



## Phonetic Reality of Plosive Consonants and Fricative Minangkabau Language in Bengkulu City

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### ABSTRACT

The Minangkabau language is unique, having 19 consonant phonemes in the vocabulary used in daily communication. The existence of phonemes indirectly affects the meaning and shift of the original sound. This is due to the reduction of consonant phonemes when young Minangkabau speakers tend to absorb the consonant system of Indonesian or their local environmental language, rather than Minangkabau. Thus, this study aims to: 1) describe the phonetic reality of Minangkabau plosive consonants in Bengkulu City and 2) describe the phonetic reality of Minangkabau fricative consonants in Bengkulu City. The research method used is qualitative descriptive. The research data was in the form of native Minang speech in Bengkulu City with 50 samples based on 4 criteria: age > 60 years, 50-60 years, 25-50 years and < 24 years. Data collection techniques are in the form of interviews and recordings as well as documentation. The results of this study were obtained 6 plosive consonant phonemes, namely: /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, and /g/ and 3 fricative consonant phonemes, namely: phonemes /s/, /h/ and /f/ in the daily speech of the Minangkabau people which have similarities with the structure of the Malay language. The conclusion of this study is that the plosive consonants and fricative consonants of the Minangkabau language have been proven to appear productively in various word positions, with the phonological structure of Minangkabau still functioning consistently in daily speech practice. Illustrating that the Minangkabau community in Bengkulu City still maintains its strong phonological identity and pronunciation system with a relative, stable, conservative and consistent sound system.

*Keywords: phonetic reality, plosive consonants, frikative, Minangkabau language*

## Realitas Fonetik Konsonan Plosif dan Frikatif Bahasa Minangkabau di Kota Bengkulu

### ABSTRAK

Bahasa Minangkabau itu unik, memiliki 19 fonem konsonan pada kosakata yang digunakan dalam komunikasi sehari-hari. Keberadaan fonem secara tidak langsung mempengaruhi makna dan pergeseran bunyi asalnya. Hal ini dikarenakan adanya pengurangan fonem konsonan ketika penutur muda Minangkabau cenderung menyerap sistem konsonan bahasa Indonesia atau bahasa lingkungan lokal mereka, ketimbang bahasa Minangkabau. Dengan demikian penelitian ini bertujuan untuk: 1) mendeskripsikan realitas fonetik konsonan plosif bahasa Minangkabau di Kota Bengkulu dan 2) mendeskripsikan realitas fonetik konsonan frikatif bahasa Minangkabau di Kota Bengkulu. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif deskriptif. Data penelitian berupa tuturan asli Minang di Kota Bengkulu dengan 50 sampel berdasarkan 4 kriteria: usia > 60 tahun, 50-60 tahun, 25-50 tahun dan < 24 tahun. Teknik pengumpulan data berupa hasil wawancara dan rekaman serta dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian ini adalah diperoleh 6 fonem konsonan plosif yaitu: /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, dan /g/ dan 3 fonem konsonan frikatif yaitu: fonem /s/, /h/ dan /f/ dalam tuturan keseharian masyarakat Minangkabau yang memiliki kemiripan dengan struktur bahasa Melayu. Simpulan penelitian ini adalah konsonan plosif dan frikatif bahasa Minangkabau terbukti muncul secara produktif pada berbagai posisi kata, dengan struktur fonologi Minangkabau yang masih berfungsi secara konsisten dalam praktik tutur sehari-hari. Menggambarkan bahwa komunitas Minangkabau di Kota Bengkulu masih mempertahankan identitas fonologinya secara kuat dan sistem pelafalan dengan sistem bunyi yang relatif, stabil, konservatif dan konsisten.

*Kata kunci: realitas fonetik, konsonan plosif, frikatif, bahasa Minangkabau*

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## INTRODUCTION

The existence of the Minangkabau language in Bengkulu City is a form of the result of the migration of the Minang ethnic group known as 'merantau'. Bengkulu is one of the provinces targeted for the spread of life of the Minang people. According to data from BPS Bengkulu Province (2025) the Minangkabau community in Bengkulu Province, it is in fourth position with a percentage of 6.71% of the total population of Bengkulu province of 2,138,000 people. This is in line with the opinion Astuti (2020) that the Minangkabau tribe is the majority immigrant tribe in Bengkulu Province. Thus, the presence of the Minangkabau Tribe is able to affect population growth and language contact between Malay language groups, Minangkabau and Indonesian languages as well as other cultural diversity.

The Minangkabau language has a function as an identity marker. In addition, it also functions as a guardian of the continuity of values, customs, and distinctive social structures (Afifah, 2023). The reality on the ground, the Minangkabau language is one of the proofs of the mobility of the population. The Minangkabau language is able to help provide a culture in negotiating in the context of trading, also makes an important contribution to existing social and cultural interactions, such as *the Tabot* culture in Bengkulu while in Minang it is called *tabuik* which has similar traditions. The presence of the Minangkabau language is one part of the language contact, speech style, and communication patterns that still exist in the Bengkulu community. Kohn & Fishman (1992) he also explained that in the implementation of communication, language contact will experience language variations in various activities such as economic, social, cultural, and also educational. Ding & Goh (2024) In line with the opinion that also explains that the multilingual community will inherit regional identity as a communication resource. The existence of the Minangkabau language plays a

role in the interaction of communication, solisity and cultural practices in the city of Bengkulu.

