THE WORD ORDER OF MEDIEVAL CYPRIOT

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Statement of Authorship

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### List of Abbreviations

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<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>accusative</td>
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<tr>
<td>aor</td>
<td>aorist</td>
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<td>Adj</td>
<td>adjective</td>
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<td>Adv</td>
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<td>Art</td>
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<td>art</td>
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<td>ben</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Cypriot</td>
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<td>comp</td>
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<td>complementiser</td>
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<td>dirimp</td>
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gen  genitive
elem element(s)
exdis extremely discontinued
expr expression
imper imperative
imperf imperfective
inan inanimate
indef indefinite
inf infinitive
instr instrumental
int interrogative
ITA immediate time adverb
IO indirect object
levl levelled, levelling
loc locative
locu locution
masc masculine
medp mediopassive
MFr medieval French
MoC Modern Cypriot
MGr Modern Greek
N noun
NA languages with noun-adjective order
nar narrative link
neut neuter
neg negative, negation
nom nominative
nominf nominalised infinitive
NG Noun-Genitive languages
NP noun phrase
O object
obj object
OFr Old French
opt optative
optmark  optative maker
parin   paragraph-initial
pass    passive
past    past tense
partc   particle
part    participle
pl      plural
poss    possessive
PP      prepositional phrase
Pr      Prepositional language
Po      Postpositional language
prep    preposition
pro     pronoun
redem   reanalysed demonstrative
rel     relative clause
relmark relative marker
rep.sp  reported speech
S       the single argument of a one-place verb
S       subject as in Verb Object Subject language
S       sentence as in S = NP VP
Sdis    S dislocated
SGr     Standard Greek
Sinan   Subject inanimate
sing    singular
sg      singular
subj    subject
V       verb
vell    verb elliptical
Vfin    finite verb
Vmov    verb of movement
Vnonfin nonfinite verb
voc     vocative
vol     volitive
*       ungrammatical
win  wishing index
£  null, zero
This is the first typological study devoted to Medieval Cypriot (MC). The objective of the study is to provide both syntactic and pragmatic factors which are determining for the word order of the language and to open new ways to recording mechanisms of word order change.

Cypriot syntax deserves this attention, as it is a language highly interesting for the typologist as for the researcher of other linguistic areas; Modern Cypriot is VOS, and exhibits a series of exceptions to the general rules of V-initial languages. Medieval Cypriot conforms to most of Greenberg’s Universals (1963) which are pertinent to type VSO in that it has V in initial position in all unmarked clauses, in that it is prepositional, that adjectives mostly follow the noun they qualify, and so on.

However, the comparison of MC to Greenberg’s Universals is not the aim of this work. Apart from the order of the main constituents, this research mainly focuses on revealing mechanisms of syntactic change not generally known, and on unveiling particular traits of the Cypriot VSO order that are not common to other VSO languages.

The analysis can be defined as diachronic for it deals with the language written over a span of many years, as assumed from studying the texts. Some words and structures, used in the beginning of the narrative, seem to decrease in frequency in the end, or vice versa. It is diachronic considering it also allows for comparison with later (colloquial) and earlier (written) constructions of the language. However, it is mostly a synchronic analysis; the patterns observed are from within the same language spoken by the same people living in the same period, more importantly from within the same work. Makhairas is thus the only broad evidence of his period, offered both as a diachronic and a synchronic linguistic testimony of his time.

As no language exists in vacuo, my description of MC starts with a historical approach to the language under study; it is almost impossible to realise the
problems of colloquial, literary and foreign features without being aware of the earlier history of Greek in general and of Cypriot in particular, in some of its earlier documents. I refrained as far as possible from entering the field of comparative criticism with Medieval Greek. In this way I decided to focus on discussions based exclusively on the Cypriot forms and patterns, as presented and justified by the evidence in Makhairas, and as witnessed by history which, for many centuries, has singled out Cypriot from the rest of the dialects and the Greek language itself. So, alternative views, criticism and discussion of same mechanisms of change recorded within the broader Greek language have been more or less avoided.

The exposition of the MC word order patterns is based on my hypotheses that word order, as I understand it, is founded on purposes of communication and that languages with extreme flexibility of order, such as Medieval Cypriot, may adopt patterns that display rigidity of order in a number of their elements. It is within these areas of rigidity that new mechanisms of change may be detected. I also hypothesised that the same syntactic changes within languages of the same branch may be merely coincidental, and that Greek or forms of Greek may well adopt foreign elements, only (but not exclusively) if these acquire the Greek endings, or if they appear as independent affixes, as is the case with the post-medieval referential Cypriot marker ‘mish’ which is from Turkish. Acquiring particular elements from other languages does not mean acquiring their order. However, acquiring patterns that are similar to Greek from a borrowing language which has the same patterns does not exclude syntactic borrowing.

Since Modern Cypriot is V-initial, I presumed that this might have also been its order in the Middle Ages. I judge that major mechanisms of syntactic change of the same period may have been triggered by factors internal to Cypriot rather than by the more general, universal mechanisms of change. Moreover, I speculated that MC was a far more marginalised language in the Middle Ages than what history and literature have taught us. Its creative dynamism
and potentiality to ‘juggle’ between words and patterns has been its greater forte.

Cypriot has not been studied as a dialect, in this work. I avoided having only a partial or a shadowed understanding of its word order patterns. Exhaustive descriptions that show its particularities in the process of completion appear with both rigidity (in some elements) and flexibility of order, and most importantly, they exhibit a long-life endurance.

I have also been concerned with forms and/or patterns of Greek such as the future and other periphrastic tenses, although they are already known and have been analysed at length in Greek linguistic studies. I concentrate here on some of these from a Cypriot perspective.

Cypriot has never been classified as Balkan Greek or mainland Greek. Following this study, it will be clarified further that any attempt to fit MC into a framework defined along these categorisations will be successful only in some areas of the general Greek syntax. In fact, Cypriot opens the way for a further understanding of Greek syntax with its (almost) boundless flexibility; it is through MC and the unique data of Makhairas that the study of the Greek syntax is being enriched. Areas of fine-grained classificatory criteria result in connecting some MC syntactic traits to those of Greek and accrediting to the language its own word order singularities in what can be righteously called here the **Cypriot syntax**.

Additionally, the study aims to open new areas of investigation on diachronic syntactic issues and to initiate new and revealing answers concerning configurational syntax.

To determine the syntactic traits of MC a meticulous work of counting was needed. The counting of the order of the main constituents from both the more general narrative patterns of the Chronicle as well as of those passages thought to be more immediate to the author’s living experience(s) was done manually. The primarily and more difficult task of considering, following and explaining pragmatic word order patterns in the Chronicle has been the
stepping stone of this research. Earlier (and forgotten) stages of Greek, and patterns exclusive to Cypriot, assembled in a unique lexicon and with special Cypriot phrasal verbs, have provided answers to explaining the Cypriot structure. In addition to statistics, areas of language contact have also been explored, both in the morphology and in the syntax.

More importantly, the extreme word order freedom of MC that illustrates word order processes based entirely on internal structural changes, aims to contribute to discussions regarding morphology and syntax versus morphosyntax.

Chapter 1 provides all the background information of the history and language in Cyprus, prior to the Middle Ages.

Chapter 2 deals with the description of the data and the methodology used to assess them.

Chapter 3 exhibits the MC verbal forms, both finite and non-finite; it examines non-finites more closely, inasmuch as they play an important role in the change of the order of major constituents and uncover and explain the role of V-initial structures.

Chapter 4 is the core chapter of this work. It displays Cypriot particularities of word order, reveals data concerned with the word order of the major constituents within the clause and unfolds explanatory accounts of them; lastly, it classifies MC as a V-initial language.

Chapter 5 summarises conclusions, adds a further note on the Cypriot morphosyntactic traits while placing the results into the contemporary scholarship on VSO languages, also suggesting additional research areas into the MC patterns.

The examples from Makhairas have been written in the μονοτονικό σύστημα, where only one accent has been used; other special symbols have been eliminated or modified in the interest of making the text readable in the absence of the right font. However, Ancient Greek words appear with their appropriate accents.
Abbreviation C indicates structures or words that remained unchanged in Cypriot over a long period of time, and G means a form or word accepted in both their written and spoken forms over a long period of time in Greek.

A morphemic analysis of each form of the glosses has not always been given. I limited myself to glossing some elements only, for the better understanding of some examples.
Chapter 1

History and Language: an outline

1.0. Introduction

This study is a continuation of my previous attempt to describe the syntactic traits of Cypriot, and it will give an answer on the diachronic status of V-initial Cypriot word arrangement.

In order to describe Cypriot through time, we need to borrow from Brixhe (1987: 17) the term he gave for the Greek languages spoken in the south-east Mediterranean, most particularly to the Greek varieties of Asia Minor. Brixhe characterised the area as a “zone faiblement Hellenisée, où la pression de la norme était donc très faible” meaning, ‘a zone weakly Hellenised, where the pressure of the standard was therefore very weak’. Side by side with this suggestion we need to add the claims of Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 11), that “a daughter language in a family tree is a changed later form of its single parent language”, and discuss it.

Cypriot has been classified by many scholars among the Anatolian Greek varieties (Dawkins (1916), Brixhe (1987)). It is not regarded as a centre of reference for the Anatolian Greek studies but it can be compared, to a great extent, both morphologically and lexically to a number of Greek dialects spoken in the East, the dialects of the “remote and weak zone of hellenization”. Although it is a marginal variety of Greek, due to the geographic distance of Cyprus from Greece, Cypriot has maintained most of the Greek norms. It displays a mixture of archaisms and innovations and it exhibits an interesting order of constituents; its V-initial structure is the core of
its particularities. In regards its structure, Cypriot seems to have had verb-initial basic word order as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

There is little research on Cypriot. The many works that have appeared in recent years in the field of Greek dialectology have been limited to the dialects of the mainland and of the islands. With the exclusion of very limited work on Pontic earlier this century (Dawkins 1916), other Greek dialects of Asia Minor and the nearby Greek-speaking areas, including Cypriot, have largely been passed over. The occasional interest that linguists have shown in Cypriot has been directly linked to archaeological research on the island and to a large number of literary texts written in Ancient Greek (Brixhe 1995). When investigating ancient Cypriot, linguists such as Brixhe have often referred to “progressing in reverse”, due to complexities they encountered from their increasing discoveries. Modern Cypriot has escaped critical study concerning other interesting concepts, such as hierarchy of the order of the constituents of animates versus inanimates, the use of interrogatives in other than interrogative clauses, case marking and other syntactic and discourse features.

Lately, more research has been carried out on loan words from the contact of Cypriot with the Romance languages during the Middle Ages; the medieval Cypriot verb and its moods and other grammatical issues have started to attract increasing attention. Cypriot phonetics, which attracted most of the scholarly attention in the 1970s (Newton 1972), has not been followed up since; apart from our work, only a limited number of works have been concerned with the language, especially its syntax. Nevertheless, issues of discourse analysis and on the Turkish loan words in the Modern dialect, as well as on the history of the Cypriot Greek in the medieval period, have occasionally appeared in recent years. A study on the MC texts, carried out by a number of scholars of the University of Cyprus, is expected to appear.
1.1. Typological work on Cypriot

A more thorough study on the ordering of the constituents of the Cypriot clause has been lacking. Despite the fact that within the last two decades the study of historical syntax and most particularly of word order has witnessed a significant rising of interest, the Cypriot typological features have so far been ignored. Only obvious word order patterns of some elements in the clause i.e. clitic το (and/or τα) (one of the first contributions is found in Terzi, in Alexiadou et al., 1999), (and in Agouraki, Y. in A. Ralli et al., 2001) have seen the light of research. Both papers examine clitic placement in Cypriot Greek, “which has general enclisis but with complementizers, negation, modality markers, wh-phrases and syntactic XP-foci” (Agouraki 2001: 1). The relation between Cypriot Greek and standard V2 languages is also discussed in Agouraki’s work.

Today, it seems more than ever that the ‘shadowed’ dialects of Greek, as Cypriot has been for many years, have far more to give than the fact that they merely ‘deviated’ morphologically from the Greek language; the Cypriot word order is not an area to pass over. The typological characteristics of Cypriot reveal substantial areas of difference from the general typological features of Greek and exhibit a more local syntactic evolution, a τοπική συντακτική εξέλιξη of the word order patterns of the language. And although it is hard to analyse such so-called deviation(s) from a Greek perspective, since Greek has a flexible word order and every possible word order combination of the three major constituents within the clause may be grammatical, Cypriot clarifies the diachronic situation for many structural variations in Greek as well.

If we had to rely solely on the areal classification of the languages, it would be easy to categorise Cypriot among the V-initial languages of the Middle-East, such as Arabic and Hebrew (although both these languages are in the process of becoming S-initial), and Greek, among the S-initial languages of the Balkans. The study of the typological traits of languages is a much more complicated issue.
The starting point for a first approach to the typological classification of Cypriot is based on the simple fact that, from the time the Greeks arrived in Cyprus, there has never been a moment in the history of the island where its native speakers spoke exactly the same Greek as that of other parts of the Hellenic world. This fact may be supported by a combination of historical, geographical, linguistic and extra-linguistic factors:

(i) the different course of history of Greece and Cyprus. Cypriot had an “ιδιότυπο και αρχαϊκό χρώμα” ‘particular and archaic colour’ (Browning 1969: 95) (in the Greek translation). Its marginal position protects its major differences from the Greek structural norms

(ii) the geographical distance: a strong factor for the evolution of the Cypriot singularities

(iii) Cypriot has always been a non-literary language within the Greek world, and thus it never became κοινή ‘common language’ outside the island, albeit it was a contributor to both the Hellenistic and the Medieval Koines

(iv) Cypriot has no standardised norm, neither medieval nor contemporary

(v) Cypriots have been influenced from strong external influences such as the Frankish feudal system, and from many other forms of dominions

(vi) the cultural identity factor and the intense need for self-identity exhibiting solidarity and dedication to the wider Greek and/or Byzantine world

In a 1995 study on the Cypriot typological characteristics (Vassiliou 1995), I investigated the syntax of the contemporary language. The study brought to light findings which now trigger additional research in the area of diachronic syntax. The hypothesis of the study was that Modern Cypriot (MoC) has a VOS order. As a native speaker of Cypriot I based my study on both my intuition and on considerable data which revealed the truth of the assumption: I analysed 560 clauses of the Cypriot of the early 1960s, considering as certain that not all dialects have the same structure as their standards, rather than assuming that the Cypriot syntax was identical to that of Standard Greek. As claimed by Romaine (1981: 287), “if two closely related languages or dialects exist, they differ; one or both must have changed in respect to the patterns wherein they differ”. The data were from texts transcribed by Newton (1972), from a number of tapes he recorded in Cyprus, in 1963. The texts are
completely unedited “tiresome through the continual false starts and repetitions” (Newton 1972: 132). The most highly dialectal specimens came from children who had barely come under the influence of an elementary Greek education system. Newton’s sample provided a most reliable basis for the study of unplanned discourse and in consequence of the real typological characteristics of MoC. It should be noted that all the speakers in Newton’s transcriptions were almost illiterate. Of the 560 clauses, most had S encoded in the verb and a smaller number were clauses with O and IO appearing as clitics. Only 195 were clauses where S and O appear as independently represented constituents. Of these 195 clauses, 173 were V-initial and 22 S-initial. Among the 173 V-initial clauses, 152 represented intransitive clauses, that is, VS clauses, 18 were VOS, 3 were VSO, 17 exhibited a SV order and 5 were SVO (Vassiliou 1995: 19).

That is:

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<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>VOS</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
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From the assessment of the bulk of narrated stories recorded by Newton, the Cypriot basic clause is VOS. The number of VS clauses in Newton’s texts are 9 times the number of SV clauses, and VOS occurrences are 3.4 times greater than SVO and 6 times greater than VSO (Vassiliou 1995:20). Also, a great number of Newton’s clauses (clauses where S is encoded in the verb, where O and IO are represented in the sentence by clitics and where a small number of them are elliptical) have a great occurrence of V Opr Sn and V Iopr Spr, (n= noun, pr= pronoun, X= anything apart from V, O, S, IO, n, pr), a fact that proves further that Cypriot is VOS.

It is also important to add here that among the other clauses, a significant number (132 clauses) were VOn. The statistics on Newton’s data show the following patterns:

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<td>132</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>VOpr</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>VSpr</td>
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Other combinations of the above constituents have also been recorded (in Vassiliou 1995: 20).

In Newton’s transcribed texts, in almost all S-initial clauses S is used as a means to attract the hearer’s attention in some particular parts of narration and it often associates with indefiniteness or the use of demonstratives.

Cypriot is a Greek-derived language and might have been expected to conform with the Greek structural pattern which has been classified by Greenberg (1963) as SVO, and with the pattern of other Greek dialects which are also SVO (Pontic, for instance).

The fact that Cypriot is a Greek language and has a different word order than Greek is not a phenomenon that should be seen as incidental. This significant difference has a multi-faceted explanation that encompasses all the above reasons which lead to the creation of the Cypriot word order particularities.

Due to its significant differences in the word order from Greek, Cypriot offers an important resource for the study of syntactic change. It displays a notable range of structural differences from Standard Greek (and from other Indo-European inflectional languages). It enhances previous studies on the structural flexibility of Greek and disputes Greenberg’s generalisations on Greek, which are not relevant to all the Greek dialects, most particularly not relevant to the Cypriot word order traits. Greenberg’s comments on the position of the pronominal object for instance (1963: 91), and a number of his categorisations of Universals for Greek are not representative of the Cypriot structure\(^1\).
1.2. Previous study of Medieval Cypriot

MC is a term given to the language spoken in Cyprus, during the Middle Ages. The accepted view is that Byzantine and Medieval Greek are based on the Hellenistic Koine and not directly on Classical Attic Greek. Some writers go further and connect Medieval Greek with Attic Greek (Yiannaris 1968). Browning (1969: 85-86) believes in the existence of a common Medieval Greek Koine, which is evident in the medieval vernacular texts" But I am inclined -along with many others- to suppose that there was in late Byzantine times a common spoken tongue in which a great many alternative forms, belonging historically to different dialects, were unacceptable”. The present work provides a vivid example against Browning’s claim. Leontios Machairas, whose chronicle under study (called Chronicle in this work, see chapter 2 on the Chronicle of the Sweet Land Cyprus) is a unique source for the study of the evolution of the Cypriot structure, spoke of the Cypriot Greek of the Middle Ages as follows. In paragraph {158}, in Pavlides (1982), Makhairas says:

Kai diati díwo fúsikoi aféntes eín eis ton kósmo, o énas kosmikós kai o állos pneumatikós, tòus éixen to nipoákin toúton, kai toús basileás tis Kóstantinópolis kai tis Patriárchh tis megális Antiochías prín tìn píroun oi Latínoi dìa toúton Ítvon chrísi na xeurómen romaiaká katholiká diá na péouson grafhés tis basileías, kai suurínikas sýstá kai oútwes emáththn tìn tòus kai to sóúkrítov oútwes edibáivan me tis suurínikas kai romaiakas ós pou kai píran ton tópo oi Laixániades kai apó tòtes arkhía na mabáounon fránkiká kai barbarión tò romaiakas ós gníon kai símeron, kai gráfomen fránkiká kai romaiaká, óti eis tò kósmo dèn xeurón món ánta sýnvuxánomen. [158]

‘And because two are the natural masters in this world, the master of the people (the people’s leader) and the spiritual master (leader) that this small island (also) had, (that is) the Emperor of Constantinople and the Patriarch of the great Antioch, before the Latins took (over) it, it was therefore useful to know thorough (very good, wholly) Romaic so that petitions could be sent to the Emperor of Constantinople and yet (it was useful to know how to speak) accurate Syriac. And it was in that
way that people taught their children and this is how the senate carried on until the Lusignans took the place, and from that time on people started to learn French, so Romaic became barbarous as it still is today and we write Frankish and Romaic and nobody in this world knows (understands) what we speak’.

Hill (1972: 107), discussing Makhairas’ statement, remarks “those who read it (the Chronicle) now would perhaps rather say that no one would take it (the language) for anything but Cypriote”.

A mass of evidence on Cypriot Greek is found in Makhairas’ texts that enables our conclusion on a number of linguistic issues to be quantified and hence discussed on a firmer basis. The main part of the Chronicle deals with the Lusignan period from 1192, from King Guy de Lusignan until the death of King John the 2nd in 1458, when Queen Charlotte took over (Pavlides 1982: e). The narrative covers in detail only the last four decades of the fourteenth century and the first three of the fifteenth. The language of the Chronicle is in MC. Intermixed with it are many Frankish words and some Italian words and it thus becomes difficult to understand for readers of non-Cypriot descent, and to those who do not have some knowledge of the Romance language lexicon.

Of the few studies carried out on MC, very few focus on its syntactic development. Most of the studies concentrate on some aspects of its morphology and on the great number of its loan words from both the Frankish and the Italian influence on its lexicon (Hadjioannou (1991), Yiangoullis (1997)).

Among the studies that seem to have had some interest on the word order, or at least on some aspects of the Cypriot syntax, seems to be Beaudouin’s (1884) Étude du Dialecte Chypriote, which includes little information on the position of the main constituents in the Medieval Cypriot clause. The very few pages dedicated to some syntactic characteristics are surprisingly enough not giving us the impression that the study has been carried out for the benefit of a more serious syntactic understanding of the language. The study of
Medieval Cypriot syntax seemed in fact redundant to many scholars, when there existed no thorough research on the Cypriot morphology or its phonetics.

Beaudouin’s study is a useful investigation on the dialect, even though it is limited. However, his research rather aims to enrich additional inquiries on Greek in general and on the evolution of the Greek dialects:

“D’un autre côté, n’est-il pas important d’examiner comment le grec ancien s’est comporté lorsque l’évolution de la langue produisit le travail de dérivation d’où sortit le romantique? Il faut voir si la langue néohellénique est née en vertu des mêmes principes que les langues néolatines. Ce sont des faits dignes de remarques, que l’existence de mots comme νῆλιος, νουρά, νόμος mis en parallèle avec lierre, lendemain, et que l’origine de certains nominatifs, tirés de l’accusatif ancien, comme les substantifs romans viennent de l’accusatif latin”.

‘On the other hand, isn’t it important to examine how Ancient Greek behaved when the evolution of the language produced the work of derivation from where the Romaic was born? One must see whether contemporary Greek was born following the same principles as those of the Romance languages. These are noteworthy facts, that the existence of words such as νῆλιος, νουρά, νόμος, that is, could be examined in parallel with the creation of words such as lierre and lendemain and that the origin of certain nominatives, derived from the ancient accusative, such as the Romance substantives derive from the Latin accusative’.

According to Beaudouin, Cypriot has been studied either for the sake of Ancient Greek and the ways it developed into the different dialects that gave birth to Byzantine Greek, and consequently to Cypriot, or for the simple comparison of the likeness of this development to the development of the Romance daughter languages (i.e. that the nominative of a number of
substantives derives from the accusative in both Romance languages and Greek). Beaudouin’s description did not intend, nevertheless, to provide a syntactic account of Cypriot, and it is therefore not complete, especially if measured by the new outcomes resulting from the developments in linguistics of the last 30 years.

It is my purpose here to extend Beaudouin’s morphological description to subjects not yet discussed or not sufficiently treated, and to discover all that are peculiar to MC. In this way I hope to further in a more general way the explanation of the structural phenomena in the Chronicle. Apart from its interesting lexical borrowing and other language contact phenomena, Makhairas’ work demonstrates the development of its word order patterns; it evidences syntactic features which reveal the coexistence of syntactic archaisms and innovations.

1.3. Cypriot as a separate entity

The study on the Cypriot word order of Medieval times I am about to discuss in this work is not intended to introduce a diachronic structural comparison with the rest of the Greek dialects and/or idioms of earlier or recent times. That will be studied as a separate entity. This thesis will involve nonetheless some comparison with the Greek of certain periods. It would be strange to omit a structural comparison of Cypriot with the Hellenistic Greek, for instance, when the Koine was spread over the Greek-speaking world, or with New Testament Greek, when Christianity made its appearance and was adopted by the Cypriots. Cypriot will be compared to Byzantine Greek, the Ρωμαϊκά ‘Romaika’ or as said by the Cypriots Ρομαϊκά ‘Romaika’ (Romaic), which offers grounds for a more immediate linguistic parallelism with the Greek linguistic form under study; there have been historical moments where Greek has shown striking homogeneity within the broader Hellenic world, and Byzantine Greek gives such basis for analysis.

Needless to say, the VOS basic structure of MoC that gave rise to this research is a possible and frequent Greek ordering. However, it is not regarded as basic, although it was very frequent in a number of older texts.
V-initial basic clauses can be found in Standard Greek (Hesse 1995), with a certain category of verbs.

1.4. History and Language

It is almost impossible to talk about Cyprus and its language without referring to its history. “The history of Cypriot Greek mirrors the history of the island”, Maria Tsiapera (1994: 449) suggests, and a clear evidence of this statement would be the Cypriot of all periods, including the Medieval.

It is thus a necessity to see the history and language relationship, as no true appreciation of Cypriot can be gained without it; in order to penetrate into this relationship a rather extended reference to the History of Cyprus is necessary.

The history of Cyprus begins with the New Stone Age to the middle of the 7th millennium. The Eteocyprians, the first people of the island, came from the nearby Syro-Palestinian coast. They spoke Eteo-Cypriot, the language of the Cypriots before the arrival of the Greeks (Karageorghis, V. (referred to as Karageorghis) in Karageorghis, J. and O. Masson (eds) (1988: 3)), which according to a number of archaeologists, was maintained in Cyprus until the 3rd century BC. Inscriptions in Eteo-Cypriot written in Linear A script found on the island remain undeciphered.

It is after the Stone Age and well after the Bronze Age, (an era which has lasted approximately from 2500 to 1500 BC) that the Greek presence is noticed. The period after 1500 BC is characterised by the arrival of the Achean-Myceneans. Although evidence exists for this Aegean presence in the island as early as the 14th century BC, it is only towards the beginning of the 12th century that this presence became more evident. And it is not until the 8th century BC that we have documents on the Greek language in Cyprus.

At first, around 1200 Acheans fled to Cyprus; they landed on the Aχαιων Ακτή, ‘Acheon Akti’, the sea-shore of the Acheans. Their number was slowly increased by new arrivals. After the arrival of the Mycenaean, the ethnic composition of Cyprus started to change. Mycenaean influences
increased. Over a period of time, their number was slowly increased by new arrivals. Consequently, the ethnic composition of Cyprus began to alter. The Acheans were the principal settlers in Cyprus and they continued to arrive until the Dorian invasion in the 11th century. Alastos notes (1976: 31)

“The founding of new towns by the Greeks, does not mean that Cyprus was forcibly colonised and that its inhabitants were forcibly Hellenised. At worst, it means settlement by force, if it was necessary, among a friendly and kindred people, with whom they were in close relationship. Anything to the contrary would undoubtedly have left behind a tradition of invasion. Of that we have no record and consequently we are on safer ground assuming the former”.

However, not all the settlers were Acheans or Myceneans. A serious ethnic change took place in the years that followed.

“Whatever the historical facts may be, it is certain that during all these centuries Cyprus could not have escaped attacks, raids and perhaps full-scale invasions from neighbouring states, as distinct from people who brought with them their own culture, which enriched the island and was eventually merged with that of the island”. (Alastos 1976: 30)

According to the same source (p. 31), the Greek immigrant settlers did not represent a unified entity. This is important to know, as we understand that the persistence of the previous language and the new ununified language limited at first the establishment of Greek in Cyprus. The settlers came from various areas and towns of mainland Greece and they belonged to different tribes with varying and different cults. Further to this and apart from the Greek diversity, there existed a non-Greek population that merged with the prevailing and adopted its cultural particularities. At the end of the 9th century BC the Phoenicians appeared in Cyprus, and it is not up until the 4th century BC with the Ptolemies and the Hellenistic period that we can talk of a more
dominant Greek element on the island and of Greek becoming the official language of the state (Karageorghis 1988: 3).

Despite the later impact of many languages on Cypriot it remained Greek:

_The present day heavily accented dialect which is almost incomprehensible to peninsular Greeks, contains many archaic words. Mr G. Papacharalambous finds in it over 160 words which derive straight from Homer, a remarkable example of literary continuity (Kypriakai spoudai vol.4)_

(Alastos 1976: 93)

In the subsequent centuries, “as it is testified by the Greek legends, the Greek epics, the Hittite texts from Boghazköj and the rich Mycenean cemeteries discovered in the island, Cyprus became an important centre of Mycenaean enterprise in the Middle East. It thus became part of what eventually became known as the Greek world, a character which it was bound to maintain throughout”. (Alastos 1976: 27)

The geographical position of Cyprus and its natural resources were the two main reasons for its turbulent history. After the arrival of the Greeks in the island, Phoenicians continued to invade the island frequently, and they gave a Phoenician character to it, particularly in the towns of the south. Phoenicians were only concerned with trading, not with colonisation.³

At the end of the 8th century BC, and for almost a century (Panteli 1984: 5), the island came under the domination of the Assyrians. Cyprus was then divided into city-kingdoms.

At the same time, another neighbouring power to control Cyprus was Egypt. Apries Hophra, who reigned from 588- 569 BC, mounted a sea and land offensive against Tyre and Cyprus. The reduction of Phoenicia by the Egyptian forces resulted again in a great influx of Phoenicians to the island. However, the island was never completely conquered by the Egyptians.
By 549 BC, Persia was emerging as a great power in the East. Cyprus was included in one of Persia's satrapies and paid tribute to the Persians. The Greco-Persian wars started soon after. By 450 BC there was a great Perso-Phoenician penetration in the island (Alastos 1976: 51). Many cities, however, remained Greek.

The place that Cyprus took in the Persian wars was a determining factor for the further establishment of Greek on the island. Towards the end of the sixth century BC the Greek influence became dominant in all spheres of the Cypriot life and culture. We read that there was political division in the cities between pro-Greek and pro-Persian parties. Some Cypriots accepted the Greek culture as a means of defence against the Persian rule.

The very few Persian words found in MC entered the Cypriot lexicon much later via Byzantium and then were used in the language (Hadjioannou 1991:6). There is an even greater number of Persian loan words brought in the language through Turkish, from the sixteenth century; these have been included in Hadjioanou’s work as Turkish loans. The author has included Arabic loan words as Turkish, if these happened to enter Cypriot.

With the Antalkidas Peace, the Greeks 'ceded' the island to the Persians in 386 BC. 54 years later, Alexander the Great freed the Cypriots from the Persians. At that period, Greece was being hammered into a semblance of unity, first by Philip and then by Alexander. In his fights against the Tyrians, the Cypriots helped the Macedonian king. For their good services, Alexander confirmed the Cypriot kings in their thrones as allies. The unity of Hellenism was in action. Alexander's conquests did not follow previous examples of despotism on the island. Nonetheless, the island was later involved in the struggle for power between Antigonus and Ptolemy, the successors of Alexander. This was the start of the Ptolemaic era in the island, which persisted for two and a half centuries.
For 250 years, until the Roman conquest in 58 BC, Cyprus was part of the Kingdom of the Ptolemies of Egypt. Immigrants from the east were attracted to the island. During the same period, the Jewish population in the island was also considerable. For the following 150 years, Cyprus enjoyed some kind of peace\(^6\). Education was widespread. It was a significant period during which the development of the principle of federation, of the ‘Koinon’, the Commonality of the Cypriots ‘\(\tau ο \ κοινόν \ των \ Κυπρίων\)’ took place.

The Phoenician penetration had ceased under the Ptolemies. Their number was reduced either by assimilation or by emigration to other commercial centres of the Mediterranean.

For almost 400 years Cyprus had Roman rule (58 BC- 330 AD). (After the fall of the Roman Empire, the “new city (Constantinople) was inaugurated as the seat of the government in the year 330 AD”(Newman 1940: 69)). However, from around 47 BC to the death of Cleopatra in 30 BC the island returned again to Ptolemaic rule.

The Roman practices in Cyprus are revealed from Cicero's Cilician Letters. Cicero became Governor of Cilicia (Asia Minor) in 51 BC (according to others, in 52 BC, see below). From 27 BC- 22 BC Cyprus was administered as an Imperial province, *Cyprus was first constituted as a part of the Roman province of Cilicia and in 52 BC, M. Tullius Cicero was appointed governor of the province* (Newman 1940: 55). The Romans do not appear to have disturbed the rhythm and the political life of the Cypriots. Out of respect they honoured the goddess of love Aphrodite, and they chose Paphos as the capital of the island.

In 45 AD, Paul and Barnabas introduced Christianity into Cyprus and peace was not severely disrupted, except perhaps by the revolt of the Jews against the Empire and the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD. The settlement of Jews in the island was then forbidden but entry was again allowed to them after 1160 AD. Another disruption of peace was the unsuccessful Gothic raids in 269 AD. A
date to remember is 488 AD when emperor Zeno the Isaurian declared the Church of Cyprus autocephalous.⁴

The process towards centralisation began during the Romans. From the Aurelian times, 270-275 AD, the Roman emperors strove to provide a unified religion, an issue that played an important role in the life of the Cypriots. It was finally the Emperor Constantine who converted to Christianity in 313 AD. Christianity had already become a popular creed. During the Roman period, the Cypriots retained the Greek language in their official documents.

Historians date the history of Byzantium from the year 395 AD. From Constantine's times two power systems have existed in Cyprus, independent from each other: the Church and the State. Soon after the fall of the Roman Empire, Cyprus became part of the stream of the Christianised Greek world. Information about the early Byzantine period in the island is scanty. There are however certain facts worth noting. The old pagan towns turned into cathedral cities. Cyprus was administered by a Byzantine governor. What is known is that much of the wealth of that period was looted and that many churches were destroyed after 632 AD, by Arab raids.

In 632 AD, this continuity was suddenly broken in Cyprus. The Arab fleet made its appearance off the south coast of the island; the Cypriot dialect began to follow a different path than the Greek of more central areas (Browning 1969: 129). The island, as well as other islands of the Dodecanese, the dialects of which have much in common with Cypriot, was considered as a neutral zone between the Arabs and the Byzantines. The island was regarded as a de facto condominium between the two rival parties. The annual tribute of the island was divided between the Byzantine Emperor and the Caliph. Many Arabs settled in the island.

By the middle of the sixth century, the old traditions of the island had disappeared. The temples had gone, the Church was supreme and taxation was paid to the Emperor. It is noteworthy that this period marked the division of culture and language in Cyprus. Further, after a decree by Emperor
Justinian the 2nd, the majority of the population left the island, due to the continuous Arab raids. For ten years, the Cypriots settled in Kyzikos, an ancient town on the Hellespont, and they returned after the Arab raids had ceased (670 AD).

In 1191 AD, "more by accident than by design" (Panteli, 1984: 16), Cyprus fell into the hands of Richard the First, the King of England. The island was at that time ruled by the Byzantine Isaac Comnenos (the nephew of the Emperor Comnenos of Constantinople), who, by means of forged letters of appointment, had made himself independent ruler of Cyprus. The Anglo-Normans, under King Richard, took control of the island; the King married the French princess Berengaria (Berangère) in Lemeso.5

Richard robbed the island of most of its treasures. From 1192 to 1489 the island passed to the Franks. "Guy and Amaury were the founders of the Frankish Kingdom" (Alastos 1976: 168). The feudal system was introduced and all privileges belonged to the 'noblesse'. The lands were distributed to the rich and the masses were reduced to serfdom. There were heavy taxes, plague, feudal disputes, ecclesiastical and economic subjugation of the Orthodox bishops to the Catholics. The island did enjoy of some prosperity particularly in the 14th century.

Cyprus was ruled by 18 Frankish Kings for 300 years, until Venice took over. The data under study represent much of this era.

In a very calculating way Venice, an emerging power of that time, persuaded the Frankish King James of Cyprus to marry Katerina Cornaro, the daughter of Marco Cornaro, a Venetian patrician. Very soon after this marriage, King James died and so did his son, the heir to the throne; both were poisoned. Cyprus came under Venetian dominance in 1489. The Venetians regarded the island as a military post. They built fortifications around the two main towns, Nicosia (Lefkosia) and Famagusta (Amohostos), but the island became impoverished during their 82-year rule. "The long period of decay
began, that continued and greatly increased under the Turks and was only arrested when the island passed into British control” (Home 1960: 68).

The Venetian dominance of the 'most noble' island ended in 1571, after the Turks landed.

In 1571 AD, the island fell in the hands of the Turks. “The history of the first two hundred years of Turkish rule is one of unrelieved suffering, accentuated by disasters. The Greek population was driven almost to the edge of physical extinction” (Alastos 1976: 268). The Ottoman rule lasted for three centuries. It was as long as the Frankish dominion, only far more traumatic. A French consul described the historical date of the 9th of June 1821 (Alastos 1976: 290) saying: “Not a day passes without people being hanged, strangled or butchered in the capital…”

Luke and Jardine (1969:13) suggest:

“it has been the fate of Cyprus, almost throughout its long history, to be governed by rulers differing in race and religion from the bulk of its inhabitants. Although the island, owing to its geographical situation, had received the impress of many peoples and many civilizations, its most enduring element in speech and blood proved to be that imported by the Ionian settlers, and to the time of the Turkish conquest, the native population, except for small Latin, Coptic, Jacobite and Armenian Colonies was Greek in religion and language”.

Hills (1972) writes: “The number of the dead on the first day was said to be over 20,000 {…} others say 30,000, not counting Italians {…}. The reader may be spared description of the horrors, which were such as usually occurred at the capture of any Christian city by the Turks”. (Hill 1972: 984)

After the arrival of the Ottomans, many French remained in the island as late as the end of the 18th century; a great number among them had no other option than to convert into 'Moslems'. Some Greeks joined them too in order to save their lives. Neither group rejected Christianity though, and because of
their decision to be both Christian and Muslim they were called the 'linobambaki'. A new era of the language starts. The Turks ruled the island until 1878. Then, it was Britain's turn to take over.

A combination of factors led to the possession of the island by Britain. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877, the Russian advance southwards, the view of Disraeli, Britain's first Jewish Prime Minister, that Cyprus was a natural stepping stone to Zion and finally the Cyprus Convention, signed on the 4th of June 1878 at the Imperial palace of Yeldiz, were the way Cyprus changed hands again. Turkey ceded Cyprus to the British in return for Britain's protection over the bankrupt Ottoman Empire.

Britain ruled Cyprus until 1960. In 1955, a national liberation struggle arose in Cyprus in order to throw off the British yoke. In the liberation struggle called EOKA, National Organisation of Cypriot Freedom Fighters, Cypriots of Greek descent took part directly or indirectly. In 1960, three countries guaranteed the independence of the island: Greece, Turkey and Britain. From 1960 to 1974 Cyprus was a unified independent republic.

In July 1974, Greece and Turkey breached their promises to Cyprus. First Greece and its then illegitimate junta overthrew the Cypriot Government on the 15th of July 1974. Five days later, Turkey invaded the island and took the northern 40 per cent of the land. The Greek-Cypriot population sought shelter in the south. A significant number of Cypriots is still missing. Most of the Cypriot refugees settled in the south, at first in refugee camps. Some thousands of them migrated all over the world.

Shiapkara-Pitsillides writes in the preface of the Ρίμες Αγάπης Love Poems: Οι βάρβαροι που ξεκίνησαν το 1959 για την κατάκτησή της (της Κύπρου), πά- ησαν επάνω της στον Ιούλιο του 1974. Είναι οι ίδιοι βάρβαροι που είχαν εισβάλει το 1570, τότε που στην Κύπρο άρχισαν να γίνονται κάπως Έλληνες οι Φράγκοι κ' οι Ενετοί {...} ‘The barbarians who started in 1959 to seek its enslavement stepped in it in 1974. They are the same barbarians who
invaded (it) in 1570, when in Cyprus Franks and Venetians started becoming Greek, in a way.

1.5. History of languages in Cyprus

Our knowledge of Ancient Cypriot relies solely on inscriptions. According to many linguists, among them Chadwick (1988: xvi) (cited in Karageorghis, J. and O. Masson (eds.) 1988), we understand that “if we had to rely upon Ancient Greek literature for our knowledge of ancient Cypriot, we should know almost nothing about the dialect on the island. It is exclusively the study of inscriptions which has made it possible for us to extend our knowledge and to know the local dialects of Ancient Greece and in particular the dialect of this island”.

Ancient Greek Cypriot belongs to the Arcado-Cypriot group of the Ancient Greek dialects. In ancient Greek we may distinguish the following groups of dialects: (i) the Aeolian or Achean, (called by Thumb central Greek), (ii) the Doric or Dorian, (iii) the north-western Greek, at first called pseudo-Doric or north Doric, and (iv) the Ionic-Attic group (Semenov 1936). Arcadian, Cypriot and Pamphylian are all classified under the Arcado-Cypriot group.

There has always been a degree of confusion between the terms Acheans and Arcadians. Although the Acheans inhabited the island first, we talk of an Arcado-Cypriot dialect.

Nonetheless the ancient authors thought that this tribe, the Acheans, was identical with the Aeolians. That is why in Aeolic Cyprus we hear of the Αχαϊών Ακτή ‘The seashore of the Acheans’. According to the Hittite texts found at Boghazköy in Asia Minor, as mentioned above, the Ajavalas (the Αίολείς) were a principal tribe of the Akhijava (the Αχαιοί) (Semenov 1936: 44).

In the Peloponnese, the Aeolian dialect was preserved only in Arcadia, though many Ionic forms mixed with it. In consequence of the Dorian invasion, the Aeolians of Arcadia found themselves separated from their kinsmen in the island of Cyprus.
Doric elements in Arcado-Cypriot have resulted from the continuous arrival of Acheans and Arcadians on the island; after the Doric invasion, the Dorians mixed with the Aeolic and Achean and partly with the Ionian inhabitants of the Peloponnese, they influenced the latter and thus Dorian particularities were also brought to the island. That is precisely why some Arcado-Cypriot dialectal elements have been traced from the Doric group.

Aeolian and Achean or Central Greek, was subdivided to the north group (Lesbos and Thessalia) and the southern group (Arcadia, Cyprus and Pamphylia). There is also a close association of Arcado-Cypriot to both Aeolic and Doric. Arcado-Cypriot never acquired any degree of literary prominence.

It is significant to note that although colonised by the Greeks in their exodus from the Mycenaean centres of the Peloponnese as early as the 14th and 13th centuries BC, it is with the Ptolemies and the 3rd century BC that the island entered the Hellenistic orbit and Greek became the official language of Cyprus. The Cypriot syllabic script, which in some places survived down to the 3rd century (Karageorghis 1988: 3), was abolished “and thus a conservative link with the past Cypriote idiosyncrasis was eclipsed”. The Hellenistic world has seen the spread and general use of a common language, the Εἰλείδ Εὐατωῖα ‘lit. common dialect’, based on Attic but diverging in many respects from Attic morphology, syntax and vocabulary towards Ionic. Nunn writes:

“The literary celebrity of Attic Greek gave its forms a preponderance; but the latter (Koine) contained many expressions, which could not have been tolerated in Attic and dropped many peculiarities of diction and niceties of phrase...”  
(Nunn 1945: 26)

Browning describes it as follows:

The Koine was merely the literary version of the spoken Greek. It was in a continuous process of development and change. Its vocabulary was not ‘close’ but was constantly being augmented by neologisms
and loan-words. It spread with astounding rapidity and coloured the literary education of the upper classes (Browning 1978: 106).

With the Hellenistic period, the Koine was installed in Cyprus in the second half of the 4th century BC. After the conquests of Alexander in the 4th century BC, Greek became the common language of all the various nations inhabiting the countries surrounding the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Browning (1969: 22) (2nd ed.) writes: "Alexander carried Macedonian power as far as Egypt, the Pamirs and the river Jamna. Attic, in its 'expanded' international form became the official language and the language of everyday intercourse of the multitude of Greek cities founded in the conquered territories by Alexander and his successors[...]. This modified Attic[...] thus became the mother-tongue of the new Greek communities in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and the Iranian world, and gradually ousted the old dialects in Greece proper".

Different scholars have produced different opinions on the character of the Koine. Niebuhr thought it was the language of the common people. Clark said it was a lingua franca, Ducange called it a lingua corruptissima (a very corrupted language), Lobeck spoke of a mixture of several dialects (Semenov 1936: 82) and Brugmann, another contemporary (in Semenov 1936: 82) incorrectly declared that the ‘Koine is the development only of one dialect, namely, the Macedonian’.

Literary texts in the form of poems or of inscriptions in early years, or texts on papyri in the Hellenistic period, have resulted in a partially shared assumption about the establishment of Greek on the island and on its evolution. A number of scholars have put forward hypotheses about Cypriot as follows: a) Some have split opinions on the adoption of Greek in Cyprus. They speak from a ‘Greek’ point of view; they avoid seeing that other languages persisted on the island in different periods of time after the arrival of the Greeks. b) Others believe that Greek was introduced at a slow pace while languages spoken there before strongly resisted for centuries.
c) There are also suggestions from a number of scholars that Semitic languages as well as Eteo-Cypriot, written in the Cypriot syllabary, died out as late as the 3rd century BC.

We read from Brixhe (1988: 169) that the Koine gradually penetrated from the upper to the lower social classes.

With the transition from the older Cypriot languages to the Koine, some of the characteristics of the previous languages must have persisted. According to Brixhe (1988: 170), when a language dies out, some forms of its structure are revealed in the newly adopted. The above scholar observes that if the Cypriots spoke the Koine in the 3rd century BC they must have spoken or written it with some kind of difference to this spoken in the other parts of the Hellenism, it must have been spoken, as he says, "avec des tournures des phrases particulières, avec des mots particuliers... ‘with a particular turn of phrases, with particular words’.

With Christianity and the spread of the Gospel, the Greek language prevailed and remained in the lives and the culture of the people. The standard for Greek of the Roman period was the New Testament “which was written in the spoken Greek of the time with varying degrees of literary pretension” (Browning 1969: 54). A number of decades ago, it was suggested that the characteristics of NT Greek were due to the fact that the writers of the NT were familiar with Hebrew and that they also spoke Aramaic. Following discoveries of inscriptions from every corner of the Greek-speaking world and through papyri, it later on became obvious that most of these peculiarities existed in countries where there was no Aramaic influence (Nunn 1945: 27). It was therefore accepted that NT Greek was written in the ordinary form, which was in common use in Palestine, at the time Jesus was born; this language would be perfectly intelligible to any person of average education in the countries to which the Gospel penetrated, one of which was Cyprus. The following quote by Nunn also suggests that the spoken language, in papyri found in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period, shows that there existed a Greek
language similar to the NT Greek which was in common use in Palestine and in the whole area at that period:

"Until a few years ago it was originally held that the peculiarities of NT Greek were due to the fact that the writers were accustomed to speak in Aramaic, and to read Hebrew. But recent discoveries of inscriptions from all parts of the Greek-speaking world and of papyri from Egypt have made it plain that most of these particularities existed in countries where there could be no suspicion of Aramaic influence. It is now generally allowed that the NT Greek was written in the ordinary use in common use in Palestine, in the time of Christ, which would be perfectly intelligible to any person of average education in the countries to which the Gospel first penetrated. Its diction is however much influenced by the Septuagint, as might be expected from the nature of the subjects treated, and from the familiarity of the writers with that version of the OT (Old Testament) Scriptures". (Nunn 1945: 27)

The most interesting texts after this period remain the non-literary papyri that cover both the Ptolemaic and the post-Ptolemaic periods.

In the 6th century AD, Greek became the official language of the Eastern Empire (Newman 1940: 69). The uniformity of the Greek language in Byzantine years is paradigmatic and the slowness of change in Greek as well as the sense of a continuous identity is remarkable.

We read that the Koine “spoken there before the advent of the Arabs had an odd and archaic colouring, and it may have preserved many features, though not whole structures, inherited from the dialect spoken there before the spread of Koine” (Browning 1969: 129).

Bearing in mind the relative homogeneity of Greek during the Byzantine years and the Byzantine control over the island both linguistically and extra linguistically, we could assume that the language of the Cypriots did not differ
much to the spoken language of the majority of the Romaii (Ῥωμαίοι), the citizens of the Roman Empire of the East, who spoke the Romaiika (Romaic), the Greek of Byzantine years. In fact, the word "Ῥωμαϊκα" is the word for "Greek" used by Leontios Makhairas in the texts under study.

During the Frankish and Venetian periods, hundreds of French and Italian words entered the Cypriot lexicon; firstly, through the translation of the Assizes (more details on loan words from the Assizes in the next chapter). As Dawkins points out (cited in Hadjioannou 1991: 6), it would have been impossible for a translator to translate a book such as the Assizes, which contained such intense terminology, "into the Greek (Cypriot) language", without borrowing terms of that text "ἐξελληνίζον κατὰ τινά τρόπον αὐτούς" that is, without rendering them, making them Greek. Many words entered the language through the Assizes, even though they were probably confined to use in the courts. Dawkins points out (in his Transactions 1925: 325, cited in Hadjioannou 1991:16) that during the 14th century there was no common French language; only dialects existed. He suggested that the medieval French ‘imported’ to Cyprus was a mixture of a number of French dialects, since feudal families in Cyprus came from different parts of France. However, Hadjioannou stresses that many French loan words have convinced us that most of them came from the Provençal area and spoke the *Langue d’oc*.

It is historically and linguistically proven that loan words from Italian are from the dialects of Genoa and Venice (Hadjioannou 1991: 22). It should be added here that in MC Arabic loan words are found in the first written MC document, the Assizes. These were brought into Cyprus through the various interactions (trading, commerce) between Cypriot merchants and those from Arabic-speaking countries (Syria, Egypt, etc). Most of these loans, according to Hadjioannou (1991), came with the establishment of the Maronites in Cyprus, although, presumably many words may have entered the Cypriot lexicon from 632 to 1191. The Maronites came to Cyprus in the early Middle Ages, in the first years of the Frankish Dominion. Mas Latrie (1852), in his *Histoire de Chypre I, 108* points out that Maronites migrated into Cyprus as early as the
7th century AD and up to the 10th century AD. There is no doubt that a great number of them moved to Cyprus, as they seem to have settled in more than 60 villages. The Archbishop Kyprianos of Cyprus writes that they were the most numerous people in Cyprus after the Romans (=Greeks). Ιστ.σ.90 (cited in Hadjioannou 1991: 7). Many Cypriots then spoke Arabic, according to Ioannis of Verona who came to Cyprus in 1335 and wrote that “omnes de Cypro loquuntur grecum, bene tamen sciunt saracenicum et linguam francigenam, sed plus utuntur lingua greca” (in the Liber peregrinationis in the Revue de l’Orient Latin III, 178 (in Hadjioannou 1991: 7). After so many centuries, the Kormakiti Maronites of Cyprus speak a “corrupted Arabic mixed with Cypriot words”, “παρεφθαρμένην αραβικήν ανάμεικτον μετά κυπριακών λέξεων”.

Additionally, there is a statement by Estienne de Lusignan (cited in Hadjioannou 1991: 11) mentioning that in his days the people of Cyprus spoke 11 languages “onze sortes de langages, sçavoir Latin, Italien, Grec corrompu, Armenien, Cofte, Jacobite, Maronite, Syriake, Indian, Iuerien, Albanois, ou Macedonic, et Egyptiaque”; as counted above, these seem to be more than eleven.

With the Ottoman rule, a new wave of loan words entered the lexicon. Non-ecclesiastic books began to be printed in Greek between 1768-1810 under the guidance of Chrysanthos, who was Archbishop of Cyprus for 42 years (Alastos 1976: 285).

With the British colonisation, English became the language of the judicial system (Karoulla-Vrikki 2001). More importantly, early in the 20th century, there have been waves of Cypriot immigrants to Britain; the first major group was with the trickle of Cypriots who left in the 1930s right to the outbreak of World War II (Nearchou 1960 in Christodoulou-Pipis 1991: 10).

The flow of Cypriot immigrants to Britain was triggered by the treaty of Lausanne in 1925, by which the island became a British colony which automatically made Cypriots British subjects (Christodoulou-Pipis 1991:10).
Other groups to Britain include the post-war and the post independence groups as well as the post-invasion migration to Britain.

The Turkish invasion brought about a change to contemporary Cypriot. The refugees, now settling in different regions of the island, have dispersed their language particularities in different parts of the island. Some Cypriot dialects, with the exception of those of Paphos and that of the central areas, are now used by the people who no longer live in large groups and who are gathered in specific places of the island.

1.5.1. On diglossia and the influence of NT Greek

Diglossia is an issue of great concern in the evolution of the Greek language. The Christian writers of the early period followed the NT model and had little regard for the precepts of rhetoricians and grammarians whom they despised and who used the more elaborated form of the Greek language. NT influence is seen in the lives of the Saints, written in the Koine.

Scholars have discussed at length the similarities between the Koine and NT Greek. In his study on NT Greek, Maloney (1981) refers to Deissmann’s suggestions of non-literary papyri in Greek. “Its Greek”, Deissmann suggested in his 1890 study, “is remarkably similar to that of the New Testament” (1981: 7). Deissmann sought to establish that the New Testament was composed in the vernacular Greek Koine. Maloney (1981), on the contrary, claimed that it is possible that the New Testament written in Greek has influenced the development of Modern Greek (starting already from the middle Ages) (1981: 36-37). However, “if modern usage contains constructions that parallel certain non-Hellenistic ones in the New Testament, they may very well be due simply to parallel but wholly coincidental developments in the syntax”.

The structure of NT Greek is a well-explored area of the Greek linguistics. In Maloney’s study on Marcan syntax, there are very important comments on the position of the Verb in the sentence. “The normal word order in an independent clause in Hellenistic Greek is subject–verb” (1981: 51). Hellenistic Greek in independent clauses is SV, Maloney points out (1981:51),
whereas in the New Testament Greek, there is a striking majority of V-initial clauses. VO is typical of NT discourse. S is initial in very few cases, where it is topic and or anaphoric information.

In the beginning, Christianity, which targetted the lower classes, broke gradually into the upper classes. A diglossic issue emerged. For many centuries, the Fathers of the Church chose to write and to preach in the archaising language, making little concession to the spoken language. Whether the writing of a less archaising language has affected the writing of the monks of early Christianity in Cyprus could perhaps be verified by looking at their unpublished works in Cypriot monasteries. Monks were literate but had no classical education.

What is relevant to the structural development of Cypriot, whatever was its structure in the first century AD, is that it had among other reasons affecting its word order patterns a V-initial language as a model, that is, that of the language used in the NT. It is not questionable that a very large number of clauses in the NT are Verb-initial.

As Thomason and Kaufman (1983: 78) point out, although lexical borrowing frequently takes place without widespread bilingualism, extensive structural borrowing apparently requires extensive (though not universal) bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers, over a considerable period of time. Minor structural influence from a prestigious literary language occurs through the written medium alone without actual oral bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers. Several syntactic features borrowed into Standard English from Latin would fall into this category (Thomason and Kaufman 1983: 78). The structural influence of Classical Arabic on the language of various Moslem peoples apparently falls also into this category. In India, for instance, Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindu religion, is said to have influenced literary Dravidian languages phonologically as well as morpho-syntactically. The written NT Greek form can be regarded as a diglossic High acting upon Cypriot as a primary means of interference. As Newton (1972: 28)
132) pointed out in his pioneer work on the Cypriot phonetics “…the most highly dialectal specimens found came from children who hardly come under the influence of the elementary educational system or who had dealt them by developing what may be regarded as a fluent bilingualism”.

We cannot rely solely, however, on the fact that V-initial is the structure in the NT and use this argument as a tool for explaining the constructions of Cypriot had this been the only explanation for such word order. Surely, for centuries and particularly when historical events had detached Cyprus from the rest of the Greek-speaking world, NT’s V-initial structures must have acted upon the language as one of the main linguistic tools of solidarity. Keeping formal Greek alive remained however a strong objective. Moleas (1989: 21) discusses: “Even in the literature which approximated more closely the everyday speech, there remained a certain formality which maintained many of the traditional forms of grammar”.

Given that Cypriot is a language derived from Ancient Greek, it should not be surprising that it has a V-initial structure. Originally, Proto-Indo-European languages had verbs at the end of sentences as a norm (Aitchison, 1991: 92). Ancient Greek was a SOV language. Its verbs could be moved to the front. Some languages, such as Cypriot, never lost this option.

There were significant changes in the Greek language at the time of NT Greek. Some of the developments are related to the environment that is, “to the Semitic and Egyptian idioms that are foreign to the nature of the Greek language” (Mandilaras 1972: 9). Cyprus, being closer to Egypt than any other Hellenic place may have been a great recipient of such changes. We can assume here that these changes may have also been structural and that the Semitic languages have influenced Cypriot through the syntax of the Gospel too.

1.5.2. Further particularities of Cypriot

The Cypriot particularities are revealed through a series of words, the Cypriot glosses which are Greek words but are not found in other
(Ancient) Greek dialects. The Cypriot glosses constitute a series of 246 words exclusively mentioned as Cypriot by Hesychios. Karageorghis, J. (1988: 181) says: “Les gloses chypriotes se trouvent principalement rassemblées dans le Lexique d’Hésychius, un grammairien d’Alexandrie qui vivait au Ve /VIe s. de notre ère...”, ‘the Cypriot glosses are mainly gathered (found) in the Lexicon (compiled by) Hesychius, a grammarian from Alexandria who lived in the 5th/6th centuries AD’. Cypriot has also conserved many Homeric words not found in other Greek dialects. It is regarded by some as the dialect, which has been more 'loyal' to Ancient Greek than any other Greek dialect. Striking is also the affinity between Cypriot and the Ancient Macedonian dialect, (Tsopanakis 1988: 81), as also stressed by Hoffmann in his 1906 work. Phonological discrepancies with the rest of the Greek dialects are obvious as early as the 3rd century BC. Brixhe (1995: 50) suggests that palatalisation, a phenomenon that still persists in Modern Cypriot, is noted in striking examples as early as the 3rd century BC. “Pour la geminée voir Brixhe 1988, 177-178. Dans le corpus du petit site de Kafizin (km au S.-E de Nicosie, T.B. Midford), avec μαντζιαρχήσαντος (n° 258) pour μαντιαρχήσαντος, nous avons peut-être les premices de ces palatalisations qui vont donner au parler de l’île une physionomie si particulière...’

For gemination see Brixhe 1988, 177-178. On the corpus of the small site of Kafizin km in the SE of Nicosia, T.B Midford), with (the word) μαντζιαρχήσαντος instead of μαντιαρχήσαντος, we probably have the signs of these palatalisation which will give the language of the island such a particular aspect.

A closer look to indigenous words in Cyprus reveal a series of differences with mainland Greek in all eras (Tombaides, 1986). In addition to lexical differences, other differences from the rest of the Greek dialects include, morphological, syntactic, semantic, phonetic, phonological, prosodic, and other characteristics.
Similar discussions imply that Cypriot has always been diverging from the mainstream Greek characteristics and that the study on its typical particularities should not take us by surprise.

1.6. Scripts in Cyprus: linear A, linear B and the Syllabary

One startling difference between Cypriot and the rest of the Greek dialects is the use of the ancient syllabic script at a time when all the rest of Greece had adopted the alphabet.

When we speak of scripts in Cyprus we firstly refer to the Minoan (Crete) script. During the Bronze Ages, a related script was in use in Cyprus (Chadwick 1958: 20) and it was therefore named Cypro-Minoan. Cypro-Minoan scripts of the fifteenth century found in Cyprus are older than Linear B scripts. The signs are different from any other form of the Minoan script but suggest affinities with Linear A. Clay tablets of Cyprus were baked, not sun-dried as those of Greece (Chadwick 1958:21). A script similar to the Cypro-Minoan is found at the ancient city of Ugarit, the modern Ras Shamra, on the coast of Syria; there was a Cypriot colony living there, who used the script of their homeland. There is also another Cypriot script which played a large part in the decipherment of Linear B; this is the classical Cypriot script, which was used to write Greek from at least the sixth century down to the third BC (Chadwick 1958: 22). “It was solved in the 1870’s, the first steps being due to an Englishman, George Smith; the key to it lay in the bilingual inscriptions in this and Phoenician, and in the script and the Greek Alphabet. There are a number of inscriptions written in it which are clearly not Greek, but an unknown language” (Chadwick 1958: 22). The Classical Cypriot script was related to Linear B, however only seven signs can be equated and others show only a varying degree of resemblance. About the three quarters of the signs could be equated by pure guesswork. The classical Cypriot script used fifty-four signs.

Inscriptions in the Greek Alphabet in Cyprus only began in the Macedonian (4th century BC) period and were all in the Koine (see below). The first testimony (document) of Greek on the island dates form the 11th century
Famous is an inscription on a Paphian obelos, the Opheltas' brooch, ο οβελὸς τοῦ Οφέλτα, found near Kouklia in the Paphos region in 1979, but it is three centuries later before we have documents in the Greek language on the island. The Phoenician script and language also appears frequently after the 9th century BC. On a vase from Palae-Paphos, and on many other vases we have inscriptions in Eteo-Cypriot. It is not until the 4th century BC that Greek took over other languages spoken in Cyprus. At the end of the 5th century, even the Phoenicians wrote epitaphs on the tombs of their dead in Greek. At the same period, the pro-Greek king of Salamis (Cyprus) Evagoras was the first to introduce the Greek alphabet side by side with the Cypriot syllabary.

Recent findings in Cyprus support the existence of the Cypriot syllabary until the 3rd century BC. The last decade, an enormous bulk of information surprised both archaeologists and linguists. Discoveries by Mitford (Brixhe 1988: 167) in the early 1980s in the outskirts of Nicosia prompted them to carry out new studies on Cypriot.

Using other information from the Kafizin findings we come to the conclusion that a slow but steadily growing bilingualism was developed in Cyprus, a bilingualism that probably existed before the 6th century BC.

Dating from the period of the Ptolemies, between 225-218 BC, the inscriptions on Mitford’s vases were written in both Greek Koine and the dialect (Cypriot syllabary). When written in the Koine, the alphabet was used as a means of writing. When the language in use was the dialect, the Cypriot syllabary was used instead. “The Syllabary was the vehicle of the Cypriot dialect, the eastern branch of the Arcado-Cypriot group. In some parts of the island, especially at Amathus, the syllabary was also used for the still undeciphered ‘Eteo-Cypriot’ language. The Cypriot dialect and the syllabary are complementary, and (except for Eteo-Cypriot) they are not to be found the one without the other... The syllabary is not well suited to the writing of a Greek dialect. The first Greeks who settled in the island probably found it in some ancestral form then in use to express a language which was not
Hellenic, a language not necessarily Eteo-Cypriot, whose early stages are unknown. (Willets 1988: 51-52).

A small number of inscriptions were found to be diagraphic, meaning that they were written in both the Koine and the dialect.

As Willets says, “The Cypriot civilization developed a distinctive form, blending Eastern and Hellenic cultures in ways that have endowed the island with special historic characteristics (1988: 40)... the evidence from Cyprus assumes a particular interest in directing our attention to non-Greek influences in ethnic, religious and linguistic contexts (1988: 45). Therefore, apart from the Phoenician alphabet, used by the Semitic element in the population and the Greek alphabet used on certain coins, the syllabary was the vehicle of early Cypriot and the Cypriot culture.

According to other scholars, the syllabary survived until the 1st century AD (Brixhe 1995); Brixhe says: ...écriture et dialecte survivent jusqu’à la fin du 1er siècle a.C; he based his claim, following his notes, on a number of signs found in the mosaics of the House of Dionysos, at Paphos (1995: 50). These documents, the author observes, may suggest that there is a kind of a role-sharing between dialect /syllabary (used for local matters) and koine/alphabet (for external matters).

1.7. Hypotheses about the origins of Cypriot word order

With the brief history of Cyprus above, one can say with assurance that the establishment of Greek in Cyprus could be easily followed from the time the Mycaeneans landed on the island.

I will firstly put forward a number of hypotheses and track the different historical events that took place on the island which could have contributed to the creation of an early (hypothetical) structure in Cypriot.

Certain changes have occurred, attributable to both internal and external causes. A number of historical facts are so revealing that could admit of
predictions. Some alternative hypotheses about the Cypriot basic structure and its diachronic characteristics are as follows:

(i) Cypriot as a nonconfigurational language
(ii) Cypriot having a VSO structure from its earliest origins
Both (i) and (ii) are rather dubious and risky hypotheses which will lead nowhere. Lacking documentary evidence, we cannot trace the structural development of Cypriot from the dawn of its appearance. There is also the question of influence from Eteo-Cypriot structure. This language, spoken in Cyprus before the 6th century BC, is of unknown structure. Until syllabic inscriptions are deciphered, we can only re-form hypotheses based on general assumptions. As Masson (1988: xxxiv) suggests, “le Grec ancien de Chypre ne nous est pas connu par aucun texte littéraire en poésie ou en prose”, ‘Ancient Cypriot is not known to us through any kind of literature or poetry’.
(iii) Cypriot as influenced by the Koine, although as stated by Browning 1969: 19) (2nd ed.) “the origin of the κοινή διάλεκτος is really irrelevant to the history of later Greek”
(iv) language contact and syntactic borrowing.

Language in Cyprus has always experienced a development which was influenced by borrowing elements, through language contact. According to Harris and Campbell (1995: 122), contact is a situation that leads to change through borrowing. Contact is a catalyst for changes.

When assessing medieval Cypriot language contact with Romance languages is a major factor to take into account.

1.8. Conclusion

Cyprus has been described in Makhairas as a place “qui a la taille d’un caillou” (Chevalier 1998: 221) ‘the size of a pebble’, as from folio *288v ... ἡ μεγαλότιτα τοῦ νησίου σου ἴναι μία πέτρα φυτεμένη εἰς τὴν θά-
λασσαν: “the grandeur of your island is a stone planted in the sea”. This stone has confirmed through its history that it has a language and that its language is its most essential asset; the word μεγαλοτίτα, may no longer translate as ‘size’ here but as ‘grandeur’.

Cypriot is a Greek language. From the early historic years, the language gradually replaced the Eteocypriot, the language of the autochthonous Cypriots who lived on the island before the arrival of the Greeks; it started to transform and was influenced by (i) the degree of influence from (broader) Greek (the Koine, NT Greek) and its continuous changes, (ii) the flow of its own history through integration of foreign elements into it, (iii) the determination of Cypriots to tolerate and blend changes in favour of what they called η γλώσσα μας ‘our language’ and (iv) its own internal changes due a) to the normal flow of its evolution and b) to ‘separation’ from the main Greek changes.

Cypriot can be described as a layer of different (Greek) colours of which the basic tone shows a summation of the previous shades of the linguistic elements of the Greek, spoken from the time of the Αχαιών Ακτή. It also exhibits elements of later forms of Greek, as well as other foreign elements which, as time went by, gradually integrated into the Greek local form.

Historical facts are determining factors for the evolution of Cypriot; however, these should not be regarded as the only explanation for its changes. Internal to language changes as well as extralinguistic factors should be considered for its many particularities.

Apart from the island’s geographical distance from other parts of the Greek-speaking world, the following should be noticed:

a) the long detachment of the island from the Greek-speaking core of Byzantine Greece
b) the influence of the Greek language on Cypriot for many centuries mainly through NT Greek
c) the need of the Cypriots to belong to a Cypriot ideal, similar to that of the Κοινόν των Κυπρίων, which in older times was based on the ideal of material (monetary support) and on the ‘Cypriot unity among Cypriots’; the ideal of a common ownership of language never ceased to exist. It extended to a notion of solidarity, as that of sharing the same history
d) the need of the Cypriots to belong to the wider γένος των Ρωμαίων the race of the Byzantines, to which the rest of the Greeks belonged and of which they shared the Greek ideals
e) the strong link of Cypriot Greek to Asia Minor Greek and or any other form of Anatolian Greek and how this has affected the flow of its changes

Other factors should be noticed when analysing the course of Cypriot. Events comparing foreign rules in Cyprus to the same rules in other parts of the Greek-speaking world do not necessarily link the history of the language in Cyprus to that of the other Greek-based varieties. That is to say, Venetian influence on Cretan Greek was not identical to that on Cypriot, and Turkish influence on the Greek spoken in the Peloponnese may have been quite different to its influence on Cypriot. To give an example here, the Romance word jambe ‘thigh’, for instance, entered the general Greek lexicon in an Italian form as γάμπα (a word that is still in use today) and the Cypriot lexicon in a French form as ζάμπα (also in use in Cyprus today), borrowed at two different periods of time and from two different Romance languages. Turkish loan words also differ; for example, ‘meat-ball’ entered Standard Greek as Κεφτές and Cypriot as Κιοφτές (phonetically closer to Turkish köfte).

Strong criteria such as (i) the intensity of contact and interference of the languages in contact with Cypriot, (ii) the span of years the foreign elements have been maintained within the language, (iii) the continuous integration of different foreign linguistic components into the language, (iv) the Cypriot’s power to transform them (Hellenise or Cypriotise them), and more importantly (v) the degree of xenophilia (or rarely at times xenophobia) the Cypriots have shown towards their rulers and their languages and (vi) the proportion of the foreign linguistic injections the language has accepted but was able to convert into Greek are worth considering.
One should therefore expect a form of language that exhibits divergences from Greek.
2.0  Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the methodology used to carry out the study on the word order of Medieval Cypriot (MC) in Makhairas' Chronicle. After describing the different texts available in MC, I explain the reasons for choosing the texts of the Chronicle by Leontios Makhairas as my primary source for this analysis. The most recent edition of the Chronicle by Pavlides, which has provided the textual corpus for my study, is discussed here at length. Difficulties encountered with the different editions of the work are also discussed.

A mass of evidence from the Chronicle enables my conclusions to be discussed on a more solid basis. After sampling and describing the data source, I expand on discussions about whether the corpus available is close to the original. The lack of punctuation and awareness of the methods used in the translation of the MS. is relevant here.

I further explore the MC verbal linking devices (coordinating and subordinating conjunctions) and other clues about how the chronicler marks breaks between paragraphs.

Finally, I sketch and expand on processes of tabulation and suggest several points at which a particular method of classification will prove useful.

2.1.  Medieval Greek literary varieties

One of the obstacles to doing historical syntactic work in any language and in particular in Medieval Greek (MGr) is the nature of the texts. Many scholars doubt whether the available material can be considered
representative of the vernacular language of the period in which the works have been written.

Greek has always preserved the glory of its past through its archaising language and its Classical Koine. Classicising Greek, as is well known, has been related to dignified communication and preaching. Issues in the register of Greek appear more intense in the Byzantine world where, by the age of the Fathers of the Church, the different forms of Greek created a more complex problem.

The literary diglossic High was established as a means for all important communication from an early period. There was also a gradual drift towards rejection of the literary language, associated with some demonstrations of popular devotion.

In the twelfth century, men of letters were aware of the choice of the linguistic register they had to make. In one of Niketas Choniates’ speeches, delivered in Nicaea after the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, (van Dieten, 1972: 170, cited in Browning 1978: 104) we read the following note appended to the title: ἐξεδόθη δὲ σαφήνειας πλήρες το παρόν προσφώνημα διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀκροατῶν ασθένειαν, ‘the present speech has been released full of clarity, for the sake of the listeners’ weakness’ (to understand the higher register).

The Medieval dialect of Cyprus can be chronologically defined as between the beginning of the 13th century and the end of the 16th AD, that is, from the beginning of the Frankish rule to the end of the Venetian rule (Hadjioannou 1988: 199). In the Hellenistic East to which Cyprus belonged for many years, Romaic or Byzantine Greek was also spoken. In Greek, Romaic is called Ῥωμαίικα; we also find the word as Ρωμαίικα. By Roman, in the context of Byzantine world, people meant the Eastern Roman Empire. Charanis (1978: 88) notes that those who passed under the ethnicity of “Romans” were in reality Greeks in language and culture, especially in the period after the seventh century when the empire lost all its Latin speaking possessions and the provinces in the East, where the non-Greek speaking population was
strong; he also observes that Christianity contributed one of the two basic elements - the other was the Greek language and all that it implies - to the medieval Greek culture and helped to absorb non-Greek speaking elements and make Greek speakers out of them. Medieval Greek writers sometimes used the expression γένος Ρωμαίων, 'nation of the Romans' i.e., nation of Byzantine Greeks. In the same period, the Greek world experienced Byzantine diglossia; the issue has been studied intensely in the past decades.

If we turn to the language of Byzantine literature, we notice that diglossia was a common phenomenon in the Byzantine period. In Greek, διγλώσσία means both a) the different registers (high style, bookish style versus the lower register of a language) and b) bilingualism. (It also has a third meaning, not relevant to this discussion.) The term diglossia carries, here, the meaning of the different registers, as in the notion of the contemporary diglossia of katharevousa and dimotiki.

Diglossia was a literary issue, an issue of the writers, not a political or an educational one (Browning 1978), as it later appeared in the recent history of the Greek language.

A common problem at the same period was that of style. Due to this diglossia, the issue of a vernacular Greek representation in Medieval Greek texts (MGr) became complicated in the Middle Ages. The complication is better understood as one becomes aware of the distinct diglossic issues and the choice of the linguistic register open to the writers of this age. Interference between the different levels was frequent and variable, although in practice the different levels of register were mainly distinct. With the problem of imitation of Ancient Greek, which coexisted with many linguistic features of the Koine, the written work in the vernacular of the medieval period is very limited.

The difference between literary genre and ordinary language, evident in Byzantine works, is available to us today in some lexica and grammars composed in that period, which are a good testimony of this problem. The Byzantines were aware of distinction in linguistic usage. They could choose
between the different linguistic patterns, within the limits imposed by the genre of the literary work or the expected audience (readership), or even their education. In addition to the language and style phenomena, Byzantine writers had to select,

a) to either aspire to produce fine classicising language
b) to make use of the literary Koine or
c) to simply follow the tradition of literature in popular Koine which incarnated the features of the developing spoken language

The production of pure classicising language was not unknown in Cyprus. Gregory of Cyprus, who became Patriarch of Constantinople (Browning 1978: 127), had found it impossible to obtain a ‘Hellenic’ education in his native land, Cyprus, and had walked to Constantinople, as a young man, to attend schools of grammar and rhetoric.

In his studies on Byzantine literature, Browning (1978) sought to establish boundaries between the different periods of the language of Byzantine Literature, between the fifth and the fifteenth centuries, and divided them into the following periods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Byzantine</td>
<td>Fifth to seventh century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark Age</td>
<td>End of seventh to early ninth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonian Renaissance</td>
<td>Late ninth to early eleventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of the Comneni</td>
<td>Eleventh and twelfth centuries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Byzantine period</td>
<td>Thirteenth to fifteenth centuries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can classify the Chronicle by Makhairas to the Late Byzantine period; however, it is not in the Byzantine Literary diglossic High, as Cyprus was under Frankish rule and Makhairas was writing for a Frankish nobleman.

The development of Greek often appears to have regressed toward AG in the Byzantine period. There is little difference between the Greek of Procopius in the 6th century AD and that of Critobulus in the fifteenth. Photius, in the late ninth century AD, wrote more ‘classical’ Greek than Theophanes at the
beginning of that century. Psellus, in the eleventh, is more ‘classical’ than Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth, and Anna Comnena and Nikitas Choniates in the twelfth century outdo Psellus in certain classical features (Browning 1978: 103-104). The emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, addressing his son in the poem *De Administratio Imperio* said,

“If in setting out my subject I have followed the plain and beaten track of speech and, so to say, idly running and simple prose, do not wonder at that, my son. For I have not been studious to make a display of fine writing or of an Atticising style, swollen with the sublime and lofty, but rather have I been eager by means of everyday and conversational narrative to teach you those things of which I think you should not be ignorant, and which may without difficulty provide that intelligence and prudence which are the fruit of long experience”.

(Browning 1978: 103-104)

In religious literature, many writers, particularly writers of saints’ lives, used non-classical language and style. This was motivated either by their lack of education, by their desire to be understandable to the uneducated or by the nature of their topics. The reference to the religious literature is made to point out the contradiction that, although it was in classicising form, it stood out from other writings of that period.

2.1.1. Medieval Greek vernacular texts

The rarity of representative texts in vernacular MGr in general is apparent in the following comments of a number of scholars. Vernacular MGr does not have ample attestation and description, as do Classical and Biblical Greek.

Prose literature in near vernacular is not very rich in MGr, whereas poems in near vernacular are abundant. Browning (1969: 76-79), describes the corpus of Medieval Greek texts as follows:
"Literature in something approaching the vernacular did not begin only after the Latin conquest, nor was it confined to areas under Latin rule. In the middle of the twelfth century Theodore Prodromos and Michael Glykas wrote poems in the spoken tongue as well as works in the purist literary tongue. And at least one of the semi-vernacular poems of chivalry, the tale of Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe, was probably written by a prince of the imperial family in the fourteenth century... The epic poems of Digenis Akritas, which belongs to the tenth or eleventh century, is, in its surviving versions at any rate a literary tongue. One of the versions, that of the Escorial manuscript, shows many traits of the spoken tongue, however, and some scholars have thought that the poem was originally composed in the spoken language and later improved"...

Prose literature in near vernacular Greek is much less rich. The Chronicle of Dukas, a few brief chronicles, the Cypriot Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas, the Assizes of Cyprus, itself a translation, and a number of unassuming paraphrases of works composed in the literary language, virtually exhaust the list.

From the same author (Browning 1978: 127) we read the following:

"In one area alone do we have evidence of the literary use of the spoken tongue with little admixture. Leontios Makhairas, an official at the court of the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, wrote in the first half of the fifteenth century a chronicle of his own times, The Tale of the Sweet Land of Cyprus, in a Greek which shows very many morphological features of the later Cypriot dialect and which is full of French loanwords. Its simple, precise, paratactic style owes nothing to classical models. It is probably a faithful reflection of the Greek spoken by the upper classes of the island. But Cyprus was very much a special case".

