From the heavy to the light verb

An analysis of TOMAR 'to take'

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And what do you do with other borderline cases such as *take the form*, *take the time*, *take the lead*, *take the necessary action*, *take the offensive*, *take the risk*, *take the same approach*, *take the train to*, etc.? Sweeping some of those cases aside by calling them light verb constructions does not solve the problem […] that needs to be further explored.

(Colson, 2015, p. 1)

Introduction

This study is a description of the Spanish polysemous verb TOMAR 'to take' with the aim of explaining and offering a fine-grained analysis of the light verb *tomar* (LV *tomar*).[1] LVs have become a topic of major interest for theoretical and applied linguistics. On the theoretical side, there is a need to clarify what, semantically and syntactically, a LV really means. Are they minimal semantic units, since most monolingual dictionaries use them to decompose the meaning of more complex verbs? Are they grammaticalized units within light verb constructions (LVCs) that have lost their meaning but still preserve the capacity to take syntactic arguments? On the applied side, in second language acquisition, for instance, LVs have been emphasized to be taught from the very first stages of learning because of their recurrence. Results show that, even if they are decoded without trouble by non-native speakers, they are difficult to encode, and errors with LVs persist even among near-native L2 speakers who have lived for decades in the target-language environment.

Research literature about these verbs is abundant cross-linguistically. However, there are not many monographs dedicated to particular verbs that focus

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[1] The way of representing the light verb, LV *tomar*, is provisional. A more precise representation will be provided further in the article. Other LVs in Spanish are *hacer* 'to do/to make', *dar* 'to give', *tener* 'to have', *poner* 'to put', *echar* 'to throw', *pasar* 'to pass' and *llevar* 'to carry'.

on qualitative rather than quantitative methodologies. The present study is an attempt to fill this gap. It aims to provide a semantic description of the Spanish LV *tomar* 'to take' within LVCs such as those in (1–5):

(1) *tomar la siesta*[2]
(to take a nap):
Después del almuerzo Tom quiso retirarse a tomar la siesta
(After the meal Tom wanted to retire to take a nap)

(2) *tomar una foto*
(to take a photo):
En el preciso momento en que tomó la foto, la limusina se interpuso entre la cámara y el edificio
(At the very time he took the photo, the limousine stood between the camera and the building)

(3) *tomar una decisión*
(to make a decision) (lit. 'to take a decision'):
Finalmente toma una decisión, se guarda la carta en el bolsillo y se aleja del buzón
(Finally he makes a decision, keeps the letter in the pocket and moves away from the mailbox) (lit. 'he takes a decision')

(4) *tomar venganza*
(to take revenge):
Espero que comprenda que no soy el más indicado para tomar venganza por una infidelidad
(I hope that you understand that I am not the right person to take revenge for infidelity)

(5) *tomar carrerilla*
(to take a run up):
Acalorado como estaba y con el cuerpo pegajoso del viaje, Ángel tomó carrerilla hacia el agua, entrando en ella de cabeza.
(As he was hot and had clammy skin, Ángel took a run up towards the water, diving head-first into it)

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2. The acceptability of some of the examples included in this article varies from one native speaker to another. *Tomar la siesta* 'to take a nap' is a clear case of divergent opinions, as well as *tomarse una ducha* 'to take a shower'. *Tomar el autobús / un taxi*, 'to take the bus / a taxi', etc., and *tomar a un bebé en brazos* 'to take a baby in one's arms', for instance, are not frequently used in Peninsular Spanish, instead *coger* 'to catch' is used.

I will take as a starting point the meaning of its counterpart, the heavy verb *tomar* 'to take' (HV *tomar*),[3] e.g., *Tomó el libro de la estantería* 'He took the book from the shelf', as well as the different senses displayed by *tomar* as a general collocate verb.[4] I will consider the collocate *tomar* between the heavier and lighter senses of the polysemous TOMAR. In doing so, I will try to answer the following questions:

(a) Is there anything in common among these (1–5) or other similar expressions with *tomar*?
(b) Has the LV *tomar* anything in common with the HV *tomar*, and with the collocate *tomar*?
(c) How is the selection of LV *tomar* made by such different nouns (e.g., *siesta* 'nap', *foto* 'photo', *decisión* 'decision', venganza 'revenge', *carrerilla* 'run up')?
(d) Does the LV *tomar* share anything with the noun within the same LVC?

I will defend the hypothesis that the LV *tomar* is not semantically empty and, consequently, its selection by the noun within a LVC, rather than being arbitrarily done, is based on its meaning. To support this claim the *hypothesis of semantic compatibility* (Sanromán Vilas, 2012a, 2013a, 2013b, 2014) will be tested. According to this hypothesis, LVs are paradigmatically related to their heavy counterparts and syntagmatically to the nouns within the same LVCs by means of *lexical features*. At the paradigmatic level, lexical features are the semantic links between the different lexical units existing within the polysemic verb – TOMAR, in this case – where heavy and light senses are included, as well as other collocates. At the syntagmatic level, lexical features are the elements of semantic agreement between the LV and the nouns within the same LVC.

The data of this research is mostly extracted from *Corpus del español del siglo XXI* (*CORPES XXI*) (RAE), a reference corpus of contemporary Spanish that includes all its geographical varieties represented in a wide range of text types and genres. Several general monolingual Spanish dictionaries have been consulted, as well as combinatorial dictionaries like *REDES* and *PRÁCTICO*.

This research is mainly carried out within the theoretical and methodological framework of Explanatory and Combinatorial Lexicology (ECL) (Mel'čuk et al.,

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3. The way of representing the heavy verb, HV *tomar*, and the collocate, collocate *tomar*, are also provisional.

4. Following Mel'čuk (2012, p. 39, among others), a collocation is constituted by two elements: a base and a collocate. While the base is a lexical expression freely chosen by the speaker, the collocate is a lexical expression chosen as a function of the base to express a particular meaning bearing on the base. When the verb *to run* is used as a collocate it loses its basic meaning 'to move quickly' and acquires a different one dependent on the base. For instance, in co-occurrence with *business (to run a business)*, *to run* means 'to be in charge of'.

1995; Mel'čuk et al., 1984–1999), a key component of the Meaning-Text Theory (Mel'čuk, 1997, among others).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 provides a characterization of LVs and a brief presentation of the hypothesis of semantic compatibility. Section 2 describes the corpus and the methodology used in this article. Section 3 presents TOMAR as a polysemic unit within which three main divisions can be made:[5] TO-MARI as a HV (Section 3.1); TOMARII as a general collocate (Section 3.2) and TO-MARIII as a LV (Section 3.3). Section 4 is an attempt to capture the lexical features of TOMAR, paying special attention to the semantic links between the different lexical units within the polysemic unit and the semantic agreement between the LV and the noun within the same LVC. Finally, Section 5 summarizes the results and draws some conclusions searching for generalizations and discussing the implications and limits of the study.

1.   Background context to the research

1.1   A brief characterization of light verbs

By *LVs* I refer to a particular type of verbal collocates – as opposed to general verbal collocates – that co-occur with various predicate nouns, syntactically in the function of first objects (direct object, DO, or prepositional object, PrepO), and that have a general meaning. The nature of their meaning is so abstract that it is a challenge to describe them. Dictionary definitions, for instance, have resulted in a long list of senses containing, more than a description of the meaning of the verb itself, an enumeration of certain nouns that co-occur with it.

LVs have received other names according to the conceptual characteristic the researcher aims to emphasize. In Bosque's words (2001, p. 36), "the term *light* focuses on the abstract meaning of these predicates, while the French term *support*, the Italian *supporto* and the Spanish *apoyo* ('support') or *vicario* ('subordinate'), sometimes used, focus on their grammatical defectiveness." Indeed, the list could be enlarged by adding *functional verbs*, a term that underlines their grammatical function; *delexical verbs* and *empty verbs*, pointing out either the loss or the lack of semantic content, respectively, and *high frequency verbs*, a term that calls attention to the great number of occurrences of these verbs compared to other verbs in a given language. The combination of an LV with a predicate noun has also received various names, often related to the linguistic theory from which the phenomenon

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5. For the representation of lexical units (small capital, Roman numbers, etc.), see footnote nº 16.

is approached. Thus, in addition to the names that add the term *constructions* to the previous ones (*light verb constructions*, *support verb constructions*, etc.), it is possible to find *composite* or *complex predicates*, *stretched verb constructions*, *verb-noun combinations*, etc.

Bosque (2001) enumerates four properties of LVs: (1) They display two syntactic structures (p. 25–26); (2) they do not seem to have an argument structure (p. 27); (3) they lack external arguments (p. 27–29) and (4) semantically, these verbs denote the coming into existence of an event or a state of affairs (p. 29–30). In addition to these properties, Butt (2003, 2010) points out that they are form identical with a main verb; they have marked morphosyntactic behaviour distinguishable from both auxiliaries and main verbs and they serve to modify the event encoded by the main predicator in a way that is different from other types of verbs (including auxiliaries, modals or main verbs). In Butt's viewpoint, LVs have a semi-lexical status, not completely lexical and not completely functional and, accordingly, they should be treated as a separate syntactic class.

In this article, the term *LVs* will be used to refer to what Bosque (2001, p. 28) calls *standard light verbs* or what Alonso-Ramos (2004, p. 91) calls *pure support verbs* (*verbos de apoyo puros*), that is to say, those having a neutral value as opposed to those being specific for certain nouns (Koike, 2001, p. 90) – called *heavier light verbs* by Bosque (2001, p. 28). In this regard, Spanish LVs are *tomar* 'to take' (*tomar una decisión* 'to make a decision'), *dar* 'to give' (*dar un grito* 'to give a shout'), *hacer* 'to do/to make' (*hacer una pregunta* 'to ask a question'), *tener* 'to have' (*tener respeto* 'to have respect'), *poner* 'to put' (*poner un castigo* 'to give a punishment'), *echar* 'to throw' (*echar un piropo* 'to give/make/pay a compliment'), *pasar* 'to pass' (*pasar hambre* 'to have/feel hunger') and *llevar* 'to carry' (*llevarse una decepción* 'to feel disappointment'), while specific or heavier LVs would be *proferir* 'to utter' or *emitir* 'to emit' in combination with *grito* 'shout'; *profesar* 'to profess' or *tributar* 'to pay' with *respeto* 'respect'; *formular* 'to formulate' with *pregunta* 'question'; or *imponer* 'to impose' with *castigo* 'punishment'.

The group of LVs does not include phasal verbs, causatives or realization verbs.[6] A *phasal verb* is one that points out a phase – the beginning, the continuation or the end – of the event described by the noun. For instance, the initial phase 'to start having/experiencing' + noun would be expressed as *coger/contraer una gripe* 'to catch/contract a flu' or *trabar/entablar una conversación* 'to get in/to begin a conversation'. The continuation phase 'to continue having/experiencing' can be verbalized as *guardar respeto* 'to keep the respect' or *sostener una conversación*

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6. LVs are usually the most general and neutral variants, thus no mention will be made to geographic, stylistic or diastratic differences, unless a counterexample is found. As the research concerns contemporary Spanish, diachronic differences will not be taken into account.

