Sedang Affixation
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0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe the affix system of Sedang\textsuperscript{1} and relate it to the underlying phrase structure of the language using the transformational grammar approach. The Causative Prefix \textit{PO} — is shown to operate in the « deep structure » of the language, whereas the other affixes are « surface structure » phenomena.

All affixes (except as noted in Section 4) occur with one-syllable stem verbs. The maximum two-syllable word pattern does not permit the addition of an affix to a two-syllable word (making a third syllable).

The sentence structure pertinent to a discussion of Sedang
affixation is given in (1) to (5) below. (1) The sentence order is subject Noun Phrase (NP) first, Verb Phrase (VP) second. (2) In the VP the optional object follows the Verb (V). (3) NP consists of Pronoun (Pron), Noun (N), or (but only as object of the verb) another Sentence (S). (4) Nouns are subclassified as either animate (Nan) or inanimate ( Nin). (5) Verbs are sub-classified as transitive (V tr), intransitive (Vintr) or stative (V st). V tr and Vintr may have either Nan or Pron as subject; but the V tr has a following NP as object whereas the Vintr has not. V st may have any N as subject but does not have anything following.

(1) \[ S \rightarrow \text{NP} + \text{VP} \]

(2) \[ \text{VP} \rightarrow V (\text{NP}) \]

(3) \[
\text{NP} \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\{ \text{Pron} \} \\
\{ N \} \\
\{ \text{Pron} \} \\
\{ N \}
\end{cases} / \_\_\_\_\#
\]

(4) \[ N \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\{ \text{Nan} \} \\
\{ \text{Nin} \}
\end{cases} \]

(5) \[ V \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
V_{\text{tr}} \\
V_{\text{intr}} \\
V_{\text{st}}
\end{cases} / \begin{cases} 
\{ \text{Nan} \} \\
\{ \text{Pron} \} \\
\{ N \}
\end{cases} - \begin{cases} 
\text{NP} \\
\_\_\_\#
\end{cases} \]

Sample lexical item for each of these grammatical classes are given in (6) to (11).

(6) Pron \rightarrow á « I », eh « you (sg.) », ... (see Section 2. 2)

(7) Nan \rightarrow séang « spirit », kuán « child », nôu « mother », kodrai « woman, wife » chu « pig », ...

(9) Vst → tang « to be erect », krā « to be sturdy », hia « to be lost », tot « to be stopped », klēi « to be finished », *...

(10) Vintr → hriam « to study », prēō « to return », blēi « to win », chiang « to mature, grow », chai 1 « to be sick », chai 2 « to go home », khiu 1 « to be sad », lōi « to stop », trōh « to go toward », hiu « to drown » reh « to live », āu « to nurse (speaking of child) », huam « to bathe », chem « to put food into the mouth », qno « to depart », .

(11) Vtr → roheng « to like », khiu 2 « to miss », chok « to punch », na « to embrace », ām « to give », pam « to pound », trua « to wear », potrua « to dress », to 2 « to get up on », PO « causative », ...

The various types of sentences which can be generated using the P-rules given above are listed below with examples (12) to (24). The strings of symbols with each example indicate the underlying structure; only lexical substitution is thereafter required.

(12) Nin + Vst

lōang tang « pole is erect »
sē tot « vehicle is stopped »

(13) Pron + Vst

ā tot « I am stopped »

(14) Nan + Vst

kuān hia « child is lost »

(15) Pron + Vintr

eh prēō « you return »

(16) Nan + Vintr

nōu khiu 1 « mother is sad »

(17) Pron + Vtr + Pron

ā chok eh « I punch you »

(18) Nan + Vtr + Pron

nōu khiu 2 eh « mother misses you »

(19) Pron + Vtr + Nan

gā na kodrai « he hugs woman »

* insert: to 1 « to be raised up »
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(20) Nan + Vtr + Nan  "child hugs mother"
(21) Pron + Vtr + Nin  "I give things"
(22) Nan + Vtr + Nin  "woman pounds stick"
(23) Pron + Vtr [ Pron + Vintr ]s  "I let you return"
(24) Nan + Vtr [ Pron + Vtr + Pron ]s  "mother likes me to punch you"