On Medieval Greek, Joseph (1978: 4-5), says:
“Although the number of texts from the medieval period is staggering, not very many can be considered to be representative of vernacular Greek of the period on which they were written. The crucial question, then, concerns the reliability of the textual evidence as an indication of the possible forms and sentences of the spoken language”.

Joseph explains that the Atticising drive resulted in the writing of many Medieval texts in the learned style which were virtually indistinguishable linguistically from the Greek of over 1000 years before that time. It seems, however, that the late medieval period offers a much wider range of texts written in an approximation of the spoken language, although even these texts show signs of influence from the learned language. Even though no text reflects all the possible elements of the spoken language (Common Greek), there is still a fairly good collection of vernacular texts. The next quote is also from Joseph (1978).

“With regard to medieval Greek, though, the same wealth of texts and descriptive materials is not available to the researcher. There are no good descriptive grammars of Medieval Greek compiled according to the modern descriptive principles, although a few good works do exist on specific questions of Medieval Greek grammar...Therefore, in order to make claims regarding Medieval Greek syntax with any degree of authority, it was necessary...to read through the corpus of relevant Medieval texts”.

Moreover, observations on the MGr works include the following interesting comments by Eideneier and Henrich:

‘Όταν μιλάμε για ”προφορική παράδοση” δεν εννοούμε και ”προφορική σύνθεση”. Οι θεωρίες των Parry και Lord που ενθουσίασαν ακόμα και έναν Τριπάνη δεν ισχύουν για τα κείμενα της βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής δημόδους γραμματείας, αυτά τουλάχιστον που έχουμε“, ‘When we speak of written tradition (texts) we do not also mean oral tradition (works, creation). Parry’ and Lord’s theories which amazed even Tripanis do not apply for the

"Η Κοινή αυτή των ποιητών ή η Κοινή των αφηγητών έχει μια ποιητική ή ρυθμική σύνταξη και δεν είναι ταυτόσημη με "Umgangssprache" του καθημερινού, δηλαδή προφορικό λόγο. ‘This Koine of the poets or the Koine of the narrators has a poetic or rhythmic structure and is not the same with the “Umgangssprache” - with the everyday spoken language, that is’. (2001: 47).

Henrich’s comments are also important: (Henrich 2001: 59) “Ακόμα και έργα με τόσο έντονα ιδιωματική χρονιά όπως το Χροικό του Μαχαιρά ή ο Ερωτόκριτος δεν παρέχουν φυσικά όλα τα διαλεκτικά φαινόμενα της Κύπρου ή της Ανατολικής Κρήτης”.

‘Even works with a very intense particular colour such as the Chronicle by Makhairas or Erotokritos do not exhibit (provide) all the dialectal phenomena (traits) of Cyprus or those of the Eastern part of Crete’.

In contrast to Greek, where the cultural influence of Classical and Post-Classical Greek is one of the greatest problems in the nature of the texts, Cypriot is less influenced by the learned style. This is understandable, as in old Cypriot written works almost do not exist. Cypriot has always been a tongue of primarily oral communication. That is why the rare written forms of Cypriot, especially of the period under study, are mostly based on the spoken tongue.

The Cypriot Medieval texts have been described by scholars as near vernacular forms (Browning 1969 (1st ed) 1969 (2nd ed) and (1978) of Medieval Greek and as a closer approximation of the spoken language of the relevant historical era.

2.2. Medieval Cypriot texts: “Very much a special case”

It would be misleading to draw a parallel between the linguistic situation in the Byzantine world and that created in Frankish Cyprus. Cyprus was very much a special case, observes Browning:
“It had been removed from Byzantine political control since the twelfth century. Its schools did not transmit the classical linguistic and literary tradition, for which there was no need in a community whose upper class was largely bilingual and whose administrative structure was modelled on that of western feudalism”. (Browning 1978: 127)

Although the Chronicle of Makhairas can be classified as one of the many works written during the Late Byzantine Period, its creator used a language that did not imitate ancient or classical Greek, as did many of the writers of that period. Makhairas had in mind the register of the Cypriot vernacular and expressed it through his own style. The fact that Makhairas wrote his Chronicle in vernacular prose is probably not unconnected with the influence of the Old French chronicles. “He was somewhat younger than Froissart, somewhat older than Commynes. That he was not a mere sport is shown by the fact that he found a follower and imitator early in the sixteenth century, Georgios Boustronios”, says Browning (1978: 127).

The Chronicle by Makhairas is only one of the sources we have on Medieval Cypriot. There are four main sources which provide material for the study of Medieval Cypriot Greek. They are presented here chronologically.

2.2.1. The Assizes

The earliest and very important MC work is the Ασίζες, Assizes, the Frankish code of laws of the 13th century AD; the MS. bears the title: “Ασίζες του Βασιλείου των Ιεροσολύμων και της Κύπρου”, ‘The Assizes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus’ . This was originally written in French, called in MC Φρανζόζηκα Franzozika and the MC version is a translation. The Assizes “have been translated by official men into Cypriot”, ἐμεταβάλτην εἰς Ρωμαϊκὰ ἐν εποίημιν ανδρῶν “(Yiangoullis 1993: 7).

According to Hadjioannou (1991) the contemporary Cypriot dialect had already changed by the 13th century, as is already exhibited in the Assizes. The translation into Cypriot must have been completed around 1250 AD,
Constantinos Sathas, who first published an edited version of Makhairas’ Chronicle in 1873, in his 1877 edition (Sathas 1877: 3) also refers to two manuscripts of the work preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris; the older manuscript bears the number 465 (codex A) and the newer is found under the number 1390 (codex B).

Codex A of the Assizes, through which the texts of the laws have been maintained, is believed to have been copied in 1512 and codex B in 1469. It is not known to what extent there have been changes to both these works. The language of the Assizes is not believed to be a fully developed form of Medieval Cypriot, which was at that time in the process of its formation (en tê γινόμενη τῆς) that is, in its formative stage and not in the process of its creation “όχι όμως εν τῇ γενέσει τῆς” (Yiangoullis 1993: 8). The Cypriot language exhibited in the Assizes existed before the writing of these laws, Yiangoullis observes, however this formation seems completed in the work.

In the very first paragraph of codex A the reader is informed on the meaning and the translation:

’Ωδε λαλεί και ερμηνεύει τον πίνακα του παρόντος βιβλίου τῆς κρίσεως τῆς αυτῆς τοῦ βισκοντάτου: ο ενδοξότατος αυθέντης καὶ οδηγός τοῦ Ῥιγάτου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, οιόματι Οφρίου δὲ Πουλιοῦν εποίκεν να το γράφον τοῖς πρὸς τῆν διάλεξάν του Φραντζόζηκα εἰς το αὐτὸ Ῥιγάτου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, το ποῖον εμεταβάλλην εἰς ρωμαϊκά εν επισήμων ανδρῶν.

‘Here (it) says and interprets the list (table of the codes of laws) of the present book (out) of the judgment of the Basse Court; the very brave lord and leader of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, namely Godefroy de Bouillon, gave orders to write it in his own dialect, Frantsien, in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which (book) has been put back (translated) into Romaika (Byzantine Greek) by official men’.
(Basse Court is found with this spelling for ‘la Court des bourgeois’ in Yiangoullis (1993: 8).

Through the study of the Assizes, the spoken language of the Cypriots of the middle Ages can be examined. It is the only existing work reflecting the spoken language of the Cypriot natives, in the Cypriot vernacular of the 13th century. In addition, the language of the laws offers a primary source for a comparative analysis of Cypriot with any of its subsequent forms.

Out of the two codices, only Codex A was translated into Cypriot, as it contained the legislation concerning good conduct and fair transactions among the αστοι, the Greek Cypriots. It was imperative for the Cypriots to understand and apply the imposed laws of the feudal system. The translation must have been made, according to Yiangoullis (1993: 8), by either a Hellenised Frenchman or by a French-speaking Greek; the former hypothesis is rather dubious, as it is almost impossible for a Hellenised Frenchman to know Greek so well, as to use so many archaising words as those found in the Assizes (Yiangoullis 1993: 8).

The texts of the Upper Court ‘Ἀνω Βουλή’ required no translation; they referred exclusively to issues of succession in the throne of the French Kings in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus.

The language of the Assizes is not representative of the MC vernacular, Yiangoullis (1993: 7) suggests; he also observes that it is full of lengthy legal terms in French which could not be translated into Cypriot. Cypriot adopted a large number of them and hellenised these terms with Greek affixes. As far as syntax is concerned, the frequently used imperative mood characterises the structure through prohibitions and restrictions imposed by the feudal laws, and makes it difficult to analyse it from a structural perspective. According to Reed (1995: 86), (cited in Porter, 1995), “the imperative mood regularly also plays a thematic role, probably because of its forceful pragmatic function.” The Assizes have thus not been used for this analysis.
I shall briefly present a number of Hellenised terms from Yiangooullis (1993).

The Hellenised French legal (and other) terms used in the Assizes, the Code of Laws of the 13th century Cyprus, show the following linguistic features:

- κορδιάζω- from French accorder, ‘to agree’ (p. 50)
- τζουίζα- from Provencal ‘jus’, case’ (p. 73-74)
- δυσνιασμένος (or ἀρεστιασμένος) from the French designer ‘to arrest’, ‘arrested’ (p. 29)
- δαμού French dame ‘lady’ (p. 38)
- κομμεντούρης- from French commandeur ‘commander’ (p. 50)
- κούσουλος- from Latin consul ‘consul’ (p. 51)
- κίτες- a Provencal word quite ‘acquitted’ (p. 49)
- τουέρν from French douaire ‘dowry’ (p. 74)
- εξώμπλω- from Latin exemplum ‘example’ (p. 43)
- ενταλιαστής -Provencal entalhar ‘counterfeit’ (p. 42)
- ορδιαίζω- from Latin ordo ‘to classify, to settle (an account)’ (p. 60)
- παρατουρία- from French baraterie ‘fraud, cheat’ (p. 61)
- ἀλπτρος- French arbitre ‘arbiter’ (p. 29)
- αβανταλιέρης- from avant-parlier ‘defender, advocate’ (p. 27)
- αβαβοε- from French avant-voeu ‘promise, wish, pledge’ (p. 27)
- αβοκάτος- From French avocat ‘lawyer, advocate’ (p. 27)

It has also been suggested that the texts might have functioned for a long period of time as a ‘spoken’ code of laws. This is well witnessed and supported with the frequent use of the verbs ακούω ‘to hear’, used mainly in the imperative and λέγω ‘to say’ in imperative clauses such as ‘let us say’ (Yiangoullis 1993: 9).

"Ωδε να ακούσης διά εκείνου ὃποι εμάχεσεν το ἀλογόν του εἰς αμάχων" A5421)

here να-imp hear-2nd.sg. for that-gen which-gen pawn-3rd.sg.aor the horse his to pawn-acc

“Listen here for that (person) who pawned his horse for a pawn”
"Αυτού να ακούσετε το δίκαιον των χαρτομάτων" (A368)
there hear-2nd.sg.imp the right the engagements-gen, pl
“Listen there for the rights of engagements (papers for the dowry).”

"Ωδε να πούμεν το δίκαιον εκείνου οπού δανείζειτο κτηνόν του ετέρου ανθρώπου".
here να -imp say the right that-gen who-gen lends the beast his other-gen.sg man-gen.sg
“Let us here discuss the right(s) of whoever lends his animal to another person”

With ακούω we already notice the forms with the imperative marker να (να ακούσετε, να ακούσης), as well as in simple verbal structures as in the aorist ηκούσαμεν, ηκούσατε. and future marker θέλω used with infinitives in future tense constructions, θέλετε ακούσει,
In these few examples alone, a series of late MC and contemporary Cypriot features are already in use: imperative marker να, future form θέλετε + infinitive (where the infinitive appears without its archaic -ειν form, θέλετε ακούσει, levelled relative pronoun απού is present, verb ἐν ‘to be’ is in use.
Some other interesting features include να ‘to’ used instead of με ‘with’.

"Καί απαύντα αρχεύομεν να τας κρίσας καὶ προτήτερα να πούμεν περί του ῥηγός" (A 250)
And form here to start-pres.1st.sg with the judgments and earlier to say about the king
“And from this point on we will start imposing laws, but first let us talk about the laws concerning the King (the King’s conduct)”

Since να tends to have the object clitic before the verb (chapter 4) the above example with τας can be translated into ‘and from here we start to impose the laws and firstly let us talk about (the laws concerning) the king’ as well as ‘and from here we start with the (some) judgments, and firstly let us talk about (the laws concerning) the King’.
The clitic *το* is shown to follow the verb (ομολογεί *το*) in declarative clauses as early as the 13th century whereas *το* relative pronoun precedes it, as in the following (το εικόθην):

"Αυτού να ακούσης περί του εικυτή οπού αρνάται το εικύθην, και μετά ταύτα ομολογεί το" (A309)

Here listen-imper.2nd.sg about the guarantor-gen who denies that which he has guaranteed and after these admits it

"Listen here about the guarantor who denies what he has guaranteed and admits it afterwards"

Andriotis (cited in Yiangoullis 1993: 8) argues that:

"Στις Ασσίζες της Κύπρου παρουσιάζονται όλα σχεδόν τα χαρακτηριστικά γνωρίσματα των σημερινών ιδιωμάτων της Κύπρου", 'In the Assizes of Cyprus almost all the characteristic features of the contemporary Cypriot idioms are present'.

Other scholars advocate the same opinion. Browning (1978: 127) states:

“The Assizes of Cyprus embodied feudal law in what was virtually Cypriot vernacular.”

Studies and comments on the language relate mostly to its lexicon. The picture presented to us by scholars is primarily that of loan words. No extensive reference has been made to the influence of French syntax into Cypriot syntax of the translation. The laws were written for common use.

The Greek language of the texts,

“exhibits the landmark of the beginning of the medieval dialect of Cyprus...since the translators made their translation not in the scholastic language but in the current spoken language of that time so that the common people could be able to understand the meaning of the laws by means of which they would be governed...” (Hadjioannou 1988: 199).
In fact, Cypriot, a language in its state of flux, μόλις τότε ἀρχισε να διαμορφώνεται ‘began to be formed only then’ (Yiangoullis 1993: 21) can be already recognised when reading the Assizes. The creation of new words is noticeable in the texts; the examples are the word "gift", occurring in the subsequent forms:

το δόμα, το δόσμαν, η δόσις, η δόσι, η δωρεά, η δωρά, το δώρημαν

(Yadjoiannou, 1991)

Yiangoullis furthermore notices (1993: 21), that on the one hand, due to a very strong spoken tradition and on the other, due to a poor written legacy, many words remind us of both the learned style as well as of the language of the people, the λαός, there is no consistency of writing. The following examples are not exhaustive, they exhibit however a considerable degree of difference in the formation and spelling of (many) words:

The word αβανπαλιέρης, in French avant-parlier, ‘defender, advocate’ for example is found in the subsequent forms in the Assizes:

ο αβανπαλιέρης (A3424), αβανπαρλιέρης (A9913),
αφαμπαρλιέρην (A9910), αφαμπαρλέρη Α9921), αφανπαλιέρης (A59), φαρπαλιέρος (A3413).

There are MC forms and patterns different from MGr related to concord, case, declensions, accentuation etc. The dative is sometimes in use when prepositions εν and συν are present. The genitive plural has already been replaced (partly) by the accusative. It is also interesting to note that in the early stages of MC, that is, from the 12th century (early MC), geminates were not so frequent; they do appear in some instances which are however not very consistent (Yiangoullis 1993: 19).

2.2.2. The Chronicle by Makhairas

The second MC source available is the text of the Χροικών called here the Chronicle. It is the largest bulk of information in the
Cypriot vernacular and has been written by the Cypriot chronicler Leontios Makhairas who lived between 1360 and 1450 in Cyprus (Pavlides, 1982: a).

The earliest surviving MS., which belongs to the sixteenth century, bears the title: Εξήγησις τῆς γλυκείας χώρας Κύπρου, η ποια λέγεται Κρόνικα τοιούτου χρονικόν. The best edition of this is that translated and edited by Dawkins (1932). The Chronicle is the main source for this study.

Makhairas spoke both French and Cypriot. His native language was Cypriot. He was the son of Stavrinos Makhairas, a priest who lived in Lefkosia and who was a strong Cypriot figure exerting some influence on the Franks; as shown in the texts, he was also a leading figure among the Cypriots of his time. Stavrinos was the father of three other sons: Nicholas, the older brother, Νικόλ Μαχαιράς (631) fought against the Genoese in Kyrenia, in 1373. Παύλος Μαχαιράς (110) was in the service of two French noblemen who also worked in the Court of King Pierre de Lusignan. Peter Makhairas Πέτρος Μαχαιράς - his name is found in the accusative case as Πέτρος Μαχαιράς (630-631) was a βασιλικός ρηγός, a kind of an attaché to the King. There must have also been girls born to this family. Both Nicholas and Leontios worked as secretaries of the French feudal nobleman Ιωάννης το Νόρεζ, Jean de Nores.

The author of the Chronicle spoke Ρωμαίκα (Romaic, Byzantine Greek) according to own affirmation in (158) of his chronicle. The Assizes, the written code of Frankish Laws discussed in 2.2.1. were also translated into Ρωμαίκα. It would not be wrong to name the language Cypriot Romaic, since it differs substantially in regard to its lexicon from the normal Romaic.

The Chronicle is a narrative of historical events taking place both in and outside the island. It is a sequence of happenings during the reign of the Frankish kings in Cyprus. It begins with an introduction going back to St Constantine; the very beginning of the recital is dedicated to the ecclesiastical history of the island. It describes the reigns of five kings of the Lusignan dynasty in Cyprus namely Peter I, Peter II, James I and his son Janus, as well
as king John II, covering the period from 1359 to 1458. Makhairas concludes his narrative with a few notes on King John and his death and the death of his wife Eleni Paleologou in 1458.

In two of the existing manuscripts, which are later copies of the missing original, the name of the writer is not given. Only in the Venice manuscript the chronicler presents himself in the nominative case:

...Καὶ διὸ τὸ ἀδέλφῳ μου ο Σιρ Νικόλ Μαχαίρας ο μεγαλήτερος καὶ εγὼ ο Λεόντιος ἠμεστεν γραμματικοί τοῦ αὐτοῦ σιρ Τζάιν τε Νόρες...

...And because my elder brother, Sir Nichol Makhairas and I Leontios were secretaries of (this) Sir(e) Jean de Nores... {631}

Again, we find another statement by Makhairas from which we understand the authorship of the chronicle in {679}.

Two other Makhairases are cited in the Chronicle, Kosmas Makhairas and his Muslim servant Baksis, who was later baptised as Christian and adopted the name Antonios (in Pavlides 1995: γ’). However, it is not specified whether these were from the same Makhairas family.

The whole work comprises a very long narrative text; it was divided into six different sections or books (βιβλία) and 713 paragraphs. The classification of the texts in paragraphs and books used here follows that of Dawkins (1932).

2.2.2.1. The three manuscripts

The Chronicle is preserved in two manuscripts one of which is complete and the other with serious lacunae (Dawkins, 1932: B). The MSS. are in Venice and in Oxford. In Pavlides’ newer editions (1982: δ), (1995: στ) a third MS. of the Chronicle is mentioned, that found in Ravenna, much later than the previous two MSS. The Ravenna MS. is very similar to the Oxford MS. Dawkins was not aware of the Ravenna MS.

The most complete MS., according to Dawkins, is that of Venice (V). It is in the Libreria Nazionale Marciana (Class. VII, cod. xvi, Shelfmark Gr.vii, 16). The V. MS has 375 pages, and according to Sathas (in Pierides 1993) it has been written “ολίγον μετά τὴν ὑπὸ Τούρκους ἄλωσιν τὴς νῆσου”, ‘a short time
after the capture of the island by the Turks’ (1570, in Pierides 1993); Dawkins notes that it belongs to the 16th century. The Oxford manuscript (O) is in the Bodleian Library (Department of Western MSS, Shelfmark MS, Selden Supra 14). However, while Dawkins observes that the complete MS. is that in Venice, Pavlides describes the O. MS. as the more complete of the three, ‘To κείμενο της Οξφόρδης, που είναι το πιο πλήρες από τα τρία, ‘The text of Oxford which is the more complete of the three’ (Pavlides 1982: 5).

The Venice MS. contains, apart from Makhairas’ work, the text of Boustronios, a Cypriot chronicler who is the continuer of Makhairas’ work. Both the V Makhairas and Boustronios chronicles, written in the same hand, bear the title Cronaca.

After copying both chronicles, the copyist of the Venice MS. (the Cronaca) presented them in one volume and separated them with two blank pages. The work was written on paper of the 16th century, on leaves 21.4 x 15.6 cm. The text of the V MS. is so different from that of O. MS. (Dawkins 1932: 3) that they are regarded as two recensions; Dawkins suggests that it is only the V. version that should be attributed to Leontios Makhairas. There is a small admixture of common Greek in the Venice MS. but also some influence of the literary style.

The most complete version of the Oxford MS. was copied in 1555, in Paphos (Cyprus), as seen in the colophon (f. 33r ). The colophon runs:

Εγράφη ἐν τῇ πόλει Κτίμα, ἐν τῷ ἐννορίαν τῆς Πάφου, εὐχονίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 1555, μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ τῇ 13ῃ ἡμέρᾳ Πέμπτην.

It was written in the town Ktima, parish-acc Paphos-gen the-year-gen the Lord-gen our-gen Jesus-gen Christ-gen 1555, the-month-dat June-dat, the 13nth day-acc Thursday-acc’.

“It was written in Ktima, a Paphos parish, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1555, on Thursday the 13th of June”

(Dawkins, 1932: B), (Pavlides, 1995: 55)
A few paragraphs are missing in the Oxford MS. which are found in the Venice and conversely; there are places in which one MS. gives a very much fuller text than the other (Dawkins 1932).

In the O. manuscript, the copyist does not mention the name of the writer. The Oxford version covers 331 pages (Pavlides, 1995: στ). Due to damage to the MS., everything up to {19} has been lost and there is also a large lacuna from the middle of {274} to near the end of {366}.

There are four blank pages in the beginning and three at the end of the work. It is copied on leaves measuring 20.3 X 15.2 cm. The text is written in one column in 21 lines on every page, sometimes in twenty-two lines. Every paragraph of the text starts with a capital letter which is located outside the text (see below for paragraph numbering).

The O. MS. is less full than the V. MS. and there are between them many differences in the wording and arrangement of the sentences. However, contradictions and inconsistencies between the two versions are rare. In the O MS. the language is slightly more colloquial and has more Frankish words. Where there is a pair of synonyms, the V. MS. favours Greek and the O. MS. the Frankish word. In the O. MS. there is less of the learned and less of the common Greek element.

The Ravenna MS. has 184 pages written in recto-verso (Pierides 1993) and could be chronologically placed towards the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century.

None of the manuscripts presents in any form a classification of the Chronicle into books; in numbering the Chronicle into ‘books’ Pavlides has followed the Dawkins method, that had been used to compare the texts of both the V and O MSS. Dawkins also numbered the paragraphs of the MS.

Another version for the same text is the Italian chronicle of Diomede Strombaldi (also found as Strambaldi in Chevalier 1998 and Pierides 1993),
also of the sixteenth century. As Dawkins comments, it has long been recognised as a translation of the Greek chronicle.

2.2.2.2. Editions of the MSS.

The Chronicle was initially published in Greek by Constantinos Sathas (1873). Sathas' is the first and last edition in Greek, before that of Pavlides in 1982. The work was republished in Paris (1882) in its first translation into French, by Sathas and Miller and again in 1932 by Dawkins. Apart from these editions Makhairas' work was published in Venice, by Diomede Strombaldi who translated the text into Italian; Strombaldi's translation was edited by René de Mas Latrie. It is a translation of the O. recension which it follows to the extent of reproducing some of its corruptions. Dawkins notes that Strombaldi must have had a better MS. of the O. recension than the one now at Oxford. He also observes that there is no sign that Strombaldi had any knowledge of the V. MS. Nonetheless, the better version remains the Oxford MS., a unique and careful approach to the texts.

Sathas (1873) edition is titled:
1. Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη επιστασία Κ.Ν. Σάθα. Τόμος Β. Χρονογράφων Βασιλείου Κύπρου. Εν Βενετία, 1873. This volume includes six documents of which the fourth is the Chronicle of Makhairas' and the fifth is that of Boustronios (Βουστρώνιος). The text is that of the Venice MS.

Miller and Sathas edition in French (1882) is titled
2. Λεοντίου Μαχαίρα, Χρονικάν Κύπρου. Léonce Makhairas, Chroniques de Chypre.

Dawkins' edition in English (1932)
3. Leontios Makhairas, Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle".

Dawkins' edition of the Chronicle (1932) offers a detailed investigation of both the V. and the O. recensions, which he believes were both composed in
Cyprus (Dawkins 1932: 5). The Dawkins approach is the most complete and accurate work on this medieval narrative (Pavlides 1982, 1995). Dawkins’ edition mainly rests on the V MS.

In Pavlides’ edition, both the manuscripts of O. and V. have been used. The work edited by Pavlides (1982) has provided the basic material for my research. The editor has included texts from both the O. and the V. MSS., and as he notes, he has allowed for a number of liberties in his translation into Standard Greek.

These liberties are in a way constructive when back-translating the texts. The back-translation of the texts signals the areas where changes have been performed by the translator. The editor’s intuitions for the Cypriot spoken today in turn show many changes, and areas of interference either from the common Greek or from the dialect itself.

Both the newer publications of the Chronicle and the translation of its texts by Pavlides (1982, 1995) are based on Sathas’ previous work, published in 1873.

Pavlides’ translation into Standard Greek is rather a communicative translation; his attempt aims to render the exact contextual meaning of the original in a way that both the content and the language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership. His version is an adaptation of the texts to the needs of the contemporary reader. It is set at the reader’s level of language. It is however not a translation approached diachronically.

A more diachronic approach to this translation could better reveal some changes in process. The interpretation of some words, for instance, follows today’s meaning. To give a simple example, in {425}, the word ‘bon’, used in the vocative, interpreted in Greek as καλέ, seems to have already grammaticalised into a filler, meaning ‘well, in that case’, in Old French. However, it was translated as ‘Sir’ by Pavlides in example {425} and in {470}
it has been translated as Greek expression καλέ, similar to English interjection ‘hoy’, instead of filler ‘well’:

{470}

Καλέ δότε το κάστρον του αυθέντη του

good (man) give the castle to master his

“Well, give the castle to his master”

{425}

Καλέ, παρά να με θανατώσεις απέ την πείναν άριστε ίντα να γενή

Good (man) instead me put to deat h from the hunger order what to be

“Well, instead of letting me die from hunger, tell me what to do”

The attempt by Pavlides to update the original MS. is a serious problem for a syntactic analysis. Added punctuation in the existing texts and the changes to spelling are unhelpful for this analysis. “Il n’y a ni majuscule ni ponctuation dans le texte de Machairas”, ‘There are neither capital letters nor punctuation in Makhairas’ texts’, says Chevalier (1998: 223).

The translation of the Chronicle by Pavlides was based on his actual word order intuitions. The word order of the original texts, in some cases, has not been followed. I will take an example from {406}:

{406} Ταχιά πρωίν     ο Κοντόσταυλης ἔπεισεν μιαν καλήν και μεγάλην

quick morning the Kontostavlis sent one good and big

συντροφίαν λας των ἀρμάτων εἰς τὴν Κερύνιαν

companion people of the arms in the Kyrenia

“And early that morning the constable sent a good and tremendous armed force to Kyrenia”

This is a SVO clause in the original text. However, due to the intuition of the Cypriot writer to use a V-initial structure (in contemporary Cypriot), the message of emphasis or highlighting through an S-initial structure has somehow been lost in the translation, with that same clause acquiring through translation the following VSO (narrative, unmarked) order (Pavlides 1982: 297):
very morning sent the Kontostavlis in Kyrenia
a good and strong force of soldiers

“And very early in the morning, the constable sent a good and strong arm force to Kyrenia”

This is by no means the only example where the constituents appear to have changed their position in the translation, let alone the displacement of the adverbial and other changes such as rejection of challenging words that needn’t been translated since they exist in the language today, \(\tau\alpha\chi\iota\alpha=\) quickly = very. It is difficult to justify changes that modify the original.

The study on the structure of MC presents difficulties arising from non-availability of the original MS. The problems arising could be grouped as follows:

Liberties in copying the MS.

(i) addition of punctuation for the better reading of the texts
(ii) changes to spelling
(iii) changes to agglutinated elements

Liberties in the Translation of the texts

(iv) punctuation added, for the better reading of the narrative
(v) inconsistency in the use of textual material as far as the translated work is concerned
(vi) word order changes
(vii) changes of spelling

Punctuation presents a major problem when analysing old texts. It is crucial when used to determine syntactic boundaries. A comparison can be made by concentrating on paragraphs {199} and {200} of the manuscript, incorporated
in the book, and to a photograph of the original MS. The two pages are incorporated in the end of Pavlides’ work.

Comparing paragraphs {199} and {200} to the paragraphs of the original MS., we see that non-verbal components have been added to the verbal material. Non-verbal components (not words) may well help the contemporary reader but they are likely to obscure the data which are entirely based on the order of the main constituents in the clause and the different words separating clauses and sentences. These components obstruct the analysis of natural language phenomena in Makhairas’ narrative.

Punctuation is an essential aspect of discourse analysis. It gives a semantic indication of breaks between sentences and clauses which vary from language to language.

Commas are absent from the original. In the MS., words and/or phrases and dates are separated with a μέση τελεία =middle stop, which sometimes is placed at the right top of the word and also appears as a ἀνω τελεία = semi-colon. There is no full-stop placed at the right bottom of the word in the form of a τελεία (telia). Middle stops that separate words or phrases are the only non-verbal components in the Chronicle. The διπλή τελεία και παύλα (; - dipli telia kai pavla)= colon and dash, marks the end of the paragraph. Apart from this, nothing appears in the original.

Agglutination is obviously a developing phenomenon in the MC texts. The extensive number of examples of agglutination are noticeable in the broader database which demonstrate the MC changes. Agglutination is common in the texts. Instances of agglutination preserve both the meaning and the hierarchical properties of the words involved and offer little ground for syntactic change. Instances of agglutination are taken up in most of the subsequent chapters; they are however absent from Pavlides. See also notes.²
In modern written language a grammatical sentence is expected to begin with a capital letter and end with a full stop. In spontaneous speech, sentences are often difficult to delimit and frequently remain unfinished, due to the knowledge of the addressee (here the reader). This is however a written narrative of a spoken tale. Even though commas and full stops within the texts have been added by later editors for the sake of the contemporary readership, they are not in the original MSS. Their addition is an attempt to assist a structural analysis which aims to project the order of the constituents used by the writer for drawing attention on emotive effects and on emphasis. The translators’ additions to the texts have been ignored in this analysis, and the Chronicle has been analysed from the perspective of its own punctuation.

Other areas of orthography also raise problems.

2.2.3. The Chronicle by Boustronios

After the death of Leontios Makhairas, the Chronicle was often used as a landmark by other chroniclers of later periods, among them George Boustronios, who continued the work of Makhairas.

The third source available for the study of MC is therefore the Χροικόν of George Boustronios (the name in Greek is Voustronios), or otherwise called Georges de Boustrone or George Boustron (Βουστρώνιος=Πζώρτζης/Τζωρτζής (Μ)πουστρούς, Πουστρούς ή Γεώργιος Βο(στρογι)νός· Διήγηςις Κροικάς Κύπρου... ή Χροικό) (Kehagioglou 1997: 15’). The author was in the service of of King James II. He lived between 1430 and 1495 (Pavlides 1989: στ). Based on Sathas’ remarks (Biblioteca Medii Aevi B’ 1873 page ρμβ’), Pavlides observes that Boustronios’ family was probably a Hellenised branch, as he calls it, of the old French family of de Boustrone. Dawkins (1964) notes that his writing is much simpler and his interests purely more local than Makhairas’.

George Boustronios was, according to Dawkins, a Hellenised Frenchman who used to call himself Τζορτζής Πουστρούς (Poustrous) or Μπουστρούς (Boustrous). Boustronios lived in the 15th century, between 1430 and 1495. His chronicle covers the period between 1456 to 1501. He narrates
stories and events of his time; he was in the service of King James II and he is recording events he witnessed. He continues the narrative of the earlier work of Makhairas with his Chronicle titled "Διήγησις Κρόνακας Κύπρου αρχεύγωντα από την εχονίαν αυτος Χριστού “, “Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus beginning from the year 1456 anno Domini” called also Cronica; this work has been edited by Sathas (1873). The Chronicle by Boustronios carries his narrative from 1456, two years before the death of King John II, to 1489, the year of the cession of Cyprus to Venice by the last Queen of the Frankish dominion in Cyprus, the Venetian Catherine Cornaro.

The family of De Boustron(e) is a well-known family in Italy’s Renaissance, from the chronicler Florio Boustron lived in the latter part of the sixteenth century and was in the service of the Venetian government. However, according to Kehagioglou (1999: 218, cited in Chatzisavas 1999), who based his suggestions on J. Richard’s and G. Grivaud’s remarks on Boustronios’ family name, this name is owed to a small city in Lebanon called Bo(u)tron known today as Bathroun, inhabited mainly by Christian Arabs (Maronites) who possibly sought refuge in Cyprus after 1289 and who lived initially in Amohostos and later on in Lefkosia. In the 15th century the family had already become a hellenised Cypriot-speaking family.

There are 3 MSS. of Boustronios’ Cronica, codices A, B and M; one is in London and the other two are in the Biblioteca marciana di San Marco in Venice: Codices A and B contain only Boustronios’ work whereas codex M contains also texts by Makhairas (Kehagioglou 1997: 45):

A= codex Londoniensis Arundelianus [graecus] 518, 4ff. 1r-143r.
B= codex Venetus, Marcianus graecus vii.17 (1268), ff.1r-135v
(described by Sathas (1873) and Mioni (1960)
M= codex Venetus, Marcianus graecus vii.167 (1080), ff.287r-377v
(Also described by Sathas (1873), Dawkins (1932) and Mioni (1960).
In terms of language analysis, Kehagioglou has presented the work of Boustronios (1997) in a more analytical way than his predecessors. Some
language parameters discussed by Kehagioglou (1997) are found in the following chapters.

Boustronios takes up the story of Makhairas’ Chronicle and carries it through until the cession of the island to Venice. He uses the local Cypriot Greek and no other form of language. He tells the story from the local point of view with very little idea of the general course of the historical events around him (Dawkins 1964). From his simple style we understand that he did not feel compelled to imitate the language and style of the classical writers. His work can be used as a means of comparison between the earlier MC and later MC. Dawkins, who translated both Makhairas’ and Boustronios’ Chronicles into English, refers to three manuscripts of the latter, all apparently of the sixteenth century. Boustronios’ work is similar in style to that of Makhairas, his predecessor.

2.2.4. Love Poems in the vernacular

The text of the Κυπριακά Ερωτικά Ποήματα The Cypriot Love Poems is the fourth source on medieval Cypriot. The best edition of these poems is that of Themis Shiapkara-Pitsillides entitled “Le Pétrarçhisme en Chypre, Poèmes d’Amour en dialecte Chypriote d’après un manuscrit du xvie siècle,” Athens 1952.

The MS. belongs to the Biblioteca marciana di San Marco; it is anonymous and bears no title. E. Legrand published one third of this work in 1881 and entitled the poems “Poesies érotiques du moyen âge en dialecte de Chypre”. The whole work was published for the first time in 1952, as mentioned above. None of the poems could be called érotiques’, notes Shiapkara-Pitsillides (1976: 19) who is also the editor of the 1952 edition. Of the 156 poems included in the collection, 23 are translations into Greek, or rather into the “Cypriot form of Greek” (Shiapkara-Pitsillides 1976: 19) and have been recognised as the work of Petrarch and that of 8 other Italian poets among the most reknown of that time (Serafino dall’ Aquila, P. Sasso, A. Tibaldeo, P. Bembo, J. Sannazzaro, B. Castiglione, Ariosto, B. Capello).
The MS. (15.5cm x 11.3cm) is numbered as App. Gr IX.32 (=1287) and has the following note: *Carmina lingua graeco-vulgari conscripta* (Shiapkara-Pitsillides 1976: 20). According to Shiapkara-Pitsillides, these poems have been written between 1546-1570. The editor suggests that if the original is dated between 1546 and 1570, and if the poems have been copied before 1582, the date that the collection's owner Natale Conti died, the original and the copy may have been written only a few years apart.

The language of Makhairas, Boustronios as well as the language of the Love Poems, written in the Cypriot vernacular by unknown writers of that period, appears to represent the MC predecessor of Modern Cypriot.

One has to view the language of the Chronicle as a social possession, not a mere individual possession. When Makhairas discusses his views on the language spoken in Cyprus of his own times, he actually admits through the 1st person plural that this language is the language of the society.

Despite areas of editorial changes in the Chronicle created by Pavlides in punctuation and his change of word order to suit the Greek readership, and despite discussions by Dawkins suggesting that some structural rearrangements in the work might have taken place in both main MS. versions, due to the copyist (s), this work intends to serve as an introduction to the word order of MC.

No serious counting could have given reliable data, had historical phenomena in the Chronicle have not been seen closely.

2.3. The Syntax of MC in the Chronicle of Makhairas

With regard to the question of carrying out syntactic work in Cypriot, it is not difficult to guess why Makhairas has been chosen as an attestation of the MC vernacular. Factors such as the period it was written in, the stages of changes it displays, its descriptive style and generally the narrative aspect of the texts lead us to regard it as more typical and revealing. The narrative illustrates all possible characteristics of a vernacular.
With Makhairas, syntactic analysis for meaningful work in historical syntax is appropriate for the following reasons:

(i) all its texts are in the vernacular or near vernacular
(ii) it is prose (narrative)
(iii) it is non-literary
(iv) it is long

As stressed earlier, the language was changing in Makhairas’ times, and as already described by Yiangoulis (1993), Andriotis (1992, cited in Yiangoulis 1993), and Hadjioannou (1991) it already possessed in the fifteenth century several of its most marked characteristics. Dawkins (1932: 31-32) points out that the earlier Assizes and Makhairas as well as the later Boustronios are some of the most important documents for the study of popular Greek of the Frankish period.

Makhairas and whoever was responsible for the O. MS. recension made use of the contemporary dialect of Cyprus. The Chronicle is the earliest attested MC narrative text which is not a translation. Of the four available sources, it is the first originally written by a Cypriot in ordinary prose. It has little admixture of literary elements.

Both Dawkins (1932) and Browning (1978) have described MC as a colloquial which shows archaic interference in some areas, mainly in the vocabulary. This is a hypothesis that cannot be proved, however. Hadjioannou’s suggestions on hypercorrection (1988) should be regarded absolutely exact, although they raise a number of questions (see below). The writer of the Chronicle seeks to narrate in the colloquial style. The work is being addressed to any reader. It combines stylistic variation of both formal and informal situations in the narration. The style is simple and cohesive. As defined by Browning (1978: 127) “its simple, precise, paratactic style owes nothing to classical models. It is a faithful representation of the Greek spoken in the upper classes of the island.”
The admixture of literary Greek is slight and it mainly appears in scriptural quotations. Only a small number of archaic words in the Chronicle remind us of archaic style. These entries have already been pointed out by Dawkins as quotations of Scripture and “are found in & & 1, 70, 189, 270, 402, 412, 473, 482, 560, 591, 593, 669.” One cannot say with certainty whether Makhairas’ style is a retention of some (older) forms or whether these were already absent from the spoken language.

Makhairas’ particular usage displays a singular prose style of this period, through his own style called here the Makhairas style. It is an autonomous prose where a small amount of the formal register of Greek is used.

With the small number of archaic words it is very unlike the learned style found in many other non-Cypriot texts. Makhairas appears to use the language of his times, and with his very words in {158}, (chapter 1) he gives an accurate portrayal of it. It is “barbarous”, as Makhairas confesses. In fact, it is only through a so-called “barbarous” language that the speech of the ‘populace’ can be examined. As Hill (1972: 107) has discussed in the previous pages, no one would take it (the language) for anything but Cypriote”.

However, one finds in Makhairas structural similarities which can be assigned to either a similar (and coincidental) way of narrating a story or a chronicle, or an obvious interference from the style of other chroniclers. For instance, some Makhairas initial paragraph words or phrases and or introductory structures reminds us of Froissart’s work.

In the Rédaction d’ Amiens we find introductions such as “Vous devés savoir que quant li dus de Lancastre se parti de Bordiaux {754} or, “On parlerons ung petit dou duc de Bretaigne (compare with {87} να σας πω δια τον...,. or in {777} En ce temps faisoit li roys de Franche le plus bel et plus grant appareil de naviel” compared to Makhairas’ {110} εκείνον τον καλρόν και or “En ce meyme tamps tenoient les camps en Poito messires Guichard d’ Angle
marescaux d' Acquitaine et Messires James d' Audelce, senescaux de Poito et messires Bauduins de Fraiville, senescaux de Saintonge... or even expressions such as le ditte nommet compared to Makhairas' o ὁ ἀνω ανοματός, also a postposed (and late appearing) relative clause introduced by pronouns in clause initial position in Froissart as in “Que plaisi mout bien as dessus dis seigneurs” (p.8), is a frequently appearing pattern in Makhairas (discussed in chapter 4). The wording in Makhairas is almost identical to some standard ways of presenting events in narrated stories, such as dates at the beginning of sentences, communication with the reader through imperative structures (‘know that’, ‘let us speak of that’ etc), the use of the first singular (or plural) by the author (‘I am going to tell you’, ‘we are going to narrate on’) as is the case with Froissart.

The Chronicle is the largest MC source. Its has 713 paragraphs smaller or larger, compared to the smaller work by Boustronios which has 270 paragraphs. Thus, Makhairas provides a much larger area for syntactic investigation.

A number of words in Makhairas have been discussed by scholars as examples of standardness and hypercorrection.

Hadjioannou (1988) has seen these occurrences as an attempt of the writer to avoid barbarisms in the language. Hadjioannou believes that we have evidence from Μαχαιράς and Βουστρώμος that the pronunciation of [x] before [e] and [i] had then already developed to [j]. (The same pronunciation applies today for the following words discussed by Hadjioannou 1988: 205). The evidence, says Hadjioannou, is given in the words ἵχια (M 82.25), πεντακόχιες (M 76.13) φορηχίες (M 12.29) Μαχαιράς, and in the word παχίας (BS 468.21) of Βουστρώμος. These chroniclers, suggests the above scholar, “in order to avoid the vulgar, in their opinion, pronunciation of ἵσα and πεντακόσιες, φορησίες etc., used to write ἴχια, πεντακόχιες etc., as they used to do with other sound. As regards φορηχίες of Μαχαιράς, we already find in the Ασίζες the forms τῆς φορηχίας τῆς (A 134.16), φορισίας (A 159.19) φορησίες (B 411.2). To avoid the barbarism of παπούτσια Μαχαιράς changed it to παπούγκια (M.84.19) though it is twice
written in the Ασίζες as παπούτζια (A 241.18, B 492.21). But the so-called ‘barbarisms’ do exist in other words also, that do not seem to be indicators of a particular social group that Makhairas wanted to emulate. If the examples of ‘hypercorrection’ as mentioned by Hadjioannou are Makhairas’, then these are better described as register markers and not as linguistic barbarisms.

The question is, why Makhairas would want to behave hypercorrectly. According to Wardhaugh (1986: 139) people who hypercorrect try to overextend a particular usage in trying to emulate others.

Hypercorrection is a lexical phenomenon in Makhairas and does not seem to affect the word order of the constituents. It only indirectly affects the narrative style of the MSS.

In making judgments of acceptability of the style or the structure of any MC text, it is not possible to completely avoid some structural comparison with the Greek of the same period or of older periods. Structures in the Chronicle will be compared to a number of MGr structures, examples of which are included in chapter 4.

Bearing in mind essential periods of the island’s isolation, Hadjioannou (1988: 199) states in his paper on the ‘Medieval dialect of Cyprus’ that:

“...Cyprus lived politically and culturally under the feudal system a life of its own and it developed a dialect different in many aspects from that of the rest of the Greek regions.”

With regard to homogeneity or uniformity of the above four medieval Cypriot texts, Hadjioannou (1988: 203) points out:

“The dialects of Μαχαιράς, Βουστρώνιος and that of the Erotic poems is more stable and more uniform. In these medieval texts we can follow the stages of the development of the dialect from the beginning to the present day.”
Homophonous lexical items, particularly clitics, often produce confusion to non-Cypriot readers. The meaning of such words is understood by the position these acquire in the clause. The examples in the Chronicle involve orthographic accents that may or may not have corresponded to something phonetically realised in speech. The fact that instances of the same sequence of segmental phonemes have different grammatical nature is not an adequate basis to suspect a pronunciation difference.

Understanding of Cypriot stress is sometimes necessary for understanding its word order; on the one hand, the order of a number of homophonous items presupposes stressing, on the other, intonation and pitch support the order of some constituents. (See some examples of contemporary tonal pairs in the notes).³

For instance: ὅτι (- -) conjunct and ὅ τι (´ -´) neuter, relative pronoun (separated in Standard Grammar with a comma or written in two separate words as above) have another counterpart, ὅ, τι adverbial (used in MoC too for ‘just’).

{82} Θωρώντα ο βίγας ὅτι δεν ἴπτεν ἐστράφην
Seeing the king that he did not find (his children) he returned
“When the King saw that (he) didn’t find his children he returned”

Definite article τα, (neuter, nominative and accusative plural), which precedes NPs, and τα clitic (neuter, accusative plural), which follows V(P)s in VOcl. constructions (ἐδωκεν τα, s/he gave them) or in V- IO cl. O cl. constructions (ἐδωκέν του-gen τα-acc) can be easily distinguished from their word order in the clause.⁴

In setting methods for this analysis, MoC tonality has also been considered. Tonal sets or pairs also exist in MoC, in which a range of different words with different meaning are distinguished through both the different tonality and word order. Word order, tonality and homographic pairs or sets are closely
interrelated in such analyses. The reader understands the meaning of each of these words mostly from the way they are ordered.

The following example is taken from {27}, and it relates to article την (fem.acc. sing) in comparison with the (agglutinated) την, derived from the fusion of την (article) and ην (relative pronoun, feminine, accusative singular) την ((the) which, which) to the MC relative pronoun την. This is a phenomenon of broader Medieval Greek.

One may suspect that these words were uttered with a different tone:

Και αναμονήν την (-) αγανάκτησιν την (´) εποίκαν οι Ρωμαίοι τους Τεμπλιώτες.
“And they (always) remembered the rage (indignation) which the Romans (Greeks) created to the Templars.”

The study also charts frequencies of dialectally marked adverbials and conjuncts. Adverbials signalling clause boundaries are being examined next. A principal judgment to classify main versus subordinate clauses, discussed in chapter 4, is the function of adverbials and conjunctions. Many of them signal the beginning of clauses. They can be found at openings of paragraphs; they are also signs of detecting in-clause sentence boundaries.

A number of MC adverbials have an entirely Cypriot ‘colour’. They are not found in Medieval Greek in the same form or composition.

The following list of Cypriot local adverbials is not exhaustive:

{110} καὶ απόβγα ‘and finally’
{109} καὶ μονάντα ‘and at once’
{115} καὶ πυσαρίου ‘and the next day’
{129} παράντα ‘at once’
{140} το να ‘as soon as’
{502} καὶ ότοιμα ‘and readily’
For more on boundary adverbials see the notes. Our knowledge of adverbials is a prerequisite for the better perception of the language and its word order.

The importance of considering coordinators as essential clues for a word order analysis does not solely rely on their usual function. Καί has a wider sphere of usage in MC:

By and large, Καί functions as a coordinating conjunction in compound sentences. The examples are extremely frequent:

ο ρήγας επέρεν όλην την παρουσίαν καί εξέβην γυρέγοντα τα παιδιά του ήτοι να μορίση από το κακόν του.

the king took all his the escort and came out looking for the children his and was to become crazy (by the bad his) (expression) “The King and his escort went searching for his children and he was driving himself crazy (on that matter)”

Initial narrative καί has long been a topic for study, particularly in καί -initial NT clauses.

καί operates as the most common narrative device in the beginning of clauses and paragraphs:

καί όνταν εγροίκησεν ο τούρκοπουλιέρης τα λογία τούτα είχεν ένα φίλον Γενούβισον όπου εμπυτοθύμανεν...

And having heard the forest guard the words these had one friend Genoese who became Moslem

“And when the forest guard heard these words -he had a Genoese friend who became a Moslem-…”

καί is also used as a phrase coordinator:
"and at once he sent (people) and turned away the forest guard and his delegates..."

$kai$ is also used instead of *conjunct* ὁτι ‘that’

And before they ate, they inspected the people and found that 400 were missing.

The use of $kai$ is unique to MC in cases where it follows a non-finite form and precedes a finite of the same or of another verb:

"And since (the King) loved (his wife) so much why did he have two mistresses?"

$kai$ appears in the Chronicle twice in one clause: initial and again before the second clause:

"And he who so intensely gave himself airs, bearing the name of Nicolas Makhairas and he told his companion".
kai is used for emphasis

{685} Na σας πω και από τους λας απού εσκοτώσαν na-imp.mark to you say and of (about) the people who killed-3rd.pl εις τον κάμπον in the plain

“Let me yet tell you about the people they killed in the plain”

Understanding other conjunctions and the ways their multifunctional role played in the structure (for instance ὅτι meaning ‘that’, ‘because’) and or other conjunctions appearing with a bleached meaning is essential. Other issues in MC syntax as reflected in the Chronicle are discussed at length through chapters 3 to 4.

2.4. Sampling

My first intention was to select all clauses where all the three constituents, the Subject the Verb and the Object, would be independently represented from any part of the Chronicle, and count the frequencies of their order.

In modern sociolinguistics, the notion of sampling and representativeness has been broadened by studies suggesting new ideas and discussions on quantitative methods of analyses, such as that of Sankoff (1980c). For instance, Sankoff suggested that the need for good data imposes on the researcher three different kinds of decision to make about sampling procedures. He goes on and suggests (1980c: 52) that large samples tend not to be necessary for linguistic surveys as for other surveys.

“The literature, as well as our own experience, would suggest that even for quite complex communities samples of more than about 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data-handling problems with diminishing analytical returns. It is crucial, however, that the sample be well chosen, and representative of all social subsections about which one wishes to generalise.”
This is apparently because linguistic behaviour is more homogeneous than many other types of behaviour studied by surveys (Milroy 1987: 21). In written, old texts, however, the issue is the quite different one of selecting clauses from a single author. The dilemma of choosing clauses where S (Subject) and O (Object) would be independently represented, would mean restricting my sample.

I decided to rather confine the counting only to the paragraph-initial elements of all the work, that is to base my research on a sample representing all the initial elements of the 713 paragraphs of the Chronicle. Additionally, I sought answers from other than paragraph-initial elements, that is from word order within sentences, supplementing thus and enriching my main findings.

With the research based only on the paragraph-initial elements, all discourse and pragmatic effects in non initial syntax are avoided, and the basic word order can be more easily seen. We thus avoid stylistic “switching” of word order (Dawkins 1932) inside the paragraph, and concentrate on sentences with minimal context.

Within this selection of paragraph-initial elements, we have followed the way the chronicler structured the least discourse-influenced environment, in the way he presented them to us. Hence, paragraph-initial patterns are more representative of basic word order.

2.5 Conclusion

For the sake of this analysis, to be detached from concepts created in more recent times has been judged helpful. One has to combine linguistic knowledge with a good knowledge of history and the life in Cyprus in the 15th century AD. A more general knowledge of Greek literature and more particularly a good understanding of the Cypriot language and the languages it has been influenced by are fundamental prerequisites. Cypriot clause boundary elements are an essential part of the clause and unit structures. The influence of Old French is also fundamental.
In regard to the narrative, suggestions by Anaxagorou (1996) are worth noting. Anaxagorou observes: “With all these qualities of narrative and style, the Chronicle would appear to a modern reader, accustomed to different standards of textuality, as disorderly, disproportionate, descriptively underdeveloped, incoherent and highly repetitive. These disconcerting properties, however, can find more satisfying explanations though appeal to the incontrovertible orality of medieval culture. (1996: 33-34). Anaxagorou continues (p.34) that “the absence of order in the traditional classical sense of the word could quite naturally strike a modern reader, with his refined notion of unity, as producing a disjoined and incoherent discourse.” However, to a word order analyst, nothing seems disjoined or incoherent. On the one hand, and despite the ‘orality of medieval culture’, authors may well hear themselves when writing and may convey this voice in a more oral way. On the other, it is safer to undertake this analysis only on the grounds that the texts provided have been written by Makhairas within his capability as both a writer and a historian-translator, and more importantly as a good bilingual. In fact, it is on these characteristics and on that invaluable tool of ‘incoherence’ that this syntactic analysis is estimated.

To complete the writing of the texts, Makhairas mentions that he based his narrative on some historic documents written in French. A closer look to the areas presenting Gallicisms is extremely important, but beyond the scope of this thesis; some examples are given in the notes to chapter 5. The same seems to have applied in translations from MC into Standard Greek. One should consider therefore (i) that Makhairas may exhibit areas of Old French interference (lexical and or syntactic) that are his and not the copyists’. Similarly, the texts translated into Standard Greek present lexical and or syntactic interference from the literary High language. The methodology has not been based on possible additions to the texts in the MS. and has used translation into Standard Greek only as a means of comparison. The analyst lets the old document speak as presented, without any additions, and has disregarded later corrections by a number of scholars.
Understanding the language as a whole has been a precondition in focus. Hypothesised rearrangements of the patterns in Makhairas, suggested by Dawkins, have therefore not been taken into account in this analysis.
3.0. Introduction

I would like to accomplish three primary objectives in this part of my thesis: (i) outline finiteness in MC and describe the morphosyntactic features of the verb (ii) define non-finiteness and suggest a possible approach to non-finite MC forms exhibited in the texts of the Chronicle and how they have influenced the Cypriot structure and (iii) present examples which offer insights and add to the general discussion of Cypriot diachronic morpho-syntactic traits.

I will mainly (and firstly) discuss the V-onta form (pronounced-onda in Modern Cypriot), which I simply call ‘non-finite medieval form’, while other MC non-finite forms will be looked at as well.

Since my hypothesis is focusing generally on the ‘timeless’ V-onta participle, formed from the levelling of the participles, I will consider a closer (but not exhaustive) look on the Ancient Greek participles. I will also include a quite extensive discussion on these participles, in my attempt to explain the MC structure.

3.1. What is a non-finite verb?

When we speak of the term finite as a grammatical term, we mean the verb forms that are ‘limited, bounded’ with respect to person and number. Huddleston (1984: 81), gives us the example of the verb form takes, which is...
limited to occurrence with a 3rd person singular subject. Speaking of non-finite verbs in the English Grammar we think of non-tensed verbs. Unlike finite verbs, which are marked and show that they are related to a subject in person and number, a non-finite verb form is not marked according to differences in the person or number of the subject and has no tense. With non-finite verbs (in English) we mean the gerund, the participles and the infinitive.

Gerunds are distinguished from participles as having noun-like functions, in contrast to the adjective-like function of the participle. Huddleston (1984: 99) observes that participles are ‘verbal adjectives’, whereas the gerund in some languages -at least- the infinitive, are ‘verbal nouns’. Verbal nouns resemble verbs in that they can have a subject and an object, and in some languages also tenses and voices; they resemble a noun in that they themselves can be the subject or object of another verb. Their use in the various constructions in which they occur will explain themselves. Referring to gerunds and infinitives Nunn (1945: 2) explains that “the first principle to be remembered is that no word should ever be parsed without reference to the function which it performs in the sentence where it occurs”. As the verbal noun or gerund in English ends in -ing, as well as the active participle, one must be careful to distinguish them. If the word is a participle, it can be replaced by a clause beginning with a conjunction or a relative; while a gerund can be replaced by a noun.

In the Greek language, the term non-finite, as defined or described parallel to English, could only represent

the infinitive and

the present participle

Although these forms are not marked for subject or gender and number, they do have aspects (see Mirambel 1978: 117 on απόφης) and bear gender and number in the case of (AG) present, and in all times past participles. The notion of non-finiteness is therefore not a notion of a full correspondence between a grammatical term of one language and the same term of another.
I took English as a starting point because Greek does not include some of the characteristics which, in the case of English, define non-finite verbs. The –ontas present participles used today in SGr, for instance, have no gender, case and number, but are recognised as VPs which have aspect and voice (Mirambel 1978: 126); they are called the active voice present participles. Similarly, the AG infinitives do have voice and tense.

The main use of the participle, according to Rijskbaron (1984: 113), is to express a verbal action accompanying the verbal action of a main verb (it predicates something of that verbal action).
Rijskbaron distinguishes two types of participles:
(a) those participles which function as modifiers of one of the constituents of the main verb, constituents which at the same time, express the subject of the verbal action of the participle. Moreover they agree with these constituents in gender, number and case and they are called ‘connected participles’. Among connected participles the distinction obligatory and optional (non-obligatory) may be made, depending on whether or not they must occur with the main verbal action.
(b) those with no relation to the main verbal action, in which case they have subject-constituent of their own (see participles absolute).

3.1.1. Joseph’s definition of the Greek non-finiteness:

According to Joseph (1978: 188) on SGr gerunds, “the designation finite-verb is not an arbitrary one, for there appear to be at least three generalisations in Standard Modern Greek which must refer to the distinction between finite and non-finite verb forms”. The non-finite forms of Standard Greek, discussed by Joseph, include the gerundive in -οντας or -ώντας, the medio-passive participles in μένος-masc.sg μένη-fem.sg and μένον-neut.sg which are declinable, and the positive imperatives with a singular ending in -ε and a plural in -τε, which also have person and number. The following are Joseph’s examples (1978: 188):

a) graf-ondas writing-pres. part
The question is, are these forms entirely non-finite? Apart from the form γράφωντας, all the other forms do include some of the aspects of finiteness, such as gender, case and number (relevant in Greek in the case of the passive and mediopassive participles), and person (2nd) and number, in the case of the positive imperatives. Modality, person and number do not serve as a clear diagnostic criterion to classify them parallel to the English gerunds. Of these four non-finite verb forms, only the first seem to comply with the English definition of non-finiteness.

3.2. The Ancient Greek participles

The levelling of the participles seems to be a determining factor in the history of the Greek Grammar and more importantly in a number of syntactic issues.

In Ancient Greek, participles are classified as adjectival, predicative and adverbial (ἐπηθικὲς, κατηγορηματικὲς καὶ επηρηματικὲς μετοχές), and it seems that levelling started from the latter. The word ‘adverbial participle’ could be debated here. It is acceptable to say ‘adverbial participle’ in the Greek Grammar, where the participle is declinable. In Triantafillos Delis’ ‘The Syntax of the Ancient Greek Logos’, the word μετοχή (participle) explains how a verbal noun-type can participate in two functions; it can be an adjective and a verb (Delis 1982: 119). As an adjective it has gender, number and case, as a verb it has tense (λῦων, λῦ-όμενος, λῦ-σάμενος, λῦ-θείς) and mood and it relates to S, O and Comp. With its nominal characteristics, it functions as an adjectival participle and/or as an attributive one. (When a participle functions as an attribute it is referred to as attributive.) With its verbal characteristics it functions as an adverbial. Furthermore, as a VP it follows a certain syntactic order (Moschopoulou and Mavroidi nd. 166). Thus, in an NP a participle functions as an adjectival and/or a predicative complement, as a VP it
functions as an adverbial (time, manner, reason, accomplishment, supposition, opposition etc). In the Chronicle, the MC levelled present participle V-onta forms are functioning almost always as VPs, as discussed further below.

Present Participles express facts that appear to be happening whereas Past Participles such as Pluperfect and Past Conditional express those that have happened. Passive participle -μένος, -η, -ο often functions as an adjective, in diachronic Greek. It should be noted that AG participial forms can always be found in standard expressions or quotes from the Bible in the Chronicle as in τὸ θεόν τὸν θέου, literally 'wanting-gen the god-gen, 'with God’s will'.

Agreement which contains person/number features sufficiently rich to permit full recovery of the content of a null subject has been discussed more fully in the previous chapter. The null subject notion (or called minus subject {V-s}) is taken up fully in chapter 4.

It is not difficult to recognise and classify AG participles; they are all declinable. If adjectival, they are all σύναρθρες, meaning that they are preceded by an article (articular). However, they often appear without an article, expressing a meaning similar to that of a relative clause. Participles accompanied by an article are equivalent to a noun. In the texts, a range of examples show a decline of adjectival participles in the period the texts were written. A section of this chapter discusses adjectival participles in Makhairas’ Chronicle.

3.2.1. The adjectival participle

These examples provide only an indication of some AG functions (of some categories) of participles. As adjectives, agreeing in number, gender and case with their nouns, they form a parataxis and can serve as:

(i) subjects

Ω η λέγοντες τού των ἦπαν...
The people who said these (words) were...

(ii) attributes

'γείεις ἔστε οἱ ἀδικοῦντες
You are the people who do injustices

(iii) objects

'Εγώ επαυνό τοὺς τελευτηκότας
I praise the people who have died

(iv) paratheses

'Ημεῖς δὲ οἱ εὗ ὕμιᾶς πολύραυτες ταύτα λέγομεν
And us, the people who did good to you, we say this

(v) explanatory (ἐπεξήγησις)

Τοῦτο ἦμιν λέγω, τὸ τὴν πόλιν μεγάλην πολοῦν
And I tell you this, that is, what will make the town (look) big

(vi) adjectival modifiers (used in the next example predicatevely) precede the verb to be-ἠσαν- (in the aorist 3rd.pl)

Ἔσαν γνώμαι πολλαὶ ἠσαν
The expressed (said) opinions were many

(vii) ετερότερων προσδιορισμοί (different case definitions or otherwise the γενική διαφορική, (partitive) where the modifier is in a different case than the Head)

'γείεις εστὲ οἱ χείραστοι τῶν ἀδικοῦντων
You are the worst (out of those) who are unjust

(viii) adverbial determiners or causative datives

Τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι, πολλὰ κακά τῇ πόλεὶ γεγένηται
Due to injustice the town has suffered plenty (of ill)
3.2.2. The predicative participle

Predicative participles are used only with a number of verbs such as ‘to be’, ‘to happen’, ‘to be wrong’, ‘to appear’. These participles no longer exist in Standard Greek.

Many verbs are construed with a participle as an obligatory constituent (as an argument).

An important semantic characteristic of the verbs of the V-onta form are verbs of perception and that this category consists of verbs like ὄρον ‘to see’, οἶδα ‘to know’. These verbs share the characteristic that the content of the dependent clause is presented as factive: they express a sensory or intellectual perception or an emotional reaction to something which already existed, independently of that perception or reaction. In the dependent clause the language user may therefore use the same moods and tenses that he would use if he were to express the content of that dependent clause in an independent sentence verbs of saying (indirect speech) such as λέγω ‘to say’, ἀγγέλω ‘to report’ ἀποκρίνομαι ‘to reply’, and also μαθήματω ‘to know’.

Dependent clauses occurring with these verbs -indirectly- reproduce a statement, reply etc of the subject of the main verb which is simply reported. In the dependent clause, therefore, those moods and tenses are used, which the subject of the main clause would have used in direct speech.

3.2.3. The participle used as an adverbial

To expand on this category, a further explanation is needed on their development. In the following examples you will find characteristic samples of some kinds of these participles. The S of the participles of the first set of examples coincides with S or O of the verb of the clauses with which they join. Following the Ancient Greek Grammar, these are called joined participles in Greek, the συνημμένη μετοχή, similar to the Latin participium conjunctum.

ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης  οὖς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοῦς οὐ νομίζων

is doing wrong Socrates those the polis believes gods no believing-masc.nom.sg
'Socrates is doing wrong (in the eyes of the law) for not believing in the gods the polis believe in'

See more examples in the notes.¹

According to their context, these participles can be equal to clauses and are of the following types: Participles of reason, purpose, hypothesis, opposition, time.

(i) αἰτιολογική (of cause, reason)

(Where only the οὐ (no, not) negation particle can be used with such participles.)

Here are some examples of adverbial clauses of reason:

'Ἡμεῖς δέ συσταλέντες ὡς θανόντες

We partc- drawn-aor.pass.masc.nom.pl together as dead-part.masc.nom.pl

καθήμεθα συγῇ

sat in silence

“And drawn together we sat in silence as if we were going to die”

(ii) τελική (of purpose, final),

Always used with the μὴ negation particle. Expressed only with the future tense. This is the only participle which cannot accept an absolute genitive. (In an absolute genitive, the S of the participle is independent from the other constituents of the clause, it is nothing but the S of the participle.)

Here is an example of a final participle:

Ταῦτα σκέψασθε ὡς φησίνομεν τὰ δίκαια

You should be thinking of these, in order to vote for the right things

(iii) ὑποθετική (of hypothesis)

It is used with all tenses except with the future and situations of irrealis, however it can be used with conditionals

Οὐκ ἂν ἔλεγες ταῦτα ὁρθῶς σκοπῶν

“You wouldn’t have said this had you thought in the right way”

(iv) εναντιωματική or εισδοτική or παραχωρητική (adversative)

Παρασχόν καλῶς οὐ ξυνέβησαν
"Although it was well provided they didn’t happen"

(v) the χρονική μετοχή, temporal participle

This is found in all the tenses except in the future. These are equal to temporal clauses. MC V-onta participles are adverbial participles, mostly of time and to a lesser degree adverbials of manner. The flexibility of V-onta to acquire a preposed position relates its tendencies to preposed inflected gerunds.

Suggestions by Moschopoulou and Mavroidi (p. 176) on the AG participle of time, include among other the notes included in the notes².

(vi) τροπική (of manner) With the ou negation particle and very rarely with μη.

Expressed in all tenses except in the future. Usually it is expressed in the present.

ἀπηλθον οὐδέν ἀποκρινόμενοι

they left none saying-part. pass.1st.pl.

'They left without a word”

3.2.4. The absolute participle

In addition to the joined, there is the absolute participle, participium absolutum (in Greek the ἀπόλυτη μετοχή), found in the following set of examples: destruct

αἱ μέλισσαι διαφθαρέντος τοῦ βασιλέως διάσκεδάνυνται

the bees destroyed of the king are scattered

“When the king is destroyed, the bees are scattered”

Φιλίππου πότ’ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἡμέρας καθεύδοντος, οἱ στρατιώτες ἀγανακτοῦντες

Philip-gen once in the tent day-gen. sleeping-gen.the soldiers worried

ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἀθροισθέντες ἐνεκάλουν

on the doors gathered were shouting-progress

“The soldiers gathered in worry, when Philip was once sleeping in the tent in daylight”
As stressed earlier, when a participle has a word belonging to the constituents of the clause it complements (assigns or defines), it is called a joined participle. When it appears with a word not belonging to the clause it determines, it is called an absolute participle, usually expressed in the genitive absolute (γενική ἀπόλυτη) but also found in the accusative case, then called an accusative absolute (αιτιατική ἀπόλυτη).

Additional information and discussion on the Greek participles and their case marking is included in the notes. To expand on the case marking ‘economy’, a further explanation is needed on the development of the participles.³ Information on the agreement, especially when this refers to information on the case of the complement and how this is used as a means of disambiguation to be discussed in this section of the chapter.

The genitive absolute is very common in Greek when it is accompanied with a participle, and rarely without. It corresponds to the Latin ‘ablative absolute’. In fact, “there is nothing ‘absolute’ about them either” suggests Zuntz (1995: 144): the participle is simply an attribute of these adverbial genitives (or, in Latin, ablatives), just as a participle used adverbially may, in the nominative, be an attribute of the subject or predicate, and in the accusative, be the attribute of the object etc.

I am giving one example below:

'Aριστείδου ἄρχοντος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶν ἐνίκησαν
Aristides while being a leader the Athenians in Marathon they won
“When Aristides was the leader, the Athenians won in Marathon”

There is a difference in meaning where, in the following example, the genitive ἄρχοντος is an accusative, ἄρχοντα. The following is not a genitive absolute:

'Aριστείδην ἄρχοντα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφυγάδευσαν
Aristides the leader-acc the Athenians helped to escape

“The Athenians helped Aristides the leader to escape”

“The genitive case denotes a sphere or orbit which usually serves as a closer qualification of another substantive, as in ‘father’s house’, ‘the ship’s crew’ “ are examples discussed by Zuntz.

The genitive, similarly, qualifies a verb. To say ‘he was working at the place’ or ‘by night’, Greek uses the genitive αὐτοῦ, or νυκτὸς ὀὐσίας.

The genitive absolute could serve as a strong example of lexicalisation of a participle to an adverb. These adverbal genitives, explained in Zuntz’s approach, have the character of locatives, and they make little difference if an attribute is added to them, be it an adjective (e.g. ‘dark’ with ‘night’) or a participle, e.g. νυκτὸς ὀψιάς ‘it being night’.

The accusative absolute derives from the ἀπρόσωπα ρήματα, the impersonal verbs or from impersonal expressions and this participle is only found in the accusative of the neuter gender singular, and in rare cases in plural. Such very common accusatives are the ἐξόν ‘excluding, unless’, δέον ‘needful, ‘necessary’, πρέπον ‘befitting, appropriate’, δυνατόν ‘possible’ etc. It is noteworthy that the accusative absolute derived from phrases in which the neuter gender participle constituted a parenthesis to the whole clause:

οὐκ ἐσώσαμέν σε, ὀἷον τ’ δὲν
not saved-aor.1st.pl you-acc. which-neut.acc.sg and particle
“Nous did not save you”

Being verbal adjectives, participles are used in all the ways the adjectives are used. They can express:

(i) attributes of the subject of a sentence, both when this subject is specified and when it is merely implied by the verb
(ii) attributes of the object of the sentence
(iii) substantives or pronouns in the genitive
(iv) substantives or pronouns in the dative

Often, with an article placed before it, a participle is used like a substantive. Examples are given below. Additionally, being forms or ‘mood’ of verbs, participles may, like other forms of the same verb, govern an object and may be qualified by articles and adverbs.

Like the other ’moods’(modi)-with the only exception of the indicative-the participle has itself no indication of time, absolute or relative. A relative implication of time results from the aspect conveyed by the various tenses, and in particular from the \( \alpha \nu \tau \iota \varepsilon \varepsilon \alpha \varsigma \) (contrast) between the ‘linear’ connotation of the present and the ‘point-like’ aorist. There is also a nominative and an accusative absolute.

If the main verb is in the past or the future, the meaning of the participle changes accordingly, as to preserve its temporal relationship unchanged. There is additionally another form of participle the \( \omicron \varsigma \) ‘as’, ‘like’ participle.

3.2.5. Forms of AG participles and infinitives

A large number of participles are classified among words with suffix in \(-ont\). This specific category is of our concern because it is related with the V-onta morphology under study\(^4\).

Existential verbs \( \epsilon \iota \mu \iota \), \( \upsilon \pi \alpha \rho \chi \omega \) and \( \gamma \iota \gamma \nu \nu \omicron \mu \alpha \iota \).’to be’, to exist’ and ‘to become’. are followed by an attributive participle; the participle takes the place of an attribute and creates a periphrasis equal to a verb, as seen next:

\[
\alpha \pi \alpha \nu \tau \varepsilon \varsigma \; \epsilon \gamma \nu \omega \kappa \omicron \tau \varepsilon \varsigma \; \upsilon \pi \alpha \rho \chi \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon
\]

all knowing exist

“All of you exist, who have known”
All the forms of the participle of \( \text{εἰμί} \) 'to be' -namely \( \text{ωμ}', \text{'being}'-are identical with the endings of such participles as \( \text{λύων} \) and \( \text{λύω σων} \) (future participle). With the verb \( \text{εἰμί} \) however, the accent is on the stem throughout.

Ancient Greek infinitives may be used substantively by the application of the article to that phrase.\(^{5}\) Thus, there are explanatory infinitives, infinitives appearing with articles, infinitival phrases governed by a preposition, and infinitives appearing with genitive \( \text{τοῦ} \).

The following AG texts have been chosen from Delis and they reflect as clearly as possible the written form of the Ancient Classical Greek. These texts are from original works and they provide reliable linguistic data; they seem to be stylistically unmarked.

\[ \text{Εὐλογὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς θύχετο ἐκεῖνος μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς δούναι ἐλώτες τὴν Τροίαν σωθῆναι, τὴν δὲ θυγατέραν αὐτὸν λύσαι δεξαμένους ἄποινα καὶ τὸν θεόν αὐδαθέμνητας. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰσόντος αὐτοῦ ὅι ἅλλοι ἔσβοσαν καὶ συνήπνουν, ὁ δὲ \text{Αγαμέμνων} ἤγγισαν ἐντελλόμενος νῦν δὲ ἀπείνας καὶ αὕὴς μὴ ἔλθεῖν, μὴ αὐτῷ τὸ τε σκῆπτρον καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ στέμματα οὐκ ἐπαρκέσοι πρὶν δὲ λυθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἐν 'Ἀργεί ἐφε γηράσεων μετά οὐν' ἀπείνας δὲ εκέλευεν καὶ μὴ ἐρεθίζειν, ἵνα σῶς ὁ ἱεραρχὸς ἐλθῇ. 394a Ο δὲ προσβύτης κοκύσσας ἐδεισένει τε καὶ αἰτήσει σιγῆ, \text{αποχωρήσας} δὲ εἰκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πολλὰ τῷ \text{Ἀπολλώνι} θύχετο, τας τε ἐπωνυμίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλῶν καὶ υπομημνήσκων καὶ απαιτῶν, εἰτὶ πώστε ἡ εἰν ναῶν οἰκοδομήσειν ἡ εἰν ἱερῶν θυσίας \text{κεχαριτωμένος} δωρήσατο ὡν δὴ χάριν κατηχέτου τείσαι τοὺς 'Ἀχαῖοὺς τὰ \( \text{ά} \) δάκρυα τοῖς ἑκεῖνου βέλεσιν. \]

Πλάτ.Πολιτείας Γ. 393e and 394a

And (coming) the priest, (when the priest came), he prayed (and wished) that the gods allow (enmpower) the Acheans (taking) to take (capture) Troy, and that they keep well and free his daughter by accepting the money of the
ransom and by showing respect to god. And having said (saying) all this, all the others respected (his words) and agreed (with what he said); Agamemnon, however, got angry ordering (and ordered) him to go away at once and asked him (to) never come back again, in case the sceptre(s) and the symbols of god would no longer protect him. By the time his daughter could be free(d) (he said) he will be an old man in Argos. Thus, he (Agamemnon) ordered him to leave at once, in order to arrive home alive. Hearing all this the old man was afraid and left without saying a word. Leaving the camp, he said many prayers to Apollo calling him with all the names (people call him with) asking god to listen to his prayers, reminding (Apollo) (wondering) if it hasn’t been him who always gave god the satisfaction of gifts and that (satisfaction) of building temples, or if it hasn’t been him who made sacrifices; for all this, he was praying that Greeks (Acheans) pay for his tears, by the arrows of god.

Epeι δ’ Ερατοσθένης εισέρχεται και θεράπαινα επεγείρασά με ευθὺς φράζει ὁτι ευδόν εστὶ... παραλαβὼν ὡς οἱόν τε ἡν πλεῖστος εκ των παρόντων εβαδίζον. Και δάδας λαβόντες εκ του εγχύτατα κατηλείου εισερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. Ὅσαντες δὲ τὴν θύραν τοῦ δωματίου, οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι εἰσίοντες ἐτι εἴδομεν αὐτὸν κατακείμενον παρὰ τῇ γυναικί, οἱ δ’ ὑστερον εν τῇ κλίνῃ γυμνὸν εστηκότα. Εγὼ δ’ ὁ ἀνδρέας, πατάξας καταβάλλω αὐτόν καὶ δῆσας πρῶτον διατὶ υψίζει εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν εἰμὴν εσώρι. Κακεῖνος ἀδικεῖν μεν ωμολογεῖ, ικέτευε δὲ μη ἀποκτείναι αλλ’ ἀργύριον πράξασθαι. Εγὼ δ’ εἶπον, οὐκ εγὼ σε ἀποκτενώ, αλλ’ ὅ της πόλεως νόμος.

Λυσ. ὑπέρ του Ερατοσθ. 23-25

Then Eratosthenes enters in my house and my servant, waking me up, tells me that he is inside (the house)... and taking with me as many friends as I could of the present (existing) friends I was heading back home. And taking torches from the nearest wineshop, we enter(ed) the house. And pushing the door, the first people entering (that entered) the house saw him lying next to my wife and those who entered afterwards they saw him standing naked in front of the bed. After this, I threw him down hitting him, and tying his hands I
was asking why he dishonoured me by trespassing in my house. And he admitted that he dishonoured me, he was however begging me not to kill him but to give me money (for what he did). I am not the one who is killing you but the law of the city (which (law) you breached yourself). (my translation)

3.3. The Old and New Testament Greek Participles

The wide range of use of the Greek participle has been discussed extensively in many Biblical Greek studies. Sailhamer writes, “the use of the participle was a means of obtaining a causal clause without the introduction of a new word, (ότι) which was something that the LXX translator seems to have been reluctant to do” (1991: 47). In the translation of the LXX, participles seem to have been used excessively, due to the lack of equivalency with some Hebrew tenses (Blass 1976: par. 412, 418). The problem caused by this lack of congruity of tenses between the two languages, Hebrew and Greek, is an excellent reason not to use OT Greek for any examples of the participial presence at all.

It is almost impossible to study MC participles and their position within the clause without referring to New Testament Greek. Participle groups can be used substantively (Durie 1989:24) in NT Greek, as in the following examples:

- μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες Mt 5:6 ‘blessed are the ones hungering’
- τὸ ρηθέν Mt 1:22 ‘the thing spoken, the said’
- ὁ σπείρων Mt 13:3 ‘the man sowing, the sower’

In fact, they have almost all the AG uses enumerated above.

