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The Proto-Slavic Word-initial *x-*

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We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time

T. S. Eliot: *Little Gidding, V.*

Prefatory note

This book is based on my Ph.D. dissertation *Vznik a původ praslovanského iniciálního ch-* defended at the Slavic Department, Charles University in 2001. The present English version should amend some passages, enlarge and update the bibliography, and present the issues to a broader linguistic audience.

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Introduction

The rise and the origin of the sound *x-*, in particular in the initial position, is one of the major puzzles of the Slavic phonology. It is symptomatic that most of what the renowned Czech etymologist Václav Machek wrote in his rather sceptical introduction to his first larger study on this topic (Machek 1930: 60f.) holds true even after more than 70 years: "Od doby, kdy vyšla práce Il'jinského, bylo o této těžké otázce dosti psáno, aniž se vysvětlila nějak podstatně. [...] Kdo by chtěl v nynější době revidovat celou otázku, musil by o tom napsati celou knihu, jejíž výsledky by možná byly dost hubené a sporné. [...] Také si nečiníme naději, že tato kapitolka nějak silně pohne tím balvanem. [...] Přispěje-li ten i onen tím, že přesvědčivě vyloží aspoň jedno záhadné slovo, bude věci pomoženo lépe, než kdyby znovu jednal o celé otázce tím způsobem, že by konfrontoval a kritisoval jednotlivé výklady, ale při tom nepřinášel nic nového."[1]

Each of these statements could be an epigraph of my contemporary work. Even I presume that the right way to the elucidation of the whole dark question is thorough etymological analysis of individual words with initial *x-* (cf. Rejzek 1995, 1998, 2000). On the other hand, I am convinced that, with a certain lapse in time, it is also necessary to give a synoptic view of the whole question. Since the time of Il'jinskij and Machek the etymological research has progressed, bringing both new explanations of individual words and even new theories on the rise of Slavic *x-*. As far as I know, the synoptic view of the whole question has not been delivered in recent decades. Il'jinskij's work (Il'jinskij 1916) which Machek praises for its "unique exhaustiveness and perfect completeness" (l.c.) is difficult to attain, and, after 90 years, most of its explanations look excessive and outdated. It only confirms the legitimacy and necessity of the new recapitulative view of the problem.

I decided to follow this procedure:

1) Describe the problem of the rise of Slavic *x* (also in the non-initial position).
2) Outline the existing opinions on the rise of Slavonic initial *x-* and review all hitherto considered possibilities.

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[1] Since the work of Il'jinskij was published, this difficult question has been dealt with fairly without being explained somehow fundamentally [...] He who would like to review the whole question nowadays would have to write the whole book whose results might well be scanty and questionable. [...] We cannot hope that this small chapter will move the rock somehow more strongly [...] If anyone contributes by persuasive explanation of at least one puzzling word, he will help the matter better than if he confronted and criticised individual explanations but would bring nothing new.

3) Analyze etymologically the PS lexicon with the initial x- and assess the possible sources of x- and the chronology of its rise.

In view of the nature of the problem, we can hardly expect that this work will solve the complex question of the Slavic initial x-, or, speaking in Machek's words „will move the rock somehow more strongly". I consider it realistic, however, to expect that the work will bring some new etymological solutions, and – in some aspects – also a new view of the whole question.

I. The rise of Slavic *x* in the non-initial position – the *ruki* rule

Before we devote ourselves to the rise of Slavic initial x-, it is necessary to examine conditions of the rise of x in the non-initial position and its phonologization in the PS phonological system.

As is well known, Slav. x arose from the IE *s in the position after i, u, r, k, if not followed by an occlusive. This sound change which was first described by a Danish linguist Holger Pedersen (Pedersen 1895) and which is accordingly called Pedersen's or *ruki* rule provokes several questions:

1) Why does the change take place just after i, u, r, k? (These sounds differ greatly in function and articulation.)
2) What was the process of the change? (Because of the articulatory difference between s and x it is unprobable that the change would have been realized directly.)
3) What are the areal and chronological contexts of the change?
4) How can one explain the instances in which x does not follow after original i, u, r, k (e.g. PS *paxati, *koxati, *soxa)?

Conditions and area of the retraction

Phonetically speaking, the *ruki* rule says that in some IE languages s is retracted in the position after the mentioned sounds; that is to say, it shifts its articulation back. The results of this shift differ among languages, as well as some restrictions of its effect. The change was carried out most consistently in Indo-Iranian languages – the results are š in Old Iranian (Avesta) and cerebral (cacuminal, retroflex) ṣ in Old Indian. The Baltic languages display a rather restricted distribution of š after *ruki* in Lith. whereas Latv. and OPr. seem not to be affected by the change. There are also references to š after r and k in Arm. (another *satem* language) but scholars are divided in this issue (cf. Stang 1966: 95). The situation in Alb. is even more unclear. By virtue of the Indo-Iranian and Baltic evidence, the interstage š is assumed for Slavic as well.

Heterogeneity of the sounds that produce the change s > x is apparent. The high front vowel i, the high back vowel u, the liquid r and the back obstruent k are phonetically different sounds, and their impact on the following spirant seems not to have any common denominator.

Shevelov's phonetic explanation of the change in Slavic is that the *s* articulation was raised in connection with the retraction of the top of the tongue curve in the position after *i, u, r*. The change of *s* after *k* is treated separately as an articulatory assimilation:

$$ks > kx > (xx) > x$$

This *x* is supposed to operate as a kind of catalyst which contributed to the transformation of the various allophones of *s* into a new common sound *x*, a new PS phoneme (Shevelov 1965: 128; Leška 2003: 124).

The phonological explanation, based on the opposition of markedness and unmarkedness, was proposed by Andersen (1968: 175). In his view, *i* and *u* share one relational property with *k* and *g* (which is usually not included in the formula, but evidently should be): the high vowels *i* and *u* are marked with respect to the diffuse *vs* compact opposition, for the optimal vowel is compact; the back obstruents *k* a *g* are marked with respect to the compact *vs* diffuse opposition, for the optimal consonant is diffuse. If one assumes that the liquid *r* was marked with respect to the interrupted *vs* continuous opposition, then the establishment of the *s/x* variation, or, as Andersen states, s_1/s_2 variation can be described as a markedness assimilation: after segments marked with respect to a secondary resonance feature (diffuse *vs* compact in vowels, compact *vs* diffuse in obstruents, interrupted *vs* continuous in liquids) *s* becomes marked (i.e. compact).

Andersen's conception was questioned by Vennemann (1974: 94, note 7) who is particularly puzzled by the conclusion that *s* becomes compact after *r* because *r* is interrupted, and after *i* and *u* because *i* and *u* are not compact. Vennemann's solution seems to be more simple and plausible. In the feature system of Chomsky and Halle (1968) the *ruki* class can be described as [– anterior, – low] provided that the articulation of Slavic *r* was retroflex like in Sanskrit. The retroflex *r* does explain its influence on *s*. That *i* has a retracting (as well as raising) influence on *s* is known from palatalization processes in many languages. The velars *u* and *k* are back segments; that they should retract a dental segment is not surprising (cf. also Whitney 1960: 180a). However, from the retracting influence of *i, u, k* does in no way follow that the affected segment should be retroflex. Vennemann, starting from the fact that languages do not tolerate indefinite proliferation of allophons, explains the change *s* to *ṣ* not only after *r*-sounds but also after *i, u,* and *k* as a merger of the acoustically similar allophones on auditory grounds (Vennemann 1974: 92–93).

It is assumed that the IE *s*, when subject to the retraction, was apical and not coronal as in most contemporary IE languages. The IE consonants *r* and *s* were the only representatives of their classes (sibilant and vibrant, respectively) which implies their relative latitude in articulation (cf. Bičovský 2005: 19f.).

As is indicated above, Pedersen's rule omits the sound *g* in his inventory of sounds that bring about the change of the IE *s* into PS. The etymology of some words (*straxъ* < *strōg-so, *strěxa* < *stroig-sā*) and the system aspect imply, however, that it should be included (in fact, most scholars assume assimilation of voice *gs* > *ks*). Unanimously enough, it is assumed that the change did not take place after IE *k'* a *g'*, because the IE *k's* (reliable examples for *g's* are lacking) was realized as *s* (*k'* > *s* and *s + s* then merged into one s) and in Lith as *š* (*k'* > *š* and *š + s* merged into š) in contrast

with OInd. where is *kš* in this position and OIran. with *š* (probably *k's* > *k'š* > *sš* > *š*). Cf. Lat. *axis* 'axis' (IE *ak's-*) beside OCS *osъ*, Av. *aša-*, OI. *ákša-*; Lat. *dexter* 'right' (IE *dek's-*) beside OCS *desnъ*, Av. *dašina-*, OI. *dákšina-*. Another solution is offered by Andersen again (1968: 175f. and 1970: 15f.). In his opinion, PS *s* < IE *k's* can also be interpreted to mean that it may be the continuation of the original *k'* after which an s_2 (later *x*) has been lost, possibly at the stage when *k'* was realized as a palatal affricate. He seeks to support this risky idea by Lith. forms of the sigmatic future like *neš* (from *neš-s-0*) 'he/she will carry' a *veš* (*vež-s-0*) 'he/she will transport', where *š* (from IE *k'*) a *ž* (from IE *g'*) absorb the following *s*, while the regressive assimilation is common elsewhere (sibilant clusters in words like *išsemti, užsakyti* are realized like [s]). Andersen explains this phenomenon by the change *s* > s_2 (later Lith. *š*) also after IE *k'* and by the subsequent merge of both sounds. However impressive this morphophonemic rule seems to be, I am rather skeptical about it. The mentioned effect can conceivably be explained by the progressive assimilation, and also cannot be taken as evidence for Slavic. The development of *s* after *k'* is difficult to determine principally because we do not know the exact phonetic quality of IE *k'*, or what it sounded like, on its way to Slav. *s* at the moment, when the change *s* > *x* after *i, u, r, k* began. Having considered all the conditions I rather incline to the traditional view that the change *s* > *x* after *k'* did not take place in Slav.

The different treatment of IE *k's* in Slav. and Indo-Ir. is one of significant differences between Indo-Iranian and Slavic. It convinces some scholars that the *ruki* change is not an IE dialectal innovation, but only a result of a later language contact. Shevelov (1965: 128) argues that the change *s* > *ṣ* in Indo-Iranian was part of a general trend to make dentals retroflex after *i, u, r, k* (in this position also *t, th, d, dh, n* > *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ*) while Slav. does not attest any trace of such a change. This argument was rejected by Cvetko-Orešnik (1998: 55) who claims that dental retroflexes in Indo-Ir. obviously arose under different conditions (see Wackernagel – Debrunner 1978: 166f.).

In contrast with Indo-Ir., Slavic *s* did not change after *i, u, r, k*, if followed by an occlusive. Thus we have ORuss. *pichati* 'to stamp' (from *peis-a-*) besides OCz. *piest* 'stamper, piston' (from *pois-to-*), whereas there are Av. *pišant-* 'crushing' and OInd *piṣṭá-* 'ground'. This difference is also disputed by Andersen (see in particular 1968: 189) who considers a possibility of the Slav. development *s* > s_2 (i.e. later *x*) in these positions, though his explanation is less than persuasive. We can admit, however, that the first stage of the retraction took place in Slav. even before an obstruent, and that reversion to the original state was a matter of the further development.

Shevelov introduces another argument supporting the idea of the later contact of Indo-Ir. and PS. He explains that the former carried out the change of IE *s* not only after the original *r*, but also after *r* arisen from IE *l*. This implies that the Indo-Ir. change *s* > *ṣ* took place only after the change *l* > *r*, which is purely an Indo-Ir. innovation.

There is less of a resemblance between Slav. and Balt. Lith. *s* > *š* regularly after *r, k* but not regularly after *i, u*. Latv. and OPr. do not manifest any changes of *s* after *i, u, r, k* at all. Lith. change after *i, u* is quite exceptional (e.g. *maišas* 'bellows' as compared with OCS *měxъ*, *vetušas* 'old' as compared with OCS *vetъxъ*, *jūšė* 'fish soup' as compared with OCS *juxa* 'soup'), it occurs, however, also before an occlusive (cf. Lith. *áiškus* 'clear' as compared with OCS *jasnъ*). Thus, it is preferable to assume that the change in

Lith. took place also after *i, u*; we avoid thus the paradox that the change would happen only partially in comparison with Slav. while at the same time with no restriction by the following occlusive as in Slav. Karaliunas (1966: 113–126), who closely studied this question, explained the failed execution of the change due to various morphologic and morphematic factors. Other authors, nevertheless, consider *s* after *i, u* as regular and they try to explain the above-mentioned examples with *š* by different etymological connections (Endzelin 1911: 29f.) or by mixing with non-Baltic dialects (Stang 1966: 94–99).

The second step – retraction *š* > *x*

Whereas Slav. shares the first stage of the retraction with the languages discussed above, the second stage – the transition into *x* – is often viewed as a specific Slav. development. This view is not quite right because the same kind of retraction (*s* > *kh*) can be found in MInd. languages (Prakrits) and even in some Sanskrit texts (Lazicius 1933: 196f., Wackernagel – Debrunner 1978: I, 136).

The whole process of the change of IE *s* > Slav. *x* is said to have a parallel in Spanish, cf. Lat. *saponem* 'soap (acc.)' (alveolar *s*) – MSpan. *xabon* (palatal *š*) – ModSpan. *jabón* (velar *x*). Also here the dorso-alveolar Lat. *s* became cacuminal *ʂ* at first (Entwistle 1944: 33). This rare phonetic development, however, probably took place under the influence of Arabic, and therefore is a non-system change which does not testify to the Slavic change too much. More inspiring seems to be the Spannish (more exactly Castilian) development of the sub-system of unvoiced sibilants. In the late Middle Ages, Castilian developed three articulatorily close sibilants: dorso-alveolar /s/ (< /ts/ < Lat. *ce, ci*), apico-alveolar / š/ (< Lat. *s*) and postalveolar /š/ (< Lat. /lj/, /ks/ et. al.). As a reaction to this situation, the system mantained the central sibilant and distanced the articulation of the other two – to the front (/s/ > /θ/) and to the back (/š/ > /x'/ > /x/) respectively (Zavadil 1998: 241f.). The starting situation in Early PS seems to have been very similar: the original IE *k'* on its way from the palatal affricate to the alveolar (?) sibilant, the apico-alveolar (?) /s/ from IE *s* and the retracted postalveolar (?) /š/ after *i, u, r, k*. The further articulatory shift of *š* to *x* is then a manifestation of the contrast optimisation in the sibilant system. (For application of this theory to modern Slav. languages see e.g. Padgett – Zygis 2003). We can assume that this process started after the de-affrication of the Slav. continuant of IE *k'*.

Some scholars expressed the view that the stage with *š* survived until the "classical" PS and then it merged with the results of the first palatalization of velars. The change *š* > *x* would have taken place only before the back vowels, actually by a reverse analogy according to the pairs *g-dž, k-č* (Meillet 1934: 30; Večerka 1972: 53f.; as a possibility also Lamprecht 1987: 30; Comrie 1993: 66 et al.). From the phonological point of view, this assumption is implausible – not only because of the supposed contrast optimisation in sibilants, but also because of the whole consonantal system of that period. This system included four groups: labials, dentals, palatovelars (which meanwhile were merging into hissing sibilants *s, z*) and velars. The only hushing sibilant would not have had any counterpart in the system. Moreover, the putative rise of *x* from *š* by a reverse

analogy lacks conviction and parallels (Shevelov 1965: 127). Also PS loanwords from Gmc. and other languages in which the original fricative is realized as *x* show that the velar fricative in Slavic probably existed as far back as the early contacts with these languages. Phonological facts indicate that the newly developed *š*-like sibilant immediately shifted its articulation further back until it changed into a velar fricative.

Phonologization

No less important than the process of the change *s* > *x* is the question of the phonologization of the newly established sound. At first, *x*-sounds in the position after *i, u, r, k* were only positional variants of the original *s*. The phonologization of the distinction *s* – *x* was enabled by some consequent changes whose relative chronology, however, is not exactly known.

The phonologization of *x* is usually ascribed to the merger *kx* > *x*, by which *x* appeared in other positions than after *i, u, r, k*. For instance, 1. sg. aor. sigm. **rēk-s-om* (PS inf. **rekti*) is attested in OCS as *rěxъ*. It is possible, however, that the group *kx* existed in the language for a longer time and underwent simplification only in the period when a similar change affected other consonant clusters (Shevelov 1965: 128). It is even more chancy to ascribe the phonologization of *x* to the spread of this sound in other positions caused by a morphological analogy (eg. aorist *daxъ* from *dati*). This morphological leveling would have hardly taken place if *x* had not been a phoneme by then.

Andersen (1968: 176) considers three changes as relevant in this context: a) IE **sg(h)-* > Slav. *x*, b) IE **k'* > Slav. *s* and c) simplification of the clusters stop + fricative.

As far as the last change is concerned (after which *s* got to the positions after *i, u, r*, and *x* appeared in a different environment, e.g. PS **kysati* from IE **kūts-* and **straxъ* from **strāg-so-*), there is a well-founded assumption that it ocurred considerably later. (Even Andersen admits this fact, though he somehow relativizes it.) The change a) directly concerns our topic – the rise of the initial *x-* (see Illič-Svityč 1961: 93n.). Although Andersen does not doubt it, I consider as questionable not only its chronology but its very existence. (It will be discussed in a later chapter). Thus, the only indisputable change in this regard is the change of IE **k'* into Slav. *s*, which merged with the old IE *s* (in Andersen's conception s_1) and got to the opposition with *x* (s_2) from IE **s* in the position after *i, u, r* (cf. PS **porsę* 'pig' and **porxъ* 'dust'). This change – as we shall see further – is in a close system and time relationship with the change *s* > *x*, and we can consider it as essential even for the phonologization of the newly-established sound *x*.

Let us follow Andersen's other deductions relating to PBalt. and PS responses of IE **k'* and **s*. Their relationship is shown in the following table (Andersen 1968: 182, 1980: 14):

	Proto-Slavic	Lith.
After *i, u, r, k*	*x : s*	*š*
Elsewhere	*s*	*s : š*

These morphophonemic alternations had – in Andersen's view – the following consequences: (1) Due to the originally limited occurrence, the x was invested with expressive value outside its original environments. This determined its utilization in various derivational and lexical neologisms. (2) As a consequence of the respective distribution of x and s, $x \sim s$ alternations were "predictable" from an underlying x, but not from an underlying s (as a merger of the original IE s and IE $*k'$). In other words, in all categories where s alternated with x after the phonologization of the $x : s$ opposition, the basic morpheme shapes contained x. It is only in these terms that one can understand why x was generalized rather than s in the categories where the two phonemes alternated (Andersen 1968: 180).

The same could apply for $s \sim š$ alternations in Lithuanian. As a consequence of the merger of $*k'$ with $s_2 (š)$, $š \sim s$ alternations were predictable from an underlying s, but not from an underlying $š$; hence all morphemes presenting this alternation had to have basic shapes with s. This is how Andersen explains the reintroduction of s after i, u, r, k in such Lith. words like *ausis, blusa* (Andersen 1968: 183f.). The situation in the Baltic languages is rather complicated, and as it does not concern our topic immediately, we do not have to address it here. For Slavic, however, this idea provides interesting grounds for the generalization of x in morphological categories (Loc. Pl., 1st sg. aor. and impf. and 2nd sg pres.) which does not have a straightforward explanation otherwise.

Relative and absolute chronology and the question of Iranian influence

Apparently, the change $s > š (> x)$ in Slav. and Balt. is closely connected with the change $k' > s$ or $š$, respectively. Whereas in Slav. the reflex of IE k' merged with the original s_1, in Balt. the result was s_2 which, concurrently, developed after i, u, r, k (for more details to mutual interconnection of the changes see Andersen 1968 and 1980). From the point of view of the relative chronology, it is clear that the change $s > x$ in Slav. started before the change $k' > s$ (or better to say the merger with the original IE s) was completed. This is evident because this newly risen s was not changed after i, u, r, k (cf. PS *porsę* from IE $*pork'$-). Assuming that there were transitional stages for both changes, the parallel development of these changes can be outlined as follows:

$$s > s' > x' > x$$
$$k' > ts'(?) > s' > s$$

Other known facts of the relative chronology do not make dating the change $s > x$ much easier. It is clear that *terminus ante quem* are the oldest borrowings from Gmc. (after 200 B.C.). On the one hand, Pedersen's rule does not affect them any more (c.f. OCS *(is)kusiti* from Goth. *kausjan*), on the other hand, Gmc. *h* is systematically rendered as Slav. x, thereby showing that it was a full-fledged phoneme at that time (cf. OCS *chlěbъ* from Gmc. **hlaiba-*, OCS *chyzъ* from Gmc. **hūsa- (hūzá-)*). The change $s > x$ also must have taken place before the simplification of consonantal clusters (PS **kysělъ* from IE **kūts-*, **běsъ* from IE **boids-*), but this change was even later (it is usually dated back only to the first centuries A.D.). On the other hand, the obvi-

ous term *post quem* is the loss of aspirates (even in the case that we shall not assume IE **kh* to be one of the sources of x like Shevelov 1965: 137). The span of time in which this change occurred is thus more than thousand years: from the half of the second millenium B.C. until the first centuries B.C.

To explain the close correspondence of the phonological phenomenon in Slav. and Indo-Iranian is possible – as indicated above – in two ways: either as an old dialectal phenomenon inherited from IE period, or as a consequence of a later contact and influence of Indo-Iranian on PS. The first opinion can be grounded on the traditional view of the *satem* change as an ancient dialectal phenomenon which should presumably be in a chronological context with the change of another series of velars – labiovelars. Following this thinking, the change of s after i, u, r, k would be a dialectal phenomenon which covered a major part of the *satem* areal (with equivocal evidence in Alb. and Arm. and some restrictions in Balt.), and which was connected with the *satem* change (cf. Martinet 1955: 240; Kuryłowicz 1956: 372–375; Stang 1966: 95; Gamkrelidze – Ivanov 1984: 128). The idea of later influence of Iranian on Slav. was refused by Cvetko-Orešnik (1998: 55), who dates the change to the protolanguage, and accounts for a protolanguage tendency which was realized irregularly on the part of the IE territory. Entwistle (1944: 32) considers the change 'post-Indo-European', and dates it back to the period before 1500 B.C. (cf. also Beekes 1995: 30).

The other group of linguists, who ascribe the change to the later Iranian influence on PS, can argue that the PS crystallized at the edge of the Proto-Baltic areal not too long before the half of the first millenium B.C. (This late genesis of PS is widely believed now.) Since the results of the change of s after i, u, r, k in Baltic and Slavic are different enough, we should not date the change too early to the PBalt. period. It is also assumed that one of the factors that contributed to the emancipation of PS was the contact with Iranian tribes (Scythians) in the area north and northwest of the Black Sea approximately in the 7th–6th cent. B.C. (to the question of Iranian contacts with Slavs in that period see e.g. Zaliznjak 1963; Abajev 1965; Trubačev 1967; Reczek 1985). Besides Shevelov whose arguments are given above, the Iranian influence is also accepted by Lamprecht (1987: 30) who dates the interval of the change $s > x$ to 700–200 B.C., and by Erhart (1982: 20) who counts on an Iranian influence not only for the change $s > x$ and *satem* change but also for some morphological phenomena. Quite naturally, PS tribes that were in the closest contact from the geographical point of view were impacted by Iranians most. The situation of the *ruki* change (and, in fact, also *satem* change) corresponds with this assumption: the phonological correspondences between PS and Iran. are the most noticeable whereas the Baltic, and possibly Arm. areal is affected by the "wave" of change more or less marginally (see Pisani 1967: 17).

It is not easy to decide the power of Iranian influences here, although chronological and areal facts support it. Nevertheless, it is always precarious to explain phonological changes by foreign influence since the phonology is considered to be the most resistant of all language levels in this respect. Moreover, the *ruki* change seems to be in a close connection with the *satem* change. We would have to (like Erhart) assume that even the *satem* change took place under the Iran. influence, which is disputable. A compromise solution could be based on the famous thesis that the phonological system does not accept external interventions that would conflict with its structural needs (Vachek

1962: 45; cf. also Lamprecht 1958: 91). From this, we can infer, that the tendency to retract *s* after *i, u, r, k* was common to all *satem* languages, and that the Iran. influence only developed this tendency and contributed to its manifestation. In their eventual results, the *ruki* and *satem* changes were the earliest phonological phenomena that divided Balt. and Slav. languages.

Most scholars consider the change of IE *s > PS *x after *i, u, r, k* and its subsequent phonologization to be the primary source of Slav. *x*. Nevertheless, some linguists believe in the existence of the velar fricative in the IE consonantal system, whether outside the traditionally reconstructed system (Merlingen 1958), or instead some of its members (Martynov 1968). Since these hypotheses are motivated, first of all, by the efforts to explain cases with the initial *x-*, I shall comment upon them within the investigation of that problem.

II. The survey of opinions on the rise of initial Slavic *x-*

The question of the rise of Slavic initial *x-* was tried to be solved by Pedersen and other linguists practically simultaneously with the formulation of the rule about the rise of PS *x* after IE *i, u, r, k* which could have been applied to the initial position only in a very limited number of cases (initial cluster *ks-*). Pedersen himself considered a possibility of the rise of the initial *x-* from IE *kh- and stated nine words of this kind (Pedersen 1895). Pedersen was opposed by Uhlenbeck (1904/5) but the idea of the rise of *x-* from *kh- continued to exist. It was revitalized by Endzelin (1911) who did not consider Pedersen's examples convincing but himself stated nine other words in which Slav. *x-* corresponded with Balt. *k-* a Gmc. *h-*: the starting consonant was IE *kh-* again. 19 other examples were collected by Petersson (1914). Il'jinskij (1916) gave 22 examples of Slav. *x-* from IE *kh- in the most thorough and comprehensive work concerning PS *x-* so far. The rise of Slav. *x* from IE *kh was conceded also by Meillet (e.g. 1934: 23) although he cautiously stated only a couple of the most probable cases.

The idea that Slav. *x-* derives from IE *kh- was reconsidered after the reassessment of the reconstructed system of IE occlusives and its reduction to three series – voiced, voiceless and voiced aspirated. IE *kh* thus lost the status of a phoneme. Modern historical-comparative linguistics normally do not count *kh* as a source of Slav. *x* (except several examples where *kh* may be from *k* + a laryngeal, see Kortlandt 1994: 110; Beekes 1995:132). In 1958, Merlingen, however, reconstructed IE spirant *x (Merlingen 1958) whose continuation is supposed to be Slav., Arm., Iran. and Hitt. *x*, OInd. *kh*, Gr., Alb., Gmc. *h* and Balt., Lat., Celt. *k*. His deductions, however, were not accepted.

In his works from the 1930s, Czech etymologist V. Machek raised the point that PS initial *x-* is an affective transformation of IE *k, *g (Machek 1930 and particularly 1938-39). Some examples are apparent (*hrtan – chřtán*) and a number of Slav. words with an initial *x* really may be labelled as expressive. On the other hand, to account for sound changes being caused by language expressivity is risky and unreliable (see criticism in Gołąb 1973: 131).

As stated above, one of the unquestionable sources of the initial *x-* is IE *ks- by Pedersen's rule. Pedersen himself found the only apparent example (*xudъ*); besides this, he also applied this rule to the etymology of Slav. *choditi*, which he connects with Gr. ὁδός. He derives this from IE *sed- by the impact of prefixes ending with *i, u, r* (often accepted even now). No other authors could add many more examples based on

IE *ks-, e.g. Il'jinskij (1916) provides fewer than ten examples. Attempts to enlarge the number of words with a *ks- by the reduction of IE roots (Mel'nyčuk 1966 explains altogether 31 (!) words from IE *kes- 'cut') can hardly be persuasive from the semantic point of view. This source of Slav. x- remains limited to a few examples.

Another theory assumes the rise of Slav. x- from the IE initial cluster *sk- (Brückner 1923). The problem is that the regular reflex of IE *sk- is Slav. sk; thus, we have to search for some restricting conditions for the change *sk > x. Attempts to restrict the effect of this change only to initial clusters *skl- (Petersson 1914) or *skl-, *skr-, *sku̯- (Mann 1958) are not well-founded; the labelling of the change as affective (expressive) brings about the above-mentioned problems. Although some of Brückner's equations are rather unrealistic, the correspondence IE *sk- – Slav. x- is generally acknowledged and included in contemporary etymological expositions (cf. ESSJa 8, ESJS 4).

An original idea was presented by V. Illič-Svityč (1961). He noticed that PS did not preserve IE *sg-, while Lith. changed it to sk-. In his view, Slav. continuation of IE *sg- is just x-. In spite of the subtlety of this idea (it was adopted by e.g. Schuster-Šewc 1978, 371 and Andersen 1968, 19 and 1970, 176), it is lacking in sufficient lexical support, and definitely cannot explain the majority of examples with Slav. x-.

The last decades also saw two theories connecting Slav. x with IE *k'. Martynov (1968) considers the whole series of traditional palatovelars fricative, meaning that Slav. x is a continuation of IE *k' for the most part (he admits also s-mobile as a source of the initial x-). Schuster-Šewc first derived some words with š- from IE *(s)k'- (1985). In his most recent contribution to the topic, he suggests that x is a continuation of IE *k', which could have been realized in Slav. in two ways – *k' > s' > s, or *k' > s' > š > x (2000). Some of examples on the correspondence of IE *k' and Slav. x are plausible enough.

There are other interpretations of Slav. initial x-, which, however, do not have a character of a regular sound change; rather, they explain individual words or groups of words ad hoc. Pedersen considered the change sv- > xv- for words xvala and xvorъ. Today, the explanation from IE s- is used for xvějati (cf. ESSJA: 8, 124) and a couple of other words. Machek, on the other hand, counts for chromý, chvěti and chvorý with an expressive prothetic x- (Machek 1968: 206, 210 and 211).

Unsatisfactory explanation of the rise of the initial Slav. x- from the phonological standpoint leads some scholars to look for other solutions. For example, Zubatý expressed an idea that the number of instances of the initial x- could be of interjectional nature, and that the linguists would have to resign to the requirement of the standard etymology in usual sense of the word (Zubatý 1945: 166–167). Another solution was submitted by Gołąb (1973) who attempts to explain a number of PS words with an initial x- as loanwords from Iran., or at least words formally influenced by Iran.

The foregoing survey shows that all existing attempts to create a universal explanation of Slav. x- are ineffectual. It is necessary to carefully reconsider all the above-mentioned theories and, generally, all potential sources of Slav. x-, and then to establish their material support and mutual relations by a thorough study of the Slav. lexical material.

III. Potential sources of the word-initial x-

Slavic x- of an onomatopoeic origin

Although contemporary scholars do not allow for the existence of IE kh- or *x- as an independent phoneme, it is assumed that a similar sound appeared in some words of an onomatopoeic nature. Zubatý writes on this topic: "Hláska ch-, jakožto hláska zvláště blízká pouhému neslyšnému dechu, je velice důležita v oboru tvoření slov interjekcionálních povahy nejprimitivnějších, blízkých ještě nejzákladnějším prvkům lidské mluvy. [...] Nelze pochybovati, že ch- bývalo proto v prvních útvarech lidské řeči hláska velice častá, a až jazykozpyt o něco důsledněji než posud bude sledovati prvky této povahy v jazykových útvarech vyvinutějších, zajisté najde hojné stopy interjekcí s ch- i v nich ..."[2] (Zubatý 1945: 166). In the IE languages, however, we find the only reliable and widespread evidence of this sound in derivatives of the interjection *kha kha (*xa xa) expressing a loud laugh – PS *xochotati, *xochotъ, *xachati, OHG kachazzen, kichazzen, AS ceahhettan 'to laugh loudly', Lat. cachinnare 'id.', cachinnus 'laughter, guffaw', Gr. καχάζω (from *χαχάζω) 'I laugh loudly', Arm. xaxank 'laughter', OI. kákhati 'he laughs' (Pokorny 1957: 634), with other vowels then, e.g. Cz. chichotat se, Sln. hihitáti se, Lith. kikénti 'id.', OHG huohon 'to sneer', Gr. κεκάζω 'I sneer' etc.

As is obvious from the above-mentioned derivatives of the interjection *kha kha, the original Slav. velar spirant often corresponds with the velar occlusive in onomatopoeic words of other IE languages. That is how it is in Lith., as is seen from the comparison of several Balt. a Slav. words that are formally close – PS *xrǫstati, OCS xrǫstъ 'locust' – Lith. kramsěti 'to crunch, to nibble'; Russ. xrjúkat' 'to grunt' – Lith. kriuksěti 'id.', Russ. xrjašč 'gristle' – Lith. kremzlě̃ 'id.', OCS xritati 'to scold, to reprove' – Lith. kréitěti 'to quarrel, to be quarrelsome'. In other examples Slav. x- in onomatopoeic words corresponds to IE *sk- or *s- (see examples in respective chapters). Examples of similar formations with the initial velar spirant are in Arm. – xrxnjal 'to neigh, to scream', xrkal 'to snore', xrčotil 'to wheeze' (Merlingen 1957: 66), but the number of Slav. onomatopoeic words with the initial x- does not have parallel elsewhere.

Slav. imitative words can be divided into two main groups. The first group includes words with xr- imitating shrill, hoarse, grating sounds – e.g. OCS xrakati 'to cough', OCS xrapati 'to snore', Cz. chřestit (from PS *xręstiti) 'to rattle', OCS xripota

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[2] The sound ch, a sound particularly close to the inaudible breath, is very important in the sphere of formation of the most primitive interjectional words, close to the most basic elements of the human speech [...] Indubitably, ch used to be a very frequent sound in the early formations of human speech, and when the linguists follow elements of this nature in more developed language structures more cosistently, they will definitely find numerous marks of interjections with ch even in them...

'hoarseness', Pol. *chrobot* 'din, rustle', Cz. *chroustat* 'to crunch', OCS *xrǫstъ* 'locust' (or 'bug, cockchafer', see ESJS: 4, 228), Russ. *xrúpat'* 'to break, to crack'. The second group includes words with *xl-* imitating lapping, slapping, clicking sounds – eg. Ukr. *xlámaty* 'to greedily eat', Pol. *chlapać* 'to spatter, to splash', Pol. *chlastać* 'to slap, to beat, to prattle', Russ. *xlebnút'* 'to slurp, to gulp', Cz. *chlemtat* 'to slop, to slurp', Russ. *xlestát'* 'to whip, to beat', OCS *xlǫpati, xlępati* 'to scrounge', Russ.-OCS *xlipati* 'to sob, to cry', Russ. *xljúpat'* 'to squelch, to smack', Russ. *xlystát'* 'to whip', Pol. *chłysnąć* 'to swallow, to have a drink'.

An onomatopoeic origin is also probable for PS **xapati, *xopiti* (OCS *xapati* 'to snatch, to bite', Pol. *chapać* 'to catch', Cz. *chápat* 'to comprehend' etc.), which used to be genetically connected with Lith. *kapt!* 'snap!', Lat. *capere* 'to take, to grasp', Gr. *κάπτειν* 'to snatch, to snap', Ger. *haben* 'to have' (IE **kap-* 'to catch', see Pokorny 1959: 527). Today, only an onomatopoeic affinity of these words is mostly admitted (c.f. LIV: 307) which is corroborated by other similar, but phonologically incompatible words like Fr. *happer* 'to snatch', Ger. *happen* 'to snatch, to snap', Gr. *ἅπτομαι* 'I touch, take' and similar words in non-IE languages (ESJS: 4, 216).

The plenitude of Slav. onomatopoeic and imitative words with the initial *x-* (in comparison with other IE languages) is definitely conspicuous, and is hardly imaginable without existence of the phoneme *x* in PS consonantal system. I assume that the imitative words with *x-* are the part of a broader expansion of this sound in Slav. which is manifested both in the initial position and in suffixes and grammatical endings.

It seems that the number of Slav. onomatopoeic, imitative words with the initial *x-* could be even higher. Unfortunately, etymology has not yet fulfilled Zubatý's hopes that "snad časem slova, jejichž původ marně posud zabývá mysli etymologů, ukáží se konečnými, zakuklenými obměnami útvarů původně interjekcionálních"[3] (Zubatý 1945: 167). Zubatý gives an example of a word group *chotěti, chъtěti, chъtь, ochota, chotъ, chytiti, chvatiti*, whose meanings should not be separated, and for which we can assume an imitative basis. I attempted to find some other semantic connections between Slav. *chytati* and other Slav. words in *chy-* in Rejzek 1995. Unfortunately, the character of these words prevents us from proving their relationship. In short, onomatopoeic words make an important part of the Slav. lexis with the initial *x-*, though their exact mapping out may never be successful.

PS loanwords with initial *x-*

Loanwords from the languages that had a velar fricative at the time of possible contacts with Slavs are another possible source of Slav. words with the initial *x-*. It is particularly Gmc. and Iranian languages that come into question from the IE group, and Altaic languages from non-IE languages.

The group most often discussed is loanwords from Iranian. This group's existence is widely admitted – in particular, if we admit an Iranian influence in phonology and morphology, it is natural to count upon an adequate influence even in the lexicon.

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[3] ...perhaps, in the course of time, words whose origins have occupied etymologists' minds to no effect will turn out to be eventual, disguised alterations of originally interjectional formations.

To prove individual instances is, however, practically impossible. This also applies for words with the initial *x-*. Probably, some of them are Iranian loanwords, but this classification is not generally accepted.

An extreme standpoint on this issue was taken by Gołąb (1973). Aware of unsatisfactory phonological explanations of Slav. *x-*, he attempts to clarify a lot of Slav. words with the initial *ch-* as iranisms. He counts both on lexical borrowings, and also on a secondary phonemic readjustment of inherited Slav. words to the Iranian phonological system. (As an illustration of such a readjustment he quotes the fashionable Czech pronunciation of some Polish words at the turn of the XV and XVI centuries, e.g. *haňba* instead of *gaňba*.) This theory opens a wide field to him for the search of Iranian patterns of Slav. words – even if he discusses chiefly those words for which Iranian etymology is proposed for the first time, he finds 13 putative loanwords: *chajati, chochati, cholstъ, chotěti, chovati, chrę(d)nǫti / chlę(d)nǫti, chvala, chvatiti / chytiti, chvě(ja)ti, chvoja, chvostъ, chynǫti, chula*. In the absence of any reliable loanwords from Iranian, 13 is a rather puzzling number (from the point of view of the statistical linguistics it is criticized by Mańczak 1975), and even etymologically, most explanations are not convincing (cf. e.g. the explanation of PS **xovati* from Iran. pronominal adjective *hava-* 'one's, own'). It was perhaps only Gołąb's etymology of PS **xvala* that has met with a better response. This episode will be commented later.

