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**Proto-Slavic dial. \*čilь I ‘well-rested, fresh;  
lively’: \*čilь II ‘clean’<sup>1</sup>**

1. Kálal & Kálal (1923, s. 76) also contains the entry *čilota* ‘cleanliness’; the word is marked as “vsl.”, i.e. *východoslovenské* = Eastern Slovak.

The noun *čilota* may be interpreted as an abstractum with the suffix *-ota* (cf. Vaillant, 1974, pp. 367–373; Matasović, 2014, pp. 155–158). This also implies the existence of an adjective *čilý* ‘clean’; for the word formation, cf. Slk *čistý* ‘clean’: *čistota* ‘cleanliness’, *dobrý* ‘good’: *dobrota* ‘goodness’, etc., as reflexes of PS1 *\*čistota* (cf. ESSYa, 1974–2021, vol. 4, p. 121; SP, 1974–2024, vol. 2, pp. 210–211), *\*dobrota* (cf. ESSYa, 1974–2021, vol. 5, pp. 43–44; SP, 1974–2024, vol. 3, pp. 305–306).

The adjective *čilý* may in fact be found in the academic Dictionary of Slovak Dialects (SSN, 1994–2021, vol. 1, p. 262 s.v. *čilý*)<sup>2</sup>. According to SSN, the word is

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<sup>2</sup> In accordance with the lexicographical principles adopted in SSN, the headwords (entry words) are formally standardized in keeping with the phonetic and phonological system of the Slovak literary language.

evidenced in a part of the Eastern Slk dialect zone; SSN provides two meanings for it: ‘1. clean, neat, tidy’<sup>3</sup>, ‘2. keen on cleanliness’<sup>4</sup>. – In his dictionary of the Eastern Slk dialects of the Šariš region, Buffa (2004, p. 46 s.v. *čili*) notes that the word is in use in Western Šariš.

In the quoted entry, SSN also includes the adverb *čilo* which is derived from *čiliy* ‘1. clean, neat, tidy’<sup>5</sup>. According to Buffa (loco cit.), this adverb is documented in Central Šariš<sup>6</sup>.

Like Kálal & Kálal (1923), SSN (1994–2021) also contains the aforementioned noun *čilota* which is explained as ‘cleanliness, order’<sup>7</sup>. Buffa (loco cit.) states that the word is in use in Central Šariš; in addition to ‘cleanliness, order’, he puts forward two additional meanings: ‘apartment furnishings’<sup>8</sup> (cf. below) and ‘dressy girl, clotheshorse’ (expressive)<sup>9</sup>. – Buffa’s dictionary also lists the adjective *čilotni* ‘cleanliness-minded’ (Central Šariš) which is not included in SSN.

Both dictionaries contain the following derivatives of the adjective *čiliy*:

(1) its opposite *nečiliy* ‘not keen on order, disorderly, messy, uncleanly’<sup>10</sup>, *nečili* ‘untidy, slovenly’<sup>11</sup>;

(2) the factitive *čiliti* ‘to put in order, arrange’<sup>12</sup>, *čilic še* ‘to put oneself in order (in terms of hygiene)’<sup>13</sup>; cf. also its prefixal derivatives *očiliti* ‘to wash,

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the respective example of use: *Chlapec prišol do školi fše čili* ‘The boy came always tidy to school’ (Studenec, district of Levoča). – Cf. also SSN (1994–2021, vol. 1, p. 323 s.v. *dnukajšok* ‘the inside, interior’): *Zvonka ňebarz aš taki bul šumni jeho budinek, lemže zato dnukajšeg bars čili i šumni* ‘From outside his house was not that nice, but the interior was very clean and nice’ (Široké, district of Prešov).

<sup>4</sup> *Haňča, to bars čila žena* ‘Haňča is a very cleanly woman’ (Torysa, district of Sabinov).

<sup>5</sup> *Zme maľi čilo, poradňe* ‘There was cleanliness/order [in our house]’ (literally: ‘We had [how?] cleanly, orderly...’; Záhradné, district of Prešov). Cf. also the collocation *trimac sebe čilo* ‘to be keen on cleanliness’ (literally: ‘to keep oneself cleanly’; Nižná Kamenica, district of Košice), *čilo še trimac* ‘id.’ (Torysa, district of Sabinov).

