

### 3 OUTLINE OF PHONEMES

#### 3.1 Chart of Phonemes

##### 3.1.1 Consonants

|             | Labial | Alveolar | Velar |
|-------------|--------|----------|-------|
| Obstruants  | p      | ɰ        | k     |
| Nasals      | m      | n        | -     |
| Fricatives  | -      | s        | h     |
| Semi Vowels | w      | y        | -     |

##### 3.1.2 Vowels

|      | Front | Central | Back |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| High | i     | -       | u    |
| Mid  | e     | -       | o    |
| Low  | -     | a       | ɒ    |

##### 3.1.3 Glides

|                      |                |                |                |
|----------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| High Back Offglides  | o <sup>u</sup> | ɒ <sup>u</sup> | a <sup>u</sup> |
| High Front Offglides | e <sup>i</sup> | -              | a <sup>i</sup> |

### 3.2 Description of Contrastive Features

#### 3.2.1 The Abau phonemic system is basically asymmetrical.

Consonants contrast as to manner of articulation between obstruants, nasals, fricatives, and semi vowels. As to points of articulation the obstruants contrast at labial, alveolar, and velar positions, the nasals and semi vowels at the labial and alveolar positions, and the fricatives at the alveolar and velar positions.

#### 3.2.2 Vowels

The high and mid vowels both contrast as to front and back positions. The low vowels contrast as to central and back positions.

#### 3.2.3 Glides

The high back off glides contrast at the midback, low back, and low central positions. The high front offglides contrast as to mid front and low central positions.

## 4 INTERPRETATION

### 4.1 The status of items which may be either consonant or vowel.

4.1.1 All high vocoids are interpreted as vowels when they occur as the nucleus of the syllable.

|     |                       |                        |                 |
|-----|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| /f/ | /i/                   | [f]                    | 'mark on skin'  |
|     | /kf/                  | [kf]                   | 'ground'        |
|     | /iká <sup>u</sup> n/  | [i.ká <sup>ù</sup> n]  | 'spear shaft'   |
|     | /lɪk <sup>m</sup> ɔn/ | [lɪk. <sup>m</sup> ɔn] | 'one'           |
| /u/ | /ù/                   | [ù]                    | 'name of river' |
|     | /hù/                  | [hù]                   | 'water'         |
|     | /sùʃ/                 | [sùʃ]                  | 'banana sp.'    |
|     | /ù <sup>m</sup> ɔn/   | [ù. <sup>m</sup> ɔn]   | 'one'           |

4.1.2 They are interpreted as consonants when they occur in the onset of the syllable.

|     |                      |                       |               |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| /y/ | /yá/                 | [yá]                  | 'fire'        |
|     | /póyàpóyà/           | [pó.yà.pó.yà]         | 'many'        |
|     | /ká <sup>i</sup> yí/ | [ká <sup>i</sup> .yí] | 'come up'     |
| /w/ | /wá <sup>u</sup> /   | [wá <sup>u</sup> ]    | 'cloud'       |
|     | /híwáǎ/              | [hí.wáǎ]              | 'to care for' |
|     | /kiwáɪ/              | [kɪ.wáǎ]              | 'seventh day' |
|     | /wáh/                | [wáh]                 | 'friend'      |

4.1.3 Non-syllabic high vocoids have been interpreted as consonants for the following reasons:

4.1.3.1 Being non-syllabic the semi vowels parallel the occurrence of other consonants.

|         |            |         |        |
|---------|------------|---------|--------|
| /yú/    | 'mosquito' | /kú/    | 'axe'  |
| /yáp/   | 'river'    | /náp/   | 'old'  |
| /ányàp/ | 'uncle'    | /ánkín/ | 'when' |
| /wén/   | 'trait'    | /sèn/   | 'also' |

4.1.3.2 /w/ /y/ are also distinct from /u/ /i/ in that they are non-syllabic and have slight friction and are never a unit of tone placement.

