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COMPOUNDING IN SPANISH: PATTERNS AND CHANGES

**By
MARIA IRENE MOYNA**

**A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR IN PHILOSOPHY**

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ABSTRACT

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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COMPOUNDING IN SPANISH: PATTERNS AND CHANGES

By

Maria Irene Moyna

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Chairman: Dr. D. Gary Miller
Major Department: Program in Linguistics

This work describes compounds in Old and Modern Spanish, and accounts for them using a syntactic approach. Chapter 1 reviews properties and tests of compounding. Chapter 2 presents a syntactic account of compounding, grounded on the notion that the internal structures of words and phrases are identical. Two possible ways of creating compounds are identified. In one case, one or two sub-lexical elements (stems) are joined through head-to-head movement of the non-head to the head. In the other, two lexical elements merge to form a lexical phrase complex. In the first case, the order of constituents is non-head=head (ascending), whereas in the second it is head=non-head (descending). What distinguishes compounding from syntax is the exclusion of functional phrases.

Chapter 3 presents a detailed account of the sources and methods of data collection. Chapter 4 summarizes the findings. It shows that all Modern Spanish compounds have precursors in Medieval Spanish, although relative frequencies have changed. Endocentric compounds have shifted preferred head position over time, from head-final to head-initial. This was accompanied by a morphological change, with word order increasingly dependent on the word/stem distinction. In Medieval Spanish, heads and non-heads can appear in stem form when they are the first element, but they can also appear as full words. In Modern Spanish, preposed heads hardly ever appear without their inflectional mark, whereas preposed non-heads almost always do.

Chapter 5 proposes underlying syntactic structures for the compounds identified. There are three structurally different types of dual compounds: appositionals, conjoined dvandvas, and blended dvandvas. Endocentric compounds follow the universal principle of specifier-complement asymmetry. Apparent violations can be accounted for by taking into consideration the morphological make-up of the non-head. If it is a stem, then it is morphologically incapable of standing alone, and must left-adjoin to the head. Finally, there are a number of exocentric patterns. In them, an empty nominal head selects a lexical phrase as its complement, which is compounded by being attracted into the head.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION:
AIMS AND PRELIMINARY DEFINITIONS

JACK: I know nothing, Lady Bracknell.

LADY BRACKNELL: I am pleased to hear it. I do not approve of anything that tampers with natural ignorance. Ignorance is like a delicate exotic fruit; touch it and the bloom is gone.

From *The Importance of Being Earnest*, by Oscar Wilde

Aims

This dissertation provides a description of productive compounding in Spanish and accounts for all its patterns in a unified fashion, within the theoretical framework provided by current approaches to generative morphology. It aims to do so from a synchronic perspective, but the validity of the analysis presented is tested by extending it to cover previous stages of the language (Medieval Spanish, roughly between 1250 and 1450). This enables us to compare and contrast modern compounding patterns with those that existed in the medieval period using a unified system. Thus, a principled account of compounding is achieved, showing the driving structural forces behind this increasingly important source of neologisms.

This work is based on the thesis that compounds can be accounted for with theoretical constructs which are basically those of syntax in general. This is not a new view (in fact, it could be traced back to Panini, Dahiya 1995), but is one that has been questioned recently by lexical approaches to morphology, according to which any lexical operation involving combinations of X^0 level elements follows rules that are radically

different from those that apply above this level (di Sciullo and Williams 1987). However, it will be shown that all the compound types of Spanish, both present and past, can be satisfactorily accounted for if we see them as constructions formed in accordance with syntactic principles. This means that the constituents of a given compound can be profitably analyzed in terms of the syntactic categories of X-bar theory, i.e., heads, complements, specifiers, and modifiers. It also means that they can be amenable to operations that work above the word level, such as movement and merger (in accordance with Distributed Morphology as presented in Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994, Marantz 1997, and other places). The main difference between compounds and syntactic phrases will be shown to be that of the categories involved in one and the other component, with phrases including functional categories which are absent from compounding.

What Is Compounding?

At this point it is necessary to present a pre-theoretical description of what is meant by the term ‘compounding,’ including the general features over which there is agreement independently of a theoretical agenda. In this work I will define compounding as a process of lexical creation that involves free forms. Compounds are generally considered syntactically atomic, i.e., syntactic operations cannot single out their constituents. The pattern of compounding is generally productive and semantically transparent. Finally, compounding results in a generic term that shows what is name-worthy in a given linguistic community. Each one of those characteristics will be discussed and exemplified in the sections that follow.

Compounding As Lexical Creation Based on Free Forms

Compounding is a process of lexical creation, i.e., a new compound is a word that comes to enrich the lexical stock of a given language. This means that compounds belong to the major lexical categories, i.e., noun, verb, or adjective/adverb (cf. 1). Function words or discourse markers that exhibit internal compositionality are not compounds, even if they are internally complex (2).

1.
 - a. Engl. boathouse (N), windsurt (V), waist-deep (A)
 - b. Sp. *casacuna* (N), *maniatar* (V), *amarillo patito* (A)
house-crib, hand-tie, yellow ducky
'orphanage, tie by the hands, pale yellow'
2.
 - a. Engl. nevertheless, moreover
 - b. Sp. *sin embargo* 'without hindrance,' lit. 'however'

In general terms, we can say that compounding is based on the combination of free forms, i.e., pre-existing meaningful words that could appear independently (cf. 3), an argument that is based on the general claim that morphology is based on words, rather than sub-word units (Aronoff 1976).

3.
 - a. Engl. black + board = blackboard, sail + boat = sailboat
 - b. Sp. *casa* + *tienda* = *casatienda*
'house' + 'store' = 'building that is a house and a store'

This observation needs to be qualified somewhat, however, given that compounds may involve elements that are not free, such as learned roots and stems. Thus, in Selkirk (1982), a distinction is made between words and roots, with root corresponding to the category type lower than word (the term stem is reserved for the level relevant to inflectional morphology, for example, the verb prior to the addition of its inflectional affixes). In English, all monomorphemic words are roots, but there are some which are

bound, i.e., elements such as the italicized parts of *moll-ify*, *de-ceive*, *erythro-cyte*. Thus, in nonnative compounds, roots are a recursive category: Root → Root + Root (cf. also Anderson 1992:299, for an extension of the notion of compounding to ‘pseudo-compounds’ based on bound combining forms). In Spanish, the notions of word and stem are relevant to compounding, both native and learned. As do their English counterparts, all learned words involve the combination of stems (4a). In native compounding the unmarked and productive patterns involve combination of two free forms (4b). However, some patterns also combine free forms with roots, which are the non-head element lacking in its word class marker (Harris 1991) (4c). Finally, some hybrid patterns combine learned and native elements (4d).

4.

- a. *psico-logía, centi-metro, agri-cultura*
‘psychology, centimeter, agriculture’
- b. *casatienda, vanagloria, pasacalle*
house-shop, vainglory, pass-street
‘house with a shop, vainglory, street banner’
- c. *gallipavo, petirrojo, maniatar*
rooster-turkey, chest-red, hand-tie
‘type of bird, robin, tie by the hands’
- d. *dinero-terapia, tomati-cultura, tele-audiencia*
money-therapy, tomato-culture, tele-audience
‘money-cure, tomato growth, television audience’

Compounds as Invariable Syntactic Atoms

One of the facts that makes compounds different from syntactic phrases is that once a compound is created it becomes stable, i.e., its elements are fixed in an invariable order which cannot be altered, and where substitutions of elements are impossible without changing the meaning of the compound (5).

- 5. Sp. *casacuna, *cunacasa, *mansioncuna, *casacama*
house-crib, crib-house, mansion-crib, house-bed, ‘creche’

The inalterability of the order is sometimes due to the specific relation which holds between the elements (such as head and postposed modifier), but on other occasions it results from pragmatic considerations, such as repeated use and lexicalization. There are exceptions to this, however: when the relationship that holds between the elements is one of coordination, then two orders may be possible and may alternate: *director-actor*, *actor-director*.

The inalterability of compounds is not enough to distinguish them from phrases, however, especially if we consider idiomatic phrases, such as *take to task* (di Sciullo and Williams 1987:5). In these cases we also have a string that has a strict word order, no possibility of substituting elements (**give task*, **take to work*), and a non-compositional meaning. The difference between these phrases and compounds lies in their place of insertion in the syntactic structure. A compound is inserted in an X^0 position in a syntactic tree and is therefore totally opaque to the operations of syntax. An idiom, on the other hand, is an X^{max} . This is reflected in the fact that the phrase inflects for tense and agreement, and when used in syntax, it is interrupted by extraneous elements such as NPs: *she took Peter to task* (di Sciullo and Williams 1987:5).

Compounds as Productive Patterns

A compound is not just any lexical unit made up of distinguishable smaller lexical units. It results from certain rules of word formation whose renewed use yields neologisms. In other words, new forms can be created whose meaning is transparent and predictable from the meaning of the component units and from the meaning(s) associated with the pattern itself.

For example, in Spanish, the pattern of V+N nominal compounds fits all the elements of the description presented above (6). There are countless V+N compounds in the language; dialects and semi-technical fields often resort to the pattern to create new words (e.g., *saca-leche* ‘breast pump,’ lit. ‘get-milk’), and any number of possible compounds of the type could be invented that would be readily understood by native speakers. For instance, I could coin a word such as *borrapizarrones* ‘blackboard eraser,’ lit. ‘erase-blackboards,’ which any native speaker would be able to identify as a person or instrument that erases blackboards.

6.		<i>literal tr.</i>	<i>actual tr.</i>
a.	<i>sacacorchos</i>	pull corks	corkscrew
b.	<i>chupamedias</i>	suck socks	brown noser
c.	<i>lustrabotas</i>	shine boots	shoeshine boy
d.	<i>girasol</i>	turn sun	sunflower

Not all compounding patterns are equally productive, however. Some produce tokens by the hundreds, perhaps thousands (e.g., Sp. [V+N]_N, e.g., *sacacorchos* ‘corkscrew,’ lit. ‘pull corks’), whereas others have less than 40 or 50 items, most of which are archaic (e.g., Sp. [N+V]_V, *maniatar* ‘tie by the hand,’ lit. ‘hand-tie’) and still others have numerous dictionary entries, but seem to have drastically decreased their productivity in Modern Spanish (e.g., Sp. [N+A]_A, *cabizbajo* ‘depressed,’ lit. ‘head-low,’ which has 281 entries in our modern database). The issue of defining productivity in morphology is by no means simple, however, and the number of tokens in itself is not sufficient to determine it. An intuitive definition, presented in Baayen and Lieber (1991:808), but attributed to Schultink, would be “the possibility for language users to coin, unintentionally, a number of formations which are in principle uncountable,” where the words ‘unintentionally’ and ‘uncountable’ highlight the possibility of creating infinite

neologisms without speaker self-awareness. The Spanish compounding patterns that fit that description are all nominal, including [N+N]_N, e.g., *hombre rana*, ‘frogman,’ lit. ‘man frog,’ [N+A]_N e.g., *hierbabuena* ‘mint,’ lit. ‘herb good,’ and [V+N]_N, e.g., *sacacorchos* ‘corkscrew,’ lit. ‘pull-corks.’ For a detailed account of the measurement of morphological productivity, cf. Kastovsky (1986), Baayen and Lieber (1991), Tyler (1999) and references therein.

Compounds as Generic Terms for What is Name-worthy

Compounds are common words with generic, not individual, meaning. In this, they are different from proper names (e.g., Istanbul Hotel, Kennedy Library), which are not derived by systematic grammatical processes, but chosen or invented arbitrarily to perform a denotative function, referring to something without ascribing properties to it (Levi 1978:7).

Di Sciullo and Williams (1987) state that compounds can be distinguished from phrases because the former are generic, whereas phrases have individual reference. For example, *robber* refers to a permanent property. On the other hand, *the man who is robbing the bank* is not generic because it has tense markers that make it referential.¹ Reference in general is associated with maximal projections in argument position (Longobardi 1994).

Pragmatically, the compound indicates a generic, permanent, and fixed relationship between its constituents: “not every man who removes the garbage is a garbage-man. Only a man who occupationally, customarily, eternally removes the garbage is a garbage-man.”

¹ This difference can be justified in current syntactic theory in terms of presence/absence of a number of functional phrases such as Infl, DP, DegrP and the like (cf. Chapter 2).

(Gleitman and Gleitman 1970:96). The existence of a given compound generally reveals a social agreement about what is name-worthy, i.e., about categories which require a word to denote them. However, it has been noted that occasionally a compound can be created as a non-generic deictic device; for example, *apple-juice seat* could refer exclusively to the seat in front of which apple juice has been placed at a table (Downing 1977:823). In other words, it is not that compounds are barred per se from referring to entities, but that normally, after they are created, they tend to survive and become permanent in the lexicon only if their use is applied to classes.

Compounds and Non-compounds

To better understand the difference between compounding and other phenomena that resemble it, let us now consider a number of non-compounds that can be distinguished from compounds using the descriptive criteria mentioned above. The items in (7) share with compounds the fact that they are polymorphemic, i.e., in each case two or more morphemes combine to create a new one which has single stress (perhaps with the exclusion of (7d), which is historical and for whose stress assignment we have few clues). However, we shall see that they all lack at least one of the characteristics mentioned in the description above.

7.

- a. Sp. *vosotros* = *vos* + *otros* 'you plural,' lit. 'you-others'
- b. Sp. *tráigalo* = *traiga* + *lo* 'bring it!'
- c. Sp. *correvedile* = *corre*+*ve*+*y*+*di*+ *le* 'gossipmonger,' lit. 'run-go-and-tell-him/her'
- d. O.Sp. *botalyma* = *bota* + *lyma* 'blunt-file'

The example in (7a) illustrates a case where the combination of two morphemes has not resulted in lexical creation, but in a new functional element, i.e., a pronoun. Although

this type of phenomenon has sometimes been described as compounding (Tomás 1923 and Plá Cárcelos 1923, for *usted* < *vuestra merced* ‘you-sg.formal < your mercy,’ Foster 1976 for *nosotros* ‘we,’ lit. ‘we-others’) it is not, because the constituents and the whole compound are functional rather than lexical elements. In other words, morphological complexity is not equivalent to compounding.

In (7b), there is a single prosodic word for stress purposes, but it can be broken down into two syntactic nodes, i.e., the verb and its pronominal direct object. In fact, the unity can be shown to be a simple case of cliticization if a new clitic is inserted between the two parts: *tráigamelo* ‘bring it to me!’ lit, ‘bring-me-it.’

In the case of (7c) a new lexical item is created from free forms, including the verbs *corre*, *ve* and *di*, the conjunction *y*, and a pronoun *le*. There is clearly a semantic motivation in the particular choice and sequence of verbs used in this complex word. A native speaker encountering it for the first time, if given appropriate contextual cues, will be able to find a semantic connection between the word and its meaning. But motivation is not the same as semantic regularity: *correveidile* could mean various things, e.g., something that says “*corre, ve, y dile*,” a messenger who is told to transmit information, an exhortation to spread news, and countless other interpretations. The fact that a certain word can be identified as being made up of smaller free forms is not in itself sufficient for the word to be a compound. This is true even if semantic motivation for the particular combination of free forms is still present in the complex word. In the case at hand, the form is motivated, but the pattern used in its creation is not productive in any meaningful way. Moreover, its constituents are not only lexical but also functional (pronoun and

conjunction). Although it is a complex form, it is not a compound but a syntactic freeze (Miller 1993:92, cf. present chapter).

Finally, the case of *botalyma* (7d) is interesting because it does pass several of the tests for compoundhood, including that it is made up of lexical categories combined to form a new lexical item with a pattern of compounding that exists in the language ([A+N]_N). Probably, these facts have led to the inclusion of this form in at least one dictionary of Medieval Spanish (Alonso Pedraz 1986:542, henceforth DME). However, it fails the test of name-worthiness: there does not seem to be any need for a new word to describe a file that is blunt and does not perform its functions appropriately. It is pragmatically unlikely that such a word should come into existence and in fact, the form appears one single time in a vast database of Medieval Spanish (*Cancionero de Baena* fol.89v, ADMYTE), which means that the orthographic unity probably resulted from idiosyncratic spelling or scribal error, rather than from the existence of a new type of file with those characteristics. Therefore we can identify *botalyma* as a lexicographic error, rather than a compound.

Compounding and the Syntax-Morphology Interface

Compounding is at the interface between syntax and morphology. It can be likened to syntax, given that both involve the concatenation of words. However, in the case of syntax the result of these mergers are phrases, whereas in that of compounding, the concatenation results in other words, a characteristic they share with morphological operations such as derivation (Spencer 1991: 310).

Compounding and Syntax

Some of the characteristics which make compounding akin to syntax are recursiveness (8), constituent structure (9), and sentence-like relations, such as head-modifier, predicate-argument, and apposition (10).

8. Recursiveness

a. *in syntax*

this is the house that Jack built

this is the mouse that lived in the house that Jack built

this is the cat that ate the mouse that lived in the house that Jack built

b. *in compounding*

Sp. *parabrisas, limpiaparabrisas*

stop-breezes, clean-stop-breezes

'windshield, windshield wiper'²

9. Constituent structure

a. *in syntax*

[this is the cat [that ate the mouse [that lived in the house [that Jack built]]]]

b. *in compounding*

Sp. [limpia [para [brisas]]]

10. Relations between elements

a. *in syntax*

apposition

Sp. *Juan, mi hermano*

Juan, my brother

head + modifier

Sp. *las piernas largas de las arañas*

the legs longs of the spiders

'the long legs of the spiders'

predicate + argument

Sp. *Abre latas.*

[S/he] opens cans.

² Notice that the verbal element *limpia* has the entire compound *parabrisas* as its direct object. Crucially, it is not understood by native speakers as two verbal elements *limpia* 'clean,' and *para* 'stop,' with a single direct object *brisas* 'breezes,' given that it would not make any sense for *limpia* to have *brisas* as its object: *limpiabrisas cleanbreezes* is semantically uninterpretable. If *limpia* was understood intransitively, then we would have a dvandva, 'clean-and-stopbreezes' but our pragmatic knowledge precludes this interpretation: there is no object that serves the purposes of cleaning (intransitively) and stopping breezes in a car. On the other hand, there is an element that stops breezes, the windshield, and another that cleans the first one, i.e., the windshield wiper.

- b. *in compounding*
apposition
 Sp. *escritor-director*
 writer-director
head + modifier
 Sp. *patas largas*
 legs long
 'long legs'
predicate + complement
 Sp. *abrelatas*
 open-cans
 'can opener'

The process of compounding can often be distinguished from similar syntactic operations, however, since the categories that combine and/or their distributions are often not identical. Thus, in Spanish syntax, the juxtaposition of two bare nominals with no overt coordination is impossible, given that the second nominal would not be assigned case (cf. Zagana 1990; fn.5, and 11a,b below). Therefore, any $[N+N]_N$ sequence can be identified as a compound (11c). As for distributional differences, in syntax the sequence of V+N is a VP, whereas the same sequence in compounding is a nominal (11d,e).

11.

- a. **Robert Redford es actor director.* (cf. *R.R. es actor. R.R. es director*)
 Robert Redford is actor director.
 b. *Robert Redford es actor y director.*
 Robert Redford is actor and director.
 'Robert Redford is an actor and a director.'
 c. *El [actor-director]_N ganó dos Oscars.*
 'The actor-director won two Oscars.'
 d. *El cocinero [[abre latas (de sopa)]_{VP}]_{IP}.*
 'The cook opens cans of soup.'
 e. *[El [abrelatas]_{NP}]_{DP} está roto.*
 The open-cans is broken.
 'The can opener is broken.'

There are at least two compounding patterns in Spanish (and in Romance in general) which are not distinguishable from free syntactic phrases on the grounds of their

observable structural or distributional properties, viz., [N+A]_N *hierbabuena* ‘mint,’ lit. ‘herb good’ and [N+prep+N]_N *dulce de leche*, ‘caramel,’ lit. ‘sweet of milk.’ The distinction between syntactic phrases and these phrasal compounds is therefore more problematic and has given rise to an abundant bibliography, often attributable to lexicographers for whom the inclusion or not of a given term in a dictionary depends on it (Gross 1988, 1990a, 1990b, Silberztein 1990, 1993, Mathieu-Colas 1996). In most of these works the starting point of analysis is the assumption that the difference between syntactic phrases and phrasal compounds is that the former are not fixed, either structurally or semantically, whereas the latter are. The conclusion which the lexicographers arrive at is generally that phrasal constructions are placed upon a continuum, with different “degrees of fixity” (Gross 1990b), which can be established with the aid of a battery of tests. For example, for the [N+A]_N pattern, useful tests include the possibility of predication, nominalization, selectional restrictions, adjunction of an adverb, coordination, and elimination of the adjective. For example, (12) compares the French compound *eaux usées* ‘sewage water,’ lit. ‘used waters’ with the phrase *fait historique* ‘historical event,’ lit. ‘event historical’ (taken from Gross 1990b:57-8).

12.

a. *predication*

* ces eaux son usées	‘these waters are used’
ce fait est historique	‘this event is historical’

b. *nominalization*

*l’usure de ces eaux	‘the use of these waters’
l’historicité de ce fait	‘the historicity of this event’

c. *selectional restrictions*

*des eaux fatiguées	‘tired waters’
un fait certain	‘a certain event’

d. *adjunction of an adverb*

*des eaux tres usées	‘very used waters’
un fait vraiment historique	‘a really historical event’

- e. *coordination*
 *des eaux usées et froides 'used and cold waters'
 ?un fait historique et connu 'a historical and well-known event'
- f. *elimination of the adjective*
 *des eaux usées sont des eaux 'sewage waters are waters'
 ?un fait historique est un fait 'a historical event is an event'

The tests reveal a number of different criteria: some are semantic (12 c,f), whereas others are syntactic (12 a,d,e). However, as we shall see later in this chapter, only the latter are reliable, and they all can be linked to differences in internal structure of compounds and phrases. Semantic tests are based on metaphoric shifts and other changes which are not structural but pragmatico-semantic, and which can affect combinations with any internal structure. The idea of the continuum, though it may be of relevance to lexicographical practice, has no place in a theoretical account of compounding.

Syntactic Freezes

Spanish, as well as most other languages, has composite words that contain what seems to be a perfectly well formed and complete syntactic structure (13). For example, they may include a sentence, complete with subject (*crisofue*), inflectional marks on the verb (*met-o, entiend-o*, both first person singular present verbs), and referential pronouns (*bienmesabe, no te entiendo*). Unlike a regular syntactic phrase, however, these formations are invariable (and generally nominal) and have idiomatic meaning.

	<i>literal tr.</i>	<i>actual tr.</i>
13.		
a. <i>bienmesabe</i>	well (it) me tastes	type of sweet
b. <i>crisofue</i>	Christ was	type of bird
c. <i>metomentodo</i>	(I) meddle-myself-in-everything	meddler
d. <i>no te entiendo</i>	(I) do not understand you	a child of mixed race
e. <i>siguemepollo</i>	follow me chicken	ornamental ribbon women wear hanging from the back

At first sight it appears that they cannot be distinguished from compounds in a principled way. They share with them the fact that they are lexical creations based on free forms. They are also invariable syntactic atoms that provide generic terms for objects or concepts considered name-worthy. If words can be created in syntax following completely regular syntactic patterns, then there is no need to discriminate between the two processes (cf. the argument in Lieber 1992:11 ff., and the counterargument in Miller 1993:94).

However, in this work a clear distinction will be drawn, on the basis of the lack of productivity and idiosyncratic semantic interpretation of these constructions, which we shall call syntactic freezes, following accepted terminology. For example, the database of verbal compounds in Bustos Gisbert (1986) includes 32 freezes (examples in 13), against 871 perfectly regular [V+N/Adv]_N compounds (i.e., a ratio of 1 to 27 or 3.5% of the total). Moreover, although a number of compounds exhibit some kind of metaphoric extension, their core meaning is still that of 'an x which Vs Ns' even when used figuratively (*matasuegra*, 'someone who talks and distracts the mother so that a fiancé can talk more freely with the daughter' lit. 'kill-mother-in-law'). On the other hand, the meaning of the freezes is not transparent.

Compounding and Derivation

In spite of its syntactic features, compounding shares some characteristics with other word formation processes, such as derivation. For example, it enables speakers to create new words on the basis of existing ones. Whereas derivation works from a free form and a bound affix, compounding generally combines two or more free forms (or

learned stems). The concatenation of two words in (14b,c) results in a new word, which may or may not be of the same category as one of its components.

14.

a. <i>base + affix</i>	= <i>word</i>
Sp. camp- + -al	= campal
field adj. aff.	= of the field
b. <i>noun + adjective</i>	= <i>noun</i>
Sp. campo + santo	= camposanto
field holy	= graveyard
c. <i>noun + noun</i>	= <i>noun</i> (used as a complement)
Sp. campo + ciudad	= campo-ciudad
countryside city	= country-city (<i>rivalidad campo-ciudad</i> , city-country rivalry)

Both in compounding and derivation, the internal elements are non-referential and therefore opaque to anaphora (cf. 15, where correct interpretation of the pronouns, though unproblematic, is the result of pragmatic context).

15.

- a. I saw a truck_i-driver. *It_i was muddy.
 b. I talked to the Clinton_iites. *They said he_i was right.

Another characteristic shared by compounds and derived words (Spencer 1991) is their idiosyncrasy, both in formal and semantic terms. As an example of the former, note that only some of the possible [V+N]_N combinations can become compounds, with apparently arbitrary restrictions on the types of verb stems, beyond the expected restriction to transitives.³ The frequent verbs tend to have two syllables, although some longer stems are allowed: *destrozapeines* 'slovenly woman,' lit. 'break-combs.' This restriction is not unlike the impossibility of attaching Latinate suffixes to native bases in

³ Lloyd (1968:32) lists the most frequent in his database: *guardar* in 105 compounds (cf. *guardameta* 'goalie,' lit. 'guard-goal'), *matar* in 93 (cf. *matarratas*, 'ratpoison,' lit. 'kill-rats'), *portar*, 82 (cf. *portaguantes*, 'glove compartment,' lit. 'carry-gloves'), *sacar*, 46 (cf. *sacamanchas*, 'spot remover,' lit. 'remove-spots'), *picar*, 41 (cf. *picaflor*, 'hummingbird,' lit. 'bite-flowers'), *pasar*, 37 (*pasamano*, 'railing,' lit. 'pass-hand'), *cortar*, 33, (*cortaplumas*, 'penknife,' lit. 'cut-quills').

English. Some semantic restrictions are also in operation in [V+N]_N compounds which do not exist in syntactic phrases, where any sequence of a transitive verb and a nominal is, in principle, possible (16).

16.

- a. phrases: *hacer pasteles, tener dinero, ver casas*
'make pies, have money, see houses'
- b. compounds: *?hacepasteles, *tiened dinero, *vecasas*
make-pies, has-money, see-houses
'pie-maker, money-haver, house-seer'

Finally, just like stored derived words, compounds tend to acquire figurative or metaphoric meanings which are not derivable from the meanings of the component parts. Thus, in *chupamedias* 'boot-licker,' lit. 'suck-socks,' the compound is not understood literally but metaphorically: a flatterer (cf. *bootlicker*). Similar semantic specialization is observed in countless compounds: *niño envuelto* 'ground meat wrapped in cabbage leaves,' lit. 'child wrapped' (cf. *toad-in-a-hole, pig-in-a-blanket*); *aguardiente* 'hard liquor,' lit. 'water burning, burning water.'

The Case of *-Mente* Adverbs: Compounding or Derivation?

Because compounding and derivation are both word-formation processes, it is not impossible of for some generalized compound patterns to be reanalyzed as combinations of a free base and an affix. This is the case of the particle *-mente* (< L. MENS/MENTIS 'mind'), which makes adverbs out of adjectival bases, but has properties which are unusual for suffixes. For example, it has the phonological properties of a prosodic word, rather than those of a suffix. The base to which it attaches does not undergo destressing and *-mente* itself is stressed, resulting in a word with double stress (two primary stresses,

according to Zagona (1990), secondary stress on the base according to Saporta (1990)) (17a). It is also morphologically anomalous, given that it attaches not to a stem but to an adjective, complete with its feminine word class marker (WCM). Thus, adverbs in *mente* violate the condition that the WCM be a terminal element, after which no derivational suffixation is possible (Saporta 1990, Zagona 1990; for WCM, cf. Harris 1991). Finally, they have unusual syntactic properties: in a conjoined sequence of *mente* adverbs, the particle is deleted from all but the last one (Saporta 1990, Zagona 1990) (17c).

17.

- a. *calurósa calurósaménte*, or *caluròsaménte* (cf. *calurosísimo*)
 ‘hot, hotly, cf. very hot’
felíz, felízménte, or *felízménte* (cf. *felicidad*)
 ‘happy, happily, cf. happiness’
eléctrica, eléctricaménte, or *elèctricaménte* (cf. *electricista*)
 ‘electric, electrically, cf. electrician’
- b. *rápid-a-mente*, **rápid-ment-a*
 ‘quickly’
- c. *lenta, difícil y seguramente*
**lentamente, difícilmente y seguramente*
 ‘slowly, with difficulty, and with certainty’

On the strength of these properties, some accounts analyze *-mente* as something other than a derivational affix. Saporta (1990) suggests that it may be an adverbial PP with a null preposition (along the lines of *lo vi* [\emptyset [*esta mañana*]_{DP}]_{PP}] ‘I saw him this morning’). Zagona (1990) proposes that it is a compound with an adjectival head, while *mente* is a feminine nominal non-head. This decision is hard to justify, as she herself provides evidence of the categorial and distributional differences between *-mente* adverbs and the adjectives they originate from, including the fact that the adverbs can modify clauses, VPs, and APs (17a), and lack gender/number agreement (18b). The decision to consider *mente* a nominal is even more difficult to justify, especially since Zagona takes

pains to avoid identification of the modern adverbial *mente* with its synchronic homonym *mente* ‘mind’ (cf. fn. 4:4) and its historical precedent L. MENS/MENTIS. If such a nominal exists, it is a bound form exclusively. However, deletability is an unusual property for bound learned stems: **rin- y otitis* ‘rhinitis and otitis.’ Moreover, in bound learned stems, the head is always the element on the right, so for the sake of consistency, *mente* should head the compound, not the adjective on the left.

18. (Data from Zagona 1990:2-3)

- a. *Empieza a las ocho, probablemente (*probable)*.
 ‘[It] starts at eight, probably’ (*probable).
*Trabajan lentamente (*lentos)*.
 ‘[They] work slowly.’ (*slow-masc.pl.)
*Eso es totalmente (*total) falso*.
 ‘That is totally (*total) false.’
- b. *Los niños se lavaron voluntariamente (*voluntariamente)*
 ‘The children washed themselves voluntarily.’ (*voluntarily-pl.)
*respuestas voluntarias (*voluntaria)*
 answer-fem.pl. voluntary-fem.pl. (*voluntary-fem.sg.)
 ‘voluntary answers’

Whatever we call the formation of *mente* adverbs, it is clear that it will constitute a partly anomalous phenomenon, because it is an instance of change in progress. However, it seems less costly and more in agreement with native speaker intuitions to consider it a kind of special derivation than of special compounding. Some of its exceptional characteristics can be explained without stretching existing accounts too much. Thus, if we agree with Anderson (1992) that inflection is only suffixation with syntactic consequences, then the feminine WCM internal to the adverbs can be dismissed as syntactically inert. This, in turn, would solve the problem of the unusual sequence of inflection before derivation in *-mente* adverbs. What appears like an inflectional affix is nothing but an unusual linking vowel of sorts (cf. the linking *-s-* in *bondsman*, inherited

from a genitive case, Bloomfield 1933). The unusual deletion properties are not a crosslinguistically isolated phenomenon either (19a,b), and they are found elsewhere in Spanish affixation (19c). If we accept that these affixes have the status of phonological words, as their stress properties suggest, then we can argue, with Booij (1985), that deletion is a prosodic rule, applying to a prosodic structure in a syntactic configuration of coordination.

19.

a. *Dutch* (From Booij 1985)

zwangerschap en moderschap → zwanger en moderschap

‘pregnancy and motherhood’

eenzijdigheid en partijdigheid → eenzijdig en partijdigheid

‘one-sidedness and partiality’

zichtbaar en tastbaar → zicht en tastbaar

‘visible and tangible’

b. *German* (From Booij 1985)

Freundschaft oder Feindschaft → Freund- oder Feindschaft

‘friendship or hostility’

erkennbar und begreifbar → erkenn- und begreifbar

‘recognizable and comprehensible’

Käferhaft oder Spinnenhaft → Käfer- oder Spinnenhaft

‘beetle-like or spider-like’

c. *Spanish* (From Bosque 1987)

preoperatorio y postoperatorio → pre- y postoperatorio

‘preoperative and postoperative’

naciones infradesarrolladas y supradesarrolladas → naciones infra- y supra-
desarrolladas

‘underdeveloped and overdeveloped countries’

To summarize, the status of *-mente* adverbs is problematic, but not crippling, for a theory which attempts to distinguish derivation from compounding. Their unusual phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties are not sufficient to override abundant evidence of *mente*’s derivational status. In other Romance languages the equivalent adverbials sometimes exhibit more clearly derivational characteristics

(impossibility of deletion), which hints at the possibility of the change towards suffixation eventually becoming complete in Spanish.

The Internal Structure of Compounds

The Notion of Head

As we saw earlier, even a pre-theoretical analysis of compounds reveals that they have internal structure, with one element, called the head, acting as the core of the construct, and another subordinate element which modifies or in some other way determines the head. Thus, for example, in (20) an *apron string* is a subtype of *string*, of the *apron* kind, *honey-sweet* is a specific kind of *sweet*, somehow compared to or defined by *honey*, and *outlive* is related to *live* in a way determined by the prepositional prefix *out*, in the sense of longer than/exceeding (cf. *outrun*, *outlast*). In the Spanish data in (21), an *hombre-masa* ‘massified man,’ lit. ‘man-mass’ is a special kind of *hombre* ‘man,’ modified by the second nominal, a *drogadicto* ‘drug-addict’ is a type of *adicto* ‘addict,’ and *maltratar* ‘mistreat,’ lit. ‘badly-treat’ is *tratar* ‘treat’ in a specific manner, as defined by the adverbial *mal* ‘badly.’ The reader may have noticed that in the English examples presented the head is consistently on the right (though there are exceptions to this, as we shall see in Chapter 2). In Spanish, on the other hand, head position is not so easy to define positionally, especially in the case of the nominal compounds in (21a).

20. *English* (Data from Selkirk 1982:14-15)

- a. N: *apron string* [N+N]_N, *smallpox*, [N+A]_N, *overdose* [P+N]_N, *rattlesnake* [V+N]_N
- b. A: *honey-sweet* [N+A]_A, *white-hot* [A+A]_A, *underripe* [P+A]_A
- c. V: *outlive* [P+V]_V

21. *Spanish* (data from Rainer 1993: Ch.3)

- a. N: *hombre-masa* [N+N]_N, *organoterapia* [N+N]_N, *golpe de estado* [N+prep+N]_N,
mesa redonda [N+A]_N
 man-mass, organ-therapy, blow of state, table round
 ‘massified man, organ-therapy, coup d’etat, round table’
- b. A: *drogadicto, pelirrojo* [N+A]_A
 drug-addict, hair-red
 ‘drug-addict, redhead’
- c. V: *maltratar* [Adv+V]_V, *maniatar* [N+V]_V
 badly-treat, hand-tie
 ‘treat badly, tie by the hand’

The notion of head in morphology is an extension of the long-standing definition of head in syntax, which is also, simply put, the “core” or most important element in a construction. Bloomfield (1933:194) defines it as the element which belongs in the same ‘form-class’ as the construct; Hockett (1958:184) identifies it as the constituent with the same ‘privileges of occurrence’ as the whole. For example, in *a big exam*, we know that the element that could appear instead of the whole construction is *exam*, which we therefore label the head of the phrase.

Zwicky (1985) specifically compares and contrasts syntactic and morphological heads. He defines the syntactic head using three criteria: semantic argument, lexical subcategorisand, and morphosyntactic locus (Zwicky 1985:3). The semantic argument refers to the fact if X is the head of a combination X+Y, then X+Y describes “a kind of the thing described by X” (Zwicky 1985:4). For example, in *a big exam*, we know that the head element is *exam*, because *a big exam* in a “kind of the thing described by X,” i.e., a type of *exam*. The subcategorizand is the element which has a subcategorization frame, and whose occurrence is therefore restricted by the rest of the construction in which it appears. Thus, the fact that *give* and *donate* are the heads of their verb phrases can be shown by the fact that they have different restrictions of occurrence in those verb

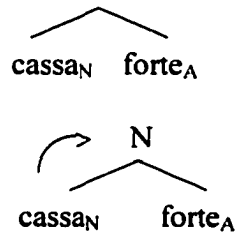
phrases: *give Kim money* vs. **donate Kim money*. Finally, the morphosyntactic locus is that element in a construction that bears the morphosyntactic marks of the relations between the whole construction and other units. In *a big exam*, we know the head is *exam*, because if agreement with a plural verb would appear on *exam*: *there are three big exams at the end of the semester*.

In compounding, the most relevant notions to establish headedness are the semantic argument and the morphosyntactic locus. Thus, in *doorknob*, we know *knob* is the head because (a) a *doorknob* is a kind of *knob*, not a kind of *door*, and (b) the plural inflection in *doorknobs* appears attached to the element *knob*, not *door*. In English, where the head is also usually the rightmost element, it is not clear whether inflection of the compound affects the head or simply happens at the rightmost edge, and also coincidentally attaches to the head. Yet, in Spanish the status of the head of a compound as the morphosyntactic locus is clear, because the head bears plural inflection even when it is on the left: *hombre rana*, *hombres rana(s)* ‘frogman, frogmen,’ lit. man frog, men frog(s).’

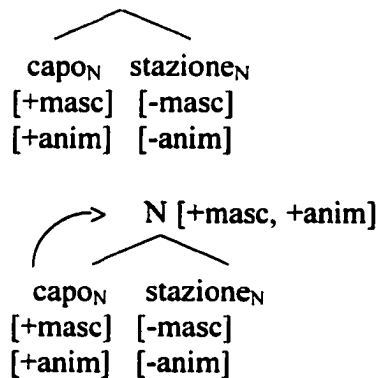
These characteristics of the morphological head have led to the proposal of a mechanism of feature percolation to establish headedness. Scalise (1992) thus defines the head of a compound for Italian as the element which passes the “IS A” test, i.e., the element that percolates its syntactic and semantic features to the whole. Thus, *cassaforte* ‘strong box,’ lit. ‘box strong,’ IS A noun, like *cassa* ‘box’ and unlike *forte* ‘strong.’ Besides, it is semantically a kind of *cassa*. Therefore, *cassa* is the head, not *forte* (22). Scalise notices that the two tests above may be insufficient to decide on headedness. For example, *capostazione* ‘stationmaster,’ lit. ‘master station,’ is a noun, but so are its two

component free forms. In that case, the syntactic test must involve finer syntactic-semantic features which are part of the word's lexical representation. In this case, both *capo* and *capostazione* are masculine and animate, whereas *stazione* is feminine and inanimate, and so the former must be the head (23). He concludes that "it is from the "head" element that all the following linguistic information is passed to the compound itself: a) information regarding category; b) syntactic-semantic features; c) gender" (180).

22.



23.



In view of the problems with the syntactic criterion above, some authors rely entirely on semantics to decide on headedness. Thus, Rainer (1993) calls "head" that morpheme which can function as the hyperonym of the entire complex word. For example, in *coche cama* 'sleeper car,' lit. 'car bed,' the head is *coche* 'car,' not *cama* 'bed' because *coche cama* 'is a kind of *coche* and not a kind of *cama*' (61, my translation). Brousseau (1989:287) proposes the same kind of definition: "In

morphology, the head of a complex word is the constituent of which the word is a hyponym,” where hyponymy is the relationship between a word X (e.g., furniture) and the words Y, Z, W, which are more specific (table, desk). The intension (number of semantic features) of X is a fraction of the intensions of its hyponyms Y, Z, and W, whereas the extension (number of individuals covered by the term) is the addition of all the hyponyms (cf. also Lang 1990, who speaks of “semantic exocentricity” not only in metonymy, e.g., *cara rota* ‘cheeky person,’ lit. ‘face broken,’ but also in metaphoric shift, e.g., *diente de ajo* ‘clove of garlic,’ lit. ‘tooth of garlic’). The semantic criterion of headedness is not completely absent from the definition in Scalise (1992), but it should be noted that this author relates it to semantic features which can be encoded in binary terms (e.g., [+animate]), rather than hyponymy/hyperonymy.

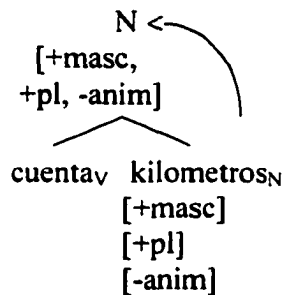
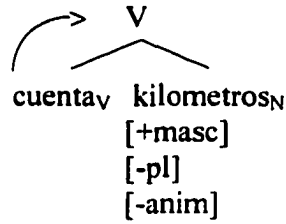
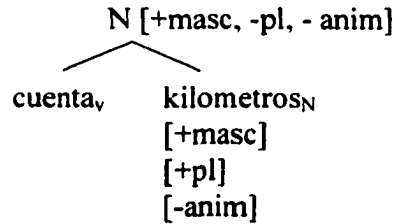
Let us illustrate the difference between the syntactic and the semantic notions of head (24) and later weigh the two approaches against each other.

24.	<i>literal tr.</i>	<i>actual tr</i>
a. <i>cuentakilómetros</i>	count-kilometers	odometer
b. <i>mano larga</i>	hand long	a man who touches women
c. <i>diente de leche</i>	tooth of milk	tooth of the first dentition
d. <i>diente de ajo</i>	tooth of garlic	clove of garlic
e. <i>madreperla</i>	mother pearl	mother-of-pearl

Under any definition of head, (24a) is exocentric, given that neither the verbal element *cuenta* nor the noun *kilómetros* can be said to be the head of *cuentakilómetros*. Semantically, a *cuentakilómetros* cannot be a kind of *cuenta* ‘count_v’ or a kind of *kilómetros* ‘kilometers_{N-pl}’ given that the hyperonym is the singular noun ‘odometer.’ Syntactically, it is clear that neither *cuenta* nor *kilómetros* can be the head, because if it were the former, the compound should be a verb, and if it were the latter, it should be a

plural masculine noun instead of a singular noun (see diagram in 25, for the correct structure, and the two incorrect structures that would result from feature percolation). The same is true of (24b). Semantically, a *mano larga* is not a type of hand, but a type of person, characterized by having long hands, metaphorically speaking. Syntactically, the feminine feature of *mano* does not percolate to the compound, which is masculine.

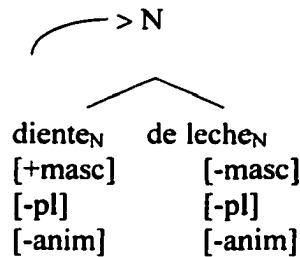
25.



On the other hand, under any definition of head, *diente de leche* is an endocentric compound. The compound has the same syntactic features as the head *diente*, i.e., it is masculine, singular, and inanimate (cf. the simplified tree structure in 26). If the compound is pluralized, the morphosyntactic locus is also the leftmost element: *dientes de leche*. It is a kind of *diente*, so the compound and its head are in a hyperonym-

hyponym relationship: the compound refers to a subset of the elements referred to by the head.

26.



This case will be considered endo- or exocentric depending on the definition of head used. By a semantic definition, it is exocentric: a *diente de ajo* is not a subclass of the part of the body we call *diente*; rather, it is a condiment. The noun *diente* has undergone such dramatic semantic shift that it can no longer be said to mean the same in *diente de ajo* as it does, for example, in *diente de leche* ‘tooth of the first dentition,’ lit. ‘tooth of milk.’ Thus, as Rainer would put it: “[The semantic distance] is biggest in the case of exocentric constructions, where the first constituent of the compound and the hyperonym do not belong in the same semantic field (*Wortfeld*)’ (1993:292, my translation). However, in spite of the semantic shift, the noun *diente* is still the morphosyntactic locus of the compound, given that the plural is *dientes de ajo* ‘tooth-pl. of garlic.’ Besides, the agreement features such as masculine and singular are retained: *un diente de ajo, un diente* ‘a tooth-masc.sg. of garlic, a tooth-masc.sg.’

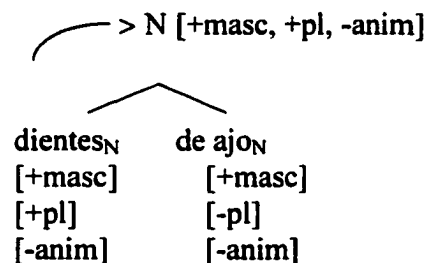
At first sight it may seem reasonable to accept the two alternative definitions of head as possible options. However, a definition based exclusively on semantics has serious shortcomings. Its reliance on the notion of semantic nearness or distance leads to vagueness and makes for a classification system with no clear distinctions between endo-

and exocentricity. Rainer's *Wortfeld* has no clear boundaries, because no such boundaries exist. Diachronically, metaphoric shift proceeds in stages, with features lost or added gradually, and it is not clear how many have to change for the *Wortfeld* to change. Synchronically, there are differences among speakers, with some perceiving connections, while others do not. The reason why a clove of garlic is called a *diente de ajo* is that it shares certain features of shape and color with 'real' teeth.

An even better example of the kind of problem posed by a semantic definition is (24e), *madreperla*. The problem is establishing whether *madre* in *madreperla* 'mother-of-pearl' is a 'mother' or not. It is certainly not the mother of the pearl in the biological sense, simply because the pearl is inanimate, but the inside of the mollusk is indeed where the pearl is formed. A featural definition of *madre* 'mother' includes the notion of animacy, but the term is also used metaphorically to mean 'generator, creator' (Sp. *la madre del vinagre* 'mother of vinegar,' lit. 'mother of the vinegar') or even 'most prominent' (Gr. *μετρόπολις* 'mother-city,' cf. mother of all wars). Depending on whether we stretch the notion of 'mother' to include these meanings, *madreperla* will be an endo- or an exocentric compound.

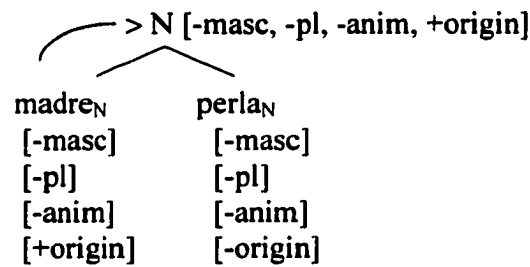
A morphosyntactic definition of head avoids these pseudo-problems. The compound *diente de ajo* is syntactically endocentric, because *diente* determines the gender, agreement, and semantic features of the compounds (cf. 27).

27.



Identification of the head element in *madreperla* is more complicated. Both the head and the non-head element are [-masc], and the morphosyntactic locus is on the rightmost edge (*madreperlas*) (cf. Lang 1990:71, where it is mistakenly classified as right-headed). However, whereas *madreperla* is a *madre* in some sense of the word (originator), there is no sense in which it can be considered a *perla*: *madreperla* is not the pearl but the bivalve around it. If the semantic features taken from the lexical entry of the head term are specific enough, then the metaphoric sense of *madre* present in *madreperla* (e.g., [+origin]) is captured.

28.



To conclude, compounds present a core element that acts as the determinatum and provides the semantic and syntactic features of the whole. The position of this core element or “head” with respect to the non-head element that accompanies it appears to vary. Two possible ways of determining the head were explored, one based mainly on the syntactic properties which the compound inherits from the head (category, gender, agreement, etc.), and another based on the hyperonym/hyponym relation which holds between the two. It was seen that a syntactic definition is preferable in that it cannot be blurred by the metaphoric shifts in the meaning of the head or the compound which often result from lexicalization.

Compounds with More (or Less) than One Head

For ease of exposition, the discussion of head and non-head elements is based on endocentric compounds, i.e., those that have only one of each of these elements. However, this is a simplification: many languages exhibit compounds that have more than one head or no head element at all. Dual head compounds have been traditionally classified in two types, called dvandvas and appositionals. In appositionals the two (or more) heads have identical reference, so one can apply the test ‘an x that is a y, a y that is an x’ (29a,b). They have a structure that is reminiscent of syntactic apposition: *Mr. Bun, the baker* (Spencer 1991:311). In dvandvas the preceding test is impossible, and therefore the reference of the two (or more) head elements must somehow be added (29 c,d). Their syntactic parallel is conjunction: *relationship between mother and child* (but notice confusion in Marchand 1974:303).

29.

- a. Eng.: composer-director, composer-conductor, producer-distributor
- b. Sp.: *actor-bailarin, poeta-pintor, salón-comedor, diccionario-enciclopedia*
‘actor-dancer, poet-painter, lounge-diner, dictionary-encyclopedia’
- c. Eng.: mother-daughter (relationship), North-South (treaty), love-hate
- d. Sp.: (*rivalidad*) *ciudad-campo, amigo-enemigo, marxismo-leninismo*
(rivalry) city-country, friend-enemy, marxism-leninism
‘city-country (rivalry), friend-enemy, marxism-leninism’

Compounds with no heads are called exocentric (30a,b). Neither of the constituent elements is responsible for the syntactic or semantic features of the whole construct. A special kind of exocentric compounds are bahuvrihis, where the relationship between the compound and its referent is possessive (30c,d) (the term *bahuvrihi* is itself a bahuvrihi compound in Sanskrit ‘(having) much rice = someone who has much rice, a rich person’).

- 30.
- a. Eng.: pickpocket, gadabout, chimneysweep
 - b. Sp.: *abrelatas, sacacorchos, pelapapas*
open-cans, pull-corks, peel-potatoes
'can-opener, corkscrew, potato peeler'
 - c. Eng.: redhead, blackbelt, birdbrain, dopehead
 - d. Sp.: *cara rota, casco azul, dedos verdes*
face-broken, helmet blue, hand long, fingers greens
'cheeky person, blue helmet (U.N. soldier), someone with a green thumb'

An analysis of the internal structure of compounds with more than one head and with none at all is delayed until Chapter 5.

Identification of Compounds

At this point it is worth examining the various ways in which compounds have been identified in the literature, both classical and modern, in the American as well as the Romance and Spanish linguistic tradition. Several criteria have been used, such as orthography, phonology, morphology, and semantics of multi-stem words, some of which are conflicting, some overlapping. We shall see that, in accordance with our initial hypothesis that compounds are syntactic entities, the only unequivocal tests are syntactic.

Orthography

The inadequacy of using graphic representation as a universal criterion to establish the status of constructions should be immediately apparent, and was rejected as a distinguishing criterion by an early Romanist: 'orthography cannot give us any information concerning this fact [compounding]....'(Meyer-Lübke (1923): # 542, my translation). For one thing, its use goes against the preeminence of speech over writing in linguistic analysis. Writing is an ancillary activity which may shape some perceptions about language in literate cultures, but is irrelevant to the majority of languages, which

have no written form. Even in those cultures where literacy is widespread, spelling normally reflects linguistic knowledge rather than shaping it. Using graphic unity as a criterion for compounding would be tantamount to saying that the word 'mother' starts with the sound /m/ because it is spelled with 'm.' However, this has not prevented some authors from using orthography in their classification criteria for compounding (Lang 1990, Miranda 1994, cf. also lexicographical work done using large corpora, which resort to orthography out of necessity, Silberztein 1990). The majority of authors, however, reject spelling as a naive criterion (ten Hacken 1994: Chapter 1), a position which will be held throughout this work.

Phonology

Another criterion is phonology, in particular stress assignment and juncture processes. Single stress is a feature of English and Chinese compounds according to Sapir (1949:65). Bloomfield (1933) uses stress as the fundamental means of discriminating between phrases and compound words in languages 'which use a single high stress on each word' (228), such as English. Thus, in *blackbird*, the second word has a weaker stress than would be expected in the phrase *black bird*, correlating with the difference in semantics (a specific kind of bird vs. any bird that can be ascribed the quality of being black). However, the existence of forms with variable stress (dialectal variants *ice cream* vs. *ice créam*, leads him to the problematic conclusion that some compounds have synonymous phrases. Moreover, the stress criterion would fail to identify dual compounds in English, as they have two stresses: *writer-diréctor*. Other phonological criteria can be adduced as markers of word boundary across languages, such

as nasalization (French *vinaigre* [vineɣRə] ‘vinegar’ vs *vin aigre* [vẽ ɛɣRə] ‘acid wine’), vowel harmony (Finnish compounds do not exhibit the vowel harmony which is obligatory in monomorphemic words, (ten Hacken 1994:34), sandhi (French *pied-à-terre* where *pied* is realized as [pjɛt], versus *pied* [pje], the free form, and/or consonant clusters that are barred from word-internal positions (English *shrove-tide* , *penknife*).

The problem with using phonology as the sole or main criterion to establish compoundhood is that it will work in those languages where words have strict phonetic boundaries, but not in those where they do not. In Spanish, in particular, the stress and other characteristics of polymorphemic words vary. Some compounds have single primary stress (*madreperla* ‘mother-of-pearl,’ lit. ‘mother-pearl’), whereas others have two stresses (*hombre rana* ‘frogman,’ lit. ‘man frog’). If stress was used as the only criterion, then a counterintuitive distinction would have to be drawn, and only the single stress cases would qualify as compounds. Compounds with two stressed syllables would have to be reclassified as something else, presumably phrases. However, this position is untenable in Spanish, as it results in ungrammatical phrasal sequences: for example, *hombre rana* lacks the syntagmatic characteristics that would make it a possible phrase in Spanish, because the second nominal could not receive case. Even English, which presumably follows the stress rule, some compound types do not follow it, as was seen above.

The inadequacy of the phonological criterion stems from the fact that it is symptomatic of compound status but not its cause. Phonological criteria have a certain degree of usefulness as indicators of compoundhood: if a polymorphemic construction exhibits phonetic characteristics that are impossible across word boundaries in a given

language, then there is no doubt that it is a compound. However, those features need not be present at all; in other words, they are sufficient but not necessary conditions.

Morphology

Morphological properties have also been used as a criterion in the identification of compounds. For example, Bloomfield's "grammatical features of selection" (1933:229), refer to the allomorphs that enter into combinations in compounding. For example, one way we can tell that Gm. *Lachkrampf* is a compound is that it contains the verbal stem *lach-* which can never occur as a free form. Another way to identify a compositional allomorph is if it seems to exhibit an inflectional form, but one which would be impossible in the particular context. Thus, *bondsman*, *kinsman*, have an apparent possessive suffix that would be disallowed in phrases. Diez (1874) describes the proper compounds of Latin as those where declinable terms appear in their bare form, without gender or inflection, with or without the help of a linking vowel *-i-*: *cor-dolium*, *pacificus*. This type of criterion can be used in Spanish, too. As we saw earlier, some compounds join a combining form with a linking vowel or shortening: *arquimesa* (< *arco+mesa* 'table with drawers,' lit. 'chest +table'), *cabizbajo* (< *cabeza + bajo* 'depressed,' lit. 'head-low').

Bloomfield notes, however, that these allomorphies cannot be used as definite tests because they are often not present (e.g., *bondsman*, but *frogman*, not *frogsman*). They are a sufficient but not a necessary condition to establish compoundhood, so their absence is not an unequivocal indication that the form is a syntactic phrase.

Semantics

In the quest for a definitive criterion to distinguish compounds from other constructions, most traditional Spanish literature has resorted to semantics. Thus, Alemany Bolufer (1920) refers to the fusion “in the mind of two ideas to designate a new one” (152, my translation). The Real Academia Española (1986), states, rather reticently, that “two or more words may participate in the formation of a new word” (1986: 169, my translation), where ‘word’ should be interpreted not only as a graphic but also as a semantic unit. Similarly, Lang (1990) broadens the scope of compounding to any compound phrase that forms “an integrated semantic unit” (65). Alvar Ezquerro (1993) and Miranda (1994) also underscore the semantic notion: “compounding can be defined as the process of word formation by virtue of which from two lexemes a new one is created” (Miranda 1994:153, my translation). Bustos Gisbert (1986) and Rainer (1993) both use meaning as the differentiation between compounding and syntax where there are no morphological clues to discriminate between the two, i.e., between phrasal compounds and syntactic phrases with identical structure. The two authors’ conception of ‘meaning’ is different, however. For Bustos Gisbert the key element is whether the compound has a specialized meaning, different from that of the syntactic phrase, which should be understood compositionally. Thus, *dulce de leche*, a specific kind of milk caramel paste with a specific color, texture, and made following certain procedures, is a compound, whereas *dulce de higo*, which is compositional, i.e., as any kind of sweet made of figs, is not. A similar subset/superset relationship holds with the English case of *blackbird* vs *black bird* (Bloomfield 1933). For Rainer, semantic specialization is not the key; what is needed is for the compound to refer to a unitary concept (begriffsbildener Funktion: 291),

regardless of whether it is specialized with respect to the compositional meaning of the compound elements. Thus, for him, *agua de lluvia* ‘rainwater,’ lit. ‘water of rain,’ is a compound even if its meaning is not a specialized subset of the possible meanings of the compounded elements. For Bustos Gisbert it is not, because all ‘water of rain’ is ‘rainwater,’ and therefore semantic specialization is absent.

The view that ultimately compounds are distinguishable from non-compound phrases by their meaning is mistaken. It works well for lexicalized compounds, where meaning has undergone metaphoric or metonymic shifts, or semantic narrowing (e.g. metaphor: *diente de leche* ‘tooth of the first dentition,’ lit. ‘tooth of milk’; metonymy: *dedos verdes* ‘someone who has a green thumb,’ lit. ‘fingers green’; semantic narrowing: *dulce de leche* ‘caramel paste,’ lit. ‘sweet of milk’). However, it is difficult to come up with an unequivocal notion of how different the meanings of compounds and phrases need to be. If semantic specialization is required, then semantically transparent composites will not be considered compounds even if they fulfill structural conditions such as atomicity (the case of *agua de lluvia* above). If conceptual unity is the only criterion, then many more constructions will fall in the category of compound, even if they do not exhibit genericity (e.g., proper names such as *Estados Unidos* ‘United States,’ lit. ‘States United’). However, a semantic definition opens the floodgates too wide and forces the admission, under the umbrella term of compounding, of many constructions that we would like to exclude, because they are not the result of regular patterns of word formation (such as the complex lexeme *correveidile* ‘gossipmonger,’ lit. ‘run-go-and-tell-him/her’).

A different approach to the issue of meaning is presented by ten Hacken (1994: 75). In his view, in a compound the two elements (determiner and determinatum) should have a 'variable semantic relationship.' For instance, in the compound *car sale* we know that *sale* is a determinatum, i.e., the head of the compound, about which something is being predicated by the other element, *car*. It is normally assumed that the semantic relationship can be rephrased as *sale of cars*, but other interpretations are possible, such as 'sale of objects out of the back of a car.' In other words, though a given compound may evoke a specific kind of semantic relationship between the two terms combined, this is a result of pragmatic considerations, and other interpretations should be possible.

There are several problems with this criterion of identification of compounds. First, it relies too heavily on Germanic languages, whose most productive nominal compounding is the endocentric head-final N+N type, where the determiner/determinatum relationship holds. It cannot be applied at all to exocentric Romance compounds, where the compound is not a subset of either of the two elements: **abrelatas* IS A *abre*, **abrelatas* IS A *latas*.⁴ Secondly, the semantic ambiguity of N+N endocentric compounds is a result of the possible interpretations of the individual free forms that combine in the compound and on the absence of explicit argument links between the two juxtaposed elements. It need not be an inherent feature of all compounding patterns cross-linguistically. Even in English, in a compound such as *blackboard*, it is hard to see how else the relationship between *board* and *black* could be interpreted other than 'a board which is black' (even if it does not hold true of the lexicalized compound).

Syntax

The past sections have explored the use of various criteria that have been proposed to identify compounds and distinguish them from phrases, only to come to the conclusion that none of them is foolproof. The reason is that the orthographic, phonological, morphological, and semantic characteristics of compounds are in fact the result of their particular structural nature. If compounds are to be successfully distinguished from syntactic phrases, it is their differences in structure that must be addressed directly. Based on the notion of the syntactic atomicity of compounds, i.e., the fact that compounds are X^0 categories, tests can be created that distinguish them from phrases.

The most general test is the impossibility of inserting material between the constituents of the compound, either for modification or parentheticals (cf. Bloomfield 1933, all the way to Bisetto and Scalise 1999). This works for compounds that do not have phrasal structure (31a-c), and also for those that do (31d-f).

31.	<i>literal tr.</i>	<i>actual tr.</i>
a. <i>buque escuela</i>	ship school	training ship
<i>*buque pequeño escuela</i>	ship small school	small training ship
b. <i>hombre rana</i>	man frog	fogman
<i>*hombre viejo rana</i>	man old frog	old frogman
c. <i>pollera pantalón</i>	skirt trousers	culottes
<i>*pollera larga pantalón</i>	skirt long trousers	long culottes
d. <i>dulce de leche</i>	sweet of milk	caramel
<i>*dulce rico de leche</i>	sweet delicious of milk	delicious caramel
e. <i>luna de miel</i>	moon of honey	honeymoon
<i>*luna corta de miel</i>	moon short of honey	short honeymoon
f. <i>magia negra</i>	magic black	black magic
<i>*magia muy negra</i>	magic very black	very black magic

⁴ This forces him to reassign the latter to derivation, a rather contrived move.

Other tests based on verifying atomicity include the impossibility of head deletion under coordination, of wh-movement of the head and the non-head, of topicalization of the non-head, and of pronominal or anaphoric reference to elements internal to the compound (ten Hacken 1994). We shall exemplify each one in turn.

Syntactic phrases accept head deletion under coordination, i.e., when two phrases with the same head element are coordinated, one can be deleted. This cannot be done if compounds with the same head element are coordinated (32).

32.

- a. syntactic phrase: *el hombre alto y el bajo*
 the man tall and the short
 ‘the tall man and the short one’
- b. compound: **el hombre rana y el lobo*
 the man frog and the wolf
 ‘the frogman and the werewolf’

In syntactic phrases, wh-movement of a non-head element is possible (33a), and that of the head is marginal (34a). On the other hand, wh-movement of either non-head or head elements is impossible in compounds (33b and 34b).

33.

- | | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| a. phrases: | <i>¿Qué buque construyeron?</i>
<i>El de allá.</i> | What ship... did they build?
The one over there. |
| b. compounds: | * <i>¿Qué buqueconstruyeron?</i>
<i>El escuela</i>
(cf. <i>el buque escuela</i>) | What ship ... did they build?
The school.
(cf. ship school, training ship) |

34.

- | | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| a. phrases: | <i>¿Qué llegó de pasajeros?</i>
<i>El buque.</i> | What arrived.... of
passengers?
The ship. |
| b. compounds: | * <i>¿Qué ...escuela construyeron?</i>
<i>Un buque.</i>
(cf. <i>buque escuela</i>) | Whatschool did they
build?
A ship.
(cf. ship school, training ship) |

The non-head can also be fronted for topicalization in the case of phrases, but not in that of compounds (35a,b).

35.

- a. phrases: *De pasajeros, construyeron un buque.*
 For passengers, they built a ship.
De corbata, había un hombre.
 Wearing a tie, there was a man.
- b. compounds: **Escuela, construyeron un buque.*
 School, they built a ship.
**Rana, había un hombre.*
 Frog, there was a man.

Finally, in syntactic phrases there can be anaphoric reference to the non-head element, whereas that is impossible in compounds (36).

36.

- a. phrases: *La madre del niño_i, lo_i vio en el jardín.*
 The mother of the child_i saw him_i in the garden.
- b. compounds: **Hice el dulce de leche_i con la_i fresca.*
 I made the sweet of milk_i with the fresh one_i.

Summary of the Chapter

In this Chapter we have explored the basic notion of compounding in a pre-theoretical sense, and we have established that it is generally understood as a process of lexical creation based on free forms. Compounds are syntactic atoms, internally invariable and beyond the scope of syntactic operations. They result from the application of productive patterns to create generic terms for what is name-worthy. To exemplify, a number of compounds were contrasted with apparently similar formations which were shown to be lacking in some respect.

The status of compounding as a word-formation process at the interface between syntax and morphology was considered. It was seen that, like syntactic processes,

compounding exhibits recursiveness, constituent structure, and sentence-like relations. This was linked to the problem of distinguishing constructions which could be either syntactic or compounded (phrasal composites). On the other hand, like derived words, compounds are opaque to syntactic operations and their constituents are non-referential. Even the most productive of compound patterns exhibit arbitrary gaps, and many compounds undergo semantic specialization. Again, it was shown that certain constructions straddle compounding and derivation, viz., the *-mente* adverbs. It was also seen that some polymorphemic constructions, which we termed syntactic freezes, though superficially similar to compounds, should be distinguished from them on the basis of their formal and semantic idiosyncrasies.

The internal structure of compounds was the subject of some analysis, especially the notion of the head and how it is established. It was noted that although compounds often have a head and a non-head element, in some cases they may have more than one head, or no head at all.

Finally, the chapter reviewed the methods proposed in the literature for the identification of compounds, and it was decided that the only sound tests are those that rely on syntactic operations based on the inalterability of compounds, rather than orthographic, phonological, morphological, or semantic criteria.

Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. Chapter 2 provides a survey of theoretical models of compounding within the generative framework and an outline of the theoretical model proposed here. It also presents some issues that must be considered in

the discussion of compounding in Spanish and Romance, such as head position, the distinction between functional and lexical phrases, and which types of phrases must be considered as taking part in compounding. Chapter 3 presents the sources and the methods of data collection used. Chapter 4 provides the quantitative results of the data collection and a brief description of the compounding types found both in Medieval and Modern Spanish. The lists of medieval compounds are included in Appendices A and B, and those for modern data are in Appendix C. Chapter 5 proposes an analysis of the main compound types in the sample, and some that are conspicuously absent from it. Chapter 6 summarizes and concludes the dissertation and suggests some lines of further research.

CHAPTER 2 THEORIES OF COMPOUNDING

JACK: That, my dear Algy, is the whole truth pure and simple.
ALGERNON: The truth is rarely pure and never simple. Modern
life would be very tedious if it were either, and modern
literature a complete impossibility!

JACK: That wouldn't be at all a bad thing.

From *The Importance of Being Earnest*, by Oscar Wilde

Background: The Place of Compounding in Modern Generative Accounts

Because it straddles morphology and syntax, compounding has posed interesting problems to morphological theories that account for the relationship between those two modules of the grammar. We shall see that most of the accounts fall into two categories, namely, those that assert the independence of morphology vis à vis syntax, and those that subsume the former into the latter. In the case of accounts that have maintained a clear morphology-syntax dichotomy, compounding has been included in one or the other component (morphology, for example, in Selkirk 1982, the lexicon in di Sciullo and Williams 1987, syntax, in Anderson 1992). In accounts that deny the existence of a difference between word and phrase formation (Marantz 1997), the challenge is to narrow down the domain of compounding so that it will provide descriptions of all and only the patterns of recursive word formation, while excluding syntactic phrases.

Early Generative Accounts

In the earliest generative accounts of compounding,, the internal arrangement of all linguistic elements, above and below the level of the word, takes place in the syntax,

with no separate morphological component (Anderson 1992:8). In these models compounding is accounted for as a syntactic (Lees 1970) or semantic (Levi 1978) operation.

Lees (1970) formulates rules that generate English compounds, assuming that the syntactic relation between the elements in the compound reflects that which occurs in an underlying expression, and ultimately, an independent sentence⁵ (*drawbridge* → *bridge which is for someone to draw* → *someone draws the bridge*). Therefore, the grammar must provide a description of embedded sentences in which the parts of the compound are originated. The deletion of the verb in the underlying sentence which yields the compound results in ambiguity. For example, in *eating apple*, the nominal is to be understood as the object of the verb (someone eats the apple), whereas in *clotting agent*, it is the subject (the agent clots blood). Lees proposes that a restricted number of generalized verbs is associated with certain classes of compounds by fixed grammatical rule. For example, in *windmill*, the relationship between the elements is the generalized verb *impel, energize, activate, power, propel*, which has a minimal set of semantic features common to all the variants.

Levi (1978) accounts for the productive patterns of complex endocentric nominal formation in the framework of generative semantics, which identifies deep structure with semantics.⁶ Her claim is that all complex nominals must be derived by two syntactic

⁵ Interestingly, Panini did this over 2,000 years earlier, providing a sequence of ordered rules that could derive a compound from an underlying syntactic phrase (Dahiya 1995:51).

⁶ She also includes constructions not traditionally considered compounds (hence the term *complex nominals* instead of *nominal compounds*), such as Adj+N constructions like *a rural policeman*, which she claims have a non-predicating adjective in the non-head position which is an underlying noun, derived from an N-labeled node: **a policeman who is rural* vs. *a policeman who is from the country*. She provides evidence for this claim such as the non-degreeness of these adjectives (**very rural doctor*), their possibility of

processes, viz., predicate nominalization and predicate deletion. That is, the head noun has an underlying non-head predicate deleted in the derivation. These Recoverably Deletable Predicates (RDPs) represent nine possible underlying semantic relations between the non-head and the head (CAUSE, HAVE, MAKE, USE, BE, IN, FOR, FROM, ABOUT). For example, in the CN *tear gas*, there is an underlying active verb CAUSE: *gas that causes tears*. In *drug deaths*, there is an underlying passive verb CAUSE: *deaths caused by drugs* (cf. Levi 1978:118 ff.). As a result of the deletion, multiple ambiguity occurs, but Levi claims that a virtually unrestricted relationship, such as 'X is related to Y' would be descriptively inadequate and predictively useless. However, some compounds do not fit into any of the nine predicates (note Levi's contortions to explain *breast man* 'man who likes breasts' (1978:250); cf. additional difficulties with using the nine categories in Lehnert 1988:164 ff.).

To sum up, neither Lees' nor Levi's models have a separate morphology module in the grammar, so compounds are included in the syntactic/semantic component. They share the same underlying structure as sentences, but undergo transformations that involve deletion of structure. This accounts for their different pragmatic function of naming as opposed to the descriptive function of phrases.

The Lexicalist Hypothesis

Chomsky (1970) is the first strong rejection of the identity of treatment of phrases and complex words. It opposes the idea that derived words are formed in syntax by

conjoining with nouns, rather than adjectives (*corporate and divorce lawyer*, **anthropological and respected journals*), and various others. She therefore presents a unitary account of N+N and non-predicative Adj+N, where the difference is a very late optional rule that turns the non-head noun into an adjective, a legitimate move in generative semantics.

transformation. It contrasts gerundive nominalizations, which involve a grammatical transformation (*John is eager to please* → *John's being eager to please*), with derived nominals (*John's eagerness to please*), which do not. The argument is based on differences such as the lower degree of productivity (*John is easy to please* → **John's easiness to please*) and the varied and idiosyncratic relations that hold between derived nominals and the verbs they derive from. Moreover, whereas gerundials retain the structure of VPs, derived nominals have the internal structure of NPs: *his criticizing the book* vs. *his criticism of the book*. Finally, gerundials inherit the VP adjuncts of the verbs they are derived from, unlike derived nominals: *his criticizing the book before he read it* vs. **his criticism of the book before he read it*. These differences are explainable if it is assumed that derived nominals correspond to base structures rather than to the operation of transforms.

The lexicalist hypothesis marked the beginning of the treatment of morphology as a separate component of the grammar, giving rise to the explicit study of how words are composed internally. Grammatical category is changed by lexical, not syntactic rules. They are local rules, referring to material within a single item's subcategorization frame. They also have exceptions and are not necessarily meaning preserving, another property distinguishing them from syntax. Finally, there is a relative order of application of the two sets of rules, with syntactic rules barred from applying in the lexicon. We shall go over three different versions of the lexicalist hypothesis, namely, those of Selkirk (1982), di Sciullo and Williams (1987), and Anderson (1992) (cf. also Zwicky 1992), and discuss in particular the place of compounding in each one.

In its most extreme version, lexicalism states that morphological objects are created following one set of rules, those of word formation, and syntactic objects follow a different set of rules, those of syntax (di Sciullo and Williams 1987). This position has the onus of proving that there is in fact no interpenetration of morphological and syntactic rules in word formation, and that any similarities between the two modules are merely coincidental.

Shared by both levels of representation are a 'common vocabulary,' of basic word level categories (N, V, A) and a binary branching structure. However, in morphology one can also make a case for the existence of a type X^{Stem} , one down in the hierarchy from the Word, and yet a lower category level X^{Root} . Anderson (1992) opposes a word-based morphology like the one proposed in Aronoff (1976) (but cf. Aronoff 1992:76 "in the rest of this work, word should be taken to mean 'word sans inflection' or lexeme..."), and states that word formation operates on stems, i.e., surface words without their productive inflectional material.⁷ Another difference is that the sets of rules that operate in the two levels are different and separate in the grammar, with word structure rules located in the lexicon (1a) and phrase structure rules in the syntax (1b).

1. From Selkirk (1982:18 and 6)

a. word: $X \rightarrow XY$

b. phrase: $X^n \rightarrow X^{n-1} \dots$

For Selkirk (1982) and di Sciullo and Williams (1987) the morphological level is responsible for derivation, inflection, and compounding. The latter is the result of applying rewriting rules, identical in format to those responsible for derivation and of the

⁷ This makes it possible to describe languages such as Latin, where stems, not words, are contained in the dictionary and are the basis of word formation rules.

type in (1a) above, and taking place in the lexicon. Because both accounts ascribe to the view of morphemes as listed elements, there is no substantial difference between derivation and inflection, which involve the addition of bound morphemes to free bases, and compounding, which is the addition of two independent forms.

On the other hand, Anderson (1992) does not view morphemes as listed word-like elements, but as operations on the form of words, relating stems to other existing stems or creating new stems on the basis of existing ones ('item and process' vs. 'item and arrangement').⁸ For example, *dogs* can be represented not by concatenating /dɒg/ and /-z/ but rather by having /dɒg/ undergo a rule whose change consists of /X/ → /Xz/. In this kind of account, word formation rules for derivation and inflection are relatively straightforward, but compounding cannot be dealt with in those terms. Compounds (or *composites*, Anderson 1992: Ch.11) involve combining stems into a quasi-syntactic structure. They are a 'mixed category': like phrases, they are made up of words, but unlike them, they belong to lexical, not phrasal, categories. On the strength of its similarities with syntax, compounding is excluded from the lexicon and placed in the syntactic component, which must therefore include Word Structure Rules that can develop lexical categories, similar to phrase structure rules, but having different properties with respect to X-bar theory, because they are same-level recursive.

Di Sciullo and Williams support morphology-syntax separation by providing evidence of the differences between the two components, in spite of apparent similarities. Thus, they try to prove that the morphological head has a number of characteristics that

distinguish it from the head in syntax. For example, the head of a compound cannot be distinguished from the non-head by bar levels, given that both are X^0 ; it must be established contextually, by position. The head is the rightmost element of the word marked for the feature F (Williams' Righthand Head Rule, Williams 1981). However, this type of definition poses problems because it is language specific: e.g., in the Romance languages compounding is often head initial: Fr. *timbre poste*, 'post stamp,' lit. 'stamp-post' is a kind of *timbre*, not a kind of *poste*.

Another consequence of the absolute separation between morphology and syntax is that morphological objects are syntactically atomic, i.e., they are internally invisible to the rules of syntax. A part of a word can only interact with the syntactic environment indirectly, because at the phrasal level words have global features but no internal structure. Here again, Romance compounding poses problems, because there are many with the internal structure of phrases (V+N, V+Adv, etc.), although there is no doubt that they are syntactic atoms, given that they occupy an X^0 position. However, di Sciullo and Williams label them 'syntactic words,' the result of a marked process of phrase reanalysis (N→VP). The authors support their view of markedness by stating, erroneously, that these compounds are idiomatic and have non-compositional meaning.

To overcome the problem posed for their positional definition of head by Romance left-headed compounds and the intrusion of syntax into morphology by 'syntactic words,' di Sciullo and Williams state that Romance languages 'lack compounding altogether.' Otherwise, the floodgates would be open for the 'importation'

⁸ His argument is that processes such as apophony, subtraction, metathesis, reduplication, and so on, cannot be listed elements of the lexicon, whereas the addition of an affix can be viewed as a special type of operation ($/X/ \rightarrow /X+aff/$).

of all of syntax into morphology, destroying the potential for any kind of generality in the laws of either.

Anderson (1992) notes, however, that even in English some compounds pose problems for Williams' definition of morphological head, either because they have no head (bahuvrihi compounds such as *redhead*, V+Obj compounds), they have two (coordinatives *actor-director*), or they have it in the wrong position (left-headed items such as *son-in-law*). As for the brute force ruling out of all Romance V+N compounds, Anderson rejects this 'somewhat remarkable' and costly move. He shows that the general recursive internal structure of phrases (VP→N) is not available for Romance compounds (e.g. **pense sans doute que la terre est plate* 'thinks without a doubt that the earth is flat' cannot be a compound, although it is a well-formed VP). Many syntactically possible structures that would not violate the conversion rule are not possible as words, such as for example, compounds with internal noun modifiers: **pickouterpocket*, **arc-en-ciel-bleu* 'lit. 'arc in sky blue,' cf. *arc-en-ciel*, 'rainbow.' Conversely, it can be argued that many of the V+N compounds do not constitute well-formed phrases, because they lack determiners in the object noun phrase: **I pick pocket* (cf. *a pickpocket*) Anderson concludes that the formation of these compounds is not done through reclassification of phrasal structures as words, which would raise more theoretical problems than it solves.

Thus, although lexicalist approaches share the view that morphology and syntax are separate modules with different kinds of rules, they differ in the component they place compounding in. For Selkirk and di Sciullo and Williams, it is no different from other morphological processes, whereas for Anderson it is a syntactic creation of words.

The Syntactic Approach

The tide started to turn on the morphology/syntax separation with the publication of works which called into question the need or convenience or even the possibility of separating these two components. These accounts offer different approaches to the matter of the interpenetration of morphology and syntax. For some (e.g., Lieber 1992), what is needed is an acknowledgment of the identity of relations which hold above and below the word level. This simplifies the grammar by eliminating the need to have independent word formation rules, different from the X-bar rule that holds in syntax. For others (Baker 1985, 1988, 1995a, 1995b), the issue is that syntactic and morphological processes often mirror or paraphrase each other (e.g., noun incorporation), which suggests that they are but two sides of the same coin. The challenge is to find a principled way to reflect that relationship in the grammar. Other researchers (Hale and Keyser 1992, 1993, 1997) think that to achieve a correct semantic interpretation of the elements in the lexicon, one must assume that their dictionary entries have some form of syntactic representation. Finally, for other accounts (Distributed Morphology, Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994, Marantz 1997), there is a single computational system (minimalism, Chomsky 1995), whose operation will result in words or phrases, depending on the categories being combined, not the nature of the combination operations (Miller 1993).

Lieber (1992)

Lieber (1992) notes that the morphological rules of lexicalist theories are too suspiciously similar to syntactic rules. She intends to show that morphology should be reconstituted as an integral part of syntax. Starting her argument at the fringes of

morphology, where the syntax of words and phrases seems to converge (in structures such as *a floor of a birdcage taste*, which she claims are compounds), she shows that there are no unequivocal criteria to distinguish the two. Given that to generate these ‘compounds’ some interaction between modules must be allowed, the simplest solution is their complete identity.

Lieber’s account of the relationship between morphology and syntax is that derived, inflected, and compound words can all be generated by extending the categories and rules of syntax to word-internal levels, thus blurring the distinction between the two. She does this by extending to subword units the model of X-bar theory, especially the notion of head, and by adapting the notions of phrasal complement, specifier, and modifier to sublexical components. Thus, a complement is often equated with the internal arguments that are selected by a verb. Inside a word, the complement could be the non-head of a synthetic compound: *cat lover*. A modifier is a restrictive element that limits the reference of the head. In root compounds, for example, a non-head can act as a modifier of the head: *file cabinet*. Specifiers are a heterogeneous bunch in syntax (determiners, demonstratives, quantifiers, modals), which means that pinning down examples in morphology is an even more complicated matter. Lieber proposes negative prefixes such as *non-toxic* (which parallels a negative particle) and quantifier prefixes such as *biweekly*.

Baker (1985, 1988, 1995a, 1995b)

Lieber’s proposal, in itself, does not challenge the notion that morphology and syntax operate in two distinct realms, e.g., a first morphological ‘round’ that combines

affixes to create words, and a second syntactic 'round' that takes those words and combines them into phrases. Baker (1985) takes a different path: morphology and syntax are just two aspects of a single process. The evidence for this is the Mirror Principle, the fact that the order of morphemes in a complex word mirrors the order of syntactic operations that the word undergoes in a phrasal derivation. In other words, morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa). Baker notes that the Mirror Principle could be a derivable theorem in a theory of grammar "that takes both the morphology and the syntax of each grammatical function rule to be crucially related to a single process, taking place in a single component of the grammar" (Baker 1985:403). In other words, it is a blow for a very strong lexicalist hypothesis, which dissociates morphology from syntax and makes all morphological operations precede all syntactic operations. It cannot be accounted for either by a theory that assumes that the morphological features of a complex word are unordered (Anderson 1992). Baker proposes that the framework needed is one where there is only one derivation, with morphological and syntactic effects.

Baker's attack on the lexicalist hypothesis is much more far-reaching when he discusses the phenomenon of noun incorporation (1988, 1995a, 1995b). This is a process whereby a semantically independent word comes to be 'inside' another. It leads to an alternation between syntactic structures where the verb governs a direct object (2), and semantically equivalent morphological constructions with a complex verb formed by compounding a noun stem together with a verb stem (3) (frequent in polysynthetic languages).

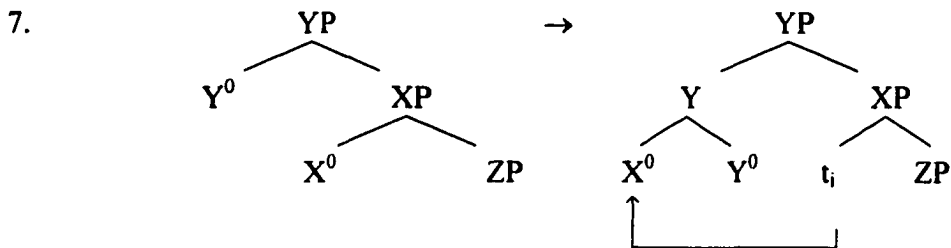
2. *Wa* '-k-hninu-' *ne ka-nakt-a*': *Mohawk* (Baker 1995b:5)
 fact-1sS-buy-punc NE pre-bed-suf.
 'I bought the/a bed.'
3. *Wa* '-ke-nakt-a-hninu-': *Mohawk* (Baker 1995b:5)
 fact-1sS-bed-Ø-buy-punc.
 'I bought the/a bed.'

These constructions differ from those of similar N-V compounds in English such as *truck-driver* in important ways. For one thing, the noun can be specific and referential, either definite or indefinite (cf. (4) and (5), where the English example can only be interpreted with considerable pragmatic latitude). For another, the noun inside the complex verb can be modified by a demonstrative, adjectival modifier, quantifier, relative clause or even possessor outside it (cf. 6).

4. *Thetvre* ' *wa* '-ke-nakt-a-hninu-': *I-k-ehr-e* ' *Uwari v-ye-nuhwe* '-ne': *Mohawk*
 (Baker 1995b:5)
 yesterday fact-1sS-bed-buy-punc Ø-1sS-think-punc Mary fut-FsS-like-punc
 'I bought a bed yesterday. I think Mary will like it (=the bed).'
5. I met a truck-driver yesterday. ?It was mud-covered and rusty.
6. *Thikv v-ye-nakt-a-nuhwe* '-ne':
 this fut-FsS-bed-Ø-like-punc.
 'She will like this bed.'

According to Baker, identical thematic relationships between items like the ones represented in the alternations above, should be represented by identical structural relationships between those items at D-structure (Universal Theta Assignment Hypothesis, UTAH). In other words, the properties of noun incorporation can be captured if the formations are not lexical compounds but derived via a syntactic transformation of the type move- α , extended from its original phrasal domain to heads, i.e., individual words: pro [_{NP} t_i] bed_i-like (Baker 1995b:7). A trace is left behind in the original position of the moved item, in accordance with the Projection Principle, which ensures structure

preservation after movement. If it is a case of move- α , then incorporation should obey the following principles: (a) the trace must be properly governed (following the Empty Category Principle, which states that empty categories must be properly governed); (b) the antecedent of the trace cannot be in a thematic position; (c) the antecedent of the trace satisfies the subjacency condition. The movement of heads follows strict locality conditions (Travis 1984:131), which means that an X^0 can only move into the Y^0 which properly governs it, and the X^0 must govern its trace after movement (7). This means that X^0 must move to other head positions, and be adjoined to the head, since at least for lexical categories, phrases are not usually generated with syntactically null heads. After incorporation, the lexical category with an incorporated item governs everything which the incorporated element governed in its original structural position (government transparency corollary).



The movement account of noun incorporation explains the possibility of stranding, because only the head moves, with its trace providing a link between the incorporated noun and its external modification. It also explains the possibility of a syntactic paraphrase with referential meaning. Other features of noun incorporation can also be accounted for elegantly, such as the possibility of incorporating objects but not

subjects,⁹ adjuncts, locatives, or benefactives. In all these cases, the trace left behind would not be properly governed, in violation of the ECP. On the other hand, if the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis is maintained, these significant generalizations are lost.

Baker proposes morphology is not a level of representation but as a separate system acting in parallel with syntax, a set of principles and constraints on the well-formedness of X^0 constituents. Morphology should be freed from an inherent association with any level of description, which allows morphological principles to determine syntactic structure in various ways.

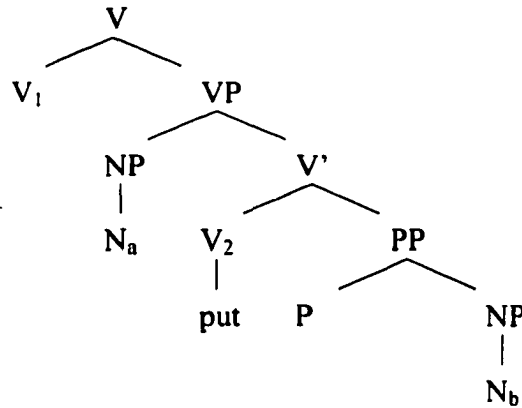
Hale and Keyser (1992, 1993, 1997)

Hale and Keyser aim to prove that there is a form of “syntax” in the lexicon. When a mental lexical entry has a categorial label, such as V, then it also defines a certain syntactic structure for that verb that accounts for its syntactico-semantic relations with other elements of the sentence. This structure explains the kinds of thematic roles that the subject and object of the verb will be assigned (e.g., agent, experiencer, theme, goal, etc.) and it also explains the limit to the number of different possible thematic roles across languages (cf. (8) for the verb *put*). The nominal N_a is what we call the object, i.e., that which will be put somewhere, and the prepositional phrase formed by P and N_b is the location where N_a will be put. Because this structure is part of the representation of *put*, trying to use the verb without either a location or a locatum is ungrammatical: **He put the dishes* **He put in the dishwasher*. The subject, or external argument, does not

⁹ That is, unless the verb is unaccusative, in which case the surface subject originates in an internal VP position.

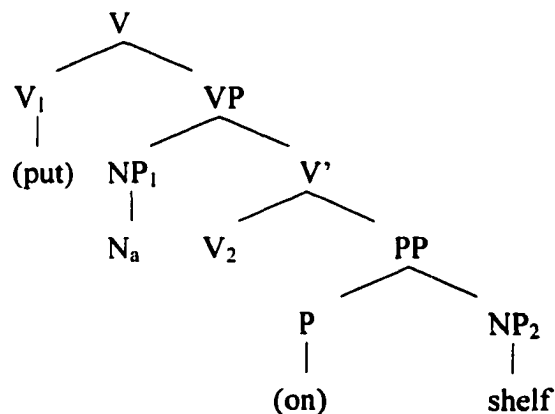
appear in the lexical syntactic representation, for it is not 'selected' like the patient and the location; it is the external argument, anchoring the predicate referentially.

8.



The first verbs to receive Hale and Keyser's attention were those known as denominal or converted verbs, i.e., nouns that have become verbs without any overt affixation (e.g., *shelve*, *saddle*). The lexico-semantic properties of these verbs are not arbitrary, but rather what one would expect if they are analyzed as underlyingly structured as in (9).

9.



The properties of *shelve* can be accounted for by assuming the verb originates in NP₂, which moves into the empty category P. Then, the construct formed by the noun *shelf* and the null preposition moves again, this time to V₁, where it incorporates into a null verb. This movement follows the general syntactic restrictions of the head-

movement constraint and the ECP. Moreover, this structure explains why certain conversion possibilities are ruled out. For example, *A cow had a calf* can be expressed as *A cow calved*, by incorporation of the object into an empty verbal head, but not as **It cowed a calf*, by incorporation of the subject. Incorporation of the external NP in subject position into the empty verbal head violates the ECP.

The analysis of category shift is based on the general notion that words have an internal syntactic structure, a proposal that is supported by “morphologically overt derivational processes including compounding and overt incorporation” (Hale and Keyser 1997:34). These processes combine the following categories available in the lexicon: N, expressing an entity, V, which with its complement expresses an event, A, a predicate, and P, which forms a predicate with its complement. Another important notion relevant for compounding is that in sublexical units there is also unambiguous projection, ensuring that only one constituent can be the head. The mechanism to ensure this is binary branching and the X-bar structure.

Distributed Morphology

Whereas Hale and Keyser try to explain the relationship between the representation of lexical elements and the syntactic structures in which they take part by assuming that there is an I-syntax within the lexicon, the proposals of Distributed Morphology are an explicit rejection of the claim that words are created in the lexicon, and the corollary that syntax manipulates complex words without access to their internal structure. It does not deny the existence of a lexicon as an uncontroversial “list of atomic elements for syntactic composition,” (Marantz 1997:201) but reduces the processes of

abstract word formation to a syntax of abstract categories, a simplification, “in the spirit of Minimalist syntax” (Noyer 1997:xxviii). There is a single computational system, whose operation will result in words or phrases, depending on the categories being combined, not the nature of the combination operations.

