

The Pragmatic Meanings of Car Stickers in Jordan

Bilal A. Al-Adaileh*, Lana J. Kreishan

Department of English Language and Literature, Al-Hussein Bin Talal University, P.O.Box 20, Maan, Jordan

Corresponding Author: Bilal A. Al-Adaileh, E-mail: b.a.adaileh@gmail.com

ARTICLE INFO

Article history

Received: March 11, 2021

Accepted: May 15, 2021

Published: June 30, 2021

Volume: 12 Issue: 3

Advance access: June 2021

Conflicts of interest: None

Funding: None

Key words:

Car Stickers,
Pragmatic,
Implicatures,
Metaphor,
Metonymy

ABSTRACT

This study is aimed at investigating the illocutionary forces of car stickers in Jordan as an under-researched area of Arabic pragmatics. The study is based on authentic data collected over a year as found displayed on cars in the south, mid and north of Jordan. The data collected were found to display a wide range of social, romantic and economic functions including displaying vehicle size and brand, protection against envy, disappointment and betrayal, giving advice, displaying love and romantic challenges, crises and car stickers aimed at attracting others' attention. Stickers used as a protective measure against evil eye were found to be the most frequently used stickers in our data (32.65%). Though car stickers are equated with amusement and humor, they are used nowadays as a tool to indirectly criticize social, economic and political crises, and this could reflect the social and economic challenges of life. The overwhelmingly rhythmic car stickers examined in the study were found to be instances of decodable expressions whose overall meanings could be recovered by sticker readers.

INTRODUCTION

This study, as explained above, is designed to explore the pragmatic meanings of car stickers in Jordan. It is an attempt to analyze these expressions showing how they are used to express a wide range of romantic, social and economic functions. Car stickers could be said to be a dramatically increasing, under-researched phenomenon in Jordan. This study, therefore, aims to investigate the communicated meanings of these expressions.

The data collected for the present study is an authentic data based on our observations as linguists. The data collection process extended over a period of a year, gathering expressions displayed on cars in the south, mid and north of Jordan in order to ensure the representatives of data. 49 car stickers were collected and analyzed in terms of the functions for which they are used. Though the car stickers collected are not ambiguous and their illocutionary forces are pragmatically calculable, there was a need to ask people about their explanations of these stickers as a way to know the intended meanings of these short messages. To this end, an open-ended questionnaire including the 49 stickers (see Appendix B) was distributed to 100 university students. The second part of the questionnaire is designed to discover the interpretations or the reactions of the receivers of the messages.

The informants were university students who were enrolled in Arabic and English language classes in three different universities: Mu'tah University, Al-Hussein Bin Talal University and The University of Jordan. Though we gave out 103 questionnaires, 71 informants returned them completed, with a response rate of 68.9 %.

Section 2 is a theoretical review of the literature on car stickers; it reviews previous studies on car stickers. Definitions of metaphor, metonymy and implicatures are also provided. Section 3 comprises the main contribution of this study, in that a discussion of the pragmatic meanings of car stickers in Jordan is included. Section 4 presents the conclusion of the study summarizing its main findings.

Statement of the Problem

The present study, as outlined above, is an attempt to explore the illocutionary forces of car stickers in Jordan, demonstrating how people could implicitly communicate their feelings and thoughts. Unlike Jaradat's (2016) study which associates car stickers with fun and humour only, marginalizing their role in criticizing social, economic and political challenges, the present study demonstrates that car stickers in Jordan are a double-edged weapon; they are a source of fun and entertainment while implicitly communicating and raising criti-

cism against social, economic and political challenges. This has motivated the researchers to examine this phenomenon and investigate the illocutionary forces of car stickers and their implicit meanings.

Purpose and Questions of the Study

The main goal of this study is to explore and analyze the pragmatic meanings of car stickers in Jordan. Since most car stickers communicate indirect meanings, it is worth examining this particular phenomenon explaining the implicit meanings of car stickers appearing on cars in Jordan. This study attempts to answer the following questions:

- 1- What are the car stickers that are used in Jordan?
- 2- What are the pragmatic meanings and/or functions of car stickers in Jordan?

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Literature Review

A bumper sticker is an adhesive label or sticker with a message intended to be attached to the bumper of an automobile and to be read by the occupants of other vehicles¹. They may promote or oppose a particular social, economic or political position. The phenomenon of car stickers has been tackled recently with the aim of illuminating their social, economic, political and religious functions. Investigating the language of religious car stickers in Oyo State, Nigeria, Ogunnike (2013: 35) states that the type of stickers placed on individual cars is used as a tool to identify the faith of the car owner. She also finds out that some stickers depict the year, situations, occasions and the intentions of car owners. Chilwa (2008: 371), also investigating religious vehicle stickers in the context of Nigeria, finds out that people use stickers to “[...] define their individual and group identities within religious institutional practices.” Stickers are also found to be discursive means of expressing emotions and social status (Newhagen & Ancell 1995: 312).

Bloch (2000: 48), exploring bumper stickers in Israel, states that political car stickers “[...] began as a spontaneous protest medium, evolving into a routinized form of public discourse, taking place throughout the year.” Bloch finds out that bumper stickers have become a “structured means” of expressions allowing people in the street to take part in the national discourse. The study’s findings also reveal that the political discourse mirrors the social norms of the society and the use of these political stickers is seen as affirmation of cultural identity. “This lively and animated folkloristic political discourse offers an alternative perspective on major political developments, which occur at a dizzying pace” (Salamon 2001: 278).

Stern and Soloman (1992: 169) describe bumper stickers as “expressions of creativity” used to express playfulness, humor, feelings, opinions and car owners’ affiliations. They point out that bumper stickers can be personal or social, micro-level or macro-level, and self-deprecating or self-enhancing. Stern and Soloman (1992: 169) view car stickers as part of car ornamentation and the overall aim of their study is

to investigate the dynamics of cars “[...] as social canvases on which expressions of the self are displayed against the background context of mass culture.” Car stickers are found out to be an important tool for teaching students letters, shapes, colors, designs and their meanings (Norton-Meier 2004: 261). Haynsworth (2008: 23) stresses the significance of reaching the right interpretation of the intended messages of bumper stickers, as failure to capture the intended meanings of car stickers is likely to bring about negative consequences to car owners. “And that’s why I’m worried about my own bumper sticker and what feelings it might be engendering about me in the hearts and minds of the hundreds if not thousands of other motorists who see it every day” (Haynsworth 2008: 23).

In the Jordanian context, two studies on bumper stickers have been conducted yet they are different in terms of their aims. Al-Momani’s et al (2017: 91) study is aimed at investigating the structural patterns of bumper stickers in Jordan. They find out that 90% of the stickers are sentences, with the majority of them are simple sentences expressed in the present tense. Authors contend that the use of simple sentences and present tense could be useful for sticker writers (drivers) who could express their attitudes, opinions and beliefs easily and for sticker interpreters (drivers and pedestrians) who would not experience difficulty interpreting bumper stickers. Unlike Al-Momani’s et al (2017), Jaradat’s (2016: 253) study is mainly concerned with examining the themes of car stickers in Jordan. He finds out that car stickers express a wide range of economic and social topics. The main motive behind the use of these stickers is fun and humor, in that the majority of them, he contends, are not serious, are not loaded with any “biting messages” and are not directing any criticism to the most dominant problems at the societal level including the problems of inflations, high taxes and refugees. Jaradat (2016: 253) also finds out that political car stickers are still taboo in Jordan.

