Access Path Expressions in Thai

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1. Introduction

This paper investigates the so-called 'access paths' in Thai.[1] Access paths are a category that Talmy (1996) terms fictive motion (i.e. less palpable motion) or what Langacker (1986; 1987; 1998) calls abstract or subjective or virtual motion (i.e. motion on the part of the conceptualizer). These terms refer to motion that does not physically occur but is evoked in the conceptualizer's mind. Talmy (1996: 251) comments that fictive motion is neither seen at the fully concrete level of palpability nor felt at the fully abstract level of palpability. It is rather sensed at the semiabstract level of palpability. That is, the motion itself is intangible but experienced as present in association with other entities seen at the fully concrete level. Fauconnier (1997) and Langacker (1998) describe fictive motion in terms of conceptual "blending" (cf. Fauconnier & Turner 1996). The blended structure of fictive motion comprises two simultaneous mental spaces: an actual space for the described stationary scene and a virtual space with an imaginary mover.

The category of access paths is one among several main categories of fictive motion (cf. Talmy 1996). The physical concrete entities associated with the access paths are entities located with respect to another entity. An access path emerges as we fictively connect the located entity(s) with the reference entity. In Talmy's (1996: 242) view, "access paths are a depiction of a stationary object's location in terms of a path that some other entity might follow to the point of encounter with the entity." But the same can not be said of the Thai counterparts. For one thing, the described entity or entities may not be located at the endpoint of the path, but may stretch over the path (see Section 4). What is more, Thai speakers do not imagine a concrete entity moving along an access path, but what moves along the path is only their focus of attention (see Section 5).

In the following examples, (1) and (2) exemplify access path expressions in English and Thai, respectively:[2]

(1)   a.   [The bike] <u>is</u> *across the street from the church*.(Talmy 1983: 251)

        b.   Twenty minutes *down the road* <u>is</u> [the hotel].

        c.   <u>There was</u> [a fire] last night *across the river, through the canyon, and over the mountain*.(Langacker 1986: 468)

        d.   [The city] <u>lies</u> many miles *across the desert*. (Matsumoto 1996: 366)

(2)   a.

thàt		*tὲε*	*klùm*	*nùm*	*maa*
move a little		from	group	young man	come
khâaŋ lăŋ	<u>pen</u>	[klùm	mɛ̂ε bâan]		
side back	COP	group	housewife		

        'Back from the group of young men (toward some reference point) is the group of housewives'

    In all the examples, noun phrases representing located entities are inside brackets; verb or prepositional phrases representing access paths are italicized; and copulative, existential and locational verbs are underlined.

    Abbreviations in the glosses are: CLA(ssifier); CON(junction); COP(ula); MOD(al); NEG(ative); PRON(oun, including relative pronoun); REC(iprocal); TOP(ic).

b. *ləəy càak khăw măacuu pay* cà? <u>mii</u>

    pass from hill Maju go MOD exist

    [thaaŋ jêɛk pay sùu thâm lɔ̂ɔt

    side road go towards cave go through

    jày]

    large

    'Beyond the Maju hill (away from some reference point), there is a side road to the large tunnel'

c. [sŭan phăasŏmdèt] nán cà? <u>jùu</u> *hàaŋ*

    park Pasomdet TOP MOD lie remote

    ?ɔ̀ɔk pay raaw sɔ̌ɔŋ kilooméet

    exit go approximately two kilometer

    'Pasomdet Park is about two kilometers away (from some reference point)'

    In this paper I will examine the forms and functions of access path expressions in Thai and further consider semantic constraints on those expressions. Specifically, I will discuss: (a) how Thai — a serial verb language — encodes the access paths; (b) for what purposes Thai speakers use access path expressions; and (c) how Thai speakers' construals, with respect to the access paths, affect the structure of Thai access path expressions.

