



Interrogatives with *wh*-adverbs and determiners in Kokborok (KB) and English

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ABSTRACT

In Das (2011) I have discussed the major characteristics of the yes-no questions in Kokborok (KB) spoken in Tripura and compared them with the word order phenomenon in English. But for a comprehensive picture of the interrogative structures in KB one must also look at the other type of question formation. In the present paper I look at the interrogative sentences i.e., *wh*-questions in KB with *wh*-adverbs and *wh*-determiners and compare them with those of English. Some crucial insights into the word order phenomena in the two languages emerge in consequence and they promise to be extremely useful for a more effective teaching of English as a second language to the KB-speaking students of Tripura. It is discovered that there is no use of *de* in *wh*-questions in KB unlike in *yes-no* questions. The rising tone however continues to play its role as an accompaniment of interrogative constructions. The major aspect of interest in *wh*-questions is the involvement of no movement of any item in KB compared to English; and the overall word order sequence is the same as in declarative sentences. Mandatory absence of *be-* verb in the present indefinite tense in copular constructions is another significant aspect of distinction between KB and English interrogatives and declaratives.

KEYWORDS

Kokborok, comparative grammar teaching model

0. Introduction

For a comprehensive picture of the *wh*-interrogatives of Kokborok (KB) vis-à-vis English the present paper looks at the interrogative sentences i.e., *wh*-questions in KB with *wh*-adverbs and *wh*-determiners and compare them with those of English. Some crucial insights into the word order phenomena in the two languages emerge in consequence and they promise to be extremely useful for a more effective teaching of English as a second language to the KB-speaking students of Tripura. It is found that there is no use of *de* in *wh*-questions in KB unlike in *yes-no* questions. The rising tone however continues to play its role as an accompaniment of interrogative constructions. The major aspect of interest in *wh*-questions is the involvement of *no* movement of any item in KB compared to English; and the overall word order sequence is the same as in declarative sentences. Mandatory absence of *be-* verb in the present indefinite tense in copular constructions is another significant aspect of distinction between KB and English interrogatives and declaratives. The findings can be effectively used for Comparative Grammar Teaching (CGT) method.

1.0 *wh*-questions with Interrogative Adverbs: *tangwi/tamoni bagwi, boro, buphuru, bahai, bwswk*

1.1 *tangwi/ tamoni bagwi* ‘why’

1. KB: S WH[ADV] ADV V

nwng	tangwi	oro	phai?
2SG-NOM	WH[ADV]	LOC-ADV	come

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX S V ADV

Why	do	you	come	here?
WH[ADV]	AUX	2SG	V	LOC-ADV
WH[ADV]	tV	NP	mV	ADV
WH[ADV]	AUX	S	V	ADV

Though not directly related to our purpose of the comparative study of the syntax of *wh*-interrogatives in KB and English, it would not be out of place here to note a morphological practice in KB. In this language a very productive process of morphemic reduction takes place by subtracting the latter part of the first NP and dropping the first part of the second NP in an otherwise genitive phrase of type NP's NP. So *nini bwsa* → *nwsa* 'your children', *ani pha* → *aph(a)* 'my father'. Similarly *tangwi* originates from *tamo-ni bagwi* [what-GEN for] → *tangwi*. Synchronically sometimes both the contracted and non-contracted forms are used as free variations.

2. KB: WH[ADV] S ADV V-NEG

tangwi	nwng	tini	phaili-ya?
WH[ADV]	2SG-NOM	TEMP-ADV	V-PT-NEG
WH[ADV]	NP	ADV	VP-NEG
WH[ADV]	S	ADV	V-NEG
Why	you	today	came-not

'Why did not you come today?'

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX NEG S V ADV

Why	did	not	you	come	today?
WH[ADV]	AUX	NEG	2SG-NOM	V	ADV

WH[ADV]	AUX	NEG	NP	mV	ADV
WH[ADV]	tV		S	V	ADV
WH[ADV]	AUX	NEG	S	V	ADV

3. KB: WH[ADV] S A[PRED]-NEG(V)

tangwi	nini	kha	ham-ya?
WH[ADV]	2SG-GEN	3SG-NOM	A-NEG
WH[ADV]	[DET	N]	A-NEG
WH[ADV]	NP		A-NEG
WH[ADV]	S		A-NEG
Why	your	mind	well not

‘Why your mind is not well?’ = Why are you upset?