The results of the research show that there is a lexical similarity between the Minangkabau language and the coastal city of Bengkulu reaching 8%, from trade interaction activities (Mcdowell & Anderbeck, 2020).

Koto & Koto (2020) Likewise, it is explained that the Minangkabau language lexicon is higher in absorption than other regional language dialects in Bengkulu Province into Indonesian. Comparison of phonemes such as the language of rejang, pekal, lembak and even serawai shows significant differences from the affixation used (Gil, 2024). From the various research results, it can be concluded that Minangkabau phonemes can be easily absorbed by the people of Bengkulu. This is because the Minangkabau language has phonetic similarities with Indonesian. Thus, the Minangkabau language becomes unique and distinctive for research.

McLeod & Crowe (2018) From the results of his research, it is explained that consonant phonemes will be produced by 5-year-old children by paying attention to the way of production of sounds and articulation currents from sounds, trill, ficate, plosive, or aphytive. Consonant phonemes will bind vowel phonemes to the clarity of words resulting from human articulation. In the Minangkabau language, there are 19 consonant phonemes. Consists of the phonemes /b/, /c/, /d/, /g/, /c/, /j/, /k/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /ñ/, /K/, /p/, /r/, /s/, /t/, /w/, /y/ (Razin & Subiyanto 2024) *ÿp*. This is slightly different from Indonesian phonemes which consist of 21 consonant phonemes. This inequality is unique in itself to be further researched.

However, the fact that the use of the Minangkabau language in the field is under pressure from Bengkulu Malay as the majority language, and Indonesian as the unity language. This is in line with the opinion Syamsurizal (2019) that the Minangkabau language is an integration of language phonology from the



influence of reciprocity, pressure and language adjustment in the Bengkulu area. Even the Minang generation is almost numerous and fluent in Bengkulu Malay, rather than the Minangkabau language itself. This is an urgent issue to be discussed for all Minang people in Bengkulu City in revitalizing the Minangkabau language.

In line with the results of research from those who explained that the Minangkabau language and its community in Medan are assumed to be third generation and the younger generation in general, the level of use of Minangkabau consonants has decreased drastically, with a widespread (Koto & Koto, 2020). Uswar et al. (2014) *pattern of code-switching* among family members. This resulted in the loss of some phonetics typical of the Minangkabau language, especially consonants that have limited distributions such as [ñ], [c], and [w] Marta & Cahyani (2020).

The study of the phonetics of Minangkabau consonants has so far focused more on speakers in their home region, namely West Sumatra. Very few study the Minangkabau language in overseas areas. So that data and analysis regarding the phonetic variation of Minangkabau speakers in the region are still very limited. Such as research from Elizabeth Crouch (2009) those who discuss the Minangkabau language in West Sumatra itself. With results showing that Minangkabau phonemes have similarities with Indonesian, but there are differences in the phonological system in the vocabulary. Research from Batais (2024) researching the original Minang language from West Sumatra with the results of research, consonants in the Minangkabau language are influenced by the phonetic study itself, an understanding of how the phonetic system functions is needed when speakers move to areas with different dominant languages, such as Bengkulu City.

This research focuses on the phonetics of plosive consonants and fricative Minangkabau language in the context of overseas communities

in Bengkulu City. This research is expected to make a new contribution in inverting the sounds of the Minangkabau language that occur due to changes or modifications in linguistic studies. In addition, this study is expected to present realistic data on the phonetics of plosive and fricative consonants in Minangkabau speakers in Bengkulu. This is expected to provide new evidence of language contact, which does not necessarily result in sound shifts. Especially when the speaker has a background on their bedouya identity. In addition, this research can provide Minangkabau phonetic learning material for overseas speakers.

## METHODS

This study uses a qualitative research method with a descriptive approach. Sugiyono (2022), Abubakar (2021), Razak (2017) explains that qualitative research is research that focuses on the condition of natural objects, where researchers are the key instruments. This research is in accordance with this focus, with the aim of providing an overview of phonetic data collected from native Minang speakers in Bengkulu Province. The data collected were obtained from interviews and recordings of spontaneous and structured speech to determine the phonemes of plosive consonants and fricative consonants and their distribution into vocabulary in Bengkulu Province. This is because it is in accordance with the relevant context for this study. The source of data from this study is native Minang speakers, fluent in Minang with a variety of age P1 age over 60 years with 10 people (old Minang speakers, Minang is very dominant), P2 age 50-60 years with 12 people (older adult speakers, dominant Minang), P3 age 50-25 years with 14 people (young adult generation, bilingual Minang and Indonesian) and P4 age under 24 years old with 14 people (young generation, dominant Indonesian, Minang at home) in Bengkulu City with a total of 50 informants.

The implementation time of this research was carried out from August 21 to October 31, 2025. The instruments of this research use open interviews, observations, recordings and research documentation and use literature sources that support this research. The collected research data is processed in a systematic framework and described descriptively. Then the data is classified based on: 1) plosive consonant phonetics of Minangkabau, 2) phonetics of Minangkabau fricative consonants. The data was analyzed based on the results of speech findings and studied based on phonological theory and classified according to the problem formulation and conclusions were drawn.

