

The Art of the Story Teller in Abun Society

by

Christine Berry

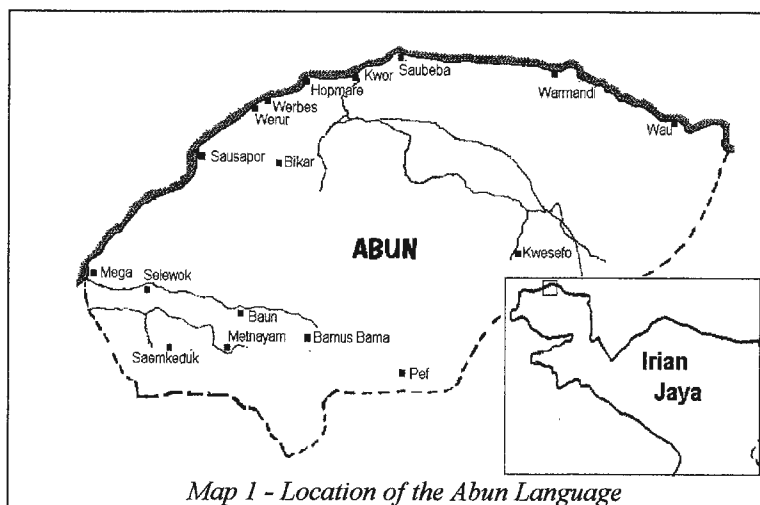
THE ART OF THE STORY TELLER IN ABUN SOCIETY

by Christine Berry
Bethany Foundation Irian Jaya

This paper discusses the story telling style as found in the Abun language of the Bird's Head region, a West Papuan language of northwest Irian Jaya. This paper discusses both the structure and function of various types of repetition, as found in both oral and written narratives elicited from Abun speakers. Repetition is a significant part of Abun narrative and there are eight different types of repetitive structures used. This paper discusses in detail the differing characteristics of these eight repetitive types using examples from Abun narratives. The repetitive types found in Abun narratives include tail head repetition, repetition by means of verb synonym, by means of expansion, summary statement, by means of direct quote followed by an indicative clause and repeated clauses used in conjunction with a temporal connector.

1 Introduction

The Abun language is spoken by approximately three thousand speakers who live in the regency of Sorong in northwest Irian Jaya. My husband and I have been living in the area since 1986 and we have written a detailed description of the Abun language which will be published in the near future by *Pacific Linguistics*. Abun speakers recognize four different dialects, mainly distinguished by differing first person pronouns. All dialects are mutually intelligible. The southern dialects have been formerly referred to as the Madik language, which is simply the name given to the language by speakers of the Moi language. The other dialects were formerly known as the Karon



Map 1 - Location of the Abun Language

Pantai language. The word 'Karon' is a derogatory word used by the Biak tribe who are newcomers to the area.

The Abun language has been classified as a Papuan language, belonging to the West Papuan phylum¹. It is a tonal language having three phonemic tones. The language is SVO and has both Papuan and Austronesian features. Unlike other languages of the Bird's Head area the Abun language possesses no bound subject agreement markers on the verb. In its morphological structure Abun is an isolating language which has virtual one to one correspondence between words and morphemes as will be seen in the various examples. There are also many compound words. Affixation is not a feature of Abun morphology. Word order and particles are significant in Abun grammar.

So much for a very brief overview of Abun phonology and grammar. The topic of this paper, "The art of the storyteller" arose from what began as a study of the use of tail head repetition in Abun narratives. There seemed at first perusal to be an excessive amount of repetition, from a westerner's perspective. I have now discovered a total of eight different repetition types used in Abun narratives and I propose to discuss them below and indicate what I understand to be the function of so many different repetitive types.

