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On the Double Meaning and Single Evaluation of the Polish Lexeme *Czystość* as Compared with Selected Synonyms and Antonyms

The life experience of every human being results in the fact that we recognise, appreciate and share two basic and essential values: life and health. Puzynina (1992, p. 168) argues that these values are central to the system of vital values. For many centuries, people have realised that maintaining proper hygiene bears a direct impact on people's health; yet, hygiene has been conceptualised in very different ways, depending on the culture or the times concerned. Since hygiene affects one's health, *czystość* ('cleanliness; purity') has been also regarded as a value in itself. Grzegorzcyk (1983, p. 31) argues that *czystość* is a vital value inextricably linked to the human physiology and puts it in contrast with spiritual values. The contrast proposed by Grzegorzcyk represents the modern understanding of *czystość*, which is quite narrow and takes into account only the concrete, physical state of being clean. Considering the historical development of the concept, we find that the conceptualisation of *czystość* as a value was considerably wider, which still can be traced in some

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idioms, e.g. *mieć czyste sumienie* ('have a clean conscience'), *czyste serce* ('a clean heart') or *czyste ręce* ('clean hands'). Puzynina often indicates that the boundaries between different value categories are not finely delimited and puts forward a question whether "*czystość* and order are names of traits which belong to the category of aesthetic or cultural values" (Puzynina, 1992, p. 156).¹

The relation between *czystość* and the category of social values originates in the Christian tradition. Nowadays, Roman Catholics interpret *czystość* as abstaining from sexual intercourse before marriage (often associated with virginity or celibacy) as well as when one is widowed. *Czystość* also means that one should have sexual intercourse in an ethical manner. A deeper interpretation of *czystość* can be found in the New Testament: "Jesus Christ [...] said that true *czystość* comes from a human's heart and because of that also human actions and thoughts ought to be evaluated in terms of *czystość*. *Czystość* constitutes a state which brings one nearer to God, whereas the lack of it prevents one from attaining the Kingdom of God" (Łukaszyk, Bieńkowski & Gryglewicz, 1979, p. 933).² This radical approach is mitigated by the Moral Doctrine, which adapts it to the reality of human life: "in the period of life before marriage, *czystość* consists in abstaining from sexual intercourse [...] [whereas] in a marriage, *czystość* means that the sexual intercourse is well motivated and aimed not only at reproduction but also at relieving the physiological sexual tension, as long as it fulfils the social role of family" (Łukaszyk et al., 1979, p. 936).³ Such concept of *czystość* is inextricably connected with human sexuality. On the other hand, the notion of *nieczystość* (Pol. 'uncleanliness') relates to various aspect of human life. *Nieczystość* is defined as "an internal state of a person, which has its origin in the conscious and free choice of evil; the lack of sanctifying grace; actions against cleanliness as a virtue, leading to or constituting a sin; and all evil coming from within humans" (Gigilewicz

¹ Pol. 'czy *czystość*, porządek należą do kategorii nazw cech estetycznych, czy obyczajowych.'

² Pol. 'Chrystus [...] wyjaśnił, że prawdziwa *czystość* pochodzi z serca człowieka i dlatego wartościowaniu w zakresie *czystości* podlegają także myśli i pragnienia. *Czystość* jest stanem najbardziej zbliżającym do Boga, a jej brak zamyka drogę do Królestwa Bożego.'

³ Pol. 'w okresie przedmałżeńskim realizuje się przez opanowanie popędów seksualnych [...] w okresie małżeńskim *czystość* realizuje się we właściwie umotywowanym współżyciu płciowymi prawidłowych stosunkach małżeńskich, mających na celu nie tylko prokreację, ale także rozładowanie seksualnych napięć fizjologicznych przy nastawieniu na społeczne dobro rodziny.'

et al., 2009, p. 1043).⁴ The definition of *nieczystość* is much broader than the contemporary definition of *czystość*. However, the understanding of it was probably similar to the exact opposite of the modern *nieczystość* – it meant evil in general.

