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[N. + N.] Compounds in Medieval Greek: Constantine Manasses's *Synopsis Chronike* as a Case Study

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Abstract

This paper attempts to provide a descriptive analysis of the newly coined [N. + N.] compound lexemes in Constantine Manasses's *Synopsis Chronike* (12th cent.) with a view to tracing the innovations and similarities to the Ancient Greek compound system. First, it provides a brief outline of the main types of Greek compounds according to the underlying syntactic relations between the immediate constituents, referring to the related notion of 'syntagma' (Section 1). Then, it deals with the phonological and morphosyntactic criteria that distinguish compounds from syntactic groups (Section 2). The subsequent section addresses the stress patterns of compounds (Section 3). The final section gives a description of the compounds based on i. the morphemic status of the immediate constituents, namely whether they are free or bound elements, ii. the linear order of the determinatum (dm) and determinant (dt) inside the combination, and iii. the lexical class of the compound as a whole, and equally the class of the compound components (Section 4).

Keywords

Medieval Greek compounding, Manasses, *Synopsis Chronike*, headedness, bahuvrihi compounds, syntagma, compound orientation

Introduction

Compounding is a very productive word-formation process in the Greek language. A number of studies and overviews have dealt with this linguistic phenomenon in Classical, Hellenistic and Modern Greek.¹ Little, however, has been written about compounding in Medieval Greek.² In the Byzantine period, the author who has to be credited with the highest number of newly coined compound nouns (neologisms) is Constantine Manasses (12th cent.).³ Among Manasses's writings is the first Byzantine world chronicle in verse, *Synopsis Chronike*. The *Chronicle* consists of 6620 political verses (dekapentasyllables) and covers the period from Adam to the accession of Alexios I Komnenos to the throne in 1081. According to Lampsidis, there are 793 atthesaurista lexemes in Manasses's *Chronicle* (634 nominal lexemes "substantives and adjectives")⁴, out of which 141 nominal compound items (113 adjectives and 28 substantives) are first or only attested in the 12th-century Byzantine literature including Manasses's corpus. These 12th-century neologisms can be classified according to their frequency of occurrence in the *Chronicle* as follows (cf. the Index of Compound Lexemes, p. 104):

I. Compound nouns which occur only once (*hapax legomena*) within the *Chronicle*, e.g. ἀνδρόνους 5704⁵ 'with a manly mind', i.e. 'prudent, wise, judicious' (ref. proper name);

II. Compound nouns which occur more than once only within the *Chronicle*, e.g. χρυσοσάλπιγξ 3832, 4972 'golden trumpet';

III. Compound nouns which occur not only in the *Chronicle* but also in Manasses's other works (vocabula Manassis κατ' ἔξοχήν), e.g. λιπαροστέλεχος 92 'having a thick trunk or stem' (ref. πίτυς 'a pine-tree'). This compound is also attested in *Consolation for John Kontostephanos; Description of a Crane Hunt*

1 On Mycenaean Greek compounds, see Waanders (2008), Meissner - Tribulato (2002). On Homeric compounds, see Risch (1974: 181-229), Strien-Gerritsen (1973). For overviews on Ancient Greek compounding, see Schwyzer (1939: 343-371), Debrunner (1917: 15-83). On individual compound types, see Risch (1944), Sommer (1948), Knecht (1946). For Post-Classical Greek compounds, see Blass et al. (1961: 62-67). For Modern Greek compounds, see Ralli (2013a) in particular.

2 On compounding in Medieval Greek, see Andriotis (1938), Psaltis (1913: 343-371).

3 Cf. Hinterberger (2019: 46). For the vocabulary of Manasses's *Synopsis Chronike*, see Lampsidis (1971), (1973), (1973-1975), (1976-1977), (1996: vol. 2).

4 Lampsidis (1996: vol. 2, LXII).

5 Numbers added to the cited compounds refer to the verses in which they occur according to Bekker's (1837) edition.

Description of a Little Man, and *The Encomium of Michael Hagiotheodorites* by the same author;

IV. Compound nouns which are first attested in Manasses's works, and then used by later writers. For instance, the compound lexeme *μεγαλόδουπος* 'that which makes a loud resonant noise or roar, loud-resounding' is first attested in *Synopsis Chronike* (ref. *ποταμός* 273 'river'). Later, it also occurs in the 15th-century *Story of Apollonius, the king of Tyre*;

V. Compound nouns which are attested only in the 12th-century Byzantine literature, including Manasses's works. For instance, the compound lexeme *χρυσάντυξ* 'with golden edge or rim' (ref. *ἄρματα* 'chariots') is only attested in the 12th century in Manasses's *Synopsis Chronike* 5055 and Nicetas Eugenianos's *Monody on Theodore Prodrome*;

VI. Compounds which are first attested in the 12th-century Byzantine literature, including Manasses's writings, and later occurred in other writings. For instance, the compound noun *ἔρωτοδέσμη* 'bound of love' is first attested in the 12th century in Manasses's *Synopsis Chronike* 5822 and the *History* of Niketas Choniates. Later, it is also attested in the 14th-century *Chronicle* of Ephraim of Ainos.

	Adjectival patterns	Substantival patterns
I. Compounds that occur only once in <i>Synopsis Chronike</i>	[Adj. + Adj.] (one instance) [Adj. + Subst.] (49 instances) [Subst. + Subst.] (9 instances)	[Adj. + Subst.] (6 instances) [Subst. + Subst.] (11 instances)
II. Compounds that occur more than once only in <i>Synopsis Chronike</i>	[Adj. + Subst.] (10 instances) [Subst. + Subst.] (3 instances)	[Adj. + Subst.] (3 instances) [Subst. + Subst.] (one instance)
III. Compounds that occur only in Manasses's Corpus	[Adj. + Subst.] (9 instances) [Subst. + Subst.] (one instance)	[Adj. + Subst.] (one instance) [Subst. + Subst.] (3 instances)
IV. Compounds that first occur in Manasses's Corpus	[Adj. + Subst.] (8 instances) [Subst. + Subst.] (one instance)	
V. Compounds that occur only in the 12 th -century Byzantine literature	[Adj. + Subst.] (14 instances) [Subst. + Subst.] (3 instances) [Subst. + Adj.] (one instance)	[Adj. + Subst.] (one instance) [Subst. + Subst.] (one instance)
VI. Compounds that occur first in the 12 th -century Byzantine literature	[Adj. + Subst.] (3 instances) [Subst. + Adj.] (one instance)	[Subst. + Subst.] (one instance)

1. Types of compounds

The related literature provides a number of (cross-)linguistic classifications of compounds which are based on different classifying criteria.⁶ In the following, we will give a brief outline of the main types of Greek compounds and their distinct morphosyntactic properties.

i. Subordinative vs coordinative compounds

Greek compounds can be classified according to the underlying syntactic relationship between the immediate constituents, and thus, we can distinguish between subordinative and coordinative combinations. In subordinative compounds, one member is syntactically dependent on the other. Accordingly, the underlying syntactic relation is realised as one of modification or of government. Concerning the compounds which involve government relationship, one can further distinguish two sub-types:

a) Verbal governing compounds

These compounds display a verbal stem (head) as one of the constituent members. The other component (non-verbal/non-head) typically functions as an argument or an adverbial complement of the underlying verbal base. The verbal element usually stands on the right-hand side of the combination as in *προβατοφθόρος* 4242 ‘that which destroys sheep’ (ref. *λύκοι* ‘wolves’) where the left-hand constituent *πρόβατον* serves as the object of the verbal base. It can also stand at times as the first element of the construction as in *θελξικάρδιος* 311 ‘that charms the heart’, i.e. ‘fascinating’ (ref. *γλυκυθυμία* ‘sweet desire’):

<i>προβατοφθόρος</i>	< <i>πρόβατ(ον)</i> + <i>-φθόρ(ος)</i>
‘that which destroys sheep’	‘sheep’ + ‘destroy’

<i>θελξικάρδιος</i>	< <i>θέλγ(ω)</i> + <i>καρδί(α)</i>
‘that charms the heart’, i.e. ‘fascinating’	‘charm’ + ‘heart’

In this category belong what are known as synthetic compounds whose second member is realised as a deverbal derivative by an overt suffix regardless of whether it occurs as independent element or not. The first element, likewise, functions as an argument or an adverbial complement of the underlying

