

Goran Knežević*

MAJOR DISPOSITIONS IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES: CONCEPTUALIZATION, MEASUREMENT, ORIGINS, AND CONSEQUENCES

Abstract: The psychology of individual differences focuses on dispositions—re-current behavioral, cognitive, or affective tendencies that distinguish one individual from another. But how do we accurately identify and measure these dispositions? What approaches and methodologies ensure that our taxonomies of dispositions are both comprehensive and parsimonious? How do we determine the importance of different dispositions? Given the continual fluctuations in our moods and states, to what extent are dispositional or trait-like constructs useful in understanding and predicting behavior? How can we assess their relevance, especially when considering the influence of powerful situational and social forces on behavior? Even if dispositions demonstrate stability in the short term, do they remain stable throughout the lifespan, or do they vary significantly? What are the origins of these dispositions?

This lecture will explore these questions, with a focus on personality dispositions. The goal is to introduce attendees to conceptual approaches, methodologies, techniques, and the latest advances in the empirical study of personality traits, emphasizing their practical implications and theoretical underpinnings in understanding human behavior.

Key words: Dispositions; Taxonomy of basic/major personality traits; Big Five; HEXACO; Disintegration/Psychoticism

Introduction

Dispositions are enduring tendencies or propensities that guide behavior, emotion, and cognition. There are many types of dispositional constructs in psychology: traits, abilities, aptitudes, attitudes, interests,

* Department of Psychology and LIRA lab, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade.

values, cognitive styles, and more. In psychology, the term is often used as a synonym for *personality traits*, when referring to stable, broad, cross-culturally universal behavioral tendencies accounting for consistencies in behavior over time and across situations. Traits such as extraversion, emotional stability, and conscientiousness influence a wide range of behaviors across domains, from social functioning to academic performance, from health behavior to political orientation. Their broadness, stability, universality, and predictive power make them central to any comprehensive psychological account of human behavior. The psychology of personality has historically focused on identifying and conceptualizing personality traits, developing instruments for their measurement, and elucidating their biological and environmental origins as well as their psychological, social, and behavioral consequences.

In this article, I elaborate on the conceptual status of major personality traits as psychological dispositions, explore the most influential contemporary taxonomies of traits, touch upon the nature of their temporal and cross-situational consistency, and consider what is currently known about their underlying mechanisms and their broad consequences. The emphasis is on traits as *par excellence* natural psychological constructs, not as metaphysical or philosophical entities, but grounded in empirical research within the field of psychology of individual differences or differential psychology.

Conceptualization of traits

Traits represent an old and intuitive way of understanding human behavior. They are not simple summaries of behavior; rather, traits are latent constructs inferred from the consistency of actions across time and situations. One of the earliest systematic attempts to describe stable personality characteristics can be found in *Characters*, written by Theophrastus, a student of Aristotle, around the 4th century BCE (Theophrastus, 1929). In this work, Theophrastus offered thirty concise sketches of moral and behavioral types, each illustrating a distinct dispositional tendency—such as shamelessness, boorishness, superstitiousness, or meanness. For example, he defined penuriousness (stinginess) as “...excessive economy of expenditure (p. 65)” and listed nineteen specific manifest behaviors indicating this trait in various situations—ranging from reluctance to contribute to public meals to stinginess even in funerary arrangements. This kind of thinking anticipates the modern psychological notion of personality traits as generalized behavioral dispositions manifesting in behavioral regularities in consistent ways over time and across situations.

The idea that individual behavior is governed by such stable dispositions was later challenged during the so-called “personality paradigm crisis” of the late 1960s, spurred in large part by Walter Mischel’s influential critique (1968), which questioned the plausibility of traits as scientific constructs. Nonetheless, the trait perspective proved resilient. During the 1980s, it underwent a scientific revitalization and refinement with the emergence of robust empirical models such as the Five-Factor Model (Costa & McCrae, 1992) reinforcing the view that traits are both descriptively useful and empirically defensible constructs for understanding and predicting behavior.

