**On the Origin and Distribution of Third-Person Pronominal Enclitics in Jambi Malay**
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In Standard Malay-Indonesian, the clitic form of the third-person personal pronoun, **-nya**, has various functions. When attached to nouns, it marks possession (example 1); when attached to active verb forms and to certain prepositions, it marks the object (examples 2-3); when attached to passive verb forms, it marks the agent (examples 4). It also has some secondary functions, such as determiner (example 5).

1. Dia   mem-baca-kan    anak-**nya**   buku.
   3SG   ACT-read-APPL    child-NYA   book
   He read **his** child a book.

2. Setelah itu,        dia   me-letak-kan-**nya**        di     méja.
   after    DEM.DIST   3SG   ACT-place-APPL-NYA    LOC   table
   'Afterwards, he put **it** down on the table.'

3. Buku    itu          di-baca-kan         kepada-**nya**.
   book    DEM.DIST   PASS-read-APPL    to-NYA
   That book was read to **him**.

4. Buku    itu          di-baca-kan-**nya**.
   book    DEM.DIST   PASS-read-APPL-NYA
   **He** read out that book. (Literally: That book was read out by **him**.)

5. Buku-**nya**   di-baca-kan-nya.
   book-NYA   PASS-read-APPL-NYA
   **He** read out the book.

(Abbreviations: ACT – active; APPL – applicative; DEM.DIST – distal demonstrative; LOC – locative; PASS – passive; SG – singular.)

In Old Malay inscriptions, **-nya** occurred with similar functions, although its syntax was somewhat different than in modern Malay-Indonesian. Since most modern Malayic isolects in major speech areas have cognates of this clitic, it is possible to reconstruct a Proto Malayic third-person pronominal clitic **\*-nya**. However, a few modern isolects exhibit other third-person pronominal clitics. One of them is Jambi Malay, spoken in and around the city of Jambi in east-central Sumatra. In the Jambi dialect, a third-person enclitic is **-é** is used side by side with **-nyo** (a reflex of Proto Malayic **\*-nya**). This raises two interesting questions, one diachronic and the other synchronic.

The first question is, what is the origin of **-é** in Jambi Malay? This dialect has undergone considerable lexical influence by Javanese; since the third-person enclitic in Javanese is **-(n)é**, one may hypothesize that that this is the origin of Jambi Malay **-é**. However, **-é** also occurs in the dialect of Minangkabau spoken in the Pariaman region (on the west-central coast of Sumatra), which has not been influenced by Javanese. Moreover, Ketapang Malay, a dialect spoken in Western Borneo, has a third-person enclitic **-i**, apparently a cognate of Jambi Malay **-é**. This suggests that we are not dealing with a simple case of borrowing.

The second question is, what are the differences, if any, between **-nyo** and **-é** in Jambi Malay?  Preliminary studies, based on a naturalistic corpus of transcribed conversations in Jambi Malay[1], indicate that there are no significant differences in the functions of **-nyo** and **-é**.  However, there are geographical and distributional differences.  In the urban koine of the city of Jambi, only **-nyo** is used, while in the surrounding rural areas, **-é** is used predominantly—about 88.4% of all occurrences in the database—with **-nyo** accounting for the remaining 11.6%.  This suggests that the presence of **-nyo** is the rural subdialects may be due to interference from the urban koine, which, in turn, has been strongly influenced by Palembang Malay (where **-nyo** is used).

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