

Huron Kinship Terminology

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*This is a study of Huron kinship terminology based on data covering roughly three hundred years. As much of the information comes from **unpublished** sources previously unavailable to most researchers, much of this work is simple description. Secondly, this study makes comparisons with terms in related Northern Iroquoian languages, as part of a speculation about the nature of change since contact. Kin terms also provide information on such matters as interaction with the French, the politics of social distance, power and solidarity and matrilineal residence patterns among the Huron.*

Introduction

The study of Huron kinship terminology presents a unique opportunity to anthropologists. For no other Amerindian group do we have as extensive a documentation for the early contact period of the 17th century, and for no other such group do we have as long a period of documentation through which to observe changes, with material coming from the 1620s down to ca 1911.

The goals of this study are varied. Simple description is important as the source materials, particularly the Huron dictionaries, are not generally known or available. Observing change gives us an opportunity to discuss the effect on Amerindian kinship terminology of long-term contact with European-based societies. The description of the early terminological system and the documentation of how it changed are particularly important to the study of kinship terminology among speakers of other northern Iroquoian languages such as Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Tuscarora. Seventeenth century material about kinship terms in those languages is either non-existent or is considerably less extensive than that concerning Huron.

Another goal of this study is to describe how the Huron and the French (primarily the Jesuit missionaries) interacted with each other using kin terms. These usages demonstrate something of the nature of the relationship between the two peoples, and how that relationship changed after the initial contact period.

Finally, this study attempts to clarify two aspects of Huron social structure. Analysis of the use of pronominal and reflexive prefixes and of the -a-possessive suffix illustrate the politics of social distance, power and solidarity in Huron society, as such things related to kinship. The kinship terminological evidence also suggests that the Huron preferred matrilineality as a residence pattern after marriage.

Sources

The most extensive documentation I have is for the 17th century, although there is rich material from the early 20th century from the one Wyandot source. The earliest sources of information are Sagard's dictionary and account of his 1623-24 stay with the Huron (Sagard 1866). The bulk of Huron material comes, however, from a series of dictionaries, four of which are French-Huron (FHO, FH67, FH1693 and FH1697), and four of which are Huron-French (HF59, HF62, HF65 and Potier 1920). They date from 1655-56 (FHO) to the 1740s (Potier 1920). The rest of the Huron material comes from examples in Huron, but most often in translation, from the Jesuit Relations (JR 1959).

The Wyandot spoke what can be considered a dialect of Huron. Three sources of Wyandot kinship term data are used in this study. The earliest comes from the Jesuit, Potier, who in copying Huron material for his grammar and dictionary sometimes added or substituted Wyandot features or terms. The next source is the material published in Morgan's "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family" (Morgan 1966), originally collected in 1859 with the assistance of the Wyandots Matthew and William Walker. Finally, most of the Wyandot data comes from Barbeau's fieldwork of 1911-12, published (Barbeau 1915 and 1960) or on the numbered cards of his unpublished field notes.

While I will be presenting some examples of 17th century Mohawk (Bruyas 1970 and Shea 1970), and 20th century Mohawk (Michelson 1973 and Bonvillain 1973), Seneca (Chafe 1963) and Tuscarora (Rudes 1987), the main time period represented in the Iroquois comparative material is

the 19th century. My main body of Iroquois data was obtained by Morgan from the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Tuscarora from 1859 to 1861. Since that time some changes have taken place, making the terms more like the English model (for Mohawk examples, see Bonvillain 1973:160-162).

A Description of Huron Kinship Terminology

1.0 Mother

There were two terms in Huron that can be translated as 'to be mother to', and they seem to have stood in a complementary relationship to each other. The term with the broadest variety of pronominal prefixes was the verb root typically recorded as -nd8en- (Sagard 1866:104-6, 1939:71, Brébeuf 1830:3, 7 and 9, FHO, FH1693, FH1697:253-4, HF59, HF62:71, HF65:113, and Potier 1920:68 and 297 #20), in one source as -ndoen- (FH67:130).

The -8- (an 'o' with a 'u' over it in the original Jesuit writing) represents a 'w' sound in the examples presented in this article. The -,- symbol, presented elsewhere, represents a 'y' sound.

Barbeau recorded a Wyandot cognate (Barbeau 1960:64-66, 68, 71 passim and cards 553, 690, 702-4, 721 and 723). Morgan, however, as he was just dealing with 'my mother', used the other verb root signifying 'mother'. Cognates appear in all other Northern Iroquoian languages except Mohawk, which does have a term cognate with the Huron term for father (see Chafe 1963:23, Lounsbury 1971:193 and Morgan 1966:295 for Seneca; Morgan 1966:295 for Cayuga, Onondaga and Tuscarora, also see Rudes 1987:67 for Tuscarora, Michelson 1981:16 for Oneida, and Barbeau 1961:149 for Laurentian Iroquois).

The second verb root signifying mother, -nnen-, appears to have been confined, except in one source, to forming the term of address 'my mother'. It is represented in several different ways in the Huron literature, all with the same meaning: "Man" (Sagard 1866:104), "Armen" (FHO), "Annen-en" (FH67:130, FH1693, FH1697:254, HF62 and Potier 1929:297 #20), and "Annenhen" (Potier 1920:L108). The only Huron exception to this single form representation is the extension of this verb root to "Sanan" in Sagard, alongside "sendouen" as a way of saying 'your mother' (Sagard 1866:105). This may be a feature of Southern Bear, one of the two Huron dialects appearing in Sagard's writing. A cognate for this

verb root appears in Wyandot in both Morgan (Morgan 1966:295) and Barbeau (Barbeau 1960:78 and 234 and cards 566, 703-4 and 765). While there exist in Wyandot words for 'my mother' coming from both roots, something that does not occur in Huron, the term coming from the -nd8en- cognate is more a term of reference than of address (contrast Barbeau card 658 with 704). According to Barbeau, the -nnen- cognate "seems to be more sacred and refer to the heart" (Barbeau card 703). An equally limited cognate occurs in Tuscarora with the term of 'my mother' (Rudes 1987:108).

The pronominal prefixes used with the verb root -nd8en- have the mother in the agent position, the child in the patient position. The agent is similar to the subject in English, the patient, to the object.

The pronominal symbols used in this article are as follows:

1 - first person	2 - second person
M - masculine	FZ - feminine-zoic
Ind- indefinite	d - dual
P - patient	A - agent
p - plural	

Examples of their use with -nd8en- are as follows:

- 1.1 "sand8en. ta mere. /FZA2P she - you/
hond8en c'est sa mere, de luy. /FZAMP she -
him/
ond8en c'est sa mere d'elle /FZAFZP she -
her/" (HF65:113)

The reflexive prefix -atat- occurs with this verb root, although judging from the dictionaries its use was not extensive:

- 1.2 "ontatend8en Estre mere et enfant /IndA
they (indefinite)"/ (HF62;c. f. , HF65:113)

While the causative-instrumental suffix -st- does not appear with -nd8en-, there is one example in Potier that suggests that it may have occurred in Wyandot with -nnen- (Potier 1920:219 #37). Neither verb root takes the possessive -a- suffix, a suffix which I feel functioned as a term of endearment, making otherwise more formal relationships of respect more informal and personal.

In both Huron and Wyandot -nd8en- refers not only to a person's biological mother, but also to one's mother's sisters (FHO for Huron; Barbeau cards 553, 702-4 and Morgan 1966:339, a -nnen- cognate in the last-named, for Wyandot). This is to be expected in an "Iroquois" system of kinship terminology, as that system is defined within the six basic terminological system types (Nanda

1987:245). Such a system merges terms for mother and mother's sisters, father and father's brothers, as well as merging the terms for their children with ego's biological brothers and sisters. As we will see, the Huron had such a system in every detail.

There is contradictory evidence concerning the term for father's brother's wife in Wyandot. In Morgan (1966:313), the father's sister term was used, giving to that term a sense of 'woman of ascending generation on the father's side' or more broadly 'woman of the ascending generation that is not termed mother'. Barbeau, however, presents evidence, albeit quite indirect, that such was not the case among the Wyandot of his time. He makes reference to a man's wife calling his brother's children 'my child' (Barbeau card 656), thereby implying that those children in turn would address that person as 'my mother'. Barbeau claimed that this was a usage of the past, no longer current. I find it quite likely that Barbeau was documenting a recollection of a past usage that had at least begun to change by Morgan's time. The extensive nature of his research and the thoroughness of his work could yield historical information of that kind. Therefore I believe that the Wyandot shifted from using the mother term to refer to the father's brother's wife, to using the father's sister term, a practice in Morgan's time unique to the Wyandot within the community of Northern Iroquoian speakers. This would have brought the father's sister term more in line with the English 'aunt' in the person to whom it referred.

2.0 Father

The Huron term for 'father' was the verb root usually represented by 17th and 18th century writers as *-,isten-* (FHO, FH67:148, FH1693:256-7, FH1697:253-4, HF59:82, HF62:45, HF65:99 and Potier 1920:108 and 270 #39), and sometimes as *-istan-* (Sagard 1866:104, 1939:71, Brébeuf 1830:2, 4, 6 and 9 and JR10:69 and 267). A Wyandot cognate was recorded in both Morgan (Morgan 1966:295, 313, 348 and 362) and Barbeau (Barbeau 1960:73, 135, 137, 144 and 212 and cards 610, 656, 660, 657-9, 681, 689-90, 723, 763 and 786). The only cognate for this term in other Northern Iroquoian languages is the Mohawk term for 'mother' (see Morgan 1966:295, 339, 358 and 368, Bruyas 1970:79 and Michelson 1973:62). All the other languages, with the exception of Tuscarora, share a term that may have a cognate in the Huron term for the paternal grandparent/grandchild relationship.

With the pronominal prefixes, the one who is the father is in the agent position, the child or children in the patient position, as we can see in the

following examples:

- 2.1 "ton pere hia,*isten* /MA2P he - you/
son pere ho,*isten* /MAMP he - him/
notre pere son,8a,*isten* /MA1pP he - our/"
(FH1697:253)

Not used with this verb root are the reflexive prefix, causative-instrumental suffix or the *-a*-suffix.

The Huron used *-,isten-* to apply to father's brother as well as to biological father (FHO, FH1693:256-7 and Potier 1920:270 #39). Such is also the case with the unrelated terms in the other Northern Iroquoian languages (*ibid.*). This is to be expected as a feature of the Iroquois system of kinship terminology.

As with the term for mother, there is contradictory evidence from Morgan and Barbeau concerning further extension of the father term. Morgan has the mother's brother term apply to both mother's sister's and father's sister's husband (Morgan 1966:322 and 339 respectively). While Allen Goligas, one of Barbeau's Wyandot informants agreed that this reflected current usage, he claimed that both of those relationships (*i.e.*, mother's sister's husband and father's sister's husband) earlier had *-,isten-* applied to them (Barbeau card 656).

He appears to be describing a change from a system in which all those not by strict definition mother's brothers were called father (as did Morgan's Mohawk and Oneida), to one more like the English speaker's system of having an alternative term to father (*i.e.*, uncle) refer to all those not biological fathers. The 'new' Wyandot system would be just one person away (*i.e.*, father's brother) from having such a pattern.

There were two extensions of the term 'father' that the Jesuits introduced to the Huron language: to God and to the Jesuits themselves. Neither was successful immediately. Brébeuf first used *-,isten-* for God as father in the catechism he composed after his 1626-28 stay with the Huron. In this early work he used "Aistan" (*i.e.*, 'my father') for God as "le Pere" (Brébeuf 1830:2 and 4) and "Onaistan" for "Nostre Pere" (Brébeuf 1930:6). Both were socially inappropriate because of taboos against speaking specifically of the dead (JR10:121).