According to DM, hierarchically organized pieces are present at all levels of representation. The grammar constructs words in syntax by merge and move, the same operations that create phrases. The difference between the construction of words and that of phrases is simply whether the categories that are merged are zero-level or phrasal (cf. Miller 1993). If the morphophonological characteristics of a given complex structure justify its decomposition into terminal nodes, the syntax must create this structure and it must be interpreted in the regular way for such constructions, be they words or phrases. That is, hierarchical tree structures of terminal nodes are present within both words and phrases.

In this view, the lexicon is replaced by a number of distributed, non-computational lists, which appear in different places in the grammar. The first list is the narrow lexicon, the units that syntax operates on and which are made up of stems and their atomic bundles of features, but no phonological realization. It is generative, in that it feeds the computational system of merge and move operations (Chomsky 1995). The second list is the vocabulary, which provides phonological forms for the terminal nodes that come from the syntax. It establishes connections between sounds and meanings, and is non-generative but expandable. The vocabulary items may be underspecified with respect to syntactic terminal nodes, and thus compete for insertion in a specific node. Finally, the third list is the encyclopedia, which includes special meanings and again is

non-generative and expandable. Marantz (1997) attacks one of the main arguments for the lexicon, i.e., that the word is a special domain, characterized by idiosyncratic meaning and/or form, arguing that phrasal idioms (e.g., *the shit will hit the fan*), are no different in this respect from particular derived words (e.g., *transmission* with an entity rather than a process reading). On the other hand, some words are not capable of acquiring special meanings, and must remain strictly compositional (e.g., in Chichewa, words with stative affixation may be idiomatic, but those with eventive passive suffixes may not, Marantz 1997:209, cf. also Japanese causatives: 211). The reason why the myth of the uniqueness of the lexicon took hold, says Marantz, is that the notion of word has been confused with that of root.

DM combines features of affixless and lexicalist alternatives of morphology. With Anderson (1992), it separates the terminal elements in syntax from their phonological realization. DM does not replace all affixes with rules, however, which allows the theory to maintain the claim of generative syntax that inflections are the heads of functional categories, and consequently, terminal nodes in tree structures. In Anderson's view, on the other hand, any parallel layering of syntax and phonology (Baker's Mirror Principle) is an accident. The way DM achieves separation is by allowing for violations of the one-to-one relationship between meaning and phonological form.

On the other hand, with Lieber (1992), DM proposes that the phonological realization of terminal elements in syntax is governed by lexical entries that relate morphosyntactic features to phonological features. However, rather than proposing lexical items in the lexicon as the locus for form/meaning relations, DM assigns

phonological features to morphosyntactic bundles after syntax, where operations combine terminal nodes prior to vocabulary insertion. The organization of stems and affixes is not isomorphic to the hierarchical arrangement of morphosyntactic terminal elements in syntax, because grammatical processes occurring within morphological structure may disturb the one-to-one relationship. These processes may include head-to-head movement (Baker 1988), merger, which joins terminal nodes under a category node of a head at the \emptyset level, while maintaining two independent terminal nodes under it (e.g., joining head with head of complement XP), fusion, where two nodes are blended together into a single terminal node, fission, where a single node is split into two morphemes on the surface, and so on.

Distributed Morphology and Feature Checking

Halle and Marantz (1993) compare their analysis to that proposed in minimalism (Chomsky 1995), where features are checked rather than added in the course of a word's derivation. According to checking theory, affixation happens in the lexicon, prior to insertion, and provides all the features in no particular order. All the features of a lexical item "float around in one pot," (Halle and Marantz 1993:167), i.e., they are an unordered set. Then, the item raises to functional heads to match or check its features with those of the functional heads with which it adjoins (i.e., the verb and its functional heads of Tns, Agr, etc.). The question that remains unanswered in checking theory is why the internal hierarchy of inflectional affixation on a verb seems to reflect the bundling of features into morphemes, several of which correspond to syntactic functional heads. In minimalism, this must be achieved through stipulation, i.e., features are checked in the order of

affixation. Moreover, checking creates an undesirable split among terminal nodes, with the functional heads having no vocabulary insertion but bearing a special relation with others that do (e.g., Tns and Agr with respect to V). The claim of DM is that terminal nodes mediate the connection between syntactic/semantic information and phonological information uniformly, regardless of the source or identity of the terminal node.

To summarize, in Distributed Morphology, inflectional features are picked up in prepackaged morpheme bundles in the grammar, rather than the lexicon or the vocabulary, word formation is syntactic and post-syntactic, rather than lexical, and the bundles of information inside words interact just like word-size bundles of information do in phrases. These claims are in line with compounding as the syntax of X^0 . If the words inside a complex form interact just like they would in a phrase, however, the main challenge to the theory is to distinguish compounds from syntactic phrases in a principled way. This is particularly important in Spanish, where, as we have already seen in Chapter 1, the distinction between phrases and compounds is hard to draw and has given rise to much discussion.

A Syntactic Account of Compounding

Syntactic approaches to morphology provide a suitable framework for the analysis of Spanish compounding. The purpose of this section is to discuss the particulars of the analysis which will be put forth in this work, both as it pertains to the rules and operations which combine those categories into compounds, and the categories themselves. My main claim is that syntactic phrases and compounds share characteristics because they are formed following the same set of rules and operations (merge and move), given that the

grammar provides no others (Chomsky 1995, Marantz 1997). The differences between the two derive from the distinct categories they manipulate. In the case of phrases, they involve a full array of functional and lexical phrasal projections, whereas in compounds, only lexical elements (words) and sublexical elements (stems) participate.

I propose the representations and operations that are necessary to account for compounding and later provide evidence that the categories involved are lexical and sublexical, not functional (with some provisos to be considered). It will be demonstrated in Chapter 5 that the interplay between these operations and categories accounts for some rather puzzling features of Spanish compounding, such as their variable head position.

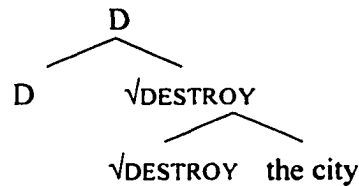
Rules and Operations That Generate Words

Following the syntactic approach of Distributed Morphology, in the present work words are analyzed as tree structures with binary branching, following the X-bar schema. For example, each lexical item has a head element that projects onto a first intermediate node where it can merge with a complement, and then, onto a second node where this intermediate phrase can merge with a specifier.

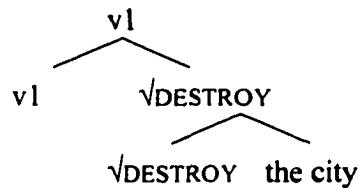
Thus, to derive the nominal *destruction* in *destruction of the city*, we assume that the non-categorial root $\sqrt{\text{DESTROY}}$ merges with its complement, *the city*. If it is placed in the “nominal context” of DP then it will yield the form *destruction of the city* (10). By contrast, if placed in a “verbalizing” context represented by the agent-projecting $v1$ ¹⁰ in (11), we obtain a verbal form, such as *destroyed the city* (from Marantz 1997:217 ff.).

¹⁰ The $v1$ functional head projects an agent, while another, called $v2$ does not (Marantz 1997:217).

10.



11.

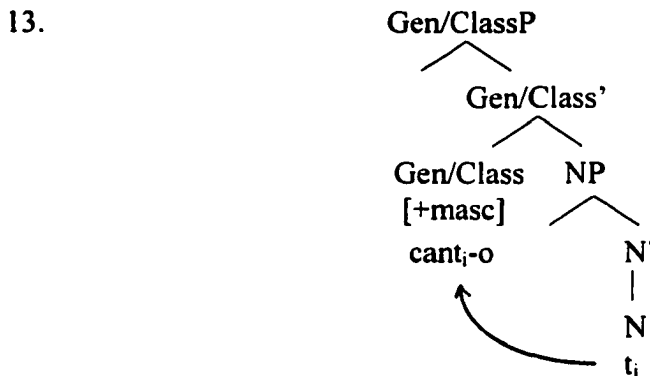
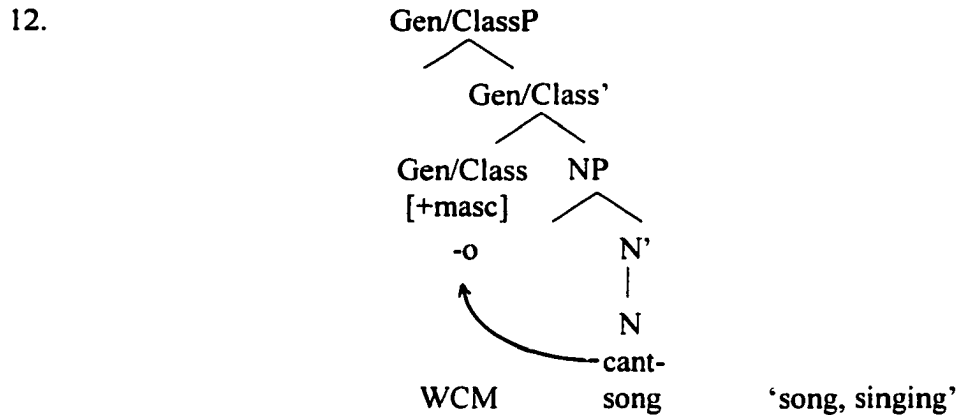


After this initial merger with the complement, the category merges with its specifier, which in the nominal context is the genitive, whereas in the verbal context it constitutes the external argument of the verb, i.e., the subject: *John's destruction of the city, John destroyed the city.*

In this type of analysis, then, a lexical item can be analyzed as a root and a categorial marker, so even apparently simple free forms are in fact complex, in the sense that they are theoretically distinct from roots and stems. Spanish provides more explicit evidence for this, because free forms exhibit a more overt internal structure than they do in English. Thus, any non-verb word involves a stem and a word class marker (*cant-o* 'song, singing') (Harris 1991, Bernstein 1993, Picallo 1991 for Catalan) suggesting the internal structure in (12), where the Gender/Class Phrase represents the locus of the WCM, which is also the marker of gender in Spanish (but cf. comments in Harris (1991) about the differences between gender and class).

Once the categories are merged, the nominal head undergoes movement and adjoins to the left of the Gen/Class head. However, by virtue of the Projection Principle (Baker 1988), the underlying structure is not destroyed, a feature that is captured by inserting a trace wherever a move- α operation has removed an item. The Empty

Category Principle guarantees that a X^0 can only move into the Y^0 which properly governs it, and must govern its trace after the movement. This means that X^0 must move to other head positions and be adjoined to the left of the functional head. In the case of Spanish, this means that the stem will adjoin to the left of the category marker (13).¹¹



It follows from the above, that the head of the word, i.e., the element responsible for percolating its grammatical features to the whole, is the one that appears to the right on the surface, i.e., the WCM on the noun.

In a compound word, the elements that are combined involve more than one stem, and at least one categorial element. Thus, in the adjective *ojinegro* 'of black eyes,' lit.

¹¹ Government is not a feature of minimalism, but a similar restriction can be obtained by virtue of the shortest movement principle (Chomsky 1995), which favors short movements over longer movements.

'black-eye,' there are two stems, *oj-* and *negr-*, and the word class marker on the adjective, *-o* (the element *-i-* will be analyzed as a linking vowel, added at the level of phonological form). In other compounds, such as *hombre rana* 'frogman,' lit. 'man frog,' there are two stems, *hombr-* 'man' and *ran-* 'frog,' and two functional elements, viz., the word class markers of both nominals, *-e* and *-a*.

Compound words pose problems when it comes to establishing the position of the head. In some languages, such as Spanish, headedness within compounds has been the matter of much debate. Although it is generally true that the Romance languages are right-headed when it comes to suffixation (with some notable exceptions, such as affective suffixes), the head of compound words is less clearly definable in terms of position. In the next section we consider the issue of head position in compounds and how it has been dealt with previously in the literature. We shall see that none of the approaches is capable of accounting uniformly for the position of heads in Spanish compounds. I then propose one solution to the problem, which I maintain is consistent with the data of Spanish, and which rests crucially on the distinction made above between stems and words.

Head Position

Positional definitions

The accounts of head position by percolation of syntactico-semantic features, which we have seen in Chapter 1 pose problems which have led some authors to a positional definition. In the lexicalist approach, for example, Williams (1981:248) defines the head of a morphologically complex word as the rightmost morpheme of that

word: *houseboat* is a type of *boat*, *boathouse* is a type of *house*. In the case of derived words, the last derivational morpheme is responsible for the syntactic category of the complex: *industri-al-iz-ation* is a noun because the morpheme *(at)ion* is a nominalizing morpheme (ditto for *-al* and the adjective *industrial*, and *-ize* and the verb *industrialize*).

As we have seen, the righthand head rule is problematic, given that it is an underivable stipulation, and more importantly, it is observationally inaccurate. For example, in the Romance languages, complex derived words have their head on the right, like English: *industri-al-iza-ción* ‘industrialization.’ However, compound heads are normally on the left: Fr. *wagon-lit* ‘sleeper car,’ lit. ‘car-bed,’ It. *cassaforte* ‘strong box,’ lit. ‘box strong,’ Sp. *pez espada* ‘swordfish,’ lit. ‘fish sword.’ The rule also poses problems in any language when there are compounds with two heads or none.

The fact that this type of head assignment in morphology is stipulatory, and the added problem of the lack of cross-linguistic and cross-categorial consistency have led some authors to find a better definition of head in morphology. For example, within the syntactic approach to morphology, Lieber (1992) proposes to account for head position by revising the syntactic notions of X-bar so that they can be extended below the level of X^0 (14).

14. Lieber’s Licensing Conditions (Lieber 1992:35)

- a. Heads are initial/final with respect to complements and adjuncts
 - i. θ -roles are assigned to the left/right.
 - ii. Case is assigned to the left/right.
- b. Heads are initial/final with respect to specifiers.
- c. Heads are initial/final with respect to modifiers.

Lieber then proposes that the licensing conditions for each category are set once for each language, both above and below the word level, with possible parametric

variation among languages (1992:40 ff. for examples from Tagalog, English, French, and Dutch). The remainder of her work is the articulation of the “minimal and trivial” modifications that must be made to X-bar theory and other subsystems of syntax to derive all of the objects of morphology. She faces two problems: (a) sometimes the licensing conditions at the syntactic level are not unequivocal, and (b) sometimes they are different above and below the word level.

Let us exemplify one problem of her approach with English. In this language, syntactic heads are followed by complements (*buy books*). However, in synthetic compounds the complement precedes the head: *thirst quencher*, instead of the phrasal order *quench thirst*. Lieber presents three circumstances when the order of elements in compounds may deviate from that in phrases: (1) words or word formation patterns have been borrowed from another language; (2) the surface order in the language is variable to begin with; (3) the setting of the licensing conditions has changed over time. In English, the discrepancy between phrases and compounds can be accounted for by (3). In Old English, an SOV language, the verb assigned its theta-role to the left. After the parameter change, synthetic compounds continued to be derived following the older setting, and thus became marked. The surface order of compound elements in Modern English needs to be obtained via movement of the complement from its phrasal position to their location preceding their head.

For Spanish, if compound head position is set by Lieber’s licensing conditions, complements would be expected to follow their heads, an accurate prediction in the case of $[V+N]_N$ compounds of the type *sacacorchos* ‘cork-screw,’ lit. ‘screw-corks’ (note, however, that the VP is later converted into a N, which results in exocentricity).

However, in verbal compounds of the type $[N+V]_V$ and in adjectivals $[N+A]_A$, the order is reversed, with the nominal complement preceding the head. Parametric variation is therefore insufficient to unequivocally establish head position. Specifiers are scarce in compounds, but those that exist (e.g., numerals) have licensing conditions which are identical below and above word level. In both cases they precede the heads they specify: *cuatro ojos*, ‘a person who wears glasses,’ lit. ‘four eyes’ (cf. the syntactic phrase *esas cuatro manzanas*, ‘those four apples’). Note, however, that just as for the $[V+N]_N$, these compounds involving numerals are bahuvrihis, and are therefore exocentric. As for modifier adjectives, which are typically the non-head in nominal compounds, they generally appear on the right, in keeping with the position of modifiers in syntax. However, this statement is problematic, both in syntax and morphology, because some premodification exists in both (cf. the phrase *un buen amigo* contrasts with *un amigo bueno* ‘a good friend’ vs. ‘a friend who is good’). As for compounds, both head initial $[N+A]_N$ (*mesa redonda*, ‘round table,’ lit. ‘table round’) and head final $[A+N]_N$ patterns exist (*vanagloria*, ‘vainglory,’ *gentilhombre*, ‘gentleman’). Verbal and adjectival compounds with adverbial modification consistently violate Lieber’s licensing conditions, with the head placed after its modifier: *maltratar* (cf. the semantically equivalent syntactic phrase *tratar mal* ‘treat badly’). To summarize, Lieber’s licensing conditions encounter problems in Spanish, such as the absence of uniformity in the placement of modifiers with respect to their nominal heads, which could be dealt with by pointing to the inconsistency of syntax (principle (2) above). However, the licensing conditions are also violated in verbal and adjectival compounds with nominal complements and adverbial modifiers, where instead of the expected head-initial pattern we find a head-

final configuration. In this case, none of the three principles can explain away the anomaly (except perhaps 3).

Antisymmetry

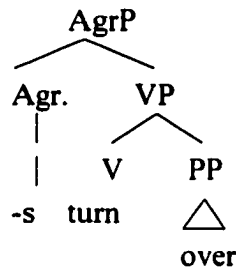
Lieber's parametric account is challenged by Kayne (1994), according to whom the position of the syntactic and morphological head is not subject to language-specific parametrization but the result of universal principles. In this view, X-bar theory simply expresses a set of antisymmetric properties of phrase structure, i.e., the Spec-Comp asymmetry. In other words, an asymmetric c-command holds between specifiers and complements, which means that they are invariably placed on opposite sides of the head. Complements must always follow heads, whereas specifiers and adjuncts must always precede the phrase they are sister to. Any apparent S-C-H order is strictly impossible if it means a phrase marker in which the sister phrase to the head precedes that head. It is possible, on the other hand, when it represents a phrase marker in which the complement has raised up to some specifier position to the left of the head (via head-to-head movement and adjunction). According to Kayne, this universal antisymmetry holds both below and above the word level, and is therefore relevant to our discussion of compounds.

In this view, a syntactic head, i.e., a word, cannot have internal structure of a nonadjoined sort, which means that it must be an adjunction structure whose head is the element adjoined to. This yields the non-head/head order, as desired (with heads on the right, as per Williams' RHR). For example, if we map a structure such as the complex verb *overturn* (15b) the head of the word must be the terminal element dominated by the

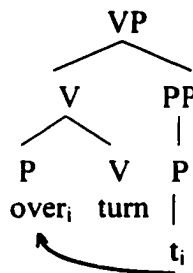
same category (in this case, the verb *turn*, given that the complex word *overturn* is a verb, too). Therefore, *over* must adjoin to *turn*, so that it can precede it. All V+inflection instances follow the same structure, because affixes (in this case, agreement) always belong to some syntactic category that exhaustively dominates them, so V is adjoined to them. Therefore, *turns* must be the result of *turn* adjoining to *-s*, and in *overturns*, *over* must adjoin to *turn*, which then adjoins to *-s* (15c).

15.

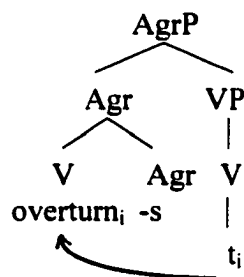
a.



b.



c.

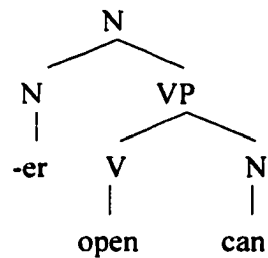


Kayne's proposal works for English synthetic compounds of the type *can opener* [[*can open*]_{er}], with *can* adjoined to *open*, and *can open* adjoined to *-er* (16). This in

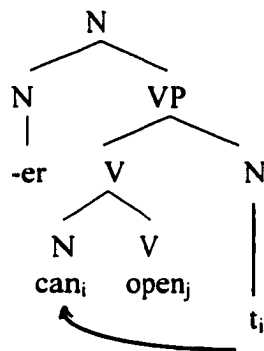
itself would recommend the analysis, given that it does not have to resort to historical explanations or exceptionality to account for a productive compounding pattern.

16.

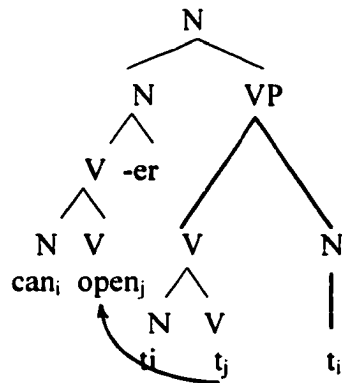
a.



b.



c.

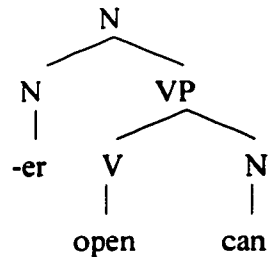


In this analysis, multiple adjunction to the same head is impossible: if it appears that there are more than two adjoined elements on a given head, they must either be adjunctions to distinct functional heads or adjunctions of one head to another, or some combination. The only possibility for *can opener* is, as we saw, a sequence of two

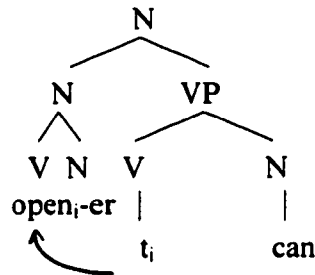
adjunction operations. The form cannot be generated by adjoining *open* to *-er* first, and then *can* to *open-er*, as this move would involve two adjunction movements to the same head *-er* (17).

17.

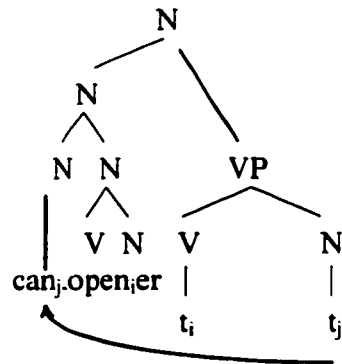
a.



b.



c.



The principles presented by Kayne, then, do seem to constrain the operation of head-to-head adjunction. However, just like with Lieber's licensing conditions, Romance compounds pose a problem. In particular, in $[V+N]_N$ the non-head is adjoined to the right of its head. Kayne notes, however, that in this case, the compound accepts no complements: *ouvre boîte de boîtes de métal* 'can opener of metal cans,' lit. 'open-cans

of cans of metal,' so the analysis $[_N[_{Vouivre}][_{NP}[bo\hat{i}te]]]$ with *boîte* in the complement position is plausible. He notes further that the structure of this type of compound does not fall under the scope of the structure in (16) above, if I understand correctly, given that it is exocentric, i.e., neither of the two parts is a head.

An account of right-adjunction

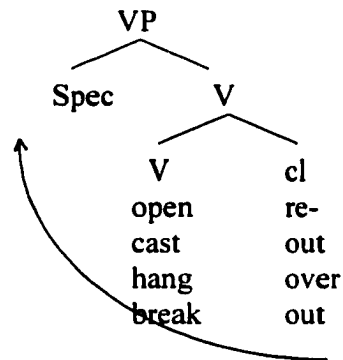
Keyser and Roeper (1997) note that not only Romance compounds exhibit right-adjunction, but so do some English constructions, such as *carryout*. They attempt to explain them without sacrificing Kayne's left-adjunction-only account. They observe that complements are barred from compounds with right-hand nominal particles, of the kind $[[V][P]]_N$ (e.g., **carryout of food*, but cf. *a quick turnover of merchandise*), whereas they are allowed in those with left-head particles (*outflow of funds*). Additionally, prefixed compounds allow recursion (*re-overinvest*, *over-reinvest*), whereas suffixed ones do not (**follow-up-up*), and prefixed compounds are non-agentive, whereas suffixed ones are agentive (*outbreak of disease*, vs. *workout*, i.e., someone works something out). In sum, right-hand adjunction blocks argument structure and further affixation and imposes an agentive interpretation (i.e., the existence of an agent and a theme for the verb).

Their proposal links these features to the abstract clitic hypothesis, according to which all verbs have an inner complement clitic position. To derive the correct order in prefixed cases, a leftward movement rule is applied, which moves the object from the clitic to the left of the head (18a). That movement is blocked in suffixed compounds (18b) because the object position is filled, which agrees with their agentive interpretation

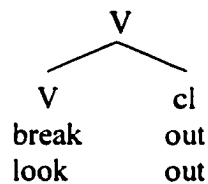
(18c). This analysis poses a new problem, however, which is to justify the stipulation of a clitic position to the right of the head to be adjoined to, which seems a subterfuge to circumvent the excessively rigid formulation of head-to-head movement as adjunction to the left.

18.

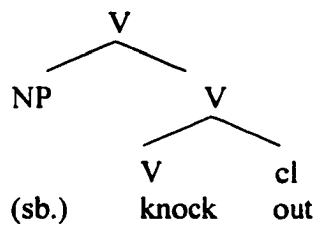
a.



b.



c.



A second problem with the account is that it violates the principles of procrastination and greed (Chomsky 1995): the clitic will move unless it is blocked, rather than moving if and only if it is forced to satisfy its own morphological requirements. An alternative solution (presented in Baker 1995:114-118) would be to allow for the possibility of parametrization of adjunction direction, with some languages

exhibiting a basic order and stylistic deviations from it, and others having a freer configuration.

My proposal

My proposal is to relate head position not to adjunction or blocking of adjunction, as Keyser and Roeper (1997) suggest, but to the interaction between adjunction and the internal morphological structure of the non-head elements that combine with the heads. We shall see that this account has the advantage of conforming to the principles of procrastination and greed: items will not undergo movement unless they have to do so in order to satisfy their own morphological requirements. The clear morphological correlate has the additional advantage of accounting for the learnability of the head-initial and head-final patterns of Spanish compounding, which otherwise remains mysterious.

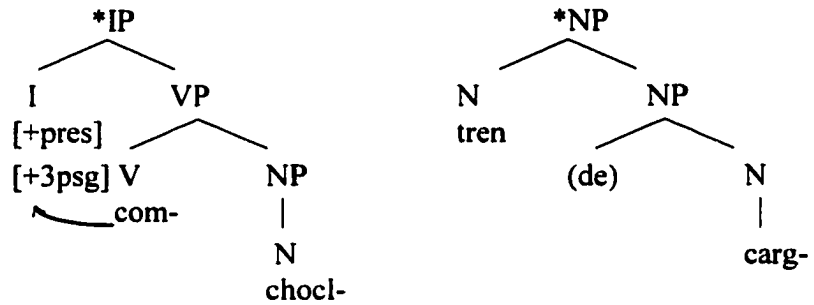
The account follows Kayne (1994) in proposing that there is an asymmetry in the relative position of compound constituents, parallel to the asymmetry of syntax; in other words, compound heads follow their specifiers and precede their complements. However, the head position with respect to complements is additionally determined by whether the latter appear in a bare form or in a fully inflected form, in other words, whether the NP complement is selected by a Gender/Class phrase (Gen/ClassP) or not. This intermediate functional projection between the head and the non-head, I contend, is essential to make the non-head visible for θ -role assignment by the head. In other words, it is impossible to case mark the NP directly in Spanish. The evidence is not hard to come by (cf. 19 a-d for examples, and 19 e-f for abbreviated tree representations). In (19f) the nominals are capable of receiving case and are therefore visible for θ -marking,

whereas in (19e) the defective NPs are capable of neither, which means that they will fail the Case Filter (Chomsky 1981).

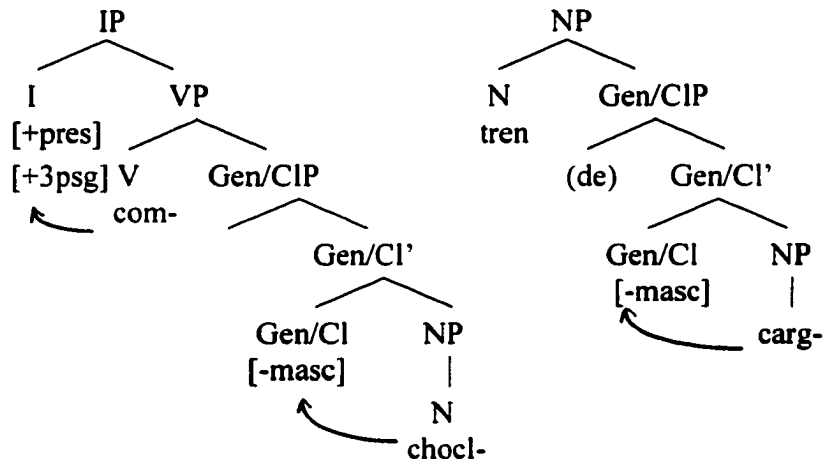
19.

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------|
| a. *Come chocl- | Eat-3 sg.pr. corn |
| b. Come choclo. | Eat-3 sg.pr. corn |
| c. *tren de carg- | train of load, freight train |
| d. tren de carga | freight train |

e.



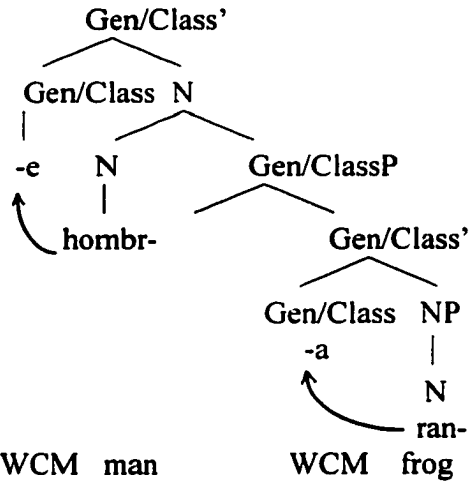
f.



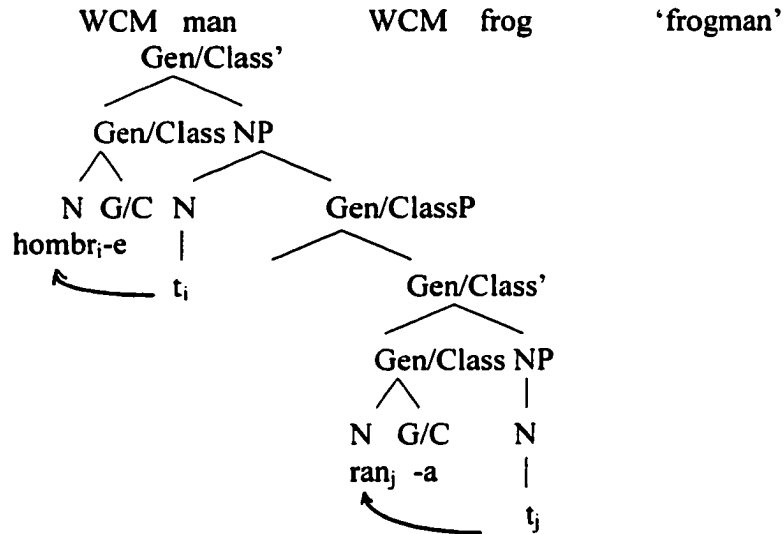
In Spanish establishing whether a nominal is a bare NP projection or a Gen/ClassP is relatively straightforward, given that in most cases, the latter exhibit an overt inflectional suffix between stem and number marking (the WCM). Gen/ClassP is selected by NP, AP or VP, which means that a fully inflected non-head nominal is assigned case to the right of the head, either by adjacency as is the case of VP case assignment, or through the dummy case assigner *de* in the case of NP or AP. If the non-head nominal is a bare stem, however, it cannot be selected by its case assigner, and will

therefore be incapable of receiving a thematic role and fulfill the visibility condition. In syntax, the result is ungrammaticality, as shown by (19a and c) represented in (19e).

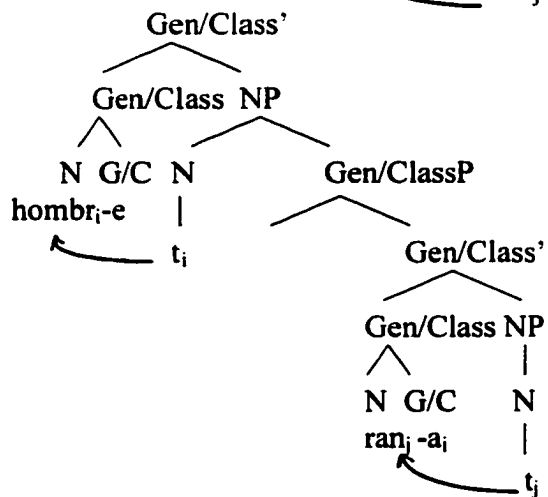
20. a.



b.



c.



Now let us consider the same phenomena as they relate to compounding. In the case of compounds where the non-head element is a full word, the stem will move to the left to adjoin to the head of Gen/ClassP (20a). After that, the non-head/head complex will move no further. It is assigned case by the nominal or adjectival head via a dummy preposition *de*. In turn, the head of the compound itself will undergo raising to adjoin to the left of its Gen/ClassP head. A case such as *hombre rana* ‘frogman,’ lit. ‘man frog,’ shows just that type of process, with each stem element adjoining to its corresponding word class marker as illustrated in (20).¹²

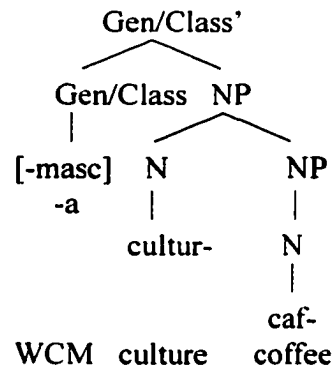
If the lexical head selects a stem directly, however, the intermediate functional phrase Gen/ClassP is absent, which means that the non-head cannot receive case that will make it syntactically visible or be assigned a θ -role that will make it semantically interpretable. The nominal non-head stem in a compound will therefore fail the case filter, unless it moves and left-adjoints to its head. This is because, as Baker (1988) states, noun incorporation obviates the need for case assignment, by acting as the overt means of identification of the semantic role of nouns.¹³ The derivation of the compound *caficultura* ‘coffee-growing,’ lit. ‘coffee-culture’ is presented to exemplify adjunction by head-to-head movement. There is a first movement which incorporates the complement into the nominal stem, followed by a second adjunction of the N-N complex into the Gen/ClassP node (21).

¹² For the sake of simplicity, only the projections relevant to the analysis are included in the diagram.

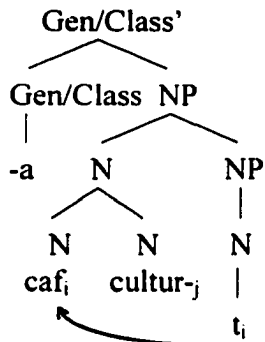
¹³ Baker notes, however, that the fact that nominals do not *need* to receive case when incorporated does not mean that they *cannot* exhibit it, as a language-specific property. If this happens, the case assigning properties of the verb are used up by noun incorporation; the entire verb becomes intransitive as the noun root absorbs its case.

21.

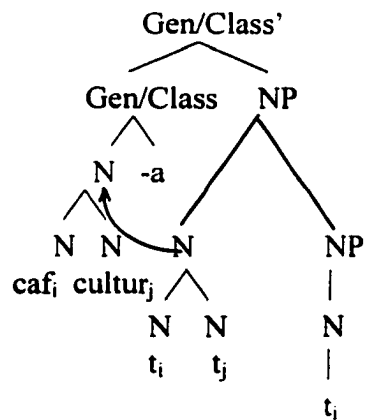
a.



b.



c.



Both the structures of the type *hombre rana* and those of the type *caficultura* are compounds in Spanish, something which can be confirmed by tests such as inseparability, impossibility of extraction and internal anaphoric reference, and the like. However, they have a different internal make-up. In the first case, there are two stems and two word class markers, whereas in the second case there are two stems but only one word class

marker. Therefore, there are two different types of compounds in Spanish. The first kind can be called XP compounds: in them the head appears to the left of the non-head, and both head and non-head present their WCM. The second kind can be called X^0 compounds. In them, the non-head appears to the left of the head, and there is only one WCM, on the right of the whole compound. In X^0 compounds, head-to-head movement operates and the principles proposed by Kayne hold, i.e., adjunction will operate to the left and the head will end up to the right of the non-head.

The non-head in XP compounds does not move from its position to the right of the head because it does not need to, i.e., it obeys procrastination (Chomsky 1995). On the other hand, in X^0 compounds the non-head needs to move to achieve morphological well-formedness and to check its case, which it is incapable of doing in situ due to the absence of a WCM. It is legitimate to ask why XP compounds are compounds at all, i.e., how they can be distinguished from run-of-the-mill syntactic phrases. The answer, which will be developed in the next section, is that the categories involved in their creation are lexical, not syntactic. In other words, they involve lexical phrases without functional phrases.

To summarize, we have reviewed various analyses of head position in morphology. Some of them rely on the stipulation of a fixed head position for morphology (Williams 1981, di Sciullo and Williams 1987), others on language specific parametrization of the relative position of heads and various kinds of non-heads (Lieber 1992). Finally, still others are based on the unified and abstract proposal of asymmetry between specifiers and complements, a principle which holds both at the level of morphology and syntax (Kayne 1994). Excluding right adjunction creates problems to

account for left-headed compounds, which constitute the bulk of Romance compounding. The present account explains the coexistence of left- and right-headed compounding in Spanish and links the two to observable differences between the morphological properties of the non-heads in each case. If non-heads are full words, then they do not left-adjoin to the head because they are capable of receiving case and become θ -marked by the head. If they are stems (words minus their WCM), then they must left-adjoin to the head to circumvent the Case Filter. My proposal is therefore based on the interaction between a universal head-complement word order and the language-particular morphological properties of words.

The Categories That Take Part in Compounding

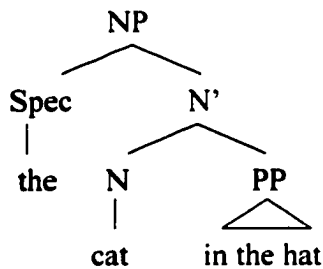
The Lexical Phrase/Functional Phrase Hypothesis

The previous sections have shown that there are commonalities between compounds and syntactic constructions, such as for example, the presence of head and non-head elements in both and the possibility of classifying the non-head element using the categories of X-bar syntax (specifier, complement, modifier). We have also noted that the operations carried out on these elements to create both compounds and phrases are basically the same, i.e., merger and movement. However, we also noted in Chapter 1 that compounds can be distinguished from phrases if we subject them to various syntactic tests, such as inseparability. The question now is to identify what in the structure of compounds accounts for this different syntactic behavior. If the difference cannot be found in their basic architecture or formation rules, it must be the categories of the elements that take part in the construction of both. I claim that the distinction between

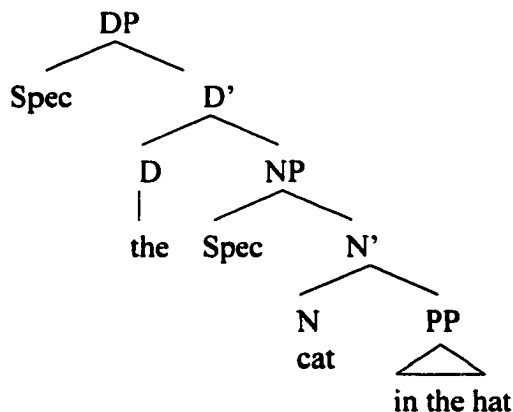
compounds and phrases can be achieved using the notions of lexical and functional phrase (lexical/functional phrase hypothesis, Miller 1993).

This hypothesis is based on the intuitive notion that some of the elements used in building syntactic structure, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, are ‘contentful,’ whereas others, such as determiners, inflection, auxiliary verbs, and at least some prepositions, do not add meaning, but are necessitated by sentence architecture and for the expression of relational notions such as tense, agreement, and case assignment. The first formulations of X-bar theory presented the contentful elements as the heads of their categories and relegated the functional elements to the position of specifier of a head (22). However, Abney (1987), Leffel (1988), and Stowell (1991) argue that the functional elements should also be heads of their own X-bar categories leading to the formal restructuring in (23).

22.



23.



The implication of this restructuring is that a noun phrase (NP) preceded by a determiner is in fact a determiner phrase (DP), with a determiner as its transitive head, selecting as its sister a noun phrase. Each lexical category is the complement of a functional category which selects it. Thus, NPs are selected by DPs, IPs by CPs, VPs by AuxP, and APs by DegrP (24). PPs may or may not have a functional phrase to select them: some prepositions are lexical, while others are functional. In the case of lexical prepositions, a degree phrase can be inserted: *very near the river, right at the door*. If the preposition heads a Kase Phrase, then no such possibility exists: **I gave the ring right to my brother*.

24. DP	NP
<i>a child with glasses</i>	<i>child with glasses</i>
IP	CP
<i>she came</i>	<i>that she came</i>
AuxP	VP
<i>have come home</i>	<i>come home</i>
DegrP	AP
<i>very nice</i>	<i>nice</i>

Miller shows that compounds exhibit several characteristics that can be accounted for if we assume that they are lexical phrases lacking their corresponding functional phrases. This explains why they do not allow degree words, auxiliary verbs, determiners, complementizers, or pronouns (25) (cf. Radford 1997:66). This account provides a theoretical basis for traditional impressionistic views of compounding as a ‘stripped down syntax,’ or a microsyntax (Benveniste 1966:145).

- 25.
- blackbird, *very blackbird
 - book-reading, *book-having-read
 - Bronx-hater, *the-Bronx-hater
 - book-reading, *what-reading, *it-reading

The FP/LP hypothesis can also account for the fact that, although compounds combine several X^0 s following syntactic principles, they are syntactic atoms and anaphoric islands. The constituents of compounds cannot be referred to by pronouns (26), nor can pronouns occur inside words (25d). This opacity can be predicted from the LP/FP hypothesis: only referential expressions (DPs) can serve as antecedents to pronouns, and given that they are excluded from compounds, so is anaphora.

26. I met a truck_i-driver yesterday. *It_i was mud-covered and rusty.

Miller also unifies the concepts of compounding and incorporation (Baker 1988, Mithun 1985, Sadock 1998), accounting for their differences via the LP/FP hypothesis. Compounding is essentially the same process as incorporation but it involves LPs instead of FPs.¹⁴ This phrase structure account of compounding automatically predicts that the verbal arguments satisfied in a compound must be internal, given that external argument incorporation would violate the ECP (just as it does in regular incorporation à la Baker).¹⁵

Apparent counterevidence to the LP/FP Hypothesis

Data that could be problematic to the LP/FP account can be shown to involve phenomena other than actual compounding. For example, regular Romance compounds of the $[V+N]_N$ type (e.g., *essuie-glace*) are not problematic, given that they exhibit syntactic structure consistent with lexical phrases; yet, apparently parallel cases such as *trompe-l'oeil*, which include a determiner phrase, cannot be accounted for. One

¹⁴ Notice that in this account of incorporation, no specific categories need to be defined as participating, unlike previous accounts that see it as a process involving verbal heads by definition (Mithun 1985:365 and Baker 1988:76).

¹⁵ It is also predicted that compounding need not be a unitary process, i.e., it should be possible to compound FPs. This prediction is borne out in cases such as Vedic Sanskrit, in which some compounds

possibility would be to consider them cases of FP compounding, a possibility that Miller discards, opting for analyzing them as syntactic freezes, with a lexically listed frozen functional phrase as a member (cf. English *will-o'-the-wisp*). Allowance is made for certain determiners if they are an inseparable element in a name (*De Vries kenner*, 'De Vries expert'). In those cases, the determiner is not in a DP but in the Spec position of NP. Compound-like structures such as *I have the old that-no-one-calls blues*, with what seems like a full sentence (CP) in non-head position are also problematic (cf. Toman (1985), where these constructions are presented for German, with no clear analysis, and Lieber (1992), where they are considered compounds, but cf. also the alternative analysis in Wiese (1996)). Miller proposes they are cases of conversion, where a CP or IP is selected by an empty adjectival head (CP/IP → A).

The LP/FP distinction accounts rather well for the categories that exist within Spanish compounds and those that are excluded. Thus, Spanish compounds exclude auxiliary, tense and agreement projections of verbs, while including the VP shell itself (Larson 1988) (27a). The same can be said for the distinction between DegrP and AP (27b). VPs and APs constitute lexical phrases, whereas AuxP, TnsP, AgrP, and DegrP are syntactic and therefore excluded.

27.

- a. *saca-corchos*, **saca-n-corchos*, **saca-bas-corchos*, **ha-saca-do-corchos*
 remove-corks, remove-3p.pr.-corks, remove-2s.imperf.-corks, have-removed- corks
 'corksrew'
- b. *petirrojo*, **petimuyrojo*, **petiextremadamenterrojo*
 chest-red, chest-very-red, chest-extremely-red
 'robin'

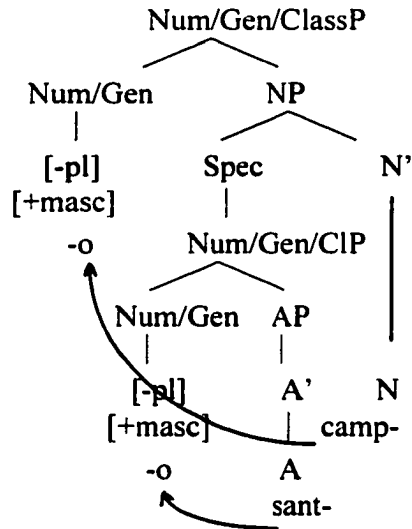
exhibit the characteristics of (Type 3) incorporation, i.e., possibility of stranding in syntax, non-atomicity, non-anaphoric islandhood, tolerance of X^{max} such as pronouns (Miller 1993).

When it comes to the NP/DP distinction, Spanish compounding poses some problems for the hypothesis, viz., how to account for the presence of some functional phrasal projections inside compounds, and how to exclude apparent compounds with DPs. Each of these will be considered separately.

Functional projections inside nominal compounding

The first problematic issue in nominal compounding is that a rich structure of functional projections has recently been proposed between NP and DP, although there is still no agreement over which ones these are (Crisma 1995:61, and references therein). The obvious question is whether these functional phrases should be included or excluded from the domain of compounding, i.e., where the cutting point is between the functional projections shared by morphology and syntax (the LP level), and those exclusively syntactic (the FP level). Examination of some Spanish compounds shows that a number of functional projections must be incorporated into the compound structure if all types are to be accounted for satisfactorily. For example, [N+A]_N nominals exhibit concord between the gender of noun and adjective: *car-a rot-a* ‘cheeky person,’ lit. ‘face-fem.sg. broken-fem.sg.,’ *camp-o sant-o* ‘cemetery,’ lit. ‘field-masc.sg. holy-masc.sg.’ This must be accounted for by positing the existence, within the compound, of a functional phrase of some type (for example, Num/Gen/ClassP, conflated here for the sake of simplicity) which can trigger the copy needed for concord. For Latin, Calabrese (1998) hypothesizes that the NumP merges with N and copies its features onto all the dependents of the head noun, by means of a copy (28, for a justification of the position of AP, cf. Chapter 5).

28.



In $[V+N]_N$ (*sacacorchos*_N, remove-corks, corkscrew) and in certain exocentric nominals of phrasal structure ($[N+prep+N]_N$), *manos de manteca* ‘butterfingers,’ lit. ‘fingers of butter’), the nominal may exhibit plural number, which again requires a NumP in the projection of the nominal. However, these internal functional phrases only play a role internal to the compound and have no syntactic repercussions. Thus, the plural object in the $[V+N]_N$ has no possibility of triggering concord or agreement outside the compound (29a,b), and is thus syntactically inert. $[N+prep+N]_N$ compounds with plural left-most elements such as *manos de manteca* can appear with plural determiners and agreement, but they need not, which means that the first element itself does not constitute the trigger of this number agreement (29c,d) (as will be seen in Chapter 5, we posit that these compounds have an empty head, with its own number and gender projections).

29.

- a. *El sacacorchos es útil.*
 The remove-corks be-sg.3p.pres. useful-sg.masc.
 ‘The corkscrew is useful.’
- b. **El sacacorchos son útiles.*
 The remove-corks be-pl.3p.pres. useful-pl.masc.
 ‘The corkscrew are useful.’

- c. *Este manos de manteca dejó caer el jarrón.*
This hands of butter drop-sg.3p.past the vase.
The butterfingers dropped the vase.
- d. *Estos manos de manteca dejaron caer el jarrón.*
These hands of butter drop-pl.3p.pt the vase
These butterfingers dropped the vase.

We have therefore concluded that there are indeed a number of functional phrases that need to be included within the domain of compounding, i.e. NumP and Gen/ClassP. If inflection is, as Anderson proposes, ‘the morphology that is accessible to and/or manipulated by rules of the syntax’ (1992:83), the above are not truly inflectional, and thus their projections within compounds, though functional, are not syntactic. The conclusion seems to be that the only nominal projection that can be excluded from the domain of compounding is the DP. This means that determiners (articles, possessive adjectives, etc.) and DP-level constructions (proper names, referential expressions, Longobardi 1994) are barred from the level of nominal compounding (30).

30.

- a. **sacaloscorchos, *sacaestoscorchos, *sacamiscorchos*
remove-the-corks, remove-these-corks, remove-my-corks
- b. **mano de la manteca, *mano de esta manteca, *mano de Juan*
hand of the butter, hand of this butter, hand of Juan

As stated earlier, however, the existence of phrasal compounds with internal DPs has been documented in the Spanish literature (Bustos Gisbert 1986, Rainer 1993). We will now tackle these constructions, and show that in fact they do not constitute counterevidence to the lexical phrase hypothesis, either because they are not compounds, or because they can be accommodated at the LP level.

The issue of lexicalized DPs

At first sight it appears that *pipa de la paz* ‘peace pipe,’ lit. ‘pipe of the peace’ or *hombre de la calle* ‘man of the street’ and other phrases with internal determiners are as much compounds as those without them. They are syntactic and semantic units with a fixed structure where elements cannot be eliminated, permuted, or separated (Bustos Gisbert 1986: 90) (31).

31.

- a. *hombre de la calle* vs. **persona de la calle*, **hombre de la vía pública*, **hombre de calle*, *hombre de la primera calle*
‘man of the street vs. person of the street, man of the public way, man of street, man of the first street’
- b. *pipa de la paz* vs. **cigarro de la paz*, **pipa de la amistad*, **pipa de paz*, *pipa de la eterna paz*
‘pipe of the peace vs. cigar of the peace, pipe of the friendship, pipe of peace, pipe of the eternal peace’
- c. *cuerno de la abundancia* vs. **canasto de la abundancia*, **cuerno de la plenitud*, **cuerno de abundancia*, *cuerno de la eterna abundancia*
‘horn of the abundance vs. basket of the abundance, horn of the plenty, horn of abundance, horn of the eternal abundance’

These constructions refer to a unitary concept, which is Rainer’s acceptance of meaning, and a cornerstone of his definition of compoundhood. This can be tested by replacing the construction with forms that are not phrasal: *cuerno de la abundancia* ‘horn of the abundance’ = *cornucopia* (also a compound, but one that many native speakers of Spanish would not identify as such). They also involve semantic specialization, which is Bustos Gisbert’s semantic requirement for compoundhood. Thus, the meaning of *hombre de la calle* ‘man of the street’ cannot be derived compositionally from the meaning of *hombre* ‘man’ and *calle* ‘street’ given that it has the additional features of ‘common, average, typical.’

A classification of these lexicalized phrases with DPs shows that they can be grouped into at least two subcategories (examples in (32) from Bustos Gisbert (1986) and Rainer (1993)).

32.

- a. *baile de San Vito, pipa de la paz, manzana de la discordia, culo del mundo, hombre de la calle, cuerpo del delito, abogado del diablo*
 dance of St. Vito, pipe of the peace, apple of the discord, ass of the world, man of the street, body of the crime, advocate of the devil
 ‘type of illness, peace pipe, apple of discord, ass of the world, man of the street, body of crime, devil’s advocate’
- b. *baño María, reinaluisa, dondiego de noche, palo de las Indias, herradura de la muerte, árbol de la cera, flor del embudo, raíz del moro, pájaro del sol*
 bath Mary, queen Louise, Don Diego of night, stick of the Indies, horseshoe of the death, tree of the wax, flower of the funnel, root of the moor, bird of the sun’
 ‘bain-marie, dark circles under the eyes that people in their deathbed get, wax myrtle, plant and animal species, as described’

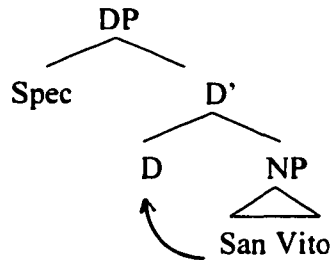
If we first consider the second element, i.e., the non-head, it becomes apparent that in all cases, it is a *singular term* (Salmon 1989:410), an expression whose extension is one referent, i.e., a single individual or thing. Four main types are found. The first group is made up of proper names, such as *San Vito, María, Luisa, dondiego*, (some of them accompanied by a definite article: *las Indias* ‘the Indies’). The non-head can also be an abstract singular noun, which in Spanish are obligatorily preceded by the definite article: *la paz* ‘(the) peace,’ *la discordia* ‘(the) discord,’ *el delito* ‘(the) crime,’ *la muerte* ‘(the) death.’ Some non-head expressions refer to or denote an inherently single individual: *el sol* ‘the sun,’ *el mundo* ‘the world,’ *el diablo* ‘the devil.’ Finally, some are singular definite descriptions, i.e., singular noun phrases formed with the definite article: *la calle* ‘the street,’ *la cera* ‘the wax,’ *el embudo* ‘the funnel,’ *el moro* ‘the Moor.’

To account for the semantics of these constructions, the syntactic structure of the non-head must include a DP projection. For proper names, the DP is required for these

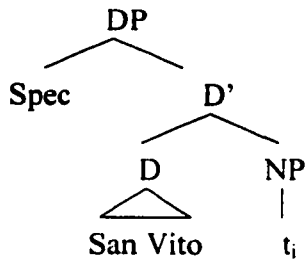
names to raise from NP to the D position (in accordance with Longobardi 1994) (33). In the remainder of the cases, the DP projection is required by the presence of a definite determiner D [+def] which acts as an operator with scope over the kind represented by the NP (34).

33.

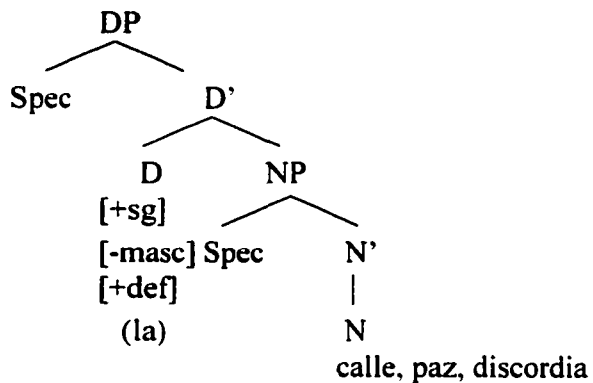
a.



b.

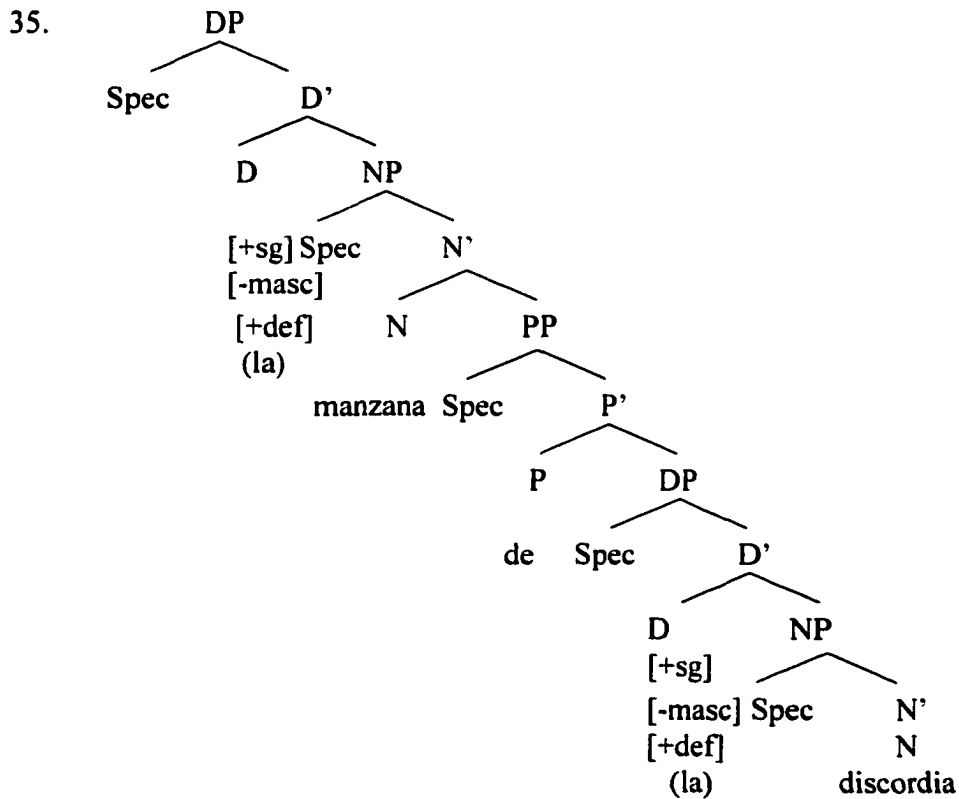


34.



The external head constituent has two possible semantic interpretations, and consequently, two possible syntactic configurations. The first one is represented by (32a), where the whole construction must have a singular definite reference: even if not a proper name, it refers unequivocally to a single referent. Thus, the indefinite article before the

construction is impossible: **un culo del mundo*, **un hombre de la calle*,¹⁶ **una manzana de la discordia*. For example, only one place in the world can fit the description of *culo del mundo* ‘ass of the world’; it is an inherent superlative: the worst place in the world. The same applies to *manzana de la discordia*. The term refers to the single cause of conflict, and constructions such as *??Juan y María son las manzanas de la discordia entre nosotros* ‘Juan and María are the apples of the discord between us’ are severely marked. Thus, also, *el abogado del diablo* is a singular specific lawyer, not a type of lawyer, which explains the dubious grammaticality of the indefinite articles: *??un abogado del diablo*. These singular terms need to be represented by DPs (35).



¹⁶ At least, not with the meaning of ‘the man in the street, every man.’ It can exist, of course, to mean ‘a man of the street,’ i.e., a vagrant, but this is not a compound, as can be shown by inserting extraneous elements between the constituents: *un hombre viejo de la calle*, ‘an old man of the street,’ lit. ‘a man old of the street.’

Having a unique referent is a property of syntactic phrases, not words. As di Sciullo and Williams put it: “words are ‘generic’ in meaning” (1987:50). If compounds are words, and thus generic, their component parts must lack functional projections in the relevant domain. Thus, verbal elements must lack tense/agreement markings and nominals must appear without determiners. This is because the N position refers to universal concepts or kinds, whereas the D position determines the particular designation of the DP, by direct designation through a proper name or by hosting the operator of a denotational structure (Longobardi 1994).

The argument presented in the last paragraph is strengthened by evidence that preceding [N+prep+det+N] nominal constructions with an indefinite article is often only possible in marginal or metaphoric senses. Thus, it makes sense to speak of *la pipa de la paz* ‘the peace pipe,’ lit. ‘the pipe of the peace,’ but only marginally of *?una pipa de la paz* ‘a peace pipe,’ lit. ‘a pipe of the peace.’ There is only one dove that we would call *la paloma de la paz*, ‘the dove of the peace’ whereas *?una paloma de la paz* ‘a dove of the peace’ sounds decidedly marked. These cases can be compared to the distinction between *la luna* ‘the moon’ and *una luna* ‘a moon,’ or *el sol* ‘the sun’ and *un sol* ‘a sun.’ The primary meaning of the term in both cases is ‘the star of the earth’ and ‘the satellite of the earth’; only secondarily can one refer to other stars as ‘suns’ and to satellites of other planets as ‘moons,’ (e.g., *the moons of Jupiter*). Similarly, although *la pipa de la paz* ‘the pipe of the peace’ has a unique referent, it may be reproduced and multiplied, say, in museums and pictures, and these may be referred to as an indefinite: *ayer en el museo vimos cuatro pipas de la paz* ‘yesterday in the museum we saw four peace pipes.’

The second possibility (exemplified in 32b) is more theoretically problematic. Here the head can have either definite or indefinite singular reference, and indefiniteness does not seem contrived or marginal. That is, even with a referential (DP) non-head, the whole construction can be used generically: *un baño María* ‘a bain-marie,’ lit. ‘a bath Mary’ *una reinaluisa* ‘a type of plant,’ lit. ‘a queen Louise’ *una flor del embudo* ‘a type of flower,’ lit. ‘a flower of the funnel.’ The question to consider is whether these constructions are compounds, in which case the LP/FP hypothesis is under threat or needs to be revised. Alternatively, it could be proposed the internal DPs is used to refer to a kind not an individual (like they do, for example, in 36). If that is the case, they “resort to their (impoverished) descriptive content, namely, they define as a range for the variable the kind of all possible individuals named that way...” (Longobardi 1994:636-37).

36. From Longobardi (1994:636)

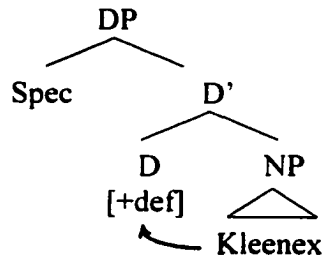
- a. I met a certain Mary.
- b. I visited the (two) Marys yesterday.
- c. every Mary I met in my life
- d. Marys are usually nice girls, according to my experience (generic reading).
- e. During my visit to the U.S. I met Marys everywhere (existential reading).

The use of proper names to refer to kinds is well-attested as a mechanism of lexical creation. Thus, *Kleenex*, a brand name (and consequently a DP) becomes the common designation of any tissue, *a kleenex*, with the indefinite article indicating it refers to a kind rather than an individual and should therefore be located in the N terminal of the NP (cf. *John Doe, John Hancock, in a John Doe, your John Hancock*). These transitional or marginal lexemes with the syntactic structure of DPs but the semantic interpretation of generic NPs should be analyzed as NPs. Their indefiniteness is evidence of their failure

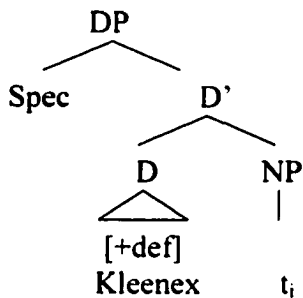
to raise to D to receive the [+def] feature (cf. the proper name *Kleenex* in 37a,b and the generic *kleenex* in 37c).

37.

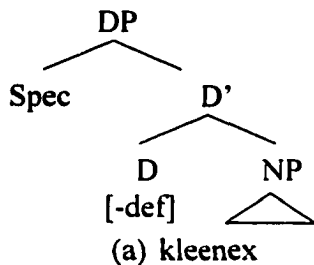
a.



b.



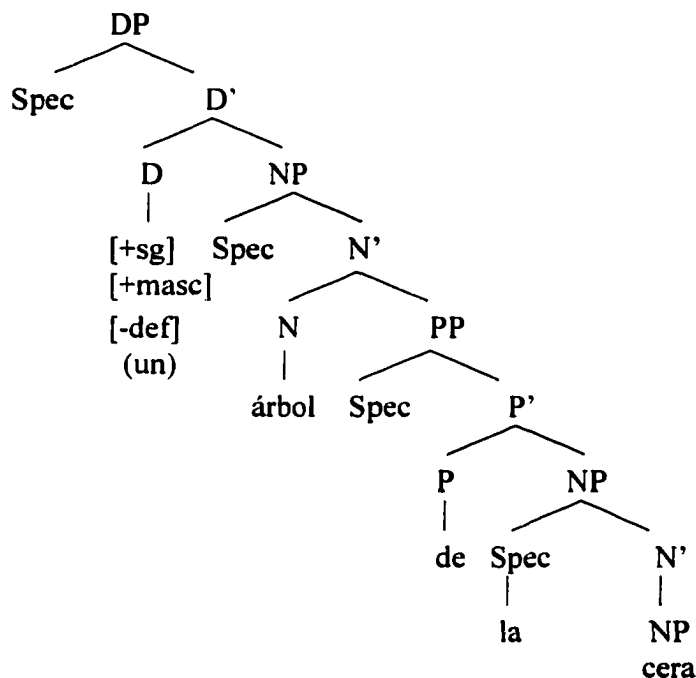
c.



In the case of our apparent compounds where the second element is a definite DP, but which are used indefinitely (of the type *un árbol de la cera* ‘wax myrtle,’ lit. ‘a tree of the wax’), the definite non-head DP can be taken to be a generic, i.e., as designating the whole kind referred to by the NP. According to Longobardi (1994), the semantic content of D in those DPs amounts just to the designation of the kind referred to by the NP. It echoes the difference in the usage of articles between English and Spanish: *Los tigres comen carne*, ‘tigers eat meat,’ lit. ‘the tigers eat meat.’

We have two possible ways of dealing with these cases. We can consider them lexicalized syntactic phrases (syntactic freezes), using the LP/FP hypothesis as the main argument and risking a certain degree of circularity. Alternatively, we can reanalyze the article as belonging to the second NP, possibly occupying the Spec-NP position (as Miller 1993) suggests for distinguishing *the mensroom* and *the men's room*; cf. also numerous apparent genitive constructions that are considered nominal compounds in Marchand (1960:2.5.1, cf. 38).

38.



In brief, phrasal constructions including DPs are normally not generic, and it follows that they are not compounds because they are singular terms, not generic words. Semantic and formal fixity is not the same as compoundhood. Those that are used generically can still be analyzed as NPs with the determiner in Spec, NP, without including a DP projection inside the compound, in agreement with the general proposals of the LP/FP hypothesis.

Nominal constructions with internal determiners are not stable. They exhibit variations between dialects and change over time. Thus, for example, Bustos Gisbert (1986) presents *agua del palo* ‘medicinal liquid extracted from a plant,’ lit. ‘water of the stick,’ together with the variant *agua de palo* ‘water of stick’; his *muela del juicio* ‘wisdom tooth,’ lit. ‘molar of the judgment’ has the variant (at least in my dialect) *muela de juicio* ‘molar of judgement,’ not attested by Bustos Gisbert (my dialect tolerates the definite article in the case of *las cuatro muelas del juicio* ‘the four molars of the judgement,’ where the four teeth are referred to in totum). As for historical variation, ADMYTE presents *tela de araña* ‘cobweb,’ lit. ‘cloth of spider’ (*Menor Daño de Medicina*, fol 73v), but also the variants *tela dela araña* (*Libro de la Montería*, fol 9v) and its plural form *telas delas arañas* (*Morales de Ovidio*, fol. 113v) (cf. also Alvar and Pottier 1987:414 for additional references). The variants with determiners would be impossible in modern dialects unless they refer to a specific cobweb woven by a specific spider. It must be noted that whenever there is a change, the newer form has lost the determiner, rather than the opposite (suggesting an evolution $[N+prep+det+N]_{NP} > [N+prep+N]_N$). With repeated use and the accretion of more generic senses, syntactic phrases give way to phrasal compounds.

To finish this section, I would like to consider the notion of semantic specialization within this context of phrasal compounds and syntactic phrases. As Bloomfield notes, the semantic relationship between *blackbird* and *black bird* is one of sub-set and super-set, i.e., the phrase *black bird* is more general than the compound term *blackbird*. The semantic extension of the compound is restricted with respect to that of the noun phrase, but the intension increases with additional semantic features. However,

in both cases the interpretation is generic. The semantic relationship between Spanish [N+prep+N] compounds and [N+prep+det+N] phrases is different. The internal determiner relates to an individual/class contrast rather than a sub-set/super-set relationship. Thus, *defensor del Pueblo* ‘ombudsman,’ lit. ‘defender of the people,’ is a specific single person who occupies a specific post in the government. The expression has the same referential properties as *Juan Fernández* if that happens to be the name of the ombudsman.¹⁷ If we contrast this with *defensor de oficio* ‘public defender,’ lit. ‘defender of office,’ it becomes apparent that the latter is not a singular term but the name of a generic profession. There can be any number of people described by this term, so it does not have unique reference. This contrast is the result of a structural difference, viz., the obligatoriness of the determiner in the first case, and its obligatory absence in the second.

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter provides a theoretical model that can account for all the compound types of Spanish. It starts with an overview of modern generative models which account for compounding. Whereas early accounts (Lees 1970, Levi 1978) relied on transformations to derive compounds from syntactic/semantic structures, the publication of Chomsky (1970) gave rise to a body of literature whose central assumption was that words and phrases were created in separate components of the grammar, following different sets of rules. Proponents of these positions deal with compounds in various different ways. Some propose that they follow the same kind of re-write rules that

¹⁷ There is a difference, however, in that the proper name refers by directly denoting the entity in any possible world, while the definite description does so by ascribing some property to the referent (Donnellan

derived words do (Selkirk 1982, di Sciullo and Williams 1987). Others consider them constructed in syntax via word structure rules that can combine lexical categories (Anderson 1992). The prevalence of the lexicalist hypothesis started to be undermined by accounts proposing that complex words can be generated by extending the categories and rules of X-bar syntax below the X^0 level (Lieber 1992). Other accounts are more drastic in their rebuttal of lexicalism, by pointing to the Mirror Principle and noun incorporation, and proposing that morphology is not a separate component of the grammar but a subtheory, dealing with the well-formedness of X^0 categories (Baker 1985). Other challenges to lexicalism propose that the lexicon has its own syntax, or l-syntax (Hale and Keyser 1992, 1993, 1997), or that the lexicon should be eliminated as a theoretical construct and redistributed in various levels of the grammar (Halle and Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997), constructing complex words by combining monomorphemes through the rules of syntax.

The account of compounding that is proposed here is based on the syntactic model. Compounds can be represented by binary-branching trees identical to those of syntactic phrases. They undergo merger and movement operations involving lexical and sublexical items and certain functional projections, but excluding those of a purely syntactic nature. In this type of analysis, a lexical item is analyzed as a stem and a categorial marker; a sublexical item lacks a categorial marker. The position of the head element in a compound can also be related to the morphological structure of the constituents in the structure, which leads to two different combinatory operations. When the non-head is a stem, it cannot receive case from the head and must therefore adjoin to

1998).

its left by move- α . This operation forms X^0 compounds, with two stems but only one WCM, and with the non-head stem placed to the left of the head. On the other hand, when the non-head is a word, it has already undergone move- α to adjoin to the left of the Gen/ClassP. Therefore, it does not need to move any further and will remain to the right of the head. This operation forms XP compounds. There is therefore no need to resort to parametrization to determine head position, as the latter results from the interplay of a language universal and a morphological idiosyncrasy of Spanish.

The difference between compounds and syntactic phrases lies in the categories that are allowed by the merger and adjunction operations involved. Compound formation excludes syntactic functional phrases, i.e., the projections may be lexical or functional, but they are inert to syntax. Thus, NPs are allowed, but not DPs (*casacuna* ‘creche,’ lit. ‘house-crib,’ **casalacuna* ‘house-the-crib’), VPs but not AuxP (*cascanueces* ‘nutcracker,’ lit. ‘crack-nuts’ **hacascadonueces* ‘has cracked nuts’), and AP, but not DegrP (*ojinegro* ‘black-eyed,’ lit. ‘eye-black’ **ojimuynegro* ‘eye-very-black’). This accounts rather nicely for the types of compounds that are possible in Spanish, and also for their generic properties, their referential and anaphoric opacity, and the impossibility of pronouns inside compounds. The only problem is constituted by nominal constructions of the type [N+prep+det+N], where there are determiners inside complex lexemes, in apparent violation of the LP/FP hypothesis. However, it was shown that these determiner phrases are not generic words but single terms (*la manzana de la discordia* ‘the apple of (the) discord’) or phrases that have been reanalyzed as NPs, with the determiner in Spec,NP position (*flor del embudo* ‘flower of the funnel’). In other

words, they are syntactic freezes, which often undergo loss of the determiner as they acquire more generic meaning.

CHAPTER 3 SOURCES AND METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

ALGERNON: Well, what shall we do?

JACK: Nothing!

ALGERNON. It is awfully hard work doing nothing. However, I don't mind hard work where there is no definite object of any kind.

From *The Importance of Being Earnest*, by Oscar Wilde

Introduction

The main aim of this Chapter is to provide an account of the sources used for the collection of data in this dissertation, a rationale to justify the choices made, and a detailed explanation of the methods followed in the inclusion, exclusion, and classification of data. Two historical periods of the language were covered, viz., Medieval and Modern Spanish. For both periods secondary sources were used; for Medieval Spanish, it was felt that these were scanty and unreliable, and that more information would be obtained by direct consultation of texts. A detail of the various sources for each period follows.

Medieval Spanish

Secondary Sources: Dictionaries and Glossaries

The main secondary source used was the *Diccionario Medieval Español* compiled by Alonso Pedraz (1986) (henceforth, DME). The DME has a reasonable amount of terms, taken from a variety of texts, so it was considered the best secondary source

available within the time constraints of this work. Other dictionaries and glossaries of Medieval Spanish were discarded because they were too sketchy and added little new information to the data in the DME (Cejador y Frauca 1968 [1929], Boggs, Kasten et al. 1946). Regional glossaries and dictionaries (e.g., Mackenzie 1984) were also discarded, as the aim was to present a view of Castilian Spanish, as far as possible; inclusion of dialectal historical dictionaries might have slanted the results in one way or another. More promising and exhaustive lexicographic work in Medieval Spanish is unfortunately at the very early stages (Müller 1989, Real Academia Española 1960), and was therefore also discarded. Other lexicographical compilations, especially technical dictionaries and glossaries such as Capuano (1986) and Herrera (1996), were consulted but proved to be unusable in the search for compounds, for reasons I give underneath.

The DME itself posed a problem when it came to establishing the criteria used for inclusion of terms. It was impossible to obtain information about the system used to include a given lexeme in the dictionary. In lexicography, the leading aim is generally that of defining terms, so in theory any simple or complex word with semantic unity should have been included. I suspect, however, that unitary spelling was also a tacit criterion considered for inclusion of terms.¹⁸ It follows that the numbers of compounds in the dictionary are too conservative, especially for those types which exhibit no overt morphological indication of their unitary status and whose structure is /indistinguishable from that of phrases (N+A, N+prep+N).

¹⁸ Only one multi-word string is found in the entire dictionary, *garzuela de gavián* 'type of wading bird,' lit 'wading bird of hawk.'

The main problem with specialized dictionaries and vocabularies was that they tended to be too permissive. Because their aim is to give a complete picture of the technical terminology in a given field and period, they emphasize semantic unity and specialization, at the expense of the syntactic indivisibility we have shown is the hallmark of compounding. Thus, in the following examples taken from Capuano (1986), some multi-word lexical items, which might be thought to be compounds, can be shown in fact to be syntactic phrases because they allow gapping of the head, coordination, and insertion of parentheticals and other material between head and non-head (Table 3-1).

Table 3-1. Some false compounds in Capuano (1986)

Term	Translation	Example	Evidence of phrasal status...
<i>agua de carne</i>	type of water, lit. water of meat	<i>riéguese con <u>agua de carne</u>, o corriente</i> 'water them with water of meat or running (water)'	coordination
<i>çarças escaramujeras</i>	Rosa canina, lit. brambles dog rose-adj.	<i>en las çarças <u>escaramujeras</u> & en las otras</i> 'in the Rosa canina brambles & in the others [i.e., the other brambles]'	anaphoric reference
<i>tierra de esquivias</i>	type of whitish soil, lit. soil of ?	<i>ha de ser <u>tierra</u>, que llaman <u>de esquivias</u></i> 'it must be soil, which they call of <i>esquivias</i> '	insertion
<i>pera de campanilla</i>	variety of pear, lit. pear of bell-dim.	<i><u>peras</u> de Castro, de Toro, de Sancta María, olorosas, <u>de campanilla</u>...</i> 'pears of Castro, of Toro, of Sancta María, perfumed, of bell'	coordination and insertion

This puts into question the reliability of the entire glossary as a source, because even when the phrasal constructions appear to exhibit syntactic unity in the examples provided, (*lechuga de cabras*, 'wild lettuce,' lit. 'lettuce of goats'), lack of access to the

original documents precludes confirmation that this unity is maintained in all occurrences of the complex. The same observation could be made about Herrera's medical dictionary.

Data collection from the DME

The DME was read to identify all the native compound words, which were then searched in Corominas (1980) to confirm that they did in fact contain more than one free form in the period in question. This was by no means an easy or straightforward matter, however. The first important issue was establishing what compounds were native and which ones were learned, a matter that necessitates some expounding on the different forms of lexical transmission in Spanish. Other important related issues were how far a form could be considered transparently polymorphemic in the given period, and whether the individual parts were to be taken as lexical categories or should be considered sub-lexical, i.e., affixes, making the process of word formation derivational rather than compositional. In what follows, I refer briefly to the problem of transmission from learned sources to Spanish, and then apply it to the topic at hand, i.e., compounding.

Excursus: learned borrowings (*cultismos*)

In the Romance tradition, the name of classical or learned word is reserved to those that did not develop natively, but result from the influence of written texts of Latin (Classical and Medieval) translated into a Romance language. They are opposed to popular words, which have a continuous oral history in a given language and as a consequence undergo a series of phonological and morphological changes which are characteristic of that language (Penny 1991:32). Because Latin often used Greek as a source of lexical enrichment, borrowings from the latter language (Hellenisms) either

direct or via Latin, can also be covered by the term 'learnèd' (but cf. Bustos Tovar 1974:24, where Hellenisms are subsumed under Latinisms).

Learnèd borrowing is like any other kind of borrowing except that the donor is a dead language. In the case of the Romance languages and Latin, the relationship between donor and recipient is dual: Latin is their source, but it is also a 'permanent superstrate' (Bustos Tovar 1974:24). Learnèd borrowing may affect individual lexical items, aspects of morphology such as derivational affixes and compositional stems, and semantics. It may have different motivations, such as sheer lexical need or esthetic intention (Bustos Tovar 1974).

A third term, semi-learnèd word, can be used to refer to lexemes that, although orally inherited from vulgar Latin, did not undergo all of the popular phonological or morphological changes. This is often due to their specific domains; words often read aloud, in church and law courts, for example, were more likely to resist phonological and morphological changes.

To exemplify the three types of transmission from Latin to Romance, one could use L. *REGULA* and its three descendants in Spanish. The popular or inherited form is *reja* [rexa] 'gate, plowshare,' which resulted from loss of the post-tonic /u/, palatalization of the /gl/ segment to /ʎ/, and then loss of the lateral feature to result in /ʒ/ and later velarization to /x/. Learnèd transmission can be seen in the adjective *regular* 'regular,' which is a descendant of L. *REGULARIS*. Here, there is no loss of post-tonic /u/ and consequently no sound change to /x/. Finally, *regla* 'rule, ruler' shows loss of post-tonic vowel, but retention of the /gl/ cluster due to influence of Med.L. *REGULA*. As can be seen from these examples, nothing prevented a given Latin word from having two (or more)

transmissions into Romance. If this happened, the resulting forms constituted a doublet, normally with semantic differentiation. Besides *reja* and *regla*, one could cite *fábula* ‘fable’ and *habla* ‘speech’ both from L. *FABULARI* ‘to speak’ (examples from Penny 1991:32-33).

As stated above, in the Romance tradition, for a form to receive the label of ‘learnèd’ it has to originate in classical antiquity, i.e., Latin or Greek texts, rather than in texts written in other languages, such as Arabic, from which extensive borrowing was also effected to expand the native lexicon of Spanish. Thus, *aritmética* ‘arithmetic’ < L. *ARITHMETICA* < Gr. ἀριθμητική ‘id.’ is a learned borrowing, whereas *álgebra* ‘algebra’ < Ar. al-yabra ‘the reduction’ is not.

There may be several factors at play to account for this bias in favor of the languages of classical antiquity. Although the first reaction is to attribute this difference to a perceived cultural or linguistic superiority of the classical languages, it is also true that Arabic was for a long time the language of culture throughout Spain. It was the official language of the areas of Spanish conquered and colonized by the Moors (Al-Andalus) and a vehicle of culture throughout the Peninsula, even in areas not dominated by them (Penny 1991:218). There are at least two reasons why the term learnèd is not extended to languages other than those of classical antiquity. The first one has to do with the historical period at which the borrowings occurred, and the second with their motivation.

Arabic was used as a source of borrowings at an earlier stage in the development of Spanish, and it was not deliberately intended to ‘enhance’ the prestige of the borrowing language but simply to fill lexical gaps. According to Penny (1991:217-8),

the majority of Arabisms were borrowed into Castilian in the period up to the 10th century. At the time, Spanish (Castilian) itself was less systematized and standardized, and new lexical incorporations were carried out for practical purposes. The rather unanalyzed nature of these borrowings may be seen in the fact that Spanish speakers often had no linguistic awareness of the compositionality of the source forms, and reinterpreted polymorphemic items as monomorphemic. Thus, the invariable definite article *al-* was often incorporated to the noun: *álgebra* < Ar. 'algebra,' lit. 'the reduction,' *algodón* < Ar. *al-coton*, 'the cotton.' The domain of these Arabisms was mainly technical areas where Arabic influence was greatest, i.e., weaponry and warfare (*adarga* 'shield,' *zaga* 'rearguard'), government and administration (*alcalde* 'mayor,' *barrio* 'neighborhood'), commerce and trade (*aduana* 'customs,' *arroba* '11.5 kilos'), architecture (*alcantarilla* 'gutter,' *azotea* 'flat roof'), agriculture (*albaricoque* 'apricot,' *arroz* 'rice'), and science (*alcohol*, *alambique* 'retort') (all examples from Penny 1991:218-221). This shows a very utilitarian drive to expand vocabulary in areas where the expertise of the Moors greatly exceeded that of the Romance speakers.

On the other hand, classical borrowing lasted longer and was not simply intended to provide labels for new concepts or concrete referents. In fact, classical borrowings have continued all the way to the present. The motivation for these learned borrowings has varied over time: during the early period of Old Spanish, Latinisms were used mainly by the learned class and had little influence on the popular language (Bustos Tovar 1974:45). They included terms of law, diplomacy, church and liturgy, which were often transmitted orally and underwent phonetic alterations. There are indications that this version of Latin may have been perceived by contemporaries as the way Romance had to

be written, simply because it was the only way scribes knew how to write (Blake 1991:2). Between the 11th and 12th centuries, this Latin, distorted by oral transmission, was restored and purified by separating it from popular Romance. By the period of Alfonso the Wise (13th century), learned forms were being introduced into Spanish as a stylistic resource in Romance literary creation. The intention was to enrich the expressive possibilities of the language and expand the lexicon with scientific neologisms. The incorporation of learned forms was to decrease in the 14th century, while native compounding and derivation expanded (Bustos Tovar 1974:50).

Distinguishing borrowed forms from native compounds

In this section I explain how complex borrowings were dealt with in the database. In principle, because this study focuses on native compounding, any learned compound was discarded.¹⁹ Greek compounds are normally easy to identify because they cluster in scientific, political, philosophical, or religious fields, their constituent stems have no independent existence in Spanish, and they exhibit the hallmark phonological characteristics of learned transmission, such as unusual consonant clusters and stress properties: *antiptosis* ‘use of one grammatical case instead of another’ < L. ANTIPTOSIS < Gr. αντι-πτώσις ‘interchange of cases’ (DME) from αντι ‘opposite’ and πτώσις ‘mode or modification of a word,’ *astrólogo* ‘astrologer’ < L. ASTROLOGUS < GR. αστρολόγος (DME). A large number of Latin compounds also fit this description: *caputpurgio* ‘procedure to purge the head’ < L. CAPUT ‘head’ + PURGO ‘purge’ (DME); *celícola* ‘inhabitant of the heavens’ < L. CAELUM ‘heavens’ + COLA ‘inhabitant’ < COLO

'live, inhabit' (DME); *terrigeno* 'born or engendered on Earth' < L. TERRIGENUS 'id.' < L. TERRA 'Earth' + GIGNO 'bring into being' (DME); *lanificio* 'the art of wool weaving' < L.L. LANIFICIUM 'id.' (DME) < LANA + -FICO, combining form of FACIO 'to make.' Some Latinisms do not exhibit this restriction to specialized fields of knowledge, however: *manutergia* 'hand towel' < L.L. MANUTERGIUM 'id.,' DME).

However, numerous Latin learned compounds have semi-learned or native counterparts: L. BENEDICTUS 'blessed' > *benedicto, benedito, bendicto, bendito, bendicho, biendicho* 'id.' (DME).²⁰ In those cases, the forms were all included, because at least one of them was transparent, and the others might have been simple variants in a period with vacillating orthographic conventions (Blake 1991).

Some Greek and Latin composite forms which had entered the language at an early date underwent considerable phonetic erosion, which, coupled with ignorance of the source language, led to opacity of their internal complex composition. A large number of Latin compounds and a handful of Greek and Arabic ones were discarded from the database on this count: *membrillo, membriello, miembrollo, bembrillo, bembriello* < L. MELIMELUM 'kind of sweet apple' < Gr. μελίμηλον, contaminated with MELOMELI 'quince paste,' both compounds of μέλι 'honey' and μήλον 'apple,' Corominas (1980); L.L. FACITERGIUM 'face towel' > *facitergia, fazaleja, fazalelga, fazalelia, fazalella*; *cevazogue* 'market inspector' > Ar. sahib as-soc 'id.'

¹⁹ Not that they are without intrinsic interest. They deserve more attention than they have received up to now.

²⁰ One should also note the obvious similarity between the Latin bound forms and the Spanish words for TERR-/tierra 'earth,' LAN-/lana 'wool,' MANU-/mano 'hand,' which complicates the problem of distinguishing between both types of transmission.

Occasionally, the loss of motivation was remedied by native speakers through reanalysis of forms as combinations of bases and spurious affixes: L. HOMICIDIUM ‘homicide’ > *homicidio*, *homecidio* ‘id.’, but also *homeciello*, *homecillo* ‘id.’, (where *-illo* could be a diminutive suffix), often followed by loss of the apparent suffix *homicio*, *omizio*, *omesio* ‘id.’ Very occasionally, the reanalysis resulted in a new original compound, albeit one with obscure semantic motivations: *malgranada* ‘pomegranate’ < L. MALUM GRANATUM (but cf. parallel *biengranada* ‘type of plant,’ lit. ‘well-grained’ which proves that *malgranada* has been reanalyzed as *mal* + *granada* lit. ‘badly-grained’), *gordolobo* ‘mullein’ < L.L. CODA LUPI ‘id.’, lit. ‘tail of wolf,’ reanalyzed as *gordo+lobo* ‘fat wolf.’ It could be argued that these forms are not perfect compounds; however, the overt reanalysis carried out by native speakers understood the form as a polymorphemic unit, which therefore confirms the reality of certain compound patterns. Reanalyzed forms were not included, however, when their reanalysis resulted in a structure that presented determiners, which we have excluded from compounding on theoretical grounds (Chapter 2); that was the case with *matalaúva* (var. *matafalúa*) ‘aniseed’ < Ar. al-ha blat al-baluwa ‘aniseed,’ lit. ‘the sweet grain,’ which was undoubtedly molded on the [V+N]_N pattern, but where the outcome includes a determiner before the nominal (and is therefore better described as a freeze, Chapter 1).

On other occasions, phonetic erosion affects only one of the two constituents, leading to a situation where one part of the compound could still be discernible for native speakers of Medieval Spanish: *bienfetría* ‘goodness,’ lit. ‘well-doing’ where *bien* can be identified but not *fetría* < L. FACTORIA (but cf. synonymous *behetría*, completely opaque), *cañahesa*, *cañahierla* ‘type of cane,’ where *caña* ‘cane’ is transparent, but *hesa/hierla* <

L. FERULA 'fennel' is not. These forms were discarded, given that although compounded at some previous point in history, they could not have been clearly motivated to native speakers of Medieval Spanish.

Some forms were excluded due to etymological uncertainty, i.e., the lack of reliable information about one constituent: *cartapacio* 'writing notebook' < perhaps L.L. CHARTAPACIUM 'letter of peace?' according to Real Academia Española (1992), and CARTA + uncertain element according to DME and Corominas (1980); *argamasa* 'mortar' < L. uncertain first element + MASSA (Corominas 1980); *varascudo* 'part of the helmet,' perhaps from *vara* + *escudo* 'rod + shield.'

Finally, there was the problem of deciding whether a given combination included two free forms or a free form and a bound one. Again, as stated above, this difference has little theoretical import, but the selection of data had to maintain consistency with the definition of compounding in Chapter 1 as a process involving only free forms belonging to the major grammatical categories (N, A, V, and P). Moreover, the difference is maintained in work done in Modern Spanish compounding, so for the sake of comparison, the same criterion was used here (but cf. the common conflation of some types of derivation and compounding in more traditional work, such as Rivodó (1883), Alemany Bolufer (1920), and Hall (1983)). There were two cases where complex formations were discarded on account of the suffixal status of one of its constituents: complex verbs and particle+noun combinations.

Complex Latin verbs that included a verbal stem compounded with another constituent (noun or adjective) evolved into an affixal element in Spanish. That is the case with causative verbs with the *-ific-* stem: *mundificativo* 'medicine that cleans or

purges' < *mundificar* < L. MUNDIFICARE < L. MUNDUS + FACERE (cf. also the verbs *escarnificar* 'martyr,' *santificar* 'sanctify,' *sacrificar* 'sacrifice,' *falsificar* 'falsify,' *fructificar* 'bear fruit,' *magnificar* 'magnify,' *metrificar* 'compose verses' *satisfacer* 'satisfy' and related forms such as *arteficial* 'artificial,' *arteficio* 'artifice,' *damnificado* 'damaged,' *deifico* 'related to God,' *estrelificado* 'brilliant as a star,' *lapidificado* 'turned to stone,' *maleficio* 'curse,' *sacrificio* 'sacrifice.' *satisfacción* 'satisfaction'). A similar situation obtains with *-ifer-*: *odorifero* 'fragrant' < L. ODORIFER < ODOR 'smell' + FERRE 'carry' (cf. also *estelifero* 'starry,' *glandifero* 'acorn producing tree' *fructifero* 'bearing fruit' *odifero* 'hateful'). These forms represent complex words from a diachronic perspective, with the original verbal elements obscured due to sound changes and, occasionally, loss of the corresponding independent forms from the lexicon. Mithun (1985:389) notes that when this happens a system of affixation is developed as speakers continue to form new words by analogy with existing ones. The particles *-ific-* and *-ifer-* were therefore not included under compounding because in Spanish they do not represent a productive word formation process based on native free forms, but rather a process of derivational affixation.²¹

As for particle+N compounds, the only cases included as prep+N compounds were those where the status of the preposition was unequivocal, i.e., where there was no homonymous prefix: *sinsabor*, 'pain, difficulty, aggravation,' lit. 'without-taste' or where the compound was exocentric, with the internal structure of a preposition governing a nominal: *trasmontana* 'area beyond the mountains,' lit. 'beyond-mountain'

²¹ It must be noted that the distinction does not have major theoretical import, as the same internal tree structure and the same movement operations mentioned in Chapter 2 can be posited for these suffixes. We will not, however, expound on it for reasons of space.