1. The Causative Transformation with Prefix \( PO \) —

The (deep structure) transitive verb \( PO \) — "causative," unlike all other \( Vtr \) is restricted (25) to occurrences with a following \( S \) as object. The \( S \) has as its VP a monosyllabic \( Vintr \) or \( Vst \). The causative \( PO \) — Affixation Transformation (26) is required to move the verb of the embedded sentence next to the causative prefix.

\[
\begin{align*}
V_{tr} & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
V_{tr} \\
\text{FO-}\end{array} \right\} / [NP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{Vintr} \\
\text{Vst} \end{array} \right\}_\text{monosyllactic} ]_S \\
\text{where } V_{tr} \text{ represents all } V_{tr} \text{ except } \text{FO-}
\end{align*}
\]

(26) The Causative \( PO \) — Affixation Transformation (obligatory):

\( PO + [NP + V]_S \rightarrow PO + V + NP \)

The causative prefix \( PO \) — has two allomorphs, \( PO \) — and \( mo \) — \( PO \) — characteristically occurs with verbs having initial voiceless consonants (C\( vt \)...), \( mo \) — with verbs having initial voiced consonants (C\( vd \)...), or initial vowels — disregarding the unwritten glotal stop (Vw...). But there are exceptions to both these generalizations. Furthermore there are morphophonemic changes in which the initial voiceless consonant of some verbs become voiced. \( PO \) — Morphophonemic Changes Transformation (27) states those verbs in which this morphophonemic change occurs. Selection of \( PO \) — Allomorph Transformation (28) then states the allomorphic changes, listing first
three verbs with which either allomorph occurs, then the exceptions (i.e., verbs with voiceless consonants which occur with mo—, and verbs with voiced consonants which occur with po—), and, finally, the otherwise regular pattern.

(27) PO—Morphophonemic Changes Transformation (obligatory):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PO—} & \quad \text{PO—} \\
\text{chiang} & \quad \text{jiang} \\
\text{chail} & \quad \text{jai} \\
\text{tang} & \quad \text{dang} \\
\text{tot} & \quad \text{dot} \\
\text{préō} & \quad \text{dpréō}
\end{align*}
\]

28) Selection of PO— Allomorph Transformation (obligatory):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PO—} & \quad \text{PO—} \\
\text{reh} & \quad \text{reh} \\
\text{jiang} & \quad \text{jiang} \\
\text{gno} & \quad \text{gno} \\
\text{huam} & \quad \text{huam} \\
\text{hriam} & \quad \text{hriam} \\
\text{dot} & \quad \text{dot} \\
\{ \text{blēi} \} & \quad \{ \text{blēi} \} \\
\text{lōi} & \quad \text{lōi} \\
\{ \text{c_vl} \} & \quad \{ \text{c_vl} \} \\
\{ \text{c_vd} \} & \quad \{ \text{c_vd} \} \\
\{ \text{V_w} \} & \quad \{ \text{V_w} \}
\end{align*}
\]

Illustrations

The sentence (29) has the underlying P-marker and surface structure as shown in (30).
(29) Á modang lôang. « I set the pole up. »

The various types of sentences which can be generated using the Causative *PO*—Affixation Transformation (26) and Selection of *PO*—Allomorph Transformation (28) are listed below with examples (31) to (40). Only those indicated require the *PO*—Morphophonemic Change Transformation (27).

