

BINE RELATIVIZATION

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### BINE RELATIVIZATION

Preface

List of Abbreviations

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Bine Relative Clause Marker Lui

2.0 Bine Relative Clause

2.1 Marked Relative Clause

2.2 Relative Clause in Stative and Cleft Sentences

2.3 Some Discourse Functions of the Relative Clause

2.4 Other Relative Clause Markers in Bine

2.5 Frequency of Bine Relative Clause Constructions

3.0 Bine Temporal and Conditional Clauses

4.0 Conclusion

Bibliography

## PREFACE

This paper profited from a discussion with Ger Reesink on relative clause strategies in stative and cleft constructions. He helped to define the function of the relative pronoun lui in these constructions.

### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ø	zero manifestation	dir	direction
1	first person	tw	toward
2	second person	excl	exclusive
3	third person	incl	inclusive
sg	singular	erg	ergative
nsg	nonsingular	cho	chomere ? (dummy subject)
pl	plural		
du	dual	aug	augmentative
col	collective (group as unit)	it	iterative
P2	past tense 2 (today's past)	acc	accumulative
P4	past tense 4 (last month)	prog	progressive
P5	past tense 5 (remote past)		
m	masculine		
f	feminine		
dim	diminutive		
s / Subj	subject		
ob / Obj	object		
Ind Obj	indirect object		
Gen	genitive		
Compar	comparative		
i	indicative		
hab	habitual		
st	stative		
pres	present		
intr	intransitive		
rel	relative		
pos	possessive		

## Bine Relativization

"This is the house that Jack built...This is the dog that chased the cat that worried the rat that ate the malt that lay in the house that Jack built..."

In a sentence containing a relative clause "some noun is being characterized by one presupposed proposition (the relative clause) and one new or information-bearing proposition (the main clause)." (Li & Thompson, 1978) The quotation above presupposes that Jack built a house. The new information is that this is that house. The demonstrative pronoun "that" functions here as a relative clause marker.

The use of a demonstrative pronoun as marker for a relative clause occurs in a number of languages in Papua New Guinea.

### (1) Urim<sup>1</sup>:

maur    aroma    kai-nar    hu    kaom    pa    la:  
spirit   live   go-down   water   pond   that   say

The spirit that lived in the pond said,

### (2) Usam<sup>2</sup>:

munon    iyan    waram-or    eng    isorei  
man    dog    it.hit-3sfp    this-given    go.down-3sfp

The man who hit the dog went down.

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<sup>1</sup>Urim is a Torecelli Phylum language from the East Sepik Province. Data is from Ritva Hemmili, personal communication.

<sup>2</sup>Usam is a Trans-New Guinea Phylum language from the Madang Province. Data is from Ger Reesink, personal communication.

1.1 Bine Relative Clause Marker Lui

Bine<sup>3</sup>, however, does not have this option. Bine has six demonstrative pronouns, none of which function as a marker of the relative clause. The relative pronoun lui marks the relative clause in Bine. In English we have a choice whether we say, "This is the house that Jack built," or, "This is the house which Jack built." Either the demonstrative-relative "that" or the relative pronoun "which" can occur in this construction. Urim and Usam have no such choice--they must use a demonstrative, if they use an overt marker at all, while Bine must use the relative pronoun lui.

- (3) tabe pui mete biname ne babo-rage daremu  
 3s:s that house person sg.ob big-very payment  
e-car-Ø-i-ge tabe lui mijji-rage je-wen-Ø-i-ge  
 3ob-give-P2-i-3sg.s 3s:s rel good-very 3ob-do-P2-i-3sg.s  
pui biname ne.  
 that person sg.ob

He gave that house-man a very big payment, the one who did good to that (injured) man.

- (4) Pui paamicu tabe lui se-wac-em-Ø-i-ge,  
 those seeds 3sg.s rel 3ob-bring-pl.ob-P2-i-3sg.s  
pui bine o-dn-aj-em-Ø-i-ge.  
 those pl.ob 3ob.dim-cook-aug-pl.ob-P2-i-3sg.s  
 Those seeds which she brought, those she cooked.

- (5) Kaakesea-cäco biname taun cabu lui yaa-craj-u-ge,  
 work-without person town in rel 3ob-live/stay-hab-3sg.s  
teem täapu-me babo mäpu lenaja birige.  
 3pos purpose-to big heavy life hab.st  
 People without work who stay in the towns, for them life is very hard.

