

**A Deictic and Text Linguistic Study of
Bumper Stickers in Egypt**

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine 90 Egyptian bumper stickers collected from Egypt; particularly, from the governorate of Sohag, within the framework of deictic and text linguistic theory. The study is conducted by using observation technique. The objectives of the study are to signal the essential and dynamic role of deictic expressions used in the slogans and to investigate that the seven standards of textuality are applicable to short texts like slogans. The results indicate that the decoding of the deictic system helps in best understanding the slogans. Through the use of different aspects of textuality, the slogans are found to fulfill the standards of efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness.

Keywords: bumper stickers, deixis, standards of textuality.

1. Introduction

So many studies on the seven constitutive standards of textuality as set by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) was conducted since the study of texts has been of interest to researchers. Much attention has been given to these constitutive standards, especially to the cohesion and coherence elements, in several branches of linguistic areas such as writing skills, translation, discourse analysis, among others. Halliday and Hasan (1976) have devoted a whole book for the use of cohesive devices in English. Various studies have investigated textuality or any of its standards (e.g. Baker, 1992; Brown & Yule, 1983; Coulthard, 1994; Ferstl, 2001; Halliday &

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Matthiessen, 2004; Hasan, 1984; Hatim & Mason, 1997; Hoey, 1990; Neubert & Shreve, 1992; Salkie, 1995). Textuality and its standards have long been concerned with texts with more than one sentence. In this study, however, an investigation of textuality is conducted to the slogans found on the bumpers of the various vehicles in a Egyptian community. Thus, while not enough attention, if there is any, was given to investigate bumper stickers in terms of textuality, this study does. Due to the predominant proliferation of bumper stickers in the last few decades, especially after the pervasive spread of toktoks, a linguistic study of these stickers has been shown to be of great importance. Stickers on vehicles became so familiar to the Egyptian community that they could not be neglected as a social phenomenon that deserves to be studied. Previous work that examined this phenomenon has mainly concentrated on the content of the stickers through a psychological and socio-cultural dimensions (e.g. Bloch, 2000; Chiluwa, 2008; Gadsby, 1995; Jaradat, 2016; Newhagen & Ancell, 1995). Nevertheless, no study, so far, concentrated on the textual communicative standards of the stickers. Since it has been shown that stickers involve orientation, an application of the deixis theory helps to explicate the dynamic discourse involved. It appears from the data that there is an extensive use of deictic expressions which necessitates a deictic linguistic study of the slogans. Consequently, based on previous work on analyzing bumper stickers, the current study aims at investigating the slogans collected from an Upper-Egyptian community deictically and textually. It further aims to show that the seven standards of textuality are instrumental to produce and receive texts even to one-sentence-long texts. It also aims to identify the different categories of deixis and indicate its inevitable use in the slogans. Finally, the study aims to point to the socio-cultural conventions involved in the slogans that depict the society that they appear in.

2. Methodology

A total of 90 slogans on stickers were collected and thoroughly examined using the naturalistic observation technique to record naturally-occurring data written on the back of different vehicles. The collection process was done by the researcher herself, with the help of some few members of her family, over a period of three years, from 2016 to 2018. The data were randomly collected during rush hours. Fresh search was made from time to time to check for new slogans. The stickers were collected from Sohag, the city, and not from one of its towns (or markazes). The slogans contained in this study were those written on vehicles passing the streets of the East and West district of Sohag. These vehicles include the public means of transport people usually use in Sohag like taxis, minibuses, toktoks, tricycles and trucks. The study ignores the other kinds of vehicles including private and high brand cars. The slogans were classified and distributed according to whom the slogans address into four categories: a) where the driver talks to or about himself; b) where the driver addresses others for different purposes like saying wisdom, for fun, to express a point of view, to send an intended or unintended message or else to keep envy away; c) the driver addresses other drivers or addresses his own vehicle; and d) where the driver addresses no one, he rather writes a wise saying out of life experience. They were written in colloquial Egyptian Arabic. Few slogans written in Modern Standard Arabic and others written in English were neglected. The slogans were written in Arabic and were translated into English. A quantitative-qualitative study was conducted since there are points that can be analyzed quantitatively to show the number of occurrences of every item, these were followed by a qualitative analysis in order to interpret and support the statistical analysis. Other points cannot be carried out quantitatively, but rather qualitatively, such as the parts that

handle the coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity and situationality of a text.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Bumper Stickers

According to Merriam Webster dictionary, a bumper sticker is a “strip of adhesive paper or plastic bearing a printed message and designed to be stuck on a vehicle’s bumper”. Stickers have long been used to convey messages, i.e. slogans, which are short catchy clever phrases. These slogans reflect a wide range of topics including social, political, economic, philosophical, educational, religious, humorous or moral issues. The vehicle owner does not restrictedly stick it on the vehicle’s bumper; he may stick it on the back of his car or elsewhere. Bumper stickers have become a very common phenomenon of expressing opinions, attitudes, and beliefs (Jaradat, 2016). Through this medium of expression, thousands of ideas, values, groups, witticisms and expressions of selfhood compete for public attention (Case, 1992).

3.2 Deixis

Levinson (1983, p. 54) states that the single most obvious way in which the relationship between language and context is reflected in the structures of languages themselves, is through the phenomenon of deixis. Whereas people are conversing in the same physical space, and writers are making frequent use of referential expressions such as *this* and *that*; they must ensure that references are explicit and unambiguous in context. “One common method of providing disambiguating cues is deixis” (Barnard, May and Salber, 1996, p.38). The term is borrowed from the ancient Greek verb that means pointing or indicating. The deictic expressions typically take the speaker’s position as their point of anchorage, and the addressee needs to be aware of this position in order fully to interpret what the speaker says. Buhler (1934) was the first to name the orientational axes of the deictic field the *origo* of *here/now/I*. This *origo*, also known as ground zero, is consisting of the

speaker at the time and place of speaking. It is a set of theoretical points that a deictic expression is anchored to. These points, as pointed out by Levinson (1983, p. 64), are typically assumed to be as follows: a) the central person is the speaker; b) the central time is the time at which the speaker produces the utterance; c) the central place is the speaker's location at utterance time or CT; d) the discourse centre is the point which the speaker is currently at in the production of his utterance; and e) the social centre is the speaker's social status and rank, to which the status or rank of addressees or referents is relative. Hence come the five categories of deixis to be person deixis, place deixis, temporal deixis, discourse deixis and social deixis.

3.2.1 Person Deixis

“Person deixis concerns the encoding of the role of participants in the speech event in which the utterance in question is delivered” (Levinson, 1983, p. 62). Basically, “person deixis clearly operates on a basic three-part division” (Yule, 1996, p. 10), exemplified as follows:

- a) The first-person pronouns *I* and *we* refer normally to the actual speaker(s), i.e. to whoever is speaking or writing at the moment. It is one of the most prototypical cases of deictic expressions.
- b) The second-person *you* is used for an addressee or more than one, but no speaker is involved.
- c) The third-person(s) *he*, *she*, *it*, or *they* which are the encoding of reference to persons and entities which are neither speakers nor addressees of the utterance.