The term "Onaistan" was doubly inappropriate, as it was grammatically incorrect. The FZA1pP (she - us) pronominal prefix *-ona-* makes no reference to the fact that the person referred to is male. The appropriate Northern Bear prefix would have been *-sona-*. Brébeuf was falsely generalizing the often occurring *-ona-* as a pronoun meaning 'our'.

Both -ona- and -sona- reflect Northern Bear dialect forms. The equivalents in other dialects are -on,8a- and -son,8a- respectively.

In a prayer included in that same Relation of 1636, Brébeuf used "d'Oistan" (probably 'hoistan', to use the masculine form) for God as father (JR10:69). But even that may have seemed too specific, too liable to insult, as that is the last work in which -isten- was used to refer to God as father. Later works used the verb root -en- 'to have as child'.

The Huron seem to have accepted at least the notion of God as father, as there are a number of examples in the Jesuit Relations in which Christian Huron used the term (whether with -isten- or -en-I do not know). The first such instance involved the young Huron seminarist Robert Satouta in 1637 (JR12:55; see also JR19:147, 26:241-75, 28:73 and 29:167).

That the non-Christian Huron may have accepted the notion of a 'Great Spirit' as father can be seen in the reporting in the Relation of 1646 of a vision of a powerful Native-generated spirit figure to compete with the God-as-father figure of the Christians. After claiming to have created humans and provided them with the necessities of life, he stated that the Huron ". . . he recognized as children although they did not recognize him as their father, - just like an infant in the cradle, who has not firm enough judgement to recognize those to whom he owes all that he is, and all the support of his life." (JR30L25)

There is at least one reference to Jesus as father. In a 17th or 18th century Huron translation of a passage in Luke 5:5 we have the disciple Simon addressing Jesus as "a,isten", where the English version has "Master" (Potier 1920:471 line 38).

Also difficult was getting the Huron to refer to the Jesuits as father. While the patrilineal Algonkians made such references frequently in passages recorded in the Jesuit Relations (JR22:69-71 and 223, 24:213, 25:185, 26:143, 27:147, 191, 217 and 237, 29:75-7, passim, 30:271, 31:145 and 281, 32:207, 233, 271 and 285, 33:53, 36:37 and 77, 37:179, 205 and 207, and 38:273), the Huron, even the converted ones, rarely did so, (JR20:289, 24:107 and 39:181 and 191). That the Jesuits at least sometimes encouraged the Huron to think of them as their fathers can be seen in a passage from the writings of Father Philippe Pierson, written sometime during the 1670s. After an invidious comparison of what non-Christian parents and Jesuits do for children, he has a hypothetical child say: "He who is a Jesuit continually worked at preparing something for me by praying for me. He

did good things for me while my parents did not. The Jesuits made me his child. He is my father /"a,isten"/." (Potier 1920:678)

When Potier was with the Wyandot in the 1740s, using 'my father' to address a Jesuit priest was probably the general practice. In a letter of 1746, the Huron of Lorette used "a,isten" to address Father Daniel Richer (Potier 1920:687). That the term may have developed into a term of respect for French leading figures in general is suggested by the fact that Longueuil, in charge of Detroit, was, along with Father Richardie, referred to as "a,isten" in another letter of 1746 (Potier 1920:685). The Lieutenant Governor of Quebec in 1873 was addressed with the same term (Le Moine 1882:446).

3.0 Child

The Huron term for 'have as child' was -en- (Sagard 1866:104 and 106, 1939:71, Brébeuf 1830:2, 3 and 4, JR10:267, FHO, FH67:98, FH1693:256-7, FH1697:253-5, HF59:51, HF62:14-5, HF65:63 and Potier 1920:108-9 and 219). Cognates exist in Wyandot (Morgan 1966:296 and Barbeau 1960:64, 72, 77, 89 passim) and in Tuscarora (Rudes 1987:332), Oneida and Mohawk (Morgan 1966:296, Bruyas 1970:60 and Michelson 1973:125 for Mohawk). Seneca, Cayuga and Onondaga all share a different verb root (Morgan 1966:296 and Chafe 1963:22 for Seneca).

With pronominal prefixes, we have the parent(s) in the agent position and the child(ren) in the patient position, as can be seen in the following:

3.1 "je t'ai pou pere. endi skiena /2A1P you - me/" (FH1693:256)

The reciprocal prefix -atat- also occurs with this verb root, with dual or plural pronominal prefixes, as in the following:

3.2 "ta mere ... saena, tsatatienna /FZA2P she - you/, /2dA-rf- you (two)/" (FH1697:254)

The -a- suffix occurs in most instances, except when a person is addressing his or her child:

3.3 "k8e a,ien bonjour mon fils" (HF65:62)

Another form that frequently does not take the -a- suffix is the form for 'his son' (see "hoen" in JR10:69 and 71; but see also FHO, FH1697:255, Potier 1920:108 and FH67:98 in which the -a- suffix appears). The main source of evidence I have that the -a- suffix is often dropped in this form is a passage of New Testament translation written in Huron. In this passage (Potier 1920:461-69) the verb -en- appears forty-one times. The -a- suffix is missing in thirteen instances, ten of which are with

"hoen". The "hoen(a)" form appears sixteen times, ten of which lack the -a- suffix.

With the causative-instrumental suffix -st- you get the meaning of adopting a child (FHO, FH67:5, FH16993:256, FH1697:7, HF59:51, HF62, HF65:63 and Potier 1920:219). A reciprocal prefix can be added to this to speak of the relationship between the adopter and the one adopted (HF59:51 and FH1697:7).

In the Huron material -en- refers only to one's children, either biological or adopted (even adopted prisoners) (JR18:31). I feel that it is a safe assumption that the Huron extended the term to the children of a father's brother and of a mother's sister, as such was consistent with those children calling them 'father' and 'mother' respectively. Further, both Morgan and Barbeau have the Wyandot extending this term to a male referring to his brothers' children (Morgan 1966:302-3 and Barbeau cards 632 and 662). This kind of extension is shared by all other Northern Iroquoian languages (Morgan 1966:302-3).

There is a contradiction in Barbeau's material, as on other fieldwork cards he claimed that -,enh8aten- 'nephew, niece (male-speaking)' was used to refer to a man's brothers' children (Barbeau cards 596-7 and 532). I believe that, like the growth of the range of use of the mother's brother term, this was an innovation taking place around that time, conforming with the usage of English speakers in having a nephew/niece term apply there rather than a son/daughter term.

There is a similar situation with the term used for a woman's sisters' children. Barbeau claimed that the term -chionnrak- 'nephew/niece (female speaking)' applied (Barbeau card 767). Again, it would seem to be confusing in a system where the children would be calling her 'mother'. However, as a way of conforming to the North American majority in having a nephew/niece term apply, it makes sense.

The Jesuits, no doubt learning from their mistakes concerning the use of -,isten-, eventually came to use the verb root -en- to refer to 'the Father' and 'the Son' of the Trinity. They did so in ways sufficiently abstract so as not to transgress Huron word taboos. In Pierson's writings of the 1670s we find "sa,oen" /MAIndP he - one, them/ for God and "honaen" /MpAMP they, one - him/ for Jesus (Potier 1920:629).

Concerning interaction between Jesuits and the Huron, we find no examples in the Jesuit Relations of the former addressing the latter as 'my child(ren)'. The earliest reference to such a practice is in two letters of 1746, one sent from Longueuil,

but written in Huron by Father Richardie, the other written by Father Richer. In both cases we have Huron speakers addressed as ",8aena" /1A2pP I - you (plural) (Potier 1920:684 and 687).

Finally, the Jesuits used the causative instrumental added to this verb to speak of baptism as a kind of adoption ceremony. This can be seen in the following quote from Pierson's writings of the 1670s (translation mine): "It is not insignificant that it is pleasing that parents and children exist together in the sky. They will be good to look at, a beautiful family that I engender. They are pleasing to me, the several hundred I baptized, as I will find in the sky those people made into my children. There they would be a lineage. My family would surround me. I would not leave any out. They would not break their word to honour my name. I would live with my beautiful family. They would be pleasing to me. We would praise each other as parents and children forever. We would not abandon nor separate from each other. Now, my brothers, you know why we baptize. We will make a lineage in the sky. We keep people from suffering inside the earth. We prepared them for happiness in the sky. We believe that the master adopts people when we baptize them. We would not love them if they would not have been cleansed of badness through baptism." (Potier 1920:679)

4.0 Mother's Brother

The term for mother's brother in Huron was -atennoncron- (Sagard 1866:195, 1939:71, FHO, FH1693:257, FH1697:253 and 258, HF59:24, HF62, HF65:29 and Potier 1920:108 and 186). A cognate exists in Wyandot (Morgan 1966:330 and Barbeau 1915:130 fn2 and 250 fn3, 1960:142, 144, 198 passim and cards 568, 649, 656, 664, 683, 690, 714-8, 721, and 770). There are no cognates, however, in any other Northern Iroquoian language, although all have terms for the relationship (Morgan 1966:330). This suggests that the Huron/Wyandot term could have been a creation of the Huron, perhaps following the application of a taboo to an earlier name cognate with those in the other languages.

One possibility is that the Huron word was developed from the verb root -ndoron- meaning 'to be difficult, valuable' (Potier 1920:295-6, #17), which was used in another form to express the relationship between parents-in-law. This would involve the semi-reflexive prefix -ate- and a nasalization of the -o- in assimilation to the following nasalized -o- (nasalization being indicated by an -n- following a vowel). This would entail the dropping of the -d- according to the phonetic rules of Huron.

The uncle is in the agent position, as seen in the following:

4.1 "hiatennonron c'est ton oncle /MA2P he - you/" (HF62)

This verb form does not take the reflexive prefix, or the -a- or causative-instrumental suffixes.

The typical translation of -atennonron- in the Huron dictionaries was "oncle maternal" (HF1697:253, HF59:24 and Potier 1920:108) or just "oncle" (Sagard 1866:105, FH67:140, HF62 and HF65:29). In only one Huron source is the meaning spelled out. In FHO, the earliest surviving Jesuit Huron dictionary known, the entry is headed with the Latin "Matris frat." Morgan has the Wyandot cognate signifying mother's brother (Morgan 1966:330) and both Barbeau and Morgan have it include father's sister's husband (Barbeau card 656 and Morgan 1966:322) and mother's sister's husband (Barbeau card 656 and Morgan 1966:339). This makes Wyandot unique, no other Northern Iroquoian language in Morgan using the same term for mother's brother and these two other relationships. This may have had as its cause a move to make the mother's brother term more like the English word 'uncle'. Current Mohawk usage shows that speakers of that language made a similar move after Morgan's recording.

What made such a move easier was the fact that both Huron and Wyandot already had another, more abstract, extended application of the mother's brother term. In the Jesuit Relations we find evidence for the mother's brother term being a term of respect used by younger men when addressing older men (JR10:215, 13:67-9, 17:247, 23:77 and 40:175). This happened even when younger men were addressing older men they were torturing, (C.F., JR13:67-9).

That the Wyandot shared this usage can be seen from the following:

This term, ... , is not used by the Wyandots in the same sense as in English. It implies no blood kinship, but only the fictitious tie of relationship that exists between an old protector or educator apparently selected in the maternal line, and his protégé." (Barbeau 1915:130 fn2)

Traditional Wyandot stories suggest that the uncle/nephew relationship, contained ambivalent feelings. On the negative side is the story The Old Bear and his Nephew, in which the nephew needs the power of an oki spirit to outwit and outdo a bear uncle who wanted to kill him because they were competing for the same woman (Barbeau 1960:32-35). Secondly, on the lighter side, in

Tawidi'a and his Uncle (Barbeau 1915:224-33 and 1960:40-44) we have an older man and his nephew living together, with the main line of the story being how the nephew constantly misunderstands, through lack of comprehension of metaphor or homophony (words that sound alike), his uncle's instructions. On the positive side, in The Bear and the Hunter's Son, the mother's brother brings a child mistreated by his stepmother back into Wyandot society (Barbeau 1915:128-31 and 1960:20-22). In the story The Witch's Daughters and the Suitors (Barbeau 1915:154-60), the nephew hero is protected by spiritual advice from his uncle.