The lexeme *czystość* as a name for a value significantly differs from other names of the kind. On the one hand, being a moral value, it is deeply rooted in the Christian tradition, on the other, however, it is a vital or aesthetic value that belongs to the physical sphere of human life.⁵ Regardless of the category (or categories) *czystość* should belong to, one must consider the two meanings of *czystość* related to two different aspects of life: the spiritual and the physical. Apart from the literal, concrete (or at least perceived as such) meaning of “the quality of not being dirty, unclean or polluted,” which refers to objectively existing referents, *czystość* has also a figurative meaning, which refers to the moral and spiritual sphere of life. As far as the etymology is concerned, the original meaning of *czystość* was concrete and associated with the quality of being unclean or polluted with undesirable substances. The lexeme *czystość* derives from the common Slavic adjective *czysty* (‘clean’), which in turn derives from the Proto-Slavic **čistŏ* [*< *kīd-to-*] ‘not blended with anything, not mixed with any additives, genuine, full; uncontaminated, clear.’ The adjectival suffix **-tŏ* [*< *-to-*] has its roots in PIE **(s)kēl-d-* ‘cut, halve, divide, decouple,’ its stem being **(s)kel-* ‘cut, divide’ (SEBor 105).

The present article analyses the abstractum *czystość* and its near-synonyms, i.e. the dated *czystoć* and *czystota*. The lexeme *czystość* carries two meanings: the “physical” – related to personal hygiene, and the ethical – related to human morality. Both meanings come from Proto-Slavic, where *čistota : čistostŭ* used to mean either ‘lack of dirt or contamination, neatness, puritas’ or ‘innocence, blamelessness, sinlessness’ (Spsł). *Czystość* carries a value judgement in Polish. The lexeme has an array of meanings and it is virtually impossible to describe them in a single study. It seems that the most interesting meaning of *czystość* is the ethical one, whose development has been tightly correlated with the cultural changes taking place since the Old Polish period, especially

⁴ All dictionary and encyclopaedic definitions of *czystość* and other lexemes have been translated into English. The original version is included only when it is considered important for the analysis.

⁵ Cf. Puzynina (1992, pp. 29–43) for an analysis of various typologies of values as well as problems with assigning a given value its category.

in comparison to its physical meaning. I have also decided to include in my analysis the adjective *czysty* as well as the antonyms *nieczystość* (*nieczystość*, *nieczystota*) and *nieczysty*; sometimes I also use *brud* ('dirt') and *brudny* ('dirty').⁶

The word family of the adjective *czysty* in Old Polish is well documented. What is interesting is the fact that the Old Polish documents give quite a large number of abstract nouns derived by means of various suffixes, such as *-oć*, *-ość* and *-ota*.⁷ The lexemes *czystość* and *czystota* occur quite frequently, whereas *czystość* 'cleanliness, sinceritas' occurred only once. The only lexeme that refers to hygiene in its first meaning is *czystota* 'bodily cleanliness, puritas' (Sstp) and the only context where this meaning is attested to is cleaning places inhabited by humans, cf. *Oczyszczyć ostatki domu Jeroboamowa, iako wicziscayø gnoy asz do czistoti* 'will take away the remnant of the house of Jeroboam, as a man taketh away dung, till it be all gone' (Sstp). All other meanings pertain to human traits and actions and ethics in general.⁸ As for the lexeme *czystość*, it did not have a meaning related to the physical aspect of existence and referred only to morality as 'purity in ethical terms' (Sstp).⁹ Up to the 15th century, most documented meanings of *czystość* and its synonyms pertained to human morality. *Czystość* and *czystota* share one common meaning

⁶ The analysis would undoubtedly be more comprehensive if the synonyms of *czystość* were included. Unfortunately, this could not have been accomplished in this paper, since historical as well as contemporary dictionaries give a great number of synonyms of the lexeme *czystość*, its ethical meaning in particular. Every synonym is itself a concept so broad that it would require a separate study. Some of the synonyms are: historically *niewinność*, *ochędożność*, *pobożność*, *pokora*, *świętobliwość*, *świętość*, *wierność*, *mierność*, *dziewictwo*, *nienaruszoność*, *powściągliwość*, *wstyd* (SXVI) and contemporarily *szlachetność*, *moralność*, *prawość*, *uczciwość*, *sumiennność*, *kryształowość*, *odpowiedzialność*, *zacność* (PWSP). Many of these have already been analysed diachronically by Grzegorzyczkowa (1993) and Rodzoch-Malek (2011) and synchronically by Jędrzejko (2000), to name a few.

