PART II
—
BASIC LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

1. VERBAL STRATEGIES

II.1.1. THE BLC AND SOME EXAMPLES

The **basic locative construction** (Levinson et al., Max Planck Inst.) is the construction that occurs in response to a question of the kind 'where is the X' ?
The following examples are meant to illustrate the kinds of *verbs* used in responding to 'where is the X' questions. It goes without saying that they do not exhaust the range of possible responses that are available for each of the languages mentioned. In II.4, it will be shown that the BLC is typically used in certain situations and that languages make different cuts in the types of situations associated with the BLC.

Tagalog, **no verb, generic preposition (only if relation is stereotypical)**

(1) *na*	*sa*	*silya*	*ang*	*kanya-ng*	*damit.*
REAL	PREP	chair	NOM	3sg.OBL-LNK	dress

'Her dress is / was on the chair.'

French, **copula**, not locative

(2) *la*	*tasse*	*est*	*sur*	*la*	*table.*
DEF.FEM	cup	is	on	DEF.FEM	table

'The cup is on the table.'

Swahili, **locative copulas**

(3) *u-ko*	*wapi?*
2SG-UNDET.LOC	where

'Where are you?'

(4) *ni-po*	*jiko-ni.*
1PL-DET.LOC	kitchen-LOC

'I am in the kitchen.'

German, **small set of posture verbs**

(5) *das*	*Buch*	*liegt*	*auf*	*dem*	*Tisch.*
DEF.NEUT	book	lie	on	the	table

'The book is (lies) on the table.'

large set of positional verbs (Brown 2006 : 241)

(6) *tik'il-ø*	*ta*	*bojch*	*(mantzana).*
inserted.in-3A	PREP	gourd-bowl	(apple)

'It (the apple) is inserted-into the gourdbowl.'

[positionals supplemented with spatial nouns (Grinevald 2006)

(7) *waxal-Ø*	*ta*	*ti'-k'jk'*	*p'in.*
vertical-Abs3p	PREP	mouth-fire	pot

'The pot is (standing vertical) by the fire.'
[*waxal* is used for a tall container or solid object canonically 'standing']

II.1.2. TYPES OF BASIC PREDICATION

Ameka & Levinson 2007: 85:

"Four basic types of locative predication in an unmarked locative statement (…) :
Type 0: No verb in basic locative construction (Saliba, Austronesian, Papua New Guinea)
Type I: Single locative verb (or suppletion under grammatical conditioning)
Ia: Copula (i.e., dummy verbs used in many other constructions; English, Tamil, Chukchi, Tiriyó)
Ib: Locative (Existential) verb (Japanese, Ewe, Yukatek, Lavukaleve)
Type II: A small contrastive set of locative verbs (3– 7 verbs)
IIa: Postural verbs (Arrernte, Dutch, Goemai)
IIb: Ground direction indicating verbs (Tidore)
Type III: Multiverb Positional verbs (a large set of dispositional verbs, 9–100)" (Tzeltal, Zapotec, German, Laz, Likpe) expressing posture, disposition of a F w/r to a G, topological relations.

"A plausible hypothesis is that there are two kinds of basic strategy for indicating where things are: (a) say where it is, (b) say what it looks like, so the inquirer can find it. The languages that go to great lengths to indicate shape and postural configuration, such as the Type II languages like Tzeltal, often have weak directional specifications — e.g., in Tzeltal only one preposition" (Ameka & Levinson 2007 : 854). In the latter type of languages, where positionals are nonomissible, they have an assertional force.

II.1.3. TYPE 0 (ZERO OR 1 VERB)

Tagalog, **no verb, generic preposition (only if relation is stereotypical)**

(8) *na*	*sa*	*silya*	*ang*	*kanya-ng*	*damit.*
REAL	PREP	chair	NOM	3sg.OBL-LNK	dress

'Her dress is / was on the chair.'
[*sa* is generic i.e. covers AT, IN, ON, TO, INTO, FROM etc.]
(unlike Malagasy, where a preposition can inflect for tense, the BLC in Tagalog does not make any aspectual distinction; Malagasy : *am-badika*, lit. 'at other side' (i.e. 'from behind', 'from the other side') > *tam-badika* 'coming from behind', '(was) on the other side').

A verb is used for certain situations :

(9) *na-suot*	*sa*	*daliri*	*ang*	*singsing. / *na sa daliri ang singsing.*
REAL.APT-slipped.on	PREP	finger	NOM	ring

'The ring is (got slipped) on the finger.'

(10) *na-tusok*	*sa*	*palaso'*	*ang*	*mansanas.*
REAL.APT-skewed	PREP	arrow	NOM	apple

'The apple is (got skewed) on the arrow.'

Saliba (Dunn et al. 2007)

(11) *(Kaputi-wa)*	*iya*	*ede*	*tebolo-ne*	*unai.*
cup-given	3SG	PRSUP	table-DET	POSTP.SG

'(The cup) it is on the table.' [*unai* is a generic postposition inflected for the number of the Figure expression]

In Saliba, a spatial noun is used if the spatial relation is non-canonical. Verbs are used in certain conditions (e.g. for a Figure "sticking" or "hanging", for a Figure that is a cavity or a damage, as in "a crack in a vase", for postures of animates). Transitive verbs are frequent too (e.g. *They put the cup on the table*). The presentative construction (*There is a cup on the table*) coincides with the BLC as exemplified above.

Type Ia Copula
French or English.

Type Ib Locative verb
Locative copulas are found in many languages (Irish, Breton, perhaps Spanish *estar* etc.). McWhorter (2005) argues that in Atlantic English-based Creoles, the locative copula *de* results from the grammaticalization of *there*. Ex. :
Saramaccan (McWhorter 2005 : 210) :

(12) *dí*	*wómi*	*dɛ́*	*a*	*wósu.*
the	man	COP	LOC	house

'The man is at home.'

Some languages have more than one locative copula. According to Kita (2006), Japanese has two locative verbs, *iru* (animate Figure) and *aru* (inanimate Figure) (and two honorific forms for *iru*, one for honorification of the subject referent, the other for lowering of the subject referent).

(13) *ringo-wa* *booru-no* *naka-ni* *a-ru.*
apple-TOP bowl-GEN in-DAT be-PRES
'The apple is in the bowl.' (Kita 2006 : 439)

Copulas referring to a generic spatial relation ('be at') represent only the simplest case. Likpe (see below II.2.2.2) has a system of so-called topological verbs encoding more specific relations (and distinct from posture / positional verbs).
Another dimension possibly coexpressed with localization is deixis. For ex. Zamboangueño (a Spanish-based Creole of the Philippines) has 3 locative copulas that coexpress deixis : *taki, talyi, talyá* (resp. COP.PROX, COP.MED, COP.DIST ; Lipski & Santoro 2007) :

(14) *Mama* *talya* *na* *bentana* *ta* *espera* *konmigo*
Mama COP.DIST LOC window PROG wait with me
'Mama was in the window waiting for me.'

TYPE IIa :posture and positional verbs, see below section II.2

II.1.4. TYPE IIb GROUND SPACE INDICATING VERBS

Tidore (Van Staden 2007)
The Ground space indicating verbs fall into 2 classes : those encoding location ('be PROX / DIST / MEDIAL-GENERIC / down / up / seaward / landward) ; those encoding direction (same semantic distinctions).
(15) *botol=ge* *ka-tai* *toma* *meja* *ma-you.*
bottle=GEN PRED-seaward LOC table 3NH.POSS-top [GEN glosses a generic or emphatic 'there']
'The bottle is seaward on the table.'

