Role of Bound Lexemes in Limbu Religious Scripture Mundhum

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Abstract:- This article attempts to deal with the linguistic aspect of the Limbu Mundhum which is considered to be archaic as well as the most classical form of the Limbu language. It aims at looking into the distinctive linguistic feature especially the nonsensical (bound lexeme) words employed in the Mundhum code or language is variety which is markedly different from that of ordinary communicative code in terms of its sonic texture and lexical pattern. The study is based on empirical and the linguistic data drawn from one of the Mundhum's mythical references popularly known as Yapmi Pongma Mundhum 'The Origin of Man'. The research design this article attempts to follow is the qualitative one in which the researcher applies the archive studies for the non-numerical data and thus explains the terms employed in the religious scripture with illustration. The analysis has revealed the conclusion that communicative language and ritual language variety vary in many respects in terms of sonic texture, diction type and syntactic structure. In the Mundhum, the use of archaic, obsolete and even nonsensical lexemes is the commonplace. The nonsensical words are of four different kinds on the basis of their characteristic features and the place they occur. From their use, it is easily inferred that they do have multi-dimensional functions in the enrichment of the Mundhum verse.

Keywords:- Bound Lexeme, Code, Ritual, Sequence, Structure, Syllabic Word, Verse Line.

I. INTRODUCTION

The language spoken by the Limbu ethnic people is termed as the Limbu language. The Limbu people's traditional inhabitant spreads across six hilly districts of the eastern part of Nepal. According to the National Census 2011 AD, the total number of Limbu population is 387,300 and the number of native speakers is 343,603 which are 1.46% and 1.29% respectively out of the total population of the nation. The linguists like Weidert and Subba (1985) point out that the Limbu language has four different dialectal variants viz. Chhathare, Panchthare comprising Choubise and Yangrake, Taplejungge including Mewa/Maiwa Khole and Phedappe. The Limbu language has its own writing script natively known as '*Sirijunga Lipi'*. "This language, which belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family, is considered to be second to the Newari language in terms of its possession of own writing script and its literary development (Angdembe 2010, p. 1)". It is characterized as a complex pronominalized agglutinating language. There are two distinct linguistic codes simultaneously used in the Limbu community. They are: the ordinary communicative code or practical language variety and the next the Mundhum code or ritual language variety. The ordinary language variety serves the purpose of day to day communicative function whereas the latter serves the special purpose of ritualistic performances.

Though the ritual code seems to have a limited range in terms of speakers' number, it covers an incredible scope ranging from the illness healings e.g. exorcism to the spiritual dealings e.g. liturgical and ritual forms. The ritual variety is thought to be very complex and obscure because its linguistic features are considerably different from the practical language variety or the communicative language variety. The Mundhum language is essentially archaic and still it is being used in the classical form. In the same way it is employed only in the special religious occasions to perform rites and rituals. The Limbu religious priests (locally termed as *sambas, yebas*) are considered as the authentic persons to deal with the Mundhum language. During the recitation of the Mudhum utterance, the Limbu priests happen to utter a large number nonsense words or technically termed as 'bound lexemes' i.e. the lexical items which do not have meaning on their own but they enhance the sense of the host words. This means that average terms are deliberately found to be meaningless. But in this regard, Staal (1996, Preface xv) opines, "Ritual is transmitted not only without meaning, but often without language." He further claims that ritual is pure activity, without meaning or goal. To say that ritual is for its own sake is to say that it is meaningless, without function, aim or goal, or also that it constitutes its own aim or goal. Concerning the strange linguistic features, this paper endeavors to focus on the role of obsolete and bound (nonsense) lexemes in the Mundhum code or the ritual language variety which is regarded as the most classical form of this language and also attempts to look into the reasons as to what roles the bound lexemes play in the Mundhum code or the ritual variety of language.

II. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study are to:
➢ To point out the possible types of the bound lexemes in the Mundhum code;
➢ To analyze the rationale and function of the nonsensical (non-lexical) items or the bound lexemes.

III. METHODOLOGY

The study is based on empirical and the linguistic data drawn from one of the Mundhum's mythical references popularly known as *Yapmi Pongma Mundhum* 'The Origin of Man'. The research design this article attempts to follow is the qualitative one in which the researcher applies the archive studies for the non-numerical data and thus explains and analyzes the terms employed in the religious scripture with illustration. So far as the theoretical background is concerned, the study avails the concepts and ideas of Bowra (1952), Staal (1996), Cuddon (1998), Crystal (2007) and Simpson (2012).

