Chapter 11

The diachronic development of Differential Object Marking in Spanish ditransitive constructions

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Differential Object Marking (DOM) in Spanish synchronically depends on the referential features of the direct object, such as animacy and referentiality, and on the semantics of the verb. Recent corpus studies suggest that the diachronic development proceeds along the same features, which are ranked in scales, namely the Animacy Scale, the Referentiality Scale and the Affectedness Scale. The present paper investigates this development in ditransitive constructions from the 17th to the 20th century. Ditransitive constructions in Spanish are of particular interest since the literature assumes that the differential object marker *a* is often blocked by the co-occurrence of the case marker *a* for the indirect object. The paper focuses on the conditions that enhance or weaken this blocking effect. It investigates three types of constructions with a ditransitive verb: (i) constructions with indirect objects realized as *a*-marked full noun phrases, (ii) constructions with indirect objects as clitic pronouns, and (iii) constructions with non-overt indirect objects. The results clearly show that DOM is more frequent with (iii) and less frequent with (i). Thus the results support the observation that the co-occurrence of an *a*-marked indirect object (partly) blocks *a*-marking of the direct object to a certain extent. Furthermore, the results show for the first time that indirect objects realized as clitic pronouns without the marker *a* have a weaker blocking effect, but still a stronger one than constructions without overt indirect objects. In summary, the paper presents new and original evidence of the competition between arguments in a diachronic perspective.

1 Introduction

Differential Object Marking (DOM) in Spanish is realized by the marker *a*, which is derived from the preposition *a* 'to' and which is also used to mark the indirect object. DOM in Spanish depends on referentiality, animacy and affectedness (see Pensado 1995; Brugè & Brugger 1996; Leonetti 2004; von Heusinger & Kaiser 2007). The *a*-marking of the direct object can easily co-occur with the prepositional *a*, but in ditransitive constructions with

a-marked indirect objects, the *a*-marking of the direct object can or must be dropped. In this paper I focus on the development of DOM in Spanish ditransitive constructions. While the development of DOM in transitive constructions is well-investigated (see Melis 1995; Laca 2002; 2006; von Heusinger 2008), there are very few studies that investigate competition of the marker *a* between the direct object and the indirect object (but see Company Company 1998; 2002; Ortiz Ciscomani 2005; 2011; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007). I will provide a qualitative corpus search, complementing the investigation of Ortiz Ciscomani and providing new material to discuss the relation between the development of *a*-marking in transitive sentences with the one in ditransitive sentences. I take the result to support the view that DOM in ditransitive constructions has developed similarly to DOM in transitive constructions, but that both, an indirect pronoun and an indirect full noun phrase, reduce the number of DOM for direct objects.

In contemporary Spanish, a human definite direct object in a transitive construction must be marked by the differential object marker *a* as illustrated in (1). The *a*-marked definite direct object can co-occur with a prepositional object marked by *a*, as in (2), but is generally blocked or disfavored by the occurrence of an *a*-marked indirect object realized by an *a*-marked full noun phrase in a ditransitive construction, as in (3). The co-occurrence of an *a*-marked direct object and an *a*-marked indirect object is subject to controversial grammaticality judgments, cf. (4) – judgments according to Company Company (2001: 20).

(1) *Busco   al   / *el   médico.*
    seek.1SG   DOM.the /   the   doctor
    'I am seeking the doctor.'

(2) *Envié   a   mi   hermana   a   Caracas.*
    sent.1SG   DOM   my   sister   to   Caracas
    'I sent my sister to Caracas.'

(3) *El   maestro   presentó   Ø   su   mujer   a   los   alumnos.*
    the   teacher   introduced.3SG   his   wife   to   the   students
    'The teacher introduced his wife to the students.'

(4) *??/*El   maestro   presentó   a   su   mujer   a   los   alumnos.*
    ??/*the   teacher   introduced.3SG   DOM his   wife   to   the   students
    'The teacher introduced his wife to the students.'

There is a controversy about the effect of clitic doubling of the indirect object. According to certain grammatical conditions, indirect objects can or must be doubled by a clitic (pronoun) form that agrees in case and number with the indirect object (Campos 1999; Gabriel & Rinke 2010). There are at least three positions on the effect of clitic doubling in ditransitive constructions: it facilitates *a*-marking of the direct object, it favors blocking of *a*-marking, or it makes *a*-marking ungrammatical. (i) Company Company (1998; 2002) claims that the clitic *le* in (5) facilitates the *a*-marking of the direct object. (ii) Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007: 216) claims that "[…] clitic-doubled IOs seem to allow the dropping

[of the *a* marker] more easily than their non-doubled counterparts, at least for some speakers […].” (iii) Fábregas (2013: 31) reports that *a*-marking of the direct object is more grammatical without clitic than with clitic, as in (6). Ormazabal & Romero (2013: 224) also assume that clitic doubling bans *a*-marking of the direct object.

(5)   *El*   *maestro*   *le*   *presentó*   *a*   *su*   *mujer*   *a*   *Juan.*
      the   teacher   DAT.3SG   introduced.3SG   DOM   his   wife   to   Juan
      ‘The teacher introduced his wife to Juan.’ (judgement according to
      Company Company 2001: 20)

(6)   **Le*   *enviaron*   *a*   *todos*   *los*   *heridos*   *a*   *la*   *doctora.*
      DAT.3SG   sent.3PL   DOM   all   the   injured   to   the   doctor
      ‘They sent all the injured to the doctor.’ (judgement according to Fábregas 2013:
      31)

The diachronic development of DOM in Spanish is fairly well documented and investigated primarily in transitive construction (see Melis 1995; Melis & Flores 2009; Laca 2002; 2006; von Heusinger & Kaiser 2007; von Heusinger 2008). Diachronic data of ditransitive constructions with two full noun phrases are rare and therefore difficult to collect, but the examples below provide some interesting observations. Already in ditransitive constructions in the 13th century, an alternation between *a*-marked direct objects (7) and unmarked direct objects (8) can be seen.

(7)   *E*   *dio*   *Ercules*   *a*   *Manilop*   *a*   *la*   *reyna*   *Anthipa,*   *su*
      and   gave.3SG   Hercules   to   Manilop   DOM   the   queen   Anthipa   his
      Hermana.
      sister
      ‘And Hercules gave his sister, Queen Anthipa, to Manilop.’ (GEII (General Estoria,
      segunda parte), 21, 13th century, quoted after Ortiz Ciscomani 2011: 167)

(8)   *El*   *dio*   *Ø*   *sus*   *fijas*   *a*   *aquellos*   *dos*   *infantes*   *ante*
      he   gave.3SG   his   daughters   to   those   two   infants   in.front.of
      todos   *sus*   *ricos*   *omnes.*
      all   his   rich   men
      ‘He gave his daughters to those two princes in front of all his rich men.’ (GE
      (General Estoria), 344, 13th century, quoted after Ortiz Ciscomani 2011: 168)

One also finds this alternation in sentences with clitic-doubled indirect objects: The direct object *Leonor* is *a*-marked in (9), while the direct object *media mujer* (‘half woman’) is unmarked in (10) (examples from the 17th century):

(9)   *A*   *Mendo,*   *hijo*   *de*   *hermana*   *menor,*   *le*   *quiero*   *dar*
      to   Mendo   son   of   sister   younger   DAT.3SG   want.1SG   give.INF
      a   *Leonor.*
      DOM   Leonor
      ‘To Mendo, son of (my) younger sister, I want to give Leonor.’
      (Moreto, Agustín. (1618–1669), El lindo Don Diego)

(10)   *Aun*   *si*   *les*   *dieran*   *Ø*   *media*   *mujer*   *a*   *cada*   *uno,*
        even   if   DAT.3PL   gave.3PL   half   woman   to   each   one.MASC
        fuera   *menor*   *el*   *daño.*
        would.be.3SG   less   the   damage
        'Even if they gave half a woman to each one (of them), the damage would be less.'
        (Castro, Guillén de. (1569–1631), El conde de Irlos.)

