

ADVERBS WITH A FINAL -W IN MALECITE SENTENCES

Laszlo Szabo

University of New Brunswick

1.0 Introduction. In the present work I describe the use of the w-ended particles (adverbs) in the Malecite Indian language (spoken in New Brunswick, Canada). There is no linguistic literature on this topic whatsoever. I have noted down eleven volumes of texts in Malecite and deposited them in the Archives of the National Museum of Canada. These texts are the only sources for the present article. I found my corpus of adverbs in about 400 pages of Malecite texts.

The transcription and translation of the Malecite words and sentences presented here follow the same principles as those of my manuscripts, deposited in the National Museum. The translations are not always in idiomatic English, since I deliberately follow the structure of the Malecite sentences, particularly as far as word order is concerned.

The w-ended adverbs are a common phenomenon in Malecite. There can be two or three of them in a relatively short sentence. E.g. wət ēhpit sēhket awhtik-te / kwihw / sēhkiw kcīhkok / kwihw-te 'This woman was standing on the roadside, close (i.e. on the edge of the road), right in the woods, near the road.'

I found more than fifty adverbs of this kind. About thirty of them express place, less than twenty express time, and a few express other notions such as mode of action. They will be presented in three groups below.

2.0 Adverbs of Place. akwiw (plus locative of a noun), 'behind,' e.g. yokt-lo skinōhsīsək / tī-pāhpoltowok / akwiw wikwāmək 'Those boys were playing behind the house.' (There are only a few adverbs which are used together with a locative. See cimaciw, kwihw and tāhkiw.)

cimaciw (plus locative) 'from,' e.g. tətəkwapmā-te cimaciw wəniyakənək-te tāhkiw maksənīhkok 'I looked at her from the top of her head to her shoes.'

emēhkew 'down,' e.g. mecīmiw-te elapīhtit emēhkew / nisowok skinōhsī sək 'They always looked down, the two boys.' (The suffix -w usually joins a so-called "final" i, a well known term in Algonquian linguistics. There are only four exceptions among my adverbs of place: emēhkew, kisāhkew, pithaw and wecəwaw.)

epāhsiw 'in the middle,' e.g. tamā epāhsiw ikahat 'Somewhere in the middle it got it (i.e. the spirit touched the middle of the boat).'

ewēpiw 'up,' e.g. wāhte / nipawhsət ewēpiw wəlepo 'Way up, the moon was setting up nicely.'

The adverb ewēpiw can be used with a noun in locative, e.g. stēhpāl-yakw ewēpiw mosikiskwētōk sēhket 'As if it was standing up in the air.'

ələkwiw 'that way,' 'over there,' e.g. kisi nīlon nāmiyan nit wen ələ-kwiw 'We saw there someone, that way.'

kikəciw (plus particle - te) 'close,' e.g. n nit-te nit / kikəciw-te nit sēhket nət iya/esekpīsīt 'All right, there, right close, there it was standing, this ghost.'

kikcāhkiw 'down the hill,' e.g. ən-yakw kikcāhkiw natapiləmən 'And down the hill he went to get water.'

kisāhkew 'up the hill,' e.g. kwaskwiniya kisāhkew 'They ran up the hill.'

kiyāhkiw 'straight ahead,' e.g. nīta / apc espāsahkīwik / nit-te kiyāhkiw 'Now, again, in the morning, (we went) right away straight ahead.'

ksəkāyiw 'across,' e.g. yot-te ksəkāyiw / wecəwaw / naci-mhkənāhsin pəcētēsəl 'Right here, across (the border), not too far, I was going to pick potatoes.'

kwihiw 'near,' 'nearby.' This is a very common adverb, and it is used in the following ways: a) by itself, without a locative or any additional particles joining it, b) kwihiw-te (with the additional particle - te), c) kwihiw-te-iyik, d) kwihiw plus locative, e) locative plus kwihiw, f) kwihiw-te plus locative. Examples:

- a) nit-te kwihiw totəpowal 'Right there, nearby he lived.'
- b) ən n-cəntəmahan / kwihiw-te ēyit 'And I stopped my machine near her (literally, near where she was).'
- c) nit-te kwihiw-te iyik / nekəməw / pīhce skicīnowok / wikolhtīh tit 'Right there, handy, there they (lived long ago, Indians, they lived there).'
- d) tamā-al kwihiw lehlōtək 'Somewhere near the railroad tracks.'
- e) ən iyik milāwiyan / yot apca kisawhtik kwihiw 'And then, I went out there, again, near the railroad tracks.'

f) kwihiw-te kakənək 'Near the door.'