<sup>6</sup> *Fše zme maľi čilo* ‘We always had cleanliness/order [in our house]’. – The author also gives the phrase *Čilo še trime* ‘He/she is keen on cleanliness’ (cf. above).

<sup>7</sup> *F každim kuce je čilota* ‘There is cleanliness in every corner’ (Studenec, district of Levoča), *Moja madz maľi f calim dome čilotu* ‘My mother had cleanliness/order in all her house’ (Prešov).

<sup>8</sup> No examples provided.

<sup>9</sup> *Čiloto, dze hrebeň?* ‘Hey, dressy girl, where is the comb?’.

<sup>10</sup> *Verona ma doma taki ňeporadek, to taka ňečila žena* ‘Verona has such a mess in her house, she is such an uncleanly woman’ (Torysa, district of Sabinov; SSN, 1994–2021, vol. 2, p. 396).

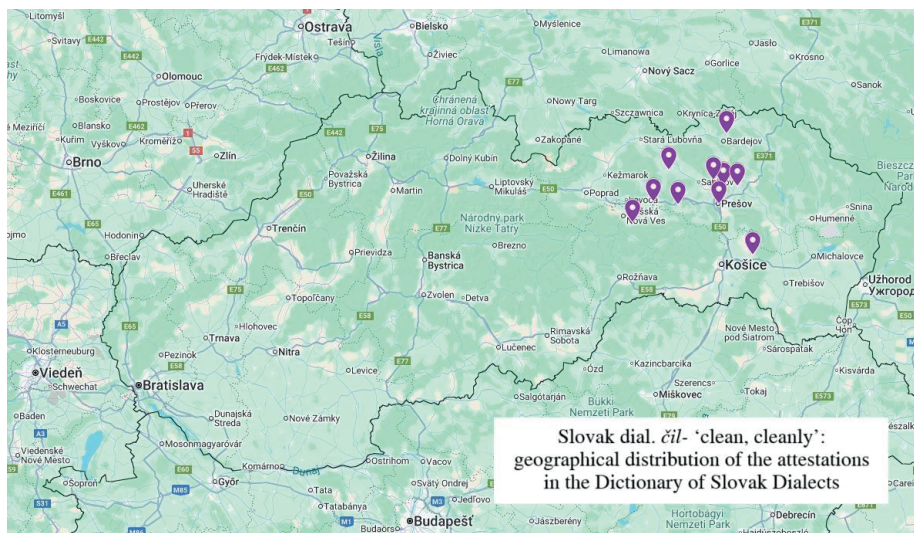
<sup>11</sup> Central Šariš (Buffa, 2004, p. 175).

<sup>12</sup> *Človeče, čil še, šag je ňedzeľa!* ‘Man, put yourself in order, it is Sunday!’ (Studenec, district of Levoča; SSN, 1994–2021, vol. 1, p. 262).

<sup>13</sup> Western Šariš (Buffa, 2004, p. 46).

clean up; to put in order’<sup>14</sup>, *očilic (še)* ‘to tidy (oneself) up’<sup>15</sup>, *vičilic* ‘to clean up, tidy up’<sup>16</sup>.

The geographical distribution of the words with the root *čil-* (as included in SSN) can be presented in the form of a map; cf. also Králik 2025 (with links to the online version of SSN):



2. Although its derivative *čilota* is attested lexicographically as early as in Kálal & Kálal (1923; cf. above), it seems that Slk dial. *čilý* ‘clean, etc.’ has not yet been discussed in etymological literature. The exception is probably the newly published volume of the Etymological Dictionary of the Old Czech Language (ESJŠČ, 2024) which contains the Old Czech lexis beginning with the letters C and Č.

