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[N. + N.] compounds in Medieval Greek: Constantine Manasses's Synopsis Chronike as a case study

Neograeca Bohemica. 2023, vol. 23, iss. [1], pp. [85]-113

ISSN 1803-6414 (print); ISSN 2694-913x (online)

Stable URL (DOI): https://doi.org/10.5817/NGB2023-23-5
Stable URL (handle): https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/digilib.79632
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Access Date: 04. 03. 2024
Version: 20240228

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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 \textit{Synopsis Chronike} (12\textsuperscript{th} 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, \textit{Synopsis Chronike}, headedness, bahu-vrihi 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 (dekapentesyllables) and covers the period from Adam to the accession of Alexios I Komnenos to the throne in 1081. According to Lampisidis, there are 793 athesaustista 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’ ἔξοχην), 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

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


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 Prodome;

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 ἐρωτοδέσμη ‘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.

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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’):

προβατοφθόρ(ος)  
‘that which destroys sheep’  
< πρόβατ(ον) + -φθόρ(ος)  
‘sheep’ + ‘destroy’

θελξικάρδι(ος)  
‘that charms the heart’, i.e. ‘fascinating’  
< θέλγ(ω) + καρδί(α)  
‘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

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\(^6\) 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. ημέρα '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':

πυργοκτίστης  
'tower builder'  
< πύργ(ος) + κτίστης  
'tower' + 'builder'  

λαμπροστόλιστος  
'splendidly decorated'  
< λαμπρ(ῶς) + στολιστός  
'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. βρέφος 'infant'):

ἐπαγκάλιος  
'that which carried in the arms'  
< ἐπί + ἀγκάλιος  
'in' + 'arms' + 'adjectival categorizer'

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':

ἀργυροσάλπιγξ  
'silver trumpet'  
< ἀργυρ(ος) + σάλπιγξ  
'silver' + 'trumpet'  

γυναικοπάτωρ  
'father of one’s wife'  
< γυναῖκ(α) + πατήρ  
'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:

γυναικόπαιδ(α) < γυναῖκ(ες) + παιδ(ία)
‘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 signifcate (meaning, content) relationship.⁷ Thus, all word-formation, 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:

πονηροκόλαξ < πονηρ(ός) + κόλαξ
‘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

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7 Marchand (²1969: 3).
8 Kastovsky (1999: 34).
9 Marchand (²1969: 12).
10 Ibid., 11.
δειλοκάρδιος 2011 (ref. ‘proper name’), 6048 (ref. ψυχή ‘spirit or soul’), 6576 (ref. ζώον ‘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) δειλοκάρδιος(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 καρδία, 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”.

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. παιδες ‘men’), a plant as in ἄγριόκεντρος 4634 ‘with sharp spikes’ [[[άγριοκεντ- ‘dt’]-0 DER.SUF. ‘dm’]-ος INFL.] (ref. βάτονικ – ‘buckthorn’), a bird as in ἀπαλοπτέρυξ 5900 ‘with delicate or weak wings’ [[[ἀπαλοπτέρυγ- ‘dt’]-0 DER.SUF. ‘dm’]-ος INFL.] (ref. στρουθός ‘sparrow’), an animal as in καρτερόνυξ 5900 ‘with strong claws’ [[[καρτερονυξ- ‘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. μάχαι ‘battles’), or something immaterial as in ἰσχυρόμαχος 1344, 3196 ‘with pitched battles’ [[[ἰσχυρόμαχ- ‘dt’]-0 DER.SUF. ‘dm’]-ος INFL.] (ref. μάχαι ‘battles’).

νηπιόβουλος-ος < νήπι(ος) + θολ(ή)
‘with childish will or mind’ ‘childish’ + ‘will or mind’

ἀγριόκεντος-ος < ἄγρι(ος) + κέντρ(ον)
‘with sharp spikes’ lit. ‘wild’ + ‘spike’

ἀπαλοπτέρυγος-ος < ἀπαλ(ός) + πτέρυξ
‘having delicate or weak wings’ ‘weak or delicate’ + ‘wing’

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12 Marchand (²1969: 13–14).
13 Cf. ibid., 380.
καρτερόνυχ-0-ς < καρτερ(ός) + ουξ
‘with strong claws’ ‘strong’ + ‘claw’