2. Distinct Construction Types

This section elaborates syntactic structures encoding access paths in Thai. Thai access path expressions in (3), (4) and (5), respectively, include <u>khɯɯ</u> / <u>pen</u> 'to be, namely' (copulative verb), <u>mii</u> 'to have, to exist' (existential verb), and <u>jùu</u> 'to lie, to stay' (locational verb). One of these three verbs inevitably occurs in the expressions. For convenience, we will name these three subtypes of expression Copulative type, Existential type, and Locational type.

(3) a. *klay ?ɔ̀ɔk pay* <u>pen</u> [kɔ̀? lăay kɔ̀?]

    far exit go COP island many CLA

    'Far off are many islands'

   b. *troŋ* khâam tiaŋ nɔɔn *sŭay*

    straight cross bed beautiful

    khɔ̌ɔŋ thəə <u>khɯɯ</u> [hɔ̂ɔŋ nám rŭurăa]

    of PRON COP bathroom gorgeous

'Opposite to her beautiful bed is a gorgeous bathroom'

(4) *luɯ́k*   *loŋ*   *pay*   *tây*   *phuɯ́un*   *nám*   *ʔan*

deep   descend   go   under   surface   water   PRON

jĩŋ jày   dùt kan   mii   [phuukhǎw]   mii

great   likewise   exist   mountain   exist

[hùp hěew]

valley

     'Deep under the surface of the great sea, likewise, are mountain(s) and valley(s)'

(5) lɔ̀ɔn   lɛɛ   duu   [thalee   ʔan   dam   pen

PRON   look   see   sea   PRON   dark   COP

ŋaw]   sɯ̂ɯŋ   <u>*jùu*</u>   *klay*   *pay*   *càak*   *naytaa*

shadow   PRON   lie   far   go   from   eye

     'She looked at the dark sea which was far away from her eyes'

There are two distinct syntactic structures for the access paths in Thai, namely Copulative / Existential type vs. Locational type. The table below shows the orders among their three main constituents (a), (b) and (c). No other order for the constituents is possible.

	1	2	3
Copulative type:	(c) *Path VP/PP*	(a) <u>Copulative V</u>	(b) [Theme NP]
Existential type:	(c) *Path VP/PP*	(a) <u>Existential V</u>	(b) [Theme NP]
Locational type:	(b) [Theme NP]	(a) <u>Locational V</u>	(c) *Path VP/PP*

     (a)   <u>Copulative V</u>   copulative verb <u>khɯɯɯ</u>   /   <u>pen</u>

          <u>Existential V</u>   existential verb <u>mii</u>

          <u>Locational V</u>   locational verb <u>jùu</u>

     (b)   [Theme NP]   noun phrase naming located entity(s)

     (c)   *Path VP/PP*   verb or prepositional phrase encoding fictive path

Compare the syntactic structures of English access path expressions, as in (1), with those of Thai access path expressions, as in (2). The similarities between them are as follows. First, Existential verbs precede Theme noun phrases, as in (1c) and (2b). Second, Locational verbs occur after Theme noun phrases and before Path verb or prepositional phrases, as in (1d) and (2c). There are also differences

between them. First, English Copulative verbs may occur after Theme noun phrases and before Path prepositional phrases, as in (1a). However, Thai Copulative verbs always occur after Path verb or prepositional phrases and before Theme noun phrases, as in (2a). Second, while English Path prepositional phrases normally follow Existential verb phrases, as in (1c), Thai Path verb or prepositional phrases always precede Existential verb phrases, as in (2b). Third, noun phrases indicating distance are placed at the beginning of English Path prepositional phrases, as in (1d), while they are placed at the end of Thai Path verb or prepositional phrases, as in (2c). These syntactic contrasts between the two languages, however, are not specifically observed in access path expressions; rather, the contrasts are natural consequences of the different principles of grammatical structures in the two languages.

(6) lists all the types of components of verb or prepositional phrases expressing the fictive path (Path VP/PP). Examples in (7) illustrate how these components are combined in a Path VP/PP.

