

Chapter 4

Participant Tracking

Chapter 3 provides the means and the functions for participants in the Thai songs. It talks about how the linguistic devices are used to identify the referents in the way the hearer would understand. This chapter considers how a participant is introduced and ranked in the song text. It next discusses how the reference patterns are analysed, and how the patterns are similar or different from the translated *Song of Solomon*. The proposed default are determined as a standard for any advisable changes, while the exceptions are discussed and the possible reasons are proposed.

4.1 Literature review

In discussing reference patterns, Givón (1983) introduces topic availability (also termed as topic continuity or identification) and proposes three measurements: referential distance (lookback), potential interference (ambiguity), and persistence (decay). Somsongce (1991: 123-134) applied Givón's framework in her Thai narrative stories and proposed that the participants in her corpus could be ranked into three categories: main, secondary, and tertiary. She concluded that the participant who had the lowest lookback value and highest persistence score could be ranked as the main participant, while the less important participants received contrasting values.

The linguistic signals used in encoding of references to participants are scaled in general from the least amount of coding material to the greatest amount: zero, unstressed pronoun, stressed pronoun, full noun phrase (Givón 1983: 17-18).

With this, Givón states in his iconicity principle that the amount of coding material will be greater when a topic is "disruptive, surprising, discontinuous, or hard to process" (1983: 18). In order to determine the factors that may impact the choice of encoding materials, Levinsohn (1994: 111) suggests also considering the following:

- a. the number of participants featured in the discourse at the point in question,
- b. whether or not the referent occupies a role in the previous sentence,
- c. if so, whether or not the referent occupies the same role in the current sentence,
- d. the presence or absence of a discontinuity, and
- e. whether the sentence is unmarked for prominence, is backgrounded, or is highlighted.

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001: 117-125) discussed two widely used strategies of reference. 1) A sequential strategy is an approach that seeks to identify a referent by tracking it from the most previous clause or sentence. This strategy is similar to Givón's lookback strategy identifying the referent by noting who was mentioned most recently. 2) A VIP strategy is an approach that considers the rank of the participant in the narrative as a whole. This strategy looks for distinguished patterns or terms that make the identification of a referent different and allow it to be the VIP of the story. The scope of a VIP can be the global level (looking at a text as a whole) or the local level (looking at a particular thematic grouping). There can also be major and minor participants. The major participants are the most active in the story and play leading roles. The minor participants are the opposite; they are activated briefly, and then they become deactivated.

4.2 Methodology

The participant reference strategies in the selected Thai songs and *Song of Solomon* were analysed by adapting Dooley and Levinsohn's (2001) method to determine the participant rank such as major, minor, and props, as well as to find the proposed default pattern for each participant role according to the proposed contexts for each activated subject and non-subject.

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001: 127-135) proposed a methodology for analyzing reference patterns in eight steps; this is the methodology that was used.

However, the presentation of results will be in a slightly condensed version as described below.

1. Draw up an inventory of ways of encoding references to participants.
2. Prepare a chart of participant encoding in a text; this working chart (that is used in steps 2, 3, and 4) will not be presented.
3. Track the participants by allocating a number to each participant.
4. Identify the context in which each reference to a participant occurs. The contexts for each activated subject are:
 - S1: the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence,
 - S2: the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence,
 - S3: the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation, and
 - S4: other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3.
 The contexts for each activated non-subject are:
 - N1: the reference occupies the same non-subject role as in the previous clause or sentence,
 - N2: the addressee of a reported speech was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence,
 - N3: the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by N2, and
 - N4: other non-subject references than those covered by N1-N3.
5. Propose default encodings for each context; the results of steps 5 through 7 will be summarized in its final form.
6. Inspect the text for other than default encoding: when the coding material is less than predicted or more than predicted.
7. Incorporate any modifications to the proposals of Step 5.
8. Generalize the motivations for deviances from default encoding.

Steps 4 and 5 in the methodology are described in 4.4, but the S2 and N2 contexts will be omitted as the Thai songs and the selected part of the *Song of Solomon* have no reported speech.

4.3 Participant rank

It is frequently assumed that participants are animate and props are inanimate. However, Grimes (1975: 43) suggests that an inanimate object, if having any

action or response in the plot of the story, can be considered as a participant. An inanimate character (for example, the pond) in Somsongse's (1991: 123) story of *The magic pond* may not have any speech role, but it has participant status because it is directly involved in the plot such that it provokes the participants to action. The props, on the other hand, are those things and people that do not play any roles or initiate any actions. Thus an inactive animate thing can function as either a prop or an inanimate character in both poetry and prose. An inanimate object which plays a role in the song *Love spell of Acacia* is exemplified in (74). The man who is the main participant is talking to *cāw dōk-khām-tāj* 'You Acacia', a personified character who reminds the man to think about the romantic experience that he had one specific night with the woman he loves.

(74) Love spell of Acacia.003

โอ้ละหนอ เจ้า ดอกคำใต้
ǒo-la-nǒw cāw dōk-khām-tāj
 POET 2S Acacia
 O, you Acacia,

Love spell of Acacia.004

เจ้า หว่าน ดอก ไร่ เหมือน คอย เตือน ให้ ใจฝัน
cāw wàan dōk wáj mūan khǒwj tūan hāj cāj fān
 2S sow flower PRT like PRT remind PREV heart dream
 you have spread (pollinated) (your) flowers, like (you) are reminding (my) heart to dream.

The Acacia in this song not only is active in spreading its flowers and reminding the man of his love memory, but while representing the growing love between him and the woman, the Acacia also plays an animate role in keeping the secret of their heavenly love.

The participants in many Thai narratives can be ranked as **main**, **secondary**, and **tertiary** (Somsongse 1991: 123-134, Sornlump 1983: 8-10). However, the Thai songs in this corpus consisted of only **the main participant** and **the secondary participant**. Usually in a love song, the man and the woman are the main participants in the story. But if one of those takes most or all of the singing role, he or she can be ranked as the **central participant** and the other will be a main participant who is involved in important actions but does not sing. Both

main and central participants can also be called thematic participants, i.e. the most salient and prominent participants in the song (Somsonge 1991: 128-131).

4.3.1 Central participants

The central participants are considered as those with the first person perspective in song discourse. Osborne (2009) and Tebow (2010) proposed that central participants are formally introduced with an NP at the beginning of the stories they considered, but if the participants are first person, they will present themselves with the deictic function of personal pronouns. However, in the Thai songs, a central participant may not be introduced with any overt markings at all. Unlike in a Thai first person prose narrative, the participant may or may not introduce him/herself. In *Kiss the soft cheek*, where the male singer is a central participant, and in *The wedding is tomorrow*, where the female singer is a central participant, the central participants are not introduced at all but represent themselves with zero anaphora. An example from *The wedding is tomorrow* is shown in (75), where the woman first introduces herself with zero anaphora.

(75) The wedding is tomorrow.001

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|----------------|------|--------------|------------|
| พรุ่งนี้ | แล้ว | หนา | เป็น | วัน | วิวาห์ | ∅ | คอย | มา |
| <i>phruŋ-níi</i> | <i>léew</i> | <i>nāa</i> | <i>pĕn</i> | <i>wān</i> | <i>wi?-wāa</i> | ∅ | <i>khwǎj</i> | <i>māa</i> |
| tomorrow | PRT | PRT | be | day | wedding | (IS) | wait | come |

ตั้งใจ

dāŋ-cāj

expect

Tomorrow is the wedding (that I) have been waiting for (and) expecting.

