A TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE PASSIVE IN THAI [1]

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Abstract

Based on the generalization and classification of passives in the world's languages put forward by Givón (1979), Siewierska (1984), and Keenan (1990) this study recapitulates the universal types of passive. Twenty types of passive are proposed. They are grouped into ten pairs of contrastive types; namely, passive vs. ergative, true passive vs. pseudo-passive, direct vs. indirect passive, sentential vs. lexical passive, personal vs. impersonal passive, plain vs. reflexive passive, neutral vs. adversative or favorable passive, basic vs. non-basic passive, synthetic vs. periphrastic passive, passive with patient subject vs. passive with non-patient subject. It is found that five of these pairs are applicable to the

analysis of passive types in Thai. A typological system of passives in Thai is proposed. It comprises eight actual types of passive, which are distinguished from one another by these features: [true], [neutral], [direct], [basic], and [synthetic].

1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to approach passives typologically and to classify the passive in Thai into types.

One of the reasons why I have attempted to analyze passives typologically is that there has been a great deal of confusion as to how to analyze passives, chiefly because different models of grammar treat passives differently; for example, as to whether passives are structurally related to actives; i.e., whether they are derived transformationally from their active counterpart or are derived independently. Among those who maintain that passives are related to actives by syntactic rules are Chomsky (1965, 1973), Fillmore (1968, 1971), and Emonds (1976). Those who contend that actives and passives are syntactically independent but related by lexical rules are, for example, Shopen (1972), Bresnan (1978), and Starosta (1988). Yet, there are some who hold that some passive clauses are derived transformationally and other passive clauses lexically, for example, Wasow 1977, Lightfoot 1979, and Bennett 1980 (cited in Siewierska 1984:7).

Another reason why a typological approach to passives is adopted here is that it is very likely to yield solutions to the problem of identifying and classifying passives, which can serve as a basis for further analysis. In many earlier analyses, passives were defined

differently according to different criteria. This resulted in the conclusion that some languages have passives but others do not. Thai is a good example of such a language. Indeed, several linguists maintain that Thai does not have passives. However, many others, myself included argue that it does. My view is that passives are diverse and do not have a uniform pattern.

2. Universality of passives

Functionally speaking, passives serve the same function in the world's languages. According to Keenan (1990: 243-244), passives may be considered foregrounding constructions, which topicalize or foreground an element. In *John was slapped, John* is presented as topical, unlike in *Mary slapped John*. Other foregrounding devices are topicalizations or left-dislocation (e.g. *Beans I like*). Passives are different from topicalized constructions in that they can eliminate the subject of the active or relegate it to the status of an oblique NP (as in *John was slapped by Mary*).

Based on evidence from a large number of languages around the world, Keenan (1990: 241) argues that "no language forms passive sentences by assigning a characteristic to an active, or by inserting a sentence-level particle in an active, or by inverting the subject and the auxiliary of an active. Rather, passives are formed by deriving verb phrases in certain ways."

Keenan divides all passives into two major types: **basic and non-basic** or **complex** passives. The term "basic passives", refers to passives that have three characteristics: 1) They have no agent; 2) the passivized verb is a transitive verb; and 3) the passivized verb is an activity verb, e.g., *John was slapped*. Passives that do not have these characteristics are complex, or non-basic, passives. Based on several criteria, such as the presence of an agent, types of verbs that can be passivized, aspectual differences, and degree of subject affectedness, Keenan made generalizations about the distribution of all the world's passives, which are summarized as follows:

G-1 Some languages have no passives.

G-2 If a language has passives, it has ones characterized as basic; moreover, it may have only basic passives.

G-2.1 If a language has passives with agent phrases, then it has them without agent phrases.

G-2.2 If a language has passives of stative verbs (e.g. lack, have, etc.), then it has passives of activity verbs.

G-2.3 If a language has passives of intransitive verbs then it has passives of transitive verbs (e.g. in Japanese).

G-3 Languages with basic passives commonly have more than one formally distinct passive construction.

G-4 If a language has passives, it has ones which can be used to cover the perfective range of meaning.

G-5 If a language has two or more basic passives, they are likely to differ semantically with respect to the aspect ranges they cover.

G-6 The subject of a passive VP is never understood to be less affected by the action than when it is presented as the object of an active transitive verb.

