

Towards a semantically oriented selection of the values of Oper₁. The case of *golpe* ‘blow’ in Spanish

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Abstract

Contrary to the general claim that values of Oper₁ of a given argument are merely tools to integrate the substantive argument into a syntactic structure without entailing any extra meaning, this paper seeks to demonstrate that selection from the various values of Oper₁ is based on meaning. In other words, the semantic links the verbal values establish with the substantive argument on the one hand, and with the free verbal counterpart on the other. The hypothesis of this study is that each of the values of Oper₁ emphasizes a particular (set of) semantic component(s) of the definition of the argument and rather than being arbitrary, the selection of the (set of) component(s) coincides with the part of the meaning the value shares with its free verbal counterpart. The Spanish noun *golpe* ‘blow’ and its verbal values for Oper₁ will be used to test this hypothesis.

1 Introduction

One of the most neutral ways of expressing the meaning ‘*golpe*’ (‘blow’) in Spanish in a verbal form is the verbalization of *golpe*, *golpear* ‘to blow’. Alternatively, a collocation can be formed by combining *golpe* with a value of the lexical function (LF) Oper₁, which takes the base of the collocation, *golpe*, as the direct object and the first semantic actant of *golpe*, the agent, as the subject; e.g., *dar un golpe/golpes* ‘to give a blow/blows’. Values of Oper₁, or support verbs, in the context of a collocation are semantically empty,¹ which means that they are not selected by their own lexical meaning. Consequently, if the only semantic contribution support verbs add to the collocation is to incorporate the predicate expressed by the noun into the time, it can be claimed that the expressions *golpear* and *dar un golpe/golpes* are equivalent. Using the comparison made by Bolshakov & Gelbukh (1998), the meaning of *dar* in *dar un golpe* is the same as that of the suffix *-ar* in *golpear*.

Nevertheless, what occurs with the various values of Oper₁? From a theoretical viewpoint, it can be said that *administrar* ‘to administer’, *lanzar* ‘to throw’ or *soltar* ‘to let go of’, when combined with *golpe*, have the same meaning as *dar* in *dar un golpe*, so, they should be considered as equivalents. However, examples in (1) and (2) contradict the previous statement.

- (1) El Estado establece su escala, el orden de valores, mediante la variación en el número de *golpes administrados* al criminal o por el número de meses o años que se le quitan.²
‘The Government establishes its scale, the order of values, by means of the variation in the number of blows given to the criminal or by the number of months or years that are taken away from him.’

¹ More information about the emptiness of these verbs will be offered later.

² The examples used in this paper are taken from the *Corpus de referencia del español actual* (CREA) <<http://www.rae.es>>, several Spanish dictionaries and other online sources. Some proper names have been changed and examples abbreviated.

- (2) a. El Estado establece su escala, el orden de valores, mediante la variación en el número de *golpes dados* al criminal o por el número de meses o años que se le quitan.
 b. El Estado establece su escala [...] mediante [...] el número de *golpes *lanzados* al criminal...
 c. El Estado establece su escala [...] mediante [...] el número de *golpes *soltados* al criminal...

The support verb *administrar* within the collocation *administrar golpes* in (1) can be replaced by *dar* (2a) but not by *lanzar* (2b) or *soltar* (2c). The reason that *dar* can substitute *administrar* is that its aspectual information is broad enough to cover the specific one carried by *administrar*. The use of *administrar* indicates that the blows are distributed at regulated time intervals, and they are calculated in order to obtain a particular result, similarly to what happens when *administrar* co-occurs with medicaments (*Se les administró 120 mg. de magnesio por día durante 3 meses* ‘They were administered 120 mg. of magnesium per day for 3 months’). Neither *lanzar* nor *soltar* can substitute *administrar* because they do not share the same aspectual information and they also impose other restrictions: in the meaning of *lanzar* a certain distance is assumed between the agent and the receiver of the blow; *soltar* includes instead a component referring to the loss of control by the agent.

A collocational dictionary such as the *Diccionario de colocaciones del español* (DiCE)³ (Alonso Ramos, 2005), or the *Lexique actif du français* (LAF) (Mel’čuk & Polguère, 2007), classifies collocatives of a given lemma in the form of lists supplying semantic information by means of a gloss (Alonso Ramos, 2006). This semantic information is crucial in facilitating dictionary usage. Nevertheless, as collocatives are organized according to the different types of LFs, values of the same LF are provided with the same gloss remaining undifferentiated.

