

# **Researches and Studies Recherches et Etudes**

**□ A Sociolinguistic Study of Classical  
and Colloquial Arabic Varieties :  
A Preliminary Investigation into some  
Arabic Speakers' Attitudes**

**by : Mohammed SWAIE**



**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY  
OF CLASSICAL AND COLLOQUIAL  
ARABIC VARIETIES : A PRELIMINARY  
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## INTRODUCTION

Ferguson (1959) states that every speech community has current attitudes and beliefs 'about the language of the community as well as about other languages and language in general' (1). He labels these attitudes and beliefs « myths » and deals with « the set of myths about Arabic current in the Arabic speech community » (2). Ferguson's conclusions are based largely on « informal observation » through his « professional association with Arabs in connection with language problems. According to Ferguson, and attempt at « formal elicitation of reactions » was made in some instances (3). This paper will examine some of Ferguson's findings. Formal methods of eliciting reactions from Arabic speakers have been used, and the quantification of these reactions is presented below.

educated Arabic speakers generally tend to use their own native social or regional dialect « of some prestige » and speakers, for example al-fus. Ha, the « standard », and tend to use it in formal situations (4). This « standard » variety is rarely, if ever, spoken habitually or as a native language.

This study explores the attitudes of educated Arabic speakers toward the « standard » as well as some other regional or social varieties of Arabic. This is a preliminary stage of a larger study that is currently in progress in which the author is examining attitudinal questions concerning Arabic speakers in the Jordan/Palestine region (of the Arab world).

### The linguistic problem :

The experiment focused on one sound in « standard » Arabic, namely /q/, the voiceless uvular stop and its three most common regional variants in the Jordan-Palestine areas; [g], [ʔ] and [k]. In some nomadic (bedouin) communities, another variant of this sound exists, but its occurrence seems to be diminishing, possibly through wider contact situations and the impact of sedentarization. This sound is [j] as in [jaasim] for the name [qaasim] in standard Arabic or [gaasim], [kaasim] or [ʔaasim] in the other three varieties.

Cantineau (1946 : 81) in his study of the dialects of Horan (5) Arabic presents the Classical Arabic sounds and their reflexes in the various dialects. Of



restricted to specialized functions. Second, code-switching is always present in multilectal speech communities.

### The questionnaire :

The subjects for this experiment were each given a copy of the questionnaire in Arabic, which requested (extensive) biographical data and presented two types of reaction-eliciting statements (see Appendices). The first was an Indirect Test (IT) consisting of four identical sets of (judgement) statements about Arabic organized according to the five-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree to Strongly Disagree. These statements pertain to the respondent's own use of language. The second was a direct Test (DT), which involved explicitly naming the dialects based on region(s) where these dialects are predominantly used. For example, subjects were informed that the fourth speaker on tape was employing a Palestinian rural dialect, while the first speaker used the « standard ». The four sentences were presented in the same sequence ('standard', city, Jordanian and Palestinian) each time and without significant interruption. After listening to the four dialects, subjects were asked to judge the speaker of the dialect, by placing an X in the appropriate space.

The Direct Test was designed to find out if the results obtained match those of the Indirect Test, and to determine if, by mentioning the name of the region where a particular dialect is used (i.e. by name of the dialect) the subjects express any sociolinguistic prejudice in favor of their own, or against any other, dialect. Admittedly, once the subjects heard the [k] speaker, for example, they would immediately associate that speaker with some Palestinian dialects<sup>(10)</sup>. In other words, The Direct Test was a form of a double-check to see if attitudes vary with the actual mention of the dialect name.

The subjects were asked to react to each recorded set of statements pertaining to a given speaker recorded on the tape. The purpose of the experiment, as a study of the language role in society, was only briefly explained to the group of subjects in order not to bias their responses. Then the first taped sentence was played and the subjects were asked to write down their reactions to what they heard by placing an X in the appropriate space on their answer sheet. And so on with the second,

the third and the fourth sentences. Next, the Direct Test was presented, and the subjects were expected to record their reactions in the manner described above.