4.1.3.3 /w/ /y/ are necessary to establish syllable margins which are faster and non-syllabic when compared with the syllable nucleus.

|                       |                           |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| /yúwáp/               | 'stem of sago palm frond' |
| /ányàp/               | 'father's elder brother'  |
| /wá <sup>u</sup> wáɪ/ | 'morning star'            |
| /wé <sup>i</sup> yón/ | 'frog sp.'                |

4.1.3.4 Tonal patterns on words give clear indication that the suspect vocoids are consonants when non-syllabic and vowels when syllabic.

|                     |                      |               |
|---------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| /á <sup>i</sup> l/  | [á <sup>i</sup> .l]  | 'food'        |
| /wíll/              | [wí.lɾ]              | 'garden'      |
| /sá <sup>u</sup> /  | [sá.à <sup>u</sup> ] | 'bed'         |
| /syá <sup>u</sup> / | [syá <sup>u</sup> ]  | 'penis gourd' |
| /yéɲ/               | [yéɲ]                | 'mom'         |
| /wá <sup>u</sup> /  | [wá <sup>u</sup> ]   | 'cloud'       |

4.1.3.5 Interpreting non-syllabic vocoids as consonants parallels the grammatical structure of the language. The infix -w- 'something big' occurs in verbs as labialization.

|                     |               |                      |                           |
|---------------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| /ká <sup>u</sup> k/ | 'to put into' | /kwá <sup>u</sup> k/ | 'to put something big in' |
| /sásò/              | 'to throw'    | /swásò/              | 'to throw something big'  |

4.1.3.6 Interpreting the non-syllabic high vocoids as vowels would give rise to undesirable sequences of up to five vowels.

/ŷwíáwí/ 'to nestle' \*ŷlúiauí

4.1.3.7 Native reaction clearly indicates a preference for the use of the consonants /w/ /y/ in writing.

4.1.4 The suspect semi vowel /h/ is interpreted as being a voiceless glottal fricative as it fills only C positions in the various CV patterns, and is never a unit of syllabicity or tone placement.

|                      |                       |              |
|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| /há/                 | [há]                  | 'water'      |
| /yóh/                | [yóh]                 | 'banana'     |
| /hóhò/               | [hó.hò]               | 'to whistle' |
| /há <sup>u</sup> /   | [há.ʔá <sup>u</sup> ] | 'short'      |
| /míhá <sup>i</sup> / | [mí.há <sup>i</sup> ] | 'tall'       |

4.2 The short unstressed vocoid [t] is interpreted as a non-phonemic transitional vocoid between /m/ and /n/. It is never a unit of tone placement.

|                 |                   |             |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|
| /mnb̥l̥/        | [mtnb̥r]          | 'plaiting'  |
| /mnù/           | [mtnù]            | 'mountain'  |
| /s̥b̥ms̥b̥mn̥á/ | [s̥b̥m.s̥b̥mtn̥á] | 'cockroach' |

4.3 The status of items which may be either sequence or unit.

#### 4.3.1 Vocoid Glides

The vocoid glides /o<sup>u</sup>/, /ɔ<sup>u</sup>/, /a<sup>u</sup>/, /a<sup>i</sup>/, /e<sup>i</sup>/ are interpreted as units because by their tonal behaviour and timing they pattern as units.

|                   |                   |                |                   |                   |                |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| /ù/               | [ù]               | 'river name'   | /ɔ <sup>u</sup> / | [ɔ <sup>u</sup> ] | 'knot of tree' |
| /ó <sup>u</sup> / | [ó <sup>u</sup> ] | 'ripe'         | /á <sup>u</sup> / | [á <sup>u</sup> ] | 'a fight'      |
| /é <sup>i</sup> / | [é <sup>i</sup> ] | 'sun'          | /é/               | [é]               | 'vulva'        |
| /f/               | [f]               | 'mark on skin' |                   |                   |                |

|                     |                      |                     |
|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| /inà/               | [i.nà]               | 'back of crocodile' |
| /inà <sup>i</sup> / | [i.nà <sup>i</sup> ] | 'sister'            |
| /fná <sup>u</sup> / | [f.ná <sup>u</sup> ] | 'single'            |
| /inè/               | [i.nè]               | 'forehead'          |
| /fpé <sup>i</sup> / | [f.pé <sup>i</sup> ] | 'mother'            |

They are not interpreted as VC sequences because they occur in closed syllables where such an interpretation would give rise to a syllable final CC pattern which does not otherwise exist.

|                        |            |          |
|------------------------|------------|----------|
| /ká <sup>u</sup> n/    | 'to break' | *kawn    |
| /wùkmá <sup>u</sup> k/ | 'check'    | *wukmawk |