G-7 Distinct passives in a language may vary according to the degree of affectedness of the subject and whether it is positively or negatively affected (e.g. in Thai, Vietnamese, Chinese), though this variation seems less widely distributed than that of aspect.

G-8 If a language can passivize transitive verb phrases taking sentential objects then it can passivize ones taking lexical noun phrase objects.

G-9 If a language presents basic passives, then it always passivizes 'give', 'show', etc. in such a way that the derived subject is the Patient of the active verb. Passives in which the Recipient is the subject may or may not exist (e.g. in French such a sentence as *Le livre a été donné à Pierre.* 'The book was given to Pierre' is gram-matical, but **Pierre a été donné le livre.* 'Pierre was given the book' is ungram-matical.)

(Keenan 1990: 247-277)

It is interesting to note that studies of passives in Thai and other Tai languages provide evidence that seems to confirm many of Keenan's generalizations. For instance, G-1, which states that some languages have no passives, is confirmed by the fact that some Tai languages, such as Ahom Tai, and Phutai do not have passives. This is also true of the Thai used in the Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, and early Bangkok periods. (Prasithrathsint 2004).

The fact that Thai has both basic and non-basic passives and that it has more than one formally distinct passive construction supports the statements in G-2 and G-3.

Concerning G-4 and G-5, that passives in Thai seem to be compatible with perfective aspect may be regarded as supporting the generalizations. However, such a claim needs further investigation. (See the discussion following (24) and (25) in 4.7.)

G-6 may need proof from a test of native speakers' reaction. However, based on my observation, native speakers of Thai seem to passivize a transitive active sentence or depassivize a passive sentence quite freely. This seems to imply that the object of an active sentence and the subject of its passive counterpart are equivalent in terms of the degree of its being affected by the action of the verb.

The findings about passives in Thai also provide evidence supporting G-7 and G-9. Indeed, Thai has adversative, favor-able, and neutral passives. Unlike in French, in Thai both the passive with the Patient subject and that with the Recipient subject exist. The latter is classified as the indirect passive. (See 4.3)

With reference to G-8, the passive with a sentential subject is less common than the passive with a noun phrase subject. The fact that Thai has only the latter type of passive supports the statement in G-8.

3. Definition of passive and passivization

Givón (1979: 187) defines **passivization** from a functional point of view as "the process by which a non-agent is promoted into the role of main topic of the sentence. And to the extent that the language possesses coding properties which identify main topics as subjects and distinguishes them from topics, then this promotion may also involve subjectivalization."

Based on a comparative analysis of passives in many different languages, Siewierska (1984) defines passive constructions as those which have the following characteristics:

    a) the subject of the passive clause is a direct object in the corresponding active;
    b) the subject of the active clause is expressed in the passive in the form of an agentive adjunct or is left unexpressed;
    c) the verb is marked passive.
           (Siewierska 1984: 2-3)

In this paper, "passive" is also defined by a combination of characteristics. A passive construction is a construction that has all of the following characteristics:

    (1) Its grammatical subject corresponds to the object in its active counterpart.
    (2) Its main verb is an intransitive verb derived from a transitive verb in the active counterpart.
    (3) It is marked by adding an affix to the main verb or a word to the passive sentence.
    (4) It may or may not contain an agent.
    (5) It may differ in form and meaning from other types of passive in the same language.

As will be seen, the above definition covers all the types of passives described in the following sections.

4. Types of passives in the world's languages

Based on Givón (1979), Siewierska (1984), and Keenan (1990), I classify passives universally into 20 types, which are grouped into 10 pairs. The features that distinguish the two types in each pair are a dichotomy of contrastive features. It should be noted that these features are not mutually exclusive. For instance, basic passives can also be synthetic, neutral, personal, plain, etc. Here, I arrange all the pairs of features on the basis of their role in classifying languages into types concerning passives. The features that affect more languages are more general than those that affect fewer languages. The ten dichotomies of features are ordered from the most general to the most specific as follows.

