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Nominal Echo Formations in Kati : In the Context of Languages of Northern Pakistan

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Nominal Echo Formations in Kati: In the Context of Languages of Northern Pakistan

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カティ語の名詞類の反響形成
—北パキスタン諸言語の一員として—

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Kati is a Nuristani language mainly spoken in Afghanistan, but also in a few parts in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan.

Echo formation, a kind of partial reduplication, is often considered a characteristic of languages in the Indian Sprachbund. According to traditional definitions, echo formation should create reduplicants with some sound change at the word initial syllables of base words, but Yoshioka (2017) advocates that the definition of echo formation might need revision.

To elucidate the issue in depth, this study presents another example of echo formation with identity allowance from the Kati language. Conclusions show that identity allowance within echo formation can be considered an areal feature and not just a genealogical one, as found in the Chitral subgroup of ‘Dardic’ languages, because Kati is not an Indic language, but is adjacent to Kalasha, at least in the Rumbur Valley, where the survey was conducted. This feature is apparently neither mainstream in Indic nor found in Persian (as an Iranian language). It would be interesting to ascertain how widespread this phenomenon is and to identify its origin.

カティ語はヌーリスタン語派の言語の一つであり、主にアフガニスタンで用いられているが、僅かにパキスタンのハイバル・パフトゥーンフワ州の数地点でも話されている。

反響形成は部分重複操作の一種であり、インド亜大陸言語圏の諸言語で数多く共通して見られる特徴でもある。伝統的な定義では、反響形成は、語基の語

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Key Words : echo word, fixed segment, identity avoidance, Kati, Nuristani

キーワード : 反響語, 固定セグメント, 同要素回避, カティ語, ニーリスタン語派

頭音節において部分的な音変化を果たした反響部を生産することとされているが、先行研究の Yoshioka (2017) は、その反響形成の定義の再検討をすべきではないかと提案している。

本稿では、その議論をもう一步進めるために、もう一つ追加で、同一性回避を示す反響形成を持った言語として、カティ語の実例を提示する。カティ語がその特性を持つことから、反響形成における同一性回避が、「ダルド語群」の下位グループであるチトラール諸語のみに見られる系統的な特性ではなく、寧ろ地域特徴であると考えられる。この特性は、インド語派の主流とは言えないし、ペルシア語（イラン語派）などにも見られない。そんな中で観察されたこの現象について、どれだけの地理的範囲に広がっているのか、起源は何処にあるのかといった問題は大変に興味深いものとなるだろう。

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1 Introduction

This study was conducted to verify the morphophonological restrictions on nominal echo formations in the Kati language. Comparison of these restrictions on nominal echo formations in Kati is then made with those of surrounding languages to elucidate relations among the different characteristics of the echo-formational process in northern Pakistan and understand the position of Kati in that context.

Conclusions demonstrate definitively that the feature of echo formation in the adjacent Kalasha and Khowar languages is also seen in Kati. Therefore, it is not a genealogical feature, but an areal one.

2 Kati Language

Kati, a Nuristani language, is spoken mainly in the Nuristan province of Afghanistan and in some parts of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan (Maps 1 and 2). The total population of speakers is about 19,400; amongst whom 15,000 speakers reside in Afghanistan (1994) and 4,400 are in Pakistan (1992) (Lewis 2009: 324; 502). The speakers belong to an ethnic group named Kata (Kṯ *katə*⁽¹⁾). The language is alternately known as Bashgali⁽²⁾, Kataviri⁽³⁾, Nuristani⁽⁴⁾, and



Map 1 Map of South Asia.



Map 2 Map of the Kati language.

Chatruma mon(dr)⁵.

In Pakistan, most Kata people reside in Gobor, Bumbret, or Rumbur. Gobor (KT *gabūr*) is the westernmost protruding part of the Chitral district in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. Bumbret (KT *mumrét*) and Rumbur (KT *kunīṣṭ*) are valleys in the Chitral district, where Kalasha, a minority ethnic group, also resides. Only one village at the uppermost part of both valleys is designated for Kata people. They are known by the same Khovar name, Shekhanandeh, meaning ‘a village of converts’⁶.