Infinitives are also present in NT Greek, often expressing purpose preceded by an article (articular infinitives) in the genitive:

- τοῦ σπείρειν Mt 13:3 ‘for the purpose of sowing, in order to sow’
Mt 3:13 ‘for the purpose of being baptised by him’

3.4. Participles in MC

With a simple reading of Makhairas’ Chronicle one can immediately note the presence of an abounding number of non-finite forms. In the Chronicle, we find infinitive and V-onta non-finite forms, of non-finite verbs.

MC gerunds appear in this corpus with an -onta suffix (pronounced -onda), hence they will be called here the V-onta verb forms.

In the texts of Makhairas, which took a few decades to be completed, one can actually follow the morphological change of the present participle from its previous verbal form to a ‘gerundive’. The term V-onta non-finite form, or V-onta for short, is here preferred to any previous term given to this type of non-finites. The term ‘gerundive’ is a term suggested by Joseph (1978) to describe the Medieval Greek (MGr) V-ontas.

The V-onta form is functioning as a modifier in MC, (causal, temporal etc) and does express a verbal action that accompanies the verbal action of the main verb, without agreeing however with any of the constituents of the main clause. Moreover, the apparent correlation (within the frame of comparison) of a participle to a V-onta lies in that they both follow the same (flexible) word order. V-onta medieval non-finites are a specific type of participle, playing the role of a non-obligatory predicative participle, and functioning as a satellite in clauses which may but not necessarily occur with certain verbs, such as temporal, conditional and final clauses. More on this type of predicative participle functioning as satellite will be dealt with later, in this work. Yet, the notion of time, as conveyed through predicative temporal clauses, discussed below, is important for the understanding of the V-onta. Articular infinitives are also frequent in the Chronicle.
3.4.1. On the V-onta morphology

Take the verb γροικῶ 'I listen', for instance. The root is γροικ- and the affix -ω encodes the 1st person singular of the present tense, indicative, active. With a second example of the same verb, ε-γροικ-ήσασιν, ‘they listened’, we understand that the prefixed augment ε- and the -σ- suffix mark the aorist (past tense) and that the ending -ασιν encodes the 3rd person plural. It is very hard to visualise verbs without their suffixes in Greek. Suffixes are very revealing; person, number, tense, mood, aspect and voice are all encoded in the suffix. In Cypriot, the term affix would be more appropriate when we refer to the aorist, since the relics of the older form of the aὁριστὸς χρόνος (the augments /a/ and /e/ and the suffix -asin in the 3rd plural) are still present in both MC and MoC. With γροικ-ώντα, however, the MC non-finite form of γροικῶ, we have the root of the verb followed by an affix (in this case the suffix -onta), which is not marked for voice, tense, person, gender or number (unmarked present active).

At first, V-onta seems to be an unanalylatable part of a larger unit, which consisted of the root of a verb and which has lost its finite ending. This ending, or at least part of it, has for long served as an inherited function from Ancient Greek.

Here, I introduce the notion of semi-finiteness, a categorisation of the Cypriot verbs which are neither finite nor do they totally conform to the function of non-finiteness. The Cypriot levelled participles provide a clear example of the development from finiteness to non-finiteness. Articular infinitives for instance can’t be regarded as non-finites. They can be characterised as semi-finites.

3.4.2. The schism of the adverbial participles from the other participles

It is unknown how long it was before the morphological break of the participles from their AG participial category. This change replaced the AG adjectival, attributive and or adjectival forms with the invariant MC form. No other evidence for the Cypriot vernacular exists earlier than the MC Makhairas’ texts. The risk of making assumptions on whatever existed in Greek in that particular period is best avoided. The chasm (or at least a part of
it) between Cypriot of Medieval times and that of pre-Medieval periods can only be covered with studies on other Greek dialects that may carry similar or diverging linguistic developments. On the levelling of the Greek participles Mirambel (1961: 51) observes:

"Le grec présente, au cours de son histoire, cette particularité, dans le système de son verbe, réduit notablement, sinon élimine les formes dites 'nominales', qui, dans d'autres langues indo-européennes, non seulement ont conservé leurs emplois, mais souvent même les ont développés", 'In the span of its history, Greek exhibits that particularity of having reduced remarkably if not having eliminated the forms said nominals in its verbal system, which in other indo-european languages not only have they maintained their functions but also they have often developed them'.

The Cypriot texts seem to be the forerunners (προδρομικά) of the participial development (displayed through the existing written works) and appear before any other written form of Greek showing the same (V-onta(s) development. However, we read from Mirambel (1961: 50) that levelled participles have been found in a papyrus, in the beginning of the 2nd century AD where the form €χουσα-acc has replaced the form €χούσης-gen, that the accusative has taken over the genitive (Helbing, in Mirambel 1961: 50)

παρά Ταρμούθεος της Φύμωνος λαχανοτώλης...το παρόν μη €χουσά κύριον.

Again, in another 2nd century papyrus we find (Helbing in Mirambel 1961: 50) €υρώντα instead of the genitive €υρώντος...€μουσα παρά τού Ποστιώμου του €υρώντα... Many more examples are exhibited in Mirambel (1961: 51). Through the Medieval and post-Medieval Greek literature, particularly through the narrative poems of the Cretan poet Vicenzo Cornaro, the existence of V-ontas is seen in other Greek dialects also. The extensive work by Makhairas shows the replacement of the AG participles with the V-onta uninflected form, for those participles denoting adverbials or those which could be replaced by an adverbial clause, whereas adjectival and attributive participles remained with their previous archaic (participial) form.
3.4.3. Fuzziness in edges of non-finiteness

Grammar is not a precise logical or mathematical system, but has much in common with biological systems, in that it involves overlapping criteria, and has fuzzy edges (Leech et al. 1982). Fuzzy edges are easily distinguished in the Chronicle where there exist older and newer forms. Non-levelled participles also occur; sometimes it is not clear whether they are participles or adjectives.

While my data do not contain examples of the entire, long development of finites to non-finites, from a number of examples it is apparent that the use of the -όντα ending started (in some occasions) to appear in the place of a the genitive plural -όντων (by analogy of τον-acc.sing with των-gen.pl.), as seen in one of the provided examples below. Not many of these examples appear, though. The following is an interesting example appearing to show that loss of the inflection preceded loss of the adjectival function of the present active participle.

{18} ο βασιλιάς των βασιλευόντα o γλυκός Ιησούς εφόρησεν στέφανον ακάνθινον
the king of the reigning (kings) (the) sweet Jesus wore a wreath thorny
"the king of the reigning (kings) (the) sweet Jesus wore a thorny wreath"

The -όντα ending of the word ‘reigning’, βασιλευόντα shows concord anomalies and should have been in the genitive plural, as is the article preceding it. Fuzzy edges is a phenomenon to understand as one reflecting informality of speech. Gender and number have been levelled in βασιλευόντα; an eloquent sign of levelling is already taking place. Fuzziness, indicated via concord not always kept in nonliterary Greek, is one main reason triggering changes, both morphological and syntactic. The όντα form appears in Leontios de Naples (VII century) (in Mirambel, 1961: 56) σταυρίον αργυρού όντα-masc (for όν-neut) being from silver (made of silver), το παιδίν ετών υπάρχοντα επτά (for υπάρχου=ων) lit. the child, being seven
years (of age); also found in Malalas (VI - VII centuries) πλήθος οικούντα instead of οικούν ‘the crowd living’.

One additional respect in which the MC gerunds differ from other gerunds is that they reveal neither noun-like functions nor adjective-like functions but rather adverbial-like functions. They remind us of one of the categories of AG participials. Moreover, they can be replaced by a conjunction and a finite verb. Adverbial participles, also called adverbial determiners (επιρρηματικοί προσδιορισμοί) are of our direct concern. They are not adverbial in form or syntax. In fact, in AG morphosyntactically they are fully adjectival; they agree in gender case and number with the noun. They may be adverbial in pragmatics, or better, semantically adverbial. {i.e. θωρώντα (seeing) ‘when s/he saw’, λαλώντα (saying), ‘after having said’, ελθόντα (coming) ‘as soon as they came’.

They also be coordinating conjuncts {i.e. λαλώντα (saying) ‘and they said, and s/he said’} which mark down the semantic representation of subordination. Semantics have their priority here since “the syntactic properties of a lexical item can largely be predicted from its semantic description” (Dixon 1982: 8).

MC gerunds can be replaced by a finite verb and a conjunction. This correspondence can be understood from any Cypriot native speaker’s intuitive awareness and is valuable for the study of non-finiteness exhibited in the texts. The gerunds’ equivalence with a conjunction plus verb, mainly a subordinating conjunct, shows economy of words in the speech; their operation reduces the extensive use of conjunctions while, in the meantime, it displays an interesting loss (via levelling) of a range of morphological characteristics, (such as gender, number, case, voice) of the previously used participials. MC is of course not a conjunction-deficient language; conjunctions exist in the texts as independent parts of the speech. At this point they are only observed in relation to their semantic association with the gerunds.
The following example from the Chronicle will give a general indication of a V-onta medieval non-finites, examples λαλώντα 'saying' (pronounced lalonda), while an attributive participial (ήταν εννοιασμένοι ‘they were worried’) in the passive voice, is also present in the same clause.

{kai ήταν εννοιασμένοι λαλώντα
and were-3rd.pl worried-nom.pl saying}

“And they were worried saying”

The word λαλώντα is a V-onta non-finite verb, functioning in the above example as an επιρρηματική μετοχή (adverbial participle). The VP ήταν εννοιασμένοι also contains a participle.

3.4.4. The (two) different accents on V-onta

I need to analyse further the nt-stem group with more V-onta examples, in the next pages. The accent of the participles, ‘remain as far as possible where it is in the nominative as is the case with all substantives and adjectives’. 6

3.5. Participles in later forms of Greek

Despite distance between times of writing of the first two texts (3.2.5.) participles and infinitives are still present in the following third text by Sfrantzis, written after the fall of Constantinople, which demonstrates almost every participial archaic form of the language maintained for over a span of two millennia; the written language, as it survived until the fall of the Byzantine period (1453), exhibits no different morphology than the AG morphology of the early participial and infinitival forms.
σιλέως ευρόντες, ο εγνώρισαν εκ των βασιλικών περικημιδών ή πεδίλων, ένθα χρυσοί αετοί ήσαν γεγραμμένοι, ως έθος υπήρχε τοίς βασιλεύσι, και μαθὼν ο αμηράς περιχαρῆς και ευφραμώμενος υπήρχε· και προστάξει αυτού οι ευρε-θέντες Χριστιανοί έβαψαν το βασιλικόν πτώμα μετά βασιλικής τιμής.

Γ. Σφραντζή, Χρονικόν Γ, 64

“And when the town (Constantinople) was captured, Mohamed the Conqueror had nothing else in mind when stepping in it, than to hear whether the King (Emperor) was still alive or whether he had been killed. And some people who came to him, said that he (the Emperor) had escaped, and some others (said) that he was hiding in the city, and others again that he had died while fighting. And they cleaned (from the blood) most of the heads of the people who were found, lest they recognise the royal (head). And they could not recognise it, but (could only identify) the dead body of the King, which they distinguished from the royal stockings (garters) and the sandals, which bore on them embroideries with golden eagles, as was the royal custom. And, as Mohamed heard the news, he was joyful and happy. And with his orders the Christians who happened to be there buried the royal body with royal honour.”

However, in the Chronicle of Morea (13th century), that is, before Sfrantzis, there is a decrease in the number of participles in the clause; one mode clauses are developed (Mirambel 1961: 52), most clauses show an OV structure (described as ‘propositions juxtaposes’ by Mirambel) where in the older times the language would use participles:

(v.1410-1413)

κ’ εντάθα εκαβαλικέλαν, απήλθαν εις την Πάτραν, το κάστρον ετρεγύ-μισαν, ωσαύτως και την χώραν, τα τριποποιέτα εστήσασον γύρω καταπαντόθεν, τους τσαγρατόρους ἔβαλαν, τον πόλεμον ἀρχάσαν...

“And (from) here on they mounted on the horses, they went to Patras, they surrounded the castle, as well as the town, set up the trebuchets around and all sides, placed the arbalesters, and begun the battle…”
3.6. Explaining the V-onta formation

The development of the MC V-onta form creates a series of hypotheses based on interesting examples of syntactic phenomena, such as levelling, fusion and reanalysis. I will expand on each one separately, as I expand on every hypothesis.

This development I will try to explicate with a number of proposals. This part of the chapter is organised around the -onta ending. The loss of case distinction involves a great amount of what is called morphological levelling. I will suggest more than one explanation for this suffix.

(i) it could have derived from the ending of the accusative singular of a masculine gender or
(ii) the nominative plural of neuter gender
(iii) the accusative plural of neuter gender (these last two are homophonous)
(iv) it could have derived from the fusion of the masculine-nominative-singular + clitic ta accusative plural
also (v) it could have levelled from a nominative plural form -onteς into -onta
From the point of view of semantics and the more rare use of neuter substantives (ii) and (iii) are less likely.

I will now expand on each of the remaining hypotheses separately.

(a) Morphology of suffix -onta deriving from levelling of present participle, masculine, nominative plural (λαλώντες, saying, masc.nom.pl becoming non-finite λαλώντα-non-finite )

The nominative plural of the masculine gender is -ontes. Examples:

θωρών-θωρώντες ‘seeing’-nom.masc.sg, ‘seeing’-nom.masc.pl
γροικών-γροικώντες ‘hearing’-nom.masc.sg ‘hearing’-nom.masc.pl
λαλών-λαλώντες ‘speaking’ -masc.sg, ‘speaking’- masc.pl

This can also be seen from the fact that the nominative plural is frequently used and from the presence of σ (ς) in the Greek version of V-onta.

Before making assumptions that the V-onta process has been an analogical one, I should adjoin that this process is being defined here as an evolution of the spoken form of the language, which was not as strong as to erase completely the use of the present participle in the written word. It must have been a regular and slow process, quite strong to eliminate most of the traces
of the agreement in gender and number, but not as powerful as to eliminate
the old form of the declinable participle. Although it should be regarded as a
systematic process, it reached such a degree of levelling even though present
participles had not been completely abolished. (The difference of systematic
and nonsystematic types of analogy is one of degree, as Hock (1991)
suggests.)

If participial endings have levelled through the process of analogy, an
indication of this levelling is seen better in Greek with the V-ontas form, both
of MGr and SGr, retaining the final sigma of what is at this stage final ɔ of
nominate plural. However, ɔ in adverbials has also been discussed as a
common phenomenon in Romaic:
(Beaudouin, 1884: 96). “Le σ adverbial que nous rencontrons souvent en
français, ains, onques, sempres, etc., s’ajoute également dans notre dialecte:
τότες, πούποτες, πὴθάρκοφες, au moyen âge τῶρας (M325, 18’ c’est un fait
commun dans tout le domain romaique”.
(b) Morphology of suffix -onta deriving from present participles, 1st person
singular + clitic object τα-neuter, accusative, plural (λαλών- ‘saying’.nom.sg τα-these-acc.pl

Taking into account Comrie’s hypotheses on the word order of affixes and
stems we understand that “the order of morphemes in a word reflects, in so
far as those morphemes derive etymologically from separate words, the basic
word order of the language concerned at the time those separate words
started being fused together into a single word”. (1980: 84)
Givón’s proclamation that ‘today’s morphology is yesterday’s syntax’ (1971:
413) is also relevant to this hypothesis. The -onta ending could have derived
from an agglutination of the ending -ων (on) of the nominative case of the
participle singular, and the clitic -τα (ta), plural of neuter το.

Suggesting as in (ii) that the -onta ending derived from the nominative of the
neuter gender plural, namely ὄντα -onta, pronounced onda (there also exist
a word onta, meaning ‘the existing things, the beings’) has two weaknesses:
(i) the fusion of \(\thetaωρ\omegaν\) and the clitic \(\tau\alpha\) does not offer a good probability

\[\tau\alpha=\tauο\upsilon\alpha\] these-cliticization

\[\tau\alpha=\text{the}\]

Taking a semantic approach to the clitic form of -ta-. I must add that Cypriot \(\tau\alpha\) is translated into collective singular 'this' (in English)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>hearing all this</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot</td>
<td>(\alpha\kou\eta\upsilon\tau\alpha) (hearing all these)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering (i) intonation and stress on the last syllable -\(\omegaν\) (-on) of the present participle, (\(\thetaωρ\omegaν\), \(\gammaρο\kappa\omegaν\), \(\lambdaα\lambda\omegaν\)) and (ii) also considering the lack of stress in the weak form of the clitic \(\tau\alpha\) (\(\tau\alpha\)) one can hypothesise that the V-onta form morphology can well be a derivation from the fusion of the participial form, masculine nominative (Part) and the clitic \(\tau\alpha\) (O) into one word.

c) Morphology of suffix -onta deriving from present participle, masculine, accusative singular -\(\omegaν\tau\alpha\) onta

In this case we are no longer examining a phenomenon of levelling or fusion. ’Οντα constitutes here the suffix of the accusative (masc. sing) and has been used by analogy for other genders, cases and numbers.

| o ελθων, του ελθοντος, τω ελθοντι, του ελθοντα |
| nom | gen | dat | acc |

The most probable hypotheses are (iv) and (i) combined. In that case we are looking at both levelling and use of -onta through analogy. Concerning (ii) and (iii), neuter plurals, on the one hand, are not as frequent in speech as to create an issue of fusion with the participle.

On the search of explaining V-onta levelling, analogy and reanalysis should all be taken into account and should be looked at closely.
3.7. Following the V-onta evolution through the verb *εἰμί* (to be)

It is not difficult to understand this evolution through the verb *εἰμί* and its gerund(ives) ὄντας ondas (in MGr) ὄνταν(n) onda(n) in MC. In the texts of the Chronicle, the word onta(n) is frequently used as an independent gerundive, normally in initial position, and it is not a part of the morphology of the verb. It is also found as a part of an auxiliary, where the verb *εἰμί* or εἰμαι ‘to be’ often appears in the place of the verb ἐχω ‘to have’.

An example of the use of this new participial form, which displays morphological characteristics of the masculine gender, instead of the feminine in the form of generalisation of genders, can be attested in the following example taken from the 1st book of the Chronicle. In {7}, the verb ‘to be’ has lost its previous morphological characteristics by dropping, first its grammatical features, and second its semantics:

{7} Καὶ ὄνταν ἡ Αγία Ελένη ἡ ὑρέν τοῦ τίμιον σταυρὸν
And when (being) the Saint Helena found the holy cross
“And when Saint Helena found the Holy Cross”

Note also V-onta as a gerund used in Greek today and compare it with MoC:

ὄντας εκεῖ, μου ἐγράψε να τον συναντήσω
“While (being) there, he wrote to me to meet him”

ποῦ ἡτοῦν ταῦται ἐγράψε(μ) μου να τον ηύρω (να βρεθούμεν)
where he was there he wrote to me to find him (or to find each other
“While he was there he wrote to me to meet him”

The elimination of the genitive absolute, whereby participials ceded their place to a more uniform suffix, supports the phenomenon of the gradual disuse of the genitive in adverbial definitions.

Also note the following examples from Ancient Greek, where the two genitive absolutes, namely διαφθαρέντος τοῦ βασιλέως ‘when the king is
destroyed’ and Φιλίππου καθεύδοντος, ‘when Philip was sleeping’ and the flexibility of their word order as well as the discontinuity of the two constituents of the genitive, in the second example:

αἱ μέλισσαι διαφθαρέντος τοῦ βασιλέως διασκεδάζονται
the bees destroyed of the king are scattered
“When the king is destroyed, the bees are scattered”

Another example is the following:

Φιλίππου ποτ’ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἡμέρας καθεύδοντος, οἱ στρατιώτες ἀγανακτούντες επὶ ταῖς θύραις αφροσυθίες εὐκάλων
“When Philip was once sleeping under the tent during the day, irritated, the soldiers gathered outside the door(s) (and) were calling (him)”

They lead to a more general reordering of the constituents of the Cypriot clause. The reanalysis from adverbials in dependent clauses to non-finites in independent clauses is discussed in the next chapter.

Has the participle moved to the left and produced discontinuity of constituents, slotting in between the periphrastic tense, (ὅνταν εὐροίκησεν) and breaking an auxiliary which eventually was lost? Follow the next example in Makhairas:

{14} ὅνταν ὁ ἁγιώτατος πάπας εὐροίκησεν τα αυτά λόγια
having the very holy Pope heard these words
πολλά τὸ ἐπικράνθη
very much for it became bitter
"When his Holiness the Pope heard these words, he was really saddened”.

There are many other syntactic indicators, apart from V-onta, to give us an evidence of distinguishing main clauses from subordinate ones. V-onta in the
beginning of the clause triggers, though, a word order pattern which is by no means static in the texts. Finites appear in any position after a non-finite VP, subordination usually precedes the main clauses.

V-onta subordinate clauses in MC are an introductory link to the word order patterns discussed in chapter 4.

{43} Καὶ γροικώντα κάτινες καβαλλάριδες πιστοὶ τοῦ ῥηγός
and hearing some cavalrymen faithful the king-gen
εἶπαν τῷ πράμαν τοῦ ῥηγός
said the thing the king-gen
"And when some men of the cavalry who were devoted to the king heard (of the matter), they told the matter to the king"

Where the subject of the participial clause and the main clause are the same, the word order can be illustrated in the schema Vnf Det S V O IO. There is no syntactic break here. S could be perceived either to be following the gerund or to be in initial position of a SVO finite clause.

{46} Γροικώτα ο κύρης της Τύρου εσύντυχεν πολλὰ λογία χοντρά τοῦ θείου τοῦ τοῦ συνεκάρδου λαλώντα
Seeing the master of Tyros spoke-3rd.sg many words-acc.pl
gross (rude) to the uncle his the seneschal saying
"When the master of Tyre heard (this) he spoke very rudely to his uncle the seneschal saying"

S is however a part of the dependent clause. In the above example in {43}, we can understand the reason from the following: Take the phrase τοῦ ῥηγός for instance. As seen, it is used twice in the above text. In the first instance it is taken as a possessive, but this possessive ‘of the King’ could be understood as a IO ‘to the King’, since IO in Cypriot is mainly expressed with a genitive and not with a preposition plus accusative as is mostly the case in SGr (the faithful men of the king, the faithful to the king men). In the second instance,
however, we have a VOIO main clause structure, where S is encoded in the verb. If we understand that the second use of του ρηγός functions as a IO, then it is clear that S following V-onta is definitely a part of the subordinate clause, and that the syntactic break is after it (S). Had S been a part of the main clause, (with a hypothetical comma after γροικώντα), clitics should have been used in cross-reference of the genitive του ρηγός, which is already introduced in the clause and does not need another introduction with a separate genitive. As attested in the Chronicle, subordinate clauses often have the presence of independent S and often of O, whereas main clauses very rarely display such paradigms where S is very often encoded in the verb and O in the clitics.

{43} Καὶ γροικώντα, κάτινες καβαλλάριδες πιστοὶ του ρηγός
eἶπαν του το πράμαν {του ρηγός}
“And when some men of the cavalry who were devoted to the King heard (of the matter), they said it to the King”

This is by no means the only explanation for the position of the syntactic break. The above example {43} also shows that S belongs to the embedded participial clause rather than to the independent clause following it. The comma after the V-onta form has been used by Pavlides.

I will now provide more examples for further discussion. In the example that follows, no overt S is present. S is encoded in the verb and it is only understood from the context:

{45} και εμπαινώντα ἦραν οὐλλοὺς τους καβαλλάριδες σωμεμένους
“And when they entered they found all the men of the cavalry gathered together“
In the example that comes next, S in initial position is highlighted (left movement). Therefore, if a constituent needs focusing,\textsuperscript{10} it is moved to the left of the clause, becoming from an independent constituent of a subordinate clause, an independent constituent of a (discontinued) main clause.

Topic and focus S element(s) are moved to the left for further highlighting, creating discontinued SVO clauses, when V-onta is present in embedding. In that way it creates a syntactic break that enhances the pragmatic role of S in structures as the following (V-onta O (S) V O becoming S V-onta O V O). The formation of other marked clauses (recurring topics, repeated S, thematic S in continuous SVO orderings) is thus avoided.

Apart from giving S its focal and topic prominence, left movement of S clarifies non-basicness in clauses where its leading position causes discontinuity. Discontinued clauses are consequently of less structural importance than the non-prominence of S, where it is needed for highlighting. Follow example \{9\}:

\{9\} o basileus groykwnata thn parakaleisin tous epeisen pollwn
the king hearing the imploring their sent many
laon ton armatwn
people of the arms
"Hearing their imploring, the King sent a large number of armed men"

It is understood from the texts that the element to be moved is a topic. Next, a V-onta appears in an indefinite S (without articles):

\{13\} kai diavainontta kairos
and passing time
"And when time passed, (as time was passing)"

V-onta followed by an independent O is seen in \{8\}.

\{8\} kai telieinontta ta ktmata evbhn eis to katergon
and finishing the buildings mounted on the ship
και επήγεν εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν
and went to the Constantinople
“And when she finished the making of the buildings she took a ship
and went to Constantinople”.

V-onta is followed by a sentential O, while S is only represented in the verb.

και εἶχεν μέγαν φόβον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τῆς λαλώντα
and (she) had great fear in the heart-acc hers saying
ο θεός θέλει ποίσειν κρίσιν καὶ θέλω χάσειν
the god wants to make judgment and (I) want losing
tα παιδία μου
the children mine
“And she (the queen) had a great fear in her heart and said ‘God will
make his judgement (punish me) and I will lose my children (my
children will die)”

V-onta is followed by a clitic O and a IO independently represented, in the
next example:

και ζητώντα τα τον κυροῦ τον Στύρου
and asking them the-gen master-gen the Tyros-gen
“And asking them from the master of Tyros”

V-onta followed by a lexical O:

θωρώντα το κακόν θέλημαν αποχαιρέτησάν
seeing the bad willing farewell-3.pl.past
τον καὶ εστράφησαν
him and return-3.pl.past
“Seeing the (his) bad willing they farewelled him and returned”
Tautology is frequent. Also example {52} shows V-onta followed by a cliticised IO. Interestingly enough, after λαλώντα, direct speech is used instead of indirect:

{52} καὶ εἶλαίεν τοὺς το με μεγάλην ταπείνωσιν καὶ γλυκεία λογία
and saying to them this with great-humiliation and sweet words-
καὶ πολλῶν κλάμαν γιὰ ν’ αφήσουν τον ρήγαν
and a lot crying for to leave the king
εἰς τὴν αφεντίαν τοῦ λαλώντα τοὺς πῶς
in the-acc authority his saying to them that
εἰστε ἀνθρώποι τοῦ καὶ ομοστικοὶ του
are-2nd.pl men his and people (who have) sworn on his name

“And she was telling them this (these words) with enormous humiliation and sweet words and much crying, (asking them) to let the King be the authority he is, telling them ‘you are his men, sworn on his name to be faithful to him’”

In the example above, initial-clause V-onta is followed by O represented here by a clitic. It is interesting to see that κητῶν (present participle, asking) has not levelled to a V-onta form, considering that in the end of the paragraph, another V-onta form is used.

{71} Γροικώντα το ὁ πίσικοπος τῶν Λευκάρων επήγεν
hearing this the bishop the Lefkara-gen went-3.sg
με το κλήρος του ζητῶν του σταυρών λαλῶντα
with the clergy his asking the cross saying

“Hearing all this the bishop of Lefkara went with his clergy asking for the cross, saying”.

The fuzzy edges I suggested before are obvious in the next example where it is not clear whether βαστάννοντα can be viewed as a levelled participial since it appears to be a present participle in the accusative singular, as it agrees
with the accusatives preceding it (one of which is an apposition) i.e., τον παπάν, να τον χειροτονήσουν, τον σύντροφόν μου.

{13} εἶδα τον παπάν ὅπου εθέλα να κουρέψουν
I saw the priest-acc that they wanted to cut his hair
τουτέστιν να τον χειροτονήσουν τον σύντροφόν
that is to him ordinate the companion
μου βαστάννοντα εἰς τα χέρια του σταυρόν
mine holding in the hands his cross
“"I saw my companion the priest the one they wanted to cut his hair off, that is, to ordinate him, holding a cross in his hands.”

Non-finite subordinate clauses provide an example of coordination here. Coordinator καὶ ‘and’ seems to be the link of two small clauses (καὶ ἔχοντα) (καὶ ήπραν) one of which, the second, looks like an independent clause, both of them however together form a subordinate clause within the main clause of the same paragraph. (This phenomenon is also discussed as a periphrastic tense.) In fact, coordinator καὶ is used here as a colloquial form of a periphrastic tense, (in Greek Grammar it is ἔχοντας εὑρέτοι) translated by the translator as ‘and having found’. MC periphrasis, or at least what seems to be a periphrasis, where a coordinator links an auxiliary with the verb, is unique in Greek Grammar. This overcoordination is not unusual in the area. In the following example, however, καὶ ήπραν is a complement to καὶ ἔχοντα showing a reanalysis of καὶ coordination to καὶ complementation.

{21} καὶ ἔχοντα καὶ ήπραν τον πῶς επτώχισεν
and having and (that) found him that he became poor,
o αὐτός πε Οὔνγικε καὶ απὸ ανθρώπους καὶ έξοδον
the same king Hughes and from people and money
καὶ οἱ Σαρακηνοί επήραν ὅλους τοὺς τόπους
and the Saracens took all the places
καὶ ήπραν τον πῶς αγόρασεν τὴν Κύπρον
and found him how bought the Cyprus
εστράφησαν καὶ επήγαν τα μπροστά σώματα

they returned and they went the front backwards
"And being that they found how poor he became, he King Hughes, and (finding out) that the Saracens took every place and that he had bought Cyprus, they returned back."

Another similar periphrasis is found in the following example, where the verb ‘to have’ is used as a non-finite and the verb ‘to be’ in its finite form, forming a tense that is not known in the Greek Grammar and constitutes a singular way to expressing ‘being that it was’:

καὶ ἔχοντα καὶ ἦτον
and having and it was
" and having that it was"

Various factors could be mentioned in explanation of this periphrasis. Greek periphrases have been in the centre of studies of a number of scholars, however changes in the Cypriot periphrastic tenses have not been studied in a convincing way. Aerts mentions in his introductory note (1965: 1) "one advantage of the Greek language is that it is possible to study the evolution of certain of its linguistic phenomena over a very long period of time". According to the same author, periphrasis has been recorded in Greek from Homer and it also exemplifies interesting forms in other dialects, as in South Italian Greek as well as Asia Minor Greek (especially in Cappadocian). Although mentioned in a number of examples, MC periphrasis has been mainly compared with other Greek forms. It is regrettable, says Aerts, that some newer periphrastic phenomena have not been pointed out by Menardos for Cypriot and Pangalos for Cretan.

3.8. Other Non-finite examples
3.8.1. Passive participles
Passive participles are often found with a V-onta ending. However, most of them bear the passive standard ending -μένος, -μένη, -μένον as in the following examples: {91} ἀπλικεμένοι 'housed, living in', {174} κακοφυχημένον literally ‘bad souled, ill',

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{174} ρικουμαντιασμένος recommended {79} μηνιασμένος ‘employed, monthly paid’ {79} πικραμμένος ‘embittered’ and many more.

3.8.2. Infinitives

Ancient forms of infinitives evolved into nominals and infinitives which dropped their infinitival endings. The older Ancient Greek infinitives have retained their Ancient Greek morphology and are used as neuter gender NPs only in Cypriot, where a very small number of them has survived and where they are rarely used as NPs. We find in MC φαγεῖν (φαῖν ‘meal, food’). Joseph’s (1978: 40) discussion on this issue is noteworthy. Cypriot nominalised infinitives (nominf) include among other examples:

έσειεν ἥσυχον ππεσείν
has quiet sleeping-nominf
‘S/he has a quiet (serene) sleeping’

eλλιστείσεν τὸ ππεῖν τοῦ
decreased the drinking-nominf his
‘He cut down on his drinking’

See also Mackridge’s examples of infinitives as objects of verb (1996: 197). Also, Tonnet’s work ‘Note sur le remplacement de l’infinitif par le Subjonctif en Grec’ (1985).

MC infinitives are also found in loan verbs as in the following {3}, ‘to be happy’ αλεγριάζεσθαι.

Most of the infinitival peculiarities of Cypriot are seen through the use of the θέλω+ infinitive forms as in {84} ἤθελαν καταλυέσθαι γλήγορα ‘they would have been used easily’.

3.9. Finite verbs

As suggested by Roberts (1993), the most important factor which seems to be operative in many IE languages concerns the morphological marking on the verb. Finite verbs, claims Roberts, are verbs which bear an inflectional ending marking person, number and tense/and
mood and voice tend to occupy different positions from non-finite verbs, i.e. infinitival and participial forms. Roberts asserts that the morphological distinction between finite and non-finite verb forms has an impact on many aspects of syntax. In MC, however, non-finite and finite clauses seem to follow the same structural patterns; to a significant extent, the morphological distinction between finite and non-finite forms does not seem to have that great impact on MC syntax.

I will not provide a full description of the well-known finite verb morphology of AG or other varieties. Rather, I will simply provide examples of how MC and MoC differ from them.

In Greek, six separate verb-forms are used for first, second and third persons, singular and plural, in every tense, mood and voice, so that it is unnecessary to express an unemphatic subject (McKay 1974: 2).

Greek has a Present, Imperfect, Future, the Greek Perfect and the Aorist. The present participle denotes action in progress (1) action going on at the same time as the action of the verb. The tenses of the participles do not denote time but state. The time of the action must be gathered from the context (Nunn 1945: 66). It is somewhat unfortunate that we are compelled to use the name tense in connection with the forms of the Greek verb.

There is no doubt that the most distinctive item of Medieval Cypriot with regard to morphology is the verb. We read from Beaudouin (1884), “Si dans son ensemble elle (la grammaire) ne diffère pas de la conjugaison vulgaire au point d’être incompréhensible pour un Grec étranger à Chypre, elle s’en distingue par un assez grand nombre de formes spéciales inconnues à la langue”. “If in its whole it (the grammar) does not differ from the vulgar inflection (declension system) to the point it becomes incomprehensible to a foreign Greek in Cyprus (to a non-Cypriot Greek in Cyprus), it is distinguished from it by the large number of (its) special forms that are not-known to the G language”. 11
Medieval Cypriot verbs by and large follow the same sound changes (sound losses, addition of sounds) as the substantives, as described in the preceding chapter. Differences from general Greek grammatical rules are most noticeable in the verb. The description of the verbal forms will not always allow comparison with the Greek verbs, since some forms do not exist in Medieval Greek or have not been maintained in contemporary Cypriot. There are 'special forms of verbs', as described by Beaudouin (1884: 80-83). A number of forms could be compared with the French forms, without necessarily involving borrowing from French.

With the first reading of the texts, many differences from AG are noticed. The main inconsistencies include augment differences, (details on the augment by Beaudouin, 1884: 80-83) the use of different tense forms in the subjunctive, sound changes which affect the root of the verb, Cypriotised Greek verbs, a number of Romaic forms in use, particularities in the ἔχω 'to have' auxiliary, verbs written as heard, loan verbs from French and Italian, archaic forms and hypercorrection based on such forms, derivation from other than the indicative moods, different verb endings, two-place arguments, genitive objects, intransitive for transitive verbs, transitive for intransitive verbs, agglutination, mainly of the relative pronoun, with some verbs, the active voice used instead of the mediopassive, semantic differences, particularities in the accent system of the language and many more differences at the structural level are discussed in chapter 4. See also notes for verb inflection. ¹²

3.9.1. The Aorist (Past tense)

The following are MC aorist forms:

{125} ἐπροσκυνήσεν, ‘he venerated’ (προσκύνησε), {126} ἐπαρακάτζεν 'he camped' and {194} παρακάτζεν ‘he besieged’ (παρακάθησε (meaning other than the C meaning in G), {150} ἐπολέμισαν 'they fought' (πολέμισαν) {151} εφτάσαν ‘they arrived’ (ἐφτάσαν) {151} ἀναφάναν ‘they appeared’, (ἀν) ἀναφάναν) {181} ἐπαρακαλήσαν ‘they asked they begged’ παρακαλέσαν or παρακαλέσαν) {101} ἐπρέξα ‘they ran’, (ἐπρέξα or ἐπρέξα) {101} βάλαν ‘they put’, (βάλαν) {101} ἔριψαν 'they
threw’ (ἐρριψαν, ῥιξαν) {101} ἐβγάλαν ‘they threw out’ (ἐβγαλαν or βγάλαν) {104} εξέβην ‘he came out’ (βγήκε) {104} ἐστέφθην ‘he was crowned’, (στέφθ(τ)ηκε) {112} εὐόθην ‘it was given, it was surrendered’ (δόθηκε) {114} εμόσαν ‘they swore’ (in G ὁρκίστηκαν, in AG ὤμοσαν), {183} ἀρχέσαν’ they started’ (ἀρχίσαν) {124} εμάθασαν ‘they heard’ (ἐμαθαν), {124} επήραν ‘they took’ ((ε)πήραν) {124} ετάξασαν ‘they promised’, (ἐταξαν, ταξαν) {124} επροσκυνήσαν ‘they venerated’ (προσκυνήσαν) {125} επροσδεκτήσαν ‘they received him’ (προσδέχτηκαν). Another example for such aorist forms is the aorist of ἅργῳ to be late ἀργε ἂν instead of ἄργο. In some instances final -ε of the 3rd singular can also be omitted, as in {639} ἐτρων καὶ ἀφινεν literally ‘it (the locust) ate and left, it destroyed and moved ahead’. The SGr meaning of some of these verbs are different today to that of the C ones.

3.9.2. The Future and other forms

According to Aerts (1983: 152), “the grammars of Beaudouin, Sakellarios and Menardos give only very scarce information about formation and use of the future tense. Beaudouin confines himself to noting the modern formation with θεν ά, εν νά and the use of θέλειν in medieval Cypriot chronicles, neglecting the difference between θέλω with infinitive and θέλω ια with subjunctive”.

The MC future form is with θέλω + infinitive as in the examples that follow. From the text volitional θέλω ‘to want’ can be understood, as for instance in the example ἡθελεν πάγειν volitional ‘he wanted to go’, in {187} and also in {303} έθελε να τελειώση, ‘he wanted to finish’. These are of course not the only examples of volitional θέλω in the texts. Volitional and future marker θέλω are well exhibited in {349}, below. It is often difficult to detect volitional and future marker when clauses involve complement ια. Thus example {123} can be either understood as ‘if someone wants to stay, he (or she) may stay’ or ‘if someone will stay, let (them) (him or her) stay’: {123} ει τις θελει να μείνει ας μείνει, {349} ος θελει ο θεος θελειν γινειν (as wants the god it will be) it will be as God will’, {127} θελει ποίσειν ‘he will
do' {127} θέλει πέφειν 'he will send' {225} o δαρμένος θέλει δέρειν 'the beaten will beat', {22} καὶ θέλουν ἐχειν βοήθειαν 'and they will have help';
ν-less 3rd plurals as in {140}, εθέλα να... 'will to...' are also found, {146} θέλουν πάρειν βευτέτταν 'they will take (a) vendetta, they will revenge', {177} θέλομεν γινείν 'we will become', {172} θέλειν κρατήσει 'he will keep' {192} θέλειν ερτείν 'he will come', {84} ἢσθε εἰσταίν 'I will be', {84} ἢσθαν καταλυέσθαι γρήγορα 'they would have disappeared (vanished, been destroyed) quickly'. There also exist ν-less infinitives with the θέλω forms: θέλουν φυγεί 'they will go', also expression ἐρχομαι να, is almost equivalent in meaning with English 'come to', and French 'venir à or, venir au point de {372} θέλουν έρτει να, 'they came to'

O-disrupted future forms have been discussed previously and will be dealt with in chapter 4; here are some examples: {225} θέλουν σε ξηλοθρεύσειν 'they will destroy you', {172} θέλουν το ζητάν 'they will seek (for) it', {255} θέλουν το πιστεύσειν 'they will believe it', {345} θέλει σ’ ἐχειν υἱόν 'he will have you (as a) son', {487} θέλει σας ἐχει χάριτα 'he will grant you a favour', {493} θέλειν την πολεμίσειν 'he will fight her', {493} θέλειν την πάρειν 'he will take her'.

The forms θέλω + 'to be' infinitives as in θέλει εἰσταίν, also in {280} θέλει εἰσταίν {84}, for ἢσθαν εἰσταίν are also an unexplored area of the Cypriot MC studies, elbeit so interesting. θέλω forms also appear with indefinite NPs, as in {336} εθέλετε ἐχειν πρόφασιν 'you will have a reason' {225} θέλει ερτείν καιρός 'time will come', {273} θέλουν εισταίν χαμένα 'they will be lost', {273} θέλεις σιγουριάσειν 'you will make sure' (a loan verb from the Italian word siguro, 'sure'). {296} θέλω and negative particle δεν, δεν θέλειν το γινείν 'it will not happen to him' is also noticeable. Expressions from the Church are frequently found, however they convey only the volitional θέλω meaning 'I want'; mainly the appear as participles as in {317} θέλουτος τοῦ θεοῦ, 'with God's will'.

A future θέλει + infinitive example follows:
o δαρμένος θέλει δέρειν
the beaten will beat

The following is a future θέλειν-infinitive + infinitive

θέλειν το ζητάν
will it ask for
"they will be asking for it"

Future with να are showing another use of να in MC.

εγώ να το πάρω
I will it take
"I will take it"

More examples below; να is also being discussed as a παραχωρητικό (concession) index in imperative clauses, see Klairis and Babinotis (1999) for SGr examples.

In conditionals, the form έθελεν gives the meaning of 'would':

έθελεν στεφθείν η αφεντιά σου 'your highness would have been crowned King', έθελαν διαβάσειν μέγαν κόπον να το σώρουν 'they would have put (required) a lot of pain to drag him (out).

'Ambiguous' να is found to be used as both an imperative (να, ας) and a future marker να, as in {473}, as discussed above.

ας έρημη μόνος του και να τον προσδέκοιμεν
let come-3rd.sg alone he-gen and fut.mark him receive well
"let him come by himself, and we will receive him well"

also, in {415}, ν' αποθαριστούμε 'we will lose our courage', we understand from the context that να denotes future, or, it denotes what is called in Greek
παραχώρηση, ‘concession, cession (of rights)’ which is also classified as a na-imperative index. See example {425}:

{425} καὶ μεῖς να νοικοκυρέσουμεν τον τόπον
and us fut. mark tide up-1st.pl the place-acc
“And us, we will clean up-exp the place"

In {495} καὶ μεῖς να τὴν χαλάσουμεν meaning (according to the text) ‘and we will loosen it’, we understand that this is a future tense from the context. It concerns the answer to the previous clause telling them θέλετε τὴν χαλάσει να εμπούμεν εἰς τὸ ἔβγα θέλετε τὴν κορδώσειν ‘you will loosen the chain for us to enter, however in our coming out you will stretch it back, so we will cut it (we shall cut it)’. 

{433} The να πα να ‘to go to’ is understood as an example of reanalysis.

{67} ἠρτα να πυγούσιν, is another Cypriot expression very similar to the English ‘they came to be drowned, (they almost drowned), not found in other Greek texts.

{73} εἶναι να a ‘future proche’ type, ‘it is to’, also in {203} μέλλει να meaning ‘he is to, he has to’ a verb found only in a few tenses in Greek is also found in the texts. Periphrastic constructions of the future tense, especially with μέλλειν have been examined by Aerts (1983).

The use of ἦτο να and the ἔχω auxiliary together in forms such as ἦτο να σκοτώθωσιν {111} ‘they would have been killed’ is quite frequent. The form ἦτο να ‘was to’ is used with future meaning in many cases in the Chronicle. Examples include cases where εἶχεν ‘had’ and infinitive θέλειν ‘to want’ are used in verbal forms not known to the standard Greek grammar.

Apart from the form ἦτον να, ‘was to’ for ‘would have been killed’ ἦτον να σκοτώθωσιν in {111}, in {259} we read ἦτο να τοὺς νώσουν, they would have sensed them’. All these are conditionals. The ἔχω + infinitive forms that
form the Perfect in Modern Greek are extremely rare. Instead of the *Παρακείμενος*, (Perfect) the Aorist is used in MC; the Pluperfect is frequent, though.

{121} αν είχεν θέλειν ἐπαιρισαι τὴν, 'if he had wanted to take it (to capture the town) he would have taken it (he would have captured it)' is also a Cypriot form where an auxiliary is used in combination with aux-past+infinit.pres for aux-past+infinit.past (είχεν θελήσει(ν)) in order to create the Τερσυντελικός, the known Greek Pluperfect.

It would not be a risky suggestion to say that είχεν ἔχειν in {16}, below, reminds us of the form ‘avait eu’, in French or the English ‘had had’, not usually found in other Greek medieval or post-medieval texts. In MGr as well as SGr such forms are unknown. In {16} καὶ αν είχεν ἔχειν καθαρούς ‘and had he had clean (ones)’, the use of the ἔχω auxiliary with the ἔχω verb is not known to today’s Greek grammar.

The είχεν ἔχειν form (similar to the French ‘avait eu’) is seen in {16}.

{16} καὶ αν είχεν ἔχειν καθαρούς ο Θεός ἐβελεύ τους γλυτώσει
   and if had to have clean the-god wanted to them save
   "And if there were people with clean hearts, God would have saved them"

The verb ἔχω however is found as an independent verb meaning ‘to have’ as in {186} καὶ δὲν είχαν ιντα να ποίσουν ‘and they had nothing to do’.

Another intensely discussed form is the {Vnonfin καὶ complementiser Vfin form as in ἔχοντα καὶ (Vfin) patterns.

{21} καὶ ἔχοντα καὶ ηὗραν τον ‘and being that they found him’: This form reminds us of the French ‘ayant que+imperf. or past English forms ‘having that+past tenses’ and ‘being that+past tenses’. It is similar to today’s G form ἔχοντας βρεῖ:

{21} καὶ ἔχοντα καὶ ηὗραν τον
and having and found—themy him

"and being that they found him"

The verb ἔχω ‘to have’ appears in εἴχαν VO PP forms, where V may be a copula in local expression as in {166} εἴχαν λογία εἰς τὴν μέσην τοὺς literally ‘they had words between them, they quarrelled’. However, the more archaic form found also in MoC εἴχασιν is more frequent in MC, and bears the -ασιν ending. See also ἡφασιν in {211} να πᾶσιν in {212} and many more examples.

In {192} ὁπούχεν, we have yet another evidence of agglutination of the verb ‘to have’ with a relative ‘which had’ ὁποὺ εἰχέν. Agglutination of ἔχω with να in {251} gives νάχεν ποίσειν for να εἰχέν ποίσειν {251} νάχασταν ρήγας is an agglutination of three words, να εἴχα εἰσταυν. Index να is an index which marks mood, appearing mostly in dependent clauses, although it is also found (used) in independent clauses as well with να introduced clauses marking politeness and the παραχωρητικές προτάσεις, as in να πᾶς ‘you may go’. In combination with σαν (σαν νάχα εἰσταυν= as if I were) it forms conditionals ‘if I were’. Moreover, in {13} we find the same form, ως γοιο νάχαν εἰσταυν reminding us of “comme s’ ils avaient été”

Other forms include the Conditional {330} καὶ αὖ εἴχαν τοὺς πᾶσειν ‘have they had caught them’ Pluperfect {195} εἴχαν πάρειν ‘they had taken’ and {332} εἴχεν θανατωθεὶν ‘he had been put to death’.

The forms ἔχα and ἔχαν instead of εἴχαν are interesting. The same form, ἔχαν is found today in contemporary Tsaconian, in the Peloponnese (Kontosopoulos 1981).

{13} ἔχαν τάξιν, for εἴχαν τάξιν meaning they had given their word, they made a promise
{13} ἔχα να φτιάσων μετά του, 'they would have made up (reconcile) with him'.

There are many other forms of ἔχω in the MC data.

{14} αν είχεν ἔχειν is yet another Cypriot form, to have auxiliary with the verb 'to have'.

{26} ἔχοντα καὶ ἦτον, ayant qu'il était 'being that he was'.

The verb to have is used (as it is today) for impersonal VPs, as in {42} είχεν ἐξῆ μήνες, impersonal verb 'to have' as in 'il y avait six mois'

{49} ἦτο 'it was' is often used instead of είχεν 'it had'. This phenomenon is discussed in other parts as well.

{52} ὧς γολον νάχεν πεθάνειν; ὧς γολον a desemanticised adverbial from ὧς (γ)ολον. In Makhairas' times it meant 'as if, as'. It is an archaic form of ὧς (γ)ολον 'as which', used in combination with να + pluperfect.

{92} ὧς γολον νάχεν εἰσταίν σιτάριν, again, να είχεν εἰσταίν, the 'to have' auxiliary is used with the 'to be' infinitive, a form not found in Greek texts of bygone years or in today's grammars, 'as if it had been wheat' or similar to French forms 'comme si ça avait été du blé', 'comme si ç’a était du blé'.

{95} αν είχεν του πάρειν if had of him to take 'if he had taken (it) of him'.

{336} νάχαμεν λείπειν 'had we been absent'

{389} εἶχαν εβγείν 'had come out'

{461} ὅτι αν εἶχαν εβγείν ἀπέ τα χείλη σου ἦμουν σκοτωμένη 'because had (the words) come out of your lips I would have been killed'. This form of pluperfect, ὑπερσυντέλικος is used with a peculiar, hypothetic αν (if) is not
followed by modality in the independent clause. Today's G rules would have required a continuous future form \( \text{αν είχαν βγει από τα χείλη σου θα ήμουν σκοτωμένη}. \)

{417} εἰχετε εἰσταιν is similar to F form 'vous aviez été'

{485} αν δεν είχες είσταιν περατικός, is a very obvious French verbal form 'si tu n' avais pas été un étranger'

{487} ἐπαρ' τα ως γοι να' χε σον πειν ο Αριστοτέλης take them (words) as if to had to you to say-inf the-Aristotle

"take them (consider it), as if Aristotle had told you (these words)"

Auxiliary ἔχω is more frequent in forms appearing exclusively in the texts:

{121} αν είχεν θέλειν ἐπαιρινεν την

if had to want took-he her

"Had he wanted, he could have taken her"

{92} ως γοιο νάχεν εἰσταιν σιτάριν as if to had been wheat

"As if it was wheat"

Another similar example is found in {31}

(31) δύο παιδίοι ἦσαν και αναγιώθηκαν αντάμα two children were and grew together
    καὶ αγάπαν ο ἐνας τον ἄλλον ως γοιο νάχαν and loved the one the other as if to had
    εἰσταιν ἀδελφία to be-inf brothers

"There were two children and they grew up together and loved each other as if they (had been) were brothers".
3.9.3. More on the MC verb characteristics: different use of moods, tenses, augments, accents, derivation

The subjunctive has the same endings as the indicative present.

The Subjunctive through *ας, *να and the optative through *τάμε *να πάει (*ας πάει, *να πάει) ‘let him go, let her go’ *να πάει ‘let him go, let her go’ *τάμε- *να *έλθει, ‘let him come, let her come’. *Τάμε seems to be a loan word form French, more precisely it is more likely the NP Dame, a French προσφώνηση ‘allocation, wish’ to Virgin Mary, as in ‘Notre Dame!’, ‘Our Lady!’, which may have entered the language many decades before the Chronicle had been written.  

In the {251} *να is agglutinated with the auxiliary ἔχω:

{251} νάχεν ποίσειν ο θεός νάχασταιν (for νάχα είσταιν)
wi-have-aor.3rd.sg to make-infin the-god to have-aor.1st.sg to be-infin
ῥήγας της Κύπρου τιμημένος και όχι ρήγας όλου του κόσμου
king-nom the Cyprus-gen honoured-nom and not king all-gen the world-gen
και νάμαι αντροπιασμένος
and to be ashamed

The use of the above forms with auxiliary ἔχω are reminding us of the French forms in which I translated the following clause: “Que Dieu eut fait que j’ eusse été le roi de Chypre en tout honneur et non pas le roi de l’ univers en toute honte”.

Expressions with the index *ας as in *ας πάη *να in {135} και *ας πάη *να γιατρευτή, ‘and let him go and find his health’ followed by Cypriot verb forms are found in every page of Makhairas.

We find the use of the aorist instead of the imperfect (διαρκής, continuous) as in {258}: *αν ἦτο *να σας εἰποὺν
if was to to you tell-aor.act.3rd.sg
"if I were to tell you"

instead of ‘if I were to tell you’ where in Modern Greek the aorist ἐλεγα would be used ἀν ἦτο να σας ἐλεγα.

Different forms (tenses) in subjunctives are noticed:

αν ἦτον μόδος να τού δύσκαμεν
if were mode to to him gave-aorist-1st.pl

instead of

αν ἦτον μόδος (τρόπος) να τού δύναμε (δίδαμεν)
if were mode to to him give-imperf.1st.pl

"If there was way we should give him"

Aorist and accent is another area of great interest, since a range of examples take the accent in the penultimate syllable {212} ἐπέφταν ‘they fell’, εγλυτώνναν ‘they were saved’ (the same verb εγλυτώννω in C may means ‘I got rid of’ or ‘I save’ in the aorist εγλυτώσα), {211} εκουράσσαν ‘they looted, they plundered) etc. Penultimate accent examples are all third person plural, a regularity that was already established in MC, a phenomenon that has been maintained until now in MoC.

Other differences include the use of tenses, a phenomenon that has also been discussed above. It is the difference of the ἀτελῆς forms of the subjunctive μένει versus the τέλειο υποτακτικό τύπο να μείνη (with index να and ἃς appearing in the same clause) that is different to standard Greek grammatical rules.

{123} εἰς τῆς θέλει να μείνη ἃς μένει
"if one wants to stay let him stay"

The SGr version would be:

αν εἶναι τρόπος να τοῦ δώσουμε or αν ἦταν τρόπος να τοῦ δίναμε where
eίναι· δώσουμε and ήταν· δίναμε would be the the more correct forms ‘if there only be a way for us to give him’. (Note also Latin modus-i for ‘mood’, ‘way’, Fr ‘mode’ for similar phenomena.

The use of aorist for imperfect in conditionals is abundant: 
{91} ἀντα νάρταν 'when they came', Aorist for imperfect forms are also in use today: Na ἐρτεν να τον δω instead of να (ἐ)ρχόταν να τον δω. (wish) he'd come for me to see him’ (so that I see him).

Haplology is frequent as well as hypercorrection, ἀνταν ενέβην> ἀντα νέβην ‘when he came up’. Hypercorrection is seen in {187} εχάρην > ευχάρην'he was joyful'

MC characteristics of the verb include verbs with limited number of tenses (and or moods) available, as in the verb πρέπει ‘it must, it is imperative to’, 
(found only in the 3rd person singular in Modern Greek and only in the present, past future and conditional) appearing in MC also. 14

The list is not exhaustive. In these differences are also included ν-less Imperfect 15 and other. 16

Some loan words appear without an augment in the past, as α-, used as an augment in MC, is also regarded as an augment where it is a part of the loan word (verb). 17

With the imperative, differences focus on the augment used, where it shouldn’t be in G; σ-less Imperatives, for instance are common in MC as in δε ‘look’ instead of G δες.The imperative augment appears almost always. Note the following imperative examples. 18

3.9.4. The Cypriot Verb lexicon

The Cypriot Verb lexicon is yet another area attracting attention. The MC -ω verbs, maintained in MoC today (mainly in the Paphos region as in the example αγκαλιώ or αγκαλίω in the future tense εν να σε αγγαλίω (instead of αγκαλέσω) fut.mark you-acc sue ‘I will sue you’ appear to be an
older form. In Makhairas’ texts {251} ἀγγαλίω means ‘to reveal’ and NP ἀγγάλεμαν {206} means ‘difference’, and ἀγγάλεμαν and ἀγγάλεσεν in {214}, means accusation and charge, however ν’ ἀγγαλίσῃ πολλῶν τόπων in {112} means to embrace a large area, to cover a large area’ from AG verb ἐναγκαλίζω, ‘to embrace’. Archaic verbs as {177} χρήζεσαι instead of more contemporary χρείαζεσαι ‘you are in need of’ {511} γινώσκω (for γιγνώσκω ‘to know’) instead of more recent ἐνωρίζω are present as well as verbs such as {512} εὐκαρίζομαι a MC form for εὐχαριστοῦμαι ‘to be contented of’, which are completely local.

Infinitives maintaining their ν ending {195} εἴχαν πάρ-ειν, as well as periphrastic tenses appearing agglutinated with a levelled relative pronoun as in {192} ὅποιοι ξένοι πέφειν ο ρήγας, ὅποιο εἴχεν πέφειν, (which had sent the king) ‘which the King had sent’ appear frequently.

As seen from the previous examples, different accent placement, sound change, augments and differences from the main grammatical rules of the verb characterise the form of the medieval verb. Here are some more examples {114} πολεμίζω instead of πολέμω ‘to fight’ {251} καταγγώνω ‘to blame’ {505} γεμίζωνει for γεμίζει, ‘he fills’ {510} εκλογογιρίζαν τους, literally ‘they weaved them around, they surrounded them’ {510} εκωλοσύραν, literally ‘to drag from the bottom, to drag’ {108} επλημμελέψαν ‘they worked hard’ (according to Pavlides) {113} εκατασφύγκαν, ‘they tightened the place (to siege it)’, in fact there is barely a verb which follows the exact standard rules of the Greek grammar.

{189} εσκλήρωσεν ‘he hardened (his heart)’ instead of ἐκλήρωσε {189} verb λεμονηθή ‘to have mercy’ from NP ἑλεήμων ‘merciful’ (G ἑλεήσει) {191} αἰμαλότευσεν ‘he captured’, from αἱμαλότωτος ‘prisoner’ {209} εκαλλιτέρισεν ‘he became better, he improved, he recovered’ for G (ἐ)καλυπτέρισε.

The list is by no means exhaustive. The verbs appearing with new endings and different prefix compounding are innumerable; they demonstrate the turning of MC into a new language.
The -ίσκω verbs appeal to the reader; verbs bearing this ending do not appear with it in the corresponding G verb (apart from verb ἐὑρίσκω). In Greek the -ίσκω verbs are extremely rare. Apart from the AG verb ἐὑρίσκω ‘to find’ (used today in G βρίσκω ‘to find’) and ἀφαρίσκω ‘to fit, to join together’ (did not survive to SGr) there are few other SGr cases with this ending. What attracts most attention is the meaning behind the Cypriot -ίσκω verbs. These can be partly compared to the French form ‘en train de’, as in ‘I am about to finish something’. The -ίσκω form also has more meanings; it reveals what is in the procedure of being completed, what is still growing, diminishing, increasing or decreasing in size, in weight, years, number or what is in force for a while, although it may change in the future. This is the reason why the C -ίσκω verbs deal with the meaning of negative or positive prolongation of status which is not perpetual or unbroken, as in φτωχισκω ‘I become poor’, πλουτισκω ‘I become rich’, πολλισκω ‘I increase in number’. The meaning of -ίσκω reveal, a) continuity, what is still happening at the very moment and b) possibility of change (end of the event).

Not all MC verbs may take -ίσκω ending. Among those who bear the ending some appear in various tenses. Some of the -ίσκω verbs in Makhairas are given below. The verb μεινίσκω ‘to live, to stay’, apart from continuity, eloquently shows that people waited for a potential change of their stay. The MoC form πεθανίσκει also signals evidence of heading towards an end in ‘dying’.

{172} εμεινίσκαν, they stayed, they lived there (but this may change)
{192} απομεινίσκει 's/he remains, it remains'
{230} μακρινίσκείς 'you keep going away, you keep drifting apart, (also in MoC 'you are still becoming taller’
{308} μεγαλυνίσκουν 'they are (or keep) augmenting, they grow up'
{73} απομεινίσκουν 'they remain (from the number they were)'
{96} εσημάνισκε 'he was ringing the bell’ (but someone may tell him to stop doing it’ of the few transitive -ίσκω verbs (found also in the aorist as εσημάναν τες καμπάνες 'they rang the bells'
3.9.5. Semantics and the MC Verb

The meaning of some MC verbs is different from that of the same verbs in MoC. Different use of verbs and different structural patterns require a further study, for instance, in {186} NP ρούχα requires a further insight into this word:

{185} να πάσιν εις τα ρούχα του σουλτάνου
to go-3rd.sg to the clothes the sultan- gen
"to go against the Sultan"

(Pavlides' translation of ρούχα meaning ‘against' (as shown in its SGr texts 1982: 135) is inadequate. There is no C expression να πάω στα ρούχα meaning ‘going against'. The same word is found again in {195} where it has again been translated into άλλο υλικό ‘another material'.

Transitive verbs found in intransitive expressions is another area of interest. Here are some examples of transitive verbs used also as intransitive in MC:

{171} εδώκαν ἐσσω literally meaning ‘they gave inside the house', meaning however ‘they entered inside the house with force', 'in a rush'.

{114} καὶ επήκεν το νόσιν του πάπα
and made it knowledge to the Pope
“and he made it known to the Pope”

{114} ἐδώκεν του κατάμματα
gave-3rd.sg him-gen straight in the eyes
"and he hit him straight in the eyes"

{173} να πάγη τα μέρη της δύσης

to go the places the west
"To go to places of the west"
3.9.6. Passive Voice

Passive voice speaks of another area of the Cypriot verbs’ particular traits. Passive morphology serves above all the meaning. The verb βλέπω ‘to see’ for instance (ancient ὑράω contracted to -ορό, aorist ἐβλεψα and /or εἶδα) has a different meaning in its passive form βλέπομαι ‘I am being careful’, in MC. In the next clause, the same thing applies with the verb βρίσκω (AG εὑρίσκω) and βρίσκομαι literally ‘I am being found’; in MC it is an existential verb, ‘I am’.

{30} καὶ ανέν τινας εμποδιστεί να βλέπεται
and if it is someone be prevented to be protected-3rd.sg
θέλω ποίσειν μικρήν ανθύμισον δια να την διαβάζουν
want making small reminder for to it read
εκεῖνοι όπου βρίσκονται οι ποίγοι θέλουν
these wherever they are the which want
αλεγριάζεσθαι τας παλαιάς ιστορίας
making fun of the old stories
“And if anyone has been prevented from being protected I will make a small reminder for those who have remained and who (will) engage in making fun of the old stories”

The following are passive forms with a particular Cypriot colour:
{91} ἐφθονίστην ‘was being envied’, ερημιάστην ‘was deserted’
{95} σάζονται εσάζον ‘they are preparing’ ‘it was prepared’
{97} εγεννήθην εἰς την Γέννωμαν ‘he was born in Genoa’
{96} πραγματεύγετον ‘he was coming into terms with’
{186} γινόσκεται ‘it is being happening’
{204} ἐτελείωθην ‘it has finished’

Some passive participles also appear in MC forms:
{91} ἀπλικεμένοι ‘inhabited’, διαφεντεμένοι ‘ruled’, ωρισμένοι ‘ordered, appointed’, τα κάρβουνα τα ἀπούμενα ‘the burning coal beads’ {103} μηνιασμένοι τοῦ μηχανοῦ ‘employed by the King’ etc.
3.10. Conclusion

When investigating MC from a G point of view, Greek scholars speak of dissimilarities and/or deviations in the Cypriot verb morphology. From a Cypriot point of view, however, we speak of an innovative evolution from the AG forms. Both finite and non-finite verbs exhibit the creation of new forms. If we dwell on new forms of periphrasis as well as on the formation of tenses, we can clearly speak of a parallel evolution of the MC verb system to that of the Modern Greek system, in some of its forms.

This, in turn, entails a number of hypotheses suggesting that changes are not only due to the length of time Cypriot diverged from the rest of the Greek dialects nor do they relate to the inability of Greek to diffuse changes from Greek into the remote Greek-speaking areas. It also suggests that previous forms of Cypriot may also have been more or less distinct from Greek, even before the period under study.

Some changes in the nominal system found in Makhairas may be found in other Anatolian Greek varieties. They display different uses of the known morphological endings or traits recognised as Greek or Anatolian Greek. Morphological differentiation in the verbal system shows the evolution of Cypriot, which suggests that the language was developing independently of Greek during Makhairas’ period or the previous periods, creating a number of innovative verb forms outside the Greek system.

Where MC has borrowed particular verbal patterns from OFr, it would be hard to claim that MC was independent of this influence. On the one hand, the Cypriot verbal system may have established its uniqueness in that it displays a range of periphrastic tenses, particularly with the verb \( \dot{e}x\omega \) ‘to have’, and other forms that could be compared to similar Old French grammatical forms. On the other hand, to adopt these structures from Old French and apply them in a non Romance language is a creative procedure itself. It is hard not to agree that OFr has influenced MC. Although we noted earlier the inability of Greek to diffuse some new patterns, it would be as difficult to accept that the innovative verbal evolution in MC is purely French when Greek uses the \( \dot{e}x\omega \) auxiliary in other combinations, in relation to its tenses and moods.
In non-finite forms the issue of syntactic change is more interesting. The trend of vulgar Greek for economy (via the abolition of case) first affected the participles. Levelled participles, now unburdened of what gave them time, number, gender and case come to play a significant role in syntax; in the Middle Ages non-finite V-onta is already a major syntactic issue. Infinitives still in use (although less frequent), keep their older endings, and are in the process of a more complete morphosyntactic change.

Makhairas’ verbal system in both finite and non-finite has shown a differentiation between the Greek norm and Cypriot. Differences also in the nominal system prepare for further changes at the level of syntax.
Chapter Four

The word order of Medieval Cypriot

4.0 Introduction

Of the few studies carried out on Medieval Cypriot, very few focus on its syntactic development. Most of the studies concentrate on some aspects of its morphology and on the great number of its loan words from both the Frankish and the Italian influence in its lexicon.

This chapter explores the various aspects of the position of VPs and NPs in Makhairas’ texts. It is hoped that findings, and particularly investigation of the position of NPs functioning as core syntactic arguments, for example as (heads) of subjects (and of objects), will provide some insight into the internal diachronic dynamics of the syntactic change taking place in Medieval Cypriot; they will also help to demonstrate whether the language could have already had, apart from its interrupted VO ordering, a stronger tendency to a more evident and systematic S–final order, during that period.

My interest will focus on word order and on the functionality of different ordering patterns: the relative position of the subject and the predicate mostly but not exclusively is at issue, whereas the position of other elements such as adjectives, numerals, prepositions, conjunctions, definite articles etc, will be dealt with in a much more limited way.

Investigation on the position of the verb will provide accounts of more obvious evidence on the different word order patterns of the language of that era. The structure of nouns and noun phrases will offer convincing data on the pragmatic dynamism of the language; left movement of NPs for reasons of emphasis and/or topicality of both subjects and objects, and the multitude of
the VO transitive arrangements which imply intransitivity in a large number of Cypriot transitive phrases are some indications of the pragmatic activity affecting or influencing the structure.

This ‘activity’, operating on the notion of deep structure, will present an analysis of Ns and NPs and will help to answer additional questions as to approximately what extent Cypriot was ‘leaning’ towards a S-final ordering when the texts were written. Also, the order of the constituents in unmarked narration will be discussed.

As will be shown, Cypriot seems to have developed a different structure from the other Greek dialects and from the Greek «καθόλα Ελληνική» (the more general Greek), whilst retaining many characteristics of the Greek structural features.

The present study represents to my knowledge the first modern treatment of Medieval Cypriot word order. The configuration of the different word order types provided in this study offers a series of exceptions to various proposed syntactic characteristics of diachronic Greek.

Among the studies that had some interest in the word order, or at least on some aspects of the Cypriot syntax, Beaudouin’s (1884) Étude du Dialecte Chypriote includes little information on the position of the main constituents in the medieval Cypriot clause. The very few pages dedicated to some syntactic characteristics are said to have been carried out for the benefit of a ‘more serious’ syntactic understanding of the language.

Beaudouin’s description provides a first step for a further analysis; it does not provide a complete structural description, especially not if measured by the new results arising from the developments in linguistics of the last 30 years. It is my aim, here, to extend Beaudouin’s description to subjects not yet discussed or not sufficiently treated, and to compare the results thus obtained with the syntactic system of G, where this can be applicable, so as to discover all that are peculiar to G and to MC. In this way, I hope to further in a more
general way the explanation of a range of structural phenomena in the Chronicle.

Not few are the scholars who in one way or another declare that syntax has not been their primary concern in describing a language (in its spoken\(^1\) or written form). Mussies, for instance (1971: 13), with his work on NT Greek mentions the following: “Originally, we intended to discuss syntax as well, but seeing that the parts devoted to phonology and morphology grew more and more extensive, we have abandoned this plan and hope to deal with the syntactical particularities in a separate volume or in articles”.

In fact, there exists no thorough research on Cypriot in general. Beaudouin’s study is an investigation on the dialect, even though it is limited. His research rather aims to enrich additional inquiries on Greek and on the evolvement of the Greek dialects. Follow next one of his propositions:

“D’un autre côté, n’est-il pas important d’examiner comment le grec ancien s’est comporté lorsque l’évolution de la langue produisit le travail de dérivation d’où sortit le româque?
Il faut voir si la langue néohellénique est née en vertu des mêmes principes que les langues néolatines.
Ce sont des faits dignes de remarques, que l’existence de mots comme \(i\)Péêîò, \(i\)nînÛ, \(i\)pîò mis en parallèle avec lierre, lendemain, et que l’origine de certains nominatifs, tirés de l’accusatif ancien, comme les substantifs romans viennent de l’accusatif latin.
La construction des différentes parties du discours est d’ailleurs une et identique dans tous les pays grecs, et il n’est pas nécessaire, dans l’étude quelconque, de traiter de la syntaxe de ce dialecte en particulier. Cependant, comme le chypriote actuel a quelques règles qui lui sont propres, par exemple en ce qui concerne les pronoms personnels, et que le chypriote médiéval présente des particularités de syntaxe intéressantes, je n’ai pas
According to Beaudouin’s claims, the different parts of the discourse are the same in all the Greek countries and it is not necessary to treat of the Cypriot syntax with particular interest. However, Beaudouin does mention some different characteristics of medieval Cypriot syntax, suggesting that it has a few special rules, for instance with personal pronouns, and that it presents interesting syntactic particularities. Through these he shows to what extent the Greek language spoken in Cyprus differs from the current principles of modern Greek syntax.

4.1. Linguistic Typology of Word Order and pragmatic word order

Greenberg's (1963) pioneering work, carried out just over three decades ago on different languages, including Greek, and on the Language Universals (τα καθολικά των γλωσσών) was concerned with revealing some important observations on language classification. His samples were from 30 different languages. He employed the following sets in order to group languages together: SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OSV and OVS where O stands for (direct) object, S for subject and V for verb. He also looked at the existence of prepositions as against postpositions in a language and based another categorisation on the position of the adjective in the clause, among other things. In his classification, Greek was classified among the SVO type of languages. The SVO category tends to include languages where adjectives precede nouns and (where) the language is prepositional. Modern Greek complies with most of the SVO characteristics; it is, according to many scholars, a Subject-Verb-Object language, as are most European languages. More contemporary scholars also classify Modern Greek among VSO languages. (See comments below.)

Similarly, other researchers have looked at other parameters of classification of languages, among them Lehmann (1973) and Vennemann (1973, 1974a), who established the above consistent word order types.
Further to these typological studies, Mallinson and Blake (1981) estimated that around 40% of languages are consistent for a set of six properties and Hawkins (1983) proposed in his study, alternatively to Vennemann’s view, the Cross-Category Harmony Principle (CCHP), that languages evolve towards a typological consistency, as discussed by Lehmann and Vennemann.

In more recent research, Dryer (1988, 1992) has challenged some of these correlations with special focus on the AN/NA (adjective noun) and OV/VO (verb object) orders, already challenged in Mallinson and Blake (1981). Comrie’s (1989) approach to typological issues exhibits examples from each language type.

4.1.1. Pragmatics and Word Order

The study of pragmatics describes and explains those aspects of language that reflect that every utterance is part of a larger whole, or ‘context’, both textual and non-textual. Here, I will largely be concerned with pragmatics as the reflection of textual reorganisation, seeking to explain word order patterns as one means of articulating information structure in a text.

There has been a shift from the purely structural notion of the subject toward a more discourse-functional notion of topic, or under some other guises
theme. Following Li and Thompson (1976), Keenan (1978) introduced four basic types of languages: (i) languages that are subject-prominent, (ii) languages that are topic-prominent, (iii) languages that are both subject-prominent and topic-prominent, (iv) languages that are neither subject-prominent nor topic-prominent. In Subject prominent (Sp) languages, the structure of sentences favours a description in which the grammatical relation subject-predicate plays a major role; in topic-prominent (Tp) languages, the basic structure of sentences favours a description in which the grammatical relation topic-comment plays a major role. In type (iii) languages, there are two equally important distinct sentence constructions, the subject-predicate construction and the topic-comment construction; in type (iv) languages the subject and the topic are not distinguishable in all sentence types.

In her 1990 work D. Payne distinguished: (i) languages in which order is primarily used for syntactic functions (signalling grammatical relations), (ii) languages in which order is used to signal the discourse pragmatic-status of information, and (iii) languages in which order displays a mixture of syntactic and pragmatic order (p.25).

Here it will be shown that apart from conforming to a considerable degree with Payne’s (iii) classification, MC introduces other factors which include (a) influence from an extinct variety of language, (b) an inflectional language in which (some) archaic forms are perfectly ‘working’ within the frame of the spoken forms of that period. See Mackridge (1996: 192): “In languages generally, peripheral dialects tend to preserve old features that have disappeared from core dialects. Thus peripheral dialects-when evidence from them is corroborated by older texts-can be a key to understanding the history of the language in its older stages”), and (c) a language where pragmatics have degrammaticalised some syntactic areas, for the sake of communication.

Pragmatic accounts of clausal order are not new in the literature. Pragmatic motivations have been suggested by scholars since the 19th century. Main clauses are more susceptible to pragmatic devices such as topicalisation, focusing etc, however in MC, both embedding and main ordering in the
sentence carry the same responsibility for pragmatic promotion. Relative clauses are the most pragmatically bound (cf. Dunbar, p. 38, Givón 1976a: 167 and Vennemann 1972: 80).

There are no more or less assertive clauses in the structure of discourse, and nor can one classify the more or least pragmatically bound types of clauses as far as their dependency (or non dependency) is concerned.

In MC, subordination undertakes to convey new information as well; it often carries it together with given information. In this endeavour, the author connects and disconnects discourse. Discontinuity in discourse is an obligation requested within the frame of pragmatic rules in the Chronicle. The necessity to communicate with the reader as much as possible goes beyond the general view that apart from relative clauses subordination is the carrier (only) of given information.

4.2. Typology of Modern Cypriot and Standard Greek

In Greenberg’s study of Universals of Language, a number of generalisations could admit of some exceptions. Let us follow Greenberg’s Universal 1. Greenberg suggests in this Universal that in declarative sentences with nominal Subject and Object, the dominant order is almost always the one in which the subject precedes the object. This is however not true for Cypriot; Greenberg’s Universal 1 does not apply to the Cypriot VOS (contemporary) structure (Vassiliou 1995). Greenberg categorised the three common types, the VSO, symbolised in his work as I, SVO symbolised as II and the SOV as III and he excluded the ‘excessively rare’ VOS order (as well as the OSV and OVS). Greenberg also suggested (1963: 91) that in Italian and Greek, Guarani and Swahili, the rule holds that the pronominal object always precedes the verb, whereas the nominal object follows. This is true only for Standard Greek, as we see in the following example: 

to πήρε, to pire ‘it took-s/he’ (pronominal object precedes), it is not true for Cypriot however, επίπηρεν το ‘took-s/he it’ which shows a postverbal pronominal object.
Due to the fact that Greek has been classified as a SVO language in Greenberg’s study, its dialects have also been assumed to have the same structural traits. According to more recent data, modern Cypriot has been shown to be overwhelmingly VOS\(^5\), meaning that its basic structure is different from Greek, and its characteristics comply with most of the V-initial language characteristics.

Newer studies on contemporary Cypriot have tried to point out only some of the obvious structural differences between G and C. One such difference is the order of the clitic discussed by Terzi (1999) on the Cypriot Greek clitics and their positioning restrictions. It is a study which tackles contemporary word order issues (in finite clauses), taken up fully later in this chapter.

The fact that Greek is SVO (or sometimes VSO (see source below)) and that Modern Cypriot has a basic VOS order suggests further typological studies are needed.

There are various structural differences between Greek and Cypriot, from what has been considered as basic in the Greek structure.

Here is an indication of some differences and similarities between Greek and Cypriot, recorded in my MA thesis (Vassiliou 1995):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Greek</th>
<th>Cypriot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>VOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prep</td>
<td>Prep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANa</td>
<td>aNA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGn</td>
<td>NGn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DemNdem</td>
<td>DemNdem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NumNnum</td>
<td>NumNnum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-Rel</td>
<td>N-Rel-(pseudo)N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OclV</td>
<td>VOcl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVIOO</td>
<td>VIOOS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Recent studies characterise Greek as having both SVO and VSO in basic patterns. Klairis and Babiniotis suggest the following (1999: 312):

“It has already been stressed that the change of the order of the constituents in Modern Greek is used for the distinction (marking) of the communicative values of the terms in the clause. That implies that the order of the terms is not associated with the syntactic function (subject, object etc), as it is the case with other languages”. (my translation).

The relationship between SVO and VSO has been extensively studied within the framework of Generative Grammar: Philippaki-Warburton (1997, in Holton et al. (1997)) has characterised SGr as VSO in its basic order in her studies. Horrocks (1983) believes that SGr has both SVO and VSO as basic orders and Drachman states that Greek is SVO. In Greek, say most of the above scholars, two out of the six possible combinations of S, V, and O can be regarded as basic, and these are the SVO, and VS(O).

