Erik Anonby and Pakzad Yousefian

Adaptive Multilinguals
A Survey of Language on Larak Island

**UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET**

Abstract

Anonby, E. and P. Yousefian, 2011. Adaptive multilinguals: A survey of language on Larak Island. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Iranica Upsaliensia 16. 157 pp. Uppsala. ISBN 978-91-554-8125-4.

Laraki, a Southwestern Iranian language variety heavily influenced by Arabic, is spoken on Larak Island in the Strait of Hormuz. This study is a survey of language use by the Laraki-speaking community and is based on a field trip conducted in January 2009. In our research, we provide an overview of the language community, define the language and its varieties, and examine patterns of language use, attitudes and vitality. Responses from speakers of Laraki provide a fascinating window into the ethnic identity of the Laraki community, most of whose ancestors come not from Iran, but from Arabia. While a lexicostatistical comparison of Laraki with Musandam Kumzari show a high degree of lexical similarity, recorded text tests (RTTs) reveal that intelligibility of Musandam Kumzari to speakers of Laraki is marginal. Taking linguistic considerations and speakers' perceptions into account, we conclude nonetheless that Laraki and Musandam Kumzari should be considered dialects of a single language, Kumzari. In our investigation of language use, a striking pattern of adaptive multilingualism emerges in which speakers of Laraki normatively select one of several languages (Laraki, Farsi, Arabic and at least one regional variety such as Qeshmi, Hormuzi or Bandari) according to domains of use and limitations in the proficiency of their audiences. Although use of the mother tongue is vigorous in domestic and traditional work-related domains, and speakers' attitudes toward their language are overwhelmingly positive, the small size of the language community and the history of social upheaval in the region place the community at risk.

Keywords: Laraki, Kumzari, Larak Island, Iranian languages, Arabic, Strait of Hormuz, endangered languages, sociolinguistic survey, language use, multilingualism, language attitudes, lexicostatistic analysis, intelligibility testing, language vitality.

Erik Anonby, Carleton University, 1125 Colonel By Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, K1S 5B6, Canada
Pakzad Yousefian, University of Sistan and Baluchestan, Box 98135-655, Zahedan, Iran

In celebration of the Laraki community

Acknowledgments

This project has been made possible by the contributions of a number of institutions and individuals.

In Iran, logistical arrangements for the study were kindly managed by the University of Sistan and Baluchestan. We are most grateful to the team of four MA students from the University who helped with the preparation and implementation of field research: Marjan Amirabadizadeh, Hassan Ali Kadkhoda, Raihanneh Nooraeeinia and Bakhtiar Sediqinejad. In addition, we were especially privileged to be accompanied by Hassan Mohebbi Bahmani, linguist at Minab University, during our field research; his many comments and clarifications before, during and after the field trip have greatly improved the quality of the present manuscript. Ali Rashidi and Mohammad Mousapour also willingly provided valuable technical assistance.

As we prepared for this project, we further benefitted from the collaboration of scholars from the Linguistics, Inscriptions and Texts Research Centre at the Cultural Heritage Organization in Tehran, in particular Azita Afrashi and Yadollah Parmoun, whom we were able to meet and interact with in 2008.

In Oman, we also appreciate the assistance of the leaders of the Kumzari community of Musandam Peninsula, and of several individuals who helped us compile wordlists and construct intelligibility tests, in particular Mallalah Sulaiman al-Kumzari, Noufal Mohammad Ahmed al-Kumzari, and Ibrahim Salah Qara'i al-Kumzari.

In Sweden, we recognize the assistance of the Swedish Research Council (Swedish Research Links) in cooperation with the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), which funded the project under the initiative, "Language, identity and society: a documentation of minority languages in Iran, their sociolinguistic milieu and the role of the language in individual and group identity". The partnership between the University of Sistan and Baluchestan and Uppsala University made this project feasible, and Carina Jahani of Uppsala University in particular provided the inspiration and direction for this project.

Other individuals who contributed to this effort in valuable ways include Christina van der Wal Anonby, Tamara Jahani, Caitlyn Fox, Sven-Olof Dahlgren, Daniel Paul, Alexander and Mirjam Kolbitsch, and Maarten Kossmann.

Finally, on Larak Island, Mr. Najipour kindly arranged accommodation and provisions on behalf of the local Council. We extend our heartfelt thanks to the many members of the Laraki community who allowed us to catch a glimpse of their rich cultural and linguistic heritage. جوان گَسَی به ما!

Contents

List of figures

List of tables

Abbreviations

A	Arabic
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
f.	female
F	Farsi
L	Laraki
lit.	literally
m.	male
mid.	middle-aged
MK	Musandam Kumzari
o.	older
Q	question
RTT	recorded text test
UAE	United Arab Emirates
y.	younger

Transcription conventions

č	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
C (e.g., *ḍ ḍ̣ ḷ ṣ ṭ ẓ*)	emphatic (velaro-pharyngealized) consonant
đ	voiced dental fricative
ğ	voiced velar/uvular fricative
ḥ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
j	voiced palato-alveolar affricate
q	voiceless uvular stop
š	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
θ	voiceless dental fricative
V̄ (e.g., *ā ē ī ō ū*)	long vowel
x	voiceless velar/uvular fricative
y	voiced palatal approximant
ς	voiced pharyngeal fricative
'	glottal stop

Other symbols used in the phonological transcriptions (given everywhere in italics) approximate their value in the IPA (International Phonetic Association) alphabet.

A chart of the consonant and vowel inventory of Laraki and Kumzari is found in Appendix 5.

Note on the use of social and historical sources

The social and historical observations collected in this book represent the opinions of diverse individuals and groups. In the interests of fair and balanced scholarship, we have systematically referred to available literature on these topics, and clearly identified the sources of these observations. However, we have refrained from advancing conclusions of our own based on information which has not been or cannot be convincingly substantiated.

Note on use of the terms "Persian" and "Farsi"

In this study, we use the term "Persian" to refer to the dominant regional culture and standard written language common to Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan. The term "Farsi" is used when referring specifically to the Persian variety standardized in Iran, and to closely related spoken varieties. The use of the term "Farsi" by Laraki subjects is further defined in 6.1.1.

1 Introduction

Iran is an extremely diverse country from every point of view. A land of four seasons, variations in temperature can reach 50°C between the temperate zone in the north and the sub-tropical zone in the south. The geography of the country is additionally shaped by a range of elevations, from the Caspian Sea, which is below sea level, to the heights of Mt. Damavand, which reach 5610m.

Culturally, there is also great variety, and ethnic groups representing many different language families and languages are found. Within the Iranian language family, Persian, Kurdish, Balochi, Luri, Gilaki, Mazandarani and many other varieties are represented. Turkic varieties such as Azerbaijani and Turkmen, along with Arabic, are also spoken by a large proportion of the population, and there are pockets of Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Armenian, Georgian and Neo-Aramaic in different parts of the country.

Standard Persian is used as a formal spoken and written language across the nation. Alongside Persian, however, other languages are used in everyday life and formally, the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran pledges to uphold this freedom.

However, with the penetration of Persian across the nation through various means, most notably media, schooling, and migration, the use of local language is diminishing in many areas. In this respect, Iran's diverse cultural heritage is under threat, and the task of preserving linguistic and sociolinguistic diversity in the country is urgent. Documentation of these languages is an essential means of salvaging a priceless element of human knowledge and experience. The present project, a sociolinguistic survey of language on Larak Island in Iran, is one small facet of this greater enterprise.

1.1 Sociolinguistics and the Laraki language variety

Laraki is a variety of Kumzari (ISO 693-3 language code [zum]), a small language spoken in the region of the Strait of Hormuz. Within Iran, the language is confined to a single community on Larak Island. While the language and culture of Kumzari speakers have gained the attention of a few

scholars, especially in recent years, the synthesis of these two domains in a sociolinguistic study has until now been neglected. But the sociolinguistic situation of speakers of Laraki is unique within Iran. In contrast to many places in Iran where Persian influence on Arabic has become the norm, we find on Larak an Iranian variety that has been profoundly influenced by Arabic, much more so than even Persian has been (Anonby 2008a). The sociolinguistic complexity that has led to the emergence of this language community lives on in the adaptive multilingualism of its speakers. It is the inspiration for the present research.

1.2 How this project came about

In the summer of 2008, the authors were relaxing with a glass of tea after a fine spread of *māhi kebāb*, rice and fresh herbs, talking about the overwhelming diversity of languages and dialects in Iran. The idea came up that, since one of the authors had been conducting sociolinguistic studies in Iran, and the other was working on the Kumzari language in Oman, they should team up and conduct a study on an area of common interest: the sociolinguistic situation the language spoken on Larak Island in Iran.

After many months of planning, the entire research team met for the first time in Bandar-e Abbas, southern Iran, on the 26th of January, 2009. While Dr. Pakzad Yousefian made a demanding 15-hour bus journey from Esfahan, where he had been spending holidays with his family, the group of four MA students travelled 11 hours from Zahedan in the south-eastern corner of the country. Dr. Erik Anonby and Christina van der Wal Anonby, scholars based at Leiden University in the Netherlands, travelled by air with their children from their research location among the Kumzari community of the Musandam Peninsula of northern Oman.

After assembling the necessary research materials, we arrived before noon at one of the piers at Bandar-e Abbas (Figure 14, p. 153). From there, we hired a motorboat and made for Larak Island, 50 minutes to the south, out in the Strait of Hormuz. Out on the glistening waters of the ocean, we travelled between Qeshm Island to the west and Hormuz Island to the east, whose blue outline was just visible through the humid air.

Finally, the mountains of Larak appeared, and we soon arrived at the jetty just outside the village. The seaside was calm, and clean. The island was almost bare of vegetation, and in place of the dogs and cats typical of villages elsewhere in Iran, there were goats.

We were warmly welcomed by Mr. Najipour, head of the island's Council, and he provided lodging for the research team in a newly constructed guest house. In our preparations, Dr. Yousefian had been told that there were

grocery stores on the Island. But, after a walk around town to get our bearings, we discovered that this was not the case. We felt like Robinson Crusoe on Larak! From then on, we followed the example of the local population, who bring almost all of their supplies—bread, fruit, vegetables—from Qeshm.

Starting fieldwork on the evening of our arrival, an older Laraki speaker—who did not know Standard Persian—recounted a story, and younger speakers interpreted for us. For the next few days, we pursued an eventful programme of recordings and interviews. In response to our respect for the conservative culture of the population, they treated us kindly. The ladies of our research team were welcomed into the houses by the ladies of the community, and the men of the research team spent time by the shore, where a continuously revolving group of men gathered from dawn to dusk (Figure 15, p. 153).

1.3   Organization of this book

This study is a sociolinguistic survey of language on Larak Island, Iran. It is a product of the interaction between a research team and a language community.

In Chapter 2, we outline the framework of the project, introducing the research team, itinerary, research questions and methodology. While Chapter 3 provides general background to Kumzari-speaking communities and their language, Chapter 4 narrows the focus to the language community of Larak Island.

In Chapter 5, we define relationship between Musandam Kumzari and Laraki by examining their distribution, perceptions of relatedness, lexical similarity, and intelligibility between dialects. Chapter 6 deals with language use among Laraki speakers, examining multilingualism in general and tying it into a review of language use by domain, and in Chapter 7 this discussion is expanded to the relationship between language use and media. Chapter 8, which frames this discussion with an examination of language attitudes, leads into reflections on language vitality, viability and endangerment in Chapter 9, and the conclusion in Chapter 10.

The appendices (pp. 88-153) contain a selection of materials integral to the study: group and individual sociolinguistic questionnaires; wordlists; the questionnaire and texts used in recorded text intelligibility testing; a summary of Musandam Kumzari and Laraki-speaking population by settlement; and images from field research.

2 Project framework

This project was conducted within the context of a partnership between the University of Sistan and Baluchestan (USB) in Iran and Uppsala University (UU) in Sweden.

In this chapter, we introduce the research team (2.1) and provide a record of the project's itinerary (2.2). We then outline major research themes and list constituent research questions (2.3). Finally, we review the methodology with which we have addressed these questions, giving special attention to the design and implementation of assessment techniques (2.4).

2.1 Research team

The research team was comprised of Erik Anonby and Christina van der Wal-Anonby, who have been working on the Kumzari variety spoken on Musandam Peninsula in Oman, and Pakzad Yousefian of USB, who has been active in sociolinguistic research on Iranian languages. Four MA students from USB took part in field research: Marjan Amirabadizadeh, Hassan Ali Kadkhoda, Raihanneh Nooraeeinia and Bakhtiar Sediqinejad. Hassan Mohebbi Bahmani, a lecturer in linguistics at Minab University who is currently working on Laraki, joined the research team for fieldwork.

2.2 Itinerary

Initial planning for the project began in Zahedan, Iran, in June 2008. Once we finalized a proposal for the project in October, we prepared our assessment tools and made logistical preparations for fieldwork. In late October, we met with Iranian scholars working on Laraki at the International Conference on Languages and Dialects in Iran at USB in Zahedan (4.1). In January 2009, we recorded a text in the Musandam variety of Kumzari and constructed a comprehension test for speakers of the Laraki variety of the language (2.4.3). Finally, we met up as a research team in Bandar-e Abbas and travelled to Larak Island (see Figure 14 in Appendix 7), where we conducted field research from January 26 to 31.

2.3 Research questions

The goal of this study is to provide a sociolinguistic survey of Kumzari, with special reference to the language community on Larak Island in the Hormozgan Province of Iran. To this end, we have explored three general themes: an overview of the language community; defining Kumzari and its varieties; and language use, attitudes and vitality. Research questions we have investigated in relation to each of the themes are as follows:

Overview of the language community
- Where is the language spoken, and how many speakers are there?
- What are features of ethnic identity?
- Where did the language community originate?
- What are some cultural characteristics relevant for understanding patterns of language use, attitudes and vitality?

Defining Kumzari and its varieties
- How is Kumzari related to other languages?
- What are the main varieties of the language?
- How do speakers conceptualize the relationship between varieties?
- What is the level of lexical similarity between varieties?
- What level of intercomprehension exists between varieties?
- How can we best define the relationship between varieties?

Language use, attitudes and vitality
- What are languages of multilingualism, and how proficient are subjects in each of these languages?
- In what domains are Laraki and other languages used?
- What are features of availability and choice of language in the media?
- What are attitudes toward use of Laraki and other languages?
- What factors threaten ongoing vitality of the language?

2.4 Methodology

In our attempt to gain a holistic overview of the language community, we have applied a multi-faceted methodology which brings together a review of the literature and speakers' stated knowledge and opinions, elicited language data, and experimental perceptual data. To this end, we have selected and implemented the following assessment techniques: sociolinguistic questionnaires for groups and individuals (2.4.1), lexicostatistic analysis (2.4.2), and recorded text comprehension testing (2.4.3).

Throughout the field research process, we relied on Farsi as the primary language of interview and elicitation. However, because of variation in Farsi proficiency among subjects, we were in many cases obliged to translate questions into Bandari (the regional lingua franca; see 6.1.1) or Kumzari for the purpose of clarification.

Respecting the social dynamics of the language community, interviews with men were as a rule conducted by the male members of the research team, and interviews with women were conducted by female members. For the group questionnaire, for which we had requested a mixture of men and women but for which only men showed up, the whole research team was present. Similar constraints affected wordlist collection and intelligibility testing. The subject sample is detailed for each assessment technique (4.5) following a description of the Laraki-speaking community as a whole (4.1-4.4).

2.4.1 Sociolinguistic questionnaires

We designed and used two sociolinguistic questionnaires, one for groups and one for individuals; these are based on the questionnaires in Anonby & Johnson (2001) and Kolbitsch & Kolbitsch (in preparation).

The group questionnaire, which we conducted with a single group (4.5.1), deals with large-scale issues such as community demographics, ethnolinguistic identity and origins, formal education and other social features of the community as well as perceptions of relationship between languages, general language use patterns, availability of media, and language vitality. The questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix 1 along with a comprehensive transcription of the group's responses.

In the individual questionnaire (Appendix 2), which we conducted with a stratified sample of 36 respondents (4.5.2), we focus on issues for which variation is likely among segments of the community, in particular language use, including multilingualism and media use, and language attitudes. Responses to the individual questionnaire are detailed in each of the sections where we discuss these topics.

2.4.2 Lexicostatistic analysis

The purpose of lexicostatistic analysis (i.e., wordlist comparison) is to provide, in a very general way, insight into genetic relationship and contact between varieties under investigation. Because there is a correlation between lexical similarity and intelligibility, it furnishes an initial indication as to whether two varieties might be intelligible with each other. In this way, it also addresses a basic question of language assessment, namely, whether two

language varieties should be treated as separate languages or as dialects of a single language.

When the percentage of apparent cognates between two speech forms is less than 70%, one could consider the speech forms as separate languages. However, if the lexical similarity between speech forms is 70% or greater, dialect intelligibility testing is called for in order to determine the level of comprehension between the speech forms (Bergman 1989:8.1.5, Anonby & Johnson 2001:6).

We used a 240-item list of basic vocabulary based on Anonby (2003) but augmented to include the Swadesh 100 wordlist. While the larger wordlist is valuable in providing comparative data (Grimes 1995:2.6), the core of 100 words has been analyzed separately to ensure consistency with other measures of lexical similarity that use the Swadesh list, since it is a standard in the discipline.

The wordlists, which are reproduced in Appendix 3, include:

- an English template;
- a Persian translation of this template, which we used in elicitation;
- a Musandam Kumzari wordlist which we elicited in Khasab and Kumzar prior to field research on Larak;
- a Laraki wordlist, simultaneously transcribed and recorded during field research and verified with Laraki speakers at a later time; and
- an Arabic wordlist, used as a point of comparison because of the language's major influence on the varieties under investigation.

The subject sample which contributed the Laraki wordlist is reviewed in 4.5.3. Figure 15 in Appendix 7 shows the team collecting the wordlist.

In section 5.3, percentages of apparent lexical similarity between varieties are provided for Laraki, Musandam Kumzari, Persian and Arabic. These have been calculated using Wordsurv, a lexicostatistic comparison program (Wimbish 1989, White et al. 2006). Note that because apparent similarity is being measured, historically unrelated words which are phonetically similar are grouped together; conversely, historically related words which are not synchronically similar are treated as dissimilar.

2.4.3 Recorded text tests (RTTs)

Lexicostatistical findings within certain ranges (especially between about 70 and 95%) are inadequate for providing an initial indication, on linguistic grounds, as to whether two varieties should be considered dialects of a single language or separate languages (Bergman 1989:8.1.5, Anonby and Johnson 2001:6; see also 2.4.2 above). In such cases, measuring levels of intelligibil-

ity between varieties provides a functional footing for making such an assessment (Grimes 1995:3.2, Dixon 1999:8). To this end, using the method described in Casad (1974), we designed and administered recorded text tests (RTTs) to measure dialect intelligibility. In particular, we investigated the degree to which Musandam Kumzari is intelligible to speakers of Laraki.

Although it only took about twenty minutes to administer a complete RTT with each subject, a lot of work went into constructing the tests, for which the texts are reproduced in Appendix 4. We began preparing the first part by recording two Musandam Kumzari (hereafter "MK") texts from a speaker in the Musandam community: one short "MK practice" text, and a longer "MK main" text (about three minutes). We transcribed and translated both of the texts, and developed questions from a variety of semantic domains: three questions for the short text and fifteen for the longer text. We then recorded the questions in MK with another speaker and inserted them just after the portion of the text containing the appropriate response. To ensure that the test was valid and well designed, we administered it to five MK speakers. The first part of the test consisted of the "MK practice" text followed by the same text repeated with questions inserted: this step allowed subjects to familiarize themselves with the headphones, electronic equipment and testing procedure. Here, and for all the tests, we wrote down responses and scored them as "right", "wrong" or "half-right". After this, we conducted a test consisting of the "MK main" text followed by the same text repeated with questions inserted. We then removed five of the fifteen questions which MK speakers did not consistently answer correctly or for which a semantic domain was the same as in another question. The "MK main" test was later used for the "second-language" portion of the RTT with Laraki speakers.

In Larak, we followed a parallel procedure: we began by recording two Laraki texts, one short "Laraki practice" text, and a longer "Laraki main" text (about three minutes). Similarly, we transcribed and translated both of the texts, and developed questions from a variety of semantic domains: three questions for the short text and fifteen for the longer text. We then recorded the questions in Laraki with another speaker and inserted them just after the portion of the text containing the appropriate response. To ensure that the test was valid and well designed, we administered both parts to five Laraki speakers. We then removed five of the fifteen questions which Laraki speakers did not consistently answer correctly or for which a semantic domain was the same as in another question. Together, the two Laraki tests comprised the "hometown" portion of the RTT with Laraki speakers.

Next, to prepare the "MK main" text for use by Laraki speakers, we translated the "MK main" questions into Laraki and inserted them into the text.

Finally, we administered the complete RTT to Laraki subjects (for a description of the subject sample, see 4.5.4). As part of the test, we filled out a subject background questionnaire. This helped us to ensure that subjects had limited exposure to the MK community, since this would undermine the validity of the RTT in demonstrating inherent intelligibility of MK by speakers of Laraki (Grimes 1995:3.7). With the recordings, we first administered the full "hometown" test, consisting of the "Laraki practice" test and the "Laraki main" test, which acted as a control for the next step: if subjects performed well (seven or more correct answers for ten questions) on the "Laraki main" test, we administered the "MK main" test as in Musandam except that questions were played back in Laraki. In an open-ended evaluation after testing, we wrote down subjects' opinions on how difficult it had been for them to understand the MK text.

Test results are summarized and interpreted in 5.4.

3 Kumzari communities and their language

The Kumzari language (ISO 693-3 language code [zum]) is spoken by two main groups: the Kumzari of Musandam Peninsula and inhabitants of Larak Island. Since the Laraki community is detailed in Chapter 4 below, we will limit the focus here to the larger language community, and to Musandam Kumzari. Unless it is otherwise referenced, the content of this chapter is drawn from Musandam field notes (Anonby van der Wal and Anonby; see 3.1).

In this chapter, we first outline existing literature and ongoing research on Kumzari (3.1). A broad overview of the language's social context (3.2) leads to a discussion of key aspects of the language (3.3). The relationship between Musandam Kumzari and Laraki, which is relevant to the present discussion, is explored separately in Chapter 5. There, we conclude that it is appropriate to consider the two varieties as dialects of a single language, Kumzari; this assertion, which we did not take for granted during the research process, has nonetheless informed the presentation of this chapter and the study as a whole.

3.1 Existing and ongoing research

The first references to the Kumzari language are found in two articles, both published shortly after 1900, by Zwemer and Jayakar. Zwemer, a traveller and missionary, observes that in Khasab, on Musandam Peninsula, a language was spoken which was "neither Persian, Arabic, nor Baluchi, but resembles the Himyaritic [= South Arabian] dialect of the Mahras" (1902:57); however, he neglects to mention the name of the language.

Jayakar, an Indian surgeon who visited the Musandam Peninsula with a British political expedition, gives a fuller picture of the Kumzari language in a study which primarily concerns the Arabic dialect of the Shihuh (1902; see also 3.2.2). Along with general historical and cultural background, he discusses a few points of Kumzari pronunciation and grammar, provides a lexicon of 158 items, and offers some general comparative comments on the language (pp. 272-7).

Lorimer (1908:2/1086) states that the Kumzari language was also spoken on Larak Island, but says nothing about the language itself.

Thomas (1930) provides additional information on the language with a fifteen-page grammar sketch and a lexicon of 553 words. Thomas (1929) gives further cultural background to the Musandam Kumzari ethnic group, but provides little information about the language.

Skjærvø (1989, 2010) provides comparative commentary on the language, and Lewis (2011) summarizes basic demographic and comparative information.

Bayshak (2002) has written an article on the comparative status of Kumzari, and highlights connections between Kumzari and Arabic.

Anonby van der Wal and Anonby, who were members of the research team for the present study, are working on a broad description of the language with attention to grammar, language history, and language contact (Anonby van der Wal 2008, 2009, in preparation; Anonby 2008a, 2008b, 2011, in preparation). Ali Hassan Ali Al-Kumzari has been a strong partner in this initiative, especially for the dictionary (Anonby, Anonby van der Wal and al-Kumzari in preparation) and the development of a Kumzari alphabet (Anonby 2009b). Anonby is also collaborating with Mohebbi Bahmani on Laraki.

Research specifically pertaining to the Laraki dialect of Kumzari is reviewed in section 4.1 below.

Significant studies which treat the history and culture of the Kumzari in the larger context of Musandam Peninsula are Thomas (1929), Dostal (1972), Zimmermann (1981), and Ḥanḍal (1987).

3.2 Social context

A demographic overview is first provided for Kumzari-speaking communities (3.2.1). The study then briefly considers a number of features of Musandam Kumzari society, beginning with ethnic identification (3.2.2) and the origins of the community (3.2.3). In addition, patterns of mobility and migration (3.2.4) as well as marriage (3.2.5) are reviewed alongside a synopsis of the traditional political hierarchy (3.2.6) and the availability and penetration of formal education among members of the community (3.2.7).

3.2.1 Demographics

Kumzari is spoken on both sides of the Strait of Hormuz. There are two main groups of speakers, one on each side of the Strait: the Kumzari of Musandam Peninsula in north-eastern Arabia, and the Laraki of Larak Island in Iran.

Figure 1 shows the region in which the language is situated, including communities in which it is spoken and nearby urban areas.

Figure 1: The Kumzari language area

While the Ethnologue gives a total figure of only 1700 Kumzari speakers (Lewis 2011), we estimate that the number of speakers is actually about 4000 individuals, plus about two hundred latent speakers of Kumzari as a second language.[1] This higher tally is substantiated in the present section, and component population figures are assembled and referenced in Appendix 6.

---

[1] The discrepancy between our own figures and those of Ethnologue likely stems from the fact that the Ethnologue figure, which is based on the 1993 census of Oman, is limited to speakers in Oman (and perhaps even to Kumzar village). Since the Kumzari-speaking populations in the United Arab Emirates and Larak Island are not mentioned there, it is probable that they have not been taken into account.

Musandam Kumzari, the larger of the two groups, is located on the Musandam Peninsula of north-eastern Arabia, divided between Oman and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). There, the Kumzari population is concentrated in Oman,[2] in the village of Kumzar and in a quarter of Khasab known as the Harat al-Kumzari (Arabic for 'Kumzari quarter'; Kumzari: *hārtō*). There is a seasonal migration between the two centres in which almost the entire populace of Kumzar moves to Khasab for a period of two to six months in the summer. Taking this into account, the population of Kumzar ranges from approximately 1500 (winter) to as low as one or two dozen (summer); conversely, the Kumzari population in Khasab varies from about 1500 (winter) to 3000 (summer).

A smaller collection of Musandam Kumzari speakers, estimated at between 100 and 150 individuals, is found in the town of Daba, Oman, at the southern end of the peninsula. There are also some Kumzari speakers in the fishing village of Qabbe, located between Kumzar and Khasab. In most cases, Kumzari speakers in Qabbe are females who have married into Arabic-speaking families.

In the UAE, there are several groups of Musandam Kumzari speakers who recently emigrated from Kumzar and Khasab (3.2.1), and who maintain close ties with their communities of origin; these families, totalling about 225 individuals, are found mainly in the emirates of Ra's al-Khaimah, Ajman and Abu Dhabi.

In total, we estimate that there are between 3300 and 3400 Musandam Kumzari speakers: about 3125 on the Musandam Peninsula of Oman, and about 225 in the UAE.

To the other side of the Gulf on Larak Island, the population of mother-tongue speakers of the Laraki dialect of Kumzari numbers around 700, and a handful of speakers live elsewhere in the region. In addition, there are second-language speakers of Laraki among the Arabic-speaking population on the island as well as many (perhaps 200) latent second-language speakers among members of the Arabic-speaking Laraki community which has emigrated to the UAE (4.3.1).

Musandam Kumzari and Laraki communities are uniformly Sunni Muslim, along with the majority of the populace in the Strait of Hormuz region. This sets them apart from the dominant sects in their national contexts: Ibadi in Oman, and Shi'ite in Iran.

---

[2] Musandam Kumzari population figures are informed by the 1993 and 2003 censuses of Oman (see Appendix 5), but have been adjusted based on group interviews and our own observations.

3.2.2 Ethnic identification

Ethnically, Musandam Kumzari identify themselves first and foremost with their Kumzari language community. However, at a higher level, they also consider themselves as a sub-group of the Shihuh (adj.: Shihhi), the dominant Arab population of Musandam Peninsula (A.M.A. al-Kumzari 2006).

Historically, there has been extensive contact between the Musandam Kumzari and Arabic-speaking Shihuh groups. First of all, there have been ongoing political connections between the Kumzari and other Shihuh groups, and along with many Shihuh clans, they belong to the Shatair (Kumzari: *štērī*) confederation. In fact, the Kumzari have been politically dominant among the Shatair in recent centuries (Lorimer 1908:2/1040; see also 3.2.6). Regarding this situation, Thomas in 1929 said:

> They are regarded throughout Oman as Shihuh, and they claim themselves to be Shihuh, a claim which is not questioned by their fellow-Shihuh tribesmen, over half of whom, indeed, in the south, they have established a complete ascendancy; for one of their Shaikhs habitually resides at Dibah, is the *de facto* Shaikh of the Bani Shatair confederation, and claims to be the paramount Shaikh of the entire Shihuh tribe. (1929:75)

The Kumzari forts still standing in Khasab and Diba are an ongoing monument to this historical state of affairs.