The Nuristani languages belong to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family, which comprises the three sub-branches of Indic (a.k.a. Indo-Aryan), Iranian, and Nuristani. The genealogical position of Nuristani languages remains controversial, although the mainstream opinion after Strand (1973) places it parallel to the other two groups as shown in Figure 1 below.

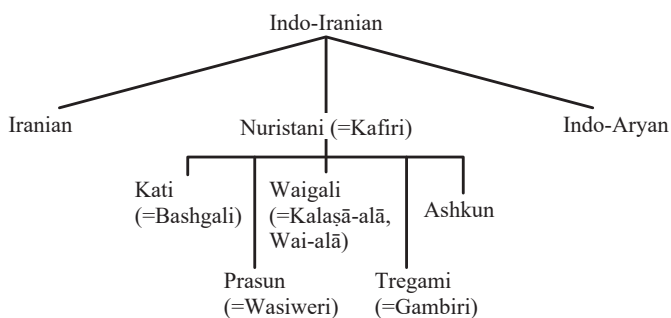


Figure 1 Position of Nuristani (Masica 1991: 463, simplification mine).

Most Nuristani languages are spoken only in Afghanistan. However, under prevailing circumstances, going there for a field survey is impossible. It is impossible to consider the variation of the Kati language spoken in Pakistan as representative of the sub-branch. It should be borne in mind that this language belongs to the Nuristani sub-branch of Indo-Iranian and that, from a genealogical perspective, it is sufficiently different from the surrounding languages of northern Pakistan.

3 Echo Word and Echo Formation in South Asia

In the study of South Asian languages, the traditionally used term “echo word” refers to the process of morphophonologically reduplicating a word with a partial transformation, and thereby semantically expanding the meaning of a word somewhat. In Urdu, for example, the echo word *pānī wānī* (پانی وانی) is used as an expression made immediately from the noun *pānī* (پانی) ‘water’ by the process called “echo formation”. It means either ‘water and/or the like’ or ‘generic water’, depending on the context.

Usually, echo words are made on an ad hoc basis and are subsequently used in everyday conversation. Therefore, the various echo words have acquired fixed forms over time, but some rules exist for forming new echo words. Because echo formation depends on the speaker’s preference, some people are good at making echo words, but others are not so good at making them.

Studies of echo formation have been undertaken since the first half of the twentieth century. Chatterji (1926), for example, looks at the languages of the Dravidian and Indo-European families and describes the echo word as common: “A word is repeated partially (partially in the sense that a new syllable, the nature of which is generally fixed, is substituted for the initial one of the word in question, and the new word so formed, unmeaning by itself, echoes the sense and sound of the original word), and in this way the idea of et cetera, and things similar to or associated with that, is expressed” (Chatterji 1926: 176). Since then, studies such as those by Emeneau (1938a; 1938b), who advocated the Indian subcontinent linguistic area later, and by Abbi (1991) have led to similar statements. Similar ideas have been passed on to the present day.

3.1 Echo Formation and Avoidance Patterns

In the context of research on echo formation, Khan (2006) advocates four ways in which languages can avoid pronouncing reduplicants that are homophonic to the base word. He assigns languages with reduplication to one of five corresponding categories (1):

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------------------|
| (1) | A | Allowing base-reduplicant homophony |
| | B | Maintaining a paradigmatic gap |

- C Using an established backup fixed segment
- D Choosing the best candidate from an established set of fixed segments
- E Choosing from a large and possibly undefined set of backup fixed segments

According to the formal definitions presented in earlier works, echo formation never makes any homophonic pair of a base word and its reduplicant (following the method of B–E). Furthermore, for this reason, many researchers do not use the term “echo” for so-called echo words or echo formation, preferring instead to use the term *fixed-segment reduplication*.

The author’s terminology for echo formation is presented in Figure 2 with the Urdu echo word *pānī wānī* ‘water and/or the like’ made from *pānī* ‘water’:

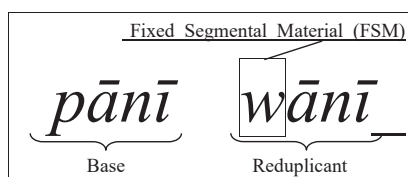


Figure 2 Terminology for echo formation.