ENG: WH[ADV] NP V NEG A

Why	your	mind	is	not	well
WH[ADV]	2SG-GEN	3SG-NOM	be-3SG-PRES	NEG	A
WH[ADV]	[DET	N]	mVt	NEG	A
WH[ADV]	NP		V	NEG	A

4. KB: S WH[ADV] V-NEG

nwng	tangwi	kok-sa-ya?
2SG-NOM	WH[ADV]	word-speak-NEG
NP	WH[ADV]	V-NEG
S	WH[ADV]	V-NEG
You	why	speak-not

‘Why do not you speak?’

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX NEG S V

Why do not you speak?

WH[ADV] AUX NEG 2SG V

WH[ADV] tV NEG S V

WH[ADV] AUX NEG S V

ya is a negative marker in KB that can be treated at par with a clitic because of its ability to get attached to more than one category of words. In (2) and (4) it cliticizes to a verb while in (3) it does so to an adjective.

5. KB: S WH[ADV] O V AUX

nwnɡ tangwi ano kebeng-wi tong?

2SG-NOM WH[ADV] 1SG-AC mV-PROG AUX

NP WH[ADV] AN-AC mV tV

S WH[ADV] O V AUX

You why me disturb-ing exist

‘Why are you disturbing me?’

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX S V O

Why are you disturbing me?

WH[ADV] be-2SG-PRES 2SG-NOM mV-PROG 1SG-AC

WH[ADV] AUX NP-NOM mV NP-AC

WH[ADV] tV NP mV NP

WH[ADV] AUX S V O

6a. KB-I

S WH[ADV] ADV V

WH[ADV] S ADV V-NEG

6b. KB-D

S ADV V

S ADV V-NEG

WH[ADV] S A[PRED]-NEG(V)

S P[A]-NEG(V)

S WH[ADV] V

S V-NEG

S WH[ADV] O V AUX

S O V AUX

7a. ENG-I

WH[ADV] AUX S V ADV

S V ADV

WH[ADV] AUX NEG S V ADV

S AUX NEG V ADV

WH[ADV] NP V NEG A

NP V NEG A

WH[ADV] AUX NEG S V

AUX NEG S V

WH[ADV] AUX S V O

S AUX V O

7b. ENG-D

1.2 boro ‘where’

8. KB: S P[WH] (V)

nini	kami	boro?	
2SG-GEN	NP-NOM	WH[ADV]	
[DET	N]	WH[ADV]	
NP		WH[ADV]	
S		P	(V)

Your village where

‘Where is your village?’

ENG: WH[ADV] V S

Where	is	your	village?
WH[ADV]	be-3SG-PRES	2SG-GEN	NP
WH[ADV]	mV	[DET	N]
WH[ADV]	V	NP	
WH[ADV]	V	S	

9. KB: S WH[ADV] V

nwng	boro	thang-nai?
2SG-NOM	WH[ADV]	mV-FT
NP	WH[ADV]	V
S	WH[ADV]	V
You	where	go-FT

‘Where will you go?’

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX S V

Where	will	you	go?
WH[ADV]	AUX-FT	2SG	mV
WH[ADV]	tV	NP	V
WH[ADV]	AUX	S	V

10. KB: S WH[ADV] (V)

nni	swikong	boro?
1SG-GEN	N	WH[ADV]
[DET	N]	WH[ADV]
NP		WH[ADV]
S		WH[ADV] (V)
My pen		where?

‘Where is my pen?’

ENG: WH[ADV] V S

Where	is	my	pen?
WH[ADV]	be-3SG-PRES	1SG-GEN	N

WH[ADV]	mV	[DET	N]
WH[ADV]	V	NP	
WH[ADV]	V	S	

To sum up, the following are the contrastive facts characterizing the two languages.

11a. KB-I

S P[WH] (V)
S WH[ADV] V
S WH[ADV] (V)

11b. KB-D

S P (V)
S ADV V
S P (V)

12a. ENG-I

WH[ADV] V S
WH[ADV] AUX S V
WH[ADV] V S

12b. ENG-D

S V ADV
S AUX V ADV
S V ADV

1.3 buphuru ‘when’

13. KB: S WH[ADV] V

nwng	buphuru	phai-nai?
2SG-NOM	WH[ADV]	V-FT
NP	WH[ADV]	mV
S	WH[ADV]	V
You	when	come-FT

‘When will you come?’