## RESULTS

The findings of this Minangkabau language research have consonant similarities with the Malay language, but there are distinctive differences. This can be seen from the following data:

### 1. Plosive Consonants

Lapoliwa (1988) explained that plosive consonants are consonants that are produced with a complete stop in the airflow, where in the articulated sound channel releases a sudden obstacle resulting in an explosive sound. In line with the opinion Hafsah (2018), it is also explained that plosive consonants result from the complete closure of the airways in the oral cavity and are followed by sudden discharge. In the phenomenon in the Minangkabau language in Bengkulu, plosive consonants from the phonemes /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, and /g/ can be seen in the following data. This plosive consonant is found in three vocabulary positions, namely the beginning of the word, the middle of the word and the end of the word. With the following findings:

#### a. At the beginning of the word:

From the results of the study, plosive consonant data on Minangkabau vocabulary with 4 generations were found. If realized, it can be described as follows:

1) The phoneme /p/ is found as 2) follows:

Table 1  
Realization of Phoneme /p/ for Beginning Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>padi</i>	[p] bilabial, loud, silent. Duration of explosion clear	[p] stable, slightly weak	[p] stable	[p] stables (close to BI)
<i>pulang</i>	[p] strong, sometimes slightly longer	[p] stable	[p] stable	[p] stable
<i>pai</i>	[p] strong	[p] stable	[p] stable	[p] stable, fast high tempo

Based on the 1. ini table, it can be analyzed that the sound system of the Minangkabau language has a consistent and stable pattern. The phonemes /p/ that appear in the words *padi*, *pulang*, and *pai* indicate that this sound functions productively in the initial position of the word. The research also emphasized that the main phoneme that appears in the initial position of the word is the phoneme /p/. Where if you look at this Table 2, P1 is consistently a bilabial sound, with a loud and clear explosion. Meanwhile, in P2 and P3 the realization of the /p/ phoneme is stably slightly weaker. While P4 shows a stable sound by being marked close to the sound of Indonesian with a fast and high tempo, which is evidenced by almost all age groups still maintaining its distinctiveness (strong, stable and fast). While the difference lies in



the power of the explosion, duration and tempo which is influenced by, age, speech style and language contact Fatimah (2016).

2) The phoneme /b/ is found with the following data:

Table 2  
 Realization of Phoneme /b/ for Begining Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>buruak</i>	[b] bilabial speaks	[b] stable, still vocal	[b] clear syllables	[b] stable, the parterm is very colse to BI
<i>bakawab</i>	[b] stable, fast articulation	[b] stable, the vowel /a/ is somewhat open	[b] stable clear	[b] stable fast rhythm
<i>baa</i>	[b] stable, often lengthene d vowel /a/	[b] stable	[b] stable, sometimes clesse to BI	[b] stable, more often used as a short call

Based on Table 2. ini, it can be analyzed that the sound system of the Minangkabau language has a stable pattern with bilabial voices. The phonemes /b/ found in the words *buruak*, *bakawan*, and *baa* are distributions that appear at the initial position of the word. P1 shows stable articulation, voiced, fast duration. While P2 is stable with vocals sounding somewhat open. In P3, it shows clear, stable articulation and is close to the Indonesian pattern. While P4 shows a stable, fast pattern, close to the Indonesian language pattern. Thus, the phoneme /b/ in Minangkabau shows similarities to Indonesian, especially in rhythm and tempo, thus affecting its phonetic form. The change in the allophone is influenced by intergenerational speech styles and vocabulary with frequent language contact.

3) The phoneme /t/ is found to be as follows:

Table 3  
 Realization of Phoneme /t/ for Begining Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>tajilapak</i>	[t] alveolar, clear	[t] stable, fast	[t] stable, BI-like articulation, medium tempo	[t] stable, very close to BI
<i>tibo</i>	[t] stable, followed by slightly decreased /o/ vowel	[t] stable, slightly middle vowel	[t] stable, clear syllables	[t] stable, BI patterns, very clear
<i>takana</i>	[t] stable, slow tempo	[t] stable, middle vowel	[t] stable, clear syllables	[t] stable, relatively fast tempo, concise syllables

Based on Table 3, it can be analyzed that the Minangkabau sound system for the phoneme /t/ shows a clear, stable articulatory consistency and varied tempo. The phoneme /t/ found in words *tajilapak*, *tibo*, and *takana* is a distribution that appears at the initial position of the word. The phoneme /t/ is realized as a clear aveolar voiceless burst. The variations that emerge from P1 to P4 are clearly visible in the tempo (slow, medium and fast). This shows the difference in reality at the allophone level which is influenced by speech style, rhythm and syllables. The phoneme /t/ in these early plosive consonants has

a phonetic distribution that follows the typical Minangkabau language pattern.

4) The phoneme /d/ is found to be as follows:

Table 4  
Realization of Phoneme /d/ for Beginning Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>darek</i>	[d] alveolar, vocal	[d] stable	[d] stable, quite obvious	[d] stable, clear
<i>dima</i>	[d] stable	[d] stable	[d] stable sounds like BI	[d] stable, tends to sound like BI
<i>dakek</i>	[d] stable	[d] stable	[d] stable, clear	[d] stable, more neutral vowels

Based on Table 4, it can be analyzed that the phoneme /t/ is found in the word darek, dima and dakek is a distribution that appears at the initial position of the word. This phoneme /t/ indicates a sounded, stable, clear and consistent dental aveolar without any articulation shift, seen in P1 and P2. While P3 and P4 show the realization of stable /d/ phonemes, obviously, they tend to sound like Indonesian. There are variations that appear in neutral vowels indicating that they belong to phonetic variations. Thus, the initial plosive consonant, the phoneme /d/ exhibits a strong and clear phonetic form.