3.2 Echo Formation in Northern Pakistan: Yoshioka (2017)

From discussion of echo formations in languages of northern Pakistan, Yoshioka (2017) classified the languages based on criteria reported by Khan (2006) (1).

Burushaski, Domaaki, and Shina belong to Type C. They achieve avoidance of homophony with more than one fixed segmental material candidate. A gap exists in that Domaaki avoids only identical reduplicants to base forms, whereas Burushaski and Shina show avoidance to significantly similar forms between a base and a reduplicant, for instance as in Burushaski, *chil mil⁷* made from *chil* ‘water’, but *bépay šépay* (not **bépay mépay*) from *bépay* ‘yak’.

In Khowar and Kalasha, speakers have been proven to produce reduplicants for echo formation with only FSM, without avoidance of any base-reduplicant homophony within nominals having the initial consonant /m/. In other words, these languages belong to Khan’s Type A, for instance as in Khowar, *ūx mūx* ‘water and the like’ made from *ūx* ‘water’, but *madiān madiān* ‘mare and the like’ from *madiān* ‘mare’.

Researchers have defined echo formation based solely on morphophonological characters, as full range reduplication with a partial sound change. However, Yoshioka (2017) presents two languages which employ both echo formation and complete reduplication for the same function and advocates the necessity of a

looser definition with two facets: if, in a language, complete reduplication with the same initial constituent as the only fixed segmental material of the language exceptionally carries the same function as echo formation generally does in the language, then the morphophonological restriction should be loosened to integrate the exceptional complete reduplication into echo formation. Regarding a looser definition, see (2).

(2) The definition of nominal echo formations (Yoshioka 2017: 123)

Morphophonologically:

The base word is followed by a reduplicated form (including those being partially replaced or padded out with a fixed segmental material).

Functionally:

The base meaning is extended by adding the meaning ‘and/or the like’.

For languages in northern Pakistan, which Yoshioka (2017) treats, semantically, the morphological process of echo formation mainly conveys concepts of the Associative plural, i.e., ‘associated with that’ (Corbett and Mithun 1996; Peterson 2014, *inter-alia*), the Approximative plural, i.e., ‘or whatever’ (Peterson 2014), and the Simulative plural, i.e., ‘and the like’ (Armoskaite and Kutlu 2014, *inter-alia*) in common.⁸⁾

This paper presents a discussion of nominal echo formation in the Kati language, spoken in northern Pakistan. Regarding the echo formations of some other languages in surrounding area, Yoshioka (2017: 122) summarises the characteristics as explained below (3):

(3) Characteristics of echo formations in northern Pakistan:

- i. *m-* and *š-* are the universally preferred FSMs.
- ii. The languages are Type C or A, locating from east to west.
- iii. Among Type C languages, two subtypes exist: those with identity avoidance and those with similarity avoidance.
- iv. In Type A languages, complete repetitive forms can have the echo-formational function.

In general, languages of northern Pakistan employ *m-* and/or *š-*⁹⁾ for the principal fixed segmental material(s) for echo formation.

Burushaski, Domaaki, Khowar, and Kalasha use *m-*, whereas Shina does *š-* for the first FSM. Languages showing avoidance of identity or similarity between bases and reduplicants, Burushaski, Domaaki, and Shina, employ the opposite candidate for the second FSM. Khowar and Kalasha do not avoid identity:

Table 1 Simplified classification with language types (Yoshioka 2017: 121)

Language type	Name	FSM(s)	Avoidance type
C	Domaaki	<i>m / š</i>	identity
	Burushaski	<i>m / š</i>	similarity
	Shina	<i>š / m</i>	similarity
A	Khowar	<i>m</i>	none
	Kalasha	<i>m</i>	none

Consequently, there is no second FSM.

3.3 Subsequent Research Question

On the one hand, Burushaski, the language isolate, Domaaki, the Central Indic, and Shina, the Northwest Indic, are mutually adjacent geographically in the Gilgit-Baltistan province and are of Type C with both *m-* and *š-* for FSMs. On the other hand, Khowar and Kalasha are Northwest Indic languages that are mutually adjacent in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province. They belong to Type A with only FSM *m-*. Table 1 presents this information as a list.