As the story continues, zero anaphora is still mostly used throughout the song. There is no description of the characteristics of the central participant, but the use of zero anaphora at the beginning of the song gives a clue that the referent is salient in this kind of discourse. With this, it supports the idea that it also is a global VIP as it is referred to by minimum but constant coding (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 121).

When looking in *Kinarii plays in the water*, the male singer does not introduce himself at all. He starts his song by describing the beauty of the woman he loves,

and later on refers to himself using a kinterm *phū* ‘older sibling’ to indicate a possessive in the second stanza, as shown in (76).

(76) Kinarii plays in the water.007

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------------|------------|----------------------|
| แม่ | ลอย | ฟ้า | มา | เป็น | ขวัญตา | บุญ | พี่ |
| <i>mēe</i> | <i>lōj</i> | <i>fāa</i> | <i>māa</i> | <i>pēn</i> | <i>khwān-tāa</i> | <i>būn</i> | <i>phū</i> |
| mother/lady | soar | sky | come | be | lovely.sight | fortune | older.sibling |

Lady (you) soar from the sky to be my lovely sight and fortune.

Even though the woman is introduced first in the song in *Kinarii plays in the water*, it is actually the man who sings the whole song and he is the one who observes and describes her beauty. He also expresses his desire for her throughout the song discourse. The word *phū* ‘older sibling’ is used only once. After that, only zero anaphora is used to identify the man in the rest of the song. Thus the central participants in these songs are the main participants with a dominant or leading role in singing, while their importance is equal with the main participants.

4.3.2 Main participants

While all central participants are main participants, not all main participants are central participants. If both the man and the woman are the main singers in a song, they are both central and main participants, but if one of them only acts and does not have a singing part, they are referred to as main participants. Although there is no formal introduction, nor any details about the background as seen in a narrative, a main participant is always a thematic participant. Their actions are significant and have an influence on the flow of the story. They appear on the scene most often and remain there until the end. The main participants, who are not the central participants, of these songs are introduced with an NP or a pronoun. This is because they need to be differentiated from the central participants. The NP and the pronoun tend to be easily interchangeable (Somsong 1991: 136), and they sometimes occur together in the same phrase. An example of an NP *mēe* *ʔāj* ‘mother/lady’ referred to a main participant, a beloved woman, is shown in (77).

(77) *Kinarii plays in the water*.001

แม่ เอย งาม จิ่ง งาม เหนือ สิ่ง เปรียบเปรย
mĕe p̄āj ḡāam cīḡ ḡāam nūa siḡ priap-prāj
Lady PRT beautiful real beautiful above thing compare

Lady (you are) so beautiful, beautiful beyond anything to compare with,

The woman in *Kinarii plays in the water* appears in the story throughout the whole song, but has no singing part at all. She is introduced with an NP designated by a kinship term, and she is rementioned as the story continues with zero anaphora alternated with a NP (including a title and body parts). Zero anaphora is generally used, but the NP occurs to fill the restricted syllable patterns, to play with the words (as for *prāaḡ, nūan prāaḡ, prāaḡ nūan, prāaḡ prāa* ‘cheek/soft cheek’ in *Kiss the soft cheek*), and/or to emphasize the character (as with *mĕe* ‘mother/lady’ used three other times after the introduction in every third verse of every stanza in *Kinarii plays in the water*).

4.3.3 Secondary participants

A secondary participant is usually introduced in an object or possessive position (Somsonge 1991: 152). A secondary participant is not a globally thematic participant but can become a locally thematic participant in one or some parts of the story. The role of the secondary participant is subsidiary, but he or she may have a specific relationship with the main participant and may appear according to the wish of the main participant (Somsonge 1991: 131-132). Usually the secondary participant will appear on the scene when his or her role and contributions are needed. Then he or she will disappear after the action is finished.

An example of a secondary participant in *Tomorrow is wedding* is illustrated in (78). Here the man is implicitly introduced with an inclusive form of zero anaphora, that functions as first person plural and refers to the woman (central participant) and the man (secondary participant) together. But the man’s action is not yet initiated.

(78) The wedding is tomorrow.003

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|----|
| เฝ้า | คิด | พะวง | ขอ | รัก | Ø | จง | คง | มั่น | Ø |
| <i>fāw</i> | <i>khít</i> | <i>pha-wōŋ</i> | <i>khǎw</i> | <i>rák</i> | Ø | <i>cōŋ</i> | <i>khōŋ</i> | <i>mān</i> | Ø |
| keep | think | worry | may | love | 1P | IMP | stable | firm | 1P |
| ร่วม | ครอง | คู่ | ประตู | ทอง | กัน | | | | |
| <i>rūam</i> | <i>khǎwōŋ</i> | <i>khūu</i> | <i>pra-tūu</i> | <i>thǎwōŋ</i> | <i>kān</i> | | | | |
| join | stay | pair | door | gold | together | | | | |

(I) keep worrying, may (our) love be firm (and that we) stay married (= door of gold).

Then, his first contribution occurs according to what the central and main participant, the woman, wishes. But the way he appears is in her dream, in a form of a third person pronoun *khǎw*, as exemplified in (79).

(79) The wedding is tomorrow.006

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| เคลิบเคลิ้ม | พา | ภาพ | เขา | วอน | อิงแอบ | นอน |
| <i>khlǎp-khlǎm</i> | <i>phāa</i> | <i>phāap</i> | <i>khǎw</i> | <i>wǎwn</i> | <i>ʔiŋ-ʔeep</i> | <i>nǎwn</i> |
| dreamy | bring | picture | 3S | plead | embrace | lay.down |
| ชื่นชม | โอบไฉ่ | | | | | |
| <i>chit-chōm</i> | <i>lōom-láj</i> | | | | | |
| admire | caress | | | | | |

(I) dream (of) him pleading to embrace, to lay down, to admire, (and) to caress (me).

The multiple verbs are employed to show the man's involvement in the story, as well as his special relationship to the woman who leads the singing role in the whole song. However, this is the only scene where he appears as a locally thematic participant; then he disappears. His presence is mentioned again in the same form as when he was introduced in a form of zero anaphora (for first person plural) at the end of the song.

4.4 Default encoding patterns

The default encoding patterns can be found by the tracking of participants through the songs. The tracking method is applied from Dooley and Levinsohn's framework (2001) to the Thai love songs, as discussed in the methodology in section 4.2.

4.4.1 Subject reference patterns

The following patterns for reference in subjects were found. Note that no occurrences of the S2 pattern were found in the corpus, because the songs have no reported speech.

4.4.1.1 Rule for S1 context

The S1 context is: “the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence.” An analysis of the S1 context gives a clear result of zero anaphora as a default reference of all four Thai songs. This is exemplified in (80), where the central participant (the man) of the song *Kiss the soft cheek* is identified with eight instances of zero anaphora. In line 017, he refers to himself as *phūi* ‘1S’ which is a reference of S4 context. Then, the zero anaphora is used to refer to him till the end of the song. This is consistent with the statement that a thematic participant is referred to by minimum, but constant coding (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 121).