### The subjects :

This experiment was conducted on the premises of Yarmouk University in the summer of 1982. The total number of participants was 223, all university students, of whom 115 were male and 108 female. Their academic status ranged from first to fourth year. There was also a small number of 21 non-degree student-teachers who were preparing for a special diploma over the summer months. The majority of the participants were pursuing degrees in the humanities : but some were in the sciences. They were also a mixture of Jordanians and Palestinians representing a cross section of speakers of the three dialects, the [g], [ʔ] and [k].

There are a number of reasons for having chosen this experimental grouping. First, at the practical level, the convenience of having a large population in one place at one time minimizes the problems of recruiting subjects for any experiment. Second, although one can argue that the university community is not a true representation of the population at large, this group of subjects is heterogeneous in terms of social and economic backgrounds, age level, national identification (Jordanian / Palestinian), urban/rural backgrounds, fields of study, etc. These subjects bring in to the university life varied experience shared by all, namely their educational experience. The implication is that this population is sensitized more toward language, and this experiment consequently provides us with perceptions of educated groups.

### Results and discussion :

The findings of this study point to the presence of attitudes among Arabic speakers toward the « standard » variety as well as the various dialects used in one Arabic speaking area.

The conclusions suggest following : (1) The « standard » is used primarily by the educated sector of the society. This will be discussed in (1) below. (2) The standard variety is not restricted to a particular country or domicile. These findings will be presented below in (2). (3) The standard is perceived by university students to be aesthetically far more

appealing than, and favored over, regional dialects. this issue will be discussed in (3). (4) The standard is prescribed for use and is viewed more positively than other regional or social varieties, which are perceived to exhibit negative attributes. The results of this study will be presented below in (4).

The results of this study are discussed below as they relate to the various questions, with the dis-

cussion of the results following each question or set of related questions.

#### 1. Language variety and education level :

Do Arabic speakers associate the « standard » form of language with a high level of education ? Do speakers actually use one particular variety in preference to others in specialized contexts ?

★ ★ ★

a) Table 1 shows that /q/ is perceived to be used by the teaching professions. For example, 154 (69.1 %) of the total subjects (N = 223) judged the /q/ speaker to be a university professor. Similarly, 110 (49.3 %) thought that the speaker was likely to be a school teacher. These results are not surprising as the « standard » variety tends to be widely used in formal situations such as lecturing in a classroom. Also note the low figures (percentages) for the rest of the professions in the table, and the zero value for occupations such as farmers, construction laborers, etc. This finding then supports the claim that the standard /q/ is highly associated with education and is restricted to specialized functions.

The above situation reveals interesting results when judgements are made about the [ʔ], [g] and [k] varieties. [ʔ] is perceived to be used mainly by secretaries as 82 (36.8 %) judged the [ʔ] speaker to be in a secretarial profession. This can be explained partially by the fact that [ʔ] is generally favored by women and city dwellers as a sign of social and cultural sophistication. 49 (22 %) judged the [ʔ] speaker to be a university professor, followed by physician (46) (20.6 %), merchant 37 (16.6 %) and school teacher 34 (15.2 %).

How can we reconcile the relatively high numbers for university professor and school teacher here when in the previous paragraph these two professional groups were rated high for /q/? This situation

becomes clearer when we recall the diglossic nature of the Arabic speaking societies. Ferguson (1959) has pointed out this diglossic situation, i.e. a situation in which two linguistic forms exist simultaneously side by side each of which is used for different functions. A teacher or a university professor could be a native [ʔ] speaker, yet he or she would use /q/ in conducting his lectures. The experiment population has heard university professors using both varieties, depending on the situation.

In contrast with the /q/ and [ʔ] sounds, it is of interest to examine the [g] and [k] figures with regard to the professions assigned to their speakers.

It is clear from Table I that jobs generally associated with the lower rungs of the professional ladder get high ratings for [g] and [k]. 121 (54.3 %) judged the [g] speaker to be a farmer, whereas 106 (47.5 %) did the same thing for the [k] speaker. Similarly, 70 (31.4%) said the [g] speaker was a taxidriver contrasted with 55 (24.7%) for the [k] speaker. 48 (21.5%) rated the [g] speaker to be a construction laborer ; 42 (18.8%) a merchant . 64 (28.7%), and 62 (27.8%) made the same judgement for the [k] speaker for those jobs, respectively. One notes that the school teacher category gets close numbers for both [g] and [k] : 42 (18.8%) and 48 (21.5%), respectively. As was pointed out above, the reason for this could be the diglossic nature of the society.