This study would be different from Jaradat’s (2016) in that it would be a pragmatic (where some car stickers’ inscriptions are extended metonymically or metaphorically to communicate indirect meanings) analysis of car stickers in Jordan. That said, the pragmatic implicatures of the indirectly communicated short messages would be discussed in the present paper. More importantly, political car stickers do exist in our data and the political criticism directed to the successive Jordanian governments and prime ministers could be linked to the difficult socio-economic situations of most Jordanians. It is worth noting that car stickers in the past were focused on romantic issues. However, car stickers nowadays are used to express and criticize the economic and political situation of the country.

The significance of knowing the car owners’ intentionality as raised by (Haynsworth 2008: 23) implicates that some bumper stickers communicate indirect meanings. This indeed necessitates providing brief explanations on what pragmatic implicatures are. Equally important, metonymy and metaphor distinction is also provided, as some car stickers’ meanings are extended metaphorically and metonymically. Because some car stickers are aimed at, said some

respondents, creating a sense of humor, a further sub-section is allocated providing a definition of the language of humor.

Metaphor and Metonymy

Metaphor and metonymy have been a subject of study by a number of researchers who explain their conceptual nature. Ullmann (1962: 212), for example, states that while metonymy involves contiguity metaphor is based on similarity. Ullmann points out that contiguity means the associative relations that are not based on similarity. In the same vein, Halliday (1985: 319-320) draws a distinction between metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche (as a subtype of metonymy), showing that metaphor is based on resemblance whereas metonymy is based on associations. Halliday's definitions are quoted as follows:

- (i) *Metaphor*. "A word is used for something resembling that which it usually refers to; for example, *flood ... poured in, ... in A flood of protests poured in following the announcement (a large quantity ... came in)*.... If the fact of resemblance is explicitly signaled by a word such as *like*, as in *protests came in like a flood*, this is considered to be not metaphor, but simile."
- (ii) *Metonymy*. "A word is used for something related to that which it usually refers to; for example, *eye ... in keep your eye on the ball (gaze)*."
- (iii) *Synecdoche*. "A word is used for some larger whole of which that which it refers to is a part; for example, *strings ... in At this point the strings take over (stringed instruments)*."

Lakoff (1987: 288) contends that metaphor is a cross-domain mapping whereas metonymy is a within-domain mapping. Lakoff's (1987: 288) definitions are quoted as follows:

- (i) "... metaphoric mapping involves a source domain and a target domain.... The mapping is typically partial. It maps the structure in the source domain onto a corresponding structure in the target domain"
- (ii) "... a metonymic mapping occurs within a single conceptual domain which is structured by an ICM (= an Idealized Cognitive Model)."

The definitions explained above substantiate that there is conceptual mapping in both metaphor and metonymy, with the difference that metaphor is a cross-domain mapping whereas metonymy is a mapping within a single conceptual domain (Lakoff & Turner, 1989: 103) or intra-domain phenomenon (Deignan 2005: 73).

Implicatures

Implicatures in Gricean and Neo-Gricean Pragmatics are defined as meanings that are derived, but not part of what is said. Implicatures refer to the addressee's ability to draw inferences and detect what the speaker pragmatically implies on the basis of what is literally said (Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez Hernández 2003: 23). The inference principles provided by Grice's theory of conversational implicatures enable the hearer to derive the suitable indirect force of the speech acts. They are, as proposed by Grice (1975: 45-47), spelled out by maxims, which are:

- 1- quantity a) make your contribution as informative as is required.
b) do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
- 2- quality a) don't say what you believe to be false.
b) don't say that for which you lack adequate evidence
- 3- relation be relevant.
- 4- manner a) avoid obscurity of expression.
b) avoid ambiguity.
c) be brief
d) be orderly

Speakers flout the maxims in order to create conversational implicatures, which they expect the addressees to infer what is being conversationally implicated. Telling lies, not giving the required relevant information, or giving utterances that are ambiguous are all instances of flouting Grice's maxims. A few of Grice's examples illustrate indirect speech acts, e.g. "*There is a garage around the corner*" is used to tell someone where to get petrol. "*He was a little intoxicated*," is used to explain why a man smashed some furniture.

Discussing implicatures in connection with politeness, Brown and Levinson (1987: 6, 9) argue that politeness arises in the form of particularised implicatures. In her frame-based theory of politeness, Terkourafi (2003, 2005), however, argues that politeness can arise in the form of both particularized and generalized implicatures. While the generalized implicatures are not dependent on recognizing the intentions of the speaker (Levinson 2000: 20-23), Terkourafi (2003: 152-154, 2005: 251) claims that politeness can also arise from inferences about speaker intentions in the form of a particularized implicatures in other situations. Politeness implicatures are broadly defined as something implied in addition to what is literally said (2007: 85). Politeness implicature "[...] shows what the speaker thinks of the hearer or the speaker, relative to their expectations about what the speaker should show he/she thinks of the hearer or the speaker" (Haugh 2007: 85). This approach to politeness implicature has been adopted by (Haugh and Hinze 2003; Haugh 2003, 2004).

Building on Arundale's (1997, 1999, 2004, 2005) Conjoint Co-constituting Model of Communication, (Haugh 2007: 96-97, 106) argues that politeness implicature is interactionally achieved in conversation directing no more attention to the speaker intention. The politeness implicatures arising in this interactional view of communication are to be distinguished from those arising in the intention view of communication as adopted by the (neo-) Gricean and Relevance theoretic approaches in pragmatics.

Humor

A number of studies have tackled the notion of humor with the purpose of defining it and highlighting its functions. Walker (1998: 3), for instance, argues that humor refers to the person's ability to smile and laugh and to cause others to do the same; the ability to create humorous situations as a way to cause people laugh. Humor could be used to strengthen the social relationships within a group or community or be used

to exclude a member from a group or community. It could be used as a tool to express agreement or disagreement (Martin 2007: 20). Investigating the pragmatic aspects of humor and gender in the New Zealand workplaces, Holmes (2006: 26) claims that humor is used to “foster collegiality,” constructing and maintaining good relations with fellow workers. Similarly, Rogerson-Revell (2007: 4), investigating humor in business, argues that the tone and frequency of humor are dependent on the styles of meetings, in that humor marks the shift of style between formality and informality. Humor is used as a “double-edged weapon” in these meetings; being used as a tool of inclusion or exclusion. Morrison (2012: 25) recognizes three types of humor; jokes (aimed at provoking laughter), spontaneous conversational humor (intentional humor), and accidental humor (unintentional humor raised by utterances which are not meant to be funny.) Car stickers investigated in this study are examples of intentional humor, based on conducted interviews, in which one of Grice’s maxims is deliberately flouted.

DISCUSSION

This section, which discusses the meanings of short messages appearing on car stickers in Jordan, constitutes the main contribution of this study. The data collected for this study was categorized in terms of the functions for which these car stickers are used. To this end, the car stickers under study were classified into seven categories: 1. Stickers displaying vehicle size and brand; 2. Protection against envy stickers; 3. Stickers displaying disappointment and betrayal; 4. Advice-giving car stickers; 5. Love expressions-based car stickers; 6. Crisis-displaying car stickers; and 7. Stickers attracting others’ attention.

Functions of Jordanian Car Stickers

Vehicle size and brand

Most stickers collected in this category (14.28%) are used to state whether the vehicle is small or large, cheap or expensive. These idioms are found on small and large family cars, commercial vehicles including vans, buses and trucks, and long vehicles including trailers. The main motive behind using them seems to be that their owners want to express their emotional, social and economic problems, and to informally and indirectly keep others informed of the life challenges that they encounter. This might be seen as a humorous way of attracting the attention of others. Car stickers expressive of small, low-value cars include the followings (where ‘LT’ means ‘literal translation’, ‘IT’ means ‘idiomatic translation’ and ‘PI’ means ‘pragmatic interpretation’):

- (1) *bas ?akbar saying*: “See Appendix A for more information about the phonetic symbols used in this study.” *bafarrd̥ji-ku* (appearing on mini Kia Sephia)
 LT: when bigger I-show-you
 IT: ‘When I get bigger I will show you.’
 PI: When I get a new/brand-new/large-engine car, you will never dare overtake me.
- (2) *maṣīr iz-zyīr yikbar* (appearing on mini Datsun)
 LT: fate ART-small-SG-MASC get-big-FUT
 IT: ‘For sure, the small will be big.’

