

- Laum, Bernhard. 1928. *Das Alexandrinische Akzentuationssystem*. Ferdinand Schöningh. Paderborn.
- Mirambel, André. 1959. *La Langue Grecque Moderne*. Collection Linguistique Publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris, Volume LIX. Librairie C. Klincksieck. Paris.
- Postgate, J.P. 1924. *A Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek*. University Press of Liverpool Ltd. Hodder & Stoughton Ltd. London.
- Smyth, Herbert Weir. 1959. *Greek Grammar*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge.
- Sturtevant, Edgar H. 1940. *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*. 2nd edition. Linguistic Society of America. University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia.
- Szemerényi, Oswald. 1970. *Einführung in die Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. Darmstadt.
- Thumb, Albert. 1932. *Handbuch der Griechischen Dialekte*. Zweite erweiterte Auflage von E. Kieckers. Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung. Heidelberg. 2 vols.
- Trubetzkoy, N.S. 1962. *Grundzüge der Phonologie*. 3rd edition. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Göttingen.
- Vendryes, J. 1945. *Traité d'Accentuation Grecque*. Librairie C. Klincksieck. Paris.
- Wackernagel, Jakob and Debrunner, Albert. 1959. *Altindische Grammatik. Band I: Lautlehre*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Göttingen.
- Warburton, Irene P. 1970. "Rules of Accentuation in Classical and Modern Greek." *Glotta*. 48.107–122.
- Westermann, D. and Ward, Ida C. 1957. *Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages*. Oxford University Press. London.
- Wheeler, Benjamin I. 1885. *Der Griechische Nominalaccent*. Verlag von Karl J. Trübner. Straßburg.
- Wijk, N. van. 1939. *Phonologie: een Hoofdstuk uit de Structurele Taalwetenschap*. Martinus Nijhoof. 'S-Gravenhage.

Matoas, the Thraco-Phrygian name for the Danube, and the IE root *madu

By ROBERT DYER, Amherst, Massachusetts

Before the Scythians gave the name Danube (*Δάνουβις* or *Δάνουσις*) to the river known to the Greeks as the *Ἰστρος*,¹⁾ it was known as the Matoas (*Ματόας*). This piece of information is reported

¹⁾ This name may reflect the local word for "river", as *is-* and *tar-* are both common elements in river names of the area.

to us by Stephanus of Byzantium in his entry *Δάνουβις* and by Eustathius on Dionysius Periegetes 428 (p. 298). The entries are unclear whether Matoas was the earlier Scythian name or was found by them as a pre-Scythian name when they moved into the area of the Danube.²⁾ Both sources give as the Greek equivalent of the name Matoas *ἄσιος*. Paul Kretschmer, in his study of the name of the Danube, “Zum Balkan-Skythischen” (*Glotta* 24, 1936, 1–55), pp. 4–11, rejected the reading *ἄσιος* in favor of *αἰσιος* “fortunate”, although he found the latter reading in only one manuscript (codex d, Monacensis, of Eustathius). This emendation formed part of his argument that Matoas was the Scythian for the “Fortunate River” and was related, with the Scythian royal name *Μαδώνης* (Hdt. I 103) and *Μάδης* (Strabo I 61), to Old Iranian *madati* “to spring, enjoy”. Thus Walde-Pokorny (I 694) lists Matoas under IE **mad-*, a root for “damp” or “excited”.

However, Kretschmer was not justified in emending the original reading in the manuscripts. The adjective *ἄσιος* was postulated by Byzantine etymologists, in connection with the etymologies of *Ἀσιος*,³⁾ as deriving from the noun *ἄσις* “silt, mud carried or deposited by rivers”. Thus *Asia* would mean, according to this

²⁾ Although Herodotus names the Danube as the frontier between the Scythians and Thracians (4, 99), modern archeological research into this frontier shows few Scythian sites between the Danube and Dniester, and many Getic. See A.I. Meliukova, “K voprosu o granitse mezhdu skifami i getami”, in *Drevnie frakijtsy v Severnom Prichernomor'e* (= *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii SSSR*, 150), Moscow 1969, pp. 61–80, with a map facing p. 64. The Scythians are said to have replaced the Cimmerians (Hdt. 4, 11–12), whom they drove westward, perhaps after 650 B.C. Neither Scythians nor Cimmerians seem to have done more than pass through the Thracian lands.