## 4.3.2 Suspect Vowel Sequences

## 4.3.2.1 Vowel Status

There are a small number of words with suspect sequences of vowels which, each being a unit of tone placement and therefore syllabic, are interpreted as sequences of vowels. These contrast with sequences of semivowel plus vowel. The semivowel by interpretation forms the second member of syllable initial consonant clusters as it is not a unit of tone placement and therefore nonsyllabic.

|                     |                     |                       |               |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| /nɪò/               | [nɪò]               | (nɪ.ò:)               | 'boy'         |
| /nyðh/              | [nyðh]              | (nyðh <sup>ð</sup> )  | 'blood'       |
| /sɪà <sup>u</sup> / | [sɪà <sup>u</sup> ] | (sɪ.ǎ <sup>u</sup> )  | 'bed'         |
| /syǎ <sup>u</sup> / | [syǎ <sup>u</sup> ] | (syǎ <sup>u</sup> )   | 'penis gourd' |
| /sɪùp/              | [sɪùp]              | (sɪ.ùp <sup>ð</sup> ) | 'stomach'     |
| /syóp/              | [syóp]              | (syóp <sup>ò</sup> )  | 'footprint'   |
| /ɹúák/              | [ɹúák]              | (ɹúák <sup>ǎ</sup> )  | 'to sit'      |
| /ɹwák/              | [ɹwák]              | (ɹwák <sup>ǎ</sup> )  | 'to be'       |

## 4.3.2.2 Vowel Length

Where a glide occurs on what sounds phonetically as a single vowel, that vowel is interpreted on the basis of the tone pattern as a sequence of two vowels.

|        |        |                      |                  |
|--------|--------|----------------------|------------------|
| /òòk/  | [òòk]  | (ò:k <sup>ò</sup> )  | 'the eighth day' |
| /wííř/ | [wííř] | (wí:ř <sup>í</sup> ) | 'garden'         |
| /pééř/ | [pééř] | (pé:ř <sup>í</sup> ) | 'stone type'     |

## 4.3.3 Consonant Clusters

Non-suspect clusters of two consonants occur only syllable initial. Clusters of three consonants are formed across syllable boundaries only when a syllable final consonant is followed by a cluster of two consonants.

On the basis of these frequently occurring non-suspect consonant clusters, other suspect sequences such as palatalization and labialization have been interpreted as sequences of two consonants.

|                        |                         |                             |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| /sɻɛ̃/                 | [sɻɛ̃]                  | 'noise of escaping steam'   |
| /snɔ̃ɻ/                | [snɔ̃ɻ]                 | 'cold'                      |
| /pɻɔ̃s/                | [pɻɔ̃s]                 | 'floor bearers'             |
| /ɻwɻ/                  | [ɻwɻ]                   | 'flower of wild sugar cane' |
| /ɛ̃ɻpɔ̃ <sup>u</sup> / | [ɛ̃t.pɔ̃ <sup>u</sup> ] | 'sweat-fly'                 |
| /ɻɔ̃kpɻɛ̃/             | [ɻɔ̃k.pɻɛ̃]             | 'to de-stalk leaves'        |
| /nyɔ̃h/                | [n ɔ̃h]                 | 'blood'                     |
| /nwɔ̃h/                | [nwɔ̃h]                 | 'dog'                       |
| /mnɔ̃ɻ/                | [m <sup>t</sup> nɔ̃ɻ]   | 'plaiting'                  |
| /hnɛ̃/                 | [Nnɛ̃]                  | 'nest'                      |
| /hmɔ̃/                 | [Mmɔ̃]                  | 'theirs'                    |
| /hwɔ̃k/                | [Wwɔ̃k]                 | 'pig'                       |

## 6 SUPRASEGMENTAL ITEMS

### 6.1 Tone

The system of register tones is manifest on the word level by two tonemes /<sup>o</sup>/ /<sup>v</sup>/, and on the phrase level by three allotones.

Because of the differing tonal systems on nouns and verbs, these two word classes must be described separately.

#### 6.1.1 Phrase Level Allotones

The end of a phrase is signalled by three allotones occurring on phrase final nouns. Phonetically they are falling [ˆ], rising [ˊ], and low [ˋ].

If the base form of the noun has a final low tone, the phrase final position is indicated by rising tone.

If the base form of the noun has a final high tone the phrase final position is indicated by falling tone.