Traits are conceptualized as complex dispositional tendencies inferred from a set of interrelated indicators—such as behaviors, experiences, thoughts, and emotions. They are typically embedded within a broader theoretical framework and are not directly observable. Instead, traits are assessed through multiple observable indicators, and are thus treated as *latent variables*. Core or basic traits, such as extraversion or conscientiousness, are commonly modeled as latent variables—unobserved constructs inferred from systematic patterns in *manifest variables* (Figure 1). Manifest variables (or indicators) are measurable entities that can be directly observed, such as being energetic, lively, sociable, or outgoing—indicators often used to infer extraversion. While manifest variables contain random measurement error, latent variables are mathematically conceptualized as error-free, capturing only the shared, substantive variance across their indicators. This shared variance is assumed to reflect the underlying trait. The extent to which each manifest variable reflects the latent trait is quantified by *factor loadings* (λ), which indicate the strength of the relationship between the manifest and latent variables, or the amount of contribution of latent variables to the variance of manifest variables.

Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) are the primary analytic strategies for examining the structure of latent variables. EFA is aimed to discover structures or patterns among a set of observed variables, used when a researcher has no a priori hypothesis about the structure of the data. CFA (a type of Structural Equation Modeling – SEM) represent the dominant approach to hypothesis testing – it specifies and tests a hypothesized correlational structure or pattern among a set of manifest variables. These models mostly assume *linear relationships* between latent factor and observed variables (the underlying mathematics is based on linear algebra), although there are models that assume *non-linear relationships* between them (e.g., Item Response Theory, IRT, a technique that is mostly used for evaluating test items, assumes logistic relationship between them).

The usual (but not the only one¹) conceptualization of the relationships between latent and manifest variables is so called *reflective model*: it assumes that the manifest measures result from the latent variable. Reflective models are based on the “*local independence assumption*” – that correlations among the indicators are explained wholly by the latent variable, i.e. correlations observed among the indicators, beyond the latent factor, are spurious. If we consider only persons with the same level on a latent variable, the correlations between the responses are supposed to vanish. The consequence of this is that the indicators in reflective model are not of interest in themselves, they are of interest only as the manifestations of a latent variable, i.e., they are completely interchangeable or replaceable by some other manifest variables demonstrated to be good indicators of the latent variable.

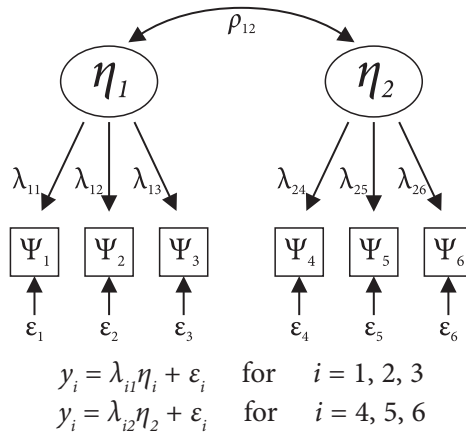


Figure 1. η_1, η_2 – latent variables; $\lambda_{11} - \lambda_{26}$ – loadings of the manifest variables on their respective latent factors η_1 and η_2 ; $\Psi_1 - \Psi_6$ – manifest variables; $\varepsilon_1 - \varepsilon_6$ – error variances; ρ_{12} – correlation between the latent factors.

Broad traits often have multiple dimensions or facets. The set of items in a measure are *unidimensional* when the correlations among the items

1 One of the alternative conceptualizations gaining prominence in personality psychology is the *network model* (Cramer et al., 2012). Unlike traditional latent variable approaches, this model offers a fundamentally different understanding of the relations between traits and their components. In the network approach, components (e.g., symptoms, behaviors, or thoughts) are viewed as causally autonomous—they are not interchangeable or reflective of a single underlying latent trait. Rather, they co-occur because they influence one another directly through causal or logical connections. Despite these different conceptual interpretations stemming from distinct theoretical traditions in different scientific domains, the network and latent variable approaches have been shown to be mathematically equivalent, (Kruis & Maris, 2016).

can be accounted for by a single latent factor. If a trait is *multidimensional*, the correlations among the items can be accounted for by more than one latent factor, reflecting different aspects of this trait. Thus, manifest variables energetic and lively tend to form a subdimension of Extraversion called Activity, while gregarious and outgoing tend to form a subdimension called Sociability. If these different subdimensions reflect the same higher-order trait they have to be substantively interrelated (it should be reflected in a substantial correlation – ρ_{12} – between subdimensions η_1 and η_2 , as depicted Figure 1). If a subdimension is not substantively related to the other subdimensions of a trait it means that it indicates some other higher order trait. For example, manifest variables fearful and tense, form a subdimension Anxiety that tend to have low correlations with Activity and Sociability because it is a subdimension of another trait – Neuroticism.

