Heiban Grammar

Elizabeth Guest 1/12/97

1. Introduction

This document describes work done on the analysis of Heiban grammar. The analysis is incomplete, but work on the language has stopped and I am writing up as far as I have got. All the data in this document was provided by Adam Kuku Kafi and his son James Adam Kuku of the Abul tribe of Heiban.

I did not manage to analyse much of the language because Adam did not have much time to do the work and James was not sufficiently interested to do much. All Adam's attempts at recruiting more people, especially people from different dialects has failed. So as neither Adam nor James now has time to work on their language, work has stopped. In this document I describe the progress that has been made. The only aspect of grammar which has been analysed in any detail is the noun class system. It was while doing this, that we ran into dialect problems. I managed to do a little on other aspects of grammar with James and our analysis so far is detailed in the remaining sections. The data on which most of the analysis is based, will be found in the appendices.

2. Othography

Missionary work started in the Heiban group in 1920 and the New Testament was published in 1966. They therefore have an established orthography. In this section, we briefly outline this Heiban orthography.

2.1 Consonant Phones of Heiban

Some of these phones (f, h, x, s, v, and z) seem to have been included for arabic loan words.

2.2 Vowel Phones of Heiban

2.3 The Orthography

Here we give the orthographic equivalents of the phones, including words showing where these phones occur word initially, medially and finally. The words will be written in the orthography, but one should bear in mind that because of unresolved confusion and conflict of dialects (see below), not all words will be from the same dialect. I have not investigated the orthography thoroughly and the following is based mainly on my list of nouns.

a a b b 6 6	abaŋ babo ɓaŋalaŋ	chest father look up	gabrakur gibur	dove door	iga	fire
СС	con	some	goco	5 th born boy		
d d	del	graves	ludum	star		
d d	h dhar	rope	ŋidhri	buli	diŋlidh	dream
đ đ		ear ring	nurde	barbed spear		
e e	ela	go	len	village Î	ŋare	child
f f	fruita	fruit		_	_	
g g h h	gum	fish	logiro	lizard		
	hekal	skeleton	,	•		_
i i	iga	fire tortoises	ŋin -::-:-	dog	idhi	meat
Jј	jimla		gijaja	bottle		
k k	kuku	1 st born boy	kaka	1st born girl		
x kl		rifle	•			~ •
1 1	lirko	knee	gulo	neck	lal	flies
m n	•	brother mother	limur	walking stick mouth	ludum	star
n n	. 1	stones	linyu nyelnyel	sweet	lamun lirany	finger ram
Tr n	, -		· -		•	
ŋŋ	ŋin	dog	gaŋal	ewe	guwaŋ	buffalo
0 0	250	skeleton	lony	egg	ŋiro	work
рр	oga	skeleton	ŋароу	cat		
p p	rom	two	lira	monkeys	liber	tail
ττ			luga	bird		
S S	sabun	soap	thimsa	crocodile		
t t	tagiya	cap	ŋarta	axe		
t th	thiril	three	gwibuthanu	bigger	peth	all
u u	ule	writing	gum	fish	dhumu	scorpion
ə ü	បិញ្ចាំព	sun	gūni	ear	gidhlū	year
v v			guwava	gwava		
w w	wüŋ	milking	gwa	woman	ŋaw	water
ју	yijejra	rat trap	gwayirna	brother in law	ľuy	bone
z z	zarif	envelope				

2.4 Contrasts

I have not been able to spend time with the group to find contrasts. However, I have found some contrasts in my data:

2.4.1 Contrasts between vowels:

u/ū	guru	dung	gūru	waterskin
o/u	dhugor	heart	dhugur	type of grass
e/u	gamun	claw	gamen	type of tree
a/u	dhumu	scorpion	dhuma	snake
o/e	gol	stone	gel	gravel
a/e	ŋura	stick for men	ŋure	wood

2.4.2 Contracts between consonants

n/ŋ	dhulun	animal	dhuluŋ	elbow
m/ŋ	guwam	snake	guwaŋ	buffalo
ŋ/ny	ŋin	dog	nyin	dogs
1/r	ŋela	fat	ŋera	girl

Many more contrasts between consonants need to be found. My data suggests that, at least word initially, there is no contrast between k and g as these seem to be interchangeable. D and r also seem to be interchangeble in work intitial position.

