WRITTEN AND SPOKEN REGISTER DIFFERENCES IN BAGHDADI COLLOQUIAL ARABIC DRAMATIC DISCOURSE

by

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Written and Spoken Register Differences in Baghdadi Colloquial Arabic Dramatic Discourse

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to describe linguistic differences between written scripts and the oral performances of those scripts in Baghdadi Colloquial Arabic dramatic discourse. The data involves 10 Biblical narratives that were written in a dramatized format with the intent of being performed. The scriptwriters' goal was to create texts that were as similar to natural speech as possible. However, in spite of this goal, certain changes occurred throughout the stories when performed by mother tongue Baghdadi Arabic speakers. Although this study records all deletions, additions and substitutions in each of the ten stories, it will highlight three main types of changes: the deletion of the connective *wa* 'and', the addition of repeated words and phrases, and diglossically motivated substitutions. These changes indicate that despite the best intentions of the scriptwriters to create natural oral texts, the actors who performed the stories made changes during the performance, whether intentional or not, to make them even more naturally oral. These changes represent involvement strategies employed by the actors to accommodate the increased need for textual and interpersonal cohesion in the speaker-hearer dimension when changing the mode from writing to speaking.

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Contents

List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
Ab	Abraham
Ad	Adam
ALM	Arabic Lecturing Monologues
BA	Baghdadi Arabic
CA	Classical Arabic
CONT	continuous marker
CoP	change of participant
Da	David
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DU	dual
ESA	Educated Spoken Arabic
f	feminine
FSA	Formal Spoken Arabic
H	high
IMP	imperative
IPFV	imperfective
Jb	Job
Jn	Jonah
Jp	Joseph
Js	Jesus
L	low
m	masculine
MAD	Modern Arabic Didactic Discourse
Mo	Moses
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
No	Noah
OAD	Old Arabic Didactic Discourse
OP	oral performance
PFV	perfective
pl	plural
PRO	pronoun
PRT	particle
S	subject
sg	singular
So	Solomon
V	verb
WS	written script

Transcription equivalents

Arabic	Transcription	IPA
ا	aa	a:
ب	b	b
ت	t	t
ث	θ	θ
ج	j	ʝ
چ	č	ç
ح	ḥ	ħ
خ	x	x
د	d	d
ذ	ð	ð
ر	r	r
ز	z	z
س	s	s
ش	š	ʃ
ص	ṣ	sˤ
ظ	ẓ	ðˤ
ط	ṭ	tˤ
ع	ʕ	ʕ
غ	ɣ	ɣ
ف	f	f
ق	q	q
گ	g	g
ك	k	k
ل	l	l
م	m	m
ن	n	n
ه	h	h
و	w or uu	w or u:
ي	y or ii	y or i:
ء	ʔ	ʔ

1. Introduction

The spoken and written registers of language have been studied by many linguists over the past few decades. Generally, one register is analysed at a time either written or spoken. If the two are compared, they are often maximally different registers, such as comparing academic writing to dinner conversation (Chafe 1982). In such studies, the field, tenor and mode (Halliday & Hasan 1976:22; Martin 2003:45) of the two discourses require different linguistic features to create the desired register. It is not surprising then that writing and speaking appear to be very different from each other. The differences may not be as obvious, however, if a study were to control for the same field and tenor, and only change the mode from speaking to writing. Dramatic discourse provides the control needed for this type of study because the oral performance essentially mirrors the written script. This current study employs dramatic discourse to compare written and spoken registers.

In order to analyze register differences, dramatized Biblical narratives in Baghdadi Colloquial Arabic (BA) [1] were observed for changes between the written scripts (WS) and the oral performances (OP) of those scripts. Both types of texts were transcribed in written BA, but as in any variety of Arabic the conventions for writing in the vernacular are more fluid than writing in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). This is due to the diglossic nature of Arabic in which written texts are generally produced in MSA, also known as the High (H) level, and spoken texts are produced in colloquial, also known as the Low (L) level. The target level of the WS and OP texts is colloquial BA, so one would expect the register of the written and oral texts to be equal except for the mode of communication. The field of the texts consists of Biblical narratives that are communicated within a frame. For example, the narrator, an older man known to be a good

[1] Note here that BA in this study specifically refers to Muslim Baghdadi Arabic and not Jewish or Christian Baghdadi Arabic.

storyteller, relates the story to a group of friends or relatives situated in a modern day setting such as a living room or coffee shop. The tenor is two-fold because the narrator is relating the story to a limited number of addressees within the performance, but the intended audience is the group of unenumerated on-lookers (Biber & Conrad 2009:42), who will listen to the performance through audio channels such as radio, CD, mp3 or online. The mode differs in that the WS includes the planned speech utterances of the narrator and other actors, while the OP contains the actual speech acts of the performers. Acting cues, sound effects, musical interludes and other paralinguistic information were not included in the analysis.

A simultaneous reading of the WS and listening to the OP revealed discrepancies between the two discourses because the actors made changes to the WS as they were performing the OP. These changes could be a result of personal style on behalf of the actors, as many of them seemed to be, but on closer inspection some of them were too systematic to be purely random changes. The types of changes recorded were deletions, additions, lexical substitutions, contractions, word order changes and the correction of errors. The deletions were divided into two charts, one recorded wa-deletion (deletion of the conjunction *wa* 'and'), and the other consisted of all other types of deletions. The additions were likewise divided into two sections, one for repetitions and the other for all other types of additions. The reason for making separate charts for wa-deletion and repetitions was that they were the most pervasive changes throughout the oral texts. Although the substitutions were not as common as wa-deletion and repetition, they were also separated into two categories: lexical substitutions and reductions. The focus of many of the substitutions and all of the reductions is their diglossic nature.

In Arabic, diglossia permeates all communicative acts to a greater or lesser degree depending on the communication situation. The more formal the situation, the more the lexical

items, and grammatical and syntactic constructions will be chosen from MSA. On the other hand, the less formal the situation, the more colloquial linguistic structures will be chosen. The goal of the writer of the written texts was to achieve scripts that reflected natural spoken BA while remaining true to the Biblical narratives. However, the majority of changes that occurred in the oral performances indicate that the written scripts did not completely achieve the desired colloquial level. Wa-deletion and repetition are motivated by the requirements of spoken dramatic discourse. The ephemeral nature of speech and the limited memory capacity of the hearer create a communication situation that evokes these types of alterations. The narrator and other actors amend linguistic features in order to satisfy the increased level of involvement that accompanies spoken discourse. Diglossic changes, on the other hand, are more unexpected than wa-deletion and repetition because the tenor of the discourse should essentially be the same for the WS and the OP. However, the increase in involvement also heightens the actors' awareness of the tenor of the communication situation, causing raising and lowering of the diglossic level of the text. Thus, the change of mode from written to spoken discourse clearly motivates a speaker to make linguistic choices that capture the naturalness of speech despite the best efforts of the scriptwriter to do just that.

§2 discusses background issues and related studies about the literacy-orality continuum, spoken vs written discourse, diglossia, word order, connectives and repetition. §3 describes the methodology used in this study. §4, §5 and §6 provide analysis and results of deletions, additions and substitutions, respectively. §7 summarizes the results, while §8 examines the results in light of previous studies, and considers limitations to this study and suggestions for further research. Before embarking on background issues, §1.1 provides information on Baghdadi Colloquial Arabic, while §1.2 and §1.3 describe the data and scripts used in this study.

1.1 Baghdadi Colloquial Arabic

The dialect in this study is commonly referred to as Baghdadi Colloquial Arabic (BA). However, according to the Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2015), it is named Mesopotamian Spoken Arabic (ISO 639-3 identifier: acm) under the classification Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic. The number of speakers in Iraq is 11,500,000 and the total in all countries is 15,100,000 (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2015). The main features of the Mesopotamian dialect are the presence of /p/, /č/, /g/ phonemes, some special lexical items /fadd/ 'one, certain', /aku/ 'there is', /maku/ 'there isn't', as well as other Persian and Turkish loanwords, the preservation of /θ/, /ð/, /ẓ/, /q/, /aw/ and /ay/, and the use of Modern Standard Arabic /-iin/ and /-uun/ to mark 2nd and 3rd person plural and 2nd person feminine singular verb endings (Blanc 1964:6-7).

It is important to note that there are three sub-dialects of Mesopotamian Arabic: Muslim, Christian and Jewish. Blanc (1964:3) describes it this way: "The basic feature of this situation is the unusually profound and sharply delineated dialectal cleavage that divides these populations into three nonregional dialect groups, corresponding to the three major religious communities, namely the Muslims, the Jews, and the Christians." There is a major two-way dialect split in the Mesopotamian region known as the *gelet-qeltu split* (Blanc 1964:7*)*. This name is based on the fact that one dialect uses /g/ as their main reflex of Proto-Arabic /*q/ and the other uses /q/. Baghdadi Muslims speak the *gelet* dialect, while Christians and Jews speak variations of the *qeltu* dialect (Blanc 1964, Owens 2006, Palva 2009). Two other noticeable features of this split are the *qeltu* use of /ɣ/ for MSA /r/ and the *gelet* use of /č/ for MSA /k/.

The stories in this study were all produced in Muslim Baghdadi Colloquial Arabic, so the dialect will be referred to throughout the study more simply as Baghdadi Colloquial Arabic (BA).

1.2 The Data

The data consists of 10 Biblical narratives from a series called *Stories of the Prophets*, which were produced in BA. These oral stories were scripted and recorded by mother tongue Baghdadi Arabic speakers between 1994 and 1998, and the recordings are available at Sabeel Media (2011). The recordings include the stories of Adam (Ad), Noah (No), Abraham (Ab), Job (Jb), Joseph (Jp), Moses (Mo), David (Da), Solomon (So), Jonah (Jn) and Jesus (Js). The scripts used for the recordings were prepared by two separate writers, the first writer worked on Adam and Noah, and the second writer scripted the rest. The texts were prepared by translating the narratives from current Arabic Bibles including the *New Arabic Version* (1988), the *Good News Arabic* (1992) and *The Noble Gospel* (1990) all of which are written in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). An English-speaking exegete facilitated the exegesis of the texts using Hebrew and Greek resources to maintain as accurate a translation as possible. The goal of the written scripts was to create oral versions of the Biblical stories in the BA vernacular. As with other Arabic dialects, the BA written vernacular is generally only used in personal letters, notes, and scripts, while all other written communication uses varying levels of the MSA variety. These scripts were then performed by professional BA-speaking actors, and recorded and produced by a professional Baghdadi producer. The performances of all ten stories created approximately ten hours of oral material. The scripts were created to represent the Baghdadi vernacular as closely as possible, to create as natural an oral product as possible. The naturalness of the written scripts may have been somewhat confined by the need to maintain the accuracy of the Biblical stories, but were otherwise considered good Baghdadi Colloquial Arabic by the mother tongue speakers involved.

The stories are framed by a modern day storyteller, who tells the story to a group of relatives or friends, in an everyday setting such as a living room or coffee shop. The script opens with a scene of relatives or friends greeting each other and the conversation finds its way to relating to one of the Biblical characters. The main storyteller, Abu Xaliil, is generally then asked to tell that story. From that point, Abu Xaliil becomes the narrator and the characters in the Biblical story are performed by other speakers. Generally, the setting of the opening scene is not returned to until the end of the story where the narrator, Abu Xaliil, restates some kind of moral or main point from the story.

1.3 The Scripts

The scripts were written in Arabic script in a table read from right to left. The original scripts contained three columns, the first listing the Bible reference, the second listing the speaker in boldprint and the third containing the utterance for that speaker. Information about acting cues was generally placed in brackets before the actor's speech. Sound effects, musical interludes and periodically acting cues were inserted as a separate entry in line with the speech text. The Bible reference column, acting cues, and music and sound effects were removed from the scripts because they were not necessary for the purposes of this study.

The narrator's parts carried the mainline of the narrative and were almost always narrative speech, which for the purpose of this study I have labelled Narration (N) in the analysis charts. The exception to this is when the narrator speaks for the voice of God. In these instances, the narrator provides a speech introducing clause and then speaks for the voice of God. It is obvious to the audience that the narrator is speaking for God even though he does not try to change his voice quality in any way. The remainder of the speech acts are all direct speech[2] (labelled DS in the analysis charts) performed by the rest of the actors. We could call these lines

[2] Here direct speech is used to mean dialogue as opposed to meaning reported speech.

'conversational turns', which works well for the DS lines that are mainly dialogue, but not so well for the N lines.

2. Background Issues

The purpose of this study is to record and discuss changes that occurred between the written scripts and the oral performances of those scripts of dramatized Biblical narratives in Baghdadi Colloquial Arabic (BA). If we unpack that statement, several issues immediately come to mind. Written scripts and oral performances bring to attention not only the obvious issue of written vs spoken registers, but also the more general issue of literacy vs orality. Linguistic changes between the two mediums invite discourse and sociolinguistic factors into play. Translating Biblical narratives into BA entails issues of exegesis, diglossia and codeswitching. This chapter seeks to summarize some of these issues and define terms as they have been used in previous studies and how they will be used in this study. Unfortunately these issues are necessarily intertwined and can be difficult to discuss in isolation, therefore some repetition may be impossible to avoid. This chapter begins with the most general issue of literacy vs orality in §2.1, followed by a discussion on diglossia in §2.2 and the comparison of written and spoken registers in §2.3. §2.4 introduces the ideas of cohesion and theme as they relate to the findings in this study. §2.5 and §2.6 discuss the discourse topics of connectives and repetition in Arabic.

2.1 Literacy vs Orality

The most general issue in this study is literacy vs orality. Detailed information about the data is provided in §3, but with respect to Biblical narratives, we are dealing with stories that were originally oral until they were written down in ancient Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic. These stories were then translated into written Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and subsequently converted to written BA with the intent of being performed orally in BA. Although the last

sentence shouts out issues of diglossia, let's begin with a more general view of literacy vs orality. Basically oral Hebrew stories became oral BA stories via three separate processes/events of written translation. The original oral narratives were likely well-known stories passed down for generations before they were ever written. By that I mean that they were formulaic and well-established, and could in Finnegan's terms (1988) be considered oral literature before they ever became written literature. This study will not focus on the changes that would have taken place during all of these stages, but stories that were originally oral would have been affected to a certain degree by these intermediate literate stages as well as the final stage of moving from a literate state to an oral state.

The issue of literacy vs. orality has long been dichotomized into an either/or type of situation. Early studies compared literate cultures to oral cultures, and tried to analyze the relationship between literacy and cognition (Goody 1977; Ong 1982; Olson et al. 1985; Goody 1987; Finnegan 1988). Although it is not necessary to enter into that debate, this study is dealing with a literate culture that still uses oral communication as its major mode of communicating. This fact necessarily involves cognition, in particular with respect to comprehension and level of involvement.

The goal of the scriptwriters was to create texts that were as naturally oral as possible. However, because the oral performance is based on a script that is planned and prepared, it can never be a completely natural oral text like a spontaneous, unplanned oral text is. Ong refers to planned oral texts as secondary orality (1982:10), which means orality that relies on writing.[3] According to Ong, then, the oral performances of the written scripts would represent a form of secondary orality. Although this may be true, the written scripts are produced by literate speakers

[3] He is, of course, comparing this to primary orality, represented by non-literate cultures that do not have a writing system or alphabet.

who still live in a mainly oral culture. By oral culture, I mean, that the preferred mode of communication is still oral rather than written.[4] As Maxey (2009:47) states, "Oral communications continue to be predominant throughout much of the world – even when literacy is available". So when the writer is preparing the texts, the goal is to make the texts acceptable to an audience (literate and illiterate alike) whose primary mode of communication is oral. The literacy rate in Iraq is still relatively low and the goal of the writer was to make the performances understandable by the majority of the population including those who are not literate. The 2010-2015 literacy needs assessment by UNESCO states, "the overall literacy rate in Iraq is approximately 80%, with illiteracy at 18-20%. Illiteracy among women is estimated at 26.4% as compared to 11.6% among men" (*Literacy* 2015:21). These figures of illiteracy increase as one moves from urban centers to rural areas, especially among women.

The fact that the narratives are presented in an oral format may make the notion of illiteracy seem a moot point. However, when dealing with Arabic, oral texts are not always understood by those with little or no education, particularly religious texts. This lack of comprehension is mainly due to the diglossic situation in Arabic.

2.2 Diglossia

Arabic diglossia, in its simplest form as first described by Ferguson (1959), means that communication is conducted on two different sociolinguistic levels with two different language varieties. It is well known that Arabic has a standard variety used by all Arabic speaking countries known as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). This variety is considered the high prestigious variety and is used for education, politics, most writing situations, news, etc. Each country also has one or more dialects, which are used for everday conversation, personal letters,

[4] This may not be completely true with the younger generation in light of texting and other electronic forms of communication.

drama and texting. Anyone studying Arabic soon realizes that the situation is more complicated than just two varieties. Above MSA is Classical Arabic (CA), which is used mainly for the Qur'an and religious purposes and below MSA, but above Colloquial Arabic, is another level known as Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA). The general linguistic view distinguishes four levels (Bassiouney 2006:7-8), while others, such as Badawi, suggest five levels (1985:17). Arabs themselves, only have two distinctions: *Fuṣḥa* the high (H) variety and *ʕāmmiyya* the low (L) variety (Suleiman 2013). Table 1 compares these different views of Arabic diglossic levels.

Table 1 Comparison of Badawi, General Linguistic and Arabic views of diglossia

Arabic	General Linguistic	Badawi
Fuṣḥa (high)	Classical Arabic	Level 1 *Fuṣḥa al-turāth* (Classical Arabic)
	Modern Standard Arabic	Level 2 *Fuṣḥa al-ʕaṣr* (Modern Standard Arabic)
	Educated Spoken Arabic	Level 3 *ʕāmmiyyat al-muthaqqafīn* (Educated Spoken Arabic)
		Level 4 *ʕāmmiyyat al mutanawwirīn* (Semi-literate Spoken Arabic)
ʕāmmiyya (low)	Colloquial	Level 5 *ʕāmmiyyat al ʔummiyyīn* (Illiterate Spoken Arabic)

However, no matter how many intermediate levels are proposed, the H and L varieties represent points on a vertical continuum, with much mixing between the levels. The situation is further complicated by the mode of communication, whether written or spoken. As one moves up the vertical continuum, the higher levels are used more for formal, planned and/or written texts. Conversely, the lower the level, the more it is used for informal, unplanned and/or spoken texts. This is simplified somewhat because the level used depends greatly on the communication situation at hand. An everyday conversation will mainly consist of the lowest variety provided both speakers share the colloquial variety being used. However, the conversation may be pushed

closer to ESA or MSA if the speakers are from different countries and their dialects are less mutually intelligible. Religious sermons and political speeches will use still higher levels because as the formality of the context increases, the diglossic level rises. Figure 1 attempts to give an overview of the levels with respect to the medium.

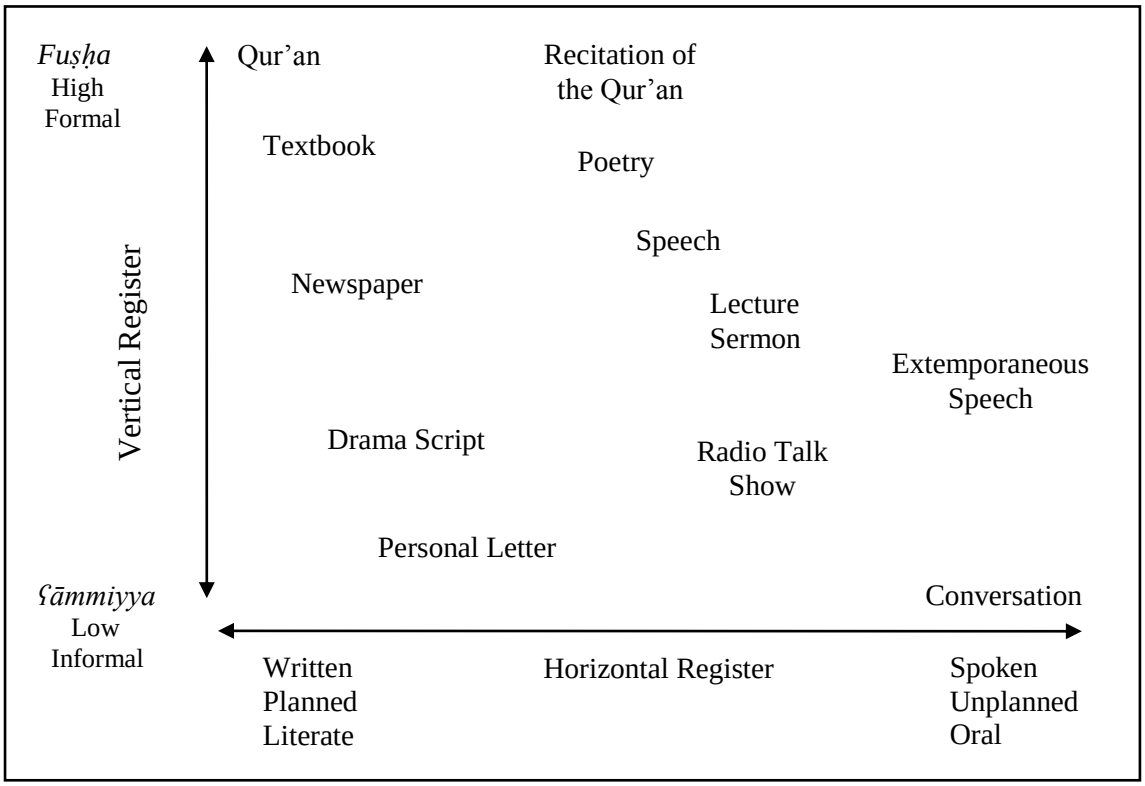

Figure 1 Vertical and horizontal registers of Arabic

So far I have been using the terms level and variety to refer to the diglossic situation. However, the term 'register' is often interchanged with 'level' in discussions about diglossia, both of which refer to the formality of language use. In this study, the term 'register' will refer to discourse register, the horizontal continuum that specifically compares linguistic features of the written register to the spoken register. The terms 'level' and 'variety' will be used to refer to the vertical continuum relating to diglossia.

As the written colloquial texts of these Biblical narratives were being prepared, the diglossic variety was constantly under consideration by the mother tongue scriptwriters. Religious material would normally be presented in the H variety, but these stories are dramatized scripts that used the written L variety. Because the material is religious in nature, the scriptwriter wanted to be very careful not to offend and use too low of a variety, especially when referring to God or any of the prophets. There was often discussion about whether a word or phrase was "too low" or "too high" depending on the communication situation at hand. The translation could be adjusted at various levels from pure colloquial (*ʕāmmiyya*) to educated spoken to modern standard to classical (*Fuṣḥa*). For the purpose of this study, I prefer to use the Arabic distinction of only two levels: *Fuṣḥa* (H) and *ʕāmmiyya* (L). This preference is based on the work of Suleiman (2013), who emphasized the importance of recognizing native speaker intuition of diglossic levels (see Table 1 above). Thus any utterance at a level above *ʕāmmiyya* (L) will be considered *Fuṣḥa* (H). BA (Woodhead & Beene 1967) and MSA (Wehr 1961) dictionaries were consulted for some diglossic decisions of lexical items.

