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A Contrastive Analysis of Disfluency Patterns and Repair Strategies between American Native and Jordanian Non-Native Speakers of English

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Abstract The present study is concerned with analyzing the occurrences of disfluencies identified in twenty-two interviews with Jordanian EFL learners and American native speakers of English. The analyzed disfluencies include repetitions, prolongations, filled pauses, overt repairs, unretracted false starts and unfinished words. This study further investigates the frequency of the types of repair strategies that the participants use to correct detected errors and modify utterances that do not convey intended messages. The results show that there is no marked difference in the percentages of disfluency occurrences in the native and non-native interviews. Moreover, despite the observed similarities between the two groups of participants in terms of the frequency of the different types of disfluencies, the results indicate that there are a number of differences. For example, the interviews with the native speakers were observed to exhibit significantly a higher percentage of filled pauses, whereas their non-native counterparts were found to employ higher percentages of repetitions and overt repairs. Furthermore, employing significantly higher percentages of error repairs by non-native participants and focusing on repeating single rather than several words are other examples of the analyzed differences. These differences reflect the non-native participants' lower levels of English language proficiency which results in concentrating on repairing the errors that occur at lower levels of processing while neglecting the repairs that might enrich the propositional content of their messages.

Keywords psycholinguistics, disfluencies, corpus-study, contrastive linguistics

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1. Introduction

Disfluencies, such as false starts, repetitions, and pauses, occur frequently and naturally in spontaneous speech. The use of disfluencies often implies that the speaker is encountering planning difficulties due to the pressure of instantaneous planning during speaking. Participants in oral interactions need to plan and formulate their utterances within a very short time frame, which often leads them to suspend their speech to gain more time to convey their messages properly. The suspension of speech typically results in gaps in speech, which may be filled with various types of disfluencies to maintain its flow.

Moreover, the occurrence of disfluencies can be attributed to the speaker's detection of lexical, morphological, or syntactic errors. Disfluencies may also be linked to the modification of encoded messages by providing further specifications of the given information to resolve possible ambiguities and avoid potential communication failures. Such errors and modifications are detected through self-monitoring processes. Accordingly, speakers constantly monitor their own speech by comparing the parsed aspects of their utterances with the messages they intend to convey. If inconsistencies are detected between the actual utterances and the intended messages, instructions for self-repair are initiated.

Many studies have analyzed the relationship between language proficiency and disfluencies (e.g., [Pearl and Bernthal, 1980](#); [Dell and Reich, 1981](#); [Colburn and Mysak, 1982](#); [Dollaghan and Campbell, 1992](#)). Several of these studies focused on the use of disfluencies by non-native speakers of English. For example, [Kovač and Milatović \(2012\)](#) analyzed the repair distribution in the speech of EFL learners. The participants of the study were 101 native Croatian speakers, all first-year students of technical studies in Croatia. The results revealed that the majority of self-repairs were error repairs, which could be attributed to the participants' low levels of English proficiency. This caused them to focus on repairing errors occurring at lower levels of processing, while neglecting repairs that might enrich the propositional content of their messages. It was also observed that the participants tended to repair lexical errors more than grammatical ones, indicating that they "pay more attention to the monitoring of content than linguistic forms" ([Kovač and Milatović 2012: 240](#)).

[Gao and Du \(2013\)](#) investigated the developmental traits of disfluencies under the influence of L2 proficiency development. The speech productions of nine EFL students were collected successively in four oral exams over two years. The analysis revealed that the overall percentage of disfluencies did not decrease as a result of language acquisition. However, it was found that the frequency of pauses decreased significantly, while the frequency of self-repairs increased markedly. The decrease in pauses and the increase in self-repairs were attributed to the assumption that L2 proficiency development allows EFL learners to focus more on language complexity.

In addition to studies on the relationship between language proficiency and disfluencies, recent research has provided valuable comparisons of disfluency patterns exhibited by native English speakers and Arabic non-native speakers of English. For example, [Eren et al. \(2022\)](#) found that Arabic speakers tend to exhibit more frequent pauses and slower speech rates compared to native English speakers, particularly during spontaneous speech. This finding aligns with [Boughaba \(2021\)](#), who highlighted that Arabic speakers often engage in more extended repairs and repetitions, reflecting the cognitive load associated with speaking English as a foreign language. These patterns contrast with those of native English speakers, who generally rely on shorter pauses and faster-paced speech. Additionally, [Abu-Rabia and Linder \(2022\)](#) examined disfluency and hesitation markers in the English speech of Arabic-speaking learners, discovering that they exhibited longer pauses and more frequent self-corrections compared to native English speakers. Similarly, [Hussein and Bughayyer \(2023\)](#) studied hesitation strategies among Arabic non-native speakers in academic settings and found that Arabic speakers often use a broader variety of fillers and pauses to maintain speech flow.

Despite the valuable insights provided by these studies, there remains a need for research that directly compares disfluency patterns and repair strategies between native and non-native speakers of English in natural, conversational contexts. Much of the existing literature has primarily focused on controlled or task-based settings. A study in this area would provide a more authentic understanding of how disfluencies and repairs manifest in real-life communication, where interactional dynamics, social context, and spontaneity play crucial roles. This research could also offer valuable implications for improving second language acquisition, specifically in enhancing conversational fluency and providing better pedagogical tools for non-native speakers of English.

Following the introductory section, the objectives of the study are presented in the second section. Section three describes the research methodology and it is divided into four sub-sections that introduces the participants, data

collection, transcription and data analysis, respectively. The results of the study are presented and discussed in section four. Section five summarizes the results of the study and highlights its novelty.