Pronominal systems, which are the most obvious manifestations of person, generally exhibit this three-way distinction (Levinson, 1983, p. 69). But some pronominal systems exhibit much more pronouns. Arabic has the same division resembling that of English except for having a richer pronominal system.

There are two kinds of personal pronouns in Arabic: separate pronouns that are independent and standing by themselves; and attached or connected pronouns that are attached to nouns, particles, and verbs. Arabic has a pronominal system that refers to two persons, that is the dual form. Interestingly, the dual is gender indiscriminate, but it has its use only in the standard variety. The personal pronouns in Arabic inflects for number (singular, dual, and plural) and gender (masculine and feminine). Worth to be mentioned, the separate pronouns can be hidden in the verbs where they are implicitly understood from the context; for example, /أحمد شرب / اللبن / 'Ahmed drunk milk', where the subject /هو/ 'he' is implicit in the verb /شرب/ 'drunk'. These pronouns, known also as subject pronouns, can be tabulated as follows:

Table 1

Separate Pronouns

| | English | Standard Arabic | Egyptian Arabic |
|----------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Singular | I | أنا | |
| | You (masc.) | أَنْتَ | إِنْتَ |
| | You (fem.) | أَنْتِ | إِنْتِ |
| | He | هو | هوّه |
| She | هي | هيّه | |
| Dual | You | أَنْتُمَا | إِنْتُو (الإِنتَيْنِ) |
| | They | هُمَا | هُمَّا (الإِنتَيْنِ) |
| Plural | We | نحن | إِحنَا |
| | You (masc.) | أَنْتُمْ | إِنْتُو |
| | You (fem.) | أَنْتُنَّ | OR إِنْتُمْ |
| | They (masc.) | هُمْ | هُمَّا |
| | They (fem.) | هُنَّ | |

Arabic and English do not make gender distinction of the first person pronoun in its singular or plural version. Arabic has a pronominal system that morphologizes the distinction of singular, dual, and plural forms of the second person pronoun *you*; it has, as well, masculine and feminine versions of the same person, the thing which English lacks. English has only one second person i.e. *you* regardless of the gender or the number of the addressee(s). The dual form has no use in colloquial Arabic variety; alternatively, Egyptians use the plural pronouns with two or more people, of any gender, for example: /إحنا جينا/ 'we have come', /إنتو جيتو/ 'you have come', /هَمَّا جُم/ 'they have come', where /إحنا، إنتو، هَمَّا/ 'we, you, they' can denote two persons or more.

In Arabic, subject pronouns are frequently dropped but substituted for by attached pronouns. Attached pronouns are usually suffixes and comprise three types as follows:

1. Those pronouns that are attached to a verb to function as a subject. They are illustrated in the following table (using the verb /كتب/ 'wrote' as an example):

Table 2
Attached Subject Pronouns

| | English | Standard Arabic | Egyptian Arabic |
|----------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Singular | I | /كُتِبْتُ/ -تُ | /كُتِبْتُ/ -تُ |
| | You(masc.) | /كُتِبْتَ/ -تَ | /كُتِبْتَ/ -تَ |
| | You(fem.) | /كُتِبْتِ/ -تِ | /كُتِبْتِ/ -تِ |
| | He | /كُتِبَ/ - | /كُتِبَ/ - |
| | She | /كُتِبَتْ/ -تْ | /كُتِبَتْ/ -تْ |
| Dual | You(masc.) | - تُمَا | /كُتِبْتُوا/ -توا or |
| | You(fem.) | /كُتِبْتُمَا/ | /كُتِبْتُمُ/ -تم |
| | They(masc.) | - /كُتِبَا/ | /او/ /كُتِبُوا - |
| | They(fem.) | - /كُتِبْتَانَا/ | |
| Plural | We | - /كُتِبْنَا/ | /كُتِبْنَا/ - |
| | You(masc.) | - /كُتِبْتُمْ/ | /كُتِبْتُوا/ -توا or |
| | You(fem.) | - تُنَّ /كُتِبْتُنَّ/ | /كُتِبْتُمُ/ -تم |
| | They(masc.) | - /كُتِبُوا/ | /كُتِبُوا/ - |
| | They(fem.) | - /كُتِبْنَ/ | |

Notice that in using Egyptian Arabic, both -توا and -تم suffixes in the dual or plural form of the second person pronoun are used but -توا is much more common.

2. This kind of attached pronouns is attached to transitive verbs to express the accusative case. They are illustrated by using the verb /رسم/ 'drew' as an example.

Table 3
Attached Object Pronouns

| | English | Standard Arabic | Egyptian Arabic |
|----------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Singular | me | رسمنى / نى- | |
| | you(masc.) | رسمك / اك- | رسمك / اك- |
| | you(fem.) | رسمكى / كى- | رسمك / اك- |
| | Him | رسمه / ه- | رسمو / و- |
| | her | رسمها / ها- | رسمها / ها- |
| Dual | Us | رسمنا / نا- | رسمنا / نا- |
| | You | رسمكما / كما- | |
| | Them | رسمهما / هما- | كوا or |
| Plural | Us | رسمنا / نا- | رسمكوا / كم- |
| | you(masc.) | رسمكم / كم- | رسمكوا / كوا- |
| | you(fem.) | رسمكن / كن- | or رسمكم / كم- |
| | them(masc.) | رسمهم / هم- | رسمهم / هم- |
| | them(fem.) | رسمهن / هن- | |

The suffix -كوا is more colloquial than -كم.

3. The third type is suffixed to nouns to express the possessive meaning. The object and possessive pronoun suffixes are exactly the same except for the first person singular 'my' becomes -ى in Arabic, e.g. *my book* becomes كتاب-ى.

This account of personal pronouns in Arabic has demonstrated that Arabic does not have a simple system of pronouns. This system crucially depends on gender and number. Such a rich system makes it easy for the interlocuters to identify referents around them.

3.2.2 Spatial Deixis

Space or place deixis identifies an entity by relating it to its place which is typically established with reference to the deictic centre. Two of the central kinds of spatial deictic expressions are the demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that*, along with their plural forms, and the locative adverbs *here* and *there*.

At its most basic, English has such a simple here/there system. Other languages have even more complicated systems. Considering Arabic, it is a richly inflected language; but Standard Arabic, or الفصحى, is beyond this research. This study deals with Egyptian colloquial Arabic that has the same simple here/there system, which has as its Arabic alternative هنا/هناك.

