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Proto-Slavic dial. *čilъ I 'well-rested, fresh; lively': *čilъ II 'clean'[1]

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 PSl *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*)[2]. According to SSN, the word is

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[2] 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'[3], '2. keen on cleanliness'[4]. – 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 *čilý* '1. clean, neat, tidy'[5]. According to Buffa (loco cit.), this adverb is documented in Central Šariš[6].

Like Kálal & Kálal (1923), SSN (1994–2021) also contains the aforementioned noun *čilota* which is explained as 'cleanliness, order'[7]. 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'[8] (cf. below) and 'dressy girl, clotheshorse' (expressive)[9]. – 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 *čilý*:

(1) its opposite *nečilý* 'not keen on order, disorderly, messy, uncleanly'[10], *ňečili* 'untidy, slovenly'[11];

(2) the factitive *čiliť* 'to put in order, arrange'[12], *čiľic śe* 'to put oneself in order (in terms of hygiene)[13]; cf. also its prefixal derivatives *očiliť* 'to wash,

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[3] Cf. the respective example of use: *Chlapec prišol do škoľi 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, ľemže 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).

[4] *Haňča, to bars čila žena* 'Haňča is a very cleanly woman' (Torysa, district of Sabinov).

[5] *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 śe trimac* 'id.' (Torysa, district of Sabinov).

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

[7] *F každim kuce je čilota* 'There is cleanliness in every corner' (Studenec, district of Levoča), *Moja madz maľi f caľim dome čilotu* 'My mother had cleanliness/order in all her house' (Prešov).

[8] No examples provided.

[9] *Čiloto, dze hrebeň?* 'Hey, dressy girl, where is the comb?'.

[10] *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).
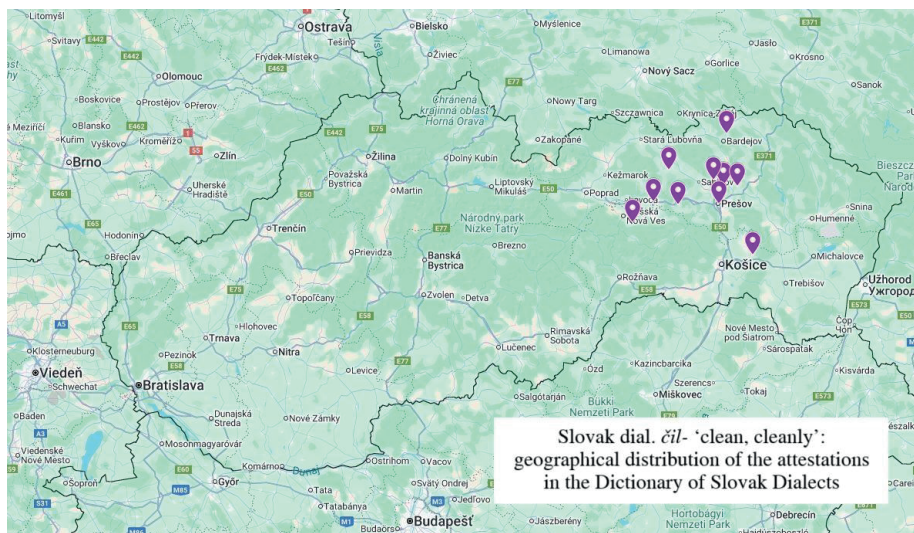
[11] Central Šariš (Buffa, 2004, p. 175).

[12] *Človeče, čiľ śe, šag je ňedzeľa!* 'Man, put yourself in order, it is Sunday!' (Studenec, district of Levoča; SSN, 1994–2021, vol. 1, p. 262).

[13] Western Šariš (Buffa, 2004, p. 46).

clean up; to put in order'[14], *očiľic* (*śe*) 'to tidy (oneself) up'[15], *vičiľic* 'to clean up, tidy up'[16].

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):

Slovak dial. *čil-* 'clean, cleanly':
geographical distribution of the attestations
in the Dictionary of Slovak Dialects

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 (ESJSČ, 2024) which contains the Old Czech lexis beginning with the letters C and Č.

