

Egyptian EFL Speakers' Direction-Giving Strategies: A Cross-Cultural, Cross Linguistic Study

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Abstract

This study is a cross-cultural, cross-linguistic study that depends on natural data to examine the strategies of direction-giving used by Egyptian students learning English as a foreign language and compares the strategies used in those sequences to direction-giving sequences in baseline data (L1 Egyptian Arabic speakers). The research investigates the applicability of wunderlich and reinelt's (1982) "interactional scheme" to the Arabic language as L1. The research also examines the role of language transfer in the acquisition of English L2 direction-giving.

الإستراتيجيات اللغوية المستخدمة لدى الطلاب المصريين فى الإرشاد إلى مكان:
دراسة تقابلية بين اللغة العربية واللغة الانجليزية بوصفها لغة أجنبية

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ملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة التقابلية الى المقارنة بين الاستراتيجيات اللغوية المستخدمة فى الإرشاد الى مكان باللغة الانجليزية بوصفها لغة اجنبية واللغة العربية. وتبحث الدراسة مدي امكانية تطبيق نموذج wunderlich and reinelt's "interactional scheme" (1982) على الإرشاد الى مكان باللغة العربية. كما تتناول الدراسة تأثير اللغة الام علي اكتساب مهارة الإرشاد الى مكان بالانجليزية.

1. Introduction

Despite the widespread use of maps, travelers still frequently make use of verbal directions in finding their way to unfamiliar places (Freundschuh, Mark, Gopel, & Couclelis, 1990). According to Allen (1997) the production and comprehension of route directions occur in a situational context which has important cognitive, linguistic, social, and geographic dimensions, and therefore provides an important area for research.

1.1 Rationale for the study:

Researchers have rarely examined the speech act of direction-giving (Ewald, 2010; Taylor-Hamilton, 2004). As Kasper and Rose (1999) said, most of interlanguage pragmatics research has been done on speech acts that involve the cross-cultural perception of politeness, such as requests, refusals, and apologies. Most of the speech acts that have been addressed in interlanguage pragmatics research have social consequences for the second language learner. When Thomas (1983) referred to socio-pragmatic failure, she was referring to the kind of failure in speech acts that would lead to social breakdown. Studying direction-giving, however, looks at speech behaviour failure of another kind; it is the failure that would not result in a social misunderstanding, but rather in getting lost (Taylor-Hamilton, 2004).

1.2 The Scope of the present study:

The present study is a cross-cultural, cross-linguistic study that depends on natural data to examine the linguistic strategies of direction-giving used by Egyptian students learning English as a foreign language and compares the strategies used in those sequences to direction-giving sequences in L1 Egyptian Arabic. The research also investigates the applicability of Wunderlich and Reinelt's (1982) "interactional scheme" to the Arabic L1 and English L2 direction giving sequences. The research examines the role of language transfer in the acquisition of English L2 direction-giving as well.

1.3 The Research Questions:

- 1- What are the different phases of the direction giving exchange in Arabic, and what are the linguistic strategies used in route-description? (The "interactional scheme" by Wunderlich&Reinelt, 1982.)

- 2- What are the different phases of the direction giving exchange in English used by Egyptian EFL students, and what are the linguistic strategies used in route-description?
- 3- How do the norms of Egyptian EFL learner in giving directions compare to the norms the speakers' own L1?
- 4- What role does language transfer of training play in the acquisition of English L2 direction giving?

2. Literature Review

2.1 Direction-giving in cognitive psychology:

Most of the studies on direction-giving have been in the field of cognitive psychology. The ones related to this study and therefore reviewed are those studies that tried to create a link between cognitive and linguistic processes. Klein (1982) focused on the semantics of local deixis, such as “here” and “there” in route communication and how their meaning depends on contextual factors. Klein found out that in order to describe a route for someone, the speaker must construct a cognitive map inside his head which is structured according to his route preferences. The speaker also has to determine the starting point “origo” which is easily understood by the listener since it is within the visual field.

Couclelis (1996), on the other hand, focused on analyzing the mental model constructed in the process of direction-giving and the elements pertaining to creating it. Couclelis stated that the direction giving exchange is highly contextualized and that a successful direction-giving exchange includes five stages, namely initiation, representation, transformation, symbolization, and termination.