θαθυφάραγγ-0-ς < θαθύ(ς) + φάραγξ
‘with deep ravine’ ‘deep’ + ‘ravine’

ἰσχυρόμαχ-0-ς < ἰσχυρ(ός) + μάχη
‘with pitched battles’ 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.¹

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:

ἀγριόδου(ς) 302 < ἄγρι(ος) + οδού(ς)
‘sharp-toothed’ lit. ‘harsh, cruel’ + ‘tooth’

ii. linking element

Morphologically speaking, the majority of Greek compounds are characterised by the presence of a semantically empty morpheme /ο/ 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:

γενναιοκάρδι(ος) 2056 < γενναί(ος) + linking vowel -ο- + καρδί(α)
‘brave-hearted’ ‘brave’ ‘heart’
(ref. υἱός ‘son’)

¹ For Modern Greek, see Ralli (2005), (2007) and (2013a).
πικρόποτ(ος) 3989  
‘having bitter drink or wine’
(ref. κύλικες ‘cup, usually for wine’)

γυναικοπάτωρ 5569  
‘father of one’s wife, father-in-law’

παντομήτωρ 282  
‘mother of all things’

It is noteworthy that the presence or absence of the connecting element /ο/ can be phonologically conditioned, that is, it is deleted when the right-hand constituent begins with a vowel weaker than /ο/ in the sonority hierarchy (α > ε > ι > ι > υ > μ > ο > α > ι > ι > υ), as illustrated in the following examples:¹

απειράριθμ(ος)  
‘of infinite number, innumerable’
(ref.: βίβλοι 951 ‘books’, στρατιά 1266 ‘army’, πλῆθος 1368 ‘multitude’, 3764 (ref. id.))

Αὔσοναξ 2550, 3294  
‘ruler of the Romans’

πατρεπωνυμ(ία) 6233  
‘father’s nickname or epithet’

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 /ο/ does not surface:

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

θαυκτήμων 2606  
‘having great wealth’
(ref. substantivised adjective)

---

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

τραχύβι(ος) 6416 < τραχύ(ς) + 0-linking vowel + βί(ος)
‘one who lives or leads harsh life’
(ref. substantivised adjective τὸ τραχύβιον ‘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 (ἐξων). 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 (ἐξων) ‘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

πυριμάργαρ(ος) < πυρί + 0-linking vowel + μάργαρ(ος)/μάργαρ(ον)
‘resplendent like fire or like inflaming pearl’

μελάμπτερ(ος) 258 < μελάν + 0-linking vowel + πτερ(όν)
‘with black wings or feathers’

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

\[
\text{kαλλίβλαστ(ος) 185} \quad < \text{kαλλι- (< κάλλος) + 0-linking vowel + βλαστ(ός)}
\]

‘with beautiful sprouts’

(\text{ref. δένδρον 'tree'}

\[
\text{kαλλίκρουν(ος) 6255} \quad < \text{kαλλι- (< κάλλος) + 0-linking vowel + κρουν(ός)}
\]

‘with a beautiful spring’

(\text{ref. χεύματα 'streams, currents, flows'}

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

\[
\text{μαλακόευν(ος)} \quad < \text{μαλακ(ός) + εὐν(ή)}
\]

‘of soft bed’

\[
\text{καρτερόνυξ} \quad < \text{καρτερ(ός) + ούνυς}
\]

‘with strong claws’

\[
\text{μυσαρώνυμ(ος)} \quad < \text{μυσαρ(ός) + ούνυμ(α)}
\]

‘with 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. κυδψων, superl. κυδιστος, FC. κυδάνεβρα (adj. fem.) ‘that brings men glory or renown’; κάλλος ‘beauty’, comp. καλλίων, superl. καλλιστος, 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 un-inflected adverb (e.g. ἐξώπασχα ‘period after the Easter’), is typically realised as a stem-form.²¹ Accordingly, the word-forms *ἀργούποδος and *ἀργοιόποδες of the compound lexeme ἀργόπους ‘slow-footed’ 3559 (ref. substantivised adjective) are considered ungrammatical items:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Breakdown</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἐξώπασχα (ᾱ)</td>
<td>&lt; ἔξω + πάσχ (ᾰ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘period after the Easter’</td>
<td>‘beyond, over’ + ‘Easter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀργόπου (ς) NOM.SG</td>
<td>&lt; ἀργ(ός) + linking vowel -o- + ποδ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘slow-footed’</td>
<td>‘slow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀργόποδος (GEN.SG)</td>
<td>versus *ἀργουόποδος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀργόποδες (NOM. PL)</td>
<td>*ἀργοιόποδες</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Breakdown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>πρινόκαρπ (ὁς) 6128</td>
<td>&lt; πρίν (ὅς) + καρπ (ὁς)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fruit of the kermes oak’</td>
<td>‘kermes oak’ + ‘fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πρωτόπαππ (ὁς) 5927</td>
<td>&lt; πρῶτ (ὅς) + πάππ (ὁς)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘great-great-grandfather’, i.e. ‘ancestor’</td>
<td>‘first’ + ‘grandfather’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -ός.