'to carry on a conversation'. The final phase 'to end having/experiencing' can be expressed as *perder el respeto/el miedo* 'to lose respect/the fear'. *Causative verbs* are those that denote 'cause', for instance, *suscitar* 'to cause that someone feels' (*suscitar envidia* 'to arouse envy') or *disipar* 'to cause that something stops existing' (*disipar una sospecha* 'to dispel suspicion'). Finally, a *realization verb* is one that expresses the sense 'to meet (or not) the inherent objectives of the lexical unit', for instance, *cumplir (incumplir) una promesa* 'to fulfil (to break) a promise' or *saldar una deuda* 'to meet/pay back a debt'. When *tomar* has any of these meanings, it will be studied under the label *verbal collocates* or simply *collocates* (collocate *tomar* and, more specifically from Section 3 onwards, TOMARII).

1.2 Studies on the meaning of light verbs and the hypothesis of semantic compatibility

The hypothesis of semantic compatibility is based on the assumption that lexical units are not arbitrarily combined among them, but they contain lexical features of meaning that favour or reject certain combinations (Sanromán Vilas, 2009b, 2012a, 2012b). In the formulation of this hypothesis, I have drawn inspiration from some studies, carried out through different linguistic frames, defending the existence of some lexical features, semantic component or units of meaning shared by the lexical units involved in syntagmatic combinations, generally known as collocations. First I will refer to some studies supporting the idea that LVs have meaning (Section 1.2.1). Next I will briefly describe the hypothesis of semantic compatibility (Section 1.2.2).

1.2.1 *The nature of the meaning of light verbs*

In the ECL, a LVC is considered a type of *collocation* (Mel'čuk et al., 1995, p. 46; Mel'čuk, 2004), where the LV is lexically selected by its base, the noun, in a more or less arbitrary way to acquire a sentence configuration. In general, it is considered that the role of LVs is to add grammatical information about tense, mood and person (Alonso Ramos, 2004, p. 24). However, Mel'čuk (1992, pp. 32–33) has remarked that even if pure LVs are semantically (quasi-)empty, two or more LVs that can co-occur with the same noun are not necessarily exact synonyms. Furthermore, the author declares that they can differ semantically from each other in many nuances, but this question is not further examined.

Apart from the ECL, there are other researchers who have addressed the question of the lexical meaning of LVs in a more direct way. Among them, we can distinguish two different approaches: (1) those who concentrate on the relationship between LVs and their heavy counterparts, and (2) those who lay emphasis on the relationship between LVs and the predicate nouns with which they co-occur.

The former approach, focusing on the relationship between LVs – *to take* in *X takes a walk* – and their heavy counterparts – *to take* in *X takes an apple from the tree* –, brings together mainly authors adhering to cognitive frameworks. In general lines, the semantic links between both lexical units – the HV and the LV – are considered extensions of a polysemous word. In cases where researchers following this line cannot manage to isolate a distinct meaning of a particular LV, it is assumed that the meaning of the LV has to be examined within the construction where the LV is placed. Representative works within this approach are the analysis of *to take* in Norvig and Lakoff (1987) or the extensive study of *to give* in Newman (1996). Brugman (2001), for her part, has reviewed the English LVs *to give*, *to take* and *to have* in order to verify that they have meaning and not only function, as well as to prove that the relationship between LVs and HVs shows regularities cross-lexically, that is to say, the semantic links that relate a LV to the corresponding HV are repeated in other polysemous verbs. Butt's works can be located outside the cognitive model but within this group. Butt (2003, 2010; Butt & Geuder, 2001; Butt & Lahiri, 2013) studied the relation of LVs with heavy counterparts as a cross-linguistic phenomenon, but the syntax and semantics of LVs as language dependent.

The latter approach puts together authors whose target is mainly to find an explanation for the relationship between the LV and the noun occupying the position of primary object (DO or PrepO). Researchers in this group mostly belong to functional approaches, particularly those associated with lexicographic projects. Among them, I refer to Apresjan and Glovinskaja (2007), Apresjan (2009), Barrios (2010), Bosque (2004a, 2004b), De Miguel (2006, 2008, 2011), Montagna (2015) and some authors within the framework of the "lexique-grammaire", such as Giry-Schneider (1987) and Vivès (1984, 1993). They agree that aspectuality plays a major role in the relationship LV + predicate noun. According to Apresjan (2009), the selection of an LV is conditioned by the lexical meaning of the LV and the semantic class of a Vendlerian classification[7] to which the noun belongs. He claims that there is "semantic agreement" between the LV and the noun: "they should have at least one non-trivial recurrent (repetitive, common) semantic component in their meaning" (Apresjan, 2009, p. 4). Bosque talks about "redundancy" and "agreement of lexical features" (Bosque, 2004a, p. 47; 2004b).

Beside these approaches,[8] Reuther (1996, pp. 198–199) proposes the description of a LV dividing its meaning into three different parts: (1) a more general (taxonomic) part, (2) a specific part that shows the semantic links with other

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[7]. Vendler (1967; see also Dowty, 1979) classifies verbal predicates into four aspectual groups: states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements.

[8]. This classification is not exhaustive. Some other researchers have addressed the question in more or less depth, as for example Battaner (2011), Martín Mingorance (1998), Wotjak (1998),

senses of the given verb, and (3) another specific part containing the semantic characteristics of nouns that typically appear in collocations with the verb.

1.2.2 *The hypothesis of semantic compatibility*

From my point of view, lexical features within LVs – or collocates, in general – operate on two levels. At a paradigmatic level, lexical features are semantic links between the different lexical units within a polysemic word. For instance, within the polysemic verb TO GIVE, the HV *to give*, in *The teacher gave a book to the student*, is linked to the LV *to give*, in *The teacher gave some information to the student*, by the lexical feature 'transference'. In the former, the book is the object of the transference from the teacher to the student; in the latter, it is some information. At a syntagmatic level, lexical features are elements of semantic agreement between the members within a collocation. For instance, the communication noun *promise* co-occurs with *to make* (*to make a promise*) because both contain a component of 'creation' in their meaning: a promise is made 'created' at the moment of speech by telling it; *to make* implies 'to create' or 'to form something that did not exist previously'. Thus, *promise* and *to make* agree semantically. On the other hand, the noun *information*, a piece of knowledge that already existed before the speech act, cannot co-occur with *to make* because they do not semantically agree, instead *information* agrees with *to give*, because it is due to be transferred to a recipient.[9]

The hypothesis of semantic compatibility applied to LVCs underlines the following assumptions: (1) for every LV in a given language, there is a verbal counterpart or HV with which it bears a polysemic relationship (e.g., LV *to make* and HV *to make*); (2) every predicate noun can select a LV with which it shares one or several lexical features in order to emphasize or specify those features (e.g., *promise* selects the LV *to make* to emphasize the semantic component 'creation'); (3) the lexical feature(s) of the predicate noun emphasized by the LV agrees with the part of the meaning the LV shares with the HV (e.g., the component 'creation' of *promise* is also the component shared by the LV *to make* and the HV *to make*).

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for Spanish; Wierzbicka (1988), Stein (1991), for English; Duarte et al. (2010) and Gonçalves et al. (2010) for Portuguese, among others.

9. The reader can find a more complete description of the hypothesis of semantic compatibility in Sanromán Vilas (2012a) and, more concretely about communication nouns, in Sanromán Vilas (2011a, 2013b, 2014).

2.   Corpus and methodology of the study

2.1   Corpus and dictionaries

Data have been collected from *Corpus del español del siglo XXI* (*CORPES XXI*) (RAE), a reference corpus of contemporary Spanish, including written texts and some oral transcriptions produced between 2001 and 2015. The corpus covers a wide range of text types and genres from all the Spanish geographical varieties (Spain, America, the Philippines and Equatorial Guinea). Sporadically, when there was a need to increase the number of examples, the *Corpus de referencia del español actual* (*CREA*) (RAE) was also consulted, which contains examples produced before 2001. Specifically, the search criteria introduced were the verb TOMAR as lemma in combination with the grammatical category noun, within a space of one to three words to the right of each other. The results displayed in 200 screens, corresponding to 4 000 examples, were manually reviewed. Nouns denoting repeated entities were excluded – for instance, food products and beverages – as well as fixed expressions with TOMAR.

In addition to this, entries on TOMAR were consulted in a selection of some of the most representative general monolingual dictionaries of Spanish (*DUE*, *DEA*, *DRAE*, *DSLE*, *CLAVE*, *DELE* and *LEMA*),[10] as well as the combinatorial dictionaries *REDES* and *PRÁCTICO* and *DiCE*.[11] In particular, the classification of nouns co-occurring with TOMAR presented in *REDES* was used as the starting reference point of this article.

The occurrences of TOMAR extracted from the corpus and the dictionary entries were used to divide the verb into different lexical units, separating the heavy senses from those where TOMAR forms part of a collocation. In the last cases, a fine-grained classification was made between the uses of TOMAR as a general collocate and its uses as an LV, applying the lexical functions of the ECL (see next section).

The specific sources of the examples shown in this article are displayed in the Bibliography Section, *List of specific sources of the examples*, following the example number.

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10. See the final bibliography.

11. The *DiCE* was consulted for the combination of *tomar* with emotion nouns.

2.2 The use of lexical functions for the classification of collocations

In this research, I use the *lexical functions* (LFs, Mel'čuk, 1982, 1996, 1998, 2007) from the ECL[12] to describe the different values of *tomar* as a verbal collocate and as an LV. LFs are a lexicographical tool that codifies the semantic relation between the elements of a collocation in universal terms. In many cases, LFs also inform about the actantial structure of the collocation. LFs have some resemblances with mathematical functions. If, in mathematics, the function 'square root' has the value 5 when it is applied to 25 ($\sqrt{25} = 5$), in linguistics, the LF Magn, for instance, which corresponds to the sense 'intense', has the value *close* when it is associated with *friendship* (Magn(*friendship*) = *close*). However, while mathematical functions have a single value, LFs can have several: to express that the *friendship* is 'intense' a speaker of English can say *close friendship* as well as *deep/firm friendship*.[13]

In this article a distinction is made between collocations in general and LVCs, which form a subgroup within collocations. The difference between them lies in the nature of the meaning of the collocate and its contribution to the collocations. LVs have a more abstract or taxonomic meaning, which is more difficult to describe than that of collocates in general. As for most of the collocations in this article the two basic LFs Oper and Real are used, we will start with a brief description of them. Oper (Oper$_1$ and Oper$_2$) refers to an LV, without specifying its content, which takes a lexical unit – the base of the collocation – as its first verbal object (DO or PrepO). In Figure 1, *to pay* in *to pay a visit* (= *to visit*) and *to receive* in *to receive a visit* (= *to be visited*) are codified by means of the LFs Oper$_1$ and Oper$_2$.
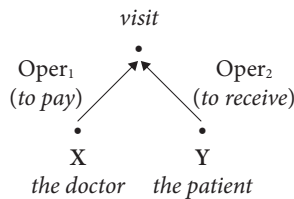

Figure 1. Representation of the LFs Oper$_1$ and Oper$_2$ for the noun *visit*

Subscripts **1** and **2** indicate the grammatical subject of the verb: subscript **1** refers to the first actant of the noun *visit* (**X** in *X's visit to Y*: **the doctor** pays a visit to the

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patient); subscript **2**, to the second actant (**Y** in *X's visit to Y*: ***the patient*** *receives a visit from the doctor*).[14]

LF Real (Real$_1$ and Real$_2$) has the same syntax as Oper. They only differ in semantic content: while Oper denotes an LV, Real refers to a *realization verb*, that is, a verb that expresses the sense 'to meet the inherent objectives of the lexical unit' or, more precisely, 'to do with regard to the lexical unit what is normally expected of participant (actant) 1 in the respective situation', the collocate verb taking the actant 1 of the noun as its grammatical subject and the noun as the primary object (Apresjan & Glovinskaja, 2007, p. 35). For instance, if Oper$_1$ applied to *promise* has *to make* as its value (*X makes a promise*), the Real$_1$ of *promise* is *to fulfil* (*X fulfils the promise made…*); Oper$_2$ of *exam* is *to take* (*Y takes an exam*), while the Real$_2$ is *to pass* (*Y passes the exam taken…*). However, when the noun is not a predicate noun but an artifact, Real$_1$ means 'to use the lexical unit according to its destination', e.g., *to read a book*; and Real$_2$means 'to be accessible for use according to the lexical unit's destination', e.g., *to be at the theatre* (see Apresjan & Glovinskaja, 2007, p. 34).