In everyday conversations, Egyptians restrictedly use ده، دى، and دول encoding the masculine, feminine, and plural forms of demonstratives respectively. For example, /العربية دى جديدة/ 'This is a new car', /ده كتاب قيم/ 'This is a valuable book', /الولاد دول /بيذاكروا/ 'These boys are studying'.

3.2.3 Temporal deixis

In Bühler's origo (1934), the temporal 'ground zero' is the moment at which the utterance is issued ('coding time' of Fillmore 1977) (Levinson, 2004). In English, as well as in Arabic, temporal deictic reference is both grammaticalized and lexicalized.

Grammaticalization is generally represented in the system of languages through the concept of tense. Traditionally, tenses are categorized as absolute versus relative. Simple English past tense, for instance, is absolute e.g., *he went*; while the pluperfect sentence *he has gone* is relative to some other deictically specified time. Similarly, temporal forms of the Arabic verb are two. Sibawayih (1316) states that "the verb expresses an action which is either complete (perfective) or incomplete (imperfective)". The perfective form denotes a finished action, an action that took place and was completed in the past. The imperfective form expresses unfinished action, an

action that is in progress. Taking this into consideration, the verb in Arabic has three forms: past (the perfect form), present and imperative (the imperfect form).

Abd-Elwahid (2016) indicates that the Arabic imperative form is not a tense, but it is rather a mode in the same way negation, condition, optative, and positiveness are. The past tense verb, known as الماضي in Arabic, refers to past time at which an action took place, hence comes its perfectiveness as involving actions that have been completed prior to the time of speech. The present tense, on the other hand, is called in Arabic المضارع. The present tense verb, الفعل المضارع, describes actions or events that are ongoing. The imperfect Egyptian Arabic present is also used to express present continuous through using the prefix ب- attached to the present verb, e.g., يكتب اب- 'is writing'. It is also common to use the active participle instead of some of present tense verbs to indicate the ongoing action, e.g. نام، نائم / 'is sleeping'. It is considerable to note that "The future tense in Arabic does not have a morphological representation in the form of the verb" (Al-Saif, 2008). To indicate the future in Egyptian Arabic, the prefix /ha-/ must be added at the beginning of the present verb, e.g. يكتب، هي يكتب / 'will write'.

There is no argument that tense in Arabic is quite complicated because verbs do not totally denote the tense. As a result, it can be said that the context is crucial in Arabic to figure out the time reference.

The other way to express time is lexicalization. Arabic has lexical words to indicate the time at which the utterance is occurred. These words locate the utterance as prior to, simultaneous with, or posterior to the communicative time. Lexicalization includes time adverbials. It comprises two divisions: simple lexical expressions that are composed of a single temporal lexeme, e.g. امبارح / 'yesterday'; and complex temporal adverbials, e.g. أول امبارح / 'the day before yesterday'. With such adverbials, we can count backwards and forwards

from the coding time on which these expressions depend for their interpretation. Grammatical temporal deictics usually go with lexical deictics.

3.2.4 Discourse Deixis

Out of the fact that throughout discourse, spoken or written, there is frequent occasion to refer to backward and forward segments of the discourse, discourse deixis has its function. Both temporal and spatial deictic terms are usually employed to denote this deictic type. The use of *before*, *next*, or *later* exemplifies temporal deictic terms; while *in this article*, *here*, or *two paragraphs below* are examples of spatial deictic ones. This research does not have a great interest in this type of deixis since the nature of slogans does not permit using such type. Anyway, it is analyzed if the researcher finds any.

3.2.5 Social Deixis

Fillmore (1975, p. 295) points out that social deixis “refers to that aspect of sentences which reflect or establish or are determined by certain realities of the social situation in which the speech act occurs”. The world-wide phenomenon of the T/V distinction shows social contrasts within person deixis. It is the best known example of social deixis which is almost universal in European languages. The choice of one form rather than the other indicates something about formality, superiority, familiarity, power or solidarity between the participants. The other way in which addressees are typically referred to is by using titles of address.

3.3 Text Linguistics

Defining text as a communicative occurrence which meets seven standards of textuality, de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) present a broad view of text linguistics and set what constitutes the texture of a text. They define these standards as follows:

- Cohesion: grammatical dependencies on the surface. There are five main cohesive devices: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion.
 - Coherence: conceptual dependencies in the textual world.
 - Intentionality and acceptability: the attitudes of participants toward the text.
 - Informativity: the incorporation of the new and unexpected into the known and expected.
 - Situationality: the setting which refers to the context of a certain text.
 - Intertextuality: the mutual relevance of separate texts.
- de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) further add that if any of these standards is not considered to have been satisfied, the text will not be communicative i.e., a non-text. To these seven constitutive principles of communication they add three regulative principles, adopting Searle (1969), in order for text to be fully communicative. They are efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness.

4. Results

Throughout the 4 groups of the data, the researcher does not find a slogan without having some deictic aspect. The 90 stickers observed have various types of expressions denoting exophoric referential power whether this power refers deictically or non-deictically to the situation.

Both types of pronouns, separate and attached, are used throughout the slogans with an excessive use of the attached ones as compared to the separate. The researcher finds that the frequency of their use differentiated among the four groups of the data. Table 4 shows the distribution of the whole pronouns found in the data regardless of their deictic, non-deictic, anaphoric or cataphoric use. No consideration is paid to hidden pronouns.

Table 4
The Frequency of Personal Pronouns

| | Separate | | Attached | |
|---------|----------|------|----------|------|
| | N | % | N | % |
| Group 1 | 4 | 36.4 | 51 | 44 |
| Group2 | 3 | 27.3 | 44 | 37.9 |
| Group3 | 3 | 27.3 | 18 | 15.5 |
| Group4 | 1 | 9.1 | 3 | 2.6 |
| Total | 11 | 8.7 | 116 | 91.3 |

The following instances exemplified the use of pronouns in the 4 groups:

١. دعينا ربنا إدانا و عيون الناس مش سيبانا ‘ We asked Allah and He granted us; but people keep envying us

٢. بيحسدوني عليك وأنت سر عذابي ‘ They envy me for having you, unknowing that you are the source of my suffering

٣. الحلوة محلفانى مركبهاش لحد تانى ‘ The sweetie ordered me not to let another one drive her

٤. مهنة عال وخربتها العيال ‘ A good profession but the careless young spoil it’.

4.1 Deixis

4.1.1 Person Deixis

The following table shows the use of exophoric personal deixis observed in the data.