2. Objectives of the study

The present study aims at analyzing quantitatively the psycholinguistic aspects of language production by investigating the occurrences of disfluencies in interviews conducted with American native and Jordanian non-native speakers of English. The targeted disfluencies include repetitions, unfinished words, overt repairs, prolongations, unretracted false starts and filled pauses. The study is concerned with examining the differences in the frequency rates of disfluencies used among the two groups of interviewees in addition to the frequency of the types of their self-repair strategies.

The questions that this study aims at addressing are as follows:

1. Are there differences with respect to the frequency of the disfluencies that are employed in the native and non-native interviews?
2. Are there differences with respect to the frequency of the different types of disfluencies that are used by the native and non-native participants?
3. Are there differences with respect to the frequency of the types of self-repair strategies used by the native and non-native speakers?

3. Methodology

3.1. Participants

The participants of the study are twenty-two advanced Jordanian EFL learners and American native speakers of English. The two groups of participants belong to the same age group (20-35), they are all females and they have comparable educational attainment. The former group is represented by graduate students in the Master's programs of the University of Jordan's Department of English Language and Literature. The native speakers' interviews are drawn from the Charlotte Narrative and Conversation Collection (CNCC Corpus). The American participants are mainly university students or graduates who occupy a different range of professions, including academia, healthcare, business, technology, and the arts, and who come from a range of different ethnicities and social backgrounds.

3.2. Data Collection

The non-native corpus is compiled along the lines of the CNCC Corpus. The non-native participants are interviewed by the researcher who is a non-native speaker of English. Each interview begins typically by asking the participants to introduce themselves by stating their names, ages, native tongues and the language they use as their major means of communication. The native and non-native participants are asked about their childhood stories and adventures, favorite books and childhood memories. However, some of the non-native participants were found unwilling to provide detailed information about their childhood and thus they were also asked about their experience as EFL learners and about the difficulties they face as graduate students.

3.3. Transcription

The transcripts of the interviews with the native and non-native participants encompass symbols that indicate unit unfilled pauses (pause), short unfilled pauses (-), prolonged syllables (::), unfinished words (=), beginning of overlapping utterances ([]) and unintelligible speech (). The strikethrough effect indicates that the linguistic units are not included in the analysis either because they are uttered by the interviewers or because they are short responses to questions. The transcripts of native and non-native interviews are presented, respectively, in Appendix (A) and Appendix (B).

3.4. Data analysis

The total word counts of each interviewee speech in addition to the total number of disfluencies employed by each participant are used to indicate the frequency of the use of disfluencies. Furthermore, the frequency rate of each type of disfluencies employed by the non-native participants is to be calculated and then compared to its use by their native counterparts. This can be done by comparing the total number of each type of disfluencies to the total number

of the entire set of disfluencies that occur in the interviews. After detecting the frequency rates of disfluencies, the self-repair strategies that are adopted by the two groups of participants are to be investigated. First, the classification of self-repair strategies by Levelt (1983) is utilized in analyzing the differences in the frequency of self-repair strategies that the participants employ (see Section 4.3).

4. Results and discussion

4.1. The frequencies of disfluencies

The native and non-native participants uttered a total of 319 disfluencies. The native participants employed 140 disfluencies, whereas 179 disfluencies were used by the non-native participants. The numbers and percentages of occurrences of disfluencies in the native and non-native interviews are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: The numbers and percentages of disfluency occurrences in native and non-native interviews

Level	numbers of occurrences	Percentages of occurrences
Native participants	140	5.6%
Non-native participants	179	7.1%

As shown in Table 1, there is no marked difference in the percentages of disfluency occurrences in the native and non-native interviews. The comparison of the percentages of disfluencies employed by the native and non-native participants indicates that the latter used a slightly higher percentage of disfluencies. The non-native participants' percentage of occurrence accounted for 7.1% of the entire set of the analyzed disfluencies. Their native counterparts, on the other hand, had a percentage of 5.6 % of the targeted disfluencies. Dividing the total number of words uttered by the native participants on the total number of disfluencies employed by them yields 13.9 (almost 14). The result obtained of dividing the number of words uttered by the non-native participants on the number of disfluencies that they used is 17.8 (almost 18). This conveys that the native participants used roughly one disfluency every 14 words, whereas one disfluency was approximately utilized every 18 words by the non-native participants.

4.2. The frequency of the different types of disfluencies

In addition to analyzing the frequencies of disfluencies utilized by the native and non-native participants, this study also analyzes the frequency of the different types of disfluencies that are employed in both types of interviews. The first category of disfluencies analyzed in the present study is filled pauses. Filled pauses are the pauses that are filled with sounds, rather than being silent, such as *uh* and *um* (e.g. *uh four uh four*) and they are used to announce the initiation of a delay in speaking (Clark and Fox Tree 2002). The second category of disfluencies is prolongations. This category refers to the words whose pronunciation is extended so that their production takes more than a natural amount of time (e.g. *a::nd* went through a couple of treatments). The category of repetitions might involve repeating parts of words, full words or several words that might be parts of phrases or clauses (e.g. *the- the* woman discovered that and she went to the other). Unretracted false starts occur when the speaker completely abandons an incomplete utterance and starts a new one which is lexically and syntactically distinct (e.g. *I-lycni*: 'mean'- discovered later because of *the-* it talk about *nabiyy Allah sulayma:n* 'Prophet Solomon'). Repairs involve correcting or modifying utterances in an attempt to make them comparable to intended messages. The results of the analysis of frequency of the types of disfluencies used by the participants are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2: The frequency of occurrences of the different types of disfluencies in native and non-native interviews