Despite diglossic constraints in the internal communication situation of the drama, the scriptwriters were also very aware of the external communication situation; the need to make the language understandable to the majority of hearers including uneducated audience members who would not readily understand the higher varieties. So a constant struggle as to which variety would be the best choice in any given situation permeated the scriptwriting process.

In spite of this awareness during the preparation of the scripts, diglossic changes did occur between the WS and the OP. Specific examples of these changes will be discussed further in §6.3. Because the tenor of the communication situation should not have changed between the written and spoken registers, one would not expect diglossic changes to occur. However, the

constraints that tenor imposes on a text may become more salient in the spoken register because the level of interpersonal involvement increases as one moves from the written mode to the spoken mode (see §2.3 below). Although diglossia is an ever-present force in written and spoken Arabic, it is not the prime motivator for the two other main changes observed in these narratives: wa-deletion and repetition. The main catalyst for these types of changes also seems to lie in the increased focus on involvement when transfering from a written medium to a spoken medium.

2.3 Spoken vs Written texts

The genre of drama necessarily involves the modes of writing and speaking, thus you could say that drama involves two subregisters: the written script and the oral performance. A register, according to Biber and Conrad, is "a variety associated with a particular situation of use" (2009:6). Their method of studying register is to observe the situational context and linguistic features of a text, and then analyze the functional relationships between them. For example, first and second person pronouns are used extensively in conversation and dialogue, but not generally used in textbooks. The function of this linguistic feature (first and second person pronouns) is to facilitate communication in the situational context of two participants who are physically face to face. The situational context of a student reading a textbook does not have this physical proximity to the writer of the textbook and therefore, these pronouns are not needed.

Tannen (1982; 1985; 1989) and Chafe (1982; 1985) both studied spoken and written discourse with a view to the level of involvement within the speaker-hearer dimension. Tannen states that normally involvement strategies (1989:1), or what she previously referred to as 'focus on involvement' (1985:124), tend to be connected with spoken discourse, and informational strategies, also referred to as 'focus on content', tend to be connected with written discourse. In

spite of these tendencies, Tannen (1985) indicates that focus on involvement can be used in written texts, just as focus on content can be used in spoken texts.

Many of the studies that originally focussed on spoken vs written texts examined maximally different registers or genres. For example, Chafe compared the formal written language of academic papers to the informal spoken language of dinner table conversation (1982:36). Chafe (1982; 1994) noted that writing is slower than speaking and therefore, a writer tends to pack more information into fewer words by using more integrative devices such as nominalization and subordination than a speaker does. Halliday (1989), in his studies of spoken and written language, refers to this idea of integration as an increase in lexical density which he also attributes to written language. A writer has time to choose words and phrases carefully, and can rule out hedges, slips of the tongue and other 'mistakes' that generally occur in spontaneous conversation by revising the text before the reader/hearer ever comes in contact with it.

Chafe (1985) also noted that spoken language occurs in face-to-face interaction with the hearer, while written language is created remotely from the hearer. Thus features such as passives and nominalization (which changes an event to a static entity) tend to be more common in writing and reflect a more detached manner. In contrast, first and second person references, monitoring of information flow and emphatic particles are features that reflect increased involvement in spoken discourse. Chafe's studies led him to conclude that spoken language is fragmented and involved while written language is integrated and detached. As mentioned above, these studies were based on maximally different genres. Hildyard and Hidi (1985) note that studies in which the genre was the same for the written and spoken channels did not result in significant structural differences as in Chafe's studies. However, as we will see in this current

study, some differences were noticed even though the genre of dramatic discourse was the same in the WS and the OP.

In this study, two main linguistic features are in focus within the two registers, one which increases in the OP (repetition) and one which decreases in the OP (wa-deletion). The specific functions of these features will be presented in §4 and §5. The interesting point to note here is that the feature of increased repetition in the OP occurs almost entirely in direct speech while the decrease of the conjunction *wa* in the OP occurs mainly in narration. Thus direct speech and narration appear to also be subregisters of written scripts and oral performances, each with its own situational context and linguistic features. Direct speech involves dialogue between two or more actors, whose speech is mainly directed toward the internal audience composed of the other actors. Narration, on the other hand, involves one actor narrating the main storyline and often introducing the direct speech lines to an extracted external audience who will hear the recording of the performance at a later time.[5] These two subregisters have different levels of involvement. Direct speech in dramatic discourse is highly similar to face to face conversation and contains a greater number of first and second person pronouns, as well as other features of increased involvement such as the repetition of vocatives, particles and imperatives. Narration, on the other hand, is produced by one person telling a story to an audience of listeners who have limited or no involvement in the immediate production, and contains a higher number of perfective verbs, third person pronouns and the intentional use of the conjunction *wa* at the discourse level.

While the field and tenor were kept constant, the mode changed from writing to speaking. Therefore, channel appears to have an influence on chosen linguistic features, and in this case reflects the level of involvement between the speaker and the audience.

[5] Of course, the actors and narrator have both internal and external audiences in mind as they perform, but the focus audience is different.

One of the salient points about wa-deletion and repetition is that they occur almost exclusively in utterance initial position. This position is related to the ideas of cohesion and theme in Halliday & Matthiessen's Functional Grammar (2004), which will be discussed next in § 2.4 along with a brief description of Arabic word order.

2.4 Word order and theme

Basic word order in Arabic has been discussed and debated by many Arabists and linguists, the typical consensus being that VSO is the basic order in MSA and SVO the basic order in colloquial Arabic. If we are speaking quantitatively then generally VSO will be found to be the dominant word order. Arabic is a pro-drop language (Ryding 2005), so the dominant clause structure is generally V with the second largest structure being VS and the third largest SV. In this study, the narrative sections of the Joseph story were analyzed in greater detail including these three types of verbal clause structures. Of the 363 verbal clauses, 215 were V, 95 were VS and 53 were SV.

However, if we are speaking about function then the concept of basic word order is not so clear. Holes states that VSO order tends to be used with event-oriented clauses, which contain mainline active events, while SVO is used with entity-oriented clauses, which involve background information such as descriptions and states (2004:253). Brustad describes SVO as topic-prominent and VSO as subject-prominent (2000:329-30). The V and VS clauses in the Joseph story mentioned above tended to carry the main storyline, the main events. The SV clauses were obligatory in complement clauses and contrastive ('but') or reason ('because') clauses. They were also used to introduce a new participant or reactivate a known participant.

Ryding (2005:58) discusses the two main Arabic sentence types: *jumal ismiyya* 'nominal sentences' meaning sentences that begin with a noun/noun phrase, and *jumal fiʕliyya* 'verbal

sentences' meaning any sentence that begins with a verb. The 'nominal sentences' may or may not contain a verb. In Arabic grammar, the important point is whether a noun or a verb is sentence initial. Beeston (1970:63-65) describes Arabic sentences as theme-predicate in which theme is always sentence initial. About sentence structure in general, Brown and Yule state (1983:126-127) "Each simple sentence has a **theme** 'the starting point of the utterance' and a **rheme**, everything else that follows in the sentence." We know that Arabic sentences can begin with a noun or verb, but we also know that they can begin with a conjunction, adverbial phrase, prepositional phrase or some other type of connective. So if this initial position is connected with theme, then what actually constitutes the theme of a sentence? In Halliday & Matthiessen's *Functional Grammar* (2004), this sentence initial position is considered the thematic slot. Halliday & Matthiessen state that the thematic slot contains anything that precedes and includes the topical theme, which is the first experiential constituent in the sentence.

> The guiding principle of thematic structure is this: the Theme contains one, and only one, of these experiential elements. This means that the Theme of a clause ends with the first constituent that is either participant, circumstance or process. We refer to this constituent, in its textual function, as the **topical Theme**. (2004:79)

Although Halliday & Matthiessen's view of theme was based on the analysis of English, it seems to work for describing Arabic as well. No matter what terms Arabists use to describe basic sentence structure, they seem to all agree that theme (sometimes referred to as topic) is sentence initial (Beeston 1970; Brustad 2000; Holes 2004; Kammensjö 2005). So even though theme is not technically a structural term, it refers to a structural location in the sentence.

In Halliday & Matthiessen's model (2004), the thematic slot can be filled by multiple themes that occur before the topical theme. They separate these possible themes into six different categories, three of which are textual (continuative, conjunction, conjunctive adjunct) and three of which are interpersonal (modal adjunct, vocative, finite verbal operator). These themes create

cohesion in the text; the textual themes providing structural cohesion that relates the following clause to the preceding clauses, and the interpersonal themes providing information about the speaker's point of view, or the listener's expected involvement (2004:83-5). They are naturally thematic because they keep the audience apprised of the speaker's attitude and intentions, as well as the connections between various parts of the discourse. As Halliday & Matthiessen state, "it is natural to set up such expressions as the point of departure" (2004:83). This discussion of theme and thematic slot is relevant to this study because many of the changes that will be considered below occurred in sentence initial position. Before entering in to the methodology (§3) and the analysis of the stories (§4 - §6), some of the relevant studies about Arabic connectives (§2.5) and repetition in Arabic (§2.6) will be discussed below.

2.5 Studies in Arabic connectives

Written Arabic uses connectives in abundance, *wa* 'and' being the most common conjunction (Haywood & Nahmad 1965:436). In fact, they are so frequent that Al Batal (1990) suggests that there is a permanent slot at the beginning of any sentence reserved for connectives. Beeston (1970:114) supports this idea stating, "It is rare in SA [Standard Arabic] for a new main sentence within the paragraph not to be linked to the preceding context by a coordinating functional". If there is indeed a permanent slot, then when the connective is omitted, it is omitted for a reason. In Al Batal's (1990) study of MSA written connectives, he lists two zero connectives along with all the other connectives. Because Arabic is highly syndetic, it makes sense to posit a zero connective. Al-Batal talks about the two kinds of zero connectives; one indicating a discourse switch and the other implying "unitedness in form and meaning" (1990:248-9). The former occurs at the sentence, paragraph and discourse levels, while the latter occurs at phrase and sentence levels. Al-Batal states that the rhetorical effect of zero connectives cannot be achieved

by any other overt connective. However, he doesn't explain how the connective *fa*, cannot be used in place of the zero connective, even though both can be used at the discourse level to indicate a switch from discussion to conclusion (1990:239, 243). Al Batal's study also shows that *wa* 'and' is the most common connective used in the text and that, no matter what the structural level, it signals an additive relationship, which can "indicate a flow in the discourse" or be "associated with some cohesive functions such as repetition, parallelism and paraphrase" (1990:246). Al Batal suggests that the use of connectives in written Arabic is obligatory.

> It is a constraint the language appears to impose on the way thought is expressed in written discourse. Thus, a well-formed text in Arabic is one in which the writer continuously signals to the reader the type of relationships holding between the various elements in the text (1990:254).

He continues to say that this "connecting constraint" in the writing system is based on oral tradition; that Arabic rhetoric required a high use of connectives to present, convince and argue, and this requirement was carried over into writing (1990:237). Arabic rhetoricians commonly referred to cohesion as *al-faṣl wa al-waṣl* 'disjunction and conjunction', and the more effectively speakers used these devices, the higher they were esteemed by the audience. Al Batal says that the concept of *al-faṣl wa al-waṣl* was limited to the connective *wa* (1990:237). Although this study is highly informative about Arabic connectives, one of the limitations is that it analyzes only one written text in one genre (expository) and in one diglossic register (MSA).

Al Batal (1994) also studied connectives in spoken Arabic texts and, as in the previous study mentioned above, listed the different connectives and their functions. He shows that *wa* is also the most common connective in the spoken texts and has the same additive function as in the written MSA register. Unfortunately, he does not include the zero connective in this list and therefore, does not provide a quantitative account of it, even though the examples in his paper

clearly contain sentences linked asyndetically. One of the interesting results of this study is Al Batal's conclusion with respect to written and spoken discourse.

> The spoken form of the language provides the speaker with cohesive devices such as intonation, tone, and pause which are not available in its written form. Thus, the need to use more connectives as cohesive elements becomes greater with the written text than it is with spoken discourse. When spoken discourse becomes closer to the written form, a considerable increase in the percentage of connectives is noticed (1994:117).

This conclusion assumes that the continuum of diglossia is the same for written or spoken texts, and that the lowest variety is represented by semi-educated spoken Arabic and the highest variety by written MSA. The difference in medium does not seem to matter to Al Batal, even though suprasegmental features can only occur in the spoken form and cannot occur in the written form no matter what the diglossic level. His main point is that as one moves toward a higher level, the use of connectives increases. That being said, his study still shows that written Arabic uses more connectives than spoken Arabic.

In this current study, the connective *wa* 'and' was often deleted from the WS as it was performed in the OP. Thus, the spoken discourse contains fewer instances of *wa* than the written scripts. These deletions indicate certain kinds of discontinuity, such as a change in participant or a switch to background information and temporal/locative changes (§4.2). This study does not include an analysis of zero connectives that already existed in the WS and were maintained in the OP, but rather focusses solely on zero connectives created by these deletions.

Another study on Arabic connectives by Kammensjö (2005), examined the cohesive function of various kinds of connectives using the textual and interpersonal theme categories from Halliday & Matthiessen's functional grammar (2004, see §2.4 above). Like Al Batal, Kammensjö wanted to study Arabic connectives from a top-down discourse perspective because traditional studies and grammars were limited to sentence level syntactic descriptions and below. In her study, she compares monologues from Arabic university lectures to two types of written

texts. The Arabic Lecturing Monologues (ALM) are Geography and History lectures delivered mainly in expository prose with a few narrative sections included, and are uttered in Formal Spoken Arabic (FSA), a subtype of ESA. The written texts are referred to as Modern Arabic Didactic Discourse (MAD) and Old Arabic Didactic Discourse (OAD), the former taken from a Geography textbook and basically equivalent to MSA, and the latter written in Classical Arabic (CA) by a physician in the 9th century AD (Kammensjö 2005:123).

Using Halliday & Matthiessen's (2004) thematic categories, Kammensjö divides all of the connectives into five groups: continuatives, conjunctions, conjunctive adjuncts, interpersonal adjuncts and connective clauses (Kammensjö 2005:125ff). The categories of significance to this study are 1) continuatives, which include discourse particles such as *yaʕni* 'that is / I mean / then' and *yaḷḷa* 'come on / hurry up / let's go', affirmative particles such as *ʔeh / naʕam* 'yes' and *ḥaadar* 'yes / ready', and the negative particles *laa* 'no' and *maako* 'there is no', 2) conjunctions, in particular the conjunction *wa*, and 3) interpersonal adjuncts, of which vocatives (eg. *yaa naas* 'oh people'; *mawlaay* 'my lord') are the most relevant. Kammensjö provides totals for each type of connective in each of the three types of texts, and then analyzes which types of connectives, and how many of each, occur in utterance initial position, or in Hallidayan terms, how many occur in the thematic slot. She also investigates the coocurrence of multiple connectives and the preferred ordering of them in the thematic slot.

The results that are of interest to this study are 1) that the use of the connective *wa* was greater in the written texts than in the spoken text, 2) continuatives only occurred in the ALM corpus and not at all in the MAD or the OAD texts, and 3) interpersonal adjuncts were used to a greater extent in the ALM corpus. Thus, the spoken texts differed from the written texts in the

greater use of discourse particles and vocatives, and the lesser use of the conjunction *wa*. These results will be revisited in §7 in light of the analysis of the BA narratives in this study.

2.6 Repetition

The topic of repetition may seem somewhat trifling in comparison to other discourse topics. Something is said and then at some point, whether immediately or not, whether exactly or not, it is stated again. Most studies about repetition in Arabic study the textual function of repetition, how it creates cohesion throughout a text (Johnstone 1990; 1991; Jawad 2009), or how Arabic recurrence compares to English variation (Al Khafaji 2005). The functions of repetition are numerous and varied as many studies point out (Norrick 1987; Tannen 1989; Johnstone 1994; Herman 1995; Al Khafaji 2005; Rieschild 2006), but they can be categorized under the general headings of production, comprehension, connection and interaction, which when combined create coherence and interpersonal involvement (Tannen 1989:48). The functions relative to this study (discussed further in §5.2) are 1) to emphasize or intensify an utterance, 2) to facilitate tracking speaker changes and 3) to signal hesitation or stalling. Repetition is generally more prevalent in conversation than in written texts. Studies in conversation (Tannen 1989), show that repetition in conversation is generally considered a positive attribute of spoken texts. However, repetition in writing tends to be regarded negatively (Johnstone 1987), a judgement that may have been evoked in reading the previous two sentences with the repetition of the word 'conversation'. Although this may be true for English, it is not true for Arabic, which tends to be a very formulaic language, and in which repetition is valued and encouraged whether in conversation or writing (Johnstone 1994:11). Schnebly suggests that repetition in dramatic discourse is similar to repetition in conversation and "is common both in exchanges where speaker change occurs frequently and also in longer passages by the same speaker" (1994:100-

11). The addition of repetition in the dramatic discourses in this study, indicates that the OP was more conversation-like than the WS. The repetition was recorded and analyzed according to several factors as outlined below.

Johnstone (1994) refers to the utterance that is repeated as the MODEL, and to the repetition as the COPY. The model for a repeated utterance is generated from one of two sources: 1) previous speech from oneself, known as self-repetition (Tannen 1989; Johnstone 1994; Herman 1995) or same speaker repetition (Schnebly 1994), or 2) previous speech from another person, known as allo-repetition (Tannen 1989; Herman 1995), other repetition (Johnstone 1994) or second speaker repetition (Schnebly 1994). The first type, self-repetition, could be produced within the same utterance, from a previous utterance[6] of the same speaker, or even from a previous discourse by the same speaker. Allo-repetition, on the other hand, can only be produced from a previous utterance or discourse of a different speaker. Repetitions in the same utterance or in an adjacent utterance are considered immediate or local, while repetitions from previous discourses are considered distant or global (Johnstone 1994). In this study, repetitions are mainly produced in the same utterance by the same speaker, which can be referred to as immediate or local self-repetition. However, the narrator and the other actors create these repetitions in the OP based on the scriptwriter's original written version. So, in one sense, they could be considered allo-repetition, at least from the point of view that the actor repeats what the scriptwriter wrote. This view, of course, would not be known to the audience, who would only hear the repeats as self-repetition of an actor's previous utterance.

Repetition can also be of three types: exact repetition, partial repetition and paraphrase (Tannen 1989; Johnstone 1994). Exact repetition occurs when a speaker repeats the exact same words from a previous utterance. Partial repetition repeats part of an utterance, but with some

[6] Utterance here referring to one conversational turn by one speaker whether narration or direct speech.

variation. Johnstone describes paraphrase as "a repetition in which no segmentable forms are repeated; the repetition is on the semantic level" (1994:15). Al-Khafaji (2005) uses the terms recurrence and variation, the former coinciding with exact and partial repetition and the second with paraphrase. It should be noted that moving from exact repetition to paraphrase constitutes a continuum. For example, if a set of exact words are repeated, but the intonation changes from an indicative statement to a question, can we say that this is still an example of exact repetition? Or what if two different sets of words are uttered in the exact same intonation pattern? Tannen (1989:54) refers to these examples as repetition with variation.

The last concept in repetition that relates to this study is what I refer to as *bookend repetition* (see §5.2.4 for further discussion). In this type of repetition, the model is found at the beginning of an utterance, and the copy is repeated after an intervening word, phrase, clause, sentence or whole paragraph. Leech (1969:79) refers to these structures as *verbal parallelism*. Rygiel (1994:114) prefers the term *lexical parallelism* and refers to this kind of repetition as 'initial-final (epanalepsis)'. Tannen (1989:69-70) mentions a similar concept, which she terms *bounding*, that refers to the opening and closing of a piece of conversation with the same repeated phrase/utterance. The examples in this study that contain a whole paragraph as the intervening material seem closer to Tannen's idea of bounding than when the intervening material is merely a word or phrase. Schnebly states that the function of this type of repetition is "to bring a topic or comment back to the front of the discussion after intervening lines" (1994:102).

3. Methodology

In order to compare the written script (WS) to the oral performance (OP), certain choices had to be made with regard to transcription of the OP, particularly in regard to punctuation (§3.3) and

parsing the text into sentences (§3.5). In my desire to provide some indication of the size of the corpus, it was necessary to count clauses instead of words (see §3.4 and §3.6). §3.1 describes the method used for recording the changes, §3.2 discusses pronoun agreement convention, and §3.7 explains the uses of the conjunction *wa* 'and' in Arabic.

3.1 Recording the changes

The changes between the WS and OP were recorded in a parallel table using coloured highlighting[7] for the various types of changes. Table 2 below shows red highlighting for deletions, green for additions, yellow for lexical substitutions, grey for contractions and pink for word order changes. The left-hand column provides the WS and the right-hand column displays the OP. Each row contains a new speech act which is either performed by the narrator or another actor. These speech acts range in length from one word to an entire paragraph. In this study, each new speech act will be referred to as a line, particularly in regard to the narrator lines. The direct speech of the other actors will be referred to by 'line' or 'conversational turn'. Two lines from the Joseph story (Jp1.23 and Jp1.24) are shown in Table 2. Each line has three rows, the first containing the original Arabic script, the second containing a broad phonemic transcription and the third containing a free translation of the speech act. Coloured highlighting connects the relevant change in the English and Arabic type. The phonemic transcription in Table 2 is shown here for convenience. The recorded changes in Appendix A only display the Arabic script and the free English translation.

[7] Blue was used to highlight tokens of {و} *wa* 'and' that occurred in the WS and the OP. This colour was merely used to keep track of this connective in order to compare it to the ones that were deleted or added.

Table 2 Highlighting of text changes from WS to OP

	Written script	Oral performance
(a) Jp1.23		
Arabic script	و النبي يعقوب اتزوج اربع نسوان بس چان يحب وحدة منهم اكثرمن البقية و هي مجابتله غير بس ولدين	النبي يعقوب اتزوج اربع نسوان , بس چان يحب وحدة منهم اكثر من البقية بس هي مجابتله غير بس ولدين
Broad phonemic transcription	wa nnɛbi yaʕaquub itzawwaj ʔarbaʕ niswaan bas čaan yaḥibb waḥda minhum ʔakθar min ʔalbaqiyya wa hiyya ma jaabatlah ɣeer bass waladeen	ʔannɛbi yaʕaquub itzawwaj ʔarbaʕ niswaan bas čaan yaḥibb waḥda minhum ʔakθar min ʔalbaqiyya bass hiyya ma jaabatlah ɣeer bass waladeen
Free English translation	and the prophet Jacob married four women but he loved one of them more than the rest and she only gave him two sons	the prophet Jacob married four women but he loved one of them more than the rest but she only gave him two sons
(b) Jp1.24		
Arabic script	و لهذا السبب چان يحب يوسف اكثر من كل ولده ... و هالگد ميحبه سواله قميص ملون ... و اخوته من شافوا هيچي سوه ابوهم ، گاموا يغارون منه	و لهالسبب چان يحب يوسف اكثر من كل ولده ... و هالگد ميحبه سواله فد قميص ملون ... اخوته من شافوا ابوهم هيچي سوه ، گاموا يغارون منه
Broad phonemic transcription	wa lihaaða ssabab čaan yaḥibb yoosɛf ʔakθar min kull wuldah ... wa halgadd mayaḥabbah sawaalah qamiiṣ mulawwan ... wa ʔaxuutah min šaafoo heeči sawa ʔabuuhum, gaamoo yiɣaaruun minnuh	wa lihaassabab čaan yaḥibb yoosɛf ʔakθar min kull wuldah ... wa halgadd mayaḥabbah sawaalah fadd qamiiṣ mulawwan ... ʔaxuutah min šaafoo ʔabuuhum heeči sawa, gaamoo yiɣaaruun minnuh
Free English translation	and for this reason he loved Joseph more than all his other sons ... and as much as he loved him he made a multicolored shirt for him ... and his brothers when they saw this did their father, they began to be jealous of him	and for this reason he loved Joseph more than all his other sons ... and as much as he loved him he made a certain multicolored shirt for him ... and his brothers when they saw their father this did, they began to be jealous of him

However, the examples used throughout this paper will display a broad phonemic transcription instead of the Arabic script[8], and will most often include a morpheme by morpheme

[8] Readers of Arabic script may refer to the Appendix A for a sample from the Joseph story.

gloss as well as a free translation. The phonemic transcription is based on Erwin (1963; 1969) and Woodhead & Beene (1967), with the exceptions of /ɣ/ for /ġ/, /ʕ/ for /ع/, and /ḥ/ for /ح/.