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ ámbαξοτρόχ}(\text{ός}) & \quad 6427 \quad < \text{ ámbαξ}(\text{α}) + \text{ τρόχ}(\text{ός}) \quad \text{‘wagon wheel’} \\
\text{ἐρωτοδέσμ}(\text{ή}) & \quad 5822 \quad < \text{ἐρω}(\text{ς}) + \text{ δέσμ}(\text{ή}) \quad \text{‘bond of love’}
\end{align*}
\]

In the \text{ ámbαξοτρόχός} and \text{ ἐρωτοδέσμη}, the stress and inflectional morpheme of the second elements \text{τρόχός} and \text{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.\textsuperscript{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:\textsuperscript{24}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ἀνδραδελφόπαις} & \quad 6148 \quad < \text{ἀνδράδελφ(ος)} + \piαί(ζ) \quad \text{‘husband brother’s son’} \\
\text{ἀνδραδελφόπαις} & \quad 6148 \quad < \text{ἀνδράδελφ(ος)} + \piαί(ζ) \quad \text{‘husband’s brother’ + ‘son’}
\end{align*}
\]

Here, the combination \text{ἀνδραδελφόπαις} is stressed on the penultimate and not on the antepenultimate *\text{ἀνδραδέλφοπαις}, as it is extended in the nominative plural by the inflectional morpheme -ες.

\section*{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:

\textsuperscript{24} See Allen (1973: 236–240) and references therein.
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 ὀφθαλμόρυκτης 4461 ‘eye-gouging’, which is decomposed into ὀφθαλμός (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’ (< ἀρρενώπος), ῥυπαροψυχία 1939 ‘sordidness or filthiness of the soul’ (< ῥυπαρόψυχος) are not analysable into the immediate constituents (ἁρρην + *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 ἀρρενωπότης and ῥυπαροψυχία:<sup>25</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ῥυπαροψυχία(ία)</td>
<td>‘sordidness or filthiness of the soul’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀρρενωπότης(ότης)</td>
<td>‘masculine appearance’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Marchand (<sup>2</sup>1969: 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:

\[
\pi\alpha\pi\pi\pi\alpha\pi\rho\cdot 0\cdot (\alpha) \quad < \pi\alpha\pi\pi(\alpha) + \pi\alpha\pi\rho(\alpha)
\]

\(\pi\alpha\pi\pi\pi\alpha\pi\rho\cdot 0\cdot (\alpha)\)  
\(\text{‘(inherited from) one’s grandfather and father’}\)

\(\text{i.e. ‘paternal or ancestral, hereditary’}\)

\(\text{(ref. } \theta\alpha\sigma\varsigma\varsigma\text{ ‘kingdom, kingship’})\)

\[
\pi\alpha\pi\pi\pi\alpha\rho\cdot (\alpha) \quad < \pi\alpha\rho(\alpha) + \pi\alpha\pi\pi(\alpha)
\]

\(\pi\alpha\pi\pi\pi\alpha\rho\cdot (\alpha)\)  
\(\text{‘(inherited from) one’s father and grandfather’}\)

\(\text{(ref. } \theta\alpha\sigma\varsigma\varsigma\text{ 5915 ‘kingdom, kingship’,}\)

\(\alpha\rho\chi\eta \text{ 6222 ‘power, authority, sovereignty’})\)

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:


\[\alpha\gamma\rho\iota\theta\alpha\rho\theta\alpha\rho(\alpha) \quad 4350 \quad < \alpha\gamma\rho(\alpha) + \theta\alpha\rho\theta\alpha\rho(\alpha)\]

