Dialectologia. **Special issue, III** *(2012), 157-176.*
ISSN: 2013-2247

Received 20 November 2012.
Accepted 10 December 2012.

VARIATION IN THIRD-PERSON OBJECT PRONOUNS IN ZAMORA-PROVINCE SPANISH, ACCORDING TO ALPI DATA[1]

Jorge Emilio ROSÉS LABRADA
University of Western Ontario
jrosesla@uwo.ca

Abstract

Unstressed third-person object personal pronouns vary greatly throughout the Hispanic world. Four main systems are found: an etymological system (where the use of the pronouns follows case/gender distinctions) and three referential systems (where the case/gender distinctions are not maintained). The case-gender distinctions not maintained consist of: 1) the use of *le* for *lo* or *la*, termed *leísmo*; 2) *la* for *le*, or *laísmo*; and 3) *lo* for *le*, known as *loísmo*. This paper determines which of these four systems were used in Zamora province — said to have three dialectal zones — in the 1930s by means of an analysis of the unstressed third-person object personal pronouns used in 24 ALPI *Cuaderno I* sentences. A detailed examination of apparently divergent uses permits us to show that the use of the etymological system is almost categorical for the whole province and that dialectal morphosyntactic unity can exist alongside dialectal phonetic variability.

Keywords

ALPI, dialectal variation, dialectal unity, Zamora province, third-person object pronouns

[1] Thanks to the audience at Methods in Dialectology 14, where an initial version of this work was presented, as well as to Jeff Tennant, in whose *Dialectologie* course I first began this research, and to David Heap for revision of this text. All errors remain my own. This research was supported in part by Standard Research Grant 410-2008-1901 and International Opportunities Fund Grant 861-2009-1072, both from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, as well as Vanier Canada Graduate Scholarship [Award N. 770-2012-0151].

VARIACIÓN EN LOS PRONOMBRES PERSONALES DE OBJETO DE TERCERA PERSONA EN LA PROVINCIA DE ZAMORA, SEGÚN DATOS DEL ALPI

Resumen

El uso de los pronombres personales átonos de objeto para tercera persona del español varía de una región a la otra del mundo hispánico. Existen cuatro sistemas fundamentales: un sistema etimológico (donde se mantiene todas las distinciones de género y caso de los pronombres) y tres sistemas referenciales (donde algunas de dichas distinciones no se mantienen). La no retención de algunas distinciones consiste en: 1) uso de *le* por *lo* o *la*, llamado *leísmo*; 2) *la* por *le*, o *laísmo*; y 3) *lo* por *le*, conocido como *loísmo*. Este artículo determina cuál de los cuatros sistemas se emplea en la provincia de Zamora —de la cual se ha dicho que se divide en tres zonas dialectales diferentes— en los años 1930 mediante un análisis de los pronombres personales átonos de objeto para tercera persona usados en 24 oraciones del Cuaderno I del ALPI. Un examen riguroso de los usos divergentes muestra que el sistema etimológico se emplea casi categóricamente en toda la provincia y que la uniformidad dialectal morfosintáctica puede coexistir con la variabilidad dialectal fonética.

Palabras clave

ALPI, variación dialectal, uniformidad dialectal, Zamora, pronombres de objeto de tercera persona

1. Introduction

There is a considerable degree of variation in the use of the Spanish third-person object pronouns in the Spanish-speaking countries. This variation primarily consists of three phenomena:

1. *leísmo* (usage of pronoun *le* (IO, ±FEM, SG)[2] instead of *lo* (DO, MASC, SG)),
2. *laísmo* (usage of pronoun *la* (DO, FEM, SG) instead of *le* (IO, ±FEM, SG)), and
3. *loísmo* (usage of pronoun *lo* (DO, MASC, SG) instead *la* (DO, FEM, SG) and *le* (IO, ±FEM, SG), mainly with mass nouns).

According to Fernández-Ordóñez (1994), there are in Spain four main systems: an etymological system (usage of the pronouns with a clear distinction of case and gender) and three referential systems (usage of the pronouns where the distinction of case and/or gender is not maintained). There are also several transition areas or "compromise" areas among these systems. In this article, I analyze the third-person object pronouns

[2] Abbreviations used in this article are as follows: IO = indirect object, DO = direct object, SG = singular, FEM = feminine, MASC = masculine.

produced by 12 speakers from Zamora (Spain) in 24 different sentences of the *Atlas lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (henceforth ALPI) in order to determine which one(s) of the four systems is/are employed in Zamora, a province which bridges three distinct dialectal areas, i.e. Galician-Portuguese, Leonese and Castilian (González Ferrero 2007).

