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FRENCH LOANS IN CYPRIOT GREEK

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans le cadre d'une recherche concernant les emprunts du grec chypriote au français à l'époque médiévale, nous essayons de mieux cerner quelques aspects du problème, notamment :

– l'adaptation phonologique et morphologique des emprunts, en fonction des systèmes respectifs impliqués (grec chypriote et français médiéval) et en relation avec les phénomènes liés aux emprunts à d'autres langues ;

– l'origine de ces emprunts : on a beaucoup spéculé sur la provenance (de telle ou telle région de France ou d'Italie), des emprunts du grec chypriote médiéval, en mettant en évidence certains aspects phonologiques ou morphologiques. Après examen des systèmes de l'époque, nous estimons que la seule indication concluante est l'origine même de la famille régnante à Chypre de 1192 à 1489, des Lusignan de Poitou. Il est attendu que la plupart des emprunts concernant l'administration et la cour sont faits à cette variante de prestige, beaucoup plus qu'au provençal ou à l'italien.

Introduction

This paper will investigate the provenance of French loans in Cypriot Greek during the Lusignan period. For this purpose we shall take evidence from contemporary Cypriot documents emanating from the Lusignan court, namely the 13th century code of law known as the *Assises* (Sathas 1877) and the 15th century *Chronicles* of Machairas and George Boustronios (Dawkins 1932, Sathas 1873), available to us in manuscripts of the 16th to 17th centuries.

The period of French dominance began in 1191, when Richard *Cœur de Lion* seized control of the island from the Byzantine usurper Isaac Ducas, selling it first to the Templar knights, then in 1192 to Guy de Lusignan, who established a royal dynasty which persisted till the Venetian accession in 1489.¹ With Guy de Lusignan there settled in Cyprus "many Syrians and many Latins" (Dawkins 1932, vol. 2, p. 25). Some came with him from the Kingdom of Jerusalem; others were attracted from France and the West. The mixture was enriched by the presence of foreign merchant communities, particularly Genoan and Venetian. While Greek continued to predominate, various other languages were in use by sections of the population, including Latin, French, Italian, Arabic

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1. Cyprus had been, since 30 BC, a part of the Roman empire and its Byzantine successor. In this context, two Cypriot characteristics recur which are relevant to our study. First, a sense of special identity, exemplified already in the 5th century campaign to assert the autocephalous rights of the Cypriot church. Second, the coexistence of diverse religious, racial and linguistic groups, notably exemplified by the Byzantine-Arab "condominium" of 688-965.

and Turkish (Dawkins 1931, p. 304-7). Of these, the language of the ruling class was French,² and it seems that there emerged a distinctive Cypriot variety. This we know in part from the direct statement of the Florentine monk Giovanni dei Marignoli who "saw some Cypriots in Aleppo in 1352, and says that they spoke French in the Cypriot manner" (Dawkins 1931, p. 326). Dawkins posits two probable characteristics of this Cypriot French: that it was relatively *archaic* (1931, p. 327-8) and that it was a *mixed* dialect reflecting the influence of feudal families "from various parts of France" (1931, p. 326).

Dawkins' evidence for *archaism* is moderately clear for the French variety itself. And certainly French *loans* remained generally conservative in form. For instance, effacement of pre-consonantal *s* probably began to occur in south-west French during the later 12th century (Pope 1952, § 377-8). However, Dawkins (1931, p. 327-8) points out that Machairas uses a term βαχλιώτης "valet" in which the *χ* reflects a pronunciation of OF *vaslet* with *s* reduced to *h* (a stage on the way to effacement). This is corroborated by the 13th century French text of Philip de Novarre, which contains such spellings as *mehler* and *ihle* (for OF *mesler*, *isle*). We note moreover that before voiceless consonants the Cypriot loans reflect the original [s], as in ἐγκέστα, μάστρος, etc.³ Several other such examples could be given.⁴ For instance, the affricate rendering of French *ch* developed to a fricative pronunciation during the 13th century (Pope 1952, § 194-5). Yet it continued to be represented by τζ in all the texts we survey. Thus in *Machairas* the term for "fireplace" appears as τζημνία (cf. modern τσιμινιά). The use of the affricate is entirely regular over a large number of such examples. The newer pronunciation is nowhere reflected in our texts.⁵ However, Dawkins' evidence for *mixture* is unclear even for the French loans. He simply points (1931, p. 326) to the wide range of non-standard features that they apparently reflect.⁶

2. This remained the clear-cut situation until very near the end of the Lusignan period. By the mid-15th century the use of French came to decline at court in favour of Greek, partly as a result of the increasing influence of Greek speaking people there. Also, Italian had come to play an important role, reflecting the commercial and political involvement of the Genoese and the Venetians – particularly of the latter in the reign of Caterina Cornaro, herself a Venetian, during the years leading up to the transfer of power in 1489.
3. Compare the spellings in the royal dedication of 1421 in the Royal Chapel at Pyrga: *Nostre Seigneur, ceste chappele, Jeusdi*. The value of this data is that the fresco-painter appears to be writing semi-phonetically what he actually hears (or says). Thus also *La sensi[o]n* (Fr. *l'ascension*) and so on (cf. Papageorgiou n. d., p. 4).
4. Thus the modern form *τσαέρρα presumably reflects the older form *chaiere*, before the contraction that began to affect such items in the 13th century (Pope 1952, § 242). Similarly: τζαίνα/τζαγίνα, ἄγιτα, πᾶγιλος/(ἐ)μπαλῆς (Fr. *chaîne, aide, bailli*). Less clear is the case of pre-consonantal *l*, generally vocalised after non-high vowels by the mid 12th century (Pope 1952, p. 383-91), as in *jaune, voûte*, etc. This process presumably motivates the absence of [l] from the loans *ντζανίν "jaundice" and βότα "vaulted room". But various other loans maintain the [l] (sometimes as [r], by a standard Cypriot adaptation): φαρκόνιν "falcon", κόλπος/κόρπος "blow", σορδάτος/σορδιέρης "mercenary soldier", κουρτέλλα "dagger", *φάλδα "apron" (Fr. *faucon, coup*, Prov. *falda*). Involved here may be Latin (for φαρκόνιν, see Hadjioannou 1991, p. 56, s.v. φαλκώνιν), Italian or Provencal (e.g.: It. *coltella*, Prov. *coltel*), and perhaps transliteration from the French (e.g.: κόλπος in the *Assises*).
5. Note however modern Cypriot ὅμενέ "flash pan" (cf. Menardos 1900, s.v. σεμινέ). Similarly, while the older French [ts] is reflected in many items of the kind βίτζε- (Fr. *vice-*), already in the *Chronicles* there is a scattering of forms such as γράσα (Fr. *grâce*) reflecting the newer fricative pronunciation. The modern reflexes of loans from French *ch* [ts] and *c* [ts] confirm that the medieval spelling τζ could indicate a voiceless affricate.
6. Dawkins is inclined to emphasize the role of Old Norman. However his examples have no special historical plausibility, and most could as well be based on Latin. For καρία "waggons", see Hadjioannou 1991, p. 43. With καντζηλέρης "chancellor", compare the modern Cypriot names Καντζιλάρης and Καντζιλιέρης. The Byzantine form was καγκελλάριος, but already in the 12th century a variant κανκελλέριος is attested (perhaps under western influence). For the Cypriot lax palatal affricate τζ in Latin-derived forms, compare τζελλάριν "store", ματζελλειόν "butchery" (Lat. *cellarium, macellum*).