I have been able to note a couple of contrasts in vowel and consonant length; there are probably many more:

i/ii r/m gin giro dog work niin nirro

blood urine

3. Heiban Dialects

There are three dialects of the Heiban language: Heiban (dheban), Abul (dhabul), and Umjan (dhumjan). I have not been able to analyse the lexical variations between these dialects because I have not been able to work with people from the different dialects. However according to Adam, Abul and Umjan are virtually the same, but many words are pronounced differently in Heiban. The main differences are:

Heiban has words starting with 'k'; this is rare in Abul and Umjan where most of these words start with 'g'. I suspect that 'g' and 'k' are the same phoneme.

Examples:

Heiban	Abul	Umjan	English
kwa	gwa	gwa	woman
karo	garo	garo	grass
kuri	guri	guri	mouse
kware	gwate	gwate	tree

• Many words which are spelt with 'τ' in Abul and Umjan, are spelt with 'τ' in Heiban. Examples:

Heiban	Abul	Umjan	English
ŋrun	ŋţun	ŋţun	animal
lura	luça	lura	bird
gwereny	gweteny	gwereny	house
kware	gwate	gwate	tree

• The noun classes of common things and of large and dangerous things generally have zero plural prefix in Abul, but plural prefix 'j-' in Heiban. I have no data for Umjan.

Examples:

dil		•
	ril	horns
duwa	ruwa	roots
durar	rugar	leopards
diŋla	riŋla	tongues
Heiban	Abul	English

• The noun class of long things has plural prefix 'd-' in Heiban, but generally 'r-' in Abul. I have no data for Umjan.

Examples:

Heiban	Abul	English
juma	uma	snakes
jagro '	agro	chickens
jugi	ugi	thorns
jumu	umu	scorpions

All my data on this issue is suspect because it has all been provided by Adam who can barely read his language and whose spelling generally has to be corrected. It is also very difficult to gauge how well he knows the other dialects.

These dialect differences are a concern because the NT has been translated into the Heiban dialect. According to Adam, this is a minority dialect (especially when Abul and Umjan are so similar) and he wants to change the

writing system to reflect his own dialect. In fact the primer which James is working on has been written in the Abul dialect. I have no idea how much community support there is for this change.

4. Noun Classes

I Ja fr st ar ar Despite having words from (at least) two dialects, it has been possible to come to some conclusions as to what the noun classes are. The noun classes are identified by their singular and plural prefixes and by their concords and are given in the following chart: The noun class numbering used is that given by Stevenson 1956. Where there are 2 numbers for a noun class, the first number gives the singular form, and the second the plural form. Zero prefixes are indicated by \varnothing . My analysis is based on a list of 450 nouns and a complete list of nouns by class will be found in appendix 2.

Noun class no	singular prefix	singular concord	plural prefix	plural concord	semantic identification
1,2	kw-/gw-	gw-	1-	1-	People, animals and nature
	ku-/gu-		li-/lu-	•	except trees
	Ø		li-		
1,2	Ø	gw-	-ŋa (suffix)	1-	relatives
3,4	kw-/gw-	gw-	j-/Ø	j-	trees
	ku-/gu-		ji-/ju-/∅		
5,6	l-	1-	ŋ-/ŋw-	ŋw-	sets.
7,8	k-/g-	g-	j-/Ø	j-	common things
9,10	dh-	dh-	d-/r-	d-/r-	long thin things
11,12	dh-	dh-	j-/Ø	j-	large and dangerous things
13,14	k-/g-	g-	ny-	ny-	hollow and deep things
15,16	ŋ-	ŋ-	ny-	ny-	domestic and small animals and things
20	ŋ-	ŋ-	-	_	liquids and abstract nouns
21,22	ŋ-	ŋ-	j-	j-	goat
25,26	Ø	Ø	j-	j-	words beginning with a
					vowel
					foreign words

4.1 Dialect Differences

Many of the variations in the singular and plural prefixes given in this chart a probably due to dialect differences. The 'k'/'g' and 'd'/'r' differences have been mentioned above. Here we can note that the differences are in the noun class prefixes. The common things class also has variations. I have some data which suggests that the Heiban plural prefix is 'j', whereas the plural prefix for Abul is \emptyset , but I do not have enough evidence to be sure.

