

# **The *thuuk* Construction in Thai**

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## **The *thuuk* Construction in Thai**

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The *thuuk* construction in Thai has been referred to as passive by many Thai linguists (Chaiyaratana 1961, Warutamasinthop 1975, Warotamasikkhadit 1963, Lekhawattana 1970, Kullavanijava 1974, Wongbaisaj 1979). I argue that the *thuuk* construction is not a true passive, but rather a weak unbounded dependency construction like the “Tough” construction in English. Essentially following Dalrymple and King’s (2000) analysis of English “Tough” construction, I propose that the *thuuk* construction results from two grammatical processes: topicalization and functional control. The first grammatical function in the body of the path of the *thuuk* predicated is always SUBJ of the matrix verb, which comes from TOP of SCOMP, and the bottom of the path can be either an embedded object or an embedded subject. The *thuuk* construction in Thai is similar to the so-called ‘passive’ constructions in Mandarin Chinese and in Japanese, which, according to Huang (1999) and Toyoshima (1996), are also weak unbounded dependencies.

## The *thuuk* Construction in Thai \*

### 1. Introduction

The Thai sentence in (1) has been referred to as the *thuuk* construction (Kullavanijava 1974). This sentence has a structure parallel to the sentence in (2).

- (1) dææng *thuuk* mææ tii  
Dang suffer mother hit  
'Dang suffered (from the experience that) mother hit (him).'
- (2) mææ tii dææng  
mother hit Dang  
'Mother hit Dang.'

The object NP dææng'Dang' in (2) becomes the subject in (1), and *thuuk* is added between this NP and the NP mææ'mother'.

There is an adversative meaning associated with *thuuk* in (1), that is, its subject suffers from an unpleasant experience. Although the status of *thuuk* is controversial, many Thai linguists (Warotamasikkhadit 1963, Lekhawattana 1970, Kullavanijava 1974, Wongbaisaj 1979) consider this construction a passive.

*thuuk* has two functions in Thai sentences. First, it is a main verb and subcategorizes for an NP as in (3)<sup>1</sup>.

- (3) dææng *thuuk* [<sub>NP</sub> tau mææ ].  
Dang touch body mother  
'Dang touched (his) mother's body.'

Second, it occurs in the *thuuk* construction as in (1). The status of *thuuk* in this construction is still not clear. The structure of (1) is either a complex sentence (if *thuuk* is analyzed as a lexical verb) or a simple sentence (if *thuuk* is analyzed as a passive marker).

There is a difference in the relation change of a sentence (1) compared to the standard passive sentence in which the subject of the active sentence becomes an oblique in the passive sentence. The NP mææ'mother' in (1) is in the same position in which it occurred in (2); it is still in the subject position of the verb tii 'hit', which means that this subject is not mapped to be an oblique as it would be in the standard passive. This observation raises a question about the analysis of (1) as a passive. I argue that the *thuuk* construction has a structure like (4), in which *thuuk*, as a main verb, requires a clausal complement and the syntactic category of the gapped object and the matrix subject is matched, which is a property of long-distance dependencies. The dependency between the gapped object and the matrix subject involves functional control.

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<sup>1</sup> I will discuss the lexical entry of *thuuk* in 4.1.

- (4) dææng *thuuk* [ mææ tii \_i ]  
 Dang suffer mother hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) mother hit (him).’

This construction is similar to the “Tough” construction in English such as (5), in which the subject has the same referential index as the trace.

- (5) a. Kim<sub>i</sub> would be easy to bribe \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub> .  
 b. Kim<sub>i</sub> would be easy to prove Sandy bribed \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub> .

*I thus propose that the *thuuk* construction in Thai, like the “Tough” construction in English, is a kind of weak unbounded dependency structure, and its dependency involves a control relation in which the subject and its gapped object are identical.*

I continue this paper with an overview of Thai syntax in section 2. In section 3, I give the structure of passive construction in Thai showing that there are two kinds of constructions, which are referred to as passives: *dooy* and *thuuk* constructions. I propose that only the *dooy* construction is a true passive. Then I present previous studies of the *thuuk* construction and argue that it is not a true passive. I show that *thuuk* in this construction is a main verb which subcategorizes for a clausal complement in section 4. In section 5, I propose an alternative analysis of the *thuuk* construction in terms of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG), showing that this construction has two grammatical processes: topicalization and functional control. I also show that the *thuuk* construction is similar to the “Tough” construction in English and propose to classify this construction as a weak unbounded dependency. Finally I conclude the paper in section 6.

## 2. Thai Syntax: Overview

This study is based on the dialect of Thai spoken in the central part of Thailand, where Bangkok, the capital of the country, is situated. This dialect is used in the classroom and in conducting national affairs and is officially considered ‘Standard Thai’ or the national language of Thailand. It is in the Tai family, which is the monosyllabic language family<sup>1</sup>. The Thai language has subject-verb-object (SVO) word order. The phrase structure rule S → NP VP generates the following Thai sentences:

- (6) nóy nǎǎ<sup>2</sup> n  
 Noy sleep  
 ‘Noy sleeps.’  
 (7) nóy kin khâaw  
 Noy eat rice  
 ‘Noy eats rice.’  
 (8) nóy kin khâaw mǐo<sup>3</sup> waanní  
 Noy eat rice yesterday  
 ‘Noy ate rice yesterday.’

In (6), the verb nǎǎ ‘sleep’ has only one argument, which is nóy ‘Noy’, while the verb kin ‘eat’ in (7) has two arguments, which are nóy ‘Noy’ and khâaw ‘rice’. The preverbal

<sup>1</sup> Some linguists such as Paul K. Benedict referred to Tai family as ‘Tai Kadai’ in order to include many Thai dialects such as Kelao, Lagua and Lati spoken in Vietnam and Mainland China.

<sup>2</sup> ǎ = a back low vowel (I implement this symbol because of the limitation of fonts).

<sup>3</sup> There are three diphthongs in Thai: ia, io, ua.

argument NPs nóy ‘Noy’ in (6) and (7) are subjects, while the postverbal argument NP khâaw ‘rice’ in (7) is an object. In this paper, the term ‘subject’ refers to surface grammatical subject, which is equivalent to Dixon’s term ‘pivot’ (see Dixon 1994).

The most important property of Thai words is that they do not reflect the inflectional change. Neither prefix nor suffix is required when they appear in a sentence. Besides, tense is not marked on verbs, rather it is expressed by an adverb as in (8): the adverb mîowaannî ‘yesterday’ shows that this sentence is in the past time (see the structure of Thai words in Phanupong 1983). Verbs, in Thai sentences, are not inflected in any constructions. For example in the passive construction, which I present in the next section, the verb is not changed from the form it takes in the active counterpart.