Shina, Khowar, and Kalasha commonly belong to the Northwest Indic sub-branch, particularly to the so-called Dardic group, but the latter two are nearest to one another in the Chitral subgroup within Dardic. Rarely does an echo-formation system concur with base-reduplicant identity allowance in a language as Khowar and Kalasha do.

The seemingly complete reduplication for *m*-initial words in Khowar and Kalasha can be regarded as echo formation semantically. A question now arises as to whether echo formation of this type is genealogical or areal. Data presented by Yoshioka (2017) are not available to produce a response to this question. Therefore, research of the Kati language is significant to resolve this question because Kati is the closest language to Kalasha, although it belongs to a different branch of Indo-Iranian. If identity allowance is a genealogical characteristic of the Chitral subgroup, then Kati would not behave so. However, if it is an areal tendency, then Kati can be included. My attempt is to overcome this impasse in this study.

Although it remains unclear when the languages of this region began to be distributed and contacted in their present locations, whether echo formation, as a characteristic of the South Asian linguistic area, of these languages is obtained genealogically or areally can be expected to help in unravelling the history of languages.

4 Research Methodology

The author now presents data collected through personal fieldwork. Field

surveys were conducted from 26 October through 5 November of 2016 at the Kuništ hamlet in the Rumbur Valley, with an informant man who was born in 1979.

I asked the informant about echo formation by elicitation. At first I provided him with several simple words and then he responded me the echo words. In using this method, it is necessary to begin by illustrating some examples of echo words. The author has mainly used Urdu and a bit of Rumbur Kalasha in doing so.

5 Data and Discussion

Table 2 presents the echo words in Kati elicited from the informant. At the left and right of the broken line are respectively listed the base nouns and reduplicants of echo formation. Next, the meaning of the base noun, its initial consonant, and the fixed segmental material that is actually used to create each reduplicant follow the echo words.

Initially, both (A) and (B) are samples of bases with no initial consonant. They commonly employ *m-* to make an echo reduplicant. Cross-linguistically, there are some languages altering the initial CVs in echo formation¹⁰⁾, but the initial vowels in (A, B) are not changed. Consequently, we recognise that the FSMs used in both words are simply *m-*. The next sample, (C), shows the alternation of the initial consonant *v-* with *m-*, regularly.

Aside from the inherent words using *m-* as FSM, the loan word from either Urdu or Dari, of which the original source is Arabic, in (D) employs *m-*.

The fact that they make echo reduplicants with FSM *m-* even for bases with the initial bilabial consonants *p-* and *b-* in samples (E, F) suggests that the echo-formation system in Kati does not avoid similarity between bases and reduplicants. For example, in Burushaski, the first FSM is *m-*, but the language tends to avoid similarity such as *bépay* ‘yak’, becomes *bépay šépay* with the second FSM *š-*, not **bépay mépay*. Furthermore, here are *mančhí* ‘man’, and *mo* ‘rice’ in

Table 2 Echo words in Kati

	Base	Reduplicant	Meaning	Initial C	FSM
(A)	<i>əó</i>	<i>məó</i>	‘water’	zero	<i>m-</i>
(B)	<i>amú</i>	<i>mamú</i>	‘house’	zero	<i>m-</i>
(C)	<i>vəri</i>	<i>məri</i>	‘language’	<i>v</i>	<i>m-</i>
(D)	<i>kitóp</i>	<i>mitóp</i>	‘book’	<i>k</i>	<i>m-</i>
(E)	<i>piš</i>	<i>miš</i>	‘flower’	<i>p</i>	<i>m-</i>
(F)	<i>bo</i>	<i>mo</i>	‘stool’	<i>b</i>	<i>m-</i>
(G)	<i>mančhí</i>	<i>mančhí</i>	‘man’	<i>m</i>	<i>m-</i>
(H)	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo</i>	‘rice’	<i>m</i>	<i>m-</i>

(G, H). By echo formation, their forms become *mančhí mančhí*, and *mo mo*: the base words and the reduplicants show complete reduplication for the function of echo formation. It now seems apparent that Kati language does not even avoid identity.

