Résumé. Après un examen des données linguistiques fournies dans l'ouvrage A Key into the Language of America, l'auteur soutient que le système de parenté Narragansett ne peut être reconstitué à partir des documents de Williams, bien que ceux-ci soient utiles pour d'autres fins, ainsi que le démontre une analyse du narragansett keesuckquànd 'le dieu-soleil'.
In 1643, Roger Williams published his little book, *A Key into the Language of America*, optimistically noting in his brief preface that "A little Key may open a Box, where lies a bunch of Keyes" (Williams 1936: A2). My intention in the major part of this paper is to examine in some detail the linguistic evidence concerning kinship terms in Narragansett with a view towards determining what 'key', if any, the Williams materials furnish towards reconstructing the kinship system of Narragansett. I have attempted to be as complete as possible, including in the following discussion any and all terms that can reasonably be considered Narragansett kinship terms in the light of information available to me.

For clarity of exposition, I present the terms in three groups. The first group consists of those terms glossed as kinship terms by Roger Williams which appear to be reflexes of Proto-Algonquian terms. In the second group, I list those terms glossed as kinship terms by Williams, but for which I have been unable to determine Proto-Algonquian cognates. Finally, the third group contains those terms not glossed as kinship terms by Williams, but which linguistic evidence indicates may have been.

In all three groups, I begin by listing for each set the relevant form(s) from Roger Williams' *Key*... and the page number(s) of the cited form(s). In three cases, I include forms from Stiles (Cowan 1973) and Gatschet. Following this information, I indicate what I consider to be the cognate
reconstructed Proto-Algonquian form(s) and gloss(es) (for a fuller discussion and a tentative analysis of the Narragansett materials, see Aubin 1972; for a different interpretation of some of the problems involved therein, see Goddard 1965 and 1971). Finally, where necessary, there is a discussion of particular problems raised by some sets.

KINSHIP TERMS I

1. osh 'a father' (28); nòsh 'my father' (28); còsh 'your father' (28); unháppô kòsh 'is your father at home?' (33); unháppô kòsh 'is your father at home?' (34); cf. cuttòso 'have you a father?' (28).
   PA *no·hθa 'my father'
   *ko·hθa 'your father'
   *o·hθali 'his father'

2. oká'su 'a mother' (28); nokáce 'my mother' (28).
   PA *nekyaqšiwa 'my mother'
   *okyaqšiwali 'his mother'

3. wússe 'an unckle' (28); nissè 'my unckle' (28).
   PA *nešíhsa 'my cross-uncle'
   *wešíhsali 'his cross-uncle'
4. nosėnemuck 'he is my sonne in law' (146).
   PA *no'ʃiθemekwa 'he has me as father-in-law'

5. wéticks 'a sister' (29).
   PA *wi'tekeθkwali 'her sister (woman speaking)'

If this correspondence is accurate, the Narragansett form appears to be an abbreviated reflex of the Proto-Algonquian form.

6. weémat 'a brother' (28); neémat 'my brother' (29); wéchepeyâu-keémat 'your brother is come with him' (34); cf. wematíttuock 'they are brothers' (29), cutchashematítin 'how many brothers have you?' (29).
   PA *ni'mata 'my brother (man speaking)'
   *ki'mata 'your brother (man speaking)'
   *wi'matali 'his brother (man speaking)'

7. natóncks 'my cousin' (29); kattóncks 'your cousin' (29); watóncks 'a cousin' (29); cf. wattonksíttuock 'they are cousins' (29).
   PA *-ata'nkw- 'sibling-in-law of same sex'
   *nata'nkwehsa 'my sister-in-law (woman speaking)'
   *kata'nkwehsa 'your sister-in-law (woman speaking)'
   *wata'nkwehsali 'her sister-in-law (woman speaking)'

The Narragansett forms point to Proto-Algonquian forms containing the diminutive suffix *-ehs-; the exact meaning of these Proto-Algonquian forms is uncertain.

8. yò cuttaûnis 'is this your daughter?' (6); nittaûnis 'my daughter' (28).
PA *-ta·na 'daughter'
*neta·nehsa 'my daughter' (diminutive suffix added)
*keta·nehsa 'your daughter' (diminutive suffix added)

9. non ânese 'a sucking child' (28); nonánnis 'a sucking child' (150); cf. noônsu 'a sucking child' (150); cf. Stiles nunnese 'baby'.
PA *no·n- 'suckle' + *-a·nehsa 'daughter'

The second part of this correspondence is questionable since the -ese spelling used by Williams in the first form cited suggests [i] and not [ə], the vowel expected in the Narragansett development of PA *-ehs-; cf. Stiles nunnese 'baby'.

10. weéwo 'a wife' (28); nowéewo 'my wife' (28); cowéewo 'your wife' (147).
PA *ni'wa  'my wife'
*ki'wa  'your wife'
*wi'wali  'his wife'

The Narragansett evidence clearly points to the proto-forms *newi'wa and *kewi'wa instead of the usually reconstructed PA *ni'wa and *ki'wa. This is probably due to an analogical change in Narragansett.