6 See, among others, Bisetto – Scalise (2005) and (2009).

verbal element. For instance, in the substantival combination *πυργοκτίστης* 469 'tower builder', the first element *πύργος* 'tower' syntactically functions as the direct object of the underlying verbal element *κτίζω* 'build' of the deverbal agent noun *κτίστης* 'builder'. Also, in the adjectival formation *λαμπροστόλιστος* 6586 'splendidly decorated' (ref. *ἡμέρα* 'day'), the right-hand constituent *λαμπρῶς* is realised as an adverbial complement of the underlying verbal element *στολίζω* 'decorate' of the passive deverbal adjective *στολιστός* 'decorated':

<i>πυργοκτίστης</i> 'tower builder'	< <i>πύργος</i> + <i>κτίστης</i> 'tower' + 'builder'
<i>λαμπροστόλιστος</i> 'splendidly decorated'	< <i>λαμπρ(ῶς)</i> + <i>στολιστός</i> 'splendidly' + 'decorated'

b) Prepositional governing compounds

These compounds can be considered nominalizations of prepositional phrases (a preposition and its complement), e.g. *ἐπαγκάλιος* 5644 'that which carried in the arms' (ref. *θρέφος* 'infant'):

<i>ἐπαγκάλιος</i> 'that which carried in the arms'	< <i>ἐπί</i> + <i>ἀγκάλαι</i> + <i>-ιος</i> 'in' + 'arms' + 'adjectival categorizer'
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On the other hand, the formations which involve modification relationship are illustrated by the so-called 'determinative compounds' in which the right-hand member is typically modified or rather determined by the substantival or adjectival first member. For instance, in the *ἀργυροσάλπιγξ* 2334 'silver trumpet', the right-hand member *σάλπιγξ* 'trumpet' is modified by the adjectival first element *ἀργυρός* 'silver'. Also, in the *γυναικοπάτωρ* 5569 'father of one's wife', the right-hand constituent *πατήρ* 'father' is determined by the substantival modifier *γυναῖκα* 'wife':

<i>ἀργυροσάλπιγξ</i> 'silver trumpet'	< <i>ἄργυρος</i> + <i>σάλπιγξ</i> 'silver' + 'trumpet'
<i>γυναικοπάτωρ</i> 'father of one's wife'	< <i>γυναῖκα</i> + <i>πατήρ</i> 'wife' + 'father'

With regard to the coordinative compounds, there is no dependency relation between the constituent components, as they both lie on the same syntactic

level, e.g. *γυναικόπαιδα* ‘women and children’. However, compounds of this type are not attested in *Manasses’s Chronicle*:

<i>γυναικόπαιδ(α)</i>	< <i>γυναῖκ(ες)</i> + <i>παιδ(ία)</i>
‘women and children’	‘women’ + ‘children’

ii. Exocentric vs endocentric compounds

One of the central concepts of Marchand’s theory of word-formation is the notion of Syntagma. According to Marchand, a composite lexeme (compound noun, suffixal derivative or prefixal composite) is a syntagma consisting of a determinant and a determinatum, which are basically morphemes, i.e. signs based on the significant (form, expression) and significate (meaning, content) relationship.⁷ Thus, all word-formations, including compounds, are binary structures, and they always have a head ‘endocentric combinations’.⁸ Grammatically speaking, the head can be defined as “the dominant element of the syntagma, which can stand for the whole syntagma in all positions”⁹ according to the formula $AB = B$, that is, the whole formation can be replaced by the determinatum B, and A, the determinant, simply modifies or rather specifies B. Also, the whole combination belongs to the same lexical class to which the head belongs.¹⁰ For instance, the compound *πονηροκόλαξ* 4144 ‘wicked flatterer’, as compared with *κόλαξ* ‘flatterer’, is a modified or expanded version of the unmotivated or unexpanded *κόλαξ* through the adjectival modifier *πονηρός* ‘wicked’. Additionally, it belongs to the word-class ‘substantive’ to which the determinatum/head *κόλαξ* belongs:

<i>πονηροκόλαξ</i>	< <i>πονηρ(ός)</i> + <i>κόλαξ</i>
‘wicked flatterer’	‘wicked’ + ‘flatterer’

On the other hand, *bahuvrihi* compounds are characterised in the generative word-formation framework as being exocentric ‘headless’, that is, their head lies outside the combination.¹¹ This generalisation or concept results from the fact that none of the immediate constituents determines the semantic and/or syntactic category of the compound as a whole. For instance, the formation

7 Marchand (1969: 3).

8 Kastovsky (1999: 34).

9 Marchand (1969: 12).

10 Ibid., 11.

11 See, Williams (1981).

δειλοκάρδιος 2011 (ref. 'proper name'), 6048 (ref. ψυχή 'spirit or soul'), 6576 (ref. ζῶον 'animal'), cannot be interpreted as 'a cowardly heart' on the basis of the formula 'B determined by A', but as 'person having a cowardly heart'; grammatically, as Marchand postulates, it is a combination in which the person-denoting 0-determinatum (head, nucleus) is determined or specified by the compound determinant (modifier, satellite) δειλοκάρδι(ος) [[[δειλοκάρδι- 'dt']-0 DER.SUF. 'dm']-ος INFL.]. Interestingly, such formations are treated by Marchand as derivatives by zero morpheme 'pseudo-compounds' and not as true compounds. Additionally, if the considerations for the criterion of substitution are semantic, the δειλοκάρδιος cannot be substituted by a substantive of the semantic class 'concrete substantive', here represented by καρδιά, but must be substituted for the semantic class 'personal substantive'.

Also, at the level of the underlying sentence (or 'deep structure' according to Marchand's terminology), bahuvrihi compounds should be realised as reducible to rectional sentences of the type 'subj. - v. intr. - obj.'. Accordingly, the meaning of a bahuvrihi compound is "someone (or something) marked by what is expressed in the composite determinant".¹² The referent of bahuvrihi compounds can be a person νηπιόβουλος 6176 'with childish will or mind' [[[νηπιόβουλ- 'dt']-0 DER.SUF. 'dm']-ος INFL.] (ref. παῖδες 'men'), a plant as in ἀγριόκεντρος 4634 'with sharp spikes' [[[ἀγριοκεντ- 'dt']-0 DER.SUF. 'dm']-ος INFL.] (ref. ῥάμνος 'buckthorn'), a bird as in ἀπαλοπτέρυξ 'having delicate or weak wings' [[[ἀπαλοπτέρυγ- 'dt']-0 DER.SUF. 'dm']-ος INFL.] (ref. στρουθός 'sparrow'), an animal as in καρτερόνυξ 5900 'with strong claws' [[[καρτερονυχ- 'dt']-0 DER.SUF. 'dm']-ος INFL.] (ref. θήρ 'beast'), a thing as in βαθυφάραγξ 4817 'with deep ravine' [[[βαθυφάραγγ- 'dt']-0 DER.SUF. 'dm']-ος INFL.] (ref. λόφος 'hill'), or something immaterial as in ἰσχυρόμαχος 1344, 3196 'with pitched battles' [[[ἰσχυρομαχ- 'dt']-0 DER.SUF. 'dm']-ος INFL.] (ref. μάχαι 'battles').¹³

νηπιόβουλ-0-ος 'with childish will or mind'	< νήπι(ος) + βουλ(ή) 'childish' + 'will or mind'
ἀγριόκεντ-0-ος 'with sharp spikes'	< ἄγρι(ος) + κέντρ(ον) lit. 'wild' + 'spike'
ἀπαλοπτέρυγ-0-ος 'having delicate or weak wings'	< ἀπαλ(ός) + πτέρυξ 'weak or delicate' + 'wing'

12 Marchand (1969: 13-14).

13 Cf. *ibid.*, 380.

<i>καρτερώνυχ-θ-ς</i> 'with strong claws'	< <i>καρτερ(ός) + ὄνυξ</i> 'strong' + 'claw'
<i>βαθυφάραγγ-θ-ς</i> 'with deep ravine'	< <i>βαθύ(ς) + φάραγγ</i> 'deep' + 'ravine'
<i>ίσχυρόμαχ-θ-ος</i> 'with pitched battles'	< <i>ίσχυρ(ός) + μάχη(η)</i> lit. 'violent or severe' + 'battle'

2. The criteria of compound

The distinction between compounds and syntactic groups in Medieval Greek can be drawn on the basis of a set of criteria or characteristics predicated in principle on phonological and morphosyntactic grounds.¹⁴

i. single stress

The most important phonological factor that distinguishes a compound from a syntactic group is the stress; unlike a syntactic group, which consists of several phonological words, a compound is realised as a single phonological word and thus has a single main stress:

<i>ἀγριόδου(ς) 302</i> 'sharp-toothed'	< <i>ἄγρι(ος) + ὀδού(ς)</i> lit. 'harsh, cruel' + 'tooth'
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ii. linking element

Morphologically speaking, the majority of Greek compounds are characterised by the presence of a semantically empty morpheme /o/ between the immediate constituents, an element whose morphological function consists only in combining the two units involved in the process to form a compound. Consider the following examples:

<i>γενναιοκάρδι(ος) 2056</i> 'brave-hearted' (ref. <i>υἴος</i> 'son')	< <i>γενναί(ος) + linking vowel -o- + καρδί(α)</i> 'brave' 'heart'
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14 For Modern Greek, see Ralli (2005), (2007) and (2013a).

