

On Being Possessed*
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0. In some languages of the world, e.g. Japanese and Chinese, it is traditional to talk of some sentences as having two subjects.¹ In (1), an example from Japanese, both zoo 'elephant' and hana 'nose' have certain subject properties.

1. Zoo wa hana ga nagai 'The elephant has a long nose.'
elephant wa nose ga long

Analyses of these constructions in either language have posited special bisentential sources; one subject is the subject of one sentence and the second subject is the subject of the other. This paper adds Luiseño, a Uto-Aztecan language of Southern California, to the list of languages with double subjects. However, the evidence in Luiseño argues that sentences with two subjects are simple sentences, a fact which suggests a re-examination of the notion subject.

The paper begins with an analysis of sentences of possession in Luiseño. By "sentences of possession", I mean the Luiseño equivalents of the English sentences in (3) and (4), sentences of the form:

2. X has a(n Adjective) Y

where Y may be either alienably or inalienably possessed by X.

3. a. I have a brother.
b. I have a basket.
4. a. I have a handsome brother.
b. I have a beautiful basket.

The major claim is that the Luiseño equivalents of (3) and (4) have two subjects, one of which corresponds to X in (2) and the other to Y. The Luiseño equivalents of (3) and (4) are given in (5) and (6) respectively.²

5. a. noo=p nopaa?aʒ ?awq 'I have a brother.'
I=clitic my:brother is
b. noo=p notoonav qala 'I have a basket.'
I=clitic my:basket is
6. a. noo=p nopaa?aʒ yawaywiʒ ?awq 'I have a handsome bro-
I=clitic my:brother beautiful is ther.'
b. noo=p notoonav yawaywiʒ qala 'I have a beautiful
I=clitic my:basket beautiful is basket.'

Specifically, the claim is that both the independent pronoun and the possessed noun in sentences like (5) and (6) are subjects.

The paper then turns to a consideration of other sentences with two subjects in order to define what are the essential properties of sentences with two subjects. Finally, the paper considers the evidence that the Luiseño sentences with two subjects are simple sentences.

1. It is relatively easy to demonstrate the subjecthood of the possessed noun in the sentences in (5) and (6). The possessed noun has the morphology of a nominative and, hence, cannot be the object of the sentence. The Luiseño object marking is -i.³

7. noo hunwut-i toowq 'I see a bear.'
I bear-object see

So, compare the form of the possessed nouns in the following to their form in (5) and (6).

8. a. noo nopaaḡ-i toowq 'I see my brother.'
I my:brother-object see
b. noo notoonav-i toowq 'I see my basket.'
I my:basket-object see

But that the possessed nouns are not marked for object in (5) and (6) is not conclusive evidence for their subjecthood, since it doesn't rule out the possibility that they be analyzed as predicate nominatives, nouns which do not take any object marking in Luiseño.

9. xwaan=up tengalkat 'John is a doctor.'
John=clitic doctor

The verbs in (5) and (6) are to be found in other sentences where they are intransitive verbs of existence.

10. a. ?awaal ?ip ?awq 'The dog is here.'
dog here is
b. toonaviš ?ip qala 'The basket is here.'
basket here is

Thus, (4) and (5) might be thought to be copular sentences. (4a), for example, would be the equivalent of I am my brother, semantically strange to be sure, but structurally possible.⁴ There are two problems with this suggestion. First, copular sentences which indicate a permanent state do not have a copular verb, as (9) illustrates. Inalienable possession as in (5a) and (6a) is not a temporary state.⁵ Second, in copular sentences which indicate an impermanent condition the verb is miy-, not ?awq or qala.

11. ḡamut=up konokniš miyq 'The grass is green.'
grass=clitic green is

These facts, however, only show what the possessed noun cannot be. The critical evidence for the subjecthood of the possessed noun in (5) and (6) is that the form of the verbs in these sentences depends on certain features of the possessed noun, in a manner characteristic of the relationship between these verbs and their subjects in simple intransitive sentences like those in (10). First, as a comparison of (10a) and (10b) shows, ?awq takes an animate subject and qala, an inanimate subject. Similarly, the possessed noun in (5a) and (6a) is animate and the verb is ?awq; the possessed noun in (5b) and (6b) is inanimate and the verb is qala. Exchanging the verbs in the sentences in (10) and in the sentences in (5) gives the ungrammatical sentences in (12) and (13) respectively.

