

## Layers in Patwin: Double case marking and the Miwok substrate

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Central claims:

- i. Patwin (pwi, Wintuan, California) has **double case marking**:  
Two case suffixes may occur on a single nominal.
- ii. The pattern of double case marking reflects a Miwok substrate.
- iii. Patwin double case marking is different from better-known systems of multiple case marking.

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Patwin case suffixes: (Lawyer 2015)

### Grammatical cases:

subjective	SBJ	-Ø
objective	OBJ	-t ~ -s ~ -ma ~ ...
possessive	POSS	-nomin ~ -no ~ ...

### Semantic cases:

comitative	COM	-da
instrumental	INS	-sin ~ -tin ~ ...
locative	LOC	-la ~ -tin
allative	ALL	-tuka
ablative	ABL	-ti ~ -na·k
prolative	PROL	-na

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Patwin has productive double case marking on kinship terms, nouns, and pronouns.

STEM-(OBJ)-case

In this context, the objective case suffix is semantically vacuous.

On **kinship terms** and *?ew* ‘this’, objective case *-t* optionally precedes possessive case suffixes (1d).

- (1) a. *?uy-ne·n*      *lu·m-ta*  
3-mother.SBJ    die-PART  
‘His mother died.’ (Bright NB:1.G118, SG)
- b. *?uy-ne-t*      *t’ihi-tu-m*  
3-mother-OBJ    ask-SBJV  
‘(They) asked their mother’ (Radin MS:78/203, AL)
- c. *?uy-ne·n-no*    *di·-la*  
3-mother-POSS    home-LOC  
‘to her mother’s home’ (Bright NB:10.DL113, DL)
- d. *?uy-ne-t-no*      *no·p*  
3-mother-OBJ-POSS    meat  
‘their mother’s flesh’ (Radin MS:83/208, AL)

On **nouns**, objective case *-ma* optionally precedes semantic case suffixes.

- (2) a. [...] *t<sup>h</sup>asi· muhi tuyu-m*  
           mink.SBJ sing stop-SBJV  
           ... Mink stopped singing. (Radin MS:11/146, AL)
- b. [...] *t<sup>h</sup>asi-ma doyi ?uno pe-spe-s*  
           mink-OBJ give his property  
           ‘... give Mink his property.’ (Bright NB:9.DL78, DL)
- c. [...] *har-me-m t<sup>h</sup>asi-tuka*  
           take-SBJV mink-ALL  
           ‘... and took it to Mink.’ (Radin MS:5/142, AL)
- d. [...] *ha-r-me-m t<sup>h</sup>asi-ma-tuka*  
           take-SBJV mink-OBJ-ALL  
           ‘... and took them to Mink.’ (Radin MS:13/148, AL)

On **pronouns**, objective *-t~s* optionally precedes semantic case suffixes.

- (3) a. *mi p<sup>h</sup>eča-yu-n*  
           2SG.SBJ stant-RPAST  
           You stood. (Bright NB:1.G148, SG)
- b. *wini-s ču mi-s*  
           see-FIN 1SG.SBJ 2SG-OBJ  
           I see you. (Bright NB:3.IM24, IM)
- c. *boh-le mi-s-da*  
           be-1EXCL.HORT 2SG-OBJ-COM  
           I’ll stay with you. (Whistler NB:F29, JR)
- d. *pi wi-ta mi-da har-ta*  
           that man.SBJ 2SG.COM go-Q.PAST  
           Did that man go with you? (Whistler NB:G49, HL)

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### Historical source:

Double case on Proto-Wintu in possessive kinship terms and pronouns:

\*-*t-n(o)* ‘-obj-poss’ (Whistler 1980; Shepherd 2005)

- Patwin reflex: *-t-no* (kinship terms and *?ew-t-no* ‘this-OBJ-POSS’)
- Wintu reflex: *-t-un* (kinship terms and 3SG pronouns)

**But double case for semantic cases is a Patwin innovation.**

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Whistler (1977) demonstrates **Miwok substrate** for Patwin, using plant and animal names.

Patwin double case marking reflects Miwok grammar.

Sierra Miwok and Plains Miwok: obligatory double case marking in some semantic cases (Callaghan 2014). They co-occur with nominative *-ʔ*, and possibly with accusative *-j*:

- (4) a. Proto Sierra Miwok (Callaghan 2014:181)  
*his·ik-my-ʔ*  
 skunk-LOC-NOM
- b. Southern Sierra Miwok (Broadbent 1964:52)  
*haj·e-m·j*  
 close.by-ABL-ACC  
 ‘for a little while’

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**Suffixaufnahme:**

- two or more case suffixes
  - both have a semantic/functional contribution
- (5) a. Old Georgian (*oge*, Kartvelian; Plank 1995:28)  
*saxel-ita mam-isa-jta*  
 name-INS father-GEN-INS  
 ‘with the father’s name’
- b. Martuthunira (*vma*, Pama-Nyungan, Dench and Evans 1988:7)  
*tharnta-a kupuyu-marta-a thara-ngka-marta-a*  
 euro-ACC little-PROP-ACC pouch-LOC-PROP-ACC  
 ‘[I speared] a euro with a little one in its pouch’

**Case layering:**

- two or more case suffixes
- innermost suffix is semantically vacuous
- outer suffixes derive from adpositions (Kulikov et al. 2006)
- best known in Indo-Aryan languages

Marathi (*mar*, Indo-Aryan, India; Masica 1991:233)  
 stem *vimān* ‘plane’  
 “oblique” *vimān-ā*  
 dative *vimān-ā-lā* ‘to the plane’  
 instrumental *vimān-ā-ne* ‘by plane’

Comparison of Patwin and Indo-Aryan case layering:

	Patwin	Indo-Aryan
source of semantic case suffixes	not adpositions	adpositions
source of case layering	a) analogy to older case layering b) Miwok substrate	adpositions grammaticalize to suffixes

## Summary:

- Patwin nominals may take 2 case suffixes.
- This is case layering, and not Suffixaufnahme.
- Patwin case layering reflects the Miwok substrate.
- Patwin case layering has a different historical source than the better-known Indo-Aryan case layering.

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