



**CONSONANT CHANGES IN COGNATES  
SHARED BY INDONESIAN AND PALEMBANG MALAY**

Penggantian Konsonan dalam Kognat yang Dimiliki Bersama oleh Bahasa Indonesia dan Bahasa Melayu Palembang

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Naskah Diterima Tanggal 17 Mei 2021—Direvisi Akhir Tanggal 29 September 2021—Disetujui Tanggal 17 Desember 2021  
doi: <https://doi.org/10.26499/rnh/v10i2.4164>

**Abstrak**

Artikel ini membahas gejala penggantian bunyi, yakni penggantian bunyi-segmental konsonan tunggal, yang didapati dalam kognat atau kata seasal yang dimiliki bersama oleh bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Melayu Palembang. Sebuah daftar yang memuat 2.535 kognat dalam bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Melayu Palembang menjadi korpus. Karena merupakan bahasa modern yang terderivasi dari bahasa Melayu Baku, bahasa Indonesia menjadi bahasa acuan dalam pembahasan. Penguatan konsonan, fortisi, pelemahan konsonan, lenisi, dan glotalisasi menjadi gejala yang didapati dalam penggantian konsonan. Struktur suku kata yang di dalamnya konsonan tersebut di atas terdistribusi juga dibahas. Didapati perbedaan produktivitas gejala penggantian konsonan tertentu dibandingkan dengan gejala yang lain. Produktivitas itu menunjukkan bahwa jika dibandingkan dengan bahasa Indonesia, kehadiran konsonan lemah atau konsonan lenis lebih produktif dalam bahasa Melayu Palembang.

**Kata-kata kunci:** *kognat, penggantian konsonan, penguatan konsonan (fortisi), pelemahan konsonan (lenisi), dan glotalisasi*

**Abstract**

*This article describes the phenomena of sound changes, i.e., changes of single segmental sound of consonants, found in cognates shared by Indonesian and Palembang Malay. A list containing 2,535 cognates shared by Indonesian and Palembang Malay becomes the corpus. Since Indonesian is a modern language derived from Standard Malay, it becomes the reference language in the efforts of descriptions. Consonant strengthening, fortition, consonant weakening, lenition, and glottalization become the phenomena found in the consonant changes. Various syllabic structures in which the consonants distributed are also described. The differences of productivity of certain consonant-changes compared to others are found. The productivity shows that, compared to Indonesian, the occurrences of weaker consonants lenis consonants are more productive in Palembang Malay.*  
**key words:** *cognates, consonant change, consonant strengthening (fortition), consonant weakening (lenition), and glottalization*

**How to Cite:** Syamsuar, Fauzi. (2021). Consonant Changes in Cognates Shared by Indonesian and Palembang Malay. *Ranah: Jurnal Kajian Bahasa*. 10(2). 384—397. doi: <https://doi.org/10.26499/rnh/v10i2.4164>

**INTRODUCTION**

Indonesian is the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. It is derived from Johor-Riau Malay, i.e., a standard dialect of Malay. Besides Johor-Riau Malay, there are plentiful of Malay dialects in Indonesia. Citing *Ethnologue: Language of the World*, SIL International, Indonesia Branch (2006), pointed out that there are at least thirty-eight dialects of Malay in Indonesia.

In Sumatra, there are at least twenty-four Malay dialects. One of them is Palembang Malay i.e., a language-code spoken by the society of the town of Palembang (the capital city of

South Sumatra Province) and its surroundings. Efforts of codifying the dialect have been done. Balai Bahasa Sumatra Selatan (Regional Agency for Language in South Sumatra Province) successfully published *Kamus Palembang – Indonesia* (Palembang Malay – Indonesian bilingual dictionary in 2007; and its third revised-edition was published in 2019.

Besides describing how the entries are lexico-grammatically used, the dictionary also describes their phonological forms. However, referring to the phonological rules of Indonesian and Malay explained by Hasan (2013) and by Fauzi (2015), some revisions need to be done to the phonological forms of some entries. Revising some phonological forms of the entries listed in the dictionary based on the phonological rules explained in those two above-mentioned references, Fauzi (2021) managed to make a list of cognates shared by Indonesian and Palembang Malay. The list contains 1,100 identical cognates and 1,435 cognates with sound changes. This article describes the sound changes; and the list above-mentioned becomes the corpus of cognates.

Descriptions of sound changes in cognates usually involve the changes of segmental sounds, i.e., consonants, vowels, and diphthongs. The descriptions of the segmental-sound changes normally comprise the phenomena discussed in morphophonemics. The morphophonemic phenomena at least involve *assimilation*, *dissimilation*, *sound fusion*, *sound deletion*, *sound fission*, *sound insertion*, *sound lenition*, *sound fortition*, *sound reduction*, *monophthongisation*, *diphthongisation*, *metathesis*, and *reduplication*.

Dealing with the pronunciation of Standard Indonesian, Ayu and Indrya (2016) reported some of the morphophonemic phenomena above mentioned. They reported how certain sounds and/or sound-clusters in Standard Indonesian are pronounced differently by university students compared to how the utterance are supposed to be formally pronounced. The pronunciation difference or the sound changes are reported are reported to be caused by the interference of Non-standard Indonesian, i.e., a language code the students are accustomed to use in their daily communication.