(16) *ifa* *ka-re* *toma* *fola* *ma-doya.*
plank PRED-PROX LOC house 3NH.POSS-inside
'The plank is here in the house.'

A sequence directional verb-locational verb specifies a direction and its end-point :
(17) *piga* *ma-gumuru* *isa* *ka-re,* *hono.*
plate 3NH.POSS-side landwards PRED-PROX bowl
'To the side of the plate landwards here, there is a bowl.' ['landwards from the plate' specifies the direction in which the to search for the bowl and the end-point of this vector is located in a proximal zone 'here']
There are even sequences of 3 verbs :
(18) *rasikari* *so-doro* *tora* *ka-ge* *te* *una* *i-gai.*
then CAUS-NOMZ.sit downwards PRED-GEN LOC 3M 3M.POS-face
'Then (you) ''sit'' down (the sack) there in front of him.' [*tora* and *kage* are analyzed as verbs]

A locational verb may be left implicit, so that Tidore also has constructions of type 0.
Conclusion : Tidore displays a rich inventory of locative verbs. Tidore locative verbs code directions and deixis, two semantic dimensions which figure prominently in locative sentences.

PART II
—
BASIC LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

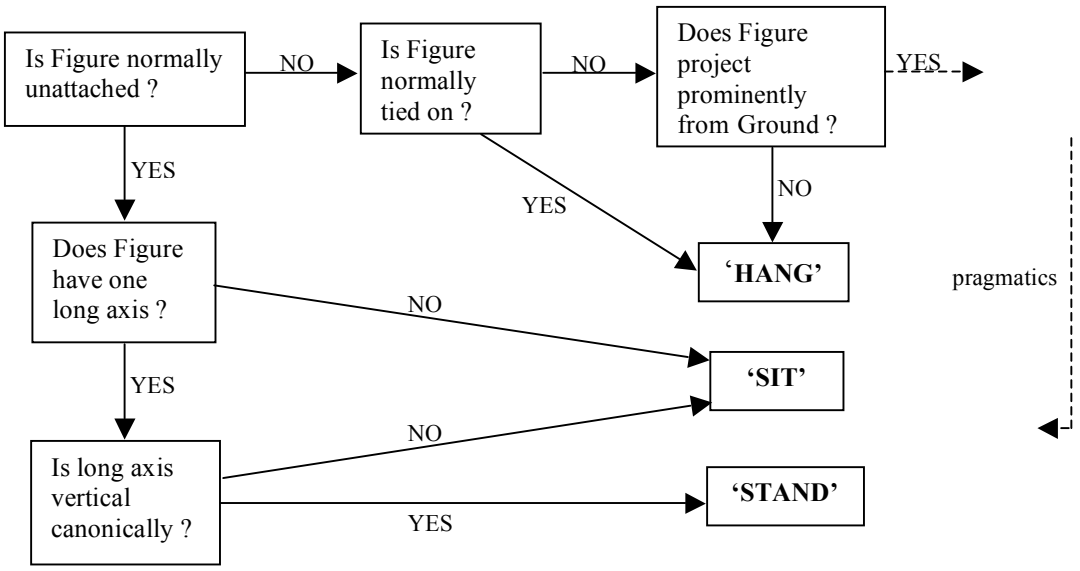
2. POSTURE VERBS AND POSITIONALS (TYPES II AND III)

II.2.1. TYPE IIa LOCATIVE VERB SYSTEMS : POSTURE VERBS

Posture verbs constitute a small set, often with an anthropomorphic source (*sit, stand*), though not exclusively (*hang*). They often have causative counterparts.
"They have a "sortal" character, i.e. they classify their subject nominal concepts by semantic criteria" (Ameka & Levinson 2007 : 859).
They may have a **presuppositional** use, as well as an **assertional** one. For inst., if in a language "the bottles are not *standing* on the table" is used for denying that there *are* bottles on the table, it can be concluded that bottles are presupposed to *stand* (a kind of "default collocation"). This contrasts with an assertional use in which the posture of an entity is asserted (esp. when non canonical, like in *The bottles are lying on the table* ; however, even if the bottles are lying, it would not be false to say that *the bottles are standing on the table* in response to *Where are the bottles ?* When location is in focus, the default collocation can always be selected). This is the pattern observed for Yélî Dnye.

II.2.1.1. POSTURE VERBS WITH PRESUPPOSITIONAL USE

Yélî Dnye (Levinson 2006) : 3-term system ('sit / lie', 'stand', 'hang') with "default collocations" : islands 'stand', shell money 'sits', canoes 'hang', "… prestige items tend to 'sit', long-lasting or general states seem to be asssociated with 'hang', temporary states or phases with 'stand'. 'Hang' seems also associated with strip-like entities, such as paths and rivers, as well as directional forces like winds and currents. Nervertheless, the collocations are conventional, and as with most conventions there is an element of arbitrariness" (Levinson 2006 : 176). There are possible cultural associations : the sun is a human-like being in mythology and 'sits' (a position considered as being distinctive of humans), but stars, which are not anthropomorphized in mythology, 'stand'.
With novel situations (i.e. lacking a default conventional assignment of a positional verb to a situation), speakers extend positional verbs in ways that can be captured by the following flow chart (adapted from Levinson 2006 : 179):

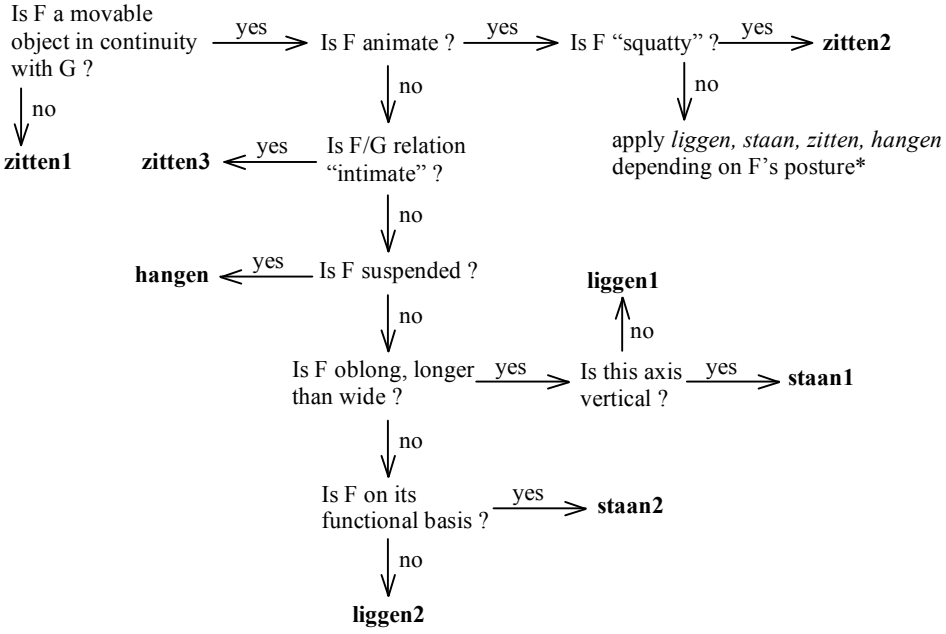


Thus, cats normally 'stand' (conventional assignment). Switching to the chart and saying that a cat 'sits' indicates that the cat spoken of is in a marked position (lying).
Saying that a fish 'sits' instead of 'stands' implicates that the fish is dead. Id., a headband normally 'hangs', but if it is loose or on the verge of falling off, it is described as 'sitting'.