In Section 3.2 and 3.3, a new LF will be introduced, Labor$_{ij}$, and a few details more will be added: for instance, the combination of previous LFs Oper and Real with Incep, which signals the initial phase of an event, and with Magn, which adds the meaning 'intense'.

3. An overview of the verb TOMAR 'to take'

This section will be devoted to the verb TOMAR 'to take'[15] as a vocable, or polysemic unit, within which several lexical units can be mainly separated into three groups: (1) those that have full meaning, corresponding to the so-called *heavy* or *full verb* (TOMARI) (Section 3.1); 2) those that make part of collocations, or verbal

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14. Following the conventions of the Meaning-Text theory (Mel'čuk, 1997, among others), capital letters **X**, **Y** and **Z** are used to indicate the semantic actants of a predicate, while Arabic numbers **1**, **2**, and **3** represent its superficial syntactic actants.

15. Although to take is offered as the English equivalent of the Spanish tomar, it has to be pointed out that they are not exactly equivalent. For instance, the English to take can mean 'to move sth/sb from one place to another', e.g., He took the glasses to the other room or Will you take her to the cinema? This meaning is expressed in Spanish with other verbs, llevar/traer 'to carry' – the choice of the verb depending on the direction seen from the perspective of where the speaker is. Some senses of TOMAR 'to take' are close to some senses of COGER 'to catch' and they can overlap. In the European spoken Spanish it is frequent to use COGER 'to catch' instead of TOMAR 'to take' in some situations. However, COGER 'to catch' is avoided in some varieties of American Spanish, especially in the Spanish spoken in the Río de la Plata area, because it has acquired vulgar (sexual) connotations (Pastor Millán, 1990) and it is used to swear.

collocates, whose meaning is halfway between the heavier and the lighter lexical units (TOMAR**II**) (Section 3.2) and 3) those included in the group of the LVs (TO-MAR**III**) (Section 3.3).

Throughout this overview, the description of TOMAR focuses mostly on its senses as a transitive verb followed by a noun (e.g., *tomar una manzana* 'to take an apple'; *tomarle cariño a alguien/algo* 'to begin to be fond of sb/sth'; *tomar el autobús* 'to take the bus'; *tomar una foto* 'to take a photo', etc.). However, the study is not an exhaustive characterization of the verb: some of the nuances of its meaning as an HV are not included, as well as some of the meanings of TOMAR combined with prepositional groups, and all the structures where TOMAR forms a part of fully idiomatic structures are excluded from this presentation.

3.1 Basic senses of TOMAR 'to take' as a heavy verb

According to *DUE*, the basic senses of the Spanish TOMAR can be reduced to two, 'to catch' and 'to receive by accepting'. I will refer to these senses with the lexical units *tomarI1* 'to takeI1' and *tomarI2* 'to takeI2'.[16] First, I describe some situations where the meaning of the verb can be covered by *tomarI1* 'to takeI1' 'to catch' and, second, those whose sense is better included under the lexical unit *tomarI2* 'to takeI2' 'to receive by accepting'. Both senses make up the meaning of TOMAR 'to take' as an HV at, what we will call, the first level of abstraction of the meaning.

Firstly, the action of 'catching' ('grasping' or 'picking up') a physical object ('*X tomaI1 Y con una parte de su cuerpo u otro instrumento Z*' '*X takesI1 Y with a part of her/his body or another instrument Z*') entails the agent's will and her/his control, as shown in (6).

(6) *Tomó de la estantería una figurita de cristal rojo*
     (S/he took a small figure of red crystal from the shelf)

If sentence (6) takes place in a situation in which there are several figures on the shelf and the agent takes one of them, *tomarI1* 'to takeI1' can stand as a synonym (hypernym) for *escoger* 'to choose'. In both situations the act of taking is under the

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16. The different senses of the verb will be represented following the ECL and Mel'čuk et al. (1984–1999). The semantic distance among the lexical units will be marked by Roman numbers (**I, II, III**) for the greatest distance, followed by Arabic numbers (**1, 2, 3**) when the meanings are closer than the previous; finally, the lowest distance between the lexical units will be represented by the letters of the Latin alphabet (**a, b, c**). Numbers and letters will be in bold. When the verb is written in SMALL CAPITALS, it means that it is still a polysemous word within which several lexical units can be separated. If the verb is written in italics, there will not be further decomposition into simpler senses.

agent's control and depends on her/his will. In addition to this, the sense 'to choose' implies the agent's comparison and reflection among the available options.[17]

As mentioned above, the action of taking can be performed with the hand (7) or "with another body part", as is explicitly pointed out in *DUE* (s/v. *tomar*), leading to the inclusion of the meanings 'to eat' (8) and 'to drink' (9) under this lexical unit:

(7)   *Tomó el libro con las dos manos y leyó el título*
      (S/he took the book with both hands and read the title)

(8)   *Y nos tomaríamos la paella servida por la tripulación*
      (And we would take the paella served by the crew)

(9)   *Yo voy a tomar una cerveza, pero vos pedí lo que te guste*
      (I am going to take a beer, but you can ask whatever you like)

Human beings can also be taken in one's arms (10). Other instruments can also be used to take physical entities (11):

(10) *La chica tomó al bebé en brazos y salió a la calle*
      (The girl took the baby in her arms and went out into the street)

(11) *Es como tomar una sopa con un tenedor*
      (It is like eating [lit. taking] a soup with a fork)

Syntactically, the semantic actant 'part of the body with which something or somebody is taken' is not expressed, unless there is a need to emphasize something related to it, as is the case in (7), where a particular way of holding the book with the two hands is pointed out.

The second sense of TOMAR, *tomarI2* 'to takeI2' can be defined as 'to receive by accepting': '*X tomaI2 (Y)*' '*X takesI2 (Y)*'. The addition of the meaning 'by accepting' serves to emphasize that *tomarI2* entails the receiver's will and is not only a passive action – as is the case of *recibir* 'to receive'.[18] The active sense of *tomarI2* 'to takeI2' is well illustrated by the fact that it is often expressed in the imperative mood (12) and with the absence of the first verbal object (DO), a possibility that is not well accepted by *recibir* 'to receive' (13):

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17. For the purposes of this study, I will not make a further division in the lexical unit tomarI1, but if we would like to be more precise, the meaning 'to choose' could be presented as tomarI1a, for instance. See Mel'čuk et al. (1995, 1984–1999) for the proposal of a hierarchical division of lexical units within a vocable.

18. Recibir 'to receive' has a passive subject. It is dar's 'to give' conversive verb: 'X da Y a Z' 'X gives Y to Z' implies 'Z recibe Y de X' 'Z receives Y from X'.

(12) *[Dándole un paquete.] Toma Ø, las veinte [velas]*
([Offering her/him a package]. Take Ø, the twenty [candles])

(13) *[Dándole un paquete.] *Recibe Ø, las veinte [velas]*
([Offering her/him a package.] Receive Ø, the twenty [candles])

Another difference between *tomarI2* 'to take**I2**'and *recibir* 'to receive' is the fact that the former cannot express the giver syntactically while the latter can certainly do it by means of a second verbal object. Example (14a) can only be interpreted as (14b), but not as (14c), while Example (15a) is ambiguous between (15b) and (15c)'s interpretations.

(14) a. *Toma las flores de su madre*
b. *Toma [las flores de su madre]*
(S/he takes her/his mother's flowers)
c. **Toma [las flores] [de su madre]*
(S/he takes the flowers from her/his mother)

(15) a. *Recibe las flores de su madre*
b. *Recibe [las flores de su madre]*
(S/he receives her/his mother's flowers)
c. *Recibe [las flores] [de su madre]*
(S/he receives the flowers from her/his mother)

3.2 From the heavy to the light verb: *tomarII* 'to take**II**' as a verbal collocate

In this section, the focus will be on the transitive verb TOMAR 'to take' when it does not function as an HV, but as part of a verb-noun collocation. In this case, the role of *tomarII* 'to take' is that of a collocate, which is selected by the base of the collocation. For most scholars, this selection is done in an arbitrary way, which means that *tomarII* loses partially or completely its own lexical meaning, taking a new one in co-occurrence with the base of the collocation and/or providing grammatical content to the base. According to the hypothesis defended in this article, it will be proved that *tomarII* does not lose its meaning completely and its selection by the noun is based on *tomarII*'s meaning, which is, in turn, related to the meaning of the HV. Hence, *tomarII* here is neither an HV nor an LV, but a verb halfway between those. It has an easy-to-find semantic content, and it can be generalized to several nouns. In this section we will go through two further main divisions into *tomarII*: *tomarII1* (Section 3.2.1) and *tomarII2* (Section 3.2.2).

3.2.1   *TomarIII1* 'to takeII1' *'pasar a tener / pasar al estado…' 'to come to have / to come to the state of…' as an inceptive verb or verb of change of state*

The two basic meanings of TOMAR as a HV described in Section 3.1 – *tomarI1* 'to takeI1' 'to catch' and *tomarI2* 'to takeI2' 'to receive by accepting' (the first level of abstraction) – could be reduced, at a second level of abstraction, to *tomarIII1* 'to takeII1' *'pasar a tener / pasar al estado'* 'to come to have / to come to the state of', 'to move to a position of having' ('to acquire', 'to take possession of') (see *DUE* and *DEA*). The meaning 'to come to have' (*tomarIII1*) as a result of catching (*tomarI1*) and accepting (*tomarI2*) indicates the beginning of the possession/acquisition or the change of state of: 'to start to have / to start to be in the state'. From an aspectual point of view, *tomarIII1* is an inceptive or ingressive verb that marks the initial phase of a process. Next we will distinguish three different lexical units within *tomarIII1*: *tomarIII1a*, *tomarIII1b* and *tomarIII1c*.