Hund, Seanor, and Hopkins (2006) focused on the direction-receivers' perspectives on the directional information provided including the receivers' evaluations of the quality of the information provided. The results of their study indicated that direction-giving and following route directions are dynamic processes that rely on interactions among the direction-givers, directions-receivers, and the environment through which they navigate.

2.2 Direction-giving in linguistic venues

Few studies focused on the linguistic nature of the direction-giving exchange. According to Taylor-Hamilton (2004), one main reason for the paucity of studies on direction-giving, whether among first language speakers or second language speakers, is that there has been an assumption that most cultures think, view, and talk about space in similar ways. However, research has proved the complete opposite (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1993).

Such studies that stressed the differences between people and languages motivated researchers to investigate the nature of the direction-giving exchange in different languages. Psathas and Kozloff (1976) investigated direction-giving in British English. Their study revealed that the direction-giving exchange is highly conventionalized. They divided the whole exchange into three phases, namely the introductory phase, the intermediate phase, and the closure.

Another similar study that revealed that direction-giving is highly routinized is Wunderlich and Reinelt's (1982) study in German language. Wunderlich and Reinelt argued that the direction-giving exchange is highly conventionalized and therefore they proposed the "interactional scheme" which can best explain the overall structure of the whole exchange. It has four main phases, namely the initiation, the route description, the securing and the closure.

Ewald (2010) investigated the applicability of the "interactional scheme" to driving direction-giving exchanges in American English. The results revealed that the "interactional scheme" can be applied to describe the direction-giving exchange in American English driving directions. Unlike Brown and Levinson's study (1993) such results emphasize the universality of the speech event of direction giving.

Ward et al. (1986) investigated gender differences between male and female college students giving directions either from a map at hand, or memorized after reading a map. The results revealed that males and females differ in their strategy use in giving directions. Males used more mileage estimation and cardinal directions than did females. Besides, females did more errors than males in the memory condition.

Along the same line, Lawton (2001) investigated the differences that exist between speakers of the same language in giving directions on the basis of gender and region. The results revealed that men are different from women in their route-description. To illustrate, men used more cardinal indicators than women, whereas women used more landmarks than men. However, no gender differences were found in the use of topological features, and road signs.

Napoleon (2007) also found that men and women give directions differently. Unlike Lawton (2001), however, the results revealed that although males give significantly higher cardinal directions than women, women used significantly more relative directions, topographical features and more words than men.

Thus, the reviewed studies on direction giving within the same language revealed contradictory results. More research should, therefore, be conducted on different languages to reveal the nature of the direction-giving exchange.

2.3 Cross-cultural\cross-linguistic studies on direction-giving

Very few cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies have been conducted on direction-giving. In a cross-cultural study, Collett and O'shea (1976) investigated the speech behaviour of direction-giving between Iranians and English people. They hypothesized that significantly more Iranians would give directions to a fictional place than English people. The results confirmed the hypothesis. However, Collett and O'shea argued that such cultural difference is not because some sort of "mischievousness", but rather is due to differences in the value system between Iranians and English people.

In a cross-linguistic study, Mark and Gould (1995) studied verbal driving directions in English and Spanish. The strategies investigated included deictic expressions, reference frames, distance, relative and cardinal directions, grammatical style, and metaphor. The results revealed that there are cross-linguistic differences that exist between the two languages in most of the strategies studied.

None of the studies on direction-giving whether within the same language or cross-linguistically/cross-culturally focused on direction-giving in Arabic, except for Taylor-Hamilton's (2004) study. In her

study, Taylor-Hamilton investigated L1\L2 differences and confirmed that direction-giving exchange varies from language to language and culture to culture.

Taylor-Hamilton's (2004) study, however, has many limitations. First, her study was not gender-balanced; she depended mainly on male students and therefore the results cannot be generalized to all Arabic speakers. Second, the interlocutors who collected the L1 Arabic data were non native speakers of Emirati Arabic and this might have affected the results since Arabic has a wide variety of dialects and regional differences might have played a role in the results. Third, the cultural context in the UAE is very different from countries outside the Arab peninsula, like Egypt for example. This is because in Abu Dhabi thirty years ago, only small towns existed, and within those towns there were usually a very small number of permanent structures. So, the results may be due to their unfamiliarity with the modern context of urban towns. Fourth, she depended on role-play which might have affected the spontaneous nature of the direction-giving exchange.