(rather than a type of mountain, which would be endocentric and therefore analyzable as prefix+N). Cases that did not fit into either of the previous patterns were discarded, such as when the first element was *ante-* (*anteponer* ‘place before,’ lit. ‘before-place’), *anti-* (*antipapa* ‘antipope’), *avant-* (*avancuerda* ‘front portion of the bow of a crossbow,’ lit. ‘before-cord’), *contra-* (*contrafaz*, ‘reverse,’ lit. ‘against-face’), *pro-* (*provagar* ‘continue on your way,’ lit. ‘forth-wonder’), *retro/redro* (*redruña* ‘left hand,’ lit. ‘behind-nail’), *sobre-* (*sobresanadura* ‘scar,’ lit. ‘over-cure’), *tras-* (*trasnochar* ‘stay up all night’ lit. ‘over-night-v.’), *ultra-* (*ultramar* ‘overseas,’ lit. ‘over-sea’). For more discussion on the distinction between prefixation and compounding, see Chapter 6.

The terms that were found not to belong to any of the categories mentioned above were selected and then listed together with their definition, etymology, an English literal translation and actual translation and historical period. On a separate list, information is presented about the compound’s category, its internal structure, the relationship between the constituents, and whether the first element is a stem or a word. A detail explanation of these parameters is provided later in this chapter. The resulting lists are presented in Appendix A.

Primary sources: ADMYTE texts

To alleviate the problem posed by the DME’s preference for compounds written as an orthographic unit and for the technical dictionaries’ opposite tendency to include any semantic unit even if it is not a syntactic atom, eight medieval texts were used as primary data. These texts were taken from the *Archivo Digital de Manuscritos y Textos Españoles*, Disk 0 ADMYTE (1992). The use of this resource had the advantage of

providing a vast and varied array of texts which could be searched simultaneously. This made the search less time-consuming and more exhaustive, an especially welcome fact since the density of compound words in Medieval Spanish is rather low. The challenge was to exhaust all the spelling variants in the suspicious complex lexemes.

Texts were chosen from among the scientific and technical fields, where it was hypothesized that the need for neologisms would be greater, thus increasing the likelihood of encountering compounds. Another criterion was to select texts that would be diverse in their authorship, linguistic characteristics, and original language (several were translations), so as to provide as vast an array of data as possible. Finally, the texts were also selected so that they would provide data for the late medieval period, between 1250 and 1450; this was done in order to reflect a fairly uniform state of the language. A summary of the characteristics of these texts is presented in Table 3-2.

Data collection from ADMYTE

The selected texts were downloaded as digital documents onto a floppy disk in Rich Text Format and subsequently read. All complex formations which appeared to be compounds were identified and tagged in the document. A preliminary database was built using those complex formations. In each case, a sheet was prepared which included the term, together with the document and folio where it was located. Then, the entire ADMYTE database was searched by using the "Find words" command in the "Option" window. Each complex was typed in the "Search" window, while the general "Word" list was used to identify orthographic variants, which were subsequently searched, too. Every

time a given complex formation was found, this was recorded on its sheet, together with the document and folio number.

Table 3-2. ADMYTE texts selected as sources of medieval compounds.

Title	Author	Approximate date	Subject matter	Linguistic characteristics
<i>Libro de la Caza de las Aves (LCA)</i>	Pedro López Ayala	1385 a quo 1388 ad quem	falconry	prose, written in Castilian
<i>Libro de la Montería (LM)</i>	Alfonso XI	1342 a quo 1355 ad quem	hunting	prose, written in Castilian
<i>Tratado de Cetrería (TC)</i>	Gerardus Falconarius	1200-1300	falconry	prose, translated from Latin to Castilian
<i>Libro de los Halcones (LH)</i>	Guillermus Falconarius	1200-1300	falconry	prose, translated from Latin to Castilian
<i>Libro de los Animales de Caza (LAC)</i>	Muhammed ibn'abd Allah ibn 'Umar al-Bayzar	copied 1390-1410	falconry	prose, translated from Arabic to Castilian
<i>Menor Daño de Medicina (MDM)</i>	Alfonso Chirino	1419 ad quem	medicine, plants, recipes	prose, written in Castilian
<i>Cirugía Rimada (CR)</i>	Diego de Cobos	1419, copied 1493	medicine	verse, written in Castilian
<i>Arte Cisoria (AC)</i>	Enrique de Aragón (Villena) 1384-1434	copied 1400-1500	the art of carving and serving food	prose, written in Castilian

Items whose internal structure could not be phrasal were assumed to be compounds. That was the case with constructions which exhibited the morphological characteristics of compounds, i.e., where one of the stems appeared in its bare form (*mantener*, cf. *man-o*), or with a linking vowel (*abutarada*, cf. *ave*), or when phonetic erosion had blended together the last vowel of the first constituent and the first one of the second (*piedr-a-sufre* cf. *pedra azufre*). It was also the case in exocentric constructions, such as [V+N]_N or [P+N]_N with nominal distributional properties (*pica figo* 'the name of a bird,' lit. 'pick-fig,' *sin sabor* 'misfortune,' lit. 'without taste'), and of [N+N] nominals (*sal vidrio*, 'a type of salt,' lit. 'salt glass'), which could not be phrases.

Items with an internal structure which could be phrasal ($[N+prep+N]_N$, $[N+A]_N$) were included if they were clear semantic and syntactic units. Confirming evidence was sometimes found in the existence of variants with structural unity, e.g., unitary spelling, presumed to indicate prosodic wordhood. Additionally, the existence of modern compounded counterparts was considered evidence in favor of the Medieval Spanish construction being one, too. Suspicious phrasal constructions were excluded, on the other hand, if they exhibited any of the following characteristics: (a) very low frequency (the arbitrary minimum number chosen was 5 occurrences in ADMYTE), (b) separation of the two elements by insertion of extraneous material, including internal determiners, (c) deletion of the head or the non-head element, (d) coordination of either of the constituents with a non-constituent, (e) variants with different word order, (f) a modern counterpart which is not a compound. This type of indirect evidence was necessitated by the fact that no native speaker intuitions were available for the determination of compoundhood through syntactic tests of the kinds presented in Chapter 1.

Evidence against compound status had to be taken as a gradient measure, however. Some combinations, for example, could be discarded immediately because they appeared in numerous constructions which were inconsistent with compounding. Thus, to exemplify with the $[N+A]_N$ pattern, some were often interrupted, coordinated or otherwise non-compounded; cf., *gota artética* 'gout,' lit. 'gout arthritic' with three instances compatible with compounding and seven where the head was gapped: *es para ceática & artética* 'it is for sciatica and arthritic (gout)' (MDM 194v), *dolor delas junturas que llaman artética* 'pain in the joints they call arthritic (gout)' (MDM 197r), etc. Others never were incompatible with compounding: cf., *sal pedrés* 'stone salt,' lit.

'salt stone-adj' (six occurrences in LAC and TC). Some cases were not so clear-cut, however. For instance a form could appear together numerous times, and yet exhibit a few instances incompatible with compound status. The decision to include those forms or not was based on the percentage of occurrences incompatible with compound status with respect to the total number. If this figure exceeded 10% (or one out of six, in the case of very infrequent formations), then the form was discarded and considered a syntactic phrase. This does not mean that there is certainty it was not a compound, only that that we cannot be certain that it was. Thus, the database is rather conservative in that it may exclude possible compounds, which is preferable to having a larger database with dubious items. It should also be borne in mind that the distinction between phrasal compounds and syntactic phrases, though theoretically clear-cut, may not be so easy to make in practice for one given item at one given time. A language is after all the sum total of individual grammars, which could allow for the simultaneous existence of nearly synonymous phrases and compounds (cf. English *ice-cream* and *iced tea*, which for some speakers are compounds and for others are phrases).

All the complex lexemes that passed the tests above were listed separately from the ones found in DEM (any repetitions are cross-referenced in both lists). The new terms appear listed with Spanish definition, etymology, English literal translation and actual translation, and source text. The entire ADMYTE database (including repetitions in DME) is then listed with information about the compound's category, internal structure, relationship between constituents, headship, and whether the first element was a stem or a word (i.e., stem+WCM). The resulting lists are presented in Appendix B.

Modern Data

Sources

Given the time and other constraints of this work, for Modern Spanish data, only secondary sources were used. This move was considered legitimate, however, because these secondary sources are much more exhaustive than those for Medieval Spanish and could be corroborated with native speaker intuitions. The data used to quantify the various modern compound types of Spanish are taken mostly from Bustos Gisbert (1986), a vast, homogeneous, dictionary-based database. Because Bustos Gisbert's analysis only includes nominals and adjectivals, however, the data had to be supplemented with the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (1992) and also Rainer (1993) for verbal compounds. It would no doubt be interesting to carry out further data collection from primary sources for current Spanish, a project which could confirm and expand the results obtained here. However, it is hypothesized here that our database is representative and that having recourse to a larger pool of data would not have produced radically different results for compounding types and tendencies.

Data collection for Modern Spanish

The data were inspected and items were discarded when their internal structure was not completely transparent or could not be confirmed. In other cases, theoretical considerations led to excluding some items from the database. For example, following the LP/FP hypothesis mentioned in Chapter 2, any item that presented a referential expression, be it a determiner phrase or a proper name, was discarded. This excluded $[N+\text{prep}+\text{det}+N]_N$ such as *árbol de la cera* 'wax myrtle,' lit. 'tree of the wax,' and forms

such as *dondiego de noche* ‘an exotic plant whose flowers bloom at night,’ lit. ‘Don Diego of night.’ Also in accordance with our theoretical presuppositions, syntactic freezes were discarded because they lack several other characteristics of authentic compounds and violate the LP/FP hypothesis). This excluded, among others, *tentetieso* ‘type of toy, tumbler,’ lit. ‘hold-yourself-stiff,’ *pesamedello* ‘dance and song of the 16th and 17th centuries in Spain,’ lit. ‘weighs-me-of-it,’ *ahimelollevas* ‘ribbon which is hung on a person’s back as a joke,’ lit. ‘there-me-it-take-2psg.’

Other data had to be reclassified because they were included in a given category by virtue of their formal characteristics, but have undergone conversion and are therefore exocentric. For example, Bustos Gisbert classifies *papialbillo* as a $[N+A]_N$, and therefore an endocentric left-headed compound, because the word refers to the animal ‘genet,’ i.e., it is a noun. However, structurally it is a $[N+A]_A$ (the nominal has no word class marker and the formation has a synonymous phrase *albo de papo*, which clearly shows that the adjectival ending is not concord with the noun; the masculine singular identity between the two is a mere coincidence). It therefore has undergone $N \rightarrow A$ conversion and is exocentric.

The modern data are presented in lists including the following parameters of classification: (a) category of the compound; (b) internal structure; (c) constituent relationship; (d) headship; and (e) structure of first term. For a detailed explanation of each of the parameters, see the next section. For the listings and meanings of the compounds translated into English, see Appendix C. Readers interested in the meanings in Spanish are referred to Bustos Gisbert (1986).

Parameters of Classification

The parameters included in the classification listings deserve some comment. The first one, category of the compound, simply refers to the part of speech the compound belongs to. Thus, *rascacielos* 'skyscraper,' lit. 'scrape-skies' is a noun, *malvivir* 'live miserably,' lit. 'badly-live' is a verb, *barbirrubio* 'blond-bearded,' lit. 'beard-blond' is an adjective. The second parameter, category of the elements combined, provides information about the parts of speech of the constituents in the compound. Thus in *rascacielos*, they are a verb and a noun; in *malvivir*, an adverb and a verb; in *barbirrubio*, a noun and an adjective.

The relationship between the constituents refers to whether the first or second constituent heads the construction or whether the compound has two heads. Thus, *malvivir* is righthheaded, because of the two constituents, the determinatum is clearly the second one. In *rascacielos*, it is the first element that governs the second, which means that the structure is leftheaded. In a case such as *arquibanco* 'a bench which has drawers underneath,' lit. 'chest-bench' both elements are coordinated in some way, so there are two heads (dual).

The latter parameter should not be confused with headedness, which refers to whether the core internal constituent is also responsible for percolating its features to the compound as a whole. If it is, then the compound is endocentric; if it is not, the compound is exocentric. Dual compounds can also be considered endocentric, if the two heads percolate features, or exocentric, if they do not. Some examples will clarify the distinction between constituent relationship and headedness. In the Adv+V pattern exemplified by *malvivir* 'live a bad life,' lit. 'badly-live,' the verb acts as a determinatum,

modified by the preceding adverbial. This verb is also the head of the entire compound, which is categorially a verb, too. However, the same pattern may be used exocentrically. For example, in *bienestar* ‘well-being,’ lit. ‘well-be’ the internal relationship between constituents is still one of modifying adverbial and determinatum verb, but the whole compound is a noun, which means that neither of the constituents percolates features to the whole. All compounding patterns are potentially exocentric, i.e., they can be subject to conversion (usually nominal) after compounding, or be used metonymically. A few compound patterns are only exocentric, i.e., the structure of the compound itself includes an empty head that leads to conversion (again, usually nominal). Thus, the pattern of *rascacielos* is headed internally by the verb, which governs the following nominal. However, the V+N pattern itself is always used exocentrically, i.e., there are no V+N compounds where the verb or the internal noun percolate syntactico-semantic features to the whole. Table 3-3 attempts to show cases of exocentric and endocentric uses of various compounding patterns.

Finally, a distinction shall be made depending on whether the first term is a stem or a word (i.e., stem +WCM). This distinction is theoretically important, as one of the main arguments of the present work is that in contemporary Spanish compounding non-head nominal stems precede their heads, and non-head nominal words follow their heads, thus providing a morphologically based account of head position in Spanish compounding. The determination of this stem/word status is sometimes clear: in *ajohuevo* the first element is a word (*aj-o* ‘garlic,’ cf. *aj-ito* ‘garlic-dim.’); in *arquibanco* it is a stem, followed by a linking vowel, (*arqu-i-banco*, cf. *arc-o*), and in *liquidambar* it is clearly a bare stem, (*liquid-ambar*, cf. *liquid-o*). However, there are cases where the

last vowel of the first constituent coincides with the onset of the second and a phonetic reduction ensues: *aguardiente* ‘liquor,’ *agua + ardiente* ‘water + burning.’ In those cases, it is not certain that the first element constitutes a stem, but that is how it will be identified here.

Table 3-3. Endocentric and exocentric uses of Spanish compounding patterns.

Compound pattern	Endocentric Use	Exocentric Use
[N+N] _N	<i>día puente</i> ‘holiday between two working days,’ lit. ‘day bridge’	<i>peso mosca</i> ‘a boxer who weighs no more than 51 kilos’ lit. ‘weight fly’
[A+N] _N	<i>libre pensamiento</i> ‘free thought’	<i>malu lengua</i> ‘a person who speaks ill of others’ lit. ‘evil tongue’
[N+A] _N	<i>aguardiente</i> ‘liquor,’ lit. ‘water burning’	<i>caradura</i> ‘cheeky person,’ lit. ‘face hard’
[N+prep+N] _N	<i>flor de lis</i> ‘fleur de lis,’ lit. ‘flower of lis’	<i>alma de caballo</i> ‘evil person,’ lit. ‘soul of horse’
[N+N] _N (dual)	<i>este-oeste</i> ‘east-west’	<i>capigorra</i> ‘beggar, man who lives in the street’ lit. ‘cape cap’
[N+A] _A	<i>ojijunto</i> ‘having eyes close to each other,’ lit. ‘eye-together’	<i>gargantirrojo</i> ‘robin,’ lit. ‘throat-red’
[N+V] _V	<i>malcasarse</i> ‘to marry the wrong person,’ lit. ‘badly-marry’	<i>bienestar</i> ‘well-being, lit. ‘well-be’
[V+N] _N	No examples	<i>espantapájaros</i> ‘scarecrow,’ lit. ‘scare-crows’

A final note should be made on ambiguous cases. In a number of instances, a given compound could be understood as representing two different internal structures. Thus, the N+N combination *calzaczalzó* ‘breeches-trousers’ could be interpreted as a dual compound ‘both breeches and trousers’ or as a left-headed compound, ‘breeches which in some ways resemble trousers.’ This ambiguity cannot be resolved semantically, given that the definition allows for both interpretations. The course taken in this work is to include the term under both categories, i.e., give it a double entry. This is seen as

preferable to forcefully excluding one of the available interpretations. For more discussion of structural ambiguity, cf. Chapter 5.

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has presented the sources used in collecting data on medieval and modern compounding, which included secondary sources for both periods and supplementary primary sources for the less well-documented Medieval Spanish. The choices of dictionaries and texts were supported, and the methodology for including and excluding complex formations was laid out. Finally, the parameters of classification were explicated. The next chapter presents the results obtained from the data analysis.

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

JACK: Oh, that's nonsense, Algy. You never talk anything but nonsense.

ALGERNON: Nobody ever does.

From *The Importance of Being Earnest*, by Oscar Wilde

Introduction

In this chapter we present a summary of the findings obtained by tabulating the data for Medieval and Modern Spanish compounds gathered and classified using the methods described in Chapter 3. The medieval data are examined first, both quantitatively and qualitatively. They are followed by a quantitative analysis of modern data and some comparisons between the two periods.

Medieval Spanish

For the medieval period, separate tables are presented with the compounds found in the dictionary database (DME) and in the data collection from texts (ADMYTE). This is because it did not seem valid to group data obtained from different sources if the aim was to show percentages of each kind of compound found, especially since as we saw earlier, the criteria for inclusion of compounds in the dictionary were different from those used to obtain them from the texts, and since the types of source texts were different. The suspicion that this might have led to different percentages of compound types was indeed corroborated later by contrasting the two medieval sources.

Quantification of Categories and Types of Medieval Compounding

The comparison of the two medieval databases shows that nominal compounding is prevalent in both, with an even greater predominance of nominal patterns in the ADMYTE sources than in the DME (Table 4-1). This may be due to the fact that the ADMYTE texts were more innovative, with a predominance of scientific registers and jargon, whereas the DME includes a variety of legal and literary texts, more likely to contain archaic terminology. Thus, the DME reflects older patterns of word formation, including adjectival and verbal compounding, which were becoming fossilized.

We now turn to the specific patterns found in each category, and to their totals and percentages. The patterns are organized in order of frequency for each medieval database (Table 4-2 for DME, 4-3 for ADMYTE), and they are cross-tabulated with their grammatical category, which serves to show which patterns are used exocentrically, i.e., they undergo conversion at some point, and which ones are endocentric.

Table 4-1. Totals and percentages of medieval compounds classified by grammatical category.

Category	DME (%)	ADMYTE (%)
Nominal	154 (61.4)	98 (88.3)
Adjectival	60 (23.9)	5 (4.5)
Verbal	32 (12.7)	1 (0.9)
Adverbial	5 (2.0)	7 (6.3)
Total	251 (100)	111 (100)

Note, however, that not all exocentric compounds involve a change of grammatical category: a nominal may be used metonymically (i.e., exocentrically), in which case there will be no change of grammatical category (e.g., *lengua de vibora* 'evil-

speaking person,' lit. 'tongue of snake'). Note that there are two separate compound types labelled N+A, distinguished by their subscripts 'adj.' and 'nom.' The first one corresponds to cases where the adjective does not exhibit concord with the internal nominal but with an external nominal head, and where the internal noun may have no word class marker of its own (e.g., *bocarrotq* 'of broken mouth,' lit. 'mouth-broken,' *boquimuelle* 'of soft mouth,' lit. 'soft-mouth'). The second corresponds to cases where the adjective does exhibit concord with the nominal, which constitutes the head of the construction (e.g., *camposantq* 'cemetery,' lit. 'field-holy'). Although the two compound types generally differ also in that the N+A_{adj} creates adjectives and N+A_{nom} creates nouns, this is not a foolproof test, since they can sometimes change their grammatical category through conversion, a shift that is indicated in the table by placing them in columns that correspond to different grammatical categories.

In the tables, the cutting point between minor and major patterns was arbitrarily placed at 3.5% of the total number of compounds for the database. The distinction is useful in that it allows us to see which patterns are more frequent and require further attention, and which ones are sporadic, emerging, or obsolescent.

A comparison of DME and ADMYTE shows that several of the major patterns are shared, some with comparable degrees of frequency. Thus, N+N constitutes 19.5% of DME compounds and 24.3% of those in ADMYTE, A+N is virtually identical (a little over 6% in both), whereas the V+N pattern of nominal compounding has low productivity in both: 11.6% in DME and 6.3% in ADMYTE.

Table 4-2. Totals and percentages for each pattern of medieval compounding (*DME*).

Category	Nominal	Adjectival	Verbal	Adverbial	Totals (%)
<i>Major patterns</i>					
N+N	49				49 (19.5)
Adv+A	4	33			37 (14.7)
V+N	29				29 (11.6)
Adv+V	2		23		25 (10.0)
Adv+N	23				23 (9.2)
N+A _{adj}		19		1	20 (8.0)
A+N _{nom}	16				16 (6.4)
N+A _{nom}	15				15 (6.0)
N+V			9		9 (3.6)
<i>Minor patterns</i>					
Num+N	8				8 (3.2)
Num+A		6			6 (2.4)
A+A	2	1			3 (1.2)
N+Adv				3	3 (1.2)
N+prep+N	3				3 (1.2)
prep+N				1	1 (0.4)
prep+N+A	1				1 (0.4)
Q+A		1			1 (0.4)
Q+N	1				1 (0.4)
A+prep+N	1				1 (0.4)
Totals	154(61.4)	60 (23.9)	32(12.7)	5 (2.0)	251 (100)

Other major patterns have very different frequency. Thus, Adv+A adjectivals are very productive in the DME database (14.7%), whereas in ADMYTE the pattern is a low 4.5%. By contrast, N+A_{nom}, the most productive pattern in ADMYTE (29.7%), exhibits a low 6% of tokens in DME. Moreover, several of the major patterns present in the DME are absent altogether among the most frequent in the ADMYTE list: Adv+V, N+V, Adv+N, N+A_{adj}. These compounds share the characteristic that their head is final and constitutes the only morphosyntactic locus of the compound. The non-head often appears in its bare form, and in a position where it would be marked in phrases, which tend to be head initial (Hinojo Andrés (1988) places the frequency of VO syntactic order in

Medieval Spanish at 72%, but unfortunately does not establish a preferred order for adverbs). On the other hand, N+prep+N compounds, present among the ADMYTE major patterns, are not in the equivalent DME list. Phrasal compounds of this type exhibit the same structure that phrases would, i.e., the head precedes the non-head (with the exception of A+N, which is also a possible phrasal order), and normally constitutes the morphosyntactic locus of the compound. Note that all the “morphological” compounds, i.e., those with head-final order, are more frequent in the DME, whereas, with the exception of V+N and A+N, all the phrasal compounds are more common in ADMYTE. Because in general the ADMYTE texts exhibit more innovative patterns, we assume that the direction of innovation was from head-final to head-initial patterns (Table 4-4).

Table 4-3. Totals and percentages for each pattern of medieval compounding (*ADMYTE*).

Category	Nominal	Adjectival	Verbal	Adverbial	Totals (%)
<i>Major patterns</i>					
N+A _{nom}	33				33 (29.7)
N+N	27				27 (24.3)
N+prep+N	14				14 (12.6)
A+N _{nom}	7				7 (6.3)
V+N	7				7 (6.3)
Adv+A	2	3			5 (4.5)
<i>Minor patterns</i>					
N+Adv				4	4 (3.6)
prep+N	2			1	3 (2.7)
prep+A		2			2 (1.8)
Num+N	2				2 (1.8)
Adv+N	2				2 (1.8)
N+V			1		1 (0.9)
Adv+Adv				1	1 (0.9)
Adv+V	1				1 (0.9)
Num+prep+N	1				1 (0.9)
prep+inf				1	1 (0.9)
Totals	98(88.3)	5 (4.5)	1 (0.9)	7 (6.3)	111 (100)

Table 4-4. Comparison of percentages of morphological and phrasal compounds.

	Frequency in DME	Frequency in ADMYTE
<i>Morphological compounds</i>		
Adv+A	14.7	4.5
Adv+V	10.0	0.9
Adv+N	9.2	1.8
N+V	3.6	0.9
N+A _{adj}	8.0	0
Total percentage:	45.5	8.1
<i>Phrasal compounds</i>		
N+N	19.5	24.3
V+N	11.6	6.3
A+N _{nom}	6.4	6.3
N+A _{nom}	6.0	29.7
N+prep+N	1.2	12.6
Total percentage	44.7	79.2

Dual patterns

The following table shows the relative frequency of dual compounds, i.e., those with two head elements, against those with one head only, be they left- or right-headed, and endo- or exocentric.

Table 4-5. Comparison of dual and non-dual compounds (*DME* and *ADMYTE*)

Frequency of headedness	DME (%)	ADMYTE (%)
Dual	13 (5.2)	0 (0)
Non-dual	238 (94.8)	111 (100)
Totals	251 (100)	111 (100)

The data from the two sources coincide in showing the low frequency of dual compounding in Medieval Spanish. There are very few such compounds in DME and none in the ADMYTE texts searched. Of the 13 cases found, three are A+A (*agradulce*

‘bitter-sweet’), two of which have undergone nominal conversion (*altibajo* ‘vicissitudes,’ lit. ‘up-down’ *claroscuro*, ‘chiaroscuro,’ lit. ‘clear-dark’). The remainder are N+N compounds (*arquibanco* ‘chest-bench’), including one which is tripartite: *abecé* ‘abece.’ It bears mentioning that there are also three derivatives of dual compound bases, not included in the compound counts because that would involve simply counting the same compound base twice, but worth mentioning given the low frequency of the pattern in general: *abecedario* ‘alphabet’ (< *a+be+cé*), *celtiberano*, and *celtiberio* ‘Celtiberian’ (< *celta+íbero*).

Non-dual compounds

Endocentricity and exocentricity

In this section, we present the non-dual patterns, some of which can be used both endo- and exocentrically, others exclusively one or the other. The two databases coincide in exhibiting the same pattern of endo- and exocentric use of the major compounding patterns. Thus, N+N is almost exclusively endocentric in both databases, as are the Adv+N, Adv+A, N+V, N+A, A+N, and N+prep+N patterns; N+A_{adj} is exclusively endocentric in the DME database, whereas ADMYTE has no examples. The V+N pattern, on the other hand, is exclusively exocentric in both databases.

As for the Num+N compounds, in DME there is an even split between endocentric cases where the nominal is the head of the construct (*tresnieto* < *tres nieto* ‘great-great- grandchild,’ lit. ‘three-grandchild’), and cases where the numeral specifies the nominal and the whole construction is used exocentrically (*cientopiés* < *ciento + pies* ‘centipede,’ lit. ‘hundred-feet’); in ADMYTE only exocentric cases are found.

Table 4-6. Non-dual compounding patterns (*DME*).

Headedness	Endocentric (%)	Exocentric (%)	Totals (%)
<i>Major patterns</i>			
N+N	38 (97.4)	1 (2.6)	39 (16.4)
Adv+A	33 (89.2)	4 (10.8)	37 (15.5)
V+N	0 (0)	29 (100)	29 (12.2)
Adv+V	23 (92)	2 (8)	25 (10.5)
Adv+N	23 (100)	0 (0)	23 (9.7)
N+A _{nom}	13 (72.2)	5 (27.8)	18 (7.6)
N+A _{adj}	17 (100)	0 (0)	17 (7.1)
A+N	15 (93.8)	1 (6.2)	16 (6.7)
N+V	9 (100)	0 (0)	9 (3.8)
<i>Minor patterns</i>			
Num+N	4 (50)	4 (50)	8 (3.4)
Num+A	6 (100)	0 (0)	6 (2.5)
N+Adv	0 (0)	3 (100)	3 (1.3)
N+prep+N	3 (100)	0 (0)	3 (1.3)
prep+N	0 (0)	1 (100)	1 (0.4)
prep+N+A	0 (0)	1 (100)	1 (0.4)
Q+A	1 (100)	0 (0)	1 (0.4)
Q+N	0 (0)	1 (100)	1 (0.4)
A+prep+N	0 (0)	1 (100)	1 (0.4)
Totals	185 (77.7)	53 (22.3)	238 (100)

Table 4-7. Non-dual compounding patterns (*ADMYTE*).

Headedness	Endocentric (%)	Exocentric (%)	Totals
<i>Major patterns</i>			
N+A _{nom}	33 (100)	0 (0)	33 (29.7)
N+N	27 (100)	0 (0)	27 (24.4)
N+prep+N	14 (100)	0 (0)	14 (12.6)
A+N	7 (100)	0 (0)	7 (6.3)
V+N	0 (0)	7 (100)	7 (6.3)
Adv+A	3 (60)	2 (40)	5 (4.5)
<i>Minor patterns</i>			
N+Adv	0 (0)	4 (100)	4 (3.6)
prep+N	0 (0)	3 (100)	3 (2.7)
prep+A	2 (100)	0 (0)	2 (1.8)
Num+N	0 (0)	2 (100)	2 (1.8)
Adv+N	2 (100)	0 (0)	2 (1.8)
N+V	1 (100)	0 (0)	1 (0.9)
Adv+Adv	1 (100)	0 (0)	1 (0.9)
Adv+V	0 (0)	1 (100)	1 (0.9)
Num+prep+N	0 (0)	1 (100)	1 (0.9)
prep+inf	0 (0)	1 (100)	1 (0.9)
Totals	90 (81.1)	21 (18.9)	111 (100)

Head-initial and head-final patterns

Another aspect to consider with respect to non-dual patterns is whether they present a head-initial or a head-final structure, in other words, whether the head of the construction is the first or the last element. Let us recall that this analysis can be made both with endo- and with exocentric compounds, given that even in exocentrics one internal element can be identified which governs the other, e.g., the preposition in the prep+N pattern, or the verb in V+N.

Table 4-8. Head-initial and head-final non-dual compounds (*DME*).

Head position	Endocentrics (%)	Exocentrics (%)	Totals (%)
Head-initial (%)	32 (45.7) (17.3)	38 (54.3) (71.7)	70 (29.4)
Head-final (%)	153 (91.1) (82.7)	15 (8.9) (28.3)	168 (70.6)
Totals	185 (77.7)	53 (22.3)	238 (100)

Table 4-9. Head-initial and head-final non-dual compounds (*ADMYTE*).

Head position	Endocentrics (%)	Exocentrics (%)	Totals (%)
Head-initial (%)	22 (59.5) (24.4)	15 (40.5) (71.4)	37 (33.3)
Head-final (%)	68 (91.9) (75.6)	6 (8.1) (28.6)	74 (66.7)
Totals	90 (81.1)	21 (18.9)	111 (100)

The tables for both databases show an overall predominance of endocentric compounding patterns. They also show that the endocentric patterns tend to be head-final

to a comparable degree (around three quarters of the time), whereas exocentrics show a clear predominance of head-initial constructions in both databases (70 %).

Stems and words as first elements

It is hypothesized that one of the changes that endocentric compounds have undergone historically is the loss of the word class marker in preposed non-head elements. This is a process that could affect nominal and adjectival non-heads, given that adverbs lack an overt WCM to begin with. To find out whether this hypothesis is correct, the first elements of the compound were considered to see whether they were more likely to be stems or words, and with what frequency for each grammatical category. The results are presented separately for DME and ADMYTE in Tables 4-10 and 4-11 underneath.

Table 4-10. Stems and words as first elements in endocentric compounds (DME).

First Element	Stem (%)	Word (%)	Total
<i>Head initial patterns</i>			
N+X	12 (37.5)	20 (62.5)	32
<i>Head final patterns</i>			
N+X	35 (72.9)	13 (27.1)	48
A+N	7 (46.7)	8 (53.3)	15
Adv+X	6 (7.6)	73 (92.4)	79
Num+X	6 (54.5)	5 (45.5)	11
Totals	66 (35.7)	119 (64.3)	185

Table 4-11. Stems and words as first elements in endocentric compounds (*ADMYTE*).

First Element	Stem (%)	Word (%)	Total
<i>Head initial patterns</i>			
N+X	6 (8.8)	62 (91.2)	68
<i>Head final patterns</i>			
N+X	3 (42.9)	4 (57.1)	7
A+N	2 (28.6)	5 (71.4)	7
Adv+X	0 (0)	6 (100)	6
prep+A	0 (0)	2 (100)	2
Totals	11 (12.2)	79 (87.8)	90

The data show that in the head-final patterns, nominal and adjectival non-heads show a tendency to exhibit no word class marker. DME has 72.9% nominal stems (*cabizbajo*, cf. *cabeza*, *manlevar*, cf. *mano*) and 46.7% adjectival stems (*malguisa* cf. *mala*) in initial position. In *ADMYTE* this tendency to have stems as non-head first elements is much less evident: it affects 42.9% of nominals and 28.9% of adjectivals. The reasons for this difference are possibly the smaller sample (14 total, 7 nominal and 7 adjectival preposed non-heads), and the frequent imitation of Latin patterns in the scientific texts, cf. hapaxes such as *ocio pensamiento* 'leisure thought,' *rayan foja* 'myrtle leaf,' borrowings such as *solrayo* 'type of fish,' lit. 'sun ray,' (< Cat. *solraig*, probably *solroig* 'sun red' due to the color of the fish, reinterpreted in Spanish as a compound, *sol+rayo*, Coromines 1980), Latinisms such as *lignáloe* 'wood aloe' (< L. LIGNUM ALOE), and fossilized forms such as *pezuña* 'foot nail' (< L. PEDIS UNGULA).

This tendency towards having stems as the first element can be proven not to be a result of mere univerbation and phonetic erosion due to destressing. If it were, it would affect head-initial and head-final patterns equally, as both patterns tend to stress the rightmost foot of the prosodic word, regardless of headedness properties. This is not the

case: the nominal heads of head-initial patterns appear without their word class marker in 37.5% of the cases in DME and a mere 8.8% of the times in the ADMYTE database; in either case, a much lower percentage than that for the corresponding non-heads. Besides, in those cases it can be shown that the change is mostly phonetic, rather than targeting the word class marker itself: *agua + ardiente > aguardiente*, *fijo + dalgo > fidalgo*; sometimes the complex word is borrowed and therefore lacks a word class marker to begin with: *vinagre < Cat. vinaigre* (Corominas 1980).

Description of Major Medieval Compounding Patterns

Duals

These types of compounds join either two nouns or two adjectives to form new nouns or adjectives; a few adjectival complexes undergo A → N conversion. The elements can be simply juxtaposed, i.e., lacking any formal link (*abecé* ‘abece,’ *agradulce* ‘bitter-sweet,’ *usofruto* ‘usufruct,’ lit. ‘use-enjoyment’) or they may exhibit a linking vowel (*altibajo* ‘vicissitude,’ lit. ‘high-low,’ cf. *alto*, *capisayo* ‘hooded cape,’ lit. ‘cape-cloak’ cf. *capa*) or fusion of identical vowels (*claroscuro < claro + oscuro*, ‘chiaroscuro,’ lit. ‘clear-dark’).

Dual nouns refer to singular items which blend some combination of the semantic features of the original nouns. Thus, *usofruto* adds the rights of using and enjoying an item; *capisayo* is an article of clothing that is in some respects like a cloak and in others like a cape. Most are man-made objects, i.e., articles of clothing, instruments or techniques, where such blending of semantic features is possible. A few are abstract

qualities: *artimaña* ‘trickery,’ lit. ‘art-trick.’ The dual adjectives refer to blended qualities that are applied simultaneously to a referent.

Endocentric non-duals

Head-final compounds

Adv+A, Adv+V, Adv+N. These are adjectival, nominal, and verbal compounds with adverbial non-heads. In all cases, the adverbial non-head precedes the head, and belongs to a very restricted class: *bien* ‘well’ (alternating with *ben-*), *mal* ‘badly’ (and variants such as *mar-*), and much less frequently *menos* ‘less’ and *cerca* ‘near.’ Often, one can find a morphological relationship between the adjectives, verbs, and nouns that appear in this type of compounding. In some cases the verbal compound can be shown to be the derivational base for the other ones: *malparar* ‘mistreat,’ lit. ‘badly-stand’ > *malparado* ‘mistreated,’ lit. ‘badly-stood,’ (*parado* p.part. of *parar*), *malquerer* ‘wish ill,’ lit. ‘badly-love’ > *malquisto* ‘unloved,’ lit. ‘badly-loved’ (*quisto*, irr. p.part of *querer*) > *malquistamiento* ‘the action of becoming enemies’; *malquerer* > *malquerencia*, *malquería* ‘ill will’; *maldecir* ‘curse,’ lit. ‘badly-say’ > *maldecidor* ‘curser,’ lit. ‘badly-sayer,’ *maldecir* > *maldecimiento* ‘cursing,’ *maldición* ‘a curse.’ It could be argued that only the Adv+V combinations are really compounds, whereas the rest are simply derivations of the verbal base. However, this is sometimes clearly not the case, cf. *malcontento* ‘unhappy,’ lit. ‘badly-happy,’ *bienoliente* ‘perfumed,’ lit. ‘well-smelling,’ *bienaparente* ‘good-looking,’ lit. ‘well-appearing,’ with no apparent source among the verbal compounds listed. On other occasions, it cannot be determined on morphological

grounds whether the verb is the base of the noun, or the other way around: *menospreciar*, *menosprecio* ‘despise,’ lit. ‘less-value, contempt,’ lit. ‘less-value-nom.’

Semantically, the compounds are sometimes equivalent to their phrasal paraphrase: *bientratar* = *tratar bien* ‘treat well,’ *maldormir* = *dormir mal* ‘sleep badly.’ Sometimes they have a negative or an intensive meaning: *menospreciar* = *no apreciar* ‘despise,’ *malmajar* = *majar más* ‘beat more intensely’ *malherir* = *herir gravemente* ‘injure seriously.’ Finally, some of these compounds have acquired idiomatic meanings: *bendecir* ‘bless,’ *maldecir* ‘curse.’

N+N. Some N+N head final patterns are clearly deverbal, and there is a N+V compound in the list to support this claim: *cablevador* ‘guarantor,’ lit. ‘end-lifter,’ *cablieva* ‘guarantee,’ lit. ‘end-lifting’ < *cablevar* ‘guarantee,’ lit. ‘end-lift.’ Sometimes they can be related to a phrasal construction: *logarteniente* ‘lieutenant’ < *tener el lugar* ‘hold the place,’ *misacantano* ‘priest who can say mass,’ lit. ‘mass-singer’ < *misa cantar* ‘mass sing’ < *cantar misa* ‘sing mass,’ *mamparamiento* ‘protection’ < *parar con la mano* ‘stop with the hand’ with the nominal operating as the complement or the adjunct of the verb in question. These nominals generally lack word class markers, with a few exceptions (*misacantano*).

Other N+N head final compounds are not deverbal: *argentpel* ‘silver plated layer of tin,’ lit. ‘silver-skin,’ *oropel* ‘thin layer of tin that imitates gold,’ lit. ‘gold-skin,’ *casamuro* ‘wall,’ lit. ‘house-wall,’ *cabrahigo* ‘wild fig,’ lit. ‘goat-fig,’ *solrayo* ‘type of fish,’ lit. ‘sun-ray,’ *gallocresta* ‘medicinal plant,’ lit. ‘rooster-comb.’ Again, it is frequent for the non-head to appear in its stem form: *argent-* (cf. *argento*), *man-* (cf. *mano*), or with a linking vowel *capri-* (cf. *cabra*), *mani-* (cf. *mano*). In this pattern,

however, nominal non-heads often appear in their full word form: *cabrafigo*, *casamuro*, *oropel*. Semantically, the non-head nominal restricts the reference of the head: *cabrahigo*, *higo de cabra*, ‘wild fig,’ i.e., a type of fig.

N+A_{adj}, N+V. Compounds with a preposed nominal non-head and adjectival or verbal heads generally exhibit a nominal in its combining form or with a linking vowel (*cabizpacido* ‘badly fed,’ lit. ‘head-fed,’ cf. *cabeza* ‘head,’ *barbiponiente* ‘who is starting to have a beard,’ lit. ‘beard-having/growing,’ cf. *barba* ‘beard’) but occasionally they appear in their full form (*bocarroto* ‘of broken mouth,’ lit. ‘mouth-broken’). The noun is more often than not a part of the body, either of humans or of animals. It is often archaic: *cap/cab* for *cabeza*, *punta* ‘head, end’ *faz* for *cara* ‘face’; in the N+V compounds, the noun is *man-* ‘hand’ in a disproportionately high number of cases. It can be proved that the nominal is not the head of N+A compounds of this type because it does not trigger concord in the adjective.

The semantic role of the nominal with respect to its head is that of complement, or occasionally, modifier. Thus, *cejijunto* can be paraphrased by *junto de cejas* ‘close of eyebrows,’ where the adjective has a nominal complement which needs to be licensed through a preposition. In the verbal compounds of this kind, the nominal can be a complement: *fazferir* < *ferir la faz* ‘reprimand,’ lit. ‘injure the face,’ or an adjunct: *mantener* < *tener con la mano* ‘maintain,’ lit. ‘hold with the hand.’ These compounds are often semantically specialized: *cervigudo* ‘stubborn,’ lit. ‘nape-pointed,’ *cabizpacido*, ‘badly-fed,’ lit. ‘head-fed,’ *fazferido* ‘accused,’ lit. ‘face-injured.’

A+N_{nom}. In this type of compound, the noun is the head of the whole nominal compound, and it triggers concord on the preceding adjective: *gordolobo*, ‘type of plant,’ lit. ‘fat-

wolf,' *ricohome* 'nobleman,' lit. 'rich man,' *vanagloria*, 'vainglory.' Sometimes the adjective lacks a word class marker where it could show the concord: *malcabo*, 'bad end,' *malguisa* 'bad way' (cf. Harris 1996 on WCM suppression). The types of adjectives that appear preposed in compounds are similar to those that Hinojo Andrés (1988:ftn.37) has found for medieval syntactic phrases, especially, *bueno* 'good,' *malo* 'bad,' *grande* 'great,' *medio* 'half.' The preposed *mal-* in these constructions is ambiguous between the adjectival and the adverbial interpretation; they were included here unless a parallel Adv+V compound is present.

Head-initial endocentric compounds

N+N. In the head initial nominal compounds made up of two nominals, the relationship between the elements is normally not indicated morphologically, although there is occasional univerbation through fusion of identical vowels *maestrescuela* < *maestre* + *escuela*, *condestable* < *conde* + *establo* (note, however, the remnants of the Latin case system in *condestable* < L. COMITEM STABULI) or loss of the word class marker: *cabalfuste* < *caballo* + *fuste*.

Often, the relationship between the elements can be paraphrased using some prepositional link, such as *de* 'of' or *para* 'for': *aguamanos* = *agua para las manos* 'water-hands = water for the hands' *capapiel* = *capa de piel* 'cape-fur = cape of fur.' The second noun limits the reference of the first by indicating the purpose (*aguamanos*), location (*maestrescuela* 'schoolmaster,' lit. 'master-school'), material (*pañolino*, 'flax cloth,' lit. 'cloth flax'), or format (*miel terrón*, 'lump of honey,' lit. 'honey lump'). On

other occasions, a comparison is implied: *caña fistola* = *caña como fistola* ‘cane pipe = cane like a pipe.’

N+A_{nom}. This type of compound construction joins a nominal with a following adjectival which exhibits concord with it. They are phrases which have become unified, a fact that can be supported by the impossibility of interrupting them and their invariable order. They also exhibit semantic specialization: *goma arábica* ‘gum arabic,’ *lengua cervina*, ‘type of fern,’ lit. ‘tongue deer-adj.’ Sometimes there is evidence for their status as prosodic words in their occasional unified spelling: *aguardiente* ‘liquor,’ lit. ‘water burning,’ *fenogriego* ‘type of plant,’ lit. ‘hay-Greek,’ *bolarménico* ‘type of clay,’ lit. ‘clay-Armenian,’ *cañavera* ‘type of cane,’ lit. ‘cane true.’

Most of the compounds in this class belong to the ADMYTE database, which means that they are lexical innovations. Because of the nature of the texts consulted, the compounds often refer to foods (*figo meloso* ‘small, sweet fig,’ lit. ‘fig honeyed’), drinks (*aguardiente* ‘liquor,’ lit. ‘water-burning’), plants (*cañavera* ‘type of cane,’ lit. ‘can true’), animals (*aberramía* ‘bird of the river banks,’ lit. ‘bird-branch?-adj.’), medicines or preparations (*acibar socotrino* ‘aloe from the island of Socotora,’ lit. ‘aloe-Socotora-adj,’ *sal pedrés* ‘mineral salt,’ lit. ‘salt stone-adj.’).

N+prep+N. Just like the previous type, compounds of the structure N+prep+N are phrasal in origin, but again, they can be proven to be inseparable, semantically specialized, and occasionally prosodically unified: *fideputa* ‘son of a whore,’ cf. *fijo* ‘son.’ They sometimes exhibit alternants without a preposition: *agua de miel* ‘water of honey’ vs. *aguamiel* ‘water-honey.’ Again, this type of compound is much more

frequent, relatively speaking, in the ADMYTE database than in the more conservative DME.

Exocentric non-duals

Head-initial exocentric compounds

V+N, V+Adv, and variants. This type of compound has the structure of a minimal verb phrase, with a verb in its bare form accompanied by its direct object complement (*ganapán* ‘man who earns a living carrying loads,’ lit. ‘earn-bread’) or an adverbial adjunct which may be a locative (*trotaconventos* = *trota por los conventos* ‘matchmaker,’ lit. ‘trot-convents’), an adverbial of manner (*armatoste* = *arma toste*, ‘machine to build crossbows,’ lit. ‘build-quickly’), or some other adverbial (*guardapolvo* = *guarda contra el polvo* ‘tunic,’ lit. ‘guard-dust’). Occasionally, the verbal element exhibits a linking vowel (*bati_icor* ‘pain, sorrow,’ lit. ‘beat-heart,’ *bati_hoja* ‘gold and silver beater,’ lit. ‘beat-leaf.’) but more often than not, it appears with its thematic element and simply juxtaposed to the nominal it governs.

The compounds themselves belong to a small set of semantic fields, such as menial professions and occupations (*rascacaballos* ‘groom,’ lit. ‘scratch-horses,’ *trotaconventos* ‘matchmaker,’ lit. ‘trot-convents’), pejorative terms of individuals (*cascatreguas* ‘someone who breaks the truce,’ lit. ‘break-truce’), names of flora and fauna (*quebrantahuesos* ‘lammergeyer,’ lit. ‘break-bones,’ *espantalobos* ‘type of bush,’ lit. ‘scare-wolves’), or instruments (*guardabrazo* ‘part of the armour covering the arm,’ lit. ‘guard-arm,’ *pelacejas* ‘tweezers,’ lit. ‘peel-eyebrows’). A number of them are not

used as nominals, but as the nominal head of adverbial modal expressions: *a machamartillo* ‘solidly but ungracefully,’ *a rozapoco* ‘not completely.’

Several of the compounds of this type are the result of reanalysis of constructions which are not V+N etymologically. That is the case for *guardamezir* ‘embossed leather’ < *guadameci* ‘id.’ < Ar. *gadaamasii* ‘from Gadames, a city and oasis in the Sahara dessert,’ which has been reanalyzed as belonging to the V+N compound pattern, but where *mezir* does not seem to carry any semantic meaning. It is also the case of *aguzanieves* < *auze de nieves* ‘type of bird,’ lit. ‘bird? of snow,’ *sacabuche* ‘medieval wind instrument, resembling a trombone,’ lit. ‘remove-belly’ < Fr. *saquebute* < *saquer* + *bouter* ‘push+chase away,’ *cantuhueso* ‘type of plant,’ lit. ‘sing-bone’ < L. CHAMAETUSIUS < Gr. χαμαιθυσος, with folk etymology based on *hueso* (< L. OSSUM). Note that in some of them some semantic motivation can be found for the reanalysis, for example, *sacabuche*, where the wind instrument is related to the emptying of a belly. In other cases, however, the reanalysis results in a compound where one element is transparent but the other is not (*guardamezir*); it is, however, an instance of an opaque form receiving some motivation from the application of the V+N pattern. Finally, there are cases where there are two clearly distinguishable morphemes, but the semantic relationship between them and their referent is non-existent: *cantuhueso*, *aguzanieves*.

N+Adv. In the medieval database a number of complex forms are found with the structure of a noun and an adverbial of direction: *bocayuso* ‘mouth-down,’ *papa arriba* ‘chin up,’ *cuesta asuso* ‘slope up.’ These at first sight look like compounds, and given that they are adverbs, it is tempting to analyze them as a prepositional head and a nominal incorporated as the non-head: *cuesta asuso* = *asuso la cuesta* ‘slope up = up the slope.’

However, their adverbial meaning is not that which would correspond to their alleged non-incorporated counterparts, i.e., *cuesta asuso* does not mean *asuso (de) la cuesta* ‘above the slope’ but *por la cuesta hacia asuso* ‘following the slope in an upward movement’ (similarly, *bocayuso* ‘mouth down’ is *con la boca hacia ayuso* ‘with the mouth toward the floor’ rather than ‘down the mouth’). It is used syntactically as an absolute structure with semantic case, i.e., it is always a complement of manner: *Caminamos cuesta arriba* ‘We walked up the slope,’ lit. ‘We walked slope up,’ *Duermo boca abajo* ‘I sleep on my stomach,’ lit. ‘I sleep mouth down.’

This precludes the incorporated interpretation and favors an analysis as two nested elliptical prepositional phrases: $[\emptyset[\text{boca}]_{\text{NP}}]_{\text{PP}}[\emptyset[\text{ayuso}]_{\text{AdvP}}]_{\text{PP}}$, where the second elliptical preposition is some kind of direction or path, and the first one has several possible interpretations. In any case, it does not seem valid to consider them compounds. The construction is vital and exists in Modern Spanish, but will be excluded from further consideration.

Head-final compounds

Num+N. Very few exocentric compounds exhibit a head preceded by a numeral specifier. If the head is a nominal, they invariably undergo conversion, so that the compound itself is of the bahuvrihi kind: *cientopiés* = *insecto que tiene cien piés* ‘centipede,’ lit. hundred-feet, an insect having a hundred feet,’ *milhojas* = *torta que tiene mil hojas* ‘millefeuille,’ lit. ‘thousand leaves, a pastry having a thousand leaves/layers.’

N+V, Adv+V, and variants. Compounds of the V+N type may be inverted, with complements or adjuncts preceding the verb. This is clearly a very marginal pattern in

Spanish, however, and we only find one example in the entire medieval database, *vis, oroval* (with a modern and ancient Catalan counterpart, *orval*) < Fr. *orvale* < L. AURIS GALLI ‘ear of rooster’ which was remodelled into AURUM VALET ‘is worth gold’ due to the medicinal properties of the plant (cf. Klingebiel 1988 for more examples of inverted pairs of {V, N} compounds in the Romance languages, especially Occitan and Catalan).

Modern Spanish

The data for Modern Spanish were obtained from secondary sources, which means that some of the types may have been underrepresented (in particular, A+A is not recorded at all, and neither are several dual nominal patterns). However, it was considered an adequate sample for the majority of the compound types. In what follows, I present a quantification of the major categories and types of modern compounding found, comparing them to their medieval counterparts wherever appropriate.

Quantification of Categories and Types of Modern Compounding

As we did for the medieval compounds, we first present the totals for each compound category type. A comparison between Table 4-12 and Table 4-1 shows that nominal compounding here is as frequent as in ADMYTE, i.e., higher than in the more traditional DME database. Adjectival compounds are infrequent, and verbal compounds are almost negligible, again in agreement with the ADMYTE corpus. The situation with adverbial compounds has been discussed already: pseudo-adverbial compounds can be shown to be in fact elliptical prepositional phrases, which means that the category itself could be eliminated in all the databases; consequently, it is not considered in the Modern Spanish tables.

Table 4-12. Totals and percentages of modern compounds by grammatical category.

Category	Modern Spanish (%)
Nominal	2335 (87.1)
Adjectival	287 (10.7)
Verbal	58 (2.2)
Total	2680 (100)

Table 4-13. Totals and percentages for each pattern of modern compounding.

Category	Nominal (%)	Adjectival (%)	Verbal (%)	Totals (%)
<i>Major patterns</i>				
V+N, etc.	858			858(32.0)
N+A _{nom}	641			641 (23.9)
N+prep+N	384			384 (14.3)
N+A _{adj}	32	246		278 (10.4)
N+N	270	1		271 (10.1)
A+N _{nom}	105			105 (3.9)
<i>Minor patterns</i>				
Adv+A	5	40		45 (1.7)
Adv+V	3		37	40 (1.5)
Num+N	24			24 (0.9)
N+V			21	21 (0.8)
V+Adv, etc.	13			13 (0.5)
Totals	2335 (87.1)	287 (10.7)	58 (2.2)	2680 (100)

When we consider individual compounding patterns, it becomes apparent that they do not differ greatly from their medieval counterparts (Table 4-13). No new compound patterns are present in the modern database that did not have precursors in Medieval Spanish, and no major medieval compound pattern is without some form of modern counterpart (exception made of the abovementioned N+Adv adverbial pattern, which is better not considered as a compound to begin with). Of the major modern patterns, five appear also among the most frequent in the ADMYTE database, viz., N+A_{nom}, N+N, N+prep+N, A+N, V+N. The remaining one, N+A_{adj}, does not appear in

ADMYTE at all, but is included in the DME most frequent list. The minor patterns also have their precursors in Medieval Spanish, except for V+Adv, which is simply a variation on V+N.

A comparison of the frequencies of modern compounds and their medieval ancestors reveals some interesting trends. The V+N pattern, the most frequent and productive in the modern database, has almost tripled its relative frequency. Phrasal compounds such as N+A_{nom} and N+prep+N have maintained comparable degrees of frequency to those found in ADMYTE, whereas the inverse pattern, A+N, has lost strength. The head-final adjectival pattern N+A is as frequent today as in the medieval database, a surprising find. Equally surprising is the fact that N+N binomials are not more productive in Modern Spanish than in the past, in spite of claims to the contrary (cf. Foster 1976, who states that Spanish has traditionally resisted this type of compound, cf. also Casado 1992). In fact N+N compounds are twice as frequent in the medieval texts, a fact probably explainable by the use of Latin phrasal models even in the absence of a case system that would make explicit the semantic relations between the nominals: *ocio pensamiento* 'leisure thought,' *agua purga* 'water for purging,' lit. 'water purge,' *foja rama* 'leaf branch.' A number of examples function as a partitive genitive: *copo azúcar*, *pañó lino* 'cloth linen' (cf. de Dardel 1999:194 for antecedents in Proto-Romance). On the other hand, several of the patterns which appear frequently in the medieval database (especially in the DME), have fallen into desuetude in Modern Spanish. That is the case of the head-final compounds with adverbial or nominal non-heads, i.e., Adv+A, Adv+V, Adv+N, N+V. The trend can already be adumbrated in the ADMYTE database, which in general presents frequency values which are intermediate between the DME and Modern

Spanish. The case of Adv+N (e.g., *bienaventuranza*, ‘bliss’ lit. ‘well-adventure’) should be taken with some caution, however, since the modern database simply does not provide any examples of this pattern, probably because it is considered a derivation of the Adv+A (e.g., *bienaventurado* ‘fortunate,’ lit. ‘well-adventured’) and Adv+V (*bienaventurar* ‘bless’ lit. ‘well-adventure’). In any case, those words are of very little frequency in Modern Spanish and 0%, though extreme, is probably not far off their real frequency. As for the V+Adv pattern, which parallels V+N, no examples were found in either of the medieval databases, but this may simply be due to their low frequency and the small size of these databases compared to the modern one, which is 10 times larger than DME and over 20 times larger than ADMYTE.

Table 4-14. Percentages of major compound patterns in Medieval and Modern Spanish.

<i>Major patterns</i>	Medieval Sp. DME	Medieval Sp. ADMYTE	Modern Sp.
V+N, etc.	11.6	6.3	32.0
N+A _{nom}	6.0	29.7	23.9
N+prep+N	1.2	12.6	14.3
N+A _{adj}	8.0	0	10.4
N+N	19.5	24.3	10.1
A+N _{nom}	6.4	6.3	3.9

Table 4-15. Percentages of minor compound patterns in Medieval and Modern Spanish.

<i>Minor patterns</i>	Medieval Sp. DME	Medieval Sp. ADMYTE	Modern Sp.
Adv+A	14.7	4.5	1.7
Adv+V	10.0	0.9	1.5
Adv+N	9.2	1.8	0
Num+N	3.2	1.8	0.9
N+V	3.6	0.9	0.8
V+Adv	0	0	0.5

Dual patterns

The dual patterns present in the modern database are as infrequent as their medieval counterparts. Table 4-16 summarizes the findings, comparing duals against the entire database of compounds, whereas Table 4-17 presents the percentage of N+N compounds which are two-headed. This is possible because the only kind of dual compounds found in the modern database are of the structure N+N. It should be noted that a number of N+N compounds are semantically ambiguous between a dual and a non-dual interpretation; thus, for example, *aguanieve* 'sleet' could be *agua como nieve* 'water like snow' or *agua y nieve* 'water and snow,' in which case it would be reversible, at least theoretically. Rather than deciding arbitrarily for one or the other interpretation, those compounds were counted twice.

Table 4-16. Dual and non-dual compounds in Modern Spanish.

Headedness	Frequency in Modern Spanish (%)
Dual	66 (2.5)
Non-dual	2614 (97.5)
Total	2680 (100)

Table 4-17. Dual and non-dual N+N compounds in Modern Spanish.

Headedness of N+N compounds	Frequency in Modern Spanish (%)
Dual	66 (24.4)
Non-dual	205 (75.6)
Total	271 (100)

Non-dual compounds

Endocentricity and exocentricity

As was done in the medieval database, the non-dual patterns are tabulated with respect to their endocentric and exocentric use (Table 4-18). The results reveal that, with the exception of the V+N pattern, which is always used exocentrically, the remaining major patterns are basically endocentric, and are only occasionally used as exocentrics. The same applies to the minor patterns, with the exception of Num+N and of V+Adv, a variant of V+N, as we have seen.

Table 4-18. Non-dual compounding patterns in Modern Spanish

Head position	Endocentric (%)	Exocentric (%)	Totals (%)
<i>Major patterns</i>			
V+N	0 (0)	858 (100)	858 (32.8)
N+A _{nom}	600 (93.6)	41 (6.4)	641 (24.5)
N+prep+N	351 (91.4)	33 (8.6)	384 (14.7)
N+A _{adj}	245 (88.1)	33 (11.9)	278 (10.6)
N+N	184 (89.8)	21 (10.2)	205 (7.8)
A+N	80 (76.2)	25 (23.8)	105 (4.0)
<i>Minor patterns</i>			
Adv+A	40 (88.9)	5 (11.1)	45 (1.7)
Adv+V	37 (92.5)	3 (7.5)	40 (1.5)
Num+N	0 (0)	24 (100)	24 (0.9)
N+V	21 (100)	0 (0)	21 (0.8)
V+Adv	0 (0)	13 (100)	13 (0.5)
Totals	1558 (59.6)	1056 (40.4)	2614 (100)

A comparison of Tables 4-18 with 4-6 and 4-7 shows that the total percentage of exocentric compounds has grown with respect to endocentrics, a fact due mainly to the increased popularity and productivity of V+N compounds, rather than to the increased exocentric use of any of the remaining patterns.

Head-initial and head-final patterns

Next, we turn to the question of whether non-dual compounds tend to be head-initial or head-final. The tendency is clearly in favor of head-initial patterns, with an overall preference of 79.1% for this head position. This is true both for endocentric and for exocentric compounds, although the trend is even more evident with the latter (91%, against 71% for endocentrics). The head-final patterns are much more frequently endocentric than exocentric, whereas the head-initial patterns are more evenly distributed between the two.

Table 4-19. Head-initial and head-final non-dual compounds in Modern Spanish.

Head position	Endocentrics (%)	Exocentrics (%)	Totals (%)
Head-initial	1106 (53.5) (71.0)	961 (46.5) (91.0)	2067 (79.1)
Head-final	452 (82.6) (29.0)	95 (17.4) (9.0)	547 (20.9)
Totals	1558 (59.6)	1056 (40.4)	2614 (100)

A comparison of these figures with those obtained for the two medieval sources reveals some interesting differences. The first obvious trend is the dramatic increase in the frequency of head initial compounds in general (a jump of 50 percentile points, or 2.5 times). This tendency is due mainly to the increased use of head-initial patterns to create endocentric compounds, but is also favored by an increase in the use of head-initial exocentric compounds. So clearly, Spanish moved from a head-final compounding system to one overwhelmingly favoring head-initial patterns.

Table 4-20. Percentages of head-initial compounding in Medieval and Modern Spanish.

% of head-initial cpds	Medieval Sp. DME	Medieval Sp. ADMYTE	Modern Sp.
Endocentric	17.3	24.4	71.0
Exocentric	71.7	71.4	91.0
Totals	29.4	33.3	79.1

Stems and words as first elements

Finally, we must consider the use of stems and words as first elements in both head-initial and head-final compounds. Just as was done before, the compounds are divided according to the grammatical category of the initial element.

Table 4-21. Stems and words as first elements in modern endocentric compounds.

First Element	Stem (%)	Word (%)	Total
<i>Head-initial patterns</i>			
N+A	12	588	600
N+N	15	140	155
N+prep+N	1	350	351
Total (N+X)	28 (2.5)	1078 (97.5)	1106
<i>Head-final patterns</i>			
N+A _{adj}	245	0	245
N+N	14	15	29
N+V	20	1	21
Total (N+X)	279 (94.6)	16 (5.4)	295
Total A+N	6 (7.5)	74 (92.5)	80
Adv+A	0	40	40
Adv+V	1	36	37
Total (Adv+X)	1 (1.3)	76 (98.7)	77
Totals	314 (20.2)	1244 (79.8)	1558

When the first element is a (nominal) head, words are virtually always preferred over stems. On the other hand, when the first element is a nominal non-head, then it is

overwhelmingly likely to be a stem. The same trend is not observed for adjectival or adverbial preposed non-heads, which are much more likely to be words than stems.

A comparison of the medieval and modern periods shows that the modern preference for head words and non-head stems in initial position is the result of language change (Table 4-22). In the DME database, initial heads are almost 40% likely to appear without their word class marker (N+A nominals such as *avucasta* < *ave* + *casta* 'bustard, type of bird' lit. 'bird-chaste,' N+prep+N like *cabalfuste* < *caballo* + *fuste* 'rack to hang harnesses,' lit. 'horse-wood'), whereas non-head nominal stems in the same position are over 70% likely (N+A_{adj} like *crestibermejo* < *cresta* + *bermejo* 'with a red comb,' lit. 'comb-red'), i.e., a difference of 30%. In the case of the ADMYTE data, the situation is different in that both head initial and head final patterns show a decreased preference for stems in initial position, but the difference between the two is maintained, with non-heads 30% more likely to be stems than heads. In the modern database, on the other hand, this difference is a great deal more pronounced, to the point where it is almost categorical: initial non-heads are almost always stems (94.6% of the time) and heads are hardly ever stems (2.4%). The situation for adjectives seems to be the reverse, with older compounding exhibiting more stems in initial non-head position, and modern compounding more words. Adverbs present a much more consistent picture, with words preferred over stems throughout. Let it be noted, however, that adverbs are unequivocally stems only when they exhibit some kind of phonological reduction, e.g., *ben-* instead of *bien*. In the remainder of the cases, the absence of any overt word class marker makes the stem/word distinction a moot point.

Table 4-22. Stems and words as first elements in the medieval and modern periods.

% of stems as first element	DME	ADMYTE	Modern Sp.
<i>Head initial patterns</i>			
N+X	37.5	8.8	2.5
<i>Head final patterns</i>			
N+X	72.9	42.9	94.6
A+N	46.7	28.6	7.5
Adv+X	7.6	0	1.3

Of the 15 Modern Spanish head-final compounds exhibiting a word in the non-head position, at least five also appear in our medieval databases, viz., the N+V *salpresar*, and the N+N *cabrahigo*, *casamuro*, *gallocresta*, and *misacantano*. The remainder of the compounds in this class for which Corominas provides dates are as follows: *aguaturma* (1817), *casamuro* (1635), *casamuda* (medieval in *D. Hist.*, no date), *casapuerta* (1613), *madreclavo* (1734 *Aut.*), *maestrepasquín* (c. 1400), *varapalo* (*Quevedo*, so 1645 ad quem), *varaseto* (1492), *zarzamora* (1490, 1492). In other words, almost half of them are medieval, and the other half are recorded in the Renaissance; only one appears to be a modern creation based on the pattern. To further support this point, in Modern Spanish only three of the nominal non-heads in N+A_{adj} compounds present a full noun in that position (*aguallevado*, *bocachico*, *pintarrojo*); however, even those three are not included in the counts because they are exocentric, and here we are only considering endocentric cases. Additional evidence for the exclusive use of nominal stems as preposed non-heads is the fact that compounds with a fully fledged noun in non-head position have frequently evolved into compounds with linking vowels instead: *barbapuniente* (DME) > Mod.Sp. *barbiponiente* (also in DME), *bocabierto* (DME) >

Mod.Sp. *boquiabierto*, *bocaroto* (DME) > Mod.Sp. *boquirroto* (for further evidence of the remodelling of the earlier compounds and insertion of the infixal *-i-*, cf. Munthe 1889). This evidence shows that the pattern with a non-head word in initial position is a relic, with very little vitality in Modern Spanish. The evolution towards having non-head nominal stems in word initial position is virtually complete in Modern Spanish. The motivations for this shall be addressed in Chapter 5.

Description of Major Modern Compounding Patterns

Duals

Out of the total number of duals, 34 exhibit some morphological indication of the coordination of the two elements, either through deletion of the word class marker of the first nominal (*ajaceite* ‘a type of sauce,’ lit. ‘garlic-oil’ cf. *ajo*), deletion of WCM and insertion of an overt linking vowel (*ajicomino* ‘a condiment mix,’ lit. ‘garlic-cummin’ cf. *ajo*, *ceropez*, ‘cobbler’s wax,’ lit. ‘wax-tar’ cf. *cera*), elision of one of two identical contiguous vowels (*ajolio* < *ajo* + *olio* ‘type of sauce,’ lit. ‘garlic-oil’), or insertion of a linking vowel without deletion of WCM (*paniqueso* ‘flower of the elm tree’ < *pan* + *queso* ‘bread-and-cheese’). In the latter case, the linking element can be traced to the coordination conjunction, a fact sometimes made obvious by the spelling: *pan y quesillo* ‘type of plant,’ lit. ‘bread and cheese’ *sangre y leche*, ‘type of marble with white and red streaks,’ lit. ‘blood and milk.’ There are a high number of dual compounds where no overt morphological link between elements is present, however: *picoazadón* ‘tool that is both a hoe and a pick’ < *pico* + *azadón* ‘pick + hoe,’ *salpimienta* ‘mixture of salt and pepper’ < *sal* + *pimienta* ‘salt + pepper.’

Like in the medieval compounds, these modern duals are normally used to identify singular items which coordinate semantic features of two nouns: *agua miel* = *agua mezclada con miel* 'water-honey = water mixed with honey,' *ajaceite* = *mezcla de huevo, aceite, ajos y patata* 'garlic-oil = mixture of eggs, oil, garlic, and potatoes.' They also frequently constitute man-made objects (*mesa camilla* 'table stretcher') or products, with culinary preparations figuring quite prominently on the list (*ajopollo, ajoqueso* 'types of stew,' lit. 'garlic-chicken, garlic-cheese'). They are also used quite frequently as names of plants and animals, where the new species is identified by its similarity with two previously described and named: *chochaperdiz* 'type of woodchuck,' lit. 'woodchuck-partridge' *gallipavo* 'turkey,' lit. 'rooster-turkey' *colinabo* 'kohlrabi,' lit. 'cabbage-turnip.' This type of use was not found in the medieval database consulted.

Another type of dual compound which emerges in the modern database is the appositional pattern, which can be identified because it passes the test 'an x which is a y, and a y which is an x.' This pattern is present in *puertaventana* 'door-window' and *reina madre* 'queen mother.' In this case, an individual item is named after two of its functions or characteristics, which are compatible with its nature when applied simultaneously, rather than blended. Thus, a *puertaventana* functions as both a door and a window (it goes all the way to the floor, like a door, and it is made of glass and lets the light come through, like a window), so one can say 'it is a door which is a window, and a window which is a door.' A *reina madre* is both a queen and a mother, two characteristics which are compatible when applied to a single individual because they refer to different aspects of that individual, namely, social rank and parental status.

In Modern Spanish there are a number of other dual patterns, however, which are not represented in the database. This is the case of nominal duals where coordination results in a plural nominal, such as (*relaciones*) *alumno-docente* ‘student-teacher (relations),’ where the external nominal *relaciones* requires a two-place predicate filled by the two nouns of the compound. It is also the case of compounds where coordination is established through disjunction, so that there is an either/or interpretation, e.g., *amor-odio* ‘love-hate,’ which cannot be both love and hate simultaneously but requires an alternation.

Similarly, dual adjectival compounds (A+A, such as *rojinegro*, *socio-político* ‘red-black, socio-political’) are not recorded in Bustos Gisbert (1986), but they are clearly productive in Modern Spanish (Lang 1990). These adjectival compounds are coordinative dvandvas: two adjectives are conjoined to create a new adjective which adds the two qualities. The fact that they are adjectives means that they will be attributed to a referent which may be singular, but the quality itself is dual. For example, for something to be *rojinegro* it must have two colors, not an intermediate hue. This pattern is one of the most productive in Modern Spanish, used especially with color adjectives and to create fairly technical words in academic and other fields.

These patterns are not represented in the data, perhaps because they are more recent and constitute a very productive open class which does not undergo lexicalization, and is seldom included in dictionaries. For example, the noun *relaciones* could potentially be used to introduce any pair of reciprocal terms: *padre-hijo*, *abuelo-nieto*, ‘parent-child, grandparent-grandchild,’ etc. The color A+A adjectives can be created to describe any multicolored object. Because of their productivity, they are worthy of

attention, in spite of being absent from the modern database, and will be considered in the theoretical analysis presented in Chapter 5.

Endocentric non-duals

Head-final endocentric compounds

Adv+A, Adv+V. The adverbs that participate in this pattern continue to be overwhelmingly *bien* (var. *ben-*) and *mal*, and to a lesser extent *menos*, with *siempre* being used a few times to generate exocentric compounds: *siempreviva* ‘immortelle,’ lit. ‘always-alive.’ The patterns are clearly archaic in the modern database; they have very low productivity and several of the compounds in this class are identified as belonging to Medieval Spanish in DRAE and Rainer (1993).

A sizeable number of the Adv+V compounds appear also in the medieval list, viz., *bendecir*, *bienaventurar*, *malbaratar*, *maldecir*, *malfacer*, *malherir*, *malmeter*, *malparar*, *malpasar*, *malquerer*, *malquistar*, *maltraer*, *menoscabar*, *menospreciar*. That constitutes 14 out of the total number of 37 (or 37.8%). For Adv+A compounds there is also some overlap, with 8 out of 40 compounds present in both databases (20%). Bearing in mind that the medieval databases are much scantier than the modern ones, it would not be surprising if a much higher number of modern compounds could in fact be traced back to medieval times, in which case the pattern could be proven to be even more moribond, which would not be hard to prove, by searching for the entire set of Adv+A and Adv+V compounds in the medieval database in ADMYTE, for example.

N+N. Of the total number of endocentric compounds with the structure N+N (184), only 29 are head final, or 15.7%. A disproportionately high number of these compounds (16,

or 55.2%) has a non-head word, as we stated above, which is an indication of their archaic status.

N+A_{adj}, N+V. The group of head-final compounds with adjectival heads is very numerous in Modern Spanish, but its productivity is limited by the fact that, just like in its medieval predecessor, the nominal must belong to a very restricted semantic field, i.e., parts of the human or animal body. The compounds themselves are used exclusively for the description of external physical characteristics of humans and animals (especially horses, cattle, and birds). This limitation has led to very few creative uses of the pattern in Modern Spanish (Rainer 1993:289), in which still the pattern has failed to go beyond its original domain.

As for the N+V verbal compounds, they are clearly relics, most of them identified as such in their sources: *mamparar, mampresar, mancomunar, manferir, manlevar, mantener (manutener), mantornar, manufacturar, manumitir, manuscibir*. More than half of these compounds have *mano* 'hand' as the non-head nominal, sometimes without its word class marker, sometimes with the reflex of the Latin ablative case ending *-u*. Like in the equivalent medieval compounds, the nominal may constitute the direct object of the verb (*aliquebrar = quebrar las alas* 'wing-break = break the wings [of a bird]') or an oblique case (*manferir = herir con la mano* 'hand-injure = injure with the hands').

A+N_{nom}. Nominal compounds made up of a preposed non-head adjective and a postposed noun are much less frequent in the modern database than they were in the DME, but show levels comparable to ADMYTE. In the DME, preposed and postposed adjectives were almost equally frequent in nominal compounds made up of a noun and an adjectival modifier (Table 4-23). In ADMYTE and in the modern database, on the other

hand, A+N compounds tend to be marginal, and the preposed adjectives belong to a relatively small class: *alto/a* ‘high,’ *bajo/a* ‘low,’ *bueno/a* ‘good,’ *falso/a* ‘false,’ *mal/a* ‘bad,’ and numeral adjectives (*doble* ‘double,’ *medio/a* ‘half,’ *quinto/a*, ‘fifth,’ etc.). These are the adjectives that can appear preposed in syntactic phrases. A few of the modern compounds actually can be traced back to the medieval period: *buenandanza*, *buenaventura*, *medianoche*, *mediodía*, *ricohombre* (*ricohome* in DME), *vanagloria*. At least one A+N compound has evolved into the N+A pattern: *gordolobo* ‘mullein,’ lit. ‘fat-wolf’ (a reanalysis of L.L. CODA LUPI ‘tail of wolf’) is replaced by *lobogordo* ‘type of poisonous plant,’ lit. ‘wolf-fat’ in the modern database.

Table 4-23. Relative frequency of pre-posed and post-posed adjectives in N+A nominal compounds

	Medieval Sp. DME (%)	Medieval Sp. ADMYTE (%)	Modern Spanish (%)
A+N	16 (51.6)	7 (17.5)	105 (14.1)
N+A	15 (48.4)	33 (82.5)	641 (85.9)
Totals	31	40	746

Head-initial endocentric compounds

N+N, N+A, N+prep+N. These compounds are all formed by a sequence of a nominal head and complement or modifier which may be a single adjective, a prepositional phrase, or a bare nominal, not preceded by a preposition. As we saw above, the head is normally a word, exhibiting no morphological indication of having been compounded with the second element. These compounding categories do not differ much from their medieval counterparts, other than in their increased productivity in the modern period, which explains, among other things, why there are more nominal compounds in Modern

Spanish, relatively speaking. A more detailed analysis of their internal structure is delayed until Chapter 5.

Exocentric non-duals

Head-initial exocentric compounds

V+N, V+Adv, and variants. By far the most productive type of compounding in Modern Spanish, this pattern can be proven to have grown in popularity, when compared to its medieval counterparts, or at least to have become more frequent in the written register. It has also been the most studied compound in Romance. Suffice it to say here, by way of description, that the V+N cases included in the database exhibit a verb and a nominal or adverbial, normally simply juxtaposed without any morphological indication of their compounded status. There are some cases, however, where the thematic vowel of the verb is replaced by a connecting *-i-*, which may be simply a phonetic reduction caused by this vowel being intertonic (between the secondary stress on the verb and the primary head on the noun: *årdiviéjas* < *árde* + *viéjas* ‘type of plant,’ lit. ‘burn+old women’). The thematic vowel can also blend with the first vocalic element in the following constituent, if it is identical (*botagua* < *bota* + *agua* ‘window sealer,’ lit. ‘push-water’), or occasionally one of the two vowels in a hiatus may disappear (*abrojo* < *abre* + *ojo* ‘thistle,’ lit. ‘open-eye,’ *desmochollas* < *desmocha* + *ollas* ‘idle man,’ lit. ‘blunt-pots’).

The second constituent is normally a nominal (*sacacorchos* < *saca* + *corchos* ‘corkscrew,’ lit. ‘remove-corks,’) but it may occasionally be an adverbial (*saltatrás* < *salta* + *atrás* ‘mulatto, person of mixed descent,’ lit. ‘jump-behind’), a prepositional phrase (*cenaoscuras* < *cena* + *a* + *oscuras* ‘cheap person,’ lit. ‘dines-in-(the)dark’), or a

clitic and a quantifier (*sabelotodo* < *sabe* + *lo* + *todo* ‘know-it-all’). The last category can be shown not to be a frozen syntactic phrase, because the clitic, which is non-referential (it is invariant or neuter), is not in the position it would occupy in syntax (*lo sabe todo* ‘knows all of it,’ lit. ‘it knows all’), i.e., it has not risen to preverbal position, which means that there is not IP for it to adjoin to (following a suggestion in Kayne (1994) that clitics adjoin to IP).

As for the semantic relation between the verb and the second constituent, it is normally that of verb and theme 93.9% of the time. However, the second constituent can also act as a verbal adjunct, indicating not the verbal theme but other thematic roles such as path (*trotamundos* ‘globe-trotter,’ lit. ‘trot-worlds’), direction (*tornatrás* ‘person of mixed descent,’ lit. ‘turn-back’), and various complement types (means, *cortafrío* ‘type of chisel,’ lit. ‘cut-cold,’ protection, *guardapolvo* ‘tunic,’ lit. ‘guard-dust’). An innovation with respect to the medieval data is that the postposed element can even be interpreted as the subject of the verb, in a small number of cases: *hurgamandón* ‘busybody,’ lit. ‘meddle-bossy person’ (for cases where the non-head appears preposed, such as in *perrohuele* ‘snoop,’ lit. ‘dog-smell’).

Head-final exocentric compounds

Num+N. The only pattern of Modern Spanish exocentric compounding where the head appears postposed with any frequency, is that of Num+N, where numeral specifiers precede their nominal head. They are all of the bahuvrihi type, which means that they refer to a nominal by metonymy, using one of its salient characteristics. In all cases, the

nominal element is plural but the compound is singular: *sietecolores* ‘goldfinch,’ lit. ‘seven-colors.’

N+V, Adv+V, and variants. Just like we saw it in the medieval database, the exocentric V+N pattern may on rare occasions exhibit inversion of its constituents. In most of the cases where this happens, the non-head element is an adverbial: *malbusca* ‘restless woman,’ lit. ‘badly-searches,’ *malqueda* ‘someone who does not keep his word,’ lit. ‘badly-stays,’ *maltrabaja*, ‘lazybones,’ lit. ‘badly-works,’ *siempresobra* ‘bayleaf put in food,’ lit. ‘always-is in the way.’ Sometimes it may be a noun (*perrohuele*, ‘snoop,’ lit. ‘dog-smell’).

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has provided a quantitative and a descriptive analysis of the types of compounding found in the two medieval databases and in the Modern Spanish data. It has shown that, in both periods of Spanish studied, compounding is used more frequently to create nouns than adjectives or verbs, a trend which has increased over time. It has also shown that the patterns of compounding have remained more or less stable, although their relative frequencies of use have changed. In particular, the Adv+V, Adv+A, Adv+N, and N+V patterns have become obsolescent, whereas V+N, N+A, and N+prep+N have increased in relative frequency. Some surprising findings are that the N+A_{adj} pattern has in fact increased its use over time, although it has probably reached a plateau. On the other hand, the N+N nominal pattern, supposedly more frequent today than before, is in fact less frequent than it used to be. In most cases, it is noted that the DME exhibits more archaic patterns of compounding, whereas the medieval ADMYTE

database is generally comparable to the Modern Spanish data, or at least intermediate between the values of the two.

It is also noted that the use of compounding patterns with two (or more) heads has precursors in Medieval Spanish. There has been an expansion of the semantic fields where this type of composition is frequent, however, with hybrid plant and animal names figuring more prominently now, as opposed to names of man-made objects such as tools and articles of clothing, which have medieval antecedents. Moreover, in the modern database a new underlying representation can be given to these duals, i.e., there are not just blended dvandvas, but also appositionals, of the type ‘an x which is a y, and a y which is an x.’ Other uses, such as disjunctive and conjunctive dvandvas, are not recorded in the database, perhaps due to their non-lexicalization, which prevents their inclusion in dictionaries.

The existence of exocentric and endocentric patterns is common to both historical periods. With the exception of V+N and Num+N, all the compounding patterns tend to be used mainly endocentrically, with occasional exocentricity due to conversion (**bienestar_V* → *bienestar_N*), or to metonymy (*cara rota* ‘cheeky person, broken face,’ lit. ‘face-broken’). Overall, the percentage of exocentric compounding has increased due to a surge in popularity of the V+N pattern.

Another tendency observed is the shift from a preference for head-final to head-initial patterns. This is true both for the exocentric and endocentric compounds, but more dramatic for the former than the latter. Because exocentrics tend to have the structure of phrases, and phrases in Modern Spanish tend to be head initial, it comes as no surprise that 91% of exocentric compounds should be head-initial, too.

Finally, it was shown quantitatively that in Modern Spanish, when the non-head element is a nominal and it appears preposed to the head, there is an overwhelming preference for this constituent to appear in its stem form, i.e., the base minus the word class marker. This trend is the result of historical evolution and not a simple result of phonetic erosion or prosodic unification, given that it does not affect heads in word initial position, even though they undergo the same destressing as non-heads. It is a process that targets nominals, rather than adjectival or adverbial non-heads.

In Chapter 5 I shall provide an extensive analysis of the compound patterns described qualitatively in this chapter, using the theoretical tools introduced in Chapter 2 to account for my observations.

CHAPTER 5
A THEORETICAL ACCOUNT
OF SPANISH COMPOUNDS

ALGERNON: (...) Now produce your explanation, and pray
make it improbable.
From *The Importance of Being Earnest*, by Oscar Wilde

Introduction: General Overview

The present chapter aims to account for the various types of Spanish compounds found in the modern and medieval databases by using the unified framework presented in Chapter 2. I shall start by describing and accounting for the various types of dual compounds, i.e., those which exhibit two head elements. I shall show that there are two main groups, appositionals and dvandvas, and that the dvandvas can, in turn, be grouped into two different kinds, which I have called conjoined and blended. Each of these types has different morphological and syntactic properties and conveys distinct semantics. For each one, a different underlying representation is proposed which can account for these differences in a principled manner.

The non-dual patterns exhibit a head element and a non-head. They may be endocentric, in which case the internal head element also dictates the morphosyntactic features of the whole compounded word. Alternatively, they may be exocentric, in which case none of the internal elements is responsible for the morphosyntax of the compound. Exocentric compounds may be structurally so, when an empty head is part of the underlying structure of the compounding pattern itself. Alternatively, they may be the

result of occasional conversion of compounded structures which are also (and mainly) used endocentrically.

In the case of non-dual compounds, several syntactic relationships may be established between the head and the non-head element. The non-head element may be a complement, a specifier, or a modifier (adjunct) to the head. We shall see that each one of these possibilities is realized in some type of compound. Thus, the head-complement relationship is present in $[V+N]_N$, (e.g., *cascanueces* 'nutcracker,' lit. 'crack-nuts'), $[N+N]_N$ (*casa cuna* 'creche,' lit. 'house crib'), $[N+V]_V$ (*maniatar* 'tie by the hand,' lit. 'hand-tie'), $[N+A]_A$ (*ojinegro* 'of black eyes,' lit. 'eye-black'), $[Adv+V]_V$ (*maltratar* 'mistreat,' lit. 'badly-treat') and $[Adv+A]_A$ (*bienoliente* 'perfumed,' lit. 'well-smelling'). The head-specifier relationship is evident in $[Num+N]_N$ (*sietecolores* 'goldfinch,' lit. 'seven-colors'). The head-modifier relationship is present in $[N+A]_N$ and $[A+N]_N$, (*hierbabuena* 'mint,' lit. 'herb-good'). We shall see that each one of these three main relationships corresponds to three underlying representations, where the relative order of the elements follows the universal S-H-C order proposed by Kayne (1994). The surface order of elements is maintained in XP compounds. It may be altered, however, in X^0 compounds, in which compounding results from movement. The XP/ X^0 dichotomy is directly connected with the word/stem distinction, as we saw in Chapter 2 and as shall be underscored in the relevant places here.

Dual Compounds in Spanish

Dual compounds with two nominal heads ($[N+N]_N$, also known as binomials) have not commanded as much attention in the Romance literature as other patterns (e.g.,

[V+N]_N). Moreover, this type has often been confused with endocentric compounds of the same surface form. Some authors do not systematically distinguish dual (or binominal) compounds from left-headed endocentrics. A case in point is Casado (1992), who uses the term '*sustantivo en aposición*,' i.e. noun in apposition, to refer to any complex noun formed by the juxtaposition of two nominals without any morphological indication of their syntactic relationship. He includes head-initial endocentric compounds (*hora-punta* 'rush hour,' lit. 'hour-peak') and two-headed compounds (*sofá-cama* 'sofa-bed') in the same group (cf. Bartos 1980, Cianca Aguilar 1986, for similar confusion).

Even authors who do distinguish binomials from endocentric nominal compounds (Clas 1987 for French, Lang 1987, 1990, Rainer 1993 for Spanish), tend to consider only one type of binomial compounding pattern, or group together different kinds of duals, or fail to provide a satisfactory theoretical explanation for differences between them. Thus, for example, Clas (1987) accurately distinguishes dual compounds, which he calls *binomiques*, such as *mixeur-batteur* 'mixer-blender' and *chasseur-bombardier* 'fighter-bomber' from those where there is a subordinate relationship between terms: *animaux-machines* 'machine-like animals,' lit. 'animals-machines.' He even notes subtle differences between apparently identical surface structures, such as *ingénieur chimiste* 'chemical engineer,' lit. 'engineer chemist,' who is an engineer of a specific kind, i.e., an endocentric compound, and *boulangier pâtissier* 'baker-pastryman,' both a baker and a pastry cook. However, he labels all the dual compounds above 'dvandvas,' failing to distinguish them from appositionals. Rainer (1993) does mention quite a few representatives of different NN dual patterns: *actor-bailarin* 'actor-dancer,' *otoño-invierno* 'fall-winter,' *compraventa* 'sale,' lit. 'purchase-sale,' *falda-pantalón* 'culotte,'

lit. ‘skirt-trousers,’ but he does not distinguish them into different semantico-syntactic structures.

In both cases, important distinctions are lost as a result of paying excessive attention to the surface of compounds instead of giving due consideration to their internal structure and the relationship that holds between constituents. It is necessary, therefore, to clear up the confusion and provide a satisfactory classification of Spanish compounds involving two nominals of equal hierarchy, i.e., with two heads. In what follows I show that there are three types of duals with clearly different semantics and morphology. For each type, I provide an unambiguous underlying syntactic structure which accounts for those properties, based on the assumption that only syntactic representation holds the key to morphological and semantic differences. Finally, I address the issue of semantic ambiguity of the various duals and how it can be accounted for.

The Classification

Appositional compounds

This group is represented in the modern database by *puerta-ventana* ‘bay window,’ lit. ‘door-window’ and *reina madre* ‘queen mother’ (for more examples, not found in the database, cf. 1) It is made up of nouns that have a structure reminiscent of syntactic apposition (cf. 2 for a syntactic example, and Escandell Vidal and Jungl (1989), Fuentes Rodríguez (1989), and Lago (1991), for discussion). The difference is that, instead of syntactic phrases, the compounds involve bare nominals (*actor-bailarin* ‘actor-dancer’) or, occasionally, noun phrases (*inspector-verificador de impuestos* ‘inspector-tax verifier’), in accordance with the LP/FP hypothesis. Notice, however, that

this distinction between syntactic apposition and dual compounds has often been blurred in the literature (e.g., Fuentes Rodríguez' review includes cases such as *profeta rey* 'prophet king,' and *mesa camilla* 'table stretcher' as examples of syntactic apposition). The construction must pass the test 'an x that is a y, and a y that is an x,' which means that the two terms must be correferential and equifunctional, i.e., syntactically equivalent (Fuentes Rodríguez 1989, and Guelpa 1995). Therefore, the inversion of the two terms does not affect the meaning of the compound, and is at least theoretically possible (*bailarín-actor* = *actor-bailarín*, but cf. Brucart 1987:507). As a corollary, the elimination of one of the constituents of the compound in a sentence yields a term which has the same reference as the compound (cf. the tautologies in 3).

1. *actor-bailarín, poeta-pintor, droguería-perfumería, diccionario-enciclopedia*
actor-dancer, poet-painter, drugstore-perfume store, dictionary-encyclopedia
2. *mi hermano, el doctor en química*
my brother, the doctor in chemistry
3.
 - a. *El salón comedor es un salón.*
The living room-dining room is a living room.
 - b. *El salón comedor es un comedor.*
The living room-dining room is a dining room.
 - c. *La madre-esposa es una madre.*
The mother-wife is a mother.
 - d. *La madre-esposa es una esposa.*
The mother-wife is a wife.