Concerning the relationship between the Huron and the Jesuits, it is instructive to note that at no time in the Jesuit Relations do we find the Huron addressing the French missionaries as 'my uncle(s)', nor did the Jesuits respond to being called 'my nephew(s)' by dutifully addressing the Huron as 'my uncle(s)'.

5.0 Father's Sister

The Huron term for 'father's sister' was -ar(a)hak- (Sagard 1866:105, FHO, FH1693:257, FH1697:253 and 258, HF59:11, HF62:14, HF65:18 and Potier 1920:108 and 170 #69). The Wyandot cognate appears only in Morgan (Morgan 1966:322), not being recorded in Barbeau's writing at all. Cognates exist with the Seneca, Tuscarora (Morgan 1966:322 for both Lounsbury 1971:260 and Chafe 1963:23 for Seneca and Rudes 1987:93 for Tuscarora), and 17th century Mohawk (Shea 1970:97). According to Morgan, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida and Mohawk used a variant of their different terms for 'mother' (Morgan 1966:322).

With the pronominal prefixes, the person who is the father's sister is in the agent position, as can be seen in the following examples:

5.1 "sarahak ta /tante paternelle/ /F2A2P she - You/
orahak sa /tante paternelle/ /FZAFZP she - her/
on.Sarahak ne tante FZA1pP she - us/" (FH 1697:258)

No -a- suffix appears, even in the following phrase of address:

5.2 "k8e arahak bon jour ma tante" (HF62:14, c.f., HF65:18 and HF59:11)

Likewise, the reflexive and causative-instrumental suffixes are not used with this verb root.

The Huron dictionaries translated -ar(a)hak- as "tante" (Sagard 1866:105, FH1693:257, HF59:11, HF62:14, HF65:18), "Patris soror. /father's

sister/" (FHO), "Tante paternelle" (FH1697:258 and Potier 1920:108), or as a term used by "enf/ants/ du Fr/ere/ d'une f/emme/e /children of the brother of a woman/" (FH1697:253). According to Morgan, this term extended beyond father's sister to include as well father's brother's wife (Morgan 1966:313) and mother's brother's wife (Morgan 1966:331). In other words he was stating that the Wyandot used -ar(a)hak- to refer to all those women of the ascending generation that were not specified as mother (i.e., biological mother and mother's sister). In Morgan's compilation, neither the Seneca and Tuscarora cognates, nor the different terms used by the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga and Cayuga extended from father's sister to include these other two relationships (ibid). As discussed above concerning the term for 'mother' it appears as though the Wyandot were expanding the use of the term so that it was more like the English term 'aunt'. This may have been made easier by the fact that the term seems to have been the female equivalent of mother's brother in being a respect term across generations. For example, Joques (JR25:45) addressed an older Iroquois woman taking care of him as 'my aunt', much as he would have called an older man 'mother's brother'. I believe the Huron would have had a similar usage.

It will be argued below that the linguistic forms the verb root took and did not take also constitute evidence for father's sister being a general respect term for women.

6.0 Nephew/Nieces (male reference)

The Huron term used by a man when speaking to or of his sister's children was -,enh8aten- (Sagard 1866:105-6, 1939:71, FHO, FH67:140, FH1693:257, FH1697:253 and 258, HF59, Potier 1920:108 and 387, JR13:69 and JR14:95). Barbeau's Wyandot contains a cognate form (Barbeau 1960:144, 197, 205, 209, 236 and 2511 and cards 583-4, 596-7 and 684). Morgan incorrectly used this verb to refer to the female-reference term for nephew/niece (Morgan 1966:308, 318-9, 327, 335-6, 344-5, 349-50 and 356-7). All the other Northern Iroquoian languages he refers to have their cognates of -enh8aten- refer to the male reference context (Morgan 1966:305-6, 319-20, 328, 336-7, 345-6, 352, 359-60 and 364; see also Bruyas 1970:108, Shea 1970:73 and Michelson 1973:164 for Mohawk, Chafe 1963:23 for Seneca and Rudes 1987:31 for Tuscarora). A cognate exists as well in Laurentian Iroquoian (Barbeau 1961:149). Either Morgan's informants got it wrong or he copied the Wyandot material incorrectly.

The pronominal prefixes with this verb have the uncle in the agent position, as can be seen in the following examples:

- 6.1 "hi8aten mon nev. in voc. et nom ,ih8aten ma niece
 /1AMP I - him/ /1AFZP I - her/
 hechih8aten ton nev. chih8aten ta niece
 /2AMP you - him/ /2AFZP you - her/
 (FH1697:258)

The reflexive prefix and the causative-instrumental suffix are not used with this verb root. Having an -a- suffix, I feel, is a dialect feature, as it only occurs with one Huron example (FH1693:257) but with all the Wyandot examples (Barbeau 1960:144, 197, 205, 209, 236, and 251).

Generally speaking, Wyandot had the -a- suffix more than any other Huron dialect. I do not know whether this is due to change over time after contact, or to there being a difference at the time of contact.

The primary use of -,enh8aten- was "un hom/me/ avoir pour neveux et pour nieces les enfans de sa soeur /a man having for nephews and nieces the children of his sister/ (Potier 1920:387 #4; c.f., FHO, FH1697:253 and FH1693:257). Barbeau gave it as referring to both a man's sister's and his brother's children (Barbeau cards 596-7 and 632). Morgan, however, has a man's brother's children being referred to by him using the verb -en- 'to have as child' (Morgan 1966:302 and 303). This could mean that by Barbeau's time the term was coming more in line with the English 'niece' and 'nephew'.

The verb -,enh8aten- had an extended use as a form of address used by older men speaking to younger males. This is amply documented for both the Huron and the Iroquois in the Jesuit Relations (JR13:69 and 205, 26:257 and 275, 33:43, 40:175, 43:279, 25:259, 57:63 and 62:101). This even included the relationship between captor/torturer and captive/torture victim (Sagard 1939:178 and 180, JR13:41, 53-55, 24:301 and 40:175).

When the Huron first encountered the French, they addressed these newcomers as 'my nephew(s)'. This is documented in the Jesuit Relations from 1635 to 1639 (JR8:93, 10:45, 13:171 and 181, 14:23, 15:25, 27-9, 33, 57 and 113 and 17:209). The Iroquois used the term similarly during the 1640s (JR24:301 and 27:255-7). Use of this term even included Jesus:

"An old man, looking at our Crucifix, asked me who that was fastened to it. Having told him, he began to speak to our Lord in these words, Etsagon ihouaten /h8aten/ etsagon taouacaratat, 'Courage,

my nephew, courage, take care of us!" (JR14:95-7)

Perhaps in doing this the Huron and the Iroquois were thinking of the French as dependent upon them, like children or young men are to their more knowledgeable elders. According to Connelley, the Wyandot spoke of the Delaware in that way (Barbeau 1915:324).

While there is no instance recorded in the Jesuit Relations of the Jesuits politely reciprocating to this nephew address by calling the Huron (or the Iroquois) 'my uncle(s)', there is one recorded instance in which the French Governor tried to reverse the usage. In the Jesuit Journal of February, 1654 there was recorded a meeting of the Jesuits with the Huron, concerning the Onondaga's bid to have the Huron join with them. It was reported that during this meeting the French Governor "...found nothing to gainsay in the essentials of this project, since he did not intend to keep his nephews, the hurons, in captivity." (JR41:23).

7.0 Nephews/Nieces (female-reference)

The Huron term for nephews/nieces (female-reference) varies slightly with dialect: -chionnrak- (HF59:48, HF62:12, HF65:59 and FHO) for the Rock and Northern Bear dialects and -chiondraka- (Sagard 1866:105, FH1693:257, FH1697:253) for the Southern Bear and Cord dialects. The Wyandot cognate resembles the Southern Bear and Cord form (Potier 1920:108 and 216 #28, Morgan 1966:304-6 and Barbeau cards 594 and 767). Regarding the other Northern Iroquoian languages, there is a Seneca term that has roughly the same first syllable (Morgan 1966 and Chafe 1963:23), but that is not enough to establish firmly a cognate without further evidence. No other Northern Iroquoian language has a form that resembles even this much the Huron term, or even has a separate term for the relationship.

The pronominal prefixes have the aunt in the agent position, as is predictable. This can be seen in the following entry:

- 7.1 "hechiondra^cka mon neveu ,echiondra^cka
ma niece
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| /1AMP I - him/ | |
| /2AMP you - him/ | /2AFZP you - her/ |
| hochiondra ^c ka son n. | ochiondraka sa n. |
| /FZAMP she - him/ | |
| | her/ (FH1697:258) |

The -a- suffix would appear to be a dialect

feature, co-occurring with the -d-. The reflexive prefix and the causative-instrumental suffix do not appear with this verb.

This term refers to "vne femme avoir p/ou/r neveux ou neccess les enf/ants/ de son Frere /a woman having as nephews or nieces the children of her brother/" (HF59:48; c.f., FH1693:257, HF62:12, HF65:59, Potier 1920:216 and FH1697:253 and 258). As we have seen above, Morgan (or his informants) confused the meaning of this term with the male-reference term. Other Wyandot sources give the same meaning as do the Huron sources (Potier 1920:108 and 216 and Barbeau card 594).

One of Barbeau's cards has -chionnrak- extended to include "Mother's brother's (or sister's) children" (Barbeau card 767). I believe he was trying to say that for at least one of his informants the term applied not just to a woman's brother's children, but to her sister's children as well. This would be similar to a male calling his brother's children - ,enh8aten- in that it restricts 'children' to biological offspring. It is proceeding towards an English model.

Part of traditional usage probably included having women address males or females significantly younger with this term. The only direct evidence we have for this is an instance in which an older Huron woman addressed a French boy in the following way:

- 7.2 ""ho, ho, ho, Echiongrix /i.e.,
hechionnrak/ et sagon achitec,"
"Ah my nephew, I thank thee; be of good
heart for the morrow" (JR13:255)

8.0 Maternal Grandparents

The Huron term for maternal grandparents was a verb root written sometimes as -chiot- (Sagard 1866:104-5, FHO, HF59:48, HF62 and HF65:59), sometimes as -chi8t- (in one instance in HF65:59, HF62 and HF59:48 and in all forms in FH1693, FH1697:253-4 and Potier 1920:108 and 216 #29). The Wyandot had a cognate that mirrored the latter form (Morgan 1966:293-4 and Barbeau 1915:48 and 2AFZP 150:102) and the Seneca had a cognate (Sagard 1866:104-5, HF62 and HF65:59, HF62 and HF59:48 and in all forms in FH1693, FH1697:253-4 and Potier 1920:108 and 216 #29). Cognates exist in all other Northern Iroquoian languages (Morgan 1966:293-5 and 2AFZP 150:102, Chafe 1963:24 for Mohawk, Chafe 1963:24 for Seneca and Rudes 1987:572 for Tuscarora).