1. Passive vs. ergative (passive-like constructions)
2. True passive vs. pseudo-passive
3. Direct passive vs. indirect passive
4. Sentential passive vs. lexical passive
5. Personal vs. impersonal passives
6. Plain passive vs. reflexive passive
7. Neutral passive vs. adversative or favorable passives
8. Basic vs. non-basic passives

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9. Synthetic vs. periphrastic passives
10. Passives with patient subjects vs. passives with non-patient subjects

4.1 Passive vs. ergative (passive-like constructions)

Evidence from typological research shows that passives are normally found in accusative languages as opposed to ergative languages. In accusative languages, active sentences, in which the subject is Agent, are unmarked, and passive sentences, in which the subject is Patient, are marked. On the other hand, in ergative languages, constructions with Patient subjects are unmarked. They are known as "ergative" constructions. Their counter-part is the "anti-passive" construction, in which the subject is Agent, and it is marked.

Based solely on the semantic criterion, any linguist might consider an ergative construction to be passive. However, most linguists seem to take into consideration grammatical markers and consider ergative to be unlike passive. Examples (1) and (2) are Dyirbal ergative and anti-passive, respectively.

(1)   yara   jugumbi-ru
        man-ABS   woman-ERG
        balga-n
        hit-TRAN
                        (Dyirbal)
        'The man was hit by the woman.'

(2)   yara   jugumbil-gu
        man-ABS   woman-DAT
        balgal-nga-nyu
        hit-ANTIPASS
                        (Dyirbal)
        'The woman hit the man.'

It should be remarked that (1) is passive-like semantically. However, the verb /balga-n/ 'hit' is an unmarked transitive and there is no other marker in the sentence like a passive sentence in accusative languages. In contrast, the verb /balgal-nga-nyu/ in (2) is fully marked, so that the sentence becomes opposite to (1) in terms of semantic roles. It is active-like semantically but labeled as "anti-passive" in ergative languages.

4.2 True passive vs. pseudo-passive

An important marker of a "true passive" is that the main verb is derived from a transitive verb. If it is derived from an intransitive verb, the construction will be labeled as a "pseudo-passive". In other words, a pseudo-passive is a passive-like construction in which the verb is derived from an intransitive verb, as the verbs /pay/ 'go', and /ɔ̀ɔk/ 'leave' in (3) and (4).

(3)   khǎw   ***thùuk***   pay
        he   PASS   go
        prachum theɛn   hǔa-nâa
        meeting instead boss
        lǎay   khráŋ
        several time
                        (Thai)
        'He has been made to attend meetings on behalf of his boss several times.'

(4)   khǎw   ***doon***   ɔ̀ɔk   càak
        he   PASS   leave   from
        râatchakaan   phrɔ́ tham
        public service because do
        khwaam-phìt
        wrong
                        (Thai)
        'He was made to resign from being a civil servant because he had done wrong.'

4.3 Direct passive vs. indirect passive

Direct passives are passives in which there is a direct relationship between the verb and the subject of the passive sentence in terms of affectedness. In contrast, indirect passives are passives in which there is no relationship between the subject of the passive sentence and the verb, such as (5) and (6).

(5) taroo   ga   doroboo ni
     Taroo   NOM   thief   AGT
     zitensha o   nusum-*are*-ta
     bike ACC steal-PASS-PAST
                                (Japanese)
     'Taroo was affected by his
     bike being stolen by a thief.'
                        (Siewierska 1984:155)

(6) chăn *thuúk* phîan yíp năŋsĭ
     I   PASS friend pick book
     pay   dooy   mây   bɔ̀ɔk
     go   by   not   tell
                                (Thai)
     "I was affected by my friend's
     taking that book without
     telling me.'

As can be seen in Examples (5) and (6), the Patient of the verb 'steal' and 'pick' is 'bike' and 'book', respectively. However, they are not subjects. This makes the sentences different from direct passives. However, since the sentences are marked by a passive marker: /rare/ in Japanese, and /thuúk/ in Thai, they can be regarded as passives, but are labeled as "indirect passives" here.

4.4 Sentential passive vs. lexical passive

Some linguists divide passives into two types based on whether they are sentences or lexical items. All the examples shown earlier are passive sentences.

Lexical passives, on the other hand, are not sentence constructions, but words, such as *broken* in *a broken glass*, *damaged* in *a damaged car*, *interested* in *The audience interested in this topic can attend my lecture on Monday*, etc. These words with "passive meanings" may be called "participial passive" (Beedham 2001) or "adjectival passive participle" (Yumoto 1991).