Type	Frequency in native interviews	Frequency in non-native interviews
Filled pauses	55.7%	35.1%
Overt Repairs	14.2%	20.1%
Repetitions	14.2%	31.3%
Prolongations	9.2%	7.2%
Unretracted false starts	3.5%	3.9%

Unfinished words	2.8%	2.2%
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As Table 2 indicates, the interviews with the native speakers exhibit significantly a higher percentage of filled pauses, whereas their non-native counterparts employ higher percentages of repetitions and overt repairs. These results are in partial agreement with [Lennon \(1990:414\)](#) who argues that the reduction of repetitions and filled pauses “seem to be associated with improvements in perceived fluency” and thus speakers with higher levels of English language proficiency tend to employ lower percentages of both repeated linguistic items and filled pauses. The table also shows that native and non-native participants have comparable rates of prolongations, unretracted false starts and unfinished words. Table 3 below shows the frequency of the filled pauses that are used in the native and non-native interviews.

Table 3: The frequency of filled pauses used by native and non-native participants

Filled pause	Frequency in native interviews	Frequency in non-native interviews
Um	62.8%	38%
Uh	37.1%	61.9%

The results reveal that the native participants show a clear preference for using the gap filler *um*, whereas their non-native counterparts prefer to use *uh*. Clark and Fox Tree (2008:103) argue that filled pauses are not “merely audible counterparts to silent pauses.” The researchers provide evidence that show that “speakers monitor their speech plans for upcoming delays worthy of comment. When they discover such a delay, they formulate where and how to suspend speaking and which item to produce (*uh* or *um*) (ibid: 73). It is assumed that *uh* is used by speakers to initiate minor delays, whereas *um* is employed to project major delays (ibid.). Based on this assumption, the native speakers tend to use filled pauses to project longer delays, whereas the non-native participants tend to utilize filled pauses to initiate briefer delays. However, the analysis of the frequency of prolonged linguistic items shows that the non-native participants had a significantly higher rate of prolonged filled pauses which reveals that they tend to use the pause filler that initiates minor delays, viz. *uh*, but they subsequently prolong it to project longer delays (see Table 4).

Table 4 below presents the frequency of prolonged linguistic items in the native and non-native interviews. As can be observed, both groups of participants extended the pronunciation of function rather than content words. The native subject had a significantly higher percentage of prolonged discourse connectors such as *and*, while the non-native participants had a significantly higher rate of prolonged filled pauses. One may tentatively assume that the native participants employed the prolonged discourse connectors to signal the need to plan the next clauses, while the filled pauses might be used to plan what to say in clause internal and external positions.

Table 4: The frequency of different prolonged items in native and non-native interviews

	Frequency in native interviews	Frequency in non-native interviews
Discourse connectors	92.3%	7.6%
Filled pauses	8.3%	84.6%
Articles	-----	7.6%

The frequency of repeated items in native and non-native interviews is shown in Table 5 below. As can be noticed, the two groups of speakers show a high tendency to repeat function rather than content words. [Clark and Wasow \(1998:210\)](#) attribute the high frequency of repeating function words to the facts that “(a) they tend to come first in major constituents, and (b) they tend to be more accessible and easier to pronounce.” It is also can be noticed that native speakers had a significantly higher percentages (almost the double) of repeated pronouns and articles. The native participants, on the other hand, had a significantly higher percentage of repeating several words which might further indicate that the latter group concentrated more on the propositional content of their messages, whereas the former group were more focused on recalling the words that help them communicate their intended message (cf. [Lennon 1990](#)).

Table 5: The frequency of repeated items in native and non-native interviews

Repeated items	Frequency in native interviews	Frequency in non-native interviews
Pronouns	15%	30.3%
Prepositions	10%	5.3%
Articles	5%	12.5%
Auxiliaries	5%	-----
Verbs	5%	3.6%
Filled pauses	5%	12.5%
Demonstratives	5%	7.1%
Discourse connectors	5%	-----
Numbers	5%	-----
Several words	40%	26.8%
Nouns	-----	1.8%

4.3. The frequency of the different types of self-repair strategies

In accordance with the taxonomy of repair strategies proposed by [Levelt \(1983\)](#), overt, rather than covert, self-repairs are analyzed in this study. Overt instances of self-repairs include both reparandum (the utterance to be repaired) and reparans (the repairing utterance) and they are divided into three categories, namely, error, appropriateness, and different information repairs. Error repairs occur at lower levels of processing and they are subdivided into lexical (e.g. her **mother's** hou= - to her **grandmother's** house-) and grammatical(e.g. my mother **had- was** remarried)error repairs. Appropriateness repairs comprise instances where speakers decide to express the intended message in a modified way mainly by providing further specification of the given information (e.g. my freshman year- my **second** semester freshman year). Different information repairs refer to adding different information to the target utterance which results in changing its semantic representation (e.g.my nana had read a story- **had wanted me to read a book**).Table 6 below presents the frequency of the self-repair strategies used by the native and non-native subject.

Table 6: The frequency of the types of self-repairs used by the native and non-native speakers

Type	Frequency in native interviews	Frequency in non-native interviews
Grammatical error repairs	35%	30.5%
Lexical errors repairs	15%	38.8%
Appropriateness repairs	45%	30.5%
Different information repairs	5%	-----

As the table shows, significantly higher percentages of error repairs are employed by non-native participants. This result is in line with [Kovač and Milatović \(2012\)](#) who maintain that using high percentages of error repairs reflects lower levels of English language proficiency and is ascribed to concentrating on repairing the errors that occur at lower levels of processing while neglecting the repairs that might enrich the propositional content of their messages (i.e.appropriateness and different information repairs). [Kovač and Milatović \(2012:240\)](#) also argue that EFL learners tend to repair lexical errors more than grammatical errors which indicates that they tend to “pay more attention to monitoring of content than linguistic forms.” Similarly, in the present study, the non-native participants employed a higher percentage of lexical repairs than of grammatical repairs and they also have a significantly higher percentage of the former than native speakers.

