Layers in Patwin:
Double case marking and the Miwok substrate

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Introduction

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.

Patwin

- Wintuan language family
  (Penutian stock?)
- Critically endangered
  (both Patwin and Wintuan)
- Data: Archival
- Wintuan languages from north
  (plant & animal names, Whistler 1977)
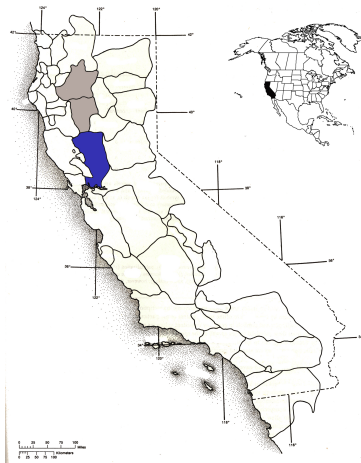
Patwin & Wintuan geographically.

Map derived from Heizer (1978).

Patwin cases

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	*-ła ∼ -tin*
allative	ALL	*-tuka*
ablative	ABL	*-ti ∼ -na·k*
prolative	PROL	*-na*

Patwin double case marking

Patwin has productive double case marking
on kinship terms, nouns, and pronouns (examples follow).

The basic pattern is:
STEM-(OBJ)-case

Patwin double case marking: On kinship terms

On kinship terms and *ʔew* 'this', objective case *-t* optionally precedes possessive case suffixes.

(The objective case suffix is semantically vacuous in this context.)

(1) a. *ʔuy-ne·n*   *lu·m-ta*
        3-mother.SBJ   die-PART
        'His mother died.' (Bright NB:1.G118, SG)

    b. *ʔuy-ne-t*   *t'ihi·tu-m*
        3-mother-OBJ   ask-SBJV
        '(They) asked their mother' (Radin MS:78/203, AL)

    c. *ʔuy-ne·n-no*   *di·-ła*
        3-mother-POSS   home-LOC
        'to her mother's home' (Bright NB:10.DL113, DL)

    d. *ʔuy-ne-t-no*   *no·p*
        3-mother-OBJ-POSS   meat
        'their mother's flesh' (Radin MS:83/208, AL)

Patwin double case marking: On nouns

On nouns, objective case *-ma* optionally precedes semantic case suffixes.
(The objective case suffix is semantically vacuous in this context.)

(2)   a. [. . .] *tʰasi·*   *muhi tuyu-m*
              mink.SBJ sing   stop-SBJV

          . . . Mink stopped singing. (Radin MS:11/146, AL)

      b. [. . .] *tʰasi·-ma*   *doyi ʔuno pe·spe·s*
              mink-OBJ give his   property

          '. . . give Mink his property.' (Bright NB:9.DL78, DL)

      c. [. . .] *harme-m*   *tʰasi·-tuka*
              take-SBJV   mink-ALL

          '. . . and took it to Mink.' (Radin MS:5/142, AL)

      d. [. . .] *ha·rme-m*   *tʰasi·-ma-tuka*
              take-SBJV   mink-OBJ-ALL

          '. . . and took them to Mink.' (Radin MS:13/148, AL)

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Patwin double case marking: On pronouns

On pronouns, objective *-t∼-s* optionally precedes semantic case suffixes.
(The objective case suffix is semantically vacuous in this context.)

(3) a. *mi*   *pʰeča·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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Patwin double case marking

Double case on Proto-Wintuan in possessive kinship terms and pronouns:
*-t-n(o) '-OBJ-POSS'   (Whistler 1980; Shepherd 2005)

- Patwin reflex: -t-no (kinship terms and ʔew-t-no 'this-OBJ-POSS')
- Wintu reflex: -t-un (kinship terms and 3SG pronouns)

Double case for semantic cases is a Patwin innovation.

Miwok substrate

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

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Sierra Miwok and Plains Miwok have productive, obligatory double case marking in some semantic cases (see 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'

Double case

Two types of double case marking in the literature:

- Suffixaufnahme
- case layering

Suffixaufnahme

Suffixaufnahme:

- two or more case suffixes
- both have a semantic/functional contribution

Examples:

(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

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

Example: 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'

Case layering

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

Conclusion

- 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.

Thanks!

Thanks!

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and thanks for being here — I look forward to your comments!

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Historical sources of Patwin case suffixes

Information from (Shepherd 2005):

-ma	OBJ	< PW *-*m*(*a*) 'OBJ' (nouns)
-t	OBJ	< PW *-*t* 'OBJ' (pronouns + kinterms)
-s	OBJ	< PW *-*s* 'OBJ' (2SG pronoun)
-da	COM	< PW *-*da* 'relational nominal suffix'
-sin	INS	? (**son* 'rock', **sen* 'digging stick')
-ła	LOC	< PW **ła·* 'to sit' (< **ła* 'to be located'?)
-tin	LOC	< PW *-*in* 'LOC'
-tuka	ALL	< PW **čuka* 'to approach'
-na·k	ABL	?
-ti	ABL	< PW *-*ti* 'directional locative'

Extra slides: Patwin speech sounds

		bilabial	central	lateral	postalveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
			alveolar					
oral stops	voiceless	p	t				k	ʔ
	aspirated	pʰ	tʰ				kʰ	
	glottalized	p'	t'				k'	
	voiced	b	d					
nasals	voiced	m	n					
fricatives	voiceless		s	ɫ				h
affricates	voiceless				č			
	glottalized			ƛ'	č'			
trill/flap			r					
approximants	liquids			l				
	semivowels	w				y	w	

Patwin consonant phonemes

Extra slides: Patwin speech sounds
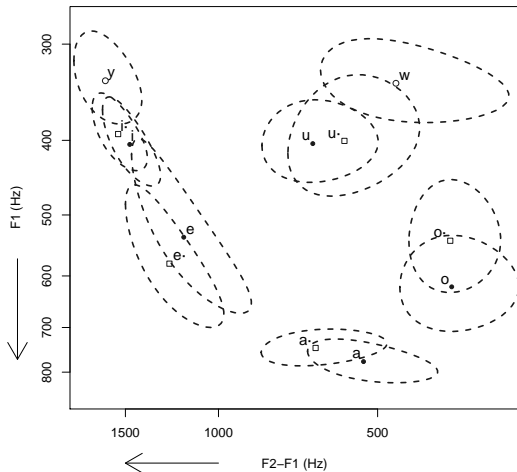
	front	back
high	i, i·	u, u·
mid	e, e·	o, o·
low		a, a·

Schematic

(V· = long vowel)

Oscar McDaniel's vowel space (HP)
(audio archive: Ultan AU)

Extra slides: Verb stem ablaut

	hama· 'to sit'	*yi·la* 'to send'	*peri* 'to swallow'
future	*hama· -t'is*	*yi·la -t'is*	*peri -t'is*
finite	*hama -s*	*yi·la -s*	*peri -s*
past	*hama -sa*	*yi·la -sa*	*peru -sa*
imperative	*ham*	*yi·la*	*peru*

Inflected verbs from the three major stem classes (Hill Patwin)

(See discussion in Lawyer 2015; Whistler 1981.)