(31) Pron + *PO*—[Nin + Vst]s  
á modang lôang « I lift up pole » (27)  
á pokhía toméam « I lose things »  
á pokléi chén « I pay off debt »  
nôu pokrá bó « mother makes firm the door »  
kodrai podot sê « woman stops the car » (27)

(32) Nan + *PO*—[Nin + Vst]s  
gá pohía kuán « he loses the child.  
nôu modang kuán « mother sets the child up on his feet » (27)

(33) Pron + *PO*—[Nan + Vst]s  
gá pohía gá « I lose him »  

(34) Nan + *PO*—[Nan + Vst]s  

(35) Pron + *PO*—[Pron + Vst]s
(36) Nan + PO—[Pron + Vst]s kodrai modot chu «woman stops the pig (27)

(37) Pron + PO—[Nan + Vintr]s gá pqno sêang «he casts out spirit
á pochem kuán «I feed child

(38) Nan + PO—[Nan + Vintr]s chu mojiang kuán «pig gives birth to baby (pig)» (27)
nôu moqâu kuán «mother nurses child

(39) Pron + PO—[Pron + Vintr]s á mohriam eh «I teach you

(40) Nan + PO—[Pron + Vintr]s nôu moreh gá «mother nourishes (takes care of) him»

2. The Reciprocal Transformation with Prefix to —

2.1 to — Affixation

The reciprocal prefix to — implies that X does it to Y and Y does it to X.

pá tochok déi pó «we (two) punch each other.»

The sentence structure pertinent to a discussion of such sentences involving the reciprocal prefix to — is limited to sentences of the form (17) to (20) given above, repeated here for convenience.

(17) Pron + Vtr + Pron

(18) Nan + Vtr + Pron

(19) Pron + Vtr + Nan

(20) Nan + Vtr + Nan

The underlying verb must be transitive. Both subject NP and object NP must be Pron or Nan. The to — prefix is used to conflate two sentences in which the (transitive) verbs are identical and in which the object NP of one is equivalent to the subject NP of the other, and vice versa. The resulting sentence has a subject pronoun which is determined by adding pronominally the nouns and/or
pronominal affixation so conflated. The Reciprocal to—Affixation Transformation is given as (41); the prepositional phrase dei pó « together » is optional. The determination of the appropriate pronoun is discussed in Section 2.2.

(41) The Reciprocal to—Affixation (optional):

\[
\left[\left\{\text{Pron}\right\}_{N\text{an}}^{N\text{an}} \right] \quad \text{V}_{trk} \quad \left[\left\{\text{Pron}\right\}_{N\text{an}}^{N\text{an}} \right] \quad \text{V}_{trk} \quad \left[\left\{\text{Pron}\right\}_{N\text{an}}^{N\text{an}} \right]
\]

\[
\rightarrow \left\{\text{Pron}\right\}_{N\text{an}}^{N\text{an}} \quad \left\{\text{Pron}\right\}_{N\text{an}}^{N\text{an}} \quad \text{V}_{trk} \quad \left(\text{dêt} \quad \text{āču}\right)
\]

where V_{trk} is monosyllabic; a restriction on Proni and Pronj is stated below as (43)

2.2 Sedang Pronouns

The Sedang pronoun system (excluding certain other forms used with special relatives) is charted below in the usual etic form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>mâ</td>
<td>ngian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>āču</td>
<td>pó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two asymmetries are evident. The most inexplicable one is that there is no distinction between 2nd person dual and plural.

Another arrangement, perhaps more emic though not as efficient, is shown below and specifies four features. For each feature each pronoun is marked + or − Three features permit only eight total distinctions; thus four features are required to fully specify the ten Sedang pronouns. Since four features would allow sixteen distinctions, there necessarily will be six possibilities unused.) The four features are:
(1) Hearer: [+ Hearer] indicates that the hearer is included in the pronoun;
[− Hearer] indicates that the hearer is not included in the pronoun;

(2) Speaker: [+ Speaker] indicates that the speaker is included in the pronoun;
[− Speaker] indicates that the speaker is not included in the pronoun;

(3) Non-singular: [+ Non-singular] indicates that the pronoun is either "dual" and/or "plural";
[− Non-singular] indicates that the pronoun is singular;

(4) Non-specific: [+ Non-specific] indicates that the pronoun is not specific as to how many people (or animals) are referred to, e.g. plural, two or more, three or more;
[− Non-specific] indicates that the pronoun is specific in limiting the number referred to to one or two.