The Thracians nearest to the Danube were the Getae, who put up a fierce resistance against Darius (Hdt. 4, 93). It is not my business here to speculate on the suggested identity of this people with the Goths. For my purposes I assume that the Thracians tribes were ethnically and linguistically akin, and related to the Phrygians. I assume this linguistic group to be distinct from the Scythians, who belong, to the best of our knowledge, to the Iranian branch of Indo-European.

³⁾ See sch. D (cf. BTGe¹) and Eustathius on Hom. *B* 461, where *ἄσις* is given as a dialect equivalent of *λύς*. This explanation of *ἄσιος λειμών* is correctly rejected by Eustathius and, later, by Lambinus in a letter to Muretus (*Epist. Clar. Vir.* 2, 408), although the river Cayster is muddy. On the sense of *ἄσις* see sch. DGe¹Φ 321, cf. EM 816, 17, (on *Ἀσαμίνθους*), sch. κ 576, and (on *ἀσώδει*) sch. Aesch. *Hik.* 32. See also Dyer, “Asia/**Aswia* and Archilochus fr. 23”, *Parola del Passato* 101, 1965, 115–132 (esp. notes 7, 27).

fanciful etymology, the “Silty Land”.⁴⁾ It is reasonable to assume that, when Stephanus and Eustathius gloss the river name Matoas with Greek ἄσιος, they use ἄσιος in the postulated sense of “silty”, for which ἰλυώδης might be more normal Greek. Byzantine scholarship shows a similar knowledge of such forms of ἄσις as equivalent to derivatives of ἰλύς in the scholion *ad* Hom. Φ 321: ἄσιογενῆαι. The corruption of ἄσιος to αἰσιος in one manuscript causes no surprise, as the word is not normal Greek, except in the inappropriate sense of “Asian”.

Moreover, Kretschmer ignored the inherent probability of naming the river Danube from one of its most prominent characteristics. The river is notorious for the heavy volume of silt carried (estimated in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* as 108,000,000 tons annually) and deposited in the muddy flats and sand-bars of the river’s delta. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* describes how the silt from the Kiliya channel tends to block the mouths of the other channels, and states, “The delta of the Danube . . . is a wilderness of swamps and marshes covered by tall reeds, through which the silt-laden distributaries of the river slowly meander . . . At one time . . . the numerous sand banks and bars added to the difficulty of shipping.” We should, in my opinion, accept the clear evidence of Stephanus and Eustathius that Matoas referred to this characteristic of the Danube and its delta. Moreover, we may now conjecture that the ethnic name *Ματοκέται* referred to the people who lived in the silty delta of the Danube.

The area of the lower Danube was largely Thracian (Getic), and it is reasonable to assume that the whole region was Thraco-Phrygian before the arrival of the Scythians (cf. n. 2). The name Matoas attaches itself to an IE root for watery or sodden mud or other mass, in which the final consonant is securely voiced. The de-voicing is inconsistent with what we know of Iranian dialects, assuming Scythian to be such, but has secure parallels in Thracian and the better-known Phrygian. It seems proper to explore the IE history of Matoas from the assumption that it is a Thraco-Phrygian name, applied by these peoples to the Danube before the arrival of the Scythians or Greeks in the area, and that it shows phonological changes typical of Thraco-Phrygian but not of Iranian.

⁴⁾ So still in Pape-Benseler, *Eigennamen*: “Moorland”.

The root from which the name comes is not **mad* but **madu*, with a labialized dental. This labialization vanishes in many derived forms or appears as a coloring of the root vowel. Thus Greek has cognate forms *μαδάω* and *μυδάω*, *μύδος*, *μύσος*. Latin ignores the labialization: *madeo*, *madidus*. However, the Germanic languages show clear evidence that the final consonant is a cluster: MLG, ME *mudde* (NE *mud*), Dutch *modder*; OE *mæd* (plural: *myddes*, oblique cases in *mædw-*, whence NE *meadow*).⁵⁾ It appears that certain words assigned in Walde-Pokorny to a root **meut-* actually belong here: Armenian *mut* ‘dark (of rain-clouds)’, MIr *mothar* ‘thick mass’.

