

DIRECT OBJECT INCORPORATION AND ~~POSSESSOR~~ RAISING IN CHUKCHI¹

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0. Introduction*0.1. Chukchi language*

- Endangered (<4500 speakers [Census 2010]).
- Data – 2016-2017 field trips to Amguema village (North-Eastern Chukotka)²
- Clear phonological and grammatical word – defined by vowel harmony domain (1)

- (1) a. *tipʔejɲe-k* b. *tepʔajɲa-ɲɲo-k*
 sing-INF sing-INCH-INF
 ‘to sing’. ‘to start singing’.

- ‘Free’ (discours-based) word order [Dunn 1999])
- Indexation of A, S and P on the verb (in particular TAM forms) (2, 3)
- Ergative cas pattern – S/O marked with Nominative, A – Instrumental.

- (2) *ətʔəy-e* *ekk-in* *watə* *∅-pəne-ni-n*
 father-INS son-POSS knife.NOM.SG 2/3.S/A-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
 ‘Father sharpened the son’s knife’.

- (3) *yəmə-ka-jpə* *qora-t* *∅-yəntek-wʔe-t*
 I-obl-ABL reindeer-NOM.PL 2/3.S/A-run.away-TH-PL
 ‘The reindeers ran away from me’.

♠ Productive and robust N(oun) I(ncorporation)

- Noun stem-verb stem compound
- P-like (5) or S_P-like (4) argument can be incorporated³.
- Incorporated Noun is no longer indexed on the verb (4-5).

(4) S_P argument incorporated

- a. *nəmnəmə-k* *jara-t* *ye-simet-rʔu-tine-t*
 village-LOC house-ABS.PL PF-break-DISTR-PF.3PL-PL
- b. *nəmnəmə-k* *ya-ra-semat-rʔo-tən*
 village-LOC PF-house-break-DISTR-PF.3SG
 ‘In the village, the house has been broken’.

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² Мы благодарны нашим учителям чукотского за их труд и терпение.

³ This study is focused on the incorporation of P-like argument. However, adjuncts of various types can be incorporated into verb stem in Chukchi (see [Skorik 1948], [Muravyova et al. 2001]).

(5) D(irect) O(bject) is incorporated

- a. *ətłʔa-ta ritqrił r-ejmew-ni-n ɲaakka-ɣtə*
 mother-INS kasha.NOM.SG TR-approach-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O daughter-DAT
- b. *ətła ritq-n-ejmek-wʔ-i ɲaakka-ɣtə*
 mother.NOM.SG kasha-TR-approach-TH-2/3SG.S daughter-DAT
 ‘Mother brought kasha closer to the daughter’.

- Another NP can take the position ‘left’ by an incorporated NP (compare (5b to 6) and (7a to 7b)). [Kozinsky et al. 1988] and [Nedjalkov & Polinskaja 1990] show that it can be used to manipulate information structure (Type III incorporation by [Mithun 1984])

(6) I(ndirect) O(bject) Raising

- ətłʔa-ta ritq-n-ejmew-ni-n ɲeekək-∅*
 mother-INS kasha-TR-approach-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O daughter-NOM.SG
 ‘Mother brought kasha closer to the daughter’.

(7) P(ossessor) R(aising)

- a. *nute-wiriŋə-łʔ-e ʔegetʔ-in pilyə-n swi-ni-n*
 land-protect-ATR-INS enemy-POSS throat-NOM.SG cut-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
- b. *nute-wiriŋə-łʔ-e pilyə-swi-ni-n ʔegetʔə-n*
 land-protect-ATR-INS throat-cut-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O enemy-NOM.SG
 ‘The defender of the Motherland cut the enemy’s throat’.

- ♣ **Our focus:** what are the different kinds of ‘Raising’ in Chukchi? How are they related to each other?

0.2. Noun Incorporation and ‘Raising’

Most common/studied: ‘Possessor Raising/Stranding’ ([Baker et al. 2005]), ‘Possessor Ascension’ ([Rosen 1989], [Spencer 1995]).

- Possessor ‘inside’ NP → NP ‘head’ (via Incorporation)
- In many languages – only inalienable possessors are ‘Raised’ ([Baker 1988], [Evans 2003], [Barrie 2016]). In some – alienable, too [Baker et al 2005]
- ‘Mainstream’ analysis – ‘Possessor Raising’. Another possibility – unmarked applicative (see [Michelson 1991] for Northern Iroquinian, [Baker et al 2005: 168-170] for Mapudungun, [Spencer 1995: 472] for Chukchi) (8).