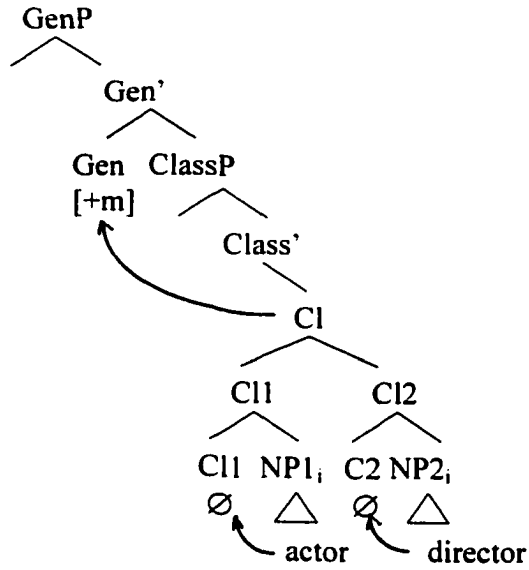
For appositional compounds to be semantically interpretable, it must be possible for one single referent to have the features assigned by both terms simultaneously. The most typical cases for humans involve two professions (*poeta-pintor*), whereas in the case of inanimates, it is normally the function or the use of the object that is invoked in the

compound Lang (1987, 1990). This is because those types of attributes are the ones that can most easily be reconciled in the same individual.

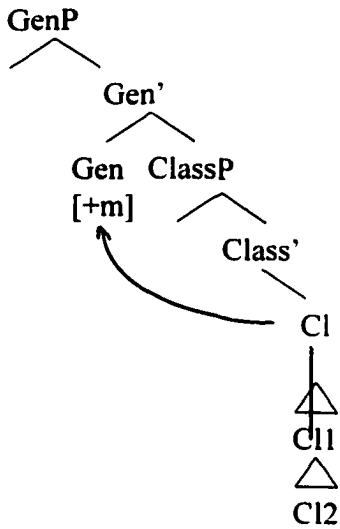
The morphological agreement features must be copied onto both terms. Thus, this type of compound exhibits double gender and number agreement marking in [+human] nouns: *actor bailarín, actores bailarines, actriz bailarina, actrices bailarinas* (masculine singular/plural, feminine singular/plural); cf. **actor-bailarina* ‘actor-masc.sg. dancer’fem.sg.’ With inanimates, only number agreement applies: *diccionarios-enciclopedias*, ‘dictionaries-encyclopedias.’

The syntactic structure proposed for this type of compound is represented in (4a). The coindexation captures the identical reference, and also accounts for the fact that the two terms must share agreement features. Perhaps a clearer representation would be (4b) where the two nouns appear aligned to underscore their paradigmatic identity and their interchangeability (note the abbreviated structure under the ClassP nodes). The indefinite number of nominals represents the fact that there is no restriction on the number of possible heads: *actor-director-escritor* ‘actor-director-writer.’ The identity of agreement features can be captured by positing that there is one single Gen/ClassP for the whole compound, rather than one for each constituent. The gender and class phrases must be distinguished from each other (which was not done earlier for the sake of brevity), because the GenP is located outside the appositional compound and selects the two nominal constituents simultaneously, whereas the ClassP must be located within the constituents, to account for the fact that the latter do not need to agree in their word class marker, although they must agree in gender (and any higher projection, such as number). In other words, the compound is a compound of two ClassP heads (4).

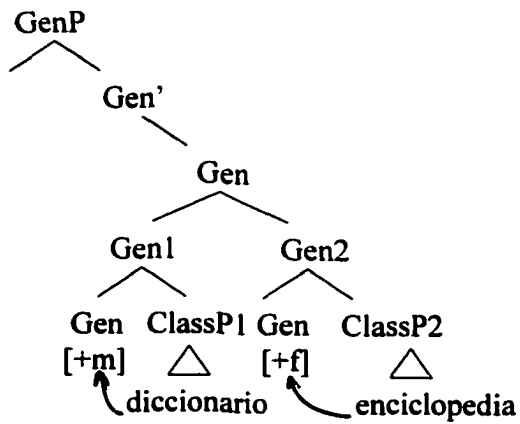
4.
a.



b.



5.



In the case of inanimate objects, where gender is inherent rather than biological, the gender of each of the compounds is not common to both. In those cases, we may assume that it is the head of the gender phrase that ‘geminates’ to result in a compound (5).

This creates difficulties to decide on the gender that should be computed for the compound as a whole, but it seems that linear precedence may be the determining factor when no biological gender can be extrapolated for both conjuncts. The mechanisms for such gender assignment are not well understood at this time, but they have clear parallels in syntax, where the agreement of NPs is problematic too and tends to be a function of linearity as well (cf. the behavior of the following compounds: *los buenos diccionarios-enciclopedias* ‘the-masc.pl. good-masc.pl. dictionaries-masc.-enciclopedias-fem.,’ *los buenos diccionarios y enciclopedias* ‘the-masc.pl. good-masc.pl. dictionaries-masc.pl. and enciclopedias-fem.pl.,’ and syntactic phrases: **las buenas diccionarios-enciclopedias* ‘the-fem.pl. good-fem.pl. dictionaries-masc.pl.-enciclopedias-fem.pl.’ **las buenas diccionarios y enciclopedias* ‘the-fem.pl. good-fem.pl. dictionaries-masc.pl. and enciclopedias-fem.pl.’).

Dvandvas

The remaining cases share one characteristic: none of them can be understood as apposition, given that they all fail the ‘x that is a y, y that is an x’ test. In other words, if we eliminate one of the constituents of the compound the terms do not have the same reference (6). This is because the individual terms before compounding define mutually

exclusive sets with no possible intersection. Therefore, they must be “added” somehow; different possible coordinations result in two different kinds of dvandvas.

6.

- a. **Una relación madre-niño es una relación madre.*
A relation mother-child is a relation mother.
'A mother-child relationship is a mother relationship.'
- b. **Una relación madre niño es una relación niño.*
A relation mother child is a relation child.
'A mother-child relationship is a child relationship.'
- c. **Un gallipavo es un gallo.*
'A rooster-turkey (kind of poultry) is a rooster.'
- d. **Un gallipavo es un pavo.*
'A rooster-turkey (kind of poultry) is a turkey.'

Conjoined dvandvas

This type is not represented in any of the databases, either medieval or modern, maybe because they are completely productive and not lexicalized and, consequently, not recorded in lexicographical work. In the examples in (7) I consider the second term, which acts as a complement to the head between parentheses.

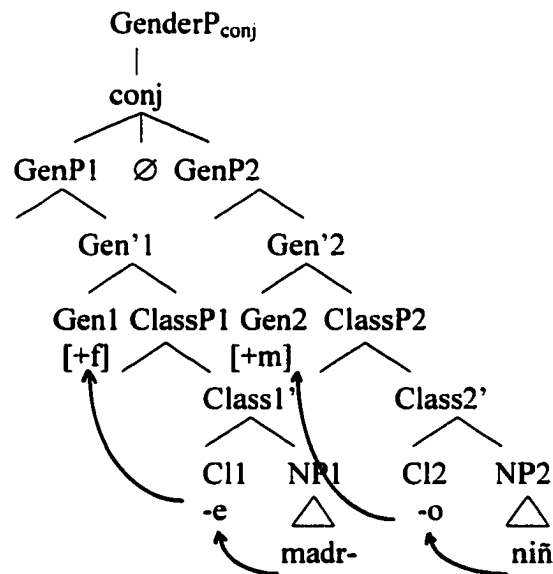
7. *(rivalidad) ciudad-campo, (relaciones) madre-niño, (coordenadas) espacio-tiempo, (colección) primavera-verano*
(rivalry) city-country, (relations) mother-child, (coordinates) space-time, (collection) spring-summer
'city-country (rivalry), mother-child (relations), space-time (coordinates), spring-summer (collection)'

These ‘double’ nouns act as if they were joined by an implicit conjunction: *coordenadas (de) espacio y tiempo*. This means that they are plural and should trigger plural agreement. This is true in some cases (cf. *coordenadas* ‘coordinates’), but most often, the coordinated compound itself is used as a complement to a nominal head and does not trigger agreement: *la colección primavera-verano* ‘the collection spring-

summer' (cf. Toman 1985 for identical situation in German, but note possibility of plural dvandvas in Sanskrit).

This type of dvandva frequently involves converse relationships (Lyons 1977:279) or 'two place predicates,' such as kinship terms and reciprocal social roles: (*relación*) *marido-mujer*, *doctor-paciente* 'husband-wife, doctor-patient (relationship),' lit. '(relationship) husband-wife, doctor-patient'; or temporal-spatial relationships: (*diálogo*) *norte-sur* 'north-south (dialogue),' lit. '(dialogue) north-south,' (*guerra*) *franco-prusiana*, 'Franco-Prussian war,' lit. '(war) Franco-Prussian' (cf. Toman 1985 for additional examples in German). Just as the appositionals, conjoined dvandvas can have more than two heads. The fact that two-place predicates are frequent does not mean more places are not available in the structure: *colección primavera-verano-otoño* 'spring-summer-fall (collection),' lit. '(collection) spring-summer-fall.'

8.

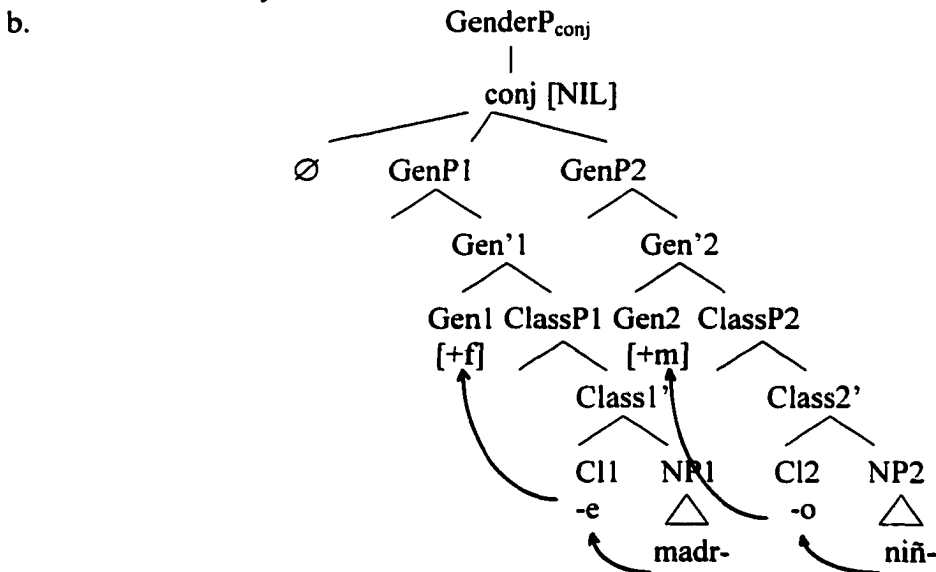
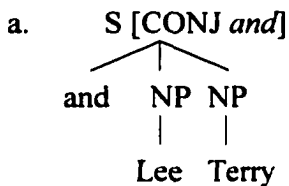


The internal structure proposed for these conjoined dvandvas is virtually identical to that of syntactic conjunction, with an empty conjunct (8). The diagram shows a

structure where coordination is represented as a tridimensional ‘hinge,’ with as many heads connected to it as necessary (Goodall 1983, cf. also Brucart 1987).

However, this is by no means a representation over which there is complete agreement. For example, Sag, Gazdar et al. (1985) remark that this type of representation has no precedent in generative syntax and has consequences for other aspects of the grammar which have not been considered, such as the agreement properties of coordination, for example, which Goodall relegates to phonological interpretation. For them, a more appropriate structure for coordination is that in (9a), which would yield the compounded structure in (9b).

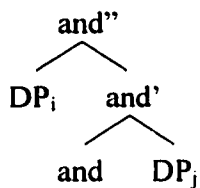
9. (= 117 in Sag, Gazdar et al. 1985:161)



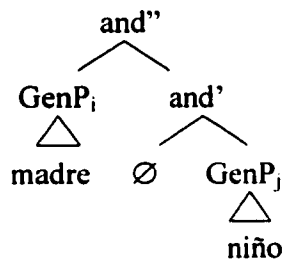
Both of the coordinated structures above have problems when it comes to establishing linear precedence of the conjuncts. The proposal of Kayne (1994), on the

other hand, aligns coordination with the remainder of the categories in that he represents it as asymmetric: $[DP_i [\text{and } DP_j]]$. This means that the lower conjunct is headed by *and* and that DP_i is in the specifier position of *and* (cf. (10), where lower projections have been omitted for brevity). Note that for Kayne coordination of heads is impossible (1994:59 ff.). However, our compounded structures (11) do not constitute a violation, as they involve the coordination of a maximal projection, viz, GenP. The only adaptation required is to posit a null coordinative conjunct.

10.



11.



Notice that in either case, the coordinated elements are invariably gender phrases, rather than simply class phrases, which distinguishes these from the appositional structures we just saw, at least when they have [+human] referents. This ensures that the two constituents can differ in gender, a condition that is required by the fact that they are not coindexed, and may refer to coordinations between referents of different gender.

A subtype of conjoined dvandvas is made up of nouns joined by disjunction, rather than coordinative conjunction (12). In other words, the semantic properties of the

two heads are attributed to a single entity non-simultaneously. They have the same semantic relationship they would have if they were connected by *or*.

12. *compraventa, amigo-enemigo, socio-adversario, amor-odio*
purchase-sale (legal term for ‘sale’), friend-enemy, partner-competitor, love-hate

Disjunctive dvandvas therefore yield a singular compound, like appositionals, but they refer to something by using lexical antonyms. This results in an apparent contradiction, which can only receive semantic interpretation if the features are assigned to the entity non-simultaneously, i.e., disjunctively. Thus, *compraventa* ‘purchase-sale’ can only have a semantic interpretation if the transaction thus named is seen alternatively from two diametrically opposed viewpoints, i.e., that of the buyer and that of the seller. No transaction can be a sale and a purchase at the same time for the same participant.

Both in English and in Spanish syntax, disjunction has agreement properties which distinguish it from coordination. Thus, for example, a disjunction of two singular DPs in the subject position of a sentence does not agree with plural but with singular verbs (cf. (13) for Spanish and also the English examples in (14) where there seems to be more tolerance for plurals with disjunction).

13. *Spanish*

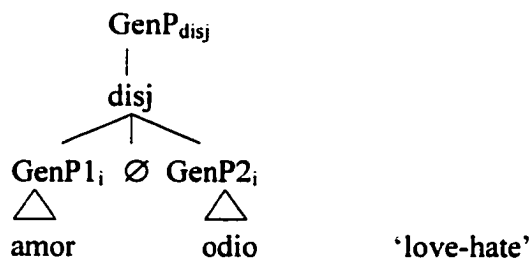
- a. *Vinieron mi hermano y su esposa.*
Came-pret.3pl. my brother and his wife.
‘My brother and his wife came.’
- b. **Vino mi hermano y su esposa.*
Came-pret.3sg. my brother and his wife.
‘My brother and his wife came.’
- c. ?*Vinieron mi hermano o su esposa.*
Came-pret.3pl. my brother or his wife.
‘My brother or his wife came.’
- d. *Vino mi hermano o su esposa.*
Came-pret.3sg. my brother or his wife.
‘My brother or his wife came.’

14. *English* (from Sag, Gazdar et al. 1985)

- a. Either Dana or Lee is/are going to lead the parade.
- b. Kim and Terry are/*is happy.

Disjunctive compounds also tend to be singular, i.e., to refer to one single referent, and are not normally complements of two-place predicates, unlike coordinative compounds. A disjunctive compound in general agrees with singular determiners. These semantic and syntactic facts may lead us to assume that their internal structure is also different. For example, it could be proposed that they have a structure such as the one in (15), with a disjunctive element acting as a kind of 'switch,' alternatively allowing the features of N1 and N2 to percolate to the upper node, but not both sets of features at once. The disjunction ensures that the two sets of contradictory semantic features are not attributed to the compound simultaneously and that the construction is therefore interpretable. It also ensures that the compound is singular. The structure in (15) follows Goodall (1983), for the sake of simplicity, but could easily be adapted to the other frameworks.

15.



However, that kind of structure is not easy to tease apart from the one presented in (8), especially since we are positing a null disjunctive operator which looks suspiciously similar to the \emptyset -coordinative conjunction. Toman (1985:413) also notes the unadvisability of positing multiple ambiguous zero coordinators and the added problem of path compounds, such as *misil aire-tierra* 'air-ground missile,' where neither \emptyset -and or

∅-or would be suitable, given that the semantic interpretation is *misil entre aire y tierra* ‘missile between air and ground.’

It seems preferable on theoretical grounds to decrease the number of representations, especially the ones where any differences would rely entirely on abstract categories. Moreover, coordinative conjunction allows for a number of different readings, which are normally the result of pragmatic effects deriving from the usual semantic interpretation of the conjuncts (16).²² Disjunction is also ambivalent, sometimes understood as mutually exclusive, but often not (17).

16.

- a. I went to the store and to the hair salon. (sequence)
- b. I went to the store and bought some whiskey. (consequence)
- c. She was waving and smiling. (simultaneous actions)
- d. She was eating and drinking. (alternating actions)

17.

- a. Take it or leave it. (mutually exclusive)
- b. There are foods rich in calcium such as milk or cheese. (not mutually exclusive)

In (16a), the usual reading is one of sequence of events (we assume he first went to the store and then to the hair salon, although it could have been the other way around). This reading is even more likely in (16b), (he went to the store and then he bought some whiskey, presumably inside it). In (16c) the two verbs are interpreted as referring to activities that occur simultaneously (waving and smiling involve different parts of the body and can easily be performed together). On the other hand, the activities in (16d) are very unlikely to be simultaneous (we suspect that eating and drinking at the exact same time would have caused her to choke), so we interpret them as alternating. As for

²² Thanks to Eric Potsdam for this suggestion.

disjunction, our knowledge of the usual pragmatic function of the expression in (17a) leads us to interpret it disjunctively, whereas in (17b) we interpret it as a coordination.

The above shows that there are points of semantic overlap between conjunction and disjunction (for example, the two coordinators are interchangeable in 16d and 17b), which suggests that distinguishing the two with different abstract coordinators is inadvisable. Differences in interpretation are the result of the semantics of the conjuncts and our pragmatic knowledge. This means that our disjunctive coordination may be subsumed under a general null conjunction. The interpretation of the conjuncts as added, disjoined, or as the two ends of a path, will be a function of their semantic content, rather than the actual null element. This solution simplifies the analysis and the constructs that need to be posited to account for conjunctive *dvandvas* in Spanish.

Blended *dvandvas*

The last group of dual compounds to consider is made up of coordinative compounds which blend or mix the features of two elements and create a new entity, distinct from both of the coordinated terms. These compounds I shall refer to with the term ‘blended *dvandvas*.’ Both the medieval and the modern databases have evidence of this compounding (18).

18. *marxismo-leninismo, centro-derecha, gallipavo, ajoaceite, sureste, mesa camilla*
 marxism-leninism, center-right, rooster-turkey, garlic-oil, southeast, table-stretcher

Thus, for example, *gallipavo* ‘kind of poultry,’ lit. ‘rooster-turkey,’ cannot be interpreted as an appositional, because it is not ‘a rooster that is a turkey, and a turkey that is a rooster’: roosters are not turkeys. It is not a conjoined *dvandva*, because the referent is not plural (a rooster and a turkey), or disjunctive, because the referent is not a turkey

and a rooster by turns. The only possible interpretation is that some of the features of *gallo* and *pavo* have been combined in a third type of poultry. That is, a *gallipavo* is neither a rooster nor a turkey, but it combines a number of features of both. We compound the two terms *gallo* and *pavo* to designate it.

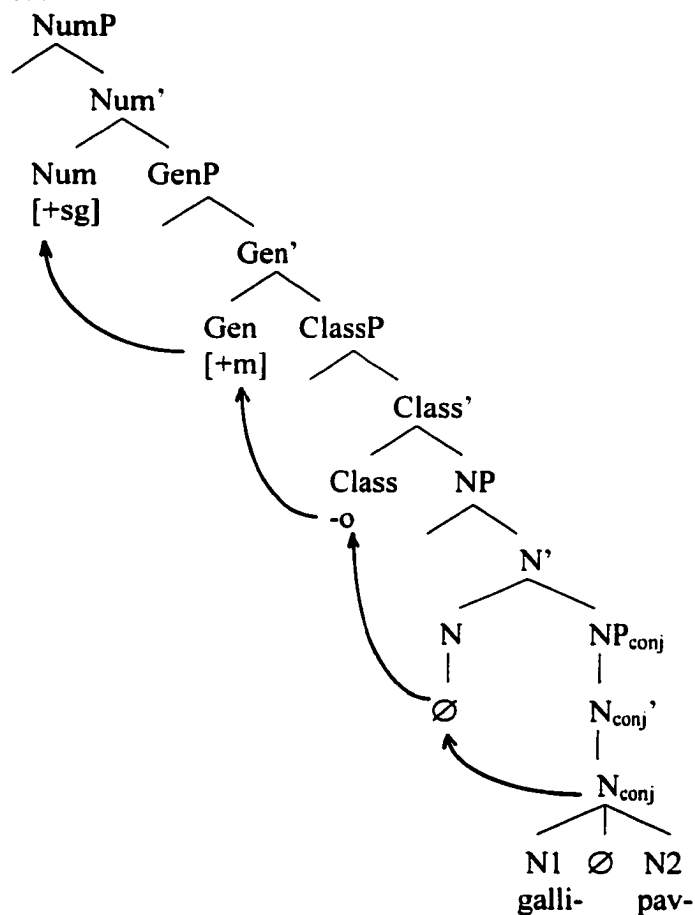
The exact extent of the combination cannot be formulated a priori. At one end of the continuum we have cases where the number of semantic features contributed by each conjunct is minimal: *ajoaceite* ‘type of sauce with garlic, oil, and other ingredients’ lit. ‘garlic-oil.’ At the other end we have a total blend, where all the features combine and the compound is in a sense a semantic ‘average.’ Thus, *marxismo-leninismo* ‘marxism-leninism’ can be understood as the addition of all the principles of marxism to all those of leninism. In other cases, each term provides exactly half of the features: *sureste* is the cardinal point exactly halfway between the south and the east.

The semantic interpretability of these compounds depends on the two components being understood as compatible. For example, *sur* ‘south’ and *este* ‘east’ contrast, because they are different compass points, but *sur* ‘south’ and *norte* ‘north’ are diametrically opposed. Thus, *sureste* ‘southeast’ is a possible blended dvandva, but **surnorte* ‘southnorth’ is not, because all the semantic features of the two terms cancel out and result in a void set, and therefore in uninterpretability.

The morphosyntactic locus in the case of these compounds is often on the right edge. This can be seen in two facts: when these compounds can be pluralized, their agreement features tend to appear on the rightmost edge: *gallipavos*, *ajoaceites*, *centroderechas* (but *marxismo(s)-leninismos*). Moreover, in many instances, the inflectional vowel (WCM) of the first element is replaced by a linking vowel: *gallipavo*.

The underlying structure must account for the fact that there is a conjunction but that it does not result in a plural entity as it normally would in addition. What I propose is an empty head which selects a conjoined complement (19). The proposed empty head accounts for the fact that the compound is singular, even though there is a coordinative conjunction adding the two conjuncts. Thus, two sets of semantic features can be involved (considered in totum or partially), while at the same time retaining singular agreement properties and a singular referent: *el gallipavo* 'the-masc.sg. rooster-turkey.'

19.



The empty head also accounts rather neatly for the fact that gender and number suffixation generally occurs at the rightmost edge: once the conjunct has raised to the

empty head, the whole compound raises to adjoin to the word class marker and the number inflection.

Ambiguity in [N+N]_N Dual Compounds

All the underlying structures presented correspond to the same N+N surface representation. This means that when faced with a given string of two (or more) nouns, a listener may map it onto different representations and come up with different semantic interpretations. A similar phenomenon happens in English stem compounds: is a *garage sale* a sale of garages? in a garage? of items that were stored in the garage? Cultural and pragmatic information is needed to decide that the third option is actually correct, but the other interpretations are still theoretically available to speakers/listeners (ten Hacken 1994:Ch.2).

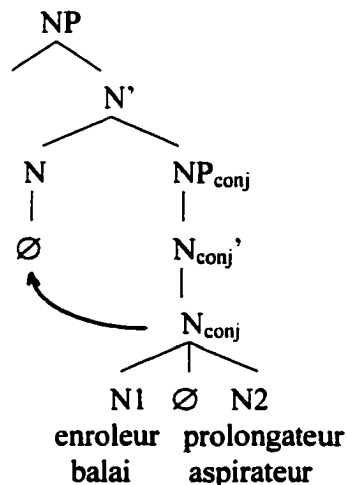
In the case of [N+N]_N Romance compounds, the ambiguities involve the number and position of heads, and the exact nature of their relationship. For example, *radio reloj* 'radio-clock' could be reasonably interpreted at least as three different types of compound. It could correspond to a left-headed endocentric compound, i.e., as a kind of radio, if the first element is interpreted as semantically preeminent. Alternatively, it could be considered that it is impossible to choose what the head is, in which case it is dual. There are still different interpretations depending on whether we think that the features of radio and clock somehow blend to form a third kind of entity, i.e., they are co-extensional and correferential (Picone 1996:114) or not. In the latter case we may conceive of the two gadgets as separate but placed alongside each other, where the interrelation between the two parts is minimal and the reason for their being built together

is convenience and common purpose only. Different speakers may understand a given compound differently, by giving it different head assignment and/or interpreting the relationship between two heads differently. This is not a failure of the underlying structures proposed, but an inherent ambiguity that is to be expected due to the various possibilities available.

Picone (1996:129-133) has an interesting discussion on this issue of interpretation of compounded nominals, but one in which linguistic and extralinguistic knowledge and structural and lexical ambiguity are not distinguished. He claims that “it is possible to establish a continuum for appositional binomials [his term for dual compounds] wherein each binomial construction takes its place relative to the others as a function of the referential independence, or, conversely, referential overlap, of the constituent members” (Picone 1996:129). According to him, at one end of the continuum are those N+N constructions where the two terms refer (literally or metaphorically) to the referent in its entirety (*chou-fleur* ‘cauliflower,’ lit. ‘cabbage-flower,’ *canapé lit* ‘sofa-bed’). At the other end are the true dvandvas, where the two constituents refer to mutually exclusive parts (*point-virgule* ‘semicolon,’ lit. ‘point-comma’). In between are terms with some undetermined amount of referential overlap (*bibliothèque-armoire* ‘library-closet,’ *table-bureau* ‘table-desk’), most of which are new manufactured items that integrate pre-existing systems into new artifacts. It follows that there are endless shades of meaning between total separation and total identity of referents (partial overlap of 10%, 20%, and so forth). This leads Picone to propose a continuum, so as to bypass an “artificial discrete classification” of N+N binomials.

This approach mixes a linguistic issue with a cultural one, i.e., the semantic possibilities of a compound structure with the actual interpretation given to it within certain cultural parameters. The fact that we know that an *enrouleur-prolongateur* ‘reel-extension cord’ integrates a reel and an extension cord, where each remains independent, whereas *balai-aspirateur* ‘broom-vacuum cleaner’ is an vacuum cleaner that is held upright, like a broom, is not linguistic. The structure cannot provide the kind of lexical information that could only be obtained by browsing a consumer catalog. What it must do, however, is explain why certain interpretations are possible, while others are not. For example, it must account for the fact that neither *enrouleur-prolongateur* nor *aspirateur-balai* trigger plural verbal agreement or are used as complements of another noun, which they would if they were conjoined dvandvas. It must also represent the fact that the two parts of the binomial are not appositional (as this term was defined here), which would be nonsensical: **un enrouleur qui est un prolongateur*, **un aspirateur qui est un balai* ‘a reel which is an extension cord, a vacuum cleaner which is a broom.’ This is achieved by mapping the surface structures onto the right underlying structure, which is that of a blended dvandva (20, higher projections omitted).

20.



The conclusion is that both compounds have the same underlying structure. What do we make of the semantic difference between them, then? It lies in the fact that in *enrouleur-prolongateur* all the features of both conjoined nominals are added together in the compound. In *aspirateur-balai*, this blend of features is partial. But it **could** have been the reverse, and it is only our cultural/ pragmatic knowledge of the shape and purpose of objects that enables us to decide whether all or some features are blended.²³

This type of confusion shows the importance of distinguishing lexical and structural ambiguity, both of which are potentially present in compounds. The differences between appositionals, conjoined dvandvas, and blended dvandvas are a matter of internal structure. If a given compound can be understood as having two underlying structures, then it is structurally ambiguous. For example, compare *escritor-director* in (21 a and b) where the same constituents enter into two different compounded structures, which can only be desambiguated in context.

21.

- a. *El escritor-director escribió y dirigió la obra en dos meses.*
The writer-director wrote and directed the play in two months.
- b. *Las relaciones escritor-director durante la producción fueron tumultuosas.*
The relations writer-director during the production were tumultuous.
'The writer-director relations during the production were tumultuous.'

In (21a) the singular article and verbal agreement are an indication that the two nominals must be coindexed, i.e., they refer to the same person simultaneously (a writer who is a director, and a director who is a writer). In (21b) the use of the compound as a complement of the noun *relaciones*, which calls for a two-place predicate, forces the conjoined dvandva interpretation.

In other cases the ambiguity that results from mapping the N+N surface onto two different underlying syntactic representations cannot be resolved, because it does not have syntactic consequences. For example, in my interpretation of *amor-odio* ‘love-hate,’ the two components *amor* and *odio* are semantically incompatible, so only a disjunctive reading is possible: to me *amor-odio* is an ambivalent feeling for someone, that alternates between love and hate, like that which small siblings tend to have for one another. For other speakers, the two components may be considered compatible, because they are antonyms and as such they share some features that are not cancelled out when blended. For those speakers, *amor-odio* is understood as a blended dvandva, and the compound is interpreted as ‘a strong feeling of emotional involvement with someone.’

In the cases pointed out as vague by Picone, e.g., *canapé-lit* ‘sofa-bed’ what is at stake is not normally the structural mapping but the exact nature of the relationship between the semantics of *canapé* and *lit* and the object referred to by the compound (is it to be considered in its totality a *canapé* and a *lit* by turns? or does it have different portions with different functions? and how big are these two portions relative to each other?). This kind of ambiguity is not structural because all the possible interpretations are compatible with the blended dvandva. It is lexical, because it results from the nature of the semantic features that we assign to the terms *canapé* and *lit* and how willing we are to stretch, reduce, or expand these features to cover a new denotatum.

The interpretation of dual compounds is certainly a complex matter, often dependent on context. The structural analysis provided here explains what basic kinds of meanings **can** be conveyed through them. Which actual meanings **are** conveyed is

²³ Incidentally, note that the second compound could have been mapped onto a left-headed construction, in

another matter, not a trivial one, but one that cannot be accounted for without recourse to extralinguistic information.

To summarize, using the assumption that word formation follows syntactic organization, I have presented three possible types of dual compounds: appositionals, conjoined dvandvas, (and the subtype of disjunctive dvandvas), and blended dvandvas. These different compounds have three underlying syntactic representations which account for their semantic properties and pattern rather neatly with their morphosyntactic features of word class, gender, and number agreement.

Dual Compounds Involving Other Parts of Speech

Although nominal dual compounds are the most frequent, and they are the only ones recorded in the modern database, there are also adjectivals (22), which have antecedents in Medieval Spanish (*agradulce* ‘bitter-sweet’).

22.

- a. *(hombre) sordo mudo, (problema) ético-moral, (nacionalidad) angoleño-cubana, marxista-leninista*
(man) deaf-mute, (problem) ethical-moral, (nationality) Angolan-Cuban, marxist-leninist
‘deaf-mute (man), ethical-moral (problem), Angolan-Cuban (nationality), marxist-leninist’
- b. *(relación) paterno-filial, (centro) materno-infantil, (conflicto) greco-turco*
(relationship) paternal-filial, (center) maternal-infantile, (conflict) Greek-Turk
‘father-son (relationship), (center) for mothers and children, Greek-Turkish (conflict)’
- c. *rojinegro, verdiblanco, albiazul, marrón-lila, carmesí-escarlata*
red-black, green-white, white-blue, brown-lilac, red-scarlet

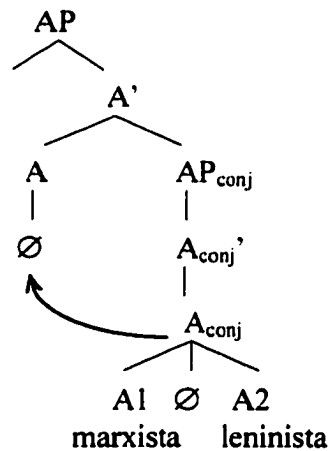
Among the adjectival dual compounds it seems that there are no appositionals, because adjectives cannot be indexed to entities (in the description of adjectives and

which case *balai* simply becomes a complement (more on this later in this chapter).

predicates in Hale and Keyser 1997), and therefore there can be no co-indexation, which is required for apposition. In other words, the qualities invoked in the two (or more) adjectives must be added. It makes no sense to speak of *sordo que es mudo* ‘deaf who is mute’ or *rojo que es negro* ‘red which is black’ because the quality or attribute of deafness does not intersect with that of muteness, not that of redness with blackness. Adjective dual compounds may become appositional if the adjectives are nominalized; only then does it make sense to speak of *un sordo que es mudo y un mudo que es sordo* ‘a deaf person who is also a mute person.’

Spanish presents only blended and conjoined adjectival dvandvas. In the blended dvandvas (22a), some or all the attributes associated with two adjectives are mixed to form a new attribute. Thus, a person who is *marxista-leninista* ‘marxist-leninist’ has the attributes of being *marxista* and *leninista*, or some blend thereof (23).

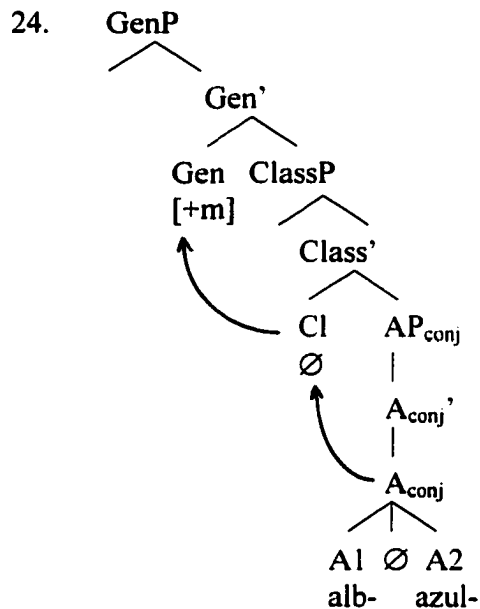
23.



On the other hand, the conjoined dvandvas do not blend the features in a single quality, but rather apply these features distributively to different portions of the referent. That is what occurs in Spanish with the color blends in (22c), which are not hues of either color but rather a distributive attribution of two different colors, e.g., something that is

albiazul ‘white-blue’ is not a light blue color all over, but rather has distinct white portions and blue portions.²⁴ That seems to be the case also in other Romance languages, where the two sets of attributes either affect the referent simultaneously because they involve different kinds of characteristics (Port. *surdo-mudo* ‘deaf-mute’) or apply distributively (It. *verdegrigio* ‘green-gray’).

This is best represented with the conjoined structure (24), where the conjuncts are adjectival heads lacking word class markers. The class marker corresponds to that of the last conjunct, a fact that agrees with the characteristic of these WCMs as being terminal elements, i.e., they simply scan the last item.



²⁴ There is at least one instance of this mixing in the Bustos Gisbert (1986) data, not computed because the A+A pattern is so scantily represented: *verdinegro* ‘green-black’ of a dark green color. In my dialect this reading is unusual, and not being acquainted with the dictionary definition I would have interpreted it as meaning ‘having two colors, green and black.’ The blended dvandva pattern is unproductive for Spanish adjectives. There is also one documented case in Catalan of a dvandva of this type that results in a ‘mixed’ attribute. Mascaró (1986) claims that there is a difference between *blaugrana* ‘blue-red’ which means of blue and red, and *blauvert* ‘blue-green’ which is a hue between blue and green. It is also an isolated instance, and it seems to me that this particular interpretation might also be derived from a head-initial reading, i.e., a kind of blue.

The other kinds of examples presented in (22b) are interpretable with the same underlying structure. It is interesting to note that they are often paraphrasable with equivalent nominal dvandvas (cf. 25, intermediate projections omitted). The distributive attribution also exists here, because the nouns *relación* ‘relationship’ and *conflicto* ‘conflict’ establish a relationship between two distinct poles.

25.



Disjunctive dvandvas do not seem productive in the sense that no documented examples are found in the literature, but it is not beyond native speaker competence to create and interpret idiosyntactic adjectives of the type *fea-linda* ‘ugly-pretty fem.’ *loco-cuerdo* ‘crazy-sane-masc.’ The underlying structure is identical to that of conjoined dvandvas, but the semantics of the coordinated elements precludes an additive reading and forces an alternative interpretation.

Another type of dvandva is constituted by the conjunction of two numerals with a linking vowel in the twenties: *veintitrés* ‘23,’ from *veinte y tres* ‘twenty and three.’ In numbers over a hundred, no linking element is present: *ciento tres* ‘103.’²⁵ This type of compound has a long tradition in Spanish, but in medieval texts the conjunction is often present overtly where it would not in Modern Spanish: *mill e quinientos* ‘1500,’ and there is also a subtractive type: *quatro mill menos xxx* ‘4000 minus 30, i.e., 3970.’

Verbal compounds do not have the possibility of being two-headed simply because all $[V+V]_N$ compounds in Spanish are nominal, i.e., exocentric or headless. They shall be considered later in this Chapter.

Endocentric Compounds

Endocentric compounds are those that have one head element responsible for the morphosyntactic properties of the whole and its semantic hyperonym. In principle, if we follow Lieber (1992), the number of possible relationships between the head and the non-head element is restricted by general syntactic principles to the following: head and complement, head and modifier (or adjunct), or head and specifier. The head should be followed by its complements, and preceded by its modifiers and specifiers, as dictated by the SC antisymmetry of Kayne (1994). One would expect, therefore, that compounds with the structure head-complement would be head-initial, and those with the structure head-modifier or head-specifier would be head-final. However, although the fact that Spanish endocentric compounds can be left- or right-headed is well attested (Bustos Gisbert 1986, Núñez Cedeño 1991, 1992, Clancy Clements 1992, Rainer and Varela 1992, Rainer 1993, among others), none of the analyses has been able to establish an obvious correlation between head position and the non-head's relationship with respect to the head.

I argue that it is necessary to distinguish the non-heads according to their grammatical category, as each one tends to represent a different syntactico-semantic relationship with respect to the head. We shall therefore consider nominal non-heads,

²⁵ Numbers between thirty and a hundred take an overt coordinative conjunction, which makes their status as compounds or syntactic phrases doubtful: *treinta y dos* '32', *ochenta y cinco* '85.'

then adverbial non-heads, and finally, adjectival non-heads. I shall begin by considering compounds where the non-head is a nominal acting as a complement to a nominal, adjectival, or verbal head. Then I shall consider the cases where the non-head is an adverb, and show that it is best analyzed as a complement, internal to its head's phrasal projection (in line with Rivero 1992). Finally, I shall deal with the issue of adjectival non-heads and their position with respect to their nominal heads. These compounds are the most theoretically challenging and I only begin to explore them here, given that they deserve a great deal more analysis than is possible to grant them in this work.

Head-Complement Compounds with Nominal Non-Heads

The data in (26) show the productive endocentric left-headed compounding patterns of Spanish which have nominal non-heads ($[N+N]_N$, $[N+prep+N]_N$). Those in (27) represent right-headed compounding with nominal non-heads, including nominals ($[N+N]_N$), adjectivals ($[N+A]_A$, $[N+i+A]_A$), and verbals ($[N+V]_V$) (heads underlined).

26. Left-headed endocentric compounds

- a. $[N+N]_N$
hombre anuncio, referéndum-farsa, coche cama
 man - poster, referendum-farse, car - bed
 'poster man, rigged referendum, sleeper car'
- b. $[N+prep+N]_N$
ojo de buey, patas de gallo, libro de cocina
 eye of ox, feet of rooster, book of cooking
 'porthole, crow's feet, cookbook'

27. Right-headed endocentric compounds

- a. $[N+N]_N$
 baby fútbol, baby alarma, tour-operador, puticlub
 baby soccer, baby alarm, tour operator, hooker-club
 'little league soccer, baby alarm, tour operator, stripper bar'

- b. [N+A]_A
drogadicto, telebobo, euskerahablante
 drug addict, tele-fool, Basque-speaker
 ‘drug addict, couch potato, speaker of Basque’
- c. [N+i+A]_A
ojialegre, alicaído, boquimuelle
 eye-happy, wing-fallen, mouth-soft
 ‘of happy eyes, crestfallen, of soft mouth (horse)’
- d. [N+V]_V
pelechar, aliquebrar
 hair-lose, wing-break
 ‘molt, break the wings (of a bird)’

As was seen in Chapter 4, left-headed nominal compounds (26a,b) are the most productive endocentric patterns in Modern Spanish, followed by (27b,c). The rest are either neologistic (27a) or archaic (27d) (Rainer 1993:290).

The [N+N]_N compounds in (26a) convey several possible types of semantic relationship between the head and the non-head. Rainer (1993:255-261) exemplifies and paraphrases them thus: *hombre-anuncio* ‘poster man,’ lit. ‘man-poster’ ‘an N1 which serves the function of an N2’ (function); *hombre-rana* ‘frogman,’ lit. ‘man-frog’ ‘an N1 that looks like an N2’ (similarity); *referéndum-farsa* ‘rigged referendum,’ lit. ‘referendum-fake’ ‘an N1 which is an N2 (but not vice versa)’ (adjectival-like modification); *coche cama* ‘sleeper car,’ lit. ‘car bed’ ‘an N1 with an N2’ (component); *delegado ventas* ‘sales representative’ lit. ‘representative sales’ ‘an N1 for N2’ (purpose); *papel aluminio* ‘aluminum foil,’ lit. ‘paper aluminum’ ‘N1 made of N2’ (material); *telaraña* ‘cobweb,’ lit. ‘cloth spider’ ‘N1 of/belonging to N2’ (genitive). Benveniste (1966) analyses French compounds such as *oiseau-mouche* ‘hummingbird,’ lit. ‘bird-fly,’ and *papier monnaie* ‘banknote,’ lit. ‘paper coin,’ and comments that “the object thus named does not belong to the two classes identically. It belongs to one by nature, and to

the other it is attributed figuratively” (148). The first noun provides a denomination, whereas the other one gives a specification.

This semantic description agrees with the syntactic features of these compounds, given that the left-most element is also the one that normally exhibits the agreement marks: *hombres anuncio*, *referéndums farsa*, *coches cama*. If the first element is uncountable, then pluralization is precluded: **papeles aluminio* ‘tin-foil-pl.’ lit. ‘papers aluminum’ and this in itself is evidence of its status as head. Only fully lexicalized compounds like *telaraña* ‘cobweb,’ lit. ‘cloth spider’ violate this rule and have agreement marks after the second element. This says nothing about headedness, however, but rather reflects phonological univerbation and historical change (cf. Chapter 6). Notice also that the second element may have plural marking independently of the head: *delegado ventas* ‘sales delegate,’ lit. ‘delegate sales.’

In [N+prep+N]_N compounds, the semantic relationship between the elements varies greatly, but depends up to a point on the semantics of the prepositional element. The most frequent preposition is *de* ‘of,’ of notoriously vague meaning. Thus in *ojo de buey* ‘porthole,’ lit. ‘eye of ox,’ and in *patas de gallo* ‘crow’s feet,’ lit. ‘feet of rooster,’ the relationship is one of genitive, i.e., the compound is an inalienable possession of the first element, whereas in *dulce de leche* ‘caramel,’ lit. ‘sweet of milk,’ the second element is the material the compound is made of, and in *libro de cocina* ‘cookery book,’ lit. ‘book of cookery,’ it is the purpose. Other prepositions have more explicit meanings: *a* ‘to, by’ normally involves the power source: *cocina a gas* ‘gas stove,’ lit. ‘stove by gas,’ *motor a explosión* ‘combustion engine,’ lit. ‘engine by explosion’; *para* ‘for’ is restricted to purpose, *en* ‘en’ to locations, *con* ‘with’ to accompaniment: *esmalte para uñas* ‘nail

varnish,' lit. 'varnish for nails,' *jamón en dulce* 'a type of ham,' lit. 'ham in sweet,' *café con leche* 'white coffee,' lit. 'coffee with milk.'

In (27a), the type involves a [N+N]_N sequence with properties that are the reverse of those in (26a), i.e., the syntactic head is on the right, not the left. The relationship between the two elements is also paraphrasable by a preposition, but in this case the terms need to be inverted: *baby alarma* = *alarma de/para bebés* 'alarm for babies,' *baby fútbol* = *fútbol de/para niños pequeños (bebés)* 'soccer of/for small children' (*baby* is a metaphor), *tour-operador* = *operador de tours* 'tour operator' lit. 'operator of tours,' *puticlub* = *club de putas* 'stripper bar' lit. 'club of whores.'

Formally, the head element shows agreement features if those are possible: *baby alarmas* 'baby alarms,' *tour-operadores* 'tour operators,' *puticlubs/clubs* 'stripper bars,' lit. 'whore-clubs.' The fact that an uncountable right-most element results in an uncountable compound (e.g., *baby fútbol*) is also evidence of its headship. On the other hand, the non-head element has no possibility of exhibiting gender or number agreement at all: **baby_s fútbol*, **baby_s alarma(s)*, **tour_s operador(es)*. This is in spite of the fact that it is the generic plural that it normally refers to: a *baby alarma* is an alarm for babies in general, not for one baby in particular. In some cases, the non-head element appears in a form that presents no morphosyntactic locus and replaces it with some kind of linking vowel: *puta/puti* 'whore.' It is a matter of discussion whether the rest of the non-heads in fact have a morphosyntactic locus of their own, given that they are foreign words and the stems lack the customary inflectional suffix: *tour*∅, *baby*∅.

It is clear that the pattern of right-headed [N+N]_N compound is exceptional in Romance and has resulted from borrowing. However, the fact that it is a possibility and

has even started to spawn neologisms with native stems (*puticlub*) requires a theoretical account. It is not enough to invoke analogy, because analogy is just the description of how the phenomenon spreads, not an account of the syntactic pattern itself.

Group (27b) is formed by adjectives with a nominal complement, which are semantically related to adjectival phrases as they would be by a preposition: *drogadicto* = *adicto a drogas* ‘addicted to drugs,’ *telebobo* = *bobo por la tele(visión)* lit. ‘stupid due to television,’ *euskerahablante* = *hablante de euskera* ‘speaker of Basque.’ The actual semantics of the relationship is left implicit in the compound and determined by pragmatic and cultural knowledge. The non-head element in this compound type is normally a borrowing, either classical or Germanic. The head is the adjectival element, which exhibits the features of number and gender agreement of the whole construction: *drogadictos* (drugaddict-masc.pl.), *drogadictas* (drugaddict-fem.pl.)). The non-head nominal element, as in group (27a), has no gender or number agreement features, even when semantically plural. Again, the morphosyntactic locus of the non-head is lost, as it is just a stem or a clipping: *drog-*, *tele-*.

Group (27c) is closely related to (27b), but is presented separately because it is restricted in semantic domain, it has a morphological trademark, i.e., the linking vowel *-i-*, and it is currently an unproductive word formation type (but cf. Montes (1968) for dialectal examples). It exhibits a sequence of a nominal stem, a linking element *-i-*, and an adjective that constitutes the head of the compound. The semantic restriction on these compounds is that only visible parts of the human or animal body (especially of horses, cattle, and birds) may appear as the first element. Other exterior elements such as clothes and the like are impossible (García Lozano 1993:210, cf. Davis 1992 for a similar

restriction to inalienable possession for double-barreled adjectives of the type *blue-eyed* in English). The semantic relationship between this non-head nominal and the adjectival head corresponds to what González Ollé and Casado Velarde (1992:106) term “the Greek accusative.” The noun is a complement of the adjective, but on the other hand, the adjective corresponds to an attribute that the non-head noun is described as having: thus, *ojialegre* ‘happy-eyed’ is *alegre de ojos* ‘happy of eyes’ or *de ojos alegres* ‘of happy eyes.’

The mismatch between the syntactic and the semantic dependence of the two terms has led to general confusion in the literature about where the head is. Thus, Núñez Cedeño (1992) claims these $[N+i+A]_A$ are exocentric, failing to distinguish them from bahuvrihi patterns such as *lengualarga* ‘having a long tongue, gossip,’ lit. ‘tongue-long.’ He erroneously defines *carirredondo* as ‘someone having a round face,’ i.e., a noun, instead of the adjective ‘having a round face.’ Rainer and Varela (1992), using an exclusively semantic criterion, also claim that these formations are exocentric. For example, *Es un hombre carirredondo* ‘He is a round-faced man,’ lit. ‘He is a man face-round,’ does not allow us to conclude *Es un hombre redondo* ‘He is a round man,’ lit. ‘He is a man round.’ This conclusion is irrelevant to syntactic head assignment: the syntactic phrase *redondo de cara* ‘round of face’ does not imply *redondo* ‘round’ and yet, *redondo* is the head of the phrase. The whole point of the nominal complement is to specify what feature the adjective is attributed to.

Because it is an adjectival compound, the $[N+i+A]_A$ type has a morphosyntactic locus for concord with a noun outside the compound: *muchachos carirredondos*, *muchacha carirredonda*, *muchachas carirredondas* ‘round-faced boys,’ lit. ‘boys face-

rounds,' 'round-faced girl,' lit. 'girl face-round-fem.,' 'round-faced girls,' lit. 'girls face-round-fem.pl.' This concord is independent of all the concord of the internal noun. The nominal in the non-head position always appears devoid of gender and agreement inflection, most often replaced by a linking vowel (*ojo*, *ojialegre* 'eye, of happy eyes'), or a special allomorph (*cabeza* 'head,' *cabizbajo* 'with his/her head low, depressed,' lit. 'head-low'). Moreover, it often exhibits stem allomorphy, with loss of diphthongization: *pierna* 'leg,' *pernilargo* 'long-legged,' lit. 'leg-long,' *cuerno* 'horn,' *corniquebrado* 'broken-horned,' lit. 'horn-broken.' This allomorphy can be explained phonologically up to a point (at least diachronically), given that in the compound the noun has no primary stress, which accounts for the appearance of the monophthongized form.

The last group (27d) is constituted by incorporated (in the sense of Baker 1988) verbs, where the incorporated element is a nominal complement. The [N+V]_v pattern is virtually non-productive in Spanish. The relative degree of lexicalization of these incorporated verbs can be assessed by attempting to add the complement that was absorbed by the verb in incorporation. This will show an asymmetry, for example, between (28a,b):

28.

- a. *María mantiene a Juan con su trabajo.*
 Maria hand-holds Juan with her work.
 'Maria supports Juan with her work.'
- b. **María maniata a Juan de los pies.*
 Maria hand-ties Juan by the feet.
 'Maria ties Juan by the hands by the feet.'
- c. *María maniata a Juan del poste.*
 Maria hand-ties Juan to the post.
 'Maria ties Juan by the hands to a post.'

In (28a) the verb has become lexicalized and lost any of the features that were incorporated with the noun *mano*, hence the grammaticality of the complement. In (28b), on the other hand, *maniatar* precludes an adjunct of inalienable possession such as *de los pies*. Other types of locatives, which would be acceptable additional adjuncts, are possible (28c) (cf. Hale and Keyser 1997:41 for a similar phenomenon for denominal verbs in English).

The inspection of the data reveals that the distribution of left- and right-headed compounds follows a strikingly regular morphological pattern. In head-initial endocentric compounding, the non-head nominal appears in its full form, including its gender/class inflectional suffix (or WCM, Harris 1991, cf. also Morin 1999): *hombre anunci@*. In head-final compounds the non-head lacks a WCM: *oj-i-alegre* (cf. *oj@*). It is argued here that this morphological difference alone can be used to account for the two different head positions in Spanish endocentric compounds with nominal non-heads. The main argument to be presented and supported is that these compounds are head-initial, with the non-head occupying the complement position, i.e., following the head in accordance with Kayne's universal antisymmetric word order.

The position that the non-head nominal should be considered a complement of its head deserves some explanation. Justification is straightforward in the case of [N+V]_V compounds, where the nominal non-head generally acts as its direct object, and is therefore its complement: *aliquebrar = quebrar las alas (a un pájaro)* 'wing-break = break the wings (of a bird).'²⁶ For [N+A]_A compounds of the type *boquiabierto* 'open-

²⁶ There are, however, accounts of similar formations in Catalan which deal with them as head-modifier relationships (Gràcia and Fullana 1999), but those accounts are mistaken, in my view.

mouthed,' lit. 'mouth-opened,' it is generally accepted that the nominal acts as a complement of the adjective (García Lozano 1993:211, González Ollé and Casado Velarde 1992:106).

Where there seems to be the least agreement about the complement status of the nominal non-head is in the case of compounds with the structure $[N+N]_N$. In the more traditional approaches, the non-head nominal is considered a modifier of the head, having somehow converted to the category adjective. Thus, if the compound *niño prodigio* 'child prodigy' can be paraphrased by the synonymous phrase *niño prodigioso* 'prodigious child,' lit. 'child prodigious,' this means that the same type of head-modifier relationship holds between the two (Cianca Aguilar 1986). Additional evidence put forth for this argument is the possibility of substituting a relational adjective derived from the non-head nominal: *sueldo de base, sueldo básico* 'basic salary,' lit. 'salary of base, salary basic' (Bartos 1980).²⁷ However, this kind of argument is weak because it relies on the presence of adjectives that parallel nouns, which in many cases do not exist due to accidental gaps (*cartón piedra* 'papier maché,' lit. 'cardboard stone' but **cartón pedroso* 'cardboard stony') and yet the relationship between the two elements is no different from that which holds in *niño prodigio*.

Here I assume that the only legitimate cases of $N \rightarrow A$ conversion are those where the non-head nominal has acquired the concord characteristics of an adjective, i.e., number (and sometimes even gender) agreement with the nominal head. This occurs with a number of cases, such as *perro* 'dog-n, horrible-adj': *día perro, días perros, vida perra, vidas perras* 'horrible day, horrible days, horrible life, horrible lives,' lit. 'day-m.s.

horrible-m.s., day-m.p. horrible-m.p., life-f.s. horrible-f.s., live-f.p. horrible-f.p.’ In all other instances, the non-head noun is still a nominal.

For English, the status of the non-head nominal in NN sequences has also been the subject of debate. For example, Cormack (1998) states that [N+N] constructions fail to pass the test of modification, which is whether the two elements can be conjoined (in her words, ‘adjunction gives conjunction’ 1998:111). Thus, if a construction AB has the structure modifier-head, it must be possible to say ‘it is A and it is B,’ where the most stable property is encoded in a noun and the less stable one in an adjective: *a red apple is an apple and is red*. This test is never possible with NN constructions, as she shows with the examples *lawn mower* (not *a lawn and a mower*), *chair leg* (not *a chair and a leg*), and *garden party* (not *a garden and a party*). She concludes that in many cases the first noun is an argument to the head noun in Specifier position. In the case of *lawn mower* the object is fronted to Spec position. In *chair leg*, the same analysis can be proposed, on the strength that it is synonymous with *leg of a chair*. Even for *garden party*, where *garden* is a spatial adjunct, she proposes a Spec-head construction resulting from movement of the adjunct to Spec position (in parallel with *last year’s destruction of the city*). In what follows, I shall assume the correctness of Cormack’s position, and consider the non-head nominal in [N+N]_N a complement, parallel to that the nominal in [N+V]_v and [N+A]_A.²⁸

²⁷ From that he deduces that N+N are in fact not compounds but syntactic constructions, a non-sequitur, in my view.

²⁸ The view that the second nominal is in fact a complement is implicit in works such as de Dardel (1999), where NN compounds are called *rectionnels*, assuming that there is a government relationship between the first and the second element, and in Bouvier (2000), where French compounds such as *age d’or* ‘golden years,’ lit. ‘age of gold,’ are identified as instances of *complémentation linéaire* ‘linear complementation.’ See Foster (1976) for an opposing view of the first nominal as a pseudo-adjective, and Bauer (1998) for additional discussion of whether the prenominal noun in NN sequences is a syntactic modifier.

The above means that its unmarked position in all three cases should be postnominal, if we follow Kayne (1994). The unmarked underlying structure surfaces whenever non-head nominals appear with their WCM. Surface exceptions result from the insertion of stems instead of words in the non-head position. That may occur because the non-head is inserted in its bare form (noun minus WCM): *drog-adicto*, ‘drug addict’ (cf. *droga*). It may also be an unassimilated foreign word lacking a Spanish WCM: *tour operador* ‘tour operator.’ Learned stems and stems are a special case of WCM-less nominals: *psicoterapia* ‘psychotherapy.’ For these forms to surface, the non-head must be adjoined to the left of the head as the only way to circumvent the requirement of word class marking for case checking. After adjunction, a linking vowel may be inserted between the stem non-head and the head: *oj-i-alegre* ‘happy of eye,’ lit. ‘eye-i-happy,’ *al-i-quebrar* ‘break the wings of a bird,’ lit. ‘wing-i-break.’

Table 5-1. Words and stems as complement nominals in endocentric compounds.

First Element	Stem (%)	Word (%)	Total
<i>Head-final patterns</i>			
[N+N] _N	14 (48.3)	15 (51.7)	29
[N+V] _V	20 (95.2)	1 (4.8)	21
Total (N+X)	279 (94.6)	16 (5.4)	295
<i>Head-initial patterns</i>			
[N+N] _N	15 (9.8)	140 (90.3)	155
[N+prep+N] _N	1 (0.3)	350 (99.7)	351
Total (N+X)	16 (3.2)	490 (96.8)	506
Totals	295 (36.8)	506 (63.2)	801 (100)

The examples in (26) and (27) above can be quantitatively supported with the results from Chapter 4. Thus, if we just refer to the endocentric compounds with nominal

non-heads that were presented there (relevant data reproduced underneath as Table 5-1), the consistency of this trend becomes apparent.

Of the right-headed compounds considered, 94.6% have a stem in the non-head position: *alicortar* ‘break the wings of a bird,’ lit. ‘wing-break’ and only 5.4% have a full word: *casamuro* ‘wall,’ lit. ‘housewall.’ The only exception to this overwhelming trend is observed for the $[N+N]_N$ head-final pattern, where the two positions are more evenly divided. The loss of the WCM could simply be the result of univerbation and consequent loss of stress prominence of the first element. To prove that it is not, we can also consider the head element in left-headed compounds, to see whether it also exhibits the tendency to appear in its bare form. Table 5-2 shows that it does not: the vast majority (96.8%) of heads in head-initial compounds appear in their full form, i.e., stem and WCM: *bocacalle* ‘intersection,’ lit. ‘mouth-street,’ *dulce de leche* ‘caramel paste,’ lit. ‘sweet of milk.’ Loss of the WCM could also be merely a result of non-headedness, not of position with respect to heads. We therefore need to consider the morphological make-up of non-heads in posthead position, to see whether they ever appear without their WCM. Table 2 shows that they do not: when a nominal non-head follows a head, it virtually always has its WCM.

Table 5-2. Words and stems as non-head nominals in left-headed compounds (n = 506).

Left-headed	NH Word	NH Stem
$[N+N]_N$	153 (98.7%)	2 (1.3%)
$[N+prep+N]_N$	351 (100%)	0 (0%)
Totals	504 (99.6%)	2 (0.4%)

If the loss of the WCM is not merely a phonological process, it must be morphological, a thesis that we shall support in the following section.

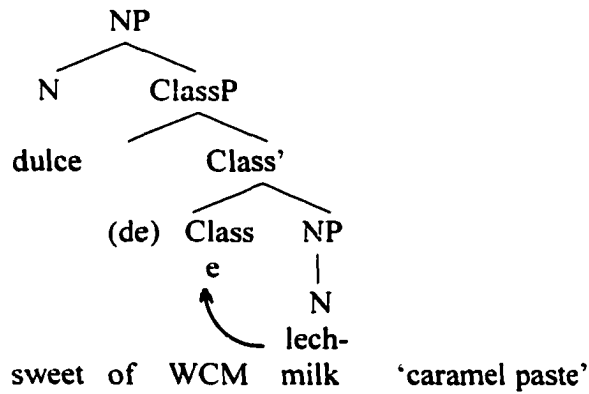
Analysis

In what follows, I propose an analysis that accounts for the two possible positions of the head in Spanish endocentric compounds and links those positions to the morphological form of the nominal non-head. As we showed earlier, when the non-head nominal is a free standing word, either preceded by a preposition (typically *de* 'of') or not, it will appear to the right of its head. When it is a bare stem, it will appear to the left. In spite of this difference, I propose a single underlying word order in compounds with nominal non-heads, viz, one where this non-head follows the head, in a head-complement configuration. This proposal is desirable because it is in line with proposed universals of head position (Kayne 1994), and is identical to that of Spanish syntactic phrases (an elegant and economical solution in agreement with Lieber (1992) and in line with the predictions of the LP/FP hypothesis).

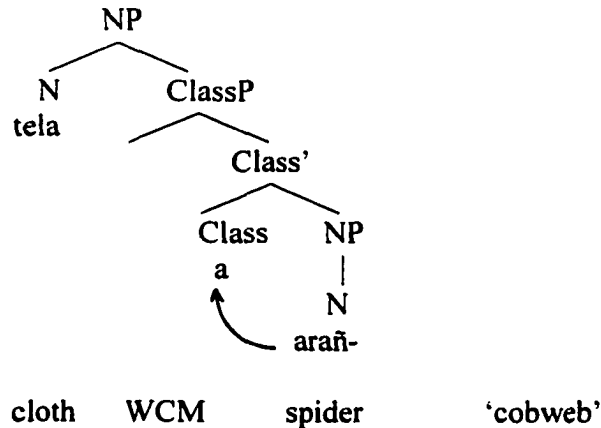
For nominal compounds involving nominal non-heads preceded by a preposition (28), the structure includes a N head. This head assigns inherent genitive case to a lower NP (Chomsky 1995:114) via intervening NumP and Gen/ClassP (some of which have been omitted for the sake of simplicity). The nominal complement checks its class features (or raises to pick them up by left adjunction) against the head of Gen/ClassP (Bosque and Picallo 1996), which in turn checks case features against the head of the higher NP. The inherent case surfaces through a dummy preposition *de*, which is overtly present in the $[N+prep+N]_N$ pattern (29). In the head initial $[N+N]_N$, the head/non-head

relationship must still be the result of some form of inherent case assignment (30), although it is not overtly realized.²⁹

29.

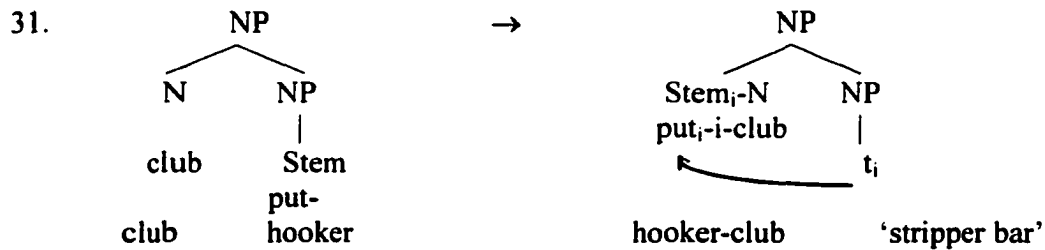


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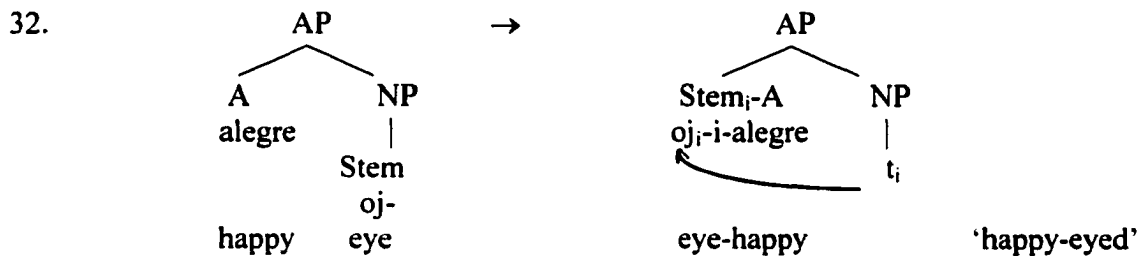


Let us now consider the cases where the non-head is a bare nominal stem. I propose that bare stems are NPs that lack Gen/ClassP and higher projections (cf. Crisma 1995:68). Given that Gen/ClassP is the location of case, the derivation will crash if the lower nominal has no case features to check. The caseless N in the lower NP is forced to undergo head-to-head movement via left-adjunction to circumvent the visibility condition (Baker 1988, Kayne 1994) (31).

²⁹ Evidence for this analysis is the alternation of [N+N]_N and [N+prep+N]_N patterns, such as *telaraña* 'cobweb, 'lit. 'cloth-spider' and *tela de araña*, 'id.,' lit. 'cloth of spider.'



This analysis can be extended to compounds where the head is an adjective or a verb with a complement, by simply replacing the head N by A or V (32). Thus, a single structure can account for the position of the non-head in cases such as $[\text{N+N}]_N$ *puti-club*, $[\text{N+A}]_A$ *oji-alegre*, and $[\text{N+V}]_V$ *pel-echar*.



To summarize, the analysis presented here accounts for the leftheadedness of Spanish endocentric compounds with a nominal non-head by positing that head position as unmarked, in agreement with universal head-complement order. On the other hand, the occurrence of right-headed cases is driven by morphological requirements of the non-head nominals. These elements are sometimes embedded in a projection without Gen/ClassP. In that case they lack case features and the derivation would crash if they were inserted in structures of the type in (30). This forces them to undergo head-to-head adjunction to circumvent the case requirements of nominals and ensure visibility.

Further evidence: learned compounding and blending

Evidence for the accuracy of this account can also be obtained by considering two related areas of word formation, viz., learned compounding and blending. Both of these

word formation processes are generally distinguished from regular compounding, the first one because it involves manipulation of foreign stems, and the latter because it is irregular in its application. The very fact that even sporadic word formation processes like these also follow the principles sketched above is strong evidence of the generality of this account.

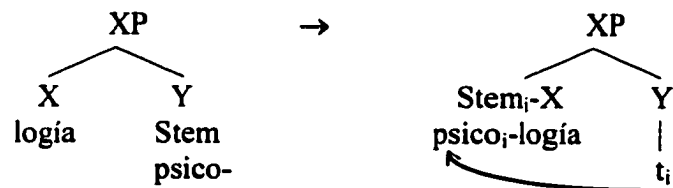
Learnèd compounds are regularly rightheaded, including those where both (33a) or just one (33b) of the elements is a Greek or Latin bound stem with no independent existence in Spanish.

33.

- a. *psicología, fotografía, termómetro, agricultura*
 ‘psychology, photography, thermometer, agriculture’
 (cf. **logía*, **grafía*, **metro*, **agri* in these senses)
- b. *psicoterapia, fotosensible, termolábil, tomaticultura*
 ‘psychotherapy, photosensitive, temperature-sensitive, tomato-growing’
 (cf. *terapia, sensible, lábil, tomate*)

This type of word formation can be accounted for straightforwardly if we bear in mind that learnèd stems lack a WCM by definition, i.e., they are combining forms. Therefore, even if they underlyingly occupy a complement position, they are incapable of checking case and they must adjoin if the derivation is not to crash.

34.



This movement operation accounts rather neatly for the existence of a compounding pattern that seems so contrary to the word order of Spanish, without any

need to posit two different head parameters for native and learned compounding. The non-head element has morphological properties that force its adjunction to the left.

Further evidence comes from blends, i.e., witticisms where one or both of two combined morphological words lose some of their phonetic material through overlap (Piñeros 1998). When this loss affects the end of the head element or the beginning of the non-head, i.e., when the non-head's WCM is unaffected, no reordering of constituents ensues: *coca-cola* + *colonización* 'colonization' > *coca-colonización* 'imposition of American habits' (Pharies 1987). However, when it is the end of the non-head element (including its WCM) that is lost, then it must be placed before the head: *centro de servicios* 'center of services' > *servicentro* 'gas station,' *biblioteca de charla* 'library of chatting' > *charloteca* 'library where people chat instead of reading' (Piñeros 1998). Thus, even in an area of word formation that is not as regular as compounding, and which is intentional and conscious in nature (Pharies 1987), the rule of left-adjointing a non-head that lacks a WCM still holds.

Counterevidence

The present analysis predicts that non-head nominals will appear with their WCM when the compound is head-initial, and in their bare stem form when it is head-final. Therefore, any instances where non-heads appear without a WCM in word-final position, or with it in word- initial position constitute counterevidence. This section presents those

cases and shows that they are in fact lexically deviant, i.e., either archaic or neologistic, and can be excepted without resorting to ad hoc mechanisms.³⁰

There are only two cases where the complement appears after the head without its WCM: *puercoespín* ‘porcupine,’ lit. ‘pork-spine’ and its variant *cuerpoespín* ‘lit. body-spine.’ However, they are completely isolated and have a counterpart *puercoespino*, so it is legitimate to discard them.

Second, we must consider cases where the non-head appears before the head and has its WCM. These cases (described as “less known constructions” in Rainer (1993:261-62), are not particularly numerous in the database (15 out of a total of 296 righthanded compounds), but they still need to be examined. The list includes [N+N]_N such as *cabrahigo* ‘wild fig,’ lit. ‘goat-fig,’ *casamuro* ‘wall,’ lit. ‘house-wall,’ *gallocresta* ‘type of plant resembling a rooster comb,’ lit. ‘rooster-comb.’ There is one case in the [N+V]_V pattern, i.e., arch. *salpresar* < *sal* + *presar* ‘salt down,’ lit. ‘salt-press’ (cf. *caramarcar* ‘put on makeup,’ lit. ‘face-mark’ in Núñez Cedeño 1992:140).

All these cases can be explained by making reference to earlier stages of the language. At least nine are attested since medieval times (*salpresar*, *cabrahigo*, *casamuda*, *casamuro*, *gallocresta*, *maestrepasquín*, *misacantano*, *varaseto*, *zarzamora*) and several can be shown to be calqued on Latin head-final patterns (*cabrahigo* < L. CAPRIFICUS, *gallocresta* < L. GALLICRISTA, both in Palencia, 1490). Additional evidence

³⁰ The analysis is not invalidated when the head appears in its bare form, because the WCM on the compound *head* is not at stake. These WCM losses result from univerbation, i.e., the loss of independent prosodic status for the first element in a small number of cases in the [N+prep+N]_N and [N+N]_N patterns. Some can be accounted for as the merger of identical phonetic segments: *matalbahaca* < *mata*+*albahaca* ‘basil plant,’ lit. ‘plant-basil.’ Others are reductions of the WCM to a linking vowel: *cornicabra* < *cuerno*+*cabra* ‘goathorn,’ lit. ‘horn-goat.’ In other cases, the head WCM is deleted: *sauzgatillo* <

of the pattern's archaism is the reorganization of elements within individual compounds (arch. *gallocresta* vs. mod. *cresta de gallo*), and sometimes of an entire pattern (cf. replacement in the [N+A]_A pattern of non-head words by bare stems, e.g., *bocaroto* > *boquirroto* 'of broken mouth,' lit., 'mouth-broken,' *cuelloalbo* 'white of neck,' lit. 'neck-white' vs. *cuelllicorto* 'of short neck,' lit. 'neck-short' (Munthe 1889).

Although Bustos Gisbert (1986) lacks other exceptions, contemporary Spanish shows some [N+N]_N head-final neologisms: *tour operador* 'tour operator,' *baby alarma* 'baby alarm,' *disco club* 'discothèque' (Rainer 1993:261-62). However, because those non-heads are borrowed, they can be excluded from the list of exceptions, given that their internal morphological make-up is opaque to Spanish native speakers. Occasionally, the right-headed pattern is calqued, and in this case one does find a few examples where the non-head element contains its WCM: *carrillo-novela* 'novel about/by Carrillo,' lit. 'Carrillo novel,' *gonzalez-Q-mania* 'Gonzalez mania,' (Rainer and Varela 1992), *libro-forums* 'book forums,' *gitano-soul* 'gypsy soul' (Rainer 1993). It should be noted, however, that these forms are transient journalistic creations, restricted to certain semantic fields and pragmatic uses.

On occasions, the status of the leftmost non-head is ambiguous: *dineroterapia* 'money-therapy,' *organoterapia* 'organ-therapy.' However, parallelism with other *terapia* compounds show that the -o- element is best interpreted as a linking vowel: *aeroterapia* 'air-therapy,' *vitaminoterapia* 'vitamin-therapy' (where *aero* and *vitamino*

sauce+gatillo 'bush,' lit. 'willow-acacia flower.' Sometimes more than just the WCM is lost: *hidalgo* <*hijo+dalgo* <*hijo+de+algo* 'nobleman,' lit. 'son of something.'

are not free forms).³¹ In that case, the analysis as *diner-o-terapia*, *organ-o-terapia* seems justified.³²

Exceptions fall into two general categories: archaisms and occasional neologisms based on foreign patterns. The right-headedness of earlier compounds is a result of an older phrasal order. That of neologisms is often the result of borrowing or calquing from sources that have right-headed compounding (e.g., English) or modelling of native word formation on learned patterns. It is predicted that archaic forms can only be interpreted correctly by piecemeal learning, and neologisms are restricted to certain registers where contact with and borrowing from foreign patterns is frequent.³³

To summarize, this section set out to show that all Spanish endocentric compounds with nominal non-heads share the same underlying representation. They are all left-headed, in accordance with head-complement order. This underlying representation emerges whenever the elements inserted in the non-head node are full words. However, when the non-head is a stem, it is incapable of checking case. To circumvent this, the non-head must move to the left of the head by move α , leaving behind a properly governed trace. This account is valid for all endocentric compounds with nominal non-heads, regardless of the category of the head.

³¹ Examples from specialized jargons such as medicine, with heavy influence from learned and foreign word formation, generally fall into this category: *vasoconstricción/vasodilatación* 'blood vessel constriction/dilation' (Núñez Cedeño 1992:138).

³² In *autorradio* 'car radio' and *autopiezas* 'car parts' the first element is the full word *aut-o* 'car,' in violation of the predictions made here. However, the fact that there is a learned stem *auto-* (with a different meaning: *autoanálisis* 'self-analysis'), may have favored the placement of *auto* 'car' in the same position. In other words, the meaning comes from the word, but the placement comes from the homophonous stem. It is worth noting that educated native speakers reject these forms as aberrations.

³³ It is not implied, however, that changes in the headedness of Spanish compounds are impossible. In fact, because lexical innovation often involves borrowing of compounds and Spanish often borrows from English, whose compounds are right-headed, it seems highly likely that head position could change over

Previous accounts

I will discuss two previous accounts of head position in Spanish compounds which are couched in generative grammar, viz., Núñez Cedeño (1991) and (1992), and Piera (1995).

Núñez Cedeño notes that Spanish has a mixture of left- and right-headedness and concludes that it must be allowed freedom in choosing headship. He proposes a single conjunctive statement containing two parts: (a) in a configuration of modification, the features of N percolate up to the branching node; (b) in a configuration of non-modification, the features of the right term percolate to the branching node. In other words, only one headship parameter needs to be fixed.

There are several problems with Núñez Cedeño's account, however, some descriptive and some theoretical. One descriptive problem is the failure to distinguish the multiplicity of compound types. For example, he does not take into account the difference between endocentric compounds and exocentric (*puntapié* 'kick with the tip of the foot,' lit. 'tip-foot') or dual compounds (*arquibanco* 'chest-bench'), for which it does not make sense to establish headship as left or right (as noted in Benavides Tarrus 1996). Moreover, he does not distinguish compounds that involve words from those that are made up of stems (*malalengua* 'evil tongue,' lit. 'bad tongue' vs. *caficultura* 'coffee cultivation,' cf. *café*). He also misclassifies some compounds; *lengualarga* 'foul-mouthed person,' lit. 'tongue long' and *paticojo* 'lame,' lit. 'leg lame,' are considered to be the same type, when in fact the first one corresponds to a bahuvrihi with the exocentric

time. This does not invalidate the main thesis made here, however, which is about current native compounding.

structure $[N+A]_N$, whereas the second one is an endocentric $[N+i+A]_A$. The theoretical problems involve the need to resort to semantic information, rather than syntactic structure, when making statements about compound head placement. Moreover, he needs to specify the head category, which my account does not need to. On the other hand, my account restricts itself to endocentric compounds, the only ones for which the notions of right- and left-headedness make sense. Another advantage of the present account is that it does not need to make reference to the features of the head, and, in accordance with modern generative principles, it is morphology driven, taking advantage of the difference between stems and words in compounding.

Piera (1995), an account of compound headship assignment within the minimalist framework, aims to explain the difference in head position between English and Spanish $[N+N]_N$ compounding. This difference is related to the different morphological make-ups of the languages. Like my account, Piera's makes crucial use of the observation that Spanish (but not English) nouns have a derivational stem and an inflectional WCM, yielding a double bracket on the right edge: $[[X]_d Y]_i$. He links this structure to compounding via a Double Bracket Restriction (DBR): "A double bracket at the edge of a word blocks adjunction of a word" (Piera 1995:306). Consequently, all right-headed compounds are ruled ungrammatical in Spanish, because they present the wrong context for adjunction, rather than the wrong adjunction elements.

The solution presented is not satisfactory, however, both on descriptive and theoretical grounds. For one thing, its basic prediction that no right-headed compounds are possible, is not borne out, even in the $[N+N]_N$ pattern: *gallipunte* 'elevated bridge,' lit. 'rooster-bridge.' The claim is further debilitated when considering other

compounding categories, in particular $[N+A]_A$ and $[N+V]_V$, both of which are exclusively right-headed (Table 5-3).

Additionally, it can be proven that absence of a WCM from the head eliminates the double bracket but does not result in left-adjunction of the non-head: *cornicabra* ‘goat-horn,’ lit. ‘horn-goat’ (cf. *corno*). If it was the head’s WCM that was blocking adjunction, then the compound should be **cabracorn*, given that the structure of the head in this particular case is $[X]_d$ and the DBR does not apply. Finally, the account assumes that head-to-head movement will occur unless it is blocked, in violation of procrastination and greed (Chomsky 1995). Piera fails to present a reason why the non-head needs to move to satisfy its own morphological requirements, which makes it hard to justify that it should move at all.

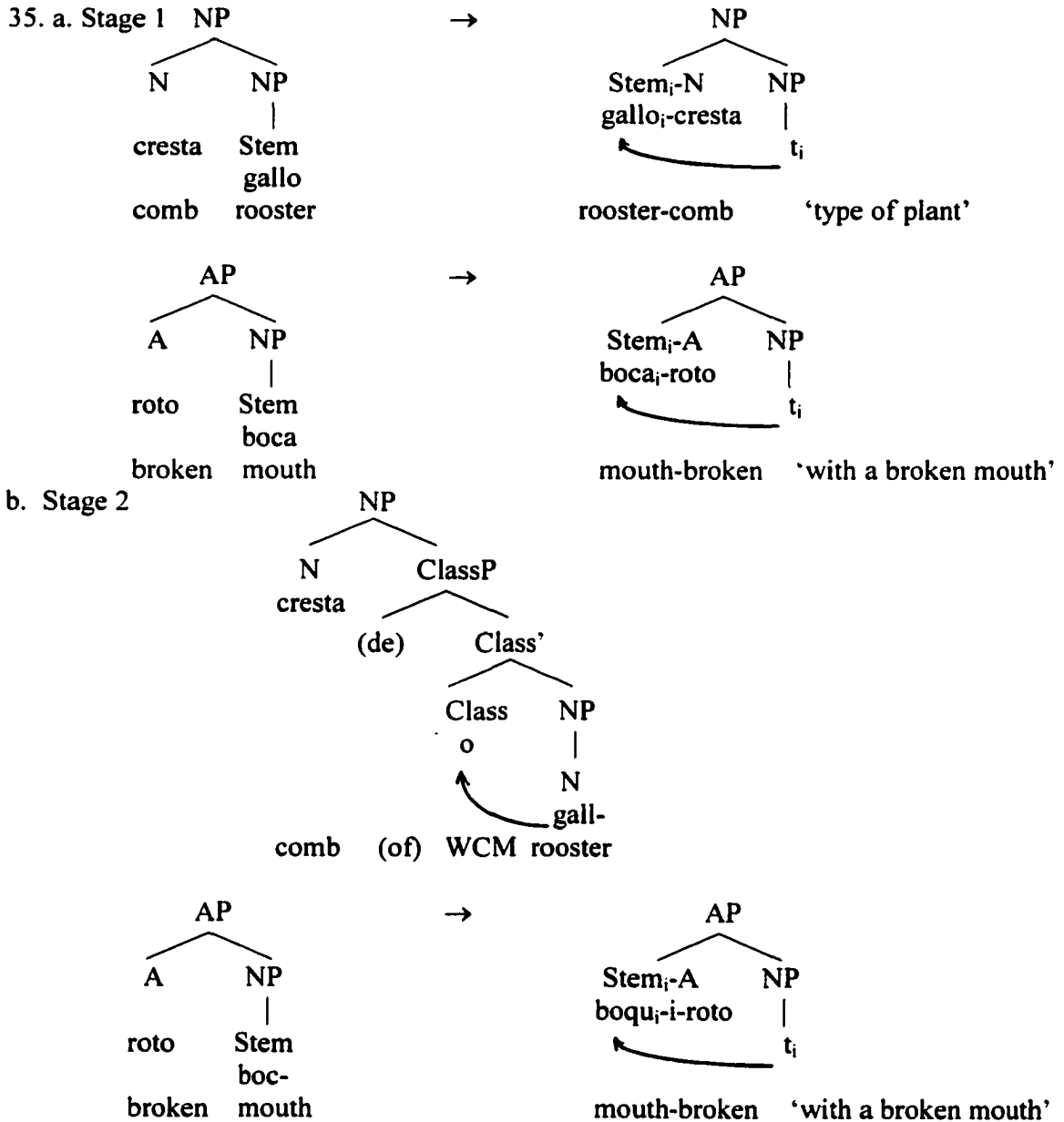
A note on Catalan and Medieval Spanish

The analysis presented above for Spanish works well for the remaining Romance languages, which have the same formal restrictions on the internal morphology of the non-head nominal. Catalan, however, poses a problem for the description that relies on a surface difference between stems and words to explain right-headed endocentric compounding. In this language, both adjectival and verbal compounds have nominals inflected for gender in the non-head position: *panxabuit* ‘with empty stomach,’ lit. ‘stomach-empty,’ *camatrençar* ‘break the legs,’ lit. ‘leg-break.’ This means that we cannot claim that uninflected nominals are the only ones to left-adjoin, because in this language non-head nominals in right-headed compounds look identical to their free forms (cf. *cama* ‘leg’ in *camatrençar* ‘break the legs’ is identical to the free form). One way out

of this problem is to propose that Catalan has no WCM as an independent syntactic projection. In that sense, it would work like English, with words identical to stems in most cases. Given that situation, the caseless stem complement nominal in non-head position must adjoin to the left of the head. There is independent evidence (Bernstein 1993:28-34) that the word class markers of Catalan are abstract, which would mean that the non-head nominals of compounds may lack them and look no different on the surface from full-fledged nouns. One unresolved problem remains, however, viz., to account for the fact that although the complements of V and A heads raise to left-adjoin, those of N do not, resulting in left-headed $[N+N]_N$ compounds, like those of the rest of the Romance languages: *cartò-pedra* 'papier mache,' lit. 'cardboard-stone.' At this point I do not have an account that will bring Catalan in line with the analysis, but it may be linked with the fact that V and A share a [+V] feature, whereas nouns are [-V]. The matter deserves more attention than it can receive here.

The case of Catalan helps to shed light on Medieval Spanish, which, as shall be recalled, is more likely to exhibit head-final compounds with a full-fledged non-head: *gallqcresta* 'type of plant,' lit. 'rooster-comb,' *bocarroto* 'with a broken mouth,' lit. 'mouth broken.' This could also be accounted for by stating that the change in word order was the result of a morphological analysis of previously unitary nouns into a stem and a WCM. If there was no separate morphological portion of the nominal responsible for its case assignment, this would explain why it had to raise in spite of apparently exhibiting a WCM. When words were reanalyzed as having a stem and a WCM, non-heads either stopped raising and started to present the non-head to the right of the head

(the case of *gallocresta* > *cresta de gallo*) or lost the WCM to justify the raising (*bocarroto* > *boquirroto*).



Head-Complement Compounds with Adverbial Non-Heads

We must now turn our attention to compounds where the non-head is not a nominal but an adverb of manner. There are two such patterns in Spanish, as illustrated

in (36a,b) underneath. In the first pattern the head is an adjective, and in the second it is a verb. Both of these patterns are much more limited in productivity in the modern database than in the medieval one.

36.

- a. *malintencionado, maleducado, bienintencionado, biensonante*
badly-intended, badly-educated, well-intended, well-sounding
'with bad intentions, spoiled, well meaning, pleasant to the ear'
- b. *maltratar, bienvivir, menospreciar*
badly-treat, well-live, less-value
'treat badly, live well, underestimate/scorn'

In the [Adv+A]_A, the adjective is often a past participial form: *malintencionado* 'ill-meaning,' lit. 'badly-intentioned,' *maleducado* 'spoiled,' lit. 'badly-educated,' *bienintencionado* 'well-meaning,' lit. 'well-intended,' whereas in others it exhibits the *-ante/ente* adjectival suffix: *biensonante* 'pleasing to the ear,' lit. 'well-sounding,' *maloliente* 'foul-smelling,' lit. 'badly-smelling.' The clearest restriction on these compounds is the adverbial element, which can be *bien-* 'well' or *mal-* 'badly' (exceptionally, *menos* 'less').

In some cases, the compounds seem to be semantically related to verb phrases: *bien educado* is an adjective formed on the basis of the passive of *educar bien* 'educate well.' In other cases, such verbal parallels are not found: *bienintencionado* 'well-intended' does not relate to any attested verb **intencionar bien*. As for the verbs, they constitute a very small class, with the adverbial again restricted to manner adverbs such as *bien* and *mal*.

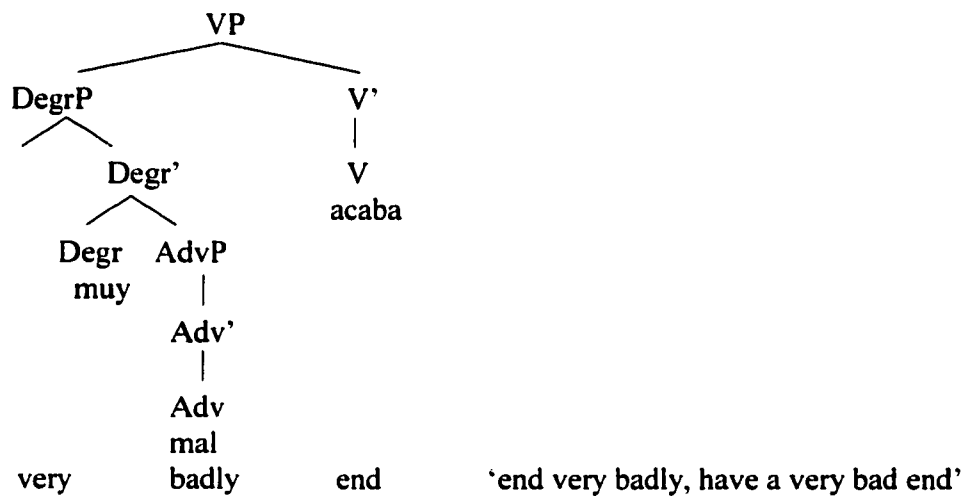
Because adverbs exhibit no surface differences between incorporated forms and the forms used in syntax, it remains to be unequivocally established that they are indeed incorporated into the verb or adjective, rather than simply linearly adjacent to them in a

syntactic projection in Spec. Preverbal position alone will not suffice, given that adverbs are quite free in Spanish, so they could be preposed syntactic phrases (cf. arch. *El que mal anda, mal acaba* ‘Those who fall into bad ways will come to a bad end,’ lit. ‘He who badly goes, badly ends,’ where adverbs are preposed and yet not incorporated).

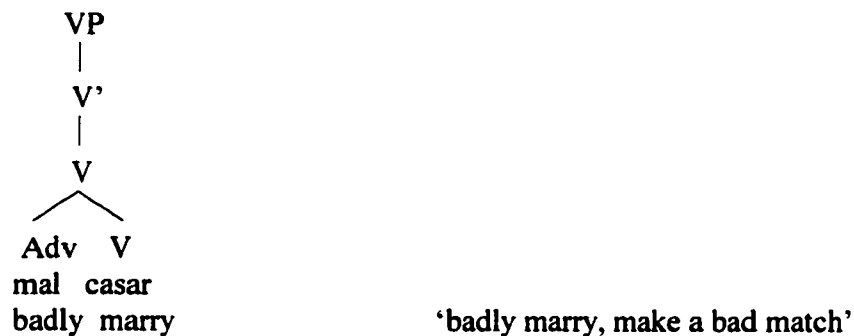
The two possibilities are illustrated in (37a,b). In (37a), the structure includes a DegrP to show the expansion of the adverbial into a degree phrase. In (37b), there is no degree phrase projection, and the bare adverbial is incorporated to the left of the verb.

37.

a.



b.



With Rivero (1992), I propose to consider the prosodic status of the adverb and their behavior relative to clitics as evidence of their incorporation status. Additionally, I

will show that although they originate in AdvPs, these adverbs are not embedded in a functional degree phrase, so they are lexical phrases without their corresponding functional phrase projection, in accordance with the predictions of the LP/FP hypothesis for compounds.

The first piece of evidence that the structures in (36a,b) are incorporated comes from their stress properties. In compounds, the adverbial element is not stressed, nor is stressing it for emphasis a possibility (38), unless the construction is topicalized, and then a pause is necessary between the fronted adverb and the verb.

38.

- a. *Trató* *mál* *al hermano*.
Treat-3sg.pret. badly to-his brother.
- b. *Maltrató* *al hermano*.
Badly-treat-3sg.pret. to-his brother.
- c. **Mál trató* *al hermano*.
Badly treat-3sg.pret. to-his brother.
'He treated his brother badly.' (a = b = c)
- d. *Mál,* *trató* *al hermano*.
Badly, treated-3sg.pret. to-his brother.
'Badly, it was his brother that he treated.'

The second piece of evidence that these adverbs are indeed incorporated, comes from the facts of cliticization. In Spanish syntax, pronominal clitics will appear attached directly to the left of the inflected verb, and no adverbial element can come between the two. However, in the incorporated constructions, clitics appear before the adverb, which means that the latter is forming a complex with the verb (39). Notice that if the manner adverb is stressed, then attachment of the reflexive is barred (39e), as would be predicted from the above restriction on stress. The behavior of the manner adverb is compared to that of other, unincorporated, adverbs in (39 d,e).