The total effect of these features is illustrated in the Pronoun Branching Diagram (42). It should be noted that any pronoun marked [− Non-singular] is necessarily also marked [− Non-specific].
2.3 to — Affixation Pronoun Selection

The Reciprocal to — Affixation Transformation (41) above must have the following restriction (43).

(43) Pronoun Restriction for Reciprocal to-Affixation Transformation (41):

If either Proni or Pronj is marked [+ Hearer] the other must be marked [− Hearer] similarly, if either Proni or Pronj is marked [+ Speaker] the other must be marked [− Speaker].

Without this restriction the action would possibly be reflexive, not reciprocal. Reflexive action in Sedang is indicated by seh following the verb.)
Any Nan in the Reciprocal to—Affixation Transformation (41) must be assigned the proper pronoun on the basis of the features assigned to the Nan. Nouns are inherently marked

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Hearer} \\
\text{Speaker}
\end{array}
\]

The other two features determine the pronoun, and are stated in Pronominalization of Nan Transformation (44).

(44) Pronominalization of Nan Transformation optional, but obligatory with the Reciprocal to—Affixation Transformation (41):

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{Non-singular} & \text{Non-specific}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{Non-singular} & \text{Non-specific}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{Val} & \text{They (pl)} \\
\text{Prēi} & \text{Those two (dual)} \\
\text{Ga} & \text{He, she, it (sg)}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

After applying the Pronominalization of Nan Transformation (44) to the Reciprocal to—Affixatione Transformation (41) there remain the conjoined pronouns (Proni Pronj) of Transformation (41). The sum of these is obtained by adding the corresponding four features of each pronoun. The four features are added as follows:

1. **Hearer**: If, and only if, either pronoun is marked [+ Hearer], the resultant pronoun must be marked [+Hearer].

2. **Speaker**: If, and only if, either pronoun is marked [+ Speaker] the resultant pronoun must be marked [+ Speaker],

3. **Non-singular**: If, and only if, (a) either pronoun is marked [+ Non-singular] or (b) both pronouns are marked [- Non-specific], then the resultant pronoun must be marked
[ + Non-singular ].

(4) Non-specific: If, and only if, (a) either pronoun is marked [+ Non-specific] or (b) if either pronoun is marked [+ Non-singular], then the resultant pronoun must be marked [+ Non-specific].

Without provision (3b) the features \([- Non\text{-}s\text{ingular} \quad Non\text{-}s\text{pecific}\)] would define only a singular pronoun and would not adequately add the pronouns (both of which would have been singular). Without provision (4b) the features \([- Non\text{-}s\text{ingular} \quad Non\text{-}s\text{pecific}\] would define only a dual pronoun and would not adequately add the pronouns (one of which would at least have been dual).

The sum of the pronouns as described above is understood to be implied in the following transformation (45):

(45) Pronoun Addition (obligatory with the Reciprocal to—Affixation Transformation (41)):
Examples of pronoun adding:

\[(46) \quad \begin{array}{c}
+\text{Hearer} \\
+\text{Speaker} \\
+\text{Non-singular} \\
+\text{Non-specific} \quad \text{pian}
\end{array} \\
\begin{array}{c}
-\text{Hearer} \\
-\text{Speaker} \\
+\text{Non-singular} \\
+\text{Non-specific} \quad \text{préi}
\end{array} \rightarrow \\
\begin{array}{c}
+\text{Hearer} \\
+\text{Speaker} \\
+\text{Non-singular} \\
+\text{Non-specific}
\end{array} \]

\[(47) \quad \begin{array}{c}
-\text{Hearer} \\
+\text{Speaker} \\
+\text{Non-singular} \\
+\text{Non-specific} \quad \text{né}
\end{array} \\
\begin{array}{c}
-\text{Hearer} \\
-\text{Speaker} \\
+\text{Non-singular} \\
+\text{Non-specific} \quad \text{vaï}
\end{array} \rightarrow \\
\begin{array}{c}
-\text{Hearer} \\
+\text{Speaker} \\
+\text{Non-singular} \\
+\text{Non-specific} \quad \text{nɡian}
\end{array} \]