⁷ These affixes were simultaneously present in Old Polish. They were all used to derive deadjectival *nomina essendi*, however they differed substantially in frequency. The least frequent of them was *-ota* which formed 24 deadjectival and deverbal nouns. The affix *-oć* occurred in 49 nouns, predominantly deadjectival; all of these nouns, except for *dobroć*, have gone out of use. The affix *-ość* exhibited the greatest frequency and was used to form more than 500 nouns, of which 385 are names of features (cf. Kleszczowa, 1996, pp. 80, 82, 274).

⁸ *Czystota*: 1. 'bodily cleanliness'; 2. 'moral purity' (also: *virginitas*, *caelibatus*); 3. 'honesty' (Sstp).

⁹ The other meanings of *czystość* are: 'truthfulness, perfection'; 'illumination'; 'transparency' (Sstp).

of ‘moral purity.’ The Latin¹⁰ equivalents of *czystość* and *czystota* which appear in Old Polish texts refer to various aspects of morality: from those defined in very general terms to “purity and integrity of faith,” as well as moderation, decorousness and sexual purity. In Old Polish contexts, *czystość* was regarded as one of the highest values, which resulted from the importance of religion in these times. Thus, the “purity (*czystość*) of faith” was given great respect and its significance was sometimes reinforced by the authority of a saint: *Svyathy Ffranczyshek [...] w they tho wyary czystosci swoye syny nauczał* ‘St. Francis taught his children in such purity of faith’ (Sstp). Moral purity is a prerequisite for attaining salvation, since it is the criterion according to which one will be judged by God: *Gospodzin [...] podluk czistosci moyu røku oplacy mne* ‘Lord! Please, reward me according to the purity of my hands’ (Sstp). That is why *czystość* is listed alongside other names for important values: *słowo boże* ‘the word of God,’ *miłość Boga* ‘the love of God,’ *mądrość* ‘wisdom,’ *rozum* ‘reason,’ *skromność* ‘modesty,’ *śmiara* ‘humility,’ *miłosierdzie* ‘mercy.’ *Czystość* sometimes is also accompanied by an adjective increasing its positive evaluation, e.g. *wielebna czystota* ‘reverend cleanliness/purity.’ As far as its metaphorical depiction is concerned, *czystość* is usually described as light: *czystota swyeczyła [...]* ‘(a/the) cleanliness shone’ (Sstp), *czystota mego żywotha, kthora yaszności mego dusze mogłabych przyjąć twa nybyeszka karmy* ‘the purity of my life, which with the clarity [lit. ‘brightness’] of my soul could receive your holy sustenance’ (Sstp), [...] *aby też była czystością świeciła [...]* ‘so that it also shines with such purity’ (Sstp), *światły czystości* ‘bright purity’ (Sstp). This metaphor consists in projecting features usually associated with corporal purity or cleanliness on ethical values, since what is clean or pure often shines brightly. Hence the other, albeit less frequent, meanings of *czystość* documented in Old Polish, i.e. ‘light; glitter’ and ‘transparency.’

In particular contexts, the general meaning of ‘moral purity’ is often limited to sexual purity expressed as *caelibatus* and *virginitas*. While sexual purity is associated with both sexes, only one occurrence of *czystota* refers explicitly to the purity of a male: *I był Jozef dziewica i stróż czystoty dziewicze* ‘Joseph was a virgin and a guard of virginal purity’ (Sstp). Another sentence seems to refer to both sexes: *Gdy szyją od zbythków czyelystnych przez czystothę*

¹⁰ E.g. *castitas* ‘purity, chastity’ but also ‘purity, integrity (of faith)’; *continentia* ‘abstemiousness, continence, temperance, moderation, purity’; *pudicitia* ‘shamefastness, modesty, chastity, virtue’; *caelibatus* ‘celibacy, single life’; *virginitas* ‘virginity, maidenhood, unweddedness’ as well as ‘innocence’ and ‘integrity’ (SKŁP).

powczyągamy ‘When we abstain from bodily pleasures for the sake of our purity’ (Sstp). However, it is not certain that ‘bodily pleasures’ are used here exclusively in the sexual sense; they might also refer to gluttony, for instance. On the other hand, the purity (*czystość*) of women is often emphasised by comparisons with Mother of God (‘Matka Boska’): *Swyatha Maria [...], chwala y modla dzyewsthwu, y czysthoczye thwey* ‘Holy Mary [...], praise your virginity and your purity’ (Sstp). Retained virginity is usually emphasised in the context of marriage, e.g. *W czyszthosczy szwe czyalo do czasu malzenyskyego zachowala* ‘She had kept her body pure until she married’ (Sstp). Yet, virginity was regarded as a virtue more general and higher than just a prerequisite for marriage: *Czystotha swyeczyła, yss thesch nye podobno [...]* *yq sluschnym skuthkom malschenskim przylaczycz* ‘Her purity shone so brightly [...] that she could not be forced into the desired state of marriage’ (Sstp).