lāmiw 'inside,' e.g. nit wəlam kisi-ktəkwen lāmiw 'There I could sleep overnight, inside (in a boxcar).'

milāwiw 'way out,' e.g. nīta / menāhkwesk milāwiw 'There, at St. John, way out.'

nēhkāyiw 'all the way.' (I found this with a) the additional particle -te and b) two additional particles: -ykw-te). Examples:

a) nēhkāyiw-te pəmi-kakalowe 'All the way he was shouting.'

b) nēhkāyiw-ykw-te cowi-kwaskolhtowok 'All the way they had to run.'

nəmcīniw 'on the side,' occurring (a) with or (b) without the additional particle -ykw. Examples:

a) slānkiw elāpit-ykw nəmcīniw-ykw 'Suddenly she looked on the side.'

b) kəkən etl-alkətək / yot nəmcīniw 'He was chewing a hole in the door, here on the side.'

nīhkāniw 'ahead,' 'in front,' e.g. nit-ykw-te elhkūpit / nīhkāniw mətelhtakwsowol 'There, where she sat, right in front (of her), (there) it (i.e. the spirit) was making a noise (like a pig).'

papkiw 'down river,' e.g. nakā ali-iyolhtowok-ykw / papkiw 'And they were camping around down river.'

pəliw 'at a different place,' 'in a different direction,' e.g. ələmoħs-lo yat / pəliw ēləhsit (The dog is there, lying at a different place.'

pithaw 'up river,' e.g. pīhce naci-kə tonhkāhtīhtit skicīnowok / cel-ykw iyik / tamā-al nit / pithaw wəlamōkətək 'Long ago, they were going hunting, the Indians, even to this place, somewhere there, up river, (up) the Oromocto (river).'

tətəkwiw-(te) 'all the way,' e.g. tətəkwiw-te pəmi-kakalowe 'All the way he kept on shouting.'

təhkiw 'to,' 'until,' 'up to.' This is the only w-ended adverb in my corpus which can express both place and time. As adverb of place, it is never used without additional particles or without the locative of a noun. I am presenting examples for the following combinations: a) təhkiw plus the additional particles -te and waht plus locative, b)

locative plus təhkiw, c) təhkiw plus the locative of a pronoun: iyik, d) təhkiw-te plus a noun in locative. Examples:

- a) ən nit nil nocimacewhsan / təhkiw-te wāht iyik / malīhkinowīh kok weci-ksəkahsiyin 'And there I walked (from McAdam) way down, to the States where you cross over.'
- b) nīlon / awhtik təhkiw petapasiyek pālēyītok 'We (went) along the road until we reached an open field.'
- c) noci-sapiphōkə n-te / təhkiw iyik 'And I went through to this (place).'
- d) maskwəlāmo / təhkiw-te awhtik 'She screamed until she (got) to the road.'

wāhsiw 'in the other room.' (I found this adverb (a) with and (b) without the additional particle yakw.) Examples:

- a) wāhsiw-yakw nit ləhsin 'In another room, that is where he lay.'
- b) məte-pənēkwiye wāhsiw 'It made a noise of falling in the other room.'

wecəwaw 'near,' 'nearby.' (This adverb can be used a) following another adverb of place, b) preceding the particle yakw, c) preceding the particles -yakw and -lo as well as the verbal enclitic -əp, and d) preceding a place name without locative ending; place names are never used with the locative ending in Malecite, unlike other Algonquian languages.) Examples:

- a) naci-poskənaniya skitapiyik / tamā-al wecəwaw 'They went and buried her, the men, somewhere there, nearby.'
- b) wecəwaw-yakw linōhsōhkwa 'For a short distance they followed him.'
- c) wecəwaw-kāhk-əp-ə-lo iyey / kisi-lophol 'I could take you near.'
- d) tamā-al nit wikowak / wecəwaw menāhkwesk 'Somewhere there they lived, near St. John.'

(The adverb wecəwaw can be used with the diminutive suffixes -əhs or -əhsis, while the short a in the second syllable becomes a long ā.) Examples:

- e) wecəwāwəhs kisi-liphol 'A short distance I could take you.'

- f) wecəwəwəhsis / esekp̄sik-yakw sēhket 'Close by, a ghost was standing.'

wiwniw plus the locative of a noun 'around,' e.g. yot-ēhta wiwniw skwətək 'Here, around the fire.'