In dialect divergence it is typical that consonant clusters containing labialization or palatalization as features may either develop towards true consonantal clusters (with *ɥ* represented as [v]) or towards simple consonant + vowel (from *ɥ* [u] or [o]; from *ĩ* [i]).⁶⁾ Phrygian has a well-attested change from *ɥ* to [u] or [o]: from the root **ɥid-* (‘to see’) *oouitetou*; *oueban*; *ni-oisios*;⁷⁾ from **sɥ-ouekro*, *ouegno*;⁸⁾ from *-gɥ-* *αδαννος*.⁹⁾ I see no secure parallels in the slight remains of Thracian, although the stem from which *κοαδάμα* is derived, **geu*, **gūa* (‘to bend’), may be in the form **gɥa*.¹⁰⁾ There is enough evidence to assert that the vowel -o- in Matoas represents a normal Thraco-Phrygian vocalization of the semi-vowel -ɥ- in the root **madu*.

⁵⁾ *Meadow* is sometimes referred to the root for ‘mowing’ **me(t)*, but the word in its earliest uses refers to low-lying riverside fields left uncultivated because of the damp, flood-prone character of the ground.

⁶⁾ On the role of diverging articulations of the semi-vowels *ĩ* and *ɥ* see my forthcoming article ‘The role of the infrasegmental sonorant in dialect divergence’. The theory is particularly powerful in Sino-Tibetan dialectology, where underlying forms often have several articulators simultaneously employed and an underlying [tɕɥan] (where [tɕɥ] represents, vertically, one acoustic sound) may develop, in some pronunciations of Mandarin, to [tɕoan], or, in Northwestern dialects such as Soviet Dungan, to [pʃan], [tʃan], or [kʃan] (S. Rimsky-Korsakoff, ‘Soviet Dungan: the Chinese language of Central Asia’, *Monumenta Serica* 26, 1967, 352–421, p. 368 n. 34, citing M. Hashimoto, *Chūgoku Gogaku* 68, 1957, 220–232, and the work of the Dragunovs).

⁷⁾ Otto Haas, *Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler*. Akademie bulgare des sciences, Linguistique balkanique 10. Sofia, 1966, p. 206, § V 9, 2.

⁸⁾ Haas p. 220, § V 14, 4.

⁹⁾ Haas p. 214, § V 12, 2.

¹⁰⁾ Dimitar Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*. Österreichische Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Schriften d. Balkankommission, Linguistische Abt. 14. Vienna, 1957, p. 551. Tokl had earlier postulated **qua-*.

There are ample parallels for the de-voicing of IE voiced stops, particularly in the context of *-y-*. In both Phrygian and Thracian we have *tios* from **diy*.¹¹⁾ Phrygian gives *bruk-* from **bhrug-*, *oovitetou* from **yidetod*. Thracian gives *tomoi* from **dem-*,¹²⁾ *torm-* or *turm-* from **dr̥m* (to which Detschew remarks that *-o-* comes about “wegen der offenen Aussprache des thr. *ǔ*”).¹³⁾

We may thus take *Matoas* as an example of the change of IE *dy* in Thraco-Phrygian to *-to-*, and list it under a new IE root **mady-* “sodden mass, such as *mud*, *mud-flats*, *silt*”, distinct from IE **mad-* “excited, fortunate”.

Textkritisches zu lateinischen Figurenlehren (Anecdoton Parisinum, Cassiodor, Quintilian)

Von ULRICH SCHINDEL, Göttingen

Wolf-Hartmut Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag

In Karl Halms *Rhetores Latini Minores* (1863) ist unter Ziffer V ein kleiner Traktat über die Figurenlehre abgedruckt mit dem überlieferten Titel *Schemata dianoeas quae ad rhetores pertinent*. Zur Begründung für seine Aufnahme in die Sammlung sagt Halm gleichsam entschuldigend *par erat scriptores de figuris non disiungere*¹⁾; entschuldigend, denn *pauca scitu digna continet*²⁾. Die Forschung hat sich daraufhin, soweit ich sehe, mit dem Werkchen nicht mehr beschäftigt.

Entdeckt hatte den Traktat Theodor Mommsen 1845 in Paris; eine Abschrift war auf Umwegen an Heinrich Keil gekommen, der damals die Herausgabe der *Grammatici Latini* vorbereitete. Dieser jedoch hatte ihn ebenso wie später Halm für unwichtig gehalten. Erst sein Hallenser Schulkollege Friedrich August Eckstein hatte ihn dann 1852 in einem Programm der zu den Franckeschen

¹¹⁾ Haas p. 209, § V 10,2; Detschew pp. 506–507.

¹²⁾ Detschew pp. 510–511.

¹³⁾ Detschew p. 514.

¹⁾ Vorwort der *RhLatmin* S. VIII.

²⁾ Siehe vorige Anmerkung.