3.2 Pronoun agreement conventions

Baghdadi Colloquial Arabic (BA), like all other varieties of Arabic, marks person, gender and number agreement on every finite verb. When there is no free pronoun, the bound pronoun on the verb is shown by an overt pronoun in the English free translation, as in example (1) *yi-riid* 'he wants'. However, when there is a free pronoun in the BA text, it is marked in the English free translation with a subscript PRO as in *huuwa yi-riid* 'he$_{PRO}$ wants' and the bound pronoun is not translated.

(1) Free translation of bound and free pronouns

Transcription	*yi-riid*	*huuwa* *yi-riid*
Morpheme Gloss	3m.sg-want.IPFV	3m.sg 3m.sg-want.IPFV
Free Translation	'he wants'	'he$_{PRO}$ wants'

An example of a deleted free pronoun is shown in Table 3 example (a) Jp3.3 below. Free pronouns may also be added to the oral text as in example (b) Mo1.143.

Table 3 Pronoun agreement

	Written script	Oral performance
(a) Jp3.3		
Arabic script	نريد خبز ناكل احنه راح نموت من الجوع	نريد خبز ناكل راح نموت من الجوع
Free English translation	we need bread to eat we$_{PRO}$ will die from hunger	we need bread to eat we will die from hunger
(b) Mo1.143		
Arabic script	ايه صدگ ... شعرفنا ؟	ايه صدگ ... احنا شعرفنا ؟
Free English translation	Yes truly ... what do we know?	Yes truly ... what do we$_{PRO}$ know?

3.3 Punctuation

MSA punctuation is similar to English punctuation in that periods, commas, exclamation marks and question marks are used for basically the same purposes. However, BA written punctuation is not as well entrenched as MSA because BA is not normally used for writing. In the scripts, a period is generally used to end a line of direct speech or a narrator's paragraph. It is not always used to mark the end of a sentence, instead authors writing in colloquial Arabic tend to use ellipsis (three dots) to mark the end of sentences within a paragraph. Ellipsis may be used to denote a speaker trailing off as in English or a pause or hesitation in direct speech, but it is not generally used to mark an omission in the written scripts. Although it is sometimes used to separate compound clauses within a single sentence, it is mainly used to separate sentences within a paragraph. As will be discussed further in §3.5, it can be difficult in BA to separate clause from sentence, so the use of ellipsis can complicate this matter further. In Al Batal's study of Lebanese Arabic (1994), the ellipsis can be transcribed as a period, a colon, a semi-colon, a comma or an ellipsis, which illustrates the fluid nature of this punctuation. In example (2) So1.42, there are three ellipses in the WS that translate into English: the first a comma, the second a period and the third an ellipsis that represents a pause in the spoken text, but could also be transcribed as a comma in the written text.

(2) So1.42

Arabic script	لا مولاي ... هذي كذابة ... هذا ابني ... و اللي مات ابنها !
Broad phonemic transcription	laa mawlaay ... haaðii kiðaaba ... haaða ʔibnii ... wa ʔilli maat ʔibnha
Free English translation	'No, my lord, this one (f) is a liar. This is my son ... and the one who died is her son!'

3.4 Clitics and word counts

The cursive script of Arabic demands that certain words be connected to the following word, such as *al* ‘the’, *wa* ‘and’, prepositions *li* ‘to’ and *bi* ‘in’, and non-subject bound pronouns. Table 4 provides examples of these cliticized words. The equals sign represents the connection between a clitic and its host (a, c) or between two clitics (b).

Table 4 Arabic clitics

	Arabic Script	Transcription	English Gloss
a)	القميص	al=qamiiṣ	the=shirt
b)	لنا	la=na	to=us
c)	يحبها	ya-ḥabb=ha	he-loves=her

Most linguists involved in register studies encourage the use of quantitative measurements, such as calculating the number of tokens of a word per hundred words in the entire text or providing an overall word count to indicate the size of the corpus. The problem that arises when using the Arabic script is that many of the words are cliticized or connected to the following word, and the word count in a program such as Microsoft Word cannot recognize these cliticized forms as separate words. Therefore, each of the examples in Table 4 is counted as one word even though it represents two or three words. Because this idea of word count is not the most useful quantitative measure in regard to Arabic, this study uses clause counts instead (see §3.6).

In written Arabic, the clitic *wa* ‘and’ is always attached to the following word. The symbol for *wa*, however, is identical to the symbol for the long *uu* vowel in Arabic, making searches for the conjunction difficult. For the purpose of this study, all instances of *wa* were separated by a space from the following word in the Arabic script. Example (3) exhibits this format change by underlining two instances of the Arabic character {و}. The first represents the

conjunction *wa* as in *wannebi* ‘and the prophet’ which is reformatted to *wa nnebi* and the second represents the long *uu* vowel as in *yaʕquub* ‘Jacob’.

(3)

والنبي يعقوب	→	و النبي يعقوب
wannebi yaʕquub		wa nnebi yaʕquub

In this way, it was possible to count the total number of *wa* tokens in a particular text as well as the number of *wa* tokens that were deleted in the same text. Details of wa-deletion will be discussed further in §4.2.

3.5 Verb, clause, sentence, utterance

In the previous section (§3.4), it was shown that word counts in Arabic script are difficult because of the numerous clitics. For this reason, clause counts were used as a general measure of the size of the corpus. Before discussing how the overall clause count was calculated, it is necessary to explain how verbs, clauses and sentences were differentiated in the texts.

In his discussion about lexical density, Halliday (1989) asserts that units larger than the word need to be considered in order to fully understand the density of a text. Two possibilities are the sentence and the clause, but when working with spoken texts the distinction between these two can be difficult to make. In response to this difficulty Halliday says,

> If we take as our starting point the observation that a so-called ‘simple sentence’ is a sentence **consisting of one clause**, then much of the difficulty disappears. What is traditionally known as a ‘compound sentence’ will consist of two or more clauses; and each of them potentially carries the same load of information as the single clause of a ‘simple sentence’ (Halliday 1989:66).

He prefers to use the term ‘clause complex’ rather than ‘compound sentence’ because the term ‘sentence’ traditionally carries the idea of a string of words followed by a period, a term, therefore, which is difficult to apply to spoken language (Macaulay 2002:283). In the case of Arabic, Al-Khafaji states, “the notion of sentence boundaries is highly elusive; this is because the use of punctuation marks is not fixed and paragraph-long sentences are not uncommon in text”

(2005:11). Therefore, Halliday's use of the clause as a grammatical unit allows consistency in the analysis of written and spoken language because dividing spoken texts into sentences is more arbitrary than dividing them into clauses.

That being said, the notion of sentence is useful for discourse analysis to refer to information units that consist of more than one clause, or a clause plus any adjunctival structures. Some analysts use 'sentence' to refer to written text and 'utterance' to refer to spoken text. Brown and Yule state, "We can say in a fairly non-technical way, that utterances are spoken and sentences are written" (1983:19). The term 'sentence' generally refers to an independent clause or clause complex that is followed by a period. However, minor clauses (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:153-4), such as "Yes, my lord" or "Welcome" do not fit easily into the idea of 'sentence'. Therefore, in this study, the term 'utterance' will be used to refer to minor and major clauses, as well as clause complexes, which will include any pre-clausal thematic material and post-clausal adjuncts. It will be used not only to refer to the speech acts of the OP, but also to the written lines of the WS, in order to avoid confusion between the terms 'sentence' and 'utterance'.

An Arabic verb can represent a verb or a clause because the person marker is indicated on the verb, and no other overt nouns or pronouns are necessary to make the verb a complete clause or utterance. However, in this study, a single verb that stands alone in an utterance and contains only a subject person marker will be considered a verb, even though it could be considered a clause. On the other hand, if other participants are attached to the verb in the form of pronoun clitics representing the direct and/or indirect object, it will be considered a clause. In the initial recording of text changes, verbs and clauses were counted separately. When the verb was an isolated imperative such as *taʔaloo* 'come' or *inzaaʔ* 'take off', I labelled it a verb, even though technically it could be a clause. The imperative verb was also considered a verb if it was used in

conjunction with an overt object pronoun. However, when an isolated imperative verb included a bound object pronoun such as *lahiguuni* ‘save me’, I considered it a complete clause. A good example of this is found in line Jp2.30 as shown below in example (4).

(4) Jp2.30

(a) *jiib-uu=l=ii* *kull* *ʔal-saḥra* *wa*
bring.IMP-2m.pl=to=1sg all DET=sorcerers and

(b) *jiib-uu=l=ii=yaa=hum*
bring.IMP-2m.pl=to=1sg=PRT=3m.pl

(c) *jiib-uu=l=ii* *kull* *ʔal-faahimiin* *bi=maṣr*
bring.IMP-2m.pl=to=1sg all DET=wisemen in=Egypt

‘Bring me all the sorcerers and ... bring them to me ... bring me all the wise men in Egypt.’

The original WS clause complex is *jiibuulii kull ʔalsaḥra wa kull ʔalfaahimiin bimaṣr* ‘Bring me all the sorcerers and all the wise men in Egypt’. The green highlighting shows the repetition that was added in the OP, and the underlined word is the model in the WS. In clause (4a) the coordinating conjunction is omitted, and the two direct object NPs are separated by an added imperative clause (4b) and an added imperative verb (4c). The first added clause (4b) is considered a clause in and of itself because it contains object pronouns attached to the verb *-lii-* ‘to me’ and *-hum* ‘them’. However, the second insertion (4c) is only considered a verb because the object of the verb *kull ʔal-faahimiin* ‘all the wisemen’ is necessary to make the clause complete. Otherwise the verb would read ‘bring me’, and being trivalent would be incomplete without the direct object.

As mentioned above in §3.4, the word is difficult to define and count, and in §3.3 it was noted that the frequent use of ellipses in written BA can obscure the distinction between clause and sentence. However, the clause is the easiest unit to consistently identify and therefore, the best unit for measuring the size of an Arabic corpus.

3.6 Clause count

The overall clause count was calculated by counting the verbs in independent clauses in the narration lines of the Joseph story. The acting lines were marked N for narration or DS for direct speech, and varied in length from a single word to a clause, a paragraph or even a short monologue. A participant reference chart was used to analyze N lines in the Joseph story, not only to study participant reference but also to study connectives and word order. The chart (see Appendix B for a sample from the Joseph story) was created and organized according to the principles of participant reference analysis as laid out by Dooley and Levinsohn (2000) and Levinsohn (2011). A by-product of this chart was a total verb count within the N lines. If we assume from this verb count one main verb per clause, and we add in any nominal clauses[9], we can then calculate the ratio of clauses per line by dividing the total number of clauses by the number of lines in the Joseph story. The number of verbal clauses (359) plus nominal clauses (3) is 362. The number of N lines is 79. Dividing these two numbers gives 4.58 clauses per N line.

The DS lines were not included in the participant reference chart, but were later analyzed for each verb type in regard to repetition (§5.2). The total number of DS lines in the Joseph story is 193. The total number of nominal (127) and verbal (741) DS clauses is 868, so the average number of clauses per DS line is 4.50. Table 5 provides the total number of DS lines and N lines in all 10 stories.

[9] Nominal clauses are common in Arabic and appear from the data above to be more common in DS lines than in N lines. Although the DS nominal clauses comprise 15% of all DS clauses in the story, they will not be studied further in this paper.

Table 5 Number of DS and N lines per story

Story title	DS Lines	N Lines	Total Lines	% DS Lines
Abraham	232	64	296	78
Adam	57	55	112	51
David	204	63	267	76
Jesus	479	93	572	84
Job	237	35	272	87
Jonah	94	19	113	83
Joseph	193	79	272	71
Moses	378	170	548	69
Noah	71	36	107	66
Solomon	166	61	227	73
Total	2111	675	2786	76

Multiplying the total DS lines (2111) by the average clauses per DS line calculated from the Joseph story (4.50) gives a total of 9,500 DS clauses. In the same way, multiplying the total number of N lines (675) by the average clauses per N line calculated from the Joseph story (4.58) yields a total of 3,092 N clauses. Therefore, the total clause count for this corpus is approximately 12,592.

3.7 *Wa* as a Connective

The conjunction *wa* ‘and’ is the most frequently used connective in Arabic texts. It can conjoin words, phrases, clauses, sentences, paragraphs and episodes, and mainly has an additive or sequential function. Examples of the conjunction *wa* are given in (5) Jp1.24 below.

(5) Jp1.24

a) ***wa[1]*** *ha=l=gadd* *ma=ya-ḥabba=h*
and DEM=DET=much as=3m.sg-love.IPFV=3m.sg

b) *sawaa=la=h* *fadd* *qamiiṣ* *mulawwan*
make.PFV.3m.sg=for=3m.sg a certain shirt multicoloured

c) ***wa[2]*** *ʕalee=h* *zaxrafa* ***wa[3]*** *muṭarraz*
and on=3m.sg embellishment and embroidery

d) ***wa[4]*** *ʔanṭaa=h=iyaa=h*
and give.PFV.3m.sg=3m.sg=PRT=3m.sg

'**And[1]** he loved him so much that he made him a certain multicoloured shirt, **and[2]** on it (was) embellishment **and[3]** embroidery, **and[4]** he gave it to him.'

In the above example (5), the first two instances of *wa* have an additive function. However, *wa[1]* connects line Jp1.24 to the previous line Jp1.23 (see §3.1 Table 2), while *wa[2]* connects two clause complexes. They both add information to the current clause or utterance. *Wa[3]* functions at the word level as a true coordinate conjunction connecting two equal descriptors *zaxrafa* 'embellishment' and *muṭarraz* 'embroidery'. *Wa[4]* functions again at the clause level, but this time in a sequential mode serving to move the storyline forward.

As shown in example (5), the connective *wa* can conjoin units at various linguistic levels. In this study, the types of conjoined units considered are words, phrases, simple clauses and clause complexes. The first three occur at the syntactic level because they conjoin units within the clause complex. The last one occurs at the discourse level because it connects clause complexes.[10]

In Arabic, it can be difficult to distinguish between clause and clause complex, particularly because of the frequent occurrence of the connective *wa*. It is possible for several clauses to each be conjoined by *wa* to create a clause complex as in example (5) above in which *wa[2]* and *wa[4]* each connect clauses within the utterance. However, in other cases it is difficult to

[10] The connective *wa* also connects paragraphs and episodes, but consideration of these levels is beyond the scope of this study.

decide whether the conjoined clauses are part of a clause complex or whether they are in fact separate utterances.

As mentioned in §3.3 above, the frequent use of ellipsis in written colloquial Arabic also confuses the matter. Generally ellipsis is used in place of a period within a paragraph to separate utterances. Other punctuation such as question marks and exclamation marks also signify the end of an utterance. In some cases the punctuation by the scriptwriter is questionable, and it is not clear if two adjacent clauses create one clause complex or two separate utterances. One of the criteria used for these cases is whether some higher unit has scope over the conjoined clauses or not. In example (6) Jp2.7 below, the WS exhibited a question mark separating the two clauses making them appear to be two separate questions *fašloon triidiinii ʔaxuunah?* *wa ʔasawii haaδa šš̆ar ʔalʕaδiim?* 'So how can you want me to deceive him? And I do this evil thing?' However, the OP intonation of this speech act indicates that it is one question, and the verb *triidiinii* 'you want me' has scope over *ʔaxuunah* 'I deceive him' and *ʔasawii* 'I do'. In this case, *wa* is coordinating at the clausal level.

(6) Jp2.7

fa=šloon	*t-riid-ii=nii*		*ʔa-xuun=ah*	
so=how	2-want.IPFV-f.sg=1sg		1sg-deceive.IPFV=3m.sg	
wa	*ʔa-sawii*	*haaδa*	*š=šar*	*ʔal=ʕaδiim*
and	1sg-do.IPFV	DEM	DET=evil	DET=great

"So how (can) you want me to deceive him and to do this evil thing?"

The punctuation in the WS of example (7) Jp2.14 below suggests that this line consists of two utterances, the first containing three clauses and the second one clause. In the WS, there is no ellipsis or period between *ʕaleeh* and ***wa²***, suggesting that the dependent clause ***wa²*** *min samiʕa footiifaar kalaam marta* 'and when Potiphar heard his wife's words' was not the beginning of a new utterance, but rather was conjoined to the previous two clauses. The ellipsis

between *marta* ‘his wife’ and *ṣaar* ‘he became’ would normally indicate a break between two utterances, but in this case it was meant to induce the actor to insert a dramatic pause.

(7) Jp2.14

gell-at=l=ah	*nafs*	*ʔal=ḥaačii*	***wa*[1]**	*kaδδib-at*	*ʕalee=h*
tell.PFV-3f.sg=to=3m.sg	same	DET=speech	**and**	lie.PFV-3f.sg	on=3m.sg

***wa*[2]**	*min*	*samiʕa*	*footiifaar*	*kalaam*	*mart=a ...*
and	when	hear.PFV.3m.sg	Potiphar	words	wife=3m.sg

ṣaar	*kulliš*	*ʕaṣabii*
become.PFV.3m.sg	very	angry

‘She told him the same thing **and**[1] lied to him **and**[2] when Potiphar heard his wife’s words ... he became very angry.’

The clause ***wa*[2]** *min samiʕa footiifaar kalaam marta* ‘and when Potiphar heard his wife’s words’ is clearly dependent on the following matrix clause *ṣaar kulliš ʕaṣabii* ‘he became very angry’. Two features indicate that the second utterance begins with *wa*[2]. First of all, the adverbial connective phrase *wa min* ‘and when’ only ever introduces a predependent clause (ie. a dependent clause that precedes the matrix clause) and never a postdependent clause (ie. a dependent clause that follows the matrix clause). Secondly, Potiphar is activated by the use of a proper noun *footiifaar* in the dependent clause of the second utterance, even though he is already on stage in the first utterance as the indirect object of the phrase *gellatlah* ‘she said to him’, and both verbs *samiʕa* ‘he heard’ and *ṣaar* ‘he became’ agree in third person masculine singular. In addition, in the OP, the narrator inserts a longer pause between *ʕaleeh* and ***wa*[2]** indicating that ***wa*[2]** begins a new utterance with a new subject, while ***wa*[1]** conjoins the first two clauses into a clause complex.

In this section, we have seen how *wa* connects phrases, clauses and utterances. We have also seen some of the difficulties in deciding the level that *wa* is functioning at. §4.2 takes a closer look at the deletion of the connective *wa* and circumstances that cause deletion to occur.

But first §4 provides information on deletions in general, and §4.1 discusses deletions other than wa-deletion.

4. Deletions

Deletions occur in all of the analyzed stories. Red highlighting was used to indicate all instances of text that actors deleted from the written script (WS) as they were performing the oral performance (OP) (for example see Table 2 above). The deletions were divided into two categories, the deletion of the conjunction *wa*, which will be referred to as wa-deletion (see §4.2), and 'other deletions'. The types of 'other deletions' and their counts are discussed in § 4.1. Wa-deletion (§4.2) was given its own category because it was far more common than the other types of deletions in each story except for the Adam (44%) and Abraham (50%) stories, as shown in the last column of Table 6.

Table 6 Number of deletions per story

Story	Other deletions	Wa-deletion	Total deletions	Total deletions per line	Percentage of wa-deletions
Abraham	19	19	38	.13	50
Adam	13	10	23	.21	44
David	9	50	59	.22	85
Jesus	13	45	58	.10	78
Job	9	14	23	.08	61
Jonah	1	4	5	.04	80
Joseph	13	61	74	.27	82
Moses	31	71	102	.19	70
Noah	5	6	11	.10	55
Solomon	2	30	32	.14	94
Total	115	310	425	.15	73

The Adam and Noah stories were the first stories produced, and were written by a different author than the rest. This author did not give the actors as much freedom as the second scriptwriter to make changes, which could be a factor in the low wa-deletion percentages.

However, in the remainder of the stories the percentage of wa-deletion ranged from 61% in the Job story to 94% in the Solomon story. The overall average percentage of wa-deletion was 73%. The details of 'other deletions' will be discussed in §4.1, and wa-deletion in §4.2.

4.1 Other deletions

Deletions other than wa-deletions are summarized in Table 7 (with the most common deletions highlighted in bold). They are distinguished according to grammatical category and include all deletions except wa-deletions in all 10 stories. Deletions occurring in direct speech (DS) and narration (N) are treated independently, with 62% of all other deletions being in DS.

Table 7 Categorization of other deletions

Type of deletion	Direct Speech	Narration	Total	% Direct Speech
Adjective/ Adjective phrase	1	2	3	33
Adverb/Adverbial phrase	3	2	5	60
Affirmative particle	4		4	100
Clause	1	2	3	33
Complementizer	4		4	100
Conjunction (other than *wa*)	3		3	100
Demonstrative	4		4	100
Discourse particle	6		6	100
Honorific phrase	4	3	7	57
Noun	3	5	8	38
Possessive particle + Pronoun		1	1	0
Preposition/Prep phrase	**9**	**5**	**14**	**64**
Pronoun	10	2	12	83
Question marker	1		1	100
Relative clause marker	1		1	100
Speech introducer clause		**18**	**18**	**0**
Verb	3	4	7	43
Vocative	**14**		**14**	**100**
Total	71	44	115	62

Eight of the categories were exclusively found in DS and two categories were only found in N. The two highest counts of these were vocatives deleted from DS (14) and speech introducer

clauses deleted from N (18). This is not surprising because one would not expect to find speech introducer clauses in dialogue or vocatives in narration. Although the vocative deletions occurred in four different stories, the speech introducer clauses were only deleted from two stories, and 16 out of 18 of them were deleted from the Moses story. The three highest categories will be discussed in detail below: speech introducer clauses in §4.1.1, vocatives in §4.1.2 and prepositional phrases in §4.1.3.