\[(48) \quad \begin{array}{c}
-\text{Hearer} \\
+\text{Speaker} \\
-\text{Non-singular} \\
+\text{Non-specific} \quad \text{né}
\end{array} \\
\begin{array}{c}
-\text{Hearer} \\
-\text{Speaker} \\
-\text{Non-singular} \\
+\text{Non-specific} \quad \text{né}
\end{array} \rightarrow \\
\begin{array}{c}
-\text{Hearer} \\
+\text{Speaker} \\
+\text{Non-singular} \\
+\text{Non-specific} \quad \text{né}
\end{array} \]

\[(49) \quad \begin{array}{c}
+\text{Hearer} \\
+\text{Speaker} \\
+\text{Non-singular} \\
-\text{Non-specific} \quad \text{pá}
\end{array} \\
\begin{array}{c}
-\text{Hearer} \\
-\text{Speaker} \\
-\text{Non-singular} \\
+\text{Non-specific} \quad \text{né}
\end{array} \rightarrow \\
\begin{array}{c}
+\text{Hearer} \\
+\text{Speaker} \\
+\text{Non-singular} \\
+\text{Non-specific} \quad \text{pian}
\end{array} \]

(48) illustrates the use of provision (3b) above; (49) illustrates the use of provision (4b) above.

With reference to the Pronoun Branching Diagram (42), given two such pronouns to be added, it is noted that the resultant pronoun is either equivalent to or to the left of the furthest left of the two given pronouns. Thus if the furthest pronoun is:

\[\text{pian, the resultant pronoun is also pian;}\]

\[\text{pá, } \quad \text{pian;}\]
\[\text{pó, } \quad \text{pó or pian;}\]
\[\text{eh, } \quad \text{pó, pá, or pian;}\]
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ngian, " " " also ngian;

má, " " " ngian;

á, " " " má or ngian;

vai, " " " also vai;

préi, " " " vai;

gá, " " " préi.

The features of the above pronoun system which commend it as having an emic status in Sedang which other systems do not have are (1) the equivalent or to the left property of the Pronoun Bsanching Diagram (42), (2) the simple mechanical method of Pronoun addition, and (3) the following morphological identifications which are thereby possible: (a) ṗ is marked [+Hearer, +Non-singular], ian is marked [+Speaker +Non-singular +Non-specific], á is marked [−Non-specific ], and initial nasal consonant (ng and m) is marked [−Hearer, +Speaker, +Non-singular ].

There are no morphophonemic alternations with the to — prefix

Illustrations:

(50)

1 obey him.

He obeys me.

We obey each other.
(51) «Mother helps child. Child helps mother.» «Those two help each other.»

3. The Nominalization Transformation with Infix — ON —

In the underlying phrase structure the nominalizing infix — ON — occurs in noun phrases of the type shown in (52), paralleling in form and function the two other forms given in (53) and (54).

(52) -ON- va V « a thing for V-ing », where V is Vtr or Vintr

(53) ké va V « a thing used for V-ing

(54) todrōang va V « a thing or matter for V-ing »

— ON —, ké, and todrōang differ, apparently, in respect to the verbs with which they may occur. Only todrōang is used for non-concrete things. Either ké or todrōang may be used to describe the use of articles which have names of their own in Sedang. Either ké or todrōang may be used to describe an article (usually foreign) for which Sedang has no name. -ON-, however, may only be used with certain verbs; these verbs (by present investigation) do not form a semantically describable class. Illustrations of ké and todrōang follow.

vai rōe ké va ka « they buy food (i.e. things for eating)

lmá aí sua. Sua gá ké va péng. A porcupine has quills. A quill, it's a thing for shooting.

Koluap gá ké va tap kopeng kolōa. « A cover, it's a thing for placing on top of a casket.»
todorang va tang mongē rotēang « a thing for listening to a Sedang person », i.e. a tape recorder

todorang va topui « a matter for talking », i.e. a conversation.