πικρόποτ(ος) 3989 < πικρ(ός) + linking vowel -ο- + ποτ(όν)
 'having bitter drink or wine' 'bitter' 'drink or wine'
 (ref. κύλικες 'cup, usually for wine')

γυναικοπάτωρ 5569 < γυναῖκ(α) + linking vowel -ο- + πατήρ
 'father of one's wife, father-in-law' 'wife' 'father'

παντομήτωρ 282 < πάντ(α) + linking vowel -ο- + μήτηρ
 'mother of all things' 'all things' 'mother'

It is noteworthy that the presence or absence of the connecting element /o/ can be phonologically conditioned, that is, it is deleted when the right-hand constituent begins with a vowel weaker than /o/ in the sonority hierarchy ($\bar{a} > a > \bar{e} > e > \bar{o} > o > \bar{i} > i > \bar{u} > u$), as illustrated in the following examples:¹⁵

ἀπειράριθμ(ος) < ἄπειρ(ος) + 0-linking vowel + ἀριθμ(ός)
 'of infinite number, innumerable' 'infinite' 'number'
 (ref.: βίβλοι 951 'books', στρατιά 1266 'army',
 πλήθος 1368 'multitude', 3764 (ref. id.))

Αὔσονατζ 2550, 3294 < Αὔσον(εζ) + 0-linking vowel + ἄναξ
 'ruler of the Romans' 'the Romans' 'ruler'

πατρεπωνυμ(ία) 6233 < πατρ(ός) + 0-linking vowel + ἐπωνυμ(ία)
 'father's nickname or epithet' 'father' 'nickname'

However, there are instances in which the deletion of the connecting vowel cannot be predicated on synchronically phonological grounds; rather, they are considered relics of Ancient Greek compound patterns. To put simply, the compound marker /o/ does not surface:

a) when the first member is an adjective belonging to the /-υ-/ inflectional class:¹⁶

βαθυκτήμων 2606 < βαθύ(ς) + 0-linking vowel + κτήμ(α)
 'having great wealth' lit. 'deep' 'wealth'
 (ref. substantivised adjective)

¹⁵ Nikolou (2003: 55), Ralli (2013a: 17).

¹⁶ Cf. Ralli (2013a: 50).

δριμύχυμ(ος) 5084 < δρυμύ(ς) + 0-linking vowel + χυμ(ός)
 ‘having a bitter/spicy flavor/juice’ ‘bitter or spicy’ ‘flavor or juice’
 (ref. σίνηπι ‘mustard’)

τραχύθι(ος) 6416 < τραχύ(ς) + 0-linking vowel + θί(ος)
 ‘one who lives or leads harsh life’ ‘harsh’ ‘life’
 (ref. substantivised adjective τὸ τραχύθιον ‘harsh life’)

b) when the first component is an inflected form¹⁷ as in the *πυρίμαργαρος* 4950 ‘resplendent like fire’ (ref. *ἀκτίνες* ‘rays’) where the final /-ι-/ of the inflected right-hand member *πυρί* is realised as inflectional morpheme of the grammatical categories ‘singular and dative’. As for the formation *μελάμπτερος* 258 ‘having black wings or weathers’ (ref. *ψᾶρες* ‘starlings’), it could be explainable at the level of deep structure as a reducible to the rectional sentence *μέλαν πτερόν* (*ἔχων*). According to this structure, the adjectival element *μέλαν* ‘black’ is realised not as a stem-form but as an inflected word-form for singular number and accusative case by 0-morpheme, as it modifies the neuter singular noun *πτερόν* ‘wing or feather’, which functions syntactically as the direct object of (*ἔχων*) ‘have’ in the accusative case. The number and case marker /-ον-/ of *πτερόν* is deleted in compounding, being replaced by the adjectival suffix /-ος/. Also, during the combination of the two elements, the final consonant /ν/ of the adjectival modifier *μέλαν* is partially assimilated to the initial one /π/ of the substantival modified *πτερόν* (**μελάνπτερος* > *μελάμπτερος*). There is, however, some debate on whether such univerbations, in which the first element retains its case-ending morpheme, should be treated as true compounds or not:¹⁸

πυρίμαργαρος(ος) < *πυρί* + 0-linking vowel + *μάργαρος*(ος)/*μάργαρος*(ον)
 ‘resplendent like fire or like inflaming pearl’ ‘fire-DAT.SG’ ‘pearl’

μελάμπτερος(ος) 258 < *μελάν* + 0-linking vowel + *πτερόν*
 ‘with black wings or feathers’ ‘black-ACC.SG’ ‘wing, feather’

17 Cf. Tribulato (2015: 23).

18 See, among others, Dunkel (1999).

c) when the first immediate constituent is of the s-stem inflectional class and belongs to the 'Caland System':¹⁹

καλλίβλαστ(ος) 185 < καλλι- (< κάλλος) + 0-linking vowel + βλαστ(ός)
 'with beautiful sprouts' 'beauty' 'sprout'
 (ref. δένδρον 'tree')

καλλίκρου(ος) 6255 < καλλι- (< κάλλος) + 0-linking vowel + κρου(ός)
 'with a beautiful spring' 'beauty' 'stream, current, flow'
 (ref. χεύματα 'streams, currents, flows')

Moreover, there are combinations which present a vocalic hiatus, as in μαλακόενος 5844 'of soft bed' (ref. εὐνή 'bed'). Also, when the second component constituent begins with /-o-/, the compound marker /-o-/ may be deleted, as in καρτερόνυξ 5900 'with strong claws' (ref. θήρ 'beast') or the two adjacent similar vowels are contracted into /-ω-/, as in μυσαρώνυμος 4382 'with abominable name' (ref. proper name). These instances perhaps could be understood as metrically conditioned:

μαλακόεν(ος) < μαλακ(ός) + εὐν(ή)
 'of soft bed' 'soft' + 'bed'

καρτερόνυξ < καρτερ(ός) + ὄνυξ
 'with strong claws' 'strong' + 'claw'

μυσαρώνυμ(ος) < μυσαρ(ός) + ὄνυμ(α)
 'with abominable name' 'abominable' + 'name'

iii. absence of internal inflection

Greek compounds do not display internal inflection; that is, the first element cannot be further inflected and remains unchanged throughout the inflectional

19 Cf. Tribulato (2015: 23). The 'Caland system' concerns, among others, adjectives in -ρος and neuter nouns in -ος/-ες which frequently replace the respective suffixes with -ι- not only in comparatives and superlatives but also when they are used as the first constituent (FC.) of compounds, e.g. κυδρός 'famous or glorious', comp. κυδίων, superl. κύδιστος, FC. κυδιάνειρα (adj. fem.) 'that brings men glory or renown'; κάλλος 'beauty', comp. καλλίων, superl. κάλλιστος, FC. καλλίραξ 'with sweet or mature grapes'. For a basic introduction to this phenomenon, see Risch (1974: 218–219), Meissner (2006: 14–16), Rau (2009: 67–77), Lindner (2011: 62–70).

paradigm of the whole combination.²⁰ This principle results from the fact that the left-hand element, with the exception of formations beginning with an uninflected adverb (e.g. *ἔξωπασχα* ‘period after the Easter’), is typically realised as a stem-form.²¹ Accordingly, the word-forms **ἀργουόποδος* and **ἀργοιόποδες* of the compound lexeme *ἀργόπους* ‘slow-footed’ 3559 (ref. substantivised adjective) are considered ungrammatical items:

<i>ἔξωπασχ(α)</i> ‘period after the easter’	< <i>ἔξω</i> + <i>πάσχ(α)</i> ‘beyond, over’ + ‘Easter’
<i>ἀργόπου(ς)</i> (NOM.SG) ‘slow-footed’	< <i>ἀργ(ός)</i> + linking vowel -ο- + <i>ποδ-</i> ‘slow’ ‘foot’
<i>ἀργόποδος</i> (GEN.SG)	versus <i>*ἀργουόποδος</i>
<i>ἀργόποδες</i> (NOM. PL)	<i>*ἀργοιόποδες</i>

3. The stress patterns

On the basis of the status of the morphological units involved in the word-formation process of compounding, namely whether they are stems or autonomous words, the compounds can be classified into two main categories:²²

i. the first category belongs to the structural pattern [stem + stem], where the compounds are stressed on the antepenultimate, independently of the position of the stress of the constituent elements when they occur in isolation. It should be noted that the compounds of this pattern do not necessarily display a different inflectional morpheme from that of the second element:

<i>πρινόκαρπ(ος)</i> 6128 ‘fruit of the kermes oak’	< <i>πρῖν(ος)</i> + <i>καρπ(ός)</i> ‘kermes oak’ + ‘fruit’
<i>πρωτόπαπ(ος)</i> 5927 ‘great-great-grandfather’, i.e. ‘ancestor’	< <i>πρῶτ(ος)</i> + <i>πάππ(ος)</i> ‘first’ + ‘grandfather’

In the case of the combinations *πρινόκαρπος* and *πρωτόπαππος*, the stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable, and the inflectional morpheme remains the same as that of the second element -ος.

20 Cf. Ralli (2005: 165–167).

21 Ralli (2013b: 185).

22 Ralli (2013a: 79–82).

ii. the second category belongs to the structural pattern [stem + word], where the compounds inherit not only the stress but also the inflectional morpheme of the second member. Consider the following examples:

<i>ἀμαξοτροχ(ός)</i> 6427	< ἄμαξ(α) + τροχ(ός)
'wagon wheel'	'wagon' + 'wheel'

<i>ἔρωτοδέσμ(η)</i> 5822	< ἔρω(ς) + δέσμ(η)
'bond of love'	'love' + 'bond'

In the *ἀμαξοτροχός* and *ἔρωτοδέσμη*, the stress and inflectional morpheme of the second elements *τροχός* and *δέσμη* respectively remain unchanged.

The stress position, however, should be determined on the basis of the entire of the inflectional paradigm, and not on the basis of the lexical form of a given compound.²³ Taking that into consideration, a compound of the pattern [stem + stem], which is extended in plural number by adding an extra inflectional syllable, should be stressed in the nominative singular on the penultimate and not on the antepenultimate syllable, as if it was stressed in the antepenultimate, that would violate the trisyllabicity rule "law of limitation" which confines the accent to one of the last three syllables of a phonological word.²⁴

<i>ἀνδραδελφ(ο)παί(ς)</i> 6148	< ἀνδράδελφ(ος) + παῖ(ς)
'husband brother's son'	'husband's brother' + 'son'

Here, the combination *ἀνδραδελφ(ο)παίς* is stressed on the penultimate and not on the antepenultimate **ἀνδραδέλφοπαίς*, as it is extended in the nominative plural by the inflectional morpheme *-εσ*.

4. The description of compounds

The morphological description of compounds should be comprised of the following parameters:

i. the morphological shape, which deals with the morphemic status of the immediate constituents of a given compound, i.e. whether they constitute free or bound elements:

²³ Ibid., 87–88, Nespou – Ralli (1996).

²⁴ See Allen (1973: 236–240) and references therein.

έρυθρόφυλλ(ος) 4769
 ‘with red leaves or petals’
 (ref. *ρόδον* ‘rose’)

< *έρυθρ(ός)* (free) + *φύλλ(ον)* (free)
 ‘red’ + ‘leaf or petal’

καλλίπτερ(ος) 5208
 ‘with beautiful wings’
 (ref. *στρουθός* ‘sparrow’)

< *καλλι-* (bound) + *πτερ(όν)* (free)
 ‘beautiful’ + ‘wing’

ii. the morphological structure, which specifies the order of the determinatum (dm) and determinant (dt) of the in-question combination. The structural order of the majority of the Greek compounds is that of dt/dm; that is, the determinant precedes the determinatum (labelled as right-headed compounds in the generative-transformational theory, that is, the head stands in the right-hand side of a given formation). Also, it describes the hierarchical IC-structure of combinations consisting of more than two elements at the morphological level. Thus, for instance, the formation *πυργοκτίστης* 469 ‘tower builder’ should not be realised as a mere linear ordering of consecutive individual morphemes; instead, it must be analysed on the basis of the binary principle determinant/determinatum (dt/dm) as follows *πύργος* (dt)/*κτίστης* (dm), as compared with *ὀφθαλμορύκτης* 4461 ‘eye-gouging’, which is decomposed into *ὀφθαλμορύκ-* (dt)/*-της* (dm).

Taking into consideration the binary principle dt/dm or the syntagmatic character of composite words, one should signalise the non-compound status of extended bahuvrihi formations. That is to say, combinations such as *ἀρρενωπότης* 1274, 6498 ‘masculine appearance’, i.e. ‘masculinity or manliness’ (< *ἀρρενωπός*), *ῥυπαροψυχία* 1939 ‘sordidness or filthiness of the soul’ (< *ῥυπαρόψυχος*) are not analysable into the immediate constituents (*ἄρρην* + **ὠπότης*) and (*ῥυπαρός* + **ψυχία*), as the elements **ὠπότης* and **ψυχία* do not occur as autonomous words; instead, they should be considered as derivatives by attaching the suffixes *-ότης* and *-ία* respectively to the compound substantival bases *ἀρρενωπ(ός)* and *ῥυπαρόψυχ(ος)*:²⁵

ῥυπαροψυχ(ία)
 ‘sordidness or filthiness of the soul’

< *ῥυπαρ(ός)* + *ψυχ(ή)*
 ‘sordid or filthy’ + ‘soul’

ἀρρενωπ(ότης)
 ‘masculine appearance’
 i.e. ‘masculinity, manliness’

< *ἄρρην* + *ᾠψ*
 ‘masculine’ + ‘appearance’

25 Cf. Marchand (²1969: 19).

It is noteworthy that the structural order of the coordinated elements of a compound determinant can be reversed, as they are of equivalent status:²⁶

παππόπατρ-0-(ος) 5915 < πάππ(ος) + πατρ(ός)
 '(inherited from) one's 'grandfather' + 'father'
 grandfather and father'
 i.e. 'paternal or ancestral, hereditary'
 (ref. βασιλεία 'kingdom, kingship')

πατρόπαππ-0-(ος) < πατρ(ός) + πάππ(ος)
 '(inherited from) one's 'father' + 'grandfather'
 father and grandfather'
 (ref. βασιλεία 5915 'kingdom, kingship',
 ἀρχή 6222 'power, authority, sovereignty')

iii. the lexical class of a given compound as a whole, and equally the class of each of the constituent components. Greek compounds belong to three major lexical classes, i.e. adjectives, substantives, and verbs. We will deal here, however, only with the adjectives and substantives.

a) The adjectival compounds display the following word-formation patterns:

1. [Adv. + Adj.]

ἀγριοθάρβαρ(ος) 4350 < ἄγρι(ος) + θάρβαρ(ος)
 'barbarous wild' 'wild' + 'barbarous'
 (ref. τυρρανίς 'princess')

2. [Adj.+ Subst.]

ἀγριοκάρδι(ος) 3763 < ἄγρι(ος) + καρδί(α)
 'having wild heart' 'wild' + 'heart'
 (ref. Ταυροσκῦθαι 'Tauroscythians')

ἀπαλόβι(ος) 6692 < ἀπαλ(ός) + βί(ος)
 'having luxurious lifestyle' lit. 'soft, tender, delicate' + 'life'
 (ref. proper name)

ἀργόπου(ς) 3559 < ἀργ(ός) + πού(ς)
 'slow-footed' 'slow' + 'foot'
 (ref. substantivised adjective)

26 Cf. Szymanek (1998: 51).

3. [Subst.+ Adj.]