Regardless with the cause, the descriptions in this article are focusing on the distributions of the patterns of the sound changes. Instead of involving other segmental sounds, i.e., vowels and diphthongs, the descriptions are only involving the changes of consonants. To be more specific, this article only describes the patterns of the changes of single-consonant sounds.

## THEORETICAL BASIS

Cognate is a language or a linguistic form which is historically derived from the same source as another language/form (Crystal, 2008, p. 83). He further explained that because Spanish, Italian, French, and Portuguese are historically derived from the same source (Latin), they are considered as cognate-languages. Spanish *padre*, Italian *padre*, French *père*, and Portuguese *padre*, each of which means ‘father’, are or cognates shared by the languages.

From cognates we can observe sound correspondences and from them we can deduce sound changes (check Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams, 2014, p. 364). Dealing with sound changes in cognates shared by Latin and English as members of Indo-European languages, Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams exemplified that /p/ in Latin /pI.tat/ and /f/ in English /fɑ:.ðər/ show sound correspondence; and from the correspondence we can deduce the change of /p/ → /f/. Sound changes involving consonants does not solely comprise the changes of single consonant as exemplified above. Besides, the are at least phenomena of (1) consonant additions which comprise epenthesis and epithesis and (2) consonant fusion versus consonant-cluster reduction.

Crystal (2008) explained that epenthesis refers to a type of sound addition that is inserted into a word. Harimurti (2008) underlines that epenthesis is the insertion of sounds in the realization of copy words (borrowings). Dealing with the copy words, when copied into Indonesian English adjective *psycholinguistic* /saI.kəʊ.lɪŋ.gwɪs.tɪk/ is realized as /psI.kə.lɪŋ.gwɪs.tɪs/;

check Fauzi (2018), p. 238. Consonant /p/ is added and occurs as the initial sound of the word. Therefore, the consonant added is an epenthetic consonant in the copying.

Epithesis refers to the addition of a sound or several sounds in the final position of a word. Trask (1996) pointed out *excrescent*, i.e., a term becoming a type of epithesis, and defined it as “the addition of plosive consonant at the end of the word” (p. 135). He exemplified that the phenomenon of English word *vermin* realized as *vermint* as excrescent. Furthermore, Fauzi (2012) reported that /ɾ/ is added by Sundanese speakers in the realization of /rɛ.plɛk.sɪɾ/, i.e., a copy word derived from Indonesian *refleksi* ‘reflection’ /rɛ.plɛk.sɪ/. Thus, the addition of the consonant is an example of excrescent.

When copied into Indonesian, English *neurotransmitter* /njʊə.rəʊ.trænz.mɪ.təɪ/ is realized as /jʊ.rəʊ.tras.mɪ.təɪ/; check Fauzi (2018), p. 243. In the copying, nasal-palatal-lenis /ɲ/ is resulted from the coalition of nasal-alveolar-lenis /n/ and approximant /j/. Therefore, it can be considered as a phenomenon of consonant fusion as Trask (1996) explained that fusion is a process of two segments occurring in a single linguistic form are joined into a segment.

Consonant fusion should be differentiated from *consonant-cluster reduction*, i.e., a phenomenon which was explained by Fauzi (2018) as the reduction of the number of consonants occurring as the onset (consonant occurring in the initial position of a syllable) or coda (consonant occurring in the final position of syllable); further explanation of syllabic structure will be discussed in the following section. Fauzi exemplified that, when copied into Indonesian, monosyllabic English noun *charge* /tʃɑːɹdʒ/ (with CCVCCC syllabic structure) is realized as /CAs/ (with CVC syllabic structure). The consonant cluster becoming the onset in the origin word is reduced: double onset → single consonant as onset. Besides, three-consonant cluster becoming the coda in the origin word is also reduced: triple coda → single consonant as coda.

However, the description of sound changes in this article is limited to the changes of single segmental sound of consonants. In other words, the phenomena of epenthesis, epithesis, consonant fusion, and consonant-cluster reduction that might occurred in the cognates being involved in the descriptions are ignored. Instead, the descriptions will focus on the phenomena of fortition (which is similar to consonant strengthening) and lenition (which is similar to consonant weakening), the definition of which will be explained in the following section.

## RESEARCH METHOD

Since the efforts of deducing sound changes in this article focus on single segmental-sound consonants, the distribution of consonants in Indonesian and/or Malay is needed. The table below shows the distribution of consonants in Indonesian and/or Malay according to Hasan’s (2013).

manners of articulation	places of articulation								
	bilabial	labiodental	dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
plosive	p			t		C	k		ʔ
	b			d		J	g	q	
nasal	m			n		ɲ	ŋ		
thrill					r			ʁ	
fricative		f	θ	s	ʃ			x	h
		v	ð	z					
lateral				l					
approximant	w					j			

Each consonant listed on the upper side of each column above is classified into fortis consonant or the one referring to sound made with a relatively strong degree of muscular effort and breath force. Meanwhile, each consonant listed on the bottom of each column above is classified into lenis consonant or the one referring to sound made with a relatively weak degree of muscular effort and breath force (check Crystal, 2008). Regarding the dichotomy of fortis consonants versus lenis consonants, changes deduced from consonant correspondences in cognates are classified into the descriptions of consonant fortition versus consonant lenition.