Another indication of this relationship is the seasonal migrations in which both groups participated (Dostal 1972, Najmabadi 1988). In addition, because of droughts in the past sixty years and probably before this time, many Arabic-speaking bedouin (Arabic: *bādī*, Kumzari: *kō'ī*) Shihuh families have steadily left their mountain habitations and moved down permanently, settling in Kumzar village. Remarkably, these bedouins have adopted Kumzari as their mother tongue.

These connections have had a major impact on the culture of Musandam Kumzari speakers. Today, interaction with the majority Arab population is common, and the regional culture is part of the daily rhythm of the Kumzari. For example, most formal Kumzari oral literature (especially poetry and songs) is performed in Shihhi Arabic.

Historically, the Musandam Kumzari have seen themselves as falling under the sphere of influence of the Gulf rather than Oman. When using the term "Oman", they were referring to the central coast of Oman, where the nation's capital Muscat is located. However, the current Oman government has promoted the idea of political and cultural unity through employment and directing of civil servants, through school and through media. This may

be further strengthening Kumzari perceptions of themselves as Arab and as citizens of the nation in which they find themselves.

Members of the Laraki-speaking community identify themselves first and foremost as Laraki, and at a higher level, as Arab. This situation, which is similar to that of Musandam Kumzari, is explored in 4.3.2.

3.2.3 Origins of the ethnic group

On the shores of the Strait of Hormuz, at the crossroads of civilizations and site of an ongoing historical succession of peoples and empires, members of the Kumzari community are confounded by their identity as an Arab ethnic group (3.2.2) which speaks a distinct language (3.3.1). This enigma has fascinated each of the authors who have studied the connection between the Kumzari and the larger Shihuh population.

Musandam Kumzari favour the idea that, as is the case for other members of the greater Shihuh Arab group, their ancestors originated in Yemen (see also Jayakar 1902 and Dostal 1974 on the Shihuh's view of their origins in Yemen). Bayshak (2002) implicitly affirms this hypothesis by highlighting Arabic structures in the language and linking them with the Modern South Arabian languages of southern Oman and Yemen.

This contrasts with other assessments in the literature, which struggle to account for the affiliation of the language by assuming Iranian origins for the Kumzari ethnic group. Specifically, some scholars have suggested that the Kumzari are at least partially Persian in origin. However, there is no record of any initial migration from Iran to Musandam Peninsula.

Najmabadi (1988:67-8), based on Zimmermann (1981), assumes a migration of considerable antiquity, but states that it is impossible to know whether it predated or followed the arrival of the Shihuh in the 7th century. These authors' hypotheses on the eventual integration of the Kumzari with other inhabitants of Musandam, which continues to be a socially sensitive issue, will not be repeated here.

Jayakar seems to paint a picture of a more recent migration:

> There is ample evidence in the general features and vocabulary of the dialect, to show that the Kamázareh or at least the main portion of the tribe must have originally come over from the opposite or Persian coast, and this conclusion can be upheld notwithstanding the fact that there exists among them a sub-tribe that claims to have immigrated from al-Bahrein, which is quite possible on the assumption that the latter immigrated at a later date and were numerically so weak, as to become in time thoroughly incorporated with the previous immigrants and to lose all traces of their language. The Kamázareh are divided into three sub-tribes,—Beni 'Alee Zeid, the origin of which is very

difficult to trace, Beni 'Alee Hasan who claim to have descended from 'Abdullah bin Awd al Mannáee and to have immigrated from Manán'aeh in al-Bahrein, and [the third subtribe,] who admit having originally come from a place called Biyábool near Mináw on the Persian coast. The last one is considered to be the Baloochee branch of the tribe, and appears to be the one which has contributed mainly in forming the dialect. (1902:272)

In the group interview in Larak (Appendix 1), respondents also referred to the latter element among the Kumzari. And Dostal (1974:2) independently echoes this claim: he states the Kumzari "are supposed to be of Balochi origin". However, he admits that "at present it is impossible to make any statement about when they entered this region".

In keeping with anthropological conventions of the period in which he was writing, Thomas adds a comment on physical appearance to the discussion:

The Kumazara are physically peculiar in their lack of Semitic features characteristic in some degree of their fellow-tribesmen. … They are, in my opinion, of Persian or some kindred South Asiatic origin. (1929:75)

This comment is met with disapproval on the part of Musandam Kumzari, and contradicts the passing impression given in Zwemer (1902:57-8) that "[t]heir complexion...is like that of the average Arab". To be fair, the physical characteristics of the Kumzari are extremely varied, and individual appearance ranges from pale to very dark. In this way, they represent the Gulf as a wider region, where the movement and mixing of peoples has been taking place for thousands of years.

Whatever the origins of the linguistic community from which the Kumzari language is inherited may be, we favour the idea that the presence of the language in Arabia is not the result of a recent migration. In fact, based on comparative linguistic evidence, we argue elsewhere that the presence of the Kumzari language in Arabia predates the Muslim conquest of the region in the 7th Century A.D. The main arguments in support of this assertion are that Kumzari has not taken part in key phonological innovations of Iranian languages in the New Iranian period (which begins with the Arab takeover of Sassanid Persia in the 640s A.D.), and that the Arabic component of the Kumzari lexicon appears to have been lexified directly from Arabic rather than via New Persian; therefore, we have deduced that the original linguistic ancestors of today's Kumzari population have inhabited the Musandam Peninsula for at least thirteen centuries (Anonby in preparation a).

Since the founding of the Kumzari-speaking population in Musandam, it is also likely that other groups have been incorporated into this community: Arabs from Bahrain and Baloch from the Makran Coast of Iran, as suggested by Jayakar; families descended from the ruling class of the Arab kingdom of Hormuz, as currently recounted by members of the Kumzari community; and inhabitants as well as Shihuh groups on the Musandam Peninsula, as discussed in 3.2.2 above. However, there is little evidence that the basic structure of the language has been influenced by the assimilation of these groups.

Specific developments relevant to the Kumzari-speaking community of Larak Island, whose origin can be traced back to Musandam Kumzari as well as other communities of the Arabian Peninsula and immigrants from the Iranian mainland, are discussed separately in 4.3.3.

3.2.4 Mobility and migration

There is constant movement between Kumzar and Khasab, the two largest settlements of Kumzari speakers. Still, Kumzar is reachable only by boat; from Khasab, it is a 40-minute ride by motorboat, and 2 hours by larger fishing and cargo vessel (Kumzari: *lanj*).

Especially for major event such as weddings, there is also regular contact between Kumzar and Khasab, and the various other settlements in Oman and the UAE (United Arab Emirates) where Kumzari speakers are found (3.2.1): Daba, Ra's al-Khaimah, Ajman and Abu Dhabi. In addition, many Kumzari inhabitants visit the UAE on a weekly basis for shopping, since an array of cheap commodities, many of which are not found in Khasab, is available there. Since Oman and the UAE both belong to the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf, citizens do not require a visa to travel between the two countries.

The residence of Kumzari in the UAE dates back to the 1960s, when some of them travelled abroad for work: since it was the main British outpost in the region, they obtained passports from Abu Dhabi. And because of the close historical ties between the UAE and Musandam, the UAE has offered Emirati nationality to other Kumzari. A number of families have taken advantage of this and have relocated to the Emirates.

Contact is surprisingly limited between Musandam Kumzari speakers and those from Larak; when it does happen, it most often takes place with Laraki living in or visiting Khasab, since travel to Larak by Musandam Kumzari is uncommon.

There are a few Kumzari students studying in other parts of Oman. Most of these return to Khasab and Kumzar for holidays and school breaks.

Mobility and migration patterns of Laraki speakers are discussed in 4.3.4.

3.2.5 Marriage patterns

While endogamy within the Musandam Kumzari speakers is usual, there are numerous cases of marriage between Kumzari and other inhabitants of Musandam Peninsula.

Endogamy is also the norm among Laraki speakers, but there are many cases where people from Larak have married people from other places (4.3.5).

3.2.6 Traditional political hierarchy

Until the late 1900s, the Musandam Kumzari and the rest of the Shateir division of the Shihuh were ruled by Kumzari sheikhs (Lorimer 1908:2/1040, A.M.A. al-Kumzari 2006). At one point in the 1800s the sheikhs' influence extended over a large stretch of coastline around Musandam Peninsula, stretching from Sharjah around to Daba, and across the Strait of Hormuz to Larak (Anonby van der Wal and Anonby, Musandam field notes; Lorimer 1908:1/622ff. and 2/1086). For the last two decades, however, there has been no sheikh presiding over the community. Instead, headmen (Kumzari: *rēšidan*) have acted as regents for the sheikhdom. Recently, though, Zaid Muhammad Ali Mahdi al-Kumzari, a descendent of the former sheikh, has been promoted by a headman as a successor to the title; and Oman's central government has recognized this claim.

The headmen are responsible for the three clans (Kumzari: *jēluman*) among the Musandam Kumzari: Aql, Ǧušban, and Bō'in. These clans have political and social significance, and there are minor sociolectal differences in pronunciation and lexicon between the groups.

3.2.7 Education

There is no formal education available in Kumzari in any of the countries where it is spoken, although there is a grassroots effort among Musandam Kumzari to read and write the language.

Among the older generations of the Musandam community, few have attended school. Now, however, most or all children attend school in Arabic. From the age of seven, children in Kumzar attend the first levels of school in the village. Students at higher levels leave to go to high school in Khasab, where they stay with relatives. In many cases, entire families settle in Khasab while their children attend school there; and often, the family does not move back to Kumzar when schooling is finished.

Non-Kumzari teachers tell Kumzari parents that they must speak to their children in Arabic, not Kumzari, at home, ostensibly to help the children perform better in school. Some Kumzari are applying this advice. Report-

edly, there is an MA thesis done at Sultan Qaboos University (SQU) in Muscat on why Kumzari children do poorly in school. However, we have visited SQU and have not been able to obtain such a document.

Schooling for children in the Laraki community in Iran, which is conducted in Farsi, is discussed in 4.3.7.

3.3 The Kumzari language

In this overview of the Kumzari language, we discuss the language's name (3.3.1) and its relation to other languages (3.3.2). In addition, we look at language use (3.3.3), attitudes (3.3.4) and vitality (3.3.5) in the Musandam Kumzari community. The purpose of this outline is to look at the Kumzari language as a whole and to provide a point of comparison with the Laraki variety, which is treated more fully in 4.4.

3.3.1 Language name

Speakers of the Musandam Peninsula variety call their language *kumẓārī* (adv. *kumẓarītī* '[speaking] in Kumzari'); this name is derived from the historically important and culturally central village of Kumzar (3.2.1). Speakers of the Larak Island variety call their language variety *rārikī* (4.4.2).

The language is most commonly spelled "Kumzari" in academic and popular publications in European languages. Variants of this spelling are: "Kumzāri" (Thomas 1930), "Kumzārī" (Skjærvø 1989), "Komzāri" (Najmabadi 1988), "Komzari" (seen on a number of websites) and "Kamzáree" (Jayakar 1902). In Persian, the language is referred to as كُمْزارى (*komzārī*) and in Arabic, it is called كُمْزاري (*kumzārī*).

3.3.2 Relation to other languages

There is a widespread view among the inhabitants of Musandam Peninsula that Kumzari is a mixture of several languages: Arabic, Farsi, English, Portuguese, Hindi and Balochi are most often mentioned. While Musandam Kumzari speakers accept this characterization, they prefer to emphasize the Arabic features of the language.

In the earliest written reference to the Kumzari language, Jayakar (1902:272-3) contends that the language is for the most part non-Semitic in nature, and notes that the majority of its vocabulary is Persian in origin. In notes appended to a grammar sketch, Thomas similarly concludes that Kumzari is "a quite characteristic Iranian dialect" (1930:843). Skjærvø (1989:364), working primarily with Thomas' data, classifies Kumzari as a member of the Southwestern group of Iranian languages.

The Ethnologue (Lewis 2011) states further that Kumzari belongs to the Luri subgroup of Southwestern Iranian languages, although the source and evidence behind this more specific proposition are unclear; this idea is re-examined and ultimately rejected in Anonby (in preparation a).

While the labelling of Kumzari as an Iranian language is reasonable and has been treated systematically, although not in depth, it glosses over the degree to which long-standing contact with Arabic has transformed the basic structures of the language (see also Zwemer 1902, Bayshak 2002, and Anonby in preparation b). A breakdown of lexical similarity between Kumzari, Persian and Arabic is provided in 5.3 below.

A discussion of the relationship of Laraki with other languages is provided in 4.4.3, and the relationship between Musandam Kumzari and Laraki is analyzed in Chapter 5.

3.3.3 Language use

While most members of the Laraki community are proficient in several languages (6.1), bilingualism is the norm for speakers of Musandam Kumzari. Most Musandam Kumzari speak and understand Arabic, at least to some degree. Proficiency levels are highest for younger speakers, males, and those who live outside of Kumzar. Conversely, there is a significant proportion of the population in Kumzar, especially older women, who have minimal proficiency in Arabic.

Kumzari is vigorously used in domestic and traditional work-related domains, but in Musandam, Arabic dominates all interactions with outsiders and domains such as school, prayers, counting money, formal oral literature and all types of media.

A growing number of young people are cultivating proficiency in English.

Language use among speakers of Laraki is treated in Chapters 6 and 7.

3.3.4 Language attitudes

Speakers of Musandam Kumzari have mixed attitudes toward their language: many people are proud of it, but others question its usefulness in the wider Arabic-speaking context.

Arabic is held in high regard by Musandam Kumzari for a number of reasons: it is the dominant language of the countries in which they are located; it is the primary language of the Shihuh Arab group with which they identify ethnically; it is the language of the media; it is the language of the Qur'an; and it is the language of formal Kumzari oral literature.

English is also held in high regard because of its usefulness as an international language.

Language attitudes among speakers of Laraki are treated in Chapter 8.

3.3.5 Language vitality and viability

Although Musandam Kumzari is vigorously used in domestic and traditional work-related domains, there are a number of factors that threaten the language's viability. As the political influence of the Kumzari wanes in Musandam (3.2.6), so does the influence of the Kumzari language. For the average Kumzari speaker, life increasingly revolves around Arabic-dominated domains—religion, school, media, government work, and shopping (3.3.3). Even in domains where Kumzari is traditionally used, there is an increasing penetration of Arabic vocabulary. Perhaps most disconcerting, however, is the internalization of outsiders' negative attitudes toward the Kumzari language to the point where some Kumzari families have begun to speak Arabic to their children at home.

Language vitality among speakers of Laraki and the viability of their language is treated in Chapter 9.

4 The Laraki language community

There are two main groups of Kumzari speakers: those on Musandam Peninsula, and those on Larak Island (3.2.1, 4.3.1). This study focuses on the Larak Island community and their language, Laraki. There are only a few publications dedicated to Laraki (4.1). The information in this chapter, while referring to the these publications, has therefore been provided in large part by members of the Laraki community in the context of a group interview (2.4.1, Appendix 1) and, to a lesser degree, individual interviews (2.4.1, Appendix 2) and firsthand observations on the part of the research team.

In this part of the study, we first summarize existing research on Laraki (4.1). We then provide geographic background to Larak Island (4.2) and social background to the community that inhabits the island (4.3). Finally, we bring together information on the Laraki language variety (4.4) and describe the sample of Laraki speakers that have taken part in the study (4.5).

4.1 Existing and ongoing research

While some literature exists on Musandam Kumzari (3.1), little has been published specifically on the inhabitants of Larak Island and their language.

The main written sources on the topic are articles by Lorimer (1908:2/1086-7) and Najmabadi (1988, 1992). In addition, the Linguistics, Inscriptions and Texts Research Centre, which is part of the Cultural Heritage Organization in Tehran, has been implementing a project on Laraki. Results from this project have been disseminated in presentations such as those given by Afrashi (2008) and Parmoun (2008) at the 1st International Conference on Iranian Languages and Dialects at the University of Sistan and Baluchestan in Zahedan. Mohebbi Bahmani, a linguist at Minab University, has also been working on Laraki for several years, and is publishing on the language in conjunction with this project's research team (Anonby & Mohebbi Bahmani in preparation a, b).

4.2 Geographic situation

Larak Island is located on the north side of the Strait of Hormuz, with its centre at 26.86°N, 56.36°E (see Figure 1 on p. 30 above). The island's name, which is most commonly represented in English as Larak, has also been spelled Lārak, Larek and, in early documents, Larrack (Lorimer 1908:2/1086, Thomas 1930:785). Lorimer further gives *lārač* as an alternate pronunciation. Locally, the island is known as *rārak*.

Politically, it falls under the jurisdiction of Hormozgan Province in Iran, where it constitutes a rural district (Farsi: *dehestān*) within the municipality (Farsi: *šahrestān*) of Qeshm. The nearest land is Qeshm Island (9 km to the north-west) and Hormuz Island (17.5 km to the north). Bandar-e Abbas on the Iranian mainland is just over 30 km to the north, and the northern tip of Musandam Peninsula of Arabia, near Kumzar, is 48 km to the south. Khasab, the largest settlement on Musandam Peninsula, is 70 km to the south (geodistance.com).

The island (see Figure 2), which has an oval shape, is 10.5 km long and 6.5 km wide (geodistance.com, Najmabadi 1988:67) and has a total area of 49 km² (Afrashi 2008). It is closely surrounded by deep water, except on the west side, where an underwater shelf extends almost a kilometer into the ocean (Lorimer 1908:2/1086). Geologically, it is a salt plug (Kent 1979); the island's surface consists of sandstone mixed with rock salt and iron oxide (Lorimer 1908). There are a number of rugged conical hills on the island, the highest of which rises to 155 metres (Lorimer 1908, Afrashi 2008). Besides some low acacia trees, a few palms, bushes and seasonal grasses, the island is almost entirely bare of vegetation (field notes; Najmabadi 1988:67). While there are no longer any large animals on the island, wild gazelle were at one time numerous (Lorimer 1908). There is one remaining settlement on the island, Larak-e Shahri, on the north-east shore. Larak-e Kuhi, which was located near the centre of the island, as well as Salmi and Mowrona, on the west and north-west shores respectively, have been abandoned (4.3.1).

The island's climate is hot in summer (45-48°C in July/August) but cool in winter (7-10°C in January), and humidity averages 72% (Āmārnāmeh-ye ostān-e saheli 1976 in Najmabadi 1988:67).

©2009 Google, imagery ©2009 DigitalGlobe, Cnes/Spot Image, GeoEye

Figure 2: A satellite view of Larak Island

4.3 Social situation

A demographic overview is first provided for the population of Larak island as a whole (4.3.1). The study then narrows in on the Laraki-speaking component, considering first their ethnic identification (4.3.2) and the origins of the community (4.3.3). Because of their relevance for language use and vitality, patterns of mobility and migration (4.3.4) as well as marriage (4.3.5) are reviewed alongside a synopsis of the traditional political hierarchy (4.3.6) and the availability and penetration of formal education among members of the community (4.3.7).

4.3.1 Demographics

The existence of Kumzari speakers on Larak was first signalled in the literature by Lorimer (1908:2/1086), and confirmed by Thomas (1930:785). At the time of the initial survey of the island by Lorimer, there were two settlements: Labtiyab (*labṭiyāb*), also called Lārak (*lārak*), with 30 houses; and

Kuh (*kūh*), with a dozen houses. There was also an abandoned settlement on the west shore of the island known as Salmi. In total, Lorimer estimated a population of about 200 inhabitants on the island, and he appears to suggest that all of the people there spoke Kumzari (p. 1086).

The next population figures for the island, collected seventy years later, are those of Najmabadi (1988:67, based on fieldwork in 1977), who estimated that there were then 200 households, or 1200 people, living on Larak. At the time of her research, she identified the same two settlements, with slight changes to their names: Larak-e Shahri ('urban Larak'), dominated by Laraki (Kumzari) speakers, and Larak-e Kuhi ('mountain Larak'), inhabited by Arabic speakers. At this time, Larak-e Shahri had 120 households (or 720 people), and Larak-e Kuhi had 80 households (or 480 people).

Respondents to the group interview noted, however, that the island's population collapsed with the sudden and complete abandonment of Larak-e Kuhi in the mid-1970s. Respondents did not provide many details of this event in the group interviews, but Mohebbi Bahmani (pers. comm. 2010), who has done additional research on the island's history, suggests that the inhabitants of Larak-e Kuhi were ordered by the government of that era to relocate to a newly constructed settlement in Mowrona, on the north-west corner of the island. While some of the community moved to Mowrona, most households emigrated to Sharjah or Ra's al-Khaimah in the UAE, and Khasab in Oman; a handful of families moved to Hengam Island, to the south of Qeshm Island. After the Islamic Revolution, the families that had stayed on in Mowrona moved to Larak-e Shahri and, in some cases, Oman. This upheaval has a parallel in the situation on Hengam Island where, in 1974, inhabitants abruptly abandoned their village after the Iranian administration of the time forced the women to remove their burqas (masks), made the men wear western clothes rather than the long robes traditionally worn in the Gulf, and searched the houses for contraband (Najmabadi 1988:69).

We have been unable to obtain official census data, either recent or past, for the island. Respondents stated that currently, there are about 500 or 600 people living in Larak-e Shahri, the island's only remaining permanent settlement, which is on the north-east shore of the island (see Figure 3 below). The rural district office, however, puts the total at just over 1000 people. This population is divided into three groups: Laraki-speaking locals, Arabic-speaking locals, and outsiders. A 2009 estimate from the rural district office (Farsi: *dehdāri*) put the number of locals at 520, but in 2010 raised the tally to 702. While the Laraki-speaking population predominates, there are about 30 (four or five families) Arabic-speaking people in the village. In addition,

respondents estimate that there are about 100 outsiders; the rural district office, for its part, puts the number at 300.

There are also a handful of Laraki speakers elsewhere in the region.

Figure 3: The village of Larak-e Shahri. Note the ruins of the Portuguese fort slightly above and to the right of the image's centre (see also Figure 4 and Figure 5), and the school near the non-locals' housing at the right side.

Assuming that population growth had been similar to elsewhere in Iran and language use had been stable, the number of Laraki speakers in Larak-e Shahri would have increased, even to the point of doubling since 1977 when there were about 720 people. In other words, even after taking account of the abandonment of Larak-e Kuhi, the island's local population is currently only half of what would be expected under conditions typical for Iran. The factors behind this bleak state of affairs demand further investigation, but the nationwide trend toward urbanization and regulation may provide a partial explanation.

As was the case in the early 1900s, the Laraki-speaking population, which forms the subject of this study, still gains its livelihood primarily by fishing, limited goat husbandry, and trade. A century ago, there were also date palms and a small amount of barley cultivation, but these are now gone (Lorimer 1908:2/1086; field notes). While early records show a trade in salt from Larak to Musandam Peninsula and Qeshm (Lorimer 1908:2/1086), the "trade" is now of a different sort (see a detailed description of this in Najmabadi 1992). The remaining Arabic-speaking population (cf. 4.3.4) is partially

integrated into this community: some of these people fish, and they are mu-ezzins (prayer callers) for the village's mosques. In terms of religious adherence, both groups are uniformly Sunni.

The outsiders come from a variety of places: most are Bandari (from the coastal settlements of the Iranian side of the Gulf), or from Qeshm Island or Hormuz Island, but others are from elsewhere in Iran. They work in government-run services at the police station, clinic, school, electricity plant and desalination plant. While a majority are single men, there are three or four households among the outsiders.

There are few visitors to the island. Most of those who do come are tourists who come to celebrate Now Ruz (Persian New Year), or hikers interested in exploring the island.

4.3.2 Ethnic identification

As is the case for the Kumzari speakers of Musandam Peninsula (3.2.2), the ethnic identification of Laraki speakers is complex. At the level of identification of the community, Laraki speakers see themselves as *rārakī* (this label comes from their own name for the island, *rārak*; see 4.2 and 4.4.2). However, they also recognize that their basic ethnicity is something else since, as will be discussed below (4.3.3), they came from elsewhere. While recognizing diversity in the origins of the community, respondents to the group interview state that as a whole, the Laraki community is of Arab origin.

Laraki speakers suggest that people from elsewhere generally see them as Laraki. This accords with our observation of how Musandam Kumzari view them (Anonby van der Wal and Anonby, Musandam field notes). However, Laraki speakers also note that some groups (especially in the UAE) identify them as Kumzari and, because of the name of the island, others identify them as Lari, i.e., from Lar (see 4.3.3).

Lorimer, who collected the first records of ethnicity on Larak, identified inhabitants of the island as Dhohuri (1908:2/1086), which, along with the Shihuh, is one of the two main Arab ethnicities of the Musandam Peninsula (see Dostal 1972). Lorimer noted further that the population of Larak was closely connected by intermarriage with the Shatair Shihuh of Kumzar (p. 1086; cf. 3.2.2).

Najmabadi (1988, especially pp. 71-2) discusses the topic of Laraki ethnic identity in greater depth. A recurrent theme in her article is the versatility of the Laraki community, and specifically their capacity to recast their identity according to their context, using the language and even the dress of the groups they interact with.

Najmabadi states that on the island and with Kumzari relatives in Oman, inhabitants of Larak consider themselves Kumzari. This contrasts with our observation (in the first paragraph of this subsection) that inhabitants of the island now view themselves as Laraki rather than Dhohuri or Kumzari. To be fair, there is a thirty-two year passage of time between her fieldwork in 1977 and our own study; it is possible, then, that because of decreased mobility between Larak and Musandam Kumzari communities in the intervening decades (4.3.4), islanders' identification of themselves as Laraki has become stronger in recent years. It is also the case that Musandam Kumzari are hesitant to include Laraki speakers under the term "Kumzari"; instead, they also prefer to give them the basic label of "Laraki" (Anonby van der Wal and Anonby, Musandam field notes).

Najmabadi notes further that Bandari people (inhabitants of the Iranian coast) consider them Bandari or, on account of their language, Arab. Administrators and merchants who have interactions with Laraki speakers do not make a distinction between Laraki and Arab speakers on the island; they consider all of these groups there simply as Laraki.

In any case, Najmabadi says the community on Larak is accepted by other Iranians as Iranian. There is an interesting disparity between this and what we found regarding some Laraki speakers' own degree of identification with Iran: when inhabitants of the island use the term "Iran", they are referring specifically to the Iranian mainland, and contrasting it with the islands of the Gulf.

Finally, Najmabadi states that when visiting Oman, Laraki speakers identify themselves with Musandam Kumzari, presenting themselves as Shihuh Arab—as do the Musandam Kumzari.

4.3.3   Origins of the ethnic group

According to respondents, the Laraki community is an amalgamation of people with diverse, but predominantly Arab, origins. In the group interview, respondents stated that most people come from Khasab and Kumzar, but others come from different settlements on Musandam Peninsula, including Qada and Mukhi. One respondent in the group interview stated that his ancestors had come from Arabia, via Qeshm.

In his 1908 article about the island, Lorimer stated more specifically that its inhabitants are Dhohuri (p. 1086), one of the two main Arab ethnicities of Musandam Peninsula (4.3.2). This would corroborate respondents' own claim of Arab origins.

In the individual interviews, respondents mentioned a number of additional places in Iran from which their parents came including Qeshm, the

mainland of Hormozgan Province and the provinces of Khuzestan, Kurdistan and Western Azerbaijan (4.5).

Respondents said that they have also heard outsiders conclude that, because Larak means 'little Lar', the inhabitants of Larak must have come from Lar, a small city in southern Fars Province. However, according to Zaeimi (2002/2004:40 in Afrashi 2008), the island is called Larak because it was ruled by the governors of Lar.

Respondents noted that migrations to the island took place sometime between 300 and 500 years ago. Najmabadi (1988:67) is consistent in stating that inhabitants of Larak are not certain of the precise date of their ancestors' migration to the island, but adds that it must have been after 1717, when the Portuguese left the region: the ruins of a fortress (see Figure 4 and Figure 5), built following the establishment of Portuguese occupation around 1625, were already there when the ancestors of today's inhabitants arrived.

Our own prior research on the history of the region has revealed further that the Musandam Kumzari community was closely tied to the Portuguese evacuation from the Strait of Hormuz. A Kumzari wedding song (in Arabic) records that the Kumzari took the gates of Hormuz Island's fortress back to Khasab and set them into their own fortress there. These gates were in the Kumzari fortress in Khasab until they were taken to the National Museum of Oman sometime before 1970 (Anonby van der Wal and Anonby, Musandam field notes). It is possible that some of the population of Musandam, Kumzari as well as Arabic-speaking Shihuh, stayed behind on Larak after this conquest, although there is no record in the historical wedding songs or other oral histories.

4.3.4 Mobility and migration

Larak Island remains to some degree isolated. Even now, there is no regular transport to and from the island. Those who live on the island use their own motorboats to travel to other islands and the mainland.