Deviations like 'hang' > 'sit' appear to follow general rules delivered by "pragmatics" (see the dotted arrow on the chart). For instance, a possible pragmatic rule would state that if 'hang' is unmarked, then 'sit' refers to a precarious state (cf. the loosely tied on headband). This is because 'hanging' things are typically firmly attached or in close contact.

II.2.1.2. POSTURE VERBS WITH (MOSTLY) ASSERTIONAL USE : DUTCH

The following flow chart is an attempt at giving an overview of spatial uses of Dutch posture verbs (mostly based on Van Staden 2006) :



*: note however that in some cases the typical posture overrides the current posture : *de koeien staan op stal* 'the cows stand in the cowhouse', where *staan* is used even if the cows are in fact lying (this is similar to a default collocation in Yélî Dnye).

Zitten1 : Non movable F :

(19)	*de*	*pijl*	*zit*	*door*	*de*	*appel.*
	the	arrow	sits	through	the	apple

'The arrow is (pierced) through the apple.'

Zitten2 : for inst. small birds and insects "sit".

Zitten3 : A relation F/G is intimate if, for inst., F is in G or the fit between F and G is relatively tight, or the relation of F to G is expected / reliable / natural, or the activity of the F at the G proceeds smoothly :

(20)	*de*	*kopjes*	*<u>zitten</u>*	*nog*	*in*	*de*	*picknickmand.*
	the	cups	sit	still	in	the	picnic.basket

'The cups are still in the picnic basket.'

Note that the containment-sense of *zitten* is very productive. According to Lemmens (2002) this sense primarily derives from a metonymical association between the supporting ground (e.g. a seat) and the larger enclosing space (cf. *Ik zit in de auto* 'I sit in the car'). The containment sense overrides the posture sense in *de hond zit in de woonkamer* 'the dog sits in the living room' (*zit*, even if the dog is in fact 'standing') (Lemmens 2002).

(21)	*de*	*ketting*	*hangt/<u>zit</u>*	*om*	*haar*	*nek.*
	the	necklace	hangs/sits	around	her	neck

'The necklace is around her neck.'

(22)	*de*	*uitgebrande*	**<u>zit</u>/staat*	*op*	*de*	*hoek.*
	the	out-burn.PARTP	sits/stands	on	the	corner

'The burnt-out bakery is at the corner.' (ex. of Van Staden et al. 2006)

(23) *de* *kat* *zit* *weer* *aan* *de* *kaas.*
the cat sits again at the cheese
'The cat sits at the cheese again.' (= is eating of it ; Lemmens 2002 attributes this use to CONTACT, a feature that he regards as derivative on CONTAINMENT)

There seems to be an asymmetry between *zitten* 'sit' and other posture verbs: whereas *liggen* 'lie'*, staan* 'stand'*,* or *hangen* 'hang' refer to postures which are very distinct and are easily discriminated, less clear cases or cases where posture is not relevant are relegated to *zitten* (Lemmens 2002). Cf. *Er zitten hier geen olifanten* 'There sit no elephants here', where the posture of the elephants is irrelevant (note that this is not a presuppositional use, nor a default collocation, since elephants are not supposed to 'sit' but to 'stand' ; rather the sentence exemplifies the non-posture' use of *zitten*).

Liggen1 : for ex., for a bottle lying on its side. The feature of extension in the horizontal dimension probably motivates the "geographical" uses of *liggen* (*de hoofdstad Hanoi ligt aan de Rode Rivier* 'the capital Hanoi lies on the Red River').

Liggen2 : a broken plate, a plate turned upside down. In this range of uses, *liggen* is associated with passivity, inertia, disorganization (a disorganized heap of papers is said to 'lie', not to 'stand').
Kutscher & Schultze-Berndt (2007) observe that in German the noncanonical position of a plate, even if lying flat on its base, may trigger the use of *liegen* (for ex. for a plate on a cup, or a plate lying on the floor, esp. if this is accidental). There are residual uses of *liegen* for objects that are in a rigid container but are not lying flat (for ex. a folder in a basket). Same use of *leżeć* in Polish for objects which canonically stand but are in a noncanonical posture or somehow "inert" (like a broken plate).
By opposition to *staan* (verticality) and *zitten* (containment) *liggen* applies to situation with 1-dimensionality (point on a line) and extends to point-like abstract entities (for ex. as localized on the time-line as in the future lies open.
Liggen is also used to refer to causes (*the cause lies in…*). *De oorsprong van dat fenomeen ligt in de negentiende eeuw* 'The origin of that phenomenon lies in the nineteenth century' ; cf. German : *Wo liegt der Ursprung der Finanzkrise ?*).

Staan1 : a bottle standing upright. Verticality may characterize most typical cases only. Thus, there might be an extension from 'vertically protruding' to 'at right angle with base' in *Er staat veel haar op zijn kin* 'There stood a lot of hair on his chin' (Lemmens 2002).

Staan2 : a telephone or a plate in canonical position (where *stand* does not mean 'be tall and vertical' but rather 'be on one's feet and functional' ; Lemmens 2002). Polish is similar (Kopecka 2004).

Zijn 'be' seems to be used when the location rather than the spatial relation is at issue, for inst. in questions (*where are my shoes?*) or when possible locations are in contrast (ex. : *my furniture is in Amsterdam, but my books are still in France*). Lemmens remarks that in *Waar ligt/is de grens tussen goed en kwaad?* 'Where lies/is the border between good and evil?', "the posture verb [ligt] commits the speaker to locating the border, the verb *zijn* [is] probes into the very existence of it" (2002).

Conclusion : the presuppositional use of posture does exists but is restricted by the fact that *zitten* and *zijn* have the capacity to shift the focus to non postural features (esp. containment and localization / existence). Features that are not properly spatial seem to be relevant too : intimate or "normal" relation, passivity or inertia.

II.2.2. TYPE III: MULTIPLE POSITIONAL VERBS

II.2.2.1. LIKPE (Ameka 2007)

Likpe has postural verbs ('sit', 'stand', 'lie', 'hang', 'squat'), verbs of "dispersion" ('spread', 'cover') and attachment ('be fixed', 'be stuck to'), but its hallmark is a group of "**topological" verbs** (*tə́* 'be.at', *tə́kə́* 'be.on.surface', *kpé* 'be.in', *fi* 'be.near'). In the Basic Locative Construction, topological verbs are used with a LOC preposition and the relation is left unspecified on the level of the PP :

(24) *u-sió.bí* *ə́-mə́* *tə́kə́* *lə́* *u-yi* *ə́-mə́.*
CM-girl AGR-DET be.on LOC CM-tree AGR-DET
'The girl is on the tree.'