These previous comments on the Greek basic patterns do not give specific answers to reasons sparking these structural arrangements, or to what is still keeping them equivalent, in numbers or degree of basicness. The equivalence of SVO and VSO, as suggested by Klairis and Babiniotis requires a wider range of studies on the current Greek order. It also requires a more thorough insight into the Medieval Greek word order.

More complete recent studies on Greek word order appeared in the last two decades. These are not on Cypriot word order, or directly aimed at its study, or even representative of it. It is through exceptions or restrictions in the G order that one often faces or meets areas of typological interest, where these exceptions happen not to apply for Cypriot. For instance, Alexiadou’s comments on the VOS {V Comp clause=O S} order suggesting it is not correct for G (1999: 56) is perfectly correct for Cypriot; in Cypriot it is grammatically correct, or at least possible to say:
rotise an tha erthi o Ahileas i Meropi
asked whether fut come-3sg the-Ahileas the-Meropi
V Comp-Clause S
‘Meropi asked whether Ahileas will come (was coming)’
(based on Alexiadou's example)

Cypriot allows a more flexible word order than G grammatical rules or restrictions allow.

Early MC idiomatic combinations tend to have VOS word order, a particularly informative matter discussed extensively in 4.4.2.2.

4.3. Diachronic Studies of Greek word order: Preliminary comments

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who gave up on the subject of the word order, is probably the most eloquent example of pointing out difficulties encountered with the issue of order in Greek. ⁷ (quoted in Dik 1995:2)

Well, it seemed to me that we should follow nature as much as possible, and to fit together the parts of speech as she demands. For example, I thought I should place nouns before verbs (since the former indicate substance, and the latter the accident, and in the nature of things the substance is prior to its accidents).{...} The theory is persuasive, but I decided that it was not valid.{...} Again, I thought it was better to place verbs in front of adverbs, since that which acts or is acted upon is prior to those auxiliaries indicating manner, place, time and the like, which we call adverbs.{...} This principle, like the first one, is attractive, but it is equally unsound.{...} Yet again, I thought that I should never relax my efforts to see that things which were prior in time should also be taken prior in order.{...} And still further, I thought it right to put my nouns before my adjectives, common before proper nouns, and pronouns before common nouns; and with verbs, to take care that the indicative should precede the other moods, and finite verbs infinites, and so on. But experience upset all those assumptions and showed them to be completely worthless. Sometimes the
composition was rendered pleasing by these and similar arrangements, but at other times not by these but by the opposite sort. So for these reasons I abandoned such theories.

(Translation from the Loeb editions, in Dik (1995)).

The following section will present some general comments on the word order of Ancient and New Testament Greek and on the understanding of the notion of pragmatics, on which most of the scholars rely in order to explain the different structural patterns of the language. This section will not present an account of all aspects of Greek word order. I will only include a limited number of studies on this issue.

4.3.1. AG Word Order

Pragmatic approaches to Greek word order have been around for a long time. Verbs in initial position attracted quite a few scholars, due to the fact that opinions on basic word order have always varied.

AG verbs can be final, internal or initial (Dover 1960). Dover has been for many years the standard work on Greek word order. He explored three factors that influence word order: semantic determinants, syntactic determinants and logical determinants which ‘he would now term pragmatic’ (Dik 1995: 259). He distinguished a third class of words in terms of their word order behaviour which he called preferential words and described as mobile, words that are ‘disproportionately common’ at the beginning of a clause (interrogatives, negatives, demonstrative ό, words relating successive clauses as a whole one to another, emphatic personal pronouns, pronouns and adjectives and adverbs deriving from them, νυν ‘now’ as opposite to τότε ‘then’, the ό αυτός pattern (where a definite article co-occurs with a demonstrative), and many more.

The question ‘VSO, SVO, or SOV’ is also asked by Cervin (1990), in his work (unpublished ms, University of Illinois). Devine and Stephens (1994: 382) call Classical Greek ‘basically a subject-object-verb’ language. Friedrich studied a 300 line sample of Homeric Greek (a very small sample) and he found that
SVO and SOV are about equally frequent in the Iliad. On the other hand, Fischer, (1924), studied a 400 line sample from further on in the same book and found a predominance of SOV pattern.

The notion of pragmatics in the study of the order of Greek has been pointed out by Dik (1995: 9) as follows: The crucial point of language use is that “sentences do not exist in vacuo. They need producers (speakers, writers) and recipients (hearers, readers) and will serve a communicative function. {...} the study of pragmatics describes and explains those aspects of language that reflect that every utterance is part of a larger whole, or ‘context’, both textual and non-textual”.

With her attempt to discuss initial verbs (in AG) and their communicative function, Luraghi (1995: 373) discusses the notion of first position verbs and initial position verbs as two different notions examined in Xenophon’s work: First position is defined by Luraghi as the position of the first accented constituent in a sentence which is preceded only by an accented connective, whereas initial position is defined as the position of the first accented word in a sentence which is not preceded by a connective. Greek is a free word order language, says Luraghi. It is very hard to detect a basic or more frequent word order, although clearly a number of rules can be traced out, especially concerning enclitics and other types of particles, pronouns, and other conjunctions. The relative order of nominal constituents and the position of the verb are found to be pragmatically determined.

Here, the notion of first position verbs and initial position verbs is the same, although there is classification of initial elements, which includes verbal elements.

The notion of pragmatics has also been introduced in the study of Greek to explain the order of subordinate versus main clauses, which often cannot be explained in terms of syntax and semantics. Wakker, for instance, in his 1994 work (p. 50-90), showed that the position of subordinate clauses in conditional sentences are better described in terms of pragmatics. McKay (1994: 7)
suggests that in the basic study of the syntax of the verb in ancient Greek word order is not usually significant, but for understanding a full meaning of a passage the word order may be as important as the types of clause or other features. Sometimes it might even appear that the syntax has been to some extent influenced by the word order. Also, Philippaki-Warburton, speaking of marked structures in Greek (SGr), observes that SVO is a marked structure (S=topic) and that VSO is a neutral, unmarked structure (ουδέτερη, αμφικάρμιστη δομή). (Philippaki-Warburton (1982a), (1985) (also commented on by Karantzis 2001: 273).

4.3.2. NT Word Order

Our only access into the world of the New Testament is through the text of the New Testament. Following Porter and Carson (1995: 17), many critical scholars of the New Testament were also informed scholars of the Greek language. New Testament Greek has been studied intensely through discourse analysis. Within the discipline of linguistics, discourse analysis, or otherwise text-linguistics, is one of the most important and widely investigated areas of research; it has attempted to integrate into a coherent model of interpretation the three traditional areas of linguistic analysis: semantics, concerned with the meaning through the forms of the language, syntax, concerned with the organisation of these forms into meaningful units, and pragmatics, concerned with the meaning of these forms in specific linguistic contexts 'what speakers mean, when they use the forms' (1995: 18).

A form may be grammatically subordinate to another yet semantically of equal or even greater prominence. Elements of prominence in New Testament Greek, for instance, have been found to be among other, verbal aspect or repetitions of lexical or pronominal forms, word order, clause structure, the peaks of chiasmus structures etc.

In Porter’s Discourse Analysis (on a part of NT Greek) Reed explains (1995: 95): “Word order, especially when subjects and verbs are both grammaticalised, is another signalling device of prominence. {...} Since word order in Greek is somewhat flexible, the use of prominence may help to explain apparently random variations of word order which many have
dismissed as an insignificant feature of an inflected language. {...} Why does one sentence have SVO order and another VSO order? The answer is apparently related to the relative prominence of the linguistic components in clauses, that is, their informational structure. {...} When a subject is grammaticalised, the unmarked word order is SO, with the verb falling before or after the object (SVO, SOV...) A general rule to follow is that the more to the right an item occurs in the clause, the more prominent it is in the clause. The more to the left an item occurs in the clause, the more prominent it is in the paragraph (or discourse)

On word order variation, McKay (1994: 6) observes: “The comprehensive system of inflexions makes it possible for the syntactic relationship of words to be recognised although the order of uttering the words may vary. This possibility is exploited by most writers for emphasis and stylistic effect, but the patterns are not easy to recognise. It is always necessary to look at whole clauses, usually whole sentences, and sometimes whole paragraphs, in order to appreciate the effects of word order variation”.

4.3.3. MGr Word Order

Emmanuel Kriaras has provided the standard ‘lexical’ work on Medieval Greek. His invaluable lexica on the Medieval Greek words are one of the main references that exist on this matter. In Kriaras’ work (1939) are scattered only some limited examples of language change. There is still work to be done in the field of MGr diachronic syntax. Holton (1993: 118) observes: “Indeed syntax, as opposed to morphology or lexicography, has tended to be ignored or taken for granted in what few studies we have of the language of early vernacular literature. A further problem is that the interests and approaches of these historical linguists who have studied these texts are not the same as those of the philologists and literary critics, who tend to focus on either editorial problems or stylistic analysis of the texts (1993:118). Consequently, the mere accumulation of linguistic material of various texts of all periods of medieval and early modern Greek literature (as well as non-literary texts) is fraught with danger unless it is accompanied by a quantitative study of the linguistic phenomena present in each text.”
4.3.4. Some notes on the SGr pragmatics order

While inflection marks the roles of the different constituents in the clause, pragmatics in Greek play a crucial role in that the different terms can move freely. However, while Greek is regarded as a SVO language, it expresses a wide range of “thetic” utterances with a VS structure. With a recent survey by Sasse (1987), one follows the sensitivity of the Greek language due to pragmatics and of the semantic and discourse pragmatics correlations in certain structures. Following Sasse, VS clauses are highly next type specific.

4.4. Medieval Cypriot Word Order

The following statement by Pullum serves as an introduction to this part of the study dealing with the MC word order. According to Pullum (1977: 266), the least pragmatically marked sentences are in themselves often difficult to find because ‘neutrality presupposes no preceding context’. It is in fact from the beginning that one follows the flow of the narrative and the introduction of notions such as topic and focus. In the following clause, some historical facts are introduced the first time the Byzantine Emperor Constantine the Great is referred to. Consider the following clauses. They are taken from the very first pages of the narrative. (Immediately following is a SVO clause.):

{3} Ο μεγάς Κωνσταντίνος μετά το βαπτισθήναι εἶπεν ὅτι η δική μας η Κύπρος ἐμείνεν χωρίς τινάν χρόνους λε’, διατί εγίνην πείνα μεγάλη
The great Constantine after the christening said that our own Cyprus stayed without anyone years 36, because there was great famine
“Great Constantine, after he was baptised, said that Cyprus remained with no inhabitants for 36 years because there was a great famine.”

This is the first time that Great Constantine (S) is introduced in the narrative. In the story, S is preverbal and clause-initial. The clause is SV where S and V are disrupted by an adverbial clause of time (μετά το βαπτισθήναι).
In the next paragraph {4}, it is the turn of Saint Helena, Great Constantine’s sainted mother, to be introduced in a VOS clause:

{4} τότε επήρεν ορισμόν η αγία δέσποινα Ελένη η μητέρα του απέ τον υιόν της να πάγη να γυρεύση τον τίμιον σταυρόν
then took order the saint lady Helen the mother his from the son hers
to go to seek the holy cross

“Then Saint Helen his mother was asked by her son to go and seek for the Holy Cross.”

This is a VOS structure, where S is postverbal in this sentence. Some comments need to accompany this ordering:

Firstly, consider the transitive construction επήρεν ορισμόν ‘she took (an) order’. Then notice the following: (i) passive voice has been avoided in this clause. The author could have used the verb διατάσσομαι or διατάζομαι, in the passive voice, ‘to receive orders’, in the Cypriot aorist εδιατάχθην. This might not have existed in the Medieval Cypriot lexicon; if it did, it was not judged suitable by the author to be used in that context because of its strong meaning; the same verb also implies ‘to oblige (often with force) someone to do something’. With the use of the verb παίρνω ‘to receive’, the meaning of receiving becomes a deed of willing: ‘I take because I want to, not only because I have orders to do so’, or ‘I take because I asked you before, for what you gave me’, ‘I take because I deserve it’, or ‘I take because I struggled for it’. The verb παίρνω, that is, used in this context, serves a number of other issues. On the other hand, the definition of ορισμός ‘order’, is not rigid as it also implies ‘I am letting you know’. In Greek we say ορίστε literally ‘give your orders’, when someone calls us or when we miss what has been said, ‘I beg your pardon’.

This first VS structure is not coincidental. With Cypriot transitive constructions, the Agent (A) argument of a transitive verb is hidden when the result reveals offensiveness from the part of A; this is a σχήμα οξύμωρον, an ‘oxymoron schema’ of the language, as it also uses transitive constructions to dismiss
this offensiveness by promoting the potential P to a new S (A), and accepting
the so called ‘offence’ through his or her own will. Thus, the potential clause
ο Μέγας Κωνσταντίνος διέταξε την Αγία Ελένη 'Great Constantine ordered
Saint Helena', became in colloquial Cypriot επήρευν ορισμόν η Αγία Ελένη. In
fact, discontinuity of the different elements in this clause arises from this
order; final clause να πάγη να γυρεύση τον τίμιον σταυρόν, ‘to go and seek
for the holy cross’ is in the end of the clause, where the flow of the order
could have been thought to be ‘smoother’ with a S initial clause, i.e. The next
is a hypothetical S-initial clause:

Τότε, η αγία δέσποινα Ελένη η μητέρα του επήρευν ορισμόν από τον
υιό της να πάγη να γυρεύση τον τίμιον σταυρόν

Then the saint lady Helena the mother his took order from the son
hers to go to seek the holy cross

“Then, Saint Helena received an order form her son to go and
seek for the Holy Cross”

The author has chosen a V-initial clause to convey this message. The above
discussion does not explain the order of the verb in the clause in relation to its
S. The second point I wish to make is that, apart from the choices made by
some language-internal criteria indispensable in regard to not insulting or
openly blaming respectable agents (more on this notion further on), another
factor in this clause may have also played a decisive role for word order
choice. Adverbial τότε ‘then’, signals an immediate expanse of the story; it
requires a connection of ‘previous’ facts to ‘following’. A survey of the texts
proves that adverbs denoting immediate connection or continuation of acts
within the story (within the frame of immediate response) are placed in
paragraph initial position and are immediately followed by a verb. The same
order is required to be followed by the verb εγίνετον in paragraph {10}, but in
this particular instance, postverbal S has acquired this position for an
additional reason: verb γίνομαι ‘to happen, to become’ is existential, and
existential verbs trigger a VS order, as seen from my statistics based on the
database. Example {10} are Adv.V S and conj +VS. The example in {11} is
SVO. This brings me to the next part of my discussion. Note the underlined noun in the following clause:

{10} Αφότις εγίνετον η αφεντική διάβασις του λαού, τον εσυμπίσασεν ένας διόκας ονόματι Τε Πουλίου και εκάμαν οι Λατίνοι όλην την γην της επαγκελίας και τους Σαρακηνούς αιχμαλωτεύσαν τους...

Since happened the ruling passing of the people the which took one duke with the name of De Bouillon and made the Latins all the land of the promise and the Saracens they captured them

“As soon as the power (rule) on the people passed to a duke named De Bouillon, the Latins took all the promised land and captured the Saracens...”

Also note paragraphs {11} and {13}:

{11} ο ποταμός ο χείμαρρος εκατέβασεν πολλήν άμμον και καταχερός εσκέπασέν την. Και λαλούν οι λαός ότι τούτον τον λίθον εστί λίθος ελευθερίας...

the river the torrent brought down a lot of sand and (completely?) covered it. And say the people that-conj. that-dem stone-acc. is a stone-nom of freedom

“the torrent-like river has brought down a lot of sand and covered it (completely). And people say that this stone is a stone of freedom”

{13} Οι άνωθεν Τεμπλώτες ήσαν πολλά άρχοντες και είχαν μεσόν τους μεγάλην αιρετικίαν

The above Templars were very rich people and had between them big split

“The above Templars were very rich and had a big split between them”

The referents above will form another point in my discussion, on the pragmatic notion of Focus, Topic and S-fronting in Cypriot, as well as on the position of S in symbolic and colloquial phrases or in the λόγια του λαού ‘words of the people’, that is, in philosophical expressions and statements and
in wise phrases, ‘locutions de sagesse’, particularly if reasons of hierarchy of animates> inanimates or the contrary are (not) important to keep.

Great Constantine and Saint Helena are both introduced here for the first time. Μέγας Κωνσταντίνος is referred to only once in the whole narrative, whereas Αγία Ελένη takes part in the narration in the first pages of the work; they don’t play a major role in the narrative, and they have been presented only to introduce and establish basic and preliminary historical facts; however they play a role in the wider history and in the culture of the Greek people. Their position in the sentence is different. The former is in initial position preverbally and the latter is in postverbal position in the beginning of another clause. One may suggest that this is because of the Adv in {4} and that the NP referring to αγία Ελένη may be the first mention but it is not discourse or even paragraph initial. Nevertheless, the clauses appearing first in each paragraph are SVO and Adv VOS. Similarly in {10}, the Λατίνοι (the Latins), who play a major role in the whole narrative, are introduced through an internal matrix clause, where Λατίνοι is in a postverbal position, although introduced for the first time.

Here are some additional notes to stretch this discussion further:

Μέγας Κωνσταντίνος is a prominent Topic

Αγία Ελένη, the Emperor’s sainted mother whose story is linked with Cyprus, covers a few paragraphs in the introductory pages of the Chronicle. Her presence in the book is short; she is a (short-lived) discourse Topic although information regarding her presence on the island is neither continuous nor insignificant.

The Λατίνοι is a topic that is continuously present in the story; it is a permanent and recurring Topic.

The αφεντική διάβασις is not a proper noun, it is not an animate and follows an existential verb, in the above clause; S follows the verb. In the same paragraph, the word λας ‘people’ in {11}, follows a verb of communication (speech verb λαλώ), in a clause which starts with coordinator καὶ.
Similarly, the Τεμπλιώτες in {13} is preceded by ἀνωθεν, a clue of topicality, stressing that the Τεμπλιώτες have been previously introduced. This NP precedes the verb in the clause.

These examples show how word order is affected by various factors:

a) prominence is important
b) the ‘ununderlined’ flow of the αφήγησις ‘narration’ (or εξήγησις as called by Makhairas), is essential for the order of either short-lived or long-lived topics

c) in embedding, S seems to be postverbal
d) when a sentence-initial adverb is present, S tends to be postverbal
e) a clause-initial καί does not seem to affect word order, VSO or SVO are both possible after it

f) some verbs require postverbal position of S

g) in Cypriot there exist colloquial expressions which require a particular position of S, regardless of the fact that this position can coincide with the position of focal elements

If I had to formulate a number of hypotheses based on the above factors, I would suggest the following:

(i) discourse Topics eventually and gradually fade; they follow a flow of narration where they will then appear mostly post-verbally
(ii) pre-mentioned S appear in preverbal positions
(iii) existential verbs normally precede NPs
(iv) expressions in structures where both S and O are present show a preverbal NP

Establishing facts on the order of MC requires focusing on each of the clauses separately. In order to recognise the function of pragmatics in the clauses I based my research on two major criteria.

(i) Most of the study’s data are taken from parts of the narrative where clause boundaries can be defined: it is important to see what position paragraph
initial elements, either nominals, adverbs, conjuncts or predicates may have. Linking elements such as καὶ as well as adverbs are also studied here and are a relevant factor of the research.

(ii) An inquiry into the order of non-paragraph initial clauses justifies the order of initially placed selected elements.

Other secondary criteria helping this process are an inquiry into what precedes and follows the most frequently appearing paragraph-initial constituents (adverbs, conjuncts), comparison of end-clause constituents with beginning clause constituents and comparison of similar patterns in clause internal cases.

4.4.1. Clause-initial elements

The discussion follows the most frequent clause order, starting with Conjunctions and Adverbs, then Verbs and core syntactic NPs.

4.4.1.1. Stitchers of narration: coordinator καὶ and other conjunctions

Narrative καὶ in initial paragraph position represents the 42.2% of all the initial paragraph elements in the Chronicle. In numbers this represents 110 instances of 301 total occurrences.

Καὶ in paragraph-initial position is the major linking element in the Chronicle; not only does it serve as a connective or a bridge between one paragraph and another, it also creates new ‘bricks’ in which new information extends the narrative to its completed length. Take for example paragraph {174}. In this paragraph King Peter the First of Cyprus is said to have written letters to the Pope ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐπιφάνειος γράφει, ‘the King wrote letters’ explaining what happened in Alexandria, where his men frightened the Saracens and captured part of the town. In paragraph {175}, the author speaks of the same topic, yet the central person is no longer the King and his letters to the Pope but the Admiral, who went to Rhodes from Cyprus, and then embarked for Genoa to give these messages to the Pope. Follow the following καὶ+Vnonfin OS, Vsubj. agr. PP καὶ Vsubj.agr. PP) clause.
And hearing the news the admiral raised off from there and went to Genova;
“And when the Admiral heard of the news he departed (from there) and went to Genova”.

A few paragraphs further down, in {177}, a new concept is introduced in the story, which is not linked directly to the story of the King’s messengers to Rome. In the beginning of this paragraph, a date takes initial position, where contrarily to other και-date structures, the date is not lead by και connective:

On the 25th April 1366 AD, of his returning to Cyprus, King Peter ordered they make him galleys and light ships
“On the 25th of April 1366 AD, of his returning to Cyprus, King Peter ordered they make him galleys and light ships”

This sentence consists of one head Ψ ώρισε, with an embedded nonfinite clause and embedded complement clause Τη κε´ απριλιου πξε´ Χριστου υ ρε Πιερ εστρεφοντα του εις την Κυπρον, ορια να του ποισουν κατεργα και σατιες

With και in initial position we note the following:
a) Και placed in front of any other constituent in the beginning of the paragraph, or in internal clause structures, is the key element on the canvas of narration; it is the first stitch. This ‘stitch’ functions in the following multiple ways:
b) The notion of ‘furthermore’ or ‘therefore’ is also conveyed through και
c) Overcoordination in Makhairas, expressed with και, does not produce ineffective writing. The big range of identical structures in initial position do not imply the writer’s lack of imagination. The following is an example where και emphatic overlaps with και connective.
And before to come out the king from the Venice sent one ship with the-Sir Henry de Giblet and went to the-Genoa and reaffirmed the-
peace and accompanied the leader of the Genoese... and came the
four ships and sent him to the-Cyprus...

"And before his leaving Venice, the King sent a ship to Sir Henry de
Giblet and went to Genoa and they reaffirmed peace and he
accompanied the leader of the Genoese...and three galleys came and
met the King in Rhodes and took him to Cyprus"

The only overt S NP here is in the first clause, all the rest are just marked by
verb agreement: 1) Conj+Adv +Vsubjun+S+PP, 2) VO +PP, 3) καὶ V PP, 4)
καὶ VO, 5) καὶ VO 6) καὶ V S, 7) καὶ V O PP, 8) καὶ V Oclit PP

d) καὶ-internal as an element of joining short Subject- minus (V-s) clauses:
As seen in {165}, καὶ-internal (καὶ-int) introduces short independent clauses:

"And before the King left Venice, he sent a ship with Sir Henry de
Giblet and went to Genoa and reaffirmed peace. And (the ship) kept
company to the leader of the Genoese, Giacomo Salvago who was on
his way to Cyprus with (his) three ships and (all) four ships came and
found the King in Rhodes and he (the King) sent him (Salvago) to
Cyprus"
e) emphatic καί: Emphasis is not easy to detect in the Chronicle, one can however predict that emphatic constituents which often precede or are followed by καί from the context and from eliminating other functions of καί in the same paragraph.

The story tells us about the governor who appointed Jack de Nores in his position (as a new governor) and where him (the previous governor) and the rest of the noblemen embarked on the ships; the example in {162} shows καί in emphasis (in καί κείνος καί οἱ λοιποί αφέντες, καί is conjoining two NPs):

{162} Καί τη πέφτη τη δε Ιουνίου ατξ’ Χριστοῦ ο αυτός κουβερνώρης ορθώφθη εἰς τὸν τόπον του του ρήγατου τον σιρ Τζάκε τε Νόρες... καί κείνος καί οἱ λοιποί αφέντες ενέβησαν εἰς τα κάτεργα.

And on the Thursday the 25th of June 1365 of Christ the-that governor ordained to the place his of the kingdom the Sir Jack de Nores... and he and the rest masters embarked on the ships

“And on Thursday the 25th of June 1365 AD, the governor ordained Sir Jack de Nores as a governor (in order) to take his place in the kingdom, and he and the rest of the masters embarked on the ships.”

The next example also speaks of such emphasis:

{166} Καί ο μέγας μάστρος καί ὅλοι οἱ φρέριδες επαρακλέσαν τον ρήγαν να στερεώση αγάπην με τον Ἁγιον Ιωάννην καί με τα Παλατία.

And the big master and (as well as) all the friars begged the King to fix peace with Saint John and with the palace.

"And the big master and all the friars begged the King to establish peace with (the Knights of) Saint John and the Palatia (Ephesos and Militos in Asia Minor)."

f) καί introducing dates. This pattern is most common in the texts, most frequently in paragraph initial position, as do adverbs and other temporal NPs which also precede the rest of the clause; see the previous example {162}
and the following example. In the first \{162\}, καί-date is followed by S, and in the second \{368\} it is followed by V:

\{368\} καί το σαμβάτον, τη ιδ’ μαγίον ατογ’ Χριστού Ἰρτεν ὁ Τακκάς
and on Saturday the 14th of May 1373 came the-Takka
"And on Saturday the 14th of May Takka came"

Note \{368\} above the temporal NP which precedes V and S (not SV), parallel to clauses with initial Adv.

\(\text{g) καί clause-internal. Apart from linking constituents and clauses, clause-internal καί can often be interpreted as a part of a missing element in a relative clause; it is similar to the relative clause constituent που (or in other cases it is equal to reanalysed conjunct πως, 'that'). Καί undertakes to link relative clauses; the relative pronoun is missing in the second clause:}

\{170\} Γροικώντα τα μαντάτα οι Αμουχουστιανοί επικράνθησαν πολλά δια πολλά πράγματα (τα είχαν αγορασμένα εἰς τὴν Συριάν) (καί δεν ήτον μόδος να σηκώθον εύκολα)
Hearing the news the people of Amohostos saddened much for many things which had bought in the-Syria and not was way to be lifted easily
“Hearing these news, the people of Amohostos saddened deeply for the many things (goods) they had bought in Syria and there was no way to bring (them) home”.

\(\text{h) καί linking past and present tenses.}

The historical present is often coordinated with the past tense (aorist). The following example exhibits this form of coordination. The structure displayed in \{171\}, \{172\}, is a counter-example to my previous discussion of paragraph-initial adverbs triggering a V-initial order; here this is due to pragmatics or to hierarchy reasons.

\{171\} Ἡτζου, εἰς ολλίγον καιρῶν ο ρήγας με τὴν βοήθειαν του θεού εβγήκεν καὶ πηγαίνει Ἐς το Ραούζε...
Thus, in little time the-king with the help of God came out and goes to the-Kramvousa

“And with the help of God, the King set off for Kramvousa, in a little time..."

i) The number of complement clauses is significantly reduced, due to the use of \textit{kai}: The low number of complements is noticeable in the whole work, due to reanalysis of \textit{kai} coordinator to \textit{kai} conjunct (either from borrowed French ‘que’ or non-borrowed reanalysed \textit{kai}). \textit{kai} is used instead of \textit{na}, in \textit{na-comp} clauses (see also the section on \textit{kai} as ‘que’ complementiser, 4.4.4.).

\{172\} O \textit{δε} ληγάτος μοναύτα ώρισεν και εποίκαν παρακάλεσες

The \textit{δε}-partc representative at once ordered and made-they prayers

“(As for) the delegate, (representative), he ordered at once they make prayers"

Another possible structure would have been

O \textit{δε} ληγάτος μοναύτα ώρισεν \underline{\textit{να}} ποικιλον παρακάλεσες

\underline{\textit{to}}

j) \textit{kai} linking a phrase (or constituents) to a clause: Again the example in \{172\} shows \textit{kai} connecting a main clause with a phrase:

\{172\} Και ο ρήγας εποίκεν καβαλλάρην του Τζάκε τε Λουζιγιάν τον

\textit{adelfon} του \underline{\textit{kai}} τον \textit{σιρ} Τομίας τ’ Αντιότζε...

And the king made knight the-Jack te Lusignan the brother his and the-Thomas de Antioch

"And the King made his brother Jack de Lusignan a Knight together with Sir Thomas of Antioch"

Again, as before, underlined \textit{kai} in \{172\} is conjoining NPs, not clauses.
k) Kai in a periphrastic tense: The form \{\text{nonfin(V-onta)} + \text{kai} + \text{past tense}\}, as in \(\text{έχοντα καὶ εἶχεν, ‘having that he had’, ‘being that he had’}\) is also discussed in the verb section of this work \(\text{nonfin} + \text{kai fin}\).

l) Redundant or pleonastic Kai is from time to time noticeable and occurs frequently; take for instance example in paragraph \(\{5\}\), where Kai in the last part of the clause is redundant. It may have been used for emphasis however it is not contrastive here as for instance in a sentence such as με τόσα φοβερίσματα καὶ ηύρεν τον τίμιον σταυρόν 'with so many menaces, she (Saint Helena) was able (managed) to find the Holy Cross':

\{5\} Kai monaúta emíseusen kai epíγεν eis tìn Ierousalhlmì, kai me mégan kópon kai pollhín éxodon kai foíberísmata kai hýreun ton tímion stauron

And at once he went away and went to Jerusalem and with great pain and a lot of expenses and menaces and she found the Holy Cross

"And she left at once and went to Jerusalem and with great pain and many expenses and menaces she found the Holy Cross”.

Possible structures with non-redundant Kai in \(\{5\}\):

\{5\} Kai monaúta emíseusen kai epígyen eis tìn Ierousalhlì me mégan kópon kai pollhín éxodon kai foíberísmata kai hýreun ton tímion stauron

also

\{Kai monaúta emíseusen kai epígyen eis tìn Ierousalhlì\}
\{kai me mégan kópon kai pollhín éxodon kai foíberísmata hýreun ton tímion stauron\}

Another example showing redundant Kai is in \(\{105\}\):

\{105\} Παγαίνοντα οἱ μαντατοφόροι ομπρός τοῦ πάπα καὶ εἶπαν τοῦ τον θάνατον του κυρού του καὶ το στέψιμον του ρε Πιέρ.
When the messengers went in front of the pope and told him about the
death of his father and the coronation of king Peter.

“When the messengers came in front of the Pope they told him about
the death of his father (the King’s father) and the coronation of King
Peter”

This form of structure is discussed further in this chapter, where \( \text{kai} \) seems to
be linking two V-onta clauses and where the second (V-onta) nonfinite verb is
a verb which cannot allow a V-onta ending in temporal adverbs, as \( \lambda \alpha \lambda \omega \nu \tau a \)
used as manner and not temporal adverb.

1) \( \text{kai} \) linking non-finites and finites.
The forms \( \epsilon \chi \omicron \nu \tau a \ \text{kai} \ \epsilon \iota \chi \omicron \nu \tau a \) ‘having found’ discussed above and all forms with
\( \epsilon \chi \omicron \nu \tau a \ + \ ) finite verbs show \( \text{kai} \) (here replacing conjunct \( \pi \omega \zeta \) ‘that’) in
coordination with a finite. (For \( \text{kai} \) conjunct in Greek see Holton et al. (1997: 468); see also 4.4.4. on \( \text{kai} \) from French ‘que’ complementiser.

Apart from \( \text{kai} \), the Cypriot coordinator \( \alpha \kappa \omicron \mu \nu \) ‘furthermore, yet’ is found in
initial position in the following 16 examples: {33}, {34}, {39}, {64}, {76}, {89},
{513}, {514}, {515}, {516}, {518}, {519}, {548}, {662}, {668}, {685}. It is followed
mainly by V; in all but 3 examples, namely {76}, {515} and {516}, the
coordinator \( \alpha \kappa \omicron \mu \nu \) directly precedes the V.

There are only 3 examples of \( \alpha \mu \mu \epsilon \) ‘but’ in initial position in the Chronicle;
these are {400} followed by S, {498} followed by PP and {500} followed by
V.

4.4.1.2. On \( \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau a \nu \), \( \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau a \nu \) and other adverbs
The adverbial of time \( \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau a \nu \) ‘when’ is interesting, for it displays
an exclusive number of \( \{ \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau a \nu \ V \} \) or \( \{ \text{kai} \ \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau a \nu \ V \} \) patterns which, in turn,
provide a surprising number of VS and VSO clauses in subordination. This
fact supports my hypothesis that Medieval Cypriot tends to have V-initial non-
main clauses, which reflect (and support) the trend to initial V in all types of
clauses.
For instance, we find 5 cases of \( \text{άνταν} \) paragraph-initial clauses in Makhairas, namely \{124\}, \{126\}, \{192\}, \{564\} and \{547\}, which are all followed by V. (\{124\}=VS, \{126\}=VS, \{192\}=VSO, \{547\}=VSO, \{564\}=VSO). (In \{547\}, \( \text{άνταν} \) appears with the accent in the last syllable as \( \text{αντάν} \).) Thus 100% of \( \text{άνταν} \)-initial clauses are followed by a V.

In addition to these clauses, a much greater number of \{\text{Καὶ \( \text{άνταν} \)}\} initial clause, initial paragraph occurrences support the same hypothesis: more specifically, 20 instances (95.2%) of \( \text{καὶ \( \text{άνταν} \)} \) initial paragraph occurrences have finite verbs following them, except for 1 instance, \{395\}, which exhibits \( \text{καὶ \( \text{άνταν} \)} \) with a SVO order. (The \( \text{καὶ \( \text{άνταν} \)} \) clauses have been included in the \( \text{Καὶ-} \) initial clauses.) The are \{185\} (VOS), \{225\} (VS), \{233\} (VS), \{237\} (VSO), \{273\} (VS) \{298\} (VPP), \{331\} (VS comp), \{366\} (VS), \{369\} (VS Gen O), \{395\} (SVO), \{426\} (VS), \{530\} (VS), \{552\} (VS PP), \{679\} (VS), \{680\} (VS), \{687\} (VSO), \{666\} (VS Gen), \{667\} (V PP), \{665\} (VS Gen PP), \{696\} (VS) and \{452\} a \( X \) \( \text{άνταν} \) example (V)

Except for \{185\} showing a \{\text{Καὶ \( \text{άνταν} \)} VOS\} order, and for \{237\}, \{687\} and \{369\} showing a \{\text{Καὶ \( \text{άνταν} \)} VSO\} and (in the latter) \{\text{Καὶ \( \text{άνταν} \)} VS X O\} ordering, and also, apart from a single SVO pattern following \( \text{καὶ \( \text{άνταν} \)} \) in \{395\}, all the other clauses appear with \( \text{καὶ \( \text{άνταν} \)} \) VS orderings, with two instances, \{298\} and \{667\}, where S is encoded in the verb.

The same appears with \( \text{ἐνταν} \) and \( \text{Καὶ \( \text{ένταν} \)} \); there are 7 occurrences of \( \text{ἐνταν} \) paragraph initial in the texts, all but one followed by a verb. In one instance, namely in \{14\}, the order is \{\text{ἐνταν} SVO\}. All other clauses have V following \( \text{ένταν} \) temporal adverb; more analytically, in \{80\} the order is \( \text{ἐνταν} \) VS, in \{139\} \{\text{ἐνταν} VXS order\}, in \{354\} \{\text{ἐνταν} VOS order\}, in \{356\} \{\text{ἐνταν} VSO\} order and in \{4\} a \{\text{ἐνταν} VS order\}. I also included in this group a clause starting with \( \text{έταν} \), a probable variant of \( \text{ένταν} \), or a misspelt \( \text{ένταν} \). Thus overall 85.7 % of \( \text{έ(ν)ταν} \) are immediately followed by a V.
Similarly, with the other 20 occurrences of \{Καί ὄνταν\}, only two examples are found where \{Καί ὄνταν\} is not followed by a verb, namely in \{7\}, where \{Καί ὄνταν\} has a SVO order following it, and in \{22\}, where again a \{Καί ὄνταν Oclit.VS\} order is recorded. All the other occurrences appear with a \{Καί ὄνταν V\} order. Thus 18 of 20 or 85.7% are followed by a V.

The examples are \{7\} (SVO), \{8\} (V+V), \{12\} (VS), \{17\} (VS), \{22\}(OclitV), \{51\} (VS), \{184\} (VS), \{203\} (VS), \{328\} (V PP), \{327\} V, \{361\} (VSO), \{401\} (VO), \{409\} (V rel cl), \{389\} (VS), \{501\} (V comp (ὁταν)), \{554\} (VO Gen), \{561\} (VS), \{565\} (V Partic S), \{575\} (V PP), \{611\} (V), \{592\} SV (ὄντα). Other examples of ὄνταν, ὄνταν and \{Καί ὄνταν\} include a few isolated examples of (i) a dislocated S followed by a fronted topical deictic \{557\} (καί τοὺτον ὄντα το εἰδεν καλά, and that, when he saw it well'), (ii) a \{Καί ὄντα (topical) S V\} example in \{592\} Καί ὄντα τα κάτεργα τα βενετικα εξέβησαν από την Κύπρον 'and when the Venetian ships came out of Cyprus', (iii) ὄνταν in \{305\}, showing misspelling of ὄνταν as ὥταν (the SGr version of ὄνταν), (iv) fronted (topical) S (ῥήγας-topic), in \{332\} Ο ρήγας ἄνταν ἐνωσεν και ἐπεφευ η ταραχή 'as soon as the king realised that the turmoil ended' and (v) ἄνταν in a discontinued ὦτι= 'because' clause or ἐπεξηγηματική πρόταση 'explanatory clause' in \{452\} ὦτι ἄνταν εκάτζαν εἰς την βουλήν 'because when they sat for the meeting'. These last examples have been included in the statistics, except for \{332\} which is S-initial.

To summarise thus far, the 7.2% of initial adverbials have an overwhelming number of V first (verb after an adverbial) occurrences: ἄνταν and ὄνταν are almost always followed by V. It should also be noted that ὄνταν occurs more frequently in the beginning of Makhairas’ work (paragraph-initial), whereas ἄνταν appears more frequently towards the end of the work. In the end of Makhairas’ work, ὄνταν is already appearing as ὥταν, its modern form.

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temporals appear in initial position also. These are mostly dates. Most are the day of the week and or the year of the different events. 269 cases of dates and temporals have been recorded in Makhairas, appearing in paragraph-initial position. Of these, 109 are dates and the remaining 160 are temporals. Among the dates figures, I included example {383} starting with καὶ πισάριον (and the next day) because a date phrase follows this temporal, and because, in the previous example {383} starting with Καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ μηνός οκτωβρίου ατογ’ Χριστοῦ. ‘And on the 1st of October year of Christ 1373’, the narrative is structured around these dates.

The temporals include Cypriot expressions which in a few instances look like prepositional phrases although they are adverbials, such as expressions καὶ εἰς τῶν τούτων, lit. ‘and on that’, ‘and when this happened’, καὶ εἰς τῶν τα λόγια ‘when they finished saying this’, etc.

Some of the temporals display interesting structural patterns showing that V almost always follows a temporal in paragraph-initial position, particularly those denoting that the narrative is unfolding new information through the adverbials of time ‘at once’, ‘then’, immediately after’. The forms of these adverbials are µοναύτα ‘as soon as’, ‘at once’ and παραύτα ‘afterwards’.

Μοναύτα is found in paragraph-initial position 20 times, preceded mainly by connective initial Καὶ (16 instances with the connective and 4 without it, namely {117}, {145}, {418}, and {462}). The paragraphs exhibiting initial µοναύτα are {5}, {49}, {117}, {138}, {145}, {146}, {156}, {235}, {282}, {312}, {313}, {348}, {418}, {462}, {496}, {508}, {525}, {586}, {600}, {619}. Παραύτα is mostly found without the connective; in paragraph-initial position it occurs 7 times, namely in {5}, {314}, {364}, {391}, {402}, {447}, and {458} (those with the connective being {314} and {364}). These two adverbials, among the many others discussed later in this chapter, show a high tendency to Adv V order, as demonstrated in the examples that follow this discussion:

{5} Καὶ µοναύτα V-s coord V PP, {49} Καὶ µοναύτα V S (O) = καὶ (να) cl, {117} Μοναύτα S V (Adj) O, {138} Καὶ µοναύτα S V O, {145} Μοναύτα V S O=να comp. clause, {146} Καὶ µοναύτα S gen disc. VO, {156} Καὶ µοναύτα V-
Out of these 20 instances, 15 (75%) have a V following the adverbial. The other 5 (25%) have an S. Similarly, examples demonstrate the same patterns with παραύτα, which attracts V even more:

{125} Παραύτα V S PP, {314} Και παραύτα V S O, {364} Και παραύτα date VSO, {391} Παραύτα V O, {402} Παραύτα V S PP O=και=να clause {447} Παραύτα V O=και=να clause, {458} Παραύτα S V coord V coord V.

As seen from the above examples, six out of seven examples (85.7%) introducing paragraph-initial clauses with Παραύτα and Και παραύτα are followed by V. More examples of other adverbials, such as τότε(ς) and πάλε (or πάλιν), are discussed later.

Temporals tend to be followed by V in more than just these two adverbials.

4.4.1.4. Other elements

There are elements in paragraph-initial position which trigger V-initial structures also. Coordinator ακομή ‘furthermore’ is one of them.

Ακομή appears in the following clauses and it is followed mostly by V (13 of 16 or 81.3%) or by S (3 of 16 or 18.8%):

{33}V, {34} V, {39} V, {64} V, {76} S, {89} V, {513} V, {514} V, {515} S, {516} S, {518} V, {519} V, {548} V, {662} V {668} V, {685} V

Other initial elements are found in smaller numbers, therefore they have
not been tabulated; among them 3 coordinator ἀμμευ 'but' in paragraphs 400, 498 and 500, vocative NPs in 217, 292, 154 and 302 as well as an inversed vocative clause in 664, PPs and copulative phrases and a numeral in 154 and other smaller number of other elements such as ὡς γοῦν 'as' clauses 242 and 246, an ὡς 'as' 362, a clause showing lacunae in 555 and others.

Participles in initial position, other adverbials and relative pronouns will be discussed in turn.

4.4.2. Verbal elements
4.4.2.1. Non-finite verbal elements: V-onta

The relative position of V-onta is at issue, since the variable aspect of its order often affects the position of the subject in both the subordinate and the main clauses. The functionality of its different ordering patterns is also at issue. In initial clause position it is usually expressing temporal meaning, better described as an element giving a 'point de départ' for a further, more extended narration. Not all V-onta forms consist of nonfinites known or used in the wider Greek context e.g. 85 παραδιαβαστόντα. Overall, 102 of 713 paragraphs or 14.3% start with V-onta.

This includes V-onta with other elements preceding them such as καί, adverbs and adverbial phrases. Occurrences of V-onta in absolute paragraph-initial position are almost as frequent. The following numbers include examples of V-onta in paragraph-initial position, without any other element preceding them. There are 77 instances of V-onta appearing in paragraph-initial position, a percentage of almost 10.8 % of the paragraph-initial elements in the Chronicle.

This percentage increases with paragraph-initial V-onta occurrences following narrative link καί; there are 17 καί V-onta paragraph-initial examples in Makhairas, or 2.4% of all paragraphs. This represents 16.7% of all initial V-onta. The 8% X V-onta represent 1.1% of paragraph-initials and 7.8% of initial
V-onta.

In the flow of counting the following is observed:

In paragraph-initial position, V-onta occurs 102 times in 713 paragraphs. Of these, 77 are paragraph-initial, 17 follow an initial καί and 15 (14.7%) follow elements other than καί; of the latter 15 occurrences, 5 follow the narrative link or filler τὸ λοιπὸν (and its Cypriot version τὸ λοιπονίν) literally meaning ‘the rest’, reanalysed to ‘to continue the story, well’, 5 follow dislocated S, 3 follow temporal NPs, 1 follows a PP and 1, namely {337}, which could have been classified under the {Καί V-onta} cases, has a fronted deictic (τούτον) after the V-onta form. Three of these (15) clauses, namely {388}, {612} and {658} start with καί but have been classified under the X V-onta categorisation. Temporal NPs to this classification are in {388} Καί τῇ τετράδῃ θεωρώντα ‘And on the Wednesday seeing...’ etc, in {612} Καί μετά το αρεστίασμαν ‘And after the arresting’ and in {658} Καί το σάμβατον ’And on the Saturday’. That is to say, temporal X V-onta clauses happen to start with καί.

To summarise these numbers again:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V-onta paragraph-initial</th>
<th>77 occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Καί V-onta paragraph-initial</td>
<td>17 occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X V-onta paragraph-initial</td>
<td>15 occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-7 cases)=8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X V-onta paragraph-initial cases are given in more detail below:

{116} nar.Ink. V-onta S O=deic+πως.comp.cl
{176} nar.Ink. V-onta S O
{*196} nar.lik. partic-gen. NP-gen
{*197} S-dis V-onta O= πως. comp.cl
{244} nar.Ink. V-onta S O= πως. comp.cl
{*337} Καί Odeic V-onta Ocit S
{*353} S-dis.V-onta V IO
{388} Καί tempNP V-onta S O
Among the above examples, \{196\}, a non-levelled participle in the genitive found in initial position, following a narrative link, could instead be classified under the Participle paragraph-initial elements. All dislocated S from the above data could instead be counted as S paragraph-initial clauses.

A high proportion of initial V-onta are one of the evidential forms \(\text{\(a\)}\)γροικώντα; 'hearing, θε\(\varepsilon\)ωρώντα 'seeing' and in a much lesser proportion μανθάνοντα 'knowing'.

These three evidential forms occur as follows: Of the V-onta paragraph-initial clauses θε\(\varepsilon\)ωρώντα (appearing also as θεωρώντα in \{300\}, \{316\}, \{370\}, \{376\}, \{506\}, \{507\}, \{581\}, \{599\} and \{693\}) appears 39 times (38.2%), γροικώντα (appearing also as γροικώντα in \{390\}) shows 25 times (24.5%) and μανθάνοντα has only 5 occurrences (4.9%). Overall, 69 of 102 or 67.6% of initial V-onta forms are one of these three.

Of the \{Kai V-onta\} clauses, θε\(\varepsilon\)ωρώντα and γροικώντα appear 8 times, 47.1% out of the 17 instances: θε\(\varepsilon\)ωρώντα appears 4 times 23.5% and γροικώντα is seen in the same number of clauses (4 times) 23.5%. In the Kai V-onta clauses there are no μανθάνοντα occurrences.

Of the X V-onta forms, with 8 cases under this categorisation there are 7 cases of θεωρώντα, γροικώντα and μανθάνοντα, specifically 4 of θεωρώντα, (\{657\}, \{403\}, \{388\}, \{244\}), (in \{388\} and \{658\} it is θεωρώντα) 2 of γροικώντα (\{612\}, \{176\}) 1 of μανθάνοντα (\{116\}) and 1 of διαβάσαμοντα (\{567\} (more on these forms in the discussion further down).
4.4.2.1.1. V-onta S structures

S follows V-onta in most of the paragraph-initial cases whether it is in V-onta initial-paragraph clauses or in καλ V-onta. Of the 77 {V-onta} paragraph-initial clauses, as seen from above, 56 (72.7%) have S following V-onta. Of the 17 {καλ V-onta} paragraph-initial clauses, 11 (64.7%) have S following V-onta, and of the 8 X V-onta paragraph-initial clauses, 7 (87.5%) have S following V-onta. Of all V-onta structures studied, that is, of the 102 cases, 74 (72.5%) have a S following V-onta. This percentage would have been lower, had I counted only V-onta and καλ-V-onta forms (56+11 out of 102 V-onta); the percentage would have been 65, 7%, meaning that the X V-onta occurrences increase the number of V-onta S; this is vital information leading to further investigation on how dates and temporals affect the V-initial order of finites (and non-finites also) in MC.

The last category, the X V-onta paragraph-initial clauses, is a rather interesting group. This is because of the number of the {X V-onta} clauses among which there are dislocated S, but we can still find high frequencies of S that follow V-onta.

4.4.2.1.2. Data on V-onta O

Before going into discussing further the V-onta paragraph-initial patterns, I will also discuss the V-onta O percentages. Of the V-onta paragraph-initial clauses there is a number of clauses where O immediately follows V-onta. In the V-onta category, 11 clauses (10.8% of initial V-onta) have V-onta O (full NP) (these are {133}, {170}, {294} (this is lacking S), {296}, {373} (S only in one MS), {382}, {459} no S, {467} no S {573}, and {606}. Of these only 7 also have an independent S. In the X V-onta classification this number decreases to only 2 instances ({404} and {428}) and of the καλ V-onta clauses there are also 2 with the same structure ({175} and {603}).

Frequently, O following V-onta appears as a clitic. We have thus a number of V-onta-clit. occurrences which are shown below.
The V-onta S O occurrences may be seen in the following 18 examples: 
{128}, {141}, {178}, {160}, {295}, {308}, {339}, {370}, {390}, {394}, {420}, {429}, {445}, {445}, {453}, {546}, {599}, {607}, and {697}. These are 32.1% of 56 V-onta S and 17.6% of all 102 initial V-onta. The two occurrences of καὶ V-onta S O are 18.2% of καὶ V-onta and 2.0% of all paragraph-initial V-onta. The two occurrences of X V-onta SO are 28.6% of X V-onta and 2.0% of all paragraph-initial V-onta. Overall, the 22 instances of V-onta S O represent 39.3% of V-onta S and 21.6% of paragraph-initial V-onta.

In regard to clitics immediately following V-onta, these are classified here with deictics τούτου-acc, τούτα-acc, and represent the following numbers: V-onta Oclit and or deict are 9 (8.8% of paragraph-initial V-onta) ( {71}, {265}(deict), {270} (deict), {318}(deict), {419} (deict), {506}, {541}, and {652}). There are no examples of X V-onta clit, but there is one additional instance {337} of καὶ V-onta Oclit which could also be classified under X V-onta (καὶ τούτου γροικώντα το ο ρήγας 'and that seeing it the king' (where a X could also represent elements other than adverbs, such as fronted O).

The texts show great frequencies of complement clause O instances. I have divided such clauses into six categories, namely the following:

V-onta S (O= ὅτι complement clauses)  
V-onta S (O= πως complement clauses)  
καὶ V-onta S (O= ὅτι complement clauses)  
καὶ V-onta S (O= πως complement clauses)  
X V-onta S (O= ὅτι complement clauses) and  
X V-onta S ( O= πως complement clauses)  

There are 14 examples (13.7% of all V-onta) of V-onta S O patterns where O is an ὅτι comp clause: {55}, {82}, {120}, {200}, {113}, {381}, {399}, {424}, {480}, {503}, {507}, {551}, {553}, {581}. Similarly, there are 13 examples (12.7%) of all V-onta where V-onta S O has O=πως comp clause: {137}, {183}, {186}, {189}, {205}, {230}, {300}, {276}, {316}, {340}, {376}, {481}, and {521}.  

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There are also two further examples where πως is preceded by demonstrative το as in το πως: {485} and {504}.

With the Καί V-onta examples there is 1 occurrence of Καί V-onta S O= ὅτι and 1 of Καί V-onta S O= πως in examples {144} and {476}. There is an additional example of Καί V-onta S O= το πως, in {610}.

With the Χ V-onta examples we have 1 example of Χ V-onta S O= ὅτι comp, in {403}, 3 examples of Χ V-onta S O= πως comp, {244}, {612} and {658} and 1 example of Χ V-onta S O= το πως, in {116}. Overall, there are thus 16 examples of ὅτι clause O, 17 of πως clause O and 4 of το πως clause O. This represents a total of 37 of 102 V-onta initial clauses (36.3%).

4.4.2.1.3. On V-onta S O and V-onta O S structures

I found 22 cases with both S and O following V-onta in paragraph-initial clauses. These are in {79} (V-onta SO), {128} (V-onta SO), {141} (V-onta SO) {155} (V-onta SO), {160} (V-onta SO), {176} (V-onta SO), {178} (V-onta SO), {295} (V-onta SO), {308} (V-onta SO), {339} (V-onta SO), {370} (V-onta SO), {388} (V-onta SO), {390} (V-onta SO), {394} (V-onta SO), {420} (V-onta SO), {429} (V-onta SO), {445}(V-onta SO), {453}(V-onta SO), {546}(V-onta SO), 599} (V-onta SO), {607}(V-onta SO), {697} (V-onta SO). These are from all three categories of V-onta paragraph initial, (V-onta, Καί V-onta and Χ V-onta) mentioned before.

Similarly, paragraph-initial V-onta is followed by O S both independently represented in 11 cases. This is only half the percentage of V-onta S O occurrences. It is clear from the above that non-finites have VSO order in MC two-thirds of the time, and VOS one-third.

I continue here my discussion on the V-onta forms of the verbs θωριό ‘to see’ and γρολκώ, a medieval word for the verb ‘to hear’. They play a triple role, that of (i) linking a previous paragraph with another piece of narration, (ii) showing evidentiality of the whole happening through evidence of attestation (i.e. when the King saw that he did this), (iii) carrying the accuracy of this evidence to the
next section of the story, and (iv) executing topicality duties. They mainly function as an adverb of manner, of means and of completion ἑορτή 'end'. Adverbs of manner through V-onta forms have the power to be used as finites. Follow the next example \( \{73\} \) where λαλῷντα has been used for finite verb εἶπεν 'he said'. Note also in \( \{73\} \) the internal clause V-onta occurrences.

\[ \{73\} \quad \Sigma' \; εκέίνου \; τον \; καιρόν \; ευρέθην \; εἰς \; τὴν \; Λευκωσίαν \; επίσκοπος \; τῆς \; Αμοχώστου \; ο \; Φράγκος \; ονόματι \; Φρε \; Μαρά, \; καὶ \; γροικώντα \; τα \; θαύματα \; του \; σταυροῦ \; καὶ \; τα \; ζευγαριά \; των \; λατίνων \; λαλώντα \; οἱ \; Ρωμαῖοι \; πλανοῦν \; τον \; λαόν \]

In that time was found in the-Lefkosia bishop of Amohostos the Frank by the name Friar Mara and hearing the marvellous miracles of the cross and the fake of the Latins saying the Greeks-nom mislead the people

"During that time, a bishop from Amohostos by the name of friar Mara, happened to be in Lefkosia and when he heard of the marvellous miracles of the Cross and the falsehoods of the Latins he said that the Greeks are misleading the people."

Following this paragraph, V-onta λαλὯντα takes the place of a non-finite through the rest of narration, after being mentioned for the second time, as the speech of the narrative builds up. The meaning behind the next V-onta is that of suggestion, as it is placed before a complement clause:

\[ \{73\} \quad λαλὯντα \; διὰ \; τον \; σταυρὸν \; πῶς \; ἐν \; τίμιον \; ξύλον...ἐπεσεν \; ὁ \; πίσκοπος \; εἰς \; ζῆλαν \]

saying for the cross that is holy cross...fall the bishop in jealousy

“(when (the Greek priest) said about the cross that it is the Holy Cross... the bishop got jealous”

It is rare to find V-onta+V-onta in coordination, specifically when the second V-onta involves V-onta λαλὯν ‘to say’. Follow example \( \{367\} \), where finite ἐδιαβάσασαν ‘they read-aorist’ has been chosen over V-onta διαβάζοντα
{Καὶ V-onta S PP καὶ Vfin IOpro O V O}

{367} Καὶ πηγαίνοντα οἱ ἁνῶθεν εἰς τὸν Τακκάν καὶ εἰδαβάσαν τοῦ τὸ χαρτίν τοῦ ρηγός εξῆρην χαρὰν μεγάλην
And going the above to the-Takka and they read-aor to him the paper of the king he enjoyed a big joy
“An when the above went to Takka and (when) they read him the paper sent by the King he was very happy (he enjoyed a big joy)”

V-onta is mainly followed by an S N(P), as seen from the previous page:

{111} Θυρούντα ο ρήγας οτι ήταν να σκοτώθων πολλοί, ὄρισεν καὶ διαλαλήσαν
Seeing the king that were to be killed many, ordered and proclaims
“When the King saw that a lot of people were going to be killed he ordered (them) to proclaim”

4.4.2.1.4. V-onta followed by subjunctives without να

Structures such as {28} where a V-onta is found to be followed by a subjunctive without να are not frequent. It would be interesting to see how many examples of V-onta+ να +Vsubjunct are in the texts versus V-onta +Vsubjunct. This is however beyond the scope of this analysis.

{28} λαλώντα πέψη
saying send (instead of λαλώντα να πέψη, saying to send)

This is also found in structures such as V-onta +{O-acc appearing as O gen}; the genitive is the case of IO, as discussed previously, and as can seen in {401}. it can be used as the form of a O. Notice also coordination of V-onta +V-onta. This is a rare structure; however, when it is possible for a verb to have a nonfinite form coordination is possible. Elliptical O in the next clause brings a genitive to O position. Frequently verbs such as ὁρίζω ‘to order’ appear without O, thus hypothesised γροικώντα (τα διατάγματα)
του ὄρισμοῦ σου ‘hearing the orders of your order’ may have been simplified to ‘hearing of your order’:

{401} Γροικώντα τοῦ ὄρισμοῦ καὶ σκοπίζοντα τὴν αφεντίαν σου
Hearing of the order and bearing in mind the lordship yours
“When we heard about the order and bearing in mind that you are the lord”

4.4.2.1.5. The word order within the V-onta clause: a brief summary

Of the 102 cases of V-onta forms studied, a number of clauses have S and O independently represented in the clauses.

Among all initially placed V-onta forms, either καλ- Vonta or Χ V-onta, there is an overwhelming proportion of V-onta S order, as seen from the data. In fact, of the number of clauses studied for these statistics show that:

V-onta S 56
V-onta O 15
V-onta Ocl 4
V-onta Odeict 4

We have V-onta O clitics in {71}, {506}, {541}, {652} and V-onta deictics in {265}, {270}, {318}, and {419}. Often deixis appears with examples with O independently represented, as in examples {133} and {459}, but is also frequent that for reasons of emphasis it may appear after the NP it refers to, as in {573}, γροικώντα τα κακά τούτα, ‘hearing the bad (news) these’.

This is a brief summary of the above: initial clauses with S following V-onta, with full nominals (independent) constituents make the 70.3% of the elements following (all) V-onta forms. Out of this percentage a substantial amount have O following S in V-onta S O patterns. These patterns make a 13.4 % of {V-onta S} O).
That is, from the 102 clauses studied, 71 are V-onta S and 19 are V-onta S O. Note that the 71 clauses include the 19 S O clauses in the V-onta S O order.

In V-onta O S patterns, the numbers are lower. There are only 19 occurrences of {V-onta O}, either nominals or O-deictics and Oclitics in {V-onta- O S} patterns; 8 instances have been recorded of {V-onta O S} patterns where O consists of a nominal. In these instances it is also noticed that only V-onta nonfinites γροικώντα {170}, {175}, {373}, {573}, and μανθάνοντα {133}, {296}, {382}, both meaning ‘hearing’ are the verbs involved in {V-onta O S} structures, with the sole exception of the nonfinite form of the verb θυρώντα, θυρώντα ‘seeing’, in {606}. All other {V-onta O} involve {V-onta Oclit} {71}, {506}, {541}, {652}, or {Odeict} instances (as τούτον etc), {265}, {270}, {419} or V-onta gerunds followed by accusative genitives i.e. τοῦς instead of τῶν (possessives) as in examples {108}, {109}, {325}. Moreover, O following V-onta may appear in {V-onta Oposs.} (O nominal followed by a possessive) {294}, in {V-onta Odeict} (deictic preceding a nominal O) as in {459}, in V-onta O rel (a nominal O followed by a relative clause) {467}. There are also {V-onta O} as in {585} and {459} where nominal O is preceded by an adjective or a demonstrative.

Other instances of the 102 V-onta occurrences include clauses such as V-onta comp. and V-onta followed by nominalised adverbials as in οἱ ἀνώθεν ‘the above’ {367}. Also note V-onta accompanied (followed) by the genitive τοῦ or τοῦς used for τῶν (accusative used for genitive plural) as in στρεφόντα τοῦς οἱ μαντατοφόροι (gerundives) {108}, ‘in their returning the messengers’ καὶ εβγαίνοντά τοῦ Ἡλθεν εἰς τὸ περοῦν and with his coming out he came to the pathway’ {325}.

4.4.2.1.6. θυρώντα, γροικώντα and μανθάνοντα

These non-finite verbs, θυρώντα, γροικώντα and μανθάνοντα, are the most frequently used in clause initial (and paragraph initial) position in the texts.
In these V-onta, I included a very small number of dislocated (\{Sdisloc.V-onta S\}) structures, as in examples \{197\}, \{431\} as well as other adverbials preceding V-onta in initial position; initial position meaning here first and or second element in the clause (other than the commonly used connective καί), as in \{244\} for instance, Το λοιπόν θωρώντα (literally meaning the rest (of the story is)); here it is a filler meaning ‘well’, ‘well seeing’.

In this calculation, V-onta θωρώντα ‘viewing’ forms \{189\}, \{200\}, \{230\}, \{276\}, \{300\}, \{316\}, \{370\}, \{376\}, \{381\}, \{503\}, \{506\} \{507\}, \{581\}, \{599\}, \{693\} have also been included with the θωρώντα nonfinites; also, the single example of V-onta form αγροικώντα ‘hearing’ (a previous form which shows no apocope of the first sound (a) has been included with nonfinite γροικώντα 'hearing'.

θωρώντα-θωρώντα and γροικώντα- αγροικώντα are 62.7% of all the V-onta paragraph initial subordinate clauses; of the whole number of V-onta forms in paragraph-initial position, there are 39 θωρώντα-θωρώντα cases, 25 γροικώντα- αγροικώντα cases, and five μανθάνοντα cases.

These are the most commonly used V-onta forms.

The number of \{θωρώντα S comp\} and \{γροικώντα S comp\} is quite substantial and requires special attention. The θωρώντα-θωρώντα and γροικώντα- αγροικώντα V-onta forms make a total of 80. Of these 80 instances, 39 belong to the θωρώντα-θωρώντα V-onta initial category, where no other element precedes V-onta, 25 are (α)γροικώντα V-onta initial examples and additionally there are 4 V-onta forms from each of these two evidentials in the other two categories of V-onta paragraph-initial, that is in the Και V-onta and the Χ V-onta categories (4X2X2 =16 (39+25+16= 80). It is interesting to see that evidential θωρώντα-θωρώντα 'seeing' is more often followed by S while evidential (α)γροικώντα 'hearing' is more often followed by O.

In the first category of V-onta (V-onta paragraph-initial) there are 33 instances (out of the 39) where θ(ε)ωρώντα has a following S, while nonfinite γροικώντα has only 15 instances only (out of the 25). In the other two categories of V-
onta (Kai and X V-onta) the percentage of θ(ε)ωρώντα S is still greater (we have 3 Kai V-onta θωρώντα- S (no θεωρώντα-S in this category) compared to 2 Kai V-onta γροικώντα-S. In the third category this difference is greater: 3 θεωρώντα-S to 1 γροικώντα-S.

Of a total of 30 clauses with following S plus Ocomplement, 25 are θωρώντα S Ocomp. and only 5 are γροικώντα S Ocomp. From the θωρώντα S Ocomp clauses there are 10 O complement clauses introduced by conjunct πως ‘that’ and 13 clauses introduced by conjunct ότι ‘that’. Only 3 γροικώντα S Ocomp are introduced by πως and 1 is introduced by ότι. Both have {Ocl πως} occurrences, two with θωρώντα and one with γροικώντα.

In the Chronicle, there is no initial λαλώντα ‘when he said’. Λαλώντα appears with clauses of suggestion and direct speech and/or complement clauses internally, or in final clause position. Also consider that there is a difference in the meaning (if not in the order too), between έχοντα και είπαν lit.'having that they said', ‘being that they said’ where και is a conjunct and παγαίνοντα ... και είπαν where και is a coordinator (of two clauses) and είπαν is a finite verb replacing a non-finite (λαλώντα).

The V-onta morphology should also not be confused with non-levelled participles which, in the nominative/accusative plural, carry the same ending i.e. {57} τα εναπομένοντα θέλομε να είναι δια το κοιβέριον του νησιού ‘the remaining (money) we want it to be for the ruling (expenses) of this island’.

A whole section of this work has been dedicated to the order of non-finites, most particularly of the V-onta forms and to a lesser extent to other gerunds. The order of V-onta in the Cypriot clause combines both the order of narration as well as that of the hidden dynamics of this constituent. V-onta gives the impression of being a secondary constituent in the clause; however, the writer uses it in different positions, producing discontinuity of main versus embedded clauses in this long narrative.
The word order of V-onta conforms to the classification of V-onta into different adverbs:

a) classification of V-onta into manner and time

Γροικώντα, (hearing), θωρώντα (or otherwise written θεωρώντα) (seeing) and λαλώντα (saying) are the most used V-onta forms. According to each one of them, they acquire an internal clause, initial clause or final clause position. Frequency of θωρώντα, θεωρώντα and γροικώντα in initial position will be dealt with later on in this chapter.

While non-finites V-onta almost always precede finite verbs, no generalisation can be made on their order. A finite preceding non-finite γυρεύγοντα 'looking for' is seen in the following example {8}, while in {79} a V-onta follows another V-onta (in the V MS.):

{8} καὶ ἐπεσεν γυρεύγοντα τον
    and sent looking him-gen
    “and he sent someone looking for him”

{79} Καὶ ἐχούντα θωρώντα καὶ τὸ θέλημαν τῶν παιδίων του βασιλέως
    And having and seeing and the wish the children-gen the king-gen
    “And having realised what the wish of the King’s children was”

Overall, V-onta forms are found in the following orders:

(i) V-onta S        V-onta followed by a S
(ii) V-onta O       V-onta followed by an O
(iii) V-onta indef. art. S  V-onta indefinite article S
(iv) V-onta Ocl.IO  V-onta followed by a clitic O and an independently represented IO
(v) V-onta Ocl.S    V-onta followed by a clitic O and a nominal S
(vi) V-onta V       V-onta followed by a V
I have described several orderings of V-onta forms, mainly used in initial position; they introduce subordinate clauses within which new information is expected to be presented in the succeeding main clause. The next example is lacking an O argument, whether a clitic or a nominal O. Discontinuity of the subordinate clause gathers new information at the end of the clause, both in the main and in the subordinate clauses:

{67} γροικώστα ἐνας παπάς λατίνος εθυμώθην ονόματι Τζούαν Σαρβαμαρήν

hearing one priest latin got angry by the name of Juan Santamarin
“hearing this, a Latin priest by the name of Juan Santamarin got angry”

New information is often carried in V-onta subordination, with initially placed V-onta constituents. The dynamics of V-onta lie in that its semantic cargo with its position in the clause and the appropriate syntactic elements following it, (whether it is structured with a nominative, genitive or accusative), are proportionally distributed. In initial position of clauses (placed also initially in paragraphs), V-onta is structured mainly with a S.

Initial-clause V-onta forms introduce the subject via subordination; this phenomenon increases the already noticeable fact of lacking independently represented S in the matrix clauses, since these are introduced as S of V-onta. Null subject or otherwise zero subject (here called also ‘subject-minus’ (V-s)) occurrences are high. Furthermore, V-onta takes up on discourse topics (previously introduced topical elements). In paragraph {46} the ρήγαινα ‘the queen’ has been introduced indirectly through an accusative; the συνεσκάρδος, the King’s brother, leaves her at a certain place and returns to the King).

{46} Τότες ο συνεσκάρδος αφήκε την ρήγαινα εκεί και κείνος εστράφην εις την αυλήν του ρηγός
Then the seneschal (the king's brother) left the queen there and him he returned to the court of the king
"Then, the king's brother left the Queen there and he returned to the King's court"

In paragraph {47}, internal clause θωρώντα is a decisive link for concluding the part of the story where the queen (internal topic in {46}, initial topic and preceding paragraph topic in {47}) appears as a recurring topic in the storyline (the notion of ‘cotangent’ topic can also fit this description).

{47} θωρώντα η ρήγαινα ότι δεν ωφελά...εστράφην προς τον ρήγαν πολλά πικραμμένη με κακήν καρδιάν
seeing the queen that not does good...she turned to the king very bittered with bad heart
“when the Queen saw that it doesn’t do any good, she turned to the King, very bittered and grieved”.

V-onta zero O show in the narrative in many instances:

{67} \( \text{θωρώντα } \text{οἱ Λατῖνοι } \varepsilon \zeta \eta \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \gamma \alpha \nu \varsigma \kappa \alpha \iota \iota \lambda \nu \sigma \alpha \upsilon \) seeing the Latins were jealous and kept saying
“when the Latins saw (this) they got jealous and kept saying”

V-onta preceding indefinite NPs is a frequent pattern also:

{13} \( \text{καὶ διαβαίνοντα } \kappa \alpha \rho \omicron \varsigma \) and passing (some) time
“and when (some) time passed”

4.4.2.1.7. V-onta in asyndetic clauses: useful comments

An ασύνδετον is a term which expresses the absence of a linking device (\( \alpha \-\)στερητικό ‘without’ and σύνδεσμος conjunct or συνδετικό ‘link’). Some forms of syntactic constructions are called structure of parataxis. An example of parataxis is where an independent clause is logically connected with another clause (independent or not) without any link of coordination or subordination.

{13} \( \text{καὶ διαβαίνοντα } \kappa \alpha \rho \omicron \varsigma, \text{θωρώντα } \tau \nu \rho \alpha \acute{e} \varsigma \nu \tau \omicron \varsigma \ Τεμπλιώτες } \) and passing time, seeing the class of the Templars
“and when the time passed, when they saw the class (social) of the Templars”

Here is another pattern of linear, asyndetic V-onta

{552} \( \lambda \alpha \lambda \omega \omicron \nu \tau \alpha \varsigma \delta \iota \alpha \beta \acute{a} \iota \alpha \nu \omicron \nu \tau \alpha \varsigma \) saying passing
Word order variation with V-onta can be considered functional and/or meaningful. It is up to the analyst to detect this variation and use it as a means of word order justification. The following example shows variation in meaning, since it can be replaced by a whole clause. The V-onta form conveyed through βαστάννοντα 'handling, bearing', (13), is here equivalent to a subjunctive clause (να βαστάξει) (εἶδα τὸν παπάν ...βαστάννοντα σταυρόν) 'I saw the priest carrying a cross’. In the same paragraph, V-onta γροικώντα, ‘hearing’, is followed by the demonstrative εκεῖνος, a pronominal. The personal ending of the verb indicates that the missing subject is equivalent a 3rd- person singular pronoun. A pronoun is only used as a subject if it is emphatic or contrastive (see also Holton 1997: 476, on Greek anaphora). In our context, this means that emphasis (focus) can be word final in embedding (in {13} V-onta S, V-s O:

{13} Γροικώντα εκείνος ετζετίασέν το
Hearing (that) that-dem. masc.nom (person) believed it
"When he heard (it), he believed it"

The following issue has already been stressed before: not all verbs are found in the text with V-onta forms. This is traced further in a few more examples in the narrative. For instance, the λέγω ‘to say’ verb (λαλώντα in its V-onta form) does not occur as adverb of time in MC. The V-onta form of the synonymous verb λαλά ‘to say’ (λαλώντα) is preferred. Therefore, the finite form of the verb λέγω in the aorist (εἶπεν, ‘he said’) is used to coordinate two subordinate clauses (‘when the official (person) came’ and ‘when the official (person) told the count’).

{263} ερχομένου του βασιλιώτη εἰς τὸν κοώττην καὶ εἶπεν τὸν τὴν απολογίαν τὸν σὲρ Τζακέσ, ὁ αφέντης ὁ κοώττης εδάκρυσεν πολλά
coming-gen of the royal (messenger) to the count and told him the pleading of Sir Jack, the-master the-count shed tears many (wept a lot)
“and when the royal (official) messenger came to the count and (when he) told him about the pleading of sir Jack, master the count
Another example that illustrates this proposition is found in {244}. The verb \( \theta \alpha \rho \omega \) ‘to reckon, to assess, to think’ only very infrequently has a V-onta ending; it is found in the Chronicle only three times in the form \( \theta \alpha \rho \omega \nu \tau \alpha \) in {152}, {188}, and {565}. In Greek, \( \theta \alpha \rho \omega \nu \tau \alpha \) ‘seeing’ and \( \theta \alpha \rho \omega \nu \tau \alpha \) ‘reckoning’ are both used frequently.

The verb \( \theta \alpha \rho \omega \) is found only in its imperfect form \( \varepsilon \theta \alpha \rho \varepsilon \nu \) ‘he was thinking’ in paragraph {244} where it is finite, while it is clear that it is being used coordinated with a subordinate finite-looking non-finite clause. This clause is introduced with the phrase \( \tau \omega \lambda \omicron \pi \omicron \omicron \nu \), which is a filler or a link, stretching narration to another paragraph {245} from the peak of the story in {244}:

\[
\{244\} \quad \tau \omega \lambda \omicron \pi \omicron \omicron \nu \ \theta \omega \rho \omega \nu \tau \alpha \ \omicron \ \rho \iota \gamma \alpha \zeta \ \pi \omicron \varsigma \ \varepsilon \ \eta \ \gamma \omicron \alpha \pi \tau \omicron \alpha \ \eta \ \iota \varsigma \ \epsilon \ \epsilon \ \theta \alpha \rho \varepsilon \nu \ \tau \omega \mu \nu \ \eta \ \gamma \nu \ \kappa \alpha \iota \ \eta \ \kappa \upsilon \omicron \rho \omicron \nu.
\]

The rest (of the story is that) seeing the king that not had more work to the side of the west and thought that the-peace of the sultan was made farewelled the masters and embarked on the ship his and came to Cyprus.

“To finish the story, when the King saw that his job was accomplished in the west, and (when he) thought that peace with the Sultan was established, he farewelled the masters (of the west) and embarked on his ship and came to Cyprus”

The same is seen in paragraph {263} above, where the V-onta form of the verb \( \lambda \lambda \omicron \omega \) (\( \lambda \lambda \omicron \nu \tau \alpha \)) appears to be a manner adverb ‘by saying’ and not a time adverb ‘when saying’. In this paragraph, the participle of \( \epsilon \rho \chi \omicron \omicron \omicron \upsilon \iota \) is expressed in its prelevelled form (in the genitive \( \epsilon \rho \chi \omicron \omicron \omicron \epsilon \nu \), that is, in its mediopassive participial form, despite the fact it also occurs elsewhere as a V-onta \( \epsilon \rho \kappa \omicron \nu \tau \alpha \) in {37}).
(i) V-onta non-finites tend to be followed by S if an overt S is present, especially where the S of the participle is the same as that of the following main clause. Another possibility is a zero S, especially in a long and complex sentence, with the S found with the preceding or following finite verb. This is mainly in participles that have levelled and where S of the participle is the same as that of the main clause. Previously levelled same-S participles attract V-s clauses, which remind the reader of the S of the matrix in the end of the sentence in a probable S-final clause (where S is independently represented).

(ii) Usually, a main clause with an overt S following an embedded V-onta clause with an S has a different S in the main clause. The main clause S following embedding is often preverbal. There are exceptions with adverbials that do not derive from participial levelling and for various reasons have a postverbal S constituent order. In examples like {100} we have áνταν as an adverb in the subordinate clause and the verb ἔρχομαι ‘to come’, which almost always takes a postverbal S. To make this clearer, postverbal S in V-onta or áνταν and ὄντα (ν) clauses is more likely to be in this position when other factors such as verbs and adverbs showing Adv VS structure are present.

{100} Καὶ ἀνταν εστέφθην ο ρήγας ο ρ. Πιέρ καθώς ἀνωθεν δηλοὶ ἤρτεν το πράμα τη κυριακή τη ις οκτωβρίου ατξ’ Χριστοῦ.
And when was crowned the king Peter as above mentions came the thing on the Sunday the 17 october 1360 of Christ
“And when King Peter was crowned, as it is mentioned above, the thing came to happen on the Sunday the 17th of October in 1360 AD”

(iii) Ellipsis of O(cl) following a V-onta form is possible. The hearer could here take θωρώντα as θωρών-nom.sing. τα-acc.pl, (that is, he could take the ending τα as a clitic accusative plural, θωρών-.masc.nom.sg τα-neut.acc.pl, ‘seeing these’), S is moved to left position, into the position of a final S in a V-onta (O(ell)) clause.
(iv) evidence conveyed by some initial-V-onta of verbs of perception (most frequently ϑωρώντα 'seeing', γροικώντα 'hearing'), triggers complement clauses. The same verbs in their finite form also occur with complement clauses. This increases the frequency of V-onta S (O=comp.cl) in the data.

Consider also the following examples that emphasise the high frequency of pro-drop main clauses with no pronominal subject, though the finite verb marks person and number.

(i) pro-drop verbs preceded by coordinator καί. Therefore, καί V with pro-drop are clause boundaries.

{27} καὶ ἤρταν παλλοὶ Συριάνοι (line 1)
καὶ αὐθομοῦνταν τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν (line 2)
καὶ εξητῆσα τὸν ρηγός νὰ ἔχουν ελευθερίαν (line 3)
καὶ ἐποίκας αἰσίζα (line 12)

(ii) b) V-onta initial and internal following coordinator καί

{79} Καὶ θωρώντα ὁ αὐτὸς κούντης (line 1)
Καὶ ἔχοντα καὶ τὸ θέλημαν τῶν παιδιῶν τὸν ρηγός (line 11)

We can approach clause boundaries where pro-drop verbs are in initial position:

{22} Εἰνοιλάσθην νὰ δηθῇ μὲ τὸν σουλτάνον τοῦ Καρίου, καὶ ἐπεφευ μαυτατοφόρους παρακαλώντα τον, ὅτι πάντα αποῦ τὸν θεόν εἶνε...
(he) was concerned to be tied up with the sultan of the-Cairo and sent messengers asking him that all from the-god is
"he was concerned with having a good relation with the Sultan of Cairo and he sent messengers asking (telling) him that everything is (sent) from God"
Meaning and cohesion dynamics of the texts allow the determination of clause boundaries. In the above paragraph, it becomes obvious that King Hughes wants to make (and keep) peace with the Sultan of the region based in Cairo. He sends his messengers to Cairo seeking for peace. Immediately in the next paragraph, the Sultan makes his appearance. He is in first position being a salient element in the clause, as well as the topic.