12. a. *?awaal ?ip qala
dog here is
b. *toonaviš ?ip ?awq
basket here is
13. a. *noo=p nopaa?aš qala
I=clitic my:brother is
b. *noo=p notoonav ?awq
I=clitic my:basket is

Second, ?awq and qala in (10) supplete for number with the number of their subject.

14. a. ?awaalum ?ip qalwun 'The dogs are here.'
dogs here are
b. toonaviš muyuk ?ip wunq 'Many baskets are here.'
basket many here are

Similarly, the verbs in (4) and (5) supplete for number with the number of the possessed noun.

15. a. noo=p nopaašum qalwun 'I have brothers.'
I=clitic my:brothers are
b. noo=p notoonav muyuk wunq 'I have many baskets.'
I=clitic my:basket many are

And, just as the sentences in (16) are bad, so too are the sentences in (17).

16. a. *?awaalum ?ip ?awq
dogs here is
b. *toonaviš ?ip wunq
basket here are
17. a. *noo=p nopaašum ?awq
I=clitic my:brothers is
b. *noo=p notoonav wunq
I=clitic my:basket are

Since I have already shown that the sentences in (5) and (6) must be intransitive and non-copular, the fact that the possessed nouns in these sentences have the characteristics of the subject of the simple intransitive sentences in (10) is compelling evidence that they are also subjects.

2. It is slightly more difficult to show that the pronoun in (5) and (6) is also a subject. There is compelling evidence that it cannot be part of any other constituent in the sentence; there is compelling evidence that these sentences have a special structure; there is compelling evidence that the independent pronoun must be at least a subject.

2.1 The only constituent which the pronoun could be a part of is the constituent containing the possessed noun.⁶

18. [Pronoun N]

Possessed nouns regularly have prefixed possessives, as do all the nouns in (5) and (6).

19. po-huu 'his arrow'
 his-arrow
 no-taana 'my blanket'
 my-blanket
 ?o-kutapi 'your bow'
 your-bow

When there is a noun possessor, the noun cooccurs with the possessive prefix.

20. xwaan po-huu 'John's arrow'
 John his-arrow

Under the hypothesis that the independent pronoun is part of the constituent containing the possessed noun, the independent pronoun is the pronominal equivalent of the noun in (20). Just as the noun in (20) is unmarked for case, so too is the independent pronoun in (5) and (6). In (21) is a pronominal direct object; in (22) a pronominal indirect object.

21. xwaan ney xečiq 'John is hitting me.'
 John me is:hitting
 22. xwaan huul neyk ?oviquḡ 'John was giving the arrow to
 John arrow to:me was:giving me.'

Hence, besides the parallelism in form which such an analysis suggests, there is an initial plausibility to the hypothesis.

Two problems are, however, apparent. First, the presence of an independent pronoun in addition to the possessive prefix is, in other constructions, at least unusual. That is, in other types of sentences with a possessed noun subject, the simple

possessive of (19) commonly appears.

23. notoonav čaraq 'My basket is breaking.'
my:basket is:breaking

A sentence like (24) is exceptionally uncommon.⁷

24. noo notoonav čaraq
I my:basket is:breaking

Second, the clitic in these sentences has a characteristic which distinguishes it from the clitics in other sentences with multiple-word, clause-initial constituents. I have discussed at some length elsewhere the positional possibilities for clitics in Luiseno. (See Steele (to appear).) Briefly, clitics have the option in general of following either the first word or the entire first constituent of the clause. That is, in sentences where the first constituent is longer than a single word, the clitic has two positional possibilities.

25. a. nawitmal up yawaywiš pellaq
girl clitic beautiful is:dancing
'The beautiful girl is dancing.'
b. nawitmal yawaywiš up pellaq
girl beautiful clitic is:dancing
'The beautiful girl is dancing.'