A peculiarity of these topological verbs is that they can be integrated into various constructions and be semantically "coerced" (except the causative construction for *tə́* 'be.at'). For ex. when used in a transitive construction *tə́kə́* 'be.on' takes on a causative meaning and is equivalent to 'put.on'. The same verbs have a "nonstative" or "inchoative" interpretation (assume position X) when prefixed with an index cross-referencing the subject argument. Thus, these V take on meanings that result from their construction.
Posture verbs : 'sit' and 'lie' are preferably used with animate F, but 'stand' is compatible with inanimates and competes with 'be.in' or 'be.on'. The difference seems to hinge on what the speaker wishes to emphasize : if a bottle fell down, the speaker would say : "and now it's *lying* (or comes to lie)" [nonstative construction]. If it was lying, he might say : "it *is.on* the table." 'Squat' refers to a postural shape (e.g. an upside down container 'squats') but 'be.on' is a potential substitute. As for 'be.at', it typically shows up when an object is on the ground, the floor etc.
There are thus default collocations, overlaps, pragmatic effects.

II.2.2.2. Laz (Kutscher & Genç 2007)

Laz posture / positional verbs include: *PRV-dgun* 'stand', *PRV-ren* 'stand', *PRV-zun* 'lie', *PRV-xen* 'sit, stay', *PRV-bɣun* 'be located as mass', *PRV-mpiy* 'be spread', *PRV-sun* 'be smeared', *PRV-tun* 'cover', *PRV-bun* 'hang', *PRV-nʒoy* 'stick, be stuck', *PRV-nǐun* 'be dipped', *PRV-çabun* 'stick to', be sticky', *PRV-ǩorun* 'be bound', *PRV-gzun* 'burn'.
There are 27 preverbs coding spatial relations (on, steep up, up amidst, down, down into, down along, into, out of, in front, behind …) and deixis, pure (hither, thither) or in combination with spatial relations (across hither, thither and along…).

(25) *şişe* *masa* *ce-dgun.*
bottle table on-stand:3SG:PRS
'The bottle is (lit.: is standing) on the table.'

[constructions with adnominals are possible too, but are not prevalent :

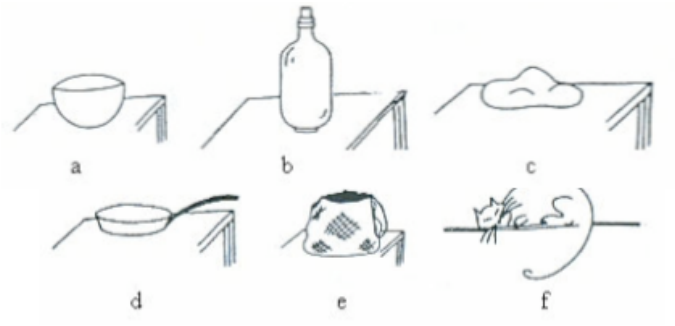
(26) *Ali* *masa-şi* *cindo* *dgun.*
Ali table-GEN surface stand:3SG:PRS
'Ali stands on the table.'

The motivation for choosing *PRV-dgun* 'stand' vs *PRV-zun* 'lie' is not very clear but seems to hinge on whether the Figure is vertical (> stand), the Ground is a normal support (> stand), the Figure is on a noncanonical Ground or put away or contained in the Ground (> lie). *PRV-ren* 'stand' apply to humans, trees and liquid.
PRV-xen 'sit, stay' is employed for permanent or stable positions (e.g. a stamp 'sits' on an envelope, somebody 'sits' at work). *PRV-bɣun* 'be located as mass', involves an unorderly mass of semi-individuated objects and contrasts with *PRV-mpiy* 'be spread' which suggests an even or orderly expanse of a mass or continuous objects. *PRV-bun* 'hang' refers to objects "pulling" downward more less vertically from a point of attachment (clothes 'hang' on a hook, but a telephone is also said to 'hang' on a wall). *PRV-nʒoy* 'stick, be stuck' indicates a certain degree of tight fit (a cork in a bottle, flowers in a vase).

II.2.2.3. TZELTAL (Brown 1994 & 2006, Bohnemeyer & Brown 2007)

Tzeltal has a very large inventory of "dispositionals"[1] (around 260 for Tzeltal). Dispositionals refer to body positions and / or the shape of the Figure (cf. *waxal* below), the global configuration formed by F and G (ex. F tightly bound around G, F loosely bound around G), attachment and various relations of "fit" (F stuck to G, F inserted in G). Co-expression of shape and attachment / fit is frequent (for ex. *xijil* 'be located' for long, thin objects inserted carefuly into bounded grounds ; Brown 1994 : 767). Co-expression of attachment / fit and medium is found too (*t'umul* 'be immersed in a liquid in a container').
Their use is *assertional* (they do not occur in questions bearing on the localization of the Figure, nor in negative statements about the Figure's localization).
The distinctions made by positionals are amazingly fine-grained (for ex., for body positions : 'lying face up', 'lying face up, arms outspread', 'lying down on side', 'lying down curled up on side' etc.).
Ex. (from Grinevald 2006) :

[1] The authors favor the term "dispositionals" over "positionals" on the ground that dispositionals do not only encode postures or positions. For inst., they may describe F / G configurations as in 'be inserted', or 'be tightly encircling'.



a. *pachal* -of wide-mouthed container canonically 'sitting'
b. *waxal* -of tall oblong-shaped container or solid object canonically 'standing'
c. *pakal* -of blob with distinguishably flat surface lying 'face down'
d. *lechel* -of flat bottomed object lying on its flat surface
e. *chepel* -of a filled bag held from underneath
f. *mochol* -of an animate object lying curled up on its side

Shape and posture of F:

(27) *waxal-Ø* *ta* *ti'-k'jk'* *p'in.*
vertical-3A PREP mouth-fire pot
'The pot is (standing vertical) by the fire.'
[*waxal* is analyzed as a positional used for tall container or solid object canonically 'standing']

(28) *pachal-Ø* *bojch* *ta* *mexa*.
sitting-3A gourd-bowl PREP table
'The gourd bowl is on the table.' [*pachal*: 'be located' for a wide-mouthed container canonically 'sitting']

Attachment and "fit" relation:

(29) *tik'il-ø* *ta* *bojch* *(mantzana).*
inserted.in-3A PREP gourd-bowl (apple)
'It (the apple) is inserted-into the gourdbowl.'

In Tzeltal, the general existential predicate is used in presentative sentences ('there is a hat on the man') or in order to express possessive relations, or when the position of the Figure is unknown, or when the Figure is unfeatured and does not fit the specifications of a positional (e.g. a ball).

What is the motivation behind this lexical wealth ? It has been proposed that Mayan languages in general and Tzeltal in particular use dispositionals to encode the information that other languages package in adpositions or case markers (Brown 1994 and Grinevald 2006). Dispositionals that code a relation to a Ground (for ex. *tik'il* 'inserted') do obviate the need for adnominals. However, many dispositionals only code the Figure's position or shape. Consequently, the relation of the Figure to the Ground is left to inference in these cases. For ex., from 'the gourd-bowl is sitting at the table' (lit.), speakers infer that the gourd-bowl is on the table because sitting requires a support from below.
However, in order to specify the relation of the Figure to the Ground and in addition to dispositionals, speakers frequently use spatial nouns and specific PP. Ex. :

(30) *pachal-Ø* *ta* *<u>ba</u>* *mexa* *te* *ala* *baso-e.*
sitting-3A PREP top table ART DIM cup-CL
'The little cup is sitting on top of the table.' [*pachal*: 'be located' for a wide-mouthed container canonically sitting] [compare with above]

(31) *tik'il-ø* *ta* *y-<u>util</u>* *bojch* *(mantzana).*
inserted.in-3A PREP 3E-inside gourd-bowl (apple)
'It is inserted in the inside of the gourdbowl.' (apple) [compare with above]

Further, spatial nouns are as likely to co-occur with dispositionals as with the existential verb, and are not more frequent in Yukatek than in Tzeltal, in spite of the fact that Yukatek makes a restricted use of dispositionals (Bohnemeyer & Brown 2007).