The Nominalization -ON- Infixation Transformation is given as (56) below, by which the infix -ON- is inserted after the initial main syllable consonant (C₁) of the monosyllabic verb. That initial main syllable consonant together with the o of -on- becomes the presylable of the derived noun (N). Due to phonological restrictions of the presylable of all Sedang words, however, certain presyllables thus formed must be changed as described in (57). Similarly, (58) describes the morphophonemic change required when the n of -on- and C₂ of the verb form the main syllable consonant cluster nr, which normally does not occur in Sedang. Furthermore, prior to the Nominalization -ON- Infixation Transformation (56), if a verb has an initial p, it must be changed to m, as stated in (55). The phonological change p to m is not required by Sedang phonology inasmuch as many presyllables are of the form po-; for this reason the change p to m cannot be inserted in (57).

(55) Phonological Change Prior to -ON- Infixation (obligatory):

-ON- va [pVw (C)]v → -ON- va [m Vw (C)]v

(56) Thé Nominalization -ON- Infixation Transformation (obligatory):

-ON- va [C₁ (C₂ Vw(C))]v [C₁ on (C₂ Vw(C))]N

(57) Phonological correction of presylable consonant (obligatory):

\[
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{chonVw(C)} \\
\text{sonVw(C)} \\
\text{donVw(C)}
\end{pmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{honVw(C)} \\
\text{konVw(C)}
\end{pmatrix}
\]

(58) Phonological correction of main syllable consonant cluster (obligatory):

C8nrVw (C) → CodrVw(C)
**Illustrations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying form</th>
<th>T55</th>
<th>T56</th>
<th>T57</th>
<th>T58</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ON- va pêng</td>
<td>-ON- va mâng monêng</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;thing for shooting&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>konang</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ON- va kăng</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;thing for fencing&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>chonia</td>
<td>honia</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ON- va chia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;thing for digging&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>sonnông</td>
<td>hông</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ON- va sông</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;thing for solving&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>donêa</td>
<td>konêa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ON- va dêa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;thing for adding water to wine jug&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ON- va krum**

- konrum - kodrum

"thing for fencing plants"

- measuring stick (to know when to add water)

- fence around plant"

4. The Undesirable Prefix (?) lo-

lo- associates the idea of fearing or considering undesirable to the action expressed by the verb with which it is connected.

The status of lo- as a prefix is débatable.

It could be considered as a verbal auxiliary for several reasons.

1. There are a few instances when it is used with two-syllable words. As a prefix this creates three syllable words which do not otherwise occur in the language; there is very strong structural pressure in Sedang (and in all other Bahnaric languages) for the two syllable maximum word pattern. (2) The vowel of lo- is sometimes spoken as a phonetic [o] with slight stress, whereas the presyllable vowel is always [a] and unstressed except in intentionally slow speech at
which time it is [o] and slightly stressed. (3) There is no syntactic evidence requiring it to be a presyllable. That is, in the data available the order of constituents is always Subject + lo- + Verb. lo-could thereby be classified as a verbal auxiliary of the type (a): hiông "already", dê "currently", etc.; or, most probably, type (b): va "wants to", klei "have concluded", etc. If lo- did co-occur with type (b) then there would be no other word class which occurs before the verb to which it could belong. (4) lo- is, suspiciously, considerably more productive with respect to the number of verbs with which it may occur than are the other affixes. (5) None of the related languages are known to have such an affix, whereas the other types of affixes described herein are characteristic of the language family.

On the other hand it may be considered as a prefix (forming the presyllable of the verb to which it is affixed) because (1) it generally occurs unstressed and with the [ə] vowel, the criterion which basically defines presyllables. Exceptions to the contrary given above and arguments based on other languages are not sufficiently weighty to override this general phonological pattern.

(It is the current practice of the writer to write lo- as a presyllable affix. It has been found that Sedang readers do not have any difficulty reading lo- as a presyllable. That Sedang writers write it separate from the verb is no argument because, following the monosyllabic tradition of Vietnamese that they have been taught, they frequently write all presyllables separate from the word to which they belong phonologically and lexically.)