IV. RECURSIVE TYPES OF OBSOLETE AND NONSENSICAL (BOUND) LEXEMES IN MUNDHUM

It is commonly believed that the Mundhum is the prehistoric relic of the Limbu language. This notion is further justified by certain evidences. The obvious point is that the Mundhum code has massive use of archaic and obsolete dictions. The next thing is that there is caesura in every verse line of the Mundhum that is, Cuddon (1998, p. 104) refers to it as "a break or pause in a verse line of poetry dictated by natural rhythm of language and/or enforced by punctuation." Regarding the rhythm, Long (1989, p. 17) states that "the rhythm of our earliest poetry depended on accent and alliteration that is, the beginning of two or more words in the same line with the same sound or letter." He further states that the lines were made up of two short halves separated by a pause." While considering the views by these two literary figures, the Mundhum also seems to possess these features. Just as Cuddon's claim that the most classical verse is blank verse, the Mundhum has only internal (intra-line) rhyme and if the external rhyme is found that is merely the coincidence. Let us see the following Mundhum verse line:

1)   *je.. sa:ŋgu agɛrɛ ‖ sɔkma: agɛrɛ*
je sa:ŋgu a- gɛr -ɛ ‖ sɔkma: a- gɛr -ɛ
VOC vitality 1-get -PT life force 1- get -PT
We have taken the complete rest.

In the extracted Mundhum verse: *je .. sa:ŋgu a- gɛr -ɛ ‖ sɔkma: a- gɛr -ɛ* , the beginning term '*je*' is offbeat and the rest portion '*sa:ŋgu a- gɛr -ɛ ‖ sɔkma: a- gɛr -ɛ*' is the real Mundhum verse. It is customary that the verse line does not necessarily start right from the real portion of Mundhum but the onset is usually with the offbeat. The use of the offbeat in the initial position does not have its own significance however it is used for two purposes that is, it draws the attention of the audience and it copes with the rhythmic balance properly. The line consists of equal halves having five syllables in each half. The ending sound /ɛ/ rhymes with the preceding sound of caesura or the end sound of the first half.

Like all other folk epics of the world, the Mundhum also belongs to the oral tradition which has been handed down through oral recitation. To consider about the

Mundhum verse, it includes reasonable number of lexemes which could be either archaic or obsolete or even bound (nonsensical) ones. Almost all headwords co-occur along with apposed words or pre-modifiers. Nearly half of the modifying words seem to be the bound lexemes. The use of archaic and obsolete dictions is quite common in the classical form of poetry like Mundhum but what significance the nonsensical lexemes may have in the poetry is the question in most of us. In this regard, the term nonsensical seems to be worthless since it is already and always without any meaning. But contrary to our expectation, such nonsensical words do have a reasonable significance especially for enhancing the meaning of the headword and maintaining the balance in the verse line. Regarding the nonsensical words, Crystal (2007, p. 11) maintains the view as "unintelligible words and phrases are the commonplace in the oral poetry in many languages and can be explained only by a universal desire to exploit the sonic potential of language." Nonsensical words are of different types in terms of their nature as well as usage.

➤ *Offbeat*
An offbeat is, as Simpson (2011, p. 16), "an unstressed syllable which is normally placed at the start or at the end of a line of verse." According to him, when the offbeat occurs at the beginning of the verse line, it serves as the springboard that helps us launch into the metrical scheme proper. It has of two types i.e. lexical and non-lexical forms. The lexical is that form which is meaningful or independent lexeme whereas non-lexical is bound form. In the Limbu Mundhum verse, the bound offbeat can be '*ye*', '*hey*', *haʔyũ, pãyũ,* etc. They usually occur at the beginning. The verse final occurring offbeats are '*ro/lo, pʰaŋ, be*'. The initial occurring offbeats have a high frequency than the verse final. The lexical (meaningful) offbeats usually involve adverbials like '*allɔ, andɛ:n, ɔkkʰɛ, tʰo:* and pronouns like *kʰɛni, kʰuni,* and so forth. Let us consider the example of non-lexical offbeats used in the Mundhum verse line:

2)   *je.. sa:ŋgu agɛrɛ ‖ sɔkma: agɛrɛ*
je.. sa:ŋgu a-gɛr-ɛ ‖ sɔkma: a-gɛr-ɛ
VOC vitality 1-get-PT life force 1-get-PT

We are refreshed having rest**.**

In the above verse lines, the verse-initial offbeat *'je'*.., has been employed. The offbeat '*je*' is essentially non-lexical or nonsensical (bound) lexeme.

