

Conditions on stress in varieties of Malay/Indonesian

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The major determiner of the position of stress in Malay/Indonesian varieties is the presence of a schwa (surface, or etymological) in the root.

Malay/Indonesian

- (1) 'σ σ pasar 'market', pijit 'massage', duduk 'sit', pecek 'mud', botol 'bottle'
(2) σ 'σ besar 'big', kecil 'small', betul 'true'

An analysis that treats this schwa as epenthetic allows for a regular treatment of stress in most varieties of the language, but the behaviour of stress under affixation remains an independent variable. Furthermore, different varieties of Malay/Indonesian treat suffixes very differently with respect to prosody, in addition to the treatment (or existence) of schwas. We can differentiate the different varieties see here in terms of the following factors: does stress shift when *kirim*-type roots are suffixed with *-kan*? and does stress shift when *ngeri*-type roots are suffixed with *-kan*? Some of the variation is shown in (3) – (6).

Western Malay/Indonesian

- (3) a. *ngeri* 'scary' [ŋə'ri] σ 'σ
b. *mengerikan* 'frightening' [məŋə'rikan] σ σ 'σ σ
(4) a. *kirim* 'send' ['kirim] 'σ σ
b. *mengirimkan* 'send to' [məŋi'rimkan] ,σ σ 'σ σ

Central Indonesian

- (5) a. *kirim* 'send' ['kirim] 'σ σ
b. *mengirimkan* 'send to' [məŋi'rimkan] σ 'σ σ σ

Eastern₁ Indonesian

- (6) a. *ngiri* 'scary' [ŋiri] 'σ σ
b. *mengerikan* 'frightening' [məŋə'rikan] σ σ 'σ σ

Table 1. Possibilities for stress and treatment of suffixes

	Final stress?	Prosodic suffixes?
Western Malay/Indonesian	✓	✓
Sulawesi Indonesian	✓	–
Eastern ₁ Indonesian	(✓)	–
Eastern ₂ Indonesian	–	–

There are various dependency relationships present in this data, such as the fact that final stress licenses prosodic suffixes. I present a typology of stress in relation to suffixation and epenthetic vowels.