The following sentences have expressions created by echo formation.

- (4) *mo mo yu!*
 rice ECHO eat:IMP.SG
 ‘Eat rice and/or the like!’

- (5) *noború moború aní aaž-íá.*
 PN ECHO here come-PRS.3PL
 ‘Noboru and his companion(s), whom the speaker has not identified, are coming here.’

My informant himself translated sentence (4) in Urdu as using echo formation (underlined part) in parallel, ‘čāwal šāwal khāō! (چاول شاول کھاؤ!)’. Therefore, clearly, the speakers regard the functions of echo formation in Kati and Urdu as the same, or at least that they partially overlap to some degree. In the former example, (4), the echo formation is used for approximative or simulative plural, i.e. ‘(rice) and/or the like’. In the latter, (5), it shows associative plural function, ‘those associated with (Noboru), (Noboru’s) companions’.

6 Conclusion

From the discussion, one can infer that Kati employs the bilabial nasal *m*- as the only fixed segmental material for echo formation: this language shows no identity avoidance between a base and a reduplicant. Therefore, echo formation with identity allowance are apparently not a genealogical feature of Chitral languages (Kalasha and Khowar), but an areal feature. At least, according to the present situation, I consider it more an areal characteristic because, from Table 3, it is apparent that Type A languages in northern Pakistan do not belong to the same

Table 3 Simplified classification with language types for six languages

LT	Name	FSM(s)	Avoidance type	Phylogeny
C	Domaaki	<i>m / š</i>	identity	IE > II > Indic > Central
	Burushaski	<i>m / š</i>	similarity	Isolate
	Shina	<i>š / m</i>	similarity	IE > II > Indic > Northwest > Dardic
A	Khowar	<i>m</i>	none	IE > II > Indic > Northwest > Dardic > Chitral
	Kalasha	<i>m</i>	none	IE > II > Indic > Northwest > Dardic > Chitral
	Kati	<i>m</i>	none	IE > II > Nuristan

genealogical category. Going further, they can be traced back to a single phylogeny, but there are several languages of Type C, Domaaki and Shina in this table, before reaching the point at which they converge.

However, it is possible that a once-Chitrali genealogical characteristic has spread and become a part of Kati language. Chitral languages are adjacent to Kati at the westernmost reaches of this area.

In this scenario, echo formation with identity allowance has spread to Kati, although it has not spread to Shina and Burushaski, which show a trend of similarity avoidance, not identity avoidance. However, if echo formation of this type is an areal feature, the next question would be its origin and motivation. For example, based on pure assumption, when the echo formation reached here, the rule of identity/similarity avoidance in echo formations might have been lost in the area for some unknown reason.

One can infer that they acquired this feature by influencing each other beyond the genealogical branches after the Kati and Chitrali languages came to their present position. I'm not yet sure which one of them acquired this feature first. Nuristani languages are surrounded by Iranian languages and a few Dardic, thereby Indic, languages. However, major Iranian languages including Persian surely avoid either identity or similarity. Regarding some languages spoken in the surrounding area of Kati, there are a few grammars. Their descriptions, however, do not provide sufficient information about echo formation because the phenomenon was always treated as a peripheral issue. Buddruss and Degener (2017) on Prasun, and Degener (1998) on Nishey-ala, both of which belong to Nuristani, and Lehr (2014) on southeast Pashayi, a Dardic language in Afghanistan, as well as Грюнберг (1980) on Afghan Kati inform us that there is no echo formation in these languages. Liljegren (2016: 94) on Palula and Perder (2013: 187–188) on Dameli, both which are of Dardic, explain that only the first FSM of these languages has *m-* in common. There are neither sufficient samples nor notes to clarify the avoidance system. Therefore, knowledge of the real state of echo formation in Nuristani languages, including Kati in Afghanistan.¹¹⁾

Abbreviations

3	third person	PRS	present
ECHO	echo-formation reduplicant	PN	proper noun
IE	Indo-European	PL	plural
II	Indo-Iranian	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	Ur	Urdu
KT	Kati		