Over the past decades, the level of contact between Musandam Kumzari and the Laraki community has been diminishing. As late as 1977, Najmabadi (1988:67) observed that Laraki people were maintaining close relations with their Musandam counterparts: she reported that, at that time, eighty families rejoined their relatives in Khasab, Oman, each summer.

However, international borders have tightened over the last thirty years, and presently there is very little contact between Kumzari speakers in Musandam with those across the Strait. This situation would promote the divergence of the two varieties, and the degree of divergence should be examined.

Figure 4: A satellite photograph with the ruins of the Portuguese fort circled

Another aspect of migration, and one which has drastically affected the de-
mography of the island, was the abandonment of one of the islands' two
original settlements in the mid-1970s. This has been discussed in 4.3.1.

4.3.5 Marriage patterns

Respondents to the group questionnaire stated that there are no restrictions to
marriage among the people of the island, saying: "There are no clans here;
everyone is the same and we regard people equally".

At least historically, marriage was common between families on Larak
and the inhabitants of Kumzar (Lorimer 1908:2/1086, 4.3.2).

Figure 5: The interior of the ruins of the Portuguese fort

Endogamy is now the norm, but it is not uncommon for Laraki men to marry women from outside of Larak. Respondents mentioned that the women come from places like Qeshm, Hormuz, and Rudan (on the mainland near Minab); they noted however that Laraki men do not often marry Arab women because they need a passport to do so, and the brideprice for Arab women is high. Although it is less common than for Laraki men, some Laraki women also marry people from other places.

4.3.6 Traditional political hierarchy

Najmabadi (1988:67) maintains that, following the end of Portuguese occupation, the region passed into the hands of the Sultan of Muscat in 1717 before finally coming under Iranian control in 1856. The role of the Arab kingdom of Hormuz prior to the entrenchment of the Portuguese and the rule of the Kumzari sheikhs over the region (3.2.6) in the centuries following their departure would also have been significant in the island's history, but there is little record of the actual situation on the island. However, in a survey of Larak Island published in 1908, Lorimer stated:

> The people assert that they are independent of any ruler except of their own Kumzāri shaikh at Labtiyāb village, and up to the end of 1905 no visible signs of Persian authority existed, but the

island was said to be nominally included, along with the islands of Qishm and Hormūz, among the places farmed to [i.e., subject to taxes by] the Mu'-in-ut-Tujjar of Tehrān. [footnote:] In May 1906, however, the Imperial Persian Customs authorities at Bandar 'Abbas began to construct a hut and erect a flagstaff on Lārak, probably as marks of Persian sovereignty. (2/1086-7)

When Najmabadi conducted research in 1977, Larak-e Shahri was the seat of the island's own *kadxodā* (Persian: 'chief';1988:67). However, there is no similar traditional authority at present.

4.3.7 Education

There is a primary school in Larak which goes up to level 5, the end of primary school (*ebtedā'i*). The nearest elementary (*rāhnemā'i*) and high (*dabirestān*) schools are in Qeshm and Hormuz, which are respectively ten and fifteen minutes from Larak by speedboat. The closest private (*āzād*) university is in Hormuz, and the nearest national (*melli*) university is in Bandar-e Abbas, a 40-minute speedboat ride from Larak.

While most older speakers of Laraki have not attended school, respondents to the group interview stated that most of the children on Larak now go to school and complete the third year of elementary school. A few go on to high school. When they are finished with school, most go on to earn a livelihood by fishing, because there are few other jobs available.

Apart from one Larak-based Hormuzi family, all the children at the school are from Larak.

4.4 The Laraki language variety

Here, we give an overview of the Laraki language variety based on information gathered in the group interview and supplemented by additional sources. After defining the distribution of Laraki (4.4.1) and providing an inventory of various names by which people refer to it (4.4.2), we discuss its relationship to other languages (4.4.3) and give a foretaste of the adaptive multilingualism that characterizes the language community (4.4.4).

4.4.1 Language distribution

Laraki is spoken primarily in Larak-e Shahri, the remaining settlement on Larak Island, by about 700 individuals, of whom about 670 speak it as a mother tongue (4.3.1). Apart from this, it is still spoken by some of the large group of (mostly mother tongue Arabic-speaking) islanders who migrated to the UAE (4.3.1, 4.3.4), a few families in Khasab and neighbouring commu-

nities in Musandam (cf. Anonby van der Wal and Anonby, Musandam field notes), and a handful of emigrants from Larak to Qeshm and Hormuz.[3]

4.4.2 Language name

In the group interview, individual interviews and informal conversations, speakers of Laraki almost always referred to their language as *rārakī* (adv. *rārakīnī* or *rārakītī* '[speaking] in Laraki'). In a few cases, speakers also referred to their language as *kumzārī*. The prevalence of speakers' use of the label *rārakī* contrasts with Najmabadi's (1988:67) observation that, among themselves, speakers call their language "*komzāri*" (*kumzārī*).

According to respondents, most outsiders think that Farsi is spoken on Larak Island. However, they state that those groups outside the island that are more familiar with Larak give various labels to the language spoken there:

- Bandari people (people from the Iranian coast) and people from Qeshm Island call the language *lārakī*;

- People from the United Arab Emirates call it *kumzārī*;

- Most people from Khasab in Oman call it *rōrukī*; and

- Musandam Kumzari (most of whom are Kumzar and Khasab) call it *rārakī*.

From our research in Musandam Peninsula, we found that speakers of Musandam Kumzari in fact call the language *rārukī*. Regarding other labels given to the language spoken there, it is also worth mentioning that a Persian photo journalist we met before our field trip to the island said that, along with the other islands in the Gulf, the language spoken on Larak is *jazīrati* (Persian: 'pertaining to the island'; pers. comm. Atosa Mahmoudi 2008).

In the group interview, respondents stated that the language they speak was originally the same as Kumzari. However, their language was named after Larak Island by the original migrants to the island who came from Arabia (4.3.3). Because of this, respondents felt that Laraki was a more appropriate name for their language than Kumzari. In other words, they identify the language with where it is spoken more than with its place of origin.

Regarding the name of the island, after which the language has in turn been named, speakers said that the term Larak does not have any lexical

---

[3] On an internet chat site, we also observed mention of Kumzari being spoken on the island of Abu Musa in Iran (http://www.skyscrapercity.com/archive/index.php/t-248540.html). However, this suggestion was unfamiliar to the Laraki speakers we interviewed; it is probably the result of a mix-up between Larak Island and Abu Musa.

designation of its own, but means 'little Lar', referring to the city of Lar in southern Fars Province (see 4.3.3).

4.4.3   Relation to other languages

Respondents to the group interview stated that besides Kumzari (see 5.2 below), there is no language that is closely related to Laraki. They stated that while the language is a mixture of Portuguese, English, Arabic and Farsi, it is completely different from these languages, and that there is nowhere else in Iran that people speak something similar to Laraki.

Respondents noted that some speakers of Bandari, Hormuzi and Qeshmi understand some Laraki words, even though they are unable to speak Laraki. Still, they maintain that there is no relationship between Laraki and these varieties, despite the fact that they are spoken only a short distance away.

They also stated that outsiders think that Laraki is close to Farsi, but respondents themselves think that in fact their language is closer to Arabic. This seems to be related to the idea that the language came from Kumzar, which is on the Arabian side of the Gulf (4.4.2), and it is consistent with perceptions of the Kumzari population in Musandam (3.3.2).

There are no comparative comments specifically on Laraki in previous literature, but comparative comments on Kumzari are reviewed above (3.3.2), and the relation between Laraki and Musandam Kumzari is discussed in Chapter 5 below.

4.4.4   Adaptive multilinguals: An overview of language on Larak

In the group interview, it emerged that while Laraki speakers use their mother tongue in many domains, most regularly use at least three other languages for certain domains or when interacting with speakers of these languages. This pattern of adaptation, which was identified in Najmabadi (1988:71-2), is examined in depth in the present study. Typical languages of multilingualism are Farsi, Arabic, and at least one of the following varieties spoken in the region: Qeshmi, Bandari or Hormuzi (see 6.1.1). In Chapters 6 and 7, the breakdown of multilingualism by social situation and domain is detailed using data from the individual questionnaires. Language attitudes in this multilingual context are described in Chapter 8, and language vitality and viability are examined in Chapter 9.

4.5 Population samples

We worked with a sample of the general Laraki-speaking population (4.3, 4.4) for each of the research tools: group questionnaire (4.5.1), individual questionnaire (4.5.2), lexicostatistic analysis (wordlist elicitation; 4.5.3) and recorded text tests (RTTs) (4.5.4).

Samples ranged from small collective groups, in the case of the wordlist elicitation and group questionnaire, to 36 separately interviewed respondents in the case of the individual questionnaire.

As is detailed in the sub-sections below, the sampling procedure for the present study was designed and implemented in consideration of context-specific social factors; many of Tiessen's (2003:21-43) observations on the role of context in sociolinguistic survey are pertinent in this regard. For example, while adult population segments of all ages and both sexes were represented for the individual questionnaire, for the other tools the sample was limited to men and, in the case of RTTs, younger and middle-aged men. This imbalance in the sample reflects limitations in possibilities for interaction between the research team and the Laraki community, where there was little enthusiasm for the participation of women in the research process.

4.5.1 Group questionnaire

For the group sociolinguistic questionnaire (2.4.1), we gathered a small group of men representing older, middle-aged and younger members of the community. Although we requested that the group include women as well as men, no women were present for the group interview. Answers to the group questionnaire are presented along with the questionnaire itself in Appendix 1.

4.5.2 Individual questionnaire

The sample for the individual sociolinguistic questionnaire (2.4.1; Appendix 1) was comprised of 36 subjects, selected according to sex and age. We specified three age groups: younger (9-24 years old), middle-aged (25-49 years old) and older (50 years old or more). Consequently, there are six basic groups of six subjects each by which the subject sample may be defined, as shown in the Table 1 below.

	male	female	TOTAL
younger (9-24 years)	6	6	12
middle-aged (25-49 years)	6	6	12
older (50+ years)	6	6	12
TOTAL	18	18	36

Table 1: Subject grouping for individual questionnaires

Due to hesitation on the part of subjects, especially older women, it was difficult to satisfy our quotas. However, because this sample provides a representative window into the composition and features of the community as a whole, we persisted and it was well worth the effort. Here, we summarize details of respondents' demographic background: birthplace, place of residence, parents' place of origin, mother tongue, language respondents' parents used with them during childhood, and level of formal education.

Birthplace
Of the 36 respondents, 35 were born in Larak and grew up there. The remaining respondent, an older male, was born in Khasab, Oman, where he lived for fifteen years.

Current and former place of residence
All the respondents currently live in Larak. Other places where respondents have lived for more than one year are Khasab (3 respondents), Qeshm Island (2), Kumzar (1), Hormuz Island (1) and Hengam Island (immediately south of Qeshm Island; 1).

Parents' place of origin
While most respondents indicated that their father was born in Larak, fathers of 7 respondents were born elsewhere: Kumzar (3), Khasab (2), Gachin (on the mainland north of Qeshm Island; 1), and Western Azerbaijan Province of Iran (1). Similarly, most respondents' mothers were born in Larak. However, the mothers of 11 respondents were born elsewhere: Qeshm Island (3), Gachin (2), Dulab (Kurdistan Province of Iran; 2), Kumzar (1), Khasab (1), Abadan Province of Iran (1) and Gorbodon (1). One respondent did not know deceased parents' places of origin.

Mother tongue
34 of the 36 respondents consider Laraki their mother tongue. The older male who was born in Khasab speaks Arabic as a mother tongue, and one younger male speaks Qeshmi as a mother tongue.

Language parents used with respondents during childhood
Most respondents indicated that both parents spoke Laraki with them when they were growing up. However, 2 respondents' fathers spoke Arabic with children, and one used both Qeshmi and Laraki; and while 2 mothers used Qeshmi with their children, one used Arabic.

Education
Of the 36 respondents, 23 have some education (although none have attended university), and 13 have not gone to school. Most of those who have not gone to school (11 of 13) are older subjects, and 2 are middle-aged.

4.5.3 Lexicostatistic analysis

For lexicostatistic analysis, which we measured by means of a wordlist (2.4.2; Appendix 3), our subject sample included men representing a range of ages. Because of difficulty in securing subject participation for long periods of time, there was ongoing turnover of subjects during the elicitation and recording of the list. For most, but not all of the elicitation procedure, at least two speakers were present. There were minor but consistent variations among speakers who participated; however, these have had little effect on the lexicostatistic results of the wordlist, since they are primarily phonological rather than lexical.[4] A discussion of variation, along with a comparison between selected linguistic features of Laraki and Musandam Kumzari, has been reserved for Anonby and Mohebbi Bahmani (in preparation a).

4.5.4 Recorded text tests (RTTs)

For the RTTs (recorded text tests) (2.4.3; Appendix 4), which we used to measure the intelligibility of Musandam Kumzari to Laraki speakers, twelve younger and middle-aged male respondents participated. In order to ensure that we were evaluating inherent intelligibility rather than acquired intelligibility (2.4.3), we screened respondents to ensure that their exposure to Musandam Kumzari was limited; still, because of the small number of subjects willing to take the test, most of the respondents had had a minimal level of contact with speakers of Musandam Kumzari: specifically, most of the

---

[4] In light of the turnover of speakers during the elicitation of the wordlist, Mohebbi Bahmani later verified elements of the wordlist to ensure consistency, and eventually returned to Larak and gathered the entire wordlist again from a single speaker.

respondents had made day trips to Khasab or Kumzar, Oman, at least once a year. Of the twelve respondents, the results of three were disqualified: two respondents did not achieve a minimum threshold of correct answers to questions on the control text in their own language variety, and one did not complete the test.

While it would have been ideal to work with a parallel sample of women, who would likely have even less exposure to Musandam Kumzari, the member of the research team who was trained to conduct RTTs was male; in consideration of the conservative social context, this rendered the testing of women unworkable.

5 Defining Kumzari varieties

In this chapter, we outline the distribution of Kumzari varieties (5.1) and examine perceptions of relatedness between the two major divisions, Laraki and Musandam Kumzari (5.2). We then quantify the proximity of relationship between these two varieties by looking at lexical similarity (5.3) and intelligibility (5.4). Finally, we review these topics and conclude that Laraki and Musandam Kumzari should be viewed as dialects of a single language, Kumzari (5.5).

5.1 Distribution of Kumzari varieties

There are two main varieties of Kumzari: Kumzari of Musandam Peninsula, and Laraki. These varieties correspond exactly to the two groups of speakers described in sections 3.2.1 and 4.3.1: those from Musandam Peninsula, and those from Larak Island in Iran.

Within each of the main varieties, we have observed minor sociolectal differences which correspond to factors such as age, sex, lineage, and exposure to other languages (3.2.6, 3.3.3; variants are marked in the Kumzari dictionary in preparation by Anonby, Anonby van der Wal and al-Kumzari).

5.2 Perceptions of relatedness

Here, we review perceptions of relationship between Musandam Kumzari and Laraki as expressed in the literature, by speakers of Musandam Kumzari, by speakers of Laraki themselves, and based on our own experience.

Only two sources mention Musandam Kumzari and Laraki together: Thomas (1929:785) and Najmabadi (1988:67). In both cases, the authors imply that Laraki is a dialect of Kumzari, since they state that Kumzari is spoken on Larak Island.

Among Kumzari speakers of Musandam Peninsula, we have repeatedly observed the ambivalent assertion that while Laraki is like Kumzari, it is also distinct. They call the language of Laraki speakers *rārukī*, and say that it is spoken with an "Iranian accent". In general, Musandam Kumzari speakers have little interaction with people from Larak, and although many see

Kumzari as the historical source of Laraki, they are unsure as to whether Laraki should be considered a dialect of Kumzari, or a separate language.

On Larak, there is a similar ambivalence about the relationship of Musandam Kumzari to Laraki. In group interviews as well as informal conversations, Laraki speakers tended to agree that Musandam Kumzari was similar to Laraki, but referred to it as a separate language (Persian: *zabān*, Laraki: *mayma*), stating that while people in Musandam speak *kumzārī* 'the language of Kumzar', the people on Larak speak *rārakī* 'the language of Larak'. Differences that speakers cited between the two varieties regarded vocabulary as well as the fact that Kumzari speakers in Musandam draw their words out more. This differentiation of the two similar varieties could well be due to absence of a technical distinction between language and dialect on the part of speakers: the idea seemed to prevail among speakers that whatever the relation might be between varieties, people speak the language of the place they come from.

In a few of the individual interviews, however, respondents used the term Kumzari when they were clearly referring to Laraki; for example, one person whose parents are both from Larak, and who was born in Larak, stated that he spoke "Kumzari" as a mother tongue. Conversely, a few respondents used the term "Kumzari" to refer specifically to Musandam Kumzari. For example, when we asked respondents what languages they spoke *in addition to* Laraki, one mentioned Kumzari.

Finally, one piece of anecdotal evidence that provides insight into Laraki speakers' dual perception of the relation between Musandam Kumzari and Laraki: when they were emphasizing that the Musandam variety spoken by some of the research team was different than what they spoke, they called it Kumzari; but when they were underscoring that it was similar to their language, we heard people telling each other that we spoke Laraki!

As for the experience of two of our research team, who have been based among the Musandam Kumzari community: we found that Laraki speakers were able to understand us with little difficulty when we spoke to them; and once we learned a few major lexical differences between Musandam Kumzari and Laraki, we were in turn able to understand Laraki speakers to a moderate degree.

5.3 Lexical similarity

Our first means of quantifying the proximity of the relationship between Laraki and other varieties is lexicostatistical: identifying apparent cognates between wordlists in the two varieties and tallying these to arrive at a measure of lexical similarity. The other varieties under consideration are Persian

(Modern Standard Farsi), Arabic (Modern Standard) and Kumzari of Musandam Peninsula.

The measurement of lexical similarity between Laraki, Persian and Arabic (5.3.1) situates Laraki generally within its historical and regional context, and provides a broad assessment in conjunction with which hypotheses of genetic relationship and historical influences may be evaluated. The measurement of lexical similarity between Laraki and Musandam Kumzari (5.3.2), for its part, is valuable as an initial means of addressing the question of whether the two varieties should be considered dialects of a single language or separate languages.

To this end, we used two standard wordlists consisting of basic vocabulary items: a 100-item Swadesh wordlist, and a 240-item wordlist for Iranian languages which contains the 100-item list as a subset (2.4.2). These wordlists, completed for Laraki and Musandam Kumzari, are found in Appendix 3. The percentages of lexical similarity that we present here are the result of our own judgments of apparent (visible rather than necessarily historical) cognicity. Although comparison by inspection is efficient, it has fundamental limitations (Kessler 2001), so that intelligibility testing (5.4) is especially important in corroborating inferences of linguistic similarity.

Specific linguistic correspondences and differences between these two varieties, many of which are evident from the wordlists, are treated elsewhere (Anonby and Mohebbi Bahmani, in preparation a).

Percentages of lexical similarity for all varieties, discussed further in the following subsections (5.3.1 and 5.3.2), are assembled for the 100-item and 240-item wordlists in Table 2 and Table 3:

Persian				
Laraki	72			
Kumzari	70	93		
Arabic	8	12	17	
	Persian	Laraki	Kumzari	Arabic

Table 2: Percentages of lexical similarity, 100-item Swadesh wordlist

	Persian	Laraki	Kumzari	Arabic
Persian				
Laraki	63			
Kumzari	60	88		
Arabic	8	10	19	

Table 3: Percentages of lexical similarity, 240-item wordlist

5.3.1 Laraki with Persian and Arabic

In the 100-item and 240-item wordlists, we identified the following levels of lexical similarity with Laraki:

	100-item wordlist	240-item wordlist
Persian (Modern Standard)	72%	63%
Arabic (Modern Standard)	12%	10%

On the one hand, the predominance of Laraki wordlist items similar to Persian (72%/63%) is compatible with the hypothesis that, genetically, it is an Iranian variety (3.3.2). This is especially true of the inner core of vocabulary as measured by the Swadesh 100-item wordlist, which yields a figure of 72% similarity.

On the other hand, the noticeable level of lexical similarity between Laraki and Arabic wordlists (12%/10%) points to significant Arabic influence in the constitution of the Laraki lexicon. Even Persian, which has been influenced by Arabic to a significant degree and for which half of the overall lexicon comes from Arabic (Windfuhr 1997:676), exhibits only 8% lexical similarity with Arabic in the 100-item and 240-item wordlists (5.3), which are limited to basic vocabulary. In a larger vocabulary list, Musandam Kumzari shows a much higher level of similarity to Arabic than is found in the basic wordlists, and this is likely true of Laraki as well.

5.3.2 Laraki with Musandam Kumzari

In the 100-item Swadesh wordlist, we identified 93 pairs (93%) of Laraki and Musandam Kumzari items as apparent cognates.

In the 240-item standard wordlist, we similarly identified 210 pairs (88%) of Laraki and Musandam Kumzari items as apparent cognates.

Both wordlists, then, generate high percentages of lexical similarity: 93% and 88%. This underlines the possibility that Laraki and Musandam Kumzari might well be considered dialects of a single language. Still, as we noted in 2.4.2, lexicostatistical findings between about 70 and 95% are inadequate for providing a reliable initial indication as to whether two varieties should be considered dialects of a single language or separate languages. For this reason, we have considered it essential to measure intelligibility as an additional means of determining the status of the relationship between Laraki and Musandam Kumzari (5.4).

As the tables in 5.3 show, Laraki has a marginally higher level of lexical similarity with Persian than Musandam Kumzari does (72%/63% vs. 70/60%), and Laraki is conversely lexically less similar to Arabic than Musandam Kumzari (12%/10% vs. 17%/19%). This likely reflects a pattern of divergence between the two varieties since their separation several hundred years ago (4.3.3), with Laraki re-approaching other Iranian languages, and Musandam Kumzari continuing to gravitate toward Arabic. As such, it appears from the lexicons of the four varieties (Persian, Laraki, Musandam Kumzari and Arabic) that there is an Arabic–Iranian language continuum across the Strait of Hormuz. This idea will be developed in Anonby and Mohebbi Bahmani (in preparation a).

5.4 Intelligibility between dialects

In addition to measuring lexical similarity, we administered recorded text tests (RTTs) as a second means of quantifying the proximity between Laraki and Kumzari of Musandam Peninsula (see 2.4.3 for a description of RTTs). In particular, we measured intelligibility in one direction: how well speakers of Laraki understand Musandam Kumzari.

As expected, the nine qualifying subjects (2.4.3, 4.5.4) scored well on the control test in Laraki (Appendix 4, p. 144), with an average of 96% (standard deviation = .10) of questions answered correctly.

Respondent	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	TOTAL
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
6	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	7
7	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	9
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10

(1=correct, .5=half correct, 0=incorrect; see 2.4.3) AVERAGE=9.56

STANDARD DEVIATION=.101

Table 4: Laraki responses to Laraki control test

For the Musandam Kumzari test (Appendix 4, p. 147), on average, Laraki respondents answered 72% (standard deviation = .12) of questions correctly (Table 5). This indicates that Musandam Kumzari is "marginally" (Grimes 1995: 3.10) intelligible to speakers of Laraki.

Respondent	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	TOTAL
1	0	1	1	0.5	0	1	0	1	1	1	6.5
2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	6
3	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	5
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	8
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	9
6	1	1	1	0.5	1	1	0	0	1	1	7.5
7	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	7
8	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	8
9	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	8

(1=correct, .5=half correct, 0=incorrect; see 2.4.3) AVERAGE=7.22

STANDARD DEVIATION=.123

Table 5: Laraki responses to Musandam Kumzari intelligibility test

Because all respondents answered at least half of the questions on the Musandam Kumzari text correctly (including several that had little or no

previous exposure to that dialect; see a description of the sample in 4.5.4), and because the standard deviation is not particularly high given the limited sample size, it is plausible that the results reflect inherent (and not just acquired) intelligibility[5] (2.4.3B. Grimes in Bergman 1990:215).

In an open-ended evaluation after testing, we wrote down subjects' opinions on how easy or difficult it had been for them to understand the Musandam Kumzari story. Four respondents said that it had not been difficult to understand, three indicated that some things were unfamiliar, and three respondents said that it had been difficult.

In short, results from the RTT suggest that Musandam Kumzari is, to a marginal degree, inherently intelligible to speakers of Laraki. This confirms a close structural relationship between the two varieties, although it leaves open the question of whether they should be considered or highly differentiated dialects or closely related languages (2.4.2; Bergman 1989:8.1.5, Anonby 2001:6).

5.5 Summary

We conclude that, although there are significant structural differences between the two varieties and social difference between their speakers, it is appropriate to classify Laraki and Musandam Kumzari as dialects of a single language, Kumzari. This conclusion is based on the observations and data given in the discussion above, the most salient of which are ambivalence on the part of speakers regarding the proximity of relationship between the two varieties (5.2); a high degree of lexical similarity (5.3); and a marginal degree of inherent intelligibility (5.4).

---

[5] Because inherent intelligibility between two language varieties is often (but not always) similar in both directions, it would be instructive to compare these results with results from a reciprocal test measuring how well Musandam Kumzari speakers understand a Laraki text.

6 Language Use

In this chapter, we investigate language use by the Laraki community in reference to general patterns of multilingualism (6.1) and language use in specific domains (6.2).

6.1 Multilingualism

Multilingualism is the norm on Larak Island. Most members of the population sample for the individual questionnaire are proficient to some degree in at least four language varieties: Laraki, Farsi, Arabic, and Qeshmi or another regional variety such as Bandari, the lingua franca centred in Bandar-e Abbas (see 6.1.3 below).

In this section, we list and define the main language varieties in which speakers are proficient (6.1.1). We then look at the order in which subjects have learned these languages (6.1.2). Finally, we evaluate the degree to which subjects are proficient in various skill areas for each of these languages, with special attention given to Farsi and Arabic (6.1.3).

Aspirations for proficiency in additional languages are treated separately in section 8.3 along with other issues that relate to language attitudes.

6.1.1 Languages of multilingualism

Before detailing patterns of multilingualism, it is instructive to explain what Laraki respondents mean when they refer to various language varieties. We arrived at an understanding of how these labels are used by seeing how they were used in group and individual questionnaires, through supplementary discussion with members of the community, and by consulting Hassan Mohebbi Bahmani, who is working on Laraki (see 4.1). (The referential value of the label "Kumzari" has already been discussed in 3.2.2, 3.3.1 and 4.4.2.)

Farsi: here, refers to Modern Standard Persian or spoken Farsi of Fars Province and north-central Iran; as used by respondents, this does not usually include Bandari, Qeshmi or Hormuzi, and never includes Laraki (see immediately below in this list).

Arabic: any variety of Arabic including Modern Standard, Gulf, and Kuhi/Shihhi/Bedouin (of Larak and Musandam Peninsula).

Bandari: varieties spoken along the Iranian coast, especially in central Hormozgan Province, and referring in particular to the regional lingua franca that has emerged out of Bandar-e Abbas.

Qeshmi: limited to varieties spoken on Qeshm Island, related to and occasionally referred to as a Bandari variety.

Hormuzi: the variety spoken on Hormuz Island, closely related to Bandari and often referred to as a Bandari variety.

Turkish: may refer to any Turkic variety: Turkish of Turkey, Azerbaijani of Iran or Azerbaijan, or Qashqa'i of Fars Province.

6.1.2 Order of languages learned

In the individual questionnaires, we asked respondents which language they learned first and, if relevant, which languages they learned second and third. The purpose of this question is, then, obviously two-fold: to see what languages people know, and the order in which these languages are learned. Both of these indicators provide a rough initial profile of languages' relative primacy in the community.[6]

Within the sample, 94% of respondents stated that they learned Laraki first; 3% (i.e., 1 of 36 respondents) learned Arabic first, and 3% learned Qeshmi first.

92% of respondents indicated that they spoke a second language. Of these, 66% stated that they learned Farsi second, 12% Qeshmi, 6% Laraki, 6% Bandari, 3% Arabic, 3% Kumzari of Musandam Peninsula and 3% Farsi/"Ajami".[7]

78% of respondents indicated that they spoke a third language. Of these, 64% stated that they learned Arabic third, 14% Farsi, 11% Qeshmi, 7% Farsi/Arabic, and 4% Qeshmi/Bandari.

These results are summarized in Figure 6.[8]

---

[6] For example, a language which is learned first most often remains a person's primary language; and a language which people learn at school is usually better-established than one they learn as an adult. Of course, other configurations are possible, and the questionnaires in this study are set up to ascertain divergence from this pattern.

[7] The use of the term "Ajami" here is problematic; while it appears to have been used in opposition to the term "Farsi", the terms are commonly considered equivalents in Iran. Consequently, it may refer to any or all mainland Iranian varieties: here, probably Bandari and/or Farsi.