(8) Possessor Raising VS Indirect Object Raising (from [Baker et al. 2005])

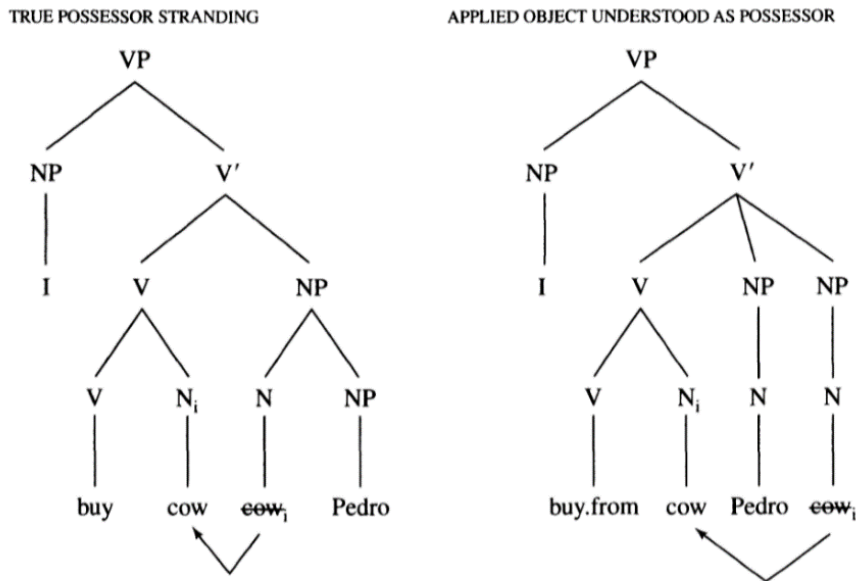


FIGURE 5. Possessor stranding compared to applicative structures.

Chukchi has both IO Raising (10) and Possessor Raising (9):

(9) Possessor Raising

- a. *ekke-ne atlay-in ʔattʔə-qey-ti rə-qametwa-w-ne-na-t*
 son-INS father-POSS dog-DIM-NOM.PL TR-eat-CS-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL
- b. *ekke-ne atlayə-n ʔattʔə-n-qametwa-w-ne-n*
 son-INS father-NOM.SG dog-TR-eat-CS-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
- ‘Son fed father’s dogs’.

(10) Indirect Object Raising

- a. *ekke-ne atlay-etə ʔattʔə-qey-ti rə-qametwa-w-ne-na-t*
 son-INS father-DAT dog-DIM-NOM.PL TR-eat-CS-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL
- b. *ekək atlay-etə ʔattʔə-n-qametwa-k-wʔ-e*
 son.NOM.SG father-DAT dog-TR-eat-CS-TH-2/3SG.S
- c. *ekke-ne atlayə-n ʔattʔə-n-qametwa-w-ne-n*
 son-INS father-NOM.SG dog-TR-eat-CS-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
- ‘Son fed dogs for father’.

♣ **Question:** Are these constructions distinct? Is ‘Possessor Raising’ a derivation from possessive construction, where possessor is embedded inside DO NP?

1. Chukchi data

1.1. ‘Possessor’ → Direct Object Raising

- Both inalienable (9) and alienable (11) possessors can be raised.

(11) Alienable possessor raised

- a. *ətłəy-e* *ekk-in* *watə* *pəne-ni-n*
 father-INS son-POSS knife.NOM.SG sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
- b. *ətłəy-e* *watə-mna-ne-n* *ekək*
 father-INS knife-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O son.NOM.SG
- ‘Father sharpened son’s knife’.

➤ When DO is possessed and incorporated, ‘Possessor Raising’ is obligatory (12).

(12) Stranding (a, b) and ‘cyclic incorporation’ (c)⁴ not allowed

- a. **ətłəy-e* *watə-mna-ne-n* *ekk-in*
 father-INS knife-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O son-POSS
- b. **ətłəyə-n* *watə-mna-yʔ-e* *ekk-in*
 father-NOM.SG knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S son-POSS
- c. **ətłəyə-n* *akka-watə-mna-yʔ-e*
 father-NOM.SG son-knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S
- ‘Father sharpened son’s knife’.

Summary:

- ♠ PR is *obligatory* when DO is incorporated
- ♠ No special restrictions on the type of possessor are imposed

1.2. *Indirect Object* → *Direct Object Raising*

➤ Raising is optional (compare (13b) and (13c))⁵

(13) Recipient Raising

- a. *ətłʔa-ta* *ritqrił* *r-ejmew-ni-n* *ɲaakka-ytə*
 mother-INS kasha.NOM.SG TR-approach-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O daughter-DAT
- b. *ətłə* *ritq-n-ejmek-wʔ-i* *ɲaakka-ytə*
 mother.NOM.SG kasha-TR-approach-TH-2/3SG.S daughter-DAT
- c. *ətłʔa-ta* *ritq-n-ejmew-ni-n* *ɲeekək*
 mother-INS kasha-TR-approach-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O daughter.NOM.SG
- ‘Mother brought kasha closer to the daughter’.