Hierarchical organization of traits

Thus, personality is best conceptualized as a hierarchical structure. At the top of this hierarchy are the broadest traits, followed by their interrelated subdimensions, then more specific and context-sensitive behavioral regularities such as habits, and finally, individual behavioral acts. This organization reflects different levels of analysis of human behavior. As we move upward in the hierarchy, behavioral tendencies become broader, more generalizable across situations, more universal across various human groups, and less dependent on specific situational demands.

The psycholexical approach, initiated by Allport and Odbert (1936) and further developed by Cattell, Fiske, Tupes and Christal, Norman, Goldberg, Saucier and others (John, 2021), provided a naturalistic foundation for identifying core, major, or basic traits through the analysis of natural language—viewed as a cultural repository of accumulated human experience encoded in words. Consequently, an in-depth examination of vocabulary descriptors of human behavior is regarded as a reliable method for ensuring comprehensiveness in the description of human personality. Most psycholexical studies have identified five (John, 2021), six (Ashton et al., 2004), or, in some cases, seven (Saucier, 2003) broad basic traits.

The most robust empirical evidence regarding personality structure – including support based on psycholexical analysis – has been obtained at the highest level of this hierarchy—that of major/basic/core personality traits. These models are, therefore, top-down models. Traits at the lower level of hierarchy of the most influential taxonomies are less robust and

less empirically sound, usually not based on factor analysis but conceptual considerations and to an extent arbitrary preference of the authors (e.g., Costa & McCrae, 1995). Basic traits are found to be cross-culturally universal (e.g., McCrae & Costa, 1997), longitudinally stable (e.g., Roberts & DelVecchio, 2000), and heritable (approximately 40% of phenotypic variance is heritable, Vukasović & Bratko, 2015), with identifiable neurobiological underpinnings (e.g., DeYoung et al., 2010). Moreover, basic personality traits are found even across species, e.g., Big Five traits are extracted on ratings of behavior of chimpanzees (Gosling, 2001).

The traditional distinction between temperamental traits (regarded as biologically based, early-appearing, and stable) and personality traits (considered socially shaped and emerging later) is no longer considered viable. Contemporary research demonstrates that all traits arise from complex interactions between genetic/ biological and environmental/ situational factors across the lifespan. Technically, the phenotypic variance of any trait can be decomposed into several components: genetic variance (G), environmental variance (E), the interaction between genetic and environmental factors ($G \times E$), and the correlational effects between genes and environment (doubled G–E correlation). These correlational effects capture the tendency of genetic predispositions to influence the kinds of environments individuals experience, thereby amplifying the expression of certain traits.

What proves to be far more important is the extent to which a trait is, for example, coherent, universal or incrementally relevant. For a behavioral tendency to be recognized as a genuine and fundamental disposition—rather than merely a label for an arbitrary or just conceptually convenient aggregation of loosely connected indicators—it must satisfy several critical criteria.

Criteria for the existence of a trait

Descriptive breadth: The trait should account for a wide range of affective, cognitive, and behavioral tendencies. **Structural independence:** It should be empirically distinguishable (usually through factor analysis) from other traits. **Identification/ extraction across methods:** It should be identified across different methods of assessment, self-report measures, ratings by close others, peer-ratings or professional ratings. **Identification/ extraction across various groups/ populations:** It should be identified in various human subgroups (e.g., subgroups based on gender, age, educational level, nation, culture, or language). **Temporal stability:** Traits exhibit high con-

sistency across time. **Biological basis:** A credible link to genetic, neurobiological, or physiological processes. **Predictive validity:** The ability to predict important life outcomes such as mental health, interpersonal functioning, or societal involvement, incrementally to other traits. **Relevance:** Lexical analysis was the major paradigm indicating relevance of a trait.

This tentative list of criteria is rarely explicated in the literature, but majority of scholars would use these criteria for the existence of a basic dispositional tendency. Majority of these criteria are integrated in so called psychometric evaluation (such as reliability and validity) of the instruments measuring these dispositions. There is persuasive evidence that the basic traits like those captured in the Five-Factor Model (FFM), HEXACO, and Disintegration models fulfill these requirements.