The main goal of this paper is to show the differences among a group of values of the LF Oper₁ applied to the argument *golpe* as a first step to devise a means to add this information to lexical entries of dictionaries such as the *Dictionnaire explicatif et combinatoire du français contemporain* (DEC) (Mel’čuk et al., 1984-1999), DiCE and LAF. Based on some preliminary observations, the hypothesis of this study is that each support verb emphasizes a semantic component of the definition of *golpe* and the selection of this component is not arbitrary, but coincides with that part of the meaning of the support verb shares with its correlated full verb. For instance, *estampar* (‘to stamp’) as a support verb of *golpe* (*golpe de X a Y en Z con W* ‘X’s blow to Y in Y’s part of the body Z with the instrument W’), in (3),

- (3) Le *estampó* un golpe en la cara.
 ‘He dealt him a blow in the face’ (lit. ‘to stamp’)

focuses on ‘the resounding effect of the blow when X’s hand touches violently Y’. At the same time, the resounding effect due to the strength of the touch, emphasized by the support verb *estampar*, correlates with the component ‘to leave a mark on a surface...’ of *estampar* (‘to stamp, print’) as a full verb (4):

- (4) Resolvió publicarlas en la misma imprenta [...] que acababa de *estampar* la primera edición...
 ‘He decided to publish them in the same printing house that has just printed the first edition...’

As can be seen in through examples (3) and (4), the coincidence between semantic components does not mean that the emphasized component of *golpe* and that of the full verb must be identical. As the support verb and its free verbal counterpart are two different lexical units (LUs), what the support verb retains from the other is some kind of semantic link, very often metaphorically or metonymically transformed in order to be adapted to the new situation.

If the hypothesis can be verified, then it is possible to understand why nouns from different semantic fields share the same support verbs and, on the contrary, why nouns included in the same semantic field

³ The websites at <http://www.dicesp.com> and <http://dicesp.cesga.es>, include a demo of DiCE with ten lexical entries of emotion nouns.

do not combine with the same support verbs. The verbal collocative *estampar* co-occurs not only with *golpe* ‘blow’, but also with *beso* ‘kiss’, *firma* ‘signature’ or *pie* ‘foot’. The four nouns pertaining to different semantic fields: nouns referring to hostile contacts such as *golpe*, nouns denoting friendly contacts such as *beso*, nouns alluding to written marks representing a person such as *firma* or nouns referring to traces or instruments which can leave a trace such as a *pie*. On the contrary, out of the following nouns, *paliza* ‘an undetermined number of blows in a unit of time’, *puntapié* ‘kick given with the end of the foot’, *bofetada* ‘slap’, and *coz* ‘blow given by an animal with its leg’, only *bofetada* can select *estampar* as support verb. Apart from the audible impact on Y’s body, *estampar* focuses on other components such as ‘the mark must be made with X’s hand’ (this excludes *puntapié* and *coz*) and ‘there is a single blow at once’ (this excludes also *paliza*). Even if the hypothesis is proved to be true, we must still explain what happens to other types of support verbs such as those which have no independent verbal counterparts, e.g., *propinar* or *infligir*, or those which are full verbs, such as *pegar* or *sacudir*. Several comments will be made in this respect throughout this paper. This study forms part of more general research aimed at establishing the paraphrase among collocations with different values of the LF Oper₁ + noun and the verbalization of the noun.

This research is carried out within the theoretical and methodological framework of the Explanatory and Combinatorial Lexicology (Mel’čuk et al., 1995). In this framework, collocations are described by means of LFs (Wanner, 1996, among others). Several Spanish dictionaries have been used in order to analyze the data (see bibliography).

This paper is organized into four sections. After this introduction, section 2 provides a classification of the values of Oper₁ applied to the noun *golpe*. In section 3, an in-depth analysis is made of support verbs sharing semantic components with their free verbal counterparts. Section 4 summarizes the paper and draws some conclusions.

2 Classification of the values of Oper₁ (*golpe*)

The Spanish noun *golpe* is a vocable which consists of several LUs. It can refer to a physical contact between two entities (*Dio varios golpes con el martillo* ‘He gave several blows with the hammer’), the effect of that contact (*Tenia un golpe en la cabeza* ‘He had a blow in the head’), an unpleasant emotion (*La muerte de Valentina fue un duro golpe para la familia* ‘Valentina’s death was a hard blow for the family’), a witticism ([talking about a film] *Tiene algunos golpes para morir de risa* ‘It contains some witticisms to laugh at death’), a robbery (*Una duda daba vueltas en torno del asalto: por qué dieron el golpe de día* ‘There was still a doubt about the robbery: why was it perpetrated during daylight’), etc., as well as to function as a collocative itself, specifically as a value of the LF Sing (‘a portion of’), e.g., *Una noche se despierta con un golpe de tos* ‘One night he wakes up because of a sudden coughing fit’. The sense considered in this paper denotes physical contact and can be defined as follows:

- (5) *golpe de X a Y en Z con W* = ‘acto por medio del cual el individuo X, que está en movimiento, entra en contacto con la entidad Y, X tocando Y en la parte Z (de Y) con una parte del cuerpo de X o un instrumento W’
 ‘X’s blow to Y in Z with Z’ = ‘act by means of which individual X, who is in movement, comes into contact with entity Y, X touching Y in Y’s part Z with X’s body part or with an instrument W’

Ex.: *Le ha dado unos golpes y ha vuelto a funcionar* [the computer] ‘He has given some blows and it has worked again’; *Prefiere que lo saluden con un golpe en la espalda* ‘He prefers to be greeted with a blow on the back’; *Le propinó un golpe en la cabeza al agente*, ‘He gave him a blow on the head’, etc.