We can summarize the observations regarding DOM in transitive and ditransitive constructions. DOM in transitive constructions in Spanish is well-investigated: Synchronically specific indefinite human direct objects are obligatorily marked, non-specific ones are optionally marked, and non-human direct objects are nearly never marked (Brugè & Brugger 1996; Leonetti 2004; von Heusinger & Kaiser 2007; García García 2014). DOM is blocked or less often used in ditransitive constructions with the indirect object realized by a full noun phrase with the dative case marker *a*. There is variation in diachronic data, but so far the relevant parameters for this variation, if any, cannot be identified.

There are various theories of DOM with different emphasis on syntactic, semantic or functional properties of the *a*-marker. For the sake of the argument (and broadly simplifying), I assume four positions, which do not necessarily exclude each other: (a) DOM as a case marker, (b) DOM in competition with indirect object case marking, (c) DOM indicates the syntactic status of a noun phrase as an argument, (d) DOM as a means to disambiguate between subject and object. (a) It is often assumed that DOM is the case marker of the direct object, which is shown by the dependency on certain syntactic constructions, such as small clauses (Brugè & Brugger 1996; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007; Ormazabal & Romero 2013). Such a syntactic perspective predicts a certain stability of the phenomenon and a clear prediction following general case principles (only one case assignment in a clause). (b) Company Company (1998; 2002) argues that direct objects are marked by DOM, while there are different means in addition to the *a*-marking to mark an indirect object (such as clitic doubling) – see also Delbecque (1998; 2002) for a construction grammar approach. In the history of Spanish, there has been continuous competition between these two strategies. DOM is a strategy for marking direct objects, and becomes unavailable when it creates an ambiguity with indirect objects. If, however, there are no other means available, *a*-marking is reserved for the indirect object and cannot be simultaneously used for the direct object. This picture provides an account of some of the diachronic data, but does not always seem to be confirmed by synchronic data (see Melis & Flores 2009 for discussion). (c) Synchronically, it is assumed that DOM signals that the direct object is a proper argument that saturates the verbal frame, while unmarked direct objects are more like bare nouns that modify the verb (Chung & Ladusaw 2004; López 2012). This view predicts a certain stability in similar semantic contexts. It is, however, not clear how this view can account for the diachronic data, in particular the observation that in earlier stages of Spanish, DOM was only obligatory for pronouns and proper names, but not for definite noun phrases. Still, definite noun phrases are arguments in Chung & Ladusaw's (2004) account and should be *a*-marked according to López (2012). (d) Functional theories assume that one of the main functions of DOM is to identify a direct object, if it is too similar to the subject, i.e. if it has too many properties

of prototypical subjects. Besides this main function, DOM can additionally express other semantic or pragmatic features, such as topicality, referentiality or specificity (Comrie 1975; Bossong 1985; Aissen 2003) or telicity (Torrego Salcedo 1999) or affectedness (von Heusinger & Kaiser 2011). DOM is often overextended and conventionalized (grammaticalized), i.e. used in contexts where a distinction between subject and object is already given by other means (e.g. verbal agreement; see Aissen 2003 for discussion). The functional view seems to be flexible enough to model diachronic change, and it predicts a certain variability in the actual realization of DOM. In this paper I cannot answer the question which of the four positions is the most appropriate one. I rather provide additional observations that might support one or the other account.

The main focus of this paper is to compare the development of DOM in transitive constructions with the development in ditransitive constructions. I have restricted the data to direct objects realized by human noun phrases, i.e. definite NPs and indefinite NPs. For transitive constructions, I will use the material presented in the literature (Melis 1995; Laca 2006; von Heusinger & Kaiser 2007; 2011; von Heusinger 2008) and compare this with the data of Ortiz Ciscomani (2005; 2011). I have also created my own corpus, including three realizations of ditransitive constructions, which all have a direct object realized as a human definite or indefinite noun phrase (but not all subjects are realized or realized as full noun phrases): In type (i), the indirect object is not realized – either because the indirect object is inferred from the context or because it is left unspecified. Type (ii) realizes the indirect object as a clitic pronoun – generally before the finite verb. Type (iii) realizes the indirect object as full noun phrase that is obligatorily marked by *a* (see Table 1).

Table 1: Types of constructions and argument realizations

	Example	IO
(i)	*El maestro presentó (a) su hijo*	not realized
(ii)	*El maestro le presentó (a) su hijo*	clitic pronoun
(iii)	*El maestro presentó (a) su hijo al alumno*	full NP
	'The teacher introduces his son (to him, to the student).'	

I put forward the following hypotheses, which will be tested using data extracted from diachronic corpora:

- H1: The type of the ditransitive construction determines the blocking effect:
    - i constructions with indirect objects realized as *a*-marked full noun phrases (definite NPs, indefinite NPs) show a high blocking effect
    - ii constructions with indirect objects as clitic pronouns show a low blocking effect, and
    - iii constructions with non-overt indirect objects do not show any blocking effect

- H2: DOM in ditransitive constructions has a comparable development to DOM in transitive constructions.

- H3: Verb classes differ with respect to the way they influence DOM and DOM-blocking.

In §2 I summarize the synchronic and diachronic conditions for DOM in Spanish. §3 presents the synchronic restrictions on DOM in ditransitive constructions. §4 summarizes earlier research on ditransitives in Spanish (Company Company and Ortiz Ciscomani), introduces the corpus created for this paper, and discusses the results of the corpus search. §5 provides the evaluation of the results with respect to the three hypotheses and a general discussion of DOM in ditransitive construction.

2 DOM in transitive constructions

2.1 Synchrony of nominal and verbal parameters related to DOM

I will limit the investigation to European Spanish throughout this paper, but see Company Company (2002) for Mexican Spanish. It is commonly assumed that there are at least four main factors for DOM in the languages of the world: (i) animacy properties of the direct object; and (ii) referential properties, such as indexicality (deixis), definiteness and specificity, of the direct object. The referentiality status is clearly indicated by the morphological form of the noun phrase and ordered on the Referentiality Scale (see below (14)). (iii) Information structure might determine DOM, in particular topical direct objects tend rather to be marked than not. (iv) Finally, transitivity properties of the verb also influence DOM (see Comrie 1975; Bossong 1985; Aissen 2003; de Swart 2007; Iemmolo 2010; Iemmolo & Klumpp 2014; Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018). DOM or *a*-marking in Spanish is determined by all four main parameters:

(i) Only human direct objects can be marked, while non-human (animate) and inanimate direct objects are obligatorily unmarked. However, there is small class of verbs, such as verbs of substitution, that allow DOM for inanimate direct objects (see García García 2014, 2018 [this volume] for an extensive discussion), cf. (13). In the remainder, I will exclude inanimate direct objects as I am not aware of ditransitive constructions that allow DOM for inanimates.

(11)   *Conozco*   **(a)*   *este*   *actor.*
       know.1.SG   DOM   this   actor
       'I know this actor.'

(12)   *Conozco*   *(*a)*   *esta*   *película.*
       know.1.SG   this   film
       'I know this film.'

(13) *En   esta   receta   la   leche   puede sustituir   *el/al   huevo.*
      in   this   recipe   the   milk   can   substitute   the/DOM.the egg
      'In this recipe the milk can substitute the egg.'

(ii) Specific indefinite human direct objects and all direct objects that are higher on the Referentiality Scale (14) must be *a*-marked, cf. (15). Even non-specific indefinites can optionally be *a*-marked, cf. (16), where the subjunctive *sepa* ('might know') of the relative clause indicates that the head noun *un ayudante* ('an assistant') is non-specific. Determinerless noun phrases ('bare nouns' in their 'non-argumental' function) as *camarero* ('waiter') in (17) must not be *a*-marked.

(14) *Referentiality Scale:*
      personal pronoun > proper noun > definite NP > specific indefinite NP
      > non-specific indefinite NP > non-argumental

(15) *Vi   *(a)   la/una   mujer.*
      saw.1SG   DOM   the/a   woman
      'I saw the / a woman.'

(16) *Necesitan (a)   un   ayudante   que   sepa   inglés.*
      need.3PL   DOM   an   assistant that know.3SG   English
      'They need an assistant who knows English.'

(17) *Necesitan   (*a)   camarero.*
      they.need   waiter
      'They need a waiter.'