In both (5) and (6) the clitic up follows the independent pronoun. It must occur in this position; it cannot follow the possessed noun.⁸

26. a. *noo nopaa?aš=up ?awq
I my:brother=clitic is
b. *noo notoonav-up qala
I my:basket=clitic is

This point is particularly important in view of the fact that other sentence types with a possessive construction as the subject (or first constituent) allow clitics the two regular positional possibilities.

27. a. xwaan up poyo? hunwuti ?ariq
John clitic his:mother bear:object is:kicking
'John's mother is kicking the bear.'
b. xwaan poyo? up hunwuti ?ariq
John his:mother clitic bear:object is:kicking
'John's mother is kicking the bear.'

Now there are certain constructions which don't allow both positional possibilities for clitics. For example, a clause

initial conjoined noun phrase requires that clitics follow the first constituent.

28. a. xwaan pi? mariya=pum hunwuti ?ariwun
 John and Mary=clitic bear:object are:kicking
 'John and Mary are kicking the bear.'
 b. *xwaan=pum pi? mariya hunwuti ?ariwun
 John=clitic and Mary bear:object are:kicking

And in sentences with a clause initial sentential subject, the clitics may not follow the sentential subject, the entire first constituent.

29. a. wunaalum=up pomngeepi miyq
 [they=clitic their:leaving] is
 'They have to leave.'
 b. *wunaalum pomngeepi=up miyq
 [they their:leaving]=clitic is

But the restrictions on the position of clitics in each of these sentences follows from more general language principles--the first from the conjoined noun phrase constraint and the second from the avoidance of clause initial sentential subjects. If there is a more general language principle ruling out one of the two positional possibilities in sentences like (5) and (6), it isn't obvious what it might be, especially in view of sentences like (27)--unless, of course, we simply said that sentences glossed with have are peculiar.

But if the pronoun is not a member of the constituent which contains the possessed noun, at least the second of these problems receives immediate solution. The pronoun is the first constituent as well as the first word; thus the clitic has no other positional options. The first problem, if not solved, is not as puzzling. The independent pronoun in sentences like (5) and (6) has a different function than it does in (24).

2.2 I have shown that the independent pronoun in (5) and (6) is not marked for case; I have argued that the verbs in (5) and (6) are intransitive and non-copular. The independent pronoun, thus, cannot be an object or a predicate nominal. If the independent pronoun is not a member of the constituent which contains the subject, these sentences would indeed have a special structure. The peculiarities noted above, in arguing against the constituency hypothesis, attest to this possibility. For stronger evidence to this effect, consider what I have been labelling clitic in these sentences--up. In other constructions in Luiseño, up is a third person singular clitic pronoun, agreeing in number and person with the subject of the sentence. So, up appears in (30a) with a third person singular subject, but other clitic pronouns appear in (30b) and (30c), sentences with first person plural and third person plural subjects respectively.

30. a. xwaan=up pellaq
John=3sg:clitic:pronoun is:dancing
'John is dancing.'
- b. čaam=ča pellaan
we=1pl:clitic:pronoun are:dancing
'We are dancing.'
- c. wunaalum=pum pellaan
they=3pl:clitic:pronoun are:dancing
'They are dancing.'

And the sentences in (31) are ungrammatical.

31. a. *čaam-up pellaan
we=3sg:clitic:pronoun are:dancing
- b. *wunaalum=up pellaan
they=3sg:clitic:pronoun are:dancing

The subject in (5) and (6), the possessed noun, is singular. It might be assumed that up in these sentences is agreeing with the subject, like the up of (30a). However, sentences like (15), sentences where the subject is plural, argue against this assumption. If up in (5) and (6) were an element of agreement, the third person plural clitic pronoun pum as in (30c), rather than up, should be present.

Lest there be any suspicion that up in (5) and (6) is a different element than the up of (30a), consider certain parallels between them, parallels which argue convincingly that they are in fact the same morpheme. The third person singular clitic pronoun up cooccurs with other types of clitics, tense clitics in tenses other than the present and modal clitics in sentences which describe a possible or probable situation. (32) contains the past tense clitic il which with up forms the clitic sequence upil; (33) contains the clitics xu and po, which together indicate a modal notion and which combine with up to form the clitic sequence xuppo.