11. aspaumpmáuntam commíttamus 'how doth your wife?' (3); yò commíttamus 'is this your wife?' (6); mittúmmis 'a wife' (28); nummíttamus 'my wife' (28); commíttamus 'your wife' (147); cummequaìnum cummíttamussussuck ká cummuckiaûg 'remember your wives, and children' (190).
PA *nemetemwehsa 'my old woman'
*kemetemwehsa 'your old woman'

KINSHIP TERMS II

12. wítchwhaw 'a mother' (28); nítchwhaw 'my mother' (28).

13. weésummis 'a sister' (29).

14. aspaumpmaúntamwock cummuckiaûg 'how doth your children?' (3); nummückiese 'my childe' (28); muckíis auhaqut 'a childs mantle' (120); cummequaìnum cummíttamussussuck ká cummuckiaûg 'remember your wives, and children' (190).
15. yo cuppáppoos 'is this your child?' (6); papoős 'a child' (28); nippápoos 'my child' (28); cf. Gatschet pápūs 'child, baby'.

16. wullógana 'a wife' (28); nullógana 'my wife' (148).

The use of the letter \_\_ is relatively rare in the Key... (see further examples on pages 29, 105, 134, 135, 146, 150, and 201). The normal development of PA *0 and *1 is [n] in Narragansett; words with \_\_ thus appear to be borrowings. Cf. Miantinomi's wife's name, Wawaloam.

17. nquittócaw 'he hath one wife' (147); neesócaw 'he hath two wives' (147); sshócowaw 'he hath three' (147); yócawaw 'four wives' (147).

18. wásick 'an husband' (28).

19. yö cummúckquachucks 'is this your son?' (6); nummúckquáchucks 'my sonne' (28); muck quachuckquêmese 'a little boy' (28); muckquachuckquànd 'the childrens god' (124); cf. Stiles muckachux 'boy'.

KINSHIP TERMS III

20. hômes, & hômesuck 'an old man, old men' (27).

PA *omeẖo·mehsali 'his grandfather'
If this correspondence is accurate, the Narragansett forms appear to be abbreviated reflexes of the Proto-Algonquian form.

21. wenise & wenisuck 'an old woman, old women' (27).
PA *wi'ehsali 'his sister-in-law (man speaking), her brother-in-law (woman speaking).

The Proto-Algonquian form and gloss are questionable. The *-i'9- is well attested, but is usually followed by *-em-, a common morpheme in Proto-Algonquian terms of relationship. The gloss given by Bloomfield (1946:96) for *-i'9em- is 'sister-in-law (man speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking). In addition, there is some doubt that -i- spelling used by Williams stands for [ə], the vowel expected in the Narragansett development of the PA diminutive suffix *-ehs-. If the proto-form does contain *ehs-, this may alter the meaning significantly. The forms given by Williams may be related in some way to Stiles' form wenỳgh 'woman', perhaps through a form tentatively reconstructed for Eastern Algonquian as **wi'nay- 'dirty being'.

22. kichize, & kichizuck 'an old man, old men' (27).
PA *keqt- 'big, much, old' + *-i- + *-sihθa 'cross uncle'
This correspondence is questionable in that the Narragansett forms may be related in some way to a form tentatively reconstructed for Eastern Algonquian as **kahehčay- 'large being'.

The following Narragansett forms appear to contain reflexes of PA *-i·t- 'fellow, co-'. This morpheme forms dependent nouns, which comprise two major classes: terms of intimate possession and terms of relationship (Bloomfield 1946:97). If these forms do contain reflexes of PA *-i·t-, it remains unclear whether or not the dependent nouns so formed are in fact terms of relationship in Narragansett.

23. nétop 'friend' (2); netompaúog 'friends' (2); see further examples on pages 7, 9, 15, 35, 38, 131, 132, 135, 138, 166, 187, and 190; cf. Natick neetompaog 'my kinsmen'.

PA *ni·ta·pe·wa 'my fellow male'

24. Wétucks 'they have many strange relations of one Wétucks, a man that wrought great miracles amongst them, and walking upon the waters, &c. with some kind of broken resemblance to the sonne of God.' (Williams 1936: To the reader).