4.1.1 Speech introducer clause

Previously it was mentioned that the majority of the deleted speech introducer clauses (16 out of 18) occurred in the Moses story. Fourteen of those sixteen clauses introduce Moses speaking to God, the people, Pharaoh, the leaders or Aaron. Moses, the main participant or VIP 'Very Important Participant' (Dooley and Levinsohn 2000:59) of this story, does not seem to need a speech introducer clause when he speaks to Pharaoh, the people, or Aaron. The WS generally states something like the utterance in example (9) Mo2.58 *wa muusa raaḥ ʕala farʕoon wa gellah* 'Moses went before Pharaoh and said to him', but the narrator removes the second clause *wa gellah* 'and said to him'.

(9) Mo2.58

wa	*muusa*	*raaḥ*	*ʕala*	*farʕoon*	*wa*	*gell=ah*
and	Moses	go.PFV.3m.sg	to	Pharaoh	and	tell.PFV.3m.sg=3m.sg

'And Moses went to Pharaoh and said to him:'

When Moses and God are conversing together, the narrator always introduces God with a speech introducer. This is necessary because the narrator is also the voice of God, and he wants the audience to be able to distinguish when God is speaking and when the narrator is speaking. However, when Moses replies to God, the narrator removes the speech introducer clause. He likely does this to avoid confusion between speaking for God and speaking as the narrator, and as stated above, Moses is the VIP and his utterances do not need to be introduced.

4.1.2 Vocatives

Of the deleted vocatives, five were part of affirmative minor clauses that were deleted entirely such as *ḥaaðr mawlaay* ‘Yes, my lord’. These phrases were generally deleted because the command that elicited the response was the last utterance before a musical interlude or before switching back to the narrator. Four deleted vocatives were exact repetitions, which interestingly enough, all occurred in situations that involved some type of bad news or negative event. For example, when Job finds out that his children have died and cries out *wuldi* ‘my children’, the actor only says it once even though the WS has it written twice. A second example is found in the Moses story when Aaron dies on the mountain, and the people ask Moses where Aaron is because Moses has returned without him. The actor representing the people speaks the utterance in example (10) Mo4.89 calling Moses by name only once instead of twice as written in the WS. The red highlighting indicates that the second vocative *yaa muusa* ‘Oh Moses’ was deleted from the OP. Although repetitions are often used to slow down a narrative, the deletion of these vocatives is used to create a pause in the utterance to heighten the emotional impact of the negative event.

(10) Mo4.89

muusa	*yaa*	*muusa*	*ween=ah*	*ḥaaroon*
Moses	oh	Moses	where=3m.sg	Aaron

‘Moses ... oh Moses ... where is Aaron?’

In two cases, the repeated vocative is replaced by the repetition of the imperative verb that occurs in the same clause. For example, in utterance Jb2.32 (example (11)), Job is being reprimanded by one of his friends, and the actor removes the repeated vocative in the WS *yaa rajil* ‘oh man’ and replaces it with the repetition of the imperative *tuub* ‘repent’. He is emphasizing the action that the participant is asked to take more than the participant himself.

(11) Jb2.32

WS	*yaa*	*rajil*	*yaa*	*rajil*	*tuub*
	oh	man	oh	man	repent.IMP.2m.sg

‘Oh man ... oh man repent.’

OP	*yaa*	*rajil*	*tuub*	*tuub*
	oh	man	repent.IMP.2m.sg	repent.IMP.2m.sg

‘Oh man repent ... repent.’

4.1.3 Prepositional Phrases

The unbound preposition *min* ‘from’ is deleted several times, especially when it occurs in combination with another preposition, as seen in example (12) Jn1.73, where in the OP it is not needed along with the preposition *daayir ma daaryir* ‘around’.

(12) Jn1.73

wa	*hassa*	*al=may*	*min*	*daayir ma daaryir=ii*
and	now	DET=water	from	around=1sg

da=ya-hdad=nii
CONT=3m.sg-threaten.IPFV=1sg

‘And now the water from around me is threatening me.’

Other deleted prepositions appear to be ones that are optional to the main verb. In example (13) Ab1.117, the preposition *li* ‘into’ is not grammatically necessary in this utterance, so even though the scriptwriter wrote in the preposition, the actor did not think it was necessary for the utterance.

(13) Ab1.117

wa	*bi=leel*	*qism*	*ʔibrahiim*	*jayš=ah*
and	at=night	divided.PFV.3m.sg	Abraham	army=3m.sg

li=qism-een
to=division-DU

‘And at night Abraham divided his army into two divisions.’

Some of the deleted prepositional phrases consisted of a preposition plus a pronoun. In Jp3.52, Joseph arrives at his house, and the brothers are waiting there to give him gifts. The WS states *ʔalhadaaya ʔiljaaboohah wiyyaahum* ‘the presents that they had brought with them’, but

the final word ***wiyyaa****hum* '**with** them' is not stated in the OP. This also occurs in Jp 4.25, in which the prepositional phrase *ʔinna* 'to us' is removed in the OP. In utterance (14) Ab1.110, Abraham questions the servant who escaped and came to give Abraham news about Lot and the people. The actor replaces the prepositional phrase *lii* 'to me' with a repetition of the imperative verb *ʔeḥčii* 'speak'. This is similar to the repetition of the verb when the vocative was deleted in example (11) Jb2.32 in §4.1.2.

(14) Ab1.110

WS	*wa*	*š=ṣaar*	*baʕd*	*ʔeḥčii=l=ii*	
	and	what=happen.PFV.3m.sg	after	speak.IMP.2sg=to=1sg	
	'And what happened after? Speak to me.'				
OP	*wa*	*š=ṣaar*	*baʕd*	*ʔeḥčii*	*ʔeḥčii*
	and	what=happen.PFV.3m.sg	after	speak.IMP.2sg	speak.IMP.2sg
	'And what happened after? Speak, speak.'				

In Table 6 above, there were 115 instances of other deletions out of a total of 425, which constitutes only 27% of the total number of deletions in all 10 stories. Table 7 showed that 62% of these deletions occurred in DS lines, which indicates that the actors felt more freedom to remove elements than the narrator did. However, the opposite seems to be true in the case of wa-deletion, which occurs mainly in N lines, as we will see in §4.2 below.

4.2 Wa-deletion

Table 6 in §4 presented a summary of all the deletions in all ten stories. The total number of deletions was 425, and 310 (73%) of those deletions were wa-deletion. Of the 310 instances, 232 (75%) are deleted from N lines and 78 (25%) from DS lines.

In order to better understand the nature of wa-deletion, I will present a detailed analysis of wa-deletion in the Joseph story. This narrative will serve as a representative example of the phenomenon of wa-deletion in all the stories. Examples from this story are marked Jp with a following section and line number such as Jp1.1. As noted above in Table 6, there were 61

instances of wa-deletion in the Joseph story which comprised 82% of the total number of deletions (74) recorded in the story. This is a high percentage and deserves further investigation. The Joseph story was also chosen because it had been produced twice, first by the author of the Adam and Noah stories and secondly by the author of the remaining stories. The second production was a great improvement on the first and was the one used for the analysis in this paper.

In order to understand wa-deletion further, every occurrence of the conjunction *wa* was identified throughout the WS of the Joseph story, whether omitted in the OP or not. There were 603 instances of *wa* in the WS, and each one was labelled according to several binary parameters. The first parameter considered whether the conjunction occurred in the speech of the narrator (N) or in the direct speech (DS) of one of the other actors.[11] The second parameter was originally a four-way distinction showing whether the conjunction functioned at one of four levels: word (W), phrase (Phr), clause (Cl) or discourse (Dis). I chose to label any conjunction at the sentence level or above as discourse level because at that level it is more of an additive or sequential connective than simply a coordinating conjunction as at the syntactic level. As a result I decided to combine the word, phrase and clause levels into one group representing the syntactic level (ie. below the utterance level). The third parameter indicates whether a change of participant (CoP) occurred at the time the conjunction was used or not. Here CoP is used somewhat loosely because it refers not only to a change in the currently active participant, but also to the use of background clauses with different subjects that interrupt reference to the currently active participant. I chose the CoP parameter because many instances of wa-deletion seemed to occur along with a change in participant or an interruption of the active participant by

[11] The speech of the narrator may also be referred to as narration, and the direct speech of the other actors as dialogue even though the direct speech is sometimes a monologue as in the Job story.

the insertion of background information. The CoP parameter will be discussed further below in §4.2.1.

Of the 603 occurrences of *wa* in the WS of the Joseph story, 61 of them (approximately 10%) were deleted in the OP. Table 8 displays the distribution of *wa* and wa-deletion in relation to the three parameters mentioned above. If we look at the final column in Table 8 labelled percent deleted, we notice that each of parameters 1-3 are binary, and that one percentage is higher than the other.

Table 8 Parameters affecting the use of the connective *wa* in the Joseph story

		Wa in WS	*Wa* deleted in OP	% deleted
Parameter 1	Narration (N)	301	54	18
	Direct Speech (DS)	302	7	2
Parameter 2	Discourse Level (Dis)	300	55	18
	Syntactic Level (W, Phr, Cl)	303	6	2
Parameter 3	Change of Participant (CoP)	72	36	50
	No Change of Participant	531	25	5

Parameter 1 shows that *wa* tends to be deleted more often in narration (18%) than in direct speech (2%) despite the fact that there is almost an equal number of occurences of this connective in each type of speech. Parameter 2 indicates that the connective *wa* is deleted more often at the discourse level (18%) than at the syntactic levels of word, phrase or clause (2%). In this case again, the number of tokens at the discourse level (300) is almost equal to those at the syntactic level (303). The third parameter looks at whether there was a change in participant or not. Of the 72 occurrences of *wa* that coincided with a change of participant (CoP), 36 (50%) of them were deleted. However, there were 531 tokens of *wa* that did not coincide with a CoP and only 25 (5%) of those were deleted. To summarize, the majority of wa-deletions occurred in narration at the discourse level that coincided with a change of participant.

In order to understand the reasons for these results, it is helpful to look at a participant reference chart of the Joseph story (see Appendix B). Table 9 provides a sample of the beginning of the participant reference chart of the Joseph story. This chart only contains the N portions of the Joseph story. The DS utterances are mentioned in the notes column (see Jp1.1-1.21), but are not analyzed as far as following the participants throughout the narrative. Note that the second and third columns are labelled 'Conj Outer' and 'Conj Inner' respectively. 'Conj Outer' refers to conjunctions that connect clauses at the discourse level and therefore function above the syntactic level. 'Conj Inner' refers to conjunctions that function only at the syntactic level. The conjunction 'and' occurs in both of these columns, but in this chart sample, only the 'Conj Outer' column contains wa-deletions, [12] which are indicated in the chart through the use of red highlighted 'and' in the second column. The box above the chart labelled 'context codes of subjects' explains the codes used for tracking the subject participants.

[12] Technichally, one token of 'and' is deleted in the conj inner column (see Jp1.23c in chart 4.1), but it is replaced with the conjunction 'but', which I consider a substitution rather than a deletion.

Table 9 Sample participant reference chart of the Joseph story

Context Codes of Subjects (S)			
S1	the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence	S3	the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation
S2	the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (in a closed conversation)	S4	other changes of subject than those covered by S2, S3

Ref	ConjOut /PoD	Conj Inner	Subject	Code	Predicate	Non-subject	Word Order	Notes
Jp1.1 - 1.21								direct speech between narrator and on-stage audience
Jp1.22			The prophet Joseph [1] + he [1]	Intro		son [1] of the prophet Jacob [2]	S	nominal clause
Jp1.23a	and		the prophet Jacob [2]	Intro	married	four women	SV	
b		but	-ø [2]	S1	was loving	one of them [3]	V	
c		and→ but	she [3]	S3	didn't bring	two sons, Joseph [1] and Benjamin [4]	SV	contrastive
Jp1.24a	and when		Joseph [1]	S3	came	to him [2]	VS	pre-dep clause
b			Jacob [2]	S3	was	old	VS	
c	and for this reason		-ø [2]	S1	was loving	Joseph [1]	V	PoD: Adverbial reason phrase
d	and as much as		-ø [2]	S1	loves	him [1]	V	pre-dep clause
e			-ø [2]	S1	made	for him [1] a shirt	V	
f		and	-ø [2]	S1	gave	to him [1]	V	
g	and		his brothers [5]	Intro			SV	pre-posed subject
h		when	-uu [5]	Intro	saw	[comp clause below]		pre-dep clause
i			their father [2]	S4	did	such	SV	VS→SV complement clause
j			-uu, y-V-uun [5]		began to be jealous	of him [1]		
k		and	y-V-uu [5]	S1	not treat well	him [1]	V	
l		even	y-V-uun [5]	S1	not greet	on him [1] peace	V	post-dep clause

Key for bound subject pronouns on verbs: [-ø] 'he (m.PFV)'; [y-] 'he (m.IPFV)'; [-uu] 'they (m.pl.PFV)'; [y-V-uu(n)] 'they' (m.pl.IPFV)

In the OP, the narrator mainly uses the omission of *wa* to signal to the hearer that there is some kind of discontinuity, places where he believes the hearer may be misled if *wa* is not deleted. A change in active participant is one of the main causes of potential misunderstanding for the hearer, especially if the old and new participants are the same gender and number. In Table 9, each time a new participant is introduced, *wa* 'and' which occurs in the WS is deleted in the OP. In Jp1.22, Joseph is introduced for the first time using a nominal clause. However, the very next sentence Jp1.23a introduces Joseph's father, Jacob, and the connective is deleted.

There are three main situations in which wa-deletion occurs: a change or interruption in participant (§4.2.1), a change in time or place (§4.2.2), or a scene involving rising action (§4.2.3).

4.2.1 Change or interruption of participant

When a main participant is first introduced in the story and becomes the on-stage current participant, wa-deletion occurs in the OP. Examples of this can be seen twice in Table 9, in line Jp1.23a, when Jacob is introduced and the active participant changes from Joseph to Jacob, and also in line Jp1.24g, when the brothers are first introduced and become the active participant instead of Jacob.

Wa-deletion also occurs within a paragraph when more than one participant of the same gender and number become the active participant. This can be seen in Table 10 lines Jp2.16b-e, in which Pharaoh is the active subject in Jp2.16b,c, and then wa-deletion occurs twice in the next two clauses, first when the captain of the guard becomes the active subject in Jp2.16d, and secondly when Joseph becomes the active subject in Jp2.16e. The stage is the prison for the captain of the guard and for Joseph, so because they are both on stage it is necessary for the narrator to indicate to the hearers which one is currently active.

Table 10

Ref	Conj Outer	Conj Inner	Subject	Code	Predicate	Non-subject	Word Order
Jp2.16b	and		he [14]	S3	got angry	with them [12 & 13]	SV
c		and	-ø [14]	S1	put	them [12 & 13]	V
d	and		the captain of the guard [11]	S4	commanded	Joseph [1]	SV
e	and		Joseph [1]	S3	took care of	them [12 & 13]	VS→SV

The conjunction ‘and’ is also deleted when the active participant is interrupted by the insertion of background information. In Table 11 line Jp1.85a, Jacob is the active participant of the continuing narrative. He has just learned that his son Joseph was killed and his next three actions are all connected by ‘and’: Jacob got up **and** tore his clothes **and** wore sackcloth.

Table 11

Ref	Conj Outer	Conj Inner	Subject	Code	Predicate	Non-subject	Word Order	Notes
Jp1.85a	and		Jacob [2]	S1	got up		VS	
b		and	-ø [2]	S1	tore	his clothes	V	
c		and	-ø [2]	S1	wore	sackcloth	V	
d	and		the sackcloth + it	S3		kind of cloth		nominal cl; background
e			y-	S1	resembles	gunnysack	V	background
f			the people; -uu	S4	were accustomed to wear	it	VS	background
Jp1.86a	and		Jacob [2]	S4	grieved	over his son [1]	VS	Jacob still on stage

Then the scriptwriter felt it was necessary to explain what sackcloth is, but he introduced the background information with ‘and’ in Jp1.85d because it is part of the continuing narrative. However, when the narrator performed this scene, he deleted this ‘and’ (highlighted in red) to alert the listeners that this is background information that is interrupting the narrative, and in particular interrupting the actions of the main participant, Jacob. In line Jp1.86a, the narrative picks up again after the background information is finished and the utterance begins with ‘and’ because Jacob is still the active participant, and the scene and time hasn’t changed. Notice,

however, that the NP ‘Jacob’ is used instead of a pronoun because of the discontinuity caused by the insertion of background information.

It was noted in Table 8 that 531 instances of *wa* were not accompanied by a change or interruption of participant, but 25 of them were still deleted. Of these 25 tokens, 15 were N and discourse level. Of these 15, 10 were connected to a change of location or passage of time (see §4.2.2) and 5 occurred in conjunction with rising action (see §4.2.3).

4.2.2 Change of location or passage of time

In Table 12 lines Jp1.46a-1.50c below, Joseph is looking for his brothers and he is the subject for 6 clauses until his brothers are mentioned in the 7th clause Jp1.48c. Although this is a complement clause of the main verb ‘knew’ in Jp1.48b, the brothers are activated because they are the subject of the verb ‘went’ in Jp1.48c. The following clause Jp1.49a then undergoes wa-deletion because Joseph is reactivated in this clause. This first wa-deletion is the same as the examples in the previous section where the active participant is interrupted. However, a second wa-deletion occurs two clauses later in Jp1.50a, even though Joseph is the subject of both this clause and the preceding clause Jp1.49b. In Jp1.50a, Joseph arrives at a new place and is the subject of the predependent clause ‘and when he arrived’. The change of location as well as the passage of time motivates the deletion of *wa* at the beginning of this line. There is one other deletion of ‘and’ in line Jp1.48b that turns out to be obligatory. The addition of the temporal preposition ‘after’ (highlighted in green) creates a predependent clause that forces the following clause to lose the coordinating conjunction in the ‘Conj Inner’ column because the two conjoined matrix clauses have become a predependent clause followed by a matrix clause. Thus the WS translation ‘And he asked about them **and** he knew that his brothers went...’ is converted in the OP to ‘And **after** he asked about them, he knew that his brothers went...’.

Table 12

Ref	Conj Out /PoD	Conj Inner	Subject	Code	Predicate	Non-subject	Word Order	Notes
Jp1.46a	and		Joseph [1]	S1	went		VS	
b			y- [1]	S1	looks	for his brothers [5]	V	
Jp1.47a	but when		-ø [1]	S1	arrived		V	pre-dep cl
b			-ø [1]	S1	didn't find	them [5]	V	
Jp1.48a	and after		-ø [1]	S1	asked	about them [5]	V	pre-dep cl
b		and	-ø [1]	S1	knew	[comp clause below]	V	
c		that	his brothers	S4	went		SV	comp cl
Jp1.49a	and		-ø [1]	S4	went	after them [5]	V	
b		and	-ø [1]	S1	found	them [5]	V	
Jp1.50a	and when		-ø [1]	S1	arrived		V	pre-dep cl
b			his brothers [5]	S4	saw	him [1]	VS	
c			-uu, y-V-uun [5]	S1	began to talk		V	

In Table 13 lines Jp1.67a, b, the brothers are the subject of both clauses, but wa-deletion occurs in line (b) to show a distance of time from the time they began eating till the time they looked up and saw the caravan arriving. One might also expect *wa* at the beginning of line Jp1.67a to be deleted because it occurs before a temporal point of departure. However, maintaining 'and' likely increases the effect of the callousness of the brothers because they have just thrown Joseph in a pit and they proceed to eat immediately after despite his cries for help.

Table 13

Ref	Conj Out/ PoD	Conj Inner	Subject	Code	Predicate	Non-subject	Notes
Jp1.67a	and after this thing		y-V-uu [5]	S4	sat to eat		PoD: Adverbial time phrase
b	and when		y-V-uu [5]	S1	raised	their heads	pre-dep clause

A similar example can be found in Ab2.14 in which Abraham is sitting in his tent, and when he looks up to see men coming, the initial conjunction 'and' is deleted from this utterance.

At the end of Jp2.8 and the beginning of Jp2.9, Joseph is the active participant. In Table 14, line Jp2.8d, he has just refused to accept the advances of Potiphar's wife. Then wa-deletion occurs when the narrator continues with Jp2.9a because time has passed between the two clauses. The utterance initial thematic slot is now only filled with the point of departure 'one day', which emphasizes the new time setting. Notice that marked SV structure is used in spite of the fact that Joseph was the active participant in the preceding clause. This clause is the beginning of another scene with rising action, and the SV structure allows the audience to focus on the participant, 'Joseph', rather than on the process of 'entering'.

Table 14

Ref	Conj Out/ PoD	Conj Inner	Subject	Code	Predicate	Non-subject	Word Order	Notes
Jp2.8d		and	-ø [1]	S1	didn't accept		V	
Jp2.9a	and one day		Joseph [1]	S1	entered	(the house)	SV	inciting incident VS→SV

In Jp2.46a, *wa* is deleted when Pharaoh is activated after Joseph finishes interpreting Pharaoh's dreams. Then from the time Pharaoh makes Joseph his governor and the narrator summarizes the good years up until the famine is being felt by the people, there is no wa-deletion. However, in Jp3.6a when the scene changes from Joseph in Egypt to where Jacob is in Canaan then wa-deletion occurs again.

One place where a scene change occurs, but wa-deletion does not is in Jp2.1a, when the narrator leaves the scene of Jacob grieving and returns to what is happening to Joseph. Although there is a scene change *wa* is not deleted, perhaps because Joseph is the VIP and the last time he was mentioned was in Jp1.72 when the brothers sold him to the Ishmaelites. The audience knows that Joseph is travelling with the caravan of Ishmaelites toward Egypt, so his scene, in a sense, is not new or unexpected when the narrator leaves grieving Jacob and returns to Joseph.

4.2.3 Rising action

The narrator occasionally uses wa-deletion to emphasize rising action or a peak in the story. In discussing plot and peak in monologue discourse, Longacre (1996) mentions several devices that mark peaks or points of rising action in a narrative. One of these devices, he refers to as 'change of pace' (1996:43), which can be effected by changing the size of sentences or the amount of connectives used. "A further device for changing the pace within a story and thus marking transition to peak is a stylistic change from the use of more conjunction and transition to less conjunction and transition (asyndeton)" (1996:45). Omitting *wa* between two clauses creates two short utterances, which slows the pace of the scene. A good example of this is illustrated in Table 15. Joseph's brothers have just arrived in Egypt to buy grain and they bow down to Joseph, fulfilling the dreams at the beginning of the story. Then Joseph acts as if he doesn't know them and brings in an interpreter to cement the ruse.

Table 15

Ref	Conj Out /PoD	Conj Inner	Subject	Code	Predicate	Non-subject	Word Order	Notes
Jp3.8e	and when		his brothers [5]	S4	arrived		VS	pre-dep clause
f			-uu [5]	S1	bowed down	to him [1]	V	
g	but		Joseph [1]	S3	knew	them [5]	SV	contrastive
h		and	-ø [1]	S1	made	himself [1]	V	rising action
i			-ø [1]	S1	not know	them [5]	V	complement clause
j		and	-ø [1]	S1	brought	interpreter	V	
k			-ø	S3	speak	with them [5]	V	post-dep clause

When the scriptwriter wrote lines Jp3.8g-k, he used *wa* to connect clauses h to i and j to k as he normally would in a narrative in which the active participant doesn't change throughout several successive clauses. However, the narrator deleted the conjunction in Jp3.8h and j, causing the one long utterance (Jp3.8g-k) to become three separate shorter utterances. The lack

of the conjunction makes these utterances more abrupt and staccato-like, which slows the pace of the story and draws the listener's attention to the rising action. Thus the narrator effectively highlights the events of this scene to the audience by deleting the sequential connective and thereby making each line an individual important event.