{23} Ο σουλτάνος απολογήθηκεν του και μήνυσεν του με τους δυο τους μαντατοφόρους

The sultan replied to him and send message to him with the two messengers

"the Sultan replied and sent him messages with the two messengers"

Givón and others have observed that clauses carrying the main declaration (assertion) of the discourse show more flexibility of word order. It is in such clauses that pragmatic processes, such as topicalisation and focusing devices, will play a more important role.

In the following paragraphs, things do not turn well for the King. The Sultan does not deny being the King’s friend, however he suggests that his best friends are those with whom he shares the same religion. The King now has to turn to the West for help. His pragmatic status is important to the storyteller, and consequently to the reader. The procedure of replacing focus-salience gives a sentence-initial main clause:

Adv S Vfin O PP

{26} Τότες ο Βίκτωρ επέσεν μαντατοφόρους εἰς τὴν δύσιν

"Then the King sent messengers to the west."

The more marked possibility of having a main clause in initial or internal to clause position is the narrative flow through the {Και VS order}.

{27} Και ἦρταν πολλοί Σαρακηνοὶ καὶ πολλοὶ Λατίνοι καὶ εκατοικήσαν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον
And came many Saracens and many Latins and inhabited in the Cyprus
“And many Saracens and many Latins came and inhabited Cyprus”

It is obvious that reports, narratives, conclusions and thoughts on the story of the Chronicle have verbs following the main initial links of paragraphs, in the pattern \( \kappa\alpha l - V \) in finite clauses, and \( S \) following \( V\)-onta in non-finite clauses.

4.4.2.2. Finite verbs

In this section I offer an account of the order of finite Verbs in MC, focusing largely although not exclusively on verb-first effects. MC is a good example of a VSO language. The unmarked order of elements in finite clauses of all kinds is overwhelmingly VSOX (XVSO) where \( X \) includes prepositional phrases, adverbials and so on. In finite clauses, where only \( S \) and \( V \) are present, MC displays a predominant VS order, as seen again from the data.

Finite verbs in paragraph initial position in Makhairas occur 340 times (47.7% of 713 paragraphs).

Here, I have also included XV, \( \kappa\alpha l \ X \ V \), XVX etc, where \( X \) represents Prepositional Phrases, Temporals and the sort.

This includes the following V-initial patterns:

(i) Verbs as a first element in the clause; one example of verb attribute pattern in \( \{223\} \) has also been included among the 18 \{first element V\} in paragraph-initial clauses.
(ii) Verbs following coordinator \( \kappa\alpha l \)
(iii) Verbs preceding coordinator \( \kappa\alpha l \) in \( \{\kappa\alpha l \ V \ \kappa\alpha l \} \) patterns
(iv) Verbs following \( \kappa\alpha l \), dates and or other adverbials
(v) Verbs in direct imperatives, including those preceded by \( \alpha\varsigma \) and \( \nu\alpha \)
(of the number of the 26 imperatives in paragraph initial position, the \( \nu\alpha \ \sigma\alpha\varsigma \) imperatives have not been counted. Verbs in negation in
structures such as να μηδέν -V, in initial paragraph position have been included in the να- imperatives.

(vii) existential V
(viii) impersonal V

The numbers are as follows:

18 first element in paragraph-initial clauses
275 verbs following adverbials, coordinators and dates
13 impersonal verbs
8 existential verbs

(7 + 12 + 7) imperatives (direct imper., να- imper., and ας imper)

These numbers are exhibited again in tables with relevant discussion appearing in turn in this section.

Of these 18 verbs (5.3% of all paragraph-initial V), in paragraph-initial position without any other element preceding them, five are direct imperatives (counted with the rest of the imperatives). The 18 examples are: {1}, {31}, {86}, {98}, {204}, {219}, {223}, {254}, {329}, {342}, {413}, {437}, {438}, {473}, {559}, {583}, {591}, {593}.

Out of all the 340 examples of V in paragraph-initial position, a great number have adverbs, dates and or coordinators preceding them. There are 275 occurrences (80.9%) of such patterns. The following paragraph numbers include the καὶ V instances counted above and an X (adverb) negation V instance in {28}:


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Given that all finite verbs encode subject information, one might expect that S NPs would be infrequent with such verbs. Nevertheless, my data include the following (X)VS(X), V(X)S, (X)VS(O)(IO) and possible (X)V(X)S patterns where X may be an adverbial and or a \textit{kai} link. Examples of OSV and OVS order will also be discussed here. So, there is a substantial number of clauses with S independently represented, discussed below with the VSO, VOS, etc examples.

As stressed earlier, verbs in paragraph-initial position in Makhairas are 47.7% of the other elements. Only 46 (14%) of these verbs appear in absolute initial position without any other preceding element. The number includes verbs in
the indicative as well as the imperative moods. Examples of such order(s) are given below, first with a verb in first position then with a date preceding it:

{219} Εξηλέξαν οι Γενουβίσοι τα δύο αδέλφια... δια την πολλήν
GOT jealous the Genoese the two brothers... for the many (big)
σουπερπίαν του σουλτάνου
pride the sultan-gen
“The two Genoese brothers got upset for the big audacity of the Sultan”

{201} και τη κυρία μαγίου ατζζ’ εξέβην o Ρε Πιέρ με όλην την αρμάδαν
and on the 26 of May came out the-king Peter with all the fleet
“And on the 26th of May King Peter left with all the fleet”

Verbs in initial position are not always followed by S. Many V-first or V-initial clauses appear with PPs following V, as in the examples below.

There are 17 instances where V and S are separated by an adverbial or a locative: these are shown in {21}, {37}, {39}, {73}, {77}, {95}, {103}, {206}, {249}, {290}, {342}, {350}, {461}, {477}, {626}, {631}, {633}.

{37} Ομοίως ευφρίσκεται eis την Μαραθάσαν eis του Κύκκου η εικόνα της
Similarly, there is in Marathasa in Kykko the icon of the most holy
υπεράγιας Θεοτόκου
Saint Mother of God
“Similarly, in Marathasa in Kykko there is the icon of the most Holy
Saint Mother of God”

{350} Και ήλθεν κρυφά η κόρη του δούκα το Μιλά
And came secretly the daughter of the duke of Milan
“And the daughter of the duke of Milan came secretly”

It is also frequently the case that there is no overt S NP in a finite verb clause, as in:
Then they wrote a bad paper (letter) and put it in the end (nose) of the pole (spear) and pierced it. 

“Then they wrote a bad paper (letter) and put it in the end (nose) of the pole (spear) and pierced it.”

Again, he sent a message to the Sultan asking (him) for advice.

“Therefore, he sent a message to the Sultan asking (him) for advice.”

“they sold something that did not belong to them”


There is evidence from MC clauses that a sequence of VO was not preferred, at least at the time the Chronicle was written. In the data, there is no strict VO ordering; V and O are normally separated by the presence of S, but there appear also many VO structures. Of these verbs the following frequencies have been counted: There are 53 cases (15.6%) appearing with a V-s O order where O can also appear after an X (an adverbial mainly). These examples

Included in the above data are also the V-s O IO patterns, exhibited below. In fact, the V-s O data are seen 53 cases among which no other element follows O in 47 cases (13.8%).

There are 6 instances (1.8%) of V-s O IO order, namely: {347}, {383}, {517}, {620}, {625}, {654},

There is also 1 case of V-s IO O {662}.

Similarly, there are 6 instances (1.8%) of V-s IO structures: {25}, {151}, {254}, {407}, {422}, and {519}.

The V-s order of clitics is small. There are two V-s Ocl patterns, {444} and {483}, as well as one case of V-s IOcl, namely {537}. Lastly, V-s IOcl O order appears in {31} and {99}. Examples of all these patterns are displayed in the following section.

VO sequences are seen in SVO and VOS structures. VO patterns may appear in clauses where S is not represented independently. In finite clauses, where S is independently represented and VO sequences occur, S tends to appear in final position as in {437}:

{437} εγράψαν χαρτίν οι καπετάνοι
    wrote letter the captains
    “the captains wrote (a) letter”
As seen above, there are 47 occurrences of V-s O patterns in paragraph-initial position. This number represents the 47% (47 of the 101) finite clauses without an overt S NP in V-s initial clauses.

\{84\} \text{Καὶ εξωδίασεν πεντακόσιες χιλιάδες ονομίσματα}
And spent five hundred thousand byzants
“And he spent five hundred thousand byzants”

\{385\} \text{Πάλε εποίκαν ἄλλον διαλαλημόν}
Again made another announcement
“Again, they made another announcement”

\{234\} \text{Τὸ λοιπόν, αφίνομεν τὴν εξήγησιν τοῦ σκύλου τοῦ σουλτάνου}
The rest (is) (we) leave the narration of the dog the sultan
“Well, we (are) (now) going to move away from the narration concerning the dog-like Sultan”

Two of these 47 clauses have a V-s(X)O structure, namely \{474\} and \{591\}. In both cases, the X is a PP.

\{474\} \text{Τότες εποίκαν απὸ σανίδα παφέξια καὶ σκάλες}
Then made from planks wooden shields and ladders
“Then they made wooden shields and ladders from planks”

In \{591\}, the verb \varepsilon\chi\omega ‘have’ seems to mean κρατῶ ‘keep’ and has a V-s O pattern:

\{591\} \text{εἰχαν εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν ἕναν γνωστικόν ἁνθρώπον γέρονταν}
had in the prison a wise man old
“And they kept in the prison a wise old man”

Two examples of V-s O IO pattern among the six examples noted above are shown below:
And on the first of the month of October of the year of Christ 1373 they brought a paper to the King

And he gave privileges to the knights

There are an additional 10 examples where IO is found without S or O in a {V-s IO} order. More precisely, examples {25}, {99}(V-s IOcl), {151}, {254}, {407}, {422}, {500}, {519}, {537} (V-s IOcl) show that all of these patterns involve verbs denoting 'message giving', 'replying', 'saying', etc.

"Again he sent a message to the Sultan"

"Then he sent a message to the Admiral"

"They replied to the King"

"And on the second hour of the night he said to the Knights"

"And they said to the King"

"Now let us give an account (narrate) on the wars"

"(But) However he sent a message to the constable"

"Furthermore he wrote to his mother"
Other examples with \{V-s O\} and \{V-s IO O\} or \{V-s O IO\} and \{V-s IO\} where either both or one of the two O is not independently represented include examples \{31\}V-s IOcl O, \{99\} and \{537\} V-s IOcl (mentioned above), \{483\} V-s Ocl, \{444\} V-s O Ocl, \{490\} V-s IOcl, (also mentioned above), \{577\} V-s Odet., \{662\} (X)V-s IOcl Ocl. This number amounts to another 3% of all V-s O (IO) patterns.

An additional 2% of clauses should be added to V-s patterns in order to complete the structural sequence in Makhairas’ paragraph-initial verbs appearing without S. The following patterns have been found in V-s O IO patterns where O and IO are independently represented. These have also been included in the V-s O IO structures.

\{347\} καὶ ἐδωκαν τα χαρτία του ρηγός
    and gave-3rd.pl the papers-acc the king-gen
    “and they gave the papers to the King”

\{383\} Καὶ {...} ἐφέραν χαρτίν του ρηγός
    And {...} brought letter-acc the king-gen
    “ And they brought a letter to the King”

\{517\} καὶ ἐποίκευ καὶ ἄλλον χαρτίν του Λουκέτ
    and made-3rd.sg and another paper the Luke-gen
    ” and he made (wrote) yet another letter to Luke”

\{620\} Καὶ ἐδωκεν ὑπημίν τους καβαλλάριδες
    And gave-3rd.sg privileges (titles) the knights-gen (acc for gen)
    “ And he gave privileges to the knights”

\{625\} καὶ πάλε ἐρψεν ἄλλα χρέη ἐπάνω του λαοῦ
    and again threw-3rd.sg other debts over the people-gen
    “and (he threw other debts on the people) he taxed the people once more”
and the Friday-acc in the 3 August-gen 1425 brought-3rd.pl papers
the king-gen
“and on the Friday the 3rd of August 1425 they brought letters to the
King”

Sometimes a verb may have more than a one-argument structure. There are
verbs belonging both to a two argument (bivalent) and a three argument
(trivalent) category, that is, they can be both transitive and ditransitive:
diá τὸ χαρτίν τοῦ πάπα ‘he gives the letter to the Pope’, and
diá ἐσσω ‘lit. he
gives inside, ‘he rushes forcibly into the house’ a two argument category,
edωκαν ἐσσω, ‘they entered forcibly in the house’.
edωκαν μέσα ‘they joined (in) without fear, willingly’, ‘they took the
opportunity to join in’

edωκαν εἰς τὸ χαντάκιν, ‘they rushed (escaping) in the ditch’

Among other categories, verbs frequently found in the Chronicle belong to
categorisations such as (i) causative, (ii) durative and (iii) terminative. In
category (i) I included the -ισκω intransitives, called here pseudo-reflexive
verbs.
Causative means that a category of verbs have an Agent-subject or causer
causing a change in the mental or physical situation of the Goal-object or
causee. In Classical Greek, the mediopassive forms of such verbs express
either that the subject changes his own mental or physical situation - in that
case he has the function Agent (pseudo-reflexive use) (See Rijksbaron 1984:
143) - or that a change comes about in his situation; in the latter he is not the
Agent, since he does not control the change (pseudo-passive use). Such
verbs in Classical Greek include the verbs ἀπαλλάττομαι ‘to go
away’ στέλλομαι ‘to set out’, κομίζομαι ‘to travel, to depart’. In MC, however,
these classical mediopassives are not frequently found, and most verbs which
have the same meaning (in the active form) take an object or a manner or
Among the verbs of this category the -ισκυ verbs, which carry an active form and the pseudo-reflexive meaning of causatives, can be classified, i.e. (μεγαλλινισκυ ‘I make myself big (within time), αρχοινισκυ ‘I make myself rich’, etc. In other words, a number of mediopassive forms have ceded their place to verbs that take two arguments, while a number of them carry active voice endings and have only one argument.

Similarly, terminative verbs, verbs that express an action with an inherent end-point like ποιω ‘to render, to make’ and the same-meaning Cypriot verb πολομω ‘to make, to struggle with’, παιδευ(κ)ω ‘to educate’, are highly used as two argument verbs (ποιω, Cypriot aorist ἐποίκα, can be both a two and three argument verb, that is, a transitive (meaning intransitive in many locutions ἐποίκεν νόσιν) and a ditransitive verb, with a transitive meaning, ἐποίκεν νόσιν της βηγανας ‘he made it known to the Queen’.

The active voice is far more frequently used. This means that in Cypriot, verbs with three arguments may often become two argument verbs and verbs with two arguments may often become one argument verbs; particularly where O is elliptical in either its cognate form or due to that it can be presupposed, λαλω (λάλημαν του ρήγα ‘I say (a say) to the king’, ευχαριστιω (ευχαριστίες) του θεού ‘I thank (thanks) to God’ {171} ευχαριστήσαν του θεού, {8} έπεσεν (πέμπαν;) του υετού ‘he sent the rain’, (here, ‘he sent of the rain’). Durative verbs such as βασιλευω ‘to rule’ and μεινισκω ‘to stay, to live’ also take mostly cognate noun O, as in βασιλευω το βασιλευο ‘I reign over the kingdom’.

Some Cypriot phrasal verbs and expressions have been displayed in chapter 3, where issues of transitivisation have been discussed. More examples are found in {333} δείχνω φανών (lit. ‘to show attention, regard’) ‘to be interested in’, {334} ποιω κρίσιν (lit. ‘to make (a) judgment’) ‘to judge’, {307} ἐποίκεν αὐχαμαλωσίαν (lit. ‘to make captivity’) ‘to capture’, here ‘he captured’,
edó̱kav ó̱rkov̱ (lit. ‘to give oath’) here, ‘they gave an oath’, ‘they swore’,
epoî̱kev nosuṉ (lit. ‘to make knowledge of’, ‘he made (it) known’,
èβαλεν νερόν̱ (lit. ‘to put water in’, ‘to absorb water’, ‘to let water in’),
consequently ‘to leak’ here ‘it leaked’,
πιάνω γην (lit. ‘to take earth’) ‘to arrive at the port’,
τελειώνω την αγάπην, (lit. ‘to finish peace’), ‘to reconcile’, ‘to make peace’
éβαλεν λαμψρόν̱ (lit. ‘to put fire’), ‘to burn’
edβαλαν φωνήν̱ (lit. ‘to put a voice’, here ‘they put voice’) ‘they shouted’,
and many more similar examples. This list is by no means exhaustive. Unless
VPs are V-s, or unless S is in need of Topic and or Focus position, these
verbs usually trigger a S-final position and are mostly found in VOS
structures.

The verb ποιό is in itself a productive source of such expressions. Out of the
many Cypriot locutions many carry the form ποιό O.

epoîkev apóφαν̱ η βουλή̱
made decision-acc. the council-nom.
“the council decided”

In G this would be (e)πήρε απόφαση̱ ‘(he) took (a) decision’).

epoîka̱n éναν χαρτίν νοτάρικον
made-they one paper (letter) notary
“ they made a notary letter”

epoîkav βουλήν̱
made-they council
“they met (in order to decide)”

Ποιό̱ ‘to make’ use is very common in other medieval languages; see also
Ponchon (1994) concerning verb ‘faire’ in Old French.
O following ποιό̱ can often be a sentential O, introduced by a ὅτι
‘that’ or ὅτι υνα ‘that to (for)’ as in the following (discontinued) final clause:
and they made (introduced) that when to want to put the king the crown in the church to swear on the Holy Gospels

“and they (also) introduced that if the King should wish to be crowned in the church he should swear on the Holy Gospels”

The frequency of VO structures is numerically raised by the presence of a number of cognate objects. Structures such as λαλώ λάλημαν 'I say a say' δακρύσω δάκρυν 'I shed a tear' χαίρομαι χαράν 'I enjoy joy' or in {577} εγγαστώσαν (X) ενυγάστωσ 'they burned with (burned) melted iron' (written in two different ways in the Chronicle), 'πεθυμαν επεθύμησα' desire I desired' {14} and also επολομούσαν πόλεμον 'they fought war, they were fighting' {433}, or πολομώ meaning 'make in order to convert 'πολομά τους ανθρώπους δαμιάνους 'makes' or 'converts people into demons' also meaning 'to keep', πολομούμεν σου συντροφίαν, as in κάμινω συντροφία 'to make (keep) company 'we keep you company', increase the number of VO structures in the texts (without necessarily increasing the number of VOS structures in unmarked clauses). For instance, S of verbs such as βάζω 'to put', usually has O immediately following:

{416} εβάλαν τα μιαρά τους χέργια οι Γενουβίσοι put-3rd.pl the dirty their hands the Genoese

"The Genoese put their dirty hands"

The verb πολομώ meaning 'to fight', discussed above, has a bleached meaning of 'to do'. A verb with the same meaning μάχομαι 'to fight', used in the expression 'μάχον τη(δ) δουλεία(σ) σου’ (lit. fight your business), ‘mind your business’, is used today in Cypriot.

4.4.2.2.1. VSO occurrences

Out of the 340 cases of clause-initial verbs studied in the Chronicle a number of 48.5% is followed by a fully represented S (165 occurrences). In this total I included {54} and {652}, where S appears only in
the Venice MS. The very few exceptions included in these data do not affect the general VS structure exhibited in the Chronicle; for instance, in {438}, the structure V+V S has been read as {{V+V} S} and not {V-s coordinator VS}; the clause έστάθησαν καὶ εσυμβουλεύτησαν οἱ Γενοβίσσοι τίνα να ποίσουν ‘they stood and took advice the Genoese what to do’ meaning however ‘the Genoese took time to discuss what they should do’ has been classified as a VS structure, since στόκομαι ‘to stand’ is a verb that may appear in semantic units combined with other verbs. Patterns such as in {34} however, where S is either expressed through a relative clause which follows the verb of the paragraph-initial matrix clause or through a possessive referring to its elliptical S (that should have followed V), have not been counted in the data.

These clauses in detail are:


Of these, 22 (13.3% of 165 with overt S) appear with O independently represented, following S; these are the following:

This number also represents 6, 5% of the whole V initial presence in the Chronicle; out of all verbs in paragraph-initial position, 6.5% appear with VSO order.

Paragraph-initial clauses showing this order are: {29} (VS+S X O), {54} (X V S)(in the VMS.) O, {66} (X V S O),(102) (X V S O), {106} (Kαι V S O), {114} (X V S O IO), {154} (X V S O), {193} (Kαι V S O+O+O), {264} (Kαι V S O), {268} (X V S Opro.), {314} (X V S O + O + O+ O), {341} (X V S O ), {364} (X X V S O O O ), {568} (X V S O), {597} (Kαι V S O), {613} (X V S O), {632} (V S O IO), {636} (X V S O), {637} (X V εχων=υποφέρω ‘to suffer’ S O), {641} (X V S O), {672} (X V S O), {713} (X V S O).

Existential verbs involving the verb εἶμαι ‘to be’ have been included in the counting of the VS structures, whereas the εχω clauses are not. However, an εχω ‘to have’ example in paragraph-initial position, {637}, has the meaning of ‘to suffer’ and the clause ‘suffered Cyprus losses (death)’ (Cyprus suffered (human) losses) has been included in my VSO data.

{637} Ομοίως απο την ι Ιουνίου αυτής Χριστού είχεν η Κύπρος θανατικών μέγαν
Similarly from the 10 June 1409 had Cyprus death big
“Furthermore, Cyprus suffered a lot of (human losses) from a deadly disease, from the 10th of June 1409”

Of the above examples, S in {54} is present only in the Venice MS. and the example in {268} has a pronoun for O; some of the other examples display interesting patterns such as {29} which has two S in the one VSO order and {314} and {193} where there is more than one O in the clause:

{29} Τάπισα εκτίσαν οι ρηγάδες και οι άρχοντες του άλλου εκκλησιών και πολλές μονές
Afterwards built the king and the noblemen one after the other churches and monasteries
"Afterwards, the Kings and the noblemen built churches and monasteries, one after the other"

And sent the king the-sir Jack de Nore the forest guard of Cyprus and sir Pierre de Campin sir Jack de La Petit and sir Hughes La Vaume to go to Cairo

"And the King sent sir Jack de Nore the forest guard of Cyprus and sir Pierre de Campin, sir Jack de La Petit and sir Hughes La Vaume to Cairo"

And after that sends the governor two merchants and four Genoese and two knights and a notary and they went to the prison

"And after that the governor sent two merchants and four Genoese and two Knights and a notary and they went to prison"

As seen above VSO and VSXO or XVSO and Καί VSO clauses in paragraph-initial position are 6.5 % of the V-initial orderings of the Chronicle.

However, there are additional VSO patterns in paragraph-initial position, where O is not an independent element but a complement clause introduced by either conjunct ότι ‘that’ and να ‘for, to’, or by reanalysed Καί, ‘and’ functioning here as a subordinator (in the place of conjunct να), in the following examples. These patterns are found in the following 14 clauses: {56} VSO = ότι comp. clause, {64} VSO = Καί = να comp. clause, {74} VSO = Καί = να comp. clause, {145} VSO = να comp. clause, {235} VSO = Καί = να comp. clause, {307} VSO = Καί = να comp. clause, {348} VSO = Καί = να comp. clause, {402} VS PP O Καί = να comp. clause, {433} VSXO = να comp. clause, {436} VSO = ότι comp. clause, {513} VSO = Καί = να comp. clause, {626} VPP S O = να comp. clause, {646} V+SO = Καί = να comp. clause, {657} VSO = να comp.
clause. An additional 14 VSO clauses appear in paragraph-initial position, either in an uninterrupted VSO order or with PPs and or X (adverbial phrases) interrupting this order.

4.4.2.2.2. The VOS patterns

VOS patterns are less common in paragraph-initial position. From the whole corpus, only three paragraphs display VOS ordering in paragraph initial position, namely {437} (VOS), {574} (XVOS) and {635} (XVOS); in {472} we see a (VOcIS order where in fact in the Venice MS. it is VOS (O is independently represented). Here are two of these examples showing VOS order:

{437} Εγράψαν χαρτίν οι καπετάνοι
   Wrote paper-acc. the captains
   “The captains wrote a letter”

{574} Τότε έβαλεν βισκούντην ο ρήγας του μισέρ Τζουάν τε Βιαλλανβά
   Then put viscount the king the sir Juan de Villeneuve
   “Then the King appointed as a viscount sir Juan de Villeneuve”

VOS structures appear more frequently towards the end of the book. From the numbers of the paragraphs we see that no VOS appears in the data until {437}. Discussion on this structure appears more extensively in the section on the Khoirokoitia Battle below.

VSIO patterns found in paragraph-initial position are rare. There are only 2 examples of such patterns:

4.4.2.2.3. Temporal- V structures

Verbs in paragraph-initial position appear mainly after dates and temporals, either ordered in first position in the clause or after coordinators καί ‘and’, ακόμη ‘furthermore’ and αμέτα ‘but’. Here are the data of temporals preceding V in paragraph-initial position. In these I have also included the very few ἐκάθω initial clauses (2 instances). K stands for paragraph-initial
Kα and X stands for temporals or/and dates. There are 277 occurrences (38.8% of all 713 paragraphs, 81.5% of V-initial paragraphs).

Adverbials precede verbs particularly in main clauses which convey new information. Adverb of time τότες ‘then’, similar to the French ‘en ce moment’, found also as τότε shows an overwhelming preference for preceding V in paragraph-initial position. Note the following examples: {527} is X V S IO and {363} is X V S Rel.

{527} Τότε εἶπαν οἱ Γενοβίσοι τοῦ ρήγος
“Then said the Genoese to the king

{363} τότες ἦρταν οἱ καβαλλάριδες ὅποι ἐθέλα να εμποῖν να τοὺς κρατοῦν οἱ Γενοβίσοι
“Then came the Knights who were meant to be held by the Genoese

Examples from the Chronicle show the following numbers:
{26}, {59}, {74}, {151}, {173}, {206}, {207}, {216}, {227}, {257}, {283}, {285},
{455}, {461}, {470}, {472}, {474}, {479}, {489}, {493}, {494}, {510}, {511}, {526},
{527}, {536}, {571}, {574}, {582}, {587}, {594}, {613}, {692}
(examples {206} and {207} have Καὶ preceding the Adverb).

Of these 45 examples, 38 (84.4%) appear with V following the adverb and only 7 precede S; these τότες- S patterns are found in {26}, {285}, {301}, {304}, {355}, {425}, {511}. That is to say that τότες S appears in only 15.6%
of the τότε(ς) par-initial instances. The clauses involving the presence of S in paragraph-initial τότε(ς) clauses are highly marked for topicality, whereas those with V following the Adverb are unmarked clauses (see comments above).

The adverb πάλε ‘again’, also found as πάλι(ν), usually appearing in paragraph-initial position, but is also found in a few instances after paragraph-first coordinator Και, shows the same tendencies; it is mainly structured before V. The following examples exhibit the {πάλε V} order: Πάλε S {83}, Και πάλι V imper {101}, Πάλε V imper {239}, Πάλε V imper {251}, Πάλι V imper {279}, Πάλε V S {268}, Πάλε V-s O {385}, Και πάλε S V {439}, Και πάλε PP V {544}, Και πάλε V-s O {625}, Και πάλε S V O {651}. Out of the 11 examples, only 3 appear with πάλε S order. Most of the constituents following this adverb are V (4 of them are imperatives).

Apart from the adverbials τότε(ς) and πάλε (πάλι(ν)) in paragraph-initial position, another adverbial, ἀνταν, triggers V-initial order, as seen from the data. This adverbial also triggers VSO order.

Imperatives demonstrate another strong presence of the V-initial instances in the texts; 34 imperatives (10% of 340 paragraph-initial V, 4.8% of all 713 paragraphs) display accounts of direct speech and other wishes of the different characters of the Chronicle. They may appear in either their direct form or preceded by ας or να markers.

Of these 34 occurrences, the ones appearing with a να- introductory marker in clauses where an IOpro (mainly να σας) is also in use have not been counted with the V-initial clauses but with the O, Opro and Oclit patterns. A great number of these 34 imperatives should be considered as subjunctives, particularly those involving verbs occurring in the 1st person in jussive sentences and in interrogative sentences. The jussive subjunctive only occurs in the 1st person, more often plural than singular. It signifies that the speaker considers it necessary that an action be carried out either by himself or by two or more people including himself. (See Rijksbaron 1984: 38-39).
The prohibitive subjunctive occurs almost exclusively in the 2nd person, occasionally in the 3rd, and in AG it is limited to the aorist stem and expresses a prohibition. (Prohibition in the present stem is expressed by the imperative.) The subjunctive in interrogative sentences is also confined to the 1st person, usually in plural. It signifies that the speaker is not sure whether or not to carry out an action or that he is uncertain concerning a certain aspect of the action (negative is μη in AG imperatives). On the other hand, imperatives occur in jussive sentences, in the 2nd or 3rd person, signifying that the speaker thinks it necessary that the action be carried out by someone other than himself. Archaic imperatives were often preceded by an adhortative particle like ἀγε φερε, ἰθα, 'come on, go ahead', which also exists with same or similar verbs in MC.

It is thus quite a complex task to classify imperatives and (some) subjunctives separately as, in many cases and most particularly with prohibitions, the imperative is used in the present stem and the subjunctive in the aorist stem. In this work, jussive sentences of all persons have been grouped under the imperatives.

Imperatives in the texts are in the following paragraph-initial examples:

{6} (dir. imp), {41} (ας), {67} (dir.imp) {88} (ας), {89} (X dir.imp), {92} (Και να σας) {97} (X να) {129} (X να), {130} (να), {214} (X να), {218} (ας), {238} (dir.imp) {239} (X να), {251} (X ας), {279} (X να), {284} (X να), {310} (ας), {317} (ας), {352} (ας) {443} (και να σας), {464} (X να), {482} (και discont. να σου), {548} (X dir.), {549} (να σας), {562} (X να σας), {576} (dir.), {584} (να σας) {589} (να σας), {590} (να) {621} (X να σας) {668} (X να σας), {678} (X ας), {685} (X να σας), {686} (να σας).

The ας imperatives are 7 examples (20.6% of imperatives) {41}, {218}, {251}, {310} {317} {352} and {678}, of which {251} is preceded by an adverbial. The {να IOpro imperative} examples are 11 (32.4%) namely {92}, {443}, {482}, {549}, {562}, {584}, {589}, {621}, {668}, {685}, {686}. The {να direct imperative} examples are taken from paragraphs {97}, {129}, {130}, {214}, {239}, {279},
that is, they are expressed in 9 examples (26.5%). Direct imperatives are found in paragraphs {6}, {67}, {88}, {89}, {238}, {548} {576}, exhibited in 7 examples (20.6%).

The order of imperatives not only increases the number of verbs in initial position; it also shows other phenomena of order maintained in reanalysed elements, such as the order of \( \nu \alpha \).

\( \alpha \gamma \) imperatives:
{41} \( \alpha \gamma \) Vimper. PP
{218} \( \alpha \gamma \) Vimper. \( \kappa \alpha \iota \) emph. PP
{251} \( \alpha \gamma \) Vimper. PP
{310} \( \alpha \gamma \) Vimper. X PP
{317} \( \alpha \gamma \) Vimper. PP
{352} \( \alpha \gamma \) Vimper. Odeict.
and {678} \( \alpha \gamma \) Vimper. PP

The word order of these imperatives often have a PP following them; these PPs are introduced in all occurrences by preposition \( \epsilon \iota \) 'to'.

The \( \nu \alpha \) imperatives appear in the following order(s)
{97} \( \nu \alpha \) Vimper. O=sentential object introduced by \( \pi \nu \gamma \) ‘how’ VSO subordinate clause
{129} \( \nu \alpha \) Vimper. O(accusative followed by a genitive}
{130} \( \nu \alpha \) Vimper. Odeict. \( \hat{o} \tau \lambda \)-clause followed by a SVO subordinate clause
{214} \( \nu \alpha \) Vimper. PP rel.
{239} \( \nu \alpha \) Vimper. PP. PP.
{279} \( \nu \alpha \) Vimper. PP.
{284} \( \nu \alpha \) Vimper. PP.
{464} \( \nu \alpha \) Vimper. O rel.
{590} \( \nu \alpha \) Vimper. PP

IOpro imperatives have the following order:
{92} \( \nu \alpha \) IOpro Vimper O PP
The 7 direct imperatives are {6}, {67}, {88}, {89}, {238}, {548}, {576}, with the following order:

{6} Vimper. καὶ Odeict. ὅτι introduced clause (XVX)
{67} Vimper. πῶς (‘how’ interr.) S (PP) V O
{88} Vimper.emph καὶ Odeict. ὅτι introduced compl. clause (pro. O V)
{89} X Vimper ὅτι introduced compl. clause S(X) V (ἐχῶ=existential in the context)
{238} Vimper ὅτι compl. clause o αὐτός S V (ἐχῶ)
{548} Vimper ὅτι compl. clause S V O να-comp.cl
{576} Vimper (X) ὅ, τι ποίον V S rel.cl

Example {576} is of particular interest where ὅ, τι ‘whatever’ and ποίον, ‘what’, which is different to τὸ ποίον or τὸ ὅποιον relative pronoun neuter, co-occur in one clause. The first (ὁ, τι) (understood by the editor as an ἀναφορικό) is uninflected and may qualify nouns in any gender number or case. It is written with a comma (in the edited texts) or with a distance between ὅ and τι in order to distinguish it from complementiser ὅτι. The use of two ὅ, τι (object of the imperative) with ποίον (object of ὅ, τι) has been simplified. In Modern
Cypriot they do not co-occur. The use of τι has prevailed (short for ὅ, τι).

(Mάθετε πού λλόου μου τι επάθαν), Μάθετε πού λλόου μου ἵντα(μ) πού επάθαν
‘know from me what happened to them’.

Negation in initial position is quite rare. Only three instances have been counted: {85}, {157} and {28}; here are the negative par-initial examples:

{85}  Να μηδέν μείνη η αφορμή των παιδιών χωρίς να παιδευτοῦν
To not to stay the reason of the children without them to be punished
“The case of the children should not remain without being punished”

{157}  Να μηδέν μείνη να μηδέν σας πω
To none stay to none to you say
“There should be nothing I didn’t tell you”

This is a negative imperative sentence. To express a negative command or a prohibition the negative subjunctive with either the particle να or ἀς is used. Να can be omitted in most of the να μεν (archaic (ι) να μηδέν) negative occurrences today, however both are possible (να μεν πάεις, μεν πάεις ‘do not go’).

{28}  Μέσα εἰς τούτου δὲν εἶχαν λαὸν οἱ Λατῖνοι
Within to this not had people the-Latin
“While this was happening, the Latins did not have (number)(enough) people”

Reanalysis or bleaching of οὐδέν (indefinite (non-specific) functioning both as a pronoun and a determiner) has given δὲν (not), although it is obvious in the above example that οὐδέν qualified λαὸν (οὐδέν λαὸν εἶχαν οἱ Λατῖνοι) the Latins had (‘none’ people) a reminiscent of an earlier emphatic det.OVS structure (the meaning of ἔχω here has been simply taken as ‘to number’.)
4.4.2.2.4. Patterns of Verb-initial loan verbs

There are 17 (5% of 340) instances of verb-initial clauses where the verb is a borrowed element from a Romance language. Of these 17 cases some loan verbs appear more than once. These verbs are: προμουτιάζω, κουρουνάζω, αρματώνω, καβαλλικεύω, ωρδινάζω, κατακουρσεύω.

επρουμουτίασεν 'he promised' from promettre

Χ V S να-neg. clause
{58} Και επρουμουτίασεν ο ρήγας να μεν αγγαλέση εἰς τὸν πάπαν
"And promised the King (and the King promised) not to complain to the Pope"

{626} επρουμουτίασεν
Χ V PP S
Και... επρουμουτίασεν απέ την Αμόχωστον ο Ξένος
And ... sent a promise from the Amohostos the-Xenos
"And Xenos sent a promise from Amohostos"

εκουρουνιάστην 'he was crowned' from the French verb ‘(se) couroner’

Χ V S
{65} Και εκουρουνιάστην ο Οὐγγκε τε Λουξουνίας
"And Hughes de Lusignan was crowned"

αρματώσαν 'they armed, they equipped, they supplied (them) with arms’. (The word αρματώνω is found in Hadjioannou 1991: 35 as a loan word from Latin.) See more examples:

Χ X V-s O X
{156} Και μοναύτα αρματώσαν γ´ κάτεργα εἰς τὴν Γένουβαν
"And at once they equipped three ships in Genoa"
“And on the 24 of June 1368 they equipped the four ships of the Venetian republic(s)”

“And the admiral of the Genoese undertook an armed campaign”

“And ...the Genoese got ready for the battle”

“Then the constable mounted on the horse”

“And the day after the King mounted (on the horse) with his people”

“Then mounted on the horse the-sir Nicolas Lasse”
Then they mounted on the horses and went (in front of) on the face of the priest (they faced the priest)

And mounted the Queen on the wonderful mule

"And on the 22 of January they mounted on the horses to come back to Lefkosa"

ordiniasan is borrowed from Latin, see Hadjioannou 1991: 49, from ordinos ordo-onis, order.

"At once they appointed five knights"

No passive voice is allowed with ordiniasoun as seen from the structure above.

This structure displays a S-pause pattern.
The 9 existentials found in paragraph-initial position exhibit the standard VS structure. This order can be assigned to pragmatics in some cases where V-initial structures are preceded by initially placed conjunct ἀκομὴ 'yet, in addition to that'. In such cases, verbs such as εὑρίσκομαι 'to be found, to be', (very similar to the French 'se trouver') the most usual verb
expressing the notion of an existential in MC, may also be regarded as topics. Existentials are among the few topic-assigned predicates in the Chronicle. The reference to a large number of Saints who lived in Cyprus is essential to the author. Cyprus is known as the Νήσος των Αγίων, the 'Island of the Saints'; thus, Makhairas explains in paragraph {31}, when the Holy Land was captured by the Saracens, bishops and most of the clergy in Jerusalem fled to the island. Due to the fact that Cyprus was then under the influence of the Hellenes (the meaning of this word in the Byzantine era is equal to pagans) these Fathers of the Church lead a strict monastic life and made miracles after their death.

The examples are {32} Ευρίσκεται ‘it is found, exists’ {33} Ακοµή ευρίσκουνται, ‘further (yet) exist’ {34} Ακοµή ευρίσκεται 'yet exists, yet is found', {35} Και είναι και ‘and it is also’, {37} Οµοίως ευρίσκεται ‘similarly exists’, {39} Ακοµή ευρίσκεται 'yet exists, yet is found', {311} Και ...ευρέθην ... ‘And it happened to be (found) ‘happened to be present’, {398} Και ήσαν κάτινες (ρεβελιασµένοι) ‘And were some (revolted)’.

These examples all have an overt S

{32} Ευρίσκεται ... ο άγιος Αναστάσιος V X S
{33} Ακοµή ευρίσκουνται ... άγιοι περατικοί X V PP S
{34} Ακοµή ευρίσκεται... X V PP PP (imper.cl.) S ell.
{35} Και είναι και ο άγιος Διοµήδιος X V X S
{37} Οµοίως ευρίσκεται... η εικόνα X V X X S
{39} Ακοµή ευρίσκουνται...οι δύο κεφαλάδες X V X S
{73} Σ’ εκείνου τον καιρόν ευρέθην...επίσκοπος ο Φράγκος X V X S
{311} Και ...ευρέθην X X V X S
{398} Και ήσαν κάτινες (ρεβελιασµένοι) X V Spro Partic.

Of the above 9 examples of existentia clauses, 7 have S independently represented following V, 1 example {34} is elliptical of S (but S is found in the accusative in the relative clause following the main clause), and example
{398} has a pronoun in the place of S. Nine out of nine existential verbs have V preceding S.

The stable position of existentials which remain in the same position in both narrative and non-narrative instances classifies them among verbs called here σθεναρά, 'strong' in relation to their fixed position within the clause.

4.4.2.2.6. Impersonal verbs and their order

When speaking of impersonal verbs, S is always absent (such verbs have no person involved). In Cypriot there are expressions involving impersonals as in εν πυρά literally 'it is heat' and κάμνει πυράν literally 'it makes heat' as in 'il fait chaud'. Their order is studied here within the wider interest of V-initial elements in the Chronicle.

Paragraphs appearing with Vimp in the Chronicle are {70}, {112}, {115}, {245}, {261}, {299}, {319}, {432}, {450}, {497}, {532}, {601}, {622}, {644}, {655}. These are 15 examples of which {70} {450} and {497} have no other elements following them.

Impersonal clauses may involve attributes as in {112} (where χρήσι είναι ‘it is useful, it is needed’ may be taken for χρήσιμο, ‘useful’) or a noun η χρήσις ‘the use’). Impersonal clauses mainly involve an impersonal and an S as in {245}, {261}, {319}, {601} etc, but can also be V alone as in {450} and {497}. Note in {437} where part of the impersonal clause is fronted in the accusative whereas it could have also appeared in the nominative.

{και ἦτον Κυριακή ὅπου μπήκε η ρήγαινα} 'and it was (a) Sunday that the queen entered', compared to τὴν Κυριακήν ‘on the (that) Sunday’ and not on any other day’.

{70} Εγένετον εἰς τον καιρόν εκείνον Vimper. X
It happened in the-time that
“In that time it happened (that)”

{112} Τώρα εἶνε χρήσι πα σᾶς πω πως εδόθην το κάστρον
Now is need (useful) to to you say how has been given the castle
"Now, it is useful to tell you how the castle was surrendered"

{115} Και θέλει εἰσταίν βαρετῶν εἰς εκεῖνος ὅπου γροικοῦσιν νὰ ἔπιγηθο καταληπτῶς τὰ θαύματα

“And will be heavy for those who hear to tell them in detail the miracles (that happened)"

{245} Τὸ λοιπὸν εἰνὲ χρῆσαι νὰ ἔλθωμεν X {Vimpers. S} compl.
{261} Τὸ λοιπὸν εἰνὲ καρῶς νὰ θερίσωμεν X {Vimpers. S} compl.
{299} Ωδὲ εἰχὲν ποδεστάν τοὺς Γειούβίσσους X {Vimpers. O for S}
{319} Καὶ μέσα εἰς τοῦτον εὐδιάβθην καρῶς X X {Vimpers.S} (?)
{432} Καὶ τὴν Κυριακὴν ἦτον ὅπου μπήκεν η ρήγανα Χ X {Vimpers. Rel}
{450} Καὶ ἦτζου εγίνετον X X {Vimpers.}
{497} Καὶ εὐνυκτωσέν X {Vimpers.}
{532} Ἀληθινά εἰνὲ ὅτι εκομπώθην ο κοινοστάλης {S Vimpers.} comp.cl.
{601} Καὶ εὐγήνειν ἀγάπη μὲ τὴν Αμόχουστον X {Vimpers. S} PP
{622} Καὶ εἰς τοὺς αὐτῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐγήνην τὸ γ’ θανατικὸν Χ X {Vimpers.S}
{644} Καὶ εἰς τας κ’ φεβρουαρίου αὐχ Χριστοῦ εὐγήνην μεγάλη ταραχή X {Vimpers.S}
{655} Τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν εὐγήνην μεγάλη πυρά X {Vimpers.S}

{112} εἰνὲ χρῆσι {115} καὶ θέλει εἰσταίν βαρετῶν ‘and it is going to be (heavy) unbearable’ {261} εἰνὲ καρῶς ‘it’s time’ {245} εἰνὲ χρῆσι ‘ it is use(ful), it is necessary {299} εἰχὲν ποδεστάν (verb ‘to have’ used instead of verb ‘to be’ ‘there had’ instead of ‘there was’, ‘there was a nobleman’), {319} εὐδιάβθην καρῶς (‘passed time’), ‘time passed’, {432} ἦτον ‘ it was’ (on (a) Sunday) {450} καὶ ἦτζου εγίνετον ‘and so it happened’ {497} εὐνυκτωσέν ‘it got dark’, {532} αληθινά εἰνὲ ‘truthful are’ (for αλήθεια εἰνὲ ‘truth is’) a nominalised adjective αληθινά εἰνὲ τὰ λογία (modifying the elliptical word ‘the words’ τὰ λογία predicatively) {601} εὐγήνειν ἀγάπη ‘to be done peace, ‘became ((peace) was done peace)’ {622} εὐγήν θανατικὸν (substantivised adjective), ‘happened the deadly, took place the deadly illness (incident)
(death) or ‘there was death’, \{644\} \textit{εγήνη} ταραχή ‘there was trouble’\{655\} \textit{εγήνη} πυρά ‘there was fire, heat’.

4.4.2.2.7. Verb semantics, semantic bleaching and word order

Issues of semantic lenition (weakening of meaning) can be attested in the texts, compared to the meaning of the same words known to us today. In many instances reanalysis is seen to be in progress: \{380\} intransitive \textit{πειράζω} meant ‘I make you acquire experience’ (from the word \textit{πείρα} ‘experience’; \textit{πειράζω} means ‘to tease’ today and it is transitive. \{433\} \textit{ἀρχέψαν} ταραχές μεγάλες ‘ruled riots big’ (riots ruled) or ‘started riots big’ (riots started). There is use of both meanings in \textit{ἀρχεύ(κ)ω}. As understood from the medieval meaning \textit{ἀρχεύω} means ‘to rule’, from the AG verb \textit{ἀρχω}, ‘to rule’, whereas today it means ‘to start’. Therefore, \textit{ἀρχέψαν} ταραχές can be either explained as ‘riots ruled’ or ‘riots started’, both being intransitive. Also \textit{ἀρχέψεν} η ευλογημένη η ακρίδα ‘started the blessed (euphemistic for damned) locust’ or ‘ruled the blessed locust’.

\{66\} Καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀτνα ἀρχέψεν η ευλογημένη η ακρίδα

"An in the (year) 1351 started the blessed (damned) locust"

Another example is \textit{διαβιβάσει} (\textit{διαβιβάζει}v) which changed from a verb conveying action, ‘to pass on to someone, to put effort’, to today’s ‘to read’: \{31\} \textit{διαβάσει} = \textit{διαβιβάσει}v meaning ‘to read’ \textit{διαβάζω}.

\{31\} ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀνθρώποι εβέλαν διαβάσειν πολὺν κόπον να το σύρουν because a lot of people would put a lot of effort to it pull

“because a lot of people (are needed) to put a lot of effort to pull it”

Some of these verbs have become intransitive today and some others remain transitive.

Due to desemanticisation some verbs known to us today as modals (such as \textit{πρέπει} ‘must’) are expressed in reduced forms; in Modern Greek neither the
parakeíménoς (Perfect), or the υπερσυντέλυκος (Pluperfect) or other tenses, nor the imperative mood can be used with this verb today. Structures found in Greek today, leading subjunctive complement clauses introduced by πρέπει and particle να (example πρέπει να πάει 'he must (to) go’), exist as finite verbs expressing non modals, and bear a different meaning than πρέπει ‘must’ in MC (as well as in MoC). They exhibit V IO structures as in πρέπει της το φουστάνι της 'her dress suits her' (my example) and τον γάμο πρέπει τον χαρά 'marriage deserves joy':

{348} τον γάμο πρέπει τον χαρά και απουσκότιση
of the marriage deserves to it joy and unwinding
“marriage deserves joy and no worry”

The same verb is found in its passive participial form too as it is heard today in MoC.

{386} εἰς τοὺς τόπους τοὺς πρεπάμενους
in (or to) the places-acc the suitable (prestigious)
“in (or to) the suitable places”

Similarly, narrative patterns with the Cypriot verb σκαλεύω, a possible transliteration from Old French ‘faire escale’, do not exist in the language today. Verbs such as ξεβαίνω ‘to come out’, which involved sea travelling, has extended to more than ‘departing from the port’ ξεβαίνω του σπιθιού μου 'I am coming out of my house'.

It is thus possible to find archaic orderings involving innovative verbs, as in {275} and {402} or innovative orderings involving archaic verbs as in {67}:

{275} τοὺς αγγέλους εἶνε ποὺ δὲν σκανταλίζονται
the angels-acc are that not scandalise-pres.pass.3rd.pl
“Only angels do not get tempted”

{402} διατί δὲν ηξεύρει τινὰς τὸν κλέπτην ποῖαν ὡραν ἔρκεται
because not know somebody the thief what time he comes
"because nobody knows the time a thief may come"

{67} ἦταν να πνεγούσιν
were to drown
"they nearly drowned"

4.4.2.2.8. Verbs and markedness

Topic assignment to predicate constituents seems to be indicated especially when the predicate is a lexical repetition of the predicate in the previous clause and refers to the same action, or State of Affairs (a more general term used in the Theory of Functional Grammar, denoting not only actions but also states, processes and so on (Dik 1995: 207). Predicates-as-topics are used to give additional information about one event. Greek uses τούτο, ταύτα ποιέω as a substitute verb (Dik 1995: 207). For instance, in {20} King Richard is introduced for the first time with verb ἐρχομαι ‘to come’ MC aorist ἦρτεν:

{20} Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν εχορίαν ἦρτεν ο θῆγας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ονόματι Λιττζάρ
In the same year came the king of England by the name of Richard
“And in that year the King of England named Richard came”

Verb ἦρτεν was introduced early in {20} and appears again in {21} in the beginning of the clause:

{21} Καὶ ἦρταν διὰ τὸ Γερουσίαμ διὰ νὰ τὸ αγιώσουν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ
ο θῆγας τῆς Ἐγκλησίας καὶ τῆς Φράντζας
And came for the-Jerusalem for to it help the-king Philip and
the-king of England and of France
“And King Philip and the King of England and that of France came to Jerusalem for help”
Although it looks as though ἐρταν in {21} is a repetition of same verb in {20} it introduces different subjects in the clause, i.e. King Philip, the King of France etc.

In {32} and {33}, to give only one example, the existential verb εὑρίσκομαι is a topic, as we find it in a series of clauses in paragraph-initial and internal-clause examples introducing the names of different Saints who lived in Cyprus. There are only a few examples of topic predicates in Makhairas. The present research did not take into account the number of the few topic predicates in paragraph-initial position.

4.4.3. Core Nominal elements
4.4.3.1. S-initial word order

S in paragraph initial position appears 168 times (23.6% of 713 paragraphs). Of these, 70 (41.7% of 168) are in absolute initial position. By paragraph-initial here I mean preceding any verbal element. This may be second, third, or even fourth position, depending on the number of words in a temporal element or PP preceding S. These occurrences are divided here into the following, different categories:

- **S paragraph-initial appearing directly in this position**: 70
- **I included in this category two instances of S preceded by adverb ἄνωθεν ‘above’**: 2
- **S appearing following particle δε (η δε S, o δε S, οι δε S)**: 6
  (in one instance it is misspelt in ει δε {558})
- **Καί S instances**: 30
- **Καί X S or X καί emph S**: 14
- **an example of καί οι ἄνωθεν S is also included in this category**: 1
- **Temporal NPs S**: 24
- **PP S and PP X S**: 3
- **δώλον=S**: 1
- **X S**: 11

where X may be a filler, a monolectic adverb or a coordinator

- **o αὐτὸς S, η αὐτή S, τοῦτος o S, τούτη η S instances**: 9
this category also includes deictic τούτος, τούτη, οι αυτοί

Participle S


The examples above exhibit the following order:

{11} Sinan VO, {13} S cop. Adj, {23} SVIOclit, {47} SVAdv, {50} SV, {60} SVO, {61} SV, {81} SVO, {107} SV, {122} SVX, {123} SVO, {152} SVO, {167} SVO, {168} SVO, {169} SXVO, {174} SVOIO, {179} {180} SVOIO, {181} {197} S-dis-VOX, {199} {208} SVPP, {210} SVPP, {236} SVOO=dir.sp, {260} SinanVX, {262} S (ambig) καὶ VO, {288} Sgen VPP, {309} SVO=καὶ-comp cl, {312} SXVOclitIO, {322} SV, {330} S cop Adj, {332} S(sub) VX, {333} {334} SVPP, {336} SVAdv, {349} SVOO= rep.sp, {353} Sdis(V-onta) VIOO, {378} Sinan VPP, {392} SVOO=rep.sp, {404} Sdis (V-onta) S, {411} Sdis(V-onta) VIOclit O, {412} Sdis-rel.cl V Adv, {431} Sdis (V-onta) V O= καὶ comp.cl, {469} S+S VO, {487} SVO= καὶ comp. cl, {488} SVIOAdv, {492} SVPP, {502} Sdis (expl.cl) V O=να cl, {509} SVPP, {529} SVOIO, {534} SVPP, {538} SVOO=rep.sp, {543} SVPP (with no prep), {545} S gen V Adv, {560} SVOcl, {578} S PP O neg Oclit V, {580} SVPP, {602} S cop Adj, {645} SVAdv, {653} SVO=καὶ cl, {676} SVO, {681} SV Adv (expr), {682} SVO=καὶ cl., {683} SVPP, {688} SVO, {689} SV, {690} S neg VO, {705} SVPP, {711}, {713}

There are 30 (17.9%) examples with initial καὶ S; these are the following:


The 30 καὶ S clauses appear with the following order:
There are 9 instances (5.4%) of ο αυτός S, Καί X ο αυτός or τούτος S τούτη S or η αυτή S as follows: (78) and (346) (οι αυτοί S), (428) (ο αυτός S), (274) (τούτος S), (274) (τούτη S), (374) (τούτη S) (642) (η αυτή) and Καί X ο αυτός in {162} and {195} and where X is a temporal or a PP. The different ο αυτός preceding S (and all deictics preceding S) clauses have the following order: (78) SVX, (162) Καί X S PPO, (195) SVPP, (274) SXVIO, (278) SXVIO, (346) Sgen SX, (374) SVIO, (428) Sdis (V-onta) V, (642) SVO (where X is an adverb).

Among the temporal NPs, the καί plus temporal NPs are also included. Also in S paragraph-initial clauses, a number of clauses with S-dislocated or S discontinued in initial matrix clauses are included. Some others include an example in καί S being a καί + deictic {421}. Two S initial clauses, elliptical of the existential verb ευρίκομαι, in paragraphs {36} and {37}, have not been counted at all. Also note that example {572} of the temporal NPs S examples is verb-initial in the other MS., as mentioned in Pavlides’ notes (note 7 in p. 440) (Pavlides 1982).

Other orders of S are given below.

Temporal plus S has 29 examples (17.3%) as follows:
24 tempS, 3 PP and XPP S and 1 ὁλοί =S
Temporal S are shown in {2} (S=πάντα), {26}, {63}, {75}, {83}, {117}, {127}, {134}, {177}, {285}, {301}, {304}, {326}, {335}, {355}, {357}, {405}, {425}, {458}, {483}, {511}, {528}, {640}, {651}, {656}.
I here included the very few PP S and X PP S examples from {45}, {166}, and {448} as well as Temp S=ὅλοι in {252}.
Temporal S has the following order:

\[ \{2\} \text{Sinan V} \{26\} \text{SVO}, \{63\} \text{SVO}\text{clit}, \{75\} \text{SexdisV} \text{IO} \text{O}=\nu\alpha \text{ cl, } \{83\} \text{SVOPP}, \{117\} \text{SVIOO}=\nu\alpha \text{ cl, } \{127\} \text{SVO}, \{134\} \text{SVO}, \{177\} \text{Sdis} \text{VO}=\nu\alpha \text{ cl, } \{285\} \text{SVO}, \{301\} \text{SVO}, \{304\} \text{SVIOXO}=\nu\alpha \text{ cl, } \{326\} \text{ambS}, \{335\} \text{SVOPP}, \{355\} \text{SVO}, \{357\} \text{SVOIO}, \{405\} \text{SVOPP}, \{425\} \text{SVO}, \{458\} \text{SV}, \{483\} \text{SVO}\text{clit} \text{ S}\kappa\alpha\iota=\nu\alpha \text{ cl, } \{528\} \text{SV}, \{511\} \text{SVIOO}=\text{dir.sp}, \{640\} \text{SXPP}, \{651\} \text{SVO}, \{656\} \text{SVAd}, \{166\} \text{PP S} \dot{\epsilon}\chi\omega \text{ O (exp) Adv, } \{448\} \text{Sdis VPP}, \{45\} \text{Sneg V (to be)} \{252\} \text{S (\dot{\alpha}\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota) V IO (\epsilon\iota\varsigma \text{ avt}\dot{\omicron}\nu)} \].

\(\kappa\alpha\iota\text{ X S and }\kappa\alpha\iota\text{ S examples are next, with 13 examples (7.7%): } \{72\}, \{138\}, \{146\}, \{148\}, \{158\}, \{209\}, \{220\}, \{287\} \langle\text{avnwqen}\rangle \{323\}, \{358\} \langle\kappa\alpha\iota\text{ S}\rangle \{439\}, \{523\}, \{605\} \langle\text{X kai S}\rangle \).

The 13 \(\kappa\alpha\iota\text{ X S and }\kappa\alpha\iota\text{ S examples have the following order:}
\{72\} \text{SVO}, \{138\} \text{SVO}, \{146\} \text{Sdis V}, \{148\} \text{SVO}, \{158\} \text{ScopX}, \{209\} \text{SVPP}, \{220\} \text{SVO}, \{287\} \text{S(\text{avnwqen}) VPP}, \{323\} \text{SXV}, \{358\} \text{XSVPP (\kappa\alpha\iota\text{ S})} \{439\} \text{SV}
\{523\} \text{SVO}, \{605\} \langle\text{X kai S kai S cop Adj}\rangle \).

There are also ten filler+S examples (6.0%), where I included monolectic words as \(\alpha\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\) ‘true’ and \(\tau\omicron \lambda\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\omicron\nu\) ‘to continue the story, well’ and monolectic temporals such as \(\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\) ‘again’, coordinator \(\alpha\mu\mu\epsilon\) ‘but’ and \(\alpha\kappa\omicron\mu\iota\) ‘yet’ and ordinal numeral \(\pi\rho\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\omicron\sigma\varsigma\) ‘first’. These 10 examples are found in: \{62\}, \{76\}, \{153\}, \{163\}, \{190\}, \{321\}, \{400\}, \{515\}, \{516\}, and \{595\}.

These have the following order: \{62\} \text{XSVOIO}, \{76\} \text{XSneg V(to be) part S,}
\{153\}\text{XSrelVOO(gen)}, \{163\} \text{XSVell}, \{190\} \text{XSVXO}=\nu\alpha \text{ clause}, \{321\} \text{XSVAdj,}
\{400\} \text{XSXVO}=\nu\alpha \text{ cl, } \{515\} \text{XSVOAdj, } \{516\} \text{XSVO}=\kappa\alpha\iota \langle\nu\alpha\rangle \text{ cl, and } \{595\} \text{XSPP(Vell).}

There are 6 examples (3.6%) with \(\circ\,\eta\,\omicron\,\epsilon\iota\) \(\delta\epsilon\) S in paragraph-initial position. These examples are the following 6: \{52\}, \{68\}, \{172\}, \{277\}, \{315\}, \{558\}. These have the following order: \{52\} \text{SVPP, } \{68\} \text{SXVPP, } \{172\} \text{SXV}
O=\kappa\alpha\iota \langle\nu\alpha\rangle \text{ cl, } \{277\} \text{SVPP, } \{315\} \text{XSVOAdj, } \{558\} \text{S rel X VO}=\kappa\alpha\iota \langle\nu\alpha\rangle \text{ cl
4.4.3.1.1. Discussion on the Temporal S order

From the previous examples, we see that S may appear in paragraph-initial position without any other element preceding it. 41.7% of the examples (that is 70 out of 168) appear in first position and another 17.9% (that is 30 out of 168) appear preceded by coordinator Kai in first position. Coordinators such as Cypriot coordinator ακομη 'yet' and Cypriot αμμε 'but, yet', have few temporals before S. Further to these, there are marked clauses introduced by ο δε and Kai ο δε, η δε etc. Hence, from the {X S} and {Kai X S} occurrences, where X represents only temporals ({PP S} patterns have been excluded), there remain very few examples where the {temporal S} order can be studied in the frame of a possible S as a non-topic, non-focal element.

The 27 examples offered for investigation are: τότε ('then') S in paragraphs {26}, {285}, {301}, {304}, {355}, {425}, {511} and {252} (S=ἀλοι), πάλε ('again') or otherwise written πάλιν, appearing with a coordinator Kai πάλε-S examples in {83}, {651}, {528}, {439} and {523} (Kai μοναυτα ('at once') in {117}, {138}, {146}, {323}, {600}, Επειδή ('because') and Kai γιατί (and because') in {172}, {158}, {358}, Ομοίωσ ('similarly') {357}, Παραάντα ('after this') {458}, Kai oi ἀνωθεν ('and the above') {148}, {287}, Kai metá ταύτα ('and after this') {209}, Filler Kai S και S V {605}.

Of these 27 examples I excluded the following:
The Ομοίωσ ('similarly') {357}, for preceding S topic, the two Kai oi ἀνωθεν ('and the above') {148}, {287} examples, for the same reason, due to the presence of topical S following ἀνωθεν 'above' and the {Filler Kai S και S V} clause in {605}, for being an emphatic (marked) clause, due to the presence of emphatic Kai before and after the first S of the clause. Following the exclusion of S-initial topic examples, I also excluded {146} which seems to be a case with left movement of S, due to 'heavy' material following it, a genitive
followed by a relative clause, and the need of O to be closer to its clitic, 
\( \text{ερμάτωσεν (V) έναν γρίππον (O) και (coord) έστειλεν (V) τον (Oclit)} \)

{146} Καὶ μοναύτα ο ποδεστάς των Γενοβισσών που ἦτον εἰς τὴν
And at once the leader of the Genoese who was in Amohostos
\( \text{ερμάτωσεν έναν γρίππον καὶ έστειλεν το}
\)
ammed a (one) boat and sent it

Similarly, I excluded examples that involve explanatory statements through 
\( \text{επειδή 'because' and γιατί 'because' assigning topicality to following S, in}
\)
\{\text{επειδή S}\} and \{\text{γιατί S}\} examples, particularly when emphatic \( \text{καὶ is involved, as is the case in examples \{172\}, \{158\}, and \{358\} (of which some are also marked for emphasis).}
\)

Among the 19 remaining examples, 8 are \{\text{τότε S}\} paragraph-initial examples, 
investigated further down as counterexamples to the more general \{\text{τότε V}\} 
tendency, examined with the \{\text{temporal V}\} examples.

There remains 1 \text{παραύτα-S ('at once' S) example, the μετά ταύτα-S and the}
\text{μοναύτα-S (apart from \{146\}) and the πάλε-S examples: \{458\}, \{209\}, \{117\},
\{138\}, \{323\}, \{600\} \{83\}, \{651\}, \{528\}, \{439\} and \{523\}
Of these 11, my discussion will now evolve around the \text{μοναύτα S order;}
\text{μοναύτα is a Cypriot adverb, and it is found in first position in two consecutive}
paragraphs, namely \{145\} and \{146\}. In the first, it is followed by a V and in
the second it is followed by a S.

{145} Μοναύτα εμύνησεν ο κουβερνούρης ν’ αρματώσῃ δ’ κάτεργα ο
At once sent message the governor to equip 4 ships the admiral
\“At once the governor gave orders that the admiral equip four ships”

{146} Καὶ μοναύτα ο ποδεστάς των Γενοβισσών που ἦτον εἰς τὴν
And at once the leader of the Genoese who was in Amohostos
\text{ερμάτωσεν έναν γρίππον καὶ έστειλεν το}
armed a (one) boat and sent it

"And at once, the leader of the Genoese who was in Amohostos, equipped a boat and sent it"

In most of the μονάύτα S cases there are complement clauses to the right of the verb, requiring S to move to the left of the clause. For example in {117}:

{117} Μονάύτα ο ρήγας ώρισεν όλους τους καβαλλάριδες να ἴνε δηγμένοι ἀνταν τους τάξουν να μπουν εἰς τα κάτεργα
At once the king ordered all the knights to be ready when them order to enter in the ships
"At once the King gave orders to the Knights to be ready in case they are ordered to set sail"

The same happens in {138}, {146} (discussed previously), as well as in cases where there are more than one V in the clause as in {323}, and when adjectives or participles, usually structured after S, are needed; see {600}.

{600} Καὶ μονάύτα οἱ Γενουβίσσοι οἱ φυλακισμένοι οἱ τοπικοί ἐτσακίζαν τα σίδερα
And at once the Genoese the jailed, the local broke the chains
"And the jailed local Genoese broke the chains"

From the previous examples it has been seen that adverbials may precede S only in very limited instances, where S may represent a recurring topic and where the structure requires a S-initial order often due to reasons beyond pragmatics. Due to the fact that Topic-Focus position of sentence is already filled by the Adverb, in very rare cases S following (a number of) Adverbs in initial position may represent a faded Topic. In no case, however, have we found a SVO structure after a clause-initial Adverb.

Very few are the examples that exhibit Participle plus S order; there are 3 examples in first-initial position as in {24} (ακούσας ο ρε Ούγκε) {442} (φοβούμενοι οι Γενουβίσσοι), {263} (ερχομένου του βασιλώτη).
S in initial paragraph position that is, either as a single element or as a constituent appearing with deixis and or temporal NPs, make the 23.6% of all paragraph-initial elements in the Chronicle, 168 of 713.

In Vassiliou (1995), S and O in initial position in MoC were seen to have pragmatic functions. Pragmatics play a prime role in the presence of S in clause-initial position. The aim of this section was to unveil two areas of pragmatic concern: a) how can topicality be recognised from focality, and b) can some forms of non-marked, non-prominent S be recognised as non-pragmatic when preverbal? NT Greek, for instance, shows that the presence versus the absence of the article in connection with a noun whose referent is known and particular relates to the distinction between topicality and focality (Dik 1995), and c). Can S-left movement also be internal, when involved in a marked situation?

4.4.3.1.2. Dislocation continuity and discontinuity of S initial structures

Among the 70 S initial examples (of the category where S appears without any other element preceding it), almost all have V immediately following S, apart from a number of 8 S-dislocated clauses or clauses where S is in initial position of a discontinued clause. In either case, this order is marked as S dis-clause. These Sdis examples are in paragraphs: {197}, {332}, {353}, {404}, {411} {412}, {431}, {502} (8 cases), meaning that 8 of 70 (11.4%) of these structures have a dislocated S or a clause with a discontinued S-initial order.

The usual order for paragraph-initial S examples is SVO. Only very few examples appear with an element between S and V such as a genitive or a temporal (X) such as {288} which has a S Gen V PP order, {333} which has a S neg V O PP order, {545} which has S Gen V Adv order, {578} which has a S PP neg O clit V order and {690} which has a S neg VO order and {312} where the SV order is interrupted by a X element (temporal). All other examples have V following S, in the order SV(O), where O is an independently represented element: {11} SVO, {60} SVO, {81} SVO, {123} SVO, {132} SVO, {152} SVO, {179} SVO, {167} SVO, {168} SVO, {169}
SVXO, {174} SVO(IO), {179} SVO, {180} SVO(IO), {181} SVO(IO), {333} S Neg VO, {469} S+SVO, {529} SVOIO {676} SVO, {687} SVO, {199} SVAdj O, {488} SVO (21 cases). Of these 21, all (100%) have the V preceding the O. IO follows O in 4 of 4 instances.

Conversely, in instances with both IO and O, IO usually precedes O where the latter consists of quoted speech, as in examples {236}, {349}, {392}, {538}. There are also instances where either O or IO are expressed by clitics in this category.

SV intransitive occurrences are found in {50}, {61}, {122}, {208}, {210}, {322}, {332}, {334}, {336}, {378}, {412} (discontinued by a relative clause), {492}, {509}, {534}, {545}, {580}, {645}, {683}, {689} and {705} (20 cases, 11.9%). In a number of instances O in SVO clauses constitutes complement clauses starting either with conjunct να or with reanalysed subordinator καλ, which substitutes να in some complement clauses, as in examples {502}, {431}, {653} and {682}.

Other orders include O and IO expressed in clitics and a very small number of S copula Adjective forms.

Among the 30 {Καλ S} examples, the following numbers have been recorded: SVO occurrences are: {161}, {215}, {231}, {228}, {253}, {365}, {522}, {617}, {639}, whereas SV examples are seen in {143}, {182}, {222}, {255}, {269}, {371}, {372}, {377}, {491}, {636}, {671}. As is the case with S-initial patterns (first categorisation) there are also examples of dislocation in this category, as well as dislocated S and discontinued patterns of S-initial order; verb ellipsis is noticed in a few cases as well as O and IO expressed in clitics.

In the 28 Temporal S examples there are similar patterns as in the two preceding: Twelve are XSVO, five are XSV. SVO order appears in examples {83}, {127}, {134}, {285}, {301}, {335}, {355}, {357} (SVOIO), {405}, {425}, {651}, {26} (12 cases) whereas SV intransitive
clauses are found in examples {458}, {528}, {640}, {656} and {2} (5 cases). Similarly, in this category, there exist a SOVOclitPP in {63}, a discontinued located S (...) VIOO=να clause in {75}, a discontinued by a V-onta clause S (V-onta PP) V O=να clause in {177}, a Adj S V Adv IO PP in {304}, an ambiguous order of S (in {326}) as it is not clear whether S belongs to the adverbial clause following the temporal clause Advcl SVOIO gen, another also ambiguous clause where S seems dislocated as clitics are present as in the following S V Oclit S order, in {483} and a SVIO clause in {511}. In the same category the following clauses have been included:

{166} PPXS Vέχω= O exp PP
{448}locu. S(datphr V-onta O gen)V
{46} PP S neg cop
{252} S(όλοι) PP V

and IO expressed in clitics as well as O=complement clauses introduced with να and καί. In this category there is also a PP S έχω -O Adv, expressing a Cypriot expression. Where both O and IO are independently represented, IO mostly follows O where O does not appear as direct speech, and where heavy material needs to be construed in the end of the clause.

In the 13 examples of the Καί X S category, the following orders have been recorded:

SVO appears in examples {72}, {138}, {148}, {220}, {523}, whereas SV structures are in {209}, {287}, {323} {358} and {439}. Other examples include dislocation, an S copula pattern and a X καί S καί S cop Adj pattern.

In the 9 examples of ο αυτός S and Καί ο αυτός S etc, the existing structures give us the following data:

SV= {78}, {346}, {195}, {428}(dis)
SVO (IO)= {162}, {274}(IO), {278} (IO), {374} (IO), {642}

Among the ο δέ, η δέ, οι δέ and misspelt ει δέ in {558} (for οι δέ), we have the following order: SV= {52}, {68}, {277}, SVO=172 (O=καί for να complement clause), {315}, {558} (O=καί for να complement clause).
Of the 10 {filler S} occurrences the following orders have been recorded: {62} fil SVPP, {76} fil S (dis) neg V att. O, {153} fil Adj S gen coord Adj (relcl) V O gen, {163} num S (Vell), {190} fil S X VPP, {321} fil SVAdj, {400} fil S X V O=na clause, {515} filSVOAdj, {516} fil SVO= 'that' clause, {595} fil S Adj PP coord Vell.

4.4.3.1.3. Further discussion on some particular structures

The following structures are not intended to provide a fully comprehensive analysis on the matter; they will give an indication, however, of how frequently some patterns occur and portray the different syntactic patterns of the language. In a complex sentence, initial V-onta tends to be followed by S in nonfinite clauses, followed by V-s (pro-drop) finite clauses that follow a non-finite clause.

S appearing as an independent NP is frequently preverbal. The majority of times, this S is in a nonfinite initial clause (see numbers in the V-onta section) introducing a new paragraph or a new setting in the narrative, be it clause-internal or not. These nonfinite clauses are frequently followed by V-s clauses and/or other shorter clauses coordinated with καί.

Consider the following clause where S is between a V-onta S O clause and a V-S X clause:

{141} Ἡθρώντα οἱ Τούρκοι τοὺς λαὸς τοῦ κατέργου τοῦ σιρ Φραντζίκῃ Σπινόλα αξαρμάτωτος εἶπαν μεσόν τοὺς

Seeing the Turks the people of the ship of Sir Francis Spinola unarmed they-said between them

“When the Turks saw that the people on Sir Francis Spinola’s ship were unarmed they said to each other”

In the next example, non-overt S of the nonfinite initial clause is different to that of the main clause πλαγίωσεν, but the same as of that of the following finite verb ἐπεσαν (ὁ λαὸς, ἡ λας), where S is, at least overtly, present in a
VS order. (Note that the V-onta PP εμπαίνοντα eis to τούρκικον is taken from Pavlides' notes, p.102, that is, words in parenthesis are from the V MS.)

{141} Και (εμπαίνοντα eis το τούρκικον) το ξύλον επλαγίωσεν και επείσαν πολλοί λας eis την θάλασσαν.
And (entering in the Turkish) the ship turned on the side and fell many people in the sea
“And (when people embarked on the Turkish) the ship capsized and many people fell in the sea”

Makhairas’ narrative style regularly makes use of short sentences, where the initial paragraph verb is introductory with an overt S and the following verbs make up a string of V-s short main clauses.

{179} Οι μαντατοφόροι ευκαρίστησαν τον πολλά από το καλόν θέλημαν ὅπου τους εποίκεν και επήραν ορισμόν και επήραν εἰς τὸ Κάργιος και εξητήσαν τον σουλτάνον νὰ πέψῃ μαντατοφόρον
The messengers thanked him a lot for the good will which to them made and they-took or der and they-went to t he-Cairo and they-asked the-sultan-gen to send messenger
“The messengers thanked him a lot for the good will he showed them and they received orders and went to Cairo and asked the Sultan to send a messenger”

In the following clauses we see a) a time clause and b) a complement clause, the two Ss (Μονοβγάτης and ο αφέντης της Αλλαγίας) are parts of a άνταν-V S+S O= πως comp (=VSO). The impression the reader gets from this clause is a marked fall of stress after the verb εμάθασιν 'learned, knew' due to the syntactic distance of εμάθασιν and the coordinated constituent και ο αφέντης της Αλλαγίας.

The structural vicinity of εμάθασιν and ο αφέντης ο Μονοβγάτης (VS) gives the false impression of a V-s clause, άνταν εμάθασιν, before one concludes the reading of the rest of the clause; meaning that the language sets priorities
of elements triggering word order. 'Ανταν is always followed by verbs, as discussed more fully earlier.

{124} 'Ανταν εμάθασεν ο αφέντης ο Μονοβγάτης και ο αφέντης της Αλλαγίας πως επήρεν ο ρήγας την Αταλείαν επήρεαν μέγαν φόβον...και επέφευ ιως μανατατοφόρους εις τον ρήγαν παρακαλώντα των να έχει καλήν αγάπην μεταξύ τούς.

When the learned the master Monovgatis and the master of Allagia that took the king the Atalia took great fear...and sent the messengers to the king asking him to have good peace between them

"When the master Monovgatis and the master of Allagia heard that the King captured Atalia, they had a big fright and sent the messengers to the King asking him to maintain a firm peace between them"

In {114} we have S in the third of three nonfinite clauses; its gender and number are also seen on the third nonfinite clause, which is a μέν-ος participle.

{114} Και διαβάζοντα τα χαρτία γροικώντα πως παραδίδονται εις αυτόν τον και ο ρήγας πεθυμήμενος να έχει τόπον εις την Τουρκίαν προσδέκτην τους μετά χαράν και τιμήν.

And reading the papers hearing that surrender to himself and the king wishing to have place in Turkey received them with joy and honour

"And when the King read the letters and heard that they would surrender to him and (because) as he was wishing to have (acquire) a place in Turkey, he hosted them with joy and honour"

Και διαβάζοντα τα χαρτία

And reading the letters

γροικώντα πως παραδίδονται εις αυτόν τον

seeing that they are giving themselves to him

και ο ρήγας πεθυμήμενος να έχει τόπον εις την Τουρκίαν

attr.for adv.

comp.cl
“and the King wanting to have (a) place in Turkey”

Also note that there is no coordination between the clauses.

It is frequently the case that a finite verb is clause-initial in the narrative in sudden changes of narration, especially if combined with other factors, one is the verb ἐρχόμαι ‘to come’ (aorist ἔλθων) which tends to be in initial slot. Briefly, in {249}, more than one factor works against the placement of S in postverbal position: (i) the presence of the verb ἐρχόμαι, (ii) the fact that the topic is now a fading part of the ongoing story, (iii) the fact that S tends to be closer to a short V-s clause. The structure is καὶ V PP S καὶ Vfin καὶ Vfin loc O καὶ Vfin Opro PP.

{249} Καὶ ἔλθεν εἰς τὴν αὐλήν οἱ ρήγας καὶ ἔρισεν καὶ εφέραν ομμρός τοῦ τες δύο αρχόντισσας καὶ ἔβαλεν τας εἰς μίαν τζάμπραν
And came to his court the king and ordered and brought in front of him the two ladies and he put them in one room
“And the King came back to his court and he ordered they bring in front of him the two ladies and he put them in a room”.

