

# 1. Phonology.

1.0. This section describes the phonemes of both the Takum and Wukari dialects, and their alternants. In listing phonemes and clusters, an asterisk indicates a phoneme or cluster found only in the Wukari dialect. There are no phonemes or clusters found only in Takum.

1.1. In the following phoneme chart, digraphs represent unit phonemes. The phonemes are:

Consonants:

	<u>Labial</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Velar</u> <sup>3</sup>	<u>Double</u>
Voiceless stops:	p	t	ts*	kp
Voiced stops:	b	d	dz*	gb
Voiceless fricatives:	f	s	h	
Voiced fricatives:	v	z		
Voiced continuants:	w	r	y	
Nasals:	m	n	ŋ	

Vowels:

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
High:	i		u
Mid:	e		o
Low:		a	

Syllable nasalization: ~ (written over vowels except after /m, n, ŋ/)

Tones: High ' ; Mid ' ; Low (unmarked, but see 1.9 below)

Falling high to low  $\wedge$ ; Falling mid to low  $\`$

Rising low to high  $\vee$

Utterance endings: Declarative .: Interrogative ?.

1.2. The following consonant clusters occur:

1.2.1. /Cy/ with all C except /ts<sup>ʰ</sup>, dz<sup>ʰ</sup>, kp, gb, w, r, y/

but clusters confined to Wukari:

py	ty <sup>ʰ</sup>	ky
by	dy	gy
fy	sy	hy <sup>ʰ</sup>
vy	zy	
my <sup>ʰ</sup> , mby	ndy	ŋgy

1.2.2. Several cases of /Cw/, most of them in Wukari only, and none of them very common:

pw <sup>ʰ</sup>	tsw <sup>ʰ</sup>	kw
bw	dzw <sup>ʰ</sup>	
	sw <sup>ʰ</sup>	hw

1.3. Stops and fricatives show no appreciable positional alternation or dialectal difference. /kp/ and /gb/ are double stops, closed and released with no noticeable suction or pressure in the cavity between the two closures. The Wukari phonemes /ts, dz/ are affricates; /ts/ is sometimes glottalized. The remaining stops and fricatives are much like the corresponding English consonants. The following citations illustrate

all of these consonants without further comment:

	<u>Takum</u>	<u>Wukari</u>	
p:	/pára/	/ápé/	'pot'
t:	/tána/	/atá/	'house'
ts <sup>x</sup> :	(/sá/)	/tsá/	'do'
k:	/kuru/	/áku/	'chief'
kp:	/kpá syí/	/kpá sú/	'go forward'
b:	/bana/	/ábā/	'stone'
d:	/dá/		'hit'
dz <sup>x</sup> :	(/zo/)	/dzo/	'weave'
g:	/gè/		'cut'
f:	/fúra/	/áfí/	'sheltered gathering place'
s:	/sá/	(/tsá/)	'do'
	/sa/	/ása/	'blood'
h:	/gohò/	/agohò/	'skin, leather'
	(/wú/)	/nú/	'die'
v:	/vúna/	/áví/	'horse'
z:	/zà/	/ázà/	'guinea corn'

The only instance of any of these consonants in final position is the following: T /ádúp/ (W /ádzwé/) 'ten'.

/kp/ is rare in both dialects, though /gb/ is fairly common.

Limitations in the distribution of /h/ are discussed in connection with clusters in sections 1.6.7 below.

1.4. The phonemes /m, n, ŋ/, as phonemes, occur before both oral and nasalized vowels. Before oral vowels, the cessation of nasalization precedes the release of the stop; these sequences are written /mbV, ndV, ŋgV/. The sequences of these phonemes followed by nasalized vowels are written /mV, nV, ŋV/, with no further indication of nasalization.

1.4.1. The articulation of these phonemes in prevocalic position requires only one comment. /ŋ/ has the phonetic value [ŋ] only without lip rounding. The analysis of [ŋ] with lip rounding as /w/ in a nasalized syllable is described in 1.5 below. /ŋ/ occurs only before /a/ except that the alternant /ŋg/ occurs also before /o/. None of these consonants is common. The frequency of /n/ in comparison to /nã/ is higher than the average frequency of nasalized syllables in comparison to oral. The following forms illustrate these consonants with oral and nasalized vowels:

	<u>Takum</u>	<u>Wukari</u>	
mb:	/mba/		'give birth to'
m:	/mãna/	/ãmã/	'salt'
nd:	/ba nde/		'be quiet'
n:	/nè/	/ãnã/	'cow'

	<u>Takum</u>	<u>Wukari</u>	
ŋg:	/ŋgò/		'be tough'
ŋ:	/ŋa wò/	/ŋa wò/	'rest'

1.4.2. Both dialects have syllabic /m/ in one pronoun form; Wukari also has syllabic /n/ as an alternant of the same pronoun, but Takum has /m/ in every case:

Takum	<u>Wukari</u>	
/m bi rá/		'I have come'
/m hwě pu ká/	/m hwě pa dyúkú/	'I counted the people'
/m ri yá/	/n di yá/	'I'm going'

1.4.3. Takum dialect only has final /m/ in a few words:

<u>Takum</u>	<u>Wukari</u>	
/wòm/	/wě/	'be dry'
/gbám/	/gbá/	'be strong'
/tam/	/bútyí/	'hat'

JUKUN of WUKARI

and

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