Another kind of lexical passive was proposed by Irube (1984); namely, adjectives ending with "-able" which have "passive" meanings; for example, *debatable* ('that can be debated'), *forgivable* ('that can be forgiven'), *separable* ('that can be separated'), *countable* ('that can be counted'), *perceivable* ('that can be perceived').

It may be important to note that most linguists who deal with passives in various languages in the world focus on passive sentences and tend to ignore lexical passives. In this paper, I also concentrate only on passive sentences.

4.5 Personal vs. impersonal passives

Personal passives have subjects with clear meanings. They are more common than impersonal passives. All the examples of passives given earlier are personal passives. On the other hand, impersonal passives are subjectless or have subjects with obscure meanings (such as "on" in French). Berman (1979) labels them as "verb-first" or

"missing-person constructions", as (7)-(10) below.

(7) otobüse-e   ***bin-il-di***
     bus-DAT   board-PASS-PAST
                                    (Turkish)
     'The bus was boarded'.
     (/otobüse-e/ 'bus' is not subject
     because it is in the Dative case)

(8) er   wordt   door   de
     there   become   by   the
     jongens ***gefloten***
     boys   whistle-PAST PART.
                                    (Dutch)
     'There is whistling by the boys.'

(9) bur-ej   ***povali-lo***
     storm-INST knock over-PAST
     derev-o
     tree-ACC.
                                    (Russian)
     'The tree was knocked over
     by the storm.'

(10) ***on   vendit*** la   maison
     one   sold   the   house
                                    (French)
     'The house was sold.'
     (From Siewierska 1984:94-95,
     and Berman 1979: 3)

4.6 Plain vs. reflexive passives

Reflexive passives are marked by a reflexive pronoun, which functions as a prefix or a suffix to the main verb. They are commonly found in European languages, as (11)-(13). Passives that are not marked by a reflexive pronoun are plain passives.

(11) Adan   y   Eva   ***se***
     Adam   and   Eve   REFL
     expulsaron   del
     expel-PAST-3 PL   of-the
     Eden
     Eden
                                    (Spanish)
     'Adam and Eve were thrown
     out of Eden.'

(12) Nel   medio   evo   ***si***
     in-the middle age   REFL
     bruciavano
     burn-IMPERF-3 PL
     le   streghe
     the   witch
                                    (Italian)
     'In the middle ages witches
     were burned.'

(13) O Nickos   ***skoto-θike***
     Nick   kill-REFL-3 S-PAST
     apo   tus   exθrus
     by   the   enemy
                                    (Greek)
     'Nick was killed by the enemy.'
     (From Siewierska 1984:165-166)

4.7 Synthetic vs. periphrastic passives

Passives may be divided into two types: synthetic and periphrastic, according to how they are marked

Synthetic passives are marked by affixation to the verb, which turns an active verb into a passive form. These passives are labeled "strict morphological passives" by Keenan (1990: 251). Examples (14b) and (15b) are synthetic passives. The passive verbs are derived from their active counterparts by affixation (14a, 15a).

(14a) cal   **pa ʔ**   mpon
      wind   open   door
                          (Sre)
      'The wind opened the door.'

(14b) mpon   **gə-paʔ**   mə   cal
      door PASS-open by   wind
      'The door was opened by the
      wind.'

(15a) ha-saba   **gidel**
      the-grandfather brought up
      et   ha-yeled
      DO   the-child
                         (Hebrew)
      'The grandfather brought up
      the child.'

(15b) ha-yeled   **gudal**
      the-child   was brought up
      al   yedei   ha-saba
      on   hands   the-grandfather
                         (Hebrew)
      'The child was brought up by
      the grandfather.'

On the other hand, periphrastic passives are marked by certain words added in active constructions, turning them into passive ones. Such words are normally verbs that may be grouped into four types: 1) verbs meaning 'be, become', 2) verbs meaning 'get, receive', 3) verbs meaning 'go, come', 4) verbs meaning 'suffer, touch, undergo'.

Periphrastic passives with a verb meaning 'be, become'

English passives are periphrastic with the verb 'to be', as in (16), (17). German and Persian make use of the verb meaning 'become', as in (18), and (19), respectively.

(16)   The project was finished.

(17)   The book was written by a
        Nobel Prize winner.

