On Tense and Aspects of Aspect in Haida: Hydaburg Dialect

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Introduction

Originally this paper was meant to deal with predicate affixes in general in Haida as spoken today in Hydaburg, Alaska and as compared to those discussed in Swanton's (1911) outline of the structure of the language using affixal designations. The complexity of the task has somewhat altered that original plan. It was not until after two separate periods of fieldwork (summer of 1972 in Hydaburg and the previous winter and spring of 1972 in Seattle) that some idea of the sound system of the present language could be presented (Eastman and Aoki, forthcoming, 1975). That analysis itself rested on facts from the language as a whole and may still be ultimately revised in light of yet uncovered morphophonemic alternations.

This paper is now a product of yet a third period of fieldwork carried out this year by Eastman, Welsch, and Vaughan working with a Hydaburg resident currently living in Seattle.[1] What we hope to present here is a preliminary syntactic analysis emphasizing predication rather than a morphological analysis of affixal elements (as the Swanton model).

We expect that this research will soon benefit from a dissertation soon to be completed by Levine (Columbia and now of the Provincial Museum in Victoria, B.C.) on Skidegate Haida.

It should be pointed out that according to Swanton (1911:209) the

Haida of Prince of Wales Island are Masset speakers. Our data so far, as compared to Harrison's account of Masset (1895), indicates that there are some differences between Masset and the language spoken at Hydaburg (Kaigani). Whether or not the difference is dialectal or due to language change cannot yet be ascertained. It is clear, however, that the language of Hydaburg resembles Masset as described in the literature more closely than it does Skidegate.

The Haida Sentence

The paper by Welsch (1975) also prepared for this conference documents both an OSV and SOV word order in terms of subject and object (or stative) pronouns whether emphatic or declarative respectively. It appears as well that nominal subjects and objects also reflect this order.

The verb complex is composed of a predicate root followed by affixes. These Pred Root + Affix combinations are the focus of this paper.

Haeberlin (1923) published a critical analysis of the composition of the verb in Haida as analyzed by Swanton (1905). Swanton analyzed the verb complex as being composed of four elements in fixed order:

a. instrumental prefixes

b. classifying prefixes

c. predicative terms

    1. verbal stems

d. locative and modal suffixes. (Haeberlin 1923:159).

He suggests that,

"Instead of assuming different categories of elements and

attributing to them definite positions in the complex, it is imperative to view the situation from the broader standpoint of the combination of stems in general." (Ibid.)

Harrison (1895) presented the verb in Haida as a series of conjugations (in terms of mood and voice; and with verbs categorized as regular and irregular).

Both Harrison and Swanton saw essentially two verb categories as evidenced by the following statements:

1. "If we consider an action on the one hand as expressing what anything does, or on the other hand as expressing what is done to it, we indicate these differences by the Active and Passive Voices as:

Active	Tlaou istang	I take
Passive	Dī īstīagung	I am taken

   (Harrison 1895:153)

2. "Verbs are strictly distinguished as active and neutral. Neutral verbs are, on the whole, those designating states of body and quality, while all other verbs are considered as active. The subject of the latter is expressed by subject pronouns, while the pronominal relations of the neutral verb are expressed by the objective pronouns." (Swanton 1911:217)

In our research we found too little evidence of a Passive/Active distinction to justify setting up such categories. In accord with Swanton, the Active/Neutral opposition appears to prevail. However, while the forms which may be considered "active" seem to coincide with the majority of verbs, the "neutral" forms also include adjectival and complementizing particles followed by the temporal and aspectual suffixes.

How are "particles" + "affixes" distinguished in this paper? The two conditions seem to be used interchangeably.

Thus, we propose setting up three categories of verbal "words" as follows:

1. ACTIVE

   Active pronoun (declarative or emphatic) + Predicate Root + Temporal/Aspectual suffix(es)

   a. Active pronoun + (nominal object) + Predicate Root + Temporal/Aspectual suffix(es)

   b. (emphatic nominal or pronominal object) + Active pronoun + Predicate Root + Temporal/Aspectual suffix(es).

2. NEUTRAL

   Active pronoun (Declarative or emphatic) + gu + Predicate Root + Temporal/Aspectual suffix(es).

3. STATIVE

   Stative pronoun + Predicate Root + Temporal/Aspectual suffix(es).

   a. Stative pronoun + (nominal object) + Predicate Root + Temporal/Aspectual suffix(es).

   b. (emphatic nominal or pronominal object) + Stative pronoun + Predicate Root + Temporal/Aspectual suffix(es).