The relative pronoun occurs as subject of the relative clause in examples (3) and (5), and as object in example (4).

<sup>3</sup>Bine is a Trans-New Guinea Phylum language from the Western Province, Daru Sub-province. Data for this paper has been gathered during periods of residence among the Bine people from 1973 until the present time.

## 2.0 Bine Relative Clause

Keenan and Comrie (1977) have devised an accessibility hierarchy as to which case-functions are most accessible to relativization. Their hierarchy is as follows:

Subj Dir Obj Ind Obj Oblique Gen Compar

It is assumed that if a particular language can relativize one of these case-functions, then it also has a strategy for relativizing each case that is higher than that one in the hierarchy.

The following set of sentences were not found in natural text, but the Bine speaker who constructed them on request felt that they were fairly natural. They illustrate the fact that Bine can relativize all of the case-functions in the Keenan and Comrie hierarchy. Note that the relativization strategy changes only slightly for the various case-functions. The relative pronoun lui occurs in every sentence. Example (6) shows the relative pronoun as subject of the relative clause, and example (7) shows the object.

- (6) Cane bägrä ne je-pän-Ø-i-ne lui te  
 1sg.s child sg.ob 3ob-see-P2-i-1sg.s rel sg.s

paulo ne ero ca e-cat-Ø-i-ge.  
 chicken sg.ob stealing by 3ob-take-P2-i-3sg.s

I saw the child who stole the chicken.

- (7) Cane ei paulo ne je-pän-Ø-i-ne  
 1sg.s that chicken sg.ob 3ob-see-P2-i-1sg.s

bägrä te lui ne e-cat-Ø-i-ge.  
 child sg.s rel sg.ob 3ob-take-P2-i-3sg.s

I saw that chicken which the child took.

In example (8) the relative pronoun occurs as the indirect object of the relative clause. Note that the human object is the one marked by the object clitic; it is also the one that is relativized.

- (8) Cane biname je-pän-Ø-i-ne bägrä te lui ne  
 1sg.s person 3ob-see-P2-i-1sg.s child sg.s rel sg.ob

e-cär-Ø-i-ge      paulo.  
 3ob-give-P2-i-3sg.s    chicken

I saw the person to whom the child gave the chicken.

While the relativized subject, object, and indirect object maintain their normal position in the clause, relativized locative, source, and instrument occur in the second position in the clause, after the subject and before the verb. These oblique case relations would normally occur after the verb in an unmarked, unrelativized clause. The object is moved to post-verbal position when these clauses are relativized. Probably this is to keep the relativized item closer to its main clause referent for easier identification. Consider examples (9) and (10).

(9) Cane    biname    ne      je-pän-Ø-i-ne      bägrä    te  
       lsg.s    person    sg.ob    3ob-see-P2-i-lsg.s    child    sg.s

lui    bau    ca      e-cat-Ø-i-ge      paulo      ne.  
 rel    dir    from    3ob-take-P2-i-3sg.s    chicken    sg.ob

I saw the person from whom the child took the chicken.

(10) Cane    turikä    ne      je-pän-Ø-i-ne      bägrä    te  
       lsg.s    knife    sg.ob    3ob-see-P2-i-lsg.s    child    sg.s

lui    ca      e-gl-Ø-i-ge      paulo      ne.  
 rel    from    3ob-kill-P2-i-3sg.s    chicken    sg.ob

I saw the knife with which the child killed the chicken.

The relative pronoun as genitive occurs in normal, unmarked clausal position, as in example (11).

(11) Cane    biname    ne      je-pän-Ø-i-ne      bägrä    te  
       lsg.s    person    sg.ob    3ob-see-P2-i-lsg.s    child    sg.s

lui    me      paulo      ero      ca      je-cat-Ø-i-ge.  
 rel    sg.pos    chicken    stealing    by    3ob-take-P2-i-3sg.s

I saw the person whose chicken the boy stole.

In the relativized comparative clause, the relative pronoun occurs in subject position.

(12) Cane    bägrä    ne      je-pän-Ø-i-ne      lui    matikäli  
       lsg.s    child    sg.ob    3ob-see-P2-i-lsg.s    rel    little

gyene      Meri    bau    ca      täbe.  
 3m.sg.st.pres    Mary    dir    from    3sg.s

I saw the child who is smaller than Mary.