Referring to a universal scale of values on which segmental units are arrayed, consonants can be in a continuum: from strong to weak (check Crystal 2018, p.454). Crystal further explained that velars are assigned weaker than dentals, which are in turn, weaker than bilabials. In addition, Matthews (1997) pointed out that, based on the scale or hierarchy in which units are distinguished as stronger or weaker, plosives may be considered stronger than fricatives. Therefore, in turn, fricatives may be stronger than laterals and approximants. Based on the scales or hierarchy of consonant values discussed above, changes deduced from consonant correspondences in cognates are also classified into the descriptions of consonant strengthening versus consonant weakening.

Based on syllabic-structures of word, a single consonant can occur either as onset or coda of a syllable. The syllable can be either initial, final, penultimate (the one occurring before final syllable), antepenultimate (the one occurring before penultimate), or pre-antepenultimate (the one occurring before antepenultimate). Onset is a consonant occurring as the initial sound of a syllable, while coda is a consonant occurring as the final sound of syllable. A syllable containing coda is labelled as *closed syllable*, while a syllable that does not contain coda (only consists of onset and a vowel/diphthong as nucleus) is labelled as *open syllable*. The syllabic structures become the framework in the effort of deducing consonants changes.

## DISCUSSION

The following tables describe consonant changes found in cognates shared by Indonesian and Palembang Malay. The first columns identify the numbers of sound-change phenomena; the second describe the phonological forms of the cognates in Indonesian; the third describe the phonological forms of cognates in Palembang Malay, while the last provide the glossary. The arrangement means that the phonological forms of cognates in Palembang Malay are compared to the ones in Indonesian as the reference language. The fact that Indonesian is a modern language derived from a standard dialect of Malay becomes the reason why it becomes the reference language.

### 1. Consonant Strengthening

Certain consonants in Indonesian are strengthened in Palembang Malay.

as onset in the initial open syllable			as coda in the final syllable			
(1)	/t̪. rɪŋ/	/p̪. ʝɪŋ/	canine tooth	(4)	/Cɔ. lɛk/ /Cɔ. lɛt/	poke
(2)	/Cə. gʌh/	/t̪. ga/	prevent		/gʌ. rʊk/ /gʌ. wʊt/	scratch
(3)	/d̪. kʌp/	/b̪. kəp/	embrace			

Plosives in Indonesian change into stronger plosives in Palembang Malay: alveolar → bilabial in (1) and (3); palatal → alveolar in (2); and velar → alveolar in (4).

as onset in the initial open syllable			/m/ as onset in the initial open syllable ↔ /g/ as onset in the initial closed syllable			
(5)	/m̪. lɪn. Jo/	/b̪. lɪn. Jo/	<i>Gnetum</i> <i>gnemon</i>	(6)	/m̪. rɪŋ. / /g̪ɪn. Cɪŋ/	<i>incline</i>

Consonant Changes in Cognates Shared.....

Nasals in Indonesian change into stronger segments, plosives, in Palembang Malay: bilabial → bilabial in (5); and bilabial → palatal in (6).

as onset in the final closed syllable		
(7)	/sΔ.rʊŋ/	/tΔ.ʃʊŋ/ sarong

A thrill in Indonesian changes into a stronger segment, a plosive, in Palembang Malay: post-alveolar → palatal in (7).

as onset in the initial open syllable			as onset in the final closed syllable			
(8a)	/fΔ.JΔr/	/pΔ.JΔy/	dawn 13 other cognates with such change	(8d)	/hΔ.fΔl/ /ʔΔ.pΔl/	memorize 4 other cognates with such change
(10)	/sΔ.rʊŋ/	/tΔ.ʃʊŋ/	sarong	(9)	/pɛ.sɛk/ /Cə.pɛʔ/	flat nose
(12)	/sΔ.ŋIt/	/ʔΔ.ŋIt/	burnt	(11)	/tʊ.sʊk/ /Cʊ.Cʊʔ/	prick
(13a)	/zΔ.mΔn/	/ʃΔ.mΔn/	era		/pə.sɪŋ/ /ʔΔn.Cɪŋ/	smell of urine
(14a)	/xɪ.lΔf/	/kɪ.lΔp/	fault			torment
(15)	/xʊ.sʊs/	/kʊ.sʊs/	special	(13b)	/ʔΔ.zΔp/ /ʔΔ.ʃΔp/	3 other cognates with such change
(17a)	/hΔ.dΔŋ/	/CΔ.dΔŋ/	across/block heart/liver/mind	as onset in open penultimate		
			28 other cognates with such change	(13c)	/rə.zə.ki/ /ʔə.ʃə.ki/	sustenance
as onset in the initial closed syllable			as coda in the initial syllable			
(8b)	/fΔk.tɔr/	/pΔk.tɔy/	factor	(8e)	/nΔf.su/ /nΔp.su/	3 other cognates with such change
	/fΔr.du/	/pΔy.du/	Islamic duty	as coda in the final syllable		
(16)	/hən.dΔk/	/kən.dΔʔ/	will/want	(8f)	/wΔ.kΔf/ /wΔ.kΔp/	5 other cognates with such change
			throw down	edification		
(17b)	/həm.pΔs/	/ʔəm.pΔs/	6 other cognates with such change			
as onset in open penultimate						
	/ʔΔk.tɪ.	/ʔΔk.tɪ	activity			
(8c)	fɪ.tΔs/	.pɪ.tΔs/				
	/mΔn.fΔ.	/mΔn.pΔ.	advantage			
	ʔΔt/	ʔΔt/				