(iii) Topicality is also often said to be a parameter of DOM in Spanish. Like in many other DOM languages, leftwards-moved direct objects are obligatorily *a*-marked, cf. (18), see Leonetti (2004: 86). It is, however, much harder to argue that non-moved *a*-marked noun phrases are topical. Iemmolo (2010) argues that such noun phrases show certain properties of topics and links DOM to topichood, while Dalrymple & Nikolaeva (2011) assume that DOM indicates a secondary topic, as a direct object is rarely the primary sentence topic.[1]

(18) **(A)   muchos   estudiantes,   ya   los   conocía.*
      *(DOM) many   students,   already them   knew.1SG
      'Many students I already knew.'

(iv) Verbal categories are also decisive for DOM in Spanish. Bello (1847: 567–570) and Fernández Ramírez (1951: 151–190) present rich material on the variation according to different verb types in Spanish. Pottier (1968: 87) proposes the scale in (19) for *a*-marking

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[1]See also Chiriacescu (2014) and Guntsetseg (2016) for the function of DOM as a secondary topic in Romanian and Mongolian, respectively.

in Spanish, which is slightly modified by von von Heusinger & Kaiser (2007: 94) to the Scale of Affectedness and Expected Animacy, cf. Table 2 (see also von Heusinger & Kaiser 2011 for a different affectedness categorization, based on Tsunoda 1985).

(19) Verbal Scale (Pottier 1968: 87: ''un axe sémantique verbal'')
       matar 'kill' > *ver* 'see' > *considerar* 'consider' > *tener* 'have'

Table 2: Scale of Affectedness and Expected Animacy (von Heusinger & Kaiser 2007: 94)

Class 1 [+ human] >	Class 2 [± human]	> Class 3 [(±)/− animate]
matar 'kill', *herir* 'hurt'	*ver* 'see', *hallar* 'find'	*tomar* 'take', *poner* 'put'

The scale in Table 2 predicts that verbs like *matar* ('to kill'), which clearly prefer a human direct object, are much more likely to mark the direct object than verbs that do not show such a preference, such as *ver* ('to see'). Verbs that prefer an inanimate direct object show synchronically the lowest rate of *a*-marking of their human direct objects.

2.2 Diachrony of NP-related properties

Like Modern Spanish, Old Spanish exhibits DOM. However, as shown in several diachronic studies (Melis 1995, Laca 2006), DOM in Old Spanish is less frequent than in Modern Spanish and used under different conditions. Human definite direct objects are optionally *a*-marked, as the two examples in (20)–(21) illustrate. Non-human animate indefinite direct objects are generally not *a*-marked, as in (22).

(20) Old Spanish (Cid, 2637)
       Reçiba   *a*   **mios**   **yernos**   *commo*   *elle*   *pudier*   *mejor.*
       receive.IMP.2SG   DOM   my   sons.in.law   as   he   could.3SG   better
       'Have him welcome my sons-in-law as best he can.'

(21) Old Spanish (Cid, 2956)
       Ca   *yo*   *case*   **sus**   **fijas**   *con*   *yfantes*   *de*   *Carrion.*
       for   I   married.1SG   his   daughters   with   Infantes   of   Carrion
       'for I married his daughters to the Infantes of Carrion.'

(22) Old Spanish (Cid, 480–481)
       Tanto   *traen*   *las*   *grandes*   *ganançias,*   **muchos**   **gañados**   **de**
       very   brought.3PL   the   big   wealths   many   herds   of
       ovejas   **e**   **de**   **vacas**.
       sheep   and   of   cows
       'They brought such great wealth, many herds of sheep and cows.'

Table 3 summarizes the findings of Laca (2006), which is based on the manual collection of utterances in her corpus of documents from the 12th to the 19th century. Proper names are *a*-marked from the time of Old Spanish, while definite and indefinite NPs show a clear development. Non-human direct objects are rarely marked.

Table 3: Diachronic development of a-marking in Spanish according to the Referentiality Scale (selection from Table 3 of Laca 2006: 442). I replaced the original abbreviations in the following way: NPrHum: human proper name, HumDef–Pro: human definite NP, HumInd–Pro: human indefinite NP, Hum0: human bare noun

	century						
	12th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th
proper name	96% (26)	100% (8)	100% (35)	95% (44)	100% (65)	79% (29)	89% (27)
definite NP	36% (36)	55% (66)	58% (65)	70% (122)	86% (136)	85% (53)	96% (76)
indefinite NP	0% (6)	6% (31)	0% (11)	12% (59)	39% (53)	62% (32)	41% (29)
bare noun	0% (12)	0% (7)	16% (12)	5% (40)	2% (39)	9% (22)	6% (17)

Figure 1 presents Laca's data in a graphic that illustrates that the rate of *a*-marking has increased over time and along the Referentiality Scale.
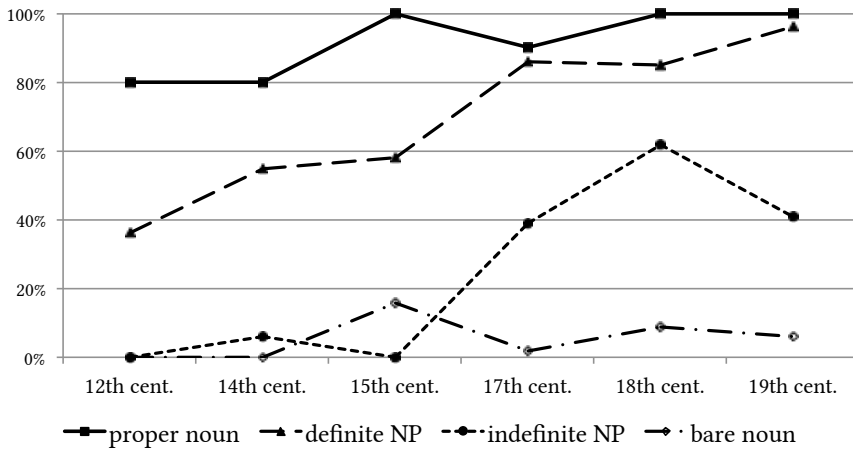

Figure 1: Diachronic development of *a*-marking in Spanish according to the Referentiality Scale (based on Laca 2006: 442, Table 5; from von Heusinger & Kaiser 2011, Fig. 3)

2.3 Diachrony and affectedness

Von Heusinger & Kaiser (2007) apply the Scale of Affectedness, cf. Table 2, to a small corpus from the Bible to show the diachronic development along this scale. The corpus consists of the two books of Samuel and the two Books of Kings in three Bible translations, abbreviated as A–C: translation A is from the 14th century and was only available as a printed version. All other translations were electronically available at Biblegate: B, *Reina Valera Antigua* from 16th/17th century, its contemporary version C from 1995 (*Reina Valera*). (23) nicely illustrates the development and its interaction with topicalization. The verb *tomar* ('take') is from Class 3, i.e. from those verbs that strongly prefer an inanimate direct object. In the translation from the 14th century, the direct object *a vuestra fijas* ('your daughter') is *a*-marked, since it is left-moved, while the direct object in the translation from the 16th century is not moved and unmarked. However, the translation from the 20th century provides DOM for the direct object in the base position, as expected for definite human noun phrases.

(23)   1 Samuel 8, 13
      A (14th)   E **a vuestras fijas** *tomará* por espeçieras e cosineras e panaderas.
      B (16th)   *Tomará* también Ø **vuestras hijas** para que sean perfumadoras, cocineras, y amasadoras.
      C (20th)   *Tomará* también **a vuestras hijas** para perfumistas, cocineras y amasadoras.
      English   'He will *take* (A: DOM, B: Ø, C: DOM) **your daughters** to be perfumers, cooks and bakers.'

In a detailed analysis, von Heusinger & Kaiser (2007) searched the small corpus for all instances of definite and indefinite noun phrases that filled the direct object of the following six verbs categorized in three classes: Class 1: *matar* 'kill', *herir* 'hurt', Class 2: *ver* 'see', *hallar* 'find', and Class 3: *tomar* 'take', *poner* 'put', cf. Table 2. These classes differ not so much in affectedness of the direct object, but rather in the expectedness of animacy of the direct object. Class 1 has a very high expectation that the object is human, while class 2 is rather neutral, and class 3 has an expectation of an inanimate direct object. Table 4 provides the figures for human definite direct objects and Table 5 for human indefinite direct objects.[2]

Figure 2 summarizes the two tables and clearly shows that referentiality is the main parameter for DOM: Definite direct objects are more often *a*-marked than indefinite direct objects. Furthermore, the verb class is a crucial parameter for DOM. Both parameters add up (there is no interaction).