The adjective *czysty* has a well documented meaning of ‘physically clean; not dirty.’ This appears to be the original meaning of the word, since it refers to the tangible features of a human which can be perceived through the senses, cf. *S[y]q dzyeczy czysthe, male, malym sythe* ‘There are children who are clean, little and satisfied with a little’ (Sstp). *Czysty* can also refer to human’s immediate surroundings, such as the house or the yard: *Habitaculum lucidum czyste* ‘[A/the] clean habitaculum lucidum’ (Sstp.); or the environment in general, e.g. *Splendidum (fluvium) czystha* ‘[A/the] clean/pure splendidum (fluvium)’ (Sstp). The axiologically positive aspects of *czystość* in its physical sense can be traced back (indirectly) to the 15th century, when *czysty* was used to describe the physical appearance of Jesus and Saint Mary, e.g. *Wargi miał siln<i>e słodkie [...]* *kiedy mówił Jesus, tedy były czyste a mokrością nigdy nie pokalany* ‘Jesus’ lips were very sweet [...] when he spoke, they were pure/clean and never tainted by any wetness’ (Sstp). Because the word was used to describe Jesus, who epitomises God as the absolute value, a normal physical feature of a person receives an axiological meaning. Nevertheless, the physical meaning of the adjective *czysty* is significantly worse documented than the ethical one. *Czysty* means ‘without any moral, ritual or legal flaw’;¹¹ of these three meanings, the lack of moral flaws is the best documented one. It often appears in phrases such as : *czysty żywot* ‘pure life’; *czysta myśl* ‘clean thoughts’; *czyste ciało* ‘clean

¹¹ Also ‘without any additives, real, not falsified’; ‘pristine, doubtless’; ‘perfect, exquisite’; ‘bright’; ‘bare, plain, not covered by trees’; ‘effective, not weakened’ (Sstp).

body'; and, above all, *czyste serce* 'pure heart', which is always an indicator of a positive judgement: *Newinowati røkoma y czistego sercza [...] ten isti wezme blogoslawene od gospodna* 'He who has clean hands and pure heart [...] shall receive God's blessing' (Sstp). In this case, the positive evaluation is emphasised by the promise of God's blessing; in other contexts the same effect is achieved by associations with Holy Mary, for whom the adjective *czysta* 'pure/clean' has been a fixed attribute since the Old Polish period, cf. *Maria, czysta dzewicze, da nam widzecz bosze licze; O Marya, panno czysta, raczy nam bycz myłosczywą; Jesu Chryste wsząlesz czyalo s panny czystey* 'Holy Mary, the pure virgin, let us see God's countenance; Oh, Holy Mary, the pure virgin, have mercy on us all; Jesus Christ, you received your body from a pure virgin' (Sstp). In the above examples, the adjective *czysty* refers to virginity and sexual purity, it is, however, not limited exclusively to this feature, cf. *Gospodze moya [...], vczym (pro vczyni) mye czystha w duszy y w czelye* 'My Dear Lady [...], please make me pure in the soul and the body of mine' (Sstp).

The great significance attributed to *czystość* is also reflected in the number of its antonyms: *nieczystość*, *nieczystość* and *nieczystota* 'impurity; uncleanness'.¹² All these meanings are well documented and in some texts we can also find the opposition of *czystość* and *nieczystość*: *Kto czistotø mylvie, ten sie trzyma kv wszelkeey nyeczistoczee iako owcza przeczywko wilkowi* 'He who loves cleanliness keeps away from all uncleanness, just as a sheep keeps away from wolves' (Sstp).