(6)   a.   Locative noun (i.e. noun indicating the spatial position of its determining noun) which can be interpreted into English preposition or adverb (e.g. n<u>ǔ</u>a(...) 'above(...) (north),' t<u>â</u>y(...) 'below(...) (south)') or locative preposition (e.g. t<u>ɛ̀ɛ</u>... 'from...,' t<u>âŋ tɛ̀ɛ</u>... 'from (to set up + from)...,' t<u>roŋ khâam</u>... 'opposite (straight + to cross)...,' t<u>roŋ kan khâam</u>... 'opposite (straight + REC + to cross)...'), and its attendant noun phrase naming the reference entity.

        b.   Space-descriptive verb which is semantically equivalent to the English adjective (e.g. <u>klay</u> 'far,' <u>hàaŋ</u> 'remote,' <u>sǔuŋ</u> 'high,' <u>tàm</u> 'low,' <u>nǔ̌a</u> 'northern,' <u>tây</u> 'southern,' <u>lɯ́k</u> 'deep')

        c.   Locative co-verb (i.e. locative preposition derived from motion verb) (e.g. <u>càak</u>... 'from (to leave)...,' <u>ləəy</u>... 'beyond (to overstep)...,' <u>thàt</u> 'next (to move a little)'), normally accompanied with object noun phrase indicating the reference entity, with the exception of <u>thàt</u> which requires no object noun phrase

        d.   Directional verb 1 representing direction that results from interaction between the path and the outside world (i.e. <u>khâw</u> 'into some enclosed space (to enter),' <u>ʔɔ̀ɔk</u> 'out of some enclosed space (to exit),' <u>khɯ̂n</u> 'upward (to ascend),' and <u>loŋ</u> 'downward (to descend)'), which precedes Directional verb 2

e. Directional verb 2 representing direction with respect to some reference point (i.e. <u>maa</u> 'toward some reference point (to come)' and <u>pay</u> 'away from some reference point (to go)'), which follows Directional verb 1

f. Noun phrase indicating distance (e.g. <u>sɔ̌ɔŋ kilooméet</u> 'two kilometers') or direction (e.g. <u>bɯ̂aŋ bon</u> 'above (toward + upper part)') and/or adverbial indicating degree (e.g. <u>lék nɔ́ɔy</u> 'a little'), which is capable of being placed at the end of Path VP

(7) a. *nɯ̌a   khɯ̂n   pay   bɯ̂aŋ   bon   khɯɯɯ*
      above   ascend   go   toward   upper part   COP

      [kǐŋ   kâan   khɔ̌ɔŋ   takhòp   jày]
      twig   stem   of   Takop tree   big

      'Up above are branches of a big Takop tree'

   b. *klay   ʔɔ̀ɔk   pay   lék nɔ́ɔy* <u>khɯɯɯ</u>   [rɯan
      far   exit   go   a little   COP   house

      máy]
      tree

      'Far off a little is a wooden house'

   c. *thàt   pay   mây   klay   càak   kan*
      move a little   go   NEG   far   from   REC

      nák   kɔ̂   càʔ   <u>pen</u>   [laan   sùrîjan]
      very   then   MOD   COP   yard   Suriyan

      'Next, not very far (from some reciprocal reference point), is the Suriyan yard'

The Path PP in (7a) is composed of the locative noun <u>nɯ̌a</u> 'above (north)' (6a) and the directional verbs 1 and 2 khɯ̂n pay 'upward (to ascend) + away from some reference point (to go)' (6d, e) which are followed by the adverbial <u>bɯ̂aŋ bon</u> 'above (toward + upper part)' (6f). The Path VP in (7b) is composed of the space-descriptive verb <u>klay</u> 'far' (6b) and the directional verbs 1 and 2 ʔɔ̀ɔk pay 'out of some enclosed space (to exit) + away from some reference point (to go)' (6d, e) which are followed by the adverbial <u>lék nɔ́ɔy</u> 'a little' (6f). And the Path VP/PP in (7c) is composed of the locative co-verb <u>thàt</u> 'next (to move a little)' (6c) and the directional verb 2 <u>pay</u> 'away from some

reference point (to go)' (6e) which are followed by the modifying phrase <u>mây klay càak kan nák</u> 'not very far from some reciprocal reference point' (6f).

