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SOME EASTERN JAMILTEPEC MIXTEC PHRASE CONSTRUCTIONS

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0. Introduction
1. Single-centered phrases
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0. This paper describes some Eastern Jamiltepec Mixtec[1] (hereafter EJM) phrase constructions in a Tagmemic framework. The phrases presented are single-centered, multicentered, or noncentered. A single-centered phrase has one Head around which subordinate elements orbit. A multicentered phrase has two or more Heads in coordinate relationship, each Head having the privilege of occurring with its own subordinate elements. A noncentered phrase is bipartite with only one member having possible subordinate elements.

1. Four single-centered phrases will be described here: Attributive Noun Phrase, General Numeral Phrase, Specific Numeral Phrase, and Adjective Phrase.

The attributive noun phrase (NP) has a nominal (N) (a noun or pronoun) as Head which may have any of the following subordinate elements: a quantitative premargin of either a general quantity phrase (GQP) or a specific quantity phrase (SQP), or both, and a qualitative postmargin of up to two modifiers (M), a possessor (Po) and a deictic (D). Thus, NP = ±GQP ± SQP + N ± M^2 ± Po ± D.

The GQP and SQP are described below. A modifier may be an adjective phrase, an inventorial phrase, a locative phrase, or a derived nominal phrase. The Possessor may itself be an embedded NP or an object phrase. The Deictic may be any of three pronouns: ya ~ iʔya *this*, ña *that*, or qą́ ~ yúqą́ *that over there.*

The following are typical NPs: qàʔà ità tutù *many flower paper, many paper flowers;* tadɨʔɨ́ sà dyìʔì *all thing little, all the children;* θụụ ra vàʔa *same he good, the same good man;* mínòo kostúbréè vàʔa sà iyo ñuù ya *one custom good that is town this, one good custom that there is in this town;* tadɨʔɨ ùñì tąʔą́ θèʔe θɨʔɨ́ ña *all three number child female her, all three of her daughters;* ɨ̨ ña sáʔnu θukú šą̀ą́ *one she old tall very, one very tall old lady.*

The general quantity phrase (GQP) occupies the first premarginal position of an NP and consists of a quantifier (Q)

[1] Perhaps as many as fifteen Mixtec languages are spoken by about 250,000 people in Western Oaxaca and the neighboring areas of the Guerrero and Puebla, Mexico. The data for this paper were gathered in Chayuco, Jamiltepec, Oaxaca by Brenda Pensinger during field trips in 1966–67, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Larry Lyman then collaborated in the analysis and prepared the material for publication at the Centro de Estudios Manuel Gamio, Itzmiquilpan, Hidalgo, Mexico. It is estimated that 30,000 people speak the form of Mixtec of Chayuco and surrounding towns. The principal informant in the final stages of analysis of this paper was Crescensio Serrano of Chayuco. A concordance of native texts prepared by Pensinger and Miss Patricia Cowan and processed at the University of Oklahoma Research Center under a National Science Foundation grant was of inestimable assistance in the analysis. The phonemes of EJM are: voiceless stops /p t ty k q [ky] ʔ/, prenasalized stops /b d dy g/, fricatives /v θ s š/, nasals /m n ñ/, liquids /l ř/, semivowel /y/, vowels /i e ɨ a u o/, nasalization /̨/, and tone /ˊ/ (high), /ˋ/ (low), and unmarked (mid).

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as Head with up to two intensifying modifiers following. The first modifier is realized as reduplication (R) of the head Q, the second is the adverb qíí *very*. Thus, GQP = +Q ± R ± qíí. Examples of the GQP are: tadi̱ʔi̱ qíí *all very, every bit;* kadi̱i̱ kadi̱i̱ qíí *all all very, every last bit;* θụụ qíí *same very, very same.*

The specific quantity phrase (SQP) occupies the second premarginal position of an NP and consists of a numeral (Num) as Head optionally modified by the numeral marker tą̀ʔą́. Thus, SQP = +Num ± tą̀ʔą́. Examples of the SQP are: kùmì *four;* ùñì tą̀ʔą́ *three.*

The adjective phrase (AjP) occupies the Modifier position of an NP and has an adjective (Aj) as Head which may be modified by a small subset of adjectives such as šą̀ą̀ *sharp* and và ʔa *good,* here called intensifier adjectives (iaj). Thus, AjP = +Aj ± iaj. In the following examples of the AjP, note that since an iaj is a kind of Aj, it too may occupy the Head and be modified: kà ʔnu và ʔa *big good, really big;* kà ʔnu šą̀ą̀ *big sharp, very big;* và ʔa šą̀ą̀ *good sharp, really good;* šą̀ą̀ và ʔa *sharp good, very sharp.*

2. There are two main types of multicentered phrases: the inventorial phrase and the appositive phrase. The inventorial phrase (IP) consists of two or more Head constituents which may be connected by one of the conjunctions (C) ta *and* or à *or.* Up to six Heads in a series have been observed in a text, but the usual number is two or three. A variety of inventorial expressions (Ix) may occupy the Head of an IP. Thus, IP = +Ix(±C + Ix)^n (where $n \geq 1$).