### 3. The constructions which are referred to as passives in Thai

#### 3.1 Two types of constructions which are referred to as passives in Thai

Kullavanijava (1974:192-202) proposes that there are two types of constructions, which are called passive in Thai: the *dooy* (by) construction and the *thuuk* construction. According to Kullavanijava, the *dooy* passive sentence (10) is generated from the active sentence (9).

(9) nákkhian mii chö<sup>1</sup> khian rōng nán  
 writer have name write story that  
 ‘A famous writer writes that story.’

(10) rōng nán khian dooy nákkhian mii chö  
 story that write by writer have name  
 ‘That story is written by a famous writer.’

In the active counterpart (9), the position before the verb khian ‘write’ is the subject position. The NP rōng nán ‘that story’ is advanced into this position in the passive sentence (10) to be the subject of the sentence, while the NP nákkhian mii chö ‘a famous writer’ is demoted to be a “by-phrase”. There is no change of the form of the verb khian ‘write’ in (10) since Thai verbs do not inflect as I have already showed in the second section. This construction resembles the English passive except there is no morphological change in the verb form. The *dooy* passive construction is often heard on television or radio programs and is found in written works, which is considered a translation of English passive sentences (Kullavanijava 1974: 196-197). The *dooy* construction is indeed a type of passive.

The second type of construction that has been referred to as passive is the *thuuk* construction as in (12). This sentence is said to be derived from the active sentence (11).

(11) mææ tii dææng  
 mother hit Dang  
 ‘Mother hit Dang.’

(12) dææng *thuuk* mææ tii  
 Dang suffer mother hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) mother hit (him).’

In (12), the object NP dææng ‘Dang’ occurs in the subject position of the sentence, and there is *thuuk* in between this NP and the NP mææ ‘mother’. Note that the NP mææ

<sup>1</sup> ö = a back central vowel (I implement this symbol because of the limitation of fonts).

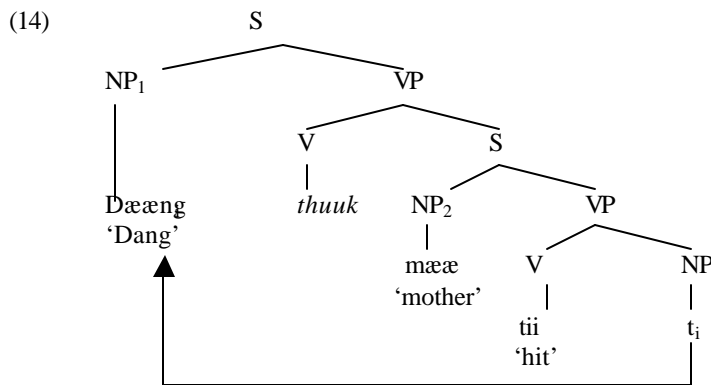
‘mother’ does not change the position in which it occurs in the active sentence (11), that is, it still precedes the verb *tii* ‘hit.’ And this NP is optional as in (13).

- (13) *dææng* *thuuk* *tii*  
 Dang suffer hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (someone) hit (him).’

### 3.2 Previous studies of the “*thuuk*” construction

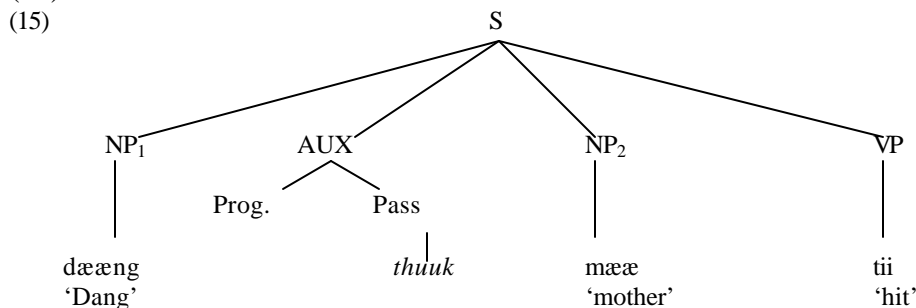
#### 3.2.1 *the three main analyses of thuuk in the thuuk construction*

In previous studies, *thuuk* has been analyzed in two ways. The first idea is proposed by Chaloe Chaiyaratana (1961). She analyzes *thuuk* as a passive marker morpheme carrying a syntactic meaning: ‘passive’. In proposing this view, she adopts the Chomskyan ‘standard’ analysis of the English passive, and postulates the base structure (14) for the sentences in (11) and (12).



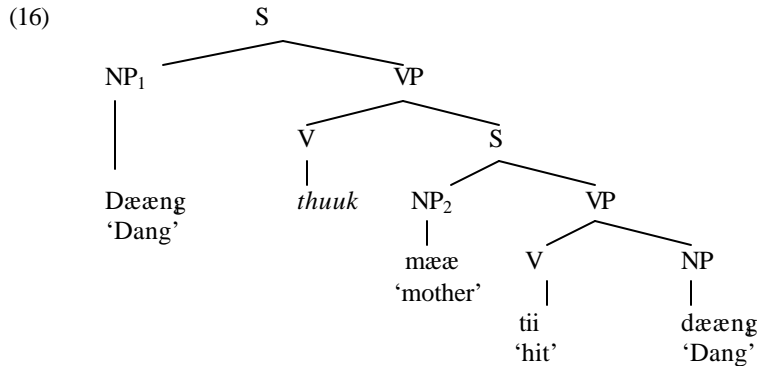
In this analysis, the active and passive have the same underlying structure, and the passive transformational rule moves the object in an active sentence (11) to the beginning of the sentence and adds *thuuk* after it in a passive sentence (12). Agent deletion can also apply here, which generates the sentence (13).

In the second analysis proposed and accepted by many Thai linguists (Warotamasikkhadit 1963, Lekhawattana 1970, Kullavanijava 1974, Warutamasinthop 1975 and Wongbaisaj 1979), *thuuk* is treated as a verb meaning “undergo an unpleasant experience”. In this verb analysis, Warutamasinthop (1975) treats *thuuk* as an auxiliary verb, while the others treat it as a main verb. Warutamasinthop’s analysis is called the underlying auxiliary analysis. He proposes the underlying structure of the passive as in (15).



In this analysis, the passive sentence such as (12) has an underlying structure of its own, with *thuuk* as an auxiliary verb as in (15). Warutamasinthop applies only one rule, the agent deletion rule, to delete NP<sub>2</sub> for generating a sentence like (13). And this rule is optional.

For another verb analysis, here called the embedding analysis, other linguists treat *thuuk* as the main verb in the base structure. They propose the underlying structure as in (16).



In this analysis, the passive does not have the same base structure as the active, but the relationship between these two constructions still holds. That is, the active sentence *mææ tii dææng* 'mother hit Dang' is a part of the passive sentence *dææng thuuk mææ tii dææng* 'Dang suffered (from the experience that) mother hit Dang' in its underlying structure. The main point in this analysis is that *thuuk* is treated as a main verb in the base structure and it is obligatorily followed by a complement, which contains verbs conveying unpleasant meanings. The transformational rule, which is applied here, is the one that requires the NP occurring with *thuuk* to be identical with the object NP in the embedded clause.