As is expected, the grandparents are in the agent position. This can be seen in the following examples:

- 8.1 "hia^cchiotaa cest ton grand pere /MA2P he
- you/

sachiotaa elle est ta grand mere /FZA2P she -
You/" (HF62)

The -a- suffix was used, forming `achiotaa' or `achi8taa', when a grandchild was addressing a grandparent (FHO, FH1693, FH1697:254, HF59:48, HF62, HF65:59 and Potier 1920:216). The grandparent responded with a form dropping both final 'a's (i.e., giving us `achiot' or `achi8t'. The -a- suffix seems generally to have been added in all other forms (FH1693, FH1697:254, HF59:48, HF62, HF65:59 and Potier 1920:216, but not FHO). The causative-instrumental suffix was present in two of my dictionaries in identical entries, interestingly with the -aa- kept:

8.2 "Achiotaa^csti prendre pour petit fils
ahonachiotaaOa on la pris pour
(HF62; c.f., HF65:59)

The reflexive prefix was not used with the verb root.

The term -chiot- could be used to address or refer specifically to the parents of one's mother (FH1693, FH1697:253-4, HF59:48, HF62, HF65:59 and Potier 1920:216). As we will see in the discussion of the term for the paternal grandparent/grandchild relationship, -chiot- could be generalized to refer to grandparents on both sides (FH1697:254).

The Wyandot lacked the paternal grandparent term, so -chiot- always referred to grandparents on both sides (Potier 1920:108 and Morgan 1966:294-5). Morgan and Barbeau have its Wyandot use extended to include mother's sister (Morgan 1966:358 and Barbeau card 720). Morgan, but not Barbeau (perhaps an oversight) also includes the father's siblings (Morgan 1966:348 and 351). According to Morgan, these extensions existed in the other Northern Iroquoian languages as well.

The figure of the maternal grandmother was a significant one in Huron/Wyandot culture. The first woman on earth was the maternal grandmother of the culture hero twins for both the Huron and the Wyandot (Sagard 1866:448 as cited in Barbeau 1915:289, JR8:117-8, JR10:128-9 for Huron; Barbeau 1915:44, 298, 306, 318-20 for the Wyandot).

A bad translation of "petit fils" as "little son" rather than as 'grandson' in the JR8 passage may have led Tooker into thinking that for the Huron this figure was the mother rather than the grandmother of the culture heroes (Tooker 1967:153).

Additionally, in the Wyandot version of the origin myth the toad successfully dives deep into the

water to bring up the soil necessary to build a world for the first woman on the back of the Great Turtle. For that reason, the Wyandot referred to the toad as 'our grandmother' (Barbeau 1915:48 fn1; also see Barbeau 1915:304 and card 701).

Also called 'our grandmother', according to the 19th century Wyandot scholar Connelley, was the Little Turtle, who, among other achievements, created the sun and the moon (Barbeau 1915:305-6).

The figure of the grandfather was less significant mythically, although for the Wyandot 'hinnon', the thunderer(s) received the term 'grandfather(s)' (Connelley, in Barbeau 1915:318-9 and Hale in Barbeau 1915:332), with Connelley suggesting that perhaps he married the first woman (ibid).

The Jesuits used this term, as did the Huron, to denote one who began a lineage. When the Jesuits wanted to speak of Joseph being of the lineage of David (Luke 2:4), they wrote:

8.3 "handarek joseph hochi8taa /he lived, Joseph, he was his grandparent/"
(Potier 1920:464 line 2; see also 461 lines 51-2)

Interestingly, also in parallel with Huron usage, the Jesuits referred to Adam in the following way:

8.4 `n/ot/re g/ran/d pere adam son,8achi8taa ,ehen adam haatsinnen /he was maternal grandparent to us, Adam he was called!"
(FH 1693)

9.0 Maternal Grandchildren

The Huron term for maternal grandchildren was -atre- (Sagard 1866:105, FHO, FH1693:256, FH1697:253-5, HF59:36, HF62, HF65 and Potier 1920:108 and 203). Cognates exist in Wyandot (Morgan 1966:296-8 and Barbeau 1915:117 fn1, 1960:101-2 and cards 620-1, 662, 665, 680, 691, 712-3 and 768), and in all other Northern Iroquoian languages (Morgan 1966:296-8 for all, and Bruyas 1970:41 and 88, and Michelson 1973:31 for Mohawk, Chafe 1963:24 for Seneca, and Rudes 1987:70 for Tuscarora).

The pronominal prefix has the grandparent as agent, as can be seen in the following entry:

9.1 "ton p. fils...matern. hechiatrea
/2AMP you - him/ ta
p. fille...matern. chiatrea
/2AFZP you - her/
son p. fils...matern. hotrea
/FZAMP she - him/ sa
p. fille...matern. hatrea
/MAMP he - her/
(FH 1697:255)

The reciprocal prefix is not used with this verb root. The -a- suffix is almost universally used, the sole exception being the response given by grandparents when greeted with this term by their grandchildren (FHO). The only known example of the causative-instrumental suffix appears with a Wyandot addition to a Huron entry in Potier's dictionary:

9.2 "andichiasti ^{non}(dic atreasti) adopter pour grand pere ou grand mere" (Potier 1920:290 #95)

The verb root -atre- was used to refer to maternal grandchildren specifically, and more generally to all grandchildren when the maternal/paternal distinction was not important (FH1697:254). In Wyandot, which did not distinguish terminologically between maternal and paternal grandchildren, -atre- referred to all grandchildren (see Morgan 1966:296-7). In both Morgan and Barbeau it was extended to refer to a woman's sister's or brother's grandchildren (Morgan 1966:309 and Barbeau card 665). Morgan also includes a man's brother's grandchildren (Morgan 1966:304).

From a single example we can see that -atre- could be used when a group became part of a clan. In a dictionary entry referring to the clans of the Huron we get this statement following the name of the Turtle clan:

9.3 "tionnenria honnontre hotienrotori
/when it was small the Wenro (a Neutral group driven from their homeland) were their grandchildren/"
(see Steckley 1982:30-1 and FHO)

10. Paternal Grandparents/Grandchildren

The Huron term for the paternal grandparent/grandchild relationship was -ndichi- (FHO, FH1693, FH1697:253-5, HF59, HF62:64 and Potier 1920:108 and 290). It may have been one of the first kinship 'casualties' of contact. The term did not exist in Wyandot. When the verb appeared in Potier's writing, he crossed out the term and substituted the maternal terms he had heard among the Wyandot speakers he lived with (Potier 1920:108). According to Morgan, no other such term, cognate or otherwise, existed in the other Northern Iroquoian languages. Maybe they had lost their equivalent terms after contact as did the Wyandot.

There may be a cognate for -ndichi- in other Northern Iroquoian languages. The term may have derived from the word for 'father', represented as -?ni- in Michelson's Mohawk (Michelson 1973:130), that appears in other Northern Iroquoian languages. The 'Huronizing' process

would entail adding the -d- in conformity with Huron phonetics, and then adding what could be a nominalizer (noun maker) -chi-.

The pronominal prefixes have the grandparent in the agent position, as can be seen in the following entry:

10.1 "ton gr. p...ta gr. m. hiandichia, sandichia
/MA2P he - you/ /FZA2P she - you/"
(FH1697:254)

The reflexive prefix was not used with this verb.

The use of the -a- suffix appears somewhat confused in the different sources. Two dictionaries say that when a grandparent greeted a grandchild, the older relative would say "K8e andich", not only missing the -a- suffix, but dropping the final -ia- as well (FHO and FH1697). Another source claims the opposite, that 'andich' would be used when the grandchild was addressing the grandparent (HF62:64). The reply in both cases would be "k8e andichiaa" (ibid). Potier, writing the latest of the dictionaries and just copying what he had not heard himself, states it could be used either way (Potier 1920:290). In only one source (FH1693) is the use of the -a- suffix extended to include more terms than just one of the terms of address. Perhaps this lack of consistency reflects both the infrequency with which the Jesuits heard this term, plus its lack of significance. Rules are more important where the relationship is more important.

Interestingly, when the causative-instrumental suffix -st- is used with this verb, reference is made to grandchildren being 'adopted' when the word is translated into French. This can be seen in the following entry:

10.2 "gandichiasti adopter pr. p. fils our fille,
com/men/cer a etre gr. pere ou gr. mere /to
adopt as grandson or granddaughter, to begin to
be grandfather or grandmother/"
(HF59: c.f., Potier 1920:290).

This is curious. Would someone really adopt someone else just as a paternal grandchild rather than as the more meaningful maternal grandchild? Perhaps one would do this if the child needed grandparents, but belonged to a different clan from that of the people wanting to establish the grandparent/grandchild relationship, a situation that could occur with the depopulation from disease and warfare that affected the Huron before these dictionaries were written.

Even more intriguing is the possibility of grandchildren adopting paternal grandparents. In Potier's dictionary we have the following entry:

10.3 "andichiasti ^{non} (dic atreasti) adopter pour

grandpere ou pour grandmere /to adopt as grandfather or grandmother/" (Potier 1920:290).

With the Huron stress on the independence of the individual, could this mean that children could adopt a grandparent if **they** felt they needed someone in this role? Or was this just a way of expressing the grandchild part of reciprocal adoption?

Finally, concerning the application of this term, we find that -ndichi- was used reciprocally between the parents and children of a man. Its use seems to have been fairly limited. According to one source:

10.4 "Qu'on n'employe le mot andichia, que quand il faut (absolut) distinguer de quel cote est le gr. p. ou le gr. me dont on parle. /one only uses the word andichia when it is absolutely necessary to distinguish on which side is the grandfather or grandmother one is speaking of/"(FH1697:254).

11.0 Siblings

The primary Huron term for siblings was -en- (Sagard1966:104-6, 1939:71, JR10:119, JR19:147, FHO, FH67:103, FH1693, FH1697:253 and 256, HF59:19 and 65, HF62 and Potier 1920:108, 180 and 243). Cognates exist in Wyandot (Morgan 1966:298-300, Barbeau 1915:275 fn1, 1960:62, 65 passim and cards 558, 560 passim) as well as in all other Northern Iroquoian languages (Morgan 1966:298-9, plus Bruyas 1970:47, Shea 1970:30 and Michelson 1973:128 for Mohawk and Chafe 1963:21 for Seneca).

The age principle could be added to this verb by affixing a suffix of -(i)a(ha)- and putting the eldest sibling in the agent position. The following is an entry that illustrates how this was done:

11.1 "si l'on veut dire, ainé ou cadet on se sert du diminutif /if one wishes to speak of older or younger (siblings) one uses the diminutive/
 ,a,eniaha c'est mon fr. cadet
 ,e,eniaha /sic he,eniaha
 1AMP I - him/
 c'est ta cadete chie,eniaha /2AFZP you - her/
 c'est mon fr. ainé ha,eniaha idem il m'a pr cadet ou cadete /MA1P he - me/
 c'est ma sr ainée
 cadete /FZA1P she - me/ (FH1697: 256)

This is different from the practice of other Northern Iroquoian languages, which differentiate by using the -en- cognate as the term for 'to be younger sibling' (Bruyas 1970:46, Shea 1970:30

and 94, Michelson 1973:128 for Mohawk, Chafe 1963:21-2 for Seneca and Rudes 1987:333 for Tuscarora). For the elder sibling another verb stem is used, that appears in Michelson's Mohawk as -tsi- (Michelson 1973:110; c.f., Bruyas 1970:57; see Chafe 1963:22 for Seneca and Rudes 1987:127 and 144 for Tuscarora).