Table 5
Person Deixis

| Personal pronouns | Separate | Attached | Total |
|---------------------|----------|----------|-------|
| Exophoric Reference | 9 | 74 | 83 |
| Deictic Use | 6 | 57 | 63 |
| Non-deictic Use | 3 | 17 | 20 |

. Examples of the exophoric deictic and non-deictic use of pronouns are:

I am frightened of two things: 'ياخوفى من اتنين الفرامل والستات' -
'brakes and females

- 'صالح نفسك ترتاح' 'To live peacefully, be in peace with yourself'

4.1.2 Place Deixis

The researcher finds a relatively few occurrences of place deixis used in the data. There are three occurrences of three different verbs denoting motion away from the deictic centre who is the driver; these verbs were /سبقنى/ 'distance me', /هعديك/ / 'pass me', /ادر/ 'turn'. There are two occurrences of the demonstrative /دى/ 'this', one in Group 2 and the other in Group 4. Two adverbs of place are observed too. They are /ورايا/ 'behind me', /للخلف/ 'back'. These instances of place deixis that are detected in the data make a total of seven occurrences of the whole deictic expressions found in the stickers.

4.1.3 Temporal Deixis

The temporal deictic expressions grammaticalized in the data are the use of perfective and imperfective tense forms, the use of the active participle and the use of the conditional if clauses /لو/ 'if'. On the other hand, the data identifies some occurrences of lexical expressions denoting time like /الدينا/ 'life', /الأخرة/ 'Hereafter', /نهارك/ 'your day', /طول عمرى/ 'for all my life' (See Table 6).

Table 6

Temporal Deixis

| Temporal Deictic Forms | Imperfective | Perfective | Active Participle | Conditional Clauses | Lexicalization |
|------------------------|--------------|------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| N | 62 | 36 | 9 | 7 | 8 |
| % | 50.8 | 29.5 | 7.4 | 5.7 | 6.5 |

4.1.4 Social Deixis

Different types of honorifics are identified in the data. The drivers use vocatives, titles of address and kinship terms in their stickers. The use of these honorifics varies from being deictic like /الحلوة/ 'the sweetie', /ابن المعلم/ 'son of the master', /المدام/ 'my wife', /عمك/ 'your master', /معلمين/ 'masters', /عبدہ/ 'His slave' and non-deictic like /ابن الأصول/ 'the genuine', /الكبير/ 'the elder', /ولاد ناس/ 'genuine', /جاهل/ 'ignorant', /اوسطی/ 'master', /نجم/ 'star', /معلم/ 'master', /ريس/ 'master'. The researcher observes three occurrences of the title معلم 'master' happened in three different slogans, e.g. /ابن المعلم/، /معلم/، /عبدہ/، /الكبير/، /ابن/، /المدام/، /الأصول/، /ولاد ناس/، /ريس/، /النجم/، /عمك/، /ياعم/، which are used metaphorically as a "fictive use" (Braun, 1988, p.9). A number of vocatives is identified in the data observed such as /يانجم/، /ياسطی/، /ياجاهل/، /ياعم/، /الحلوة/ 'the sweetie'.

Besides these honorifics, drivers use the informal form of the second personal pronoun *you* in its separate and attached form, /إنت/ 'you', /ك- / respectively. They totally eliminate using it formally as /حضرتك/. Another noteworthy observation is the drivers' use of the royal and editorial *we* when talking about themselves, e.g. /احنا صغیرین بس معلمین/ 'We are still young but we are masters', /اللى میتعلمش مع ناس متستهلس عملنا/ 'We helped them so honestly, but this effort was found to be for undeserved people' among others.

4.1.5 Discourse Deixis

Out of the 90 slogans collected, there are only three examples of discourse deixis. The following three slogans exemplify this deictic use:

- ياخوفى من اتنين الفرامل والستات ‘brakes and females’
The only thing ‘الحاجة الوحيدة اللى من غير وسطى صحبة الناس ياسطى’ that does not involve nepotism is friendship
- هسيبك كده ورايا إنت مش مستوايا ‘I will keep you behind me, you are not my peer’

4.2 Textuality Aspects

4.2.1 Cohesion

4.2.1.1 Reference

Throughout the data observed, there is an indispensable use of different referential expressions which refer endophorically to the text itself rather than the context of situation. The pronouns that are considered cohesively referential rather than deictic are those of the second mention. The referential expressions that are detected in the slogans are different separate and attached pronouns, some of proper names and comparatives. Out of the eleven separate pronouns observed there are only two of them that are used endophorically, e.g.

الستار وأنا عبده هو -

‘He (Allah) is the shielder and I am His slave’.

مش مستوايا إنت هسيبك كده ورايا -

‘I will keep you behind me, you are not my peer’.

‘He’ in the first example refers cataphorically to the name of Allah /الستار/ ‘the shielder’; while /إنت/ ‘you’ refers anaphorically to the objective attached pronoun /ك-. As to the attached pronouns, 42 referential pronouns are observed with a percentage of 36.2% of the total use of attached pronouns found in the slogans.

The researcher notices six occurrences of proper names used referentially throughout the slogans. They were /تاتا/ ‘Tata’, /عشرى/ ‘Ashry’, /ابراهيم/ ‘Ibrahim’, /الستار/ ‘the shielder’, and two occurrences of /ربنا/ ‘our God’.

Eleven comparative references are identified in the data. Three of them are general comparison that “express likeness between things” (Halliday & Hasan, 1976), and the remaining

eight comparatives are particular ones that express comparability between things. Instances of the general and particular comparatives are:

I stopped complimenting others, ‘ بطلت اجامل وزى مبتعامل هعامل ’ -
,’and I will treat people the same way they are treating me

.’May your day be like your conscience ‘ نهارك زى ضميرك ’ -

- لو عالمال اللهم لا حسد لو عالرجولة أرجل من أسد ‘
Allah keeps envy away; as to manhood, I am braver than a lion’.

- دى مش مهنتنا بس أحسن من قعدتنا ‘
This is not our profession, but it is better than being unemployed’.

Table 7

Referential Items

| | | |
|--------------|------------|----|
| Pronouns | Separate | 2 |
| | Attached | 42 |
| Proper Names | 6 | |
| Comparatives | General | 3 |
| | Particular | 8 |

4.2.1.2 Ellipsis

The most frequent elliptical items observed are the hidden subjects of some verbs used in the slogans. There was no misunderstanding or incomplete information since the subjects are indicated via the verbs’ conjugation. Three sentences are observed lacking the particle /لما/ ‘when’; like in / عشت عصفور / ‘When I lived like a bird, they injured me; when I lived like a lion, they respected me’ that is presupposed to have the particle /لما/ ‘when’ at its beginning. Three other sentences are identified to have the conditional /لو/ ‘if’ as an elliptical item. An ellipted separate pronoun is identified in the sentence /حبيبي يا ربنا/ ‘Oh, my dear Lord’ to be presupposed as /انت حبيبي يا ربنا/ ‘You are my dear Lord’. The word /الناس/ ‘people’ is identified to be an ellipted object in the following instances:

- بطلت اجامل وزى مبتعامل هعامل الناس - 'I stopped complimenting others, and I will treat people the same way they are treating me'.

- غير من الناس ولا تحسدهم - 'Be jealous (from people), but do not envy (them)'.