2.4 language Transfer

Selinker (1972) proposed the theory of interlanguage in which the utterances produced by a second language learner differ from those produced by the native speaker in attempting to express the same meaning. He argues that there are different processes involved in what he refers to as interlanguage. First, Linguistic transfer refers to the process in which a speaker carries some of the knowledge of his first language to the second language. This transfer can either be positive or negative. The second process is known as transfer of training which refers to the degree to which learners might apply to their jobs the knowledge, skills, and attitudes they gained in classrooms from the teacher in the real-life situations.

To sum up, there have been some studies on direction-giving in the same language and cross-culturally and cross-linguistically. However, most of these studies either focused on the cognitive nature of the exchange or on languages other than Arabic. Only one study focused on the Arabic language, namely Taylor-Hamilton's (2004) study on Emirati Arabic. However, the results of this study cannot be

generalized due to the several limitations already specified above. Thus, to fill these gaps in the literature, the present study depends on natural data to examine the linguistic strategies of direction-giving in L2 English and compares the strategies used in those sequences to direction-giving sequences to L1 Arabic. The research also investigates the applicability of Wunderlich and Reinelt's (1982) "interactional scheme" to Arabic as L1 and English as L2 and examines the role of language transfer in acquiring the speech behaviour of direction giving.

3. Methodology

3.1 Participants

The study was conducted on Cairo University campus. Six direction seekers, including the researcher, collected the data from 80 male and female students on Cairo University. Although the sample size was small, much of the research done on direction giving used small sample size (Hund and Padgitt, 2010; Ewald, 2010; and Lee, 2011).

Each group consisted of an equal number of males and females, 40 males and 40 females to control for gender. Two volunteers, a male and a female, collected the Arabic data from the Arabic group and four nonnative speakers of Arabic collected the English data from the EFL group. Males were asked by a male direction-seeker and females were asked by a female direction-seeker to avoid any cross-gender differences that might arise because of the direction seeker's gender.

Since this study focused on the linguistic strategies used in the direction-giving exchanges rather than the cognitive abilities of direction-givers, the age of the participants was not considered of major importance. This was also because direction-giving is an everyday activity which can be performed, linguistically, by adults of all ages. This could be emphasized by looking at the age of participants in former direction-giving studies; most of the studies (e.g. Psathas&Kozloff, 1976; Wunderlich&Reinelt, 1982; Denis, 1997; Klein, 1982; Ewald, 2010) did not specify age, and those that did so; e.g., Taylor-Hamilton, 2004, said that they wanted to make sure that participants have a driving license to give driving directions.

As for the EFL group, participants were all students in the first

year, in the Faculty of Arts, English Department to establish a minimum base line proficiency level for the subjects in the EFL group. The English Section in the Faculty of Arts requires that the student gets at least 47\50 in the English Exam in high school. Although this exam is not a proficiency test, yet giving a proficiency test for randomly chosen passer-bys, if possible, could have affected the naturalness of the collected data. The subjects were identified as first year students, by some senior students in the same faculty, and randomly chosen by the researcher.

3.2 Data Collection Procedures

The direction-giving exchange needs to be under authentic time pressure and cognitive demands, and therefore analyzing it must depend on collecting real-life conversations (Taylor-Hamilton, 2004). Thus, the data was collected from authentic real-life conversations.

To ensure that direction-givers would be able to respond to the direction-giving requests, we chose an easily identifiable structure, namely The New Central Library on the Cairo University campus. A pilot study was conducted to make sure that the distance is far enough to allow the direction givers to give elaborate directions.

All direction-seekers were instructed to approach a passer-by walking alone beside the main gate and asking them the indirect question "Excuse me, do you know where the Central library is?" They were also instructed to respond positively and minimally to demonstrate general comprehension throughout the dialogue to avoid influencing the naturalness of the direction-giving exchanges.

The direction-givers were not told that they were being recorded. This method of data collection had already been done by Mark and Gould (1995) and Golding, Graesser, and Hauselt (1996), and approved by research committees since direction-giving is a normal everyday activity and observational data can be recorded without violating the speakers' privacy.

3.3 Data Analysis Procedure

The data for the study was recorded using a digital voice recorder, Olympus VN-8000pc. After collecting the data, it was then transcribed for analysis. After transcribing the data, the analysis was carried out on three stages. The Arabic and English data were first

compared and contrasted qualitatively for the four phases of the "Interactional Scheme". After that, the data was analyzed for some linguistic tools, namely landmarks, relative directions, cardinal directions, verbs, tense, mood, forms of address, number of words, and accuracy. Then a T-test was conducted to compare the results of the two groups. Finally, the data was analyzed for language transfer to highlight the effect of the native language on the production of English L2 directions.