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX S V

When	will	you	come?
WH[ADV]	AUX-FT	2SG-NOM	mV

WH[ADV]	tV	NP	V
WH[ADV]	AUX	S	V

14. KB: S WH[ADV] ADV V

bo	buphuru	tangnok-ni	kiphil-nai?
3SG-NOM	WH[ADV]	NP-P	V-FT
NP	WH[ADV]	PP	V
S	WH[ADV]	ADV	V
S/he	when	office-from	return

‘When will s/he return from office?’

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX S V ADV

When	will	s/he	return	from office?
WH[ADV]	AUX-FT	NP-NOM	mV	P NP
WH[ADV]	tV	NP	mV	PP
WH[ADV]	AUX	S	V	ADV

15. KB: WH[ADV] S V

buphuru	ani	jora	kaham	sokphai-nai?
WH[ADV]	1SG-GEN	3SG-NOM	A	V-FT
WH[ADV]	[DET	N	A]	V
WH[ADV]	NP			VP
WH[ADV]	S			V
When	my	time	good	become-FT

‘When will my good time (be)come?’

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX S V

When	will	my	good	time	come?
WH[ADV]	AUX-FT	1SG-GEN	A	3SG-NOM	mV
WH[ADV]	tV	[DET	A	N]	V
WH[ADV]	AUX	NP			V
WH[ADV]	AUX	S			V

16. KB: S WH[ADV] ADV V

chwnɡ	buphuru	taisa	malai-lai-nai?
1PL-NOM	WH[ADV]	ADV	V-PL-FT
NP	WH[ADV]	ADV	mVt
S	WH[ADV]	ADV	V
We	when	again	meet shall

‘When shall we meet again?’

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX S V ADV

When	shall	we	meet	again?
WH[ADV]	AUX-FT	1PL-NOM	mV	ADV
WH[ADV]	tV	NP	mV	ADV
WH[ADV]	AUX	S	V	ADV

We summarize the facts in relation to the distribution of buphuru ‘when’ in KB and English in (17-18).

17a. KB-I

S WH[ADV] V
 S WH[ADV] ADV V
 WH[ADV] S V
 S WH[ADV] ADV V

17b. KB-D

S V
 S ADV ADV V
 S (ADV) V
 S (ADV) ADV V

18a. ENG-I

WH[ADV] AUX S V
 WH[ADV] AUX S V ADV
 WH[ADV] AUX S V
 WH[ADV] AUX S V ADV

18b. ENG-D

S AUX V ADV
 S AUX V ADV[PP] ADV
 S AUX V ADV
 S AUX V ADV ADV

1.4 bahai 'how'**19. KB: S WH[ADV] V(V)**

nwnɡ	bahai	tong?
2SG	WH[ADV]	exist (V)
NP	WH[ADV]	mVt
S	WH[ADV]	V
You	how	exist

'How are you?'

ENG: WH[ADV] V S

How	are	you?
WH[ADV]	be-2SG-PRES	2SG
WH[ADV]	tV	NP
WH[ADV]	V	S

20. KB: S WH[ADV] V

bo	bahai	khai	thang-nai?
3SG-NOM	WH	do	go-FT
NP	WH[ADVP	V]	V
S	WH[ADV	V]	

He [how do] go-will

‘How will he go?’

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX S V

How	will	he	go?
WH[ADV]	AUX-FT	3SG-NOM	mV
WH[ADV]	tV	NP	V
WH[ADV]	AUX	S	V

21. KB: S ADV WH[ADV] V

ang	saichung	bahai	khai	tong-nai?
1SG	ADV	[WH-ADV	V]	exist-FT
NP	ADVP	[ADVP	do]	mVt
S	ADV	[ADV	V]	
I	alone	[how	do]	stay will

‘How will I stay alone?’

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX S V ADV

How	will	I	stay	alone?
WH[ADV]	AUX	1SG	mV	ADV
WH[ADV]	tV	NP	V	ADV
WH[ADV]	AUX	S	V	ADV

22. KB: S WH[ADV] V

nini	amjokmung	bahai	wng-wi	tong?
2SG-GEN	examination	WH[ADV]	be-PROG	exist (V)
[DET	N]	WH[ADV]	mV-PROG	tV

NP		WH[ADV]	[V	V]
S		WH[ADV]	V	
Your	examination	how	be-PROG	exist(V)

‘How is your exam going on?’