[8] For the purposes of this table, split answers such as "Farsi/Arabic" have been given a proportional value: 1/2 when two languages are specified.
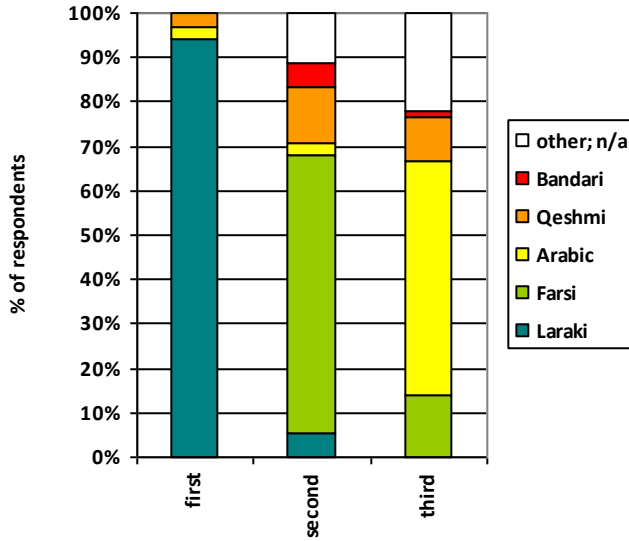
Figure 6: Languages learned first, second and third

The strongest general patterns that may be deduced from responses are Laraki as a first language, Farsi as a second language, and Arabic as a third language.

In light of responses to this question, where 78% of subjects indicated that they know a third language, and the fact that the majority of respondents indicated proficiency in at least four languages in the more detailed analyses of multilingualism below (6.1.3), it is clear that it would have been useful to ask participants what languages they learned fourth (and perhaps even fifth). It is likely that Qeshmi, for which half of respondents claim some proficiency, and Bandari, for which a third of respondents claim some proficiency, would emerge as the most common fourth and fifth languages, respectively.

6.1.3 Multilingual proficiency

In the individual questionnaire, we looked at levels of proficiency in languages other than Laraki, with a concentration on Farsi and Arabic. For these two languages, we asked speakers to report their proficiency levels with reference to four language skills: understanding, speaking, reading and writing.

Respondents indicated that they understand Farsi as follows: 53% said that they understand it very well, 31% well, 14% a little, and 3% not at all.

Concerning Arabic, 19% said they understand it very well, 14% well, 61% a little, and 6% not at all. Other language varieties for which respondents reported various levels of understanding are as follows: Qeshmi (18 of 36 respondents), Bandari (12), Balochi (2), Hormuzi (1), Minabi (1), Urdu (1), Hindi (1) and English (1). One respondent also made a distinction between Arabic, which they stated that they understood a little, and the Kuhi (Bedouin or "Mountain") Arabic spoken on Larak, which they stated that they understood very well.

Respondents indicated that they are able to speak Farsi as follows: 44% said that they speak it very well, 28% well, 25% a little, and 3% not at all. Concerning Arabic, 6% said they speak it very well, 14% well, 60% a little, and 20% not at all. Other language varieties for which respondents reported various levels of speaking proficiency are as follows: Qeshmi (18 of 36 respondents), Bandari (11), Balochi (1), Hormuzi (1), Urdu (1), English (1) and Kuhi Arabic (1; see the comment in the previous paragraph).

Respondents indicated that they are able to read Farsi as follows: 33% said that they read it very well, 11% well, 17% a little, and 39% not at all. Concerning Arabic, 17% said they read it very well, 11% well, 22% a little, and 50% not at all. The only other language variety for which respondents reported various levels of reading proficiency was English (2 of 36 respondents).

Respondents indicated that they are able to write Farsi as follows: 28% said that they write it very well, 11% well, 28% a little, and 33% not at all. Concerning Arabic, 22% said they write it very well, 6% well, 17% a little, and 56% not at all. The only other language varieties for which respondents reported various levels of writing proficiency were English (2 of 36 respondents) and Qeshmi (1).

Reported proficiency in Farsi and Arabic is summarized by language and skill type in Figure 7.
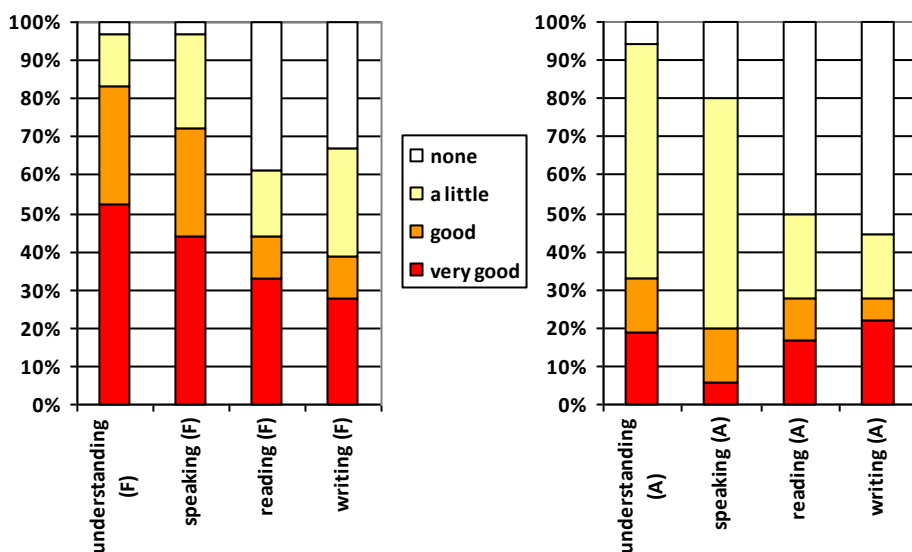
*Figure 7: Reported proficiency for given language skills
in Farsi (left) and Arabic (right)*

One pattern which is clear for the sample as a whole is higher proficiency in Farsi than in Arabic; this is the case across all language skill areas. A second strong pattern is a greater overall proficiency in oral language skills (understanding and speaking) than in written skills (reading and writing). A variation within this second pattern is that the proportion of respondents who read and write Arabic well or very well is similar to those who understand and speak the language well or very well. This effect may result from the importance the community places on the recitation and copying of the Qur'an.

The prevalence and degree of proficiency in Qeshmi and Bandari merits further consideration, since both of these varieties are widely used.

6.2 Language use by domain

In this section we look at language use by domain. The domain of media is treated separately in Chapter 7, where language choices for media are situated within a discussion of media use and the availability of various languages in the media.

In the individual questionnaires, we asked subjects what language they use most often with older people, with younger people, and with children. In each case, all respondents indicated that they use Laraki most often. In activ-

ity- or location-related domains, respondents listed the language they most often use as follows:

- chatting with friends: 100% Laraki

- in the home: 97% Laraki, 3% Laraki/Hormuzi

- arguing: 97% Laraki, 3% Laraki/Farsi

- recounting stories of the ancestors: 97% Laraki, 3% Farsi

- working outdoors (e.g., gardening or fishing): 94% Laraki, 3% Laraki/Farsi, 3% Arabic

- talking (conversation) in the mosque: 94% Laraki, 6% Arabic

- council / local government: 81% Laraki, 17% Farsi (note that all of these were male), 3% Laraki/Farsi

- counting: 56% Farsi, 36% Laraki, 3% Laraki/Farsi, 3% Farsi/Arabic, 3% Arabic

- praying (Persian: *do'ā* 'spontaneous prayer') at home: 58% Laraki, 17% Arabic, 14% Farsi, 6% Laraki/Farsi, 6% Arabic/Farsi

- songs learned from parents: 44% haven't learned songs from their parents, 31% Laraki, 11% Arabic, 8% Farsi, 3% Laraki/Farsi, 3% Arabic/Farsi

- at the market (Persian: *bāzār*) (note that the nearest markets are in Qeshm and Bandar-e Abbas): 39% Laraki, 33% Farsi, 8% Laraki/Farsi, 6% Qeshmi, 6% Laraki/Qeshmi, 6% Farsi/Qeshmi, 3% Laraki/Farsi/Qeshmi ("whatever the person speaks")

- at the local clinic: 39% Laraki/Farsi (most of these respondents specified that they spoke Farsi with the doctor and Laraki with local people at the clinic), 31% Farsi, 25% Laraki, 3% Farsi/Bandari, 3% Laraki/Qeshmi

These results are summarized in Figure 8 below.[9]

---

[9] For the purposes of this chart, split answers such as "Laraki/Farsi" have been given a pro-portional value of the percentages in the list above: 1/2 when two languages are specified, and 1/3 when three are specified.
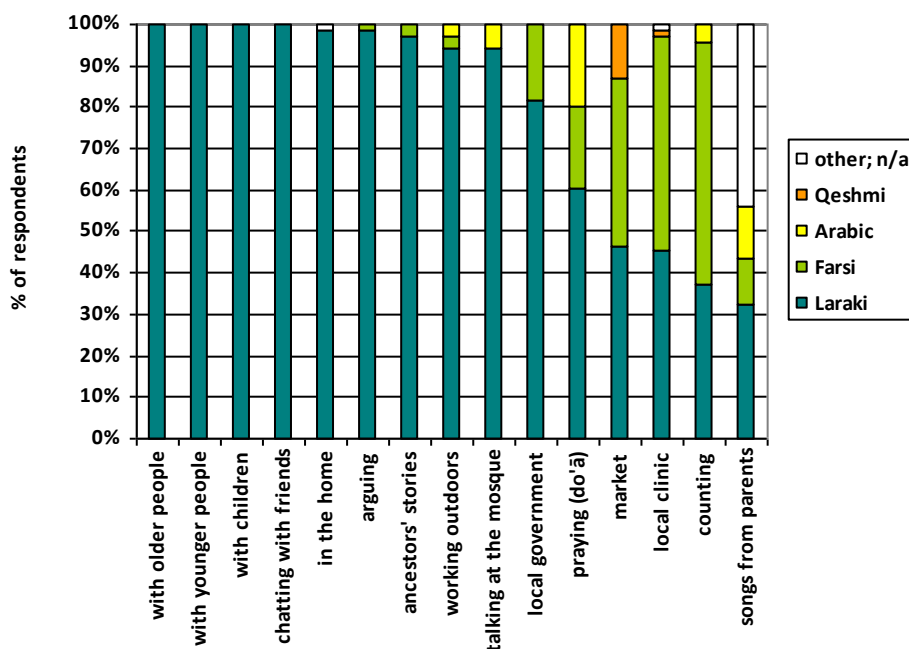
Figure 8: Languages respondents most often use, by domain

In group questionnaires, respondents made the additional observation that students are allowed to use Laraki when speaking to one another at school, and they do so. However, students and teachers use Farsi (sometimes mixed with Bandari) when speaking with one another.

In summary, it is evident that Laraki predominates in domains involving communication among speakers of Laraki. A clear exception to this pattern is counting, which is more often done in Farsi than in Laraki. The use of Farsi as well as Arabic is also notable for praying (*do'ā*) and songs learned from parents. For domains in which Laraki speakers communicate with people outside of the language community, a pattern of accommodation emerges in which Laraki speakers switch to other languages.

7   Media and language

In both group and individual questionnaires, we examined issues relating to media and language. While the availability of languages in the media (7.2) was catalogued in both types of questionnaires, we focussed in the individual questionnaire on personal patterns of media use (7.1), language choices in media (7.3), and aspirations for written materials in Laraki (7.4).

7.1   Media use

When we asked individuals if they used specific media often, 92% of subjects responded affirmatively for television, 53% for films[10], 42% for radio, 28% for tapes and CDs, 44% for books and magazines, 39% for newspapers, and 0% for internet. Media use is summarized in Figure 9.

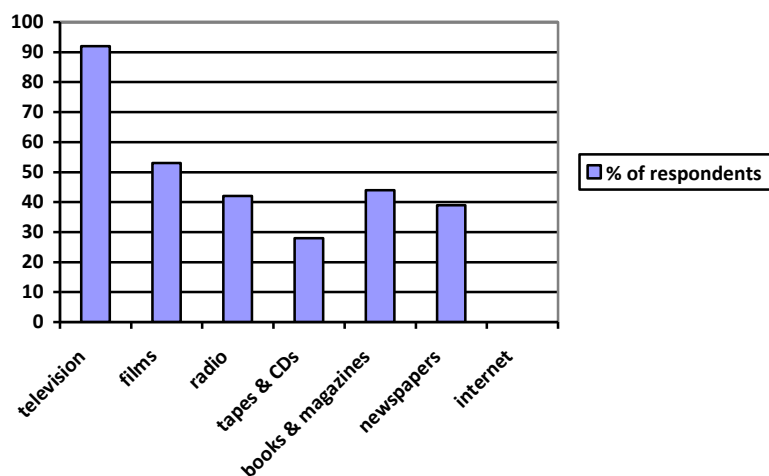*Figure 9: Percentage of respondents who use given media "often"*

---

[10] In the course of the individual interviews, it became evident that the term 'films' can refer to two different things: films which are viewed in the cinema, and those which are viewed on television.   Since there is no cinema on Larak, it is likely that respondents were most often thinking of television films when we used the term 'films'.

The proportion of females who responded affirmatively to this question exceeded the proportion of males for all media: 100% of females (f.) and 83% of males (m.) for television, 72% f. and 33% m. for films, 67% f. and 17% m. for radio, 33% f. and 22% m. for tapes and CDs, 67% f. and 22% m. for books and magazines, 61% f. and 17% m. for newspapers. As stated in the previous paragraph, there were no affirmative responses for this question with respect to internet use. Media use, by sex, is summarized in Figure 10.
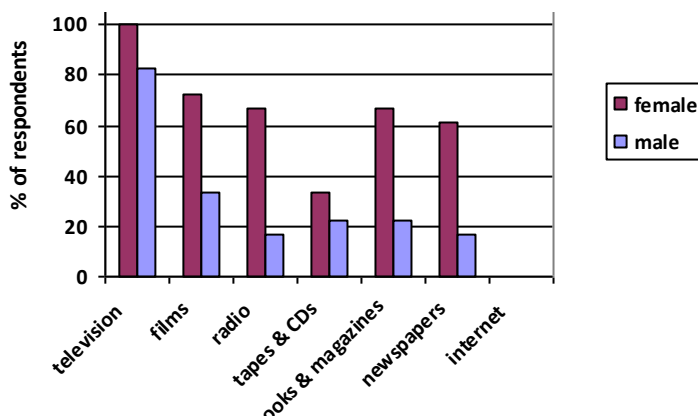

Figure 10: Percentage of respondents who use a given medium "often", by sex

In most cases, the proportion of self-reported media use was also higher for younger respondents. 92% of younger (y.) subjects, 100% of middle-aged (mid.) subjects and 83% of older (o.) subjects responded affirmatively for television; 83% y., 50% mid. and 25% o. for films; 50% y., 33% mid. and 42% o. for radio; 58% y., 17% mid. and 8% o. for tapes and CDs; 66% y., 50% mid. and 17% o. for books and magazines; and 50% y., 50% mid. and 17% o. for newspapers. As stated above, there were no affirmative responses for this question with respect to internet use. Media use, by age, is summarized in Figure 11.
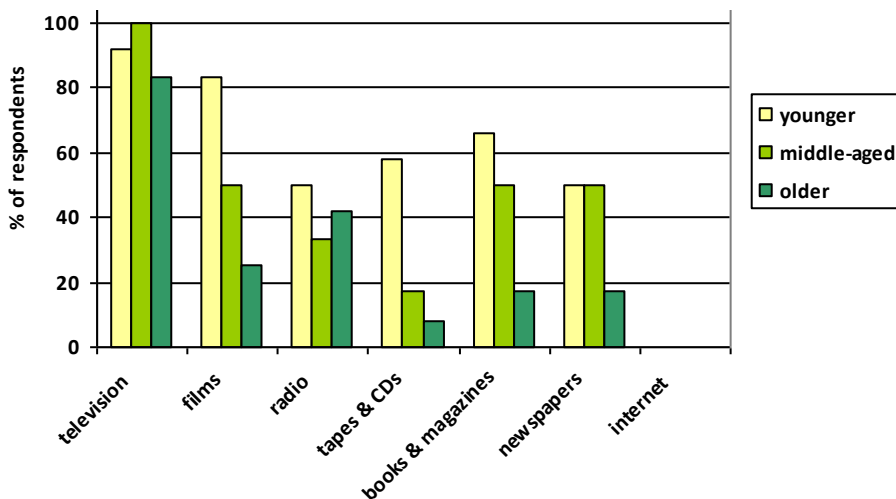
Figure 11: Percentage of respondents who use a given
medium "often", by age

7.2 Availability of languages in the media

In group and individual questionnaires, we asked respondents about the languages in which different types of media are available to them.

Farsi and Arabic are, of course, used in all of the media types we considered in this study. However, respondents noted that the availability of some media in these languages—especially written media—is limited (books and magazines, and newspapers) or almost non-existent (internet) on Larak Island. In addition, there are legal barriers to reception of non-Iranian television stations, which means that almost all of the abundant Arabic television programming available in the region is not officially permitted.

Media representation of local languages and dialects has been established in many areas of Iran, but this is not the case for Laraki, the Kumzari dialect of Larak Island. Group and individual responses noted that television broadcasting with respect to Laraki is limited to occasional footage of Laraki weddings on the regional television station out of Bandar-e Abbas. Similarly, there are no commercially produced films or audio recordings featuring Laraki, but the community makes films and CD/tape recordings of local weddings. Respondents indicated that Laraki is absent from radio broadcasting, books and magazines, newspapers and internet sites.

While a grassroots movement toward use of Kumzari as a literary language exists in the Musandam Kumzari community (3.2.7), none of the respondents indicated that they were aware of this.

7.3 Language choices for media

In this section, we review language choices in media for the two dominant languages of media on the island, Farsi and Arabic. Responses indicate that while the consumption of Farsi-language media is the strongest, there is also considerable use of Arabic-language media, especially for non-print media (see the tables below).

When we asked respondents how often they watch television programs in Farsi, 61% stated that they do this often, 31% said sometimes and 8% said never. Levels of reported frequency for watching Arabic television programs were lower, but still considerable: 25% stated that they do this often, 47% sometimes, and 28% never.

Reported frequency of watching Farsi films was 53% often, 35% sometimes and 12% never. Reported frequency of watching Arabic films was 24% often, 44% sometimes and 32% never.

Reported frequency of listening to Farsi radio programs was 11% often, 51% sometimes and 37% never. Reported frequency of listening to Arabic radio programs was 11% often, 31% sometimes and 58% never. Two of the respondents who reported frequent listening of Arabic radio programs specified that they were listening to the recitation of the Qur'an.[11]

Reported frequency of reading Farsi books and magazines was 11% often, 51% sometimes and 37% never. Reported frequency of reading Arabic books and magazines was 0% often, 23% sometimes and 77% never.

Reported frequency of reading Farsi newspapers was 3% often, 57% sometimes and 40% never. Reported frequency of reading Arabic newspapers was 0% often, 9% sometimes and 91% never. As one respondent noted, Arabic newspapers are not available.

Only 31 of 35 respondents answered questions on their language choices on the internet (recall from 7.1 that none of the respondents uses the internet "often"). Of these 31 respondents, two stated that they sometimes visited Farsi websites, and one of these two also mentioned visiting Arabic websites sometimes.

Reported media use for Farsi and Arabic is summarized by language and medium type in Figure 12.

---

[11] Questions on frequency of use for Farsi and Arabic on CDs and tapes were accidentally omitted from the Persian translation of the individual questionnaire.
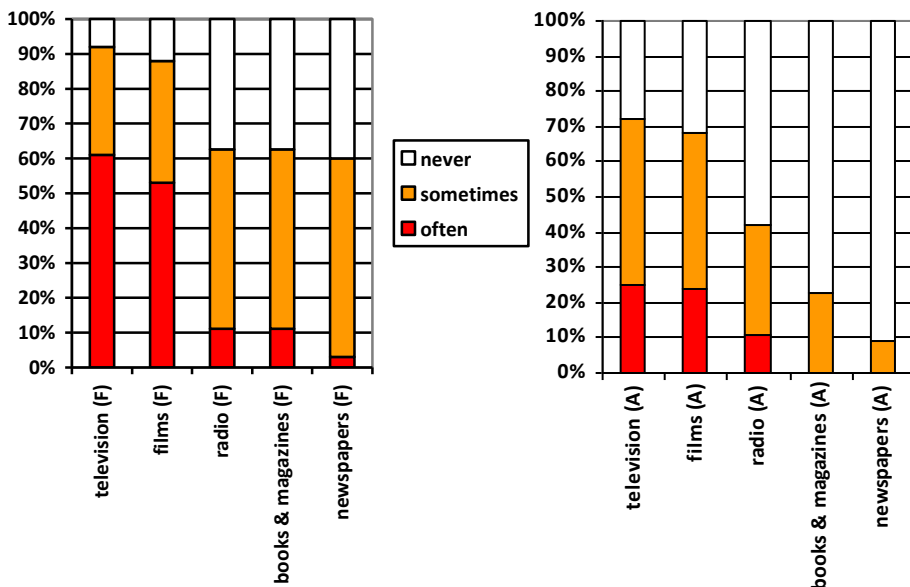
Figure 12: Reported frequency for use of given media in Farsi (left) and Arabic (right)

7.4 Aspirations for written materials in Laraki

As we mentioned above (7.2), Laraki materials are limited in media that are audiovisual (television, films) and audio (radio, CDs and tapes). As for written media (books and magazines, newspapers and websites), Laraki materials are absent. However, respondents to the individual questionnaires showed a high level of enthusiasm for the idea of written materials in their language. When they were asked what kinds of things they would like to have written in their language, respondents came up with the following suggestions:

- poetry (13 respondents)
- traditional stories (10)
- cultural traditions (7)
- dictionary (2)
- history (2)
- proverbs (2)

In addition, three respondents said that they would like everything possible to be written in their language.

When respondents were asked whether they would be willing to pay money for books written in their language, an overwhelming majority (85%) of the 34 respondents who answered said that they would be willing to do so, 9% said they would not be willing, and 3% did not know. Reasons for reluctance to pay for materials written in their language included not being literate, not being able to afford the books, and already knowing their own language.

8 Language attitudes

Here, we review the Laraki community's attitudes toward their own language, as well as toward other languages. The basic question here is whether people perceive a given language variety as "good". But an inextricably related issue is whether people perceive a variety as "useful", since the value of a language is often framed in terms of its usefulness: this is evident in speakers' evaluations of their own language below (8.1).

This chapter is divided into three parts. First, we look at speakers' perceptions regarding the inherent value of their language, and its value in relation to Musandam Kumzari and other languages (8.1). Second, we consider respondents' choice of optimal language for a series of activities (8.2). Third, we appraise the languages for which subjects express a desire for proficiency—for themselves as well as for their children (8.3).

8.1 Inherent and relative value

When we asked speakers if it is good to speak their language, 92% responded that it is, 6% replied that it is not, and 3% (i.e., 1 of 36 respondents) stated that it has both positive and negative aspects. Reasons that respondents gave to illustrate a positive view of speaking their language fell into five main categories:

- it is our mother tongue (11 respondents)
- it can be used as an in-group / secret language (6)
- everyone in the community understands it (4)
- it is a way of respecting and preserving a unique heritage (4)
- using any language is good (2)

Subjects who held a negative view of speaking their language stated that Farsi (and in one case, both Farsi and Arabic) was better because it was useful for communicating with people from outside the region.

We asked subjects if they could think of a situation in which it is not good to speak their language. While 37% said that they could not think of

such a situation, and 6% said they didn't know, 57% said yes. Those who said yes offered the following scenarios:

- outside of the island / in other regions (13 respondents)
- in an office / in a meeting (2)
- when everyone else speaks Farsi (1)

97% of subjects said they had never been embarrassed because someone heard them speaking in their language, and 3% said they had been.

In group interviews, respondents stated that Laraki was more beautiful than Musandam Kumzari, since Laraki speakers do not draw their words out, as do speakers of the language on Musandam Peninsula. They also asserted that it is more pure since, they say, it is less mixed with other languages.

When asked which language was the most useful to know in the area ("around here"), 72% specified Laraki, 17% Farsi, 3% Arabic, 3% Laraki/Farsi, and 3% Farsi/Qeshmi; 3% said that any language would be useful.

When we asked subjects if someone who only speaks Laraki can get a good job, 56% said no, 33% said yes, and 11% stated that they didn't know. Interpretation of these answers is complicated by the fact that additional spontaneous comments by respondents were at variance as to whether or not fishing, the island's main source of livelihood, is a good job: three respondents said there are no good jobs for people who only speak Laraki, since only fishing is available to them; but two respondents said that yes, a good job is available to such people, because they can fish. One respondent also noted that a person speaking only Laraki could get a job at the island's water desalination plant. Another respondent noted that good jobs are only available outside of Larak Island; in other words, even if someone living on Larak speaks languages other than Laraki, there are no good jobs available to them.

33% of subjects stated that they think their language is as good as Farsi, but 61% indicated that they do not think so; 6% said they do not know. Among subjects who think that their language is not as good as Farsi, several referred to the wider geographical range in which Farsi may be used.

In contrast, 66% subjects stated that they think their language is as good as Arabic, and only 28% indicated that they do not think so; 6% said they do not know. Some subjects who think that their language is not as good as Arabic cited the role of Arabic as a world language and as the language of the Qur'an.

When we asked subjects if they thought an older person would be unhappy about a younger person speaking Farsi at home, 91% said that they

thought an older person would not be unhappy about this, and 9% said an older person would be unhappy. When we asked the same question in reference to Arabic, 91% said that they thought an older person would not be unhappy about this, and only 3% said an older person would be unhappy; 6% of respondents did not know.

A summary of these responses reveals a surprising combination of attitudes:

- while on the one hand Farsi and Arabic are good (and according to some, even better than Laraki), on the other hand it is good to speak Laraki; and

- while on the one hand there are many situations where Laraki cannot be used, on the other hand it is the most useful language for people in the Laraki community to know.

This juxtaposition of attitudes underlines the adaptability of the language community, which prizes Laraki for its contribution to local society, but acknowledges the importance of other languages in the regional economy.

8.2 Optimal languages by activity

In this section, we asked subjects to specify which language is best for a given activity. We purposely selected activities which, although they are not necessarily language-specific, might tend to be associated with a given language because of the culture or cultures with which the activity is associated.

For enabling someone from the language group to really understand something well, 97% of respondents said that Laraki is best, and 3% said that Laraki/Farsi/Qeshmi is best, depending on the situation.

For talking about values, rules and beliefs, 83% indicated that Laraki is best, and 17% stated that Farsi is best. All of the people who chose Farsi as the best language for this were younger or middle-aged.

For talking about Now Ruz, the Persian New Year, 83% chose Laraki, 11% Farsi, 3% Qeshmi, and 3% Laraki/Farsi/Bandari. One respondent did not state an opinion, but noted that Now Ruz is not commonly celebrated on Larak Island.

For talking about Ramadan, the Islamic month of fasting, 89% considered Laraki as the best language; 6% chose Farsi, 3% Arabic, and 3% Laraki/Farsi/Bandari.

For poetry, 61% of respondents said that Farsi is best. 19% of respondents indicated Laraki, 6% Farsi/Arabic, 3% Arabic, 3% Farsi/Laraki, and 3% Qeshmi. 3% stated that they did not know.

For knowing how to read and write, 75% considered Farsi the best language. 8% chose Laraki, 6% Farsi/Laraki, 6% Arabic, and 3% Farsi/Bandari.
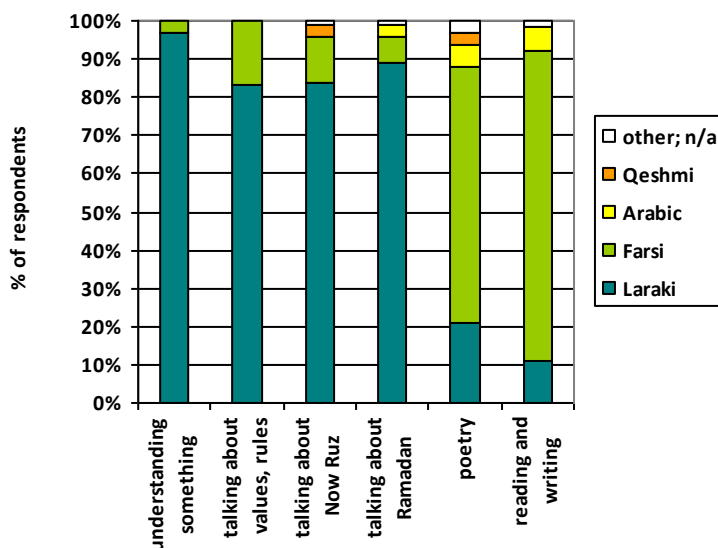
These results are summarized in Figure 13.[12]

Figure 13: Perceptions of optimal languages for given activities

In short, respondents see Laraki as the best language for a number of selected activities, including some for which an observer might expect a preference for other languages. The preference for Farsi in reading and writing is easily explained by the absence of written materials in Laraki; but poetry (primarily a sung genre) is indeed one pursuit where, because of cultural connection to other societies, subjects see another language as optimal.[13]

8.3   Desired proficiency

We asked subjects what languages they wish they knew, and what languages they want their children to know.

16 of 36 respondents stated that they wish they knew English, 11 Arabic, 4 Farsi (especially to know it better), 2 Hindi, 1 Turkish, 1 Urdu, 1 French, 1

---

[12] For the purposes of this table, split answers such as "Laraki/Farsi" have been given a proportional value of the percentages in the list above: 1/2 when two languages are specified, and 1/3 when three are specified.