1.1 Data basis

I have used as a data basis 6 oral stories all from female speakers, and 9 written stories from both male and female authors. I then corroborated my results against other texts. Incidentally, I do not distinguish any differences in style between male and female story tellers. The results of this study I have condensed into the following table, which lists eight different repetition types used by a story teller in a narrative. On the whole I do not propose to discuss differences between oral and written style. Of course the oral narrative I consider primary as Abun society is only in the process of becoming literate. Nevertheless all these different types are used in both oral and written material.

1 Wurm 1982:206. See also Berry K 1995:4-6.

Table 1: The structure and function of Abun repetitive types.

Structure	Function
1. Tail head repetition. Entire clause repeated.	Action is considered significant.
2. Minimal clause repeated frequently.	The repetition indicates drawn out duration, intensity or repeated nature of the action.
3. A. Clause is repeated using a different verb, a verb synonym. B Clause is repeated using a different mood, indicative-negative but similar meaning is retained.	A Change of verb by means of synonym indicates intensity of action. B Change of mood indicates emphasis on unsuccessful nature of the action.
4. Repetition by means of expansion: Clause 1 followed by expansion, indicating more detailed description of clause 1, followed by Clause 1 repeated.	Possibly a tracking device, the repetition is needed to return back to the action.
5. Repetition by means of 'summary statement' or 'recap' statement.	Helps hearers keep track of the story or effectively indicates closure of the story.
6. Direct quote-direct action repetition. A quote whereby speaker expresses command or intention, is followed by an indicative sentence indicating that the command/intention has been carried out.	It appears necessary in Abun narrative to confirm whether verbal commands /requests are actually done, i.e. this type of implicit information must be made explicit.
7. Repetition in conjunction with the temporal connector <i>sa</i> 'when-realis'.	To indicate background information or dramatic build-up within the narrative.
8. Repetition in conjunction with the temporal connector <i>sa</i> across paragraph boundaries, indicated in oral narrative by an audible pause.	The first clause indicates a paragraph boundary, the repeated clause in conjunction with 'sa' indicates a new paragraph.

2 A fuller discussion of each repetition type

2.1 Type 1. Tail head repetition

In this type an important event within the story is repeated. Structurally the entire clause is repeated, not simply parts of it. In all of the following examples repetitions are underlined for ease of recognition. For example:

- (1) *or-ge pa bok syur, pa bok syur mone*
 and.then child go.in water child go.in water there
 and then the child fell into the water, the child fell into the water there.

- (2) *An mu nai dem gwes syu ma an gre.*
 3s go take bamboo piece long DIR 3s light.

An gre ru an syut ti. An syut ti
 3s light flame. 3s implant upright 3s implant upright

or, an ki nai...
 then 3s said IO

He went and brought over a long piece of bamboo (and) he lit (it). He lit (it) alight/flaming (and) he stuck (it) into the ground. After he stuck (it) into the ground he said,

In order to understand to why I have termed this type of repetition, 'tail head' repetition, the structure of the Abun clause is indicated below:

(ADJUNCT) + SUBJECT + VERB + (OBJECT) + (INDIRECT OBJECT) + (ADJUNCT)

A minimal clause cannot consist of a verb alone, therefore it is not possible to identify parts of the clause such as 'tail' or 'head' which can then be used in isolation from each other in a repetitive fashion. Therefore any repetition in Abun must minimally consist of subject and verb. This much is obligatory. It should be noted that when the clause is repeated adverbs or various adjuncts are added, therefore the repeated clause is longer than the original. If this type of repetition cannot be technically described as 'tail head', even so these examples illustrate the situation as it is found in the Abun language.

Both these examples come from oral stories. This repetition type is extremely common in oral narratives more so than in the written form. Given that I have identified eight repetition types, it is this type of repetition, tail head used to indicate a significant action, which appears to be lost when a story appears in written form. One must also take into account variation in style among speakers or storytellers. Some will repeat just about every action in their narrative, so that their narrative consists almost entirely of repetitions. At the other extreme there are those who are not recognized as fluent speakers who do not repeat anything. These stories lack detail and do not progress well from sequence to sequence. Therefore these stories communicate less. As a rule, however this type of repetition is extremely common and for this reason I have discussed it first.