(80) Kiss the soft cheek.017

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|----------------|----------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| พี่ | ขอ | สัญญา | ∅ | ไม่ | กลับ | คืน | คำ |
| <i>phūi</i> | <i>khǎw</i> | <i>sǎn-jāa</i> | <i>∅</i> | <i>māj</i> | <i>klàp</i> | <i>khūun</i> | <i>khām</i> |
| 1S(older) | may | promise | 1S | NEG | back | return | word |

I promise, (I) will not twist (my) words,

Kiss the soft cheek.018

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-------------|--------------|------------|----|---------------|----|
| ∅ | ถนอม | นวล | ปร่าง | ดั่ง | ∅ | พ่๋า | ∅ |
| ∅ | <i>tha-nǔwm</i> | <i>nūan</i> | <i>prāaŋ</i> | <i>dāŋ</i> | ∅ | <i>phrām</i> | ∅ |
| 1S | take.care | soft | cheek | like | 1S | say.many time | 1S |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--|--|
| มิ | ให้ | เจ้า | ซ้ำ | เกิน | ควร | | |
| <i>mī?</i> | <i>hāj</i> | <i>cāw</i> | <i>chám</i> | <i>kǎon</i> | <i>khūan</i> | | |
| NEG | give/let | 2S | bruise | over | appropriate | | |

(I) will take care of you (soft cheek) as (I) said, (I will) never let you get bruised inappropriately.

Kiss the soft cheek.019

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|------|------|--------------|--------------|----|-----|-------|-----------|
| ∅ | จะ | เฝ้า | รอคอย | เรือนหอ | ∅ | ไม่ | ขอ | ลามลวน |
| ∅ | càʔ | fāw | rɔ̄w-khɔ̄wɔj | rūan-hów | ∅ | māj | khɔ̄w | lāam-lūan |
| 1S | will | keep | wait | wedding.room | 1S | NEG | may | invade |

(I) will wait for (our) wedding room (=wedding night), (I) will not invade (you).

Kiss the soft cheek.020

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-------|------|----|------|-----|
| ∅ | ขอ | เพียง | เชย | กลิ่น | ปราง | นวล | ∅ | จะ | ไม่ |
| ∅ | khɔ̄w | phīaŋ | chɔ̄wɔj | klīn | prāaŋ | nūan | ∅ | càʔ | māj |
| 1S | may | only | touch | smell | cheek | soft | 1S | will | NEG |
| ลามลวน | ถึง | วัน | วิวาห์ | | | | | | |
| lāam-lūan | thūŋ | wān | wiʔ-wāa | | | | | | |
| assault | until | day | wedding | | | | | | |

(I) only ask to partake of your (soft cheek) fragrance, (I) will not invade (you) until (our) wedding day.

In contrast, a nonthematic participant is referred to with more coding material (e.g. a complex pronoun). For example, in the song *Love spell of Acacia* shown in (81), the Acacia is first introduced with *dòk-khām-tāj* ‘Acacia’ in line 002. Then, it is identified with a second person pronoun *cāw* + proper noun *dòk-khām-tāj* ‘Acacia’ (line 003), and another pronoun *cāw* (line 004) in a consecutive clause, though it plays the same subject role as in the first clause (line 002).

(81) Love spell of Acacia.002

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|-------------|--------|-------------|-------|--------|
| ดอกคำใต้ | กรุ่น | หอม | ละมุน | ไชย | กลิ่น | ละไม |
| dòk-khām-tāj | krùn | hɔ̄wɔm | la-mūn | chōoj | klīn | la-māj |
| Acacia | scented | (smell)good | tender | blow.softly | smell | sweet |

The Acacia gives tender and sweet smell.

Love spell of Acacia.003

| | | |
|-------------|------|--------------|
| โอ้ละหนอ | เจ้า | ดอกคำใต้ |
| ʔóo-la-nɔ̄w | cāw | dòk-khām-tāj |
| POET | 2S | Acacia |

O, you Acacia,

Love spell of Acacia.004

เจ้า หว่าน ดอก ไร่ เหมือน คอย เตือน ให้ ใจฝัน
cāw wàan dǔwk wáj mǔan khǔwǎj tūan hāj cāj fǎn
 2S sow flower PRT like PRT remind PREV heart dream
 you have spread (pollinated) (your) flowers, like (you) are reminding (my)
 heart to dream.

The distribution of S1 context is seen in table 15. Note that the total number of occurrences in each song is indicated in parentheses in the top row.

Table 15 Distribution of S1 Category (Thai Love Songs)

| | Kiss the soft cheek (19) | Love spell of Acacia (8) | Kinarii plays in the water (18) | The wedding is tomorrow (33) | Total (78) |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|
| ∅ | 94.74% | 87.50% | 55.55% | 93.93% | 84.61% |
| PRON | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% |
| Complex PRON | 00.00% | 12.50% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 01.28% |
| NP | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% |
| KIN | 00.00% | 00.00% | 05.55% | 00.00% | 01.28% |
| POSS ²² | 05.26% | 00.00% | 38.88% | 06.06% | 12.82% |

However, the secondary participant (the man) in *The wedding is tomorrow* employs zero anaphora in the S1 context the most. This is because serial verb constructions and the multiple verbs are being used (Somsonge 1993: 122, also see chapter 2, section 2.3.1). Therefore, the nonthematic participant can make use of either a pronoun (complex pronoun), or a zero identification.

The occurrence of possessive NPs in *Kinarii plays in the water* will be discussed in section 4.5.1 “More-than-default encoding pattern for subject”.

The rule applied to subject reference patterns in S1 context thus is:

²² Note that possessive NPs in this analysis include the body parts and can refer to a participant as a whole, especially if the body parts are used applying a possessive structure, for example, *nūan-prāaŋ* ‘soft cheek’ can refer to the woman’s soft cheek or the woman as a whole.

S1 context rule

Zero anaphora is utilized for central and main participants while nonthematic participants are identified with a (complex) pronoun, or a zero anaphora if the serial verb constructions and the multiple verbs are used.

For the total of 78 occurrences in the S1 category, 84.62% follow this rule.

4.4.1.2 Rule for S3 context

The S3 context is: “the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation.” The subject in this context has its position in the previous sentence as a non-subject other than addressee, and is changed back to the subject position in the current sentence. Usually when the role is changed, the participant will receive more encoding patterns than those in the S1 context. However, table 16 illustrates that zero anaphora is still mostly used in this context. An example for S3 context is given in (82) from the song *The wedding is tomorrow*, where the woman who is the central participant is acted upon (in her own imagination) first in a non-subject role (line 006). Then, she returns to the subject role with the use of zero anaphora (line 007). Zero anaphora can be utilized here because there is no ambiguity of reference. The woman can be identified by the serial verb construction that refers to herself awaken from her imagination: *klàp phlík k̄āaj t̄un̄un* ‘(I) turn (and) flip (my) body to wake up’.

