

Introduction

Hiaki (also Yaqui, Jiaki, Yoeme) is a Uto-Aztecan language spoken in Sonora, Mexico and in Arizona, United States⁵.

Hiaki has full form and clitic pronouns⁴.

Table 1 Nominative Full Pronouns⁴

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	inepo	itepo
2 nd person	empo	eme'e
3 rd person (animate only)	a'apo	vempo

Table 3 Nominative Clitic Pronouns⁴

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	=ne	=te
2 nd person	=ee	=em
3 rd person (animate or inanimate)	=∅	=(i)m/=∅

Table 2 Accusative Full Pronouns⁴

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	nee	itom
2 nd person	enchi	enchim
3 rd person (animate only)	apo'ik	vempo'im

Table 4 Accusative Clitic Pronouns⁴

	Singular	Plural
1 st person		
2 nd person		
3 rd person (animate or inanimate)	aa=	am=

Research Question: Does the absence of 1st or 2nd person accusative clitic pronouns in Hiaki constitute a paradigmatic gap?

paradigmatic gap: There is no synthetic way to express a particular mental representation within a paradigm despite language-internal motivation for the well-formedness of the representation.

Whether are not the absence of 1st or 2nd person accusative clitic pronouns in Hiaki constitute a paradigmatic gap depends on whether Hiaki full form and clitic pronouns are allomorphs or underlyingly different.

Data

Coordination is grammatical with full pronouns and ungrammatical with clitics.

(1) Heewi, ofisina-po=ne Peo-ta intok apo'ik/*aa= vicha-k
Yes, office-at=1sgNOM Pete-ACC and 3sgACC see-PRF
"Yes, I saw Pete and her at the office."⁴

Full forms can only refer to animate antecedents (2). Clitic forms in Hiaki can refer to both animate (3) and inanimate antecedents (4).

(2) Empo vempo'im ania
2sgNOM 3plACC help
"You help them!"⁴

(3) Am=ania=e
3plACC=help=2sgNOM
"You help them!"⁴

(4) Nee mesa-po *aapoik/aa= mana-k
sgNOM table-on 3sgACC put.container-PRF
"I put it on the table."⁴

Full and Clitic pronouns in Hiaki have different syntactic and semantic distributions.

Structural Model

Full and clitic pronouns have different semantic and syntactic properties and do NOT occur in complementary distribution.

They have different underlying structures instead of being allomorphs of the same underlying structure².

The absence of 1st or 2nd person accusative clitic pronouns in Hiaki constitute a paradigmatic gap that needs to be explained.

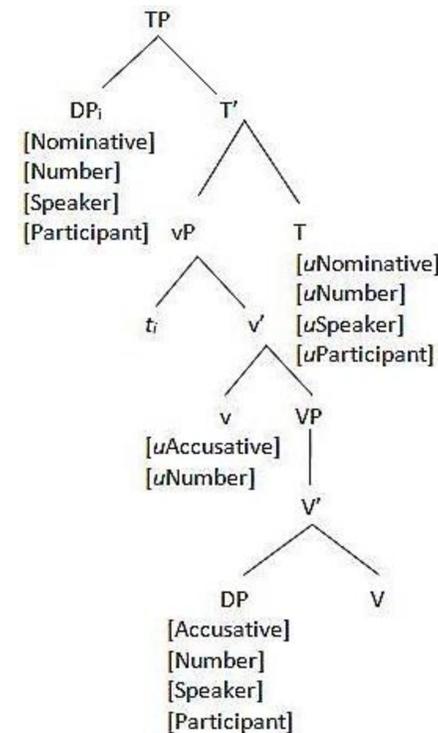
Syntactic Source of Gap: Clitics in Hiaki must have 1st and 2nd person features valued. This valuing cannot take place in accusative clitic contexts.

Person Features : Only T can value person features⁶

First person: [Participant], [Speaker]¹

Second person: [Participant]¹

Third person: default – person features remain unvalued³



Nominative Contexts: DP and T Agree

Full forms: person features do not need to be valued.

3rd Person Clitic forms: person features remain unvalued

1st/2nd Person Clitic forms: person features valued through Agree relation between Tense and subject DP.

Accusative Contexts: DP and v Agree

Full forms: person features do not need to be valued

3rd Person Accusative Clitics: person features remain unvalued

1st/2nd Person Accusative Clitics (gap context): failure to value person features

Data Continued

A clitic form of the pronoun can co-occur with the corresponding full form that it co-refers with.

(5) Inepo=ne kaa in haboli-ta apola-ik su'utoha-∅
1sgNOM=1sgNOM NEG 1GEN grandfather-ACC alone-ACC leave-PRES
"I cannot leave my grandfather alone."

(6) Hoan aapoik aa= vicha-k
Juan 3sgACC 3sgACC= see-PST
"Juan saw him."

Full and Clitic pronouns in Hiaki are not in complementary distribution.

Conclusion and Implications

Full and clitic pronouns have different semantic and syntactic properties and do NOT occur in complementary distribution.

Full and clitic pronouns in Hiaki are not allomorphs and have different underlying structures.

The absence of 1st and 2nd person accusative clitic pronouns constitute a paradigmatic gap.

The paradigmatic gap in Hiaki is systematic and requires a structural explanation.

The gap in Hiaki is caused by structural differences between full and clitic pronouns and person hierarchy effects.

Defectiveness in the grammar can be on a broader scale than just single isolated lexical items.

Defectiveness can reflect properties of the linguistic system that cannot be ignored by linguistic theory.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to Dr. Heidi Harley, Dr. Adam Ussishkin, Dr. Thomas Bever, Dr. Andrea Sims, Dr. Robert Henderson, Dr. Alex Trueman, Louise St. Amour, UofA Linguistics, and Ling 697a. Thank you to my consultants: Maria and Santos Leyva.

References

- ¹Béjar, S., & Rezac, M. (2009). Cyclic agree. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40(1): 35-73.
- ²Cardinaletti, A., & Starke, M. (1994). The typology of structural deficiency. On the three grammatical classes. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 4(2): 41-109.
- ³D'Alessandro, R., & Roberts, I. (2010). Past participle agreement in Abruzzese: split auxiliary selection and the null-subject parameter. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 28(1): 41-72.
- ⁴Harley, H. & Trueman, A. (2012). Hiaki pronominals and the typology of deficiency. In *Proceedings of WAIL 13*, University of California Santa Barbara 40-54.
- ⁵Lewis, M. P., Simons, G. F., & Fennig, C. D. (Eds.) (2015). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Eighteenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.
- ⁶Nichols, L. (2001). The syntactic basis of referential hierarchy phenomena: Clues from languages with and without morphological case. *Lingua* 111(4): 515-537.