Ἰστρογαίτων

'close to Ister (the Danube river)'

(ref. χῶρα 3526 'land', Βούλγαροι 4610

'Bulgarians', Σκύθησ 5888 'Scythian(s)')

< Ἰστρο(ος) + γαίτων

'Ister' + 'close to'

4. [Subst.+ Subst.]

ἀνδροκάρδι(ος)

'with a manly heart'

i.e. 'brave, courageous, fearless'

(ref. συμβουλαί 1271 'encounters',

ψυχή 1705 'spirit')

λιθόχρυσ(ος) 696

'with precious stones and gold'

(ref. σκεῦος 'vessel')

ὄφιότροπ(ος)

'of snakelike attitude or disposition'

(ref. Ἑβραῖοι 4210 'Hebrews',

ἄνδρες 5323 'men')

< ἀνήρ/ἄνδρ(ας) + καρδί(α)

'man' + 'heart'

< λίθ(ος) + χρυσ(ός)

'precious stone' + 'gold'

< ὄφι(ς) + τρόπ(ος)

'snake' + 'attitude or disposition'

b) The substantives display the following patterns:

1. [Subst.+ Subst.]

ἀμαξοτροχ(ός) 6427

'wheel(s) of a wagon'

γυναικοπάτωρ 5569

'father of one's wife'

i.e. 'father-in-law'

Αὔσονάναξ 2550, 3294

'ruler of the Romans'

< ἄμαξ(α) + τροχ(ός)

'wagon' + 'wheel'

< γυναῖκ(α) + πατήρ

'wife' + 'father'

< Αὔσον(ες) + ἄναξ

'Ausones', i.e. 'Romans' + 'ruler'

2. [Adj. + Subst.]

ἀργυροσάλπιγξ 2334

'silver trumpet'

πονηροκόλαξ 4411

'wicked flatterer'

< ἀργυρ(ός) + σάλπιγξ

'silver' + 'trumpet'

< πονηρ(ός) + κόλαξ

'wicked' + 'flatterer'

In terms of productivity, the structural pattern [Adj. + Adj.] is limited to merely one exocentric adjectival compound in which the relationship between the two

members is coordinative. However, the pattern [Adj. + Subst.] is by far the most productive word-formation one in *Synopsis Chronike*; it forms 93 adjectival and 11 substantival compounds in which the relationship between the immediate constituents is that of modification. Here, the adjectives are realised as exocentric formations, while the substantives are endocentric ones. The pattern [Subst. + Subst.] is fairly productive, and it produces 17 adjectival and 17 substantival compounds; the substantival formations are realised as endocentric compounds where the relationship between the component constituents is that of dependency or simply modification, while the adjectival formations are understood as exocentric combinations in which the relationship between the two elements is that of coordination or modification. Also, the compounds motivated by the [Subst. + Adj.] word-formation pattern amount to a mere two exocentric adjectival formations, in which the relationship between the two members is that of modification or complementation.

Conclusion

In the *Synopsis Chronike*, Manasses seems to have coined a significant number of compound lexemes on the basis of Ancient Greek compounding patterns, namely formations in which the first element belongs to /-v-/ stem inflectional class, as in *βαθυκτήμων* or to the Caland system, as in *καλλίβλαστος*. Compounds which have an inflected form as the first component, as in *πυρίμαργαρος*, also conform to the Ancient Greek patterns. Besides, there are instances where the combinations display morphophonemic properties inherited from the Ancient Greek compounding system. That is to say, substantives which belong to -ηρ stem inflectional class present lengthened o-grade in the ablauting syllable when they stand as the second member of the formation, as in *πλευροπάτωρ* 'a father through (his) rib' (< *πατήρ*). Also, substantives belonging to -ην stem inflectional class display a normal e-grade when they occur as the first compound member, as in *ἄρρενωπότης* (< *ἄρρην*) and a lengthened o-grade when they stand as the second component, as in *σοβαρόφρων* (< *φρήν*). On the other hand, dvandva compounds, which were rare in Classical and Hellenistic Greek, are relatively productive in *Synopsis Chronike*, e.g. *λιθόχρυσος* 696 'decorated or adorned with precious stones and gold' (ref. *σκεῦος* 'vessel'). A very interesting phenomenon in *Synopsis Chronike* is the use of the tri-constituent combinations as *μεγαλαγκυλοχείλαι*.

Also, Manasses reuses compounds attested in the Hellenistic literature after substituting the highly classicising lexical items involved in the formations by lower correspondents, as in *ἀπειρόπλεθρος* (cf. *μυριόπλεθρος* only attested in

Polybius's *Histories* (2nd cent. BC) and Diodorus's *Universal History* (1st cent. BC)). In addition to that, Manasses uses Ancient Greek compounds in different forms, something which perhaps could be understood as metrically conditioned. For instance, the change of the gender marker's form, as in ἀπειρόμαχος 6674 contrasted to Ancient Greek ἀπειρομάχας, which is attested only in Pindar's *Nemean* (5th cent. BC) (only as m. sg.), and the deletion of the compound marker /o/ before the second-element initial vowel /o/ instead of contraction the two adjacent similar vowels into /o:/, e.g. καρτερόνυξ 5900 as opposed to Ancient Greek καρτερῶνυξ or κρατερῶνυξ.

Nevertheless, further work on the language of Manasses must be done. For instance, the question of whether or not the various word-formation patterns applied by Manasses in his verse chronicle are synchronically productive still needs to be investigated against the existing inventory of compound items in other works of 12th-century Byzantine literature. Also, it would be desirable to examine the *hapax legomena* and neologisms and their correlative motivation on the basis of functional and contextual grounds. Finally, the compound items attested in the entire corpus of preserved texts by Manasses have to be systematically analysed together. Thus, these and other studies will lead us to a better understanding of the development of the Greek language during the medieval period.

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INDEX OF COMPOUND LEXEMES²⁷

ADJECTIVAL COMPOUNDS

A) PATTERN [ADJ. + ADJ.]

I. Compounds that occur only once in *Synopsis Chronike*:

ἀγριοβάρβαρος, -ον 4350 [ἄγριος + βάρβαρος] ‘barbarous wild’ (ref. τυρρανίς ‘princess’)

B) PATTERN [ADJ. + SUBST.]

I. Compounds that occur only once in *Synopsis Chronike*:

ἀγριόδους, -ουν [ἄγριος + οδούς] ‘sharp-toothed’ 302 (ref. κάπρος ‘boar’)

ἀγριοκάρδιος, -ον [ἄγριος + καρδία] ‘with wild heart, of fierce temper’ 3763 (ref. Ταυροσκῦθαι ‘Tauroscythians’)

ἀγριοκέντρος, -ον [ἄγριος + κέντρον] ‘with sharp spikes’ 4634 (ref. ῥάμνος ‘buck-thorn, prickly shrub’)

ἀπαλόθιος, -α, -ον [ἀπαλός + θίος] ‘living effeminately; having luxurious lifestyle’ 6692 (ref. proper name)