(82) The wedding is tomorrow.006

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
| เคลือบเคลิ้ม | พา | ภาพ | เขา | วอน | อิงแอบ | นอน |
| <i>khl̄l̄əp-khl̄l̄əəm</i> | <i>phāa</i> | <i>phā̄p</i> | <i>khā̄w</i> | <i>wō̄wn</i> | <i>ʔiŋ-ʔè̄ep</i> | <i>nō̄wn</i> |
| dreamy | bring | picture | 3S | plead | embrace | lay.down |
| ชิดชม | โอบได้ | | | | | |
| <i>chit-chō̄m</i> | <i>lō̄om-láj</i> | | | | | |
| admire | caress | | | | | |

(I) dream (of) him pleading to embrace, to lay down, to admire, (and) to caress (me).

The wedding is tomorrow.007

∅ กลับ พลิก กาย ตื่น เหลียว สะอื้น
 ∅ klàp phlík kāj tùun líaw sa-ʔũun
 1S turn.over flip body wake look.back sob

อายใจ นี่ ยัง ไม่ใช่ วัน วิวาห์
 ʔāaj-cāj nī jāṅ māj-chāj wān wiʔ-wāa
 ashamed this yet NEG day wedding

(I) turn (and) flip (my) body, wake up, look back, sob, (and I) feel ashamed (as) this is not the wedding day yet.

The distribution of the S3 context is shown in table 16 below.

Table 16 Distribution of S3 Category (Thai Love Songs)

| | Kiss the soft cheek (9) | Love spell of Acacia (1) | Kinarii plays in the water (2) | The wedding is tomorrow (4) | Total (16) |
|-----------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|
| ∅ | 66.66% | 100% | 00.00% | 100% | 68.85% |
| PRON | 22.22% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 12.50% |
| Complex Pronoun | 11.11% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 06.25% |
| NP | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% |
| KIN | 00.00% | 00.00% | 50.00% | 00.00% | 06.25% |
| POSS | 00.00% | 00.00% | 50.00% | 00.00% | 06.25% |

In table 16, 11 out of 17 occurrences employ zero anaphora. The other most used patterns are pronouns and a complex pronoun (counted as 3 total), all of them occurring in *Kiss the Soft cheek*. The woman in the song *Kiss the soft cheek* is the main participant who has no singing role. When it comes to S3 context, she is referred to with *khwān cāw* ‘beloved 2S’ (1 time), and *cāw* ‘2S’ (2 times). This is exemplified in (83). In line 009, she is acted upon by the man she loves. Then in line 010, she takes her action in a subject role and is referred to with *cāw* ‘2S’.

(83) Kiss the soft cheek.009

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| เคียงคู่ | ประโลม | หยอกล้อ | พะนอ | ชิดใกล้ |
| <i>khīaŋ-khuū</i> | <i>pra-lōom</i> | <i>jòok-lǎw</i> | <i>pha-nǎw</i> | <i>chít-klāj</i> |
| stay.adjacently | touch | tease | coddle | close |

(I) stay adjacently, touch, tease, coddle (and come) close (to you)

Kiss the soft cheek.010

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| เจ้า | คราง | เหมือน | จะ | ขาดใจ | จาก | ห่าง | ทรวง | ใน |
| <i>cāw</i> | <i>khraaŋ</i> | <i>mūan</i> | <i>càʔ</i> | <i>khàat-cāj</i> | <i>càak</i> | <i>hūaŋ</i> | <i>sūaŋ</i> | <i>nāj</i> |
| 2S | murmur | like | will | stop.breath | from | space | heart | in |
| ไร้ | กล | มารยา | | | | | | |
| <i>rāj</i> | <i>kōn</i> | <i>māan-jāa</i> | | | | | | |
| without | magic | trick | | | | | | |

You cry like (you) stopped breathing, in (your) heart there is no trick

This example from *Kiss the soft cheek* is very similar to example (82) mentioned earlier. The only difference is that in (82), the S3 context is employed by a central participant, while in (83) is given to a main participant. It is possible that the main participant who has no singing role may need more coding material than the central participant who sings throughout the whole song. However, more research is needed to determine if the pronoun (or complex pronoun) is really the default for the main participant as the data is found from only one song.

No clear evidence is found about the patterns that are used for secondary participants.

The occurrence of a possessive NP and a kinterm in *Kinariii plays in the water* will be discussed in section 4.5.1 “More-than-default encoding pattern for subject.”

The rule applied to subject reference patterns thus is:

S3 context rule

Zero anaphora is utilized for central participants while main participants are identified with non-zero anaphora utilizing pronouns or complex pronouns.

For the total of 17 occurrences in the S3 category, 88.24% follow this rule.

4.4.1.3 Rule for S4 context

The S4 context is: “other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3.”

This context applies to a subject that is discontinuous from the previous clause.

In this context, though the expectation of the hearer for more coding material should be the highest of the four contexts, zero anaphora is still mostly used. An example in (84) shows the central participant who describes the woman’s beauty (line 015). Then he laments to himself, using zero anaphora, that he can only look and long to be with her (line 016).

(84) Kinarii plays in the water.015

รูปทรง สวย ยัง มี มี ใคร ของ
rūp-sōṅ sōō-phūi jāṅ mī? mīi khrāj cōwṅ
 figure beautiful yet NEG have anyone reserve
 A beautiful figure that no one has ever reserved.

Kinarii plays in the water.016

Ø ได้ แต่ แล มอง หวัง ใจ ปอง นาง เดี่ยว
 Ø *dāaj tēē lēē mōwṅ wāṅ cāj pōwṅ nāaṅ dīaw*
 1S PRT but look watch hope heart desire 3S only
 (I) could only look and hope for you alone.

However, pronouns (or complex pronouns) can also be an alternative, especially if a new verse or stanza begins. In *Love spell of Acasia*, both the central and secondary participants make use of the pronouns or complex pronouns in their S4 context. In (85) line 011-012, the love comparison with the flower is described. Then, the man and the woman play their role in line 013, using a complex pronoun *ส่วṅ rāw sǎaw nūm* ‘The two (of) us, a young woman (and) young man’. After their role, the Acacia which is a secondary participant is referred to at a new verse with a complex pronoun *cāw dōk-khām-tāj* ‘you Acacia’ in line 015. Finally in line 016, the man and woman are mentioned again with a pronoun *rāw* ‘2S’.

(85) Love spell of Acacia.011

ความ รัก ก็ คือ บุปผา
khwām rāk kōw khūu bup-phāā
 NOM love PRT be flower
 Love is like a flower,

Love spell of Acacia.012

ผลิ ดอก ที่ ตา แล้ว มา บานเบ่ง ที่ ใจ
phlì dǝ̀k thū tǎa léew māa bāan-bèŋ thū cāj
 bud flower at eye CONJ come bloom at heart
 (it) buds in the eyes and blooms in the heart.

Love spell of Acacia.013

สอง เรา สาว หนุ่ม
sǝ̀w rǎw saāw nǝ̀m
 two 2P young.woman young.man
 The two (of) us, a young woman (and) young man,

Love spell of Acacia.014

เกาะกุม แขน เกี้ยว นิดเดียว ก็ สุข เกิน ใคร
kǝ̀-kūm khēen kiaw nít-dīaw kǝ̀w sùk kǝ̀on khrāj
 hold arm hook little PRT happy over anyone
 just hold arms and hook (fingers), (we) are happier than anyone else.