Overt self-repairs are divided into three parts ([Levelt 1983: 44](#)). The first part comprises the original utterance (reparandum), the second part is identified as the editing phase (hiatus in speaking) which might be left empty or

filled with editing terms or disfluencies and the third part is the proper repair (reparans) (ibid.). Table 7 below presents the frequency of the items that occupy the hiatus (gaps) in speaking in repairs.

Table 7: The frequency of different types of editing terms filling the hiatus in speaking in repairs

Editing term	Frequency in native interviews	Frequency in non-native interviews
Short unfilled pause	55%	61.1%
Filled pause	15%	8.2%
Discourse connector	15%	8.3%
Discourse connector+ filled pause	5%	2.7%
Discourse marker	5%	2.7%
filled by nothing	5%	-----
Unfinished word	-----	2.7%
Repetition	-----	5.5%
'Sorry'	-----	8.3%

As can be observed, the native participants have relatively higher percentages of filled pauses and discourse connectors in the hiatus position of repairs. Their non-native counterparts, on the other hand, have a higher percentage of short unfilled pauses and they are the only ones to use unfinished words (**he** fou= **she** found), repetitions and the word 'sorry' (e.g. and **his parent- sorry- his parents** came to visit him) in the former position.

5. Conclusion

The present study reported on the use of disfluencies by native and non-native speakers of English. This study further explores the self-repair strategies that the participants use to correct detected errors and modify utterances that do not convey intended messages. The results show that there is no significant difference in the frequencies of disfluency occurrences in the native and non-native interviews. They also reveal that there are differences and similarities between the two groups of participants in terms of the frequency of the different types of disfluencies. An example of the similarities is showing a high tendency to repeat function rather than content words by the two groups of participants. The differences might be exemplified by showing a clear preference for using the pause- filler *um* and for prolonging discourse connectors by the native speakers, whereas their non-native counterparts were noticed to prefer using the pause- filler *uh* and prolonging filled pauses. As for the differences between the native and non-native speakers of English in terms of the frequency of the different types of self-repair strategies, the non-native speakers were found to employ significantly higher percentages of error repairs and to focus on repeating single rather than several words. This shows that they tend to concentrate on repairing the errors that occur at lower levels of processing while neglecting the repairs that might enrich the propositional content of their messages. This study is one of the first studies to examine the differences in disfluency patterns of native speakers of English and Arabic-speaking EFL learners. The comparative analysis of disfluency patterns of native and non-native speakers of English may lead to a better understanding of their appropriate use and may help EFL learners to achieve a native-like capacity of these devices. The existence of a limited body of literature analyzing this aspect of language learning may be attributed to viewing the examination of disfluency use as being of secondary importance to the other domains of language learning.

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Appendix (A)

One

BB: The first thing I wanted to ask you was um as a child growing up - do you remember any stories that you read yourself or someone read to you?

AB: Well someone has um - I remember being read The Velveteen Rabbit growing up - um - story about ah a stuffed rabbit that had magical powers - who could think and talk - and um - oh also like in fourth grade I remember being um - having scheduled reading times in class - we we'd read we read Super fudge - and we would take turns reading um - uh two paragraphs at a time each person in the class - um it was a great story - uh I remember those days nice (laughter)

BB: Also um - I know you come from a large family you have ah - eight siblings and um - growing up I know I'm sure there's like certain family stories that stay in your family What's one of them you remember?

AB: Major story that I remember is um - my birth actually the uh story of how I came into (laughter) this world - it uh I was born in my house that we still live in today on the my grandmother's white sofa - and uh my father had to deliver me and also hold back the other uh four uh four children that he had already um - I remember uh the story always comes around every Thanksgiving and Christmas every time we get together we tell it - and I was born and then a fireman came and - re= tur= you know brought me to life and also resuscitated my mother - and - took us to the hospital so - to this day on I always love firemen -

Two

WE (Wendy Eller): OK - um - what stories do you remember reading as a child?

AE: I remember reading fairy tales like - Jack and the Beanstalk - and Little Red Hood - and (pause) Cinderella - Sleeping Beauty - I liked to read mysteries once I got into middle school - I liked to read - um - Gertrude Chandler Warner and the Hardy Boys and that's about it - I just - I don't really remember anything else - I read a lot of different books that I liked to read - In the summertime I read all kinds of books and - um - I would go to the library and just looked at the cover of the book and if it looked like it would be good - then I would read it

WE: OK - what stories were read to you as a child?

AE: Um - my mom would read - um -bedtime stories and sometimes she would read - like they had books that were Bible stories - but it wasn't actually the Bible - It was stories that were broken down for children and she would read us stories like that or the- uh - fairy tales or - the stories that have the moral at the endings of the stories and- um - she would just tell us stories about her childhood and things that we would ask her questions about -

WE: OK - What stories were told in the family?