*In sum, Thai linguists proposed to analyze thuuk in the thuuk construction in three ways. First, it is treated as passive marker. Second, it is treated as an auxiliary verb. And third, it is treated as a main verb. Next, I discuss these three kinds of analysis in the view of Wongbaisaj (1979).*

### 3.2.2 *Discussion of the three main analyses*

Wongbaisaj (1979) points out that the first analysis is weakly compatible with a native speaker's intuitions in as much as we feel that a passive sentence is related in some way to the active counterpart in having the same propositional content. On the assumption that the deep structure is determined by the meaning, it is more reasonable to posit two separate underlying structures, one for the active and the other for the passive, since the full meaning of the latter is particularly different from the former.

For the underlying auxiliary analysis, Wongbaisaj indicates that it is descriptively inadequate since it gives an inconsistent phrase structure rule for Thai, i.e. S NP AUX NP VP. I agree with Wongbaisaj that there is no other instance of structure with an NP between an AUX and a VP in Thai. The auxiliary in Thai always precedes a main verb, as in (17), in which the progressive auxiliary *kamlang* precedes the main verb *tii* 'hit'.

(17) mææ kamlang tii dææng  
 mother PROG hit Dang  
 'Mother is hitting Dang.'

No NP can appear between the auxiliary and the main verb, as shown in the ungrammatical sentence (18).

(18) \* mææ kamlang náy tii dææng  
 mother PROG Noy hit Dang

Given the data in (17) and (18), the underlying auxiliary analysis is not right for the *thuuk* construction in Thai.

Wongbaisaj argues that the embedding analysis is the most appropriate one since it requires the fewest unnecessary mechanisms and leaves the fewest facts to be explained. In this analysis, *thuuk* and its embedded verb have a direct semantic interaction such that the patient of the action and the ‘sufferer’ are the same person. Whatever is done to the object of the embedded verb affects the subject of *thuuk* directly. In other words, the patient of the embedded verb is the same as the agent of *thuuk*, so NP dææng ‘Dang’ in (16), which is an agent of *thuuk*, is the same NP as the patient of the embedded verb tii ‘hit’.

Given the embedding analysis, there is no passive rule in Thai. Wongbaisaj (1979) proposes that the deletion rule deletes the NP following *thuuk* when it does not appear, as in (13). She purposes further that the other possible rule or process involved in the *thuuk* construction is pronominalization. In (19), the resumptive pronoun khaw ‘him’ is left in the object position of the embedded clause.

(19) dææng *thuuk* mææ tii khaw  
 Dang suffer mother hit him  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) mother hit him.’

Even though Wongbaisaj supports the embedding analysis, which does not include the passive rule in the *thuuk* construction, she still calls this construction “passive”. And for her, the *thuuk* construction is base-generated, that is, it is not derived but directly generated in the base structure, and this construction allows the overt embedded object, which co-refers with the subject of the matrix clause, as a pronoun in (19) and a full NP in (20).

(20) dææng *thuuk* mææ tii dææng  
 Dang suffer mother hit Dang  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) mother hit Dang.’

One point that I would like to make here about why many Thai linguists refer to the *thuuk* construction as a passive is that this construction seems to have some meanings of passive. Wongbaisaj (1979: 208) indicates that the *thuuk* construction in Thai generally has ‘adversative’ connotations. The sentence that has no adversative connotations in the *thuuk* construction is pragmatically odd as in (21).

(21) # dææng *thuuk* mææ rák  
 Dang suffer mother love  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) mother loved (him).’

The adversative connotations of *thuuk* are carried over the sentence to show that the patient suffered from an unpleasant experience. With such a connotation, the *thuuk*



construction is controlled by some semantic restrictions allowing only sentences with an unpleasant association in connection with the patient (which in turn is the surface grammatical subject of *thuuk*) to be generated. Consequently, the surface grammatical subject *dææng* 'Dang' in the *thuuk* construction (12) is the object of both *thuuk* and the embedded verb *tii* 'hit' in the semantic sense, that is, it is the entity which undergoes the event described by the embedded verb. Therefore, semantically the *thuuk* construction seems to have some meanings of 'passive', which are the logical object has undergone some events, and the NP *mææ* 'mother' after *thuuk* still has an agent role, which is the person who does the action upon the patient.

The adversative meaning associated with *thuuk* in the *thuuk* construction misleads many Thai linguists into thinking that it is a passive in spite of the fact that the construction does not reflect the complete passivization process. That is, the subject is not mapped to an oblique relation. Also, this subject is not the object of the verb *thuuk* that gets promoted.

*In sum, the embedding analysis seems to be the best analysis among the others for showing the structure of the thuuk construction in Wongbaisaj's view. Next, I show that all previous studies still do not give a clear structure of the thuuk construction.*

### 3.2.3 *the relationship between thuuk and the following NP*

I agree with Wongbaisaj that the *thuuk* construction has the structure as (16) in which *thuuk* is a main verb that requires a clause complement, but I disagree that this construction is a passive since the grammatical relation between *thuuk* and the NP following it is not clearly defined. Although the structure in (16) shows that the verb *thuuk* subcategorizes for a clausal complement, we cannot definitely claim that the NP in the subject position of its embedded clause is not also the object of the verb *thuuk* since we still do not have evidence for it.

Wongbaisaj's analysis does not show the relationship between *thuuk* and the NP following it either. Besides, her passive construction is not different from the other embedded structures in Thai such as the "wâa" construction in (22).

- (22) *dææng* *songsay* *wâa* *nóy* *maa* *haa* \_\_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub> / *khaw*<sub>i</sub>  
 Dang suspect that Noy come find \_\_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub> / *him*<sub>i</sub>  
 'Dang suspected that Noy came to see (him).'

Given these observations, there are questions about the classification of the *thuuk* construction as a passive. In order to verify the grammatical structure of the *thuuk* construction in Thai, we need to answer the following questions:

- 1) what is the status of *thuuk* ?, and
- 2) what is the grammatical relation between *thuuk* and the NP following it?

In the next section, I show that *thuuk* in the *thuuk* construction is a main verb that requires a clausal complement.

## 4. The status of *thuuk* in the *thuuk* construction

### 4.1 *The lexical entries of thuuk and doon*

As shown in the third section, the *thuuk* construction (12) has the sentence counterpart (11). According to the embedding analysis, the verb *thuuk* in the *thuuk* construction seems to require a clause complement. This is an important characteristic of

the verb *thuuk* in this construction since its meaning will be changed when it subcategorizes for an NP as in (23).

- (23) dææng *thuuk* [NP tau mææ ].  
 Dang touch body mother  
 ‘Dang touched (his) mother’s body.’