We shall argue on the contrary that Cypriot loans diverge from standard French in rather consistent ways. We are making claims regarding only the provenance and the nature of the French loans in Cypriot Greek. Many kinds of French may have been spoken in the country, the remarkable point is that the loans show evidence of a relatively consistent French dialect influence.

As a basis for discussion we present the *tables (a) and (b)* below, exemplifying the substitutions found in our data.⁷ The left column is a tabulation of Einhorn's convenient summary (1974, p. 3-10) of the sounds of French in the late 12th century. The extra notations with > indicate developments completed within the 13th century. Those with < indicate alternate sources of [è] and [ê]. The central column illustrates the regular Cypriot loan-reflexes and the main variants. The right column gives Cypriot Greek examples, identified (as elsewhere in this paper) by modern French orthographic forms where possible.

| OF | CG | CG examples |
|----------|-----|-------------------------------------------------------|
| [p] | π | [p] ποῦντος "bridge" (Fr. <i>pont</i>) |
| [b] | π | [p] παρούνης (Fr. <i>baron</i>) |
| | μπ | [mb]? μπαρούνης (variant for <i>baron</i>) |
| | | [v] βουργέσης (variant for <i>burgeis</i>) |
| [t] | τ | [t] τάλλια "tax" (Fr. <i>taille</i>) |
| [d] | τ | [t] τάμε (Fr. <i>dame</i> - as title) |
| | ντ | [nd] ντάμε (variant for <i>dame</i> - as title) |
| | δ | [ð] δάμα (variant for <i>dame</i> - of playing cards) |
| [k] | κ | [k] κούντης "count" (Fr. <i>comte</i>) |
| [g] | κ | [k] καρεντιάζω "protect" (Fr. <i>garantir</i>) |
| | | [Ng] γκάρρα (Fr. <i>guerre</i>) |
| | | [ɣ] γέρρα (variant for <i>guerre</i>) |
| [ts]>[s] | τζ | [ts] βίτζε- (Fr. <i>vice-</i>) |
| [dz]>[z] | ... | ... |
| [tʃ]>[ʃ] | τζ | [ts] τζημνία "fire-place" (Fr. <i>cheminée</i>) |
| [dʃ]>[ʃ] | ζ | [dz]? τζιντζίπριν (Fr. <i>gingembre</i>) |
| | ντζ | [ndz]? *ντζανίν (Fr. <i>jaune</i>) |
| | ζ | [z] ζιτίλ (Fr. <i>gentil</i>) |
| | γ | [ɣ] σεργέντης (Fr. <i>sergent</i>) |

Table (a). French plosives and affricates
(CG = Cypriot Greek, Fr. = French, OF = Old French).

7. The notation '...' indicates one case where we have not found any relevant loans. In a few cases we have supplemented the data by including items not found in our basic texts. These (both here and elsewhere) are asterisked. In two cases, γ seems merely to transliterate French g. For these the phonetic indication is left blank ('[]').