II.2.3. DOUBLY EXPRESSED POSTURE / POSITION

II.2.3.1. GOEMAI (Hellwig 2006)

Goemai has an existential verb, a small set of posture verbs, and a large set of positionals.

Posture verbs : *lang* 'hang.SG', *t'ong* 'sit.SG', *d'yem* 'stand.SG', *t'o* 'lie.SG'.[2]
Existential verb : *d'e* 'exist.SG'
Positional verbs : about 30 verbs that code information about posture (e.g., *shuur* 'squat', *k'ut* 'crouch'), orientation (e.g., *k'oon* 'face down', *dum* 'upside down, bend forward'), disposition (e.g., *fum* 'fold', *lam* 'twist') and distribution (e.g., *f'u* 'scatter', *t'arak* 'long-spaced, in patches').[3]

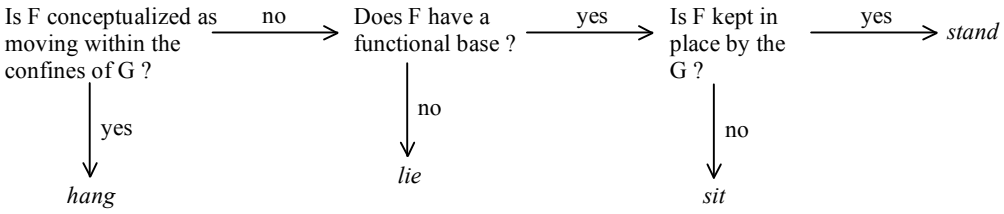
Posture verbs
• Posture verbs take progressive aspect, whereas positional verbs are inchoative.
• Co-occurrence of posture and positional verb :

(32)	*wang*	*nnoe*	*k'oon*	*d'yem*	*pûoe*	*tebul.*
	pot	LOC.ANAPH	face.down.SG	stand.SG	mouth	table

'This pot stands face down at the edge of the table.'

• Posture verbs have **presuppositional as well as assertional uses** : if posture is in focus (for inst. when the Ground goes unmentioned or the position is noncanonical), the posture verb may receive contrastive stress or be reinforced with a cognate adverb ('it sits sittingly'). Questions ('where does the calabash sit?') or negations ('the calabash does not sit there') which bear on the localization of the F testify to the presuppositional use of posture verbs. However, in presuppositional contexts, the existential verb seems to prevail over the postural verbs.
• *lang* 'hang.SG' is used for animates moving in their natural habitats
• *t'ong* 'sit.SG' emphasizes stability of the Figure. Competes with 'stand' for objects with legs.
• *d'yem* 'stand.SG' is used for Figures that cannot remain stable by themselves and are held in place by the Ground (this extends to "negative" spaces such as holes, which depend on the Ground for their existence).
• *t'o* 'lie.SG': for a Figure with no functional base to rest on a Ground (a spoon on a table), or to spread over a Ground (bark on a tree).

Flow chart for default assignment :



Noncanonical postures call for nondefault verbs. For ex., a calabash normally 'sits'. If upside down, it 'stands' (and here verticality comes into play).

Existential verb
• the existential verb is used for "bad" figures (a crack in a cup) or abstract figures ('illness is around'), when the position of F is unknown or cannot be captured by a posture or positional verb.

Positional verbs
• They describe the position (shape) that the F assumes, not the F's relation to the G.
• Positional verbs are assertional even if unmarked by stress or other contrastive devices. They are typically inchoative (or else take on a resultative meaning, e.g. 'got stuck') and normally describe a transient state.
• A positional verb can be combined with a postural verb, with apparent contradictory import. The contradiction is resolved by considering that the postural verb is used in a presuppositional way (it has a sort of classifying function) and the positional verb makes an assertion :

(33)	*wang*	*k'oon*	*t'ong*	*k'a*	*kuk.*
	pot	face.down.SG	sit.SG	HEAD.SG	stump

'The pot sits face down on the stump.' (Hellwig 2006 : 913)

II.2.3.2. YUHUP (Ospina 2009)

[2] Except for the existential verb, there are suppletive forms in the plural ('exist.PL' : *loe* ; 'sit.PL' : *t'wot* ; 'stand.PL' : *d'yam* ; 'lie.PL' : *t'oerep*) and each of these posture and existential verbs has a transitive counterpart.
[3] The transitive counterparts of positional verbs are formally identical to their intransitive versions.

Yuhup has a set of posture V (*sit / stand / lie / rest*, for ex. non dynamic sitting) and a few positional V (be suspended / inserted / immersed / hang, i.e. be supported in a medium, like water). Its originality lies in a set of forms which finely discriminate body positions and can be prefixed to posture / positional V :

(34) *təh̃ăj* *~bŎk* *pò-ʔáhà* *̃bùg^{n}-~kétí.*
woman pot top-DIST back.bent-stand
(lit.) 'The woman stands back bent above the pot.'

Note that posture V can be used without prefixes of posture / position.

II.2.4. BEYOND THE VERBAL STRATEGY

In **Itonama** (Crevels 2010), posture and position can be encoded on the V (whether existential, possessive, locative incl. directional) and on demonstratives. Posture and position markers are analyzed as classifiers by Crevels. The meanings of 'sit', 'stand', 'lie' or 'hang' are encoded compositionally, as the combination of an existential predicate with a classifier of posture / position :

(35) *pi-ni-si-ye-ʔ-taʔ-ko* *naʔabï.* [*-yeta* : ANIM + VERT + SG]
3SG-NEG-EX-CL.VERT.SG-NEG-NEUT$_A$ DEM.ADV.PROX
'She no longer lives here.'

These classifiers are found with directional verbs :

(36) *yomoni-yetaʔ-naʔ-ka* *ni-mariya* *pi-ni-eʔe* *pi-ni-ku.*
leave-CL.VERT.SG-NEUT$_A$-F.SG HON-María 3SG.F-REL-offspring 3SG.F-REL-house
'María left her son at home.'

And with demonstratives :

(37) *ya-dïlï* *ubuwa.* [*-dïlï* : ANIM + VERT + PL]
DEM.MED-CL.VERT.PL person
'Those (standing) men.'

Other classifiers specify the shape of the F (for ex. 'sinuous', 'aggregate of grains'), its substance ('water'), or more complex kinds (''oval container'). Itonama appears to be "obsessed" with posture.

