

ΑΤΡΕΚΗΣ, ΑΤΡΑΚΤΟΣ

Meillet *Introduction* 177 wrongly associates ἀτρεκής with **trem-/tres-*. Frisk *GEW* 1.181, on the basis of earlier perceptive studies, associates ἀτρεκής, surely correctly and on good semantic grounds, with ἄτρακτος and Skt. *tarku-* 'spindle' and further with Lat. *torqueō*. There is left however a doubt (*GEW* 1.181, 180) on the phonology of this comparison, and the word formations remain incompletely explained. I believe we now have an exact parallel whereby we may understand the above set of forms.

I have recently (IF 81, 1976, 41—42) explained φοῖβος : ἀφικτός=Iran. **bigna-*(→ἀ-ηδής = Skt. *prá-svād-as-*: *a-svād-u*←*svad-ú*-)as **bhig-ú* → *bhoigú-o* : *n-bhig-tó*- . The formation rules here are:

IE *B (zero)-ú → B (o)- <u>u</u> (+o)-	: NEG + B- <u>u</u> /(NEG+)/B (zero)- <i>tó</i>
	: PREFIX + B-es-
Gk. *B (zero)-ú- → B (o)- <u>u</u> +o	: PREFIX : (NEG+) B (zero)- <i>tó</i>
(Lat.?)	NEG + B-es-

Within this framework we may take Skt. *tarku-* to be a nominalization **tork-u-*; the ambiguous Lat. *torqueō*, perhaps to be compared to *luceō lūxi* or to verbs lacking old presents such as *augeō auxi* or *su-ādeo suāsī*, can easily be an old denominative **torquejo*.

We then have the series attested:

**t(o)rk-ú-* → *tork-u*-+*e-ié-* : *n+trek-es-* : *trk-to-*

Thus we see that, morphologically as well as semantically, the ἀ of ἀτρεκής must be ἀ- privative, while that of ἄτρακτος is probably the „conjunctive“ α, perhaps **sm*¹. The morphology of ἀτρεκής is seen to support the phonology of *torqueō* and the stem-class of *tarku-*, and thus indirectly both formerly puzzling aspects of ἄτρακτος.

Ἀτρεκής, thus clarified, also helps to settle the original form of the root. The shape **tork-* attested in Indic, Latin, Baltic and Slavic must be a fresh formation from the zero-grade of **trk-ú* and **trk-tó*². The original form of the root is then best stated as **trek-*.

We must then regard the vocalism of Albanian *tierr* pret. *tora* < **ter(k)-n-ō* (incorrectly **tērknō* apud Pokorny IEW 1077) as secondary. The Toch. B participle *tetarkuwa* can represent the zero-grade.

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¹ Certainly not a zero-grade of ἐν, as Pokorny IEW 1077 would have it, nor a laryngeal reflex as Beekes (*The Development of Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Greek* 1969) diffidently suggests.

² For this and other reasons Saka *hataljs-* 'td flutter' can scarcely be from **fra-tark-*, as R.E. Emmerick *Saka Grammatical Studies* (1968) 145 will have it.