➤ Beneficiaries and Maleficiaries (14) can be raised (even when they are adjuncts (15))

(14) Maleficiary raising

⁴ This is disallowed according to independent reasons (see [Kozlov *forthcoming*]). With relationals ‘cyclic’ incorporation is possible.

⁵ For some verbs, either ‘NI with Raising’ or ‘NI without Raising’ is considered by some speakers ‘more natural’. However, with the majority of verbs both constructions are considered possible.

- a. *aʔasek-a enewna-ne-na-t ɲinqeɟ-epə mane-t*
 guy-INS take.away-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL boy-ABL money-NOM.PL
- b. *aʔasek-∅ man-enewna-ɣʔ-e ɲinqeɟ-epə*
 guy-NOM.SG money-take.away-TH-2/3SG.S boy-ABL
- c. *aʔasek-a man-enewna-ne-n ɲinqeɟ*
 guy-INS money-take.away-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O boy.NOM.SG
 ‘A guy took away some money from the boy’.

(15) Beneficiary (adjunct) raising

- a. *ətɬəɣ-e wala-∅ pəne-ni-n enaraɬʔ-etə*
 father-INS knife-NOM.SG sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O neighbour-DAT
- b. *ətɬəɣə-n wala-mna-ɣʔ-e enaraɬʔ-etə*
 father-NOM.SG knife-sharpen-TH-2/3SG.S neighbour-DAT
- c. *ətɬəɣ-e wala-mna-ne-n enaraɬʔə-n*
 father-INS knife-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O neighbour-NOM.SG
 ‘Father sharpened the knife for the neighbour’.

➤ Inanimate participant (Goal) can be raised (16)

(16) Goal Raising

- a. *ewirʔə-t jəme-ne-na-t pʔajmejoɬə-tkənə-k*
 cloth-NOM.PL hang-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL drying.stick-TOP-LOC
- b. *awerʔə-jme-ɣʔ-e pʔajmejoɬə-tkənə-k*
 cloth-hang-TH-2/3SG.S drying.stick-TOP-LOC
- c. *awerʔə-jme-ne-n pʔajmejoɬə-n*
 cloth-hang-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O drying.stick-NOM.SG
 ‘(Mother) hang daughter’s cloth on the drying stick’.

➤ Raised participant must be somehow ‘involved’ in the action or ‘affected’ by it (see (17), where raising is impossible)

(17) Goal is not involved

- a. *ətɬəɣ-e ya-jopat-lena-t kupre-t ɣəɬɣ-etə*
 father-INS PF-go.check-PF.3SG-PL net-NOM.PL lake-DAT
- b. *ətɬəɣə-n ya-kopra-jopat-lən ɣəɬɣ-etə*
 father-NOM.SG PF-net-go.check-PF.3SG-PL lake-DAT
- c. **ətɬəɣ-e ya-kopra-jopat-lən ɣəɬɣə-n*
 father-INS PF-net-go.check-PF.3SG lake-NOM.SG
 ‘Father went to check the nets for the lake’.

Summary:

♠ Raising isn’t obligatory

- ♠ Both adjuncts and oblique arguments can be raised
- ♠ Raised argument should be ‘affected’ by the action

1.3. Interaction between POSS → DO and IO → DO

- ♠ What happens when possessed DO is incorporated and IO is present?

Assumption: PR is an ‘automatic’ derivation from possessive construction ([Baker et al. 2005], [Barrie 2016]), optional IO → DO Raising is a distinct process

Expectations: When the possessed DO is incorporated while IO is present, possessor will raise to DO and IO will remain IO

Reality: If Goal/Recipient/Bene(Male)ficiary IO is present, no incorporation of possessed DO is allowed

- Alienable possession:

(18) IO (Recipient) blocs ‘Possessor Raising’

- a. *ətɫʔa-ta ekk-in ritqrit jil-ni-n ɲaaka-ytə*
 mother-INS son-POSS porridge.NOM.SG give-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O daughter-DAT
- b. **ətɫʔa-ta ekək ritqə-jil-ni-n ɲaaka-ytə*
 mother-INS son.NOM.SG porridge-give-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O daughter-DAT
 ‘Mother gave son’s porridge to the daughter’.