Fricatives in Indonesian change into stronger segments, plosives, in Palembang Malay: labiodental → bilabial in (8a-f); alveolar → bilabial in (9); alveolar → alveolar in (10); alveolar → palatal in (11) and (13a-b); alveolar → glottal in (12); uvular → velar in (14a-b); glottal → palatal in (15); glottal → velar in (16); and glottal → glottal in (17a-b).

as onset in the initial open syllable			as onset in the final closed syllable			
(18a)	/wʊ.dʊʔ/	/ʔʊ.dʊʔ/	ablution	(19b)	/ʔΔ.wΔn/ /ʔΔ.bΔn/	cloud
(18b)	/wʊ.ʃʊt/	/ʔʊ.ʃʊt/	exist			
as onset in the initial closed syllable						
(19a)	/wɪŋ.ko/	/bɪŋ.ko/	glutinous rice with coconut milk			

Approximants in Indonesian change into stronger segments, plosives, in Palembang Malay: bilabial → glottal in (18a-b); and bilabial → bilabial in (19a-b).

as onset in the final closed syllable		
(20)	/ɾI.ŋʌt/	/ɾI.mʌt/ <i>remember</i>

A nasal in Indonesian changes into a stronger nasal in Palembang Malay: velar → bilabial in (20).

as onset in the initial open syllable		
(21a)	/fʊ.kʊr/	/sʊ.kʊr/ <i>thank God</i>

as onset in open antepenultimate		
(21b)	/mʌ.fʌ. / rʌ.kʌt/	/mʌ.sʌ. / ɣʌ.kʌt/ <i>society</i>

Fricatives in Indonesian change into stronger fricatives in Palembang Malay: post-alveolar → alveolar in (21a-b).

as onset in antepenultimate		
(22)	/ʃə.lʌ. / lʌ.tʌn/	/ʃə.ɣʌ. / lʌ.tʌn/ <i>look around insentiently</i>

A lateral in Indonesian changes into a stronger segment, a thrill, in Palembang Malay: alveolar → uvular in (22).

Distribution of Consonant-Strengthening				
places of articulation				
plosives → plosives		alveolar → bilabial	palatal → alveolar	velar → alveolar
nasals → plosives	bilabial → bilabial			
thrill → plosive	bilabial → palatal			
			post-alveolar → palatal	
	labio-dental → bilabial	alveolar → bilabial		uvular → velar
fricatives → plosives		alveolar → alveolar		glottal → velar
		alveolar → palatal		glottal → glottal
		alveolar → glottal		
approximants → plosive	bilabial → bilabial			
nasal → nasal	bilabial → glottal			
fricatives → fricatives				velar → bilabial
lateral → thrill		alveolar → uvular	post-alveolar → alveolar	

Consonant strengthening mostly involves non-plosives (nasals, fricatives, and approximants) → plosives; and fricatives → plosives is the dominant one. It is in line with the findings of survey by Bybee and Easterday (2019, p. 278) on consonant strengthening that reported approximant → plosive and fricative → plosive frequently happened as consonant strengthening. However, any nasal → plosive was not reported in their report.

All fricatives found in the corpus of cognates are found to be involved in the consonant strengthening; /f/, /s/, /z/, /x/, and /h/ are strengthened into plosives; while /ʃ/ is strengthened into stronger fricative /s/. Of four nasals found in the corpus of cognates (/m/, /n/, /ɲ/, and /ŋ/), only /m/ and /ŋ/ are involved in consonant strengthening. The only lateral found in the corpus of cognates, /l/, is also involved in consonant strengthening. Of two approximants found in the corpus of cognates (/w/ and /j/), only /w/ was found to be involved in consonant strengthening.

The strengthening mostly involves consonants occurring as onset, either in the initial syllables, the final syllables, penultimates, or antepenultimates. However, no consonant strengthening found in pre-antepenultimate(s). In (14b), the consonant occurs as the first consonant of double onset. The strengthening mostly occurs in open syllables; only in (7), (8b & d), (9), (11), (13b), (14b), (16), (17b), (19a-b), and (20) they occur in closed syllables. Only few, i.e., in (4) & (8e-f), the strengthening involves consonants occurring as coda.

## 2. Fortition

Fortition belongs to the phenomenon of consonant strengthening as Bybee and Easterday (2019, p. 267) highlighted that fortition is the strengthening of a consonant. Different from the previous section which ignores whether the consonants strengthened are either fortis or lenis, this section describes the phenomena of certain lenis consonants in Indonesian change into fortis consonants in Palembang Malay; such phenomenon is popularly known as fortition.

as onset in the initial open syllable		
(23a)	/bʊ.ʃʊk/	/pʊ.ʃʊk/ <i>flatter</i>
(24)	/bʌ.pʌz/	/zʌ.bʌz/ <i>father</i>
(25)	/dʌ.kʌp/	/kʌ.kʌp/ <i>embrace</i>

  

as onset in the initial closed syllable		
(26a)	/ʃʌn.dʌ.la/	/tʃʌ.nʌ.lo/ <i>window</i>
(27)	/gʊn.kʌŋ/	/kʊn.kʌŋ/ <i>shake</i>
(28a)	/gʌn.ʃʌt/	/zʌn.ʃʌt/ <i>see-saw</i>

as onset in the penultimate syllable		
(28b)	/bʌ.gʌ.ni/	/Ca.zʌ.ni/ <i>this way</i>
	/bʌ.gʌ.tu/	/Ca.zʌ.tu/ <i>that way</i>