Dialects	University Professor	Physician	Lawyer	Judge	Radio/TV Broadcaster	School Teacher	Secretary	Merchant	Taxi Driver	Cook	Farmer	Construction Laborer
/q/	154 69.1 %	1 .4 %	8 3.6 %	7 3.1 %	15 6.7 %	110 49.3 %	6 2.7 %	0	3 1.3 %	0	0	0
/r/	49 22 %	46 20.6 %	10 4.5 %	3 1.3 %	15 6.7 %	34 15.2 %	82 36.8 %	37 16.6 %	21 9.4 %	7 3.1 %	2 .9 %	5 2.2 %
/g/	25 11.2 %	2 .9 %	5 2.2 %	4 1.8 %	4 1.8 %	42 18.8 %	7 3.1 %	42 18.8 %	70 31.4 %	16 7.2 %	121 54.3 %	48 21.5 %
/k/	35 15.7 %	7 3.1 %	6 2.7 %	7 3.1 %	6 2.7 %	48 21.5 %	13 5.8 %	62 27.8 %	55 24.7 %	29 13.0 %	106 47.5 %	64 28.7 %

TABLE 1  
Designation of the Four Speakers' Professions Based on Their Speech Variety

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Missing Information
/q/	22 9.9 %	106 47.5 %	64 28.7 %	22 9.9 %	3 1.3 %	6 2.7 %
/ʔ/	3 1.3 %	17 7.6 %	62 27.8 %	81 36.3 %	57 25.6 %	3 1.3 %
/g/	3 1.3 %	13 5.8 %	72 32.3 %	83 37.2 %	46 20.6 %	6 2.7 %
/k/	3 1.3 %	13 5.8 %	77 34.5 %	76 34.1 %	49 22.0 %	5 2.2 %

Table 2  
Speaker talks in a way that reveals a high level of education

b. The association of a particular linguistic variety with the attainment of a certain educational level can be ascertained by examining table 2.

We notice that the /q/ speaker gets the highest ratings of the four. If the numbers of those agreeing that /q/ exhibits high education level are added together, the total of Strongly Agree and Agree responses would amount to 128 (57.4%) compared to 25 (11.2%) in total disagreement. On the other hand, there is a wide consensus among the respondents that /ʔ/, /g/ and /k/ speakers do not reveal a high education level. Thus the total number of those who strongly disagree and disagree about the high education level of /ʔ/ speaker is 138 (61.9%), 129 (57.8%) for the /g/ and 125 (56.1%) for the /k/ speakers. It is worth mentioning that the number of neu-

tral responses is roughly within the same range for all the four speakers. While the lack of commitment toward /ʔ/, /g/ and /k/ situations could be explained by way of the diglossic situation referred to earlier, it is puzzling to see that 64 (28.7%) responses have not taken any position on /q/ as a marker of high education levels.

Nonetheless, these figures clearly indicate that there is a tangible separation between the standard /q/ on one hand, and on the other hand, the other three nonstandard phonemes, /ʔ/, /g/ and /k/ in conjunction with the level of education that they exhibit on the other. Arab grammarians have historically viewed /q/ as being superior to other regional (or social) varieties.

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c. The conflicting figures in Table 3 present a serious problem that requires further investigation. The ratings of /q/ as opposed to /ʔ/ present a real dilemma with regard to the role that each plays as a social class marker. Note, however, that there is a clear separation between /g/ and /k/ as markers of high social class on one hand, and /q/ and /ʔ/, on the other. Both /g/ and /k/ are perceived to be low social

markers since their rates are 9 (4.0%) and 16 (7.1%), respectively.