Love spell of Acacia.015

โอ้ละหนอ เจ้า ดอกคำใต้
?ǝ̀lǝ̀-la-nǝ̀w cǎw dǝ̀k-khām-tāj
 POET 2S Acacia

O, you Acacia,

Love spell of Acacia.016

อย่า บอก นะ ใคร ใคร ว่า รัก เรา ได้ สู
jàa bǝ̀̀k ná khrāj khrāj wāa rák rǎw dáaj sùu
 do.not tell PRT anyone anyone say love 2P PRT toward
 สวรรค์
sa-wǎn
 heaven
 don't tell anyone that our love is heavenly.

Another example occurs in the song *Kiss the soft cheek*, but a kinterm is used instead of a pronoun. This is because the kinterm in Thai approximates the same semantic function as the pronoun. In this song, the man sings about the woman's beautiful smell (line 016) and promises her that he will not do anything with her

until the wedding day (line 017). The kinterm used for the man is ‘older sibling’, but it semantically functions as ‘1S’. This is exemplified in (86).

(86) Kiss the soft cheek.016

หอม ปรากฏปรากฏ มี คลาย คั้น ชื่นชวน
hǒwm prāaŋ-prāa mí? khlāaj khūun chūun-chūan
 (smell)good cheek NEG stop return admire
 (Your) cheek fragrance never stops drawing (my) admiration

Kiss the soft cheek.017

พี่ ขอ สัญญา ไม่ กลับ คั้น คำ
phī khǒw sǎn-jāa māj klàp khūun khām
 1S(older) may promise NEG back return word
 I promise, (I) will not twist (my) words,

The distribution of the S4 context is shown in table 17 below.

Table 17 Distribution of S4 Category (Thai Love Songs)

| | Kiss the soft cheek (3) | Love spell of Acacia (6) | Kinarii plays in the water (5) | The wedding is tomorrow (5) | Total (19) |
|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| ∅ | 33.33% | 00.00% | 60.00% | 100% | 47.36% |
| PRON | 00.00% | 50.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 15.78% |
| Complex PRON | 00.00% | 50.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 15.78% |
| NP | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% |
| KIN | 66.66% | 00.00% | 20.00% | 00.00% | 15.78% |
| POSS | 00.00% | 00.00% | 20.00% | 00.00% | 05.26% |

The variety for this small number of occurrences makes a qualifier like ‘tentative’ appropriate. The tentative rule applied to subject reference patterns thus is:

S4 context rule

Zero anaphora is utilized for central, main and secondary participants.

Pronoun (or complex pronoun), and kinterm that functions as a pronoun are also applicable, especially if the new verse or stanza begins.

For the total of 19 occurrences in the S4 category, 94.74% follow this rule.

4.4.2 Non-subject reference patterns

The following non-subject patterns for reference were found. Note that no occurrences of the N2 pattern we found in the corpus, because the songs usually have no reported speech. On the whole, there were significantly fewer instances of non-subject identifications than of subject identifications.

4.4.2.1 Rule for N1 context

The N1 context is: “the reference occupies the same non-subject role as in the previous clause or sentence.” The non-subject in this context occurs in the same non-subject role as in the previous clause. The occurrences of non-subjects in N1 context are similar to S1 context in that zero anaphora is the most used and is the default pattern. However, one can observe that zero anaphora is mostly used when it occurs with serial verb and multiple verb constructions. When a participant (whether thematic or not) appears individually, it tends to be marked with more encoding material such as a possessive NP.

But it is also possible that the influence of the poetic meter or the rhymic pattern of the poem can affect the choice of reference²³. An example of both possessive NP and zero anaphora in non-subject patterns are shown in (87). In line 019, the woman is mentioned with zero anaphora. Then in 020, to rhyme with the word *lāam-lūan* ‘invade’ of 019, she is referred to with a possessive NP *klīn prāaṅ nūan* ‘(your) soft cheek fragrance’. Then again, for the sake of rhymic and meter pattern, *lāam-lūan* ‘invade’ is used again with zero anaphora

(87) Kiss the soft cheek.019

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|----|
| จะ | เฝ้า | รอคอย | เรือนหอ | ไม่ | ขอ | ลามลวน | ∅ |
| <i>càʔ</i> | <i>fāw</i> | <i>rɔ̄w-khɔ̄wɔ̄j</i> | <i>rūan-hó̄w</i> | <i>mā̄j</i> | <i>khɔ̄w</i> | <i>lāam-lūan</i> | ∅ |
| will | keep | wait | wedding.room | NEG | may | invade | 2S |

(I) will wait for (our) wedding room (=wedding night), (I) will not invade (you).

²³ This phenomenon certainly occurs in other contexts, but the example in this context is evident.

Kiss the soft cheek.020

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------|--------|-------|---------|------|------|-----|
| ขอ | เพียง | เชย | กลิ่น | ปราง | นวล | จะ | ไม่ |
| khwɔ | phīaŋ | chəwǎj | klìn | prāaŋ | nūan | càʔ | maj |
| may | only | touch | smell | cheek | soft | will | NEG |
| ลามลวน | ∅ | ถึง | วัน | วิวาห์ | | | |
| lāam-lūan | ∅ | thūŋ | wān | wiʔ-wāa | | | |
| assault | 2S | until | day | wedding | | | |

(I) only ask to partake of (your) soft cheek fragrance, (I) will not invade (you) until (our) wedding day.

No clear evidence is found of what patterns are used for secondary participants. The occurrence of a NP in *Kinarii plays in the water* will be discussed in section 4.5.2 “More-than-default encoding pattern for non-subject.” The distribution of the N1 context is shown in table 18 below.

Table 18 Distribution of N1 Category (Thai Love Songs)

| | Kiss the soft cheek (10) | Love spell of Acacia (1) | Kinarii plays in the water (1) | The wedding is tomorrow (3) | Total (15) |
|------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|
| ∅ | 60.00% | 100% | 00.00% | 66.66% | 60.00% |
| PRON | 10.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 06.66% |
| NP | 00.00% | 00.00% | 100% | 00.00% | 06.66% |
| POSS | 30.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 33.33% | 26.66% |

The tentative²⁴ rule applied to non-subject reference patterns thus is:

N1 context rule

Zero anaphora is utilized for thematic participants. A possessive NP may replace zero anaphora due to the influence of the poetic meter or the rhymic pattern of the poem.

Thus for the total of 15 occurrences in the N1 category, 86.66% follow this rule.

²⁴ The word ‘tentative’ is used for some of the rules when it is hard to identify what the tendency is, or when the total number of occurrences is so small as to raise some doubt.

4.4.2.2 Rule for N3 context

The N3 context is: “the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by N2.” In this context, the non-subject referent is involved in a different role, such as subject role, from the previous clause. The occurrence of the patterns in this context is somewhat unclear. It appears that zero anaphora is the prominent pattern in *Kinariii plays in the water*. But the possessive NP has a higher percentage overall, with 60% or 9 out of 15 occurrences. Consider example (88) when the woman changes from the subject role (line 12) to an object role (line 13) using a possessive NP *nūan prāaŋ* ‘soft cheek’.