A little later in the story (Table 16), Joseph overhears his brothers discussing their difficult situation. They assume they are being punished because they sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites. When Joseph hears this, he becomes so emotional that he removes himself from the room in order to cry unseen. Here again, the narrator deletes the conjunction in Jp3.24e and f, creating shorter sentences to emphasize the intensity of the scene.

Table 16

Ref	Conj Out /PoD	Conj Inner	Subject	Code	Predicate	Non-subject	Word Order	Notes
Jp3.24e	and		-ø [1]	S4	not able to bear		V	rising action
f		and	-ø [1]	S1	turned	his face	V	
g		and	-ø [1]	S1	distanced (himself)	from them [5]	V	

4.2.4 Embedded Narrative

In Table 8 we saw that wa-deletion mainly occurs in narration in the Joseph story. Table 6 shows that there are 310 instances of wa-deletion in the entire corpus for this study. Out of the 310 instances, 232 are labelled N and 78 are DS. Some of the DS examples are technically still N because they occur in an embedded narrative. An example of this is seen in the Jesus story, when Jesus tells the parable about the good Samaritan (see example (14) Js3.57). In this embedded narrative, there are 21 clause level *wa* of which 8 are deleted in the OP and 1 *wa* is added in the OP. For sake of brevity, this example will be illustrated using the English translation. Deleted *wa*

are marked with a strikethrough and a subscript number, the added *wa* is in bold type[13] and original *wa* that are unchanged are underlined. The punctuation is maintained from the WS (note the single period at the very end of the monologue), and word order of free unbound subject NPs and pronouns is also maintained to reflect SV and VS word order. Although subject and object pronouns are free in the English translation, in the Arabic text they are almost always clitics attached to the verb. If a pronoun is free in the Arabic text it is marked with a subscript PRO as in I_{PRO}.

(14) Js3.57

> *Listen to this story ... one day a man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho ... attacked him robbers, <u>and</u> they hit him, <u>and</u> they robbed him, <u>and</u> they left him between life and death ... ~~and~~$_1$ by chance a religious teacher passed by there, ~~and~~$_2$ when he saw the man he changed his path <u>and</u> began to walk on the other side ...* ***and*** *afterward passed by him a religious man, a servant in the house of God, ~~and~~$_3$ when he saw him he didn't come near him <u>and</u> continued to walk on his way ... ~~and~~$_4$ afterward passed by him a despised Samaritan man, ~~and~~$_5$ ~~when~~* ***but as soon as*** *he saw him he had compassion on him ... <u>and</u> came near to him <u>and</u> treated him <u>and</u> applied oil to his wounds <u>and</u> bandaged them ... ~~and~~$_6$ afterward he gave him a ride on his beast of burden <u>and</u> delivered him to the inn, <u>and</u> took care of him there ... ~~and~~$_7$ on the third day when he wanted to leave the inn, he gave the owner of the inn money <u>and</u> said to him: Take care of him ... <u>and</u> however much more you spend on him, I_{PRO} will give you when I return ... ~~and~~$_8$ now tell me which one of these three is this man's neighbour.*

There are 13 unchanged *wa* in example (14) that coordinate clauses and imply sequential events carried out by the same participant. Of the eight deleted *and,* four occur before temporal points of departure '*afterward'* (4, 6), '*on the third day*' (7) and '*now*' (8), three occur before the adverbial clause '*when he saw*' (2, 3, 5), and one occurs before a reason point of departure '*by chance*' (1). In §4.2.1 and §4.2.2, we saw that *wa* was often deleted before a participant change, a passage of time or change of location. Although this passage is an embedded narrative within

[13] There is one other phrase in bold type 'but as soon as' which was a substitution added to replace 'and when'.

direct speech, it reflects the same use of the discourse level *wa* that was seen in narration. The one occurrence of *and* that might seem confusing in this example is the one that has been added to the OP (in bold type) and occurs before '*afterward*', particularly considering that two instances of this conjunction are deleted before the identical point of departure in the same passage. It seems that this *and* is added because the second man to pass by acts the same way as the first man, so even though he is a new participant, he does not do anything new or contrary to what the first man did. The first man is introduced with SV order emphasizing the participant change, but the second man with VS order emphasizing the event more than the participant. The added *and*, then connects the two similar events, and is used in a sequential manner, so that the phrase *wa baʕadeen* 'and afterward' would be better translated as 'and then' in this instance. However, when the Samaritan is introduced, the connective is again deleted with the new participant and the new event (that he took pity on the wounded man). The thematic slot of the first clause *and by chance a religious teacher* contains two textual themes, the conjunction *and*, and the conjunctive adjunct *by chance*, as well as the topical theme *a religious teacher*. As stated previously, the conjunction is deleted and the result is that the thematic force is shared between the adjunct and the topical theme. The thematic slot of the second clause *and then passed (m.sg.)* contains two textual themes *and* and *then*, and one topical theme *passed (m.sg)* .

5. Additions

Additions occurred in all of the analyzed stories. Green highlighting was used to indicate all instances of text that actors added to the WS as they were performing the OP (see example (15) below). The additions were divided into two categories, repetition addition and 'other additions'. Details of the types of 'other additions' are shown in §5.1 below. From hereon *repetition* will refer to all repetition additions and *additions* will refer to 'other additions'. Repetition (discussed

in §5.2) was given its own category because it accounted for more than 50% of additions in each story except for the story of Adam (40%). Table 17 records the number of changes per story by type and total, as well as the percentage of repetition per story. Most of the stories had repetition that fell into the 50-70% range, and the overall average percentage of repetition was 66%. However, the Job story contained a much higher percentage of repetition (91%). This could be because the Job story is more of a series of monologues than a straight narrative, and also has a higher amount of poetic style than the other stories.

Table 17 Number of additions per story

Story	Additions	Repetition	Total additions per story	Total additions per line	% repetition
Abraham	32	42	74	.25	57
Adam	21	14	35	.31	40
David	26	52	76	.28	68
Jesus	30	83	113	.20	73
Job	7	72	79	.29	91
Jonah	20	26	46	.41	57
Joseph	25	44	69	.25	64
Moses	21	46	68	.12	68
Noah	17	23	41	.38	56
Solomon	28	30	58	.26	52
Total	227	432	659	.24	66

The higher percentage of repetition indicates that there is greater freedom to make repetitive changes to the WS than other types of additions. The details of additions and repetition will be discussed in §5.1 and §5.2, respectively.

5.1 Additions other than repetition

Additions other than repetition are summarized in Table 18. They are distinguished according to grammatical category and include all additions except repetition in all 10 stories. Additions

occurring in direct speech and narration are treated independently. The three most frequent types of addition are highlighted in bold.

Table 18 Categorization of other additions

Type of addition	Direct Speech	Narration	Total	% Direct Speech
Adjective	3	1	4	75
Adverb/Adverbial Phrase	16	3	19	84
Affirmative Particle	**26**		**26**	**100**
Clause	9	2	11	82
Complement Clause	1		1	100
Conjunction	13	6	19	68
Demonstrative	1	1	2	50
Discourse Particle	15		15	100
Greeting	7		7	100
Honorific	**8**	**18**	**26**	**31**
Negative Particle	2		2	100
Noun	5	3	8	63
Participle		1	1	0
Preposition/ Prep phrase	5	6	11	46
Pronoun (free)	13		13	100
Question marker	8		8	100
Relative clause marker	1		1	100
Speech introducer		2	2	0
Verb	9	2	11	82
Vocative	**40**		**40**	**100**
Total	182	45	227	80

The actors creating the DS utterances felt a greater need to make additions in the OP than the narrator did; DS additions accounting for 80% of all additions. Of the 20 categories in Table 18, nine contain DS changes exclusively and two only contain N changes. This is not surprising because some of the categories would be expected to only consist of examples from direct speech, such as affirmative particles, negative particles, greetings and vocatives, which are only used in conversation. Speech introducers, on the other hand, could be used in either type of speech, but they are mainly used in N lines in the stories examined in this study.

The largest three categories of additions in Table 18 (see bold type) are vocatives (40), honorifics (26) and affirmative particles (26). These categories are discussed below in §5.1.1 – §5.1.3. Because the conjunction *wa* was of special interest in the chapter on deletions, §5.1.4 will present the types of conjunctions that were added to the OP, particularly instances of *wa* addition.

5.1.1 Vocatives

As shown in Table 18, the addition of vocatives only occurs in DS lines. Of these 40 vocatives, 6 (15%) occurred in utterance initial position and 34 (85%) occurred in non-initial position. The vocative particle *yaa* 'oh' was the most commonly added vocative. It never stands alone and always precedes a vocative noun phrase.[14] It was sometimes added to an existing vocative such as *mawlaay* 'my lord' to create *yaa mawlaay* 'oh my lord', but more often was added with a second vocative such as *yaa abu xaliil* 'oh Abu Xaliil' or *yaa ibnii* 'oh my son'. It appears to be partially grammaticalized in the construct *yaamaʕawwad* 'hey man', the first syllable *yaa* coming from the vocative particle above meaning 'oh' and graphically it seems to be able to occur connected to *maʕawwad* 'man' (as in the current example from the Abraham story, line Ab2.64) or disconnected *yaa mʕawwad*,[15] as listed in the *Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic* (Woodhead & Beene 1967:328). The vocative *ʕaynii* 'my dear' can be added by itself or in front of an existing vocative, such as *um xaliil* 'Um Xaliil', to form *ʕaynii um xaliil* 'my dear Um Xaliil' (Da1.1).

It is common for vocatives to occur after affirmative particles such as *naʕam* 'yes' and *ḥaadar* 'yes/ready'. Seven minor clauses consisting of an affirmative particle followed by a

[14] The particle *yaa* can also be used in an exclamative phrase such as *yaa salaam* 'oh peace'. Although the English gloss is 'oh', the particle *yaa* cannot occur as an isolated exclamative as in English.
[15] /ʕ/=/ʕ/ As mentioned at the end of §3.1, I prefer to use the IPA symbol /ʕ/even though the Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic uses /ʕ/.

vocative were added to the OP that had not been written in the WS. In the story of Jonah (line Jn2.3), God commands Jonah to go to Nineveh to give the people his message. In the OP the actor playing Jonah provides a reply to God's command, *ḥaadar yaa rabb* 'Ready, oh Lord', even though it was not written in the WS. Example (15), illustrates the addition of an affirmative particle *naʕam* 'yes' plus the vocative *yaa mawlaay* 'oh my lord' from the Moses story. In the WS, Pharoah summons his servants once in line Mo2.33 (the underlined phrase *yaa ḥaras* 'oh guards'), and then asks them to bring Moses to him Mo2.35.

(15)

Mo2.33	*yaa ḥaras*	***yaa ḥaras***	***yaa ḥaras***
	oh guards	**oh guards**	**oh guards**
Pharaoh:	'Oh guards ... **oh guards** ... **oh guards**!'		
Mo2.34	*naʕam*	*yaa mawlaay*	
	yes	oh my lord	
Guard:	'Yes, oh my lord.'		
Mo2.35	*ruuḥ-uu*	*jiib-uu=l=ii*	*muusa*
	go.IMP-2m.pl	bring.IMP-2m.pl=to=1sg	Moses
Pharaoh:	'Go bring me Moses.'		

However, in the OP, Pharaoh repeats the vocative twice (bold print in line Mo2.33), calling for the guards three times instead of once. Then one actor playing a guard adds an affirmative response in line Mo2.34 before Pharaoh continues with his command in line Mo2.35.

These added minor clauses demonstrate two things: that the need for an answer or response is high in the OP, and that the need to indicate the tenor of the minor clause is important enough to require an added vocative.

5.1.2 Honorifics

The majority of added honorific words and phrases were found in narration (70%). In Arabic, honorific phrases generally occur after the person being honored. The honorific additions are of

two types: the first *subḥanna wa taʕaala* ‘praised and exalted’ refers only to God and occurs 16 times (see example (16)), and the second *ʕaleehi ssalaam* ‘on him peace’ occurs 10 times and refers to Adam 9 times (see example (17)) and Jesus 1 time.

(16) Ad1.24

wa	*faṣal*	*allah*	*subḥanna wa taʕaala*
and	separate.PFV.3m.sg	God	praised and exalted

been	*al=leel*	*wa*	*n=nahar*
between	DET=night	and	DET=day

‘And God (praised and exalted) separated the night from the day.’

(17) Ad1.37

čaan	*yi-guul*	*ʔadam*	*ʕaleehi ssalaam*
be.PFV	3m-say.IPFV	Adam	on him peace

‘Adam (on him peace) was saying:’

The majority of honorific phrases are found in the Adam story, five referring to God and 9 referring to Adam. This higher number of added honorifics in the Adam story could be due to the fact that it was one of the first stories produced. It was also written by the first scriptwriter who did not use honorifics in his dialect[16] to the same degree as the second scriptwriter.

5.1.3 Affirmative particles

The number of added affirmative particles (26) was equal to the number of added honorifics. The main affirmative particles added were *ʔeh* ‘yes’ (6 tokens), *naʕam* ‘yes’ (6 tokens), *zeen* ‘good’ (6 tokens) and *ḥaaðar* ‘yes/ready’ (4 tokens). Sometimes affirmatives are doubled as in *ʔeh naʕam* ‘yes, yes’, and *ʔeh tamaam* ‘yes exactly’. As stated above, these particles all occurred in DS lines, and all but one of them occurs in utterance initial position. In §5.1.1, we saw that a vocative often occurs with an affirmative particle, to create a minor clause that completes a conversational pair. Example (18) illustrates the insertion of two minor clauses, one containing an affirmative plus vocative and the other an affirmative plus adjective.

[16] The first scriptwriter speaks Christian Baghdadi Arabic and the second speaks Muslim Baghdadi Arabic.

(18)

Ab1..78	*ʔa-guul=ak*	*luuṭ*
	1sg-say.IPFV=2m.sg	Lot
Abraham:	'I tell you, Lot.'	
Ab1.79	*naʕam*	*ʕam=ii*
	yes	uncle=1sg
Lot:	'Yes, my uncle.'	
Ab1.80	*tara aanii maa qabal tṣiir mušaakil been ruʕayaanii wa ruʕayaanak, liann haaða mumkin yaʔaθar ʕala ʕilaaqatna.*	
Abraham:	'Well, I don't accept problems happening between my shepherds and your shepherds because this might affect our relationship.'	
Ab1.81	*ʔeh*	*ṣaḥiiḥ*
	yes	true
Lot:	'Yes, (that's) true.'	
Ab1.82	*faʔaanii ʔašuuf loo naftaraq...*	
Abraham:	So, I see (that) if we separate...	

This example is taken from the Abraham story in which Abraham is addressing his nephew, Lot, about a potential problem. In the WS the scriptwriter wrote one long utterance spoken by Abraham, represented by lines Ab1.78, Ab1.80 and Ab1.82. However, the actor playing Lot added two affirmative lines, Ab1.79 and Ab1.81, in the OP. These affirmative responses increase the level of involvement between the actor playing Abraham and the actor playing Lot, which ultimately increases the level of involvement on the part of the hearer. Halliday & Matthiessen refer to these utterances as minor clauses that do not constitute a conversational turn, but "rather they serve to ensure the continuity of the interaction by supporting the current speaker's turn" (2004:154). The immediacy of the moment in the OP causes the actor to add responses that turn a monologue into a dialogue, even though the scriptwriter did not see the need for those responses.

5.1.4 Wa-addition

Fourteen of the 19 added conjunctions are *wa*, ten of them occurring in DS and four in N. Considering all the wa-deletion recorded in chapter 2, it may seem surprising that there were *wa* additions as well. The majority of DS instances occur at the syntactic level coordinating phrases and clauses. Three of the four N instances also occurred at the syntactic level, two of them connecting an added speech introducer clause within the utterance, and one separating a double verb combination within a clause. The fourth *wa* addition occurs in Jb2.39 and functions at the discourse level because it connects two utterances. Job's friends have just been speaking to him in direct speech, after which the narrator continues the narrative. The *wa* is added because Job's friends are the subject of the narrative sentence in Jb2.39, so there is no change of participant here and the addition of *wa* is expected because it tells the hearer that although DS has ended, the narrator is continuing with the same participant.

As stated above, 80% of the additions occurred in DS lines indicating that the actors felt greater freedom to make additions than the narrator did. As we will see in §5.2, this freedom increases when the additions are repetitions of elements already written in the script.

5.2 Repetition

In Table 17 above, the average percentage of repetition in the stories was 66%, suggesting that the actors felt more at ease adding something that the scriptwriter had already sanctioned than adding something completely new. §2.6 introduced terminology used to describe repetition as well as various functions of repetition. In Appendix A, repetitions are highlighted in green because they are considered a type of addition. However, in the examples below the MODEL will be underlined and the COPY marked with bold print.

Almost all of the repetitions recorded in this study are examples of exact repetition. No instances of paraphrase were recorded, but there are a few examples of partial repetition in which a verb+direct object noun phrase becomes a verb+direct object pronoun. In example (19) Js2.98, the pronoun *=ah* 'him' in (b) replaces the noun phrase *haaða ʔalrajal ʔilli ma sawa nafsah ʔalmelek* 'this man who won't make himself the king' in (a), but the verb is exactly the same in both utterances *ma nriid* 'we don't want'.

(19) Js2.98

(a) *ma* *n-riid* *[haaða* *ʔal=rajal* *ʔilli* *ma* *sawa*
NEG 1pl-want.IPFV DET DET=man REL NEG do.PFV.3m.sg

(b) *nafs=ah* *ʔal=melek]* ***ma*** ***n-riid=[ah]***
self=3m.sg DET=king **NEG** **1pl-want.IPFV=3m.sg**

'We don't want [this man who won't make himself king] ...
We don't want [him].'

Twenty grammatical categories were used to label the types of repetition as shown in Table 19. As in previous sections, DS and N lines are treated independently. The DS changes make up 98% of the total, which clearly illustrates that there is more freedom to use repetition in DS lines than in N lines.

Table 19 Categorization of repetition

Type of Addition	DS	N	Total	% DS
Adjective	6	1	7	86
Adverb/Adv.Phrase	13		13	100
Affirmative Particle	**19**		**19**	**100**
Clause	**77**		**77**	**100**
Complementizer	2		2	100
Conjunction	9		9	100
Demonstrative	5		5	100
Discourse Particle	**54**		**54**	**100**
Greeting	2		2	100
Negative Particle	**21**		**21**	**100**
Noun	16	2	18	89
Participle	11		11	100
Preposition	1	1	2	100
Pronoun	22		22	100
Question marker	9		9	100
Relative clause marker	2		2	100
Sentence	4		4	100
Stanza	3		3	100
Verb	**69**	**5**	**74**	**93**
Vocative	**88**		**88**	**100**
Total (average)	433	9	442	(98)

Before discussing the largest categories of repetition, it is beneficial to combine some of these categories for later analysis. In previous sections, the particles were separated into discourse, affirmative and negative particles. However, for the discussion of repetition these three particle categories will be collapsed into a single category called ‘continuatives’. This decision is based on Halliday & Matthiessen’s (2004) connective categories mentioned in §2.4, in which continuatives include discourse particles, affirmative particles and negative particles, and also on the fact that these particles tend to occur in sentence initial position. This will be discussed further in §5.2.2. Clauses and verbs have been recorded separately, but here too, it is

beneficial to combine these two categories in order to facilitate the discussion below on verb type and utterance position.

Therefore the three largest categories are verbs/clauses (144), particles (94) and vocatives (88). Many of the repetitions appeared to be utterance initial, so the instances in each of these categories were separated into initial vs non-initial position as shown in Table 20.

Table 20 Utterance initial vs non-initial categories of repetition

	Initial	Non-initial	Total	% Initial
Vocatives	84	4	88	95
Verbs/Clauses	103	34	137[a]	75
Particles	86	8	94	91

[a] This number is lower than the total listed in Table 19 above because it only includes verbal clauses and not nominal ones.

The repeated vocatives and particles both occurred in utterance initial position to a high degree; 95% and 91% respectively. The verb/clause category occurred in utterance initial position 75% of the time. Repetition of vocatives and particles will be discussed further in §5.2.1 and §5.2.2 respectively. Repetition of the verb/clause category is covered in §5.2.3, and §5.2.4 will provide details and examples on bookend repetition.

5.2.1 Vocatives

Vocatives provide an indication of who is speaking to whom and the relationship between those speakers, whether equal, subordinate or superior. They help fulfill the interpersonal metafunction of the clause (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). Vocatives such as *yaa rajaal* ‘oh men’ and *yaa jamaʕa* ‘oh group’ reflect equal status between speaker and listener, while the use of *mawlaay* ‘my master, my lord’ or *sayiidi* ‘sir’ signals subordinate status of the speaker, and *yaa ḥaraas* ‘oh guards’ signals superior status of the speaker. As we saw in §5.1.1, a large number of vocatives were added to the OP, which signifies that overtly indicating the tenor of the communication

situation is extremely important in the dramatic discourse genre. It is not surprising, then, that vocatives are repeated regularly, and that most often that repetition occurs utterance initially.

As noted in Table 20, there were 88 instances of repeated vocatives in the stories, which is 20% of the total number of repetitions (442) in all the stories. They can be general vocatives like *yaa naas* ‘oh people’ (31 tokens), or specific vocatives as in *dawood* ‘David’ (7 tokens). 95% of these repeated vocatives are recurrences of utterance initial words or phrases. Vocatives are generally repeated 1 or 2 times, but can be repeated up to 6 times. The following example (20) Mo3.90 shows that the utterance initial phrase *ya naas* ‘oh people’ (underlined in 20), which occurred only once in the WS, has been repeated three times in the OP (shown in bold print). Here Moses is trying to get the people’s attention in the midst of their complaining about God. It also gives the audience a chance to catch up with the speaker change, which occurs frequently in the dialogue sections of the performance.

(20) Mo3.90

yaa naas	***yaa naas***	***yaa naas***	***yaa naas***
oh people	**oh people**	**oh people**	**oh people**

leeš	*de-ta-ðamar-uun*	*ʕalee=h*
why	CONT-2-complain.IPFV-m.pl	on=3m.sg

‘Oh people ... **oh people** ... **oh people** ... **oh people** ... why do you complain about him?’

Example (21) Jb2.33 provides three examples of repetition, two which are added during the OP and one which was already written in the WS. They highlight the interpersonal function of the vocatives used. Job’s friends have just told him to repent and when he responds, he repeats the vocative *ya naas* ‘oh people’. This repetition gives the audience time to realize that now Job is speaking, and that he is speaking to his whole group of friends.