The following clause is of particular interest, where η ρήγανα is a main recurring topic. While S is independently represented in the subordinate clause, it also appears independently in the subsequent main clause. Note the following marked order {ἀνταν V S X } {S V O IO}:

{552} Καὶ ἀνταν επέσωσεν η ρήγανα εἰς τὴν Λευκωσίαν η ρήγανα εμήνυσεν χαρτίν του πρίντζη
And when arrived the queen at Lefkosia the queen sent a message to the prince
“And when the Queen arrived at Lefkosia the Queen (she) sent a message to the prince”
4.4.3.1.4. Fronting in hierarchical order

Now, I will examine criteria according to which S is more likely to be placed in clause initial position. This example is from the part of the story where King Peter the 1st of Cyprus is trying to make a truce with the Sultan in the year 1367. He sends the Sultan a number of messengers and gifts. The Emirs of the region send more presents back to the King. It is a period of diplomatic giving and taking. Both sides are in focus. The King has other worries. Due to the sickness of his brother, he also faces internal problems.

In the penultimate clause of paragraph {208}, the name of the King is mentioned twice in the O MS. and three times in the V MS. (Pavlides 1982: 154). Once he is an IO (in the V MS.) a second time in the accusative within a PP and the third time as S in the nominative.

{208} καὶ Σ Vfin IO O
a) καὶ οἱ αμιράδες τοὺς τόπους εκεῖνους επέφαν τὸν ρηγός καινοσκία
and the emirs of these places sent to the king gifts
“ and the Emirs of these places sent gifts to the King”

V-onta {να Vfin O {V S PP }}
comp rel.cl
b) ζητώντα νὰ εξαναστερεώσῃ τὴν αγάπην τὴν εἶχεν ἡ Αταλεία με τὸ (ν) ρήγαν
asking to reconsolidate the peace which had Atalia with the-king
"asking for the peace that existed between Atalia and the King to be consolidated again"
καὶ S V Opro

It is clear that the King is the main topic of the discourse of this particular passage. It is also a recurring topic, as it is a topic in focus. It therefore recurs
several times in the sentence. In the final clause, it is in preverbal position. In {209} with S *πρίντζης* 'prince' the order remains VS; here the clause has an immediate time adverb (ITA), *τάπισα*, 'immediately after that', which triggers narrative VS order. The structure is και Adv Vfin PP S.

{209} Και τάπισα ἠλθεν εἰς αστένειαν ο κύρης ο πρίντζης

And beyond that came to sickness the master the prince

"And afterwards master the prince became sick"

These examples, as well as other similar examples in the Chronicle, show some of the criteria following which S is placed within the clause. It may be that fronted NPs in coordination reveal only focality. Note the presence of οὐλοι 'all' which in {209} which is emphatic and involves stressing:

{209} Ο ρήγας καὶ οὐλοὶ οι αφέντες εδεκτήσαν τους με μεγάλην τιμήν

The king and all the masters received them with big honour

"The King and all the masters received them with great honour"

The story about the King and his moves develops gradually in the next examples. Note postverbal 'king' in accusative case within a PP. The structure is και Vfin Opro Adv και {PP και PP και PP}

{207} καὶ εδεκτήσαν τὸν πολλὰ πρεπάμενα καὶ απὸ τὸν ρήγα καὶ απὸ τοὺς λαὸς του καὶ απ’ οὐλὴν τὴν Ρόδο

and they received him very decently and from the king and from his people and from all the island of Rhodes

“And both the King and his people and all the people of Rhodes hosted him with great honour"

Discourse- topics appear in initial position in {61} and {208}.

{61} S Vfin καὶ Vfin PP

Ο ρήγας εξέβηκεν καὶ επήγεν εἰς τὸν Στρόβιλον

The king came out and went to the-Strovilos
“the King came out and went to Strovilos”

{o ρήγας εξέβην από την Ρόδου και πήγεν στην Αταλείαν
the-king came out from the-Rhodes and went to the-Atalia
"the King came out of Rhodes and went to Atalia”

Topicality may come from the last element of the immediately preceding clause; in {209} this is the last clause in paragraph {208}, Kαι o ρήγας εκήρυξεν την, ‘And the King declared it’, και SVOpro.

{209} Kαι μετά ταύτα o ρήγας εξέβην από την Αταλείαν και ἠλθεν εἰς την Κύπρον
An after those (happenings) the king came out from the-Atalia and came to the-Cyprus
“And after that, the King left (came out of) Atalia and arrived to Cyprus”

The question is whether recurring topics reflect factors such as the presence of prominence topicality, an ITA (immediate time adverb), as in μετά ταύτα 'after that', a verb of movement as in εξέβην 'came out, stepped out, left' and other factors. Alternatively, the fronting of S could be simply explained here under one explanation, that the King is fronted because of his prominent status.

However, a VS structure also appears when other elements, such as adverbs, most particularly of time, precede S in narration but where S is less prominent than that referring to the King. From the same paragraph {209}, we see the two following VXS and VSO examples, where S refers to the prince and where in terms of fronting hierarchy we now have IMA>Vmov>PT (prince) or even (Nar> IMA>Vmov>PT (prince). The structure is και Adv Vfin PP S.

{209} Kαι τάπισα ἠλθεν εἰς αστένειαν o κύρης o πρίντζης
And after that came to sickness the master the prince
“And after that, master the prince became sick”
But then again, in structures where all constituents are present and where an adverb of time and a command verb is involved (ορίζω), S is postverbal:

{209} καὶ μοναώτα ώρισεν ο ρήγας τον αμιράλλην να πάρη τον επίσκοπον εἰς τὴν Αμόχωστον
and at once ordered the king-nom. the admiral to take the bishop to the-Amohostos
“and at once, the King gave orders to the Admiral to take the bishop to Amohostos.”

Pragmatic ordering within the subordinate clause may also be involved here. Other possible orderings would involve movement of the O to a S position in the complement clause, καὶ ο ρήγας- top. and /or foc ‘and the-king’; ώρισεν να πάρη αμιράλλης- foc. τον επίσκοπον εἰς τὴν Αμόχωστον ordered to take the admiral-nom the bishop-acc to the Amohostos
“ordered that the admiral take the bishop to Amohostos”
(with markedness in both the main and the subordinate clauses) or, καὶ ώρισεν ο ρήγας
and ordered the king-nom (S in narration)
“and the King ordered”
να πάρη ο αμιράλλης
to take the admiral
“that the admiral take”, (S in focal position)
τον επίσκοπον εἰς τὴν Αμόχωστον “the bishop to Amohostos”

‘Order’ complements are not all verb initial. We could have, for instance, ώρισεν ο ρήγας ο αμιράλλης να πάρη, where ο αμιράλλης would be emphatic (stressed) (‘the King ordered that the admiral (and no one else) take...’). However, it looks as though the more frequent verb-initial complements in ώρισεν clauses are also related to the past aorist final -ν and to its ready gemination with same sound (ν-), να-initial complements (ώρισε(ν+ν)α πάρη).

See again paragraphs {208}, {209}, and {210}. It is mostly common to have S following verbs of movement, although in the {210} example this is not the
case. The frequent {Date V S} is usual, but here Makhairas shows a reversed order {S V Date} with preposed S, and postposed Date.

{210} Ο ρήγας εξέβην από το Κίτιν τη κ' οικήματο παντότε
the king came out of the-Kiti on the 27 of September 1367
"the King came out of Kiti on the 27th of September 1367"

With ὀνταν, as in {14}, ὀνταν αγροίκησεν 'having heard', we observe an additional factor for preverbal S. There is a superlative, ο ἀγιώτατος 'the most holy':

{14} ὀνταν ο ἀγιώτατος πάπας αγροίκησεν τα αυτά λογιά πολλά το ε-πικράνθη
When the most holy pope heard the these words much it became bitter
“When his holiness the Pope heard these words he became very bitter”

Topic issues are easily detected from the allusion of the writer to previous situations. Άρα ωβεν 'aforementioned', is one word marking topicality:

{237} ἡ ἀρα ωβεν καβαλλαρία εποίκειν χρόνο έναν εις την γούφαν τῆς Κερνίας
The above noblewoman made a year in the prison of Kyrenia
“The aforementioned lady spent a year in Kyrenia’s prison”

In paragraph {236}, that is in the previous paragraph, the name of this noblewoman, lady Τζούνα l’ Allemán, in French Jeanne (or Juana) l’ Allemand, who became the King’s lover, is mentioned.

Left dislocated adjectives expressing emphasis also trigger preverbal S. The next example combines more than one reasons where S is better ordered in a preverbal position:

{229} Καὶ ο φρενίμωτατος ρήγας μοναύτα εμήνυσεν το του πάπα
And the very wise king at once reported it to the Pope
“And the very wise King reported it at once to the Pope”

Some particles such as δὲ (also conveying topicality or focality) very frequently occur with preverbal S. Statistics on such orders have also been provided in this section of the chapter:

{68}  Ο ὁ δε Σταυρός των Λυμπίων τουτέστιν ὁ μέγας, μοναχὸς του
The δε- part. Cross of Lympia that is the great alone (itself) his
ηλθεν κάτω του ὄρου
came down the mountain
“(As for) The Lympia Cross, that is, the Great (Cross), it came down the mountain by itself”

{52}  Ἡ δὲ η βασίλισσα ἐκατζεν εἰς τον ἡλιακὸν εἰς το διάβαβαν τοὺς
The δε- partcl. queen sat in the sunroom to the passing the-acc knights
καβαλλάριδες
“(As for) The Queen, she sat in the sunroom obstructing the Knights’ passing”

Also see example {172}:

{172}  Ο ὁ ληγάτος μοναύτα ωρίσεν καὶ εποίκαιν παρακάλεσες
“(As for) The representative, he ordered they make wishes (prayers)”

Topics introduced by διατί ‘because (as you know), in adverbial clauses of cause tend to have preverbal S:

{72}  Καὶ διατί οἱ Λατῖνοι φθονοῦν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, κρύβουν τα θαύματα τα
“And because the Latins are jealous of the Romans (Byzantine Greeks) they hide miracles that are happening”
Special events and topics introduced by evidential ἀλήθεια ‘truth’ trigger S-initial. This may be related to the fact that the word ἀλήθεια was a part of an elliptical verbal phrase ἀλήθεια (λέγω πως) ‘I am telling the truth that’, where the O ‘truth’ in the phrase is fronted or a pattern with a copula ἀλήθεια εἶναι ‘it is true’ etc; the verb is no longer required here:

{62} Ἀλήθεια ο κύρης του Στύρου ἐπείσεν μαυτατοφόρους
(It is) true, the Sir(e) of Tyre sent messengers
“The truth is that the lord of Tyre did send (a number of) messengers”

The masculine article ὁ followed by demonstrative αὐτός as in ὁ αὐτός ‘the that’ introduces a marked clause and tends to have a S-initial order. This is exemplified in many parts of the book where the pattern is in use:

{666} Ο αὐτός Περρῆς ἤλθεν καὶ πολλὰ εβίασεν τον βίγγα να του δώσῃ ορισμόν
The that Peter came and much forced the king to to him give order (advice)
“(The said) Peter came and he really forced the King to give him advice”

See also examples {23} and {369}:

{23} καὶ ὁ αὐτός σιρ Πατῆς επόνεν τον η καρδία του να μπη εἰς το καράβιν
and the that Sir Patis hurt him the heart his to enter in the ship
“And (the said) Sir Patis, his heart was hurting him (he felt sick) to enter the ship”

(Also see notes to chapter 5 for French structural interference of same pattern.)

There are instances of ambiguity, particularly where N is a neuter noun and there is no overt subject in a finite clause. In the following example, it is not
possible to know with certainty whether τὸ ἄμαν (the blood) is the subject of
the verb ἐχουκλούμισην 'boiled', 'his blood was boiling' or
whether the ἄμαν 'blood' is the O of the subject in the nonfinite clause,
{o συρ Τζακ ἐχουκλούμισην τὸ ἄμαν τοῦ ' Sir Jack made his blood (to boil), he
got angry':

{382} Μανθάνοντα ο συρ Τζακ, ἐχουκλούμισην τὸ ἄμαν τοῦ
hearing the Sir Jack boiled the blood his
"When Sir Jack heard (all this) he became very angry"

The second of two consecutive (repeated) S constituents may be preverbal:

{65} εκατέβην ο ποταμός τῆς χώρας τόσον μέγας...καὶ ο ποταμός
came down the river of the city such big... that-compls the river went
ἐπήγειν τριγύρου τῆς χώρας
came round the city-gen
“and the river of the town had such a big overflow ... that the river
circled the city”

Some structures constitute euphemistic approaches to serious and ‘evil’
deeds done by the King. The King however, could not be blamed for his acts,
so particular structures were needed for the blame to be lifted away. These
structures may be seen as false starts, with S at the left of the clause. In the
following clause, S in initial position reflects the fact that the King has fallen
into sin. Instead of him, the demon is blamed for what happened. The author
starts with S, ‘the King’, however suddenly he remembers that whatever will
be said about the King is negative; he thus inserts an explanatory clause
headed by the Cypriot relative pronoun (ὡς) γολον, literally meaning ‘as
which’, ‘as’, covering up in this way for the King’s weakness of having
committed a sin. The author goes on by being apologetic on behalf of the King
saying ‘as you know the demon of harlotry troubles everybody’. He finishes
his sentence using S of explanatory clause starting with ὡς γολον ηξεύρετε
καὶ (that) ο δαίμων, ‘the demon’ etc, as a S of a discontinued clause.
The logic behind these clause boundaries is that the end of the explanatory clause ως γοινον ηξεύρετε ends in τον, since τον is a repetition of clitic όλον, in όλον τον κόσμον πλημελά τον.

{234} Ο καλός ο βίγας, ως γοινον ηξεύρετε και ο δαίμων της πορνείας όλον τον κόσμον πλημελά, τον εκόμπωσεν τον βίγαν, και έπεσεν εἰς αμαρτίαν με μίαν ζητὶλ αρχόντισσαν ονόματι Τζουάνα Λ’ Αλεμά
The good king {as you know and the demon of harlotry all the world troubles} him disturbed the king-acc} and he fell in sin with one gentile noble woman by the name of Jeanne L’ Allemand

“The good King, as you know, the demon of harlotry disturbs everyone, and he (the demon) (also) disturbed the King and (he, the King) fell in sin with a noblewoman by the name of Jeanne L’ Allemand.”

This is an ambiguous joining, as the discontinued main clause joins into the continuous main Ο καλός ο βίγας τον εκόμπωσεν τον βίγαν, meaning ‘the good King disturbed the King’. The agent δαίμων της πορνείας ‘demon of harlotry’ of the verb εκόμπωσεν ‘disturbed’ is found in the ως γοινον clause.

Another similar case is seen in {76}. This is an unexpected pattern: either the lack of a preposition in ακομή εἰς τὴν χώραν δὲν ἦτον κτισμένον το τείχον ‘in the town the castle was not being built yet’ or, an expected use of an auxiliary (auxiliary ‘to have’ could have provided a more usual clause), ακομή ἡ χώρα δὲν εἴχε κτισμένον το τείχον ‘the town did not yet have the castle built’.

{76} Ακομή ἡ χώρα δὲν ἦτον κτισμένον το τείχον
Yet the-town not was built the wall

“The wall had not been built in the town yet”

In paragraph {63}, NP the virgin Maria (a young unmarried girl called Maria) appears in initial position in S form, even though its role with the finite verb ερμάσαν is O.
and the virgin Maria married-they her
“and the virgin Maria they married her”

This can be justified within the frame of what is called in the Greek syntax the 
\textit{ανακόλουθον} \textit{(for anakolouthon see Holton et al. 1997: 437). It is also a topic
comment issue. Note also the following, which is a recurring topic as well
(also called cotangent in this work); \textit{S} is introduced in the beginning of the
clause with more than one reasons, that is, with \textit{άνωθεν} and dislocation):

\begin{quote}
\textit{ο \άνωθεν \μισέρ Τζούαν \τε \Μόρφου \έπιασεν \τον \μεγάλη \έννοια
the above Sir Juan de Morphou took him big worry
"The above Sir Juan de Morphou had a big worry"
}\end{quote}

The following example can be classified under the \textit{o \αυτ-ός-ή-οί} etc initial
clauses also.

\begin{quote}
\textit{και \ο \αυτός \συρ \Πατής \ επόνεν \τον \ η \ καρδία \ του \ να \ μπη \ εἰς \ το
καράβιν
the that Sir Patis hurt him the heart his to enter to the ship
“and the said Sir Patis had an upset stomach to go on the ship”
}\end{quote}

Some anakolouthon instances are due to standard Cypriot transitive structures
in expressions i.e. ‘πονά \ με \ η \ καρδία \ μου’, \textit{where καρδία means} ‘stomach’,
‘my stomach is upset’, and where (i) reasons of hierarchy and (ii) colloquial
phrases requiring focus of \textit{S}, only point out the central person in focus (where
in the main clause there exist other sources of topicality, \textit{as τον} and \textit{του} in the
above example). Again, in \{210\} the clause starts with the first argument
preverbal.

\begin{quote}
\textit{Ο \ρήγας \ εξέβην \ από \ το \ Κίτιν \ τη \ κζ’ \ σεπτεμβρίου \ ατζζ’ \ Χριστού
The king came out of Kiti on the 27 of September 1367 of Christ
“The King embarked from Kiti on the 27 of September 1367 AD”
}\end{quote}
This argument may be the start of another discussion. The verb ἐξέβην ‘came out, left from’ is seen in the two following paragraphs to take clause initial and paragraph initial position, taken up from paragraphs {208}, {209}, {210} where again it is in first ordering.

{208} O ρίγας ἐξέβην από την Ρόδον  
the king came out from the Rhodos-acc  
“The King embarked from Rhodes”

{209} Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ο ρίγας ἐξέβην από την Αταλείαν  
And after these the king came out from (of) the Atalia-acc  
“And after that, the King embarked from Atalia”

{210} O ρίγας ἐξέβην από το Κίτιν  
the king came out from (of) the-Kiti-acc  
“The King embarked from Kiti”

In {230}, S follows an emphatic element in the following adverbial clause where επειδή ‘because’ is followed by a second, emphatic καί:

{230} Καὶ επειδή καὶ ο θεός εσυγχωρήσεν το δι’ τα κρίματα μας  
And because and the-god pardoned it for the-crime our  
"And because God too forgave it, for our crimes”

Adverbs τάπισα ‘beyond, immediately after’ and μονάοτα 'straight after that, at once', and verbs ἤλθεν ‘came’ ὠρίσεν ‘ordered, gave orders’ and ἐξέβην ‘came out, departed’, also favour and trigger a VS structure.

It is not often the case that V-onta embedding lacks S. In the following (discontinued) clause, V-onta is repeated (for focus) within time and causal (διότι) clauses. Such instances of discontinuity give greater highlight to some constituents; S-final may here imply an afterthought point at clarification of S. Ἐθρώντα lacks an overt O here:
Seeing remained very speechless the captain because seeing that not wanted (future marker) to-comp to him sell the jewel he prepared to sell him and the ship

“When the captain saw that he remained speechless, because, when he realised that he didn’t want to sell him the jewel, he prepared to sell him the ship as well”

When S is so prominent, in both status and topicality, this order may break and S may appear preverbally. In the following example, ρήγας and Κίτη are topics, appearing in the last clause (and last line) of the previous {209} paragraph:

{210} Ο ρήγας εξέβην από το Κίτη
the king came out from the-Kiti-acc
“The King embarked from Kiti”

In {108}, the independent representation of S is preceded by its representation as pronominal τους in the initial nonfinite clause. In the following example, both the gerund ‘coming’ accompanied by a possessive, and the S of the main clause ’οι μαντατοφόροι’ appear in subordination:

{108} Στρεφόντα τους οι μαντατοφόροι από τον πάπαν {εδώκαν τας γραφάς του πάπα εις τας χείρας...}
Comming back their the messengers from the pope gave the papers of the pope in the hands of...
“In their coming back from the Pope, the messengers gave the Pope’s letters to...”

In emphatic structures such as καὶ ο ένας καὶ ο άλλος or in NPs preceded by emphatic καὶ, as well as in cases where S is fronted or back fronted for repetition, S is focal.
Animacy as a factor in topicality and focus needs additional research in Cypriot. The place of the pronoun is supportive of this argument. In the following VOproS example, the agent of ‘biting’ is found in the ending of the verb εδάκχασεν. In Modern Greek the structure is OproV S:

εδάκχασεν με μια τσόύννα (C)  με δάγκωσε ένα έντομο (G)

bit me an insect  me bit an insect

“An insect bit me”  “An insect bit me”

There are many examples of animacy affecting the order of S in the texts. Here is a SVX example. This is by no means the only example in the data:

{61}  Και η ζήλα ενέβην είς τον κύρην του Στύρου
And the jealousy mounted on the-master of the Styros

“And the master of Styros got jealous”

Echo S (repetition S) patterns are not very common. They however appear in a few instances. In {308} we have echo S ordering in ‘the governor agreed the governor’; drop of intonation or stress cannot be assessed. It is obvious though that S initial functions as a focal element and S final as a topic element, in the next clause; they are both salient elements. Echo S become topics via focus, hence repeated in the clause. Follow repetition in the next example, where new information (or at least a faded topic) is in the genitive. For reasons of topicality it is being repeated again in a S V S clause:

{308}  Τάπισα εξήτησαν συμπάθειαν τον κουβερνούρη και ο κουβερνούρης δια το καλόν τους χριστιανούς εσυνκατέβην ο κουβερνούρης
Afterwards asked-3pl sympathy governor-gen and the-governor-nom for the good-acc the christians-acc agreed-3rd.sg the governor-nom

“They asked for the governor’s sympathy and the governor, for the sake of the Christians he agreed, the governor”

But it may be either a {SV, S} or a {S, VS} example.
Another factor disfavouring preverbal S position is dates. Dates are usually clause-initial elements in the narrative, and most often they introduce paragraphs. In most of the cases, dates attract verbs; verbs follow dates as in {164}. In the presence of a recurring topic dates cede the position of V, which almost always follow them, to S {220}. Follow the discussion next:

{164} Και τη κε’ αυγούστου εις τους Τζε’ Χριστού επέσωσεν And the-dat 25 August-gen in the -acc 1365 Christ-gen arrived
η αρμάδα
the fleet-nom
“ And on the 25th of August in the year 1365 the fleet arrived”

The next example underlines the need for the presence of a preverbal S. I am referring to NP Sasoun, which is here a topic. Note examples {154}, {209}, {210} and {220}. (Also note the different ways the name Sasoun has been written in, in different parts of the Chronicle: Σασούν, Σιουρ, Σουρ.). In {154} NP Σασούν is being introduced, through an accusative:

{154} να ξορίσουν από την Κύπρον τον σιρ Τζούαν Σασούν to exile from the-Cyprus the-Sir Juan Sasoun
“in order to exile Sir Juan Sasoun from Cyprus”

{209} και ήτον μέσα ο πίσκοπος της Αμοχούστου ο σιρ Εράτ και ο σιρ Τζούαν τε Σιουρ ο αμιράλης And were inside the bishop of the Amohostos the Sir Erat and the Sir Juan de Siour the-admiral
“ And the bishop of Amohostos Sir Erat and Sir Juan de Siour the admiral were in (the ship)”

{219} Εξηλέψαν οι Γενουβίσιοι τα δύο αδελφία ο Περρήν τε Κριμάντε και got jealous the Genoese the two brothers the Peter de Grimante and
In the year 1368, two Genoese brothers, Peter and John Grimante, who owned a number of ships under the King’s service, attacked and captured a ship owned by the Sultan. This particular month, April 1368, is mentioned twice in paragraph {219}. In paragraph {220} the month appears again in initial position indirectly in the phrase Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν μήμαν, ‘And in the same month’. After that date, a newly introduced S follows. It is a S representing a proper noun, Sir Juan de Sour, who equipped two ships and left from Amohostos to Alexandria. De Sour, who was an admiral, had already been introduced to the reader in paragraph {154} where he is said to have been sent out of Cyprus in exile; he now appears under the name of Juan de Sasoun in this paragraph. In {209}, the same person, now named Juan de Siour, reappears; he is coming back to Cyprus from his exile, and in {220}, the paragraph under study, this particular NP is found again in S initial position. See order of existentials in relation to topicality; existential verbs tend to precede S in MC. See also relevant discussion in the V section.

Note also the SVO structure in {220}:

{220} Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν μήμαν ο ισρ Τζουάν τὸ Σουρ αρμάτωσεν β´ σατίες  
“And the that month the Sir Juan de Sour equipped two ships”

Adverb πάλε ‘again’ is looked at here separately. Previous references use adverbs such as πάλε ‘again’ to link or re-introduce faded topics:

{376} Καὶ πάλε οι Συριάνοι εμετανώσαν  
“And again the Syrians changed their mind”
Repetition of Topic in a linear subordinate-main-subordinate order in pro-drop (V-s) clauses. High status NPs, like King, Queen, the Pope, are mostly preverbal. Second, subordinate of equation as in

{14} ‘Ονταν ο αγιώτατος πάπας εγροίκησεν τα αυτά λογία πολλά το επικράθη... Και ως καλός χριστιανός όπου ήτον ο αγιώτατος πάπας, ώρισεν τον παίδα με εντολήν να μεν το πη τινός άλλου και εθέλησεν ο πάπας να μάθη περίτου καθαρά...

“When the Saint Pope heard these words he became really sad. And as the good Christian he was the Saint Pope gave strict orders to the young man to tell no one else, and the Pope wanted to be informed more clearly (on that matter)...”

Note VS structure, last line, where the superlative αγιώτατος is no longer used in the clause, showing the need of VS continuity. In final clauses there may be extreme separation between a S and its V. In {75} we see preverbal Dame Maria of Ibelin S, followed by several embedded clauses, and finally the finite verb εξήτησεν. towards the end of the clause:

{75} Εις τες ημέρες εκείνες η τάμε Μαρία τε Πιλισίς, {δια το βαύμαν το είδεν εις την αδελφότητιν της και δια να κατευδωθεί ο άντρας της, -ότι ο ρήγας έπεζεν τον μαντατοφόρον εις τον πάπαν, να μερώσουν με τους Γενουβίσους δια μάλλων το γίνειν μεσόν τους και τους Κυπριώτες} εξήτησεν με όλην την καρδίαν του ρηγός να της δώση ορισμόν

“In these days, dame Maria d’ Ibelin, because of the miracle she saw, that happened to her niece and because she wanted her husband to be farewelled, as the King sent him to the Pope as a messenger in order to come to terms with (to reconcile) with the Genoese on the brawl that took place between them and the Cypriots, asked the
King with all her heart to give her his permission and (a) place to build the church of the Holy Cross"

To summarise the above: Fronting of S for hierarchical reasons is apparent in Makhairas’ texts as it enhances the role it plays in SVO structures in general, as well as in S-dislocated patterns, more importantly so if S happens to be a) a recurring topic, b) a topic in focus and c) a prominent S.

This hierarchical position may be ceded to an ITA (Immediate Time Adverb) which triggers VS narrative patterns, where V follows the adverb in V-initial clauses. Adverbs of time and command verbs as well as verbs of movement put S to the right of the clause (postverbally); however, the prominence of S may often overpower the more general rules that relate adverbs, dates and verbs in initial position if the position of S is due to more than one pragmatic factors. Moreover, superlatives, phrases revealing evidentiality, deictics, emphatic elements, S repetition patterns where S may also appear at the back of the clause (echo S repetitions), instances of S inanimate>animate, re-emerging faded topics and dislocation trigger preverbal S.

4.4.3.2. Direct Object initials

This part of the chapter is the study of the order of O and O clitic (Oclit) placement in Medieval Cypriot. It provides an account of the clitic placement in finite and non-finite clauses and also gives a description of the positions of both O and IO as well as IO clitic (IOclit). Bearing in mind the position of τὸ and τὰ deictic-relatives ‘that which, those which’, which precede finite verbs in MC, it is needless to say that the clitic position within the clause exhibits (and marks) one of the greater structural differences between Cypriot and Greek. For example, MC τὸ ἔδωκεν means ‘that which he or she gave’, and Greek τὸ ἔδωκε means ‘he or she gave it’.

As I will show in this part of the chapter, fronted O and preverbal O clitics are possible in MC in clauses other than indicative (assertive).
4.4.3.2.1. C and G clitics: recent studies

Terzi (1999: 227) mentions that Cypriot is not a Wackernagel language since it has no first position clitics as seen in the Greek and the Slavic structures. Wackernagel (1892) established long ago that the second position in a sentence was the natural position for ‘clitic’ elements in the earliest Indo-European languages; Wackernagel’s “law” has been accepted universally since. While Cypriot structures have recently been compared with similar Standard Greek structures, in this work Cypriot is seen a language studied in its own right. Unlike MoG where clitics always precede the finite verb and thus surface first in linear order when no other element precedes the verb, O clitics may not appear sentence initially in MoC (a comment by Terzi), as illustrated below (examples from Terzi, p.227).

Modern Greek

(Ego) to diavasa
(I) it read-1sg

Modern Cypriot (CGr) displays the following order:

ethkiavasa to
read-1sg it
“I read it”

Continuing her description, Terzi comments that: “As a result of this prohibition, CGr (Cypriot Greek) clitics often surface second in the clausal structure reminding us of the clitic ordering manifested by languages with second position (2P) restrictions, such as Serbo/Croatian (S/C), (or Ancient Greek, see Rivero and Terzi (1995)).”

Other studies on the clitic include recent studies by Pappas and Joseph on the Standard Greek clitic (in a ms).

Contemporary scholars have not been unconcerned with the study of MGr clitics and their order; a particular and interesting study on the MGr appeared
by Mackridge (1993), who analysed the order of the clitic in the Escorial Digenis Akritas. Also, Horrocks (1990: 40) notes the “particular issue of the ordering of object clitic pronouns with same dialects (including Modern Greek) exhibiting proclitic pronouns with finite verbs, others (including Cypriot) enclitic pronouns”.

The clitic position is not regarded as a structure deviating from any other standard or more general Greek clitic position rules. Its order is not accounted for within the frame of prohibitions and/or exceptions. The MC clitic placement has also emerged from a natural evolution of the language. This is consequently not similar to the structure of the Greek counterpart of the same or later periods, since the presence of το preceding indicative verbs in MC expresses the role of a δεικτικό-αναφορικό (deictic-relative (deict.rel)), an element that existed also in structural environments in Medieval Greek (Kriaras 1973), but which seems to have been abolished earlier than the Cypriot.

4.4.3.2.2. O (independent NP) in VO structures: examples

As has been discussed in the study of S, the other major constituent of the clause, O is found to be frequently represented in clauses where it appears both as independent NP and as a clitic. In most of the clauses, S and O NPs appear either both as independent NPs, as (Spro) and (Ocl) and or a pronoun (Opro), (IOcl), (IOpro).

There have been ample examples throughout this work where O independently represented has offered evidence for the finding that the MC clause most frequently has VSO order.

Examples of O fully represented, as for instance in the VSO pattern εγράψαν το ηγατά την αναμιγήν ‘heard the King the trouble’ {280}, as well as in the VOS pattern ‘εγράψαν χαρτίν οι καπετάνοι ‘the captains wrote a letter’ and the SVO patterns as in {677} Οι Σαρακηνοί εγράψαν χαρτίν ‘The Saracens wrote a letter’, have been seen in previous parts of this study. Other patterns including both independent O and IO are found in the texts,
however they are limited in number, as displayed in \{430\} (VSOIO), \{208\} and \{195\} SVIOO, SVOIO, and \{666\}, \{462\} VO(O)SIO, VSIOO:

\{430\} \[\text{έγραψεν ἡ ῥήγαινα χαρτίν τοῦ κοντοσταύλη}
\text{wrote the queen-nom paper-acc the constable-gen}
\text{“ the queen wrote a letter to the constable”}

\{208\} \[\text{kαι οἱ αμιράδες τοὺς τόπους εκεῖνους επέσην τοῦ μηγὸς καυσκία}
\text{and the emirs of the places these sent the king-gen gifts-acc}
\text{“ and the emirs of these places sent gifts to the King”}

\{195\} \[\text{o θεὸς ἔδωσεν τὸ νίκος τοὺς χριστιανούς}\]
\text{the-god gave the victory-acc the Christians-acc}
\text{“God gave victory to the Christians”}

\{666\} \[\text{Τότε ἐπέσεν καυσκία καὶ αὐτίλογου (ὁ ρήγας) τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ σιέχη}
\text{Then sent gifts-acc and replying letter-acc (the king-nom) the-son-gen the-sheikh-gen}
\text{“Then, the King sent gifts and a replying letter to the son of the Sheikh”}

\{462\} \[\text{Μοναύτα ἔδωκεν ἡ ῥήγαινα τοῦ μαγείρου τῆς καρτζά}
\text{At once, gave the queen-nom the cook-gen hers money-acc}
\text{“ At once, the queen gave money to her cook”}

Independent O in VSO, SVO and VOS will not be fully discussed here. Issues of ambiguity will be argued in the section of the order of IO and the genitive dative ending.

4.4.3.2.3. The pronominal O and IO clitics

It is demonstrated in the texts that independent O NPs or clitics in most instances follow verbs in affirmative indicative clauses with independent NPs (VSO, VOS, VSO), in overt NPs, in the form of non-fronted (postposed (emphatic)) pronouns as in \[\text{ἐδωκα τὸ εγὼνι ‘gave it I’},\] in
sentential clauses introduced by το, a reduced element form of demonstrative αυτό) and in other complement clauses (introduced by ὁτι, να and πως), where a verb requires a construction with a dependent complement clause. Examples of such O clauses will be discussed in different sections below.

Cypriot clitics show a stronger binding with V than do independent O. In fact, no other element can intervene between a V and an O clitic other than a IOcl, that is, another clitic: ἐδωκεν τον το, ‘s/he gave to him it (s/he gave it to him)’. The pattern {V IOclitOclit} is the most rigid pattern in ditransitive MC clauses where these O appear as clitics. These constituents are so tightly bound as to break the continuity of a periphrastic tense (consisting of an auxiliary and an infinitive): ’ἐίχεν μου το δώσει’ ‘s/he had to me it given, she had given it to me’ (in G this binding is unbreakable; the clitics precede the verb, μου το είχε δώσει).

IO can be independently expressed as an NP or may appear in the form of a pronominal clitic. Examples of independently represented clitics are displayed above. Many clauses have only one overt object and this may be an indirect object. Direct objects appear in direct speech sentences.

{40} Ο Ιγνάτιος εἶπεν του ρε ὸυιγκε
The-Ignace-nom told the-gen king Hughes
"Ignace told King Hughes"

Genitive is the case of indirect objects; this is their prevailing form. There is less indication of accusative indirect object preceded by preposition εἰς 'to' or even a lesser indication of its agglutinated form with an article as in στου, στην, στο, στους στες στα. However, masculine genitives are replaced by the accusative.

In many clauses, IO may be expressed independently where O is expressed in its clitic form, or vice versa. Usually, this concerns pragmatically marked clauses:
And this said it the prince the king-gen
“And the prince told this (Topic) to the King”

In other occurrences, IO looks as though it is the only monolectic object in the clause where O (direct object) comes as a whole sentence of direct speech, VSIO in:

said the Genoese-nom the admiral-gen...master-voc...
“the Genoese said to the admiral, master...”

Clitics are the main indicators of pragmatically marked situations. Clauses involving clitics expressing O in both their independent and clitic forms denote pragmatic markedness. The pragmatic order of O can be studied in both the VP and the clausal levels. In VPs, O as an independent constituent appears in initial position where it must be stressed for emphasis:

“(animals) cattle-acc they killed, seeding-acc they burned slaves-acc escaping they accepted and every evil-acc they made”
“They killed the cattle, they burned the seeding, they welcomed all the escaping slaves and they made every evil possible”

As discussed in the S section, head forms o autós ‘the that-masc’ η αυτή the that-fem’ and το αυτών 'the that-neut’ are marked forms in MC. In some of the examples they mark both S and O:

and built the that king Peter-nom the that castle-acc
“and King Peter-foc.top. built that castle-foc.top”

και έκτισε ο αυτός πε Πιέρ το αυτό κάστρο
“and built the that king Peter-nom the that castle-acc
“and King Peter-foc.top. built that castle-foc.top”

και εστάθησαν και εσφικτοπολεμίσαν τον αυτών πύργον
and stayed and besieged the that tower-acc (of the castle)
“and they stayed to besiege the tower-top (of the castle)”

{14} εγροίκησεν τα αυτά λογία
heard-3rd.sg the these words-acc.top
“he heard these words-top”

In clauses studied under pragmatic considerations, where O is a topic and would usually be fronted (it is the theme of previous information) and where a OV structure would be expected to occur, VO binding is essential. Although a nominal O can be fronted for focus and/ or topicality, the clause requires a second O in the form of a clitic, (O(S)VOclit).

In example {97}, fronted O followed by Oclit shows topicality and focus of O. (Emphasis is exhibited with cleft constructions with verb εἰμι ‘to be’, in MoC, see chapter 5.)

{97} και διατί το κοντάτον ἔδωκέν το του αδελφοτέκινου του του Τζάκου του υιού του αδελφού του του πρίντζη
and because the county-acc he gave it the nephew-gen his-gen Jack-gen the son-gen the brother-gen his the prince-gen
“And because he gave the county-top.foc. to his nephew Jack, (to) the son of his brother the prince”

The same can be seen in {233}:

(233) το πρίντζατον της ἐδώκεν το
the principate-acc hers-gen gave it
“she gave her principate-top”

Fronted independent O with deictic τούτ-ον-α shows next in {279}, where the typical τούτο-O fronted C structures seem to have been present in the language from the Middle Ages:
{279} τούτα τ’ αγρέλλια φέρνετε
these the-asparagus bring-imper.2nd.pl
"could you bring these asparagus (asparagi)?"

There is a stronger VOclit binding in MC, as stressed earlier. VOclit is more tightly bound than is VO binding;\textsuperscript{14} it is so powerful as to prevent other elements intervening between V and O, with the exception only of IO clitics ‘ἐθικάβασα τοῦ το ‘I read to him it, I read it to him’ (Compare order with G τοῦ το διαβάσα. ‘to him it I read’.

In Greek Grammar, Oclit is called αντωνυμική επανάληψη, literally meaning ‘pronominal repetition’, (see Klairis and Babiniotis 1999: 304), the word pronominal signifying rather ‘in the place of a nominal’ than defining only pronouns αντωνυμίες, as parts of the speech. The accepted term used in contemporary linguistics is clitic doubling. In MC, clitic doubling can either precede as in {537}, or follow as in {393}, {394}, the independent O it refers to:

{393} καὶ τὴν γραφὴν εδώκαν την
and the writing (letter) they gave it
"and they gave the letter-foc"

{394} καὶ τὸ χαρτίν εδώκαν τὸ
and the letter they gave it
"and they gave the letter-foc"

{537} να τοῦ εβγάλη τον κοντοσταύλην απέ τὴν Ρόδον
to him take off-subj the constable-acc from the Rhodes-acc
"(and he told him) to call back the constable from Rhodes"

Oclit can be used in Greek with every clause where O is a part of the known information, therefore it is fronted and preverbal, or, as one could say in Greek, προτάσσεται τοῦ ρήματος, ‘it is ordered before the verb’. Similarly, in the position of clause-initial O, either a nominal or a pronominal (clitic) a IO may appear, provided it is expressed in the genitive (IO in Greek is mostly
expressed with a preposition and an accusative (depending on the verbs) and in some instances in the accusative preceded by a preposition, in like manner in C). Consider the following MoC example, where IO is fronted for highlighting, IO V IOcl Ocl O:

του Αντώνη εδώκαμεν του τα τα δώρα του
the -gen we gave him-gen them-acc the presents-acc his-gen
"we gave Anthony-foc. top his presents-top"

As seen above, the clitics are embraced between the independent IO and O. If O had to be fronted the MoC clause would be O V IOcl Ocl IO:

O V IOcl Ocl IO

ta δώρα του εδώκαμεν του τα του Αντώνη
the gifts-acc his gave-1st.pl to him them Anthony-gen
“we gave Anthony his presents-foc.top”

In G this example would have been IO IOcl Ocl V O:

IO IOcl Ocl V O:

του Αντώνη του τα δώσαμε τα δώρα του
the Anthony-gen to him the-acc gave-1st.pl the gifts-acc his-gen
"we gave Anthony-top his presents-top"

There are restrictions though, with prepositions. In the following example IO του does not agree with στον-acc and it is not grammatical:

* στον Αντώνη του τα δώσαμε τα δώρα του

* to the-acc Anthony to him-gen them gave-1st.pl the gifts his
“we gave Anthony-top his presents-top”

The ordering of Oclit forming a πρόταξη, that is appearing in a OV order, is here called a forerunner O. Forerunner O clitics are syntactically closer to their nominals in MC (and C), than what it is in G. In the examples above the verb intervenes between the nominal O and the pronominal O (Oclitic) in the G example. Clitics are easily detected in C as they always follow the verb in indicative, assertive clauses.
Some restrictions in the use of the clitics apply in Greek, when non-topic elements are used in the position of O and in particular when NPs without an article or indefinite and interrogative pronouns are present in O position. Examples from Klairis and Babiniotis (1999: 305) show these restrictions:

Kάποιον ήθελα να συναντήσω αλλά δεν ήρθε
Someone I wanted to meet but he didn't come
"I wanted to meet someone but he didn't come"
* Kάποιον ήθελα να τον συναντήσω αλλά δεν ήρθε

Ποιόν θα ήθελες να συναντήσεις;
Whom would you like to meet?
* Ποιόν θα ήθελες να τον συναντήσεις;

Despite the general G rules on pronominal repetitions, one faces again the possibility of finding a range of ‘anomalies’ in MoC, when comparing clitic placement in the MC clause. One has to bear in mind a number of rules that have to be kept meticulously: the order of V IOclitOclit must never be breached. This is due to the usual use of the genitive for indirect objects (in MC) and to the striving of the narrator to disambiguate IO from genitive (which has the same ou ending); most particularly because there are many δίπτωτα ρήματα (verbs structured with two cases) in MC. Examples will show some of these flexibilities. In {436}, indefinite heads do not prevent the use of clitics. Additionally, grammatical rules concerning case in particular, with regard to (i) concord anomalies, (ii) the number of arguments of the verb and (iii) the maintenance of τον replacing the archaic dative (του for τω) are frequently breached. An example of both case concord and the use of a clitic in a indefinite {S=O form} introduced clause is exhibited below, where fronted O can also be taken as a nominative.

{436} Κάτινες Λευκωχιάτες επροδώσαν τοὺς ἄλλους
some Lefkosia inhabitants-acc betrayed-3rd.pl them-acc others-nom
"Others betrayed some Lefkosia inhabitants"
" Some Lefkosia inhabitants, others betrayed them"
That is either a O V Ocl Spro clause or a Sapp V-S Ocl S but it is very unlikely that Κάτινες Λευκωξιάτες may be a fronting of part of the subject, as in Κάτινες άλλοι Λευκωξιάτες “Other Lefkosia inhabitant”, due to rules of continuity of the head Κάτινες άλλοι Λευκωξιάτες.

Some ‘anomalies’ when compared with other G varieties can arise. The use of a relative pronoun is restricted, if appearing with a clitic in G. This is not the case here, where both the relative and the clitic can be used in the same clause:

{537} 
τον ποίον εφοβερίσαν τον  
the who-acc frightened him-acc  
“whom they frightened”

{258} 
τον ποίον επαρακάλεσαν τον οι συγκεκλαίδες του  
the which begged him the members of family his  
“whom his (own) family members begged”

Issues of lack of agreement (concord) are obvious. In {394} nominative ο κοντοσταύλης is used instead of the accusative τον κοντοσταύλην.

{394} 
να μεν τον αφήσουν να πάει ο κοντοσταύλης  
to not him let-3rd.pl to go the constable-nom for acc.  
“In order for them to not let the constable go”

There are examples of lack of agreement where it is not easy to recognise whether the author intended to start a clause with a S, and ended up having an ‘ungrammatical’ clause, or whether the whole clause shows concord anomaly.

{412} 
ετούτη η αρμάδα εποίκαμε την  
this-nom the fleet-nom we made it-acc  
“we made this fleet-foc”
The clause could read better in MoC as the following alternative:

των (haplology for (ε)τούτην ) την αρμάδαν εποίκαμεν την
that the fleet made-1st.pl it-acc
“we made that fleet”

The next example shows an S-initial NP, independently of whether the clitic agrees with the fronted NP’s nominative case:

{k448} και ένας κλέπτης χωριότης όπου έκλεφτεν και έπαιρνεν τα κρυφάς
and one thief village-nom who to steal-imperf. 3rd.sg.and to take-imperf. 3rd.sg them secretly to the-Amohostos-acc to feel-aor.3rd.pl
τουν
him
“And they took notice of a villager-foc, who was stealing and taking them (stolen goods) to Amohostos”

I will now introduce the notions of ‘forerunner’ and ‘echo’ clitics discussed more intensely in the next section. Patterns of either OVS, SOV or OSV will be shown here, as well as frequencies of such occurrences. Before discussing these patterns, the position of non-clitics το-τα should once more be explained.

Since OVS, SOV and OSV patterns do not appear without a clitic either preceding or following independent O NPs (see notions of forerunner and echo clitics below), apart perhaps from one example of OSV in {663} appearing without a clitic, these orderings will be seen within the framework of clitic-bearing patterns (OV(-s)Ocl(S), (SOVOcl) and (OSVOcl).

As discussed in chapter 4, it should be noted that most το-τα forms preceding verbs are deictic-relatives, as in examples {336}, {346}, {354}. Exceptions of το-τα clitics appearing preverbally are also discussed next.
This is a parenthesis on το deictic-relative and το clitic. It is easily understood from the context that το-τα are used instead of a π(γ)οιος-π(γ)οια in inanimate, in neuter wh words, in Greek αυτό που (αυτό το οποίο) or αυτά που (αυτά τα οποία) 'whatever, what, which':

{336} από το ξηγάσθε
   from that which-deict.rel to say-2nd.pl.pres. medpass
   "from what you are saying"

{346} το γυρεύεται εἰς τον γάμον
   that which to seek-3rd.sg. pres. pass to the-marriage-acc
   εἰναι πρώτα η ομορφιά
   is firstly the-beauty-nom
   "what (that) is sought (expected) in the (a) marriage is firstly (above all) beauty"

{354} ποίσετε το θέλετε
   do-imper.2nd.pl that what you want to do-2nd.pl
   "do what you want to do"

In many instances, the deictic-relative το is found in clauses where IOclit is also present:

{256} και αθύμον το μός επρομουτίσαςες
   and remember-imper.2nd.sg that which us-acc promised
   "and remember what you promised (to) us"

{122} το λέγουν το Στενών
   that which say-3rd.pl it'acc Stenon
   "(that) which they call (it) Stenon"

In clauses where both a deictic-relative and a clitic appear, they are structured closely, and the clitic (here IOclit τους) is preverbal:

{146} γροικώντα ο ποδεστάς την ζημίαν την τους εποίκαν
hearing the nobleman-nom the damage-acc that which they-acc made-3rd.pl
“when the nobleman heard the damage that they caused them”

The τὸ deict-rel appears to display one exceptional case however, where it is merely denoting a demonstrative and not a deictic-relative. This is the case with τὴν in {230}. The clause allows for the following ordering:

{230} καὶ αὖσις καὶ ἔχεις ὑπεξ ἵνα τελείωσης
and if perhaps and-emph have-2nd.sg appetite to finish-2nd.sg
τὴν αγάπη τότε τὴν γύρευγε
the peace-acc then it (that) look for-imper.2nd.sg
καὶ ζήτα τὴν
and-coord seek-imper.2nd.sg it-fem.acc.sg.

“And perhaps if you have the impulse (drive) to conclude the peace (talks) then it is that (peace) that you should look for and seek”

It is a rule in Greek grammar for imperatives to precede Oclit. In {230}, however, only the second imperative ζήτα follows the rule, the former, γύρευγε follows what seems to be either a fronted demonstrative or a mere mistake by the copyist; the form γύρευγε bears an imperative form and it cannot be translated into ‘that which you are looking for’. In the first case τὴν as a demonstrative and τὴν as a deictic-relative are still coexisting in the texts, proving that reduced forms of demonstratives were also used in emphatic clauses, another evidence of the change taking place in the very times of the Chronicle.

4.4.3.2.4. Forerunner or preverbal Oclitic

There are occurrences of clitics appearing ‘in a rush’, before their nominals have been expressed. It looks as though the clitic is no longer a αὐτωμμική επανάληψη, a ‘pronominal repetition’, it is rather an introductory element of a delayed nominal. In the example below, τοὺς ‘them’ (Oclit) precedes the NP τοὺς μαντατοφόρους ‘the messengers’:
Τότε με πολλών θυμόν και οργήν ενέβην εἰς το παλάτιν και ὤρισεν μοναύτα να τοὺς βάλουν εἰς τὴν φυλακήν τους μαντατοφόρους του σουλτάνου.

Then with a lot of anger and rage he went to the palace and ordered at once in order to them put to the jail the messengers the sultan

“Then, he went to the palace with a lot of anger and rage and he ordered at once they put the messengers-top of the Sultan in jail”

We have here a na-clause (O of the verb ὤρισεν ‘he ordered’) which makes a difference to Ocl placement however it does not require a repetition of clitics ὤρισεν να βάλουν εἰς τὴν φυλακήν τους μαντατοφόρους, or ὤρισεν να τοὺς βάλουν εἰς τὴν φυλακήν.

In na-clauses in MoC, Oclit does not always immediately follow:

θέλω να βάλω σε τον βούρου
I want vol to put you on the run

“I will make you run away (you know I want to tell you off)”

να βάλω σου φαίν που το ψεσίον;
to put to you food from the yesterday evening

“Shall I serve you (some of) last night’s food?”

or when talking to a child:

να βάλω τού κοκκά στὴν πουγκούν τού του μωρού μου;
to put to it candies in the pocket its the baby mine

“Shall I put a few candies in my baby’s little pocket?”

Archaic order of βάλω τιν-να τι-acc ‘I put to someone something’ still persists in MoC. Note also in the above example the position of preverbal clitic τοὺς, where, in the presence of να introducing a complement clause, it precedes the verb. Similarly, in the next example, a forerunner clitic precedes
the verb in an adverbial clause (relevant discussion next), and refers to a nominal appearing later in the same clause. The presence of adverbs affecting clitic position is discussed in the adverb and NP order, in the next pages, Adv OclitV S O.

\{571\} ὅσον το εγροίκησεν ο ρήγας το κακόν το 
as soon as it-acc heard the-king-nom the evil-acc that which-acc 
ἐγένεν 
happened

“As soon as the King heard the evil thing that happened”

The presence of adverbs in clause initial position also affects the clitic position. More of these exceptions are taken up fully in the preverbal clitic part of this study.

4.4.3.2.5. Echo or Postverbal O clitic

Echo Oclit in O V-S Oclit(S) order is a frequent pattern in Makhairas. It is the OV-S Oclit(S) pattern. This pattern shows a greater level of topicality and focality of O through both fronting and repetition, particularly when deictics τούτο-τότα are used. O (fronted) NPs precede Oclit in O(X) V-S Oclit orders, where X may be an adverbial, a PP or a relative clause. This section covers also O (independent NPs) in OV structures.

In rare cases, these structures appear with an independent S; if S shows in the clause, it is best structured in the end. S in such clauses is however very rare.

Clitics at the end of the clause echo their nominals in a final-element repetition. Such clauses are not only marked for O-top but also for emphasis on the verb. The following is a O V Ocl clause with fronted O, discontinued by the relative clause τα εἶχαν οι επισκόπες. However a V Ocl O order as εδώκαν τα τα χωφία would be more Verb emphatic, particularly when the stress is on the verb:


{29} τα χωρία τα είχαν οι επισκόπες εδώκαν τα
the villages-acc which had-3rd.pl. the dioceses (bishopries)-nom they
gave them-acc
“they gave the villages-focus which belonged to the dioceses”

{9} τους ποιόν καλλίτερος ανθρώπους επέφαν τους
the more better people-acc they sent them-acc
“they sent the best people-foc”

{684} τον ρήγαν επιάσαν τον
the king-acc.foc they caught him-acc
“they caught the King-top.foc”

In fact, in {684} one can assume only by reading the clause that fronting the
word ρήγαν assigns both topic and focus characteristics to narration. The
following also have an O fronted element:

{88} και όσα οφίκα πάρουν εἰς το στέφιμον του ρήγας έχουν τα όλην τους
“and (know that) as many officia-acc they get in the coronation the
king-gen they have (keep) them-acc all their life-acc”
“And whatever titles (officia) they are given in the coronation of the
King they keep them for the rest of their life”

{677} Ομοίως αλλόναν μαντατοφόρον εβάλαν τον εἰς τον πύργον
Similarly another messenger they put him in the castle
"In the same way they put (held) another messenger-top.foc in the
castle"

In the following paragraph {684}, O is fronted in two instances in the same
clause:

{684} Το λοιπόν τον ρήγαν επιάσαν τον διότι πολλών φωνάτον μιτά τον
den eiches

The rest (of the story) the king-acc took-3pl him because many army-acc with him-gen not had
“Well (to continue the story), they captured the King because he didn’t have a lot of army with him”

In the following example (531), the relative clause **το εἶχεν το κάστρον** 'that was in the castle' (part of the O) is slotted in between the discontinued O V Ocl **το σιτάριν ἄλεσεν το** (the part καὶ ἑδὲκεν το τοὺς μανγκίπους ‘and he gave it to the bakers’ is another clause).

(531) καὶ το σιτάριν το εἶχεν το κάστρον ἄλεσεν το καὶ ἑδὲκεν το τοὺς μανγκίπους καὶ ποικασίν ψωμίν καὶ πουλοῦσαν το φτηνὸν εἰς τὴν μέσην
and the wheat that which had the castle milled-3rd.sg it and gave it to the bakers and made-3pl.bread and sold-progress.3pl. it cheap on the centre (forum, plazza, centre of the town)
“and he gave the wheat that was in the castle to the bakers and they made bread and sold it cheap in the market”

In clauses where adverbs are present, some are usually clause-final where O are fronted. This depends on the adverb; δυνατά for instance is usually at the end of the clause. The order of adverbs can be studied from both their order in relation to the clitic (see relevant section below) or their position within the clause, in relation to pragmatics:

(419) το καστέλλιν εκρατοῦσαν το δυνατά
the castle-foc held-3pl it strongly (firmly)
“they held the castle-foc.top firmly”

4.4.3.2.6. Clauses with independent IO

There exist a series of examples where IOs appear in their independent forms. In such cases, O may often be expressed in paragraphs of speech). In {573} the order id V IO S.
It must be recalled that singular IOs are expressed in the genitive, while in the plural, IOs have a genitive form merged with accusative (i.e. 
\textit{edóθην τοῦ Λατίνου 'it was given to the Latin', edóθην τοὺς Λατίνους, 'it was given to the Latins').

Interestingly enough, IOs markes with a genitive in MC appear with the same structure in loan words. In the following example, the verb \textit{προμομουτιάζω 'to promise', a loan word form Old French ‘promettre’ ‘to promise’} is structured with a genitive as would be required in MC with the verb \textit{υπόσχομαι 'to promise', υπόσχομαι σου 'I promise you': προμομουτιάζω σου}. In the same way, loan verb \textit{προτεστιάζω found in the aorist as επροτεστίασεν τοῦ ‘to protest’} follows the same structure as the G verb \textit{διαμαρτύρομαι ‘to protest’}.

Independently represented IO are abundant in the texts. In the next SVOIO example, all constituents are present. In \{552\} S is shown twice in the same sentence, once in the embedded clause and once in the main \textit{Kai Conj V S PP S V O IO}.

\{552\} \textit{Καὶ ἀνταν επέσωσεν ἡ βασίλεια έις την Λευκωσίαν, η βασίλεια εμήρωσεν χαρτίν τοῦ πρίγλη}

And when came the queen to Lefkosia the queen-top sent a letter the prince-gen

“And when the Queen arrived at Lefkosia she sent a letter to the prince”
4.4.3.2.7. Forerunner IO Clit

As has been discussed with Oclit, IOclit also may appear before the independent NP they refer to; there are also forerunner IO clitics. In that case, O may occur between IOclit and IO:

\{327\} εδώκαν τον νόταν του ρηγός
gave to him note to the king
"they gave the King a note (a warning)"

For reasons of pragmatics IO may be fronted; in such marked clauses, repeated IOclit intervene between V and O and show as echo clitics. More precisely, the IO clitic immediately follows the verb, Conj IO V IOclit O:

\{417\} αμμέ τον πρίντζη εβάλαν του σίδερα ψιλά
but the prince-gen put-3rd.pl.aor him-gen iron light
"but they cuffed the prince-foc with light cuffs"

It appears thus that O or IO fronted have their clitics following the verb, which refers to the fronted element. Next, in \{505\}, an independent IO in an O fronted clause appears after an Oclit, O V Oclit IO.

\{505\} το γάλαν ἐδωκεν το τους καλόγηρους
the milk he gave it to the monks
"he gave the milk-top.foc to the monks"

The pattern followed when O or IO are fronted and when either of them may appear as an independent constituent within the clause is the following:

- O V Oclit! IO
- IO V IOclit O

As is the case with O, IO can also occur after the auxiliary of a periphrastic tense. Forms such as "να σου είχεν πεί (strictly ordered in this way in G) appear as "νάχε σου πείν":\n
\[\text{268}\]
As if Aristotle had told you

"had he brought him"

In the following example there are no clitics; a (hypothetical) insertion of O between the auxiliary and the verb of the periphrastic form νάχα πέψειν would have been possible, in a highly O emphatic clause.

I would have liked to have sent my son to the Sultan

There are however examples where postverbal or preverbal IO could alternatively be genitives. For instance, in {664} forerunner τοὺς seems to play an ambiguous role since independent constituent τοὺς λας may also be read as ‘of the people’ (genitive). Here, it looks like a IO (in MoC we also use the same structure 'μεν τοις πιστέψεις τοις Αντρέα 'do not believe Andrew'. The explanation of the G verb πιστεύω (σε πιστεύω, 'I believe you' (in MoC πιστεύω σου 'I believe you') structured with a genitive may be seen from both a reanalysis (reinterpretation) perspective (τοὺς accusative used in MC (and MoC ) as a plural genitive is reinterpreted as a IOclit and therefore can be used before the independent NP used instead of the genitive) or the gradual deletion of O (in this case τα λογια). In G the clause would require a preposition (πιστεύω (εις τα) στα λόγια).

δια τούτων παρακαλώ σε να μεν τούς πιστέψεις
Most of the examples displayed show little sign of independent S NP in the clauses. In most of the clauses, verbs encode S. (In {667} we have ἐγώ however, used in initial position for emphasis.) This is not a strict rule, as there are examples where S is present in embedding, particularly in cases where it is different to the one in the matrix clause:

{438} πάσα ἄνθρωπος να κατέβη με αγάπην και να τους δώσῃ
each man to come down with love and to to them give
ο αμιράλλης χαρτίν
the admiral paper
“each person should come down peacefully and the Admiral will give them a letter”

{234} ἐπείθεν (ο ρήγας) και ἐφερεν τὴν εἰς τὴν αυλήν η ρήγανα
send the king and brought her in the court the queen
‘the King ordered (send people) and the Queen brought her in the (royal) court”

The use of the genitive in expressing IO may create ambiguity: it is from the context that a genitive or an IO could be understood. In some occurrences, both interpretations may be possible, as in {319}, V O NPgen or V O IO, and {686} (not included):

{319} στρέφω τα ρηγάτα του ρηγώς
“I return the kingdoms to the king”
“I return the kingdoms of the King”
Not also structure V O NPgen and V O IO in \{671\}

\{671\} \textit{εξηγήθην τὴν αταξιαν τῶν Κυπριώτων}  
"he narrated (explained) the lack of order of the Cypriots (in the war)"
"he narrated the lack of order to the Cypriots"

\{526\} \textit{Καὶ τότε αφήκεν ὁ αμιράλλης τὴν Λευκώσιαν τοῦ Ῥήγος}  
And then left the admiral the-Lefkosia to the king (of the king)  
"And then, the Admiral left Lefkosia to the King"

The V IO pro Oclit order is found in double Object patterns (ditransitive structures) where both objects are clitics, IO clitics precede O clitics: this rule can’t be breached. \(^{16}\)

\{226\} \textit{εἶπον σοι τὸ} 
\textit{told-1st.sg to you it}  
"I told you that"

The following example has \textit{τοὺς} as both an IOclit and a possessive. It is difficult to recognise clause \{664\} as ditransitive, unless the meaning of \textit{πιστεύω} is taken as ‘entrust’. The verb \textit{πιστεύω (or πιστεύκω)} seems to be going through a semantic change in MC, during the writing of the Chronicle, and it gives both the meaning of ‘believe’ and ‘entrust’. In the following example, verb \textit{πιστεύω} is used as ‘to believe’, a verb which takes an IO form in C, \textit{πιστεύκω σοι}, which is however the genitive replacement of the old dative case, \textit{πιστεύω σοι}.

Thus, in \{664\} \textit{πιστεύκω} exhibits two objects, in accordance with either meaning of the verb, whereas it could be either
\textit{να μὲν τοὺς πιστεύγεις}  
to not to them trust  
"do not trust them" or  
\textit{να μὲν πιστεύγεις τα λογία τοὺς}  
to not believe the words their
“do not believe (in) their words”
This proves that both meanings of the verb were in use and that the semantic change had not been completed.

{664} δια τούτον παρακαλώ σε να μεν τοὺς πιστεύεις τα λογία τοὺς
for this I ask (beg) you to not to them believe the words their
" for this (reason) I beg you not to believe in them (in their words)"

Also, note in example {233} the linear τοῦ-poss and τοῦ-loclit

{233} το πριντζάτον τῆς Αντιοχείας ἐδωκέν το του αδελφοῦ του του σερ
Tζούαν τε Λουζούνια
the principate of Antioch gave it to the brother his to the Sir Juan de Lusignan
“He gave the principate-(foc and top) of Antioch to his brother Sir John de Lusignan”

Rarely, archaic structures involving IO do appear:

{219} φῶς ημίν-dat ἔλαψεν
light to us lightened
“we saw light”

With interrogatives and the use of extended τίντα ‘what’, IOpro clitics precede the verb.

{448} τίντα μου διδείτε
what to me give-2pl
“what do you give me?”

In MoC, interrogatives expressed in other forms (direct interrogatives) have IO following the verb (special pitch expresses politeness):

διάς μου το;
give to me this
“could you give me that?”

4.4.3.2.8. The SOVOcl pattern

SOV patterns as such are not found in the texts; only S O V Ocl structures appear with the same ‘echo’ (repetition) end clause clitic. It is a pattern showing topicality and focality of both S and O. Punctuation added by Pavlides, the historian-translator of the 1982 edition of the Chronicle, exhibits ‘ambiguous’ areas, and the written language in fluency as far as clitics are concerned are obvious. In the next example, punctuation has been added only to accommodate today’s G structure. Patterns of SOV are rare in the Chronicle, unlike SOVOclit. Thus, one learns to read the texts following their frequency patterns. Note the structure of the next clause:

{234} ως γονον ηξεύρετε και ο δαίμων της πορνείας
as which know-2nd.pl hat the demon-nom the harlotry-gen
όλον τον κόσμον πλημελά τον, εκόμπωσεν τον ρήγαν,
all.acc the people-acc disturbs him confused the king-acc

"As you know that the demon of harlotry disturbs everyone (and this is how) it (also) disturbed the King"

This is a more possible pattern than:

ο δαίμων της πορνείας όλον τον κόσμον πλημελά, τον εκόμπωσεν τον ρήγαν
‘the demon of harlotry all the people disturbs, him (the King) he disturbed’, as is the preferred structure via punctuation by Pavlides; τον εκόμπωσεν is not an impossible (G) order, if one decides to read it as such, provided it is read as a deictic clitic and consequently NP τον ρήγαν should have been in the nominative, τον εκόμπωσεν ο ρήγας. One has to realise that τον is a clitic referring to κόσμον in τον κόσμον πλημελά τον and it is not referring to the king as in τον εκόμπωσεν τον ρήγαν, it is a S O V Ocl (ο δαίμων όλον τον κόσμον πλημελά τον) and not a (S) Ocl V O (ο δαίμων τον εκόμπωσεν τον ρήγαν).
{234} shows that S O V Ocl is the only combination involving the SOV pattern, in the texts.

{o daîmōn tης πορνείας όλων τον κόσμον πλημελά τον}
the demon-nom harlotry-gen all the world-acc disturbs it-acc
“the demon of harlotry disturbs all the world”

The same structure SOVOCl, is possible in embedding:

{kai eîpαν τοὺς πως ο κοντοσταύλης το πράμαν επήραν το και τοὺς}
and they told them that the constable-nom the thing-acc (they) he took
{457}
{17}
{423}
{415}
{409}
{388}
{367}
{326}
{382}
{369}
{326}
{305}
{284}
{243}
{242}
{202}
{181}
{140}
{98}
{77}
{274}

{234} και είπαν τους πως ο κοντοσταύλης το πράμαν επήραν το και τους
and they told them that the constable-nom the thing-acc (they) he took
and told them-acc that the constable-nom the thing they took it
{457}
{482}
{482}
{482}
{482}
{482}

Heads introduced by deictics (demonstratives) are involved in similar patterns. Fronted deictics in Sdeict O V Oclit examples as in {482} show emphasis on both S and O:

{kai τούτοι τον ρήγαν εσκοτώσαν τον}
and these (people)-nom the king-acc they killed him-acc
“And these people killed the King-top.foc”

Next, a SOVOclit is used in subordination:

{kai eîpαν τοὺς πως ο κοντοσταύλης το πράμαν επήραν το}
and told them-acc that the constable-nom the thing they took it
{457}

Discontinuity between S and O is possible:

{o ρήγας με τούτα ούλα τον κάμπουν δεν τον εξήλωσεν}
the king-nom with all these-acc the camp did not undo-3rd.pl
4.4.3.2.9. The OSVOclit order

There are quite a few examples of OSVOclit order. An eloquent example of this order is found in {662}, which is taken from paragraphs of the highly pragmatically marked battle of Khoirokoitia. Many of the O fronted examples are taken from these parts of Makhairas’ work that exhibit both S and O marked order.

{662} καὶ κείνων οἱ Σαρακηνοί εκρατοῦσαν τὸν
and that (person) the Saracens-nom they kept him (held him in captivity)

“And the Saracens kept him-top.foc. in captivity”

The following are statistics on O and IO fronted initial paragraph constituents. Although O fronted is not a frequently used pattern, there is a small number of examples exhibiting its use in initial paragraph position. Seven O-initial occurrences are found in {217}, {410}, {441}, {478}, {663}, {677}, {684} as well as two examples of initial IO in να IOpro subjunctive examples, {685} and {686}:

O+O τα-deict.rel IOclit V IO S

{217} Χαρίσματα και προμουτιάσματα τα του ετάκτησαν του ρήγος της
Κύπρου οι αφέντες της δύσης

(How many (are)) the gifts-acc and promises (that) the rulers the west have promised the King of Cyprus

“The rulers of the west have promised the King of Cyprus gifts-top.foc and promises-top.foc”

Ohead V Oclit S O

{410} Τούτα οὖλα ηξεύραν τα οἱ Γενοβίσοι (τα καμώματα)\textsuperscript{18}

All these-acc knew the Genoese-nom the antics
"The Genoese were aware of all-emph these antics"

Χ Ο Χ Χ VOclit

{441} Και εἰς τας ἑτ’ δικεβρίου τῆς αυτῆς εχονίας ατογ’ Χριστοῦ ἕναν
Γλιάκαι εἰρέαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ διατί ήτον μιτά τοὺς εφουρκίσαν τον το
μεσανυκτικὸν
And on the 18th of December of the same year 1373 of Christ a
certain Elias-acc priest of Christ because was with them forked him the
middle the night-acc
“And on the 18th of December of the same year (in) 1373 (year) of
Christ, they forked some priest of Christ Elias- top.foc in the middle of
the night, because they thought he was with them (on their side)”

Use of the accusative alone is usual for temporal expressions in Cypriot, as is
the case in Greek; the following are C temporal expressions, το πρωί, in the
morning το μεσομέριν in the midday, το μεσανυκτικόν in the midnight,
although they can also express NPs, as in morning, midday, midnight etc.

{478} Και τούτην την αποτομίαν εποίκαιν την διότι εἰχαν τον ποῦντον
διπλόν
And this risky act-acc they made it-acc because they had the pond
double-acc
“And they attempted this risky act-top.foc because there was a
double pond”

Both the above examples have two clauses one of which is explanatory
introduced by διότι (and διατί).

The following show OVS clauses:

{663} Τούτα οὐλα εγροίκησεν ο σιεχάς
All these heard the sheikh-nom
“The sheikh heard all this-top.foc”
Similarly another messenger-whom had caught the -Sir Thomas Provost and they put him in the tower the armory-gen
"Similarly, they put another messenger-top.foc in the armory tower, that caught by Sir Thomas Provost"

The rest (to continue the story) the king-acc as soon as they heard that he said that he is the king they captured him
“Well, (as for the King) as soon as they heard him saying he was the King, they captured him”

4.4.3.2.10. Postverbal clitics: breaking a VP

Often a to clitic may break a transitive VP usually appearing in the form of ποιώ τι 'I make something'. Transitivisation has been argued for with examples throughout the texts of the Chronicle. In such VP structures, O and IO break the VP when there appears a clitic:

(i) ποιώ νώσιν το μαντάτον ‘I inform (about, on) the message (news)’
ποιώ το νώσιν ‘I inform it’
(ii) ποιώ νώσιν το μαντάτον του ρήγα ‘I inform the King (about) the message, I convey the news to the King’ ποιώ το το νώσιν

Ποιώ ‘to make’ is more frequently used in expressions, whereas MC verb πολωμό also meaning ‘to make’ is often used for the Greek verb κάνω (in Cypriot κάμνω). It looks as though, however, that ποιώ involved in expressions can easily allow a clitic to break the VO pattern involved in the expression, whereas the other verbs conveying the same meaning cannot.

It is also often that examples as in (ii) may raise problems of ambiguity, due to the double interpretation that one may give to IO του; the meaning of (ii) may also be understood as ‘I inform (others) on the news of the king’ (as
του ρήγα can be interpreted also as a possessive). This can be disambiguated from the speaker through the use of the clitic, here IOcl του, in ποιώ του το νώσιν το μαντάτον του ρήγα.

In MoC, apart from its other uses, clitics operate for disambiguation, and this is performed via repetition (forerunner clitics). Stress and intonation can’t be discussed here, since we are dealing with a written text. Where ambiguity may have created problems in the language in the past, drop of intonation must have been a means helping to disambiguate, as it is today. Thus, ποιώ νώσιν ‘I make it known’ follows a discontinued structure, when το appears in the clause:

\{159\} εποίκαν το νώσιν του αφέντη της Δαμασχού

made-3rd.pl it information the-master-gen the-Damascus-gen

“they made it known to the master of Damascus”

One would expect an independent O constituent to follow το, had this been placed after the verb, as in εποίκαν νώσιν το πράμαν του ρηγός 'they made known the matter to the King'; in such case however, το would have been an article, το πράμαν 'the thing, the issue', not a clitic.

4.4.3.2.11. Preverbal Oclitics: rules and exceptions

I have shown the order of Oclit in declarative clauses in which it maintains a postverbal position. We know that a το or τα preverbal appearance in MC may not express a clitic but a deictic relative, as in the example τον αγαπά ‘that whom s/he loves’ compared to αγαπά τον ‘s/he loves him’.

Clitics in MC may appear preverbally, in fact they do not follow the verb in the case they coappear in clauses with (i) future markers θέλω and να, (ii) adverbs (including ἀντα(ν) and ὄνταν but excluding Β-onta) when these precede verbs, (iii) conjuncts πως, ὅτι and να introducing sentential objects, (iv) negation particle μη(ν) or μηδέν.
(i) With future markers θέλω and να
Future tense expressed through markers θέλω + infinitive and να
take preverbal clitics.

{225} θέλουν σε ξολοθρεύσειν
will you-acc. to destroy
"they will destroy you"

{568} χωρία να σου δώσω
villages να-fut to you give
"(if you want) villages-top I will give them to you"

Oclit slots in the θέλω-infinitive structural patterns:
{660} θέλω το πειν, I will it say, "I will say it"

{349} θέλομεν το πειν του βασιλέως,
we will it to say-infin the emperor-gen
"We will tell the Emperor about it"

{426} της ποιας θέλεις της το παράδωσειν το κάστρον
the which-gen will-2nd.sg her-gen it to give (back, hand over) the castle
"to which you will hand over the castle-top"

(No repetition of clitic referring to head of a relative is allowed in SGr.)
(Volitional θέλω is usually structured with να-complement clauses as in θέλω να, apart from other NPs (nominalised older infinitives θέλω φαγείν, ‘I want to eat θέλω φαίν-acc ‘I want food’ and other NPs θέλω πολλά πράγματα ‘I want (need) a lot of things’ both in MC and MoC.)

{95} έθελεν να τον σκοτώσει
he wanted to him kill
"He wanted to kill him"
Also note future marked ἔθευν in MoC which follows the same order:

ἔθευν νὰ τον εκότωμα  
I would to him killed-progres
“"I would have killed him"

More importantly, note the difference of ἔθευν and ἔθευν (I wouldn’t= (δ)έν ἔθελεν in MoC

ἔθευν νὰ τον εσκότωμα  
“I wouldn’t have killed him”

{437} θέλει νὰ σε ξηκληρήσει απέ το ριγάτονς σου  
he wants to you make you disinherit of the kingdom yours
“"He wants to take you (pull you out of) from your kingdom"

The difference between a volitional θέλω ‘I want’ and a future θέλω ‘I will’ is determining for the position of clitics:

{346} καὶ όνταν θέλεις θέλομεν σου τα εἰπεῖν  
and if you want will-1st.pl to you them say-infin
""and if you want to, we are going to tell you all (about it)"

In {121}, however, την is postverbal as a constituent of a matrix clause ἐπαιρήνει την

{121} εἰ είχεν θέλειν ἐπαιρήνει την  
if had to want took-3rd.sg it
“he could have taken it had he wished (to take it)”

(iia) With adverbials
Clitics always precede verbs in clauses with preceding adverbs. Compare πολλά το ελπιθήσαν with ελπιθήσαν το πολλά. As seen in {458} and {540}, πολλά is an emphatic adverb which usually precedes verbs {458} in
MC (in can also be emphatic if placed in the end of the clause, if stressed in MoC). In \{540\}, both the adverb and the clitic precede the verb:

\{458\} καὶ πολλὰ επαραδάρτησαν καὶ ψέματα (adverb) εκοπίασαν

“and much they suffered and unjustly they tired themselves”

\{540\} οἱ ποίοι πολλὰ τὸ ελυπήθησαν

“who much it they saddened

\{420\} πολλὰ τὸ ἔβλεπαν (τὸ καστέλλιν)

“they kept a very close eye on it-top (the castle)”

Comparatives also trigger preverbal clitics:

\{451\} καὶ χειρόττερα τοὺς πρέπει

“and worse to them must

In \{557\} ὄντα is used as adverb ‘when’ is followed by clitic τὸ. Ὅντα is not a participle here. It has already reanalysed into an adverb. It could well be read as a participle had the clause appeared for instance with a PP, Καὶ τοῦτον ὄντα ἐν Λεμεσῷ, ’and him being in Lemeso’, ‘and when he was in Lemeso’.

\{557\} Καὶ τοῦτον ὄντα τὸ εἶδεν καλά

“And this-neut.acc when it saw well

““And when he saw it-top.foc well (understood that well)”

The next {adv Oclit V S O} clause exhibits three different τὸ; the first is a preverbal clitic τὸ (the second is an article and the third is a relative-deictic):

\{571\} ὅσον τὸ εγροίκησεν ὁ ρήγας τὸ κακῶν τὸ εγίνην
as soon as it-acc heard the king the bad (thing) that happened
“as soon as the King heard the bad thing that happened”

An example of double adverb (adjacent adverb) occurrence follows:

{532} καθώς ἀνωθεν το εξηγήθηκα
as above it explained-1sg
“As I explained it above”

In {322} it is easy to distinguish a relative from a clitic το in an embedded and a matrix clause:

{322} καθώς το εκράτεν και ενομεύγεν το
as which held-3rd.sg and he ruled (governed) it
ο πατήρ τον ο ρε Πιέρ
the father his king Peter
“as that (the kingdom) which was under his power was also governed by his father King Peter”

(iib) Clitics following V-onta are classified under this section to show that non-finite V-onta always precede clitics (direct or indirect), regardless of other elements preceding V-onta. That would normally trigger a different order. Here is an example of Oclit with V-onta

{314} μαθάνοντα το ο κουβερνουρής
hearing this the governor
“when the governor heard this”

Note also O clitic in subordination:
O clitic in subordination (here with ἀνταν) is preverbal:

{385} καὶ ἀνταν τοὺς εγράφασιν εμετρήσαν τοὺς
and when them wrote-3rd.pl (down) counted-3rd.pl them
“and when they wrote them (down) they counted them”
O clitic and conjuncts να, ότι and πως and some reanalysis issues
This is discussed in detail in the following section

4.4.3.2.12. Sentential objects introduced with conjuncts

να, ότι and πως, το να, το ότι, το πως

Clitics are always preverbal with conjuncts να, πως and ότι. These are usually introducing sentential objects. Examples {95} and {437} above exhibit some να preverbal το-clit instances. More examples displaying the order of all these three conjuncts are exhibited in the next section; the examples include the older form of να, ἵνα in {538}, further below:

{316} οποίος εκρατήθη να το ποίση
who he kept the promise to it do
"who kept the promise to do it"

{501} τότε να μας συμβουλέψη τον ρίγαν να μας αποβγάλει
then να-imper us (for our benefit) advise the king to us-acc get rid of
"then you could advise the King on our behalf to get rid of us"

{538} ἵνα το ποίσετε τούτων
to it make this
"in order (for you) to do this"

Note the structure τον να τον in {537}. The two clitics, IO clitic τον and O clitic τον show both their preverbal and postverbal order in a clause where O is being repeated (forerunner clitic) and a να-introduced complement clause:

{537} και εἶπαν τον να τον εβγάλη τον κοντοσταύλην απέ την Ρόδον
and told-3rd pl to him release the constable from the-Rhodos
"And they told him to release the constable from Rhodes"

In {537} να τον εβγάλη τον κοντοσταύλην απέ την Ρόδον is the O of εἶπαν.
In clauses where S is an independent constituent, due to prevailing VSO order, O \( \nu \alpha \)-complement clauses may be separated from the verb (\( \theta\varepsilon\lambda\omega \) is a volitional verb in the example displayed below) \( \nu \alpha \) V S Adv O= \( \nu \alpha \) VO NPgen:

\( \{433\} \)  εθελήσαν \( \alpha \) Γενουβίσοι δυναστικώς \( \nu \) σηκώσουν \( \tau \alpha \)-αρματα τους
Λευκωσιάτες
wanted (decided) the Genoese forcibly to lift the arms the Lefkosia people-acc for gen
“The Genoese decided to forcibly disarm the people of Lefkosia”

Examples of \( \nu \alpha \) IO, as in \( \{685\} \), and \( \{686\} \), have been counted with IOcl fronted elements.