4. Results

4.1 Phases of the interactional Scheme: Arabic L1 and English L2

4.1.1 The initiation phase

According to Wunderlich and Reinelt (1982) in the initiation Phase A (The direction-receiver) uses a routine formula, namely the tripartite formula "Excuse me, please, can you tell me how to get to X/ where X is. The present study, however, examines the use of the indirect question "Excuse me, do you know where the Central Library is?" to investigate whether it can be used as a request for directions.

In the Arabic L1 data, 36 out of 40 respondents understood the indirect question as an indirect request for direction and answered accordingly. Their responses can be divided into four main groups according to the techniques used to respond to the indirect question. Group one preferred to give a brief summary for the destination before starting the route description. Group two preferred to give an affirmative answer by using the word "yes". The third group combined the two techniques used by group one and two by giving affirmative answers and summaries before proceeding with the route-description. In group four, however, direction-givers preferred to start the route-description immediately.

Only four respondents answered the question as a knowledge question:

المكتبة المركزية هي علي طول أنا اعرف أنها كدة

"The Central Library, it is straight forward. I know that it is in this direction" معاكي ربنا اخر الجامعة

"Allah be with you, at the end of the university"

However, even these responses might suggest that the respondents perceived the question as an indirect request for directions. This is because a wish such as “Allah be with you” suggests that the respondents perceived the question as a request for direction, but thought that specifying the destination only, or giving description to the destination rather than to the route to the destination, is enough and no directions are needed to be given.

As for the English L2 data, 37 out of 40 respondents understood the question as an indirect request for directions and answered accordingly. However, their responses can be divided into two categories only. Group one preferred to give an affirmative answer and then started the route-description. The second group, on the other hand, proceeded with the route-description immediately.

Thus, while the responses of the Arabic data to the indirect question fall into four main categories, the responses of the English data are only categorized into two main categories. Moreover, like Arabic, Only three exchanges included answers to the question as a knowledge question; “It is here straight”, “It is at the end of the university”, and “At the end of the university”. However, the respondents might have preferred giving destination specification rather than giving route-description similar to the cases in the Arabic data. This might be because the use of the relative direction “straight” in the first example suggests that B might have understood the question as an indirect question, but preferred to specify the destination more than the route.

Hence, in the two sets of data, the indirect question was mostly understood as an indirect request for directions. As a result, the routine tripartite formula suggested by Wunderlich and Reinelt (1982) is not necessarily the only formula to ask for directions and it seems that the indirect question asked in this particular context (university campus) by the researchers (a passer-by on foot), in Arabic L1, or English L2, is enough as a question for directions.

4.1.2 The Route-description phase

According to Wunderlich and Reinelt (1982), B might react to the initiation phase in different ways to show that he understood the request for directions; e.g., repeating the destination name, or

reflecting on the destination, etc. Most of these techniques are used by Egyptians giving directions in Arabic L1. However, in giving these directions in English L2 most of these techniques were not used.

Moreover, Wunderlich and Reinelt (1982) did not mention that B might establish common ground. In the collected data, common ground is established by asking questions, such as “Do you know Al-Aioty?”, “Do you know the Metro gate?”, and “Do you Know Tegara (faculty of commerce) gate?” Thus, establishing common ground is one technique that might be used in the initiation phase.

Phase two, in both the Arabic L1 and English L2 data, is initiated and terminated by B; B gives a description of the path to be followed. It usually begins with the starting point, or an initial destination within the visual field. However, though the Arabic L1 data ends mostly with the final arrival, most English L2 data is terminated before reaching the final destination; e.g., “straight, then turn left”, “Oh yah, go this way and turn left”, and “Yes, you will go straight, turn left, then turn right”. Thus, although most of the Arabic L1 data ends with the final arrival and is therefore more informative, most of the English L2 data ends abruptly before reaching the destination and some who tried to specify the destination failed to do so; e.g., “yes, you can go in this street, then you can turn left. Here is it”.

