

## Collocations with *tomar* ‘take’ + nouns of ‘emotion’ and Constructional Change in the History of Spanish

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The present study focuses on Spanish collocations formed with the verb *tomar* ‘take’ and nouns of ‘emotion’ such as *cariño* ‘affection’ and *miedo* ‘fear’. These structures include an experiencer (the entity experiencing the emotion) and a second complement that, in Modern Spanish, corresponds to a goal argument, i.e. the entity towards which the emotion is metaphorically directed (Alba-Salas 2012, Sanromán Vilas 2017). Whereas the experiencer is the syntactic subject of *tomar*, the goal complement can have two different realizations, each of them associated with a different constructional subschema in Traugott and Trousdale’s (2013) sense. In the first one –the ditransitive subschema, the most common today– the goal is an indirect object, e.g. (1). In the second subschema –the (non-dative) prepositional subschema– the goal is introduced by a preposition other than *a*., such as *por* ‘for’ in (2). Both subschemas involve metaphorical extensions of *tomar* as a ‘heavy’ verb of acquisition of possession whose use as a collocate here contributes the ingressive meaning of ‘beginning to experience the emotion’ designated by the noun (Alba-Salas 2012, Sanromán Vilas 2017); 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](http://pedroramonlopezoliver.wordpress.com))
- (2) [...] la Divina Providencia hizo que, desde el noviciado, **tomase cariño por los enfermos**. [...] *since his novitiate, Divine Providence made him grow very fond of the sick.* (anonymous blogger, [preguntasantoral.es](http://preguntasantoral.es), Spain, 2011)

The collocations under study are particularly interesting from a diachronic perspective because in Medieval Spanish, contrary to what we find in the present-day language, the second complement not only allowed a wider range of prepositions –such as *de* ‘of’ in (3), for example– but could also correspond to the cause or source (rather than the goal) of the emotion, as is the case with the complement of *tristeza* ‘sadness’ in (4).

- (3) [...] ca tamaño es **el mjedo que tomaron de mj los delas portogal** & [...]. [...] *since the Portuguese grew so afraid of me and [...].* (*Crónica de Alfonso X*, Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, composed 1300s, copied 1489 [Madrid, Nacional, 829])
- (4) [...] non deuedes uos **tomar tamanna tristeza por este fecho** como yo. [...] *you should not grow as sad over this event as I do.* (*General estoria II*, Alfonso X, composed 1200s, copied 1300s [BNE 10237])

Using the *CORDE* and the *Corpus del español*, the study traces the historical realization of the second complement in these *tomar* collocations from the 1200s through the 2000s. The corpus search, which yielded almost 3000 occurrences, involved 38 different nouns of ‘emotion’ classified in three groups based on recent synchronic analyses (e.g. Anscombe 1995, Sanromán Vilas 2003, 2012, De Miguel 2015): as endogenous nouns that construe the emotion as originating in the experiencer and being projected towards an external goal (e.g. *cariño*); as exogenous nouns in which the emotion is seen as originating in an external source or cause (e.g. *tristeza*); and as hybrid nouns that allow both options (e.g. *miedo*). The results suggest that the (non-dative) prepositional subschema, which predominated in the Middle Ages, originally combined with both goal and source/cause complements, and thus also with the three types of nouns examined here. By contrast, the ditransitive subschema, which seems

to be more recent, exclusively involved goal complements, so it has been historically productive only with endogenous and hybrid nouns. Although both subschemas declined after the Middle Ages due to competition from other collocates, the (non-dative) prepositional subschema was particularly affected because the main dialect- and register-neutral competitors of *tomar* in Modern Spanish provide a better fit for exogenous nouns. While *tomar* ceased to be productive with exogenous nouns by the 1900s (cf. Sanromán Vilas 2017), it has continued to be used with endogenous and hybrid nouns, but almost exclusively in the ditransitive subschema, which can accommodate their goal argument.

Using the framework of Diachronic Construction Grammar (Traugott & Trousdale 2013), the emergence of the ditransitive subschema as the default realization of collocations with *tomar* and nouns of ‘emotion’ is analyzed as entailing the restructuring of a broad network of Spanish Constructions. The process involved not only *tomar* as both a heavy verb and a collocate, but also other ingressive collocates, as well as Light Verb Constructions with *tener* and *haber* ‘have’ and two grammatical Constructions –both of them featuring an indirect object, but mapped onto different semantic roles– that have played a key role in the history of Spanish: the Ditransitive Construction (e.g. Ortiz Ciscomani 2011), and the Intransitive Dative Construction (e.g. Vázquez Rozas & Rivas 2007, Melis & Flores 2012).

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