In the following sections, I first describe the etymological and the referential systems of the Spanish object pronouns (§2). Secondly, I briefly discuss previous dialectology research in this particular area of Spain and on the dialectal distribution of the third-person object pronoun systems (§3). After so doing, I explain the methodology used for this study (§4) and discuss its results (§5). The discussion of the results has been divided into three parts: a presentation of the results of the study (§5.1), an in-depth analysis of each of the apparently "problematic" contexts (§5.2), and a brief discussion of the data from survey point 348 El Pego (§5.3). To conclude, I summarize my findings and examine their implications for the methodology of dialect research.

2. The Spanish Unstressed Object Pronoun Systems

2.1. Etymological System

As shown in Table 1 below, the Spanish unstressed first and second person object pronouns, namely *me*, *nos* and *te*, *os* respectively, remain constant in form despite case (accusative and dative) and gender (masculine and feminine) changes in the referent. However, they do change when the number of the referent changes: *me* and *te* are used with singular referents while *nos* and *os* are used with plural referents.

	Direct object (accusative)				**Indirect object (dative)**			
	Singular		Plural		Singular		Plural	
Person	Masc.	Fem.	Mas	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1	me		nos		me		nos	
2	te		os		te		os	
3	lo	la	los	las	le		les	

Table 1 Spanish Object Pronouns

The third-person pronouns, however, vary according to case, gender (only in the accusative), and number. It is this variation that creates confusion among non-native speakers; and this confusion is at the center of the origin of the different modalities of the third-person object pronoun referential system (Fernández-Ordóñez 1994).

2.2. The Referential System(s)

The examples[3] in the right column below exemplify the phenomena associated with the referential system; in the left column the etymological system is used for ease of comparison. Firstly, we have *leísmo*, which consists of using the pronoun *le* (IO, ±FEM, SG) instead of *lo* (DO, MASC., SG.); this phenomenon has two different usages: with [+animate] objects known as *leísmo animado* (*See (1c) below*), and with [-animate] objects known as *leísmo inanimado* (*See (2c) below*). Secondly, we can talk about *laísmo* when the speakers employ the pronoun *la* (DO, FEM, SG) instead of *le* (IO, ±FEM, SG) as shown in (3d) below. Finally, there is *loísmo*, which is the use of *lo* (DO, MASC, SG) instead of *la* (DO, FEM, SG) and *le* (IO, ±FEM, SG), mainly with mass nouns as in (4e) and (4f).

	Etymological system	**Referential system**	
(1)	a. Lo conocí.	c. ***Le*** conocí.	*Leísmo animado*
	b. La conocí.	d. La conocí.	
(2)	a. Lo compramos.	c. ***Le*** compramos.	*Leísmo inanimado*
	b. Le cambiamos la tapa.	d. Le cambiamos la tapa.	
(3)	a. Le di un regalo.	c. Le di un regalo.	*Laísmo*
	b. Le di un regalo.	d. ***La*** di un regalo.	
(4)	a. El vino lo tomamos con las comidas.	d. El vino lo tomamos con las comidas.	*Loísmo*
	b. La cerveza la tomamos con las tapas.	e. La cerveza ***lo*** tomamos con las tapas.	
	c. Le añaden de todo hoy en día.	f. ***Lo*** añaden de todo hoy en día.	

[3] These examples were taken from Heap (2002: 57), adapted in turn from Klein Andreu (1981).

Dialectologia. **Special issue, III** *(2012), 157-176.*
ISSN: 2013-2247

3. Previous Research

Zamora province is located in the Northwest of Spain and belongs to the autonomous region of Castilla and León. This province borders with León province to the North, with Valladolid province to the East, with Salamanca province to the South, with Portugal to the West and with Orense (province Galicia) to the Northwest. It is this location between the province of León with its own dialect (Leonese), Galicia and Portugal with their own languages (Galician and Portuguese) and the two Castilian provinces of Salamanca and Valladolid that makes of Zamora an ideal place for dialectology and language contact research.

Figure 1. Zamora[4]

[4] Taken from Wikipedia:
http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archivo:Localizaci%C3%B3n_de_la_provincia_de_Zamora.svg

3.1. Dialect areas in Zamora

González Ferrero's (2007) study establishes the boundaries of the Leonese dialect in the province of Zamora at the beginning of the twentieth century and the different areas and subareas by using data from the ALPI *Cuaderno I* questionnaire. An in-depth analysis of each of the thirteen phonetic features chosen by this author and the comparison of his results with other previous studies allows González Ferrero to create a map with the precise limits of the Leonese dialect and to identify three different dialectal areas in the province. Figure 2 shows these three areas: Galician-Portuguese (in blue), Leonese (in green) and Castilian (in red).