4.1.3 The securing phase

In the securing phase B might summarize, repeat, paraphrase or complete crucial parts based on A's confirmation behaviour. That is, if A does not initiate a closure, B will be obliged to continue and thus securing would take place. They also stated that securing was mostly used in their data. However, this is not true in our data; first, securing rarely occur in the data collected and when it occurred it was not due to A's behaviour. In most of the cases, A was positive and initiated the closure, but B chose to secure. Moreover, in some other cases, the direction-seekers did not initiate a closure and tried to make the direction-giver continue giving directions or confirm what they already said, but the direction givers chose to end the exchange by keeping silent. Thus, securing is not initiated by A, but it is rather a matter of personal choice. That is, it is up to B either to secure or to end the exchange.

4.1.4 The closure phase

According to Wunderlich and Reinelt (1982) it is A alone who is able to initiate the closure phase and remove the obligation put on B to address A's request for direction. This in fact might be partially true. A mostly is the one responsible for initiating the closure. That is, if B secures after the closure, it is A's responsibility to re-initiate a closure:

B: You know sir, can you see this street? walk straight till its end, you will go left, you will find the Central Library in front of you, and you will find that it is very prominent, you will find it the biggest building in front of you, and you will find written on it "The Central Library"

A: Thanks

B: at the end of this street

A: okay, thanks

However, in a few cases, B is the one who initiates a closure and this leads to A's expression of gratitude. This is either done by stopping giving the direction, or refusing to give directions even when asked to do so.

The above analysis, therefore, reveals that direction-giving in Arabic L1 and English L2 is highly conventionalized and can fit in the four phases proposed by Wunderlich and Reinelt (1982), but with considering the modifications discussed above.

4.2 Linguistic Devices used in the Route-Description Phase

The analysis of the verbal devices is done on the route-description phase only. This is because, according to Wunderlich and Reinelt (1982), the second phase or the route-description phase is the one most relevant from the spatial description point of view, while phase three exhibits no new or a few verbal devices, and phases one and four are most important from the on-going interaction point of view. This is also true in the data collected for this study. In the Arabic L1 group, 36 out of 40 understood the indirect question as an indirect request for directions, while in the English L2 group, 37 out of 40 understood the indirect question as a request for directions and answered accordingly. Thus, the overall number of route descriptions

for the Arabic L1 group is 36 and for the English L2 group is 37.

An analysis of the data, by counting the number of occurrences of each linguistic tool, if present, per sequence, revealed that the Arabic L1 group and English L2 group used almost the same verbal strategies to give directions, but with different frequencies. These strategies include the use of landmarks, relative\ cardinal directions, mood, tense, and accuracy. However, the Arabic L1 speakers used three distinct strategies in their directions, namely establishing rapport by using a word like, (my love حبيبتي, 1/36, 2.8%), showing respect to the interlocutor by using the word (sir حضرتك, 2/36, 5.6%), and using religious terms, such as (God willing ان شاء الله, and ان الشكر لله 3/36, 8.3%). Although the use of these strategies is very few in the data, yet equivalent terms are not used by the English L2 direction givers. It is thought that if the number of the sample is more, these strategies might have been more frequently used. This is because according to Shalaby (1984) in her study on directives, Arabic speakers in general depend on over politeness markers and address forms even when the situation is informal. For example, the word “hadritak” might be used in both formal and informal situations.

4.2.1 Use of Landmarks

Table (1): the Use of Landmarks: Arabic L1 and English L2 Groups

English L2 (37)		Arabic L1 (36)		Landmarks
No	Yes	No	Yes	
31($\mu=0.86$)	6($\mu=0.16$)	20($\mu=0.55$)	16($\mu=0.44$)	

Arabic L1 direction-givers used more landmarks, 16\ 36, ($\mu=0.44$) per sequence, than English L2 direction-givers did, 6\37, ($\mu=0.16$). There was significant difference in scores for Arabic L1 ($M=0.44$, $SD=0.73$) and English L2 [$M=0.16$, $SD=0.37$; $t(51.6)=2.06$, $p=0.04$].

4.2.2 Relative and Cardinal Directions

Table (2) Use of Relative Directions: Arabic L1 and English L2

Directions

English L2	Arabic L1	
66($\mu= 1.8$)	42($\mu= 1.2$)	Relative Directions
Does not Apply	Does not Apply	Cardinal Directions

English L2 direction givers used significantly more relative directions than Arabic L2 direction givers. There was significant difference in scores for Arabic L1 ($M=1.17$, $SD=0.61$) and English L2 [$M=1.8$, $SD=0.9$; $t(67.3) =3.6$, $p=0.001$].