Putative Iranian borrowings also face the difficulties concerning their chronology. The period of prehistoric Slav.-Iran. contacts was very long – Scythians resided in the territories north of the Black Sea from c. 700 B.C. to 200 B.C., Sarmatians from c. 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. After a break, the contacts continued between East Slavic and modern Iranian languages. Thus, the PS character of some borrowings is questionable. Such is the case of the word *chata* 'hut, cabin', which is regarded as PS by ESSJa (8: 21), although the focus of its occurance is in Ukr. From Ukr. it has spread to the neighbouring languages. The word is borrowed from Iran. **kata-* – whether directly after the spirantization *k > x* in some Iran. languages (ESSJa: l.c.), or via Old Hungarian (e.g. Vasmer 1964–1973: 4, 226), is not substantial for the matter. In any case, it was later than in the PS period. By no means can Cz. *chatrč* 'shack, hovel' be classified as an Iran. loanword (ESSJa: 8, 22). Its *ch-* is secondary (OCz. *katrč, katrče*), and the word can be connected in all probability with Slk. *kotrč, koterec, kotrec* 'pen, cote, coop, shanty' (Rejzek 2000: 330).

The following words can most likely be treated as Iranian loanwords:

PS **xorna* 'food, fare' < Iran. **xᵛar-* 'eat, feed'
This explanation is preferred e.g. in ESSJa (8: 76f.) and ESJS (4: 226f.), for details see Reczek (1985: 16). There is a word-formation and semantic parallel to the Slav. word in Av. *xᵛarəna-* 'food, drink'. The sound correspondence is not perfect – we would expect PS form **xvorna*. The original meaning has been preserved in South Slav. and Plb.; West Slav. and East Slav. shifted the meaning to 'care, protection'.

PS **xvala* 'praise' < Iran. **xᵛar-* 'fame'
The hypothesis about the Iranian origin of the word is based on a recognition of the frequently discussed Iranian influence on Slavic in the sphere of religious terms. Gołąb, who raised the point for the first time (see above), draws attention to the exact parallel

of the Slav. name *Boguchvalъ* in Middle Persian *Bagafarna* (< **Bagaxvarna*). He starts from Iran. **xᵛarya-* (cf. Av. *xᵛarəna-* 'fame') which passed into Slav. as **xvala* by Alanian (Sarmatian) change *-ry-* > *-l-*. A slightly different explanation is offered by Martynov (1983: 53f.) who starts from Iran. **xᵛarati* 'he celebrates, he praises' and its deverbative **xᵛará*, Skythian **xᵛalá* which was adopted by Slav. as **xvala*. There is also a new suggestion based on a completely different base (Loma 2000: 346): Skyth. **hvala* 'good word' from **hu-* 'good' and *al-* 'speak' corresponding to Av. *ad-*, OInd. *ah-* on the premise that IE **dh* > Skyth. **l*.

PS **xoměstorъ* 'hamster' < Iran. **hamaestar-* 'opponent' (?)
This is a very problematic word. It is only attested in Russ.-OCS *choměstorъ*, abbreviated forms are in East Slav. (Russ. *chomják*) and Pol. (*chomik*). Nevertheless, the form *choměstorъ* had to be PS since it was borrowed as OHG *hamustro* (Ger. *Hamster*), OSax. *hamustra* 'id.'. Moreover, the second part of the word is probably in Lith. *stãras* 'souslik, sisel', the first one in Latv. *kāmis* 'hamster', Lith. *kãmas* 'rat'. Thus, *choměstorъ* looks like an old compound. However, neither of these compound parts can be satisfactorily explained as autochthonic (the attempt in ESSJa: 8, 68f. is rather forced). Therefore, the attention is turned to Av. *hamaestar* 'who strikes to the ground, enemy', Per. *hamestar* 'opponent' (Vasmer 1964–1973: 4, 260; EWD: 503), although this explanation brings considerable semantic problems. Machek's explanation that a hamster bends ears of grain down to the ground to easily reach the grain (Machek 1939: 211) cannot be regarded as plausible. More natural is an assumption that the Iran. language which was the source of the borrowing already used the word in the figurative meaning 'enemy, opponent'. Such a motivation of the appelation of hamster is plausible – especially when we take into account his agricultural harmfulness, his characteristic rage and even his opposition to people (Vasmer: l.c. gives the parallel from Turkic languages – Shorian *yrlak* 'hamster' from *yr-* 'to be hostile'). Another clue that it is a borrowing from Iranian could be the fact that hamsters come from Eastern Europe – perhaps just from the area north of the Black Sea. Slavs would have taken its name from Iranians and transmitted it to Germans who then spread it further to Romance languages (cf. Sp., Fr. *hamster*).

Iranian origin is quite unanimously assumed even for PS ethnonym **xъrvatъ* (OCS pl. *Chrъvati* etc.) nowadays. It is based on the inscriptions from II–III cent. A.D. found at the estuary of Don and containing the name Χορουαθος, Χοροαθος. Subsequent etymological interpretations differ; for details see ESJS: 4, 229 a ESSJa: 8, 149f.
Also PS **xъmelь* 'hop' (OCS *xmělь, xmelь* etc.) is, in all probability, from Iranian although not as an exclusive Slav. borrowing. Rather, it is a migrating term which penetrated into a number of European and Asian languages (cf. NLat. *humulus*, NGr. χουμελι, OIcel. *humli, humall*, Fin. *humala*, Hung. *komló*, Vogul. *qumlix*, Chuvash *xamla*). Its origin is seen in the same source as Oset. *xumaellaeg*, which is reconstructed as **xum-ala-ka-* or **haum-ala-ka*, and cognate with Av. *haoma-* 'intoxicating drink' (ESSJa: 8, 141f.; Snoj 1997: 172).
Other borrowings from Iran. are disputable since the explanations either do not sufficiently take into account the semantics and areal incidence of words, or they only work with hypothetical, unattested Iran. material. Even so, if the word in question is

a cultural word of the area, then it is possible to think about some cases of this kind. I have in mind e.g. Martynov's etymology of PS **xъrtъ* 'greyhound' which is based on the unattested Iran. participle **hṛta-*, and corresponds to OInd. *sṛta-* 'chasing' from OInd. *sárati* 'he chases, runs, flows' from IE **ser-* (Martynov 1983: 49). Although the etymology is only hypothetical, the fact that greyhound comes from the Middle East could speak in its favour. There is also an interesting attempt to explain obscure PS **xaloga* (OCS *chaloga* 'hedge', Sln. *halúga* 'seaweed', S./Cr. *hàluga* 'drift wicker') as a borrowing from Scythian. This conclusion is found in Skok (1971–1974: 1, 652) without any material support; Loma (2000a: 348; 2000b: 87f.) later reconstructs Scythian **xalanga* from OIran. **falanga* which he considers to be a borrowing from Gr. φάλαγξ 'trunk, log'. The development of the meaning would have been 'trunk, log' → 'paling' → 'fence'. Slavic material points, however, rather to the initial meaning 'wickerwork' (Machek 1938: 193; Holub – Kopečný 1952: 138) or 'growth, brushwood' (ESJS: 4, 215).
It is easier to reliably identify borrowings from the Germanic languages, though often there is no concurrence of views even here.

PS **xlěbъ* 'bread' < Gmc. **hlaiba-* 'id.'
Today mostly accepted as a borrowing as early as Gmc. (ESJS: 4, 219; ESSJa: 8, 27f.; Machek 1968: 199; Newerkla 2004: 105) although even the borrowing from Goth. *hlaifs* cannot be excluded (Kiparski 1934: 199–200). The idea of the genetical relationship of both words (IE **kloibho-*) (Pedersen 1895: 50) has been abandoned.

PS **xlěvъ* 'cowshed' < Gmc. **hlaiwa* 'dug-out (shelter)' or Goth. *hlaiw* 'grave'
Usually explained as a loanword from Goth. *hlaiw* 'grave', possibly (because of the semantic difference) from Gmc. **hlaiwa-* with the supposed meaning 'dug-out shelter' from which both Slav. and Goth. meanings can be deduced (ESJS: 4, 219; ESSJa: 8, 30; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 197; Kiparski 1934: 176). Alternative explanations regarding the word as the pre-IE substratum (Machek 1968: 199), or as an autochthonic word related to PS **klětь* 'pantry' (Brückner 1927: 179; Schuster-Šewc 1978: 385) or IE **kes-*, **ks-* 'to cut' (Mel'nyčuk 1968: 217) are not plausible.

PS **xodogъ* 'wise, educated' < Goth. **handugs* 'wise'
It appears only in OCS, East Slav. (cf. Russ. *xudóžnik* 'artist') and Pol. (archaic *chędogi* 'neat, nice'). An apparent loanword from Gmc., in all probability from Goth., where, however, only *handugs* 'wise' is attested while the PS form points to **handags* (derived probably from *handus* 'hand') (ESJS: 4, 224; ESSJa: 8, 88). This slight discrepancy does not alter the fact that it is one of the least disputable Gmc. borrowings.

PS **šatъ, šata* 'clothes, dress' < Gmc. **hētaz* 'id.'
It is attested only in West Slav. (Cz. *šat*, Pol. *szata*) and in the west of East Slav. areal (Ukr., Br. *šáta*). The source of the borrowing is Gmc. **hētaz* which continues in MHG *hâz* 'clothes', Ger.d. *häss* 'id.' (Vasmer 1964–1973 IV, 412; Machek 1938: 217; Newerkla 2004: 110). Slav. changed *x* > *š* (1st palatalization of velars) and subsequently regularly *ē* > *a*.

PS *xъlmъ 'hill' < Gmc. *hulma- 'rise'
Attested in all Slav. languages (Cz. chlum, Slk. chlm, Russ. xolm, S./Cr. hûm etc., in Pol. only as toponym Chelm), the word is considered to be a borrowing from Gmc. *hulma- which is reflected e.g. in OIcel. holmr 'island', holmi 'height', Ger. Holm 'island, spit of land, hill' (Kiparski 1934: 179; ESJS: 4, 221; ESSJa: 8, 138; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 255; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 199 et al.). There is no reason to explain Slav. and Gmc. words from Old European substratum (Machek 1968: 200) because Gmc. *hulma- can be painlessly derived from IE *kel- 'to protrude, to rise' (Pokorny 1957: 544; Kluge 1989: 314). The proponents of the autochthonic word origin mainly argue with ORuss. šelomja, šolomja, Russ.d. šelóm 'hill, crest' from *šelme, *šelmъ which are interpreted as ablaut variants of *xъlmъ, but most likely they are metaphoric innovations of PS *šelmъ 'helmet' from Gmc. *helmaz (Kiparski 1934: 179; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 424). Also Brückner's argument that the word in question is a much-used term pertinent to the land, topography and so forth (Brückner 1927: 178) does not seriously challenge the theory of the borrowing.

PS *xysъ/xyzъ, *xyša/xyža < Gmc. *hūs(a)
Slav. languages display a variety of forms – the most frequent are the continuants of PS *xyša/xyža (Cz. chýše, Slk.d. chyža, US chěza, OPol. chyža, Ukr. xýža, Russ.d. xíža, Sln. híša, S./Cr.d. hiša, hiža, Bulg. xíža, all with the basic meaning 'simple dwelling, hut'), then of PS *xysъ/xyzъ (OCS xyzъ 'shack, small house', S./Cr.d. his 'hut', Pol.d. chyz 'shack'), rarely also of PS *xysa/xyza (S./Cr.d. a Pol.d.) and *xysь/xyzь (S./Cr.d., Pol.d.). The borrowing from Gmc. *hūsa- 'dům' is generally accepted (OHG hūs, E. house, Sw. hus). Problems are caused, however, by prevailing Slav. -z- (-s- variants are only found in Cz., Sln. a S./Cr.). Some scholars assume Gmc. accent variant *hūzá- which, however, has no support but PS *xyzъ (Berneker 1908–1913: I, 415; Kiparski 1934: 177f.). The possibility of two different borrowings from Gmc. is mentioned e.g. by Bezlaj 1976–2005 (I, 194) and Machek (1968: 212). Others believe that the -z- only emerged on Slav. ground (Martynov 1963: 46n. and ESSJa: 8, 165).

PS *xorogy 'banner, standard' < Goth. hrugga 'pole, staff'
The word is common Slavic – in all probability borrowed – but the source is unclear. Earlier, the prevailing opinion was that PS chorogy is a borrowing from Mong. orongo, orungo 'id.'; the inicial x- was usually (erroneously) explained through the Turkic mediation (Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 268; Machek 1968: 278; Bezlaj 1976–2005: II, 21 et al.). Mong. pedigree was convincingly rejected by Ligeti on the basis of detailed analysis of the Mong. word (see ESJS: 4, 223; Trubačev's additional remarks to Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 268). The belonging of the word to ū-stems – typical of borrowings from Gmc. – can serve as another argument (ESSJa: 8, 82). In view of that, an old explanation from Goth. hrugga 'pole, staff' (suggested already by Miklošič 1886: 89) comes to the fore again, a semantic parallel being seen in ORuss. stjag 'standard' from OSw. stang 'pole, shaft' (ESSJa: l.c.). However, the phonological problem of this etymology is the explanation of the Slav. -o-; therefore Sobolevskij assumes a Goth. compound word *harrunga < *hari-hrugga, literally 'military staff' (Sobolevskij 1911: 481).

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Putative Slav. borrowings from other languages:

PS *xalupa < Illyr. *kalūba or Gr. καλύβη
The word is limited to the West Slavic areal (Cz., Slk. chalupa, US khalupa, LS, Pol. chałupa), an overlap to the East Slavic (Ukr. chalúpa) might be borrowings from Pol. Isolated evidence is even in Sln. and S./Cr (Boryś 1977: 1–2). Most likely, the word is a borrowing from Illyrian, or possibly Greek through the mediation of some Gmc. language (ESSJa: 8, 15f. et al.). This explanation is based on the close semantic and formal resemblance of PS *kolyba 'shepherd's hut' (Wallachian and Slk. koliba, Ukr. kolýba, Sln. koliba, S./Cr. koliba, Bulg. kolíba etc.) which is a term of Carpathian pastoral culture (cf. Hung. kaliba, Rom. colibă, Alb. kalíve, kolybe, kolíbe, Turkish kaliba). The source is seen in Gr. καλύβη 'hut, shanty, tent' which, however, seems to be a borrowing as well (ESSJa: 8, 16–17). On that account, an Illyrian pedigree of the word has been proposed. Illyr. *kalūba would have passed into Slav. as *kolyba, and also – through the mediation of some Gmc. language (consonant shift) – as *xalupa. The problematic Slav. -a- (instead of an expected -o-) is explained by the shift of stress to the first syllable (and the subsequent lengthening) (ESSJa: l.c.). The same (Illyr.?) origin can also be assumed for a similar Northern It. calopa, It.d. galopa 'old wooden hut' (see Polák 1973: 273–274). On the contrary, Čop (1973: 99–100) and some others see an autochthonic suffix -upa in the word. Nevertheless, none of the opponents of the idea of the borrowing has been able to explicate the root chal- satisfactorily.

PS *xrěnъ 'horseradish' < Chuvash χərɛn (?), unknown language (?)
A common Slavic word of uncertain origin, in all probability an old loanword. The attention paid to this is usually divided between two sources – an isolated and obscure Gr. κεράϊν 'wild radish' (by Theophrastus, corroborated by Pliny in the form cerain), and Chuvash χərɛn 'křen' (Räsänen 1967: 558; Machek 1968: 299). Horseradish is indigenous to the Black Sea coast, a fact which rather weakens the Turkic provenance of the word (ESSJa: 8, 92). Still, overall circumstances of the borrowing are so uncertain that either explanation can hardly be preferred (see Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 275; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 202 et al.).

PS *xomǫtъ 'collar, yoke' < Mong. khomut 'yokes, cushions under camel saddle' (pl.)
All-Slavic word (OCz. chomút, Pol. chomąto, Russ. xomút, Sln. homôt, S./Cr. homut, Bulg. xamút, OCS xomǫtъ; Sorb. reflects a PS -otъ – US khomot, LS chomot). In view of the historico-cultural context (collar came to Slavs and to Europe in general from the East), the borrowing from Altaic languages (Mong. (k)hom 'yoke, cushion under camel saddle', pl. khomut, hence Tat. komyt, Chuvash khomyt, xomet, Kirg. kamit) seems to be plausible (Machek 1968: 203; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 199). From Slav. languages Ger. Kummet, Kumt 'collar' was borrowed (the assumption of a genetic relationship – Schuster-Šewc 1978: 394 – cannot be accepted). Another Ger. word for the same thing, dialectal (West and South) Hamen (cf. Dutch haam), as well as Lith. kãmanos (pl.) 'leather bridle', however, also offer a possibility to derive everything from IE *(s)kom- 'compress, tighten', in Slav. with suffixes -otъ, -ǫtъ (ESSJa: 8, 69).

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That is just the nasal in Slav. which is the main argument against the borrowing from Altaic languages (Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 260). Machek (l.c.) attempts to solve this problem by the dissolution of the geminate -*tt*- > -*nt*- but it is also possible to assume a secondary nasalization or folk etymology, which is, after all, admitted even by ESSJa (l.c.). Loma (2002) unconvincingly suggests a Slav. borrowing from Iran. (Scythian).

The identification of the loanwords is important for the chronology of Slav. *x*-. If borrowings contain a sound alien to the phonological system of the receiving language, it is usually substituted by a similar sound existing in the language. On the basis of the oldest borrowings from Gmc., we can argue then that the phonologization of *x* was finished as early as about II. cent. B.C.; if we recognize borrowings from Iran., the *terminus a quo* will be shifted even a couple of centuries before.

Slavic *x*- as a continuation of IE **x*- or **kh*-

As a third possible natural source of Slav. **x*-, we should consider a hypothetical IE **kh* or **x* whose continuation could be a velar fricative in Slav.

As is mentioned above in the survey of opinions on the rise of the initial Slav. *x*-, the linguists of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries often considered IE **kh*- to be a source of Slav. *x*- (Pedersen, Endzelin, Petersson, Meillet). It was apparently related to the fact that the series of voiceless aspirates (tenues aspiratae) was considered as a full-fledged part of the IE consonantal system. After the reduction of IE occlusives to only three series, however, this interpretation lost its justification. At best, IE **kh* could have been treated as a part of an 'affective subsystem' (Shevelov 1965: 136). Nevertheless, Shevelov seems to overestimate the role of IE **kh*- (*k'* in his interpretation), if he regards it as a kind of catalyst of the change *s* > *x* in Slav. As we could see in the chapter about the words of onomatopoeic origin, the only reliable example of IE affective **kh*- is the interjection of laugh **kha kha*.

While there is no other reliable instance of an equation Slav. **x*- ~ OInd. (and thus speculatively IE) **kh*-, inside the word the connection of PS **socha* 'forked branch' with Lith. *šakà* 'branch', OInd. *śákhā*, Arm. *cax* 'id.', Goth. *hōha* 'plough', everything from IE **k'ak(h)ā*, was usually considered to be certain (Meillet 1934: 23; Vasmer 1964–1973: III, 729; Pokorny 1957: 523; Machek 1968: 565 et al.). Since the modern comparative Indo-European linguistics explain OInd. *kh* as a connection *k* + laryngeal, the point may be raised that Slav. *x* is sometimes of the same origin (e.g. Beekes 1995: 132). Unfortunately, the reliable evidence is limited to this sole example (few other examples suggested by Kortlandt 1994: 110). Moreover, despite the striking semantic correspondence, the equation *socha* – *śákhā* has been challenged since its establishment (see Miklošič 1886: 313) which also led to an alternative explanation from IE **sek*- 'cut' (Uhlenbeck 1904: 99; Walde – Hoffmann 1980: 2, 484; recently e.g. Bezlaj 1976–2005: III, 285).

In 1958, W. Merlingen presented a new solution. He postulated a velar spirant *x* as far back as for the IE protolanguage with the following continuants in the respective IE branches (Merlingen 1958: 42):

Hitt.	*x* (written as *h*)
Iran.	*x*
Arm.	*x*
Slav.	*x*
Ind.	*kh*
Gr.	*h*
Alb.	*h*
Gmc.	*h* (< *k*)
Pre-Gr.	*k* > *kh*
Balt.	*k*
Lat.	*k*
Celt.	*k*

Merlingen's arguments were primarily based on the situation in Slav. and Arm. where velar fricatives exist while in other series only occlusives occur (*t, p; th, ph*, respectively). He also claimed that initial *x* before a vowel in Avesta has been preserved as *x* while *f* and *th* do not ocur in the word-initial position in autochthonic words. This new conception enabled him a number of new etymologies, from which he emphasizes the elucidation of some Greek words with *spiritus asper*, including the famous equation of Gr. *ὁδός* with Slav. **xoditi*. Thus, he can avoid the solution with a prefix (see s.v. xoditi) and the ambiguity in the relation to IE **sed*- 'sit' (polysemy, or homonymy?). The interrelation of the only IE spirants *x* and *s* then, in Merlingen's view, causes the alternation *s/x* in some evident cases (Slav. **xromъ* – OInd. *srāmá*- 'id.').

Merlingen proposes a considerable number of 69 IE roots with *x*, from which 58 examples concern an initial *x*-. Like in the case of Gołąb's inferences about Slav. loanwords from Iranian, there is a certain amount of skepticism based on the statistics even here. If an *x* should have been a full-fledged IE phoneme, its distribution in IE roots would have to be more proportional. The list of roots shows, however, that the problem of *x* concerns, above all, the initial position. Merlingen also cites at least 7 onomatopoeic roots which are irrelevant for a genetic comparison. Moreover, it must be said that some equations do not bring any new solutions – e.g. for Russ. *xlud*, Lith. *sklandà* and uncertain Gmc. **hlunda*- 'chunk of wood', the traditional **(s)kl*- can be reconstructed as well as Merlingen's **(s)xl*-, for the above mentioned Gr. *ὁδός*, Slav. *xoditi* the traditional solution is sufficient, too (Ger.d. *hatschen* is definitely beside the point). Nevertheless, Merlingen's hypothesis can be queried primarily from the typological point of view: The existence of other spirant than **s* in the IE consonantal system is highly improbable (cf. Andersen 1968: 175, note 15), even more doubts are raised by Merlingen's reconstruction of IE **xᵘ* (53), supported only by three questionable examples and not contributing to higher symmetry and plausibility of the reconstructed system anyway (after all, Merlingen does not outline his overall conception of the system). Other reservations can be against sound responses of alleged IE **x* in individual IE languages. With exception of OInd. and Arm. where *kh* and *x* respectively are results of a special development, all other responses undoubtedly have different sources than the hypothetical **x*. This fact weakens Merlingen's reconstruction, too. Some interesting new etymological connections of largely Greek, Armenian and Old Indian words can not trump all these reservations.

Some of Merlingen's ideas are partially continued by Martynov (1968) who claims the whole series of traditional palatalized velars (*k'*, *g'*, *g'h*) to be fricative. We shall deal with this hypothesis together with a possibility of the rise of Slav. *x* from IE *k'* in a different place.

Slavic *x-* – IE *sk-*, *k-*

IE cluster *sk-* is one of the most commonly considered sources of Slav. *x-*. The hypothesis that Slav. *x-* arose from IE *sk-* was first submitted by Brückner (1923). In spite of a number of questionable examples (Brückner attempts to elucidate more than 40 words), the hypothesis has a solid material base, and all the authors of subsequent conceptions have to deal somehow with it (cf. Machek 1930: 73; Illič-Svityč 1961: 93; Martynov 1968: 139f.). Here is the list of, in my opinion, the most plausible parallels (cf. similar listings by the above-mentioned authors with considerable differences in preferences of individual equations):

PS *xlǫdъ* 'pole, stake' – Lith. *sklandà* 'pale', Latv. *sklanda* 'pole', less persuasive is the connection with OIcel. *hlunnr* (< *hlunÞar*) 'circular log for shifting of ships'

PS *xvoja* 'branch of conifer' – Lith. *skujà* 'fir needle, fir or pine branch', Latv. *skujas* (pl.) 'needles, branches of conifer', perhaps even OIrish *scé* 'hawthorn'

PS *xorbrъ* 'brave' – Latv. *skarbs* 'hard, rough, harsh', OIcel. *skarpr* 'sharp, hard'

PS *xrĕdĕti, xrĕdnǫti* 'to wither, to languish' – Lith. *skrę̃sti* (1 sg. pret. *skrendaŭ*) 'to become covered in dirt, to stiffen', OHG *scrintan* 'to crack', Norw.d. *skrinta* 'to wrinkle'

PS *xlębъ* 'watergate, cataracts' (?) – Lith. *sklem̃bti* 'to slip, to slide', *sklę̃sti* 'to slide across'

PS *šipъ* (from *xeip-*) 'arrow, thorn' – Lith. *skiẽpas* 'graft, scion', Lat. *scīpio* 'stick, club'

PS *xabъ* 'weak, feeble', *xabiti* 'spoil, thwart' – Lith. *skóbas* 'sour', *skóbti* 'to turn sour'

PS *xudъ* 'poor, small' – Lith. *skaudùs* 'painful, severe'

Several parallels can be found in the realm of onomatopoeic words. Although the evidence of these words is not as strong as those words which are related genetically, their alternation *sk-/x-* can hardly be coincidental – cf. PS *xrakati* 'to hawk, to cough' – Lat. *scracēre* 'id.', PS *xrapati* 'to snore' – Latv. *skrapēt* 'to scrape', PS *xrustĕti* 'to crunch'– Latv. *skraustēt* 'to crunch, to crack'.

Although some equations of genetically related words look plausible, there is no absolute agreement of the form and meaning in any case. Moreover, the equation Slav. *x-* ~ Balt., Gmc. etc. *sk-* still does not necessarily mean that Slav. *x-* < IE *sk-*

(cf. Illič-Svityč 1961). Therefore, the attention should be turned to the Slav. lexical material, and the alternation *x-/sk-* should be first examined within Slav. languages. Though some doublets of this kind are quoted in the literature (e.g. Machek 1930: 74), no comprehensive survey has yet been done in this field (see also Rejzek 1998 from which the most of following examples are taken).

Before I deal with initial *sk-/x-* I should mention the alternation of Slav. *sk/x* in the middle of a word. Let us consider the following instances:

Pol.d. *lesktać*, Russ.d. *loskotát'* 'to tickle' – Cz. *lechtat, lochtat* 'id.'

Russ. *pljúska* 'cupula, acorn-cup' – Cz. *plucha* 'awn'

Cz. *ploský* 'flat' – Cz. *plochý* 'flat', Russ. *ploxój* 'bad'

Slk. *tliaskať* 'to smack' – Cz. *tlachat* 'to gabble'

Cz. *troska* 'wreck'– Cz. *trocha* 'a bit, a little' (Machek 1930: 71, 74; Holub – Kopečný 1952: 390)

Except the last, somewhat questionable example (cf. Machek 1968: 652 where the equation is not mentioned any more), the alternation *sk/x* obviously concerns etymologically identical words. Nevertheless, as the *sk* occurs in the morpheme boundary, some examples can be explained by different word-formative suffixes (cf. Snoj's explanation of PS *ploskъ* from IE *plək-sko-* and *plochъ* from IE *plək-so-* in Bezlaj 1976–2005: III, 60). Moreover, the first and the fourth examples fall within the sphere of affective lexis. Thus, the evidence for the alternation *sk/x* in the middle of a word is not very conclusive.

Some apparent examples of the alternation of initial *sk-/x-* within Slavic languages can be drawn from the realm of onomatopoeia again. Examples:

OCS *skripati* 'to be noisy', Russ. *skripét'*, Cz. *skřipat* 'to creak, to screech' – Russ. *xripét'* 'to be hoarse', Sln. *hrípati* 'to wheeze'

OCS *skrobotъ* 'rush, roar, rattle' – Pol. *chrobot*, Ukr. *xrobót* 'id.'

Pol. *skamrać*, Cz. *škemrat* 'to whimper'– Pol. *chamrać* 'id.'

Pol. *zgrzytać* 'to gnash one's teeth' – ORuss. *xritati sę* 'to jeer'

More valuable for comparative linguistics are, however, instances of alternations in non-onomatopoeic words. Although some of them can be labelled as affective, I consider the evidence they provide quite important.

Pol. *skropawy*, US *škropawy*, Slk. *škrapatý* 'rough, uneven' – S./Cr. *hrapav*, Pol. *chropawy*, Cz.d. *chrapatý, rapatý* 'id.'
The forms are based on PS *(s)korp-* whose closest relatives probably are Lith. *kárpa* 'wart', Norw. *skorpa* 'crust, skin', all from IE *(s)korp-*, an extended variant of the root *(s)ker-* 'to cut' (Pokorny 1957: 944 without Slav. material; besides, he has a homonymous *(s)ker-* 'to wrinkle; coarse skin, crust etc.' (933) which would correspond

better semantically to Slav. words). In my opinion, both roots can be connected although Pokorny prefers the connection of the latter *(s)ker- with another homonymous *(s)ker- 'to twist, bend'). There are also forms without s-mobile in Slav. (Ukr. koropávyj, Russ.d. koropávka 'toad').

Russ.d. ščíryj 'real, frank', Ukr. ščýryj 'real', Pol. szczery 'genuine, real' (szczere pole 'flat field'), OCz. čírý 'sheer, open' – Russ.d. širój 'clean, open', Cz. šírý 'wide, open', OCS širokъ 'wide' etc.
The first group of words is connected with Goth. skeirs 'clear', OIcel. skirr 'pure, clear, clean', Ger. schier 'clean, sheer', Engl. sheer although the initial IE form is not sure (*sk'i-ro-, Pokorny 1959: 917; *sk(')əi-ro-, Snoj 1997: 634). The etymological interpretation of the second group of words with initial š- is less certain (see cf. Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 442; Machek 1968: 609) but strong semantic links between both groups indicate the same origin. For further comments see ŠIR(OK)Ъ.

ORuss. skarędъ, skarědъ, Pol. szkaradny, Cz. škaredý 'ugly' – OCz. šeřadný, šeřědný, Cz. šeredný 'id.', LS šoradki 'sweepings'
An etymological basis of these words is usually seen in IE *sker-(d-) 'excrement, dirt, dung' which also continues in e.g. Hitt. šakkar 'excrement', Gr. σκῶρ 'id.', Lat. sūcerda 'pig excrement', OIcel. skarn 'dung' and maybe also PS *sъrati 'to defecate', Russ. sor 'dirt, dung' (from the variant *sk'er-). West Slav. variants with šer- are alternatively also explained from *sk'er- (Schuster-Šewc 1978: III, 1441) although the expected result – in view of sъrati and sor – would have been *ser-. Machek's assumption of a vowel metathesis and a simplification of *šče- to še- seems implausible. In my opinion, it is necessary to reconstruct Late PS variants *skarędъ/skarědъ and *šerędъ/*šerědъ (see OCz. doublets šeřadný, šeřědný), the latter forms being based on PS *xer- (cf. Brückner 1927: 549; Holub – Kopečný 1952: 368).

Sln. škíliti, Slk. škúliť – Sln. híliti, S./Cr. hiljati 'to squint'
This equation is mostly overlooked but there are good arguments for its consideration. The forms with x- have been associated with PS *xyliti 'to incline, to stoop', while the forms with šk- are suspected of being borrowings from OHG skilihen 'to squint' (also with respect to Cz. šilhat which is a transparent borrowing from MHG schilhen – see Skok 1971: I, 666; III, 400; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 193; Snoj 1997: 636). Slk. škúliť, however, cannot be deduced from Ger. Also, the absolute agreement in the meaning of the compared words is noteworthy. Therefore I prefer to explain all the forms from PS *skūl-, *skoul-/xūl- 'crooked', an l- extension of IE root (s)keu- 'to bend, twist' (see Gluhak 1993: 608; Pokorny 1957: 588 has this root without s-mobile). See also XYLITI.

Pol. poskromić 'to tame' (originally 'to clip bird's wings') – S./Cr. hröm, Russ. xromój, Cz. chromý 'lame'
This equation is based on the explanation from IE *skram- (Ger. Schramme 'scratch'), a derivative from IE *(s)ker- 'to cut' (there are, however, alternative explanations, too – see XROMЪ). Meanings of the word *xromъ and its derivatives in Slav. languages show that it could originally denote not only lameness, but various kinds of crippling or injury (of arms, chest or other parts of body, cf. Sln. hrome prsi 'crippled chest')

(ESSJa: 8, 102). The credibility of the equation is rather weakened by the fact that a putative original *sk- is attested only in an isolated Polish word while the forms with x- have all-Slavic occurence.

Some other doublets can be found in Slav. dialects. Thus, the Russ. chor 'meaning 'moth' and 'measles' occurs in two different dialects alongside variants kor', skor' 'id.' (both probably from IE *(s)ker- 'to cut') (Merkulova 1979: 92). Moravian dial. chabľák 'thistle' is obviously a cognate of Slk.d. škoblať (sa) 'to scratch (oneself)', Pol. dialects display cognate forms like chawocić 'to squeak (as a marten)' and skowyczenie 'whine' (Machek 1930: 74) and allegedly even charpa alongside literary skarpa, szkarpa 'ditch' (Schuster-Šewc 2000: 26) which is manifestly a relatively young borrowing from It. scarpa.
The doublets examined so far have not shown any notable differences as far as the individual Slavic areas are concerned. Nevertheless, several instances of initial x- are limited to the Bulgarian language area, in contrast to the rest of Slavic. The most interesting example is OCS xralupъ 'hollow', Bulg. xrálup 'hollow tree' – OCS skralupa 'cortex', Russ. skorlupá 'shell', Cz. škraloup 'crust, skin of milk' from PS *skorlupъ/skorlupa (in its first part we can identify PS *(s)kora 'crust, cortex'). Another interesting example is Bulg. xrelé, xrilé 'gills, branchia' which corresponds to Pol. skrzele, Cz. skřele (possibly from Pol.), S./Cr. krělje. Bulg. x-, however, is not absolutely isolated in this instance – there is also a strange OCz. hapax chřelišče 'id.' (ESSJa: 8, 91). Finally, there is Bulg. xărbel 'chipped bowl, notch, nick', Mac.d. arbol 'chip of glass, chipped bowl' as against Bulg. ščărbel 'notch, nick', cf. also Russ. ščerbátyj 'dented, chipped' and OCz. ščerbivý 'id.' (variants with x- are even in this case considered to be PS, see ESSJa: 8, 145), all these forms together with Latv. šķirba 'crevice, crack' or OHG scirbi 'chip of glass' being from IE *(s)kerb(h)- 'to cut'. Rather less persuasive, although not impossible, is the etymological connection of Bulg. chlúja 'stream', OCS chlujati 'to flow' with IE *(s)kleu-/(s)k'leu- 'to flow' (see Mladenov 1941: 669). [4] The obvious isolation of the above-mentioned forms with x- indicates that the matter is a specific areal phenomenon which could have appeared only after the breakdown of Slavic unity. As far as I know, historical and comparative Slavic linguistics has not yet explored this matter.
In some words (the material can be retrieved mainly from Czech dialects) we face another problem: the doublet forms with sk-/šk- are obviously of secondary origin. Examples are:

Cz.d. škrtán – Cz. chřtán (expressive variant to hrtan from PS *gъrtanъ 'larynx')

Cz.d. škrůna, škruna 'dandruff, filth in hair' – Cz.d. chrouny, chruny 'dandruff, unkempt hair', LS kšuna 'itch' (Machek 1930: 87)

Cz.d. sklostivej, OCz. skúlostivý – OCz. chúlostivý, Cz. choulostivý 'delicate, sensitive'

Cz.d. škamradí – Cz. chamraď, chamradí 'trash, lumber, brushwood'

Cz.d. škňár – Cz.d. chňár 'mocking name for hand'

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[4] Bulgarian shows other pecularities as far as initial x- is concerned, particularly its prothesis in words like xrema 'cold', xlăcam '(I) hiccup, sob', xripam alongside ripam '(I) jump', xlăzgam alongside lăzgam '(I) slip, slide'.

Cz.d. *škmouřit se* – Cz. *chmuřit se* 'to frown'

Skřiby – *Chřiby* (PS *xribъ* 'hill')

Škarabela (Czech surname) – Cz.d. *charabeľa* 'a decrepit man'.
(except the last equation cf. Machek 1930: 76 where some other, more debatable examples are given)

With the exception of the first word, the etymologies of these are not very clear. Some of the doublets may concievably display an original *sk-* like, perhaps, *Skřiby* – *Chřiby* as compared with Pol.d. *skrzybiet*, Cass. *skřebt* alongside OPol. *krzebt, krzebiat, chrzebt, chrzbiet*, Pol. *grzbiet* 'back' (see ХRIBЪ, ХRЬВЬТЪ). Nevertheless, the rare dialect occurence of other *sk-/šk-* forms gives evidence that the reversed change *x > sk* could have occurred in some areas. Machek(1930: 75) explains this phenomenon as a reversed analogy. This would mean, however, that the change *sk > x* was still alive in the period when the dialects of individual Slav. languages were being formed, which is much later than has been estimated so far.

What has been said so far about IE-Slav. or internal Slav. *sk-/x-* doublets is a justification for the assumption that the change *sk- > x-* in some Slav. words really happened. After all, this is admitted almost unanimously. All the reservations about this change are directed at the fact that this change is irregular, and we are not able to tell the conditions and circumstances under which it takes place (it was already Brückner 1923: 226 who came to such a pesimistic conclusion). As is generally known, there are many examples where IE *sk-* corresponds with appropriate Slav. *sk-* (cf. Illič-Svityč 1961: 95). Attempts to restrict the change only to a certain sound environment – e.g. a cluster *skl-* which is unknown to Slavic except prefixed words (Petersson 1914), or *skl-, skr-, sku-* (Mann 1958) – are not persuasive in light of the above-mentioned examples of initial *sk-/x-* alternations.

An interesting solution was suggested by Bičovský (2005). He assumes that the original IE *sk- > š- > x*, and the new *sk-* appeared as a result of regeneration of *s*-mobile in Slavic, similar to that in Baltic or Germanic (see Southern 1999). The whole theory, however, seems to make little sense chronologically.

The change *sk- > x-* may be understood as an incidental, facultative change; in some opinions it is an expressive, affective one (Machek 1930: 81; Shevelov 1965: 136). Gołąb (1973: 130) argues that the only evidence for expressivity of this change would be two variants of Slav. words – one neutral in *sk-*, and the other one, expressive, in *x-*. Clear examples of this kind are missing from the above-mentioned doublets but the whole matter could be concieved in a different way. Namely, it could be argued that the change *sk- > x-* affected particularly the expressive lexicon itself, in other words, the expressive words in *sk-*. Most of the discussed doublets could indeed be labelled as expressive although we always find examples like PS *ščirъ* – *širъ* or Latv. *skarbs* – PS *xorbrъ* which can hardly be included.