27 For a full record of attestations, consult Trapp (ed.) (1994–2017).

- ἀπαλοπτέρυξ, -υγος [ἀπαλός + πτέρυξ] ‘with delicate or weak wings’ 6750 (ref. στρουθός ‘sparrow’)
- ἀπαλόψυχος, -ον [ἀπαλός + ψυχή] ‘tender-hearted, compassionate’ 4130 (ref. ἄνθρωπος ‘man’)
- ἀπειρόμαχος, -ον [ἄπειρος + μάχη] ‘inexperienced in battle’ 6674 (functions as object predicative)
- ἀπειρομέριμος, -ον [ἄπειρος + μέριμνα] ‘causing immense or immeasurable worries’ 6431 (ref. to κλόνος ‘turmoil’)
- βαθυκτηήμων, -ον [βαθύς + κτήμα] ‘having great wealth’ 2606 (functions as a substantivised adjective)
- βαθύτροπος, -ον [βαθύς + τρόπος] ‘devised in a profound way’ 5313 (functions as a substantivised adjective: ‘what is devised in a profound way’, i.e. ‘profound scheme’)
- βαθυφάραγξ, -αγγος [βαθύς + φάραγξ] ‘with deep ravine’ 4817 (ref. λόφος ‘hill’)
- γενναϊοκάριος, -ον [γενναῖος + καρδιά] ‘brave-hearted, having a brave heart’ 2056 (ref. υἱός ‘son’)
- γιγαντόχειρ, -ειρος [γίγας + χεῖρ] ‘with a gigantic hand’ 5241 (ref. proper name)
- δειλόνης, -ον [δειλός + νοῦς] ‘pusillanimous, fearful, timid’ 4970 (ref. proper name)
- δριμύχυμος, -ον [δριμύς + χυμός] ‘that which has a bitter or spicy juice or flavor’ 5084 (ref. σίνηπι ‘mustard’)
- έρυθρόφυλλος, -ον [έρυθρός + φύλλον] ‘with red leaves or petals’ 4769 (ref. ῥόδον ‘rose’)
- κακουργότροπος, -ον [κακούργος + τρόπος] ‘having the characteristics of a criminal, with criminal manners’ 6132 (ref. ἄνθρωπος ‘man’)
- καλλίβλαστος, -ον [καλός + βλαστός] ‘with beautiful sprouts’ 185 (ref. δένδρον ‘tree’)
- καλλίπτερος, -ον [καλός + πτερόν] ‘with beautiful wings’ 5208 (ref. στρουθός ‘sparrow’)
- καρτερόνης, -ον [καρτερός + νοῦς] ‘strong-minded’, i.e. ‘brave, courageous’ 4896 (ref. ἀθλητής ‘martyr’)
- καρτερόνυξ, -υχος [καρτερός + ὄνυξ] ‘with strong claws’ 5900 (ref. θήρ ‘beast’)
- καρτερότειχος, -ον [καρτερός + τοῖχος] ‘with strong walls’ 3694 (ref. φρούριον ‘fortress’)
- λαμπρόσπορος, -ον [λαμπρός + σπόρος] ‘of splendid offspring’ 6713 (ref. αἷμα καὶ γένος ‘blood and family’)
- λευκόρρειθος, -ον [λευκός + ρεῖθρον] ‘with white currents or streams’ 225 (ref. Νεῖλος ‘Nile’)
- μακροκάματος, -ον [μακρός + κάματος] ‘acquired with great or noble work, of great effort, laborious, exhausting’ 6418 (ref. ἔργον ‘work, deed’)

- μακρόλεκτρος, -ον [μακρός + λέκτρον] ‘of long-lasting sleep’ 2737 (ref. ὕπνος ‘sleep’)
- μαλακόβουνος, -ον [μαλακός + εὐνή] ‘of soft bed’ 5844 (ref. εὐνή ‘bed’)
- ματαιόκορτος, -ον [μάταιος + κρότος] ‘of vain sound’ 2896 (ref. λόγος ‘speech’)
- μεγαλαγκυλοχείλης, -ου [compound *μεγαλαγκυλ(ος) [Adj. + Adj.] + χεῖλ(ος)] ‘with large and curved beak’ 155 (functions as a substantivised adjective)
- μεγαλοβραχίων, -ον [μεγάλος + βραχίων] ‘long-armed, having long arms’ 4691 (ref. θεός ‘God’)
- μυριόπτερος, -ον [μυρίος + πτερόν] ‘with countless wings’ 3761 (ref. ἀκρίς ‘locust’)
- μυσαροκοπρώνυμος, -ον [compound *μυσαρόκοπρ(ος) [Adj. + N.] + ὄνυμα] ‘with abominable and dirty name’ 4318 (ref. proper name)
- μυσαρώνυμος, -ον [μυσαρός + ὄνυμα] ‘with abominable name’ 4382 (ref. proper name)
- νηπιόβουλος, -ον [νήπιος + βουλή] ‘with childish will or mind’ 6176 (ref. παῖδες ‘men’)
- νηπιοδύναμος, -ον [νήπιος + δύναμις] ‘with childish strength’ 6471 (ref. παῖδες ‘men’)
- πικρόποτος, -ον [πικρός + ποτόν] ‘that has bitter drink or wine’ 3989 (ref. κύλικες ‘cups, usually for wine’)
- ποικιλανθής, -ές [ποικίλος + ἄνθος] ‘of various blossoms or flowers; of various colors, multi-colored’ 131 (ref. τερπνότης ‘delight, pleasantness, pleasure’)
- πολύσαλος, -ον [πολύς + σάλος] ‘with many disturbances; that which is very disturbed’ 6145 (ref. βίος ‘life’)
- πολυστέναχος, -ον [πολύς + στεναχή] ‘that is cause of great lament; full of lament’ 4008 (ref. βοές ‘cries’)
- πονηρογνώμων, -ον [πονηρός + γνώμη] ‘evil-minded’, i.e. ‘wicked or malicious’ 6174 (functions as a substantivised adjective)
- ῥυπαρογνώμων, -ον [ῥυπαρός + γνώμη] ‘sordid-minded, having a sordid mind’ 6132 (ref. ἄνθρωπος ‘man’)
- σκοτεινόπεπλος, -ον [σκοτεινός + πέπλος] ‘dark-robed, with a dark robe’ 6630 (functions as object predicative)
- σκυθόγλωσσοι, -ον [Σκύθης + γλῶσσα] ‘of Scythian language’ 6698 (ref. λαλιές ‘manners or ways of speaking, dialects’)
- σκυθογνώμων, -ον [Σκύθης + γνώμη] ‘of Scythian mind’ 3948 (ref. χαγάνος ‘khagan’)
- στερροβραχίων, -ον [στερρός + βραχίων] ‘with strong arms’ 5163 (ref. proper name)
- στερρότειχος, -ον [στερρός + τεῖχος] ‘with strong walls’ 3170 (ref. πόλις ‘city’)
- τελειόμηνος, -ον [τέλειος + μήν] ‘born after the correct/full number of months’ 148 (ref. βρέφος ‘infant’)
- τρυφερόπεπλος, -ον [τρυφερός + πέπλος] ‘with delicate robes’ 5934 (ref. περιβολή ‘garment, clothing’)

χρυσόδιφρος, -ον [χρυσός + δίφρος/δίφρον] 'that which is golden seat' 5056 (ref. δίφροι/δίφρα 'seats')

II. Compounds that occur more than once only in *Synopsis Chronike*:

ἀγριόθρους, -ουν [ἄγριος + θρός] 'of wild noise, wildy noisy' 6009 (ref. πάταγος 'noise, resounding, clatter or crashing'); 6189 (ref. βοές 'cries, shouts')

γιγαντοπάλαμος [γίγας + παλάμη] 'with gigantic hand' 4843 (ref. παλάμαι 'hands'), 5663 (ref. substantivised adjective), 6286 (ref. ἀνὴρ 'man')

ἰσχυρόμαχος, -ον [ἰσχυρός + μάχη] 'with pitched battle' 1334 (ref. μάχαι 'battels'), 3196 (ref. id.)

μαλακοκάρδιος, -ον [μαλακός + καρδιά] 'weak-hearted or faint-hearted', i.e. 'uncourageous, fearful' 628 (functions as object predicative), 2474 (functions as object predicative), 4716 (functions as object predicative)

ὀλβιόπολις, -ιδος [ὄλβιος + πόλις] 'that which is a happy, blessed, fortunate or prosperous city' 2348 (ref. πόλις 'city'), 3273 (ref. id.)

ὄχυρόπυργος, -ον [ὄχυρός + πύργος] 'with fortified towers' 178 (ref. πόλις 'city'), 367 (ref. πόλεις 'cities'), 4930 (ref. πόλις 'city')

σοβαροπρόσωπος, -ον [σοβαρός + πρόσωπον] 'solemn-faced', i.e. 'pompous, haughty, arrogant, or proud' 1048 (ref. ταγματάρχαι 'leaders, commanders'), 3409 (functions as a substantivised adjective), 3781 (ref. τριστάται 'high-ranking officials, viziers')

σοβαρόφρων, -ον [σοβαρός + φρήν] 'serious-minded', i.e. 'proud, haughty, arrogant, or pompous' 1340 (functions as a predicative adjective), 3679 (ref. στράτευμα 'army')

στερρόπυργος, -ον [στερρός + πύργος] '(fortified) with firm or solid towers' 1442 (ref. Τροία 'Troy'), 2482 (ref. Ράβεννα 'Ravenna'), 3694 (ref. φρούρια 'fortresses'), 4143 (ref. πόλις 'city')

τρυφεροπάρειος, -ον [τρυφερός + παρειά] 'tender-cheeked, having tender cheeks' 5304 (ref. κορίσκη 'maiden'), 6077 (functions as a predicative adjective)

III. Compounds that occur only in Manasses's Corpus:

ἀργόπους, -ουν [ἀργός + ποῦς] 'slow-footed' 3559 (functions as a substantivised adjective)

βλοσυροβλέφαρος, -ον [βλοσυρός + βλέφαρον (meton.)] 'having fierce or grim eyes', i.e. 'scowling' 253 (ref. ἄρκτοι 'bears')

γλαυκόφωτος, -ον [γλαυκός + φῶς] 'that which emits or sends forth a blue light' 111 (ref. σελήνη 'moon'), 3288 (ref. id.)