(21) Jb2.33

yaa naas	***yaa naas***	*ittuub*	*min*	*šuunoo*	*min*	*šuunoo*
oh people	**oh people**	repent.IMP.2m.sg	from	what	from	what

yaa rabb	***yaa rabb***	*bas*	*gul=l=i*	*ʕala*	*ʔil=ɣalṭa*
oh Lord	**oh Lord**	just	say.IMP.2m.sg=to=1sg	on	DET=wrong

ʔilli	*ʔaanii*	*saawee=t=ha*
that	1sg	do.PFV=1sg=3f.sg

‘Oh people, **oh people**, repent from what? From what?
Oh Lord ... **oh Lord**, just tell me what wrong I did.’

The second repetition in this example, the prepositional phrase *min šuunoo* ‘from what’ already written twice in the WS, emphasizes Job’s emotional state and reaction to what his friends are telling him. If the first repetition had not been added, the audience would have had little time to adjust to the new speaker and would be less likely to experience the full emotional force of the second repetition. The function of the third repetition is similar to the first in that it helps the external audience realize that Job has switched to a different internal addressee in the middle of his conversational turn, that he is no longer speaking to his friends, but is instead addressing God.

Again these vocatives provide interpersonal information by emphasizing the relationship between the addressor and addressee. Vocatives often occur in bookend repetition, which will be discussed in §5.2.4.

5.2.2 Particles

As mentioned above in §5.2, the repeated discourse particles (49), affirmative particles (18) and negative particles (21) will all be treated under the connective category of continuatives. They generally serve to connect one conversational turn to the next and fulfill functions of emphasis, flow of discourse, or a response in dialogue.

Some of the common discourse particles are *yella* ‘let’s go/come on/hurry up’, *yaʕni* ‘I mean/ that is/ then’ and *hay* ‘hey’. One function of repetition is to show hesitation or stalling

(Tannen 1989:64). The following example (22) Jp1.83 shows two partial and two exact copies of the model *hay* 'hey' in utterance initial position.[17] Jacob has just been shown the bloody coat that belongs to his son, Joseph, and assumes that he is dead. The two partial copies are instances of stuttering before the two exact copies, and all four repetitions combine to emphasize the actor's disbelief and fear through hesitation.

(22) Jp1.83

ha	***ha***	***hay***	***hay***	*hay*	*šu=de-t-guul*
he	**he**	**hey**	**hey**	hey	what= CONT-2m.sg-say.IPFV

'**He...he...hey...hey**...hey...What are you saying?'

Hesitation can also be achieved by the discourse particle *yaʕni*, which in example (23) means 'I mean'. In this scene, Abraham has just told Lot that God promised to give the surrounding land to his (Abraham's) descendants. Lot replies with hesitation using the discourse particle *yaʕni* to show that he is afraid to ask the delicate question on his mind: "How can you have descendants if you are old and your wife is barren?"

(23) Ab1.51

yaa	*ʔa=dri*	*ʕam=ii*	
yes	1sg=know.IPFV	uncle=1sg	
yaʕni	***yaʕni***	*la=ta-zʕal*	*min=ni*
I.mean	**I.mean**	NEG=2m.sg-be.angry.IPFV	from=1sg

'Yes I know, uncle...I mean, **I mean**, don't be angry with me ...'

Lines Da1.73 and Da1.145 (Da1.73 is shown below in (24)) are identical utterances of a servant responding to King David's request, and in both cases a copy of the affirmative particle *ḥaaðar* 'yes' is added in the OP. The utterances consist of a repeated affirmative particle and a vocative phrase. Notice also that the continuative particle occurs before the vocative. Particles tend to come before vocatives or before and after as we will see later in the §5.2.4.

[17] The underlined token is the model, and it occurred utterance initially in the WS. It is written after the four copies in the OP for simplicity's sake. It could just as easily have been written in between the two partial and two exact copies in the OP.

(24) Da1.73

ḥaaδar	***ḥaaδar***	*mawlaay*	*ʔal=malik*
yes	yes	my lord	DET=king

'Yes, **yes**, my lord the king.'

The negative particle *laa* 'no' can be repeated many times, as in example (25) Jb2.63. The WS contains one copy of the model *laa* 'no', and then five copies of the model are added in the OP. Satan is the speaker, and he is worried that young Elihu will persuade Job to change his mind and foil his plan. The scriptwriter had already included a copy of the negative particle to emphasize Satan's frustration, but the actor then felt the need to add five more copies. This may be because Elihu's speech begins the turning point in the Job story.

(25) Jb2.63

WS

laa	***laa***	*haaδa*	*al=ḥačii*	*zaad*	*hawaaya*
no	**no**	this	DET=talk	increased	much

'No...no**,** this talk increased too much.'

OP

laa	*laa*	***laa***	***laa***	***laa***	***laa***	***laa***
no	no	**no**	**no**	**no**	**no**	**no**

haaδa	*al=ḥačii*	*zaad*	*hawaaya*
this	DET=talk	increased	much

'No...no**, no, no, no, no, no** this talk increased too much.'

5.2.3 Clauses and verbs

Clauses[18] and verbs make up the second (77) and third (74) highest numbers of repetition categories respectively (Table 19). However, as stated in §5.2, they will be considered together because the main focus here is on verbal repetition, particularly with respect to verb type and position in the utterance. Table 20 in §5.2 indicates that 75% of repeated verbs are utterance initial.

All of the main verb types can be repeated as shown in Chart 1 below. When the repetition of verbs and verbal clauses is separated by tense/aspect/mood, the imperative category

[18] This count only includes verbal clauses and not the repeated nominal clauses, of which there were nine.

is perceptibly higher (61%) than any of the other categories (perfect 16%, imperfect 20%, future 3%).

Chart 1 Repetition by verb type

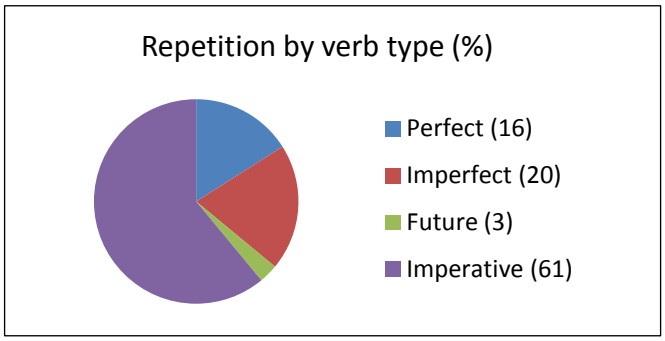

Table 21 shows the raw totals for each verb type in the first column, the number of utterance initial verbs for each type in the second column, and the percentage of initial verbs for each type. Again the imperative category has the highest percentage (80%) of utterance initial verbs. Perfect and imperfect verbs are found utterance initial 68% of the time and future verbs only 25% of the time.

Table 21 Number of initial verbs by verb type

Verb Type	Total	# of initial	% initial
Perfect	22	15	68
Imperfect	27	19	68
Future	4	1	25
Imperative	84	67	80

It is not surprising that imperatives take the lead not only in repetition, but also in utterance initial position because imperative verbs have a higher involvement status. They necessarily tie the speaker and hearer together in any verbal interaction.

Although clauses and verbs can be repeated two or three times as in example (26) line No1.36, they are mainly repeated once only as in line No1.35. Noah has just announced to his

sons that God is going to bring a great flood, and his sons respond with fear, which is shown in several instances of repetition.

(26) No1.35

(a) *hay* *š=de=ti-ḥčii* *yaaba* ***š=de=ti-ḥčii***
hey what=CONT=2m.sg-talk.IPFV oh father **what=CONT=2m.sg-talk.IPFV**

(b) *zeen* ***zeen*** ***zeen*** ***zeen*** ***zeen*** *ʔeḥna* ***ʔeḥna*** ***ʔeḥna***
okay **okay** **okay** **okay** **okay** 1pl **1pl** **1pl**

(c) *šu=raaḥ* *yi-ṣiir* *bii=na* *šu=raaḥ* *n-saawii*
what=FUT 3m.sg-happen.IPFV to=1pl what=FUT 1pl-do.IPFV

'Hey, what are you saying, father, **what are you saying** ... okay, **okay, okay, okay, okay**... we **we we** what will happen to us? What will we do?'

No1.36

laa *t-xaaf-uun* ***laa*** ***t-xaaf-uun***
NEG 2-be.afraid.IPFV-m.pl **NEG** **2-be.afraid.IPFV-m.pl**

laa ***t-xaaf-uun*** *wuld=i* *laa* *t-xaaf-uun*
NEG **2-be.afraid.IPFV-m.pl** sons=1sg.POSS NEG 2-be.afraid.IPFV-m.pl

'Don't be afraid ... don't be afraid ... don't be afraid, my sons ... don't be afraid.'

Line No.1.35 (a), spoken by one of Noah's sons, repeats the question clause with an imperfective verb *šdetiḥčii* 'What are you saying?'. Line (b) repeats the particle *zeen* 'okay' four times and the pronoun *ʔeḥna* 'we' twice. Line No1.36 is Noah's response to his sons' fears about the flood. The imperative clause *laa txaafuun* 'don't be afraid' was already repeated in the WS in bookend fashion (see §5.2.4 below), the model underlined at the beginning of the utterance and the copy shown at the end, but the actor speaking this utterance felt the need to add two repetitions (bold type) after the model before the vocative *wuldi* 'my sons'. The amount of repetition in these two lines (No1.35 and No1.36) emphasizes the emotion in this section of the story, and the strong relationship between father and sons. It heightens the mood and draws the hearer in, as involvement strategies are meant to do.

In Ab1.130 (see example (27)) the pronoun *huwwa* 'he' is deleted, and the imperfect verb *yaʕrif* 'he knows' is repeated. This is one of the few times that the narrator makes a repetition.

He inserts his opinion here, to emphasize Abraham's trust in God, that even though he is old and his wife is barren, God will provide descendants for him. He invites the hearer to be amazed at Abraham's faith.

(27) Ab1.130

maʕ	*ʔinno*	~~*huwwa*~~	*ya-ʕrif*
with	that	~~3m.sg~~	3m.sg-know.IPFV

ya-ʕrif	*kulliš*	*zeen*
3m.sg-know. IPFV	very	well

'Even though ~~he~~$_{PRO}$ he knows, **he knows** very well...'

Example (28) is similar to (27), but illustrates the repetition of a perfect verb. Here too, the actor increases the focus on involvement in this utterance by repeating the clause *qatalooh* 'they killed him'.

(28) Js3.123

fa=ṭalaaʕ-oo=h	*xaarij*	*al=madiina*
so=take.out.PFV-3m.pl=3m.sg	outside	DET=city

wa	*qatal-oo=h*	***qatal-oo=h***
and	kill.PFV-3m.pl=3m.sg	**kill.PFV-3m.pl=3m.sg**

'They took him outside the city and killed him ... **They killed him**.'

One of the differences with the future tense is that the auxiliary *rah* can be repeated even though the main verb is not repeated. This could be considered an example of partial repetition as shown in example (29) Jp2.27 because normally the whole verb phrase would be repeated as in example (30) Mo3.94 below.

(29) Jp2.27

wa	*baʕad*	*talaaθt*	*ayaam*	*ferʕoon*	*ah*	*ah*
and	after	three	days	Pharaoh	uh	uh

ferʕoon	*rah*	*ah*	***rah***	*yi-gtaʕ*	*raas=ak*
Pharaoh	will	uh	**FUT**	3m.sg-cut.off.IPFV	head=2m.sg

'And after three days, Pharaoh ... uh uh **Pharaoh** will uh ... **will** cut off your head.'

In this example, the noun *ferʕoon* 'Pharaoh' is repeated, and then only the verb auxiliary *rah* 'will' is repeated from the model verb phrase *rah yigtaʕ* 'he will cut off'. In both cases the copy

is separated from the model by the discourse particle *ah* ‘uh’. The actor is delivering bad news and uses repetition of the noun, verb auxiliary and discourse particle to convey his hesitation to deliver this news. The following example (30) Mo3.94 illustrates emphasis by repeating the entire verb phrase.

(30) Mo3.94

wa	*rah*	*ʔit-šuuf*	***rah***	***ʔi-tšuuf***
and	will	2m.sg-see.IPFV	**will**	**2m.sg-see.IPFV**

šloon	*yi-nfajar*	*min=ha*	*ʔil=may*
how	3m.sg-explode.IPFV	from=3f.sg	DET=water

‘And you will see, **you will see** how the water will explode from it.’

In discussing the thematic slot, Kammensjö (2005:102) talked about thematic force and how that force is shared when there are multiple themes. In the following example (31) Jb1.40, one of Job’s servants arrives to tell Job that enemies had come and taken all his livestock.

(31) Jb1.40

WS	*sayiid=ii*	***sayiid=ii***	*ʔalḥag=l=ii*	*sayiid=ii*
	lord=1sg	**lord=1sg**	save.IMP.2m.sg=to=1sg	lord=1sg

‘My lord ... **my lord** ... save me, my lord.’

OP	*ʔalḥag=l=ii*	*sayiid=ii*	***ʔalḥag=l=ii***	***sayiid=ii***
	save.IMP.2m.sg=to=1sg	lord=1sg	**save.IMP.2m.sg=to=1sg**	**lord=1sg**

‘Save me, my lord ... **save me, my lord**.’

In the WS, thematic force is given to the repeated vocative *sayiidii* ‘my lord’, but in the OP, the actor transfers that force to the imperative verb *ʔalḥaglii* ‘save me’ instead. He does this by deleting the repeated vocative from the WS and adding the repeated clause *ʔalḥaglii sayiidii* ‘save me, my lord’. In the WS, *ʔalḥaglii* would be considered the topical theme of this utterance because it is the first experiential element in the clause. It seems that the repetition of the vocative phrase emphasizes the speaker-hearer relationship more than the imperative verb that the speaker utters. The actor, however, felt the imperative *ʔalḥaglii* was more important, and

therefore, increased the thematic force of the topical theme by substituting the repeated vocative with a repetition of the imperative verb instead.

Increasing the force of one thematic element over another through repetition allows the speaker to change the focus of the utterance, to point the audience to one theme more than another. Lines Mo1.102 and Mo1.127 in example (32) illustrate a change in focus through repetition. In Mo1.102 the discourse particle is repeated and followed by two verbs coordinated with the conjunction *wa*. God has just approached Moses for the first time in the burning bush and commands him to ask Pharaoh to let the Israelites leave Egypt. God explains how he has seen the misery of the Israelites in the previous nine clauses, and then he gives Moses the command *yalla...yalla guum wa ruuḥ ʕala ferʕoon* 'Hurry up, hurry up, get up and go to Pharaoh'.

(32) Mo1.102

yalla	***yalla***	*guum*	*wa*	*ruuḥ*	*ʕala ferʕoon*
hurry.up	**hurry.up**	get.up.IMP.2m.sg	and	go.IMP.2m.sg	to Pharaoh

'Hurry up ... **hurry up** ... get up and go to Pharaoh.'

Mo1.127

yalla	*guum*	***guum***	*ruuḥ*
Come.on	get.up.IMP.2m.sg	**get.up.IMP.2m.sg**	go.IMP.2m.sg

li=bani	*yaʕquub*
to=sons	Jacob

'Come on ... get up ... get up go to the sons of Jacob.'

In this scene, he repeats the discourse particle *yalla* 'hurry up' to emphasize the urgency of the situation, but only once gives the command *guum* 'get up'. However, line Mo1.127 *yalla... guum ... guum ruuḥ libani yaʕquub* 'Come on ... get up ... get up go to the sons of Jacob' is uttered after Moses has tried every excuse with God to get out of obeying his command. This time *yalla* 'come on' is only stated once, and the command *guum* 'get up' is repeated in the OP. The focus here is on the command. Notice that the event is structured even more tightly in the

repetition because *guum* is asyndetically connected to *ruuḥ* ‘go’ creating a serial verb structure[19] in which the two events ‘get up go’ are considered one event. Here the actor playing God is emphasizing the command to act in obedience rather than the urgency of the situation. The urgency is still stated by the initial discourse particle, but the repetition of the verb highlights the force of the command.

5.2.4 Bookend Repetition

In §2.6 I mentioned the idea of bookend repetition, the type of repetition in which an element occurs in between the model and the copy. There were 67 instances of this type of repetition added in the OP. The model could be a clause, verb, vocative, particle or adverb and the medial structure could be one or more clauses, a vocative, a particle or an adverb. The main middle elements were vocatives and clauses. There were 33 bookend repetitions with a vocative element in the middle, and 17 with a clause or clauses in the middle. The most common structure types found are shown in Table 22.

Table 22

Initial structure	Medial structure	Repeated structure
clause / verb/ discourse particle	vocative	clause / verb / discourse particle
vocative / clause / discourse particle	clause	vocative /clause / discourse particle

Table 23 below shows several examples of bookend structures with a medial vocative: (a) verb+vocative+verb, (b) discourse particle+vocative+discourse particle, and (c) clause+vocative+clause.

[19] BA exhibits many examples of this kind of construction, particularly in relation to motion verbs. However, there is disagreement as to whether Arabic has true serial verb constructions. For discussion on this topic, see Hussein 1990 and Versteegh 2009.

Table 23 Bookend structures with medial vocatives

	Ref	OP examples	English free translation
(a)	No1.9	*taʕaal ʔibnii* ***taʕaal***	come, my son, **come**
(b)	Ab1.30	*yalla yaa mara* ***yalla***	hurry up, oh woman, **hurry up**
(c)	Da2.29	*ʔaqsamlak yaa mawlaay* ***ʔaqsamlak***	I swear to you, oh my lord, **I swear to you**

Examples (33) – (35) display several patterns containing clauses in medial position between vocatives (33), between discourse particles (34), and between clauses (35). The first example (33), an utterance from the Jesus story (Js4.99), shows bookend repetition in which the model, a vocative NP *mawlaana* ‘our lord’, occurs utterance initially, and the copy is repeated at the end of the utterance after the medial clause *ʔiḥna danibči ʕaleek* ‘we are crying for you’. This structure of repetition serves to open and close the speaker’s conversational turn, which signals to the audience that the current speaker is finished, and that they can then expect a new speaker.

(33) Js4.99

(a)	*mawlaa=na*	*ʔiḥna*	*da-n-ibči*	*ʕalee=k*	***mawlaa=na***
	lord=1pl	1pl	CONT-1pl-cry.IPFV	on=2m.sg	**lord=1pl**

‘Our lord, we are crying for you, **our lord**.’

In the second example (34) also from the Jesus story (Js4.132), the model, which is the discourse particle *yalla* ‘come on’, occurs right after the utterance initial affirmative particle *ʔeh* ‘ya’, and the copy is repeated at the end after two clauses coordinated by the conjunction *wa* ‘and’. This discourse particle can also occur utterance initially with the copy immediately following the model as seen above in (32) Mo1.102.

(34) Js4.132

ʔeh	*yalla*	*xalli*	*n-arjaʕ*	*wa*	*n-guul=hum*
ya	come on	let us	1pl-return.IPFV	and	1pl-tell.IPFV=3m.pl

ʕala	*kull*	*šii*	***yalla***
about	all	thing	**come on**

'Ya, come on... let's go back and tell them about everything...**come on**.'

An example from the Joseph story (35), exhibits the repetition of a clause at the beginning and end of a longer conversational turn. Joseph has just fled from Potiphar's wife after refusing to have relations with her, and she starts screaming to implicate Joseph as the instigator. She cries out:

(35) Jp2.13

Save me! Save me! ... Come ... Come see what happened ... Save me! This servant that my husband brought to the house started to be forward with me ... He entered the room in order to attack me and when he saw me scream, he left his robe beside me and fled ... ***Save me! Save me!***

The clause 'Save me!' is repeated at the beginning of this conversational turn in the original WS. The actor then repeats the same clause twice at the end of the conversational turn, thus closing her statement and preparing the audience for the next speaker, which in this case is the narrator.

6. Substitutions

The total number of substitutions for each story is recorded in Table 24. Substitutions were categorized as lexical substitutions, or as reductions comprising contractions and clipped forms. They were not, however, broken down into grammatical categories as were deletions and additions because some of the substitutions reflected a change of category, such as a participial NP replacing a verb, or a noun replacing a pronoun.

Table 24 Substitutions in stories

Story title	Lexical Substitutions	Reductions	Total	Total substitutions per line
Abraham	17	8	25	.08
Adam	9	3	12	.11
David	14	16	31	.12
Jesus	28	18	46	.08
Job	15	8	23	.08
Jonah	11	7	18	.16
Joseph	29	9	38	.14
Moses	19	13	32	.06
Noah	6	2	8	.07
Solomon	12	11	23	.10
Total	160	95	255	.09

As per deletions and additions, substitutions were categorized by DS and N lines (Table 25). Substitutions occurring in DS utterances make up 65% of all substitutions indicating again that actors performing direct speech lines had more freedom to make changes than the narrator did. Table 25 also shows that reductions had a higher percentage of DS lines than lexical substitutions.

Table 25 Total substitutions

	DS	N	Total	% DS
Lexical substitutions	99	61	160	62
Reductions	68	27	95	72
Total substitutions	167	88	255	65

The reduced forms are labelled such whether they are structures in the WS that are contracted or reduced in the OP, or whether they are reduced forms in the WS that are lengthened or uncontracted in the OP. In other words, the changes labelled ‘reductions’ are bidirectional when comparing the written register to the spoken register. Example (36) shows the

exact same structure lengthened in the OP in Ab1.75 (*haay* → *haaði*) and reduced in the OP in Ab2.86 (*haaði* → *haay).*

(36) Ab1.75

WS	*wa*	*illli*	*ṣaar*	*bi=**haay***	*il=fatra*
	and	what	happen.PFV.3m.sg	in=**DEM**	DET=period
OP	*wa*	*illli*	*ṣaar*	*bi=**haaði***	*il=fatra*
	and	what	happen.PFV.3m.sg	in=**DEM**	DET=period

'and what happened during **this** period'

Ab2.86

WS	*illa ʔan*	*t-ooṣal*	*salaamaat*	*li=**haaði***	*il=madiina*
	until	2m.sg-arrive.IPFV	safe	to=**DEM**	DET=city
OP	*illa ʔan*	*t-ooṣal*	*salaamaat*	*li=**haay***	*il=madiina*
	until	2m.sg-arrive.IPFV	safe	to=**DEM**	DET=city

'until you arrive safely at **this** city'

All the reductions are considered diglossically motivated because whether they reduce or lengthen in the OP, they alter the diglossic level of the utterance. The instances that are reduced in the OP are considered moving from a more formal register to a more informal register. For simplicity sake, we will refer to these changes as moving from *Fuṣḥa* (high (H)) to *ʕāmmiyya* (low (L)), even though the level of *Fuṣḥa* could have a considerable range of variation from educated colloquial to MSA. In the same way, the instances that are uncontracted or lengthened in the OP are considered as moving from *ʕāmmiyya* (L) to *Fuṣḥa* (H) (see §2.2 for discussion of diglossic levels). These diglossic changes will be discussed further in §6.3 below.

Lexical substitutions also show diglossic variation, but not as exclusively as reductions. In some cases, it is not clear if the substitution is merely a lexical preference on the part of the speaker or a necessary discourse change, or whether it is clearly a diglossic change, that either raises or lowers the register of the utterance. Stegen (2011:176) in his study of vernacular writing style states, "it may be equally difficult to judge whether a lexical change was motivated by an author's desire for factual accuracy or for stylistic variation." A lexical substitution was only

categorized as a diglossic change if it clearly altered the diglossic level of the utterance. The remaining lexical substitutions were either motivated by discourse constraints or by speaker preference. Before moving into diglossic examples below in §6.3, two examples of discourse motivated changes that relate to participant reference and disambiguation are provided in §6.1. §6.2 presents examples that illustrate speaker preference changes that are not clearly diglossic or discourse motivated.