Another important issue is the process of the change *sk- > x-*. The question is if it happened directly or via metathesis *sk > ks*. This matter is discussed at length by Machek (1930: 69f.). Although he theoretically admits both possibilities, he inclines rather to the development with metathesis; on the one hand, because there was a pattern

(original *ks > x* according to the Pedersen's rule), on the other, because the metathesis "is very plausible in a vulgar language" (see also Arumaa 1986: II, 156f.; Shevelov 1965: 135). Machek (l.c.) further examines cases of the metathesis *sk > ks* in other IE languages. He observes that the cluster *sk (ks)* is very stable as a rule, yet instances of metathesis occur (in general, consonant clusters containing *s* are subject to metathesis more often than other clusters). Some examples: Lat. *viscus* – Gr. ιξός 'mistletoe'; Lat. *misceo* '(I) mix', Pass. Part. *mixtus*; OE. *fix* from *fisc* 'fish', *waxan* from *wascan* 'to wash', Lith. *drěksti* 'to tear', 1 sg. pres. *dreskiù* etc. Few reliable examples are found, however, in the initial position where the sounds are generally more stable (Machek: l.c. gives the only safe example which is onomatopoeic anyhow, and "so does not amount to much"). In this view, the distribution in Slav. is somehow opposite – there are not many clear examples of metathesis in the middle of words. Most instances of the metathesis *sk > ks (> x)* are concentrated in the word-initial position. Machek explains it as a kind of analogy to expressive words in *x-* of onomatopoeic origin, "as an expression of an immediate effort to intensify their impression effect [...], thus as a phenomenon more psychological than autonomously organic" (Machek 1930: 80). The metathesis of initial *sk-*, however, is questioned by chronological facts. It would have had to occur in the period when the *ruki* rule was still operating (which was probably a relatively short period in the second half of the first millenium B.C.). The above-mentioned examples of Slav. *sk-/x-* doublets show, however, that the change *sk > x* must have been effective long thereafter.

The change *sk > x* is connected with one more problem: the issue of *s*-mobile (see e.g. Martynov 1968: 94). Since every initial *sk-* can theoretically be *(s)k-*, the alternative sources of *x* can be either *sk* or *k*. *S*-mobile is reconstructed in Pokorny's dictionary in 70 % of all IE roots in *s-*, or in 30 from 40 examples in Brückner 1923. On the other hand, plausible etymological doublets with *k-/x-* alternations are apparently missing (examples like Cz. *křen* from PS *xrěnъ* or *koště* from OCz. *chvoščišče* are later substitutions of *k-* for *x-*), and also plausible Slav.-IE parallels are considerably rarer than *sk-/x-*. The cited examples are PS *xvorstъ* 'brush(wood), shrubs' as against OHG *horst* 'bushes, shrubs, thicket' from IE *kuors-to-* (Pokorny 1959: 633), PS *xobotъ* (and possibly *xabъ*) as against Lith. *kabėti* 'to hang' where, however, the IE root is reconstructed with *s*-mobile (Brückner 1923: 238 starts from BS *(s)kob-* 'to hang up, attach' while Pokorny cites the Lith. word under *(s)ka(m)b-* 'to bend', c.f. Slav. *skoba* 'hook, clamp'), and perhaps also the connection of PS *xotěti* 'to want' with Lith. *ketėti* 'to intend' (Brückner 1923: 228; Machek 1930: 66, 73; 1939: 212 and 1968: 208) which, however, is not persuasive enough (to the etymology of the Lith. word see Fraenkel 1962–1965: 247). Other exmples are even less plausible. We can infer from it, that the initial *s-* played a decisive role in the change of *sk-* or *(s)k-* into *x-*, and that we really deal with the change *sk > x* and not *k > x*. Admittedly, Machek advocates the theory of an affective change *k > x* (in particular Machek 1939: 175–185), but he only bases it on several internal Czech examples (cf. Cz. *chomolý* alongside *komolý*, *-pláchnout* alongside *-pláknout*). Otherwise, his examples are not persuasive – these are partially BS parallels of onomatopoeic origin, Lith. *sklandà* – PS *xlǫdъ* obviously point to the change *sk > ch*, rare Slav. *xochati* from *kochati* can be explained by assimilation, his Slav.- IE parallels are dubious. All this shows that even if we admit an affective change

$k > x$ in a certain phase of the development of Slav. languages, its operation in (Early) PS period is implausible.

Slavic *x-* – IE **sg-*, **g-*

In 1961, a resourceful and original solution of the problem of Slav. initial *x-* was set forth by talented Ukrainian linguist Illič-Svityč. In effect, it is a slight correction of 'Siebs' law' (Siebs 1901) which says, in principle, that if an IE root began in a voiced consonant, its doublet with *s*-mobile began in *s* + unvoiced consonant. Illič-Svityč notices that the evidence for Slav. *sk-* from IE **s* + *g* and **s* + *gh* is very poor, if any, and he concludes that the regular reflex of IE **sg-* a **sgh-* is Slav. *x-*.

It is no wonder that this systemic solution was well received by a number of scholars who reproached previous theories (like that of Brückner and Machek) for an incidentalness of the change and opacity of the conditions under which the change took place. It was accepted e.g. by Schuster-Šewc in his dictionary (1978: 370), and it was considered indisputable by Andersen (1980: 19) who explicitly claims: "The correspondence IE **s* + *g(h)* – Sl. *x-* is established on the basis of sixteen reliable examples and, like the correspondence **s* + *g(h)* – Baltic *sk-* is past dispute." From a theoretical standpoint, this conception is ingenious; let's look, however, at whether it is really founded on reliable evidence (cf. also Martynov 1968: 95n.).

First of all, it is necessary to point out that those "sixteen reliable examples" exemplify the correspondence of Slav. *x-* with *sk-* in other IE languages, and are based on the former theory of Brückner. Illič-Svityč starts his argumentation with them, but they themselves cannot prove anything new. Afterwards, the author presents 8 examples in which Slav. *sk-* corresponds with IE **sk-* in order to show the questionability of the rise of Slav. *x-* from IE **sk-*. Only then does he provide examples that are supposed to corroborate his new hypothesis. He starts from the assumption that words beginning in original *sk-* (in Slav. *x-* or *sk-*) must have at least partial doublets without movable *s-*. In his view, the analysis of these doublets shows that the words with an initial *x-* (allegedly from *sg-*) in Slav. correspond with forms in *g-*, *gh-* in IE languages, while Slav. words with an initial *sk-* correspond with doublets in *k-* as expected. Let us examine author's five examples in which Slav. initial *x-* corresponds with IE *sk-* (in author's view from **sg(h)-* and *g(h)-*).

Slav. **xudъ* 'poor', Lith. *skùsti* 'to become ill', Latv. *skaust* 'to envy' – Lith. *gaũsti* 'to complain, to moan', Latv. *gaust* 'id.', OIcel. *gauda* 'to curse' (IE **ghoudh-*)

Slav. **xrustъ* 'cracking', Lith. *skriaudùs* 'fragile, brittle' – Lith. *graudùs* 'id.', OHG *grioz* 'gravel' (IE **ghreud-*)

Slav. **xorbrъ* 'brave', Latv. *skarbs* 'rough' – OInd. *pragalbhá-* 'bold, courageous' (IE **ghorbh-* or **gorbh-*)

Slav. **šurati* 'to move clumsily', Lat. *scaurus* 'being flat-footed' – Slav. *guriti* 'to bend down' (Serb. *gùriti se* 'to slouch', *gùrav* 'bent', *gùra* 'hunch'), Gr. *γυρός* 'sehnutý' (IE **geəu-r-/*gəu-r-*)

Slav. **xǫtь* 'taste, appetite', W. *chwant* (< **skant*) 'greed' – Arm. *xant* 'strong desire' (IE **ghə-n-t-*)

The first equation is implausible from the semantic point of view. The quoted words with initial *g-* are usually explained as onomatopoeic (Slav. **gusti* 'to play a string instrument' would belong here, too) (Pokorny 1959: 403, 449). The second example operates with words of onomatopoeic nature, and the equation thus does not count too much. The connection of Slav. **xorbrъ* with OInd. *pragalbhá-* was proposed earlier by Machek (1939: 197f.; 1968: 204), and was admitted also by Pokorny (1959: 428). OInd. word, however, is deduced from IE **ghel-* 'to call, cry' (Pokorny: l.c.; Mayrhofer 1956–1980: I, 330), and even if we admitted somehow its relationship to Slav. word, Latv. *skarbs* definitely could not belong here (together with E. *sharp* etc. is from IE **(s)ker-*). The fourth, original equation, which is based on two peripheral Slav. words, encounters semantic difficulties again. Slav. **šurati* – attested, as far as I know, only in Cz. and Pol. in the meaning 'to shuffle (one's feet)' – seems to belong to the group of expressive 'motion-imitative' words, comparable with Cz. *courat se* 'to loiter', *šoulat se* 'to sidle along'; the most logical derivation of South Slav. *guriti*, 'to loiter', is from IE **geu-* 'to bend'. Finally, the fifth example operates with the old, but phonologically disputable equation **xǫtь* with opaque W. *chwant* and Arm. *xand*; the former being deduced more from IE **suent-*.

Another group of five examples introduces equations in which Slav. *x-* corresponds with IE *g-*, *gh-*. In Illič-Svityč's view, these examples reflect *s*-mobile only in Slav. languages.

Slav. **xoldъ* 'cold' – Slav. *želdъ* (OCS *žlědica* 'frozen snow'), Goth. *kalds* 'cold', Ger. *kalt* 'id.' (IE **geldh-/*goldh-*)

Slav. **xvostъ* 'tail' – OHG *questa* 'bunch of leaves, broom' (IE **gues-t-*)

Slav. **xъlbiti* 'to boast' – Lith.d. *gulbinti* 'to praise', OIcel. *gjalp* 'swagger' (IE **ghḷb-/*ghelb-*)

Slav. **šala* (< **xēlā*), **xalъ* (S. *šála* 'joke', Cz. *šálit* 'to delude'; Russ. *naxál* 'insolent fellow') – Arm. *xal* 'game', Gr. *χάλις* 'mocker, scoffer' (IE **ghə-l-*)

Slav. **xovati* 'to protect, to nurse' – Lat. *fovēre* 'to warm up, to nurse' (IE **ghou-*)

All these etymological connections appear in the literature though some are more plausible than others (in my opinion, the degree of probability is more or less reflected by the order of examples), and particularly the first equation is very plausible. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that *s*-mobile occured only in Slav. roots while there are no traces of it in other IE languages. Martynov also criticizes Illič-Svityč's conception for another thing – he does not mention the existence of other doublets of voiced and voiceless than those which are connected with movable *s* (Martynov 1968: 97), e.g. US *kolp* 'swan', Russ. *kolpica* 'young swan' as against Lith. *gulbė*, Latv., OPr. *gulbis* 'swan'.

Thus, the missing Slav. reflexes for IE *s* + *g(h)-* remain the main argument for Illič-Svityč's theory. Lith., on the other hand, displays both internal doublets like

skudrùs 'quick, bright, clever' – *gudrùs* 'bright, clever', and Lith. – Slav. doublets like Lith. *skilándis* 'pork stomach stuffed with minced meat (Lith. meal)' – PS *želǫdъkъ* 'stomach'; Lith. (older) *skrúoblas* 'hornbeam' – PS *grabъ* 'id.'. Nevertheless, Illič-Svityč's attempt to solve the problem of initial *x-*, however resourceful and respectable it may be, does not supply sufficient material evidence – it shows some plausible parallels with Slav. *x-* and IE *sk-* on the one hand, and with Slav. *x-* and IE *g-* on the other hand. An etymological interconnection of these parallels through *s*-mobile cannot be considered successful.

Let us look, however, once again at the instances with Slav. *x-* corresponding to IE *g-*. It is particularly the above-mentioned PS *xoldъ* as against Goth. *kalds*, Ger. *kalt* 'cold' (IE *golHdho-*), further related being Lat. *gelidus* 'id.', from IE *gelH-*. It is one of a few Slav. words with *x-* whose relationship can be confirmed as reliable. Unfortunately, the interpretation of its initial *x-* is complicated by Lith. *šáltas* 'id.' which must be reconstructed with an initial *k'* (Lith. *-t-* as against Slav. *-d-* has a parallel in another pair of adjectives: Lith. *tvìrtas* – PS *tvъrdъ* 'hard'). Although both reconstructed variants of roots (namely *gol(H)dho-* and *k'ol(H)dho-*) are considered etymologically identical, the very fact of their existence does not enable an unambiguous interpretation of the rise of the initial *x-* in the discussed word (see XOLDЪ).

The rise of Slav. *x-* from IE *g-* (or possibly *sg-*) would be more credible if we found Slav. *g-/x-* doublets – analogically to *sk-/x-* doublets discussed in the previous chapter. As far as I know, there is only one instance of this kind, and even that is questionable – PS *grъbъtъ* (represented by Cz. *hřbet* and Pol. *grzbiet*) and *xrъbъtъ* (represented by e.g. OCS *xrъbъtъ*, S./Cr. *hřbat*, Russ. *xrebét*, Slk. *chrbát*). The vagueness of this doublet is well documented by contradictory explanations in the reputable Trubačev's dictionary – it states s.v. *grъbъtъ* that the form with *g-* is primary, and questions the autonomy of the form *xrъbъtъ* (the relationship of both forms is not satisfactorily explained). PS *grъbъtъ* is further connected with *grebti*; the original meaning would have been 'comb' (ESSJa: 7, 162). On the other hand, s.v. *xrъbъtъ* makes no mention of forms with *g-* at all. The word is connected with evidently close *xribъ* (OCS *xribъ* 'back, ridge', Sln. *hríb*, Cz. *chřib* 'hill'), and the basic verb is found in *skrebti* 'to scrape'. In this connection, Pol.d. *skrzybiet* is considered a possible relic having preserved an original *sk-* (ESSJa: 8, 108).

Though the latter etymology can hardly be accepted without reservations, the idea of primariness of the forms with *g-* is even less plausible – not only in view of related words like *xribъ* and *xribъtъ*, but particularly because of the distribution of forms in Slavic languages. The forms with *g-* are only in Cz., Pol. and Plb., and in view of OCz. *chřbet* and OPol. *krzebt, krzebiat, chrzebt, chrzebiet* they seem to be secondary in Cz. and Pol. They might have developed by contamination with continuants of PS *gъrbъ* 'humpback'. The etymological connection of this word with PS *xrъbъtъ* was proposed by Machek (1939: 200), but his explanation *gъrb- > *xrъb-* is hardly acceptable.

To exemplify the change *g > x* in Slav. languages some point to Cz. (expressive) *chřtán*, d. *chrtáň*, OCz. *chrtan, chřtán, křtán*, alongside neutral *hrtan*, OCS *grъtanь* from PS *gъrtanь, *gъrtanъ*. This example, however, is even less conclusive than

the previous one. The word appears in various forms in Slav. languages, a voiceless initial is besides OCz. also in Pol. *krtań*. A substitution *k ~ x* is then quite common in OCz. Berneker (1908–13: I, 372) explains that Czech forms were contaminated by OCz. *chr(s)tálek, chřtálek, křtálek* 'cartilage'.

Slavic *x-* – IE *s-*

In view of the fact that IE *s* is a main source of Slav. *x* in non-initial position, one would assume that a number of explanations of Slav. *x-* in word-initial position are connected with it as well. What is found are explanations of individual words *ad hoc*, but no coherent theory. Some instances are explained by the *ruki* rule which acts through prefixes or even through the last sound of the previous word in a set lexical connection.

The most famous and most frequently accepted example of alternation of Slav. *x-* and IE *s-* is PS *xoditi* 'to go (repeatedly)' as against Gr. *ὁδός* 'way', OInd. *a-sad-* 'to get (somewhere)', *ut-sad-* 'to leave' from IE *sed-* 'to go'. The Slavic change is usually explained by impact of prefixes like *prei-, *per-, *ou-*, after which *ruki* rule was applied (*s > x*) (for details see XODITI).

Other plausible examples are as follows (for details see entries in the dictionary part of the work).

PS *xvějati* 'to tremble, shake' – Lith. *svajóti* 'to dream', originally 'to wander around', E. *sway* from IE *suei-* 'to swing, sway'

PS *xvorъ* 'ill, debilitated' – Av. *hᵛara-* 'wound, injury', OHG *sweran* 'to hurt, suppurate, swell'

PS *xromъ* 'lame' – OInd. *srāmá-* 'id.'

PS *xъrtъ* 'greyhound' – OInd. *sṛtá-* 'hunting'
Lith. *saȓtas* 'yellow-brown'

Other examples of etymological connections of Slav. *x-* and IE *s-* are less credible; they appear mostly as less plausible alternatives to other explanations. See e.g. entries XORMЪ, XЪVЪTЪ.

There are only a few *s-/x-* doublets in Slav. languages. Attention is paid to Cz. *chmura* 'dense cloud; worry', US, Pol. *chmura* 'cloud' alongside Cz. *pošmourný* 'gloomy, dismal', Cass. *smura, smyra* 'cloud', Russ. *smuryj* 'dark'. This doublet is not interpreted unequivocally (see XMURA), but the change *s > x* seems plausible here. Less conclusive doublets include expressive and onomatopoeic words: Cz. *svist* 'whistle, whizz, swish', Pol. *świst*, Russ. *svist* alongside Cz. (older) *chvístati* 'to whistle', Pol. *chwist*, Russ.d. *xvistat'* or Cz. (older) *chlopati* 'to lap up, slop' alongside *slopati* 'id.', *chlopec* 'simple trap' alongside Russ.d. *slopéc* 'id.' and Russ.d. *xmyz* 'low shrubbery' which is explained from *smyzъ* (ESSJa: 8, 46).
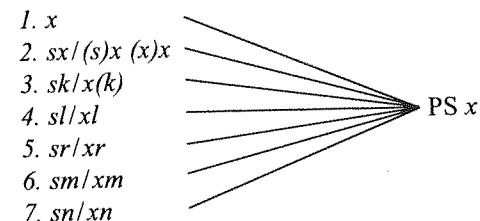
Slavic *x-* – IE **k'-*

The idea of the rise of Slav. *x-* from IE **k'-* took a long time to appear as an alternative to previous theories. An apparent reflex of IE **k'* was Slav. *s*, and though there are known exceptions to the *satem* change, they never resulted in Slav. *x*. The most plausible equation, PS **xoldъ* as against Lith. *šáltas*, was inconsistent with the facts of other IE languages, which did not point to IE *k'*. Usually, it was interpreted in another way. Machek (1938: 190–193) adduced four examples showing how, in his opinion, Slav. *x-* corresponds with OInd. *ś-* (Slav. *xromъ, xorna, xomǫtъ* and *xalǫga*), but he assumed a development *k' > k > x* in Slav.

In the year 1968, V.V. Martynov re-focused attention back to the rise of Slav. *x* in his book on Slavic and Indo-European accommodation. He rejected the existing theories about the secondary rise of PS *x*, and argued that PS *x* is of a solitary origin dating back to pre-Slavic times. He based his arguments on Martinet's proposition that new phonemes emerge when some distinguishable marks are transmitted from one segment of speech flow to another (in Martynov's terms "linear modification"). Alternatively, phonemes emerge due to the rise and the consequent consolidation of new sounds in connection with the borrowing of foreign words (Martynov 1968: 99). Martynov thus comes to a problematic conclusion that new phonemes do not rise from positional variants of old ones, and PS *x* then must be a continuation of a pre-Slavic *x*.

Martynov thus incorporates some of earlier Merlingen's views. The essential methodological distinction is, that Martynov does not reconstruct the velar spirant outside the framework of the traditional IE consonantal system; he finds it inside the system, in the controversial three series of IE velars. By virtue of a quite complicated argumentation based on the general theory of accommodation, Martynov infers that the difference between *k', g', g'h* and *k, g, gh* could not be the opposition palatalization/non-palatalization; if so, both series would merge in positions before front vowels (Martynov 1968, 88). Traditionally, *k', g', g'h* are considered palatalized velar (guttural) plosives. Their qualitative distinction against pure velars in the position before a front vowel thus must have been in the absence of one of these marks. The idea that they are non-guttural is out of the question because they are reflected as pure gutturals in the languages of the *centum* group. The same applies to non-palatalization because these consonants are reflected as sibilants in the languages of *satem* group. The only possible alternative in Martynov's view remains the reconstruction of the series of palatalized guttural non-plosives, in other words fricatives *x', h', H'*. This assumption is supposedly corroborated by the fact that this series is mostly reflected as fricative in satem languages. Because of the symmetry of the system, Martynov even reconstructs a fourth series *x, h, H*, which includes laryngeals (1968: 91).

In another part of his book, Martynov addresses the problem of IE *s*-mobile. After assessing the existing explanations of this complicated matter, he comes to the conclusion that the alternation of an *s* with zero *(#)* may be interpreted as an alternation of an *s* and a laryngeal in the beginning of a word, in his reinterpretation as an alternation *s/x*. This explanation offers the following sources of PS *x* (Martynov 1968: 105):

IE

$$
\begin{array}{l}
\textit{1. x} \\
\textit{2. sx / (s)x (x)x} \\
\textit{3. sk / x(k)} \\
\textit{4. sl / xl} \\
\textit{5. sr / xr} \\
\textit{6. sm / xm} \\
\textit{7. sn / xn}
\end{array}
\Bigg\rangle \longrightarrow \text{PS } x
$$

This is an outline of Martynov's inferences on the basis of the internal reconstruction and theory of accommodation. In the last section of his work he tries to prove these inferences by means of the external comparison. The examples are divided up to several groups.

From the heuristic point of view, the most important is the first group, which comprises examples of the correspondence IE *k'* ~ PS *x*. Still earlier, Martynov adduces several Hittite-satem parallels in which Hitt. *h* corresponds with the expected responses of the traditional IE *k'*. The actual examples for the correspondence of IE **k'* ~ Slav. *x* are following (1968: 109f.):

PS **xalǫga* (OCS *xalǫga* 'hedge') – OInd. *śālá-* 'fence, hedge', *śála-* 'shack, house, chamber' (IE **k'el-* 'to cover')

PS **xoldъ* 'cold' – Lith. *šáltas* 'id.'

PS **xolova* (OCz. *cholova* 'a bit of fabric for binding of stockings', LS *chólowa, cholowy* 'trousers', Russ. *xoljava* 'high boot') – PCelt. **colu* (Ir. *culaid* 'pall'), OHG *helawa* 'oat chaff', Goth. *huljan* 'to cover' (IE **k'el-* 'to cover')

PS **xolpъ* (OCS *xlapъ* 'slave, servant') – Lith. *šelpti* 'to help', Ger. *helfen* 'id.' (IE **k'elb-/k'elp-* 'id.'), the alleged semantic parallel in OIr. *mug, maug* 'slave', Bret. *mao* 'boy, servant' – PS *pomagati* 'to help', all from IE **magh-*)

PS **xorna* (South Slav. *xrana*, Plb. *chorna* 'food') – Lith. *šérti* 'to feed' (IE **k'er-* 'to feed'), word-formation parallel in PS **sterti – *storna*

PS **xovati* 'to nurse, protect'– OInd. *śváyati* '(he) grows, strengthens', Gr. *κύω* 'to be pregnant' (IE **k'eu-* 'to swell')

PS **xudъ* 'poor, thin' – Lith. *šúdas* 'dirt, dung', Latv. *sûds* 'id.' (IE **k'udh/k'oudh-*), semantic parallel in OCS *skvrъna* 'dirt, spot' – Russ. *skvernyj* 'mean, ugly', Arm. *k'akor* 'dung' – Gr. *κακός* 'bad'

PS **xěrъ* (Cz. *šerý*, Pol. *szary*, ORuss. *sěrъ*, Bulg. *ser* 'grey') – OIcel. *harr* 'grey, old', stangl. *har* 'id.', MIr. *cíar* 'dark brown' (IE **k'eiro-/k'oiro* 'dark')

PS *šaliti* (Cz. *šálit* 'to delude', S./Cr. *šála* 'joke' et al.) – OHG *huolen* 'to deceive', OE. *holian* 'to slander', Gr. *κηλέω* 'to enchant' (IE **k'ēl-* 'to delude, deceive')

PS **šarъ* (OCS *šarъ* 'colour; artist', S./Cr. *šâr* 'colour, colourful', Ukr. *šarity* 'to go red' – OInd. *śārá-* 'colourful, motley' (IE **k'e-ro-*)

PS **šestъ* (Russ. *šest* 'long pole') – Lith. *šēkstis* 'wooden pitchfork with bent prongs', OIr. *cecht* 'wooden plough'

PS *šibati (OCS šibati 'to whip', Russ. šibat' 'to throw', Pol. szybki 'quick') – OInd. śíbham 'quick', OHG heiftig 'swift' (IE *k'eibh- 'quick, swift')

PS *šipъ (OCS šipъkъ '(rose) hip', Bulg. šip 'arrow', S./Cr. šip 'edge, pillar', Russ. šip 'prick, thorn', Cz. šíp 'arrow') – OInd. śépa- 'tail, penis', Lat. cippus 'stake, column' and scīpiō 'stick, crutch', Gr. σκίπων 'id.' (IE *(s)k'eipo-)

PS *čaxnǫti, čaxati (Russ. čaxnut' 'to languish, fade away') – Lith. kašéti 'to weaken, fade', OIran. kasu- 'small, futile', Ger. hager 'thin, skinny' (IE *kak'- 'to grow thinner')

PS *kyšěti (Russ. kišet', Ukr. kyšity 'to swarm') – Lith. kušéti 'id.', Gr. κυκάω 'to mix, whirl'

PS *paxati (Bulg. paxam 'to sweep', Sln. páhati 'to blow', Russ. paxat' 'to blow gently, sweep' – Lith. puõšti 'to adorn, decorate', OIcel. faga 'id.', Dutch vagen 'to clean' (IE *pek'-/pok'-)

PS *paxъ/pazъ (Bulg. pax, Russ. pax 'armpit', Cz. (older) pach 'groin'/ OCS pazuxa 'armpit', Sln. paz 'point of contact, seam') – OInd. páśa- 'noose', paśita- 'tied', OHG fuogen 'to connect'/ Gr. πάγη 'trap, snare', Lat. compāgēs 'connection, bond' (IE *pak'-/pag'-)

PS *plěxъ (Cz. pleš, US plěch 'bald (spot)', ORuss. plěšivъ 'bald') – Lith. pleĩkė, pleĩšė 'bald spot'

PS *polxъ (Bulg. plax, Ukr. polox 'fright, confusion', Cz. plachý 'shy') – Lith. pálšas 'pale, yellow-brown', Lat. pallor 'paleness, fright, horror' (IE *palk'-?)

PS *rěšiti (OCS rěšiti 'to loose, liberate', Cz. řešit 'to solve', Pol. rzeszyć 'to bind') – Lith. raišýti 'to bind', Latv. rist 'id.' (IE *reik'-)

Martynov's twenty examples (13 for initial x-) certainly represent a good number. Moreover, only a few etymologies can be regarded as markedly unconvincing (xovati, polxъ, paxati and xudъ). The other etymologies can hardly be challenged formally or semantically, though alternative explanations can be preferred in many cases.

Another group of examples presents correspondences IE *s/# ~ PS x:

PS *xabъ, xabina (Ukr. xabina 'rod, switch', Cz. chabí 'brushwood, bushes', Pol. chabina 'switch, twig', with a contaminated suffixation Russ. xabazina 'stick, pole', Ukr. xabz 'elder', Slk. chabzda 'id.' from PS *xab-ъzъ) – Lat. sambūcus 'elder' (< *sab-bugos?), sabīna 'thuja'

PS *xlębь (OCS xlębь 'cataract, watergate', Russ. xljab' 'depth, abyss') – E. slump, OInd. lámbate '(it) hangs, sags' (IE *(s)lemb-)

PS *xlonǫti, xlaniti (Sln. hlaniti 'to catch to the trap', Ukr. xlanuty 'to eat greedily', Pol. chłonąć 'to swallow') – Gr. λάμος 'larynx, gob', λάμια 'abyss', Lith. lãminti 'to devour'

PS *xmurъ (Russ. xmura 'dark cloud, frowning man', Cz. chmura, Pol. chmura 'cloud', Cass. smura 'id.') – Gr. ἀμαυρός 'dark, weak'

PS *xodъ – Gr. ὁδός 'way'

PS *xoliti (Russ. xolit' 'to bring up, cultivate') – Lat. alere 'to feed, bring up', OIr. alim 'I feed', OIcel. ala 'to feed'

PS *xromъ 'lame' – OInd. srāmá- 'id.'

PS *xъrtъ 'greyhound' – OInd. srta- 'hunting, chasing' from sárati '(he) drives, chases'

PS *xvějati, vějati 'to tremble, to shake' – Lith. svajóti 'to wander, to stagger', E. sway

PS *xvorъ (Russ. xvoryj, OCz. chvorý, Cz. chorý, Pol. chory 'ailing') – OIran. xᵛara 'wound', OHG sweran 'to ache, to swell', W. chwarren 'swelling', Lat. verruca 'wart'

Four of these ten etymologies are traditionally explained as Slav. x- < IE *s- (PS xodъ, xromъ, xvějati, xvorъ); also the equation Slav. xmura – Gr. ἀμαυρός. is well known, though variously interpreted. Original explanations are those of Slav. xoliti a xъrtъ. The least plausible are the first three equations – the first one encounters too many formal and semantic difficulties, the other two operate with words of an onomatopoeic origin, and the parallels are not persuasive anyway.

The third group of equations displays correspondences IE *sk ~ PS x

PS *xabiti (Cz. chabý 'feeble, weak' etc.) – Lith. skóbti 'to go sour'

PS *xajati (S./Cr. hajati 'to care for', Russ. xajat' 'id.') – Osset. xsajyn 'to care for', Toch. A ske, Toch. B skai 'id.'

PS *xlǫdъ (Cz.d. chloud 'stick' etc.) – Lith. sklanda 'pale'

PS *xorbrъ (Cz. chrabrý etc.) – Latv. skarbs 'sharp', OIcel. skarpr 'id.'

PS *xǫtь (Cz. chuť atd.) – W. chwant 'greed', OInd. kānti 'desire, beauty' (IE *PS *xrędnǫti (Cz. chřadnout etc.) – Lith. skrèsti 'to wrinkle', Norw. skranta 'to get thinner'

PS *xrustъ (Cz. chroustat etc.) – Latv. skraustēt 'to crack, crunch'

PS *xvoja – Lith. skujà 'needles', Ir. scé 'hawthorn'

PS *xybati (Cz. chybit, chyba etc.) – Lith. skùbti 'to hurry', OIcel. skúfa 'to move', OInd. kšipáti '(he) throws'

PS *sědъ (OCS sědъ, Cz. šedý 'grey') – Lith. skaidrùs 'clear, bright', OIcel. heið 'clear, bright sky'

PS *širъ (Cz. šir(ok)ý etc.) – Goth. skeirs 'bright, clear'

Most of these etymologies are known from the aforementioned theories on the relationship of IE *sk- a Slav. x-. The exceptions (and also the least plausible parallels) are

the connections of PS *xǫtъ with OInd. kānti- and PS *sědъ with Lith. skaidrùs and OIcel. heið.

Other four groups are not directly connected with our topic, therefore I will simply list them here: correspondences IE *sk' ~ PS (s)k, IE *k's ~ PS k, IE # ~ PS k, IE *k ~ PS k, IE *g'h ~ PS g.

If we look over the whole Martynov's conception, we can see that he attempted to solve a whole series of problems of IE and Slav. phonology – starting from the reinterpretation of the IE consonantal system, the process of "satemization" and the genesis of Slav. x to the problem of s-mobile and finally to the exceptions from the satem rule in Slav. and the problem of an initial k- in well known examples kost and koza. As to the PS initial x, his theory enables him to interpret it not only originally as an equivalent of IE (traditional) *k'-, but also of *s-, *sk- and #, that is to say, with a number of equations known from previous theories. Owing to most of the examples for the correspondence of IE *k' and Slav. x being credible, the material part represents a relatively strong point of Martynov's argumentation. On the other hand, Martynov's theoretical construction as a whole cannot escape from the criticism (see e.g. Savčenko 1974: 118). What is not particularly persuasive are the arguments for the reconstruction of the IE series of velar fricatives (from which only a voiceless one would be indeed materialized – moreover only partially – as a velar fricative in Slav.), and the alternation of laryngeal and s as two allophones of s-mobile and the variance in the word-initial position resulting from it. While the aforementioned resourceful and simple Illič-Svityč's theory was called in question because of the lack of evidence, Martynov's theory seems to have an opposite problem: there are plenty of examples, but the whole sophisticated theory gives the impression of a certain calculation and – to use the author's own term – accommodation to the problems that were to be solved. Nevertheless, it is one of the serious and imposing attempts to solve the problem of Slav. x-, and hence significant attention has been paid to it.

The connection of Slav. x- with IE *k' is also claimed by Schuster-Šewc (2000) in one of the latest contributions to this topic. His classification of material and the grouping of examples also reflect a variety of alternations of Slav. x- (x- : (s)k- : g/g'; x- : (s)k-; x- : g/g' et al.), but a number of examples are questionable. Schuster-Šewc comes to the conclusion that the origin of Slav. voiceless x should be looked for particularly in IE satem k', which could then freely (without a phonological restriction) alternate with k and g/g'. In late BS, the palatal k' developed into a palatal sibilant ś, which yielded to Balt. š (Lithuanian) or s (Latvian, Old Prussian), while in PS allophons ś (> s) and ŝ (> x) came into being. Owing to its facultative character and in the absence of a voiced counterpart in the consonantal system, the allophone x was phonologically isolated from the beginning. This resulted into its pushing out to the periphery of the system, and to the acquisition of affective-expressive functions, which was connected with a certain proliferation of x above the scope of its original occurrence.

The idea about the double realization of IE k' is interesting. I only add that Slav. reflexes of IE *s after i, u, r, k and IE *k' then would be a symmetrical counterpart to those in Lith. (cf. a similar chart on p. 6):

	Lith.	Slav.
s after i, u, r, k	s : š	ŝ (> x)
k'	š	s : ŝ (> x)

Schuster-Šewc gives the following examples:

Sorb., Russ. šeršeň 'hornet' – Cz. sršeň;

Russ., Ukr. šerst' 'hair, coat' – ORuss. sьrstь, Cz. srst (IE *k'er-st-);

Cz., Pol. chmura 'cloud'– Russ. smuryj 'dark', Cass. smura 'cloud', Cz.d. smura (IE *k'em-);

OCS xladъ – OCS slana 'hoarfrost' (< *k'old/n-);

OCz. krchý 'left', Sln. kŕš 'bushes' – Cz. krs 'scrub (tree)', Ukr. kors 'cleared ground' (< *kurk'-);

a group of words on *trǫch- (Cz. trouchnivý 'decayed') – *trǫs- (trousit 'to spill') (with a dubious assigning of Cz. trocha 'a bit') (< *(s)treu(n)k-);

ORuss. šizyj 'blue-grey' – Russ. sizyj 'id.' (IE *k'eig'-).

Although some of these equations can be considered successful, the generalization of the origin of Slav. ch from k' can not be accepted. Particularly unsatisfactory is an explanation of Slav. and Slav.-IE doublets in ch-/sk- and ch-/s-, where the origin from IE k' is plausible only in a few instances (cf. author's very questionable derivation of Slav. *ch(u)mur-/*s(u)mur- from IE *k'em-). Moreover, the putative change k' > x is an incidental change – it is not possible to say under which conditions it takes place and under which conditions k' changes to regular s.

In spite of the implausibility of Martynov's and Schuster-Šewc's theories about the regular bond of Slav. x with IE *k', both scholars take credit for a collection of solid material which indicates that even a rise of Slav. x- from IE *k' should seriously be taken into account in the discussion about the origin of Slav. initial x-.

Slavic x- as a prothetic sound

Beliefs in the prothesis of Slav. x- can be based on some relatively plausible examples in respective Slav. languages. ESSJa uses this explanation for Slav. *xlamъ, *xlemъjь, *xlupati, *xlъkati. There are some Bulg. examples with a prothetic x-, e.g. xripam alongside ripam '(I) jump', xlăzgam alongside lăzgam '(I) slide', xlăcam '(I) hiccup, sob', xrema 'cold' (see Rejzek 1998: 239). Machek explains in this way e.g. OCz. a Cz.d. chvor 'keepnet', which corresponds with Russ.d. vor 'box-shaped keepnet' (Machek 1968: 211). It is characteristic of these examples, however, that the concerned words are expressive, peripheral, with a restricted areal occurence and with doublets without an initial x-. A well-founded assumption then is that the forms with x- came into being secondarily, and in the formative period of individual Slavic languages or at least in the period of dialectally differentiated PS.

If we try to extend examples of a prothetic x- by Slav.-IE equations, we shall hardly find something even slightly persuasive. Machek's conception of an expressive or augmentative *ch-* applied e.g. to words *chromý, chřib, chvála* and *chvěti* (Machek 1968 s.v. and Introduction p. 13) did not generally win recognizion, moreover there exist plausible etymologies of the mentioned words. Martynov (1968: 135) mentions the only example of an alternation IE # – Slav. *x*, namely Slav. *xoliti*, Lat. *alere* 'to feed', which can hardly be really queried formally and semantically, yet it is problematic because of its isolation.

In sum, it seems obvious that the prothesis of *x-* could not have taken place earlier than late PS period.

Résumé of potential sources of Slavic *x-*

If we disregard the implausible existence of an IE velar fricative, we can see from the survey of the existing views on the rise of Slav. initial *x-*, that the following sources can seriously be taken into account: IE *ks, k, k', g, sk, sk', sg, s* and with certain doubts # (prothesis); that is to say, 9 sources altogether obtained by a comparison with other IE languages. However, interpretations of these equations are completely unequivocal, as gathered from the present material. The point is not only that the relationship of the words is almost never provable, but also that equations are based on the responses for IE velars *k, g, k'*, possibly with an *s*-mobile. In Slav. and also in Balt., it is just in velar series that a certain mixing occurs both in the horizontal (a substitution voiced – voiceless) and in the vertical direction (exceptions from the satem change) (Carlton 1991: 96–97) – cf. e.g. PS **slušati, *gluchъ* and Lith. *klausýti* 'to hear', for which a genetic relationship is generally assumed.