The verb -en- also takes the reflexive prefix -atat- to express equality rather than the inequality of the older/younger distinction. In such cases the brothers or sisters are equally designated in the agent position, with nothing in the patient position. This can be seen in the following:

11.2 "A,iataxen...luy et moy n/ou/s somme freres v/el/ n/ou/s sommes soeurs v/el/ n/ou/s som/me/s fr/ere/ et s/oeu/r /he and I, we are brothers or we are sisters or we are brother and sister/ /1xDa - we(2)/ (FH1697:256)

There is a dialect difference in how the -a- suffix is used with the reflexive prefix. While Wyandot universally uses the suffix, with Huron there seems to be a distinction of including the final -a- only when the reference is cross-gender. In FHO, for example, after presenting a list of terms using just the reflexive without the -a- suffix, the author presents the following:

11.3 "Rel. soeur et frere ontate,ena ils sont freres ou soeurs" (FHO)
 Likewise, in FH1697 we get the following:

11.4 "Les Freres, les Soeurs. ,a,ena...fr. et soeurs simul Atate,ena les Freres seuls. Ataxen." (FH1697:253)

This verb root takes the causative-instrumental suffix with the reflexive prefix, giving us the notion of people adopting each other as brother or sister:

11.5 "Atakensti adopter pr F^r ou S^m" (HF59:65; c.f., Potier 1920:243)

How broadly was -en- extended? In Huron it referred to biological siblings, especially those of the same gender, and to those adopted as brothers and sisters (HF59:65 and Potier 1920:180 and 243). There is one indication that application was broader than that, including the expected parallel cousins (i.e., mother's sister's and father's brother's children) in Potier's dictionary in which he stated that the verb -en- meant "avoir pour frere, soeur, cousin &..." (Potier 1920:243).

The information concerning the extension in Wyandot is more forthcoming. Both Morgan and Barbeau are in agreement that -en- was used with respect to one's mother's sister's children (Morgan 1966:340 and 342-3 and Barbeau cards 580 and 736), as is the case in all Northern Iroquoian

languages. Barbeau does not tell us what father's brother's children were called.

The verb root *-en-* could also be extended to include relationships within and between broad socio-political groupings. Evidence for this occurs with respect to Wyandot phratries (ceremonial groupings of clans), and by inference to clans themselves. In Potier's 1740s listing of clans into three phratries he wrote "hontaxen", meaning 'they are siblings', after each phratry name (Potier 1920:152). Barbeau spoke of this more than a century and a half later in Origin of the Phratries, in which he wrote of clan and phratry exogamy:

"Now they, (the four clans of one side of the five formed 'one house', while the four opposite clans made up another ... The four clans in each house were 'brothers' to each other)." (Barbeau 1915:87 fn2; additions in original; see also Barbeau 1960:11)

In the Jesuit Relations of 1639 it was recorded that the Bear and the Cord, the two Huron tribes longest in Huronia "...term each other "brother" and "sister" in the councils and assemblies" (JR16:229). The tribes of the Iroquois confederacy also used sibling terms to address each other (Tooker 1967:10 fn4).

Tribes establishing peace between each other also made use of the sibling term. One example of this in the Huron literature came in the 1640s. After an exchange of gifts between the Iroquois, Huron, Algonkin and French, the Huron leader Jean Baptiste Atironta stated:

"It is done ...: we are brothers. The conclusion has been reached; now we are all relatives, - Hiroquois, Hurons, Algonquins, and French; we are now but one and the same people..." (JR31:289; see Mohawk example JR41:45)

The Wyandot had such a practice as well. Barbeau recorded a story in which the Wyandot and the Seneca made peace. In conclusion he stated that:

"That is how it came that a pact was agreed upon. The Seneca now said, 'We are brothers! Never again shall we fight, for here I do surrender now!'" (Barbeau 1915:275)

The sibling term became the statement of relationship for Huron Christians, and between Huron Christians and Christians of other tribes. The Christian Charles Sondatsaa said the term was used because "... - we have henceforth but one Father, who is God, and but one common Mother, which is the **Church**; behold, then, thy brothers who declare to thee, that thy friends are their friends, and thy enemies are their enemies."

(JR20:221)

Sometimes becoming a Christian involved denying former kinship with those who remained traditional, and did not become Christian. We can clearly see this in the following speech made by Joseph Chichoatenhwa, a prominent early Huron Christian, to his brother:

"...as long as thou shalt be the devil's slave, I will not regard thee as my brother, but as a stranger, from whom I am separated forever, for the little time that we have to live together is not considerable. (JR19:159)

'My brother(s)' became the customary address between Christian Huron and Jesuits, rather than the traditional uncle/nephew and the more European father/son, throughout the Jesuit Relations (JR13:135, 175, 15:83, 93 19:141, 147, 153, 159, 169, 20:57, 26:207, 289, 27:33, 33:235-7, 39:70, 40:53 passim for Huron to French and JR15:47, 17:41, 31:35, 34:91, 35:111, 39:79 passim for French to Huron).

12.0 Cross-Gender Sibling

While, as we have seen, *-en-* could sometimes be used to indicate a sibling relationship across gender, there was also a Huron term whose meaning was confined solely to such usage: *-enron-* (Sagard 1866:104, FHO, FH67:103, FH1693:257, FH1697:253 and 256, HF59, HF62, HF65:216 and Potier 1920:108 and 388). The term appears to have existed in Wyandot during the 1740s at least. For in part of an entry in Potier's dictionary there appears the expression "dic nienronha" (Potier 1920:388). The "dic" tells us that this is Wyandot. It is a Latin short form indicating that that was what Potier heard people say in his interaction with the Wyandot. By Morgan and Barbeau's time, however, *-enron-* had disappeared from the Wyandot language, as neither recorded it. It also does not appear in Morgan's list of terms, as cognate or concept, in any Northern Iroquoian language (see Morgan 1966:299).

In terms of pronominal prefixes, this verb is unique. The one being referred to was put in the agent position, as can be seen in the following entry:

12.1 "ond/aie/ horon	elle est sa soeur /FZAMP
	she - him/
son,8en ^c ronha	il nous a pour soeurs
	/MA1pP he - us/
hien ^c ronha	il t'a pour soeur /MA2P he
	- you/"

(HF62)

The reflexive prefix *-atat-* was used in forms such as the following, when speaking purely of the

relationship and not of a particular individual:

12.2 "Frere...tsatandirhonha vous etes frere et soeur /2dA - you (2)"/ (FH67:103)

The verb root *-enron-* typically takes the suffix *-ha-*, although in two instances in my sources there appears "horon" meaning 'his sister' (HF62 and FH67:103). This is similar to what occurs with the verb *-en-* 'have as child', with the 'hoen' meaning 'she or he has him as child' (see above). In one instance the suffix *-ha-* was dropped with "senrhon", meaning 'your sister' (FH67:103).

The causative-instrumental suffix does not appear with this verb.

13.0 Cousin

The Huron term for cousin was *-arase-* (Sagard 1866:105, 1939:71, FHO, FH67:60, FH1697:253 and 257, HF59:11, HF62, HF65:18 and Potier 1920:108 and 171). Cognates exist in Wyandot (Morgan 1966:322-5, 331-4, 352, 355, 364 and 366 and Barbeau 1915:250 fn4, 1960:77-84, 86, 99-100 and cards 557, 569-72, 590, 686, 728-9, 735-9 and 753) and in all other Northern Iroquoian languages (Morgan 1966:322-5, 331-4, 352, 355, 364 and 366 and Bruyas 1970:25, Michelson 1973:29 for Mohawk, Chafe 1963:22 for Seneca and Rudes 1987:37 for Tuscarora).

With pronominal prefixes, dual and plural forms only were used, filling the agent form with no patient speaking of an 'inferior':

13.1 "a,arase mon cous. id n^s som. cousins /1xd - we (2)"/ (FH1697:247)

The reflexive prefix is not used with this verb root, because its reciprocal nature is already conveyed in forms such as the one cited above. Likewise, the causative-instrumental suffix does not appear. This is probably because unrelated people are already termed 'cousins' as a form of address. Finally, the suffix *-a-* appears in only three of the sources (FH1697:253, FH67:60 and Potier 1920:462 line 6).

In the Huron dictionaries the most specific translations we get for *-arase-* are "estre issue du frere ou de la soeur, cousin" (FHO) or "fils du frere de la soeur, our cousin" (Potier 1920:108). In other words, no distinction is made in these sources between parallel cousins (mother's sister's and father's brother's children) as siblings and cross-cousins (mother's brother's and father's sister's children) as cousins. Yet such a distinction existed in Morgan's reference to Wyandot and to all other Northern Iroquoian languages. For there we find *-arase-* applying to father's sister's son (Morgan 1966:332-3), father's sister's daughter (Morgan

1966:324-5), mother's brother's son (Morgan 1966:331-4) and mother's brother's daughter (Morgan 1966:333-4). Barbeau's Wyandot did not make such a distinction, although he does point to mother's sister's children being called siblings (Barbeau cards 580 and 736).

The basic sociological notion surrounding *-arasein* Wyandot culture would appear to be that of 'the other'. In the important story of the founding of the Wyandot kin-based political system, Origin of the Phratryies, the Wyandot used *-arase-* to apply to members of clans not part of one's phratry (Barbeau 1915:86 fn7, 87 fn4 and 6 and 88 fn1, 1960:11-2, 99 and 100).

Another part of being 'the other' is that *-arase-* was the relationship between trickster and victim in a good number of Wyandot stories (Barbeau 1915:182, 190, 193, 197, 200, 209-10).

14.0 Brothers-in-law

The Huron term for the brother-in-law relationship was *-atio-* in most sources (FHO, FH1697:253 and 257, HF59:28, HF62:31, HF65:34 and Potier 1920:109 and 190), with a *-k-* replacing the *-t-* in the Southern Bear dialect form (Sagard 1866:105-6). Similarly with the *-k-* is the Wyandot cognate (Potier 1920:190 superscript, Morgan 1966:317 and Barbeau 1960:248-9 and cards 565, 579, 692 and 695). Cognates exist in 17th and 20th century Mohawk (Bruyas 1920:37, Shea 1970L27 and Michelson 1973:38) and 20th century Seneca (Chafe 1963:25). It is not clear from Morgan's writing whether cognates exist in Cayuga and Oneida (Morgan 1966:317). None exists in Tuscarora.

It is possible that the verb *-atio-* 'has meaning' outside of the brother-in-law reference. It may have been constructed from the verb root *-io-*, 'to be large, good' (Potier 1920:396), with the semi-reflexive prefix *-at-* added. Without more compelling evidence, however, this can only be considered a possibility.

With pronominal prefixes, we get just dual and plural forms taking the agent position, with nothing in the patient position:

14.1 "a,iatio mon b. fr. ide ns sommes beau freres /1xdA - we (2)/
 tsatio ton b. fr. /2dA - you (2)/
 hiatio son b. fr. /MdA - they (2 males)
 a,8atio mes h. fr. /1xpA - we (plural)
 sk8atio tes b. fr. /2pA - you (plural)/
 hontio les b. fr. /MpA - they (plural males)/ (FH 1697:257)

As the equality of the relationship is already

communicated in this way, there is no need for the reflexive prefix -atat-. No examples occur of this verb being used with the suffix -a-, perhaps for the same reason.

Of interest is the fact that the causative-instrumental suffix -st- can occur with -atio-, especially as the combination is translated not only as "devenir beaux freres" (HF59:28; see also Potier 1920:190), but additionally as "contracter alliance reciproque" (Potier 1920:190). This suggests that prospective brothers-in-law could play active roles in the arranging of marriages.

With Huron and the Wyandot recorded by Barbeau this term appears to be confined to meaning 'be brothers-in-law', with no cross-gender reference (op. cit.). With Morgan's Wyandot, however, there are also cross-gender references with females speaking: sister's husband (Morgan 1966:317), father's sister's husband (Morgan 1966:335) and mother's sister's daughter's husband (Morgan 1966:343). I believe that, as with the case of the terms for nephews/nieces, Morgan or one of his informants has confused two terms. For he also mistakenly records the cross-gender sibling-in-law term -nda8et- as applying to same gender (male reference) sibling-in-law relationships, such as wife's brother (Morgan 1966:379) and sister's husband (Morgan 1966:378; also see pp317, 326, 334 and 343 for others following this line).