Note that there are two types of Active and Stative verbal words depending on the ordering of subjects and objects with respect to each other (OSV or SOV). The Neutral verbal word is characterized by no overt object yet an implied one (i.e., "something").

Examples:

Active

(1) ʔaq ijiŋ — I am

(2) ʔaq ʔin tagaŋ[2] — I am eating fish

(3) čin uɬ[3] tagəŋ — I am eating fish

Neutral

(4) ɬao guta — I eat

(5) aɬ gutagəŋ — I am eating

(6) ?l gutawan — They are eating

(7) gus kiɬ u dəŋ gusugəŋ — What language do you speak?

Stative

(8) di jadagəŋ — I am a girl

(9) di qaskit lagəŋ — I am pretty

(10) di ɬaok gulagəŋ — I like halibut

(11) duŋk di quiada — I love you

(12) di haiagəŋ — I am fat

From this it may be seen that there is no overt transitive/intransitive distinction which can apply here. Subcategorization appears to occur at the level of the predicate root which is either active or stative. Harrison provides a list of sentences exemplifying the use of the active and stative pronouns (1895:153). From these data it is possible on semantic grounds to observe that predicate roots which refer to a state or condition employ the di pronoun series while those referring to an action use the ɬao series. The particle gu- seems to alter verbal words which take active pronouns such that they are neither active nor stative while continuing to co-occur with the active pronoun series -- hence, our category neutral.

It is observed that this so-called neutral category occurs relatively rarely. The particle gu occurs elsewhere in the language as what might be considered a relative pronoun marker (Edwards:1975), e.g.:

(13) ʧin tagai gu di gudunŋgəŋ — I want to eat fish.

ʧin (fish) tagai (the food) gu (which di (I) gudun (want)gəŋ (present)

(14) k?iwai gu(t) hal kagəŋ — He's walking in the street.

k?iwai (the street) gu(t) ((is) what) hal (he) kagən (walk -- present)

(15) ~~ʔh~~ujai gu kia l istaiyan — He gave meat to the wolf.

?hujai (the wolf) gu (is who) kia (meat) l (he) istaiyan (give -- past)

(16) xaxujus gu kæ ndi həl — He gave candy to the baby.

~~istagUn~~ istaiyan

xaxujus (the baby) gu (is who) kæ ndi (candy) həl (he) istagun (give -- past)

(17) kæ ndi u nuŋ xaxujus gu — He gave candy to the baby.

həl ~~istagən~~ istaiyan

kæ ndi (the candy) u (is) nuŋ (what) xaxujus (the baby) gu (is who) həl (he) istagən (give -- past)

Note that in (13), another possible relative pronoun u occurs after the noun candy which is its referent. It is also the case that gu in (13) through (17) occurs after the noun to which it refers. Harrison (1895:144) makes reference to a shape classifier Gu. We are not certain what the relationship of this shape classifier is to the particle gu which we have discussed.

One remaining occurrence of gu must also be mentioned. Gu appears as what to us seems an irreducable part of a number of predicate roots which are inherently verbal, e.g.,

gula like cf. la (adjective root) pretty

(18) di ɬaok gulagəŋ I like halibut

(19) di lagəŋ I am pretty

The gu occurring in Neutral verbal words which co-occurs with Active (declarative or emphatic) pronouns might possibly, in the light of the preceding discussion, then, be seen as a neutral object rather than an intransitivizing or neutralizing particle as it first appears to be. As such it might be interpreted as follows:

(4) ɮao guta I eat or I eat (food, naturally!)

In this view, the gu might be seen to refer to the predicate's logical object, which is always implicit unless another object is stated in which case the gu does not occur. In fact, it is probably reasonable in this view to do away with a category of Neutral altogether and to consider such verbal words as a subcategory of Active in which an active pronoun occurs and there is no overt object but the gu (Edwards: 1975).

(2) ɮao ɬin tagəŋ I am eating fish

Compare (2) with (20):

(20) gUm gu t'əl da?aŋgUŋ We don't have anything.

From the preceding it may be seen that we have identified three types of verbal words which occur in the Haida sentence: the active, neutral, and stative. We also have identified three types of Predicate Root. That is, inherent verbal roots are not the only forms which take suffixes marking tense and aspect. These suffixes also occur on adjectival and adverbial roots.