The prepositional phrase /من الناس/ 'from people' functions as the object of the verb /غير/ 'be jealous' and the ellipited attached pronoun /هم-/ substitutes for it.

The clause /لو باض الديك/ 'If cock laid eggs' is presupposed to be /حتى لو باض الديك/ 'even if cock laid eggs' with the particle /حتى/ 'even' representing the ellipited item.

4.2.1.3 Conjunctions

The conjunctions observed in the data can be tabulated as follows:

Table 8
Conjunctions

| Conjunctions | N | % |
|------------------|----------------|------|
| و 'and' | 21 | 55.3 |
| لو 'if' | 6 | 15.8 |
| بس 'but' | 4 | 10.5 |
| لمّا 'when' | 2 | 5.3 |
| من 'because of' | 2 | 5.3 |
| عشان 'because' | 1 | 7.9 |
| طول 'as long as' | 1 | |
| لـ 'because' | 1 | |
| Total | 38 occurrences | |

4.2.2 Other Aspects of Textuality

There are other aspects of textuality that are observed in the data but are not handled quantitatively. These aspects are lexical cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, situationality, informativity and intertextuality. Each is discussed qualitatively in the next section.

5. Discussion

5.1 Deictic Expressions

5.1.1 Personal Pronouns

The use of personal pronouns is considered one of the strongest means in achieving cohesion and connection between text and its context. Pronouns have a symbolic nature that denotes individuals, ideas, situations, etc, which contributes to best creating and deconstructing texts. Talking about the first singular person pronoun, it indicates the writer, or rather the driver, who is the sender of the message. In Arabic the first singular pronoun is أنا / 'I', which is the independent separate form; whereas -ى، -نى، -ت represent the dependent attached forms of the English *I*. This pure deictic pronoun is regarded too personal and individualized. It represents the default deictic center by which the driver excludes any other participant in the communication event except his ego. In using this highly egocentric pronoun, the driver wishes to pay the attention to himself along with his thoughts, beliefs and actions. Additionally, some slogans reveal the presence of implicit subjects which can be substituted with the first person pronoun, e. g. /أحبوبش/ 'I don't like that'; /أصاحب مين ده عشري باع إبراهيم/ 'Whom should I befriend? Ashry betrayed Ibrahim'. We might note from the examples that the thematic features and ideas of the slogans which the drivers used require a direct explicit way to convey their content without causing ambiguity or confusion. The best way to achieve that end is through the use of the first person pronoun, with its different forms, referring directly and deictically to the driver himself whom readers do

not know but wishing to introduce himself and his identity through the short message stuck on the back of his vehicle. Despite the fact that first person pronoun does not carry gender distinction for masculine and feminine, it does carry number distinction for singular and plural. The separate form of the Arabic first person plural pronoun observed in the data is /إحنا/ 'we' with only one occurrence in /إحنا صغيرين بس معلمين/ 'We are still young but we are masters'. The attached form is confined to the suffix /-نا/. Some drivers choose to write their slogans using the first person plural pronoun by which they indicate either themselves only or themselves along with their colleagues in the same profession or their families. One cannot determine whether the driver includes his colleagues or his family who are absent from the communicative event, or he excludes everyone indicating only himself. The choice is left to the intelligence of the reader. Normally, when the first person plural is used by a single speaker to refer to himself (royal *we*), it communicates a higher rank along with establishing a social distance. But it is not the case here. The producer of the message here does not make himself superior to others; conversely, he may make himself symbolically plural to emphasize his utterances through employing the plural. Another likely reason is that they are just adopting a cultural tradition rooted in the Egyptian society, as Egyptians usually use some utterances in plural like /أدينا قعدنا/ 'o, I sat down', /أدينا شربنا/ 'I drank' and the like.

In examining the use of the second person pronoun through the data, it has been observed only one separate pronoun used in the feminine form, /إنت/ 'you' is observed. The attached second person singular pronoun used is /-ك/. Implicit subjects of the second person singular can be found throughout the data, e.g. /غير ولا تحسد/ 'Be jealous, but do not envy'. It can be said that most of the drivers' use of the second person is a generic non-referential one by which drivers do not refer to a specific

particular person; they rather address people in general. Nevertheless, this may not hold true for some examples like /طول مالحد فدمك هفضل طول عمرى عمك/ / *'As long as you are malicious, I will always be your master'*, where one cannot know for sure whether such examples have a particular addressee or not. On the whole, the second person pronoun is the most direct way of address by which the reader, who is anyone happening to see the message, places himself as the one being addressed. Thus, second person pronoun is a powerful tool by which the reader usually feels included in the communicative event.

Some slogans use the third person deixis to indicate a shared knowledge between the producer and the receiver. In one way or another, employing the third absent form makes the message more effective and successful. It also helps in achieving rhyme, e. g. /عجلها، أجلها، /نحبوه، ننسوه/.

5.1.2 Spatial Deixis

Drivers use the local demonstrative /دى/ *'this'* to denote the proximity of their vehicle physically and psychologically. It is the only term to denote the proximal and distal use in Egyptian Arabic. Drivers use the singular feminine demonstrative /دى/ *'this'* to focus the reader's attention on the vehicle. Moreover, the verbs of motion that drivers use make the theme of the corresponding slogans vivid enough in the imagination of the reader. This technique also activates the perception of the readers toward the communicative situation and helps in evoking a sense of common space between the producer and the receiver; besides, it vividly evokes the motion involved in the corresponding expressions.

5.1.3 Temporal Deixis

By denoting variant tenses, including future, past and continuity, the present verb helps in achieving "an atmosphere of timelessness" (Hakkinen, 2016) and creating a feeling like

“it is happening now, and it will be happening in the future” (Hakkinen, 2016). Thus, the Arabic present can convey a permanent meaning. Moreover, two occurrences of present progressive are detected, they are: *يحبها* /‘love her’ and *ييحسدوني* /‘they keep envying me’ with the prefix *ب-* at the beginning of the verb to denote continuity. As to the imperative mode, it is found to be in common use in the messages under study. Imperative verbs can denote a sense of demanding, inviting, encouraging or pushing people to do something. As to the distal past tense, it signals distance from the current communicative action. This verb form is found to be used by drivers to indicate their experience in life. They incline to use declarative clauses with past tense verbs to tell the audience their experiences to get benefit from them or to inform about their status, warning the audience that they may end up with the same consequences. Using the active participle serves in communicating a constant sense of continuity for the corresponding action. It indicates that the action is ongoing and will never stop. As a result, it is proved that this technique is an effective tool in communicating the vivid motion in the message, the thing that helps in best grasping its theme. The conditional sentences observed mark either events which are far from reality and are not likely to happen or conditional cases representing an action in the first phrase and its desirable reaction in the second.