Clearly from Table 3, /ʔ/ rates higher than /q/ as the total of positive responses for /ʔ/ is 135 (60.5%) compared to 61 (27.3%) for /q/. If /q/ reveals a high education level as was maintained in sections (a) and (b) above, how can we then reconcile the situation

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Missing Information
/q/	19 8.5 %	42 18.8 %	93 41.7 %	50 22.4 %	12 5.4 %	7 3.1 %
/r/	42 18.8 %	93 41.7 %	55 24.7 %	19 8.5 %	12 5.4 %	2 .9 %
/g/	2 .9 %	7 3.1 %	68 30.5 %	85 38.1 %	56 25.1 %	5 2.2 %
/k/	3 1.3 %	13 5.8 %	96 43.0 %	67 30.0 %	39 17.5 %	5 2.2 %

Table 3  
Speaker belongs to a high social class

where /q/ is not clearly marked for high social class? Is not a high level of education bound up with high social class? A possible answer to this concerns the role of education in traditional societies. While in developing societies education tends to help in transforming university graduates financially as well as socially, in traditional societies one is likely to find deep-rooted attitudes toward certain elements of the population. It is the belief of this author that city speakers who generally tend to be [ʔ] speakers in the Jordan-Palestine regions are traditionally viewed culturally superior to country, town or village residents. Since [ʔ] is associated with urban centers, and since urban centers are viewed as culturally superior, this may explain why [ʔ], in this case, receives the highest ratings as a marker of high social class.

We turn now to examine the results obtained in the Direct Test to see if we can find there corroborations of the findings above. We must bear in mind that the DT included basically similar statements to those in the IT, but the subjects were asked to choose the speaker to whom the statement applies. Additionally, the DT was an immediate follow-up of the IT, and new instructions were provided before the speakers were rated. The results for the two statements about which speaker exhibits high education level and high social class are in Table 4 below. 210 (94.2%) rated /q/ as the utterance that

shows the highest level of education. The rates for [ʔ], [g] and [k] are almost negligible, as speakers of these varieties are not viewed as highly educated. On the other hand, 124 (55.6%) said that /q/ suggests high social status. This seems to contradict the figures obtained in Table 3. Evidently, further research is needed to explain this contradiction. However, [ʔ] rates relatively high in the DT with respect to high social status. While 99 (44.4%) in the DT is lower than 135 (60.5%) as in Table 3, it shows that there is some tendency toward viewing [ʔ] as a high social class marker.

The discussion thus far seems to support the claim that speakers of a language tend to view certain linguistic elements, in this case phonological elements, as carriers of some sociological characteristics. The subjects in this experiment are aware, through their ratings of these speakers, that /q/, for example, tends to be restricted in its use to certain domains such as educational settings. This is clear from Table 1 where a high frequency of the /q/ use is designated to university professors and school teachers. Similarly, the use of /q/ is also viewed as a sign of a higher level of education from the other variants of /q/.

In contrast with this, two regional variants of /q/, i.e. [g] and [k] are assigned, through the ratings of the experiment subjects, to speakers representing the lower rung of the social ladder, such as farmers:

	/q/	/ʔ/	/g/	/k/
	first speaker	second speaker	third speaker	fourth speaker
The most correct speaker is	215 96.4 %	7 3.1 %	12 5.4 %	8 3.6 %
The most beautiful speech is That uttered by	140 62.8 %	62 27.8 %	35 15.7 %	22 9.9 %
The speech that reveals the most masculine characteristics is that uttered by	156 70.0 %	6 2.7 %	82 36.8 %	18 8.1 %
It is preferable always to speak in the style of	196 87.9 %	14 6.3 %	21 9.4 %	6 2.7 %
The utterance that shows the highest level of education is the one uttered by	210 94.2 %	19 8.5 %	4 1.8 %	5 2.2 %
The speech that shows a high social status is that uttered by	124 55.6 %	99 44.4 %	12 5.4 %	7 3.1 %
The most eloquent speech is that uttered by	208 93.3 %	2 .9 %	7 3.1 %	2 .9 %

Table 4 : Direct Test

These speakers are judged to have a low educational level.

It is of interest though that [ʔ] is viewed positively as a sign of high social class. This situation was explained above in terms of the traditional perception of the city as superior culturally ; consequently the city linguistic variants acquire prestige. Secondly, and this is relevant to the first explanation, there seems to be a dichotomy between country varieties represented by [g] and [k] and a city variety as in [ʔ]. /q/ is a separate entity that stands alone as a special category.