PI: For certain, one day I will get large, powerful car.

- (3) *if-fabaḥ maṣ il-madām* (appearing on a shabby Toyota Dyna pickup truck)

LT: ART-ghost-SG with ART-madam-SG

IT: ‘The Mercedes S class is with my wife.’

PI: This is a scruffy pickup, but I also have a luxury car.

Though newly invented, these stickers are not hard to understand by Jordanian people. It could be argued that this is because of the size and the brand of the car which help explain the meanings given to these stickers. Examples (1) and (2) might typically be used to express the speech act of threatening and is normally used in a context when a young and powerless person, who has been wronged by someone, is threatening to get retaliation when he grows up. These stickers are used to express the determination of these car owners to buy brand-new, large and big-engine cars when they become financially eligible, said some respondents.

It should be noted that for many of these car owners, the car size is not as important as the engine size, bearing in mind that the majority of these stickers are exhibited on cars whose owners are predominantly young adults who strongly believe that the best car is the big-engine one. Young adults’ evaluation of the best car is based on the maximum speed of the car and not on how large it is. For many immature young adults, a professional driver is the one who drives at a higher speed, said a respondent. With this in mind, the overall meaning of these stickers could be the humorous threatening. That is, the indirect message the car owners want to send to the other drivers who are overtaking them (car owners) is that nobody would dare overtake them when they get a big-engine, and therefore, a high speed car. That does not mean the car size is not an advantage. On the contrary, big-size cars are a wish for many people and one of the received meanings of example (2) conforms to this interpretation, yet the high speed interpretation strongly applies to young adults who believe that driving at a higher speed is a prerequisite for professional driving. The same meaning of example (3) seems to be in conformation with that of (4):

- (4) *lā yayurr-ak il-fōks tra ir-rind̥ḡ fi-l-bēt* (appearing on a shabby Volkswagen)

LT: no delude-you ART-Volkswagen as ART-Range Rover in-the-home

IT: ‘Do not get deluded by the (age-old and valueless) Volkswagen as the Range Rover is at home.’

PI: I would love to have a Range Rover.

Examples (3) and (4) stress the same point explained above; these car owners seem to be more attracted to big-size and big-engine cars as Mercedes (S class) and Range Rover are. They pretend they are humble and are satisfied with their vehicles, and other people know that these car owners do not have these luxurious and precious alternatives yet. It could also be an attempt on these car owners’ part to convey a humorous message to others – though this might distract other drivers reading the message and could cause undesirable traffic consequences. It is finally a chance to express their wish to possess a new or nearly new, large or fast car.

It is worth noting that *if-fabah* (Ghost), as used in example 3, is used by all Jordanian people to metaphorically refer to Mercedes S-Class. This Arabic lexical alternative became conventional and an established word in the lexical inventories of Jordanian people. This lexical replacement, *Ghost*, has been invented to express the precious value of this particular class of all Mercedes products. The term is implicitly suggestive of how huge, luxurious and fast the Mercedes S-Class is. The use of *Ghost* is confined to the third generation of S-Class Mercedes from the years 1991-1998. Because the fourth generation of S-Class is more luxurious than the third, this necessitated the search for an Arabic lexical alternative more expressive in terms of luxury and hugeness than *Ghost*. This, therefore, led to the appearance of *yawwāṣṣah* (submarine).

Stickers appearing on large and expensive vehicles were found to be indicative of the size and value of these vehicles. In the data collected for the present study, three examples were used to express this function:

- (5) *ihtirām il-kabīr wādḡib* (appearing on large trailer truck)
LT: respect-GER ART-elderly duty
IT: 'Respecting the elderly is a duty.'
PI: Traffic priority should be given to large vehicles.
- (6) *ibṣīd adḡa in-nisīr* (appearing on oil tank trailer)
LT: keep away come-PRES-PROG ART-eagle-SG
IT: 'Keep away the eagle is coming.'
PI: Traffic priority should be given to large vehicles.
- (7) *man ?antum* (appearing on Mercedes S-Class)
LT: who you-PL
IT: 'Who are you?!'
PI: I have a more luxurious car than you.

Examples (5) and (6) indirectly communicate the large size and the high speed of these vehicles. This seems to be more apparent in example (5) where the eagle is extended metaphorically to refer to the large oil tank trailer. They, examples (5) and (6), could be taken as an implicit request to the other drivers to keep a safe distance between their cars and these large vehicles, said some respondents. On a deeper level, these stickers could be used humorously as a genuine, yet not necessarily polite, request that traffic priority should be given to these large, heavily-laden vehicles. They are also intended as an invitation to other drivers to slow down to avoid rear-end accidents. This could be strengthened by the fact that oversize vehicles are normally accompanied by police or a pilot vehicle with flashing light to warn traffic that the load following is wide or long. In the cultural context of Jordan, priority of entry at a door is given to the elderly out of deference. By analogy, example (5) could be said to be based on this particular social norm, in that traffic priority should be given to the relatively large and heavily-laden vehicles. Discussing these examples in connection with Grice's Cooperative Principle, it is found that examples 3, 4 and 6 flout the maxim of quality in the sense the speaker deliberately says something that is untrue.

From a social perspective, drivers of these large vehicles could be said to be showing their pride as compared to small-car drivers. For some Jordanian people, to be a large trailer truck driver is a source of pride, as said by some respon-

dents, as it implicitly demonstrates how professional these drivers are in comparison with small-car drivers. This feeling could be reinforced by the high level of caution displayed by small-car drivers when approaching these large vehicles. This could make drivers of large vehicles feel pleased when realizing they are a source of fear to other small-car drivers. This could explain their use of caution-displaying stickers that might reflect their feelings of pride and joy.

The rhetorical question upon which example (7) is based is used to express the same meaning; the Mercedes driver is showing his pride as compared to other low-value, less luxurious car drivers. One respondent said that this sticker is directed to *ṣawwīāt* (العوايات) whose drivers drive slowly causing traffic hindrance. In the Jordanian context, *ṣawwīāt* (the plural of *ṣawwīāh*-عواية) is a term which is originally used to describe a small and skinny goat but extended metaphorically to refer to the low-value and cheap cars. Example (7) could also be seen as an attempt on the driver's part to attract others' attention to the precious and the hard-won car he owns, and the fact that he is, therefore, a special, wealthy or lucky person, said some respondents.

Stickers used as a protective tool against envy

Stickers used as a protective measure against evil eye were found to be the most frequently used stickers in our data (32.65%). This could be linked to people's awareness of the catastrophic consequences evil eye might bring. Evil eye is thought of as a look given to inflict harm, suffering, and bad luck on those that is cast upon. It is a look intended, out of jealousy or pure malice, for something bad to happen to the object of one's focus. People strongly believe that one malicious look is powerful enough to cause undesirable disaster to the unfortunate person that is the receiver of the glare, said respondents. People who own something precious including children, wealth, fame, beauty, cars etc., are thought of to be highly vulnerable to evil eye.