The two words *الدنيا* /‘life’ and *الأخرة* /‘Hereafter’ appear to record six occurrences as examples for lexicalization. The other two occurrences are the words: *نهارك* /‘your day’ and *طول عمري* /‘for all my life’. Lexicalization helps the producers to express the time they mean without having to use verb forms.

5.1.4 Discourse Deixis

To direct the unfocused receiver’s attention to a specific part of a message, producers may make use of discourse deixis.

Owing to the short-text attribute of the slogans, only three discourse deictics could be registered from the data. The following slogans contain these deictics: /الفرامل: ياخوفى من اتنين/ 'I am frightened of two things: brakes and females', /والستات / 'The only thing that does not involve nepotism is friendship', /هسيك كده ورايا إنت / 'I will keep you behind me, you are not my peer'. In the above examples, the linguistic expressions /الاجابة /, /اتنين/ and /الوحيدة / function as “space-builders” as they “build a mental space” (Yang, 2011, p.130) whereby the entities intended to be focused on are assumed to come after.

5.1.5 Social Deixis

A well-known attribute about the Egyptians is their social tradition to establish familiarity and a sense of friendliness through their use of titles. The results detect some honorifics used in the slogans, for example, /ريس/ 'master', /معلم/ 'master', /نجم/ 'star', /اسطى/ 'master', /عم/ 'master'. These address terms are commonly used among the social class of drivers. Most of these terms are used metaphorically without intending the literal meaning of the address term. Consequently, most address terms adopted in the slogans are to convey familiarity and to create solidarity. Some address terms, on the other hand, are intended to be used to signal a degree of respect, deference or superiority, like /عمك/ 'your master', /ريس/ 'master', /ابن المعلم/ 'son of the master', /ابن / 'genuine', /ولاد ناس/ 'the genuine'. Moreover, drivers address their receivers using the separate and attached second person pronoun avoiding the polite plural of address /حضرتك/ 'you' to reaffirm familiarity or else to convey a sense of superiority and pride, e.g. /الكبير/ 'the elder' and /معلمين/ 'masters'.

5.2 Textuality Aspects

5.2.1 Cohesion

5.2.1.1 Reference

I have already analyzed the pronominal system and its referential use. Concerning proper names, they are regarded one of the main subclasses of the referential expressions; comparatives, as well, are considered one form of reference. In this regard Halliday and Hasan (1976) state “[a] thing cannot just be ‘like’, it must be ‘like something’”. Examples of comparatives can easily be detected through the data.

5.2.1.2 Substitution

Even though substitution is one of the cohesive devices that creates a strong link between the parts of a text, no cases of substitution could be found in the data. This may be owing to the nature of the slogans to have a relatively short message that cannot enable an opportunity to use this device.

5.2.1.3 Ellipsis

Ellipsis, as a device, helps achieving the cohesion of texts and contributes to attain efficiency of the message communicative ability. With regard to the little time readers have to read the slogan, ellipsis seems convenient to be employed owing to its ability to achieve the element of compactness. On the other hand, readers usually comprehend the message, realizing the missing items in the slogan. They, themselves, make the cohesive link. As a result, these shortened structures make the producers dispense with long and complex sentences. Ellipsis activates the memory and the ability of receivers to analyze and understand the message; hence it acquires its power and role in communication as long as it does not cause misunderstanding or confusion.

5.2.1.4 Conjunctions

A clear cohesive pattern could be found through the use of conjunctions. As the results revealed, the conjunctive /و/ 'and' signaled the most common occurrences with 55.3% of the total use of conjunctives. It appears that it signals different semantic relations between clauses and sentences which help in creating and understanding texts. Noticeably, the conjunctive /و/ is the only conjunctive that marks excessive use in spoken Arabic. The second in frequency is the particle /لو/ 'if' that has a conditional function. . The conditional case makes the effect of the message even more powerful, and helps in communicating the theme much easier. Drivers unavoidably use the conjunctive /بس/ 'but' in their attempt to produce their slogans in a way that touches their receivers. This adversative conjunction expresses a contrastive relation and unexpected meaning. /بس/ provides importance and confirmation to what follows. The causal conjunctives /من/، /عشان/، and /لـ/ are found to be used to render confirmation to the ideas follow them. The fourth conjunctive relation expressed in the data has a temporal sense. The conjunctive /لما/ 'when' indicates a temporal sequence. The word /طول/ 'as long as' may indicate simultaneous events.

5.2.1.5 Lexical Cohesion

As Baker (1992) sets it, "[l]exical cohesion covers any instance in which the use of a lexical item recalls the sense of an earlier one". There are two sub-types of lexical cohesion, they are reiteration and collocation. Reiteration implies a repetition of the lexical item in some way. Through the slogans, drivers tend to repeat some items. Consider, /عشت، / تستغرب، / طول، طول، / 'as long as'، /عشت /عشت 'live'، /اللى، اللى، / 'who'، / طول، طول، / 'was'، /كان، أكون، / 'to feel surprised'، /أغرب /اتعلم، المعلم، / 'learn, master'. Besides, there are some repeated attached pronouns like /عبده /الستار، / 'the shielder, his slave'، /صابتنى، نجانى، / 'shot me, saved me'. Drivers make use of synonyms as well. Pairs of

synonyms could be found in: /سكينة تدبحنى ولا بنت تجرحنى/ 'A knife *injured me* is better than a girl *leaves me*', /عليا أبويا غالى/ 'My father is *my dearly beloved* and my mother is *my eyes*', /مش بالسهل تتعلم ومن الصعب تبقى معلم/ 'It is *not easy* to learn, and it is *difficult* to be a master'. This infrequent use of synonyms throughout the slogans emphasizes the driver's point of view and creates cohesive ties. Less frequently used is the category of superordinates. There is a noticeable predominance in the use of collocated items in the slogans. This predominance reveals a stronger sense of cohesion and coherence through the messages. Patterns of collocations that are observed include: /صايتتى، نجانى/ 'shot me, saved me', /عصفور، أسد/ 'bird, lion', /أبويا، أمى/ 'my father, my mother', /متبصليش، شوف/ 'do not look at me, consider'. These pairs of opposites are familiar within the Egyptian society and reflect the cultural environment. Another type of patterns of collocations Egyptians are familiar with can be identified to be "the tendency of certain words to co-occur regularly in a given language" (Baker, 1992, p.47). To sum up, reiteration and collocation as instances of lexical cohesion contribute to the coherence of the messages and thus create texture. They are used to confirm the producer's point of view as well.