➤ *Apposed/modifying words*
The Mundhum verse is always made up of two halves of the parallel contruction. Appositive or modifying word occurs as a subject of the first half and the headword in the second half. The modifier or apposed word can be either meaningful or bound lexeme. Being the subject of a verb, modifiers are very often nominals (i.e. Relating to or functioning as a noun) for this reason the Mundhum is said to have binominal expressions or paired expressions. See the example below:

3)   *wɔja jaŋ siŋ lo ‖ apʰelli jaŋsiŋ lo*
wɔja jaŋ-siŋ   lo ‖ apʰelli jaŋ -siŋ lo
APP   take-REF FOC catapult carry-REF FOC

He started taking catapult.

In the above two verse lines, the line initiating apposed words *wɔja* is bound lexeme. Moreover, the second verse has an offbeat '*lo*' at its end.

➤ *Mimetic words*

Mimetic words are also alternatively known as onomatopoeic words which directly connect up particular feature of sound in a text with non-linguistic phenomena out side the text. To put it in another way, it is the formation and use of words to imitate sounds. This is a way of matchig up a sound with non-linguistic correlate in the 'real' world. Not all the mimetic words used in the Mundhum are lexical forms. Naturally, some of the sound imitative lexemes are bound ones. This means mimetic word onomatopoeia involves both the lexical as well as non-lexical forms. Example of the mimetic words used in the Mundhum verse is presented below:

4)   *ani tʰuttʰu tʰuktumballe ‖ tʰuɛ   tʰuktumballe*
ani tʰuttʰu   tʰuk t-u -m -ba -lle   ‖   tʰuɛ tʰukt -u -m -ba -lle
we ONOM   spit-3P-pA-NOM-SUB   ONOM spit-3P-pA-NOM-SUB
We scornfully spat on to the created human.

In the first verse, *tʰuttʰu* and *tʰuɛ* are the mimetic or onomatopoeic lexemes which are not the lexical forms.

➤ *Expressive or intensifying adverb*

The expressive adverbs naturally occur before the verb but such adverbs are completely bound lexemes that means they cannot occur on their own or independently. They are profusely used in the ordinary speech and a bit limited to the ritual language. They may occur independently preceding the verb or get connected morphosyntactically with the verb. When they are joined to the verb, their last syllable is a duplicate of the verb root itself. Let us consider the example as follows:

5)   *je.. pɔgʰɛm kʰɛmdu ro bʰaŋ ‖ pɔlaʔk la:k lo bʰaŋ*
je   pɔgʰɛm kʰɛmd-u ro bʰaŋ ‖ pɔlaʔk la:k   lo bʰaŋ
VOC very suit-3P- OPT SUB   very smart OPT SUB

So that it may match very excellently.

In the given verse lines, the lexemes like *pɔgʰɛm,* and *pɔlaʔk* are bound lexemes which precede the verbs *kʰɛmdu*, (suit) and *la:k* (here denotes 'clever') respectively. These expressive lexemes occur only to expand the semantic dimension.

V.   FUNCTIONS OF NONSENSICAL WORDS (BOUND LEXEMES)

At first hearing, everyone would be surprised to know about the matter that 'nonsensical words' or 'bound lexemes' have their significant functions in the Limbu Mundhum.   Tumbahang (2013) mentions "from the superficial view, such skeptical idea regarding the importance of the nonsensical words or bound lexemes is correct to some extent however it is not so as has been thought of." The fact is that, when these nonsensical words happen to be the guest of the headwords (host words), the equal meaning is surcharged to them by their hosts. Bowra (1952) has much discussed about the nonsensical words in his work entitled 'Heroic Poetry'. Undoubtedly, these words are nonsensical when they occur in isolation. At such time, their position is just as the position of the digit zero '0'. It is because the digit zero has no value till the time it happens to follow other numerical. What happens when the zero makes the digit one (1) as its host by following close to it? The answer is straightforward that the valueless zero '0' extends ten times more value of its host, this means one '1' becomes ten '10'. Similar is the case of the nonsensical words while occurring with their hosts, they definitely heighten the meaning of the headwords.   The nonsensical words have following functions in the Mundhum expression:

➤ *Rhythmical balance*

The Mundhum is an art of expressing the noble thoughts in melodious rhythmical language. So the balance in the rhythm is a must. The Mundhum makes use of non-lexical items in order to keep the rhythmical balance. Consider the example below:

6)   *je ... minu buŋmahaʔ ‖ tiŋnam buŋmahaʔ*
je ... minu buŋma -haʔ ‖ tiŋnam buŋma -haʔ
VOC APP plant -p   cane   plant -p

Fine canes' sticks,

The Mundhum verse line given in the example the pre-modifying words *minu* is completely nonsensical word. Its occurrence is only to maintain the rhythmical structure of the verse.

➤ *Structural balance*

It has formulaic fixed structure: 'A + R, B + R'; here, A and B stand for adnominal
(nouns) and both A and B have the identical verb conjugation. e.g.
A + R   B   +   R
7)   *wɔja   mɛbʰoksu   ‖   jaŋdaŋ mɛbʰoksu*
wɔja   mɛ-bʰoks-u ‖ jaŋdaŋ   mɛ-bʰoks-u
naming rite nsAS-perform-3P, baptismal rite nsAS-perform-3P
They performed the rite of naming.

In the given verse line, the terms *jaŋdaŋ* (B) is headword and *wɔja* (A) is modifier/apposed words which are bound lexemes. Both A and B have the identical verb *mɛbʰoksu* . The modifying or appositive word '*wɔja*' has occurred solely to maintain the structural balance. The verse has to convey the meaning '*they performed the naming rite*'.

➢ *Alliteration and assonance*

Most of apposed/modifying words occur in the verse line to make it alliterative and assonance.

8)   *je... haŋgɛn   rɔk lɔrɛ ‖ siktˢa rɔk   lɔrɛ*
        je   haŋgɛn   rɔk   lɔr-ɛ   ‖   siktˢa   rɔk lɔr-ɛ
        VOC irritation FOC feel-PT disinterested-FOC feel-PT
She was irritated.

The term *haŋgɛn* is the apposed/modifying word of the headword *siktˢa.* These pair words have created alliteration of /l/ and /r/sounds and assonance of /a/ /ɔ/ and /ɛ / sounds in the verse lines.

➢ *Expanding semantic dimension*

Though the lexemes are bound, they can play a significant role to expand semantic dimension in the expression. e.g.

9)   *je.. pɔgʰɛm kʰɛmdu robʰaŋ ‖ pɔlaʔk la:k lo bʰaŋ*
je   pɔgʰɛm kʰɛmd-u ro bʰaŋ   ‖   pɔlaʔk la:k   lo bʰaŋ
VOC very suit-3P-ASS SUB   sharply smart ASS SUB

So that s/he may be well matched and smart.

In this verse, the terms *pɔgʰɛm* and *pɔlaʔk* are essentially the bound lexemes yet they are adding the degree of the verb conjugation *kʰɛmdu* (suit/match) and *la:k* (clever/smart) respectively.

➢ *Performance control with delight*

The apposed words often create the situation of repetition of certain terms in the verse. This repetitive pattern helps to control the activity that is being performed and may offer delight to the performer. We can see a child playing alone uttering some sorts of repetitive words. Really, the utterance has a function.

10)   *je... luŋtˢʰitˢʰiri   gɔ ‖ luŋboŋba saʔhaʔ ro*
        je   luŋtˢʰi -tˢʰiri   gɔ ‖ luŋboŋba saʔ -haʔ   ro
        VOC ancient tribe -RHM TOP primitive offspring -p ASS
They are born out of the stones.
        In the given example, the term like *luŋ* is repetitive syllables in the line.

➢ *Galvanizing the syllabic sequence*

The nonsensical words have very powerful source to galvanize syllabic sequences. Let us consider the following examples:
11)   *allɔ ettˢʰum tˢokma be ‖ eppʰa tˢokma be*
allɔ   ettˢʰum tˢok-ma be   ‖   eppʰa   tˢo-ma be
now   how make-INF INQ what make-INF INQ

They were confused what to do next.

In the above lines, the apposed/pre-modifier word like *ettˢʰum* is generally nonsensical lexeme yet it has been used in the verse line so as to galvanize the syllabic sequence. Both the headword *eppʰa* and its apposed/modifying word *ettˢʰum* are archaic and obsoletes.