4.2.3 Mood

Table (3): the Different Verb Moods Used in Arabic L1 and English L2

English L2 (37)	Arabic L1 (36)	Mood
42 (75.7%) 14 (37.8%)	29 (80.5%) 24 (66.7%)	Imperatives Bald Imperatives Indirect Imperatives
22 (59.4%)	31 (86.1%)	Indicatives

English L2 direction givers gave more bald imperatives, 42 ($\mu= 1.13$), than did Arabic L1 direction givers, 29 ($\mu= 0.8$). Besides, Arabic L1 direction givers used more indirect imperatives, 24 ($\mu= 0.67$), than did English L2 direction givers, 15 ($\mu= 0.4$). As for the use of indicatives, Arabic L1 direction givers gave more indicatives, 31 ($\mu= 0.86$), than did English L1 direction givers, 23 ($\mu= 0.6$). However, there was only significant difference in scores for the use of indicatives between Arabic L1 ($M=0.86$, $SD=0.35$) and English L2 [$M=0.62$, $SD=0.49$; $t(65.2)=2.4$, $p=0.019$].

4.2.4 Tense

Table (4): The use of tenses by Arabic L1 and English L2 groups

English L2	Arabic L1	
35 ($\mu= 0.95$)	31 ($\mu=0.86$)	Present
18 ($\mu= 0.49$)	29 ($\mu= 0. 8$)	Future

Only two verb tenses were used by direction givers in the two groups, namely the present and the future. On the one hand, Arabic L1 direction givers used more verbs in the future tense, 29 ($\mu= 0.8$), than did English L2 direction givers, 18 ($\mu= 0.49$). The difference was significant between Arabic L1 ($M=0.80$, $SD=0.40$) and English L2 [$M=0.49$, $SD=0.51$; $t(71)=1.977$, $p=0.004$].

On the other hand, English L2 speakers used more verbs in the present 35 ($\mu= 0.95$), than did Arabic L1 speakers, 31 ($\mu=0.86$). However, such difference was not statistically significant.

4.2.5 Accuracy

To measure the accuracy of the route-description given in the data collected for this paper, the researcher first considered two strategies used by in the direction-givers, namely the use landmarks, and the use of relative directions. Then the exchanges were examined for unclear direction given by the direction givers in the two groups and made the description unsuccessful. In this section the analysis is based in the inaccurate technique used in an exchange as a whole rather than each single occurrence of the technique in the same exchange.

As for the use of landmarks, only 12/36 Arabic L1 direction givers used landmarks in the route-description phase whereas only 6/37 English L2 direction givers included landmarks in their route descriptions. Although, Arabic L1 direction givers used more inaccurate landmarks, 5 ($\mu= 0.42$), than did English L2 2/6 ($\mu= 0.3$), the difference was not statistically significant.

Table (5): Accuracy of Landmarks used in Arabic L1 and English L2

English L2		Arabic L1		
No 31	Yes 6	No 24	Yes 12	Landmarks
Correct=4 ($\mu=0.67$) Incorrect=2($\mu=$ 0.33)		Correct= 7 ($\mu=0.6$) Incorrect=5 ($\mu=0.42$)		

As for the strategy of using relative directions, it was the most

recurrent among all the direction givers in the two groups with English L2 speakers using more relative directions per sequence, 66($\mu= 1.8$), than did Arabic L1 direction givers, 42($\mu= 1.2$). This difference was highly significant [$p=0.001$].

English L2 direction givers made more errors in using relative directions, 9/35 ($\mu= 0.26$), than did Arabic L1 direction givers, 5/34 ($\mu=0.15$). However, this difference was not statistically significant.

Table (6): Accuracy in the use of relative directions

English L2 (37)	Arabic L1 (36)	Strategy
Yes 35	Yes 34	Relative Directions
Correct= 26 ($\mu=0.74$) Incorrect= 9 ($\mu=0.26$),	Correct= 29 ($\mu=0. 85$) Incorrect=5 ($\mu=0.15$)	

Also, some direction givers gave vague directions, either by avoiding specifying the destination which made it very hard for the direction seeker to identify, or by ending the exchange abruptly by telling the seeker to re-ask, or before completing crucial parts in the route-description. Both Arabic L1 direction givers and English L2 direction givers gave many unclear directions which made it hard for the direction seeker to arrive at destination. The English L2 direction givers gave more unclear directions, 30 ($\mu=0.81$), than did Arabic direction givers, 24 ($\mu=0.67$), but this difference was not significant.