2.2 Type 2. Clause repetition

It appears that Abun does not have a verb or equivalent item which indicates that the nature of an action was intense or was repeated many times. In a language such as English the verb 'repeat' or the phrasal verb 'to keep on' is used to indicate the repetitive nature of an action. These do not exist in Abun. Abun can use adverbs such as *sane* 'like that' and *sor* 'just' to indicate that an action was repeated continually or drawn out in its duration. However in Abun actual repetition of the clauses which indicate the action achieves the same purpose. The repetition often takes the form of a minimal clause, that is, a clause in its very basic form of subject and verb only as indicated above, (although the clause may be more complex than this) and this will be repeated as many times as the speaker feels necessary to describe the action. In an oral narrative this type of repetition is extremely common and a clause may be repeated as many as four times. Here are some examples:

- (3) *Sane* *ji ges*, *ji mu*, *ji ges ji mu*, *ji ges sane*,
so 1s fall 1s go 1s fall 1s go 1s fall like.that

ji mu su sor *dakai terus* *ma mo nu*.
1s go with continually just continually come to house

So I fell, I went, I fell I went, I fell like that. I just (kept) going on (until I) came to the house.

- (4) *Ji mbros* *ji mbros* *ji mbros* *boge kwo rek mori*
1s row 1s row 1s row fish white flash behind

I rowed, I rowed, I rowed (then) a white fish flashed (in the water) behind (me).

Example (3) uses Abun adverbs *sane* 'like that' and *sor* 'just' to indicate continuity and repetition and heightens the effect by adding the Indonesian word *terus* 'continually' as well. It could be asked whether in fact these clauses differ structurally from those of Type 1 above which I have termed 'tail head' repetition. In answer to this there are two major differences that distinguish these types. Firstly, in repetitions of this type (Type 2) the clauses are repeated exactly without additional adverbs or adjuncts (as is the case in repetitions of the 'tail head' type), unless they are the adverbs of continuity as shown in example (3). Secondly there is a completely different intonation pattern used. In Type 1 there are usually pauses after the various connectors, for example after the connector *or* 'then/after' shown in example (2). In repetitions of Type 2 however, which are used to indicate the repeated or drawn out nature of the action, speakers often like to indicate this repetition in their pronunciation style. Firstly by repeating the

clauses very quickly, and then secondly by drawing out the adverb *sor* 'just/kept on' so that it becomes *soooor*. Speakers enjoy drawing this word out and so duration of the action is indicated by prolonged expression of the adverb.

2.3 Type 3. Repetition using verb synonyms

This type of repetition involves use of verbs of similar meaning in the repeated clauses. Often repeated clauses which are different only in the choice of verb are found in close proximity with repetitions of Type 2 listed above, where the action described is repeated or intense in it's nature. Below is an example:

- (5) Ji gwi sor ji gwi sor ji ndo nde *sane an*
 1s vomit just 1s vomit just 1s good NEG so 3s

bare ji mo syur satu mo syur wam we sane
 threw 1s in water return in water time two like.that

ji yo nggi nde.
 1s NEG strong NEG

I just vomited (kept on). I just vomited. I was in a bad way so he threw me into the water, I went back into the water twice like that. I was not strong.

- (6) An ti kagit an bi mam re An kas or
 3s flee from 3s POSS daughter PERF 3s run then

an kas *an kendo ye* *do..*
 3s run 3s call people COMP

He ran off leaving his daughter (behind). He ran, then he ran he called out to people...