It should be taken into consideration that in Jordan cars are expensive relative to the people's low income and the majority of people finance or take on expensive car loans rather than buying with cash money, and this is likely to make cars something precious for their owners. Having said that, it is not uncommon for many Jordanian people to pursue protective measures against evil eye and use stickers on their cars as a tool to deter the maleffects of evil eye. Because evil eye, respondents assume, is taken seriously while the victim is unaware of it, immediate action is required to avoid the harm inflicted, and this could explain the use of car stickers that implicitly, though sometimes explicitly, invite others not to cast an evil eye on the car on which the sticker appears. Car stickers that belong to this category are further sub-divided into three sub-categories ranging from stickers based on religious expressions, stickers based on retounized expressions and newly invented stickers.

Religious expressions based-stickers

In an attempt to ward off the harm of evil eye and turn away its malice, a number of religious stickers have been used

repeatedly. They could be used as a deterring weapon against any malicious look that could be cast on the cars on which these stickers appear. Examples belonging to this particular category include:

- (8) *mā fāʾ allāh*
 LT: whatever God wills
 PI: 'Don't cast malevolent look, please.'
- (9) *tabārak allāh*
 LT: blessings of God
 PI: 'Don't cast malevolent look, please.'
- (10) *allahuma sʿalli ʿala sayyidina Muhammad*
 LT: 'peace be upon Prophet Muhammad.'
 PI: 'Don't cast malevolent look, please'

Convinced with the common saying *prevention is better than cure*, people seek refuge in Allah, by using these expressions, against evil eye and against all venomous creatures. Such expressions are also likely to appear on the main entrance of most people's newly designed buildings. Car stickers based on religious expressions, in line with Ogunnike (2013), could be used as a tool to identify the faith of the car owner, and "[...] define their individual and group identities within religious institutional practices" Chilwa (2008: 371). Showing and supporting their faith in Allah, many people display religious expressions-based stickers on their cars such as those mentioned above. Many of them are very popular as they stress their belief in Allah, said one respondent.

Commonly used social expressions

These frequently used expressions are used as a protective tool against the curse of evil eye and as an invitation to the envier to stop wishing the loss of others' advantages. Examples (11), (12) and (13) are used to convey the same function; to get secured and cured from evil eye.

- (11) *al ʿhasūd la yasūd*
 LT: ART-envier no predominate-PRES
 IT: 'The envier does not prevail.'
 PI: Envy is also malicious to the envier
- (12) *ʿġn al ʿhasūd fīha ʿġd*
 LT: eye ART-envier-SG in wood stick-SG
 IT: 'A wood stick shall be in the envier's eye.'
 PI: May the envier's eye get blinded by a wood stick and, therefore, stop envying others?
- (13) *allahumma ʾiʿt̄him ma yatamannūna lī*
 LT: oh Allah, give them what wish-PRES me
 IT: 'Oh Allah give people the same they wish to me.'
 PI: May Allah turn back malignant effects of envy and get them inflicted on the envier?

Car stickers with a unified rhythm, as are examples (11) and (12) where rhythmic words are underlined, are likely to have great impact and profound effect on people, and could be, in the case of envy protection, more effective than non-rhythmic stickers, teaching people to always wish the good to others. Example (11) could be taken as a piece of advice directed to the envier and the overall meaning of this expression is that envy renders the envious person unhappy by his/her envy, in that malicious envy – as an inner force – is likely to ruin the envier's mind who blindly wishes the loss

of others' gained advantages; it reflects his painful awareness of the advantages enjoyed by others, said one respondent.

The supplication-based stickers, as are examples (12) and (13), are used as protective measures against envy and evil eye, with the former being an example of an implicit supplication, and the latter being an example of direct supplication. The supplication-based sticker of (13) could be said to be a double-edged weapon, in that it could be advantageous or disadvantageous to the sticker readers based on whether they wish something good or bad to the car owner. Since such car stickers are, as said before, other-oriented aimed at amusing others and simultaneously communicating implicit messages, their overall meanings should be decodable by people. More importantly, some car stickers are conventional and this easily helps others calculate their overall meanings. Newly coined car stickers displaying new meanings are conventionalized over time and become established in the lexical and pragmatic inventories of people.

New stickers calling for non-envy

The social expressions discussed above as avoidance strategies of evil eye could be said to be very common and conventional to the extent they are no longer effective, assumed some respondents. People who are accustomed to reading such expressions might need to have new expressions that successfully attract their attention to the potential danger incurred by casting others an evil eye. This, therefore, could explain the appearance of new rhythmic, and therefore humorous, car stickers inviting others to stop casting an evil eye at others' hard-won advantages. Examples mirroring this particular function include:

- (14) *La tsʿibnī b-il-ʿġn miʿtarīha bi-d-dġn*
 LT: never cast PREP-ART-eye buy-PST (it) PREP-ART-debt
 IT: 'Never cast an evil eye; the car is financed.'
 PI: I'm not wealthy.
- (15) *Lā tīnyarr bi-s-siyārah sāyig-ha madyūn*
 LT: no delude-IMP you PREP-ART-car driver-POSS-SUB in-debt-PART-PRED
 IT: 'Do not get deluded by the car, its driver is in debt.'
 PI: I'm not wealthy.
- (16) *id-dīzil fīhdeh wi-l-basʿ dġn hīf ʿalē-na biʾōfīt al-ʿġn*
 LT: ART-diesel fuel-SUB beggary-PRED ART-bus-SUB debt-PRED lessen-IMP PREP-us look ART-eye
 IT: 'The diesel fuel has been beggared and the bus is indebted to the bank, so don't cast your evil eye.'
 PI: I'm not wealthy.

All car stickers mentioned above humorously substantiate that these vehicles were not bought with cash money and their owners are not, therefore, wealthy to be cast an evil eye. To say that, example (16), he borrowed money in order to fill his bus with diesel fuel, the car owner stresses that the car owner is going deeper into debt and for a long period of time. It is, therefore, a request to others to sympathize with the car owner who should not be thought of as a wealthy person to be, therefore, glared malevolently by others, said

one respondent. Newly invented proverb-based car stickers also include

- (17) *ṣaḍḍat ṣagrab wala naḍḍrat aḍḍrab*
LT: sting-NOM scorpion good-COMP-PRED look scabby (person)
IT: 'Getting stung by scorpion is less malicious than being looked at by a bad person.'
PI: Stop glaring malevolently.
- (18) *ṣaḍḍat asad wala naḍḍrat hasad*
LT: bite-NOM lion good-COMP-PRED look envy
IT: 'A lion bite is less harmful than an envious look.'
PI: Stop casting an evil eye at others' advantages.

Describing the scorpion sting and the lion bite as being more alleviating than a malicious look demonstrates how much people are worried about envious eye which, they assume, can cause a person to become sick and even to die. Such genuine requests to refrain from glaring maliciously are framed with humor – by employing rhythmic expressions – as an attempt to be polite and as a way to attract others' attention to car owners' intended message. These newly-invented car stickers could explain how inventive people are in terms of coining idiom-based car stickers. Driven by their fear of evil eye, some people could create highly influential car stickers calling for non-envy, and this conforms to Stern and Soloman (1992: 169) who describe bumper stickers as “expressions of creativity” used to express playfulness, humor, feelings, opinions and car owners' affiliations. Norton-Meier (2004: 261) says that car stickers are found out to be an important tool for teaching students letters, shapes, colors, designs and their meanings. In relation to this, we could say that car stickers are also used as an important means to teach other people positive values such as wishing the good for all people. Other humorous car stickers serving as precaution measures against evil eye also include:

- (19) *ḍḡayy-ih bi-ḍāhab al-madam.*
LT: come-PST-it PREP-gold ART-madam
IT: 'It was bought with madam's jewelry.'
PI: I sold madam's jewelry to be financially able to buy this car, so don't glare maliciously.
- (20) *il-hilweh muf wirθ taraha ḍḡayy-ih fi xaliṣ idṣ-dṣiris*
LT: ART-sweetheart no inheritance as come-PST-it in pull ART-tooth
IT: 'My sweetheart (car) is not inheritance; it was like pulling teeth to get it.'
PI: I did not inherit this car from father. I got this car painstakingly; I'm not wealthy, so please don't glare malevolently.
- (21) *Itbaḡalg-if ya lawḥ is-siyārah aḍḡat bi-tṣlūṣ ar-rūḥ*
LT: glare-IMP-not O wooden platform ART-car come-PST PREP-rise ART-soul
IT: 'Don't glare, stupid man. It is a hard-earned vehicle. It was like getting a soul out of a body when I bought it.'
PI: I'm not wealthy.

