Layers in Patwin: Double case marking and the Miwok substrate

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i. Patwin (pwí, 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).
### Grammatical cases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subjective</td>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objective</td>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>-t ~ -s ~ -ma ~ ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>-nomin ~ -no ~ ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Semantic cases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>COM</td>
<td>-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instrumental</td>
<td>INS</td>
<td>-sin ~ -tin ~ ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-la ~ -tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allative</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>-tuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>-ti ~ -na·k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prolative</td>
<td>PROL</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ?ew ‘this’, objective case -t optionally precedes possessive case suffixes.
(The objective case suffix is semantically vacuous in this context.)

(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)
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. [...] \(t^hasi\cdot\) muhi tuyu-m
    mink.SBJ sing stop-SBJV
    ... Mink stopped singing. (Radin MS:11/146, AL)

b. [...] \(t^hasi\cdotma\) doyi ?uno pe·spe·s
    mink-OBJ give his property
    ‘... give Mink his property.’ (Bright NB:9.DL78, DL)

c. [...] harme-m \(t^hasi\cdot-tuka\)
    take-SBJV mink-ALL
    ‘... and took it to Mink.’ (Radin MS:5/142, AL)

d. [...] ha·rme-m \(t^hasi\cdotma-tuka\)
    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. (The objective case suffix is semantically vacuous in this context.)

(3)  
a. $\text{mi} \quad p^h\text{e ča} \cdot \text{yu-n}$
    2SG.SBJ  stant-RPAST
    You stood. (Bright NB:1.G148, SG)

b. $\text{wini-s} \quad \text{ču} \quad \text{mi-s}$
    see-FIN  1SG.SBJ  2SG-OBJ
    I see you. (Bright NB:3.IM24, IM)

c. $\text{boh-le} \quad \text{mi-s-da}$
    be-1EXCL.HORT  2SG-OBJ-COM
    I’ll stay with you. (Whistler NB:F29, JR)

d. $\text{pi} \quad \text{wi-ta} \quad \text{mi-da} \quad \text{har-ta}$
    that man.SBJ  2SG.COM  go-Q.PAST
    Did that man go with you? (Whistler NB:G49, HL)
Double case on Proto-Wintuan in possessive kinship terms and pronouns:

\[-t-n(o) \text{ ‘-OBJ-POSS’} \]  
(Whistler 1980; Shepherd 2005)

- Patwin reflex: -\textit{t-no} (kinship terms and \textit{\textdegree e\textit{w-t-no} ‘this-OBJ-POSS’})
- Wintu reflex: -\textit{t-un} (kinship terms and 3SG pronouns)

Double case for semantic cases is a \textbf{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 -?, and possibly with accusative -j:

(4) a. Proto Sierra Miwok (Callaghan 2014:181)
   \textit{his-ik-my-?}
   skunk-LOC-NOM

   b. Southern Sierra Miwok (Broadbent 1964:52)
   \textit{haj-e-m-?}
   close.by-ABL-ACC

   ‘for a little while’
Two types of double case marking in the literature:

- Suffixaufnahme
- case layering
Comparison with other double case marking systems

**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:

- 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’
Comparison of Patwin and Indo-Aryan case layering:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of semantic case suffixes</th>
<th>Patwin</th>
<th>Indo-Aryan</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not adpositions</td>
<td>adpositions</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<th>Source of case layering</th>
<th>Patwin</th>
<th>Indo-Aryan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) analogy to older case layering</td>
<td>adpositions grammaticalize to suffixes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Miwok substrate</td>
<td>adpositions grammaticalize to suffixes</td>
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</table>
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!

(Martha Macri, Patrick Farrell, Raúl Aranovich, Justin Spence, Laurie Lawyer, Todd Gettleman, the Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation Cultural Resources Committee, the UC Davis Linguistics Department, the National Science Foundation Documenting Endangered Languages Program [BCS-1264305], ...
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and thanks for being here — I look forward to your comments!


Information from (Shepherd 2005):

- **-ma** OBJ $< \text{PW *-m(a) 'OBJ' (nouns)}$
- **-t** OBJ $< \text{PW *-t 'OBJ' (pronouns + kinterms)}$
- **-s** OBJ $< \text{PW *-s 'OBJ' (2SG pronoun)}$
- **-da** COM $< \text{PW *-da 'relational nominal suffix'}$
- **-sin** INS $? \text{ (*son 'rock', *sen 'digging stick')}$
- **-la** LOC $< \text{PW *la· 'to sit' ( < *la 'to be located' ?)}$
- **-tin** LOC $< \text{PW *-in 'LOC'}$
- **-tuka** ALL $< \text{PW *čuka 'to approach'}$
- **na·k** ABL $?$
- **-ti** ABL $< \text{PW *-ti 'directional locative'}$
## Extra slides: Patwin speech sounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patwin consonant phonemes</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>postalveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oral stops</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>( p^h )</td>
<td>t(^h)</td>
<td>( k^h )</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glottalized</td>
<td>( p' )</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>( k' )</td>
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<td>Affricates</td>
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<td>Trill/Flap</td>
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<td>Approximants</td>
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Lewis C. Lawyer (UCD)
Oscar McDaniel’s vowel space (HP)
(audio archive: Ultan AU)
**Inflected verbs from the three major stem classes (Hill Patwin)**

(See discussion in Lawyer 2015; Whistler 1981.)