  

as onset in the final closed syllable		
(23b)	/gʌ.bʊk/	/gʌ.pʊz/ <i>beat/hit</i>
(26b)	/pʌ.tʃʌt/	/pʌ.tʃʌt/ <i>massage</i>

Lenis plosives in Indonesian change into fortis plosives in Palembang Malay: bilabial → bilabial in (23a-b); bilabial → glottal in (24); alveolar → velar in (25); palatal → palatal in (26a-b); velar → velar in (27); and velar → glottal in (28-b).

as onset in the initial closed syllable		
(29a)	/mʌ.pʌr/	/zʌ.pʌr/ <i>stop by</i>
(30)	/nʌ.tʌi/	/tʌn.tʌi/ <i>later/ wait</i>

  

/m/ as coda in antepenultimate ↔ /z/ as coda in the initial syllable		
(29b)	/mʌ.Cʌm. ma.na/	/Cʌz.ma.no/ <i>how</i>

as coda in the final syllable		
(31)	/bʌ.lʌ.Cʌn/	/Ca.lʌz/ <i>shrimp paste</i>
(32)	/Cʌŋ.kʌŋ/	/Cʌŋ.kʌz/ <i>squat</i>

Nasals (lenis segments) in Indonesian change into fortis plosives in Palembang Malay: bilabial → glottal in (29a-b); alveolar → alveolar in (30); alveolar → glottal in (31); and velar → glottal in (32).

as coda in the final syllable		
(33)	/kʌn.tʃʌr/	/kʌn.tʃʌt/ <i>pigtails</i>
	/kʌ.kʌr/	/kʌ.kʌt/ <i>stingy</i>
(35)	/bʌ.sʌr/	/bʌ.sʌz/ <i>big</i>
	/tʌ.dʌr/	/tʌ.dʌz/ <i>sleep</i>

as onset in the final closed syllable		
(34)	/mʌ.rʌŋ/	/gʌn.tʃʌŋ/ <i>incline</i>

Thrills (lenis segments) in Indonesian change into fortis plosives in Palembang Malay: post-alveolar → alveolar in (33); post-alveolar → palatal in (34); and post-alveolar → glottal in (35).

as coda in the final syllable			
(36)	/kə.CIɿ/	/kə.CIɿ̥/	<i>small/little</i>
	/ɹʌ.Sʌɿ/	/ɹʌ.Sʌɿ̥/	<i>if</i>

Laterals (lenis segments) in Indonesian change into fortis plosives in Palembang Malay: alveolar → glottal in (36).

Distribution of Fortition				
places of articulation				
plosives → plosives	bilabial → bilabial	alveolar → velar	palatal → palatal	velar → velar
	bilabial → glottal			velar → glottal
nasals → plosives	bilabial → glottal	alveolar → alveolar		velar → glottal
		alveolar → glottal		
thrills → plosives			post-alveolar → alveolar	
			post-alveolar → palatal	
			post-alveolar → glottal	
lateral → plosive		alveolar → glottal		

All consonants involved in the fortition are strengthened into plosive: plosives → plosives, nasals → plosives, thrills → plosives, and laterals → plosives. All lenis plosives found in the corpus of cognates, /b/, /d/, /ʃ/, and /g/ are involved in the fortition. Of four nasals found in corpus of cognates, only /ŋ/ is not involved in the fortition. No fricatives are involved in the fortition. The fortition of approximants (which are, indeed, lenis segments) has been described in the previous section as the phenomenon of consonant strengthening.

The fortition involves consonants occurring as onset and/or coda in the initial syllables and the final syllables. Only consonant occurring as onset found in a penultimate: in (28b). However, no fortition was found in antepenultimate or pre-antepenultimate. The initial syllables and the final syllables are either open or closed, while the penultimate is open. No consonants are found to be part of double/triple onset and/or double/code found in the fortition were found.

### 3. Consonant Weakening

Certain consonants in Indonesian are weakened in Palembang Malay. As in the section of consonant strengthening, the dichotomy of fortis versus lenis is ignored in this section.

as onset in the initial open syllable		
(38a)	/t̥ʊ.sʊk/	/Cʊ.Cʊɹ/ <i>prick</i>
(39a)	/t̥ɿ.dʌɹ/	/ɹɿ.dʌɹ/ <i>no</i>
(40a)	/d̥ʊ.bʊɹ/	/Jʊ.bʊɹ/ <i>ass hole</i>
as onset in the initial closed syllable		
(38b)	/t̥ʊm.pʊk/	/Cʊm.pʊɹ/ <i>heap/pile</i>

(40b)	/d̥əŋ.kʊɿ/	/J̥əŋ.kʊ/	<i>knee</i>
as onset in the final closed syllable			
(41a)	/pʊ.nʌ.kʌŋ/	/pʊ.nʌ.ɹʌŋ/	<i>nephew</i>
	/təŋ.gʊ.kʌŋ/	/təŋ.gʊ.ɹʌŋ/	<i>throat</i>
as coda in a monosyllabic word			



## Consonant Changes in Cognates Shared.....

<i>seat of vehicle</i>		
(41b)	/ʃɔk/	/ʃɔɔ/ 2 other cognates with such change
as coda in the initial syllable		
<i>curse</i>		
(41c)	/lɔk.nɔt/	/lɔɔ.nɔt/ 4 other cognates with such change
as coda in penultimate		
(41d)	/pə.rɪk.sa/	/pə.vɪɔ.so/ check
as coda in antepenultimate and the final syllable		
(41e)	/ɔɔ.tɔk/	/ɔɔ.tɔɔ/ tinkering
as coda in antepenultimate and the final syllable with double onset		
(41f)	/ɔɔ.brɔk/	/ɔɔ.bvɔɔ/ rummage