[13] The same patterns are attested for the Kumzari society of Musandam Peninsula, with the exception that the primary language of poetry, as well as of reading and writing, is Arabic.

"Ajami",[14] and 1 Kumzari (of Musandam Peninsula).[15] 4 respondents would like to know "all" languages, and 1 would like to know "any" language.

22 of 36 respondents stated that they want their children to know Farsi, 15 Arabic, 10 English, 10 Laraki, 2 Qeshmi, 2 Bandari, 1 Hindi and 1 Mashhadi.[16] 4 respondents would like their children to know "all" languages.

Putting aside complications in interpreting answers for the second question,[17] the recurrent enthusiasm for knowing additional languages is remarkable, and accords well with the adaptive and profoundly multilingual nature of the language community expressed elsewhere (6.1, 8.1).

Although English is only minimally known on the Larak Island, the frequency with which subjects mention it in this section underlines their awareness of its importance outside of the region. The same is true for subjects' aspirations with respect to Arabic, but possibly to a lesser degree, since so many are already proficient in it (6.1.3).

---

[14] See note 7 on p. 61.

[15] In this paragraph, respondents who mentioned more than one language are listed one time for each mentioned language.

[16] See note 15.

[17] Ideally, we should have asked the second question in two parts: 1) Do you want your children to know your language? and 2) What other languages do you want them to know? The need for this distinction is evident in that only 10 of 36 respondents mentioned Laraki, even though it is cited as the most useful language locally (8.1); the total of 22 mentions of Farsi is also low, considering the high importance attributed to Farsi elsewhere in the interviews. It is therefore likely that many respondents with children were imagining, as was appropriate for the previous question, what languages they would like their children to know *in addition* to the ones the children already know.

9 Language vitality and language viability

This chapter is divided into three parts. In the first section (9.1), we consider age-related patterns that provide insight into language vitality on Larak Island. The second section (9.2) deals with perceived language viability—speakers' opinions on whether the Laraki community will continue to speak their language in the foreseeable future. In the third section (9.3), we reflect on language viability by bringing together this study's findings on language use (Chapters 6 and 7) and language attitudes (Chapter 8), as well as the considerations of language vitality and language viability presented in earlier sections.

9.1 Language vitality

In order to gain an understanding of the vitality of Laraki within the language community, we looked at subjects' assessments of a number of age-related patterns: their use of Laraki with other adults and with children; use of the language by their children before they attend school, and after attending primary school; young people's pride in their language; and whether or not young people are abandoning the customs of their ancestors.

Responses to individual questionnaires suggest that almost all of the subjects always speak Laraki with other older and middle-aged adults. While a few respondents speak Laraki but they also sometimes speak Farsi with other older and middle-aged adults.

Likewise, parents consistently use the local language with their children. Among respondents with children (two-thirds of the total of 36), 88% indicated that they always speak Laraki to their children; 8% stated that they usually do so, and 4% stated that they do so sometimes.

Responses also showed that use of the local language is strong among children, and it not diminished by children's attendance of primary school. All 14 respondents with children younger than school age stated that these children always use Laraki when they speak. All 13 respondents with children who have finished primary school similarly indicated that these children always use Laraki when they speak.

An overwhelming majority (92%) of respondents affirmed that the young people are proud of their language; 6% thought that the young people are not proud of their language, and 3% did not know.

Since cultural shift may be correlated to language shift, we asked respondents if they thought the young people of the community are abandoning the customs of their ancestors. 61% considered that young people are not abandoning their ancestors' customs, and viewed this as positive. However, 17% thought that the young people are indeed abandoning these customs, and 14% specified that young people are abandoning at least some of the customs. While most of these latter two groups of respondents viewed the abandonment of customs as a negative thing, one respondent said that it doesn't matter. 8% stated that they don't know if the young people are abandoning the customs of their ancestors.

Overall, responses indicate a high level of vitality for Laraki. It is uniformly used among adults, and adults use it when speaking to their children. In addition, it is also consistently used by children, even after they have attended primary school. Young people are proud of their language, and although some subjects feel that young people are abandoning at least some of the customs of their ancestors, almost all respondents affirmed the importance of these customs.

9.2 Perceived language viability

In the individual questionnaire, we invited subjects' perceptions on language viability by putting forward two scenarios pointing to opposite outcomes. First, we presented respondents with following questions: "When the children of this village grow up and have children of their own, do you think those children will speak your language?" and "Is that good or bad?" 92% responded that they thought those children would speak Laraki, and while most saw this as a good thing, one respondent saw it as both good and bad. Another respondent in this category foresaw that while those children would continue to speak Laraki, it would be mixed with Farsi: this was designated as an unfortunate outcome. 3% thought that those children would not speak Laraki, similarly seeing this as a negative development. 6% of respondents said that they do not know what they think will happen.

Secondly, we asked respondents if they thought that, a long time from now, people will stop speaking Laraki and only speak Farsi; or only speak Arabic. While 71% thought that the language will not be replaced by Farsi in the future, 9% said that this may happen, and 9% thought that this would in fact happen. Reasons that the latter two groups of respondents offered for this outcome were: the world is changing; children go to school; Laraki

represents an old style of speaking; and Farsi is mixed with the language. 11% of respondents said that they do not know if they think that this will happen with Farsi. Similarly for Arabic, 71% of respondents similarly thought it would not displace Laraki in the future, but 17% thought that this would in fact happen. 11% of respondents said that they do not know if they think that this will happen with Arabic.

In sum, most subjects expressed confidence in the viability of Laraki for the foreseeable future, but a significant minority recognized that the language could be threatened. Importantly, respondents from both of these groups expressed that retaining the language is important and that, conversely, it would be a major loss if the language ceased to be spoken. Those who felt that the language might disappear in the future were perceptive in their identification of interrelated threats to the language: the impact of schooling on the language, mixture with Farsi, and the way the world is changing.

9.3   Reflections on language viability and endangerment

Patterns of language use, and the attitudes associated with it, are crucially linked to the viability of any language (Fishman 2001). Consequently, measures of language vitality (9.2) and perceived viability (9.3) for Laraki point us to the underlying question: is Laraki endangered, or will speakers continue to speak it in the future? Here, we consider factors within the community (9.3.1) as well as external factors (9.3.2) and conclude that while internal factors give evidence of an uneasy equilibrium between endangerment and vitality, external factors put the language community at risk.

9.3.1   Internal factors

As we mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, patterns of language use (Chapters 6 and 7) and language attitudes (Chapter 8) are basic to an understanding of whether a language is viable.

In Chapter 6, we observe that there are a number of domains in which Laraki speakers frequently interact with speakers of other languages, in some cases more than with one another (6.2). In addition, Farsi and Arabic dominate the media, some of which are heavily used on Larak (Chapter 7). This situation, coupled with the linguistic diversity of the regional context, has resulted in multilingual competence among most members of the Laraki community: most speakers are competent to some degree in three or four languages (6.1). A recurrent theme in group and individual questionnaires is

adaptive multilingualism, namely that language use is dependent on the language of the person one is talking to.

Given the pervasiveness and depth of multilingualism in the Laraki community, one might expect that the vitality of the mother tongue, Laraki, would be compromised, and that other languages would replace it in core domains. However, use of Laraki is vigorous in domains involving communication among speakers of Laraki (6.2). And because the community is conservative and cohesive, Laraki continues to function as the central language of communication.

The survey of speakers' language attitudes presented in Chapter 8 reveals a similar duality. Attitudes toward literary and regional languages are extremely positive, and the usefulness of these languages is readily acknowledged. Still, there is no sense of inferiority with respect to the mother tongue: attitudes toward Laraki are equally positive.

Our assessment of language vitality suggests that there is little or no age- or education-related decline in use of Laraki, nor is there significant weakening of positive attitudes toward the language among young people (9.1). Most respondents expressed confidence in the viability of Laraki for the foreseeable future, but a significant minority recognized that the language could be threatened. Speakers repeatedly emphasized the importance of the language as a symbol of the Laraki community (9.2): this, in itself, helps to explain the language's persistent vitality in the face of threats from its multilingual context.

In sum, while the regional context puts significant pressure on Laraki, it appears to be counterbalanced by vigorous use of the language rooted in identity of the Laraki community itself.

9.3.2 External factors

Up to this point, we have reflected on the profile of the Laraki community, where language vitality remains strong in the face of sociolinguistic factors that threaten the language. However, it is possible that the most significant threat to the viability of Laraki is in fact external to the community and its responses to the social context.

The inhabitants of Larak have become increasingly cut off from the rest of the Kumzari language group (4.3.2, 4.3.4). Subsistence is tenuous on the barren island (4.2), and fishing stocks in the Gulf, as elsewhere, are being depleted. Although the Iranian government addresses the basic need for water and provides electricity, the islanders' formerly lucrative cross-border trade with countries on the other side of the Gulf (4.3.1, Najmabadi 1992) has diminished and there is little economic incentive for the community to

remain on the island (8.1). Still, almost as if part of the landscape, the Laraki community persists.

Larak Island has the fortune, or misfortune, of a strategic location in the Strait of Hormuz. The wealth that passes through the Strait renders the area both economically and politically important. As in centuries past (4.3.3), the area is susceptible to social upheaval. The collapse of the population on nearby Hengam Island under the final Shah's administration (4.3.4) and the more recent abandonment of Larak-e Kuhi and Mowrona on Larak Island itself (4.3.1, 4.3.4) underline the fragility of the Laraki-speaking community. And because the population is so small, numbering less than a thousand individuals (4.3.1), any relocation would be disastrous to the language's viability, since its very existence is tied to the isolation that the island offers.

Factors beyond the Larak-speaking community's control, then, put the very existence of this language community at risk. Of course, it benefits the national government to preserve a civilian population on the island, since it strengthens the legitimacy of their sovereignty over it. But even more importantly, in continuing to do so, the government will demonstrate its commitment to its own linguistic and cultural riches, in which Larak's community of adaptive multilinguals constitutes a unique and valuable element.

10 Conclusion

In this study, we have provided a sociolinguistic overview of the Laraki-speaking community of Larak Island. Along with an overview of the Kumzari language as a whole and the Laraki language community in particular, we have defined the Kumzari language and its varieties, and examined patterns of language use, attitudes and vitality.

While a lexicostatistical comparison of Laraki with Musandam Kumzari reveals a high degree of lexical similarity, recorded text tests (RTTs) reveal that intelligibility of Musandam Kumzari to speakers of Laraki is marginal. Taking linguistic considerations and speakers' perceptions into account, we conclude nonetheless that Laraki and Musandam Kumzari should be considered dialects of a single language, Kumzari.

In our investigation of language use, a striking pattern of adaptive multilingualism emerges according to domains of use and limitations in the proficiency of the audiences. Although language use is vigorous in domestic and traditional work-related domains, and speakers' attitudes toward their language are overwhelmingly positive, the small size of the language community and the history of social upheaval in the region places the community at risk.

Appendix 1: Group sociolinguistic questionnaire

The purpose and methodology of the group sociolinguistic questionnaire is discussed in 2.4.1, and the population sample involved as respondents is described in 4.5.1.

Here, we provide the English template for the questionnaire along with an English translation of responses to the questionnaire. In some cases, the responses do not directly address the question, and some responses to a given question are found with other questions. While questions and answers are aligned in the main text of the study, we have chosen here to follow the flow of the interview as it transpired.

The Persian questionnaire, which we used on the field, is reproduced on p. 100.

English template with a translation of group responses

Language situation

1. What do you call your local language? *Rārakī.*

2. What do other people call your local language? (specify who)

   Lārakī (people from Qeshm and Bandari people), Ahl Lārak (Omanis), Ahl Rōruk (people from Khasab), Kumzārī (people from the Emirates), Rārakī (Kumzāris). Everyone thinks that our language is Farsi, and that it is closest to Farsi, but we think it's closer to Arabic. We think our language came from Kumzar, and not that it came from here and spread to Kumzar, because there are more people on the Arabian side of the Gulf who speak the language than here.

3. What do you call your ethnic group?

For the most part, they are Arab and Khasabi, but also come from places like Qeshm, Gachin and other places. Also, for example, from Saudi Arabia, Qada, Kumzar, and Mukhi. And the people from Kumzar are partly Balochi. But for the most part, Laraki people are Arab.

4. What do other people call your ethnic group? (specify who)

We haven't heard so many things, but they say that we came from the Lar area, because Larak means little Lar, so they mean that we came from Lar in the south of Fars Province.

5. What do think of these names?

Because the name of the island is Larak, our language came to be called Laraki, and we think that it's better to call it that than to call it Kumzari. The name Larak doesn't mean anything in particular. We don't know what the name Kumzari means, either. Originally, the name of the language was Kumzari. But then the people that migrated here gave it the name Laraki. The roots of this language have been taken from several languages like Portuguese, English, Arabic and Farsi. The language is derived from all of these languages. I don't know which words from these languages are in Laraki. Older people have mentioned words like glass, door, lits *(lamp) from these languages. The Portuguese were here and their graveyard is here, on top of that high mountain over there.*

6. What are the origins of your group? Where did your group come from? When?

My exact origins are Ḥassāwi (an Arab settlement). My ancestors came to Qeshm, and from there came to Larak. Most of the people here came from Khasab and Kumzar. I don't know exactly what period they came in: 300 or 400 or 500 years ago.

7. If you came here from somewhere else, did other parts of your group stay somewhere else, or go somewhere else? Which ones, and where are they now?

After coming to Larak, some of our tribe went to the Emirates and some to Khasab. When they're there, they speak both Laraki

and Arabic. In the Mowrona area [on Larak], people there spoke the Kuhi language, and those people, who left Larak, are bilingual in Kuhi, which is a kind of Arabic, and Laraki.

8. Does everyone in your town speak the same language?

   Some speak Kuhi (Arabic) among themselves, and some of them speak Laraki with us, especially some of the younger people. The old ones among them can't speak Laraki. Qeshmi, which is a kind of Farsi, is spoken by some of the young people in the town. The old people speak Arabic. We understand their language completely, and we can answer them and understand their answers.

9. If not, what other languages are spoken here?

   There are workers in a desalination plant here and an electricity-generating station as well as teachers. There are about 100 of them. Some are Bandari, so that's what they speak and some are Farsi so they speak Farsi. With Bandari, Qeshmi and Hormuzi people, who all speak the same language, we speak Bandari, and with the rest we speak Farsi.

10. In total, how many people speak your local language?

    In total, there are about 500 or 600 people on Larak, of whom 100 are not locals. Five or six households are Kuhi [Arabic speakers].

11. Where is your language spoken? [Use a detailed map and ask about neighbouring settlements starting from the nearest ones, until you reach areas where the language is not spoken, or where people do not know the names of the settlements. If the settlement speaks the language exactly the same as where you are, circle its name. If it is the same language spoken a bit differently, circle it and give the name of the variety, if any, and differences in the way the people there talk. If it is different language, underline the settlement name and write the name of its language beside it. If several languages are spoken in a settlement, box its name and list all the language varieties there. Each time you do this, note the date, and which settlement you were gathering the data in.]

There is no language that is closely related to ours. Even Qeshmi, which isn't very far from here, is completely different than our language. Only Kumzari is close. Bandari and Farsi aren't close either. Kurdish has a few similar words. My father is Kurdish and my mother is Laraki.

a. Are there other settlements far from here that speak your language or dialect?

No. Laraki isn't spoken on any other island.

b. Are there other settlements speaking the same dialect or language as you that have other names for your language? What do they call it? *n/a*

c. What do they call themselves (as an ethnic group)? *n/a*

d. Where is your language spoken the best? If someone wanted to learn your language, what would the best place be for them to live?

The Laraki people that went to the Emirates: while they don't mix Farsi with their language, they mix Arabic with it. The old men here speak Laraki more purely than the old men in the Emirates, because those in the Emirates mix Arabic with it. Laraki is purer than Kumzari because Kumzari has incorporated more Farsi [means Arabic?] words than Laraki has. Laraki is more pure than Farsi. Laraki and Kumzari are the same but those in Kumzar draw their words out. Laraki is more beautiful. Those who left and went to the Emirates and Khasab, they mix it with Arabic, but the language spoken here is pure Laraki.

12. Are there many individuals or families who speak your language who are from the language area but now live in other towns and cities? How many? Where are they?

Two of the men from here moved to Qeshm to get married and they stayed there. Their children speak Qeshmi but the men speak Laraki with us and Qeshmi with their children. There is also a man who married a woman from Hormuz, and he speaks Hormuzi with Hormuzi people but Laraki with us.

One Hormuzi person came here seven or eight years ago to live and now both he and his children speak Laraki. One Abadani person came here (because of the Iran/Iraq war) and he speaks Laraki too. Three or four ladies from Larak have married men from Qeshm and Rudan and Oman.

Language use

13. What language variety do people from your group use most often:

    a. at home? *Laraki.*

    b. with friends of the same age? *Laraki.*

    c. when fishing? *Laraki.*

    d. at the local market? *[there is no local market]*

    e. at the market in Qeshm?

    With people from Qeshm, we speak Qeshmi, but if there are two Laraki people, they will speak Laraki together. With Farsi people, we speak Farsi.

    f. at the market in Bandar-e Abbas? *Bandari.*

    g. at the mosque?

    For do'ā *(spontaneous prayer), we use Arabic but if a person doesn't know Arabic, they use Laraki. Some people pray in Farsi too. Group* do'ā *prayer is in Arabic.*

    h. at the local clinic?

    People speak Arabic, and it gets translated into Farsi. Because the medical personnel here is Qeshmi you have to speak Farsi to him/her. For those who speak Farsi, you have to speak Farsi to them.

    i. when playing together (children)?

    Laraki, but Farsi with Farsi children.

    j. at school (teacher)?

    When teaching, the teacher speaks Farsi, but it's mixed with Bandari. At break time, the teachers speak Bandari. One of the Ban-

dari teachers whose mother is Laraki and who has gone to Holland, speaks Laraki.

    k. at school (students)?

    In class, students speak Laraki together, and with the teacher, Farsi. On school grounds they also speak Farsi with the teacher.

14. Are students allowed to speak your local language in school?

    They are free to do so. Because most of the teachers are from this province [Hormozgan], they're not very strict about it.

15. Are they allowed to speak your local language during breaks at school? *Yes.*

16. Do young people here speak your local language exactly the same as you speak it? *No.*

17. [If not] What are they differences?

    They mix Farsi and Bandari with it.

18. Do you think your local language will still be spoken when:

    a. the young children of this settlement get married?

    If both people are Laraki, then yes, they will remember the language. But if they marry someone who isn't Laraki, they will speak the language of whomever they marry.

    b. these children are old?

    It depends on the language of the people they speak to. I myself am Laraki, but I speak Qeshmi with my wife because she's Qeshmi. But I speak Laraki with our children. My wife doesn't speak Laraki because she's afraid of making mistakes when she speaks Laraki; it's not that Laraki is a bad language.

Migration, marriage and education

19. Do many men from here marry women who are not Laraki? *Yes.*

20. Where are these women from?

Qeshm, Rudān [near Minab on the Iranian mainland], and Hormuz. Men from here don't marry Arabs because they need a passport, and the price is very high for Arab women.

21. Do many women from here marry men who are not Kumzari?

    Not many, about three or four.

22. Where are these men from? *Hormuz, Shiraz.*

23. Are there certain groups with which you don't intermarry?

    There are no clans here, everyone is the same and we regard people equally.

24. Where do most of the notables (important or well-placed) people from this community live?

    (no answer).

25. Are most of your children in school?

    Most are in school, and it goes up to year five (the end of primary school).

26. Where are the following schools located:

    a. primary school: *Larak*

    b. secondary school: *Hormuz*

    c. nearest college: *Bandar-e Abbas*

    d. nearest university: *Hormuz (private university) and Bandar-e Abbas (national university)*

27. Do most of your children go to secondary school? *Yes.*

28. What age do most people continue their education until?

    To the third year of elementary school (rāhnemā'i) and a few go on to high school in Hormuz.

29. What do most children to when they are finished school?

    Only fishing, because there's no other employment to be had.

30. Are there students from elsewhere who come to school here?

Apart from one Hormuzi household, there aren't any other families living here with school-age children.

31. Are there many strangers who visit here?

    Not many. Most of the tourists who come do so around Now Ruz (Persian New Year).

32. Who are they? How numerous are they?

    From the north of Iran, and from Shiraz, for recreation and hiking. A few days ago about 50 people, students and climbers, came from Bandar-e Abbas, and stayed for two nights.

33. Are there many strangers who live here?

    Non-locals number about 50 people.

34. Who are they? How numerous are they?

    They are just soldiers, workers at the electricity agency, and the Sepah (Islamic Revolutionary Guard). Of these, only three or four have households here; they are originally from Hormuz, and their children go to school here.

Media

Television

35. Are there TV programs broadcast in your local language?

    □ Yes   ☑ No

36. Approximately how many hours of TV programs are there in the local language?

    ☑ None   □ Daily ___ hours or □ Weekly ___ hours

37. How similar is the language of these TV programs to your local language? *n/a*

    □ It is similar to my local language

    □ It is mixed with Farsi

    □ Some is similar, and some is mixed with Farsi

38. In these TV programs, for which of the following is the local language used? *n/a*

        □ Speech   □ Songs   □ Poetry

39. Please tell us the names of TV programs broadcasted in or on the topic of your local language: *n/a*

40. On which channel are these TV programs broadcasted? *n/a*

Radio

41. Are there radio programs broadcast in your local language?

        □ Yes   ☑ No

42. Approximately how many hours of radio programs in the local language are there?

        ☑   None   □ Daily ___ hours or   □ Weekly___

43. How similar is the language of these radio programs to your local language? *n/a*

        □   It is similar to my local language

        □   It is more mixed with Farsi

        □   Some is similar, and some is mixed with Farsi

44. In these radio programs for which of the following is the local language used? *n/a*

        □ Speech   □ Songs   □ Poetry

45. Please tell us the names of radio programs broadcasted in or on the topic of your local language: *n/a*

46. On which frequency can you receive these radio programs? *n/a*

Films

47. Approximately how many films are there recorded in your local language?

        ☑ None   □ 1   □ 2-5   □ 6-20   □ 21-50   □ more than 50

48. How similar is the language of these films to your local language? *n/a*

□ It is similar to my local language

□ It is mixed with Farsi

□ Some is similar, and some is mixed with Farsi

49. Please tell us the names of films published in your local language or on the topic of your community: *n/a*

50. Who made them? *n/a*

51. Who are the artists? *n/a*

Tapes and CDs

52. Approximately how many tapes and CDs are there recorded in your local language? *n/a*

☑ None □ 1 □ 2-5 □ 6-20 □ 21-50 □ more than 50

 Comment: *In our wedding rituals, we sing in Arabic and Farsi. In our mourning rituals when someone dies, there is only one local song that we sing, and it is in Kumzari. Young people here prefer the jubilant Bandari and Farsi songs and enjoy pop and rap music.*

53. How similar is the language of these tapes and CDs to your local language? *n/a*

□ It is similar to my local language

□ It is mixed with Farsi

□ Some is similar, and some is mixed with Farsi

54. Please tell us the names of tapes and CDs that are recorded in your local language: *n/a*

55. Who made them? *n/a*

56. Who are the artists? *n/a*

Newspapers

57. Approximately how many newspapers are published in your local language?

☑ None □ 1 □ 2 □ 3 □ more than 3

58. How similar is the language of these newspapers to your local language? *n/a*

       □ It is similar to my local language

       □ It is mixed with Farsi

       □ Some is similar, and some is mixed with Farsi

59. What are the newspapers called that are published in or on the topic of your local language? *n/a*

60. Who publishes these newspapers? *n/a*

Books and magazines

61. Approximately how many books and magazines are there written in your local language?

       ☑ None □ 1 □ 2-5 □ 6-20 □ 21-50 □ more than 50

62. How similar is the language of these books and magazines to your local language? n/a

       □ It is similar to my local language

       □ It is mixed with Farsi

       □ Some are similar, and some are mixed with Farsi

63. Please tell us the names of books and magazines published in or on the topic of your local language: *n/a*

64. Who are the writers of books and magazines published in or on the topic of your local language: *n/a*

Internet

65. Approximately how many internet sites are there written in your local language?

       ☑ None □ 1 □ 2-5 □ 6-20 □ 21-50 □ more than 50

66. How similar is the language of these internet sites to your local language? *n/a*

       □ It is similar to my local language

       □ It is mixed with Farsi

       □ Some is similar, and some is mixed with Farsi

67. Please tell us the names of internet sites written in or on the topic of your local language: *n/a*

68. What is the web address? *n/a*

69. Who wrote them? *n/a*

Relation between Laraki and neighbouring varieties

70. In which other villages or cities do people speak like you do? [First let the respondents answer and check off the places they say. Then ask about the remaining places and check them off if the answer is positive.]

☑ Larak (lower)	☐ Khargān (Balochi)
☐ Larak (upper)	☐ Chabahar
☐ Larak (Shihuh)	☐ Bandar-e Abbas
☐ Qeshm (Qeshmi)	☐ Bushehr
☐ Qeshm (Arabic)	☐ Shiraz
☐ Hormuz	☐ Tehran
☑ Kumzar	☐ _____
☐ Khasab	☐ _____
☐ Minab	☐ _____
☐ _____	☐ _____

[The following three questions only apply to those places which you have marked in the last question. Write the appropriate number for each question on the line next to the place name.]

a. How is the language of this place compared to your language? Is it…

   - the same (3)
   - similar (2)
   - a bit similar (1)
   - not at all similar (0)

b. How much do the people around here understand of the language of this place?

- all of it (3)
- a lot (2)
- some (1)
- none (0)

c. In what way is the language spoken in this place different to your language?

- there are no differences (3)
- some of the words (2)
- most of the words (1)
- all of the words (0)

Outside of here, only in Kumzar do they speak like we do, and even there some of the words they use are different than those in our language. We understand the Kumzari language for the most part, although we don't understand the younger people as well. There`s nowhere else in Iran where they speak like we do. Kumzari is similar to our language.

Some Bandari, Qeshmi and Hormuzi people understand our words, but they can't speak our language. In any case, there's not relation between their language and ours.

Kumzari people from Oman understand us perfectly. The difference between our language and Kumzari is limited to some words that they've borrowed from Arabic. For example, we say kuppa *for football, and they say* kurra*. They draw their words out, but we don't.*

We understand Qeshmi better than we understand Hormuzi or Bandari. But we can understand Hormuzi and Bandari as well.

Which of these places do you understand the people from best? *Kumzar.*

Persian questionnaire

موقعیت زبان

۱ـ شما زبان محلی خود را چه می‌نامید ؟

۲ـ افراد دیگر زبان شما را چه می‌نامند ؟ (مشخص کنید چه افرادي)

۳- شما خود را از چه نژاد و طایفه ای می دانید ؟

۴- افراد دیگر شما را ز چه نژاد و طایفه ای می دانند ؟ (مشخص کنید چه افرادي)

۵- نظر شما در خصوص این اسمها چیست ؟

۶- ریشه و اصالت طایفه شما چیست ؟ طایفه شما از کجا به اینجا آمده اند ؟ چه زمانی ؟

۷- اگر از جای دیگری به اینجا آمده اید، آیا عده ای از طایفه شما در جای دیگر مانده اند، یا به جای دیگر رفته اند ؟

۸- آیا همه در این شهر به زبان شما صحبت می کنند ؟

۹- اگر نه، چه زبانهایی دیگر در اینجا رواج دارد ؟

۱۰- به طور کلی، چند نفر به زبان محلی شما صحبت می کنند ؟

۱۱- به زبان شما در کجاها صحبت می شود ؟ (از نقشه ای مشروح استفاده کنید و از سکونتگاههای نزدیکتر به مکان پژوهش شروع به پرسش در مورد زبان مورد استفاده آن سکونتگاهها کنید تا اینکه به جاهایی برسید که یا زبان موردنظر در انجا صحبت نمي‌شود، یا افراد طرف مصاحبه اسم آنها را نمی دانند. اگر زبان مورد استفاده در يك سکونتگاه عیناً مانند زبان مورد استفاده است، دور نام آن خط بکشید. اگر زبان مورد استفاده در يك سکونتگاه با اندکی تفاوت، مانند زبان موردنظر بود، دور آن خط کشیده و (در صورت وجود) نام آن گونه زبانی و تفاوتهای موجود در نحوه تکلم مردم آن نقطه را بنویسید. اگر در آن نقطه زبان متفاوتی صحبت می شود، زیر اسم آن سکونتگاه خط بکشید و اسم زبان مربوطه را در کنار آن بنویسید. اگر در یک سکونتگاه چند زبان مورد استفاده است، دور اسم آن مستطیلی بکشید و نام گونه های زبانی مربوطه را در آن بنویسید. هر زمان این کار را انجام می دهید، تاریخ و نام محل جمع آوری داده ها را یادداشت کنید).