4.2 Morphophonemics

- In the classes which have singular prefix 'gu' or 'gw' and 'ku' or 'kw', 'gu' and 'ku' are used when the next letter is a consonant and 'gw' and 'kw' are used when the next letter is a vowel. The plural in these classes is formed either by replacing 'gw' or 'kw' with the appropriate plural prefix, or by replacing 'gu' or 'ku' with the appropriate plural prefix followed by a vowel. This vowel is normally 'i', but can be 'u'. I have not been able to find a rule to tell me which vowel should follow.
- In the class with singular prefix 'l' and plural prefix 'ŋ' or 'ŋw', there is some variation on how the plural is formed. In a few words, the prefix 'l' is replaced by 'ŋw'; in the rest of the words, 'l' is replaced by 'ŋ' and when 'l' is followed by 'i', the plural is generally formed by replacing 'li' with 'ŋu'. I have so far not found anything to explain the two ways of forming the plural for this class.

4.3 Class distinctions

The above noun class classification closely matches that of Stevenson [1]. The main differences are that there are more classes in the above classification. According to Stevenson hollow and deep things should be in the common

things class, but we have found a separate class. Stevenson also found no words beginning with a vowel, or the g/ϕ class.

Nevertheless the classification is not straight forward. The classes with singular prefix 'dh' taken together clearly make a class of long thin things and dangerous things. However the dangerous things class seems to have lost a few words to the long thin class, suggesting that these two classes are starting to merge. This may explain why 'elephant' is currently in both classes. The common things and unit collective classes are difficult to describe semantically and the classification given is that given by Stevenson.[1] There is potential confusion between the tree and common things classes because the only distinction is in their singular prefixes. This is clear when the tree prefix is 'kw' or 'gw', but less clear when it is 'ku' or 'gu' because of the different possibilities for the plural form. In this case it may be that 'gi' indicates the noun belongs to the tree class. However it may also indicate that the tree class is being amalgamated with the common things class.

References:

Stevenson, R. C. A Survey of the Phonetics and Grammatical Structure of the Nuba Mountain Languages with Particular Reference to Otoro, Katcha and Nyimat. Africa und Ubersee, vol XLI 1956-57

5. Pronouns

Some work was done on pronouns, but it is incomplete. In Heiban it is rare to refer to an object or animal with a 3rd person pronoun. This must normally be given in full. However, when answering a question which mentions the reference, you may answer with a 3rd person pronoun for the object. The pronouns are:

	subject pronoun (stand-alone)	object suffix
1st person sing	nyi	-nyi
2 nd person sing	ŋa	-aŋa
3 rd √person sing	ŋeda	-nyi
1 st person dual	daŋa	-ilo
1 st person plural	anaŋa / alŋa	-ilo
2 nd person plural	ŋaŋa	-ji
3 rd person plural	nidina	-ilo

The information for the above table was provided by James with no examples and I am not sure of its accuracy.

6. Adjectives

Adjectives have concord agreement with their nouns, and come after the noun. At least one adjective (gwipa: big), repeats in the plural. For example we have

nin nipa

big dog

and

nyin nyipinyipa

big dogs

I do not know how other adjectives behave.

We have done some work on comparatives. A complete list of adjectives considered will be found in appendix 3. Basically, the comparative form of an adjective is formed by adding the suffix '-nu'. However, the actual prefix depends on the final letters of the adjective. I do not have much data, but some rules have been found:

- If the adjective ends in 'n', the suffix is simply '-u'.
- If the adjective ends in 'n', 'n' is replaced by 'n' and the suffix 'u' is added.
- If the adjective ends in 'e', 'o', or 'u', the vowel changes to a before the suffix '-nu' is added.
- In one example an adjective ending in 'ir', loses the 'i' and the suffix becomes '-anu'.

Examples

_		
goran	goranu	wide
gudraŋ	gudranu	thin
gure	guţanu	тіре
gwibilo	gwibilano	good, kind
gimanu	ginananu	cooked
gwiŋir	gwiŋranu	nice, good

There are exceptions to all these rules and sometimes the adjective does not change at all but an extra word is added:

guthan gwimiri guranu guthan guranu gwimiri dirty kind

Example of usage of comparatives:

Note that the use of 'di' (than) is obligatory.