(19) IO (Place) blocs ‘Possessor Raising’

- a. *ətɫʔa-ta ɲeekk-in ewirʔə-t jme-ne-na-t*
 mother-INS daughter-POSS cloth-NOM.PL hang-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL
pʔajmejotʔə-tkənə-k
 drying.stick-TOP-LOC
- b. **ətɫʔa-ta ɲeekək awerʔə-jme-ne-n pʔajmejotʔə-tkənə-k*
 mother-INS daughter.NOM.SG cloth-hang-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O drying.stick-TOP-LOC
 ‘Mother hang daughter’s clothes on the drying stick’.

Even when Beneficiary is an adjunct, possessed DO can’t be incorporated (20):

(20) Adjunct (Beneficiary) blocs ‘Possessor Raising’

- a. *ətɫəy-e ekk-in watə pəne-ni-n enaratʔ-etə*
 father-INS son-POSS knife.NOM.SG sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O neighbor-DAT
- b. **ətɫəy-e ekək watə-mna-ne-n enaratʔ-etə*
 father-INS son.NOM.SG knife-sharpen-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O neighbor-DAT
 ‘Father sharpened son’s knife for the neighbour’.

When IO of trivalent verb is omitted, incorporation of possessed DO and PR still can't proceed:

- (21) #*ətłʔa-ta* *ŋeekək* *awerʔə-jme-ne-n*
 mother-INS daughter.NOM.SG cloth-hang-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
 Impossible meaning: 'Mother hang daughter's clothes'; Possible meaning 'Mother hang clothes on her daughter'.

➤ Even inalienable possessors can't be raised (22)⁶

(22) Incorporation impossible

- a. *ətłʔa-ta* *toptər-etə* *ekk-in* *mənyə-tyə-n* *rəkəłərow-ne-n*
 mother-INS doctor-DAT son-POSS hand-SING-NOM.SG show-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
- b. **ətłʔa-ta* *toptər-etə* *ekək* *mənyə-nkəłərow-ne-n*
 mother-INS doctor-DAT son.NOM.SG hand-show-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
 'Mother showed son's hand to the doctor'.

Preliminary analysis:

- ♠ Why there is no PR when there is an overt (or implied) IO?
- ♠ IO somehow 'blocks' PR → Incorporation is disallowed, because possessor can't remain 'unraised'
- ♠ There is no 'Possessor Raising' in [Baker et al. 2005]'s sense in Chukchi

2. Discussion

Possible explanations:

- ♠ 'Possessor Raising' is syntactically 'IO Raising', so another IO blocks it ([Michelson 1991] analysis of Northern Iroquoian 'Possessor Raising')
- ♠ 'Raising to DO via Incorporation' is a separate construction in Chukchi with special semantic restrictions on raised argument (like proposed by [Nedjalkov 1977] for Subject Incorporation in Chukchi)

2.1. Why POSS → DO isn't IO → DO?

Possible analysis: if all POSS → DO constructions have semantically equivalent IO → DO constructions (like (9) and (10)).

However:

- Some constructions with 'inanimate possessors' (expressed by relational), there is REL → DO (23), but no IO → DO (24).

(23) REL → DO 'Raising'

⁶ The picture is a bit more complicated, however the details don't affect the present analysis.

- a. *rətəmnew-ni-n* *saj-koka-ken* *kayəryajpə-n*
lose-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O tea-pot-REL cover-NOM.SG
- b. *kayəryajpə-nətəmnew-ne-n* *saj-kok*
cover-lose-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O tea-pot.NOM.SG
'He lost the tea pot's cover'.

- (24) **rətəmnew-ni-n* *saj-koka-jpə* *kayəryajpə-n*
lose-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O tea-pot-ABL cover-NOM.SG
Intended meaning: 'He lost the tea pot's cover (He lost the cover from the tea pot)'.

➤ Difficult to explain how an implied IO (21) can block POSS → DO...

2.2. Special construction?

- ♠ 'Raising to DO via Incorporation' has little connection to corresponding analytical constructions
 - ♠ Arguments 'promoted' by it need to meet special requirements
 - ♠ What are these requirements?
- 'Place' (25) and 'Source' (26) IOs can't be raised → Raised participant should belong to 'Goal/Beneficiary' cluster?

(25) Place can't be raised

- a. *ətɫɫa-ta* *əpan-ne-n* *ɫɪnɫɪŋ* *kuke-səku*
mother-INS cook-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O heart.NOM.SG pot-IN.LOC
- b. *ətɫa* *ɫənɫeŋ-əpat-ɣɫ-e* *kuke-səku*
mother.NOM.SG heart-cook-TH-2/3SG.S pot-IN.LOC
- c. *#ətɫɫa-ta* *ɫənɫeŋ-əpan-ne-n* *kuke-ŋə*
mother-INS heart-cook-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O pot-NOM.SG
'Mother cooked a heart in the pot' ((c) means 'for the pot').