From the above definition it can be deduced that *golpe* can cover a large number of situations because it does not contain specific information. It can refer either to an intentional or non-intentional contact, a

calculated or spontaneous one; it can stand for friendly, hostile or neutral physical contacts; the same noun is valid for slow and fast blows, periodical or iterative ones, with different levels of intensity, given with the hand, fist or whatever object, in any part of Y's body if it is an individual; the blow can be also expected or unexpected as well as directed at the target or delivered at random, and it can produce different kinds of effects.

There are plenty of verbs which can combine with *golpe*. In this paper, 34 verbs are presented. Out of these, *golpear* is the only one which does so on a paradigmatic level (*Pedro golpea en el rostro con su puño derecho a Marcos* 'Pedro punches Marcos in the face with his right fist'). Although *golpear* is the verbalization of *golpe* (V₀), it cannot be used for all the meanings of *golpe*, for instance, 'to commit a robbery' or 'to say witticisms'. On the contrary, all the senses in the vocable *golpear* include *golpe*. In general, this verb, *X golpea Y en Z con W* 'X causes one or several blows to Y in Z with W' can be labelled as a contact verb; however, taking into account that the contact implies also motion because at least one of the participating entities has to be in movement to be able to enter into contact with the other, *golpear* is also a motion verb.

The remaining verbs are values of the LF Oper₁ applied to the noun *golpe*. In other words, they are support verbs which take *golpe* as the DO and the first semantic actant of *golpe* as the subject. From a syntagmatic viewpoint, they are semantically empty₂ verbs, which means that they are not selected by their lexical meaning; their function is to provide the noun with temporal, modal, aspectual information, etc. (Alonso Ramos, 2004: 87). From a paradigmatic viewpoint, they can be semantically empty₁ in the sense that they have an abstract meaning including only generic components which characterize the semantic class of the verb (Alonso Ramos, 2004:85). This is the case of *dar*, the most frequent support verb (Koike, 2001: 84),⁴ which expresses 'action'. According to some authors (Reuther, 1996; Alonso Ramos, 2004), not all support verbs are semantically empty₁, sometimes they maintain semantic links with other senses of the corresponding full verbs. This assumption leads Alonso Ramos (2004: 91-93) to develop a scale to classify support verbs according to their more or less empty₁ character. Thus, five support verb classes can be distinguished in the scale: 1) pure support verbs which only have taxonomic meaning; e.g., *dar* 'to give', *hacer* 'to do/make', *tener* 'to have'; 2) support verbs with similar semantic components to their free verbal counterparts; e.g., *gozar (de salud)* 'to enjoy good health', which preserves the component 'pleasant'; 3) support verbs without free verbal counterpart, e.g., *perpetrar (un crimen)* 'to perpetrate a crime'; 4) support verbs with a homonym verbal counterpart, e.g., *librar (una batalla)* 'to fight a battle', lit. 'to free'; and 5) semantically full support verbs, e.g., *decir (una mentira)* 'to tell a lie'.

Taking Alonso Ramos' scale of emptiness in support verbs as a starting point, we have classified 33 values of the LF Oper₁ applied to *golpe* in the following way (see Table 1).

SUPPORT VERBS WITH FREE VERBAL COUNTERPARTS			SUPPORT VERBS WITHOUT FREE VERBAL COUNTERPARTS	
pure support verbs	sharing some semantic components with the counterpart	full verbs	only for the semantic field 'golpe'	other fields
dar	administrar, asestar, atinar, calcar, descargar, disparar, encajar, encasquetar, endilgar, endosar, espetar, estampar, lanzar, largar, mandar, meter, plantar, soltar, tirar, proporcionar, ensartar, aplicar, suministrar	arrear, atizar, cascar, endiñar, pegar, sacudir, zumbar	propinar	infligir

Table 1. Classification of 33 values of Oper₁ (*golpe*) according to their empty₁ character

⁴ See Alonso Ramos (1997) for a more detailed description of *dar*.

