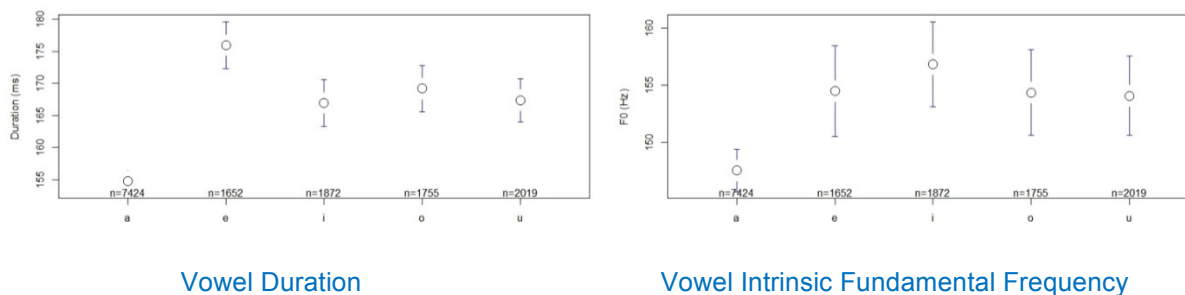


## Towards an account of Makassar Indonesian stress

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Makassar Indonesian (MI) refers to a variety of Indonesian increasingly spoken as a first language in Makassar city and other urban areas of South Sulawesi, and widely used even in areas that maintain Makasar, Bugis, and other local languages. MI shows a large amount of lexical, phonological, and grammatical influence from Makasar, but as the majority of speakers do not speak Makasar there are many features which cannot be considered purely Makasar interference (Jukes 2014). Stress is one of the areas in which Makasar shows its influence, as MI stress is (like Makasar) typically penultimate and quite marked – this is a shibboleth of the South Sulawesi accent. This paper looks at vowels in stressed segments, concentrating on the behavior of /a/ and schwa.

In both Makasar and in MI, stress is encoded via duration, pitch and amplitude, which is very typical cross-linguistically. However, in Makasar the vowel /a/ tends to have much shorter duration than the other vowels as can be seen in the figure below (from Tabain & Jukes 2016).



These duration patterns are what would be expected for a schwa vowel, though formant values show clearly that it is a low central vowel. This is *contra* cross-linguistic effects, where the low vowel /a/ would typically have a much longer duration than the higher vowels due to the longer time it takes for the tongue/jaw to reach a low vowel target. This pattern may be due to /a/ being partially derived from historical schwa which modern Makasar lacks. Though there have been claims to the contrary (Steinhauer 1988), Modern MI does have a schwa vowel, however preliminary observations show that its realization is quite variable and tends to be fronted when stressed, suggesting that even though schwa has re-entered the phoneme inventory of MI, /a/ remains the most neutral vowel.

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