| OF | CG | G examples: | |
|-------------------|----|-------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| [m] | μ | [m] | μαρκίς (Fr. <i>marquis</i>) |
| [n] | ν | [n] | νοτιάζω (Fr. <i>noter</i>) |
| [ñ] | νι | [ñ] | Λαζανιάδες (Fr. <i>Lusignan</i>) |
| [l] | λ | [l] | λότζα (Fr. <i>loge</i>) |
| [λ] | λι | [λ] | ταλιούρης 'taxgatherer' (OF <i>tailleur</i>) |
| [r] | ρ | [r] | ριμούριν (Fr. <i>rumeur</i>) |
| [f] | φ | [f] | φέστα (Fr. <i>fête</i>) |
| [v] | β | [v] | βολίκιν (Fr. <i>volige</i>) |
| [s] | σ | [s] | προυμέσα (Fr. <i>promesse</i>) |
| [z] | ζ | [z] | δισπλαζέριν (Fr. <i>déplaisir</i>) |
| [h] | χ | [x] | χαρνέσι (Fr. <i>harnais</i>) |
| [i] | ι | [i] | πρίς (Fr. <i>prix</i>) |
| [ü] | ου | [u] | λουξουρία (Fr. <i>luxurie</i>) |
| [u] | ο | [o] | βότα "vault" (Fr. <i>voûte</i>) |
| | ολ | [ol] | κόλπος/κόρπος (Fr. <i>coup</i>) |
| [ó:]>[ö] | ου | [u] | άκτούρ (Fr. <i>acteur</i>) |
| [ó]>[u] | ου | [u] | κούρτη (Fr. <i>court</i>) |
| [ō] | ου | [u] | ποῦντος (Fr. <i>pont</i>) |
| [ð] | ο | [o] | κλόστριν (OF <i>clostre</i>) |
| [ō] | ο | [o] | μόπιλε (Fr. <i>meuble</i>) |
| [é:] | α | [a] | καντιτά (Fr. <i>quantité</i>) |
| | ε | [e] | φρέρε (Fr. <i>frère</i>) |
| [é] | ι | [i] | τριζόριν (Fr. <i>trésor</i>) |
| [ê] | ε | [e] | μάστρε (Fr. <i>maître</i>) |
| [è] | ε | [e] | κρουδέλ (Fr. <i>cruel</i>) |
| | α | [a] | τζάριν (Fr. <i>chaire</i>) |
| [a] | α | [a] | κάς (Fr. <i>cas</i>) |
| [ã] | α | [a] | τζάμπρα (Fr. <i>chambre</i>) |
| | ε | [e] | ρέντα (Fr. <i>rente</i>) |
| [ei] | α | [a] | άπλαζίριν (Fr. <i>plaisir</i>) |
| [ẽ] | ε | [e] | πένα (Fr. <i>peine</i>) |
| | α | [a] | καρτάνα "quartan fever" (OF <i>quartaine</i>) |
| [o ⁱ] | ε | [e] | ρέ (Fr. <i>roi</i>) |
| [i ⁱ] | ου | [u] | κουράσα "breast-plate" (Fr. <i>cuirasse</i>) |
| [a ^u] | α | [a] | άδετούρης "auditor" (Fr. <i>auditeur</i>) |
| [i ^é] | ε | [e] | πουκλέριν (Fr. <i>bouclier</i>) |
| [i ^ẽ] | ε | [e] | ρέν (Fr. <i>rien</i>) |
| [i ^ô] | ε | [e] | *λεκτενέντος (Fr. <i>lieutenant</i>) |
| [é ^a] | ια | [i ^a] | Πιάλεκε (Fr. <i>Beaulieu</i>) |

Table (b). Other French consonants and vowels

(CG = Cypriot Greek, Fr. = French, G = Greek, OF = Old French).

Table (a) illustrates the major area of variation: the French voiced plosives and affricates. We presume that this reflects, as in modern Cypriot, the unavailability of satisfactory voiced substitutes except after nasals. Otherwise, as illustrated in *table (b)*, the outstanding feature of the substitution patterns is their regularity. Thus, Frankish *h* regularly gives χ , not only in $\chi\alpha\rho\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota$ but in all the relevant loans. French [ó:] tonic free regularly gives $\omicron\upsilon$, not only in $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho$ but in $\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\zeta\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\eta\varsigma$ and all other relevant items. There is a scattering of occasional variants (not illustrated in the table) reflecting more/less standard and more/less up-to-date pronunciations, but there are few cases for which we cannot determine a clearly favourite treatment.

We think then that there is a relatively coherent dialect influence lying behind the loans. In seeking its nature we have obtained detailed information from previous studies, but little convincing guidance on main trends. Meyer (1876) and Dendias (1926) suggest the widespread influence of Italian. Hadjioannou (1988, 1990, 1991) strongly asserts the overriding role of Provençal. Unfortunately, neither of these sources has much historical plausibility as an influence on the usage of the royal court. As Dawkins points out, Italian might be expected to influence the vocabulary of commerce and finance, but not that of government and administration. Moreover, words of types attributed to Italian appear already in the *Assises*, "when the French crusaders were far more prominent than the Italian merchants of the later time" (Dawkins 1932, vol. 2, p. 38-9). At least on historical grounds there seems every reason to accept Dawkins' view (following Menardos 1900) that "where there is any doubt it is to be taken as more probable that a word is of French than of Italian origin" (1931, p. 315). Much the same reservations apply to Hadjioannou's historical arguments involving Provençal merchants, and Knights Hospitaller conversing in Provençal with the Cypriot peasant in the vineyards around Kolossi (Hadjioannou 1990, p. 497-8).

Our own approach in the present paper will be guided in part by the concept of *overt prestige* as a determinant of linguistic change.⁸ Among court officials in a feudal society, overt prestige must be a potent factor. The source of such prestige is the sovereign. Putting this thought together with some points from the discussion above, we are led to propose the following:

- The major varietal influence on the Cypriot court, especially among those who adopted French as a second language, is likely to have been that associated with the royal house of Lusignan, deriving from an area just to the south-west of Poitiers in the district of Poitou.

- Loans into Cypriot would have been especially numerous in the first years of contact, reflecting the concepts introduced by the new regime. Internal evidence suggests that the major trends were established early in the Lusignan period (before, for example, the opening of the French affricates). It is likely that the major influence on the loan stock will be the Poitevin of that period.

In what follows, we survey first the morphological and then the phonological evidence for and against a French source of this kind.

Morphology

The argument for non-French sources is based in part on morphological considerations. On the basis of various partial resemblances, Meyer (1876) and Dendias (1926) argued for the influence of Italian, and Hadjioannou (1991) for that of Provençal (as above). We shall suggest rather (*cf.* Menardos 1900 and the summary of the dispute in Dawkins 1931, p. 315-6) that the morphological evidence is simply consistent with French origins. Some prominent features of the system of adaptation of nouns and verbs are summarised below:

8. The related notion *covert prestige* is less relevant to model-choice by foreign language learners (since it operates through in-group pressures). But it may well have contributed to the maintenance of a Cypriot loan tradition once established. See Dawkins (1932, vol. 2, p. 3-4) for the admiration of the Lusignan nobility engendered in Cypriots of the class of Machairas (in common cause against the Genoans). See Dawkins (1932, vol. 2, p. 39-40) for the association of Cypriot Greek and Frankish loans in the more "popular" character of the Oxford MS of the Machairas *Chronicle*.