TomarII1a is selected by nouns denoting physical or abstract properties of entities, habits, as well as permanent emotions or attitudes. Some of the semantic classes mentioned in *REDES* can be classified into these groups:

a.   nouns denoting properties of entities, frequently interpreted in an abstract manner: *color* 'colour', *aspecto* 'aspect', *cariz* 'appearance', *cuerpo* 'body', *consistencia* 'consistency', *dimensión* 'dimension', *proporción* 'proportion', *carácter* 'character', *característica* 'characteristic'…

b.   nouns denoting reflexive knowledge: *conciencia* 'awareness', *conocimiento* 'knowledge'.

c.   nouns denoting attitude or position in a concrete or abstract way: *posición* 'position', *actitud* 'attitude'…

d.   nouns denoting habits: *hábito* 'habit', *costumbre* 'habit', *manía* 'fixation', *rutina* 'routine'…

e.   nouns denoting permanent emotions: *cariño* 'care', *afecto* 'affection', *odio* 'hate', *aversión* 'aversion'…

Within the ECL, *tomarII1a* would be described as a value of the phasal LF IncepOper$_1$, a verb that takes the base of the collocation (the noun) as its DO and the first actant of the noun as its grammatical subject (as seen in Section 2.2). The additional Incep makes reference to the first phase of a process. Thus, IncepOper$_1$ means 'to start having / being in a state / feeling…'. Generally, nouns that take *tomarII1a* as a value of the LF IncepOper$_1$ (16a-20a) also have *tener* as a value of Oper$_1$, the basic verb to express possession (16b-20b).

(16)   a.   *Una de las máscaras tomó el aspecto de su padre*
             (One of the masks took on the aspect of his father)
         b.   *Los lobos tienen el aspecto y el tamaño de un perro pastor alemán grande*
             (Wolves have the aspect and the size of a big German shepherd)

(17)   a.   *[El fiscal] tomó conocimiento del hecho y ordenó la presencia de detectives*
            ([The prosecutor] became aware of the fact and ordered the presence of
            detectives) (lit. 'took knowledge')

       b.   *¿Tienen tus padres conocimiento de tus lecturas?*
            (Are your parents aware of your readings?) (lit. 'do your parents have
            knowledge')

(18)   a.   *La persona mayor ha de tomar una actitud positiva en la vida*
            (Old people must take a positive attitude towards life)

       b.   *Parecía tener una actitud de desprecio hacia nosotros*
            (He seems to have an attitude of contempt toward us)

(19)   a.   *Numerosos historiadores tomaron el hábito de consultar en la Biblioteca*
            Nacional la nueva colección
            (Several historians took the habit of consulting the new collection in the
            National Library)

       b.   *Mi abuelo tiene el hábito de lanzarnos la misma vieja perorata*
            (My grandfather has the habit of rattling on about the same old things)
            (lit. 'throwing the same old speech')

(20)   a.   *Su tío es amigo mío, y con el tiempo le he tomado afecto también a usted*
            (Your uncle is a friend of mine, and with time I have also started to feel
            affection towards you) (lit. 'I have also taken affection')

       b.   *La verdad es que he trabajado con los dos y les tengo gran afecto*
            (The truth is that I have worked with both of them and I have a great
            deal of affection towards them)

Nouns described in the groups (a-e) denote properties at such a general level that
they need to be specified by a prepositional complement – e.g., *el aspecto de su
padre* 'the aspect of his father' in (16a) – or an adjective – *una actitud positiva* 'a
positive attitude' in (18a) – syntactically dependent on the noun. Nouns referring
to emotions in group (e) are used to express the object of the emotion as the se-
cond object of the verb like *le* 'towards you' in (20a).

   TomarII1b is normally combined with nouns denoting physical magni-
tude or nouns implying abstract relevance, such as *temperatura* 'temperature',
altura 'height', *peso* 'weight', *velocidad* 'speed', *intensidad* 'intensity', *luminosidad*
'brightness', *fuerza* 'strength', *impulso* 'impulse', *auge* 'boom', *importancia* 'impor-
tance', etc., (*REDES*). In these contexts, it means 'to start to move upwards in a
scale' / 'to begin to increase'.

(21) *Siente el impulso de saltar hacia el andén […] y mientras duda, el tren va tomando velocidad*
(He feels the urge to jump onto the platform […] and while he hesitates, the train gathers speed) (lit. 'takes speed')

(22) *Las memorias han vuelto a tomar protagonismo dentro de la sociedad actual*
(Memoirs have again become the focus of interest in today's society) (lit. 'have returned to take relevance')

In addition to the meaning 'to come to have' represented by the FL IncepOper$_1$, *to-marII1b* denotes an incremental process that is also present in nouns referring to advantageous positions: *ventaja* 'advantage', *distancia* 'distance', *delantera* 'lead'… (*REDES*, s.v. *tomar*, section F).[19]

(23) *El Real Madrid ha tomado una pequeña ventaja con el resto de sus rivales en la Liga*
(Real Madrid has a small advantage over the rest of its rivals in the league) (lit. 'has taken a small advantage')

TomarII1c has the same inceptive meaning 'to start to have / to be in a state' when it co-occurs with nouns such as *consideración* 'consideration', *alquiler* 'rent', *préstamo* 'loan', *matrimonio* 'marriage', etc. However, in these cases, *tomarII1c* functions as a value of IncepLabor$_{ij}$. Labor$_{ij}$, an LF of the Oper family, takes the noun (base of the collocation) as its second verbal object, actant **i** of the noun as its grammatical subject and actant **j** as the first verbal object.[20] For instance, in Figure 2, the lexical unit *alquiler* 'rent' has three semantic actants: X (the owner), Y (the entity) and Z (the tenant), expressed as '*alquiler del individuo X de la entidad Y al individuo Z*' 'individual X rent's of entity Y to individual Z'.
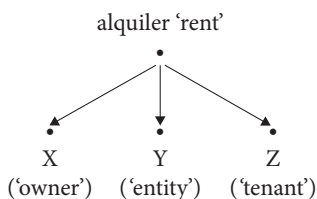

Figure 2. Semantic actants of the lexical unit *alquiler* 'rent'

19. One of the reviewers proposes to represent tomar**II1b** with the LF PredPlus/ IncepOper$_1$.

20. In Meaning-Text theory, the lexical function Labor$_{ij}$ as well as Oper$_i$ and Func$_i$ are considered semantically empty from the perspective of its selection by the noun. However, they play an important communicative role (expressing the communicative organization and perspective of the sentence). In addition to these aspects, they carry the grammatical meaning normally expressed by verbal categories in a sentence (Mel'čuk, 1996, p. 60).

When *alquiler* 'rent' takes *tomarII1c* 'to take**II1c**' as a value of IncepLabor$_{32}$ (24), *alquiler* 'rent' functions as the second verbal object (a prepositional object) of the verb – *en alquiler* 'in rent' in (24) –, and the 3rd actant of *alquiler*, the tenant (Z) – *Marcelo* in (24) – is the grammatical subject, while the 2nd actant of the noun becomes the DO – *una oficina* 'an office' (Y).[21]

(24)   *Marcelo [Z] no le había querido contar que [Marcelo] tomó en alquiler una oficina [Y] en El Poblado*
(Marcelo [Z] had not wanted to tell her that he [Marcelo] rented an office [Y] in El Poblado) (lit. 'took in rent')

3.2.2   *TomarII2* 'to take**II2**' *as a realization verb with artefacts or predicate nouns*

Nouns that belong to the semantic class of artifacts take *tomarII2a* as a value of the LF Real$_1$ with the sense 'to make use of'/'to use the lexical unit according to its destination' (Apresjan & Glovinskaja, 2007). This is the case with nouns denoting means of transportation that have a regular trajectory such as *autobús* 'bus', *avión* 'aeroplane', *taxi* 'taxi', *tren* 'train', *tranvía* 'tram', etc., including *ascensor* 'lift'.[22]

(25)   *La pareja abandonó su casa y tomó el ascensor para bajar a la calle*
(The couple left their home and took the lift to go to the street)

The same happens to nouns of medicines and remedies such as *pastilla* 'pill' or *píldora* 'pill', *medicina* 'medicine', etc., or the religious term *comunión* 'communion'.

(26)   *Tome una medicina para la tos y el resfriado*
(Take a medicine against the cough and the flu)

Other nouns that co-occur with *tomarII2a* as a value of Real$_1$ are those denoting magnitude, for instance, *peso* 'weight', *temperatura* 'temperature', *tensión* 'blood pressure', *altura* 'height', etc. In these contexts the verb means 'to do with regard to the lexical unit what is normally expected of participant 1 in the respective

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21. Poner combines with alquiler 'rent' as a value of the same LF but with a different diathesis (Perm$_1$(Incep)Labor$_{23}$ = X lets Y-her residence start being rented by Z): La modelo británica (X, the owner) ha decidido poner en alquiler su residencia (Y, the entity) en la lujosa zona de Beverly Hills 'The British model has decided to rent [lit. put into rent] her residence in the luxurious area of Beverly Hills…'

22. In Spain coger 'to catch' is more commonly used than tomar 'to take' when applied to means of transportation, e.g., Vive muy lejos y tiene que coger un autobús y otro, y otro 'S/he lives far away and has to take a bus and another, and another…'

situation'. More concretely, it means 'to measure'[23] and the noun must be constructed with a definite determiner. See *tomar la tensión* 'to take the blood pressure' in (27) and *tomar la temperatura* 'to take the temperature' in (28):

(27)   *Él les tomaba la tensión de vez en cuando, pero las viejas tenían una salud de hierro*
(He took their blood pressure every other time, but the old ladies had an iron constitution)

(28)   *Cuando llegó el médico le tomó la temperatura*
(When the doctor arrived he took his temperature)

TomarII2b can add the meaning of the LF Incep 'to begin to' to that of $Real_1$ when it co-occurs with nouns of the following classes:[24]

a.   nouns denoting direction, course, tendency, etc., in a concrete or abstract sense: *rumbo* 'direction, route', *dirección* 'direction', *derrotero* 'path', *camino* 'way', *tendencia* 'tendency', etc.
b.   nouns denoting designation: *nombre* 'name', *denominación* 'denomination', *título* 'title', *seudónimo* 'pseudonym', *apelativo* 'nickname', etc.
c.   nouns denoting the use of power and related notions: *poder* 'power', *control* 'control', *mando* 'authority', *riendas* 'control', etc.
d.   the noun *palabra* 'floor'.

Consequently, *tomarII2b* means 'to begin to follow' ($IncepReal_1$) with nouns of the group (a) as in (29). It means 'to begin to use' when it is followed by nouns of the group (b), (c) and (d), as can be noted in (30), (31) and (32), respectively:

(29)   *Su padre retrocede y toma el camino de la terraza*
(His father goes backwards and takes the way to the terrace)

(30)   *En ese momento el gigante tomó el nombre de Cristoforus*
(In that moment the giant took the name Cristoforus)

(31)   *Miles de guerrilleros […] han tomado el control de diferentes zonas del país*
(Thousands of guerrillas […] have taken the control of different areas of the country)

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23. 'To measure' can be semantically decomposed as 'to do what is normally done with a magnitude'.

24. Class (a) in this article corresponds to class D in REDES; class (b) to class J, and class (c) to class C. In REDES, tomar la palabra 'to take the floor' is considered an idiom, here (d) is analysed as a collocation because palabra 'floor', with the meaning 'turn of speech', can be found in other collocations as tener la palabra 'to have the floor' and ceder la palabra 'to give the floor to', pedir la palabra 'to ask for the floor', etc.