It is unanimously known for all Jordanians that wife's jewelries are not for sale except in the time of crisis; when there is a very important reason and a common interest such

as building a house or buying a car. Bearing in mind that example (19) appeared on a taxi, it becomes apparent that this taxi could be the main source of livelihood for the car owner and his family, hence the use of these humorous precaution measures against evil eye. To compare obtaining a car to the process of pulling teeth, example (20), or to a case of a soul departing the body, example (21), substantiates the difficulty of obtaining a car, said some respondents. The overall meaning of all these stickers, the car owner is not rich, is easily calculable by people who could be displaying the same or similar car stickers on their cars. Doubly functioned car stickers which incorporate the car owners' fear of evil eye and their constructive criticism of the government include:

- (22) *wallāḥ ṣalē-ha duḡṣ-at li?anni ma biṣit il-fūsfāt*
LT: swear by Allah on it installment-PL because no sell-PST ART-phosphate
IT: 'I swear by Allah the car cost is being paid in installments because I did not sell the Phosphate Company.'
PI: I swear by Allah my car was not bought with cash money because I'm a law-abiding and thus corruption charges-free person.
- (23) *lā yayurr-ak is-siyārah fi-ha sistim tara is-sāyig tṣālīṣ-l-uh daṣim.*
LT: no delude-you ART-car PREP-it system as ART-driver get-PST-OBJ support
IT: 'Don't be deceived by the stereo system in my car, as the owner got support.'
PI: Don't be deceived by the high-quality and loud sound installed stereo in my car as I got the governmental winter fuel allowance. Don't cast a malevolent look; I'm not wealthy.

The interpretation of example (22) is based on a common corruption case in which The Jordan Phosphate Mines Company and chairman are implicated in suspected corruption relating to marketing and shipping deals the company signed with foreign firms. The overall meaning of this car sticker is that because the car owner is clean-handed and a corruption-free person, he is, therefore, indebted and unable to buy car with cash money, said some respondents. The ironic message raised in example (23), that the high quality stereo system installed in the car was bought with the money the car owner received as a financial support, is said to be a criticism of the inadequacy of the government subsidies for fuel. Also, being eligible for government subsidies automatically presupposes the car owner is a low-income person, and isn't thus a wealthy man to be cast an evil eye. In disagreement with Jaradat's (2016) study, political car stickers directing criticism to the successive Jordanian governments do exist in our data, and this could mirror the difficult socio-economic situations of most Jordanian people. As said previously, car stickers used to be a tool to display romantic issues. However, car stickers nowadays are used to criticize the governments' performance and the difficult economic situation of the country.

Disappointment and betrayal based-car stickers

The observation-based data collected for the present study include car stickers (16.32%) that signify car owners' disap-

pointment or betrayal of some friends or relatives. They could also stand for car owners' unsuccessful love stories or their bad luck in getting a job. These stickers are designed to humorously attract the attention of others to car owners' disappointment and their grievances of friends or relatives' treachery. Examples of emotional betrayal-based car stickers include:

- (24) *hatta hadaf hayāt-i tʿalaʿ tasallul.*
 LT: even goal life-POSS appear offside
 IT: 'My life goal is offside.'
 PI: I'm romantically challenged.
- (25) *yaddar-īn ya hīlw-īn*
 LT: treacherous-PL you sweetheart-PL
 IT: 'Traacherous, sweethearts.'
 PI: I'm romantically disappointed

The above romantic disappointment-based stickers are used to stand for a romantic story failure happened to the car owner. The punning employed in example (24) and symbolized by the humorous use of the word *hadaf* (goal) could be used strategically to attract others' attention to the car owner's romantic disappointment, comparing the romantic failure to the offside. Addressing the sweetheart using the plural form, as apparent in example (25), is quite normal and could be suggestive of how into him (car owner) the beloved is. Example (25) could be said, said respondents, to be used by someone who has been betrayed by his close friends. Other examples rhetorically expressive of friends' betrayal include:

- (26) *taʿʿallamt is-safar min yadir il-bafar*
 LT: learn-PST ART-travelling because betrayal ART-people
 IT: 'I learnt travelling because of people's betrayal.'
 PI: I'm extremely disappointed.
- (27) *kalb sʿadīg wala sʿadīg kalb*
 LT: dog friend good-COMP friend dog
 IT: 'A friendly dog is better than a friend who is dog.'
 PI: I'm extremely disappointed.
- (28) *ʿaʿfiḡ-t il-kilāb min yadir il-asʿhāb*
 LT: love-PST-I ART-dog-PL because betrayal ART-friend-PL
 IT: 'I loved dogs because of friends' betrayal.'
 PI: I'm extremely disappointed.

Searching comfort through travelling or by keeping company of animals (in this case dogs) suggests that these car owners have washed their hands off their friends who have betrayed them (car owners). Though dog is man's best friend, its connotative meaning in the Arab world in general and in Jordan in particular is bad. Having dogs as friends indirectly means the person lost trust in friends, said one respondent. This interpretation could apply to example (29) which stands for a person who has been defeated by friends' treachery.

- (29) *yawmiyyat raḡul mahzūm*
 LT: diary man defeat-PART
 IT: 'Diary of a defeated man.'
 PI: Extremely disappointed.

In this particular category, there are stickers whose overall meaning demonstrates someone's defeat by bad luck. Examples of stickers expressing this function include:

- (30) *sʿanaʿ-tu saʿfīna-tī falamma intahēt min sʿunʿi-ha dʿaffa al baḡar.*

LT: make-PST-I ship-POSS when finish-PST-I from manufacture-OBJ dry up-PST ART-sea
 IT: 'I made my ship, and when I finished making it the sea dried up.'

PI: I'm an unlucky guy.

- (31) *Illī ma il-lū ḡaḡḡ la yitʿab wa-la yifḡa*

LT: who-REL no to-him fortune never get tired and-no work hard

IT: 'One who is unlucky should not work hard.'

PI: I'm an unlucky guy.

Though it's superstitious, some unsuccessful or unemployed people could believe in bad luck assuming they lack good fortune or they are ill-fated. Though humorously used, these stickers could be used to stand for people's assumption that securing job is based on favoritism – through which a job is unfairly granted to relatives, acquaintances, or friends by someone in authority – rather than on one's qualifications, said one respondent. Again, this could be regarded as an implicit criticism raised against the government which should ensure equitable distribution of jobs and appointments among people.

Giving advice-based stickers

Humorous expressions based on giving advice to others do exist in our data (10.20%). They ranged from giving advice about self-satisfaction, not driving a car at a higher speed to realizing the real value of life. The use of rhythmic car stickers is likely to attract the attention of people and is guaranteed, said a respondent, to have a strong influence on sticker readers. Car stickers about being satisfied with the existing car include:

- (32) *Fōks mazyūneh wala kamri madyūneh*
 LT: Volkswagen beautiful good-COMP Camry finance-PART
 IT: 'An old reasonably-priced car is better than a financed Camry.'
 PI: Be satisfied with your existing car and never think of buying a financed one.
- (33) *Pikab mahyūn wala hamar madyūn*
 LT: pickup outdate-PART good-COMP Hummer finance-PART
 IT: 'A low price car is better than a financed Hummer.'
 PI: Be satisfied with your existing car and never think of buying a financed one.