Where the base form has all low tones the phrase final position is indicated by low tone.

The phrase final contrast between single syllable low tone words and single syllable high tone words is lost. Single syllable low tone nouns also indicate the phrase final position with falling tone.



6.1.1.1 Phrase final allotones are closely bound to and conditioned by the non-contrastive phrase level feature of vowel releases (Section 7.2). The vowel releases occur on nouns ending with any consonant except nasals. With the occurrence of the release the falling or rising allotone is divided between the final syllable of the base form and the phrase final vowel release.

When the release occurs on a noun with all low tones the vowel release shares a reduplication of the final low tone.

### 6.1.2 Phonetic Quality

Because of the intonation pattern super-imposed on the utterance, the relative tones at the end of the utterance are pitched progressively lower.

| BASE         | ISOLATION  | PHONETIC  | PHONEMIC      |
|--------------|--|---|---------------|
| sú 'coco-    | su <sup>1-3</sup>                                  | su <sup>1</sup> ai <sup>2</sup> -pi <sup>4</sup> -hai <sup>3-5</sup>                                  | sú áipihái    |
| ánimà 'bean' | a <sup>1</sup> -ni <sup>1</sup> -ma <sup>1-3</sup> | a <sup>2</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup> -ma <sup>2</sup> ai <sup>3</sup> -pi <sup>3</sup> -hai <sup>2-4</sup> | ánimà áipihái |
| hù 'flute'   | hu <sup>3-4</sup>                                  | hu <sup>2</sup> ai <sup>1</sup> -pi <sup>4</sup> -hai <sup>3-5</sup>                                  | hù áipihái    |

(áipihái = 'big')

### 6.1.3 Tone Patterns on Nouns

Nouns exhibit lexemic tone, although relatively few examples of contrastive lexical tone pairs have been discovered so far.

|                     |                     |                  |
|---------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| /pán/               | [pán]               | 'grass'          |
| /pàn/               | [pàn]               | 'vine sp.'       |
| /hú/                | [hú]                | 'water'          |
| /hù/                | [hù]                | 'flute'          |
| /ómpí/              | [ómpí]              | 'grass skirt'    |
| /ómpi/              | [ómpi]              | 'mountain ridge' |
| /fpé <sup>i</sup> / | [fpé <sup>i</sup> ] | 'mother'         |
| /ipè <sup>i</sup> / | [ipè <sup>i</sup> ] | 'tree sp.'       |

## 6.1.3.1 Tone Perturbation On Nouns

## 6.1.3.11 According To Position Within The Utterance

Nouns change their tonal patterns (and some their phonetic shape, Sections 7.2, 6.1.1.1) according to their position within an utterance; whether utterance initial, medial or final, or spoken in isolation.

The base form from which all patterns are predictable is the utterance initial form. These positional perturbations, illustrated in Chart 1, are predicted according to the following six rules:

- (1) When all tones are low, pre-ultimate tone(s) become high in isolation. Medially and finally in the utterance the penultimate tone becomes high.
- (2) When all tones are high pre-ultimate tones become low, medially, and finally.
- (3) When only final tone is low pre-penultimate syllables become low medially and finally.
- (4) When only final tone is high pre-penultimate syllable becomes high medially and finally.
- (5) With a sequence of similar and dissimilar tones, the initial tone changes medially and finally.
- (6) Where there are no like tones, all positions are unchanging.

## 6.1.3.12 External Perturbation

When base form nouns with all low tones precede grammatical particles *kè*, *sè*, *món*, ultimate low tone becomes high, and penultimate high tone becomes low.

/á<sup>u</sup>kɪá<sup>i</sup>yò/ [á<sup>u</sup>kɪá<sup>i</sup>yò] (á<sup>u</sup>kɪá<sup>i</sup>yò) 'bird sp.'

[Hákwè á<sup>u</sup>kɪá<sup>i</sup>yò pápò hin] 'I shot an auklaiyo.'

[hákwè á<sup>u</sup>kɪá<sup>i</sup>yò sé ɪfɪá] 'I see an auklaiyo.'