(18)   Hans   **wurde**   von
        Hans   become   by
        seinem Vater   bestraft
        his   father   punished
                         (German)
        'Hans was punished by his
        father.'

(19)   Ahmed   košté   **šod**
        Ahmed   killed   become
                         (Persian)
        'Ahmed was killed.'
                (From Keenan 1990: 257)

Periphrastic passives with a verb meaning 'get, receive'

In Welsh, passives are formed by adding the verb 'get', as in (20).

(20)   **cafodd** Wyn   ei   rybuddio
        get   Wyn   his   warning
        gan   Ifor
        by   Ifor
                         (Welsh)
        'Wyn was warned by Ifor.'
                  (Keenan 1990: 259)

In English, the verb 'get' may replace the verb 'be' in a passive sentence; e.g., *he got kicked*, but its occurrence is limited to certain verbs and certain situations. Similarly, in Thai the verb /dây-ráp/ 'receive' may also mark a passive; e.g., /khǎw dây-ráp tɛ́ŋ-tâŋ/ 'He was appointed.' However, its occurrence is also limited—the verb /dây-ráp/ occurs only with a verb that has a favorable meaning. (See 4.8.)

Periphrastic passives with a verb meaning 'go, come'

According to Siewierska (1984), periphrastic passives with a verb meaning 'go', or 'come' are less common than those with other verbs. The verb 'go' or 'come' has lost its lexical meaning and become a passive marker, as can be seen in (21) and (22), which are periphrastic passives in Hindi marked by the verb 'go'. Note that (21) is a personal passive and that (22) is an impersonal one.

Example (23) is a periphrastic passive marked by the verb 'come' in Italian.

(21)   murgi   mari   **gayee**
         chicken   killed   went
                                 (Hindi)
         'The chicken was killed.'
                 (Keenan 1990: 260)

(22   larko se soyee nahi **gayee**
         boys by slept not went
                                 (Hindi)
         'It was not slept by the boys.'
                 (Siewierska 1984: 105)

(23)   la barca **viene**
         the boat come
         affondata
         sink-PAST-PART
         (Italian)
         'The boat is (being) sunk.'
                 (Siewierska 1984: 134)

Pranee Kullavanijaya (p.c.) points out that in Thai the verb /maa/ 'to come' is normally found in intransitive sentences with a passive meaning, such as (24) and (25), and asks whether such constructions should be regarded as periphrastic passives marked by 'come'.

(24)   baan   níi   sâaŋ   *maa*
         house   this   build   come
         hâa-sĭp pii   lέεw
         fifty   year   already
         tὲε   yaŋ   duu
         but   still   look
         sŭay-ŋaam   mâak
         pretty-beautiful very
         'This house was built fifty years ago but still looks beautiful.'

(25)   wɛ̆ɛn   níi   mân
         ring   this   engage
         phûyĭŋ *maa*   lăay
         woman come   several
         khon   lέεw
         person   already
         'This ring has been worn by several women during their engagement.'

In my opinion, (24) and (25) could be analyzed as unmarked passives if we base the analysis on semantic criteria. The word /maa/ 'come' in these sentences cannot be regarded as a passive marker because it can be omitted. However, it seems to convey the meaning of perfective aspect and makes the sentences more intelligible. The claim that the passive is highly compatible with perfective aspect has been suggested in some studies, such as Kulikov (2004), and Toyota & Mustafovic (2004). However, in order to confirm such a relationship, more specific investigations need to be carried out in more languages, including Thai.

Periphrastic passives with a verb meaning 'suffer, touch, undergo'

This type of periphrastic passive is commonly found in Southeast Asian languages. The verb that is added to

mark the passive normally means something like 'undergo an unfavorable experience', and the passive construction that is derived is adversative. Examples include the verb /doon/ in Thai, /trew/ in Khmer, and /bi/ in Vietnamese, as in Examples (26)-(28). It is also discovered that in Malaysia, the verb /kena/ 'touch, undergo' has become a passive marker in the same line, as in (29) (See Prasithrathsint 2001.)

(26) khǎw ***doon*** tii
 he/she *undergo* beat
 (Thai)
 'He/she was beaten.'

(27) nó ***bị*** dánh
 he/she *undergo* beat
 (Vietnamese)
 'He/she was beaten.'

(28) ki: ***trɔw*** wɔy
 he/she *undergo* beat
 (Khmer)
 'He was beaten.'