Nouns

French nouns were almost fully adapted to the Greek morphological system. The relatively few *indeclinable* exceptions arise from conflicts not readily resolvable between the two systems. Generally, an original feminine gender is preserved (by adaptation to the -α feminine form) regardless of natural gender:

- Fr. *amoureuse* (fem.) Cy. ἀμουρούζα (fem.)
- Fr. *demoiselle* (fem.) Cy. ταμιζέλλα (fem.)
- Fr. *dame* (fem.) Cy. δάμα (fem.) "queen (in cards)"

And so also for inanimates:

- Fr. *rivière* (fem.) Cy. ριβ(ι)έρα (fem.)
- Fr. *guerre* (fem.) Cy. γέρρα/γκάρρα (fem.)
- Fr. *chambre* (fem.) Cy. τζάμπρα (fem.)

Such flexibility is not available with masculine gender. For *male* entities, the gender is preserved (usually by adaptation to -ος/-ης masculine forms):

- Fr. *avocat* (masc.) Cy. ἀβοκᾶτος (masc.)
- Fr. *gentilhomme* (masc.) Cy. ζηντηλόμος (masc.)
- Fr. *frère* (masc.) Cy. φρέρης (masc.)
- Fr. *gouverneur* (masc.) Cy. κυβερνούρης (masc.)

But inanimates can be accommodated only marginally into the Greek masculine system. Thus the outcome is generally an indeclinable noun:

- Fr. *avis* (masc.) Cy. ἀβίς (indecl.)
- Fr. *de religion* Cy. τερελετζιούν (indecl.)

Alternatively, neuter may be chosen for inanimates (whether originally masculine or feminine) by adaptation to the -ιν/-ον neuter forms:

- Fr. *déplaisir* (masc.) Cy. δισπλαζέριν (var. of δισπλαζίριν)
- Fr. *cloître* (masc.) Cy. κλόστριν (neut.)
- Fr. *possession* (fem.) Cy. ποσέσον (neut.)

Further, as *titles*, both male and female nouns may be treated as indeclinable, without Greek suffix (usually by direct phonological substitution):

- Fr. *Messire* (masc.) Cy. μισέρ
- Fr. *Frère* (masc.) Cy. φρέρε
- Fr. *Dame* (fem.) Cy. τάμε

Verbs

French verbs are frequently assimilated by addition of denominative suffixes, the commonest being -ιάζω and -ίζω.

- Fr. *examiner* Cy. άξαμινιάζω
- Fr. *quitter* Cy. κιτιιάζω
- Fr. *aviser* Cy. άβισ(γ)ιάζω
- Fr. *arrêter* Cy. άρρεστιιάζω
- Fr. *investir* Cy. βιστιρίζω
- Fr. *mourir* Cy. μορίζω

Less often, they take -άρω or -ιάρω

- Fr. *user* Cy. γουζάρω/γουζιάζω
- Fr. *copier* Cy. κοπιάρω

Such morphological considerations provide no support for the arguments of Meyer, Dendias and Hadjioannou. In preserving Latin gender, the nouns do not distinguish Italian or Provençal from French. In both nouns and verbs the adaptation is to common Greek patterns. Thus *-ίζω* and *-ιάζω* are ancient Greek suffixes, frequently attached to toponyms and ethnic names: *δωρίζω* "I speak in Doric", *μακεδονίζω* "I am of the pro-Macedonian faction". The less frequent *-άρω* and *-ιάρω* are suffixes of Latin origin, already in use during the Byzantine period. The occasional phonological resemblances with Italian or Provençal are quite inadequate to build a general case. Thus it may be that *-άρω* in *κοπιάρω* echoes the Italian *copiare* (though it could as well be from Latin). Either way, the suffix is of such low frequency in the Lusignan texts that Dendias (1926) focussed instead on *-ιάζω* as a sign of Italian origin. But this is implausible; the suffix is ancient, most instances are anyway indisputably French, and the phonological resemblance is minimal (see also *-ίζω* and *-ιάζω* in Hadjioannou 1991, p. 21, and *-α*, *-ούρης* in sections on "[ό]" and "[ό:] tonic free" below).

Phonology

We discuss below the phonological features reflected in Cypriot loans of the Lusignan period. As a first step, we quote Pope's summary statement of the borderline position of Poitevin between the *Langue d'Oc* and the *Langue d'Oïl*:

"In modern times the speech of the south-west, *i.e.* of Poitou, goes with northern French in its treatment of the sounds derived from tonic *a* free, but this appears to be due to an extension of the northern speech downwards, for in the Middle Ages the treatment of this sound appears to have been akin to that in the south-east, *i.e.* a tonic free was retained unless it followed a palatal or palatalised consonant and then it was raised to *è*: this sound was not however diphthongised..." (1952, § 34; for occitan characteristics here, see the section on "Characteristics of Provençal" below).

Pignon points out (1960a, p. 76-7) that despite constant assaults and penetration from above the Loire, the history of Poitou had since Roman times been linked generally with that of Aquitaine. "In the course of the second half of the 12th century, the position became completely different. Two powerful states were formed in the north: the Anglo-Norman-Angevin and the Capetian..." For more than half a century, Poitou was disputed territory. In 1204 Poitou was annexed to the Capetian state and in 1242 control from Paris became absolute. Pignon (1960a, p. 39-57) describes in detail the consequent overlay of northern forms, in documents from the 12-14th centuries, on a substrate of forms reflecting the older southerly tradition.

If Poitevin is indeed a major influence on the Cypriot loans, we shall expect to find a particular set of features held in common with medieval French, with western French, and with Provençal, the linking factor being their common occurrence in older Poitevin. We survey such features below. Then in "Distinctive characteristics of Poitevin" and "Particular characteristics of La Gente Poitevinrie" we note three traits apparently found in the Poitevin area only.

Characteristics of medieval French

The features discussed below, all found in Poitevin, reflect quite simply the French of the relevant period. Each is in general absent from Provençal or Italian (or both).