Theoretically, if we take into account *s*-mobile, we can reconstruct up to six starting IE forms with velars as against Slavic forms with *x-*. If we considered IE labiovelars and aspirates, the number would still increase. I can demonstrate this situation on the etymology of PS **xoldъ* 'cold' and its reconstructed parent forms:

IE **gold(h)-*, based on the comparison with Goth. *kalds*, Lat. *gelidus* 'id.' and OCS *žlědica* (pre-Slav. **geld-*) 'freezing rain' (ESSJa, Vasmer 1964–1973)

IE **k'old(h)-*, based on Lith. *šáltas* 'id.', Osset. *sald* 'coldness', possibly OCS *slana* 'hoarfrost' (Martynov 1968; Schuster-Šewc 2000)

IE **kold(h)-*, based on OCS *kladędz*, Russ. *kolodec* 'well' (the root is not considered as parent, but its relationship is generally recognized) (Schuster-Šewc 1978; Machek 1968)

IE **(s)gold(h)-*, which does not have a direct material support, but it is a variant of IE **gold(h)-* (Illič-Svityč 1961)

IE **(s)kold(h)-* and **(s)k'old(h)-* are pure theoretical constructs, which – as far as I know – have not been reconstructed as parent forms; on the other hand, the root **gheld-* is

sometimes suggested in view of OInd. *hlā́datē* 'it is getting cold' (Kozlovskij 1888; admitted by Mayrhofer 1956–1980; Vasmer 1964–1973).

Such examples show that a reliable basis for words with an initial *x-* risen from a supposed IE velar is hard to find. But even a relationship between velars and a sibilant *s* and a possible prothesis (#) is knotty due to the satem change, *s-mobile* and supposed *k-* prothesis in words like *kost, koza* (even if we disregard some speculative alternations of initial *g~s* like **gnědъ –*snědъ, *glina – *slina* etc.). Thus, the determination of IE bases for Slav. words with initial *x-* is difficult even if the relationship is relatively convincing, like in the case of Slav. **xoldъ*.

It follows from what has been said so far that it is probably illusory to count on a unique and regular source of Slav. *x-*. A characteristic feature of the current theories on the rise of Slav. *x-* is a natural tendency to collect the maximum of examples in favor of a theory (including those being etymologically very questionable, peripheral, onomatopoeic etc.), and ignore those examples which are not suitable for the given hypothesis. Yet only a complex analysis of Slav. lexicon with an initial *x-* could lead to more conclusive findings. Such a thorough analysis was done by Il'jinskij (1916) (see Machek 1930: 60), but today its age and difficult accessibility indicate its limits. An acceptable starting point of the analysis nowadays could be the Moscow Proto-Slavic dictionary (ESSJa 8, 7–166), because just the PS lexical fund is of paramount importance for the explicating this question. It is necessary, however, to amend some obvious mistakes of this dictionary first, and to supplement words with an initial *š-* (from the original *x-*) to the researched material.

Thus, the new objective research should be based on a thorough etymological analysis of PS words with an *x-* and *š-* inherited from IE. Emphasis should be put on the reconstuction of original meanings of PS words – the point which has been met only in the minority of the existing etymological expositions of PS *x-*.

IV. Etymological analysis of PS lexicon with initial *x-/š-*

E tymological analysis of PS words with an initial *x-* can be based – as I said before – on the material of ESSJa (words with an initial *š-* have to be obtained from other sources). However, it is necessary to reduce the lexical material, since some included words are clearly formed after the Common Slavic period (eg. Cz. *chatrč*, Russ. d. *xález, xaljúza*, Bulg. *xrile, xărbel*), or are late borrowings (Slav. *xata*). A considerable part of the PS lexicon with *x-* is represented by onomatopoeic words which have to be excluded from the analysis on well-known grounds (there was a separate chapter dedicated to them), and at last it is no use exploring evident loanwords (like *xalupa, xlěbъ, xlěvъ, xǫdogъ, xrěnъ, xyza* etc.)

The analysis then will concern words (and their derivatives), which are reasonably considered to be ancient (ie. they are not late Slavic innovations). I aim at giving all the acceptable explanations of these words and evaluating their probability. Predictably, this is a controversial matter, and the chosen methodology could certainly be challenged. I will try to evaluate three characteristics of etymological connections of Slav. words with their cognates in other IE languages: formal aspect, semantic aspect and overall circumstances of the equation, particularly areal aspect – each of them being evaluated in the scale A, B and C. Those sporadic expositions based on a borrowing from a foreign language, onomatopoeic origin or a derivation from the Slav. base will not be evaluated like this, but their plausibility will be indicated by their order within the framework of the expositions of a given word.

When analyzing the formal aspect, I will consider all the above-mentioned sources of Slav. initial *x-* equally. The evaluation A means that a Slav. word formally corresponds with its counterpart; the evaluation B reckons with a smaller formal difference (in ablaut, in a stem-forming or word-forming suffix and suchlike); major, but still by common methodological approaches healable differences are evaluated by the grade C.

The evaluation of the semantic side presupposes a reconstruction of the original meaning, particularly if there is a variety of meanings in individual Slav. languages. If the original meaning corresponds with the IE equivalent, I will use an evaluation A. If the semantic difference can be healed by common semantic shifts or analogies from other languages, I assess the equation as B. An evaluation C means a less than persuasive healing of the semantic difference.

As the third aspect, I will evaluate the probability of the relationship within the framework of IE dialectal areas. It is based on the fact that, for example, exclusive Slav.-Gr. lexical isoglosses almost do not exist, while exclusive Balto-Slav. lexical connections are numerous. An evaluation A is assigned to equations like Slav.-Balt., or Slav.-West IE (without Balt., but with more languages of West IE areal – Gmc., Lat., Celt.), an evaluation C to isolated parallels like Slav.-Gr. and Slav.-Hitt.; B would cover an area between these extremes. However, the evaluation of this aspect takes into account the whole context of the equation, e.g. an opaque origin or slim evidence of the compared word, or the fact that the compared word has a more plausible explanation incompatible with Slav. *x-*.

The final mark of the etymological plausibility will be obtained by an arithmetical mean of the evaluations. In hopes of a finer grasping of the distinctions, I use evaluations A-, B-, C- as well, therefore the final mark also must have detailed grading (A, A-, A--, A/B, B++, B+, B etc.). Certainly, I am conscious that in spite of the stated objective criteria it is impossible to avoid a subjective view, and that the complexity of the etymological equation cannot be completely grasped by the mentioned three criteria. Nevertheless, I believe that the final count of evaluations of submitted etymological expositions will testify many kinds of things to the sources of Slav. *x-*. (In connection with the evaluation of the plausibility of etymological equations, I refer to the work of Martynov (1963) in which the evaluation of Gmc.-Slav. etymologies in the scale 'very plausible', 'medium plausible', 'little plausible' is used.)

The structure of the entry:

Each entry consists of three parts: 1. listing of the forms in individual Slav. languages, 2. the discussion of possible problems of formal and particularly semantic reconstruction (heading **Rec.:**), 3. etymological expositions in the order of their supposed plausibility and their evaluations (heading **Et.:**).

XAB-

OCS *xabiti* 'to ruin, to spoil', *xabiti sę* 'to deny o.s., to avoid', *oxabiti sę* 'to decline, to stop', Bulg. *xabjá* 'to waste, to spoil, to blunt', S./Cr. (older) *habiti* 'to spoil, to damage', Sln. *hábiti* 'to ruin, to damage', 'to seize, to steal', Cz. (older) *chabiti* 'to ruin, to spoil', Cz.d. *chábit'* 'to steal', Slk.d. *chabit' (sa)* 'to frolic, to fool around', ORuss. *xabiti* 'to reject', *xabitisja* 'to avoid, to steer clear of', Russ. (older) *xábit'* 'to catch, to grasp'

S./Cr. *hȁbati* 'to wear out clothes', 'to spoil', 'to curse', 'to bungle', Sln. *hábati se* 'to boast', Cz.d. *chabanina* 'plain, bad meat'

Sln. (older) *habéti* 'to grow weak', Cz. (older) *chabĕti* 'id.'

OCS *poxabъ* 'dull, shameless', Cz. *chabý* 'weak, feeble', Slk. *chabý* 'id.'

S.-OCS *xaba* 'damage', S./Cr. (older) *haba* 'damage, detriment', Sln.d. *hába* 'wing', Pol.d. *chaba* 'jade', Cass. *χaba* 'old house, shack', 'skinny cow', Russ.d. *xába* 'hole in the road', Ukr. *xába* 'jade'

Sln.d. *habína* 'thick branch', Slk. *chabina* 'broken branch, thick rod', Cz.d. *chabina* 'rod, switch', Pol. (older) *chabina* 'branch, rod, cane', Ukr. *xabína* 'rod, dry twig', Russ.d. *xabina* 'river bight', 'factory', 'big house', *xabýnja* 'bad room'

Cz.d. *cháb* 'rod, twig', 'tops'

Cz.d. *chábí* 'brushwood, wicker, branches of conifer', Slk.d. *chabie* 'brushwood', Pol.d. *chabie* 'brushwood, twigs'

Rec.:
Words with the root *xab-* have an unclear formal and semantic base. Most authors assume that the mixing of several roots took place here. Quite distinctly, a semantic scope 'to ruin, to spoil, to damage; bad, feeble' can be detached. Perhaps, the meaning 'to steal' could also be derived from this group, but more likely it is, together with meanings 'to catch, to grasp etc', connected with onom.-expr. words like *xapati, gabati, capati* (Machek 1968: 194; ESSJa: 8, 7; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 190; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 215). The connection with meanings 'twig, rod' is implausible as well – this group is homogenuous enough to be a self-contained group (another question is a relation of this group to *xъbъtъ, xъbъzъ*). The isolated meanings 'wing' (Sln.), 'big house, factory' (Russ.d.) et al. remain unclear.

ESJS (10: 576) presents the following outlook of formal and semantic development: PS adj. **xabъ* 'without useful qualities, weak', derived verbs 'to take useful qualities away' → 'to ruin, to spoil', reflexive 'to deny o.s., to avoid'. It is not completely clear, however, that the adjective was the primary form, because its evidence in Slav. languages is rather poor (Cz. and Slk. *chabý* is attested only from the middle period). The verbs are treated as secondary by Machek 1930: 89; Machek 1968: 194; Sławski 1952: I, 58, the opposite view is held by Machek 1957: 154 and ESSJa: 8, 9.

Et.:
1. PS **xabiti* 'to ruin, spoil', *xabъ* 'weak, feeble' ~ Lith. *skóbti* 'to turn sour', *skóbas* 'sour', Latv. *skabs* 'id.'
The connection of PS **xabъ* with the mentioned Balt. cognates was introduced by Brückner (1924: 238) and has been preferred by other scholars, too (Machek 1930: 89; Illič-Svityč 1961: 94; Martynov 1968: 139; ESSJa: 8, 8; ESJS 10: 576). Inquiry into the semantic side of the equation shows, however, that the intersection of meanings should be found in verbs – in folk notions of spoiling of food (for some details see Machek, l.c.). Semantic parallels can be found in Lith. *skeřbti* 'to cut deep into sth; to weaken, to go downhill', *skiřbti* 'to turn sour' or in Lat. *acerbō* 'I spoil', *acerbus* 'harsh, bitter'. A formal weakness is the absence of Slav. **xabti* which would exactly correspond with the Lith. verb.

Pokorny (1959: 931) connects these words with IE *skabh-* 'to cut' (LIV: 496 'to scratch, scrape') which continues e.g. in Lat. *scabere* 'to scrape', Goth. *skaban* 'id.', Lith. *skabĕti* 'to cut, to lop off', *skabùs* 'sharp'. The most plausible semantic development seems to be 'to cut' → 'to have a harsh taste' → 'to turn sour' → 'to spoil, to go bad'. Snoj (1997: 164) indicates the development 'to cut'→ 'to do injury, spoil' which I consider less plausible.

Ev.: **B B- A**   **B+**   *sk-*

2. PS **xabiti* 'to ruin, spoil', *xabъ* 'weak' ~ Lith. *kabĕti* 'to hang', *kabùs* 'holding tight'
Surprisingly enough, Brückner l.c. separates the verb from the adj. and connects it with the group of Baltic words meaning 'to hang, to tie etc.' Schuster-Šewc (1978: 370) prefers this relationship also for **xabъ*. As to the semantic aspect, the development 'to be slack, weak' → 'to hang' is suggested (ESJS l.c.). We should not overlook, however, that this comparison works with the meanings of Slav. adj. and Baltic verb. If we take into account the complex semantics of Slav. words and the assumed semantic development (see the previous explanation), the meanings of Balt. verbs do not blend with them. See also ХОВОТЪ.
Ev.: **B- B- A**   **B**   *k-*

3. PS **xabъ* 'weak' ~ Gr. κωφός 'dull, faint, deaf'
This equation often appears in etymological literature (Petersson 1914: 365; Mladenov: 664; Machek 1968: 194; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 190; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 214), yet it is less convincing than the preceding two. An isolated Greek-Slav. parallel always arouses suspicion (there are no IE cognates given in Frisk 1960–1972: I, 847 nor Chantraine 1968–1980: 528). Also the semantic and formal aspects are not without problems. The addition of Lith. *kàpti* 'to become faint' (Machek: l.c.) only complicates the phonological side (the putative IE **ph*), which also applies to the matching of Lat. *hebes* 'dull, faint', Arm. χul 'id.' (the putative IE **kh-*) (Mladenov: l.c.).
Ev.: **B B C**   **B--**   *k- (?)*

XAJATI (SĘ)

Bulg.-OCS *xajǫ* 'to brush sth aside, to defy', 'to kill the time, to loiter around, to blunder about', Bulg. *xája* 'to care', S./Cr. *hàjati (se)* 'to care, to pay attention', Sln.d. *hájati (se)* 'id.', Cz.d. *chajat'* 'to stroke, to caress', Pol.d. *chajać* 'to look for, to rake about; to stroke', Cass. *χajac* 'to fall (about rain, snow)', 'to run', Slnc. *χajic* 'to fall (about snow)', Russ. (older) *xájat'* 'to curse, to scold', 'to care', Russ.d. *xájat'* 'to rebuke, to reprove', 'to interfere, to impinge', 'to throw one's money about', *xájat'sja* 'to fawn on', Ukr.d. *xajaty* 'to leave, not to hinder'

Rec.:
Cass. and Slnc. words probably do not belong here (see Boryś – Popovska-Taborska 1994: 277).

The verb is attested in most Slav. languages, though the negative form **nechati* is more common. The question then arises whether the original form of the verb was **xajati* or **xati* with a later extension like e.g. **děti, *dějati*. The relationship between **xajati* and **nechati* is not very clear. Miklosich (1886: 85, 212) separated both words, while Machek (1930: 107f.) started from the negative imperative **nechaj!* (in his view from **nechovaj!*), and considered the form **xajati* as secondary (South Slav.) (to arguments for the primariness of **xajati* see Martynov 1968: 140). The more plausible modification of this explanation was suggested by Gołąb (1973: 134), who assumes the petrification of the imperative **ne chaji* and its decline to the particle (like in Russ. *pust'*), and the derivation of a new verb of the type **vitati, *vitajǫ*.

Another question is the relationship of *xajati and *šajati (OCS *ošajati 'to refrain from sth'), see ESJS 10: 603f.

Meanings in individual Slav. languages are varied, and even opposite (Bulg.-OCS, Ukr.). ESSJa (8, 11) tries to deduce all the meanings from an original 'to totter, to swing'. Regarding the semantic specification of most Slav. words and their possible IE equivalents, it is more appropriate to reckon with the basic meaning 'to heed, to care' as early as PS period. Via the meaning 'to interfere, to impinge' (Russ.d.) we can even get to 'to curse, to scold, to reprove', which is usually separated (Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 227 thinks about an expr. variant to *kajati 'to punish, to rebuke', Abaev 1971: 13 explains it from Goth. *fajan* 'to reprove, to insult'). The transition to the meaning 'to caress' does not pose any problem either. Perhaps, opposite meanings in Bulg.-OCS and Ukr. could be explained by deprefixation (see also examples in Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 190).

Et.:
1. PS *xajati 'to care' ~ Osset. *xsajyn* 'to care', Toch. B *skai-*, A *ske-* 'to worry, to strive'
This etymology was proposed by Čop (1954: 227f) and was accepted by Trubačev in Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 228 and ESSJa: 8, 12, Martynov 1968: 140 and Snoj 1997: 378. Čop adds other words like OE *scīr* 'employment, care', OIr. *scíth* 'tired', Gr. *ασκέω* 'to adorn; to strive' and reconstructs an IE root *skēi- 'to strive' (unknown to Pokorny and LIV). Windekens (1976–1982: 429f.) and Adams (1999: 707), due to the pres. forms *skenas, skainam*, connect Toch. words with IE *(s)k^{u}ei-* 'to gather, put in order' (s-mobile not attested outside Toch.), pres. *k^{u}i-néu/nu-* (LIV: 338). Semantically, however, the homonymous root *(s)k^{u}ei-* 'to perceive, to observe' seems to be closer.
Ev.: **B A C**   **B**   *sk-*

2. PS *xajati 'to care' ~ OInd. *čắyati* 'to observe, to respect', PS *kajati 'to admonish, to rebuke' etc.
As we saw above, some meanings of PS *xajati coincide with those of PS *kajati. This verb is explained from IE *k^{u}ei-* 'to perceive, to observe' from which LIV: 337–339 – on formal grounds – separates another *k^{u}ei-* 'to pay for sth, to punish' which is semantically very close to the Slav. verb, and has been identified with *k^{u}ei-^{1} (Pokorny 1959: 636f. et al.). Nevertheless, *kajati as a causative (IE *k^{u}ōi-ie-*) can be well matched with the former meaning ('to admonish' = 'to make observe, to make pay attention'). Another Slav. verb from the same root is *čajati 'to expect' (from *k^{u}ēi-*).
The verb *xajati makes a similar pair with *šajati. The meanings of both verbs (see section **Rec.**) are well compatible with the supposed original meaning of IE *k^{u}ei-* 'to perceive, to observe'. To explain the initial *x-/š-*, we would have to assume s-mobile in the root, and the change *sk- > x-* (for *šajati *skēi- > xēi- > šai-*). To be sure, this is the main weakness of this explanation, because s-mobile does not appear elsewhere in this root in IE languages.
Ev.: **B- B B**   **B-**   *(s)k-*

Unconvincingly Goląb (1973: 134) starts from IE *ksēi- (kþēi-)* 'erwerben, Verfügung und Gewalt worüber bekommen' only for *šajati while he interprets *xajati as an Iranian borrowing; the original meaning of both is 'to hold, to keep' in his opinion. For other literature see ESJS: 10, 603–604.

XALQGA

OCS *xalǫga* 'hedge', S./Cr. *hàluga* 'brushwood, drift-wicker', 'dense wood, ravine', Sln. (older) *halóga, halúga* 'weeds, drift-wicker, algae', Cz. *chaluha* 'marine alga' (borrowed from South Slav.), but OCz. *chalužník* 'highway man (lurking in the bushes)', Russ.-OCS, ORuss. *xalǫga, xaluga* 'hedge', 'street', Russ.d. *xalúžka* 'haystack', Ukr. (isol.) *xalúha* 'algae', Br.d. *xalúha* 'shabby cottage', 'wicker hut'

Rec.:
The formation is not very clear; perhaps it has a suffix *-ǫga*, in dialects often subject to various contaminations (see ESJS: 4, 215). The original meaning seems to be 'hedge, bushes (along the path)' (ESJS: l.c.; Machek 1968: 195), from this via 'wicker', 'driftage' also 'algae' etc.

Et.:
1. PS *xalǫga 'hedge, bushes (by the path)' ~ OInd. *śālá-* 'enclosure, mound, hedge', *śālā* 'house, chamber', Gr. *καλιά* 'shack, barn, nest'
The etymology proposed by Machek (1939: 193) (later retracted) and reintroduced by Martynov (1968: 110) (cf. also Gorjajev 1896: 394 and Holub – Kopečný 1952: 138) has formal and semantic problems. We have to account for the suffix *-ǫga*, which is not normally used for the derivation from the nouns. A semantic link seems to be the meaning 'hedge' which is attested in OCS and OInd. (Pokorny 1959: 553). If we look into the complex semantics of Slav. and IE words, however, we get to the most plausible original meaning in Slav. 'bushes (by the path)' (see above). In contrast, IE words are based on the meaning 'enclosed, covered place' (IE *k'el-* 'to hide, to veil'). Usually, the meaning 'shack, house' in Slav. (Br.) is not considered as original (ESJS: 4, 215).
Ev.: **C B B**   **B--**   *k'-*

Other etymologies are still less plausible, see the survey in ESJS l.c. and a new attempt by Loma (2000a: 348, 2000b: 87f.).

XATRA

Cz. *chátra* 'rabble'

OCz. *chatrný, chaterný* 'shabby, ramshackle, low', Slk. *chatrný* 'poor, shabby'

Russ.d. *xátras'tja* 'rags'

Cz. *chátrat* 'to get run down, to become delapidated'

Rec.:
One of the words whose PS age is problematic due to the very limited occurence in Slav. languages. It is possible that the Russ.d. word is not a cognate with the Cz. and Slk. material.

Et.:
1. PS *xatra, *xatrati ~ Lith. *skétrioti, sketrióti* 'throw one's arms around'
This equation (ESSJa: 8, 22) wrestles with semantic problems in particular. The

supposed semantic shift 'to extend, to stretch out' → 'to decompose' → 'to decay, to get run down' tests the limits of acceptability. Major differences are also found when comparing the formal side (ablaut, stem-suffix of the verb). Lith. verb is derived from *skẽsti* 'to widen, extend' (Fraenkel 1962–1965: 804) which does not have a parallel in Slav.

Ev.: **C   C   A-**   **B--**   *sk-*

2. PS *xatrati* ~ Lith.(older) *katěti* 'to fade away, to decline', *skototi* 'to be lacking'
This Machek's explanation (1939: 177 and 1968: 197, cf. also Holub – Kopečný 1952: 139) is even more questionable than the previous one. Besides formal differences, the main problem is a dubious etymological background of the alleged Lith. counterparts: Lith. *katěti* appears as a variant to more common *kašěti* (Fraenkel 1962–1965: 227), and isolated *skototi* (only in one place in Daukantas) seems to be a misprint or an incidental methatesis for common *stokóti* 'id.' (Fraenkel 1962–1965: 912).
Ev.: **C   A-   C-**   **C++**   *(s)k-*

A connection with Slav. *šetati, *šatati* 'to walk' (Ondruš: 255–256) is formally and semantically unconvincing.

XLĘBЬ

OCS *xlębъ* 'watergate; cataract', S./Cr. (older) *hljeb, hleb, hljep, hlep, hlip* 'watergate, damm; cataract', Russ.-OCS *xljabъ* 'cataract, stream', Russ.d. *xljab* 'depth, abyss'

Rec.:
The original PS form is reconstructed as *xlębъ*, although there is some S./Cr. evidence that points to an *-ě-. Determining of the original meaning is difficult since the Greek equivalent of attested OCS evidence καταρράκτης is semantically broad – it can mean 'waterfall, watergate, sluice-(gate)' (cf. ESJS: 4, 220).

Et.:
1. PS *xlębъ* of onom. origin
For several reasons, my first choice is an onom. origin of the word. This assumption is based on a considerable variety of forms of the word and on a number of similar Slav. formations expressing a clicking or knocking sound (PS *xlębati, *xlebati, *xlępati, *xlepati*, cf. Il'jinskij 1916: 159). The comparison with Gmc. words like E. *slump* or Ger. *schlampen* 'to sip, to slurp', which are cognate only in the terms of onomatopoeic and not genetic relationship as is sometimes suggested (Petersson 1914: 378f.; Berneker 1908–1913: I, 388; Martynov 1968: 130; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 248) is also convincing evidence. The word would then imitate the sound of water flowing through the sluice or watergate (cf. ESJS: 4, 220). Trubačev's objection that the word is a technical term (ESSJa: 8, 33) is not relevant here (cf. e.g. Cz. *klapka* 'valve, flap').

2. PS *xlębъ* 'watergate; cataract' ~ Lith. *sklembti* 'to slide aside'
The main formal shortcoming of this equation (preferred by ESSJa: l.c. and ESJS: l.c.) lies in the fact that there is no corresponding verb in Slav., and no corresponding noun

in Lith. Moreover, we would expect ablaut *o*-grade in the noun. The semantic base of the Slav. word would have been something like 'slide bolt' (from this 'watergate' and other meanings).
Ev.: **B-   B   A**   **B+**   *sk-*

XLQDЪ

S./Cr. d. *hlûd* 'club, stake', Sln. older and d. *hlód* 'log', 'stick, stake, pole', 'shaft, part of a plow', Cz.d. *chloud* 'stick, club', Plb. *chlǫd* 'id.', Pol. d. *chłąd* 'potatoe or kohlrabi tops without leaves', ORuss. *xlǫdъ* 'rod, stick', Russ. d. *xlud* 'pole for carrying water', 'pole, stick' etc.

Rec.:
Formal reconstruction is without problems, meanings in individual Slav. languages point at the most probable initial meaning 'pole, club'.

Et.:
1. PS *xlǫdъ* 'pole, club' ~ Lith. *sklandà* 'bolt on the door', Latv. *sklanda* 'pale'
Slav. and Balt. words formally differ only by a stem suffix (Slav. *o*-stem – Balt. *ā*-stem). Fraenkel (1962–1965: 809), however, also knows Lith. *sklandas*, to which Vasmer (1964–1973: IV, 246) attaches a meaning 'pale'. If the Lith. word is derived from *sklẽsti* 'to slide aside' (ESSJa: 8, 38, Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 197), we have to start from the meaning '(slide) bolt'. The semantic development would be 'stake in the function of bolt' → 'stake, pole, club' (cf. Machek 1968: 200), the form could be traced back to IE *(s)kel-* 'to bend'. An etymological connection of the Slav. word with a poorly attested verb *xlędnǫti* (Berneker 1908–1913: I, 390; Skok 1971–1974: I, 672; ESSJa: l.c.) is very questionable; its evidence in Slav. languages suggests the meaning 'to weaken, to slacken', which is hardly compatible with meanings of the noun (Karlíková 1996: 36).

Both Slav. and Balt. words are peripheral and now occur mostly in dialects. Sometimes, OIcel. *hlunnr* 'roll put under vessels' is added, but this connection is uncertain.
Ev.: **A- A- A-**   **A/B**   *sk-*

XLЪPЪ, XЪLPЪ

Slk. *chlp* 'hair (on the skin)', Cz. *chlup* 'id.', Pol.d. *chłupy* 'hair, fluffs', Russ.d. *xlop* '(hemp etc.) waste'
Bulg.d. *xóupka* 'wisp of hair, cotton, flax etc.', Russ. *xlópok* 'cotton'

Rec.:
The evidence in Slav. languages points at two different PS forms – *xъlpъ* and *xlъpъ*. The initial meaning is 'hair, fluff, wisp of hair'.

Et.:
1. PS *xlъpъ, xъlpъ* of onom. origin
Considering the character of the word and its inconsistent PS form, the most feasible explanation is that it is an onom.-expr. word (ESSJa: 8, 41). In my opinion, the semantic

base is 'to blow gently, to puff' (cf. also E. *fluff*), related forms can be seen in Slnc. *chalpac* 'to blow warmly' or Russ.d. *xolpít'* 'to blow gently'. Cf. also XЪLBITI (SĘ).

2. PS **xъlpъ* 'tuft (of hair)' ~ Latv. *cilps, cilpa* 'noose', Lith. *kìlpa* 'id.'
Machek's older explanation (1939: 181f.), which is admitted even by the authors of Balt. etymological dictionaries (Fraenkel 1962–1965: 254; Karulis 1992: I, 174), is possible. Semantic difficulties are solved by Machek's assumption of the original meaning 'knot, snarl', from this 'noose' to Balt. and 'tuft (of hair)' to Slav. The cases when Balt. *-il-* corresponds with Slav. *-ъl-* are not isolated (Machek: l.c.).
Ev.: B C A   *B*   *k-*

An implausible explanation, and one that is handed down in the Cz. etymological literature, is that **xъlpъ* is connected with Lith. *pláukas* 'hair' (Machek 1968: 200; Holub – Kopečný 1952: 140). The metathesis and a different ablaut grade count for two big formal concessions; moreover, the Lith. word is obviously derived from the verb *plaũkti* 'to flow' (ESSJa: 8, 41).

XMURA

Cz. *chmura* 'dense cloud; worry, grief' , Slk. *chmúra* 'cloud', US *chmura*, Pol. *chmura* 'id.', Slnc. *χmura* 'cloud, shower', Russ. *xmúra* 'dismal weather', 'sullen person', *xmúryj* 'sullen, frowning', Russ.d. *xmúryj* 'grey', Ukr. *xmúra* 'cloud'

Rec.:
The reconstruction of PS form arouses some suspicions. Apparently, *x-* alternates with *s-* in the beginning of the word (cf. Russ. *smúryj* 'dark, gloomy', Cass. *smura* 'cloud', Cz. *pošmourný* 'gloomy, dismal'). Besides the forms with *-u-*, forms with *-a-* also appear (Slk.d. *chmára*, Pol.st. *chmara*, Russ., Ukr., Br. *xmára*); they are usually explained by contamination with the base which is in Russ.d. *mar, mar'* 'mist, swelter' (Machek 1968: 201; Vasmer 1964–1973: 249; ESSJa: 8, 43. S./Cr. (older) *hùmoriti se* 'to frown', *nàhumoriti se, nàsumoriti se* 'to become gloomy', S./Cr.d. *sùmōran* 'gloomy' point rather at original **xъmura* than at the traditionally reconstructed **xmura* (cf. Sławski 1952: I, 71). It is not sure what is primary – if noun, or adjective.

The semantic side is without difficulties, the original meaning is 'dark, gloomy', or 'cloud'.

Et.:
1. PS **xmurъ* 'dark, gloomy' ~ Gr. *ἀμαυρός* 'dark, weak'
The alluring connection with the Gr. word often appears in the etymological literature (Martynov 1968: 132; Machek 1968: 201; ESSJa: 8, 44), sometimes OIcel. *meyrr* 'brittle, loose' is added (Pokorny 1959: 701; Vasmer 1964–1973: III, 694). Slav. *s-/x-* is explained from *s-mobile*; Machek's assumption that *x-* is prothetic and augmentative is much less plausible. The semantic side of the equation is without difficulties, yet I am rather skeptical about this exclusive Slav.-Gr. isogloss (the addition of OIcel. word is questionable), which does not have any solid background (cf. Frisk 1960–1972: I, 88). See also the above-mentioned question of the original PS form.

Ev.: A- A C   **B+**   *s-*

Other explanations are implausible, see newly Schuster-Šewc (1978: 387; 2000: 31) from IE *k'e(u)m-*.

XOBOTЪ

OCS *xobotъ* 'tail', Bulg. *xobót* 'proboscis' (from Russ.), S./Cr. *hòbotnica* 'octopus', Sln. (older) *hobòt* 'hollow, gnawed out fruit', OCz. *chobot* 'narrow promontory', 'tail' (by Gebauer with a question mark) (Modern Cz. meaning from Russ.), OPol. *chobot* 'tail', Pol.d. *chobot* 'bee-seeker's rope', Slnc. *χ"ob"ot* 'fishnet with a sack-shaped appendage', Russ. *xóbot* 'proboscis', Russ.d. *xóbot* 'tail', 'narrow inlet', 'sleeve', 'twist of river', 'sack-shaped part of a fishnet' et al., Ukr. *xóbot* 'fishing tackle made of wickery'

Rec.:
The basic PS form is clear. The original meaning probably was 'tail'; other meanings are secondary and figurative (ESJS: 4, 221). The question is what is the relationship of the word to the group of words with a base *xab-*, nouns with meanings 'branch, rod' being of particular interest. Cf. also the meaning of Russ.d. *chabína* 'river bight'. See XAB-.

Et.:
1. PS **xobotъ* 'tail' ~ Lith. *kabéti* 'to hang'
The formal connection of both words is rather loose. Brückner (1923: 238) reconstructs BS **(s)kob-* 'to hang, attach' (Slav. **skoba* 'hooked nail' would be another derivative). Pokorny (1959: 918) adds OE. *hop* 'circle', OIcel. *hop* 'small bight' et al., and explains BS-Gmc. words from the denasalized variant of the root **(s)kamb-* 'to bend'. Even Machek, who often changes his interpretations, consistently insists on the connection with the Lith. word (1930: 73; 1939: 211; 1968: 202). Brückner and Machek suppose the original meaning of the Slav. word to be 'appendage' (cf. in particular Machek 1968: 202).
Ev.: C B A   **B**   *(s)k-*

2. PS **xobotъ* ~ PS **xab-*
A direct connection with words from the root **xab-* is questionable. A derivation from **xabati* (ESSJa: 8, 47) ignores a semantic disunity of the verb and the considerable variance of all its meanings from the meaning of Slav. **xobotъ*. The connections with **xabiti* 'to catch' (Mladenov 1941: 670) or OCS *oxabiti sę* 'to refrain from' (Brückner: l.c.). are equally semantically unsubstantiated.

3. PS **xobotъ* ~ PS **xybati* 'to swing'
This connection was introduced by Il'jinskij (1909) (cf. ESJS: 4, 222, where it is regarded as semantically acceptable); it requires an original form **xvobotъ*. For reservations about this etymology see e.g. Berneker 1908–1913: I, 391; Vasmer 1964–1973: 4, 252; ESSJa: 8, 47).

For other etymological attempts see ESJS: l.c.

XODITI

OCS *xoditi*, Bulg. *xódja,* mak. *odi,* S./Cr. *hòditi,* Sln. *hodíti,* Slk. *chodiť,* Cz. *chodit,* US *chodzić,* LS *chojźiś,* Plb. *chüdět,* Slnc. *cho3ёc,* Pol. *chodzić,* Br. *xadzíc',* Ukr. *xodýty,* Russ. *xodít',* all 'to walk, go'

OCS *xodъ* 'gait, running, action' (similar meanings in other Slav. languages)

Rec.:
In terms of the pair *xoditi* – *xodъ*, the question is which is primary. Some etymologists prefer the verb (e.g. Sławski 1952: 73; Skok 1971–1974: I, 677; ESJS: 4, 222), and some prefer the noun (Machek 1968: 202; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 198; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 252; ESSJa: 8, 49). Besides *o*-grade there is also a reduced grade *šъd*- whose forms were employed in the system of the verb *iti*.

Et.:
1. PS *xodъ, *xoditi ~ Gr. *ὁδός* 'way', OInd. *a-sad-* 'to get, to approach', *ut-sad-* 'to leave'
The traditional comparison with the Gr. word dates as far back as Bopp, and even now is generally accepted (e.g. Pokorny 1959: 887, Frisk 1960–1972: II, 350; Mayrhofer 1956–1980: III, 473). The basic IE root is reconstructed as *sed-* 'to go', but its relationship to IE *sed-* 'to sit' is not clear. One mostly thinks about a semantic diversification of a sole root whether by effect of prefixes (Pokorny: l.c., Vasmer 1964–1973: l.c., Bezlaj 1976–2005: l.c.) or a new way of transport (ESSJa: 8, 51). The roots, however, could have been homonymic and the difference *s : x* (besides ablaut) could have removed the homonymy (ESJS: 4, 223). Phonetically, the change of the initial *s > *x is usually attributed to the prefixes ending in *-i, -u, -r* (the *ruki* rule), although it would probably be the only case of this kind (see the criticism by Schuster-Šewc 1978: 390; Martynov 1968: 133f. and Ondruš 1981: 251).
Ev.: A- A B   *A/B*   s-

Other explanations are implausible: an older connection with OIcel. *gata* 'way between fences', Ger. *Gasse* 'street' (Machek 1939: 211) is formally unsatisfactory, as is a newer connection of Ondruš (l.c.) with South Slav. *šetati* 'to go for a walk'; comparisons with Lat. *scandō* 'to ascend', Lith. *skéndeti* 'to be drowning' (Brückner 1923: 229) or Lith. *skě̃sti* 'to extend, to open' (Schuster-Šewc: l.c.) are not convincing either, both formally and semantically.

XOLDЪ

OCS *xladъ,* Bulg. *xlad,* mak. *lad,* S./Cr., Sln. *hlâd,* Slk., Cz. *chlad,* US *chłód,* Plb. *chłåd,* Slnc., *chłód,* Pol. *chłód,* Br. *xólad,* Ukr., Russ. *xólod,* all in the meaning 'cold, coldness'

Rec.:
The reconstruction of the PS form and meaning is without any problems.

Et.:
1. PS *xoldъ ~ Lith. *šáltas* 'cold, freezing'
If we accept the possibility that *x-* corresponds with IE *k'-* in some cases, there are no problems in this comparison (see particularly Martynov 1968: 110; but also Sławski 1952: 70; Matzenauer 1880: 218f.). Machek (1939: 195 and 1968: 198) starts from a depalatalized *koldъ*, and there are also attempts to start from the initial *ks-* (Pedersen 1896: 391) or *sk-* (Brückner 1923: 217 and 1957: 180). For the explanation of a suffix alternation *t/d* an analogic pair *tvъrdъ – tvìrtas* 'hard' is pointed out. To support the connection with the Lith. word they also adduce Lith. *šalnà* 'hoarfrost', OCS *slana* 'id.', which are based on IE *k'el-*. The IE relationship is extended even more by Av. *sarəta* 'cold', ModPer. *sard* 'id.', Osset. *sald* 'coldness'.
Ev.: B A A   *A=*   k'-

2. PS *xoldъ ~ Goth. *kalds,* E. *cold,* Lat. *gelidus* 'cold'
This explanation that *xoldъ* is an expressive variant of the root *geldh-/*goldh-* is preferred by e.g. Berneker 1908–1913: I, 393; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 256 and ESSJa: 8, 57. The last explains the spirantization *g > x* as a result of a formal fusion with PS *goldъ* 'hunger'. The most serious objection against the etymological identity of Slav. and Gmc. words points out that the Gmc. forms with *-d-* are actually participles from a verb attested in OIcel. *kala,* OE. *calan* 'to be cold' (Martynov 1968: 110, see also Pokorny 1959: 366), while in Slav. such a derivation does not work. On the other hand, OCS *žlědica* 'sleet', Sln. *žled* 'id.' are adduced to support the etymology from IE *geld(h)*. There is no material foundation for Illič-Svityč's explanation from initial *sg-* (Illič-Svityč 1961: 96).
Ev.: B A A   *A=*   g-

Both aforementioned and equally plausible explanations are often linked together, and *k'el-/*gel-* are considered to be variants of the same root (cf. ESJS: 4, 217 and also Machek 1968: 198 and Schuster-Šewc 1978: 381; the last two consider some other less plausible connections). Thus, the parent form of Slav. *xoldъ* remains unclear (see also p. 46).

XOĽEVA

OCS *xoleva* 'shoe', S./Cr.d. *hŏleva* 'a kind of stocking', OCz. *cholava* 'cloth worn instead of socks', US *cholowy* 'trousers, pants', LS *cholowa* 'id.', Pol. *cholewa* 'upper part of boots', Slnc. *χόlava,* Br., Ukr. *xaljáva,* Russ.d. *xoljáva* 'id.'.