Although the definitions of *nieczystość* and *nieczystota* include 'lack of cleanliness, dirtiness, untidiness',¹³ this meaning is not as frequently exemplified in texts as the ethical meaning. In the moral sense of the words, *nieczystość* and *nieczystota* are 'the state of being against the moral rules, obligations and norms, especially sexually; debauchery, prostitution, adultery and sensual lust'

¹² Modern speakers of Polish feel *brud* 'dirt' to be the opposite of *czystość*. In Old Polish, however, *brud* did not have an elaborate meaning and its dictionary entry merely gives 'sordes' as its definition. Moreover, it lists only one example of it, i.e. *Zgrzeszyly iemu, a nye synowye yego w brudoch* 'They have sinned against him, not his sons, in dirt' (Sstp). The association of *brud* with sin in this contexts suggests that *brud* does not pertain to the physical but rather to the ethical. As far as the adjective *brudny* 'dirty' is concerned, the situation is different: *Ye sz mnogo twarzø czudno, a bødze mecz røkø brudno* 'There are many a beautiful face, who have dirty hands' (Sstp). This fragment, taken from Słota's poem, simply draws attention to washing hands as a natural example of good manners.

¹³ This meaning has not been found for *nieczystość*.

(Sstp). It is clear that the definition contains heavy transgressions, which were subject to grave punishments in the past, including death sentence: *Dzewka [...] vmrze, ze gest vczynila nyecistotø w Israel* ‘The woman [...] shall die because she committed an impurity in Israel’ (Sstp), *Kaplanyska dzewka gdiszbi pochwiczona bila w nyeczistoczce [...], plomyenim vszona bødze* ‘If a priest’s daughter is caught committing impurity [...], she shall be burned’ (Sstp). Since moral expectations were stricter for women, it is probably not a coincidence that the texts describing strict punishments usually give women as examples.¹⁴ The frequent use of the lexemes *nieczystość* and *nieczystota* resulted in the fact that it has become the name of one of the seven deadly sins, cf. *Thrzeczy grzech yest nyeczistota, then człowiekowy yest sromota* ‘The third sin is impurity [lust], which is a dishonour to every man’ (Sstp); *Vbacz grzechow ssiedm bycz [...]: pycha, lakomstwo s nieczystotą* ‘The seven deadly sins are [...]: pride, greed and impurity [i.e. lust] [...]’ (Sstp). These received a strongly negative evaluation and thus *nieczystość* became associated with other commonly condemned actions or features: *Sercza (leg. z serca) vychodzą [...] sle mysly, mezoboystwa, cvdzolostva, nyeczystoty* ‘Out of the heart come [...] bad thoughts, mariticide, adultery, impurity’ (Sstp).

The adjective *nieczysty* ‘impure, unclean’ had two meanings in Old Polish: the physical meaning of ‘dirty, filthy, tainted, untidy’ and the ethical one, i.e. ‘against the standing moral rules, obligations and norms; evil, dishonest, sinful, especially lecherous, debauched and lustful.’¹⁵ *Nieczysty* in its physical sense pertains to people and their surroundings, invoking revolting associations with vermin: *Ktoricz *clouecz nieczyste odze<nie> ma, tenczy s pokogem przed robaky ff nem [...] ne odpoczywa* ‘He who has filthy clothing shall ever be pestered by vermin’ (Sstp). The negative evaluation arises also from the association of *nieczysty* with condemned biblical figures: *O Iudaschu [...], kako szye nye ląkl polozycz vsta svoye nyeczyste na oblycze tvego Crista* ‘Of Judas [...], because he feared not to lay his filthy lips on thy Christ’s countenance’ (Sstp). Some fragments included under the physical meaning in *Słownik staropolski*, however, seem to refer to ethical aspects of *nieczystość*. Due to the high metaphoricity,

¹⁴ For more information about the double moral standards for men and for women in contemporary Polish, cf. Szpyra-Kozłowska & Karwatowska, 2004. Raszewska-Żurek (2011) writes about different meanings of the lexeme *cnota* ‘virtue, chastity’ for men and for women in the history of Polish.