Frankish *h*

Having been lost in late Latin, *h* was reintroduced in northern Gaul during the Gallo-Roman period as the initial of numerous Frankish loans (originally in [χ]). This did not affect Provençal (Pope 1952, p. § 28, 196, 634) or Italian (Grandgent 1909, § 80) but persisted in French, at least in common speech, well into the Middle French period. (For the persistence of *h* in Poitevin, see Pignon 1960a, p. 415). The Frankish *h* is reflected in a fair number of Cypriot loans, such as

χαῖρνιασμένος "gloomy", χανάπιν "goblet", χαρνέσι "equipment" (Fr. *haïr, hanap, harnais*).⁹

Affricates

In most varieties of French, Latin *c* was affricated before *a*, subsequently opening to [vs] (cf. note 1. above) to give modern *chambre, champs*, etc. This is not a characteristic of Italian, and in Provençal it is found only in the north and north-east (Grandgent 1909, § 61). For its ancient establishment in Poitou, as in the neighbouring Provençal dialect of Limousin, cf. Pignon (1960a, p. 383). This affrication is regularly reflected in Cypriot loans: τζάμπρα "room", τζαμπερλάνος "chamberlain", τζαῖνα "chain" (Fr. *chambre, chamberlain, chaîne*).

Post-tonic -e

The final post-tonic vowel spelt *-e* in Old French corresponds regularly to a spelling *-a* in Provençal and Italian. In general, the medieval Poitevin spelling is *-e* (contrasting with *-o* in neighbouring Limousin; cf. Pignon 1960a, p. 371-7), the exact timbre in all these cases being open to question. Many Cypriot loans have *-α*, as in φύστα, ἀμουρούζα, λουξουρία (Fr. *fuste, amoureuse, luxurie*), and it seems to be for this reason that Italian and Provençal sources have been asserted (e.g.: It. *fusta*, Prov. *amoureuse* - Hadjioannou 1991), despite the fact that the same termination occurs in clearly French items such as ἄρχα "arch", τζάμπρα "room", τζαῖνα "chain" (Fr. *arche, chambre, chaîne*). However we have argued above that *-α* is morphologically motivated. By contrast, *-ε* regularly occurs in indeclinable forms, as in ἄρμε "call to arms", σέντε "between room", ὀνέστε "by fair means" (Fr. *arme, sente, honnête*) and generally in titles such as τάμε "lady", μάστρε "master" (Fr. *dame, maître*; contrast the common nouns μάστρος, δάμα), and such fixed phrases as τζάμπρε τε Παρίς (Fr. *chambre de Paris* - Dawkins 1932, vol. 2, p. 189). This use of *-ε* is consistent with a French model (including Poitevin), but difficult to square with the more open qualities generally attributed to Provençal and Italian.

[ó]

In the course of the 11th and 12th centuries French [ó] was raised quite generally to [u]. By the end of this period (and earlier in the western region) it "disappeared for a while out of the sound-system" (Pope 1952, § 184). The same tendency affected both Poitevin (for instance, medieval *houme, boune* - Pignon 1960a, p. 342-3) and Provençal (Grandgent 1909, p. 20-1). There are some difficulties in the precise chronology (contrast *table b* above), but the qualities involved are agreed in any case to have been approaching fully close by the beginning of our period. The Cypriot loans regularly follow this pattern as in φύρμα "bench", κουρτέσης "courteous", πουμεπάρδα "cannon" (OF *fourme*, Fr. *courtois, bombarde*). This is consistent with a model in Provençal or French (including Poitevin) but difficult to square with the corresponding Italian vowel qualities (e.g. Meyer 1876: It. *forma, bombarde*).

Geminate consonants

French geminates were reduced in pronunciation to single consonants before the end of the 11th century, except *rr* which survived into Middle French (Pope 1952, § 366; cf. Grandgent 1909, § 67 for the similar case of Provençal). Accordingly, French geminate spellings correspond to single consonants in a number of Cypriot loans.¹⁰ E.g.: κίτες "acquitted", ὀνέστε "by fair means", προυμέσα "promise", ἀσίζα "decree", ρικουμανισάντζα "reconnaissance" (Fr. *quitte, honnête*,

9. Rather surprisingly, Hadjioannou (1991) derives the first two examples from Provençal, citing spellings in *h-* (but such spellings are "silent" in Provençal).

10. Additionally, processes within Cypriot Greek may produce geminates where French had none. For example nasal assimilation as in ἀβαττάτζια (Fr. *avantage*), and lengthening under *i*-synizesis. The latter process is extended to various diminutives in *-ιν* (from earlier *-ιον*) as in τριστέλλιν, χανάπιν, τραπουτζέτιν (Fr. *tréteau, hanap, trébuchet*).

promesse, assise, reconnaissance). But *rr* produces a geminate as in γκάρρα "war", περρούνιν "pavement, terrace" (Fr. *guerre, perron*). For items such as βεντέττα, γαλιόττα and ταμιτζέλλα, however, Dawson suggests direct borrowing from Italian. This cannot be a general solution, first because geminate terminations such as *-etta, -otta, -ella* occur also in items with no special claim to Italian origin: κερέλλα "plea", κουντέσσα "countess", τρουμπέττα "trumpet", κόττα "coat", δράππα "trap" (Fr. *querelle, contesse, trompette, cotte, trappe*), and second because, aside from such endings, Italian loans undergo the regular French degemination: πρεβετατούρης "director", τζιτατίνος "citizen" (It. *provveditore, cittadino*). Whatever the general solution to this question, it has to be sought within French, not Italian.¹¹

Characteristics of western French

The features discussed below, all found in Poitevin, reflect characteristics of western French (in the sense of Pope 1952, § 1326 – the "north-west" of Pignon 1960a, p. 520), mostly shared by Provençal, but absent from the French of Paris in the relevant period, as also from Italian.