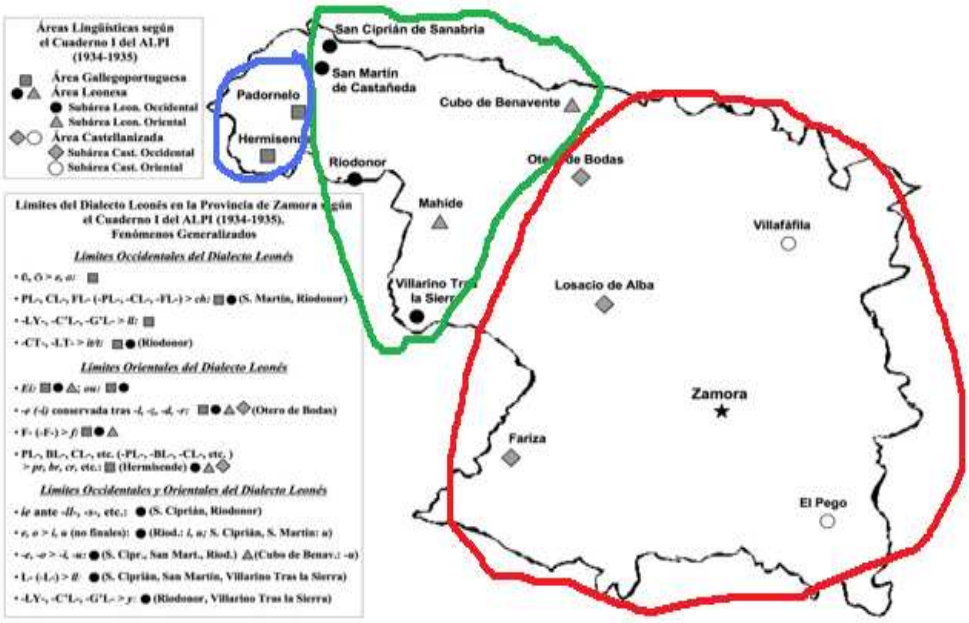

Figure 2. The three dialectal areas of Zamora province according to González Ferrero (2007: 200).

3.2. Third-person object pronouns in Zamora

Fernández-Ordoñez (1994) deals with the morphosyntactic feature on which this article focuses, i.e. third-person object pronouns. The author uses data collected in the 1990s in different regions of Spain to draw isoglosses of the different systems (i.e. etymological and referential in its different modalities). With respect to the province of

Dialectologia. **Special issue, III** *(2012), 157-176.*
ISSN: 2013-2247

Zamora, the isoglosses of the referential systems created by the author do not include it, as shown in Figure 3, which implies that it is the etymological system that is primarily used in the province.