5.2.2 Coherence

The slogans have a specific meaning, content, concepts, relations, information and experience the drivers want to communicate. For this specific reason, all the slogans seem to be coherent. Drivers, definitely, do not write nonsense, so in the short time available for the receivers to read their messages, they tend their messages to be as coherent and perceptible as possible, unless they intend the reverse on purpose. Hence comes the coherence of the slogans. Most slogans seem to have a high degree of coherence as their conceptual relations are explicit to the receivers whether by the help of cohesive devices or without them. Unlike these examples where

cohesion supports the coherence of a text, there are other examples where coherence is manifested through the unifying meaningful whole constituted by the meanings and concepts involved in the message. In /أدينا صابرين يا دنيا/ *'Here we are, still standing'* the reader has the ability to recognize that the driver of this vehicle has encountered some difficulties and suffering during his lifetime and that he is still suffering some bad luck. He finds writing this slogan a way to express his state of surrender to destiny. This proves the fact that coherence is “a result of the interaction between knowledge presented in the text and the reader’s own knowledge and experience of the world” (Baker, 1992, p.219).

5.2.3 Intentionality

With regard to this “user-centered notion” (Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981), intentionality is considered an intrinsic property of utterances. Regardless of whether the receiver knows the driver’s intention or not, the driver himself writes the slogan on purpose. On the light of the data collected, intentionality can be said to range from being very clear to relatively vague.

5.2.4 Acceptability

Written texts should be accepted by the readers. Slogans as a kind of written texts are mostly clear and understood. Since they reveal some experiences of life, and hence can be said to be useful for the readers who can acquire knowledge and make use of these slogans; and since they can be admitted to be cohesive and coherent, then, slogans are worth to be accepted. Slogans meet readership expectations and constitute a communicative act.

5.2.5 Informativity

What the drivers carry to their receivers is definitely the information involved in their slogans; otherwise they would not

make the effort to write them. Drivers have something to tell to their audience. They hope to communicate something which they believe is unknown to them. The structures of the slogans do not cause troubles to the readers who are not in need to search deeply in the context or to reread the slogan in order to understand it.

5.2.6 Situationality

In order to make sense of any text, the situationality of this text must be considered. Situationality involves participants in the communicative event, its location, time and the cultural dimension as well. The situationality of the slogans as being a communicative event can be regarded to be messages produced by drivers to an intended or unintended addressees and which are written on the back of their vehicles to be read in the street. The audience perceives this situation very well, and in that very way they understand the messages of the drivers and the content.

5.2.7 Intertextuality

Based on the fact that intertextuality involves “the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text” (Fairclough, 2003, p.39), the Egyptian community is talented in intertextual texts. It has the ability to reproduce words, concepts or ideas in other contexts which results in communicating the intended message more deeply and effectively along with adding dimensions to the basic meaning. Examples of intertextuality can be observed throughout the data. These vary from referring to familiar songs like /أمل حياتي/ *‘The hope of my life’* and /التقدير /*‘Appreciation caused us great loss’*, familiar Arabic movie e.g. /كده رضا/ *‘I am satisfied’*, and some famous clauses that have become formulaic expressions most Egyptians adopted in their daily life after they were first introduced through a famous Egyptian TV series, e.g. /أحبووش/ *‘I do not like that’* and /حبيبي يا ربنا/ *‘Oh, my dear Lord’*. Drivers also

borrow some lexical items from other contexts and apply them to serve their own intentions. For example, they borrow the expression /للخلف در/ 'turn back' from the military life and use it to give a direct and decisive order to any bad fellow in the slogan /الصاحب اللي يضر للخلف در/ 'The fellow who causes troubles get out of my life (turn back)'. From the field of sports they produce /الدنيا ملعب واللعب يلعب/ 'Life is like a playground; the one who masters the game has to play'. Using some religious instructions they write /الدنيا بالمال والأخرة بالأعمال/ 'Life considers money and the Hereafter considers deeds'. Drivers also make use of the telecommunication dimension by sticking /أنا غير متاح/ 'I am not available' and the profession of trade by writing /لما وزنت صاحبي طلع الميزان ناقص/ 'When I tried to weigh my friend, the scale pointed deficient'. This is the very way intertextuality goes in which "the production and reception of a given text depends upon the participants' knowledge of other texts" (Beaugrande and Dressler, 1992, p.182).

6. Conclusion

In the light of the analyzed data, it has been concluded that:

1. The seven standards of textuality are thought to be of high importance for any stretch of language to be communicative including a single sentence or phrase. By adopting the seven constitutive standards of textuality, the slogans included in the study are found to be fully communicative. The cohesion and coherence of the slogans are of a high degree. The intentionality is found to be relatively clear. The acceptability is high. The informativity and situationality are relevant and the intertextuality is moderate.
2. The three regulative principles of textual communication, efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness, are thought to be fulfilled since short messages in a form of slogans appearing on the back of vehicles do not require time to be read. Drivers succeed in communicating their intentions to

- the readers along with leaving a strong impression on their memory.
3. The high frequency of the first person pronoun, the separate form /أنا/ 'I' and the attached /نا-، /ي، along with the use of hidden subjects which can be substituted by /أنا/; and the use of second person pronoun /ك-، /أنت، 'you' in Groups 1, 2 and 3, help in maintain a sense of vivid interaction between the drivers and the readership.
 4. Conjunctions are used to signal different relations according to the context of situation which provides the readers with clues to understand the producer's intention and organize the ideas in the process of their perception.
 5. Cohesion is proved to increase the overall sense of coherence in the messages by the diversity of linguistic devices.
 6. This study emphasizes what de Beaugrande (1997) later states; "the seven standards of textuality demonstrate how rich every text is connected to [our] knowledge of world and society". Unquestionably, the readership's socio-cultural background and their prior general knowledge of the world determine how much sense they get from the slogans.
 7. The successful interpretation of the messages depends to a large extent on the successful decoding of deictic expressions used. With the help of deictic expressions, drivers could refer to different items in the environment around them including their addressees, their vehicles and others. They also make use of the different types of deixis.
 8. Most of the drivers' use of temporal deixis helps them to express what they have experienced in the past as an attempt either to show their suffering or in order for the readers to get benefit from their experiences.
 9. Spatial and discourse deixis do not play a huge role in the stickers, and there is no fundamental use of social deixis.

10. The use of deictic expressions creates a feeling of immediate contact as if the driver is talking to the reader at the moment of reading, and it further provides the reader with a personal impression.
11. Bumper stickers in Sohag can be rated as highly deictic and referential since they constitute a pragmatic context structured around the driver who is the deictic center.
- 12.