15.0 Sister-in-law

The Huron term used between sisters-in-law was -a,(j)iek- (FHO, FH1697:256, HF59:4, HF62, HF65:8 and Potier 1920:109 and 164). While Barbeau records a Wyandot cognate (Barbeau cards 576, 616 and 695), Morgan does not. Instead, he records the Wyandot reflex of -atio- as meaning sister-in-law generally (Morgan 1966:380), and presents -nda8et-, the cross-gender sibling-in-law term as meaning brother's wife (female reference) and other relationships that could be interpreted as meaning sister-in-law (Morgan 1966:324, 333 and 381). As with -atio-, I suspect that Morgan got it wrong. For cognates exist in all other Northern Iroquoian languages as recorded by Morgan, albeit with a broader range of meanings (Morgan 1966:380-1 and Shea 1970:27 and Michelson 1973:29 for Mohawk, Chafe 1963:25 for Seneca and Rudes 1987:48 for Tuscarora).

As with the brother-in-law term, there are only dual and plural agent forms, with nothing in the patient position:

- 15.1 "Belles Soeurs a,ia,iek ma b. sr. ide ns som.
 B. Srs /1xdA - we (2)/
 tsa,iek ta B. Sr. /2dA - you (2)/
 ,ia,iek sa B. Sr /Fzda - they (2 females)/

a,8a,iek mes B. Srs /1xpA - we (plural)/
 sk8a,iek tes B. Srs /2pA - you (plural)/
 ,on,iek ses B. Srs /Fzpa - they (plural females)/

(FH1697:257)

In both Huron and Wyandot, the evidence clearly demonstrates that the meaning was confined just to sisters-in-law:

- 15.2 "aiek 2 ou plusiers femmes etre belles soeurs"
 (Potier 1920:164; c.f., FH1697:253 and Barbeau cards 576 and 616)

According to Morgan this is different from other Northern Iroquoian languages, as they include cross-gender sister-in-law relationships (i.e., brother's wife (male-speaking) as well (Morgan 1966:380). The absence of a cognate for -nda8etin most of those languages would seem to make such an extension necessary.

No reflexive prefix -atat- was used with -a,iek-, for the same reasons as with -atio-; equality was already expressed. Likewise, no -a- suffix occurs with this verb. No causative-instrumental suffixes occur either, suggesting that prospective sisters-in-law did not have as prominent a role in arranging marriages as did prospective brothers-in-law.

16.0 Cross-Gender Siblings-in-law

The Huron term for cross-gender siblings-in-law is -nda8et- (Sagard 1866:105-6, FHO, FH1697:253 and 257, HF59:88, HF62, HF65:107 and Potier 1920:108 and 278). This is matched by the form that appears in the Wyandot sources (Morgan 1966:315 and 317 and Barbeau 1915:67, 1960:84 and cards 586, 616, 618, 669, 690 and 695). A cognate appears to exist only for Mohawk (Michelson 1973:14) and possibly Tuscarora (Rudes 1987:54 and Morgan 1966:380), both carrying the same meaning as well.

The verb -nda8et- is similar to the previous two sibling-in-law terms in that all the grammatical 'players' are lumped into one position, but differs in that these players are in the patient rather than the agent position. Again, there is no singular form. The following entry will illustrate:

- 16.1 "Beau fr. et Bel. Sr. on,8inda8et mon b. fr. ma b. Sr. /1dP - we (2)/
 tsinda8et ton b. fr. ta b. sr. ide vs etes tous deux
 B. fr. ou B. Sr. /2dP - you (2)/ hotinda8et son b. fr. ta b. sr. ide luy et elle sont
 b. fr. et b. sr. /MpP - they (pl.)
 masculine form/
 otinda8et s. b. sr. ide elles sont belles soeur
 ambae /Fzpp - they (pl.)
 feminine form/
 on,8anda8et mes b. fr. mes b. srs

/1pP - we (pl.)/
 hotinda8et ses b. fr. a elle
 /MpP - they (pl.) masculine/
 otinda8et ses b. srs
 /Fzpp - they (pl.) feminine/"
 (FH1697:257)

Again, no reflexive prefix is necessary to signify equality. As with the others, there is no -a- suffix, and, similar to the situation with the sister-in-law term, there is no causative-instrumental suffix -st-.

With exceptions to be noted shortly, the term -nda8et- referred to cross-gender siblings-in-law exclusively. In Wyandot we have not only that (Barbeau cards 616 and 690), but some suggestion that at a time before Barbeau collected his material, it could be extended to a friend's wife (Barbeau 1915:67 fn4).

In the entry presented above (16.1), we see that "otinda8et" was used to express the relationship between sisters-in-law. This term uses the feminine-zoic plural pronominal prefix, a form confined in usage to a group of two or more females. The masculine plural form, which can refer either to a sexually-mixed group or to one that is exclusively male, seems to only have related to a mixed group with this verb. Only one other dictionary (Potier 1920:108) providing this list included the feminine-zoic plural forms. Three other dictionaries (FHO, HF62, HF65:107) also provide this list, but do not include the feminine-zoic plural. As the dictionaries that exclude this form were written earlier than those that include it (Steckley 1991) this greater extension may be the result of change taking place during the 17th century.

17.0 Father-in-law/Son-in-law

A Huron term used exclusively to speak of the father-in-law/son-in-law relationship is the verb which in the Rock dialect appears as -nnhes- (Sagard 1866:105, HF59:112, HF62:77 and HF65:112) and in Northern Bear as -ndhes- (FHO and HF62:62). There is no Wyandot cognate, but cognates exist with the term for son-in-law in the other Northern Iroquoian languages (Morgan 1966:303, 306, 309, 311, 371-2; for Tuscarora, Rudes 1987:132).

The verb -nnhes- would appear to be an incomplete verb, with its main use in complementary distribution to the verb -nneh8ak-. The most often reported form was as a term of address, reciprocally used between father-in-law and son-in-law, as can be seen in the following:

17.1 "A,ennhes dit le gendre a son beau pere, et le beau pere a son gendre / says the son-in-law to

his father-in-law, and the father-in-law to his son-in-law/"
 (HF65:122; c.f., HF59:112 and HF62:62)

The only other way in which this verb is presented in the dictionaries is with the reflexive prefix -atat- and the indefinite agent pronominal prefix form -on- (HF59:112, HF62:77 and HF65:122).

18.0 Parents-in-law/Son-in-law

The verb root used to express the relationship between parents-in-law and their son-in-law was -nneh8ak- (FHO, FH1697:253 and 256, HF59:110, HF62, HF65:119 and Potier 1920:108 and 302). A Wyandot cognate exists in the writings of both Morgan and Barbeau (Morgan 1966:370 and 372-3 and Barbeau 1960:86, 203, 231 and 233 and cards 617, 645, 690, 708 and 744). No apparent cognates occur in other Northern Iroquoian languages.

The pronominal prefixes for this verb are such that the parent-in-law is expressed in the agent position. This can be seen in the following entry:

18.1 "Mon beau pere ha,ennenh8ak il m'a pr gendre
 /MA1P he - me/
 ma belle mere a,ennenh8ak elle m'a pr
 gendre /FZA1P she - me/
 mon gendre hennenh8ak /1AMP I - him/
 (FH1697:253)

Equality was expressed using the reflexive prefix -atat- with dual or plural forms in the agent position (Potier 1920:302, FHO and HF59:110).

There is no -a- suffix with this verb. The causative-instrumental suffix -st- is used with this verb to get the sense of "prendre q. pour son gendre pour mari de sa fille/to take someone for one's son-in-law, for the husband of one's daughter/" (Potier 1920:302). This would seem to suggest that prospective parents-in-law had a significant, active role in at least approving or disapproving a suggested match for their daughter (see Tooker 1967:126 for a discussion of the role of the daughter's mother in this regard in Iroquoian culture). This role is also suggested in another entry, with the prospective son-in-law apparently requesting permission to become someone's son-in-law:

18.2 "ta,enn^cenh8ase0a prends moi pr. ton gendre
 /take me for your son-in-law/" (HF65:119; c.f., HF62)

In the Huron dictionary entries -nneh8ak- was typically translated as expressing the relationship between a son-in-law and his parents-in-law, including his step father-in-law, as can be seen in the following:

18.3 "Auoir pr. gendre, ou pr. beau pere ou belle mere ou mary, .An^cnen^h8ak /to have as son-in-law, or as father-in-law or mother-in-law or husband/" (FHO)

In Wyandot, the use extended beyond that. Both Barbeau and Morgan stated that -nnenh8ak- could be used to refer to the relationship between parents-in-law and a daughter-in-law (Barbeau cards 690 and 708 and Morgan 1966:373). There are two potential explanations for this. One is that, as Morgan's Wyandot had no term for daughter-in-law, -nnenh8ak- had replaced -sk8ak- for his informants. He did not record the latter term. Barbeau only recorded this daughter-in-law term twice.

Another explanation involves marriage location preference. Barbeau gave as a translation for one form of this verb, "(he-self lives with parents-in-law or he becomes a son-in-law)", and then went on to say that, according to one of his informants, "In the old times,...., a man generally went to live at the home of his wife's parents." (Barbeau 1915:69 fn4).

Perhaps, then, the verb -nnenh8ak- expressed the relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law who lived together, with suitable, respectful avoidance being communicated by not using this verb in a term of address. Matrilocality as a preferred pattern would make this term typically apply to the relationship between parents-in-law and a son-in-law.

That the connotation of living together applied not just to the Wyandot, but to the Huron as well, can be seen in an early Huron dictionary entry in which -nnenh8ak- was used with a locative suffix -,e- meaning 'at, on or in'. In three dictionaries that were written later, this form appears as follows:

18.4 "hannenh8a,e ihentron il demeure ches son beau pere
/Huron - at his parent-in-law's he dwells/ /French -
He lives with his father-in-law/" (HF65:119, c.f.,
HF62 and Potier 1920:302#37)

But in FHO, the oldest surviving Jesuit Huron dictionary, we find -nnenh8a,e- used not only in the way cited above, but also with the feminine prefix in the agent position. The masculine pronominal prefix in the second word of the second part of the entry might be a copy error, as it should be a 'she' that lived there, not a 'he':

18.5 "hann^cen^h8a,e ihentron il demeure ches
femme /he lives at the home of his wife/
,ann^cenh8a,e ihentron elle demeure ches
son mary /she lives at the home of her
husband/" (FHO)

Not only does the verb infer living with -in-laws, but, with the weight of evidence of three dictionaries against one, it also suggests that the Huron may have had matrilocality as a preferred pattern, with patrilocality being sometimes the case. The fact that no such locative form occurs with the daughter-in-law term is also instructive.

Morgan's Wyandot informants also extend the use of this term to the relationship between a person and his or her siblings' children's spouses (Morgan 1966:303, 305-6, 309 and 311). Barbeau also presents the term as applying in Wyandot to the grandparents of a man's wife (Barbeau card 708).

19.0 Daughter-in-law

The Huron term for the parent-in-law/daughter-in-law relationship is -sk8ak- (FHO, FH1697:257, HF59, HF62:123, HF65:78-9 and Potier 1920:109 and 353). There is a Wyandot cognate that appears only twice in Barbeau (Barbeau 1960:203 and card 624), but not at all in Morgan's Wyandot. Cognates do exist in all other Northern Iroquoian languages (Morgan 1966:370-1 and 373, plus Chafe 1963:26 for Seneca and Rudes 1987:261 for Tuscarora).