As stated above there are two types of repetition being used here. Firstly repetition to indicate intensity/drawn out nature of the action (Type 2) and secondly the use of similar verbs. In example (5) above the clause *Ji gwi sor* 'I just vomited' is repeated and the impression is reinforced by the addition of a clause of a similar meaning (generic in nature) *Ji ndo nde* literally 'I was not good.' This is further repeated by the addition of *ji yo nggi nde* 'I was not strong' (here *ndo* 'good' and *nggi* 'strong' are behaving as synonyms). The use of these synonyms heightens or emphasizes the intensity of the action - in this case the poor physical state of the author brought about by the effects of drinking palm wine. Therefore the use of similar verbs appears to be another device used by the

Abun storyteller to indicate the intensity of an action, or to emphasize its magnitude. It is most likely a stylistic device which adds variation rather than merely repeating the clauses.

Another variant of this type of repetition is that which involves positive/negative contrast. In these cases the mood particle *ware* 'in vain/to no avail' is used. In these cases the negative nature or unsuccessful nature of the attempted action is intensified (or focussed upon) by the same thing being stated twice. Firstly the unsuccessful event is expressed by means of a positive/indicative clause using the mood particle *ware*. Then this unsuccessful event is repeated again in an immediately following negative clause. Therefore the same thing is stated twice not by means of verb synonyms, but by use of different particles which effectively convey the same information.

Some examples:

- (7) Ji sun an wam we ware, an yo sun nde
Is wake.up 3s time two FRUST 3s NEG wake.up NEG

I tried to wake him up two times unsuccessfully, he did not wake up.

- (8) Tentara ma wa meret ware yé yo ku nde
soldiers come for search.for FRUST people NEG find NEG

The soldiers came to look for (him) in vain, they did not find (him).

It can be seen that by use of *ware*, the same meaning is actually repeated. The first clause which is modified by *ware* is technically indicative since it does not contain the negative particle. However the clause must be translated in a negative way since *ware* is the particle used to indicate frustrated action. In the second clause the unsuccessful action is repeated in a more explicit way by means of the negative particles, in particular *nde*. Therefore by means of varying the particles used the negative or unsuccessful nature of the event/action is intensified or focussed upon. Example (8) above is somewhat different to example (7) in that a different verb is used in the repeated clause. However it should be noted that the meaning of the first clause, "The soldiers....looked for him in vain" has essentially the same meaning as the second clause, "They did not find him."

2.4 Type 4. Repetition by means of expansion

This type of repetition has a 'sandwich' structure because there is an element of expansion sandwiched between the repeated clauses. This expansion contains more detail or information in regard to the events expressed by the immediately preceding clause. Structurally this type of repetition consists of Clause 1a, followed by further information expanding that which is already given in Clause

1a. This expansion may consist of only a single clause or it may be several clauses in length. Then this is followed by a repetition of Clause 1a, thus it can be designated as Clause 1b.

Some examples:

- (9) *men-ka-we sino ndar mo bunga de. Ete Naomi*
 1p-CLASS-two all hide at bush side And.then Naomi

kem mo bunga de yo. Ji kem mo bunga de yo.
 sat at bush side INDEF 1s sat at bush side INDEF

Men-ka-we ndar sa..
 1p-CLASS-two hide when.R

We both together were hiding behind the bushes (1a). And Naomi was on one side of the bush. I was on one side of the bush. We were both hiding when (1b),...

- (10) *yé syim-wa nu-syo krat wa an re.*
 people hand-TRANS house-mouth hard for 3s PERF

An i-wa sokwa yé tut-yu ré, sare
 3s happy-TRANS watch people punch-REFLEX this like.this

nu-syo krat wa an re.
 house-mouth hard for 3s PERF

The door was shut fast on him (1a). He wanted to watch the people boxing here, however the door was shut fast on him (1b).

It can be seen in the above examples that what is sandwiched between the repeated clauses represents further explanation or details pertaining to Clause 1a given for the hearers' information. What could be the function of this type of repetition? After the author has expanded the information given in clause 1a, perhaps this expansion is viewed as a slight detour from the main story. Therefore in order to continue on with the main drift of the story the original clause must be repeated. Perhaps in a predominantly non-literate society story tellers do not like to depart too far from the main theme, so after extra details or information is given the repetition functions as a kind of tracking device to keep the story flowing on it's proper course. This can also be seen in example (9) by the use of the temporal connector *sa* 'when REALIS', which is used in narratives to lead on to another stage in the story. This use of this connector will be looked at further in later examples.