Rec.:
The formal side is not unequivocal (Martynov 1968: 111 reconstructs *xolova,* OCz. form points at original *xolava*). As an original meaning, I would postulate 'cloth as a footwear'; a semantic shift 'footwear' → 'trousers' is known from other instances (Cz. *kalhoty,* Sln. *hláče*).

Et.:
1. PS *xoľeva 'cloth as a footwear, something cut off' < PS *xoliti
In view of the same root *xol-*, the connection with *xoliti* (see s.v., c.f. XOLUJЬ)

seems to be the most plausible, although the question is if the word is a direct derivative from the verb (ESSJa: 8, 60; Brückner 1923: 235 and 1927: 182), or an independent formation from the same IE base (cf. Schuster-Šewc 1978: 393). The initial meaning then would probably be 'something cut off'. The addition of Sln. *hláče*, S./Cr. *hlače* 'trousers' to this group, as if from PS **xolča* (Sławski 1952: 1, 74; Schuster-Šewc: l.c.) is quite implausible; these South Slav. words originate in all probability from MLat. *calcae* 'shoes' (Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 195; Berneker 1908–13: I, 387).

2. PS **xolova* < IE **k'el-* 'to cover'

Martynov (l.c.) starts from IE **k'el-* and gives a number of examples of the close semantic relationship 'to cover' – 'footwear' (e.g. Goth. *skohs*, E. *shoe* and Welsh *curan* 'id.' from IE **(s)keu-* 'to cover'). The root **k'el-*, however, does not display such parallels; the closest cognates of the questioned word then are Ir. *culaid* 'pall', OE. *hulu* 'peel, cover', OHG *helawa* 'oat chaff'.

Ev.: **B- C A-**   <u>**B-**</u>   *k'-*

Obviously wrong is the deduction from Romani *cholov* 'trousers' (Miklosich 1886: 86; Machek 1939: 211), the word itself is a borrowing from Slav. (Sławski: l.c.).

XOLITI

S./Cr. (older) *hôliti se* 'to act arrogantly, self-importantly', Ukr. *xolýty* 'to clean', Russ. *xólit'* 'to care for, breed', Russ.d. 'to crop closely', 'to clean', 'to whip', *chólit'sja* 'to amuse o.s., luxuriate', 'to wash o.s.'

OCz. *chlácholiti* 'to soothe', 'to flatter' (< **xol-choliti*), Cz. *chlácholit* 'to soothe', Slk. *chlácholit'* 'id.'

Slk. *pachoľa*, Cz. *pachole* 'baby', Cz.d. *pacholek* 'unmarried boy', 'servant, groom', Sorb. *pachoł* 'youngster', Pol. *pacholę* 'child, boy', Ukr. *paxólok* 'boy, servant'

Rec.:
The verb is actually found only in East Slav.; the S./Cr. word as well as the quoted derivatives are usually considered to be cognates, although the semantic base is uncertain. For the derivatives of the type **pa-xol-* I would incline towards the meaning 'to crop (closely)'. PS **paxolъ*, **paxolъkъ* would then mean 'boy (after the first haircut)', cf. a persuasive parallel in Gr. *κόρος, κοῦρος* 'boy' from *κείρω* 'I crop, cut' (ESSJa: 8, 65). The form **paxolę* 'baby', formed by a specific Slav. suffix denoting the young, would then probably be secondary. Other meanings of Slav. **xoliti* show, however, that we have to look for a broader, more general semantic base. Perhaps ESSJa (8, 61) is right in postulating – irrespective of their questionable formal reconstruction – that the original meaning was 'to scrape', which could have been specified either to 'to cut, to crop', or to 'to clean, to wash' and further to 'to care for, to keep in cleanness' and probably via 'to caress' also to Cz. 'to soothe, to console'. In this manner, the meanings of the reflexive verb can be explained as well – Russ.d. 'to amuse o.s., to luxuriate' (in fact 'to care for o.s., to be concerned by o.s.'), and with another amplification of a negative assessment S./Cr. 'to act arrogantly').

Et.:
1. PS **xoliti* 'to scrape' ~ Gr. *σκάλλω* 'I dig, scrape', Lith. *skélti* 'to cleave, to split', MLG *schelen* 'to separate, to split off', Alb. *holë* 'thin, fine, tender; tenderness'
If we start from the basic meaning 'to scrape, to cut', it seems more natural to me to connect **xoliti* – rather than with a problematic **ks-ol-* (ESSJa: l.c.; Meľnyčuk 1968: 216) – with a large family of IE **skelH₁* 'to cut, to cleave' (LIV: 500; Pokorny 1959: 923f.). A formal parallel can be seen in PS **voliti* from IE **u̯elH₁* (a causative), but otherwise there are no direct IE parallels with **skol-*. The semantic side is not without difficulties either, if we take into account that Slav. **skala* 'rock', **skaliti* 'to cleave' keep the original meaning, and that the semantic development of **xoliti* is complicated (as indicated above). At least a partial correspondence with the Slav. development could be seen in Alb. semantic transition 'to cut' → 'tenderness'.

Ev.: **B- B- A**   <u>**B**</u>   *sk-*

2. PS **xoliti* 'to care, to breed' ~ Lat. *alere* 'to feed, to bring up', OIr. *alim* 'I feed', OIcel. *ala* 'to feed, to bring up'
If we accept the possibility of a prothetic *x-* in Slav., we must seriously deal with this etymology also (Martynov 1968: 135). Its most disputable question is – if we ignore the troubles with the prothesis – a reconstruction of the original meaning 'to care for, to breed' based on the literary Russ. Although the ancientness of this meaning cannot be excluded, the explanation of its further development is rather difficult in view of the other meanings in Slav. languages. As to the relation **xoliti* – **paxolъkъ*, **paxolę*, it is argued by a similar relationship in Lat. and Celt. – cf. Lat. *prōlēs* 'progeny, offspring', W. *al* 'progeny'; nevertheless, the meaning of the prefix **pa-* remains unexplained in Slav. words (Machek's assumption (1968: 426) that *pa-* indicates a mocking designation should be rejected).

Ev.: **B B- A-**   <u>**B**</u>   *0 (prothesis)*

3. PS **xoliti* 'to clean' ~ OInd. *kšaláyati* '(it) washes, cleans', Lith. *skaláuti* 'to rinse, to swill'
This problematic connection based on IE **ksol-* was favored by Machek (1939: 174 and 1968: 426) and then – extended by the Lith. word – by Meľnyčuk: l.c. and ESSJa: l.c. The relationship of all three words is questionable: the OInd. expression is connected with *kšárati* '(it) flows' (Pokorny 1959: 487; Mayrhofer 1956–1980: I, 288), and the Lith. word (which would have had to undergo a metathesis *ks-* > *sk-*) is not etymologically clear (Fraenkel 1962–1965: 793). There are also some semantic discrepancies: if IE **kes-* 'to scrape' (ESSJa: l.c.) is actually the origin of all three words, then it is surprising that all their meanings coincide on an innovated 'to clean, to wash'.

Ev.: **B- B C**   <u>**C++**</u>   *ks-*

XOLKЪ

OCS *xlakъ* 'single, unmarried', ORuss. *xolokyj* 'id.'

Rec.:
The word is attested only in OCS and ORuss., but apparently is of the PS age.

1. PS *xolkъ* 'unmarried' < Goth. *halks* 'empty, vain, poor'

In the past, etymologists have determined that the Slav. word was borrowed from Goth. (e.g. Uhlenbeck 1893: 485; Berneker 1908–1913: I, 394; Feist 1923: 178, admitted by Machek 1939: 211). The semantic difference sometimes seems to be a hindrance (Kiparski 1934: 277; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 256); to support the connection one can compare Russ.d. *poróžnjaja* 'non-pregnant' (actually 'empty') as against Russ.-OCS *nechlakaja* 'pregnant' (ESJS: 4, 217). Goth. *halks*, however, is etymologically unclear – even the genetic relationship of both words is not out of the question (cf. ESJS: l.c.; Mladenov 1910: 123f.)

2. PS *xolkъ* 'unmarried (young man)' ~ PS *xol-stъ, *xol-pъ, *pa-xol-*

The semantic and formal closeness of the above-mentioned words often leads to assumptions concerning their autochthonic origin (e.g. Sobolevskij 1914: 444; Brückner 1923: 235; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 195), although unusual derivative suffixes cause problems. The root *xol-* is explained in various ways (cf. ESJS: l.c.); the most acceptable seems to be the explanation of ESSJa (8: 61) from *xoliti* in its original meaning 'to crop closely', that is to say, in connection with the first haircut of boys (see XOLITI). The close semantic bonds are apparent upon comparing *xolkъ* with Russ. *xolostój* 'unmarried', Russ.d. also 'cropped closely' (Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 257), and Cz.d. *pacholek* 'unmarried boy' (Machek 1968: 426). *Xolpъ*, in my opinion, strays somewhat from this semantic field (although the diminutive *xolpъcь* in West Slav. semantically corresponds relatively well), and also its formation with the suffix *-pъ* seems to be the most problematic (see XOLPЪ).

For other unconvincing etymologies see ESJS: l.c.

XOLPЪ

OCS *xlapъ* 'slave, servant', S./Cr. (older) *hlâp* 'serf, servant', Sln.d. *hlâp* 'common, coarse man', OCz. *chlap* 'commoner, serf, peasant', Cz., Slk. *chlap* '(big) man, fellow', UL (older) *chłop* 'boy', Slnc. *chłop* 'man', OPol. *chłop* 'serf', Pol. *chłop* 'peasant, villager', Br. *xalóp* 'serf; coarse man', Ukr. *xolóp* 'serf', ORuss. *xolopъ* 'id.', Russ. *xolóp* 'id.'

Bulg. *xlapák* 'boy; dolt', Mac. *lape* 'whelp; dolt', Sln. *hlápec* '(farm) help', Cz. *chlapec* 'boy', LS *klopc* 'id.'

Rec.:

The reconstruction of the original PS form is without problems. The word-formation analysis, however, raises questions – if we take *-pъ* as a suffix, such a formation in Slav. is isolated (despite Čop 1973: 46 whose evidence is not convincing). The original meaning of the word is not clear enough. The authority of OCS and other old evidence speak in favor of 'slave, servant, man in a subordinate position' (probably with a certain social differentiation from a synonymous *orbъ*). It is definitely more plausible than starting from the meaning '(strong) man' (Machek 1968: 198) which appears only in modern Slav. languages.

1. PS *xolpъ* 'helper, servant' ~ Lith. *šel̃pti*, Goth. *hilpan* 'to help'

The advantage of this etymology is that we steer clear of the problem of a suffixal *-p-* (cf. particularly Martynov 1968: 113; also Pogodin 1894: 274f.; Ondruš 1958: 86f.; Schuster-Šewc 1964: 241f.). Ablaut conditions would be regular (*o*-stem in an agent noun); nevertheless, an obvious formal deficiency is the lack of an underlying verb in Slav., and, analogically, of a corresponding nomen agentis in Balt. and Gmc. (there is only Lith. nomen actionis *šalpà* 'help'). Moreover, the Balt. and Gmc. roots differ in auslaut (Gmc. *p* reflects IE *b*), and other IE cognates are missing (Pokorny 1959: 554 adduces IE *k'elp-/k'elb-* with a question mark). On the other hand, I cannot see major difficulties as far as the semantic side of the comparison is concerned. Martynov (l.c.) argues by a semantic parallel: OCS *pomagati*, Goth. *magan* 'to be able', Gr. *μῆχος* 'help, protection' – PCelt. *magus* (OIr. *maug, mug* 'slave', Bret. *mao* 'youth, servant'), OE. *magu* 'boy', all from IE *magh-*. Even if we decline this parallel (Pokorny 1959: 695–696 separates both roots), the semantic transition can be considered plausible. It is obvious that the meaning 'slave, man in a subordinate position' only developed in IE with a continuing social differentiation (cf. PS *orbъ*, originally 'orphan', Lat. *servus*, originally probably 'watchman (of the cattle)' etc.), and the meaning 'helper' could have been one of the starting points.

Ev.: **C B A**   **B**   *k'-*

2. PS *xolpъ* ~ PS *xolkъ, *xolstъ*

The connection with the above-mentioned words (and also with Slav. *pa-chol-*) is – due to the absence of other persuasive explanations – quite common in the etymological literature (cf. particularly ESSJa: 8, 63). The alluring formal and semantic similarity of these words, however, hides considerable opacities: the word-formation aspect (unusual suffixes *-p-, -k-, -st-*), the semantic base (the supposed original 'boy' is not out of the question, but in view of the overall semantics of Slav. *xolpъ* it raises some doubts) and the formal base (the not very clear root *xol-*). ESSJa (l.c.) explicates the mentioned words from *xoliti* (see s.v. XOLITI, XOLKЪ, XOLSTЪ).

3. PS *xolpъ* < Arab. or other, unknown language

The possibility of a borrowing is largely discussed. Sławski (1952: 1, 68) points out that the name of 'slave, servant' often comes from the name of subjugated people (which, however, can hardly be put in concrete terms discussing this Slav. word). Some authors think about an Arab. source: *khalaf* 'progeny, child, family' (Račeva 1978: 110f.) or *khalīf(a)* 'deputy, protector' that would have come into Slav. through Turkic *chalfa* 'slave, serf' (Menges 1959: 187f.; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 257).

4. PS *xolpъ* 'slave, debtor' ~ Lith. *skeléti* 'to owe', Goth. *skulan* 'id.'

As in the case of the explanation (1), there would be cognates only in Balt. and Gmc. (IE *skel-* 'to owe' – cf. LIV: 499), but the formal and semantic shortcomings of this equation are bigger. In addition to similar formal reservations (lack of a Slav. verb and a Balt./Gmc. agent noun respectively) there is a problematic suffix *-pъ*. Some compare the Slav. word with the unclear Goth. *skalks* 'servant' (see e.g. Brückner 1923: 235) whose belonging to the family of IE *skel-* is questionable. Semantically, this etymology

is based on the meaning 'a man who fell into slavery because of debts' which has support in ORuss. customs (cf. Machek 1968: 198); the question is, however, if we can also transfer these customs to the Proto-Slavic, or even Early Proto-Slavic period.

Ev.: C- B- A   ___B-___   *sk-*

XOLSTЪ

OCS *xlastъ* 'unmarried', Sln. (older) *hlâst* 'bunch of grapes without berries', Cr.d. (Chakavian) *hlostĩna* 'id.' Cz.st. *chlastý* 'unmarried', ORuss. *xolostyj* 'single (man or woman)', Br. *xalastý*, Russ. *xolostój* 'unmarried', Russ.d. also 'close-cropped', 'poor in blossom (about plants)', 'unsown (about field)'

Russ. *xolostják* 'unmarried man', Russ.d. *xolosták* 'he-fish'

Br. *xoloscíc'* 'to crack (a nut etc.) by banging', Ukr. *xolostáty* 'id.', Russ. *xolostít'* 'to castrate', Russ.d. 'to crop closely', *néxolost'* 'non-castrated animal'

Rec.:
The word is limited to the East Slav. area since the Czech expression is probably a borrowing from Russ., and Sln. and Cr. forms are interpreted in various ways, sometimes as a product of contamination (Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 196). The original meaning is probably attested in OCS and Russ.; the question is what the relation of the verb is with the meaning 'to castrate'. We can admit an association with **xlastati, *xlestati* 'to beat' (Berneker 1908–1913: I, 394; ESSJa: 8, 65) which is even more explicit in Br. and Ukr. meanings.

Et.:
PS **xolstъ* ~ PS **xolkъ, *pa-xol-, *xoliti*
The areal and semantic closeness of **xolstъ* a **xolkъ* is striking, but furthermore both words are rather unclear. The most natural verbal basis of these words seems to be that of **xoliti*, although its etymology and semantic development are far from transparent as well (see XOLITI) – cf. the striking correspondence in Russ.d. *xólit'* 'to crop closely' and Russ.d. *xolostít'* 'id.', *xolostój* 'close-cropped'. The original meaning would then be 'boy (after the first haircut)' (cf.. ESSJa: l.c.). However, the formation of masculine animate nouns with suffixes *-kъ* and *-stъ* is very uncommon (therefore, the Gothic etymology is preferred for **xolkъ*). On the other hand, **xolstъ* seems to have been originally an adjective, and then some word-formation parallels could be found (e.g. PS **tъl-stъ* 'fat'). Cf. also XOLKЪ and XOLPЪ.

To other, very doubtful etymologies see Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 258; the same evaluation must be used for Gołąb's complicated explanation from Iranian (Gołąb 1973: 117).

XOLUJЬ

Cz.d. *choluj, chołoj* 'dried sprigs', LS *chołuj* 'plough', Pol.d. *chołoj* 'stalk, culm, tops', Russ.d. *xolúj* 'servant, footman', 'bran, pollard', 'a small fence for fishing', *xalúj* 'a stone protruding under water in the river', *xóluj* 'scum drifted by water'

Rec.:
The word is uncertain phonetically and in particular semantically. The basic form can be reconstructed as **xolujь*. Connecting the meanings – particularly those of Russ.d. words – seems to be very difficult. In Vasmer's view, the last three items could be loanwords from Finno-Ugric languages which have formally accomodated to the original Russ. *xolúj* (Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 259).

Et.:
PS **xolujь* ~ PS **xoliti*
ESSJa (8, 65) regards **xolujь* and its variants as a derivative from the root **xol-*. In the authors' view, the meaning that underlies all the words is 'to cut' (regarding the meaning 'servant, footman' cf. PS **xolpъ* which ESSJa derives from the same base). Perhaps this can be accepted in combination with the solution suggested by Vasmer (see above).

The connection with PS **kolъ* 'stake' considered by Machek 1968: 204 and Schuster-Šewc 1978: 392 is not very plausible, for other explanations see Vasmer 1964–1973: l.c.

XORBRЪ

OCS *xrabrъ*, Bulg. *xrábar*, mak. *xrabar*, S./Cr. *hrábar*, Sln. *hráber*, Cz., Slk. *chrabrý* (from Russ.), Sorb. *chrobły*, Slnc. *chrobri*, Pol. (literary) *chrobry*, Ukr. and Russ.d. *xoróbryj* (Russ. *xrábryj* from OCS), all in the meaning 'brave, valiant'

Rec.:
The basic PS form is clear; it is usually supposed that it is an *-r-* extension of the original **xorbъ*, possibly under the influence of such adjectives like *bystrъ, ostrъ, chytrъ* (Endzelin 1911: 126). The meaning of the word is the same in all Slav. languages.

Et.:
1. PS **xorbrъ* ~ Latv. *skarbs* 'rough, sharp', OIcel. *skarpr* 'sharp', E. *sharp*
This is the most popular etymological connection – its common base is a labial extension of the IE root *(s)ker-* 'to cut' (Endzelin: l.c.; Brückner 1923: 233; ESSJa: 8, 72; ESJS: 4, 225; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 264 et al.). A semantic parallel is seen in Lat. *ācer* 'sharp' and also 'resolute, fierce, severe'. The addition of Lith. *garbẽ* 'honour' and other words of this root (Schuster-Šewc 1978: 403) is unacceptable.

Ev.: B B A   ___B++___   *sk-*

2. PS **xorbrъ* ~ OInd. *pra-galbhá-* 'brave, resolute'
This, a typical etymology of Machek's (1939: 197 and 1968: 204), is based on the agreement of meanings and willing to recognize some formal concessions – in this case, a sporadic replacement *r-l*. OInd. word, however, is anchored in the family of the IE root **ghel-* 'to call, shout' (originally something like 'renowned, illustrious' then), and the connection of the Slav. word with this root is hardly conceivable (surprisingly enough, Pokorny 1959: 428 admits it). Equally unacceptable is a connection of the OInd. word with the family discussed in the previous etymological exposition (Illič-Svityč 1961: 96).

Ev.: C A C   ___B--___   *g-*

Other explanations are even less plausible (see ESJS: 4, 225).

XORMЪ

OCS *xramъ* 'building, house, dwelling', Bulg., Mac. *xram* 'temple, church', S./Cr. *hrâm* 'id.', Sln. (older) *hrám, hràm* 'room, temple', Sln.d. 'larger country building', 'granary, warehouse', 'wooden cellar in a vineyard', Slk. (lit.) and Cz. *chrám* 'temple, church' (OCz. also 'room'), LS *chrom* 'building, house', LS d. 'adjacent building (usually with a hayloft)', Ukr.d. *xorómy* 'hall, antechamber', 'large house', 'large shed or outhouse', ORuss. *xoromъ* 'building, house', Russ.d. *xorómy* 'wooden dwelling', 'house together with farm buildings', 'cowshed', *xoróma* 'roof' et al.

Rec.:
A formal side of the reconstruction does not raise any questions. A semantic reconstruction is more challenging. In view of all attested meanings, I consider the semantic base 'spacious (wooden?) building' the most plausible. I prefer this more general reconstruction to the semantically more specific 'log house' (ESJS: 4, 226), and certainly to other semantic reconstructions appearing in the etymological literature: 'temple; massive, strong house' (Machek 1968: 204), 'weaved shed' (Schuster-Šewc 1978: 404) and 'shed on pillars, roof' (ESSJa: 8, 75). Beranová (2000: 205) points out that residential buildings (mud or wooden huts) were practically the same in villages and sites of ancient settlement; only granaries, sanctuaries and larger constructions destined for temporary shelter, not a permanent residence, were of a different character. Perhaps it was this kind of building that was called **xormъ*.

Et.:
1. PS **xormъ* 'timbered house' ~ OHG *skirm, skerm* 'shield, protection, cover'
This etymology is based on IE **(s)kormo-*, an extended *o*-grade form of IE *(s)ker-* 'to cut' (Brückner 1923: 233; Holub – Kopečný 1952: 142; Sławski 1952: I, 78; ESSJa: 8, 75; ESJS: 4, 226 et al.). The original meaning would then probably be 'timbered house', although it is necessary to say that we do not find a similar meaning anywhere else among copious derivatives of the mentioned IE root (Pokorny 1959: 938f.; see, however, Gr. *κορμός* 'log' which is not particularly accented in this connection). Gmc. parallels are semantically rather remote (in fact, the semantic motivation is 'shield from the cut-off skin'), but proponents of this etymology usually argue with OCS *črěm* 'tent' from IE **kermo-*. Even here, I believe that the designation is motivated rather by a cut-off skin or cloth. Thus, the semantic side remains uncertain, all the more so that LIV: 503 states the meaning of IE **(s)ker-* more precisely as 'scheren, kratzen, abschneiden' which does not really correspond with the reconstructed meaning 'timbered house'. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to start from the meaning 'tent, shelter from the cut-off skin' (Snoj 1997: 175), then 'shelter, protection' and – with the development of ancient settlements – modifications of that meaning (see section **Rec.**).
Ev.: *B B B*   **B**   *sk-*

2. PS **xormъ* 'weaved hut' ~ Arm. *orm* 'wall'
The connection is based on IE **sormo-* (Bugge 1896: 22f., Berneker 1908–1913: I, 397)

from **ser-* 'to attach, to connect together' (Pokorny 1959: 911). The corresponding forms are in Arm. *orm* 'wall' and the semantically remote Gr. *ὅρμος* 'chain (on the neck); port'. The Slav. word is interpreted like 'house with walls from weaved wicker' (ESJS: 4, 226). This building technology is well attested (Beranová 2000: 198f.), though ESSJa (8, 75) doubts, that the meaning 'temple etc.' could have developed from this kind of construction.
Ev.: *A B C*   **B**   *s-*

3. PS **xormъ* 'weaved hut' ~ OIcel. *karmr* 'partition from boards', Swed. *karm* 'wickerwork'
This explanation (Schuster-Šewc 1978: 403), semantically similar to the previous one, is based on IE **gormo-* 'wickerwork' from **ger-* 'to turn, bind' (Pokorny 1959: 385); it is, however, semantically less compact after all.
Ev.: *A C B-*   **B-**   *g-*

4. PS **xormъ* 'massive house' ~ OInd. *harmyá-* 'stronghold, castle, mansion'
An old etymological connection (Kozlovskij 1888: 384; Endzelin 1911: 127; Machek 1939: 193f.), later extended by Hitt. *karimmi-* 'temple, synagogue' (Machek 1968: 204), has been rejected from phonetic reasons (Slav. *x-* < IE **ǵ'h-*, cf. Berneker 1908–1913: l.c., ESSJa: l.c.), while the semantic side has not been questioned (ESJS: l.c.: "semantically alluring connection..."). I would not agree that the semantic correspondence is so smooth. We have seen that the original meaning of the word must be based on some primitive ways of house building – i.e. from wickerwork, clay, or timber at best. The connection of the present word with the OInd. word that had had the meaning 'massive house, castle' many centuries before the first timbered houses appeared by Slavs rather lacks conviction.
Ev.: *B B- B-*   **B--**   *ǵ'h-*

For other, absolutely implausible etymologies, see ESJS: l.c.

XORNA

OCS *xrana* 'food, diet', Bulg. *xraná*, mak. *chrana*, S./Cr., Sln. *hrána* 'id.', Cz. (older) *chrana* 'protection', Plb. *chorna* 'food, diet', Slnc. *charna* 'food, diet; feed', 'hay (as forage)', OPol. *chrona* 'storage', Pol.d. *charna* 'cattle forage'
OCS *xraniti* 'to protect', Bulg. *xránja* 'to feed', Mac. *xrani*, S./Cr. *hrániti* 'id.', Sln. *hrániti* 'to feed', 'to keep, save', Slk. *chránit'* 'to protect', Cz. *chránit* 'id.', Plb. *chornět* 'to feed', Slnc. *χron'ic* 'to protect', Pol. *chronić* 'to protect, look after', Ukr. *xoronýty* 'to bury', Russ. *xoronít'* 'id.' (*xranít'* 'to save' from OCS)

Rec.:
The noun is usually regarded as primary in the pair **xorna – *xorniti* (ESSJa: 8, 77; ESJS: 4, 227; Sławski 1952: 1, 81). The original meaning is obviously 'to feed', from here then 'to look after' and 'to protect' with other modifications of the meaning. The etymological separation of the meanings 'to feed' and 'to protect' (Machek 1939: 191 and 1968: 204) is groundless.

Et.:
1. PS *xorna* < Iran. *hᵛar-* 'to feed' (Av. *hᵛarəna-* 'food')
Newer etymological works (ESSJa: l.c.; ESJS: l.c.; Snoj 1997: 175) accept this as the most plausible solution (see the chapter about loanwords).

2. PS *xorna* ~ Lith. *šérti* 'to feed', Gr. κόρος 'satiation'
Considering the genetic connection of the Slav. word, it is most plausible to start from IE *k'erH₃-* 'to feed' (LIV: 292; Pokorny 1959: 577) which – besides Lith. and Gr. words – continues also in Alb. *thjer* 'acorn', Lat. *Cerēs* 'goddess of harvest' and Arm. *serem* '(I) produce'. The relation of Lith. *šérti* to PS *xorna* would be the same as in PS *sterti* – *storna* (cf.. Martynov 1968: 115; Sławski: l.c.). The primary verb being unattested in Slav. can perhaps be explained through its replacement by the denominative *xorniti* (Martynov: l.c.). Implausibly, Brückner (1927: 184) reconstructs for Slav. and Lith. words the unfounded IE *sker* 'to eat'; similarly Mladenov (1941: 671) starts from the vague semantic connection with IE *(s)ker-* 'to cut'.
Ev.:   *C   A   A*   *B++*   *k'-*

Other etymologies are not satisfactory, especially not phonetically so – there are outdated connections with Lat. *servāre* 'to guard, protect', Av. *haurvaiti* '(he) guards' et al. from IE *ser-* 'to protect, to look after' (Berneker 1908–1913: I, 398; Vasmer 1964–1973: 4, 266), or with OInd. *šárman-* 'protection, refuge' (Machek 1939: 191f.). See also ESJS: l.c. and ESSJa: l.c.

XOTĚTI, XЪTĚTI

OCS *xotěti, xъtěti*, Bulg.d. *xta*, S./Cr. *hòtjeti, ht(j)èti*, Sln. *hotéti*, Slk. *chcieť*, Cz. *chtít*, US *chcyć*, LS *kśěś*, LS (older) *chces*, Plb. *cǫ* (1.sg.), Slnc. *chcec*, OPol. *chocieć, ścieć*, Pol. *chcieć*, Br. *xacéć*, Br.d. *xceć*, Ukr. *xotíty, xtíty*, Russ. *xotét'*, Russ. d. *xotít', xtet'*, all 'to want'

Rec.:
The doublet PS form is explained in three different ways: 1) both are ablaut variants of the same value (Berneker 1908–1913: 1, 399; ESSJa: 8, 152); 2) the basic form is *xotěti*, the form *xъtěti* is younger, developed by an allegro shortening (Machek 1968: 208; ESSJa: 8, 84); 3) the basic form is *xъtěti* (1sg. pres. *xot'ǫ*), and the inf. *xotěti* would then rise by analogy according to the pres. (e.g. Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 270; Schuster-Šewc 1978: 377). The meaning is the same in all Slav. languages.

Et.:
1. PS *x(v)otěti, *xъtěti* ~ PS *xvatati, *xytati*
The explanation of a PS variant *xъtěti* as a zero grade to *xvotěti* with the reference to a similar pair *xytati, *xvatati* (Berneker 1908–1913: l.c.; ESSJa: 8, l.c.) is phonetically acceptable; it encounters, however, minimal evidence for the grade *xvot-* – only Russ.d. *ochvóta* 'taste, liking' and *ochvótit'* 'to hunt' is quoted (ESJS: 4, 224). A semantic parallel is looked for in Latv. *gribēt* 'to want' – Lith. *griēbti* 'to catch, to grasp'.

2. PS *xotěti* ~ Lith. *ketěti* 'to intend, to be about to'
This connection is preferred by Brückner (1923: 228) and Machek (1930: 66 and

73; 1939: 212; 1968: 208). The difference in a root vowel is a certain shortcoming – a reference to an analogical Slav. *volěti* as against Lith. *pavelt* '(he) wants' (Sławski 1952: 1, 62) is not accurate, because in the latter case the Lith. verb is primary and Slav. derived. Fraenkel (1962–1965: 247) is skeptical about this equation and looks for other, internal etymological connections.
Ev.:   *B- A- B*   ***B***   *k-*

Other etymologies are implausible (see ESJS: l.c.)

XOVATI

OCz. *chovati sě* 'to keep away from, keep clear of', Cz. *chovat se* 'to behave', OCz. *chovati* 'to keep, preserve; to nurse, care for, breed', Cz. *chovat*, Slk. *chovať* 'id.', US *chować* 'to protect, hide', LS *chowaś* 'to hide', LS d. 'to bury', OPol., Pol. *chować* 'to keep, hide; to bury; to feed, breed', Cass. *chovac* 'id.', Br. *xovác* 'to protect, hide; to bury', Br.d. *xavác* 'to breed, feed', Ukr. *xováty* 'id.', ORuss. *xovatisja* 'keep away from', Russ.d. *xovát'* 'to hide, bury'

Rec.:
The formal reconstruction is without problems. The meanings are similar in all Slav. languages; nevertheless, their scale is relatively broad ('to protect' – 'to hide' – 'to bury' – 'to feed, to breed'). The most plausible semantic base seems to be 'to look after, to protect', from which both 'to keep, to hide, to bury etc.', and 'to breed, to nurse' could develop. It is definitely incorrect to look for two different etymologies of *chovati* a *chovati se* (Machek 1968: 204).

Et.:
1. PS *xovati* 'to look after, to protect' ~ OHG *scouwon*, E. *show*, Lat. *cavēre* 'to be on one's guard', Gr. κοέω '(I) observe', OInd. *kavi-* 'overseer, herdsman'
Most etymologists start from the IE root *(s)keuH₁* 'to watch (out)' which has already been represented in Slav. by verbs *čuti* 'to feel, perceive' and probably *skumati* 'to investigate, study' (LIV: 507 and Pokorny 1959: 587 without the present verb; Brückner 1923: 237; Holub – Kopečný 1952: 142; ESSJa: 8, 87; Schuster-Šewc 1978: 399). PS *xovati* is a continuation of the grade *(s)kouH₁* (like Lat. and Gr. verb which differ by a stem suffix), or *(s)kauH₁* (it agrees with a Gmc. verb). The semantic shift 'to watch (out)' → 'to look after, protect' is substantiated by a number of parallels (see e.g. Sławski 1952: I, 77).
Ev.:   *A- B A-*   ***B++***   *(s)k-*

Other explanations are implausible. Machek (1968: 203) connects *chovati* with Lat. *fovēre* 'to warm up, nurse, take care of' which agrees in some meanings but brings forth hardly surmountable phonetic difficulties in the initial. Martynov (1968: 116) adds OInd. *śváyati* '(he) grows, strengthens' from IE *k'eu-* which is implausible semantically and – in connection with the Lat. word – also phonetically. Formally unacceptable is the connection with Lith. *saugóti* 'to keep, protect' (Berneker 1908–1913: 1, 399; Shevelov 1965: 135).

XRĘDA

OCz. *chřieda, chřěda, chřáda, chřada* 'a kind of sickness'

OCS *oxręnǫti* 'to be hungry', Cz. *chřadnout* 'to fade away, decline', Slk. *chradnúť* 'id.', Pol.d. (isolated) *ochrzęly* 'thin, gaunt'

Russ.d. *xrjadét'* 'to be growing thinner, to be poorly', *xrédit'* 'to grow old (about wolf)', 'to wither (about grass)', 'to be ill (about person)'

Rec.:

The root is poorly attested in Slav. languages (the OCS record is only from the 16th cent. and OCz. nouns are attested only as dictionary entries – see Machek 1930: 102), yet its ancientness is assumed. The verbal base *xręd-* 'to fade away, to wither, to languish' should probably be taken as primary.

Et.:

1. PS *xręd-* ~ Lith. *skrę̃sti* 'to become covered in dirt, to stiffen', 'to wear out', OHG *scrintan* 'to crack'

This widely accepted equation can be supported by nouns like Lith. *skránda* 'old bellows', OHG *scrunta* 'crack, split' (Berneker 1908–1913: I, 401; ESSJa: 8, 93; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 280; Fraenkel 1962–1965: 815). Machek (1968: 207) and Martynov (1968: 109f.) give rather different Gmc. parallels – Norw.d. *skranta*, Dan. *skrante* 'to be growing thinner' – which should probably be separated from the aforementioned words. The similarities of the meanings cannot overcome the fact that the Gmc. words are very peripheral. On the other hand, the traditional connection contains an unexplained semantic shift 'to crack, to wear out etc.' → 'to fade away, to wither'. It is possible to think about the onom. origin, particularly with respect to the meanings of Gmc. words.

Ev.: A- C A   **B+**   (B A C   **B**)   sk-

2. PS *xrędnoti* ~ OCS *oxlęnǫti* 'to weaken, decline', OCS *oxlędanije* 'negligence'
This explanation, presuming an alternation *xr-/xl-* in the initial, is based on the Russ.-OCS evidence for doublets *oxlęnǫti / oxręnǫti* (Brückner 1923: 226; Machek 1930: 102 and 1939: 212; ESJS: 10, 578). The onomatopoeic origin would then be possible as well.

XRIBЪ

OCS *xribъ* 'back', S./Cr. (older) *hrib* 'hill', Sln. *hríb*, OCz. *chřib*, Cz.d. *křib* 'id.', Russ.d. *xrip* 'back (of horse)', 'backbone'

Rec.:
Russ.d. words with the voiceless labial in the end deviate from Slav. evidence which is rare anyway; their etymological identity with PS *xribъ* is plausible, however (ESSJa: 8, 96; with hesitation Vasmer 1964–1973: 4, 276 and ESJS: 4, 227). The semantic development would be 'back' → 'mountain range' → 'hill'. Better attested is a PS derivative *xrъbъtъ, *xribьtъ*, see s.v.

Et.:
1. PS *xribъ* 'back' ~ OHG *href* 'pack basket', OIcel. *hrip* 'wooden vessel', Latv. *kribas* (pl.) 'wickerwork in sledge'
As the first choice, I propose a new etymological connection based upon IE *(s)kreibo-* which is probably a labial extension of IE *(s)krei-*, *i*-base from the root *(s)ker-* 'to bend, to twist' (Pokorny 1959: 936; LIV: 509 makes the root *(s)krei* 'to describe a circle' tentatively independent). The Gmc. and Balt. formal parallels seem to be semantically rather remote, reflecting only the basic meaning 'to bend, to twist'. Other extended forms of IE *(s)ker-* could provide us, however, with sufficient evidence for a transition 'to bend' → 'back' or 'hill'. It is e.g. Ger. *Rücken* 'back', OHG *(h)rukki* 'id.', OIcel. *hryggr* 'backbone', Lith. *kriáuklas* 'rib', alongside Ir. *cruach* 'heap, hill', Corn., OBret. *cruc* 'hillock', all from IE *(s)kreu-k-*, a velar extension of the *u*-base of the same IE root *(s)ker-* (Pokorny 1959: 938). One can compare also MHG. *krebe* 'basket', Icel. *karfa* 'id.' alongside OCS *grъbъ* 'back', OPr. *garbis* 'mountain' from IE *gerbh-* (for Slav. and OPr. words the base *gerb-* is usually preferred) from *ger-* 'to twist, to wind' (Pokorny 1959: 387). A similarly motivated etymology of Slav. *xribъ* is presented by Schuster-Šewc (1978: 401) who bases it – in my opinion erroneously – just on IE *(s)gerb-* with an unattested *s*-mobile, and connects it not only with PS *gъrbъ* but also with *gribъ* 'mushroom'.

Ev.: A C A-   **B+**   sk-

2. PS *xribъ* 'backbone, back' ~ PS *skrebti* 'to scrape', Latv. *skrabt*, E. *scrape* 'id.', Lat. *scrobis* 'hole'
ESSJa (8, 96) connects PS *xribъ* with an unattested *xrebti* (< *skrebti* 'to scrape') thought not to be of onomatopoeic origin. Semantically, the meaning 'backbone, back' is considered to be related to the meanings 'hillock', 'point, tip' and 'to scrape' which is a rather risky semantic transition. The putative semantic parallel in Lat. *spīna* 'thorn' and 'backbone' does not support the connection with 'to scrape' in any way.
Ev.: B- C A   **B-**   sk-

Other explanations are not persuasive at all (see ESJS: 4, 228 and 230 and ESSJa: 8, 96 and 108).

XRIDЪ

OCS *chridъ* 'hill, rock', Bulg. (older) *chrid* 'hillock, hill, mountain', Bulg.d. also *chrit, rit*, Mac. *rid* 'hill', S./Cr. *hrîd* and *hrida, rîd* 'rock', Sln. (older) *hrîd* 'id.'

Rec.:
The word is only recorded in the South Slav. area. The original meaning was probably 'rock', the meanings 'hill, mountain' could perhaps be ascribed to the influence of the word *xribъ*. The similarity of these words causes some authors to support their etymological connection, but I believe this is erroneous (Skok 1971–1974: I, 685, Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 203).

