

## ΑΤΡΕΚΗΣ, ΑΤΡΑΚΤΟΣ

Meillet *Introduction* 177 wrongly associates ἄτρεκῆς with \**trem-/tres-*. Frisk *GEW* 1.181, on the basis of earlier perceptive studies, associates ἄτρεκῆς, 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 : ἄφικτός = Iran. \**bigna-* (→ ἄ-ηδής = Skt. *prá-svād-as-* : *a-svād-u* ← *svād-ú-*) as \**bhig-ú* → *bhoig-u-* : *ḡ-bhig-tó-*. The formational rules here are:

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

Within this framework we may take Skt. *tarku-* to be a nominalization \**tork-u-*; the ambiguous Lat. *torqueō*, perhaps to be compared to *lūceō lūxi* or to verbs lacking old presents such as *augeō auxili* or *suādeo suāsi*, can easily be an old denominative \**torqueio*.

We then have the series attested:

\**t(o)rk-ú-* → *tork-ḡ+e-ié-* : *ḡ+trek-es-* : *tṛk-to-*

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

Ἄτρεκῆς, 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*<sup>-2</sup>. 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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<sup>1</sup> Certainly not a zero-grade of *évn*, 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.