Trait Taxonomies:

The Five-Factor Model and HEXACO

The most widely accepted taxonomy of basic/major/core traits today are FFM, also known as the Big Five and HEXACO – a six factor personality model. The FFM encompasses: Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism. These dimensions have been replicated across languages and cultures and show stability across the lifespan (McCrae & Costa, 1997). More recently, the HEXACO model has been proposed by Ashton and Lee (2007), basically preserving Big Five (with some modifications especially regarding the definition of Neuroticism and Agreeableness), but adding a sixth dimension: Honesty-Humility. This trait captures aspects of morality and modesty not well represented in the FFM. Its inclusion is supported by cross-cultural lexical research and by its predictive utility in areas such as unethical and procriminal behavior (Ashton & Lee, 2008). The most recent suggestion regarding the taxonomy of basic personality trait is to upgrade it with one more, i.e., seventh personality dimension – Disintegration/Psychoticism – reflecting the proneness to psychotic-like experiences and behaviors (Knežević et al., 2017; 2022). The predictive validity of this behavioral tendency – not represented by the current personality models – is crucial in areas where irrational beliefs, extreme worldviews and non-analytical thinking styles are present (Knežević et al., 2023; 2024).

Despite differences in structure (number of the domain traits, number and content of their subdimensions), personality models reflect attempts to identify a comprehensive, non-overlapping set of basic personality traits. Here, a taxonomy of seven basic traits will be presented.

Traits and states

The available evidence suggests that although behavior varies across situations, sometimes dramatically, this variation is not random. Instead, traits manifest in behavioral patterns that emerge over time and across settings (Epstein, 1979; 1980).

Trait expression is probabilistic, not deterministic: A highly extraverted person may not act sociably in every context, but across time and situations, such individuals are more likely to seek social engagement. Evidence shows that both highly extraverted and highly introverted would experience all range of extraverted and introverted urges, thoughts and feelings as momentary states. The difference is in the frequency of such states: extraverted persons would experience extraverted urges, thoughts and feelings more frequently across time and situations than introverted individuals. Aggregated over many instances, the pattern becomes clear.

Based on the evidence on how traits manifest as temporary states in given contexts, Fleeson defined “traits as density distribution of states” (2001, p. 1011). In other words, what we define as a trait value is a value close to the means of the distributions of states a person experience in various contexts over time.

Advantages of Trait-Based Approaches

Trait-based approaches offer several key advantages. They provide a unifying framework for understanding individual differences, serve as building blocks for more complex psychological theories, and enable cumulative scientific progress. Traits are relatively easy to measure, show consistency over time and across cultures, and often outperform state-based or situational variables in predicting real-world outcomes. Thus, Disintegration/Psychoticism trait was shown to be a predictor of the proneness to COVID-19 conspiratorial beliefs far stronger than socio-demographics, COVID-19 related experiences, anxiety and depression or interactions between these experiences and related anxious and depressive symptoms, Knežević et al., 2023).

Moreover, traits provide a vocabulary for describing relevant psychological variation in both clinical and non-clinical populations. They also serve as useful heuristics in different applied contexts such as clinical diagnosis (Malouff, et al., 2005) and treatment planning (Bagby et al., 2016), personnel selection and job performance (Ones et al., 2007), education (Poropat, 2009), well-being (Soto, 2021), somatic health and mortality (Roberts et al., 2007) and forensic assessment (Costanzo & Costanzo, 2020).

Basic personality traits: Definition, Structure, and Consequences

Neuroticism/Negative Affectivity/Emotionality

Neuroticism refers to a broad disposition to experience negative emotions such as anxiety, sadness, irritability, and vulnerability. Individuals high in Neuroticism are more likely to perceive situations as threatening, to respond with distress, and to have difficulties in regulating emotional responses. The structure of Neuroticism – like other traits – is multifaceted. In FFM it consists of Anxiety (proneness to worry, fear, and tension), Depression (tendency toward sadness and hopelessness), Self-consciousness (susceptibility to embarrassment and social anxiety), Impulsivity (difficulty in controlling cravings and urges), Angry Hostility (tendency to become easily annoyed or angered) and Vulnerability (difficulty coping with stress or recovering from adversity). In HEXACO model this trait – called Emotionality – is less saturated with irritability and oriented more toward Sentimentality (excessive emotional attachments and an empathic sensitivity to the feelings of others), and Dependability (need for emotional support, seeking for encouragement and comfort), beyond what represent a usual indicators of this trait: Anxiety and Fearfulness (tendency to experience fear, avoidance of physical harm).

These facets are moderately intercorrelated and together reflect a general sensitivity to negative affect, primarily anxiety and fear. It represents the opposite pole of emotional resilience.