32. xwaan=upil pellaquš 'John was dancing.'
John=UP-IL was:dancing
33. xwaan=xuppo pellax 'John should dance.'
John=XU-UP-PO dance

In sentences like (5) and (6), the same series of clitics combines with up.

34. a. noo=pil notoonav qaluk 'I used to have a basket.'
I=UP-IL my:basket was
- b. noo=xuppo nopaa?aš ?awma 'I wish I had a brother.'
I=XU-UP-PO my:brother is

The clitic up then in sentences like (5) and (6), although it is

the same element as the third person singular clitic pronoun, does not act as an agreement element. So, we have a special up, restricted in a special manner to following a special independent pronoun. The conclusion that these sentences have some special structure seems inescapable.

2.3 Just as inescapable is the conclusion that figuring out what the structure of these sentences is depends on explaining what grammatical function the independent pronoun serves. I suggested at the beginning of this paper that the independent pronoun was also a subject. It is the evidence for this claim to which I now turn.

The fact that the independent pronoun is a separate constituent cannot be taken as evidence for its subjecthood, but it is at least consonant with the hypothesis. Similarly, the two pieces of evidence for its independent constituency, if not necessarily positive evidence, at least do not provide counter-evidence. Luisño has, of course, pronominal subjects (See (30b) and (30c).) And the clitic up has at least the potential of being reinterpreted as something other than an element of agreement. Sentences glossed X likes/hates Y can contain the clitic up regardless of the person and number of X.

35. a. noo=p ?oy noma?max 'I like you.'
 I=UP you:object my:liking
 b. čaam=up ?oy čamǰallax 'We hate you.'
 we=UP you:object our:hating

These sentences appear to be the sentential subjects of a non-existent verb. The verbs in (35) have the morphology of a verb in a subordinate clause; they have a possessive prefix and take none of the tense inflections of a verb in a main clause. And in other tenses the embedding verb is present.

36. noo=p ?oy noma?max miyxlowut 'I'm gonna like you.'
 I=UP you my:liking gonna:be

The clitic up is indeed the agreement clitic with sentential subjects. (See (29a).) But, at least in (35), with the absence of the embedding verb, there is the potential that up be reinterpreted, and possibly as a marker of the subject.⁹

The real problem is finding positive evidence for the subjecthood of the independent pronoun and against its only other possible function, against the possibility that the independent pronoun be considered a topic. The solution hinges in part on what we consider a topic. Under some proposals it is possible to make an absolute division between the notions topic and subject. Topics are taken, in this conception, to have a much looser connection to the rest of the sentence than do subjects. So, the following is possible.

37. As for the water bed, I think we should play chess.

This is revealed syntactically by the occurrence of the topic at the periphery of the sentence and by there being no agreement within the comment with the topic. If we take this characterization of topic, the independent pronoun in the Luiseño sentences cannot be a topic. First, just as the (non-clitic) elements of a Luiseño clause can be reordered relative to one another, so too can the (non-clitic) elements of (5) and (6).

38. *nopaa?aʒ noo ?awq* 'I have a brother.'
 my:brother I is

If topics are typically marked by being at the extremes of a clause, the independent pronouns of (5) and (6) would not appear to be topics. Second, *up* is the regularly occurring clitic in these sentences and, since it doesn't mark agreement, could arguably be taken to mark the independent pronoun as the topic. But the independent pronoun in sentences like (5) and (6) has to match the number and person of the possessive prefix on the possessed noun.

39. **wunaal=up nopaa?aʒ yawaywiʒ ?awq*
 he=clitic my:brother beautiful is

More importantly, it is possible for a clitic which agrees in number and person with the independent pronoun to occur in place of *up*. The first person singular clitic pronoun is *n*.

40. *noo=n pellaq* 'I am dancing.'
 I=1sg:clitic:pronoun am:dancing

The sentences in (41) and (42), like (5) and (6) respectively except that the first person singular clitic pronoun replaces *up*, are all possible sentences, if much less common.