The overall meaning of the above rhythmic expressions is that one should be satisfied with his existing car, however old, and never think of buying a new financed car and, therefore, put himself in debt he cannot ever repay. It could be said that the above car stickers indirectly communicate the difficult economic situations of people. These stickers are focused on advising others to buy a low-price car, and this could be suggestive of their low economic standing. Advice-giving stickers directing attention to the catastrophic consequences of driving car at a higher speed include:

- (34) *?ʿiʿi-ha bitīʿiʿi-k wa fidd ʿalē-ha ibtiglib fī-k*
 LT: give-OBJ give-OBJ and tighten on-it flip over in-you
 IT: 'Stepping on the accelerating pedal hard might get you and car flipped over.'

PI: Driving car at a higher speed could bring about negative consequences.

(35) *La tisrif ya papa mama tēxuð yērak*

LT: no drive faster, papa-VOC mama-SUB take-FUT someone else

IT: 'Don't drive at higher speed, papa as mama will get married to someone else.'

PI: High-speed driving is dangerous.

These advice-giving (framed with warning) stickers are meant to remind drivers that driving at excessive speeds is potentially dangerous. These stickers are examples of implied conditional clauses whose meaning is accessible to all people; high-speed driving is likely to endanger the driver and passengers' life. Example (35) could explain how inventive people are in terms of using deterring expressions that invite drivers to refrain from accelerating cars and making vehicles go faster. The overall figurative and humorous meaning is easily calculated; high-speed driving is likely to get you involved in a road accident and is, therefore, likely to risk your life. If you die, mama could get married to someone else, something that men don't like, said one respondent. Inviting others to realize the real value of life is apparent in example (36):

(36) *lā tahzan ʕala id-dinya ma dām āaxir-ha ar-rahīl*

LT: no grieve-PRES on ART-life as end-POSS ART-departure

IT: 'Don't grieve for life as long as death is its end.'

PI: There is nothing in life worth grief. Be happy.

The meaning of this expression is that if you, for example, fail to accomplish something, fail an exam, lose a business deal or lose a dearest person, you should not be sad, but it must be a motivation for you to be happy and do more, said one respondent. This substantiates, in agreement with Norton-Meier (2004: 261), that car stickers could be used as a tool for teaching others words and their meanings. In this case, car stickers could be used as a means to teach other people the real value of life.

Love expressions-based car stickers

Many people find car windows or boots the best place to write expressions indicative of how much into them their beloved are. These comic phrases (8.16%) could be intended to attract people's attention to car owners' love stories. Historically speaking, car stickers displaying love expressions and romantic challenges used to be relatively the most predominant stickers. Most car stickers used to be focused on displaying car owners' feelings and emotions rather than raising criticism against governments or depicting the economic situations. The following four examples were found in our data and they are instances of car stickers displaying love expressions:

(37) *min adʕil ʕēnē-ki ʕafigtul hawa.*

LT: because eye-PL-POSS love-PST (I) air

IT: 'Because of your eyes, I loved the love.'

PI: I strongly love you.

(38) *baħibb hamāt-ī li?an-ha dʕābat hayāt-ī*

LT: love mother in law-POSS because bring-PST life-POSS

IT: 'I love my mother in law because she gave birth to my beloved.'

PI: I strongly love you.

(39) *Taħiyyāt-ī lēman dammar hayāt-ī*

LT: greeting-PL-POSS to destroy-PL life-POSS

IT: 'Greetings to the one who destroyed my life.'

PI: I strongly love you.

(40) *law xayyarō-nī bēn il-laf wi-ʕyūn-ik la-?xtār il-laf wa ?ħrig-ha la-ʕyūn-ik*

LT: if choose-PRES-PART-OBJ between ART-laf (Mercedes) and eye-PL-POSS I choose-PRES ART-laf (Mercedes) and burn-PRES-OBJ for eye-PL-POSS

IT: 'If asked to choose between Mercedes and your eyes, I choose Mercedes and burn it to your eyes.'

PI: I strongly love you.

All these examples are expressive of the deepest affection and the high extent to which the car owner is romantically attracted to his beloved. *Hawa* (as used in example 37) is polysemous in that it is associated with two distinct meanings; *air* and *love*, with the intended meaning (love) being inferred from the context. Again, the overall meaning of these stickers is easily calculable by people who enjoy being exposed to comic stickers mirroring their users' romantic, social or economic challenges, said respondents. Building on this assumption, it could be said that love expressions-based car stickers such as those mentioned above are both self-oriented and other-oriented. These stickers are self-oriented in the sense that car owners might like to report publicly their love stories or romantic challenges, and other-oriented because these stickers might be directed to the other people who enjoy being exposed to love stories and romantic disappointment. This seems to be in agreement with (Newhagen & Ancell 1995: 312) who contend that car stickers are discursive means of expressing emotions and social status.

Crisis-displaying car stickers

In spite of the wide range of freedom given to people to talk about their concerns in press and social media means, some people find car rear windows and boots their best forum where they could express and share others their life challenges. Having said that, we found four examples (8.16%) in the data produced by car owners and addressed to other people with the aim of keeping others informed of the driver's difficult living conditions, which could range from social to economic challenges. The followings are illustrative of the aforementioned:

(41) *fikr-ak bithūn?!?*

LT: your thought sort-PART out.

IT: 'Do you think the problem will be resolved?'

PI: Do you expect the future to be better?!

(42) *lā taðʕunn ann kull ar-raqiş min tʕarabin fa-t-ʕtʕeru ʕinda að-ðabħi targuşu min fiddat ?l-?alam*

LT: no think-IMP every ART-dance because rapture as ART-bird-PL at ART-slaughter dance-PRES because intensity of ART-pain

IT: 'Don't think that all dances are caused by rapture, as the birds dance because of the intensity of pain at slaughter.'

PI: Don't think because I have this truck trailer I'm wealthy.

(43) *as-sāyig mayyit*

LT: ART-driver-SUB-SG dead-PRED

IT: 'The driver is dead.'

PI: The driver is in a big trouble

(44) *xal-ha mastūrah*

LT: keep-OBJ hide-PART

IT: 'Keep it hidden.'

PI: Don't ask about my financial status. It is better to leave it unknown to you because it is very bad.

All stickers shown above could be strategically used to report to the public the severe financial situation these car owners are facing. Example (41) is suggestive of a financial crisis the car owner might be passing through. Example (42) is used to stress that many people who apparently seem pleased and suffer nothing could be found experiencing enormous problems, said one respondent. This situation is compared to a bird, which apparently seems to be dancing at slaughter, moving up and down out of the extreme pain. The indirect message of this sticker is based on a common assumption that the exterior does not reflect the essence and driving a large truck trailer does not entail the driver is wealthy, said some respondents. This example could also be used as a way to direct evil eye away. Saying *I'm dead*, example (43), expresses how huge the trouble the driver is encountering. Asking others, example (44), not to ask about his financial situation and leave it undiscussed, the car owner is trying not to upset others by his bad news; financially disadvantaged. It should be noted that the maxim of quality is flouted in example (43) and the implicature, as mentioned above, is that the car owner is in trouble.

Attracting attention-based car stickers

Comic stickers designed to just attract the attention of others without having exact function to be conveyed were found to be few in our data (10.20%). They are other oriented aimed at amusing others and creating a sense of humor. Such type of car stickers, one respondent said, could reflect the psychological status of car owners who might be suffering from psychological vacuum. The followings are examples of this particular category:

(45) *mifān allāh yassil-nī*

LT: in order to Allah wash-OBJ

IT: 'For the sake of Allah wash me.'