الف- آیا روستاهای دیگری دور از اینجا وجود دارند که زبان یا گویش شما را صحبت کنند ؟

ب- آیا روستاهای دیگری که به لهجه یا زبان شما صحبت می کنند نامهای متفاوتی برای زبان شما دارند ؟ آنها به چه اسمی آنرا می نامند ؟

ج- خودشان را چه می نامند ؟ (گروه قومي)

د- زبان شما در کجا بهتر صحبت می شود ؟ چرا آنجا از همه بهتر صحبت می شود ؟ اگر کسی بخواهد صحبت کردن به زبان شما را یاد بگیرد، بهترین روستا برای زندگی کجاست ؟

۱۲- آیا افراد یا خانواده های زیادی هستند که به زبان شما صحبت کنند یا متعلق به محدوده زبانی شما کتند ولی اکنون در شهر یا منطقه دیگری زندگی کنند ؟ چه تعداد ؟ در کجاها سکونت دارند ؟

کاربرد زبان

۱۳- افراد طایفه شما اغلب کدام گونه زبانی را در موارد زیر به کار می برند ؟

الف- در منزل ؟

ب- با دوستان هم سن و سال ؟

ج- به هنگام ماهیگیری ؟

د- در بازار محل ؟

ه- در بازار قشم ؟

و- در بازار بندرعباس ؟

ز- در مسجد ؟   ۱- برای دعا ؟

ح- در مرکز درمانی محل ؟

ط- (کودکان) به هنگام بازیهای گروهی ؟

ي- (معلم) در مدرسه ؟

ك- (دانش آموزان) در مدرسه ؟

۱۴- آیا دانش آموزان می توانند در مدرسه (کلاس) از زبان محلی استفاده کنند ؟

۱۵- آیا دانش آموزان می توانند در زنگهای تفریح از زبان محلی استفاده کنند ؟

۱۶- آیا در اینجا کوچکترها زبان محلی شما را دقیقاً مانند خود شما صحبت می کنند ؟

۱۷- (اگر نه) تفاوتها در چیست ؟

۱۸- آیا فکر می کنید زبان محلی شما هنوز هم مورد استفاده باقی بماند زمانی که:

الف- بچه های کوچك این منطقه ازدواج کنند ؟

ب- این بچه ها به سن پیری برسند ؟

مهاجرت، ازدواج و تحصیل

۱۹- آیا مردان زیادی از اهالی اینجا با زنانی که کمزاری نیستند ازدواج می کنند ؟

۲۰- این زنان اهل کجا هستند ؟

۲۱- آیا زنان زیادی از اهالی اینجا با مردانی که کمزاری نیستند ازدواج می کنند ؟

۲۲- این مردان اهل کجا هستند ؟

۲۳- آیا طوایف خاصی وجود دارند که شما با آنها وصلت نمی کنید ؟

۲۴- افراد مشهور (مهم یا شهر بالاي) این اجتماع در کجا زندگی می کنند ؟

۲۵- آیا بیشتر بچه های شما مدرسه می روند ؟

۲۶- مدارس زیر در کجا قرار دارند:

الف- ابتدایی ؟

ب- راهنمایی ؟

ج- نزدیکترین دانشکده ؟

د- نزدیکترین دانشگاه ؟

۲۷- آیا بیشتر بچه های شما به مدرسه راهنمایی می روند ؟

۲۸- تا چه سنی بیشتر افراد اینجا به مدرسه می روند ؟

۲۹- بعد از اتمام مدرسه بچه های شما به چه کاری مشغول می شوند ؟

۳۰- آیا بچه هایی از مناطق دیگر در اینجا تحصیل می کنند ؟

۳۱- آیا افراد غیربومی زیاد به اینجا رفت و آمد دارند ؟

۳۲- چه کسانی هستند ؟ تعدادشان چقدر است ؟

۳۳- آیا افراد غیربومی زیادی در اینجا زندگی می کنند ؟

۳۴- چه کسانی هستند ؟ تعدادشان چقدر است ؟

رسانه ها

تلویزیون

۳۵- آیا برنامه های تلویزیونی ای وجود دارد که به زبان محلی شما پخش شود ؟

الف- بلی   ب- خیر

۳۶- تقریباً چند ساعت از برنامه های تلویزیونی به زبان محلی شما پخش می شود ؟

هیچ   روزانه ..... ساعت   یا، هفته ای ..... ساعت

۳۷- میزان نزدیکی زبان این برنامه های تلویزیونی با زبان محلی شما چقدر است ؟

الف- شبیه زبان محلی ماست.

ب- با فارسی آمیخته است.

ج- مقداری شبیه زبان محلی ماست، و مقداری با فارسی آمیخته است.

۳۸- در این برنامه های تلویزیونی، زبان محلی شما در کدام یك از موارد زیر به کار می رود ؟

الف- سخنرانی   ب- آهنگ   ج- شعر

۳۹- لطفاً اسم برنامه های تلویزیونی که به زبان محلی شما و یا در مورد آن پخش میشود را بگویید.

۴۰- از کدام شبکه این برنامه ها پخش می شوند ؟

رادیو

۴۱- آیا برنامه های رادیویی ای وجود دارد که به زبان محلی شما پخش شود ؟

الف- بلی   ب- خیر

۴۲- تقریباً چند ساعت از برنامه های رادیویی به زبان محلی شما پخش می شود ؟

هیچ   روزانه ..... ساعت   یا، هفته ای ..... ساعت

۴۳- میزان نزدیکی زبان این برنامه های رادیویی با زبان محلی شما چقدر است ؟

الف- شبیه زبان محلی ماست.

ب- با فارسی آمیخته است.

ج- مقداری شبیه زبان محلی ماست، و مقداری با فارسی آمیخته است.

۴۴- در این برنامه های رادیویی، زبان محلی در کدام یك از موارد زیر به کار می رود ؟

الف- سخنرانی   ب- آهنگ   ج- شعر

۴۵- لطفاً اسم برنامه های رادیویی که به زبان محلی شما و یا در مورد آن پخش می شود را بگویید.

۴۶- این برنامه ها را از چه فرکانس هایی دریافت می کنید ؟

فیلم ها

۴۷- تقریباً چند فیلم وجود دارد که به زبان محلی شما ضبط شده باشد ؟

هیچ   یك   دو تا پنج   شش تا بیست

بیست و یك تا پنجاه   بیشتر از پنجاه

۴۸- میزان نزدیکی زبان این فیلم ها با زبان محلی شما چقدر است ؟

الف- شبیه زبان محلی ماست.

ب- با فارسی آمیخته است.

ج- مقداری شبیه زبان محلی ماست، و مقداری با فارسی آمیخته است.

۴۹- لطفاً اسم نوارها و سی‌دی هایی را که به زبان محلی شما و یا در موردآن ضبط شده است را بگویید.

۵۰- سازندگان آنها چه کسانی هستند ؟

۵۱- بازیگران آنها چه کسانی هستند ؟

کاست ها و سی دی ها

۵۲- تقریبا چند نوار کاست و سی دی وجود دارد که به زبان محلی شما ضبط شده باشد ؟

هیچ   یك   دو تا پنج   شش تا بیست

بیست و یك تا پنجاه   بیشتر از پنجاه

۵۳- میزان نزدیکی زبان/ لهجه این نوارها و سی دی ها با زبان محلی شما چقدر است ؟

الف- شبیه زبان محلی ماست.

ب- با فارسی آمیخته است.

ج- مقداری شبیه زبان محلی ماست، و مقداری با فارسی آمیخته است.

۵۴- لطفا اسم نوارها و سی دی هایی را که به زبان محلی شما و یا در مورد آن ضبط شده است را بگویید.

۵۵- سازندگان آنها چه کسانی هستند ؟

۵۶- پدیدآورندگان آنها چه کسانی هستند ؟

روزنامه ها

۵۷- تقریباً چند روزنامه وجود دارد که به زبان محلی شما منتشر می شود ؟

هیچ   یک   دو   سه   بیشتر از سه

۵۸- میزان نزدیکی زبان این روزنامه ها با زبان محلی شما چقدر است ؟

الف- شبیه زبان محلی ماست.

ب- با فارسی آمیخته است.

ج- مقداری شبیه زبان محلی ماست، و مقداری با فارسی آمیخته است.

۵۹- روزنامه‌هایی را که به زبان محلی شما و یا در مورد آن منتشر می‌شوند، چه می‌نامند ؟ (اسم آنها چیست؟)

۶۰- کی آنرا منتشر کرده است ؟

کتابها و مجلات

۶۱- تقریباً چند کتاب و مجله وجود دارد که به زبان محلی شما نوشته شده باشد ؟

هیچ   یک   دو تا پنج   شش تا بیست

بیست و یک تا پنجاه   بیشتر از پنجاه

۶۲- میزان نزدیکی زبان این کتابها و مجلات با زبان محلی شما چقدر است ؟

الف- شبیه زبان محلی ماست.

ب- با فارسی آمیخته است.

ج- مقداری شبیه زبان محلی ماست، و مقداری با فارسی آمیخته است.

۶۳- لطفاً اسم کتابها و مجلاتی را که به زبان محلی شما و یا در مورد آن منتشر شده است را بگویید.

۶۴- نویسندگان کتابها یا مجلاتی که به زبان محلی شما و یا در مورد آن منتشر شده است، چه کسانی هستند ؟

۶۵- تقریباً چند سایت اینترنتی وجود دارد که به زبان محلی شما باشد ؟

هیچ   یك   دو تا پنج   شش تا بیست

بیست و یك تا پنجاه   بیشتر از پنجاه

۶۶- میزان نزدیكی زبان این سایتهای اینترنتی با زبان محلی شما چقدر است ؟

الف- شبیه زبان محلی ماست.

ب- با فارسی آمیخته است.

ج- مقداری شبیه زبان محلی ماست، و مقداری با فارسی آمیخته است.

۶۷- لطفاً اسم سایتهای اینترنتی كه به زبان محلی شما و یا در مورد آن است را بگویید.

۶۸- آدرس این وب سایتها كدام است ؟

۶۹- چه كسانی این وب سایتها را طراحی كرده اند ؟

لاركی و زبان های همسایه

۷۰- در كدام شهرها یا روستاهای دیگر افراد همانند شما صحبت می‌كنند ؟

الف- زبان این محل در مقایسه با زبان شما چگونه است ؟

درست مثل هم (۳)

مشابه (۲)

كمی مشابه (۱)

متفاوت (۰)

ب- افرادی كه در این حوالی هستند چقدر زبان این محل را متوجه می شوند ؟

كامل (۳)

زیاد (۲)

كمی (۱)

اصلاً (۰)

ج- زبان این محل چقدر با زبان شما متفاوت است ؟

هیچ تفاوتی ندارد (۳)

در بعضی كلمات (۲)

در بیشتر كلمات (۱)

در همه كلمات (۰)

زبان مردم كدام یك از این نواحی را بهتر متوجه می شوید ؟

Appendix 2: Individual sociolinguistic questionnaire

The purpose and methodology of the individual sociolinguistic questionnaire is discussed in 2.4.1, and the population sample involved as respondents is described in 4.5.2.

Here, we provide the English template for the questionnaire, and the Persian questionnaire which we used on the field follows (see p. 115). Answers to the questionnaire are discussed throughout this study in the relevant sections.

English template

Respondent background

1. Born in: _____

2. Lives now in: _____

3. Mother tongue / native dialect: _____

4. Lived in the following places for more than a year [Important: write the number of years next to each location]:
   _____

5. Father comes from: _____

6. Mother comes from: _____

7. In what language or dialect did your father talk to you when you were a child?

8. In what language or dialect did your mother talk to you when you were a child?

9. Gender: □ male □ female

10. Age: □ 9 – 24   □ 25 – 49   □ 50 +

11. Education: □ non-literate   □ school   □ university

Language use

12. Do you speak to your children in your local language?

        always   most times   sometimes   never

13. Do you speak to adults in your local language?

        always   most times   sometimes   never

14. Do you have children that are too young to go to school?

        yes   no

15. [If yes] Do they use your language when they speak?

        always   most times   sometimes   never

16. Do you have children that have finished primary school?

        yes   no

17. [If yes] Do they use your local language when they speak?

        always   most times   sometimes   never

18. Which languages or dialects can you <u>understand</u>?

    Farsi _____   Arabic _____   _____, ___

    _____, ___   _____, ___

19. How well can you understand each of these? [Write the appropriate number next to the language name in the previous question: 3-very good, 2-good, 1-a little, 0-not at all]

20. Which languages or dialects can you <u>speak</u>?

    Farsi _____   Arabic _____   _____, ___

    _____, ___   _____, ___

21. How well can you speak each of these? [Write the appropriate number next to the language name in the previous question: 3-very good, 2-good, 1-a little, 0-not at all]

22. Which languages or dialects can you <u>read</u>?

    Farsi ____   Arabic ____   _____, ___

    _____, ___   _____, ___

23. How well can you read each of these? [Write the appropriate number next to the language name in the previous question: 3-very good, 2-good, 1-a little, 0-not at all]

24. Which languages or dialects can you <u>write</u>?

    Farsi ____   Arabic ____   _____, ___

    _____, ___   _____, ___

25. How well can you write each of these? [Write the appropriate number next to the language name in the previous question: 3-very good, 2-good, 1-a little, 0-not at all]

26. What language do you use most when you talk with an old man/woman?

27. What language do you use most when you talk with a young man/woman?

28. What language do you use most when you talk with a boy/girl?

29. What language do you argue in the most?

30. What language do you use most when you want to recount the stories of your ancestors?

31. What language do you usually count in?

32. What language do you usually pray in at home?

33. What language do you use most when you talk about council/local government matters?

34. In which language are most of the songs which you learned from your father or mother?

35. In what language do you usually talk when you are in the mosque?

36. What language do you usually use when you are working with other people [outdoors], for example, in the garden or fishing?

37. What language do you use most when you chat with your friends?

38. What language is used most in your home?

39. What language do you use most at the local market?

40. What language do you use most at the local clinic?

41. What language did you learn first/second/third?

Language attitudes

42. If you really want someone from your language group to understand something well, what language do you think should be used?

43. What language is best for talking about values, rules and beliefs?

44. What language is best to use when you want to talk about No Ruz?

45. What language is best to use when you want to talk about the month of Ramadan?

46. What language is best to use for poetry?

47. What language is it best to know how to read and write in?

48. What languages do you wish you knew?

49. What languages do you want your children to know?

50. Do you think your language is as good a language as Farsi? As good as Arabic?

51. If there were books in your language, would you be willing to pay some money to buy them? What kind of books would you like?

52. Are books in Farsi easy to read? Books in Arabic?

53. A long time from now, do you think people will stop speaking your language and only speak Farsi? Only Arabic?

54. If a young person speaks Farsi at home, would an old person be unhappy about it?

55. If a young person speaks Arabic at home, would an old person be unhappy about it?

56. Are the young people abandoning the customs of your ancestors?

57. Do you think this is good or bad?

58. Are the young people proud of your language?

59. When the children of this village grow up and have children of their own, do you think those children will speak your language?

60. Is that good or bad?

61. Is it good to speak your language? Why?

62. Could someone who speaks only your language get a good job?

63. What language is best to use when you want to talk about funerals?

64. Would you ever use Farsi at a funeral? Arabic?

65. Can you think of a situation in which it is not good to use your language?

66. Were you ever embarrassed because someone heard you speaking in your language?

67. What is the most useful language to know around here?

68. Is it more important for boys or for girls to learn Farsi? Arabic?

69. What are the advantages for boys?

70. What are the advantages for girls?

71. Do people respect someone who speaks Farsi more than someone who doesn't speak it? Someone who speaks Arabic?

72. If you lost your identity card and 200 000 tuman in the village market, and a speaker of your language found it, would he/she return it?

73. And if it were a Farsi speaker, would he/she return it? If it were an Arabic speaker?

74. Would you mind if your son or daughter marries someone who cannot speak your language or dialect but only Farsi?

75. Someone who spoke only Arabic?

76. Why or why not?

77. Have you ever seen anything written in your language?

78. Do you think it would be nice to be able to read and write your language?

79. What kinds of things would you like to have written in your language? (e.g.: proverbs, folktales, traditional stories?)

80. Are there any villages far away from here where people speak the same language as you?

81. Do other villages where your language is spoken have different names for your language?

82. What do they call the language?

83. What do they call themselves?

84. Where is your language spoken best?

85. Why is it spoken best there?

86. For learning to speak your language, what is the best village to live in?

Media

87. Which of the following do you use often?

  □ TV □ Radio □ Films □ Tapes and CDs

  □ Internet □ Newspapers □ Books and Magazines

Television

88. Are there TV programs broadcast in your local language?

  □ Yes □ No

89. How often do you watch TV programs recorded in your local language?

  □ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

90. How often do you watch Farsi TV programs?

  □ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

91. How often do you watch Arabic TV programs?

  □ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

Radio

92. Are there radio programs broadcast in your local language?

  □ Yes □ No

93. How often do you listen to radio programs recorded in your local language?

  □ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

94. How often do you listen to Farsi radio programs?

□ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

95. How often do you listen to Arabic radio programs?

□ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

Films

96. Approximately how many films are there recorded in your local language?

□ None □ 1 □ 2-5 □ 6-20 □ 21-50 □ more than 50

97. How often do you watch films recorded in your local language?

□ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

98. How often do you watch Farsi films?

□ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

99. How often do you watch Arabic films?

□ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

Tapes & CDs

100. Approximately how many tapes and CDs are there recorded in your local language?

□ None □ 1 □ 2-5 □ 6-20 □ 21-50 □ more than 50

101. How often do you listen to tapes and CDs recorded in your local language?

□ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

102. How often do you read Farsi books and magazines?

□ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

103. How often do you read Arabic books and magazines?

□ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

Newspapers

104. Approximately how many newspapers are published in your local language?

  □ None □ 1 □ 2 □ 3 □ more than 3

105. How often do you read newspapers which are written in your local language?

  □ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

106. How often do you read Farsi newspapers?

  □ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

107. How often do you read Arabic newspapers?

  □ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

Books & magazines

108. Approximately how many books and magazines are there written in your local language?

  □ None □ 1 □ 2-5 □ 6-20 □ 21-50 □ more than 50

109. How often do you read books and magazines which are written in your local language?

  □ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

110. How often do you read Farsi books and magazines?

  □ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

111. How often do you read Arabic books and magazines?

  □ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

Internet

112. Approximately how many internet sites are there written in your local language?

  □ None □ 1 □ 2-5 □ 6-20 □ 21-50 □ more than 50

113. How often do you visit internet sites written in your local language?

  □ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

114. How often do you visit Farsi internet sites?

□ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

115. How often do you visit Arabic internet sites?

□ Often □ Sometimes □ Never

116. Please tell us the names of internet sites written in or on the topic
of your local language: _____

117. What is the web address? _____

118. Who wrote them? _____

Persian questionnaire

پاسخ دهند

۱- محل تولد:

۲- محل سكونت فعلی:

۳- زبان مادری:

۴- مكان هایی كه بیش از یك سال آنجا زندگی كرده اید (نكته مهم: در كنار هر مكان مدت آنرا هم

بنویسید):

۵- اصلیت پدر:

۶- اصلیت مادر:

۷- زمانیكه بچه بودید پدر شما به چه زبانها یا لهجه هایی با شما صحبت می كرد ؟

۸- زمانیكه بچه بودید مادر شما به چه زبانه یا لهجه هایی با شما صحبت می كرد ؟

۹- جنسیت: مرد   زن

۱۰- سن: ۹-۲۵   ۲۵-۵۰   ۵۰ +

۱۱- تحصیلات: بیسواد   غیرعالی   عالی

كاربرد زبان

۱۲- آیا شما با فرزندانتان به زبان محلی صحبت می كنید ؟

همیشه   بیشتر اوقات   بعضی وقت ها   هرگز

۱۳- آیا شما با بزرگسالان به زبان محلی خود صحبت می كنید ؟

همیشه   بیشتر اوقات   بعضی وقت ها   هرگز

۱۴- آیا فرزندی دارید که به مدرسه برود ؟   بله   خیر

۱۵- (اگر بله) آیا هنگام صحبت از زبان شما استفاده می کنند ؟

همیشه   بیشتر اوقات   بعضی وقت ها   هرگز

۱۶- آیا فرزندی دارید که مقطع ابتدایی را تمام کرده باشد ؟ بله   خیر

۱۷- (اگر بله) آیا هنگام صحبت از زبان شما استفاده می کنند ؟

همیشه   بیشتر اوقات   بعضی وقت ها   هرگز

۱۸- کدام زبان ها یا لهجه ها را متوجه می شوید ؟

فارسی ------   عربی ------   ------------ ،---- -----------   ،----

------------ ،---- -----------   ،----

۱۹- چقدر می توانید آنرا متوجه شوید ؟ (در سئوال قبلی مقابل هر زبانی که نام برده اید عدد مناسب را بنویسید ۳- خیلی خوب، ۲- خوب، ۱- کمی ۰- اصلا)

۲۰- کدام زبان ها یا لهجه ها را صحبت می کنید ؟

فارسی ------   عربی ------   ------------ ،---- -----------   ،----

------------ ،---- -----------   ،----

۲۱- چقدر می توانید آنرا صحبت کنید ؟ (در سئوال قبلی مقابل هر زبانی که نام برده اید عدد مناسب را بنویسید ۳- خیلی خوب، ۲- خوب، ۱- کمی ۰- اصلا)

۲۲- کدام زبان ها یا لهجه ها را می توانید بخوانید ؟

فارسی ------   عربی ------   ------------ ،---- -----------   ،----

------------ ،---- -----------   ،----

۲۳- چقدر می توانید آنرا بخوانید ؟ (در سئوال قبلی مقابل هر زبانی که نام برده اید عدد مناسب را بنویسید ۳- خیلی خوب، ۲- خوب، ۱- کمی ۰- اصلا)

۲۴- کدام زبان ها یا لهجه ها را می توانید بنویسید ؟

فارسی ------   عربی ------   ------------ ،---- -----------   ،----

------------ ،---- -----------   ،----

۲۵- چقدر می توانید آنرا بنویسید ؟ (در سئوال قبلی مقابل هر زبانی که نام برده اید عدد مناسب را بنویسید ۳- خیلی خوب، ۲- خوب، ۱- کمی ۰- اصلا)

۲۶- هنگامی که با یک پیرزن/مرد صحبت می کنید بیشتر از کدام زبان استفاده می کنید ؟

۲۷- هنگامی که با یک زن/مرد جوان صحبت می کنید بیشتر از کدام زبان استفاده می کنید ؟

۲۸- هنگامی که با یک دختر/پسر صحبت می کنید بیشتر از کدام زبان استفاده می کنید ؟

۲۹- هنگامی که دعوا و مشاجره می کنید بیشتر از چه زبانی استفاده می کنید ؟

۳۰- هنگامیکه می خواهید یك داستان از قدیم تعریف کنید آنرا به چه زبانی نقل می کنید ؟

۳۱- هنگام شمارش از چه زبانی استفاده می کنید ؟

۳۲- در خانه هنگام دعا و راز و نیاز از چه زبانی بیشتر استفده می کنید ؟

۳۳- هنگام صحبت از مسائل روز سیاسی بیشتر به چه زبانی صحبت می کنید ؟

۳۴- شعرهایی که از پدر یا مادرتان یاد گرفتید به چه زبانی هستند ؟

۳۵- وقتی که در مسجد هستید به چه زبانی معمولاً صحبت می کنید ؟

۳۶- هنگامی که بیرون از خانه همراه با دیگران مشغول فعالیت هستید مثلاً در حین باغبانی و یا ماهیگیری، معمولاً با چه زبانی صحبت می کنید ؟

۳۷- هنگام گپ و گفتگو با دوستتان از چه زبانی استفاده می کنید ؟

۳۸- در خانه شما بیشتر از چه زبانی استفاده می شود ؟

۳۹- در بازار بیشتر از چه زبانی استفاده می کنید ؟

۴۰- در درمانگاه از چه زبانی استفاده می کنید ؟

۴۱- کدام زبان را اول/ دوم/ سوم یاد گرفتید ؟

نظر های زبان

۴۲- اگر به یکی از همشهری هایتان بخواهید بخواهد مطلبی به خوبی تفهیم شود فکر می کنید از چه زبانی استفاده خواهد شد ؟

۴۳- برای صحبت از از ارزش ها، قوانین و باورها بهترین زبان کدام است ؟

۴۴- اگر بخواهید راجع به عید نورو صحبت کنید به نظرتان استفاده از کدام زبان بهتر است ؟

۴۵- اگر بخواهید راجع به ماه رمضان صحبت کنید به نظرتان استفاده از کدام زبان بهتر است ؟

۴۶- بهترین زبان برای ساراییدن شعر کدام است ؟

۴۷- بهترین زبان برای خواندن و نوشتن کدام است ؟

۴۸- دوست داشتید کدام زبان ها را بلد می بودید ؟

۴۹- می خواهید فرزندانتان کدام زبان ها را بداند ؟

۵۰- فکر می کنید زبان شما به خوبی زبان فارسی باشد ؟ به خوبی عربی چطور ؟

۵۱- اگر اینجا به زبان شما چاپ می شد برای خرید آن هزینه می کردید ؟ دوست دارید چه مطالبی به زبان شما نوشته شود ؟ (داستان، ضرب المثل، .....)