41. a. *noo=n nopaa?aʒ ?awq*
 I=1sg:clitic:pronoun my:brother is
 'I have a brother.'
 b. *noo=n notoonav qala*
 I=1sg:clitic:pronoun my:basket is
 'I have a basket.'
42. a. *noo=n nopaa?aʒ yawaywiʒ ?awq*
 I=1sg:clitic:pronoun my:brother beautiful is
 'I have a handsome brother.'
 b. *noo=n notoonav yawaywiʒ qala*
 I=1sg:clitic:pronoun my:basket beautiful is
 'I have a beautiful basket.'

Finally, and most importantly, the independent pronoun is tightly bound in another respect to the rest of the sentence. The part of the sentence in (5) and (6) that follows the clitic *up* are good Luiseño sentences, but as the glosses in (44) and (45) show

they mean something quite different.

43. a. nopaa?aʒ ?awq 'My brother is there.'
 my:brother is
 b. notoonav qala 'My basket is there.'
 my:basket is
44. a. nopaa?aʒ yawaywiʒ ?awq 'My handsome brother is there.'
 my:brother beautiful is
 b. notoonav yawaywiʒ qala 'My beautiful basket is there.'
 my:basket beautiful is

Thus, if topics are to be characterized as suggested above, the independent pronoun in these Luiseño sentences cannot be taken to be a topic. This is not, of course, positive evidence that they are subjects. But, at least one of the arguments against the topic interpretation provides precisely this evidence. Clitic pronouns agree, as we have seen, with the subject of a sentence. The fact that clitic pronouns agreeing with the independent pronoun can appear argues for its subjecthood.

I don't have an axe to grind for the particular characterization of topic I have suggested. While topics certainly could be so characterized, it is possible that the definition be broader, that in fact, topic and subject be intersecting notions. That is, in some sentences the topic and the subject would be the same element. Although there is positive evidence that the independent pronouns in (5) and (6) are subjects, they might also then be topics. The Japanese double subject construction offers some support for this suggestion. While the first noun is followed in (1) by wa, usually a topic marker, it may also be followed by ga, usually a subject marker.

45. Zoo ga hana ga nagai 'The elephant has a long nose.'
 elephant ga nose ga long

The variation in Luiseño between the invariant clitic up and the clitic which agrees with the independent pronoun could be taken to be parallel to the wa/ga alternation in Japanese.

3. I have argued that in (5) and (6) both the independent pronoun and the possessed noun have subject properties. I have focussed on a particular type of sentence, on sentences of the form:

46. Pronoun=clitic Possessed:Noun (Adjective) Verb:of:Existence

where the possessed noun is the subject of the verb of existence and where the verb of existence is non-copular. Let me now widen the scope to other types of sentences which, like (5) and (6) have two noun phrases with subject properties, the same properties discussed in conjunction with (5) and (6). I will not demonstrate for these examples that the same properties hold, but I will note where there are discrepancies. With this expanded scope, the

essential characteristics of sentences with two subjects are clear.

First, the possessed noun need not be the subject of the verb in double subject constructions. In (47), where the independent pronoun is to be analyzed as a subject, the subject of the verb is the noun exval 'sand'.

47. noo=p nopuušnga exval ngoq 'I have sand in my eye.'
I=clitic my:eye:in sand is:inside

Second, the verb in double subject constructions need not be a verb of existence (in a particular position). In (48), where both the independent pronoun and the possessed noun have the expected subject properties, the verb is tiiwuq 'to hurt', a verb of physical sensation.

48. noo=p note? tiiwuq 'I have a stomachache.'
I=clitic my:stomach hurts

Third, double subject sentences with adjectives like those in (6) need not be non-copular. Although sentences which contain inalienably possessed nouns have been included above, none of these inalienably possessed nouns are body part nouns. The sentences in (49) fill this gap; (49a) corresponds to (5) and (49b) to (6).

49. a. *noo=p nopuuš
I=clitic my:eye
b. noo=p nopuuš konokniš 'I have green eyes.'
I=clitic my:eye green

(49a) is no good, probably for semantic reasons (cf. I have eyes.) but (49b) is to be analyzed, for the reasons adduced above, as having two subjects. There is one difference, however, between (49b) and the sentences in (6). The sentence of which the possessed noun in (49b) is the subject is a copular sentence.