AE: My grandparents would tell us stories about walking to school in the snow - a::nd my dad would tell us stories about whenever he was little and - about his parents and - how that they did things back then and - my great grandparents would tell us stories about how that they would make their own clothes and - they wouldn't be able to go to school as much as we would because they would have to help their family on a farm and things like that -

Three

SM: All right- my name is Sarah Murphy and I was born in Charlotte- North Carolina- a::nd- my story is um- that my family has had a lake house for a very very long time and- um- I've always been told that my great-grandfather and all of us- we have a tradition that usually every July 4th we go up there- and we set off firecrackers and just kind of watch the neighbors and see their firecrackers- and we just take a boat ride- and do a cookout and all this- so- I've always been told that my great-grandfather- whom I've never met- one time was up at the lake- and they were doing their traditional July 4th deal- um- and they were setting off the firecrackers- and he accidentally just- I guess- got some messed up firecrackers- or set them off too soon- or what not- but he was right there and they kind of blew his fingers off- So that was really- I mean- and I've always been told that- and like I said- I've never met him or anything- but- I was just- kind of surprised that that happened and- it taught me- I guess- to never go near firecrackers- I don't go within ten feet of them- so- that's my story I guess-

Four

JR: OK- I was four years old- from what my mom tells me I was four years old- and I was walking on the beach with my grandfather- and apparently I stepped on a sticker bush and I had like four stickers in my foot (laughter)- and it just stressed me terribly - and I was crying and crying and I kept on just saying- "I need a doctor (laughter)- I need a doctor- get me a doctor-" (laughter) and - I guess my grandfather convinced me to take them out of my foot and I lived to tell this story-

TS: Any good life experience stories?

JR: No (laughter)- u::m- we tell Gage about- like we'll tell him about like if you do this- you know- could be hurt- Like- um- "When I was little I knew a boy who stuck his head out and got hit by the by the telephone pole while he was in the car and killed him- don't stick your head out-" um (laughter)- like when he- one time we were at my mom's house- and she had just made pies - a::nd he saw them come out of the oven- and he knew they were hot - but it had been sitting on the stove for a little bit- and he went up to grab it and he burned his fingers - and so - we told him- you know- times that we burned ourselves - and that it hurts and that it will stop- and plus- you know- Rob can talk away fire -so- we had to call Daddy and tell him to talk away Rob- Gage's fire- and- um- so we tell him about that-

Five

LH: So- coming from a biracial family- do you speak any other language besides English?

JN: When I was growing up in Cincinnati I actually went to a school- we actually have these in Charlotte as well- they're in Spanish and French- I went to a school in Cincinnati where they taught me everything from math to reading to everything and- uh- and Japanese- so to the age of well- when we moved here when I was in the third grade I actually spoke Japanese better than I spoke English- 'cause I used it all the time -for eight hours a day- five days a week- but then- when we moved here- I actually - didn't use it and lost it- tried to take some classes- but the only thing that offered it at that point was UNCC and college courses were a little too complex for me- a::nd my freshman year- my second semester freshman year- I took Japanese 1- and my second- my first semester sophomore year I took Japanese 2- and it almost made me want to slit my wrists- because it's a ridiculous class- four hour credit- a::nd - B's in both of them - a::nd it worked me to death-

Six

KS (Krista Serge): My story is about when I was like- in the fourth- third grade - and I went to West Virginia to stay with my grandma over the summer - a::nd -my mom had to come up and it was me and my brother and cousins- I had like- I had like- three other- three or four other cousins- but - there was going to be- every year they have this parade (laughter) and keep in mind this little town in West Virginia is tiny- it's like- it's maybe 50 people in there- I'm just kidding- OK- and so they have this parade- and you can be in the parade if you want to be in (laughter) the parade and so-OK- so of course- being the little kids that we are- we wanted to be in the parade- so- we knew about the parade before we went to West Virginia- so- we brought our bicycles to West Virginia- my mom and dad had to go buy a bike rack to put on the Oldsmobile (laughter) so we could take the bikes to West Virginia so- we went out that day- it was me and my brother and my other two cousins and my grandma and my mom- we went and bought like crepe paper and stuff to decorate the bikes-

Seven

MC (Mary Ellen Collier): um- one time- when I was about five years old- um- my mom and my brother and I had gone over to my grandmother's house- we did this every Friday night for dinner- um- and my dad always worked late- um- he was in the restaurant business- so he was at the restaurant and my brother was just learning to play tee ball- and so we had set up the tee ball stand in my grandmother's backyard and he'd been practicing- mom and Grandmother went in- um- to fix dinner and so I ventured out into the yard to play and- um- he had set up the ball on- on the tee stand and was getting ready to hit the ball and said that I was too close and told me to back up- so- being stubborn- I took maybe a teeny tiny step backwards and he said- "Back up-" Of course I refused- so- he continued to go forward with his swinging and swung the bat- hit me above the eye- Of course- cut my head open and- um- my grandmother claims that she heard it hit my head- and she was on the toilet- and - couldn't get her girdle up to go see what had happened- but- um- anyway- uh- I had to go to the hospital and have a lot of stitches- I can't remember- um- and I still have the scar right over my eye- eyelid- and- uh- my brother was scared to death- he thought my dad was going to kill him- and that's my story-

Eight

KM: Is there anything you want to talk about in relate- relating to Charlotte or any particular stories you would like to share?

SS: um- well- when I was about 15 I had to move from one part of Charlotte to another- and it was a very hard experience for me- because- um- my mother had- was remarried- um- because my father had died a few years prior to this- so- um- my family life was already kind of disrupted- so- being pulled away from all my friends- um- really tore part of my life up- because I was leaving- you know- the best group of friends that I'd even known and I'd grown up with them from- like elementary school to high school- and- um- so I was really upset- I was angry with my mom- we didn't speak- she sent me to like a frigging shrink to- um- help maybe- you know- sort of through my emotions or whatever-

Nine

OH: OK- So you went to the emergency room and then what?