(32) *El portavoz socialista […] tomó la palabra para pedir lo mismo*
      (The socialist spokesperson […] took the floor to ask the same)

Another sense of TOMAR as a collocate can be distinguished: *tomarII2c*. In this case, the verb is a value of the LF Real$_2$ 'to do with regard to the noun what is normally expected to participant (actant) 2 in the respective situation'. Here, *tomarII2c* takes the second actant of the noun as its grammatical subject and the noun as its primary object. Sentence (33) is an example of *tomarII2c* in co-occurrence with the noun *lección3* 'lesson3' ('*lección3 de X ante Y*' '*X's lesson3*' in front of Y' = 'part of a subject/discipline that student X has to learn as homework and is normally tested in front of Y'):[25]

(33) *Su abuelo José se sentaba todas las tardes a tomarle la lección a su madre*
      (His grandfather José sat every afternoon to take the lesson to his mother)

Example (34) represents another case of *tomarII2c*'s co-occurrence with *example*.

(34) *Mi propuesta es tomar ejemplo del pasado y reivindicar el significado de la palabra caridad*
      (My proposal is to take example from the past and justify the meaning of the word charity)

The difference between *Y takes example from X* and *Y receives an example from X* is that in the latter X is shown to Y as a model of a property, state or action that would be worth following, but nothing is said about the reaction of Y; however, in the former Y follows the model X.[26]

3.3 *TomarIII* as a light verb

In this section the LV *tomarIII* is classified in three lexical units (*tomarIII1*, *tomarIII2*, *tomarIII3*) each of them representing a value of the LF Oper$_1$, Oper$_2$ and Oper$_3$. Syntactically, the LV co-occurs with a noun that functions as the primary object of the verb. The grammatical subject of the LV can be the first actant of the noun as in the case of Oper$_1$ in (35) – *el descanso de X (los actores)* 'X (the actors)'s break':

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25. Roughly, lección1 lit. 'lesson1' is 'the content transmitted by the teacher in a period of time', ex. La lección de hoy trataba de… 'Today's lesson was about…'; lección2 lit. 'lesson2' corresponds to 'each of the sections in a text book that teaches about a particular subject', ex. La lección 3 es sobre el subjuntivo 'Lesson 3 is all about subjunctive'.

26. See also the contrast between tomar un consejo 'to get advice' and recibir un consejo 'to receive advice' in Section 4.1.

(35)   *Los actores se sientan, se toman un descanso*
       (The actors sit down, take a break)

the second actant of the noun as is the case in Oper$_2$ (36) – *la clase de X (los magní-
ficos maestros) a Y (mí)* 'X (the excellent teachers)'s class to Y (me)':

(36)   *Entre los magníficos maestros con quienes tomé clase, siempre recordaré
       aquellos que […] provenían del exilio*
       (Among the excellent teachers with whom I took lessons, I will always
       remember those who […] came from exile)

or the third actant of the noun as in Oper$_3$ (37) – *la declaración de X (la madre de
la niña) del hecho Y ante Z (la policía)* 'X (the mother of the girl)'s statement of Y's
fact in front of Z (the police)':

(37)   *La policía le tomará declaración a la madre de la niña muerta en extrañas
       circunstancias*
       (The police will take her statement to the mother of the girl who died in
       mysterious circumstances)

Most of the nouns found in the corpus and in dictionaries co-occur with *toma-
rIII1*, the value of the LF Oper$_1$. Concerning *tomarIII2* (the value of the LF Oper$_2$),
clase 'class', *lección* 'lesson' and *curso* 'course' were extracted from the corpus, and
in combination with *tomarIII3* (the value of the LF Oper$_3$), only *declaración* 'state-
ment' and *juramento* 'oath' were found.

 Taking as a starting point *REDES* and information from other dictionaries and
CORPES XXI, nouns that combine with *tomarIII1* are classified in the following
groups:

a.   Nouns related to the body or personal care, especially connected to relaxing
     activities: *baño* 'bath', *ducha* 'shower', *descanso* 'rest', *siesta* 'nap', *vacaciones* 'ho-
     lidays', *respiro* 'breath', *reposo* 'repose', *aliento* 'breath', etc.
b.   Nouns referring to natural agents like *sol* 'sun', *aire* 'air', *fresco* 'fresh air', etc.
c.   Nouns denoting a portion of liquid or food incorporated into an organism:
     trago 'swallow', *sorbo* 'sip', *bocado* 'mouthful', etc.
d.   Nouns that mean 'choice' or 'resolution': *decisión* 'decision', *resolución* 'reso-
     lution', *determinación* 'determination', *elección* 'election', *acuerdo* 'agreement',
     opción 'option', *iniciativa* 'initiative', *postura* 'position', *partido* 'party', *responsa-
     bilidad* 'responsibility', *alternativa* 'alternative', etc.
e.   Nouns related to collected and documented information: *apuntes* 'note', *nota*
     'note', *muestra* 'sample', *datos* 'data', etc.

f.   Nouns related to documenting visual information: *fotografía* 'photo', *imagen* 'image', *instantánea* 'snapshot', *radiografía* 'radiograph', *película* 'film', *perspectiva* 'perspective', etc.
g.   Nouns referring to physical acts: *carrerilla* 'run-up', *impulso* 'boost'.
h.   Nouns related to actions, steps, measures taken in advance: *precaución* 'precaution', *medida* 'measure', *previsión* 'precaution', *riesgo* 'risk', etc.
i.   Nouns referring to punitive measures: *venganza* 'revenge', *represalia* 'reprisal', *satisfacción* 'compensation', *revancha* 'revenge', *desquite* 'revenge', etc.

In general, nouns in (a-i)[27] refer mostly to acts and actions that only the subject can perform by her/himself because they imply body functions (or one's own body) like to eat and to drink (c), to sleep (a) or to think and reflect (d). They also refer to actions done by the subject to satisfy a need like in (a), *tomar un descanso* 'to take a rest', to benefit from something like in (b) *tomar el sol* 'to sunbathe', or to compensate a damage or insult, such as in (i), *tomar satisfacción* 'to receive compensation'. In addition to these, some nouns make reference to physical acts (g), *tomar carrerilla* 'to take a run-up', or mental acts (h), *tomar medidas* 'to take steps', both conceived as preparatory ones for those actions that follow afterwards. Moreover, nouns in (e), *tomar notas* 'to take notes', and (f), *tomar una radiografía* 'to take an x-ray', point to actions intended to capture visual or auditory information, which could be understood as a way to possess something that is only perceived through the eyes or ears.

The combination of *tomarIII1* + nouns in (a-i) forms LVs constructions that have very often a verbal counterpart, often morphologically related to the noun: *tomar un baño / una ducha* 'to take a bath / a shower' and *bañarse/ducharse* 'to bath/shower oneself', *tomar un descanso* 'to take a rest' and *descansar* 'to rest', *tomar notas* 'to make notes' and *anotar* 'to write down', *tomar una fotografía* 'to take a photo' and *fotografiar* 'to photograph', *tomar una decisión* 'to take a decision' and *decidir* 'to decide', *tomar venganza* 'to take one's revenge' and *vengarse* 'to revenge', etc. Although both expressions – the LVC and the verbal counterpart – are semantically very close to each other, they are not equivalent in all contexts (Sanromán Vilas 2009a, 2011b). Verbal counterparts generally have a wider meaning than the LVC. For instance, *apuntar* 'to write down' means 'to put into written form', but *tomar apuntes* 'to take notes', mostly used in the plural, means 'to put into written form interesting data while listening in a class, in a conference, reading a

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27. Nouns like confianza 'familiarity', libertad 'liberty', molestia 'trouble' or trabajo 'trouble' would represent another group where the verb tomarIII1 (or maybe TOMARSE) is compulsorily constructed with the paradigm of the reflexive pronouns: tomarse la confianza 'to take the liberty', tomarse la libertad 'to take the liberty', tomarse la molestia 'to take the trouble' or tomarse el trabajo 'to take the trouble'.

book, etc.'.[28] The verbal counterpart can also have meanings that are not found in the LVC, for instance, *descansar* 'to rest' in (38) means 'to be buried', a sense that cannot be covered by the LVC *tomar un descanso* 'to take a rest' (39) because this expression requires a volitional subject:

(38)   *Los restos del poeta descansan en el jardín de la casa*
        (The mortal remains of the poet lie in the garden of the house)

(39)   *Los restos del poeta *toman un descanso en el jardín de la casa*
        (The mortal remains of the poet *take a rest in the garden of the house)

Among other differences, the verbal counterpart describes the action in its entirety (*Todos los que visitaban la sede eran ampliamente fotografiados* 'All who visit the headquarters were widely photographed'; *Descansaba intermitentemente* 'He rested intermittently'), while the LVC can refer to the result of the action (*Toma amplias fotos panorámicas* 'He takes wide panoramic photos'), denote several acts (*Tomaba descansos y reanudaba la caminata* 'He took breaks and resumed the walk') or characterize the act(s) in a more precise way (*una ducha corta/larga/rápida/relajante* 'a short/long/fast/relaxing shower').

    Frequently, the verbal counterpart is a transitive verb that needs a DO, while the LVC is self-sufficient. In this sense, if the LVC in (40) is expressed by means of its verbal counterparts, it needs to be completed by an object (41):

(40)   *[Él] bajó la ventana y tomó varias fotos*
        ([He] opened the window and took several photos)

(41)   *[Él] bajó la ventana y fotografió *[el paisaje/las vistas]*[29]
        ([He] opened the window and photographed *[the landscape/the views])

Both expressions, the LCV and its verbal counterpart, have a different semantic-communicative structure. According to Meaning-Text theory, a semantic-communicative structure (Mel'čuk, 2001, 2012b) describes how the utterance's propositional meaning is organized to be transmitted as a message. For instance, *The engineer decided* and *The engineer took the decision* have the same propositional meaning ('to make a choice about something') but expressed in a different way, that is, by means of a single verb (*decided*) or by a LVC (*took the decision*). To organize the propositional meaning of an utterance several semantic-communicative oppositions have to be considered. For the purpose of this explanation, only two

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28. For a detailed description of the role played by determinants in LVCs, see Sanromán Vilas (2015).

29. The asterisk before the square brackets indicates that the sentence is ungrammatical if one of the elements in brackets is not included.

are needed: thematicity and unitariness. Thematicity is the main organizational feature of any message (Mel'čuk, 2001, 2012b) and deals with the basic division of the propositional meaning in Theme and Rheme. In any message there is always something to say (Rheme) about something (Theme). *The engineer decided* and *The engineer took the decision* have the same first-order division in Theme1 (*The engineer*) and Rheme1 (*decided* and *took the decision*). However, *The engineer took the decision* admits a second-order division in Theme2 (*took*) and Rheme2 (*the decision*). According to Mel'čuk (2012b, p. 317), thematicity has consequences in the lexicalization of the meaning in the sense that semantic nodes that are expressed together by one lexical unit should not belong to different thematic areas. As can be seen, the meaning 'to make a choice about something' has lexicalized in *The engineer decided* in one verb (*decided*) because its semantic nodes belong to the same thematic area (Rheme1). On the contrary, 'to make a choice about something' is expressed in two lexical units (*took* and *decision*) in *The engineer took the decision* because the semantic nodes pertain to different thematic areas (Theme2 and Rheme2). With regard to unitariness, natural languages point out an important distinction between representing a situation as a single fact (called *unitary*) or as a simultaneous or subsequent occurrence of several facts (named *articulated*) (Mel'čuk, 2012b, pp. 370–371). In our example, *to decide*, a verb, describes a single fact, while *to take a decision*, an LVC, is used to talk about more than one fact that take place simultaneously or consecutively.