<sup>14</sup> *Očil' toto dzecko, šak prida tu ľudze, ta co povedza* ‘Clean this child; folks will come over, what will they say?’ (Dlhá Lúka, district of Bardejov), *Keby ší choľem toto dzecko kuz očil'ila, ale taka še caha po žemi, jak prepitujem šviňa* ‘If you only cleaned this child a bit, but he/she creeps along like, forgive me, a swine’ (Ratvaj, district of Sabinov), *Mal bi ší sebe, Jožu, očil'ic toten aucug* ‘Joseph, you should clean your suit’ (Chmeľovec, district of Prešov), *Svojo dzeći šumňe očil'ila* ‘She washed her children fine’ (Markušovec, district of Spišská Nová Ves; SSN, 1994–2021, vol. 2, p. 512).

<sup>15</sup> *Treba mi očilic dzecko* ‘I have to clean my child’ (Central Šariš; Buffa, 2004, p. 183). – The earliest known evidence of the derivatives *nečilý* ‘unclean, dirty’ and *očilil'* ‘to clean’ is from the collection of Slovak folk tales compiled by the Slovak Lutheran priest, writer and folklorist Pavol Dobšinský (1828–1885). Cf. the following fragment of the tale *Či še hnevace?* (Are You Angry?), recorded in the Šariš dialect: *Potým pošol ku dzecku a vidzel ho nečile. Glupa jeho hlova chcela ho vcale očilic...* ‘Then he went to the child and saw he/she was unclean. The sillyhead wanted to fully clean the child...’ – cf. Dobšinský [online].

<sup>16</sup> Buffa, 2004, p. 301.

In ESJSC (2024, p. Č-68), Slk dial. *čily* ‘clean, etc.’ is mentioned, with reference to SSN, as one of the Slavic cognates of Old Czech *čily* ‘lively, energetic, vital, fresh’ (also ‘fast, quick, nimble, agile, swift’, ‘willing, observant, perceptive, acute’; in Middle and Modern Czech ‘lively, vital, quick’) which is – along with Upper Sorbian *čily* ‘lively, fresh, sturdy, robust, hefty’, Belarusian dial. *čylaja* ‘(of milk) full-fat’, Ukrainian dial. *čyljy* ‘healthy, strong’, Slovene *čil* ‘lively, fresh’, dial. ‘well-rested’, Croatian, Serbian *čil*, *čio* ‘lively, fresh, well-rested’ – a reflex of PSI dial.<sup>17</sup> *\*čilb* ‘well-rested, fresh; lively’<sup>18</sup>.

Against this semantic background, an explanation is necessary on how the meaning ‘clean’, attested in Slk dialects, came into existence.

Perhaps we could assume here a semantic development of ‘well-rested, fresh; lively’ > *\*‘strong, healthy’* > *\*‘good-looking’*<sup>19</sup>; these semantics could be a suitable basis for ‘nice’ (cf. the aforementioned Slk dial. *čilota* ‘dressy girl, clotheshorse’) and maybe also for ‘tidy, neat, clean’. On the other hand, we cannot eliminate the possibility that the meaning ‘clean, cleanly’ originated in the opposite adjective *nečily* (supposedly also *\*‘not strong’*<sup>20</sup>), which might have undergone an evolution towards *\*‘lacking physical strength to care for oneself, to maintain personal hygiene, etc.’* > ‘unclean’; Slk dial. *nečily* ‘unclean, uncleanly’ might have subsequently exerted influence on its counterpart *čily* to develop the (secondary) meaning of ‘clean, etc.’.

However, taking into consideration the difference between the meanings of ‘well-rested, fresh; lively’ and ‘clean, cleanly’, the question inevitably arises whether these meanings truly represent distinct stages in the semantic development of the same (polysemic) word – or whether we should rather consider the possibility

<sup>17</sup> “In light of the currently available data, the adjective *\*čilb* should be considered a dialectism that is present in parts of the territory of each Slavic language group” (Boryś, 2007, p. 249).