Von Heusinger (2008) provides a corpus search to more precise historical periods, using Mark Davies' *Corpus del Español*. The corpus comprises 100 million words of Spanish texts from the 12th to the 19th century. The corpus interface allows one to search for lemmas, rather than for word forms (as in simple text files of the Bible texts). However, such

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[2]An alternative view is that not the animacy, but the agentivity of the direct object is the relevant parameter for DOM (see García García 2014 for this view).

Table 4: Percentage of *a*-marking of human definite direct objects. (Bible translations of 1+2 Samuel and 1+2 Kings, from von Heusinger & Kaiser 2011: 606)

class	14th cent.	16th/17th cent.	20th cent.
1. *matar* 'kill', *herir* 'hurt'	60% (24/40)	66% (37/56)	92% (36/39)
2. *ver* 'see', *hallar* 'find'	38% (9/24)	48% (13/27)	81% (26/32)
3. *tomar* 'take', *poner* 'put'	30% (7/23)	30% (7/23)	67% (20/30)

Table 5: Percentage of *a*-marking of human indefinite direct objects. (Bible translations of 1+2 Samuel and 1+2 Kings, from tvon Heusinger & Kaiser 2011: 607)

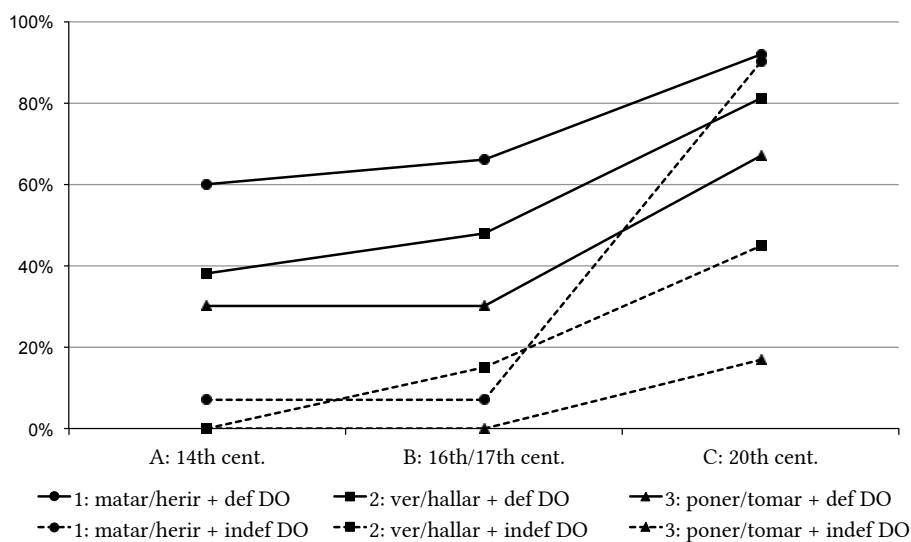| class	14th cent.	16th/17th cent.	20th cent.
1. *matar* 'kill', *herir* 'hurt'	7% (1/14)	7% (1/14)	91% (10/11)
2. *ver* 'see', *hallar* 'find'	0% (0/11)	15% (2/13)	45% (5/11)
3. *tomar* 'take', *poner* 'put'	0% (0/15)	0% (0/28)	17% (2/12)

Figure 2: Percentage of *a*-marking depending on verb class, definiteness and time; Class 1: *matar* 'kill', *herir* 'hurt', Class 2: *ver* 'see', *hallar* 'find', and Class 3: *tomar* 'take', *poner* 'put' (Three Bible translations of 1+2 Samuel and 1+2 Kings, from von Heusinger & Kaiser 2011: 607)

searches are still very time-consuming since one has to select the definite or indefinite human direct objects by hand. In the case of *tomar* only about 1–7% of all hits were human definite or indefinite full NPs. The others were either inanimate, or human and of a different type on the Referentiality Scale, such as clitics, personal pronouns, proper names or different types of quantifiers. The study originally differentiates between eight time periods from the 12th to the 19th century, which have been reduced to four time periods. Furthermore, the search was restricted to two verb classes, and one verb for each class: *matar* 'to kill' for class 1 and *tomar* 'to take' for class 3 (see von Heusinger 2008 for the details, and von Heusinger & Kaiser 2011 for a compact presentation). Table 6 shows that in the 12th and 13th century, 50% of human definite direct objects of *matar* are marked with *a*. This number continually increases and reaches about 90 percent by the 18th and 19th century. The marking of the definite direct object of *tomar* is less preferred. Only about 40% in the 12th and 13th century are marked, a number that continuously increases to about 80% in the 18th and 19th century. Table 7 provides the numbers for human indefinite direct objects. As expected, *a*-marking is less preferred, but there is a clear increase over time and some difference between the two verb classes.

Table 6: Percentage of *a*-marking of human definite direct objects. (Corpus del Español, from von Heusinger & Kaiser 2011: 608)

class	12th + 13th cent.	14th + 15th cent.	16th + 17th cent.	18th + 19th cent
1. *matar* 'kill'	50% (25/50)	63% (27/43)	78% (32/41)	91% (39/43)
3. *tomar* 'take'	40% (38/95)	55% (30/55)	70% (7/10)	83% (20/24)

Table 7: Percentage of *a*-marking of human indefinite direct objects (Corpus del Español; from von Heusinger & Kaiser 2011: 608)

class	12th + 13th cent.	14th + 15th cent.	16th + 17th cent.	18th + 19th cent
1. *matar* 'kill'	5% (2/42)	8% (3/40)	15% (6/40)	37% (16/43)
3. *tomar* 'take'	3% (1/34)	4% (2/47)	11% (1/9)	23% (7/31)

Figure 3 compares the development of *a*-marking for definite and indefinite human direct objects for the two verbs. It shows three points: (i) *a*-marking in Spanish increases over time; (ii) it depends on the Referentiality Scale as human indefinite direct objects show less preference for DOM than definite ones; (iii) there is a tendency for *a*-marking to depend on the verb class, i.e. on the preference of the verb for the animacy of the direct object. Note that only human direct objects were counted, which means that there are two independent parameters: first the actual animacy of the direct object and second the preference of the verb for the animacy of the direct object.
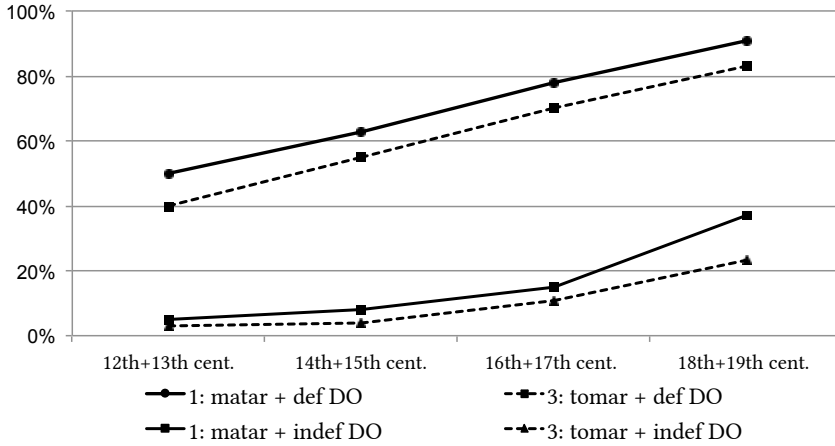
Figure 3: Percentage of *a*-marking depending on verb class, definiteness and time; Class 1: *matar* 'kill' and Class 3: *tomar* 'take' (Corpus del Español; from von Heusinger & Kaiser 2011: 606)

3 Blocking of DOM in ditransitive constructions

As mentioned above, DOM in Spanish is realized by the marker *a*, which is also used for marking the indirect object and this marker also represents the main preposition for direction – the marker derives from Latin *ad* 'to', which can clearly be seen in its prepositional use. The marker *a* is differentially used for the direct object and obligatorily for the indirect object. I assume that *a*-marked direct objects are not datives, but accusatives as shown by the following criteria: a) passivation, cf. (24); b) the replacement by the pronoun *lo* for masculine and *la* for feminine, cf. (25); and c) the doubling of a leftwards-moved direct object by a clitic pronoun *lo* or *la*, cf. (26) (Campos 1999).