TM: um- they started running all kinds of tests on me -and they took me- and did ultrasounds on me- but they couldn't find nothing- but seeing that- uh- I had been bleeding internally- so they went ahead and put me under- and they did surgery- It took like four hours- um- when I came out- they had told me that they had found a lemon sized tumor- on my or in my fallopian tube and they had to remove my left fallopian tube- and left ovary- and- all this happened at the age of sixteen- so I was like really scared and I didn't know what to do- I was- you know- crying and upset and hysterical- all my family was there- um- after they sent off the- uh- the fallopian tube and the ovary- or the tumor- they called me back in about two or three weeks later to let me know- you know- what it was and that's when I found out that it was cancerous- that was- um- ovarian cancer- and so straight after leaving the doctors- I was- um- set up to do chemotherapy- um- the chemotherapy lasted about a year and a half- and the chemo made me really sick- it- you know- took my hair and- um-

OH: How'd you get through school?

TM: um- I wasn't- I wasn't able to go to- you know- my regular school- which was Independence High School- I was home-schooled- I had a home bound teacher come out to my house- and I did the four major courses- uh- you know- I needed to graduate or whatever- but- uh- if I couldn't make it- you know- they would come out to my house- or if I was doing my chemo- they would come out to the hospital and teach me up there- so it was- it was pretty cool- I mean-

Ten

ME: I don't remember any stories that I read- I remember reading- the uh- um- my nana- and we were just talking about this at Christmastime- my nana had read a story- had wanted me to read a book- and- we had gone to her apartment- and she was um- reading *The Owl and the Pussycat*- and she would read it with me- I think- just to teach me how to- how to read- basically- but I remember- and apparently- that was her favorite story or something like that- but I remember being forced to sit down and read it with her and I really didn't want to do it- but- I can remember now the beginning part of it and that's really all I can (pause) remember of the story-

JB: OK- Did- um- was this at a particular time of the year- like did you say at Christmas or holidays?

ME: Whenever- this was not at Christmas- this was whenever we would go over and visit- visit her- she always made me sit down and read this - book- I don't even know- *The Owl and the Pussycat*- the book or a poem- I'm not really sure- she always sat down and read this with her and I- I always thought I was being punished

Eleven

JB: Well- do you remember one of those particular stories that um- might come up when you're just sitting around reminiscing?

EA: Well- a lot of times we had company over- um- I guess the time when I was four-

JB: Hum-

EA: uh- my mom took me for a - um- doctor's visit uh- it was a physical- and uh- the doctor got- did some tests and

uh- done some tests- He dia= diagnosed me as having acute leukemia and um- this was when I lived back in Raleigh- and uh- momma and I took trips back and forth to Chapel Hill – a::nd went through a couple of treatments -and uh- you know- uh- () uh- I had- had to have different shots each time I went back-

JB: Uh-huh-

EA: It was- and the little I remember- momma telling me on the way- you know- just little things - I don't know really- let me think now- u::m (pause) I guess I was in a wing of the hospital - where five or six other children in that whole

wing of the hospital- well- in that- that wing – and uh everybody went through the same treatments- JB: Uh-huh-

EA: And uh (pause) uh- let's see- turned out after all the treatments were done- I was the only survivor in the particular wing of the hospital- well you know- to this day every now and then - that particular story comes up every now and then-

JB: So- when- when that comes up- does- is your mom primarily the one who would tell it or your dad?

EA: Both-

JB: Either?

EA: Actually- my sister wrote a story on it-

JB: Oh really?

EA: And I have it back in my room- it's just one of those things that you know- you just don't think people want to hear much about these days- It's just one of those things- you know that happened-

Appendix (B)

One

RK: Yes- I remember something in English- while we are talking about English- I remember the story of The King and the Two Women-

EA: What is it about?-

RK: **It's – it's** actually something religious-**I-Iyⁿⁱ**: 'mean' – discovered later because of **the-** it talk about nabiiyy Allah sulayma:n 'Prophet Solomon'- and- he was a king- and- there were two women- **uh- one of them hasyⁿⁱ**: 'mean' – **each of these have a little child-one of these woman- let's say a wolf- or something like that- ate her child** so- she went to the other house and she stole the other child from the other woman- next-doors- so after a while- **the-** **the** woman discovered that and she went to the other and told her this is my son- and she told her no nono this is my son- and- my son is as old as your son- and- so they went to the king- and the king thought that the best way to solve this problem- is – to bring a knife and cut the child into two halves- so he came and he wanted to brought the knife- so- **the real woman or the real mum-** let's say-she said- let her take him but please don't do this-so – in that point- **uh-** the king said so you are the real mum- and he gave her the child-

Two

EA: Can you tell me about it?-

RM: Yeah- actually **one of the most- one of the most** interesting stories that I have ever read is-The Little Red Riding Hood- well actually the story begins with a short dialogue between the- Little Red Riding Hood and her-mother inside the house- **when she asked her- when she asked her** daughter to deliver **some of the-some of the-** **the** food for her grandmother- **when she lives-who-who she Olives** in another side of the forest- but without **telling anyone or without talking with anyone-** during this trip-so- I could say that crossing the forest from one side to another is a must-so- Little Red Riding Hood takes the food to her grandma- and she leaves-the house- few minutes later she stops to pick up some flowers to her grandmother because- she thought it would be a wonderful present to her- a wolf watches her and thinks-**she is the best meal for him or the best meal that he can ever have-**so- he stops her and tries to ask her about the things-she-carried- unfortunately Little Red Riding Hood forgot all her mother words- not to speak to strangers and- she talks to the wolf- in this moment the wolf asked her about the way of returning home-and she tells him the best way - the wolf tells Little Red Riding Hood is to get-**uh-** the road on the left not the road on the right-

EA: Right-

RM: So-she listens to him and she took the -road on the left-and- during that road-**um-um** -he tries to stop her-and- **uh-**he tries to talk to her- more-and- she-(phone ringing)