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX S V

How	is	your	exam	going on?
WH[ADV]	tV	2SG-GEN	N	mV
WH[ADV]	AUX	[DET	N]	mV
WH[ADV]	AUX	NP		V
WH[ADV]	AUX	S		V

23a. KB-I

- S WH[ADV] V(V)
- S WH[ADV] V
- S ADV WH[ADV] V
- S WH[ADV] V

23b. KB-D

- S ADV V(V)
- S ADV V
- S ADV (ADV) V
- S ADV V

24a. ENG-I

- WH[ADV] V S
- WH[ADV] AUX S V
- WH[ADV] AUX S V ADV
- WH[ADV] AUX S V

24b. ENG-D

- S V ADV [P]
- S AUX V ADV[PP]
- S AUX V ADV (ADV)
- S AUX V ADV

1.5 bswk ‘how much/ how many’ⁱ

25. KB: S WH[ADV] (V)

nini bwsa khorok bswk?

[[2SG-GEN	child	[+HUM]	WH[ADV]
NP			WH[ADV]
S			WH[ADV]
Your	child-PL		how many
'How-many are your children?'			

ENG: WH[ADV] V S

How many	are	your	children?
WH[ADV]	be-3PL-PRES	2SG-GEN	child-PL
WH[ADV]	mVt	[DET	N-NOM]
WH[ADV]	V		NP
WH[ADV]	V		S

In KB lexicon for various referents there are designated morphemes – either a word or a clitic – which are mandatorily used. In (71) *khoroK* in *bwsa khoroK* is one such example which indicates an item with the feature [+HUMAN]. The Bangla item *jon* which is always used in constructions referring to human beings like *koto jon* ‘how many people’, *onek jon* ‘many people’, *ek jon* ‘one person’ etc. presents an analogous morpho-syntactic formation.

26. KB: ADV S WH[ADV] (V)

nini	rwng-nog	o	swrwng-nai	bwswk?
2SG-GEN	education-house	LOC-SUF	learners	how many
[DET	N	P]	NP	WH[ADV]
	PP		NP	WH[ADV]
	ADV		S	WH[ADV]
Your	education-house	at	learner	how many
'How many learners/students are (there) in your school?'				

ENG: WH[ADV] S V ADV ADV

How	many	students	are	there	in	your	school?
[WH[ADV]	ADJ	N]	be-3PL	ADV-LOC	P-LOC	[DET	N]
NP		V		ADV		PP	
WH[ADV]	S	V		ADV		ADV	

27. KB: S ADV WH[ADV]

nini	kami	Aguli-ni	simi	bwswk	hachal?
[2SG-GEN	N]	[Agartala-GEN	P]	WH[ADV]	A
NP		PP		WH[ADV]	A
S		ADV		WH[ADV]	A
Your	village	Agartala	from	how	distant
‘How far is your village from Agartala?’					

ENG: WH[ADV] V S ADV

How	far	is	your	village	from	Agartala
WH[ADV]	A	be-3SG-PRES	[2SG-GEN	N]	[P	N]
[WH[ADV]	A]	tVm	DET	N	PP	
WH[ADV]		V	NP-NOM		PP	
WH[ADV]		V	S		ADV	

28. KB: ADV WH[S] V

kuthumlaimung-o	khorok	bwswk	manjak-kha?
N-LOC	[+HUM]	WH[A/ADV]	tVm-PT
PP	men-PL	WH[A/ADV]	V-PT
ADV	NP	WH[A/ADV]	V

ADV	S	WH[ADV]	V
meeting-at	[+HUM]	how many	attended

‘How many people attended (at) the meeting?’

ENG: WH[ADV] S V O

How	many	people	attend-ed	the	meeting?
WH[ADV]	[A	N]	V-PT	[DET	N]
WH[ADV]	NP-NOM	V	NP-LOC/AC		
WH[ADV]	NP	V	NP		
WH[ADV]	S	V	O		

The comparative picture of the use of bswk ‘how much/how many’ is shown in (29-30)

29a. KB-I

S WH[ADV] (V)
 ADV S WH[ADV] (V)
 S ADV WH[ADV]
 ADV WH[S] V

29b. KB-D

S ADV (V)
 ADV S ADV (V)
 S ADV ADV
 ADV S V

30a. ENG-I

WH[ADV] V S
 WH[ADV] S V ADV ADV
 WH[ADV] V S ADV
 WH[ADV] S V O

30b. ENG-D

S V ADV
 ADV V S ADV
 S V ADV ADV
 S V O

2.0 *wh*-questions with *wh*-determiners in KB

2.1 bobo ‘which’

31. KB: S WH[P] (V)

nini	bijap	bobo?	
2SG-GEN	book-NOM	DEM-PRO	(V)
[NP	NP]	NP	
S		WH[P]	
Your	book	which	
‘Which is your book?’			