50. nopuuš konokniš 'My eyes are green.'
my:eye green

The verb which does occur in such sentences in tenses other than the present is miy-, the verb which occurs in copular sentences.

51. nopuuš konokniš miyhuk 'My eyes used to be green.'
my:eye green used:to:be
52. noo=pil nopuuš konokniš miyhuk
I=clitic my:eye green used:to:be
'I used to have green eyes.'

Fourth, it will be noted that I have discussed only sentences with pronominal elements preceding the clitic. Consider, then, the following:

53. a. xwaan=up nopaa?aḡ ?awq 'John has a brother.'
John=clitic his:brother is
b. xwaan=up potoonav qala 'John has a basket.'
John=clitic his:basket is
54. a. xwaan=up popaa?aḡ yawaywiš ?awq
John=clitic his:brother beautiful is
'John has a handsome brother.'
b. xwaan=up potoonav yawaywiš qala
John=clitic his:basket beautiful is
'John has a beautiful basket.'

While these sentences look comfortingly familiar and while they too are also to be analyzed as having two subjects, one characteristic distinguishes them from the sentences with pronouns preceding the clitic. The sentences in (5) and (6) contain a clitic, usually up as we have seen. The clitic in (5) and (6) is obligatory, under the reading intended.

55. a. *noo nopaa?aḡ ?awq
I my:brother is
b. *noo notoonav qala
I my:basket is

The clitic in sentences with a noun rather than the pronoun as the second subject is not obligatory. The following are possible, with the glosses given in (53).

56. a. xwaan popaa?aḡ ?awq
John his:brother is
b. xwaan potoonav qala
John his:basket is

I have no satisfactory explanation for the difference between noun and pronoun subjects in this regard; I can only say that pronoun subjects appear to need some special mark when they are subjects in this double subject construction and noun subjects do not. The sentences in (55) and (56) are all interpretable as having simple possessed noun subjects. That is, the sentences in (56) are ambiguous between the glosses in (53) and the glosses 'John's brother is here' and 'John's basket is here' respectively; the sentences in (55) are good (if quite uncommon expressions) on the readings 'My brother is here' and 'My basket is here' respectively. Were it the case that the presence and position of the clitic distinguished between these structures, we would expect that (56) could not mean the same as the sentences in (53). Were it the case that the presence and position of the clitic was simply one way of distinguishing between these structures, we would expect the sentences in (55) to be ambiguous like those in (56).

Finally, sentences with two subjects need not be positive.

In the negative sentences corresponding to (5) and (6), the verb of existence is replaced by a verb of negative existence.

57. a. noo=p nopaa?aʒ ?omaq 'I don't have a brother.'
 I=clitic my:brother is:lacking
 b. noo=p notoonav yawuq 'I don't have a basket.'
 I=clitic my:basket is:lacking

In the negative counterpart of (49b), on the other hand, the Luiseño negative element qay appears.

58. noo=p qay nopuuš konokniš 'I don't have green eyes.'
 I=clitic negative my:eye green

With these delimitations, the essential properties of the double subject construction are quite clear. First, although the verb in such sentences need not be either a verb of existence or a non-copular verb, it must be intransitive. Second, although the possessed noun in such sentences need not be the subject, there must be a possessed noun somewhere in the sentence and the possessed noun is possessed by the first subject.

4. I have argued that there are sentences with two subjects in Luiseño and that one of these is the subject of the verb. The question remaining is: what is the other subject the subject of? Clearly, it cannot also be the subject of the verb in these sentences. I have shown that the verb suppletes for number with the possessed noun; it does not supplete with the number of the independent pronoun. All the sentences in (59) have a first person plural independent pronoun. Only (59c) with a plural verb, qalwun, is bad.