(88) Kiss the soft cheek.012

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| ซ็อน | กาย | เจ้า | แอบ | กระซิก |
| <i>jóon</i> | <i>kāaj</i> | <i>cāw</i> | <i>ʔèep</i> | <i>kra-sík</i> |
| take.from.under | body | 2S | do.in.secret | weep |

(I) lift (your) body, you weep in hiding

Kiss the soft cheek.013

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|------------|
| พลิก | นวล | ปราง | เคียงแอบ | มา |
| <i>phlík</i> | <i>nūan</i> | <i>prāaŋ</i> | <i>ʔi-aŋ-ʔèep</i> | <i>māa</i> |
| turn | soft | cheek | bend.closely | come |

(I) turn you (soft cheek) to be close (to me)

When looking at *Kiss the soft cheek*, *Kinariii plays in the water*, and *The wedding is tomorrow*, zero anaphora appear either with serial verb and multiple verb constructions or verbs of perception (the five senses). The serial verb and multiple verb constructions, as mentioned earlier, need no overt marking. As for the verbs of perception, they have a non-punctiliar sense²⁵ (Hwang 1997: 297). It is also possible that the verbs of perception need no explicit reference because one can tell from the context who is being watched, for example in *Kinariii plays in the water*. Again, the total number of occurrences is small.

The distribution of the N3 context is shown in table 19 below.

²⁵ Non-punctiliar verbs are those that does not report eventline information, such as *watch*, *wish*, etc.

Table 19 Distribution of N3 Category (Thai Love Songs)

| | Kiss the soft cheek (7) | Love spell of Acacia (1) | Kinarii plays in the water (4) | The wedding is tomorrow (3) | Total (15) |
|------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| ∅ | 14.29% | 00.00% | 75.00% | 33.33% | 33.33% |
| PRON | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% |
| NP | 00.00% | 00.00% | 25.00% | 00.00% | 06.66% |
| POSS | 85.71% | 100% | 00.00% | 66.66% | 60.00% |

The tentative rule applied to non-subject reference patterns thus is:

N3 context rule

Possessive NP is utilized for both thematic and non-thematic participants. Zero anaphora may also be applied especially when serial verb and multiple verb constructions or non-punctiliar verbs are in use.

For the total of 15 occurrences in the N3 category, 93.33% follow this rule.

4.4.2.3 Rule for N4 context

The N4 context is: “other non-subject references than those covered by N1-N3.” In this context, the referents are in a non-subject relation in a current clause, but no relation in a previous clause. The information for this context is quite limited as there are only 5 occurrences, with 1 for zero anaphora, 1 for pronoun, and 3 for possessive NPs. In Osborne (2009: 111) and Tebow (2010: 109)’s analysis of N4 context, when there is no ambiguity created by using pronouns and zero anaphora, they can be used instead of possessive NPs. An example of a possessive NP is shown in (89), where the previous clause (line 017) contains no reference for the woman. Then, she is referred to as a non-subject role (line 018) with a possessive NP *nūan prāaŋ* ‘soft cheek’.

(89) Kiss the soft cheek.017

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|----------------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| พี่ | ขอ | สัญญา | ไม่ | กลับ | คืน | คำ |
| <i>phūi</i> | <i>khǎw</i> | <i>sañ-jāa</i> | <i>māj</i> | <i>klàp</i> | <i>khūun</i> | <i>khām</i> |
| 1S(older) | may | promise | NEG | back | return | word |

I promise, (I) will not twist (my) words,

Kiss the soft cheek.018

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|
| ถนอม | นวล | ปราง | ด้ง | พรำ | มิ | ให้ |
| <i>tha-nwóm</i> | <i>nūan</i> | <i>prāay</i> | <i>dāy</i> | <i>phrām</i> | <i>míʔ</i> | <i>hāj</i> |
| take.care | soft | cheek | like | say.many time | NEG | give/let |
| เจ้า | ซ้ำ | เกิน | ควร | | | |
| <i>cāw</i> | <i>chám</i> | <i>kāon</i> | <i>khūan</i> | | | |
| 2S | bruise | over | appropriate | | | |

(I) will take care of you (soft cheek) as (I) said, (I will) never let you get bruised inappropriately.

An example of a pronoun in this context is found in *The wedding is tomorrow*. After a descriptive picture of the night, the man is mentioned for the first time as a non-subject referent. He is referred to with a third person pronoun *khāw*, as exemplified in (90).

(90) The wedding is tomorrow.005

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|------------|
| ตก | ตึก | ยิ่ง | หนาว | ดวงเดือน | พรำงพรำว | สกาว | ส่อง |
| <i>tòk</i> | <i>dùk</i> | <i>jīy</i> | <i>nāaw</i> | <i>dūan-</i> <i>dūan</i> | <i>phrāay-</i> <i>phrāaw</i> | <i>sa-</i> <i>kāaw</i> | <i>sòy</i> |
| fall | night | more | cold | moon | twinkling | clear | shine |
| มา | | | | | | | |
| <i>māa</i> | | | | | | | |
| come | | | | | | | |

The night falls (and it) gets more cold, the twinkling moon is shining.

The wedding is tomorrow.006

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| เคลิบเคลิ้ม | พา | ภาพ | เขา | วอน | อิงแอบ | นอน |
| <i>khlāap-khlóom</i> | <i>phāa</i> | <i>phaāp</i> | <i>khāw</i> | <i>phwón</i> | <i>ʔīy-ʔèep</i> | <i>nwón</i> |
| dreamy | bring | picture | 3S | plead | embrace | lay.down |

| | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| ซิดชม | โถมไล่ |
| <i>chit-chōm</i> | <i>lōom-lāj</i> |
| admire | caress |

(I) dream (of) him pleading to embrace, to lay down, to admire, (and) to caress (me).

There is no ambiguity in this context because *khǎw* '3S' has gender specificity of a masculine reference.

The distribution of the N4 context is shown in table 20 below.

Table 20 Distribution of N4 Category (Thai Love Songs)

| | Kiss the soft cheek (2) | Love spell of Acacia (0) | Kinarii plays in the water (2) | The wedding is tomorrow (1) | Total (5) |
|------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| ∅ | 50.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 20.00% |
| PRON | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 100% | 20.00% |
| NP | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% |
| POSS | 50.00% | 00.00% | 100% | 00.00% | 60.00% |

The tentative rule applied to non-subject reference patterns thus is:

N4 context rule

Possessive NP is utilized for both thematic and non-thematic participants. Pronoun and zero anaphora may be applied when there is no ambiguity in the context.

For the total of 5 occurrences in the N4 category, 100% follow this rule.

4.5 Non-default encoding patterns

The rules for S1-N4 contexts above show that there are default patterns for subject and non-subject references. When there are references that do not follow the rule, there may be some motivation for the deviant references. This section proposes an explanation to the more-than-default encoding patterns. There is no evidence for less-than-default encoding patterns.

4.5.1 More-than-default encoding pattern for subject

More-than-default encoding patterns happen when a linguistic device makes use of more coding material than what the rule for each context would lead one to expect. In the S1 context, for example, the song *Kinarii plays in the water* has some distribution of possessive NPs instead of zero anaphora which is a default

pattern. This is because it contains a detailed description of the woman's body such as *tāa* 'eye', *sūaŋ* 'chest', and *thǎn* 'breast', as exemplified in (91).

(91) Kinarii plays in the water.004

ตา เหมือน หยาด น้ำค้าง ทรวง สล้าง เต่งตึง
tāa mūan jàat nám-kháaŋ sūaŋ sa-lāaŋ tèt-tūŋ
 eye like drop dew chest outstanding firm

(Your) eyes are like dew drops, (your) chest is outstanding and firm.