(24) a. *Ema   y   Tito   observaron   a   Ana.*
          Ema   and   Tito   observe.PST.3SG   DOM   Ana
          'Ema and Tito observed Ana.'

      b. *Ana   fue   observada   por   Ema   y   Tito.*
          Ana   was   observed   by   Ema   and   Tito
          'Ana was observed by Ema and Tito.'

(25) a. *A: ¿Viste   a   Kiko?*
                see.PST.2SG   DOM   Kiko
          'Did you see Kiko?'

b. *B:* *Sí,* *lo* *vi.*
   Yes, ACC.3SG see.PST.1SG
   'Yes, I saw him.'

(26) *A* *Claudito* *lo* *vi* *por* *primera* *vez* *en* *diciembre.*
     DOM Claudito ACC.3SG see.PST.1SG for first time in December
     'Claudito, I saw him for the first time in December.'

The indirect object in the dative is defined by the impossibility to form a passive, cf. (27)–(28) and the replacement by a clitic pronoun *le* in the singular and *les* in the plural, (cf. (29)).³

(27) *Juan* *(le)* *dio* *una* *limosna* *a* *nuestro* *vecino*
     Juan (DAT.3SG) give.PST.3SG a charity DAT our neighbor
     ayer.
     yesterday
     'Juan gave our neighbor a charity yesterday.'

(28) **Nuestro vecino fue dado una limosna.*
     intended reading: Our neighbor was given a charity.

(29) *Juan* *regaló* *un* *libro* *a* *María,* *y* *Pablo* *le*
     Juan present.PST.3SG a book to Maria, and Pablo DAT.3SG
     regaló *flores.*
     present.PST.3SG flowers
     'Juan presented a book to Maria and Pablo presented her flowers.'

---

³The following assumes non-leísta varieties of Spanish. Spanish grammars describe as 'leísta' varieties the use of Spanish where the form *le* stands for the direct object (instead of *lo, la*) as in (i) (under certain conditions – depending on the leísta-type). The verb *conocer* 'to know' takes a direct object, in the first sentence the *a*-marked direct object *a Juan*. In the second sentence, non-leista varieties would use the accusative pronoun *lo*, while leísta varieties take *le* (for the accusative).

(i) *¿Conoces* *a* *Juan?* *Sí,* *le* *conozco* *hace* *tiempo.*
    know.2SG DOM Juan. Yes, ACC.3SG know.1SG since time
    'Do you know Juan? Yes, I know him since some time.'

In general, the question of leísta-varieties should not interfere with the question of *a*-marking of the direct object since only definite indirect objects are clitic doubled, but not direct objects (in most varieties of Spanish). Thus the clitic (pronoun) *le* in (ii) can only double the indirect object *al alumno* (the student), but not the direct object *su hijo* ('his son'), which has optionally DOM, see Fernández-Ordoñez (1999).

(ii) *El* *maestro* *le* *presentó* *(a)* *su* *hijo* *al* *alumno.*
     the teacher DAT.3SG present.PST.3SG (DOM) his son to.the student
     'The teacher presented his son to the student.'

Finally, a preposition introduced by *a*, as in (30) can never be replaced by a clitic pronoun *le*. Rather it must be picked up by a locative expression.

(30)   *María*   *viaja*   *a*   *París,*   *y*   *Ana*   **le*   /   *allá*   *viaja,*
      María   travel.3SG   to   Paris,   and   Ana   *DAT.3SG   /   there   travel-3SG,
      también.
      too
      'María travels to Paris and Ana travels there, too.'

To summarize, the form *a* is used for marking the direct object (and then glossed as DOM), for marking the indirect object (optionally glossed as 'to' or 'DAT') and as a regular preposition 'to'. One can clearly distinguish between the different functions.

3.1 DOM and clitic doubling of indirect objects

According to Campos (1999: 1548), there are two classes of indirect objects, goals and benefactive: goals stand with predicates of movement or transferring, while benefactives cover indirect objects that are included in the event described by predicates of creation, destruction, ingestion or preparation. For goal datives, clitic doubling is optional, cf. (31); for benefactives, clitic doubling is obligatory, cf. (32).

(31)   *Lola*   *(le)*   *dio*   *el*   *jugete*   *a*   *Pablo.*
      Lola   (DAT.3SG)   give.PST.3SG   the   toy   to   Pablo
      'Lola gave the toy to Pablo.' (CInd)

(32)   *Lola*   **(le)*   *rompió*   *el*   *jugete*   *a*   *Pablo.*
      Lola   break.PST.3SG   the   toy   DAT   Pablo
      'Lola broke Pablo's toy.' (CInd)

Campos (1999: 1554) also quotes the grammar of the Real Academia Espanola (RAE 1973: §3.4.6), which states that DOM may be dropped in order to disambiguate.

(33)   *Presentaron*   Ø   *la*   *hija*   *a*   *los*   *invitados.*
      introduce.PST.3SG   the   daughter   to   the   guests
      'They introduced the daughter to the guests.'

According to Campos, the simultaneous use of the marker *a* for the DO and IO becomes ungrammatical when a dative clitic doubles the indirect object (34) (Campos 1999: 1554, fn. 79):

(34)   **Les*   *presentaron*   *a*   *la*   *hija*   *a*   *los*   *invitados.*
      DAT.3PL   introduce.PST.3PL   DOM   the   daughter   to   the   guests
      'They introduced the daughter to the guests.' (Campos 1999: 1554, fn. 79)

There is extensive literature on clitic doubling in Spanish (or more generally in Romance languages). There are also studies on the development of clitic doubling in Spanish, I cannot do justice to all of them, but see Fontana (1993); Fischer & Rinke (2003); Gabriel & Rinke (2010); von Heusinger (2017).

3.2 Causative constructions

López (2012: 24) observes that in causative constructions the human indefinite causee of an intransitive verb, as in (35), is accusative and *a*-marked according to its referentiality status as specific. It is accusative since it cannot be doubled by a clitic in the dative and if it were inanimate it would not be marked by *a*. If the complement of a causative predicate is a transitive verb, the causee is obligatorily *a*-marked, but this time it is dative, as can be observed from the clitic doubling in (36), which is plural, agreeing with *a unas empleadas*. DOM is now optional for the direct object of the embedded verb.

(35) *María   hizo   trabajar   los   domingos   a/*Ø   un   empleado.*
      María   made   work   the   Sundays   DOM   an   employee
      'María made an employee work on Sundays.'

(36) *María   les   hizo   visitar   a/Ø   un   enfermo   a/*Ø   unas   empleadas.*
      María   PL.DAT   made   visit   DOM   a   sick   DAT   some   employees
      'María made some employees visit a sick person.'

   López also observes that the same facts hold of perception verbs. The direct object of perception verbs are obligatorily *a*-marked if human and at least specific, as in (37). While the subjects of the embedded clause are indirect objects and thus obligatorily *a*-marked, the direct object of the embedded clause in (38) is optionally *a*-marked.

(37) *María   vio   caer   a/*Ø   un   niño.*
      María   saw   fall   DOM   a   child
      'María saw a child falling.'

(38) *María   vio   a/*Ø   una   empleada   visitar   a/Ø   un   enfermo.*
      María   saw   DAT   an   employee   visit   DOM   a   sick
      'María saw an employee visiting a sick person.'

   Thus, alternating or blocking DOM by a second *a*-marked NP can not only be found in ditransitive constructions with direct and indirect objects, but also in causative constructions or constructions with perceptual verbs.