The remainder of this paper is a presentation of the various Tense and Aspect markers analyzed so far. Exmaples will be given of

the suffixes on the differing predicate roots as well as with the different types of verbal word as identified above.

Tense and Aspect

As mentioned earlier, within the three categories of verbal word there are three types of predicate root which may head predication: verbal (or active), adjectival, and adverbial. In fact these three types of root are generalized in the language and occur: (a) to head predication, as is the concern in this paper but also (b) to head a nominal complex and (c) to modify nominal complexes and verbal complexes. Thus, we have:

(2) lao čin tagəŋ I am eating fish

Here ta, an active root, heads predication. In tawai "food," ta heads a nominal complex.

Examples of adjectival roots are:

(21) di gulgagəŋ I am ambitious

(12) di haiagəŋ I am fat

Here gulga and haia are the heads of predication but are adjectival roots as demonstrated by their co-occurrence with the stative pronoun di.

Suffixes denoting tense and aspect are attached directly to the predicate root.

(22) di gulga amyagəŋ I am very ambitious

Note that in (22) the predicate root is amya as compared to (21) where it is gulga. Sentence (22) is an example of an adverbial root heading predication. As an adverbial root it requires an adjectival form to precede it (i.e., gulga) which it modifies.

The particle amya and also another one aoya translate as "very" or "very much" and may be analyzed as intensive suffixes to a predicate root as well as adverbial roots. In fact this is probably more appropriate since other adverbs in the language are not infixed but rather precede the verbal word in a sentence, e.g.,

(23) dɵman u činai aɪ̀ k?atgəŋ I am cutting the fish carefully.

dɵman (carefully) u (is how) činai

(the fish) aɪ̀ (I) k?atgəŋ (cut - present)

Amya and aoya are regarded as auxiliary or derivational intensive particles suffixed to the predicate root preceding tense and aspect markers. We have a few examples of what might be interpreted as an inceptive derivational particle which occurs in the same position within the verbal word as the amya/aoya intensive, e.g.,

(24) dəŋk ləmgəelgəŋ You're getting drunk.

(ex. Swanton, 1911:257)

as compared with

(25) dəŋk lamga You are drunk.

Note in sentences (21), (22), (24), and (25) the suffix ga on gulga and lamga. In these sentences the root of predication (i.e., gulga and lamga) co-occurs with the stative pronoun and appears to function as an adjectival root. The form lam however is nominal for "rum" and only becomes adjectival with the suffix ga which occurs on a number of roots of predication in stative verbal words. The question is whether to consider gulga and lamga as predicate roots or posit a morphologically complex aspectual suffix gagəŋ "be in a state or condition + present." Evidence so far indicates that ga is best

treated as an intransitivizing particle (more properly in this analysis a "stativizing" particle). (See below under the discussion of the "perfect" and also under Ø or the "unmarked" particle.)

We have been able to distinguish from our data six suffixes indicating tense and aspect. There appear to be the following distinctions made:

Present	gəŋ
Unmarked	Ø
Past	gən
Perfect or Recent Past	gi + gən
Proximate Future	ansan
Future	san

These suffixes will be discussed primarily as they occur in the Indicative mood. Tense and Aspect is also marked variously in the Interrogative mood as well as differentially in the Negative. This paper will conclude with some general remarks regarding the interrelationship of tense and aspect with negation and interrogation.

Present gəŋ

The suffix marking present tense is most generally gəŋ (gUŋ~gŋ), e.g.,

(26)	sintla la dUŋk gulagəŋ	Why do you like her?
(27)	di st?igəŋ	I'm sick.
(28)	l gulgagəŋ	He's ambitious.
(2)	lao tin tagəŋ	I am eating fish.
(29)	wed u di lamgəŋ	I am drunk now.
		wed (now) u (is when) di (I) lamgəŋ
		(am drunk)

Certain predicate roots suffix (d)aŋ to mark the present tense, e.g.,

(30) gusgyao 1 isdaŋ — What is he doing?

(31) di a qinaŋ — I am heavy (fat).

(32) la ɬ tiaŋ — I am killing him.

(33) taonge ɬ ɣaidəŋ — I'm going to town.

(34) di xwidəŋ — I'm cold.

(35) λiŋ wadluan a χiwai gistəŋ da?aŋ — You (pl.) have two canoes.