II.2.5. POSITIONALS AND "FIGURE – GROUND REVERSALS"

Figure-Ground configurations as gestalts

A Figure / Ground reversal occurs when the arguments of a relational predicate exchange their F and G roles.
There are for instance rare occurrences in which the same positional does not seem to distinguish Figure from Ground :
Tzeltal : "dispositional adjective" *pachal* 'wide-mouthed container in canonical upright position' (Brown 1994 : 772)

(38) *pachal-Ø* *ta* *bojch* *tulesma*.
sitting-3A PREP gourd-bowl peach
'The peaches are in the gourd-bowl.' [the "dispositional adjective" *pachal* applies to the peaches]

(39) *pachal-Ø* *bojch* *ta* *mexa*.
sitting-3A gourd-bowl PREP table
'The gourd bowl is on the table.' [the "dispositional adjective" *pachal* applies to the gourd-bowl]
Same observation for waxal 'of tall oblong-shaped container or solid object canonically standing' or nujul 'upended or in an upended container' (i.e. applies both to an upended container or to what is contained in it).
Brown (1994 : 777) : "it is the overall gestalt presented by the configuration of figure and ground together that the dispositional adjective describes."

Japanese : some intransitive V used in the "resultative-middle construction" (Kita 2006 :).
[APPLE ON A SKEWER] :

(40) *ringo-wa* *kushi-ni* *sasat-te-i-ru.*
apple-TOP skewer-DAT pierce-CONN-IMP-PRES
'The apple, a skewer has pierced.' [predicate applies to 'apple']

(41) *ya-wa* *ringo-ni* *sasat-te-i-ru*.
arrow-TOP apple-DAT pierce-CONN-IMP-PRES
'The arrow has pierced an apple.' [predicate applies to 'arrow']

Dutch : Lemmens (2002)
(42) *de papieren liggen in mijn werkkamer.*
'The papers lie in my study.'

(43) *mijn werkkamer ligt vol papieren.*
'My study lies full of papers.'
Cf. German : *Der Raum liegt voll mit Rucksäcken und anderem Reisegepäck* (internet).

Kutscher & Schultze-Berndt (2007 : 990)
(44) *der Apfelbaum hing voller Früchte.*
'The apple tree was full of fruits' (lit. 'was hanging full of fruits')

The following are instances of F/G reversals according to Kutscher & Schultze-Berndt (?) (2007 : 1009) :
(45) *der Ring steckt am Finger.*
'the ring ''is stuck'' on the finger.'

(46) *[der Apfel] steckt auf dieser Spitze.*
'(the apple) ''is stuck'' on that pointed/sharp thing.'

These might be cases where features are in conflict. The G normally both controls the position of the F and is the encompassive object toward which the F moves : *der Ring steckt am Finger* (G controls the position of F and F moves toward G) vs *der Finger steckt am Ring* (G is the encompassive object).
Cf. also this speaker's hesitation :
(47) *Der Schuh ist am Fuß, steckt am Fuß nee eigentlich steckt der FUSS im Schuh, naja da steckt der Schuh wahrscheinlich auch.*
Cf. French (familiar) *mets tes chaussures dans tes pieds* 'put your shoes into your feet'. Dutch : take OUT (*uit*) your shoes.

II.2.6. GRAMMATICALIZATION : POSTURE VERBS AS AUXILIARIES

There is diachronic evidence that posture verbs can evolve into auxiliaries, esp. for the purpose of expressing the progressive aspect. Comrie (1976: 102) observes that in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese the progressive is lexicalized with forms deriving from Latin *stare* 'stand', e.g. *sto cantando / estoy cantando*. In Ese Ejja, the present tense suffix *-(a)ni* indicating is probably the same as the suffix referring to the sitting posture : *taaa-(a)ni* 'be shouting' (Vuillermet 2009).

According to Kuteva (1999), the auxiliarization of posture verbs with a resulting progressive meaning is observed in Bulgarian, some Germanic languages, Mandan, Kabyle, Imonda, Kxoe.
Drawing on data from Bulgarian (and from Danish, Norwegian and Swedish), Kuteva (1999) argues that the auxiliarization of posture verbs goes through a first stage in which a posture is associated with a concomitant action, in a construction parallel to English *he sat and ate*, for ex.:
(48) *stoi* *i* *se* *ogležda* *v* *ogledaloto*.
stand.3SG.PRES.IMP and REFL l look at.3SG.PRES.IMP in mirror.the
'She stands and looks at herself in the mirror' i.e. in the context 'She has been looking at herself in the mirror all the time' (Kuteva 1999 : 195).

A similar construction is found in Norwegian (ibid.):
(49) *jeg* *sitter* *og* *snakker.*
I sit.PRES and talk.PRES
'I am talking.'

During a second stage, the postural information would lose its focal status while the aspectual feature of unboundedness would become prominent. As a reflex of this evolution, the biclausal structure may turn into a monoclausal one.

II.2.7. CONCLUSIONS

The most common posture verbs are *sit / stand / lie / hang* (Trumai has 2 verbs 'lie', one for higher than floor and the other for lying on the floor ; German does not use *sitzen* for inanimates, has a verb for expressing tight fit, *stecken*, has several adhesion verbs / *kleben, klemmen, haften* etc.).
Their origin is likely to be anthropomorphic for *sit / stand / lie* (humans currently assume these three postures, which is not true for most animals ; however, some positionals with a 'stand' meaning are reserved for inanimates, cf. Laz *PRV-dgun*).
'Sit' commonly extends to objects with a functional base. Verticality or protrusion are relevant for 'stand'. Parallelism between the longest axis of F and the G seems to be crucial for 'lie'. 'Lie' is extended to "geographical" F in Dutch, German and Trumai. In Dutch, Polish or Laz, an object that is typically 'standing' is said to 'lie' when it is on a noncanonical G (on the floor, e.g.) or "inert".
Other semantic dimensions pertain to the degree of fit between F and G (Laz and German), or various forms of adhesion of F to G (also in Laz and German).
When a language employs non posture / non positional verbs in basic locative construction, these verbs focus on the location itself or the existence of the F at the G. They may be used for "bad" figures (*der Sprung ist / *steht / *liegt in der Tasse*) or abstract figures or mass-like figures (*das Wasser ist / *steht / *liegt in der Schüssel*), or simply when the position of the F is not known (Dutch *zijn*, German *sein* ; Kutscher & Schultze-Berndt 2007 : 1019).
In some languages, posture verbs occur in default collocations and function in a presuppositional way, but existential verbs may preempt this presuppositional use of posture verbs. In other languages (like German), their use is assertional.
In languages with a very large inventory of positional verbs, it seems natural to expect that positional verbs would not be used in a presuppositional way. The reason is that positional verbs being semantically very specific, they bring into focus the position of the Figure. This is indeed the case in Tzeltal. Tzeltal also shows that while positional verbs may be the primary locus of encoding of spatial relations, they are often supplemented with spatial nouns. It follows that positional verbs should not be regarded as an alternative to adnominals.
Some languages allow for constructions that cumulate several indications of posture / positions (Goemai, Yuhup), or extend the use of posture-specifying forms beyond static location and the verb (Itonama).
Goemai illustrates a presuppositional use of posture verbs combined with an assertional use of positional verbs (expected, in the sense that positional verbs are semantically more fine-grained).
Yuhup is an example of a language that does not fit well in Levinson's typology : its inventory of posture verbs is larger than in languages of type IIa.
Itonama (as well as other Amerindian languages) is of a type unaccounted for in the current typology since posture can be encoded outside of the verb.
Finally, posture verbs may grammaticalize into auxiliaries of progressive constructions. This evolution is plausibly based on the fact that keeping a posture for an indefinite time is semantically similar to maintaining a labile state in existence.