3.3 Semantic and pragmatic effects

A-marking of indefinite direct objects can signal wide-scope readings, while the lack of *a*-marking often signals narrow scope readings (I leave it open whether the following examples are instances of scope or of a referential vs. non-referential reading of the indefinite). López (2012: 77) argues that the unmarked direct object *un niño* 'a child' cannot take scope over the operator expressed by *la mayoría* 'the most', while the *a*-marked *a un niño* can. This contrast is also found in ditransitive constructions, as in (40): the *a*-marked version *a un niño* expresses wide scope (a pragmatically not very prominent reading).

(39) *Ayer   vieron la   mayoría de   los   hombres   a/Ø   un   niño.*
      yesterday saw   the   most   of   the   men   DOM   a   child
      'Yesterday most of the men saw a child.'
      ∃>MOST only with DOM

(40) *Ayer   entregaron a/Ø   un   niño   a   la   mayoría   de   las*
      yesterday delivered   DOM   a   child DAT the   majority   of   the
      madres.
      mothers
      'Yesterday they delivered a child to most of the mothers.'
      ∃>MOST only with DOM

Leonetti (2004: 102) argues that the *a*-marked *un prisionero* in (41) is a more prominent binder than the unmarked *un prisionero*, and therefore can bind the possessive *su* in the indirect object. In the version with *un prisionero*, the possessive *su* is most probably bound by another antecedent.

(41) *Devolvieron   a/Ø   un   prisionero   a   su   tribu.*
      They-returned   DOM   a   prisoner   to   his   tribe
      'They returned a prisoner to his tribe.'

3.4 Summary of the observation for DOM in ditransitive constructions

DOM in ditransitive constructions is restricted by the co-occurrence of the indirect object marker *a*. The very short review above provides the following picture: in most constructions that require DOM in transitive contexts, DOM in ditransitive or causative contexts can be blocked by an indirect object realized by a full descriptive noun phrase with the marker *a*. The characteristics of this blocking are still not well-investigated.

4 A diachronic account of DOM in ditransitive constructions

In this section, I present the results of an intensive corpus search on three types of constructions of ditransitive verbs: (i) constructions with indirect objects realized as *a*-marked full noun phrases (definite NPs and indefinite NPs), (ii) constructions with indirect objects as clitic pronouns, and (iii) constructions with non-overt indirect objects. In §4.1 I give a short summary of a similar study of Ortiz Ciscomani (2005; 2011), in §4.2 I provide information on how I collected the material and composed the corpus, and §4.3 the results and discussion of the three hypotheses formulated in §1 are presented.

4.1 Earlier studies in ditransitive constructions

Ortiz Ciscomani (2005; 2011) has analyzed a diachronic corpus of Spanish with respect to ditransitive construction from the 13th to the 20th century. In her corpus Ortiz Ciscomani (2011: 20) identified 3,061 ditransitive constructions, of which 2,269 occur with finite and 792 with nonfinite verbs. For ditransitive constructions with full noun phrases, she restricts her analysis to the finite contexts. In her study (Ortiz Ciscomani 2005), she investigates the 13th, 14th, 16th, 19th and 20th century with 1,661 ditransitive constructions with 141 instances of full human noun phrases for the direct object and for the indirect object:[4,5]

Table 8: Percentage of human direct object with DOM and without DOM with respect to all instances of ditransitive constructions (Ortiz Ciscomani 2011: 162; Ortiz Ciscomani 2005: 198)

century	% DO with DOM	% DO without DOM	% total
13th	2.2% (7/316)	8.2% (26/316)	10.4% (33/316)
14th	5.2 % (6/115)	30.4% (35/115)	35.7% (41/115)
16th	1.1% (6/567)	8.3% (47/567)	9.3% (53/567)
19th	0.8% (3/381)	1.6% (6/381)	2.4% (9/381)
20th	1.4% (4/282)	0.4% (1/282)	1.8% (5/282)
total	1.6% (26/1661)	7% (115/1661)	8.5 (141/1661)

Ortiz Ciscomani (2005) observes that (i) the percentage of this construction (with two full human noun phrases) with respect to all constructions decreases from 10% and 36% in the 13th and 14th century to about 2% in the 19th and 20th century; (ii) that the contrast between DOM and the lack of DOM persists through time. She does not calculate the percentages of DOM vs. non-DOM constructions for full noun phrases (both direct object and indirect object), but see Comrie (2013: 47) and Table 9 for a different presentation of the same material such that one can compare the relation between DOM vs. non-DOM at each century. It becomes obvious that DOM increases through time even though the 19th and 20th centuries provide very few data. Table 9 compares the figures for ditransitive constructions with the figures of Laca (2006), see Table 3 above) for transitive constructions. One can assume that the stark contrast between definite and indefinite direct objects with respect to DOM observed for transitive construction also holds for ditransitive construction.

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[4]Ortiz Ciscomani (2011: 162) notes that languages resist a construction with full noun phrases for a human direct and a human indirect object. Only 8.5% of all investigated cases show this configuration. See also von Heusinger & Kaiser (2011), who report from similar low percentages of full noun phrases for human direct objects in transitive constructions.

[5]Note that Ortiz Ciscomani uses two different tables. In her dissertation (Ortiz Ciscomani 2011) she presents the table as in Table 10 with all centuries from 13th to 20th, while in her article (Ortiz Ciscomani 2005) she only selects 13th, 14th, 16th, 19th and 20th – hence the different numbers.

Table 9: Percentages of DOM based on number of ditransitive constructions with human direct objects and human indirect objects (reanalysis of Table 6 of Ortiz Ciscomani 2005: 198) – compared to the data of transitive constructions (see Laca 2006: 442 and Table 3 above)

	% of DOM with ditr. verbs for definite and indefinite NPs (Ortiz Ciscomani 2005)		% of DOM with tr. verbs (Laca 2006)	
cent.		cent.	definite NPs	indefinite NPs
13th	21% (7/33)	12th	36% (13/36)	0% (0/6)
14th	15% (6/41)	14th	55% (36/66)	6% (2/31)
16th	11% (6/53)	16th	70% (85/122)	12% (7/59)
19th	33% (3/9)	19th	96% (73/76)	41% (12/29)
20th	80% (4/5)	20th	-	-
total	18% (26/141)	total	69% (207/300)	17% (21/125)

Ortiz Ciscomani (2011: 166) also observes that only certain ditransitive verbs are constructed with DOM, as Table 10 shows.

Table 10: Verbs with DOM in ditransitive constructions with human direct objects and human indirect objects (Ortiz Ciscomani 2011: 166; my own translation, KvH)

Verbo	century 13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th	Total
dar 'to give'	2	1		1			1		5
enviar 'to send'	2	5	4	4				1	16
encomendar 'to entrust'	1				1	2	1		5
toller 'to take away'	1								1
echar 'to throw'	1		1						2
llevar 'to carry'			1						1
entregar 'to submit'						1			1
mandar 'to order, to send'							1		1
mostrar 'to show'							1		1
presenter 'to present'							1		1
total	7	6	5	6	1	2	3	4	(34/2269) 1.5%

To summarize, Ortiz Ciscomani (2011) provides the first quantitative approach to the diachrony of ditransitive constructions. She has analyzed more than 3,000 sentences with ditransitive constructions, of which less than 10% are with a human full NP as indirect object and a human full NP as a direct object. There are less than 20% of instances

with *a*-marking for both arguments and the data suggest a development towards this kind of marking (and less blocking). However, data are very scarce and therefore quantitative conclusions cannot be drawn from her analysis. She has also identified certain verb classes that allow DOM in this construction. While this study is very instructive, it needs complementary studies in larger corpora.

4.2 Data collection

4.2.1 Method

In order to complement the corpus study of Ortiz Ciscomani (2005; 2011), I started an extensive corpus search focused on particular verbs. I used Mark Davies' Corpus del Español, which comprises 100 million words of Spanish texts from the 12th to the 19th century. The corpus interface allows one to search for lemmas, rather than for word forms. In a first step I identified the verbs to be analyzed. I started from Ortiz Ciscomani's (2005; 2011) list of verbs and modified it according to assumed verb properties and their behavior in contemporary Spanish. I identified two verb classes with two verbs each: A: verbs of caused perception (*presentar* 'to present', *recomendar* 'to recommend'; and B: verbs of caused motion (*enviar* 'to send', *poner* 'to put').