6.1 Discourse changes

The first example (37) Jp1.86 is taken from the end of a scene in the Joseph story in which Jacob has just heard the news that his son, Joseph, is dead. Here the active agent in (b) is Jacob's relatives who have come to comfort him, but he refuses to be comforted, and in (c) he becomes the new active agent. The adversative *bass* of this clause seems to induce the need to reintroduce Jacob (c'), even though the free pronoun *huwwa* (c) was already used and would normally be the standard participant referent in this case. However, Jacob is the speaker of the utterance that follows Jp1.86, so the narrator emphasizes Jacob as the current active participant to prepare the audience that the next speaker will be Jacob and not the relatives who are trying to comfort him.

(37) Jp1.86

WS (a) *wa ḥizn yaʕquub ʕala ʔibnu wa bača ʕalee wakit ṭawiil*
'and Jacob grieved over his son and cried over him for a long time'

WS (b) *wa ʔijoo wa zaaroo kull ʔahla ḥata yʕazuu wa yṣabaruu*
'and all his relatives came and visited him in order to comfort him'

WS (c) *bass* ***huwwa*** *maqabl yataʕaza*
'but **he** refused to be comforted'

OP (c') *bass* ***yaʕquub*** *maqabl yataʕaza*
'but **Jacob** refused to be comforted'

The second example (38) Ab1.150 comes from the section of the Abraham story announcing the birth and naming of Ishmael. This could be an example of poor scriptwriting, or

more likely the scriptwriter was attempting to make the utterance sound more like spoken language, but no matter what the case in the WS, during the OP the actors felt the need to clarify the participants in this utterance.

(38) Ab1.150

WS (a) *wa baʕad mudda jaabat haajar librahiim walad,*
'And after a period of time Hagar brought forth a son to Abraham'

WS (b) *čaan ʕomr**a**$_1$ bihaðaak alwakit 86 sana ...*
'**His**$_1$ age at that time was 86 years ... '

WS (c) *wa samaa**h**$_2$ ʔismaʕiil.*
'and he named **him**$_2$ Ishmael. '

OP (b') *čaan ʕomr **ʔibrahiim**$_1$ bihaðaak alwakit 86 sana ...*
'**Abraham's**$_1$ age at that time was 86 years ... '

OP (c') *wa samaa **ʔibnu**$_2$ ʔismaʕiil.*
'and he named **his son**$_2$ Ishmael. '

The first two clauses contain three participants *haajar* 'Hagar', *ʔibrahiim* 'Abraham' and *walad* 'a son'. Even though Abraham is explicitly mentioned in the first clause WS (a) as an indirect object by a proper noun, and the first participant, 'Hagar', is feminine, the narrator was compelled to restate the proper noun, 'Abraham', in the second clause OP (b') rather than use the possessive pronoun *ʕomr**a*** 'his age' that occurred in the clause WS (b). Then in the third clause WS (c), the object pronoun in the phrase *samaa**h** ʔismaʕiil* 'he named **him** Ishmael' was changed to an explicit NP *samaa **ʔibnu** ʔismaʕiil* 'he named **his son** Ishmael' OP (c'). These changes are discourse changes because 1) *Abraham* was not activated in the first clause in such a way as to permit the use of a pronoun in the second clause, and 2) the listeners would be confused by the two male participants, 'Abraham' and 'Ishmael', if the NP 'his son' was not overtly stated.

6.2 Speaker preference substitutions

Many of the lexical substitutions did not appear to be diglossically motivated, but were rather chosen by speaker preference. In some cases, a more specific word or phrase was substituted for

a less specific one as shown in example 39 (a-d), or a less specific word for a more specific one as in example 39 (e). Example 39 (f-i) show substitutions that are relatively equal in meaning and do not appear to raise or lower the diglossic level of the utterance.

(39)

	WS			OP	
a)	*wa*	'and'	→	*bass*	'but'
b)	*tafakkir*	'you think'	→	*taʕataqid*	'you believe'
c)	*ʔaguud ʔilɣanam*	'I lead sheep'	→	*ʔasuug ʔilɣanam*	'I herd sheep'
d)	*ʔilʔakla*	'the food'	→	*ʔilkubba ʔilburɣul*	'the bulgar meatballs'
e)	*ʔalḥaaywaanaat*	'the animals'	→	*ʔalmaxluuqaat*	'the created beings'
f)	*heeči*	'this way'	→	*haašakal*	'this way'
g)	*ʔihnaa*	'here'	→	*hinaana*	'here'
h)	*bilḥaqiiqa*	'in truth'	→	*ʔaṣlan*	'actually'
i)	*leeš*	'why'	→	*šunoo*	'what'

6.3 Diglossic substitutions

Tables 26 and 27 show the number of lexical substitutions and reductions, respectively, that were able to be categorized clearly as diglossic changes. In Table 26, the total number of lexical substitutions that are clearly diglossic is 53 (1/3 of the total number of lexical substitutions (160)). Of these 53 instances, 27 are examples of lowering the register *Fuṣḥa* (H) to *ʕāmmiyya* (L) and 26 are examples of raising the register *ʕāmmiyya* (L) to *Fuṣḥa* (H), indicating that one diglossic direction is not favoured over another. However, if we look at the details of DS and N lines, we see that there is a preference for lowering in the N utterances (81%) and for raising in the DS utterances (65%). Table 27 indicates that diglossic reductions occur more often in DS lines whether raising or lowering.

Table 26 Diglossic lexical substitutions summarized

	DS	N	Total	% DS
Fuṣḥa (H) → *ʕāmmiyya* (L)	5	22	27	19
ʕāmmiyya (L) → *Fuṣḥa* (H)	17	9	26	65
Total diglossic substitutions	22	31	53	42

Table 27 Diglossic reductions summarized

	DS	N	Total	% DS
Fuṣḥa (H) → *ʕāmmiyya* (L)	44	13	57	77
ʕāmmiyya (L) → *Fuṣḥa* (H)	24	14	38	63
Total diglossic reductions	68	27	95	72

The examples in §6.3 provide instances of lowering the register (§6.3.1), raising the register (§6.3.2), and a combination of lowering and raising (§6.3.3).

6.3.1 Lowering the register

Lowering the register refers to moving down the vertical scale of formality toward informality. This movement necessarily involves moving from forms that are mainly MSA or ESA toward BA, but sometimes it also involves two forms that are equally useable in BA, but one form is still more formal than the other.

(40) Jb1.9

WS (a) *leeš ʔinti* ***tfakkariin***$_1$ *ʔayuub* ***haaða***$_2$ *ʔinsaan θaani ɣeer* ***haaði nnaas***$_3$
‘Why, do you **think**$_1$ Job **here**$_2$ (is) another person different from **these people**$_3$?’

OP (b) *leeš ʔinti* ***ʕalbaalič***$_1$ *ʔayuub* ***Ø***$_2$ *ʔinsaan θaani ɣeer* ***hannaas***$_3$
‘Why do you **think**$_1$ (lit.**on your mind**) Job **Ø**$_2$ (is) another person different from **these people**$_3$?’

In example (40) Jb1.9 there are three changes that all lower the diglossic register:

(1) *tfakkariin* ‘you think (f.sg.)’ → *ʕalbaalič* ‘on your (f.sg.) mind’

(2) *haaða* ‘this’ → Ø

(3) *haaði nnaas* ‘these people’ → *hannaas* ‘these people’

This utterance takes place at the beginning of the Job story during the initial framing scene. Abu Xaliil asks Um ʻAadal if she has heard of Job because she is experiencing a difficult situation, and she answers, *wa minu biina miθl ʔayuub, ya ʔabu xaliil* ʻAnd who among us is like Job, oh Abu Xaliil?ʼ. Then Abu Xaliil asks her the question in example (40), and the actor playing this part lowers the register to maintain the emotional level of the setting. The first change (a) is a straight lexical substitution *tfakkariin* ʻyou think (f.sg.)ʼ → *ʕalbaalič* ʻon your (f.sg.) mindʼ. The WS word *tfakkariin* is an MSA term, but is also used regularly in BA. However, the substitution in the OP *ʕalbaalič* is only used in BA and not in MSA. The second change (b) involves the deletion of *haaða* ʻthisʼ, which again can be used in MSA and BA, but the deletion simplifies the sentence and serves to increase the orality of this utterance again by lowering the register. The third change (c) is a contraction from BA to BA. The determiner in the WS *haaði* ʻtheseʼ is a BA clipped form of MSA *haaðihi* ʻtheseʼ, which is then contracted to *ha* in the phrase *hannaas* ʻthese peopleʼ. Although the scriptwriter used a BA determiner, the actor in the OP further lowered the register by using this BA contraction.

The register is often lowered by the removal of a grammatical ending. Before the utterance in example (41) Js1.120 below, the disciples have just caught a miraculous amount of fish, and Peter says that he is unworthy to stand before Jesus. Then Jesus speaks to him and changes the MSA pronoun *intum* ʻyou (m.pl)ʼ to the BA pronoun *intuu* ʻyou (m.pl)ʼ by removing the MSA masculine plural ending *-m*. Lowering the register of this pronoun brings Jesus down to Peter's level and emphasizes that he is Peter's friend.

(41) Js1.120

WS (a) *ʔuṭlubuu niʕmat allah wa* ***intum*** *ʔaḥyaaʔ*
'Request the grace of God and **you** (are) alive'

OP (b) *ʔuṭlubuu niʕmat allah wa* ***intuu*** *ʔaḥyaaʔ*
'Request the grace of God and **you** (are) alive'

These types of register lowering represent amendments that the actors made during the OP to keep the performance on an emotional level in order to maintain involvement between the performers and the audience.

6.3.2 Raising the register

In §2.2 it was noted that the scriptwriter and actors were constantly aware of the level of speech in the stories. This level depended heavily on sociolinguistic situations happening in the story at any given time. In the previous section (§6.3.1), situations occurred that required lowering the register. In this section, we will see situations that required the opposite, raising the register.

The following example (42) Js1.133, taken from the Jesus story, is an utterance produced by the narrator. The narrator is speaking about Jesus and raises the register in two ways; by substituting the MSA verb *yikallam* 'he talks to' for the BA phrase *yiḥčii wiya* 'he speaks with' and by adding the honorific *subḥaana wa taʕaala* 'praised and almighty'. He raises the register here not only to show his own respect for the Prophet Jesus, but also because the situation in the story is Jesus speaking with God, which is considered a solemn event that requires more formal language.

(42) Js1.133

WS (a) *yiṣalli wa **yiḥčii wiya** ʔallah*
‘he prays and speaks with God’

OP (b) *yiṣalli wa **yikallam** ʔallah **subḥaana wa taʕaala***
‘he prays and talks (to) God **praised and almighty**’

The next example (43) Js2.119 involves a verb form change followed by a preposition substitution. Arabic verbs are generally based on a three consonant root system. This root can have up to ten different forms, but generally has two to five main forms. The root of the verb related to the meaning ‘enter’ is *dxl*. Two ways to create a causative meaning are 1) to use the second form *daxxal* ‘cause to enter’ as shown in the WS (a) below or 2) to use the fourth form *ʔudxul* ‘cause to enter’ as seen in the OP (b) below. The fourth form is an MSA verb and is unlikely to be used in spoken BA. Jesus is the speaker of this utterance and the communication situation at this point in the story, is one of a teacher/leader speaking to his followers.

(43) Js2.119

WS (a) *lian ʔallah šaʔ ʔan **yidaxxil**kum **bi**mamlaktah*
‘because God willed that **he enter** you **into** his kingdom’

OP (b) *lian ʔallah šaʔ ʔan **yudxul**kum **fii** mamlaktah*
‘because God willed that **he enter** you **into** his kingdom’

Unlike example (41) above where Jesus lowers the register when speaking with his disciple, Peter, Jesus raises the register here to fit his leadership role because he is speaking to a large crowd of people. He is also speaking about the will of God, a religious concept that automatically requires a higher register. The raising of the following preposition *bi-* ‘into’ in the WS (a) to *fii* ‘into’ in the OP (b) results from raising the verb. The preposition *bi-* is the more common BA choice to mean ‘in, into’, while *fii* is an MSA preposition that is rarely used in

BA.[20] These examples reflect the status of relationships, and in the case of raising serve to show honour and respect.

6.3.3 Raising and lowering in the same conversation

The following example (44) contains three partial utterances from one scene in the Jesus story. Jesus is the speaker of lines (a) and (c), but line (b) is spoken by a skeptic in the crowd. Line (a) is taken from a longer utterance (Js2.104) in which Jesus is telling the crowd how to pray in verbatim words. The register of this utterance is particularly high because Jesus is telling the people what to say to God. The actor speaks almost pure MSA, adding in the grammatical endings that are usually dropped in BA; the nominative *–u* at the end of *nusaamiḥ* 'we forgive' and the accusative *–a* at the end of *yuxṭiʔuun* 'they wrong us'. In the WS it is not possible to know if the scriptwriter intended the actor to add these endings because they are vowels that are usually not written, but will be pronounced if the intended register is MSA. The scriptwriter writes most of this utterance in MSA format except for the BA contraction *lilii* 'those' and the somewhat lower register prepositional phrase *ʔileena* 'against us'. The actor replaces these respectively with the MSA demonstrative pronoun *llaðiina* 'those' and the MSA prepositional phrase *biḥaqqina* 'in our right', which involves a possessive noun phrase rather than just a pronoun.

[20] Most instances of *fii* in the WS were changed to *bi-* in the OP.

(44) Js2.104

WS (a) *liʔannana nusaamiḥ* ***lilii*** *yuxṭiʔuun* ***ʔileena***
‘because we forgive **those** who sin **against us**’

OP (a') *liʔannana nusaamiḥ**u*** ***llaðiina*** *yuxṭiʔuun**a*** ***biḥaqqina***
‘because we forgive **those** who sin **against us** (lit. **in our right**) ’

Js2.115

WS (b) *leeš taakluun ʔinta watalamiiðak wiyya jabaat* ***aḍḍaraaʔib walxaaṭiʔiin***
‘Why are you and your disciples eating with **tax collectors and sinners**?’

OP (b') *leeš taakluun ʔinta watalamiiðak wiyya jabaat* ***aḍḍaraayib walxaaṭaayiin***
‘Why are you and your disciples eating with **tax collectors and sinners**?’

Js2.116

WS (c) *ʔalʔaṣḥaaʔ mayaḥtaajuun li****daktoor*** *... laakin ʔadʕuu ʔalxaaṭiin*
‘The healthy don’t need a **doctor** ... but I call sinners’

OP (c') *ʔalʔaṣḥaaʔ mayaḥtaajuun li****ṭṭabiib*** *... laakin ʔadʕuu* ***ʔalxaaṭiʔiin***
‘The healthy don’t need a **doctor** ... but I call **sinners**’

Jesus continues to instruct the crowd, and over the next ten utterances slowly lowers the register to engage the people until someone in the crowd asks him the question in Js2.115 as shown in line (b) above. The actor delivers this line with a skeptical and somewhat degrading tone. He pronounces both ‘tax collectors’ and ‘sinners’ at the end of line (b') with the BA glide /y/ (*aḍḍaraa**y**ib, lxaaṭaa**y**iin*) rather than the MSA glottal /ʔ/ (*aḍḍaraa**ʔ**ib, lxaaṭi**ʔ**iin*) that the scriptwriter intended in line (b). In this way, he maintains the lower register that Jesus had arrived at by that point in the scene. However, when Jesus answers the man, he raises the register by substituting the native Arabic word *ṭabiib* ‘doctor’ in line (c’) for the loanword *daktoor* ‘doctor’ in line (c). He also pronounces *ʔalxaaṭiʔiin* ‘sinners’ in line (c’) with the MSA glottal /ʔ/, even though the previous speaker had pronounced the same word with the BA glide. The actor makes these changes to bring Jesus back to his leadership position in front of the crowd.

7. Summary of results

This section provides a summary of the results from §4, §5 and §6, highlighting the main findings in this study. Table 5 in §3.6, listed the number of DS lines and N lines in all ten stories.

On average, the lines in the stories consisted of 76% direct speech and 24% narration. With this in mind, it would not be surprising that the changes in any one category would contain a higher number of DS tokens than N tokens. Certain changes involving vocatives, particles and imperatives will only occur in DS lines, just as other changes may only involve N lines. However, there are no categories that would obligatorily be 100% narration.

Table 28 illustrates the total number of changes in each general category. The majority of deletions occurred in N lines (65%), while the majority of additions (92%) and substitutions (65%) occurred in DS lines. This summary indicates that the actors felt a greater need to make additions, than to delete or substitute something from the WS.

Table 28 Summary of changes by main categories

Type of change	DS	N	Total	% DS
Deletions	149	276	425	35
Additions	615	54	669	92
Substitutions	167	88	255	65

Table 29 shows a breakdown of the general categories in Table 27: deletions into other deletions and wa-deletion, additions into other additions and repetition, and substitutions into lexical substitutions and reductions.

Table 29 Summary of changes by subcategories

Type of change		DS	N	Total	% DS
Deletions	Other deletions	71	44	115	62
	Wa-deletion	78	232	310	25
Additions	Other additions	182	45	227	80
	Repetition	433	9	442	98
Substitutions	Lexical substitutions	99	61	160	62
	Reductions	68	27	95	72

When we separate out wa-deletion from the total deletions we see that the majority of other deletions are in fact happening in DS lines, and it is actually the large number of deleted

wa that made the deletions above seem to occur mainly in N lines. Both types of addition have higher percentages of DS lines than deletions or substitutions with repetition occurring almost entirely in DS lines (98%). Lexical substitutions and reductions both mainly occur in DS lines.

The most noteworthy changes are wa-deletion and repetition because they represent the highest percentages of changes in narration (75%) and direct speech (98%), respectively. Although other deletions and substitutions maintain a fairly high DS percentage, the additions and repetition are even higher. Wa-deletion is the only main category that has a high percentage in narration. If we compare this to the highest N category of deletions in Table 30 below, which is speech introducer clauses, wa-deletion makes up 75% (310 out of 425) of total deletions and speech introducers make up 4% (18 out of 425). In §4 and §5, the three highest categories in other deletions, other additions and repetition were discussed in detail. The numbers of these categories are presented in Table 30.

Table 30. Summary of top three categories in each main type of change

Type of change	Category	DS	N	Total	% DS
Deletions	Speech intro clause		18	18	0
	Vocative	14		14	100
	Prepositions	9	5	14	64
Additions	Vocatives	40		40	100
	Honorifics	8	18	26	31
	Affirmative	26		26	100
Repetitions	Vocatives	88		88	100
	Particles	94		94	100
	Verbs and clauses	132	5	137	96

We can note that vocatives represented one of the largest categories in deletions, additions and repetition, and that vocatives only occur in direct speech. Vocatives provide interpersonal information and establish the tenor of the utterance. Even though the actors had the advantage of paralinguistic cues in the OP, the need to add and repeat vocatives still existed.

Vocatives were also deleted in the OP, but they were deleted in relation to negative events as discussed in §4.1.2.

Particles such as affirmatives, negatives and discourse particles only occurred in DS lines and represented larger categories in additions and repetition. They are considered textual connectives by Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), that serve to continue the discourse by connecting one conversational turn to another, by answering questions or by continuing a thought in the same direction. In some cases, the actors speaking in the moment felt the need to add an affirmative word or phrase to complete a conversational turn that the scriptwriter initiated with an order or question, even though the scriptwriter chose not to complete it. The ephemeral nature of the oral performance requires strategies that keep the audience apprised of speaker changes, and completing the turn by acknowledging a command (example 15 in §5.1.1) or answering a question fulfills that requirement. However, these affirmatives were often accompanied by the addition of a vocative as seen in example (18) above in §5.1.3. While the affirmative particle satifies the necessity to complete the conversational turn, the vocative sets or maintains the tenor of the turn. These affirmative plus vocative turns are considered minor clauses with no experiential information in them. The added vocative provides an interpersonal hook to hang the affirmative particle on, so to speak.

Speech introducer clauses was the only deletion category that occurred 100% in N lines. They make up 16% of other deletions (18 tokens out of 115). These clauses were generally not necessary for the narrator to utter in the OP because the use of vocatives and repetition was enough to keep the audience aware of the speaker change. They were mandatory, however, when the narrator was introducing God as the speaker because the narrator also acted the part of God, and the speech introducer made the audience aware of the shift from narrator to God as speaker.

The majority of the added honorifics were added in two particular stories and were likely added because the original scriptwriter did not use honorific phrases to the same extent as the second scriptwriter, who spoke a closer dialect to the actors than the first scriptwriter did.

Repeated verbs and clauses also occurred almost entirely in DS lines (96%), and served to create emphasis and heightened emotions. The majority of repeated verbs were imperatives (61%), 80% of which occurred in utterance initial position, meaning they took the entire thematic force of those particular utterances. This study consisted mainly of exact repetition of words and phrases that fulfilled three main functions: 1) to emphasize or intensify an utterance, 2) to facilitate tracking speaker changes, and 3) to signal hesitation or stalling.

Deletion of the conjunction *wa* was used for three main functions. Wa-deletion creates a discontinuity that wakes up the listener by breaking up the sequential events that are normally connected by the conjunction *wa*. Firstly, this discontinuity was used to mark a change of participant within the narrative or an interruption of the active participant to insert background information (§4.2.1). Secondly, it was used to mark a change of location or passing of time (§4.2.2). Thirdly, wa-deletion was used to indicate rising action (§4.2.3), to provide short clipped utterances that increased the force of the narrator's speech. In the first two cases, if the *wa* was maintained, the audience might miss some of the participant or situational information presented to them, or in the third case, they might miss the full emotional impact of the peak of an episode. Again the fleeting nature of oral discourse increases speaker-hearer awareness.

Substitutions tended to be motivated by one of three forces: discourse constraints, speaker preference, or diglossic factors. Diglossic alterations were bidirectional, some raising the register of the utterance to a higher level, and some lowering the register of the utterance to a

lower level. The choice of raising and lowering depended on factors relating to tenor in the communcation situation.

8. Conclusion

This study attempted to distinguish the written-spoken dimension from diglossic factors by using dramatic discourse which provides a parallel spoken text to the written script, both of which were created using Baghdadi Colloquial Arabic. Previous studies that compare written to spoken Arabic, are not usually at the same diglossic level. As stated above, one would not expect diglossic changes to occur between the WS and OP because the scriptwriter took extra pains to think through the diglossic level of each communicative situation in the stories. However, despite the scriptwriters' best efforts, the actors made diglossic substitutions as they were performing the OP. These changes were motivated by the greater awareness of the tenor of the text arising from real-time speech events that increase the focus on involvement in the discourse. While substitutions tend to be diglossically motivated, additions and deletions mainly arise from the change in mode.

We noted that the dramatic genre has two sub-registers: narration and direct speech. In the move from written to spoken text, these sub-registers each reflect the use of a different involvement strategy: narration uses wa-deletion and direct speech uses repetition. These strategies were used in the oral performance to increase cohesion and emotional impact, particularly in the use of textual and interpersonal connectives.