Pattern 1:	6a		(+ 6d)	+ 6e	
Pattern 2:	6b		(+ 6d)	+ 6e	(+ 6a/6c)
Pattern 3:	6c		(+ 6d)	+ 6e	(+ 6c)
Pattern 4:	6c	+ 6c			(+ 6e)

The predicates with locative nouns/prepositions (6a) as well as the predicates with space-descriptive verbs (6b), i.e. Patterns 1 and 2, are used only for expressing abstract motion. For example: <u>nɯ̌a khɯ̂n pay</u> 'above (north) + upward (to ascend) + away from some reference point (to go)' in (7a) expresses abstract upward motion of someone's gaze or focus of attention ('above') but not physical upward motion of someone. On the other hand, the predicates with only directional verb phrases (6d, e) and/or co-verb phrases (6c), i.e. Patterns 3 and 4, may be used for expressing either abstract or physical motion. An interpretation of them is dependent on the particular context. For example: <u>thàt pay</u> 'next (to move a little) + away from some reference point (to go)' in (7c) is capable of expressing either abstract motion of someone's gaze or focus of attention ('next') or physical motion of someone ('to move a little'). As far as Thai access path expressions are concerned, however, an abstract motion reading is appropriate (see Section 5).

3. Two Subtypes of Copula

Thai has two copulas, i.e. <u>pen</u> and <u>khɯɯ</u>. Komolwanig and Sawada (1993: 96) point out that the distinction between the two copulas is a matter of cognitive pragmatics. The following are grammatical and pragmatic factors distinguishing the two copulas (Komolwanig & Sawada 1993: 104-5).

	Grammatical level	Pragmatic level
<u>pen</u>	[+ modal]	[+ speaker's commitment]
<u>khɯɯ</u>	[- modal]	[- speaker's commitment]

The first copula <u>pen</u> occurs in expressions involving the speaker's hypothesis (or supposition) and reasoning (or inference). <u>pen</u> thus primarily functions at the pragmatic level: it marks the speaker's subjective, modal attitude at the speaking time. In other words, this modal copula marks a high degree of speaker commitment in giving the relevant information. Concurrently, <u>pen</u> identifies entities at the logical level, that is, it either describes their qualities or typifies them.

The second copula khɯɯ, in contrast, does not pertain to the speaker's subjective evaluation or recognition. This nonmodal copula objectively identifies (or denotatively categorizes) things without any connotation of the things implied, and does not co-occur with adverbials of epistemic modality (e.g. khoŋ 'probably,' ʔàat 'may').

Endorsing Komolwanig and Sawada's categorization of Thai copulas, I will divide Thai copulative sentences for access paths into two subtypes: (a) the modal copulative type using pen, which implies the speaker's commitment in conveying information about the identified thing(s) (the referent of Theme NP); and, (b) the nonmodal copulative type using khɯɯ, which does not. Consider (8a) below. The first serial verbs express the fictive path that terminates at the pond and the second and third copulative verb phrases express the pond's properties. The former nonmodal copulative verb phrase khɯɯ sàʔ pathom '(it) is the Patom pond' represents the objective identification (or categorization) of the pond as one having the name of Patom, while the latter modal copulative verb phrase pen sàʔ nám kwâaŋ '(it) is the wide pond' represents the subjective identification (or categorization) of the pond as one being wide in size. Other combinations are also possible, as in (8b, c). Thus, the described thing's intrinsic or objective properties have nothing to do with the selection of the copulas. The selection depends entirely on the speaker's subjective recognition.