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Notes

- 1) I remain unsure about the number of phonemes in Kati. As described in the text, I use my notation according to a tentative inventory with 6 primal vowels and 27 consonants: /i, e, ə, a, u, o; p, b, t [t̪], d [d̪], t̪ [t̪], d̪ [d̪], k, g [g], c [tʃ], č [tʃ̣], j [dʒ], ç [dʒ̣], s [s̪], z [z̪], š [ʃ], ž [ʒ], ṣ̌ [ʃ̣], ẓ̌ [ʒ̣], ẓ [ẓ], m, n [ŋ], ŋ [ŋ], ŋ, r [r], l, v [v], and y [j]/. The vowels show distinction between oral and nasal (such as /ã/) as well as whether they are rhotic (/a [a̠]/, a.k.a. R-coloured) or not. An acute accent symbol (´) over vowels denotes a (possibly indistinctive) high pitch accent in multisyllabic words, while I omit its use for monosyllabic words because the only vowels of the words must take a high pitch accent. For convenience, this notation (with small modifications) is used for other languages here.
- 2) This refers to the language of the Bashgal Valley (a.k.a. the Landay Sin Valley) in the eastern part of Nuristan, which is inhabited by some ethnic groups, including Kata, of the Nuristani people. The main spoken language in the valley is Kati. However, it is noteworthy that Turner (1966), which is significant material of the Indo-Aryan languages, treats Kati and Bashgali as two distinct languages.
- 3) This name is based on *kató vəri* ‘the language of Kata’ in Kati language, comprising *kató* ‘Kata’ and *vəri* ‘language, speech, talk, story’.
- 4) The word *nūristānī* means ‘(the language) of Nuristan’. This name is often used in modern Khowar and Urdu speech in Pakistan. While there are actually many languages in the Nuristan area.
- 5) It means ‘the language of the Nuristani people’ in Rumbur Kalasha language; it consists of *čatrumá* ‘Nuristani’ and *mon(dr)* ‘language, speech’.
- 6) It might consist of *šexán-an* [convert-PL] ‘converts’ and *deh* ‘village’.
- 7) With respect to the quotation from Yoshioka (2017), I have partially changed the notation to match that of this paper hereinafter.
- 8) Of the seven semantic spaces listed by Abbi (2018: 7) for the semantics of echo formation in South Asian languages, four appear to be related to nominal categories: **Generality**, **Plurality**, **Superordinate structures**, and **Non-specificness** [*sic*]. However, as she says in her paper, it does not seem that **Superordinate structure** is closely related to **Generality and plurality**, and that they are properly differentiated. Abbi (2018: 6) herself mentions the Hindi echo-word *pen-ven* as an example of both **Generality and plurality** and **Superordinate structure**, arguing that it can be translated into either a reading of ‘writing instruments’ as the former or ‘stationary item’ as the latter, depending on the context.
- 9) Languages in north-eastern Pakistan such as Burushaski, Domaaki, and Shina pronounce a non-retroflex hushing sound, represented by /ʃ/, in a dorsal manner, i.e., as a voiceless alveolo-palatal sibilant fricative [ɕ]. Languages in north-western Pakistan such as Khowar, Kalasha, and Kati pronounce it in a coronal manner, as a voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ̣], see also endnote 1.
- 10) In Telugu (Dravidian; India) echo formation replaces the first syllable of base words by the FSM *gi-*. Consequently, *prema* ‘love’ becomes *prema gima*. In this connection, Japanese echo-formation-like expressions employ *mo-* for the first FSM. For example, *yákkai* (厄介) ‘trouble’ → *yakkai-mókkai* (厄介もっかい) ‘(hard) trouble, unidentified problem’, *nánja* (何じゃ) ‘what is (this)’ → *nanja-mónja* (ナンジャモンジャ) ‘unfamiliar majestic tree, *Chionanthus retusus* in particular’. It is noteworthy that these Japanese expressions show different semantic functions than typical South Asian echo formations.
- 11) In practice, the national institute with which the author is affiliated does not permit visits to Afghanistan, even though there is no clearly stipulated rule against it, because the Ministry of Foreign Affairs prevents such visits, irrespective of the fact that as a field researcher of course I am aware of the local situation. Nothing further in the way of field study can be done for the time being.

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