\( \{685\} \)  \( \nu \alpha \) σας ειπώ
  to to you say
  “let me tell you”

\( \{686\} \)  ακομῇ \( \nu \alpha \) σας \( \deltaείξω \)
yet to to you show
  “in addition, let me show you”

In \( \{491\} \), clitic \( \tau \alpha \) is the O of \( \lambdaαλείτε \). As was the case with Old German (and other languages), demonstrative pronouns bearing deictic force were used in pointing out subordination. In MC also, the demonstrative was a constituent of the matrix clause and the subordinate was its complement (see example in \( \{491\} \) as well as in \( \{439\} \) below. In \( \{491\} \) we have Conj V Ocl \( \nu \alpha \) VS \( \pi\omega\zeta \) Ocl PP}, meaning that Oclit can be avoided in \( \nu \alpha \) introduced clauses if it is used as a syntactically close constituent in the preceding matrix clause:

\( \{491\} \)  αμμέ \( \lambdaαλείτε \) \( \tau \alpha \) πιστεύη \( \o\) \( \rho\varepsilon\gammaας \) \( \pi\omega\zeta \) \( \tau \alpha \) λαλείτε με \( \alphaλ\varepsilon\thetaειαν \)
  but you say that to believe the king that it you say with truth
  “but you are saying this because you want the King to believe that you are saying it with truth (you are telling the truth)”
Consider also ἀμμέ λαλείτε το να το πιστέψη ο ρήγας.

Unlike the German dass (Harris and Campbell 1995: 289), το did not become a complementiser; it continued to be alongside the other complementisers πως 'that', να 'to' and ὁ τι 'that' in the same clause, losing gradually its deictic force until its disappearance from the clause or its desemanticisation from a demonstrative to a weaker clitic. This is not the only constituent showing 'gain, κέρδος'. Examples from MoC show presence or absence of το in a clause:

```
eίπεν του το πως ήρται
said him-gen that -dem that came-1st.sg
said him-gen it-clit that came-1st.sg
“s/he told him (that) I came”
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```
eίπεν του πως ήρται
said him-gen it that came-1st.sg
“s/he told him (that) I came”
```

Here, we see another reanalysis of το. This form of reanalysis usually involves the reduction of two levels of structure to one.

In MC, a chain of O may be observed in clauses in which the first O is explanatory of the second (or points to the second) and the second to the third and so on. In example {454} for instance, due to reanalysis, deictic το has bleached to a head (article) leading the sentential O πως μέλλει να φορτώσουν τον βίον}; matrix clause και είπεν τον κοντοσταύλη το ‘and he said to the constable that’ and embedded clause πως μέλλει να φορτώσουν τον βίον ‘that they are going to load the treasure’ are involved in a structure where a chain of two adjacent elements representing the same object (το and its explanatory complement clause) has taken place. Bleached (weakened) το is multidirectional in MC, it is not unidirectional (Campbell’s comments in Campbell 2000 on nidirectionality): το has followed different ways of change, consequently
different orderings within the clause. Within its different options it could either
disappear completely, after weakening from its previous deictic power pointing
to subordination headed by να, πως or ό τι complement clauses, it could
remain in the clause maintaining its previous order but bearing no meaning at
all, it could become an article introducing a complement clause, or, remain a
clitic and change its position in clauses in which IO is present (preceding IO
as in καὶ εἶπεν το του κορυστιάλη πως μέλει να φορτώσουν
tον βίον).

{454} καὶ εἶπεν το κορυστιάλη το πως μέλει
and said the constable-gen that that to be going to-impers
να φορτώσουν τον βίον
na fortwosouν ton βίον
to load the-acc treasure

“And he said to the constable that they (the Genoese) are going to
load the treasure”

Of the above structure it is seen that clitic το following a fully represented IO
NP can only be used if the clitic (Oclit) points to a πως explanatory clause (it
can also be an ότι ‘that’ clause too); Καὶ V IO Oclit {πως V {να V O}} or Καὶ V
IO O={το-art πως V ναV O} or even {Καὶ V IO το-desem O}=πως V να V O. The
above example may prove that weakened το involved in clausal reduction
may be explained both as a reanalysis phenomenon. The next το is also
pointing to a να subordinate clause:

{439} εποίκαν το να πολομούν τες δουλείες τους
made-3rd.pl that to do the jobs their

“they minded their job”

The deictic force of το is seen in examples with imperatives, as in the next ας-
imperative clause:

{452} Ας ένι το να δώσει πασαείς ομπρός μας
Let to be-3rd.sg that to give-3rd.sg.subj everyone in front us-acc

“Let it be that, that everyone give (contribute) in front of our eyes"
Noted is the discontinuity between S and O, a common phenomenon of the language as shown in \{504\} in a \{V-onta S X Oclit+comp\} example emphasises the fact that between \textit{to} and conjuncts \textit{να}, \textit{πως} and \textit{ότι} introducing complement clauses there is a strong binding of structural continuity, as complement sentential objects are immediate explanatory O of \textit{to}:

\{504\} \textit{Γροικώντα οἱ Βουργάροι (...) το πως επήγαν όλοι οἱ περίτου Γενουβίσσιοι εἰς τὴν Ἀμόχουστον}

Hearing the Bulgarians that- that went all the more Genoese to the Amohostos-acc

“When the Bulgarians heard (...) that most of the Genoese went to Amohostos”

In a further discussion on the \textit{to} preceding \textit{να}, \textit{πως} and \textit{ότι} clauses, it is right to suggest that when \textit{to} appears to belong to both the matrix and the subordinate clauses, or it is caught between them, it can well be eliminated without distorting the meaning. It has been kept, however, in the clauses a) being a great marker of both topicality and/ or focality, b) acquiring also the meaning of an evidential in clauses where evidential verbs such as \textit{ξυρω} ‘I know’ (expressed here in the interrogative (‘do you know it?’ meaning ‘because I know so, this is why I am telling you’) are present, c) exhibiting reanalysis phenomena when joined into one constituent with \textit{να} \textit{πως} and \textit{ότι}, and d) showing a semantic change as it can well replace an adverbial of time:

\{426\} \textit{εσού ξέρεις το πως ο κοντοσταύλης ήτον εἰς τὴν θεωλὴν να σκοτώσουν τον ἀντραν σου τον βήγαν}

you know-2nd.sg that-deict that-conj the constable-nomin was in the plot (decision) to kill the husband-acc your the king-acc

“You do- emphas know it that the constable was in the plot to kill your husband the King”

In fact the meaning of the above clause could be better expressed as follows, since personal pronoun \textit{εσού} is fronted and is repeated again in the form of
the verb ξέρεις-2nd per.sg “Do you actually know the fact (το), (that is) that the constable was involved in the plot to kill your husband the King?”

Next is an example with conjunct ὅτι heading sentential

Ο ὅτι τούτα τα καμώματα εἶνε μὲ τὴν βουλὴν τῆς ρήγαινας of the relative clause introduced by levelled relative pronoun ὅποιον:

{504} Καὶ κάτινες Λευκωχιάτες ὅποιον ενοιάστησαν ὅτι τούτα τα καμώματα εἶνε μὲ τὴν βουλὴν τῆς ρήγαινας επροδώκαν τους ἄλλους
And some Lefkosia people who understood that these antics are with the command the queen-gen betrayed them others

“And others betrayed some Lefkosia people-foc who understood (realised) that all this was happening with the Queen’s decision (will, command)”

Apart from its total loss after its weakening from a deictic to a clitic, το reanalysed to an adverbial of time, manner or means, meaning ὅταν ‘when’ or μόλις ‘as soon as’. Together with να and the subjunctive it is frequently found in the Chronicle. Here are some examples of further evidence of reanalysis of το να as a constituent:

{383} καὶ τινάς νὰ μὲν τὸρμήσῃ νὰ βρεθῇ ἕξω τοῦ σπιτίου
and no one to not dare to be found outside the house-gen

το νὰ δώσουν* οἱ τρεῖς ώρες**
(that-redem to give the three hours (expr))

when to hit the three hours-nom

“And no one should dare to be out of his home as soon as the time hits three o'clock (nine in the evening)”

{448} καὶ τὸ νὰ πιάσαν ἐφουρκίζαν τὸν
and that-dem to catch

and as soon as to catch-aor.subj.3rd.pl to fork-imperf.3rd.pl him

“and as soon as they caught him they forked him”
See also examples in {448} 

Kai to na xupnhvsoun eparadoqhvkan tou' 
Γενούβισους, 'as soon as they woke up they surrendered to the Genoese’ and 
{456} kai to na xhfwtivsei kai na doun tou' Boulgavrou' 'as soon as morning had broken and they saw the Bulgarians’. (See Andriotis (1960) for to na also used in the Dodecanese.)

(iv) to-insertion in periphrastic structures

In periphrastic structures of Παρακείμενος Perfect and Υπερσυντέλικος Pluperfect expressed with the auxiliary ἔχω 'to have' and the infinitive, as well as other forms expressed in periphrasis, the to clitic follows the auxiliary and precedes the verb, as in {449}. This contradicts in a way the claim that Oclit always precede the verb after ἄν. However, it seems as though the flexibility of the order of the components of the periphrastic tense allow Oclit to slot in between the components of the periphrasis in both assertion and negation.

{449} ἄν ἄν εἶχαν τον πιάσειν
if not had him-acc to catch-infin
“had they not caught him”

{330} εἶχαν τοὺς πιάσει όλους
have them taken-3rd.pl all-acc
“they have taken them all”

{261} καὶ εἶχεν τὰ χαρίσει τοῦ Τζάκου
and had them given the -gen Jack
“And he had given them to Jack”
4.4.3.2.13. Preverbal clitics in negation

Preverbal clitics in negation with negative particle δεν are often heard with το clitic plus negation order today in C, in everyday conversations and in examples such as ξε(υ)ρείς το; 'do you know it?'

εν (not, δεν) το ξε(υ)ρείς; 'don’t you know it?'. The order has not changed since the Middle Ages. In negative MC clauses το or του clitics almost always precede the verb; there are however some counter-examples {449} (with Oclit) and {444} (with IOclit) in the following examples.

{332} δια να μηδέν τον ποίησις τυνάς καμίαν αγαπάτησιν
   for to not him-gen make-subj someone none trouble-acc
   “So that no one makes any trouble to him”

{333} ὡτι δεν το έδεικνεν
   because not it showed
   “because he didn’t show it”

IOpro in negation is also preverbal

{333} δεν μου φαίνεται καί είμαι κρατούμενος να απολογηθώ
   not me-gen seems and (that) I am obliged to apologise
   της τιμής σας
   the honour-gen yours
   “I don’t think that I am obliged to apologise to your honour”

However, some exceptions exist:

{444} καί ως δεν αγόρασεν ουδέ το σιτάριν το ἥχεν μεν εἶχεν το
   and as not bought neither the wheat which he had not had it
   πουλήσεων διὰ την σουπερπίαν καὶ να κερδέση;
   to sell for the insolence and to make profit
   “and since he didn’t even buy the wheat he had, it looks as though he
   had the arrogance to sell and make some profit”
(in G μεν είχεν το πουλήσειν... would be να μην το είχε πουλήσει και για να κερδίσει ακόμα και (in the clause above)

{kai an δεν είχαν τον πιάσειν εφοφούσαν}

and if not had him caught died-perfect. 3rd.pl the-hunger-gen

“and if they hadn’t caught him they would have died of hunger”

The position of IO (του) in negation is here at issue also. In clauses with both Objects are present and where μεν ‘not’ is used in negation, του IO always precedes το or τα Oclitics, μεν του τα δώσεις ‘do not to him them give, ‘do not give them to him’. In order for IO to follow O in negative clauses IO should be independently represented, μεν τα δώσεις τα χωρία του κοντοσταύλη ‘do not give the villages to the constable’. In similar cases however, clitics are needed to disambiguate του from possessives: μεν του τα δώσεις τα χωρία του κοντοσταύλη.

4.4.3.2.14. Ditransitive clauses: Some issues with case

This part of the discussion analyses the order of the clitics in clauses where they both appear either fully or partly represented as independent NPs or as clitics το (O) and τον (IO). It also aims to present a number of restrictions on the order of both the clitics when these appear in the same clause in structures such as Oclit IO, IOclit O, IOclit Oclit, O IO or IO O (this last structure may raise issues of ambiguity).

Before discussing the order of clitics in ditransitive clauses some issues concerning case must be taken into account. A large number of three argument verbs lack one of their arguments, possibly for reasons of economy, in cognate O structures; more precisely, IO appears in the O position carrying genitive case where in G an accusative is used:

ευχαριστώ (ευχαριστίες) του θεού
(I) thank (return) thanks to God
Thus, we find in {171} εὐχαριστήσαν του θεού (instead of G εὐχαριστήσαν του θεοῦ). (C εὐχαριστῶ σου πολλά, G σ’ εὐχαριστώ πολύ). Other verbs have retained the genitive case of Opro that used to be in the dative, in older periods. For example, the G verb ‘to follow’ ἀκολουθῶ (MC ἀκλούθω) is structured with a dative in Classical Greek and it is found in the MC texts with a genitive ἀκλούθῳ σου (genitive substituting the older dative) (whereas in G it is structured with an accusative (σε ἀκολούθω)).

Another example in {278} shows ἐμπιστεύομαι του ὀρκου σου, ‘I trust your oath’ where ἐμπιστεύομαι ‘to (entrust)’ has lost its first object (πίστιν ‘faith’) ἐμπιστεύομαι (πίστιν) του ὀρκου σου ‘I give (entrust) faith to (in) your oath.

This verb has become πιστεύκω in MoC and takes the same case πιστεύκω σου ‘I believe you’ (in G it is σε πιστεύω).

There are instances, that is, in which differences between the two forms (G and MC) combine sound change, word order and case, {285} ἀκλούθῳ σου: as in {682} or VIOclit as in {664}.

{682} παρακαλοῦν του θεοῦ οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ
pray to the god the Saracens
"the Saracens pray to God"

{664} προμομουτιάζω σου
promise-1sg to you
“I promise you”

(Examples of some motion verbs structured with a genitive have been given in the verb section.)

4.4.3.2.15. Concord anomalies for IO

Concord has been an area displaying a series of anomalies in all the areas of MC. The same anomalies have been recorded in IO clitic agreement with its NP. In {448} we have τού χωριγιάτην εποίκαν του, instead τού χωριγιάτη εποίκαν του.
and the villager-acc made him-gen monthly income and had him-acc

in big honour

“And the villager, they paid him a monthly income and treated him with a lot of honour”

Here, fronted IO is expressed with an accusative, but its pronominal clitics are a IOclit after the first verb and an Oclit after the second. Other general observations include IO forms used for O. In {448} the ου ending usually used to mark IO is used for O:

“they circled (to) the tower”

Note also the lack of preposition εἰς ‘in, to’ in the next {V zero prep Oacc} clause. The verb διώ ‘to give’ is still structured with a genitive in MoC, verb διώ is also structured with a genitive in MC as used to be in AG, however here it appears with an accusative, since the genitive plural has almost been abolished, as underlined in many occasions in this work,

“And they gave the following people the above privileges”

Disambiguating τοῦ IO and τοῦ genitive is usually understood from the context. Somehow the next example may still be ambiguous:

“he promised the places belonging to the kingdom of the King

“He promised the places belonging to the kingdom to the King”
4.4.3.2.16. A few more examples of MC clitics:

IO fronted in independent NPs, (X) IO V-s loclit O (adj)

{418} αμμέ του πρίντζη εβάλαν του σίδερα φιλά
but to the prince put to him iron light
“but they (hand)cuffed the prince with light cuffs”

(X )(head gen) O V-s Oclit

{439} διότι ούλους του τους συντρόφους εκατακόψαν τους
because all his the-companions-acc slaughtered them-acc
‘because they slaughtered all his companions”

Odeict V-s Oclit IO

{439} τούτου εποίκαν το τους λας για να κάτζουσι
αμέρμιμα στας δουλείας τους
this made-aor. 3rd.pl it the people-acc for gen for to stay
careless to the jobs their
“And they made this for people to remain careless in their jobs”

4.4. 3.2.17. Object clitics: rules to remember

We pointed out that MC is has a freer order than G. It follows however some strict rules with regard to its clitics.
The clitics comply with the following patterns in MoC. Take as an example the clause ἐδώκα τα κλειδιά του Αντώνη, ‘I gave the keys to Anthony’.

V-s Oclit IO O Stress on IO
I gave the keys to Anthony (and no one else)
V-s O IO Stress on IO
I gave the keys to Anthony (I am sure I did)
V-s IO O Pitch required to disambiguate
I gave the keys to Anthony (stress on IO= I gave the keys to Anthony) a complement may be expected

V-s IOclit Oclit Stress on V
V-s IOclit Oclit IO O Stress on IO
V-s Oclit O IO Pitch required to disambiguate, stress on V

*V Oclit IOclit

*V-s IOclit O IOgen The last genitive is a possessive. In order for the last IO to be taken as an Indirect Object the following order is required

V-s IOclit τα O του-poss του IO Stress on V, pitch must fall end of clause

(Εδώκα του τα κλειδιά του του Αντώνη lit. I gave to him the keys his to Anthony ‘I gave Anthony his keys’)  

Clitics are the flag of the Cypriot language. Their order sets a number of rules that have to be followed, their only flexibility being that of echoing or pre-announcing the NPs they refer to; this is a risky exercise for those who do not respect their order within the changing ‘moods’ of the clauses they appear in. Most importantly, when O (and/or IO) precedes V, V must carry a clitic (or clitics) cross-referencing O. When both clitics are present in a clause, IOclit always precedes.

4.4.4. Special clause Types

The aim of this part of the chapter is to cast attention on a particular area of interest on the structural analysis of MC. A number of structural patterns seem to differ from the usual pattern. These are (i) the Cypriot relative clauses, (ii) coordination of non-finite clauses with their nonfinite counterparts, (iii) discontinuity of sentences and or clauses, (iv) direct and indirect imperatives, (v) reported speech (vi) dislocation of elements within clauses and (vii) clauses introduced with exclusively Cypriot connectives. The latter two types have already been discussed in their relevant sections, especially in the S and the V-onta sections.
4.4.4.1. MC relative clauses

In MC, relative clauses may introduce new paragraphs as links. There are mainly restrictive relative clauses.

Relative clauses usually follow immediately after the head nouns, however they are not only found in this environment in MC. It is common in Greek to have the head noun and the relative clause separated by one constituent, a verb for instance, or a verbal phrase. A great number of relative clauses in the Chronicle are placed at a greater syntactic distance from their heads. This distance allows a) that great gaps of discontinuity permit relative clauses to appear late in the discourse and b) the relative pronoun o oπoίος, (becoming with the apocope of o-art. either o ποίος or, with the fusion of the two, oπoίος), to introduce a relative clause without a head or with a remote head. These Cypriot relative clauses look like pseudo-prepositional relatives. Initial relative clause expressions οποίος, Ο oπoίος, o ποίος oι πγοί etc., may be reinterpreted as demonstratives. In fact, in the translation into Greek, Pavlides translates initially placed relative pronoun as determinant αυτός (that). This is possible in Greek when there is repetition of the head noun phrase. In Makhairas, however, these initial relative pronouns in reference appear without repetitions (heads), a fact which supports the view that they are headless relative markers appearing late in the discourse (early in the following paragraph). Summarising the above we see that relative clauses:

(a) enhance issues of discontinuity
(b) can be headless

Re (i) consider the following examples {93} and {618}:

{93} o ποίος επολόμαν κατά την πίστιν τού πολλά ψυσικά,
   the-who made according to the faith his many good deeds
   “who did many good deeds according to his beliefs”

{618} o ποίος πολλά εχαίρετον από τα κηνυγία
   the-who very much was happy from the-huntings

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“who was very happy for going hunting”

In these two clauses, the noun phrases that the relative pronouns modify are, for {93} in paragraph {92}, that is, one paragraph before the paragraph the head of the relative clause makes its appearance and b) for {618}, a number of paragraphs earlier than the paragraph of the relative-initial clause in {614}, in the accusative ‘τον ρήγαν’, and in {615} in the possessive ‘του’ (Pavlides’ translation of this late appearing form of relative pronoun is a demonstrative followed by a definite article (αυτός ο)).

Examples of the use of relative clauses in the narrative is well exhibited in paragraph {456}.

{456} Και ένα δούλος λεγόμενος Μπαξής ’νοῦ σακχουμάνου τον εκράζαν
Κοσμά Μαχαιρά, και ο ( ) σακχουμάνος ἀλλαξεν το ὀνόμα του και
ékražén τον Αιτώνον ο οποίος εκαβαλλίκευγεν και ήτον εἰς τον
τόπον του μαστόρου του διατί επήνεγον το σάντρος του με τοὺς λοιποὺς
συντρόφους και αφήκαν τους Βουργάρους να τους βλέπουν καὶ το
παιδί τούτον καὶ ἄνταν εἰς το θελημάτως καὶ ’θέλω να
σκοτώσων, ἐβαλεν φωνήν ὅσην εὐθύνετο από την μερίαν του
αφέντη του Κοσμοσάλη μηδέν τομήσατε να τους εγκόσιστε ὅτι επαρε
dόθησεν εἰς τον μάστρον μου καὶ αφήκεν μὲ καὶ βλέπω τους ὡς ποὺ να
στραφῇ με τον αφέντη τον κοσμοσάλην.

The analysis of this sentence is provided in different parts, below.

Consider reordering for the sake of this analysis the above clause. Apart from the many discontinued subordinate clauses it exhibits:
A NP with Baxis as a S (head) and a subsequent participle and a genitive

Και ένα δούλος λεγόμενος Μπαξης ’νοῦ σακχουμάνου
Και ένα δούλος ’νοῦ σακχουμάνου λεγόμενος Μπαξής
And a servant of a carrier called Baxis

a first relative clause with (fused) archaic form τον (τον ον)
τον εκράζαν Κοσμά Μαχαιρά,

the-whom called Cosma Makhaira

"(whom they called) who was called Cosmas Makhairas"

a second relative clause, elliptical of any relative pronoun or marker

και ο (οποίος) σακκουμάνος ἀλλαξεν το ὄνομάν τον καὶ ἔκραξέν τον Ἀντώνιον

and the-who carrier changed the name his and called him Antonios

"and who (the carrier), changed his name and (he) called him Antonios"

a third relative clause, introduced by ο οποίος, relative pronoun

ο οποίος εκαβαλλίκευεν

the-who was riding

"who could ride"

a coordinated relative, with ellipsis of pronoun (καὶ ο οποίος (που) ἦτον)

καὶ ἦτον εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ μαστόρου του

that was in the place the master-gen his

"who took the place of his master"

an adverbial clause of explanation (reason) ἐπεξηγηματική πρόταση,

διατί επήγεν ο μάστρος του με τους πολλοὺς συντρόφους

because went the master his with the many friends

"because his master left with the (many) other friends"

an extended adverbial clause, similar to the above, reduced by ‘because’

καὶ αφήκαν τοὺς Βουργάρους να τους βλέπουν
and left the Bulgarians to them guard (watch)
"and they left the Bulgarians to guard them"

a coordinated phrase, elliptical of the verb βλέπω 'to guard'

και το παιδίν τούτον
and the-kid that
"as well as that kid"

a subordinate adverbial clause of time and/or realisation

και άνταν εἶδαν το θέλημάν τους και θέλα να σκοτώσουν,
and when saw the will their that wanted to kill
"(and) when they saw their will, that they wanted to kill"

a main clause followed by a comparative introduced by όσην

ἐβαλεν φωνήν όσην εδύνετο από την μερίαν τού αφέντη τού Κοντοσταύλη
put voice as much could from the side the master-gen the constable-gen
"he shouted as much as he could, on behalf of his master the constable"

a direct speech clause, starting with a negative imperative

μηδέν τομμήσετε να τους εγκίσετε
not dare to them touch
" and don’t you dare touching them"

an adverbial of reason introduced by διότι "because"

ὅτι επαρεδόθησαν εἰς τον μάστρον μου
because surrendered to the master mine
" because they surrendered to my master"
a main clause followed by a καὶ ἐνα complement clause

καὶ αφῆκεν μὲ καὶ βλέπω τοὺς
and let me that watch-1st.sg them
“and he let me watch them”

a temporal clause referring to future with ως που (until) expressing both time and result, followed by a prepositional phrase

ως που να στραφή με τον αφέντη τον κωντοσταύλην.
until to come back with the master the constable
“until he returns back with master the constable”

Headless relative clauses are possible in MoC, especially when verb ellipsis is noticed, as in the following example. This is not possible in SGr. Relative clauses are always post-posed in SGr. They are also in that order in Cypriot, however more flexibility of heads may occur, which does not occur in the written form (my examples). Note that levelled που in MoC means also ‘with’

SGr Τα φρούτα που έχουν κοκχόναν είναι πιο γλυκά
the fruits which have pips are more sweet
“The fruits which have pips are sweeter”

MoC Τσείνα που την κοκχόναν τα φρούτα εν πιο γλυτζιά
those with the pip the fruits are more sweet
“The fruits with pips are sweeter”

(Other structures are also possible, τσείνα που έχουσιν κοκχόναν τα φρούτα εν πιο γλυτζιά, and the standard G pattern τα φρούτα που έχουσιν κοκχόναν εν πιο γλυτζιά).

Fused constituents το o ‘that which’ used in the fusion of neuter reduced demonstrative (αυ)τό and levelled (and lexically diffused) που is introducing a clause in paragraph {57} where S of the main clause
((ελάλεν ( οὔτως)) to coincides with Ο of the relative clause το χαρτίν ελάλεν το:

{57} to ελάλεν το χαρτίν ελάλεν οὔτως
that which said the paper said so
“what the letter said was the following”

The following order is also unusual. Whereas in the above example we have το ελάλεν το χαρτίν (το rel-pron V ελάλεν S το χαρτίν V ελάλεν adv οὔτως),
in the next we have έναν τόπον το λέγουν το Στενόν. Here the clitic το corresponding to the relative pronoun το accompanies the verb, however it seems excessive (not required in spoken language). The second το can also be taken for an article το λέγουν το Στενόν 'which they say (call) the-Stenon (meaning ‘the passage’). In Greek definite articles are not used in similar cases (πήγα σ’ ένα τόπο που το λέε Στενόν, I went to a place (which they call) called Steno(n).

{122} Ο Τακάς ο αφέντης της χώρας ευρέθην έξω της χώρας είς έναν τόπον το λέγουν το Στενόν
the-Takas the master of the city (of Atalia) was found outside the city at a place which say it Steno,
“Takas, the master of the city, was outside the town at a place which they call (is called) Stenon”

Two relative pronouns, one in η ποία -nom and the other την (την-art.fem.acc.sing and ην- archaic relative pronoun (αναφορική αντωνυμία) fem.acc.sg appear in the next clause, giving the following structure:

{69} Η ποία κλεψία την εποίκεν ο παπάς εἰς τον σταυρόν έτοι ατιή
the which-nom. theft the which-acc. did the priest to the cross year 1318
"the theft which the priest did to the cross (happened) in 1318"
The clause Η ποια κλεψια ἐτον ατη' seems to be elliptical of the verb γινομαι 'to happen, to become'. The whole clause does not seem to have a matrix verb (the word ἐτον is perhaps for the neuter accusative of ἔτος 'year'. The word for 'was' appears always in MC as ἦτοι, ἐτουν or ἦτουν; however, it is not impossible that ἐτον is used for ἦτοι-3rd. sg imperf of the verb 'to be' and that the clause is elliptical of the temporal NP τὴν εχρονιαν 'in the year'). It may have well been assumed that η ποια χρονια is a misused case (nominative instead of an accusative) which should agree with την (εποίκεν); in this case, the order of clitic assumed then, used postverbally in relative clause structures (see this chapter) would have disambiguated the matter. Embedding, with high marks of topicality, has put aside the need of a copula in the main clause which follows the two relative clauses Η ποια κλεψια and την εποίκεν o παπάς.

Thus, topicality through relative clauses, with dislocation of ellipsis of the head is yet another MC structural form deviating from the known patterns of the G relative clauses.

We may consider extension of ποιγοι to a demonstrative in {316}. Note the following example:

{316} θεωρώντα η αυλή πως ουδέν ἡμπορεί να ἕχη τουν σιρ Μάρκουν καὶ δεν ηθέλαν να καταπροσωπίσουν τους Γενουβίσους κρυφά επαραγγείλαν του πισκότου τῆς Αμώχωστοι καὶ εἀ αυτῆς του εσμικοέλεφεν του ποδεστάν να ἐλθη να ζητήση συμπάθειαν από τουν κουβερνούρην {...} Οι ποιγοι εξέβησαν καὶ ἠλθαν από την Αμώχωστοι εἰς τὴν Λευκωσίαν seeing the court that none can to have the-acc Sir Mark and they did not wanted to be against the Genoese secretly they advised (sent a message) to the bishop of Amohostos and from his part advised the leader of the Genoese to come to ask mercy (sympathy) from the governor the which came out and arrived from Amohostos to the Lefkosia

"When the court realised that they couldn’t include (have) Sir Mark and that they wouldn’t go against the Genoese they secretly advised the
bishop of Amohostos and personally asked the leader of the Genoese
to come to the governor and ask for his sympathy, and (the Genoese)
came out (indeed) and from Amohostos they came to Lefkosia”

However, a dislocated or late appearing relative pronoun in the form of
ο ποίος, or any other forms displayed earlier, is a topicality marker, as
understood also by Pavlides in the translation of paragraph {47}, where the
master of Spitali is the antecedent of late ο ποίος, followed by κιόλας, ’also,
besides’, in parenthesis ο ποίος (κιόλας); this shows (proves) that the relative
pronoun ο ποίος expresses both topicality and deixis.

In the next two clauses are the relative complementiser οπού which introduces
relative clauses where the antecedent is a NP of a neuter gender: Vnonf ο
(rel.mrk IO V)

{124} θωρώντα τα καλά ταξίματα οπού του εταξασιν
seeing the good promises which to him promised-they
“when they saw the good promises they made him”

In the following example οπού refers to the genitive των Γενοβίσων ’of
the Genoese’ (in the partitive phrase το πόσον των Γενοβίσων, ’what number
among the Genoese, how many of the Genoese’).

{484} Ει τις έχη απλαζίρειν ν’ αγροκήση τον πόσον των Γενοβίσων οπού
επεθάναν εις το ρηγάτον της Κύπρου
If one has the pleasure to listen the how much of the Genoese died in
the- kingdom of Cyprus
“If one wants to know how many Genoese died in the kingdom of
Cyprus”

We also find examples of relative clauses with very distant heads as seen
below, in {460}:

{460} Καὶ εκαβαλλίκεψεν ἡ ῥήγανα απάνω της θαυμαστής μούλας του
And mounted the queen on the wonderful mule of husband her of the- king Peter by the name Marguerite and sat of the wonderful mule in the way women sit and ordered of the valet hers by the name Poutsourello to hold with him the spurs hers and when to him make sign to turn the-foot her to sit in the way men sit the- which was happy

“And the Queen who was happy, mounted on the wonderful mule of King Peter her husband, and she sat on it in the way women sit, and asked her valet called Poutsourello to hold its spurs and (told him that) when she makes him a sign he must turn her foot over (the mule), so that she sits the way men do”

4.4.4.2. Conjoined clauses

Clause conjoining is another environment of noticeable particularities. Coordination may present anomalies in other areas (e.g. different tense and mood in conjoined clauses). In the next example, two different tenses (the historical present and the aorist) form an awkward coordination. The order of πίάννει- hist.pres, τὸ ραβδίν καὶ πάει- hist.pres would probably be the expected; however we have

{70} πίάννει τὸ ραβδίν καὶ επήγεν
he takes the stick and went
he takes the stick and goes”

Conjoined clauses also appear with other coordinators such as αμμέ 'but, however’. The texts present a range of examples in which non-finite clauses are used instead of finites; the presence of V-onta forms increases the number of non-finiteness in the narrative. Often, lack of finiteness leads to additional non-finite forms as the writer, in the coming example, tries to avoid
the frequently used direct speech verbs εἶπεν 's/he said' and λαλεῖ 's/he says':

The following pattern is one of the rare instances where the author has repeated in the same paragraph the aorist εἶπα of the irregular verb λέγω 'say':

{73} (line 17) o ῥήγας εἶπεν τοῦ
the king said to him
(line 17-18) o πίσκοπος εἶπεν τοῦ
the bishop said to him
(line 18-19) o ῥήγας εἶπεν τοῦ
the king said to him

In lines 19-20 we find VS structure εἶπεν τοῦ o πίσκοπος 'said to him the bishop'; again in line 21 we find o ῥήγας εἶπεν τοῦ 'the King said to him', and in line 22 o πίσκοπος εἶπεν τοῦ 'the bishop told him' and again in line 26, o ῥήγας εἶπεν τοῦ. It is more often the case that repeated similar patterns are avoided by the choice of other patterns, and non-finites appear in the picture, as in {73}.

{73} καὶ γροικώντα τα θαυμαστά θαύματα του σταυροῦ και τα φεμιτινά λογία των Λατίνων λαλώντα: Ο Ρωμαίοι πλανοῦν τον λαὸν
and hearing the marvellous miracles of the cross and the lying words of the Latins saying: (Byzantines) Greeks cheat people

"And when he heard the marvellous miracles of the Cross he said, Greeks are cheating the people"

(The first non-finite γροικώντα is translated as a finite άκουσε in Pavlides.)

Another example illustrating the same coordination (non-finite + finite) in main clauses, appears in {367}, where finite εἰδάβασαν should have been a non-finite διαβάζοντα:
And going the above to the Takka and they read to him the paper to the king, he rejoiced joy big and he made firm the messages

“And when the above men went to Takka and (when they) read the King’s letter to him, he was thrilled and approved (of the proposed) agreements”

Similarly, in the following clause {105}, coordinator kai seems to link a non-finite clause with a finite clause, with main verb εἶπαν ‘told’, not found as *εἰπώντα, (from the verb λέγω 'to say, to tell' aorist εἶπα) a (possible) non-finite which is not found in the Chronicle carrying the V-ontas form (not common in Greek either); neither is λαλώντα 'saying' (from λαλῶ 'to say') used in adverbial clauses of time, as it usually occurs in internal and final position, expressing adverbial clauses of manner; it looks as though finite verbs may be used in coordination with V-onta non-finites when it is not possible for some verbs to form a non-finite form.

“Going the messengers in front of the pope and told him the death of the father his and the coronation of king Peter

“When the messengers came in front of the Pope and told him about the death of his father and the coronation of King Peter”

This is a fairly normal structure in MC, whereas it is not an expected structure in G which has παγαίνοντας καὶ λέγοντας του 'going and telling him',

Another example of Vnf clause coordinating with a Vf
“when Sir Hughes de Lusignan heard the news, he brought papers from the King of France asking for justice”

In the two examples {105}a and {105}b two forms of finite verbs are preceded by καὶ, although it should be noticed that καὶ may not be a link but either a ‘que’ or a pleonastic-redundant καὶ in the colloquial language.

Verbs that are usually followed by (i)να and the subjunctive appear as if they belonged into two different pro-drop clauses. This is a widespread phenomenon in the Chronicle. Thus, ὁρίσεν (finite) links with φέραν (having a finite form, representing here a subjunctive (να φέρουν, to bring). Such verbs include command verbs ὁρίζω ‘to order’ λέο (γ)ο ‘to say’, or when the subject is a prominent person ὠρθινιάζω ‘to order’:

{92} ὁρίσεν καὶ φέραν
he ordered and they brought
“he ordered they bring”
Instead of ὁρίσε να φέρουν-subj. he order for they bring
(See more on the verb ὁρίζω ‘to order, to limit’, in the section of the order of V)

4.4.4.3. Difficulties with καὶ, ὅτι and να

These have been emphasised in the methodology chapter. Coordinator καὶ can function as a narrative device, as a conjunct (ὅτι that), or καὶ used as a redundant or polysyndeton (repetition of conjunctions) link

The presence of καὶ as a conjunct creates pro-drop main (V-s) clauses:

{18} καὶ ἀρχίσετε καὶ εῶν τοὺς τόπους
and started and won the places
“and started to win the places”

Coordinator καὶ reinterpreted as conjunct πῶς or ὅτι ‘that’ (discussed more extensively in 4.4.4.5.):
Some word order issues are created with complementiser καὶ and are discussed in following sections:

αφήκεν με καὶ βλέπω τοὺς for αφήκεν με νὰ τοὺς βλέπω
he let me that I watch them he let me to them watch
“he let me watch them”

The use of καὶ conjunct (not coordinator) increases (iconically) the number of main clauses in a sentence. Take for instance the following clause:

καὶ ήραν καὶ (‘and’=that) λείπαν
(καὶ ήραν πῶς (that) λείπαν, ὅτι (that) λείπαν)
“and they found that there were missing”

There is only one clause in {476}, where καὶ λείπαν is the O of ήραν ‘and they found that they were missing’ (see French que).

Polysemous and multifunctional ὅτι can create problems in the correct classification of clauses. The right classification of clauses is imperative for assigning topicality to constituents and classifying clauses into categories. Conjunct ὅτι for instance is atonic (today) and it might have been atonic also in the Middle Ages. Non limitation of ὅτι to conjunct environments subsumes that ὅτι can be expected to be found in other than ὅτι+ subjunctive environment:

ὅτι ὅτι ‘because’
ὅτι δὲν εἶναι δίκαιον νὰ ἐπέσω αρχιερεῖς
because it is not fair to send the archpriests (bishops)

{74} ὅτι = πως, ποὺ 'that'
καὶ εποίκε ο ὥραν πολλὴν ὅτι πολλοὶ ελαλοῦσαν εκάθιν
and made hour much that many said
“and it took a long time that many said it has burnt”

MC να can be explained as a future marker, a complementiser, or an imperative marker:

{425} καὶ μελὶ νὰ νοικοκυρεύσωμεν τοῦ τόπου (futmark)
and us will put in order the place
“and us, we shall put the place in order”

Pleonastic (redundant) and or emphatic καὶ is observable in many instances where other elements have been reanalysed, as in the following where ‘to’ να-complement clause; {καὶ να} can also be interpreted as a future marker, if translated into Greek (σε) κάθε ἄνθρωπο(ς) ποὺ εἶναι (ευρίσκεται) στὸν Πύργο τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἄνδρεος καὶ ποὺ θα κατεβεί με αγάπη (με εἰρήνη ‘with peace’ ειρηνικά ‘peacefully’), να (ας) εἶναι συγχωρημένος (θα του συγχωρεθεί):

{438} πᾶσα ἄνθρωπος ποὺ εἶναι εἰς τὸν Πύργον τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἄνδρεος νὰ
every man who is on the Tower Saint Andrew-gen
καὶ να κατεβή με αγάπη να ἴνε συγχωρημένος...
that to come down with peace to be pardoned (forgiven)
“every man who is on Saint Andrew’s Tower and who wishes to come
down with peace will be pardoned”

The next example may exhibit both να imperative marker and or να complementiser:

{169} καὶ πᾶσαις μὲ προθυμίαν καὶ πίστιν να συντρέξῃ να πᾶσιν
κατάδικα
and everyone with willingness and faith let (him) come to help (to walk side by side) to go—they against
"and everyone who has will and faith let them come for help and go against"

Reduction of ἵνα (για να), ‘for’ to να may create ambiguities since να conveys other meanings too, and it is used in other structures. In {287} ellipsis of για ‘for’ can be taken as a wishing marker of an imperative, although it is a conjunct introducing a discontinued causal clause:

{287} Ο καπετάνος να μάθη την όρεξιν του σουλτάνου ανοσώς και θέλει την αγάπην ὑ ο χι ερμιεν μίαν βάρκαν από το κάτεργον και ἐπεισέν την εἰς την γην με γραφῆν εἰς τον αμιράν λαλώντα πως
The captain to know the appetite of the sultan if probably and wants peace or not threw a boat from the ship and sent it to the-land with writing to the emir saying that
"In order to know (realise) the intentions of the Sultan, whether or not he wished for peace, the captain threw a boat from the ship and sent it to the land with a letter to the Emir saying that"

Final clause introduced by να here denotes also ellipsis of deictic το, pointing to subordination: το να μάθη την όρεξιν του σουλτάνου ‘that to realise the intentions of the Sultan’.

Contrastive negation clauses create discontinued main clauses. Next clauses is a να-complement elliptic:

{28} Μέσα εἰς τούτου δὲν εἶχαν λαὸν οἱ Λατῖνοι οὐδὲ ἀρχιεπισκόπους οὐδὲ λογάδες... επέψαν οἱ ρηγάδες ο ἕνας οπίσω του ἄλλου εἰς τον αγιώτατον πάπα λαλώντα (να) πέσῃ πίσκοπον μητροπολίτες καὶ παπάδες.
In this not had people the Latins neither archbishops nor preachers...sent the kings the one after the other to the holiest (most saintly) pope saying send bishop archbishops and priests
"And in all this the Latins had no people of their own, neither did they have archbishops nor preachers... and one after the other the Kings asked the holiest (most saintly) Pope to send (a) bishop, archbishops and priests"

In declarative narrative patterns, no extra attention is needed for particular referents.

4.4.4.4. Patterns of discontinuity

There is almost a pattern that tends to become a very frequent one in Makhairas; he uses some patterns of discontinuity between main and subordinate clauses, mainly when V-onta forms are present. Discontinuity creates highlighting, as in the following V-onta internal clause introducing subordination, where a main clause is interrupted by an adverbial of time and is followed by a final introduced by δια να ‘for to’. The use of the adverbial V-onta between the main and the final clauses blends in new and given information where a part of new information is mixed with a part of given information: (i) the person in reference brought a precious stone knowing (hearing) that Cyprus was a wealthy place; the order of ‘knowing’ should follow the order of ‘bringing’, (ii) there is syntactic distance between the complement clause δια να την πουλήσῃ ‘in order to sell it’, and the Object πέτραν ‘stone’. This introduces areas of highlighting, realised through discontinued elements. What can be seen from example {95} below, is that the main clause is interrupted by the subordinate clauses which are therefore embedded in the main clause rather than adjoined to its edge. Reorganisation of the different parts of clause {95}, for the better meaning of information conveyed, is left to the reader:
And he brought with him a precious stone in order to sell it, when he heard about the wealth of Cyprus.

The notion of “what is semantically close is also syntactically close” does not seem to apply here.

Topic and or focus are frequently in word order competition with adverbials of time which tend to obtain initial position. In cases where the need for S fronting is greater than the tendency to initial adverbials, ordering anomalies occur.

As soon as he arrived, the King got sick and appointed his brother the prince in his position.

Discontinuity serves as a means of highlighting. Similarly in {125}, S in initial position is used to highlight information. The topic Ο αφέντης ο Μονοβγάτης has been introduced in the previous paragraph {124} and it becomes clearly a topic in {125}.

Knowing that he ought to go there, master Monovgatis was very sad.
Complement clauses functioning as explanatory 'chunks' within temporal V-onta clauses often do not follow the usual stylistic form of Makhairas {V-onta S O, (X) V-s (O)(X)}

Notice also in {128}, V-onta introducing a Vnf SO clause followed by a subordinate SVO:

{128} Προκύψα τον Τακκας του μαντείου πως ο αμιράλλης επήρευ το κάστρο των Μυραϊών και αιχμαλώτισαν τους...πολλά ελυσθήσας
Hearing the-Takka that the message that the admiral took the castle of the Myrians and (that) he imprisoned them much became sad
“When Takka heard the message that the admiral captured the castle of the Myrians and that he imprisoned them, he saddened very much”

A subordinate at the end of a sentence does not always produce syntactic ordering differences:

{126} Εστος τον Τακκας τον τεσσαροντα τους λας και έφετεν και έπειεν φοισάτων πολλά...ζητώντα να του δώσουν την Ατάλειαν.
Knew (heard) the-Taka the difficulty of the people and he brought and he sent a lot of army...asking for to him give the-Atalia
“Taka heard about the difficulty the people were facing and he brought a lot of army and sent it...asking (them) to give him (to surrender to him) Atalia.”

In the following example, S of V-onta is different from S of the verb:

{145} Μοναύτα εμήνουσεν ο κουβερνούρης μ’ αμματώση δ’ κάτεργα ο αμιράλλης από την Αμοχώστουν
At once sent message the governor to arm four ships the admiral from Amohostos
“At once, the governor sent a message for the admiral to arm four ships from Amohostos.”

4.4.4.5. Imperative clauses

Imperatives are numerous in the data. These are either direct or indirect. Direct imperatives exhibit verbs in initial imperative clauses. There can also be internal-clause imperatives. Indirect imperatives bearing μα and ἀς markers express wish, decision, instigation, urging etc. Direct imperatives are often expressed with two verbs in an asyndetic order, or they can line up with coordinator καί {226} (b). In {226} (a) a πως complement clause follows the imperative ἐξευρέ:

{226}(a) Ἐξευρέ πως ο Ῥήγας τῆς Κύπρου εἶνε εἰς τὴν δύσιν

“Know that the King of Cyprus is in the west”

Imperative πως-clauses may have verbs in the indicative (ἐίνε) as in {226} (b)

{226}(b) Ἀρώτα καὶ μάθε πως τα μακζενία εἶνε γεμάτα πραματείες καὶ δεν εὑρίσκεται-ινδ τινάς ν’ αγοράσει-subj

Ask and know how the-shops are plenty goods and not is (find) one to buy

“Ask and be informed how is it that the shops are full of goods and no one is (there, willing) to buy”

Negative particle μηδὲν ‘zero, not’, accompanies imperatives in negative imperative clauses; structures of this kind are usually preceded by a NP in the vocative:

{226}(c) Αφέντη μηδὲν γροικάς εκείνου ὑπὸν σου λαλεί διὰ τὸ δικὸν τοῦ διάφορος, παρὰ γροικά εκείνου ὑπὸν σου λαλεί διὰ οὐλοὺς το διάφορος

Master not listen to that who to you say for the-interest his but listen to that who to you say for all-pl. the-interest

“Master, do not listen to the person who speaks for his interest, rather listen to the person who speaks for everyone’s interest”
The imperative clause in {227} has a complement clause following it in a μὴ πῶς καὶ 'in case that' structure, conveying wish or fear (in the next example it is fear that the King may come back without his army).

{227} αφείνη ἐχει ἀπομονήν μὴ πῶς καὶ ὁ βήγας στραφὴ χωρὶς φουσάτων

master have patience lest and the king return without army

"Master, have patience lest (fear) the King return without (his) army"

Such imperatives followed by indirect, optative-like clauses, are frequent in the texts; μὴ πῶς suggests some negative element within the embedded clause (it also expresses expectation, wish, fear, suspense etc).

Next, an imperative+imperative order in the form of 'go say' is exhibited; that is, two imperatives without conjunction καὶ:

{264} Ἀμέ πε τοῦ βήγας ἀπὸ ἕξ (εξ) αὐτῆς μου πῶς εἰκεῖνος

go tell the king-gen from from self mine that he

θέλει τα διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ του γιὰ το απλαζίριν του

wants them-clit for the son-acc his for the pleasure his

go and tell the king from my part that him wants them for the son his for his pleasure

"Go and tell the King from my part, that he wants them for his son and for his own pleasure"

{25}(b)πέψε φέρε απὸ τοὺς φίλους σου καὶ απέ την πίστιν σου καλοῦς καβαλλάρους

send bring from the friends yours and from the faith yours good knights

“send (someone) (and) bring good knights among your friends and among the people of your religion"

Consider also asyndetic imperatives, as exhibited in {465}.
In the next example, imperative αθύμων 'remember' is followed by a to-rel introduced complement clause:

{256} Καὶ αθύμων τὸ μας

And remember-2nd.sing that which to us επουμουτίασες

promised -2nd.sing

“And remember what you promised us”

Discontinuity is frequent in clauses where imperatives appear more than once in the clause; the three imperative clauses appearing in {15}, where O clitic το of the second imperative διάβας' to 'read it' refers to the NP of the Prepositional Phrase (PP) με τούτον το χαρτίν μας το ανωτότων 'with this open letter of ours', shows an almost asyndetic structure:

{15} Ἴπευρε με τούτον το χαρτίν μας το ανωτότων διάβας' το καὶ το

Know with that the letter our the open read it and the sealed-partic have it in (a) protected place

“Be informed through our open letter (and) read it and keep the sealed (one) in a secure place”

Also consider initial paragraph imperative in {88}. With the ας introduced imperatives the narrator speaks to the reader: Initially placed imperatives (hortatives) in 1st plural, introduced with ας act as reminders and excite the participation of the reader to the succeeding part of the story:

{41} Ας ἔλθωμεν εἰς τὸ προκείμενον

“Let us come to (what lays before us) the point”

{218} Ας πούμεν καὶ περὶ τῶν κυμασίων τῶν Γενουβίσων
Let say-1st.pl and about the republic(s) the Genoese-gen και Βενετίκων
and the Venetians-gen
"Let us talk about the republics of the Genoese and the Venetians (of Genoa and Venice)"

(Observe also non-agreement in {218} of των-gen.pl and κομουνίου-gen.sg as well as the (rare) use of the (standard) genitive plural in Γενουβίσων and Βενετίκων perhaps triggered by the archaic preposition περί των).

{352} Ας αφήσωμεν τούτον ας έλθωμεν εις τους μαντατοφόρους
Let let go-1st.pl this let come-1st.pl to the messengers-acc
"Let us leave this (now), let us come to the messengers (the story of the messengers)"

Apart from direct and ας-imperatives, the Chronicle exhibits a large number of να -imperatives; in fact να-imperatives are more frequent than the other two (see statistics). Often, optatives (wishes) can be confused with να introduced wish- imperatives, since να se σκεπάση {ειδε-optmark) να se σκεπάση} (optative) and να se σκεπάση (wishing imperative) have the same form in all the elements of the clause.

{24} ο Θεός να με σκεπάση
the-God να-wish me give shelter (protection)
"God protect me"

In Cypriot, optatives can be distinguished, among other ways, with the addition of wishing particle που, before the verbal form (που-deep wish να se σκεπάση), introducing the Cypriot ευτσιές ‘wishes’ (in Greek ευχές) που να se δω βασίλισσαν (που-wish) ‘that I see you a queen’ or the Cypriot κατάρες, (same word in Greek for ‘curses’, που να μεν ξημερωθείς (που-curse) ‘I curse you not to see the next dawn’ that is, ‘I curse you to die before dawn’. Among the που-optatives are also those introducing the wish of the speaker to neither hate nor appraise
their interlocutors, in case they have been treated unfairly, but to take the matter to God; these ‘non-resist’ που introduced clauses are here called non-resist optatives, or seeking for divine intervention optatives: See example below (examples from MoC):

που να σ’ έχω στον θεόν μου αγκαλεμένου
that for you have to god mine asked for trial
"May God judge you" (lit. I wish I could ask you for a trial in front of my God)

που να σου δώσει ο Θεός
that to to you give God
“may God give you (what you deserve)"

similar to Greek  

In {25}(a) a colloquial expression of the pattern Imper O-compl.cl the usual imperative structural pattern of advice is exhibited, although it can well be a na-complement clause:

{25}(a)δος τα όλα να κάμεις ούλα
give them all to make all
“give it all to acquire all” (give all you have to make all you want"

Statistics on imperative-initial clauses are included in the Verb section above.

4.4.4.6. Indirect and Direct speech: Ø, ότι and πως

Direct and indirect speech clauses constitute a vital part of the study of word order in Makhairas. Speech act verbs λαλώ and λέγω, both meaning ‘to say’, the V-onta form λαλώντα, introducing direct speech chunks, verb μην δώ ‘to send a message’ usually but not exclusively followed by complements as well as verb απολογούμαι ‘to reply’ (and not ‘to apologise’ as the meaning of this verb has remained today), introduce large
stretches of speech which add to the narrative both linguistic and extra-linguistic information. Namely, the above elements, a) provide a vivid and complementary description of the characters of the Chronicle, b) cast light on the direct relation between reference and referents and their textual intercommunication, c) give opportunities for a closer look at the language in real life conversations, and d) add a new perspective on the study of the Chronicle, where events are described from a ‘theatrical’ point of view and emotions and demands are staged directly from the characters’ voices and are individually raised among the different events of the tale.

It has to be stressed, here, that the texts do not contain any punctuation or quotation marks and that I do not always follow the punctuation inserted by editors, such as that of Pavlides.

(i) participant speaks to 1st/2nd person

With regard to this last point, narration also often ‘turns’ from the third person singular or plural directly to the first. The author does not use any particular ‘device’, connective link, or any other direct speech signal. Neither do these forms of theatrical monologues appear with any of the usual speech verbs which predict speech in a narrative. The author simply takes the part of one of the characters and speaks directly on his or her behalf.

An example of such a sudden switch is displayed in the following example. Narration proceeds with the story of the Sultan who seized the goods of the merchants who travelled East, while in the same part, in an unpredictable way, the Pope appears to be asking the King of Cyprus to beg the Sultan to set the Christian hostages free. Consider the next example (218):

{218} ἐπείσεν καὶ επήρεν όλες τις πραμάτεις τους ο σουρτάνος καὶ πως ἐνικήσαντες καὶ πως ἐνικήσαντες καὶ καὶ πιασμένοι εἰς τοὺς τόπους τούς ὅλους οἱ χριστιανοί καὶ έχουν μεγάλην ζημιάν καὶ ταπεινά καὶ δουλικά παρακαλοῦμεν των καὶ προσπίπτομεν εἰς τοὺς πόδας σου να του πης να κλίνῃ δια να γενή η αγάπη δια να ελευθερωθούν οἱ χριστιανοί καὶ ν’ αινικτούν οἱ στράτες.

sent and took all the goods the sultan and that are and taken in the places his all the Christians and have big loss and humbly and submissively we are asking you and fall in feet your to them tell to
agree for to be done the -peace for to be freed the Christians and to be opened the routes (of the trade)

"The Sultan sent people to seize all the goods and (he) said that all the Christians have been captured, in his country and that they have (been suffering) great losses and humbly and submissively we are asking you, kneeling before you, to tell him to give his consent and settle the peace so that the Christians are free and the routes are open"

In this example, narration turns from the 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural to the 1st person plural: “and we are asking you, falling on your feet”. In the new version of the Chronicle, inverted commas mark the exact words of the speaker within the whole narrative. The MS. is, as seen from various copies in the book, punctuation-free. Thus, if one considers narration in the Chronicle as Makhairas’ direct speech, this overlapping voice of the characters appearing without punctuation or any other introductory speech act verb element creates structural problems; one has to get acquainted to these theatrical insertions, when reading the different passages of the work.

Coordination of narrative clauses with direct speech occurrences appearing without the presence of ὅτι-that, leading to indirect speech, or να+ indirect speech characteristics (in the subjunctive), is a MC feature and a stylistic and literary innovation of the writing of the language. Other examples showing the same turn from narration to elliptical introduction of direct speech insertions are the following:

{229} καὶ εἶπαν καὶ η ἀγάπη εἶνε τελειωμένη καὶ τώρα ευρισκούμεθαν κομπομένων
and they said that peace had been settled and now we are found deceived

“And they said that peace has already settled (narration passage) and now we have been deceived (direct speech)"
Kai an dein 'ne thelei tin parie me to spathin tou oti xeurw ton peinean tin exoun apesow
And if not is will it take with the-sword his because I know the hunger which they have inside
“Otherwise, he will take it with his sword (narration passage) because I know the hunger that people are suffering in there (direct speech)”

See also examples in \{297\}, \{308\} (to poion peftomev ws axios afenths).
Consider also example VOSIO in \{313\}, where there is only one element here, suggesting direct speech, namely element sou (where no verbal forms or other elements agree with it) and where every other part preceding it is in the declarative (narrative) form.

Epeis ein mantaton o podestas tou abikarh na parh ton Genoubiason eis tin exousian sou
sent message the Genoese leader to the representative to take “the Genoese under your leadership”
“The Genoese leader sent a message to the representative to take the Genoese under your leadership”

This asyndetic condition is left to the hearer (reader) to link. In the above clause, only personal pronoun sou marks direct speech within the whole clause. The asundeoton of the situation does not require a sunde (connective, link) or even a sundetikon (link, in grammar), if the reader is aware of this theatrical aspect in Makhairas’ work. Statements, arguments, conclusions, points in controversy, points the speaker wants to establish, all appear in these direct speech inserted clauses which interrupt the course of the narrative. In the frame of the study of word order, direct speech may reflect pragmatic issues, when compared to other narrative (declarative) patterns in non-speech situations.

In other direct speech orderings, things are clearer. When speech act verbs are present in the clauses, clause boundaries are better defined. In \{240\}, follow the verbs lalwv and lego (eipen):
“And the good knight said to them: “No.” and he said: “ Masters, who can hold the mouths of the people?” And he says again” God knows it...Then they say to him... 'Friend'...”

Again, an additional example of no-link direct speech is found in {202}. In this passage, Makhairas speaks of the visit of Jack de Nores, a prominent character in the Chronicle, to the Sultan. Makhairas uses the 3rd person singular saying that de Nores spoke harshly and shamelessly to the Sultan, εσώντυχεν τον πολλά απότομα και ατζίππωτα, 'he spoke daringly and shamelessly', and that the great rulers should not promise to make peace and then regret it. Suddenly, narration switches to 1st person singular, where the voice is no longer the narrator’s but de Nores’. In the following clause, I haven’t used punctuation as used by the translator for the better reading of the texts. Pavlides’ punctuation suggests that reported speech starts from “και να πλημελούμεν “ and ends to “εἰς ἄλλην“.

Note the different persons of the verbs in this passage.

An additional example of reported speech is:
and left a young boy and went to the Kyrenia and said to the constable that (to) that (πως) it is about to load (them) the treasure to take to Amohostos and I am a boy from those who handle the treasure "and a young boy left and went to Kyrenia and told the constable that they are about to load the treasure and take it to Amohostos and he said that he was one of those who handle the treasure"

Examples of dislocation of mainly S-initial and V-onta-initial clauses as well as Cypriot connectives have been discussed in their relevant sections and will not be discussed further here.

4.4.4.7. More problems with clause ordering: issues of reanalysis, gain and loss

Embedding subordination is increased by some reanalysis issues. Problems may arise from the use of clitic to. In fact, patterns such as the following have two objects; a sentential clause introduced by conjunct πως 'that' and a preordered clitic to. The two O function as one. In the following clause, clitic to was originally a clitic O of the subordinate clause θωρώντα οἱ Γενουβίσοι το (seeing the Genoese that, when the Genoese saw that). The subordinate clause πως ὁλοὶ οἱ Λευκωσιάτες επιάσαν τους πύργους ‘that the people of Lefkosia took all the towers’ is a complementiser to to. Demonstrative to has lost its force and is no longer needed to point to subordinate clauses today, however in many cases (in MC) it is found to introduce complement clauses and co-occurs with πως, ‘that’, conjunct, another complementiser. The next example provides a clear evidence of reanalysis. The structural innovation containing to involves the presence of a redundant (or emphatic) adverbial.

{439} θωρώντα οἱ Γενουβίσοι το πως ὁλοὶ οἱ Λευκωσιάτες επιάσαν τους πύργους τότες εβάλασιν δύο περδέσκες...
seeing the Genoese that-deict that-conj all the people of Lefkosia took the towers then they put (placed) two platforms
“When the Genoese saw that all the people of Lefkosia seized the towers then they installed two platforms”

In the example that follows τo is still an element of the matrix clause (O of the matrix verb:

{440} (εποίκαν (το) (να πολομούν τες δουλείες τους))
they made that to do the works theirs
“they returned back to their jobs”

{443} Ν’ εις πτωχός θωρώντα το πως εδιάβην καιρός και πλείον δεν εγυρεύγασιν τινάν
One poor man seeing that-dem that-conj passed time and more not looked for someone
“A poor man, when he saw that the time went by and that they no longer looked for anybody”

Sentential objects are discussed in the O section at more length. These can be also introduced by ὅτι ‘that’:

{113} θωρώντα οι λας του Κουρίκου ὅτι καθημερινόν οι Τούρκοι εκατασφίγγαν τους...επήραν...
seeing the people of Kourikos that everyday the Turks kept tightening them...they took...
“When the people of Kourikos saw that the Turks continued to tighten them everyday, they took...”

Main clauses with non-independently represented S go beyond embedding-introduced S or V-s (pro-drop) orderings in the same paragraph. For instance, in {98} we find a main clause in initial position where the verb has S encoded in the very first clause of the paragraph; nominal S is represented by a NP in the previous clause:
He cut the cutting of the hand that-gen who-gen to lift knife on to knight or noble (man)
“He abolished the cutting of the hand (arm?) to whoever would lift a knife against a knight or a nobleman”

However, some relatively usual word order patterns are found in narrative clauses too:

The that year came to the waters of Cyprus two galleys of Lucen the Catalan-gen in order to loot and they captured many Cypriot ships
“In that same year, two galleys which belonged to Luke the Catalan came to the waters of Cyprus to loot and they captured many Cypriot ships”

And on the 18th of September ordered the king three knights to go to the pope to him tell the death of the king the first and the coronation of king Peter
“And on the 18th of September, the King ordered three knights to go to the Pope and tell him about the death of the first (previous) King and the coronation of King Peter (himself)”

In subordination as well as in matrix clauses VOS may mark the tendency for some semantic units to be together ‘hearing the words’:
Hearing the words the forest guard sent a message to him to be ready to fight with him

“Hearing those words the forest guard sent him a message (asking him) to be ready to fight with him”

One might ask, is the clause above a Vnf OS, VIOcl Comp, or a VnfO, SVIOcl Comp clause? Is S a constituent of the subordinate V-onta OS clause or is it a SVIOcl clause? It is not the first time that S is found in the middle of two clauses. Economy of S is noticed when semantic units show a S-final order in embedding and a S-initial clause in main clauses, where other constituents do not interfere between the subordinate and the main.

Next, analysis of {11} allows us to maintain that concord may raise complications in classifying clauses. The following clauses remind us of older (archaic) structures. Existential εἰμί in the 3rd person singular (ἐνι) is structured with an accusative λίθος instead of a nominative:

“and people say that this stone is a stone of freedom”

Paragraph {255} shows the Cypriot structure with almost every clausal classification:

Καὶ οἱ καβαλλάριδες πολλὰ εκοπιάσαν εἰς τὴν μέσην τοὺς· μερτικῶν ελαλούσαν να σκοτώσουν τον κούρτην· καὶ ελαλούσαν:

“Ἀν το ποίσωμεν φανερώνεται το πράμαν, καὶ θέλει είσται από πολλή αντροπή εἰς αυτὸν μας.”

‘Αλλοι λαλούσαν: “Καλὰ εἴπετε· διὰ τρεις αφορμές ἐνι να φύγωμεν θυμοῦ, μίσου, καὶ φάμας. Ἀμμέ αυστέως καὶ ποίμεν να σκοτώσωμεν τὴν ρίγανα, ξεύρετε πως ἐνι από μεγάλην γενίαν ὑπὸ τῶν Καταλάνων, καὶ εἰς ανελήμονες, καὶ θέλουν πεῖν πως διὰ μισηθείαν το ἐποίκαιμεν, καὶ θέλουν αρματώσειν καὶ θέλουν ἐρτείν καὶ θέλουν μας ἐξηλθορεύσειν καὶ
Example of extended text: The Battle of Khoirokoitia

As an extended example of paragraph-initial phenomenon, I now present data from the Khoirokoitia Battle. This is an important section of the narrative; it refers to a battle, in which Makhairas took part and fought against the Saracens, in 1426. It is the section of the Chronicle where one expects to find (i) a sample of writing free of any degree of influence from translating (French) notes, (ii) a colourful description of the events that took place in the battle, due to the writer's personal eye-witnessing and (iii) the expected degree of freedom of the writer's pragmatic preferences. This is
exhibited through the greater number of S-initial and O-initial clauses, greater if compared to data revealing the order of the same elements in other parts of the narrative. The latter point is important for the right understanding of the marked, major elements in Makhairas’ clauses. The analyst follows the (intuitive and unplanned) intention of the writer to highlight the moments of the ‘grande bataille’ of his life. This small survey starts with paragraph 654 through to the end of the narrative 713. The Battle of Khoirokoitia is included within these paragraphs (follow discussion below). While Makhairas maintains his style, expressed through verbs in initial position of clauses, S (to a more intensive degree) and O (in a much more limited way) are ‘promoted’ to the scene of the battle with word order placement. The highlighting of these two constituents is not exhibited only in paragraph-initial placement; it also extends to the whole paragraph orderings. The survey encompasses clauses from the narrative from paragraphs 654 to the end of Makhairas’ work 713 although the peak of narration of the battle itself is covered between paragraphs 678 to 684.

Out of the 117 clauses studied, V-initial clauses still prevail. There are 13 SVO (IO) clauses, 28 SV, 11 VSO and 7 VOS. Additionally, there also appear a number of clauses which include clitics and deictics, as follows:

- S V IOcl O in {676}
- S V Ocl in {659}
- S V Iocl in {656}
- Odeic VS in {663}
- O deic S V Ocl in {663}
- O V Ocl S in {704}

There are 70 (59.8%) V-initial clauses in this section (52 VS+11 VSO+7 VOS) and 41 (35%) S- initial clauses (13 SVO(IO)+ 28 SV). The remaining six clauses (5%) are O-initial and S-initial with clitics, as listed above. Although numbers again show a prevailing V-initial order, in some parts of the narrative, and more particularly where narration builds up for the description of the
battle, the order is overwhelmingly S initial. For instance, from \{654\} to \{663\} out of 20 clauses, 12 are S initial, 6 are V-initial and 2 are O initial.

Again, from \{663\} to \{681\}, of the 34 clauses, 15 are S-initial, 18 are V-initial and 1 O-initial, where V-initial is still a greater percentage but where S-initial exhibits a greater than the usual percentage. Also, between \{682\} and part of \{690\}, out of 23 clauses, 12 are V-initial and 11 are S-initial. This part of the narrative describes the battle in Makhairas’ words, and shows the author’s aim to counterbalance the flow of narration with pragmatic effects supporting this narration. Furthermore, in some paragraphs between \{682\} and \{690\}, S-initial clauses exceed the number of V-initial clauses.

The justification of S-clause initial being a marked order is not only recorded through its presence but also through its absence: After concluding his narration on the Battle, Makhairas returns back to his normal narrative style, therefore V-initial clauses rise again to the known level and in turns, in more intense V-initial percentages: S in initial position from \{692\} is rare. From \{692\} to the end of the narrative \{713\}, the following data: out of the 17 paragraph initial clauses, 15 are V-initial and only 2 are S-initial.

4.5. Conclusion

Relevance of word order for sentence and text pragmatics varies greatly across languages. In Weil’s (1944) analysis, it is shown that in some languages the dominant order of constituents allows for a broader range of alternative patterns than in others (cited in Luraghi 1990). This is the case with MC: it exhibits a range of alternative patterns, however it has an overwhelming VSO order. The dominant VSO order in Makhairas is a result of the interaction of many factors.

MC can be classed among languages that have both pragmatic and grammatical word order. Grammatical factors correspond to the grammatical function of the constituents. The distinctive features of languages with grammatical order appear to be that the syntactic status of constituents is expressed through their position relative to each other. MC appears freer of
grammatical obligation for order. As demonstrated in this work, the latter is of less importance for word order structuring; pragmatic factors have a greater influence on the word order of MC. Some special functions of Greek are fulfilled by the same order (VSO). However, VSO is not the dominant order of Greek or at least there is no statistically based study available yet to us, on either MGr or SGr, that justifies VSO as the dominant order of Greek.

Pragmatic factors play their role in determining the position of nominal constituents relative to each other, in MC. S-initial is driven exclusively by focality and topicality; hierarchy is important for nominal fronting, although it can be breached by other, more significant factors, in parts of the narrative (adverbs, dates, PPs).

A number of criteria influencing the MC word order partly conflict with each other. This is because, although having such syntactic flexibility, MC has a number of rigid rules for some of its constituents; such is the case with το-deict.rel and το -clit and το -poss compared to τον in IO structures. Rigidity and particularity of order often go hand in hand in Makhairas. The language has to accommodate both homophony and tonality through its word order. This is why order and (assumed) pitch accent (of some constituents) seem to be in close coordination. A number of archaic words are still in use while the language ‘juggles’ in newer structures. Before Makhairas, MC must have ‘juggled’ in the same way, to find its syntactic balance, due to a tendency to keep older patterns and balance them with the flow of change.

4.5.1. Word order means communication of ‘pragmatic’ situations in MC

It is clear that S in initial position is a topic and a focal element and nothing more; V in initial position introduces new information via narration; in cases where V is topic, predicates are examined through the study of the elements of preceding clauses. Instances of V emphatic are not impossible to find, although rare in Makhairas. O in initial position is a salient constituent and clitics convey their pragmatic hierarchy.
The value of the MC clitics position lies in the rigid position in which they appear in ditransitive clauses and in relation to each other. MC is a language which hardly ‘throws away’ words, and has to confront its growing collection of homophonous words. In order to assist in a series of word order changes taking place at that time, and despite (some) freedom of word order, MC has strict word order rules for some of its constituents. The fact that S in initial clause position is always a topic and a highlight element can be viewed as a strict rule also. Clitics follow word order principles for issues of homophony and ambiguity; repetitions, either before or after the clitics’ NPs are part of this arrangement. And although breaching almost every rule of the standard Greek forms, Makhairas’ language is internally consistent in his narrative.

With the levelling of participles it might appear that S would get a fixed order within the Cypriot clause. In fact, it seems as though S tended to be final in second position, after the levelled elements and the non-finite initial elements extended their use to finites later. This could be examined from the opposite angle too: non-finites in initial or first position acquired their position from finites. In either way, finites and non-finite verbal elements are mostly first in the MC clause.

The syntactic distance between V and O was not an important issue, at first. This distance was reduced through phrasal verbs and through expressions which made V and O a one constituent; VO in some languages equals to VO+O, as is the case in many MC VPs.

Verbs in initial position are mainly unmarked. There are emphatic verbs, marked with stress and intonation in MoC. This cannot be known for MC. Verbs in initial position in almost all their occurrences are neither topics nor emphatic elements in their majority, although some of them may express markedness.

It is within the relative freedom of order that some extreme constraints are found. After the loss of tonal το-deict.rel (and its substitution with the levelled που) the Cypriot clitic continued to maintain its previous order in declarative
clauses. The structural ‘fidelity’ of Cypriot to some archaic syntactic forms, particularly to those involving the clitic, reveals that the language maintained (some) older patterns for different reasons than those applied in other Greek varieties. The MC clitic order established its position from different structural needs, more considerable at the time of the changes, such as those requiring that relative clauses be preposed (after the fusion of το-deictic and ο-relative) as well as factors related to internal changes. The AG postverbal position of the clitics (via the older dative) can be viewed as a trigger supporting the MC clitic position, not causing it.

Syntactic changes in Cypriot reveal that standard languages have a limited influence on the changes of some of their ‘dialects’ (the term dialect has not been used in this work to describe MC) depending on the period these changes were performed.

More importantly, the word order of MC brings to light information on aspects of non-standard Greek syntax and its almost unlimited freedom of constituent order, when studied within the frame of grammatical rules. It sets some limits, however, within the frame of pragmatics.
5.0. Introduction

Apart from its contribution to history, literature and language, Makhairas’ Chronicle provides yet another valuable offering, that of its particular structural patterns. The present introductory syntactic study of the texts has constituted a first attempt at explaining earlier Cypriot clause structures. The narrative has served as a ‘faithful’ means of investigation. Longacre (1995: 20 in Downing 1995) argues that it is indeed proper to use narrations as foundations for language typology, since monologue is a better guide than dialogue to standard word order and since the narrative is the most universal and most highly structured type of monologue discourse. Longacre thus proposes that if story line clauses in narrative discourse in a given language are VSO, then the language should be classified as VSO.

The Cypriot constituent word order study serves a number of roles. (i) to cover some ‘gaps’ in almost unexplored diachronic syntactic phenomena of Cypriot and thus provide a more rounded image of Cypriot syntax, (ii) to offer new perspectives and examples of change for syntactic typology and historical linguistics in general (iii) to enhance the study of the word order of the written form of Greek, through a variety of Greek which is neither Balkan nor mainland Greek, (iv) to provide findings on the most enduring elements of Cypriot, and indirectly of Greek, in relation to their syntax, particularly on those related to element position, (v) to help find stable elements in the structure and the reasons behind their word order persistence.

5.1. Minor remarks on the method used for data collection

The selection of data from paragraph-initial sentences has not been a restricting factor for this study. Patterns of V-onta initial sentences,
which are the majority of initial elements in Makhairas, are found also within non-paragraph-initial (inner) clauses, and they show more or less the same ordering as their paragraph-initial counterparts; a further comparative study of the order of the main three constituents (V,S,O) within non-paragraph-initial sentences would have little to add, if anything, to the present analysis, as far as the basic MC word order is concerned. With the selection of paragraph-initial sentences, however, endless and tiring subordination has been avoided, as well as discourse and repetition within the flow of narration, found largely in inner clauses.

In the structural analysis of the passage of the Battle of Khoirokoitia (4.4.5.) it was useful to compare the order of sentences which are not paragraph-initial, and where various discourse and pragmatic factors contribute to different word order patterns. For instance, there are subordinate clauses which exhibit markedness when main clauses appear unmarked, or vice versa. Furthermore, the order of elements in ὅν τι ποιεῖ and να complement clauses is particularly interesting. Within these clauses, other phenomena of order appear to be triggering additional word order changes.

5.2. Areas for further research

Following the present investigation, I suggest here two main areas of future consideration: the great internal differences within the Greek language, to which Cypriot belongs genetically, and the relative freedom of its constituents to move within the clause. Cypriot is far more flexible, when compared to other Greek varieties, especially Medieval Cypriot. Problems with the analysis included the lack of intonation absent in written texts, as well as the non-availability of the original MSS. The latter makes it difficult to investigate phenomena related to agglutination leading to syntactic change. There were many interesting examples of non-standard and variable orthography of some of the words. This has been eliminated in the newer editions, as one can see from looking at the few pages of the original available, compared to the edited texts of Pavlides and others. The findings of this study show substantial differences from earlier stages of Greek, which gradually became the norm in Cypriot.
Furthermore, the correction of (some) double consonants into one consonant in the newer versions of the MSS. has deprived the analyst of the required capacity to analyse the phonetic system in its true form. There are of course ample examples of geminates in the Chronicle, also found in initial position one example is νναί ‘yes’; many examples seem to have been eliminated by editors. Double consonants are an essential area of the study of Cypriot because there are semantic contrasts lost if they are edited out.¹

5.2.1. Morphology

In morphology, as seen from this work, MC does not follow the same rules as Greek, however derivation and compounding are based on internal Cypriot dynamisms of creating new words. Where words can be adopted from the wider Greek context, they can be used as such, otherwise they are created afresh with Greek affixes, often with a form unlike Greek, due to lack of contact (συγγεν-ατρία-fem ‘relative, kin’ for G συγγεν-ής, ’εγκυ-μαχία ‘guarantee’ for G εγγύ-ης). Cypriot does not integrate into its Greek-root words non-Greek affixes.²

5.2.2. Lexicon

It must be added that many words need to be investigated further, in order to give satisfactory answers to the researcher.³ Contemporary studies on Medieval Cypriot have given the opportunity for other horizons to be opened on the French element in the Cypriot language of the Middle Ages. Chevalier (1998), for instance, opens the way to the study of French on MC, and goes beyond the study of its mere lexicon, so far exhausted with the different semantic analyses.⁴

5.3. The process of word order change in Cypriot

5.3.1. Important factors

The process of word order change is evident in Makhairas' work due to both its textual length and its linguistic illustration. One of the more central changes represented in Medieval Cypriot relates to the levelling of the participles. Non-prominence of the role of S within the clause starts with this levelling; S is no longer initially 'projected' and in MC it 'pulls' closer to the
participle, which is found in the beginning of utterances, or not very far from the beginning, where it was in older times. Middle S in dependent clauses becomes middle S in independent clauses, when non-finite V-onta is no longer used clause-initially.

There are other points that have altered within the εξιστόρηση (narration) of the events. The frequent presence of the verb in initial position is one. However, viewing this as a frequency phenomenon or as an element of the notion of basic structure has been avoided. (Greenberg (1966: 67) claims that the unmarked order in a language “is necessarily the most frequent.” The whole of Makhairas’ work was viewed as a narrative, a narrated story. Many examples of this narration appeared with a verb in initial position. So, on these I started focusing my attention.