[ó:] tonic free

The vowel symbolised as [ó:] in *table (b)* above went to [ø] by the 13th century, as in modern *fleur*. In the west and in Provençal, this did not apply. Instead there developed a high vowel [u] before the end of the 11th century (Pope 1952, § Wv). Correspondingly 13th century Poitevin texts have forms in *o* or *ou*, as in *ore, pennouse* (Fr. *heure, pénible*). By the 15th century, *ou* is uniform: *oure, goule*, etc. (Pignon 1960a, p. 220-1). The Cypriot loans regularly reflect this treatment: ἀμουρούζα "mistress", ἀκτούρ "plaintiff", ἀδετούρης "auditor" (Fr. *amoureuse, acteur, auditeur*).

[o']

The diphthong [o'] of *table (b)* above went gradually via 13th century [wè] to modern [wa] as in *roi, devoir*. In the west, and in Provençal, these developments did not take place. Instead, earlier *ei* levelled to [è] in the course of Later Old French (Pope 1952, § 226-30, Wvi). Correspondingly the medieval Poitevin texts show mainly forms in *ei* or *e* such as 13th century *saveir/saver, demandeir* (also *demande*), *dreit, fei* (Pignon 1960a, p. 206-7). The Cypriot situation is equally clear: πέ "king", ντεβέρ "duty", φέ "faith".

[i'é]

The diphthong [i'é] of *table (b)* above developed in several ways relevant to our data (Pope 1952, § 509), giving modern forms such as *chancelier, pied, siège, chier*. With the last two examples, compare *lit, giste* (by further pre-palatal raising).¹² In western French, it shifted to [jé] by the early 12th century and soon thereafter to [é], particularly early in the south west (Pope 1952, § 509-13). Moreover in Poitevin, as in Provençal, tonic free [è] remained undiphthongised (Pope 1952, § 229), and indeed Pignon stresses that, quite generally, the diphthong *ie* is not a trait proper to Poitevin. Thus from the 13th and 14th centuries he cites such forms as *chevaler, charpenters, veil, monser* (Fr. *-sire*), *seges, nece, meité/moyté, pité, chen* (Fr. *chien*) (1960a, p. 113-4, 134-5, 190). For the 16th century, see also Pignon (1960b, p. 33-4): *hussers, rivere, missaire, arrere, fevre*,

11. There seems to be an element of transliteration. We may also note that the Cypriot geminate compensates for the vowel length associated with the French spelling (Pope 1952, § 366, 575, 729).

12. The examples illustrate the following sources:

- Suffixes of the type *-arium* (Pope 1952, § 26).
- [è] tonic free (or before a single consonant in a monosyllable). Thus *pied, bien* (Pope 1952, § 225, 227).
- [è] tonic blocked or free by "breaking" before a palatal consonant (Pope 1952, § 410-11). Thus *siège, lit* (the latter exemplifying further raising to [i] before [j]).
- Post-palatal tonic free *a* (by Bartsch's Law) or further raised to *i* as above (Pope 1952 § 414-5). Thus *chier, giste*.

moeté, *chain* (Fr. *chien*); for western *mis-* in *missaire*, cf. Pope (1952, § 853). Cypriot loans generally reflect this situation. E.g.: σέντζης "siege", *ζεργέττα "towel", ρέν "accused person", πουκλέριν "shield", παρπέρης "barber", ριβ(ι)έρα "coast", *γέστη/*γίστη "nest" (Fr. *siège*, *serviette*, *rien* < Lat. *rem*, *bouclier*, *barbier*, *rivière*, *gîte*).

Nasalised vowels

Development of the nasalised vowels and diphthongs of French before *m*, *n*, *ñ* started with the lowest vowels [a], [ai] and reached by the late 12th century the situation indicated in *table (b)* above (with lowering of [e] to fall together with [ā]). By the end of the 13th century, probably all vowels (except perhaps [ū]) were audibly nasalised in the appropriate contexts. Further effects of vowel-lowering, consonant-deletion and vowel-denasalisation had not yet occurred (Pope 1952, § 428-78). In western as well as northern and north-eastern French the lowering of [e] to [ā] did not occur (Pope 1952, § 450, Wviii). Pignon notes that in the south-west the two vowels began to be confused in the spoken language towards the end of the 12th century. For Poitou,¹³ the documentary evidence is not precise; by the 13th century the two vowels were confused, but he notes that "the confusion must have been recent", and the distinction perhaps persisted in unstressed syllables into the 17th century (1960a, p. 333-5). The Cypriot loans mainly reflect the older position. For instance, ἀμαντιάζω "make amends" occurs commonly in the *Assises*, but we also find ἀμεντιάζω (A 181.9, 413.25). The usual tendency is seen in such loans as σέντε "between room", ρέντες "revenues", σεργέντης "sergeant" (Fr. *sente*, *rente*, *sergent*).

Characteristics of Provençal

The features discussed below, all found in Poitevin, reflect characteristics of Provençal not in general shared with other forms of French. These are among the features that have been taken as indicating the distinctively occitan influence on early medieval Poitevin. All were in retreat from the onset of northern dominance in the 12th century.

[é:]

The vowel [é:] of *table (b)* above derives from Gallo-Roman [a] tonic free (thus modern *frère*, *porter*). This is the clearest of those features in which Poitevin demonstrates its borderline position via-a-vis Provençal, in which [a] remained (Pope 1952, § 31-4). Pignon tells us (1960a, p. 176) that [a] remains today only at some points in the south-east of Vienne, but there is clear evidence, particularly from place-names, that it was earlier much more widely extended; a retreat before the influence of French began, probably in urban Poitiers, in the late 12th century (1960a, p. 183). In his 13th century texts he still finds a few forms such as *appelas* "appelé", *blat* "blé", but in later texts only the treatment characteristic of French (1960a, p. 178). The treatment in Cypriot loans is also mixed, with a bias towards the older forms. Loans reflecting unchanged [a] occur frequently, as in καντιτά "quantity", έτά "age", νάβα "ship", κουμπάρος "godfather" (vs. Fr. *quantité*, *été*, *nef*, *compère*), but a few apparently more recent forms reflect [é:], such as φρέρης "brother" (Fr. *frère*).