PART II

BASIC LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

3. DETERMINANTS OF THE BLC

II.3.1. IMPLICATIONAL HIERARCHY OF BLC-TRIGGERING SCENES

Levinson & Wilkins (2006 : 514-526)
Implicational hierarchy : if the BLC is used for a type of situation, it tends to be used for situations lower in the hierarchy :

Animate Ground > Figure pierced > Ground pierced > adhesion > core scenes

Ring on finger > apple on skewer > arrow in apple > stamp > cup on table / fruit in bowl
Core scenes involve an ‘‘easily moved inanimate Figure located in non attached fashion with respect to Ground.’’

Factors entering into the probability of using a BLC (Levinson & Wilkins 2006 : 515) :

1. Close contact — separation
2. Independent F — Attached F —Part-whole relation
3. Contained F — Contained G
4. Inanimate F or G — Animate F or G
5. Relatively small F compared to G — Relatively large F compared to G
6. Stereotypical relation of F to G — unusual, atypical relation
7. Canonical Figure (3-dimensional physical object) — 2- or 1-dimensional — negative space

II.3.2. EXAMPLES OF FACTORS AT PLAY IN THE HIERARCHY

CONTACT VS SEPARATION
If the BLC is used with [- contact] situations, it is used with [+ contact] situations. The converse does not hold, i.e. [- contact] situations may be expressed by other constructions. Of course, [+ contact] / [- contact] are not necessarily distinguished (for ex. Japanese *ue* does not make any distinction between ‘on’ / ‘above’ and contact is irrelevant as well for *shita* ‘under’; Kita 2006 : 447).
Arrernte (Wilkins 2006 : 33) : absence of contact between F and G is marked with the ablative case on the G :

(1)	*panikane-ø*	*tipwele*	*akertne-le*	*(ane-me).*
	cup-NOM	table	up/top-LOC	(sit-npp)

‘The cup is on top of the table.’ [the G has no overt K ;

(2)	*alkngenthe-ø*	*tipwele-nge*	*akertne-le.*
	light-NOM	table-ABL	up/top-LOC

‘The lamp is above the table.’

Tidore (van Staden 2007 : 972)
Tidore typically uses a directional verb (*ia* ‘centrifugal’, below) when the F is not adjacent to the G :

(3)	*una*	*ma-soka*	*mina*	*toma*	*tarpesa*	*ma-dulu*	*ia.*
	3M	3M-hide	3F	LOC	chair	INAL-back	CTRF

‘He hides her behind the chair.’
The same strategy is found in Taba (Bowden 1997 : 260), where names of spatial parts are restricted to the designation of parts and cannot refer to regions extending from a part (nor in a relative frame). Hence, if a spatial part localizes a F, the F must be contiguous or attached to it :

(4)	*tabako*	*a-dia*	*kurusi*	*ni*	*soda*	*li.*
	cigarette	DEM-DIST	chair	POSS	face	LOC

‘The cigarettes are there, on the front of the chair.’

A venitive directional is used instead if F is not contiguous with G (compare with Taba above) :

(5)	*tabako*	*a-dia*	*kurusi*	*ni*	*no-ge.no-ma*	*li.*
	cigarette	DEM-DIST	chair	POSS	there-ESS.there-VEN	LOC

'The cigarettes are in front of the chair.'

INDEPENDENCE vs ATTACHMENT

A situation where a F is attached to a G, or is in a part-whole relation to a G tends to be described in a construction distinct from the BLC. For ex. a stamp glued to a letter does not elicit a BLC in Kilivila (Senft 2006 : 215) :

(6)	*mi-ya-na*	*leta*	*e-ka-usi*	*stampa*	*e-paki-si*	*otapwala.*
	Dem-CLP.flexible-Dem	letter	3P-take-PL	stamp	3P-glue-PL	at the side

'They take this letter and glue a stamp on its side.'

Arrernte (Wilkins 2006 : 37) :

(7)	*stampe*	*pipe-ke*	*arrerne-ke-arle.*
	stamp	paper-DAT	put-pc-REL

'The stamp has been put on the paper.' (lit. a stamp which (someone) put on paper)

French (coat hanging from a peg; French makes a heavy use of past participles, cf. Hickmann 2001) :

(8)	*le*	*manteau*	*est*	*pendu*	*au*	*porte-manteau.*
	the.MASC	coat	is	hung	at.the.MASC	peg

'The coat is hanging from the peg.'

French speakers frequently use constructions of the kind above, with past participles, and might even omit the G if it is recoverable (*le manteau est accroché* 'the coat is hooked' ; Hickmann 2007).

CONTAINED F vs CONTAINED G

A G contained in a F (for ex. *an apple on an arrow*) tends to elicit other constructions than the BLC :

Yukatek (Bohnemeyer & Stolz 2006 : 290) :

(9)	*kruzàar-nah-a'n*	*le*	*flèecha*	*ti'*	*hun-p'éel*	*màansana.*
	cross-CMP-RES(B.3.SG)	DEF	arrow	LOC	one-CL.IN	apple

'The arrow is crossed in an apple.'

Similarly in **Ewe** (Ameka & Essegbey 2006 : 377):

(10)	*aŋutrɔ*	*lá*	*tó*	*atíkútsétsé-á*	*me*	*do*	*gó.*
	arrow	DEF	pass	fruit-DEF	containing.region	exit	outside

'The arrow passed through the fruit and exited it.'

Since containment has something to do with control (the G typically controls or constrains the location of the F), a "controlling" F may induce a F / G reversal (cf. F / G reversals, II.2.5 : *mets tes chaussures dans tes pieds* / *Der Schuh ist am Fuß, steckt am Fuß nee eigentlich steckt der FUSS im Schuh*).

INANIMATE vs ANIMATE G

An animate G is commonly viewed as enganging in an activity related to the F, a possessor of the G etc. For ex., for a ring on a finger :

(11)	*ring*	*iltye-ke*	*arrerne-lhe-ke.*
	ring	finger-DAT	put-REFL-pc

(lit.) 'A ring (someone) has put on (her own) finger.'

Cf.

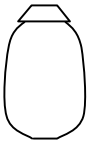
(12) — *where are my eyeglasses?*
— *You are wearing them!*

SIZE RELATION BETWEEN F AND G

In the TPRS the 'apple on arrow' situation regularly fares low on the elicitation probability of a BLC. The relative size of the F compared to the G might be an additional factor. Cf. also Hungarian :

(13) *a* *ház* *körül* *kerítés* *van.*
DEF house around fence is
'There is a fence around the house.' [i.e. in answer to the question : *where is the house?* one does not say 'the house is in the fence' with INESS in a case, A. Söres, p.c.]

Although *a bulb in a socket* and *a bottle in a cap* refer to similar relations, the former is acceptable and the latter is not : the bottle, being much bigger than the cap than, is not a good Figure (example from Vandeloise 1986[4]).



A bulb in a socket.
** A bottle in a cap.*

CANONICAL RELATIONS
Noncanonical relations are often expressed differently from canonical ones. For ex., default cooccurences (cf. posture V) are cancelled (Yélî Dnye), adnominals instead of ø or heavier adpositional phrases are selected (Likpe, Tagalog), more complex verbal constructions are used (*la bouteille est / est couchée sur la table*) etc.

