

## A failed attempt of standardization in the third-person clitic pronoun system in Spanish

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Third-person clitic pronoun usage presents a great deal of dialectal variation in Spanish. Dialects in southern Spain and many regional lects in America exhibit a case-determined system (*le(s)* for reference in the dative case and *lo(s)*, *la(s)* for reference in the accusative). In northern and central Spain, clitic selection is based on a semantic reference (*le(s)*, *la(s)* for masculine and feminine count-nouns and *lo(s)* for mass-noun referents). While the origin and development of these dialectal differences have been studied and explained as outcomes of a wide range of inter-dialectal mixing (Fernández-Ordóñez 1994, 2001; Tuten 2003), the selection of a pronoun system, its codification, and acceptance as the supraregional standard norm have received considerably less attention by scholars (Gómez Seibane 2013, Klein-Andreu 1992, 2000, Sáez Rivera 2008).

In this presentation I examine the interplay of variant dialect selection and ideological valuation in two specific time periods in the history of the Spanish clitic pronoun system. First, I review the social factors that contributed to the promotion of the referential clitic pronoun system, which favored *leísmo* and *laísmo* patterns of use, as the prestigious supraregional norm from the second half of 16th century and throughout the 17th century in peninsular Spanish. Second, I discuss the changes in the indexicality and language ideology (Eckert 2008, Michael 2015) that led the Academy at the end of the 18th century to proscribe the use of the referential clitic pronoun system in favor of either a case-determined (or etymological) system, or a hybrid system (*leísta* (+Human), but not *laísta*, nor *loísta*). Finally, this presentation discusses, in the context of the valuation of variants in the same dialect (i.e., north-central Castilian) in two different time periods, the configuration of supraregional standard norms and, in that process, the creation of dialectal norms.