

The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

An Analysis of the Pragmatic Functions of Idiomatic Expressions
in the Egyptian Novel 'Taxi'

**A Thesis Submitted to Applied Linguistics Department in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the degree of Master of Arts**

By Hala Mohamed Elshamy

Under the supervision of
Prof. Dr. Zeinab Taha

December, 2016

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**This thesis is dedicated to the soul of my father,
Dr. Mohamed Elshamy may he rest in peace**

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Abstract

The purpose of the study is to investigate the idiomatic expressions and their pragmatic functions in the conversations of the novel *Taxi* in the light of Speech Act Theory. The study adopts a qualitative linguistic analysis method of research. After analyzing the 58 episodes of the novel 'Taxi', the study reveals 80 idiomatic expressions fulfilling 13 pragmatic functions: *describing with six subcategories, complaining, stating, concluding, and swearing, thanking, condoling, sympathizing, deploring and excusing, agreeing and opposing and advising*. These pragmatic functions have been classified based on four of Searle's speech acts: (1) *representatives*, (2) *expressives*, (3) *commissives* and (4) *directives*. Hence, the study shows that idiomatic expressions fulfill a satisfying number of pragmatic functions which in turn operate in facilitating conversations among speakers as they are stored in their memory and easily retrieved in diverse contexts. In addition, the study shows the high usage of negative pragmatic functions such as *complaining, deploring, describing negative issues* in comparison with positive ones in the conversations of taxi drivers. It has been also observed that these positive and negative functions shed light on a multitude of cultural aspects in Egyptian society. The study suggests pedagogical implication: the result that the idiomatic expressions perform various pragmatic functions and fulfill cultural aspects provides a rationale for including them in Arabic foreign language classes as their main aim is to use the language appropriately and achieve cultural competence as well.

KEYWORDS: Formulaic sequences, idiomatic expressions, pragmatic functions, speech act

Table 1: Transliteration Symbols

Letter/Vowel/Diacritic	Symbol	Letter/Vowel/Diacritic	Symbol
ـَ	a	س	S
ـِ	i	ش	ʃ
ـُ	u	ص	ṣ
ء	ʔ	ض	ḍ
ا	ā	ط	ṭ
ب	b	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	ʿ
ث	θ	غ	ġ
ج	g	ف	f
ح	ḥ	ق	q
خ	x	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	ḏ	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	ه	h
		و (Consonant)	w
		و (Long vowel)	ū/ō

		ي (Consonant)	y
		ي (Long vowel)	ī/ē

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FSs: Formulaic sequences

IEs: Idiomatic expressions

AFL: Arabic Foreign language

EFL: English Foreign language

ESA: Egyptian Spoken Arabic

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Idioms are generally defined as language-specific, relatively-fixed expressions where the meaning of the whole is not transparent from the meaning of the constituents of words (Lewis, 1997). A number of studies consider idioms as one subcategory of the more general lexical approach of formulaic language (Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992). This lexical approach marks a difference between dealing with vocabulary as a stock of individual words with fixed meanings and lexis, which include not only single words but also combinations of words or lexical phrases that are stored in our mental lexicons and retrieved as unanalyzed wholes (Lewis, 1993). Some linguists call this combination of words “formulaic sequences” (FSs) and deal with them as a big umbrella that includes under it numerous sets of multi-word units that are arbitrarily used by native speakers. FSs are much more than strings of words linked together but it is obvious that much of the communicative content of language is tied to these phrasal expressions. They are also linked to a single meaning/pragmatic function, which gives them considerable semantic/pragmatic utility (SCHMITT, 2008). Wray (2000) states that this formulaic sequence includes at once, extreme tightly idiomatic strings, such as *by and large*, which are semantically opaque and syntactically irregular, and at the other extreme transparent and flexible ones containing slots for open class items - like *sorry to keep you waiting*.

Fernando (1996) differentiates between idioms and idiomaticity, which are closely related but not the same. She states that idioms represent a narrower range of word combination than

idiomaticity. Idioms are indivisible units whose components cannot be varied or varied within a limit, such as *smell a rat/ grasp the nettle*. However, all word combinations showing idiomaticity, such as *habitual collocations, rosy cheeks, and catch the bus* are not restricted. Accordingly, such idiomatic expressions show idiomaticity, but they are not idioms.

Idiomatic expressions (IEs) are common in all languages, and they are used widely in all sorts of communications in written as well as in spoken interaction, in formal and informal contexts. The load of idiomaticity in all languages makes them not only an essential part in everyday language use, but also an interesting area of study. Despite the fact that IEs are an important part of our everyday discourse, they are still neglected in language studies. Makkai states that “the study of idiomaticity has been left widely untouched in scholarly studies, which makes it one of the most under-explored areas of the language” (1972, p.23). It is, thus, rather puzzling that idioms have been so widely ignored in scholarly studies for so long. Fernando (1996) stated that idioms - as conventionalized multiword expressions and not always non-literal have been neglected in lexical studies of the language in comparison to other linguistic phenomenon. She emphasized that this neglect is evident with respect to the functions of idioms. Grant and Bauer (2004) stated that idioms are not well defined phenomena and the criteria to define idioms have been general to be applied to the wide range of multi-word expressions and that they consider the previous definitions of idioms to be descriptions rather than definitions. That is the reason for their rejection of the previous definitions and classifications of idioms and for their redefining them based on their transparency.

Despite the differences among scholars over a single criterion of defining idioms, there are still common features among them: *compositeness, institutionalization, and semantic opacity* - which will be explained in detail in the next section. These features make idioms a fascinating part of

languages. Idioms ensure that our communication is not only coherent and cohesive, but they make discourse socially acceptable and lively by having both lexico-grammatical forms and pragmatic functions (Fernando, 1996).

Lexico-grammatical features of idioms are basically those of form. These features in addition to other semantic features, are the basis for separating idioms from non-idioms. Some scholars, favor only multiword expressions for recognizing idioms. Other scholars following Hockett (1958) have a minority view; it accepts single words as idioms. On the other hand, others consider conventionalized multiword expressions having lexico-grammatical and semantic features that single words do not have. They consider idioms as multiword expressions, but there is always a limit on their size, for example: non-idioms can range from short clauses like *very true*, *one morning* to multi-clause structures such as *let's go back to the basics*. Actually, idioms do not permit such extension; they are conventionalized expressions, and their variability is only within definite constraints. Idioms come in the form of compounds, phrases, semi-clauses, and clauses. The lower limit for idioms in the dictionaries is the forms of compounds which is classified into parts of speech which categorize the content words: nouns (*baby-sitter*), adjectives (*devil-may-care*), verbs (*overtake*), adverbs (*pitter-patter*), relational forms (*however*, *moreover*), and complex prepositions (*inside/outside*). On the other hand, the complex clause is the upper one in the dictionary: *when the cat is away, the mice will play*. In English, there are no idioms whatever their sub-class containing more than two subordinating clauses. In fact, the long expressions are often shortened, like *red herring* is originally *trail a red herring across the path*. We can say that the most common and favored types in English idioms go to semi-clauses (e.g. *spill the beans*, *smell a rat*) (Fernando, 1996).

Lexico-grammatical features of idioms pave the way for more comprehensive studies conducted on what the speakers do with idioms, or in other words, what are their functions in discourse. Halliday (1985) characterizes idioms according to their functions into three types: the ideational, which characterizes the nature of the message, the interpersonal idioms, which fulfill an interactional function, and the relational idioms, which ensure the cohesion of the text.

After reviewing the role of idioms in discourse, it is apparent that there is a need to focus on the importance of idioms in discourse and to conduct more research on this linguistic phenomenon. It has been mentioned by Longman's *Essential Idioms in English* (Dixson, 1979) that IEs have long played an important role in the English language, and the use of idioms is so widespread that an understanding of these expressions is essential to maintain successful communication, whether in listening, speaking, reading, or writing. The student may learn grammar and, with time, acquire adequate vocabulary, but without a working knowledge of such idioms (such as *above all, to get along, on the whole, to look up*, etc.) even the best student's speech will remain awkward and ordinary.

In fact, according to Fernando (1996), "No translator or language teacher can afford to ignore idioms or idiomaticity if a natural use of the target language is an aim" (p. 234). Pawley and Syder (1983) make a strong case for the daunting nature of the task learners face in figuring out which grammatically possible utterances are commonly used by native speakers -that is, which are idiomatic- and which utterances, though grammatically possible, are not native like. Wray (1999) supports this claim, adding that the absence of formulaic sequences in learners' speech results in unidiomatic sounding speech. Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) take this argument a step further and present a typology and pragmatic analysis of what they call lexical phrases, along with a number of suggestions for incorporating them into the L2 curriculum. The

important role IEs play in discourse as an essential part of any language, coupled with the lack of research, motivated the researcher of the present study to analyze the pragmatic functions of this phenomenon in Arabic conversation.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

Some studies have investigated idiomatic expressions in spoken data and written data, but few studies have only investigated idiomatic expressions in literary works written in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA), and even these few studies have not analyzed the pragmatic functions of idiomatic expressions.

In this study, IEs in conversations in an Egyptian novel are analyzed in relation to Speech Act Theory. In the novel under analysis, different characters are involved in a variety of conversations. Therefore, it would be useful to employ Speech Act Theory to reveal the pragmatic functions of different types of speech acts of IEs, which the speakers use in their conversations in their daily life.

Hence, the study is an attempt to analyze the language of ordinary people in Egypt. Therefore, it would be interesting to do further research on IEs in different genres for better understanding of language functions.

1.3 Research questions

The study intends to answer the following research questions:

In the conversations of the Egyptian novel entitled *Taxi*:

1. What are the idiomatic expressions used in the conversations?
2. What are the pragmatic functions of these idiomatic expressions in light of Speech Act Theory?

1.4 Important definitions

It may be useful to present some of the main concepts that are of importance in this study:

1. **FORMULAIC LANGUAGE:** A term used in some theoretical and descriptive studies of grammar to refer to utterances, which lack normal syntactic or morphological characteristics. (It may also be used, literally, to mean 'language containing formulae, or special symbols, as in scientific writing). Sentences such as "God save the Queen" "the more the merrier," and "how do you do?" do not contrast in the usual way with other sentences in the language. Such fossilized structures, often used in limited social situations, have also been called 'bound', 'fixed', 'frozen', 'set', 'prefabricated', 'routine' or 'stereotype expressions'. The notion can be broadened from individual utterances to larger spoken or written events (CRYSTAL, 2008, p.196).

2. **FORMULAIC SEQUENCES:**

A sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar (Warry, 2002, p.1).

3. **IDIOM (n.):**

A term used in grammar and lexicology to refer to a sequence of words which is semantically and often syntactically restricted, so that they function as a single unit. From a semantic viewpoint, the meanings of the individual words cannot be summed to produce the meaning of the idiomatic expression as a whole. From a syntactic viewpoint, the words often do not permit the usual variability they display in other contexts, e.g. "it's raining cats and dogs" does not permit "it's raining a cat and a

dog/dogs and cats”, etc. Because of their lack of internal contrastivity, some linguists refer to idioms as ‘ready-made utterances’. An alternative terminology refers to idioms as ‘habitual collocations’. A point which has attracted considerable discussion is the extent to which degrees and kinds of idiomaticity can be established: some idioms do permit a degree of internal change, and are somewhat more literal in meaning than others (e.g. “it’s worth her while/the job will be worth my while,” etc.). In generative grammar, idiomatic constructions are used for testing hypotheses about structure: if idioms are units whose parts stay together in deep structure, then one can test whether a particular syntactic construction involves movement by seeing whether the parts of the idiom can be separated in that construction. In this approach, also, the term “idiom chunk” is used for one part of an idiom which has been separated from the remainder through some syntactic operation, such as the basket in “That’s the basket into which I’ve put all my eggs. I’ve put all my eggs into one basket” (CRYSAL, 2008, p.236).

4. PRAGMATICS:

(n.) "A term traditionally used to label one of the three major divisions of semiotics (along with semantics and syntax). In modern linguistics, it has come to be applied to the study of language from the point of view of the users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the effects their use of language has on the other participants in an act of communication. The field focuses on an ‘area’ between semantics, sociolinguistics and extra linguistic context; but the boundaries with these other domains are as yet incapable of precise definition. At present, no coherent pragmatic theory has been achieved, mainly because

of the variety of topics it has to account for – including aspects of deixis, conversational implicatures, presuppositions, speech acts and discourse structure" (CRYSTAL, 2008, p.379)

5. SPEECH ACT:

"A term derived from the work of the philosopher J. L. Austin (1911– 60), and now used widely in linguistics, to refer to a theory which analyses the role of utterances in relation to the behavior of speaker and hearer in interpersonal communication. It is not an 'act of speech' (in the sense of parole), but a communicative activity (a locutionary act), defined with reference to the intentions of speakers while speaking (the illocutionary force of their utterances) and the effects they achieve on listeners (the perlocutionary effect of their utterances). Several categories of speech act have been proposed, viz. directives (speakers try to get their listeners to do something, e.g. begging, commanding, requesting), commissives (speakers commit themselves to a future course of action, e.g. promising, guaranteeing), expressives (speakers express their feelings, e.g. apologizing, welcoming, sympathizing), declarations (the speaker's utterance brings about a new external situation, e.g. christening, marrying, resigning) and representatives (speakers convey their belief about the truth of a proposition, e.g. asserting, hypothesizing). The verbs which are used to indicate the speech act intended by the speaker are sometimes known as performative verbs. The criteria which have to be satisfied in order for a speech act to be successful are known as felicity conditions" (CRYSTAL, 2008, p.446).

6. PRAGMATIC FUNCTION: is the function of the meaning of words in a language within a context.

1.5 Operational definitions

1) IDIOMATIC EXPRESSION is an expression ranging from one-word to multiword expressions that include the most common frequent features of idioms among scholars which are: *compositeness, institutionalization, semantic opacity*.

2) COMPOSITENESS means that idioms are commonly accepted as a type of multiword expression *الدنيا فوق بعضها /ed-duniā fō? baṣḍahā/* (it is a disturbed situation), *أمة لا إله إلا الله / ommet lā ḥilāh ḥilā Allah/* (big gathering) though a few scholars accept even single words as idioms which match with Arabic language *هانت /hānit/* (the best will come soon) *سيوبة /sabūba/* (big shots).

3) INSTITUTIONALIZATION means that idioms are conventionalized in a sense that an expression must be well-established and conventionally fixed.

4) SEMANTIC OPACITY is that the meaning of an idiom is not the sum of its constituents. That means, an idiom is often non-literal e.g. *بلاد الواق الواق / bilād elwāqwāq/* (very far away place)

5) SPEECH ACT here in this study refers to the different types of acts/actions that the speakers perform in the conversations in the novel Taxi by using idiomatic expressions.

6) PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS in the study refer to the intended functions of the idiomatic expressions (which are not literary understandable) the speakers use, revealed in relation to Speech Act Theory.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a review of the main pertinent research to the present topic, which is analyzing the pragmatic functions of idiomatic expressions in the conversations in the Egyptian novel *Taxi*. This chapter reviews the relevant literature, and it is divided thematically into four sections. The first section discusses the definitions of idioms; the second section discusses categorization of idiomatic expressions with respect to their features and functions; and the third section provides an investigation of pragmatics and speech act theory as the theoretical framework of this research project, in addition to the fourth section which presents some previous studies.

2.2 Definitions of idioms

In discussing the nature of lexical items in a language, Lewis (1993) defined an idiom as a particular kind of lexical in which the meaning of the whole is not immediately apparent from the meanings of the constituent parts. She emphasizes that the transparency of idiomatic expressions is a matter of degree as there is a spectrum of idiomaticity. In that sense, according to Cacciari (1993), the task of defining what an idiomatic expressions is, and how it is acquired and understood is still a difficult and controversial issue. It is the border that differentiates between literal and idiomatic expressions on one hand, and the metaphorical and idiomatic expressions on the other hand. The Cambridge International Dictionary of English (2002) provides a simple definition of an idiom, stating that an idiom is a group of words in a fixed order having a specific meaning, different from the meanings of each word understood on its own. Makkai (1972, p. 122) reserves the term 'idiom' for multiword expressions whose meaning

is not predictable from their component parts. A definition offered by Fraser (1970) as quoted by Fernando (1996) is fairly similar, as he defines an idiom as a "constituent or a series of constituents for which the semantic interpretation is not a compositional function of the formatives of which it is composed" (1996, p. 8). The fact that the meaning of an idiom cannot be deduced from the meanings of its individual components is therefore in central place in both Fernando and Makkai's and Fraser's definitions of an idiom.

Strässler's (1982) definition of an idiom is different from various other definitions in respect of its exclusion of expressions which consist of 'a verb plus an adverbial particle or preposition.' According to Strässler, an idiom is "a concatenation of more than one lexeme whose meaning is not derived from the meanings of its constituents and which does not consist of a verb plus adverbial particle or preposition" (1982, p.79). Strässler decided in defining an idiom not to include phrasal verbs as idioms on the fact that the second parts of these phrases are semantically empty. Actually, to get a broad idea about the definition of an idiom we will need to understand its features and functions.

In an attempt to find a criterion for re-defining idioms, Grant and Bauer (2004) have rejected the previous definitions and classifications of idioms and concentrated on the point that idioms are non-compositional. To them, to avoid ambiguity because of the various and general definitions of idioms, they tend to present a more restrictive definition of idioms by forming a test that divides multi-word expressions into 'core idiom' and 'figurative idiom'. Then they define idioms as an approach based on the semantic opaqueness (or transparency) of idioms. They are settled on defining idioms as an important group of expressions which have figurative meanings but also keep a current literal interpretation. Hence, there is some disagreement over defining and classifying idioms among scholars.

2.3 Categorization of idioms according to features and functions

After reviewing generally the definition of an idiom among scholars, in this section the researcher moved to more detailed characteristics of idioms which are clarified by reviewing their categorizations among scholars.

According to Fernando (1996), the differences among scholars on idioms are balanced by agreements among others. Various scholars focus on many characteristic of idioms, such as collectability and lexical fixity, but in this study the main focus is the most common frequently mentioned features among scholars and which are stated by Fernando (1996) as: *compositeness*, *institutionalization/conventionality*, and *semantic opacity*. However, it is the basis of the theoretical literature which the researcher has adopted in the current study. The features are explained as the following:

1. Compositeness: idioms are accepted as a type of multi-word expression (make up, smell a rat, coast is clear...). For instance, Makkai (1972) states that an idiom is made up of “more than one minimal free form or word.” Cowie and Mackin (1975) discuss that idioms are a combination of two words or more. On the other hand, Fernando (1996) includes in her book *Idioms and Idiomaticity* that there are some scholars according to whom single word expressions can also qualify as idioms.
2. Institutionalization: idioms are conventionalized expressions. Institutionalization refers to the point that an expression’s conventional status must have in a language community to be considered an idiom. According to Bauer (1983), institutionalization happens when a multi-word expression becomes accepted and recognized as a ‘known lexical item’ and used by native speakers. The expression must be well-established and conventionally

fixed in order to qualify as an idiom. Institutionalization is one of Makkai's (1972) and Fernando's (1996) salient criteria for identifying idioms.

3. Semantic opacity: the meaning of an idiom is not the sum of its constituents, in other words, an idiom is often non-literal. Hence, the individual words which make up the idiom do not carry any meaning of their own. There is usually very little, if any, connection between the literal meanings of the individual words and the idiomatic meaning of the whole phrase (Fernando 1996). Makkai (1972) states that the meaning of an idiom is not predictable from its component parts because they are used in a figurative, non-literal sense. Non-literalness is also in central place in Strässler's (1982) idea of an idiom. Therefore, semantic opacity seems rather crucial and an essential feature of idioms. The meaning of an idiom is therefore, hardly ever the sum of its individual parts. Fernando (1969) argues that idiom and idiomaticity are sometimes overlapping because the previous common features of idioms can be found in many types of multi-word expressions, such as slang, proverbs, collocations, metaphors.

When discussing idiomaticity, pragmatic aspects of language use need to be considered. Numerous researchers who have been concerned with the pragmatic views of idioms attempted to answer two questions: what can be said appropriately and how can be said. These two questions were discussed in the article entitled *Regularity and Idiomaticity in grammatical constructions* (Fillmore, 1988). The 'how' questions is concerned with form while the 'what' question reflects the pragmatic sense. The pragmatic dimension can be applied to idiomatic expressions, which leads to dividing idiomatic expressions to pragmatic idioms - a set used in social situations and those who are not.

Strassler (1982) discussed the pragmatic aspects of idioms in his study. He considered idioms as a pragmatic phenomenon which plays the role of the functional element of a language. Hence, idiomatic expressions may express the speaker's attitude as the speaker's emotions, such as anger, or abusive attitude to others when it is regarded as a taboo by some because they include reference to God or sexual functions. In additions, idiomatic expressions are used to perform communicative functions (speech acts) such as comments on part of the speaker (mocking) or to convey a humorous view of the persons or the things they refer to. Therefore, idiomatic expressions work as performatives in social interactions. It can be a one-item phrase as in "cheers," in order to say that you hope the people who are drinking with you are happy and in good health, or it can be used as conventional tokens without any real meaning such as using "how do you do?" to fulfill the function of greeting. Idiomatic expressions can be in different forms, such as clichés and sayings to make comments and recommendations, such as the sayings *practice makes perfect* and *better late than never*. Therefore, idiomatic expressions extend to functional types (Fernando, 1996). Such extension paves the way for a comprehensive study of what speakers do with idioms in discourse.

2.4 Pragmatics: Speech Act Theory

Pragmatics is the study of meaning in relation to the context in which the person is speaking or writing. This includes social, situational, and textual contexts. Therefore, the relationship between linguistic form and communication function is an area of extreme importance in pragmatics (Poltridge, 2012). Poltridge emphasized that "we need to know the communicative function of an utterance, that is, what it is 'doing' in the particular setting in order to assign a discourse label to the utterance in the place of overall discourse." For example, if someone says

“the bus was late,” he may be complaining about the bus service (and we label this conversation ‘complaint’), or it may be an explanation for being late as a kind of an apology, or it may be something else. Since understanding idiomatic expressions in utterances makes us go beyond their literal meaning and go for certain holistic meaning that fulfill specific pragmatic function, it may be very logical to relate analyzing the pragmatic functions of idiomatic expressions to illocutionary acts of speech act theory.

Speech Act Theory

Two influential works in the area of pragmatics are Austin’s *How to do things with Words* and Searle’s (1969) theory of speech Acts (Oishi, 2006). Austin and Searle argued that language is used to “do things” and to perform actions. In the famous lectures that were published as a book entitled *How to do things with Words*, Austin (1962) presented a new picture of analyzing meaning. To Austin, meaning is described in a relation among linguistic conventions correlated with words/sentences, the situation where the speaker actually says something to the hearer, and associated intentions of the speaker. Actually, he directed the attention of linguists to the concept of acts behind utterance and meaning. Austin (1962) argued that there are three kinds of acts which occur with everything we say. They are locutionary act, illocutionary act, perlocutionary act.

The locutionary act refers to the literal meaning of an utterance or the actual words, such as ‘it is cold in here’ referring to the temperature. The illocutionary act refers to the speaker’s intention and the effect of the locutionary act or the function fulfilled by the locution (e.g. asking someone to turn on the heater). The perlocutionary act/effect refers to the effect of the utterance on the thoughts or the actions of another person (e.g. someone getting up and turning on the heater).

The term ‘speech act’ has come to refer to the second kind of act, i.e. the illocutionary act since it is the one that presents the richest interpretations within pragmatic. Austin refers to certain verbs in English (as any other language) which are called performatives, like order or promise ‘I order you to stop talking’. These performatives are verbs that have the property of allowing the speaker to do the action the verb names by using the verb in a certain way. He emphasized that other verbs cannot be used in this way, such as saying “*I nag you to pick up your clothes*”.

Austin classifies illocutionary acts into five types:

1. Verdictives: one can exercise judgment
2. Exercitives: exert influence or exercise power
3. Commissive: assume obligation or declare intention
4. Behabitives: adopt attitude, or express feeling
5. Expositives: clarify reasons, argument, or communication

It has been often argued that Austin’s classification is not complete and some linguists found that those coined categories are not mutually exclusive but Austin’s classification is best seen as an attempt to give a general picture of illocutionary acts: what types of illocutionary act one can generally perform in uttering a sentence.

Actually, Searle (1969) is much more concerned with revealing the linguistic mechanisms of the process of communication (which he achieves through a fairly thorough study of illocutionary acts). In an attempt to systemize Austin’ work, Searle’s (1969) proposed a typology of speech acts based on felicitous conditions (the social and cultural criteria that have to be existed for the act to have the desired effect) and which became very influential. Thus, Austin and Searle’s position can be formulated by saying that all forms of utterances not only express propositions, but also perform actions. Searle’s typology of speech acts is actually rooted in a range of

illocutionary verbs that occur in a given language. According to Searle, the speaker can perform by means of five types of utterances /speech acts as in the following classifications:

1. Representatives: the representative class of speech acts is to commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition. All of the members of the representative class are assessable on the dimension of assessment which includes true and false such as (swear, conclude, boast, suggest. put forward, deduce, complain)
2. Directives: The speaker's attempts to get the addressee to do something (invite, ask, order, command, beg, pray, entreat, invite, permit, advise)
3. Commissive: Acts which commit the speaker to some future course of action (promise, plan, vow, bet, oppose)
4. Expressives: Acts which express a psychological state (condole, apologize, deplore, welcome, thank)
5. Declaratives: Acts which bring about the immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs and tend to rely on extra-linguistic institutions, such as christening, declaring war, excommunicating, sentencing (a convict to capital punishment), pronouncing (a couple husband and wife).

Like Austin, Searle's taxonomy of performatives includes five types of performatives but they only seem to coincide totally on this and on the fact that the 'commissive' type (in the name given to it as well as in the type of performatives included within it) is equal for both Austin and Searle.

The importance of speech act theory in relation to this study is that it enabled the researcher to determine the speech acts behind the idiomatic expressions uttered by the speakers. In other

words, it paved the way to analyze the Egyptian spoken language represented in the conversations of *Taxi* and analyze IEs within a theoretical framework in order to determine their pragmatic functions.

2.5 Previous studies

To the best of my knowledge, studies on IEs and their pragmatic functions in ECA are very few, but some non-Arabic studies concentrate on analyzing the uses and functions of them in different genres. An interesting example is a study by Verdonic (2012). He discussed some of the common expressions that are used idiomatically to fulfill certain pragmatic functions in spoken discourse. The study focuses on analyzing Christian expressions from a pragmatic perspective as IEs in spoken discourse. The usage of the Christian religious expressions: *God, Devil, Jesus, Mary and Madonna* in everyday spoken discourse was investigated, and it was found that these expressions are used in a content-free manner as pragmatic expressions, much more than in their direct literal meanings, with reference to the religious entity. Using qualitative analysis to investigate the pragmatic usages of these expressions and their primary functions, five groups are described: marking the attitude, marking the content, discourse markers, metaphorical usages, and greeting phrases very far from their literal direct meanings.

Moving from the genre of spoken discourse to a different genre; a study (Holmqvist, 2015) works on the hypothesis that fiction could prove a fruitful ground for achieving knowledge about idioms and could benefit a person's general knowledge. The focus is how idioms can be used in fiction and what effects they can have on the reading of fiction. It examines a novel entitled *The Secret History* by Donna Tartt from the point of view of a foreign learner of English. It was a textually analyzed and the results suggest that idioms can be used for many different purposes

regarding the characters and the situations. The study suggests that idioms can carry much meaning in few words and can show whether the reader experiences the language as contemporary or not. In addition, they add to the overall flow of the text and to the characters backgrounds, for example, older characters use more dated expressions than younger characters. Moreover, the study focused on the topic from second language learners' point of view since the use of idioms is a critical area toward fluency in learning a language.

The essentiality of idioms in language, as previously mentioned, motivated some linguists to think seriously of integrating them into language learning programs, to shed light on difficulties in learning them and to highlight their role in increasing cultural awareness of learners. Thyab (2016) is one of those who recognized the necessity of integrating IEs into Learning English as a Foreign Language programs. She has noticed that many English learners especially those of Arabic origin, lack the competency to use English idiomatic expressions appropriately. She made some suggestions for better comprehension and acquisition. One of her observations is that native English speaking professors used IEs when communicating in English foreign and second language classrooms more than non-native English speaking teachers who used them rarely. This has a positive impact on learners' academic performance. She concludes that the lack of knowledge in idioms of English leads to a lack of one's language knowledge in general. While Thyab's (2016) participants are Arabic learners DE CARO's (2009) participants were Colombians whose native language is mainly Spanish. He discussed the integration of idioms in teaching and learning process of English as an effective technique to improve learners' communicative skills in daily contexts. The researcher is in favor of using idioms as a tool inside and outside the classroom to help students to be competitive and increase their vocabulary and informal way English. DE CARO (2009) conducted the research on eleven students, aged around

16 and 18 who belonged to an engineering program. They attended two English classes weekly. The project was based on using specific idioms in dialogues and daily conversations. The learners were motivated because some of them had travelled abroad and they admitted that they experienced many difficulties in understanding the meanings of idioms English native speakers use in their daily life. Consequently, the inclusion of teaching idioms, helped them understand native English speakers, movies, songs and increased their lexicon because they knew how to use idioms and increased their communicative skills. (CARO, 2009)

Other linguists shed light on the difficulties and the errors in learning idioms in language learning classes. Alkarazoun (2015) investigated the English idiom errors made by Jordanian English Foreign Language (EFL) undergraduate students. Her focus was to examine areas of strength and weaknesses in acquiring idioms. She conducted the study by providing a test to a randomly selected sample consisting of 60 (*50 females, 10 males*) students in the Department of English Language and Literature at university in Amman. The results show that EFL students got the highest scores in idioms with noun phrases, adjectives, nouns, idioms related to special categories like food. Moreover, they got the lowest scores in idioms of pairs of nouns, adverbs, adjectives and idioms related to special categories including animals and body parts. The study also reveals the students low achievement in figuring out the meanings of idioms, which made the researcher suggest a number of recommendations related to teaching idioms as an important issue in learning foreign language.