Wongbajsai (1979) and Pingkarawat (1989) claim that the verb *thuuk* in Thai is one lexical item with two sub-entries: *thuuk* in its active usage, and *thuuk* in its passive usage. These two lexical sub-entries share the semantic similarities such as they both mean ‘to come in contact with’; both have the unintentional feature inherent in them and both have an adversative implication associated with them.

However, the context is also important in determining the interpretation of the sentence. When the verb *thuuk* subcategorizes for an NP, the context plays a major role in determining whether the verb is interpreted with an inherent unintentional action or has an adversative implication. The examples are in (24) and (25).

- (24) dææng congçay *thuuk* [NP möö nit ] phrå longråk thø<sup>1</sup> maa tâng naan lææw  
 Dang intend touch hand Nid because falling in love her come for a long time already  
 ‘Dang deliberately touched Nid’s hand because (he) had been falling in love with her for a long time.’  
 (25) nit çhããp *thuuk* [NP tau nãâng ] phrå tau thø nîm  
 Nid like touch body sister because body her soft  
 ‘Nid liked to touch (his) sister’s body because her body is soft.’

Given the contexts, neither the meaning of the verb *thuuk* in (24) nor (25) has the unintentional feature or the adversative feature associated with it. *I, therefore, argue that only thuuk that subcategorizes for a clause has a strict adversative feature inherent in it, that is, the patient in such clauses undergoes an unpleasant experience.*

Then, in the lexicon, the verb *thuuk* has two sub-entries: one subcategorizes for an NP, which has no restricted adversative connotation, while the other subcategorizes for a clause and has a restricted adversative connotation. Only the sentence in which the patient suffered from an unpleasant experience can be generated in the *thuuk* construction. The sentence that has no adversative connotations is pragmatically odd as in (21).

In the *thuuk* construction, *doon*, which also means ‘suffered from the unpleasant experience’ can be used in the position of *thuuk*. This is shown in (26).

- (26) dææng *doon* mææ tii  
 Dang suffer mother hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) mother hit (him).’

Wongbiasaj (1979: 207) assumes that both *thuuk* and *doon* have the same meaning and can occur in the same position when they subcategorize for a clause. In both of them the patient of the verbs have an adversative connotation. The sentence (26) also comes from (11). Like the verb *thuuk*, only the sentences in which the patient is understood as suffering from the unpleasant experiences are allowed to appear with *doon* in this type of construction. A sentence like (27) is weird and unacceptable.

<sup>1</sup> ø = a central mid vowel (I implement this symbol because of the limitation of fonts).

- (27) ??dæəng doon kruu chom  
 Dang suffer teacher admire  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) teacher admired (him).’

The difference between the verb *thuuk* and *doon* is reflected when they subcategorize for an NP. For the verb *thuuk*, its subject is an agent: the person who does the action (*see* (23) ), while for the verb *doon*, its subject is the experiencer : the person who experiences the action, as in (28).

- (28) dæəng doon fon piak tháng tau  
 Dang experience rain wet all body  
 ‘Dang was in the rain (and he) got wet.’

In this paper, I follow Wongbaisaj’s assumption that both *thuuk* and *doon* can occur interchangeably in the *thuuk* construction. Throughout this paper, I give examples of *thuuk* only since what applies to *thuuk* applies to *doon*.

#### 4.2 The grammatical relation between *thuuk* and the NP following it.

In order to clarify the status of the NP *mææ* ‘mother’ in the *thuuk* construction (12), I use the ‘Complex NP Shift’ phenomenon to test for the grammatical relations between the NP *mææ* ‘mother’ and the verb *thuuk* on one hand, and between the NP *mææ* ‘mother’ and the verb *tii* ‘hit’ on the other hand. The complex NP shift is the operation that has the function of moving a ‘heavy’ (that is, roughly, long and / or clause-containing) NP from its normal position to the right of the end of its immediately containing clause. Postal (1974: 83) offers the generalization of the complex NP shift phenomenon, which I adopt here as in (29).

- (29) *Complex NP shift only operates on an object.*

This process applies in the English sentences as in (30), in which a heavy NP in the object position can be extraposed in (30a); while it cannot be shifted rightward when it is in the subject position as the ungrammatical sentence in (30b):

- (30) a. Jack bought from Melvin---a book which taught him organic knitting.  
 b. \* Are happy---all of the men who recovered from mononucleosis?

Pollard and Sag (1994: 113) indicate that Postal’s generalization in (29) also supports the subject-object Raising (SOR) analysis by virtue of the fact that the NPs whose object status is in question clearly undergoes complex NP shift as (31).

- (31) a. Pat believes to be a spy \_\_\_ everyone who was working for the Warren Commission.  
 b. ? Kim expects to be on time \_\_\_ every employee who was hired for the Christmas rush.

The phenomenon in (29) also occurs in Thai. The complex NP shift can operate on an object as in (32) - (34), but not on the subject as in (35b) and (36b).

- (32) a. dæəng söö nāngsöö caak nói  
 Dang buy book from Noy  
 ‘Dang bought a book from Noy’.

- b. dææŋ sǝ caak nǝi--- nǎŋsǝ thii pææŋ maak  
 Dang buy from No --- book that expensive very  
 ‘Dang bought from Noy ---the book that is very expensive’.
- (33) a. khruu sǎŋ nǎkrien hǎy pay phop  
 teacher order student give go see  
 ‘A teacher ordered a student to see him.’  
 b. khruu sǎŋ hǎy pay phop--- nǎkrien thii maa saay mǝwǎan  
 teacher order give go see --- student that come late yesterday  
 ‘A teacher ordered to see him ---the student who came late yesterday’.
- (34) a. nǝi khít wǎa níd khámoy nǎŋsǝ caak dææŋ  
 Noy think that Nid steal book from Dang  
 ‘Noy thinks that Nid stole the book from Dang.’  
 b. nǝi khít wǎa níd khámoy caak dææŋ-- nǎŋsǝ thii pææŋ maak  
 Noy think that Nid steal from Dang--- book that expensive very  
 ‘Noy thinks that Nid stole from Dang---the book that is very expensive.’
- (35) a. nǎkrien thii maa saay mǝwǎan sǝ nǎŋsǝ caak nǝi  
 student who come late yesterday buy book from Noy  
 ‘The student who came late yesterday bought a book from Noy.’  
 b. \* sǝ nǎŋsǝ caak nǝi--- nǎkrien thii maa saay mǝwǎan  
 buy book from No--- student who come late yesterday
- (36) a. nǝi khít wǎa níd khon thii yǝn bon wethii khámoy nǎŋsǝ caak dææŋ  
 Noy think that Nid who that stand on stage steal book from Dang  
 ‘Noy thinks that Nid who stands on the stage stole the book from Dang.’  
 b. \* nǝi khít wǎa khámoy nǎŋsǝ caak dææŋ-- níd khon thii yǝn bon wethii  
 Noy think that steal book from Dang--- Nid person that stand on stage

Given this complex NP shift that operates only on the object in Thai, it can also reveal the grammatical relation between the NP *mææ* ‘mother’ and the verb *thuuk* in the *thuuk* construction. The NP *mææ* ‘mother’ is not an object of a verb *thuuk* since it cannot undergo complex NP shift, as in (37c). But this NP can occur with a relative complement before the verb *tii* ‘hit’ as in (37b), suggesting that it is the subject of that verb.