James gwibuthanu di Kuku.

James is older than KuKu

7. Verbs

Very little work has been done on verbs. It seems that many tenses/aspects are expressed using auxilliaries. Some work was started on infinitives or verbal nouns, but all we found out was that these are formed by adding 'd-' or 'di-' to the root depending on whether the root starts with a vowel or not. I do not have examples of their usage.

8. Numbers

Heiban numbers are only useful for numbers less than 200. Above this, they become unwieldy, requiring a good knowledge of multiples of 20.

The first 20 numbers are as follows:

ne msc	20 Hunibers are as follows.		
1	gwetipo	11	die a gwetipo
2	ram	12	die a ram
3	thiril	13	die a thiril
4	koriŋo	14	die a korino
5	thudhna	15	die a thudhna
6	nyiril	16	die a nyiril
7	korino a thiril	17	die a koriŋo a thiril
8	duban	18	die a duban
9	thudhina a korino	19	die a thudina a korino
10	die	20	dhure
IV	GIC .		

The numbers up to 200 proceed similarly as the teens with only the words denoting the power of 10 changing. The words for 30, 40, 50 up to 200 are:

30 dure a die

40 dhure ram

50 dhure ram a die

60 dhure thiril

70 dhure thiril a die

80 dhure korino

90 dhure korino a die

100 dhure thudhna

110 dhure thudhna a die

120 dhure nyiril

130 dhure nyiril a die

140 dhure korino a thiril

150 dhure korino a thiril a die

160 dhure duban

170 dhure duban a die

180 dhure thudhina a koriŋo

190 dhure thudhina a korino a die

200 dure die

9. Sentence Structure

The basic word order in Heiban seems to be SVO. Noun class concord agreement goes on determiners, adjectives and verbs and agrees with the subject of the sentence. Noun modifiers normally occur after the noun.

10. Appendix 1: Dialect Differences

This list of words was provided by Adam and I don't think he consulted with speakers of the different dialects to produce it.

Heiban Abul Umjan English Kuji guji guji person kwa gwa gwa woman kware gware gware tree karo garo garo grass kare gare gare belly nure դալe ŋure axe nuriny nuriny nutiny magic lurro luco luro ŋrara ŋţaţa ŋţaţa ŋrun ŋţun ŋţun animal kuri guri guri mouse ŋrany nrany ŋτany sickness dhora dhora dhora lora lora loga dhrany dhgany dhrany boundary dhura dhura dhura counting dhure dhure dhure wood ligugre ligugte ligugre giridhir girindhir girndhir dove gurjūr gurjar gurjar knife lura lura luga bird guraŋar guțaŋar guranar monkey gurwel gurwel gurwel monkey gwereny gwereny gwereny house dhimre dhimte dhimre dhimreny dhimteny dhimreny cave dhuro dhuro dhuro back dhuraw dhuraw dhuraw yard ŋara ŋaţa nara nurinya ŋurinya nurinya kill raje raje Ţаje dhriny dhtiny dhtiny gidhogra gidhogra dhidhogra eating ŋudhagrar gudhagrar nudhagrar

11. Appendix 2: Noun Classes

People, Animals, and Nature (exc	cept trees)	gw/kw/gu/ku	1 .
gucega gudha godhoro gudhrun gudhudhu gudhugre gudhuna guja gujan gukrungo gukwari gum gumi gumii gumuro gumoreny	licega lidha lodhoro lidhrun lidhudhu lidhugre lidhuna lija lijaŋ likruŋgo likwari lum limi limiri limuro limoreny		Denkaman wild animal, type of gourd of milk vegetable pot tribalman lazy man gourd way person tribalman fish sea animal tribalman type of fence to keep animals out
	-		er T. Materials