2.5 Type 5. Repetition by means of a summary statement

This type of repetition is different again to the types that have been discussed above. Sometimes speakers give a summary statement or concise repetition of events that have already been recounted in their story. This 'summary' can occur at the end of their tale and do, in a concise form, effectively end or close the story. However during the course of a story a short summary may be given as a recap on material already told. Here is a brief example:

- (11) *Men grem tu kwop, ji grem tu ne kem*
1p place mushrooms DIR 1s place mushrooms DET sit

mo nden wo ji si an-ga da
in outside but 1s with 3s-previously-mentioned drink

nau or re
palm.wine completely PERF

We left the mushrooms lying there, I left the mushrooms lying outside but I and she (previously mentioned) had already drunk all the palm wine.

The example above is given part way through a rather long story as a 'recap' of events stated so far. In fact it is only the last clause of the above example which represents the repetition or summary of the previous information given in the story. When these recaps are included they punctuate the story at various intervals and a final summary may be given at the end. Perhaps the function of these summary statements is similar to that outlined for the 'expansion' type of repetition above. In a long story the teller may be concerned that the hearers might forget important points/events of that story. Therefore these summary statements act as tracking devices or reminders as the story is being told.

2.6 Type 6. Repetition of the form "direct quote-direct action"

The next repetition type to be considered is the structure that I have dubbed "direct quote-direct action". This type takes the form of a direct quote which contains a request or command by the speaker that the hearers comply with. Then immediately following is a clause that indicates that the action indicated by the request did in fact take place. Here are some examples:

(12) *Ji ki nai an bi dat do "Nan kon weu."*
 1s say IO 3s POSS grandparent COMP 2s cook bananas

An bi dat kon weu bo we.
 3s POSS grandparent cook bananas CLASS two

I said to his grandfather: "You cook (some) bananas." His grandfather cooked two bananas.

(13) *Ete abi ki nai ji do "Nan mu mo kampung et."*
 And.then mum say IO 1s COMP 2s go to village SUBJ

Ji ma mo kampung sa..
 1s come to village when.R

And then Mum said to me: "You go to the village!" As I was going to the village....

In both oral and written story telling style it is important to repeat that the requested action was actually done or carried through and I found that this type of direct quote-direct action repetition was constantly used throughout the data sample. Therefore it appears that in Abun narratives this may be considered as implicit information that must be explicitly stated. When narrating a story it is not enough to state that a verbal request or command was made. It also needs to be clearly stated whether the command was complied with or not. If for example a request could not be carried out or refused this would be indicated in the story also. Thus the function of this repetition type is to make this type of information explicit.

2.7 Type 7. Repetition using the temporal connector *sa* 'when-realis'

In looking at Abun sentence structure there are actually few subordinate clauses or dependent clauses. However in Abun, subordinate clauses can be formed by means of two temporal connectors *sa* 'when-realis' and *yo* 'when-irrealis'. Longacre² has shown that languages frequently make use of subordinate clauses to indicate background information within a narrative and to build-up or move on from one stage to another within a story. This occurs to a large extent in Abun narratives principally by those clauses modified by *sa*. *Sa* is a realis connector, it is used when the time setting of the clauses refers to past events.³ (Here I am using Foley's definition of realis, adopted from his understanding of 'status' which

² Longacre 1985:235-286

³ The definition of 'realis' used here is that given by Foley 1986:159ff

appropriately fits the situation found in Abun. Note that 'status' is realized by choice of temporal connector and is not found in the verb morphology, as there is none). When looking at the structure of an Abun narrative it can be seen that when background information is given, it is frequently repeated. The repeated clause is a subordinate clause modified by the temporal connector *sa*. The situation that is described in the subordinate clause gives background information for the events that are described in the main clause. For example:

- (14) *Sane men me nu or re. Men mu ya men me*
 so 1p see house empty PERF 1p go about 1p see

nu ne or sa, men me nau dem kwop
 , house that empty when.R 1p see palm.wine bamboo DIR

mo nu
 at house

So we saw the house was empty. As we went around (the house), we saw the house was empty, we saw a bamboo (full of) palm wine lying at the (side of the) house.