Following are some examples of the relative pronoun lui filling various slots in relative clauses in texts. Examples (3) and (4) on page 2 show the relative pronoun filling subject and object slots respectfully. Examples (13) and (14) show instrument and location relative clauses. The instrument in example (13) occurs clause initial because the subject is deleted.

- (13) Tabē pālipāli t-a<sup>1</sup>sat-ep-i-∅ puutucu me,  
 3sg.s arrows tw-3.ob-take.out-P4-i-3sg.s yard to  
lui cama drego ne jaa-cn-ep-i-∅.  
 rel with dog sg.ob 3ob-shoot-P4-i-3sg.s

He took out some arrows to the yard with which he shot the dog.

- (14) Puga pui cewe tabē lui cewe cabu  
 there that village 3sg.s rel village at  
a-tyaramt-∅-i-ge pui cewe cabu iyeta miiji  
 intr-arrive-P2-i-3sg.s that village at all good  
gwidape aletnena...  
 things buying

That village at which he arrived, at that village there were all the good things to buy...

## 2. MARKED RELATIVE CLAUSE

The relative clause may occur sentence initially, however, this is a marked order giving greater prominence to the item that is relativized. Examples (15-17) demonstrate marked relative clauses.

- (15) Lui biname te je-pān-∅-i-ge iiya ne,  
 rel person sg.s 3ob-see-P2-i-3sg.s coconut sg.ob  
teeme nii peesē nye Dāgi.  
 3pos name there 3m.sg.st.pres

The person who discovered the coconut, his name is Dāgi.

- (16) Lui bimu cabu cime kaakesea nalebora...,  
 rel day on 1nsq.s.excl work inside  
maane te peei padare cabu t-e-wen-em-ep-i-∅  
 2sg.s sg.s this time at tw-3ob-do-pl.ob-P4-i-3sg.s  
toraca-rage gwidape...  
 true-really thing

On whatever day in our work, at that time you will do really good things.



- (17) Ai    lui    blome    s-e-can-en-Ø-i-ge    tabe!  
          this   rel   pig       tw-3ob-take-prog-P2-i-3sg.s   3sg.s

This is a pig that she is bringing!

## 2.2 RELATIVE CLAUSE IN STATIVE AND CLEFT SENTENCES

Example (17) above shows a cleft sentence. The relative pronoun is not incorporated into the stative clause, despite its position in the sentence. The stative clause is the main clause and the relative clause with its relative pronoun introduces the main clause with its new information that what she is bringing is a pig. In Bine equative clauses such as, "This is a pig," occur with or without a copula verb. Often the presupposed information is not stated, but implied. In answer to the question, "What is this?" it is most common to answer with a stative clause plus a relative pronoun. The rest of the relative clause is unstated because it is presupposed information.

- (18) Ai    lui    blome    gyene.  
          this   rel   pig       3m.sg.st.pres

This which you are asking about is a pig.

Example (19) is another example of copula elipsis in a relativized stative construction.

- (19) Iiya        täápume    biname    lui    Binebetwame.  
      coconut    for           person    rel

It is Binebetwame who is the (spirit) being in charge of coconuts.

Here the "being in charge of coconuts" is presupposed information in a discourse about coconuts, spirit people, and people just after their creation. The new information is the spirit being's name. A copula verb might occur after the name Binebetwame, but it is obvious in the context and is therefore omitted. Also, a copula verb might occur in the relative clause after the relative pronoun lui, provided that none occurred after the spirit being's name, but again the context renders it unnecessary. In fact a copula verb here would probably put too much weight on the relative clause, as opposed to the main clause.

In a Bine version of the parable of the Sower, a man goes to his garden to plant seed. The next four clauses follow like this:

- (20) Poto gije cina lui i-tram-etn-em-Ø-i-ge gaabe cabu.  
 some seed nsq.s rel erg-fall-acc-pl.ob- path on  
 P2-i-cho
- Poto gije cina lui itrametnemige baace bora.  
 grass in
- Poto gije cina lui itrametnemige kula gawe cabu.  
 stone ground on
- Poto gije cina lui itrametnemige mijji gawe cabu.  
 good ground on

The relative pronoun does not seem to belong to these sentences. "Some seed fell on the path" is a complete thought. What then is the purpose of the relative? The relative pronoun does not belong to the clause, "Some seed fell on the path," for this is not presupposed information. The pronoun relates the clause to what went before. It answers the question, "What seed?" The seed "which he sowed". The presence of the relative pronoun alone is enough to remind the Bine hearer of the words that are left unstated because this is presupposed information. The Bine thought pattern is recovered in the following translation, "Some of the seed which he sowed fell on the path."