۵۲- آیا کتاب های فارسی خواندنشان راحت است ؟ کتابهای عربی چطور ؟

۵۳- به نظرتان زمانی خواهد رسید که دیگر مردم به زبان شما صحبت نکنند و تنها فارسی صحبت کنند ؟ و یا عربی ؟

۵۴- اگر فرد جوان خانواده در خانه فارسی صحبت کند آیا فرد مسن خانه ناراحت می شود ؟

۵۵- اگر فرد جوان خانواده در خانه عربی صحبت کند آیا فرد مسن خانه ناراحت می شود ؟

۵۶- آیا جوانان دارند سنت های ابا و اجدادی خود را فراموش می کنند ؟

۵۷- فکر می کنید که این خوب است یا بد ؟

۵۸- آیا جوانان به زبان شما افتخار میکنند ؟

۵۹- وقتی بچه های شما بزرگ بشوند و خودشان بچه دار شوند ،آیا شما فکر میکنید آن بچه ها زبان شما را صحبت خواهند کرد ؟

۶۰- آیا این کار خوبه یا بده ؟

۶۱- آیا صحبت کردن به زبان شما خوب است ؟ چرا ؟

۶۲- آیا کسی که فقط به زبان شما صحبت کند میتواند شغل خوبی به دست آورد ؟

۶۳- وقتی درباره مراسم تدفین می خواهید صحبت کنید کدام زبان از همه بهتر است تا استفاده کنید ؟

۶۴- آیا شما تا کنون در تدفین از زبان فارسی استفاده کرده اید ؟ عربی چطور ؟

۶۵- آیا شما میتوانید موقعیتی را تصور کنید که استفاده از زبان شما آنجا خوب نباشد ؟

۶۶- آیا از اینکه کسی بشنود شما به زبانتان صحبت میکنید تاکنون شرمنده شده اید ؟

۶۷- مفیدترین زبان برای دانستن درا ین اطراف کدام است ؟

۶۸- آیا یادگیری فارسی برای دختران مهمتر از پسران است ؟ عربی چطور ؟

۶۹- چه مزایایی برای پسران دارد ؟

۷۰- چه مزایائی برای دختران دارد ؟

۷۱- آیا مردم برای کسی که فارسی صحبت میکند احترام بیشتری میگذارند نسبت به کسی که فارسی صحبت نمی کند ؟ کسی که عربی صحبت میکند چطور ؟

۷۲- اگر شما کارت شناسایی و ۲۰۰ هزار تومان درکوچه یا بازار روستا گم می کردید و یک هم زبان شما آن را پیدا میکرد ،آیا آن را پس می داد ؟

۷۳- اگر یک فارسی زبان می بود ،آیا آنرا پس میداد ؟ اگر یک عرب زبان بود چطور ؟

۷۴- آیا از نظر شما ایرادی ندارد اگر پسر یا دختر شما با کسی که نمیتواند زبان یا گویش شما را صحبت کند بلکه فقط فارسی صحبت می کند ازدواج کند ؟

۷۵- کسی که عربی صحبت میکند چطور ؟

۷۶- چرا یا چرا نه ؟

۷۷- آیا تا کنون چیزی دیده اید که به زبان شما نوشته شده باشد ؟

۷۸- آیا شما فکر میکنید خواندن و نوشتن به زبان شما خوب است ؟

۷۹- چه چیزهایی شما دوست دارید به زبان شما نوشته شود ؟ (ضرب المثل، شعر و افسانه های قومی و اجدادی ،داستانهای سنتی ؟)

۸۰- آیا روستاهای دیگری دور از این جا وجود دارد که زبان یا گویش شما را صحبت کنند ؟

۸۱- آیا روستا های دیگری که زبان یا گویش شما را صحبت می کنند نام های متفاوتی برای زبان شما دارند ؟

۸۲- آنها به چه اسمی آنرا می نامند ؟

۸۳- خودشان را چه می نامند ؟

۸۴- زبان شما کجا از همه بهتر صحبت میشو د ؟

۸۵- چرا آنجا از همه بهتر صحبت می شود ؟

۸۶- اگر کسی بخواهد صحبت کردن به زبان شما را یاد بگیرد ،بهترین روستا برای زندگی کردن کدام است ؟

رسانه ها

۸۷- کدام یک ازموارد زیر را شما اغلب استفاده میکنید ؟

( ) تلویزیون   ( ) رادیو   ( ) فیلم ها   ( ) نوارها و سی دی ها

( ) اینترنت   ( ) روزنامه ها   ( ) کتاب و مجلات

تلویزیون

۸۸- آیا برنامه های تلویزیونی وجود دارد که به زبان یا گویش شما پخش شود ؟ ( ) بله   ( ) خیر

۸۹- چند وقت یکبار شما برنامه های تلویزیونی به زبان محلی تان را تماشا میکنید ؟

( ) اغلب   ( ) گاهی اوقات   ( ) هرگز

۹۰- چند وقت یکبار برنامه های تلویزیونی فارسی را تماشا میکنید ؟

( ) اغلب   ( ) گاهی اوقات   ( ) هرگز

۹۱- چند وقت یکبار شما برنامه های تلویزیونی عربی را تماشا میکنید ؟

( ) اغلب   ( ) گاهی اوقات   ( ) هرگز

رادیو

۹۲- آیا برنامه های رادیوئی وجود دارد که به زبان شما پخش شوند ؟ ( ) بله   ( ) خیر

۹۳- چند وقت یکبار شما به برنامه های رادیوئی به زبان محلی تان گوش میدهید ؟

( ) اغلب   ( ) گاهی اوقات   ( ) هرگز

۹۴- چند وقت یکبار شما به برنامه های رادیویی فارسی گوش میدهید ؟

( ) اغلب ( ) گاهی اوقات ( ) هرگز

۹۵- چند وقت یکبار شما به برنامه های رادیویی عربی گوش میدهید ؟

( ) اغلب ( ) گاهی اوقات ( ) هرگز

فیلم ها

۹۶- تقریبا چند فیلم ضبط شده به زبان محلی شما وجود دارد ؟

( ) هیچ ( ) ۱ ( ) ۵-۲ ( ) ۲۰-۶ ( ) ۵۰-۲۱ ( ) بیشتر از ۵۰

۹۷- چند وقت یکبار شما فیلم های زبان محلی تان را تماشا میکنید ؟

( ) اغلب ( ) گاهی اوقات ( ) هرگز

۹۸- چند وقت یکبار شما فیلم های فارسی تماشا میکنید ؟

( ) اغلب ( ) گاهی اوقات ( ) هرگز

۹۹- چند وقت یکبار شما فیلم های عربی تماشا میکنید ؟

( ) اغلب ( ) گاهی اوقات ( ) هرگز

کاست ها و سی دی ها

۱۰۰- تقریبا چه تعداد نوار و سی دی ضبط شده به زبان محلیتان وجود دارد ؟

( ) هیچ ( ) ۱ ( ) ۵-۲ ( ) ۲۰-۶ ( ) ۵۰-۲۱ ( ) بیشتر از ۵۰

۱۰۱- چند وقت یکبار شما به نوارهاو سی دی های ضبط شده به زبان محلی تان گوش میدهید ؟

( ) اغلب ( ) گاهی اوقات ( ) هرگز

۱۰۲- چند وقت یکبار شما کتاب ها و مجلات فارسی میخوانید ؟ ( ) اغلب ( ) گاهی اوقات
( ) هرگز

۱۰۳- چند وقت یکبار شما کتاب ها و مجلات عربی را میخوانید ؟

( ) اغلب ( ) گاهی اوقات ( ) هرگز

روزنامه ها

۱۰۴- تقریبا چه تعداد روزنامه به زبان محلی شما چاپ می شود ؟

( ) هیچی ( ) ۱ ( ) ۲ ( ) ۳ ( ) بیشتر از۳

۱۰۵- چند وقت یکبار شما روزنامه هایی که به زبان محلی تان نوشته میشود میخوانید ؟

( ) اغلب ( ) گاهی اوقات ( ) هرگز

۱۰۶- چند وقت یکبار شما روزنامه ها ی فارسی میخوانید ؟

( ) اغلب ( ) گاهی اوقات ( ) هرگز

۱۰۷- چند وقت یکبار شما روزنامه های عربی میخوانید ؟

( ) اغلب   ( ) گاهی اوقات   ( ) هرگز

کتابها و مجلات

۱۰۸- تقریبا چه تعداد کتاب و مجله به زبان محلی شما نوشته شده است ؟

( ) هیچی   ( ) ۱   ( ) ۲-۵   ( ) ۶ - ۲۰   ( ) ۲۱ - ۵۰   ( ) بیشتر از ۵۰

۱۰۹- چند وقت یکبار شما کتاب و مجلات نوشته شده به زبان محلی تان را می خوانید ؟

( ) اغلب   ( ) گاهی اوقات   ( ) هرگز

۱۱۰- چند وقت یکبار شما کتاب و مجلات فارسی میخوانید ؟

( ) اغلب   ( ) گاهی اوقات   ( ) هرگز

۱۱۱- چند وقت یکبار شما کتاب و مجلات عربی را میخوانید ؟

( ) اغلب   ( ) گاهی اوقات   ( ) هرگز

اینترنت

۱۱۲- تقریبا چند سایت اینترنت به زبان محلی شما وجود دارد ؟

( ) هیچی   ( ) ۱   ( ) ۲-۵   ( ) ۶ - ۲۰   ( ) ۲۱- ۵۰   ( ) بیشتر از ۵۰

۱۱۳- چند وقت یکبار شما وارد سایت های اینترنت به زبان محلی تان میشوید ؟

( ) اغلب   ( ) گاهی اوقات   ( ) هرگز

۱۱۴- چند وقت یکبارشما از سایت های اینترنت فارسی استفاده میکنید ؟

( ) اغلب   ( ) گاهی اوقات   ( ) هرگز

۱۱۵- چند وقت یکبار شما از سایت های عربی استفاده میکنید ؟

( ) اغلب   ( ) گاهی اوقات   ( ) هرگز

۱۱۶- لطفا نام چند سایت اینترنت که به زبان محلی شما نوشته شده است را بگوئید ؟

۱۱۷- آدرس سایت چه است ؟

۱۱۸- چه کسی آنها را نوشته است ؟

Appendix 3: Wordlists

The template for the following wordlists, which contains 240 items, is based on Anonby (2003). It contains the Swadesh 100-word list as a subset; these words are underlined in the English column.

Wordlists are given here in five varieties: English, Persian, Laraki, Musandam Kumzari and Arabic. While the English template is given in standard orthography, Persian and Arabic lists are in phonological orthography. The Laraki and Musandam Kumzari wordlists are transcribed in the provisional phonological orthographies used by researchers on these varieties (Anonby, Anonby van der Wal, Mohebbi Bahmani; see the transcription conventions on p. 14 and the lists of researchers in 3.1 and 4.1). Word stress, which is predictable in Laraki and Musandam Kumzari, is for these varieties penultimate in the lexical items in the lists which have more than one syllable.

As in the Swadesh list, English verbs are given in the infinitive. Persian verbs, however, are given in third person singular past (/preterite/perfective) in order to accommodate comparison with Kumzari and Arabic, where there is no infinitive citation form.

Details on the purpose and methodology of the wordlist are found in 2.4.2 above, and the Laraki population sample from whom the list was elicited is discussed in 4.5.3. Lexical similarity between varieties is summarized in 5.3.

	English	Persian	Laraki	Kumzari	Arabic
	(Modern Standard)	(Farsi, Modern Standard)	(Larak Island, Iran)	(Musandam Kumzari of Kumzar and Khasab, Oman)	(Modern Standard)
1.	<u>head</u>	*sar*	*sar*	*sar,* *muxx*	*ra's*
2.	<u>hair</u>	*mu*	*mū*	*mū*	*šaʕr*
3.	<u>eye</u>	*češm*	*čum*	*čum*	*ʕayn*
4.	<u>nose</u>	*bini,* *damāǧ*	*nuxrit*	*nuxrit*	*'anf*
5.	<u>ear</u>	*guš*	*gōš*	*gōš*	*'uḍun*
6.	<u>mouth</u>	*dahān,* *dahan*	*law,* *kāra*	*kāra*	*fam*
7.	<u>tooth</u>	*dandān*	*dnān*	*dnān*	*sinn*
8.	<u>tongue</u>	*zabān*	*ẓwān*	*ẓwān*	*lisān*
9.	<u>neck</u>	*gardan*	*gardin*	*gardan,* *raqēbit* (nape)	*ʕunq,* *raqaba(t)*
10.	throat	*golu*	*māraq*	*māraq,* *xanaqa* (inside)	*ḫalq,* *ḫanjara(t)*

11.	arm	*dast,* *bāzu* (upper)	*bōğal*	*dist,* *bōğal /* *bağal* (upper)	*đirāʕ*
12.	<u>hand</u>	*dast*	*dist*	*dist*	*yad*
13.	finger	*angošt*	*linkit*	*linkit*	*ʾiṣbaʕ*
14.	nail	*nāxon*	*nixn*	*nixn*	*đufr*
15.	<u>stomach</u> (belly)	*šekam*	*ʾiškum*	*škum*	*baṭn*
16.	navel	*nāf*	*nāwağ*	*nāwağ*	*surra(t)*
17.	back	*pošt*	*kāmar*	*kāmar*	*đahr*
18.	leg	*pā*	*pā*	*pā*	*rijl*
19.	<u>knee</u>	*zānu*	*rukbit*	*rukbit*	*rukba(t)*
20.	<u>foot</u>	*pā*	*pā*	*pā*	*qadam*
21.	<u>skin</u>	*pust*	*pōst / pōṣṭ*	*pōst / pōṣṭ,* *jild*	*jild*
22.	<u>bone</u>	*ostoxān*	*xār*	*xār*	*ʕađm*
23.	<u>blood</u>	*xun*	*xwaym*	*xwēm*	*dam*
24.	urine	*edrār,* *šāš*	*gmēẓ,* *šāš*	*gmēẓ ʾāw /* *mēẓ ʾāw*	*bawl*

25.	<u>heart</u>	del, ğalb	dil	dil	qalb
26.	<u>liver</u>	jegar	jōğir	jōğar	kabd
27.	<u>person</u>	ādam	’ādimī	’ādimī	šaxṣ
28.	<u>man</u>	mard	mark	martkē / markē	rajul
29.	<u>woman</u>	zan	ẓank	ẓankē	’imra’a(t)
30.	child	bača, bačča	rōr	rōr	ṭifl
31.	father	pedar	bap	bap	’ab, wālid
32.	mother	mādar	mām	mām	’umm, wālida(t)
33.	brother	barādar	brār	brār	’ax
34.	sister	xāhar	xwē	xwē	’uxt
35.	uncle (maternal)	dāi	xālū	xālō	xāl
36.	<u>name</u>	esm, nām	nām	nām	’ism
37.	chief (tribal)	xān	kadxōda, ḥākim	šēx	šayx, ra’īs
38.	<u>dog</u>	sag	sōğ	sağ	kalb
39.	goat	boz	gōsin	gōsin	maʕza(t)

40.	chicken	*morğ*	*mrū*	*mrū*	*dajāja(t)*
41.	ox, bovine (cow-bull)	*gāv*	*gā*	*baqara* (cow, ox)	*baqara(t)*
42.	<u>horn</u> (cow)	*šāx*	*qarn*	*qarn*	*qarn*
43.	<u>tail</u>	*dom*	*dūm*	*dūm*	*đanab, đayl*
44.	<u>claw</u>	*nāxon*	*nixn*	*nixn, maxlab*	*mixlab*
45.	<u>feather</u>	*par*	*par*	*par*	*rīša(t)*
46.	camel	*šotor*	*jēmal*	*jāmal*	*jamal*
47.	lion	*šir (hayvān)*	*šīr*	*'āsad*	*'asad*
48.	snake	*mār*	*mār*	*mār*	*ḥayya(t), 'afʕan*
49.	<u>fish</u>	*māhi*	*mīhī*	*mēy*	*samaka(t)*
50.	<u>bird</u>	*parande*	*ṭēr*	*ṭēr*	*ṭayr*
51.	ant	*murče*	*gīrağ* (small), *sumsum* (large)	*gīrağ*	*namla(t)*
52.	spider	*ankabut*	*jōlağ*	*'abū šayban*	*ʕankabūt*
53.	scorpion	*ağrab*	*'aqrab*	*'aqrab*	*ʕaqrab*

54.	<u>louse</u>	*šepeš*	*šiš*	*qar'a*	*qamla(t)*
55.	<u>tree</u>	*deraxt*	*šajara*	*šidrit*	*šajara(t)*
56.	branch	*šāxe*	*šăğnit / šuğnit*	*šāxit / šāxiṭ*	*farʕ*
57.	<u>leaf</u>	*barg*	*warq*	*warq šidrit*	*waraqa(t)*
58.	<u>bark</u>	*pusteye deraxt*	*pōst / pōṣṭ*	*faqqaš*	*qišr*
59.	<u>root</u>	*riše*	*'irq*	*'urq*	*jiđr*
60.	flower	*gol*	*gul, ward*	*ward*	*zahra(t)*
61.	<u>seed</u>	*bazr, dāne, toxm*	*barr*	*ḥabb, barr, badrit*	*bizra(t), bađra(t), ḥabba(t)*
62.	grass	*alaf*	*giya*	*giya*	*ʕušb, ḥašīš*
63.	sky	*āsemān*	*'āsmēnō*	*'āsmēnō, sāmā'ō*	*samā'*
64.	<u>cloud</u>	*abr*	*nim*	*num*	*saḥāba(t)*
65.	<u>sun</u>	*āftāb*	*'intāfō*	*'intaf*	*šams*
66.	<u>moon</u>	*māh*	*mahtāwō*	*mētaw*	*qamar*
67.	<u>night</u>	*šab*	*šaw*	*šaw*	*layla(t)*
68.	<u>star</u>	*setāre*	*stārg / 'istārg*	*stārg*	*najma(t)*

69.	wind	*bād*	*kawl*	*kawl*	*rīḥ*
70.	dirt, earth (material)	*xāk*	*rēğ / rīğ, sabaxa*	*gil*	*turāb*
71.	mountain, hill	*kuh, tape*	*kō*	*kō*	*jabal*
72.	rock (large, e.g., 1m)	*sang, xāre, saxre*	*bard*	*bard, rāqa (boulder)*	*ṣaxra(t)*
73.	sand	*māse, šen*	*rēğ / rīğ čāfõ, ḥēsū*	*jīrī*	*raml*
74.	dust	*gard (xāk)*	*ğbār*	*ğbār*	*ġubār*
75.	pebble	*rig*	*tā ḥab jirjar*	*rēğ*	*ḥaṣā(t)*
76.	water	*āb*	*hāw*	*’āw*	*mā’*
77.	dew	*šabnam*	*nīdī*	*nīdī*	*ṭall*
78.	rain	*bārān*	*bāram*	*bāram*	*maṭar*
79.	river (-course)	*rudxāne*	*fēlaj*	*wījī*	*nahr, wād*
80.	fire	*āteš*	*hātiš*	*’ātiš*	*nār, ḥarīq*
81.	smoke	*dud*	*dūr*	*dūr, dixx*	*duxān*
82.	ash	*xākestar*	*xāraštīn*	*xārištin*	*ramād*

83.	year	*sāl*	*sāl*	*sāl*	*ʕām,* *sana(t)*
84.	summer	*tābestān*	*hāmīn*	*'āmin*	*ṣayf*
85.	winter	*zemestān*	*dimistan /* *ẓimistan*	*dimistan*	*šitā'*
86.	village	*deh,* *rustā,* *ābādi*	*qarya,* *ḥārit*	*qaryit*	*qarya(t)*
87.	plain	*dašt,* *sahrā*	*qāyit*	*qā'it / qāyit*	*sahl,* *waṭ'*
88.	path	*jādde,* *rāh*	*rasta,* *jadda* (new)	*tēra*	*sabīl*
89.	house	*xāne*	*xānağ*	*xānağ*	*bayt*
90.	bed	*taxt*	*sēyam,* *karpāya /* *kurpāya*	*kurfāyē,* *sēyam,* *sērir*	*sarīr*
91.	rubbish (piece)	*āšğāl*	*jumā'at*	*wāṣax /* *wāsax,* *xmām*	*nufāy(t),* *zabāla(t),* *'awsāx*
92.	clothing (piece)	*lebās*	*xātī* (men's robe)	*kiswit* (general), *xātī* (men's robe)	*malbas*
93.	saddle	*zin*	*xōrjīn*	*surj*	*sarj*
94.	pot (metal)	*dig*	*quẓ'an*	*quẓ'an*	*'aṣīṣ*

95.	<u>meat</u>	*gušt*	*gošt*	*gōšt,* *laḥm*	*laḥm*
96.	salt (eating)	*namak*	*xwā*	*xwā*	*milḥ*
97.	<u>oil, grease</u>	*rawğan*	*rōwin*	*rōwn / rōwin*	*zayt,* *samn*
98.	<u>egg</u> (e.g., chicken)	*toxme morğ*	*xāyg*	*xāyg*	*bayḍa(t)*
99.	milk	*šir (nušidan)*	*šīr*	*šīr*	*ḥalīb*
100.	hungry	*gorosne*	*gišnağ*	*gišnāğ*	*jūʕān*
101.	thirsty	*tišne*	*čahnağ*	*čēnağ*	*ʕaṭšān*
102.	rope	*tanāb,* *rismān,* *band*	*ban*	*ban*	*ḥabl*
103.	iron (metal)	*āhan*	*ḥan*	*ḥan*	*ḥadīd*
104.	knife	*čāğu,* *kārd*	*čakkū*	*kārd*	*sikkīn*
105.	war	*jang*	*jang*	*jang,* *walm* (quarrel)	*ḥarb*
106.	<u>one</u>	*yek*	*yak* (list), *tā* (modifier)	*yak* (list), *tā* (modifier)	*wāḥid,* *'aḥad*
107.	<u>two</u>	*do*	*dita*	*dō* (list), *dita* (modifier)	*'iθnān*

108.	three	*se*	*sita*	*sō* (list), *sita* (modifier)	*θalāθa(t)*
109.	four	*čahār*	*čārta*	*čār* (list), *čārta* (modifier)	*'arbaʕa(t)*
110.	five	*panj*	*panjta*	*panj* (list), *panjta* (modifier)	*xamsa(t)*
111.	six	*šeš*	*šašta*	*šaš* (list), *šašta* (modifier)	*sitta(t)*
112.	seven	*haft*	*hafta / afta*	*'aft* (list), *'afta* (modifier)	*sabʕa(t)*
113.	eight	*hašt*	*hašta / ašta*	*'ašt* (list), *'ašta* (modifier)	*θamānya(t)*
114.	nine	*noh*	*nahta*	*na'* (list), *na'ta* (modifier)	*tisʕa(t)*
115.	ten	*dah*	*dahta*	*da'* (list), *da'ta* (modifier)	*ʕašara(t)*
116.	eleven	*yāẓdah*	*yāẓẓata*	*yāẓda* (list), *yāẓdata* (modifier)	*'aḥad ʕašar*
117.	twenty	*bist*	*bīsta*	*bīs* (list), *bīsta* (modifier)	*ʕišrūn*

118.	one hundred	*sad*	*ṣatta*	*ṣaḍ* (list), *ṣaṭṭa* (modifier)	*mi'a(t)*
119.	<u>much, many</u>	*xayli, ziyād*	*xaylē*	*xaylē, xaykē*	*kaθīr*
120.	little (amount)	*kam*	*handak*	*'andak, kam*	*qalīl*
121.	<u>all</u>	*hame, kolli*	*hammū*	*'ammū*	*kull, jamīʕ*
122.	<u>good</u>	*xub*	*jwān*	*jwān, māl*	*xayr, ṭayyib, zayn*
123.	bad	*bad*	*banj*	*banj*	*sayyi', lā xayr, lā zayn*
124.	old (thing)	*kohne*	*kahnağ*	*ka'nağ*	*ʕatīq*
125.	<u>new</u>	*naw, jedid*	*nō*	*nō*	*jadīd*
126.	<u>hot</u> (fire)	*dāğ, garm*	*garm*	*garm*	*ḥārr, ḥāmin*
127.	<u>cold</u>	*sard*	*sard*	*sard*	*bārid*
128.	tall	*boland, ğadboland*	*drāẓ, bland*	*drāẓ*	*ṭawīl*
129.	short (height)	*kutāh, ğadkutāh*	*kōta*	*kōta*	*qaṣīr*

132

130.	long (thing)	derāz, boland	drāẓ, bland	drāẓ	ṭawīl
131.	short (length)	kutāh	kōta	kōta	qaṣīr
132.	heavy	sangin	sangī / sangīn	sangī	θaqīl
133.	light	sabok	swōk	swuk / sōk	xafīf
134.	full	por	palla	palla	malī'
135.	empty	xāli	xālī	xālī	xālin, fāriġ
136.	clean	tamiz	pāk	pāk	naḍīf
137.	dirty	kasif	xays	'illit, ritt, xays	muttasix, wasix
138.	dry	xošk	hišk	šārar, 'išk (dried-out and hard)	jāff
139.	big	bozorg	gap	gap	kabīr
140.	small	kuček	čikk	čikk	ṣaġīr
141.	round	gerd	dawwārī	ḥawṭit	mudawwar
142.	green	sabz	sawẓ	sawẓ / ṣawẓ	'axḍar
143.	yellow	zard	ẓard	ẓard	'aṣfar

144.	<u>red</u>	*ğermez, sorx*	*sirx*	*sirx / șirx*	*'aḥmar*
145.	<u>black</u>	*siyāh*	*siya*	*siya*	*'aswad*
146.	<u>white</u>	*sefid*	*'ispēr*	*spēr*	*'abyaḍ*
147.	leave (3rd singular past/perfective)	*raft*	*raft*	*raft*	*đahab, tarak*
148.	<u>come</u>	*āmad*	*hāmad*	*'āmad*	*jā'*
149.	arrive	*resid*	*rēsid*	*rēsid*	*waṣal*
150.	<u>get up, stand</u>	*boland šod*	*rāfā wāwut, qāyim wāwut*	*saydiš xō, saydiš xu bālā, saydiš xu qāyim*	*qām, waqaf*
151.	<u>sit</u>	*nešast*	*ništ*	*ništ*	*qaʕad, jalas*
152.	<u>lie down</u>	*derāz kešid*	*xwānidiš xwō, madda xwu gudiš*	*kardīdiš xō*	*'istalqā*
153.	fall	*oftād*	*kaft*	*kaft*	*waqaʕ, saqaṭ*
154.	<u>walk</u>	*ğadam zad*	*mēš gudiš*	*mēš gidiš*	*mašā*

134

155.	run	*david*	*burwad*	*burwad*	*ʕadā, rakaḍ, jarā*
156.	<u>swim</u>	*šenā kard*	*ʾišnāw gudiš*	*šnāw gidiš*	*sabaḥ, ʕām*
157.	<u>fly</u> (bird)	*parid, parvāz kard*	*pārid*	*pōrid*	*ṭār*
158.	<u>see</u>	*did*	*mēšidiš*	*mēšidiš, jīriš*	*raʾā*
159.	<u>hear</u>	*šenid*	*ʾišnaftiš*	*šnawdiš, šnuftiš*	*samiʕ*
160.	smell (a scent)	*buid*	*šamma gudiš*	*ʾarf gidiš*	*šamm*
161.	give birth	*zāid*	*ẓād*	*ẓād* (intransi- tive), *ẓādiš* (transitive)	*walad*
162.	<u>die</u>	*mord*	*murd*	*murd*	*māt*
163.	<u>sleep</u>	*xābid*	*xwaft*	*xwaft*	*nām*
164.	blow (on)	*fut kard*	*ʾuff gudiš*	*nafaxa gidiš, ʾuff gidiš*	*nafax*
165.	whistle (with mouth)	*sut zad, sut kard*	*ṣawṣawa gudiš*	*ṣafara gidiš*	*ṣafar*
166.	swell	*motavarem šod*	*paydam gudiš*	*paydam wābur*	*waram*
167.	suck (finger)	*mekid*	*maṣṣa gudiš*	*maṣṣa gidiš*	*maṣṣ*

168.	spit	_tof andāxt_	_tuf gudiš_	_tafala gidiš, xūẓik kardīdiš_	_baṣaq, lafaḍ_
169.	cough	_sorfe kard_	_quḥḥu gudiš_	_quḥḥu gidiš, sa'ala gidiš_	_kaḥḥ, saʕal_
170.	vomit	_estefrāǧ kard_	_rēšad_	_rēšad, rēšid_	_taqayya', qaḏaf_
171.	bark (dog)	_pārs kard_	_waḥwaḥa gudiš_	_nabaḥa gidiš_	_nabaḥ_
172.	<u>bite</u> (animals)	_gāz gereft_	_xāridiš_	_xāyidiš_	_ʕaḍḍ_
173.	<u>eat</u>	_xord_	_xwōdiš_	_xōdiš_	_'akal_
174.	<u>drink</u>	_xord, nušid_	_šaraba gudiš_	_xōdiš, šaraba gidiš_	_šarib_
175.	want	_xāst_	_wātidiš_	_wātidiš_	_'arād_
176.	fear	_tarsid_	_tarsid_	_tursid / tursīdiš_	_xāf_
177.	<u>know</u> (something)	_dānest, balad bud_	_dānidiš_	_dānidiš_	_ʕaraf_
178.	think	_fekr kard_	_fakara gudiš_	_fakara gidiš, gaftiš ba xō_	_fakkar_
179.	count	_šemord_	_'išmāridiš_	_šmāridiš / 'išmāridiš , 'adda gidiš_	_ʕadd_
180.	suffer, have pain (body)	_dard kard_	_dar gudiš_	_dar gidiš, 'adaba wābur_	_'alim, taʕaḏḏab_

181.	laugh	*xandid, xande kard*	*xēnid*	*xandiš*	*ḍaḥik*
182.	cry	*gerye kard*	*giryad*	*guryad* (intransitive), *guryādiš* (transitive)	*bakā*
183.	<u>say</u>	*goft*	*gaftiš*	*gaftiš*	*qāl*
184.	ask	*porsid, soāl kard*	*swāl gudiš*	*ṣwāl gidiš*	*sa'al*
185.	sing	*āvāz xānd*	*qawala gudiš*	*ğanna gidiš, qawala wābur*	*ġannā*
186.	dance	*raxsid*	*čēmaki gudiš*	*bāz gidiš*	*raqaṣ*
187.	play (child)	*bāzi kard*	*bāẓ gudiš / bāẓī gudiš*	*bāẓī gidiš*	*laʕib*
188.	<u>give</u>	*dād*	*dādiš*	*dāriš*	*'aʕṭā*
189.	show	*nešān dād*	*barẓa / parẓa gudiš*	*mēšidiš ba…, jīriš ba…*	*'aḍhar*
190.	send	*ferestād*	*fānidiš*	*fāndiš*	*'arsal*
191.	buy	*xarid*	*xēridiš*	*xēridiš*	*'ištarā*
192.	marry	*ezdevāj kard*	*raf xāna, ẓan gudiš* (man's action)	*raf xāna*	*tazawwaj*

193.	fight	*jangid*	*gudan angar*	*walm gidiš* (quarrel), *jang gidiš* (war)	*ḥārab*
194.	<u>kill</u>	*košt*	*kištiš*	*kištiš*	*qatal*
195.	steal	*dozdid*	*ẓīdiš,* *ẓīnu gudiš*	*ẓīdiš*	*saraq*
196.	take	*gereft*	*gudiš*	*gidiš*	*'axađ,* *šāl*
197.	bring	*āvard*	*wādiš*	*wādiš*	*jalab,* *'addā*
198.	look for	*josteju kard*	*jištiš*	*jištiš*	*baḥaθ ʕan*
199.	find	*paydā kard*	*barẓa / parẓa y gudiš*	*jīriš*	*wajad*
200.	push	*hol dād*	*čīk y dādiš, dafraka y dādiš*	*sanna dāriš, čīk y dādiš*	*dafaʕ*
201.	pull	*kešid*	*kēšidiš*	*kēšidiš*	*jarr*
202.	tie	*bast*	*bastiš, 'aqaba y gudiš*	*bastiš, abnīdiš, 'aqaba y gidiš*	*rabaṭ, ʕaqad*
203.	hit	*zad*	*bẓardiš*	*bẓandiš, 'ōkidiš*	*đarab, 'aṣāb*
204.	cut (wood)	*borid*	*qaṣṣa y gudiš*	*qaṣṣa gidiš, batta gidiš*	*qaṭaʕ, falaq*

205.	scrape	*xārānd*	*ḥakka y gudiš*	*qašara gidiš* (scrape), *šarmaxa / šamraxa gidiš* (scratch), *xāridiš* (scratch, itch), *ḥakka gidiš* (scratch, itch)	*xarbaš, kašaṭ*
206.	press	*fešār dād*	*'aṣṣa gudiš*	*'aṣṣa gidiš*	*ḍaġaṭ*
207.	wash (thing)	*šost*	*čištiš*	*čištiš / šištiš*	*ġasal*
208.	<u>burn</u>	*suxt*	*ḥababa y gudiš*	*ḥaraqa gidiš*	*ḥaraq*
209.	throw	*andāxt*	*ẓarra y gudiš*	*ẓarra gidiš, fāndiš*	*ramā*
210.	pour	*rixt*	*ṣabba y gudiš*	*brēẓidiš, čaḥḥa gidiš* (large amount), *kabba gidiš* (large amount)	*sakab, ṣabb*
211.	bury (person)	*dafn kard*	*dakka y gudiš*	*dafana gidiš, kandiš, dakka gidiš, gēr gidiš* (person)	*dafan*

212.	hide (thing)	*ğāem kard*	*qāyim y gudiš*	*'ēnidiš, nakara gidiš*	*'axfā, xaba'*
213.	work	*kār kard*	*kār gudiš*	*kār gidiš, dāmu gidiš* (employ-ment)	*ʕamil*
214.	sweep	*jāru kard*	*maštiš*	*'amšīdiš, pāk gidiš* (clean)	*kanas*
215.	weave (carpet)	*bāft*	*ẓōfnu gudiš*	*suffu gidiš* (palm leaves)	*nasaj*
216.	cultivate	*zerāat kard, kāšt, kešt*	*kāšidiš*	*kāšid* (intransi-tive), *kāšidiš* (transitive), *ẓara'a gidiš*	*falaḥ*
217.	cook	*poxt, dorost kard*	*wus y gudiš*	*ṭabaxa gidiš*	*ṭabax*
218.	<u>this</u>	*in*	*'iyyi*	*yā*	*hāđa, hāđihi*
219.	<u>that</u>	*ān*	*'ān*	*'ān*	*hāđa, hāđihi*
220.	here	*injā*	*'ēwū, 'ējgā*	*'ēsū / 'ē'ū*	*hunā*
221.	near	*nazdik*	*nēẓīk*	*nēẓik*	*qarīb*
222.	there	*ānjā*	*'ānjgā, 'ānsū*	*'ānsū / āntē*	*hunāk*

140

223.	far	*dur*	*dūr*	*dūr*	*baʕīd*
224.	(to the) right	*daste rāst*	*rāst*	*rāstī*	*yamīn*
225.	(to the) left	*daste čap*	*čap*	*'asrē*	*yasār*
226.	<u>not</u>	*na*	*na*	*na*	*lā* (for verbs), *mā* (for nouns)
227.	now	*al'ān, hālā*	*sātē*	*sātē*	*'al'ān*
228.	yesterday	*diruz*	*dūšīn*	*dūšin*	*'ams*
229.	tomorrow	*fardā*	*ṣābiḥī*	*nwāẓ*	*ġad*
230.	where	*kojā*	*kāmsū, gyā*	*giyā, gya, kāramsū / kāramtē*	*'ayn*
231.	when	*kay, če vaxt*	*kay*	*kay*	*lamma, matā*
232.	how	*četawr*	*čābē*	*čābē, čāb*	*kayf*
233.	<u>who</u>	*ki, če kasi*	*kiyā, kēā*	*kiyā, kēā, ki*	*man*
234.	<u>what</u>	*či, če*	*čī, či*	*čēā, či*	*mā, māđā*

235.	<u>I</u>	*man*	*mē*	*mē*	*'ana*
236.	<u>you</u> (sg.) (thou)	*to*	*tō*	*tō*	*'anta* (male), *'anti* (female)
237.	he/she	*u*	*'iyyi*	*yē*	*huwa* (male), *hiya* (female)
238.	<u>we</u>	*mā*	*mō*	*mā*	*naḥnu*
239.	you (pl.)	*šomā*	*'išmā*	*šmā*	*'antum* (male), *'antunna* (female)
240.	they	*išān*	*'ānšīnan*, *ša*	*šan*	*hum* (male), *hunna* (female)

142

Appendix 4: RTT materials

The purpose and methodology of the RTT (recorded text test) is discussed in 2.4.3, and the population sample involved as respondents is described in 4.5.4. The results of the tests are provided in 5.4 as part of the discussion of intelligibility between dialects.