ENG: WH[S] V P

Which	is	your	book?
WH-NOM	be-3SG-PRES	[DET-GEN	N]
WH[NP]	tV	NP	
WH[S]	V	P	

32. KB: S WH[P] (V)

Risha-ni	nok	bobo?	
2SG-GEN	house-NOM	DEM-PRO	
[NP	NP]	NP	
NP		WH[P]	
S		WH[P]	(V)
Risha’s	house	which	
‘Which is Risha’s house?’			

ENG: WH[S] V P

Which	is	Risha’s	house?
WH-NOM	be-3SG-PRES	[NP-GEN	N]
NP	tV	NP	

WH[S] V P

33. KB: S WH[P] (V)

nwsa ⁱⁱ		bobo?
2SG-GEN child-NOM		DEM-PRO
[NP NP]		NP
NP		WH[P]
S		WH[P]
Your child		which

‘Which is your child?’

ENG: WH[S] V P

Which	is	your	child?
WH-NOM	be-3SG-PRES	[DET-GEN	N]
NP	tV	NP	
WH[S]	V	P	

34. KB: S WH[P] (V)

nikiching		bobo?
2SG-GEN friend-NOM		DEM-PRO
[NP NP]		NP
S		WH[P]
Your friend		which

‘Which is your friend?’

ENG: WH[S] V P

Which	is	your	friend?
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WH[NP]	be-3SG-PRES	[DET-GEN N]
NP	tV	NP
WH[S]	V	P

35a. KB-I

S WH[P] (V)
 S WH[P] (V)
 S WH[P] (V)
 S WH[P] (V)

35b. KB-D

S P (V)
 S P (V)
 S P (V)
 S P (V)

36a. ENG-I

WH[S] V P
 WH[S] V P
 WH[S] V P
 WH[S] V P

36b. ENG-D

S V P
 S V P
 S V P
 S V P

2.3 saboni ‘whose’**37. KB: S WH[P] (V)**

O	malkhung	sabo-ni?	
[DET	N]	WH[PRON]-GEN	
NP		DET	
	S	WH[P]	(V)
This	vehicle	whose	
‘Whose vehicle is this?’			

ENG: WH[S] V P

Whose vehicle is

WH[PRON]-GEN	N	be-3SG-PRES	PRON
[DET	N]	tVm	NP
NP		V	NP
WH[S]		V	P

38. KB: S WH[P] (V)

O	nok	saboni?	
[DET	N]	WH[PRON]-GEN	
NP		DET	
S		WH[P]	(V)
This house		whose	
‘Whose is this house?’			

ENG: WH[S] V P

Whose	house	is	this
WH[PRON]-GEN	N-NOM	be-3SG-PRES	PRON
[DET	N]	tVm	NP
NP		V	NP
WH[S]		V	P

39. KB: S WH[ADV] V

nwng	sabo-ni	nog-o	thang-nai
2SG-NOM	WH[PRON]-GEN	house-LOC	go-FT
NP	[DET	N] P	mVt
S	PP[ADV]		V
S	WH[ADV]		V
You	whose	house	go will

‘Whose house will you go?’

ENG: WH[ADV] AUX S V

Whose	house	will	you	go?
WH[PRON]-GEN	N	AUX	2SG-NOM	V
[DET	N]	tV	NP	go
NP		AUX	NP	V
[[WH[DET]	NP-LOC]	AUX	S	V
WH[ADV]		AUX	S	V

40a. KB-I

S WH[P] (V)

S WH[P] (V)

S WH[ADV] V

40b. KB-D

S POSS-PPON (V)

S POSS-PPON (V)

S ADV V

41b. ENG-I

WH[S] V P

WH[S] V P

WH[ADV] AUX S V

41b. ENG-D

S V P

S V P

S AUX V ADV

3.0 Conclusion

In this article we have surveyed the syntax of *wh*-interrogatives with adverbs and determiners in KB vis-a-vis English. This has given us a comprehensive picture of the word order differences in the two languages. Das (2011) has noted the major differences in respect of *yes-no* questions and their implications for English language pedagogy in Tripura particularly concerning a more

effective teaching of English to the KB speaking students at various levels. The same holds good for the present study too. To recap the main points of the present study:

- a. KB and English belong to two totally different families of languages: Sino-Tibetan and Indo-European respectively. The KB students learning English find various problems in coping with the latter.
- b. It is a truism in second language research that the first language grammar plays a significant role, mostly as a hindrance, in cases where the two systems i.e. the first language and second language, are radically at variance with each other.
- c. Through this comparative study it obvious that KB is a HEAD LAST language while English is a HEAD FIRST language.
- d. This parametric variation is largely responsible for the word order differences noted in the two languages.
- e. The morphological property of VP determines the phenomena of Tense and AGR representation in both the languages.
- f. In English AUX is mandatory in non-copular structure of such interrogatives. KB fulfils this demand of the interrogative formation by introducing a non-morphemic element *de*, in addition to a rising tone in *yes-no* type questions.
- g. The formation of the VPs gets complicated in accordance with the need to represent the complex concepts of the time continuum of the two languages.
- h. Use of an additional verbal item renders the KB VP look like [(O) mV tV], where mV stands for main verb, and tV for the Tensed Verb.

g. No verbal movement is necessary in KB, unlike English. Only *de* moves around the VP without affecting the semantic value of the sentence concerned.

Example sentences are given in ample number pointing out the relevant issues for theory and language teaching. The entire picture of differences between KB and English in respect of their respective interrogative formations and also in respect of formation of declaratives is given in the table (42) below. This will definitely help everybody concerned to approach the issue of English language teaching to the KB speaking students (mainly from ethnic tribes) of Tripura in a more systematic, scientific and fruitful manner. The teacher can now trace the systematicity of the errors committed by the learners and will be able to explain the mistakes in terms of the word order disparity between the two systems.

42.

<i>wh</i> -item	KB-I	KB-D	ENG-I	ENG-D
1. tangwi 'why'	S WH[ADV] ADV V	S WH[ADV] ADV V	WH[ADV] AUX S V ADV	S V ADV
	WH[ADV] S ADV V-NEG	S ADV V-NEG	WH[ADV] AUX NEG S V ADV	S AUX NEG V ADV
	WH[ADV] S A[PRED]-NEG(V)	S P[A]-NEG(V)	WH[ADV] NP V NEG A	NP V NEG A
	S WH[ADV] V	S V-NEG	WH[ADV] AUX NEG S V	AUX NEG S V
	S WH[ADV] O V AUX	S O V AUX	WH[ADV] AUX S V O	S AUX V O
2. boro 'where'	S P[WH] (V)	S P (V)	WH[ADV] V S	S V ADV

	S WH[ADV] V	S ADV V	WH[ADV] AUX S V	S AUX V ADV
	S WH[ADV] (V)	S P (V)	WH[ADV] V S	S V ADV
3. buphuru 'when'	S WH[ADV] V	S V	WH[ADV] AUX S V	S AUX V ADV
	S WH[ADV] ADV V	S (ADV) V	WH[ADV] AUX S V ADV	S AUX V ADV[PP] ADV
	WH[ADV] S V	S (ADV) V	WH[ADV] AUX S V	S AUX V ADV
	S WH[ADV] ADV V	S (ADV) ADV V	WH[ADV] AUX S V ADV	S AUX V ADV ADV
4. bahai 'how'	S WH[ADV] V(V)	S ADV V(V)	WH[ADV] V S	S V ADV [P]
	S WH[ADV] V	S ADV V	WH[ADV] AUX S V	S AUX V ADV[PP]
	S ADV WH[ADV] V	S ADV (ADV) V	WH[ADV] AUX S V ADV	S AUX V ADV (ADV)
	S WH[ADV] V	S ADV V	WH[ADV] AUX S V	S AUX V ADV
5. bswsk 'how many/ much'	S WH[ADV] (V)	S ADV (V)	WH[ADV] V S	S V ADV
	ADV S WH[ADV] (V)	ADV S ADV (V)	WH[ADV] S V ADV ADV	ADV V S ADV
	S ADV WH[ADV]	S ADV ADV	WH[ADV] V S ADV	S V ADV ADV

	ADV WH[S] V	ADV S V	WH[ADV] S V O	S V O
6. bobo 'which'	S WH[P] (V)	S P (V)	WH[S] V P	S V P
	S WH[P] (V)	S P (V)	WH[S] V P	S V P
	S WH[P] (V)	S P (V)	WH[S] V P	S V P
	S WH[P] (V)	S P (V)	WH[S] V P	S V P
7. saboni 'whose'	S WH[P] (V)	S WH[P] (V)	WH[S] V P	S V P
	S WH[P] (V)	S POSS-PPON (V)	WH[S] V P	S V P
	S WH[ADV] V	S ADV V	WH[ADV] AUX S V	S AUX V ADV