

concern to this study is the classical /q/ and its aforementioned variants that are currently in use in the Jordan-Palestine region. According to Cantineau (1946 : 125), [g] has replaced the Classical /q/ and is a salient characteristic of the Horan dialects. His report on this phonological feature indicates the total absence of /q/ whether in religious language or literary speech or the language of administration. Cantineau (1946 : 126) mentions that /q/ is realized as [k] in central Palestine Arabic as well as in the speech of some villages and towns in North Horan.

The situation whereby we have a « standard » sound and other dialectal variants is by no means restricted to /q/ and its variants. This dichotomous situation is fairly common in Arabic. My choice of /q/ and [g], [k] and [ʔ] is just one case study that will, it is hoped, encourage others to investigate other sounds and their sociolinguistic implications.

/q/ exhibits linguistic variants determined by social as well as regional factors. This linguistic situation is associated with different attitudes by speakers of these variants, which would make an interesting and valuable case study of language in society.

/q/ has historically exhibited other reflexes<sup>(6)</sup>. Arab sources have pointed out the existence of two varieties related to sedentary vs. bedouin since the eleventh century (Blanc, 1964 : 29). Ibn Khaldun in the fourteenth century not only pointed out the widespread use of the /q/ variants spoken at his time, but expounded at length the sociolinguistic significance of the difference of these reflexes by different groups. The Bedouin pronunciation, according to Ibn Khaldun, was at that time the prestigious variety that sedentaries attempted to imitate (Blanc, 1964 : 29).

While this paper is by no means an examination of the historical changes of /q/ into the various reflexes over the centuries, it is interesting to note diachronically the sociolinguistic attitudes associated with some reflexes of /q/. It is plausible to speculate that the situation of /q/ and its variants in modern day Arabic is similar to the situation of this sound in Arabic since before the spread of Islam to the present time.

#### The method :

In this study a single sentence was used. This

sentence was repeated using each variation of /q/. Thus, the first sentence in the experiment contained the voiceless uvular stop, the « standard » /q/. The second sentence contained the glottal stop, [ʔ], a sound used widely in urban centers such as Damascus, Amman, Jerusalem and in certain regions among women, in particular. The third sound was the voiced velar stop, [g], widely used in Jordan, parts of southern Syria and the Arabian peninsula and other areas. The last was the voiceless velar stop, [k], which occurs in some Palestinian local dialects<sup>(7)</sup>.

Sentence (1) below was chosen as a natural utterance, which avoids artificiality of the test sentence<sup>(8)</sup>. The following are transliterations of the « standard » Arabic sentence and its three variations as spoken in the region selected for the experiment :

- (1) a. qaabala Taariq Sadiiq-hu tawfiq qabla ImuHaaDara (h).  
met Tareq friend his Tawfiq before the lecture.  
'Tareq met his friend, Tawfiq, before the lecture'.
- b. ʔ aabal Taari ʔ Sadii ʔ - uh tawfii ʔ ʔabl ImuHaaDara (h).
- c. gaabal Taarig Sadiig - uh tawfiig gabl ImuHaaDara (h).
- d. kaabal Taarik Sadiik-uh tawfiik kabl ImuHaaDara (h).

The four sentences were then recorded in this order on a cassette player by one male student-teacher at Yarmouk University, Irbid, Jordan. The speaker recording these sentences also attempted to approximate the production of [ʔ], [g] and [k] in each of the dialects noted above so as not to bias the responses of the subjects on whom the experiment was conducted later<sup>(9)</sup>.

It must be noted here that any of the /q/ variants quality change in the ~~derivation~~ <sup>derivation</sup> about the speech variety derived from /q/ and its variants.

These sentences were later used to elicit the subjects' reactions toward these four different speech varieties, which are used side by side in the same speech community. Two assumptions should be made here. First, speech varieties are functionally allocated, in that a certain variety could be

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY  
OF CLASSICAL AND COLLOQUIAL  
ARABIC VARIETIES : A PRELIMINARY  
INVESTIGATION INTO SOME ARABIC  
SPEAKERS' ATTITUDES**

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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, an 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



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