These findings correlate with similar results obtained by El-Dash and Tucker (1975), who report that Classical Arabic was viewed by the subjects of their experiment to correlate with a high level of education. They also found that Classical Arabic is viewed to be more suitable for use at school, at work, on radio and on television than dialectal Arabic. However, Classical Arabic was viewed less suitable for use at home.

## 2. Localization of variant speech sounds :

Do Arabic speakers view particular sounds like /q/ and its variants as peculiar to one domicile or region ?

	Village	City	Desert Bedouin Settlement	Any of the Preceding	Refugee Camp	Missing Information
/q/	71 31.8 %	127 57.0 %	7 3.1 %	13 5.8 %	0.	5 2.2 %
/ʔ/	8 3.6 %	214 96.0 %	1 .4 %			0
/g/	148 66.4 %	6 2.7 %	53 23.8 %	16 7.2 %		0
/k/	181 81.2 %	14 6.3 %	5 2.2 %	11 4.9 %	4 1.8 %	8 3.6 %

Table 5  
Speaker is from (a) village (b) city (c) bedouin settlement

The figures in Table 5 indicate that the subjects are able to identify a particular sound with the specific area where that sound is prevalent in the speech of that area's population. Thus, 222 (99.6%) positively rated [ʔ] as a sound whose provenance is the city. [g] is identified with village speakers as well as desert and nomadic groups: 154 (69.1%) rated [g] as peculiar to village and 53 (23.8%) to bedouin settlements. Similarly 195 (87.5%) identified [k] with the Palestinian village.

Two more points stand out: first, 127 (57.0%) assigned /q/ to the city and 71 (31.8%) to the village. The high city rating is not surprising because cities tend to be the education centers. Since /q/ reveals a high education level (Table 2), it is perceived that there are more educated people in the city, hence the relative high rating of the city as far as /q/ is concerned. On the other hand, the somewhat high village rating is likely to be indicative of current changes taking place in the village. More and more villagers attend schools and graduate from universities. Consequently, the /q/ speaker is likely to be an educated villager and this is reflected in the quoted figure. In other words, /q/ does not seem to be as identifiable regionally as the case is with the regional [k] and [g]. /q/ is viewed as a relatively

locale-free education marker.

Secondly, the [k] was rated as peculiar to the village with negligible figures assigned to other locales. In the Irbid area (Jordan) there exist at least three Palestinian refugee camps, some of which have developed in a village-like settlement with all Palestinian populations. Why does the refugee camp category get only 4 (1.8%) responses? Is it because the respondents did not include any university students coming from these refugee camps? Or are there other reasons? The answers to this problem lie, in the author's view, in the fact that while [k] is viewed definitely as Palestinian (96.4%) (see Table 5A below), people would ascribe this sound to the rural areas in Palestine, i.e. to the village. A second reason could be in the fact that some of these camps grew into permanent villages and the subjects view these camps as villages. Thirdly, the questionnaire failed to include the refugee camp category. However, once this was brought to the author's attention in the first run of the experiment, in the next run, the author verbally asked the subjects to add the refugee camp category on their questionnaires. The low rates indicate that either the subjects ignored this fact or they interpreted refugee camps to mean villages.

	Jordan	Palestine	Other Arab Country	Any of Above	Missing
/q/	151 67.7 %	40 17.9 %	13 5.8 %	17 7.6 %	2 .9 %
/?/	62 27.8 %	51 22.9 %	89 39.9 %	19 8.5 %	2 .9 %
/g/	182 81.6 %	19 8.5 %	8 3.6 %	11 4.9 %	3 1.3 %
/k/	6 2.7 %	215 96.4 %	0	1 .4 %	1 .4 %

TABLE 5 A  
Speaker is from (a) Jordan (East bank) (b) Palestine (West Bank)  
(c) Other Arab country

Language speakers tend to associate one particular sound with a particular region or country in, at least, two cases. Of the four speakers on tape, [k] was decidedly believed to represent a Palestinian speech form (see Table 5A above). 215 (96.4%) identified the [k] speaker as Palestinian. Similarly, 182 (81.6%) assigned [g] to Jordan. These findings are of interest and reflect the actual linguistic reality in those regions. [k] is peculiar to some central Palestinian regions and is not attested among indigenous Jordanians. [g] tends to be predominantly a feature of speech in southern parts of Syria, as well as Jordan and some regions in (but not the whole of) Palestine.