59. a. čaam=up čampaa?aʒ yawaywiš ?awq
 we=clitic our:brother beautiful is
 'We have a handsome brother.'
 b. čaam=up čampaaʒum yawaywičum qalwun
 we=clitic our:brothers beautiful are
 'We have handsome brothers.'
 c. *čaam=up čampaa?aʒ yawaywiš qalwun
 we=clitic our:brother beautiful are

In Japanese and Chinese, it has been argued that the double subject construction actually contain two S's. In Japanese the double subject construction is proposed to be as in (60):



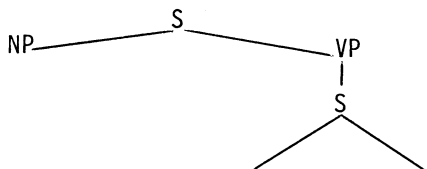
where one subject is the subject of the highest S and the other

is the subject of the lowest S. In Chinese, it has been suggested that a phrase structure rule of the following sort be added to the grammar for the double subject construction.

61. VP --> S

So, the Chinese structure for double subjects would look like:

62.



So, in both languages the analysis is that one subject, the equivalent of the Luiseño independent pronoun in (5) and (6), has as its predicate the entire other sentence. There is something intuitively appealing about this analysis for Luiseño as well. At least those Luiseño double subject constructions in (5) and (6) could be argued to contain two statements semantically--one about the existence of a particular object (perhaps in a particular place); the other about who the thing is possessed by.¹⁰

However, in Japanese and Chinese there is evidence (if disputable) that can be taken to support such a bisentential source for these sentences. In Luiseño there is no conclusive evidence in favor of a like bisentential source for the double subject sentences and there is evidence against the hypothesis. The only possible evidence for such a bisentential source for double subject constructions is the position of the negative element gay in a negated (49b).

63. noo=p nopuuš gay konokniš 'I don't have green eyes.'
 I=clitic my:eye negative green

The negative element gay, while it has some freedom of position, commonly occurs in sentential second position like the clitics as discussed above.

64. a. xwaan=up gay poyo? hunwuti ?ariq
 John=clitic negative his:mother bear:object is:kicking
 'John's mother isn't kicking the bear.'
- b. xwaan poyo?=up gay hunwuti ?ariq
 John his:mother=clitic negative bear:object is:kicking
 'John's mother isn't kicking the bear.'

Thus, in (65) the negative might be analyzed as occurring in second position in a second S. However, the negative does have other positional possibilities, unlike the clitics.

65. xwaan poyo?=up hunwuti qay ?ariq
 John his:mother=clitic bear:object negative is:kicking
 'John's mother isn't kicking the bear.'

And the negative in (63) can follow the independent pronoun and up.

66. noo=p qay nopuuš konokniš 'I don't have green eyes.'
 I=clitic negative my:eye green

In fact, this is its usual position. Thus, the argument for a structure like (60) (or (62)) from the position of the negative has little, if any, strength. Furthermore, there are arguments against such a bisentential source. If S dominated that part of the sentence beginning with the possessed noun and this S was embedded in another S, we might expect that the clause contain verbs which are untensed, which do not take the usual tense endings of the verbs of main clauses. Compare the verb heela- in the (a) and (b) sentences below.

67. a. xwaan=up heelaq 'John is singing.'
 John=3sgCP is:singing
 b. heelanik xwaan ya?anax
 singing John ran:away
 'Upon singing, John ran away.'

The verbs in sentences with double subjects, are inflected like the verbs of main clauses.¹¹ Far from acting like a structure like (60), the sentences with double subjects have a number of characteristics which argue against it. First, main clauses have a (optional) set of clitics following the first element of the clause; it is impossible for the possessed noun in these double subject constructions to be followed by any clitics.

68. *noo=p notoonav=up yawaywiš qala
 I=clitic my:basket=clitic beautiful is

Were the two subjects in a single S, this fact is exactly what would be predicted. Second, as was discussed above (see (34)) tense and modal clitics can cooccur with up. It isn't at all clear to me what sort of tense would be ascribed to the higher S in (60) but, importantly, the tense clitic matches the tense on the verb, and the modal clitics pertain to the entire sentence. Finally, as was noted in the discussion of topicalization, it is possible to reorder the two subjects. Were these two subjects in a single S, this fact is exactly what would be predicted. In Luiseño, the elements of a clause can be reordered relative to one another, while intercalating the elements of two separate clauses is much more constrained. Hence, the structures proposed for the Japanese and Chinese double subject construction are seriously in

doubt for Luiseño.