<sup>18</sup> ESJSC (2024) does not provide any specific information on the “synchronic” semantics of PSI *\*čilb*. For the purposes of our article, we adopt the definition of PSI *\*čilb* as stated in SP (1974–2024, vol. 2, p. 199), which seeks to reconstruct the “Proto-Slavic lexicon from the period directly preceding the oldest historical data, i.e. approximately from the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries CE” (SP, 1974–2024, vol. 1, p. 6). – ESJSC (2024) provides two etymologies for PSI *\*čilb* ‘well-rested, fresh; lively’ (with extensive references to literature): (1) PSI *\*čilb* is an active perfect participle of PSI *\*čiti* ‘to have a rest’ (< IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>ieh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘id.’ [cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>, 2001, p. 393 – L.K.]; i.e. its original meaning was ‘having taken rest, well-rested’; (2) the word is derived from IE *\*k<sup>()</sup>eih<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to set oneself in motion’ [cf. LIV<sup>2</sup>, 2001, p. 346 – L.K.] as an adjective with the meaning of potentiality (i.e. ‘capable of motion’). – The problem of possible mutual influences between the reflexes of PSI *\*čilb* ‘well-rested, fresh; lively’ and PSI *\*čulb* (< PSI *\*čuti* ‘to sense, feel, notice’; cf. ESJSC loco cit.) is outside the purview of this article.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. also the meaning ‘immaculate, spotless (makellos)’ given for Ukrainian *čyljy* in Żelechowski & Niedzielski (1886, p. 1070: “Чїлий... gesund, stark, makellos”). According to Jakubowicz (2017, p. 102), these (metaphorical) semantics “supposedly arose on the basis of the positive evaluation of physical fitness”.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Old Czech *nečily*, defined as ‘weak, ineffective’ in ESJSC (2024).

of etymological homonymy. In that case, Slk dial. *čilý* requires a different etymological interpretation.

**3.1.** As for Slk dial. *čilý* 'clean, etc.', we cannot deny a certain degree of similarity (both formal and semantic) to Slk *čistý* 'clean, pure' which is a reflex of PS1 \**čistb*, interpreted traditionally as \**kīd-to-*, i.e. as an adjectival derivative (past passive participle) of IE \*(s)*kei-d-* 'to cut, split, separate' (cf. IEW, 1959, p. 919 ff., s.v. *skēi-* 'schneiden, trennen, scheiden')<sup>21</sup>. Could Slk dial. *čilý* 'clean, etc.' be traced back to a parallel formation \**kīd-lo-* (> PS1 \**čidl̥b*), containing the IE suffix \*-*lo-* (> PS1 \*-*lb*)?

In Slavic, the old adjectival suffix \*-*lo-* was mainly used to form perfect or resultative *l*-participles "which are not passive in nature" (Igartua, 2014, p. 317); this seems to contradict the assumption that \**kīd-lo-* (PS1 \**čidl̥b*) was – like \**kīd-to-* (PS1 \**čistb*) – originally a passive participle. Nonetheless, it should be noted in this context that the PS1 suffix \*-*lb* also does occur in past passive participles of transitive verbs, cf. Old Polish *ukradły* 'stolen', *zabiliy* 'killed', Old Czech *upeklý* 'baked', *vyhnalý* 'expelled', etc. (see Damborský, 1967, s. 54–60)<sup>22</sup>. Thus, it is a viable proposition that PS1 \**čidl̥b* might also belong to this morphological group.

An even heftier counter-argument has to do with the phonetic aspect of this hypothesis. The proposed PS1 etymon \**čidl̥b* contains the consonant cluster \**dl* which remains preserved in the Eastern Slk dialect zone; the expected reflex of PS1 \**čidl̥b* in Eastern Slk dialects should thus be \**čidli* (standardized form: \**čidlý*) rather than *čilý*<sup>23</sup>. This fact makes the attempted explanation of Slk dial. *čilý* 'clean, etc.' unacceptable for phonetic reasons.

**3.2.** Phonetically, an indisputable link emerges with Slk *čírý*, Czech *čírý* 'clear, pure' < PS1 dial. \**čir̥b* < \**kei-ro-/kī-ro-*, from the aforementioned IE \*(s)*kei-* 'to cut, split, separate'<sup>24</sup>. In this perspective, Slk dial. *čilý* 'clean, etc.' can be traced

<sup>21</sup> With a semantic shift of 'separated (by cutting, sieving)' > 'clean'. For the reconstruction of the PS1 adjective, see SP (1974–2024, vol. 2, p. 215); ESSYa (1974–2021, vol. 4, pp. 121–122); ESJS (1989–2022, vol. 2, pp. 108–109); Derksen (2008, p. 90), etc.