Diphthongs in -i

Gallo-Roman [a] was also involved in the development of diphthongs in -i under various circumstances connected with the nature of following nasals and palatals. Subsequent levelling gives modern forms such as *aime*, *main*, *plaindre*, *plaisir*, *aire*, *fait*.¹⁴ Absence of such -i glides in

13. Nasalised vowels were in place in our period over most of the Poitevin area (Pignon 1960a, p. 328-30). In the Cypriot loans, nasalisation itself is perhaps reflected in the occasional omission of the expected nasal consonant. E.g.: ζιτίλ "lady of gentle birth" but ζιντιλόμος "gentleman" (Fr. *gentil*, *gentilhomme*), and perhaps in the maintenance of a final nasal (as in the example ρέν above; cf. *bien* in Pignon 1960a, p. 330-2).

14. The examples illustrate the following:

Poitevin (as in Provençal) allowed in the 13th century such forms as *chapalan*, *plan*, *publican*, *plazer*, *fasant* (Pignon 1960a, p. 178, 504-9, cf. Pignon 1960b, p. 31-2).¹⁵ The Cypriot loans reflect this situation: τζιβιτάνος "commander", καρτάννα "quartan fever", *ραζούβ "reason", δισπλάζριν "displeasure" (OF *civitain*, *quartaine*, Fr. *raison*, *déplaisir*).¹⁶

[ø]

Among its various sources (Pope 1952, § 541-2, 555-7), the [ø] of *table* (*b*) above may derive from Gallo-Roman [ð] tonic free, as in *meuble* (pop. lat. *mobilis*). This development did not take place however in Old Poitevin or Provençal (Pope 1952, § 225-7, 229). Accordingly, Pignon notes (1960a, p. 149) such forms as *obres*, *trobres*, *mole* in the older Poitevin texts, confirming the ancient use of [ð] at least up to the region of Poitiers itself. However, "from the 13th century... the vocalism [ø], attested for certain words in the northern Poitevin zone and supported by French, had penetrated not only the written but also the spoken language" and by the 15th and 16th century texts, the French [ø] had "completely triumphed". Thus already in the 13th century *Sermons Poitevins* we find *oeuvres* (beside *ovres*), and in the 15th century *Gentes Poitevinrie*, only forms implying [ø] (Pignon 1960a, p. 146-7, 1960b). Our Cypriot loan data, though sparse, reflects this mixed situation. Thus we find πρόβα "proof", *μόπιλε "moveable household effects" (Fr. *preuve*, *meuble*), but also μέμπλη (doublet of μόπιλε), *μέμπλε "simple people" (Fr. *peuple*).

Dental fricatives

Intervocalic French *d* [ð] had been lost in inherited forms (together with its reflex [θ] when made final) "at latest by the middle of the 12th century" (Pope 1934, § 346-7, 1175-6). However in Provençal, [d] from Latin *-t-* remained. Latin *-d-* itself also remained as [d] in part of the west, though elsewhere it went via [ð] to [z], or fell (Grandgent 1909, p. 49, 53-4). Pignon shows (1960a, p. 449-54) that, in Poitou, retention of intervocalic [d] was widespread in the relevant period. The evidence is mainly based on place-name data, but the early texts also contain such forms as *rodage* (OF *roage*), *vide* (beside *vie*), *monedee* (Fr. *monayée*), and in some parts of the south such forms remain in modern times. Cypriot loans reflect the retention of [d] in several cases where it would no longer have been present in standard French models: κρουδέλ "harsh", φέδε "faith", μονέδα "money" (cf. Fr. *cruel*, *foi*, *monnaie*).

- In general, tonic free *a* diphthongised to *āi* before *n* or *m*, then fell together with *ei* (in [εⁱ]) during the 12th century. Generally, this levelled to [ε] in the course of Middle French; thus modern *aime*, *main*. In the south-west, however, the levelling occurred as early as the late 11th century (Pope 1952, § 427, 405-8, 466-9. Wiii).

- An *-i* glide was also stimulated under various other conditions, generally involving following palatals as in *plandre*, *plaisir*, *aire*, *fait* (Lat./Late Lat. *plangere*, *placere*, *area*, *factum*). Where *ai* was formed, it levelled to [ɛ] (word-finally, [ɛ̃]) during Later Old French; thus modern *maison*, *fait*, *porterai*. In the south (including the south-west) this levelling too seem to have begun as early as the 11th century (Pope 1952, § 404-9, 528-33).

Note also a few cases involving the French spelling *-aille*. E.g.: πατάλλια "attack", βιτουαλία "victuals" (Fr. *bataille*, *victuaille*). Here even Dawkins suggests alternative Italian sources (It. *battaglia*, *vittuaglie* describing the second example in particular as "closer to Italian" (1932, vol. 2, p. 241). This appears mistaken. The French *-ill* stands simply for palatal [λ] (cf. Pope 1952, § 696), as does *-λ(λ)ι* before vowel in the Cypriot loans.

15. Compare Poitevin *pu* "puits", etc. (Pignon 1960a, p. 504). At least by the 15th century, we have Poitevin *hussers* "huissiers" (Pignon 1960b, p. 34; for western [ūs] see also Pope 1952, § 315, Wx). The corresponding Cypriot forms are λουσιέρης/λουχιέρης "usher", λουσέριν "transport ship".

16. The non-reflection of the *-i* glide is perhaps not in itself significant, since such glides appear to be filtered out by the substitution process even in such loans as τζάριν "litter", μάστρος "master" (Fr. *chaire*, *maître* < Lat. *cathedra*, *magister*). The striking fact is the absence of levelling, given its early application in other parts of the south-west (note 14 above).

Distinctive characteristics of Poitevin

Pignon (1960a, p. 522-3) identifies just a few characteristics that are distinctive of Poitevin itself (and neighbouring Santongeais). Of these, it appears that the two below were active in the relevant period.