\(\alpha\gamma\rho\iota\theta\alpha\rho\theta\alpha\rho(\alpha)\)  
\(\text{‘barbarous wild’}\)

\(\text{(ref. } \tau\iota\rrow\alpha\nu\iota\varsigma\varsigma\text{ ‘princess’})\)

2. [Adj. + Subst.]

\[\alpha\gamma\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\rho\delta(\alpha) \quad 3763 \quad < \alpha\gamma\rho(\alpha) + \kappa\alpha\rho\delta(\alpha)\]

\(\alpha\gamma\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\rho\delta(\alpha)\)  
\(\text{‘having wild heart’}\)

\(\text{(ref. } \tau\alpha\rho\nu\nu\sigma\kappa\theta\alpha\iota 'Tauroscythians')\)

\[\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\delta(\alpha) \quad 6692 \quad < \alpha\pi\alpha\lambda(\alpha) + \theta\iota(\alpha)\]

\(\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\delta(\alpha)\)  
\(\text{‘having luxurious lifestyle’}\)

\(\text{(ref. proper name)}\)

\(\alpha\rho\gamma\nu\pi\nu(\varsigma) \quad 3559 \quad < \alpha\rho\gamma(\alpha) + \pi\nu(\varsigma)\)

\(\alpha\rho\gamma\nu\pi\nu(\varsigma)\)  
\(\text{‘slow-footed’}\)

\(\text{(ref. substantivised adjective)}\)

---

3. [Subst.+ Adj.]

Ἰστρογείτων

‘close to Ister (the Danube river)’

(Ref. χῶρα 3526 ‘land’, Βούλγαροι 4610 ‘Bulgarians’, Σκύθης 5888 ‘Scythian(s)’)

4. [Subst.+ Subst.]

ἀνδροκάρδι

‘with a manly heart’

i.e. ‘brave, courageous, fearless’

(Ref. συμβουλαί 1271 ‘encounters’, ψυχή 1705 ‘spirit’) 

λιθόχρυσ

‘with precious stones and gold’

(Ref. σκεῦος ‘vessel’) 

ὀφιότροπ

‘of snakelike attitude or disposition’

(Ref. Ἑβραῖοι 4210 ‘Hebrews’, ἄνδρες 5323 ‘men’) 

b) The substantives display the following patterns:

1. [Subst.+ Subst.]

ἀμαξοτροχ

‘wheel(s) of a wagon’

γυναικοπάτωρ

‘father of one’s wife’

i.e. ‘father-in-law’

Αὐσονάναξ

‘ruler of the Romans’

(Ref. Αὔσον 2550, 3294 ‘Ausones’, i.e. ‘Romans’ + ‘ruler’) 

2. [Adj. + Subst.]

ἀργυροσάλπιγξ

‘silver trumpet’

πονηροκόλαξ

‘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 /-υ-/ stem inflectional class, as in βαθυκτήμων or to the Caland system, as in καλλίθλαστος. Compounds which have an inflected form as the first member, 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 ἀρρενωπότης (< ἀρρήν) 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. μυρίόπλεθρος 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.

**Bibliography**


INDEX OF COMPOUND LEXEMES²⁷

ADJECTIVAL COMPOUNDS

A) PATTERN [ADJ. + ADJ.]

I. Compounds that occur only once in Synopsis Chronike:

άγριοβάρβαρος, -ον 4350 [άγριος + βάρβαρος] ‘barbarous wild’ (ref. τυρραννίς ‘princess’)

B) PATTERN [ADJ. + SUBST.]

I. Compounds that occur only once in Synopsis Chronike:

άγριοδους, -ουν [άγριος + οδούς] ‘sharp-toothed’ 302 (ref. κάπρος ‘boar’)
άγριοκάρδιος, -ον [άγριος + καρδία] ‘with wild heart, of fierce temper’ 3763 (ref. Ταυροσκῦθαι ‘Tauroscythians’)
άγριόκεντρος, -ον [άγριος + κέντρον] ‘with sharp spikes’ 4634 (ref. ῥάμνος ‘buckthorn, prickly shrub’)
ἀπαλόβιος, -α, -ον [ἀπαλός + βίος] ‘living effeminately; having luxurious lifestyle’ 6692 (ref. proper name)