EA: Just try to finish it-

RM: And- **um-** actually he followed her **to her mother's hou= - to her grandmother's house-**

EA: Yeah-

RM: He followed her to there- he tries to make some tricks- in order to let her get in- so- he tries for example to- **change her-change his** voice- to be similar to her **mother's- grandmother's-** voice- in order to feel more confident and let her fell-**uh-**more peacefully- to enter the house-

EA: Yeah-

RM: When she enters the house- she- find that **her-her** mother is lying on **the-the-** bed- she tries **to tell her- to tell her** some-**uh-a-** questions in order to talk to her- first of all she introduces the followers that **she-she** picks during her-**uh-uh-**trip through the forest- she asks her about her eyes- why her eyes are so big- and- she says- that- she wants to see her with them- and she asks her why your mouth is very big- **the mother- the grandmother** answers that- in order to eat her- suddenly the wolf- **gets up- gets up** from the bed- and he tries to eat Little Red Riding Hood- and-she- actually-was **ve=-she-she- she** chocks and she screams-**uh-** in a load voice-and there was **a:-**

EA: A hunter-

RM: A hunter yeah- he was walking around the house- and he hears Little Red Riding Hood- and he enters the house and he shoots the-wolf- and save the little girl- and- this is it-

Three

AA: **U::m-** actually- not in my childhood- it is at university- and the story is written by Samuel Beckett- it is called Endgame- I like **this- this-** story very much-

EA: Why- What is it about?-

AA: Because it is like a () - it is like symbolism- it focuses on certain things which have different symbols- and which have different meanings- and **you- you** should notice- why this- why that- et cetera- and I like the ambiguity of this story-

EA: What was the main character of this story?-

AA: The main character- it is a person-() - and he is- **I remember he's- u::h- I think he's blind-** and **u::h-** he cannot walk because of an accident- **he don't- u::h- he didn't** like life- **he- he** wanted to be alone- **uh-uh-** and **his parent- sorry- his parents** came to visit him- **u::h-** and he did not talk too much with them- and **they- he** was so confused because they were talking too much-

EA: Yeah-

AA: Yes- there was a servant who served them- and he always insulted his servants- and ask him to do different things- many things- and- the servant- **uh- always- uh- threaten him- uh- threatens him-** to leave him- and leave him alone- and he will not help him- he will not serve him- anymore- and it's like- **uh-** the ambiguity in Samuel Beckett's **writing-writings-** it is very- y'ni: 'mean'- amazing- interesting-

Four

IM: Many were my favorite- but- **um-** I guess- Snow White-

EA: Right- can you tell us a bit about?-

IM: **Um-** it was about a princess- whose mother died and **her- her** father got married again- her step-mother was really wicked- and-**um-** she was really jealous of Snow White- because- she had- **this- this** mirror- and- she kept asking **her- sorry it- uh-**who's the most beautiful woman in the world- and the mirror kept saying Snow White is- so- she sent someone to kill Snow White – but-**um-** she ran to the jungle and there she met **the- the** dwarves- and she lived like happily with them- but **the witch- um- her step-mother who was a witch-** found out where she lived- and then she tried to kill her- but she always was rescued-

EA: How did it end?-

IM: I think - something bad happened **to – to** her step-mother- and-**um- she- she- Snow White** lived happily ever after with Prince Charming- or something like that-

Five

EA: Tell me a bit about?-

DH: **It's a girl- a- little girl** who- whose mother asked her to take some cookies to her grandmother- and **um** in her way **she met-um or she was faced with-** what is it a fox-

EA: I think it was a fox or a wolf-

DH: Yes- it was a wolf- yeah-and- **he- he** asked her where is she going and **he- she-told her- sorry him-** and he wanted to take the cookies from her- after that he **um-** disguised- in grand mum's appearance- and- **the- I – I don't remember the-**

EA: The ending-

DH: Yeah- the ending basically- it was a bit funny that- **she- she-** what was the name- Leila- I guess in the Arabic version- asked him why your nose is big- why your eyes are big- whatever- and at the very end- she discovered that it was the wolf- and- her uncle came and shot the wolf- and they got the grandmother out-

Six

RA: Ok- there is a girl who is called Leila- and she loves her grandmother a lot- and- she visits her- I think- every week- and **uh** once upon a time she went there to visit her grandmother- and I think her mother told Leila that you have to go from a **certain path- certain road-** and **you should not go- you should not choose- other roads- other paths-** in order to visit your grandmother- and she stops- at a garden where she was collecting flowers- ok- and there she met- I think the wolf- who told her that there is another road- **who is- who is-**ni: 'mean' – shorter- and you can arrive at your mother's home faster- and- more quickly- so **she um- she um-** she agreed and went to that path- so -when she went there- she knocked the door- and she entered into her grandmother's room- and she noticed that are certain types of changes on her grandmother- and she asked her why your nose- why your eyes are such big- why (laughter)- why your mouth is such big- so then- when she reached at her grandmother's house- she discovered that it was a wolf- that attacked Leila- but at that time her uncle came into the room- and he shot the wolf- and- then- **he um- he um -he um- he find- he fou= she found-** her grandmother in the wardrobe- then- they set her release- and set her free-

Seven

MB: Leila was supposed to take something to eat to her grandmother- and in her way she find-**uh- uh** - the wolf- and he was wearing like a woman- I think- (laughter) and she doesn't know from where to go- from this way- or another way- so he advised her to go from the long way- by telling her this is the short one- and- he went to her grandmother- he reached the home before her- and- **he- uh-uh- he** put her grandmother-he () first then he put her in the closet- I think-