[?] and /q/, however, present a more complex situation. 89 (39.9%) rated [?] to be peculiar to other Arab countries compared to 62 (27.8%) who assigned it to Jordan and 51 (22.9%) to Palestine. While the perceived association of [?] to Jordan and Palestine is close and in both instances [?] tends to be associated with cities such as Amman or Jerusalem it is apparent that [?] is identified highly with other regional dialects.

With regard to /q/, it is difficult to explain 151 (67.7%) responses to Jordan versus 40 (17.9%) to Palestine, especially since that /q/ tends to be an educated rather than regional feature. In other Arabic-speaking areas, /q/ is used dialectally as in the Duruze dialects of Syria and Lebanon and in Palmyra and other regions in Syria. To the best of

the author's knowledge, no Jordanian dialect makes use of /q/. However, some local areas in Palestine such as upper Galilee and the city of Nablus make use of /q/ dialectally.

Herbolich (1979) reports that the Egyptian subjects in his study were, by and large, able to correctly identify speakers of Egyptian Arabic. However, these speakers failed to identify the nationality of non-Egyptian speakers in either of the two guises that they spoke : (1) their native vernacular guise and (2) the Egyptian vernacular guise, which these speakers attempted to emulate. El-Dash and Tucker (1975), on the other hand, report that 70 % of the subjects in their experiment correctly identified the nationality of speakers of Arabic, when speaking either Classical or colloquial.

### 3. Aesthetics of speech sounds :

Aesthetically, how do speakers view the « standard » in opposition to the other varieties ?

The IT elicited reactions concerning the beauty (Arabic *jamiila*, « beautiful », « pretty ») of the four varieties ; the degree of pretention (Arabic *taDhaahur*) and affectation, and the degree of effeminacy (Arabic ? *unuutha*), revealed by the four sentences in the experiment. (See Tables 6, 7, and 8, respectively as well as the DT results in Table 4).

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Missing Information
/q/	47 21.1 %	116 52.0 %	37 16.6 %	14 6.3 %	2 .9 %	7 3.1 %
/r/	6 2.7 %	72 32.3 %	47 21.1 %	58 26.0 %	35 15.7 %	5 2.2 %
/g/	5 2.2 %	46 20.6 %	52 23.3 %	70 31.4 %	43 19.3 %	7 3.1 %
/k/	5 2.2 %	31 13.9 %	58 26.0 %	73 32.7 %	51 22.9 %	5 2.2 %

TABLE 6  
Speaker's dialect is pretty

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Missing Information
/q/	6 2.7 %	25 11.2 %	34 15.2 %	117 52.5 %	29 13.0 %	12 5.4 %
/r/	35 15.7 %	89 39.9 %	53 23.8 %	33 14.8 %	8 3.6 %	5 2.2 %
/g/	2 .9 %	15 6.7 %	43 19.3 %	106 47.5 %	51 22.9 %	6 2.7 %
/k/	3 1.3 %	14 6.3 %	39 17.5 %	118 52.9 %	46 20.6 %	3 1.3 %

TABLE 7  
Speaker speaks in a pretentious and affected manner

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Missing Information
/q/	0	2 .9 %	13 5.8 %	72 32.3 %	130 58.3 %	6 2.7 %
/r/	46 20.6 %	108 48.4 %	30 13.5 %	24 10.8 %	13 5.8 %	2 .9 %
/g/	0	2 .9 %	8 3.6 %	94 42.2 %	111 49.8 %	8 3.6 %
/k/	3 1.3 %	8 3.6 %	15 6.7 %	111 99.8 %	81 36.3 %	5 2.2 %

TABLE 8  
Speaker speaks in a way that reveals effeminate characteristics

Ferguson (1959) points out that one's own language tends to be viewed as superior to other languages. In so far as Arabic is concerned, he points out that « Arabs feel that their language is beautiful and provides a list of features that make Arabic superior from the Arabs' viewpoint. The ratings in Table 6 lend support to Ferguson's claim, especially in regard to /q/. The three other varieties do not rate nearly as high as /q/. However, the ratings indicate a hierarchical order of the beauty of these varieties.