(36) qiantil 1 k?asqidəŋ — He is forgetting his name.

Predicate roots which end in a vowel or glottal stop (possibly only in /a/ + (/?/)) suffix aŋ for the present tense (numbers (31), (32), and (35) above) while predicate roots ending in /t/ follow the general rule of intervocalic voicing at morpheme boundaries in the language (Eastman and Aoki: 1975) and then suffix the -aŋ.

The third person plural is specially marked for tense and aspect. In the present tense it is marked by a post predicate root suffix wan. However it tends to merge in the present with the marker aŋ, thus:

(37) ɣin u 1 tanwaŋ — They are on a boat going after fish.

(37a) lao ɣin tanwaŋ — They are on a boat going after fish.

(38) λu gistəŋwu 1 dawaŋ — They have two canoes.

(39) sao giao 1 istwaŋ — They are getting oolichans.

Unmarked

The gəŋ suffix and its various realizations discussed above refers to the present or ongoing in time. There is also a ∅ suffix which translates much as the present except that it represents more of

an aspectual sense of state or condition.

(40) ƛ̓in u dəɳ ta — You (sing.) eat fish (timeless).

(40a) ƛ̓in u dən tagəŋ — You (sing.) are eating fish (present).

(25) dəŋk lamga — You are drunk.

(41) hadas sk?awan sk?adaŋ — The Haida pick salmon berries.

(14) duŋk di quiada — I love you.

(42) awuŋ l quiadwan — They love their mother.

Notice that the third person plural marker for the unmarked aspect in (42) above is again wan, here attached to the predicate root minus its final vowel.

Past

The Past tense suffix differs from the present phonologically only in that it ends in a dental rather than a velar nasal. In addition. the third person plural suffix with the Past is wu and it is maintained as separate from and preceding the tense marker rather than merging with it as was seen in the Present.

(43) adaɬ di ƛ̓?iagən — Yesterday I was slim.

(44) lal di quiadaoyagən — I loved him very much.

(45) ƛ̓in uɬ tagən — I ate the fish.

(46) ƛ̓in ul tawugən — They ate the fish.

(47) la l tigən — I killed him.

The past tense suffix also follows the rule discussed above with regard to the Present suffix such that stems which end in /t/ suffix an (ən~ɳ) and the /t/ automatically voices intervocally.

(48) yalai xidan — The raven flew away.

In addition, when a predicate root ends in a velar nasal /ŋ/ the voiced

velar stop of the tense/aspect suffix assimilates to it.

(49) nUŋ xaxujus u ƛujai — The child played with the wolf.

ƛnaŋan < lnaŋ + gan

Perfect of Recent Past gi + gən

Consider the following sentences:

(50) ƛao gutagigən — I already ate.

(51) ƛao gutagiugən — They already ate.

(52) čin u l tagigən gwa — I ate the fish already (gwa lit. "now").

(53) kek dən taga — Did you eat the cake?

(54) kekgai χUn tagiga — Did you (pl.) already eat the cake?

(55) kekgai ƛ tagigən — I ate the cake already.

(56) kekgai ƛ tagigəni — I ate the cake already.

(57) la t?əl qiŋgən — We saw him.

(58) la t?əl qiŋgəni — We already saw him.

(59) k?iu χUŋ χis kungigən — We cleaned the clams already (so, cook 'em!).

The perfect or recent past from these examples appears to be somewhat complex. Note that the third person plural marker occurs as u and in the example provided (51) occurs between gi and gən. This example serves as evidence that gigən probably does not exist as an isolatable marker of a perfect or recent past suffix. It may be the case that gi is an auxiliary or derivational particle much as amya and aoya were seen to be earlier. Examples (53) and (54) are interesting, however, in this regard. Sentence (53) shows ga as a generalized marker of past tense in the Interrogative, while (54) shows another form gi + ga as the Interrogative Perfect. From this it would appear that the

perfect or recent past tense is formed by prefixing gi to the past tense marker whether indicative or interrogative.

Examples (57) and (68) show a contrast between a regular past tense and an -i form of the perfect as suffixed to the past. Examples (55) and (56) differing only in the presence or absence of the suffixal -i are typical of our evidence regarding an independent form of the perfect. It shows that basically from our data (55) and (56) and other sentences like them are alternative forms generally substitutable for each other. Where sentence (56) is an acceptable alternate for "I ate the cake already" it also may be translated as "I have already eaten the cake" and is thus perhaps more of a perfective in content thus agreeing with the affix i posited by both Harrison and Swanton as designating the perfect or recent past (ex. Swanton 1911:249 and 253).