The reasons behind the difficulty of learning idiomatic expressions in learning foreign languages have been discussed in a study by (Saleh, 2013).The study was an attempt to investigate the obstacles Libyan students face in understanding and using idiomatic expressions in learning English and the strategies that helped them to overcome such difficulties. The study

was conducted on proficient 40 Libyan students of different majors. The findings are revealed based on a questionnaire that was distributed among students, and subsequently arranged and analyzed. The results revealed that one of the main blocks in learning second language idioms is the unpredictable meaning of it which cannot be derived from its constituent parts. Added to this factor, the traditional vocabulary listening methods in foreign language classes depend mainly on presenting idioms randomly. It was revealed that the most successful strategy that being used by the majority of participants was that of guessing the meaning from the context.

In an attempt to explore the close relation between language and culture, a study by (Yagiz, 2013) highlights the role of idiomatic expressions as one of the most important and pervasive language uses that reflect cultural aspects of real life. The study emphasizes that idioms appear to be natural decoders of social conventions and cultural beliefs. For this reason, idioms can assist learners to have native-like communication, understand thoughts, views, and backgrounds of the speaker's of target language.

To sum up, this chapter provides an overview on IEs: their definitions, features, categorizations and theories in addition to some of the previous studies on idioms. These previous studies emphasize some aspects. First, IEs are essential linguistic phenomenon in every language. Second, mastering idioms in a specific language and the ability to use them appropriately in certain contexts is a sign of moving towards proficiency. Third, learning idiomatic expression facilitates communicative ability and will result in understanding cultural norms. Hence, it is obvious that literature on the pragmatic functions of IEs in conversations on ECA is limited. Most studies focused on certain types of idioms, advantages and difficulties of learning idioms but more research are needed on what people do with idioms in conversations, in other words, the functions of idioms in conversation

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The present study adopts qualitative, linguistic analysis method to fill in a gap and investigate the idiomatic expressions in Egyptian spoken language represented in the novel *Taxi* and to analyze them to determine their pragmatic functions.

It is qualitative in a sense that it enables the researcher to answer the ‘*what*’ questions and extract information from a small purposeful sample. “It is more concerned with the unique characteristics of the sample itself apart from any larger population” (Perry, 2011, p.79). Therefore, it allows us to shed light on a phenomenon of interest to the researcher. Hence, by using the qualitative method, the emphasis is more on the description and the quality of the information not on the quantity. In addition, linguistic analysis is very suitable in this study because it helps the researcher to describe the idioms in the language with regard to their pragmatic functions. This chapter is divided into three sections; the first section is about the source of the data; the second one is about the procedures of data collected and the third one is about data analysis.

3.2 Source of data

Data was collected from the novel *Taxi* by the famous Egyptian novelist Khaled Al Khamissi (2006). The novel quickly became a well-known bestseller when it was published in 2006 and has enjoyed great popularity. The book is currently on its 23rd edition, with over 200,000 copies sold in Arabic and has been translated into ten other languages. The title of the novel, which is *Taxi* represents the setting in which all the conversations between the characters take place. Although most of the episodes included in the novel are a criticism of the political, social and economic problems during the reign of Hosni Mubarak, as it was written before the January 25 Egyptian Revolution in 2011 and before the fall of President Hosni Mubarak, it has become quite relevant after the revolution, as well. The novel is made up of 58 narratives that weave the story of despair, poverty, hopelessness of the Egyptian poor classes through the voices of Cairo's taxi drivers. *Taxi* works as a microcosm of Egyptian society and its problems from different people coming from different backgrounds, ranging from the driver that is working two jobs, to the driver who won't be able to return home until he made enough money to pay off a fine, to highly educated ones. At that time, people in the streets were fed up and motivated against what was happening so the novel is a representative of the voice of the streets of Cairo at the time of President Hosni Mubarak.

In addition to the unique setting of the novel which is the taxi in which all the conversations took place, the novel *Taxi* has been chosen for a number of reasons: first, the popularity of the language used in the book. Second, the diversity of people involved in these conversations. It is one of the Egyptian books written mainly in ECA; a genre widely used by contemporary authors and received positive feedback from readers as from a well-known bookseller. ECA is a popular

variety of Arabic mostly recognized and used in Egypt. What makes the variety used in this book attractive to many readers is the fact that it belongs to a level of ECA the majority of Egyptians use in their daily communications and in different contexts (Badawi, 1973). Taxi drivers represent a broad sector of Egyptian society belonging to a wide variety of educational backgrounds, from nearly illiterate up to advanced degrees, and ranging from lower to middle class. The book, thus, employs this variety in reporting their daily communications with people who are also from a variety of different backgrounds.

Taxi drivers spend most of their time in the street; they are very close to the daily social, economic and political details and problems in Egypt and they are able to communicate with different people of different types spontaneously. Consequently, it is expected that their language to be culturally loaded and a rich soil for IEs. All the above reasons have motivated the researcher to explore the IEs in this spoken language represented in the conversations and determine their pragmatic functions.

The author of the book (Al Khamissi, 2006), uses Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) to comment on the events and ECA in narrating his characters' conversations. Since the aim of the investigation is to analyze idiomatic expressions in ECA, the researcher has focused on investigating the idiomatic expressions in the conversations excluding the parts written in MSA.

3.3 Procedures for Data Collection

Since it is a qualitative study and the data collected under analysis is a limited one, there has been no need for electronic tools to collect the data. It was done manually. The procedures of research were done in two steps: The first one was collecting the major instances of Arabic idiomatic expressions after reading the novel based on the criteria which will be mentioned in the next section of this chapter. The focus is on the spoken parts from which the data will be extracted. Idiomatic expressions in the conversations are the only ones that have been included in the study.

The second step is a deeper analysis to determine the pragmatic functions of IEs in relation to speech acts. Using different colors, the researcher organizes the speech acts of Searle's taxonomy with their subcategories which fulfill different pragmatic functions. Then the researcher goes back to each IE and reads it within its context to determine its role and function in that context then matches it under the corresponding category of speech act. Therefore, IEs are grouped according to their pragmatic functions to fulfill a category of Searle's five speech acts. Declarative speech acts as the fifth category of Searle's (1969) taxonomy are excluded because no IEs were found fulfill them. The IEs that are related to the author's literary style are excluded because they do not include the criterion of *institutionalization* as one of the researcher's criteria of defining idiomatic expressions.

3.4 Data analysis

To answer the research questions in this study, idiomatic expressions are explored, and then they are described and analyzed in terms of pragmatic functions.

First, the researcher was in need of a specific definition of an idiom to investigate the idiomatic expressions in the novel to provide the grounds and criteria for carrying out this research. Since there are many definitions of idioms among scholars, in this study the researcher has chosen a definition based on the theoretical considerations of idioms among scholars while reviewing literature. Thus, the operational definition has included the most common, frequent features of idioms as mentioned by Fernando (1996) which must meet the following criteria:

- 1) Compositeness: Idioms are commonly accepted as a type of multiword expression
- 2) Institutionalization: Idioms are conventionalized in a sense that an expression must be well-established, conventionally fixed, recognized and accepted as a 'lexical item' by language users.
- 3) Semantic opacity: The meaning of an idiom is not the sum of its constituents. That means, an idiom is often non-literal.

All the expressions chosen for the analysis have been picked and highlighted according to the operational definition of an idiom. If there was any sort of uncertainty in deciding whether a certain expression is an idiomatic expression or not, the researcher checked the English translated edition of the novel *Taxi* to check if it is not literally translated, this proves its idiomaticity.

The second step is to determine the pragmatic functions of the explored idiomatic expressions. The researcher moved to a more detailed analysis taking into account the Searle's (1969) speech act theory as a theoretical framework to determine the pragmatic functions behind the idiomatic

expressions in the conversations. By relying on speech act theory, the researcher can get to know what type of illocutionary act one can generally perform by using idiomatic expressions in certain contexts. The researcher categorizes the idiomatic expressions based on four of Searle's five speech acts with respect to their subcategories:

1. **Representatives** such as swearing, describing, concluding, stating, putting forward, deducing, complaining, and so forth.

Example: Complaining: اللّٰي فيهم مكفيهم /ellī fēhom mkafīhom/ (had enough worries of their own)

2. **Directives** such as inviting, asking, ordering, advising, praying, etc.

Example: Advising: إن فانتك الميري إتمرغ في ترابه / ?en fātak el mēry etmarmaŸ fi torābo/ (there is nothing better than a government job)

3. **Commissives** such as promising, planning, opposing, agreeing, etc.

Example: Agreeing: من عنيا /men ſenayya/ (sure)

4. **Expressives** such as condoling, apologizing, deploring, thanking, excusing, sympathizing

Example: Thanking: الله يخليك /Allah yxalīk/ (thanks)

In other words, one has to go beyond words and phrases to determine the actions performed by the produced utterances. Since the methodology used is a descriptive one, the researcher has no hypothesis before examining the data. The aim was to describe the data and reach conclusions not necessary to be generalized.

To sum up, this chapter presented the methodological steps used in this study. This included the method of research which is the qualitative, linguistic analysis. It also gave an idea about the

source of the data with a description of it and reasons behind choosing it, besides procedures used in collecting the data and analyzing it following theoretical framework.

Chapter four

Results and Discussion

This chapter discusses and analyzes the results of the data under investigation and sheds light on the significance of the results. As mentioned before the focus of the current study is to explore the IEs in the conversations in the novel *Taxi*, to determine their pragmatic functions in relation to speech act theory.

4.1 Discussion of the results

The results reveal the occurrence of 80 idiomatic expressions in the novel *Taxi* fulfilling 13 pragmatic functions. These pragmatic functions are performed in four speech acts of Searle's (1976): *representatives, expressives, directives and commissives*. Representative speech acts occurred in 49 idiomatic expressions to fulfill four pragmatic functions: *describing with six subcategories, complaining, stating, concluding, and swearing*. On the other hand, expressive speech acts are represented in 24 idiomatic expressions to fulfill five pragmatic functions, namely: *thanking, condoling, sympathizing, deploring and excusing*. Moreover, commissive speech acts are represented in 4 IEs with two pragmatic functions: *agreeing and opposing*. As for directive speech acts, they are represented in only 3 IEs to fulfill only one pragmatic function, which is *advising*. The IEs with their functions will be discussed in detail below:

Table 2 *Speech Acts and the Number of Idiomatic Expressions performing them*

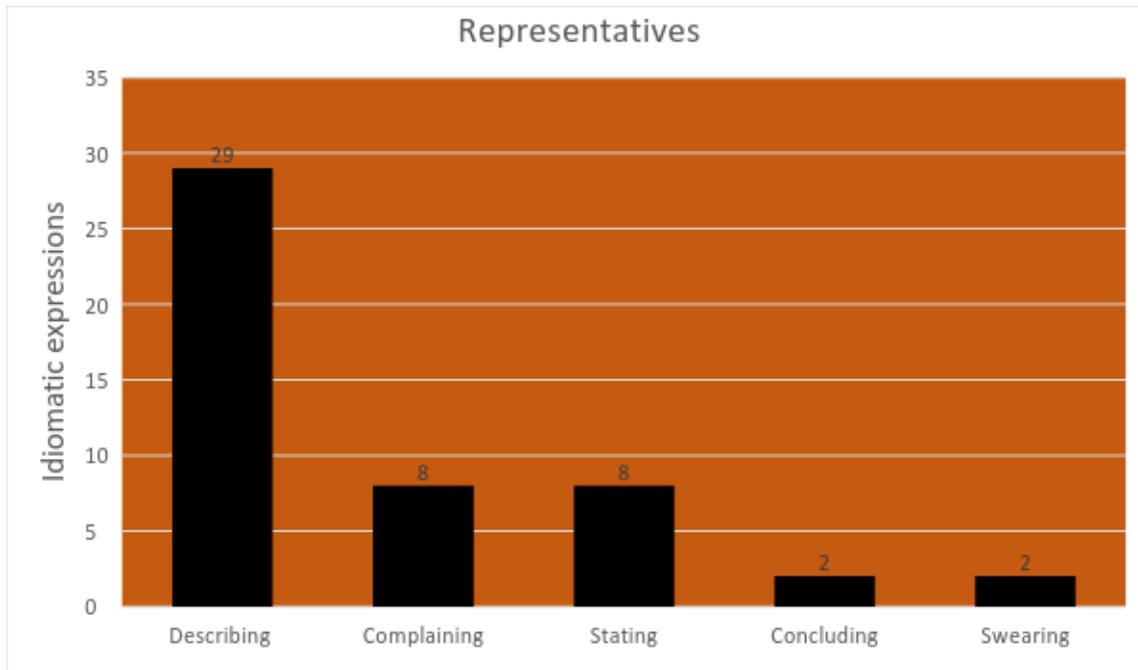
Representatives	The number of Idiomatic expression	Expressives	The number of idiomatic expressions	Directives	The number of Idiomatic expression	Commissives	The number of Idiomatic Expressions
	49 IEs				3		

			24 IEs				ns 4 IEs
-Describing	28	Thanking	4	Advising	3	Agreeing	3
-Big quantity/sb or sth							
-Unstable situations							
-Nonsense talk							
-Dirty business							
-Continuity							
-Distance							
Complaining	8	Condolin g	4			Opposing	1
Stating	8	Sympathi zing	5				

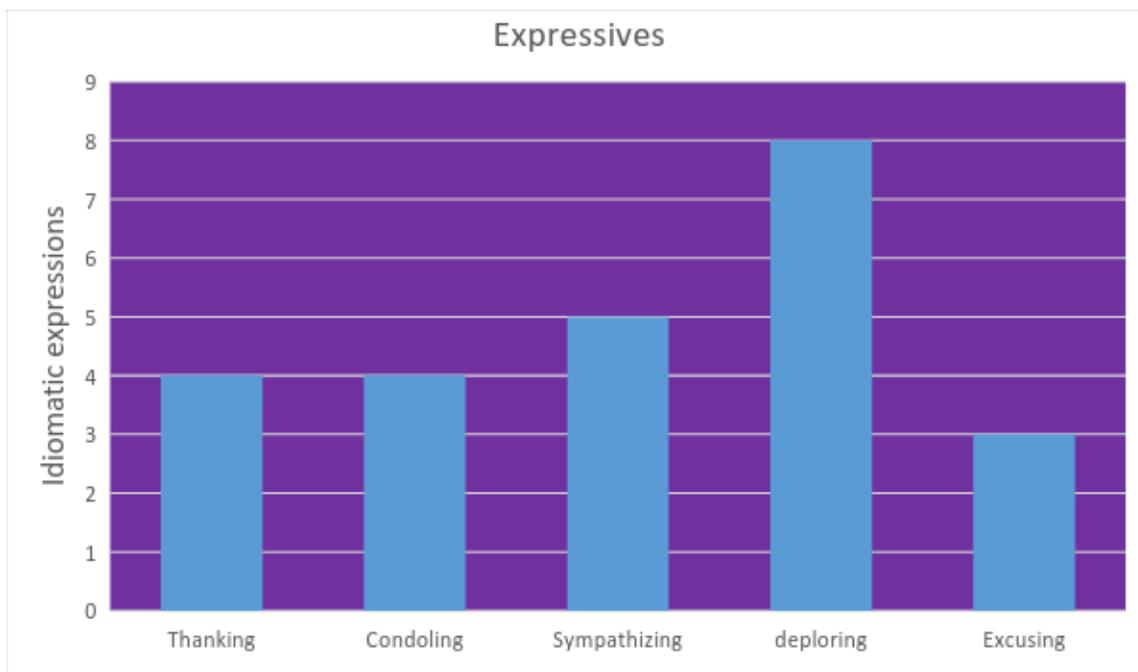
Concluding	2	deploring	8				
-Swearing (for confirmation) -Swearing (for exclaiming)	2 1	Excusing	3				

After being investigated, the IEs are categorized according to their pragmatic functions with relation to speech act theory. Actually, the researcher made use of Searle's taxonomy to determine different kinds of speech acts and to group idiomatic expressions and their pragmatic functions under the five speech acts of Searle's model: *representatives, expressives, commissives, directives and declaratives*.