Here, we first provide the subject background questionnaire, which was used to ensure that the Laraki population sample had minimal exposure to Musandam Kumzari.

This is followed by the four texts used in the test (see 2.4.3), two in Laraki (p. 144), and two in Musandam Kumzari (p. 147). For each of the texts, we also list the questions that we asked respondents. An English translation accompanies each text.

Subject background questionnaire

1. Born in: _____

2. Grew up in: _____

3. Lives now in: _____

4. Mother tongue / native dialect: _____

5. Lived in the following places for more than a year [Important: write the number of years next to each location]:
   _____

6. Father comes from: _____

7. Mother comes from: _____

8. In what language or dialect did your father talk to you when you were a child?

9. In what language or dialect did your mother talk to you when you were a child?

10. Gender: □ male □ female

11. Age: □ 9 – 25 □ 25 – 50 □ 50 +

12. Education: □ non-literate □ school □ university

Laraki texts

Laraki practice text

dūšīn, paštīn, xwuftum, ḥas sēkal māzadī tay ba mē.[a] *raqqada wāwudum pa xwaw dgōum, či wāwustē?*[b] *saydum xwu hāmadum darbačēō wākudum.*[c]

English translation of Laraki practice text

Yesterday, in the later afternoon when I was sleeping, the sound of many motorcycles came to me.[a] Startled from sleep, I said, "What has happened?"[b] I got up, came to the window and opened it.[c]

Questions on Laraki practice text

a) *ān či ḥassi šnēwidiš?*
What did that person hear?

b) *či dgōā?*
What did he say?

c) *puštu saysi xwō, či gusē?*
After he got up, what did he do?

Laraki main text (used as a control)

tā rōz, mu inna quṣm darasa tkīm,[a] *hawōō xubbē, ya'nī, xaylē…inča rēğ pārastin, inča hawōō xubbē.*[b] *išna pēyda na.*

u puštu tā tā'īm pa quṣm, tā'īm rārak, nixa ṭrādē pis xāla mē.[c] *ay hāmadīm mē u pis xāla mē u pis xālu mē u…dikēs zankanan.*

ay hāmadīm pa quṣm, tā tā'īm rārak, u harči sā'at mēš tkīm, tērōō rub'i sā'atē, mu harči mēš tkīm, iši trēsīm na ba jāgēē na, harči mēš tkīm, trēsim na.

sā w xāni sā'at xwu tkīm, dita sā'at, sita sā'at raftē. ay puštu dānidīm bayē ki ḥatman ba ḥsēb raftīm burxat, tērōō rub'i sā'at, mu sā dita sita sā'at inna tērōōīm. ay raftim burxat.[d] *as harči čīm išina trēsīm na. išina ham pē pēyda na, išna ham pē u sā pīšīnan,*[e] *u išna pī na xwōrīm na inna ṭrādēō na.*[f]

ay sā pē zanka gudin yē ba grē![g] *tā rōkō ham guiš yē ba grē. ay puštū pē, harči raftīm, raftīm, binzīya mu ham pē nī țiyar tōa!*[h]

raftīm, rēsidīm tā jāgēē, tā lančē jīdīm.[i] *raftīm mēka lančō, gaftīm ba yē, ya'nī, ēsū kāmsūē?*[j] *puštu dgōa…gaīm ba y rārak, w kāmbār? dgōa rārak w ēbār, inna ēba ham si masa jilm kilāyē, w ēbārē išma. dgīm ba yē ay sā či kīm?! dgōa brē w ēba. dgīm ba yē binzīya ham țiyār. masalan mu rōra wa mu inna țrādēō išna xwōsin na, gišnağin, inča…ay puštū pē naqqa nān dādin ba mu, hāw dādin ba mō u…pē āyil naqqa dādin, mu sōdīm inna binzīya xwō.*

pē hāmadīm, hāmadīm, raftīm ḥatta jilm hurmuz. ay raftīm sā naqqa kō hurmuz pēyda wāwud. pē swāl gudīm gaīm rārak w kāmbārē? pē hāmadīm.

sā hāmadīm ba čāfō yi'ō: ādīmī nī dugrāin, nī tōktin xwō: mu raftīm burxat, immu xwō pē ya, inča ka masalan…aḷḷa dikrāī ḥīn mu guiš masalan mu hāmadīm wēlat xwō. inča ka na išna pē ya sardar țāla gusīm jilm kilāyē. xaḷāș.

English translation of Laraki main text

One day, we were in Qeshm studying,[a] the weather was stormy, you know, very…dirt was flying around, the weather was stormy like this.[b] Nothing was visible.

Later, we wanted to come from Qeshm and come to Larak in my my maternal aunt's son's motorboat.[c] So we went, I and my maternal aunt's son and my maternal uncle's son and…there were two women.

So we came from Qeshm, we wanted to come to Larak, but however many hours we travelled, for a fifteen-minute trip, however much we went, we didn't get anywhere, however much we went, we didn't get anywhere.

Now when we looked at our watches, two hours, three hours had gone by. So then we knew from this that we must have gotten lost, it was a fifteen-minute trip, and now for two, three hours we had been on the way. So we had gotten lost.[d] Indeed however much we went we didn't get anywhere. Nothing was visible either, nothing, and now it was early afternoon,[e] and there was nothing for us to eat in the motorboat.[f] And then the ladies started crying![g] One guy started crying too. Still, however much we went and went…our petrol was nearly finished![h]

We went on, we reached one place, we saw a dhow.[i] We went up to the dhow, we said to him, you know, "Where is this?"[j] Then he said…we said to him, "Larak—which direction is it?" He said, "Larak is this direction, *this* direction is, well, over by Kilaye too, and you are in *this* direction." We said to him, "So now what are we to do?" He said, "Go in this direction." We said, "Our petrol is finished, too. Actually, we have young people with us in the boat who haven't eaten anything, they're hungry, it's like this…." So

after this they gave a bit of bread to us, they gave water to us…and they even gave a bit of oil to us, we put it into our own petrol.

Still we came and came, we went all the way to over by Hormuz. And we went on and then a bit of the mountains of Hormuz appeared. Still we asked, saying "Where is Larak?" And still we came.

When we came to the shore, oh! People were about to cry, they were about to start beating themselves! We had gotten lost, it was we ourselves, just like this, you know…twice God responded to us, you know, we came to our own community. It was just like this when it happened that we went up over by Kilaye. That's all.

Questions on Laraki main text

a) *či gusin inna quṣm?*
   What were they doing in Qeshm?

b) *čābē hāwōō?*
   What was the weather like?

c) *nēxa ṭrādē kiya?*
   Whose motorboat was it?

d) *či wāwud ba šan?*
   What had happened to them?

e) *sā'at či ğāyaa?*
   What time was it now?

f) *ay či wāwusti ba šan inna ṭrādēō xōrin?*
   What did they have with them in the boat to eat?

g) *zanka či gusin?*
   What did the women do?

h) *pē či maškilti hāmasin ba šan?*
   What new problem came up?

i) *či jīsin?*
   What did they see?

j) *či gafti ba lančō?*
   What did they say to the [people in the] boat?

Musandam Kumzari texts

Musandam Kumzari practice text

qabaywā saydum xō, tamnā, awwaẓ daqqiti ṭābil. sūrin. saydum xō laḥma x čištum warra warrītī.[a] *u labasa gudum, raftum inda siyyārtō.*[b] *raftum a sūrō, tamna xabaṣa. xabaṣa ābyō.*[c] *qawala tī'in, dām čāb dgī'in.*

English translation of Musandam Kumzari practice text

A little while ago I got up, and oh!, the sound of a drum beating. It was a wedding. I got up and washed myself quickly.[a] And I got dressed, I went in a car.[b] I went to the wedding, and oh! there was shuffling. Shuffling of the Abi dance.[c] They were singing, I don't know what they were saying.

Questions on Musandam Kumzari practice text

a) *wa saydiš xu pi xwāwā či gidiš?*
   What did he do when he got up?

b) *ra ba sūra naxa čēā?*
   What did he go to the wedding in?

c) *či bāẓī bāẓ tkin ba sūran?*
   What dance were they dancing at the wedding?

Musandam Kumzari main text (used to test intelligibility of Musandam Kumzari to Laraki speakers)

bārē, sūri inda kumẓar.[a] *nwāšamīyā, dgīn ba mā, kawla bār tō'a.*[b]

ma āmidim xāṣab, ādimī aẓama'in wā ma ē'ū. ṣabḥa būrim pi ṣābaḥā, tamna kawla bār.[c] *u āmidin na wā ma nā, u iš wā ma ṭrādē'ē na. balya būrim.*[d] *sā čāb kim? sā iš wā ma ṭrādē'ē brim kumẓar pi xāṣab na!*

tamna dgīn ba mā ṭrādē'ē inda xōr nēt čōt kumẓar. ṭrādi qawm ēli ẓēd. talafōn gidim a šan, dgīn ba ma raftim jārī![e] *ilmhum, pištu rāyi gidim mi u nādir, dgī'im ṭrādē umrō ẓīm, yi u siyyārit yē. čim xōr nēt, čim kumẓar!*

raftim. rēsidim xōr nētā, tamnā, qawm ṣālaḥ maṭarr āsū'in. dgīn ba ma brē nā, kawla bār ba y xaylē.[f] *ilmhum ma gidim xō ba qawyit xō, raftim. raftim, raftim, raftim, rēsidim ǧubbit šeṣa. kawla bār ba y xaylē! dgīm sā bra kamala y tkim. raftim. rēsidim a kāra laḥyuwā, tamna kawla bār ba y xaylē, ṭōfanin xaylē. ilmhum dgōm a nādir, ma čim, mi čābē'ē, wana raftim, raftim. rāyidim na, radda tī'im. ilmhum, raftim, kaftim inda y'ā, tamna kawla bār ba y, xaylē barmin. ǧāy ǧarqa tī'im,*[g] *radda būrim, rāyidim na. sā wa āmidim radda tī'im nafs tērō'ōwā, tamna rāyidim na.*[h] *barma tay ba ma nēxan, u kawla u āwa tāra nēxan.*[i]

fa jabara ma gidiš, rā'im z̄ēran ba ēr rōznan. raftim a ēr rōznan, ba qōwwit aḷḷā, u raftim, raftim inda msandam. pīšin wābu ba ma sātē.[j] sā'it yak u nīm. tamna dgōm a nādir, tanyim na ē'ū na. ādimī xābarin ba ma inda duryō'ōwim. lāzum rāyi tkim a xō. tamna dgō ba mē, rsāl pē yē inda āsūwā. dgōm a yē, awwa talafūn tkīm na. awwa čim pi wa pištū'ō, inda msandam pi wa pištū'ō. raftim pi wa pištū'ō, tamnā pē kawla bār ba y xaylē. rāyidim na radda būrim.

āmidim, radda būrim ē'ū, ra'im āla ba kō'ō, jiga nādir dgō ba yē rsālō āsūwā. ra'im āla, talafūn gidim, ga'im a šan dinyē'ē inda msandamim, rāyi ku ba ma. rāyisim na āmisim na. wa āmidim z̄ēranā, u raftim inda msandam. jāmaǧa xō kandim pē xō, talaja'im, sarma'im, u nwāz pīšin u paštin gidim pē xō. ništim nāṭa gidim ḥatta bangō.

bangu wāburā, nādir dgō kas ām ba ma na. dgōm a y lūmū ša kin na. kawlu u barmū, bār ba y xaylē. dgōm a yē yaḷḷa brim ēmaǧ byārim a xō, ātiš tkim a xō. ra'im āla ēmaǧ wādim a xō, āmidim, saydim a xō kāra gawdō. nwāz bangō u nwāxastin gidim. u tāruk wābu māriyā, āčō šabba gidim, u kardīdim xō. iš xwaw āmisi na ba ma na. sarma'im xaylē.

ḥattā šaw marra marra y inčā, šā'it čār u nīm tō'atā, ṭrādē'ō āmidin ba ma, rōkanin. rōkanin, u dgīn ba ma jōrin šma kumẓar, z̄wān dārin ba ma u, xōrdin wādin ba mā, u barniṣ. xōrdina ma u barnēṣa ma gidin šā xō, xwaftin...ḥatta ṣābaḥīyā āmidim inda kumẓar. āmidim kumẓar, pē z̄wān dī'in ba ma, ādimī.

tu raftī mi āmudum.

English translation of Musandam Kumzari main text

Once, there was a wedding in Kumzar.[a] In the evening, they said to us, "The winds are going to become strong".[b]

We came to Khasab, people were inviting us here. We got up in the morning, and then the winds got strong.[c] And they wouldn't come with us, so we didn't have a motorboat. We were in problematic situation.[d] Now what should we do? Now we didn't have a boat to go from Khasab to Kumzar!

Then they said to us, "A motorboat in Nait Inlet is going to Kumzar: Ali Zaid and his group's motorboat". We phoned them, they said, "We already went!"[e] In any case, later we made a plan, I and Nadir. We said, "Let's steal Umro's motorboat, that and his car. We're going to Nait Inlet, we're going to Kumzar!"

We went. When we reached Nait Inlet, then, Salah Matarr and his group were there. They said "Don't go, the winds are very strong".[f] In any case, we mustered up our strength, and we went. We went and went and went, we reached Shaisah Bay. The winds were very strong! We said, "Now we've got to finish it". We went. When we reached the mouth of Lahyu, then the winds were very strong, it was a real gale. In any case, I said to Nadir,

"We're going. What can we do now that we're halfway? [lit. How is the middle?] If we're going, we're going". We weren't able to do it, we turned around. In any case, we went, we got into it, there were strong winds, it was very choppy. We almost got swallowed up,[g] we turned around, we weren't able to make it. Then when we came, we went back the same way, hey! we still couldn't make it.[h] The waves were coming in, and the wind was bringing water in.[i]

Finally we had to give in, we went down to Roznan Rock. We went to Roznan Rock, by God's strength, and we went, and went on to Musandam Island. It was early afternoon by now.[j] 1:30. Then I said to Nadir, "Let's not stay here. People know that we're at sea. We've got to make a plan". Then he said to me, "There is a phone network signal over there". I said to him, "First, let's not call. First, let's go from behind, to Musandam Island from behind". We went from behind, and whoa! the winds were very strong. We couldn't go back.

We came, we came back there, we went up on the mountain to where Nadir had said, "There is a phone network signal over there". We went up, we phoned, we said to them, "Hey everyone, we're at Musandam Island, can you make it to us? We haven't been able to come there". So we came down, and went on to Musandam Island. We wrapped our underskirts tightly around ourselves, we were freezing, we were cold, and we did our early afternoon and late afternoon prayers. We kept waiting until sunset.

When sunset came, Nadir said, "No one's come for us". I said to him, "Don't criticize them. The rain and waves, they're very strong". I said to him, "Come on, let's go and get ourselves some firewood, let's make ourselves a fire". We went up and got ourselves some firewood, we came back, we set it up for ourselves at the mouth of the cave. We did the sunset and evening prayers. And when it got really dark, we lit a fire and lay down. Sleep wouldn't come to us. We were very cold. Until the dead of night this is how it was, and when in was 4:30 in the morning, the boat came to us, it was the guys. It was the guys, and they said to us, "They are asking about you in Kumzar", they criticized us and brought food to us, and blankets. Then they themselves took our food and blankets, and they slept…until, in the morning, we came into Kumzar. We came to Kumzar, and there too they were criticizing us, the people.

And we all lived happily ever after [lit., you went and I came].

Questions on Musandam Kumzari main text

a) MK: *či inda kumẓar?*
   L: *či wāwusti inda kumzar?*
   What was happening in Kumzar?

b) MK: *dgin ba ša či tō'a ba jawwu inda kumẓar?*
   L: *gaftin ba šan či tō'a ba hawā inda kumzar?*
   What did they say the weather would be like in Kumzar?

c) MK: *kay kawla bār wābu ba y'ā?*
   L: *či ǧāya kawla bār hām zēran?*
   When did the strong winds start?

d) MK: *pi či balya būrinā?*
   L: *ba či adaba wāwudē?*
   Why were they in a problematic situation?

e) MK: *wa talafōn gidin ba qawm ēli ẓēd inda xōr nētā, čāb dgīn ba šan?*
   L: *wa telefun gidin ba qawm ēli zēd inda xōr nētā, či gafti ba šan?*
   When they called Ali Zaid's group in Nait Inlet, what did they say to them?

f) MK: *qawm ṣālaḥ maṭarr čāb dgīn ba šan?*
   L: *qawm ṣālaḥ maṭarr čāb gafti ba šan?*
   What did Salah Matarr's group say to them?

g) MK: *wa kan kawlōwā ǧāy či tō'a ba šan?*
   L: *waqta kaftin kawlā, či ǧāya wābu ba šan?*
   When they got into the winds what almost happened to them?

h) MK: *či tērē'ē mra či radda tī'in ba y'ā?*
   L: *pa či tērē'ē qaṭ či tērēē radda bin ba y'ā?*
   Which way did they try to go back?

i) MK: *či wābu ba ṭrādē'ō pi kawla u barman?*
   L: *či wābu ba ṭrādē'ō inda barman?*
   What happened to the boat in the wind and waves? (MK)
   What happened to the boat in the waves? (L)

j) MK: *či waqta rēsidin inda msandam?*
   L: *sā či ǧāyaā?*
   What time did they reach Musandam Island? (MK)
   What time was it by now? (L)

Appendix 5: Segmental inventory of Laraki and Musandam Kumzari

The segmental inventory of Laraki is similar to that of Musandam Kumzari, which is described in greater detail in Anonby (2011). The consonant inventory for both varieties may be summarized as follows:

	labial	alveolar	emphatic alveolar	(alveo-) palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
voiceless stops	p	t	ṭ	č	k	q		ʔ
voiced stops	b	d	ḍ	j	g			
voiceless fricatives	f	s	ṣ	š		x	ḥ	h
voiced fricatives			ẓ			ǧ		
nasals	m	n						
approximants	w	l / r	ḷ	y				

The vowel inventory for both varieties may be summarized as follows:

	front	central	back
high	ī		ū
	i	u	
mid	ē		ō
	a		
low		ā	

Appendix 6: Laraki and Musandam Kumzari-speaking population by settlement

This Appendix summarizes the population of Laraki and Musandam Kumzari speakers by settlement, as discussed in 3.2.1.

As shown in the table below, we estimate the total number of mother-tongue Kumzari speakers, counting both Musandam Kumzari and Laraki, at 4060. In addition, there are likely about 30 second-language speakers of Laraki on Larak Island, and perhaps two hundred latent second-language speakers in Ra's al-Khaimah (4.4.1).

Sources:	Najmabadi 1988 (1977 estimate)	Oman 1993 census in Lewis (2011)	Oman 2003 census (p. 90)	our estimate
OMAN		1700		
Kumzar			1297	1500[18]
Khasab				1500
Daba				100-150
UAE				
Ra's al-Khaimah				>50
Ajman				100-150
Abu Dhabi				50
IRAN				
Larak-e Shahri	720			600-700
Other locations				10
TOTAL				4060

Table 6: Mother-tongue speakers of Kumzari by settlement

---

[18] This population varies seasonally; see 3.2.1.

Appendix 7: Images from field research

Figure 14: On the pier at Bandar-e Abbas before setting out for Larak Island

Figure 15: Collecting the Laraki wordlist

References

Anonby, Christina van der Wal. 2008. Features of orality in Kumzari narrative discourse: Observations from the tale Bāgh al-Mowz. Paper presented at the 1st International conference on languages and dialects in Iran, University of Sistan and Baluchestan, October 28-31.

_____. 2009. Words within words: The embedded poems of Kumzari fairy tales. Colloquium on documenting oral traditions in the non-western world. Leiden University, August 27-29.

_____. (in preparation). *A grammar of Kumzari*.

Anonby van der Wal, Christina and Anonby, Erik J. Musandam field notes (ms.). Primary contributors of demographic and historical information: Malallah Suleiman al-Kumzari, Ahmad Muhammad Sheikh al-Kumzari, and Noufal Mohammad Ahmed al-Kumzari.

Anonby, Erik J. 2003. Update on Luri: How many languages? *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 13:2, pp. 171-97.

_____. 2008a. Kumzari: Language between two worlds. Guest presentation addressed to the Uppsala University Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, October 21.

_____. 2008b. Stress-induced vowel lengthening and harmonization in Kumzari. Paper presented at the 1st International conference on languages and dialects in Iran, University of Sistan and Baluchestan, October 28-31.

_____. 2011. Illustrations of the IPA: Kumzari. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 41:3.

_____. (in preparation a). Comparative notes on Kumzari.

_____. (in preparation b). Fusion of Persian and Arabic structures in Kumzari.

Anonby, Erik J, Christina Anonby van der Wal and Ali Hassan Ali al-Kumzari. (in preparation). *Ktēb majma Kumzārī [Kumzari dictionary]*.

Anonby, Erik J. and Eric Johnson. 2001. *A sociolinguistic survey of the Zaghawa (Beria) of Chad and Sudan*. N'Djaména, Chad: Association SIL Tchad.

Anonby, Erik J. and Hassan Mohebbi Bahmani. (in preparation a). Divergence across the Strait of Hormuz: A comparison of Kumzari dialects.

_____. (in preparation b). Hormozgan wordlists.

Baishak, Maryam Salam. 2002. Did the Sassanic language influence the language of the Shihuh, and is Kumzari an affected variety? The Shihhi dialect in the light of linguistics. *Al-Khaleej* 8541, p. 12, October 17, 2002.

Bergman, Ted G. (ed.). 1990. *Survey reference manual* (2nd ed.). Dallas: SIL.

Casad, Eugene H. 1974. *Dialect intelligibility testing*. Dallas: SIL.

Dostal, Walter. 1972. The Shihuh of northern Oman: A contribution to cultural ecology. *The geographical journal* 138, pp. 1-7.

Fishman, Joshua A. 1991. *Reversing language shift*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Grimes, Joseph E. 1995. *Language survey reference guide*. Dallas: SIL.

Ḥanḍal, Fāliḥ. 1987. *Al-Shuhūh [The Shihuh]*. Ra's al-Khaimah: [publisher unknown].

Jayakar, Atmaram S.G. 1902. The Shahee dialect of Arabic. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21, pp. 246-277.

Kent, P.E. 1979. The emergent Hormuz salt plugs of southern Iran. *Journal of petroleum geology* 2.2, pp. 117-44.

Kessler, Brett. 2001. *The significance of word lists*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Kolbitsch, Alexander and Mirjam Kolbitsch. (in preparation). *A sociolinguistic survey of the dialects of Semnan Province*. Uppsala: Uppsala University.

al-Kumzari, Ahmad M.A. 2006 (ms.). Kumzār [Kumzar].

Lewis, Paul. 2011. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, 16th edition. Dallas: SIL International. Available at: www.ethnologue.com.

Lorimer, John G. 1908-15. *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman, and Central Arabia*. Calcutta and Bombay: Superintendant Government Printing.

Ministry of Development. 2003. *Oman census, 2003*. Muscat: Ministry of Development.

Najmabadi, Shahnaz. 1988. Identité ethnique contre nationalité: Le cas de l'île de Lārak (Golfe Persique). *Le fait ethnique en Iran et en Afghanistan*, ed. Jean-Pierre Digard, pp. 65-74. Paris: Éditions du CNRS.

_____. 1992. 'The sea belongs to God, the land belongs to us': Resource management in a multi-resource community in the Persian Gulf. *Mobility and territoriality: Social and spatial boundaries among foragers, fishers, pastoralists and peripatetics*, ed. Michael J. Casimir and Aparna Rao, pp. 329-42. Oxford: Berg.

Skjærvø, Prods O. 1989. Languages of southeast Iran: Lārestānī, Kumzārī, Baškardī. *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, ed. Rüdiger Schmitt, pp. 363-9. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichart Verlag.

_____. 2010. Iran – Modern Iranian languages – New Persian. *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*. Available at: www.iranica.com.

Thomas, Bertram. 1929. The Musandam Peninsula and its people the Shihuh. *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 16, pp. 71-86.

_____. 1930. The Kumzari dialect of the Shihuh tribe (Musandam), Arabia, and a vocabulary. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 62, pp. 785-854.

Tiessen, Calvin F. 2003. *Positive orientation towards the vernacular among the Talysh of Sumgayit* (M.A. thesis). Grand Forks: University of North Dakota.

White, Art, Michael Skoglund, Nathan McCauley and Ben Roller. 2006. *Wordsurv 6* (v. 6.0.2). Upland/Fort Wayne and Dallas: Taylor University and SIL International.

Wimbish, John S. 1989. *Wordsurv: A program for analyzing language survey word lists* (v. 2.512). Dallas: SIL International.

Windfuhr, Gernot. 1997. Persian Phonology. *Phonologies of Asia and Africa* 2, ed. Alan S. Kaye and Peter T. Daniels, pp. 675-89. London: Routledge.

Zaeimi, Q. 2002/2004. *Tangeh-ye Hormoz [The Strait of Hormuz]*. Tehran: Daftar-e Pažuhešhā.

Zimmermann, Wolfgang. 1981. *Tradition und Integration mobiler Lebensformgruppen: Eine empirische Studie über Beduinen und Fischer in Musandam, Sultanat Oman*. Göttingen: Georg-August-Universität.

Zwemer, Samuel M. 1902. Three journeys in northern Oman. *The geographical journal* 19, pp. 54-64.