¹⁵ This meaning pertains also to violating ritual prohibitions, and is also well documented as such in Sstp.

it is virtually impossible to distinguish between the two meanings in many of examples, which suggests that the two meanings were overlapping. *Nieczysty* was used to describe many transgressions, the gravest of them being *grzech nieczysty* ‘the sin of impurity’ with the emotions and actions associated with it: *nieczyste pożądanie i lubowanie* ‘impure lust and love’, *nieczyste złączenie* ‘impure coupling’ and *nieczyste myśli* ‘impure thoughts’: *Zbawy moye serce od nyeczysthych myszy* ‘Please save my heart from impure thoughts’ (Sstp). In most contexts, *nieczysty* refers to unaccepted sexual behaviours; the adjective is also used to describe places where such actions take place, e.g. *nieczysty dom* ‘brothel [lit. impure house]’ and *nieczyste łóże* ‘illicit [lit. impure] bed.’ For centuries, the negative judgement regarding these places along with the repercussions of it were passed on to children born out of the wedlock: *Nyecznye narodeny, z nyeczystego losza* ‘Born with a sin; a child of an impure bed’ (Sstp). *Nieczysty* in Old Polish could be used to describe both sexes, as evidenced by the following examples: *Nyewyasti nyeczyste* ‘Filthy/impure women’ (Sstp); *Czlowyek roskosnego ziwota myedzy wami y nyeczisty barzo zawidzecz bødzye bratu swemu* ‘There is among you a filthy man leading a life of pleasure. He shall envy his brother’ (SXVI). The word *człowiek* ‘human, man’ was frequently used to denote a male in Old Polish.¹⁶ His *rozkoszny żywot* ‘life of pleasure’ most likely means his debauchery; however, it seems that *nieczysty* refers to a number of different flaws, including envy, which appears in the quoted fragment. Similarly, *nieczyste serce* can also carry an extended negative meaning, including all other vices: *Z nyeczyste<go> syercza* ‘Of impure heart’ (Sstp).

The 16th century does not bring any significant changes and there are still three abstract names derived from the adjective *czysty*. The lexeme *czystota* does not have any documented meaning in the 16th century that would pertain to the physical sphere of human life. The only attested uses refer to flawless morality, not only sexual; yet, sexuality is the most frequent domain of reference. The definition of *czystota* includes ‘sexual abstinence, modesty’ but also ‘righteousness, goodness.’ *Czystość* often occurs along *sprawiedliwość* in some texts: *Był też ten Sokrates dziwnie czystotą á sprawiedliwoscią y innemi cznotami obdarzon* ‘Socrates was a man endowed with [moral] purity, fairness of judgement and many other virtues’ (SXVI). Only in the lexeme *czystość* the primary meaning

¹⁶ Ciunowič (2011, p. 38) writes that „in Old Polish *człowiek* was still used to refer to a man, but also a woman.” Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that it was used to denote only women, hence *człowiek* may refer either to men or to both sexes.

is 'lack of dirt, filth, impurities; tidiness'; however, it does not occur very often in the available texts and in one case physical tidiness is contrasted with moral evil: *Stymi nietrzymam/ ktorzy zwierzchnią postawą/ y odzienim/ okazwią czystosć ale na vmysle y na vczynekach/ nad nierozvmne bestije są psotliwszy* 'I avoid the company of people who show purity with their appearance, but their mind and their actions are more filthy than actions of evil beasts' (SXVI).¹⁷ The meaning of the lexeme *czystość* that occurs most frequently is 'lack of sin, innocence, flawlessness; nobleness, righteousness, virtue; goodness, holiness' (SXVI). Frequent collocates of *czystość* and *czystota* are the names of other values highly regarded in the Christian society of the times, e.g. *świętość* 'holiness'; *świętobliwość* 'saintliness'; *pobożność* 'piety'; *pokora* 'humility'; *cichość* 'silence'; *cierpliwość* 'patience' or *męstwo* 'fortitude; valour.' *Czystość* is also depicted as a feature of God, cf. *smiesz mówić y pisać/ náprzećiwko Pánu Bogu/ nawysszey dobroći y tsystości/ iákoby o ktorą złą rzetz [...] postánowił?* 'do you dare to speak and write against Your Lord of highest goodness and purity, accusing Him of creating anything bad?' (SXVI). Hence, *czystość* becomes the highest virtue, a perfect example of good conduct; this is reinforced by its metaphorical depictions: *Czystość fundámentem cnot Chrześcijáńskich* 'Purity is the foundation of all Christian virtues' (SXVI). In some cases, *czystość* is contrasted with its antonyms and depicted with metaphors based on the human senses, e.g. taste: *vżywaymy nie wstárym kwásie/ áni w kwásie złości y niepráwości/ ále wprzásnicy czystości y prawdy* 'we should not live in the old bitterness [lit. acid], nor the bitterness of anger and immorality, but in the unleavened bread of purity and truth' (SXVI).