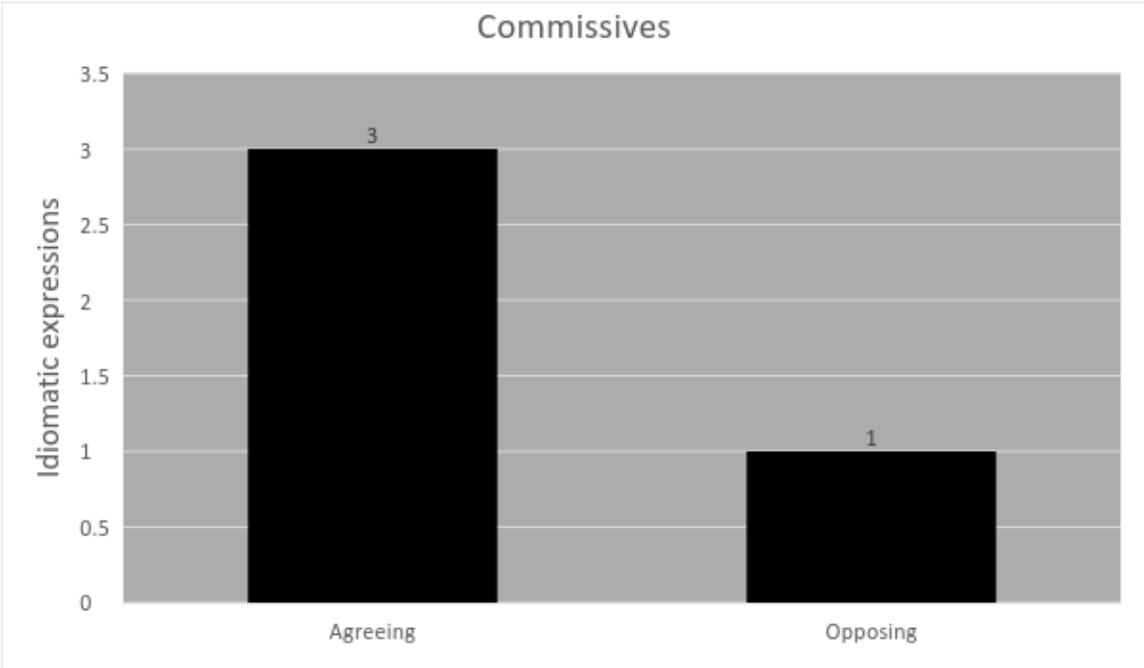
Graph 1 *Subcategories of 'Representative' Speech Acts*



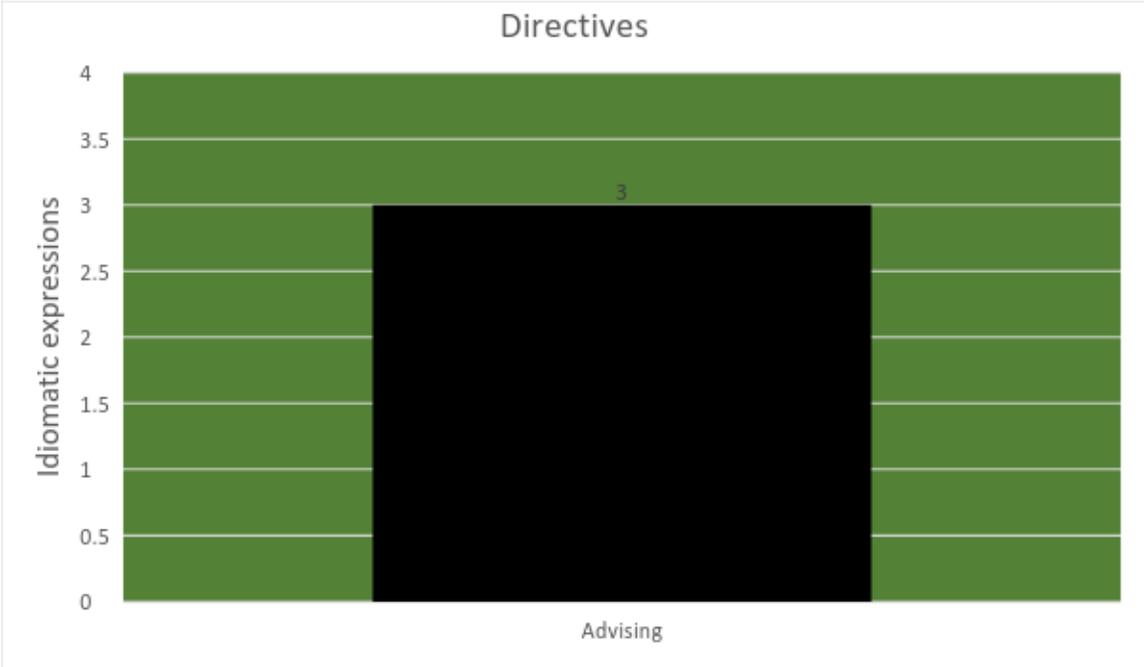
Graph 2.1 *Subcategories of 'Expressive' Speech Acts*



Graph 3 *Subcategories of ‘Commissive’ Speech Acts*



Graph 4 *A Subcategory of ‘Directive’ Speech Acts*



I. Representatives

It can be detected that the examples of IEs performing *representative* speech acts reveal the highest numbers among the other examples. There are 49 IEs performing representative speech acts serving the following pragmatic functions: *describing, complaining, stating, concluding and swearing*.

As mentioned by Searle's (1969), the point or purpose of the members of the representative class is to commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition. The utterances are produced based on the speaker's observation of certain things then followed by stating the fact or opinion based on the observation. In some conversations in the novel *Taxi*, it is observable that speakers are performing representative speech acts by uttering different idiomatic expressions to cover a variety of the pragmatic functions, such as *describing(with six subcategories), complaining, stating, concluding, and swearing*.

1- Describing:

As shown in the graph 5 bellow, the pragmatic function of description represents the highest number of IEs, 29 examples among other examples. They are uttered by different taxi drivers in different episodes. The researcher categorizes them into different subcategories:

Graph 5 Types of ‘Describing’ idiomatic expressions

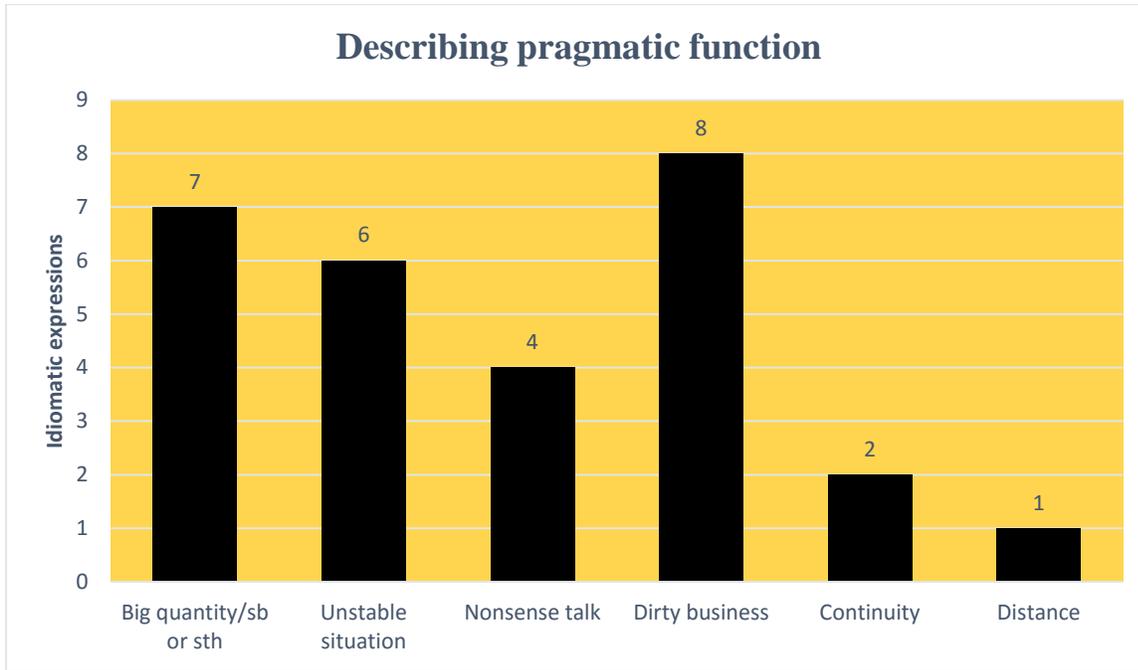


Table 3 Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Describing’ Big Quantity of Something/ Somebody

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic Functions	Examples	Translation	Transliteration
3	23	Describing (big quantity)	1- وفي السبعينات كان فيه مظاهرات ياما	1- And in the seventies there were demonstrations	1- wifil-sabʕināt kān fih moẓaharāt yāma

				everywhere	
32	128		-2 ده أنا بقى عندي صحاب ياما	2- I have so many friends	2- da ʔana baʔa ʕandī suḥāb yāma
38	146		-3 من يومها بقى فيه تاكسيات في الشارع بالهبل	3- Since that day, the streets have been packed with taxis	3- min yomha baʔa fiḥ taksiyyāt fiʃʃārīʕ bilhabal
45	171		-4 إنت ماشوفتش اللي حصل في العبارة ، الناس ماتت بالزوفة ، والحكومة واقفة تشجع	4- Didn't you see what happened with the ferry that sank in the Red Sea? People died in droves and the government stood there	4- ʔenta maʃofteʃ elly ḥaʃal fiʕabbāra, ennās mātit bizzōfa, welḥukūma waʔfa tʃagaʕ

				cheering.	
7	39		5- الداخلية اشتغلت مخالفات الله ينور ولموا ملايين	5- The interior Ministry issued one ticket after the other and collected millions	5- eddaxliyya eḡtaḡalit moxalafāt Allah ynawwar
42	159		6- حاشون أكل يكفيني شهرين ..معلبات فول على تونة وكمية عيش بنت كلب	6- I'll stack away food to last me two months, tins of beans and tuna, and a shitload of bread	6- ḡaḡawwen ʔakl yikaffiny ʔahrēn...moḡ allabāt fūl ḡala tūna wekimmiyye t ḡēḡ bent kalb
50	189		7- وبعد ثلاث سنين من الجواز إنت وهي تتكلموا وأمة لا إله الله تسمع	7- After three years of marriage, you	7- wbaḡd talat sinīn men el- gawāz ʔenta

				both speak and everyone else listen	wheyya tetkallemu wʔommet la ʔilaha ʔilla llāh tesmaʕ
--	--	--	--	---	---

- *Describing big quantity of something/ somebody*

As in the first three examples above in table 3 In Episode three, the driver witnessed the demonstrations of the Egyptians against political leaders in the 60s and 70s. He states that the number of demonstrators those days was huge in comparison with the number these days using the IE ياما /yāma/(a lot/ many) (p.23). In addition, in episode 32, the driver uses the same word ياما /yāma/ (p.128) to describe that he used to have many friends while he was a soldier in the army as in the following examples:

وفي السبعينات قبل الحرب كان فيه مظاهرات ياما

wfil-sabʕīnāt ʔabl el-ḥarb kām fīh mūzāharāt yāma

ده أنا بقى عندي صحاب ياما.. صحاب صحاب

danā baʔa ʕandī soḥāb yāma..soḥāb soḥāb

It is worth mentioning that sometimes the speakers in conversations use IEs differently from their common use, such as swear words and religious expressions. For example, Egyptians usually use swear words as a way of insulting others. In episode 42 (p.159), the speaker is

describing his dream in life to go to South Africa. While he is speaking about his preparation for the trip, he describes the things he is going to take with him such as tuna and beans. Then he uses a very common swear word بنت كلب /bent kalb/ (shitt) to describe big quantity of bread as in the following example:

حاشون أكل يكفيني شهرين معلبات فول على تونة وكمية عيش بنت كلب

ḥaṣawwen ʔakl yikaffīnī šahrēn muṣalabāt fōl ʕala tuna wkemeyyit ʕēʃ **bent kalb**

On the other hand, to describe big quantity, in episode 50 (p.189), the driver uses religious expression /أمة لا إله إلا الله/ ʔummit lā ʔilah ʔella Allah/ (big gathering), which is usually used to refer to all Muslims around the world, to describe a large number of people in an informal context. In this episode, the driver is describing sarcastically the kind of life of any married couple after three years of marriage and how life becomes a little bit boring. He criticizes the way a husband and wife talk loudly with each other so that a lot of people can hear them using the IE /أمة لا إله إلا الله/ ʔummit lā ʔilah ʔella Allah/ as in the following example:

وبعد ثلاث سنين من الجواز إنت وهي تتكلموا وأمة لا إله إلا الله تسمع

wbaʕd talat senīn men elgawāz ʔenta wheyya tetkallemo wʔummit lā ʔilah ʔella Allah tesmaʕ

Table 4 Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Describing’ Unstable Situations

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic Functions	Examples	Translation	Transliteration
3	22	Describing (unstable situations)	-1 فيه مظاهرات والدنيا فوق بعضها	1- There are demonstrations	1- fih muṣaharāt wedduṅya fōʔ

				on demonstration that made real impact	muzahrāt kassarit eddunya
6	35		-5 حكاية كامب ديفيد دي ..وأنا ساعتها كنت في العراق صدام كان قالب الدنيا على مصر	5- Camp David business. At that time I was in Iraq. Sadam was turning the world against Egypt.	5- ḥikāyet kām̄b dēvid di saʕitha kunt filʕirā? ṣaddām kān ?ālib eddunya ʕala maṣr
6	35		-6 كان فيه مناوشات كده بين العراق وإيران ..كانت الدنيا مولعة نار	6- At the same time there were some skirmishes, between Iraq and Iran. The world was on fire.	6- kān fīh munawaṣāt keda bēn el-ʕirā? wʕirān. kānet eddunya muwallaʕa nār

- *Describing unstable situation*

Moreover, in an attempt to describe unstable situations, episode 3 is a description of the social and political changes that took place in the streets of Egypt as a result of ‘kefaya’ Movement (which was a group of youth calling for political reform during the time of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt). The social effect of this movement had its impact on taxi drivers as they raised the prices of taxis which caused disturbances and demonstrations in the streets. In an attempt to describe this instability, the driver is using the IE *الدنيا فوق بعضها* / *edduniā fō? baṣḍaha* (the world’s turned upside down) (p.22) to describe the demonstrations and the crowds in the streets. The same driver who seems to be an old man, as he had witnessed demonstrations during the time of president Sadat, uses another IE *الدنيا اتقلبت* / *edduniā et?alabit* / (The world turned upside down) p.23) to describe the unstable situation resulted from price rises at that time, as in the following examples:

فيه مظاهرات والدنيا فوق بعضها وحاوصلك في ساعة

fih muḏāharāt **weddunya fō? baṣḍaha** wḥawṣallak fī sāʿa

وبعدين السادات الله يججمه مطرح مراح .. طلّع قرارات غلت الدنيا .. الدنيا اتقلبت

webaṣḍēn essādāt Allah yegḥemo maṭraḥ ma rāḥ.. ṭallaṣ qarārāt Ṭallit eddunya..eddunya et?alabet

Table 5 *Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Describing Vague Talk’*

Episode Number	Page Number	Pragmatic Functions	Examples	Translation	Transliteration

6	32	Describing (nonsense talk)	-1 " لو لم أكن مصريا" الكلام اللي لا بيودي ولا يجيب	1- "If I were not an Egyptian". Talk that doesn't take you anywhere nor achieve anything	1- law lam ʔakun mişriyyan...elkalām ʔillī la beywaddi wala ygīb
5	30		-2 امال المليارات اللي بتتصرف على كلام في الهوا	2- Then the billions spent on phone talk where do they come from?	2- ʔommāl ellmilyārāt ʔillī btetşeref ʕala kalām fil hawa gayya mnēn
13	62		-3 بعا الكلام ده كده وكده	3- Of course, we wouldn't be serious	3- ʔabʕan el kalām da keda wkeda
52	193		-4	4-	4-

			كل الكلام اللي قلتهولك كان في الأونطة	Everything I've told you was just bullshit.	kul elkalām elly ʔoltuhūlak kān filʔawaṇṭa
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- *Describing Vague talk*

Describing vague talk is revealed in three episodes in three different IEs as shown in table 5. For example, in episode 6, 13, there are different forms of IEs to describe nonsense talk. In episode 6, (p.32), the speaker is criticizing the economic conditions in Egypt, and how he is fed up from promises and speeches and describes these sayings and promises as useless, nonsense ones لا يودي ولا يجيب / la ywaddi wala yigīb/ (Talk that doesn't take you anywhere nor achieve anything) as in the following example:

شعارات جوفاء عن حب الوطن " ولو لم أكن مصرياً" الكلام اللي لا بيودي ولا بيحيب

ʃiʕārāt gawfāʔ ʕan hob el-waṭan “wlaw lam ʔakon miṣriyyan” elkalām ʔillī..... **la**
bywadī walā yigīb/

While in episode 13 p.62), the speaker uses different IEs to describe vague, nonsense talk in another context; he is talking with the author about Egypt's stance towards the policy of America. Innocently and ignorantly he suggests a tricky plan Egypt should go through backing Cuba with the aim of threatening America and attracting the whole world's attention to Egypt. He described this plan and that kind of talk as a trick and not serious talk using the IE كلام كده /kalām keda wkeda/ (not serious talk) as in the following examples:

يحصل إيه إن احنا نيجي ونقول لأمریکا إنتي عندك سلاح نووي وعندك أسلحة دمار شامل

وح نضطر نستخدم القوة العسكرية عشان نحمي كوبا ودي دولة صغيرة ولازم نخلي بالننا عليها...طبعا الكلام ده

كده وكده

wḥaneṭṭar nestaxdem el-quwwa elʕaskariyya ʕafān neḥmi Cuba wdi dawla suṬayyara wlāzim

nxalī bālna ʕalēha..ṭabʕan el kalām da **keda wkeda**

Table 6 Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Describing’ Dirty Business

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic Functions	Examples	Translation	Transliteration
17	77	Describing (dirty business and illegal Issues)	-1 أنا أصلا ماليش في اللعبة دي خالص	1- I don't know anything about this game at all	1- ʔana ʔaʕlan malīʕ filleʕba di xāliš
19	86		-2 السياسة شعارها "اللي تكسبه إعبه"	2- In politics the motto is "if it works, try it"	2- essiyasa ʕiʕarha ʔillī teksabu elʕabu
19	86		-3 إحنا داخلين على انتخابات وكل اللعب	3- We are going	3- ʔeḥna daxlīn

			مسموح بيه	into elections and that means every trick is allowed	ʕala ʔentixabāt wikul illifb masmūḥ bīh
17	139		-4 إنت عارف حضرتك الناس دي دخلت اللعبة دي ليه؟	4 - Do you know why these people are in this game?	4- ʔenta ʕārif ḥaḍretak ennās di daxalit elleʕba di lēh?
36	140		-5 الحكومة عايزة تبان قدام الأمريكان إنها ديمقراطية عشان الدعم ما يقفش والاقتصاد ما ينهارش فبتعمل المسرحية دي	5- The government wants to appear to the Americans as though it's democratic so that the aid money doesn't stop and the economy	5- -el-ḥukūma ʕayza tbān ʔuddām el- ʔamrikān ʔennaha dimukratiyy a ʕaʕān eddaʕm mayuwʔafsh

				doesn't collapse, so they're putting on this show.	welʔeqtiṣād mayenharsh fabteʕmel elmasraḥiyy a di	
36	140	-6	6-	لكن هاييجوا منين اللي يمثلوا في المسرحية ، وهو أصلا مفيش ممثلين في النوع ده من المسرحيات الهزلية	..but where they find people to act in the play , because in the first place, we don't have any actors of that kind to act in farce comedies	6- lāken hayīgu mnēn ʔellī ymasselo filmasraḥiy a , whuwwa ʔaşlan mafīʃ mumasilīn finnūʕ da men el masraḥiyya t elhazliyya
7	38	-7	7-	عد انت بقى شغل بالملايين شغل على ميه بيضا	Count it up, that's a job worth millions. The perfect scam.	7- ʕedd ʔenta baʔa ʃuʔl belmalayīn ʃuʔl ʕala mayya bēḏa

7	39		-8 عملوا علينا شغل تمام	8- They did some good business at our expense.	8- ʕamalū ʕalēna fuʕl i tamām
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- *Describing Dirty Business*

Describing dirty business represents the highest number of idiomatic expressions side by side with complaining and stating in all representative speech acts. Speakers in different episodes use eight IEs to describe governmental or businessmen's dirty business at the time of Mubarak. That observation reflects the feeling of disappointment and the lack of social justice felt by the poor towards those who are controlling and ruling them during Hosni Mubarak's regime. Hence, IEs are used as a tool to describe political and economic conditions when the government was made up of a number of corrupted businessmen who achieve their own benefit at the expenses of the poor. The speakers use the words (game, farce, and business) /elleʕba welmasraḥiyya elhazliyya welʕuʕl/ اللعب والمسرحية الهزلية و الشغل idiomatically to describe corrupted, dirty business as in the following example in episode19 (p.86)

السياسة شعارها " اللي تكسبه إعبه " وإحنا داخلين على انتخابات يعني كل اللعب مسموح بيه

-essiyāsa ʕiʕarhā “**elly teksabu elʕabu?**” weḥna daxlīn ʕala ʔentexabāt yaʕnī kul
elleʕb masmūḥ bīh/

The speaker in the previous example seems to be an educated man, who is able to analyze the political scene and describe the corrupted government before the presidential election doubled the rigid votes for Hosni Mubarak, by using the word “game” اللعب idiomatically.

On the other hand, another speaker in episode 36 (p. 140) uses the word “play’ /elmasraḥiyya/ المسرحية idiomatically to satirize the Egyptian government which was pretending to play the role of a democratic government to gain America’s support as follows:

الحكومة عايزة تبان قدام الأمريكان إنها ديمقراطية عشان الدعم ما يقفش والاقتصاد ما ينهارش ، فبتعمل
المسرحية دي

Elhukūma ʕayza tebān ʔodām el-ʔamrikān ʔennaha dimoqratiyya ʕaʕān eddaʕm
mayuʔaff weleqteʕād ma yenharʕ, fabteʕmel **elmasraḥiyya** di/

Table 7 Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Describing’ Continuity

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic Functions	Examples	Translation	Transliteration
2	19	Describing (continuity)	-1 البطجة على ودنه	1- Thuggery big time	1- elbalṭaga ʕala wedno
9	48		-2 الأخلاق مفيش والفساد على ودنه	2- Morals are long gone and corruption is everywhere	2- elʔaxlāʔ mafīʕ welfasād ʕala wedno

- *Describing Continuity*

Describing continuity is a pragmatic function represented by the IE /ʕala **wedno**/ (Big time) . It is used by speakers in episode 2 (p.19) على البطجة /elbalṭaga ʕala **wedno**/ (Thuggery big time) to describe the continuous thug behavior of policemen who are always

expecting bribes from people. Moreover, it is used in episode 9 (p.48) to describe the continuous corruption and lack of morals *الفساد على وده* /elfasād **ʕala wedno**/ (corruption everywhere).

Table 8 *Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Describing’ Distant places*

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic Functions	Examples	Translation	Transliteration
35	137	Describing (distant places)	1- بكره يقولوا إن فيه عمليات إرهابية في بلاد الوراق الوراق	1- Tomorrow, they will tell us there have been terrorist operations in Cloud Cuckoo land	1- bokra yʔūlu ʔen fih ʕamaliyyāt ʔirhābiyya fi bilād elwāq wāq

- *Describing Distant places*

Results also show that sometimes IE is used to describe distant places. The speaker uses this idiom sarcastically to describe the repeated attitude of news bulletin at the time of Mubarak. In their attempt to make people accept any kind of terrorist attacks, they mention others in distant, imaginary places having the same problem as the one mentioned *بلاد الوراق الوراق* / bilād elwāq wāq (Cloud Cuckoo land)

بكره يقولوا فيه عمليات إرهابية في بلاد الوراق الوراق

bukra yuʔūlo fih ʕamaliyyāt ʔerhābiyya fi **bilād el wāq wāq**

2- Complaining

Table 9 Idiomatic Expressions for 'Complaining'

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic Functions	Examples	Translation	Transliteration
1	14	1- Complaining	1- أنا طبعا على باب الله	1- I'm pretty poor and live from hand to mouth.	1- ʔana ʔabʕan ʕalā bāb Allah
1	15		2- ولادي اللي فيهم مكفيهم	2- My children have enough worries of their own.	2- welādī ellī fihom mikkafihom
2	17		3- طالع ميتين أمي عشان أكل العيال	3- I work my butt off to feed the kids	3- ʔālīʕ mayyitīn ʔomi ʕaʕān ʔakl el-ʕiyāl
2	17		4- أنا طافح القوتة مش زي سعادتك	4- -I work to exhaustion	4- ʔana ʔāfiḥ el kūta meʕ zayyi saʕattak.
45	171		5-	5-	5-

			المصيبة إن هما اللي بيطلعوا عنينا في كل حاجة	They are the ones who gives us hell at every turn	elmoṣība ʔenn humma ellī byṭallaṣo ṣinēna
14	66		-6 كنت بلطش في كل حاجة	6- I was dabbling in everything	6- kont balatṭaff fi kull ḥāga
5	30	Complaining (paying a bulk of money unwillingly)	-7 الناس عاملة زي المواشي ماشية ورا إعلانات وعمالة تكع فلوس وفي الأخر يقولوا البلد مافيهاش فلوس	7- People act like sheep chasing after adverts and forking out money all the time.	7- ʔinnas ṣamla zayy el-mawāṣī maṣya wara el- ʔiṣlanāt wṣammāla tikuṣṣ fulūs
43	164		-8 ويفضل الأهل يكعوا دروس خصوصية	8- The parents keep on coughing up for private lessons	8- wyefḍal el-ʔahl yukuṣṣu durūs xuṣuṣiyya

The results show that IEs that convey *complaining* represent one of the second highest numbers, fulfilling negative pragmatic functions as *deploring* and *stating negative issues* which will be

analyzed afterwards. They occur 8 times in representative speech acts. The 8 times are in different contexts and the IEs are different. As illustrated in table nine, it is remarkable that the complaining pragmatic function is reflected by different forms of IEs; multi-word expression, such as *على باب الله /ʔanā ʔabʕan ʕalā bābAllah/* (I'm pretty poor and live from hand to mouth or one-word expression as *تكع /tikuʕʕ/* (forking out money)

Moreover, a swear word is also used to express complaint as *طالع ميتين أمي /ṭāliʕ mayyitīn ʔummī/* (I work my butt off). In episode two (p.17), the driver is complaining from corrupt police officers during Mubarak rule, who have the power to deter people by threatening them to confiscate their driving license in order to get some sort of bribes. In this context, the driver uses the swear word */ṭāliʕ mayyitīn ʕummī/ طالع ميتين أمي* (p.17) idiomatically and *طافح القوتة /ṭāfiḥ elkūta/* (I work to exhaustion) (p.17) to express his feeling of helplessness and dissatisfaction. Being poor, he spends all day traveling in Cairo in order to get money to feed his kids while he is forced to pay a bribe to police officers:

طالع ميتين أمي عشان أكل العيال ṭāliʕ mayyitīn ʔomi ʕaʕān ʔakl el-ʕiyāl
أنا طافح القوتة مش زي سعادتك. ʔana ṭāfiḥ el kūta meʕ zayyi saʕattak.