[^ea^u]

Exclusively characteristic of Poitevin is a special treatment of the triphthong [^ea^u] (from Gallo-Roman [ɛ]+l preconsonantal as in *beaux* < Lat. *bellos*). In Poitevin it went to [ea], both preconsonantal and final, at least by the 11th century (later [ya] - Pignon 1960a, p. 265-75). Thus, from the 13th century texts: *clozea* "petit clos", *agnea*, *pea*, *chastea*, *Beamunt*, etc. (Pignon 1960a, p. 267-70). Relevant Cypriot loans are Πιάλεκε "Beaulieu" (OF *bel* as in Fr. *Beaulieu*), probably also τζόγια "jewel" (OF *joel*).

Retention of final [-k], and development of etymologically unjustified final [-k]

In Poitevin, a final voiceless stop (in most of the region, [-k]) may be retained in cases where it had dropped in French, or may be developed without an etymological basis (Pignon 1960a, p. 471-81, 162-7). Retention (a trait also found in Provençal) is exemplified in Pignon's discussion of forms such as *luec* "place" (Fr. *lieu* < Lat. *locum*). He concludes that this characteristic "must at the beginning of the 13th century have extended up to La Rochelle and up to Poitiers" (1960a, p. 165). Unetymological development (a trait apparently special to Poitevin) is exemplified in Pignon's discussion (1960a, p. 474-81) of such forms as [suk], [bòk] (Fr. *seul*, *bot*). The relevant Cypriot loans provide just one example of each type:

- retention of [-k] in Πιάλεκε "Beaulieu", *λεκτενέντος "lieutenant" (Fr. *Beaulieu*, *lieutenant*); cf. Dawkins 1932, vol. 2, p. 63 for the OF form *leuc* in the *Gestes des Chiprois*, and the Cypriot spelling *Bialeuq*.

- development of [-k] (replacing [-t]) in *τρόκκος "trot" (Fr. *trot*).

Particular characteristics of La Gente Poitevinrie

In general, the vowel [ɛ] of *table* (b) above is replaced by Greek ι, as in τριζόριν (Fr. *trésor*). In many cases, including all those in the *Assises*, this may simply reflect the Cypriot hearing of a relatively close, unaccented French original. The phenomenon is not quite regular. Thus in the *Assises* we find ριστίβικον, but also ρεσπίτ (Fr. *rétif*, *répit*); in *Machairas* we find δισπλαζίριν, τριστέλλιν and κρινέλλιν but also δεσδένιον (Fr. *déplaisir*, *tréteau*, *créneau*, *dédain*). There appears to be a general uncertainty, allowing *i* also to be replaced by *ε*: πεζούνιν, ριμούριν/ρεμούριν (Fr. *pigeon*, OF *rimur*). In addition, a notable feature of the 15th century *Chronicles* is the extended use of the Greek vowel ι for unaccented front or central vowels in general. For example: ρικουμαντιάζω, λικουβριάζω, άρσινάλλιν, τζαμιλοττία, ταμιτζέλλα, λικτινέντος, κλιούρης, ζιτίλ, ζιντιλόμος (Fr. *recommander*, *recouvrer*, *arsenal*, OF *chamelot*, Fr. *lieutenant*, *cueilleur*, *gentil*, *gentilhomme*).

Pignon comments on similar phenomena in the 16th century verse collection *La Gente Poitevinrie* (first published at Poitiers in 1572). He notes the frequent spelling *i* corresponding to French unaccented *e*, which he interprets as "no doubt [ɛ]", in such items as *consiquence*, *dicouver*, *diluge*, *dipans*, *discendre*, *ispres* 'expres', *isté* ("été"), *itaby*, *ixcès*, *mimoire*, *quistion*, *ytas* "états" (1960b, p. 42; for further discussion cf. 1960a, p. 369-70). Here too we find examples suggesting a more general tendency affecting unaccented front and central vowels. For example: *millour* "meilleur", *signours*, *passitens* "passe-temps", *rigarde*, *dimi*, *brivet*.¹⁷ Also, Poitevin may have *e* [ø] against unaccented French [ɔ], [u] from earlier [ɔ], or [a]. This produces further examples: *dimage*, *itrage*, *ivocat* (Pignon 1960b, p. 41-3). Also, Poitevin may have the nasalised vowel [ẽ] against

17. As in the Cypriot case, the phenomenon is rare before *r*. Thus Poitevin *servette*, *derrere*, Cypriot *ζερεβέττα, σεργέντης, τζαμπερλάνος. Occasional exceptions occur. Thus *Machairas* has σιργέντης.

French [ã] and [õ] (1960b, p. 40-1). This provides a further set of examples: *ingoisse*, *mingeaille*, *demindresse*, *aintere/intere* "entière", *arringer*, *intour* "entour", *aintre/eintre/intre* "entre", *laingage/lingage*, *timpeste*, in "un", *lindy*, etc.¹⁸

We are not sure what to make of this curious parallel. It seems to suggest some influence from Poitevin fashion continuing into the later Lusignan period. In that case it falls together with the few examples (*cf.* note 5 above) of exceptions to the prevailing conservatism.

Conclusion

We have questioned the emphasis by Meyer and Dendias on Italian and by Hadjioannou on Provençal (*per se*) as major sources for loans into Cypriot Greek in the Lusignan period. We have supposed instead that, under prestige pressure working within a feudal system, the major influence on courtly speech must be the Poitevin usage of the royal dynasty, particularly in the early years of Lusignan rule. The data discussed above confirms the involvement of a French variety of this type, at the interface of French, western French and Provençal. There is moreover evidence directly implicating the area around Poitiers, with particular reference to the state of the dialect in the late 12th and early 13th centuries.

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18. For the nasalised vowels, the phenomenon extends to tonic syllables: *praindre/prindre* "prendre", *simble* "sembler", *auquin* "aucun", *chaquin*, *emprin*. In this, though, we cannot compare Cypriot (except perhaps σιζίνιν for Fr. *sizain*).