CHART 1

Tone Perturbation On Nouns Conditioned By  
Relative Position Within The Utterance

| No. OF SYLLABLES | GROUP   | ISOLATION   | BASE FORM INITIAL | MEDIAL      | FINAL                                 | EXAMPLE                             |
|------------------|---------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1                | 1       | ^           | \                 | \           | ^                                     | hɔ <sup>u</sup> k                   |
|                  | 2       | ^           | ɔ                 | ɔ           | ^                                     | á                                   |
| 2                | 1       | ɔ \         | \ \               | ɔ \         | ɔ \                                   | áhnán                               |
|                  | 2       | ɔ \         | ɔ ɔ               | \ ɔ         | \ ^                                   | ámɔ <sup>u</sup>                    |
|                  | 3       | ɔ v         | ɔ \               | ɔ \         | ɔ v                                   | áhné <sup>i</sup>                   |
|                  | 4       | \ ^         | \ ɔ               | \ ɔ         | \ ^                                   | wéɪn                                |
| 3                | 1       | ɔ ɔ \       | \ \ \             | \ ɔ \       | \ ɔ \                                 | ánimá                               |
|                  | 2       | ɔ ɔ ^       | ɔ ɔ ɔ             | \ \ ɔ       | \ \ ^                                 | ámɔplí                              |
|                  | 3       | ɔ ɔ v       | ɔ ɔ \             | \ ɔ \       | \ ɔ v                                 | sɔpɔ <sup>u</sup> nɔn               |
|                  | 4       | \ \ ^       | \ \ ɔ             | ɔ ɔ ɔ       | ɔ \ ^                                 | wɔnsáné <sup>i</sup>                |
|                  | 5       | \ ɔ v       | \ \ \             | \ ɔ \       | \ ɔ v                                 | klíkísmá                            |
| 5                | ɔ \ ^   | ɔ \ ɔ       | ɔ ɔ ɔ             | ɔ \ ^       | ánámɔ                                 |                                     |
| 4                | 1       | ɔ ɔ ɔ \     | \ \ \ \           | \ \ ɔ \     | \ \ ɔ \                               | ápáɔwé                              |
|                  | 2       | ɔ ɔ ɔ ^     | ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ           | \ \ ɔ \     | [ \ \ \ ^ ]                           | kɔpɪák'plá                          |
|                  | 3       | ɔ ɔ ɔ v     | ɔ ɔ ɔ \           | \ \ ɔ \     | \ \ ɔ v                               | mákɪámá <sup>u</sup> wé             |
|                  | 4       | \ \ \ ^     | \ \ \ ɔ           | \ \ ɔ \     | \ \ \ ^                               | ɔmpɔ <sup>u</sup> náwá <sup>i</sup> |
|                  | 5       | [ \ \ \ ^ ] | [ \ \ \ ɔ ]       | [ \ \ ɔ \ ] | [ \ \ \ ^ ]                           | ----                                |
|                  | 5       | ɔ ɔ ɔ v     | ɔ ɔ ɔ \           | ɔ ɔ ɔ \     | ɔ ɔ ɔ v                               | ɔyɔ <sup>u</sup> mákwo              |
|                  | 6       | \ \ ɔ v     | \ \ ɔ \           | ɔ ɔ ɔ \     | ɔ ɔ ɔ v                               | ínémá <sup>u</sup> kú               |
| 6                | ɔ ɔ \ ^ | ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ     | \ \ ɔ \           | \ \ \ ^     | mínýámá <sup>u</sup> knɔ <sup>u</sup> |                                     |

Brackets indicate potential systemic patterns not heard yet.

6.1.3.2 Distribution And Restrictions Of Tones

The syllable is always the unit of tone placement. There are

possible patterns that are extra systemic.

- (1) Word initial high tone may not be followed by a sequence of low tones. Following initial high tone, a sequence of high tones may not occur after a low tone.
- (2) Word initial low tone may not be followed by a sequence of high tones. Following initial low tone, a sequence of low tones may not occur after a high tone.

Non systemic patterns:

| 3-syllable | 4-syllable         |
|------------|--------------------|
| H H H      | H H H H    H H H H |
| H H L      | H H H L    H H H L |
| H L H      | H H L H    H L H H |
| H L L      | H H L L    H L L H |

These restrictions leave unaccounted only one pattern of the possible sixteen patterns on four syllable words. It is systemically probable but as yet undiscovered [‘‘’’’].

Some patterns occur more frequently than others. Single syllable words are predominantly high tone. Approximately 6% only carry low tone, but these include all single syllable word patterns except V, VC.