The total of those agreeing to the statement regarding the beauty of speech of the first speaker, i.e. the /q/ variety, is 163 (73.1 %) compared to 16 (7.2 %) disagreeing (Table 6). Of the three other varieties, the positive ranking of [ʔ] is 78 (35.0 %) compared to 93 (41.7 %) negative rates. The total of the positive rates for [g] and [k] is 51 (22.8 %) and 46 (16.1 %), respectively. /q/ in other words is favored over the other varieties by a wide margin. These findings correlate with a study made by El-Dash and Tucker (1975) on reactions of Egyptians toward various speech styles in Egypt. They found that classical Arabic was generally more positively rated than colloquial Arabic with respect to intelligence, likeability, religiousness, leadership, suitability at school, on radio, on television and in formal situations.

The subjects in a study by Herbolich (1979) rated Cairene Arabic speakers the most favorably. According to Herbolich, these subjects rated speakers of other Arabic vernaculars in a hierarchical order based on these speakers' linguistic varieties.

In reaction to the statement that the (respective) speaker talks in a pretentious and affected manner, one may note in Table 7 that there is a divergent rating between [ʔ] speaker on one hand and the /q/ and [g] and [k] speakers, on the other. 124 (55.6%) (the total of Strongly Agree and Agree) rated the [ʔ] speaker as pretentious and affected. 31 (13.9%) viewed /q/ as such, as opposed to 146 (65.5%) (Strongly Disagree and Disagree responses) that did not see the /q/ speaker as revealing signs of pretention. These figures seem to indicate that three varieties are more positively viewed, and [ʔ] is rated negatively. This does not seem to be surprising, especially when we bear in mind the location of this study, i.e. a traditionally non - [ʔ] region. This negative reaction is in many ways predictable when one remembers this fact. It would be of interest to

duplicate this attitudinal experiment in cities or regions where [ʔ] is predominant.

Since [ʔ] is generally favored by women (as opposed to men) as well as by city speakers<sup>(11)</sup>, and since the speaker on tape in this experiment was a male, one could hypothesize that this fact may have contributed to the negative attitudes toward his speech. For a more complete study, an experiment with a women speaking these four varieties would probably yield different results of people's attitudes toward linguistic varieties.

The negative attitudes towards [ʔ] as seen in Table 7 are further shown in Table 8. Reactions were elicited concerning effeminacy (Arabic ʔunuutha), as shown by one variety or another. /q/, [g] and [k] were not construed to be effeminate (see Table 8) as 202 (90.6%) marked Strongly Disagree and Disagree about the /q/ speaker, compared to 205 (92.0 %) for [g] followed by 191 (86.1%) for [k]. However, 156 (69.0%) identified [ʔ] as a marker of effeminacy. These ratings seem to indicate negative attitudes among the subjects toward [ʔ]. As was mentioned before, the reasons for this could be that the region where the experiment was conducted is predominantly not an [ʔ] area. Additionally, the fact that the stimulus was in a man's voice could have drawn this negative reaction.

The DT included two items about the beauty (Arabic ʔajmal 'more beautiful') and the masculine characteristics (Arabic Sifaat rujuula) of the speech variety. In table 4, 140 (62.8%) rate the /q/ speaker to produce the most beautiful speech, followed by 62 (27.8 %) for [ʔ], 35 (15.7%) for [g] and 22 (9.9%) for [k]. On the question of masculinity, we notice that 156 (70.0%) rated /q/ the most masculine, followed by 82 (36.8%) for [g]. Interestingly enough, only 6 (2.7%) rated [ʔ] as revealing masculine characteristics. These results at least indicate two things : (1) speakers of a language seem to associate certain sounds with a specific gender. The use of that sound by the 'wrong' gender brings with it sociolinguistic attitudes upheld in that society. (2) Speakers of a language seem to rate in a hierarchy related sounds in terms of this attached sociolinguistic value. Thus, in this experiment /q/ is the most masculine, [ʔ] is the least, and [g] is in between.

In summary, the subjects' ratings of the four sentences favor /q/ over [g], [k] and [ʔ]. /q/ is viewed as aesthetically more appealing, and its use (in this