The analyses of both Chinese and Japanese double subject constructions, whatever their merits and demerits, raise no problems for the hypothesis that each sentence has a single unique NP which can be identified as subject. The analysis proposed here for Luiseño does. If the analysis is correct, Luiseño has simple sentences which have two subjects, one of which is the subject of the verb and one of which is not obviously the subject, in the usual sense, of anything.¹²

There is, however, a parallel to be noted, a parallel which suggests this analysis of Luiseño is not necessarily peculiar.¹³ Many languages have double object constructions; (69) is an example from English.

69. I gave John a book.

The Luiseño double subject constructions--and the Japanese and Chinese constructions as well--involve a possessive relationship between the first subject and some other element in the construction, usually the second subject. The double object constructions, at least in English, similarly involve a possessive relationship between the two objects.¹⁴

5. Double subject constructions in many languages require that the one subject be inalienably possessed by the other. In Luiseño obviously the construction is not so constrained. The full range of relationships that can exist between the two subjects remains to be explored, as does the question of what features of a language might predict a double subject construction. Regardless of these important questions, the analysis of Luiseño argued for in this paper suggests that the notion subject be reexamined.

Footnotes

* The data upon which this paper is based was supplied me by Mrs. Viliana Hyde, a native speaker of Luiseño and a truly outstanding consultant. I also gratefully acknowledge the comments and criticisms of Adrian Akmajian, Sandy Chung, Peter Culicover, Ken Hale, Yuki Kuroda, and, especially, Dick Oehrle. Research for this paper was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation.

¹ Some languages without a descriptive tradition are to be similarly analyzed. Ken Hale informs me that Walbiri and Lardil have sentences with two subjects.

² The examples of inalienable possession in the first two parts of the paper are all relationship terms. As will be seen in Section 3, body part terms are to be distinguished from relationship terms for this construction.

³ Only animate nouns and possessed inanimate nouns are marked for object.

⁴ (5a), on this hypothesis, could be either I am my handsome brother or My brother is handsome. The latter will be shown to be out on other grounds.

⁵ A permanent state is not one which, once entered into, is in-

escapable. Rather it is one which doesn't periodically recur.

⁶ The adjective in the sentences in (6) is probably in the constituent which contains the possessed noun, but I am not going to present the arguments for or against such a constituency.

⁷ Judgments on sentences like (24) vary from consulting session to consulting session. It is not uncommonly rejected with inalienably possessed nouns.

⁸ These sentences are good, if uncommon, on another reading. (26a) could mean 'My brother is there' and (26b), 'My basket is there.'

⁹ Sentences like (35) and (36) show other peculiar agreement facts which might argue against this potential reanalysis. If the object of these sentences is plural both the uninflected verb and the clitic may be plural.

noo=pum ?omomi noma?maxum 'I like you (pl).'

I=plural you:plural my:liking:plural

¹⁰ Sentences like (47) are somewhat problematic in these terms.

¹¹ qala doesn't have the usual singular present tense ending -q, but it is not different in its inflectional pattern in sentences with two subjects than it is in sentences like (10a), sentences with a single subject.

¹² Pamela Munro has suggested that, at least diachronically, the Luiseño double subject construction derive from a sentential subject where the first subject is the subject of the sentential subject and the second is the predicate.

[noo nopaa?aʒ] ?awq

I=clitic my:brother is

While there are certain parallels to be drawn between double subject constructions and sentential subjects (see (29a))--an existential verb, the clitic up, and the possessive prefix--a number of problems exist for this suggestion as well. Besides the fact that I find it strange to think of toonav- in (5b) as a predicate even diachronically, verbal agreement in sentential subjects is quite different than it is in double subject constructions. And even if these sentences could be argued to descend from a sentential subject construction, it doesn't erase the fact that they are not to be so analyzed synchronically.

¹³ Dick Oehrle pointed out this very interesting parallel to me.

¹⁴ Ken Hale has suggested (personal communication) that in some languages there are two arguments for every major syntactic relationship.

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