➢ *Organizing symmetrical mirror image pattern in verse*

They are extremely helpful to organize a symmetrical 'mirror image' pattern in the verse line.
12)   *je... tɔrɔŋ hiʔsiŋaŋ   ‖   taŋsaŋ hisiŋaŋ*
        je   tɔrɔŋ   hiʔ -siŋ -aŋ   ‖   taŋsaŋ hi-siŋ-aŋ
VOC paradise turn-REF-pfG sky turn-REF-pfG
They turned up to the sky.

In the example, the verse has the mirror image pattern in the line. In the first line the sounds /t/ and /h/ are alliterative and though the /ŋ/ sound is not in the position of alliteration, it has a higher frequency and has produced sonority in the verse.

➢ *Providing linkage*

They serve the link between anaphoric as well as cataphoric references.
13)   *je... mɛntˢʰam   tˢog-u-ro ‖ japmi tˢog-u-ro*
        je... mɛntˢʰam tˢog-u   ro   ‖   japmi   tˢog -u ro
        VOC human make-3P ASS human being make-3P-ASS
They created the human being.

In the example the nonsensical word '*je*' is supportive element for the anaphoric reference which indicates the back.

➢ *Setting the language off the ordinary speech*

They are the means of setting the ritual language off the ordinary speech variety.
14)   *je... sawa mɛlɛksu   ‖ e:kpʰa mɛlɛksu*
je   sawa   mɛ- lɛks -u   ‖   e:kpʰa   mɛ- lɛks -u
 VOC jungle nsAS- fell-3P bush   nsAS- fell -3P
They cleared the jungle

Apart from the offbeat '*je*' the apposed/pre-modifier words   *sawa* is not only nonsensical but also archaic diction which are not used in the practical language. That is why when they occur; they set the expression off the ordinary variety.

➤ *Enhancing musical quality*
They can be equally helpful to enhance the musical quality in the verse line.

15)   *minu mɛdʰaŋu* ‖ *tʰaŋ ni   mɛdʰaŋulle*
     minu mɛ- dʰaŋ -u ‖ *tʰaŋ   ni   mɛ- dʰaŋ -u -lle*
     APP nsAS-filter-3P weigh CTR   nsAS- filter -3P -SUB

As they filtered the siblings through the sieve made of gold and silver,

In the given Mundhum lines, the appositive words *minu* is essentially nonsensical yet it contributes to set the verse to music. The appositive has created the situation for alliteration in the line hence it has enhanced the musical quality.

➤ *Defamiliarization/Deautomatization*
Their occurrence is needed to defamiliarize the structure so as to draw the attention. In this way they can play the role to deautomatize the usual expression. Let us see how they have deautomatized the familiar expression as below:

16)   *hukso mɛukʰulle* ‖ *taŋe mɛukʰulle*
     huk -so mɛ- ukʰ -u -lle ‖ *taŋe mɛ- ukʰ -u -lle*
     hand-BAL nsAS- pull -3P -SUB arms nsAS- pull -3P -SUB

Having pulled the body from the two different sides,
In the ordinary saying, only *mɛukʰulle* 'pulled' would have been enough.

➤ *Retaining spirit of the ritual sense*
They function to reflect the close adherence to tradition and are special to set apart from everyday language since most people think that religious language should be different.

17)   *je... tɔrɔŋ hiʔsiŋaŋ* ‖ *taŋsaŋ hiʔsiŋaŋ*
     je   tɔrɔŋ hiʔ -siŋ -aŋ ‖ *taŋsaŋ hiʔ -siŋ -aŋ*
     VOC paradise turn -REF -pfG sky turn -REF -pfG

They looked up the sky the heavenly space.

In the example, both apposed words *tɔrɔŋ* is archaic and ritual word which generally shows the close adherence to the tradition.

➤ *Uplifting standard*
Even being bound lexemes, they are supportive to maintain the standard of ritual language.

18)   *je.... samso mɛgʰeksu rɔ* ‖ *jomiŋ mɛgʰeksu ro*
  je   sam-so   mɛ-gʰeks-u ro ‖ *jo-miŋ   mɛ-gʰeks-u   ro*
  VOC identity-BAL nsAS-put/tie-3P ASS BAL-name nsAS-put/tie-3P ASS

They put the name.

The pair binomials *samso* and *jomiŋ* are purely ritual terms which are announced only during the ritual performances.