Finally, it should be mentioned that sometimes nouns in (a-i) can be combined with LVs other than *tomar*. For instance, *tomar/hacer/sacar una foto* 'to take/make/get a photo'; *tomar/dar un baño / una ducha* 'to take/(lit.) to give a bath / a shower';[30] *tomar/echar un trago* 'to take/have a swallow'; *tomar/dar un bocado / un sorbo* 'to take/have a mouthful / a sip', etc. Even if they express similar meanings, it is possible to find some nuances that can make the speaker choose one or another LV (Sanromán Vilas 2011b, 2012b, 2013a).[31]

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30. The comparison tomar 'to take' / dar 'to give' una ducha / un baño 'a shower / a bath' is based on the possibility of using LV *dar* 'to give' with a reflexive pronoun: Me di un baño lit. 'I gave a bath to myself', which stands as synonym for (Me) tomé un baño 'I took a bath'.

31. In the next section, some of the differences between tomar**III1** and the other LVs will be addressed as a means to emphasize different lexical features of the noun. We would not consider here diastratic or diatopic variation, like the one that is seen between tomar$_{(FORM.)}$/echar$_{(COLLOQ.)}$ un trago 'to take a sip' and between tomar$_{(SP.)}$/coger$_{(ARG., UR., etc.)}$ el autobús 'to take the bus', respectively.

4.   Towards an inventory of lexical features for TOMAR 'to take'

The three major divisions in the polysemic verb TOMAR 'to take' are related to the nature of the meaning itself: from the most concrete to the most abstract, via an intermediate case. TOMAR**I** has the most concrete meaning, being defined in several classifications as a verb of possession or acquisition (Levin, 1993; Faber & Mairal, 1999; *ADESSE*); for this reason it is characterized in this study as an HV. TOMAR**II** is halfway between the two extremes of the continuum concrete-abstract meaning; as we saw above, it is described as a verbal collocate that adds some meaning to the noun with which it co-occurs. It mostly behaves as an inceptive and/or realization verb. Finally, TOMAR**III** has the most abstract meaning to the extent that sometimes it is considered a type of verbal collocate with empty meaning. Here it is referred as an LV.

In this section I will propose three lexical features that serve to define the meaning of TOMAR 'to take'. According to the hypothesis of semantic compatibility, these three lexical features are components of the meaning of every lexical unit within the polysemic verb. Moreover, they are also components of the meaning of the nouns that co-occur with TOMAR**III** as an LV. In what follows, I will start introducing the three lexical features (4.1). Next there will be an explanation of how the lexical features function at the paradigmatic level, that is, as semantic links among the different lexical units within the polysemic verb TOMAR 'to take' (4.2). To complete the picture, lexical features are analysed at the syntagmatic level, where they are elements of semantic agreement between the LV and the noun within the same LVC (4.3).

4.1   An inventory of lexical features for TOMAR 'to take'

In this section I will defend the view that every lexical unit within the Spanish TOMAR 'to take' shares any of its three main *lexical features*, that is to say, its very basic and its abstract components of meaning. These lexical features are related to the spatial deictic content of the verb, the aspectuality of the verb (or *Aktionsart*), and the nature of the subject.

From the point of view of spatial deixis, TOMAR refers to a movement of an entity towards the subject, which represents the end point (the target) of the trajectory of the entity. The subject can be considered the deictic centre or reference point. The movement of the entity can be initiated by the subject itself (being in this case the source of the movement) or by someone else. When the movement is initiated by the subject itself, it begins and ends at the same point, that is to say, in the subject or deictic centre. It is, in this sense, a self-oriented action and this has lexical and grammatical repercussions (see Section 4.2 and 4.3). As well as

the movement of the object towards the subject (or the direction), spatial deixis also refers to the location of the object in relation to the subject or, vice versa, the location of the subject with respect to the object. In this sense, TOMAR implies the idea of contact between both, the subject and the object. This contact is represented through a container-contained relationship. For instance, in *El hombre toma una pastilla* 'The man takes a pill', the subject is the container and the object, the contained; on the other hand, in *El hombre toma el autobús* 'The man takes the bus', the subject is the contained and the object, the container. With respect to the direction of the movement, TOMAR is opposed to DAR 'to give' in the sense that while the former implies the movement of the object towards the subject, the latter implies the separation of the object from the subject.[32]

With regard to aspectuality, TOMAR is a phasal verb, more precisely an inceptive or ingressive verb. It focalizes the beginning of a process. As for qualities and states, TOMAR means to start having the quality or to start being in a certain state (e.g., *tomar miedo* 'to become afraid', *tomar auge* 'to take an upturn'). TENER 'to have', on the contrary, simply means to have a quality or to be in a certain state (e.g., *tener miedo* 'to be afraid', *tener auge* 'to have an upturn').

Concerning the subject, it can be found that a volitional subject, normally an agent, performs an intentional action that is under her/his control. In this sense, TOMAR can be contrasted with RECIBIR 'to receive', the conversive of DAR 'to give'. RECIBIR 'to receive', as well as TOMAR, also implies the contact between the subject and the object. However, while TOMAR refers to an active subject, RECIBIR 'to receive' denotes a passive one. For instance, *recibir un consejo* 'to get advice' merely means to listen to the advice being given, whereas *tomar un consejo* 'to take advice' implies that the subject follows the given advice. With TOMAR another type of subject is also possible: a non-volitional one. In this case, TOMAR refers to a process that takes place in the subject but is out of its own control, for instance, *La sustancia toma color* 'The substance gets colour', *Le tomó miedo a los aviones* 'S/he began to be afraid of aeroplanes'.

4.2 The paradigmatic axis: lexical features as semantic links between the different senses

Within a polysemic vocable, lexical units are related by means of semantic links (Mel'čuk, 2012a; Mel'čuk et al., 1995): the more semantic links there are, the closer the distance between the lexical units. The lexical features described in Section 4.1 can function as semantic links that relate the different senses of the polysemic

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32. In line with Jackendoff (1989, p. 84; 1990; 2002), the concepts of spatial location and motion can be used to encode as well as to generalize other semantic fields as possession or acquisition.

TOMAR: TOMARI, a verb of possession; TOMARII, an inceptive and/or realization verb and TOMARIII, an LV.

More than being a verb of possession, TOMARI is a verb of acquisition meaning 'to begin to possess', a phasal verb that focuses on the beginning of the process. In both lexical units within TOMARI the requirements of the spatial deictic component are fulfilled. In the definition of *tomarI1* 'to takeI1', 'X takesI1 Y with a part of her/his body or another instrument Z', both the movement of an object towards the subject and the contact between the subject and the object are explicit. The same happens with *tomarI2* 'to takeI2' 'to receive by accepting'. In addition to this, both senses imply the agent's volition and control over the object. As we saw in Section 3.2.1, *tomarI1* 'to takeI1' can also means 'to choose', which implies, besides the idea of the subject's control, an element of comparison and reflection among the options. As for *tomarI2* 'to takeI2', the component 'by accepting' clearly refers to the subject's control.

Within TOMARII, six lexical units can be distinguished: *tomarII1a*, *tomarII1b*, *tomarII1c*, *tomarII2a*, *tomarII2b*, *tomarII2c*. All of them are verbal collocates that can be represented by means of LFs (See Table 1).

If we examine the different lexical units, we can see that four out of the six are linked by a lexical feature that refers to aspectuality since they include the component 'to begin to' (Incep): *tomarII1a*, *tomarII1b*, *tomarII1c* and *tomarII2b*. The deictic feature is not explicitly expressed, but the decomposition of the meaning 'possession' – 'to have' in the definitions, either concrete or abstract, temporal or permanent – includes the idea of location and more concretely of contact between the subject and the object: 'X has Y' means 'Y is in X', or vice versa, in some cases. For those lexical units analysed as values of the LF Real, the meaning 'to use / to follow' can be considered a type of temporal possession when it is applied to means of transportation (*tomarII2a*), to roads or turns of speech (*tomarII2b*), or a sort of definitive possession, in case of medicines and other consumption nouns (*tomarII2a*). In *tomar la lección* 'to take the lesson', however, *tomarII2c* is closely related to *tomarI2* 'to receive by accepting', which implies the control of the receiver as well as a kind of intellectual possession. In most of the lexical units a volitional subject is expected. Nevertheless, there are a few exceptions referring to an internal process that takes place (or is located) in the subject itself (i.e., *tomar color* 'to take colour', *tomar altura* 'to take height').

TOMARIII can be separated into three lexical units (*tomarIII1*, *tomarIII2*, *tomarIII3*), all of them are LVs with a different syntactic distribution of the actants (See Table 2): the subscripts **1**, **2** and **3** of Oper indicate the noun's actant that functions as the subject of the LV.

Table 1. Representation of the lexical units within TOMARII by means of LFs

LUs	LFs	meaning	example	
tomarII1a		IncepOper$_1$	'to come to have the property/state/feeling Y'	*tomar color* 'to take colour', *tomar conciencia* 'to take awareness', *tomar cariño* 'to become fond of'
tomarII1b	INCEPTIVE VERBS	PredPlus/ IncepOper$_1$	'to begin to move upwards in a scale Y' / 'to begin to increase Y'	*tomar altura* 'to take height', *tomar velocidad* 'to take speed', *tomar importancia* 'to take importance'
tomarII1c		IncepLabor$_{ij}$	'to begin to have Y(**i**) in the state/condition (**j**)'	*tomar en alquiler* 'to hire', *tomar en consideración* 'to take into account'
tomarII2a		Real$_1$	'to use Y according to its destination' / 'to do what is normally done with a magnitude / to measure'	*tomar el autobús** 'to take the bus', *el tren* 'the train', *el ascensor* 'the lift' *tomar medicamentos* 'to take medicine'
tomarII2b	REALIZATION VERBS	IncepReal$_1$	'to begin to use'	*tomar una dirección* 'to take a direction', *un camino* 'a path' *tomar la palabra* 'to take the floor'
tomarII2c		Real$_2$	'to do with regard to Y what is normally expected to actant 2 in the respective situation'	*tomar la lección* 'to take the lesson', *tomar ejemplo* 'to take the example'

* One of the anonymous reviewers considers also the possibility of labelling *tomar el autobús* 'to take the bus' as IncepReal$_1$ in contrast to *ir en autobús* 'to go by bus' (Real$_1$).

Table 2. Representation of the lexical units within TOMARIII by means of LFs

LUs	LFs	nouns
tomarIII1	Oper$_1$	*baño* 'bath', *trago* 'swallow', *decisión* 'decision', *apuntes* 'notes', *foto* 'photo', *riesgo* 'risk', *venganza* 'revenge', *carrerilla* 'run-up'
		foto de X (1) *a Y* (2): *X* (1) *toma una foto a/de Y* (2) '**X**'s (1) photo to/of **Y** (2): **X** (1) takes a photo to/of Y (2)'
tomarIII2	Oper$_2$	*clase* 'class', *lección* 'lesson', *curso* 'course'
		clase de X (1) *a Y* (2): *Y* (2) *toma clases con X* (1) '**X**'s (1) class to **Y** (2): **Y** (2) takes classes with X (1)'
tomarIII3	Oper$_3$	*declaración* 'statement', *juramento* 'oath'
		declaración de X (1) *sobre Y* (2) *ante Z* (3): *Z* (3) *toma declaración a X* (1) *sobre Y* (2) '**X**'s (1) statement about Y (2) in front of **Z** (3): **Z** (3) takes a statement from **X** (1) about Y (2)'

Unlike the lexical units within TOMAR described above, LVs in Table 2 have even more abstract links than the others, and consequently they are more difficult to perceive. Therefore, it will be necessary to study the lexical features of these LVs in relation to those of the nouns with which they co-occur. We will do it in the following section while in the remainder of this section we will go through the lexical features that relate these LVs with the other lexical units within TOMAR.

