

	/q/	/?/	/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.