Table (7): Unclear directions by Arabic L1 and English L2 groups

English L2 (37)	Arabic L1 (36)	Strategy
30 ($\mu=0.81$)	24 ($\mu=0.67$)	Unclear Directions

Thus, Arabic L1 direction givers used more landmarks, indirect imperatives, indicative verbs, and verbs in the future tense and inaccurate landmarks than did English L2. However, only the use of landmarks, indicatives and future-tense verbs were statistically significant. On the other hand, English L2 direction givers used more relative directions, bald imperatives, verbs in the present tense,

inaccurate relatives and unclear directions. However, only the use of relative directions was statistically significant. The following chart illustrates all the strategies and their frequencies in the two groups.

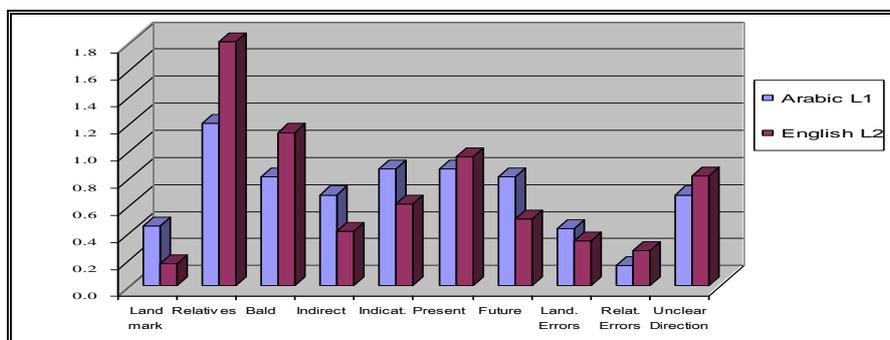


Figure 1: The Strategies Used by the Two Groups and Their Frequencies

4.3 Language Transfer

The analysis of the collected data revealed the effect of language transfer in the direction-giving exchanges produced by Egyptian EFL\ESL learners.

According to Selinker (1972) the theory of interlanguage involves different processes that might affect the acquisition of a foreign language. As for the process of linguistic transfer, only one effect can be traced in the data, namely the complete avoidance of using cardinal directions in the route-descriptions. The English L2 direction givers did not use the strategy of cardinal directions although it is used in English L1 (Ewald, 2010; Pathos and Kozloff, 1976; Mark & Gould, 1995). This is most probably because the strategy of using cardinal directions is not commonly used in Arabic L1. Transfer of training also plays an important role in the production of direction giving in English L2. As for the use of landmarks, it was found that both Arabic L1 and English L2 direction givers used the strategy of landmarks in their route descriptions. However, Arabic L1 direction givers were found to use twice as much as English L2 direction givers. Arabic L1 direction givers used an average number of 0.44 per

sequence, while English L2 direction givers used only an average number of 0.16 per sequence. This difference is statistically significant [$p=0.04$]. One explanation for this paucity of landmarks is that many textbooks tend to simplify the English function of giving directions by giving students a straight-right-left dictum which EFL students can use in any direction-giving situation. This is emphasized by looking at the frequency of using relative directions by the two groups. English L2 direction givers used significantly more relative directions than did Arabic L1 direction givers [$p=0.001$] and did more errors in using them, 0.26 per sequence. Thus, English L2 direction givers might have used only half of the number of landmarks employed in their Arabic L1, and tended to use more relative directions due to transfer of training.

Transfer of training might also have influenced the frequency use of mood and tense. Arabic L1 direction givers used significantly more indicatives than did English L2 direction givers [$p=0.019$]. They also used significantly more verbs in the future tense than did English L2 direction givers [$p=0.004$]. On the other hand, since textbooks direct EFL students to use direct imperative in the process of giving directions (Taylor-Hamilton, 2004), English L2 direction givers used more bald directives and verbs in the present tense more than Arabic L1 direction givers. However, this difference was not statistically significant.

Another effect of transfer of training is the pronunciation of the word 'straight' as \stri:t instead of \streit . Although a phonological analysis of the data lies beyond the scope of this research, 9/37 direction-giving exchanges included this pronunciation error; hence it was worth highlighting.