In regard to volitionality, all the LVs within TOMARIII require the presence of an intentional subject, as seen from examples in Table 2: the person who takes a photo; the person who attends and participates in a class given by a particular teacher, and the person who listens and records the statements of someone else. The lexical feature denoting spatial deixis can be explained via the abstract sense of possession that refers, in turn, to that of location. The lexical feature of inceptive aspectuality is here the most difficult to be perceived only through the LV, most probably because this feature is specially linked to the meaning of the noun with which the LV co-occurs. Our hypothesis is that only nouns with certain semantic components, for instance, denoting actions that can be understood as preliminary to other actions (*decisión* 'decision', *precaución* 'precaution', *carrerilla* 'run-up') can co-occur with LV *tomarIII* as a value of $Oper_1$. In the following section this issue will be dealt when addressing the nouns combined with *tomarIII1*.

The classification of nouns (a-i) that co-occur with *tomarIII1* (given in Section 3.3) presents a group of nouns (a) related to body and personal care, especially connected to relaxing activities (*baño* 'bath', *ducha* 'shower', *descanso* 'rest', *siesta* 'nap', *vacaciones* 'holidays', *respiro* 'breath', *reposo* 'repose', *aliento* 'breath', etc.) and another group (c) denoting a portion of liquid or food incorporated into the organism (*trago* 'swallow', *sorbo* 'sip', *bocado* 'mouthful', etc.). With these nouns, *tomarIII1* refers to a figurative or concrete movement (of an entity) towards the subject, the deictic centre. It is interesting to notice that, in co-occurrence with most of these nouns, the LV can be constructed with the paradigm of reflexive pronouns indicating that the subject is the initiator of the movement and, at the same time, its recipient.

(42) *Aprovechaba las tardes después de regresar a la casa para tomarme una siesta y descansar*
(I used the afternoons after coming back home to take a nap and a rest) (lit. 'to take myself a nap')

(43) *Tómate un trago conmigo*
(Take a drink with me) (lit. 'take yourself a drink')

Nouns like *baño* 'bath' or *ducha* 'shower' can co-occur with *dar* 'to give' as well. Since *dar* 'to give' is a predicate of three actants (*X da Y a Z*), it can be used to refer to a bath "given" to another entity (44). This situation is not possible for *tomarIII1*.

(44) *Cuándo puedes darle a tu bebé su primer baño*
       (When can you bathe your baby for the first time) (lit. 'give your baby her/his first bath')

When *dar* covers the same contexts as *tomarIII1*, it must be accompanied by a reflexive pronoun (45a) that, in the case of *tomarIII1*, is optional (45b).[33]

(45) a. *Elisa se dio un baño enseguida y salió con los cabellos húmedos*
           (Elisa took a bath immediately and came out with wet hair) (lit. 'gave herself a bath')
       b. *Elisa [se] tomó un baño enseguida y salió con los cabellos húmedos*
           (Elisa took a bath immediately and came out with wet hair) (lit. 'took [herself] a bath')

There is another group of nouns with which *tomarIII1* does not accept reflexive pronouns. However, these nouns denote mental processes that can only be done by the subject itself. I am referring here to nouns that mean 'choice' or 'resolution' (d): *decisión* 'decision', *resolución* 'resolution', *determinación* 'determination', *elección* 'election', *acuerdo* 'agreement', *opción* 'option', *iniciativa* 'initiative', etc.

With nouns denoting auditory or visual information (e-f) (*apuntes* 'notes', *nota* 'note' or *fotografía* 'photo', *imagen* 'image', *instantánea* 'snapshot', etc.) *tomarIII1* means a type of abstract possession. It expresses the idea of documenting or recording that information in order to keep it.

There are two groups related to inceptive aspectuality (g-h), which will be addressed in the next section (e.g., *carrerilla* 'run-up', *impulso* 'boost', on the one hand, and *precaución* 'precaution', *medida* 'measure', etc., on the other). Nouns referring to punitive measures (i) such as *venganza* 'revenge', *represalia* 'reprisal', *satisfacción* 'compensation', etc., will also be dealt with in the following section while talking about semantic agreement between LVs and nouns.

Finally, LVs *tomarIII2* (e.g., *tomar clases* 'to take classes') and *tomarIII3* (e.g., *tomar declaración* 'to take a statement') are related in an abstract way to the possessive sense of *tomarI2* 'to receive by accepting'. In this sense, these verbs can be considered inceptive because they focus on the initial phase of the possession, they

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33. Nouns like descanso 'rest' and reposo 'repose' can also co-occur with tener 'to have', and hacer 'to do'; vacaciones 'holidays' and respiro 'breath', with tener 'to have' or darse 'to give (pronominal)'; trago 'swallow', with echar 'to throw' and dar 'to give', etc.

have a volitional subject, and, from the viewpoint of spatial deixis, they indicate a movement towards the subject.

4.3   The syntagmatic axis: lexical features as semantic agreement between the light verb and the noun within the same LVC

The aim of this section is to analyse the nouns that co-occur with the LVs *tomarIII1*, *tomarIII2* and *tomarIII3* within the same LVC in order to show that the combination of both, TOMARIII + noun, is not arbitrary but based on semantic grounds. According to the hypothesis of semantic compatibility, LVs share one or more lexical features with the noun with which they are combined, these lexical features being the same that the LV share with its heavy counterpart. Thus, the selection of the LV by the noun is based on their common lexical features. For this reason, shared lexical features between the noun and the verb represent the elements of semantic agreement. Moreover, since nouns can combine with different LVs, an aspect that has not been sufficiently studied, the selection of one or another LV lies on the lexical feature of the noun that needs to be emphasized (Sanromán Vilas, 2009b, 2013a, 2014).

As was seen in the previous section, nouns referring to body or personal care (*baño* 'bath', *ducha* 'shower', *descanso* 'rest', *siesta* 'nap', *vacaciones* 'holidays', *respiro* 'breath', *reposo* 'repose', *aliento* 'breath', etc.) or a portion of a liquid or food incorporated into the organism (*trago* 'swallow', *sorbo* 'sip', *bocado* 'mouthful', etc.) have a tendency to co-occur with *tomarIII1* to emphasize that these are acts or actions that the subject performs for her/himself as both the agent and the beneficiary of them. When *baño* 'bath' and *ducha* 'shower' select *dar* 'to give', instead of *tomarIII1*, it points only to the agentive role of the subject but not necessarily to that of the beneficiary (see Example (44) above). In a similar way, the noun *descanso* 'rest' 'X's pause in an activity' has a preference for the LV *hacer* 'to make' when the perspective is that of the activity that stops (46).

(46)   *[Ella] nadará unos 20 kilómetros diarios y hará descansos en puntos específicos*
        ([She] will swim around 20 kilometres per day and will pause at specific points)

On the other hand, *descanso* 'rest' chooses *tomarIII1* to highlight the viewpoint of the agent/beneficiary of the rest (47).

(47)   *La cantante colombiana se tomó un merecido descanso*
        (The Columbian singer took a deserved pause)

The spatial deixis of *tomarIII1*, indicating a movement towards the self, as seen above, makes it suitable for reflexive acts, i.e., those that focus on the subject as

agent and beneficiary of the act. This is the reason why mental or cognitive nouns denoting 'choice' or 'resolution' (see group (d) in Section 3.3) select *tomarIII1* as an LV since everyone "takes" her/his own decisions, options, positions, etc. Even if a decision, for instance, is said to be taken on behalf of another person, it is the subject who performs the act of deciding, probably taking into consideration the other(s) (48):

(48)   *Paula había tomado la decisión por nosotros dos*
       (Paula had taken the decision on our behalf)

The role of the agent is evident because s/he occupies the position of the grammatical subject, and the person(s) on behalf of whom the decision is taken is expressed as the prepositional adjunct *por nosotros dos* 'on our behalf' (48) and it cannot be expressed as an argumental complement of the verb (49):

(49)   *Paula [*nos] había tomado la decisión*[34]
       (Paula had taken [*us] the decision)

This shows clearly that both, *tomarIII1* and the group of mental nouns, also share the lexical feature of volitionality and control of the situation. However, with these nouns, *tomarIII1* does not accept the presence of reflexive pronouns:

(50)   *Cuando [*te] tomas la decisión de pertenecer a esta unidad*[35]
       (When you take [*yourself] the decision of pertaining to this unit)

(51)   *Llamazares […] [*se] tomará una postura más "dura" frente al Gobierno…*
       (Llamazares will take […] [*himself] a harder position in opposition to the Government)

It is worth noticing that nouns like *decisión* 'decision', *resolución* 'resolution', *determinación* 'determination', *elección* 'election', *acuerdo* 'agreement', *opción* 'option' denote an act that indicate the first step for subsequent acts. In (50), for instance, to take the decision to pertain to a certain unit implies that the person will start to act as a member of the unit. In this sense, we could say that these nouns are also marked with inceptive aspectuality. This is especially evident with the noun *iniciativa* 'initiative', which can be defined as 'a proposal or idea that initiates something'. In Example (52), Ada waits that the narrator (*yo* 'me') is the first to get out of the car, and afterwards Ada will be the second.

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34. The asterisk inside the square brackets indicates that the sentence is ungrammatical if the element in brackets is included.

35. It is interesting to note, however, that the LVC *tomar una decisión* 'to take a decision' has two verbal counterparts, *decidir* and *decidirse* 'to decide', with a small difference in meaning that is not possible to express by means of the LVC.

(52)   *Adentro del auto, Ada esperaba a mi lado en silencio que yo tomara la iniciativa de bajar*
(Inside the car, Ada was waiting silently beside me so I took the initiative of getting out)

As commented above, there are several nouns related to the reproduction of visual or auditory information, such as *apuntes* 'notes', *nota* 'note', *muestra* 'sample', *datos* 'data' or *fotografía* 'photo', *imagen* 'image', *instantánea* 'snapshot', *radiografía* 'radiograph', *película* 'film', *perspectiva* 'perspective', etc., which co-occur with *tomarIII1*. All these nouns denote results of actions intended to collect and document – or, in other words, to possess – a fragment of the reality that cannot be physically caught with the hands. In co-occurrence with these nouns, *tomarIII1* focuses on the process of acquiring this fragment of the reality as can be noticed in (53) with the noun *fotografía* 'photograph':

(53)   *ilustradas [las variedades artesanales] con fotografías que fueron tomadas en el lugar de trabajo de los artesanos durante las visitas realizadas para recolectar datos*
(illustrated [the artisanal varieties] with photographs that were taken in the artisans' working place during the visits made to collect data)

In addition to *tomarIII1*, *fotografía* 'photograph' can co-occur with *hacer* 'to make' and *sacar* 'to take out'. However, with the former, there is an emphasis on the activity, as in (54):

(54)   *"Tengo una mujer y unos hijos fantásticos", confesó este artista integral que, además, pinta y hace [#toma] fotografías*
("I have a wife and fantastic children", this integral artist, who also paints and makes [#takes] photographs, confessed)

while, with the latter, the accent is more on the result of the action (55):

(55)   *Es como un fotógrafo que quiere sacar una fotografía y le sale mal*
(This is like a photographer who wants to take a photograph and it goes wrong)

Nouns of other preparatory actions for subsequent ones such as *carrerilla* 'run-up', which means 'a run made before another action, e.g., a jump, in order to gain momentum' (56), or *impulso* 'boost', 'a force that helps something to happen or develop faster', denote an action previous to another one that is, in turn, the intended action. In this regard, these nouns are marked with an inceptive aspectuality that can explain the semantic agreement between them and the LV *tomarIII1*.