### 2.3 SOME DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

Consider example (21):

- (21) <sup>1</sup>Siige, ciye gobe te liba t-uu-wam-uj-i-Ø,  
 finished night tide sg.s when tw-intr-run-P5-i-3sg.s
- <sup>2</sup>peei poo ne lui e-can-uj-i-Ø  
 that sailing canoe sg.ob rel 3ob-take-P5-i-3sg.s
- babo cude-cewe Joomigape me, <sup>3</sup>puga e-cit-uj-i-Ø  
 big far-place (place name) to there 3ob-put-P5-i-3sg.s
- peei poo ne. <sup>4</sup>Ciye lui e-can-uj-i-Ø,  
 that canoe sg.ob night rel 3ob-take-P5-i-3sg.s
- <sup>5</sup>awa iyeta sabe je-wen-em-uj-i-Ø gobe te.  
 sail all ruin 3ob-do-pl.ob-P5-i-3sg.s tide sg.s

(21a) <sup>1</sup>Finished, when the night tide ran, <sup>2</sup>that sailing canoe was taken very far away to Joomigape. There <sup>3</sup>that canoe was put. During the night when it was taken, <sup>5</sup>the sails were all ruined by the tide.

There was an accident at sea; a sailing canoe turned over. The men were rescued, but remained very concerned about the fate of their canoe. Note how the canoe remains in focus throughout the paragraph (21a) above. The English translation achieves this through the use of passive verb constructions. Bine too has a passive verb construction, but it is not used for this purpose. Bine achieves the same object-in-focus through the use of relative pronouns. A more literal back-to-English translation will bear this out.

(21b) <sup>1</sup>Finished, when the night tide ran, <sup>2</sup>that<sub>3</sub>sailing canoe  
<sup>4</sup>which it took<sub>very far away to Joomigape</sub>, <sup>5</sup>there it put  
 that canoe. The night in which it took it, the sails  
 all it made them ruined, the tide (did).

The information in a relative clause usually gets shifted to the sidelines leaving the main clause in focus. By fronting the object, the canoe, in the relative clause (clause 2), and by marking it as object-topic with the marker ne, it is kept in focus while the subject of the clause is sidelined. Clause 3 again marks the canoe as object-topic with ne and places it after the verb in the most highly marked position. The subject is again sidelined by the relative clause (clause 4) until after the fate of the canoe's sails is made known. Then the tide occurs in marked position after the verb and marked as agentive topic with te, because the tide is to blame for the damaged canoe.

The relative pronoun in example (22) does not seem to belong to clause 2, but rather to make a comment about clause 2 like, "As you know," or, "Remember I've told you that." The content of clause is not new information, but in this way the speaker wishes to call it to mind.

(22) <sup>1</sup>Tabē cibu bade-me waa-cl-u-ge, <sup>2</sup>mage te  
 3sg.s fish fish-to f.erg-go-hab-cho mother sg.s

lui calwacupi me waa-tn-etn-āj-u-ge.  
 rel garden to f.intr-go.about-acc-aug-hab-3sg.s

She (the daughter) would go fishing (and) the mother,  
 as you know, would go about to the gardens.

Example (23) tells a portion of a narrative about Tawi. Tawi is caught in a fish-trap and hurled into the river. Obviously in a light fish-trap she would float and the current would carry her about. This is therefore presupposed information told in two relative clauses. Then follow two main clauses that give additional information about Tawi's trips up and down the river. One purpose of the relative clause, then, is to call to mind information that is presupposed in order to build upon it.