In similar analyses, numbers are surely the ζητούμενο, what we are looking for, although they do not offer more than what the language expresses through the order of constituents, which is whatever counts in statistics. If there happen to exist some verbs belonging to marked order clauses this will not devalue or change the general tendency.

5.3.2. The drift from VSO to VOS

Post-Makhairas work(s) in Cypriot give little indication of the period when S moved to the far right of the clause. The only signal is that VOS structures appear from time to time in the Chronicle, as is exemplified in the statistics, and although infrequent, they already foreshadow the future replacement of the overpowering VSO.

A trigger to this drift may have been the decreasing ratio of VO+O=VO patterns. In phrasal verbs, inserted S already gives a VOS structure; that is, the place of the second O simply fills in for S in non-phrasal verb VPs. However, this is a hypothesis that needs to be elaborated further. Other reasons would include (i) the diminishing number of V-onta and their converting into finites, consequently the lesser need of S to disambiguate levelled constituents in a closer to V-onta position; (ii) the fact that both VSO and VOS may be aNA, demNDem, GNg etc; (iii) the exigency of S to be
preverbal only as a topic or focus allowing for other structures in unmarked, non S-initial clauses; (iv) the tendency for S to go even further right to secure its non-topic, non-focus status; (v) the need to accommodate clauses with clitics, in mainly di-transitive patterns with V-s, where O and IO are more ‘at ease’ in linear structures, and where S may be repeated in the end of the clause and for other reasons that need to be investigated.

A source to analyse and to probably discover more from would be the study of the work by archimandrite Kyprianos, the Chronological History of the island of Cyprus (Pavlides 1997). Archimandrite Kyprianos was born in the first half of the 18th century, and although he uses the standardised Greek language, his usage differs in many ways from standardness, and shows his tendencies to use the Cypriot coloquial. It is in these parts of the work that one could presumably discover the word order of Cypriot in the early 18th century; until then, however, undisputed answers concerning the drift from VSO to VOS may rest on what has already been analysed.

5.3.2.1. Why VSO?

But why is V- initial such a preferred structure in MC?

Apart from pragmatic considerations discussed in this study, the following answers may give additional answers to the question:

V-initial is the structure of pro-drop clauses (V-s clauses)
V-initial is the structure of emphasis on the verb
V-initial is the basic structure in NT Greek
V-initial is the structure of Arabic or at least was when there was intensive contact with Arabic after 632 AD and with the Maronites from the 12th century AD onwards
V-initial is the structure of existential patterns
V-initial is the pattern of verbs requiring this pattern in broader Greek
V-initial is the ordering of impersonal verbs
V-initial is preferred after dates
V-initial is topic in some clauses
V-initial is a structure that might have existed prior to the MC period
V-initial is the order which, according to newer theories, replaces the older SOV patterns (AG was SOV)
V-initial is the preferred order in Old French, at least in some narratives. V-initial is triggered in main clauses by *να-*clauses which have S following V in the subjunctive. Most importantly, V-initial has been the pattern enduring in many centuries.

Other reasons advocate pattern-economy; interrogative clauses are V initial. *ήρτεν ο Άντρεας* ‘has Andrew come?’, negation triggers V-initial *εν ήρτεν ο Άντρεας* ‘Andrew didn’t come’. Economy of pattern assists in promoting change in important pragmatic situations.

Makhairas’ frequent use of non-finite verb forms in initial position is important. The issue should be looked at from the point of S following V, not only from the point of V preceding S.

Emphasis on movement verbs stabilises V in initial position in everyday use. VO locutions are a growing issue in MC. Emphasis on O promotes S final therefore V becomes central. Hence the growing VO binding may move S to clause-end position. The fact that O-initial structures may be V-central and that the reference of S through the verb is less important in shared knowledge conversations means that S must follow V as it is redundant and out of focus.

5.3.2.2. Final remarks on VOS

The verb has not been examined here only within its syntactic functions. The verb is of great importance, and everything seems to revolve around it. Agreement marking offers freedom for a nominal S to either be ‘overt’ or ‘absent’. If it is present, in basic (unmarked) structures, it is usually in second position within the clause in MC. If, however, the clause is imperative, S tends to be preverbal. The relationship of verbs and dates is relevant to word order and should be taken into consideration.

5.4. Some general remarks

Generalisations on Verb-initial languages are contradicted by some MC exceptions. The work of typology in Makhairas’ Cypriot is an open
field. Notions such as ‘homophony’, (assumed) ‘pitch accent’ and the order of elements related to these notions open new areas of research in diachronic syntax, syntactic typology and in historical linguistics in general. Moreover, the Chronicle has shown that internal changes are stronger and often more critical than changes assigned to genetic affiliation and borrowing.

Makhairas’ texts have exhibited the use of the language of his epoch for the better communication with its users.

V-initial, and more importantly, preponderant VSO order in Medieval Cypriot, regarded as non-standard by Greeks, has many patterns to offer, not just the suggestion of an absence of order. In fact, the presence of order in Makhairas, appearing with all the characteristics of a V-initial language, yet presenting also word order exceptions, has brought us abreast of a discourse of coherence, the patterns of which can only be understood from a Cypriot, more precisely a medieval Cypriot point of view and by those who can interpret the word order patterns of reality.

Cypriot syntax has not yet reached the wider audience of linguists and typologists. It is my purpose to extend this study further into the structure of clauses, as well as to looking closely at the structural patterns of Boustronios and Kyprianos.
Chapter 1

1 In Greenberg' Universal 1 for instance, it is suggested that in declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object. This does not apply to the VOS MoC structure. Also Greenberg's remarks according to which 'the pronominal object always precedes the verb in Greek, whereas the rule holds that the nominal object follows', do not apply for Cypriot.

2 Schaeffer (Paper presented to the Académie des inscriptions, 22 October 1954, cited in Alastos, 1976 :31) notes that there was an influx of Philistines in the 12th century who actually displaced the Myceneans from controlling Enkomi, one of the main towns of Ancient Cyprus.

3 According to George Hill, (1972 vol 1 : 83) “the Greek, though he may have begun as a raider had a way unlike the Phoenician of actually making a settlement at his point of commercial penetration; he was a colonist, not merely a trader”. It should be noted that some towns in Cyprus never became Greek until the Hellenistic period.

4 In Orthodoxy, the Cypriot Archbishops are the only Church officials that have been given the right from the Emperor to sign with red ink, a right that has been preserved until our days.

5 In Limassol, the castle of Berengaria remains in perfect condition until our days. Within the same year, Cyprus was sold to the Order of the Knights Templars for 100,000 byzants of which 40,000 had to be paid at once and the rest by instalments. Being unable to fulfil their promise, the Templars begged Richard to buy the island back, but Richard who did not want to lose the money he had taken, induced Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, to accept the island as compensation for his Kingdom. The island was sold twice within a year.

6 A compound word from the Greek words 'lino' (linen) and 'bambaki' or 'vamvaki' (cotton), therefore 'of a mixed material'. This word is still used today in Cyprus and it describes people who cannot come to a proper decision or who change their mind easily. During the Ottoman rule, the Cypriots tried several times to revolt; every attempt was unsuccessful.

7 Last century's struggle for Greek Independence brought disturbances in the island. The Cypriots joined the Greeks against the Ottomans; they embraced the ideal of freedom, though, not without losses. People were executed, villages pillaged, churches turned into mosques. The Greeks formed, at that time, a majority of 80% of the total population of the island. This percentage remained the same until 1974,
when the Turks invaded the north part of the island and changed its demographic character.

Browning (1969: 89) (2nd ed) observes that under Turkish rule there were a series of centres of vernacular literature, each showing greater or less dialect features in its linguistic form. They are all outside of the Ottoman empire, not because men no longer composed poetry under the Turks. The klephtic ballads (folk-songs celebrating the exploits and ideals of the armed bands who took to the mountains to resist the Turks in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; cf. R. Beaton 1980: 102-111) are evidence of a flourishing oral poetry—but because on the whole the literate elements of Greek society under the Ottomans were not interested in this kind of literature.

Modern Cypriot, is labelled as dialect by the larger number of linguists. (Browning, (2nd ed.) 1969: 136). Others describe it as an 'intermediate linguistic form' (Kontosopoulos, N. 1981: 180), which is “neither a dialect nor an idiom”. Lastly, other scholars prefer to leave the term to the decision of the Cypriot speakers themselves: “The problem at this stage lies in deciding on the number of supporters that are needed before a claim for autonomy of a dialect is recognised” (Christodoulou-Pipis 1991: 36)

In Britain alone, according to figures provided by the Service of Overseas Cypriots in Nicosia, there were 235,000 Cypriots at the end of 1986. This is a very large number, considering the population of the island, which was approximately 685,000 in 1991 (Christodoulou-Pipis 1991: 9). Further, in England, Cypriot is regarded as a linguistic minority: “Three languages are involved within the Greek-Cypriot migrant community in England: English, Greek and Cypriot Greek dialect. Clearly, on one level there is distinction between national language -Greek- and dialect -Cypriot- and on a different level a distinction between majority language -English- and minority language -Cypriot or Greek. (Christodoulou-Pipis 1991: 34).

“The entire Greek-Cypriot community does not possess a uniform linguistic background according to social class, age and degree of education” says Christodoulou- Pipis (1991: 4) of the Cypriot community living in Britain. This could apply, to a lesser extent, to the Cypriot speech community of the island.

Chapter 2

1 Mas Latrie was a historian of the Lusignan (Frankish) period: Histoire de l’ Île de Chypre de la maison de Lusignan (Paris 1852-1861) in Alastos 1976:155.

2 Here are a few examples of agglutination:

Agglutination of a preposition with a demonstrative.
The preposition εἰς ‘at’, ‘to’, ‘in’ has been agglutinated with the deictic /τούτες/ ‘these’, and became one word (eis toutes= istoutes)

καὶ μέσα ηστούτες τες ταραχίες
καὶ μέσα εἰς τούτες τες ταραχίες

“and in (during) in-prep these-acc.pl the troubles-acc-pl

“and during these troubles”

καὶ τὰ ἀργίματα του εἰς Γενοβίσους
καὶ τὰ ἀργίματα τους Γενοβίσους

and the delays the-acc Genoese

“and (due to) the delays of the Genoese”

Negative particle δὲν and the verb επῆγαγεν (Imperfect of πηγαίνω ‘to go’ written επιγενέων), have agglutinated in one word, δενεπηγενεν. The word νιάς is an example of both haplology, agglutination and language contact; it may have derived from the loss of the syllable κα in initial position, that is, νιάς seems to be a reduction of either the word κανένας or κανεὶς, or probably from the words οὐδὲ κανεὶς (not even one) both words meaning nobody in Cypriot. It may also be a compound word from both French and Greek, from the agglutination of the French ni ‘neither, nor’ and the Greek word εἰς one.

νιάς δενεπηγενεν προς την Ῥόδον
κανεὶς δὲν επῆγαγεν προς την Ρόδον

nobody not go-progres to the Rhodes

“Nobody wished to go to Rhodes”

καὶ ἦλθεν ηστην κυπρον
καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς την Κύπρον

and came to the Cyprus

“and came to Cyprus”

Again, note above and below agglutination of the preposition εἰς with the article την, ηστην.

ηστην αμόχουστον
εἰς την Αμμόχουστον

in the Amhostostos-acc
"In Amohostos (Famagusta)"

Agglutination of the verb *εγύρεψεν* (from *γυρεύω*, 'to look for' and conjunct (*i*)*να* 'for, to' into the new form *εγυρέψεννα* and he tried to. The verb *_mpi* (an infinitive which has lost its final *ν* is also misspelt (*mpei*).)

\[
\begin{align*}
&{\text{kai } \varepsilon\gamma\varphi\varepsilon\varphi\varepsilon\varepsilon\nu} & \text{m}\mu\pi \\
&{\text{kai } \varepsilon\gamma\varphi\varepsilon\varphi\varepsilon\varepsilon\nu} & \nu & \mu\mu\pi\nu
\end{align*}
\]

and tried for/to enter-inf

"and he tried to enter"

Agglutination of adverbials and personal articles as in *μεσόντους*

\[
\begin{align*}
&{\text{μέσον \tauος}} \\
&{\text{between \ them}}
\end{align*}
\]

"between them (and he tried to interfere)"

As discussed by historian and translator Pavlides (1982), the new version of the Chronicle exposes corrections for the benefit of the readership. A number of words appear to be agglutinated in Pavlides. By agglutination it is not meant that Cypriot is an agglutinating language. However, it shows high occurrences of agglutination, suspected to be even higher in the MSS., had these been available for a closer study. The following is a particle and adjective agglutination:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\{\text{191}\} \varepsilon\rhoισεν \tauα \deltaελοιπά \text{ (δε λοιπά) ξύλα} \nuα \piαν \epsilonις \text{ την Αμόχουστον} \\
&\text{"he gave orders that the rest of the ship go to Amohostos"}
\end{align*}
\]

Articles agglutinate with adverbs, as seen next (*ο κάποτε*, ‘the once’); in agglutination, accentuation is used according to this medieval Cypriot form.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\{154\} \nuα \xiορίσουν\text{ από την Κύπρον τον σιρ Τζούναν Σασούν} \\
&\text{to expel (to throw out of Cyprus the-Sir Juan Sassoun the-once governor of Amohostos} \\
&\text{"to throw out of Cyprus Sir Juan Sassoun the former governor of Amohostos"}
\end{align*}
\]
Interesting examples of non-agglutination which appeared after the medieval period may be seen through some examples; the word Χριστούγεννα for Christmas was not agglutinated in the medieval period since we find its genitive as a {gen N} NP in {214} την ημέραν του Χριστού Christ-gen gen-nom-birth-gen ‘on the day of Christ’s birth, ‘on the birthday of Christ’ (on Christmas).

3 Cypriot has retained a good number of tonal pairs. Some exist in Standard Greek, such as: κατά (stressed) and κατά (unstressed) the first meaning against, structured with a genitive (κατά του κατηγορούμενου, against the accused) the latter meaning according to, around, (κατά το μεσημέρι, around noon-acc, κατά τα λεγόμενα του, according to his words, according to what he says), structured with an accusative.

In Cypriot, a greater number of tonal words (pairs, groups, tonal sets) have been maintained. I will here give an example with the word καλό, good. This word can be expressed both stressed or unstressed, stretched or unstretched etc, and bears a different meaning each time:

(1) καλόν(υ), agreeing totally to doing something, meaning ‘all right’, as in the French ‘bon’ (stressed, with last syllable stretched)
(2) καλό(υ), used as an adjective, good-neut (stressed, non-stretched last syllable)
(3) καλό no doubt about it, (more emphatic in meaning than (1), less stressed than (1)
(4) καλό, meaning in that case, as in the French ‘b(i)en alors’ no stress at all
(5) καλό, topic-reminder, used as a linking device to remind of a previous topic, it is a device which links reproaches, non-stressed as (4)
(6) καλό used ironically as a μορφολεκτικόν, a separate item, meaning ‘no kidding’, uttered usually with body language.
There exists a third homophonous τα, which precedes V(P)s and which takes the position of a relative pronoun and marks the beginning of a relative clause; it is the fusion of τα definite article, nominative plural and relative pronoun α, ancient relative pronoun, which, nominative plural, taken up fully in chapter 4.

Ancient Greek adverbials are in use at clause boundaries:

{451} καὶ εἰς τὸ ύστερον 'and lastly'

{512} ὥσ γοιον (ὡς οἶον) (as which) 'as'

{195} καὶ εἰς τοῦτον, 'and on that happening'

Adverbials used as narrative links, in expressions that do not seem to be of Greek origin are found:

{195} καὶ οτίς ὁ γε ἡμέρες, and in the back of three days, after three days

Adverbials borrowed from Latin-derived languages frequently show in the texts:

{631} να τὸν στρέβουν ὄνεστε, to return him in an honest way

{664} ὅπει εκράτειν τὴν αφεντίαν περφάρτζα, because he held the power by force

Other adverbials showing shift in meaning are determining factors to the understanding of word arrangements; an adverbial of degree that has become adverbial of time is found in the following example:

ὁσον meaning as much has as has become as soon as.

Dialectal forms as the following, found in other Greek dialects, are present:

{477} τῶτες 'then' (524) πάλε 'again' and {511} αφότερος 'from the time', instead of G τότε 'then', πάλι 'again' and αφότον, 'from the time, since'. More in chapter 4.

6 in Zerwick 1963, p.152-156


Chapter 3

1 Αλέξανδρος Αμύνταν ἐπεμφύεν εἰς Σάρδεις

Alexander Amyntas.masc.acc sent-3rd.sg. to Sardes

φρουρήσουτα τὴν ακρόπολιν

guarding.masc.acc.sg the acc.acropolis.fem.acc.sg

‘Alexander sent Amyntas to Sardes in order (for ( Amyntas)) to guard the acropolis’

2. Ἡ χρονικῇ μετοχῇ μπορεῖ να εκφέρεται και εμπρόθετα για να δοθεί ἐμφάση το πρωτερόχρονο, σύγχρονο και ύστερόχρονο...”

The participle of time can be uttered in the beginning of an utterance, to emphasise the ‘preceding the present time’ (past, anteriority), the
synchronic’ (present, simultaneity) and the ‘following the time’ (future, posteriority utterances...)

"When analysing the participle of time conjunctions cause, because and as should be used in utterances of before the time (past) (the participle is usually in the aorist). b) when, whenever, while, should be used, when the present tense is expressed (the participle is usually in the present tense). The future is rarely expressed with a participle".

As far as mood is concerned, whatever applies for adverbial (hypothetical) clauses applies for adverbial clauses of time. The indicative or the subjunctive are used. (Very rarely the optative (is used), particularly when the participle depends from an imperfect.)

3 According to their context, adverbial participles are clausal and are of the following types: participles of reason, of purpose, of hypothesis, of opposition, of time, of manner etc. Claims by Moschopoulou & Mavroidi (p. 176) on the AG participle of
time, include among other information that this participle can be placed in the beginning of an utterance, to emphasise the ‘preceding the time’ (past, anteriority), the ‘synchronic’ (present, simultaneity) and the ‘following the time’ (future, posteriority) utterances...)

“Η χρονική μετοχή μπορεί να εκφέρεται και εμπρόθετα για να δοθεί έμφαση το προτ ερόχρονο, σύγχρονο και υπερόχρονο...”

Adjectival participles agree in number and case and gender in the texts of the Chronicle. In this particular example though, the participle followed the example of the adverbials, through analogy (extension). This (levelled) adjectival participle has an unpredictable occurrence.

All V-onta non-finite verbs in the Chronica seem to have derived from verbs with -nt suffix, i.e. θυρ-ωντα (seeing), (αλ-ωντα (saying),etc. Zuntz, with his approach on -nt stem substantives supports the following position: Take the verb λύων - ‘to solve’, ‘to untie’. The stem of the present act.part. ends in-ντ preceded by the thematic vowel -ο, eg. λυωντ-. In the masc.nom.sing.the thematic vowel is lengthened: λύωντα(t). In the neut.nom.and acc.sing.the stem remains unchanged: λύουντα(t).

The V-onta non-finite morphology is from participles of this gender. The feminine of the participle of the verb λύω (to solve) is λύουσα. The feminine of all active participles was originally formed by adding to the stem the ending-ia (pronounced-ya), which is frequently used in Greek as an ending of adjectives and substantives. In the case of λύοντα(t), it became *λύοντ-α> *λύοντ-σα. then again, the -nt in *λύοντ-σα dropped out before this -s, with conditional lengthening which turned the short o into a long o, spelt ου: *λυοντσα> λυουσα. The declension of this participle is identical with that of nouns in -a. This information is useful for explaining later in the chapter the V-onta morphology.

Again, according to Zuntz (1994), philologists have reached a conclusion regarding the reasons for different forms of masc./neut. and fem. and that these were due to vowel gradation, to the presence originally of the vowel-consonnant u/w at the beggining of the participial ending, and to alterations of s/t at its ends (Zuntz 1994: 133).

More on the -nt suffix by Guiraud’s Grammaire du Grec, on the verb διδ-ω, participial o διδ-ων, (nom) tou διδουντ-ος (gen) suggests that

‘Le suffixe du participe -*nt s’ ajoute directement au radical dans διδοντ; dans la conjugaison thématique, il s’ajoute a la voyelle thématique, toujours de timbre o (en latin e). Phonetiquement, le t final tombe aux cas directs du neutre singulier et, au feminin, -*ontya aboutit a *-ουσα, (fausse diphtongue)’.
In addition to Zuntz’s and Guiraud’s references on the -nt stem participial forms, McKay’s reference on -nt stem substantives suggests that most of the words of this type (-nt types) are participles; his approach on the Greek participles (McKay 1974: 33) is an additional proof that the V-onta non-finite form is not obtained from the feminine of the -nt stem substantives.

5 More on these infinitives in chapter 4.

6 Contrarily to what is the general rule for verbs, the accent is not drawn back wherever possible. Thus, as in the example given by Zuntz (1994), the accent of the nom. and acc.neut.sing.pres.participle of κολόνως is κολόνων.

Accents on the participles are an important part of V-onta non-finites, since the spelling of the final /ολ preceding the -nt stem (whether it is ομικρόν omikron or ομέγα omega) depends on whether this is accentuated or not. Take the examples:

λέγ-οντες
λαλ-ώντες

7 Η μετοχή στα Ρωμαϊκά ειν’ είνα μέρος του λόγου, ’που στα εἰς-ω λήγουτα ρήματα είν’ άκλιτο και τριγενές:

γράφωντας: μ’όλον τούτο έχει χρόνον ενεστώτα ἢ παρατατικό, και διάθεσι ενεργη-
τική ἢ ουδέτερη.

Η μετοχή στα εἰς-μαί λήγουτα ρήματα έχει πτώσεις καὶ γένη τρία:

γραμμένος, γραμμένη, γραμμένο: καὶ μ’όλον που μπορεῖ να πει κανείς πως αυτά
έχουν ενεστώτα ἢ παρατατικό χρόνον, μ’όλον τούτο μοιάζουν παραπάνω επίθετα,
παρά μετοχαίς με χρόνον δια τούτο εἰς τὴν παθητική μετοχήν πρὸς επίτασιν ευν
νάφαμεν καὶ τὴν υπαρκτικήν: ὡςτας γραμμένος, ὡςτας γραμμένη, ὡςτας γραμμένο.

In Romaïka (Byzantine Greek), the participle is a part of the speech which is non-
declinable and can be used for all the three genders, for verbs ending in -ω γράφωντας: (grafondas/writing). Despite that, it does have a present and an imperfect tense and an active or neutral mood.

The participle of verbs in a -μαι ending has cases and three genders.

γραμμένος, γραμμένη, γραμμένο (written.masc.nom.sg, fem.nom.sg, neut.nom.sg) and albeit one might suggest that they do have a present and an imperfect tense although they look more like adjectives than like participles with tenses; that is why
in the passive, we included the existential form

ὡςτας γραμμένος, ὡςτας γραμμένη, ὡςτας γραμμένο being written-masc, fem, neut.

8 In Cornaros (1980), levelled -ας participles are quite numerous, although not as
numerous as the -μένος participles. Some examples from Erotokritos include

κατέχουτας (στ. 1955), ξετρέχουτας (μέρ.Β. στ. 739) etc.
Greek uses /s/ in the ending of the V-onta forms, without excluding the very limited use some V-onta forms. This needs to be explored further for the better understanding of the process by which these forms came to be treated and analysed:

Standard Greek

θυρώντ-ας (does not exclude the use of θυρώντ-α) seeing
θυρώντ-α seeing

Called also salience, focusing is discussed in chapter 4.

Beaudouin (1884) is the first to have traced a more general approach to the Cypriot verb.

His general notes on the MC verb include the following:

(i) Final n is preserved in every form in which it existed in Ancient Greek, for instance in the first person plural of the active voice: πώς μπορούμεν να το κάμουμεν τούτο (Sak., 142, 13) ‘how could we do this?’, αφήκαμεν τους εκείνους κει καλά κ’ ηύραμεν καλλήρα, (Sak., 168, 4) ‘we left them there in good health and we came here where we found even better’. It is additionally added in the third person singular ending in -ε or even quite often in -η of the passive aorist: ο γέρος αποκρίθην κ’ είπεν τού (Sak., 151, 20), ‘the old man replied and told him’, εβλάστησεν μια μηλιά, (Sak., 149, 25) ‘an apple tree sprung’, το παιδί εντύθην...αποκρίθην...ανακατώθην (Sak., 162, 28) ‘the young boy was dressed...replied... got mixed up’. All these examples are taken from Beaudouin’s work (Beaudouin 1884: 77). Beaudouin comments on a number of exceptions of -ήν becoming -ή in the Chronicle due, as he suggests, to the fact that this occurs when -ήν precedes conjunct να (i.e.) (to) in complement clauses. However, this is a mere matter of economy, where in all instances of final-to-initial n the first is deleted.

(ii) The third person plural in all tenses and in all moods of the active voice takes a final -αυν, as was the Ancient Greek form which, according to Beaudouin, was an old extension in analogy with historical times (Past tenses), as in λέγουσιν and εφέρασιν ‘they say’, ‘they brought’. The forms -ουν, and -αν (3rd plural) are not the true Cypriot forms (p.77), however they are the more frequent.

(iii) the third person singular (in historical times, that is in the Past tenses) of the medio-passive ends in -τον, with change of ο to ου, and with the addition of final -ν, called ‘paragogique’ by Beaudouin. Examples: επιτρίετον (Sak. 139, 13) ‘he was feeling hot (or it was being heated), ἐρκετον (Sak., 154)

So we have 3rd person singular -τον, as in εχαίρετον (M. 344) and ούνταν (6) εφοβούνταν, etc.
Future tense is formed with θέλω, however we find θενά μπουν (M 285); another future form described by Beaudouin is the Chronicle’s θέλεις μείνεις,
(note in this particular example that the infinitive is not used after the future marker θέλω).

(iv) The subjunctive has the same endings as the present of the indicative mood, added to the root of the present or the aorist. Passive aorist observes Beaudouin, has the same endings as active subjunctive.

(vi) The passive imperative of the aorist is σου and θητι instead of σου, of the commun language, and it also serves for the present tense which is used in a limited way, πλάθου, λυπήου and λυπήχου (θ becoming χ) and in the medieval times διασώθου (M. 284, 22), βλεπήθου (M.315, 22), etc.

(vii) The present participle ends in -ωντα and rarely ωντα for baryton verbs, as well as ωντα and εύντα for contracted verbs. This form is derived from the accusative singular, as do substantives of the old third declension; the s that should have been added exists in the spoken language. The active form is used even for verbs in the mediopassive as ευρίσκοντα= ευρισκόμενος (M.58, 3). Participles are often used in the genitive, particularly absolute participles as in ελθόντος μου (M. 257, 3 and in quotes form the Bible βοηθώντος του θεοῦ (M. 66, 15) etc.

(viii) Mediopassive verbs are formed with the -μαστεν, -μεστεν ending, for the 1st person plural of the Present tense and the Imperfect and another Cypriot form the -μαστον, as well as -σαστον, for the 2nd person plural in the Imperfect.

(ix) The infinitive is still largely in use, particularly in the Assises, το πειν τους φιλόσοφους (M. 225, 15), το φαιν και το πγειν της (M.129, 3) etc. We meet the optative in the Assizes in the verbs ποίσοι (ποίσοι) and ορίσοι in the phrases μη το ποίσοι ο θεός (A.53, 26), μη το ορίσοι ο θεός (A.68, 3 and pass.).

Optative ending -οι is found only in the Assizes.
The subjunctive is distinguished by the -η ending. These are most of Beaudouin’s discussions on the MC finite verb.

General discussion on verb inflection: For full appreciation of the meaning it is essential to observe the way in which Greek writers, and in this case Makhairas, used the various forms of the verb system. Greek writers used various forms in different contexts. Thus, word for word correspondences between the Greek verbal system and other languages’ verbal forms i.e. between Ancient Greek Medieval Cypriot and English are rarely possible.

Some examples below show the MC verb morphology in correspondence to the SGr morphology.

The Present of the Indicative often presents syllabic augments:
yet badly can the-people easily to judge the-self their
"Yet, people can easily judge themselves in a bad way"

-η is just another prefix for the Imperfect, as shown from the verb in {200} ημπορέ where η- is an augment. Also in {91}, next, it also appears as an augment in the Present:

{91} Και δεν ημπορώ να γράψω την πλουσιότηταν την είχαν

And not can-1st.sg to write the wealth which had-3pl

"And I cannot describe the wealth they had"

It is evident that η-syllabic augment appears when problems of assimilation emerge.
In cases where final ν precedes a consonantal cluster, particularly in negative clauses involving δεν + V, as in δεν μπορώ (ν + μπ), ν may be maintained and a syllabic augment is slotted in between the ν and the cluster, en ημπορώ. The same thing happens with the διπλά γράμματα as with εξ and ψ, i.e. en ηξέρω (δεν ξέρω, 'I don’t know'), and en ψήφηται (δεν φήνεται, it doesn’t get cooked). However, ν may disappear in cases where assimilation is possible in Greek, as in ν+ κρατώ, as is the case with εν (γ)κρατώ, although even is such cases it is still possible for a syllabic augment to be in use in Cypriot, en ηκρατεί μπακάραν (δεν κρατεί μπακάρα= δεκάρα, s/he has not even a penny, s/he is broke).

Also, the infinitive appears with an augment in {255}:

και ο λόγος θέλει εβγείν είς όλην την οικουμένην

and the word will come out in all the universe

"and every one in this world will know about it"

The verb είμαι ‘to be’ exhibits a different morphology in almost all of its uses. It appears as an irregular verb, displaying the unlimited creativity of its users. Irregular είμαι ‘to be’ is found in its usual form είμαι {50} ‘I am’ είσαι ‘you are-2nd.pl’ is also found in {288} ήταν {103} used side by side with ετον in {114} as well as in {210} ετον χωσμένοι, for ήταν χωσμένοι (G ήταν κρυμμένοι) ‘they were hidden’.

Otherwise, many forms of είναι (3rd person singular of είμαι) appear as in έιν (for είναι, ‘it is’) in {123, 181, 504 } found also as είνε {112}, as ‘νε in {107}
Also found as ἐν in {126} and in {107} and as ἤπε in {111, 124, 154}.

ὁ(ὐ)δὲν ’νε πράμαν τοῦτον, also found as ’νε in {126} and in {107} and as ἤπε in {111, 124, 154}, ἤτοι ’s/he, it was’ {103, 112}, found as ἐτοῦ {210}, ἐνε ’s/he, it is’ is used instead of εἶναι in {240}, εἴμεστεν ’we are’ {256} is found as {264} ἡμεστεν, {272} ἡμεσθεν, {269} εἴμεσθεν; three different types of ’we are’ is found in {302}, εἴμεσθεν, εἴμεστεν and ἡμεσθεν.

Here are some examples of the 1st person plural εἴμαστε appearing in the following forms: {256}, {302} εἴμεστεν, {302} ἡμεστεν, {269} εἴμεσθεν instead of εἴμαστε and also εἴμεσταν in {225}. (The form εἴμαστον for εἴμαστε is also used in some villages of Cyprus today, especially in the Paphos region.)

The form ἤπαν for ἤταν {103} is a form maintained in the G language until our days. However, some υποθετικοί τύποι (forms of hypothesis) such as in {258} ἢτο να σας εἴπουν, ’if were (I) to you tell-past. (if I were to tell you’ periphrastic ἢτο να is used with a different tense εἴπουν (aorist) compared to the same Greek forms which use Imperfect ἢν ἤταν να σας ἔλεγα’.

Confusion often exists between SGr αναφέρομαι ’I refer to’, 1st person singular, in the mediopassive, and αναφέρομεν ‘to mention’, 2nd person plural, of the active voice of the verb αναφέρω ’I report, (also) I mention’ (a form used instead of the archaic αναφερόμεθα), {101}.

The Aorist often appears with misused suffixes. In the next example the 2nd person plural -ατε (εφέρατε) appears as -ετε.

(509) διὰ παρβουλίαν μας εφέρετε ’you brought us here for treason’

(225) the historical present used with the aorist as is the case in {225}, σηκώνεται καὶ ἐδώκεν του δύο φούσκες literally he stands up and gave him two slaps, ’he stood up and slapped him twice’.

In {213} the use of και as a complementiser instead of να (conjunct) triggers imperfect as in επήραν και εμπλάζουν for επήραν να εμπλάσουν.

(390) καθούμεθαν instead of καθούμεθα or καθόμασταν

(401) παραδιδούμεθαν and παραδιδούμεν instead of παραδιδόμεθα or παραδιδόμασταν

(506) χρηζούμεθαν instead of χρηζόμεθα or χρηζούμασταν

No table displaying a more complete morphology of the Imperfect is given here, as this would require a more extensive comparison with the known Greek grammatical rules. Here are some examples of the Imperfect, where the ε-α, ε-ες, ε-εν, ε-αμεν, ε-ετε, ε-ασιν (and -αν) of the active and the ε-ομουν, ε-ουσουν, ε-τουν (ουταν), ε-ούμαστεν (ούμαστον), ε-ούσαστεν (ούσαστον), ε-ουταν (ουτο) and ο-ον are found. After each verb, older (where possible)
and contemporary forms of the same verb are given (where possible). For some MC verbs, especially for loan words, I haven’t given a corresponding form, either in the previous forms of Greek or in SGr.

Here are some examples of the MC Imperfect:

- **{9} efoboúntaν** they were afraid (εφοβούντο, εφοβόντουσαν) **{101} εδυναστείγαν** they forced their power to them’, (εδυνάστευν, δυναστείαν) **{108} εννοιάζετον** he was worried (εννοιάζετο, νοιάζόταν) **{113} εκατασφύγκαν** they were tightening up (attack), (εκατάσφυγκα, κατάσφυγκα), **{101} εγίνετον** it was happening (εγίνετο, εγινόταν) **{129} δεν ήταν κοιντέντος** he was not satisfied (ήτο, ήταν) **{130} επορεύγετον** he was going (επορεύτο, επορεύνταν) **{146}, {150} επολεμίζαν** they were fighting (επολεμούσαν, πολεμούσαν) **{172} εμεινίσκαν** they were staying (έμειναν, μέναν), **{200} ημπόρε he could** (μπορούσε) **{225} εμπόδιζεν** he was preventing from (εμπόδίζειν, μπόδιζε) εκολάκευεν he was flattering (κολάκευε) **{213} εχρήζετον** he was in need, (εχρήζετο, χρήζοταν) **{234} ετυράνζεν** he was making( them) suffer, (τυράνζε, τυρανούσε) **{240} εμπόρεν he could** (μπορούσε) **{251} ανάγκαζαν** they obliged (them) (αναγκάζον, ανάγκαζαν) **{283} ευρίσκονταν** they were (ευρίσκοντο, βρίσκονταν) **{284} έρκετον** he was coming (έρχετο, ερχόταν) **{317} εκράτεν** a verb that is both transitive ‘to hold’ and intransitive ‘to rule’, (κρατούσε) **{61} εβλέπετον** he was being watched, he was being careful, (βλέποταν) **{87} εκουβερνιάζονταν** they were governed (loan word) **{87} επέντα, they were sending** (έπημπαν, πέμπαν) **{96} εσημάνισε he was ringing the bell** ((ε)σήμαινε) **{99} εγένοντο they were happening** (γίνονταν) **{336} εκουπρόσηγαν** they were plundering (εκουφράσεαν) **{346} εγίνοντα they were happening (γίνοντα) **{355} εχαρανίσκεν** she was (Leonor) accusing (εβάραινε) **{434} εσημαίνονταν** they were mixing together, (ασημαίονταν) **{439} εδιαφέρετον** he was defending (εκουφράλεεν) **{444} εκατάραλεν** he was carrying (καταραλούσε) **{444} εφοιμακείζαν** they were piercing them with a fork, **{458} επήγανεν** he was going (πήγαινε, 466) εστρέφοντα 'they were coming' (στρέφοντα) **{475} κόρδανεν** he was stretching his cord, (loan word) **{483} εμακελέυεγονταν** they were butchering each other, (loan word) (μακελευόντουσαν) **{197} άργε it was becoming late** (άργε and ἄργον) **{225} είμεσταν** we were (ήμεσταν) , **{243} εμπόρεν** he or she could (μπορούσε) **{260} εβλέπετον** rarely in the mediopassive meaning he was being careful, **{283} εφάρευγεν** (291) εθυμούνταν. Imperfect
It is not difficult to see έμε as a word conveying this meaning, since the same word in Greek Παναγία literally ‘the Saint of all the Saints’ is being used today in similar wishes Παναγία μου να’ ρτεί πίσω ‘my Virgin Mary-wish to come back’, ‘(wish) s/he comes back’. The word extended its meaning and became a wishing index (wi) έμε (through desemanticisation). The word έμε meaning ‘dame, noble woman, chevalière’ is used as a NP in MC with the same form. The NP is also found in the genitive as τάμου ‘of the lady’ 

και ενέβην εις το κελλίν της τάμου Τζουανας λ’ Αλεμάν “and he went upstairs to the cell of lady Juana l’ Allemand”. Wish index να is noticed as an optative expression through what seems to be a shorter version of μακάρι να ‘I wish it happens’ (found in both SGr and MoC) where μακάρι (from the word μακάριος, ‘blessed’) is elliptical.

In MC it appears as an adverb πρέπαμενα in {102}, και επερλάβαν τον πρεπάμενα, ‘and they received him in they way they ought to (as he deserved to be received)’ also in {207} εδεκτήσαν τον πολλά πρεπάμενα ‘they received him very well’. The same word is used in MoC as a participle which bears the same form. Apart from auxiliary πρέπει, MoC has expressions πρέπει μου, πρέπει σου, πρέπει του etc, as in τούν το φούστάνιν πρέπει σου ‘this dress suits you’, and πρέπει σου έναν καλόν μάθημαν ‘you deserve a good lesson, to be told off’, only found in the 3rd person singular and plural (πρέπουν σου τα χρυσαφικά ‘gold suites you’).

The different use of augment (in the preposition instead of the compounding verb as in {142} ενεφάνεν instead of ανεφάνην {114} επαρκαλήσαν is found to appear with the augment before the preposition παρά- in the verb παρακαλώ (παρά + καλώ) frequently appearing in G also.

Augments before or after the preposition in compound verbs which bear a preposition is breached also by SGr speakers today.

Different augment examples include:

{513} ακομή έρισεν o ρήγας ‘yet, the King ordered’, instead of έρισεν

Some verbs appear without an augment, where there should be one:

{114} προσέχτην τούς ‘he received them (well)’

φελώ εφώλέσα are the MC for standard forms for οφελώ-present, ωφέλησα-past ‘to do good’. Also, {505} φόρησεν (‘instead of εφόρησεν) ‘s/he wore’
Augments are also found in the present tense:

{509} αμμέ καλά εμπορεί να το ποίσει
   but well he can to it make
   "but he may well do it"

17 Note for instance the past of the G verb πεζεύω (C apεζεύω ‘to dismount a horse’, ‘to become a πεζός, to be a pedestrian’ as in {150} απέζευσαν ‘they dismounted’: α seems to be a part of the verb and not an augment in πεζεύω, similarly in {187}, ανάφανεν ‘it appeared’, existing α does not require a further augment. Therefore in loan word as αρεστίασεν ‘he arrested’, existing α has been taken as an augment. However, the loan word εκοινωντιάστην (translated by Pavlides as ‘he was informed’) is ‘he was contented’; this loan verb bears an augment (possible verb in the passive κοινωντιάζομαι ‘to be contented’, passive aorist εκοινωντιάστην).

{185} Και άντεν επήρεν τες γραφές ο σουλτάνος και εκοινωντιάστην και το αρμάτωμαν της δύσις εξώλωθην
   And when took the letters the Sultan and was contented that the army of the west was (undone) destroyed
   “And when the Sultan received the letters and was happy that the army of the west had dispersed”

18{130} ηεεύρετε know-you, imper.2nd.pl.
{505} έπαρε το θέλεις ‘take-you, imper.2nd.sing. what you want’; {512} έπαρε ‘take’,
{575} ε-πάρτε τους φονιάδες ‘take the murderers’. The augment in the Imperative mood is also a phenomenon of MoC

Imperative continuous are present in the texts.
{508} βλέπε ‘keep watching’
Archaic imperatives appear often:
{508} διασώσον ‘save yourself’
σ-less and ζ-less imperatives δέτε instead of δέστε, however some imperatives follow the Greek rules: δος μου τα ρούχα του κοπέλλου σου ‘give me the clothes of your lad’
Asyndetic double imperatives are frequently used:
{93} πέψε φέρε literally ‘send bring’, instead of πέψε να φέρεις ‘send to bring’, which is the standard way.
Double imperatives are seen in examples {293} αμέτε ποίσετε 'go-2nd.pl make(do)-2nd.pl "go and do" and {417} πέψετε φέρετε "send-2nd.pl bring-2nd.pl send and bring" (Asyndetic imperatives are also found in MoC.) Nominalised imperatives {291} το ἑλα τους 'their coming' are abundant in the texts.

Chapter 4

1 The case of spoken versus written language is vast and involves for and against arguments whether the sentence is a unit in spoken texts or whether it is regarded as an analytical unit in accounts for spoken language. (Halliday 1989), (Quirk et al. 1985), (Wackernagel-Jolles 1971, in Miller’s 2000 ALI paper), (Halford, G. 1990, cited in Miller 2000). Intuitions on sentence(s) (boundaries) in written or spoken language vary. Wackernagel-Jolles (1971: 148-69, cited in Miller 2000) for instance demonstrate that speakers do not share intuitions about what counts as a sentence in spoken language. Halford argues against an analysis of spoken syntax in terms of written language sentences. Note that some languages i.e. German do not have the exact equivalent of the distinction sentence and clause (Miller, J. and R. Weinert, 1998: 36). Consider the notion of independent communicative function by Jäger (1976, in Miller (1998), which includes units which do not correspond to complete clauses or sentences on the basis that otherwise much of spoken language would remain uncategorized. In this work, we will not classify MC into one or the other category (written or spoken) although we are trying to class sentences or clauses of written and spoken material as one.

2 Greenberg’s Universal

3 Greenberg’s Universals (1963): SVO and SOV languages make more than the 85% of the world’s languages. According to a classification by Greenberg in his 1963 study, Greek complies with most of the SVO languages characteristics. Subjects in basic structures are mostly in initial position, they are followed by the verb, Objects are in final position, adjectives mainly precede Nouns, articles and pronouns precede independent constituents.

4 Examples by Comrie (1989):

Hasan okuzu aldi (Turkish: SOV)
Hasan ox-Acc bought
'Hasan bought the ox'

(2) The farmer killed the duckling(English: SVO)
Basic is a term given to the order of the constituents of a language which are mostly unmarked or more frequent, or more common. When linguists speak of basic word order they may understand most neutral word order, most common word order, underlying word order (Langacker, 1977). Hawkins (1983) takes basic word order as that which is absolutely more frequent, grammatically most frequent and he takes semantic equivalence in order to make a cross-linguistic comparison. Mallinson and Blake say that basic word order is that, which occurs in stylistically neutral indicative clauses with definite direct arguments.

6 Ἐχει ήδη τονιστεί ότι η αλλαγή της σειράς των όρων στη Νέα Ελληνική χρησιμοποιείται για την ανάδειξη της πληροφορικής αξίας των όρων της πρότασης. Αυτό υπονοεί ότι η σειρά των όρων δεν συνδέεται με τη συντακτική λειτουργία (υποκείμενο, αντικείμενο κ.ά.), όπως συμβαίνει με άλλες γλώσσες. (Κλαίρης και Μπαμπινιώτης 1999: 312) 'It has already been stressed that, in Modern Greek, word order change is used to underline (promote) the communicative value of constituents in the clause. This denotes that word order is independent of the function of syntax (in the language) (subject, object etc), as is the case with other languages (Klairis and Babiniotis 1999: 132)

7 Διονύσιος ο Αλκαρνασσεύς

8 Syntactic work on MGr is scanty.

9 The translation of καταχερός by Pavlides is not very clear

10 The term Discourse Topic has also been presented by Dik (1989) and refers to entities ‘about which a certain discourse imparts information’, (Dik, 1989: 267)

11 Concerning clitic position, see Mackridge (1993) and Pappas (1999)

12 Note that genitive plural is replaced by an accusative in Cypriot. See chapter 3 for details
13 S is found only in the V. MS., in footnote 7, Pavlides (1982)
14 It has been argued that “in general, the object of a transitive clause is syntactically and semantically more tightly bound to the verb than is the subject of a transitive clause”, in Tomlin (1986: 73). From the same authors it has been discussed that “in transitive clauses it is more difficult to interfere with the syntactic juxtaposition and semantic unity of the verb and object than is to interfere with that of the verb and subject”; (see McCawley 1972, on the same issue).
15 The verb παίρνω has both the meaning of take, bring and buy in G. In this context it means ‘to bring’.
16 Kehagioglou (1997) comments on IO in Boustronios are not so clear as to the order of IO and O in relation to each other.
17 Verb επηράν is on the third person plural by mistake; it should have been επήρευ το. Pavlides has corrected it in the translation.
18 The word is in only found in the V. MS.
19 A similar reanalysis phenomenon happened in French (Harris and Campbell 1995: 289). The expression par ce que originally consisted of the preposition par ‘by’ the pronoun ce ‘this, that’ and the general complementiser que. Par ce was a constituent of the matrix clause and que the complementiser. The whole prepositional phrase, including the embedded clause, was reinterpreted as an adverbial clause with par ce que reanalysed with a complementiser with the meaning of “because” (Schlieben-Lange 1989, in Harris and Campbell). MC το να, has reanalysed as did French ce que . There has been reduction of levels of structure in Cypriot, as was the case with par ce que. (G expression με το να meaning adverbial ‘by’ as in με το να ἐλθει δε(ν) λύνεται καμία κατάστασι ‘by him (or her) coming no situation is solved’ shows the same reanalysis phenomenon.)
20 A restrictive relative clause is a clause which gives identifying information about the noun phrase it modifies, whereas a nonrestrictive relative clause is a clause that gives additional but unnecessary information about the noun phrase it modifies. A large number of relative clauses in the Chronicle are used as adjectives and modify nouns or noun phrases.

Chapter 5

1 Some of the following examples may provide an introductory note to the notion of ‘an additional consonant adding a whole new meaning to a word’:
(1) Πέφτη Cypriot for Πέμπτη ‘Thursday’ ππέφτει ‘s/he is falling’, ‘s/he is lying down’ (having a nap)
(2) βουνό(ν) ‘mountain’ and βουνώ ‘to pile up’, ‘to throw aside’
(3) μήλα 'apples' and μίλλα 'fat, lard'. Semantic opposition between μήλα apples and μίλλα imperative of μιλ-ων 'to speak' in Greek may also be noted in Cypriot, although the Cypriot form μιλ-ηνκε for the imperative of μιλω is more colloquial.

(4) πύτα 'imperative of AG verb πυτο ω 'to squeeze away', and πίττα 'pie'

(5) πουλέττα 'MC for 'written permission' see also Yiangoullis on this word, and πουλλέττα (μου), (still in use for) my chicken, or 'my dear' (when addressing a beloved person).

(6) ούλα 'gums' (also ούλη 'gums') ούλα and ούλλαι for 'all' (neut. masc.plural)

(7) note also expression ούλα που 'as if' as in ούλα που να παίθκιωσα 'as if I became younger' compared to ούλλα που 'all (this) which', 'all (this) that'

(8) άλας 'salt' and άλλας an older form of άλλες other(s) (this used to be a pair of semantic opposition in previous times).

(9) κότα a more recent Greek version of 'chicken' (in C it is mostly used as όρνιθα and πουλλίν, but κότα may also be used) and κόττα from C verb κοττώ 'to give something in someone’s hand, (for money mainly).

(10) κήτος 'monster', 'whale' and κύττος from Turk. git 'pebble' extended to 'worthless'.

(11) κέλλα from Lat. ‘cave’ or ‘cavern for wine (cellar)’ and κκέλλα from Turk. ‘big head’. (Also see Yiangoullis for these two words.)

(12) πολά 'it springs up, it shoots' imperative of πολώ 'to shoot, to spring up' (of plants) and πολλά adjective ‘many’ and adverb ‘much’.

Similarly to (12) we have (13) κάλος for 'beauty' and κάλλος 'horn, callous' and (14) κόμαν for 'yet, additionally' with apocope of word (α)κόμα 'yet' and κόμμαν for 'cutting, political party, comma'

Note also the presence of double consonants in assimilation (final ν of verbs 3rd singular or plural creating semantic opposition in moods:

ηύρεν μου το=ηύρεμ μου το (aorist) =’s/he found it for me (ivre (m) mou to)
and ηύρε μου το (imperative with augment) = find it for me (ivre ( ) mou to)

Most suffixes are derived from earlier Greek sources but some are from other sources.

2 In Makhairas we see loan words such as βαλέντε for 'brave', κρουδέλ for 'cruel', τάμε for 'dame, lady' which retained the forms from their relative borrowing languages. Cypriot does not integrate non-Greek affixes onto its Greek-root words.

To give an example, I will present here the inferential Cypriot marker μίσι μου ((I here use σι for sh {ʃ}, a borrowed element from Turkish. Inferential Cypriot ‘mishi mou’ is used in inferential clauses in which inferences are reported. Lewis (1967: 122) quoted in Shopen (I) (1990:169): “Turkish has special inferential paradigms for
the verb 'to be', plus a past inferential affix for other verbs. The Turkish inferential is also used as a quotative/reportive; the mis-past 'conveys that the information it gives is based either on hearsay or on inference from observed facts, but not on the speaker's having seen the action take place' as seen in the Turkish example below.

Evde miyimishim
house (LOC) Q-miş-1sg

“Am I said to be at home?”

Inferential mish is only used in Cypriot (not in G) and has created Cypriot inferential mışi mou from the fusion of mish and im (Turkish for 1st.sg used also for mou in C) and it is also used in the first person singular independently of the verb, replacing the other independently used G inferential δήθεν meaning ‘so to say, in appearance only’, similar to the French ‘soi-disant’. Cypriot mışi mou goes beyond the meaning it conveys in Turkish by also stating that what has been said is being debated or not believed. Examples below show the use of mışi (mish), mışi (mishi) or mışi mou (double consonant mishshi mou) in MoC:

eípen mou poš mışi mou to spítnin tou agóraseν to ekaτó sýmíaes
he said to me that mishi mou the house his bought it hundred thousand

“he told me that he bought his house for a hundred thousand, but I find it hard to believe”

The same inferential is also used (pronounced) as ‘mish’ or ‘imish’. It is usually used with complementiser poš, either preceding or following it, but it can also be used with other complementiser as ὁτι and να:

eν ἠρτεν, μισι μου poš aρρώστησεν
did not come mish mou that he was sick

“he did not come, saying that he was sick (but I don't believe it, I gracefully doubt it)”

mışi mου eν να peθάνει α(δ) δεν τον δει
she infers she will die if she doesn’t see him (but can you believe that?)

mışi mου ὁτι eν mου to eípen tseînη
she infers she wasn’t the one who told me that (but I know well she did tell me)

Cypriot may agglutinate affixes only when they derive from the language it affiliates with, Greek. A good example is exemplified here through the well-known AG particle τε, agglutinated in MoC today only with the 1st person plural, mainly but not exclusively in the aorist, and it is still in use in many parts of the island.

επήμενε του λαλεῖς στο(γ) γιατρόν
went-1st.pl-τε (as you say) well to the doctor
“well, we went to the doctor’s”

eἰδαμενε ταστα αρχαία
“we saw the old sites too”

πάμενε τωρά
"let's go now"

Apart from the many examples of τε used for ‘de’ preceding proper nouns in the titles of Frankish nobility in Makhairas, τε barely makes its appearance, except through a single example in the whole work, in {596}, where it does not seem to be the same bleached τε as the one in question (and reference); it is neither agglutinated to a verb, at least not as it appears in the newer version of the texts, nor is it following a verb, it rather has the meaning of ‘even’:

{596} καὶ τινὰς δὲν ξέρει πῶς εἶναι οὐδὲ οἱ κτίστες οὐδὲ πρωτομαστόροι
and none not knows how is neither the builders nor the master builders
καὶ τε εἰς το κάτζμον της πρώτης πέτρας
not even to the laying of the first stone
“And nobody knows how this is, neither the (brick) layers nor the master builders, not even when the first stone had been laid”

It is therefore difficult to understand some of the phenomena, such as where τε meaning also ‘and’ in archaic times (and today) has not been frequently used in the Chronicle.

3 The meaning of the word τατάς, found in the Chronicle in {505} with an indefinite article, may be well debated, as Yiangoullis (1997) suggests it as a form of the word
πατέρας, uttered by children as τατάς. Hadjioannou (1991) also suggests the same. Makhairas writes in {505} κ’ εκεί ήταν ένας του τατάς όπου τον εβάπτισεν ‘and there, there was one of his god fathers that christened him’, which according to Yiangoullis’ explanation would be ‘one of his fathers’ Possessive του after the indefinite article ἐνας denotes in Greek ‘one of the many’ (ἐνας του γιος ‘one of his sons’). Again, in the same paragraph, Makhairas continues: Τότε εἶπεν τοῦ τατᾶ, ἀφέντη, εγώ θέλω να πάγω να δω τοὺς λας μου ‘then he said to the god father, master, I want to go to see my people’.

As observed here, there is no possessive in this clause, i.e. εἶπεν τοῦ τατᾶ του, ‘he told his godfather’. Either Makhairas (or the copyist) have used an indefinite article instead of a definite, an assumption that cannot stand due to the second clause also treating τατᾶς without a possessive, or there was more than one godfather for each child in bygone years. I heard this from my grand-mother as well as from old Cypriots who now live in Melbourne. Τατᾶς is used today for godfather in Cyprus and, as most of us know, it is a Slavic word for ‘father’, more particularly Ukrainian, meaning that there may have been a greater cultural and religious link between Slavs and Cypriots on the island, than what may be imagined. The same applies for νούννα, Cypriot for ‘godmother’ which seems to be a dialectal form of Italian nonna, ‘grand mother’. Grandmothers christened their grandchildren in older times, we know it is still happening in some Catholic environments and may have well passed to Orthodox Cypriots. The meaning (and role) of ‘grandmother’ extends thus to ‘godmother’.

Kinship and address are essential in the way we view societies, and consequently culture and language. Similar observations apply for other words such as κουμέρα, a Cypriot word for the G κουμπάρα, feminine of κουμπάρος, ‘best man’ or ‘the person who christened one’s child. Cypriot word κουμέρα is a loan-word from French, ‘commère’ (from where the word commerage ‘gossip’ derives). While one’s child call(ed) their godfather or godmother τατά(ς) (Slavic) and νούννα (Italian), the parents call(ed) this person κουμπάρο (Italian), (male) and κουμέρα (French, (female).

But as much as we may understand the Italian and the French cultural interference in Cyprus we may wonder, why Slavic. History speaks of such contact, firstly through the years in Kyzikos (Justinianoupolis in the 7th century AD) or the presence of the Slavs in Asia Minor, many of which may have migrated to Cyprus; also Bulgarians came to help the Cypriot Kings against the Genoese etc, and all of them shared the same religion. Cypriot names Γιάγκος for John and Ελέγκο, for Helen, only rarely heard today are most probably Slavic as in Yianko and Helena.
Cypriot words such as τατάς, νούννα and κουμέρα excite one’s curiosity as to what degree the ξένοι foreigners had merged with Cypriots in older days. Details of the kind may unveil additional aspects of the social life in medieval Cyprus, and consequently uncover links of contact, assumed to be limited or weaker. Realistic approaches such as these may also open the way to understanding syntactic borrowing.

We read from Chevalier (cited in Chatzisavas (1998: 221)):

"Léontios Machairas a composé son texte à Chypre sous la domination des souverains francs". ‘Leontios Makhairas composed his text(s) in Cyprus, under the dominion of the Frankish rulers’. “Ce texte nous apporte un témoignage unique de l’état de la langue chypriote au moyen-âge”, ‘this text provides us a unique testimony of the condition of the Cypriot language in the Middle Ages’.

Among other suggestions, Chevalier offers a closer look at (French) expressions and sayings in Makhairas: “Bilingue et biculturel si l’on en juge par son oeuvre, il maîtrisait si bien la langue française qu’il en connaissait des tournures particulières, les proverbes et les dictons”. A bilingual and a bicultural, if we may judge by his work, he (Makhairas) mastered the French language so well that he knew its particular expressions, (its) proverbs and sayings.

Take for instance the usual expression of the town cryer (le crieur public) known in all the towns of France as well as in Cyprus. He would start his proclamation as μηδεν ήνε κανένας απότορμος that is to say ‘that no one has the audacity to...’ This is a Frankish expression calqued from Old French, suggests Chevalier (1998: 225), from the well-known “que personne ne fusse sy herdi...”, meaning the same as above. It is a formula that we find in the Assises of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and in all the official documents.

Such expressions are abundant in Makhairas; another example would be ἀμε στην καλήν ώραν literally ‘go to the good hour’, Chevalier (1998: 225), expressing the same meaning as in the French ‘A la bonne heure’. Chevalier discusses among other things the following French saying, rendered in Medieval Cypriot through κάλλιον φίλος εἰς τὴν στράταν παρά λογάρην εἰς τὴν ζωήν, literally meaning ‘better a friend in the street than money in life’, giving exactly what the French saying says ‘mieux vaut un ami sur la route que de l’ argent dans sa vie’. Chevalier continues: “On reconnaît ici un vieux proverbe franc qui existe dans le Roman de la Rose”. We recognise here an old Frankish proverb which exists in the Roman de la Rose (1998: 226).
Take also στο καλό; this expression “qui se refère au voyage, n’a pas son equivalent en français. Elle (l’expression) est habituellement traduite par l’expression ‘Bon voyage’, ou ironiquement ‘Va-t-en’ (19). That is to say, Makhairas, as suggested by Chevalier, may use a particular expression both in the Greek way and often same expression in the French context. The expression στο καλό has been translated by Makhairas in instances where it may have meant Va-t-en ‘Go away’.

Apart from Chevalier’s notes, let me also add a few more gallicisms found in Makhairas. These have been carefully chosen here, since some may be merely Cypriot, or may appear to contemporary Cypriots as their own. The following example, although resembling a French expression, has been recorded here as a Cypriot expression. The French expression ‘j’ai mal au coeur’, ‘literally ‘I have pain in my heart’ meaning ‘it pains me, it hurts me’ could also be taken for French here with πονά με τη καρδία μου, ‘I have an upset stomach’ if not explained in the Cypriot context. In fact it sounds perfectly Cypriot; Καρδία ‘heart’ in Cypriot (even today) figuratively means ‘stomach, belly’ and this expression is used in the Cypriot context in the Chronicle, as the person could not go on the ship because he was sea-sick:

{369} επόνεν τον τη καρδία του

hurt him the heart him

“he got an upset stomach”

Hence, ‘j’ai mal au coeur’ meaning ‘it hurts me’ is an ambiguous expression being explained in both the French and Cypriot contexts. The word ‘hence’ used in the preceding clause reminds of the French ‘ainsi’ and the Greek ἐτσι, pronounce ἦτζου in MC. It was a surprise to find that Andriotis has seen this word as deriving from Greek as it would appear that ‘hence’ and ‘ainsi’ and ‘ήτζου’ are cognates. (In his Σύμμεικτα, Andriotis (1960) has also discussed the Cypriot clefts and recognised them as Greek structures, although they are purely borrowed structures from French. The Cypriot clefts have not been discussed in this work.)

From the examples that have survived, gallicisms may also be seen in syntax, mainly through locutions and proverbs. Locutions, created with words and French expressions are present in the whole document, such as situations related in {265} η καβαλλαρία ‘la chevalière’ and particularly words such as {265} η χοιντροσύη ‘la grossièreté’, totally French, appear in French expressions involved in French structural patterns. French coordinator ou ‘or’ in {308} χωρίς καμίαν κακίαν ου καμίαν απιστίαν ‘without any bad feeling or any
disbelief, 'without (holding) any bad feelings or having any sort of disbelief' could not be explained as Greek (since there also exists AG οὐ meaning no) (Joseph (1985) has also discussed the issue of Greek nationalism on other issues); this οὐ in the above clause is a French borrowed element.

There are syntactic areas that remind us of the French structure. An example is found in (204) with εμέρωσεν ο λύκος άγριος. We know that adjectives appearing after nouns, particularly in the nominative, have articles preceding them: εμέρωσεν ο λύκος ο άγριος. The structure in (204) seems to be a French interference s’ adoucit le loup sauvage, more importantly that ‘un loup sauvage (a wild wolf) is more likely to be found in French than in Cypriot expressions. The next structure reminds us of Froissart’s style:

\{73\} Σ’ εκείνον τον καιρόν ευρέθην εἰς τὴν Λευκωσίαν επίσκοπος τῆς Ἀμοχοστοῦ ο Φράγκος αμόματος φρε Μαρά

En ce temps (-lâ) se trouva a Lerfkosia l’ évêque d’ Amohostos le franc nommé(t) frère Mara

“During this time, the French bishop of Amohostos, by the name of Friar Mara, happened to be in Lefkosia”

The parallels in correspondence of the constituents in the clause can easily be seen.

Apposition exhibited in the Chronicle may be due to French interference, as it almost never has NPs which agree, note \{313\} παιδίος πραματευτής- young lad-nom referring to an accusative, (παιδίον πραματευτήν).

Some forms of agglutination may reflect French influence, such as αππώδε ‘from here ‘από ωδε ‘to later times’ similarly existing in French in dorénavant ‘from now on’.

Notice also interference in \{648\} with κατά πρόσωπα literally against (the) face(s) as in the French ‘en face’ or rather ‘face à la, face au, etc’

Due to the very large number of loan words from Old French (OFr), and most particularly from Later Old French (LOFr) and Middle French (MFr), MC has been described as ‘vulgar Greek’, Carmina lingua graeco-vulgari conscripta (Shiapkara-Pitsillides 1976: 20), “in order to avoid the vulgar, in their opinion, pronunciation of ἰσχα and πεινακισμές” (Hadjioannou 1988: 205), conjugaison vulgaire (Beaudouin (1884), corrupted Greek Grec corrompu, (Estienne de Ludignan cited in Hadjioannou 1991:11), and barbarous “so Romaic became barbarous as it still is today” Makhairas \{158\} (Pavlides 1982)
Hadjioannou writes (1988: 202) that,

“A great deal of the Frankish loan words comes from the dialect of Provence, as can be proved by the phonetic and semantic analysis of these words, as by other historical evidence”.

As to what per cent of the Cypriot vocabulary these loan words formed, according to Hadjioannou it is over two thousand words:

“Δύο χιλιάδες και πλέον λέξεις από των μέσων αιώνων και ενισχύθηκαν εις την κυπριακήν... ”, ‘Over two thousand words have been imported into Cypriot from the Middle Ages onwards’ (Hadjioannou 1991: 5).

It is evident that, in Cyprus, French has not followed the evolution it followed in France. To take a simple example from the exact pronunciation of sounds in OFr, I refer to articulation, where according to Einhorn (1974: 4), during the thirteenth-century, affricates lost their plosive element in *françien*, and changed to the corresponding fricatives as follows: [frantsien]> [fransien]

In Cyprus Old Frankish loan still retained their plosive element. This can be clearly exhibited in a number of words in the Chronicle. Take the French word *chambre*, ‘room’ for instance, which is pronounced τζιάμπρα in Cypriot. This pronunciation does not comply with the corresponding fricatives of the same word in France which, according to Einhorn, must have changed to fricative [ʒambre] in the 14th century.

In addition to the great influx of the OFr lexicon in medieval Cypriot, Arabic seems to have been another source of borrowing. Syntactic borrowing in the MC structure is not a matter dwelt on here; it is although a matter not to be overlooked. Apart from the Cypriot clefts, which are a prominent difference from Standard Greek and other Greek varieties, syntactic borrowing from French is seen to occur.

Some Ancient Greek forms are far from being forgotten.

{402} καὶ δὲν ηξεύρει τινὰς τὸν κλέπτην ποίαν ὡραν ἐρκεται

and not knows someone the thief-acc what time comes-3rd.sg

“And no one knows the time a thief may come”

It even seems that the previous forms of ὄντα, a well established constituent in its newer function (already reanalysed) may have been used in its ancient form in {325}:
that always being (when) to mount the king
“because always when the King mounted”

See other examples in previous the chapter as in (484). Interference goes beyond borrowing. There are difficulties encountered, even today, in assigning the origin of a number of loan words. It often becomes puzzling for an analyst to classify which elements are recipients of specific borrowing languages. Let me discuss for instance the word οξά, meaning in C ‘or, either’, as in εν τούτον οξά τσείνον; ‘is it this or that?’ εν να ’ξείς οξά έινα φέεις; ‘will you come in or will you go (will you be leaving)?’. It is easy to assume that it may have derived from Greek words οὐκ ωσάν ‘not like as, unlike’ agglutinated and bleached and, as suggested (my personal communication with Babiniotis, in 1990) “in what concerns the Cypriot dialect, we firstly have to exhaust its Greek roots before inquiring anywhere else”. It is also possible that it may have derived from French or ζα ‘or that’ agglutinated into one element, as it was heard by Cypriots as one element. However, this word seems to be absolutely a loan word from Turkish, yoksa, meaning ‘or’ in Turkish (among its other meanings in Turkish), explained also by Yiangoullis (1997). (This word is not found in the Chronicle.) On the contrary, the MoC expression εκλώτσαμεν την σίκλαν, literally meaning ‘s/he kicked the bucket’ is borrowed from English, even though the word σίκλα is a loan word from Latin (Yiangoullis 1997) and therefore it existed before the expression. If it is neither a Frankish nor a Turkish or Arabic expression; it may have entered the language through Cypriots living in England, as did many more expressions not used in the wider Greek context (ἔδειρεν η ομάδα μας, literally ‘our team beat’ (δέρνω-to-beat) (English) compared to the Greek νίκησε η ομάδα μας ‘our team won’, V-initial for emphasis in the G structure. What is suggested here is that history and language are essential ingredients in the study of words, just like syntax. History informs us on important facts which may be used to determining affiliation and disambiguate cases of borrowing. Diachronic syntax is, however a more complicated matter. Some words may be markers of a possible syntactic borrowing involving them.

This assumption has been questioned by Dryer (1995) who observes that in some languages, as in VOS Tojolabal for instance, the least marked word order is infrequent.
Greenberg’s Universal 1 suggests that in declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object. This is not true for contemporary Cypriot (VOS).

In Universal 3 Greenberg’s proposes that Languages with dominant VSO order are always prepositional. This is true for both MC and MoC.

Cypriot complies with many of Greenberg’s universals except for a few, namely Universal 17 concerning the position of the adjective and 12 for the order of interrogatives which have a far more flexible order as well as universal 22 for the order of comparison of superiority Greenberg’s adjective-standard-marker which does not exclude standard-marker-adjective in Cypriot (Vassiliou 1995: 44).

Payne (1990) is yet another linguist concerned with the typological features of languages and in particular of Verb-initial languages. If we understand Payne’s discussions on the word order of verb-initial languages, then we would have one of the four following possibilities. Payne presents only four verb-initial types namely:

1. Verb-initial plus free order of full NP’s (as in Tagalog)
2. V DO S Obl (Fijian, Doba Batak (also named Toba Batak)
3. V DO Obl S (Malagasy, Tzeltal)
4. V S DO Obl (Celtic, Eastern Nilotic, Polynesian, Jacaltec)

Type 4 is by far the most common, according to Payne.

If we exclude the verb from participating in the different combinations involving V, DO, Obl (or Indirect Object) the following combinations could be possible:

a) V S DO IO (Obl) 4.
b) V S IO DO
c) V DO IO S  3.
d) V DO S IO  2.
e) V IO DO S
f) V IO S DO

It would seem that Payne’s categorisation includes all the other combinations b, e, and f, in her category 1 of Verb-initial languages, namely the Verb-initial plus free word order of full NPs and it does not take into account the existence of a structure with IO preceding DO, (Cypriot), as in combination e. In addition to Payne’s four categories of verb-initial types, Cypriot can be also added.

Payne’s generalisations on the VIN (Verb-initial norm) can also be debated through MC in that numerals may follow N, as well as demonstratives, and that sentential objects do not always follow the subject (see more in Vassiliou 1995: 48).
(1) **Kai** in paragraph initial position
301 occurrences 42.22% of all elements in initial position

(2) Occurrences of `Ἀνταν` initial clauses and their relationship with V
5 occurrences, all of them followed by V ἄνταν V=100%

(3) Occurrences of **Kai, Ἀνταν** initial clauses and their following elements
21 occurrences 95.23% {Kai Ἀνταν V}

(4) Occurrences of **Ὁνταν** initial clauses and their order relationship with V
7 occurrences 6 of them followed by V ὅνταν V= 85.7%

(5) Occurrences of **Kai, Ὁνταν** initial clauses and their relationship with V
21 occurrences 18 of them followed by V Kai Ὁνταν V= 85.7 %

(6) Occurrences of **(Kai) Μοναῦτα** initial clauses and their word order relationship with V
20 occurrences 15 occurrences are μοναῦτα V
5 occurrences are μοναῦτα S

(7) Occurrences of **(Kai) Παραῦτα** initial clauses and their word order relationship with V
7 occurrences 6 are Παραῦτα V
1 occurrence is Παραῦτα S
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(8)</th>
<th>Occurrences of Ακομή paragraph-initial clauses</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 occurrences</td>
<td>13 Ακομή V</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>(9)</th>
<th>V-onta paragraph-initial statistics in Makhairas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>102 occurrences</td>
<td>14.3% of initial elements</td>
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<tr>
<th>(10)</th>
<th>Paragraph-first V-onta</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>77 occurrences</td>
<td>9.8% initial elements</td>
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<tr>
<th>(11)</th>
<th>Paragraph-initial Και V-onta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17 occurrences</td>
<td>2.4% initial elements</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>(12)</th>
<th>Χ V-onta occurrences</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 occurrences</td>
<td>1.2% initial elements</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>(13)</th>
<th>Statistics on paragraph-initial θ(e)ωρώντα (α)γροικώντα and μανθάνοντα</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69 occurrences</td>
<td>67.6% of par.in. V-onta</td>
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<tr>
<th>(14)</th>
<th>Statistics on paragraph-initial evidentials θ(e)ωρώντα and (α)γροικώντα</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64 occurrences</td>
<td>62.7% of paragraph initial V-onta</td>
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<tr>
<th>(15)</th>
<th>Statistics on paragraph-initial θωρώντα and θεωρώντα</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39 occur. of θ(ε)ωρώντα</td>
<td>38.2% par. in. V-onta</td>
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<tr>
<th>(16)</th>
<th>Statistics on paragraph-initial (α)γροικώντα</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 occur. of (α)γροικώντα</td>
<td>24.5% par.in. V-onta</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(17)</th>
<th>Και V-onta paragraph-initial evidentials θεωρώντα and γροικώντα</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 occurrences</td>
<td>47.5% of parin Και V-onta</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(18)</th>
<th>V-onta S statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

370
56 occurrences 72.7% of V-onta   54.9% of par.in. V-onta

(19) **Kαλ V-onta S statistics**
11 occurrences 64, 7 of Kαλ V-onta 10.8% of par.in. V-onta

(20) **X V-onta S statistics**
7 occurrences 87.5% of X V-onta 6.9% of par.in. V-onta

(21) **Statistics on all paragraph-initial V-onta S structures**
74 occurrences 72.5% have V-onta S out of 102 instances

(22) **V-onta O S order statistics**
11 occurrences 10.8% of par.in. V-onta

(23) **V-onta S O order statistics**
18 occurrences 32.14% of V-onta S 17.6% of par.in. V-onta

(24) **Kαλ V-onta S O order statistics**
2 occurrences 18.2 of Kαλ V-onta 2.0% of par.in. V-onta

(25) **X V-onta S O order statistics**
2 occurrences 28.6% of X V-onta 2.0% of par.in. V-onta

(26) **(Overall) Statistics on all paragraph-initial V-onta S O order**
22 occurrences 39.3% of V-onta S 21.6% of par

(27) **Statistics on V-onta Oclit and Kαλ V-onta Oclit**
(there are no X V-onta clitic instances)
10 occurrences 9.8% of par.in. V-onta

(28) **Statistics on V-onta S O=complement őTL order**
14 occurrences (13.7%) of all V-onta

(29) **Statistics on V-onta τo τως**
(30) Statistics on Kai V-onta S O=οτι
1 occurrence

(31) Statistics on Kai V-onta S O= πως
1 occurrence

(32) Statistics on Kai V-onta S O = το πως
1 occurrence

(33) Statistics on V-onta S O=complement πως order
13 occurrences

(34) Statistics on V-onta S O= sentential το πως
2 occurrences

(35) (Overall) Statistics on all V-onta S O=comp and or sentential object το πως
37 occurrences 36.3% of parin V-onta

(36) Kai V-onta S O= comp. οτι, πως and sentential το πως
3 instances one of each ((30),(31),(32))

(37) X V-onta S O= comp. οτι, πως and sentential το πως
4 instances (1 of οτι) (2 of πως) (1 of το πως)

(38) Occurrences of V-onta (a) γροικώντα in absolute paragraph initial position
25 occurrences 24.5% of all parin V-onta

(39) Occurrences of V-onta θ(ε)ωρώντα θωρώντα in absolute paragraph initial position
39 occurrences 38.25% of parin V-onta

(40) **Occurrences of Και V-onta θ(ε)ωρωντα in paragraph initial position**
4 occurrences

(41) **Occurrences of X V-onta θ(ε)ωρωντα in paragraph initial position**
4 occurrences

(42) **Occurrences of Και V-onta (α)γροικωντα in paragraph initial position**
4 occurrences

(43) **Occurrences of X V-onta (α)γροικωντα in paragraph initial position**
4 occurrences

(44) **Verbs in paragraph-initial position**
340 occurrences 47.7% of paragraph-initial elements

(45) **Verbs appearing first in the paragraphs**
18 5.3 % of all paragraph-initial V 52% of all elements

(46) **Verb following adverbials and PPs**
275 occurrences 80.9% of all par-initial V 38.6% all elements

(47) **The Και V par-initial occurrences**
48 instances 14.1% of all par-initial V 6.7% of all elements

(48) **V-s paragraph-initial occurrences**
101 instances 29.7 % of all par-initial or par-first V 6.7% of all

(49) **The V-s O par-initial occurrences**
47 instances 13.8% of all par-initial or par-first V

(50) **The V-s O IO par-initial occurrences**
6 instances 1.8% of all V par-first or V par-initial cases
(51) The V-s IO par-initial occurrences
6 instances 1.8 of all V par-first or par-initial

(52) Statistics on VS patterns
165 instances 48.5% of V par-initial clauses 23.1% all paragraphs

(53) Statistics on VS patterns
22 instances 14.0% of all VS 6.5 of all V par-initial
((22/165) (22/340))

(54) Statistics on the (Kai)(Temporals)(Dates)-V par-initial order
277 occurrences 38.8% of all parin elements 81.5 of parin V

(55) Statistics on the Adverbial of time τότε(ς)-V par-initial order
τότε(ς) V par-initial patterns 39 86.7% of τότες par-initial
τότε(ς) S par-initial patterns 6 13.3% of τότες par-initial

(56) Paragraph-initial imperatives
34 instances 10% of all par-initial or par-first verbs
4.8% of all elements in first or initial position

(57) Paragraph-initial imperatives
7 ας imperfectives 20.0% of imper
11 {να IOpro imperatives} 32.2% of imper
9 {να direct imperatives} 26.5% of imper
7 direct imperatives 20.6% of imper

(58) Paragraph-initial loan V
17 instances 5% of all first V 2.4% of first elements

(59) Paragraph-initial existential V
9 occurrences

(60) Occurrences of S in paragraph-initial position
169 paragraph-initial S 23.7% of all elements
(61) **Occurrences of S first element in paragraph-initial position**
70 paragraph-initial S 9.8% of all elements

(62) **Kai** S appearing in paragraph-initial position
30 examples 17.6% of all S initial elem 4.2% of all elem

(63) **O αυτός, Kai X αυτός and deictics S in paragraph-initial position**
9 examples 5.3% of all S initial position elem 1.3% all elem

(64) **Temporal S in paragraph-initial position**
29 instances 16.5% of all S initial 3.9% of all elements

(65) **Temporal Kai X S in paragraph-initial position**
13 occurrences 7.7% of all S-initial

(66) **Filler S in paragraph-initial position**
10 occurrences 6.0%

(67) **(ο, η, οι, ει) δε S in paragraph-initial position**
6 occurrences 3.6% of S-paragraph initial elements

(68) **Participles S in paragraph-initial position**
3 occurrences

(69) **Temporal S V intransitives**
4 occurrences 2.4%

(70) **S in dislocation**
8 occurrences 4.7%

(71) **S V O IO patterns**
21 occurrences 12.4%

(72) **SV intransitives**
(73) **K<sub>al</sub> SVO patterns**
9 occurrences 5.3%

(74) **K<sub>al</sub> SV intransitives**
11 occurrences 6.5%

(75) **Temporal SVO patterns**
12 occurrences 7.0%

(76) **SV occurrences in paragraph-initial position**
S first position 23, 84% (70 instances) of all first position elements (70/713)
S first position makes 41, 17% of all S elements in initial position (70/140)

(77) **O and IO initials**
7 O occurrences in paragraph-initial position 9.8% parin elem
2 IO occurrences in paragraph-initial position 2.8%

(78) **Statistics on paragraph-initial late-appearing relatives**
5 occurrences 1.3%

Statistics 6.62

\((o, η, οι, ει) \delta ε\) in paragraph-initial position

6 occurrences

Statistics 6.63

Participles S in paragraph-initial position

3 occurrences

Statistics 6.64

S in dislocation

8 occurrences

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