We have considered two major blocks: one which includes all the support verbs with free verbal counterparts and a second which includes support verbs without free verbal counterparts. In the first block, there are three groups: pure support verbs with *dar* as the unique example (3% of the total amount of verbs studied); support verbs sharing some components with the corresponding counterparts, where 70% of the verbs are included; and support verbs with the same meaning as the counterparts or full verbs (representing 21% of the totality). This classification differs from that of Alonso Ramos in that it does not include a group for support verbs with homonymic free verbal counterparts. Sometimes the limits to establishing the existence of a semantic link between the support verb and the free verbal counterpart are very fine. Some dictionaries include meanings that others do not and the researcher has to take a decision in each particular case. In the sample of verbs under study, the support verb *plantar* has finally been considered semantically connected through a metaphorical link to its free counterpart ‘to put in the land a seed or plant in order to let it grow’; however, the border between this solution or that assuming a relation of homonymy is very close.

Even though the pure support verb *dar* is not discussed in detail here, it can be presented as the most neutral value of Oper₁ applied to *golpe* and, consequently, that which, compared to the others, can replace *golpear* in most contexts.⁵ Its meaning is so general that it refers only to ‘action’. On the contrary, the collocatives *arrear*, *atizar*, *cascar*, *endiñar*, *pegar*, *sacudir* and *zumbar* (different forms with the meaning ‘to blow, beat’) are located at the other end of the scale of emptiness; in other words they have the same meaning as their free counterparts. Therefore, one way to explain why collocations in (6a) and (7a) can replace their free counterparts in (6b) and (7b) and vice versa must be that the meaning of the collocative is subsumed by the meaning of the substantive predicate.

- (6) a. Y cogió un palo, abrió la puerta y ya le iba a *arrear un golpe* al perro...
 ‘And he took a stick, opened the door and he was already giving a blow to the dog...’
 b. ¿Y si va y me *arrea* con el candelabro...?
 ‘And if he beats me with the candelabra...?’
- (7) a. El policía saca su porra reglamentaria y le *sacude un golpe* en la coronilla.
 ‘The policeman takes his truncheon and gives him a huge blow on the crown of his head’
 b. Tropieza con la barredora y ésta levanta una escoba y le *sacude* en la cabeza.
 ‘He trips over the road sweeper and she raises a broom and beats him over the head’

From a diachronic point of view, it would be interesting to know whether *arrear*, *atizar*, *cascar*, etc., became full verbs with the meaning ‘to blow’ due to their frequent combination with nouns denoting ‘blow’ or they were in fact collocatives co-occurring with nouns such as *golpe* and because of that they absorbed in some way the meaning of the noun to end up being full verbs. According to Moliner (DUE, under *pegar*), the LU *pegar* as a collocative comes earlier than the LU as a full verb.⁶

The second block includes support verbs without free verbal counterparts, that is to say, they function only as verbal collocatives. Here we distinguish verbs which co-occur only with nouns of the semantic field of ‘golpe’, in which *propinar* is included (3% of the total sample), from those which combine with nouns of other semantic fields: the case of *infligir* (3%), selected not only by nouns like *golpe*, but also nouns denoting intense physical or moral suffering (*tortura* ‘torture’, *dolor* ‘pain’), nouns referring to punishments (*condena* ‘sentence’ *sanción* ‘sanction’), mistreatment (*ataque* ‘attack’, *traición* ‘treason’), failure in sports competitions (*derrota* ‘defeat’, *goleada* ‘lots of goals’), etc. *Infligir* does not in fact operate in totally different semantic fields, but rather in a single broader one, where nouns alluding to damages, within nouns like *golpe*, are included.

⁵ Although *dar un golpe/golpes* and *golpear* are semantically equivalent in a broad sense, many other differences can be found between both expressions which prevent them from being interchangeable in all contexts (see Sanromán Vilas, forthcoming).

⁶ “De la acep. ‘pegar’, aplicar una cosa a otra, se pasaría a la de ‘aplicar un golpe’ y, después, a la de ‘golpear’”.

In order to explain what collocatives without a free counterpart contribute to the collocation they form part of, a possible solution would be to generalize the common characteristics to all the nouns in co-occurrence with them. When the collocative combines only with a particular field as in the case of *propinar*, a look back at its etymology may throw some light on the question. In this vocable, there is an old meaning of *propinar*, ‘to give tips’, which relates it to other transference verbs such as *administrar* ‘to administer’, *dar* ‘to give’, *suministrar* ‘to supply’, etc.

To end this section, a tentative classification of the support verbs is presented in Table 2 following partly previous semantic-syntactic classifications of Spanish verbs such as Vázquez et al. (2000) and ADESSE (García-Miguel et al., 2005). This classification is based on the meaning of the free verbal counterpart or, if no such counterpart exists, on a feature common to all the nouns from other semantic fields co-occurring with the verbal collocative or on an old meaning of the verb from which it may have inherited certain features. Each verb is labelled with a semantic tag taking as a starting point *golpear*, classified at the beginning of this section primarily as a contact verb and secondly as a motion verb.