Et.:
PS *xridъ 'rock' ~ Goth. *dis-skreitan* 'to dig (up)', Ger.d. *schritz* 'crack, cleft'

If we accept the meaning 'rock' as the primary one, it is possible to base the etymology on IE *(s)krei-d- from *(s)ker- 'to cut', and to connect it with the above-mentioned Gmc. words. Semantic parallels are in Lat. *rūpēs* 'rock' – *rumpō* '(I) break' and Slav. *skala* 'rock' – Lith. *skalà* 'splinter' from IE *(s)kel- 'to cut, to split' (ESSJa: 8, 97; Machek 1939: 212–213).

Ev.: A- B B   **B+**   *sk-*

The restricted incidence of the word (South Slav. area) leads some authors to the assumption of its origin from a pre-IE substratum (Skok 1971–1974: I, 687) which is hardly provable. Other etymologies are implausible.

XROMЪ

OCS *xromъ*, Bulg. *chrom*, Mac.d. *rom*, S./Cr. *hröm*, Sln. *hròm*, Slk., Cz. *chromý*, Sorb. *chromy*, Plb. *chrümě*, Slnc. *χromi*, Pol. *chromy*, Br.d. *xramý*, Ukr. *xromýj*, Russ. *xromój*, all 'lame'

Rec.:
The formal and semantic sides of the PS reconstruction are without troubles.

Et.:
1. PS *xromъ ~ OInd. *srāmá-* 'id.'
This widely accepted equation (e.g. Miklosich 1886: 91; Machek 1939: 191; Pokorny 1959: 1004; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 277; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 204; Mayrhofer 1956–1980: III, 556) has the perfect semantic correspondence, and only a minor formal difference in the quantity of the root vowel. The correspondence of initial Slav. *x-* and OInd. *s-* is acceptable in the present conception (IE *s- as one of possible sources of Slav. *x-*), so there is no need to look for intricate phonetic explanations (see ESJS: 4, 228). A certain weakness – as there always is in such cases – is the isolation of the Slav.-OInd. isogloss. Machek's addition of Ger. *lahm* 'id.' (1968: 202) is absurd.

Ev.: A- A C   **B+**   *s-*

2. PS *xromъ ~ Ger. *Schramme* 'scratch, scar', Pol. *poskromić* 'to tame'
Brückner (1923: 234 and 1957: 184) and ESSJa (8, 102) start from IE *(s)ker- 'to cut' (with a nasal extension *(s)kr-om-). They assume a semantic development 'cut' → 'crippled, maimed' → 'lame' which is unfortunately not self-evident, although the contention that the Slav. word denoted not only the lameness but also the mutilation of other body parts (ESSJa l.c.) can partially be supported by West Slav. and South Slav. material (see p. 32).

Ev.: B B- B   **B-**   *sk-*

3. PS *xromъ ~ Ger. *krumm* 'bent, crooked'
Schuster-Šewc (1978: 404) starts from the broad meaning 'to bend, to twist' of two synonymous IE roots *(s)ker-, *ger- without saying which one is supposed to be the base of the Slav. word. The compared Ger. *krumm* is a continuation of the extended form *grumbh-, *grembh- which is also represented in PS *grǫbъ 'rough' (EWD: 738). The Slav. *xromъ would then have to proceed from IE *gr-om- which does not have continuants elsewhere.

Ev.: C B B   **B--**   *g-*

XRЬBЬTЪ, XRIBЬTЪ

OCS *xrьbьtъ, xribьtъ*, Bulg. (older) *xrăbet*, mak. *'rbet*, S./Cr. *hřbat*, Sln. *hřbet*, Slk. *chrbát*, Slk.d. *chrbet, chrebet*, OCz. *chřbet*, Cz. *hřbet*, Cz.d. *křibet*, US *chribjet*, US d. *chrjebjet, chrěbt*, LS *kśebjat*, Plb. *greb'at*, Slnc. *χřebt, křebt, χřeb'et*, Cass. also *skřebt, skřeb'et, skřeb'ec*, OPol. *krzebt, krzebiat, chrzebt, chrzebiet*, Pol. (older) *chrzybiet*, Pol. *grzbiet*, Pol.d. *chrzybt, skrzybiet*, Br. *xrybét*, Ukr., Russ. *xrebét*, all with the meanings 'back, backbone', figuratively 'mountain range' etc.

Rec.:
This is formally a rather difficult word. As a rule, it is regarded as a derivative from PS *xribъ by an unusual suffix -ьtъ which has been compared with the suffix -ьtъ in words like *olkъtъ 'elbow' or *nogъtъ 'nail' (e.g. Brückner 1957: 160; Sławski 1952: 1, 366; Schuster-Šewc 1978: 401). The forms with -i- are mostly interpreted as a full ablaut grade. The initial is varied – g-, k- and sk- arise there alongside x-. Since g (or h respectively) is only in Plb., Modern Pol. and Modern Cz., the assumption of the original initial g- (Machek 1939: 200 and 1968: 187, Holub – Kopečný 1952: 134 and inconsistently ESSJa: 7, 162 in a contradiction with ESSJa: 8, 107) is quite implausible (see p. 38). Pol.d. and Cass. forms with the initial sk- could then be surviving archaisms if we accept the foregoing etymology of the word *xribъ.

Et.:
See s.v. XRIBЪ; for some other autonomous etymologies see ESJS: 4, 230.

XUDЪ

OCS *xudъ* 'poor, needy, insignificant, small', Bulg.d. *xud* 'bad', S./Cr. *hûd* 'bad', S./Cr. d. also 'poor, needy, thin', Sln. *hûd* 'bad' (but *shujšati* 'to be getting thinner'), Slk. *chudý* 'thin', OCz., Cz. *chudý* 'poor', Sorb. *chudy* 'poor, thin', Plb. *ch'audě* 'bad, poor, unhealthy', Slnc., Cass. *χudi* 'thin, poor', Pol. *chudy* 'id.', Br. *xudý* 'thin', Ukr. *xudýj* 'thin, bad', ORuss. *xudyj* 'bad, unstable, weak, poor', Russ. *xudój* 'thin, bad'

Rec.:
Of the three basic meanings 'thin', 'poor, needy' and 'bad', the last one is the youngest – evaluative adjectives like this usually develop from older specific meanings. The meanings 'thin' and 'poor, needy' often go hand in hand (cf. OCz. *hubený* with both meanings). ESJS (4, 230) reconstructs as the original meaning 'thin', but the oldest evidence (OCS, ORuss., OCz.) seems to favor the meaning 'poor, pitiful' (cf. the same primary meaning in Cz. *hubený* from *hubiti* 'to exterminate' which has a parallel in Lith. *skurdùs* 'poor' from *skeřsti* 'to kill', see Fraenkel 1962–1965: 822).

Et.:

1. PS *xudъ* 'poor, insignificant, small' ~ OInd. *kšódati* '(he) beats, crushes', *kšudrá-* 'small, tiny'

In the light of OCS meanings, this explanation seems to be the most plausible (Berneker 1908–1913: I, 405; Pokorny 1959: 625; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 282; ESSJa: 8, 112; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 206). The IE base would be **kseud-* without any other cognates (LIV: 332; Meľnyčuk 1968: 214f. takes it as an extension of IE **kes-* 'to cut'), and the PS *x-* would have developed properly according to Pedersen's law. Unlike ESSJa: l.c. I do not believe that a suffixal *-r-* in some Slav. dialectal forms like Pol. *chuderlawy*, Russ. *chodorba* would etymologically correspond with the same sound in the OInd. word. The weakness of this etymology is the isolation of this Slav.-OInd. parallel (cf. Sławski 1952: I, 87).

Ev.: **B** **A-** **B-**   ***B***   *ks-*

2. PS *xudъ* 'thin, poor' ~ Lith. *skaudùs* 'sore, painful, severe'

The phonetically flawless connection (Brückner 1927: 186) encounters semantic difficulties. Sławski (l.c.) assumes a semantic development 'sore, sick' → 'debilitated, thin' → 'bad' which is unfortunately not supported by convincing semantic parallels. The etymological isolation of the Lith. word is inconvenient; also, the connection with Gr. σκυθρός 'morose, gloomy, sad' from IE **skeud-* (Pokorny 1959: 955) is not semantically persuasive, and would semantically distance us from the Slav. word. ESSJa (l.c.) attempts to connect Lith. *skaudùs* with the OInd. words quoted in the first exposition on the assumption that the metathesis **ksoud- > *skoud-* took place in Lith. The semantic closeness of these words, however, is not great enough to justify such a formal concession.

Ev.: **A** **C** **B**   ***B***   *sk-*

3. PS *xudъ* 'thin' ~ OInd. *kšódhuka-* 'hungry'

Even this equation is formally and semantically quite acceptable (Machek 1939: 174 and 1968: 209, admitted by Mayrhofer 1956–1980: I, 294 who does not rule out even explanation 1.); its drawback, again, is the lack of other relations (Mayrhofer: l.c. also gives Av. *šud-* 'hunger') and the uncertain IE root (no reference in Pokorny or LIV). OInd. *-uka* is an extending suffix, to the semantic aspect cf. mutually related Gr. λειρός 'thin', λιμός 'hunger' (Pokorny 1959: 661).

Ev.: **B** **B** **B-**   ***B-***   *ks-*

XULA

OCS *xula* 'scolding, defamation, calumny; blasphemy', Bulg. *xúla* 'slander, insult, dishonour', Mac. *xula* 'id.', S./Cr. *hùla* 'blasphemy' S./Cr.d. 'insult, rebuke', Sln. *húla* 'insult, indignity', Ukr. (literary) *xulá* 'insult, blasphemy', ORuss. *xula* 'rebuke, degradation, insult, blasphemy', Russ. *xulá* 'insult, indignity' (Br.d. *xula* 'praise' probably from *chvalá*)

OCS *xuliti* 'to reprove, scold, blaspheme; to accuse', Bulg. *xúlja* 'to reprove, insult', Mac. *xuli*, S./Cr.d. *hùliti*, Sln. *húliti*, Russ. *xulít'* 'id.'

Rec.:

What is primary – the noun or the verb – is not clear. The further etymologizing of the word depends on how we view its relationship to the antonymous **xvala, *xvaliti*. A number of authors assume the same etymological base for both words (Kiparski 1934: 35; Brückner 1923: 232; ESSJa: 8, 115 and 118). Br.d. *xula* with the meaning 'praise' is sometimes adduced as an argument; on the other hand, it is correct to point out that both antonyms could influence (contaminate) one another or that Br.d. *xula* could develop from *xvala* due to a sporadic dialectal change (ESJS: 4, 231).

Et.:

1. PS **xuliti* ~ PS **xyliti, *xuliti* 'to bend, incline'

Questionable as all the explanations are, the connection of **xula, *xuliti* with **xyliti, *xuliti* (Berneker 1908–1913: I, 406; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 283; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 206) seems the most acceptable at this point. Admittedly, the semantic transition 'to bend, to incline' → 'to reprove, to insult' is troublesome, but if we recognize the act of humiliation itself and not its verbal manifestation as a basic semantic motivation, it is certainly possible. Perhaps Czech words like *choulit se* 'to cower, to cringe, to huddle', OCz. *chúlost* 'timidity', *chúlostivý* 'timid, faint-hearted, (over)sensitive' (cf. also S./Cr. older *hiliti* 'to oppress') can play an important role in the explanation of the semantic development of the Slav. word. (Other than this, *xula* and its family is absent in West Slav. languages.) The semantic development in South and East Slav. languages then can be envisaged as 'to bend, to incline' → 'to press, to oppress' → 'to degrade, to insult etc.'. See also XYLITI.

2. PS **xula* ~ OIcel. *skvala* 'to speak loudly, call'

This equation reckons with the etymological identity of **xula* and **xvala* based on the common meaning 'to speak loudly', see XVALA.

3. PS **xula* ~ IE **suel-* 'to (re)sound'

Like in the previous case, this etymology is based on the common explanation of **xula* and **xvala* see XVALA.

Other explanations are even less acceptable. This applies also to Machek's connection (1930: 99; 1939: 213) with PS **kuditi* 'to reprove, to insult', which assumes an implausible derivative **kud-la* which would have changed to **xudla* with an expressive *x-* and further to *xula* in South and East Slav. (ESJS: 4, 231 regards as acceptable; for other explanations see ibid.).

XVALA

OCS *xvala*, Bulg. *xvalá*, mak. *fala*, S./Cr., Sln. *hvála*, Slk., Cz. *chvála*, Sorb. *chwała*, Cass. χvała, Pol. *chwała*, Br., Ukr., Russ. *xvalá*, all 'praise', also 'glory' (OCS, West Slav., East Slav.), 'thanksgiving' (South Slav.) etc.

OCS *xvaliti*, Bulg. *xválja*, S./Cr., Sln. *hváliti*, Slk. *chváliť*, Cz. *chválit*, US *chwalić*, LS *chwaliś*, Plb. *cholě* (3 sg. pres.), Slnc. χvalec, Pol. *chwalić*, Br. *xvalíc'*, Ukr. *xvalýty*, Russ. *xvalít'*, all 'to praise'.

Rec.:

The question of the primariness of *xvala* and *xvaliti* is not clear; more often, however, it is the noun which is considered to be primary. It is then often etymologically connected with its opposite *xula* (see XULA). Their common semantic base would be 'to speak loudly, to call' which could develop into both 'to reprove, to scold etc.' and 'to praise' (cf. OIcel. *hól* 'praise', OE. *hol* 'slander').

Et.:

1. PS *xvaliti* ~ OIcel. *skvala* 'to speak loudly, call'

The connection of *xvaliti* (and also *xuliti*) with the OIcel. word was introduced by Brückner (1923: 232 and 1927: 187) and Kiparski (1934: 35), as the best alternative accepted by others (Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 228; Sławski 1952: I, 90; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 207; ESJS: 4, 232). The semantic side is acceptable, though a formal difference is the quantity in the root (Slav. *a* ~ IE *ā, ō*); we have to start, however, from IE *skual-* or *skuol-*, and not *sk^uol-* which is reconstructed for the OIcel. word by Pokorny (1959: 550). The root can be of an onom. origin (cf. E. *squall*); the Slav.-OIcel. parallel is isolated otherwise.

Ev.: B B B   *B*   sk-

2. PS *xvala* < Iran. *h^var-* 'glory' et al.

There are several versions of the borrowing from Iranian (see the chapter about loanwords) which – though risky – can be accepted phonetically and also in view of the sacral character of the word.

3. PS *xvala* ~ IE *suel-* 'to (re)sound'

This connection held by ESSJa (8, 118) and repeated by Gluhak (1993: 272) is problematic phonetically and semantically. ESSJa assumes that OInd. *svárati* '(he) shines' and '(he) sounds' is polysemous (though the explanation that it is an ancient symbolism lacks conviction), and starts from IE *suel-* 'to burn, to swell' (Pokorny 1959: 1045; LIV: 553). The latter meaning, however, is commonly connected with IE *suer-* 'to sound' (besides the OInd. word, there is also Goth. *swaran* 'to swear', OE. *and-swaru* 'answer' etc.) (Mayrhofer 1956–1980: III, 562; LIV: 557; Pokorny 1959: 1049 distinguishes *suer-* 'to speak, to sermonize' and *suer-* 'to buzz etc.' but admits their etymological identity). Though ESSJa (8, 115) admits this explanation s.v. *xula* and relativizes it by saying that, after all, various extensions of IE *sue-* are involved, this does not resolve the etymological isolation of the supposed base *suol-*.

Ev.: C B- B   *B/C*   s-

Other etymologies are even less plausible; see ESJS: l.c.

XVATATI

OCS *xvatati* 'to grasp', Bulg. *xvátam*, S./Cr. *hvàtati*, Sln. *hvátati* 'id.', Slk. *chvátať* 'to hurry', Cz. *chvátat*, US *chwatać*, LS *chwataś* 'id.', Slnc., Cass. *χvatac* 'to catch', OPol. *chwatać*, Br. *xvatác'*, Ukr. *xvatáty*, Russ. *xvatát'* 'id.', Russ.d. also 'to hurry' and 'to do well', cf. also *xváta* 'hunting'.

OCS *xvatiti* 'to catch', Bulg. (older) *xvátja* 'to hunt', S./Cr. *hvãtiti* 'to catch', Sln. (older) *hvátiti* 'to take', OCz. *chvátiti* 'to catch', Cz. -*chvátit*, US *chwaćić*, LS *chwaśiś*, Slnc., Cass. *χvacëc*, OPol. *chwacić*, Br. *xvacíc'*, Ukr. *xvatýty*, Russ. *xvatít'* 'id.'

Rec.:

*Xvatati, *xvatiti is usually connected with **xytati, *xytiti*; regarding ablaut proportions c.f. PS **kvasiti : *kysati* or OCS *chvorъ : Russ. chíryj* 'ill'. The group of words around **xotěti* is sometimes added as well (see XOTĚTI). The original meaning is 'to catch, to grasp'; the West Slav. meaning 'to hurry' is secondary, but there is no reason to etymologically separate it (like Machek 1968: 210).

Et.:
See XYTATI

XVĚJATI (SĘ)

Russ.-OCS *xvějati (sę)* 'to move, shake', Slk. *chvieť (sa)* 'to tremble, shake', Cz. *chvět (se)* 'id.', US *chwieć* 'to move, swing, blow', LS *chwjaś* 'to blow', *chwiaś se* 'to swing to and fro, shake', Pol. *chwiać* 'to shake, sway', *chwiać się* 'to oscillate', Br. *xvéc'ca*, Ukr. *xvíjatysja* 'id.'

Rec.:

The word is missing in South Slav. Elsewhere it has a unified form and also a basically unified meaning (the semantic base would be 'to sway'). The existence of Pol. dialectal forms *chowierać się, chowierutać* leads some authors to the reconstruction of the root *xov-/xv-* (Sławski 1952: I, 92) or *xov-/xъv-* (Schuster-Šewc 1978: 413) which is implausible, as is the reconstruction of the original **xvěpti* on the base of OCz. *chvěplati sě* 'to move, to waddle' (Machek 1968: 210).

Et.:

PS **xvějati (sę)* 'to sway' ~ Lith. *svajóti* 'to dream', E. *sway*, MLG *swaien* 'to sway, to waggle'

The most plausible base proves to be IE **sueH(i)-* 'to sway, to swing' (LIV: 551 without the Lith. word; Pokorny 1959: 1041 without BS words; further Berneker 1908–1913: I, 408; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 230; ESSJa: 8, 124; Sławski: l.c.; Shevelov 1965: 135; Martynov 1968: 137). The Lith. word, which is semantically rather remote, is added to this group on the basis of the assumption that the original meaning was 'to stagger, to oscillate'. Formally, the words differ in the ablaut grade (Slav. has the basic grade **suē-* < **sueH-*).

Ev.: B A B   (without the Lith. word)
**   B B A   (with the Lith. word)   *B++*   s-**

Other etymologies which consider connections with Slav. words **xvoja* (cf. Endzelin 1911: 127) or *vějati* (cf. Martynov: l.c.) are less than persuasive; for some implausible explanations see also Machek 1939: 203 and 1968: 210 and Schuster-Šewc: l.c.

XVOJA

S./Cr.d. *hvója* 'branch', Sln.d. *hôja* 'fir, conifer; branches of conifer', Slk. *chvoja* (older *chvoj*) 'branches of conifer; sprigs', OCz. *chvojě* 'branch of conifer; conifer', Cz.d. and older *chvoj, chvoje* 'branches of conifer; pine', Cz. *chvojí* 'branches of conifer', US (older) *chója* 'pine' (today *chójna*), LS d. *choja* 'id.' (lit. *chojca*), Plb. *ch'üöja* 'id.', Pol.d. *choja* 'conifer, branches of conifer' (lit.. *choina*), Br., Ukr. *xvója* 'pine', Russ. *xvója* 'needles; branch of conifer', Russ. d. also 'twigs', Russ. d. *xvoj* 'coniferous wood'.

Rec.:

The basic PS form is *xvoja* – only on the basis of Cz., Slk. and Russ. dialectal evidence can we think about a doublet *xvojь* (ESSJa: 8, 125). The quoted Slav. meanings unequivocally display that the word originally denoted a conifer or its basic parts (needles?) with consequent metonymical shifts (tree – branch – needle or other way round). It is illogical to infer from the peripheral meanings in S./Cr. and Slk. that the original meaning was 'branch generally' (Machek 1968: 211).

Et.:

PS *xvoja* '(branch of) conifer' ~ Lith. *skujà* 'fir needle, fir or pine branch', Latv. *skujas* (pl.) 'needles, branches of conifer'
This commonly accepted equation's strongest point is the correspondence of semantically quite specific Balt. and Slav. words (Berneker 1908–1913: I, 408; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 199; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 233; Illič-Svityč 1961: 93; Martynov 1968: 145; Schuster-Šewc 1978: 391; ESSJa: 8, 126 et al.). Machek's objection (l.c.) that Lith. *skujà* normally means 'cone' is inaccurate; Lith. dictionaries unanimously give the basic meanings as 'needles, branches of conifer'. The difference in form presupposes the IE (BS) doublet form *skuoi-/*skuj-. The family is sometimes extended by Celtic continuants, e.g. OIr. *scé* 'hawthorne', Corn. *spethes* 'blackberry bush' (Pokorny 1959: 958).
Ev.: B- A A   *A/B*   sk-

XVORSTЪ

OCS *xvrastъ* 'brushwood', *xrastъ* 'oak', Bulg. *xrast* 'bushes', Mac. *rast* 'oak', S./Cr. *hrâst* 'id.', S./Cr.d. also 'bushes', Sln. *hrást* 'oak', Sln.d. *hrâst* 'brushwood', Slk. *chrast'* 'undergrowth, thicket', OCz. *chrast, chrastie* 'brushwood, bushes', Cz. *chrastí* 'id.', *chrást* 'tops', US *chróst* 'bushes, brushwood', OPol. *chrost*, Pol. *chrust* 'id.', Br. *xvórast* 'brushwood', Ukr. *xvoróst*, Russ. *xvórost* 'id.'

Rec.:

The formal reconstruction is without difficulties (the cluster *chvr-*, which arose by metathesis, was simplified to *chr-* in West and South Slavic languages). The basic meaning is probably 'bushes, brushwood' although its development into the meaning 'oak' in one area (South Slav.) and 'dry tops' in another (Cz.) is difficult to explain. Machek separates these meanings and looks for three different etymologies (Machek 1939: 182;

1959: 277; 1968: 205), which is not persuasive; nevertheless, the contamination with other roots is possible.

Et.:

1. PS *xvorstъ* 'bushes, brushwood' ~ Ger. *Horst* 'bushes, brushwood, grove', OE. *hyrst* 'hillock, bushes', E. *hurst*, W. *prysg* 'grove'
The striking formal and semantic similarity with Gmc. and Celt. words favors this etymology (Pokorny 1959: 633; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 231; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 201; Schuster-Šewc 1978: 406; Mladenov 1941: 122) although the reconstructed IE bases raise some misgivings. Gmc. and Celt. words presuppose IE *kurs-to- (regarding other possible cognates see Pokorny: l.c.), and Slav. requires *kuors-to-; the initial IE root is reconstructed as *kures-, *kuers-, *kurs- 'woody plant, bushes, grove, tree' (Pokorny: l.c. with a question mark), and even *kʷres- (Snoj 1997: 176).
Ev.: B- A B   B+   k-

2. PS *xvorstъ* 'bushes, grove, oak' of an onom. origin
This explanation from an onomatopoeic base is semantically acceptable (Miklosich 1886: 92; Berneker 1908–1913: I, 408; Kiparski 1934: 36; ESSJa: 8, 131), cf. e.g. OCS *šuma* 'wood'. It must be observed, however, that the verbal formations, supposedly primary, are poorly represented in Slav. languages (*xvorstiti* attested in West Slav. and partially in East Slav. can be secondary) (Sławski 1952: I, 83), and that the supposed onom. root *xvorst-* is unusual within other Slav. onom. roots anyway.

A similarity with Bas. *korosti, khorostü, gorosti* 'Ilex aequifolium' is probably coincidental (Machek 1939: 182 thinks about the pre-IE substratum, ESSJa: l.c. about the "elementary" relationship); regarding other etymologies, see Vasmer: l.c. and ESSJa: l.c.)

XVORЪ

OCS *xvorъ* 'ailing, ill', Slk., Cz. *chorý* 'id.' (OCz. *ch(v)orý* also 'emaciated, feeble'), Sorb. *chory* 'ailing, ill', Plb. *chüöre* 'ugly, repulsive', Pol. *chory* 'ailing, ill', Br. *xvóry*, Ukr., Russ. *xvóryj* 'id.'

Rec.:

The basic root form *xvor-* alternates with forms *xur-* (OCz. *churý, churavý* 'thin, infirm') and *xyr-* (US *chyrny* 'ailing', Russ. *xíryj* 'id.'). The word is not attested in South Slav. Presumably, the PS meaning was 'ailing, sick'; meanings like this, however, usually develop figuratively from more specific meanings.

Et.:

1. PS *xvorъ* ~ Av. *hʷara-* 'wound, injury', OHG *sweran* 'to hurt, to swell, to fester'
Most explanations are based on IE *suer-* 'to cut, to fester' which continues etymologically also in OIr. *serb* and W. *chwerw* 'bitter'; some also add Lith. *svarùs* 'heavy' (Berneker 1908–1913: I, 409; Pokorny 1959: 1050; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 232; ESSJa: 8, 132; Martynov 1968: 138 – the last two look for even broader context). This

comparison presupposes the semantic development 'sore, inflamed' → 'ill' (cf. Russ. *bolét'* 'to hurt, ache' and 'to be ill').

Ev.: **B B A-   B+   s-**

2. PS **xvorъ* ~ Toch. B *kwär* 'to grow old, to be infirm', Lith. *gùrti* 'to crumble', *gvérti* 'to get loose, to become rickety'

Machek: l.c. starts from IE **guer-* and gives the above-mentioned Toch. and Balt. cognates. Lith. *gùrti* is also quoted by Schuster-Šewc (1978: 397) who reconstructs IE **(s)g(u)er-*. The Lith. word can hardly be separated from *gvérti* (Fraenkel 1962–1965: 179); however, further etymological connections are not certain. The same applies to the Toch. word. Even the assumption of a semantic development 'crumbly, decaying' → 'ailing, ill' is not persuasive enough to support this etymology.

Ev.:   **B   C   B   B--   g-**

Other explanations are phonetically or semantically unacceptable, see e.g. Vasmer: l.c.

XVOSTЪ

OCS *xvostъ* 'tail', S./Cr. (older, isol.) *hvost* 'id.', Sln. (older) *hvöst* 'tail, stripped bunch of grapes', Slk., Cz. *chvost* 'tail', Plb. *chöst* 'oven brush', Pol.d. *chwost* 'tail', Br. *xvost*, Ukr. *xvist*, Russ. *xvost* 'id.'

Cz. (older) *chvostati* 'to whip, to swish', US *chostać* 'to punish, to rebuke', Pol. (older) *chwostać* 'to whip, to flap', Br.d. *xvastac'* 'to eat', Ukr. *xvóstati* 'to snap the whip; to lash (about rain)', ORuss. *xvostati* 'to whip', Russ. *xvostát'* 'to whip, to swish'

Bulg. *xvošč* 'horsetail', Sln. *hvôšč* 'horsetail; bunch of straw', Cz.d. *chvošť* 'horsetail', LS *chość*, Br. *xvošč*, Ukr. *xvišč*, Russ. *xvošč* 'id.'

Other derivatives: OCz. *chvostišče* 'broom', US *chośćo* 'rod', perhaps even Sln. *hôst(a)* 'wood' (Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 200)

Rec.:
The basic form is PS **xvostъ* with the prevailing meaning 'tail', yet the original meaning seems to be rather 'rod, birch' (according to Machek 1968: 211 'the birch used in the bath'), surviving as a relic in Plb. and some derivatives. The meaning 'tail' is clearer if assumed to be secondary (regarding the secondariness of expressions denoting 'tail' see Sławski 1952: I, 93). The question of the primariness of the noun or the verb will be discussed below.

Et.:
1. PS **xvostati* of an onom. origin
It is possible to agree with Machek (1968: 211) who regards **xvostъ* as a deverbative from **xvostati*. The verb, though less attested in Slav. languages than the noun, has broader semantics than only 'to flap with a tail' or 'to birch, to cane', and the deverbative formation is more plausible in the case of meanings like 'tail' or 'birch'. Moreover, the verb can be ranked among other similar onomatopoeic words such as **xlastati/*xlestati/*xlostati*, **xvistati*, possibly also **xvastati*. Machek's comparison

with Lat. *quatere* 'to shake, to beat' could only be accepted as an example of the 'elementary', onomatopoeic relationship.

2. PS **xvostъ* ~ MHG *queste, quast* 'tuft of sprigs or leaves, broom'
The striking closeness of the Slav. and Gmc. words (cf. also Swed. *qvast*, Norw., Dan. *kost* 'tuft of leaves, wicker broom'; OHG *questa* means, however, 'apron of leaves to cover up the private parts', EWD: 1068) leads to suspicion of borrowing, either from Gmc. to Slav. (e.g. Uhlenbeck 1891: 486; Machek 1930: 107; as against Berneker 1908–1913: I, 409), or from Slav. to Gmc. (Machek 1968: 211; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 207). Most authors, however, admit the cognation of Slav. and Gmc. words, although the mutual relationship is not clear (cf. in particular Sławski 1952: I, 93 who adds also OPr. *twaxtan* 'small birch to the bath' which is also mentioned by Bezlaj: l.c.; further Endzelin 1911: 127; Machek 1939: 214; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 232; Schuster-Šewc 1978: 398). The IE base would be **guos-to-* from **gues-* 'branches, greenery' (Pokorny 1959: 480). Gmc. words, however, can also be deduced from **guos-do-* whose continuation is probably Slav. **gvozdъ* 'forest', further complicating the mutual relationship.

Ev.: **A- A- B   B++   g-**

Other explanations are less plausible. ESSJa: 8, 134 starts from **xvot-to-* and connects the word with **xvatati* which does not satisfy semantically. Worthy of mention is Jakobson's (1959: 274) connection of the word with the wide range of words in **xvo-, *xva-, *xve-, *xou-, *xy-* with the meanings 'to swing, to throw, to catch etc.', which only illustrates the semantic specificities and mutual interconnections of the words in *x-* with consequent difficulties in etymologization. Regarding further literature see ESSJa and Vasmer: l.c.

XЪVЪZЪ, XЪVЪTЪ

Sln.d. *habeza* 'Sambucus ebulus', Slk. *chabz, chabza, chabzda* 'elder', LS *chabźe* 'brushwood, bushes; Sambucus ebulus', Pol. (older) *chabaź, chabuź* 'weeds', Ukr.d. *xabúz* 'weed grass', *xabáz* 'brushwood, wicker', *xabz, xabza* 'elder', *xóbza* 'Sambucus ebulus'

Bulg.d. *abúd* 'Sambucus ebulus', S./Cr. *ápta* 'id.', S./Cr.d. and older *habad, hàbat, hápta, habd*, Sln. *habât, habet, hebat, hebed* et al. 'id.', Cz. (older) *chebd, chebdí*, OPol. *chebd, chbed* 'id.', Pol.d. *chebda* 'grass', *chepta* 'weed grass', OPol. *chipta* 'id.', Russ. d. *xobóta* 'husk'

Sln. *hobôtje* 'algae', Cz.d. *chabdí* 'brushwood, bushes', Pol.d. *habudzie* 'weed grass', Russ. *xabazina* 'pole, stick' et al.

Rec.:
The reconstruction of the original form is impossible; the word has been changed by a number of irregular processes, in particular by contamination. Besides the forms with an initial *xъ-*, it is also possible to reconstruct – even more frequently – *xa-* (cf. Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 189, according to ESSJa: 8, 136 just these forms have risen by contamination). The structure of most formations is opaque (Martynov 1968: 129 speaks about

a contaminated suffixation). While the suffix -ъtъ is found in Slav. (derivatives with -d- are perhaps due to the assimilation of voice), -z-suffixation is unknown. Therefore, a contamination with the word for 'elder' (*bъzъ* et al.) is presumed. The point at issue is words' relation to the group of words from *xab-* denoting 'twig, switch etc.' (see XABITI); their etymological relationship is often supposed (Sławski 1952: I, 58; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 213, Machek 1939: 139).

Semantically, a common denominator is 'weed plants, bushes'. Remarkably specific is a meaning 'elder Sambucus ebulus' represented in all languages where the expression exists.

Et.:
The plausibility of etymologies – in particular the phonological reconstruction – goes beyond our criteria in this case; therefore, the probability of respective explanations will not be evaluated.

1. A relatively acceptable view is that the group of words around *xъbъtъ* and *xabina* is related to a group around the verb *xabiti* 'to destroy, to spoil' compared with Lith. *skóbti* 'to turn sour' (Sławski: l.c.). The initial meaning would have been 'something bad, useless'. Since PS *xabina*, Cz. *cháb* etc. mean 'twig, switch etc.' without any negative connotations, I suggest there is a direct connection with Lith. *skabýti* 'to tear, to scrape' in this case (similarly, although with a different basic reconstruction Schuster-Šewc 1978: 372). Both Lith. words are considered to be cognates, the base is IE *skabh-* 'to cut, to scrape' (Fraenkel 1962–1965: 812). The splitted polysemy then could have been one of the sources of meaning contaminations. Word-formation processes stay unexplained, but we can count on a contamination with PS *bъzъ* 'elder'. The connection of the discussed words with *xobotъ*, assumed by Berneker 1908–1913: I, 175 and Vasmer: l.c., is questionable.

2. Machek (1939: 139) connects Slav. *chabina, chabъtъ* etc. with an isolated Lith. *kèbti* 'to grow around, to become covered', which semantically accounts only for a part of Slav. material. Word-formation problems remain the same as in the previous exposition.

3. Martynov (1968: 129) directly compares PS (North-Slav.) *xab-bъzъ* with Lat. *sambūcus* 'elder' provided that it is from *sab-būkos < *sab-būgos. To support this phonologically somewhat hazardous etymology he quotes Lat. *sabīna* 'thuja' as an equivalent of Slav. *xabina*, which lacks conviction semantically. The connection of Lat. *sambūcus* with *bъzъ* was assumed by Machek (1968: 53) as well, but, curiously enough, he did not give thought to this possible explanation of Slav. *xabъzъ* etc. although he changed his view on this word several times.

4. ESSJa (l.c.) reconstructs parallel PS *xъbuzъ/*xъbъzъ* and *xъbъtъ*, which consist of 'an expressive prefixal element' *xъ- and PS *buzъ, *bъzъ (cf. Cz. *bez*, Russ. *buzína* 'elder') or *bъtъ (cf. Russ. *bótva* 'tops') respectively. This is very implausible, particularly for the latter form because PS *bъtъ is semantically very remote from the putative derivatives. Also, the fact that the meaning 'elder' is evenly distributed among forms with -z- and -t- (in South Slav. -t- forms actually predominate) speaks against a mere contamination of both semantically different bases. Moreover, the prefix *xъ- is

unusual; it would perhaps be more appropriate – considering the given Slav. material – to reconstruct a prefixal *xa-, which ESSJa uses in other instances (e.g. *xamordъ*). This modification, however, does not make this etymology less tenuous.

There are other explanations, mostly considering a borrowing of Slav. words (cf. Machek 1968: 197).

XЪLBITI (SĘ), XЪLPITI (SĘ)

Bulg.d. *xălbam* 'to blow (about wind)', Slk. *chlúbiť sa* 'to boast', Cz. *chlubit se*, Pol. *chlubić się* alongside *chełpić się*, Pol. older also *chełbić się*, Slnc. *chʊłpić są* 'id.', Russ.d. *xolpít'* 'to blow gently'

Rec.:
The PS form split – versions with -b- and -p- are almost evenly distributed. If we accept that the West Slav. material is a cognate with Bulg. and Russ. words, the initial meaning will probably be 'to swell (up), to bloat' (cf. a similar motivation for Cz. *pyšný* 'proud' etc.).

Et.:
1. PS *xъlbiti (sę), *xъlpiti (sę) of an onom. origin
Because of the character of the word and its fluctuating form, an onom. origin is the most plausible. A semantic transition would be 'to swell (up)' → 'to boast' (see above).

2. PS *xъlbiti (sę) ~ Lith. *gul̃binti* 'to praise, to celebrate'
This connection is both phonologically and semantically quite acceptable. The main inconvenience of Lith. *gul̃binti* is its isolation (only attested in Juškevič's dictionary from the end of 19th cent., dropped also by Fraenkel 1962–1965). Germanic forms (OHG *gelph* 'bragging', OE. *gielpan* 'to boast') from IE *ghelbh-, *ghelb- 'to cry, to shout' can be added (Machek 1939: 198 and 1968, 200; Pokorny 1959: 428; Illič-Svityč 1961: 96–97), but they are formally more remote.
Ev.: **B- A B**   **_B+_**   g-

3. PS *xъlbiti (sę) ~ Lith. *skélbti* 'to announce, to proclaim'
Another Slav.-Balt. equation (Brückner 1927: 178; Machek 1930: 73; Holub – Kopečný 1952: 140) which is, however, semantically and formally more remote. Lith. word is probably based on IE *skel- 'to shout, to yell' (Pokorny 1959: 550).
Ev.: **C B A**   **_B_**   sk-

XЪRPA, XЪRBA, XЪRBЪ

S./Cr. *hrbut* 'a kind of cornflower', Slk. (older) *chrpa* 'cornflower' , OCz. *chrpa, charpa*, Cz. *chrpa*, Cz.d. *charpa* and *charba* 'id.', Pol. *chaber* 'cornflower Centaurea cyanus'

Rec.:
The PS form is less transparent – its reconstruction is usually based on the doublet *xъrb-, *xъrp-. Pol. *chaber* is explained by a metathesis of consonants and an association

with the family of Slav. *xab-* (cf. ХЪВЪТЪ). This is an interesting S./Cr.-Cz.-Slk.-Pol. isogloss with a specific botanical meaning; cf., however, also S./Cr. *hrb* 'a kind of plant', S./Cr. isolated *harbuda* 'a kinf of grass', Pol. *charp* 'weed' which implies a broader original meaning 'a weed plant'.