In conclusion, the theory of interlanguage proposed by Selinker (1972) helps explain the frequency of the strategies employed by English L2 direction givers in giving direction to a passer-by on a university campus, particularly in terms of the process of transfer of training. English L2 speakers employ the same strategies used in Arabic L1, but with different frequencies. English L2 used less landmarks, indicatives, indirect imperatives, and future tense than did Arabic L1 direction givers.

5. Discussion

The present study is a cross-cultural, cross-linguistic study that depends on natural data collected on the Cairo University Campus to examine the direction-giving exchanges of Egyptian Arabic native speakers and compares them to the direction-giving exchanges of Egyptian students learning English as a foreign language. The research investigates the applicability of Wunderlich and Reinelt's (1982) "interactional scheme" to the direction-giving exchanges in both Arabic L1 and English L2. The research also examines the role of interlanguage in the acquisition of English L2 direction-giving.

5.1 The Applicability of the Interactional Scheme

The qualitative analysis of the collected data revealed that the Interactional Scheme proposed by Wunderlich and Reinelt (1982) based on German data, could be applied to Arabic as L1 and English as L2. This study extended the results of previous research on the routinized nature of direction-giving exchanges (Ewald, 2010; Couclelis, 1996; Psathas and Kozloff, 1976; Wunderlich and Reinelt, 1982) to include Arabic as L1 and English as L2.

Direction-giving in Arabic L1 and English L2 is highly conventionalized and can fit in the four phases proposed by Wunderlich and Reinelt (1982), but with considering the modifications discussed in the qualitative analysis of the data.

5.2 The Linguistic strategies in the Route-description

The second part of the data analysis included a quantitative analysis to the linguistic devices used in the direction-giving exchanges of Arabic L1 and English L2, namely landmarks, relative and cardinal directions, mood, and tense. After counting the number of occurrences of each device per sequence, a statistical analysis T-test was carried out using SPSS. The analysis of the data revealed that the Arabic L1 and English L2 direction givers use similar strategies, but with different frequencies.

5.3 Language Transfer

Although most of the strategies used by Arabic L1 and English L2 direction givers are similar, the effect of language transfer can be traced in the frequencies of using these strategies. As a result of

transfer of training, English L2 direction givers used significantly less landmarks [$p=0.04$], and significantly more relative directions [$p=0.001$].

Only one effect of transfer from the native language can be traced in the data, namely the avoidance of using cardinal directions. Although the strategy of using cardinal directions is used in English L1, it is rarely used in Arabic L1 and hence in English L2.

5.4 Pedagogical Implications

This study on direction-giving has many important findings for teaching a foreign language in particular, and interlanguage pragmatics research in general. First, the approach to teaching directions in many current EFL texts could be a source of confusion. This is because many EFL books approach direction-giving in a simplified way, relying mainly on directives and relational directions that do not reflect the true complex nature of the speech behavior of direction giving in English which might include other strategies such as using landmarks, cardinal directions and different verb tenses and moods. If texts, particularly for beginners, rely mainly on the strategy of relational directions and imperatives, this could lead to negative transfer of training of classroom patterns that would lead to confusing directions which do not represent the true nature of the function. If textbook writers examine authentic direction-giving in English and Arabic, rather than relying on intuition for dialogue development, this could lead to textbook direction-giving dialogues that have an appropriate balance of native-like direction-giving strategies, and that better understand the nature of the same function in the EFL learner native language at the same time.

Thus, as discussed by Coulmas (1981), Scotton and Bernstein (1988) Taylor-Hamilton (2004), and Ewald (2010) the frequency of routines in everyday conversations should influence language teachers and textbook publishers, especially with regard to the development of pedagogical materials and use of class time. Language students should be exposed to authentic language as much as possible and to the strategies used by native speakers of a given language to perform certain functions in the foreign language they are learning. Moreover, researchers should give more attention to those functions that are most challenging to language learners and most important for their effective communication and, in so doing, inform current pedagogy.

5.5 Limitations and Further Research

Most of the limitations of this research attributes to generalizing the results. One of the limitations of this study is the small sample size. Though most of the research on direction giving included small samples (Ewald, 2010, Denis, 1998; Pearson & Lee, 1992; Mark & Gould, 1995), it is important that further research uses larger samples, particularly if they want to generalize the results to all Arabic Egyptian speakers and Arabic EFL speakers. Future research should also examine the direction-giving process within different contexts than university campus.

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