2ɔ.rɪk/			2ɔ.bvɪɔ/		
/k/ as coda in the final syllable ↔					
/ɔ/ as coda in a monosyllabic word					
(41g)	/bɔ.pɔk/	/bɔɔ/ father			
	/hɛn.dɔk/	/nɔɔ/ will/want			
as coda in the final syllable					
(37a)	/2ɔ.Cɔp/	/2ɔ.Cɔɔ/ frequent			
(39b)	/dɔ.pɔt/	/pɔ.Cɔɔ/ cable			
	/lɔn.Cɔt/	/lɪn.Cɔɔ/ jump moldy			
(41h)	/lɔ.pɔk/	/lɔ.pɔɔ/ 185 other cognates with such change			
as coda in the final syllable with double onset					
(37b)	/2ɔm.pɔp/	/2ɔm.pɔɔ/ envelope table cloth			
(41i)	/tɔ.plɔk/	/tɔ.plɔɔ/ 5 other cognates with such change			

Plosives in Indonesian change into weaker plosives in Palembang Malay: bilabial → glottal in (37a-b); alveolar → palatal in (38-b) and (40a-b); alveolar → glottal in (39a-b); and velar → glottal in (41a-i).

as onset in the initial open syllable		
(42)	/Cə.lɪk/	/sə.lɪɔ/ open one's eyes
as onset in the initial open syllable		
(43)	/də.bu/	/lə.bu/ dust

as onset in the initial closed syllable		
(44)	/gəm.buŋ/	/ləm.buŋ/ swollen

Plosives in Indonesian change into weaker segments, laterals, in Palembang Malay: alveolar → alveolar in (43); and velar → alveolar in (44).

as onset in the initial open syllable		
(45)	/mə.lɔ.mɔn/	/ŋə.lɔ.mɔn/ day-dream
	/mɔ.ŋɔp/	/ŋɔ.ŋɔp/ open one's mouth

as coda in the final syllable		
(46)	/sə.nɔ.pɔn/	/sə.nɔ.pɔŋ/ rifle/

Nasals in Indonesian change into weaker nasals in Palembang Malay: bilabial → velar in (45); and alveolar → velar in (46).

as onset in the initial open syllable		
(47a)	/rɔ.mɔl/	/ɣɔ.mɔl/ 56 other cognates with such change
as onset in a monosyllabic word		
(47b)	/rɔk/	/ɣɔɔ/ rack
as onset in the initial closed syllable		
(47c)	/rɔm.buɔt/	/ɣɔm.buɔt/ 24 other cognates with such change
as onset in the initial and open penultimate		
(47d)	/rə.mɔŋ/	/ɣə.məŋ/ dusky
as onset in antepenultimate and the final open syllable		

(47e)	/ga.ra/	/ga.ɣa/ because of
	ga.ra/	ga.ɣa/
as onset in antepenultimate and the final closed syllable		
(47f)	/ɔɔ.rɔŋ/	/ɔɔ.ɣɔŋ/ Tidrax procumbens
	2ɔ.rɪŋ/	2ɔ.ɣɪŋ/
	/gɔ.rɔŋ/	/gɔ.ɣɔŋ/ water tunnel
	gɔ.rɔŋ/	gɔ.ɣɔŋ/
as the second consonant of double onset in antepenultimate and the final closed syllable		
(47g)	/ɔɔ.brɔk/	/ɔɔ.bvɔɔ/ rummage
	2ɔ.brɪk/	2ɔ.brɪɔ/
/r/ as onset in open penultimate ↔		
/ɣ/ as the second consonant of double onset in the initial open syllable		
(47h)	/kə.rɔ.pɔs/	/kɣɔ.pɔs/ porous

as the second consonant of double onset in the initial open syllable		
(47i)	/sri.ka.ja/	/syi.ka.jo/
	<i>Annona squamosa</i> 5 other cognates with such change	
as the second consonant of double onset in the initial closed syllable		
(47j)	/prIn.sIp/	/pyIn.sIp/
	<i>principle</i>	
/r/ as onset in open pre-antepenultimate ↔ /y/ as onset in open antepenultimate		
(47k)	/pə.ri.ba.ha.sa/	/pə.yi.ba.so/
	<i>proverb</i>	
as onset in open penultimate		
(47l)	/Cə.ru.tu/	/Cə.yu.tu/
	<i>cigar</i> 44 other cognates with such change	
as onset in closed penultimate		
(47m)	/pə.ran.ti/	/pə.yan.ti/
	<i>tool</i> 8 other cognates with such change	
as the second consonant of double onset in the initial closed syllable and in the final closed syllable		
(47n)	/pro.gram/	/pyo.gyam/
	<i>program</i>	
as the second consonant of double onset in the initial closed syllable and as coda in the final closed syllable		
(47o)	/tro.to.war/	/tryo.to.way/
	<i>sidewalk</i>	
as onset in the final open syllable		
(47p)	/ta.ri/	/ta.yi/
	<i>dance</i> 27 other cognates with such change	
/r/ as the second consonant of double onset in the final open syllable ↔ /y/ as onset in the final open syllable		
(47q)	/Jus.tru/	/Jus.tə.yu/
	<i>instead</i>	
as onset in the final closed syllable		
(47r)	/pə.rut/	/pə.yut/
	<i>stomach</i>	