(8)   a.   *tàm   loŋ   maa*   khɯɯ   [sàʔ   pathom]
          low   descend come   COP   pond   Patom

          pen   [sà/   nám   kwâaŋ]
          COP   pond   water   wide
          'Down below is the Patom pond, a wide pond'

      b.   *tàm   loŋ   maa*   pen   [sàʔ   pathom]
          low   descend come   COP   pond   Patom
          'Down below is the Patom pond'

      c.   *tàm   loŋ   maa*   khɯɯ   [sàʔ   nám   kwâaŋ]
          low   descend come   COP   pond   water   wide
          'Down below is the wide pond'

4. Functions of Thai Access or "Trace" Path Expressions

Analysis of Thai corpus data together with interviews with Thai native speakers concerning access path expressions show that Thai speakers prefer to use the expressions to describe a spatial relationship between two stationary objects, viz. one is located with respect to the other, in

terms of a linear path connecting with each other. The reference object may be named by a noun phrase after a locative noun (e.g. tâŋ... 'below... (south)'), as in (4), or after a locative preposition (e.g. t̀ɛ̀ɛ... 'from...,' troŋ khâam... 'opposite (straight + to cross)...'), as in (2a) and (3b), or after a locative co-verb (e.g. c̀àak... 'from (to leave)...'), as in (2b) and (5); or it may be alluded to by such a lexical item as kan implying reciprocal relationship, as in (7c); or it may be unmentioned if it is obvious from the context, as in (2c), (3a), (5), (7a, b), and (8).

Additionally, the access paths in Thai can describe another kind of spatial relationship: a number of objects or a single object indefinitely extending in a space specified by the reference object in a certain way. (9) below, for example, describes a number of resort hotels that stand in line along the road beyond Thungsalaengluang National Park. That is, the described locus is not necessarily at the endpoint of the fictive path, but it may extend over the fictive path. The term "access paths" is not quite felicitous for such fictive paths. We can call them "trace paths" instead.

(9) | *tâŋ t̀ɛ̀ɛ* | */ùtthajaan hɛ̀ŋ châat* | | *thûŋ sal̆ɛɛŋl̆uaŋ* | |
from	national park		Tungsalaengluang	
pen	*tôn*	*maa*	c̀àʔ	mii
COP	beginning	come	MOD	exist
[riis̀ɔ̀ɔt	plùuk sâaŋ	jùu]	dooy tal̀ɔ̀ɔt	
resort hotel	build	lie	throughout	

'Beyond Thungsalaengluang National Park are resort hotels built along the way'

Furthermore, it has been found that the different subtypes of Thai access or trace path expressions convey different kinds of information. The following are random samples. The Copulative type of sentence in (3a) introduces islands that have a distant relationship with the covert reference entity. The Existential type of sentence in (4) introduces mountain(s) and valley(s) that spread out in the deep sea. The Locational type of sentence in (5) introduces the precise location of Pasomdet Park. The Existential type, on the one hand, describes something that has a specific spatial relationship with the reference entity. The entity(s) to be located by the Existential type (e.g. 'mountain(s) and valley(s)' in (4)) is assumed to be nondefinite but specific. That is, it is what the speaker wants to convey to the

addressee.[3] The Locational type, on the other hand, describes an exact location of something with respect to the reference entity. The entity(s) to be located by the Locational type (e.g. 'Pasomdet Park' in (5)) is assumed to be generic or definite. That is, it is part of the general knowledge of both the speaker and the addressee. The Locational type presupposes that not only knowledge of the reference entity but also knowledge of the located entity(s) is shared by the speaker and the addressee.

(10) a. Informational Structure for Existential Type:

given   □

new   □ -----------------------> f
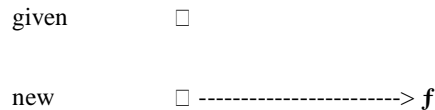
b. Informational Structure for Locational Type:

given   □ f

new   □ -----------------------> f
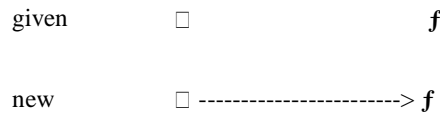
The schematic informational structures of the Existential type and the Locational type are shown in (10a) and (10b), respectively. Notations for the pictorial primitives are as follows: The square □ on the left side represents the reference entity; the sign f on the right side represents the located entity; and the line between the square □ and the sign f represents the fictive path. The upper figures represent given information relevant to new information and the lower figures represent new information introduced by an access or trace path expression.