In terms of outcomes, Neuroticism is one of the strongest predictors of psychological distress, including depression, anxiety disorders, and general dissatisfaction with life. It also shows consistent associations with poor physical health, increased stress reactivity, and maladaptive coping styles. Moreover, high levels of Neuroticism are linked to interpersonal difficulties, such as relationship conflicts and lower social support, as well as occupational outcomes like job dissatisfaction and burnout.

Despite its negative connotations, Neuroticism may have adaptive aspects in specific contexts. For example, heightened vigilance and sensitivity to threat might serve as protective functions in dangerous environments. Nonetheless, the overall effect of high Neuroticism is typically unfavorable, especially when chronic and unbuffered by protective traits or coping mechanisms.

Extraversion/Positive affectivity

Extraversion is a fundamental personality trait reflecting the degree to which individuals are oriented toward the external world. Extraverted individuals are typically energetic, sociable, assertive, and experience positive emotions more frequently. In contrast, introverted individuals are more reserved, reflective, and often prefer solitary activities. In FFM, core facets of Extraversion include Sociability (desire for and enjoyment of social interaction), Assertiveness (tendency to speak up, take charge, and lead), Warmth (kindness and warmth), Activity (preference for a fast-paced, busy lifestyle), Excitement seeking (pursuit of stimulation and novelty), and Positive Emotions (tendency to experience joy, enthusiasm, and optimism). In HEXACO the facets are Sociability again, then Social Self-Esteem (positive self-regard particularly in social contexts), Liveliness (enthusiasm and energy), and Social Boldness (confidence within a variety of social situations, such as approaching strangers and speaking up in group settings).

Extraversion is strongly linked to a range of desirable life outcomes. Extraverts report higher levels of happiness and well-being, are more likely to pursue and maintain social relationships, and tend to succeed in roles that demand interpersonal engagement, such as sales, management, and politics. However, high levels of Extraversion may also be associated with impulsivity, risk-taking, and lower academic performance when not moderated by traits like Conscientiousness.

Openness

Openness to experience captures the extent to which individuals are imaginative, curious, open-minded, and attuned to aesthetics and abstract thinking. This trait encompasses both intellectual engagement and aesthetic sensitivity. FFM facets include: Imagination (capacity for fantasy), Aesthetic sensitivity (deep appreciation for art and beauty), Emotional openness (receptivity to inner feelings and experiences), Intellectual curiosity (desire to explore novel ideas and concepts, enjoyment in abstract thinking), Openness to action (exploration, willingness to try new activities), and Openness to values (liberalism and willingness to challenge traditional beliefs). In HEXACO facets are: Aesthetic appreciation, Inquisitiveness (seeking information and experience with the natural and human world, curiosity about the natural or social sciences), Creativity (innovation, original thinking), and Unconventionality (preference for novelty and unconventional thinking).

High Openness is related to creativity, tolerance for ambiguity, and preference for complexity and change. It is consistently associated with intellectual achievement, political liberalism, and engagement in artistic and cultural pursuits. On the downside, very high Openness may relate to susceptibility to unrealistic beliefs or unconventional thinking that drifts toward impracticality.

Agreeableness/Friendliness

Agreeableness reflects the degree to which individuals are compassionate, cooperative, and motivated to maintain positive social relationships. High-Agreeableness individuals are perceived as kind, empathetic, trusting, and forgiving. Key FFM facets include: Trust (belief in the sincerity and good intentions of others), Altruism (tendency to help and support others), Compliance (willingness to yield and avoid conflict), Modesty (humility and lack of self-aggrandizement), Straight-forwardness (frankness in communication, sincerity and transparency), and Tender-mindedness (compassion, empathy, concern for others' well-being). In HEXACO facets are Forgiveness (willingness to feel trust and liking toward those who may have caused one harm), Gentleness (tendency to be mild and lenient in dealings with other people), Flexibility (willingness to compromise and cooperate with others), and Patience (tendency to remain calm rather than to become angry).

Agreeableness predicts a range of prosocial behaviors, including cooperation, volunteering, and reduced aggression. It is important for harmonious relationships, group functioning, and moral conduct. However, extremely high Agreeableness can lead to submissiveness, self-neglect, and difficulty asserting one's own interests.