5) The phoneme /k/ is found to be as follows:

Table 5  
Realization of Phoneme /k/ for Beginning Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>kato</i>	[k] velar, speechless	[k] stable, rhythm mine	[k] stable, very close to BI	[k] velar, speechless
<i>kaba</i>	[k] stable vokals somewhat open	[k] stable	[k] stable, shorter consonants	[k] stable, fast
<i>kama</i>	[k] stable, final vowel elongation	[k] stable	[k] stable, quite close to BI	[k] stable, fast tempo

Based on Table 5, it can be analyzed that the phoneme /k/ found in the words kato, kaba, and kama is a distribution that appears in the initial position of the word. The phoneme /k/ indicates a voiceless, stable, consistent, almost similar to Indonesian with a velar explosion consonant. The reauthentication of the phoneme /k/ in terms of articulation does not undergo a shift, still retaining the font. This variation appears on P2 with Minang rhythm and P1 on the final vocal elongation. While P3 shows shorter consonants and has similarities to Bahasa Indonesia.

2) The phoneme /g/ is found to be as follows:



Table 6  
 Realization of Phoneme /g/ for Beginning Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>ganduk</i>	[g] velar spoke	[g] stable	[g] stable, clear	[g] stable, fast tempo
<i>gadang</i>	[g] stable, clear	[g] stable, nasal end strong	[g] stable, close to BI	[g] stable, BI intonation
<i>gantuang</i>	[g] stable, nasal-velar strong	[g] stable, clear	[g] stable, sometimes BI rhythm	[g] stable, fast tempo

Based on Table 6, it can be analyzed that the phoneme /g/ is found in the word *Ganduk*, *Gadang*, and *gantuang* is a distribution that appears at the initial position of the word. The phoneme /g/ indicates a strong velar as a voiceless, highly stable, and consistent plosive. P1 describes the nasal sound in the final position, without changing the phoneme /g/ itself. P2-P4 consistently produces forms similar to Bahasa Indonesia. The variations that appear can be seen in the fast tempo in P4 with the rhythm of Minang and Indonesian patterns. The phoneme /g/ has a strong, neutral, and clear and stable allophone form of speech and the resulting intonation style.

**b. In the middle of the word**

From the results of the research, plosive consonant data was found in Minangkabau vocabulary with 4 generations in the middle of the word. If realized, it can be described as follows:

- 1) The phoneme /p/ is found as follows:

Table 7  
 Realization of Phoneme /p/ for Middle Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>sapuluah</i>	[p] bilabial is speechless, explosion clear	[p] stable, strong articulation	[p] stable, burst is slightly shortened, fast	[p] stable, fast tempo, relaxed intonation
<i>apak</i>	[p] bilabial does not speak	[p] stable, clear, little pressure	[p] stable, rhythm influenced by BI	[p] stable, rhythm approaching BI
<i>sapo</i>	[p] bilabial speechless, clearly	[p] stable, inclined to be pressed	[p] stable shorter burst duration	[p] a bit weak, a quick speech, a bit clear

Based on Table 7, it can be analyzed that the phoneme /p/ is found in the words *sapuluah*, *apak* and *sapo* which are distributions that appear in the middle position of the word is very productive, the /p/ basically shows the stability of the phonological system of the Minangkabau language between generations, with variations occurring being more phonetic than phonemic. In all four age groups (P1–P4), /p/ is consistently realized as a voiceless bilabial explosive sound [p]. The apparent differences relate to the degree of explosive power, duration, and tempo and style of speech: older generation

speakers (P1 and P2) tend to produce [p] with clearer bursts, stronger articulation, and more pronounced pressure, describing more careful and rhythmic articulation typical of Minangkabau. Meanwhile, younger generation speakers (P3 and especially P4) display [p] with slightly shortened bursts, faster speech tempos, and more relaxed speech and rhythms that are increasingly influenced by Indonesian prosodic patterns.

2) The phoneme /b/ is found with the following data:

Table 8  
 Realization of Phoneme /b/ for Middle Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>kabau</i>	[b] bilabial voiced, stable, heavy voice	[b] stable, clear, sound quite heavy	[b] stable, slightly light sound, fast	[b] stable, fast-paced, close to BI
<i>sabana</i>	[b] bilabial speak, sounds clear and thick	[b] stable, clear, Minang rhythm is still dominant	[b] stable, adjusting BI rhythm	[b] stable, strong intonation and rhythm, BI affected, neutral
<i>rabaa</i>	[b] bilabial speaks	[b] stable, long vowels	[b] stable, slightly abbreviated vowels	[b] stable, short duaration, follows BI

Based on Table 8, it can be analyzed that the phoneme /b/ is found in the words *kabau*, *sabana* and *rabaa* which are distributions that appear in the middle position as a voiced bilabial plosive that has a clear opposition also plays an important role in the formation of syllables and morphemic. This suggests that the /b/ pair serves as the main phonological contrast in the identification and differentiation of lexical meaning, consistently realized as a voiced bilabial explosive sound [b] in all groups of speakers (P1–P4). The differences that arise are mainly phonetic, related to sound quality (heavy-light), clarity of articulation, duration, tempo of speech, and rhythm and intonation. Older generation speakers (P1 and P2) tend to produce [b] with heavier, thicker, and clearer voices, often accompanied by a slightly longer duration and the dominant typical Minangkabau rhythm. Meanwhile, younger generation speakers (P3 and especially P4) showed [b] which remained stable but with a slightly lighter sound, faster tempo, and adjustments in rhythm, intonation, and vocal duration.