Czystość 'purity' is irrevocably tied with *sumienie* 'conscience' and such combinations are common in modern Polish. Therefore, it is worth mentioning that collocations of *czystość* and *sumienie* have their roots in the beginnings of Polish and were already used in Old Polish, inspired by the ancient rule of combining the good with the beautiful: *Pyakney czudno<sczy>*, *samnyenya czysto<sczy>* 'Miraculous beauty, the purity of conscience' (Sstp). As far as its religious meanings are concerned, the purity of conscience (*czystość sumienia*) in the 16th century

¹⁷ The other meanings of *czystość* are somewhat extended continuations of the meanings found in Old Polish: 'transparency, brightness, lack of blur'; 'truthfulness, honesty, lack of insincerity, integrity, simplicity, comprehensibility' (SXVI). The latter meaning correspond to the Latin *sinceritas*. Until the end of the 15th century, such meaning was found in one occurrence of the lexeme *czystota*. One of the collocates of *czystość* is *wiara* 'faith,' which together yield *czystość wiary* 'the purity of faith.'

means that one should confess one's sins: *Abowiem gdzie doścąć mieli odpuszczenia grzechow y czyścności sumnienia swego/ tám dla wftydu swych wyścępków wyznąć niechcą przed Kápłanem* 'When they should have attained the absolution of their sins and the purity of their hearts, they did not want to confess their sins to the Priest, for they were ashamed of them' (SXVI). *Czystość rąk* 'clean hands (lit. cleanliness of hands)' also has a long history in Polish. In Old Polish, it was used in a metaphor which presented clean hands as a basis for God's judgement; it was still used in this sense in the 16th century: *Bo mu okaże rąk swoich me wścýtki czyścności/ gdyżem zówždy ták pilnye strzegł drog Páná moiego* 'I shall show Him my clean hands, since I have always protected my Lord's ways' (SXVI).

Moral purity (broadly defined) encompasses a number of different aspects of human life. There is, however, a clear division into the sphere of the heart or the soul (spirituality) and the sphere of the body (sexuality). These are not regarded as two opposites, but rather seen as two aspects that contribute to the integrity of the desired virtue, cf. *W czyścności ferdeczney y ćielefney kochać się znák iest Anyelckiego towárzyftwá* 'He who loves another with the purity of his heart and body is truly in the company of Angels' (SXVI). Both collocates, i.e. *czyścność serca* (*serdeczna*) 'purity of the heart' and *czyścność ćieleśna* (*ćiała*) 'corporal purity,' seem to be entrenched in sixteenth-century Polish – they frequently occur in the available texts. Corporal purity, i.e. sexual abstinence, is presented as separate from the purity of the heart and emphasised in many texts, which reflects its importance in those times. Corporal purity is required predominantly of women: *każdey niewiafty from á czyścnota iesth prawa ozdoba* 'every woman should have modesty and purity as her attire' (SXVI). Nevertheless, in many texts it refers to both sexes and it collocates with *panieństwo* 'maidenhood'; *dziewictwo* 'virginity'; *cnota* 'virtue, virginity'; *niewinność* 'innocence'; *wstrzemięźliwość* 'sexual abstinence; moderation'; *beźżeństwo* 'being unmarried.' In these texts, corporal purity is always regarded as a positive feature: *CZYSTOSC Pánienska y beźżeńska zacniejsza niżli małżeńska* 'The PURITY of a maiden and an unmarried man is worth more than the purity in a marriage' (SXVI). The lexeme *czyścność* is the least frequent one found in 16th century texts – its meaning is practically limited to moral aspects of human life: 'innocence, moral flawlessness, sexual abstinence' (SXVI). In the case of *czyścność*, however, morality is understood not only as a matter of human actions, but also human thoughts and intentions: *á czyścność nieiedno wczinkiem ćieleśnim/ ale też miślq/ á żądzą nierządna bywa narufzona* 'people often transgress against purity with their actions, but also with their thoughts and indecent desires' (SXVI).