Thrill in Indonesian change into weaker thrill consonants in Palembang Malay: post-alveolar → uvular in (47a-aa).

as onset in closed penultimate		
(48a)	/sə.rIm.pet/	/sə.lIm.pet/
	<i>get entangled</i>	

112 other cognates with such change		
as the second consonant of double onset in the final open syllable		
(47s)	/Ci.tra/	/Ci.tya/
	<i>image</i> 2 other cognates with such change	
as the second consonant of double onset in the final closed syllable		
(47t)	/mʊn.Crat/	/mʊn.Cyat/
	<i>spurt</i> 12 other cognates with such change	
/r/ as onset in the final closed syllable ↔ /y/ as the second consonant onset in the final closed syllable		
(47u)	/Cən.də.rʊŋ/	/Cən.də.yʊŋ/
	<i>tend</i>	
as coda in a monosyllabic word		
(47v)	/Cɔr/	/Cɔy/
	<i>cast</i>	
as coda in the initial syllable		
(47w)	/per.ban/	/pey.ban/
	<i>bandage</i> 35 other cognates with such change	
as coda in the initial and final syllable		
(47x)	/par.kIr/	/pay.kIy/
	<i>parking</i>	
	/par.tI/	/pay.tI/
	<i>private</i>	
	/kə.lIr/	/kə.lIy/
as coda in penultimate		
(47y)	/səm.pur.na/	/səm.puy.na/
	<i>perfect</i> 3 other cognates with such change	
as coda in the final syllable		
(47z)	/kʊ.mʊr/	/kʊ.mʊy/
	<i>gargle</i> and 188 other cognates with such change	
as coda in the final syllable with double onset		
(47aa)	/sʌ.klʌr/	/sʌ.klʌy/
	<i>witch</i>	

as coda in the final syllable		
(48b)	/CI.bIr/	/Cə.bIl/
	<i>curl/mock</i>	

Thrill in Indonesian change into weaker segments, lateral, in Palembang Malay: post-alveolar → alveolar in (48a-b).

as onset in the initial open syllable			as coda in the initial syllable				
(50a)	/x̣I.jʌ.nʌt/	/ḥI.jʌ.nʌt/	<i>deceit</i>	(50c)	/ʔʌx̣.lʌk/	/ʔʌḥ.lʌʔ/	<i>moral</i>
			<i>betrayal</i>		/ʔʌI.x̣.tI.jʌʔ/	/ʔʌI.ḥ.tI.jʌʔ/	<i>effort</i>
as onset in the final closed syllable							
(49)	/pɛ.sɛk/	/pɛ.hɛʔ/	<i>flat nose</i>				
(50b)	/ʔʌ.x̣Iʔ/	/ʔʌ.ḥIʔ/	<i>end</i>				

Fricatives in Indonesian change into weaker fricatives in Palembang: alveolar → glottal in (49); uvular → glottal in (50a-c)

Distribution of Consonant-Weakening			
places of articulation			
	bilabial → glottal	alveolar → palatal	velar → glottal
plosive → plosive		alveolar → glottal	
		alveolar → palatal	
plosive → fricative			palatal → alveolar
plosive → lateral		alveolar → alveolar	velar → alveolar
nasal → nasal	bilabial → velar	alveolar → velar	
thrill → thrill			post-alveolar → uvular
thrill → lateral			post-alveolar → alveolar
fricative → fricative		alveolar → glottal	uvular → glottal

Plosives are mostly weakened into glottal plosive /ʔ/: /p/ → /ʔ/ in (37a), /t/ → /ʔ/ in (39a-b), /k/ → /ʔ/ in (41a-i); even, the latest mentioned weakening involves myriads of cognates, i.e., 206 of cognates becoming the corpus. Based on syllabic structures, the glottal plosive is also distributed to occur in various environment: as onset in the initial open syllable in (39a), as onset in the final closed syllable in (41a), as coda in a monosyllabic word in (41 b), as coda in the initial syllable in (41 c), as coda in penultimate in (4d), as coda in antepenultimate and the final syllable in (41e), as coda in antepenultimate and the final syllable with double onset in (41f), as coda in the final syllable in (41g-h), and as coda in the final syllable with double onset in (41i). Two fricatives, /s/ and /x/, are also weakened in into glottal fricative /h/: /s/ → /h/ in (49) and /x/ → /h/ in (50a-c). The glottal fricative occurs as onset in the open initial syllable in (50a), as onset in the closed final syllable in (49) and (50b), and as coda in the final syllable in (50c).

Consonant-change into glottal (either plosive glottal or fricative glottal can also be described as a phenomenon of glottalization. Therefore, besides described as consonant weakening, phenomena described in the previous paragraph can also be described as glottalization. Furthermore, phenomena of /s/ → /ʔ/ in (12), /h/ → /ʔ/ in (17a-b), /w/ → /ʔ/ in (18a-b), /g/ → /ʔ/ in (28a-b), /m/ → /ʔ/ in (29a-b), /n/ → /ʔ/ in (31), /ŋ/ → /ʔ/ in (32), /r/ → /ʔ/ in (35), and /l/ → /ʔ/ in (36) can also be described a glottalization.