(46) *?intabih is-sāyig aḥwal*

LT: pay attention ART-driver squint-eyed

IT: 'Watch out, the driver is squint-eyed.'

(47) *iḍa kunt fātīr ya fatīr taṣāl min giddām* (non-wheeled road Roller)

LT: if professional professional driver-VOC come-IMP from front

IT: 'If you were professional, professional driver, come up front.'

PI: Nobody dare come to the front of a road roller.

(48) *nassim ṣalē-na il-hawa* (septic removal truck)

LT: breeze on-us ART-air

IT: 'What a nice breeze!'

(49) *lā tilḥag-nī maxtūbah* (very old-aged, yet in perfect condition Mercedes)

LT: no follow-OBJ engage-PART

IT: 'Don't go after me as I'm engaged.'

PI: The car is not for sale.

These stickers, except example (49), are used for the sake of nothing, some respondents said, except for creating a sense of humor, as explained above. Example (45) is displayed on a dirty car. In example (46), the car owner sacrificed himself and attributed the feature of being squint-eyed to himself in favor of making other people happy. Car stickers (47) and (48) are examples of humorous banter with other people, in that in the former nobody dare come to the front of a road roller, and in the later the ironic expression does not reflect the content of a sewage removal truck. The last example, where car is extended metaphorically to refer to an engaged girl, is an indirect message to the other people that the old but highly attractive car is engaged by its owner and is not for sale.

Jordanians' Reactions to the Emergence of Car Stickers

In addition to requesting questionnaire informants to provide their interpretations of car stickers understudy, they were also asked in the second part of the questionnaire to provide their evaluations and/or their receptions of the phenomenon as being a source of amusement, boredom, annoyance or others. The second part of the questionnaire is of significance as it sheds light on Jordanians' reaction to this phenomenon. Following this question, informants were given a space to justify their choice.

It was found that while the majority of respondents (56%) equate the phenomenon of car stickers with amusement and humor, only 7% associate it with boredom and 13% link it with annoyance. As for respondents who are in favor of car stickers, they argue that they are entertaining because they cause people to laugh. They argue that not all people have funny characters or are able to create a sense of humor, yet the presence of these stickers could be indicative of the funny characters of car owners. These stickers are other-oriented in that they are directed to amuse people who cannot have fun, said one respondent. Most of the answers left by respondents are geared to the buffering effects of car stickers against stress. People bound with stressful situations may find these stickers a good opportunity to laugh. Respondents viewing car stickers as a boring phenomenon stress the significance of not repeating the same conventional expressions and relocating to new expressions that could successfully attract readers. These stickers were perceived as a source of annoyance because what is viewed as fun by car owners might not count as such by others, said respondents. They could also distract other drivers who for sure would not leave these stickers unread.

Some respondents (23%) consider car stickers as a means of addressing socio-economic problems or political issues such as envy, high speed and governments' failure to remedy the deterioration of people's economic situations and livelihood. They contend that car stickers are used as important tools to express people's difficult living conditions. Though

most car stickers appear comic on surface, they are implicitly communicating at a deep level people's suffering or their criticism of the government's failure to successfully remedy social and economic problems.

CONCLUSION

The overriding purpose of this study was to investigate the pragmatic meanings of car stickers appearing on car rear windows and boots in Jordan. In order to accomplish the primary goal of the study, authentic data have been collected over one year. The stickers collected were found to display a wide range of functions including displaying vehicle size and brand, protection against envy, disappointment and betrayal, giving advice, displaying love and romantic challenges, crises and stickers aimed at attracting others' attention. The overall meanings of these stickers were found calculable and the car size and brand were found helpful in disambiguating any potential ambiguity. It was also found that car stickers used as protective measures against evil eye are the most frequently used stickers in the data (32.65%). The rhythmic aspect of these stickers made them remarkably effective and a source of humor to readers. Regarding Jordanians' evaluation and reception of this phenomenon, it was found that the majority of respondents (56%) associate car stickers with amusement and humor, and a few equate them with boredom and annoyance.

The paper is in support of the common belief that many people prefer to communicate their feelings and their social, economic and romantic challenges through the use of car stickers. Historically speaking, stickers displayed on Jordanians' cars could be said to be used as a tool to express the romantic challenges people might encounter. However, these stickers are used nowadays as a mosaic reflecting people's thoughts, feelings and their social and economic crises, and this could reflect the social and economic challenges of life.

END NOTE

1. Wikipedia's definition of car stickers

REFERENCES

- Al-Momani, Husam & Baker Mohammad Jamil Bani-Khair & Yousef Mohammad Khaled Alshaboul. 2017. Bumper Stickers in Jordan: A Structural Analysis. *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*, 8/4. 91-96. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7575/aiac.all.v.8n.4p.91>
- Arundale, Robert. 1997. Against (Grice's) intention. Paper presented at LSI Preconference on Language and Cognition. *International Communication Association Conference*, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
- Arundale, Robert. 1999. An alternative model and ideology of communication for an alternative to politeness theory. *Pragmatics*, 9. 119-154.
- Arundale, Robert. 2004. Co-constituting face in conversation: An alternative to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. Paper presented at 90th Annual National Communication Association Conference, Chicago, Illinois.
- Arundale, Robert. 2005. Pragmatics, conversational implicature, and conversation. In: Fitch, Kristine & Sanders, Robert (Eds.), *Handbook of Language and Social Interaction*. Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ, pp. 41-63.
- Block, Linda-Renee. 2000. 'Mobile Discourse: Political Bumper Stickers as a Communication Event in Israel'. *Journal of Communication*, 50(2). 48-76.
- Brown, Penelope & Levinson, Stephen. 1987. *Politeness. Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chiluwa, Innocent. 2008. Religious Vehicle Stickers in Nigeria: A Discourse of Identity, Faith and Social Vision. *Discourse and Communication*, 2(4). 371-87.
- Deignan, Alice. 2005. *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Grice, Paul. 1975. Logic and conversation. In Cole, Peter & Morgan, Jerry, L. *Syntax and Semantics 3*. New York: Academic Press. 41-58.
- Halliday, Michael. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Haugh, Michael. 2003. Anticipated versus inferred politeness. *Multilingua*, 22. 397-413.
- Haugh, Michael. 2004. Revisiting the conceptualisation of politeness in English and Japanese. *Multilingua*, 23. 85-109.
- Haugh, Michael & Hinze, Carl. 2003. A metalinguistic approach to deconstructing the concepts of 'face' and 'politeness' in Chinese, English and Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35. 1581-1611.
- Haynsworth, Leslie. 2008. My Volvo, My Self: The (Largely Unintended) Existential Implications of Bumper Stickers. *Fourth Genre*, 10(1). 21-34.
- Holmes, Janet. 2006. Sharing a laugh: Pragmatic aspects of humor and gender in the workplace. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 38. 26-50.
- Jaradat, Abdullah. 2016. Content-Based Analysis of Bumper Stickers in Jordan. *Advances in Language and Literary Studies* 7/6. 256-261. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7575/aiac.all.v.7n.6p.253>.
- Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George & Turner, Mark. 1989. *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Levinson, Stephen. 2000. *Presumptive Meanings. The Theory of Generalised Conversational Implicature*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Martin, Rod. 2007. *The Psychology of Humor: An integrative Approach*. California, Calif: Academic Press.
- Morrison, Mary, Kay. 2012. *Using Humor to Maximize Living: Connecting with Humor*. (2nd ed.) Plymouth: R & L Education.
- Newhagen, John & Ancell, Michael. 1995. 'The Expression of Emotion and Social Status in the Language of Bumper Stickers.' *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 14(3). 312-23.
- Norton-Meier, Lori. 2004. The Bumper Sticker Curriculum: Learning from Words on the Backs of Cars. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, 48(3). 260-63.