(56) *El patinador ha tomado carrerilla para dibujar una acrobacia en la que parece tocar el cielo*
(The skater has run up to perform acrobatics in which he seems to touch the sky)

The same inceptive aspectuality, although not in physical terms, is found in the meaning of nouns related to actions, steps, measures, etc., taken in advance, that is to say, previous to another action or state to either avoid or help certain consequences. This happens with *precaución* 'precaution' (57), *medida* 'measure', *previsión* 'precaution', *riesgo* 'risk' (58), etc., nouns that co-occur with *tomarIII1* and also have a first actant that is a volitional agent.

(57) *[Él] tenía que tomar todas las precauciones necesarias, para evitar ser sorprendido*
([He] had to take every necessary precaution to avoid being surprised)

(58) *Ser académico implica tomar riesgos no sólo en la aventura de la investigación*
(To be academic implies taking risks not only in the adventure of research)

Nouns referring to punitive measures like *venganza* 'revenge' (59) – *'venganza de X contra Y por Z'* *'X's revenge against Y for Z'*: X's punishment against Y as a compensation because of Z (something done by Y that has hurt X) – or *represalia* 'reprisal', *satisfacción* 'compensation', *revancha* 'revenge', *desquite* 'revenge', etc., also share the above lexical features with *tomarIII1*, with which they co-occur.

(59) *tomar venganza contra los inocentes para obligarlos a colaborar*
(to take revenge against innocent persons to force them to collaborate)

First, all the nouns have as a first actant a volitive agent who plans a deliberate action. Second, from the spatial deictic viewpoint, the action is initiated by an agent who is, in turn, the beneficiary of the act of revenge, for instance, in the form of a feeling of compensation. Finally, as much as it is possible to explain through the meaning of the noun, a revenge implies as a first step a well-thought-out plan, previous to the action. In this sense, it can be considered that the noun lexicalizes a semantic component of phasal aspectuality.[36] As a result, the combination of *tomarIII1* and nouns referring to punitive measures can be explained by the semantic agreement, that is, the coincidence of at least three lexical features that are present in the meaning of the verb and of the nouns.

The second LV, *tomarIII2*, takes as its grammatical subject the second actant of the noun. It co-occurs with nouns like *curso* 'course', *lección* 'lesson' or *clase* 'class'

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36. Tomar venganza 'to get revenge' is close in meaning to vengarse 'to avenge oneself'; however, dar venganza 'to avenge' is closer to vengar 'to avenge' and it has causative meaning.

and shares with them the volitionality of the subject, as well as the spatial deictic movement towards the subject. In a sentence like *Tomó una lección de tango* 'S/he took a tango lesson', the person receives voluntarily the lesson that is given/offered or taught. Inceptive aspectuality is more difficult to prove on the side of the nouns.

Concerning *tomarIII3*, which takes the third semantic actant of nouns such as *juramento* 'oath' or *declaración* 'declaration' as its grammatical subject, the same lexical features as in previous cases can be found. In a sentence like *El mandatario tomó juramento a las nuevas autoridades en el Palacio* 'The President took an oath to support the new authorities in the Palace', *juramento* 'oath' and *tomarIII3* share the volitionality of the subject and the deictic movement towards the subject. In addition to these, it is possible here to trace back the feature referring to the inceptive aspectuality because the act of taking an oath in a court of law is a first step – a formal promise that commits the oath taker – before starting a new position, a declaration – to tell the truth about the facts s/he will be asked.

5.   Discussion and conclusions: Limits and repercussions of the research

The aim of this study was to describe the meaning of the LV *tomar* (TOMARIII). The data of the analysis is mostly extracted from *CORPES XXI*. The assumptions underlying this examination are that LVs are not semantically empty and their co-occurrence with (predicate) nouns as primary objects is not arbitrary, but based on their meaning. Particularly, the hypothesis of semantic compatibility has been examined. According to this hypothesis, an LV is a lexical unit within a polysemic verb and shares some elements of meaning with other lexical units within the same vocable. At the same time, LVs are selected by nouns within the same LVC also based on semantic grounds. A noun always selects an LV with which it shares one or more semantic components, the aim being to emphasize a particular aspect of the shared meaning. This is the reason why certain nouns can be combined with more than one LV, each time focusing on a different aspect of the meaning. For instance, *dar/hacer una visita* lit. 'to give/make a visit'; *tomar/echar un trago* lit. 'to take/throw a sip'; *hacer/tomar/sacar una foto* lit. 'to give/make/take out a photo', etc.

To test this hypothesis, the article provides an analysis of TOMAR as a vocable, that is, a polysemous verb within which three major meaningful divisions can be made: TOMARI as a full or HV, TOMARII as a collocate, and TOMARIII as an LV. Throughout the article it has been shown that, from a paradigmatic point of view, all the lexical units within TOMAR share three elements of meaning, the so-called lexical features. One of them refers to the properties of the subject as the deictic centre of the event: in some cases, there is an action performed by a volitional

subject that takes control of the action (*Tomó un libro de la estantería* 'S/he took a book from the shelf'), yet, in others, there is a process that, although out of the subject's control, takes place within the own subject (*La sustancia empezó a tomar forma* 'The substance started to take form').[37] Another feature relates to spatial deixis, particularly to the movement or location of the object regarding the subject, or vice versa. When there is a movement, this is always towards the subject (*Tomó un libro de la estantería* 'S/he took a book from the shelf') and very often the subject is the agent and the beneficiary of the action (*Se tomó una ducha* 'S/he took a shower'). If it concerns location, it can be explained by means of a container-contained relation where the subject is the container and the object the contained (*Toma pastillas para dormir* 'S/he takes pills to get to sleep') or, vice versa, the object is the container and the subject the contained (*Tomó el tren de las siete* 'S/he took the seven o'clock train'). Finally, the third feature concerns aspectuality and in this case it focuses on the initial phase of the action or process (*La niña le tomó afecto* 'The girl started to feel affection towards her/him'). In most cases, these three lexical features are also shared by the LV TOMAR**III** and the nouns that co-occur with it. From a paradigmatic point of view, lexical features serve as semantic links between all the lexical units within TOMAR. From a syntagmatic point of view, lexical features function as elements of semantic agreement between the noun and the LV within a LVC.

After this explanation, I will go back to the questions posed at the introduction of this study. The four questions presented can be compiled into two groups: (a) and (b), on the one hand, and (c) and (d), on the other. With regard to the first:

(a) Is there anything in common among the expressions *tomar la siesta* 'to take a nap', *tomar una foto* 'to take a photo', *tomar una decisión* 'to take a decision' and *tomar venganza* 'to take revenge' or other similar expressions with *tomar*?

(b) Has the LV *tomar* anything in common with the HV *tomar*, and with the collocate *tomar*?

all the expressions in (a) are LVCs. In every example, TOMAR is an LV (TOMAR**III**) whose meaning, although in an abstract way, can be related with the concrete senses TOMAR has as an HV (TOMAR**I**, a verb of acquisition) and as a collocate (TOMAR**II**, an inceptive verb and/or a verb of realization). TOMAR**III** in the examples of (a) shares at least three lexical features that are common to TOMAR**I** and TOMAR**II**: the centrality of the subject, the expression of spatial deixis and the inceptive meaning. Even if the actions denoted by these LVCs are not properly actions of acquisition, all of them are performed by the agent for her/his own benefit. At

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37. In both situations, the action and the process, the basic assumption that the subject is the deictic centre is fulfilled.

the same time, even if TOMARIII is not a verb of realization, it is the verb used to express that the action denoted by the noun takes place. In this regard, all the LVCs in (a) are synonymous with the verbalization of the nouns within the LVCs: *tomar la siesta* 'to take a nap' and *sestear* 'to take a nap/naps'; *tomar una foto* 'to take a photo' and *fotografiar* 'to photograph'; *tomar una decisión* 'to make a decision' and *decidir* 'to decide', and *tomar venganza* 'to take revenge' and *vengarse* 'to avenge yourself'.

Concerning the other questions within the Introduction:

(c) How is the selection of LV *tomar* made by such different nouns (e.g., *siesta* 'nap', *foto* 'photo', *decisión* 'decision', *venganza* 'revenge', *carrerilla* 'run up')?
(d) Does the LV *tomar* share anything with the noun within the same LVC?

the same lexical features or elements of meaning that the HV TOMARI and the collocate TOMARII share with the LV TOMARIII are also shared by TOMARIII and the noun within the same LVC. However, if in the paradigmatic axis, lexical features operate as semantic links among the lexical units within the polysemous verb TO-MAR, in the syntagmatic axis, lexical features are elements of semantic agreement between the verb and the noun. Accordingly, even if the nouns that co-occur with TOMARIII are different in many respects, they agree in some lexical features with the verb (see Section 4.3).

This study is a preliminary analysis where lexical features are established within the semantics of the single verb TOMAR. As a first step, the study presents an inventory of three lexical features: the centrality of the subject (as a volitional action or as a non-volitional process), spatial deixis (in relation to the direction of the movement or the location of the subject and the object), and the aspectuality of the verb (inceptive). This risks leading to results that may need more fine-grained precision. However, the aim here was to create a basis for further analyses that will take into account other LVs. After the study of several verbs, the lexical features – and ways of understanding their nature, scope and limits – will reach a higher level of precision and will fit into an overall explanatory picture of LVs, first for Spanish and later for other languages, in trying to capture a universal pattern of behaviour.

The study raises several theoretical questions that have not been addressed here. Among the pending issues, there is the status of LVCs within phraseological units. If the co-occurrence between LVs and nouns within LVCs can be, at least, partially predicted by semantic agreement, do LVCs have a place within phraseological units or, on the contrary, should they be better studied in the interface between the syntax and the lexicon? Before giving a definitive answer, lexical features need to be further explored. It would be essential to expand the study to all the LVs, to make an inventory of possible lexical features, to know if they can be found in other languages and, if so, whether they are a universal property of

languages or they are language dependent. In sum, the scope and limits of lexical features must be developed in a wider context than the one proposed in this study.

Acknowledgments

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Abstract

From the heavy to the light verb: An analysis of TOMAR *'to take'*

The study aims to show that the selection of the Spanish light verb *tomar* 'to take' within a light verb construction (LVC), rather than being arbitrary, is based on its meaning. To support this claim the hypothesis of semantic compatibility is tested. According to this hypothesis, light verbs are paradigmatically related to their heavier counterparts and syntagmatically to the nouns within the same LVC by means of components of meaning called lexical features. After a fine-grained analysis of the polysemous verb TOMAR, the study provides a tentative list of lexical features that function as semantic links between the lexical units within the polysemous TOMAR, as well as elements of semantic agreement between the components within the same LVC.

> **Keywords:** light verb construction, collocation, lexical features, semantic links, semantic agreement, polysemy, syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations

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