The study shows that IEs can be multi-word expressions as shown in the previous examples, but also it can be only a one-word expression. To describe paying a lot of money unwillingly, the speakers in episode 5 (p.30) and episode 43 (p.164) use a one-word IE *تكع /tikuʕʕ/* (forking out money). It is observed that the IE is *تكع /tikuʕʕ/* (forking out money) used to describe negative phenomena. In episode 5 (p.30), it has been used to describe people who follow commercial advertisements blindly and consequently pay a lot of money for mobile phone bills:

والناس عاملة زي المواشي ماشية ورا إعلانات و عمالة تكع فلوس وفي الآخر يقولوا البلد ما فيهاش فلوس

ʔinnas ʕamla zayy el-mawāʔi maʕya wara el-ʔiʕlanāt wʕammāla **tikuʕʕ** fulūs

And in episode 43(p. 164), the use of IE is strongly related to a social problem in Egypt namely, the failure of education system, which makes students pay a lot of money just to afford paying forcefully private lessons because they learn nothing at school as explained below:

العيال بيروحوا مدارس وما بيتعلموش حاجة ويفضل الأهل يكعوا دروس خصوصية فوق العشر سنين

وعمالة تكع فلوس

elʕeyāl biyrūhū madāris wmabyetʕalemūʔ ḥāga wyefḍal el-ʕahl **ykuʕʕu** durūs
xuʕūʕiyya fōʔ elʕaʕar sinīn wʕammāla tikuʕʕ fulūs

3- Stating

Table 10 Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Stating’

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic Functions	Examples	Translation	Transliteration
57	215	Stating	-1 الشمس شدة حيلها	1- It is too sunny	1- eʕʕams jadda ḥelha
12	59		-2 اقتصاد البلد يشد حيله	2- The country's economy could pick up a little	2- ʔeqtiṣād elbalad yefed ḥēlo
3	22		-3 حكومة مرعوبة ، ركبتها	3- Government terrified,	3-ḥukūma marʕūba

			بتخبط في بعضها	its knees are shaking.	rukabha betxabbaṭ fi baṣḍ
3	22	-4	حكومة والله نفخة وتقع	4- One puff and the government will fall.	4- ḥukūma wallahi nafxa wtuʔaṣ
3	22	-5	حكومة من غير ركب	5- A government without knees.	5- hukūma men Yēr rukab
3	23	-6	حكومة محتاجة كوارع	6- The government needs to eat Kawarei	6- ḥukūma meḥtāga kawāreṣ
3	23	-7	ولا ينفع معاها حاجة نفخة كدابة	7 - Nothing to do about the government, puffed up with false pride.	7 - wala yenfaṣ mṣāha ḥāga nafxa kaddāba
19	86	- 8	الحكومة ضعيفة....لو كانوا بيخططوا ويتكتكوا	8- The government is weak, if they could	8- elhukūma daṣīfa...law

			بالشكل ده ماكانش ده بقى حالنا	plan carefully we wouldn't be in the state we're in.	kānu beyxaṭaṭo weytakteko biḥḥakl da makanḥ da baʔa ḥalna
--	--	--	----------------------------------	--	--

The speaker is observing the political situation in Egypt and the marginal role of the government and states that in a sarcastic manner. Based on his observation, the speaker comes out with a conclusion and states that the government is unfair, weak, and unable to take the right decision. Actually, the idiomatic expressions used in this context are figurative ones. The driver personified the government as a weak, sick human, who needs urgent knee treatment otherwise it will collapse as in episode 3 (p.22) حكومة من غير ركب /ḥukūma men Ṽēr rukab/ (a government without knees) and حكومة محتاجة كوارع /ḥukūma meḥtāga kawāreḥ/ (the government needs help) (p.23) He also criticized the government for being apparently strong while in reality it is a weak powerless entity and might be afraid of demonstrators as in حكومة نفخة وتقع /ḥukūma nafxa wtuʔaḥ/(One puff and the government will fall (p.22) .

الحكومة مرعوبة، ركبها بتخبط في بعضا ، حكومة والله نفخة وتقع ، حكومة من غير ركب

الراوي : إيه الحكومة محتاجة كوارع

elḥukūma marḥūba, **rukabha betxabbaṭ fī baḥḍ**, ḥukūma wallahi **nafxa wtuʔaḥ**,

ḥukūma men Ṽēr rukab

ʔēh elḥukūma **meḥtāga kawāreḥ**

In episode 19 example 5 (P.86), the speaker criticizes the weakness of the government and accuses it of being stupid .This was expressed by using the idiomatic expression يتكتكوا /yetakteko/ (plan carefully). By using this IE, the driver accused the government in

Example 5 of being unable to set a long-term plan to fight terrorism

الحكومة ضعيفة... لو كانوا بيخططوا ويتكتكوا بالشكل ده ماكانش ده بقى حالنا

El-ḥukuma ḍaṣīfa.law kāno beyxaṭaṭo **weytakteko** beḥḥakl da makanḥ da baʔa ḥalnā/

4- Concluding

Table 11 *Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Concluding’*

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic Functions	Examples Of IEs	Translation	Transliteration
5	31	Concluding	<p>-1 زمان على أيامنا كانت الإعلانات لخدمة المجتمع همه كام إعلان وكان الله بالسر عليم</p>	<p>1- In old days, in our days, adverts were meant to serve society and there weren't so many, so few and that's it.</p>	<p>1- zamān ḥala ʔayamna kānit el-ʔeḥlanāt lexedmet elmugtamaḥ humma kān ʔeḥlān wkān Allah bissir</p>

					ʕalīm
1	15		-2 القصد ماينفعلش نطلب منهم حاجة	2- I mean , there is no point asking them for anything	2- el-ʔaʕd mayenfaʕʃ noʔlob menhom ḥāga

In Episode five, the taxi driver is criticizing the provoking advertisements of telecom companies in Egypt. These companies are private companies owned by businessmen, so their target is making money more than providing real services to ordinary people. In episode5 (p.31), the driver is lamenting the old days when most of the advertisements were used positively only to help society. What is interesting in this example is that the speaker is using a religious expression inspired from Quran وكان الله بالسر عليم /wakān Allah bissir ʕalīm/ (and that's it) with a pragmatic function totally different from the literal meaning.

زمان على أيامنا كانت الإعلانات لخدمة المجتمع همه كام إعلان ، وكان الله بالسر عليم

zamān ʕala ʔayāmna kānet elʔeʕlānāt lixidmet el-mugtamaʕ humma kām ʔeʕlān,
wakān Allah bissir ʕalīm/

On the other hand, in episode 1 (p.15) the speaker is using another idiomatic expression to conclude and sum up details in his life. The driver narrates how his sons are fed up with their

hard life and describes the details of that depressed life and to conclude and sum up what he said he used only one word القصد/el-ʔaṣd/) I mean) to point out that what he is going to say is the consequence of the previous details.

ولادي اللي فيهم مكفيهم ، اللي جوز نص عياله ومش عارف يجوز النص الثاني...واللي عنده حفيد عيان
بيجري بيه في المستشفيات...القصد ما ينفعش نطلب منهم حاجة

Weladi ʔillī fīhom mkkafīhum, ʔillī gawwez noṣ ʕeyālo wmeṣ ʕāref ygawez ennoṣ
etāni...welly ʕando ḥafīd ʕayān byegrī bīh felmostaṣṣfayāt...**elʔaṣd** mayenfaṣṣf noṭlob
menhom ḥāga/

5- Swearing

Table 12 *Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Swearing’*

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic Functions	Examples	Translation	Transliteration
7	37	Swearing (to confirm)	-1 أنا : لعيتك مكشر قلت أضحك معاك شوية السائق : لا والله أنا مكتئب شوية	1- You looked grumpy so I thought I’d give you something to laugh at - I am really a little bit depressed	1- ʔana: laʔētak mekaṣṣar ʔolt ʔaḍḥak maṣāk fuwayya. Driver: la wallāhy ʔana muktaʔib fuwayya

22	96		-2	2-	2-
			واحد صاحبي ثاني كان شغال في الاستخبارات العامة وكان عنده محل بقالة جنب سكني والله قاد لي صوابه العشرة شمع عشان يساعدي	Another friend of mine was working in intelligence and he had a grocer's next to my house, he really bent over backwards to help me	wāhid ṣaḥbī tānī kān ʃaʕʕāl fil ʔistixbarāt el ʕāmma wkān ʕando maḥall biʔāla gamb sakani wallahī ʔadli ṣawabʕo elʕafara ʃamʕ ʕaʃān yesaʕedni
14	66	Swearing (to exclaim)	-3	3-	3-
			يعني كنت بلطش في كل حاجة ... وبعد كده اشتغلت شوية في توشكى - والله!!! ... ده المشروع القومي بتاع الأيام دي	I was dabbling in everything and after that I worked a little on Toshka land reclamation project. - Really!!! That's the national project of these days	Driver: yaʕni kunt balatṭaʃf fikull-i- ḥāgā.wbaʕd keda eʃtaʕalt ʃiwayya fi tuʃka Me: wallahī!! da elmaʃrūʕ elqawmī bitāʕ elʔayyam di

- *Swearing (to confirm)*

It has been observed that one religious expression is used idiomatically to illustrate different pragmatic functions; confirming, swearing, and exclaiming. Usually, the word والله /wallahī/ (Really) is used for swearing, but in episode 7 (37) the driver uses it to confirm information. The driver is stating that he is in an awful mood and he used/wallahī/ والله (really) thinking that by saying it, he will make his statement more convincing.

- أنا : لقيتاك مكشرف قلت أضحك معاك شوية

- السائق : لا والله أنا مكتئب شوية

laʔētak mikaʃʃar ʔolt aḏhak maʃāk fwayya

lā **wallahī** ʔanā moktaʔeb fwayya

- *Swearing (to exclaim)*

In episode 14 (p.66), the speaker uses the religious expression والله!!!/ wallāhi!!!/ (Really!!!) with exclamation marks to express his surprise after knowing that the taxi driver had once worked on the famous Toshka project.

السائق : يعني كنت بلطش في كل حاجة ... وبعد كده اشتغلت شوية في توشكى

yaʃnī kont balatʔaf fī kol ḥāga... wbaʃd keda eʃta ʔalat fwayya fī tushka

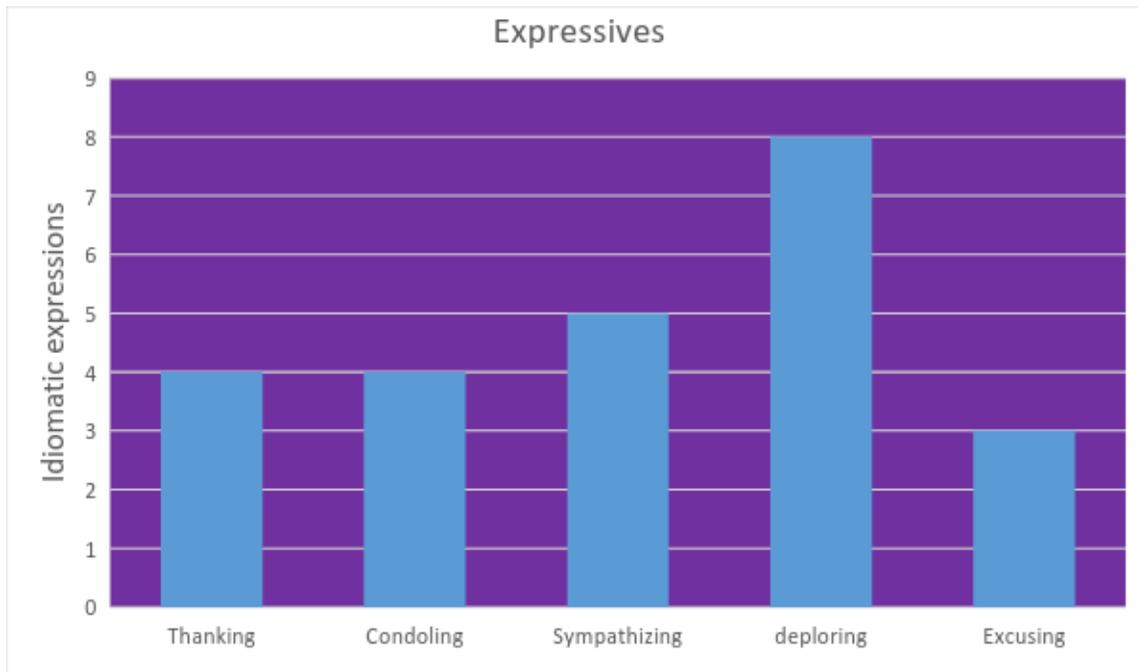
أنا : والله !!! ...ده المشروع القومي بتاع الأيام دي

wallahī!!! da el-maʃrūʃ el qawmī btāʃ el ʔayyām di

II. Expressives

An Expressive speech act occurs in conversation when a speaker expresses his or her psychological state to the listener. Typical cases are when the speaker thanks or apologizes. Expressive speech acts occupy a big area in the conversations under analysis in the novel *Taxi*. It is represented in different kinds of subcategories of pragmatic functions: *thanking, condoling, sympathizing, deploring and excusing* and occurred 24 IEs

Graph 2.2 Subcategories of 'expressive' speech acts



1. Thanking

Table 13 Idiomatic Expressions for 'Thanking'

Pag e No.	Pragmatic functions	Examples of IEs	Translation	Transliteration
70	1-Thanking	-1 بس عشان خاطرک رمیت السیجارة - تعيش	1- But for your sake I threw the cigarette away. -May you live long	1- bas xaṭrak ramēt essigāra -tiṣiḥ

81	-2	2-	2 -welād
	-ولاد سعادتك طبعاً؟ - أبوه أولادي ربنا يخلي نعمة - من عند ربنا - ربنا يخليك	2- Your kids of course? -Yes my kids -God preserve them, a blessing from God. -Good preserve you	saʕattak ʕabʕan? - ʕaiwa ʕawlādi -rabena yxalī. neʕma men ʕand rabbena -rabbena yxallik
193	-3	3- You look like a decent	3-
	إنت باين عليك ابن حلال - يا عم الله يخليك	3- You look like a decent type. -Thank you	ʕenta bāyen ʕalēk ebn ḥalāl -yā ʕam Allah yxallik
220	-4	4-	4-
	إيه الجمال ده كله - الله يكرمك	4- That sounds really beautiful. -Thanks	ʕēh elgamāl da kullu -Allah yekremak

The pragmatic function of thanking occurs four times as shown in table 13. Thanking is inferred in different forms of IEs, ranging from one-word idiomatic expression (تعيش/teʕiʃ//live) to multi-word idiomatic expression (الله يخليك/Allah yxalīk/ / الله يكرمك/Allah yekremak/). First, one-word IE is /teʕiʃ/ تعيش , it is a one word to thank someone who did a favor for another person. In episode 15 (p.70), the driver was smoking but once he noticed that the author was annoyed of the smell of the smoke, he threw the cigarette away as a favor to him. As a response to this favor, the author thanked him, he intended to use the IE تعيش /teʕiʃ/ (May you live long) , which is a common word people usually use in the street to express their gratitude other than the formal word /ʃukran/شكرا (thank you) .

