

Evidence #1: transitives with a changeless direct object. The sentences in (2)-(5) below demonstrate that a lack of any change (and consequently, a lack of scalar change) in the direct object blocks the unaccusative alternate. The external argument of these transitives is thematically underspecified: the hallmark of a cause role (the same phenomenon is manifested in Hebrew and French). Here are four relevant classes with a few representative verbs:

Class 1: verbs of description: *describe, represent, demonstrate, illustrate, spell out, mark, indicate...*

- (2) a. John / the war / the unjust taxes represented the weakness of our society.
 b. *The weakness of our society represented.

Class 2: verbs of guarantee: *guarantee, justify, warrant, confirm, disprove, refute, contradict...*

- (3) a. John / the voyage / the state of affairs guaranteed the payment.
 b. *The payment guaranteed.

Class 3: stationary object verbs.

Subclass I: verbs of crossing: *cross, traverse, reach...*

Subclass II: verbs of surface contact: *touch, support, caress...*

Subclass III: verbs of attack and defend: *attack, defend, protect...*

Others: *encircle, frame, surround, isolate, occupy...*

- (4) a. John / the kitchen / the machine occupied the ground floor of the dwelling.
 b. *The ground floor of the dwelling occupied.
 c. John / the weather conditions / the walls protected the city. d. *The city protected.
 e. John / the river / the airplane crossed the desert. f. *The desert crossed.

Class 4: Others: *demand, require, regulate, risk, endanger, commemorate...*

- (5) a. John / the job / the machine required our collaboration.
 b. *Our collaboration required.

Evidence #2: verbs of existence crosslinguistically lack transitive alternates (e.g. exist, dwell, wait, live...). A mirror image of the previous examples, these unaccusatives do not denote change (but have a scalar, comparable property: existence). The absence of corresponding transitives cannot be explained by their stativity alone, since stative unergatives and transitives show causative alternates.

(6)	English	Hebrew	Spanish	Italian	French	Russian
(a)	Exist	kayam	existir	Esistere	exister	sushhestvovat'
(b)	Live	xay	vivir	Vivere	vivre	zhit'
(c)	Wait	xika; himtin	esperar	attendere	attendre	zhdat'; ozhidat'

Evidence #3: Fill-type verbs. Verbs such as *fill, cover and obstruct*, in their transitive use, have two readings: a reading of a scalar change and a stative one. In accordance with the hypothesis, there is an unaccusative alternate only for the scalar change reading:

- (7) a. The water filled the pool. (The amount of water increased/is constant)
 b. The pool filled (with water). (The amount of water increased/*is constant)

Evidence #4: Bloom-type verbs. Unaccusatives such as *bloom, blossom or sprout* are a mirror image of *fill*-type verbs: in their intransitive use, they have two readings: a reading of a scalar change and a stative one. Reinforcing the hypothesis, the transitive corresponds only to the scalar change reading:

- (8) a. The cactus bloomed (for two days). (the cactus changed / was in bloom)
 b. Bright sun bloomed the cactus. (the cactus changed / *was in bloom)