MOTION VERBS						
<i>X Oper₁(golpe) un golpe/golpes a Y (en Z) con W</i>						
CONTROL	DISPLACEMENT	ORIENTATION	TRANSFERENCE	CONTACT	LOCALIZATION	MODIFICATION
largar*, soltar	disparar*, lanzar*, largar*, mandar*, tirar*	asestar, atinar, disparar*, lanzar*, tirar*	administrar, dar, endilgar, endosar, mandar*, propinar, proporcionar, suministrar, descargar*	aplicar, arrear, atizar, calcar, endiñar, ensartar*, estampar*, pegar, sacudir, zumbar	descargar*, encajar, encasquetar, ensartar*, espetar, meter, plantar	cascar, estampar*, infligir

Table 2. Semantic classification of 33 values of Oper₁ (*golpe*)

Table 2 shows that support verbs co-occurring with *golpe* have the same basic propositional form and are included in the group of motion verbs, for entity X has to initiate a movement to enter into contact with entity Y. Within motion verbs seven other categories are distinguished: 1) CONTROL VERBS, which focus on the loss of control of X over something which starts to move, e.g., *soltar*; 2) DISPLACEMENT VERBS, indicating the movement of an entity from its original place, e.g., *lanzar*; 3) ORIENTATION VERBS, which denote a movement towards the target point Y, e.g., *asestar*; 4) TRANSFERENCE VERBS, referring to the fact that X moves something from the place where X is to the place where Y is, e.g., *dar*; 5) CONTACT VERBS, focusing on the fact that entity X touches entity Y, e.g., *pegar*; 6) LOCALIZATION VERBS, which indicate the way the movement arrives entity Y and stays there, e.g., *plantar*; and 7) MODIFICATION VERBS, denoting the effect of the movement upon Y, e.g., *cascar*. When a verb has an asterisk, it means that it takes part in two categories; for instance, *mandar* is at the same time a transference and displacement verb.

3 Support verbs sharing semantic components with the free verbal counterparts

In this section a selection of support verbs sharing semantic components with their free verbal counterparts is presented⁷ using a pattern which contains the following information:

- a) *Semantic tag*: Here the verb is classified according to a general semantic tag (Table 2 is followed).
- b) *Co-occurrence*: This part contains a sample of nouns (from different semantic fields than *golpe*) which combines with the verb as a value of Oper₁.

⁷ *Dar* as a pure support verb, full support verbs as well as support verbs without free verbal counterparts are excluded here.

- c) *Usage label*: This heading denotes those verbs used in a particular register (formal or colloquial), as part of jargon or slang or even showing the speaker's attitude towards the enunciation, for instance, emotive, pejorative, etc.
- d) *Spanish variety*: This includes a label indicating the geographical variety of Spanish.⁸
- e) *Gloss*: This section is provided with a description of the meaning of the support verb in combination with *golpe*.
- f) *Semantic links*: This section explains what the collocative inherits from its free verbal counterpart.⁹
- g) *Emphasized component(s) of the definition of 'golpe'*: Here, as well as indicating the part of the meaning of *golpe* singled out, there is a reference to how the stress is created.¹⁰
- h) *Characteristics*: We add here additional information such as specific syntactic characteristics, restricted lexical co-occurrence, e.g., adjectives or adverbs selected neither by the noun *golpe* nor by the verb independently but by the whole phrase support verb + noun, etc.
- i) *Examples*: Some examples from a corpus are included here to illustrate usage.

This pattern can be taken as a starting point to specify distinctions among values of Oper₁. Below, a selection of support verbs, including various semantic tags are analyzed.

administrar lit. 'to administer';

SEMANTIC TAG: transference verb; CO-OCCURRENCE: medicaments and sacraments; USAGE LABEL: formal.

GLOSS: 'X, having power over Y or having a recognized knowledge in a particular area, X causes that X, X's body part or an instrument W, comes into contact with Y touching Y's part Z a certain number of times at regulated time intervals'.¹¹

SEMANTIC LINK WITH THE FREE VERBAL COUNTERPART: From the full verb ('X administers Y', 'X has the power or the knowledge to organize, decide and distribute something in a particular way'), the collocative retains the aspectual information (it takes place at regulated time intervals).

EMPHASIZED COMPONENTS OF THE DEFINITION OF 'GOLPE' (shown in (5)):

- the attributes of the individual X: 'X having power over Y or recognized knowledge in an area';
- the act is intentional and calculated (it is done in a particular way to obtain an intended result).

CHARACTERISTICS AND EXAMPLES: In (8), the police represent the entity with power; the authority in (9) comes from the fact that the extract is located in a first aid manual. In (9) the mode of action is regulated by series of five blows.