- 39.
- a. *Mi hermana se=casó mal.*
My sister refl.=married badly.
 - b. *Mi hermana se=malcasó.*
My sister refl.=badly married.
 - c. **Mi hermana se=mál casó.*
My sister refl.= badly married.
'My sister made a bad match.' (a = b = c)
 - d. *Mi hermana se=casó ayer.*
My sister refl.=married yesterday.
 - e. **Mi hermana se=ayer casó.*
My sister refl.=yesterday married.
'My sister married yesterday.' (d = e)

Finally, we must show that the adverbial in the constructions is not embedded in a degree phrase, an additional piece of evidence that shows it is a lexical phrase construction. Evidence for this can be found in the impossibility of inserting a degree word before the adverb when it is incorporated (40). Also, extraction out of a degree phrase for incorporation is impossible.

- 40.
- a. *Me trató muy mal.*
Me treated-3spr. very badly.
'He treated me very badly.'
 - b. **Me muy maltrató.*
Me very badly treated-3spr.
He treated me very badly.
 - c. **Me maltrató muy.*
Me badly treated-3spr. very.'
'He treated me very badly.'

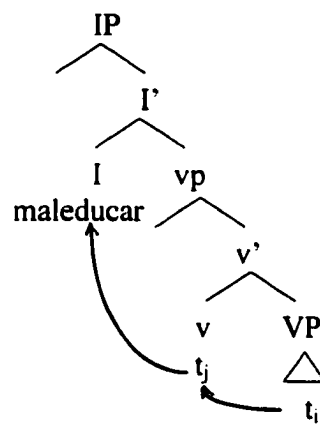
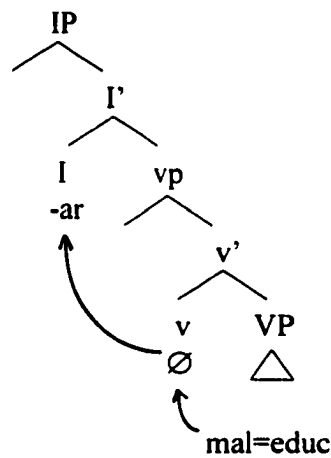
Analysis

The analysis that will be presented here for the compounds with adverbial non-heads is based on the assumption that they are also complements of the verbal head, and are therefore maximal adverbial projections to its right. I claim that the structure underlies both the verbal and adjectival compounds. The difference between the two is

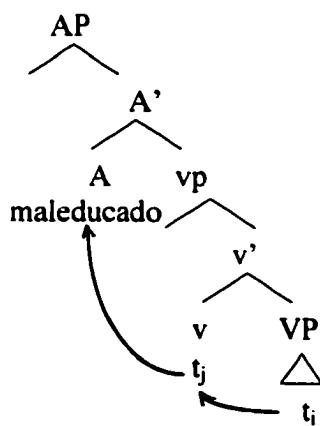
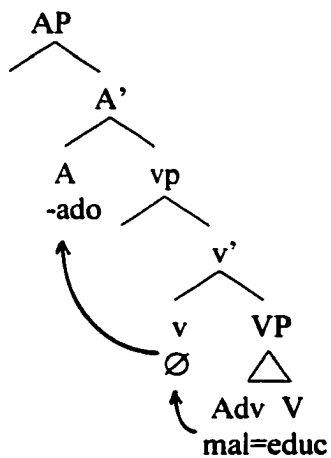
whether the higher projections selecting the VP are verbal or adjectival. In the former case, the resulting incorporated structure will be a $[\text{Adv}+\text{V}]_v$ (41), in the latter, an $[\text{Adv}+\text{A}]_A$ (42).

This follows Rivero (1992), an analysis of structures with incorporated adverbs in Modern Greek, which extends the possibilities of noun incorporation of Baker (1988). Rivero notes that the manner/directional adverbs of Modern Greek may incorporate (43a,b), whereas those of other types (time, aspect) cannot (43c,d). She relates this to a difference in the relationship of the verbal head to these two types: whereas the manner/direction adverbs are VP-internal complements, the time/aspect ones are adjuncts, external to VP.

41.



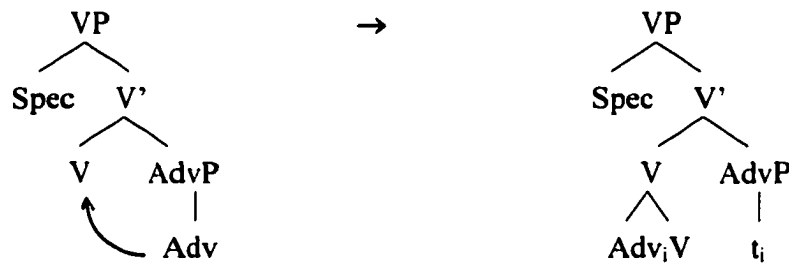
42.



43. From Rivero (1992:289)
- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| a. <i>I María tha to girísi anápoda.</i>
The Mary will it turn upside+down. | VP-internal adverb |
| b. <i>I María tha to anapodo-girísi.</i>
The Mary will it upside+down-turn.
'Mary will turn it upside down.' (a = b) | adverb incorporation |
| c. <i>O Yánis tha milái akómi.</i>
The John will be+speaking still.
'John will still be speaking.' | VP-external adverb |
| d. * <i>O Yánis tha akomi+milái.</i> | *adverb incorporation |

Rivero's analysis has the attractiveness of being parallel to what has been proposed here for compounds with nominal non-heads, and therefore it should be favored, in the interest of theoretical simplicity and elegance (44).

44.



One problem with this analysis is that adverb incorporation does not produce a change of grammatical function. Thus, for example, if a direct object is incorporated it no longer requires the objective case marking that licensed it in syntax, and the verb either becomes intransitive, through absorption of the case, or it can license a different object. Indeed, incorporation often acts as a mechanism to license nouns directly without need for overt case marking when there are more objects that need to receive case from a verb than the verb has to give. In the case of adverbs, it is hard to see what licensing condition is being circumvented by incorporation, because adverbs are, in principle, never barred from appearing with a verb with which they are semantically compatible and

require no special case marking to do so. Therefore, according to the principle of procrastination (Chomsky 1995), they should not move, given that they do not need to do so to fulfill any morphological requirement.

However, adverbs can also be argued to be moving to fulfill an internal morphological requirement. In parallel with the nouns, and following Harris (1991), I will argue that adverbs also have word class markers (*lej-os* ‘far’ *cerc-a* ‘near’; in the case of *bien* and *mal*, the WCM is \emptyset). If this WCM is absent from the projection of the adverb, then it forces incorporation because its morphological requirements are not met.

Rivero makes a point of distinguishing incorporation of adverbs in Modern Greek from lexical compounding. However, it has been my contention all along that compounding is just one special kind of incorporation, i.e., one that affects lexical phrases, as opposed to syntactic phrases. Both Rivero’s Modern Greek examples and my Spanish ones are compatible with this assertion, because she does not show any examples of incorporation of adverbs out of a DegrP, and in Spanish this is not a possibility (cf. 40 above). Neither Spanish nor, apparently, Greek, allow extraction out of functional projections, which means that adverb incorporation is compatible with the definition of compounding as incorporation at the LP level. It seems that the WCM is related to the embedding of the Adv into a DegrP in Spanish.

Head-Modifier Compounds with Adjectival Non-Heads

Spanish compounds where the non-head is an adjective and the head is a noun are the only ones that exhibit a reversible pattern, in the sense that both word orders are present to some degree. We have seen that $[N+N]_N$ can also be found with initial or final

heads, but in that case, the first pattern is overwhelmingly preferred to the latter, which can be proven to be a mere relic. In the case of $[N+A]_N$ the preference over the head initial pattern is also apparent, but it is not so clearcut (23.9% for $[N+A]_N$ and 3.9% for $[A+N]_N$).

45.

- a. *aguas negras, producción lechera, camposanto, vía pública*
waters blacks, production milk-adj, field holy, way public
'sewage water, milk production, graveyard, street'
- b. *gentilhombre, rica hembra, bajorrelieve, vanagloria, mala entraña*
gentleman, rich female, low relief, vainglory, bad guts
'gentleman, female member of the nobility, basrelief, vainglory, evil nature'

Left-headed compounds of the type $[N+A]_N$ (45a) resemble noun phrases in their word order. The difference between compounds and syntactic phrases lies on the impossibility of interrupting the unity of the two elements, the absence of internal modification, and often the semantic drift. Thus, in *aguas negras* the meaning of the adjective is not literal, but figurative, and the meaning of the whole noun phrase is specialized (sewage). This condition is not a sine qua non, however: *producción lechera* is semantically compositional, as are many other compounds in this group, especially those where the adjective is of the kind known as 'relational' (more on this later in the chapter).

The pattern in (45b) is the reverse, with the adjectival non-head preceding the noun. This is not in violation of Spanish word order, however, given that the Romance languages have the possibility of preposing certain adjectives. However, it is also true that several of the examples in the database are relics, and can be traced back to the medieval period: *gentilhombre* 'gentleman,' *rica hembra* 'noblewoman,' lit. 'rich female' *rica dueña* 'noblewoman,' lit. 'rich woman.' Others are calqued on foreign

patterns: *francocuartel* < Fr. *franc-quartier* ‘quarter in a banner.’ Thus, the A-N order in compounds is sometimes the result of lexicalization of an old pattern. On other occasions, the adjective in the compound appears prenominally because that is its unmarked location in syntax, too: *mala entraña* ‘evil nature,’ lit. ‘bad guts’ (cf. the phrase *mala película* ‘bad film’).

The relationship between the head and the non-head in the two kinds of noun-adjective compounds is normally marked in the form of concord, where the adjective exhibits features copied from the nominal head: *aguas negras* ‘sewage water,’ lit. ‘water-pl.fem. black-pl. fem.,’ *producción lechera* ‘milk production,’ lit. ‘production-sg.fem milk-sg fem.adj.’ In cases such as *gentilhombre* ‘gentleman,’ lit. ‘gentle-sg.man-sg.masc.’ there is no overt gender concord due to the particular class the adjective belongs to, but we assume it is there covertly. A mismatch in features is impossible: **agua negro* ‘water-fem.sg. black-masc.sg.,’ **producción lecheras* ‘production-fem.sg. milky-fem.pl.’ (but cf. very exceptional *avetonto* ‘bird-sg.fem. stupid-sg.masc.’). The compound is pluralized on its head, i.e., the noun, but number features are copied onto the adjective: *ricas hembras*, *malas entrañas*. However, if there has been univerbation, with loss of stress of the first element, then the plural is often marked only on the rightmost edge, regardless of whether it is the head or not: *vanaglorias*, *camposantos* (cf. Chapter 6 for more on the pluralization of compounds).

The position of adjectives in Spanish determiner phrases

Without going into a long digression on the position of adjectives in the Spanish DP, some discussion is in order. Demonte (1982) describes several types of adjectives

with different position properties. Relational adjectives are always postposed to their heads (46a). Qualitative adjectives can take both positions, but when preposed they describe, and are therefore non-restrictive, whereas when they are postposed they are classificatory or restrictive, establishing a subset of the head (46b). A small number of adjectives may be pre- or postposed, but their meaning is affected by their position. When preposed, they have a meaning relative to the nominal head, whereas when they are postposed, they are absolute. Thus, *un viejo amigo* ‘an old friend’ is someone who is old as a friend, whereas *un amigo viejo* ‘an old friend’ is someone who is a friend and who is also old (46c). Deictic adjectives (Demonte’s modals) are characterized by the fact that they are always preposed (46d). Affective or evaluative adjectives, which do not change semantics when pre- or postposed, are always non-restrictive (46e) (cf. also Bolinger 1972, Calvo 1987, Crisma 1995, Terker 1985, Dimitrescu 1996, for more on adjective position in Spanish, and Monceaux 1992, Laenzlinger 2000 for French).

46. Adjectives in the Spanish DP (data from Demonte 1982)

	<i>postposed</i>	<i>preposed</i>	<i>translation</i>
a.	<i>relational adjectives</i>		
	<i>avería eléctrica</i>	* <i>eléctrica avería</i>	electrical damage
	<i>almuerzo dominical</i>	* <i>dominical almuerzo</i>	Sunday dinner
	<i>sombrero inglés</i>	* <i>inglés sombrero</i>	English hat
b.	<i>qualitative adjectives</i>		
	<i>meditaciones largas</i>	<i>largas meditaciones</i>	long meditations
	<i>casas oscuras</i>	<i>oscuras casas</i>	dark houses
	<i>cerezos altos</i>	<i>altos cerezos</i>	tall cherry trees
c.	<i>adjectives with meaning change</i>		
	<i>alegría verdadera</i>	<i>verdadera alegría</i>	authentic happiness, great happiness
	<i>amigo bueno</i>	<i>buen amigo</i>	a friend who is good, a good friend
	<i>hombre grande</i>	<i>gran hombre</i>	large man, great man
d.	<i>deictic adjectives</i>		
	* <i>resbalón mero</i>	<i>mero resbalón</i>	mere slip
	* <i>amigo mejor</i>	<i>mejor amigo</i>	best friend
	* <i>episodio mismo</i>	<i>mismo episodio</i>	same episode

- e. *evaluative adjectives*
relaciones excelentes *excelentes relaciones* excellent relations
cena magnífica *magnífica cena* magnificent dinner

Of the possible adjective types, compounds exhibit those which can restrict the reference of the noun, given that the whole purpose of creating a [N+A]_N compound is to define a subset of the noun's denotatum. Thus, deictic modal adjectives and evaluative adjectives are not present in compounding. As a corollary, of the adjectives involved in compound formation, none are exclusively preposed. Bustos Gisbert's database presents compounds with the remainder of the adjective types, as exemplified in (47). 47.

Adjectives in Spanish compounds (data from Bustos Gisbert 1986)

- a. *relational adjectives*
águila imperial, aguamarina, cabra montés
 eagle imperial, water-sea-adj., goat hill-adj
 'imperial eagle, aquamarine, wild goat'
- b. *qualitative adjectives*
plátano falso, falso flete, trigo duro, duramadre
 plantain false, false freight, wheat hard, hard mother
 'type of tree, amount payable when you do not use a vessel, type of wheat, dura mater'
- c. *adjectives with meaning change*
buenamoza, hierbabuena, mala fe, pelo malo
 good-girl, herb-good, bad faith, hair bad
 'good-looking woman, mint, bad faith, type of feather'

It has been discussed in the Spanish literature (Bosque 1993, Bosque and Picallo 1996) whether the combinations of nouns and relational adjectives are really compounds or simply DPs with some special properties. Bosque (1993) proposes that they can be considered compounds, stating as evidence that the relational adjectives in [N+A]_N are X⁰ rather than maximal projections, and that they must be structurally adjacent to the nominal that governs them. For example, they do not admit degree adverbs (**avería muy eléctrica* 'damage very electrical'). The suffixes that create relational adjectives do not,

in fact add thematic roles but simply act as case markers (*marino* = *del mar* ‘marine = of the sea’), serving simply to license the complement. This leads him to propose that nominals followed by relational adjectives have a morphological status, albeit a special one, given that they accept internal inflection: *averías eléctricas* ‘damage-pl. electrical-pl.’

In Bosque and Picallo (1996), however, this position is reversed and sequences of nominals and relational adjectives are considered syntactic. This about-face is determined by the consideration of factors such as the concord marks present on the adjective, which according to the authors is evidence that they are full projections, as compounds typically do not present internal inflection. Another piece of evidence is that the head of N+A_{rel} may be gapped (48). This leads the authors to propose the merge of two XP constituents, with the adjective in the Spec position of the lexical NP projection: [NP C-adjective [N]]. One might add that, although relational adjectives cannot be preceded by the adverb *muy* ‘very’ this is a semantic restriction, not evidence that there is no DegreeP projection (cf. 48b against 48c, where the adverb is grammatical).

48. From Bosque and Picallo (1996:364)

- a. *las incursiones aéreas y las [e] terrestres*
the raids air-adj and the [e] land-adj
‘air and land raids’
- b. **incursiones muy aéreas*
raids very air-adj
‘very air raids’
- c. *incursiones exclusivamente aéreas*
raids exclusively air-adj
‘exclusively air raids’

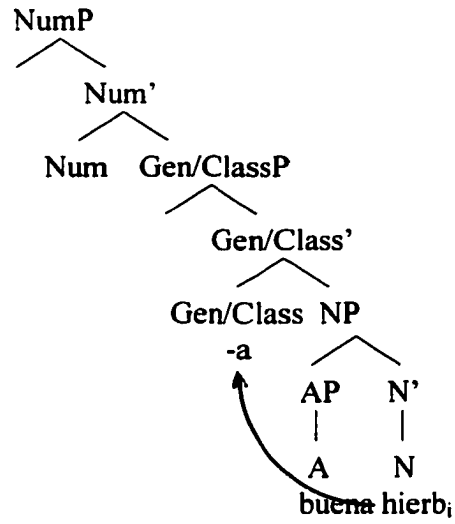
Structures where the head can be gapped should in fact be excluded from compounding, given that they violate inseparability of constituents.³⁴ The fact remains, however, that there are numerous $[N+A]_N$ which behave like compounds, and whose existence alone warrants the inclusion of this class and the proposal of an analytical framework that will account for them. These constructions constitute mergers of lexical phrases without functional projections, i.e., determiners and degree words. The intermediate nodes between DP and NP are present, accounting for the presence of gender and number concord.

Analysis

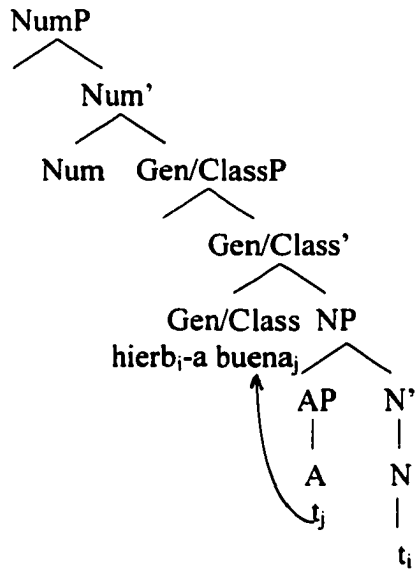
My analysis of the internal structure of $[N+A]_N$ and $[A+N]_N$ compounds will be based on the structure of the DP presented in Bernstein (1993). There, the position of the adjective is assumed to be base-generated preminally and adjoined to an XP. The position of the head noun with respect to the adjectival modifier is obtained by movement of the noun to adjoin to the various heads where it must pick up features such as the Gen/ClassP and NumP. Some adjectives are adjoined at NP level, others higher up in the tree (cf. 49a,b for derivation of *hierbabuena* ‘mint,’ lit. ‘herb-good,’ and *buenamoza* ‘good-looking woman,’ lit. ‘good-young woman’). For a compound to be formed, the nominal and the adjective must amalgamate at some point. If this happens after N rises to Gen/ClassP, it results in the order N+A and in a single morphosyntactic locus for the plural (cf. *hierbabuena* in 49a).

³⁴ It was not corroborated that gapping is impossible for all the compounds in the Bustos Gisbert database. In fact, I suspect that for a number of $[N+A]_N$ constructions gapping is possible, somewhat reducing the number of actual compounds in that class. This is a matter that deserves a great deal more research.

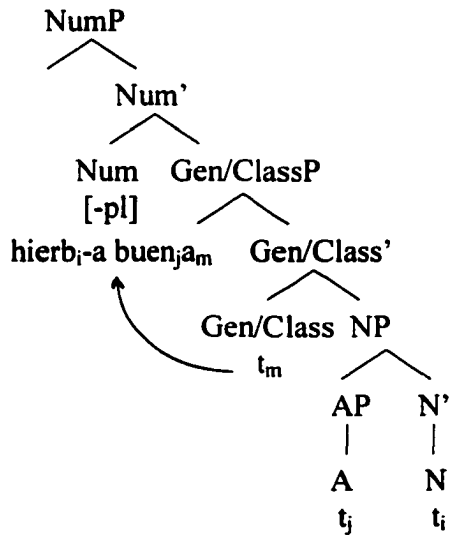
49. a.



b.



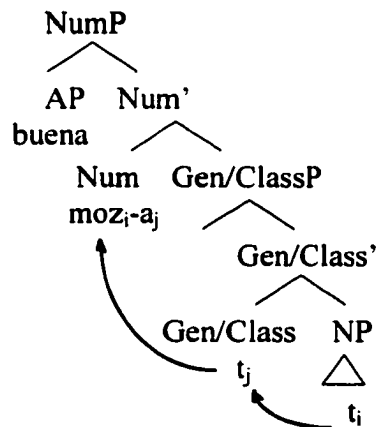
c.



From its position in Gen/Class, the complex rises to the head of NumP to acquire its number features. Only one plural inflection is present, to the right of the entire complex. However, there are numerous compounds with internal plurals. In those cases, N must rise to the head of Num before the adjective adjoins. The adjective must then raise into Spec Gen/Class before A⁰ adjoins to Num. These two processes account formally for external and internal plurals, but the difference is hard to motivate.

When the adjective is preposed, it is posited that it is in Spec, NumP, in which case the adjunction of A⁰ to Num is via merger at the level of NumP (cf. derivation of *buenamoza* in 50). Many questions remain unanswered concerning these compounds, which deserve additional research but will not be addressed here.

50.



Exocentric Compounds

Spanish and the rest of the Romance languages have several types of exocentric compounds including some of the most productive ones (e.g., [V+N]_N). By our definition of exocentrism, what these compounds have in common is the fact that the category of the compounded structure is not identifiable with that of its constituents. This can be because it is a different grammatical category, in which case we know that this

information cannot have percolated from the constituent components. Alternatively it can be because even if the grammatical category of the compound is the same as that of one of its constituents, it exhibits different gender/number agreement that rules out percolation.

The examples in (51) represent all the syntactically exocentric compound types of Spanish. The first four categories involve patterns which are only used to generate exocentric compounds; in other words, they are structurally exocentric. On the other hand, the last category includes a number of different patterns, all of which have been encountered before and analyzed as endocentric. Here, however, they are used exocentrically through conversion. In (51a,b) the first element of the compound is the internal head, either P or V, followed by a complement. There is also a reduplicative [V+V]_N pattern, where both elements are on an equal footing, but neither is the head of the compound (an exocentric dvandva). All exocentric compounds share the fact that they are nominal, regardless of the category of their constituents. This may be connected to the fact that Spanish has the property of eliding the noun and nominalizing adjectives and other structures with great ease.

51.

- a. *sacacorchos, mataballos, portarretratos, cuentagotas*
remove-corks, kill-horses, carry-portraits, count-drops
'corkscrew, kind of plant, portrait-holder, dropper'
- b. *sin techo, sinvergüenza, pormenor*
without roof, without shame, by minor
'someone homeless, (someone) cheeky/fresh, detail'
- c. *pasapasa, rascarasca, duermevela, ganapierde*
pass-pass, scratch-scratch, sleep-wake, win-lose
'kind of game, type of plant, light sleep, gambling style'
- d. *cientpiés, sietemachos, cuatro ojos, milhoja*
one-hundred-feet, seven-males, four eyes, thousand-leaf
'centipede, bully, person who wears glasses, millefeuille'

- e. *puntapié, capigorra, piel roja, mala lengua, manos de manteca*
 point-foot, cape-i-cap, skin red, bad tongue, hands of butter
 'kick given with the tip of the foot, tramp, redskin, evil tongue, butterfingers'

The type presented in (51a) is by far the one that has deserved the most scholarly attention in Romance linguistics.³⁵ In general terms, [V+N]_N compounds consist of a verbal member followed by a nominal which may be its direct object or some other complement: *rompehuelgas* 'strikebreaker,' lit. 'break-strikes,' *girasol* 'sunflower,' lit. 'turn-sun,' *correccaminos* 'roadrunner,' lit. 'run-roads.' Semantically, they fall into three distinct categories: names of plants and animals (*girasol, correccaminos*), names of menial occupations or derogatory terms for humans (*guardacoches* 'car attendant,' lit. 'protect-cars,' *perdonavidas* 'bully,' lit. 'forgive-lives'), and lastly, machines and gadgets (*lavarropas* 'washing machine,' lit. 'wash-clothes,' *sacaleche* 'breast-pump,' lit. 'remove-milk').

The second group of exocentrics (51b), made up of a preposition followed by the noun it governs, is not particularly productive in Spanish. They are bahuvrihis, referring to something or someone metonymically. Thus, a *sinvergüenza* 'without shame' is a

³⁵ The [V+N]_N pattern is found throughout the Romance family, where it is extremely productive, with the proviso that in Rumanian it is a residual pattern (Mallinson 1986: 329), and the nominal non-head sometimes appears preposed. A long bibliographical review will be avoided here, as my aim is to discuss the structure of compounds rather than to provide a detailed summary of the literature. The reader is referred to Alemany Bolufer (1920), Contreras (1985), Pérez Lagos (1986), Manteca Alonso Cortés (1987), Lang (1988, 1990), Núñez Cedeño (1991, 1992), Clancy Clements (1992), Rainer and Varela (1992), Rainer (1993), for Spanish; Villalva (1992) for Portuguese, Brea (1990) for Galician, Mascaró (1986) and Hualde (1992) for Catalan, Klingebiel (1988, 1994) for Occitan, Zwanenburg (1990, 1992), Picone (1992) for French, Loi Corvetto (1988) for Sardinian, Scalise (1992), Vogel and Napoli (1992) for Italian, and Mallinson (1986) and Fischer (1989) for Rumanian. Diez (1874) and Meyer-Lübke (1923) are of course the starting point for any discussion on Romance word formation and bring ample data for this type of compound, and Benveniste (1966) also has insightful comments. The history of this pattern has been extensively studied (e.g., Lloyd 1968), and often described as a Romance development, given that Latin had few compounds and even fewer with the V+N structure (but cf. *exerci-pes* 'exercising the foot'). However, more recently, Bork (1990:387) has proposed that in fact [V+N]_N has a long uninterrupted tradition starting in Indo European, ancient Greek, and Vulgar Latin.

person who has no shame, a *sin techo* ‘without roof’ someone who has no roof, i.e., a homeless person. In general, it is hard to determine whether a given prenominal particle is in fact a preposition or a prefix, but I restrict myself here to cases where ambiguity is impossible. For example, *sin* is not a possible prefix, so any occurrence in a complex word must be a case of [P+N]_N compounding.³⁶

Group (51c), which is absent from the Bustos Gisbert database, has been studied in detail in Pharies (1986). Of the various dialectal possibilities, two patterns are presented here. In the first one, the two verbs are identical, with this iteration being iconic, to show intensification or repetition of the action: *pasapasa* ‘type of game,’ lit. ‘pass-pass.’ A second pattern combines antonyms: *ganapierde* ‘gambling style,’ lit. ‘win-lose’; or synonyms: *chiticalla* ‘secretive person,’ lit. ‘shut up-shut up.’ The most powerful reason for including them here is their productivity in Spanish; their semantics is less transparent than in the V+N type, however. It may be that the absence of a complement for the verb creates a greater deal of ambiguity and more chances for semantic shift.³⁷

³⁶ The pattern of exocentric [P+N]_N compounds seems to be marginal in Romance. This is sometimes blurred by the fact that many authors fail to distinguish them from prefixed nominals (cf. Port. *sobre-excitação* ‘over-excitement’ (Villalva 1992), Cat. *sobrealimentació* ‘over-feeding’ (Mascaró 1986), Fr. *souschef* ‘deputy,’ lit. ‘under-boss’ (Zwanenburg 1992), It. *sottopassagio* ‘underpass’ (Scalise 1992)). They are clearly distinct, however: in each of the preceding cases, the head can be proven to be the rightmost nominal, both on formal and semantic grounds. Formally, the agreement features of the rightmost nominal percolate to the construct: *a excitação, a sobre-excitação* (both feminine singular). Moreover, the semantic features also percolate: *sobre-excitação* is a type of *excitação* ‘excitement.’ Neither of those conditions is fulfilled with the [P+N]_N compounds: *sin techo* ‘homeless,’ lit. ‘without roof’ is not a kind of *techo* ‘roof,’ and whereas *techo* is masculine and singular, the agreement features of *sin techo* are determined by the referent, and can therefore be singular or plural and masculine or feminine.

³⁷ Although reduplication is well attested in the Romance languages (e.g. Fr. *chouchou* ‘teacher’s pet’ < *chou* ‘endearment,’ It. *pappa* ‘mush,’ Cat. *nyam-nyam* ‘food’ (in child language) (Pharies 1986:161-164), the reduplicative [V+V]_N pattern does not seem as productive as in Spanish in any of them. Portuguese seems to be the exception.

The compounds in (51d) include a quantifier followed by a nominal, generally in the plural (but cf. *milhoja* ‘millefeuille’ lit. ‘thousand-leaf’ and comments in Chapter 6). Like (51b), they are bahuvrihis because the nominal referent of the compound is characterized by one feature, that of possessing a given number of items of some class. Thus, a *cienpiés* = *(animal) que tiene cien pies* ‘centipede, hundred-feet = (animal) having a hundred feet.’ Some cases are slightly unusual in this respect in that they are difficult to interpret as establishing possession: *sietemachos* = *(hombre) que es como siete machos* ‘bully,’ lit. ‘seven males = man who is like seven males rolled up in one.’

The compounds in (51e) are obtained through nominal conversion of a compound with the structures $[N+N]_N$, $[N+i+N]_N$, $[N+A]_N/[A+N]_N$, $[N+i+A]_A$, $[N+prep+N]_N$. Note that these structures are no different from those presented earlier for dvandvas and endocentrics. There is no surface structural difference between *gallipavo* ‘kind of poultry,’ lit. ‘rooster-turkey,’ and *capigorra* ‘tramp,’ lit. ‘cape-cap.’ However, in the first case the nominal compound blends the features provided by the constituents: it is part rooster and part turkey (blended dvandva). In the second case, there is no blend of features: a *capigorra* is not an article of clothing somehow combining the features of a cap and a cape. It is the person who wears these clothes, and who is metonymically referred to by them. In the semantic interpretation of these nominals there always seems to be ‘possession or attribution of quality.’ The same situation applies to most other productive cases: *piel roja* = *que tiene la piel roja* ‘redskin,’ lit. ‘skin red, having red skin,’ *manos de manteca* = *que tiene manos de manteca*, ‘butterfingers,’ lit. ‘hands of butter, having hands of butter.’ Occasionally, a lexicalized compound of this kind will violate this general rule and have completely idiomatic interpretation: *puntapié* ‘kick’

**que tiene punta de pie, golpe dado con la punta del pie* ‘point-foot, *which has the point of the foot, kick given with the point of the foot.’³⁸

Analysis of [V+N]_N compounds

Researchers have invested a great deal of energy arguing whether the verbal element appears in the third person singular of the present indicative, the imperative, or is merely the verbal theme (cf. discussion in Bustos Gisbert 1986:257 ff.) In more modern approaches, it has also been proposed that the verb could in fact be a nominal, through V → N conversion (Varela 1990, and discussion in Rainer 1993:265-268). From the merely morphological point of view it is impossible to decide which of the three forms the verb exhibits, given that there are no formal differences among them. Very few verbs in Spanish have irregular imperatives (infinitive: *hacer*, indicative pres.: *hace*, imperative: *haz*, infinitive: *poner*, indicative pres.: *pone*, imperative: *pon*), and none of those seem to participate in [V+N]_N compounding. However, of the three possibilities, only one is consistent with the theoretical model proposed here, i.e., that of the verbal theme, given that proposing an imperative or present third person form would involve accepting functional projections (tense and agreement) within compounding. The theme is also an attractive solution, because it helps to distinguish real verbal compounds and syntactic freezes such as *metomentodo* ‘busybody,’ lit. ‘meddle-1sg.pres-myself-in-

³⁸ Exocentric nominal conversion is common and fairly productive in all the Romance languages. The examples are sometimes clearly metaphoric and lexicalized, e.g., Port. *agua furtada* ‘attic,’ lit. ‘water stolen’ which makes it hard to decide whether they are syntactically exocentric as well. In the remaining languages, some are bahuvrihis, designating an individual with those characteristics, with adjectives pre- or postposed: Cat. *malànima* ‘bad person,’ lit. ‘bad soul,’ *poca-vergonya* ‘shameless,’ lit. ‘little-shame,’ Fr. *rouge-gorge* ‘robin,’ lit. ‘red-throat,’ *peau rouge* ‘redskin,’ lit. ‘skin red.’

everything,' *tentemozo* 'support,' lit. 'hold-imperative-yourself-young man,' *notentiendo* 'a person of mixed race,' lit. 'I don't understand you, no-you-understand-1sg.pres.'

Another matter that has occupied the attention of scholars is the number features of the second element, i.e., the nominal complement of the verb. It tends to be singular for uncountable nouns (*sacaleche* 'milk'), and plural for countables (*matacucarachas* 'cockroaches'), which agrees with the genericity that is associated with compounds and with their use to assign permanent rather than temporary qualities (i.e., *matacucarachas* 'roach-killer,' lit. 'kill-cockroaches' is someone or something who regularly kills roaches, not a description of a temporary property) (but cf. Chapter 6).

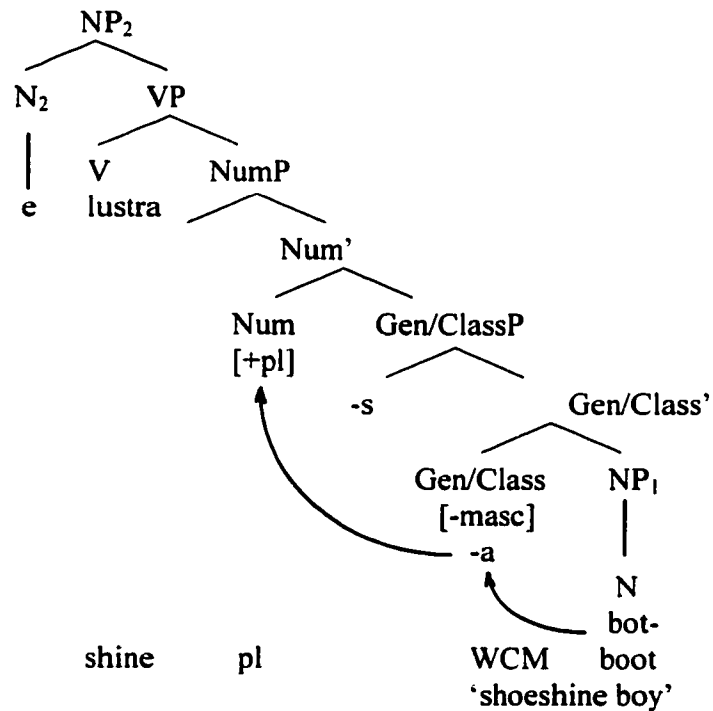
Finally, the gender of the entire compound also deserves some attention. In general, it tends to be a default masculine, unless the referent is animate and feminine, in which case agreement is with natural gender. As far as inanimates are concerned, the situation varies and is often dependent on the hyperonym of the compound, although there is some degree of arbitrary assignment of gender: *la máquina lavarropas*, *la/el lavarropas* 'washing machine,' lit. 'the-fem. machine-fem. wash-clothes, the-masc./fem. wash-clothes.'

If one applies the notions of argument structure presented in Grimshaw (1990) to analyze the types of verbs that participate in [V+N]_N compounding, they fall into three categories: transitive agentives, i.e., verbs with a subject that voluntarily acts on a theme object which undergoes the result of the verbal action, such as *come-* 'eat,' *mata-* 'kill': *matarratas* 'rat poison,' lit. 'kill-rats,' *sacapuntas* 'pencil sharpener,' lit. 'sharpen-points,' *lustrabotas* 'shoeshine boy,' lit. 'shine-boots'; unergatives, i.e., verbs with a subject that engages in an activity seen as a process, rather than a result, and which have

no patient or experiencer, such as *corre-* ‘run’: *corre caminos* ‘roadrunner,’ lit. ‘run-roads,’ and *girasol* ‘sunflower,’ lit. ‘turn-sun’; and psychological agentive verbs, i.e., where the subject acts on an experiencer object, such as *espanta-* ‘scare’: *espanta pájaros* ‘scarecrow.’ These three types of verbs have in common the fact that the subject is a specifier of the verb, i.e., it is external to VP (Hale and Keyser 1993, 1997).

The structure that I propose to account for these compounds includes a nominal empty head, which is responsible for the nominal category and the features of number and gender of the compound (cf. (52) and for an earlier formulation of this solution, Contreras 1985).

52.

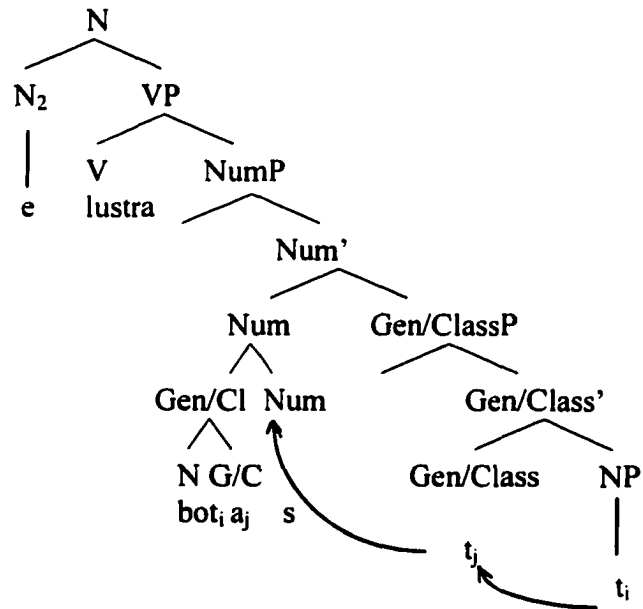


This empty head selects as its complement the VP, which in turn contains a complement NP, embedded in its number and gender/class projections (crucially, there is no DP projection, in accordance with the LP/FP hypothesis, as that would result in the undesirable generation of compounds with internal determiners, possessives, and the

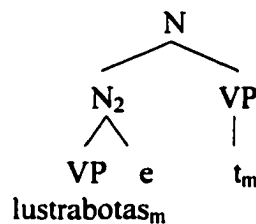
like). According to some accounts (di Sciullo 1992), the empty head is *pro*, which accounts, among other things, for the fact that the compound is a nominal.³⁹

The nominal head of the internal NP left-adjoins to the heads of its Gen/ClassP and NumP, two movements which account for its number and gender features. The NP₁ complex then merges with the verbal head, and the two subsequently move into the empty position in the higher nominal node. From there, further movement to its Gen/ClassP and NumP (not represented) account for the compound's gender and number features. Merger and movement are distinct operations, the first affecting two adjacent heads, the second, a head and its maximal projection complement.

53.a.



b.



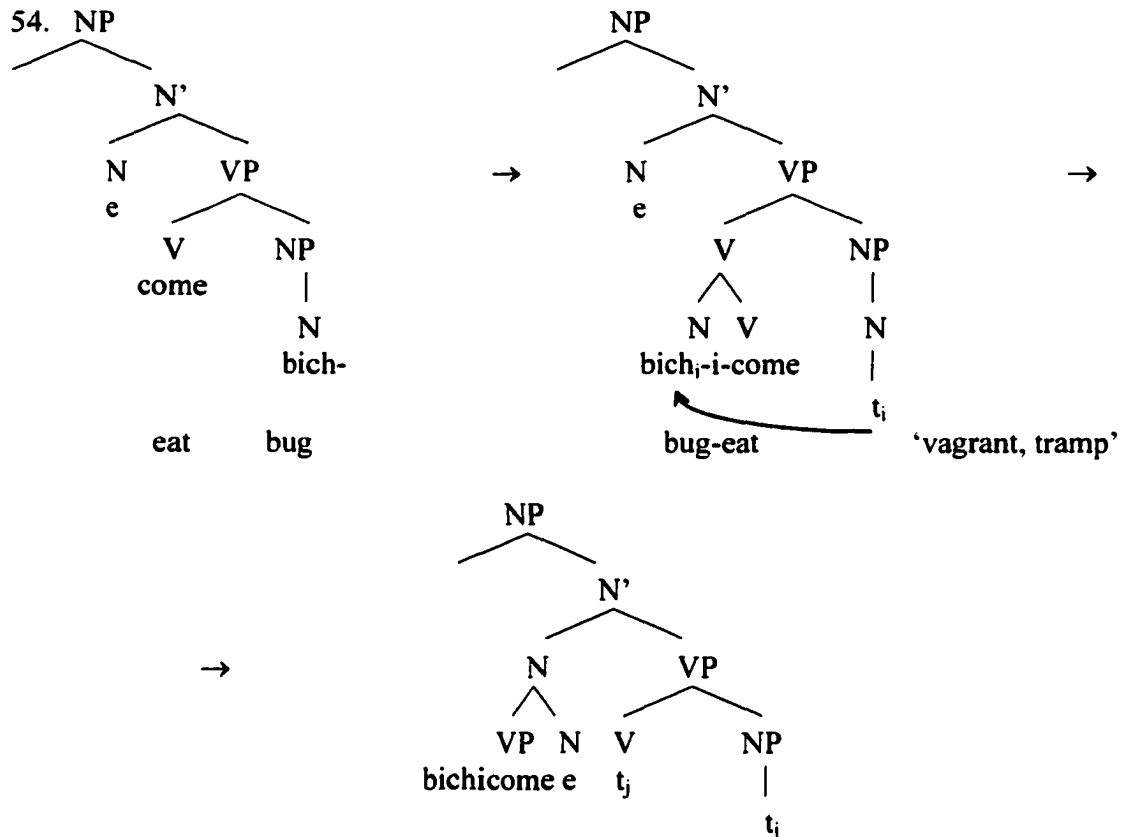
³⁹ There is a problem with this account, however, in that labelling the empty head *pro* leaves unresolved the facts of French, where this type of compound is very frequent, but which does not license *pro* subjects.

It is important to note that the NP₁ complex does not undergo head-to-head movement into V, as this would occur by left-adjunction and result in the wrong word order (**botas-lustra* ‘boots-shine’). It is my claim that movement does not operate because it is a costly operation which will only take place if forced by an unmet morphological requirement of the nominal non-head. In this case, however, the non-head has a WCM, the head of the Gen/Class projection, which ensures that its case can be checked. Once the VP is formed, however, the empty nominal head forces it to raise and adjoin to it, thus constituting a nominal compound out of a lexical phrase.

Note that the equivalent movement of functional phrases into empty nominal heads is barred in Spanish, as the non-existence of verbal inflection and determiners inside [V+N]_N compounds shows; this ban may be the result of parametrization of incorporation, as predicted in the LP/FP hypothesis.

The thesis that lack of case due to absence of a WCM triggers nominal movement receives occasional corroboration from some unusual [V+N]_N compounds (54). Thus, against the standard [V+N]_N compounds *comevaca* ‘revolutionary,’ lit. ‘eat-cow,’ *comeúvas* ‘type of bird,’ lit. ‘eat-grapes,’ there are dialectal forms such as *bichicome* ‘vagrant, tramp,’ lit. ‘bug-eat’ (< Eng. *beachcomber*, cf. *bicho* ‘bug’).

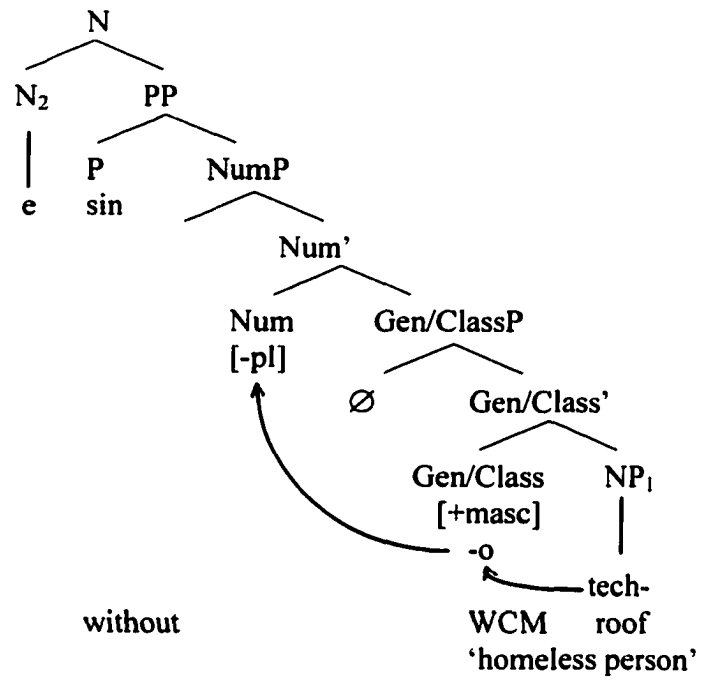
Like the nominal non-heads in endocentric compounds, *bich-* moves from its position as complement and left-adjoints to the verb as a means to circumvent the requirement for overt case, which it cannot fulfill due to the absence of its WCM *-o*. Additionally, as it corresponds to an exocentric pattern, the N+V complex later raises to fill the higher empty head.



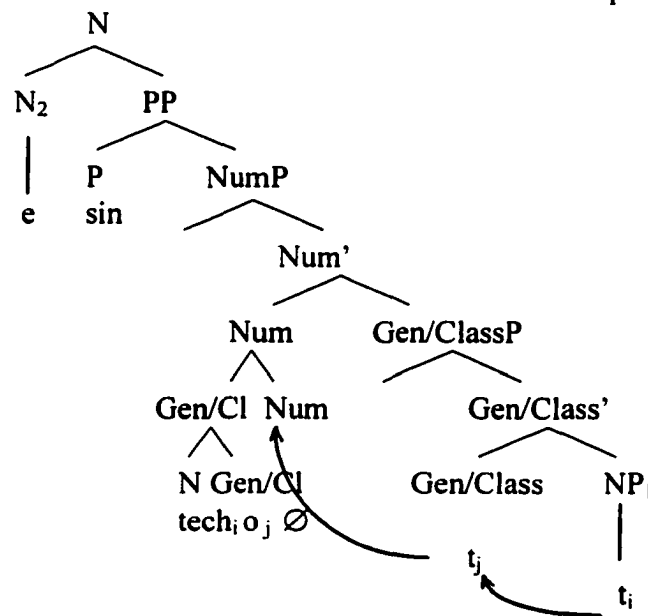
Analysis of [P+N]_N compounds

The internal structure of compounds made up of a preposition and a nominal can be represented by adapting the structure of [V+N]_N, by simply changing the verbal head for a preposition. Just as it happens in the case of the [V+N]_N compounds, the noun raises and left-adjoins to the Gen/ClassP and to NumP, two movements which account for its number and gender features. The NP_i complex then merges with the prepositional head, and the two subsequently move into the empty position in the higher nominal node. From there, further movement to its Gen/ClassP and NumP account for the compound's gender and number features.

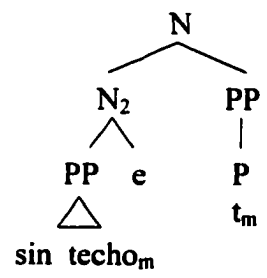
55.



58.a.
a.



b.

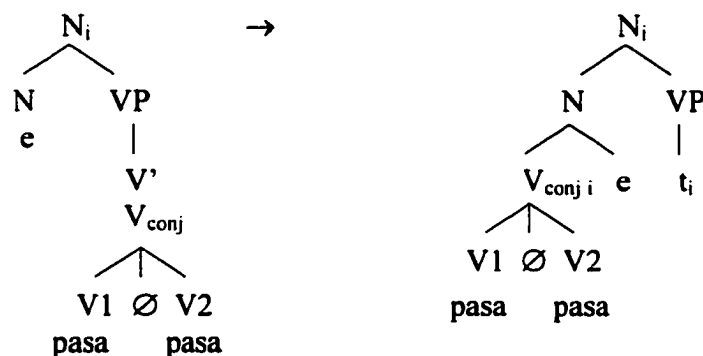


Again, the NP_i complex does not undergo head-to-head movement into P, as this would operate by left-adjunction and result in the wrong word order (**techo-sin* ‘roof-without’). This costly operation does not need to take place because the nominal non-head can check its case to the right of the head that selects it.

It would be legitimate to ask whether these structures are compounds at all, rather than prepositional phrases inside determiner phrases with an elliptical nominal head. After all, in Spanish it is possible to say: *Los sin plata viven en el sureste y los con plata viven en el noroeste*. ‘Those (the ones) without money live in the southeast, and those (the ones) with money live in the northwest,’ where *sin plata* and *con plata*, identical on the surface to $[P+N]_N$ compounds, are syntactic constituents of a determiner phrase with an elliptical nominal head. To desambiguate the two constructions, one can use the singular indefinite article, which differs if used before elliptical nominals (*uno*) and overt masculine nouns (*un*): *uno sin plata vive en el sureste y uno con plata vive en el noroeste* ‘one without money lives in the southeast and one with money lives in the northeast’ (elliptical noun in a DP), versus *un sin techo vive en el campamento* ‘a homeless (person) lives in the camp.’ (For more on indefinites with null nominal heads, cf. Bernstein 1993).

Analysis of $[V+V]_N$ compounds

57.

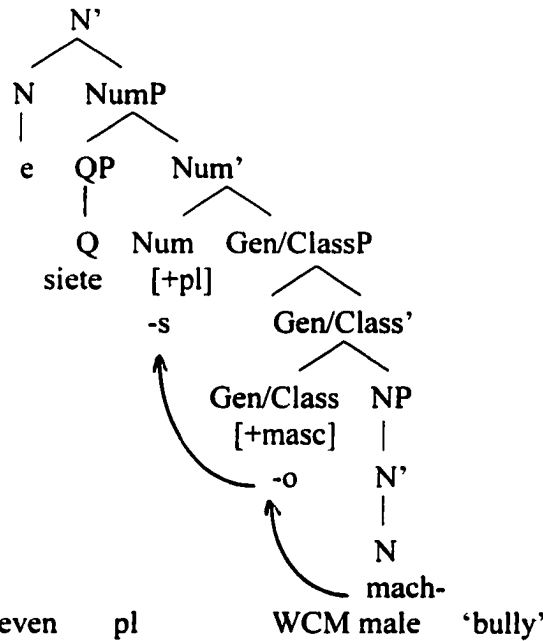


This pattern has an empty head with a blended dvandva in complement position (59, irrelevant projections omitted). This represents the $V + V \rightarrow N$ conversion.

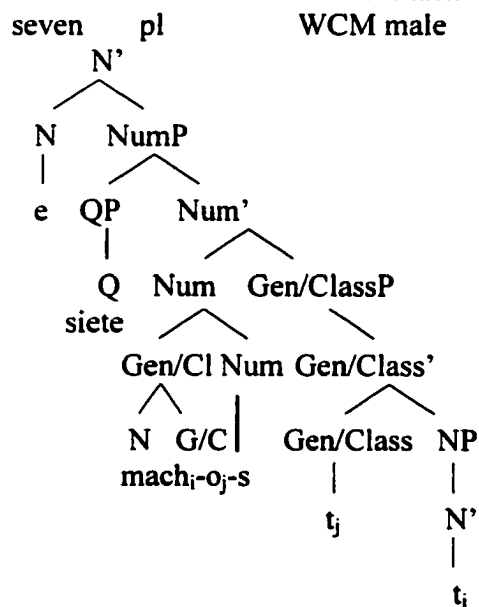
Analysis of [Num+N]_N compounds

These compounds are analyzed as an empty nominal head selecting a number phrase with a quantifier phrase in specifier position (cf. Bernstein 1993).

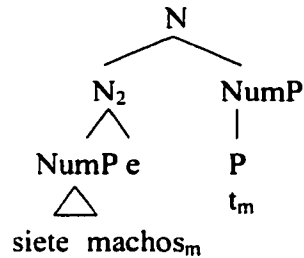
58. a.



b.



c.

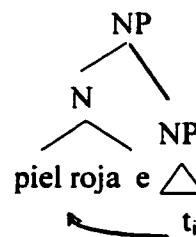
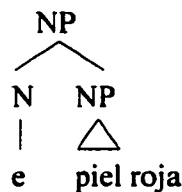


The nominal head accounts for the singular number of the whole compound, in spite of the presence of plural quantifiers and nouns (58).

Analysis of exocentric compounds through conversion of nominals

The most-straightforward analysis for these compounds is to posit an empty head on a nominal terminal node, and a complement on the right. The internal structure of the complement is whatever nominal or adjectival compound the surface exhibits. This is not a costly theoretical move, because we are simply combining the structures already needed for endocentric and dvandva compounds, and embedding them as complements of a null nominal head. This yields the relational semantic interpretation which bahuvrihis require. We shall exemplify very schematically with *cara rota*, but simple modifications of the NP internal structure would result in the other types (59).

59.



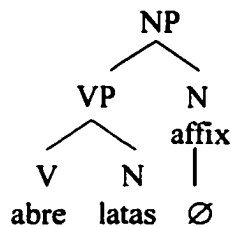
Comparison with previous accounts

The exocentricity of the compounds patterns we are analyzing (in particular $[V+N]_N$ compounds) has been accounted for in different ways by other researchers. For

example, Varela (1990) proposes a conversion rule (zero-derivation) that turns the verbal element into a nominal before its adjunction to the second nominal. In that account, $[V+N]_N$ compounding is in fact reduced to a special case of $[N+N]_N$ compounding, where the first nominal is deverbal: $[[V+\emptyset]_N+N]_N$. This solution is weak, however, given that it is completely unmotivated on independent grounds: $V \rightarrow N$ conversion of verbal stems is not a general feature of Spanish (cf. discussion in Rainer 1993: 265-268). There are no nouns of the structure **abre*, to mean ‘opener’ or **come* to mean ‘eater.’ Another problem of this analysis is the thematic-role assignment of the second nominal. In other words, the zero-derived deverbal noun would be unique in Spanish in that it would be transitive, i.e., have the capacity to license objects directly, without a preposition. This problem becomes apparent when we compare *abre-* with *abridor* ‘opener,’ which requires a preposition to assign thematic role to the object: *abrelatas* ‘open-can’ vs. *abridor de latas* ‘opener of cans’ (cf. **abre~~de~~latas* ‘open-of-cans’ vs. **abridor latas* ‘opener cans’).

This problem is by-passed with the solution presented in Lieber (1992) and ten Hacken (1994), who propose the attachment of a nominalizing zero-affix after the verb and noun compound (60).

60.



The problem of the absence of independent motivation for the zero-affix remains, however. Besides, it complicates matters that the alleged affix does not seem to have

stable gender properties. Although $[V+N]_N$ compounds are mostly masculine, sometimes they can be feminine: *la/el lavarropas* ‘the washing machine,’ lit. ‘the-f.sg/m.sg. wash-clothes.’ The zero-affix would be more justified if $[V+N]_N$ compounds had more common syntactic properties. Finally, one characteristic of affixes is that they will attach to a limited set of bases. Thus, in English the agentive *-er* attaches to verbs (*think-er*); in Spanish, *-(d)or* does the same (*pens-ar* ‘think’ *pensa-dor* ‘thinker’). The zero-affix proposed by Lieber and ten Hacken would have to have much laxer affixational properties, as it must be posited in the case of $[V+N]_N$, $[V+V]_N$, $[P+N]_N$, and the nominal patterns mentioned above.

The solution proposed here has the advantage that one single theoretical construct can account for several types of compounds which share a common trait, i.e., their exocentricity and nominal features. It can do so without resorting to constructs such as a zero-affix, which burden the lexicon with abstract particles. The empty nominal head is also a convenient way to account for the greater productivity of these compounds in Spanish, as opposed to English. It could be argued that these exocentric compounds are not frequent in English because this language lacks such a nominal empty head, something which can be corroborated by syntactic evidence such as the absence of null nominal heads in DPs (cf. *el grande*, with its ungrammatical gloss ‘the-sg.masc. big-sg.masc.’). If there are no such empty nominal heads, the conversion of LPs into exocentric nominal compounds is impossible. On the other hand, English does have a productive system of converting phrases into adjectives: *the that nobody calls me blues*. It is also much freer in its verbal conversion possibilities. This may be related to the feature $[+V]$, shared by A and V, as opposed to nouns, which are $[-V]$. However, at this point it

remains a matter of speculation, the substantiation of which exceeds the scope of this work.

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has presented an analysis of the most productive compound types found in the Romance languages, with reference to Spanish and data from other Romance languages where appropriate. It was seen that with very few exceptions, Romance compounds are comparable in structure, semantics, and productivity.

The data showed that compounds can be dual nominals and adjectivals, endocentric nominals, adjectivals, and verbs, or exocentric nominals. Among the dual nominals, there are appositional compounds, where the relationship that holds between the two heads is comparable with syntactic apposition, and dvandvas, which are coordinative. Not all dvandvas are alike semantically, however. Some of them add two referents by establishing a relationship between them that resembles coordination (two place predicates, paths with starting and ending points, etc.). Among these coordinative dvandvas, some are used to attribute opposing characteristics to a single referent alternatively, so I called them disjunctive. Finally, in some cases the semantic features of the two constituents blend in some proportion to produce a singular referent which constitutes a novel concept; these were called blended dvandvas.

Endocentric compounds can belong to any major lexical category (N, A, V), and the head can be to the right or the left. However, in Spanish and most Romance languages, the nominal, verbal, or adjectival head can be on the right only if the non-head nominal appears in its stem form; otherwise they are left-headed. In this respect, Catalan

and Occitan exhibit a different behavior in that verbal and adjectival compound heads allow left-adjoined nominal complements even if the latter appear to be identical to free forms.

Exocentric compounds involve a variety of categories, but the result is always a nominal. The $[V+N]_N$ pattern and nominal exocentrics, which result from the conversion of any nominal pattern into a new nominal used metonymically, are very common. $[P+N]_N$ and $[V+V]_N$ exocentrics, on the other hand, are not very productive. The characteristics of exocentric compounds are best reflected in an analysis that includes an empty head selecting a complement of some kind.

CHAPTER 6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

JACK: You're quite perfect, Miss Fairfax.

GWENDOLEN: Oh! I hope I am not that. It would leave no room for developments, and I intend to develop in many directions.

From *The Importance of Being Earnest*, by Oscar Wilde

Introduction

In this section, I summarize the findings presented in the previous chapters. I also summarize some of the changes undergone by compounds between the two periods considered and show that they too can be accommodated with my account. Finally, I pinpoint some interesting questions that have arisen in the course of this investigation but which have remained unanswered and require further research, in particular concerning the interaction of compounding and plural inflection and the distinction between prefixes and prepositions in compounds.

Summary and Conclusions

Hypothesis about Compound Structure

This work set out to provide a homogeneous description of all the compound types of Medieval and Modern Spanish, and to find a framework which could account for them using the tools provided by syntactic approaches to word formation. The rationale behind this choice is that compounding is recognizably the most syntactic of all word formation processes, and therefore it seems ideally suited to explanations based on syntactic accounts of morphology.

The first chapter was a review of the general properties of compounds, as they have been traditionally recognized. I stated that compounding is a process of word creation based on pre-existing words. The resulting compound words share with other lexemes the fact of being invariable syntactic atoms, and as such they are invisible to the rules of syntax. They also conform to patterns that are productive in the language, rather than formally deviant and semantically idiosyncratic. Finally, like other words, they must be generic terms, not names of individuals. Compounds exhibit some features that make them akin to syntactic phrases and others which are typical of derivation. However, I showed that they are neither. A number of tests for identification of compounds were then reviewed, and I ascertained that only syntactic tests such as inseparability and impossibility of stranding or movement of constituents were infallible.

I then examined a number of theories about the place of compounding in the grammar, within generative morphology. I opted for a syntactic account of morphology, grounded on the notion that the internal structure of words and that of phrases is identical. Both can be represented as binary branching trees with a head and a non-head element, and undergoing merger and movement operations. When a sub-lexical element is the complement of a categorial marker, it will raise and adjoin to it in order to satisfy its internal morphological requirements. Once it has, it will not undergo any further left-adjunction within the word formation computation. However, two adjacent free forms, between which no functional categories intervene, may merge into a new bimorphemic structure. Thus, two possible ways of creating compounds were identified. In one case, (X^0 compounding) one or two sub-lexical elements are joined through head-to-head movement of the non-head to the head. In the other (XP compounding), two lexical

elements that are not separated by any functional projections merge to form a lexical phrase complex. In the first case, the order of constituents will be non-head=head (ascending), whereas in the second it will be head=non-head (descending).

The difference between compounding and syntax lies in the categories that participate in the movement and merger operations in each case. The computational system for lexical creation need not be different from that of syntax, as long as only lexical phrases are allowed and functional phrases are excluded. In this definition of functional phrase, I included determiner, complementizer, inflectional, auxiliary, and degree phrases. It was seen, however, that for all the compound types of Spanish to be accounted for, a number of functional phrases internal to nominal lexical elements (N, A), namely, gender and class phrase or WCM, number phrase, need to be included at the level known as lexical, while determiner phrases need to be excluded.

Findings

To prove the accuracy of this hypothesis, compounds of Medieval and Modern Spanish were collected from primary and secondary sources. They were then classified according to a number of parameters, such as the grammatical category of the compound and its constituents, the relationship between constituents, the relationship between the constituents and the compound (headedness), and the internal structure of the first element (whether it was a word or a bare stem). It was found that all the compound types of Modern Spanish (dual, endocentric, and exocentric) have precursors in Medieval Spanish. However, their frequencies of use have changed, some becoming obsolescent and frozen, semantically opaque to native speakers, while others have expanded their

semantic possibilities, and still others have undergone a reanalysis of their internal composition favored by their surface ambiguity. The endocentric patterns show a shift in preferred head position over time. One crucial finding of the study is that in Modern Spanish, when the non-head element is a nominal and appears to the left of its head, this constituent appears in its stem form, i.e., without its WCM. This was seen to cut across the category of the head, to be independent of position (not affecting heads in left position) and to be a property of non-heads only if they are preposed.

Theoretical Account

Chapter 5 provided internal structures for the compounds identified previously, and for some additional types which were absent from the database but which are well attested in the literature. This analysis resulted in the identification of dual, endocentric, and exocentric structures.

I proposed three different internal structures for dual compounds. Appositional duals, which have two coindexed constituents (*writer-producer*), were analyzed as non-linear structures, with two (or more) elements attached to a single nominal node. Conjoined dvandvas exhibit two possible types of additive relationships, viz., additive coordination and disjunction. In both of these, however, the same internal structure can be posited, i.e., one where there is a null coordinating conjunction between the constituents. If these structures act as the complement of a head which requires a two-place predicate (*mother-child [reunion]*), their relationship is interpreted as additive. If not, then the two components are attributed to the same referent, in which case the null coordination is interpreted as disjunctive (*love-hate*). Finally, blended dvandvas have a

structure constituted by an empty head which selects a coordinated dvandva as its non-head (*arquibanco* 'bench with drawers,' lit. 'chest-bench').

Endocentric compounds follow universal principles of grammar such as the specifier-complement antisymmetry. In all the compound patterns, complements follow their heads and specifiers precede them. Apparent violations of this order can be explained by taking into consideration the morphological make-up of the non-head element. If it is a stem, lacking a WCM, it is morphologically incapable of standing alone, and must therefore adjoin to the left of the head for the derivation not to crash. In the case of nominal non-heads, absence of the WCM precludes case checking and forces incorporation as a way to circumvent the visibility condition on nominals. In the case of adverbial complements, the absence of a WCM results in morphological malformedness and incorporation to overcome it. The one exception is constituted by nominal compounds with adjectival non-heads, for whose position I have only provided a descriptive account with little theoretical justification. The topic of $[N+A]_N$ compounding is decidedly complex, and further research into that type of word formation is required. In all other compound types, the position of the non-head with respect to the head follows naturally from the interplay of the antisymmetry of syntax and the morphological requirements of the constituents.

Finally, there are a number of exocentric compound patterns. In them an empty nominal head selects a phrase of some kind as its complement, and the phrase becomes a compound by being attracted to the empty head. Independent evidence for this construct is provided in the syntax, given that Spanish has the possibility of converting any adjective into a noun by gapping the nominal in the noun phrase. All exocentric

compounds in Spanish are nominal, which lends credence to the hypothesis, given that the empty nominal head constitutes a simple and elegant solution.

Changes in Compounding Patterns

Although I shall not attempt to make a thorough diachronic account of changes in all the compounding patterns of Spanish, I will consider a number of changes that they have undergone from medieval to modern times. I will deal briefly with their changes in frequency, structure, and semantic possibilities.

It has been shown that dual patterns of compounding are very infrequent in the databases for both periods (Chapter 4). However, in Modern Spanish we know for a fact that the database does not reflect actual usage of patterns, because it is limited to dictionary data. In reality, a number of the dual compounds (especially the conjoined dvandvas of the type (*relaciones*) *alumno-profesor* ‘teacher-student (relations)’ and the color adjectives of the type *blanquiverde* ‘white and green,’ lit. ‘white-green’) are so productive and semantically predictable that they are often not included. Because the medieval database was collected at least partly from texts, it is possible to say with some degree of confidence, pending further evidence, that those patterns are absent from Medieval Spanish. Only blended dvandvas (of the type *arquibanco* ‘bench with drawers,’ lit. ‘chest-bench’) were found. These patterns later expand their semantic possibilities to be used as appositionals (*reina madre* ‘queen mother’), an evolution noted in the modern database. Their use as conjoined dvandvas with a plural referent seems to be the last development. It is not clear how the pattern acquired this new use, but the existence of an

ambiguous surface form $[N+N]_N$ which allowed for a variety of semantic interpretations certainly must have favored it.

As for the endocentric patterns of compounding, they have undergone changes of frequency over time, with left-headed patterns becoming overwhelmingly preferred over right-headed patterns. This tendency may eventually be reverted with the incorporation of massive numbers of right-headed compounds from English and under the influence of learned sources, but for the time being these innovations affect limited vocabulary areas and have a decidedly marked flavor. The change in frequency of left- and right-headed compounds has been accompanied by a structural change, as well. Word order has become dependent on the word/stem distinction. In the medieval period, the distinction between nominal stems and words was dependent on whether the constituent was a head or a non-head and also on the position of the constituent in the compound. Thus, both heads and non-heads could appear in stem form when they were the first element in the compound, but they could also appear in their full-fledged form. Preposed non-heads appeared in stem form more frequently than preposed heads, but the difference was not categorical. However, in the modern database preposed heads hardly ever appear without their WCM, whereas preposed non-heads almost always do. This may be accounted for as the reanalysis of the internal structure of non-heads as constituted by a nominal stem and a separate morphological entity, the WCM. This reanalysis does not seem to have been undergone by Catalan (or Occitan), where nominals are still incorporated into verbs and adjectives in their full form.

Finally, both databases contain exocentric patterns, although the modern data exhibit a wider range of possibilities and more frequent use of some patterns, such as

$[V+N]_N$, which has become the most successful pattern of word formation all the Romance languages (Rumanian excepted). It is hypothesized that those exocentric compounds owe their existence to the possibility of having a null nominal head, which forces the merger and conversion of its lexical phrasal sister, whatever it may be.

Some Further Issues in Compounding

The Plural of Compounds

In what follows, I present a number of interesting observations concerning the plural marking of compounds and their changes over time. No theoretical account is provided, but some insights into the possible motivations for changes in pluralization are presented.

A number of compound patterns are of little interest when it comes to plural marking. Some, such as the verbal patterns $[N+V]_V$ and $[Adv+V]_V$, cannot take this type of inflection because of their category. Others, such as the patterns $[Adv+A]_A$, $[N+i+A]_A$, $[A+i+A]_A$, or $[N+i+N]_N$, have a single possible locus for the plural, because the non-head element either is an adverb and therefore takes no plural, or because it appears in its stem form, without a morphosyntactic locus of its own.

The remaining compounding patterns present a number of interesting situations. Compounds with the structure $[N+A]_N$ and $[A+N]_N$ have two plural marks, one on the head nominal and another, due to concord, on the non-head adjective. This is independent of their exo- or endocentricity and of their word order, as the examples in (1a) show. In compounds with the structure $[N+N]_N$ and $[N+prep+N]_N$, plural inflection is not aligned with the right edge, but rather appears in the head element, which is

normally the first one (again, regardless of the semantic interpretation of the compounds) (cf. 1b,c). Finally, in $[V+N]_N$ and $[Num+N]_N$ exocentric compounds there is a mark on the right edge even when the compound is singular (1d,e). This plural mark is compound-internal, and it is necessitated by the generic reading of the $[V+N]_N$ (*matarratas* ‘rat poison,’ lit. ‘kill rats,’ because it kills all and any rats) or by the number agreement between the numeral in the specifier position and the head noun (*sietemachos* ‘bully,’ lit. ‘seven-males’).

1.	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>literal tr.</i>	<i>actual tr..</i>
a.	$[N+A]_N$ or $[N+A]_N$			
	cara rota	caras _̄ rotas _̄	face broken	‘cheeky person’
	falsa rienda	falsas _̄ riendas _̄	false bridle	‘type of bridle’
b.	$[N+N]_N$			
	coche cama	coches _̄ cama	car bed	‘sleeper car’
	hombre rana	hombres _̄ rana	man frog	‘frogman’
c.	$[N+prep+N]_N$			
	traje de baño	trajes _̄ de baño	suit of bathing	‘bathing suit’
	pan con grasa	panes _̄ con grasa	bread with lard	‘type of biscuit’
d.	$[V+N]_N$			
	matapolillas	matapolillas-∅	kill-moths	‘moth-killer’
	correcaminos	correcaminos-∅	run-roads	‘road-runner’
e.	$[Num+N]_N$			
	cienpiés	cienpiés-∅	hundred-feet	‘centipede’
	cuatro ojos	cuatro ojos-∅	four eyes	‘bespectacled person’

All the cases presented share one characteristic, viz., absence of correspondence between semantic plurality and the appearance of one plural mark (-[e]s in Spanish)⁴⁰ on the right edge of the word. In some cases, this correspondence is violated because there is more than one plural mark, one internal and another one on the right edge. In other cases, there is only one plural mark, but it is word-internal. Finally, there are cases where the

⁴⁰ For a detailed account of the constraint interaction in Spanish plural allomorphy within Optimality Theory, cf. Moyna and Wiltshire (forthcoming).

plural mark on the right edge does not correspond to semantic plurality of the entire compound word, so the plural mark of the compound is not realized overtly to avoid haplogy: *matapolillas-s* ‘moth-killer,’ lit. ‘kill-moths-pl.’

This lack of correspondence is the result of compounds being recursive morphological words, thus providing several possible locations for plural marking and creating a tension between satisfying various constraints. On the one hand, there is the requirement of placing the plural mark on the morphosyntactic locus, i.e., on the right edge of the head of the compound. On the other hand, there is a surface requirement to have the plural on the right-edge of the outer morphological word, to align compounds with the rest of words in Spanish, where plural inflection follows all other derivational and inflectional marks. Finally, there is a reverse constraint against singulars ending in *-s* on the surface, as this blurs the one-to-one correspondence between the semantics and form of the plural.

2.	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>literal tr.</i>	<i>actual tr.</i>
a.	[N+A] _N or [N+A] _N cara rota falsa rienda	cararrotas falsa riendas	face-broken false bridle	‘cheeky person’ ‘type of bridle’
b.	[N+N] _N hombre rana	hombre ranas	man frog	‘frogman’
c.	[N+prep+N] _N traje de baño pan con grasa	traje de baños pan con grasas	suit of bathing bread with lard	‘bathing suit’ ‘type of biscuit’
d.	[V+N] _N matapolilla∅ sacapunta∅	matapolillas sacapuntas	kill-moths sharpen-point(s)	‘moth killer’ ‘pencil sharpener’
e.	[Num+N] _N milhoja∅	milhojas	thousand-leaf	‘millefeuille’

The tensions may be resolved by realigning compound words to the remainder of the lexicon, which results in loss of multiple plural markings due to concord (2a),

migration of plural markings from their internal position to the outer edge (2b,c), and loss of final *-s* in singular compounds (2d,e).

This process occurs over a long period of time, however, and does not affect all the words in a given pattern but only the most frequent or lexicalized ones, where there is a concomitant destressing of the left-most element. The forms in (2) are undoubtedly innovative, and often non-standard. However, the historical tendencies are clear, given that older lexicalized compounds often lack internal concord or plurality on the head: *vanagloria* ‘vainglory’ with plural *vanaglorias*, not **vanasglorias*; *bajorrelieve* ‘bassrelief,’ lit. ‘low-relief,’ plural *bajorrelieves*, **bajosrelieves*; *aguafuerte* ‘etching,’ lit. ‘water-strong,’ plural *aguafuertes*, not **aguasfuertes*.

An interesting case study is the compound *hijodalgo* and its variant *hidalgo*,⁴¹ (< *hijo de algo* ‘member of the nobility,’ lit. ‘son of something,’ pattern [N+prep+N]_N) which appears numerous times in the ADMYTE database and thus provides evidence of its various possible plural forms (3).

3. singular	<i>infixed</i>	<i>plural</i> <i>doubled</i>	<i>right-aligned</i>
<i>hijodalgo</i>	<i>hijos dalgo</i>	<i>hijos dalgos</i>	* <i>hijodalgos</i>
<i>hidalgo</i>	<i>his dalgo</i> (Port., Diez 1874)	* <i>hisdalgos</i>	<i>hidalgos</i>

The data show an interesting pattern, with both forms exhibiting infix plural forms (although *his dalgo* is unattested in Spanish). Only the form with a full-fledged head (*hijodalgo*) accepts doubled plural on both head and non-head, and only the phonetically eroded form (*hidalgo*) takes right-aligned plural endings. It is very possible

⁴¹ Spelling variants are being ignored. *Hidalgo* is included because it is not a mere variant, as it exhibits loss of the WCM on the head element.

that the infrequent *fijos dalgos* form is a hypercorrection resulting from the reinterpretation of the element *dalgo* as an adjective, given that it is semantically opaque. Similarly, the loss of the plural mark on the head when it is reduced to *hi* may be related to its loss of semantic clarity. The probable sequence of events in Spanish is *hijos dalgo* > *hijos dalgos* > **hijodalgos* > *hidalgos*, with plural migration to the right-edge preceding loss of the internal WCM on the head. This evolution is also visible in modern alternations of the plural such as standard *trajes de baño* ‘bathing suits,’ lit. ‘suits of bath’ and non-standard *traje de baños* ‘suit of baths’ and *trajebaños* ‘suit baths.’ Note that in the last variant, phonetic erosion of the /d/ segment has merged the /e/ of the preposition with the WCM of the head.

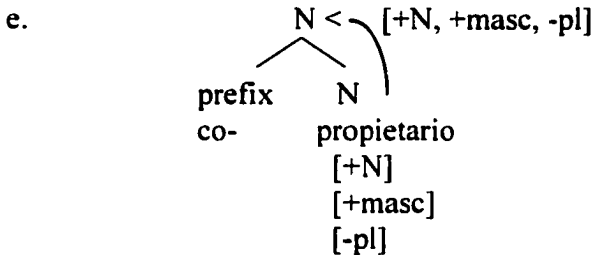
Prefixation Versus Compounding with Prepositions

In the analysis of types of compounding, only one pattern was found involving prepositions: [P+N]_N. A problem in identifying this type was to distinguish prepositions from prefixes, which were excluded as being beyond the scope of this work. However, there is a great deal of homonymy between the two classes. For example, the particle *contra* ‘against’ may be used as a free form heading a PP and selecting a DP in *contra esta revolución* ‘against this revolution,’ but it can also be used as a prefix in the noun *contrarrevolución* ‘counterrevolution.’ Other ambiguous cases exist, such as *sobre* ‘over’: *sobre la mesa* ‘on the table’ *sobrevolar* ‘fly over,’ lit. ‘overfly.’ For the sake of simplicity and consistency, the criterion used was to include only cases where the prenominal particle was unquestionably a preposition, rather than a prefix. For example, *sin* ‘without’ is never a prefix in Spanish, so any complex word containing it can be

safely assumed to be a compound. On the other hand, *contra* ‘against,’ *ante* ‘before,’ *sobre* ‘over,’ etc., could be either and were therefore excluded.

The differences between lexical items created by prefixing nominals and by compounding a preposition with a nominal non-head should be testable. In the case of prefixation, the rightmost noun is still the head, percolating its morphosyntactic features and a number of its semantic characteristics to the complex word (4).

4. *translation*
- a. V: *vender* → *sobrevender* ‘sell → overbook’
 - b. V: *enredar* → *desenredar* ‘tangle → untangle’
 - c. A: *moral* → *immoral* ‘moral → immoral’
 - d. N: *propietario* → *copropietario* ‘owner → co-owner’



However, it can be shown that even when it seems that we can pin down an item in one or the other class, there is a great deal more overlap between the two categories than could have been anticipated. I shall exemplify by comparing the ‘prefix’ *anti-* ‘anti’ and the ‘preposition/prefix’ *contra* ‘against’ and show that both exhibit comparable behavior in word formation, which means that the distinction between the two classes may be a spurious artifice, imposed on grammar by traditional accounts.

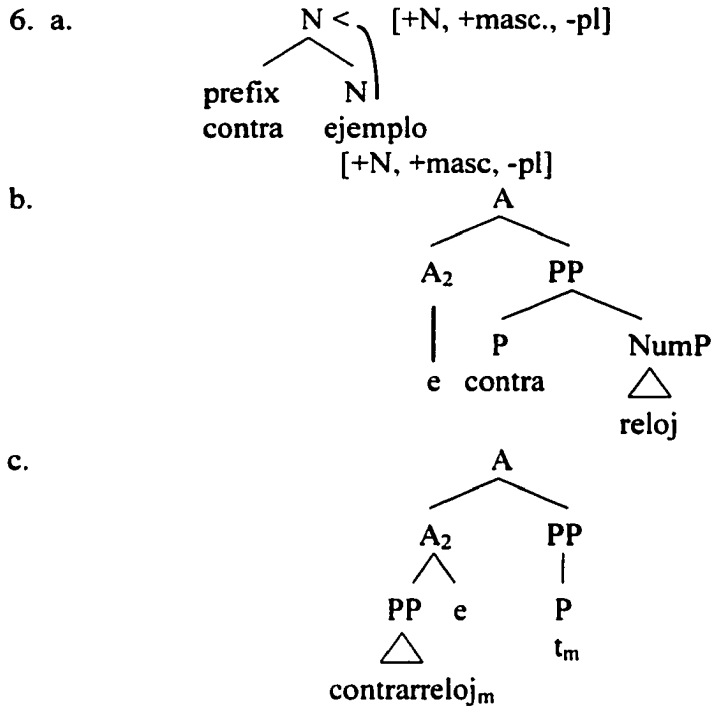
When *contra* combines with other words to form polymorphemic structures, it sometimes behaves as a preposition and sometimes as a prefix. The status of *contra* as a preposition is not problematic, since it can be shown to operate in syntax as a preposition,

too: *contra mis amigos* ‘against my friends.’ When it acts as a prefix, it attaches to nouns or verbs creating new nouns and verbs, with the meaning of ‘counter, or opposed to’ (5a,b): *contraanálisis* is an analysis that counters the results of another analysis, so it passes the ISA test. However, *contra* can also combine with a noun to create an exocentric compound with the meaning ‘which serves/is against x’ and which is used to modify nouns (5c). Thus, *contrarreloj* ‘against clock’ is not a kind of clock. It is a modifier that can be applied to races and events where the competitor is on her/his own, trying to complete an event in the shortest possible time. It is clear that the nominal is not the head, among other things because the entire construction is not a noun, but an adjective: *una carrera contrarreloj* ‘a race against the clock,’ lit. ‘a-fem.sg. race-fem.sg. against-clock-masc.sg.,’ rather than **un contrarreloj* ‘a-masc.sg. against-clock-masc.sg.’ As an adjective, however, it is unusual in that it is invariable, not inflecting for number or gender to agree with the nominal head (not a surprising fact with exocentric constructions, as we saw in Chapter 5).

5.

- a. V→V: *atacar* → *contraatacar*; *balancear* → *contrabalancear*
 attack counterattack balance counterbalance
- b. N→N: *análisis* → *contraanálisis*; *ejemplo* → *contraejemplo*
 analysis counteranalysis example counterexample
- c. N→A: *carros* → *contracarros*; *reloj* → *contrarreloj*; *veneno* → *contraveneno*
 cars against cars clock against clock poison against poison

Two different underlying structures can be proposed for the cases of *contra*-prefix and *contra*-preposition. In the first case, we have a right-headed structure (6a), whereas in the second we have a left-headed structure with an adjectival empty head selecting an NP (6b).



In principle, the behaviour of *anti-* 'anti' should not mirror that of *contra*, because it can be proven not to be a preposition. For example, it is impossible to use it as a free form in syntax to form PPs: **anti la depresión* 'anti the depression,' **anti mi dolor de cabeza* 'against my headache.' What is expected is therefore that only derivatives of the kind in (6a,b) should be possible. Indeed, *anti-* is used as a prefix, attaching to nouns or adjectives, to create new nouns or adjectives with the meaning of 'opposed to' (7a,b). However, there is also an extremely productive and rather novel way of using *anti-* to create exocentric (invariable) adjectival constructions by preposing it to a noun (7c).

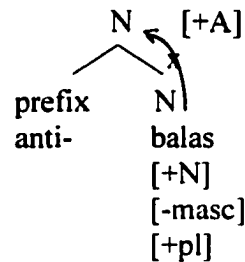
7.

- a. A→A: *académico* → *antiacadémico*; *clerical* → *anticlerical*; *colonial* → *anticolonial*
 academic antiacademic clerical anticlerical colonial anticolonial
- b. N→N: *belicismo* → *antibelicismo*; *capitalismo* → *anticapitalismo*; *materia* → *antimateria*
 bellicism antibellicism capitalism anticapitalism matter antimatter
- c. N→A: *balas* → *antibalas*; *corrosión* → *anticorrosión*; *droga* → *antidroga*
 bullets bulletproof corrosion anticorrosive drug against drugs

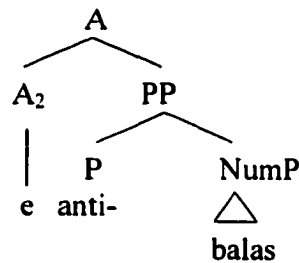
Thus, *antibalas* ‘bulletproof,’ lit. ‘anti-bullet-fem.pl.’ is not a kind of *balas* because if it was it would have to be a plural feminine noun. In fact, it is an invariable adjective: *chaleco antibalas* ‘bulletproof vest,’ lit. ‘vest-masc.sg. anti-bullet-fem.pl.’ This structure cannot be the result of percolation of features from the right, so it must be a case of an adjectival empty head selecting a lexical phrase (cf. incorrect 8a and correct 8b).

8.

a.



b.



In other words, *anti-* is the prefixal twin of *contra*, and the entire distinction between prefixes and prepositions weakens. This is clearly a matter that requires more attention than it has received up to now, and which will remain pending.

Future Research

There are several other points which have become apparent in the course of this research, and which could be the object of much further investigation. Some of the diachronic issues which have not been dealt with, but which should, include the history of native compounding prior to the period considered and the developments between 1450

and the present (cf. de Dardel 1994, 1999, for consideration of the $[N+N]_N$ pattern in Proto-Romance, Lloyd 1966, 1968, Bork 1990 for $[V+N]_N$). Another point which has not been dealt with, but which is of great interest, is that of learned compounding in Spanish and how it has evolved and influenced native patterns, from the wholesale adoption of Greek and Latin borrowed compounds, to the creation of learned compounds within Spanish, to the hybridization of learned and native words.

On the more theoretical side, the topic of recursion, which was mentioned briefly in Chapter 1, needs to be looked into in greater detail (cf. Piera 1995 for some preliminary observations). Finally, there is the consideration of how the insights presented here can be applied to other languages. It was shown that with some exceptions, the compounding of Spanish is applicable to the remainder of the Romance languages. It remains to be seen whether it can be applied to languages outside the family. In particular, the connection between the morphological structure of the constituents and the existence of both left- and right-headed compounding may provide a tool to explain variable headedness in other languages (such as the English *outbreak* vs. *breakup* puzzle).