طالع عيني طول النهار علشان أبقى حر وأدخن براحتي بس علشان خاطر سعادتك رميت السيجارة

تعيش

ṭālīʕ ʕēny ṭōl ennahār ʕalaʃan ʔabʔa ḥor wadaxxan biraḥty bas ʕaʃān xāṭer saʕattak
ramēt essigāra

tiʕiʃ

The second thanking expression is represented in الله يخليك /Allāh yxalēk/ (God preserve you) and الله يكرمك/Allah yekremak/ (Thanks) as multiword expressions. Again, as it occurred in previous examples in another pragmatic function, religious expressions are used idiomatically to cover a pragmatic function different from their original function. The expressions of الله يخليك/Allāh yxalēk/ الله يكرمك Allah yekremak/ are religious expressions usually used for praying/wishing good for someone. In episode 18 (p.18), the author was accompanying his kids in the taxi; when the driver noticed that they were his kids, he used the expression, ربنا يخلي, /Rabena yxalī/ to cover its usual function of wishing them long life. However, when the author wants to thank him, he

uses idiomatically the expression /rabena yxalīk/ ربنا يخلّيك to fulfill the function of thanking with the meaning of *thank you*.

-ولاد سعادتك طبعاً؟

ربنا يخلّي نعمة من

- عند ربنا

- ربنا يخلّيك

-welād saḡattak ṭabḡan?

- ḡaiwa ḡawlādi

-rabena yxalī. neḡma men ḡand rabbena

-rabbena yxallīk

2- Condoling

Table 14 *Idiomatic expressions for 'Condoling'*

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic functions	Examples of IEs	Translation	Transliteration
2	17	2- Condoling	1- ولا يهملك كله بيعدى	1- Never mind, it will pass.	1- wala yhemmak kullu beyḡaddī

2	17		-2 مفيش حاجة في الدنيا تستاهل	2- There's nothing in the world worth all that	2- mafif ḥāga fiddunya testāhel
4	27		-3 هانت	3- The best will come soon	3- hānet
7	37		-4 محدث واخذ منها حاجة	4- No one's getting anything out of it.	4- maḥaddif wāxid menha ḥāga

Another interesting finding is the pragmatic function of condoling. It occurs four times in two conversations in episode 2, 4 and 7. In the episodes condoling occurs in two different forms in conversations, but both of them reflect two major economic problems for taxi drivers in Egypt. In episode 2 (p.17), it is about how much taxi drivers are suffering from being ill-treated and threatened by police officers. The author uses IE ولا يهملك كله بيعدي /walā yhemmak kolo beyḥadī/ (never mind, it will pass) for condoling the taxi driver as he saw him in an awful mood because he is fed up from paying bribes for police officers to avoid their threats of withdrawing his driving license.

Walla yhemmak...kolo beyṣadi

On the other hand, in episode 4 (p.27), condoling reflects the deteriorating economic status of taxi drivers in Egypt. They could not afford to buy a taxi in cash; they buy it through monthly installments in the bank. They are struggling to pay these installments. In this episode, the driver is using a one-word IE هانت / hānet / (the best will come soon) to console himself in an attempt to give himself a kind of hope to keep on going and hoping that everything will be much better once he collects all the money required for the installments.

- محسوبك شقي قوي وأهي هانت فاضل ييجي ثلاث ايام كمان والم فلوس القسط

maḥsūbak jaʔō ʔawī wahī **hānet** fāḍel yēgi talat tiyyām kamān wʔalemm fulūs elʔeṣṭ

3- Sympathizing

Table 15 *Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Sympathizing’*

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic functions	Examples of IEs	Translation	Transliteration
7	37	3- Sympathizing	-1 الظابط يا عيني راح فطيس	1- The officer, poor thing, dropped down head.	1- ezzabet yā ṣēnī rāḥ feṭīs

45	171	-2	أوراقهم الرسمية يا عيني غرقت معاهم	2- Their official papers went down on them, poor things.	2- ʔawraʔhom errasmiyya ya ʕēni ʔerʔit maʕāhum
45	171	-3	والأهالي يا عيني ولادهم راحوا	3- And the families, poor things , their children are gone.	3- welʔahāli yā ʕēnī weladhom rāḥo
45	172	-4	واحد بلدياتي فقد ابنه يا عيني وهي قاعدة في معهد القلب	4- One of the guys in my hometown lost his son, poor guy.	4- wāhid baladiyyāti faqad ʔebno ya ʕēni weheyya aʕda fi maʕhad el- ʔalb
18	83	-5	إيه ده . صحيح المؤمن منصاب	5- These things are	5- ʔēh da ṣaḥīḥ

				surely sent to try us	el moʔmen minṣāb
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The pragmatic function of sympathizing occurs five times in three episodes 7, 18 and 45. In episodes 7 and 45, condoling is expressed by the IE يا عيني/yā ʕēni/ (poor guy), while in episode 18, it is expressed by the idiomatic use of a common proverb صحيح المؤمن منصاب (/ṣaḥīḥ elmoʔmen monṣāb) (these things are surely sent to try us). In episode 45 (p.171), IE is used by the driver to express his sympathy towards people who died in a very famous tragic Egyptian shipwreck at the time of Mubarak. Those who died were supposed to be compensated by giving money to their relatives. Again, IE is used as an expression of sympathy related to social problems in Egypt at that time; the government was not respecting the rights of the Egyptians.

والأهالي يا عيني ولادهم راحوا وحتى الفلوس مش عارفين ياخدوها و صاحب العبارة هرب كالمعتاد على برة

welʔahāli yā ʕēni weladhom rāḥū wḥattā elfulūs meʕ ʕarfīn yaxdūha wṣāḥib elʕabbāra

herib kalmoʕtād ʕalā barra/

In episode 18 (p.83), the speaker uses an Egyptian common saying صحيح المؤمن منصاب /ṣaḥīḥ elmoʔmin monṣāb/, which means that God put us into plights to test our patience. Egyptians repeat this saying as an IE when they are sympathizing with someone in difficult situation. In this episode, this IE plays a role to express the author's sympathy towards the driver after finding out that he has cancer, his wife has heart troubles, and he spends a lot of money on his medications.

-السائق : أمه ما ستحملتش ..جالها القلب ، وهي قاعدة في معهد القلب برضه

ʔommuh mastahmeletʃ..gālha elʔalb, wheyya ʔaʃda fī maʃhad elʔalb barḍu

ʔēh da **ṣaḥīḥ el moʔmen monṣāb**

4- Deploring

Table 16 *Idiomatic Expressions for 'Deploring'*

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic functions	Examples of IEs	Translation	Transliteration
7	38	4-Deploring (the acts of tycoon ,dishonest businessmen)	-1 طبعا سيوية داخل فيها ناس كبار...كبار قوي	1- It's obviously a play big shots have cooked up, very big shots.	1- ṭabʃan sabbūba daxel fīha nās kubār kubār ʔawi
10	49		-2 اللي واكليتها والعة وماصين دمنا حيحصلوا في نار جهنم إن شاء الله	2- And all the unscrupulous and the bloodsuckers will go to hell	2- ʔilli waklenha walʃa wmaṣṣīn dammena

17	80	-3	ورأبي إنك تقدم استقالتك طالما الكبار واكلينها	3- I also think you should submit your resignation from this business as long as the big fish is feeding	3- wraʔyi ʔennak tʔaddem ʔesteqaltak ʔalama elkobār waklenha
17	80	-4	ماهي سنة الحياة عشان الكبار يكبروا لازم احنا كمان ما نبطلش زن	4- For the big fish to get fat, we flies mustn't stop buzzing	4 - mahī sunnat elḥayāh ʕaʕān elkobār yekbaro lāzem ʔeḥna kamān mannbaʔalf zann
38	147	-5	واحد من التقال قوي راح مدخل كمية كبيرة من العدادات وبقى هو محتكر كل العدادات اللي في البلد	5- Some fat cat went and imported a large number of meters and he'd cornered the	5- men ettoʔāl ʔawi rāḥ medaxxal kemmeya

				market of all meters in the country	kibāra men elʕaddadāt wbaʔa huwwa muḥtakir kul el-ʕadadāt ʔillī filbalad	
2	19	Deplori n(thugg ery)	-6	البطجة كده عيني عينك	6- That's outright thuggery	6- elbalṭaga keda ʕēni ʕēnak
29	117		-7	برقع الحيا اتشال	7- The veil of shame has finally been lifted.	7- burʔuʕ elḥaya etʕāl
8	42		-8	كان في الناحية الثانية فيه سينما مصر .. الله يرحمها	8- On the other side, there was Cinema Misr, may it rest in peace	8- kān finnaḥya ettanya kān fi cinema maṣr... Allah yerḥamha

Results show deploring as a subcategory of expressive speech acts and represent one of a large number of examples among other pragmatic functions. Speakers use the deploring pragmatic function in seven different episodes. The most frequent IEs of deploring are those examples used to deplore the corrupted state of businessmen in Egypt at the time of Mubarak. They achieve huge profits from dirty business at the expense of the poor. The following example in episode 38 (p.147) is a good one to express the driver's deploring of a businessman who imported a large number of meters, and suddenly he manipulated the market alone by using the IE واحد من التقال قوي/wāḥid men ettoʔāl ʔawī/(some fat cat).

واحد من التقال قوي راح مدخل كمية كبيرة جدا من العدادات وبقي هو فجأة محتكر كل العدادات اللي في البلد

**wāḥid men ettoʔāl ʔawī rāḥ medaxxal kemmeya kibīra geddan men elʕaddadāt
wbaʔa huwwa faḡa muḥtaker kul elʕaddadātellī fī elballad/**

Results show that sometimes drivers use IEs to deplore the failure of the education system in Egypt at that time and the sufferings of the poor class from the costs of private lessons. In episode 29 (p.117), the driver is surprised by the attitude of teachers who are not ashamed to say bluntly that students have to pay in order to learn. The following example includes the IE برقع /burʔoʕ elḡaya ʔeʔʕāl xalāʕ/ (The veil of shame has finally been lifted) to illustrate the previous idea.

مدرسة إيه ؟ بقولك ما بيعرفش يكتب اسمه .. تقول لي مدرسة .. آدي يا سيدي التعليم المجاني .. برقع الحيا انتشال

خلاص .. دلوقتي ماتدفعش حاجة .. ماتأخدش حاجة

madraset ʔēh? baʔollak mabyeʕraff yekṭeb ʔesmo..tʔullī madrasa..ʔādī ya sīdī
 ettaʕlīm elmaggāni..burʔoʕ el ḥaya ʔetʕāl xalāṣ..delwaʔtī matedfaʕf ḥāga mataxodf
 ḥāga

5- Excusing

Table 17 *Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Excusing’*

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic functions	Examples of IEs	Translation	Transliteration
24	101	5-Excusing	-1 لامواخذة في الكلمة إنت بتاخذ مرتب كام	1- If you don’t mind my asking, how much money do you earn?	1- lamoʔaxza fel kelma. ʔenta btāxod morattab kām
9	48		-2 البنات ..ياساتر يارب دول وبال علينا والعياذ بالله دول، دول كلهم اتحولوا ولا مؤخذة لداعرات	2- Girls, they are a plague on us, God protect us. They have all become prostitutes pardon my language	2- elbanāt ya sātir ya rab dōl wabāl ʕalēna walyoʕazu bellah dōl

					ethawwelo la mo?axza lidaṣirāt
8	44		-3 يا اهل الله ياللي هنا	3- Oh people of God here'	3- yahlalla yalli hena

Results show that there are three examples of IEs to express the pragmatic function of excusing in three different episodes. Results also reveal that the IE لامواخذة /lamo?axza/ (pardon) is usually used by the speakers to express excusing. In other words, they use it to express something they are ashamed of saying frankly. This can reflect that once the speaker uses the word لامواخذة /lamo?axza/ (pardon my language), the hearer is expecting to hear something shameful. This function is illustrated in episode 9 (p. 48), the driver is criticizing girls who are wearing full makeup in the streets, he categorizes them as prostitutes, and he is keen to use the IE /lamo?axza/ لامواخذة before the word prostitute as in the following example:

البنات يا ساتر يارب دول وبال علينا والعياذ بالله دول اتحولوا ولامواخذة داعرات.. إنت حضرتك مش بتمشي
في الشارع عشان تشوف بنفسك الأحمر والأخضر اللي على وشهم

elbanāt yā sāter yā rabb dōl wabāl ṣalēna walyṣāzu bellah dōl ethawwelo **walamo?axða**
lidāṣirāt...?enta ḥadrettak meṣ btemṣī fiṣṣārīṣ ṣaṣān tuṣūf bnafsak el?ahmar wel?axḍar ?ēllī
ṣala weṣṣohom/

III. Commissives

Commissives are speech acts that commit the speaker to some future course of action.

In the novel, commissives speech acts are represented in two subcategories of pragmatic functions: *agreeing and opposing*

Table 18 *Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Agreeing’*

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic function	Idiomatic expressions	Translation	Transliteration
1	15	1-Agreeing	-1 أكد عليا اللي حاتفه حاتفه قلت له ماشي	1- He double checked that whatever he paid I would take. -And I told him OK .	1- ʔakkid ʃalayya elli hatedfaʃo hataxdo -ʔoltelo māfi
15	70		-2 اطلع على العجوزة يا اسطى	2- Go to Agouza - Sure	2- eʃlaf ʃal ʃagūza yaʃta - men ʃenayya

			- من عنيا		
15	70		إحنا تحت أمرك يا افندم	3- We are all at your service	3- eḥna taḥt ḡamrak ya fandim

2- Agreeing

In the study, the pragmatic function of agreeing or accepting are expressed by three different idiomatic expressions ماشي /maʃi/ (Ok) (p.15) , من عنيا /men ʕenayya/ (sure) and تحت أمرك يا افندم /taḥt ḡamrak ya fandem/ (at your service) (p.70). In episode 15 (p. 70), it can be observed that the taxi driver suspects that the guy who is going to ride with him to be a police officer, so he shows his willingness to drive him wherever he likes gently and politely using /men ʕenayya/, /taḥt ḡamrak ya fandem/ تحت أمرك يا افندم , من عنيا , - an attitude not commonly seen in Egyptian taxi drivers.