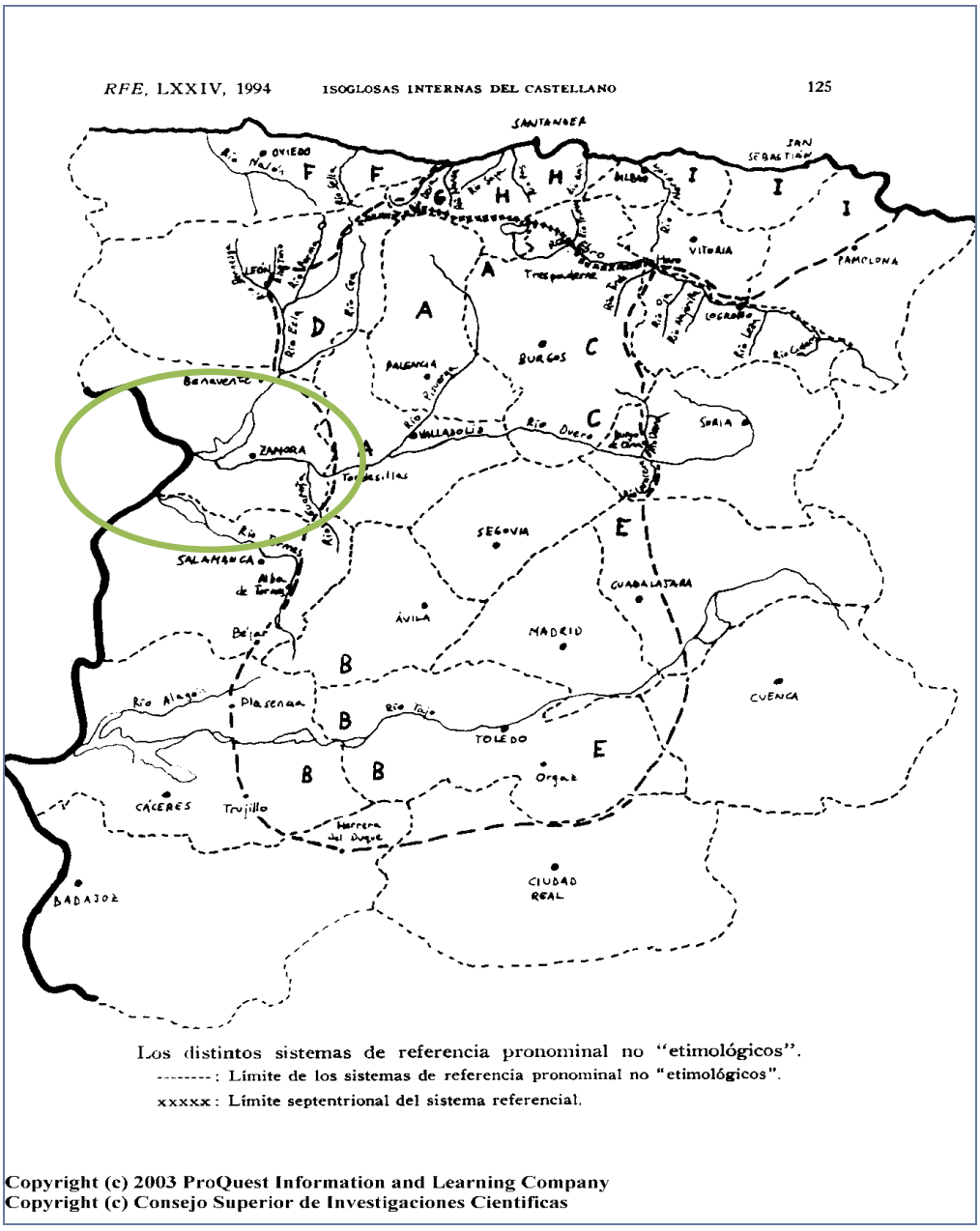

Figure 3. Internal isoglosses of Castilian (Fernández-Ordoñez 1994: 125).

The etymological usage of the third-person object pronouns everywhere in the Zamora province suggests a level of dialectal unity in the province — at least as far as

this morphosyntactic feature is concerned — that would seem to challenge the existence of three distinct dialectal areas in the province (González Ferrero 2007).

Since the data in González Ferrero date from the 1930s and those in Fernández-Ordóñez from the 1990s, a possible explanation for the dialectal unity for this area shown in Fernández-Ordóñez (1994) would be that it has appeared in recent times due to (perhaps) a language standardization process sparked by an increase in 1) access to education and/or 2) mobility that leads to more contact with speakers from urban centers, which could have triggered the disappearance of the different dialects. To verify this hypothesis, I decided to analyze the same morphosyntactic feature dealt with in Fernández-Ordóñez (1994), i.e. third-person object pronouns, in the data of the ALPI *Cuaderno I* questionnaire since this would allow for a comparison with the findings of González Ferrero's study. The methodology used in this study is described in the next section.

4. Methodology

4.1. Survey points

The ALPI includes thirteen survey points[5] for the province of Zamora: *Riodonor (221.I), San Ciprián de Sanabria (337.I), San Martín de Castañeda (338.I), Cubo de Benavente (339.I), Padornelo (340.I), Hermisende (341.I), Otero de Bodas (342.I), Mahíde (343.I), Villafáfila (344.I), Villarino Tras la Sierra (345.I), Losacio de Alba (346.I), Fariza (347.I)* and *El Pego (348.I).* The location of each of these points is illustrated in the map in Figure 4.

[5] The number of the *Cuaderno* that corresponds to each of these points is given between parentheses.

Dialectologia. **Special issue, III** *(2012), 157-176.*
ISSN: 2013-2247

Figure 4. Zamora province survey points in the ALPI (González Ferrero 2007: 170).

González Ferrero (2007) includes the thirteen points in Figure 4 in his study. Here, however, I have decided not to include the data from Riodonor (circled in Figure 4). This village is on the border between Spain and Portugal and, according to the ALPI searchable database online,[6] this point is not among the points surveyed in this province.[7] Additionally, on page three of the *Cuaderno I* for this locality, the surveyor explains that at the time of the survey there was a "*Rio de Onor de Portugal"* on one side of the border with 40 inhabitants and a "*Rio de Onor de Castilla*" on the other side with 15 inhabitants and that there were close ties among the inhabitants of these two communities (e.g. marriage between members of both communities and properties on both sides of the border). If we take into account a mainly Lusophone population (40 vs. 15), the close ties between the two villages and the fact that the parents of the female speaker interviewed were Portuguese, it is easy to understand why the data from this point showed a high degree of Portuguese influence and why I chose to not include them.

[6] http://westernlinguistics.ca/alpi/
[7] This is also obvious if we take a look at the numbering of the different survey points: 221.I for Riodonor vs. 34*N*.I for every other village (where *N* represents a variable single digit number), i.e. the numbering for Portugal vs. NE Spain, respectively.