The example quoted above is part of the background to a long story which describes the bad results that can arise from drinking palm wine. So the original clause, "the house was empty" is background information and leads into some very important information for this story, namely "we saw a bamboo full of palm wine lying at the side of the house".

At this stage it is useful to compare how the structure of this repetition type differs to the very first type described, which I have designated as 'tail head'. Example (1) is shown again below, and it can be seen that there are no complex sentences in use here. Also there are no temporal connectors used, the clauses are simply repeated after the other.

- (1) *or-ge pa bok syur, pa bok syur mone*
 and.then child go.in water child go.in water there
 and then the child fell into the water, the child fell into the water there.

Therefore these repetition types differ in structure as well as in function. Type 1 repetition uses repetitions of clauses to indicate some significant action within the story. Type 7 makes use of complex sentences involving subordinate clauses to describe background information.

The description of background information in a story is not altogether different from the way the story moves from one stage to another. Therefore it should not be surprising that similar structural devices are used when the author wants to

convey dramatic build-up within a story. One significant device in Abun story telling is the use of the predicate focus marker *do*. There are two focus particles in Abun, one is *anato* which modifies a noun or noun phrase. The other is *do* which gives focus to the events indicated by the predicate (or the verb phrase). The usage of this particle causes the hearer to focus on the events of the clause in question. Whenever a clause modified by *do* is used, this clause is, in the large majority of cases a repetition of a previous one containing identical (or given) information. Only very rarely do Abun speakers use the predicate marker *do* in a clause which gives new (or unrepeated) information. (In fact it is my opinion that the information is not really new at all, but that the speaker assumes that what has been omitted is really generally known, that is implicit information). Therefore in an Abun story the build-up to a climax or important event is considered important enough for this information to be marked structurally in three ways:

1. By means of clause repetition.
2. The repeated clause is subordinate and is modified or joined to the following clause by the temporal connector *sa*.
3. The repeated clause is marked by the predicate focus marker *do*, which draws the hearer's attention to this clause.

Here is an example:

(15) *Men ti men binadi Men mu kom mone. Men do binadi*
 1p flee 1p pray 1p go reach there 1p FOC pray

sa, gret, gret mu kadit nden ma ne kok mo
 when.R bat bat go from bush DIR DET up.high on

an-ga su.
 3p-previously-mentioned head

We ran away and we prayed. We went up to the place. As we were praying, a small bat came from the bush and landed on his (the one previously mentioned) head.

In this story the incident of the small bat landing on the man's head is considered highly significant as this type of bat is thought to be the ghost of a dead person. So therefore the hearer's expectations are aroused by the use of the three means indicated above, in particular the use of the predicate marker. The use of all three together is a graphic illustration of build-up to a climax or at least extremely interesting event by the speaker. The following example also shows the use of these three structural indicators to build up to the climax of the story. This story's title is 'Coconut is hit by a coconut.'

- (16) *Gurbo mu nyim sa kom mo os mit nogi sye*
 coconut go ahead when.R reach to path middle rain big
- teker sane syur syé ma i. Pa do mu nyim*
 too.much so water flood come SIM child FOC go ahead
- sa syur gwat gur-bo.*
 when.R water brought coconut-CLASS

(The child whose name was) Coconut was going ahead, about halfway down the path, the rain was really heavy, just then the water came flooding down. It was as the child went ahead, the flood water brought down a coconut.