- ἐλευθεροκάρδιος, -ον [ἐλεύθερος + καρδία] ‘having a heart free of (something)’ 4859 (functions as a substantivised adjective)
- καλλίγλωττος, -ον [καλός + γλῶττα] ‘having beautiful tongue or speech; speaking eloquently or fluently, eloquent, fluent’ 3823 (ref. proper name), 4694 (ref. γέρων ‘old man’), 4918 (functions as a substantivised adjective), 5370 (ref. στόμα ‘mouth’)
- καλλιμελής, -ές [καλός + μέλος] ‘that makes beautiful or lovely melodies, i.e. harmonious, or melodious’ 4756 (ref. κινύρα ‘kinnor’), 5163 (ref. λύρα ‘lyre’)
- καλλίρραξ, -ακος [καλός + ῥάξ] ‘with sweet, ripe, or mature grapes’ 4334 (ref. βότρυα ‘clusters or bunches of grapes’)
- λιπαροβῶλαξ, -ακος [λιπαρός + βῶλαξ] ‘with fertile clods, fertile’ 62 (functions as a predicative adjective, cross-refers to φύση ‘substance’), 226 (ref. ἄρουραι ‘tilled or arable lands, fields’), 4977 (ref. αὐλαξ ‘furrow’ (made in ploughing))
- λιπαροστέλεχος, -ον [λιπαρός + στέλεχος] ‘(of a tree) that which has a thick trunk or stem’ 92 (ref. πίτυς ‘pine-tree’)

IV. Compounds that first occur in Manasses’s Corpus:

- ἀπειράριθμος, -ον [ἄπειρος + ἀριθμός] ‘of infinite number’, i.e. ‘innumerable, countless, or uncountable’ 951 (ref. βιβλοὶ ‘books’), 1266 (ref. στρατιά ‘army’), 1368 (ref. πλῆθος ‘multitude’), 3764 (ref. id.)
- μεγαλόδουπος, -ον [μεγάλος + δοῦπος] ‘that which makes a loud resonant noise or roar, loud-resounding’ 273 (ref. ποταμός ‘river’)
- μυριοκύμων, -ον [μυρίος + κύμα] ‘that causes countless waves, with countless waves’ 3742 (ref. κλύδων ‘surge, storm’)
- μυριόχρους, -οον [μυρίος + χρῶα] ‘multi-hued or multi-colored, that which has enormous colors’ 134 (ref. ἄνθη ‘blossoms, flowers’)
- ῥυπαρόψυχος, -ον [ῥυπαρός + ψυχή] ‘one who has a sordid or filthy soul’ 4456 (ref. εὐνοῦχοι ‘eunuchs’), 5643 (ref. id.)
- τελειόκαρπος, -ον [τέλειος + καρπός] ‘that which produces perfect, ripe, or mature fruit’ 98 (ref. τὰ πάντα ‘everything’)
- τρυφερόχρους, -οον [τρυφερός + χρῶα] ‘with a soft skin’ 5776 (ref. κόρη ‘maiden’)
- φαυλότροπος, -ον [φαύλος + τρόπος] ‘ill-disposed, having bad character or disposition, malicious, wicked’ 2612 (ref. ἀδελφοί ‘brothers’), 6124 (ref. ἄνδρες ‘men’)

V. Compounds that occur only in the 12th-century Byzantine literature:

- ἀπειρόμετρος, -ον [ἄπειρος + μέτρον] ‘immeasurable’ 6034 (ref. μέτρα ‘dimensions’)

- ἀπειρόπλεθρος, -ον [ἄπειρος + πλέθρον] 'of immense extent' 5879 (ref. χώρες 'countries')
- βαρβαρότροπος, -ον [βάρβαρος + τρόπος] 'of barbarous manners, customs, or ways' 3999 (functions as a substantivised adjective)
- δειλοκάρδιος, -ον [δειλός + καρδία] 'faint-hearted, having a cowardly heart or spirit', i.e. 'cowardly, fearful, or pusillanimous' 2011 (ref. proper name), 6048 (ref. ψυχή 'heart, spirit, or mind'), 6576 (ref. ζῶον 'animal')
- καλλίκρουνος, -ον [καλός + κρουνός] 'with a beautiful spring' 6255 (ref. χεύματα 'stream, current, or flow')
- καλλίτρεμνος, -ον [καλός + πρέμνον] 'with a beautiful trunk' 5268 (ref. πλάτανος 'plane tree')
- λειοπάγων, -ωνος [λείος + πάγων] 'smooth-chined', i.e. 'beardless' 612 (functions as object predicative)
- λιπαροτράπεζος, -ον [λιπαρός + τράπεζα] 'with a sumptuous food' 3376 (ref. πανδαισία 'banquet'), 4993 (ref. ἐστίασις 'banquet'), 5350 (ref. δείπνος 'supper, dinner')
- μελάμπτερος, -ον [μέλας + πτερόν] 'with black wings or feathers' 258 (ref. ψᾶρες 'starlings')
- πικρόθυμος, -ον [πικρός + θυμός] 'of fierce spirit', i.e. 'savage, wild, brutal, or fierce' 3615 (ref. θήρ 'wild animal, beast')
- πτηνόπους, -ποδες [πτηνός + πούς] 'swift-footed, with winged feet' 171 (ref. λαγίνας 'hares'), 3559 (functions as object predicative), 3771 (ref. Ταυροσκύθης 'Tauroscythae'), 5461 (ref. ἵππος 'horse')
- τελειοπάγων, -ον [τέλειος + πάγων] 'having a perfect or full beard' 3860 (ref. ἀνήρ 'man')
- τραχύβιος, -ον [τραχύς + βίος] 'one who lives or leads a harsh life' 6416 (functions as a substantivised adjective: τὸ τραχύβιον 'harsh life')
- χρυσάντυξ, -υγος [χρυσός + ἄντυξ] 'with golden edge or rim' 5055 (ref. ἄρματα 'chariots')

VI. Compounds that occur first in the 12th-century Byzantine literature:

- ἀρτίκυκλος, -ον [ἄρτιος + κύκλος] 'perfectly round' 112 (ref. σφαῖρα 'sphere')
- μυρίωνικος, -ον [μυρίος + νίκη] 'one who has achieved or won countless victories' 3187 (ref. στρατάρχης 'commander of an army')
- τολμηροκάρδιος, -ον [τολμηρός + καρδία] 'bold-hearted or stout-hearted, having a bold heart' 1049 (ref. Φαραώ 'Pharaoh'), 1354 (ref. Ἑκτωρ 'Hector'), 1824 (ref. Καῖσαρ 'Caesar'), 4220 (functions as a substantivised adjective: τὸ τολμηροκάρδιον 'bold-heartedness'), 5749 (ref. id.)