vegetable limro gumro vegetable limorrny gumoreny witch limū gumū father in law luna guna liranar gorrila guraŋar vegetable lirereny gurereny lithuro tribalman guthuro moon, month luwa guwa boa constrictor lam guwam small boa constrictor lüni guwani buffalo luwan guwaŋ wife la gwa woman law gwa labul person gwabul antelope, type of ladhan gwadhan laginu engaged (F) gwaginu engaged (M) lago gwago lal fly gwal landha watchman gwandha enclosure lara gwara antelope, type of laral gwaral antelope, type of larany gwarany arabman laygu gwaygu Heiban person lebaŋ gwebaŋ dagig tribe lidagig gwidagig bad woman lidhir gwidhir wife of brother liga gwiga like bad person gwike laro tribe lilaro gwilaro moro tribe gwimoro limoro witch gwina lina hyena lira gwira monkey liraŋar gwiraŋar **liriiny** antelope, type of gwiriiny warthog gwiriny liriny lithira tira tribe gwithira lirwel monkey gwurwel gwūmū lūmū man luri mouse, rat kuri woman, wife law kwa mosquito lawa kwawa chief, king, boss leleny kweleny wooden house lereny. kwereny in law kwiga liga liyin tree, type of kwiin liji person kwiji lini tree, type of kwini Iryena lira kwira lirin guest kwirin li φ limega brother mega limirtha horse mirtha limurkab canoe murkab

Relatives

afundhi

awurika

are

babo

ŋa

afundhina arna

awurikana

babona

8

teacher

friend

father

somebody

goco gwadha gwayir kaka kana kuce kuku kumi kunda kurna kuti kwalo kwani madhir nana ŋare

gocona gwadhana gwayirna kakaŋa kanŋa kucena kukuna kumina kundana kurnaŋa kutiŋa kwalona kwanina madhirŋa nanaŋa kelina

fifth boy in law brother in law firstborn girl firstborn boy third girl firstborn boy fourth boy sixth boy grandfather second boy third boy second girl director mother child

Trees gw/kw/gu/ku

gu gudha gudhbo gulo guru gwibu kugriny kukul kukulu kumrur kwala kware kwidan kwiya

ju judha judhbo julo juru jibu jugriny jukul jukulu jimrur jala jare jidan jiya

breast (woman's) tree, type of ostrich neck dung (of cow) tree, type of tree, type of gourd, type of vegetable, type of tree, type of tree tree tree, type of tree, type of

Unit Collective lawun len liber libun lidhrom lidotor lima

ŋuber ŋubuŋ nudotor nima . limen numen limroy numroy limrur numrur limur ŋumur lirany ŋurany lirci ŋurci liririm nuririm lirko nurko liwawra ŋuwawra logiro nogiro logiyo ŋogiyo lony nony lora ŋora ludum nudum lura ŋura lure ŋure luy

1

ŋ

ŋuy

ŋawun ŋen nudhrom

mountain (hill), village tail lake (pond) pebble intestines (guts) lion wall cooking stone fruit, type of walking stick ram sesame tree dura, type of knee flower lizard, type of bird, type of egg leg star stick for men wood bone

7			
luyo			
lūru	ŋuyo	bird	
a de la composição de l	ŋūru	shield	
l nw			
· · ·			
ladam	ŋwadam	4 :	
lagru	ŋwagru	tip	
largul	ŋwargul	bird, type of	
laiga	ŋwaiga	beli	
lamun	ŋwamun	fruit, type of	
lamun	_	finger	
leny	ŋwamun	day	
ler	ŋweny	gourd	
lidan	ŋwer	thigh	
lidiny	ŋwidan	fruit, type of	
-	ŋwidiny		
linyu	ŋwinyu	wild plant, vegetable	
lübüŋ	ŋwūbūn	mouth	
	3	chin	
Common Things	g/k i		
gabaru			
gabibo	jibaru	cloud	
gabile	jabibo	bat	
gabipir	jabile	butter	
gabir	jabipir	butterfly	
-	jabir		
gabiru	jabiru	worm, type of	
gabjagul	jabjagul	old man	
gabrakur	jabrakur	vegetable	
gadhu	jadhu	dove	
gamen	jamem	breeze	
gamrany		type of tree	
gaŋal	jamrany	hyena	
ganer	jaŋal	ewe	
gibur	jaŋer	worm, type of	
_	jibur	door	
gidegel	jidegel		
gidhur	jidhur	louse	
gimla	jimla	stool (chair)	
gimlugun	jimlugun	tortoise	
giŋay	jiŋay	bark of tree	
girna		tooth	
gogor	jirna	skin	
gola	jogor	tree, type of	
gu	jola	feather, wool	
gudha	ju	breast (woman's)	
gudhbo	judha .	tree, type of	
	judhbo		
gulo	julo	ostrich	
guru	juru	neck	
gùe	jūe	dung (of cow)	
gūpa	jūpa	eye	
güru	jūru	sweeper	
gūwaŋ		skin for carrying (waterskin)	
güru	jūwaŋ	animal	
kagar	jüru	hair	
kagro	jagar	gate, type of	
kajam	jagro	hen, chicken	
	jajam		
kajama	jajama	wild animal, type of	
kamal	jamal	trap	
kamla	jamla	youth	
kaŋra	janra	camel	
karbille		headgear for carrying	
kawdhe	jarbille ionalia	water_melon	
	jawdhe	shoe	