Kinarii plays in the water.005

ถัน แล ระวีว เหมือน บัว บาน อยู่ ใน บึง
thǎn lǎe ra-rūa mūan būa bāan yùu nāj būŋ
 breast look bob like lotus bloom be in marsh

(Your) breasts are bobbing like a blooming lotus in a marsh,

The same phenomenon occurs in the S3 context and might also explain why the main participant in *Kinarii plays in the water* appears with a possessive NP (found in line 015). Kinterms are utilized as well in this song (line 011). The motivation behind the use of the kinterm *mēe* 'mother/lady' is because the singer wants to express the womanly figure and use this as a play on word on every third verse of the first three stanzas.

4.5.2 More-than-default encoding pattern for non-subject

In the song *Kiss the soft cheek*, the N1 context employs zero anaphora as a default. But in (92), the woman is referred to with a second pronoun *cāw* after she is already mentioned with a possessive NP *nūan prāaŋ* 'soft cheek' (N4 context). There can be two reasons for an overcoding for this context: the filling of the restricted poetic meter in its verse or the rhyme with the word *fāw* 'keep' the next verse (line 019).

(92) Kiss the soft cheek.018

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|
| ถนอม | นวล | ปราง | ดัง | พรั่า | มิ | ให้ |
| <i>tha-nuom</i> | <i>nuan</i> | <i>praaŋ</i> | <i>dāŋ</i> | <i>phrām</i> | <i>mǐ?</i> | <i>hāj</i> |
| take.care | soft | cheek | like | say.many time | NEG | give/let |
| เจ้า | ซ้ำ | เกิน | ควร | | | |
| <i>cāw</i> | <i>chām</i> | <i>kāon</i> | <i>khūan</i> | | | |
| 2S | bruise | over | appropriate | | | |

(I) will take care of you (soft cheek) as (I) said, (I will) never let you get bruised inappropriately.

Kiss the soft cheek.019

| | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|-------------|------------------|
| จะ | เฝ้า | รอคอย | เรือนหอ | ไม่ | ขอ | ลามลวน |
| <i>cà?</i> | <i>fāw</i> | <i>rǔw-khǔwǔj</i> | <i>rūan-hǔw</i> | <i>māj</i> | <i>khǔw</i> | <i>lāam-lūan</i> |
| will | keep | wait | wedding.room | NEG | may | invade |

(I) will wait for (our) wedding room, (I) will not invade (you).

Another overcoding reference of the N1 context is in (93), where the woman is referred to with an NP *nāaŋ dīaw* ‘3S alone’, but the default is zero anaphora. The motivation for this deviance is that this verse is the last verse of the song. Since the woman is the main participant whom the whole song is about, she is the conclusion of the song. So, an overcoding occurs sometimes to highlight the participant’s salience, which is a factor that occurs in various Thai songs.

(93) Kinarii plays in the water.016

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| ได้ | แต่ | แล | มอง | หวัง | ใจ | ปอง | นาง | เดียว |
| <i>dāaj</i> | <i>tèe</i> | <i>lǎe</i> | <i>mǔwŋ</i> | <i>wāŋ</i> | <i>cāj</i> | <i>pǔwŋ</i> | <i>nāaŋ</i> | <i>dīaw</i> |
| PRT | but | look | watch | hope | heart | desire | 3S | only |

(I) could only look and hope for you alone.

4.6 Summary and comparison with the Song of Solomon

In the Thai love songs, zero anaphora is used as the default encoding for the subject reference patterns, while possessive NPs are more applied in the non-subject reference patterns. The central participant, the main singer, makes use of less coding materials than the main participant who may not have a singing role. The secondary participant makes use of more encoding materials as they have no singing role and only appear partly in the song. The summary is shown in table 21 below.

Table 21 Default Encoding Patterns for the Thai Love Songs

| | S1/N1 | S3/N3 | S4/N4 |
|-----------------------|--------|------------|--------|
| Central participant | ∅/ ∅ | ∅/POSS | ∅/POSS |
| main participant | ∅/ ∅ | non ∅/POSS | ∅/POSS |
| Secondary participant | PRON/- | -/POSS | ∅/POSS |

In comparison with the selected parts of the *Song of Solomon*, the S1-N4 contexts are shown in tables 22-26 successively. Let it be noted that the S3 context has limited data (only 4 occurrences) and the N3 context has no information. The summary of the S1-N4 contexts follow in table 27.

Table 22 Distribution of S1 Category (SG)

| | 1:16-2:3a (3) | 2:10b-14 (4) | 3:1-4 (14) | 4:1-5 (12) | Total (33) |
|------|------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| ∅ | 33.33% | 00.00% | 42.86% | 16.66% | 27.27% |
| PRON | 33/33% | 00.00% | 57.14% | 16.66% | 33.33% |
| NP | 00.00% | 25.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 03.03% |
| POSS | 33.33% | 75.00% | 00.00% | 66.66% | 36.36% |

Table 23 Distribution of S3 Category (SG)

| | 1:16-2:3a (0) | 2:10b-14 (3) | 3:1-4 (1) | 4:1-5 (0) | Total (4) |
|------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| ∅ | 00.00% | 66.66% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 50.00% |
| PRON | 00.00% | 00.00% | 100% | 00.00% | 25.00% |
| POSS | 00.00% | 33.33% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 25.00% |

Table 24 Distribution of S4 Category (SG)

| | 1:16-2:3a (3) | 2:10b-14 (2) | 3:1-4 (2) | 4:1-5 (1) | Total (8) |
|------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| ∅ | 00.00% | 00.00% | 50.00% | 00.00% | 12.50% |
| PRON | 33.33% | 00.00% | 50.00% | 00.00% | 25.00% |
| POSS | 66.66% | 100% | 00.00% | 100% | 62.50% |

Table 25 Distribution of N1 Category (SG)

| | 1:16-2:3a (0) | 2:10b-14 (2) | 3:1-4 (7) | 4:1-5 (0) | Total (9) |
|------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| ∅ | 00.00% | 00.00% | 28.57% | 00.00% | 22.22% |
| PRON | 00.00% | 50.00% | 71.43% | 00.00% | 66.66% |
| POSS | 00.00% | 50.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 11.11% |

Table 26 Distribution of N4 Category (SG)

| | 1:16-2:3a (0) | 2:10b-14 (4) | 3:1-4 (4) | 4:1-5 (0) | Total (8) |
|---------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| PRON | 00.00% | 75.00% | 25.00% | 00.00% | 75.00% |
| POSS | 00.00% | 25.00% | 00.00% | 00.00% | 12.50% |
| ClfPhrs | 00.00% | 00.00% | 75.00% | 00.00% | 12.50% |

Table 27 Default Coding Patterns for the Song of Solomon

| | S1/N1 | S3/N3 | S4/N4 |
|---------------------|------------|-------|---------------------|
| Central participant | PRON/PRON | -/- | PRON/PRON |
| main participant | POSS /PRON | -/- | POSS/(POSS,ClfPhrs) |

From table 27, it is noted that pronouns and possessive NPs are used equally in the subject reference context, while pronouns are used more in the non-subject reference context. Also in the N4 context, classifier phrases are utilized, but it can be a more than default encoding device used to emphasize the story in the

third chapter of the *Song of Solomon* (3:1-4). However, one looks at the whole *Song of Solomon*, classifier phrases appear 14 more times (more research is needed to find in which context these phrases are used).