(23) <sup>1</sup>Tabē Tawi lui t-o-tn-āj-um-i-Ø  
 3sg.s (girl) rel tw-intr-go.about-aug-P3-i-3sg.s  
baduge gaabe, <sup>2</sup>gotäte te lui waa-can-u-ge,  
 river path current sg.s rel f.ob -take-hab-3sg.s

<sup>3</sup>acnenuta te Inlebade me waa-can-u-ge.  
 returning sg.s (place) to f.ob -take-hab-3sg.s

<sup>4</sup>Uuwama te twaa-wenimt-u-ge mope bau me.  
 running sg.s f.ob-return-hab-3sg.s head dir to

<sup>5</sup>Pee-pu t-o-tn-etn-en-āj-um-i-Ø.  
 that-like tw-intr-go.about-acc-it-aug-P3-i-3sg.s

<sup>1</sup>Tawi who used to go about on the river, <sup>2</sup>whom the current would carry, <sup>3</sup>the returning tide would carry her to Inlebade, <sup>4</sup>and the <sup>5</sup>running tide would return her to the (river) head. Like that she used to go about.

## 2.4 OTHER RELATIVE CLAUSE MARKERS IN BINE

Lui is not the only relative clause marker in Bine. Question words such as "where", "how", "how many", may also occur as relative pronouns introducing relative clauses.

Luma is a question word meaning "where?" It is also a relative pronoun. Consider examples (24) and (25).

- (24) Tabē e-cit-Ø-i-ge mete je tabē luma ute.  
3sg.s 3ob-put-P2-i-3sg.s house at 3sg.s where sleep

She put it in the house (in the place) where she slept.

- (25) Modamoda mete piti nemi kaakesea biname  
large house there pl.st.pres work people  
cina luma kaakesea ne je-wen-en-em-Ø-i-si.  
nsg.s where work sg.ob 3ob-do-prog-pl.ob-P2-i-3nsg.s

Large houses are there where working people do work.

In example (24) "where" refers to the place inside the house where she sleeps, and in example (25) "where" refers to the large office buildings where people work.

Lumacita ca means "from where" and liiyeme means "to where". In examples (26) and (27) lumacita ca and liiyeme introduce relative clauses.

- (26) Luma-cita ca jaa-g-u-ge, teeme  
where-first from 3erg-begin.to.grow-hab-cho 3pos  
braju bucu-rage birige.  
roots many-very hab.st

From where they begin to grow, their roots are very many.

- (27) Tabē liiye-me ä-d-Ø-i-ge, tabē piiye-me  
3sg.s where-to intr-go-P2-i-3sg.s 3sg.s there-to  
ä-d-Ø-i-ge.  
intr-go-P2-i-3sg.s

Where he wanted to go, there he went.

Liipu, liplipu, and liiyepu all have the basic meaning of "how". Consider examples (28) and (29).

- (28) E-pu gyene peei ele cim  
that-like 3m.sg.st.pres that bird lnsq.pos.excl  
täápume, paulo cina liipu yaa-nen-etn-em-u-ge  
for chicken nsg.s how 3ob-call-acc-pl.ob-hab-3sg.s  
biname alotneca-me.  
people awake-to

This bird is for us like chickens how they call people to wake up.

- (29) Äusasasa ne liba jää-pän-u-si, biname cina  
 (name) sg.ob when 3ob-see-hab-3nsg.s person nsg.s  
cibu agleca e-pu pana Äusasasa liiye-pu.  
 fish kill that-like like how-like

When they would watch Äusasasa, the people (were) killing fish like that, the way Äusasasa (did).

The liipu "how" in example (28) modifies epu "like that" in the main clause. The point is, "You know how chickens crow in the morning and wake people up, well, our wild bird daai does like that for us." The same interplay of thought is found in example (29) with liiye-pu "like how" and epu pana "like that". The same pattern is found in English with "there where" and "then when", but it is used even more frequently in Bine.

Still another question word that may serve as a relative pronoun is liija "how many". It frequently occurs with a copula verb in lists, as in example (30).

- (30) Mage, babe, cewe-yame liija gemi  
 mother father village-one(s) how.many pl.st.pres  
o-gl-uj-i-si.  
 3ob-hit-P5-i-nsg.s

The mother, father, and villagers, however many there were, hit her.

The hearer is reminded that "villagers" means "the whole gang". In another example of liija plus a copula verb, the hearer is asked to imagine all the kinds of ocean fish that he can think of. The clause, "however many fish there are in the ocean," modifies a list of names of ocean fish. The speaker is calling on the hearer<sup>to</sup> supply any kinds that he has failed to mention. Clearly this is presupposed information.

#### FREQUENCY OF <sup>Bine</sup> RELATIVE CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS

Chart 1: Bine Relative Clause Frequency is found on page 12. The chart gives the title, type of text, percentage of clauses in that text containing the relative pronoun lui, and lists any other relative pronouns that occur.