APPENDIX A

**MEDIEVAL DATA FROM
THE DICCIONARIO DE ESPAÑOL MEDIEVAL**

List of abbreviations used in the Appendices:

Sources:

A	Alonso Pedrás (1986)
AC	Arte Cistoria (ADMYTE)
AD	ADMYTE
C	Corominas (1980)
CR	Cirugía Rimada (ADMYTE)
BG	Bustos Gisbert (1986)
LAC	Libro de los Animales de Caza (ADMYTE)
LCA	Libro de la Caza de los Animales (ADMYTE)
LH	Libro de los Halcones (ADMYTE)
LM	Libro de la Montería (ADMYTE)
MDM	Menor Daño de Medicina (ADMYTE)
R	Diccionario de la Real Academia Española (1992)
Rainer	Rainer (1993)
TC	Tratado de Cetrería (ADMYTE)
ns	no source available

Grammatical categories:

A	adjective
Adv	adverb
cl	clitic pronoun
N	noun
Num	numeral
prep	preposition
Q	quantifier
V	verb

Constituent relation:

H	head
C	complement
Mod	modifier
Spec	specifier

Headship:

Exo	exocentric
Endo	endocentric

First element:

R	root
W	word
i	linking vowel

COMPOUNDS FOUND IN THE DICCIONARIO DE ESPAÑOL MEDIEVAL (DME)

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
abecé	alfabeto	a, b, c [A]	a + be + ce	alphabet	13-15
abecedario	alfabeto	<L.abecedarium [A]	a + be + ce + darium	alphabet	13
aberramia	ave de ribera	Ar. abdarrahm(an)i yya, por error adberramia [A] or Sp. aue de ramia [C]	bird + branch + A.suf.	bird of the river bank	14
agradulce	agridulce	agra + dulce [ns]	sour + sweet	sweet and sour	15
aguamanil	jarro para echar agua	<L.aquaemanile [A]	water + hand + A.suf	water jug	13-15
aguamanos [AD]	agua para lavar las manos	<L. aqua in manus [R]	water + hands	water to wash hands	14-15
aguamiel [AD agua de miel]	agua mezclada con miel	agua + miel [ns]	water + honey	mead	14-15
aguapié	vino de muy baja calidad	agua + pie, var. agua de pie [R]	water + foot	weak or watery wine	14
aguardiente [AD]	bebida espirituosa	<L.aqua ardente [A], agua + ardiente [R]	water + burning	liquor, eau-de-vie	15
aguasal [AD]	salmuera	agua + sal [ns]	water + salt	picking brine	15
aguzanieve(s)	pájaro	var. de auze de nieves [A]	sharpen + snow	wagtail (bird)	15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
altibajo	tela de terciopelo labrado. Acción de llevar el contrapunto en el baile.	alto + bajo [ns]	high + low	velvet with embroidery; action of keeping counterpoint when dancing	15
andarraya	juego a modo de damas	andar + raya [A]	go + line	board game resembling draughts	15
aquafusiles	aguamaniles	<L.aqua+fusil [ns]?	water + rifle	water to wash hands	10
aquamaniles	variante de aguamanil		water+hand+A.suf.-pl	water jug	10
argentpel	lámina de latón con baño de plata	<L.argentum 'plata'+pellis 'forro, piel' [A]	silver + skin	silver plated thin layer of tin	s11-14
armatoste	aparato con que se armaban las ballestas	armar + toste 'rápidamente' [A]	construct + quickly	machine used to build crossbows	15
arquibanco	banco con cajones como arcas	arca + banco [A]	chest + bench	bench with drawers underneath	15
artimaña	dolo, engaño	arte + maña [A]	art + trick	trick, scheme	15
atajasolaces	que interrumpe o corta solaces, espantagustos	atajar + solaz [R]	stop + entertainment	party-poopers	15
autarda	variante de avutarda		variant of avutarda		15
avocasta [AD abocasta]	variante de avucasta		variant of avucasta		14-15
avucasta	avutarda, tipo de ánade	<L.avis casta [A]	bird + chaste	bustard, type of bird	15
avutarda [AD abutarda]	ave zancuda	<L.avis tarde 'ave torpe' (via O.S. autarda) [A]	bird + slow	bustard, type of bird	14

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
barbapuniente	que comienza a tener barba	barba + puniente [ns] 'todos bien adobados, todos barbas punientes' {A}	beard +having/ growing	who is starting to have a beard	13
barbicacho	cinta o toca que se echa por debajo de la barba	<L.barba+capsus [R] or barba+captus [A]	beard + piece	ribbon that goes under the beard	13
barbipuniente	que comienza a tener barba	barbipungente, L. barba pungens, entis [R]	beard +having/ growing	who is starting to have a beard	15
baticor	pena, dolor	<batir + cor 'corazón' [A]	beat + heart	pain, ache	13
batihoja	batidor de oro o plata	batir + hoja [A]	beat + leaf	gold or silver beater	15
bendeción	variante de bendición			variant of bendición	14
bendecir	alabar, engrandecer, ensalzar	<L.benedicere [A]	well + say	bless	13-15
bendicho	participio irregular de bendecir		irregular past part. of bendecir		13-15
bendición	acción y efecto de bendecir	<L.benedictio, onis [A]	well + saying + N.suf.	blessing	13-15
bendicir	variante de bendecir		variant of bendecir		13-15
bendicto	variante de bendito		variant of bendito		13-15
bendito	participio irregular de bendecir	< L.benedictus [A]	well + said	blessed	13-15
benedecir	variante de bendecir		variant of bendecir		13

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
benedición	variante de bendición		variant of bendición		13
benedicta	electuario o confección de polvos	< L. benedicta [A]	well +said+fem.suf.	powder electuary	15
benedicto	variante de bendito		variant of bendito		13
bendito	variante de bendito		variant of bendito		13-14
benefacer	manutención que se da al hijo o criado	< L. bene+facere [ns] ?	well + do	support given to children	13
bienamado	querido	bien + amado [ns]	well + loved	beloved	15
bienandancia	variante de bienandanza	bien + andancia [ns]	well + going + N.suf.	happiness, success	15
bienandante	feliz, dichoso	bien + andante [R]	well + going+A.suf	happy, prosperous	13-15
bienandanza	felicidad, dicha, fortuna	bien + andanza [R]	well + going + N.suf.	happiness, success	13-15
bienaparente	bien parecido	bien + aparente [R]	well + appearing + N.suf.	handsome	15
bienaventurado	part. pas. de bienaventurar		past. part. of bienaventurar		14-15
bienaventuranza	vista, posesión de Dios	der. de bienaventurar [R]	well + adventure	well-being, bliss	15
bienaventurar	hacer bienaventurado a uno	bien + aventura [R]	well + adventure +V.suf.	bless	15
biencriado	educado, cumplido	bien + criado [ns]	well + raised	well educated	15
biendicho	part.pas. de bendecir		past part. of bendecir		15
bienestancia	variante de bienestanza		variant of bienestanza		13

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
bienestanza	suerte, ventura	bien + estanza [ns]	well + state	luck, fortune	13
bienfacer [AD]	beneficio	<L.benefacere [A]	well + do	benefit	13
bienfamado	de buena fama	bien + famado [ns]	well + famed	of good fame	13
bienfecho [AD]	beneficio	< L.benefactus [A]	well + done	benefit	13-15
bienfechor	bienhechor	< L.benefactor, oris [R]	well + doer	beneficent, beneficial	14-15
bienfechoría	beneficencia	< L.benefactoria [A], bien+fechoría [R]	well + doing + N.suf.	charity	15
bienmereciente	benemérito	bien + mereciente [A]	well + deserving	worthy	15
bienoliente	que exhala buen olor	bien + oliente [R]	well + smelling	that smells good	13
bienparado	part.pas de bienparar		past part. of bienparar		14
bienparanza	buen estado, mejora, beneficio	der. de bienparar [ns]	well+standing+N.suf.	good condition, improvement, benefit	13
bienparar	poner en buen o mejor estado	bien + parar [A]	well + stand	improve	14-15
bienpasar	vivir bien	bien + pasar [ns]	well + pass	live well	15
bienquerencia	estimación, aprecio	der. de bienquerer [R]	well + loving +N.suf.	estimation, consideration	13-15
bienquisto	part pas irreg. de bienquerer	<L.bene quaestus [A]	irregular past part of bienquerer		13-15
bientratar	tratar bien	bien + tratar [ns]	well + treat	treat well	15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
bienvenido [AD]	persona que se acoje con júbilo	bien + venido [A]	well + come	well received person	14
bienventurado	variante de bienaventurado		variant of bienaventurado		13
bienvisto, -a	juicio prudente o buen parecer	bien + visto, -a [R]	well + seen	good judgement	15
bocabierto	boquiabierto	boca + abierto [ns], 'andaban todos bocabiertos cuemo canes rabiosos' {AX}	mouth + open	agape, open-mouthed	13-14
bocaroto	boquirroto	boca + roto [ns]	mouth + broken	loose-tongued, talkative	13
boquimuelle	blando de boca	boca + muelle [A]	mouth + soft	soft in the mouth (of a horse)	13
botafuego [AD]	persona que se acalora fácilmente	botar + fuego [A]	throw + fire	hot-tempered person	14
buenandancia	felicidad, dicha	buen + andancia [ns]	good + going + N.suf.	happiness	13
buenandanza	variante de buenandancia	buen + andanza [ns]	variant of buenandancia		13-15
buenaventura	buena suerte	buen + ventura [A]	good + venture	good fortune	15
cabadelante*	adelante	cabo + adelante [A]	end + forward	forward	s9-15
cabalfuste	cabalhuste, caballete de guadarneses	caballo de fuste 'madera' [A]	horse + wood	rack to hang harnesses	13

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
cabizpacido	mal alimentado	cabeza + pacido [ns]	end + fed	badly-fed, hungry	15
cableuador	fiador	cabo + levador	end + lift	guarantor, surety	12
cablieva	fianza de saneamiento	<L.caplevare 'fiar' cabo < caput	end + lifting	guarantee	12
cabodelante*	adelante	cabo + adelante [ns]	end + forward	forward	13
caboprender	enderrar, comprender, contener	cabo + prender [ns]	end + pick		13
cabopreso	part. pas irreg. de caboprender		irregular past part of caboprender		13
cabrafigo	cabrahigo, higuera silvestre	< L.caprificus [A]	goat + fig	wild fig	14-15
cabrahar	colgar sargas de higos silvestres en las higueras para que su polen las fecundice y lleven buen fruto	der. de cabrahigo [A], de cabrafigar [R]	derivative of cabrahigo	to hang rows of wild figs onto fig trees, so that they will be pollinated and bear fruit	15
cabrahigo	variante de cabrafigo		variant of cabrafigo		15
cabtenencia	conservación, amparo, protección	der. de cabtener [R, captencia]	end + holding + N.suf.	conservation, protection	13
cabtener	mantener, sostener, conservar	< L.caput+tenere [A]	end + hold	sustain, conserve	13
cabtenido	part.pas. de cabtener		past part of cabtener		s11-15
calicanto	mampostería	cal + canto [R]	lime + side	rubblework	15
callalta	herradura que tiene callos gruesos	callo + alto [R, callialto]	caulk + raised	type of horseshoe with thick caulks	15
calofrío	escalofrío	calor + frío [A]	heat + cold	shivers	15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
camposanto	cementerio católico	it. camposanto [A]	field + holy	catholic cemetery	15
cañavera [AD]	variante de cañavera		variant of cañavera		15
cañavera [AD]	planta gramínea	<L.canna fera [A], canna vera [R]	cane + true	wild reed	13-15
cañaverada	golpe o tiro de cañavera, caña silvestre	der. de cañavera	derivative of cañavera	blow given with a cañavera	15
cañaveral	sitio poblado de cañas o cañaveras	der. de cañavera	derivative of cañavera	place planted with canes or wild reeds	13-15
capapiel	capa con pieles	capa + piel [ns]	cape + skin	cape made with skins	13
capisayo	vestidura corta como capotillo	capa + sayo [A]	cape + cloak	hooded cape	15
caprifigo	variante de cabrafigo		variant of cabrafigo		15
captenencia	conducta, acción	der. de captener	end + holding +N.suf.	behavior, action	13
captener	proteger, dirigir	<L.caput tenere [A]	end + hold	protect, direct	13-15
caradelante	en adelante	cara + adelante [R]	face + forward	from now on	13
carnestolendas	los tres días de carnaval	<L.carnes tollendas, caro carnis + tollendus, tollere [A]; toller = quitar, sacar, tirar [H]	meat + removed	the three days of carnival	15
carnestoliendas	variante de carnestolendas		variant of carnestolendas		s11-15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
carrastollendas	variante de carnestolendas		variant of carnestolendas		15
casamuro	muralla ordinaria sin terraplén	casa + muro [R]	house + wall	wall	15
casavara	planta de olor fétido	casa + vara [ns]	house + stick	type of plant	15
cascatreguas	el que quebranta las treguas	cascar + treguas [R]	break + truce	someone who breaks the truce	15
cejijunto	que tiene las cejas muy pobladas	ceja + junto [R]	eyebrow + together	having very thick eyebrows	15
celtiberano	celtíbero	der. de Celtiberia	der. from Celtiberia	Celtiberian	14-15
celtiberio	celtíbero	< L. celtier, -eri	Celtiberian	Celtiberian	14
cercandanza	acción de andar cerca	cerca + andanza [R]	near + going +N.suf.	action of being around	15
cervigudo	porfiado e indómito	cerviz + agudo [ns]	nape + protruding	stubborn and untamed	15
chotacabras	ave trepadora crepuscular	chotar + cabra [A]	suck + goats	nightjar, bird	15
cientañal	anual [A], de cien años [R]	ciento + añal [A]	hundred + year+A.suf.	annual or being a hundred years old	15
cientopiés	ciempiés	ciento + pie [ns]	hundred + feet	centipede	15
cincuentañal	de cincuenta años	cincuenta + añal [ns]	fifty+year+A.suf.	being fifty years old	15
claravoyo [AD]	adorno labrado	Fr. claire-voie, L. clara via [R]	clear + way ?	skylight	15
claroscuro	distribución de luz y sombras de un cuadro	It. chiaroscuro < chiaro + oscuro [A]	clear + dark	chiaroscuro	15
clavezimbano	clavicímbalo, clavicordio	It. clavicembalo [R]	key + cymbal	clavicembalo	15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
clavihórgano	claviórgano	clave + órgano [ns]	key + organ	clavichord ?	15
colapez	cola de pescado, gelatina	cola + pez [R]	glue + fish	fish glue	15
condestable	el que obtenía y ejercía primera dignidad de la milicia	L. comes + stabuli 'conde de la caballeriza' [A]	count + stable	high constable	15
condestablia	dignidad de condestable	der. de condestable [ns]	der. of condestable		15
crestibermejo	que tiene roja la cresta	cresta + bermejo [ns]	crest + red	having a red comb	15
cuadrinieto	cuarto nieto o nieta	cuatro + nieto [ns]	four + grandchild	fouth grandson or granddaughter	13
cuarentañal	concerniente al número cuarenta [A] parece error, tendría que ser 'de cuarenta años'	cuarenta + añal [ns]	forty + year + A.suf.	being forty years old ?	15
cuatrañal	cuadrienal	cuatro + añal [ns]	four + year+A.suf.	being four years old	15
echacorvería	acción propia de echacuervos	der. de echacuervos	der. of echacuervos		15
echacuervos	alcahuete, embustero	echar + cuervo [R]	throw + crows	liar, trickster	15
enoramala	en hora mala	en + hora + mala [ns]	in + hour + bad	inopportunely	15
espantalobos	arbusto de las leguminosas	espantar + lobo [ns]	scare + wolves	bladder senna, type of plant	15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
esperabanda	adorno de mujer	espera <L.sphaera [R] + banda [ns]	sphere + band	female ornament, bracelet?	15
fadamaliento	desventurado, desdichado	der. de fado + malo [ns]	der. of fado + malo	unfortunate	13
fadeduro	desastrado	fado + duro [ns]	fate + hard	unfortunate	13
fazferir	echar en rostro a alguno una acusación o cargo	< L. faciem ferire 'herir en la cara' [R]	face + injure	upbraid, reprimand	13
fazfirido	zaherido	der. de fazferir [ns]	der. of fazferir		13
fidalgo [AD]	nombre genérico de todos los nobres u hombres libres y exentos por linaje	fijo + de + algo [R]	son + of + something	member of the nobility	s11-1
fidalgúa [AD]	hidalguía, nobleza	der. de fidalgo [ns]	der. of fidalgo		13-15
fideputa	hijo de puta	fijo + puta [R]	son + whore	son of a bitch	15
fodudinculo	vicioso	fodido + en + culo [ns]	fucked + in + ass	pervert	13
franhueso	quebrantahueso, ave rapaz	frañer + hueso [R, franhueso]	break + bone	lammergeier, type of bird of prey	13
fudiduncul	variante de fodudincul		variant of fodudincul		13
ganapán	hombre que se gana la vida transportando cargas	ganar + pan [A]	earn + bread	porter	15
garzuela de gavián	pequeña ave zancuda	garzuela + de + gavián [ns]	heron + of + hawk	small wading bird	15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
gordolobo [AD]	planta vivaz escrofulariácea	<L.cauda de lupo [A], etim.pop. *godalobo [W]	fat + wolf	mullein, type of plant	15
guardabrazo	pieza de la armadura	guardar + brazo [ns]	keep + arm	piece of armour	15
guardacós	guardador	guardar + cos? [ns]	keep + thing ?	keeper	13
guardamezir	guadamecí	guardar + mezir, etim.pop. Ar. gadaamasii	keep + mezir ?	embossed leather	15
guardapolvo	resguardo que se pone encima de una cosa para preservarla del polvo	guardar + polvo [R]	keep + dust	dustcoat, dust cover	15
hidalgo	variante de fidalgo		variant of fidalgo		12
hidalguía	variante de fidalguía		variant of fidalguía		15
hideputa	variante de fideputa		variant of fideputa		15
hierbabuena	planta herbácea	hierba + buena [R]	herb + good	type of herb	15
justamarino	que vive junto al mar	der. de L. iuxta + mare [ns]	next + sea + A.suf.	living next to the sea	14
logarteniente	el que tiene autoridad para hacer las veces de otro	lugar + teniente [R]	place + holder	lieutenant	15
machamartillo (a)	con más solidez que gracia	machar + martillo [A]	hit + hammer	thoroughly, obstinately	15
maestreescuela	en algunas universidades, cancelario	maestre + escuela [A]	teacher + school	chancellor	13-15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
maestresala [AD]	criado principal que asistía a la mesa	maestre + sala [A]	teacher + room	headwaiter	15
maestrescuela	variante de maestreescuela		variant of maestreescuela		14
maherimiento	acción y efecto de maherir	der. de maherir [ns]	der. of maherir		15
maherir	señalar, buscar, prevenir	< L. manu ferire [R], or manferir [A]	hand + injure	signal, search, prevent	15
majahierro	herrero	majar + hierro [ns]	hit + iron	blacksmith	15
malandancia	maldad, perversidad	mal + andancia [ns]	badly + going	evil, perversity	13
malandante	desafortunado, infeliz	mal + andante [A]	badly + goer	unfortunate, unhappy	13-15
malandanza	mala fortuna, desgracia	mal + andanza [R], malo + andanza [A]	badly+going	bad luck, misfortune	13-15
malapreso	desdichado, que se ve en priesas	mal + apreso [ns]	badly + caught	unhappy, living in dire straights	14-15
malastrado	desdichado	mal + astrado [ns]	badly + starred	unhappy	13
malavenimiento	acción de mal avenirse	mal + avenimiento [ns]	badly + agreement	act of not agreeing	13
malaventura	desgracia	mala + ventura [ns]	bad + fortune	misfortune	15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
malaventurado	infeliz, desgraciado	der. de malaventurar [ns]	badly + adventured	unhappy, unlucky	15
malaventuranza	infortunio, desgracia	der. de malaventurar [R]	badly + venture	misfortune	15
malbaratar	vender la hacienda a bajo precio	mal + baratar [R]	badly + cheapen	sell land at a low price	15
malcabo	mal fin	mal + cabo [ns]	bad + end	bad end	15
malcalzado	desharrapado	mal + calzado [ns]	badly + shod	having poor shoes on	12
malcontento	descontento	mal + contento [ns]	badly + happy	unhappy	15
malcriado	grosero	mal + criado [R, malcriar]	badly + educated	rude	15
maldecidor	que maldice	der. de maldecir [ns]	der. of maldecir		15
maldecimiento	acción de maldecir	der. de maldecir [ns]	der. of maldecir		15
maldecir	echar maldiciones	<L. maledicere [A]	badly + say	curse	13-15
maldicer	variante de maldecir		variant of maldecir		13
maldicho	part. pas. irreg. de maldecir		irregular past part of maldecir		14
maldiciente	part. activo de maldecir, que maldice	< L. maledicens, -entis [A]	active part. of maldecir	who curses, cursing	14-15
maldición	imprecación contra una persona	L. maledictio, onis [A]	badly + saying	curse	13-15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
maldicto	part. pas. irreg. de maldecir		irregular past part. of maldecir		15
maldigno	indigno	mal + digno [ns]	badly + worthy	unworthy	13
maldiguez	maldición	der. de maldecir [ns]	der. of maldecir		13
maldolado	poco pulido, mal pergeñado	mal + dolado [ns] [dolado = acabado, perfecto, R]	badly + finished	uncouth, badly thought out	15
maldoliente	enfermo	mal + doliente [ns]	baldy + hurting	sick	14
maldormir	dormir mal o escasamente	mal + dormir [ns]	baldy + sleep	sleep badly or inadequately	15
malentrada	impuesto que pagaba el que entraba en la cárcel	mala + entrada [R]	bad + entrance	tax that had to be paid upon entering jail	15
malesculcar	pisotear, despreciar	mal + esculcar [A]	badly + search ?	tread on, despise	14
malestado	mal estado o malestar	mal + estado [A]	bad + state	bad state or bad feeling	15
malestancia	malestancia, desventura	mal + estancia [ns]	badly + stay	misfortune	13
malestanza	desventura, malestar	mal + estancia [ns]	badly + stay	misfortune, bad feeling	13
malfacer	obrar mal	< L.malefacere [A]	badly + make	act improperly	14-15
malfadado	part. pas. de malfadar	mal + fadado [R]	past part. of malfadar		13-15
malfado	mala suerte, desventura	mal + fado [ns]	bad + fate	misfortune	13
malfazer	variante de malfacer		variant of malfacer		13

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
malfecha	delito, mala acción	<L.malefacta [R, badly + made malfeita]		crime, bad action	13
malfecho	malhecho	< L.malefactus, malefacere [A], mal+fecho [R]	bad + made	made badly	13-15
malfechor [AD]	malhechor	<L.malefactor, - oris [A]	bad + maker	evil-doer	13-15
malferido	gravemente herido	mal + ferido [ns]	badly + injured	seriously injured	s12-14
malgranada	granada	mal + granada	badly + grained	pomegranate	13-15
malguisa	mala manera	mala + guisa [ns]	bad + way	bad manner	14
malherir	herir gravemente	mal + herir [ns]	badly + injure	injure seriously	14-15
malmajar	majar malamente, intensivo de majar [A]	mal + majar [ns]	badly + hit	hit badly, excessively	s12
malmeter	malbaratar, malgastar	mal + meter [A]	badly + put	sell at a low price, waste	13-15
malpagar	contentar difícilmente	mal + pagar [ns]	badly + pay	have difficulty making some happy	14
malparar	maltratar, poner en mal estado	mal + parar [A]	badly + stand	mistreat	15
malpasar	pasarlo mal	mal + pasar [ns]	badly + pass	have a bad time	15
malpegado	mal empegado	mal + pegado [ns]	badly + stuck	badly covered with glue	15
malquerencia	mala voluntad a determinada persona o cosa	mala + querencia [A]	bad + will	ill will	13-15
malquerenza	variante de malquerencia		variant of malquerencia		13
malquerer	tener mala voluntad a una persona o cosa	mal + querer [A]	badly + want	wish ill on someone	15
malquería	malevolencia, malquerer	der. de malquerer [ns]	der. of malquerer	ill will	15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
malqueriente	que quiere mal a otro	der. de malquerer [R]	der. of malquerer	who wishes ill on others	15
malquistamiento	acción de malquistar	der. de malquistar [ns]	der. of malquistar		15
malquistar	poner mal a una persona con otra	der. de malquisto [A]	der. of malquisto		15
malquisto	que está mal con una o varias personas	mal + quisto < L. quaesitus, part. pas. irreg. de querer [A]	baldy + loved	who is in bad terms with one or more people	15
malretraer	maldecir	mal + retraer [ns]	badly + retract	curse	14
malrotar	disipar, destruir, malgastar la hacienda	der. de L. manu rupta [A], o de ant. marrotar, infl. por el prefijo mal y der. de adj *manroto [R]	hand + broken+V.suf.	destroy or waste property	13-15
malsabido	malentendido	mal + sabido [ns]	badly + known	misunderstanding	14
malsecreto	que guarda mal el secreto	mal + secreto [ns]	bad + secret	who cannot keep a secret	15
maltraedor	vituperador o reprensor	der. de maltraer [R]	der. of maltraer	who mistreats	14-15
maltraemiento	acción de maltraer	der. de maltraer [ns]	der. of maltraer	mistreatment	13
maltraer	maltratar, injuriar	mal + traer [A]	bady + bring	mistreat	13-15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
maltramiento	variante de maltraemiento		variant of maltraemiento		13
maltrecho [AD]	maltratado, malparado	mal + trecho [A]	baldy + brought	mistreated	13-15
maltrobar	trobar o cantar cosas tristes	mal + trobar [ns]	baldy + sing	sing or tell sad stories	15
mambacío	con las manos vacías	man + vacío [C] [R, manivacío]	hand + empty	empty-handed	15
mamparamiento	acción de mamparar	der. de mamparar [ns]	der. of mamparar	action of protecting	13
mamparar	amparar, favorecer, proteger	< L. manu parare 'detener con la mano' [A]	hand + stop	protect, favor	13-15
mampostero	protector o patrono	der. de mampuesto [A], mano + puesto [R]	der. of mampuesto	protector, patron	13
mampuesta	serie horizontal de ladrillos	de manpuesto [R]	from manpuesto	horizontal row of bricks	13
mancomún	de acuerdo dos o más personas	man + común [R]	hand + common	agreement between two or more people	13
mancuadra	juramento mutuo que hacían los litigantes	< L. manus+quadrus [R]	hand + square	mutual oath made by litigators	13
manderecha	mano derecha	man + derecha [ns]	hand + left	left hand	15
mandoble	espada de gran tamaño	man + doble [A]	hand + double	large sword	15
manentrar	acometer	man + entrar [ns]	hand + enter	attack	13

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
mangamazo	mote injurioso	manga + mazo [ns]	handle + club	injurious epithet	15
manileva	copia de frutos para el consumo	de manlevar < L. manu levare	hand + lift	stock of fruit for consumption	13
manisalgado	a mansalva, sobre seguro	probablemente manisalvado, de man + salva [R]	hand + saved	without taking risks	15
manlevar	llevar de salario, tributo	< L. manum levare [A]	hand + lift	take salary or tribute	15
manlieva	tributo que se recogía prontamente de casa en casa o de mano en mano	de manlevar [A]	hand + lift + N.suf.	tribute exacted quickly from house to house or from hand to hand	13-15
manlievar	variante de manlevar		variant of manlevar		15
manlieve	variante de manlieva		variant of manlieva		13-15
manobre	peón de mano	mano + obrar [R]	hand + work	hand laborer	15
manoderrotero	instrumento músico	mano + de + rota [A] [ns]	hand + of + wheel + N.suf.	musical instrument	13
manpostor	mampostero, recaudador de diezmos, rentas, limosnas	der. de mampuesto, man + puesto [ns]	der. of mampuesto	collector of tithes, rents and alms	14
manquadra	variante de mancuadra		variant of mancuadra		13
mansesor	testamentario	< L. manumissor, oris [R]	hand + ??	executor	13-15
mantenedor	persona que mantenía o sustentaba a otra	der. de mantener [ns]	der. of mantener	person who supported another	13-15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
mantenencia	vivienda, manera de vivir	der. de mantener [ns]	der. of mantener	abode, lifestyle	13
mantener [AD]	proveer a uno de alimento necesario	L. manu tenere [R]	hand + hold	sustain, support	14-15
mantenido	part. pas. de mantener		past part. of mantener	kept	14
manteniente	en el momento, al instante	der. de mantener [A]	der. of mantener	at the moment, right now	13-15
mantenimiento	efecto de mantener	der. de mantener [ns]	der. of mantener	effect of maintaining	15
marrotado	malrotado, destruido, malgastado	der. de marrotar < L.manu rupta	der. of marrotar	destroyed, wasted, spent	13
mastressala	variante de maestresala		variant of maestresala		15
matacán	composición venenosa para matar perros	matar + can [A]	kill + dog	poison to kill dogs	14-15
medianoche [AD]	hora en que el sol está en el punto opuesto al mediodía	media + noche [A]	half + night	midnight	14-15
mediodía	hora en que el sol está en el punto más alto del horizonte	medio + día [A]	half + day	midday	14-15
melcocha	miel correosa	miel + cocha [A]	honey + cooked	taffy	15
melcochero [AD]	el que hace o vende melcocha	der. de melcocha [ns]	honey + cooked + N.suf.	taffy maker	15
menoscabar	disminuir, acortar, reducir	b. L. minuscipare [A], der. de menos +cabo [R]	less + end + suffix	shorten, reduce, decrease	13-15
menoscabo	efecto de menoscabar	menos + cabo [R]	less + end	shortening	13-15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
menospreciar	tener en menos	menos + preciar [A]	less + value	underestimate	15
menosprecio [AD]	poco aprecio, poca estimación	der. de menospreciar [A]	less + value + N.suf.	lack of appreciation	13-15
mielcochero	variante de melcochero		variant of melcochero		14
milgrana [AD]	granada	< L. mille grana 'mil granos' [A]	thousand + grain	pomegranate	13-15
milgrano	granado	der. de milgrana [ns]	thousand + grain	pomegranate tree	13
milhojas	milenrama	mil + hoja [A]	thousand leaf	millefeuille	15
misacantano	clérigo que celebra misa	der. de misa + cantar [A]	der. of misa + cantar 'mass + sing'	clergyman who celebrates the mass	13-15
mociélago	variante de murciego, con infijación		variant of murciego, with infixation		15
morciélago	variante de murciego, con infijación		variant of murciego, with infixation		13
murciego	murciélago	mur + ciego [A]	mouse + blind	bat	13
musaraña	musgano, mamífero	< L. mus araneus, con la terminación de araña [R]	mus? + spider	shrew	13-15
noramala	en hora mala	variante de en hora mala [ns]	variant of en hora mala 'in hour bad'	inopportunist	15
noramaza	variante de noramala		variant of enhoramala		15
ochentañal	octogenario	ochenta + año [A]	eighty + year + Asuf	being eighty years old	15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
orofrés	oro en los adornos	< Occ. aurfres [R, orifrés], oro + fres (fres=franja, R)	gold + ribbon	gold in ornaments	13
oropel	lámina de latón muy batida y adelgazada que imita al oro	< Fr.ant. oripel < L. aurea pellis [R], or L. orichalcum < G. oreichalkós [A]	gold + skin	thin layer of tin that imitates gold	15
paletoque	género de capotillo de dos haldas como escapulario	< L. palla + Ct. toc 'toca' [A], or < ant. Fr. paltoke [R]	palla + toque	type of cape	15
papahigo	gorro de paño que cubre el cuello y parte de la cara	papar + higo [ns]	catch + figs	balaclava, type of cap	15
patitendido	echado	pata + tendido [ns]	foot + lying	lying down	15
pelacejas	tenacillas para pelar cejas	pelar + ceja [ns]	peel + eyebrows	tweezers	15
pimpollo	pino nuevo	pino + pollo [A]	pine + chick	new pine tree	15
plenisonante	que suena en toda su plenitud	L. plenisonans [ns]; plenus 12.a. (of sound) Full, sonorous... cadaueris ora ~ a uoce sonent [O]	full + sounding	resounding	15
quebrantahuesos [AD]	ave rapaz	quebrantar + hueso [A]	break + bones	lammergeier, type of bird of prey	14-15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
rascaballos	mozo de cuadra	rascar + caballo [ns]	scratch + horses	stable boy	15
rastrapaja	acaudalador de bienes mundanos	rastrar + paja [ns]	drag + hay	someone who accumulates earthly possessions	13
redmanga	red en forma de manga para pescar	red + manga [ns]	net + hose	type of fishing net	13
ricohome [AD]	ricohombre	rico + home [A]	rich + man	member of the nobility	s12-14
rompenecios	el que sirve sin paga	romper + necio [ns]	break + fools	someone who serves without receiving pay	15
rozapoco (a)	a rapaterrón o rozamata, no del todo	rozar + poco [ns]	brush + little	not completely	14
sacabuche [AD]	instrumento músico de metal como trompeta	< Fr. saquebute [R], etim. pop. sacar + buche	remove + belly	sackbut, type of trumpet	15
sacaliña	garrocha, vara con un harponcillo en el extremo para quitar o sacar algo	sacar + liña (=hebra de hilo, R) [ns]	remove + thread	pointed stick, goad	15
sacomano (a) [AD]	(mediante) saqueo	< It. saccomanno < Germ. sackmann, etim. pop. con patrón V+N	remove + hand	(through) pillage	15
salmorar	untar con solución de sal	der. de L. sal muria	salt + muria ?	to salt	14
salpresar	aderezar con sal una cosa, apretándola para que se conserve	< L. sal + pressare 'presnar, apretar' [A]	salt + press	salt down	14-15

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Date
todopoderoso	que todo lo puede	todo + poderoso [ns]	all + powerful	almighty	14-15
todoseda	velo o pañuelo de seda	todo + seda	all + silk	silken veil or kerchief	15
trasabuelo	tatarabuelo	tresabuelo, tres + abuelo [A]	three + grandfather	great-great-grandfather	13-15
trasmacho	arte de pesca formado por tres redes	trasmallo, Arag. trasmallo < L. trimaculum, tris + macula [R]	three + net	trammel net	s11
trasmontana	trasmontana, norte o septentrión	L. transmontana [R]	beyond + mountain	what's beyond the mountains, north	13
trasnieto	variante de tresnieto		variant of tresnieto		13
tresañal	tresañejo	de tres + año [A], añal	three + year +A.suf.	being three years old	15
tresnieto	tataranieto	tres + nieto [A]	three + grandson	great-great-grandson	13-15
trotaconventos	alcahueta	trotar + convento [A]	trot + convents	procuress, go-between	14-15
usofruto	usufructo	< L. usufructus [R]	use + enjoyment	usufruct, use	13
ususfruto	variante de usufruto		variant of usufruto		15
vanagloria	jactancia del propio valer	vana + gloria [A]	vain + glory	vainglory	13-15
vanagloriarse	jactarse de su propio valer y obrar	der. de vanagloria [A]	vain + glory + V.suf.	boast	15

CLASSIFICATION OF DME COMPOUNDS

TERM	Cat.	Structure	Const. Relation	Headship	First Elem
abecé	N	N+N+N	H-H	Exo	W
aberramía	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W
agradulce	A	A+A	H-H	Endo	W
aguamanos	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W
aguamiel	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W
aguapié	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W
aguardiente	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R
aguasal	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W
aguzanieve(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
altibajo	N	A+A	H-H	Exo	R
andarraya	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
aquafusiles	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W
argentpel	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
armatoste	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
arquibanco	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R
artimaña	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R
atajasolaces	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
avucasta, avocasta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R
avutarda, autarda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R
barbapuniente	A	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W
barbicacho	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
barbiponiente	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
baticor	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R
batihoja	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R
bendecir, bendicir, benedecir	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
bendicho, bendito, bendicto, benedicto, benedito, biendicho	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
bendición, bendeción, benedición	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
benedicta	N	Adv+A	C-H	Exo	R
benefacer	N	Adv+V	C-H	Exo	R
bienamado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
bienandancia, bienandanza	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
bienandante	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
bienaparente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
bienaventurado, bienventurado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
bienaventuranza	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
bienaventurar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
biencriado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R

TERM	Cat.	Structure	Const. Relation	Headship	First Elem
bienestancia, bienestanza	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
bienfacer	N	Adv+V	C-H	Exo	R
bienfamado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
bienfecho	N	Adv+A	C-H	Exo	R
bienfechor	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
bienfechoria	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
bienmereciente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
bienoliente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
bienparado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
bienparanza	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
bienparar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
bienpasar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
bienquerencia	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
bienquisto	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
bientratar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
bienvenido	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
bienvisto, -a	N	Adv+A	C-H	Exo	R
bocabierto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	W
bocaroto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	W
boquimuelle	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
botafuego	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
buenandancia, buenandanza	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R
buenaventura	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W
cabadelante	Adv	N+Adv	H-C	Exo	R
cabalfuste	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R
cabizpacido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
cableuador	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
cablieva	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
cabodelante	Adv	N+Adv	H-C	Exo	W
caboprender	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	W
cabopreso	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	W
cabrafigo, cabrahigo	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W
cabtenencia	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
cabtener	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R
cabtenido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
calicanto	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R
callalta	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
calofrío	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R
camposanto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W
cañavera, canavera	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W
capapiel	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W

TERM	Cat.	Structure	Const. Relation	Headship	First Elem
capisayo	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R
caprifyo	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
captencia	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
captener	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R
caradelante	Adv	N+Adv	H-C	Exo	W
carnestolendas, carnestoliendas, carrastollendas	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W
casamuro	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W
casavara	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W
cascatreguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
cejjunto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
cercandanza	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
cervigudo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
chotacabras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
cientañal	A	Num+A	Spec-H	Endo	R
cientopíes	N	Num+N	Spec-H	Exo	W
cincuentañal	A	Num+A	Spec-H	Endo	R
claroscuro	N	A+A	H-H	Exo	R
clavezimbano	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W
clavihórgano	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R
colapez	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W
condestable	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R
crestibermejo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
cuadrinieto	N	Num+N	Spec-H	Endo	R
cuarentañal	A	Num+A	Spec-H	Endo	R
cuatpañal	A	Num+A	Spec-H	Endo	R
echacuervos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
enoramala, noramala, noramaza	Adv	prep+N+A	H-C	Exo	W
espantalobos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
esperabanda	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W
fadeduro	A	N+A	H-C	Endo	R
fazferir	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	W
fazfirido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	W
fidalgo, hidalgo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	R
fideputa, hideputa	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	R
fodudinculo, fudiduncul	N	A+prep+N	H-C	Exo	R
franhueso	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
ganapán	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
garzuela de gavilán	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W
gordolobo	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W
guardabrazo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W

TERM	Cat.	Structure	Const. Relation	Headship	First Elem
guardamezir	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
guardapolvo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
hierbabuena	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W
logarteniente	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W
machamartillo (a)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
maestrescuela	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W
maestresala, mastressala	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W
maestrescuela	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R
majahierro	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
malandancia, malandanza	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R
malandante	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
malapreso	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
malastrado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
malavenimiento	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
malaventura	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R
malaventurado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
malaventuranza	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W
malbaratar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malcabo	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W
malcalzado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
malcontento	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
malcriado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
maldecidor	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
maldecimiento	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
maldecir, maldicer	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
maldicho, maldicto	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
maldiciente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
maldición	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
maldigno	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
maldolado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
maldoliente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
maldormir	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malentrada	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R
malesculcar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malestado	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R
malestancia, malestanza	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
malfacer, malfazer	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malfadado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
malfado	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R
malfecho	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
malfechor	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R

TERM	Cat.	Structure	Const. Relation	Headship	First Elem
malferido	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
malgranada	N	Adv+A	C-H	Exo	R
malguisa	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R
malherir	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malmajar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malmeter	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malpagar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malparar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malpasar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malpegado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
malquerencia, malquerenza	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
malquerer	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malquería	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
malqueriente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
malquistamiento	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
malquistar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malquisto	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
malretraer	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
malsabido	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
malsecreto	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	R
maltraedor	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
maltraemiento, maltraimiento	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
maltraer	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
maltrecho	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
maltrobar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
mambacío	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
mamparamiento	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
mamparar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R
mampostero	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
mampuesta	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R
mancomún	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R
mancuadra, manquadra	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
manderecha	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R
mandoble	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	R
manentrar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R
mangamazo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W
manileva	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
manisalgado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
manlevar, manlievar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R
manlieva, manlieve	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
manobre	N	N+N	C-H	Exo	R

TERM	Cat.	Structure	Const. Relation	Headship	First Elem
manpostor	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
mantenedor	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
mantenencia	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
mantener	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R
mantenido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
manteniente	Adv	N+A	C-H	Exo	R
mantenimiento	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R
marrotado (malrotado)	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
matacán	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
medianoche	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W
mediodía	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W
melcocha	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W
menoscabar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	W
menoscabo	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	W
menospreciar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R
menosprecio	N	Adv+N	C-H	Endo	R
milgrana	N	Num+N	Spec-H	Exo	W
milgrano	N	Num+N	Spec-H	Exo	W
milhojas	N	Num+N	Spec-H	Exo	W
misacantano	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W
murciego, morciélago, mociélago	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W
musaraña	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W
ochentañal	A	Num+A	Spec-H	Endo	R
orofrés	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W
oropel	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W
paletoque	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R
papahigo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
patitendido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R
pelacejas	V	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
pimpollo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R
plenisonante	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R
quebrantahuesos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
rascacaballos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
rastrapaja	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
redmanga	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W
ricohome	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W
rompenecios	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
rozapoco (a)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
sacabuche	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
sacalifia	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W

TERM	Cat.	Structure	Const. Relation	Headship	First Elem
salpresar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	W
todopoderoso	A	Q+A	C-H	Endo	W
todoseda	N	Q+N	Mod-H	Exo	W
trasabuelo	N	Num+N	Spec-H	Endo	W
trasmacho	N	Num+N	Spec-H	Endo	W
trasmontana	N	prep+N	H-C	Exo	W
trasnieto, tresnieto	N	Num+N	Spec-H	Endo	W
tresañal	A	Num+A	Spec-H	Endo	W
trotaconventos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W
usofruto, usufruto	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W
vanagloria	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W

APPENDIX B
MEDIEVAL DATA FROM ADMYTE

COMPOUNDS FOUND IN ADMYTE

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Reference
acíbar apático, var. açeuar/ açiuar pático/ patigo	Tipo de acíbar, i.e., sustancia resinosa muy amarga obtenida por maceración de áloe, apático ? [R]	acíbar + apático	aloe + apático ?	type of resinous and very bitter substance obtained from maceration of aloe	CA
acíbar sucotríno, var. açauar/ açebar/ açeuar/ açíbar/ açiuar çecutrin/ çicotrjn/ çicotryn/ cicutrin/ cicutrj	Acíbar de Socotora, isla de Africa [R]	acíbar + sucotríno	aloe + of Socotora, an island in Africa	type of aloe	CA, .MDM, LM
agua purga	Líquido usado como purgante [ns]	agua + purga	water + purge	water for purging	MDM
agua rosada, var. agoa rossada/ rrosada/ rrossada	Agua de rosas [ns] Agua perfumada con el aroma de flores de diversas clases [R]	agua + rosada	water + rose	water perfumed with various different flowers	LH, MDM, LAC, AC
aguja paladar	Pez largo y delgado con mandíbulas afiladas en forma de pico [R]	aguja + paladar	needle + palate	garfish, hornfish	AC
almendra amarga, var. almendros almargo ?	La del almendro amargo, que es venenosa [R]	almendra + amarga	almond + bitter	bitter almond	MDM

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Reference
almendra dulce, var. almendra dulçe	La que es comestible, por contraposición a la amarga [R]	almendra + dulce	almond + sweet	sweet almond	MDM
ansar brava, var. ansar braua (cf. ansares saluages)	Tipo de ave palmípeda [R]	ansar + brava	goose + wild	wild goose	LCA
argent vivo, var. argent biuo/ argentbiuo/ argent viuo	Mercurio [R]	argent + vivo	silver + alive	quicksilver	TC, MDM
asafetida, var. asa fetida/ferida	Planta perenne, exótica, de la familia de las umbelíferas. Gomorresina de esta planta; se usa en medicina como antiespasmódico. [R]	asa + fétida	type of plant + smelly	asafetida, asafoetida	LCA, AC
ave de caza, var. aue/au de caça/ çaça	Tipo de ave usada para cazar [ns]	ave + de + caza	bird + of + hunting	hunting bird	LCA
azúcar rosado, var. açucar/ acucar rosado/ roson?	El elaborado con extracto de rosas [R]	azúcar + rosado	sugar + rosy	sugar made from extract of roses	MDM
bocayuso*, var. boca ayuso	Boca abajo [ns]	boca + ayuso	mouth + below	face-down	AC, MDM

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Reference
bolarménico, var. bol armenjco	Arcilla rojiza procedente de Armenia y usada en medicina, pintura y como aparejo en el arte de dorar [R]	bol + arménico	bole + Armenian	Armenian bole, reddish clay used in medicine, painting, and gilding	LCA, LM, MDM
cabeza de monje, var. cabeça de monge, cf. capud monache	tipo de planta	calco de L. capud monache	head + of + monk	type of plant	MDM
cañafistola, var. canafistola/ casafistola/ casiafistola	Arbol leguminoso tropical de la familia de las papilionáceas, de flores amarillas en racimos colgantes, cuyo fruto tiene una pulpa dulce que se emplea en medicina. [R]	caña + fístola 'tubo, cañón' [R] < Cassia fistula [MM]	cane + fistula	cassia, type of tree	MDM
cantuhueso, var. cantueso/ cantuesso	Tipo de planta; lavandilla stoechas [C]	Gr. kamaithuos, L. chamaetusius, con etimología popular por influjo de hueso (ossum) (y patrón V+N, agregó yo)	sing + bone	type of red lavender	MDM
casialínea, var. casialinea	tipo de casia	Cor. casia 'canela, otro arbusto de la India' L casia, G, kasía + línea	cassia + wooden	type of cassia	CR
cera blanca, var. çera blanca	Tipo de cera, que reducida a hojas se blanquea al sol [R]	cera + blanca	wax + white	white wax, wax in flakes, whitened in the sun	MDM

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Reference
cerapez, var. çera pez	Cerote de los zapateros para encerar los hilos [R]	cera + pez 'sustancia resinosa'	wax + pitch	cobbler's wax	MDM
clavo de giroflé, var. clauos de girofle/giroke/giro fre	Botón seco de la flor del clavero [R, giroflé]	clavo + de + giroflé (Fr)	clove + of + girofle (clove tree)	clove of the clove tree	MDM, LCA
copo azúcar, var. copo açucar	Copa de azúcar [R, copa = medida de capacidad para líquidos equivalente a 0.126 litros] or copo de azúcar [R, copo = mechón o porción]	copo + azúcar	cup ? + sugar	cup of sugar	MDM
cuerno cabra	Cuerno de cabra [ns]	cuerno + cabra	horn + goat	goat-horn	LM
cuerno de ciervo, var. cueruo de çieruo/ cuerno de çieruo/cierno	Tipo de planta (cf. stella maris, rabo de mur) [ns]	cuerno + de + ciervo	horn + of + deer	type of plant	MDM
cuesta arriba/asuso*, var. cuesta a riba/asuso	Hacia arriba por una cuesta [MM]	cuesta + arriba	slope + above	up the slope	LM
cuesta ayuso, var. cuestayuso/ cuesta yuso	Hacia abajo por una cuesta [ns]	cuesta + ayuso	slope + below	down the slope	LM
culantro de pozo (cf. capily veneris)	Hierba de la clase de las filicináceas. Se cría en las paredes de los pozos y otros sitios húmedos. [R, culantrillo]	culantro de pozo	coriander + of + well	maidenhair ?	MDM, LCA

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Reference
devagar, var. de vagar/uagar	Lentamente [ns]	de + vagar	of + wander	slowly	LM, MDM
encima, var. en cima/ ençima/ en çima	En lugar o puesto superior [ns]	en + cima	in + top	over, on top	AC
esponja marina, var. esponga marina	Esponja de mar [ns]	esponja + marina	sponge + marine	sea sponge	CR
fe católica, var. fe catholica/ catholjca	Religión católica [R]	fe + católica	faith + Catholic	Catholic faith	MDM
fenogriego	Alhova [R, fenogreco]	feno + griego	hay + Greek	type of plant	CR
fidalguez	Hidalguía, nobleza [R, hidalguez]	derivado de fidalgo	son + of + something + N.suf.	nobility	
figo meloso, var. figos/ fijgos melosos	Variedad de higo pequeña muy dulce [MM, higo melar]	figo + meloso	fig + honeyed	very sweet and small type of fig	CR
flujo de vientre, var. fluxo de vientre	Diarrea [ns]	flujo + de + vientre	flow + of + bowel	diarrhea	MDM
foja rama	Hoja de rama [ns]	hoja + rama	leaf + branch	leaf of a branch	MDM
gallocresta, var. gallo cresta / cresca	Planta medicinal, especie de salvia. Planta herbácea de la familia de las escrofulariáceas. [R]	gallo + cresta	rooster + comb	cockscorn	MDM, AC

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Reference
goma arábica , var. goma arábica / arauja / arauja / arauja / aravica	Goma que producen ciertas acacias [R]	goma + arábica	glue + Arabic	gum arabic	LAC, LM, MDM
goma gargante	Goma adragante, sustancia glutinosa que destila el adragante [R]	goma + adragante	glue + throat	tragacanth	LM
gran mañana , var. grand / grant mañana	Muy de mañana [R]	gran + mañana	large + morning	very early in the morning	LCA
incenso amargo	Tipo de incienso, alosna [??]	incienso + amargo	incense + bitter	type of incense	LCA, MDM
lengua cervina	Helecho de la familia de las polipodiáceas [R]	lengua + cervina	tongue + cervine	type of fern	MDM
lengua de buey	Planta anual de la familia de las borragináceas [R]	lengua + de + buey	tongue + of + ox	oxtongue	MDM
lignáloe , var. ligno / lignum / lino [R] aloe / aloes / ligunáloe / ljgnáloe / ljnaloe (s)	Áloe; jugo de esta planta. [R]	L. lignum + aloes 'palo de aloe'	wood + aloe	aloe, aloe juice	LAC, AC, MDM
mala fama	Mala reputación [ns]	mala + fama	bad + fame	bad reputation, notoriety	AC
malavez	A malas penas, a duras penas, difícilmente [R]	mal + abés (= difícilmente)	bad + hardly	barely	AC
malsano , var.	Dañoso a la salud [R]	mal + sano	badly + healthy	unhealthy	AC

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Reference
manzanilla de magan, var. mançanilla/manca njlla de magan	Tipo de manzanilla [ns]	manzanilla + de + magan?	chamomile + of + magan?	type of chamomile	MDM
miel terrón, var. miel terron	Miel en terrones [ns]?	miel + terrón	honey + lump	honey in lumps ?	LCA
miel rosada, var. mjel rrosada	Preparación farmacéutica de miel batida con agua de rosas y hervida [R]	miel + rosada	honey + rosy	medicinal preparation of honey and rose water	MDM
nuez moscada, var. noixs/nuezes muscadas	Fruto de la mirística; se emplea como condimento y para sacar aceite [R]	nuez + moscada	nut + musky	nutmeg	LCA
ocio pensamiento, var. oçio pensamjento	Pensamiento de ocio [ns]? quote	? poner cita	leisure + thought	thought of leisure	LCA
olio de olivas, var. oljo/olyo de oliua/oljuas	Aceite de oliva [R, óleo]	olio + de + olivas	oil + of + olives	olive oil	LAC, TC
olio rosado, var. oljo rosado/rrosado	Aceite de rosas [R]	olio + rosado	oil + rosy	oil of roses	LAC, LM
oropimente, var. oro pjmente, orpimente, orpiment	Mineral constituido de arsénico y azufre, de color limón [R]	< Cat. orpiment	gold + pigment	mineral constituted by arsenic and sulphur, of lemon yellow color	LCA, TC, LM, LAC

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Reference
oroval, var. cf. seje mayor, yerua espumadera	Salvia horminum [C]	fr. orvale, L. auris galli 'oreja de gallo', etim.pop. aurum valet 'vale oro', por las virtudes medicinales de la planta. A su vez, auris galli era traducción aproximada de G. alektorolophos 'cresta de gallo'	gold + be worth	type of plant, sage?	MDM
ostrogodo, var. estragodos	Miembro de la tribu de los godos que estuvieron al oriente de Dniéper [R]	de Austrogoti, Germ. east + Goth *austro- 'oriental'+ goti 'godo'		Ostrogoth	AC
pan de figo, var. panes de figos	Masa de higos con figura de pan [R, pan]	pan + de + figo	bread of fig	fig loaf	AC
pañó lino, var. pano lino	Paño de lino [ns]	pañó + lino	cloth + linen	cloth + of + linen	MDM
papa arriba	Con el papo hacia arriba? [ns]	papa + arriba	chin + above	face up	LM
pezuña, var. pesuña, pesuño	Conjunto de pesuños de una misma pata en los animales de pata hendida [R]	L. pedis 'pie' + ungula 'uña'	foot + nail	hoof	LM
pez mular, var. pes mular	Tipo de pez [ns]	pez + mular	pitch + mule-A.suf.	type of pitch	AC
picafigo, var. figo	Sobrenombre; papafigo, pájaro [R, picafigo]	picar + figo	bite + fig	figpecker, type of bird	LCA

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Reference
pedrasufre, var. piedra sufre/ suffre	Azufre [R piedra azufre]	piedra + azufre	stone + sulphur	sulphur	TC, LM, MDM
primavera, var.	Estación del año entre invierno y verano [R]	L. prima 'primera' + ver, veris 'primavera'	first + spring	spring	MDM
rabo de mur	Tipo de planta (cf. estella maris, cueruo de cieruo)	rabo + de + mur	tail + of + mouse	type of plant	MDM
rayan foja	Probablemente hoja de arrayán	rayan + foja (rayan < Ar. ar-raihaan, el aromático, el mirto, arbusto de la familia de las mirtáceas)	myrtle + leaf	leaf of myrtle ?	MDM
sacaviento, var. sacauiento/ sacaujento/ saca viento	Cor ?	sacar + viento	remove + wind	?	MDM
sal armoniaco, var. sal armonjaque/ armonjaco/ armonjque	Sal amoniaca o amoniaco, sal que contiene ácido clorhídrico y amoniaco [R]	sal + amoniaco	salt + ammoniac	salammoniac	MDM
sal pedrés, var. sal/ssal pedres	Sal piedra o sal gema, la común que se halla en las minas y procede de ellas [R]	sal + pedrés	salt + stony	rock salt	LAC, TC
sal vidrio	Tipo de sal [ns]	sal + vidrio	salt + glass	type of salt	LAC
salnitrio, var. salnjtrio/ salnjtre	Nitrato de potasio [R, sal de nitro]	sal + nitrio (nitro)	salt + niter	potassium nitrate	LM, MDM

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Reference
sen de luna	Arbusto oriental de la familia de las papilionáceas, cuyas hojas se usan en infusión como purgantes [R, sen]	sen + de + luna	sen (type of bush) + of + moon	type of bush	MDM
siempreviva, var. sienprebiua/ sienpre biua	Planta perenne de la familia de las crasuláceas [R]	siempre + viva	always + alive	everlasting flower, immortelle	MDM
siete en rama, var. siete en rrama, (cf. pentafilon)	Tormentila [R]	siete + en + rama	seven + in + branch	type of plant	MDM
sinsabor, var. syn/sin/sjn/ssin/ss yn sabor/ synsabor	Pesar, desazón moral, pesadumbre [R]	sin + sabor	without + taste	sorrow	LCA
sobrejo, var. sobre ojo	??	sobre + ojo	over + eye	eyebrow ?	MDM
solrayo, var. sobrrayo	Tipo de pez [ns]	sol + rayo, [C] de Cat. solraig, que probablemente es solroig 'sol rojo' y que en esp. también es reinterpretado como compuesto	sun + ray	type of fish	AC
suelta menor (cf. yerua menudilla, suelta menudilla)	Hierba de la familia de las labiadas. Se emplea en medicina como vulneraria [R, consuelda menor]	suelta + menor	herb + minor	type of medicinal plant	LCA

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Reference
suelda menudilla (cf. yerua menudilla, suelda menor)	Suelda menor? [ns]	suelda + menudilla	herb + small	type of plant	LCA
susodicho, var. suso dicho y vars.	Mencionado con anterioridad [R]	suso + dicho	above + said	abovementioned	LCA
susomemorado, var. suso memorado y vars.	Recordado antes [R]	suso + memorado	above + remembered	abovementioned	AC
tridente	Tenedor de tres dientes [R]	L. tridens, -entis	three + teeth	trident	AC
vinagre, var. vynagre	Líquido agrio producido por la fermentación del vino [R]	L. vinum acre (ver Cor. creo que del f. vin aigre)	wine + acrid	vinegar	LCA
vinagre fuerte, var. vinagre ffuerte	Vinagre muy agrio ? [ns]	vinagre + fuerte	vinegar + strong	very acrid vinegar	TC, LM, AC, CR, LAC
yerba brasince, var. yerba brassinçe/ brasynçe	Tipo de planta? [ns]	yerba + brasince	herb + brasince ?	type of plant	TC, LAC
yerba brenca, var. vrenca	Culantrillo, planta filicinácea [MM]	yerba + brenca	herb + brenca ?	type of plant	MDM, CR
yerba golondrina, var. yerua golondrjna/ golondryna (cf, pinpinela, bursa pastoris)	Celidonia (planta papaverácea) [MM, hierba de las golondrinas]	yerba + golondrina	herb + sparrow	celandine, type of plant	LCA

Term	Spanish definition	Etymology	Literal translation	Actual translation	Reference
yerbabuena, var. yeruabuena/ buena	Planta herbácea, vivaz, de la familia de las labiadas [R, hierbabuena]	yerba + buena	herb + good	mint	MDM, CR

CLASSIFICATION OF COMPOUNDS FROM ADMYTE

Term	Structure	Category	Const Rel	Headship	First Elem
abocasta [A]	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	R
abutarda [A]	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	R
acibar apatico	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
acibar sucotrino	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
agua de miel [A, aguamiel]	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
agua purga	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
agua rosada	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
aguamanos [A]	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
aguardiente [A]	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	R
aguasal [A]	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
aguja paladar	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
almendra amarga	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
almendra dulce	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
ansar brava	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
argent vivo	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	R
asafetida	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
ave de caza	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
azúcar rosado	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
bienfacer [A]	Adv+V	N	C-H	Exo	R
bienfecho [A]	Adv+A	N	C-H	Exo	R
bienvenido [A]	Adv+A	A	C-H	Endo	R
bocayuso	N+Adv	Adv	H-C	Exo	R
bolarménico	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
botafuego [A]	V+N	N	H-C	Exo	W
cabeza de monje	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
cañafistola	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
cañavera, canavera [A]	N+A	N	H-C	Endo	W
cantuhueso	V+N	N	H-C	Exo	R
casialínea	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
cera blanca	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
cerapez	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
clavo de giroflé	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
copo azúcar	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
cuerno cabra	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
cuerno de ciervo	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
cuesta arriba/asuso	N+Adv	Adv	H-C	Exo	W
cuesta ayuso	N+Adv	Adv	H-C	Exo	W
culantro de pozo	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
devagar	prep+Vinf	Adv	H-C	Exo	W

Term	Structure	Category	Const Rel	Headship	First Elem
encima	prep+N	Adv	H-C	Exo	W
esponja marina	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
fe católica	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
fenogriego	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
fidalgo [A]	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	R
figo meloso	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
flujo de vientre	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
foja rama	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
gallocresta	N+N	N	C-H	Endo	W
goma arábica	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
goma gargante	N+N	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
gordolobo [A]	A+N	N	Mod-H	Endo	W
gran mañana	A+N	N	Mod-H	Endo	R
incenso amargo	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
lengua cervina	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
lengua de buey	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
lignáloe	N+N	N	C-H	Endo	R
maestresala [A]	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
mala fama	A+N	N	Mod-H	Endo	W
malavez	Adv+Adv	Adv	Mod-H	Endo	W
malfechor [A]	Adv+N	N	C-H	Endo	R
malsano	Adv+A	A	C-H	Endo	R
maltrecho [A]	Adv+A	A	C-H	Endo	R
mantener [A]	N+V	V	C-H	Endo	R
manzanilla de magan	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
medianoche [A]	A+N	N	Mod-H	Endo	W
menosprecio [A]	Adv+N	N	C-H	Endo	W
miel rosada	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
miel terrón	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
milgrana [A]	Num+N	N	Spec-H	Exo	W
nuez moscada	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
ocio pensamiento	N+N	N	C-H	Endo	W
olio de olivas	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
olio rosado	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
oropimente	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
oroval	V+N	N	C-H	Exo	W
ostrogodo	A+N	N	Mod-H	Endo	R
pan de figo	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
pañó lino	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
papa arriba	N+Adv	Adv	H-C	Exo	W
pez mular	N+A	N	H-C	Endo	W

Term	Structure	Category	Const Rel	Headship	First Elem
pezuña	N+N	N	C-H	Endo	R
picafigo	V+N	N	H-C	Exo	W
pedrasufre	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
primavera	A+N	N	Mod-H	Endo	W
quebrantahuesos [A]	V+N	N	H-C	Exo	W
rabo de mur	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
rayan foja	N+N	N	C-H	Endo	W
ricohome [A]	A+N	N	Mod-H	Endo	W
sacabuche [A]	V+N	N	H-C	Exo	W
sacaviento	V+N	N	H-C	Exo	W
sal armoniaco	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
sal pedrés	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
sal vidrio	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
salnitrio	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
sen de luna	N+prep+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
siempreviva	Adv+A	N	C-H	Exo	W
siete en rama	Num+prep+N	N	H-C	Exo	W
sinsabor	prep+N	N	H-C	Exo	W
sobrejo	prep+N	N	H-C	Exo	W
solrayo	N+N	N	C-H	Endo	W
suelta menor	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
suelta menudilla	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
susodicho	prep+A	A	C-H	Endo	W
susomemorado	prep+A	A	C-H	Endo	W
tridente	Num+N	N	Spec-H	Exo	R
vinagre	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	R
vinagre fuerte	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W
yerba brasince	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
yerba brenca	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
yerba golondrina	N+N	N	H-C	Endo	W
yerbabuena	N+A	N	H-Mod	Endo	W

APPENDIX C
MODERN COMPOUNDS

COMPOUNDS FOUND IN MODERN DATABASE

ADVERB + ADJECTIVE

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
bienaparente	well + appearing	good looking	BG
bienaventurado	well + ventured	fortunate	BG
bienfamado	well + famed	of good fame	BG
bienfortunado	well + fortunate	fortunate	BG
bienhablado	well + spoken	soft-spoken	BG
bienhaciente	well + doing	who does good	BG
bienhadado	well + fated	fortunate	BG
bienhechor	well + doer	benefactor, who does good	BG
bienintencionado	well + intended	well-meaning	BG
bienllegada	well + arrived-fem.	welcome	BG
bienmandado	well + ordered	obedient, submissive	BG
bienmereciente	well + deserving	deserving	BG
bienoliente	well + smelling	fragrant	BG
bienplaciente	well + pleasing	very pleasing	BG
bienquerencia	well + love-N.suf.	good will, tenderness	BG
bienquisto	well + loved	of good fame and generally liked	BG
bienviviente	well + living	living honestly	BG
malacostumbrado	badly + accustomed	spoiled, of bad habits	BG
malagradecido	badly + thanked	ungrateful	BG
malarmado	badly + armed	fish, type of sturgeon	BG
malavenido	badly + agreed	in disagreement	BG
malcarado	badly + faced	with bad face or repellent aspect	BG
malcasado	badly + married	divorced	BG
malconsiderado	badly + considered	lacking in consideration	BG
malcontentadizo	badly + contented	hard to please	BG
malcontento	badly + happy	discontented, rebellious	BG
maldispuesto	badly + disposed	sick, ill-disposed	BG
malgeniado	badly + humored	ill-humored	BG
malgenioso	badly + humored	ill-humored	BG
malhablado	badly + spoken	shameless, bold	BG
malhadado	badly + fated	unfortunate	BG
malherido	badly + wounded	seriously injured	BG
malintencionado	badly + intended	with bad intentions	BG
malmandado	badly + ordered	disobedient, or doing things grudgingly	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
malmaridada	badly + husbanded	(of a woman) who does not fulfill her wifely duties	BG
malmarriente	badly + sad	sickly	BG
malmirado	badly + looked-at	unloved, discourteous	BG
maloliente	badly + smelling	stinky	BG
malpensado	badly + thought	evil-minded	BG
malquisto	badly + loved	unloved	BG
malsano	badly + healthy	sick, unhealthy	BG
malsufrido	badly + suffered	who does not suffer much	BG
siempreflorida	always + flowered	begonia	BG
siempreviva	always + alive-fem.	immortelle	BG
siemprevivo	always + alive-masc.	immortelle	BG

ADVERB or NOUN + VERB

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
bendecir	well + say	to bless	Rainer
bienaventurar	well + venture	to make someone happy	RAE
bienestar	well + be	well-being	RAE
bienfacer	well + do	benefit (noun)	RAE
bienquerer	well + love	to love well	Rainer
bienquistar	well + love	to reconcile two or more people	RAE
bienvivir	well + live	to live well	Rainer
malandar	badly + go	type of pig	RAE
malbaratar	badly + cheapen	to sell for a low price	RAE
malcasarse	badly + marry	to marry the wrong person	Rainer
malcomer	badly + eat	to eat little or the wrong food	Rainer
malcreer	badly + believe	to not believe fully	RAE
malcriar	badly + raise	to spoil	Rainer
maldecir	badly + say	to curse	Rainer
maldormir	badly + sleep	to sleep little or badly	Rainer
maleducar	badly + educate	to spoil, give poor education	RAE
malentender	badly + understand	to misunderstand	Rainer
malfacer	badly + do	to do wrong	RAE
malgastar	badly + spend	to squander	Rainer
malherir	badly + hurt	to injure seriously	Rainer
malhumorar	badly + humor	to anger someone	RAE
malinterpretar	badly + interpret	to misinterpret	Rainer

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
malmeter	badly + put	to squander, induce to wrongdoing	Rainer
malograr	badly + achieve	to spoil	RAE
malparar	badly + stand	to mistreat	Rainer
malparir	badly + bear (child)	to abort	Rainer
malpasar	badly + pass	to have a bad time	Rainer
malquerer	badly + love	to dislike	Rainer
malquistar	badly + love	to create enmity between people	RAE
malrotar	badly + break	to spoil, squander	RAE
malsonar	badly + sound	to make unpleasant noises	RAE
maltraer	badly + bring	to mortify	Rainer
maltratar	badly + treat	to mistreat	Rainer
malutilizar	badly + utilize	to misutilize	Rainer
malvender	badly + sell	to sell too cheap	Rainer
malversar	badly + turn	to divert	RAE
malvezar	badly + accustom	to accustom someone to do wrong	Rainer
malvivir	badly + live	to live miserably	Rainer
menoscabar	less + end + V.suf.	to diminish, reduce, lessen	RAE
menospreciar	less + value	to despise	Rainer
alicortar	wing + cut	to cut the wings (of a bird)	Rainer
aliquebrar	wing + break	to break the wings (of a bird)	Rainer
boquiabrir	mouth + open	to open one's mouth	Rainer
mamparar	hand + stop	to protect	RAE
mampostear	hand + post	to make or build of rubble	RAE
mampresar	hand + press	to start to break in wild horses	RAE
mancomunar	hand + common + V.suf.	to put together	RAE
mancornar	hand + horn + V.suf.	to tie by the horns	Rainer
manferir	hand + hurt	to signal	RAE
maniatar	hand + tie	to tie by the hands	Rainer
maniobrar	hand + work	to manoeuvre	RAE
manlevar	hand + lift	to incur debts	RAE
mantener, manutener	hand + hold	to sustain, support	Rainer
mantornar	hand + turn	turn the soil for the second time	RAE
manufacturar	hand + make	to manufacture	RAE
manumitir	hand + ?	to free a slave	RAE
manuscribir	hand + write	to write by hand	Rainer
patiquebrar	foot + break	to break the feet	Rainer
pelechar	hair + lose	to molt	Rainer

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
perniquebrar	leg + break	to break the legs	Rainer
salpresar	salt + press	to salt down	Rainer

NOUN + ADJECTIVE

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
aguallevado	water + taken	method for cleaning river beds, which involves scaping the bottom and letting the detritus be flushed downstream	BG
aldinegro	? + black	brown bull with black legs	BG
aliabierto	wing + open	of open wings	BG
aliblanca	wing + white-fem.	laziness, type of bird	BG
aliblanco	wing + white-masc.	of wings that are easily broken	BG
alicaído	wing + fallen	of fallen wings, weak, sad	BG
alicojo	wing + limping	with one limp wing	BG
alicortado	wing + cut	irresolute, ill-disposed	BG
alinegro	wing + black	of black wings	BG
aliquebrado	wing + broken	of broken wings	BG
alirrojo	wing + red	of red wings	BG
alirroto	wing + broken	with one or two broken wings	BG
alitierno	wing + tender	type of bush	BG
alitorcido	wing + twisted	that flies badly because of a broken wing	BG
alituerto	wing + crossed	that flies badly because of a broken wing	BG
anquialmendrado	haunch + almond-A.suf.	having very narrow haunches	BG
anquiboyuno	haunch + bovine	having very salient haunches	BG
anquiderribado	haunch + fallen	having downward sloping haunches	BG
anquimuleño	haunch + (of) mule	having haunches like those of a mule	BG
anquirredondo	haunch + round	having fleshy convex haunches	BG
anquiseco	haunch + dried	having thin haunches	BG
anquituerto	haunch + crossed	having twisted haunches	BG
arisblanco	beard + white	having white beard (of wheat)	BG
arisnegro	beard + black	having black beard (of wheat)	BG
arisprieto	beard + black	having black beard (of wheat)	BG
astiblanco	horn + white	having white-tipped horns	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
astifino	horn + thin	having thin horns	BG
astiverde	horn + green	having greenish horns	BG
barbiblanco	beard + white	having a white beard	BG
barbicacho	beard + boxed	ribbon to hold under the chin	BG
barbicano	beard + white	having a white beard	BG
barbicastaño	beard + brown	having a brown beard	BG
barbiespeso	beard + thick	having a thick beard	BG
barbihecho	beard + made	just shaven	BG
barbilampiño	beard + hairless	having little or no beard	BG
barbilindo	beard + pretty	handsome, good-looking	BG
barbilucio	beard + glossy	handsome, good-looking	BG
barbiluengo	beard + long	having a long beard	BG
barbimono	beard + cute	having a blond beard	BG
barbimoreno	beard + dark	having a dark beard	BG
barbiponiente-pungente	beard + beginning	who is just starting to grow a beard, young, beginner	BG
barbirralo	beard + thin	having a thinning beard	BG
barbirrapado	beard + shaven	having a shaven beard	BG
barbirrojete	beard + reddish	having a reddish beard	BG
barbirrojo	beard + red	having a red beard	BG
barbirrubio	beard + blond	having a blond beard	BG
barbirrucio	beard + white and black	having a black and white beard	BG
barbitaheño	beard + red	having a red beard	BG
barbiteñido	beard + dyed	having a dyed beard	BG
barbitonto	beard + silly	having a silly-looking face	BG
bocachico	mouth + small	fresh water fish	BG
boquiabierto	mouth + open	agape	BG
boquiancho	mouth + wide	having a wide mouth	BG
boquiangosto	mouth + narrow	having a narrow mouth	BG
boquiapretado	mouth + tightened	which purses the lips	BG
boquiblanco	mouth + white	young and inexperienced	BG
boquiblando	mouth + soft	of soft mouth	BG
boquicerrado	mouth + closed	having closed lips	BG
boquiconejuno	mouth + (of) rabbit	having a mouth similar to that of a rabbit	BG
boquiduro	mouth + hard	of hard mouth	BG
boquiflojo	mouth + loose	incapable of keeping secrets, liar	BG
boquifresco	mouth + fresh	having a lot of saliva	BG
boquifruncido	mouth + pursed	having low and narrow corners of the lips	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
boquihendido	mouth + cleft	of cleft mouth	BG
boquihundido	mouth + sunken	having high corners of the lips	BG
boquilucio	mouth + glossy	of soft mouth	BG
boquimuelle	mouth + soft	of soft mouth	BG
boquinatural	mouth + natural	of average mouth	BG
boquinegra	mouth + black-fem.	type of grape	BG
boquinegro	mouth + black-masc.	of black mouth or snout	BG
boquirrasgado	mouth + slanted	of slanted mouth	BG
boquirroto	mouth + broken	of slanted mouth, voluble	BG
boquirrubio	mouth + blond	young and inexperienced	BG
boquisacado	mouth + taken	having a large snout (of a person)	BG
boquiseco	mouth + dried	of dry mouth	BG
boquisucio	mouth + dirty	having a long tongue	BG
boquisumido	mouth + sunken	of sunken mouth	BG
boquitorcido	mouth + twisted	of twisted mouth	BG
boquituerto	mouth + crossed	of twisted mouth	BG
brazalbo	arm + white	pig with black and white spots	BG
cabeciancho	head + wide	of wide head	BG
cabeciduro	head + hard	stubborn	BG
cabecinegro	head + black	small bird with brown body and black head	BG
cabezcaído	head + fallen	crest-fallen	BG
cabizbajo	head + low	crest-fallen	BG
cabizcaído	head + fallen	crest-fallen	BG
cabizmordido	head + bitten	with sunken nape	BG
callialto	corn + high	type of horseshoe having high calks	BG
cañihueco	cane + empty	type of wheat	BG
cañilavado	shin + washed	of clean shins (of horses or mules)	BG
cañivano	cane + vain	type of wheat	BG
capecinegra	head + black	of black head (of a sheep)	BG
capipardo	cape + brown	artisan, small town man	BG
cariacontecido	face + happened	surprised	BG
cariacuchillado	face + slashed	having a scar on the face	BG
cariaguileño	face + eagled	having a long face and an aquiline nose	BG
carialegre	face + happy	of happy face and easy laugh	BG
carialzado	face + lifted	having the face upward	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
cariampollar	face + blistered	of fat cheeks	BG
cariancho	face + wide	of wide face	BG
caribello	face + pretty	having a dark head and white spots on its forehead (of a bull)	BG
cariblanco	face + white	type of wild boar	BG
caribobo	face + silly	having a silly-looking face	BG
carichato	face + flat	of flat face	BG
caridelantado	face + advanced	cheeky, fresh	BG
caridelantero	face + advanced	cheeky, fresh	BG
caridoliente	face + hurting	showing pain in the face	BG
carifresco	face + fresh	cheeky, fresh	BG
carifruncido	face + pursed	of pursed face	BG
carigordo	face + fat	of fat face	BG
cariharto	face + full	of fat face	BG
carilampiño	face + shaven	having no facial hair	BG
carilargo	face + long	of long face, sad	BG
carilavado	face + washed	shameless	BG
carilimpio	face + clean	cheeky, fresh	BG
carilindo	face + pretty	of pretty face	BG
cariliso	face + smooth	cheeky, fresh	BG
carilucio	face + glossy	having a glossy face	BG
carinegro	face + black	having a dark face	BG
cariparejo	face + even	impassible	BG
caripelado	face + hairless	type of monkey	BG
carirraído	face + torn	cheeky	BG
carirredondo	face + round	of round face	BG
casquiblanco	hoof + white	of white hooves (of horse)	BG
casquicopado	hoof + cupped	having a high, round, empty hoof (of horse)	BG
casquiderramado	hoof + spilled	having a wide hoof palm	BG
casquilucio	hoof + glossy	scatterbrain, dizzy	BG
casquimuleño	hoof + (of) mule	having small, hard hooves, like those of a mule (of horse)	BG
casquivano	hoof + vain	scatterbrain, dizzy	BG
cazcorvo	hoof + curved	having short legs (of horse)	BG
cejijunto	eyebrow + together	having thick, closely-knit eyebrows)	BG
cerrinegra	neck + black	type of goat with red and black hide	BG
coliblanca	tail + white-fem.	type of bird, similar to the wagtail	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
coliblanca, culiblanca	tail + white-fem.	type of bird, similar to the wagtail	BG
coliblanco	tail + white-masc.	type of bird with a white tail	BG
colillano	tail + flat	holding its tail in a horizontal position (of a pigeon)	BG
colirrojo	tail + red	bird similar to a thrush, with red tail and sides	BG
colirrubiallo	tail + blond	type of bird	BG
colirrubio	tail + blond	type of fish, type of bird	BG
coquiduro	coconut + hard	of hard head	BG
coquiseco	coconut + dry	having no water (of a coconut)	BG
corniabierto	horn + open	having its horns far apart from each other	BG
cornialto	horn + high	having its horns turned upward	BG
corniapretado	horn + tight	having its horns together	BG
corniavocado	horn + ?	having open horns that stretch the head backward	BG
cornibrocho	horn + short	having its horns pointing inward	BG
cornicorto	horn + short	of short horns	BG
cornicubeto	horn + fallen	having high, close-tipped horns	BG
cornidelantero	horn + forwards	having its horns pointing forward	BG
cornigacho	horn + low	having horns that point slightly forward	BG
corniparejo	horn + even	having horns of the same size as the ears	BG
cornipunta	horn + pointed	vicious cow	BG
cornisuelto	horn + loose	having horns that point backward	BG
cornivacado	horn + (of) cow	having weak horns, like those of a cow	BG
corniveleto	horn + ?	having high, thin horns	BG
cornivisco	horn + squinted	having one horn lower than the other	BG
cotisuelto	side? + loose	wearing his shirt outside his pants	BG
cuellicorto	neck + short	of short neck	BG
cuellidegollado	neck + slashed	having a low cleavage, low cleavage	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
cuellierguido	neck + high	of high stiff neck	BG
cuellilargo	neck + long	of long neck	BG
cuellipelado	neck + shaven	having no feathers in its neck	BG
cuellituerto	neck + twisted	of twisted head	BG
cuellivuelto	neck + turned	offended, aggravated	BG
culialmendrado	butt + almond-A.suf.	having narrow haunches	BG
culiancho	butt + wide	of wide hips	BG
culinegro	butt + black	of black butt	BG
culipardo	butt + brown	of brown butt, name given to inhabitants of Marmolejo	BG
culiquemados	butt + burnt-pl.	of burnt butt, name given to inhabitants of Armaduz	BG
denticonejuno	tooth + (of) rabbit	of small, white, even teeth (of a horse)	BG
espalditendido	back + lain	lying on its back	BG
faldicorto	brisket + short	of short brisket	BG
faldinegro	brisket + black	of black brisket	BG
gargantiazul	throat + blue	bird with a blue throat	BG
gargantirrojo	throat + red	bird with a red throat	BG
haldinegro	brisket + black	of black brisket	BG
labihendido	lip + cleft	of cleft lip	BG
lomienhiesto-histo	back + erect	of stiff back	BG
mampuesto	hand + put	rubble	BG
manialbo	hand + white	having white lower legs	BG
maniblanco	hand + white	having white lower legs	BG
manicorto	hand + short	mean and ungenerous	BG
manifacero	hand + doer ?	meddler	BG
manigordo	hand + fat	ocelot, American feline	BG
manilargo	hand + long	of long hands	BG
maniligero	hand + light	of long hands, who likes to pick fights	BG
manirroto	hand + broken	prodigal, wasteful	BG
manisuelto	hand + loose	prodigal, wasteful	BG
manivació	hand + empty	empty-handed	BG
manzurdu	hand + left	left-handed	BG
moquicaído	snot + fallen	saddened, dejected	BG
ojialegre	eye + happy	of happy eyes	BG
ojiblanca	eye + white-fem.	kind of olive	BG
ojiblanco	eye + white	olive tree with long, thin green leaves	BG
ojienjuto	eye + dry	who cries with difficulty	BG
ojimoreno	eye + dark	of dark eyes	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
ojinegro	eye + black	of black eyes	BG
ojiprieto	eye + black	of black eyes	BG
ojitierno	eye + tender	having blurred eyes	BG
ojituerto	eye + twisted	of squinted eyes	BG
ojizaino	eye + treacherous	giving treacherous looks	BG
ojizarco	eye + light blue	of light blue eyes	BG
orejigacho	ear + low	of downturned ears	BG
paliabierto	stick + open	of open horns	BG
panchueco	belly + caved-in	of sunken stomach	BG
papialbillo	chin + white-dim.	genet	BG
papialbo	chin + white	of white chin?	BG
pasilargo	step + long	of long step	BG
patiabierto	foot + open	having twisted, irregular, or separated legs	BG
patialbillo	foot + white-dim.	type of cat with white feet	BG
patialbo, patialbu	foot + white	of white feet	BG
patiancho	foot + wide	type of hairy wheat	BG
patiblanco	foot + white	of white feet	BG
paticalzado	foot + (with) shoe	type of pig, whose feet are white near the hooves	BG
paticojo	foot + limping	limp	BG
patidifuso	foot + diffuse	astonished	BG
patiestevado	foot + bandied	of bandied legs	BG
patifrío	foot + cold	astonished	BG
patihendido	foot + cleft	having cleft feet	BG
patiliso	foot + smooth	male partridge without spurs	BG
patimocho	foot + blunt	limp	BG
patimuleño	foot + (of) mule	having hooves like those of a mule	BG
patiretuerto	foot + twisted	having bandied legs	BG
patiseco	foot + dry	thin, type of fighting cock that does not show his abilities	BG
patitieso	foot + stiff	astonished	BG
patituerto	foot + twisted	having twisted legs	BG
patizambo-zumbo	foot + knockkneed	knock-kneed	BG
pechiancho	chest + wide	having its shoulders very wide apart	BG
pechiblanco	chest + white	of white chest	BG
pechicolorao	chest + red	robin, type of bird	BG
pechienjuto	chest + dry	of narrow thorax	BG
pechirrojo	chest + red	robin, type of bird	BG
pechisacado	chest + taken-out	arrogant, full of himself	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
peciluengo	nipple + long	having the stem by which it hangs from a tree (of fruit)	BG
peligudo	hair + acute	of long, thin hair; very difficult	BG
peliblanco	hair + white	of white hair	BG
peliblando	hair + soft	of soft hair	BG
pelicano	hair + white	of white hair	BG
pelicorto	hair + short	of short hair	BG
pelilargo	hair + long	of long hair	BG
pelinegro	hair + black	of black hair	BG
pelirrojo	hair + red	of red hair	BG
pelirrubio	hair + blond	of blond hair	BG
pelisentado	hair + sitting	having smooth hair or feathers; peaceful	BG
pelitieso	hair + stiff	of stiff hair	BG
perniabierto	leg + open	having open legs	BG
pernituerto	leg + twisted	having twisted legs	BG
petirrojo	chest + red	robin, type of bird	BG
pintarrojo	spot + red	linnet, type of bird	BG
piquituerta	peak + twisted-fem.	mountain whose peak is twisted	BG
piquituerto	beak + twisted-masc.	type of bird which uses its beak to extract pine seeds out of pines	BG
piquivano	beak + vain	partridge bird, whose beak breaks easily	BG
puntiagudo	point + sharp	having a sharp point	BG
puntibozona	point + blunt?	cow that is missing one or both horn tips	BG
rabiblanca	tail + white-fem.	bird whose tail is half white and half black	BG
rabiblanco	tail + white-masc.	having a hot tail	BG
rabicaliente	tail + hot	lecherous	BG
rabicana	tail + white-fem.	type of plant	BG
rabicano	tail + white-masc.	of white tail	BG
rabicortado	tail + cut	having a cut tail	BG
rabicorto	tail + short	having a short tail	BG
rabiculao	tail + butted ?	adverse	BG
rabihorcado	tail + hanged	type of bird with a parted tail	BG
rabilargo	tail + long	of long tail	BG
rabimocho	tail + blunt	having no tail	BG
raspinegro	beard + black	of black beard (wheat)	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
rostritorcido	face + twisted	showing anger or sorrow	BG
rostrituerto	face + twisted	showing anger or sorrow	BG
sangrigrordo	blood + fat	unpleasant	BG
sangrilitiviano	blood + thin	pleasant	BG
sangripesado	blood + heavy	unpleasant	BG
teticiega	tit + blind	having a useless tit (sheep or cow)	BG
teticoja	tit + limping	having only one tit (sheep)	BG
ubriciega	udder + blind	having no milk	BG
uñalbo	nail + white	wearing a shoe on one foot	BG
uñilargo	nail + long	rapacious	BG
vetisesgado	stripe + slanted	having slanted stripes	BG
zanquivano	stilt + vain	having long, thin legs	BG