Illustrations

á sau eh lokat á  "I'm afraid you'll tie me up."
á san Viet Minh lohlo á  "I'm afraid the Viet Cong will see me."
suá á lopui hóm  "But I have forgotten some, that's right."

Three syllable occurrences:
gá lotoqram ki kiai tohóm  "?" (taken from Concordance texts)
lokodê  "to fear to be killed"

There are no morphophonemic changes involving lo-.
5. Minor affixes

5. 1 to- with Numbers

Three illustrations will indicate this affix.

môi «one», tomõi «to be each one separate»

pêa «two», to tobêa «to stick out two (fingers)»

(to «to stick out finger»; there is a morphophone-
mic change p to b)

pái «three»,  to topái «to stick out three (fingers)»

No other instances of this affix are known.

3. 2 ko- with Loan Words

Loan words, mostly Vietnamese, are frequently prefixed by ko-. Undoubtedly this has arisen as a parallel to the Vietnamese classifier cái which is used before many of these words in Vietnamese. The known instances of the affix are listed below.

Related to Vietnamese cái:

koqbang «table»
koqben «shovel»
kohôp «a can»
kokéô «a bottle»
koli «a glass»
kolô «(char-coal) pot, stove»
komaig «a machine»
kophô «downtown»
kothô «letter, envelope»
kothau «pan»
kothung «pail»

VN : cái bàn
cái bèn
cái hộp
cái kẹo
cái ly
cái lò
cái máy
cái phó
cái thô, thọ
cái thâu
cái thùng
Related to other foreign words:

koqbôi “silly, daring boy”

Eng.: cowboy; VN: cao bôi

kosôq “number, kilometer”

VN: cánh số kilometer number post

kophe “coffee”

VN & Fr.: cà phê café

kous “rubber”

VN & Fr.: cau su, caoutchouc

5.3 mo- Ordinal Indicator

mo- is an ordinal number indicator borrowed from Bahnar and widely used by the Sedang. It usually occurs unstressed as an affixed presyllable (mo-) to the monosyllabic number words of Sedang, one through four. It is least common with the other bisyllabic numbers. In all these instances it sometimes occurs stressed and unattached (ma). The Sedang ordinal indicator is ki and is still in use.

môi “one” momôi / ma môi; ki môi “first”

pêa “two” mopêa / ma pêa; ki pêa “second”

pái “three” mopái / ma pái; ki pái “third”

pûn “four” mopûn / ma pûn; ki pûn “fourth”

potâm “five” ma potâm; ki potâm “fifth”
Footnotes


2 Section 2 has a requirement for the inclusion of Pronouns, as distinct from animate nouns.

3 Only stative and intransitive verbs which co-occur with the Causative Prefix *PO*— are listed here and in (10). Many other intransitive verbs do not occur with the prefix; e.g. lâm "to go", Jthê "to command", khên "to say",... Strict sub-categorizational rules, which have not been studied, would necessarily state which intransitive verbs may occur with *PO*— in surface structure.

4 Data used in this paper has been culled from various language materials which the author compiled during the period 1963-67 when he was studying Sedang in Viet Nam. Only a few hours during that period were spent with Affixation as the main thrust of the study. A number of points in this paper will be improved after more data can be gathered. Considerable use has been made of a
Concordance of Sedang Texts compiled by the University of Oklahoma Computer Laboratory on their LBM 1410 computer by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant G.S.934 of the National Science Foundation.

5 *moreh-poreh* 'to nourish' *pqrēh* 'to bring to life again' may be related. The retention of both nasalization of the vowel (') and the preglottalization (q) of the initial main consonant (both features normally found in Proto-North-Bahnaric but lost in Sedang) permit the distinction between *poreh* and *pqrēh*.

6 There are some instances of -OV- infixation which do not seem to fit this pattern. Upon further investigation the three types of derived nouns as distinguished in Bahnar and Katu (i.e., result, instrumental, and locational) may prove relevant in Sedang.

7 Contrariwise, Katu, belonging to the Katuc branch of the Mon-Khmer languages, sometimes adds two affixes to a two syllable word making a maximum four syllable word. See Costello, p. 63, *op. cit.*