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[14] *Očiľ 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), *Kebi śi choľem toto dzecko kuz očiľila, aľe taka śe caha po žemi, jak prepitujem śviňa* 'If you only cleaned this child a bit, but he/she creeps along like, forgive me, a swine' (Ratvaj, district of Sabinov), *Mal bi śi sebe, Jožu, očiľic toten aucug* 'Joseph, you should clean your suit' (Chmeľovec, district of Prešov), *Svojo dzeci šumňe očiľila* 'She washed her children fine' (Markušovce, district of Spišská Nová Ves; SSN, 1994–2021, vol. 2, p. 512).

[15] *Treba mi očiľic dzecko* 'I have to clean my child' (Central Šariš; Buffa, 2004, p. 183). – The earliest known evidence of the derivatives *nečilý* 'unclean, dirty' and *očiliť* '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: *Potym pošol ku dzecku a vidzel ho ňečile. 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].

[16] Buffa, 2004, p. 301.

In ESJSČ (2024, p. Č-68), Slk dial. *čilý* 'clean, etc.' is mentioned, with reference to SSN, as one of the Slavic cognates of Old Czech *čilý* '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. *čýlaja* '(of milk) full-fat', Ukrainian dial. *čýlyj* 'healthy, strong', Slovene *číl* 'lively, fresh', dial. 'well-rested', Croatian, Serbian *čȉl*, *čȉo* 'lively, fresh, well-rested' – a reflex of PSl dial.[17] *čilъ* 'well-rested, fresh; lively'[18].

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'[19]; these semantics could be a suitable basis for 'nice' (cf. the aforementioned Slk dial. *čilota* 'dressy girl, clothes-horse') 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 *nečilý* (supposedly also *'not strong'[20]), which might have undergone an evolution towards *'lacking physical strength to care for oneself, to maintain personal hygiene, etc.' > 'unclean'; Slk dial. *nečilý* 'unclean, uncleanly' might have subsequently exerted influence on its counterpart *čilý* 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

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[17] "In light of the currently available data, the adjective *čilъ* should be considered a dialectism that is present in parts of the territory of each Slavic language group" (Boryś, 2007, p. 249).

[18] ESJSČ (2024) does not provide any specific information on the "synchronic" semantics of PSl *čilъ*. For the purposes of our article, we adopt the definition of PSl *čilъ* 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 7th–8th centuries CE" (SP, 1974–2024, vol. 1, p. 6). – ESJSČ (2024) provides two etymologies for PSl *čilъ* 'well-rested, fresh; lively' (with extensive references to literature): (1) PSl *čilъ* is an active perfect participle of PSl *čiti* 'to have a rest' (< IE *$k^u ieh_1$- 'id.' [cf. LIV[2], 2001, p. 393 – Ľ.K.]; i.e. its original meaning was 'having taken rest, well-rested'; (2) the word is derived from IE *$k^{(·)}eih_2$- 'to set oneself in motion' [cf. LIV[2], 2001, p. 346 – Ľ.K.] as an adjective with the meaning of potentiality (i.e. 'capable of motion'). – The problem of possible mutual influences between the reflexes of PSl *čilъ* 'well-rested, fresh; lively' and PSl *čulъ* (< PSl *čuti* 'to sense, feel, notice'; cf. ESJSČ loco cit.) is outside the purview of this article.

[19] Cf. also the meaning 'immaculate, spotless (makellos)' given for Ukranian *čýlyj* in Żelechowski & Niedzielski (1886, p. 1070: "Чйлий... gesund, stark, makellos"). According to Jakubowicz (2017, p. 102), these (metaphorical) semantics "supposedly arose on the basis of the positive evaluation of physical fitness".

[20] Cf. Old Czech *nečilý*, defined as 'weak, ineffective' in ESJSČ (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 PSl *čistъ*, 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. *skĕi-* 'schneiden, trennen, scheiden')[21]. Could Slk dial. *čilý* 'clean, etc.' be traced back to a parallel formation *kīd-lo-* (> PSl *čidlъ*), containing the IE suffix *-lo-* (> PSl *-lъ*)?