➤ *Maintaining cohesion and coherence*
They can play a crucial role to achieve coherence and cohesion at various levels that is phonological, lexical, semantic, syntactic, rhythmic, musical melody and the like. Let us consider the following verse lines.

19)   *je....... sewa   mɛ-jɛb-ɛ* ‖ *se:ndo mɛ-jɛb-ɛ*
  je   sewa   mɛ-jɛb-ɛ ‖ *se:ndo   mɛ-jɛb-ɛ*
VOC solicitously nsAS-stand-PT inquisitively nsAS-stand-PT

They humbly stood for ask and inquiry.

➤ *Making powerful expression*
Nonsensical words are helpful to make the expression vivid, sharp and pointed. In other words, they can assist for meaning exaltation. Just as the zero (0) has no value when it occurs in isolation, but it can extend the value of the figures ten times more if it happens to follow them. One becomes ten, and the ten becomes hundred. In the same manner, the nonsensical words can make the head word (host word) more expressive. Let us see the example below:

20)   *je... minu kirik lo* ‖ *pʰimbrikwa kirik lo*
     je   minu kirik lo ‖ *pʰimbrikwa kirik lo*
     VOC APP seed EMPH   soap nut seed EMPH

The seed of the soap-nut (*rittha*),

In the above cited Mundhum verse line, the terms '*minu*, and *kirik* are nonsensical lexemes. The first term *minu* is nominal pre-modifying word that has occurred with the headword *pʰimbrikwa* in order to heighten the meaning of its headword. Likewise, the term *kirik* non-lexical onomatopoeia however, it is able to match up sound with a nonlinguistic correlate in the 'real' world or they enact symbolically its referent outside language.

➤ *Organizing language into units*
They also help to organize the language into units which are more easily perceived and thus memorized for long.

21)   *lɛʔwa pegɛlle* ‖ *tʰiboŋla pegɛlle*
     lɛʔwa peg -ɛ -lle ‖ *tʰiboŋla peg -ɛ -lle*
     time go(spend)-PT-SUB   ten month go(spend)-PT-SUB

While ten month passed,

In the verse line, the pre-modifying word *lɛʔwa* is nonsensical in isolation but it plays a crucial role to make the text cohesive. Such word is important in the intra-textual relations of a grammatical and lexical kind which knits the parts together into a complete unit of the expression and which therefore, convey the meaning as a whole.

VI. SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

The Limbu is one of the dominant languages in the Tibeto-Burman language family by owning full-fledged literature. It is characterized as a complex pronominalized agglutinating language. There are four geographical dialects with its writing script locally known as '*Sirijunga Lipi.*'The Limbu natives seem to employ two distinct language varieties that is, ordinary (practical) variety and ritual (Mundhum) variety. The practical variety serves day-to-day communicative purpose whereas the Mundhum variety is used in the specific purpose in the ritualistic performances. These two linguistic codes vary in many respects such as sonic texture, diction type and syntactic structure. In the Mundhum, the use of archaic, obsolete and even nonsensical lexemes is the commonplace. The nonsensical words or bound lexemes are of four different kinds on the basis of their characteristic features and the place they occur. From their use, it is easily inferred that they do have multi-dimensional functions in the enrichment of the Mundhum verse.

➢ *Abbreviations used in the text:*
APP Appositive   ASSAssertive   BAL
Balancing (Affix)   CTR   Contrary
EMPH Emphatic   FOC   Focus   IMP
        Imperative   INQ   Inquery
LNK Linking (Affix)NEG   Negative   NOM
        Nominative   3P   Third person
nsAS   Non-singular Agent/Subject
        ONOM Onomatopoeia   OPT   Optative
pfG Perfective Gerund PT   Past Tense   REF
        Reflective   RHM   Rhyming
TOP   Topicalzer   SUB   Subordinate   VOC
        Vocative   ‖ Caesura marker

➢ *Each of the following lines is as:*
je.. pɔgʰɛm kʰɛmdu ro bʰaŋ ‖ pɔlaʔk la:k lo bʰaŋ
↔ **tx** - Text
je   pɔgʰɛm kʰɛmd-u ro bʰaŋ   ‖ pɔlaʔk la:k   lo bʰaŋ
↔ **mb**- Morphemic break
VOC very suit-3P-ASS SUB   sharply smart ASS SUB
↔ **ig** –Interlinearized glossing
So that s/he may be well matched and smart.
↔**ft** - Free translation

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