Et.:
PS **xъrba, chъrpa* ~ IE **skerb(h)-, *skerp-* 'to cut'
Of the few negotiable etymologies, I prefer this connection, which is based on the broad meaning of the IE root. ESSJa (8, 146) derives **xъrb-* from **(s)kъrb-* referring to the broad negative semantics of these roots (cf. e.g. Bulg. *xărbel* 'chipped bowl, notch, nick' alongside *ščărbel* 'notch, nick', S./Cr.d. *(h)rbina* 'chip of glass' beside OCS *črěp* 'id.' etc.), which is understandable when denoting weedy grasses. The motivation of the term can be based on the connection of 'weedy grass' and 'sharp' (cf. Cz. *ostřice* 'sedge' from *ostrý* 'sharp'); on the other hand, the characteristic shape of blue, deeply indented blooms of the plant Centaurea (cornflower) offers another interpretation (cf. Lith. *skiřpstas* 'a kind of elm' from the same IE root stemming from deeply indented leaves). Alternating *-b-* and *-p-* in the root have parallels elsewhere (e.g. Latv. *škerbala* a *škerpele* 'splinter' (Pokorny1959: 943–945).
Ev.: B C B 　　　　*B--* 　　　　　　　　*sk-*
Implausible is Machek's connection with OE. *curmelle* (Machek 1968: 206–207) and the alleged Primitive European origin; most other dictionaries consider the word unclear.

XЪRTЪ

Bulg. *xrăt*, Mac. *'rt*, S./Cr. *hřt*, Sln. *hřt*, Slk., Cz. *chrt*, US *chort*, LS, Pol. *chart*, Slnc. *χart*, Br., Ukr., Russ. *xort*, all 'greyhound'

Rec.:
The formal and semantic sides of the PS form are clear. The Russ. word-connection *chortyj pes* together with a *t*-suffix typical of participles show that the word may have originally been an adjective (ESSJa: 8, 148).

Et.:
1. PS **xъrtъ* ~ OInd. *sṛta-* 'hunting'
This etymological connection (Martynov 1968: 137; Moszyński 1957: 136) supposes that the Slav. word is a *t*-participle from an unattested verb, corresponding with OInd. *sárati* '(he) flows, hurries, pursues, hunts' (part. *sṛta-*) from IE **ser-* 'to flow, to move fast'. A supporting argument for this hypothesis is found in parallel participial forms with *-l-* attested in OSerb. *chrъlъ* 'fast', S./Cr. *hrö* 'id.' (Martynov 1968: l.c.) and perhaps also Cz. *chrleti* 'to hurry' (Machek 1968: 206). A weakness of this etymology is that it is only based on a specific connection with OInd., a further IE relationship is formally and semantically more remote. Martynov later (1983: 49) modified his view to the effect that Slav. **xъrtъ* is a borrowing from an unattested OIran. **hṛta-*correspond-

ing with the above-mentioned OInd. *sṛta-*. The credibility of this etymology, however, is diminished by the unattestedness of the Iran. word.
Ev.: A- B C 　　　*B-* 　　　　　　　　　　*s-*

2. PS **xъrtъ* ~ Lith. *sařtas* 'light-brown, russet (about horse)'
ESSJa (8, 148) starts from a homonymous IE **ser-* 'reddish', first of all from the connection with the above-mentioned Lith. word (Latv. *sārts* means 'red in face'). The argumentation of the authors that dogs are often denoted by means of colors seems to me rather unfounded – particularly in view of the authors' reference to the hitherto unpublished entry **pьsъ* (its intimated motivation by color is implausible). On the other hand, Ger. *Rüde* 'hound', often compared with the present word, may be connected with the word for 'red', although there are also other possibilities (EWD: 1144). With regards to the transfer of the color of dog to horse, ESSJa gives an interesting Russ. *muchórtyj* 'brown, with yellowish spots (about horse)' which is probably a cognate of **xъrtъ*.
Ev.: B C A- 　　　*B-* 　　　　　　　　　　*s-*

Other etymologies are less plausible. A variously interpreted connection with Ger. *Rüde*, OHG *rudo* 'hound', which was popular at one time (Enzelin 1911: 127; Berneker 1908–1913: I, 412; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 268; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 204; Machek 1968: 207) is not usually accepted now (PGmc. form was apparently without an initial **h-*). A connection with PS **skorъ* 'fast' (Brückner 1927: 176; Mladenov 1941: 672) is formally difficult, implausible also is a connection with Lith. *kùrti* 'to run fast' (Machek 1939, 216) whose original meaning was 'to heat' (Fraenkel 1962–1965: 319). Cf. also ESSJa and Vasmer: l.c.

XYBATI

Sln. *híbati* 'to reproach, to scold', Slk. *chýbať* 'to feel a deficiency, to lack', OCz. *chybati* 'to doubt', Cz.d. *chybať* 'to throw', Cz.d. *chybat* 'to lack', LS (older) *chiblaś* 'to roll (when walking)', Pol.d. *chybać* 'to run, to rush; to swing, to rock', Pol. *chybnąć* 'to move, to rock; to start running', Ukr. *xybáty* 'to swing, to sway', Russ.d. *xibát'* 'id.'

S./Cr. (isol.) *hiba* 'mistake', Sln. *híba*, Slk., Cz. *chyba* 'id.' (OCz. 'misgiving'), US *chiba* 'except (for)', LS *chyba* 'mistake', OPol. *chyba* 'id.', Pol. *chyba* 'perhaps; unless', Ukr. *xýba* 'mistake', Russ.d. *xiba* 'fence sitter'

OCz. *chybĕti* 'to lack', US *chibjeć* 'to make mistake', Ukr.d. *xybíty* 'to lack'

Rec.:
There is no reason to separate the meanings 'deficiency, mistake' and 'to sway, to swing' (Machek 1930: 93f. did so, but he revised his view later). We should start from the verb **xybati* 'to swing, to vacillate', from here **xyba* 'doubt, misgiving, mistake' and other derived meanings 'to make a mistake etc.' (in details Machek 1968: 211; unconvincingly regarding the semantic development Brückner 1923: 233 and 1927: 188; Holub – Kopečný 1952: 145). An important question is the relationship of **xybati* and **šibati* 'to whip, to throw' in view of a number of parallel formations: e.g. Cz.d. *chybat'* 'to throw' – Pol. *szybać*, Ukr. *šybaty* 'id.', Pol. *chybki* – *szybki* 'quick', Cz., OPol. *chyba*

'mistake'– Russ. *ošíbka* 'id.', Sln.d. *hiba* 'stalk; a kind of beech' – *šiba* 'a kind of beech', Pol. *chybać* 'to swing, to rock' – Sln. *šibiti* 'id.'. Most authors (e.g. ESSJa: 8, 154; Holub – Kopečný 1952: l.c.; Sławski 1952: I, 94; Bezlaj 1976–2005: IV, 193) recognize an etymological connection of both etymons, but I cannot see any reliable phonological explanation for this.

Et.:

1. PS **xybati* ~ Lith. *siubuóti* 'to swing', Latv. *šaubities* 'to doubt', *šaubas* 'misgivings'

My preferred etymology is a connection with Baltic words which perfectly reflect the semantics of Slav. family and formally differ – if disregarding the initial alternation – only by ablaut (cf. Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 193). Fraenkel (1962–1965: 787 and 779) derives the Lith. word from *siaũbti* 'to rage' and further from IE **seu(e)-* whose other variant is **suei-* (see XVĚJATI). For Latv. words, Karulis (1992: II, 342) – perhaps more appropriately – assumes a formal development **šaub-* < Balt. **siaub-* < IE **seub-* and further from IE **seu-* 'to bend, to twist, to set in motion' (Pokorny 1959: 914; LIV: 487 reconstructs **seuH₁* 'to drive, to keep in motion'). A semantic development towards the meanings 'to swing, to sway' and 'to throw' is indeed conceivable; the difference in ablaut (Balt. **seu-* : PS **sū-*) was mentioned above.

Ev.: **B   A-   A**   *A/B*   s-

2. PS **xybati* ~ OInd. *kšúbhyati, kšóbhate* '(he) totters', Av. *xšaob-* 'get excited'

This connection is usually taken for granted in the etymological literature (Berneker 1908–1913: I, 412; Pokorny 1959: 625; Machek 1968: 211; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 234; Sławski 1952: I, 95; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 193; LIV: 332 et al.), yet I consider it less plausible than the previous one. Its main shortcoming is the isolation of the Slav.- Indo-Iranian parallel. Also, the semantic side seems to correspond less than in the case of Balt. **siaub-*. Some scholars try to match Baltic and Indo-Iranian words on the premise that **ks- > s-* in Baltic, but this lacks evidence. The form *subóti* 'to swing, to rock' which is sometimes quoted in this context (Berneker: l.c. and after him Sławski: l.c. and Vasmer: l.c.) is not a real form, there is only Lith. *siubóti*. Another attempt to extend the family of IE **kseubh-* is found in ESSJa: 8, 154 (see below).

Ev.: **A-   A-   B-**   *B+*   ks-

3. PS **xybati* ~ PS **skubati* 'to jerk, to pull out', Lith. *skùbti* 'to hurry', Ger. *schieben* 'to push', Goth. *af-skiuban* 'to push away'

The connection with this family was introduced by Brückner (1923: 233 and 1927: 188) who compared Lith. *skub(r)ùs* 'quick' with Pol. *chybki* 'id.'. ESSJa (8, 154) attempts to combine this explanation with the previous one on the assumption of a variant root **skeubh-/*kseubh-*. It is true that meanings 'to swing, to rock' on the one side, and 'to hurry', 'to push', 'quick' etc. on the other side are quite close (the initial meaning being 'to set in motion'), and we certainly find numerous parallels such as this. Nevertheless, I would rather reject the connection of both roots, because the family of IE **skeub(h)-* seems to be semantically based elsewhere (Pokorny 1959: 955, LIV: 507), and transitive meanings that would justify this solution are missing. It follows from this that even the connection of **xybati* itself with the family of IE **skeubh-*

produces formal and semantic difficulties (such as unattested original **xubti* and the existence of parallel **skubati* in the meaning 'to jerk, to pull out').

Ev.: **B-   B   A-**   **B**   sk-

4. PS **xybati* ~ PS **gybati*

Machek (1930: 95 and 1939: 194) assumes an expressive transformation of PS **gybati* (cf. also Holub – Kopečný 1952: 145). This is usually rejected (Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 324, Sławski 1952: I, 95), though there are actually no formal and semantic obstacles of this connection.

XYLITI (SĘ)

Bulg.d. *xíli sa* 'to bare one's teeth (about horse)', S./Cr. (older) *hiliti* 'to oppress, to squeeze', Sln. *híliti* 'to bend; to squint', OCz. *chýliti (sě)* 'to tilt to one side, to incline', Cz. *chýlit (se)* 'id.', Slk. *chýliť* 'to incline', US *chylić*, LS *chyliś* 'id.', OPol. *chylić się* 'to fall, to go down, to lean', Pol. *chylić* 'to lean, to incline', Slnc. *chilec*, Br. *chilíc'*, Ukr. *xylýty*, Russ. *xilít', xílit'* 'id.'

S./Cr. (older) *hiljati* 'to wrink', Slk.d. *chil'ac śe* 'to lean', US *chileć (so)*, LS *chylaś (se)* 'id.', OPol. *chylać się* 'to fall, to go down', Pol. *chylać* 'to lean, to incline', Slnc. *χilac* 'id.', Br. *xiljácca* 'to tilt, to totter', Ukr. *xyljáty* 'to swing', Russ.d. *xilját'sja* 'to swing, to rock'

Bulg. *xilen* 'worried', Sln. (older) *hil* 'bent, curved back', Cz.d. *chylý* 'inclined', Pol. *chyły* 'wobbly, inclined', Br. *xíly* 'bending', Russ. *xílyj* 'weak, infirm'

S./Cr. (older) *huliti se* 'to bend', Sln. *húliti* 'to bend, to incline', Slk. *chúliť sa* 'to cower, to huddle', Cz. *choulit se* 'id.', *choulostivý* 'delicate, (over)sensitive'

Rec.:
The verbs are usually considered to be derived from the adjective **xylъ* (ESSJa: 8, 156; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 236 et al.), which is tentatively interpreted as the *l*-participle from an unattested original verb. The semantic closeness of **xybati* raises a question of the relationship of both verbs. Also questionable is the relationship of **xyliti* and **xula* (see XYBATI, XULA). The initial meaning of **xylъ* is apparently 'bent, inclined'.

Et.:
1. PS **xyliti, *xuliti* ~ PS *kuliti* 'id.' < IE **keu-* 'to incline, to bend'
This connection is considered the most plausible by some authors (Machek 1939: 170; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 193 and 206; Sławski 1952: I, 95), because it can be supported by variant **kuliti (se)* 'id.' attested in Pol., Br., Ukr. Other similar words are quoted in this context as well – Sln.d. *čúliti* 'to twitch ears', S./Cr. *ćúliti* 'id.', Sln. *šul, šúlav* 'with stunted ears', Ukr.d. *čula* 'short-ear sheep' – which are supposed to document various reflexes of IE **keu-/*xeu-* and **kou-/*xou-* 'to bend' (Bezlaj: l.c.). Gluhak (1993: 608) puts also Cr. *škíljiti* 'to squint' here (cf. Sln. *híliti* 'id.'), and starts from **(s)keu-*. This is probably also what ESSJa (8, 158) is getting at when referring to PS **skula* (details will probably be given there). IE parallels with *l*-extension do not exist.

Ev.: **C   A   B**   **B**   k-

2. PS *xyliti ~ IE *geu- 'to bend'
Schuster-Šewc (1978: 381) bases his etymology – in keeping with his conception then – on IE *(s)geu- 'to bend' (s-mobile would have only been in Slav., however), which might be a voiced variant of *keu-. The l-derivatives that he quotes, however, have the explicit meaning 'something round, bulge and suchlike' (cf. also Pokorny 1959: 396f.), which does not correspond much with the meanings of Slav. words. Also, Machek (1930: 95) starts from *geu- regarding *chyliti* and *chynǫti* as special formations from the root *gyb- 'to bend' from which he has derived *chybati* as well.
Ev.: **C A- B**   **B-**   g-

3. PS *xyliti ~ IE *seu- 'to bend'
If we start from the initial meaning 'to bend', another IE synonymous root should be mentioned, namely *seu- (Pokorny 1959: 914) which also figured in the exposition of Slav. *xybati. Thus, both these verbs with noticeable semantic correspondences could be connected. On the other hand, we do not have any examples of l-suffixation from this root, and the clarification of formal relations would be rather speculative anyway. See also XYTATI 3.
Ev.: **C- A B**   **B-**   s-

Connections with isolated Alb. (Berneker 1908–1913: I, 413; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 237) or Greek words (Machek 1968: 212; Petersson 1914: 362) are unconvincing, see also ESSJa: 8, 158.

XYNITI

OCS *xyniti* 'to deceive', S./Cr. (older) *hiniti* 'to deceive, to pretend', Sln. *hiniti* 'id.', Russ.d. *xínit', xinít'* 'to reprove, to rebuke, to criticize'

Rec.:
The common semantic base of the South Slav. and Russ. words is hard to find. The meanings are so different that it is reasonable to doubt their etymological identity.

Et.:
1. PS *xyniti ~ PS *xyliti, *xylъ
The major asset of this traditional connection (Berneker 1908–1913: I, 413; Il'jinskij 1916: 106; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 238; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 193) is a broad semantic base 'to bend, to incline', from which the above-mentioned semantic divergence can be explained (Russ. *xínit'* then semantically corresponds with *xulit'* which is usually connected with *xyliti* as well). The other meaning 'to deceive' is close to two other words with *xy-*, namely *xybati* 'to swing, to vacilliate' and *xytati* 'to catch' (cf. Lith. *apgáuti* 'to deceive', Lat. *decipere* 'id.' which are derived from the respective words meaning 'to catch'); the mutual interconnection of all these words is then in question (cf. exposition 3 for the following entry).

2. PS *xyniti 'to deceive, to pretend' ~ IE *skeu- 'to cover'
This explanation is preferred by ESSJa (8, 157), Snoj (1997: 169) and Gluhak (1993: 260). The initial IE form would have been *skū-n- which can be compared with

OInd. *skunāti* '(he) covers', OIcel. *skaun(n)* 'shield' et al. Unconvincing, however, is the construction of the semantic development 'to cover sth' → 'to pretend, to deceive' (Snoj: l.c.): such a transition of meaning does not have a parallel in this root and can hardly be regarded as persuasive (Cz. *pokrytec* 'hypocrite' from *pokrýt* 'to cover' is not an argument, because it came into being through folk etymology). The Russ. word would then probably have to be separated.
Ev.: **B C- B**   **B/C**   sk-

XYTATI

OCS *xytati* 'to catch', Bulg.d. *xítam* 'to hurry', Mac. *ita* 'id.', S./Cr. *hȉtati* 'to cach, to hurry, to throw', Sln. *hítati* 'to catch, to throw', *hítati se* 'to hurry', Slk. *chytať* 'to catch', Cz. *chytat* 'id.', US d. *chitać* 'to throw', LS *chytaś* 'id.', OPol. *chytać* (Pol. *chwytać*) 'to catch', Br.d. *xitác* 'to swing, to rock', Ukr. *xytáty*, Russ.d. *xitát'* 'id.', alongside Russ.d. *xítit'* 'to take, to steal'

OCS *xytrъ* 'clever, skillful, zealous', Bulg. *xítar* 'crafty, ingenious', Mac. *itar* 'clever, agile, crafty', S./Cr. *hȉtar* 'quick', Sln. *híter* 'id.', Sln. older also 'crafty', Slk. *chytrý* 'quick, clever', Cz. *chytrý* 'clever', US *chĕtry* 'quick, extensive', LS *chytšy* 'capable, truthful; nice, good, lively; wily', Slnc., Cass. *chitri, chĕtri* 'clever, cunning', Pol. *chytry* 'cunning, wily', Pol.d. 'clever; quick; hungry, greedy', Br. *xitry* 'cunning', Ukr. *xýtryj* 'cunning, clever', Ukr.d. also 'quick', Russ. *xítryj* 'cunning, crafty, skilful'

Rec.:
Xytati has been connected with *xvatati* (for details see XVATATI). The East Slav. forms with a specific meaning are sometimes separated and regarded as t-intensives from *xybati (ESJS: 4, 233), which seems to be plausible, nonetheless, there are certain semantic connections between both verbs. For *xytati and *xvatati we have to start from the meaning 'to do quick moves', to 'to grasp sth quickly' or 'to throw', and then to 'to hurry etc.'.
    The adj. *xytrъ is viewed as a derivative from *xytati by the vast majority of etymologists. Its basic meanings faithfully reflect the original semantics of the verb – 'grasping quickly', then 'quick-witted, clever' and 'quick in motion' (the second two meanings are incomprehensibly separated by Machek1968: 212). Machek's objection is that the nonproductive suffix -rъ does not couple with new verbal formations, particularly not with intensives. However, this can be rebuffed by the fact that the secondariness of *xytati (perhaps except East Slav. forms) is uncertain. Machek's suggested relationship with Lith. *giùdras, gudrùs* 'clever, wise, cunning' can be accepted only if we accept the etymological connection of *xytati with Lith. *gáuti* 'id.' at the same time (see below).

Et.:
1. PS *xytati, *xvatati of an onom. origin
In the absence of satisfactory etymological connections it is possible to think about an onomatopoeic (interjectional, imitative) origin (Zubatý 1945: 167, after him hesitatingly Sławski 1952: I, 94; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 194; ESJS: 4, 233). Machek (1968: 210) only applies this explanation to *xvatati (he separates *xytati and even Cz. *chvátat*

'to hurry'), which is in his view a *t*-intensive from an imitative root **xvap-*, rhyming with *chap-, lap-, chňap-*, all of them expressing similarly swift motions.

2. PS **xytati* 'to catch' ~ Lith. *gáuti*, Latv. *gūt* 'id.'

This connection introduced by Machek (1939: 199 and 1968: 212) is usually rejected on phonological grounds (Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 230; Sławski: l.c., ESSJa: 8, 160; Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 194), although – if disregarding the initial consonant – the main problem lies in the extension of the Slav. verb by a formant *-ta-* (in Machek's view an intensive). The Balt. verbs are most likely based on IE **geu-* 'to bend'. Karulis (1992: I, 328) assumes a semantic development 'to bend' → 'to bend an arm' → 'to grasp, to catch'.

Ev.: C- A- A   **_B_**   *g-*

3. PS **xytati* ~ Lith. *siaũsti* 'to wrap (up), to surround; to rage, to roister; to throw with a swing; to fan (grain)', Latv. *šaust* 'to beat, to whip', Ger. *sieden* 'to boil'

As an alternative, I suggest a connection of **xytati* with the above-mentioned Balt. verbs. The meanings of Slav. and Balt. words intersect in 'to throw', but the rest is also quite compatible, based on the initial meaning 'to move quickly'. Other relationships are not self-evident. LIV: 489 only connects the Balt. evidence with Gmc. verb 'to seethe' and reconstructs IE **seut-* 'to boil, to seethe'. Pokorny (1959: 914) views the original meaning a little more broadly as 'to seethe, to be in a swift motion' and also adds Russ. *šutit'* 'to joke' (cf. also Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 491, EWD: 1290) which would decrease the probability that **xytati* belongs to this family. On the other hand, Karulis (1992: II, 343) starts from IE **seu-* 'to bend, to twist, to set in motion' (but LIV: 487 has **seuH₁* 'to drive, to keep in motion') which was also discussed s.v. XYBATI and XYLITI. If I have pointed out some semantic correspondences between Slav. verbs with *xy-* (see also Rejzek 1995), I should notice also that Baltic verbs derived from IE **seu-* display correspondences of their own and even with similar formants – cf. Lith. *siaũbti* 'to ravage, to rage', *siaũsti* (see above) and perhaps also Latv. *šaulis* 'fool'. The whole matter is rather complicated and requires an original study.

Ev.: C B- A   **_B-_**   *s-*

ESSJa (8, 123) prefers old Vaillant's etymology of **xvatati, *xytati* from the IE pronominal root **sue-* ('to grasp' as if from 'to appropriate') (Vaillant 1946: 44) which I find unconvincing.

ŠALITI

S./Cr., Sln. *šáliti se* 'to joke', Slk. *šialiť* 'to delude', Cz. *šálit* 'id.', OCz *šieliti* 'to drive mad', Br. *šalíc'* 'to frolic, to fool around', Ukr. *šalíty*, Russ. *šalít'* 'id.'

Bulg.d. *šalja se* 'to be crazy', Slk. *šaliet'* 'to be mad', Cz *šílet*, Pol. *szaleć*, Br. *šaléc'*, Russ. *šaléť* 'id.'

Bulg. *šala* 'mischief', S./Cr., Sln. *šála* 'joke', Slk. *šiaľ* 'illusion, mistake', Pol. *szał* 'excitement, madness', Russ. *šal'* 'mischievousness; fury'

Rec.:
As early as PS we obviously have to deal with two verbs – intransitive **šalěti* 'to be mad, crazy' and transitive **šaliti* 'to drive sb mad, to infatuate' (Machek 1939: 184 and 1968: 601). There is no reason to separate the meanings 'to infatuate' and 'to deceive' as Machek does, although defining the original meaning is difficult. A connection with Russ. *naxál* 'impudent fellow' et al. is plausible.

Et.:
1. PS **šaliti* (< **xēl-*) 'to delude, to drive mad' ~ Gr. κηλέω '(I) bewitch, deceive, excite', Goth. *hōlōn* 'to slander', OIcel. *hōla* 'to praise, to boast', OHG *huolen* 'to cheat'

The connection with the Gr. word seems to be formally and semantically the most plausible (Machek 1968: 601; Holub – Kopečný 1952: 367; Martynov 1968: 120). The Gmc. words differ in ablaut, formally even more remote is Lat. *calvī, calvīre* 'to deceive, to equivocate'. The IE base is **kelH₁* 'to delude, to pretend, to deceive' (Pokorny 1959: 551; LIV: 312). Since the evidence is only from centum languages, it is theoretically possible to reconstruct IE **k'elH₁* (Martynov: l.c.).

Ev.: B A- B   **_B+_**   *k-(k'-)*

2. PS **šaliti* ~ IE **skēl-* 'to cut'

This connection (Mladenov 1941: 691; Gluhak 1993: 602) is unsatisfactory both from the phonological (a lengthened grade of this root does not occur in verbs) and from the semantical viewpoint (the semantic base is too broad, and the semantic parallel based only on S./Cr. phraseological connection *dobro mu je odrezao* is insufficient).

Ev.: C C A   **_B--_**   *sk-*

3. PS **šala, *šalь* 'joke, mischief' ~ Arm. χał 'game', Gr. χάλις 'turbulent, furious'

An unconvincing old connection based on an initial **gh-* or directly reckoning with the IE velar spirant (Il'jinskij 1916: 155; Petersson 1914: 167; Merlingen 1959: 60; Illič-Svityč 1961: 97) clashes particularly with the unclear etymological background of Arm. and Gr. words

Ev.: B B C-   **_B/C_**   *gh-*

ŠĚRЪ/SĚRЪ, ŠĚDЪ, SĚDЪ

OCS *sěrъ* 'grey', Bulg. *ser*, Serb. *sêr*, Cr. *sijêr* 'id.', Sln. *sêr* 'grey, light', Slk., Cz. *šerý* 'poorly lit, dim', US *šěry* 'grey', LS *šery*, Pol. *szary*, Br. *šéry*, Ukr. *síryj*, Russ. *séryj* 'id.'

OCS *sědъ*, Serb. *sêd*, Cr. *sijêd*, Sln. (older) *sêd*, Slk., Cz. *šedý, šedivý*, US *šědžiwy*, Cass. *šady*, Pol. *szady*, Ukr. *sidýj*, Russ. *sedój*, all 'grey'

Rec.:
A different initial in West Slav. languages in contrast with East Slav. and South Slav. unambiguously points to PS **xěrъ, *xědъ* and the subsequent 2nd palatalization, although some have concluded otherwise (c.f. Pokorny 1959: 541; Večerka 1972: 43f.). The form **xědъ* is usually regarded as secondary, having risen under the influence of formally similar denotations of colors *blědъ, gnědъ, smědъ* (Machek 1968: 604; Vas-

mer 1964–1973: III, 590; Bezlaj 1976–2005: III, 222). Martynov (1968: 146) treats it as an independent word which is a cognate with Lith. *skaidrùs* 'bright, light'. The semantic side is clear.

Et.:
1. PS **xěrъ* ~ OIcel. *harr* 'grey, old', OE. *hār* 'white with age, venerable', E. *hoar*
The closeness of the PS word with Gmc. **haira-* is evident enough to be noticed by an overwhelming majority of etymologists (Martynov 1968: 118; Vasmer 1964–1973: III, 611; Pokorny: l.c.; Skok 1971–1974: III, 232; Machek: l.c.). The Gmc. words are undoubtedly based on IE **k'oi-ro-* (MIr. *cíar* 'dark-brown' from IE **k'ei-ro-* is quoted as another cognate) from **k'ei-* 'dark, grey' from which Slav. *sivъ* 'grey' and *sin'ъ* 'blue' are probably also derived. IE *k'* as a source of PS *x* is not generally recognized, and thus some authors attempt to otherwise delineate the relationship of Slav. and Gmc. words (see below).
Ev.: A   A   B   *A--*   *k'-*

2. PS **xěrъ* ~ IE **(s)k'ei-* 'to shimmer through; glint, shadow'
Gluhak (1993: 547) assumes the Slav. development **skoi- > *ksoi- > *xoi-* and derives words discussed in the previous exposition from IE **(s)k'ei-* which continues e.g. in OCS *sijati* 'to shine, to dawn' and *sěnъ* 'shadow'. Likewise, Machek (1968: 605–606) is not satisfied with the initial IE **k'oiro-*, and adds OIcel. *skaera, skaerr* 'dusk; dawn', Swed. *skär* 'light', Dan. *skoer* 'id.' (Pokorny 1959: 918 has this family under **sk'āi-, *sk'əi-*, and the same root is mentioned by Gluhak, but Machek speaks about **skei-*). Both Pokorny and LIV (494, as **sk'eH(i)-*), however, reconstruct the root with a regular *s-*, not *s*-mobile, which rules out the connection with Gmc. **haira-*. Even the semantic difference between the root **(s)k'ei-* and PS **xěrъ* is significant – the meaning of Cz. *šerý* which is referred to support this equation is obviously secondary, while otherwise Slav. languages concur in the meaning 'grey'.
Ev.: B   B   B   *B*   *sk(')-*

3. PS **xěrъ* ~ Av. *xšaeta-* 'bright, shiny'
Slovenian etymological dictionaries (Bezlaj 1976–2005: III, 229; Snoj 1997: 563) accept this Slav.-Iran. equation presented by Čop 1959. An asset of this etymology would be a regular rise of *x-* from *ks-*. On the other hand, the differences in both the suffix and the meaning, and the isolation of the equation make it less plausible than the others. Moreover, the Av. word probably only yielded to metathesis, and consequently belongs to the root discussed in the previous exposition (see Snoj 1997: 634).
Ev.: B- B B-   *B--*   *ks-*
Other explanations are implausible (cf. Vasmer 1964–1973: III, 611).

ŠESTЬ

OCS *šestь*, Bulg., Mac. *šest*, S./Cr., Sln. *šêst*, Slk. *šesť*, Cz. *šest*, US *šěsć*, LS *šesć*, Plb. *sest*, Pol. *sześć*, Br. *šesć*, Ukr. *šist'*, Russ. *šest'*, all 'six'

Et.:
PS **šestъ* ~ Lith. *šeši*, Goth. *saihs*, Lat. *sex*, W. *chwech*, Av. *xšvaš* etc.
This is the only Slav. word with an original initial *x-* whose etymology is beyond dispute, though the exact parent form is not certain even here. Usually, they reconstruct dialectal IE **ksek's-* as a variant to the preponderant IE **s(u)ek's-* which continues in Balt. (except OPr.), Gmc., Lat., Gr., Celt., Alb., Toch. and OInd. (Pokorny 1959: 1044; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 433). Theoretically, Slav. might go back to the latter form as well (provided that *s > x*), but taking into consideration that the initial *ks-* is also elsewhere (Av. *xšvaš* from IE **ksuek's-*), the form allowing a regular change *ks- > x-* is preferred. Snoj (in Bezlaj 1976: 4, 36) points out that Slav., Balt. and Indo-Ir. forms display the effect of *ruki* rule in anlaut, and explains it by the influence of the previous numeral (**penk", *suek's*). Pedersen (1895: 77) and Arumaa (1986: III, 192f.) assume that *š-* arose by assimilation.
Ev.: A- A   A   *A-*   *ks-*

ŠĚTRITI

Slk. *šetrit'* 'to economize', Slk.d. *šatrit'* 'to look, to observe', OCz. *šetřiti* 'to observe, to heed, to have regard', Cz. *šetřit* 'to investigate; to economize, to spare', Pol.d. *szatrać, szatrzyć, szetrzyć* 'to have regards (?)', *szatrzyć się* 'to steer clear of'

Et.:
1. PS **šetriti* ~ Lith. *skatýtis* 'to have regard, to pay attention', Latv. *skatīt* 'to look at'
This Balto-Slav. equation seems to be the most likely of all the implausible etymologies of this difficult word (Machek: 1968, 606), although there is a difference in ablaut and in *r*-formant in Slav. This suffixal *-r-* is compared with synonymous formations **(s)motriti* and **patriti*. Vasmer (1964–1973: III, 692) derives the former from the unattested adj. **motrъ*, corresponding with Lith. *matrùs* 'watchful' from the underlying *matýti* 'to watch'. The Latv. has an adj. *skatrs* 'lively, merry' whose putative Slav. counterpart could have been the base of the verb. At this stage, however, semantic problems occur. At the synchronic view, the semantic side of the Slav.-Balt. equation seems to be perfect; the Balt. words, however, conceal considerable semantic changes. They are deduced from IE **skeHt-* 'to jump (about)', cf. the primary Lith. *skàsti* 'id.'

(Fraenkel 1962–1965: 798; Karulis 1992: II, 198). The supposed semantic development is 'to jump (about)'→ 'to be lively, agile'→ 'to be watchful, alert' → 'to watch, observe' (Karulis: l.c.). Because of the isolation of the West Slav. word, it is difficult to accept the same exacting semantic development for the Slav.; nonetheless, a certain isolated West Slav. relic of the mentioned root cannot be excluded.

Ev.: C B- A- **B–** sk-

2. PS *šětriti ~ PS *sětiti 'to look at', Lith. *skaitýti* 'to count; to read'
This resourceful connection (Reinhart 2000: 109f.) enables the explanation of two not very etymologically clear words with a complementary distribution in the West Slav. and South Slav.-East Slav. areas respectively (cf. OCS *posětiti* 'to see sb, to visit', Russ. *posetít'* 'id.') from the Early Slav. *xoit- (*r*-extension in West Slav., however, remains unclear). The putative IE root is *kʷei-t- 'to pay attention, to heed' (cf. also xajati) which, however, appears with *s-mobile* in Baltic only and with a rather shifted meaning: Lith. *skaitýti* 'to count, to read' and Latv. *skaitīt* 'to count', *šķist* 'to mean'. On semantic grounds, however, the linking of *šětřiti, *sětiti and the Baltic words together is improbable.

Ev.: C C A- B/C (s)k-

3. PS *šetriti ~ Toch. A *šotre*, Toch. B *šotri* 'sign'
In view of the present little satisfactory explanations of Slav. *šetriti*, I propose this etymological connection. I base it on the fact that the synonymous and structurally similar verbs *patriti and *(s)motriti are probably derived from nominal formations *patrъ and *motrъ (see explanation 1). Such a word-formation base can be also assumed for *šetriti. This basic *šetrъ then could correspond with the cited Toch. words (from IE *sekᵘ-tr-) meaning 'sign, token'; the initial IE root would be *sekᵘ 'to observe, to see; to show', originally 'to scent, to follow' (Pokorny: 897n.; LIV: 475 not very convincingly as 'to join'; the basic meaning 'to follow' seems to be more plausible to me). The meaning of the Slav. verb would then be 'to notice (signs), to observe'. A drawback of the explanation is the poor formal correspondence in Toch. only. See also Čop 1959: 185f. who had the same Slav.-Toch. equation, but different IE connections.

Ev.: B- B C **B/C** s-

Ondruš (1981: 248f.) implausibly connects *šetriti with South Slav. *šetati, šatati 'to walk', and adds opaque Sln. *šatriti 'to walk crooked', Bulg. *šatrja* 'to move'. The basis of the connection to Lith. *šatrijà* 'impetouos, strict woman; witch' (Brückner 1927: 542; Holub – Kopečný 1952: 368) is probably no more than a formal resemblance, also implausible is a borrowing from an unattested Iran. *kšatraya- (Trubačev 1965: 51n.).

ŠĘGA

OCS *šęga* 'joke', Bulg. *šegá* 'id.', Cr. *šéga* 'joke, mockery; custom', Sln. *šéga* 'custom', Sln.d. 'good humour, wit', ORuss. *šega* 'joke'

Rec.:
This word is restricted to the South Slav. area (ORuss. *šega* probably is – in view of the reflex of the nasal – a loan from OCS). The original meaning probably was 'good humour, joke' (Snoj 1997: 630). It is interesting that the words with similar meanings are often etymologically unclear in Slav. languages (cf. South Slav. *šala*, Russ. *šútka*, Sln. *burla*, Cz. *vtip, žert* and *šprým*). Furlan (in Bezlaj 1976–2005: IV, 28) starts from the meaning 'to move quickly' .

Et.:
1. PS *šęga < Turk. *saka* 'joke' or another borrowing
Skok (1971–1974: III, 385) points out that the word can be a borrowing from Turk. The phonetic forms of both words are considerably different, but the limited currency of the Slav. word and the absence of its plausible sources as an autochthonic word force us to allow for this explanation. Slav. material shows that the words which are semantically alike are often loans – cf. Cz. *žert* and *šprým*, both 'joke', which were borrowed from Ger. and underwent certain irregular formal processes (cf. Machek 1968 s.v., Newerkla 2004: 230, 245).

2. PS *šęga ~ Goth. *saggws* 'singing, music, reading', OHG *sang* 'song', Gr. ομφή 'voice, utterance, prophecy', MW. *de(h)ongl* 'to explain', Prak. *samghai* 'to say, to instruct'
As the second choice, I suggest this new explanation from IE *sengᵘh- 'to sing, to foretell' (Pokorny 1959: 906f.; LIV: 481). A formal difficulty is that we would expect an usual *o*-grade in an *ā*-stem abstract noun. As to the semantic difference, one can point at Lat. *iocus* 'joke' (and Lith. *juõkas*, Latv. *joks* 'id.', if they are not borrowings – see Karulis 1992: I, 357) from IE *iek- 'to speak (in particular solemnly or beseechingly)' (Pokorny 1959: 503).

Ev.: C B- B **B/C** s-

3. PS *šęga ~ OIcel. *skakkr* 'crooked', Ger. *hinken* 'to limp', OInd. *khánjati* 'id.'
Mladenov (1941: 693) and Gluhak (1993: 604) start from IE *(s)keng- 'to limp; bent, crooked'. The formal problems are the same like in the previous explanation, but the semantic equation 'joke' = 'something bent' is very unconvincing (cf. Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 421).

Ev.: C C- B **C+** (s)k-

A formally and semantically implausible connection with an extended variant of the IE root *kes- 'to scrape, to comb' (Gr. ξαίνω '(I) scrape, comb, batter', Lat. *sentis* 'thorn-bush') is preferred by Snoj 1997: 630. Furlan (in Bezlaj 1976–2005: 4, 29) suggests the connection with OHG *swingan* 'to swing'.

ŠĘTATI (SĘ)

OCS *šętati sę* 'to roam around', Bulg. *šétam*, Mac. *šeta* 'id.', S./Cr., Sln. (older) *šétati (se)* 'to walk around', OCz. *šátati (sebú)* 'to stagger, to totter', *šatnúti sě* 'to flit' (?), Pol.d. *uszatać się* 'to get tired (by walking etc.)', Ukr. *šatátysja* 'to hang about', ORuss. *šatati sja* 'to wander about', Russ. *šatát'(sja)* 'to wobble, to totter'

Rec.:
The verb is usually reconstructed as PS *šętati (sę) (but Machek 1968: 603 has doubts, and Ondruš 1981: 248–249 reconstructs it alongside with PS *šetati and *šatati).

A common semantic base 'to move to and fro' becomes apparent from the attested meanings.

Et.:

1. PS *šętati (sę) ~ Lith. skàsti (1 sg. pres. skantù) 'to jump', Ger.d. schǫt 'spawn', Lat. scatēre 'to stream, to bubble out; to swarm'

This explanation (Machek 1939: 217; Skok 1971–1974: III, 389; Gluhak 1993: 605; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 413), based on Pre-Slav. *skent-, has to reckon with a nasal infix for Slav. (like in the Lith. present tense), whereas the forms of the putative cognates are based on IE *skeHt- 'to jump (up)' (LIV: 498, similarly Pokorny 1959: 950 'to jump, to bubble out'). The same initial form, i.e. *skent-, is also cited by Mladenov 1941: 693, the connection with Gr. κέντρον 'goad, whip' is, however, semantically unacceptable (regarding IE *k'ent- 'to prick, to stab' cf. Pokorny 1959: 567, LIV: 290). Not even the original meaning 'to jump, to bubble out' is without problems: it means more like a swift motion up and down the vertical axis, whereas the Slav. word denotes closer to longer-lasting motions in the horizontal axis. A broader semantic base '(any) swift motion' can be found in Gmc. words meaning spawn and various kinds of smallish fish (Pokorny 1959: 950) or in OCz. šatnúti sě (whose meaning is uncertain because of its isolation).