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-* (PSl *čidlъ*) was – like *kīd--to-* (PSl *čistъ*) – originally a passive participle. Nonetheless, it should be noted in this context that the PSl suffix *-lъ* also does occur in past passive participles of transitive verbs, cf. Old Polish *ukradły* 'stolen', *zabiły* 'killed', Old Czech *upeklý* 'baked', *vyhnalý* 'expelled', etc. (see Damborský, 1967, s. 54–60)[22]. Thus, it is a viable proposition that PSl *čidlъ* might also belong to this morphological group.

An even heftier counter-argument has to do with the phonetic aspect of this hypothesis. The proposed PSl etymon *čidlъ* contains the consonant cluster *dl* which remains preserved in the Eastern Slk dialect zone; the expected reflex of PSl *čidlъ* in Eastern Slk dialects should thus be *čidli* (standardized form: *čidlý*) rather than *čili*[23]. 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 *číry*, Czech *čirý* 'clear, pure' < PSl dial. *čirъ* < *kei-ro-/*kī-ro-*, from the aforementioned IE *(s)kei-* 'to cut, split, separate'[24]. In this perspective, Slk dial. *čilý* 'clean, etc.' can be traced

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[21] With a semantic shift of 'separated (by cutting, sieving)' > 'clean'. For the reconstruction of the PSl 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.

[22] The author remarks that the "indefiniteness (nevyhraněnost)" of genus verbi in Slavic participial formations with the suffix *-lъ* 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).

[23] The phonetic development PSl *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 PSl *gъrdlo*, *tъ̋rdlo* > Eastern Slk dial. *gardlo*, *tardlo* > *garlo*, *tarlo*. – For the reflexes of PSl *dl* (and *tl*) in Slavic languages, cf. e.g. Collins (2018, pp. 1473–1474, 1521, with a list of further literature).

[24] Cf. ESSYa (1974–2021, vol. 4, pp. 116–117 s.v. *čirъjь*) as well as the information in SP s.v. *čistъ* (p. 215: "see *čirъ* : *ščirъ* which also belongs here"). – The root variant *skei-/*skī-* is

back to a parallel derivative[25] *kei-lo-/*kī-lo- (> PSl *čilъ II, not related etymo-
logically to PSl *čilъ I 'well-rested, fresh; lively'), probably a past passive parti-
ciple; cf. above[26].

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
PSl *činъ for which SP reconstructs the following semantics: 'order; proper man-
ner; ceremony; what is connected with ceremony and order: instrument, weapon,
work, act' (SP, 1974–2024, vol. 2, pp. 200–201 s.v. *činъ 1*). 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 18th century, cf. HSSJ, 1991–2008, vol. 2,
p. 492).

PSl *činъ 'order, etc.' has mostly been derived from IE *k^uei- '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^uei-; LIV^2, 2001, pp. 378–379)[27].
In our opinion, Slk dial. *čilý* may be a direct reflex of PSl *čilъ II 'clean', from an
original *k^uei-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 *čilъ 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. PSl *rędъ 'row, line' > Slk obsolete *riad* 'order' (SSJ,
1959–1968, vol. 3, p. 740 s.v. *riad²*)[28], in older Slk 'furnishings and equipment

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preserved in PSl *ščirъ (cf. Polish *szczery*, Old Polish *szczyry*, Ukrainian *ščýryj*, Belarusian *ščýry*
'pure, sincere, etc.', Russian *ščíryj* '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.

[25] 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).

[26] According to Blažek (2012–2020 [online]) (with further references), PSl *čirъ 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 *čiθra-* 'shiny, bright, scintillant', etc.; for etymology, see LIV^2, 2001, p. 347 s.v. "?*keit-
'hell sein, glänzen, leuchten'"). – This etymology excludes the supposed connection between PSl
*čirъ
(< Iranian) and *čilъ II 'clean' (< IE *(s)kei- 'to cut, split, separate').