3) The phoneme /t/ is found to be as follows:

Table 9  
 Realization of Phoneme /t/ for Middle Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>batang</i>	[t] dental/alveolar noiseless, cleas explosion	[t] stable, clear, still characterizes Minang	[t] stable, light articulation	[t] stable, clse to BI fast tempo
<i>kito</i>	[t] speechless, quite clear	[t] stable, strong enough	[t] stable, similar to BI	[t] stable, rhythm and intonation similar to BI
<i>latiah</i>	[t] speechless, high vowel	[t] stable, clear, duration of the explosion felt	[t] stable, the blest is somewhat shortened	[t] stable, fast, very short



Based on Table 9, it can be analyzed that the phoneme /t/ in the middle position of the word in the vocabulary of *the batang* ‘batang’, *kito* ‘kita’, and *latiah* ‘tired’ shows that phonemically stable between generations, with /t/ consistently realized as a voiceless dental/alveolar explosive consonant [t] in P1 to P4. The variations that emerged were phonetic and prosodic, especially related to the clarity of the explosion, the strength of articulation, the segmental duration, the tempo of speech, and the rhythm related to the influence of the Indonesian language. In older generation speakers (P1 and P2), [t] tends to have clearer and more pronounced bursts, stronger articulation, and still reflects typical Minangkabau rhythmic characteristics, including a tendency for slightly longer burst and vowel durations. Meanwhile, in younger generations (P3 and especially P4), [t] remains stable as [t] is silent, but the articulation becomes lighter, the burst is relatively shortened, the tempo of speech is faster, and the rhythm and intonation are closer to the pattern of Indonesian prosodium. Top of Form

4) The phoneme /d/ is found to be as follows:

Table 10  
 Realization of Phoneme /d/ for Middle Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>adiak</i>	[d] dental alveolar sour, clear and stable	[d] stable, strong enough	[d] stable, slightly light	[d] stable, fast tempo, BI like
<i>padusi</i>	[d] speak-up, quites firmly	[d] stable, sounds clear as a syllable separator	[d] stable, BI-like rhythm	[d] stable, BI-like intonation and rhythm
<i>badai</i>	[d] full sound	[d] stable, clear, slightly heavy voice	[d] stable, lighter sound	[d] stable, fast tempo, short burst duration, audible

Based on Table 10, it can be analyzed that the phoneme /t/ in the middle position of the word in the vocabulary of *adiak*, *padusi* and *badai* indicate alveolar dental plosive /d/ with the explosion of the tongue against the front gums and the vocal cords vibrating. Produces a full, stable, clear and audible sound as a syllable separator. P1 shows classical phonetic realization with sounded, clear and stable dental alveolar with a voice that is sometimes heavy and full sound. P2 is still stable but the sound sounds lighter and the pronunciation rhythm starts to resemble Indonesian. While P3-P4 shows a fast tempo, short burst duration and rhythmic intonation similar to Indonesian. Top of Form

5) The phoneme /k/ is found to be as follows:

Table 11  
 Realization of Phoneme /k/ for Middle Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>bakato</i>	[k] velar, voiceless, loud explosion, clear	[k] stable, strong enough	[k] stable, shortened explosion	[k] stable, fast tempo, BI-like
<i>dakek</i>	[k] silent, the explosion was sufficiently suppressed	[k] stable, still audible	[k] stable, slightly weakened	[k] stable, faster, not lost
<i>pakak</i>	[k] unscrupulous, velar clear	[k] stable, clear, strong	[k] stable, congregated abbreviated	[k] stable, fast, short, audible

Based on Table 11, it can be analyzed that the phonemes /k/ in the middle position of *bakato*, *dakek* and *pakak* indicate voiceless velar plosive in all P1-P4 speakers. This occurs in the posterior palate (velar) where the vocal cords do not vibrate, so the sound sounds are toneless and the phoneme /k/ does not change to another phoneme, as a contrastive plosive in the phonological system. P1 shows a voiceless velar with a strong and clear explosion, with high and full articulation in accordance with the traditional Minangkabau speech pattern. P2 shows a stable sound and is still audible but the intensity of the explosion begins to decrease compared to P1. While P3 shows a stable sound with the duration of the explosion shortened so that the phoneme /k/ sounds lighter and faster, but still sounds like a plosive consonant. The P4 shows a stable sound but a faster tempo, a short duration and an intonation similar to Indonesian.

6) The phoneme /g/ is found to be as follows:

Table 12  
 Realization of Phoneme /g/ for Middle Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>tagak</i>	[g] velar vowel, stable, thick and clear	[g] stable, strong enough	[g] stable, slightly lighter	[g] stable, fast tempo, close to BI
<i>lageh</i>	[g] velar speaks up, clearly	[g] stable, clear, strong Minang intonation	[g] stable, rhythm similar to BI rhythm	[g] stable, BI-like intonation
<i>pagang</i>	[g] velar voiced, quite loud	[g] stable, thick nasal	[g] stable, slightly light	[g] stable, faster tempo

Based on Table 12, it can be analyzed that the phoneme /k/ in the middle position of the word in the vocabulary of *tagak*, *lageh* and *pagang* indicates a vowel velar plosive. P1 shows vowel, stable, thick and clear velar plosives, especially in the words *tagak* and *pagang*. Meanwhile, P2 is still stable and quite strong, but in some words *masig* there is a strong Minang intonation, marking the characteristic of the Minangkabau variety in Bengkulu. P3 shows a sound that remains stable, slightly lighter and rhythm similar to Bahasa Indonesia. While P4 shows a stable sound but a faster tempo so that the duration is short and the intonation is similar to BI as a vocal velar plosive is still maintained in the phonological system of the Minangkabau language in Bengkulu City.