<sup>22</sup> The author remarks that the "indefiniteness (nevyhraněnost)" of genus verbi in Slavic participial formations with the suffix \*-*lb* is an archaic feature "pointing to the original Indo-European verbal adjectives, to the nominal origin of the Slavic *l*-participle" (Damborský, 1967, p. 138).

<sup>23</sup> The phonetic development PS1 \**dl* > Slk dial. *l* is documented in the Central Slk dialect zone (cf. Stanislav, 1967, p. 356–370) where Slk dial. *čilý* 'clean, etc.' is not attested. Štolc (1994, p. 38) notes that the consonant *l* also occurs in lieu of *dl*, "in isolated cases," in Eastern Slovakia; however, the instances cited by the author (dial. *garlo* 'throat', *tarlo* 'beating stick' and their derivatives) seem to reflect "not the change *dl* > *l*, but a loss of the consonant -*d-* in a triconsonantal cluster" (Pauliny, 1963, p. 29), i.e. the development PS1 \**gr̥dlo*, \**tř̥dlo* > Eastern Slk dial. \**gardlo*, \**tardlo* > *garlo*, *tarlo*. – For the reflexes of PS1 \**dl* (and \**tl*) in Slavic languages, cf. e.g. Collins (2018, pp. 1473–1474, 1521, with a list of further literature).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. ESSYa (1974–2021, vol. 4, pp. 116–117 s.v. \**čir̥jb*) as well as the information in SP s.v. \**čistb* (p. 215: "see *čir̥b* : *ščir̥b* which also belongs here"). – The root variant \**skei-/skē-* is

back to a parallel derivative<sup>25</sup> *\*kei-lo-/\*kī-lo-* (> PSI *\*čilb II*, not related etymologically to PSI *\*čilb I* ‘well-rested, fresh; lively’), probably a past passive participle; cf. above<sup>26</sup>.

**3.3.** Finally, Slk dial. *čilý* ‘clean, cleanly’ may possibly be related to Slk *čin* ‘act, deed’, ‘manner’ (*takým činom* ‘in such manner, in such a way’, etc.), from PSI *\*činb* for which SP reconstructs the following semantics: ‘order; proper manner; ceremony; what is connected with ceremony and order: instrument, weapon, work, act’ (SP, 1974–2024, vol. 2, pp. 200–201 s.v. *činb I*). It seems that the concept of ‘order’ might imply the notion of ‘cleanliness, etc.’; cf. Slk *nečin* (*ne-* ‘not, un-’), also carrying such meanings as ‘disorder, mess, dirt; junk’ (SSJ, 1959–1968, vol. 2, p. 316; attested since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, cf. HSSJ, 1991–2008, vol. 2, p. 492).

PSI *\*činb* ‘order, etc.’ has mostly been derived from IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>ei-* ‘to pile up, stack; to gather; to arrange, put on top of each other or next to each other; to build; to make, do’ (cf. IEW, 1959, pp. 637–638 s.v. 2. *k<sup>h</sup>ei-*; LIV<sup>2</sup>, 2001, pp. 378–379)<sup>27</sup>. In our opinion, Slk dial. *čilý* may be a direct reflex of PSI *\*čilb II* ‘clean’, from an original *\*k<sup>h</sup>ei-lo-* ‘piled up; arranged’ (passive past participle with the suffix *\*-lo-*, cf. above), thence ‘put in order; orderly; clean’.