In the Corpus del Español, I searched for the corresponding lemmata for *presentar* for four different centuries: 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th, for *recomendar* I collected data from the 18th and 20th century and for *enviar* and *poner* from the 17th and 20th century. When the search resulted in more than 1,000 hits per century, the search was restricted to the first 1,000 hits and filtered to cases with human full noun phrases as direct objects (definite NPs and indefinite NPs), since only those cases qualify for DOM. I distinguished three types of constructions: (i) The indirect object is realized as a human full noun phrase. (ii) The indirect object is realized by a clitic pronoun, and (iii) the indirect object is not overtly realized, i.e. the construction looks like a transitive construction. E.g. the search for the lemma *presentar* resulted in 1,031 hits from the 17th century. I analyzed the first 1,000 hits; there were 47 instances with a human full noun phrase as direct object. Out of these 47 cases, there were 8 (2+6) with a human full noun phrase as indirect object; 18 (2+16) instances of the indirect object realized as a clitic pronoun, 18 (9+9) instances of no overt indirect object, and 3 cases I could either not analyze or not categorize into one of the three categories. For the first three categories I distinguished between DOM or the lack of it, as summarized in Table 11.

Table 11: Sample analysis for *presenter* 'to present' for the 17th century in the Corpus del Español

	cent	full human IO		IO as clitic only		no overt IO			hits		
		DOM	no DOM	DOM	no DOM	DOM	no DOM	else	analyzed	searched	all
presentar	17	2	6	2	16	9	9	3	47	1000	1031

About 13,000 entries in total were analyzed out of which about 600 had a human direct object, i.e. a direct object that can be optionally *a*-marked. Some verbs and constructions had to be eliminated such that eventually 322, i.e. about 2.5% of the analyzed hits, could be used for the final analysis, as presented in Table 12.[6]

Table 12: Overview of the distribution of hits to verb classes and DOM vs. no DOM instances in the Corpus del Español (17th to 20th century).

Verb class	DOM	NO DOM	Sum
A (caused perception)	**64**	**61**	**125**
presentar 'to present'	54	50	104
recomendar 'to recommend'	10	11	21
B (caused motion)	**92**	**105**	**197**
enviar 'to send'	73	90	163
poner 'to put'	19	15	34
total	**156**	**166**	**322**

4.2.2 Analyzing particular examples

Before I discuss the overall results, I will present some particular examples in detail. This will provide more information about the structure of the examples, but also show that in each particular case, additional parameters might have contributed to the *a*-marking of the direct object, its blocking or its lack of *a*-marking (one cannot always clearly distinguish between a blocking effect and a case in which *a*-marking is not licensed due to other parameters). In order to facilitate the reading of the examples, I annotated the subject (Sub), the direct object (DO), the indirect object (IO) and highlighted the verb, the direct object and the indirect object. In some cases I mark long noun phrases by brackets for the ease of parsing. In (42) the direct object *el celebrado don Diego de Covarrubias y Leiva* 'the celebrated don Diego de Covarrubias y Leiva' is *a*-marked besides the *a*-marked indirect object *a nuestro obispado* 'our bishopric'. In (43) the direct object *los enfermos* is not *a*-marked, even though the construction and word order are very similar. There are clear differences between the two direct objects: the direct object in (42) is a

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[6]Four other verbs had to be excluded from further analysis: the search for the lemmata *acusar* ('to accuse') and *denunciar* ('to denounce') resulted in only transitive constructions, but not in ditransitive constructions. I also excluded the verb *encomendar* ('to entrust', 'to (re)commend') as it seems to be conventionalized in using it with an indirect object either *a Dios* ('God') or *a la Madre del cielo* ('the mother of heaven'). The great majority of these examples have *a*-marking for the direct object. I speculate that the meaning is conventionalized and understood as an opaque idiomatic expression. I also excluded the 16 instances of *dar* 'to give', since they were difficult to categorize and often close to idiomatic or light verb constructions, as well as all bare nouns and proper names since their referentiality status obligatorily determines DOM or no DOM, respectively, see §4.3.1 and Table 13 below.

proper name, is singular and has much more descriptive content – all parameters known to contribute to DOM.

(42) (ia): ᴅᴏᴍ and full indirect object
*Promovido a Valencia don Martín Pérez Ayala, **presentó** el rey$_{Sub}$ **a nuestro obispado**·$_{IO}$ [**al celebrado don Diego de Covarrubias y Leiva**]$_{DO}$, que al presente era obispo de Ciudad Rodrigo.* (Colmenares, Diego de. (1586–1651), Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia y compendio de las historias de Castilla)
'After the promotion of don Martín Pérez Ayala to Valencia, the king **introduced to our bishopric the celebrated don Diego de Covarrubias y Leiva** who currently was the bishop of the city (of) Rodrigo.'

(43) (ib): no DOM and full indirect object
*Los Médicos$_{Sub}$ son los$_{Sub}$ que **presentan al Rey**$_{IO}$ **los enfermos**$_{DO}$.* (Feijoo, Benito Jerónimo (1676–1764), Cartas eruditas y curiosas, vol. 1)
'The doctors are the ones who **present the sick to the king**.'

In (44) the indirect object is realized as the postclitic pronoun *os*, and the direct object *al señor conde del Verde Saúco* is *a*-marked. In (45), however, the direct object *profetas y doctores* is unmarked. Again, there are further differences between these two examples: the direct object in (44) is a proper name, while it is a plural indefinite in (45). According to the Referentiality Scale a proper name obligatorily takes DOM, while a plural indefinite can take it optionally.

(44) (iia): DOM and indirect object realized as clitic pronoun
*Tengo el honor de **presentar-os**$_{IO}$ [**al señor conde del Verde Saúco**]$_{DO}$, de quien acabamos de recibir esa carta pidiéndonos nuestra hija en matrimonio.* (Larra, Mariano José de. (1809–1837), No más mostrador)
'I have the honor of **introducing to you the count of Verde Sauco** [...].'

(45) (iib): no DOM and indirect object realized as clitic pronoun
*Con estas dos causas, que una bastara ante vos, parezco, y [**profetas y doctores**]$_{DO}$ **por testigos os**$_{IO}$ **presento**.* (Calderón de la Barca, Pedro. (1600–1681), El pleito matrimonial del cuerpo y el alma)
'With these two cases I appear, so that one should suffice before you, and I **present to you prophets and doctors** as witnesses.'

In the following two instances, the indirect object is not overtly expressed. In (46) the descriptively rich proper name is *a*-marked, while the indefinite plural noun phrases in (47) are not. This seems to replicate the effect of (44) vs. (45) in that the position on the Referentiality Scale determines DOM.

(46) (iiia): DOM and indirect object not overtly realized
*Tuvo el emperador$_{Sub}$ aviso en Alemania de la muerte de nuestro obispo don Antonio Ramírez; y **presentó** para obispo [**a nuestro gran segoviano fray***

Domingo de Soto]_{DO}, *que interpolado el santo concilio, fue llamado del césar para su confesor.* (Colmenares, Diego de. (1586–1651), Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia y compendio de las historias de Castilla)

'While in Germany the emperor was informed about the death of our bishop don Antonio Ramírez; and he **proposed** as bishop **our great Brother Domingo de Soto from Segovia** who was called by the emperor as his confessor after the interpolation of the holy council.'

(47) (iiib): no DOM and indirect object not overtly realized
*Luego veintiocho hermanos conducidos de Juan de Dios; de la Victoria, ochenta, por su ministro provincial regidos. **Ochenta y seis**$_{DO}$ ***San Agustín***$_{Sub}$ **presenta, ciento**$_{DO}$ **da San Francisco**$_{Sub}$**, y otros ciento**$_{DO}$ **santo Domingo**$_{Sub}$ **da** con igual cuenta.* (Espinosa, Pedro. (1578–1650), Poesía)

'Afterwards twenty eight brothers brought from Juan de Dios; from Victoria eighty, controlled by the provincial minister. San Augustin **presents eighty six**, San Francisco **gives hundred**, Santo Domingo **gives hundred more** with identical bill.'

4.3 Main results

4.3.1 Referentiality

Referentiality of the direct object is one of the main factors in determining *a*-marking in transitive constructions. This also holds for ditransitive verbs. As can be seen in Table 13, nearly all direct objects realized as bare nouns are unmarked and all except one realized as proper names are marked. This means that the variation only affects definite and indefinite noun phrases.