Ἀπαλοπτέρυξ, -υγος [Ἀπαλός + πτέρυξ] ‘with delicate or weak wings’ 6750 (ref. στρογγύλος ‘sparrow’)
Ἀπαλόψυχος, -ον [Ἀπαλός + ψυχή] ‘tender-hearted, compassionate’ 4130 (ref. ἄνθρωπος ‘man’)
Ἄπειρομάχος, -ον [Ἄπειρος + μάχη] ‘inexperienced in battle’ 6674 (functions as object predicative)
Ἄπειρομέριμνος, -ον [Ἄπειρος + μέριμνα] ‘causing immense or immeasurable worries’ 6431 (ref. to κλόνος ‘turmoil’)
Θαυμιτήμων, -ον [Θαῦμος + κτήμα] ‘having great wealth’ 2606 (functions as a substantivised adjective)
Θαυτότροπος, -ον [Θαῦμος + τρόπος] ‘devised in a profound way’ 5313 (functions as a substantivised adjective: ‘what is devised in a profound way’, i.e. ‘profound scheme’)
Θαυμφάραγξ, -αγγος [Θαῦμος + φάραγξ] ‘with deep ravine’ 4817 (ref. λόφος ‘hill’)
Γενναιοκάρδιος, -ον [Γενναῖος + καρδία] ‘brave-hearted, having a brave heart’ 2056 (ref. υἱός ‘son’)
Γιγαντόχειρ, -ειρος [Γίγας + χεῖρ] ‘with a gigantic hand’ 5241 (ref. proper name)
Δειλόνους, -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’)
Ερυθρόφυος, -ον [Ερυθρός + φύος] ‘with red leaves or petals’ 4769 (ref. ρόδον ‘rose’)
Κακουργότροπος, -ον [Κακοῦργος + τρόπος] ‘having the characteristics of a criminal, with criminal manners’ 6132 (ref. ἄνθρωπος ‘man’)
Καλλιβλαστός, -ον [Καλός + θλαστός] ‘with beautiful sprouts’ 185 (ref. δένδρον ‘tree’)
Καλλιπτερός, -ον [Καλός + πτερόν] ‘with beautiful wings’ 5208 (ref. στρογγύλος ‘sparrow’)
Καρτερόνους, -ον [Καρτερός + νοῦς] ‘strong-minded’, i.e. ‘brave, courageous’ 4896 (ref. ἄθλητής ‘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’)
Λευκόρρειθρος, -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’).
μακρόλεκτος, -ον [μακρός + λέκτρον] ‘of long-lasting sleep’ 2737 (ref. ὕπνος ‘sleep’)
μαλακόσενος, -ον [μαλακός + εὐνή] ‘of soft bed’ 5844 (ref. εὐνή ‘bed’)
ματαιόκορτος, -ον [μάταιος + κρότος] ‘of vain sound’ 2896 (ref. λόγος ‘speech’)
μεγαλαγκυλοχείλης, -ον [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. θοές ‘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)
σκυθόγλωσσος, -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. θρέφως ‘infant’)
τρυφερόπεπλος, -ον [τρυφερός + πέπλος] ‘with delicate robes’ 5934 (ref. περιβολή ‘garment, clothing’)

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

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

ἀγριόθρους, -ουν [ἀγρίος + θρόος] ‘of wild noise, wildly noisy’ 6009 (ref. πάταγος ‘noise, resounding, clatter or crashing’); 6189 (ref. θοές ‘cries, shouts’)

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

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

μαλακοκάρδιος, -ον [μαλακός + καρδία] ‘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 [ὀλβιός + πόλις] ‘that which is a happy, blessed, fortunate or prosperous city’ 2348 (ref. πόλις ‘city’), 3273 (ref. id.)