(29) budak jahat itu
 boy naughty the
 kena pukul
 undergo beat
 (Malay)
 'The naughty boy was beaten.'

As can be seen, the features "periphrastic" vs. "synthetic" are based on syntactic criteria. In contrast, the features "neutral" and "adversative" in the Section 4.8 below are based on semantic criteria.

4.8 Neutral passive vs. adversative or favorable passives

Passives in most languages of the world are neutral; i.e., they are not limited to either favorable or unfavorable meanings of the verbs or the sentences. European languages have this type of passive. However, in certain languages in Asia, including Thai, passives can have specialized meanings in terms of favorable or unfavorable, especially from the point of view of the speaker. Examples (26)-(29) shown in the previous section are adversative passives in some Southeast Asian languages. Example (30) is a favorable passive in Thai marked by the word /dây-ráp/.

(30) Somchai ***dây-ráp*** lîak
 Somchai receive elect
 pen khaná-bɔdii
 be dean
 (Thai)
 'Somchai was elected Dean

The verb /dây-ráp/ 'receive' normally occurs with verbs that have favorable meanings, such as those meaning 'elect, appoint, give (by the king), admire, praise, invite, etc.'

4.9 Basic vs. non-basic passives

Basic passives are defined here according to Keenan (1990: 247) as passives which have these three characteristics: *1) There is no agent, 2) the main verb (in its non-passive form) is transitive, and 3) the main verb expresses an activity, taking agent subjects and patient objects.* Other passives that do not have these characteristics are non-basic passives. Basic passives are more widespread across the world's languages than non-basic ones. Examples (31) and (32) are basic passives.

(31) My book was ***stolen***.
(32) Twenty bodies have been ***discovered***.

Passives with patient subjects vs. passives with non-patient subjects

Passives may vary according to the role of the subject. Normally, the subject of a passive sentence is the Patient or Objective case relation. However, the subjects of some passive sentences are in other case relations, such as (33)-(35).

(33) ***This bed*** (LOCATIVE) has been slept in.

(34) ***Mary*** (DATIVE) was given flowers by John.

(35) ***The ruined castle walls*** (LOCATIVE) were crept over by ivy.

This type of passive is also referred to as "prepositional passive" (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen 1979, Gwang-Yoon 2000). In English, the occurrence of the passive with non-patient subjects is limited. In some other languages, the non-patient subject can be Instrumental, as in (36) and (37). However, it is not marked by a preposition.

(36) ***nanasan-dRasoa***
      washed with-(INST) by Rasoa
      ny   lamba   ny   savony
      the   clothes the   soap
                            (Malagasy)
      'The soap was washed the clothes with by Rasoa.'

(37) ***pag-kamang***   ku
      PASS (INST)-get   I (AGT)
      ya   lata sa tubig   adti
      SUBJ   can DO water   on
      balkon
      porch
                            (Kalakan)
      'The can will be got water with by me on the porch.'
                        (Keenan 1990: 279-280)

5. Types of Passive in Thai

Based on the categorical criteria used in classifying passives and certain passive-like constructions in the world's languages into 10 pairs shown in Section 4, I classified passive and passive-like constructions in Thai into types.[3] Table 1 shows that only 6 criteria are applicable to Thai. The rest do not apply because Thai does not have those types of passive.

The six categories that are applicable to Thai are:

1) true passive vs. pseudo-passive
2) direct passive vs. indirect passives
3) sentential passive vs. lexical passives
4) synthetic passive vs. periphrastic passives
5) neutral passive vs. adversative or favorable passives
6) basic passive vs. non-basic passives

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[3] The data used in the analysis were a large number of concordances taken from an electronic corpus of Thai supplied by the Department of Linguistics, Chulalongkorn University and from current usage of Thai in newspapers and magazines. The total length of the texts from which data were taken was approximately three millions words.