Against this semantic background, of particular interest is the aforementioned Slk dial. *čilota*, also attested with the meaning of ‘apartment furnishings’ (cf. above). The word was probably derived from *\*čilb II* in its reconstructed meaning ‘arranged, etc.’; *čilota* as an original abstractum (*\*‘the state of being arranged; arrangement, order, etc.’*) subsequently underwent a shift *\*‘the state of being arranged, etc.’* > ‘arranged objects, furnishings, equipment, etc.’ – for a similar semantic development, cf. PSI *\*rēd<sup>b</sup>* ‘row, line’ > Slk obsolete *riad* ‘order’ (SSJ, 1959–1968, vol. 3, p. 740 s.v. *riad<sup>2</sup>*)<sup>28</sup>, in older Slk ‘furnishings and equipment

preserved in PSI *\*ščirb* (cf. Polish *szczery*, Old Polish *szczyry*, Ukrainian *ščýryj*, Belarusian *ščýry* ‘pure, sincere, etc.’, Russian *ščýryj* ‘real, genuine; sincere’); see e.g. Vasmer (1953–1958, vol. 3, p. 452), Boryś (2005, p. 597), ESUM (1982–2021, vol. 6, p. 510), etc.

<sup>25</sup> The assumption of morphological parallelism is without a doubt more plausible than the concept of a phonetic variation (*r : l*) of the same morpheme (cf. Ondruš, 1959).

<sup>26</sup> According to Blažek (2012–2020 [online]) (with further references), PSI *\*čirb* is a loanword of Iranian origin, cf. Khotanese Saka *cira-* ‘conspicuous, visible, manifest’, Pashto *cēr* ‘similar’ reflecting the phonetic development *r < θr* (cf. Vedic *citrá-* ‘bright, clear, etc.’, Older Avestan *čithra-* ‘shiny, bright, scintillant’, etc.; for etymology, see LIV<sup>2</sup>, 2001, p. 347 s.v. “*\*keiit-* ‘hell sein, glänzen, leuchten’”). – This etymology excludes the supposed connection between PSI *\*čirb*

(< Iranian) and *\*čilb II* ‘clean’ (< IE *\*(s)kei-* ‘to cut, split, separate’).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. SP (1974–2024, vol. 2, pp. 200–201 s.v. *činb I.*), ESJS (1989–2022, fasc. 2, p. 107 s.v. *činb*), LIV<sup>2</sup> (2001, p. 379 s.v. 2. *\*k<sup>h</sup>ei-*, note 5), Derksen (2008, p. 89 s.v. *inb*), ESJSČ (2024, p. Č-70–72 s.v. *čin*), etc.

<sup>28</sup> Also preserved in the idiomatic expression *to nie je s kostolným riadom* ‘it is not in order’, literally: ‘it is not [in accordance] with the church order [of service]’.

pertaining to a house or dwelling; pots and pans, cookware; artisan equipment' (HSSJ, 1991–2008, vol. 5, p. 62), in contemporary standard Slk 'pots and pans'.

Correspondingly, it is also possible to point to Polish dial. *czyły* '(of a person) normally developed both physically and mentally' (SGP, 1979–2023, vol. 5, p. 246: Lubatowa, district of Krosno, Podkarpackie/Subcarpathian Voivodeship<sup>29</sup>). This adjective may be traced back to PSI \*čilb I 'having taken a rest, etc.', thence probably 'well-rested, refreshed' > 'strong, powerful, etc.' > 'healthy' > 'normally developed (both physically and mentally)'. At the same time, while presupposing that Polish dial. *czyły* might be a continuation of PSI \*čilb II 'arranged, etc.', we can assume here an equally plausible semantic development '(well) arranged; in good order, etc.' > '(of a person) normally developed'.

Cf. also the aforementioned Ukrainian *čýlyj* 'immaculate, spotless (makellos)' (see note 19): originally 'in good order', i.e. a reflex of PSI \*čilb II? – The problem of possible continuations of PSI \*čilb II 'clean' in Slavic languages other than Slovak seems to deserve further attention.

4. Conclusion. – Slk dial. *čily* 'clean, etc.' probably represents an archaic element in the Slk dialectal lexicon. Its reconstructed IE connections lead us to conclude that the word must have existed in the PSI period (PSI \*čilb II 'clean', to be separated etymologically from PSI \*čilb I 'well-rested, fresh; lively'). Given the limited (as observed so far) geographical distribution of its reflexes in the Slavic area, we suggest that PSI \*čilb II 'clean' should be regarded as a PSI dialectism.

