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  

***

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 *Pew* ‘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 NB1.G118, SG)

b. ?uy-ne:t  t’hi-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. \[\ldots\] \(\text{t}^{b}\text{asi}-\text{muhi tuyu-m}\) mink.SBJ sing stop-SBJV

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

b. \[\ldots\] \(\text{t}^{b}\text{asi--ma doyi }\text{uno pe-spe-s}\) mink-OBJ give his property

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

c. \[\ldots\] harme-m \(\text{t}^{b}\text{asi--tuka}\) take-SBJV mink-ALL

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

d. \[\ldots\] ha-rme-m \(\text{t}^{b}\text{asi--ma-tuka}\) 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. \(\text{mi} \quad \text{p}^{b}\text{ča-yu-n}\) 2SG.SBJ stand-RPAST

\(\text{You} \) stood. (Bright NB:1.G148, SG)

b. \(\text{wini-s } \text{ču } \text{mi-s}\) see-FIN 1SG.SBJ 2SG-OBJ

I see you. (Bright NB:3.IM24, IM)

c. \(\text{boh-le } \text{mi-s-da}\) be-1EXCLHORT 2SG-OBJ-COM

I’ll stay with you. (Whistler NB:F29, JR)

d. \(\text{pi } \text{wi-ta } \text{mi-da } \text{har-ta}\) 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:

\(^*\text{-t-n(0) ‘obj-poss’}\) (Whistler 1960; Shepherd 2005)

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

But double case for semantic cases is a Patwin innovation.

*** ***

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 -? and possibly with accusative -j:

(4) a. Proto Sierra Miwok (Callaghan 2014:181)

\[ \text{his-ik-my-}\text{?} \]
\[ \text{skunk-LOC-NOM} \]

b. Southern Sierra Miwok (Broadbent 1964:52)

\[ \text{haj-e-m-}\text{-j} \]
\[ \text{close.by-ABL-ACC} \]
\[ \text{‘for a little while’} \]

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

(5) a. Old Georgian (oge, Kartvelian; Plank 1995:28)

\[ \text{saxel-ita} \]
\[ \text{name-INS} \]
\[ \text{mam-isa-jta} \]
\[ \text{father-GEN-INS} \]
\[ \text{‘with the father’s name’} \]

b. Martuthunira (vma, Pama-Nyungan, Dench and Evans 1988:7)

\[ \text{tharnta-a} \]
\[ \text{euro-acc} \]
\[ \text{kupuyu-marta-a} \]
\[ \text{little-PROP-ACC} \]
\[ \text{thara-ngka-marta-a} \]
\[ \text{pouch-LOC-PROP-ACC} \]
\[ \text{‘[I speared] a euro with a little one in its pouch’} \]

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>[vimān]</th>
<th>‘plane’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“oblique”</td>
<td>[vimān-ā]</td>
<td>‘to the plane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>[vimān-ā-lā]</td>
<td>‘by plane’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of Patwin and Indo-Aryan case layering:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patwin</th>
<th>Indo-Aryan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>source of semantic case suffixes</td>
<td>not adpositions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>source of case layering</td>
<td>a) analogy to older case layering</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

References