- (37) a. dææŋ *thuuk* mææ tii  
 Dang suffer mother hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) mother hit (Dang).’  
 b. dææŋ *thuuk* [mææ thii khǎǎ khaw maa ɿŋg] tii  
 Dang suffer mother that ask him come raise hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) the mother who adopted him hit (him).’  
 c. \* dææŋ *thuuk* tii --- [mææ thii khǎǎ khaw maa ɿŋg]  
 Dang suffer hit --- mother that ask him come raise  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) hit ---mother who adopted him.’

One might suspect that the NP *mææ* ‘mother’ after the verb *thuuk* in (37a), even though it cannot undergo the complex NP shift as in (37c), may be raised from the subject position of the embedded clause to be the object of the matrix verb. I show next that subject-to-object raising is not possible in Thai.

In Thai, subject-to-subject raising is possible as in (38).

- (38) a. duu mǎn wǎa dææŋ cǎp duu ɿŋg  
 seem that Dang like see movie  
 ‘It seems that Dang liked to see movies.’  
 b. dææŋ duu mǎn wǎa cǎp duu ɿŋg  
 Dang seem that like see movie  
 ‘Dang seems to like to see movies.’

In (38a), the NP *dææng*‘Dang’ occupies the subject position of the embedded clause, while the subject position of the matrix clause is vacant (an expletive ‘it’ is usually dropped in Thai). In (38b), the NP *dææng*‘Dang’ occupies the subject position of the matrix clause, but it is related to the embedded clause, meaning that it is the logical subject of the embedded verb. In this case the embedded subject NP *dææng*‘Dang’ is raised to be the matrix subject.

However, subject-to-object raising is not possible in Thai. There is a sentence such as in (39a) called the “wâa” construction in which the verb *chööwâa* ‘believe that’ comes in pairs with closely related meanings. Pingkarawat (1985) suggests that the verb *chööwâa* ‘believe that’ is a compound verb which subcategorizes for a clausal complement. The NP *mææ*‘mother’ after the verb *chööwâa* ‘believe that’ cannot undergo complex NP shift as in (39b), showing that this NP is not its object.

- (39) a. *nói chööwâa mææ tii dææng*  
 Noy believe that mother hit Dang  
 ‘Noy believed that the mother hit Dang.’  
 b. \* *nói chööwâa tii dææng- mææ thii klâa khaw maa fang*  
 Noy believe that hit Dang-- mother that ask him come raise  
 ‘Noy believed that hit Dang – the mother who adopted him.’

The *thuuk* construction is also parallel to the “wâa” construction in that the verb *thuuk* subcategorizes for a clausal complement. Since subject-to-object raising is not possible in the “wâa” construction, I assume that in the *thuuk* construction the subject NP of the embedded clause, *mææ*‘mother’, does not raise to be the object of the verb *thuuk*. Besides, this NP cannot undergo the complex NP shift as in (37c), so it is not the object of the verb *thuuk*. Instead, it has the function as the subject of the verb *tii* ‘hit’ forming a clause as the complement of the verb *thuuk*.

*To sum up so far, I have provided evidence to show that thuuk in the thuuk construction is a matrix verb which requires a clausal complement. The NP following the verb thuuk is not its object, but it is the subject of its complement.*

## 5. The *thuuk* construction: topicalization and functional control

### 5.1 The alternative analysis of the *thuuk* construction

#### 5.1.1 Long-Distance Dependency: the topicalization of the *thuuk* construction

##### 5.1.1.1 The *thuuk* construction does not allow the referential object

In the fourth section, I have already showed that the *thuuk* construction is a complex sentence: the matrix verb *thuuk* requires a clausal complement. There is also another interesting point in this construction, which is that there is no overt object in its complement. And if it is true that the *thuuk* construction (41) comes from the sentence (40) as it is assumed by many Thai linguists, it seems that the subject NP *dææng*‘Dang’ in (41) co-refers to the missing object of its complement.

- (40) *mææ tii dææng*  
 mother hit Dang  
 ‘Mother hit Dang.’  
 (41) *dææng thuuk [ mææ tii \_\_\_\_ ]*  
 Dang suffer mother hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) mother hit (him).’

Kullavanijava (1974) proposes that the co-referential object in the embedded clause is usually required to be absent; only an object that conveys the meaning of inclusion<sup>1</sup> is allowed in the sentence, as in (42):

- (42) *dææng thuuk pháå øt cotmay*  
 Dang suffer father open letter  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) father opened (Dang’s) letter.’

In (42), an NP *cotmay* ‘letter’ is allowed because it is possessed (one sense of inclusion) by *dææng* ‘Dang’, the agent of *thuuk*. In this case, the letter must belong to ‘Dang’. It is also acceptable if the object belongs to the person who relates to ‘Dang’ (also a sense of inclusion), but a possessive pronoun *khåångkhaw* ‘his’ is required as in (43). The object does not belong to *dææng* ‘Dang’ is not allowed, so the sentence in (44) is ungrammatical.

- (43) *dææng thuuk pháå øt cotmay klåång fæen khåångkhaw*  
 Dang suffer father open letter of girlfriend his  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) father opened his girlfriend’s letter.’
- (44) \* *dææng thuuk pháå øt cotmay klåång níð*  
 Dang suffer father open letter of Nid  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) father opened Nid’s letter.’

Note also that only an inanimate NP is allowed for the overt object in the embedded clause as in (45a). The sentence turns out to be unacceptable if the overt object is an animate NP as in (45b).

- (45) a. *dææng thuuk thahaan phau bâan khåångkhaw*  
 Dang suffer soldier burn house his  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) the soldier burned his house.’
- b. ?? *dææng thuuk thahaan phau pháå khåångkhaw*  
 Dang suffer soldier burn father his  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) the soldier burned his father.’

Following Kullavanijava (1974), I assume that the referential object in the embedded clause of the *thuuk* construction is usually absent; however, an inanimate object that conveys the meaning of inclusion with the subject can overtly occur.

*In my analysis, I will deal only with the thuuk construction where the referential object in the embedded clause is absent.*

#### 5.1.1.2 Topicalization in Thai

Warotamasikhhadit (1995) proposes that in Thai a topicalized argument can be extracted to the front, to the end or to the middle of a sentence depending on the function of the argument or the position of the argument as it appears in the sentence ( *see more*

<sup>1</sup> This kind of inclusion also occurs in the passive construction of Chinese and Japanese. Huang (1999) shows the inclusive passives in Mandarin as in (i) and in Japanese as in (ii).