Proximate Future ansan

Harrison (1895:155) describes an "intentional form" which is used to signify what the speaker intends to do as:

Tlaou kaitungkasang	I am about to go.
Tlaou kwōyādāungkasang	I am about to love.
tlaou hā ē lth tāungkasang	I am about to fight.

Swanton (1911:249) observes a gasang, gasas "immediate or imminent future occurrence." He suggests that it is compounded from an -sga "simple futurity suffix" plus an -(a)sang suffix implying "infallible future occurrence." We have the following examples of an ansan suffix:

(60) ǩin ɪ halaŋansan I am about to fry fish.

(61) ɬ kaidənsan — I am about to go.

(62) adaɬ tawai 1 hilauansan — By tomorrow the food will be gone.
adaɬ (tomorrow) tawai (the food) 1 (it)
hilauansan (gone - is about to be)

(63) sk?awan halunsla λu ɬ hanjawansan — I will be about to go away when the salmon berries are ripe.

(64) ɬao dəŋ an tao dahansan — I am about to buy food for you.

(65) ɬao ɬdinuansan — I am about to eat.

Sentence (63) exemplifies the marking of the third person plural with the -ansan proximate future suffix, i.e., wan + ansan > wansan. From the examples it seems that ansan in this data does have much the same significance as Harrison's intentional and Swanton's imminent future.

We have a few isolated examples of a particle ankasan, e.g.,

(66) ɬao ɬdinuankasan — I am going to eat.

However, it appears that by far most regularly the form for the proximate future is ansan.

The particle ans also occurs only rarely and we have no reason at this stage of our analysis to suspect that in terms of tense and aspect that it occurs as anything other than a shortened form of ansan (or ankasan).

(67) k?iu χUnχis kUnans — We are about to clean the clams.
We are going to clean the clams.

cf.

(68) k?iu χUŋ χis kUnansan — We will clean the clams.

Regular or Distant Future san

As (68) shows, there is a regular future as well in san. With

I had assumed 67 & 68 were variants of the same thing - one with -an, the other with -ansan. Need to see -an in 68?

the third person plural as subject the regular future appears as:

(69) adaɬ kekgai l tawasan They will eat the cake tomorrow.

with the third plural marker here occurring as wa. It also occurs in the future in its full form wan.

(70) hə̀l wadluan u ɬdanuwansan They will all eat.

In general the future tense is straightforward. The following set of sentences serve as examples:

(71) di gudiɲai ɬititsan I will feel sad.

(72) adaɬ dUɲ ɬ qiɲsan I'll see you tomorrow.

(73) adaɬ di ƛ?iasan Tomorrow I will be slim.

(74) t'awa slu di xuitsan When it snows I will be cold.

(75) di qaskit lasan I will be pretty.

Discussion

Having analyzed the above tense and aspect markers in Haida, it has been made clear that the verbal word in Haida is basically composed of initally one or more nominal or pronominal forms + a Predicate Root (active, adverbial, adjectival) + temporal/aspectual suffix(es). However, it has also been brought out in the course of analysis that other particles of a likely auxiliary or derivational nature intervene between the Predicate Root and the Temporal/Aspectual suffixes. Further for each tense or aspect there is a special marked form of the third person plural which occurs after the Predicate Root. It is also the case, as the above analysis might not lead one to believe, that certain tense/aspect markers may occur with each other as:

(76) danja u xagai a gusugə̀ɲsan Jane will talk to the children.

danja (Jane) u (is who) xagai (the children) a (to) gusugə̀ɲsan (talk + present + future)

A more accurate translation of (76) is "Jane will be talking to the children." The nature of compounding sentences in the form of (76) plus uncovering further derivational suffixes which occur / Root _____ Tense/Aspect require much more detailed investigation. For example, sentence (77) contains what we have tentatively analyzed as a directional derivational affix ai~a which fits in with the other facts of the verbal word as presented in this present analysis.