In this paper I take only five categories into consideration, excluding the dichotomy of sentential vs. lexical passives because I aim to focus on sentence structure rather than word structure. In order to see how all the criteria interact and what the system of all the actual passives in Thai is like, I apply a componential analysis to the classification. Note that all the dichotomies are reinterpreted as a system of binary features shown by the + and - signs and rearranged from the broadest features to the narrowest, as follows:

1) **[+true], [-true]** (true passive vs. pseudo-passive)
2) **[+neutral], [-neutral]** (neutral vs. adversative or favorable passives)
3) **[+direct], [-direct]** (direct vs. indirect passives)
4) **[+basic], [-basic]** (basic vs. non-basic passives)
5) **[+synthetic], [-synthetic]** (synthetic vs. periphrastic passives)

Table 1 Criteria applicable to classification of passives in Thai

Criteria used in classifying passives in the world's languages	Ap[
Passive vs. ergative	
True passive vs. pseudo-passive	X
Direct passive vs. indirect passive	X
Sentential passive vs. lexical passive	X
Personal passive vs. impersonal passive	
Plain passive vs. reflexive passive	
Synthetic passive vs. periphrastic passive	X
Neutral passive vs. adversative passive	X
Basic passive vs. non-basic passive	X
Passives with patient subjects vs. passives with non-patient subjects	

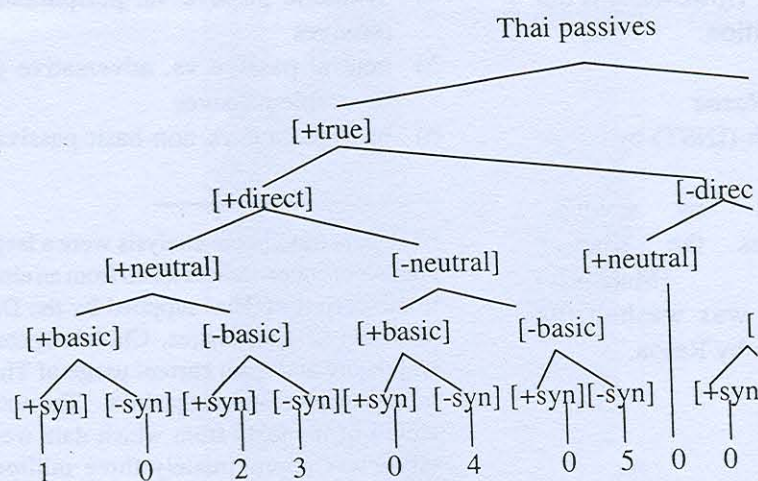The system of passives in Thai is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Typological system of passive in Thai

As can be seen in Figure 1, there are 16 possible types of passive based on the combinations of features under the [+true] category. However, in actuality, there exist only 7 types of true passive (numbered as 1-7 in Figure 1) and one type of pseudo-passive (Number 8) in Thai. The rest marked by 0 do not exist.

Type 1: The [+direct, +neutral, +basic, +synthetic] passive

This is the most common form of passive in Thai. Even though it is considered a new form, having emerged in the language because of English influence, it is used widely and has become more acceptable among Thai grammarians now than it was a few decades ago. The structure of this type of passive is marked by the lack of an agent phrase and the passive marker /thùuk-/, which functions like a prefix to the main verb. Also, the meaning of the passive sentence is neutral, such as (38).

(38) còtmǎay *thùuk-sòŋ*
letter PASS-send
pay lέεw
go already
'The letter was sent/ has been sent.'

Type 2: The [+direct, +neutral, -basic, +synthetic] passive

This type of passive differs from Type 1 in only one feature; i.e., it has an agent phrase, as in (39).

(39) aakhaan lǎŋ níi
building CLS this
thùuk-sâaŋ dooy
PASS-build by
sathǎapaník ameerikan
architect American

'This building was built by an American architect.'

Type 3: The [+direct, +neutral, -basic, -synthetic] passive

This type of direct and neutral passive is different from Type 2 in only one feature: it is not synthetic. The passive marker is not attached to the verb, but is a verb itself and is part of the whole sentence. Note that even though it has the same form as the marker in Type 1 and Type 2—/thùuk/, I treat it as a separate item. Also, the agent is not preceded by the preposition 'by' but functions as the subject NP of the embedded clause—/khwaam-rák bòtbaŋ/ in (40).

(40) khwaam-ciŋ *thùuk*
truth PASS
khwaam-rák bòtbaŋ
love conceal
'Truth is concealed by love.'

Type 4: The [+direct, -neutral, +basic, -synthetic] passive

This type of direct and basic passive is not neutral and not synthetic. It is normally marked by the verb /doon/ 'undergo (an unfavorable experience)', which marks adversity, as in (41) or /dây-ráp/ 'receive (something favorable)', as in (42).