With respect to pronominal prefixes, the parent-in-law is always in the agent position:

19.1 "chiesk8ak to l'as pr. Bru, c'est ta Bru
/2AFZP you - her/
mon b. pere ha,esk8ak il ma pr. Bru.
/MA1P he - me/"
(FH1697:257; c.f., Potier 1920:108 and HF59)

There was an option for expressing equality in that the reflexive could be used with the agent having all of the grammatical actors involved (FHO:147, FH1697:257, HF59, HF62:123 and Potier 1920:353).

This verb does not take the -a- suffix. Of interest is the use of the causative-instrumental suffix -st- in cases similar to those used with -nnenh8ak-. The active role of the prospective parents-in-law can be seen in examples such as the following:

19.2 ",ask8asti R. prendre pour Bru ha,esk8asti il
m'a prise pr bru
/MA1P he - me/"
(HF65:179; c.f., HF59, HF62:123 and Potier
1920:353)

Based purely on direct evidence from Huron and Wyandot sources, the term -sk8ak- would seem to be confined to the relationship between a woman and her parents-in-law. The cognates in other Northern Iroquoian languages can, according to Morgan, refer also to a sibling's son's wife (Morgan 1966:303, 305, 308 and 311), an extension he gives as occurring with -nnenh8ak- in

Wyandot. Conceivably, then, -sk8ak- in Huron could have had a similar extension of meaning.

20.0 Parents-in-law

There is a term in Huron that refers to the relationship between the two sets of parents of a married couple. The verb involved is -ndoron- (FH1697: 12, Potier 1920:296, HF59:104, HF62:70 and HF65:112). While no cognate appears in Wyandot (c.f., the "non utere", 'not used', in Potier 1920:296), cognates exist in 19th century Mohawk (Cuoq 1966:147) and Seneca (Chafe 1963:25).

I believe this term is derived from the verb -ndoron- having the following set of meanings when referring to a human being:

- 20.1 "...etre difficile a contenter, etre un personne de merite, de distinction, considerable, qu'on estime qui a du credit et de l'authorite en q.c. &/to be difficult to satisfy, to be a person of merit, of distinction, of substance, who people esteem as one of credit and of authority in something/" (Potier 1920:295)

Not only do the two verbs sound alike, but there is a connection of meaning that appears concretely in one instance when the verb referring to the relationship takes the causative-instrumental suffix -st-. It is translated as "rendre q. considerable /to render someone important/" (Potier 1920:296). I believe that the main meaning of the relationship signified by -ndoron- here is centred around the side of merit, distinction and substance, although I suspect the 'difficult to satisfy' connotation was not lost on the Huron.

The pronominal prefixes are such that both the parties involved are in the agent position. An example is the following:

- 20.2 "a,indoronch nous que sommes leurs B.P. et M., le P de ma Bru. la mere de mon gendre /Huron - 1xdA we (2) are valuable/
/French - We who are their father-in-law and mother-in-law, the father of my daughter-in-law, the mother of my son-in-law/" (FH1697:258)

According to one source, the pronominal prefixes are confined to the dual (Potier 1920:296).

In two of the Huron-French dictionaries there appears a form of this verb that differs both in who it refers to and in the pronominal prefix used:

- 20.3 "endoronch ma belle mere /my mother-in-law/
/IndA - one/" (HF62:70 c.f., HF65:112)

While, as we have seen, this verb takes the

causative-instrumental suffix -st-, it does not take other affixes, such as the reflexive prefix -atat- or the suffix -a-.

21.0 Step-parents/Step-children

The Huron term for the relationship between step-parents and step-children was -ndo- (Sagard 1866:105, FHO:148, FH1697:258, HF62 and Potier 1920:109 and 449). A cognate exists in Wyandot (Potier 1920:109, Barbeau 1960:133 and 135-7 and cards 608-15 and Morgan 1966:374-5) and in every Northern Iroquoian language except for Tuscarora (ibid).

The verb appears to be incomplete or suppletive, with unusual construction surrounding their terms of address. A step-son addressed his step-mother as "a,on" (HF62 and HF65, and, as "Responds" in Sagard 1866:105), his step-father as ",ando" (FH1697:258, HF62 and HF65). The term of address for 'my step-son' may have been "ando" (Sagard 1866:105 and FHO:148).

The -a- suffix appears in every instance in Wyandot (Barbeau 1960:133, 135-7, 210 and 213, cards 608-15, 690 and 760; and Potier 1920:109), but in only one Huron source, perhaps as a Northern Bear feature (FHO:148). The reflexive also occurs in the same source (ibid). The causative-instrumental suffix -st- occurs in Wyandot (Barbeau 1960:133 and card 760).

Curiously, in both Huron and Wyandot, reference using this verb is confined in almost every instance to the relationship between a step-son and his step-parents. The only exception occurs in Morgan (Morgan 1966:374). The Wyandot stories that involved this relationship speak of the bad treatment that step-sons received from their step-parents (see Barbeau 1960:20-2 and 35-40).

A late 17th century source claimed that Huron Christians were then beginning to substitute the term meaning 'father' for the term 'step-father', 'mother' for 'step-mother':

- 21.1 "...parmi les sauvages Xtiens, ils donnent le nom de pere et de mere au B. P. eta la B. M." (FH1697:258)

Barbeau spoke of a similar occurrence among the Wyandot, with the term for 'father' replacing the 'step-father' term (Barbeau cards 608-9). No mention was made of the situation with step-mothers.

Analysis

22.0 Comparing Huron with Wyandot and the Other Northern Iroquoian Languages

Huron and Wyandot share cognates with the

terms for mother (both terms), father, child, mother's brother, father's sister, sister's children (male reference), brother's children (female reference), maternal grandparents and grandchildren, sibling (same and cross-gender), cousin, brother-in-law, son-in-law and daughter-in-law.

Absent from all three Wyandot sources were the terms for the paternal grandparent/grandchild relationship and the suppletive father-in-law/son-in-law term of address. Present in Potier's Wyandot, but not to be found in Morgan or Barbeau, was the term for cross-gender sibling. All three of these terms can be seen as 'victims' of extensive contact, as they have no equivalent in French or English, and are easily covered by the extension of reference of terms more in line with French and English equivalents i.e., by maternal grandparent/grandchild becoming simply grandparent/grandchild, by having a single term for the son-in-law relationship and by eliminating reference to being of the opposite gender in verb root forms.

Interestingly, we find similar differences between Huron and the other Northern Iroquoian languages. Both the terms and the concepts of paternal grandparent/grandchild and cross-gender sibling are missing from these languages. Further, one of the two parent-in-law/son-in-law terms was dropped too, but the one that the Wyandot kept I suggest that these languages once contained these terms and concepts, but, like Wyandot, they lost the terms through contact with French and English speakers.

This may likewise be true for the term and concept for nephew/niece (female reference) and for having two rather than three terms for siblings-in-law, both areas in which some of the other Northern Iroquoian languages differ from Huron. Since Morgan's time, changes towards a European model have taken place in the kinship terminology of the Iroquois. According to Bonvillain (Bonvillain 1973:161-2), among the modern Akwesasne Mohawk, the terms for father, child and cousin refer to the same people as do their English equivalents, older and younger sibling terms only apply to those who are biologically brothers and sisters, their nephew/niece term (male reference) applies to all the children of one's siblings, and the mother's brother term now is used when speaking of or to one's father's brother.

Less easy to deal with are the differences between Huron and the other Northern Iroquoian languages (excluding Wyandot) concerning the terms for 'father' and 'mother's brother'. They leave a number of questions unanswered. Did the general

Northern Iroquoian term for mother's brother become subject to taboo in Huron so that a circumlocution took its place? This problem is compounded by the term for 'father'. Is it an innovative term, possibly with a meaning lost through time? How could that be when a cognate term in Mohawk means 'mother'? Is it a shared conservative term that the other languages have lost? And, finally, why does it mean 'father' in one language (Huron) and 'mother' in the other (Mohawk)? Does this relate to a shift from patrilineality to matrilineality?

23.0 Pronominal Prefixes: Social Distance and Solidarity

There is a well developed literature concerning the social dimensions of the use of second person pronouns in European languages such as 'tu' and 'vous' in French (Hudson 1980:122-8 and Trudgill 1974:103-4). Two key social elements have been identified: power and solidarity (Brown and Gilman 1960). The expression of power or rank difference involved the non-reciprocal use of the familiar or T form (French 'tu') and polite or formal V form (French 'vous'). The more highly-ranked would address the more lowly-ranked with the T form, with the latter addressing the former with the V form. This is comparable in English to the situation when an employer uses an employee's first name in addressing that person, and the employee responds with the employer's last name plus the appropriate title of Mr., Miss, Mrs. or Ms.

A more recent development in European second person pronominal usage involves the almost universal reciprocal use of either the T or V form depending on the degree of intimacy or familiarity shared between those addressing each other. Soldiers of unequal rank would use the more formal V form when addressing each other. Brothers would use T forms. Brown and Gilman (1960) labelled this element 'solidarity'.

Applying this type of analysis to the pronominal prefixes that occur in Huron kinship terms may yield insights into the nature of the relationships specified. Adapting this from more hierarchical European society to a more egalitarian Amerindian society involves some change in terminology and attendant concepts conveyed. Solidarity can stand as it is. However, rather than expressing 'power' as such, something lacking in a tribal society such as that of the Huron, Huron pronominal prefixes convey 'social distance', if you include in that term's purview differences in respect owing primarily to age, and avoidance owing primarily to gender.

The pronominal indicators to be examined in

looking for signs of social distance and solidarity are the agent and patient. The agent is similar to the subject in English, the patient to the object. In the word `askechiorack8en', meaning `you caused me to feel pain' (Potier 1920:214), for example, the pronominal prefix -ske- has the second person singular ('you') in the agent role, and the first person singular ('me') in the patient role.

Social distance rooted in a difference in age was expressed in Huron kinship terms in several ways. The main method, used primarily with terms of reference, was to separate the parties involved with the chronologically and socially senior relative in the agent position and the chronologically and sociologically junior relative in the patient position. In terms of address this was altered somewhat, with social distance being expressed by having the speaker in the patient position (i.e., 1P - me), with the agent position reflecting a form indicating that it was either empty or filled by the feminine zoic (both take the same form).

I would argue that a certain solidarity could be expressed with these terms, mitigating the social distance, by having the same term reciprocated, rather like the European soldiers of unequal rank addressing each other with V forms, formal yet more egalitarian than using two different forms.

Finally, solidarity was expressed by grouping both parties in the relationship together as agents (in one case as patients). This could be done directly to the verb, or with the addition of the reflexive prefix coming between pronouns and verb root. With some verbs relationships could be expressed in two ways. Social distance could be articulated through separating the parties involved into agents and patients, or the reflexive prefix could be used with all parties as agents, expressing more familiarity or solidarity.

Terms of Address in Kinship

As can be seen from Table 1, there are four different structural patterns for Huron terms of address in kinship. The first involves having the first person singular in the patient position. This includes all blood and step relatives one generation apart (ascending generation) - mother, father, mother's brother, father's sister, step mother and step father - and two of the descending generation - child and step child.

Secondly, there are terms that have the elder member of the relationship in the agent position. These are terms for blood relatives that are one generation apart (descending generation), terms for sister's children (male speaking) and brother's children (female speaking). All take the -a- suffix of possession in Wyandot and in one other Huron

dialect.

I feel that these two groups express the highest amount of social distance of the four structural patterns, with perhaps the first group expressing the greatest social distance as they do not take the -a- suffix of possession in terms of address in any dialect. Unlike the other two patterns, they do not allow for any reciprocity, i.e., both parties cannot use the same term pronominally.