3.0 Adverbs of Time. The adverbs of time are fewer in Malecite than the adverbs of place. They are, however, formed with the same morphological elements. The ending -w is added to the "final" -i- in most of them, with the exception of māhkiyew 'for a while.' Some of them can be used with a diminutive suffix or with the additional particles -te, -yakw, etc.

askəmiw 'forever,' e.g. kīlēc-na ma askəmiw kolelməkweu 'You, too, forever, you won't be lucky.'

kēkiw 'all day,' e.g. apc-te kēkiw / tiyali-kilwahāwal 'Again, all day, they went around looking for her.'

kinəwiw (with the particles -yakw-te and the enclitic -(h)c 'at a certain time,' e.g. kinəwaw-yakw-tē-hc nikt / ksəkayothətowok / iyil təpəsnōtēwal 'At a certain time they paddled them across, those, their baskets.'

kwəciw 'further on,' 'later,' e.g. ən apc nit / nit-te nit kwəciw / wət nikwəhs itəm 'And again, there, further on, this one, my mother said.'

māhkiyew 'for a short time,' 'a short time after,' e.g. nakā k-nat-pin māhkiyew etli-wəli-akwāhtek 'And you come and sit down for a while, where it is well shaded.'

māhkiyew, in this adverb, there is no final i before the suffix -w. We met a few similar "irregular" formations among the adverbs of place. It is probably not a coincidence that the adverb of time māhkiyew and the adverb of place wecəwaw behave similarly; both of them have a different vowel (not an i) before the suffix -w, and both of them can be used with the diminutive suffixes -əhs and -əhsis. Most adverbs with the final i do not have the forms ending in -əhs or -əhsis. I quote here two sentences with māhkiyew hs and māhkiyew hsis:

- a) ma-te mace-kapowiw / māhkiyewəhs 'I did not move for a few seconds;'
 b) nit-al-te emkwəte / māhkiyewəhsis / macəko 'There, about (that time), a short time later I fell asleep,'

mecīmiw 'always,' e.g. nit-yakw mecīmiw wikolhtiniyāhpən / skicīnowok 'They always lived there, the Indians.'

metsiw 'late' (this is the only adverb of time with the complex -i-w, which is used (a) with or (b) without the diminutive suffix -əhs).
Examples:

- a) metsiwəhs-kāhk 'It was kind of late.'
b) metsiw 'It is late.'

I met the following adverb only in one form, with the complex -iwəhs (i+w+əhs):

nanakiwəhs 'a very short time later,' e.g. apca nanakiw hs / p mi-weswehsin 'Again, a very short time later, she (the ghost) went by.'

nipāyiw 'at night, (a) with or (b) without the particle -yakw.
Examples:

- a) əhsīmīsəl-yakw / nipāyiw-yakw tətlatēmin 'The younger sister was crying at night.'
b) nipāyiw nit 'It was night time.'

pīliw 'a short time ago,' e.g. mecte nit pīliw / wewinākwət 'Still, there, a short time ago, it (still) could be seen.'

pōniw 'during the winter,' e.g. nakā pōniw 'And (this happened) during the winter.'

sēhkiw 'suddenly,' e.g. sēhkiw yot / wewmatmən-te 'Suddenly, here, I felt it.'

s(ə)lāhkiw 'some time,' 'shortly,' 'suddenly' (this adverb can be used a) alone, b) with the enclitic -c, c) with the additional particles -te, d) -yakw, and e) -yakw-te. Examples:

- a) s(ə)lāhkiw mēhciyan / k-mohol 'Some time, when I die I'll eat you.'
b) slāhkiw-c yaka nəkətəmən / nā kil skitkəmikw / k-nəmiya / mēhciniyin 'Some day, when you leave, you, too, (this) world, you will see him, when you die.'
c) slāhkiw-te ma notowāwīwal 'Suddenly they heard him no more.'
d) slāhkiw-yakw wət / wət-yakw-lo ēhpit / itəm-yakw iyey 'Suddenly this, this here, the woman, she said that.'
e) slāhkiw-yakw-te yokt wisə kikətənhətīcik skicīnowok natkwāhsolhtowok 'Shortly, those who were very old, (those) Indians went away to sleep.'

sikwəniw 'in the spring,' e.g. wāht kpihīkənək / ali-kətonhkiyek
sikwəniw 'Far away, "at the dam" (i.e. at Portobello stream) we were
 hunting around in the springtime.'

sipkiw 'for some time,' e.g. cel-yakw sipkiw / kisi-mace-kwasko 'Even,
 it took some time for her to start running.'

spasəwin 'in the morning.' (This adverb occurs in my corpus a) with the
 preverb visəki- 'very,' 'very much,' in this case 'early,' and b) with
 the future-dubitative enclitic -c.) Examples:

- a) wisəki-spasəwiw / emhkəte skowāhpən / toktēhsin 'Early in the
 morning, it was just about daylight when I woke up.'
- b) spasəwiw-c / natewtāhsolhtīpən 'In the morning we will come
 and get (i.e. get everything).'

təhkiw 'until.' This is the only w-ended adverb in our corpus which can
 refer to place or time. We saw in 2.0 that this adverb was common in
 combination with additional particles and nouns in locative. The adverb
 of time təhkiw can be used a) without any additional particles, b) with
 additional adverbs of time, for instance sepawnok 'tomorrow,' c) or with
 the additional particle -te. When təhkiw refers to time, there must be
 something else in the sentence which refers to time. This can be a con-
 junct verb, as in the examples a) and c), which could be interpreted as
 an equivalent of a subordinate clause of time. Examples:

- a) cēhkəwet / təhkiw nehkakisēyiyek 'It was daylight when we
 finished.'
- b) kat kiskəwāhtōwən / təhkiw sepawnok? 'Can't you wait until
 tomorrow?'
- c) tihin nīta / təhkiw-te / kisi-wəlakwīhpəlhtiyek nīlon mətapēh
kawtipan 'She stayed there, until after supper we went down the
 hill.'

təkəkəwəw 'in the fall,' e.g. tali-cikənekəhtīnen mōhci-təkəkəwəw
 'We were gathering (wild) apples late in the fall.'

tōciw 'at a certain time,' e.g. nit tōciw poskənot 'There, at a
 certain time he was to be buried.'

wəliw-(te) 'right away.' (This adverb occurs in my corpus with the
 particles -te or -yakw-te. I met it many times in the stories, always
 like a) wəliw-te or b) wəliw-yakw-te.) Examples:

- a) yoktək-lo wəliw-te kisacolhtīhtit / skitapiyik 'These here,
 right away, they got ready, the men.'

- b) ən-lo kəskwēhsōhs weliw-yakw-te kcīhkok / əliye 'And this old lady, right away, into the woods she went.'

4.0 Adverbs, Other than Those of Place and Time. Occasionally, one can find w-ended adverbs in Malecite texts which express 'together,' 'not at all (whatsoever),' 'even,' 'for no reason,' 'exactly,' 'alone,' and 'including.' In almost all these adverbs, the suffix w joins the final i; in other words, they end in the complex iw, except for miyaw.

kāpiw-te 'including' (I met this adverb only with the particle -te), e.g. kāpiw-te maksən 'Including the shoes.'

kətōhkāyiw 'alone' (it occurs with the particles - yakw and -te), e.g. kətōhkāyiw-yakw-te wīko 'She lived all alone.'

miyaw 'exactly' (a) with or (b) without the particle -te, e.g.

- a) nit-te miyaw-te wikiyekw-hpən 'Right there, exactly, where you camped.'
- b) nēket-te miyaw 'At that time, exactly.'

pis(ə)wiw 'in vain,' 'no use,' 'for no reason.' (It can be used (a) with or (b) without the particle -te.) e.g.

- a) piswiw-te / yot kəskwēhsōhs peci-kilwahan 'It is no use you come here to look for this old lady.'
- b) k-təliyan poskənīkənīhkok / ci-pisəwiw 'You go to the graveyard for no reason.'

sesmiw-te 'not at all,' 'whatsoever' (I found it only with the particle -te), e.g. ma-te n-tapəlāpiw / sesmiw-te 'I did not look back whatsoever.'

təkwiw 'both (together)' (a) with or (b) without the additional particle -te. e.g.

- a) nəmiyan / təkwiw-te 'We saw it, both of us.'
- b) nōhsīmīfsək təkwiw 'My younger brothers, both of them.'

5.0 Concluding Remarks. It is beyond the scope of this article to study the history of these adverbs. However, I quote two sentences from my stories which help in understanding the origin of the -iw complex.

ən yakw wiwnīhkman wiwniw nit wikowam 'And she went around, around this house.' In the verb wiwnīhkman we can see a so-called "preverb," with an i "final." If we add the suffix -w to this preverb, we get the next word of our sentence: wiwniw 'around.' Similarly, in the following sentence ewēpi- is a preverb, ewēpiw is an adverb:

stēphal-yakw ewēpiw / ewēpi-kapowit 'As if it (i.e. the ghost) was up, standing up.'

To summarize the findings of the present work, most Malecite adverbs, some 50 of which have been presented here, derive from preverbs. They express place or time, and only very seldom anything else, such as mode of action. Almost all of them have only one function, except for təhkiw 'until,' which has two functions. Many of the Malecite adverbs are used in combination with short particles, such as -te, -yakw, with verbal enclitics, such as c, or with the locative of a noun.