<i>y</i>					
dhoy	doy				
dhrany	dran	Y			hand
dhre	dre	•			boundary
dhruny	druny	7			stirring stick
dhubūla	dubū				field
dhugor	dugo				corn
dhugur	dugu				heart
dhukar	dukar				grass, type of
dhula	rula				bean
dhulaŋ					local long stream
đhulun	rulan				ant, small
dhulun	dulun				animal, type of
dhumrany	ruluŋ				elbow
dhumuria	dumra				body, part of
dhunya	dumui	ria			cloth
đhugur	runya				grinding stone
dhurar	duŋur				elephant
dhuro	durar				~
dhuraw	duro				leopard back
dhuwa	duraw				
	duwa	(Heib	an)		village_fence
dhuwa	ruwa	(Abul			root
		(2 1041	,		snake
_					
Large and Dangerous Things		đh	:		
dnar	jar	CIL	j		
dhimony	jimony				rope
dhogom	jogom				twig
đhugi					wild cat, type of
dhul	jugi				thorn
dhuma	jul				giraffe
dhumu	juma				snake
dhunur .	jumu				scorpion
dhuro	jugur				elephant
	juro				roof_beam
					TOOI_bealti
Hollow and Deep Things					
gabre	g 1	ıy			
gamun	nyabre				shoulder
garro	nyamun				
=	nyarro				claw, nail
gbo	nyibo				grass
gel -: ::	nyel				wing
gidhaga	nyidhaga				grave
gidhe	nyidhe				plough .
gidhlū	nyidhlü				pot
gilela	nyilela				year
gimiri	nyincia nyimiri				gourd for oil
gimu	nyimu				big pot
gol	nyol				cave, big
guna	•				stone
gūdí	nyuna				local spoon
gūdū	nyūdi				girdle?
gūli	nyūdū				knife
gūni	nyūli			•	sheath
gūrri	nyūni				ear
kare	nyūrri				knee cap
kuna	nyare				belly (stomach)
	nyuna				spoon, local
					ahoon' 10091
Domestic and Ctt					
Domestic and Small Animals and nadhun		ŋ		ny	
Juditali	nyadhun	,			forehead
					TOTETICACI

12

ŋūrmin hurt ŋwal weeping ŋwar sleep ŋwũmu saliva

Goat

nuro juro goat

Words Starting with a Vowel (Mostly Food) j φ abaŋ iaban chest abile jabile bat, type of abraŋ jabraŋ sugarcane, local aburo iaburo sugarcane

aro jaro ash awudhe jawudhe sandal idhi jii meat idhiro jidhiro vegetable iginy jigny inside of gourd which you take out

igur jigur plant, type of ila illa flour iliny jiliny mushroom

ímu jamu hunger iriny jiriny name

Foreign Words and Irregular Nouns

awe awe liver gambagila ŋambagila ass iga iga fire iga · iga gun krindhi krindhi hippo libila liquid ŋodo lodo worm tagiya

ragiya cap thimsa thamase crocodile

12. Appendix 3: Adjectives

Adjective Comparative **English** gimanu gimananu cooked gobla ganu goblanu ganu short goran goranu wide goranu goranu ganu wide gudran gudranu thin gudran nono gudranu nono thick guduny guran guduny

gujagrul guranu gujagral careless gujuto gujurany

gukudhnu gukudhnanu fat guma gumanu ill guma niya gumanu niya painful gumnaŋ gumnanu black

gumū gunranu gumū gurlidh

guranu gurlidh