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Appendix
Sample Bumper Stickers

Group (1):

- هو الستار وأنا عبده
'He (Allah) is the shielder and I am His salve.'
- أحبوش
'I don't like that.'
- يا خوفي من اتنين: الفرامل والستات.
- بختي مال من كتر الصحاب الشمال
'I am frightened of two things: brakes and females.'
- العين صابنتي ورب العرش نجاني.
'My destiny turned to be bad because of the bad fellows I have.'
- أدينا صابرين يا دنيا.
'The envious eye shot me and the Mighty Lord saved me.'
- احنا صغيرين بس معلمين.
'Here we are, still standing.'
- الكار ده مش كارنا يا رب صبرنا.
'We are still young but we are masters.'
- عشت عصفور دبجوني، عشت أسد احترموني.
'This profession is not ours, may Allah bestow us patience.'
- أنا غير متاح عشان البنات ترتاح
'When I lived like a bird, they injured me; when I lived like a lion, they respected me.'
- عملت ومتمرش.
'I'm not available in order for girls to relax.'
- عملنا اللي ميتعملش مع الناس اللي متستاھلش.
'I served them, but they never felt gratitude.'
- لوع المال اللهم لا حسد، لوع الرجولة أرجل من أسد.
'We helped them so honestly, but this effort was found to be for undeserved people.'
- دعينا ربنا ادانا والناس مش سايبانا.
'As to money, may Allah keeps envy away; as to manhood, I'm braver than a lion.'
- أبوي غالي عليّ وأمي نور عيني.
'We asked Allah and He granted us; but people keep envying us.'
- لو الرزق بالجري محدش كان سابقتي.
'My father is my dearly beloved and my mother is my eyes' light.'
- ملكش جميل عليّ يا حظ.
'If livelihood becomes better with running, no one will distance me.'
- بطلنا شقاوة البنات زادت حلاوة.
'Oh luck, you have no favor you have done for me.'
- بطلنا شقاوة البنات زادت حلاوة.
'When we stopped courting girls, they become even prettier.'

- لما وزنت صاحبي طلع الميزان ناقص.
'When I tried to weigh my friend, the scale pointed deficient.'
- بطلت أجمال وزى ما بتعامل حتعامل.
'I stopped complimenting others, and I will treat people the same way they are treating me.'
- شربنا الكاس من كلام الناس. 'We suffered because of gossips.'
- تلاميذنا افنكرونا عجزنا. 'Our students thought us became aged.'
- حبيبي يا ربنا. 'Oh, my dear Lord.'
- التقدير خسرنا كثير. 'Appreciation caused us great loss.'
- دي مش مهنتنا بس أحسن من قعدتنا.
'This is not our profession, but it is better than being unemployed.'
- أصحاب مين، ده عشري باع إبراهيم.
'Whom I should befriend? Ashry betrayed Ibrahim.'
- سكينه تدبحني ولا بنت تجرحني.
'A knife injured me is better than a girl leaves me.'
- لو بايدي اختار نصيبي مكنتش سبت حبيبي.
'I would never have left my beloved, if I had had a chance.'
- عشت جدع شبعنت وجع .
'When I acted in a noble way, I suffered enough.'

- ‘We love those who love us, and we forget those who hate us.’
- لو أنت في الكلام تاجر أنا في الفعل فاجر.
- ‘If you are a trader in the art of speech, I am a miscreant in the act of doing.’
- متبصش لعجلها لتجيب أجلها.
- ‘Do not look at its wheels for fear that it would break down.’
- أمل حياتي. ‘The hope of my life.’
- اللي بحبها عارفة نفسها. ‘The girl I love knows herself.’
- كان نفسي أكون ليك بس العين عليك.
- بيحسدوني عليك وأنت سر عذابي.
- ‘They envy me to having you, unknowing that you are the source of my suffering.’
- سبيوني في حالي. ‘Leave me alone.’
- سبيونا ناكل عيش. ‘Leave us to earn our living.’
- حلوة ليينا وحشة ليينا محدش له دعوة بينا.
- ‘It is good for us, it is bad for us; so it is none of your business.’
Group (3):
- حسبيك كده وراي، أنت مش مستواي.
- ‘I will keep you behind me, you are not my peer.’
- لو باض الديك مش حديدك. ‘It is impossible to let you pass me.’
- ياسطى دوس خليها تجيب فلوس. ‘Keep driving to earn much.’
- تحترمني أبوسك، تقل من أدبك أدوسك.
- ‘If you respect me, I will kiss you; if you act improperly, I will hit you.’
- حتعدي حدودك حلغي وجودك. ‘If you exceed your limits, I will kill you.’
- بص واتعلم من ابن المعلم. ‘Look and learn from the son of the master.’
- تاتا يا كيداهم، اللي جيباهم وخداهم، أنا علياً الغاز والزيت، وأنتي عليكي خراب البيت.
- izzyt w inti ʕalyky kharaab ?ilbyt/
‘You vexed them Tata. The money you earn, you expend. I have to bring you gas and oil, and you bring me troubles.’
- الحلوة محلفاتي مركبهاش لحد تاتي.
- ‘The sweetie ordered me not to let another one drive her.’
Group (4):
- كده رضا. ‘This is satisfactory.’
- مهنة عال وخربتها العيال.
- A good profession but the careless young spoil it.’
- عيون الناس غدارة، وعيون رب العرش ستارة.
- ‘The eyes of people are perfidious, but Allah is the shielder.’
- دي مش دبابة، دي رزق الغلابة.
- ‘It is not a tank, it is a source of living for the pitiable.’

- الصحاب مظاهر بس الأصيل ظاهر.
'There are kinds of friends, but the true one is evident.'
- مش كل الناس ولاد ناس. 'Not all people are genuine.'
- الصحاب اللي يضر للخلف ذر.
'The fellow who causes troubles, get out of my life.'
- الدنيا بالمال والآخرة بالأعمال.
Life considers money and the Hereafter considers deeds.'
- عضة أسد ولا نظرة حسد.
'To be bitten by a lion is better than to be shot by an envious eye.'
- توب الرجالة غالي.
'Being a masculine does not necessarily mean to be a man.'
- كلام الناس تحت. 'Do not concern with people's opinions.'
- البنات في الدنيا حلويات وفي الآخرة مشويات.
'In life, girls are sweeties; in Hereafter, they are barbecue.'
- لما الصراحة اتقالت، قلوب الناس شالت.
'When one speaks frankly, they feel upset.'
- آخرتها حساب. 'All deeds will be judged at the end.'
- ضحكة الجدع وقت الوجع هيبية.
'The smile of a man at the time of pain reflects his dignity.'
- الدنيا ملعب واللعيب يلعب.
'Life is like a playground; and the one who masters the game, has to play.'
- ابن الأصول معروف. 'It is easy to distinguish the genuine.'
- الجدع يتشاف والباقي شفاف.
'It is easy to see whether a person is a man, and whether he is not.'
- أي مرض في الدنيا له علاج إلا مرض البرود.
'There is a cure for any disease except indifference.'
- لدغة تعبان ولا غدر إنسان.
'To be bitten by a snake is better than to be deceived by a man.'
- الصحاب الناقص بناقص. 'There is no need for a bad fellow.'
- هي كده. 'That's it.'
- اللي يشاور الكبير يستريح.
'The person who consults the elder will feel satisfied.'
- اللي تعب وشقي غير اللي اتولد ولقي.
'The one who worked so hard is not like the one who has been always spoiled.'