4.2. Target contexts for the occurrence of third-person object pronouns

The ALPI *Cuaderno I* includes twenty-four sentences with third-person unstressed object pronouns. In two of these twenty-four sentences (*See* 317 *and* 363 *below*), there are two third-person object pronouns. Thus, a total of twenty-six object pronouns multiplied by 12 survey points provides a total of 312 potential occurrences that can be analyzed to study dialectal variation of this morphosyntactic feature in Zamora province. The sentences in (5) below constitute examples of the contexts in which the third-person object pronouns were used in the ALPI; a complete list can be found in Annex 1.

280 *A ninguna **le** agrada ponerse la ropa de otra.*

317 *Di**le** algo que **le** escueza.*

355 *Al enfermo hay que cuidar**le**.*

357 *Tráete los candiles para echar**les** aceite.*

358 *El pan se **le** ha repartido a los pobres.*

360 *Aquella desgracia **le** costó la vida.*

361 *A las hermanas **les** enviaron unas cartas.*

363 ***La** desuncen para no cansar**la**.*

411 ***Lo** queréis para vosotros.*

4.3. Coding

While coding the data, I encountered two main problems: (1) the referential system of the creators of the ALPI and (2) the phonetic variation among the speakers interviewed for Zamora province. Firstly, *leísmo animado* is present in the questions as printed in the ALPI Cuaderno I (no doubt reflective of the director's academic standard style).[8] Thus, in a sentence like the one in 355 (*See above*) the third-person indirect object pronoun *le* is used when the verb in fact selects for a direct object pronoun, meaning *lo* would be used instead according to the etymological system. In these cases,

[8] Of course, we have no way of knowing exactly how Espinosa and/or Otero actually administered the questionnaires, and if (for example) the former might have adapted the questions to his own native New Mexican (i.e. etymological) usage.

I counted these particular contexts as targets for potential use of the accusative pronouns. Table 2 below shows the final count of third-person pronouns in the ALPI *Cuaderno I* questionnaire according to the etymological system.

	Direct object (accusative)				Indirect object (dative)			
	Singular		Plural		Singular		Plural	
Person	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem	Masc.	Fem
3	8	3	2	---	10		2	

Table 2. Number of target contexts for each of the third-person object pronouns in the corpus

The phonetic variation present in the data is the result of several phenomena such as the closing of vowels *e*, *o* in word-final position to *i*, *u* respectively, initial *l*- deletion, among others and the existence of two /e/ vowels in the ALPI transcription system, i.e. non-lax [e] and lax [ə] (usually employed in word-final position). Some examples of this variation follow:

- *e, o* > *i, u* in word-final position: *le, lo* > *li, lu*
- Deletion of *l*-: *lo, lu, los, lus* > *o, u, os, us*
- Palatalization of *l*: *le* > *ye*
- Laxing of -e: *le, ye* > *lə, yə*

In these cases, I have grouped all the phonetic realizations of a given pronoun under its citation form; for example, *le* could be realized as [le], [lə], [ye], [yə], [li]. After explaining the methodology used for this study, let us examine the results obtained.

5. Results

5.1. First Analysis

Table 3 below shows the production of third-person object pronouns in the corpus studied. The results are given using percentage points and the cells in orange indicate

the expected pronoun in that particular context according to the etymological system. The column marked with a Ø symbol indicates the instances where the speakers did not produce the morphosyntactic feature under study. The column marked "Special Cases" groups cases that are ambiguous, which are examined in depth in §5.2.

	Direct object (accusative)				**Indirect object (dative)**				Ø	Special Cases
	Singular		Plural		Singular		Plural			
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.		
3	*lo*	*la*	*los*	*las*	*le*		*les*			
280					100					
306	91.7								8.3	
313	91.7	8.3								
317a									100	
317b									100	
322					100					
350	100									
351	100									
352	100									
353	58.3		25		8.3					8.3
354			25		66.7		8.3			
355	91.7				8.3					
356					100					
357			8.3		91.7					
358					91.7					8.3
359					100					
360					100					
361					100					
362	8.3	25			41.7				8.3	16.7
363a		100								
363b		100								
374	100									
386	100									
388		66.7			8.3				25	
392	75				25					
411	100									

Table 3 Distribution of third-person object pronouns in the corpus studied

As shown in Table 3 above, in twelve instances the speakers categorically produced the expected pronoun according to the etymological system: 280, 322, 350, 351, 352, 356, 358, 359, 360, 363a, 363b, 386 and 411[9]. We could also include here

[9] In 350, 351, 352, the speaker from El Pego produced the pronoun *lo* (as expected) but also *le*; a discussion of why this may be can be found in section §5.3.

sentence 306 since it did not behave categorically as expected only because one speaker did not produce the structure under study. If we exclude contexts 317a and 317b where no speaker produced a third-person object pronoun at all, we are left with 14 potential target places out of 24 (58.3%) where the speakers behave as predicted by the etymological system. But what can be done with the other ten cases? In the following subsection, I deal with these apparently "problematic" contexts.