Table 13: Referentiality or types of direct objects (bare, indefinite, definite, proper name) and DOM in the Corpus del Español (17th to 20th century).

Type of noun phrase	DOM	No DOM	Sum
bare noun	10% (1)	90% (9)	100% (10)
definite NPs	67% 116)	33% (56)	100% (172)
indefinite NPs	27% (40)	73% (110)	100% (150)
proper name	99% (66)	1% (1)	100% (67)
total	56% (223)	44% (176)	100% (399)

Therefore, the remaining discussion has been limited to definite and indefinite noun phrases, 322 hits in total, with nearly as much DOM direct objects as no DOM direct objects, as listed in Table 14.[7] There is the expected difference between these two groups

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[7]Note that the 322 hits are the number that has already been presented in Table 12, where only definite and indefinite direct objects were listed.

of referential expressions: one third of indefinite noun phrases are marked, while two thirds of definites are marked.

Table 14: Distribution of definite and indefinite direct objects and DOM in the Corpus del Español (17th to 20th century).

Type of noun phrase	DOM	No DOM	Sum
definite NPs	67% (116)	33% (56)	100% (172)
indefinite NPs	27% (40)	73% (110)	100% (150)
total	48% (156)	52% (166)	100% (322)

4.3.2 Type of ditransitive construction

Hypothesis 1 said that the type of ditransitive construction determines the blocking effect. One distinguished between (i) constructions with indirect objects realized as *a*-marked full noun phrases (definite NPs, indefinite NPs), (ii) constructions with indirect objects as clitic pronouns, and (iii) constructions with non-overt indirect objects do not show any blocking effect.

The data show that (i) construction with a full indirect object blocks *a*-marking of the direct object blocks DOM: only 24% of the direct objects are *a*-marked in this construction. On the other side, if the indirect object is not realized, 54% of the direct objects are *a*-marked. This very much corresponds to the percentage of DOM with transitive verbs, see Table 3 above. (ii) The construction with an indirect object realized as clitic pronoun shows less blocking than the full noun and more blocking than the case without overt indirect object.[8]

Table 15: Distribution of types of indirect objects in percentage of *a*-marking (absolute values) in the Corpus del Español

realization of IO	full human IO	clitic pronoun IO	no overt IO	sum
DOM	24% (8/34)	44% (27/64)	54% (121/224)	48% (156/322)

4.3.3 Diachronic development

Table 16 summarizes the diachronic development from the 17th/18th century to the 19th/20th century – two centuries have been collapsed in order to have a larger number of instances. For a zero realization and the realization by a clitic pronoun of the indirect

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[8]The contrast between these three constructions is not an effect of an uneven distribution of definite vs. indefinite direct objects (see Table 14). In all three construction types, the number of definite and indefinite direct objects is more or less equal.

object, no blocking effect is observable. In both construction types the *a*-marking increases over time, such as in the cases of the transitive verbs (see Melis 1995, Laca 2006, von Heusinger & Kaiser 2007; von Heusinger 2008, see Table 3–Table 7 in §2 above). What is surprising, though, is that for full indirect objects the *a*-marking of the direct object is blocked by 70% and 100%, respectively. This would suggest that only the overt *a* for the indirect object blocks the *a*-marking of the direct object. Note, however, that there were only 7 instances of this construction.

Table 16: DOM for human full direct objects and 17th/18th vs. 19th/20th century in percentage (absolute values) in the Corpus del Español

cent	full human IO	pronominal clitic IO	no overt IO
17th/18th	30% (8/27)	22% (7/32)	45% (46/102)
19th/20th	0% (0/7)	67% (20/30)	60% (75/124)

4.3.4 Verb class

The second hypothesis is that verb class differences are mirrored in the blocking of the *a*-marking of the direct object (or in the strength with which the *a*-marking of the direct object has to be obtained). In earlier work it was shown that there is a clear difference for different transitive verb classes. According to the study discussed in §2.2 above, transitive verbs that require an animate direct object (such as *matar* 'to kill') more often take DOM than verbs like *tomar* ('to take') that prefer an inanimate direct object (see Table 4–Table 7 in §2.3 above). In a forced choice experiment conducted by von Heusinger (2017), verbs of caused perception (*presentar* 'to present', *proponer* 'to propose' received DOM in 54% (98/182) of the cases, while verbs of caused motion (*enviar* 'to send', *mandar* 'to send') received DOM in 65% (119/182) of the cases. Therefore, I predict that in the diachronic corpus there will be more verbs of caused motion with *a*-marking, than verbs of caused perception, even in typical blocking contexts. However, as can be seen in Table 17, there are more *a*-marked direct objects with verbs of caused perception (68%) than *a*-marked verbs of caused motion (49%) if the indirect object is not realized. And there is a slight preference for *a*-marking for verbs of caused perception over verbs of caused motion in the other conditions as well.

Table 17: DOM for human animate full direct objects and verb class in percentage (absolute values) in the Corpus del Español

verb class	full human IO	IO as clitic only	no overt IO
A: *presentar, recomendar*	26% (5/19)	45% (25/56)	68% (34/50)
B: *enviar, poner*	20% (3/15)	33% (2/6)	49% (87/176)

5 General discussion and conclusion

In §1 I put forward three hypotheses, which are repeated below and which were tested by the extended corpus search and the analysis in the last section. Due to the scarce data I cannot make any statistically significant claims, but the figures show certain tendencies for the hypothesis.

- H1: The type of the ditransitive construction determines the blocking effect:
    - i constructions with indirect objects realized as *a*-marked full noun phrases (definite NPs, indefinite NPs) show a high blocking effect
    - ii constructions with indirect objects as pronominal clitics show a low blocking effect, and
    - iii constructions with non-overt indirect objects do not show any blocking effect

- H2: DOM in ditransitive constructions has a comparable development as DOM in transitive constructions.

- H3 Verb classes differ with respect to the way they influence DOM and DOM-blocking.

The analysis of the corpus data suggests that Hypothesis 1 is correct: Type (i) realizes the indirect object as a full noun phrase that is obligatorily marked by *a*. Here *a*-marking of the direct object is very low. In type (iii), the indirect object is not realized – either because the indirect object is inferred from the context or left unspecified. Here, *a*-marking of the direct object is high and similar to pure transitive constructions. In type (ii), the indirect object is realized as a clitic pronoun. Here the rate of *a*-marking lies between construction (i) and (iii) – if correct, this is surprising since no overt *a* for the direct object is available.

The diachronic development of DOM in ditransitive constructions follows the diachronic development of DOM in transitive constructions. However, the blocking effect for construction (i) is becoming stronger over the years. Due to the very low figures I cannot estimate whether this is a stable tendency or not. There is no clear evidence for Hypothesis 3, as the contrast between the two verb classes are minor, except for the transitive construal (iii), where a tendency towards more marking of verbs of caused perception can be seen.

The investigation of a corpus of diachronic data of ditransitive constructions in Spanish has revealed that DOM in ditransitive constructions has developed similarly to DOM in transitive constructions – along the Referentiality Scale and the Affectedness Scale. However, DOM in ditransitive constructions occurs with a lower frequency than in transitive constructions. This effect is generally assumed to be the result of some blocking between the *a*-marking of the indirect object and the *a*-marking (i.e. DOM) of the direct object. I have investigated three types of ditransitive constructions: (i) with indirect objects realized as *a*-marked full noun phrases (definite NPs, indefinite NPs), (ii) with

indirect objects as clitic pronouns, and (iii) non-overt indirect objects. There is a clear difference between these three types: DOM is more frequent with (iii) and less frequent with (i). The data revealed an interesting interaction with the diachronic development: for construal (i) I found more DOM in the 17th and 18th century than in the 19th and 20th. The data did not support a strong interaction between verb class and DOM. Nevertheless, they show the importance of an analysis that allows to distinguish nominal from verbal parameters.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
DAT	dative
DO	direct object
DOM	differential object marking
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
IO	indirect object
MASC	masculine
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
PST	past
SG	singular
SUBJ	subject

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