(8) [*dos policías*] *le administraron golpes en las orejas y patadas para hacerlo caer*. '[two policemen] gave him blows in the ears and kicks to make him fall.

(9) [*primeros auxilios en caso de atragantamiento de un niño de corta edad*] *Los golpes dorsales consisten en administrar golpes en la zona situada entre los omoplatos... Se recomienda hacer series de cinco golpes dorsales...* '[first aid for a small child who is choking] Dorsal blows entail administering blows in the area located between scapulas... Giving a series of five dorsal blows is recommended...

atinar lit. 'to hit on';

SEMANTIC TAG: orientation verb; CO-OCCURRENCE: value of Oper₁ only for the semantic field of *golpe*.

GLOSS: 'X intending to come into contact with Y, X aims at Y; X not being certain that X (X's body part or the instrument W) touches Y's part Z, X comes into contact with Y by chance'.¹²

⁸ Points (c) and (d) are not included if the support verb belongs to a neutral, non-specialised register, and to standard Spanish.

⁹ For instance, how the original meaning of the free verbal counterpart is transformed by means of metaphorical or metonymical links; if there is no free counterpart, a disappeared meaning within the vocable or something shared by other nouns combined with the collocative can serve the same function. The collocative frequently inherits the lexical aspect from its counterpart.

¹⁰ It must be remembered that the definition of *golpe* (5) consists of neutral semantic components, so singling out any of these components means specifying them expressly.

¹¹ 'X, que tiene poder sobre Y o que tiene conocimientos reconocidos en un área, X causa que X, una parte del cuerpo de X o un instrumento W, entre en contacto con Y, X tocando la parte Z de Y un número de veces en intervalos de tiempo regulados'.

SEMANTIC LINK WITH THE FREE VERBAL COUNTERPART: It retains the idea of the orientation from the realization verb *atinar1* ('X atina Y en Z con W') 'X reaches Y in the place Z by orientating the weapon W' and the meaning 'by chance' from *atinar2* ('X atina con Y') 'X finds Y by chance'. *Asestar* (*un golpe*) is another support verb which inherits the meaning 'orientation' from a realization verb (Real(*cañón* 'cannon')).¹³

EMPHASIZED COMPONENTS OF THE DEFINITION OF 'GOLPE':

- the act is specified as intentional (even if the result is achieved by chance) and orientated towards Y.

CHARACTERISTICS AND EXAMPLES: Examples in a negative form are frequent (10); *golpe* is often combined with *certero* 'accurate' (11); *atinar* can be also found subordinated to the verb *tratar* 'to try' (11).¹⁴

(10) *No atina un golpe ni por casualidad* 'He was not able to hit a blow, not even by chance'

(11) [...] *tratando de atinar un golpe más certero...* 'trying to hit a more exact blow...'

disparar lit. 'to shoot';

SEMANTIC TAG: displacement and orientation verb; CO-OCCURRENCE: value of Oper₁ only for the semantic field of *golpe*; USAGE LABEL: often used in boxing jargon; SPANISH VARIETY: According to DRAE, *disparar* is used colloquially in Cuba with the meaning 'to beat a person or an animal', e.g., *Le disparó un golpe*.

GLOSS: 'X using a special technique, X comes into contact with Y; X, X's body part or the instrument W, touching Y's part Z with a directed, precise, and fast movement, X causing a damage in Y'.¹⁵

SEMANTIC LINK WITH THE FREE VERBAL COUNTERPART: From the meaning of *disparar* ('X [individual] sends Y [projectile] to Z [individual] in W [Z's body part] with K [weapon]') another one has been originated by metaphorically associating 'weapon' with 'fist', and more specifically, the movement and the trajectory of the projectile with the technique of using the fist;

EMPHASIZED COMPONENTS OF THE DEFINITION OF 'GOLPE':

- the act is specified as a calculated one; orientated towards Y and made at high speed;

- the result of the act causes a strong impact on Y.

COMMENTARIES AND EXAMPLES: Taking, for instance, *bala* 'bullet' or *pistola* 'pistol' as arguments of a LF, *disparar* 'to shoot' is a realization verb, that is, a value of the LF Real or Labreal; however, this is not the case in *disparar un golpe*, which is only a more precise paraphrase of *dar un golpe* or *golpear*. When *disparar* is a value of Real(*bala*), the whole collocation *disparar una bala* can be replaced by the full verb *disparar* 'to shoot a weapon'; but the full verb *disparar* cannot substitute collocations in (12) and (13). *Disparar* could be considered a special value of Real(*golpe*) in boxing jargon, but not in colloquial Spanish, the sense represented here.¹⁶

(12) *El baterista se sintió tan frustrado [...] que disparó un golpe a un vaso y el vidrio traspasó su mano.* 'The drummer was so upset [...] that he launched a blow at a glass and the glass went through his hand'

(13) [...] *lo cual no quiere decir que le haya clavado una mirada furiosa y disparado un golpe de puño...* '[...] which does not mean that I had stared at him and dealt a blow with my fist...'

estampar lit. 'to stamp';

SEMANTIC TAG: contact, modification; CO-OCCURRENCE: *firma* 'signature', *autógrafo* 'autograph'; *huella* 'footprint', *mano* 'hand'; *beso* 'kiss', etc.; USAGE LABEL: colloquial.