#### 6.1.4 TONE PATTERNS ON VERBS

Verbs exhibit grammemic tone. The supra-segmental items indicate tense, mood, or aspect. There are no contrastive phrase level allo-tones, neither is there tone perturbation.

In some constructions tone is the minimal difference that indicates past or present tense.

|  |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
| [hɪkwɛ pɛŋkɪn ɪŋn ɔ]                       | ‘What is he doing?’     |
| [hɪkwɛ nɔ <sup>u</sup> ɪŋ <sup>u</sup> kɪ] | ‘He is cutting a tree.’ |
| [hɪkwɛ pɛŋkɪn ɪŋn sɔ]                      | ‘What was he doing?’    |

|  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| [hɪkwè nɔ̃ <sup>u</sup> ɪɔ̃ <sup>u</sup> kù] | 'He was cutting a tree.'  |
| [hùnkwè pɛ̃sɛ ɪfɪà ɔ̃]                       | 'You must not look.'      |
| [hùnkwè pɛ̃sɛ ɪfɪà ô]                        | 'Who are you looking at?' |

There is a single tone pattern for all verbs spoken in isolation which is expanded to cover the number of syllables in the particular verb. The basic pattern is [ˈˈˈ]. All verbs of one syllable are lengthened to two moras without rearticulation. Those of more than two syllables pronounce all word medial syllables with low tones.

Other speakers have a different basic pattern for verbs spoken in isolation, but the change is always consistent.

|              | [ˈ(ˈˈˈ)ˈ]    | [ˈ(ˈˈˈ)ˈ]                  |            |
|--------------|--------------|----------------------------|------------|
| /ɪá/         | [ɪá]         | (ɪáː)                      | 'to eat'   |
| /nákè/       | [nákè]       | (nákèː)                    | 'to bring' |
| /ɪúnwák/     | [ɪúnwák]     | (ɪúnwák <sup>ˈ</sup> )     | 'to hear'  |
| /mɛ̃sòpɔ̃k/  | [mɛ̃sòpɔ̃k]  | (mɛ̃sòpɔ̃k <sup>ˈ</sup> )  | 'to ask'   |
| /ɪfɪsɪsɪnyò/ | [ɪfɪsɪsɪnyò] | (ɪfɪsɪsɪnyò <sup>ˈ</sup> ) | 'to hop'   |

The two verbs /ɪúnwák/ 'to hear', and /mɛ̃sòpɔ̃k/ 'to ask' exhibit the feature of phrase final vowel release (Section 7.2, page 39). But the vowel release on a verb always carries the rising tone characteristic of the ultimate syllable of every verb spoken in isolation.

#### Tense and Aspect Tone Patterns

|       |         |    |                        |
|-------|---------|----|------------------------|
|       | (ˈˈˈ)ˈ  | è  | Imperative             |
| kwà   | (ˈˈˈ)ˈ  | è  | Permissive             |
| pɛ̃sɛ | ˈ(ˈˈˈ)  | ɔ̃ | Negative imperative    |
| pò    | (ˈˈˈ)ˈ  | ǎ  | Immediate future tense |
| yà    | (ˈˈˈ)ˈ  | ǎ  | Future tense           |
| pápò  | ˈ(ˈˈˈ)ˈ |    | Past tense             |

## 6.3 Length

## 6.3.1 Vowel Length

Phonemic length has been observed as a contrastive feature only in nouns.

A vowel carrying a tone glide is by interpretation phonemically long, and patterns as a sequence of two vowel nuclei, and not as a single or complex vowel nucleus.

|            |            |                       |                   |
|------------|------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| /ɔ̀ɔ̀k/    | [ɔ̀ɔ̀k]    | (ɔ̀:k <sup>ɔ̀</sup> ) | 'the seventh day' |
| /ɔ̀k/      | [ɔ̀k]      | (ɔ̀k <sup>ɔ̀</sup> )  | 'talk'            |
| /wííY/     | [wííY]     | (wí:í <sup>í</sup> )  | 'garden'          |
| /wíY/      | [wíY]      | (wíí <sup>í</sup> )   | 'fish sp.'        |
| /pé̂é̂tsá/ | [pé̂é̂tsá] | (pé̂:tsá̂:)           | 'devil woman'     |
| /pé̂tsá/   | [pé̂tsá]   | (pé̂tsá̂:)            | 'first wife'      |

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