Therefore this particular type of repetition, which is structurally different to those previously described, is an important device in the unfolding of the speaker's story as it helps lead up to and draw the hearer's attention to the climax or other significant event.

2.8 Type 8. Repetition using the temporal connector *sa* as a means of paragraph division

Since Abun society is predominantly non-literate the term paragraph division obviously refers to divisions within any story, not merely written stories. These divisions may represent different events, locations or changes of theme. Structurally this type of repetition differs little to the previous type. However in clause repetitions of this type the predicate marker *do* never occurs. When this type of repetition is used to indicate paragraph division it occurs in the following way: A clause ends a paragraph within the narrative. Then a subordinate clause modified by the connector *sa*, which is a repetition of the previous one, opens a new paragraph.

In oral narratives this means of paragraph division can be confirmed by pauses within the speakers' narration of the story. Analysis of oral narratives reveals that new paragraph divisions are often marked by no other means than a pause. Various connectors are also used to indicate paragraph division within a story. Within an oral narrative, paragraph division can be confirmed by the fact that there will always be a pause between the repeated clauses. Therefore this repetition type contrasts to the previous repetition type (Type 7) where the repeated clauses are used as a means of conveying background information, for with these there are no pauses between the repeated clauses. The speaker continues on in the general flow of things.

So this repetition type, which I have designated Type 8, is one of the significant ways of indicating paragraph division in an oral narrative. An example

is given below. Clauses are marked by '/' to indicate a pause at this point in the narrative.:

- (17) *An da sa, ben-sato an gro ram it An*
 3s drink when.R do-example 3s eyes move COMPL 3s
- top Markus we, an top mo nu./*
 go.back.with Markus two 3s go.back.with to house
- An top mo nu sa, an yo jom senter nde*
 3s go.back.with to house when.R 3s NEG hold torch NEG
- re ndendu re. An syim-ret nu de.....*
 PERF dark PERF 3s hand-all.about house side

He was drinking, it was like he was quite groggy (lit. his eyes were rolling around). He took back both Marcuses, he took (them) back to the house./

When he took (them) back to the house sa, he did not take (lit. hold) a torch, it was already dark. He groped (with) his hands all along the side of the house.....

Of course in a written text paragraph divisions cannot be determined by means of an audible pause. In written text paragraph division was frequently indicated by means of connectors and time words. Time words such as "the next day", "in the end" etc, are commonly used in written text to indicate a new stage or paragraph. Since time words were never used in the oral narratives in the data sample, it is most likely that this change is due to the influence of education. However there are examples from written material in the data sample which use the type of repetition under discussion here as a means of paragraph division. The following is an example where this type of repetition occurs across paragraph boundaries. The repetition seems to have the function of linking the two stages of the story together.

- (18) *wo ji sem mo bur sor re./*
 but 1s sleep on ground just PERF
- Ji sem mo bur sa. Petrus ma karo it ana-ne*
 1s sleep on ground when.R Petrus come near COMPL FOC-DET
- but I just slept on the ground./

As I was sleeping on the ground, Petrus came near then.

It is interesting to consider whether this is also another instance of tail head repetition, albeit with a different structure, involving as it does the use of subordinate clauses. The first clause of this repetition type occurs at the end or 'tail' of one paragraph. Then the repeated clause occurs at the beginning or 'head' of the next paragraph. However whether this is truly an instance of tail head repetition across paragraph boundaries is something I raise here as a matter of interest only.

In conclusion, it can be seen that in telling a story the Abun story teller has a wide variety of repetitive devices which he/she may choose from and that these repetitive devices have different functions in the telling of the story. These different devices assist in making the story more interesting to the hearer, but also more importantly, since up unto the present time Abun society has been a non-literate society, these many repetitive devices assist in the hearer's retention of the plot and important details within the story. It can be concluded that for a non-literate society like the Abun various types of repetition are essential for both communication of the tale and remembrance of it.

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