- (i) zha san bei Lisi dadan-le yitiaò tui.  
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-break-PERF one leg  
 ‘Zhangsan had his leg broken by Lisi.’
- (ii) John-ga Mary-ni kodomo-o sikar-are-ta  
 John-NOM Mary-DAT child-ACC scold-PASS-PAST  
 ‘John had his child scolded by Mary.’

*discussion in Warotamasikkhadit 1995*). In fronting Topicalization, the object NP phûuying khon nî ‘this woman’ in (46a) can be extracted to the leftmost as the topic of a sentence in (46b).

- (46) a. chan chǎap phûuying khon nî  
 I like woman CL this  
 ‘I like this woman.’  
 b. [phûuying khon nî]<sub>i</sub> chāan chǎap \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 woman CL this I like  
 ‘This woman, I like.’

Topicalization usually has two important properties. One is that it is indeed unbounded, which means that the dependency in question may extend across arbitrarily many clause boundaries, and the other is that, there is a syntactic category matching condition between the filler and the gap.

Topicalization in Thai also has those two properties. First, it is unbounded as in (47b). The NP phûuying khon nî ‘this woman’ can be extracted from the second complement clause to the topic position.

- (47) a. nøy khít wāa chan chǎap phûuying khon nî  
 Noy think that I like woman CL this  
 ‘Noy thinks that I like this woman.’  
 b. [phûuying khon nî]<sub>i</sub> nøy khít wāa chāan chǎap \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 woman CL this Noy think that I like  
 ‘This woman, Noy thinks that I like.’

Second, the syntactic category of the filler and the gap are matched. Since the verb chǎap ‘like’ requires an NP argument, only an NP phûuying khon nî ‘this woman’ in (47b) can be its argument, a PP kàp phûuying khon nî ‘with this woman’ in (48) cannot.

- (48) \* [PP kàp phûuying khon nî ]<sub>i</sub> nøy khít wāa chan chǎap [NP \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub> ]  
 with woman CL this Noy think that I like

### 5.1.1.3 The *thuuk* construction has Topicalization’s properties

The *thuuk* construction also has the two properties of Topicalization: unbounded as in (49) and the syntactic category of the gap and the filler are matched as in (50).

- (49) a. dæəng *thuuk* mææ tii \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 Dang suffer mother hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) mother hit (him).’  
 b. dæəng *thuuk* nøy songsay wāa mææ tii \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 Dang suffer Noy suspect that mother hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) Noy suspected that (his) mother hit (him).’  
 (50) a. [dæəng] *thuuk* mææ tii \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 Dang suffer mother hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) mother hit (him).’  
 b. \* [kàp dæəng] *thuuk* mææ tii \_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
 with Dang suffer mother hit

In (49a), the NP *dææng* ‘Dang’ is extracted from its embedded complement, and in (49b), the NP *dææng* ‘Dang’ can be extracted from the second embedded complement to be in the initial position of the sentence. In (50), the verb *tii* ‘hit’ requires an NP argument, so only the NP *dææng* ‘Dang’ in (50a), not an PP *kàp dææng* ‘with Dang’ in (50b), can be its argument.

Besides, the subject of the *thuuk* sentence is really the topic. No other NP can be topicalized in the *thuuk* construction as an ungrammatical sentence (51b).

- (51) a. *dææng thuuk mææ tii \_\_\_i*  
 Dang suffer mother hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) mother hit (him).’  
 b. \* *mææḡ dææng thuuk \_\_\_j tii \_\_\_i*  
 mother Dang suffer hit  
 ‘Mother, Dang suffered (rom the experience that) (his) mother hit (him).’

#### 5.1.1.4 The *thuuk* construction has all properties of long-distance dependency

The *thuuk* construction has the two properties of long-distance dependency, unbounded dependencies as in (52) and obeying island constraints as in (53).

- (52) a. *dææng thuuk mææ tii \_\_\_i*  
 Dang suffer mother hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) mother hit (him).’  
 b. *dææng thuuk nøy songsay wâa mææ tii \_\_\_i*  
 Dang suffer Noy suspect that mother hit  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) Noy suspected that (his) mother hit (him).’  
 (53) \* *dææng thuuk mææ [khon thii kǎa \_\_\_i maa líang] tii*  
 Dang suffer mother cl. that ask come raise hit  
 ‘Dang<sub>i</sub> suffered (from the experience that) mother who adopted \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> hit (him).’

In (52a), the NP *dææng* ‘Dang’ is extracted from its embedded complement, and in (52b), the NP *dææng* ‘Dang’ can be extracted from the second embedded complement to be in the initial position of the sentence. In (53), the gap cannot appear in a relative clause within an NP.

So, the missing object in the embedded complement of the *thuuk* construction is clearly the result of long-distance dependency.

#### 5.1.2. the property of the verb *thuuk*: functional control

I proposed in the last section that the *thuuk* construction involves long-distance dependency. The syntactic category of the gapped object NP in the clausal complement of the *thuuk* construction matches the matrix subject; no resumptive pronoun is allowed in the position of the gap. As such, the gap has a referential relation with the matrix subject. The structure in which the gap in the object position of the embedded clause is co-referential with the matrix subject also occurs in the other Thai constructions such as the “*hây*” construction in (54) and (55), and the “*wâa*” construction in (56).

- (54) *dææng hây chan chàuy \_\_\_i*  
 Dang give I help  
 ‘Dang let me help (Dang).’



- (55) dææng bǎāk chan hây pay haa \_\_\_i  
 Dang tell I give go meet  
 ‘Dang told me to come to see (Dang).’
- (56) dææng khít wàa chan lǎāk \_\_\_i  
 Dang think that I deceive  
 ‘Dang thinks that I deceive (Dang).’

The gap after an embedded verb is the missing NP that co-refers to the agent of the matrix verb. If the patient of an embedded verb appears in that clause, it has to be a person that does not co-refer to the agent of the matrix verb as in (57), (58), and (59).

- (57) dææng hây chan chàuy púk  
 Dang give I help Pook  
 ‘Dang let me help Pook.’
- (58) dææng bǎāk chan hây pay haa púk  
 Dang tell I give go meet Pook  
 ‘Dang told me to come to see Pook.’
- (59) dææng khít wàa chan lǎāk púk  
 Dang think that I deceive Pook  
 ‘Dang thinks that I deceive Pook.’

Note that the co-referential pronoun can also occur in the object position of the embedded clause when it is semantically emphasized that the object has to be the same with the subject of the sentence as in (60) – (62), otherwise this position is absent as in (54) – (56).

- (60) dææng hây chan chàuy khaw<sub>i</sub>  
 Dang give I help him  
 ‘Dang let me help him, not the other.’
- (61) dææng bǎāk chan hây pay haa khaw<sub>i</sub>  
 Dang tell I give go meet him  
 ‘Dang told me to come to see him, not the other.’
- (62) dææng khít wàa chan lǎāk khaw<sub>i</sub>  
 Dang think that I deceive him  
 ‘Dang thinks that I deceive him, not the other.’