(26) Source can't be raised

- a. *ətɫa* *awerɫə-ŋəto-ɣɫ-e* *sanɫa-jpə*
mother.NOM.SG cloth-get.out-TH-2/3SG.S box-ABL
- b. *#ətɫɫa-ta* *awerɫə-ŋəto-ne-n* *seŋət*
mother-INS cloth-get.out-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O box.NOM.SG
'Mother got the cloth out from the box' ((c) means 'for the box').

➤ Raised NP can be understood either as Goal (27) or Beneficiary (28) depending who is 'more affected' or 'more involved'

(27) Goal is raised

- a. *ətɫɫa-ta* *məsəkwa-n* *mumkət-nətipen-ni-n* *akka-ɣtə*

- | | | | | |
|----|------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| | mother-INS | shirt-NOM.SG | button-sew-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O | son-DAT |
| b. | <i>*atłʔa-ta</i> | <i>məsəkʷə-tkənə-k</i> | <i>ekək</i> | <i>mumkət-nətipen-ni-n</i> |
| | mother-INS | shirt-TOP-LOC | son.NOM | button-sew-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O |
- ‘Mother sewed button on the shirt for the son’.

(28) Beneficiary is raised

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| a. | <i>aʔasek-a</i> | <i>yakan-qora-t</i> | <i>pəta-ne-na-t</i> | |
| | guy-INS | sledge-reindeer-NOM.PL | leave-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL | |
| | <i>ɲetwətʔə-k</i> | <i>ətłəy-etə</i> | | |
| | herd-LOC | father-DAT | | |
| b. | <i>aʔasek-a</i> | <i>ətłəyən</i> | <i>yakan-qor-pəta-ne-n</i> | <i>ɲetwətʔə-k</i> |
| | guy-INS | father-NOM.SG | sledge-reindeer-leave-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O | herd-LOC |
| c. | <i>*aʔasek-a</i> | <i>ɲetwətʔ-∅</i> | <i>yakan-qor-pəta-ne-n</i> | <i>ətłəy-etə</i> |
| | guy-INS | herd-NOM.SG | sledge-reindeer-leave-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O | father-DAT |
- ‘The guy left the reindeers used for sledge for father in the herd’.

- This can explain the ban on POSS → DO Raising when IO is present: possessor is neither the most directly-affected, nor the most Beneficiary/Goal-like participant in these constructions.

(29) ‘Possessor’ can be raised when IO is Source and not affected

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| a. | <i>ətłəy-in</i> | <i>mane-t</i> | <i>ne-tulʔet-ne-t</i> | <i>saŋta-jpə</i> |
| | father-POSS | money-NOM.PL | LOW.A-steal-3SG.O-PL | box-ABL |
| b. | <i>ətłəyən</i> | <i>na-mane-tolʔat-yʔa-n</i> | <i>saŋta-jpə</i> | |
| | father-NOM.SG | LOW.A-money-steal-TH-3SG.O | ЯЩИК-ABL | |
- ‘They stole father’s money from the box’/’They stole the money from father from the box’.

(30) ‘Possessor’ can’t be raised when IO is animate Source and affected

- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>enewna-ne-na-t</i> | <i>ɲinqej-epə</i> | <i>ətłəy-in</i> | <i>mane-t</i> |
| | take.away-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL | boy-ABL | father-POSS | money-NOM.PL |
| b. | <i>*ətłəyən</i> | <i>man-enewna-ne-n</i> | <i>ɲinqej-epə</i> | |
| | father-NOM.SG | money-take.away-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O | boy-ABL | |
- ‘He took father’s money away from the boy’.

3. Conclusions

- ♠ Possessor can be ‘raised’ only if interpreted as Beneficiary/Recipient/Goal of the action → There is no ‘Possessor Raising’ in Chukchi
- ♠ ‘Raised’ participant should be Beneficiary/Goal-like and the most affected and directly involved in the situation

- ♠ Facts presented confirm [Nedjalkov 1977], [Nedjalkov & Polinskaja 1987] and [Kozinsky et al. 1988] observations that incorporation in Chukchi is used to promote prominent and affected participants
- ♠ Chukchi ‘raising pattern’ differs from those of Bininj Gun-Wok [Evans 2003] and Mohawk [Baker 1988]? Is ‘affectedness-prominent’ and ‘alienability-prominent’ distinction (see [Muro 2009]) valid?

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