**c. In the End**

From the results of the study, plosive consonant data was found in Minangkabau vocabulary with 4 generations at the end of the word. If realized, it can be described as follows:

Table 13  
 Realization of Plosive Consonant Phoneme /p/, /t/ and /k/ at the End Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>sigap</i>	[p] bilabial speechless, clear, restrained	[p] stable, clear, a little fast	[p] stable, short duration, BI-like	[p] stable, fast tempo, somewhat light
<i>siap</i>	[p] clear	[p] stable, clear	[p] stable, short	[p] stable, short and fast



<i>basantap</i>	[p] explosion still sounds quite loud	[p] stable, obviously not long	[p] stable, slightly weak	[p] stable, short and fast
<i>bakait</i>	[t] alveolar voiceless, clearly somewhat restrained	[t] stable, clear, fast	[t] stable, short rhythm like BI	[t] stable, fast, light articulation
<i>magnit</i>	[t] clear	[t] stable, consistent articulation	[t] stable, close BI	[t] stable, fast tempo
<i>awet</i>	[t] clear, restrained	[t] stable clearly	[t] short stable	[t] stable and audible
<i>indak</i>	[k] trends to be obvious	[k] strong	[k] obviously, similar to BI	[D] A Mine
<i>buruak</i>	[k] is quite audible	[k] strong, the explosion is shortened	[k] similar to BI	[k] Minang language often appears
<i>caliak</i>	[k] quite firm	[k] no thick, and fast	[k] similar to BI	[k] stable, Minang language

Based on the data in Table 13 above, it shows a phonological pattern that is consistent with the characters of Malay languages. The phoneme /p/ that appears in the words *sigap*, *siap*, and *basantap* shows that this voiceless bilabial plosive is one of the most stable and productive consonants in the final position, has a tendency to maintain a clear articulatory closure at the end of a syllable and the end of a word.

The phonemes /t/ found in the words *bakait*, *magnit*, and *awet* also show a similar pattern. As a voiceless dental–alveolar plosive, /t/ appears consistently at the end of words in both original vocabulary and forms that have been expanded through language contact. The phoneme /k/ exhibits more complex phonological dynamics. In the words *indak*, *buruak*, and *caliak*, these phonemes can be realized as [k] or [ʔ] (glotal stop). This allophone variation shows that the Minangkabau phonological system is not only static, but also has articulatory flexibility in the speech practices of its people.

## 2. Fricative Consonants

Ladefoged & Johnson (2011) explained that fricative consonants are sounds produced by bringing two articulators closer together so that the flow of air comes out through a narrow gap and experiences friction. In line with the opinion Lapoliwa (1988), it is also explained that the fricative consonant is realized with other phonemes in the vocal tract so that there is an obstacle. In Minangkabau, fricative consonants are found from the phonemes /s/, /h/ and /f/ can be seen in the following data:

### a. At the beginning of the word

From the results of the research, fictitious consonant data was found in Minangkabau vocabulary with 4 generations at the beginning of the word. If realized, it can be described as follows:

Table 14  
Realization of Fictitious Consonant Phonemes /s/, /h/ and /f/ for Beginning Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>surek</i>	[s] alveolar fricative is silent, clear, similar to Minang	[s] stable, strong, light and clear	[s] stable, similar to BI	[s] obviously, fast like BI
<i>sabalah</i>	[s] alveolar ficative clear, strong, Minang accent	[s] stable, pressure a little strong	[s] stable, neutral like BI	[s] stable, fast like BI
<i>saik</i>	alveolar fricative is clear, strong	[s] stable, lightweight	stable, smooth	[s] stable, fast, BI-like
<i>hajaik</i>	[h] glotal ficative voiceless, quite strong	[h] stable, lighter, clear	[h] stable, clear	[h] tends to be weak, still audible
<i>hancua</i>	[h] glottal fricative clear, strong	[h] stable, quite strong, Minang pattern	[h] stable like BI	[h] clear
<i>hidung</i>	[h] glottal fricative stable, moderately audible	[h] stable, comfortable, and clear	[h] stable, not too long	[h] stable, fast like BI
<i>filem</i>	[f] labiodental is silent, obvious	[f] labiodental is silent, quite obvious	[f] stable, BI-like, fast	[f] labiodental is silent, similar to BI

Based on the data in Table 14 above, it shows that the Minangkabau language has a relatively simple but stable fricative system, especially in native phonemes such as /s/ and /h/. The phoneme /s/ that appears in the words *surek* ‘surat’, *sabalah* ‘sebelah’, and *saik* ‘iris’ indicate that this voiceless alveolar fricative. Its appearance in the initial position of the word indicates that /s/ has an important role in of the syllable structure and is part of the language’s core phonotactics. The phonemes /h/ identified in the words *hajaik* ‘hajat’, *hancua* ‘hancur’, and *hidung* ‘hidung’ show different characteristics than /s/. This phoneme /h/ sound is part of the original inventory that has existed since the forms of the Proto-Malay language. The phoneme /f/ found in *film* word ‘film’ shows a significantly different distribution pattern compared to the previous two phonemes. The phoneme /f/ shows the dynamics of linguistic change that are more external and have not been fully integrated in the Minangkabau phonological system.