(وأدركت أنّ وجهي يمكن أن يكون وجه ضابط ومستمرًا في لعب دور الخشونة) اطلع على العجوزة

من عنيا

إحنا تحت أمرك يا افندم

men ʕenayya

eḥna taḥt ḡamrak ya fandem

Additionally, in episode 1 (p.15), the driver accepts a client using the normal style of showing acceptance ماشي /māṣī/ (ok). This situation reveals the power of police officers during Mubarak regime. People used to be afraid of police officers who sometimes abused their power.

سألني تاخذ كام قنت له اللي تجيبه ..أكد عليّ .. اللي حادفعه .. قنت له ماشي

saʔalnī tāxod kām ʔolt ʔellī tgēboh..ʔakked ʕalayya..ʔellī hadfaʕo..ʔolt māṣī

3- Opposing

Table 19 *Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Opposing’*

Episod de No.	Page No.	Pragmatic Functions	Idiomatic Expressions	Translation	Transliteration
4	27	Opposing	-1 لا يا سيدي يفتح الله	1- No, sir no way	1- lā ya sīdy yefṭaḥalla

The results reveal only one example of IE representing the pragmatic function of opposing in episode 4 (p.27). The IE used by the speaker is a religious expression that is used idiomatically to fulfill a different function from its literal meaning. In the following example, the driver is opposing the author’s suggestion to go and have some rest and then continue driving. However, the driver opposes this suggestion by using the IE يفتح الله /yefṭaḥalla/ (No,sir no way) and insisted on working to collect money for paying the installments of the bank.

...يعني لوراحت البيت ح ألقى ميت مصيبة ومصيبة ، وح ألقى العيال مش واكله وأمهم حايسة ولايصة ... لا يا

سيدي يفتح الله.

yaṣnī laww roḥt elbēt ḥalʔā mīt moṣeba wemoṣēba, wḥalʔa elḥeyāl meḥ wakla wʔommohom
ḥaysa wlayṣa **yeftahalla**

IV. Directives

Directives speech acts occur when the speaker expects the listener to do something as a response.

Table 20 *Idiomatic Expressions for ‘Advising’*

Episode No.	Page No.	Pragmatic function	Examples	Translation	Transliteration
32	129	1-Advising	-1 إن فاتك الميري إتمرغ في ترايه	1- There is nothing better than a government job	1- ʔen fatak el mīri etmarmaʔ fiṭrābu
16	74		-2 أنا رأيي إعمل خير وارميه البحر	2- My view is do what’s right and forget about it	2- ʔanā raʔyī eʔmel xēr wermīh el baḥr
32	129		-3	3-	3-

			من خاف سلم	He who fears survives	man xāf selem
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The results show that there are three IEs used to employ the function of advising. The researcher observes that three examples of IEs are originally very common proverbs, which are always used idiomatically. As an example, the IE إن فاتك الميري إتمرغ في ترابه /ʔen fātak elmēry etmarmaʔ fi ʔorābo/ (there is nothing better than a government job) is one of the inherited common IEs. It is used in episode 32 (p.129) to fulfill the pragmatic function of advising. The driver uses it as a piece of advice to the author in an attempt to count the privileges of having a governmental job in the army as in the following example:

أنا : كنت عايز تتطوع (في الجيش)

السائق: أيوه ... دي أحلى عيشة ... مرتب ثابت .. برضه إن فاتك الميري إتمرغ في ترابه

Me: kunt ʕāyez teʔawwaʕ fel gēf...di ʔaħla ʕīʕa..moratab ābet..barḏo ʔen fatak el mēry etmarmaʔ fi ʔurābo/

This idiom reflects some of the Egyptians way of thinking; they prefer to work permanently with the government and having a small salary instead of taking the risk of a private job.

4.2 Significance of the results of the study:

This part of the chapter is an interpretation of the findings in the light of previous studies and the current events in Egypt. Moreover, it sheds light on some of the remarkable unexpected observations. According to the findings, the speakers in the novel *Taxi* uses 80 IEs that fulfill 13 pragmatic functions: *describing, complaining, stating, concluding, swearing, thanking, condoling, sympathizing, deploring, excusing, agreeing, and opposing advising*. These pragmatic functions are subcategories of four of Searle's (1969) speech acts: *representatives, expressives, commissives, and directives*. It is observable that the speakers use pragmatic functions with negative connotations more than pragmatic functions with positive connotations. The taxi drivers use pragmatic functions of describing dirty business, complaining, stating negative issues deploring more than other functions. The researcher finds that this is expected because the novel is about taxi drivers who belong to the lower class in Egypt. Hence, their words are representing how and what they think - economic hardships, criticism of the government and indignation at the injustice of authority are at the top of their list. Consequently, the IEs that are used for complaining, deploring and describing focus on these issues. It is obvious that the conversations including negative pragmatic functions reveal the traces of "conspiracy theory," such as the deep-rooted belief that every decision taken by the government aims at collecting money and maximizing the profits of business tycoons at the expense of small investors, such as واكلينها والتقال *waklenhā walṣa* (the unscrupulous), ماصين دمنا /*maṣṣīn dammena*/ (the bloodsuckers), قوي /*ettoʔāl ʔawi*/ (some fat cats).

This study also supports Verdonik's (2012) findings that religious expressions are sometimes used in a content-free manner as pragmatic expressions away from their direct meanings. Therefore, it is not surprising that religion can also be traced in our everyday speech; not only

when we are speaking about religion, but in casual conversation. In this study, taxi drivers are using religious expressions idiomatically in their daily conversations with people to fulfill a variety of pragmatic functions such as thanking using ربنا يكرمك/Rabena yelkremak ربنا يكرمك (Thanks), الله يخليك /Allah yxalīk (may God preserve you) describing big numbers of people by using الأمة لا إله إلا الله /ʔummit lā ʔelāh ʔella Allah/ (Muslims everywhere) and other religious expressions.

Moreover, this study also supports Hackett's (1958) view that an idiomatic expression can be only one word, while contradicting Makkai's (1972) and Fernando's (1996) views that IEs should be only multi-word expressions. In the case of Egyptian Spoken Arabic, it is common to find IEs in the form of multi-word expressions, such as طافح القوتة /ṭāfiḥ elkūta/ (I work to exhaustion), ولا يهمك كله بيعدى, wala yhemmak kullu beyʕadī/ (never mind, it will pass), الفساد على وده /welfasād ʕala wedno/ (corruption is everywhere) However, it is interesting to find one-word expressions that convey many pragmatic functions, such as the use of IE تعيش /teʕēf/ (may you live long) for thanking or هانت /hānet/ (the best will come soon) for condoling and other examples. This point supports Lewis' (1993) and Schmitt's (2012) views that idioms are a subcategory of formulaic sequences that can play an important role in facilitating communication as they are stored in our mental memory and easily retrieved in different contexts. Because members of a speech community know when to use these expressions, they are used to facilitate interaction and achieve the desired communicative effect.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This last chapter has four sections. It presents a summary of the results of the study, points to its limitations, sheds light on the pedagogical implications of this study in the field of linguistics in general and in teaching Arabic as a foreign language in particular, and finally, provides suggestions for further research on the topic of the thesis.

As previously mentioned the aims of this study were to investigate two research questions on the spoken language in the novel *Taxi*: to explore the idiomatic expressions in the conversations, and to investigate and analyze the pragmatic functions of these idiomatic expressions. In answering the research questions, first, the study has discovered 80 idiomatic expressions fulfilling four of Searle's taxonomy of speech acts (*representatives, expressives, commissives and directives*) that cover 13 pragmatic functions: representatives (*complaining, describing, stating, concluding, swearing*), expressives (*thanking, condoling, sympathizing, deploring, excusing*), commissives (*agreeing and opposing*), directives (*advising*). The most remarkable finding is that IEs constitute parts of all of the fifty eight episodes in the novel *Taxi* which means that they play important pragmatic functions in conveying and receiving messages in the conversations of these taxi drivers.

Another observation is that the highest number IEs taxi drivers use in their conversations fulfill negative pragmatic functions such as complaining, deploring, stating negative observations and describing dirty business. This finding accords with the fact that the novel was written during the time of Husni Mubarak. At that time, taxi drivers representing a broad layer of the Egyptian poor were living under difficult life conditions, economic hardships, and social injustice. They were victims of weak rules, corrupted government and bureaucracy. Additionally, driving a taxi is

exhausting work, the hours inside the taxi are long and most of the taxi drivers spend their time sitting, so most of them chat with all kinds of people to kill time, and their language is a reflection of their thoughts. Therefore, it has been observed that most of the time taxi drivers' language fulfills negative speech acts and their use of appropriate IEs is indispensable in conveying their messages in their conversations with people. For example, different taxi drivers in different episodes used eight IEs to describe the dirty business in the presidential elections to make it look democratic during the Mubarak regime; others used eight IEs to deplore the greediness of business tycoons who were making profits at the expense of the poor at that time and some used IEs to describe the weakness and the inability of the Egyptian government to set an efficient long-term plan for political and economic reform.

Another important point that contradicts some linguists and supports a few, is that IEs are not necessarily multi-word expressions, they can be one-word expressions that fulfil pragmatic functions. As a native speaker, the researcher has also observed that sometimes IEs not only fulfill one pragmatic function but several; depending mainly on the context and the speaker's intentions. Since language and culture are two sides of one coin, it is important to point out that many cultural aspects of the Egyptian society are reflected in most IEs. Each IE used by taxi drivers, carries certain information related to Egyptian culture such as problems of marriage, the education system, social injustice, and bureaucracy.

Pedagogical Implications

The evidence that the conversations in the book *Taxi* contain a significant number of IEs that fulfill a satisfying number of pragmatic functions emphasizes the view that they are an essential part of the language. Consequently, this study suggests some pedagogical implications in the field of linguistics in general and in teaching Arabic as a foreign language in specific; it outlines a general approach in teaching IEs in AFL classes. This suggestion supports Thyab's (2016) and DE CARO's (2009) views of the necessity of integrating idioms in foreign language classes on the one hand, while on the other, it provides suggestions for Saleh (2013) and Alkarazoun (2015) who observed the problems and errors learners of foreign language face in acquiring idioms when learning a language.

Since the aims in AFL classes are to enhance learners' communication skills, provide them with tools to communicate competently and appropriately and increase their cultural awareness, IEs can help to fulfill these goals. This study, like some others, highly recommends integrating idiomatic expressions into Arabic lessons but what the researcher adds in this study is teaching IEs should be on a pragmatic-function and context basis. It is not enough for learners to know a large number of idioms but they must know which functions they fulfill and how to use them appropriately, both pragmatically and contextually. As previously demonstrated, the native speakers represented in these taxi drivers used IEs spontaneously to fulfill a variety of pragmatic functions in communication such as thanking, describing, complaining and deploring. AFL learners may not know the idiomatic expressions or the cultural norms of Arabic as foreign language so they may transfer to their first language assuming that such rules are universal.

Arabic teachers can provide learners of AFL with simple idiomatic expressions to fulfill different pragmatic functions. For example, for the function of informal thanking, they can learn expressions like *تعيش /tiʕiʃ/* (may you live long) side-by-side with the usual formal thanking. For agreeing, they can learn *من عنيا /men ʕenayya/* (ok), for sympathy, they can use *يا عيني yā ʕēnī /* (poor), *ياما / yāma /* (a lot of) for describing large numbers of something or of people, *لامؤاخذة /la-moʔaxZa /* (pardon) simply for excusing a rude expression, and to condole in one-word-only expressions by learning the IE *هانت /hānet /* (the best will come soon). These and other IEs are very simple, short ones which can be introduced in lessons from day one in elementary and intermediate levels. For more advanced levels, teachers can provide learners with more complex expressions such as *محدثش واخذ منها حاجة /maḥaddiʃ wāxid menha ḥāga/* (no one's getting anything out of it) for condoling, *أمة لا إله إلا الله /ommet lā ʔilāh ʔilā Allah/* (big gathering of people) , *الكلام اللى لا بيودي ولا بيحيب / elkalām ʔillī la beywaddi wala ygīb/* (nonsense talk) and so on.

In addition, AFL learners can learn a lot about culture through studying IEs and in turn gain a better understanding of IEs by learning the cultural background behind them. For example, the use of religious expressions such as *(صحيح المؤمن منصاب) / ṣaḥiḥ el moʔmen menṣāb /* (these things are surely sent to try us) idiomatically in their daily usage reflect the fact that Egyptians are religion-oriented people. It can be seen that Egyptians like to use famous sayings idiomatically which are culturally loaded *(إن فاتك الميري إتمرغ في ترابه) /ʔen fātak el mēry etmarmaʔ fi torābo/* (there is nothing better than having a government job); it reflects Egyptians' preference to work in government institutions because it is more stable economically and have few risks. The difficult life conditions of the poor in Egypt and their struggles to earn their living is reflected in many idiomatic expressions such as swear words *(طالع ميتين أمي) / ṭālīʕ mayitīn ʔomī/* (I work very hard), *على باب الله / ʕalā bāb Allah/* (I live from hand to mouth).

Integrating idiomatic expressions with their pragmatic functions is highly recommended from day one even in the elementary stages to help Arabic learners especially of colloquial Arabic to use the language appropriately in different contexts. This view supports Yagiz (2013) in emphasizing the relationship between idioms as a major component of native-like communication and culture. By learning IEs in different contexts and highlighting them, AFL learners will be able to better understand the thoughts, emotions and views of speakers of the target language. Consequently, they can avoid many kinds of misinterpretations, othering and stereotyping of the people in the different culture. IEs with their pragmatic functions play the role of natural decoders of social interactions and cultural awareness which in turn assist learners to achieve the native-like acquisition of language.

Limitations of the Study

Because of time limitation, the analysis of IEs and their pragmatic functions have been conducted on a small, but purposeful sample, namely, the conversations of the novel *Taxi* as representing an illustration of Egyptian colloquial Arabic. Therefore, the results of this study cannot be completely generalized. Furthermore, the variations of contexts in which Egyptian native speakers use IEs can cause some confusion to foreign learners of Arabic between the meanings and the pragmatic functions of them, as there is often more than one meaning to an idiom, depending on the context. Native speakers sometimes use the same IEs in different contexts to fulfill different pragmatic functions.

Suggestions for Further Research

Further research in the application of these idioms is highly recommended. This can be approached from a number of different angles. Investigating the AFL advanced level learners' use of IEs in conversations, would be a useful way of observing the gaps in their facility in the

use of IEs, in order to introduce appropriate idioms for their language acquisition skills. It might also be useful to replicate this study in different genres of Egyptian colloquial literature. In addition, it may be interesting, as well as useful to extend the research to the sociolinguistic area by relating the types of IEs used in conversations to many social variables such as age, gender, educational level.

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