Ev.: **C B- A-**   **B--**   *sk-*

2. PS *šętati (sę) ~ Lith. siųsti 'to send', OHG sind 'way', OIr. sét 'id.', Av. hant 'to get to'

At first sight this is an alluring connection which includes IE *sent- 'to go, to head for' (Pokorny 1959: 908 and LIV: 483 without Slav. words; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 413 with admission of initial ks-). However, it encounters more semantic difficulties than the previous explanation. The semantic feature 'heading for a destination', characteristic for IE *sent-, is absent in Slav. (but OCS sęštъ 'clever' probably belongs here).

Ev.: **B- C A-**   **B--**   *s-*

ŠIBATI

OCS šibati 'to whip', Bulg. šíbam 'to whip; to blow sharply', Mac. šiba 'id.', S./Cr. šȉbati 'to switch (with a rod)', Sln. šíbati 'id.', Slk., Cz.d. šibaťʼ 'to switch, to lash', Pol.d. szybać 'to throw', Ukr. šybáty 'id.', Russ. šibátʼ 'to switch; to throw'

S./Cr. šȉba 'rod', Sln. šiba, US šiba, LS šyba 'id.', Pol. szyb 'an object flying with a whistle in the air'

Slk. šibký, Pol. szybki, Br. šýbki, Ukr. šýbkyj, Russ. šíbkij, all 'quick'

Cz. šibenice, US šibjeńca, LS šybjenica, Pol. (older) szybienica, Br. šýbenica, Ukr. šýbenycja, Russ. šíbenica, all 'gallows', originally probably 'a place where offenders were lashed'

OCS ošiti sę, ošibati sę 'to avoid', OCz. ošiti líce 'to slap sb's face' (probably from PS *ošibti), Cz. ošívat se 'to fidget', šít sebou 'to fidget, to be restless'

Rec.:

Besides the all-Slav. (except Sorb.) šibati, some relics in Cz. and the derivative šibenica in the North Slav. languages point to *šibti being primary. The meanings 'to beat, to switch' and 'to throw' should certainly not be separated (as done by Miklosich 1886: 339), for their semantic basis is 'a swift move by hand'. A number of parallel formations with the same meaning indicate the connection with XYBATI (see there).

Et.:

1. PS *šibati, *šibti ~ Lith. siubúoti 'to swing, to vacciliate', Lith. siaũbti 'to rage, to ravage'

This connection with Lith. words looks formally and semantically close, although only a few authors notice it (Brückner 1923: 559; Skok 1971–1974: III, 391). From the synchronical standpoint, Slav. šibati and Lith. siubúoti exactly correspond one to another (like Slav. šiti – Lith. siúti 'to sow'). Nevertheless, the Lith. words are traced back to IE *seuH₁ 'to drive, to keep in motion' (LIV: 487), which could be a good departure point of the Slav. and Balt. meanings, but whereas in Balt. it materializes as siau-, in Slav. it becomes – if we accept the traditional relative chronology in which the monophthongization of diphthongs only follows after PS umlauts – *s'u- and not *siu-; the expected form would then be PS *šubati. To be sure, ESSJa (8, 154, s.v. *xybati) derives *šibati from *xiub- < *ksiub- < *kseub-/*skeub- (see also XYBATI) but this hazardous phonological process is not grounded in any way. The details of the formal relationship of Slav. xybati and šibati and Lith. siubúoti thus remain unclear.

Ev.: **B- B A**   **B+**   *s-(?)*

2. PS *šibati ~ OHG heifti 'fierce, wild', OInd. śíbham 'quick'

Together with Martynov (1968: 122) it is possible to derive the Slav. word from IE *k'ēibh- 'quick, fierce' (Pokorny 1959: 542). The cited root is adjectival, however, whereas in Slav. the verb is undoubtedly primary. Apart from this, one can hardly object to this equation.

Ev.: **B A- B**   **B+**   *k'-*

3. PS *šibati ~ OInd. kšipáti '(he) throws'

Proponents of this widely accepted equation (Pokorny 1959: 625; Machek 1939: 175; Mladenov 1941: 693; Holub – Kopečný 1952: 368; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 435; Skok 1971–1974: 3, 391; Mayrhofer 1956–1980: I, 289; LIV: 333, Snoj in Bezlaj 1976–2005: IV, 40) condone evident sound discrepancies. The difference in the voice perhaps would be surmountable, but – in such an isolated equation – it certainly does not inspire confidence. More troubles appear with adding Av. xšviβra 'quick, agile' and xšvaēβaiiat. aštra 'waving the whip' (Vasmer: l.c.; LIV: l.c; objections by ESSJa: 8, 155; Martynov 1968: 122) which assumes IE *ksueib- and raises the question why u has disappeared in Slav. and Vedic (for some parallels see Snoj in Bezlaj: l.c.). Vasmer and LIV also add Gmc. *swaipa- (cf. OIcel. sveipa 'to throw'; a connection with the Gmc. words is preferred by Machek 1968: 607 also); Pokorny 1959: 1041 and Southern 1999: 86, on the other hand, derive Iran. and Gmc. words from IE *sueib- and also cite Latv. svaipit

'to whip' from IE *sṷeip-. Thus, we are faced with a number of roots with fairly identical meanings, but a considerable diversity in form (*ks-/s-, -ṷ-/-0-, -b/-p*). I conclude that PS *šibati cannot be matched with any of them without considerable phonological difficulties.

Ev.: **B-** *A* **B-**   **B**   *ks-*

ŠIPЪ

OCS *šipъkъ* 'wild rose', Bulg. *šip* 'thorn, prickle, tip', Mac. *šip* 'wild rose', S./Cr. *šîp*, Sln. *šípek* 'id.', Slk., Cz. *šíp* 'arrow', US *šip*, LS *šypa*, Pol. *szyp* 'id.', Pol.d. *szypa* 'quill', Br., Ukr. *šyp* 'thorn, prick, pin', Russ. *šip* 'id.'

Rec.:
The formal reconstruction is without problems; the meanings in Slav. languages, despite some specific developments in respective areas, point to the basic meaning 'something pointed, sharp (thorn, arrow-tip etc.)'.

Et.:
1. PS *šipъ* ~ Lat. *cippus* 'stake, pillar', Alb. *thep* 'peaked rock', OInd. *śḗpa* 'penis'
A formally and semantically acceptable base for the Slav. word is IE *k'eipo-* 'stake, pointed wood or stone' (Martynov 1968: 123; Pokorny 1959: 543 without Slav. word). A certain difference in the character of the denoted objects ('thorn, prickle, quill' × 'stake, stone') is not a problem – the common semantic base is 'something pointed'.

Ev.: *A B B*   **B++**   *k'-*

2. PS *šipъ* ~ PS *ščipati*, Lith. *skiẽpas* 'graft', E. *shiver*, Lat. *scīpiō* 'stick', Gr. σκίπων 'id.'
The Slav. word can also be explained from IE *skeip-*, a labial extension of the root *skei-* 'to cut, to separate' (Brückner 1923: 562; Snoj 1997: 634; Fraenkel 1962–1965: 805). The formal correspondence of the compared Gmc., Gr. and Lat. words is lesser than in the previous explanation (a different auslaut), and the semantic side is less convincing (the meaning 'something split off, cut off'). The closeness of Lat. *scīpiō* and *cippus* may prompt a question if all the above-mentioned words are not cognates (cf. Pokorny 1959: 543 and 922; Southern 1999: 25), but the reconstruction *(s)k'eip-* – however possible for centum languages is – would separate the root from IE *skei-* 'to cut, to separate' which is unlikely. It is better then not to link both groups of words together – *k'eipo-* can be easily deduced from IE *k'ei-* 'to sharpen, to grind', and *skeip-* from *skei-*.

Ev.: *A- C A*   **B+**   *sk-*

Semantically improbable is the connection with OInd. *kšipáti* '(he) throws' (Mladenov 1941: 694; Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 440), further with Gr. ζίφος 'sword' (Machek 1939: 218), which is suspected to be of the Sem. origin, and on chiefly phonological grounds, it is necessary to totally reject the explanation via metathesis from *piskъ* 'quill' (Machek 1968: 609; admitted by Holub – Kopečný 1952: 369).

ŠIR(OK)Ъ

Sln. *šír* 'spacious, broad', Slk. *šíry*, Cz. *širý* 'vast, open', Russ. *širój* 'id.'

OCS *širokъ*, Bulg. *širók*, Mac. *širok*, S./Cr. *širòk*, Sln. *širòk*, Slk., Cz. *široký*, US *šěroki*, LS *šyroki*, Plb. *sarüt'e*, Pol. *szeroki*, Br. *šyróki*, Ukr. *šyrókyj*, Russ. *širókij*, all 'broad, wide'

Rec.:
The primary adj. is *širъ*, and the extension by suffix *-ok-* is the same as is in other spatial adj. (*vysokъ*, *glǫbokъ*, *dalekъ*). The basic meaning 'broad' may have developed from 'open, vast, clear'.

Et.:
PS *širъ* ~ Goth. *skeirs* 'clear', MHG *schir* 'clear, pure', OIcel. *skirr* 'id.', E. *sheer*
The connection with Gmc. words is generally accepted (Brückner 1923: 547; Mladenov 1941: 694; Pokorny 1959: 918; Skok 1971–1974: III, 395; Holub – Kopečný 1952: 369; Martynov 1968: 147; Snoj 1997: 634; with reservations Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 442). The trouble is that Slav. has other adjectives which correspond with Gmc. words more exactly, namely Cz., Slk. *čirý* 'clear, pure', Pol. *szczery* 'pure, genuine', Br. *ščyry*, Ukr. *ščyryj*, Russ. *ščíryj* 'id.'. These words presuppose the initial *skeiro-, *skīro-* (for the Cz.-Slk. branch that is apparently without an *s-*) and not *sk'īro-*, which is usually reconstructed for Gmc. (Pokorny: l.c.; EWD: 1198 et al.). Therefore, some etymologists think about gothisms in Slav. languages, the possibility of which seems to be corroborated by the absence of the word in South Slav. (Uhlenbeck 1893: 492; Kiparski 1934:162; Martynov: l.c.; Pokorny: l.c.; as against Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 508). The etymological relationship, however, is more plausible regardless of the original status of the velar (cf. Snoj: l.c. who admits both variants; we also may reckon with a dispalatallization of *sk'-* in Slav.). In my opinion, *širъ* and *ščirъ/čirъ* are semantically toned doublets with a differentiated anlaut (*x- : (s)k-*) that we know from other similar instances. The question is why and how the original form was differentiated, and also whether or not this differentiation reflects the doublet *sk-/sk'-* (cf. the chapter about Slav. *x-* and IE *sk*).

Reservations about the semantic difference between Slav. *šir(ok)ъ* and Gmc. words recede in the light of remarkable parallel expressions like Cz. *širé pole* and *čiré pole*, Russ. *čisto pole* 'clear field', which point to the semantic development 'clear, open' → 'broad'.

Ev.: *A B B*   **B++**   *sk-*

Other explanations are implausible (cf. particularly Machek 1968: 609).

ŠIŠЬKA

OCS *šišьka*, Bulg.d. *šiška*, Mac. *šiška*, S./Cr. *šȋška*, S./Cr. *šíška*, Slk., Cz., US *šiška*, LS *šyška*, Pol. *szyszka*, Br., Ukr. *šýška*, Russ. *šiška*, all in the basic meaning 'cone' (only in Sln. 'oak gall') with a number of metaphorical shifts

Rec.:
PS *šišьka* is most likely a diminutive from the original *šīša* attested e.g. in Pol.d. *szysza* 'id.'. Another cognate is probably Russ. *šiš* 'cone, haycock, no dice (thumb between two

fingers as a gesture for nothing)'. However, the deduction from the verb *šišati, attested nowadays in S./Cr. šíšati 'to clip' and Bulg. šíškam '(I) stab', and the reconstruction of the original meaning as 'something cut off', figuratively 'trifle, thing of low value' (Snoj 1997: 634) is very speculative. The sound cluster šiš- implies a reduplication.

Et.:
All the explanations up to now have been unconvincing, and in particular formally they go beyond our criteria. Therefore they will not be evaluated.

1. PS *šišьka ~ Lith. kenkórežis, Latv. čiekurs 'id.', Lith. kēke 'cluster', Latv. cekuls 'plume', OInd. síkhā- 'plume, top'
It is interesting that the Balt. 'cone' words are also based on a reduplicated form *ke(n)k-, probably with the meaning 'to hang, to dangle', which could be connected with IE *kek-/*k'ek- 'protruding, sharp' (Karulis 1992: I, 188) and other above-mentioned words. Slav. *xocholъ is usually added here as well. The vocalism of Slav. *šiš- (-i- must be from -ei- or -ī-) blocks its placement in this group; nevertheless, here we obviously deal with expressive IE roots whose reconstruction is uncertain (Pokorny does not adduce any of them). There are also attempts to find a connection with Lat. cicer 'chickpea', Arm. sisern, Gr. (Mac.) κίκκερροι 'id.' from IE *k'ik'er- 'pea' (Fraenkel 1962–1965: 235), which is, however, rather remote semantically, and moreover suspected to be of a non-IE origin.

2. PS *šišьka < Altaic languages
The borrowing from Altaic languages is suggested by Mladenov (1941: 694) and Gorjajev (1896: 423) (each from a different source). The latter's connection with Turk., Shorian šiš 'abscess, tumescence' is quite tempting (cf. the above-mentioned Russ. šiš), but due to the character of the word implausible (cf. Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 445).

3. PS *šišьka < IE *si(k)s- 'to cut'
Snoj (1997: 634) gives this etymology citing as cognates – besides S./Cr. šíšati 'to cut' – also Lith. šiksnà 'fine leather, belt', Latv. siksna 'belt', Lith. šykštùs 'mean' and S./Cr. šišmiš, Sln.d. šišmiš 'netopýr', Lith. šikšnys 'id.' (a motivation by leathery wings – an interesting South Slav.-Balt. parallel). The difference in Lith. and Latv. anlauts and OInd. síkya- 'sling, strap', however, clearly point at IE *k'ik- 'belt, strap(?)' (Pokorny 1959: 598). Yet the suggested semantic development (see section **Rec.**) is very implausible.

4. PS *šišьka < IE *sk'ei- 'to cut'
Schuster-Šewc (1985: 744) starts from the reduplicated form *xi-xi < *skei-skei- and connects the word with Lith. skujà 'branch of conifer, needles, cone' (see XVOJA). Machek (1968: 610) compares the same words, but at the expense of absolutely unacceptable formal concessions: metathesis k-j > j-k which results in *šьka, and an intensive reduplication to *šišьka.

5. PS *šišьka < PS *šichъ < šiti 'to sow'
Furlan (in Bezlaj 1976–2005: 4, 48f.) regards *šišьka as a diminutive from *šichъ, which is supposed to be derived from *šiti (-so- suffixation). The original meaning would then be 'knot' (see also Brückner 1927: 562).

ŠЬSTЪ

Br. šost, Russ. šest, Russ.d. šost, all 'pole, bar', Russ.d. šest also 'yard, hearth et al.'

Rec.:
The word is limited to the East Slav. area, yet it is apparently PS. It is reconstructed either as *šьstъ (Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 432), or as *šestъ (Martynov 1968: 121–122) depending on two different etymological solutions which have an effect on the semantic reconstruction as well. Meanings 'yard, hearth etc.' can perhaps be understood from 'the place marked off with poles' (Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 433).

Et.:
1. PS *šestъ 'pole, bar' ~ Lith. šēkštis 'wooden pitchfork with bent prongs; bar on the wagon for the ramming of hay'
Formally a relatively accurate comparison, both words only differ in the stem suffix. Likewise, the semantic closeness of the Slav. and Balt. words is obvious, although East Slav. evidence does not explicitly point to the original meaning 'forked branch' as Martynov (l.c.) claims. He traces the words back to IE *k'ek-st- and further connects them with OIr. cecht 'plough', PS *soxa 'forked branch' etc. from IE *k'ak- 'branch', which makes him admit an irregular ablaut grading. However, BS form can also be based on IE *k'es-t- (k in Lith. may be parasitic like in aukštas, tukstantis etc.), and then the IE base would be *k'es- 'to cut'; formally closest to the Slav. word would be OIr. cess 'spear' from *k'estā (Pokorny 1959: 586 without BS words). In any case, Slav. š (< x) corresponds here with IE k'.
Ev.: **B A- A-**   _B++_   k'-

2. PS *šьstъ 'pole' ~ Lith. šiekšta(s) 'trunk lying on the ground or in the water; stocks (as a torture instrument)', Latv. sieksta, sieksts 'id.'
Even here the formal comparison is trouble-free if we assume a reduced grade for Slav. (ь < i) and full grade for Balt. (ie < ei). The putative shift of meaning in Slav. would be 'lying trunk, log' → 'pole'. Other connections are opaque; the resemblance of the Lith. word from the previous explanation is apparently coincidental. The anlaut points to IE *k'-. Karulis (1992: II, 176) starts from IE *k'ei-sta- (with a parasitic Balt. -k- like in other instances) from *k'ei- 'to lie' (LIV: 284; Pokorny 1959: 539–540 without BS words), which semantically does not seem too convincing, but it does not alter the fact that the Balt.-Slav. equation is plausible.
Ev.: **B B A**   _B++_   k'-

V. The interpretation of the etymological analysis

Findings

I analysed altogether 55 lexical units with the initial *x*- or *š*-. Besides words excluded from the analysis in advance from the reasons given on the page 48 I eliminated some other words whose Early Slav. existence is very questionable. E.g. I left out the word **xujь* 'penis', which a number of authors etymologically connect with **xvoja* (cf. ESSJa: 8, 114), but its ancientness is questionable. Rare evidence in Bulg. and Pol. is most likely borrowed from Russ. (Sławski 1952: I, 89); on the other hand, Vasmer 1964–1973 does not even have this word in his dictionary. (Regarding a possible origin from **xolujь* see Schuster-Šewc 1963: 862). Likewise, I put aside abstruse words **xala* or **šarъ* which are probably loanwords (cf.. Bezlaj 1976–2005: I, 191 and. Vasmer 1964–1973: IV, 407 respectively), and words on **ši-* and **šu-* (**šija, *šulo, *šutь* et al.), which can be deduced from the initial *s*-. All things considered, I dealt with the following words:

xabiti, xajati, xaloga, xatra, xlębъ, xlǫdъ, xlъpъ, xmura, xobotъ, xoditi, xoldъ, xol'eva, xoliti, xolkъ, xolpъ, xolstъ, xolujь, xorbrъ, xormъ, xorna, xotěti, xovati, xręda, xribъ, xridъ, xromъ, xrъbъtъ, xudъ, xula, xvala, xvatati, xvějati, xvoja, xvorstъ, xvorъ, xvostъ, xъbъtъ/xъbъzъ, xъlbiti (sę), xъrpa, xъrtъ, xybati, xyliti, xyniti, xytati, šaliti, šatati, šěrъ/šědъ, šestь, šetriti, šęga, šibati, šipъ, širokъ, šišьka, šьstъ

Let us look first at the results of the analysis from the standpoint of the first-choice etymologies of individual words. In 9 instances I assume that the word was most likely derived from one of other words on the list or it has the identical origin with it (*xol'eva, xolstъ, xolujь, xotěti, xrъbъtъ, xula, xvatati, xyniti, šibati*), in 5 instances I prefer the explanation from an onomatopoeic base (*xlębъ, xlъpъ, xvostъ, xъlbiti, xytati*), and in 3 a borrowing (*xolkъ, xorna, šęga*). In two instances, the word's etymology has been so opaque that I resigned myself to assessing the plausibility of explanations (*xъbъzъ* with its variants and *šišьka*).

There are 36 words left then, whose most plausible source of initial *x*- was determined on the basis of the comparison with other IE languages (I considered all the putative phonological sources as equal). IE **ks*-, the only regular source to the effect of *ruki* law, worked out as the most plausible solution only in 3 instances (*xajati, xudъ, šestь* – the last one possibly from *s*-). The initial IE *sk*- was the most promising source of Slav. *x*- in the greatest number of instances – 17 altogether (*xabiti, xatra, xlǫdъ,*

xoliti, xorbrъ, xormъ, xovati, xręda, xribъ, xridъ, xvala, xvoja, xъrpa, šetřiti, šętati, širokъ; in the case of *xobotъ* it can be an initial *k*-). The reflexes of IE *k'*- seem to correspond best with Slav. *x*- in 7 instances (*xaloga, xoldъ, xolpъ, šěrъ/sěrъ, šipъ, šьstъ*; in the case of *šaliti* it is possible to proceed from an initial *k*-) as do the reflexes of IE **s*- (*xmura, xoditi, xromъ, xvějati, xvorъ, xъrtъ, xybati*). IE **k*- turned out to be the most plausible counterpart of Slav. *x*- merely in 2 instances (*xvorstъ, xyliti,* plus the two above-mentioned alternative solutions), IE **g*- in none.

If we summarize the evaluation of the plausibility of all the relevant etymologies in view of their possible source, we get the following chart (numbers in parentheses take alternative solutions into account, and I put aside two isolated sources, that is to say *sk'*- (B++) and prothetic *x*- (B+)):

	ks-	*sk*-	*s*-	*k'*-	*k*	*g*
A						
A-	1					
A--				2		1
A/B		2	3			
B++		4 (5)	1	4	1	1
B+	1	5	1	2 (3)	1(2)	1
B	2	7	4		4	2

It follows from this survey that the least disputable etymology among PS words with the initial *x*- (*š*-) is that of numeral *šestь* (evaluation A-). The plausibility of A-- was given to the etymological connection of PS **šěrъ/sěrъ* with Gmc. **haira-* (IE **k'oiro-*) and to two mutually exclusive expositions of PS **xoldъ* – from IE **goldh-* and **k'old(h)-*. The evaluation A/B was assigned to the connections of PS **xlǫdъ* with Lith. *sklandà*, **xvoja* with Lith. *skujà*, **xybati* with Lith. *siūbóti*, **xoditi* with Gr. *ὁδός* and to the etymology of **xvějati* from IE **suēi-*, etc.

It is natural – as I pointed out in the respective section – that the assessment of the plausibility of etymologies is rather precarious and subjective. Moreover, it should be pointed out again that the equation like e.g. Slav. *x*- ~ Balt. *sk*- does not necessarily mean Slav. *x* < *sk*. Yet, I assume that my analysis is able to present some conclusions concerning the sources of PS *x*-. First of all, IE **ks*- which a number of authors would like to regard as the main source of PS **x*- (the only regular) has proved to be a solution only in few instances. Besides **sk*-, whose correspondences with Slav. *x*- are generally accepted (though the interpretations are variant), the correspondences with IE **k'*- and **s*- gained ground as well. The latter has been only explained by some *sandhi* alternations following *ruki* law (auslaut *i, u, r, k* and anlaut *s*-; applied e.g. to the etymology of **xoditi*), but this hardly holds water. On the other hand, only few examples corroborate Machek's hypothesis about the affective change *k, g > x*.

Interpretation

These findings are difficult to interpret. The three supposed main sources of PS *x-, that is to say *sk-, *s- a *k'-, look rather heterogeneous. However, it is possible to presume that the rise of *x- only took place after the merging of s (< *k') with the original IE s in Slavic. Then, actually, all three changes could be interpreted as incidental changes s > x (in the first case *sk- > *xk- > *x-).

The causes of the supposed change are not clear. It is possible to reconsider the opinion that it was the expressiveness (affectiveness) of words that had a great effect on the irregular rise of the initial x-. Although the corpus of PS words with x- is not large, it is possible to notice certain semantic areas in it, and the semantic closeness of some words with x- is quite striking – cf. the meanings 'swift, rolling or swinging movement' (xytati/xvatati, xybati, xyliti, šibati, xvějati, šętati), 'physical indisposition, weakness' (xabiti, xatrati, xromъ, xvorъ, xudъ, xręda), 'stick, branch, something hanging' (xlǫdъ, xolujь, xvoja, xvostъ, xobotъ, xujь, šišьka, šьstъ), 'brushwood, weeds' (xalǫga, xvorstъ, xъrpa, xъbъzъ), and 'to observe, to care for' (xajati, xoliti, xovati, šetřiti). On the other hand, words like xoditi, xormъ and širokъ can hardly be labelled as expressive.

The assumption that x could rise from s (< *k') in some words requires a reconsideration of the chronology of the rise of the PS initial *x-. This chronology is usually ignored – most authors implicitly assume that the initial *x- emerged more or less at the same time like x after i, u, r, k, although the latter is obviously prior (cf. Savčenko 1974: 116: "Najbolee drevnim, po vidimomu, javljaetsja obrazovanie x iz s v nenačal'noj pozicii"). In this connection, it is necessary to tackle again the question of whether the main source of the initial x- could not be *sk- metathesized to *ks-, from which x would rise regularly according to the ruki law, as is often assumed.

I mentioned phonetic aspects of such a metathesis on the p. 34f. There are also, however, chronological arguments that give evidence for a much later development of the alternation sk-/x-. The retraction of s after i, u ,r, k had been in effect for a relatively limited period of time (see Shevelov 1965: 137; Lamprecht 1987: 30). We know that the change did not work any more in the time of the first Gothic loans (*-kusiti < Goth. kausjan), in the time of the elimination of the consonantal groups ds, ts (*běsъ < *bhoid-so-), and even in the time of the merging of new s originating from *k' with the original IE *s (c.f. *porsę < *pork'-). On the other hand, the alternation sk-/x- seems to be still occurring in the end of the PS period, if we can infer from doublets like OCS skralupa – xralupъ, Bulg. ščărbel – xărbel etc. This evidence, in my opinion, contradicts the explanation via metathesis sk > ks.

I would also like to draw attention to one thing that has not been dealt with yet. If we study PS words in which s regularly yielded x after i, u, r, k, we see that most of them have formally and semantically reliable counterparts in Baltic (Lith.) – c.f. *blъxa 'flee' – Lith. blusà 'id.', *gorxъ 'peas' – Lith. gařšas 'a kind of grass', *juxa 'soup' – Lith. júšė 'fish soup', *krušiti 'to crush, to break' – Lith. kriaušýti 'to butt, to push', *lěxa 'patch, strip of field' – Lith. lýsė 'id.', *měxъ 'bellows' – Lith. maĩšas 'id.', *muxa 'fly' – Lith. mùsė 'id.', *snъxa 'daughter-in-law' – Lith. snusà 'id.', *suxъ 'dry' – Lith. saũsas 'id.', *sъršenь 'hornet' – Lith. širšė 'id.', *uxo 'ear' – Lith. ausìs 'id.', *vetъxъ 'old' – Lith. vėtušas 'id.', *vьrxъ 'hill' – Lith. viršùs 'id.', *vьšь/vьsь 'all' – Lith. vìsas 'id.'.

If we ignore the occurrences of suffixal -x, which are often disputable as to their ancientness (e.g. *grěxъ, *směxъ, *spěxъ, *straxъ), we find a minimum of PS instances without a corresponding counterpart in Baltic. This reflects, in my opinion, the time of the ruki change which in effect concludes the period of – in traditional terms – BS unity. Nothing like that is found in words with initial x-: assessing the probability of etymologies, we see that even the most promising Slav.-Balt. equations (*xoldъ – šáltas, *xlǫdъ – sklandà, *xvoja – skujà) are less than conclusive. To argue for these equations only by stating that the words in question are expressive and peripheral is insufficient. In my opinion, this situation is brought about by the fact that the rise of x- in most words is later, from the period when the basic BS constituent of lexicon was increased by other ingredients in the complex process of PS glottogenesis.

Shifting the rise of the Slav. initial x- closer to the period of classical PS [4th–8th cent. A.D.] enables us to interpret this change as a part of expansion of the sound x in morphology (leveling in favor of x- in the endings of sigmatic aorist, 2 sg pres. and loc. pl.), word-formation (x-suffixation of the type *čuxati, *mat'exa or Cz. hoch) and possibly also lexis (onom. words with xr- and xl-).

The morphological leveling in verbal forms had to take place quite early – before the simplification of consonantal clusters ds, ts [which Shevelov dates back to 1st–5th cent. A.D.] if we can infer from the forms like OCS 1 sg aor. sigm. věsъ (< *ụēd-s-om) compared to věděxъ (< *ụoid-ē-s-om) or 2 sg pres. dasi (< dad-s- compared to imaši (< *im-a-s-). There is no reason to assume that the leveling in nominal endings would have occurred in a different period. We can presume then that all the endings in which s and x had alternated according to the ruki law (if preceded by a vowel and not followed by a consonant) were leveled in favor of x by the beginning of the classical period. This implies, apart from other things, that nom. sg. had the ending -x not only in i-stems and u-stems but probably also in dominant o-stems, jo-stems etc. (Kortlandt 1994: 98 even suggests the change of any word-final -s into -h which is not very plausible).

This massive spread of x at the expense of s in endings could even have resulted in the reassessment of the distribution of s and x in the word-initial position. I do not venture to say what the clue of this reassessment was and which word-boundary phenomena were in effect. It seems to me that for some instances of Slavic sk-/x- doublets we may think about a kind of x-mobile as a variant of s-mobile. This idea perhaps is not so far-fetched in light of Southern's words at the end of his extensive work on the regeneration of s-mobile in Germanic where he mentions "composite nature of s-movable, not as a structure, but as a multiple-sourced feature of language". Further he states: "This cumulative causality, with its conspiring linguistic catalysts, may be applicable to the solution of other causally (and distributionally) knotty processes, by considering them as outcomes of linguistic source-conspiracies. [...] S-mobile is an apparatus, a dynamic, a cyclically re-emerging process, an alternation; it is reinforced by such extraneous features as expressivity; it is not a grammatical rule." (Southern 1999: 299–300). Much of these characteristics seems to apply to the Slav. word-initial x- as well. After all, the Slav. s-mobile itself should be studied closer – the conservative view that it is (only) an IE heritage (e.g. Karaś 1973) is – also in view of Southern's book – hardly tenable.

The alternation sk-/xk- (> x-) would then explain the relationship of sk and x in Slavic dialectal words which can hardly be explained phonetically long after the ruki

rule (and the putative metathesis) ceased to work. It is probably not a coincidence that these words often have three anlaut variants – e.g. Pol. *skrzele*, S./Cr. *krělje*, Bulg. *xrilé*; Pol. *skropawy, chropawy*, Ukr. *koropávyj*; R.d. *skor, xor, kor*. These words are obviously from a different chronological layer than those like **xoditi, *xormъ, *xvala* with their stable all-Slavic forms and occurrences. The rise of Slavic *x-* thus seems to be a multiple-sourced and varied process. It was not necessarily primarily affective, but the expressive character of the word could have made it easier.

Conclusion

The aim of the work was a thorough etymological analysis of PS words with initial *x-* which was supposed to result both in some new individual etymological solutions and in a new synoptical view of the whole issue.

Based on the etymological analysis, new solutions were proposed for words *xribъ, xytati, šetriti, šęga*, mostly as alternatives to other less persuasive explanations. Modifications of older solutions with some new arguments are to be found e.g. with words *xajati, xoliti, xormъ, xybati, šibati, širokъ, šiška, šьstъ*.

Etymological analysis showed that we can hardly count on just one source of the PS word-initial **x-*. Loanwords and words of onomatopoeic origin form only a part of the PS lexis with *x-*. The regular rise from IE *ks-* is limited to a few examples. The sources of IE *x-* thus have to be found in other IE sounds and clusters.

The most frequent counterpart of Slav. *x-* is *sk-* in other IE languages. Some reliable *sk-/x-* doublets inside Slav. languages corroborate this fact well. Several PS **x-* words have the most plausible counterpart in IE **s-* (cf. also Slav. **smura/*xmura*) and several have it in IE **k'-*. However, IE **k-* and **g-* seem to have a very modest position in this respect.

The striking disproportion between Slav.-Balt. responses following the *ruki* rule on the one hand and those with Slav. word-initial *x-* on the other hand (and also some obviously young, territorially narrowly limited Slav. *sk-/x-* doublets) leads me to the assumption that the initial *x-* appeared in most words considerably later than the change *s > x* after *i, u, r, k* took place. My overall outlook of the problem of the rise of the PS initial *x-* is then as follows:

The change *s > š* after *i, u, r, k* started in the first millennium B.C. and was closely connected with the satem change *k' > s*. The first stage of the retraction *s > š*, attested also in other satem languages, was followed – probably immediately – by further retraction to the velar fricative *x*. This change had to be finished before the oldest loanwords from Gmc., possibly Iran., reached Slav., because their velar fricatives are rendered as *x*. It was probably only at this stage, when the phonologization of the new sound took place (through the simplification *kx > x* or the merger *k' > s*). Even then, however, the new phoneme seems to have been seen as strongly marked and poorly integrated to the system, which was caused by 1) its isolation in the PS phonological system; 2) its rather restricted distribution (inside the word only after *i, u, r* and instead of an original

ks, and in the beginning only in several loanwords and perhaps a couple of words with initial *ks*-; and 3) its presence in some interjections (e.g. laugh). The weak integration of the phoneme on the one hand, and its affective-expressive function on the other hand, could lead to its expansion on several levels:
– morphological (in *s/x ruki* rule-based ending alternations)
– word-formational (suffixes, mostly expressive)
– lexical (onom.-expr. formations with initial *chr-, chl-*)
  and possibly
– phonological (the rise of initial *x*- instead of *sk-, s-*)

The whole expansion started with the morphological leveling, probably in the first centuries of our era. This process led to the irregular distribution of *x* and *s* within words – it was generalized in endings after any vowel if not followed by a consonant, probably including also nom. sg. endings of the nominal inflection. On the other hand, the word-initial occurence of *x* was limited to the above-mentioned instances. This discrepancy could provoke the redistribution of *s* and *x* in the word-initial position. The details of this process are not clear, but it was probably reinforced by expressivity of words. I tend towards this kind of phonological solution because the alternations *sk > x* and *s > x* can hardly be explained phonetically if we accept that the *ruki* rule did not work any more.

If the redistribution of *x* in the word-initial position had been connected with a final *-x* in nom. sg., it had to stop after the loss of this consonant in the word-final position. It was probably not too long after *-x* had expanded (the loss of *-s* is usually dated back to 5th cent. A.D). The obvious *terminus ante quem x*- had to get into the initial position in autochthonic Slav. words was the 1st palatalization of velars.

Incidentally, the word-initial *s*- was reduced to *h*- in a number of IE languages (geographically closest to Slav. are Iran. and Alb. where even *sk- > h*). However, in the absence of reliable equations and owing to the overall character of the change, a foreign influence on the rise of initial Slav. *x*- is out of the question.

In conclusion, the problem of the rise of the PS *x*-, its conditions, the process itself and the chronology remain quite opaque. I tried to find some new arguments, to point out some new connections and to contribute at least in some details to the elucidation of the whole problem, which – I dare to say – will hardly ever be completely and satisfactorily solved.

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Abbreviations

A. Languages

Alb.	Albanian
Arab.	Arabic
Arm.	Armenian
Av.	Avestan
Balt.	Baltic
Bas.	Basque
Br.	Belorussian
Bret.	Breton
BS	Balto-Slavic
Bulg.	Bulgarian
Cass.	Cassubian
Celt.	Celtic
Corn.	Cornish
Cr.	Croatian
Cz.	Czech
Dan.	Danish
E.	English
Fr.	French
Ger.	German
Gmc.	Germanic
Goth.	Gothic
Gr.	Greek
Hitt.	Hittite
Hung.	Hungarian
IE	Indoeropean
Illyr.	Illyrian
Ir.	Irish
Iran.	Iranian
Lat.	Latin
Latv.	Latvian
Lith.	Lithuanian
LS	Lower Sorbian
M…	Middle…
Mac.	Macedonian
MHG	Middle High German
MLG	Middle Low German
Norw.	Norwegian

O...	Old...
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
OIcel.	Old Icelandic, Old Norse
OInd.	Old Indian
OPr.	Old Prussian
OSax.	Old Saxon
Osset.	Ossetic
P...	Proto-...
Per.	Persian
Plb.	Polabian
Pol.	Polish
PS	Proto-Slavic
Rum.	Rumanian
Russ	Russian
S./Cr.	Serbian-Croatian
Sem.	Semitic
Serb.	Serbian
Skt.	Sanskrit
Skyth.	Skythian
Slav.	Slavic
Slk.	Slovak
Sln.	Slovenian
Sorb.	Sorbian
Slnc.	Slovincian (Pomeranian)
Span.	Spanish
Swed.	Swedish
Toch. (A, B)	Tocharian (A, B)
Turk.	Turkish
Ukr.	Ukrainian
US	Upper Sorbian
W.	Welsh

B. Periodicals

AslPh	Archiv für slavische Philologie
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
IJSLP	International Journal for Slavic Linguistics and Poetics
IORJaS	Izvestija Otdelenija ruskago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademiji Nauk
JIES	The Journal of Indo-European Studies
JP	Język polski
KSIS	Kratkije soobščenija Instituta slavjanovedenija
KZ	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (Kuhns Zeitschrift)
LF	Listy filologické
MSL	Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris
NŘ	Naše řeč
PF	Prace filologiczne
RÉS	Revue des études slaves
RFV	Russkij filologičeskij vestnik
RO	Rocznik Orientalistyczny
RS	Rocznik sławistyczny

SaS	Slovo a slovesnost
SEER	Slavonic and East European Review
SFFUK	Sborník filosofickéj fakulty University Komenského
SO	Slavia occidentalis
SPFFBU	Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university
SR	Slavistična revija
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society
UAJb	Ural-altaische Jahrbücher
VJa	Voprosy jazykoznanija
ZSl	Zeitschrift für Slawistik
ZslPh	Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie

C. Other linguistic and textual abbreviations

adj.	adjective
aor.	aorist
cf.	compare
d.	dialectal
e.g.	for example
et al.	and other
etc.	et cetera, and so on
expr.	expressive
f.	and following (pages)
ibid.	ibidem, same reference-locus as already cited
id.	idem, same meaning
ie.	that is to say
isol.	isolated
l.c.	loco citato, see reference cited above
onom.	onomatopoeic
o.s.	oneself
part.	participle
pl.	plural
pres.	present tense
sb	somebody
sg	singular
sth	something
s.v.	sub vocem, see entry
vs.	versus

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The Proto-Slavic Word-initial *x-*