5.2. Fine-grained analysis of the "problematic" data

In this subsection, I analyze the ten sentences where the speakers did not behave categorically (i.e. 100%) as it would be expected according to the etymological system, showing that divergent usage in the data does not presuppose the existence of more than one system in the province. In cases where the pronoun in the questionnaire is not the one we would expect from the etymological system, the latter is given between parentheses next to that particular sentence.

313 *No* ***lo*** *vacíes en la calle* (*lo=el cántaro* (MASC) 'bucket')[10]

The analysis of sentence 313 shows that *lo* was produced 91.7% of the time as prescribed by the etymological system and there is only one occurrence of *la* (8.3%). In this case, the speaker from Hermisende used the noun *agua* (FEM) 'water' in sentence 312 and used the pronoun *la* in 313 to refer back to the noun employed in the previous sentence; which explains the only instance of (apparently) non-etymological use for this data point.

353 *A los niños* ***les*** *socorrieron los vecinos.* (los)

In this context, only three speakers produced the expected pronoun *los* (25%). The other seven speakers (58.3%) produced *lo*, a fact that could be explained if we take into account the presence of the well-known Spanish phonological process of *-s* deletion in coda position. Following this analysis for the *lo* cases, the seven instances where this

[10] In sentence 312 of the ALPI *Cuaderno I* questionnaire: *¿Dónde vacían el cántaro?*

pronoun was produced can be considered as cases of phonetic variability in the production of *los*, pronounced here [loØ]. The one-time use of the dative pronoun *le* is due to the context in which the speaker from Cubo de Benavente produced the pronoun, namely "*A los niños **les** dieron pan"* where the object pronoun is in fact in dative case (*pan* in this sentence is the direct object of *dar* and *los niños* are its indirect object). There was for this sentence one "special case" (8.3%) where the speaker from San Martín de Castañeda produced *lus* proclitic position but also *le* and *lu* in enclitic position.[11] It is difficult to explain why there are three different transcriptions for the same sentence at this survey point but the fact that the speaker used two variants of *los* in two out of three productions (i.e. *lus* and *lu*) supports the hypothesis that this point used the etymological system.

354 *Me pidieron que **les** ayudase.* (los)

Here the confusion stems from the verb *ayudar* itself. *Ayudar* is a verb that in modern Spanish selects a direct object (accusative case) but which in Middle Spanish used to select an indirect object (dative case); the change occurred when the indirect object was reinterpreted as a direct object in sentences with only one subject (Fernández-Ordoñez, 1999:1331), such as the one in 354. This change (plausibly, still in progress in the 1930s in some areas) can explain why the direct object pronoun *los* was only used at three survey points (25%) and why the indirect object pronoun *les* was used nine times (75%).[12]

355 *Al enfermo hay que cuidar**le**.* (lo)

In this instance, the one-time divergent usage of *le* (8.3%) by the speaker from El Pego has no apparent reason. However, a clearer explanation will be offered when all the data by this speaker is analyzed in §5.3. For all other cases (91.7%), the pronoun *lo* is used in accordance with the etymological system.

[11] Leaving out the diacritics, the three alternative answers are transcribed as follows: [lus sekurjonən], [sekurjonənle], [sekurjonənlu].
[12] In the table, the dative singular pronoun *le* is used six times; this usage stems from a case of *-s* deletion in coda position (le[Ø] — 66.7% + [les] – 8.3% = *les* 75%).

357 *Tráete los candiles para echar**les** aceite.*

For this sentence, we have eleven occurrences of the dative singular object pronoun *le* (91.7%) instead of the expected plural dative pronoun *les*; which, as we have seen before, can be interpreted as the result of a process of *-s* deletion in word-final position. The only case that remains to be explained for this sentence is the one-time occurrence of *lo* (8.3%). The speaker from Hermisende produces [pra botarlo azeitə] and the interviewer in his transcription joins the vowels [o] and [a] and writes next to the original transcription [lo o az…] to indicate that the speaker has produced the Portuguese masculine definite article *o*.[13] Therefore, the [o] in [botarlo] could represent the article that, as can be seen in the first transcription, has not been produced. According to this analysis,[14] the unstressed vowel in *le* (resulting from the deletion of the final *-s* in *les*) would have been deleted in a sort of liaison or sandhi process. So, we would have a surface form *lo* which in fact corresponds to an indirect pronoun (*le* or *les*, with final *-s* deletion) joined with a definite article:

para botar=les o aceite
para botar=leØ o aceite
para botar=l=o aceite
[pra botarlo azeitə]

361 *A las hermanas **les** enviaron unas cartas.*

Here the explanation lies once more in the deletion of *-s* in word-final position. This process would allow us to recode the 12 occurrences of *le* (100%) as *les*, pronounced [leØ].