(41) mǎa *doon* tii [4]
dog PASS beat
'The dog was beaten.'

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[4] In this sentence, /doon/ may be replaced by /thùuk/. Then the meaning would become more neutral. So I do not consider /thùuk/ as a marker in this category.

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(42) khăw ***dây-ráp*** tὲŋtâŋ
he PASS appoint
pen prathaan bɔɔrisàt
be chair company
'He was appointed chair of the company.'

Type 5: The [+direct, -neutral, -basic, -synthetic] passive

This type of passive is similar to Type 4, but differs from it in only one characteristic: it has an agent, as in (43).

(43) măa ***doon*** phɔ̂ɔ tii
dog PASS father beat
'The dog was beaten by Father.'
(adversative passive)

It must be remarked here that the /dây-ráp/ passive, which is always favorable, is not found with an agent, in the same pattern as (43).

Type 6: The [-direct, -neutral, +basic, -synthetic] passive

This type of basic passive is indirect, non-neutral, and non-synthetic. It is marked by the non-patient subject, as in (44) and (45). Only adversative passives are found to belong to this type. (Also see detail in 4.8).

(44) phîan ***thùuk***[5] khamooy ŋən
friend PASS steal money
'(my) friend was affected by his money being stolen.'

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[5] Even though the meaning of the /thùuk/ passive marker tends to be neutral in today usage, in Type 6 and Type 7, which are indirect passives, the original meaning of /thùuk/ ('undergo an unfavorable experience) seems to be preserved. In this case, I consider it here an adversative indirect passive marker.

(45) khăw ***doon*** khón bâan
he PASS search house
'He was affected by his house being searched.'

Type 7: The [-direct, -neutral, -basic, -synthetic] passive

This type of passive is almost the same as Type 6, but differs from it in that it has an agent, as in (46).

(46) phîan ***thùuk*** coon khamooy
friend PASS thief steal
ŋən
money
'(my) friend was affected by his money being stolen by a thief.'

(47) khăw ***doon*** tamrùat
he PASS police
khón bâan
search house
'He was affected by his house being searched by the police.'

Type 8: The pseudo-passive

The pseudo-passive in Thai is similar to a passive—having the same marker, but its main verb is not derived from a transitive verb, as in (48), marked by /thùuk/ and (49) marked by /doon/. (See also examples in Section 4.9)

(48) sùda ***thùuk*** maa
Suda PASS come
sămphâat wan-phrûng-níi
interview tomorrow
'Suda is made to come for an interview tomorrow.'

(49) chǎn ***doon*** pay
     I   PASS   go
     ŋaan-tèŋŋaan   sǎam   hǒn
     party-wedding three time
     nay dɨan   níi
     in   month   this
     'I have been made to go to three
     wedding parties this month.'

6. Conclusion

In the preceding pages, I have attempted
to show a typological classification of
Thai passives by applying the universal
characteristics of "passives" drawn
from previous studies and analyses of
passives in the world's languages. The
result yields quite a neat system of 7
types of passive and a pseudo-passive
in Thai.

Typologically speaking, Thai has 10
categories of passive. They can be
grouped into 5 pairs: (1) basic and non-
basic passives; (2) direct and indirect
passives; (3) neutral and non-neutral
passives; (4) synthetic and periphrastic
passives; and (5) true passive and
pseudo-passive. From these, only seven
true types of passives and one pseudo
type that actually exist in Thai are found.
They are marked by four markers: 1)
/thùuk-/, the neutral syn-thetic passive
marker; 2) /thùuk, an auxiliary marking
a non-basic periphras-tic passive; 3)
/doon/, an adversative passive marker,
and 4) /dây-ráp/, a favorable passive
marker. All seven true types of passive
and their markers can be seen easily in
the following matrix.

Table 2 Matrix of types of passive in Thai and their markers

	Direct	neutral	basic	synthetic	true
Type 1	+	+	+	+	+
Type 2	+	+	-	+	+
Type 3	+	+	-	-	+
Type 4	+	-	+	-	+
Type 5	+	-	-	-	+
Type 6	-	-	+	-	+
Type 7	-	-	-	-	+
Type 8					-

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