efficacious**

- ▶ the expected successor situation of a state is that the state continues:

Efficacy and frustratives

Copley & Harley propose that all of this can be explained if *cem* introduces a presupposition that the **starting situation for the main event description is NOT efficacious**

- ▶ the expected successor situation of a state is that the state continues:
 - ▶ so, if it is not efficacious, then the state will end

Efficacy and frustratives

Copley & Harley propose that all of this can be explained if *cem* introduces a presupposition that the **starting situation for the main event description is NOT efficacious**

- ▶ the expected successor situation of a state is that the state continues:
 - ▶ so, if it is not efficacious, then the state will end
 - ▶ this accounts for the stative reading, and the cessation of result-state with perfective accomplishment predicates

Efficacy and frustratives

Copley & Harley propose that all of this can be explained if *cem* introduces a presupposition that the **starting situation for the main event description is NOT efficacious**

- ▶ the expected successor situation of a state is that the state continues:
 - ▶ so, if it is not efficacious, then the state will end
 - ▶ this accounts for the stative reading, and the cessation of result-state with perfective accomplishment predicates
- ▶ states can also be part of a plan to achieve something else:

Efficacy and frustratives

Copley & Harley propose that all of this can be explained if *cem* introduces a presupposition that the **starting situation for the main event description is NOT efficacious**

- ▶ the expected successor situation of a state is that the state continues:
 - ▶ so, if it is not efficacious, then the state will end
 - ▶ this accounts for the stative reading, and the cessation of result-state with perfective accomplishment predicates
- ▶ states can also be part of a plan to achieve something else:
 - ▶ plans are 'long-acting'

Efficacy and frustratives

Copley & Harley propose that all of this can be explained if *cem* introduces a presupposition that the **starting situation for the main event description is NOT efficacious**

- ▶ the expected successor situation of a state is that the state continues:
 - ▶ so, if it is not efficacious, then the state will end
 - ▶ this accounts for the stative reading, and the cessation of result-state with perfective accomplishment predicates
- ▶ states can also be part of a plan to achieve something else:
 - ▶ plans are 'long-acting'
 - ▶ so the state does not need to end, but some later input of force will not have the expected goal/result

Efficacy and frustratives

Copley & Harley propose that all of this can be explained if *cem* introduces a presupposition that the **starting situation for the main event description is NOT efficacious**

Efficacy and frustratives

Copley & Harley propose that all of this can be explained if *cem* introduces a presupposition that the **starting situation for the main event description is NOT efficacious**

- ▶ with a future orientation, we expect that an event will be initiated, based on current tendencies and intentions

Efficacy and frustratives

Copley & Harley propose that all of this can be explained if *cem* introduces a presupposition that the **starting situation for the main event description is NOT efficacious**

- ▶ with a future orientation, we expect that an event will be initiated, based on current tendencies and intentions
 - ▶ ...so, *cem* disrupts the expected initiation

Efficacy and frustratives

Copley & Harley propose that all of this can be explained if *cem* introduces a presupposition that the **starting situation for the main event description is NOT efficacious**

- ▶ with a future orientation, we expect that an event will be initiated, based on current tendencies and intentions
 - ▶ ...so, *cem* disrupts the expected initiation
- ▶ with an ongoing event, we expect that it continues on the basis of the initiating subevent

Efficacy and frustratives

Copley & Harley propose that all of this can be explained if *cem* introduces a presupposition that the **starting situation for the main event description is NOT efficacious**

- ▶ with a future orientation, we expect that an event will be initiated, based on current tendencies and intentions
 - ▶ ...so, *cem* disrupts the expected initiation
- ▶ with an ongoing event, we expect that it continues on the basis of the initiating subevent
 - ▶ ...so, in this case *cem* can be used if something interferes with this trajectory

Efficacy and frustratives

What the force diagram and efficacy presuppositions do is allow us, in our use of language, to make reference to something that **MUST** be part of how we model causation:

Efficacy and frustratives

What the force diagram and efficacy presuppositions do is allow us, in our use of language, to make reference to something that **MUST** be part of how we model causation:

- ▶ the idea that, while we know about certain causal relations in the world, we never have a picture of an entire situation

Efficacy and frustratives

What the force diagram and efficacy presuppositions do is allow us, in our use of language, to make reference to something that **MUST** be part of how we model causation:

- ▶ the idea that, while we know about certain causal relations in the world, we never have a picture of an entire situation
- ▶ ...or understand the full set of causes involved in expected responses

Efficacy and frustratives

What the force diagram and efficacy presuppositions do is allow us, in our use of language, to make reference to something that **MUST** be part of how we model causation:

- ▶ the idea that, while we know about certain causal relations in the world, we never have a picture of an entire situation
- ▶ ...or understand the full set of causes involved in expected responses
- ▶ in some cases, these incomplete representations lead to unexpected results

Efficacy and frustratives

What the force diagram and efficacy presuppositions do is allow us, in our use of language, to make reference to something that **MUST** be part of how we model causation:

- ▶ the idea that, while we know about certain causal relations in the world, we never have a picture of an entire situation
- ▶ ...or understand the full set of causes involved in expected responses
- ▶ in some cases, these incomplete representations lead to unexpected results
- ▶ and the idea is that we have language that indicates when unexpected things happen

Efficacy and frustratives

What the force diagram and efficacy presuppositions do is allow us, in our use of language, to make reference to something that **MUST** be part of how we model causation:

- ▶ the idea that, while we know about certain causal relations in the world, we never have a picture of an entire situation
- ▶ ...or understand the full set of causes involved in expected responses
- ▶ in some cases, these incomplete representations lead to unexpected results
- ▶ and the idea is that we have language that indicates when unexpected things happen
- ▶ as well as language that can only be used in case expectations were satisfied

Efficacy and frustratives

What the force diagram and efficacy presuppositions do is allow us, in our use of language, to make reference to something that **MUST** be part of how we model causation:

- ▶ the idea that, while we know about certain causal relations in the world, we never have a picture of an entire situation
- ▶ ...or understand the full set of causes involved in expected responses
- ▶ in some cases, these incomplete representations lead to unexpected results
- ▶ and the idea is that we have language that indicates when unexpected things happen
- ▶ as well as language that can only be used in case expectations were satisfied

This isn't the only framework that could capture these notions, but by introducing forces as relations between situations, it gives us a setup where it's easy to comprehend and define the right kind of notion