[27] Cf. SP (1974–2024, vol. 2, pp. 200–201 s.v. *činъ 1*.), ESJS (1989–2022, fasc. 2, p. 107 s.v.
činъ), LIV^2 (2001, p. 379 s.v. *2. *k^uei-*, note 5), Derksen (2008, p. 89 s.v. *înъ*), ESJSČ (2024,
p. Č-70–72 s.v. *čin*), etc.

[28] 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[29]). This adjective may be traced back to PSl *čilъ 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 PSl *čilъ 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 Ukranian *čýlyj* 'immaculate, spotless (makellos)' (see note 19): originally 'in good order', i.e. a reflex of PSl *čilъ II*? – The problem of possible continuations of PSl *čilъ II* 'clean' in Slavic languages other than Slovak seems to deserve further attention.

4. Conclusion. – Slk dial. *čilý* '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 PSl period (PSl *čilъ II* 'clean', to be separated etymologically from PSl *čilъ I* 'well-rested, fresh; lively'). Given the limited (as observed so far) geographical distribution of its reflexes in the Slavic area, we suggest that PSl *čilъ II* 'clean' should be regarded as a PSl dialectism.

A b b r e v i a t i o n s

dial   –   dialectal
IE   –   Indo-European
PSl   –   Proto-Slavic
Slk   –   Slovak

R e f e r e n c e s

ESJS   –   *Etymologický slovník jazyka staroslověnského* (Havlová et al., 1989–2022).
ESJSČ   –   *Etymologický slovník jazyka staročeského* (Vykypěl, 2024).
ESSYa   –   *Etimologicheskiy slovar' slavyanskikh yazykov* (Trubachev et al., 1974–2021).
ESUM   –   *Etymolohichnyy slovnyk ukraïns'koï movy* (Mel'nychuk et al., 1982–2012).
HSSJ   –   *Historický slovník slovenského jazyka* (Majtán, 1991–2008).

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[29] This administrative unit is geographically adjacent to Eastern Slovakia.

IEW	–	*Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Pokorny, 1959).
LIV²	–	*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 nárečí* (Ripka & Ferenčíková, 1994–2021).

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Summary

Proto-Slavic dial. *čilъ I 'well-rested, fresh; lively': *čilъ II 'clean'

The article deals with the etymology of Eastern Slk dial. *čilý* 'clean, neat, tidy; keen on cleanliness' (with derivatives attested since the 19th century). The newly published ESJSČ explains this adjective implicitly as a reflex of PSl dial. *čilъ* 'well-rested, fresh; lively' (< PSl *čiti* 'to have a rest', probably from IE *$k^u\underset{\textstyle .}{\iota}eh_1$- 'id.'); this implies a semantic development 'well-rested, fresh; lively' > *'strong, healthy' > *'good-looking' > 'tidy, neat, clean'. In the author's opinion, Slk dial. *čilý* 'clean, etc.' should rather be treated separately from the PSl adjective.

Despite its formal and semantic similarity to Slk *čistý* 'clean' (< PSl *čistъ* 'id.' < *kīd-to-*, from IE *(s)kei-d-* 'to cut, split, separate'; i.e. 'separated' > 'clean'), Slk dial. čilý arguably cannot be traced back to a parallel PSl formation *čidlъ* 'id.' < *kīd-lo-* for phonetic reasons. – A more plausible linkage appears to be one to Slk *číry*, Czech *čirý* 'clean, pure' (< PSl dial. *čirъ* < *kei-ro-/*kī-ro-*, from the aforementioned IE *(s)kei-* 'to cut, split, separate'), which implies an original PSl dial. *čilъ II* 'clean' (homonymous to PSl dial. *čilъ I* 'well-rested, fresh; lively'), from *kei-lo-/*kī-lo-* as a parallel derivative of the same root. – PSl dial. *čilъ II* 'clean' may also be interpreted as *k^uei-lo-* 'piled up; arranged, etc.' (> 'put in order; clean'), from IE *k^uei-* 'to pile up, stack; to arrange, etc.'; cf. also PSl *činъ* '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. PSl *rędъ* '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. *čilý* 'clean, cleanly', Proto-Slavic dial. *čilъ II* 'clean', Indo-European *k^wei-* 'to pile up, stack, arrange'.