**b. In the middle of the word**

From the results of the research, fictitious consonant data was found in Minangkabau vocabulary with 4 generations in the middle of the word. If realized, it can be described as follows:



Table 15  
 Realization of Fictitious Consonant Phonemes /s/, /h/ and /f/ for Middle Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>rasah</i>	alveolar fricatives are silent, quite strong	[s] stable, strong enough, lightweight	[s] stable, smooth, BI-like rhythm	[s] clear, fast tempo, similar to BI
<i>basuo</i>	[s] alveolar fricative, obviously, Minang	[S] Stable, Mine Says	[s] stable, neutral, BI-like	[s] stable, fast tempo
<i>sasa</i>	Alveolar fricative, relatively balanced	[s] stable, weaker	[s] stable, fast tempo	[s] stable, shorter sound
<i>bahaso</i>	[h] glottal fricative voiceless, quite strong, clear	[h] stable, lower, clear	[h] stable, lighter rather weak, fast	[h] more refined
<i>cahayo</i>	[h] glotted fricative, quite strong	[h] stable, quite strong	[h] stable, smooth	[h] shorter and smoother
<i>bahayo</i>	[h] Glottal fricative is quite hard	[h] stable slightly strong	[h] stable, lighter	[h] quite short, somewhat audible
<i>artefak</i>	[f] labiodental is not stable	[f] labiodental is silent, strong	[f] stable, strong enough	[f] stable like BI

Based on the data in Table 15 above, it is confirmed that the Minangkabau language has a relatively simple but very stable fricative system in the original vocabulary. The phonemes /s/ that appear in *the words rasah, basuo, and sasa* indicate that this voiceless alveolar fricative is one of the most productive its phonotactic flexibility while affirming its role as an essential differentiator of meaning in the Minangkabau phonological system.

The phoneme /h/ found in *the words bahaso* ‘bahasa’, *cahayo* ‘cahaya’, and *bahayo* ‘bahaya’ show a consistent distribution pattern at the beginning and middle positions of the word. As a voiceless glottal fricative, /h/ has an important position in Minangkabau phonological structure because this phoneme is an integral part of the original inventory of the language. Meanwhile, the phoneme /f/ that appears in *artefak words* shows a different status than /s/ and /h/. The phoneme /f/ is not part of the original Minangkabau phonemic system, but is present as a result of the absorption of words from Indonesian or foreign languages.

### c. In the End

From the results of the research, it was found that fricative consonant data in Minangkabau vocabulary with 4 generations at the end of the word. If realized, it can be described as follows:

Table 16  
 Realization of Fictitious Consonant Phonemes /s/, /h/ and /f/ at the End Position

Vocabulary	P1	P2	P3	P4
<i>bamarakas</i>	[s] alveolar fricative is voiceless, quite strong, clear	[s] stable, strong enough, lighter	[s] stable, smooth articulation, BI-like rhythm	[s] clear, BI-like, fast
<i>labah</i>	[s] laryngeal fricative is voiceless, clearly audible	[s] quite clear, a little weak	[s] tend to be weak, short sounding	[s] very weak, almost lost
<i>labiah</i>	laryngeal fricative, quite obvious	stable, starts to sound short and light	[s] tends to be weak, short duration	[s] very valley almost inaudible
<i>labuah</i>	[s] laryngeal fricative, strong clear characteristic of Minang rhythm	[s] sound clear, slightly soft	[s] weak, short duration, light and fast	[s] almost inaudible, fast
<i>arif</i>	[s] labiodental fricative is voiceless	[s] stable, tend to be strong	[s] stable, obviously similar to BI	[s] stable, fast tempo similar to BI

Table 16 above, a typical phonological pattern, especially related to the existence and distribution of /s/, /h/, and /f/. The phoneme /s/ has a fairly high frequency and productivity, both in the beginning, middle, and end positions. The phoneme /h/ exhibits a more varied distribution pattern and often displays a strongly defended realization in the Minangkabau language. In the *labah*, *labiah* and *labuah* the phoneme /h/ appears in the final position and serves as a marker of morphophonism.

The phoneme /f/ is a phoneme that is rarely found in the original Minangkabau vocabulary. The appearance of the word ‘*arif*’ shows that /f/ entered through the process of absorption from Arabic and Indonesian. The phoneme /f/ is still realized as [f], without undergoing changes to [p] as is common in regional languages in the archipelago (Isop Syafe’i et al., 2020). Overall, the analysis of these three fricative phonemes shows that the Minangkabau phonological system has a combination of native elements and absorption adaptation (Ariesty et al., 2022).

## DISCUSSION

Research on the Minangkabau phonological system shows that while the language shares structural similarities with Malay, particularly in its basic consonant inventory, it also exhibits distinctive features that affirm its unique identity within the Malay language family. These differences are evident in the distribution patterns, phonetic realizations, and productivity levels of both plosive and fricative phonemes. These findings provide an idea that the Minangkabau retain certain conservative traits, but at the same time exhibit significant local variation Adelaar & Himmelmann (2005).

In plosive consonants, the Minangkabau language has six main phonemes, namely /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, and /g/. These six phonemes appear in a fairly complete distribution at the beginning, middle, and part of the final position of the word. The existence of voiced and voiceless phoneme pairs shows that this language has a strong and orderly phonological opposition system.