GLOSS: 'X causes that X comes into contact with Y, X's hand touching violently one or more times Y's body part (generally the face), X causing a resounding effect and often leaving a physical mark on Y'.¹⁷

¹² 'X teniendo la intención de entrar en contacto con Y, X se orienta hacia Y; X no teniendo la certeza de que X (la parte del cuerpo de X o el instrumento W) toque la parte Z de Y; X entra en contacto con Y casualmente'.

¹³ See in commentaries, under *disparar*, why these verbs are here considered values of Oper₁.

¹⁴ Out of eight Spanish monolingual dictionaries, none registers *atinar un golpe/golpes*.

¹⁵ 'X usando una técnica especial, X entra en contacto con Y, X, una parte del cuerpo de X o el instrumento W, tocando la parte Z de Y con un movimiento rápido, preciso y directo, X causando un daño en Y'

¹⁶ *Disparar* is also used as a value of complex LFs such as Incep/CausPred Plus (*Los precios se disparan* 'prices rise up', *Algo dispara las ventas* 'something increases sales')

¹⁷ 'X causa que X entre en contacto con Y, X tocando de manera violenta una o más veces una parte del cuerpo de Y (generalmente, la cara), X causando un efecto sonoro y a menudo dejando una marca física en Y'.

SEMANTIC LINK WITH THE FREE VERBAL COUNTERPART: From the full verb *estampar* ‘to stamp, to print’, ‘X leaves the mark Y [letters, drawings] on Z [paper or other materials] by pressing an instrument with the hand’, the collocative *estampar* takes the components: strength (by pressing), focus on the result (the mark and the sound) and aspectual information (generally action only occurs once in a unit of time (semelfactive), e.g., *estampar un golpe, un par de besos*, etc.; if it is a repeated action, the number of blows is not undetermined (*Le estampó dos sonoras bofetadas, *Le estampó una paliza*)).

EMPHASIZED COMPONENTS OF THE DEFINITION OF ‘GOLPE’:

- the intensity of the action;
- the result of the action: it leaves a mark (print, hint) as well as a resounding effect;
- X’s part of the body: the contact is done with X’s hand.

EXAMPLES:

(14) *Le estampó un golpe en la cabeza...* ‘He dealt a blow to the head’

(15) *Cerró el puño y estampó un golpe sobre mi rostro.* ‘He closed the fist and dealt a blow to my face’

plantar lit. ‘to plant’;

SEMANTIC TAG: localization verb; CO-OCCURRENCE: *beso* ‘kiss’, *base* ‘basis’, etc.; USAGE LABEL: colloquial. GLOSS: ‘X causes that X comes into contact with Y, X touching Y’s face with a sudden and fast movement; Y not expecting to be touched by X, Y has no time to react’.¹⁸

SEMANTIC LINK WITH THE FREE VERBAL COUNTERPARTS: The basic meaning of the vocable *plantar* is ‘X puts Y (a plant, a seed, etc.) in Z by introducing Y partially in the earth’. The link with this definition is probably that X is active and Y passive. Other LUs within the vocable *plantar* focus on the component ‘X having a commitment to Y, X abandons Y’ or ‘to put something or somebody in a place in a sudden and abrupt way’; from the first of them, the collocative *plantar* retains the idea that X’s action is unexpected by Y; from the latter the association is with the suddenness of the movement.

EMPHASIZED COMPONENTS OF THE DEFINITION OF ‘GOLPE’:

- the act is a spontaneous one, made with a fast movement, and it is unexpected by Y;
- Y’s body part Z is generally the face.

CHARACTERISTICS AND EXAMPLES: (16) and (17) shows that the act is unexpected, sudden and in the face.

(16) *Lo toma por sorpresa y le planta un golpe en la cara que lo deja perplejo y en silencio total* ‘He takes him by surprise and dealt him a blow to the face, leaving him puzzled and in total silence’

(17) *Repentinamente le planta un golpe de frente entre la nariz y la boca* ‘Suddenly he dealt him a blow straight between the nose and the mouth’

soltar lit. ‘to let go of’;

SEMANTIC TAG: control verb; CO-OCCURRENCE: communication nouns (*insulto* ‘insult’, *comentario* ‘comment’, *amenaza* ‘threat’, etc); *estornudo* ‘sneeze’, *risotada* ‘guffaw’; USAGE LABEL: colloquial.