As for the Copulative type, both of the above two informational structures are applicable. The Copulative type, however, highlights the speaker's identification. The entity(s) to be located by the Copulative type (e.g. 'islands' in (3a)) must have some specific nature recognized or identified by the speaker. With the modal copula pen, the nature is

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[3] In terms of informational status, Ekniyom (1982: 120) claims that a noun phrase following the existential verb <u>mii</u> is characterized by the feature [-given] which corresponds to the feature [-definite] with the subfeature [-generic].

attributed to the speaker's subjective evaluation; with the nonmodal copula khɯɯ, it is not.

There is another important point we have to clarify with regard to the use of access or trace expressions in Thai. Namely, Thai speakers use access or trace path expressions for describing something's locus, but not directing someone to somewhere or reporting someone's travel to somewhere.[4] When Thai speakers show a way or state a travel course, they utter sentences like those in (11), which include an agentive verb (khàp 'to drive') and/or a verb referring to the result of an actual or hypothetical process denoted by the agentive verb (thɯ̌ɯŋ 'to reach' expressing the agent's arrival at the destination, phóp / cəə 'to encounter' expressing the agent's coming across something on her way, hěn 'to see' expressing the agent's visual perception of the scene emerging as she travels); and, possibly including the temporal conjunction mɯ̂ɯa 'once, when.'

(11) a. khàp rót   pay   pramaan   sɔ̌ɔŋ
        drive car   go   approximately two
        chûamooŋ   kɔ̂   càʔ   thɯ̌ɯŋ   sǔan
        hour   then   MOD   reach   park
        phǎasǒmdèt
        Pasomdet
        'You drive about two hours and then you will reach Pasomdet Park'

    b. mɯ̂ɯa   khâam mɛ̂ɛ nám   paasík pay   kɔ̂
        CON   cross   river   Pasik   go   then
        càʔ   {phóp / cəə / hěn / pen}   sanǎam jâa
        MOD   {encounter/ encounter/ see/ COP} field   grass
        kwâaŋjày
        wide   large
        'Once you cross the Pasik river, you will {encounter/ see/ find that it is} a wide grass plot'

The verbs khàp 'to drive' and thɯ̌ɯŋ 'to reach' in (11a) express the unnamed agent's drive to Pasomdet Park for about two hours. Here how the agent goes to the park is the focus, while the park functions as the background of the drive, that is, the destination. The temporal

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[4] Langacker (1987: 170-1) states that English access path expressions like 'The Linguistic Hall of Fame is across the plaza, through the alley, and over the bridge' would be used for giving directions to the addressee.

conjunction mɯ̂a 'once, when' in (11b) overtly marks a dynamic process, namely the unnamed mover's travel to somewhere. In short, the sentences in (11) foreground someone's movement through time. These dynamic expressions are distinguished from access or trace path expressions which describe an entity's or entities' locus per se. Someone's "potential" motions expressed in (11) are rather similar to motions along coverage paths in Thai (cf. Takahashi 1998) and motions along access paths in English (see Section 5; cf. Matsumoto 1996).

5. Thai Speakers' Construal of Access or Trace Paths

Access or trace path expressions describe stationary entities' spatial relationships in terms of a path linking the located entity(s) with the reference entity, along which some other entity fictively moves. What, then, is imagined to fictively move along the path? Opinions vary as to the nature of the imagined moving entity. According to Talmy (1996: 242), the entity fictively moving along the access paths can be imagined as being (a) a person or (b) the focus of a person's attention. Likewise, Langacker (1987: 171) divides the abstract motion regarding the access paths into two categories according to the degree of specificity in the properties of the imagined moving entity: (a) potential motion, i.e. either projected motion of a specific mover or hypothetical motion of an arbitrary mover; (b) subjective motion, i.e. the conceptualizer's sequential scanning of the linear path. The projected motion is more specific (less abstract), the hypothetical motion is less specific (more abstract), and the subjective motion is by no means specific (the most abstract).

Matsumoto (1996: 368-9), on the other hand, claims that the imagined entities traveling over the access paths should be human beings or at least concrete entities such as cars. The unacceptable or less acceptable sentences in (12) support this view.