EA: Yeah- yeah-

MB: Yeah- then he wear her clothes- **a::nd** then- Leila reached her grandmother's home- and she thought that the wolf took her grandmother- she was talking to him- and she thought that she was talking to her grandmother- and she asking the wolf- why your eyes are very big (laughter)

EA: Yeah- I remember (laughter)

MB: Why your mouth is very big- and he said well- because I **want to it with you- (laughter) to eat you with it-**

Eight

EA: What is your favorite novel? -

IA: The alchemist for Paulo Coelho-

EA: Can you tell me a bit about it? -

IA: Actually- the values - of **this- this** novel- is that - you find- your- treasure- on your doorstep- **and you-** after looking for it in far places- because it talks about a shepherd who lived in **Andalus - Spain- but was Al Andalus- long time ago-** he saw that he will find a treasure in the pyramids- and he travelled all the time- and the whole novel is talking about his- travel **and how he lost his money to go- he- he sold his- castle- and-uh- he faced many people- and uh - the wise man- he was the alchemist- the old man-** who told him many omens- and he ended up to go to Egypt- and he loved a woman there- but- he remembered he should go ahead for his aim-

EA: The treasure-

IA: Yes- but he went to the pyramids- and- he discovered two thieves there- talking that **they dreamed- one of them** has dreamed that there is a treasure in a certain place in Spain- and actually this place is where he used to sleep and his cattle- then he travelled to look for- he went back to Spain- and he found the treasure there-

Nine

EA: Can you tell us about your favorite story or novel? -

AK: The novel is called Beloved for Toni Morrison- it talks about racism- the idea of racism- **uh-** it talks about a little child- which was killed by white people- so- **her- her** parents were working **in- in** a farm- and slaves- **so- so** the story tackles the idea of slavery- **this child is called beloved - her name is beloved-** it's so interesting- **uh-** this child and she was killed in her childhood- when **her mother- uh- actually-uhher mother-** she was left alone- her husband was killed- by the white people- and also her other sons- were killed- Ok beloved- **uh- when her- when her** mother become old- beloved came to her as a soul- ok- but not a good soul- a bad soul- the ending of such novel- **it**

ends- it ends- with beloved with the whole- not **family-** but with the whole- **uh- street-** where her mother resided- **um-** they called this exorcism- to kill the bad soul- this is called exorcism- so they killed beloved-

Ten

EA: Is English your primary means of communication with your friends- family- colleagues?-

S: No- it's not the primary one to communicate with- no- unless if I see there is a need for it- with a friend who already started to speak English- I would turn to speaking English- unless I see them starting to speak English I would turn to English- otherwise- no-I would rather to speak my own mother tongue-

EA: Where did you mainly learn English from- school- university- TV? -

S: Yes- definitely- from- studying English at school played- **a - a** good role- in me like learning English- besides learning it at actually university- but that is not like- **the- the- the** only hope- it's not like I guess -**um-** yes- **TV- TV** is of great importance- **uh-** source for me- **uh-** in order to learn English- yes- TV shows- talk shows- music-

EA: Right- as a child do you remember some of the stories that you were told? -

S: Stories- in English or Arabic or-

EA: I guess in Arabic- right-

S: Stories- laylawiddi:b 'Little Red Riding Hood'

EA: This is the one that comes to your mind- Ok- tell me a bit about it? -

S: (Laughter) yeah- oh my God - oh my God- I know why you are into this- I told you I'm not in the mood- because I've already like- staying a lot in my work-

EA: Bear up with me-

S: Yeah -what is it all about- oh my God- it is about Leila- who's asked by **her- like- her** grandma- to take a certain way while going home- but she has never listened to her grandma- and- she has never - like-**um** done what she's asked to- instead of taking the road that **her gran=- her mother-** I guess- told her- **she like- she** took another way- and she faced a lot of troubles with the- fox- that persuade her - and- told her to do something else- **sending her- pretending that her grandma-** or- I don't know the story exactly- but- **it's like-** that's it-

Eleven

EA: Did you mainly learn English from school- TV- where did you mainly learn English from?-

AM: First at school- I was very lucky that my English teachers were very excellent teachers- they improved me- and helped me- **u::m-** after that when I entered- y'ni: 'mean' I didn't plan to enter English- to be an English teacher-or to major in English- but my father insisted that I have- I had to **study- study** English- so I started to learning English- I liked the major- **u::m-** I started watching movies- listening to music-

EA: Now- do you remember some of the stories that you were told as a child? -

AM: Oh yeas- hasanisha:tir

EA: What is it about? And why do you like it? -

AM: I like it because my mum used to tell this story- although- she wasn't educated- she has a good- **u::h-** she's a good story teller- yeah- she keeps us calm- and before sleeping- she used to recite **[these- these** stories

EA: [Daily

AM: No- not daily- but- y'ni: 'mean'- almost- let's say- every week- she promised to tell us a story- even my father- he used to tell us stories-

EA: What makes your mother a good story teller- you told me she's a good story teller- why? -

AM: Yeah- the consequences- **u::h-** how did she start- the intonation she used- **u::h** (pause) what shall I say- **the way- the way-** she tells the story- **uh-** makes us like the story- and- y'ni: 'mean'- she makes you live in a situation that is similar to the story-

EA: Yeah- you told me that you favorite story is-

AM: hasanisha:tir

EA: Yeah- what is it about? -

AM: Yeah-*hasanisha:tiris* my mother told us- **he loves-** y'ni: 'mean'- he was a big man who travelled in the area- where he hide himself- and works as **u::m-** let's say- as - a worker- and he loves a high class lady- her name is *shams-*

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