Yélî Dnye (Levinson 2006) no adposition (only if relation is canonical) :

(14)	*kpîdî*	*pee*	*pi*	*kêpa*	———	*ka*	*t:a.*
	cloth	piece	person	forehead	(postp. slot)	TAMP	hanging

'The piece of cloth is hanging (around) the person's forehead.' (= headband)

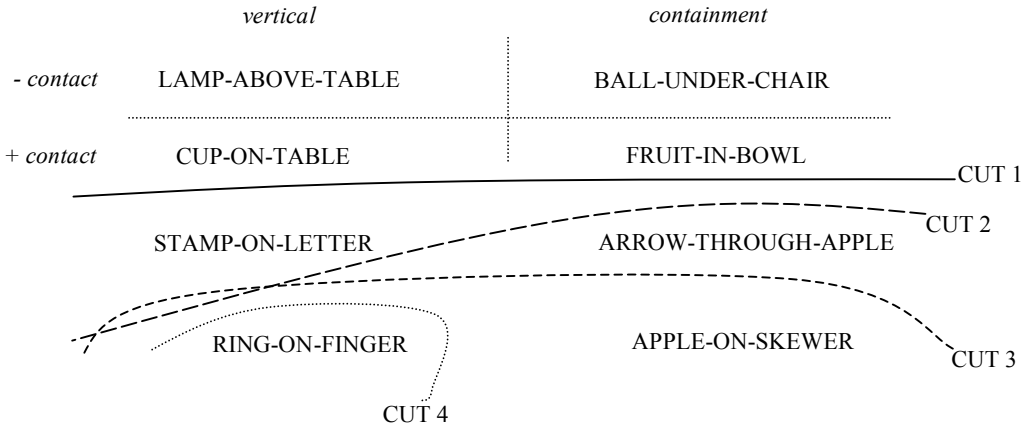
CANONICAL FIGURES
The relation of a noncanonical F to a G, for ex. a "negative" F such as a hole, tends to be expressed in a construction distinct from the BLC. Cf. a crack in a cup :
Japanese (Kita 2006 : 444) : neither the locative verb *aru* nor the usual word order can be used in this situation:

(15)	*kono*	*kabe-ni*	*sono*	*ana-wa*	*ai-te-i-ru.*
	this	wall-DAT	that	hole-TOP	open(intr.)-CONN-IMP-PRS

'The hole "opens" in this wall.' [marked order w/r to the BLC, since TOP is not first ; however, the order corresponds to that of the presentational / existential construction]

II.3.3. CROSS-LINGUISTIC VARIATIONS

Languages differ in the extent to which they use the BLC. The use of the BLC may cover core cases or extend to more atypical situations.



BLC extending to cut 1 only : Arrernte : all the attachment scenes require a construction which treats them as a result of prior action (Wilkins 2006 : 37) :

[4] According to Vandeloise, (1986, 2005 : 223), **a bottle in a cap is unacceptable* because the cap, unlike the socket for the bulb, does not control the figure's location. In other words, 'control by the Ground' is a core feature of *in*.

(16) *stampe* *pipe-ke* *arrerne-ke-arle.*
stamp paper-DAT put-pc-REL
'The stamp has been put on the paper.' (lit. a stamp which (someone) put on paper)

Similarly, Japanese uses a middle or a resultative construction for situations below cut 1 :
(17) *ringo-wa* *kushi-ni* *sasat-te-i-ru.*
apple-TOP skewer-DAT pierce-CONN-IMP-PRES
'The apple, a skewer has pierced.' [applies to 'apple']

BLC extending to cut 2 : Yukatek uses resultative constructions below this cut (Bohnemeyer & Stolz 2006 : 290) :
(18) *kruzàar-nah-a'n* *le* *flèecha* *ti'* *hun-p'éel* *màansana.*
cross-CMP-RES(B.3.SG) DEF arrow LOC one-CL.IN apple
'The arrow is crossed in an apple.'

BLC extending to cut 3 : Tzeltal : a rich inventory of positionals enables Tzeltal to describe many scenes with the BLC (Brown 2006: 247) :
(19) *k'atal-ø* *jelawel* *ta* *mantzana* *(te* *t'e-e).*
across-3A crossDIR PREP apple (ART stick-CL)
'It (the stick = arrow) is crossways acrosswards through the apple.'

Situations of fitting a "clothe-like" item to a Ground, or affecting a G (e.g. by piercing etc.), involving an animate subject or construable as an event (*it has rained on the door* rather than *there are drops on the door*) are described by means of other constructions :

(Brown 2006 : 250)

<table>
<tr><th colspan="6">Active <- > Stative</th></tr>
<tr><th>Inflected transitive</th><th>Inflected intransitive</th><th>Stative form transitive -oj / -ej
he-has-Ved-it</th><th>Stative form intransitive -em
it has V-ed</th><th>Resultative -bil
having been V-ed</th><th>Dispositional adjectives with -Vl/-ajtik and ay 'be located'</th></tr>
<tr><td>'he-made-it-into-a-hat' (hat)</td><td>'it-is-moving'</td><td>'he has inserted-it-(in mouth)' (cigarette)</td><td>'it-has-entered' (arrow)</td><td>'wound-around' (hose around stone)</td><td rowspan="3">'be standing'
'be sitting'
'be lying flat'
'be hanging'
'be squatting'
'be kneeling'
'be stuck-onto'
'be inserted-into'
'be tightly-inserted-in'
'be mounted onto'
'be tightly encircling'
'be drooping-across'
etc.</td></tr>
<tr><td>'he-is-hiding' (boy)</td><td rowspan="2">'it-has-dropletted' (rain)</td><td rowspan="2">'she-has-put-it-on' (shoe)</td><td rowspan="2">'it-has-ripped' (cloth)</td><td>'hung-up' (coat)</td></tr>
<tr><td>'he-has-made-it-enter' (arrow)</td><td>'tied' (ribbon around candle)</td></tr>
</table>

BLC extending to cut 4 : English

Of course, these cuts are only an approximation. Spatial situations are very diverse and cannot cluster around 8 situations only. Further, the BLC is constrained by the kinds of semantic distinctions made by those elements that are susceptible to enter into this construction. For ex., 'ladder against wall' is not likely to be described in a BLC in Hungarian (i.e. with cases on G nominals) simply because cases do not code this distinction in Hungarian (Söres, p. c.) nor in any language that I know of :

(20) *a* *létra* *a* *falhoz* *van* *támaszt-va*
DEF ladder DEF wall-allative is lean-PARTCP
'The ladder leans against the wall.'

II.3.4. CONCLUSION

Levinson's approach relativizes the importance of features which, according to Talmy, are characteristic of Figure and Ground. For Levinson et al. these features are essentially relative to one of the constructions which fulfill the function of localizing an entity (the Basic Locative Construction), and reflect the degree to which spatial facets of a situation condition its description. There is thus a three-way correlation between the type of construction used, the salience of the properly spatial facets of the situation, and the "talmyan" features of F and G. These features are most relevant for "very spatial" situations, where "very spatial" essentially excludes two kinds of situations : situations which are construed as a the result of an action, or in which an entity has undergone an internal change of state (apple on skewer > apple pierced by the skewer) ; situations which involve a possessor-possessed or a part-whole relation and tend to induce a F/G reversal (a ring on a finger > the finger wears a ring ; a hole in the towel > the towel has a hole in it).