

Rising Ditransitives: *Tomarle miedo*-Type Collocations in Spanish (1200s-2000s)

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In modern-day Spanish the verb *tomar* ‘take’ combines with state nouns designating ‘feelings’ or ‘sensations’, e.g. *amor* ‘love’, *cariño* ‘liking, affection’ and *miedo* ‘fear’. As (1) illustrates, in such structures the state noun is realized as the direct object of *tomar*. The syntactic subject is the participant experiencing the ‘feeling’ or ‘sensation’. The second argument, a dative-marked indirect object, is interpreted as a goal, i.e. the entity towards which the ‘feeling’ or ‘sensation’ is directed. In these *tomarle miedo*-type collocations, the verb *tomar* contributes the meaning of ‘beginning to experience the feeling or sensation’ in question (DUE, Sanromán Vilas 2017; cf. Alba-Salas 2012); for example, *tomarle miedo* in (1) can be informally paraphrased as ‘begin to feel fear’.

- (1) La modernidad es **otra cosa a la que** a veces **le tomo miedo**. *Modernity is something else that I sometimes grow afraid of.* (Pedro Ramón López, 2011, Dominican Republic, pedroramonlopezoliver.wordpress.com)

In earlier periods of Spanish, the second argument of *tomarle miedo*-type collocations was realized not only as a dative/indirect object (2), but also as a complement introduced by *de* ‘of, from’ (3) and other prepositions.

- (2) [...] & matol & **tamanno mjedo le avian tomado los moros** que le enbiaron [...]. [...] *and he killed him and the Moors had become so afraid of him that they sent [...].* (*Crónica abreviada*, Don Juan Manuel, OPDT 1300s, SDPT 1451 ca. - 1475 ca. [Madrid, Nacional, 1356])
- (3) [...] ca tamaño es **el mjedo que tomaron de mj los delas portogal** & [...]. [...] *since the Portuguese became so afraid of me and [...].* (*Crónica de Alfonso X*, Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, ODPT 1300s, SPDT 1489 [Madrid, Nacional, 829])

Using the *CORDE* and the *Corpus del español*, this study traces the realization of the second argument of *tomarle miedo*-type collocations formed with 36 different nouns of ‘feeling’ or ‘sensation’ that, following recent synchronic analyses (e.g. Anscombre 1995, Sanromán Vilas 2003, 2012, De Miguel 2015), could be classified in three groups: as endogenous nouns designating feelings that are conceived as being projected towards an external goal (e.g. *cariño*); as exogenous nouns designating feelings that are seen as originating in an external source or cause (e.g. *tristeza* ‘sadness’); and as hybrid nouns that allow both options (e.g. *miedo*).

The corpus data suggest that *tomar* ceased to be productive with exogenous nouns by the 1600s (cf. Sanromán Vilas 2017, Alba-Salas 2012). Although this verb has continued to be used with endogenous and hybrid nouns in Modern Spanish, there has been a shift from a clear predominance of the prepositional realization in the Middle Ages to a vast majority of dative occurrences by the 1700s, with endogenous nouns leading the way and the *Siglo de Oro* emerging as a key transitional period.

Using the framework of Construction Grammar, the emergence of the dative as the default realization of the second argument in *tomarle miedo*-type collocations is analyzed as part of a much broader grammatical change in Spanish: the generalization of the Ditransitive Construction documented by Ortiz Ciscomani (2011).

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