The missing object in an embedded clause of the *thuuk* construction as in (52) shows that its structure is parallel to the above constructions. The difference between the constructions in (54) – (56) and the *thuuk* construction in (52) is that, in the former, the object can appear when it does not co-refer to the agent of the matrix verb as in (57) - (59). The co-referential pronoun is allowed when it is semantically emphasized that the object has to be the same with the subject of the sentence as in (60) – (62), while in the latter, the object, which does not co-refer to the agent of the matrix verb, does not allow as in (63), and the co-referential pronoun is not allowed as I already discussed in 5.1.1.1.

- (63) \*dææng *thuuk* mææ tii níd  
 Dang suffer mother hit Nid  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) mother hit Nid.’

Pingkarawat (1989) proposes that verbs *hây* ‘give’, *bǎāk* ‘tell’, and *khít wàa* ‘think that’ in the embedded construction, in which the co-referential NP is missing, are control verbs that assign control relation of the embedded subject to their indirect object as in the examples (64), (65) and (66).

- (64) nuan hây e<sub>i</sub> [phim<sub>i</sub> laa?âāk]  
 Nuan give Phim resign  
 ‘Nuan let Phim to resign.’
- (65) nuan<sub>i</sub> bảāk lek [e<sub>1i</sub> hây e<sub>2j</sub> [e<sub>3j</sub> wîng thuk wan]]  
 Nuan tell Lek give run every day  
 ‘Nuan told Lek to run every day.’
- (66) nuan<sub>i</sub> khít wàa [pro<sub>i</sub> tââng pay roongrian wanní]  
 Nuan think say must go school today  
 ‘Nuan<sub>i</sub> thought that (she<sub>i</sub>) had to go to school today.’

The verb hây ‘give’ can subcategorize for either a clause as in (64) or for a direct object and an indirect object as in (67).

- (67) nuan hây khànóm phim  
 Nuan give sweet phim  
 ‘Nuan gave sweets (to) Phim.’

Pingkarawat (1989: 164-165) proposes that the verb hây ‘give’, when it subcategorizes for a complement clause as in (64), is the control verb that assigns control of an embedded subject to its indirect object. The empty indirect object and the embedded subject are co-referential. Pingkarawat proposes that the type of the control relation involved here is ‘thematic control’ since control applies to a lexical NP ‘Phim’. hây ‘give’ is thus a verb that establishes thematic control over its embedded subject.

Pingkarawat (1989: 172) also says that in a sentence like (65), there is co-referentiality between the arguments in the matrix clause and the arguments in the adjunct hây – clause. Since the verb hây ‘give’ is a thematic control verb, the embedded subject e<sub>3</sub> is assigned control to e<sub>2</sub>, the indirect object of hây. e<sub>1</sub> and e<sub>2</sub> are assigned their antecedents by Pragmatic principle and the Disjoint Reference respectively. (see Pingkarawat 1989). I will not discuss the empty NP’s antecedent since it is not in the scope of this paper.

For (66), Pingkarawat (1989: 123) states that the verb khít wàa ‘think that’ is a control verb that assigns control of pro to its subject. And she proposes that this type of control is ‘non-rigid control’ since a lexical NP can also occur in place of a pro as in (68).

- (68) nuan<sub>i</sub> khít wàa [pro<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>j</sub>/phim<sub>i</sub> tââng pay roongrian wanní]  
 Nuan think say must go school today  
 ‘Nuan<sub>i</sub> thought that she<sub>i</sub> /Phim had to go to school today.’

In sum, Pinkarawat shows that these three verbs: hây ‘give’, bảāk ‘tell’, and khít wàa ‘think that’, are control verbs that assign control to either their subject or their object with either the subject or the object.

As I have already showed at the beginning of this section that the *thuuk* construction is similar to the “hây” construction and the “wàa” construction, I propose that *thuuk* in the *thuuk* construction has the same property with the verb hây ‘give’ in the “hây” construction and the verb khít wàa ‘think that’ in the “wàa” construction, which is control function. The dependency between the missing object NP in the embedded clause and the subject of the matrix verb *thuuk* in the *thuuk* construction involves functional control since the subject and gapped object are identical. I therefore hypothesize a functional predication relation of the verb *thuuk*, represented by identifying the SUBJ of the verb *thuuk* with the TOP of its complement, which is a sentential complement (SCOMP), as in (69).

(69) *thuuk*: ( PRED) = ‘suffer <( SUBJ) ( SCOMP)>’  
 ( SUBJ) = ( SCOMP TOP)

The first grammatical function in the body of its path is always SUBJ of the matrix clause, and this path comes from TOP of SCOMP. Besides, the bottom of the path can be either an embedded object as in (70), or an embedded subject as in (71). However, an adjunct cannot be extracted as in (72).

- (70) *dææng thuuk* [s *mææ tii* \_\_\_i]  
 Dang suffer [mother hit ]  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) (his) mother hit (him).’
- (71) *dææng<sub>i</sub> thuuk* [nóy songsay [s *wâa \_\_\_i tii níð*]  
 Dang suffer [Noy suspect that hit Nid]  
 ‘Dang suffered (from the experience that) Noy suspected that (he) hit Nid.’
- (72) \* *mööwaanníi thuuk* [s *mææ tii dææng* \_\_\_i]  
 Yesterday suffer [mother hit Dang ]

I therefore hypothesize that the path of the *thuuk* construction is that in (73).

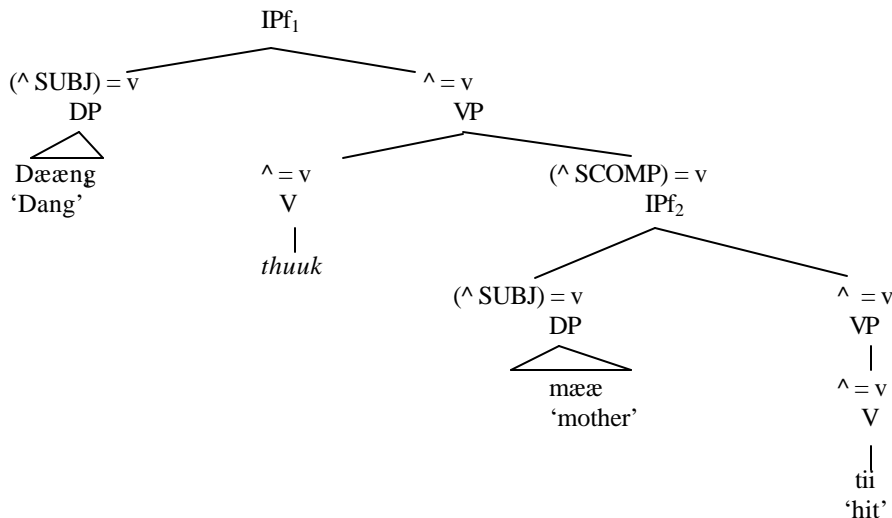
(73) ( SUBJ) = ( SCOMP TOP)  
 ( SCOMP TOP) = ( SCOMP\* SUBJ | OBJ)

To sum up so far, I propose that the *thuuk* construction in Thai has two grammatical processes: topicalization and functional control. The full analysis of the *thuuk* construction is given in the next section.