## Abbreviations

|      |   |               |
|------|---|---------------|
| dial | – | dialectal     |
| IE   | – | Indo-European |
| PSI  | – | Proto-Slavic  |
| Slk  | – | Slovak        |

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- ESJS – *Etymologický slovník jazyka staroslověnského* (Havlová et al., 1989–2022).  
 ESJŠČ – *Etymologický slovník jazyka staročeského* (Vykyřěl, 2024).  
 ESSYa – *Etimologičeskij slovar' slavyanskikh jazykov* (Trubachev et al., 1974–2021).  
 ESUM – *Etymologičnyj slovník ukraïns'koï movy* (Mel'nychuk et al., 1982–2012).  
 HSSJ – *Historický slovník slovenského jazyka* (Majtán, 1991–2008).

<sup>29</sup> This administrative unit is geographically adjacent to Eastern Slovakia.

- IEW – *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Pokorny, 1959).  
 LIV<sup>2</sup> – *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (Rix & Kümmel, 2001).  
 SGP – *Słownik gwar polskich* (Karaś et al. 1979–2023).  
 SP – *Słownik prasłowiański* (Sławski & Jakubowicz, 1974–2024).  
 SSJ – *Slovník slovenského jazyka* (Peciar, 1959–1968).  
 SSN – *Slovník slovenských nářečí* (Ripka & Ferenčíková, 1994–2021).

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## Summary

**Proto-Slavic dial. \*čilь I ‘well-rested, fresh; lively’: \*čilь II ‘clean’**

The article deals with the etymology of Eastern Slk dial. *čily* ‘clean, neat, tidy; keen on cleanliness’ (with derivatives attested since the 19<sup>th</sup> century). The newly published ESJSČ explains this adjective implicitly as a reflex of PSI dial. \*čilь ‘well-rested, fresh; lively’ (< PSI \*čiti ‘to have a rest’, probably from IE \*k<sup>h</sup>ieh<sub>1</sub>- ‘id.’); this implies a semantic development ‘well-rested, fresh; lively’ > \*‘strong, healthy’ > \*‘good-looking’ > ‘tidy, neat, clean’. In the author’s opinion, Slk dial. *čily* ‘clean, etc.’ should rather be treated separately from the PSI adjective.

Despite its formal and semantic similarity to Slk *čistý* ‘clean’ (< PSI \*čistь ‘id.’ < \*kīd-to-, from IE \*(s)kei-d- ‘to cut, split, separate’; i.e. ‘separated’ > ‘clean’), Slk dial. *čily* arguably cannot be traced back to a parallel PSI formation \*čidlь ‘id.’ < \*kīd-lo- for phonetic reasons. – A more plausible linkage appears to be one to Slk *čiry*, Czech *čirý* ‘clean, pure’ (< PSI dial. \*čirь < \*kei-ro-/\*kī-ro-, from the aforementioned IE \*(s)kei- ‘to cut, split, separate’), which implies an original PSI dial. \*čilь II ‘clean’ (homonymous to PSI dial. \*čilь I ‘well-rested, fresh; lively’), from \*kei-lo-/\*kī-lo- as a parallel derivative of the same root. – PSI dial. \*čilь II ‘clean’ may also be interpreted as \*k<sup>h</sup>ei-lo- ‘piled up; arranged, etc.’ (> ‘put in order; clean’), from IE \*k<sup>h</sup>ei- ‘to pile up, stack; to arrange, etc.’; cf. also PSI \*činь ‘order, etc.’ as a derivative of this IE root. The semantics ‘arranged’ seem to be preserved in Slk dial. *čilota*, whose meaning of ‘apartment furnishings’ possibly evolved from \*‘the state of being arranged; order, etc.’; for a similar shift, cf. PSI \*rędь ‘row, line’ > Slk obsolete *riad* ‘order’, in older language ‘furnishings and equipment pertaining to a house or dwelling; pots and pans, cookware; artisan equipment’.

**Keywords:** etymology, words for ‘clean’, Slovak dial. *čily* ‘clean, cleanly’, Proto-Slavic dial. \*čilь II ‘clean’, Indo-European \*k<sup>w</sup>ei- ‘to pile up, stack, arrange’.