ADJECTIVE + NOUN, NOUN + ADJECTIVE

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
alta mar	high-f. + sea-f.	high seas	BG
alta traición	high-f. + treason-f.	high treason	BG
altareina	high-f. + queen-f.	milfoil, yarrow	BG
altavoz	high-f. + voice-f.	loud-speaker	BG
altimora	high + berry-f.	raspberry	BG
altoparlante	high-m. + speaker-m.	loud-speaker	BG
altorrelieve	high-m. + relief-m.	high relief	BG
bajamar	low-f. + sea-f.	low seas	BG
bajorrelieve	low-f. + relief-f.	bass relief	BG
bajoventre	low-m. + belly-m.	lower abdomen	BG
belladama	beautiful-f. + lady-f.	belladonna	BG
bellasombra	beautiful-f. + shadow-f.	type of tree	BG
buena fe	good-f. + faith-f.	good faith	BG
buena firma	good-f. + signature-f.	person with good credit	BG
buena planta	good-f. + plant-f.	good aspect	BG
buena sociedad	good-f. + society-f.	polite society	BG
buenamoza	good-f. + girl-f.	young and healthy looking	BG
buenandanza	good-f. + going-N.suf.f.	happiness	BG
buenasnoches	good-f.p. + evening-f.p.	stupid person	BG
buenastardes	good-f.p. + afternoon-f.p.	type of flower	BG
buenaventura	good-f. + fortune-f.	good luck	BG
clarividencia	clear + seeing-N.suf.f.	clairvoyance	BG
clarovidencia	clear-m. + seeing-N.suf.f.	clairvoyance	BG
doblescudo	double + shield-m.	type of plant	BG
duraluminio	hard + aluminum-m.	type of aluminum	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
duramadre	hard-f. + mother-f.	dura mater	BG
extremaunción	extreme-f. + ointment-f.	extreme unction	BG
falsa escuadra	false-f. + square-f.?	bevel square	BG
falsa rienda	false-f. + bridle-f.	type of bridle	BG
falsaarmadura	false-f. + armor-f.	second slant of a roof	BG
falsabraga	false-f. + panty-f.	low wall built before a higher one to reinforce it	BG
falsarregla	false-f. + rule-f.	bevel square	BG
falso flete	false-m. + fleet-m.	amount payable when you don't use the entirety of a freight vessel's capacity	BG
francocuartel	frank-m. + quarter-m.	quarter in a banner	BG
galiparla	French + talk-f.	Frenchified language	BG
galiputada	French + swearing-f.	venereal disease	BG
gentilhombre	gentle + man-m.	gentleman	BG
granguardia	great + guard-f.	cavalry troop	BG
librecambio	free + change-m.	free exchange	BG
librepensamiento	free + thought-m.	free thought	BG
magnavoz	great + voice-f.	loud-speaker	BG
mal bicho	bad + animal-m.	evil person	BG
mal nombre	bad + name-m.	nickname	BG
mal recado	bad + errand-m.	bad action, naughtiness	BG
mala fe	bad-f. + faith-f.	bad faith	BG
mala firma	bad-f. + signature-f.	person with no credit	BG
mala lengua	bad-f. + tongue-f.	evil tongue, person who speaks ill of others	BG
mala semana	bad-f. + week-f.	week of a woman's menstruation	BG
mala vida	bad-f. + life-f.	prostitution	BG
mala voluntad	bad-f. + will-f.	ill will	BG
mala voz	bad-f. + voice-f.	claim against a person's possession	BG
malacara	bad-f. + face-f.	horse with reddish body and white face	BG
malacrianza	bad-f. + breeding-N.suf.f.	bad manners, rudeness	BG
malagüero	bad + omen-m.	bad omen	BG
malalma	bad + soul-f.	evil person	BG
malapata	bad-f. + foot-f.	clumsy person	BG
malarrabia	bad-f. + anger-f.	sweet made with chunks of ripe plantain	BG
malasangre	bad-f. + blood-f.	evil person	BG
malasombra	bad-f. + shadow-f.	evil person	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
malastrazas	bad-f.p. + traces-f.p.	person in rags	BG
malastripas	bad-f.p. + guts-f.p.	evil person	BG
malaúva	bad-f. + grape-f.	evil person	BG
malcorazón	bad-m. + heart-m.	cruel person	BG
malgenio	bad-m. + temper-m.	grouchy person	BG
media águila	half-f. + eagle-f.	gold coin from Mexico, worth 10 pesos	BG
media bata	half-f. + gown-f.	short gown	BG
media cama	half-f. + bed-f.	bed with no boxspring	BG
media cuchara	half-f. + spoon-f.	person who is stupid or not fully able at a job	BG
media espada	half-f. + sword-f.	bull-fighter who kills bulls but is not the main one	BG
media firma	half-f. + signature-f.	signature lacking the first name	BG
media naranja	half-f. + orange-f.	better half	BG
mediacaña	half-f. + cane-f.	gorge, cavetto, listel, fillet	BG
mediacapa	half-f. + cape-f.	small owner	BG
mediacinta	half-f. + ribbon-f.	machete	BG
mediagamarra	half-f. + martingale-f.	leather strip of a horse's harness	BG
mediagua	half-f. + water-f.	building with a roof with one single slope	BG
medialanza	half-f. + spear-f.	each of the horses or mules of a pair	BG
medialengua	half-f. + tongue-f.	person who doesn't speak clearly	BG
medialiga	half-f. + garter-f.	rope used to tie	BG
medialuna	half-f. + moon-f.	crescent	BG
medianoche	half-f. + night-f.	midnight	BG
mediarrosca	half-f. + twist-f.	popular dance	BG
mediasangre	half-f. + blood-f.	cattle that though not fit for bullfighting, still attacks	BG
mediateta	half-f. + tit-f.	milk given by one mother to another who lacks her own	BG
mediatuna	half-f. + cactus-f.	competitive singing between two professional singers	BG
mediodía	half-m. + day-m.	midday	BG
mediomundo	half-m. + world-m.	type of fishing device	BG
mediopelo	half-m. + hair-m.	mulatto	BG
mediopeso	half-m. + weight-m.	type of parrot	BG
mediopolo	half-m. + pole-m.	type of gypsy singing	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
medioqueso	half-f. + cheese-m.	semi-circular table used by tailors	BG
pleamar	full-f. + sea-f.	high tide	BG
prontoalivio	fast-m. + relief-m.	type of poison	BG
quinta columna	fifth-f. + column-f.	fifth column	BG
quintaesencia	fifth-f. + essence-f.	quintessence	BG
retahila	straight-f. + thread-f.	series of things mentioned in sequence	BG
ricadueña	rich-f. + woman-f.	woman member of the nobility	BG
ricafembra	rich-f. + female-f.	woman member of the nobility	BG
ricohombre	rich-m. + man-m.	nobleman	BG
sachacabra	wild-f. + goat-f.	wild goat	BG
salvoconducto	safe-m. + conduct-m.	safeconduct	BG
santo oficio	saint-m. + office-m.	Inquisition	BG
segunda enseñanza	second-f. + education-f.	secondary school	BG
vanagloria	vain-f. + glory-f.	vainglory	BG
verdehoja	green + leaf-f.	type of green grape	BG
abeja maestra	bee-f. + master-f.	queen bee	BG
abeto falso	fir-m. + false-m.	spruce	BG
abeto rojo	fir-m. + red-m.	spruce	BG
acacia blanca	acacia-f. + white-f.	type of acacia	BG
agua angélica	water-f. + angelic-f.	purging drink	BG
agua bendita	water-f. + blessed-f.	holy water	BG
agua compuesta	water-f. + composed-f.	drink made with water, sugar, and fruit juice	BG
agua cruda	water-f. + raw-f.	water with a lot of dissolved gypsum	BG
agua delgada	water-f. + thin-f.	water with very few salts	BG
agua dulce	water-f. + sweet	drinking water with little or no taste	BG
agua dura	water-f. + hard-f.	hard water	BG
agua gorda	water-f. + fat-f.	water with a lot of salts in solution	BG
agua mansa	water-f. + tame-f.	water that flows peacefully	BG
agua muerta	water-f. + dead-f.	stagnant water	BG
agua pesada	water-f. + heavy-f.	water made with deuterium instead of hydrogen	BG
agua regia	water-f. + queenly-f.	aqua regia, nitric acid and hydrochloric acid	BG
agua roja	water-f. + red-f.	hot water	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
agua tofana	water-f. + ?	type of poison	BG
agua vidriada	water-f. + glassy-f.	type of snot that sometimes appears in falcons and other birds of pray	BG
agua viva	water-f. + alive-f.	jellyfish	BG
aguachirle	water-f. + runny	type of wine of very poor quality, dishwater	BG
aguacibera	water-f. + wheat-f.	irrigation water	BG
aguacorta	water-f. + short-f.	musical piece	BG
aguacuajada	water-f. + curdled-f.	jellyfish	BG
aguadulce	water-f. + sweet	mead	BG
aguafuerte	water-f. + strong	etching	BG
agualarga	water-f. + long-f.	musical piece	BG
agualoja	water-f. + mead-f.	drink made of water, honey, sugar, and flavors	BG
aguamala	water-f. + bad-f.	jellyfish	BG
aguamarina	water-f. + marine-f.	aquamarine	BG
aguardiente	water-f. + burning	liquor	BG
aguas llenas	water-f.p. + full-f.p.	high tide	BG
aguas menores	water-f.p. + minor-p.	human urine	BG
aguaverde	water-f. + green	jellyfish	BG
águila blanca	eagle-f. + white-f.	type of diurnal bird of prey	BG
águila calzada	eagle-f. + shod-f.	eagle with a thick, curved beak and reddish plumage	BG
águila caudal	eagle-f. + caudal	royal eagle	BG
águila doble	eagle-f. + double	gold coin of the US, worth 20 dollars	BG
águila imperial	eagle-f. + imperial	black eagle, smaller than the royal eagle	BG
águila parda	eagle-f. + brown-f.	type of eagle that hunts snakes	BG
águila pasmada	eagle-f. + astonished-f.	eagle with closed or folded wings	BG
águila perdiguera	eagle-f. + (of) partridge-f.	eagle that attacks partridges, pigeons, and quails	BG
águila pescadora	eagle-f. + fishing-f.	large eagle with glossy and oily plumage	BG
águila ratera	eagle-f. + (of)rat-f.	type of diurnal bird of prey	BG
águila ratonera	eagle-f. + (of) mouse-f.	type of diurnal bird of prey	BG
águila real	eagle-f. + royal	large eagle with rounded tail	BG
aguja capotera	needle-f. + (of) cape-f.	thickest needle used by seamstresses	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
aguja colchonera	needle-f. + (of) mattress-f.	large, thick needle used by mattress-makers	BG
aire acondicionado	air-m. + conditioned-m.	air conditioning equipment	BG
ajoblanco	garlic-m. + white-m.	condiment made with ground beans or almonds, or with eggs and oil	BG
álamo blanco	poplar-m. + white-m.	poplar with greyish white rind	BG
alba mayor	white-f. + major	type of grape	BG
algarrobo loco	carob tree-m. + crazy-m.	Judas tree	BG
alma perdida	soul-f. + lost-f.	bird from Peru, whose shouts are heard in the evening and at dawn	BG
almendra amarga	almond-f. + sour-f.	bitter, poisonous almond	BG
almendra dulce	almond-f. + sweet	edible almond	BG
almendra mollar	almond-f. + soft	almond with a soft rind	BG
almendro amargo	almond tree-m. + sour-m.	almond tree with bitter almonds	BG
ama seca, amaseca	nurse-f. + dry-f.	dry nurse	BG
amate blanco	amatl (paper) + white	type of figtree	BG
amate negro	amatl (paper) + black	type of figtree	BG
ámbar negro	amber-m. + black-m.	jet	BG
amorfino	love-m. + fine-m.	musical piece	BG
ánade real	duck-m. + royal	type of duck	BG
arco apainelado	arch-m. + basket-handle-m.	basket-handle arch	BG
arco apuntado	arch-m. + pointed	Gothic or pointed arch	BG
arco rebajado	arch-m. + depressed	depressed arch	BG
arma blanca	weapon-f. + white-f.	steel, cold steel	BG
arma falsa	weapon-f. + false-f.	fake attack to scare the enemy	BG
arma negra	weapon-f. + black-f.	sword with a tip, used to learn fencing	BG
asa dulce	juice-f. + sweet-f.	benzoin, asa dulcis	BG
asa fétida	juice-f. + smelly-f.	asa foetida	BG
auto acordado	judgment-m. + agreed-m.	judgment of a higher court with agreement from all lower courts	BG
auto definitivo	judgment-m. + definite-m.	final judgment	BG
ave tonta	bird-f. + stupid-f.	small brownish bird from Spain, similar to a sparrow	BG
avefría	bird-f. + cold-f.	lapwing, type of bird	BG
avena loca	oats-f.s. + crazy-f.s.	type of oats	BG
avetarda	bird-f. + slow-f.	type of bird, bustard	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
avetonto	bird-f. + stupid-m.	ignorant, stupid person	BG
ayuno natural	fast-m. + natural-m.	fasting until 12 midnight of the previous night	BG
azúcar amarilla	sugar-f. + yellow-f.	second quality sugar	BG
babasfrías	drool-f.p. + cold-f.p.	stupid person	BG
babastibias	drool-f.p. + tepid-f.p.	insignificant person	BG
balanza comercial	balance-f. + commercial	balance of trade	BG
balarrasa	bullet-f. + flush-f.	liquor	BG
bandera blanca	flag-f. + white-f.	white flag	BG
bandera negra	flag-f. + black-f.	pirate flag	BG
banderilla negra	small flag-f. + black-f.	bullfighting flag with a black wrapping around the mast	BG
barba honrada	beard-f. + honest-f.	respectable person	BG
barbacabrana	beard-f. + (of) goat-f.	type of plant	BG
barcolongo, barcoluengo	ship-m. + long-m.	ancient, long and narrow vessel	BG
barro blanco	mud-m. + white-m.	type of clay	BG
beleño blanco	henbane-m. + white-m.	white henbane	BG
beleño negro	henbane-m. + black-m.	black henbane	BG
bocachica	mouth-f. + small-f.	type of catfish	BG
bocanegra	mouth-f. + black-f.	revolver	BG
bollomaduro	bun-m. + ripe-m.	sweet made of ripe plantain	BG
brazo fuerte	arm-m. + strong-m.	honey-eating bear	BG
brazolargo	arm-m. + long-m.	type of monkey	BG
brea seca	tar-f. + dry-f.	colophony, rosin	BG
bucheamarillo	throat-m. + yellow-m.	thrush	BG
bulto redondo	lump-m. + round-m.	isolated sculpture	BG
caballo marino	horse-m. + (of) sea-m.	hipopotamus; type of fish	BG
cabeza redonda	head-f. + round-f.	stupid person	BG
cabeza torcida	head-f. + twisted-f.	hypocritical person	BG
cabezadura	head-f. + hard-f.	stubborn person	BG
cabra montés	goat-f. + (of) hill	wild goat	BG
caja alta	box-f. + high-m.	upper case	BG
caja baja	box-f. + low-m.	lower case	BG
caldibaldo	broth-m. + exhausted-m.	thin broth	BG
calor negro	heat-m. + black-m.	electrical heating system	BG
cama turca	bed-f. + Turkish-m.	sofa-bed	BG
cámara alta	chamber-f. + high-f.	senate	BG
cámara baja	chamber-f. + low-f.	house of representatives	BG
cámara oscura	chamber-f. + dark-f.	camera obscura	BG
camposanto	field-m. + holy-m.	cemetery	BG
cañadulce	cane-f. + sweet-f.	sugar cane	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
cañarroya	cane-f. + rusty-f.	type of plant with reddish stems	BG
cañavera	cane-f. + true-f.	type of cane	BG
cancha blanca	roasted maize-f. + white-f.	popcorn	BG
canto llano	song-m. + plain-m.	plain song	BG
caparrosa azul	vitriol-f. + blue	blue vitriol	BG
caparrosa blanca	vitriol-f. + white-f.	sulphate of zinc	BG
caparrosa roja	vitriol-f. + red-f.	red vitriol	BG
caparrosa verde	vitriol-f. + green	green vitriol, having iron	BG
carablanca	face-f. + white-f.	type of monkey	BG
caradura	face-f. + hard-f.	shameless person	BG
caranegra	face-f. + black-f.	type of sheep	BG
caras largas	face-f.p. + long-f.p.	Indian group	BG
cardimuelle	thistle-m. + soft	type of plant	BG
cardo cuco	thistle-m. + crafty-m.?	wild, very prickly type of thistle	BG
cardosanto	thistle-m. + holy-m.	type of medicinal plant	BG
cariblanca	face-m. + white-f.	type of monkey	BG
caridura	face-m. + hard-f.	shameless person	BG
caries seca	tooth decay-f. + dry-f.	disease of trees	BG
carininfo	face-f. + nymph-m.	handsome young man	BG
carnero verde	ram-m. + green-m.	type of stew	BG
carta abierta	letter-f. + open-f.	letter addressed to a person but which is published	BG
carta acordada	letter-f. + agreed-f.	letter containing a reprimand or warning	BG
carta blanca	letter-f. + white-f.	carte blanche, free hand	BG
carta credencial	letter-f. + credential	credential letter	BG
carta falsa	card-f. + false-f.	card with little or no value	BG
casa abierta	house-f. + open-f.	house where a professional also works at his trade	BG
casa pública	house-f. + public-f.	brothel	BG
casa redonda	house-f. + round-f.	round-house	BG
caza mayor	hunt-f. + major	big game hunting	BG
caza menor	hunt-f. + minor	small game hunting	BG
cedro amargo	cedar-m. + sour-m.	type of cedar	BG
cedro blanco	cedar-m. + white-m.	type of cedar	BG
ceniza azul	ash-f. + blue	artificial copper carbonate	BG
ceniza verde	ash-f. + green	copper sulphate and arsenic	BG
ciervo volante	deer-m. + flying	insect, stag beetle	BG
círculo vicioso	circle-m. + vicious-m.	vicious circle	BG
clase media	class-f. + middle-f.	middle class	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
coche fúnebre	car-m. + funerary	hearse	BG
código civil	code-m. + civil	civil code	BG
código penal	code-m. + penal	criminal, penal code	BG
costilla falsa	rib-f. + false-f.	false rib	BG
coto redondo	enclosure-m.+ round-m.	several farms owned by one person	BG
cuarto trasero	quarter-m. + hind-m.	hindquarter	BG
cucablanca	almond-f.+ white-f.	type of plant	BG
cuenta corriente	account-f. + current-f.	checking account	BG
cuerda falsa	chord-f. + false-f.	chord that's out of tune in an instrument	BG
cuerda floja	rope-f. + loose-f.	tightrope	BG
cuerpo amarillo	body-m. + yellow-m.	corpus luteum	BG
cuerpo calloso	body-m. + corny-m.	corpus callosum	BG
cuerpo compuesto	body-m. + composed-m.	compound	BG
cuerpo muerto	body-m. + dead-m.	mooring buoy	BG
cuerpo negro	body-m. + black-m.	black body	BG
cuerpotriste	body-m. + sad-m.	Corpus Christi	BG
culocagado	ass-m. + shitted-m.	pretentious spoilt young man	BG
derecho adquirido	right-m. + acquired-m.	acquired right	BG
derecho canónico	law-m. + canonical-m.	canon law	BG
derecho civil	law-m. + civil	civil law	BG
derecho mercantil	law-m. + mercantile	commercial law	BG
derecho penal	law-m. + penal	penal law	BG
derecho político	right-m. + political-m.	political right	BG
derecho procesal	law-m. + procedural	procedural law	BG
derecho real	right-m. + real-m.	real estate rights	BG
diablo encarnado	devil-m. + incarnate-m.	devil incarnate	BG
diablo marino	devil-m. + marine-m.	type of fish	BG
dique flotante	dock-m. + floating	floating dock	BG
dique seco	dock-m. + dry	dry dock	BG
disanto	day-m. + saint-m.	holiday	BG
dominio directo	dominion-m. + direct-m.	direct property rights	BG
dominio eminente	dominion-m. + eminent	legal right to keep a suit within the sovereignty of a country	BG
dominio público	domain-m. + public-m.	common knowledge, public domain	BG
dulce seco	sweet-m. + dry-m.	sweet made with sugar	BG
enseñanza media	education-f. + middle-f.	secondary school	BG
enseñanza primaria	education-f. + primary-f.	primary school	BG
enseñanza superior	education-f. + higher-f.	tertiary school	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
erizo marino	urchin-m. + marine-m.	sea urchin	BG
escopeta negra	rifle-f. + black-f.	professional hunter	BG
escudo acuartelado	shield-m. + quartered-m.	quartered shield	BG
escudo burelado	shield-m. + (of)barry-m.	shield with 10 stripes	BG
escudo cortinado	shield-m. + curtained-m.	parted shield	BG
escudo enclavado	shield-m. + nailed-m.	shield where one of the parts seems to be nailed on to the other	BG
escudo mantelado	shield-m. + curtained-m.	parted shield	BG
escudo raso	shield-m. + plain-m.	shield with no adornments	BG
escudo tajado	shield-m. + slit-m.	shield divided from the bottom right to the top left	BG
escudo tronchado	shield-m. + sliced	shield divided from the bottom left to the top right	BG
escudo vergeteado	shield-m. + ?	shield made up of 10 or more symbols	BG
escuela normal	school-f. + normal-f.	school of education	BG
espada blanca	sword-f. + white-f.	ordinary sword	BG
espada negra	sword-f. + black-f.	iron sword with a round tip, used in fencing	BG
espía doble	spy-m. + double	double agent	BG
espina blanca	thorn-f. + white-f.	type of thistle	BG
espina dorsal	spine-f. + dorsal	backbone	BG
espina santa	thorn-f. + holy-f.	type of bush	BG
espino artificial	thorn-m. + artificial	barbed wire	BG
espino blanco	thorn-m. + white-m.	hawthorn	BG
espino cervical	thorn-m. + (of) deer	purging buckthorn	BG
espino negro	thorn-m. + black-m.	blackthorn	BG
estepa blanca	steppe-f. + white-f.	type of bush	BG
estepa negra	steppe-f. + black-f.	type of bush	BG
felpa larga	plush-f. + long-f.	plush with hair that is half an inch long	BG
fiebre aftosa	fever-f. + aphthous-f.	foot-and-mouth disease	BG
fiebre amarilla	fever-f. + yellow-f.	yellow fever	BG
fiesta doble	feast-f. + double	religious holiday celebrated with two masses	BG
fiesta fija	feast-f. + fixed-f.	religious holiday celebrated every year on the same day	BG
fiesta nacional	feast-f. + national	national holiday	BG
fiesta semidoble	feast-f. + demi-double	religious holiday celebrated with a semi-double ritual	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
fiesta simple	feast-f. + simple	religious holiday celebrated with a simple ritual	BG
figura decorativa	figure-f. + decorative-f.	person in a position who yields no real power	BG
flor compuesta	flower-f. + composite-f.	composite flower	BG
flor desnuda	flower-f. + naked-f.	flower with no calyx	BG
flujo blanco	flow-m. + white-m.	vaginal discharge	BG
fuego fatuo	fire-m. + fatuous-m.	Jack-o'-lantern	BG
fuego pérsico	fire-m. + persian-m.	infectious eruptive disease	BG
fuego potencial	fire-m. + potential	caustic substance	BG
fuego salvaje	fire-m. + savage	firefly	BG
fuegos artificiales	fire-m.p. + artificial-m.p.	fireworks	BG
fuerza animal	force-f. + animal	animal power	BG
fuerza armada	force-f. + armed-f.	armed forces	BG
galgofino	greyhound-m. + fine-m.	children's game	BG
gallina ciega	hen-f. + blind-f.	blindman's bluff	BG
garza marina	heron-f. + marine-f.	type of bird, lapwing	BG
gato algario	cat-m. + ?	genet	BG
gato montés	cat-m. + (of) hill	wild cat, puma	BG
gato romano	cat-m. + Roman-m.	cat with black and brown stripes	BG
gelatina seca	jelly-f. + dry-f.	jelly for cooking	BG
guarda jurado	guard-m. + sworn-m.	rural policeman	BG
guardacalada	attic-f. + perforated-f.	hole in the roof for water disposal	BG
guardia civil	guard-f. + civilian	policeman	BG
guardia marina	guard-f. + marine-f.	military officer	BG
hambre canina	hunger-f. + canine-f.	excessive hunger	BG
hambre estudiantina	hunger-f. + (of) student-f.	big hearty appetite	BG
helada blanca	frost-f. + white-f.	frost	BG
helada negra	frost-f. + black-f.	frost that burns crops, black ice?	BG
heno blanco	hay-m. + white-m.	type of hay	BG
hierbabuena	herb-f. + good-f.	mint	BG
hierro dulce	iron-m. + sweet	soft iron	BG
higo chumbo	fig-m. + ?	prickly pear	BG
higo melar	fig-m. + (of) honey-m.	small, sweet variety of fig	BG
higuera loca	figtree-f. + crazy-f.	sycamore	BG
hijo natural	child-m. + natural	illegitimate child	BG
historia natural	history-f. + natural	natural history	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
hoja berberisca	leaf-f. + (of) Berber-f.	thin tin film used to cover sores	BG
hoja suelta	leaf-f. + loose-f.	leaflet	BG
hombre bueno	man-m. + good-m.	mediator	BG
horno castellano	oven-m. + Castilian-m.	oven used in metallurgy	BG
huecograbado	hole-m. + engraved-m.	photogravure	BG
hueso coronal	bone-m. + coronal-m.	frontal bone	BG
hueso dulce	bone-m. + sweet	coccyx	BG
hueso frontal	bone-m. + frontal	frontal bone	BG
hueso palomo	bone-m. + foolish-m.?	coccyx	BG
hueso piramidal	bone-m. + pyramidal	a bone in the wrist	BG
huevo duro	egg-m. + hard-m.	hard-boiled egg	BG
huevo estrellado	egg-m. + starred-m.	fried egg, sunny side up	BG
huevo hilado	egg-m. + threaded-m.	mixture of eggs and sugar	BG
huevo tibio	egg-m. + tepid-m.	soft-boiled egg	BG
hulla blanca	coal-f. + white-f.	hydroelectric power	BG
interés compuesto	interest-m. + compound-m.	compound interest	BG
jabón duro	soap-m. + hard-m.	hard soap	BG
jara blanca	rockrose-m. + white-f.	type of rockrose	BG
jara negra	rockrose-m. + black-f.	type of rockrose	BG
jardín infantil	garden-m. + (of) children	kintergarten	BG
ladrillo azulejo	brick-m. + blueish-m.	tile	BG
leche aderezada	milk-f. + flavored-m.	custard	BG
leche virginal	milk-f. + virginal	cream for the face	BG
lechera amarga	milker-f. + bitter-f.	type of plant	BG
lengua viva	tongue-f. + alive-f.	living language	BG
lengua azul	tongue-f. + blue	disease of sheep and cattle	BG
lengua canina	tongue-f. + canine-f.	hound's tongue, cynoglossum	BG
lengua cerval-cervina	tongue-f. + (of) deer-f.	type of fern	BG
lengua franca	tongue-f. + frank-f.	lingua franca	BG
lengua materna	tongue-f. + maternal-f.	mother tongue	BG
lengua muerta	tongue-f. + dead-f.	dead language	BG
lengua popular	tongue-f. + popular	mother tongue	BG
lengua santa	tongue-f. + holy-f.	Hebrew	BG
lengua serpentina	tongue-f. + (of) serpent-f.	evil person	BG
lengua viperina	tongue-f. (of) viper-f.	evil person	BG
lengualarga	tongue-f. + long-f.	someone who speaks ill of others	BG
lenguamala	tongue-f. + bad-f.	indiscreet person	BG
lépora blanca	leprosy-f. + white-f.	type of leprosy, herpes	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
letra abierta	letter-f. + open-f.	blank letter of credit	BG
letra agrifada	letter-f. + curly-f.	type of font	BG
letra bastarda	letter-f. + bastardly-f.	type of font	BG
letra cancilleresca	letter-f. + (of) chancellery-f.	type of font used by the chancellery	BG
letra canina	letter-f. + canine-f.	the letter 'rr'	BG
letra capital	letter-f. + capital-f.	capital letters	BG
letra grifa	letter-f. + curly-f.	type of font	BG
letra muerta	letter-f. + dead-f.	rule which is not in effect	BG
ley adjetiva	law-f. + adjective-f.	law which refers to the punishment for the violation of other laws	BG
ley marcial	law-f. + martial	martial law	BG
ley natural	law-f. + natural	natural law	BG
ley seca	law-f. + dry-f.	prohibition	BG
libertad condicional	liberty-f. + conditional	parole	BG
libro amarillo, etc.	book-m. + yellow-m.	book with diplomatic documents	BG
liebre marina	hare-f. + marine-f.	type of mollusk	BG
limonada seca	lemonade-f. + dry-f.	citric acid and sugar which is dissolved in water to make lemonade	BG
lino bayal	linen-m. + ?	flax harvested in the fall	BG
lino caliente	linen-m. + hot-m.	flax harvested in the spring	BG
lino frío	linen-m. + cold-m.	flax harvested in the fall	BG
lirio blanco	lily-m. + white-m.	white lily	BG
lirio hediondo	lily-m. + smelly-m.	type of lily which smells bad	BG
lista negra	list-f. + black-f.	black list	BG
llar alto	hearth-m. + high-m.	hearth on a counter	BG
llar bajo	hearth-m. + low-m.	hearth on the floor	BG
llave falsa	key-f. + false-f.	key made to open a door furtively	BG
llave inglesa	key-f. + English-f.	wrench	BG
llobo cervical	wolf-m. + (of) deer	lynx	BG
lobo marino	wolf-m. + marine-m.	walrus	BG
lobogordo	wolf-m. + fat-m.	mullein	BG
lucha grecorromana	wrestling-f. + Graeco- latin-f.	Graeco-Roman wrestling	BG
lucha libre	wrestling-f. + free	freestyle wrestling	BG
madrevieja	mother-f. + old-f.	bed of a river or stream	BG
magia blanca	magic-f. + white-f.	white magic	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
magia natural	magic-f. + natural	natural magic	BG
magia negra	magic-f. + black-f.	black magic	BG
maíz morocho	maize-m. + dark-m.	type of plant	BG
maíz negro	maize-m. + black-m.	type of plant	BG
malaquita azul	malachite-f. + blue	azurite	BG
malaquita verde	malachite-f. + green	malachite	BG
malva loca	mallow-f. + crazy-f.	hollyhock	BG
malva rosea	mallow-f. + rosy-f.	hollyhock	BG
malvarrosa	mallow-f. + rosy-f.	hollyhock	BG
mandoble	hand-m. + double	two-handed blow with a sword; big sword	BG
mangle blanco	mangrove-m. + white-m.	type of tree	BG
manomora	hand-f. + moorish-f.	ghost used to scare children	BG
manos calientes	hand-f.p. + hot-f.p.	hand-warmer	BG
mansalva (a)	hand-f. + safe-f.	without taking risks	BG
manzanilla loca	chamomile-f. + crazy-f.	type of plant	BG
manzorda	hand-f. + left-f.	left hand	BG
mar ancha	sea-f. + wide-f.	high seas	BG
mar larga	sea-f. + long-f.	high seas	BG
matablanca	bush-f. + white-f.	any kind of bush	BG
matalechera	bush-f. + (of) milk-f.	wild plant	BG
matalunera	bush-f. + (of) moon-f.	wild plant	BG
matamora	bush-f. + moorish-f.	wild plant	BG
matanudosa	bush-f. + knotty-f.	wild plant	BG
matapinchosa	bush-f. + prickly-f.	wild plant	BG
matarrubia	bush-f. + blond-f.	type of oak	BG
matasosa	bush-f. + insipid-f.	wild plant	BG
matrimonio civil	marriage-m. + civilian	wedding at the civil registry	BG
matrimonio clandestino	marriage-m. + clandestine-m.	elopment	BG
matrimonio morganático	marriage-m. + morganatic-m.	morganatic marriage	BG
mechoacán negro	? + black-m.	type of plant	BG
mercado negro	market-m. + black-m.	black market	BG
mesa gallega	table-f. + Galician-f.	table with Galicians	BG
mesa redonda	table-f. + round-f.	round table	BG
mesa revuelta	table-f. + messy-f.	picture with objects in disarray	BG
metal blanco	metal-m. + white-m.	white metal, nickel	BG
metal machacado	metal-m. + beaten-m.	gold or silver found in rocks	BG
miel blanca	honey-f. + white-f.	bee honey	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
miel nueva	honey-f. + new-f.	syrup obtained from sugar refining	BG
miel rosada	honey-f. + rosy-f.	honey with rose water	BG
miel silvestre	honey-f. + wild	wild honey	BG
mingafria	? + cold-f.	person of little character	BG
mole verde	meat with chili+ green	fricasse with meat and green chili peppers	BG
mono aullador	monkey-m. + howling-m.	howler monkey	BG
mono capuchino	monkey-m. + capuchin-m.	capuchin monkey	BG
mono negro	monkey-m. + black-m.	capuchin monkey	BG
monosabio	monkey-m. + wise-m.	know-it-all	BG
monte blanco	hill-m. + white-m.	clearing	BG
montepío	hill-m. + pious-m.	pawnshop	BG
morera blanca	mulberry-f.+ white-f.	white mulberry	BG
morera negra	mulberry-f.+ black-f.	black mulberry	BG
mosquimuerto	mosquito-m. + dead-m.	person who pretends to be insignificant or harmless	BG
mostaza blanca	mustard-f. + white-f.	type of mustard plant	BG
mostaza negra	mustard-f. + black-f.	mustard	BG
mostaza silvestre	mustard-f. + wild	type of mustard	BG
mujer pública	woman-f. + public-f.	prostitute	BG
mundonuevo	world-m. + new-m.	peepshow	BG
naranja agria	orange-f. + sour-f.	sour orange	BG
naranja china	orange-f. + Chinese-f.	Chinese orange	BG
naranja dulce	orange-f. + sweet-f.	sweet orange	BG
naranja mandarina	orange-f. + mandarin-f.	nectarine	BG
negocio redondo	deal-m. + round-m.	great deal	BG
noche toledana	night-f. + (of) Toledo-f.	sleepless night	BG
nochebuena	night-f. + good-f.	December 24	BG
nochebueno	night-f. + good-m.	type of cake	BG
nochevieja	night-f. + old-f.	December 31	BG
nudo ciego	knot-m. + blind-m.	knot that is hard to unknot	BG
nudo marinero	knot-m. + sailor-m.	safe and tight knot	BG
obispo auxiliar	bishop-m. + auxiliary-m.	prelate without a parish	BG
obispo electo	bishop-m. + elect-m.	bishop chosen by the king, not yet officially appointed	BG
obispo regionario	bishop-m. + (of) region-m.	bishop without a parish	BG
oído interno	ear-m. + internal-m.	inner ear	BG
oído medio	ear-m. + middle-m.	middle ear	BG
ojo compuesto	eye-m. + composite-m.	composite eyes	BG
olla podrida	pot-m. + rotten-m.	type of stew	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
onda corta	wave-f. + short-f.	short wave	BG
onda larga	wave-f. + long-f.	long wave	BG
onda media	wave-f. + middle-f.	middle wave	BG
opinión pública	opinion-f. + public-f.	public opinion	BG
orden cerrado	order-m. + closed-m.	closed formation of troops	BG
orden público	order-m. + public-m.	public order	BG
oreja marina	ear-f. + marine-f.	abalone, sea ear	BG
oro batido	gold-m. + beaten-m.	beaten gold	BG
oro mate	gold-m. + matt	matt gold	BG
oro molido	gold-m. + ground-m.	ground gold	BG
oro negro	gold-m. + black-m.	black gold, oil	BG
oro verde	gold-m. + green	alloy of gold and silver	BG
orovivo	gold-m. + alive-m.	type of worm	BG
oso blanco	bear-m. + white-m.	white bear	BG
oso colmenero	bear-m. + (of) beehive-m.	bear that eats honey	BG
oso hormiguero	bear-m. + (of) ant-m.	anteater	BG
oso marino	bear-m. + marine-m.	type of seal	BG
oso negro	bear-m. + black-m.	black bear	BG
oso pardo	bear-m. + brown-m.	brown bear	BG
padrenuestro	father-m. + our-m.	Lord's prayer	BG
paja brava	straw-f. + wild-f.	type of weed	BG
paja cebadaza	straw-f. + (of) oats-f.	oat straw	BG
paja centenaza	straw-f. + (of) barley-f.	barely straw	BG
paja pelaza	straw-f. + (of) peel-f.	type of oat straw	BG
paja trigaza	straw-f. + (of) wheat-f.	wheat straw	BG
pájaro arañero	bird-m. + (of) spider-f.	type of bird that eats spiders	BG
pájaro bobo	bird-m. + stupid-m.	penguin	BG
pájaro loco	bird-m. + crazy-m.	type of bird	BG
pájaro solitario	bird-m. + lonely-m.	type of bird	BG
pájaro tonto	bird-m. + silly-m.	type of bird	BG
palabra gruesa	word-f. + thick-f.	foul language	BG
palabra pesada	word-f. + heavy-f.	foul language	BG
palabras libres	word-f.p. + free-f.p.	dishonest words	BG
palabras mayores	word-f.p. + major-p.	injurious words	BG
palma brava	palmtree-f. + wild-f.	palmtree of the Philippines	BG
palma cana	palmtree-f. + white-f.	wild guano	BG
palma enana	palmtree-f. + dwarf-f.	palm shoot	BG
palma indiana	palmtree-f. + Indian-f.	coconut tree	BG
palma negra	palmtree-f. + black-f.	type of tall palmtree	BG
palma real	palmtree-f. + royal-f.	type of palmtree	BG
palo blanca	stick-m. + white-f.	type of tree	BG
palo cochino	stick-m. + dirty-m.	wild tree	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
palo cortado	stick-m. + cut-m.	wine from Jerez	BG
palo dulce	stick-m. + sweet	root of liquorice	BG
palo macho	stick-m. + male-m.	type of mast	BG
palo mayor	stick-m. + major	main mast	BG
palo nefrítico	stick-m. + nephritic-m.	type of wood used for infusions used against kidney disease	BG
palo pinto	stick-m. + colored-m.	shepherd's staff	BG
palosanto	stick-m. + saint-m.	wood of guayaco	BG
pambazo	bread-m. + wholemeal-m.	bread made with green corn, butter, and sugar	BG
pamperdido	bread-m. + lost-m.	person who leaves home and becomes a vagrant	BG
pamporcino	bread-m. + porcine-m.	type of weed	BG
pan ázimo	bread-m. + unleavened-m.	unleavened bread	BG
pan cenceño	bread-m. + unleavenend-m.	unleavened bread	BG
pan mollete	bread-m. + soft	oval, spongy bread	BG
papalba	chin-f. + white-f.	weasel	BG
papel comercial	paper-m. + commercial	lined writing paper	BG
papel mojado	paper-m. + wet-m.	unimportant, inconclusive document	BG
papurribiu	chin-m. + blond-m.	robin	BG
paso castellano	step-m. + Castilian-m.	long, slow step for horses	BG
paso largo	step-m. + long-m.	type of long step for marching	BG
paso lento	step-m. + slow-m.	slow step in marching	BG
paso ordinario	step-m. + ordinary-m.	ordinary step in marching	BG
pasodoble	step-m. + double	marching music	BG
patanegra	foot-f. + black-f.	disease of plants caused by a fungus	BG
patarrajada	foot-f. + slit-f.	shoeless, poor peasant	BG
pataseca	foot-f. + dry-f.	lacking blood circulation to one leg	BG
pato negro	duck-m. + black-m.	bird similar to the duck	BG
pavisoso	turkey-m. + insipid-m.	stupid, graceless	BG
pavitonto	turkey-m. + silly-m.	stupid	BG
pavo real	turkey-m. + royal	peacock	BG
pelo malo	hair-m. + bad-m.	type of feathers	BG
peón caminero	laborer-m. + (of) road-m.	navvy	BG
perdiz blanca	partridge-f. + white-f.	partridge that turns white in winter	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
perdis pardilla	partridge-f. + brownie-f.	type of bird similar to a partridge	BG
pericana	fairy-f. + white-haired-f.	old female ghost that scares children	BG
perro mudo	dog-m. + mute-m.	raccoon	BG
perro viejo	dog-m. + old-m.	cautious, experienced man	BG
perrogordo	dog-m. + fat-m.	two-cent coin	BG
perrotonto	dog-m. + silly-m.	ignorant, useless person	BG
pez elástica	pitch-f. + elastic-f.	mineral similar to asphalt	BG
pez gordo	fish-m. + fat-m.	big shot	BG
pez naval	fish-m. + naval-m.	melted mixture of pitch and lard	BG
pez negra	pitch-f. + black-f.	black pitch	BG
pez reverso	fish-m. + reverse-m.	remora	BG
pez volante	fish-m. + flying	flying fish	BG
pica seca	pike-f. + dry-f.	soldier who serves with a pike	BG
picofeo	beak-m. + ugly-m.	toucan	BG
picoverde	beak-m. + green-m.	bird similar to the wood-pecker, with green plumage	BG
piedra dura	stone-f. + hard-f.	flint	BG
piedra falsa	stone-f. + false-f.	imitation precious stone	BG
piedra fina	stone-f. + fine-f.	precious stone	BG
piedra infernal	stone-f. + infernal-f.	silver nitrate	BG
piedra loca	stone-f. + crazy-f.	meerschaum	BG
pimienta falsa	pepper-f. + false-f.	fruit of the pepper shrub	BG
pimienta larga	pepper-f. + long-f.	fruit of an Asian pepper shrub	BG
pimienta loca	pepper-f. + crazy-f.	type of bush	BG
pimienta silvestre	pepper-f. + wild	type of bush	BG
pino negro	pinetree-m. + black-m.	type of pinetree	BG
pintarroja	spot-f. + red-f.	dogfish	BG
pionono	pious-m. + ninth-m.	angel cake	BG
pita muntesa	hen-f.+ (of) hill-f.	pheasant	BG
pitaciega	hen-f. + blind-f.	blindman's bluff	BG
plátano falso	plantain-m. + false-m.	type of tree	BG
plaza alta	square-f. + high-f.	type of fortification	BG
plaza baja	square-f. + low-f.	type of battery	BG
pleito civil	suit-m. + civil	civil suit	BG
pleito criminal	suit-m. + criminal	criminal case	BG
plomo blanco	lead-m. + white-m.	lead carbonate	BG
plomo corto	lead-m. + short-m.	lead mixed with arsenic, used to make ammunition	BG
plomo dulce	lead-m. + sweet	refined lead	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
plomo pobre	lead-m. + poor	lead with little silver	BG
plomo rico	lead-m. + rich-m.	lead with lots of silver	BG
pollaboba	dick-f. + silly-f.	idiot	BG
pollorronco	chicken-m. + hoarse-m.	boy whose voice is breaking	BG
pomarrosa	apple-f. + rosy-f.	type of fruit	BG
pozo negro	well-m. + black-m.	cesspool	BG
precipitado blanco	precipitate-m. + white-m.	proto-chloride of mercury	BG
precipitado rojo	precipitate-m. + red-m.	bioxide of mercury	BG
premio gordo	prize-m. + fat-m.	Christmas lotto prize	BG
primer espada	first + sword-f.	main bullfighter	BG
primera enseñanza	first-f. + education-f.	primary education	BG
prueba negativa	proof-f. + negative-f.	photographic negative	BG
prueba positiva	proof-f. + positive-f.	last stage of photography	BG
puerco montés	hog-m. + (of) hill	boar	BG
puerta falsa	door-f. + false-f.	secret door	BG
puerta franca	door-f. + free-f.	free admission	BG
puerta secreta	door-f. + secret-f.	secret door	BG
punta seca	point-f. + dry-f.	needle to engrave etchings	BG
pupaviva	chrysalis-m. + live-m.	person who eats too much	BG
rasoliso	satin-m. + smooth-m.	type of satin	BG
reina mora	queen-f. + moorish-f.	type of game	BG
renta estancada	rent-f. + stagnant-f.	controlled sale	BG
renta general	rent-f. + general	general income	BG
renta provincial	rent-f. + provincial	provincial income	BG
retama blanca	broom-f. + white-f.	broom with white flowers	BG
retama común	broom-f. + common	broom	BG
retama negra	broom-f. + black-f.	broom for making brooms	BG
ropa blanca	clothes-f. + white-f.	underwear	BG
ropa vieja	clothes-f. + old-f.	type of stew	BG
ropasuelta	clothes-f. + loose-f.	person of low class and behavior	BG
ropavejero	clothes-f. + old-N.suf.	seller of second-hand clothes	BG
rosal amarillo	rosebush-m. + yellow-m.	rosebush with yellow roses	BG
rosal blanco	rosebush-m. + white-m.	rosebush with white roses	BG
ruibarbo blanco	rhubarb-m. + white-m.	type of plant	BG
sal común	salt-f. + common	cooking salt	BG
salado negro	jerky-m. + black-m.	type of plant	BG
salsa blanca	sauce-f. + white-f.	white sauce	BG
salsa rubia	sauce-f. + blond-f.	brown sauce	BG
salsa tártara	sauce-f. + Tartar-f.	tartare sauce	BG
salto mortal	jump-m. + mortal	somersault	BG
sangre azul	blood-f. + blue	blue blood	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
sangre fría	blood-f. + cold-f.	cold blood, sang froid	BG
sangre ligera	blood-f. + light-f.	nice person	BG
sangre negra	blood-f. + black-f.	poisonous blood	BG
sangre pesada	blood-f. + heavy-f.	unpleasant person	BG
sangregorda	blood-f. + fat-f.	phlegmatic person	BG
sangrerrollada	blood-f. + rolled-f.	curdled blood	BG
seda azache	silk-f. + rough	rough silk	BG
seda cruda	silk-f. + raw-f.	raw silk	BG
seda ocal	silk-f. + dual	silk obtained from the cocoon of two caterpillars	BG
seda porrina	silk-f. + rough-f.	rough silk	BG
seda redonda	silk-f. + round-f.	silk obtained from the cocoon of two caterpillars	BG
seda verde	silk-f. + green	silk woven while the chrysalis is still inside de cocoon	BG
sentido común	sense-m. + common-m.	common sense	BG
servicio doméstico	service-m. + domestic-m.	cleaning service, maids	BG
servicio militar	service-m. + military	military service	BG
silla volante	chair-f. + flying	type of carriage	BG
sueldo bueno	salary-m. + good-m.	old coin of Castille	BG
sueldo burgalés	salary-m. + (of) Burgos-m.	old coin of Castille	BG
tabaco holandés	tobacco-m. + Dutch-m.	weak tobacco grown in Holland	BG
tabaco moruno	tobacco-m. + moorish-m.	strong tobacco grown in Europe and Africa	BG
tabaco negro	tobacco-m. + black-m.	tobacco perfumed with honey	BG
tabaco rubio	tobacco-m. + blond-m.	tobacco from Virginia and East Asia	BG
tabaco turco	tobacco-m. + Turkish-m.	soft, aromatic tobacco	BG
tabaco verdín	tobacco-m. + greenish-m.	powder tobacco	BG
tapa rajada	lid-f. + ripped-f.	sore mouth of an ox	BG
tapete verde	cloth-m. + green	gambling table	BG
té negro	tea-m. + black-m.	black tea	BG
té verde	tea-m. + green	green tea	BG
tejavana	tile-f. + vain-f.	plain tile, building with plain tile roof	BG
tierra blanca	soil-f. + white-f.	soil for cultivating	BG
tierra firme	ground-f. + firm	terra firma	BG
tierra rara	earth-f. + rare-f.	rare earth	BG
tierra santa	land-f. + holy-f.	holy land	BG
tierra verde	soil-f. + green-f.	greenish clay	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
tiovivo	uncle-m. + alive-m.	merry-go-round	BG
tomillo blanco	thyme-m. + white-m.	type of plant	BG
tordo loco	thrush-m.+ crazy-m.	type of bird	BG
trato doble	treatment-m. + double	fraudulent operation	BG
tren directo	train-m. + direct-m.	direct train	BG
tren expreso	train-m. + express-m.	express train	BG
tren rápido	train-m. + rapid-m.	fast train	BG
trigo azul	wheat-m. + blue	type of common wheat	BG
trigo duro	wheat-m. + hard-m.	wheat with hard grain	BG
trigo mocho	wheat-m. + blunt-m.	wheat without a beard	BG
trigo otoñal	wheat-m. + (of) fall-m.	wheat planted in the fall	BG
trigo redondillo	what-m. + roundy-m.	wheat with round grain	BG
trompa marina	trumpet-f. + marine-f.	type of musical instrument	BG
uña olorosa	nail-f. + smelly-f.	operculum of an aromatic	BG
uva abejar	grape-f. + (of) bee	type of grape liked by bees	BG
uva alarije	grape-f. + ?	type of red grape	BG
uva albarazada	grape-f. + ?	type of multicolored grape	BG
uva albilla	grape-f. + whitish-f.	type of tasty grape	BG
uva bodocal	grape-f. + ?	type of big black grape	BG
uva cana	grape-f. + white	type of weed	BG
uva crespa	grape-f. + curly-f.	type of berry	BG
uva espina	grape-f. + prickly-f.	type of berry	BG
uva marina	grape-f. + marine-f.	type of bush	BG
vaca marina	cow-f. + marine-f.	manatee	BG
vaca tembladera	cow-f. + shivery-f.	fish, torpedo	BG
vacaloca	cow-f. + crazy-f.	scaffolding in the shape of a bull, used to fire fireworks	BG
vara larga	pole-f. + long-f.	pole used in bullfighting	BG
vela bastarda	sail-f. + bastardly-f.	largest sail in Roman ships	BG
vela cuadra	sail-f. + square-f.	square sail	BG
vela latina	sail-f. + Latin-f.	triangular sail	BG
vela mayor	sail-f. + main	main sail	BG
vela redonda	sail-f. + round-f.	square sail	BG
vela tarquina	sail-f. + (of) Tarquinus?	trapezoidal sail	BG
velaverde	sail-f. + green	insult	BG
vergancha	dick-f. + wide-f.	man who marries a woman of bad repute	BG
vía muerta	way-f. + dead-f.	cul-de-sac	BG
vía pública	way-f. + public-f.	street	BG
vida airada	life-f. + airy-f.	prostitution	BG
vista cansada	eyesight-f. + tired-f.	longsightedness	BG
vista corta	eyesight-f. + short-f.	shortsightedness	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
vómito negro	vomit-m. + black-m.	yellow fever	BG
yerbamala	herb-f. + bad-f.	type of herb	BG
yeso blanco	gypsum-m. + white-m.	white gypsum	BG
yeso espejuelo	gypsum-m. + (of)mirror-m.	chrysalized gypsum	BG
yeso mate	gypsum-m. + matte	very hard white gypsum	BG
yeso negro	gypsum-m. + black-m.	dark gypsum	BG
zafiro blanco	zaphire-m. + white-m.	corundum	BG
zancas largas	leg-f.p. + long-f.p.	person with long legs	BG
zarzaperruna	bramble-f. + (of) dog-f.	wild rosebush	BG
zarzarrosa	bramble-f. + rosy-f.	flower of the wild rosebush	BG
zona verde	zone-f. + green	green areas around a city	BG
zorro azul	fox-m. + blue	fox that lives in cold areas	BG
zumaque falso	type of bush-m. + false-m.	type of bush	BG

NUMERAL + NOUN

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
camasquince	beds + fifteen	meddler	BG
ciempiés	hundred + feet	centipede	BG
ciensayos	hundred + cloaks	type of bird of many colors	BG
cientopiés	hundred + feet	centipede	BG
cincollagas	five + sores	type of plant	BG
cinconegritos	five + little Black boys	type of plant	BG
cincoREAL	five + reales (coins)	common name of the quail	BG
cuatro ojos	four + eyes	person who wears glasses	BG
cuatro orejas	four + ears	man with bushy sideburns	BG
cuatrofilos	four + blades	plantain	BG
cuatrojas	four + leaves	person who wears glasses	BG
cuatronarices	four + noses	type of snake	BG
cuatorreales	four + reales (coins)	very little money	BG
doscaras	two + faces	two-faced person	BG
milamores	thousand + loves	type of plant	BG
milflores	thousand + flowers	type of plant	BG
milhojas	thousand + leaves	milfoil, yarrow	BG
milhombres	thousand + men	small, noisy man	BG
milpies	thousand + feet	millipede	BG
nuevehojas	nine + leaves	type of plant	BG
sietecolores	seven + colors	goldfinch	BG
sietecuchillos	seven + knives	type of bird with a strong beak	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
sietecueros	seven + hides	sore on the foot of people who go barefoot	BG
sietesangrías	seven + bleedings	type of plant	BG

NOUN + NOUN

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
abeja reina	bee + queen	queen bee	BG
agua cal	water + lime	lime water	BG
agua cola	water + glue	mixture of water and glue	BG
agua nafa	water + orange-flower	orange-flower water	BG
aguacuba	water + barrel	wine of poor quality	BG
aguagoma	water + glue	solution of gum arabic in water	BG
aguamanos	water + hands	water for hands, waterjug	BG
aguamiel	water + honey	water mixed with honey, mead	BG
aguanafa	water + orange-flower	orange-flower water	BG
aguanieve	water + snow	sleet	BG
aguanieves	water + snows	wagtail	BG
aguapié	water + foot	wine of poor quality	BG
aguasal	water + salt	brine	BG
aguasnieves	waters + snows	wagtail	BG
aguaturma	water + truffle	type of plant	BG
aguaviento	water + wind	storm with rain and wind	BG
aguavientos	water + winds	type of plant	BG
ajaceite	garlic + oil	mixture of eggs, oil, garlic, and potatoes	BG
ajarriero	garlic + muleteer	type of stew	BG
ajaspajas	garlic-p. + straw-p.	insignificant thing	BG
ajiaceite	garlic + oil	mixture of garlic and oil	BG
ajicola	garlic + glue	glue made with garlic	BG
ajicomino	garlic + cummin	sauce with garlic and cummin	BG
ajicuervo	garlic + crow	type of plant that smells of garlic	BG
ajipuerro	garlic + leek	wild leek	BG
ajoaceite	garlic + oil	mixture of garlic and oil	BG
ajoarriero	garlic + muleteer	type of stew	BG
ajohuevo	garlic + egg	food made with egg, flower, parsley, and garlic	BG
ajolio	garlic + oil	mixture of garlic and oil	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
ajonuez	garlic + nut	sauce made with garlic and nutmeg	BG
ajopollo	garlic + chicken	stew made with potatoes, garlic, pepper, oil, and cod	BG
ajopringue	garlic + sticky stuff	fried food made with pork, garlic, breadcrumbs, and ground pepper	BG
ajoqueso	garlic + cheese	stew with garlic and cheese	BG
arquibanco	chest + bench	bench with drawers	BG
arquimesa	chest + table	table with drawers	BG
ave lira	bird + lyre	lyre bird	BG
balompié	ball + foot	football	BG
baloncesto	ball + basket	basketball	BG
balonmano	ball + hand	handball	BG
balonvolea	ball + volley	volleyball	BG
barbirrostro	beard + face	bird or insect with hairy face	BG
baúl mundo	chest + world	very big chest	BG
bienes raíces	properties + roots	real estate	BG
boboescama	stupid + scale	river fish	BG
bocabarra	mouth + bar	hole in a capstan to insert bars to turn it	BG
bocacalle	mouth + street	intersection	BG
bocacaz	mouth + irrigation canal	outlet to irrigation ditch	BG
bocallave	mouth + key	part of the keyhole where the key is inserted	BG
bocamanga	mouth + sleeve	cuff, wristband	BG
bocamina	mouth + mine	pithead, mine entrance	BG
bocapresa	mouth + dam	beginning of a dam	BG
bocateja	mouth + tile	front tile of a roof	BG
bocatijera	mouth + scissors	futchel	BG
bocatoma	mouth + take	outlet to irrigation ditch	BG
boticuero	boot + leather	wineskin	BG
brocamantón	tack + mantle	large jewelled brooch	BG
bulbocastaña	bulb + chestnut	type of plant	BG
buzcorona	kiss + head	trick where you hit the head of someone who attempts to kiss your hand	BG
cabrahigo	goat + fig	wild fig	BG
cachicuerno	handle + horn	knife with a horn handle	BG
calicanto	lime + stone	rubble work	BG
calo(s)frío, escalofrío	heat + cold	chills	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
calvatuerno	bald spot + thunder	big bald spot; crazy person	BG
calzaczón	panties + breeches	long panties	BG
campo turista	camp + tourist	tourist camp	BG
caña espina	cane + thorn	type of bamboo	BG
cañafístula-fístola	cane + fistula	cassia	BG
cañamiel	cane + honey	sugar cane	BG
capidengue	cape + shawl	small headkerchief used by women	BG
capigorra	cape + cap	vagrant	BG
capisayo	cape + cloak	hooded cape	BG
caracaballo	face + horse	small vessel	BG
caracierzo	face + north wind	shade of a hill	BG
carapico	face + pike	type of plant	BG
carasol	face + sun	sunny place	BG
carricoche	car + cart	old cart, caravan	BG
carricuba	car + barrel	water cart	BG
cartón piedra	cardboard + stone	papier mache	BG
casa cuna	house + crib	nursery	BG
casamuda	house + move	act of moving house	BG
casamuro	house + wall	wall, rampart	BG
casapuerta	house + door	porch, entrance hall	BG
casatienda	house + store	house with a storefront	BG
cepacaballo	strain + horse	type of plant	BG
ceracate	wax + agate	type of agate with the color of wax	BG
cerapez	wax + pitch	cobbler's wax	BG
ceriflor	wax + flower	type of plant	BG
ceromiel	wax + honey	mixture of wax and honey	BG
cerristopa	linen + burlap	type of shirt made of linen and burlap	BG
cervicabra	deer + goat	type of antelope	BG
chichinabo (de)	maize + turnip	run-of-the-mill	BG
chinchemolle	bug + type of tree	type of insect	BG
chirlomirlo	lash + blackbird	thrush	BG
chochaperdiz	woodcock + partridge	woodcock	BG
ciervoleón	deer + lion	elk	BG
coche cama	car + bed	sleeper car	BG
colapez, colapiz	glue + pitch	fish glue	BG
coliflor	cabbage + flower	cauliflower	BG
colinabo	cabbage + turnip	type of cabbage	BG
colipavo	cabbage + turkey	type of pigeon	BG
coliteja	cabbage + tile	type of pigeon	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
cornicabra	horn + goat	type of tree	BG
cuartocarro	room + cart	toolshed, garage	BG
cuerdacarru	rope + cart	rope to tie a cartload	BG
cuerpuespín	body + spine	porcupine	BG
día puente	day + bridge	holiday between two working days	BG
dinero oro	money + gold	American currency	BG
dinero plata	money + silver	Mexican currency	BG
ecosonda	echo + probe	sonar	BG
estrellamar	star + sea	starfish	BG
gachasmigas	porridge + crumbs	type of crumbs	BG
galizabra	galley + small vessel	type of ship	BG
gallipato	rooster + duck	type of amphibian	BG
gallipava	rooster + turkey-f.	type of hen	BG
gallipavo	rooster + turkey-m.	type of poultry	BG
gallipiente	rooster + bridge	elevated bridge	BG
gallocresta	rooster + comb	cockscorn	BG
gatoyerro	cat + iron	iron that holds logs so that they will burn better	BG
gatuña	cat + nail	cammock	BG
guebogallo	egg + rooster	type of bean	BG
hojalata	leaf + tin	tinplate, tin	BG
hombre rana	man + frog	frogman	BG
hormigacaballo	ant + horse	large, black and red ant	BG
jaraestepa	cockrose + steppe	type of bush	BG
juntabanda	joint + band	band that joins the net with the rest of the fishing tackle	BG
lápiz plomo	pencil + lead	pencil	BG
lápiz tinta	pencil + ink	pencil which can be wet and writes in ink	BG
lechearena	milk + sand	type of plant	BG
lengua madre	tongue + mother	mother tongue	BG
liquidambar	liquid + amber	liquidamber	BG
madre yerba	mother + herb	type of plant	BG
madrechinche	mother + bug	female of the cockroach	BG
madreclavo	mother + clove	clove of essence that has been in the tree for 2 years	BG
madreoveja	mother + sheep	type of weed	BG
madreperla	mother + pearl	mother-of-pearl	BG
madreselva	mother + jungle	honeysuckle	BG
maestrepasquín	teacher + tract	tract	BG
maestresala	teacher + room	headwaiter	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
maestrescuela	teacher + school	chancellor	BG
malvaseda	hollyhock + silk	perfumed hollyhock	BG
mamporro	hand + club	harmless blow	BG
mancuadra	hand + square	sworn statement of four people	BG
mancuerda	hand + rope	type of torture	BG
manderecha	hand + right	right hand	BG
maniobra	hand + work	manoeuvre	BG
manobra	hand + work	material for construction	BG
matalbahaca	bush + basil	type of basil	BG
mesa camilla	table + stretcher	stretcher	BG
misacantano	mass + singer	priest who can say mass	BG
mono araña	monkey + spider	monkey with very long limbs	BG
nabicol	turnip + cabbage	type of plant	BG
orejaliebre	ear + hare	type of plant	BG
pájaro burro	bird + donkey	frigate bird	BG
pájaro carnero	bird + ram	type of bird	BG
pájaro diablo	bird + devil	type of sea bird	BG
pájaro flauta	bird + flute	blackbird	BG
pájaro gallo	bird + rooster	bird similar to a pheasant	BG
pájaro gato	bird + cat	bird similar to a thrush	BG
pájaro mosca	bird + fly	hummingbird	BG
pájaro moscón	bird + bluebottle	type of bird	BG
pájaro mosquito	bird + mosquito	hummingbird	BG
pájaro niño	bird + child	type of palmipede	BG
pájaro perico	bird + parakeet	type of cruel domestic bird	BG
pájaro polilla	bird + moth	kingfisher	BG
pájaro reloj	bird + clock	type of bird that sings at regular intervals	BG
pájaro trapaza	bird + fraud	reddish bird	BG
pájaro vaquero	bird + cowboy	type of falcon	BG
pájaro verdugo	bird + executioner	type of bird	BG
palo áloe	stick + aloe	aloe wood	BG
palo brasil	stick + brazil	brazilwood	BG
palo campeche	stick + campeachy	camwood	BG
pan y quesillo	bread + and + cheese-dim	type of plant	BG
paniqueso	bread + and + cheese	flower of the elm tree	BG
pañomanos	cloth + hands	towel	BG
papel pluma	paper + feather	thin, spongy paper	BG
papel tela	paper + cloth	cotton material used to trace drawings	BG
pasitrote	step + trot	short trot	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
pasonivel	pass + level	level crossing	BG
pavipollo	turkey + chicken	chicken of the turkey	BG
peje araña	fish + spider	stingfish	BG
peje diablo	fish + devil	scorpion fish	BG
pejeángel	fish + angel	type of fish	BG
pejegallos	fish + rooster	type of fish with a comb	BG
pejemujer	fish + woman	manatee	BG
pejepalo	fish + stick	codfish	BG
pejerrey	fish + king	type of salt water fish	BG
pejesapo	fish + toad	type of salt water fish	BG
perrigallo	dog + greyhound	person who moves a lot	BG
peso gallo	weight + rooster	bantamweight	BG
peso mosca	weight + fly	flyweight	BG
peso pluma	weight + feather	featherweight	BG
pez ballesta	fish + crossbow	type of fish	BG
pez espada	fish + sword	swordfish	BG
pez luna	fish + moon	moonfish	BG
pez martillo	fish + hammer	hammerhead	BG
pez mujer	fish + woman	manatee	BG
pez sierra	fish + saw	sawfish	BG
pezpalo	fish + stick	type of fish	BG
picoazadón	pick + hoe	tool that is both a pick and a hoe	BG
picoangrejo	beak + crab	graff (on a ship)	BG
picoesquina	beak + corner	corner	BG
picopaloma	beak + pigeon	very hot, long chili	BG
piedra jaspe	stone + jasper	jasper	BG
piedra mármol	stone + marble	marble	BG
piedrahierro	stone + iron	marsh ore	BG
piedraimán	stone + magnet	mineral magnet	BG
pitiseda	pita + silk	material made with pita and silk	BG
pitobarreno	spout + drill	type of drill?	BG
plumafuente	feather + fountain	fountain pen	BG
puercoespín	pig + spine	porcupine	BG
puertaventana	door + window	bay window	BG
puntapié	tip + foot	kick with the tip of the foot	BG
rabicandil	tail + oil lamp	wagtail	BG
rabiguana	tail + iguana	liana, rattan	BG
radiojo	tail + eye	with the corner of the eye	BG
rabipego	tail + magpie	magpie with long plumage and blue feathers	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
rabistaca	tail + stick	piece of wood on a dog's tail	BG
raoiguana	tail + iguana	liana, rattan	BG
raojuuco	tail + rush	type of tree	BG
raaonejo	rat + rabbit	field rat	BG
reihueso	king + bone	game, knucklebones	BG
reina madre	queen + mother	queen mother	BG
retama macho	broom + male	type of plant	BG
rosadelfa	rose + oleander	azalea	BG
sal gema	salt + gem	rock salt	BG
salipez	salt + pitch	black and white quartz stone	BG
salpimienta	salt + pepper	mixture of salt and pepper	BG
sangre vaca	blood + cow	redness of sunset	BG
sangre y leche	blood + and + milk	type of red and white marble	BG
saucegatallo	willow + acacia	flower of the acacia	BG
sauzgatallo	willow + acacia	flower of the acacia	BG
sayobobo	cloak + stupid	narrow dress used by clowns	BG
silla jineta	seat + horsewoman	saddle used by female riders	BG
sombrero hongo	hat + mushroom	bowler hat	BG
sopicaldo	soup + broth	light broth	BG
tabaco vinagrillo	tobacco + vinegar-dim.	type of tobacco	BG
tapacorona	cover + crown	screw cap	BG
tapafunda	cover + sleeve	cover of the saddle	BG
té perla	tea + pearl	tea prepared with leaves that curl up	BG
telaraña	cloth + spider	spider web	BG
trampantojo	trap + wish	illusion, trick	BG
tripicallos	tripe + tripe	type of stew	BG
uñagata	nail + cat-f.	cammock	BG
uñagato	nail + cat-m.	cammock	BG
uva verga	grape + prick	aconite	BG
vacabuey	cow + ox	type of tree	BG
varagavilán	pole + hawk	long pole used when shepherding	BG
varapalo	pole + stick	long stick, like a pole	BG
varaseto	pole + fence	fence made with canes	BG
vigapié	beam + foot	support beams	BG
vuelocapa	flight + cape	movement of skirt	BG
yerba añil	herb + indigo	musk	BG
yerba anís	herb + aniseed	type of plant	BG
yerba coral	herb + coral	type of plant	BG
yerbarreuma	herb + rheuma	type of plant used to cure catarrh	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
yerbavibora	herb + snake	type of plant	BG
zambapalo	samba + stick	type of dance	BG
zapapico	spade + pick	pickaxe	BG
zarzamora, zarzamorra	bramble + berry	blackberry	BG
zarzaparrilla	bramble + little vine	sarsaparilla	BG

NOUN + PREPOSITION + NOUN

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
abogado de pobres	lawyer + of + poor	state defense attorney	BG
abogado de secano	lawyer + of + dry land	quack lawyer, pettifogger	BG
acto de conciliación	act + of + conciliation	act of conciliation	BG
acto de contricción	act + of + contrition	act of contrition	BG
agua de azahar	water + of + orange- blossom	orange-blossom water	BG
agua de borrajas	water + of + borage	something unimportant	BG
agua de cal	water + of + lime	mixture of water and lime	BG
agua de cantera	water + of + quarry	natural humidity of stones taken from a quarry	BG
agua de cepas	water + of + strains	wine	BG
agua de cerrajas	water + of + borage	something unimportant	BG
agua de colonia	water + of + colony	cologne	BG
agua de fondo	water + of + bottom	shallow waters	BG
agua de herreros	water + of + blacksmiths	water used to put out hot coals	BG
agua de lluvia	water + of + rain	rainwater	BG
agua de manantial	water + of + spring	springwater	BG
agua de nafa	water + of + orange- blossom	orange-blossom water	BG
agua de nieve	water + of + snow	water cooled down with snow and ice	BG
agua de palo	water + of + stick	infusion of a plant used to cure venereal diseases	BG
ala de mosca	wing + of + fly	trick used when playing cards	BG
alma de caballo	soul + of + horse	unscrupulous person	BG
alma de caín	soul + of + Cain	evil person	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
alma de cántaro	soul + of + jug	indiscreet person	BG
alma de dios	sould + of + god	good and simple person	BG
almacén de agua	storage + of + water	water well on a ship	BG
alma en pena	soul + in + pain	distracted person, person who is suffering	BG
ama de leche	nurse + of + milk	wet nurse	BG
ama de llaves	nurse + of + keys	housekeeper	BG
anémone de mar	anemone + of + sea	sea anemone	BG
animal de bellota	animal + of + acorn	pig	BG
araña de agua	spider + of + water	water spider	BG
araña de mar	spider + of + sea	type of crab	BG
arta de agua	plantain + of + water	type of plant	BG
artículo de fe	article + of + faith	article of faith	BG
artículo de fondo	article + of + foundation	main article in a newspaper, editorial	BG
auto de fe	auto + of + faith	auto-da-fe	BG
ave de paraíso	bird + of + paradise	bird of paradise	BG
azúcar de uva	sugar + of + grape	glucose	BG
azucena de agua	lily + of + water	water lily	BG
barbo de mar	barbel + of + sea	red mullet	BG
berenjena de huevo	eggplant + of + egg	type of eggplant	BG
berza de perro	cabbage + of + dog	type of plant	BG
blanco de huevo	white + of + egg	egg white	BG
boca de estómago	mouth + of + stomach	pit of the stomach	BG
boca de fuego	mouth + of + fire	powder weapon	BG
boca de oro	mouth + of + gold	voluble person	BG
boca de verdades	mouth + of + truths	honest, sincere person	BG
bola de nieve	ball + of + snow	snowball	BG
bomba de mano	pump + of + hand	handpump	BG
botón de oro	button + of + gold	type of plant	BG
brazo de gitano	arm + of + gypsy	type of cake	BG
brazo de mar	arm + of + sea	arm of sea	BG
brazo de río	arm + of + river	river branch	BG
buey de agua	ox + of + water	measure of water	BG
caballo de agua	horse + of + water	hipopotamus	BG
caballo de mar	horse + of + sea	seahorse	BG
caballo de vapor	horse + of + steam	unit of power	BG
cabello de ángel	hair + of + angel	angel hair	BG
cabeza de ajo	head + of + garlic	head of garlic	BG
cabeza de casa	head + of + house	head of household	BG
cabeza de chorlito	head + of +	birdbrain	BG
cabeza de hierro	head + of + iron	stubborn person	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
cabeza de lobo	head + of + wolf	trophy	BG
cabeza de partido	head + of + party	county town	BG
cabeza de perro	head + of + dog	type of plant	BG
cabeza de puente	head + of + bridge	bridgehead	BG
cabeza de turco	head + of + Turk	scapegoat	BG
caña de azúcar	cane + of + sugar	sugarcane	BG
cangrejo de mar	crab + of + sea	sea crab	BG
capón de leche	sheep + of + milk	sheep fattened in a coop	BG
cara de acelga	face + of + beet	person with a greenish face	BG
cara de gualda	face + of + weld	pale person	BG
cara de perro	face + of + dog	displeased hostile face	BG
carro de oro	cart + of + gold	fine woolen material	BG
casa de baños	house + of + baths	public baths	BG
casa de camas	house + of + beds	brothel	BG
casa de campo	house + of + country	country house	BG
casa de citas	house + of + dates	brothel	BG
casa de fieras	house + of + beasts	zoo	BG
casa de huéspedes	house + of + guests	guesthouse, boarding house	BG
casa de locos	house + of + crazy people	insane asylum	BG
casa de socorro	house + of + assistance	emergency room	BG
censo de agua	census + of + water	rate paid for having running water	BG
cigarro de papel	cigar + of + paper	cigarette	BG
coche de línea	car + of + line	bus with a regular route	BG
cola de boca	tail + of + mouth	type of glue	BG
cola de caballo	tail + of + horse	ponytail	BG
cola de zorra	tail + of + fox	type of plant	BG
colchón de viento	matress + of + wind	inflatable mattress	BG
comedia de carácter	comedy + of + character	comedy of character	BG
comedia de costumbres	comedy + of + mores	comedy based on ordinary life	BG
comedia de enredo	comedy + of + quid pro quo	situation comedy	BG
comedia de figurón	comedy + of + character actor	comedy of character	BG
comedia de magia	comedy + of + magic	comedy with special effects	BG
compañón de perro	companion + of + dog	type of plant	BG
costra de azúcar	crust + of + sugar	sugar crust	BG
criadilla de mar	roll + of + sea	polyp stuck to the rocks on the shore	BG
criadilla de tierra	roll + of + land	truffle	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
cuarto de banderas	room + of + flags	flagroom in a ship	BG
cuarto de estar	room + of + being	living room	BG
cuenta de leche	bead + of + milk	bead used by women to have milk	BG
cuerda sin fin	rope + without + end	rope with its ends tied together	BG
cuerpo de hombre	body + of + man	measure based on the size of a man	BG
culo de mal asiento	ass + of + bad + seat	person who never stays still	BG
culo de vaso	ass + of + glass	false stone in imitation of a precious stone	BG
curva de nivel	curve + of + level	contour line	BG
dama de noche	lady + of + night	type of plant which blooms at night	BG
dedodedama	finger + of + lady	type of grape	BG
derecho de espada	right + of + sword	amount paid by officers when entering the royal guard	BG
día de bueyes	day + of + oxen	measurement	BG
día de grosura	day + of + plenty	Saturday	BG
diente de ajo	tooth + of + garlic	clove of garlic	BG
diente de caballo	tooth + of + horse	feldspath	BG
diente de leche	tooth + of + milk	tooth of the first dentition	BG
diente de león	tooth + of + lion	type of plant	BG
diente de lobo	tooth + of + wolf	type of plant	BG
diente de muerto	tooth + of + dead person	type of plant, vetch	BG
diente de perro	tooth + of + dog	chisel	BG
dolor de viudo	pain + of + widower	strong, short-lived pain	BG
erizo de mar	hedgehog + of + sea	echinoderm	BG
escalera de caracol	staircase + of + snail	spiral staircase	BG
escalera de color	staircase + of + color	straight flush	BG
escalera de espárrago	staircase + of + asparagus	ladder made with a pole stuck with sticks	BG
escalera de husillo	staircase + of + distaff	spiral staircase	BG
escalera de mano	staircase + of + hand	ladder	BG
escalera de servicio	staircase + of + service	service stairs	BG
escalera de tijera	staircase + of + scissors	stepladder	BG
escudo de armas	shield + of + arms	coat of arms	BG
espada de dos filos	sword + of + two + edges	double-edged sword	BG
espina de cruz	spine + of + cross	type of bush	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
espina de pescado	spine + of + fish	fishbone	BG
espíritu de sal	spirit + of + salt	hydrochloric acid	BG
espíritu de vino	spirit + of + wine	alcohol mixed with water	BG
espuma de mar	froth + of + sea	silicate of magnesia	BG
estación de servicio	station + of + service	service station, gas station	BG
estrella de mar	star + of + sea	starfish	BG
fe de vida	faith + of + life	certificate proving someone is still alive	BG
ferrocarril de sangre	train + of + blood	train drawn by animals	BG
fidalgo, hidalgo	son + of + something	nobleman	BG
fiesta de armas	feast + of + arms	joust	BG
fiesta de consejo	feast + of + counsel	holiday for the courts	BG
fiesta de guardar	feast + of + keeping	holiday	BG
figura de bulto	figure + of + lump	sculpture made with stone, wood, or some other material	BG
fijodalgo, hijodalgo	son + of + something	nobleman	BG
flor de amor	flower + of + love	amaranth	BG
flor de ángel	flower + of + angel	yellow narcissus	BG
flor de lis	flower + of + lis	fleur de lis	BG
flor de macho	flower + of + male	dandelion	BG
flor de maíz	flower + of + maize	popcorn	BG
flor de muerto	flower + of + dead person	marigold	BG
flor de viento	flower + of + wind	type of anemone	BG
galán de día	gallant + of + day	type of bush whose flowers bloom during the day	BG
galán de noche	gallant + of + night	type of bush whose flowers bloom at night	BG
gallina de agua	hen + of + water	coot	BG
garbanzo de agua	chickpea + of + water	measure of water	BG
gato de agua	water + of + water	type of mousetrap	BG
gente de barrio	people + of + neighborhood	small town people	BG
gente de capa de carda	people + of + cape + of + carding	ruffians	BG
gente de capa negra	people + of + cape + black	decent citizens	BG
gente de escaleras abajo	people + of + stairs + below	servants	BG
golondrina de mar	sparrow + of + sea	palmipede, smaller than a seagull	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
golpe de estado	blow + of + state	coup d'état	BG
golpe de gracia	blow + of + grace	coup de grace	BG
golpe de mar	blow + of + sea	large breaker	BG
guardia de asalto	guard + of + assault	SWAT team member	BG
guardia de honor	guard + of + honor	guard of honor	BG
gusano de sangre roja	worm + of + blood + red	annelid	BG
hila de agua	thread + of + water	amount of water that comes out of a ditch	BG
hoja de lata	leaf + of + tin	tinplate, tin	BG
hoja de limón	leaf + of + lemon	lemon balm	BG
hoja de ruta	leaf + of + route	waybill	BG
hoja de servicios	leaf + of + services	service record	BG
hoja de tocino	leaf + of + bacon	half of a pork	BG
hombre de armas	man + of + arms	rider that went to battle in full armor	BG
hombre de cabo	man + of + rope	sailor	BG
hueso de santo	bone + of + saint	type of sweet made with almond paste	BG
huevo de faltriquera	egg + of + pocket	sweet made with egg	BG
huevo de pulpo	egg + of + octopus	type of mollusk	BG
impureza de sangre	impurity + of + blood	blot in a family's lineage	BG
jamón en dulce	ham + in + sweet	ham cooked in white wine	BG
juego de manos	game + of + hands	act of hitting each other	BG
leche de canela	milk + of + cinnamon	cinnamon oil dissolved in wine	BG
leche de gallina	milk + of + hen	type of plant	BG
leche de pájaro	milk + of + bird	type of plant	BG
leche de tierra	milk + of + earth	magnesia	BG
lengua de agua	tongue + of + water	shore	BG
lengua de buey	tongue + of + ox	type of plant	BG
lengua de escorpión	tongue + of + scorpion	person who speaks ill of others	BG
lengua de estropajo	tongue + of + rag	stammerer, stutterer	BG
lengua de gato	tongue + of + cat	type of plant	BG
lengua de hacha	tongue + of + axe	person who speaks ill of others	BG
lengua de perro	tongue + of + dog	hound's tongue, cynoglossum	BG
lengua de sierpe	tongue + of + snake	person who speaks ill of others	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
lengua de tierra	tongue + of + earth	land that juts out into the water	BG
lengua de trapo	tongue + of + rag	stammerer, stutterer	BG
lengua de víbora	tongue + of + snake	person who speaks ill of others	BG
lenteja de agua	lentil + of + water	type of plant	BG
letra de cambio	letter + of + exchange	bill of exchange	BG
libro de caballerías	book + of + horses	book or knight-errantry	BG
libro de horas	book + of + hours	Book of Hours	BG
libro de texto	book + of + text	textbook	BG
liebre de mar	hare + of + sea	type of mollusk	BG
limpieza de sangre	cleanliness + of + blood	pure Spanish stock	BG
línea de flotación	line + of + flotation	line of flotation	BG
lirio de agua	lily + of + water	waterlily	BG
llantén de agua	plantain + of + water	type of plant	BG
mal de bubas	ailment + of + bubos	bubos, soft tumors	BG
mal de corazón	ailment + of + heart	epilepsy	BG
mal de madre	ailment + of + mother	hysteria	BG
mal de montaña	ailment + of + mountain	vertigo	BG
mal de ojo	ailment + of + eye	evil eye	BG
mal de orina	ailment + of + urine	disease of the urinary tract	BG
mal de piedra	ailment + of + stone	kidney stones	BG
maldejojo	ailment + of + eye	evil eye	BG
manga de ángel	sleeve + of + angel	wide sleeves	BG
manga de viento	sleeve + of + wind	whirlwind	BG
mano de cazo	hand + of + ladle	left-hander	BG
mano de gato	hand + of + cat	care of the skin	BG
mano de obra	hand + of + work	laborers	BG
manto de humo	cloak + of + smoke	dark veil women wore when in mourning	BG
mar de fondo	sea + of + bottom	turbulent waters	BG
médico de cabecera	doctor + of + bedhead	family doctor	BG
médico de cámara	doctor + of + chamber	doctor to the king	BG
melón de agua	melon + of + water	watermelon	BG
memoria de gallo	memory + of + rooster	person with poor memory	BG
memoria de grillo	memory + of + cricket	person with poor memory	BG
merced de agua	mercy + of + water	allocation of water among neighbors	BG
mesa de batalla	table + of + battle	in the post office, sorting table	BG
mesa de comercio	table + of + commerce	commerce bank	BG
mesa de gallegos	table + of + Galicians	table with Galicians	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
mesa de noche	table + of + night	nightstand	BG
mesilla de noche	table-dim. + of + night	nightstand	BG
miel de caldera	honey + of + kettle	cane syrup	BG
miel de cañas	honey + of + canes	cane syrup	BG
miel de caras	honey + of + faces	last distillation of sugar	BG
miel de claros	honey + of + clears	syrup obtained from cooking sugar froth	BG
molino de sangre	mill + of + blood	animal-driven mill	BG
moro de paz	moor + of + peace	moor from Morocco, who acted as a mediator	BG
mosca en leche	fly + in + milk	dark woman dressed in white	BG
mozo de caballos	lad + of + horses	stable boy, groom	BG
mozo de cordel	lad + of + rope	porter	BG
mozo de cuerda	lad + of + rope	porter	BG
mozo de espuela	lad + of + spur	footman	BG
mozo de estoques	lad + of + sword	sword boy, bullfighter's aid	BG
mozo de mulas	lad + of + mules	mule keeper	BG
muelas de gallo	molars + of + rooster	person with no teeth, or with bad teeth	BG
mujer de mala vida	woman + of + bad + life	prostitute	BG
nube de lluvia	cloud + of + rain	raincloud	BG
nube de verano	cloud + of + summer	dark cloud which brings sudden, short rainshowers	BG
nudo de tripas	knot + of + tripes	ileus	BG
ojo de besugo	eye + of + sea bream	twisted eye	BG
ojo de boticario	eye + of + pharmacist	place where the most expensive drugs are kept in a pharmacy	BG
ojo de buey	eye + of + ox	porthole	BG
ojo de cangrejo	eye + of + crab	medicine	BG
ojo de gallo	eye + of + rooster	color of some wines	BG
ojo de gato	eye + of + cat	type of agate	BG
ojo de jabón	eye + of + soap	turn given to soap when washing clothes	BG
ojo de liebre	eye + of + hare	type of grape	BG
ojo de pavo real	eye + of + peacock	disease of vineyards	BG
ojo de perdiz	eye + of + partridge	type of passementerie	BG
ojo de pollo	eye + of + chicken	foot corn	BG
ojos de cangrejo	eye + of + crab	certain type of pebbles	BG
ojos de gato	eye + of + cat	person with grey eyes	BG
ojos de sapo	eyes + of + frog	person with popping eyes	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
oreja de abad	ear + of + abbot	type of plant	BG
oreja de fraile	ear + of + friar	type of plant	BG
oreja de mar	ear + of + sea	type of mollusk	BG
oreja de monje	ear + of + monk	type of plant	BG
oreja de negro	ear + of + black man	type of tree, whose seeds look like black ears	BG
oreja de oso	ear + of + bear	type of plant	BG
oreja de ratón	ear + of + mouse	type of plant	BG
ortiga de mar	nettle + of + sea	acaleph, sea animal	BG
palabra de honor	word + of + honor	word of honor	BG
palo de águila	stick + of + eagle	type of wood resembling aloe	BG
palo de áloe	stick + of + aloe	aloe wood	BG
palo de bañón	stick + of + bath-augm.	buckthorn	BG
palo de campeche	stick + campeachy	camwood	BG
palo de ciego	stick + of + blindman	careless blow	BG
palo de esteva	stick + of + plow handle	handle of carts	BG
palo de hule	stick + of + rubber	rubber tree	BG
palo de jabón	stick + of + soap	soapbark	BG
palo de rosa	stick + of + rose	rosewood	BG
pamplina de agua	chickweed + of + water	brookweed	BG
pan de azúcar	loaf + of + sugar	sugar loaf	BG
pan de perro	loaf + of + dog	punishment	BG
pandeculobra	loaf + of + snake?	wild mushroom	BG
pandecuquello	loaf + of + ?	card game	BG
pandesapo	loaf + of + toad	wild mushroom	BG
pañó de escusa	cloth + of + hiding	gown	BG
pañó de manos	cloth + of + hands	towel	BG
papagayo de noche	parrot + of + night	type of bird	BG
papel de barbas	paper + of + beards	ink paper not cut on the sides	BG
paso a nivel	pass + to + level	level crossing	BG
pata de banco	foot + of + bench	absurdity	BG
pata de cabra	foot + of + goat	tool used by cobblers which looks like a goat's foot	BG
pata de gallina	foot + of + hen	the beginnigs of tree rot	BG
pata de gallo	foot + of + rooster	crow's feet	BG
pata de león	foot + of + lion	type of plant	BG
patiporsuelo	foot + in + floor	very poor person	BG
pedo de llobu	fart + of + wolf	wild mushroom	BG
pelo de cofre	hair + of + coffer	red hair	BG
pelota de viento	ball + of + wind	bladder full of air	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
perejil de perro	parsley + of + dog	cicute	BG
pico de cigüeña	beak + of + stork	type of plant	BG
pico de oro	beak + of + gold	voluble person	BG
pie de becerro	foot + of + yearling calf	cuckoopint	BG
pie de burro	foot + of + donkey	type of mollusk	BG
pie de cabra	foot + of + goat	type of lever	BG
pie de gallina	foot + of + hen	type of plant	BG
pie de gato	foot + of + cat	scar (in a weapon)	BG
pie de león	foot + of + lion	type of plant	BG
pie de paloma	foot + of + pigeon	type of plant	BG
pedra de chispa	stone + of + spark	flint	BG
pedra de pipa	stone + of + pipe	meerschaum	BG
pedra de rayo	stone + of + ray	axe made with polished stone	BG
pedra de toque	stone + of + touch	touchstone	BG
pino de oro	pinetree + of + gold	type of adornment used by women	BG
piojo de mar	flea + of + sea	type of crustacean	BG
plaza de armas	square + of + arms	fortified town	BG
plaza de toros	square + of + bulls	bullring	BG
pluma de agua	plume + of + water	measurement of water	BG
pollo de agua	chicken + of + water	type of wading bird	BG
polvo de batata	powder + of + sweet potato	type of sweet made with sweet potato	BG
rabo de zorra	tail + of + fox	type of plant	BG
rabodejunco	tail + of + reed	hummingbird	BG
rabos de gallo	tails + of + rooster	type of light cloud	BG
raíz de moro	root + of + moor	type of plant	BG
real de agua	royal + of + water	old measurement	BG
real de plata	royal + of + silver	silver currency	BG
recurso de aclaración	recourse + of + clarification	appeal for clarification	BG
recurso de amparo	recourse + of + protection	recourse to have one's constitutional rights protected	BG
recurso de apelación	recourse + of + appeal	appeal	BG
recurso de fuerza	recourse + of + force	appeal against an ecclesiastical tribunal	BG
recurso de nulidad	recourse + of + nullification	appeal of annulment	BG
red de pájaros	net + of + birds	thin, badly woven material	BG
retama de escobas	broom + of + brooms	type of bush	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
retama de olor	broom + of + smell	type of plant	BG
retama de tintes	broom + of + tinctures	type of plant	BG
sal de nitro	salt + of + nitro	potassium nitrate	BG
sal de perla	salt + of + pearl	acetate of salt	BG
sal de plomo	salt + of + lead	acetate of lead	BG
salamanca de agua	salamander + of + water	type of salamander	BG
salto de agua	jump + of + water	waterfall	BG
salto de campana	jump + of + bell	leap of a bullfighter who has been hit by the bull	BG
salto de lobo	jump + of + wolf	moat made in a field as a boundary	BG
sangre de drago	blood + of + dragon	type of resin	BG
sangre de espaldas	blood + of + backs	blood coming from hemorrhoids	BG
sangre de horchata	blood + of + orgeat	phlegmatic person	BG
seguro de vida	insurance + of + life	life insurance	BG
sopa en vino	soup + of + wine	fruit of the thistle	BG
sueldo de oro	salary + of + gold	bizantine coin of gold	BG
tabaco de barro	tobacco + of + mud	snuff that smells like mud	BG
tabaco de humo	tobacco + of + smoke	smoking tobacco	BG
tabaco de polvo	tobacco + of + powder	snuff	BG
tabaco de vena	tobacco + of + vein	tobacco ground from veins and stems	BG
tabaco de vinagrillo	tobacco + of + vinegar-dim.	tobacco powder flavored with vinegar	BG
tabla de juego	table + of + game	gambling house	BG
tela de araña	cloth + of + spider	spider web	BG
temblor de tierra	tremor + of + earth	earthquake	BG
tocinillo de cielo	bacon-dim. + of + sky	sweet made with egg yolk and syrup	BG
tocino de cielo	bacon + of + sky	sweet made with egg yolk and syrup	BG
tordo de agua	thrush + of + water	bird similar to the thrush	BG
torre de marfil	tower + of + ivory	ivory tower	BG
torre de viento	tower + of + wind	wind tower	BG
tropa de línea	troop + of + line	line troop	BG
trucha de mar	trout + of + sea	sea trout	BG
uva de gato	grape + of + cat	type of plant	BG
uva de pájaro	grape + of + bird	type of plant	BG
uva de perro	grape + of + dog	type of plant	BG
uva de raposa	grape + of + fox	type of plant	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
vejiga de perro	bladder + of + dog	winter cherry, strawberry tomato	BG
vino de agujas	wine + of + needles	wine that stings	BG
vino de cabezas	wine + of + heads	wine made with marc and water	BG
vino de garrote	wine + of + club	wine obtained from using the press	BG
vino de lágrima	wine + of + tear	wine distilled without pressing the bunch	BG
vino de yema	wine + of + yolk	wine which is neither from the beginning or the end of the barrel	BG
vista de águila	sight + of + eagle	good vision	BG
vista de lince	sight + of + lynx	good vision	BG
yerba de ballestero	herb + of + crossbowman	hellebore	BG
yerba de coral	herb + of + coral	type of plant	BG
yerba de cuajo	herb + of + curdle	flower and fuzz of the thistle, which curdles milk	BG
yerba de limón	herb + of + lemon	type of plant	BG
zorra de mar	vixen + of + sea	type of shark	BG