Another observation of the use of pronouns and possessive NPs in the *Song of Solomon* is that they contain more descriptive information than the Thai songs. The Thai songs make no use of the possessive marker *khṵṵṵ* ‘of’, nor the possessor (pronoun), but the *Song of Solomon* employs both, sometimes along with additional information such as numbers and particles. This feature in the *Song of Solomon* is the same as the feature of a prose in 1.8.2.5. Thus the encoding patterns in the *Song of Solomon* utilize more pronouns and possessive NPs than in the Thai love songs, which utilize zero anaphora the most. The possessive NPs in the *Song of Solomon* occur in the subject contexts; while in the Thai love songs, they appear in the non-subject contexts.

4.7 Some translation suggestions for the Song of Solomon

There are parts of the *Song of Solomon* which need to stay more faithful to the original text than to the reader of the translation, in order to maintain its original purpose and intended meaning. It is suggested that this kind of text remains as it literally is in the original text, though a default pattern may offer a different rule. This is exemplified in (94) where line 092 is in an S4 context. Then the referring expressions for the woman in line 093 and 094 are in an S1 context, of which the default encoding pattern is zero anaphora. For this case, *khōn sūaj khṵṵṵ chān ṽṽaj* ‘my beautiful person’ and *ṽṽo mēē nók-khṵṵṵ khṵṵṵ chān ṽṽaj mēē nók tūa thūi yūu sṵṵk phāa* ‘Oh my turtledove, (my) bird who lives in the cranny of the cliff’ are intended to emphasize the man’s impression toward the woman, by calling her with a long and complimenting description. With this, they should remain as literal as they are.

(94) Song of Solomon.092 (2:13)

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| ที่รัก | ของ | ฉัน | เอ๋ย | จง | ลุก | ขึ้น | เถิด |
| <i>thī-rák</i> | <i>khṵṵṵ</i> | <i>chān</i> | <i>ṽṽaj</i> | <i>cōṅ</i> | <i>lúk</i> | <i>khūn</i> | <i>thè?</i> |
| dear | of | 1S | PRT | IMP | stand | up | PRT |

My beloved, please get up.

Song of Solomon.093 (2:13)

คน สวย ของ ฉัน เอ๋ย ออก มา กับ ฉัน
khōn suāj khwāj chān ʔǎj ʔwək māa kàp chān
 person beautiful of 1S PRT out come with 1S

เกิด

thəat

PRT

My beautiful person, please come out with me.

Song of Solomon.094 (2:14)

โอ แม่ นกเขา ของ ฉัน เอ๋ย แม่
ʔō mēe nók-khāw khwāj chān ʔǎj mēe
 PRT lady/mother turtledove of 1S PRT lady/mother

นก ตัว ที่ อยู่ ซอก ผา
nók tūa thū yùu sǎk pháa
 bird CLF REL be cranny cliff

Oh my turtledove, (my) bird who lives in the cranny of the cliff,

Although the *Song of Solomon* is translated into prose, there are some proportions that may need to be changed so the *Song of Solomon's* participant reference is communicated clearly. The translation should still be as natural and beautiful as possible even if it is not true poetry. In (95), line 122 is in the N4 context with *khāw phū thū dūaŋ-cāi khwāj di-chān rāk* 'him whom my heart loves' as a non-subject reference. This is a literal translation from the Hebrew 'ēt še'ā-hă-bāh nāp·šī 'him whom my soul loves', but it does not maintain the participant reference naturally. There are many other grammatical means in Thai that can be used other than relative clause to represent this meaning, such as *สุดที่รัก (sùt-thū-rák)* '(my) utmost love' or *ยอดชีวิต (jǎw-t-chū-wān)* '(my) utmost (of my) life'. Another translation of *Song of Solomon* in prose from The Holy Bible, New Contemporary Version (2007) uses the word *พ่อยอดดวงใจ (phǎw-jǎw-t-dūaŋ-cāj)* '(my) utmost (of my) heart' which, after tested with many readers, sounds more natural and beautiful than the THSV.

(95) Song of Solomon.122 (3:4)

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|
| ดิฉัน | ก็ | พบ | เขา | ผู้ | ที่ | ดวงใจ | ของ | ดิฉัน |
| <i>di-chañ</i> | <i>kǎw</i> | <i>phóp</i> | <i>khāw</i> | <i>phūu</i> | <i>thūi</i> | <i>dūaŋ-cāi</i> | <i>khwǎj</i> | <i>di-chañ</i> |
| 1S | PRT | find | 3S | CLF | REL | heart | of | 1S |

รัก

rák

love

I find him whom my heart loves.

Then in line 123, the man is referred to as third person pronoun twice in an N1 context of which the default reference is also zero anaphora. In this context, it might still sound natural if *tūa khǎw* ‘clf him’ is used because there is a change of participant and it is an emphasized pronoun which occurred with a classifier. The other pronoun, on the other hand, is not necessary as there is no ambiguity or any intended purpose/emphasis needed for the use of more-than-default encoding patterns.

(96) Song of Solomon.123 (3:4)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| ดิฉัน | จับ | ตัว | เขา | ไว้ | แน่น | ไม่ | ยอม | ปล่อย | ให้ |
| <i>di-chañ</i> | <i>cáp</i> | <i>tūa</i> | <i>khāw</i> | <i>wáj</i> | <i>nēen</i> | <i>māj</i> | <i>jwǎm</i> | <i>plwǎj</i> | <i>hāj</i> |
| 1S | catch | CLF | 3S | PRT | tight | NEG | allow | let.go | POSTV |
| เขา | หลุด | ไป | เลย | | | | | | |
| <i>khāw</i> | <i>lùt</i> | <i>pāj</i> | <i>lǎoj</i> | | | | | | |
| 3S | lose | POSTV | PRT | | | | | | |

I hold him tight, not letting him go,

It is thus suggested that *khǎw* ‘him’ in line 123 should be changed to utilize zero anaphora. This will help the reader to employ less processing effort and then they can more easily perceive the naturalness of the translation.

There is another suggestion that the translators can take into consideration for the usage of possessive NPs, relative clauses, and classifier phrases in the *Song of Solomon*. Numerous terms in Thai can be used to replace these referring expressions when they occur too many times in the Song. The Thai traditional love songs employs some such terms which can be profitable for the translators to take on, if they convey a similar meaning or an idea in the original text. Some examples are: complex pronouns, NPs with adjective, and body parts which refer to the whole person, as seen in *สองเราสาวหนุ่ม* (*sǎw rāw sǎaw nùm*) ‘the two (of) us,

a young woman (and) young man', แม่อรชร (*mĕe ʔwĕ-ra-chĕn*) 'delicate lady', and นวลปราง (*nĕan prĕan*) 'soft cheek' respectively.

In summary, this kind of minor change of the participant reference in a particular translation forms a much more natural flow for the reader, without compromising the accuracy of the new translation work. It also helps the translation to capture more poetic features exemplified in the Thai songs.

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