The data at the initial position of the word shows that all plosive phonemes appear productively. The phoneme /p/ indicating its nature as a stable voiceless bilabial plosive. The phoneme /b/ as a sound partner of /p/ also shows high productivity in the initial position of the word. Data such as *buruak*, *bakawan*, and *baa* show that these phonemes not only play a role in differentiating meanings, but also show phonetic stability. The presence of the /b/ phoneme in the original word reinforces the view that Minangkabau maintains a complete bilabial inventory without attenuation at the beginning of the word, in contrast to some regional languages that tend to weaken the sound of voice in this position Fatimah (2016).

The alveolar phonemes /t/ and /d/ that appear in the words *tajilapak*, *tibo*, *takana* as well as *darek*, *dima*, and *dakek* show a systematic opposition structure. Minangkabau tends to realize /t/ and /d/ in a dental way, as can be seen from the tendency of realization [t\*] and [d\*]. This shows that the phonetic features of the Minangkabau language carry a phonological heritage that may be related to the Malay language. This phoneme is not only stable but also shows a typical Minangkabau phonetic color. Phonemes /k/ and /g/ show a strong and consistent distribution pattern, these velar pairs play an important role in the lexical structure. The Minangkabau language retains the phonemes in full, without the tendency to weaken the phoneme /g/ in the initial position as found in some other Malay dialects.

In the middle position of the word, all six plosive phonemes remain productive, indicating that the Minangkabau language has a phonemic distribution system that is not limited to the initial position only. The phonemes /p/ in (Razin & Subiyanto, 2024) *the words saten*, *apak*, and *sapo* show a stable phonological process. The phoneme /b/ in the middle of the word, as seen in the data Afria & Putri (2022) *of kabau*, *sabana*, and *raba*, indicates that this sound remains intact in the structure of the Minangkabau word. The velar phonemes in the middle position, namely /k/ and /g/, also show articulation consistency. Data such

as *bakato*, *dakek*, *pakak* as well as *tagak*, *lageh*, and *pagang* showed that there was no weakening of velar in the intervocal environment.

The phoneme /p/ in *swift*, *ready*, and *basantap* indicates that this sound is stable as the closing of the word. The phonemes /t/ in the words *bakait*, *magnet*, and *tauet* also show the same conservative pattern. Reniwati et al. (2016) explains that Minangkabau retains the full realization of [t] at the end of the word, which distinguishes it from some Malay dialects that weaken /t/ to glotal stop or even omit it in rapid speech. In words such as *indak*, *buruak*, and *caliak*, these phonemes can be realized as [k] or [ʔ]. This allophone variation reflects the high glottalization process in the Minangkabau language. Sounding consonants such as /b/, /d/, and /g/ rarely appear at the end of the original Minangkabau word. This absence reflects a strong phonetic limitation, namely that Minangkabau only allows voiceless or glottal consonants in the final position.

In line with the results of the research, it is concluded that the consonant phonemes of the Minangkabau language consist of the phonemes /s/, /h/. In the consonants of the Minangkabau language fricative consist of three phonemes: /s/, /h/, and /f/. Among the three, only /s/ and /h/ are original parts of the Minangkabau phonological inventory, while /f/ is an absorption phoneme. These findings show that the Minangkabau fricative class is relatively simple compared to other languages in the Malay family. The phoneme /s/ appears very productively at all word positions. Data such as Kharisma et al. (2021) *surk*, *sabalah*, *saik* (beginning), *rasah*, *basuo*, *sasa* (middle), and *bamarkas* (end) show that /s/ is the most dominant fricative in this language. Examples can be seen in the words *hajaik*, *hancua*, *hiduang* as well as *bahaso*, *cahayo*, and *bahayo*. The fact that Minangkabau did not change /f/ to [p] indicates a shift in the pattern of modern adaptation, where the word absorption was retained in its articulation following the original form. This phenomenon shows a higher level of cultural and educational integration in Minangkabau society (Batais, 2024).

Overall, Minangkabau fricative consonants show a firm distinction between the original phoneme and absorption. The original plosive and fricative show a stable, conservative distribution pattern, and reflect the historical characteristics of Minangkabau, while the absorption phonemes show external linguistic changes. Therefore, the Minangkabau phonological system can be referred to as a balanced system between the preservation of tradition and adaptation to the development of vocabulary (Zabadi, 2020).

## CONCLUSION

Research on the phonetic reality of plosive and fricative consonants in the Minangkabau language spoken by the community in Bengkulu City shows that, despite living in a different linguistic environment, speakers retain the core characteristics of their native phonology. Plosive consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g/ appear productively across word positions, with voiceless consonants /p, t, k/ maintaining their distinctiveness and voiced consonants /b, d, g/ consistently reinforcing phonemic oppositions. Fricatives /s/ and /h/ remain stable, with /s/ being highly productive and /h/ displaying distinctive positional patterns, while /f/ appears only in borrowed words, reflecting socio-cultural adaptation.

Overall, the findings indicate that the Minangkabau community in Bengkulu preserves a strong phonological identity, with no evidence of systematic phonological shifts. The consistent use of plosive and fricative consonants demonstrates the stability of a conservative sound system, highlighting the resilience of the Minangkabau language in overseas communities. This sustained phonetic stability, maintained through daily speech, underscores the vitality and continuity of Minangkabau linguistic identity even outside its native region.

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