Consequently, there are two types of glottalization: (1) glottalization in consonant strengthening, examples of which are summarized in the previous paragraph and (2) glottalization in consonant weakening, examples of which are summarized in the paragraph before the previous one. Glottalization in consonant strengthening involve plosives, nasals, thrills fricatives, lateral and approximant. Meanwhile, glottalization in consonant weakening only involve plosives and fricatives.

Glottalization is also reported to found, by Jaya (2018, p.51), in the phonological interference of Buginese into Indonesian. Glottalization in consonant strengthening involves /b/ → /ɓ/, /d/ → /ɗ/, and /h/ → /ħ/; while glottalization in consonant weakening involves /p/ → /p̥/, /t/ → /t̥/, and /k/ → /k̥/. Jaya also reported that all of consonants involved in the glottalization occur as coda either in the final syllable or in the monosyllabic word.

As already mentioned before, /k/ → /k̥/ found in 206 cognates becoming the corpus. In other words, such consonant weakening is productive in Palembang Malay. Another productive one is /r/ → /ɾ/ as can be seen in (47a-aa) as this such consonant weakening involves 430 of cognates becoming the corpus. The consonants involved in this such consonant weaking occurs both as onset and coda in various environment of syllabic structures as can be seen in (47a-aa).

#### 4. Lenition

Lenition belongs to consonant weakening as Bybee and Easterday (2019, p. 267) highlighted that lenition is the weakening of a consonant. However, different from the previous section which ignores whether the consonants weakened are either fortis or lenis, this section describes the phenomena of certain fortis consonants in Indonesian change into lenis consonants in Palembang Malay; such phenomenon is popularly known as lenition.

as onset in the final closed syllable		
(51)	/ɓʌ.pʌɗ/	/ɗʌ.bʌɗ/ <i>father</i>

A fortis plosive in Indonesian changes into a lenis plosive in Palembang Malay: bilabial → bilabial in (51).

as onset in the initial open syllable		
(53)	/ɗʌ.sɪn/	/mʌ.sɪn/ <i>salty</i>

as onset in the initial closed syllable		
(52)	/pʌs.ti/	/mʌs.ti/ <i>sure/certain</i>

Fortis plosives in Indonesian change into nasals (lenis segments) in Palembang Malay: bilabial → bilabial in (52); and glottal → bilabial in (53).

as onset in the initial closed syllable		
(55a)	/hʌn.ti/	/ɣʌn.ti/ <i>stop</i>

as coda in the final syllable		
(55b)	/pɔ.ŋʌh/	/pɔ.ŋʌɣ/ <i>conceited</i>

as onset in the final closed syllable		
(54)	/pə.sɪŋ/	/pə.ɣɪŋ/ <i>smell of urine</i>

Fortis fricatives in Indonesian change into thrills (lenis segments) in Palembang: alveolar → uvular in (54); and glottal → uvular in (55a-b).

places of articulation			
plosives → plosives	bilabial → bilabial		
plosives → nasals	bilabial → bilabial		glottal → bilabial
fricatives → thrills		alveolar → uvular	glottal → uvular

The distribution above shows that lenition is not as productive as fortition. Lenition only involves plosive → plosive, plosives → nasals, and fricatives → thrills. Different from certain productive phenomena which involve myriads of cognates (as mentioned in the previous section), every phenomenon of lenition only involves a single cognate. However, the consonants involved in lenition are distributed quite variously: as onset in the initial open syllable in (53), as onset in the closed final syllable in (52) and (55a), as onset in the final closed syllable in (51) and (54), and as coda in (55b).

## CLOSING

The distribution of consonants in Palembang Malay is different from the one in Indonesian and/or Malay as described in the earlier section. It is due to the fact that some consonants, i.e., /ɟ/, /v/, /ə/, and /ð/ are not found in the cognates becoming the corpus, either in the identical ones or the ones with sound changes. Those consonants may occur in other dialects of Malay.

Certain consonants occurring in Indonesian, i.e., /ɾ/, /f/, /ʃ/, and /x/, do not occur in Palembang Malay. Each of the consonant changes into another single-segmental of consonant in Palembang Malay. Even though they can occur in other Palembang Malay words, each of the following consonant changes into another segmental of consonant in certain cognates: /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /c/, /ʃ/, /k/, /g/, /z/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /s/, /z/, /h/, /l/, and /w/. Only one single-segmental consonant, i.e., /ɾ/, and one single-segmental approximant, i.e., /j/, remains not to change in cognates becoming the corpus.

Consonant strengthening involves 101 cognates. Fortition involves 31 cognates. Consonants weakening involves 769 cognates. Lenition involves 6 cognates. Therefore, compared to Indonesian, weaker/lenis consonants tend to occur more in Palembang-Malay words.

Descriptions of phenomena of sound changes involving more than just single consonants, i.e., epenthesis, epithesis, consonant fusion, and consonant-cluster reduction, need to be carried out in order the hypothesis “weaker/lenis consonants occur more in Palembang-Malay words” can be more accepted. Descriptions of sound changes involving other segmental sounds, i.e., vowels and diphthongs, also need to be carried out. Therefore, the hypothesis “Palembang Malay, typologically, is weaker than Indonesian” can be accepted.

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**APPENDIX:**

A list of cognates becoming the corpus which can be accessed through:  
[https://www.youtu.be/nmi\\_jMnuzJQ](https://www.youtu.be/nmi_jMnuzJQ).