Conscientiousness/Self-control

Conscientiousness describes the degree of organization, responsibility, and goal-directed behavior. Individuals high in Conscientiousness are disciplined, reliable, and achievement-oriented. FFM facets include: Orderliness (preference for structure and organization), Competence (self-efficacy, confidence in one's ability to accomplish tasks), Dutifulness (sense of moral obligation and reliability), Achievement striving (persistent pursuit of excellence), Self-discipline (capacity for sustained effort and impulse control), and Deliberation (tendency to think carefully before acting). HEXACO facets are Organization (Seeking order, keeping things tidy and structured approach to tasks), Diligence (tendency to work hard,

strong “work ethic”), Perfectionism (being concerned with details, checking carefully for mistakes and potential improvements) and Prudence (tendency to deliberate carefully and to inhibit impulses).

Conscientiousness is one of the most consistent predictors of life success. It correlates strongly with academic and occupational performance, health-promoting behaviors, and longevity. At extreme levels, however, it may be linked to compulsiveness, perfectionism, and rigidity.

Disintegration/Psychoticism

Disintegration refers to a dispositional tendency toward psychotic-like experiences and behaviors. It captures aspects of personality missed by both FFM and HEXACO.

Its components include: Perceptual Distortions (depersonalizations, derealizations, hallucinations), Paranoia (suspiciousness, persecutory ideas, blaming others for personal failures), General Cognitive/Executive Impairment (poor execution, organization, and coordination of thoughts, emotions, motoric, and speech outputs), Somatoform Dysregulation (sensory and motor conversions, somatic delusions, pain insensitivity), Enhanced Awareness (dissociative engagement with stimuli, synesthesia, visual reminiscence), Magical Thinking (irrational beliefs, ideas of reference, paranormal beliefs), Flattened Affect (emotional numbing, indifference toward self and others, diminished emotional reactivity/expression), Apathy/Depression (chronic fatigue, hopelessness, suicidal ideation), and Mania (agitation, excessive optimism, grandiosity). PID-5 Psychoticism (Krueger et al., 2012) was another recent conceptualization of the psychosis-proneness. Unlike Disintegration, claimed to be basic personality trait, i.e., relevant to both normal and maladaptive personality variations, PID-5 Psychoticism is defined as a dimension of maladaptive personality variations.

Disintegration has shown unique predictive value for mental health vulnerability and clinically relevant conditions (such as posttraumatic stress disorder, depression, density of psychotic episodes, and grandiose narcissism). It is related to a range of important dispositional tendencies and behaviors beyond clinical setting such as conspiracy and other irrational beliefs, socio-political attitudes, components of militant extremist mind, close-mindedness and behaviors such as adult emotional crying, or questionable medical practices. Despite its primary relevance for maladaptive behavior, it is argued that the proneness to false positive error – as the major perceptual and cognitive mechanism driving individual differences in Disintegration (Knežević, Kušić et al., 2024) – can be adaptive in the situations where the occasional true detection provides a substantial fitness advantage. In such occasions natural selection may favor pattern

detection strategies that err on the side of false positives, minimizing thus the costly harm caused by false negative errors.

There are various perspectives on whether heritable individual differences in personality dimensions have adaptive value (e.g., Nettle, 2006), or whether they merely reflect random, evolutionarily irrelevant fluctuations that should not be regarded as adaptations (Tooby & Cosmides, 1999). Nevertheless, the evidence demonstrating both positive and negative adaptive consequences associated with high levels of each of the seven major traits appears to support a particular mechanism for the persistence of individual differences along personality dimensions (Penke et al., 2007): balanced selection driven by environmental heterogeneity. According to this view, each personality dimension results from trade-offs between different fitness costs and benefits. Crucially, there is no universally optimal value for these trade-offs. Environmental conditions, constantly changing across time and space, may favor high levels of a particular trait under certain circumstances but render the same levels disadvantageous under others. Consequently, genetic diversity in personality traits is expected to be maintained within the population.

Conclusion: Personality Traits as Natural Dispositions

Personality traits are psychological dispositions *par excellence*. They represent relatively enduring, general tendencies that shape the way individuals think, feel, and behave. Supported by robust empirical evidence, measured reliably across time and contexts, and predictive of wide-ranging outcomes, traits occupy a central position in contemporary psychology of individual differences.

Future work must continue to integrate trait models with developmental, cognitive, cultural and biological psychology, while remaining attentive to the complexities of person-situation dynamics and the multiplicity of psychological processes. But the core insight remains: To understand a person, one must begin with their basic personality traits.

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