Of single-centered phrases, only an NP or an AjP may occupy the Head of an IP; but any noncentered phrase may so occur. Examples of the IP are: ityi ñìyòkó à ityi θadó ʔo *trail Pinotepa or trail Jamiltepec, on the Pinotepa trail or on the Jamiltepec trail;* kà ʔnu šą̀ą̀ ta káñí šą̀ą̀ *big very and tall very, very big and very tall;* ñìyaka dyiyáká *night and day;* sị̀ʔị́ θi̱ʔi̱ ra sị̀ʔị́ θùtù ra sị̀ʔị́ ñìyi̱vi̱ sii ra *with mother his with father his with people (marker) he, with his mother, father, and relatives.*

The appositive phrase (ApP) consists of two or three constituents in apposition. The ApP differs from the IP in permitting no conjunction. All items in apposition so far observed have been contiguous. In most cases, phrases in apposition are NPs, locative phrases, or temporal phrases. When occupying the Head positions of the ApP, these elements are considered as members of a class of appositive expressions (Apx). Thus, ApP = +Apx + Apx ± Apx. Examples of the ApP are: ra da ʔví ra šùù itù parúú qą́ *he poor he owner field melon that, the poor fellow who owns that melon patch;* ña lú ʔlu ña tyaa šìtà *she little she pats tortillas, the little girl who pats out tortillas;* dyà ku ʔvà dyà vityi *unto then unto now, from then until now;* dyà ígà sqélá kà ʔnu dyà reyes mateko dyà nù yukú θádú dyì ʔì nù kúú gloríà *unto other school big unto Reyes Matecón unto where are saints little where is heaven, to another bit school to Reyes Matecón to heaven where the little saints are.*

3. A noncentered phrase is of relator-axis construction and is either a directive phrase, a locative phrase, a temporal phrase, an objective phrase, or an associative phrase. There are two other phrases which are of very similar construction and are included in this section as consisting of a relator and an axis. They are the specified nominal phrase and the derived nominal phrase.

The directive phrase (DP) occupies the Locative position of a clause. The Relator is a positional noun (p.n) and the Axis

an NP. Thus, DP = +p.n + NP. Examples of the DP are: nùù méθá *on table, on the table;* sìsi veʔe nù kúú gloríà *inside house where is heaven, inside the house of heaven;* šùù sìyò ña *under comal her, under her comal;* sàtà veʔe *back house, outside the house;* sàʔà tuñaʔmì *foot yam-me, at the foot of my yams;* šìñì yuku *head mountain, top of the mountain;* yuʔu tìdyakà *mouth plant, edge of the plant.*

The locative phrase (LP) may also occupy the Locative position of a clause. Three subtypes are distinguished from one another and from the DP by the list of elements that occupy the relator and axis positions of each.

Type one (LP1) consists of nù *where* as Relator and a clause as Axis. Thus, LP1 = +nù + Clause. Examples of the LP1 are: nù soʔo *where went-you, where you went;* nù yukú ñìyɨvɨ *where are people, where people are;* nù qa-titaʔa yo *where will-meet we, where will we meet.*

Type two (LP2) consists of either maʔñú *middle* or θava *half* as Relator and either a DP or an LP as Axis. Thus, LP2 = +maʔñú/θava + DP/LP. Examples of the LP2 are: maʔñú nù yukú ñìyɨvɨ *center where are people, in the midst of the people;* θava sìsi kòʔò qą́ *half inside plate that, in the center of that plate.*

Type three (LP3) consists of dyà *unto* as Relator and a locative expression (Lx) as Axis. An Lx is an NP, a DP, a place name, or an LP1. Thus, LP3 = +dyà + Lx. Examples of the LP3 are: dyà mínòo naʔa qą́ *to one woman that, to that one woman;* dyà šuu ñuʔu qą́ *to under earth that, to under the earth;* dyà ñiyòkó *to Pinotepa;* dyà nù qà-dòi *to where will-stay-I, to where I will stay.*

The temporal phrase (TP) occupies the Time position of a clause. Its Relator is dyà *unto* and its Axis a temporal expression (Tx) which may be a time word, an LP1, an NP, or a Clause. Thus, TP = +dyà + Tx. Examples of the TP are: dyà ityą̀ą̀ *until tomorrow;* dyà nú dɨʔɨ qíí kɨ̀vɨ̀ qą́ *until where ends truly day that, until the day really ends;* dyà mínòo qìyà *until one year;* dyà kisi oó *until come you, until you come.*