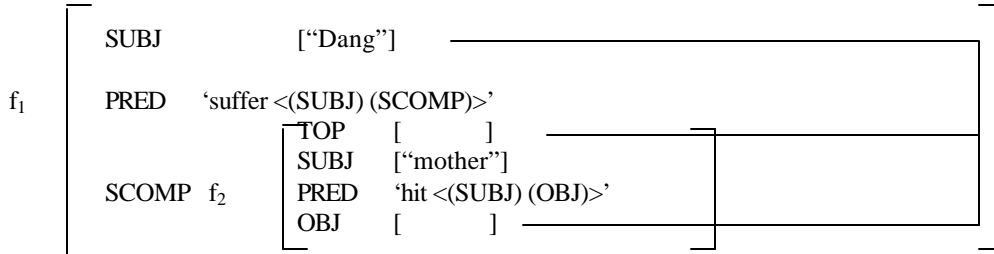
### 5.1.3 *The full analysis of the thuuk construction*

As I have showed in 5.1.1 and 5.1.2, the *thuuk* construction involves long-distance dependency (topicalization) with functional control of the complement object by the matrix subject. The constituent structure and functional structure of (70) is shown in (74).

(74) a. constituent-structure:



b. functional structure:



The functional predication relation of the verb *thujuk* in (69) identifies the SUBJ of the verb *thujuk* with the TOP of its complement.

Now, we come to the last question: If the *thujuk* construction is not a passive, what kind of construction is it? As noted, the *thujuk* construction in Thai involves long distance dependency and the dependency between the gapped object and the subject of the matrix clause involves functional control. This structure is similar to the structure of the “Tough” construction in English, which is a kind of Unbounded Dependencies (UDCs), namely, weak unbounded dependency. I discuss this kind of construction in 5.2.

### 5.2 the *thujuk* construction as a weak unbounded dependency

The basic distinction between strong and weak UDCs that Pollard & Sag (1994:157) discuss is that the former have an overt filler in a non-argument position which is strongly associated with a gap as in (75).

- (75) a. Kim<sub>1</sub>, Sandy loves \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub>. (topicalization)  
 b. I wonder [who<sub>1</sub> Sandy loves \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub>]. (*wh*-question)  
 c. This is the politician [who<sub>1</sub> Sandy loves \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub>]. (*wh*-relative clause)  
 d. It's Kim [who<sub>1</sub> Sandy loves \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub>] (*it*-cleft)  
 e. [What<sub>1</sub> Kim loves \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub>] is sandy. (pseudocleft)

The weak UDCs, on the other hand, have a constituent in an argument position that is in some sense co-referential with the gap as in (76).

- (76) a. I bought it<sub>1</sub> for Sandy to eat \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub>. (purpose infinitive)  
 b. Sandy<sub>1</sub> is hard to love \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub>. (*tough* ‘construction’)  
 c. This is the politician<sub>1</sub> [Sandy loves \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub>]. (relative clause)  
 d. It's Kim<sub>1</sub> [Sandy loves \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub>]. (*it*-cleft)

In (76), there is no overt filler in a non-argument position; instead there is a constituent in an argument position that is interpreted as co-referential with the trace.

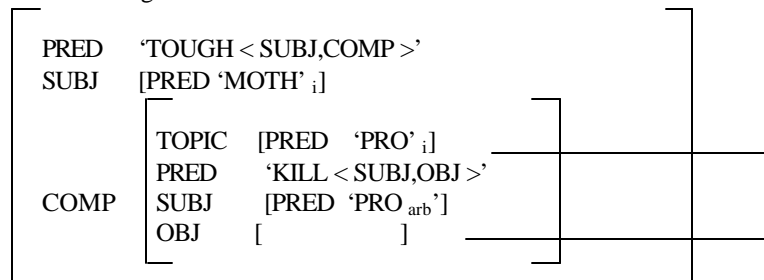
As for the “Tough” construction as in (76b), Dalrymple and King (2000), propose that it involves long-distance dependency with anaphoric control of the complement object by the matrix subject. They show in their article that the “Tough” construction has all properties of long-distance dependencies: unbounded dependencies as in (77), licensing parasitic gaps as in (78) and obeying island constraints as in (79).

- (77) a. This book is too valuable to throw away.  
 b. This book is too old to get anyone to try to renovate.

- (78) This book is too interesting to read without really trying to understand.  
 (79) a. Kim would be difficult to imagine kissing.  
 b. \* Kim would be difficult to imagine [the likelihood of kissing] NP.  
 c \* Kim would be difficult to imagine a person [who likes] REL – CL.

Dalrymple and King propose that the dependency in the “Tough” construction involves anaphoric control in which the subject and gapped object are co-referent but syntactically distinct. The “Tough” predicate subcategorizes for the thematic subject and a COMP. The subject anaphorically controls the TOPIC of the COMP, as indicated by the co-indexation, and the TOPIC fills an OBJ role within the subordinate clause via functional control as it is shown in (80).

(80) Moths are tough to kill.



They also propose the path for the “Tough” predicate, which is the first grammatical function in the body of the path is COMP, and the bottom of the path is OBJ, as in (81).

(81) ( COMP TOPIC) = ( COMP XCOMP\* ( {OBL | ADJ} ) OBJ)

The *thuuk* construction in Thai is similar to the “Tough” construction in English in that it also has the property of the long-distance dependency: unbounded dependency in (52) and obeying the island constraints in (53). And the dependency between the matrix subject and the gapped object involves control relation. (*see 5.1.2*) So, I propose that the *thuuk* construction in Thai can be counted as a kind of the weak unbounded dependencies like the “Tough” construction in English. In addition, the so-called ‘passive’ constructions in Mandarin Chinese and in Japanese are similar to the structure of the *thuuk* construction in Thai. According to Huang (1999) and Toyoshima (1996), those constructions are also weak unbounded dependencies.

## 6 Conclusion

In this paper, I prove that the *thuuk* construction in Thai, which is considered to be the passive by many Thai linguists, is not a true passive since it lacks the most significant characterization of standard passive: the relation change. By using the complex NP shift, I clarify the grammatical function between the verb *thuuk* and the NP following it that this NP is not its object, but the subject of its embedded verb. I propose the alternative analysis in terms of LFG showing that the *thuuk* construction in Thai involves long-distance dependencies, namely topicalization, and the dependency between the gapped object and the matrix subject involves functional control. This kind of

construction is similar to the “Tough” construction in English, thus it can be classified as a kind of weak unbounded dependencies.

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