(77) Carol u gintajai tautai isdaiyan — Carol put the blanket in the box.
Carol u (is who) gintajai (the blanket) tautai (the box) isdaiyan (do/make/"put" - in past)

Interrogation and Negation

In general interrogation may be expressed by intonation or with interrogative pronouns and adverbs such as gus or sinχa "why?". In such cases, inflectional interrogative suffixes are optional and in fact occur rarely. However when there is no separable interrogative word, primary tense (i.e., present, past, and future) is marked by one or both of two interrogative inflectional suffixes us and ga. Ga marks both past tense and interrogation. That is, the indicative past tense marker never occurs in a past tense question. In the present tense interrogation is marked by us alone, while in the future us is suffixed to the regular future marker san.

(78) la dUŋ gula(w)us — Do you like him?
la (him) dUŋ (you) gula(w)us (like - present interrogative)

(79) kek dUŋ taga — Did you eat the cake?
kek (cake) dUŋ (you) taga (eat - past interrogative)

(80) di qaskit lasanus — Will I be pretty?

di (I) qaskit (appear) lasanus (pretty - future interrogative)

As was seen above, the perfective aspect is seen as gi + the Past tense gən. Similarly in the negative, the perfect has the form of gi + the interrogative Past marker ga.

(54) kekgai λUn tagiga — Did you (pl.) already eat the cake?

kekgai (the cake) λUn (you, pl.)

tagiga (eat - perfect interrogative)

The negative of both the indicative and interrogative mood is regularly aŋ and it is infixed between the Predicate Root (simple or derived) and the indicative or interrogative tense/aspect marker.

(81) gəm dəŋ gutaŋsa(n)us — Aren't you going to eat?

guta + aŋ + san + us (eat - negative future interrogative)

cf.

(82) dəŋ gutasanus — Are you going to eat?

Consider the following sentences:

(83) adaɬ gUm dəman dəŋ q?atuja — Didn't you sleep well yesterday?

(84) adaɬ gUm tinai aɬ tauja — Didn't I eat the fish yesterday?

(90) sinλa gUm la dUŋ gulaŋ(w)uja — Why didn't you like him?

In sentences (83) through (85) past tense negative interrogation is illustrated. Also, observe that negation in two of these examples is marked simply by gUm "not" without the otherwise regular aŋ infix in

the verbal word. The particle uja suffixed to the predicate then seems to mark past tense interrogation on negative questions. At this point in our analysis we are working with an hypothesis that the underlying form of this Past Interrogative inflectional suffix is us + (g)a where /s/ in the environment / ____ + V becomes /j/ as in dus "cat," dujai "cats," "the cat(s)." This analysis seems plausible in the light of two examples we now have of -uja on Past tense non-negative interrogatives as well:

(86) ƛ̓in dUn tagiwuja You ate the fish already?

(87) sin̓a la dun̓ gulauja Why did you like him?

Summary

The preceding analysis has presented the verbal word in Haida as being of three distinct types: Active, Neutral, and Stative. Both Active and Stative verbal words may occur in an SOV or OSV word order. Verbal words are so categorized according to their co-occurrence with the Active (declarative or emphatic) or Stative pronoun series (Welsch 1975). Neutral verbal words are relatively rare and take Active pronouns + a particle gu- prefixed to the predicate root. Also there are three types of roots which may head predication; verbal or active, adjectival, and adverbial. Tense and Aspectual suffixes may be attached directly to a simple predicate root or else to a derived predicate root (stem). Derivation was seen as being beyond the scope of this present paper. Three primary tenses were described: present, distant past, and distant future. In addition a timeless aspectual suffix was discussed along with a compound perfective suffix made up of a particle gi + the distant past and a compound proximate future suffix made up of a particle an +

the distant future. It was seen that the primary tenses are marked distinctively in the Interrogative. Thus it would appear that the Indicative and Interrogative are separate moods. Inflectionally, negation is a relatively straightforward process involving the infixing of <u>an</u> before the tense/aspect suffix(es). For all tenses and aspects, the third person plural is inflectionally marked.

NOTES

1. We wish to thank Bertha George who acted as consultant and Elizabeth Edwards who helped with the analysis in this paper.

2. The schwa here is used to represent syllabicity, the particle /gən/ ranges phonetically from a velar followed by a syllabic velar nasal [gŋ̩] to [gUŋ] with a full high back lax vowel. The symbol ə̲ is used to represent a general reduced unstressed vowel often epenthetic.

3. See Welsch (1975) regarding the differing forms of pronouns within a single series, e.g., both the declarative and emphatic forms of active prounouns.

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