Previous studies (see § 2.5) indicate that *wa* is used less as one moves from the written channel to the spoken channel. Al Batal's study on connectives (1990) also made the claim that a zero connective exists in Arabic. At the end of his study (1990:257), he made several suggestions for further research, two of which relate to the current study:

2) The testing of the general observations which have emerged from the present study against other texts; the existence of a *0* connective and of a connective slot at the beginning of Arabic text-sentences

3) An examination of the cohesive role of connectives in different genres of Arabic texts (narrative, scientific, journalistic, etc.)

The instances of *wa* that were deleted in the stories indicate that the zero connective is a reality, and is used to create discontinuities in the spoken text. These discontinuities serve to alert the hearer to participant and situational changes, and to enhance rising action at the peak of a scene or episode. The study of dramatic discourse also fulfills Al Batal's call for "different genres of Arabic texts". The larger size of this corpus compared to Al Batal's single text also lends credence to these results.

The majority of the turbulence when moving from the written mode to the spoken mode tends to occur at the beginning of utterances, particularly at the transition points of one conversational turn to another involving vocatives and/or particles in direct speech lines and wa-deletion in narration. These alterations in textual and interpersonal connectives indicate the existence of "a connective slot at the beginning of Arabic text-sentences", particularly in spoken texts. This connective slot coincides well with Halliday & Matthiessen's thematic slot (2004), and the types of themes that filled this slot in this study match up well with Kammensjö's study on Arabic connectives (2005).

8.1 Limitations of the study

Despite efforts to transcribe the OP as accurately and as consistently as possible, the process of writing a transcription of spoken discourse has inherent limitations. These limitations were seen in punctuation, separating one sentence from another, deciding the level a connective is functioning at, and deciding if certain changes were substitutions or were originally typos on the part of the scriptwriter or misreadings on the part of the actors.

8.2 Further research

The research on Arabic discourse is limited, particularly studies comparing spoken and written texts. Several questions for further research come to mind. Would other dialects show the same level of variation between written and spoken modes as BA? How does the planned speech of the OP of dramatic discourse compare to face to face conversation? The speech of the OP will have less hedges and false starts than conversation, but would repetition and wa-deletion increase or decrease in conversation? Wa-deletion could be studied further by analyzing oral narratives in other Arabic dialects.

Although I only touched the surface with respect to thematic slot of an utterance, the results indicate that much of the turbulence caused by changes in the OP occur at the beginning of the utterance. This not only relates to wa-deletion, but also to repetition. The turbulence caused by the change of mode mainly occurs in the thematic slot of an utterance which is inherently tied to cohesion: textual and interpersonal. This connection between register, cohesion and theme needs further study in Arabic dialects.

Results from this study indicate that producing an oral performance from a written script increases the focus on involvement. The real-time event of speech motivates certain changes that make the performance more realistic orally and facilitate hearer understanding, comprehension and tracking of the dramatic discourse, while fulfilling diglossic constraints effected by the tenor of the communication situation.

As stated in the introduction (§1), the scriptwriter sought to write the scripts in natural oral BA, even though the oral register is not usually written. However, the prevalence of discourse-related and diglossic changes found in this study suggest that these are linguistic features which a translator or scriptwriter tends to miss, despite his desire for accuracy, but

which actors, in their desire to produce a natural performance, notice and change. This indicates that translators and scriptwriters would benefit from training in register differences between writing and speaking, followed by a read-aloud stage with the actors that would not only highlight these linguistic features of the oral discourse, but would also draw attention to diglossic obligations in the communication situation.

Appendix A

Sample text changes written to oral from the Joseph story

Highlighting Key:

Green: additions in oral text
Blue: wa in both texts
Red: deletions in written text
Pink: word order switched
Yellow: lexical changes
Grey: contraction
Dark grey: possible typo
Olive: verb tense change

	Written text	Oral text
Jp1.1	الله يساعدچ .	الله يساعدچ .
	God help you.	God help you.
Jp1.2	هلا هلا بابو خليل . اشو تأخرت .	هلا هلا بابو خليل . اشو تأخرت .
	Welcome, welcome Abu Xalil. It seems you are late.	Welcome, welcome Abu Xalil. It seems you are late.
Jp1.3	صار عندي شوية شغل .	صار عندي شوية شغل .
	I had some work to do.	I had some work to do.
Jp1.4	خفت تتأخر اكثر لان اليوم بيت جيرانا ام ياسر يريدون يجون عدنا خطار و اني گلتلهم تعالوا بالاربعة العصر يكون أبو خليل راجع للبيت .	خفت تتأخر اكثر لان اليوم بيت جيرانا ام ياسر يريدون يجون عدنا خطار و اني گلتلهم تعالوا بالاربعة العصر يكون أبو خليل راجع للبيت .
	I was afraid you would be even later because our neighbours, Om Yasir, want to come over to our house for a visit and I said to them "Come at 4:00 in the afternoon Abu Xalil will be returned from work.	I was afraid you would be even later because our neighbours, Om Yasir, want to come over to our house for a visit and I said to them "Come at 4:00 in the afternoon Abu Xalil will be returned from work.
Jp1.5	ايه , هلا بيهم .	ايه , هلا بيهم . اهلاً وسهلاً .
	Yes, welcome to them.	Yes, welcome to them. Welcome.

Jp1.6	هاي اكيد إجوي بيت ابو ياسر .	هاي اكيد إجوي بيت ابو ياسر .
	This for sure (is) Abu Yasir’s family coming.	This for sure (is) Abu Yasir’s family coming.
Jp1.7	السلام عليكم .	السلام عليكم .
	Peace be upon you.	Peace be upon you.
Jp1.8	و عليكم السلام . هلا هلا ابو ياسر .	و عليكم السلام . اهلاً وسهلاً . هلا ابو ياسر .
	And Peace be upon you. Welcome, welcome, Abu Yasir.	And Peace be upon you. Welcome. Welcome, Abu Yasir.
Jp1.9		هلا هلا .
		Welcome, Welcome.
Jp1.10	مرحبا .	مرحبا .
	Hello.	Hello.
Jp1.11	اهلاً عيني , يا هلا بيكم .	هلا عيني , يا هلا بيكم .
	Welcome, my dear friend, oh welcome to you.	Welcome, my dear friend, oh welcome to you.
Jp1.12	تفضلوا , تفضلوا , حلت البركة .	تفضلوا , تفضلوا , حلت البركة .
	Come in, come in, we are blessed.	Come in, come in, we are blessed.
Jp1.13	شلونكم عيني ابو خليل ؟	شلونكم عيني ابو خليل ؟
	How are you, my dear, Abu Xaliil?	How are you, my dear, Abu Xaliil?
Jp1.14	يا هلا بام ياسر . اشو صار لنه مدة مشفناكم .	يا هلا بام ياسر . يا هلا . هاي شنو , صار عندنا مدة مشفناكم .
	Oh welcome to Um Yaasir. It seems happened to us a long time we haven’t seen you.	Oh welcome to Um Yaasir. Oh welcome. What’s this, happened with us a long time we haven’t seen you.
Jp1.15	شنسوي مخبوصين ويه الجهال .	شنسوي مخبوصين ويه الجهال .
	What can we do (we’re) busy with the children.	What can we do (we’re) busy with the children.
Jp1.16	ايه , دائماً اگلها لأم ياسر “خلينا نروح نزور بيت ابو خليل و نسهر عدهم و نسمعلنا فد قصة من قصصه الحلوة” .	ايه , دائماً اگلها لأم ياسر “خلينا نروح نزور بيت ابو خليل و نسهر عدهم و نسمعلنا فد قصة من قصصه الحلوة ".
	Yes, I always say to Um Yaasir, “Let’s go visit the house	Yes, I always say to Um Yaasir, “Let’s go visit the house

	of Abu Xaliil and spend the evening with them and listen to some story from one of his nice stories".	of Abu Xaliil and spend the evening with them and listen to some story from one of his nice stories".
Jp1.17	ايه , صار و تدللون .	ايه , صار و تدللون .
	Yes, ok and gladly.	Yes, ok and gladly.
Jp1.18	بس دقيقة ابو خليل . خلي اجيب الچاي حتى تحچينا القصة على راحتك .	ايه بس دقيقة ابو خليل . خلي اجيب الچاي حتى تحچينا القصة على راحتك .
	But just a minute, Abu Xaliil. Let me bring the tea so that you can tell us the story at your leisure.	Yes, but just a minute, Abu Xaliil. Let me bring the tea so that you can tell us the story at your leisure.
Jp1.19	شكراً , شكراً , الله ,عاشت ايدچ على هلچاي .	شكراً , شكراً , الله ,عاشت ايدچ على هلچاي .
	Thank you, thank you, God, live your hands for this tea.	Thank you, thank you, God, live your hands for this tea.
Jp1.20 Repetition	الف عافية عيني . ايه ابو خليل , احچي .	الف عافية عيني . ايه ايه ابو خليل ,احچي .
	Many thanks my dear. Yes Abu Xaliil, speak.	Many thanks my dear. Yes yes Abu Xaliil, speak.
Jp1.21	اليوم راح احچيلكم قصة النبي يوسف عليه السلام .	اليوم راح احچيلكم قصة النبي يوسف عليه السلام .
	Today I'm going to tell you the story of the prophet Joseph on him peace.	Today I'm going to tell you the story of the prophet Joseph on him peace.
Jp1.22 Narrator	النبي يوسف هو ابن النبي يعقوب اللي چان ساكن بأرض يسموه بهذاك الوكت ارض كنعان و هسة يسموها ارض فلسطين .	النبي يوسف هو ابن النبي يعقوب اللي چان ساكن بأرض يسموه بذاك الوكت ارض كنعان و هسة يسموها ارض فلسطين .
	The prophet Joseph was the son of the prophet Jacob who was living in the land that they called at that time the land of Canaan and now they call it the land of Palestine.	The prophet Joseph was the son of the prophet Jacob who was living in the land that they called at that time the land of Canaan and now they call it the land of Palestine.
Jp1.23 Narrator	و النبي يعقوب اتزوج اربع نسوان بس چان يحب وحدة منهم اكثرمن البقية و هي مجابتله غير بس ولدين ، يوسف الچبير و بنيامين الصغير .	النبي يعقوب اتزوج اربع نسوان , بس چان يحب وحدة منهم اكثر من البقية , بس هي مجابتله غير بس ولدين ، يوسف الچبير و بنيامين الصغير .
	And the prophet Jacob married four women but he loved	The prophet Jacob married four women but he loved one of

	one of them more than the rest and she only bore him two children, Joseph the elder and Benjamin the younger.	them more than the rest but she only bore him two children, Joseph the elder and Benjamin the younger.
Jp1.24 Narrator	و لمن اجاله يوسف چان يعقوب چبير بالعمر ... و لهذا السبب چان يحب يوسف اكثر من كل ولده ... و هالگد ميحبه سواله قميص ملون و عليه زخرفة ومطرز و انطاهيا ... و اخوته من شافوا هيچي سوه ابوهم ، گاموا يغارون منه و ميعاملوه زين ... حتى سلام ميسلمون عليه .	لمن اجاله يوسف چان يعقوب چبير بالعمر ... و لهالسبب چان يحب يوسف اكثر من كل ولده ... و هالگد ميحبه سواله فد قميص ملون و عليه زخرفة و مطرز و انطاهياه ... اخوته من شافوا ابوهم هيچي سوه ، گاموا يغارون منه و ميعاملوه زين ... حتى سلام ميسلمون عليه .
	And when Joseph came to him Jacob was old ... and for this reason he loved Joseph more than all his sons ... and as much as he loved him he made him a multicoloured shirt and on it (was) embellishment and embroidery and he gave it to him ... and his brothers when they saw this did their father, they began to be jealous of him and they didn't treat him well ... even they didn't greet him with peace.	When Joseph came to him Jacob was old ... and for this reason he loved Joseph more than all his sons ... and as much as he loved him he made him a certain multicoloured shirt and on it (was) embellishment and embroidery and he gave it to him ... his brothers when they saw their father this did, they began to be jealous of him and they didn't treat him well ... even they didn't greet him with peace.
Jp1.25 Narrator	و لمن صار يوسف عمره (17) سنة چان يرعى بالغنم ويّه أخوته ...	لمن صار يوسف عمره (17) سنة چان يرعى بالغنم ويّه أخوته .
	And when Joseph was 17 years old he was shepherding the sheep with his brothers.	When Joseph was 17 years old he was shepherding the sheep with his brothers.
Jp1.26 Narrator	و اول ميرجع يروح لابوه و يحچيله على كل المساوئ اللي چان يسووه اخوته ...	و اول ميرجع يروح الابوه و يحچيله على كل المساوئ اللي چانوا يسووها اخوته .
	And as soon as he returned he went to his father and told him about all the bad things that was doing it his brothers.	And as soon as he returned he went to his father and told him about all the bad things that were doing them his brothers.
Jp1.27 Narrator	و لهذا السبب گامو يضوجون منه .	و لهذا السبب گامو يضوجون منه .
	And for this reason they began to be annoyed by him.	And for this reason they began to be annoyed by him.
Jp1.28 Narrator	و فد يوم شاف حلم و راح حچاه لاخوته :	فد يوم شاف حلم . دار وجه و راح حچاه لاخوته :

	And one day he saw a dream and he went (and) told it to his brohters:	One day he saw a dream. He turned his face and he went (and) told it to his brohters:
Jp1.29 Repetition	اسمعوا الحلم اللي شفته ... شفت احنا كلنا دنحصد الحنطة بالمزرعة و ماشوف الا الحنطة مالتي وگفت و الحنطة مالتكم دنگت راسه الهه .	اسمعوا اسمعوا الحلم اللي شفته ... شفت احنا كلنا دنحصد الحنطة بالمزرعة و ماشوف الا الحنطة مالتي وگفت و الحنطة مالتكم دنگت راسه الهه .
	Listen to the dream that I saw ... I saw us$_{PRO}$ all of us we were harvesting the wheat in the field and all of a sudden my wheat stood up and your wheat bowed its head to it.	Listen listen to the dream that I saw ... I saw us$_{PRO}$ all of us we were harvesting the wheat in the field and all of a sudden my wheat stood up and your wheat bowed down to it.
Jp1.30	شنو يعني !؟ ... انت راح تصير اعلى من عدنا و تتسلّط علينا؟	شنو يعني !؟ انت راح تصير اعلى من عدنا و تصلّط علينا ؟
	What does this mean!? ... You$_{PRO}$ are going to become higher than us and reign over us?	What does this mean!? ... You$_{PRO}$ are going to become higher than us and reign over us?
Jp1.31	هذا شديحچي ... شنو قصده !؟	هذا شديحچي ... شنو قصده !؟
	This one what is he saying ... what does he mean!?	This one what is he saying ... what does he mean!?
Jp1.32	هذا صدگ الشايف نفسه ... يريد يصير ملك براسنا !	هذا صدگ الشايف نفسه ... يريد يصير ملك براسنا !
	This one truly is conceited ... he wants to be king over us!	This one truly is conceited ... he wants to be king over us!
Jp1.33	ليش هو شنو حتى يشوف هيچي حلم !؟	ليش هو شنو حتى يشوف هيچي حلم !؟
	Why what is he that he should see such a dream!?	Why what is he that he should see such a dream!?
Jp1.34 Narrator	و گامو اخوته يحقدون عليه هواية و مگاموا يتمنوله الخير .	اخوته گامو يحقدون عليه هواية و مگاموا يتمنوله الخير .
	And began the brothers to hate him a lot and they didn't wish him well.	The brothers began to hate him a lot and they didn't wish him well.
Jp1.35 Narrator	و بعد فترة شاف حلم ثاني ... و حچاه لخوته :	بعد فترة شاف حلم ثاني ... هم اجه و حچاه لاخوته :
	And after a while he saw a second dream ... and he told it to his brothers:	After a while he saw a second dream ... again he came and told it to his brothers:
Jp1.36	سمعوا ... سمعوا ... آني شفت حلم مرة ثانية و اريد احچيلكم	اسمعوا ... اسمعوا ... آني شفت حلم مرة ثانية و اريد احچيلكم

	ياه .	ياه .
	Listen ... listen ... I_{PRO} saw another dream and I want to tell it to you.	Listen ... listen ... I_{PRO} saw another dream and I want to tell it to you.
Jp1.37 Repetition removed	و اني شفت الشمس، و الگمر و 11 كوكب دنگو راسهم اليّ .	شفت الشمس، و الگمر و 11 كوكب دنگو راسهم اليّ .
	And I_{PRO} saw the sun, and the moon and 11 stars bowing their heads to me.	I saw the sun, and the moon and 11 stars bowing their heads to me.
Jp1.38 Narrator	و لمن حچا لاخوته هذا الحلم ضاجوا منه بعد اكثر ...	لمن حچا لاخوته هذا الحلم ضاجوا منه بعد اكثر .
	And when he told his brothers this dream they were annoyed with him even more	And when he told his brothers this dream they were annoyed with him even more
Jp1.39 Narrator	و لمن حچاه لابوه ابوه جاوبه :	بعدين راح حچاه لابوه ، فابوه جاوبه :
	And when he told it to his father his father answered him:	Afterward he went (and) told it to his father, so his father answered him:
Jp1.40	شنو هالحلم اللي شفته ابني ؟ ... و شنو قصدك يعني ؟ ... تريد آني و أمك و اخوتك نجي ندنگ راسنا الك ؟ ... هاي شدتحچي يابني ؟!	شنو هالحلم اللي شفته ابني ؟ شنو قصدك يعني ؟ تريد آني و أمك و اخوتك نجي ندنگ راسنا الك ؟ هاي شدتحچي يابني ؟!
	What is this dream that you saw my son? ... And what is your meaning I mean? ... you want me and your mother and your brothers to come bow our heads to you? ... This what is this that you're saying my son?!	What is this dream that you saw my son? ... What is your meaning I mean? ... you want me and your mother and your brothers to come bow our heads to you? ... This what is this that you're saying my son?!
Jp1.41 Narrator	و هذا الشي خله اخوته يغارون منه و يحسدوا اكثر ، لكن ابوه يعقوب كان يحفظ الاحلام و يفكر بيها :	هذا الشي خله اخوته يغارون منه و يحسدوا اكثر ، لكن ابوه يعقوب كان يحفظ الاحلام و يفكر بيها .
	And this thing caused his brothers to be jealous of him and to envy him more, but his father, Jacob, remembered the dreams and thought about them.	This thing caused his brothers to be jealous of him and to envy him more, but his father, Jacob, remembered the dreams and thought about them.

Appendix B

Sample participant reference chart from the Joseph story

Context Codes of Subjects (S)			
S1	the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence	S3	the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation
S2	the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause (in a closed conversation)	S4	other changes of subject than those covered by S2, S3

Key for bound subject pronouns on verbs: [-ø] 'he (m.PFV)'; [y-] 'he (m.IPFV)'; [-uu] 'they (m.pl.PFV)'; [y-V-uu(n)] 'they' (m.pl.IPFV)

Ref	Conj Out/ PoD	Conj Inner	Subject	Code	Predicate	Non-subject	Word Order	Notes
Jp1.21	Today		Narrator	Intro	will tell	story of the Prophet Joseph [1]		
Jp1.22			The prophet Joseph [1] + he [1]	S1		son [1] of the prophet Jacob [2]		nominal clause
Jp1.23a	and		the prophet Jacob [2]	Intro	married	four women	SV	
b		but	-ø [2]	S1	was loving	one of them [3]	V	
c		and→ but	she [3]	S3	didn't bring	two sons, Joseph [1] and Benjamin [4]	SV	contrastive
Jp1.24a	and when		Joseph [1]	S3	came	to him [2]	VS	pre-dep clause
b			Jacob [2]	S3	was	old	VS	
c	and for this reason		-ø [2]	S1	was loving	Joseph [1]	V	PoD: Adverbial reason phrase
d	and as much as		-ø [2]	S1	loves	him [1]	V	pre-dep clause
e			-ø [2]	S1	made	for him [1] a shirt	V	

f		and	-ø [2]	S1	gave	to him [1]	V	
g	and		his brothers [5]	Intro			SV	pre-posed subject
h		when	-uu [5]	S1	saw	(comp clause below)	V	
i			their father [2]	S4	did	such	SV	VS→SV complement clause
j			-uu, y-V-uun [5]	S1 (24g)	began to be jealous	of him [1]	V	
k		and	y-V-uu [5]	S1	not treat well	him [1]	V	
l		even	y-V-uun [5]	S1	not greet	on him [1] peace	V	post-dep clause
Jp1.25a	and when		Joseph	S3	became	17 years old	VS	pre-dep clause
b			y- [1]	S1	was shepherding	sheep	V	
Jp1.26a	and as soon as		y- [1]	S1	returns		V	pre-dep clause
b			y- [1]	S1	goes	to his father [2]	V	
c		and	y- [1]	S1	tells	to him [2] doings	V	
d		that	his brothers [5]	S4	were doing		VS	relative clause
Jp1.27	and for this reason		y-V-uun [5]	S1	were annoyed	with him [1]	V	
Jp1.28a	and one day		-ø [1]	S3	saw	dream	V	PoD: Adverbial time phrase
b			-ø [1]	S1	turned	his face	V	
c		and	-ø [1]	S1	went told	to his brothers [5]	V	speech orienter
Jp1.29-33								direct speech between Joseph and brothes ending with one of the brothers
Jp1.34a	and		his brothers [5]	S4	began to hate	him [1]	SV	VS→SV
b		and	-uu, y-V-uu [5]	S1	they began to not wish	to him [1] good	V	
Jp1.35a	and after a while		-ø [1]	S3	saw	second dream	V	PoD: Adverbial time phrase

b	again		-ø [1]	S1	came		V	
c		and	-ø [1]	S1	told	to his brothers [5]	V	
Jp1.36-37								direct speech ending with Joseph
Jp1.38a	and when		-ø [1]	S1	told	to his brothers [5]	V	pre-dep clause
b			-uu [5]	S3	were annoyed	with him [1]	V	
Jp1.39a	and afterward		-ø [1]	S3	went told	to his father	V	
b		so	his father [2]	S3	answered	him [1]	SV	need 'fa' because of lex change pre-dep+ matrix clause became PoD+2matrix clauses
Jp1.40								direct speech of Jacob
Jp1.41a	and		this thing	S4	caused	[comp clause below]	SV	
b			his brothers [5]	S4	be jealous	of him [1]	SV	complement clause
c		and	y-V-uu [5]	S1	be envious		V	complement clause
d		but	his father Jacob [2]	S4	was keeping	the dreams	SV	contrastive, new subject
e		and	y- [2]	S1	(was) thinking		V	
Jp1.42a	and one day		brothers of Joseph [5]	S4	went		VS	PoD: Adverbial time phrase
b		in order to	y-V-uun [5]	S1	shepherd	their father's sheep	V	post-dep clause
Jp1.43a	and		Jacob [2]	S4	stayed	his mind; on them [5]	SV	new subject
b		and	-ø [2]	S1	called	on Joseph [1]	V	
Jp1.44-45								direct speech between Joseph and Jacob ending with Joseph

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