Chart 1: Bine Relative Clause Frequency

	<u>Type of Text</u>	<u>Percentage of</u> <u>Clauses w/ lui</u>	<u>Other Relative</u> <u>Pronouns *</u>
je Liteta Biname	Bible narrative	35%	none
libim me Otni	Travelogue	28%	<u>luma</u> (1)
ura	Descriptive	20%	none
i Gidä Mene	Village history	15%	<u>luma</u> (1)
Bägrä	Bible narrative	11%	<u>luma</u> (4); <u>liipu</u> (5)
me Mete	Procedural	10%	none
	Modern narrative	8%	<u>liija</u> (1)
's Prayer	Hortatory	7%	<u>liipu</u> (6); <u>liija</u> (1)
Paamicu	Myth	7%	<u>luma</u> (1); <u>liipu</u> (1)
Aabi Moda Molyege	Myth	6%	none
Tawi	Myth	4%	<u>luma</u> (1); <u>liija</u> (1)
Aji me Itemene	Myth	4%	<u>liija</u> (1)

\*The number in parentheses gives the number of occurrences.

Chart 1 raises the question as to why Bible narratives, travelogue, descriptive, procedural, and history texts employ many more relative constructions than myths, modern narratives, and hortatory discourse? The answer lies in the fact that the main task of the relative clause is to relate the new information of the main clause to something more familiar--either previously mentioned or presupposed. Although these were freely told and not translated, the Bible narratives relate events from an unfamiliar culture--the "script" is largely unfamiliar. Also, descriptive, travelogue, and procedural material, while familiar to the speaker are assumed to be unfamiliar to the hearer, and therefore need to be continually related to what is known. Myths on the other hand, have a script that is presumed familiar to the hearers. So did the hortatory discourse in the chart because it addressed to God, who is assumed to be knowledgeable. Modern Bine narratives may or may not have a script that is presumed familiar to the hearer. The example in the chart is a sailing canoe disaster, which is all too familiar to Bine hearers.

## BINE TEMPORAL AND CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

The question word liba "when" is used to introduce temporal clauses and conditional clauses. It is sometimes unclear whether the liba clause is temporal or conditional, or both. Clearly they are grammatically and semantically very similar in Bine.<sup>4</sup> The liba clause is structurally similar to the other "question word" introduced clauses, although its functions are much broader. Thus, while liba may serve as a relative pronoun modifying a time word or phrase, it is more often used to introduce a temporal setting for several event clauses which follow it. Liba "when; if" and piba "then" often work together in a conditional sentence construction. This construction is grammatically very similar to the "there, where", "like this, how", "from there, from where", and others, so that the Bine speaker probably does not distinguish between relative, temporal, and conditional constructions.<sup>5</sup> Examples (31) and (32) show liba in temporal and conditional clauses.

- (31) Doro    gawe    cabu    babo    cewe    wawena    liba,    deedei  
 shore    ground    on    big    town    make    if    food  
gwidape    bucu-rage.  
 things    many-very

If a big town is made on the mainland, food supplies would be plenty.

- (32) Teeme    mage    babe    cama    liba    aa-naj-Ø-i-ge,  
 3pos    mother    father    with    when    3du.erg-live-P2-i-cho  
mage    te    budre    ä-bit-Ø-i-ge.  
 mother    sg.s    dead    intr-become-P2-i-3sg.s

When they (two) lived with their mother and father, the mother died.

<sup>4</sup>In many languages the structural expressions for "if" and "when" clauses are similar if not identical.

<sup>5</sup>Ger Reesink in a manuscript entitled "Conjunctions in Usan," states that some non-Austronesian languages in P.N.G. use the same kind of construction for both conditional and relative constructions. He states that they are very similar in Hua and Usan,



## 0 CONCLUSION

The relative clause in Bine requires a relative pronoun. The rest of the clause may be deleted, but the relative pronoun must be present. Relative, temporal, and conditional clauses all map onto the same clause strategies. The normal sentence order for all three clauses is postpositional, but all may occur pre-positional to the main clause, or in a cleft position. These, however, are marked orders and occur infrequently. Neither the internal head relativization strategy described by Li and Thompson (1978), nor the use of a deictic/demonstrative pronoun as relativizer, which is fairly common throughout Papua New Guinea, neither have been observed in Bine.

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