ὀχυρόπυργος, -ον [ὀχυρός + 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.)
ἔλευθεροκάρδιος, -ον [ἐλεύθερος + καρδία] ‘having a heart free of (something)’ 4859 (functions as a substantivised adjective)
kαλλιγλωττός, -ον [καλός + γλώττα] ‘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’)
kαλλιμελής, -ές [καλός + μέλος] ‘that makes beautiful or lovely melodies, i.e. harmonious, or melodious’ 4756 (ref. κινύρα ‘kinnor’), 5163 (ref. λύρα ‘lyre’)
kαλλιρραξ, -ακος [καλός + ῥάξ] ‘with sweet, ripe, or mature grapes’ 4334 (ref. βότρυα ‘clusters or bunches of grapes’)
lιπαροβώλαξ, -ακος [λιπαρός + βώλαξ] ‘with fertile clods, fertile’ 62 (functions as a predicative adjective, cross-refers to φύση ‘substance’), 226 (ref. ἀρουραι ‘tilled or arable lands, fields’), 4977 (ref. αὐλαξ ‘furrow’ (made in ploughing))
lιπαροστέλεχος, -ον [λιπαρός + στέλεχος] ‘(of a tree) that 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 in finite number’, i.e. ‘innumerable, countless, or uncountable’ 951 (ref. βίβλοι ‘books’), 1266 (ref. στρατιά ‘army’), 1368 (ref. πλῆθος ‘multitude’), 3764 (ref. id.)
mεγαλόδουπος, -ον [μεγάλος + δοῦπος] ‘that which makes a loud resonant noise or roar, loud-resounding’ 273 (ref. ποταμός ‘river’)
mυριοκύμων, -ον [μυρίος + κῦμα] ‘that causes countless waves, with countless waves’ 3742 (ref. κλύδων ‘surge, storm’)  
mυριόχροος, -οον [μυρίος + χρόα] ‘multi-hued or multi-colored, which has enormous colors’ 134 (ref. ἄνθη ‘blossoms, flowers’)
ρυπαρόψυχος, -ον [ρυπαρός + ψυχή] ‘one who has a sordid or filthy soul’ 4456 (ref. εὐνοῦχοι ‘eunuchs’), 5643 (ref. id.)
tελειόκαρπος, -ον [τέλειος + καρπός] ‘that which produces perfect, ripe, or mature fruit’ 98 (ref. τὰ πάντα ‘everything’)
tρυφερόχρους, -ουν [τρυφερός + χρόα] ‘with a soft skin’ 5776 (ref. κόρη ‘maiden’)  
φαυλότροπος, -ον [φαύλος + τρόπος] ‘ill-disposed, having bad character or disposition, malicious, wicked’ 2612 (ref. ἄδελφοι ‘brothers’), 6124 (ref. ἄνδρες ‘men’)

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

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

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ἀπειρόπλεθρος, -ον [ἀπειρός + πλέθρον] ‘of immense extent’ 5879 (ref. χώρες ‘countries’)

θαρθαρότροπος, -ον [θάρθαρος + 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. ζώον ‘animal’)

καλλικρούνος, -ον [καλός + κρούνο] ‘with a beautiful spring’ 6255 (ref. χεύματα ‘stream, current, or flow’)

καλλιπρέμνος, -ον [καλός + πρέμνο] ‘with a beautiful trunk’ 5268 (ref. πλάτανος ‘plane tree’)

λειοπώγων, -ωνος [λείος + πώγων] ‘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. δεῖπνος ‘supper, dinner’)

μελάμπτερος, -ον [μέλας + πτερόν] ‘with black wings or feathers’ 258 (ref. ψάρες ‘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. λαγῖναι ‘hares’), 3559 (functions as object predicative), 3771 (ref. Ἀργοσκύθης ‘Tauroscythae’), 5461 (ref. ὅππος ‘horse’)

τελειοπώγων, -ον [τέλειος + πώγων] ‘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 + ἀντυξ] ‘with golden edge or rim’ 5055 (ref. ἄρματα ‘chariots’)

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

ἀρτίκυκλος, -ον [ἀρτίος + κύκλος] ‘perfectly round’ 112 (ref. σφαῖρα ‘sphere’)