The object phrase (OP) functions as either the direct or indirect object of a clause, or as Po of an NP. In a clause containing both direct and indirect objects, the direct object usually precedes the indirect. The Relator of an OP is sii, a kind of case marker which identifies the axis as an object. The Axis is an object expression (Ox) which may be an NP, an ApP, or a pronoun. Thus, OP = +sii + Ox. Examples of the OP are: (yuʔú si) sii tíduʔù qą́ (*fears it*) *marker gnome that,* (*it fears*) *the gnome;* (ñìʔi yo) sii kɨtɨ sásí parúú ya ra kuñéšú vàʔa qą́ (*get we*) *marker animal eats melon this he rabbit good that,* (*we will get*) *that fine rabbit who is eating the melons;* (sàʔa ra) sii θèʔe ra sii rà šátu qą́ (*gave he*) *marker child his marker he younger that,* (*he gave*) *his child to the younger brother;* ìsaʔnų sii *killed-you marker-me,*[2] *you killed me;* dyeʔi sii si *see-I marker it, I see it.*

In the case of an OP as the Po of an NP, the Axis is an MP or a pronoun, and when the latter is a first or second person singular pronoun, it may be either bound or free. Examples of an OP within an NP are: (kaváyú θònò) sii ña sàʔnu sàtàdyàkà (*horse domestic*) *marker she old humpbacked, the old humpbacked lady's* (*domestic horse*); (ñìyɨvɨ) sii ra lúʔlu qą́ (*people*) *marker he little that, the little boy's* (*relatives*); veʔe sii ra cu peθente *house marker he is president, the president's house.*

[2] Morphophonemics is beyond the scope of this article, but it may help the reader to note that first and second singular bound pronouns fuse with the object marker sii, as follows: sii + ì (1s) → sìì, sii + ų́ (2s) → sų́ų́.

The associative phrase (AsP) has sį²į *with* as Relator. The Axis is an associative expression (Asx) which may be an NP, an ApP, a pronoun, or a clause. Thus, AsP = +sį²į + Asx. The AsP may occupy the Associative position of a clause and indicates with whom or with what the subject is performing the action. Examples are: (satasa²á ra) sį²į θádú dyì²i qą́ (*danced he*) *with saints little that*, (*he danced*) *with the little saints;* (ko²o) sį²į (*go*) *with-me;* sį²į sa ki²vi kálú tyaya²á qą́ nùù ña *with already entered soup chili that eye her, with the chile soup already in her eye.*

In clauses having a quotation as Object, the person to whom the quote is directed is expressed in EJM by the use of the AsP. Thus, in EJM, one does not quote "to" people but rather "with" people. In all other cases, an OP is used. An example of a quote with an AsP is: kudyeé míí katyísàdyì²ì sį²į θàvì sà²nu *bear-it I said children with David old, I can stand it said the children to old David.*

The specified nominal phrase (SNP) may occupy the Head of either an NP or another SNP. Its Relator is a specifier (sp) and its Axis a noun, adjective, or clause. Thus, SNP = +sp + n/Aj/Clause. There are three specifiers. In the case of a noun as Axis, the specifier indicates the gender of the noun: rá (*male*), ña (*female*), and sà (*unspecified*). sà is always chosen when the Axis is a clause. Examples of the SNP are: rà dìka²a *the* (*male*) *lion*, sà léé *the baby*, ña kòò *the* (*female*) *snake*, rà yokó *the eligible male.*

The derived nominal phrase (DNP) occupies a nominal position of a clause or the M of an NP. It has sà as Relator and a clause as Axis. Thus, DNP = +sà + Clause. Examples of the DNP are: sà kásí ñìyivi *that eat people, that which people eat;* sà θavíi ñu sii si *that clean they marker it, their cleaning of it;* sà θakų̀²ų̀ ra sìi *that cause-go he me, to make me go;* sà iyó ñuù ya *that is town this, that there is in this town.*

4. The phrases discussed in this article are repeated in this section. The single-centered phrases are:

NP = ±GQP ± SQP + N ± M² ± Po ± D
GQP = +Q ± R ± qíí
SQP = +Num ± tą̀²ą́
AjP = +Aj ± iaj

The multicentered phrases are:
IP = +Ix (±C + Ix)^n (where $n \geq 1$)
ApP = +Apx + Apx ± Apx

The noncentered phrases are:
DP = +p.n + NP
LP1 = +nù + Clause
LP2 = +ma²ñú/θava + DP/LP
LP3 = +dyà + Lx
TP = +dyà + Tx
OP = +sii + Ox
AsP = +sį²į + Asx
SNP = +sp + n/Aj/Clause
DNP = +sà + Clause

Several of the classes of elements that occur in the above phrases are made up of subclasses. They are: N: noun, pronoun; M: AjP, IP, LP, DNP; Po: NP, OP; Ix: undefined; Apx: LP, TP, NP; Lx: NP, DP, LP1, Place Name; Tx: Time Word, LP1, NP, Clause; Ox: NP, ApP, pronoun; Asx: NP, ApP, pronoun, clause.