While the third group of terms has the first person in the patient position, both parties could use the same pronominal form. I believe this reciprocity to be indicative of a kind of 'respect with affection' that one might expect between grandparents and grandchildren (three of the six terms in the group). A similar affectionate reciprocity of terms between parents and children occurs, for example, among the Berbers (Hudson 1980:126).

A similar 'respect with affection' seems characteristic of the relationship between son-in-law and father-in-law, daughter-in-law and parents-in-law. These terms, like the other parental terms, lack the -a- suffix.

Two points should be noted here. No term specifically referring to in-laws was used by a son-in-law to address his mother-in-law. I feel that such a term was supplied, instead, by 'endoronch', meaning 'one is valuable', but signifying 'my mother-in-law'. The indirect way in which this is stated (i.e., by not referring to the relationship and by using the indefinite 'one') constitutes what may have been a form of mother-in-law avoidance, a use of circumlocution from son-in-law to mother-in-law.

It should not be surprising that the cross-gender sibling term is the only same generation term to use the relatively distant or respectful form with the first person in the patient position, rather than lumping both parties together in one position. A number of Amerindian groups traditionally had restrictions of formality on the interaction between brothers and sisters, for example, the Navajo (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1962:104-5) or Tlingit (Oswalt 1966:310).

Lastly, the fourth group expresses the greatest equality, with both parties grouped together as 'we two'. All of these relationships are those of the same generation.

Terms of Reference in Kinship

What are being included under 'terms of reference' are simply instances in which someone is making reference to a relationship, rather than addressing someone by a kinship term that includes

Table 1. Huron Terms of Address in Kinship

Term	Meaning - fs/ms female/male speaking	Reciprocal (R) Non-Reciprocal (NR)
Group 1		
annen	my mother	NR
a,isten	my father	NR
a,ien	my child	NR
a(,)8atennonron	my mother's brother	NR
a,rahak	my father's sister	NR
a,on	my step mother	NR
,ando	my step father	NR
ando	my step child	NR
Group 2		
hih8aten(a)	he is my sister's child (ms)	NR
,ih8aten(a)	she is my sister's child (ms)	NR
hechionnrak(a)	he is my brother's child (fs)	NR
,echionnrak(a)	she is my brother's child (fs)	NR
Group 3		
achi8t(aa)	my maternal grandparent	R
atre(a)	my maternal grandchild	R
andichi(aa)	my paternal grandparent/child	R
a,iron(ha)	my cross-gender sibling	R
a,ennhes	my father-in-law/son-in-law	R
a,esk8ak	my parent-in-law/daughter-in-law	R
Group 4		
a,iatexen	we (2) are same-sex siblings	R
a,iarase	we (2) are cousins	R
a,iatio	we (2) are brothers-in-law	R
a,iaiek	we (2) are sisters-in-law	R
on,inda8et	we (2) are cross-sex siblings-in-law	R

Table 2. Huron Terms of Reference in Kinship

Verb Stem	Agent	Patient	Reflexive (R)
Group 1			
-,isten-	father	child	-
-atennonron-	mother's brother	sister's child	-
-arahak-	father's sister	brother's child	-
Group 2			
-,enh8aten(a)-	mother's brother	sister's child	-
-chionnrak(a)-	father's sister	brother's child	-
-chiot(a)-	maternal grandparent	maternal grandchild	-
-atre(a)-	maternal grandparent	maternal grandchild	-
-ndichi(aa)-	paternal grandparent	paternal grandchild	-
-,en(iaha)-	elder sibling	younger sibling	-
Group 3			
-nd8en-	mother	child	R
-en(a)-	parent	child	R
-ndo-	step parent	step child	R
-nneh8ak-	parent-in-law	son-in-law	R
-sk8ak-	parent-in-law	daughter-in-law	R
-,enron(ha)-	cross sex sibling	cross sex sibling	R
-,en(a)-	same sex sibling	same sex sibling	R
Group 4			
-arase-	cousin	cousin	-
-atio-	brother-in-law	brother-in-law	-
-iek-	sister-in-law	sister-in-law	-
-nda8et-	cross sex sibling-in-law	cross sex sibling-in-law	-

both speaker and listener. The following are examples:

23.1 "om,8achionnra ka elle nous a pour neveux et

pour nieces, c'est notre tante /FZA_P she - us/"
(Potier 1920:216)

23.2 "Tsarase ton cous/in/ /2dA - you (2)/"
(FH 1697:257)

As with terms of address, we can group the terms of reference according to various degrees of social distance, based primarily on the two pronominal possibilities of separating the parties involved in the relationship into agent and patient, or lumping them together. Again, the presence or absence of the -a- suffix of possession probably alters the social distance expressed.

The first group in Table 2, expressing the greatest social distance, separates into agent and patient the pronominal prefix, with no reciprocal option nor the use of the -a- suffix. Included in this group are three members of the ascending generation. Two of them are probably distant in reference as they (father and father's sister's sister) did not belong to the same clan as the other party involved. The third, the mother's brother, is probably referred to in this socially distant way because of the respect held for mother's brothers as authority figures.

In the next age group are those that take the -a- suffix of possession, while still separating into agent and patient. The first two - the nephew/niece terms - are only in this group in some dialects. As with terms of address, we have expressions of the grandparent/grandchild relationship in what can be called a midway position between single generation and same generation references. That age differences between siblings could be important, is seen in the fact that the elder/younger sibling term is located here, and not with the more egalitarian references. Interestingly, this respect for age difference with siblings did not seem to extend to terms of address. In none of my Huron or Wyandot sources can be found examples of 'my oldest brother or sister' being used as a term of address.

With the third group we move a step closer in terms of social distance in having at least the option of reciprocal expression, of having the parties involved lumped together in front of the reflexive prefix -atat-. We can see that with the single generation separated relationship indicated here - i.e., mother/child, parent/child and step parent/step child - there is greater social distance in address than in reference. The in-law and cross sex sibling terms are more consistent in that they belong to both Group 3's. The only difference is that there can be references to the mother-in-law/son-in-law

relationship, even though a son-in-law might not be able to address his mother-in-law directly, as we have seen. The term for same-sex sibling almost belongs in the next, more egalitarian, group, as the form with the reflexive occurs more often, in Jesuit writing at least, than does the form without the reflexive.

Group 4 is almost identical with its counterpart with terms of address, with all of the terms included being of the same generation. All that is changed is the absence of the term for same-sex sibling.

The -a- Suffix of Possession

We have seen in a good number of kin terms an -a- suffix. It is my impression that this is a possessive suffix. One reason for saying this is that it appears to occur elsewhere in terms expressing or stressing possession in combination with the terms for five important cultural objects that people possessed and had relatively strong feelings of possession for: domesticated animals (-sennen-), axes (-ato,en-), pipes (-nnenda8an-), pots (-nnao-) and nets (-entsich-). This is illustrated in the following examples:

23.3 "a,esennena mon a/nim/al /FZA_{1P} it - mine/"
(Potier 1920:350; c.f., FH1697:14, JF59:148 in Huron and Barbeau 1960:153 and 230 in Wyandot)

23.4 "sato,ena ta hache /FZA_{2P} it - yours/"
(FH1697:91; c.f., FH1693:174 and Potier 1920:68)

23.5 "la tete de mon /calumet/ & annonda8ena /FZA_{1P} it - mine/" (FH1693:48)

23.6 "a,ennaoa ma chaudiere /FZA_{1P} it - mine/"
(HF65:117; c.f., HF62:73, HF59:109 and Potier 1920:68)

23.7 "honditsichia leur rets /FZAM_P it - theirs/"
(FH67:173; c.f., Potier 1920:726, HF65:223 and FH1693:150)

Potier wrote of this feature as "Pronomina possessive", stating these verbs used -a-, unlike their noun counterparts such as -ndats- 'pot' and -ach- 'axe', because they could not use the possessive verb -8a- (Potier 1920:68).

The -a- Suffix and Kinship Terms

The most striking pattern for the use of the -a- suffix with kinship terms is that it is concentrated mainly in those blood relatives who are of the same generation or two generations apart. The Huron used it with the terms for siblings of the opposite gender, both with -.enon- and with -.en- when it applies cross gender, with cousins and between grandparents and grandchildren, both maternal and

paternal. It was used with none of the four terms specifying someone of the preceding generation (i.e., mother, father, mother's brother, father's sister). The only single generation differentiated term that used the -a- suffix with all dialects was the term designating having someone as one's child (-en-). The two nephew/niece terms only take the -a- suffix with certain dialects. The various -in-law terms are also conspicuous by their absence from the list of -a- suffix words.

Secondly, it should be noted that all of the terms, except for the nephew/niece terms, were ones in which there were reciprocally used terms of address. Interestingly, with one exception in which the pattern worked both ways, in those four terms that had reciprocal terms used across generations (one or two), when the senior person specified addressed the junior one, the -a- was dropped.

More difficult than mere description is to respond to the questions of 'why' or 'what functions were performed by the -a- suffix'. I feel that it functioned as a term of endearment, making the otherwise formal relationship of respect more informal and personal. Its rare use with the cousin term and non-use with same sex siblings are both cases in which such a function need not be performed. As we have seen above, a male/female sibling relationship of respectful distance with affection seems consistent with the Amerindian literature. Grandparents were to be revered, but there still could be affectionate friendliness in how their grandchildren addressed them. Perhaps fear of disrespect being shown was the reason why no -a-suffix was used with mother's brother, father, mother, father's sister and the in-law terms.

24.0 Matrilocal Residence

There is some question as to whether the Huron were predominantly matrilocal in their post-marriage living arrangements. As we have seen, Barbeau (collecting his data early in this century) claimed it was an ancient practice (Barbeau 1915:69). However, as a number of writers have noted (Richards 1967, Tooker 1967:127 and Trigger 1969:56), the Jesuit Relations record a significant number of instances of a wife going to live with her husband's family (i.e., patrilocal or possibly avunculocal residence). The possibility of avunculocal residence (i.e., living with mother's brother) is discussed by Trigger (Trigger 1969:56). Matrilocal residence has not so much been proven as assumed to be a concomitant of matrilineality, caused by sisters working together as a horticultural work unit, while their menfolk were often absent on trading or raiding expeditions. What kind of evidence does Huron kinship terminology provide?

We have to look to in-law terms for the best evidence.

I have suggested above that a Huron son-in-law, by using a very indirect, respectful term of address with his mother-in-law, was practising a form of mother-in-law avoidance. Eggan, made a connection between matrilocality and mother-in-law avoidance for those Plains people. When speaking of a man's relationship to his in-laws, Eggan stated that: "...By the general rule of matrilocal residence he must reside in his parents-in-law's camp and must help support them economically, though to begin with he may feel an intruder. The mother-daughter relationship is a respect relationship; this respect is intensified in the case of the son-in-law by the difference in sex. There is a further factor in the rivalry of the mother-daughter and husband-wife relationships; in order that the affairs of the camp may run smoothly, the son-in-law and the mother-in-law avoid each other completely, though manifesting the highest respect for each other." (Eggan 1971:142)

We have seen that with -nneh8ak-, denoting a relationship between son-in-law and his parents-in-law, there are definite, connotations of living together. The number of examples using that verb with the locative expressing that living together directly and the one instance of having to use that verb to refer to a daughter-in-law (not normally referred to with that verb) living with her in-laws reinforce the notion that matrilocality may have been the most typical or expected pattern. The mere fact that there were two different terms to express the relationship between a man and his parents-in-law, as opposed to just one for the relationship between a woman and her parents-in-law, is suggestive of matrilocality. Need creates specialization or expansion of vocabulary. This may, as well, be the main reason why there were two terms for mother, as opposed to the single term for father, with children encountering their mothers (both biological mothers and mother's sisters) more often than they would their fathers (both biological fathers and father's brothers). The same may also be true concerning terms for the grandparent/grandchild relationships.

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