- Ogunnike, Faleke Victoria. 2013. Semantic Critique Of The Language Of Some Religious Car Stickers In Oyo State, Nigeria. *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 11/5. 35-42.
- Rogerson-Revell, Pamela. 2007. Humour in business: A double-edged sword: A study of humour and style shifting in intercultural business meetings. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39. 4–28.
- Ruiz de Mendoza, Francisco & Pérez Hernández, Lorena. 2003. Cognitive operations & pragmatic implication. In: Panther, Klaus-Uwe & Thornburg, Linda L. (eds.). *Metonymy and Pragmatic Inferencing*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 23-49.
- Salamon, Hagar. 2001. 'Political Bumper Stickers in Contemporary Israel: Folklore as an Emotional Battleground'. *Journal of American Folklore*, 114 (453). 277–308.
- Stern, Barbara & Soloman, Michael. 1992. "Have You Kissed Your Professor Today?": Bumper Stickers and Consumer Self Statements. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 19. 169-173.
- Terkourafi, Marina. 2003. Generalised and particularised implicatures of linguistic politeness. In: Kuhnlein, Peter & Rieser, Hannes & Zeevat, Henk (Eds.), *Perspectives on Dialogue in the New Millennium*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 149–164.
- Terkourafi, Marina. 2005. Beyond the micro-level in politeness research. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1. 237–262.
- Ullmann, Stephen. 1962. *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Walker, Nancy. 1998. *What's So Funny?: Humor in American Culture*. Wilmington: Rowman.

APPENDIX A

Phonetic Symbols used in the study

Consonants:

- | | |
|--|---|
| b: voiced bilabial plosive | tf: voiceless postalveolar affricate |
| m: bilabial nasal | l: postalveolar lateral approximant |
| f: voiceless labiodental fricative | j: palatal approximant |
| d: voiced dental plosive | g: voiced velar plosive |
| t: voiceless dental plosive | k: voiceless velar plosive |
| n: dental nasal | y: voiced velar fricative |
| ð: voiced dental fricative | x: voiceless velar fricative |
| θ: voiceless dental fricative | w: labio-velar approximant |
| z: voiced alveolar fricative | q: voiceless uvular plosive |
| s: voiceless alveolar fricative | ʕ: voiced pharyngeal fricative |
| r: alveolar trill | h: voiceless pharyngeal fricative |
| ʒ: voiced postalveolar fricative | ʔ: glottal plosive |
| ʃ: voiceless postalveolar fricative | h: voiceless glottal fricative |

ɟʒ: voiced postalveolar affricate
Pharyngealised consonants are marked with ʕ: tʕ, dʕ, sʕ, ðʕ, lʕ (adopted from Suleiman 1985: 30)

Vowels:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| a for <u>ا</u> | ē for <u>اَ</u> as a monophthong (front, mid, unrounded, long vowel) |
| i for <u>ي</u> ; | aw for <u>اَو</u> as a diphthong |
| u for <u>و</u> | ō for <u>و</u> as a monophthong (back, mid, rounded, long vowel) |
| ā for <u>آ</u> ; | ay for <u>اَي</u> as a diphthong |
| ī for <u>ي</u> | ū for <u>و</u> ; |

APPENDIX B

English version of instrument

- Sex:.....
Age:.....
Educational level:.....
Mother tongue:.....
Dear Brothers/Sisters

This questionnaire aims to identify the direct and indirect meanings of car stickers in Jordan, please answer all the questions in the questionnaire in order to identify the intended meanings of these expressions. The information received will be used for the purposes of scientific research. Thank you for your cooperation and support.

Dr. Bilal Abdalmajeed Al-Adaileh
Department of English Language and Literature
Al-Hussein Bin Talal University

Section 1:

What are the meanings you think could be achieved by using the following expressions? Note that all these expressions have been displayed on cars by their drivers. Please leave your answer in the space provided following each statement.

- 1- When I get bigger I will show you. (appearing on mini Kia Sephia)
.....
.....
- 2- For sure, the small will get big. (appearing on mini Datsun)
.....
.....
- 3- The Mercedes S class is with my wife. (appearing on a shabby Toyota Dyna pickup truck)
.....
.....
- 4- Do not get deluded by the (age-old and valueless) Volkswagen as the Range Rover is at home. (appearing on a shabby Volkswagen)
.....
.....
- 5- Respecting the elderly is a duty. (appearing on large trailer truck)
.....
.....
- 6- Keep away the eagle is coming. (appearing on oil tank trailer)
.....
.....
- 7- Who are you?! (appearing on Mercedes S-Class)
.....
.....
- 8- Whatever God wills.
.....
.....
- 9- Blessings of God.
.....
.....
- 10- Peace be upon Prophet Muhammad
.....
.....
- 11- The envier does not prevail.
.....
.....
- 12- A wood stick shall be in the envier's eye.
.....
.....

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>13- Oh Allah give people the same they wish to me.
.....
.....</p> <p>14- Never cast an evil eye; the car is financed.
.....
.....</p> <p>15- Do not get deluded by the car, its driver is in debt.
.....
.....</p> <p>16- The diesel fuel has been beggared and the bus is indebted to the bank, so don't cast your evil eye.
.....
.....</p> <p>17- Getting stung by scorpion is less malicious than being looked at by a bad person.
.....
.....</p> <p>18- A lion bite is less harmful than an envious look.
.....
.....</p> <p>19- It was bought with madam's jewelry.
.....
.....</p> <p>20- My sweetheart (car) is not inheritance; it was like pulling teeth to get it.
.....
.....</p> <p>21- Don't glare, stupid man. It is a hard-earned vehicle. It was like getting a soul out of a body when I bought it.
.....
.....</p> <p>22- I swear by Allah the car cost is being paid in installments because I did not sell the Phosphate Company.
.....
.....</p> <p>23- Don't be deceived by the stereo system in my car, as the owner got support.
.....
.....</p> <p>24- My life goal is offside.
.....
.....</p> <p>25- Treacherous, sweethearts.
.....
.....</p> <p>26- I learnt travelling because of people's betrayal.
.....
.....</p> <p>27- A friendly dog is better than a friend who is dog.
.....
.....</p> | <p>28- I loved dogs because of friends' betrayal.
.....
.....</p> <p>29- Diary of a defeated man.
.....
.....</p> <p>30- I made my ship, and when I finished making it the sea dried up.
.....
.....</p> <p>31- One who is unlucky should not work hard.
.....
.....</p> <p>32- An old reasonably-priced car is better than a financed Camry.
.....
.....</p> <p>33- A low price car is better than a financed Hummer.
.....
.....</p> <p>34- Stepping on the accelerating pedal hard might get you and car flipped over.
.....
.....</p> <p>35- Don't drive at higher speed, papa as mama will get married to someone else.
.....
.....</p> <p>36- Don't grieve for life as long as death is its end.
.....
.....</p> <p>37- Because of your eyes, I loved the love.
.....
.....</p> <p>38- I love my mother in law because she gave birth to my beloved.
.....
.....</p> <p>39- Greetings to the one who destroyed my life.
.....
.....</p> <p>40- If asked to choose between Mercedes and your eyes, I choose Mercedes and burn it to your eyes.
.....
.....</p> <p>41- Do you think the problem will be resolved?
.....
.....</p> <p>42- Don't think that all dances are caused by rapture, as the birds dance because of the intensity of pain at slaughter.
.....
.....</p> |
|--|---|