C) PATTERN [SUBST. + SUBST.]I. Compounds that occur only once in *Synopsis Chronike*:

- ἀκανθόκεντρος, -ον [ἄκανθα + κέντρον] ‘prickly like thorns’ 5779 (ref. ῥάκος ‘ragged or tattered garment’)
- ἀνδρόνοος, -ους [ἀνὴρ + νοῦς] ‘having a manly mind’, i.e. ‘prudent, wise, sensible, or judicious’ 5704 (ref. proper name)
- ἀνεμόπτερος, -ον [ἄνεμος + πτερόν] ‘with wings as wind, as fast as wind’ 3652 (ref. στόλος ‘fleet’)
- λιθόχρυσος, -ον [λίθος + χρυσός] ‘decorated or adorned with precious stones and gold’ 696 (ref. σκεῦος ‘vessel’)
- παπποπατρικός, -η, -ον [παπποπατρ- + -ικός] 5030 ‘inherited from one’s father and grandfather’, i.e. ‘paternal, ancestral, or hereditary’ (ref. ἀρχή ‘realm, kingdom, empire’)
- παππόπατρος, -ον [πάππος + πατήρ] 5915 (ref. βασιλεία ‘kingdom, kingship, dominion’), cf. παπποπατρικός
- παπποπατρῶος, -α, -ον [παπποπατρ- + -ῶος] 5575 (ref. ἀρχή ‘command, power, authority, sovereignty’), cf. παπποπατρικός, παππόπατρος
- πυρμάργαρος, -ον [πῦρ + μάργαρον/μάργαρος] ‘resplendent like fire; like inflaming pearl’ 4950 (ref. ἀκτίνες ‘rays’)
- τελματόβιος, -ον [τέλμα + βίος] ‘that which lives in mire or mud’ 4258 (ref. χοῖρος ‘pig’)

II. Compounds that occur more than once only in *Synopsis Chronike*:

- νεκταρόχυμος, -ον [νέκταρ + χυμός] ‘with nectar flavor or juice’ 97 (ref. θότρυς ‘a bunch or cluster of grapes’), 190 (ref. ὀπώρα ‘fruit’)
- ὀφιοτρόπος, -ον [ὄφις + τρόπος] ‘having snakelike manners’ 4210 (ref. Ἑβραῖοι ‘Hebrews’), 5323 (ref. ἄνδρες ‘men’)
- χερσόγυρος, -ον [χέρσος + ὑγρόν] ‘living both on land and in water’, i.e. ‘amphibious’ 394 (ζῷον ‘animal’), 4119 (θηρία ‘wild animals, beasts’)

III. Compounds that occur only in Manasses’s Corpus:

- ἀνδρόσπλαγχνος, -ον [ἀνὴρ + σπλάγχνον] ‘having a manly mind, heart or spirit’ 5704 (ref. proper name)

IV. Compounds that first occur in Manasses’s Corpus:

πατρόπαππος, -ον [πατήρ + πάππος] 'inherited from one's father and grandfather', i.e. 'paternal ancestral, or hereditary' 5915 (ref. βασιλεία 'kingdom, kingship, dominion'), 6222 (ref. ἀρχή 'command, power, authority, sovereignty'), cf. παπποπατρικός, παππόπατρος, παπποπατρῶος

V. Compounds that occur only in the 12th-century Byzantine literature:

ἀνδροκάρδιος, -ον [ἀνήρ + καρδία] 'manly-hearted, with a manly heart', i.e. 'brave, courageous, or fearless' 1271 (ref. συμβουλαί 'encounters'), 1705 (ref. ψυχή 'spirit')
 λιθοπλίνθινος, -η, -ον [*λιθόπλινθ(ος) + -ινος] 'that which is (made or built of) stones and bricks' 5226 (ref. κλίνη 'couch')

χαριτοπρόσωπος, -ον [χάρις + πρόσωπον] 'with graceful face' 522 (ref. Σάρρα 'Sarah, wife of Abraham, mother of Isaac')

D) PATTERN [SUBST. + ADJ.]

V. Compounds that occur only in the 12th-century Byzantine literature:

θυμοβάρβαρος, -ον [θυμός + βάρβαρος] 'barbarous-spirited' 2837 (functions as a substantivised adjective: θυμοβάρβαρον 'barbarous-spiritedness, savagery, barbarity'), 5997 (ref. θράσος 'daring, temerity')

VI. Compounds that occur first in the 12th-century Byzantine literature:

ἰστρογείτων, -ον [Ἴστρος + γείτων] 'close to Ister (i.e. Danube)' 3526 (ref. χῶρα 'land'), 4610 (ref. Βούλγαροι 'Bulgarians'), 5888 (ref. Σκύθης 'Scythes, despot of Zancle')

SUBSTANTIVAL COMPOUNDS

A) PATTERN [ADJ. + SUBST.]

I. Compounds that occur only once in *Synopsis Chronike*:

ἀγριογνωμοσύνη, -ης, ἡ [ἀγριογνώμων, -ονος] 'wild, savage, or fierce disposition' 4477
 βεθλοτροπία, -ας, ἡ [*βεθλοτρόπ(ος)] 'sacrilegious or impious manners' 3046
 μυριανδρία, -ας, ἡ [μυριάνδρ(ος)] 'ten thousand men or inhabitants' 1059
 πονηροκόλαξ, -ακος, ὁ [πονηρός + κόλαξ] 'wicked or malicious flatterer' 4411
 πρωτόπαππος, -ου, ὁ [πρῶτος + πάππος] 'great-great-grandfather, ancestor' 5927
 ῥυπαροψυχία, -ας, ἡ [ῥυπαρόψυχ(ος)] 'sordidness or filthiness of the soul' 1939

II. Compounds that occur more than once only in *Synopsis Chronike*:

σκληρογνωμοσύνη, -ης, ή [σκληρογνώμων, -ονος] ‘hard-heartedness’, i.e. ‘obstinacy, stubbornness, or unfeelingness’ 3534, 5351
 χρηστοτροπία, -ας, ή [χρηστότροπ(ος)] ‘good morals’ 2193, 2850
 χρυσοσάλπιγξ, -ιγος, ή [χρυσός + σάλπιγξ] ‘golden trumpet’ 3832, 4972

III. Compounds that occur only in Manasses’s Corpus:

κουφόνοια, -ας, ή [κουφόνο(ος)] ‘light-mindedness’, i.e. ‘thoughtlessness or inconsideration’ 1308

V. Compounds that occur only in the 12th-century Byzantine literature:

ἀργυροσάλπιγξ, -ιγος, ή [ἀργυρος + σάλπιγξ] ‘silver trumpet’ 2334

B) PATTERN [SUBST. + SUBST.]I. Compounds that occur only once in *Synopsis Chronike*:

ἀμαξοτροχός, -οῦ, ό [ἄμαξα + τροχός] ‘wheel(s) of a wagon’ 6427
 ἀνδραδελφόπαις, -παιδος, ό [ἀνδράδελφος + παῖς] ‘a son of the brother of one’s husband’, i.e. ‘nephew’ 6148
 ἀνθόχρoια, -ας, ή [*ἀνθόχρο(ος)] ‘the (various) colors of flowers’ 129
 βοτρυομήτωρ, -ορος, ή [βότρυον + μήτηρ] ‘mother of the grape clusters’ 96
 γυναικοπάτωρ, -ορος, ό [γυναῖκα + πατήρ] ‘father of one’s wife’, i.e. ‘father-in-law’ 5569
 παιδομήτωρ, -ορος, ή [παῖς/παιδίον + μήτηρ] ‘mother of the children’ 6228
 πατρεπωνυμία, -ας, ή [πατήρ + ἐπωνυμία] ‘father’s nickname or epithet’ 6233
 πλευροπάτωρ, -ορος, ό [πλευρόν + πατήρ] ‘a father through his rib (Adam for Eve)’ 282
 πρινοκαρπος, -ου, ό [πρίνος + καρπός] ‘fruit of a holm-oak’, i.e. ‘acorn’ 6128
 ῥοδόχροια, -ας, ή [*ῥοδόχρο(ος)] ‘rose color’ 1164
 στρουθομήτωρ, -ορος, ή [στρουθός + μήτηρ] ‘mother of sparrows’ 6474

II. Compounds that occur more than once only in *Synopsis Chronike*:

θυμοτομία, -ας, ή [*θυμότολμ(ος)] ‘courage of the heart, bold-heartedness’ 1274, 3770

III. Compounds that occur only in Manasses's Corpus:

ἀρρενωπότης, -ητος, ἡ [ἀρρενωπ(ός)] 'masculine appearance, masculinity, manliness' 247, 6498

παντομήτωρ, -ορος, ἡ [πᾶς + μήτηρ] 'mother of all things' 282

ὕδατομήτωρ, -ορος, ἡ [ὔδωρ + μήτηρ] 'mother of waters' 212

V. Compounds that occur only in the 12th-century Byzantine literature:

Αὔσονάναξ, -ακτος, ὁ [Αὔσονες + ἄναξ] 'ruler of the Romans' 2550, 3294

VI. Compounds that occur first in the 12th-century Byzantine literature:

ἔρωτοδέσμη, -ης, ἡ [ἔρωσ + δέσμη] 'bond of love' 5822