[13] Hermisende is close to Portugal as shown in the map in Figure 4 and this speaker employs a considerable number of Portuguese forms in his answers to the questionnaire; to just mention one example, he uses [meninos] for *niños* in sentence 353.
[14] This analysis constitutes a mere hypothesis since it goes against the second transcription, namely [lo o az…] but it is consistent with the use this speaker makes of the etymological system in other contexts.

362 *A la yegua **le** cansa el trabajo.* (la)

The verb *cansar* is transitive with the meaning *causar cansancio* but it can also have an intransitive sense meaning *sentir cansancio*. Furthermore, in this phrase there is a process of clitic doubling, i.e. the clitic *le/la* co-occurs with the noun phrase (*a la yegua*) to which it refers. A more neutral sentence that would clearly show the transitive nature of the verb would be *El trabajo cansa a la yegua.* The nature of *cansar* as both a transitive and an intransitive verb could be the cause for the usage of both the feminine direct object pronoun *la* in some cases (25%) and the indirect object pronoun *le* (41.7%) in the data. This hypothesis is further supported by the special cases (16.7%); in the villages of San Ciprián de Zanabria and Fariza the speakers interviewed produced both forms, i.e. *le* and *la.* The one-time usage of the direct object pronoun *lo* (8.3%) in the village of Hermisende could have the same explanation offered before for sentence 357; the [o] in [kansalo] would thus belong to the article of *trabajo* which is missing from the transcription.[15]

374 *Hace tres años que no **lo** veo.*

As with sentence 355, there is no apparent explanation for the single divergent occurrence of *le* (8.3%) produced by the speaker from El Pego. However, a clearer explanation can be gleaned through the careful analysis of all the data coming from this speaker in §5.3. In the rest of the responses (91.7%) for this question, the pronoun *lo* is employed in accordance with the etymological system usage.

388 *Si pudiera **la** mataría.*

Eight speakers (66.7%) produced the pronoun predicted by the etymological system: *la*. In three instances, the speakers did not produce the item under study (25%). The only occurrence that remains to be explained is the one-time use of *le* (8.3%). Once again it is the speaker from El Pego who produces the divergent form. Possible explanations are offered in §5.3.

[15] As with 357, the article employed would be the Portuguese masculine definite article *o*.

392 *Diga lo que dijere no* ***le*** *creeremos.*

The distribution of third-person object pronouns for sentence 392, i.e. *lo* — 75% vs. *le* — 25%, can be attributed to different interpretations the speakers could have given to this phrase. For many (perhaps most) speakers who use the etymological pronoun system, both pronouns are possible in this context: *lo* with the reading in (6a) and *le* with the reading in (6b).

(6a) 'No matter [what s/he says] $_j$, we won't believe it $_j$'

(6b) 'No matter what s/he $_j$ says, we won't believe her/him $_j$'

Both pronouns, each with their respective interpretations, could correspond to usage under either the etymological system or the referential system, so this particular item does not allow us to determine differences in distribution between the two pronominal systems.

Summing up, this fine-grained analysis of the "problematic" data shows that most of the data that apparently contradict the view of a province-wide dialectal unity in the etymological usage of third-person object pronouns can be better explained as a result of a regular *-s* deletion process. Most other divergent uses are due to semantic factors, i.e. variability in verbal construction (direct vs. indirect objects). However, the data from survey point El Pego remains to be explained and this is what I address in the following subsection.

5.3. Variation in El Pego

As shown in sentences 355, 374 and 388, the usage of third-person object pronouns by the El Pego speaker differs from that of the speakers from other points of the province. This difference is more evident if we take into account that for sentences 350, 351 and 352, this speaker produced two forms: *lo* and *le.* This seems to suggest that this speaker's production varies between the etymological system and the referential system with a preference for a dative object pronoun for masculine animate referents instead of the accusative object pronoun, i.e. *leísmo animado*.

In one instance (388), however, the speaker uses *le* instead of *la*. The sentence *Si pudiera la mataría* does not have an obvious referent for the object pronoun so it is

possible that when the speaker produced *le* he was referring to a masculine animate object (e.g. a man or a pig, etc.); this would explain the use of *le* in this context, an explanation that would be consistent with other occurrences. Unfortunately, this remains an open question with no possible answer at this point in time.

