

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

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 ?

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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.