(12)   a. * [The village] <u>is</u> *over the valley from us*. (Brugman 1981 cited in Matsumoto 1996: 368)

   b. */OK [His office] <u>is</u> *{across/ through} this wall*.(Matsumoto 1996: 368)

   c. ? [The cloud] <u>is</u> 1,000 feet *up from the ground*.(Talmy 1996: 242)

(12a) is not acceptable because we cannot go over a valley to get to the village on the other side of it. For most English speakers, (12b) is not acceptable, either, because we, except those who have power to easily go through a wall, cannot cross a wall separating offices. An English native speaker told me that (12c) also sounds odd, although it is taken up as a good instance by Talmy. The reason is, he commented,

that we can hardly imagine some kind of motion that would allow us to reach the clouds.

I argue that the access or trace paths proper in Thai do not entail a concrete mover, but what shifts along the path is the speaker's focus of attention alone. Thai speakers use access or trace path expressions to describe entities' spatial relationships in terms of a linear path between the entities traced by their gaze. There are some pieces of evidence in favor of this opinion. First, access or trace path expressions in Thai resist temporal modification. For example, the temporally modified sentences in (13a) and (13b) that respectively contain the time phrases raaw sɔ̌ɔŋ chûamooŋ 'about two hours' and ȷ̃iisìp naathii 'twenty minutes' are abnormal. This pertains to the highly abstract nature of subjective motion involved in the expressions. It is so abstract as to be of no duration.

(13) a. ?? [sǔanphǎasǒmdèt]   nán   càʔ   jùu   hàaŋ

      park Pasomdet   TOP   MOD   lie   remote

      ʔɔ̀ɔk *pay*   raaw   sɔ̌ɔŋ   chûamooŋ

      exit   go   approximately   two   hour

      (intended meaning) 'Pasomdet Park is about two hours away'[5]

    b. * *tàm*   *loŋ*   *maa*   ȷ̃iisìp   naathii   khɯɯ

      low   descend come   twenty   minute   COP

      [sàʔ pathom]

      pond Patom

      (intended meaning) 'Twenty minutes down (the road) is the Patom pond'

Secondly, verbs denoting a specific manner of motion and a specific moving entity (e.g. bɯ̀ɯŋ 'to rush,' dəən 'to walk,' lúɯay 'to crawl (snake-like animal)') as well as verbs denoting a specific configuration of the path of motion (e.g. wɔ́k 'to meander,' wian 'to circle') do not appear in Thai access or trace path expressions. It may be ascribed to the fact that the shift of the conceptualizer's focus of

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[5] To some Thai native speakers, however, (13a) is acceptable although they admit that it is somewhat awkward and does not appear in written Thai. The difference in the degree of acceptability between (13a) and (13b) appears to come from the different semantic properties of the two space-descriptive verbs hàaŋ 'remote' and tàm 'low.' While tàm 'low' denotes purely static spatial notion, hàaŋ 'remote' may express a remote relationship arising from some previous actual motion (e.g. resultant remoteness between the departure point and the destination of someone's long travel). Since hàaŋ 'remote' possibly induces us to imagine some temporally developing process, (13a) might seem compatible with temporal modification.

attention (or mental tracing) involved in the expressions is never substantial and therefore its contour must not be complicated (but ideally straight).

(14) a. [The vacuum cleaner] <u>is</u> *down around* behind the clothes hamper. (Talmy 1996: 242)

b.	[khrɯ̂aŋ	dùut	fǔn]	<u>jùu</u>	lǎŋ	takrâa
	machine	suck	dust	lie	back	hamper

'The vacuum cleaner is behind the hamper'

The English access path expression in (14a), which includes the preposition 'around' indicating the curved path of motion, does not have a Thai counterpart. English speakers imagine that someone's arm stretches down around behind the clothes hamper and eventually reaches the vacuum cleaner. Thai speakers do not imagine such a concrete motion of someone to locate the vacuum cleaner in this setting, but they would employ a purely static spatial expression like (14b) for describing the vacuum cleaner's location.