μυριόνικος, -ον [μυρίος + νικη] ‘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. ‘Εκτωρ ‘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 [ἀκανθα + κέντρον] ‘prickly like thorns’ 5779 (ref. ῥάκος ‘ragged or tattered garment’)
ἀνδρόνοος, -ους [ἀνήρ + νοῦς] ‘having a manly mind’, i.e. ‘prudent, wise, sensible, or judicious’ 5704 (ref. proper name)
ἀνεμόπτερος, -ον [ἀνεμος + πτερόν] ‘with wings as wind, as fast as wind’ 3652 (ref. στόλος ‘flee’)
λιθόχρυσος, -ον [λίθος + χρυσός] ‘decorated or adorned with precious stones and gold’ 696 (ref. σκεῦος ‘vessel’)
pαππόπατρικός, -η, -ον [παπποπατρ- + -ικός] 5030 ‘inherited from one’s father and grandfather’, i.e. ‘paternal, ancestral, or hereditary’ (ref. ἀρχή ‘realm, kingdom, empire’)
pαππόπατρος, -ον [πάππος + πατήρ] 5915 (ref. βασιλεία ‘kingdom, kingship, dominion’), cf. παππόπατρικός
pαππόπατρώος, -α, -ον [παππόπατρ- + -ω] 5575 (ref. ἀρχή ‘command, power, authority, sovereignty’), cf. παππόπατρικός, παππόπατρος
πυριμάργαρος, -ον [πῦρ + μάργαρον/μάργαρος] ‘resplendent like fire; like inflaming pearl’ 4950 (ref. ἀκτίνες ‘rays’)
tελματόβιος, -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’)
ὄφιότροπος, -ον [ὄφις + τρόπος] ‘having snakelike manners’ 4210 (ref. Ἑβραῖοι ‘Hebrews’), 5323 (ref. ἀνδρεῖς ‘men’)
χερσόῡγρος, -ον [χέρσος + ὑγρόν] ‘living both on land and in water’, i.e. ‘amphibious’ 394 (ζώον ‘animal’), 4119 (θηρία ‘wild animals, beasts’)

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

ἀνδρόσπλαγχνος, -ον [ἀνήρ + 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, παπποπατρύς

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

ανδροκάρδιος, -ον [ἀνήρ + καρδία] ‘manly-hearted, with a manly heart’, i.e. ‘brave, courageous, or fearless’ 1271 (ref. συμβουλαί ‘encounters’), 1705 (ref. ψυχή ‘spirit’)
lιθοπλίνθινος, -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:

ιστρογείτων, -ον [Ἴστρος + γείτων] ‘close to Ister (i.e. Danube)’ 3526 (ref. χώρα ‘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:

ἄγριογνωμοσύνη, -ης, ἡ [ἄγριογνώμων, -ονος] ‘wild, savage, or fierce disposition’ 4477
θεθηλοτροπία, -ας, ἡ [*θεθηλότροπ(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, ἡ [σκληρογνώμων, -ον] ‘hard-heartedness’, i.e. ‘obstina-
ncy, stubbornness, or unfeelingness’ 3534, 5351
χρηστοτροπία, -ας, ἡ [χρηστότροπ(ος)] ‘good morals’ 2193, 2850
χρυσοσάλπιγξ, -ιγγος, ἡ [χρυσός + σάλπιγξ] ‘golden trumpet’ 3832, 4972

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

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

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

ἀγγυροσάλπιγξ, -ιγγος, ἡ [ἀγγυρος + σάλπιγξ] ‘silver trumpet’ 2334

B) PATTERN [SUBST. + SUBST.]

I. Compounds that occur only once in Synopsis Chronike:

ἀμαξοτροχός, -οῦ, ὁ [ἀμαξα + τροχός] ‘wheel(s) of a wagon’ 6427
ἀνδραδελφόπαις, -παιδος, ὁ [ἀνδράδελφος + παῖς] ‘a son of the brother of one’s
husband’, i.e. ‘nephew’ 6148
ἀνθόχροια, -ας, ἡ [*ἀνθόχρο(ος)] ‘the (various) colors of flowers’ 129
θυμοτολμία, -ας, ἡ [θυμότολμ(ος)] ‘courage of the heart, bold-heartedness’ 1274,
3770

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

θυμοτολμία, -ας, ἡ [*θυμότολμ(ος)] ‘courage of the heart, bold-heartedness’ 1274,
3770
III. Compounds that occur only in Manasses’s Corpus:

άρρενωπότης, -ητος, ἡ [άρρενωπ(ός)] ‘masculine appearance, masculinity, manliness’ 247, 6498
παντομήτωρ, -ορος, ἡ [πᾶς + μήτηρ] ‘mother of all things’ 282
ὑδατομήτωρ, -ορος, ἡ [ὕδωρ + μήτηρ] ‘mother of waters’ 212

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

Αὐσονάναξ, -ακτος, ὁ [Αὐσονες + ἀναξ] ‘ruler of the Romans’ 2550, 3294

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

ἐρωτοδέσμη, -ης, ἡ [ἔρως + δέσμη] ‘bond of love’ 5822