GLOSS: ‘X having avoid to express an emotion, X causes that X comes into contact with Y, X, X’s body part or an instrument W, touching Y’s part Z with a sudden movement, X feeling that X has expressed the emotion’. The intensity of the blow is proportional to the intensity of the emotion;¹⁹ e.g., in *soltar* the intensity is neutral, in *descargar* (a close meaning), is positive.

SEMANTIC LINK WITH THE FREE VERBAL COUNTERPARTS: From the meaning of the full verb *soltar*, ‘X causes that Y, which has been tied, stops being tied’, the support verb retains the idea that the released object has been repressed. This aspect distinguishes *soltar* from *largar un golpe*, despite their proximity in the propositional meaning.²⁰ The movement in *largar* comes out without previous repression.

EMPHASIZED COMPONENTS OF THE DEFINITION OF ‘GOLPE’:

¹⁸ ‘X causa que X entre en contacto con Y, X tocando la cara de Y con un movimiento brusco y rápido, Y no esperando ser tocado por X, Y no tiene tiempo para reaccionar’.

¹⁹ ‘X que ha estado evitando expresar una emoción, X causa que X entre en contacto con Y, X, una parte del cuerpo de X o un instrumento W, tocando la parte Z de Y con un movimiento brusco, X expresando la emoción. La intensidad del golpe es proporcional a la intensidad de la emoción’

²⁰ There is a communicative difference between them: the use of *largar* implies a negative attitude from the speaker’s side.

- X stops controlling the emotion; as a result, X feels somewhat released;
- The movement leading to the contact is sudden and abrupt.

CHARACTERISTICS AND EXAMPLES: The movement is not calculated in relation to the target (18); there is no intention to cause damage, only to be released (19).

(18) *Es importantísimo hacer algo más que soltar golpes a diestro y siniestro.* ‘It is very important to do something more than land blows left, right and centre’

(19) *Nunca supe si irme o quedarme. Si soltar un golpe cariñoso o...* ‘I never knew whether to leave or to stay. Whether to land a warm blow or...’

A description of each support verb in the dictionary could help users to select the suitable collocative in a particular context. Elements contained in the previous descriptions such as “usage label” or “Spanish variety” can be introduced directly in dictionaries; however, elements such as the emphasized components of the definition of the argument should be standardized prior to their inclusion in the dictionary. In this sense, we propose formalizing the semantic components of the definition of *golpe* using the concept of *semantic dimension*, understood as a “set of two or three mutually exclusive values” (Mel’čuk & Wanner, 1996: 216) which provides easy access to the semantic components of a definition. As an example, we could propose semantic dimensions for the definition of *golpe* such as emotionality, directionality, or noticeability, among others, with the following values:

emotionality ‘contact expressing an emotion’ = {‘friendly’ (+), ‘hostile’ (–), ‘emotionality-neutral’}
 expectation ‘Y, (un)expecting the contact’ = {‘expected’ (+), ‘unexpected’ (–), ‘expectation-neutral’},
 noticeability ‘the result of the contact can be noticed’ = {‘noticeable’ (+), ‘noticeability-neutral’}, etc.

The above dimensions have an unmarked value in *golpe*’s decomposition because they correspond to trivial semantic characteristics of the noun (see note 10). However, when a collocative singles out one of these potential components of the noun, it becomes marked. For instance, if *golpe* selects *plantar*, it means that the blow was unexpected by Y; when *estampar* is chosen, the result of the blow leaves a sign, etc. In this sense, our proposal would be to include semantic dimensions of *golpe* (e.g., ‘unexpected’ and ‘noticeable’) in its lexicographic entry beside the collocative (e.g., *plantar* and *estampar*, respectively).

4 Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to test the hypothesis that selection among the various values of Oper₁ is based on the semantic links verbal values establish with the substantive argument on the one hand, and with the free verbal counterpart on the other. In this sense, we have attempted to show that different values of Oper₁ applied to *golpe* emphasize a particular (set of) semantic component(s) of the definition of the noun *golpe* and the selection of the (set of) component(s) is not arbitrary but normally has some relation to the part of the meaning the value shares with its free verbal counterpart. One possible way to complete this study in order to be able to apply the results to practical lexicography would be to formalize the semantic components of the definition of *golpe* using semantic dimensions and to include the emphasized dimension(s) by each collocative in the entry of *golpe* beside the collocative.

Acknowledgements

This paper was written within the framework of the research project FFI2008-06479-C02-01/FILO (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Spain). I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers whose critical comments helped to improve the manuscript.

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