Thirdly, either <u>maa</u> 'toward some reference point (to come)' or <u>pay</u> 'away from some reference point (to go)' appears in Thai access or trace path expressions, with some exceptions (see below). It follows that most of the expressions involve the speaker or conceptualizer's vantage point independent of the located and reference entities. The entities' spatial relationship tends to be described from a particular point of view. In other words, the spatial relationship is largely designated in the relative frame of reference (Levinson 1996: 142-5).

However, the locative preposition <u>troŋ (kan) khâam</u>... 'opposite (straight (+ REC) + to cross)...' does not, and the locative co-verbs <u>thàt càak</u>... 'next to (to move a little + to leave)...' and <u>ləəy càak</u>... 'beyond (to overstep + to leave)...' may not, co-occur with <u>maa</u> / <u>pay</u>. These lexical items, like English prepositions (e.g. across), express entities' spatial relationships irrespective of a vantage point (<u>troŋ (kan) khâam</u>... 'opposite...' denoting an oppositional relationship, <u>thàt càak</u>... 'next to...' denoting a proximal relationship, and <u>ləəy càak</u>... 'beyond...' denoting a front-rear relationship). These spatial relationships are binary: they are sufficiently designated by the two parts, i.e. the located entity and the reference entity, and need not involve a viewpoint distinct from the two parts. In this regard, these lexical items are similar to locative nouns (e.g. <u>lǎŋ</u>... 'in back of... (back),' <u>nâa</u>... 'in front of... (face),' <u>bon</u>... 'above..., on... (upper part)') which denote a contiguous relationship between the located entity and the reference entity by referring to the reference entity's intrinsic configuration.

Whether or not a verb or prepositional phrase in an access or trace expression in Thai includes <u>maa</u> / <u>pay</u>, however, the phrase does indeed indicate the starting point and direction of some abstract motion.[6] Therefore, we may safely state that the access or trace paths in Thai are mentally traced in a certain direction by the speaker or conceptualizer.

6. Conclusion

The semantic conditions on Thai access or trace path expressions discussed in this paper can be summarized below.

First, neither noun phrases indicating duration (e.g. sɔ̌ɔŋ chûamooŋ 'two hours') nor adverbials indicating velocity (e.g. <u>rew</u> 'quickly,' <u>cháa</u> 'slowly') can be encompassed in the expressions. This restriction is presumably due to Thai speakers' construals of the access or trace paths. Thai speakers bring in an access or trace path only when they need to locate entity(s) with respect to another entity in such a way that they mentally trace the linear path between them. No physical mover along this fictive path is imagined. The expressions lack temporal notion, for they do not involve any physical, concrete motion.

Second, motion verbs that appear in the expressions are limited to six versatile directional verbs and some locative co-verbs. The sense of motion incorporated in these verbs has been more or less bleached out. Thai verbs of motion proper, on the other hand, generally represent substantial motion with specific manner and/or path as far as their meanings are confined to the spatial domain. Since motion verbs in Thai tend to require such a high degree of concreteness or substance of motion, they cannot be used for encoding the access or trace paths along which a nonconcrete, intangible entity — the speaker's focus of attention — moves.

Third, the expressions must include a verb or prepositional phrase whose components together overtly or covertly indicate the starting point and direction of the shift of the speaker's focus of attention (or mental tracing) along the access or trace path.

Thai speakers' construals of access or trace paths are strictly spatial (or atemporal), that is, they do not imagine a concrete mover along the paths. Since the involved moving entity is their own gaze (or their focus of attention), the access or trace paths in Thai are highly abstract and subjective phenomena. We have seen that such strictly spatial and highly abstract construals do condition Thai access or trace path expressions.

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[6] No intermediate point on the path is specified, though. To relate entities to each other, it is not necessary to refer to a specific intermediate point between the entities.

All languages might have access path expressions which are used for spatially linking entities in a setting that is arbitrarily structured. But it is possible that the degree of abstractness and subjectivity of the expressions varies among languages.

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