25. ntacquētunck ewò 'he is my subject' (141); kuttāckquētous 'I will subject to you' (141).
An inspection of Williams' kinship data reveals that he only seems to have begun to understand those Narragansett categories which were most analogous to categories within the English nuclear family. By comparing reconstructed Proto-Algonquian forms and glosses to Williams' (mainly) Narragansett forms and glosses, we have some basis for evaluating Williams' perception. In Kinship Terms I, the terms for 'father' (1), 'mother' (2), 'son-in-law' (4), 'sister' (5), 'brother' (6), 'daughter' (8), and 'wife' (10) all agree substantially with Proto-Algonquian equivalents. The terms glossed by Williams as 'uncle' (3), 'cousin' (7), 'a sucking child' (9), and 'wife' (11) involve uncertainty. Terms 12 to 19, those glossed as kinship terms by Williams, but for which I have been unable to determine Proto-Algonquian equivalents, all pertain to relationships within the nuclear family. Terms 20 to 22, not glossed by Williams as kin terms, seem to refer in reconstructed Proto-Algonquian to relationships peripheral to the English nuclear family. Despite the relative abundance of Williams' data on nuclear family relationships, much remains obscure. To whom did the terms glossed as 'father' or 'mother' apply? Terms 10, 11, 16, and 17 were glossed by Williams as 'wife'. These may have referred to status differences between wives in the polygynous family. One of these, wullógana (16), is not Narragansett. Other apparent synonymies, the terms for 'mother' (2, 12), 'sister' (5, 13), and 'child'
suggest cultural distinctions that escaped Williams' notice. Terms 23 to 25 may have been related to corporate kinship groupings of which nothing is known.

I conclude, therefore, that we are unable to reconstruct the Narragansett kinship system from Williams' data. Although this is a negative conclusion, I think it should be considered in the light of what some have suggested should be known as the Edison Insight. According to the story, when Thomas Edison was unsuccessfully searching for a suitable filament for an incandescent light bulb, a concerned and sympathetic friend asked him if he didn't find it depressing to work so long and so hard without making any discoveries. Edison is reported to have replied, "Not at all. I've already discovered 87 filaments that don't work!"

The knowledge of what doesn't work is invaluable in dealing with the Williams materials, which, like the filaments of Edison, yield their secrets only after much time and painstaking effort. Even if the Williams materials are of little help in reconstructing the Narragansett kinship system, they may be useful in other ways. As a case in point, in the concluding section of this paper, I would like to use them to shed some light on the Narragansett word keesuckquand 'the sun god' (125).

In his discussion of this form, Hewson (1974.256) states that it is "... an apparent participle which I am unable to analyze further except to observe that the vowel of the second syllable
indicates *ki:ʃ-ekw-, the stem for 'day'." Although Hewson's observation that the form in question contains a reflex of PA *ki:ʃ-ekw- is most probably correct, I would like to suggest, following Trumbull (1903.269), that Narragansett keesuckquând is a noun rather than a participle, with Narragansett -and a normal reflex of PA *-anet- (from PA *maneto:wa 'spirit').

In support of this view, consider the following forms, which show one development of PA *-anet- in word-final position in Narragansett:

26. Nr. wunnanaméanit 'the northerne god' (124)
27. Nr. wetúmanit 'the house god' (124)
28. Nr. squáuanit 'the womans god' (124)
29. Nr. yotáánit 'the fire god' (125)

To satisfactorily account for Narragansett -and, in the context of the Williams materials, two things must be explained: the absence of the expected Narragansett reflex of PA *e, and the voicing of the Narragansett reflex of PA *t.

As for the first difficulty, it is not at all unusual for Williams to give no indication of the expected Narragansett reflex of PA *e, as shown by the following forms:

30. PA *meskwi - Nr. msqui 'blood' (198)
31. PA *nekikwa - Nr. nkèke, nkéquock 'otter, otters' (103)
32. PA *nekwetwi - Nr. nquéf 'one' (22)
33. PA *nesiči - Nr. nchésamam nséte 'my foot is sore' (195)
34. PA *-anet- - Nr. kautântowwit 'the great south-west god' (124) and Nr. cautântouwit (130)

The forms cited in number 34 are by far the most instructive in this regard, showing the absence of the expected Narragansett reflex of PA *e in the very morpheme in question, although the Narragansett reflex of PA *t is recorded as t in both cases.

On the problem of voicing, there is ample evidence that Williams often records expected Narragansett voiceless reflexes as voiced, as in the following examples:

35. PA *sikawe9kwe:wa - Nr. segousquaw 'a widdow' (146)
36. PA *te:p- - Nr. waûmet taûbi 'it is enough' (14)

This is particularly common in word-final position in Narragansett:

37. PA *-ame:kw- - Nr. qunnamâug-suck 'lampries' (112)
38. PA *alaskehikani - Nr. anâskhig-anash 'how, howes' (99)
39. PA *a4ko:ka - Nr. askûg 'a snake' (105)

In the light of these remarks, the view that Narragansett -and is a reflex of PA *-anet-, with Narragansett keesuckquand consequently a noun rather than a participle, has substantial support in the Williams materials. As a final note, it is interesting to observe that, in addition to Narragansett keesuckquand, virtually every Narragansett form ending in -and contains a reference to 'god' in its gloss:

40. Nr. wompanand 'the easterne god' (124)
41. Nr. chekesuwand 'the westerne god' (124)
42. Nr. sowwanând 'the southerne god' (124)
43. Nr. muckquachuckquand 'the childrens god' (124)
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