To what could this variation be attributed? A possible explanation would be the proximity of this survey point to the referential system usage area (*Compare the isogloss of the referential system in Figure 4 with the location of the El Pego survey point in the map in Figure 3.*). Another possible explanation would be that this speaker was in contact with the referential system during the four years he lived outside of El Pego (*as noted on page 2 of ALPI Cuaderno 348.I*: *"Ha servido varias temporadas en [nombre del pueblo] (de mozo de mulas en casa de labor). En total habrá pasado 4 años allí)"*. Pinpointing the actual reason for the use this speaker makes of the referential system is beyond the scope of this paper (and impossible at this point) but what is important to note is that he also makes use of the etymological system. The presence of the etymological system in the speech of this speaker further confirms the hypothesis of dialectal unity in the province with respect to the morphosyntactic feature under study.

6. Conclusions and implications

In conclusion, it is possible to affirm that the use of third-person object pronouns in Zamora province followed the etymological system in the 1930s based on the ALPI *Cuaderno I* data; thus disproving the hypothesis that the use of the etymological system in the province (as shown in Fernández-Ordóñez 1994) is the result of a standardization process that would have led to the demise of the different dialects present in the area in the 1930s (González Ferrero 2007). There are traces of the referential system in only one village, namely El Pego, but this system is not completely consistent in the speech of the speaker interviewed as evidenced by the simultaneous use he makes of both pronouns, i.e. accusative *lo* and dative *le*, on numerous occasions.

This article not only contributes to the study of dialectal variation in Zamora province but also to the methodology of dialectology research in general. Firstly, it shows that we need to look beyond corpus surface forms to be able to see what a

particular system is really like in a given region, as shown by, for example, the surface form of the pronoun *les* after having undergone a process of word-final *-s* deletion. And secondly, it highlights the importance of including morphosyntactic data in our study of regional dialects. González Ferrero (2007) identifies — based on the analysis of phonetic features — three dialectal areas for Zamora province: Galician-Portuguese, Leonese and Castilian. However, the analysis of a morphosyntactic variable — in this case the use of third-person object pronouns — demonstrates that the same speakers that show a considerable amount of variation at the phonetic level share a single system for this morphosyntactic feature: the etymological system.

References

ALPI (2002-2012) *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* [www.westernlinguistics.ca/ALPI], University of Western Ontario.

FERNÁNDEZ-ORDÓÑEZ, I. (1994) "Isoglosas internas del castellano. El sistema referencial del pronombre átono de tercera persona", *Revista de Filología Española*, 74 (1), 71-125.

FERNÁNDEZ-ORDÓÑEz, I. (1999) "Leísmo, laísmo y loísmo", in I. BOSQUE & V. DEMONTE (eds.), *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*, vol. I, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1317-1397.

GONZÁLEZ FERRERO, J. C. (2007) "Límites del dialecto leonés en la provincia de Zamora según los materiales del cuaderno I del ALPI (1934-1935)", *Revista De Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 62(2), 165-206.

HEAP, D. (2002) "Morphological complexity and Spanish object clitic variation", in C. R. WILTSHIRE and J. CAMPS (eds.), *Romance Phonology and Variation: Selected Papers from the 30th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages, Gainesville, Florida, February 2000*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 55-68.

KLEIN-ANDREU, F. (1981) "Distintos sistemas de empleo de *le*, *la*, *lo*. Perspectiva sincrónica, diacrónica y sociolingüística", *Thesaurus*, 36, 284-304.

ANNEX

List of all 24 sentences with third-person object pronouns in the ALPI *Cuaderno I* questionnaire

280 *A ninguna **le** agrada ponerse la ropa de otra.*

306 ***Lo** trajo ayer.*

313 *No **lo** vacíes en la calle.*

317 *Di**le** algo que **le** escueza.*

322 *Ve y di**le** que suba.*

350 *A Miguel **le** cogieron preso.*

351 ***Le** llevaron a la cárcel.*

352 *Al padre **le** vieron llorando.*

353 *A los niños **les** socorrieron los vecinos.*

354 *Me pidieron que **les** ayudase.*

355 *Al enfermo hay que cuidar**le**.*

356 *Al niño **le** pusieron un vestido.*

357 *Tráete los candiles para echar**les** aceite.*

358 *El pan se **le** ha repartido a los pobres.*

359 *A la madre no **le** dieron la limosna.*

360 *Aquella desgracia **le** costó la vida.*

361 *A las hermanas **les** enviaron unas cartas.*

362 *A la yegua **le** cansa el trabajo.*

363 ***La** desuncen para no cansar**la**.*

374 *Hace tres años que no **lo** veo.*

386 *Si tuviera dinero **lo** compraría.*

388 *Si pudiera **la** mataría.*

392 *Diga lo que dijere no **le** creeremos.*

411 ***Lo** queréis para vosotros.*