VERB + NOUN or ADVERB

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
abrecartas	open + letters	letter opener	BG
abrelatas	open + cans	can opener	BG
abreojos	open + eyes	cammock	BG
abrepuños	open + fists	centaury	BG
abriboca	open + mouth	absent-minded person	BG
abrojo	open + eye	thistle	BG
aburacabarreno	perforate + drill	woodpecker	BG
aburacamaderos	perforate + planks	type of drill	BG
acabacasas	end + homes	spendthrift	BG
aclaraaguas	clear + waters	type of insect, water flea	BG
aferravelas	grab + sails	rope used to hold sails	BG
afilalápices	sharpen + pencils	pencil sharpener	BG
afrentacavadores	affront + diggers	type of herb	BG
aguafiestas	water + parties	party pooper	BG
aguaitacaimán	hold + alligator	type of wader from Cuba	BG
aguaitacaminos	hold + roads	type of bird	BG
aguzanieves	sharpen + snows	wagtail	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
ahogaviejas	drown + old women	type of plant	BG
ahorcaperros	choke + dogs	type of sliding knot	BG
alborotapueblos	upset + towns	hell-raiser	BG
allanabarrancos	lower + ravines	person who believes everything is easy	BG
allanapastillos	lower + grasses-dim.	meddler	BG
alzacolita	raise + tail-dim.	type of bird	BG
alzacuello	raise + neck	type of necktie used by priests	BG
alzafalda	raise + skirt	drink	BG
alzafuelles	raise + bellows	flatterer	BG
alzapaño	raise + cloth	hook to hold a curtain	BG
alzapelo	raise + hair	cowardly rooster	BG
alzapie	raise + foot	footstool made of wood	BG
alzapuertas	raise + doors	servant in a comedy	BG
alzarrabos	raise + tails	bird with white feathers and a black tail	BG
alzavara	raise + pole	a still made from a tree trunk	BG
andarraya	go + stripe	game similar to hopscotch	BG
andarríos	go + rivers	wagtail	BG
apagacandil(es)	put out + candles	insect similar to a mosquito	BG
apagavelas	put out + candles	insect similar to a mosquito	BG
apañacuencos	ready + bowls	woodcutter	BG
apañalanas	ready + wools	metal coil used to keep together the parts of a broken piece of crockery	BG
apeayeguas	get down + mares	Venus	BG
apegamanos	stick + hands	type of plant	BG
aplanacalles	flatten + streets	lazy person who hangs out in the street	BG
apuracabos	hurry + ends	metal piece used to hold the wick of a candle	BG
ardeviejas	burn + old women	gorse, furze	BG
ardiviejas	burn + old women	type of plant	BG
arrancabotones	tear out + buttons	remark out of place	BG
arrancacamisa	tear out + shirt	card game	BG
arrancebolla	tear out + onion	children's game	BG
arrancaclavos	tear out + nails	nail claw	BG
arrancamoños	tear out + bows	type of plant	BG
arrancapinos	tear out + pinetrees	small man	BG
arrancarrabia	tear out + anger	cheap liquor	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
arrascachimeneas	scrape + chimneys	chimneysweep	BG
arrastracueros	drag + hides	lowly person	BG
arrastraculo	drag + butt	small sail	BG
arrastrapanza	drag + stomach	beat-up rental car	BG
arrastrapies	drag + feet	act of dragging one's feet	BG
arrebatacapas	snatch + capes	place with strong winds	BG
arreatapuñadas	snatch + fistfuls	bully	BG
arrincanabos	pull? + turnips	children's game	BG
atajacaminos	stop + ways	type of bird	BG
atajaperros	stop + dogs	scandal	BG
atajaprimo	stop + cousin	backward town	BG
atajasolaces	stop + solace	party pooper	BG
atapierna	tie + leg	garter	BG
atizacandiles	stir + candles	meddler	BG
atrapamoscas	catch + flies	insect-eating plant	BG
atropellaplatos	push + plates	clumsy servant	BG
avisacoche	warn + cars	car attendant	BG
azotacaballo	whip + horse	type of plant	BG
azotacalles	whip + streets	lazy person who hangs out in the street a lot	BG
azotacristos	whip + christs	type of prickly bush	BG
azotalenguas	whip + tongues	type of plant	BG
bajamano	lower + hand	thief who steals by hiding one hand under the other	BG
bajamuelles	lower + piers	digestive drink	BG
bajarrosos	lower + ?	extension of a cart made with two poles	BG
bañalomo (a)	bathe + back	walking up to one's back in water	BG
barrecama	sweep + bed	boxspring	BG
barresanto	sweep + saint	type of bush	BG
barresuelo	sweep + floor	lower leaves of the tabasco plant	BG
bateaguas	beat + waters	umbrella	BG
batiaguas	beat + waters	umbrella	BG
baticabeza	beat + head	type of beetle	BG
baticol	beat + cabbage	baldric	BG
baticola	beat + tail	part of the saddle	BG
baticor	beat + heart	pain, sorrow	BG
baticulo	beat + butt	blow given with the butt	BG
batifulla	beat + ?	gold and silver beater	BG
batihoja	beat + leaf	gold and silver beater	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
batiporte	beat + port	upper or lower part of the port	BG
batipuerta	beat + door	half-door	BG
bebeleche	drink + milk	name given to people coming from certain locations	BG
becafigo	prick + fig	beccafico, type of bird	BG
besamanos	kiss + hands	royal audience	BG
blincaciegas	jump + blind women	rich little daddy's boy	BG
bogavante	sail + forward	lobster	BG
botabarro	throw + mud	mudguard	BG
botabomba	throw + bomb	cheap drug which colors water yellow	BG
botafango	throw + mud	mudguard	BG
botafuego	throw + fire	stick used to light cannon	BG
botagancho	throw + hook	extremely straight hair that cannot be held with hooks	BG
botagua	throw + water	draught excluder	BG
botalodo	throw + mud	mudguard	BG
botamanga	throw + sleeve	sleeve	BG
botasela	throw + seat	sound of the bugle that tells cavalrymen to saddle	BG
botasilla	throw + seat	sound of the bugle that tells cavalrymen to saddle	BG
botavaca	throw + cow	front piece in a car or train for sweeping hurdles	BG
botavante	throw + forward	metal spear used by sailors against boardings	BG
botavara	throw + pole	spanker boom	BG
botifuera	throw + outside	bonification	BG
buscabulla	search + noise	hell-raiser	BG
buscaniguas	search + petticoats	jumping jack, firecracker	BG
buscapie	search + foot	firecracker	BG
buscapies	search + feet	firecracker	BG
buscapique(s)	search +	firecracker	BG
buscapleito(s)	search + suits	litigious person	BG
buscarruidos	search + noises	hell-raiser	BG
buscavida(s)	search + lives	go-getter	BG
cagaaceite	shit + oil	type of bird	BG
cagafierro	shit + iron	iron slag	BG
cagaleches	shit + milks	person from Salamanca	BG
caganido caganiu	shit + nest	last child of a family	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
caganiedo	shit + nest	type of bird	BG
cagaprisas	shit + hurries	active person	BG
cagapuesto	shit + post	useless employee	BG
cagarrache	shit + ?	laborer in the oil press	BG
cagarropa	shit + clothes	mosquito	BG
cagatinta(s)	shit + inks	office clerk	BG
calabobos	penetrate + fools	drizzle	BG
calacuerda	penetrate + thread	sound to attack the enemy	BG
calamorro	penetrate + mug	stubborn person	BG
calientamanos	warm + hands	children's game	BG
calientapiés	warm + feet	heater for the feet	BG
calientaplatos	warm + plates	dishwarmer	BG
calientapollas	warm + dicks	woman who excites men	BG
calientapuesto	warm + post	useless employee	BG
cambiavía	change + track	switchman	BG
cantahueso	sing + bone	red lavender	BG
cantalobos	sing + wolves	iron spear	BG
cantamisa	sing + mass	priest who can say mass	BG
cantarrana	sing + frog	type of toy	BG
cardaestambre	card + wool	person who cards wool	BG
cargatasajo	load + jerky	type of card game	BG
cascaciruelas	crack + plumbs	useless, despicable person	BG
cascahuesos	crack + bones	bird of prey	BG
cascaliendres	crack + lice	club	BG
cascanueces	crack + nuts	nutcracker	BG
cascapiñones	crack + pineseeds	pineseed cracker	BG
cascarrabias	crack + angers	irritable person	BG
casarrojas	crack + reds	insects that grow on ships	BG
cascatreguas	crack + truces	truce breaker	BG
castrapuercas(os)	chastrate + pigs	type of whistle used by those who neuter pigs	BG
catabejas	watch + bees	insect-eating bird	BG
catacaldos	taste + soups	meddler	BG
catalejo(s)	watch + far	telescope	BG
catalicores	taste + liqueurs	pipette	BG
catarribera	watch + shore	servant who picks up the prey after its been hunted	BG
catasalsas	taste + sauces	meddler	BG
cataviento	watch + wind	wind measurement thread	BG
catavinos	taste + wines	wine taster	BG
cavacote	dig + limit?	hill created as a landmark	BG
cazaclavos	hunt + nails	nail claw	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
cazadotes	hunt + dowries	man trying to marry a rich woman	BG
cazamoscas	hunt + flies	type of bird	BG
cazatorpedero	hunt + torpedo boat	fighter-bomber	BG
cenaoscuras	dine + to + darks	cheap person, miser	BG
chafalmejas	flatten + clams	poor painter	BG
chambeculos	lick + asses	brown noser	BG
chapacharcos	clatter + puddles	splasher	BG
chotacabras	suck + goats	type of bird	BG
chupaazahar	suck + orange-blossom	hummingbird	BG
chupacensos	suck + census	industrious person	BG
chupacharcos	suck + puddles	person dirty with mud	BG
chupacirios	suck + candles	very devout person	BG
chupaenchufes	suck + electricity outlets	socialist	BG
chupaflor	suck + flower	hummingbird	BG
chupalámparas	suck + lamps	dirty person	BG
chupalodo	suck + mud	bird of the river banks	BG
chupamiel	suck + honey	hummingbird	BG
chupamieles	suck + honey-p.	type of weed	BG
chupamirto	suck + myrtle	hummingbird	BG
chupapiedras	suck + stones	children's game	BG
chuparrosa	suck + rose	hummingbird	BG
chupatabaco	suck + tobacco	lizzard	BG
chupatintas	suck + ink	office clerk	BG
chupatomates	suck + tomatoes	flatterer	BG
chupavaya	suck + fence?	type of plant	BG
ciegayernos	blind + sons-in-law	something of little value	BG
cierrapolleros	close + skirts?	zipper	BG
cierrapuertas	close + doors	zipper, automatic alarm	BG
comeciencieiro	eat + hundred?	selfish person	BG
comecocos	eat + coconuts	pejorative term for people from certain towns	BG
comeculebra	eat + snake	type of bird	BG
comecuras	eat + priests	small bird	BG
comefrío	eat + cold	ruffian, gross person	BG
comegente	eat + people	glutton	BG
comejueyes ?	eat + crab	name given to people from certain towns, in jest	BG
comemano	eat + hand	type of liana	BG
comepescados	eat + fishes	tribe of Cohuelteca indians	BG
comeúvas	eat + grapes	small gray bird	BG
comevaca	eat + cow	revolutionary	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
comidibaldi	eat + for + nothing	public employee	BG
correcalles	run + streets	children's game	BG
correcamino	run + road	road-runner	BG
correcaminos	run + roads	road-runner?	BG
correcarriles	run + tracks	?	BG
correrrios	run + rivers	type of bird	BG
corresenderos	run + paths	type of brownish bird	BG
corretroncos	run + tree trunks	bird that climbs up trees	BG
corricalles	run + streets	woman who is always in the streets, with no purpose	BG
cortabolsas	cut + purses	cutpurse	BG
cortacallos	cut + corns	special knife used by podiatrists	BG
cortacigarros	cut + cigars	cigar cutter	BG
cortacircuito(s)	cut + circuit(s)	circuit breaker	BG
cortacorriente	cut + current	current breaker	BG
cortafierro(s)	cut + iron(s)	cold chisel	BG
cortafrío	cut + cold	cold chisel	BG
cortafuego(s)	cut + fire(s)	firebreak	BG
cortahierro	cut + iron	cold chisel	BG
cortalápices	cut + pencils	pencil sharpener	BG
cortalata	cut + can	scissors for cutting metal	BG
cortañarices	cut + noses	dragonfly	BG
cortapajas	cut + straws	agricultural machine for cutting straw	BG
cortapapel(es)	cut + paper(s)	paper knife	BG
cortapelo	cut + hair	dragonfly	BG
cortapichas	cut + penis	type of insect	BG
cortapicos	cut + picks	type of insect	BG
cortapiés	cut + feet	slash to the legs	BG
cortapluma(s)	cut + feather(s)	penknife	BG
cortapuros	cut + cigars	cigar cutter	BG
cortarraíces	cut + roots	farming machine used to cut roots and feed cattle	BG
cortatijera	cut + scissors	small black insect of corn	BG
cortauñas	cut + nails	nail clip	BG
cortaviento	cut + wind	windshield	BG
cruzacalles	cross + streets	lazy person who hangs out in the street a lot	BG
cuajacabeza	curdle + head	wild bee	BG
cuajaenredos	curdle + messes	scandal monger	BG
cuajaleche	curdle + milk	type of plant	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
cubrecadena	cover + chain	chain guard on a bicycle	BG
cubrecaama	cover + bed	bed cover	BG
cubre corsé	cover + corset	camisole used over the corset	BG
cubre costuras	cover + seams	ribbon sewn over seams	BG
cubre nuca	cover + nape	type of scarf	BG
cubre objeto	cover + object	holder of microscopic samples	BG
cubre pan	cover + bread	shovel used to cover food with coals	BG
cubre piés	cover + feet	foot coverlet	BG
cubre teclas	cover + keys	cloth that covers the keys on a piano	BG
cuelgacandiles	hang + candles	collar bone	BG
cuelgacapas	hang + capes	clothes hanger	BG
cuentachiles	count + chilis	finicky person	BG
cuentacuentos	tell + stories	voluble person, liar	BG
cuentagotas	count + drops	dropper	BG
cuentahilos	count + threads	magnifying glass used to count the threads on a weave	BG
cuentakilómetros	count + kilometers	odometer	BG
cuentapasos	count + steps	pedometer	BG
cumpleaños	accomplish + years	birthday	BG
cunde amor	grow + love	type of flower	BG
curalotodo	cure + it + all	panacea	BG
derramaplares	spill + pleasures	party pooper	BG
derramasolaces	spill + solaces	party pooper	BG
descalzaperros	unshoe + dogs	skirmish, fight	BG
descuernacabras	dehorn + goats	northern wind	BG
descuernapadrazos	dehorn + step-fathers	type of machete	BG
desentierramueertos	unearth + dead people	someone who speaks ill of the dead	BG
deshonrabuenos	dishonor + good people	scandalmonger	BG
desmochollas	blunt + pots	idle man	BG
despeñaperros	hurl + dogs	dangerous terrain	BG
destapacorona	uncover + crown	?	BG
destrababueyes	untie + oxen	ruffian	BG
destripacuentos	gut + stories	someone who interrupts	BG
destripaterrones	gut + soilsods	laborer	BG
destrozapeines	destroy + combs	unkempt woman	BG
desuellacaras	skin + faces	bad barber	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
detienebuey	stop + ox	cammock	BG
dragaminas	drag + mines	minesweeper	BG
echacantos	throw + stones	despicable person	BG
echacuervos	throw + crows	go-between	BG
echalumbre	throw + fire	type of bird	BG
echapellas	throw + blob	person who washes wool	BG
emborrachabras	inebriate + goats	type of plant	BG
encalcatieras	? + earths	type of bird	BG
engañabobos	fool + stupid people	trickster	BG
engañamuchachos	fool + young boys	trick, something worthless	BG
engañapastor(es)	fool + shepherd(s)	type of bird	BG
engañapastos	fool + grasses	wagtail	BG
enganchabobos	hook + stupid people	curl	BG
engordabras	fatten + goats	type of grass for pasture	BG
enjuagadientes	rinse + teeth	teeth rinse	BG
escampavía	stop raining + way	small boat or sailboat	BG
escarbadientes	pick + teeth	toothpick	BG
escarbaorejas	pick + ears	cotton swab	BG
escarnachotas (a)	jeer + kids	piggyback	BG
escondecorreas	hide + ropes	children's game	BG
escondecucas	hide + caterpillar	hiding place, children's game	BG
escondefraile	hide + friar	holes to the side of a chimney	BG
escornabras	hide + goats	stag beetle	BG
esculaagujas	break bottom + needles	tailor	BG
escupejumos	spit + fumes	braggart	BG
escurreplatos	drain + dishes	dish rack	BG
escusabaraaja	hide + card	big basket	BG
escusamoza	hide + young girl	ladle	BG
espantagustos	scare + tastes	party pooper	BG
espantalobos	scare + wolves	type of plant	BG
espantamoscas	scare + flies	fly swatter	BG
espantanublados	scare + clouds?	meddler, person who upsets plans	BG
espantapájaros	scare + birds	scarecrow	BG
espantapulgas	scare + fleas	spurge flax	BG
espantasuegra	scare + mother-in-law	strong liquor	BG
espantasueño	scare + sleep	dangerous place	BG
espantavaqueros	scare + cowboys	type of medicinal plant	BG
espantavillanos	scare + villains	attractive but worthless jewel	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
espetaperro(s) (a)	spring + dog(s)	high speed	BG
espulgaperros	deflea + dogs	useless person	BG
estripaterrones	gut + soilsods	laborer	BG
foricaculo	? + ass	type of fruit	BG
franhueso	break + bone	lammergeier	BG
frunciboca	purse + mouth	wild grape	BG
furabollos	perforate + buns	little finger, used to make holes in buns	BG
ganagracia	win + grace	flatterer	BG
ganapan	earn + bread	porter	BG
girasol	rotate + sun	sunflower	BG
guadarnés	keep + harness	room where harnesses are kept	BG
guardabajos	keep + below-p.	embroidered edge	BG
guardabanderas	keep + flags	sailor who keeps the flags	BG
guardabarranca	keep + ravine	type of bird	BG
guardabarrera	keep + barrier	crossing keeper	BG
guardabarros	keep + mud	mudguard	BG
guardabosque(s)	keep + forest(s)	park keeper	BG
guardabrazo	keep + arm	arm rest	BG
guardabrisa	keep + breeze	windshield	BG
guardacaballo	keep + horse	ugly bird	BG
guardacabras	keep + goats	goatherd	BG
guardacantón	keep + stone	spur stone, corner post	BG
guardacartuchos	keep + cartridges	box for keeping cartridges	BG
guardacazuelas	keep + pots	small stool used to prevent pots from falling into the fire	BG
guardachoque	keep + shock	front piece in a car or train for sweeping hurdles	BG
guardacoimas	keep + whores	servant of a pimp	BG
guardacostas	keep + coasts	coastguard	BG
guardacuños	keep + die	employee who guards dies in a minting office	BG
guardadamas	keep + ladies	guard of the ladies of the court	BG
guardaespaldas	keep + backs	bodyguard	BG
guardaesquinas	keep + corners	corner protector	BG
guardafango(s)	keep + mud(s)	mudguard	BG
guardafrenos	keep + brakes	brakeman	BG
guardafuego	keep + fire	fire guard on a ship	BG
guardaguas	keep + waters	water guard on a ship	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
guardagujas	keep + needles	switchman	BG
guardahumo	keep + smoke	sail that stops smoke from getting to the pope	BG
guardainfante	keep + infant	article of clothing that can hide a pregnancy	BG
guardaizas	keep + whores	servant of a pimp	BG
guardajoyas	keep + jewels	jewel box, person who protects the jewels of the crown	BG
guardalmacén	keep + store	store keeper	BG
guardalobo	keep + wolf	type of plant	BG
guardapelo	keep + hair	locket	BG
guardapesca	keep + fishing	ship which ensures compliance with fishing regulations	BG
guardapierna	keep + leg	iron plate on the leg of a rider that prevents rubbing	BG
guardapies	keep + feet	long skirt	BG
guardapolvo	keep + dust	lab coat	BG
guardapuerta	keep + door	curtain placed before the door	BG
guardarraya	keep + line	boundary of a property	BG
guardarrio	keep + river	kingfisher	BG
guardarropa	keep + clothes	closet	BG
guardarruedas	keep + wheels	protection on a building against vehicles	BG
guardasilla	keep + chair	protection on a wall against rubbing chairs	BG
guardasol	keep + sun	parasol	BG
guardatierra	keep + land	land keeper	BG
guardatimón	keep + rudder	cannon to the sides of the rudder	BG
guardavela	keep + sail	rope that holds sails	BG
guardavía	keep + track	railway employee who keeps a section of track	BG
halacabuyas	pull + ropes	rookie sailor	BG
halacuerda	pull + rope	poor sailor	BG
hincapié	dig + foot	action of digging one's feet for support	BG
hinchahuevos	inflate + eggs	plant that produces a caustic latex	BG
hueflor	smell + flower	stupid person	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
hueleguisos	smell + stews	person who tries to eat without paying	BG
huracapinos	punch + pinetrees	woodpecker	BG
hurgamandón	search + bossy person	meddler	BG
juzgamundos	judge + worlds	scandalmonger	BG
lambeculos	lick + asses	bootlicker, brown noser	BG
lambeojos	lick + eyes	type of insect	BG
lambeplatos	lick + plates	glutton	BG
lanzacabos (cañón)	launch + ends	small cannon	BG
lanzafuego	throw + fire	stick used to light cannon	BG
lanzallamas	throw + flames	flamethrower	BG
lavacara	wash + face	sink	BG
lavacaras	wash + faces	flatterer	BG
lavadientes	wash + teeth	teeth rinse	BG
lavafrutas	wash + fruit	water bowl for rinsing fruit	BG
lavagallos(s)	wash + rooster(s)	bad rum	BG
lavamanos	wash + hands	washstand	BG
lavaojos	wash + eyes	eyebath	BG
lavaplatos	wash + dishes	dishwasher	BG
ligagamba	tie + leg	garter	BG
ligapierna	tie + leg	garter	BG
limpiabarros	clean + muds	mud scraper	BG
limpiabotas	clean + boots	shoeshine boy	BG
limpiachimeneas	clean + chimneys	chimney sweep	BG
limpiadientes	clean + teeth	toothpick	BG
limpiamanos	clean + hands	type of towel	BG
limpiaparabrisas	clean + windshields	windshieldwiper	BG
limpiapiés	clean + feet	mud scraper	BG
limpiatuna	clean + cactus	two plants used for cleaning the thorns on a cactus	BG
limpiaúñas	clean + nails	nail polish remover	BG
limpiscasa	clean + house	type of spider	BG
llamahielos	call + ices	type of bird	BG
llamanorte	call + north	type of bird	BG
lloraduelos	cry + funerals	moaner, whiner	BG
lloramuerto	cry + dead person	type of bird	BG
llorasangre	cry + blood	type of plant	BG
lustrabotas	polish + boots	shoeshine boy	BG
malbusca	badly + search	cunning person	BG
malqueda	badly + stay	someone who does not keep their word	BG
maltrabaja	badly + work	lazy person	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
mamacallos	suckle + corns	stupid man	BG
mamaúvas	suckle + grapes	stupid person	BG
mancaperro	cripple + dog	type of plant	BG
manchamantel	stain + tablecloth	type of stew	BG
manchatinta	stain + ink	poor writer	BG
mascabrevas	chew + figs	stupid person	BG
mascahabas	chew + beans	ignorant person	BG
matabuey	kill + ox	central part of the yolk	BG
mataburro	kill + donkey	rum	BG
matacaballo (a)	kill + horse	very quickly	BG
matacabras	kill + goats	northern wind	BG
matacallos	kill + corns	type of plant used to cure corns	BG
matacán	kill + dog	poison for dogs	BG
matacandelas	kill + candles	candle snuffer	BG
matacandil	kill + candle	type of plant	BG
matacandiles	kill + candles	type of plant	BG
metafrío	kill + cold	type of cape	BG
metafuego	kill + fire	fire extinguisher	BG
matagallegos	kill + Galicians	type of plant which has thorns that bother farmers	BG
matagallina	kill + hen	spurge flax	BG
matagallos	kill + roosters	squall	BG
matagañanes	kill + farmhand	morning star	BG
matagarrote	kill + club	children's game	BG
matagusano(s)	kill + worm(s)	ointment that kills worms in animals	BG
matahambre	kill + hunger	type of meat cut	BG
matahombres	kill + men	type of insect	BG
matahumos	kill + fumes	scissors to cut wicks	BG
matajunta	kill + joint	mixture of gypsum, cement and building material to cover holes between stones	BG
matalobos	kill + wolves	aconite	BG
matamaridos	kill + husbands	long needle	BG
matambre	kill + hunger	type of meat cut	BG
matamoros	kill + moors	braggart	BG
matamoscas	kill + flies	fly swatter	BG
matamuchachos	kill + young boys	type of plant with poisonous latex	BG
mataovejas	kill + sheep	north wind	BG
matapalo	kill + stick	type of tree	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
matapán	kill + bread	stupid person	BG
mataperro(s)	kill + dog(s)	street urchin	BG
matapez	kill + fish	type of plant that poisons water	BG
matapiojos	kill + lice	dragonfly	BG
matapioyos	kill + lice	thumb	BG
matapollo	kill + chicken	spurge flax	BG
matapolvo	kill + dust	thin rain or sprinkling with water	BG
matapuerco	kill + pig	pork stew	BG
matapulgas	kill + fleas	type of plant used against parasites	BG
mataquintos	kill + fifths	cigarette made with bad tobacco	BG
matarrata	kill + rat	card game	BG
matarratas	kill + rats	rat poison	BG
matasanos	kill + healthy people	quack doctor	BG
matasapo	kill + toad	children's game	BG
matasellos	kill + stamps	canceller, postmark	BG
matasoldados	kill + soldiers	type of fish	BG
matasuegra (a)	kill + mother-in-law	someone who entertains the mother-in-law so that a young man can talk to his girlfriend	BG
matasuegras	kill + mothers-in-law	paper serpent	BG
matatoros	kill + bulls	type of dance	BG
matavenado	kill + deer	type of ant, fireant?	BG
matayugo	kill + yolk	type of plant	BG
meaperros	piss + dogs	type of plant	BG
metemuertos	put + dead people	person who announces misfortune	BG
metesillas	put + chairs	person who announces misfortune	BG
mirafondos	watch + bottoms	glass bottom used to locate octopuses	BG
miramar	watch + sea	lookout	BG
mirasol	watch + sun	sunflower	BG
mirasoles	watch + suns	wild plant	BG
mojabobos	wet + stupid people	drizzle	BG
mondadientes	pick + teeth	toothpick	BG
mondaoidos	pick + ears	cotton swab	BG
mondaorejas	pick + ears	cotton swab	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
mondapozos	pick + holes	person who cleans up holes	BG
montacargas	load + loads	goods lift	BG
montabanco	load + embankment	charlatan	BG
papafigo	eat + fig	figpecker	BG
papahigo	eat + fig	balaclava	BG
papahuevos	eat + eggs	stupid man	BG
papamoscas	eat + flies	type of bird	BG
papanatas	eat +	stupid person	BG
paparrabias	eat + angers	grouchy person	BG
parabrisas	stop + breezes	windshield	BG
paracaídas	stop + falls	parachute	BG
parachoques	stop + shocks	bumper	BG
paraguas, paranguas	stop + waters	umbrella	BG
pararrayo(s)	stop + lightning	lightning rod	BG
parlaembalde	speak + in + bucket	person who talks a lot but says little	BG
parteluz	break + light	mullion	BG
partepiñones	break + pineseeds	pineseed cracker	BG
pasabola	pass + ball	throw in billiards	BG
pasabolo	pass + bowl	bowling style	BG
pasacaballo	pass + horse	old vessel with no masts	BG
pasacalle	pass + street	popular marching tune	BG
pasaclau	pass + nail	small barrier	BG
pasacólica	pass + colic	passing colic	BG
pasajuego	pass + game	passing the ball	BG
pasamano	pass + hand	railing, banister	BG
pasamano(s)	pass + hand(s)	railing	BG
pasamontañas	pass + mountains	balaclava	BG
pasapan	pass + bread	drain	BG
pasaperro (coser a)	pass + dog	bind a parchment by making a perforation and threading the leaves together	BG
pasarrato	pass + time	pastime	BG
pasarrios	pass + rivers	type of iguana	BG
pasatiempo	pass + time	pastime	BG
pasatoro (a)	pass + bull	sword thrust in bullfighting	BG
pasavante	pass + before	safeconduct	BG
pasaviolin	pass + violin	quick, careless action	BG
pasavolante	pass + flying	quick, careless action	BG
pasavoleo	pass + volley	volley pass	BG
pegamoscas	stick + flies	type of plant	BG
pegapollo	stick + chicken	type of weed	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
pelacañas	peel + canes	strong, cold wind	BG
pelaespigas	peel + ears	lazy person	BG
pelafustán	peel + fustian	lazy and poor person	BG
pelagallos	peel + roosters	poor man with no occupation	BG
pelagarza	peel + wading bird	slovenly woman	BG
pelagatos	peel + cats	poor man	BG
pelamimbres	peel + osier	despicable man	BG
pelapobres	peel + poor people	usurer	BG
pelaputas	peel + whores	ruffian	BG
pelarruecas	peel + distaff	poor woman who earns a living by weaving	BG
perdonavidas	forgive + lives	bully	BG
perrohuele	dog + smell	snoop	BG
pesacartas	weigh + letters	scales used to weigh letters	BG
pesalicores	weigh + liqueurs	aerometer for liquids less dense than water	BG
piapoco	peep + little	toucan	BG
picabuey	prick + ox	bird that bites bovines	BG
picacaballos (araña)	prick + horses	type of spider	BG
picaflor(es)	prick + flower(s)	hummingbird	BG
picafrío	prick + cold	figpecker	BG
picagallina	prick + hen	type of plant	BG
picamaderos	prick + planks	woodpecker	BG
picamulo	prick + mule-m.	muleteer	BG
picapeces	prick + fishes	kingfisher	BG
picapiescos	prick + peaches	bullfinch	BG
picapleitos	prick + suits	litigious person	BG
picaporte	prick + door	door knob	BG
picaposte	prick + pole	woodpecker	BG
picapuerco	prick + pog	type of bird	BG
pierdemisas	lose + masses	restless child	BG
pierdetiempo	lose + time	inconsequential romance	BG
piezafa	foot + loosen	foot bath	BG
pinchacarneiro	prick + ram	tumble	BG
pincharratas	prick + rats	despicable person	BG
pinchaúvas	prick + grapes	street urchin	BG
pintacopas	paint + cups	vain, effeminate man	BG
pintamonas(os)	paint + monkeys	poor painter	BG
pintapared	paint + walls	type of colorful bird	BG
pintatuchas(os)	paint + trouts	poor painter	BG
pisapapeles	tread + papers	paperweight	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
pisapavas	tread on + turkeys-f.	stupid person who thinks they are funny	BG
pisauvas	tread on + greaps	grape treader	BG
pisaverdes	tread on + greens	vain, effeminate man	BG
pixaminutos	prick? + minutes	sieve for flour	BG
pixasang	prick? + blood	type of plant	BG
ponefaltas	put + faults	person who judges others	BG
portaalmizcle	carry + musk	musk goat	BG
portaaviones	carry + airplanes	airplane carrier	BG
portabandera	carry + flag	standard bearer	BG
portacaja	carry + box	strap to hang a drum	BG
portacarabina	carry + rifle	bag to hold a rifle	BG
portacartas	carry + letters	mailbag	BG
portaciriales	carry + candle	altar boy who carries the candle	BG
portacomida	carry + food	food safe	BG
portacopas	carry + cups	bottle rack	BG
portacubierto	carry + cutlery	cutlery stand	BG
portacuchillos	carry + knives	cutlery stand	BG
portaequipaje(s)	carry + luggage	luggage rack	BG
portaestandarte	carry + banner	standard bearer	BG
portafolio(s)	carry + leaves	briefcase	BG
portafusil	carry + rifle	sling for a rifle	BG
portaguión	carry + script	standard bearer	BG
portaguijas	carry + needles	needle holder	BG
portaherramientas	carry + tools	toolbox	BG
portalámpara(s)	carry + lightbulbs	socket	BG
portalápiz	carry + pencil	pencil holder	BG
portalibros	carry + books	book straps	BG
portallanta	carry + tire	spare tire holder	BG
portallaves	carry + keys	keyholder	BG
portamantas	carry + covers	straps to roll covers	BG
portamanteo	carry + mantle?	suitcase	BG
portamira	carry + view	levelling rod carrier	BG
portamonedas	carry + coins	purse or wallet	BG
portanueces	carry + nuts	substitute, replacement	BG
portanuevas	carry + news	news bearer	BG
portaobjeto	carry + object	slide (in a microscope)	BG
portapaz	carry + peace	tray used in church services	BG
portaplatos	carry + dishes	dish rack	BG
portapliegos	carry + folded paper	briefcase	BG
portaplumas	carry + feathers	penholder	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
portapuntas	carry + ends	graphite holder	BG
portarretrato(s)	carry + portraits	portrait frame	BG
portatrancas	carry + latches	metal piece to hold a latch	BG
portavazos	carry + glasses	glass holder	BG
portaviandas	carry + food	lunch box	BG
portavoz	carry + voice	spokesperson	BG
posaverga	hold + mast	spare pole carried on a ship	BG
prensaestopa	press + tow	metal ring to press tow in a faucet	BG
pringamoza	stick + lady	type of liana, rattan	BG
pringapiés	stick + feet	diarrhea	BG
pujavante	push + forward	pubic bone	BG
quebracho	break + axe	type of tree	BG
quebranoces	break + nuts	nutcracker	BG
quebrantahuesos	break + bones	lammergeier	BG
quebrantanueces	break + nuts	type of bird, nutcracker	BG
quebrantaolas	break + waves	breakwater	BG
quebrantapiedras	break + stones	medicinal plant used against stones	BG
quebrantatinajas	break + vats	type of sweet grape	BG
quemarropa (a)	burn + clothes	point blank	BG
quebrahacha	break + axe	type of tree	BG
quebramuelas	break + molar teeth	type of plant	BG
quebraplato	break + dish	bellflower	BG
quebrarado	break + plow	type of poisonous plant	BG
quebrarao	break + plow	weed	BG
quebrasogas	break + ropes	person of doubtful behavior	BG
quitaguas	remove + waters	umbrella	BG
quitagustos	remove + pleasures	party pooper	BG
quitahipos	remove + hiccups	scary person, animal, or thing	BG
quitamanchas	remove + stains	stain remover	BG
quitameriendas	remove + lunches	type of plant	BG
quitamiedos	remove + fears	railing that protects and prevents vertigo	BG
quitamotas	remove + speck	flatterer	BG
quitanieves	remove + snows	snowplow	BG
quitapelillos	remove + hairs	flatterer	BG
quitapesares	remove + sorrows	consolation	BG
quitasol	remove + sun	parasol	BG
quitasueño	remove + sleep	worry	BG
quitatinta	remove + ink	type of plant	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
rabiazorras	anger + vixens	east wind	BG
rajaboca	tear + mouth	rope used to control unresponsive horses by tightening it around their mouths	BG
rajabroqueles	tear + shield	bully, braggart	BG
rajamantas	slit + covers	stupid person	BG
rajatabla (a)	slit + table	strictly	BG
rajatablas	slit + tables	grouchy person	BG
rapabarbas	shave + beards	barber	BG
rapaculos	shave + asses	type of insect	BG
rapapiés	shave + feet	firecracker	BG
rapapolvo	shave + powder	reprimand	BG
rapavelas	shave + sails	pejorative term for a church employee	BG
rascabarrigas	scratch + stomachs	flexible branch	BG
rascaboñigas	scratch + dungs	poor person	BG
rascabuche	scratch + throat	sackbut	BG
rascacielos	scratch + skies	skyscraper	BG
rascagarganta	scratch + throat	type of plant?	BG
rascamiajas	scratch + crumbs	discontented person	BG
rascamoño	scratch + bow	needle in a woman's bow	BG
rascarrabias	scratch + angers	grouchy person	BG
rascatripas	scratch + tripes	poor violinist	BG
rascavieja(s)	scratch + old women	type of bush	BG
rascaviejo	scratch + old man	type of plant	BG
raspabuche	scrape + throat	coarse bread	BG
raspahuevos	scrape + eggs	type of scratchy rattan	BG
raspapolvo	scrape + powder	reprimand	BG
raspasombrero	scrape + hat	type of rattan	BG
recogeabuelos	lift + grandparents	barette to hold short hairs on the back of the neck	BG
recogemigas	lift + crumbs	crumb broom	BG
remediavagos	cure + lazy people	study notes for cramming	BG
restañasangre	stanch + blood	red agate	BG
revientacaballo	burst + horse	type of plant	BG
revientacabras	burst + goats	type of plant	BG
revientamuélas	burst + molar teeth	type of plant	BG
revientaperros	burst + dogs	acacia acorn	BG
revientatinajas	burst + vats	type of sweet grape	BG
revientayeles	burst + bile?	insipid, unpleasant	BG
robaperas	steal + pears	urchin, robber	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
robaterreno	steal + terrain	children's game	BG
robavaca	steal + cow	revolutionary, rebel	BG
rodapié	roll + foot	cover for furniture feet	BG
rodaplancha	roll + iron	piece of the keyhole	BG
rodeabrazo (a)	round + arm	surrounding with the arms	BG
roehuesos	gnaw + bones	name given for fun to the inhabitants of certain towns	BG
rompearados	break + plows	plant used to cure diabetes	BG
rompecabezas	break + heads	puzzle	BG
rompecaldera	break + kettle	maple	BG
rompecapa	break + cape	type of plant	BG
rompecoches	break + cars	coarse woolen material	BG
rompegalas	break + galas	unkempt person	BG
rompegloria	break + glory	first	BG
rompehielos	break + ices	icebreaker	BG
rompehuelga	break + strike	strikebreaker	BG
rompenecios	break + fools	person who takes advantage of others	BG
rompenueces	break + nuts	nutcracker	BG
rompeolas	break + waves	breakwater, jetty	BG
rompeplatos	break + dishes	bellflower	BG
rompepoyos	break + stone bench	lazy person, vagrant	BG
rompesacos	break + bags	type of plant	BG
rompesquinas	break + corners	loitering, vagabond young boy	BG
rompetechos	break + roofs	short man	BG
rompezaragüelles	break + wide-legged overalls	type of plant	BG
ruedamierda	roll + shit	dung beetle	BG
sabelotodo	know + it + all	know-it-all	BG
sacabala	remove + bullet	bullet-extracting forceps	BG
sacabalas	remove + bullets	worm (for firearms)	BG
sacabancos	remove + banks	bit-part actor who moves chairs in the scene changes	BG
sacabocado(s)	remove + bite(s)	hole puncher	BG
sacaborallo	remove + coals?	long curved pole used to remove coals from an oven	BG
sacaborras	remove + lees	leese remover	BG
sacabotas	remove + boots	bootjack	BG
sacabuche	remove + throats	sackbut	BG
sacaclavos	remove + nails	nail claw	BG
sacacorchos	remove + corks	corkscrew	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
sacacuartos	remove + quarters	bauble, swindle	BG
sacadinero(s)	remove + money(s)	bauble, swindle	BG
sacafilásticas	remove + threads	needle used to pull the thread out of a cannon	BG
sacafuegos	remove + fires	steel	BG
sacamanchas	remove + stains	stain remover	BG
sacamantas	remove + covers	repossessor	BG
sacamanteca	remove + butter	mullein	BG
sacamantecas	remove + butters	murderer who opens up his victims	BG
sacamiel	remove + honey	type of plant	BG
sacamuélas	remove + molars	teeth remover, dentist	BG
sacanabo	remove + turnip	long pole used to remove the bomb out of the mortar	BG
sacajos	remove + eyes	blinding brightness	BG
sacapelotas	remove + balls	instrument used to remove bullets	BG
sacapotras	remove + mares	bad surgeon	BG
sacaprado	remove + prairies	type of weed	BG
sacapuntas	remove + points	pencil sharpener	BG
sacasebo	remove + lard	type of plant	BG
sacasillas	remove + chairs	bit-part actor who moves chairs in the scene changes	BG
sacatinta	remove + ink	type of plant	BG
sacatrapo	remove + rag	bramble	BG
sacatrapo(s)	remove + rag(s)	iron bar which serves to remove cartridges from firearms	BG
saltaparedes	jump + walls	naughty youth	BG
saltaperico	jump + parakeet	type of plant	BG
saltapico	jump + peak	type of insect	BG
saltaprados	jump + prairies	grasshopper	BG
saltarregla	jump + rule	bevel square	BG
saltarrostro	jump + face	gecko	BG
saltatrás	jump + behind	descendant of mixed races who shows features of one race only	BG
saltatumbas	jump + tombs	pejorative term for a priest who makes money from burial services	BG
saltigallo, sartigallo	jump + rooster	grasshopper	BG
salvabarros	save + muds	mudguard	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
salvamano (a)	save + hand	with no danger	BG
salvamanteles	save + tablecloths	glass, ceramic, or wood plank to hold trays and bottles	BG
salvavida	save + life	life saver	BG
salvavidas	save + lives	life-vest	BG
sanalotodo	cure + it + all	panacea	BG
secafirmas	dry + signatures	blotting paper	BG
secagarganta	dry + throat	coarse bread?	BG
siempresobra	always + exceeds	laurel leaf added to foods	BG
soplapitos	blow + whistles	lazy person who hangs out in the street a lot	BG
sueldacostilla	weld + rib	type of plant	BG
sujetapapeles	hold + papers	paper weight	BG
suplefaltas	substitute + faults	substitute	BG
tajamar	cut + sea	cutwater, seawall	BG
tajaplumas	cut + feathers	penknife	BG
talacebollas	fell + onions	type of insect	BG
tapabalazo	cover + shot	wood cylinder used to plug holes made by bullets	BG
tapaboca(s)	cover + mouth(s)	scarf, muffler	BG
tapacamino	cover + path	type of bird	BG
tapacantos	cover + stones	corner protector	BG
tapacubos	cover + hubs	hubcap	BG
tapaculo	cover + ass	type of astringent fruit	BG
tapaestero	cover + swamp	fishing net placed at the entrance to a swamp	BG
tapafunda	cover + case	case that protects holsters	BG
tapaguas	cover + waters	raincoat for horses	BG
tapagujeros	cover + holes	bad bricklayer	BG
tapajuntas	cover + joints	fillet	BG
tapalodo	cover + mud	mudguard	BG
tapaluz	cover + light	wooden piece covering a window	BG
tapamocos	cover + snots	slap on the face	BG
tapamorros	cover + mugs	person who is slighted by another	BG
tapapiés	cover + feet	long woman's dress	BG
tapapuntos	cover + points	ribbon that covers sewing	BG
taparrabo	cover + tail	mudguard	BG
taparrabo(s)	cover + tail(s)	loincloth	BG
tapavergüenza	cover + shame	type of plant	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
tapazagueras	cover + rears	mat that covers the rear of a cart	BG
tardanaos	delay + vessels	corner protector	BG
tientaparedes	grope + walls	person who is morally or physically blind	BG
tirabala	throw + ball	toy that throws balls	BG
tirabotas	throw + boots	hook to put on boots	BG
tirabrasas	throw + coals	coal poker	BG
tiracantos	throw + stones	man who cannot do his job	BG
tirachinas(os)	throw + Chinese	sling	BG
tiracol	throw + neck	baldric	BG
tiracuello	throw + neck	baldric	BG
tiracuero	throw + hide	cobbler	BG
tirafuera	throw + outside	long reel used to fish from the shore	BG
tiragomas	throw + rubbers	sling	BG
tiraleche	throw + milk	breast pump	BG
tiralevitas	pull + coats	flatterer of important people	BG
tiralíneas	throw + lines	drawing pen	BG
tirapié	throw + foot	stirrup	BG
tirapiedras	throw + stones	sling	BG
tiratacos	throw + heels	blowpipe	BG
tiratiros	throw + shots	type of plant	BG
tiratrillo	throw + thresher	ring to hold the thresher	BG
tocadiscos	play + records	record player	BG
tocaparte	receive + part	portion received by each in a group of people	BG
tocasalva	play + tray	tray to place cups or glasses	BG
tocateja (a)	touch + tile	cash on the nail	BG
tocatorre	touch + tower	children's game	BG
tomacorriente	take + current	plug	BG
tomalotodo	take + it + all	person who accepts everything he is given	BG
tomapan	take + bread	mid-morning snack	BG
torcecuello	twist + neck	type of bird	BG
tornaboda	return + wedding	day after the wedding	BG
tornafiesta	return + party	celebration after the party	BG
tornagallos	return + roosters	type of plant	BG
tornaguía	return + guide	receipt for merchandise	BG
tornapeón (a)	return + laborer	by mutual assistance	BG
tomapunta	return + point	pole that holds a wall	BG
tornasol	return + sun	sunflower	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
tornatrás	return + behind	descendant of mixed races who shows features of one race only	BG
tornavoz	return + voice	prompter's box	BG
trabacuenta	lock + sum	mistake in a sum	BG
trabalenguas	lock + tongues	tongue-twister	BG
tragaavemarias	swallow + ave marias	devout person	BG
tragabalas	swallow + bullets	bully	BG
tragacantos	swallow + stones	still	BG
tragafés	swallow + faiths	traitor to the faith	BG
tragahombres	swallow + men	bully, braggart	BG
tragahumo	swallow + smoke	hood that collects smoke from an oil lamp	BG
tragaldabas	swallow + doorknocker	glutton	BG
tragalenguas	swallow + tongues	person who walks a lot and fast	BG
tragalibros	swallow + books	studious person	BG
tragallamas	swallow + flames	glutton	BG
tragaluz	swallow + light	skylight	BG
tragaños	swallow + years	person who looks younger than they are	BG
traganudos (a)	swallow + knots	quickly	BG
tragaperras	swallow + coins	coin-operated machine	BG
tragasantos	swallow + saints	devout person	BG
tragavenado	swallow + deer	long snake	BG
tragavino	swallow + wine	funnel	BG
tragavirotas	swallow + arrow	vain man	BG
trepaencinas	climb + oak	type of bird	BG
trepatorres	climb + towers	great tit	BG
trepatroncos	climb + tree trunks	great tit	BG
trincaesquinas	tie + corners	type of drill	BG
trincapiñones	tie + pinseeds	stupid young man	BG
trocantina	barter + ink	confused exchange	BG
trocantite	barter + hue	iridescent color	BG
trompatalega (a)	bump + sack	with no thought, reflection, or precautions	BG
tronchastiles	fell + ?	type of bird	BG
trotacalles	trot + streets	gadabout	BG
trotaconventos	trot + convents	go-between	BG
trotamundos	trot + worlds	globe-trotter	BG
truenapico	thunder + peak	type of bird	BG

TERM	Literal tr.	Actual tr.	Source
tumbaburros	topple + donkeys	funny name for the dictionary	BG
tumbacabeza	topple + head	somersault	BG
tumbacuartillos	topple + pints	heavy drinker	BG
tumbacuatro	topple + four	bully	BG
tumbaculito	topple + ass-dim.	wild duck	BG
tumbaollas	topple + pots	glutton	BG
tumbavaqueros	topple + cowboys	type of plant	BG
tumbavieja	topple + old woman	patchouli	BG
vagamundo	deambulate + world	vagrant	BG
velamuerto	wake + dead person	type of bush	BG
vendehumos	sell + smokes	show-off, braggart	BG
vierteaguas	pour + waters	water drain on a building	BG
volapié	fly + foot	method of killing a bull	BG
vuelaflor	fly + flower	hummingbird	BG
vuelveparvas	return + haystacks	iron frame to move hay	BG
xugamanos	rinse + hands	towel	BG
zafacoca	loosen + rap on the head	brawl	BG
zafarrancho	loosen + hut	mess, destruction	BG
zampabodigos	gobble + buns	glutton	BG
zampalimosnas	gobble + alms	poor, strange person who begs and eats everywhere	BG
zampamanga	gobble + sleeve	(going) from side to side without doing anything useful	BG
zampapalo	gobble + stick	glutton	BG
zapatortas	gobble + cakes	glutton	BG
zurrapié	beat up + foot	firecracker	BG

CLASSIFICATION OF MODERN COMPOUNDS

ADVERB + ADJECTIVE

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
bienaparente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienaventurado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienfamado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienfortunado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienhablado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienhaciente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienhadado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienhechor	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienintencionado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienllegada	N	Adv+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
bienmandado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienmereciente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienoliente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienplaciente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienquerencia	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienquisto	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bienviviente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malacostumbrado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malagradecido	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malarmado	N	Adv+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
malavenido	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malcarado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malcasado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malconsiderado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malcontentadizo	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malcontento	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
maldispuesto	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malgeniado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malgenioso	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malhablado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malhadado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malherido	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malintencionado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malmandado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malmaridada	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malmarriento	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malmirado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
maloliente	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
malpensado	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malquisto	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malsano	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
malsufrido	A	Adv+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
siempreflorida	N	Adv+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
siempreviva	N	Adv+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
siemprevivo	N	Adv+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG

ADVERB or NOUN + VERB

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
bendecir	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
bienaventurar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
bienestar	N	Adv+V	C-H	Exo	R	RAE
bienfacer	N	Adv+V	C-H	Exo	R	RAE
bienquerer	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
bienquistar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
bienvivir	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malandar	N	Adv+V	C-H	Exo	R	RAE
malbaratar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
malcasarse	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malcomer	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malcreer	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
malcriar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
maldecir	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
maldormir	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
maleducar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
malentender	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malfacer	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
malgastar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malherir	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malhumorar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
malinterpretar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malmeter	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malograr	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
malparar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malparir	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malpasar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malquerer	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malquistar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
malrotar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
malsonar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
maltraer	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
maltratar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malutilizar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malvender	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malversar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
malvezar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
malvivir	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
menoscarbar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
menospreciar	V	Adv+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
alicortar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
aliquebrar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
boquiabrir	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
mamparar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
mampostear	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
mampresar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
mancomunar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
mancornar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
manferir	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
maniar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
maniobrar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
manlevar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
mantener, manutener	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
mantornar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
manufacturar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
manumitir	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	RAE
manuscibir	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
patiquebrar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
pelechar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
perniquebrar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	R	Rainer
salpresar	V	N+V	C-H	Endo	W	Rainer

NOUN + ADJECTIVE

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
aguallevado	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	W	BG
aldinegro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
aliabierto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
aliblanca	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
aliblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
alicaído	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
alicojo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
alicortado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
alinegro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
aliquebrado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
alirrojo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
alirroto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
alitierno	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
alitorcido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
alituerto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
anquialmendrado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
anquiboyuno	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
anquiderribado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
anquimuleño	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
anquirredondo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
anquiseco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
anquituerto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
arisblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
arisnegro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
arisprieto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
astiblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
astifino	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
astiverde	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbiblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbicacho	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
barbicano	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbicastaño	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbiespeso	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbihecho	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbilampiño	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbilindo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbilucio	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbiluengo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbimono	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbimoreno	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbiponiente- pungente	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbirralo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbirrapado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbirrojete	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbirrojo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
barbirrubio	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbirrucio	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbitaheño	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbiteñido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
barbitonto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
bocachico	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	W	BG
boquiabierto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquiancho	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquiangosto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquiapretado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquiblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquiblando	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquicerrado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquiconejuno	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquiduro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquiflojo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquifresco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquifruncido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquihendido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquihundido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquilucio	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquimuelle	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquinatural	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquinegra	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
boquinegro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquirrasgado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquirroto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquirrubio	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquisacado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquiseco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquisucio	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquisumido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquitorcido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
boquituerto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
brazalbo	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
cabeciancho	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cabeciduro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cabecinegro	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
cabezcaído	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cabizbajo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cabizcaído	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
cabizmordido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
callialto	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
cañihueco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cañilavado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cañivano	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
capecinegra	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
capipardo	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
cariacotecido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cariacuchillado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cariaguileño	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carialegre	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carialzado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cariampollar	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cariancho	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
caribello	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cariblanco	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
caribobo	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
carichato	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
caridelantado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
caridelantero	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
caridoliente	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carifresco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carifruncido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carigordo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cariharto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carilampiño	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carilargo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carilavado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carilimpio	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carilindo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cariliso	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carilucio	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carinegro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cariparejo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
caripelado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carirraído	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
carirredondo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
casquiblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
casquicopado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
casquiderramado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
casquilucio	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
casquimuleño	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
casquivano	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cazcorvo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cejijunto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cerrinegra	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
coliblanca	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
coliblanca, culiblanca	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
coliblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
colillano	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
colirrojo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
colirrubiallo	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
colirrubio	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
coquiduro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
coquiseco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
corniabierto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cornialto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
corniapretado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
corniavocado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cornibrocho	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cornicorto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cornicubeto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cornidelantero	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cornigacho	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
corniparejo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cornipunta	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
cornisuelto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cornivacado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
corniveleto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cornivisco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cotisuelto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cuellicorto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cuellidegollado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cuellierguido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cuellilargo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cuellipelado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cuellituerto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cuellivuelto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
culialmendrado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
culiancho	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
culinegro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
culipardo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
culiquemados	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
denticonejuno	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
espalditendido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
faldicorto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
faldinegro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
gargantiazul	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
gargantirrojo	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
haldinegro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
labihendido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
lomienhiesto-histo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
mampuesto	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
manialbo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
maniblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
manicorto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
manifacero	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
manigordo	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
manilargo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
maniligero	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
manirroto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
manisuelto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
manivació	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
manzurdu	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
moquicaído	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ojialegre	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ojiblanca	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ojiblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ojienjuto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ojimoreno	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ojinegro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ojiprieto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ojitierno	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ojituerto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ojizaino	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ojizarco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
orejigacho	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
paliabierto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pancihueco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
papialbillo	A	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
papialbo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pasilargo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patiabierto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
patialbillo	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
patialbo, patialbu	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patiancho	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
patiblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
paticalzado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
paticojo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patidifuso	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patiestevado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patifrío	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patihendido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patiliso	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patimocho	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patimuleño	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patiretuerto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patiseco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patitieso	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patituerto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
patizambo-zumbo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pechiancho	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pechiblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pechicolorao	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pechienjuto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pechirrojo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pechisacado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
peciluengo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pegiagudo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
peliblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
peliblando	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pelicano	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pelicorto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pelilargo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pelinegro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pelirrojo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pelirrubio	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pelisentado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pelitieso	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
perniabierto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pernituerto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
petirrojo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
pintarrojo	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	W	BG
piquituerta	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
piquituerto	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
piquivano	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
puntiagudo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
puntibozona	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
rabiblanca	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
rabiblanco	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
rabicaliente	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
rabicana	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
rabicano	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
rabicortado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
rabicorto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
rabiculao	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
rabihorcado	N	N+A	C-H	Exo	R	BG
rabilargo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
rabimocho	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
raspinegro	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
rostritorcido	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
rostrituerto	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
sangrigordo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
sangriliiviano	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
sangripesado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
teticiega	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
teticoja	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ubriciega	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
uñalbo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
uñilargo	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
vetisesgado	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG
zanquivano	A	N+A	C-H	Endo	R	BG

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TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
alta mar	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
alta traición	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
altareina	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
altavoz	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
altimora	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R	BG
altoparlante	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
altorrelieve	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
bajamar	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
bajorrelieve	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
bajovientre	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
belladama	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
bellasombra	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
buena fe	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
buena firma	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
buena planta	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
buena sociedad	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
buenamoza	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
buenandanza	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R	BG
buenasnoches	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
buenastardes	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
buenaventura	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
clarividencia	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R	BG
clarovidencia	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
doblescudo	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
duraluminio	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R	BG
duramadre	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
extremaunción	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
falsa escuadra	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
falsa rienda	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
falsaarmadura	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
falsabraga	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
falsarregla	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
falso flete	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
francocuartel	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
galiparla	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R	BG
galiputada	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	R	BG
gentilhombre	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
granguardia	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
librecambio	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
librepensamiento	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
magnavoz	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mal bicho	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mal nombre	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mal recado	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mala fe	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mala firma	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mala lengua	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
mala semana	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mala vida	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
mala voluntad	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mala voz	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
malacara	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
malacrianza	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
malagüero	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
malalma	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	R	BG
malapata	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
malarrabia	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
malasangre	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
malasombra	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
malastrazas	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
malastripas	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
malaúva	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
malcorazón	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
malgenio	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
media águila	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
media bata	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
media cama	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
media cuchara	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
media espada	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
media firma	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
media naranja	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mediacaña	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mediacapa	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
mediacinta	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mediagamarra	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mediagua	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	R	BG
medialanza	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
medialengua	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
medialiga	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
medialuna	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
medianoche	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mediarrosca	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mediasangre	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
mediateta	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mediatuna	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mediodía	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mediomundo	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
mediopelo	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
mediopeso	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
mediopolo	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
medioqueso	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
pleamar	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
prontoalivio	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
quinta columna	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
quintaesencia	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
retahila	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
ricadueña	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
ricafembra	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
ricohombre	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
sachacabra	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
salvoconducto	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
santo oficio	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
segunda enseñanza	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
vanagloria	N	A+N	Mod-H	Endo	W	BG
verdehoja	N	A+N	Mod-H	Exo	W	BG
abeja maestra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
abeto falso	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
abeto rojo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
acacia blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua angélica	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua bendita	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua compuesta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua cruda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua delgada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua dulce	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua dura	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua gorda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua mansa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua muerta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua pesada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua regia	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua roja	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua tofana	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua vidriada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agua viva	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aguachirle	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aguacibera	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aguacorta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aguacuajada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aguadulce	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aguafuerte	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
agualarga	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
agualoja	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R	BG
aguamala	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aguamarina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aguardiente	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R	BG
aguas llenas	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aguas menores	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aguaverde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
águila blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
águila calzada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
águila caudal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
águila doble	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
águila imperial	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
águila parda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
águila pasmada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
águila perdiguera	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
águila pescadora	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
águila ratera	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
águila ratonera	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
águila real	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aguja capotera	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aguja colchonera	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
aire acondicionado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ajoblanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
álamo blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
alba mayor	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
algarrobo loco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
alma perdida	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
almendra amarga	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
almendra dulce	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
almendra mollar	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
almendro amargo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ama seca, amaseca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
amate blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
amate negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ámbar negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
amorfino	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ánade real	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
arco apainelado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
arco apuntado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
arco rebajado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
arma blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
arma falsa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
arma negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
asa dulce	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
asa fétida	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
auto acordado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
auto definitivo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ave tonta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
avefría	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
avena loca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
avetarda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
avetonto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ayuno natural	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
azúcar amarilla	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
babasfrías	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
babastibias	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
balanza comercial	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
balarrasa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
bandera blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
bandera negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
banderilla negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
barba honrada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
barbacabrana	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
barcolongo, barcoluengo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
barro blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
beleño blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
beleño negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
bocachica	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
bocanegra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
bollomaduro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
brazo fuerte	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
brazolargo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
brea seca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
bucheamarillo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
bulto redondo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
caballo marino	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cabeza redonda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
cabeza torcida	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
cabezadura	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
cabra montés	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
caja alta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
caja baja	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
caldibaldo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R	BG
calor negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cama turca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cámara alta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cámara baja	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cámara oscura	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
camposanto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cañadulce	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cañarroya	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cañavera	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cancha blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
canto llano	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
caparrosa azul	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
caparrosa blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
caparrosa roja	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
caparrosa verde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
carablanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
caradura	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
caranegra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
caras largas	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
cardimuelle	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R	BG
cardo cuco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cardosanto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cariblanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	R	BG
caridura	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	R	BG
caries seca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
carininfo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	R	BG
carnero verde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
carta abierta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
carta acordada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
carta blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
carta credencial	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
carta falsa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
casa abierta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
casa pública	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
casa redonda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
caza mayor	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
caza menor	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cedro amargo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
cedro blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ceniza azul	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ceniza verde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ciervo volante	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
círculo vicioso	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
clase media	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
coche fúnebre	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
código civil	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
código penal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
costilla falsa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
coto redondo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cuarto trasero	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cucablanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cuenta corriente	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cuerda falsa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cuerda floja	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cuerpo amarillo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cuerpo calloso	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cuerpo compuesto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cuerpo muerto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cuerpo negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
cuerpotriste	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
culocagado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
derecho adquirido	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
derecho canónico	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
derecho civil	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
derecho mercantil	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
derecho penal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
derecho político	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
derecho procesal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
derecho real	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
diablo encarnado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
diablo marino	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
dique flotante	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
dique seco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
disanto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R	BG
dominio directo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
dominio eminente	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
dominio público	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
dulce seco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
enseñanza media	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
enseñanza primaria	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
enseñanza superior	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
erizo marino	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
escopeta negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
escudo acuartelado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
escudo burelado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
escudo cortinado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
escudo enclavado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
escudo mantelado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
escudo raso	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
escudo tajado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
escudo tronchado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
escudo vergeteado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
escuela normal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
espada blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
espada negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
espía doble	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
espina blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
espina dorsal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
espina santa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
espino artificial	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
espino blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
espino cerval	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
espino negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
estepa blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
estepa negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
felpa larga	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fiebre aftosa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fiebre amarilla	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fiesta doble	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fiesta fija	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fiesta nacional	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fiesta semidoble	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fiesta simple	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
figura decorativa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
flor compuesta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
flor desnuda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
flujo blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fuego fatuo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fuego pérsico	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fuego potencial	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
fuego salvaje	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fuegos artificiales	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fuerza animal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
fuerza armada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
galgofino	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
gallina ciega	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
garza marina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
gato algarío	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
gato montés	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
gato romano	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
gelatina seca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
guarda jurado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
guardacalada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
guardia civil	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
guardia marina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hambre canina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hambre estudiantina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
helada blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
helada negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
heno blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hierbabuena	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hierro dulce	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
higo chumbo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
higo melar	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
higuera loca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hijo natural	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
historia natural	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hoja berberisca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hoja suelta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hombre bueno	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
horno castellano	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hucograbado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hueso coronal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hueso dulce	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hueso frontal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hueso palomo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
hueso piramidal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
huevo duro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
huevo estrellado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
huevo hilado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
huevo tibio	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
hulla blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
interés compuesto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
jabón duro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
jara blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
jara negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
jardín infantil	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ladrillo azulejo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
leche aderezada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
leche virginal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lechera amarga	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lenga viva	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lengua azul	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lengua canina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lengua cervical-cervina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lengua franca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lengua materna	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lengua muerta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lengua popular	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lengua santa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lengua serpentina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
lengua viperina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
lengualarga	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
lenguamala	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
lépora blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
letra abierta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
letra agrifada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
letra bastarda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
letra cancilleresca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
letra canina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
letra capital	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
letra grifa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
letra muerta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ley adjetiva	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ley marcial	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ley natural	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ley seca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
libertad condicional	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
libro amarillo, etc.	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
liebre marina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
limonada seca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lino bayal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
lino caliente	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lino frío	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lirio blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lirio hediondo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lista negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
llar alto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
llar bajo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
llave falsa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
llave inglesa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lobo cervical	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lobo marino	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lobogordo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lucha grecorromana	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
lucha libre	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
madrevieja	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
magia blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
magia natural	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
magia negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
maíz morocho	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
maíz negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
malaquita azul	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
malaquita verde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
malva loca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
malva rosea	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
malvarrosa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mandoble	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R	BG
mangle blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
manomora	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
manos calientes	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
mansalva	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R	BG
manzanilla loca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
manzorda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R	BG
mar ancha	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mar larga	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
matablanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
matalechera	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
matalunera	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
matamora	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
matanudosa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
matapinchosa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
matarrubia	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
matasosa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
matrimonio civil	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
matrimonio clandestino	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
matrimonio monorgánico	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mechoacán negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mercado negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mesa gallega	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mesa redonda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mesa revuelta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
metal blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
metal machacado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
miel blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
miel nueva	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
miel rosada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
miel silvestre	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mingafria	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
mole verde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mono aullador	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mono capuchino	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mono negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
monosabio	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
monte blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
montepío	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
morera blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
morera negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mosquimuerto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R	BG
mostaza blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mostaza negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mostaza silvestre	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mujer pública	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
mundonuevo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
naranja agria	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
naranja china	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
naranja dulce	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
naranja mandarina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
negocio redondo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
noche toledana	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
nochebuena	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
nochebueno	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
nochevieja	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
nudo ciego	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
nudo marinero	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
obispo auxiliar	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
obispo electo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
obispo regionario	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oído interno	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oído medio	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ojo compuesto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
olla podrida	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
onda corta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
onda larga	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
onda media	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
opinión pública	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
orden cerrado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
orden público	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oreja marina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oro batido	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oro mate	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oro molido	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oro negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oro verde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
orovivo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oso blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oso colmenero	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oso hormiguero	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oso marino	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oso negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
oso pardo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
padrenuestro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
paja brava	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
paja cebadaza	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
paja centenaza	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
paja pelaza	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
paja trigaza	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pájaro araño	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pájaro bobo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pájaro loco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pájaro solitario	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pájaro tonto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palabra gruesa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
palabra pesada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palabras libres	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palabras mayores	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palma brava	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palma cana	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palma enana	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palma indiana	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palma negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palma real	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palo blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palo cochino	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palo cortado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palo dulce	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palo macho	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palo mayor	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palo nefrítico	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palo pinto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
palosanto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pambazo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pamperdido	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pamporcino	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pan ázimo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pan cenceño	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pan mollete	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
papalba	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	R	BG
papel comercial	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
papel mojado	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
papurubiu	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
paso castellano	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
paso largo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
paso lento	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
paso ordinario	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pasodoble	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
patanegra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
patarrajada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
pataseca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
pato negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pavisoso	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R	BG
pavitonto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R	BG
pavo real	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pelo malo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
peón caminero	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
perdiz blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
perdiz pardilla	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pericana	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
perro mudo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
perro viejo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
perrogordo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
perrotonto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pez elástica	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pez gordo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pez naval	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pez negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pez reverso	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pez volante	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pica seca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
picofeo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
picoverde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
piedra dura	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
piedra falsa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
piedra fina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
piedra infernal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
piedra loca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pimienta falsa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pimienta larga	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pimienta loca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pimienta silvestre	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pino negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pintarroja	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
pionono	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pita muntesa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pitaciega	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
plátano falso	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
plaza alta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
plaza baja	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pleito civil	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pleito criminal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
plomo blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
plomo corto	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
plomo dulce	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
plomo pobre	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
plomo rico	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
pollaboba	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
pollorronco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pomarrosa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pozo negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
precipitado blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
precipitado rojo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
premio gordo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
primer espada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	R	BG
primera enseñanza	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
prueba negativa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
prueba positiva	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
puerco montés	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
puerta falsa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
puerta franca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
puerta secreta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
punta seca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
pupaviva	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
rasoliso	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
reina mora	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
renta estancada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
renta general	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
renta provincial	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
retama blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
retama común	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
retama negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ropa blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ropa vieja	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ropasuelta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
ropavejero	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
rosal amarillo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
rosal blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
ruibarbo blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
sal común	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
salado negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
salsa blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
salsa rubia	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
salsa tártara	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
salto mortal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
sangre azul	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
sangre fría	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
sangre ligera	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
sangre negra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
sangre pesada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
sangregorda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
sangrerrollada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
seda azache	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
seda cruda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
seda ocal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
seda porrina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
seda redonda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
seda verde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
sentido común	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
servicio doméstico	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
servicio militar	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
silla volante	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
sueldo bueno	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
sueldo burgalés	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tabaco holandés	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tabaco moruno	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tabaco negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tabaco rubio	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tabaco turco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tabaco verdín	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tapa rajada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tapete verde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
té negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
té verde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tejavana	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tierra blanca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tierra firme	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tierra rara	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tierra santa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tierra verde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tiovivo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tomillo blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tordo loco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
trato doble	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tren directo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tren expreso	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
tren rápido	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
trigo azul	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
trigo duro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
trigo mocho	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
trigo otoñal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
trigo redondillo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
trompa marina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
uña olorosa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
uva abejar	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
uva alarije	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
uva albarazada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
uva albilla	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
uva bodocal	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
uva cana	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
uva crespá	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
uva espina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
uva marina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vaca marina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vaca tembladera	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vacaloca	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vara larga	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vela bastarda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vela cuadra	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vela latina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vela mayor	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vela redonda	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vela tarquina	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
velaverde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vergancha	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	R	BG
vía muerta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vía pública	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vida airada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vista cansada	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vista corta	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
vómito negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
yerbamala	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
yeso blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
yeso espejuelo	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
yeso mate	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
yeso negro	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
zafiro blanco	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
zancas largas	N	N+A	H-Mod	Exo	W	BG
zarzaperruna	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
zarzarrosa	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
zona verde	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
zorro azul	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG
zumaque falso	N	N+A	H-Mod	Endo	W	BG

NUMERAL + NOUN

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
camasquince	N	N + Num	H-Spec	Exo	W	BG
ciempiés	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
ciensayos	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
cientopiés	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
cincollagas	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
cinconegritos	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
cincooreal	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
cuatro ojos	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
cuatro orejas	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
cuatrofilos	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
cuatrojas	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	R	BG
cuatronarices	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
cuatorreales	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
doscaras	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
milamores	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
milflores	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
milhojas	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
milhombres	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
milpies	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
nuevehojas	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
sietecolores	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
sietecuchillos	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
sietecueros	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
sietesangrías	N	Num + N	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG

NOUN + NOUN

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
abeja reina	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua cal	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
agua cal	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua cola	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
agua cola	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua nafa	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
aguacuba	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
aguagoma	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
aguagoma	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
aguamanos	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
aguamiel	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
aguamiel	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
aguanafa	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
aguanieve	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
aguanieve	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
aguanieves	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
aguapié	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
aguasal	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
aguasnieves	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
aguaturma	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
aguaviento	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
aguaviento	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
aguavientos	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ajaceite	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
ajarriero	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
ajaspajas	N	N+N	H-H	Endo	R	BG
ajiaceite	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
ajicola	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ajicomino	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
ajicuervo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
ajipuerro	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
ajipuerro	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ajoaceite	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
ajoarriero	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ajohuevo	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
ajolio	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
ajonuez	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
ajopollo	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
ajopringue	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
ajoqueso	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
arquibanco	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
arquimesa	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
ave lira	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
balompié	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
baloncesto	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
balonmano	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
balonvolea	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
barbirrostro	N	N+N	C-H	Exo	R	BG
baúl mundo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
bienes raíces	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
boboescama	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
bocabarra	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
bocacalle	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
bocacaz	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
bocallave	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
bocamanga	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
bocamina	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
bocapresa	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
bocateja	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
bocatijera	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
bocatoma	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
boticuero	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
brocamantón	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
bulbocastaña	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
buzcorona	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
cabrahigo	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
cachicuero	A	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
calicanto	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W+i	BG
calo(s)frío, escalofrío	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
calvatrueno	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
calvatrueno	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
calzaczón	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
calzaczón	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
campo turista	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
caña espina	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cañafistula-fistola	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cañamiel	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
capidengue	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
capigorra	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
capisayo	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
caracaballo	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
caracierzo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
carapico	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
carasol	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
carricoche	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
carricuba	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
cartón piedra	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
casa cuna	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
casamuda	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
casamuro	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
casapuerta	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
casatienda	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
cepacaballo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ceracate	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
cerapez	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
ceriflor	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
ceromiel	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
cerristopa	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
cervicabra	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
chichinabo	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
chinchemolle	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
chirlomirlo	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
chochaperdiz	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
chochaperdiz	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ciervoleón	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
coche cama	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
colapez, colapiz	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
coliflor	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W+I	BG
colinabo	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W+i	BG
colipavo	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
coliteja	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
cornicabra	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
cuartocarro	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cuerdacarru	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cuerpuespín	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
día puente	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
dinero oro	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
dinero plata	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ecosonda	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
estrellamar	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
gachasmigas	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
galizabra	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
gallipato	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
gallipava	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
gallipavo	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
gallipuerto	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
gallocresta	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
gatoyerro	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
gatuña	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
guebogallo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
hojaiata	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
hombre rana	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
hormigacaballo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
jaraestepa	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
juntabanda	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
lápiz plomo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
lápiz tinta	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
lechearena	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
lengua madre	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
liquidambar	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
madre yerba	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
madrechinche	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
madreclavo	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
madreoveja	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
madreperla	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
madreselva	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
maestrepasquín	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
maestresala	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
maestrescuela	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
malvaseda	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mamporro	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
mancuadra	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
mancuerda	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
manderecha	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
maniobra	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
manobra	N	N+N	C-H	Exo	R	BG
matalbahaca	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
mesa camilla	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
misacantano	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
mono araña	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
nabicol	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W+i	BG
orejaliebre	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro burro	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro carnero	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro diablo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro flauta	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro gallo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro gato	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
pájaro mosca	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro moscón	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro mosquito	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro niño	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro perico	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro polilla	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro reloj	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro trapaza	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro vaquero	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pájaro verdugo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palo áloe	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palo brasil	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palo campeche	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pan y quesillo	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
paniqueso	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W+i	BG
pañomanos	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
papel pluma	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
papel tela	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pasitrote	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
pasonivel	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pavipollo	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
peje araña	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
peje diablo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pejeángel	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pejegallo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pejemujer	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pejepalo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pejerrey	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pejesapo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
perrigalgo	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
peso gallo	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
peso mosca	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
peso pluma	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pez ballesta	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pez espada	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pez luna	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pez martillo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pez mujer	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pez sierra	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pezpalo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
picoazadón	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
picocangrejo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
picoesquina	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
picopaloma	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pie dra jaspe	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pie dra mármol	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pie drahierro	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pie draimán	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pitiseda	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
pitobarreno	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
plumafuente	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
puercoespín	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
puertaventana	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
puntapié	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rabicandil	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
rabiguana	N	N+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
radiojo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
rabipego	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
rabistaca	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
raoiguana	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
raojuuco	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
rataconejo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
reihueso	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
reina madre	N	N+N	H-H	Endo	W	BG
retama macho	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
rosadelfa	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
sal gema	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
salipez	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W+I	BG
salpimienta	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
sangre vaca	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
sangre y leche	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
saucegatillo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
sauzgatillo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
sayobobo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
silla jineta	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
sombrero hongo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
sopicaldo	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	R	BG
tabaco vinagrillo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
tapacorona	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
tapafunda	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
té perla	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
telaraña	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
trampantojo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
tripicallos	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	R	BG
uña gata	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
uña gato	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
uva verga	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
vacabuey	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
varagavilán	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
varapalo	N	N+N	H-H	Endo	W	BG
varapalo	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
varaseto	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
vigapié	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
vuelocapa	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
yerba añil	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
yerba anís	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
yerba coral	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
yerbarreuma	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
yerbavibora	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
zambapalo	N	N+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
zapapico	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG
zarzamora, zarzamorra	N	N+N	C-H	Endo	W	BG
zarzaparrilla	N	N+N	H-H	Exo	W	BG

NOUN + PREPOSITION + NOUN

TERM	Category	Structure	Const.Rel	Headship	First Elem	Source
abogado de pobres	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
abogado de secano	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
acto de conciliación	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
acto de contricción	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de azahar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de borrajas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de cal	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de cantera	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de cepas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de cerrajas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de colonia	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de fondo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de herreros	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de lluvia	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const.Rel	Headship	First Elem	Source
agua de manantial	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de nafa	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de nieve	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
agua de palo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ala de mosca	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
alma de caballo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alma de caín	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alma de cántaro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alma de dios	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
almacén de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
alma en pena	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ama de leche	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ama de llaves	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
anémone de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
animal de bellota	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
araña de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
araña de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
arta de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
artículo de fe	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
artículo de fondo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
auto de fe	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ave de paraíso	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
azúcar de uva	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
azucena de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
barbo de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
berenjena de huevo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
berza de perro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
blanco de huevo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
boca de estómago	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
boca de fuego	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
boca de fuego	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
boca de oro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
boca de verdades	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
bola de nieve	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
bomba de mano	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
botón de oro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
brazo de gitano	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
brazo de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
brazo de río	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
buey de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
caballo de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const.Rel	Headship	First Elem	Source
caballo de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
caballo de vapor	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cabello de ángel	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cabeza de ajo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cabeza de casa	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cabeza de chorlito	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cabeza de hierro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cabeza de lobo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cabeza de partido	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cabeza de perro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cabeza de puente	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cabeza de turco	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
caña de azúcar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cangrejo de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
capón de leche	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cara de acelga	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cara de gualda	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cara de perro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
carro de oro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
casa de baños	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
casa de camas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
casa de campo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
casa de citas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
casa de fieras	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
casa de huéspedes	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
casa de locos	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
casa de socorro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
censo de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cigarro de papel	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
coche de línea	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cola de boca	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cola de caballo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cola de zorra	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
colchón de viento	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
comedia de carácter	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
comedia de costumbres	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
comedia de enredo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
comedia de figurón	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
comedia de magia	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
compañón de perro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const.Rel	Headship	First Elem	Source
costra de azúcar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
criadilla de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
criadilla de tierra	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cuarto de banderas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cuarto de estar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cuenta de leche	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cuerda sin fin	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
cuerpo de hombre	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
culo de mal asiento	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
culo de vaso	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
curva de nivel	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
dama de noche	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
dedodedama	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
derecho de espada	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
día de bueyes	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
día de grosura	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
diente de ajo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
diente de caballo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
diente de leche	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
diente de león	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
diente de lobo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
diente de muerto	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
diente de perro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
dolor de viudo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
erizo de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
escalera de caracol	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
escalera de color	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
escalera de espárrago	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
escalera de husillo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
escalera de mano	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
escalera de servicio	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
escalera de tijera	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
escudo de armas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
espada de dos filos	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
espina de cruz	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
espina de pescado	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
espíritu de sal	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
espíritu de vino	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
espuma de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
estación de servicio	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
estrella de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const.Rel	Headship	First Elem	Source
fe de vida	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ferrocarril de sangre	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
fidalgo, hidalgo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	R	BG
fiesta de armas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
fiesta de consejo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
fiesta de guardar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
figura de bulto	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
fijodalgo, hijodalgo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
flor de amor	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
flor de ángel	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
flor de lis	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
flor de macho	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
flor de maíz	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
flor de muerto	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
flor de viento	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
galán de día	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
galán de noche	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
gallina de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
garbanzo de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
gato de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
gente de barrio	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
gente de capa de carda	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
gente de capa negra	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
gente de escaleras abajo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
golondrina de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
golpe de estado	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
golpe de gracia	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
golpe de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
guardia de asalto	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
guardia de honor	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
gusano de sangre roja	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
hila de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
hoja de lata	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
hoja de limón	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
hoja de ruta	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
hoja de servicios	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
hoja de tocino	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
hombre de armas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
hombre de cabo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const.Rel	Headship	First Elem	Source
hueso de santo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
huevo de faltriquera	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
huevo de pulpo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
impureza de sangre	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
jamón en dulce	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
juego de manos	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
leche de canela	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
leche de gallina	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
leche de pájaro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
leche de tierra	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
lengua de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
lengua de buey	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
lengua de escorpión	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lengua de estropajo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lengua de gato	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
lengua de hacha	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lengua de perro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
lengua de sierpe	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lengua de tierra	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
lengua de trapo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lengua de víbora	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
lengua de víbora	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lenteja de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
letra de cambio	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
libro de caballerías	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
libro de horas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
libro de texto	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
liebre de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
limpieza de sangre	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
línea de flotación	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
lirio de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
llantén de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mal de bubas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mal de corazón	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mal de madre	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mal de montaña	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mal de ojo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mal de orina	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mal de piedra	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
maldeajo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
manga de ángel	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const.Rel	Headship	First Elem	Source
manga de viento	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mano de cazo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mano de gato	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mano de obra	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
manto de humo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mar de fondo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
médico de cabecera	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
médico de cámara	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
melón de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
memoria de gallo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
memoria de grillo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
merced de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mesa de batalla	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mesa de comercio	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mesa de gallegos	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mesa de noche	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mesilla de noche	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
miel de caldera	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
miel de cañas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
miel de caras	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
miel de claros	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
molino de sangre	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
moro de paz	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mosca en leche	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mozo de caballos	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mozo de cordel	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mozo de cuerda	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mozo de espuela	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mozo de estoques	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
mozo de mulas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
muelas de gallo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mujer de mala vida	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
nube de lluvia	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
nube de verano	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
nudo de tripas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ojo de besugo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ojo de boticario	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ojo de buey	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ojo de cangrejo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ojo de gallo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ojo de gato	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const.Rel	Headship	First Elem	Source
ojo de jabón	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ojo de liebre	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ojo de pavo real	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ojo de perdiz	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ojo de pollo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ojos de cangrejo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ojos de gato	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ojos de sapo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
oreja de abad	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
oreja de fraile	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
oreja de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
oreja de monje	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
oreja de negro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
oreja de oso	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
oreja de ratón	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
ortiga de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palabra de honor	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palo de águila	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palo de áloe	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palo de bañón	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palo de campeche	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palo de ciego	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palo de esteva	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palo de hule	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palo de jabón	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
palo de rosa	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pamplina de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pan de azúcar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pan de perro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
panderculobra	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pandecuquiello	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pandesapo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pañó de excusa	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pañó de manos	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
papagayo de noche	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
papel de barbas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
paso a nivel	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pata de banco	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pata de cabra	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pata de gallina	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pata de gallo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const.Rel	Headship	First Elem	Source
pata de león	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
patiporsuelo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
pedo de llobu	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pelo de cofre	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pelota de viento	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
perejil de perro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pico de cigüeña	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pico de oro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pie de becerro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pie de burro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pie de cabra	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pie de gallina	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pie de gato	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pie de león	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pie de paloma	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pedra de chispa	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pedra de pipa	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pedra de rayo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pedra de toque	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pino de oro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
piojo de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
plaza de armas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
plaza de toros	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pluma de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
pollo de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
polvo de batata	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
rabo de zorra	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
rabodejunco	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rabos de gallo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo?	W	BG
raíz de moro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
real de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
real de plata	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
recurso de aclaración	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
recurso de amparo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
recurso de apelación	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
recurso de fuerza	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
recurso de nulidad	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
red de pájaros	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
retama de escobas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
retama de olor	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
retama de tintes	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const.Rel	Headship	First Elem	Source
sal de nitro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
sal de perla	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
sal de plomo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
salamanca de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
salto de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
salto de campana	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
salto de lobo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
sangre de drago	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
sangre de espaldas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
sangre de horchata	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
seguro de vida	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
sopa en vino	N	N+prep+P N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
sueldo de oro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
tabaco de barro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
tabaco de humo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
tabaco de polvo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
tabaco de vena	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
tabaco de vinagrillo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
tabla de juego	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tela de araña	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
temblor de tierra	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
tocinillo de cielo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
tocino de cielo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
tordo de agua	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
torre de marfil	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
torre de viento	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
tropa de línea	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
trucha de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
uva de gato	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
uva de pájaro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
uva de perro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
uva de raposa	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
vejiga de perro	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
vino de agujas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
vino de cabezas	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
vino de garrote	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
vino de lágrima	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
vino de yema	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
vista de águila	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
vista de lince	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const.Rel	Headship	First Elem	Source
yerba de balletero	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
yerba de coral	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
yerba de cuajo	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
yerba de limón	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG
zorra de mar	N	N+prep+N	H-C	Endo	W	BG

VERB + NOUN or ADVERB

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
abrecartas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
abrelatas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
abreojos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
abrepuños	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
abriboca	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
abrojo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
aburacabarreno	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
aburacamaderos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
acabacasas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
aclaraaguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
aferravelas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
afilalápices	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
afrentacavadores	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
aguafiestas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
aguaitacaimán	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
aguaitacaminos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
aguzanieves	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ahogaviejas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ahorcaperros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alborotapueblos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
allanabarrancos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
allanapastillos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alzacolita	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alzacuello	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alzafalda	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alzafuelles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alzapaño	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alzapelo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alzapie	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alzapuertas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
alzarrabos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
alzavara	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
andarraya	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
andarríos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
apagacandil(es)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
apagavelas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
apañacuencos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
apañalanas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
apeayeguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
apegamanos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
aplanacalles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
apuracabos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ardeviejas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ardiviejas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
arrancabotones	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrancacamisa	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrancacebolla	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrancaclavos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrancamoños	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrancapinos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrancarrabia	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrascachimeneas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrastracueros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrastraculo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrastrapanza	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrastrapies	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrebatacapas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrebatapuñadas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
arrincanabos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
atajacaminos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
atajaperros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
atajaprimo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
atajasolaces	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
atapierna	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
atizacandiles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
atrapamoscas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
atropellaplatos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
avisacoches	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
azotacaballo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
azotacalles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
azotacristos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
azotalenguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
bajamano	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
bajamuelles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
bajarrosos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
bañalomo (a)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
barrecama	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
barresanto	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
barresuelo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
bateaguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
batiaguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
baticabeza	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
baticol	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
baticola	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
baticor	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
baticulo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
bati fulla	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
batihoja	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
batiporte	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
bati puerta	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
bebeleche	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
becafigo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
besamanos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
blincaciegas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
bogavante	N	V+Adv	H-C	Exo	R	BG
botabarro	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
botabomba	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
botafango	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
botafuego	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
botagancho	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
botagua	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
botalodo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
botamanga	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
botasela	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
botasilla	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
botavaca	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
botavante	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
botavara	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
botifuera	N	V+Adv	H-C	Exo	R	BG
buscabulla	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
buscaniguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
buscapie	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
buscapies	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
buscapique(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
buscapleito(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
buscarruidos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
buscavida(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cagaaceite	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cagafierro	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cagaleches	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
caganido caganiu	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
caganiedo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cagaprisas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cagapuesto	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cagarrache	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cagarropa	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cagatinta(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
calabobos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
calacuerda	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
calamorro	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
calientamanos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
calientapies	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
calientaplatos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
calientapollas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
calientapuesto	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cambiavía	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cantahueso	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cantalobos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cantamisa	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cantarrana	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cardaestambre	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cargatasajo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cascaciruelas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cascahuesos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cascaliendres	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cascanueces	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cascapiñones	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cascarrabias	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cascarrojas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cascatreguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
castrapuerkas(os)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
catabejas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
catacaldos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
catalejo(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
catalicores	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
catarribera	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
catasalsas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cataviento	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
catavinos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cavacote	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cazaclavos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cazadotes	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cazamoscas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cazatorpedero	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cenaoscuras	N	V+p+Adv	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chafalmejas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chambeculos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chapacharcos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chotacabras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupaazahar	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupacensos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupacharcos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupacirios	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupaenchufes	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupaflor	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupalámparas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupalodo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupamiel	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupamieles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupamirto	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupapiedras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chuparrosa	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupatabaco	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupatintas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupatomates	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
chupavaya	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ciegayernos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cierrapolleros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cierrapuertas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
comeciencero	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
comecocos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
comeculebra	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
comecuras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
comefrío	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
comegente	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
comejueyes ?	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
comemano	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
comepescados	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
comeúvas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
comevaca	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
comidibaldi	N	V+prep+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
correcalles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
correcamino	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
correcaminos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
correcarriles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
correrrios	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
corresenderos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
corretroncos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
corricalles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
cortabolsas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortacallos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortacigarros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortacircuito(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortacorriente	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortafierro(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortafrio	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortafuego(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortahierro	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortalápices	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortalata	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortañarices	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortapajas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortapapel(es)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortapelo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortapichas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortapicos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortapiés	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortapluma(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortapuros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortarraíces	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortatijera	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortauñas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cortaviento	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cruzacalles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cuajacabeza	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cuajaenredos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
cuajaleche	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cubrecadena	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cubrecama	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cubre corsé	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cubre costuras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cubrenuca	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cubreobjeto	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cubrepan	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cubrepiés	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cubreteclas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cuelgacandiles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cuelgacapas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cuentachiles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cuentacuentos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cuentagotas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cuentahilos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cuentakilómetros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cuentapisos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cumpleaños	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
cundeamor	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
curalotodo	N	V+cl+pron	H-C	Exo	W	BG
derramaplaceres	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
derramasolaces	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
descalzaperros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
descuernacabras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
descuernapadrazos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
desentierramuestras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
deshonrabuenos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
desmochollas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
despeñaperros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
destapacorona	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
destrababueyes	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
destripacuentos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
destripaterrones	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
destrozapeines	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
desuellacaras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
detienebuey	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
dragaminas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
echacantos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
echacuervos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
echalumbre	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
echapellas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
emborrachacabras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
encalcatierras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
engañabobos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
engañamuchachos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
engañapastor(es)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
engañapastos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
enganchabobos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
engordacabras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
enjuagadientes	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escampavía	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escarbadietes	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escarbaorejas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escarnachotas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escondecorreas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escondecucas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escondefraile	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escornacabras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escuelaagujas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escupejumos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escurreplatos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escusabaraja	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
escusamoza	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
espantagustos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
espantalobos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
espantamoscas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
espantanublados	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
espantapájaros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
espantapulgas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
espantasuegra	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
espantasueño	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
espantavaqueros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
espantavillanos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
espetaperro(s) (a)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
espulgaperros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
estripaterrones	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
foricaculo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
franhueso	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
frunciboca	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
furabollos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ganagracia	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
ganapan	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
girasol	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guadarnés	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardabajos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardabanderas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardabarranca	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardabarrera	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardabarrós	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardabosque(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardabrazo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardabrisa	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardacaballo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardacabras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardacantón	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardacartuchos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardacazuelas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardachoque	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardacoimas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardacostas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardacuños	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardadamas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardaespaldas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardaesquinas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardafango(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardafrenos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardafuego	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardaguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardagujas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardahumo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardainfante	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardaízas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardajoyas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardalmacén	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardalobo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardapelo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardapesca	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardapierna	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardapies	V	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardapolvo	V	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardapuerta	V	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardarraya	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
guardarrío	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardarropa	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardarruedas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardasilla	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardasol	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardatierra	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardatimón	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardavela	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
guardavía	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
halacabuyas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
halacuerda	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
hincapié	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
hinchahuevos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
hueleflor	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
hueleguisos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
huracapinos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
hurgamandón	N	V+N	H-Spec	Exo	W	BG
juzgamundos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lambeculos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lambeojos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lambeplatos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lanzacabos (cañón)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lanzafuego	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lanzallamas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lavacara	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lavacaras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lavadientes	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lavafrutas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lavagallos(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lavamanos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lavaojos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lavaplatos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ligagamba	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ligapierna	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
limpiabarros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
limpiabotas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
limpiachimeneas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
limpiadientes	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
limpiamanos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
limpiaparabrisas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
limpiapiés	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
limpiatuna	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
limpiaúñas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
limpiscasa	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
llamahielos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
llamanorte	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lloraduelos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lloramuerto	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
llorasangre	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
lustrabotas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
malbusca	N	Adv+V	C-H	Exo	W	BG
malqueda	N	Adv+V	C-H	Exo	W	BG
maltrabaja	N	Adv+V	C-H	Exo	W	BG
mamacallos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mamaúvas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mancaperro	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
manchamantel	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
manchatinta	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mascabrevas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mascahabas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matabuey	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mataburro	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matacaballo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matacabras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matacallos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matacán	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matacandelas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matacandil	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matacandiles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matafrío	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matafuego	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matagallegos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matagallina	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matagallos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matagañanes	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matagarrote	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matagusano(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matahambre	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matahombres	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matahumos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matajunta	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matalobos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
matamaridos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matambre	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matamoros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matamoscas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matamuchachos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mataovejas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matapalo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matapán	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mataperro(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matapez	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matapiojos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matapioyos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matapollo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matapolvo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matapuerco	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matapulgas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mataquintos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matarrata	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matarratas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matasanos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matasapo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matasellos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matasoldados	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matasuegra (a)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matasuegras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matatoros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matavenado	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
matayugo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
meaperros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
metemuertos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
metesillas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mirafondos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
miramar	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mirasol	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mirasoles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mojabobos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mondadientes	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mondaoidos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mondaorejas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
mondapozos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
montacargas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
montambanco	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
papafigo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
papahigo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
papahuevos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
papamoscas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
papanatas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
paparrabias	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
parabrisas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
paracaídas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
parachosques	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
paraguas, paranguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pararrayo(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
parlaembalde	N	V+prep+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
parteluz	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
partepiñones	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasabola	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasabolo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasacaballo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasacalle	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasaclau	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasacólica	N	V+N	H-Spec	Exo	W	BG
pasajuego	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasamano	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasamano(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasamontañas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasapan	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasaperro (coser a)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasarrato	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasarríos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasatiempo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasatoro (a)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasavante	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
pasaviolin	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasavolante	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pasavoleo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pegamoscas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pegapollo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pelacañas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pelaespigas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pelafustán	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pelagallos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
pelagarza	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pelagatos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pelamimbres	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pelapobres	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pelaputas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pelarruecas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
perdonavidas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
perrohuele	N	N+V	Spec-H	Exo	W	BG
pesacartas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pesalicores	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
piapoco	N	V+Q	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picabuey	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picacaballos (araña)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picaflor(es)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picafrío	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picagallina	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picamaderos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picamulo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picapeces	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picapiescos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picapleitos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picaporte	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picaposte	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
picapuerco	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pierdemisas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pierdetiempo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
piezafa	N	N+V	C-H	Exo	W	BG
pinchacarneiro	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pincharratas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pinchaúvas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pintacopas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pintamonas(os)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pintapared	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pintatuchas(os)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pisapapeles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pisapavas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pisaúvas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pisaverdes	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pixaminutos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pixasang	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ponefaltas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
portaalmizcle	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portaaviones	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portabandera	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portacaja	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portacarabina	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portacartas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portaciriales	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portacomida	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portacopas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portacubierto	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portacuchillos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portaequipaje(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portaestandarte	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portafolio(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portafusil	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portaguión	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portagujas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portaherramientas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portalámpara(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portalápiz	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portalibros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portallanta	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portallaves	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portamantas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portamanteo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portamira	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portamonedas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portanueces	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portanuevas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portaobjeto	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portapaz	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portaplatos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portapliegos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portaplumas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portapuntas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portarretrato(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portatrancas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portavasos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portaviandas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
portavoz	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
posaverga	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
prensaestopa	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pringamoza	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pringapiés	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
pujavante	N	V+Adv	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quebracho	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quebranoces	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quebrantahuesos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quebrantanueces	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quebrantaolas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quebrantapiedras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quebrantatinajas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quemarropa	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quiebrahacha	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quiebramuelas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quiebraplato	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quiebrarado	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quiebrarao	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quiebrasogas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitaguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitagustos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitahipos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitamanchas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitameriendas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitamiedos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitamotas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitanieves	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitapelillos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitapesares	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitasol	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitasueño	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
quitatinta	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rabiazorras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rajaboca	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rajabroqueles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rajamantas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rajatabla (a)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rajatablas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rapabarbas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rapaculos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rapapiés	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rapapolvo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
rapavelas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rascabarrigas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rascaboñigas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rascabuche	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rascacielos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rascagarganta	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rascamijas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rascamoño	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rascarrabias	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rascatripas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rascavieja(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rascaviejo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
raspabuche	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
raspahuevos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
raspapolvo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
raspasombrero	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
recogeabuelos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
recogemigas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
remediavagos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
restañasangre	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
revientacaballo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
revientacabras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
revientamuelas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
revientaperros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
revientatinajas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
revientayeles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
robaperas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
robaterreno	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
robavaca	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rodapié	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rodaplancha	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rodeabrazo (a)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
roehuesos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompearados	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompecabezas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompecaldera	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompecapa	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompecoches	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompegalas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompegloria	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompehielos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
rompehuelga	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompenecios	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompenueces	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompeolas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompeplatos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompepoyos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompesacos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompesquinas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompetechos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
rompezaragüelles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
ruedamierda	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sabelotodo	N	V+cl+pron	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacabala	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacabalas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacabancos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacabocado(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacaborallo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacaborras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacabotas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacabuche	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacaclavos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacacorchos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacacuartos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacadinero(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacafilásticas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacafuegos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacamanchas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacamantas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacamanteca	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacamantecas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacamiel	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacamuelas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacanabo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacaojos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacapelotas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacapotras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacaprado	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacapuntas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacasebo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacasillas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacatinta	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
sacatrapo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sacatrapo(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
saltaparedes	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
saltaperico	N	V+N	H-Spec	Exo	W	BG
saltapico	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
saltaprados	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
saltarregla	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
saltarrostro	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
saltatrás	N	V+Adv	H-C	Exo	W	BG
saltatumbas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
saltigallo, sartigallo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	R	BG
salvabarros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
salvamarino (a)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
salvamanteles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
salvavida	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
salvavidas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sanalotodo	N	V+cl+pron	H-C	Exo	W	BG
secafirmas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
secagarganta	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
siempresobra	N	Adv+V	C-H	Exo	W	BG
soplapitos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sueldacostilla	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
sujetapapeles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
suplefaltas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tajamar	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tajaplumas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
talacebollas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapabalazo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapaboca(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapacamino	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapacantos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapacubos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapaculo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapaestero	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapafunda	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapaguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapagujeros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapajuntas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapalodo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapaluz	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapamocos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
tapamorros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapapiés	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapapuntos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
taparrabo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
taparrabo(s)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapavergüenza	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tapazagueras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tardanaos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tientaparedes	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tirabala	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tirabotas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tirabrasas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tiracantos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tirachinas(os)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tiracol	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tiracuello	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tiracuero	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tirafuera	N	V+Adv	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tiragomas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tiraleche	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tiralevitas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tiralíneas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tirapié	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tirapiedras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tiratacos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tiratiros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tiratrillo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tocadiscos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tocaparte	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tocasalva	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tocateja	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tocatorre	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tomacorriente	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tomalotodo	N	V+cl+pron	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tomapan	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
torcecuello	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tornaboda	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tornafiesta	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tornagallos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tornaguía	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tornapeón (a)	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
tornapunta	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tornasol	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tornatrás	N	V+Adv	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tornavoz	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trabacuenta	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trabalenguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragaavemarias	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
iragabalas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragacantos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragafés	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragahombres	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragahumo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragaldabas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragalenguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragalibros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragallamas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragaluz	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragaños	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
traganudos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragaperras	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragasantos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragavenado	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragavino	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tragavirotos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trepaencinas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trepatorres	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trepatroncos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trincaesquinas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trincapiñones	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trocatainta	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trocatainte	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trompatalega	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tronchastiles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trotacalles	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trotaconventos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
trotamundos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
truenapico	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tumbaburros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tumbacabeza	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tumbacuartillos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tumbacuatro	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

TERM	Category	Structure	Const Rel	Headship	First term	Source
tumbaculito	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tumbaollas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tumbavaqueros	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
tumbavieja	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
vagamundo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
velamuerto	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
vendehumos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
vierteaguas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
volapié	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
vuelaflor	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
vuelveparvas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
xugamanos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
zafacoca	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
zafarrancho	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
zampabodigos	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
zampalimosnas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
zampamanga	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
zampapalo	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
zampatortas	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG
zurrapié	N	V+N	H-C	Exo	W	BG

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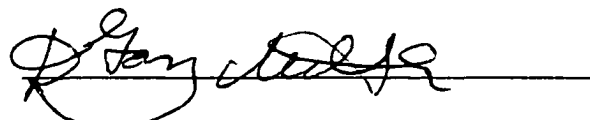
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

María Irene Moyna was born in Montevideo, Uruguay. She received her primary and secondary education at Crandon Institute, Montevideo. She later trained to be a teacher of English as a Foreign Language at the Instituto Cultural Anglo-Uruguayo of Montevideo. Concurrently, she did her bachelor's degree in English and French translation at the School of Translators of the Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales. She later spent two years in Dundee and Edinburgh, Scotland, where she worked as a Spanish language assistant at the high school level.

Upon her return to Montevideo, Ms. Moyna studied linguistics at the Department of Linguistics of the Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación. She then came to the United States, where she completed a master's degree in the Program in Linguistics at the University of Florida. Afterwards, she went on to pursue her doctoral degree at the same institution. As part of her graduate student appointment, she worked as a teacher of English as a Second Language at the English Language Institute and as a TESOL and linguistics instructor in the Program in Linguistics. She has also been involved in departmental research. Her academic interests include Romance linguistics, especially phonology, morphology, and language change.

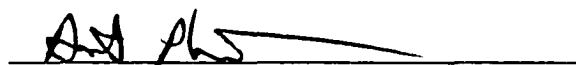
Ms. Moyna lives in Gainesville with her daughter Matilde.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Gary Miller", written over a horizontal line.

Gary Miller, Chairman
Professor of Linguistics

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "David Pharies", written over a horizontal line.

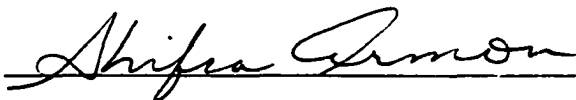
David Pharies
Professor of Romance Languages and
Literatures

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Ann Wehmeyer", written over a horizontal line.

Ann Wehmeyer
Associate Professor of Linguistics

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Shifra Armon", written over a horizontal line.

Shifra Armon
Assistant Professor of Romance Languages
and Literatures

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Linguistics in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 2000

A handwritten signature in black ink, written over a horizontal line. The signature is cursive and appears to read "W. J. ...".

Dean, Graduate School