Although *Słownik polszczyzny XVI w.* (SXVI) lists eight meanings of the adjective *czysty*, only one of the meanings concerns the physical sphere: 'free from dirt, cleaned, without a stain, tidy; shiny, glistening; white' (SXVI). The importance of being clean (*czysty*) is often emphasised in various types of advice related to the preparation of food and medical practices: *aby w czystym gárnku czyście sje wárzyło* 'ensure that the pot is clean before you cook'; *z wierzchu ranę zakrić czystą chuŝtą* 'cover the wound with a clean cloth' (SXVI). *Czysty* 'clean; pure' often collocates with adjectives related to light and whiteness, e.g. *biały i czysty* 'white and clean' or *czysty a jasny* 'clean and bright'; it is also often compared with light and whiteness, e.g. *czystszy niż śnieg* 'cleaner than snow'. The fact that cleanliness is associated with light, which is sought for by humans, results in the positive evaluation of the former. As far as ethical features are concerned, the adjective *czysty* has the following meaning in the 16th century: 'free from sin, innocent, flawless, morally pure; noble, righteous, virtuous, good; holy' (SXVI). Hence, the definition of *czysty* is axiologically positive. Similarly to Old Polish, in the 16th century Polish, the adjective *czysty* is attributed to Holy Mary and Jesus Christ: *Gdzie ty idźiesz/ idą też z tobą w swym porządku/ po twej drodze ná świećie/ czysty nářz Báránku* 'Wherever you go, they follow in your footsteps, our pure Lamb of God' (SXVI). *Czysta dusza* 'pure soul' is likewise often associated with other positively evaluated traits – *cne i dostojne obyczaje* 'good and decent manners,' while a *czyste serce* 'pure heart' warrants a promise of seeing God Himself: *Blogosławieni czyřtego fertza/ bo oni boga oglądaią* 'Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God' (SXVI). *Czysty* often collocates with adjectives describing moral virtues of a general nature, e.g. *prawy i czysty* 'righteous and pure'; *szlachetny i czysty* 'noble and pure'; *czysty i uczciwy* 'pure and honest'; *czysty i zacny* 'pure and good' or even *święty i czysty* 'holy and pure.' Such adjectives do not add to the meaning of *czysty*, nor do they make it any more precise; their function is tautological and contributes only to the strengthening of the positive valuation of *czystość*.

In the 16th century, there were two different antonyms in use derived from *czystość* and *czystota*, namely *nieczystość* and *nieczystota*. Both words mean 'ill secretions from human body'.¹⁸ This provides evidence for the claim that uncleanliness was associated with disease, which is one of the main anti-values.¹⁹

¹⁸ The lexeme *nieczystość* has a more general meaning of 'dirt(iness)'. The lexeme *nieczystota*, on the other hand, refers only to illness and disease in their concrete sense.

¹⁹ Traces of such meanings were already found in Old Polish. The meaning of *czysty* in one text is 'free from leprosy': *Czyst bądźz volo mundare (Volo: mundare. Et confestim mundata est*

The two lexemes in question often collocate with unpleasant sensations, which makes their negative evaluation even stronger: *Plugawstwo/ nieczystość/ smród* ‘filth, uncleanness, stench’ (SXVI). As far as their ethical meanings are concerned, *nieczystość* and *nieczystota* are more precise than their antonyms (i.e. *czystość* and *czystota*), as they refer strictly to debauchery and prostitution – the lack of moral purity is limited to human sexuality. *Nieczystość* and *nieczystota* often collocate with other sins and transgressions, e.g. *aby się wystrzegali pijaństwa/ obżarstwa/ nieczystości/ cudzołóstwa/ białochwałstwa/ lenistwa/ drapieżstwa/ lichwiarstwa/ łakomstwa/ zwady/ gniewu/ y swarow* ‘they should avoid intemperance, gluttony, impurity, adultery, idolatry, idleness, greed, usury, greediness, quarrel, anger and squabble’ (SXVI). In some cases, *nieczystota* and *nieczystość* also refer to prostitution: *Nierząd płodzęwy/ dawam [!] swe ciało ná nieczystość dla pieniędzy* ‘Being a prostitute, I make my body impure for money’ (SXVI). Some texts are very explicit about this aspect: *Wzjelákie nierządu płodzenie przeciwko zákazaniu á zakonowi boskiemu/ kurewstwo/ nierząd/ nieczystość* ‘Committing prostitution is a transgression against man’s and God’s law; being a whore, adultery, impurity’ (SXVI). In other texts we may find more “poetic” formulations: *A po dwu lećiech dowiedział sie o niey gdzie była: á iáko ná sprofnym wárftácie nieczystości/ przy iednym gościńcu y karczmie zásiádlá* ‘Two years later he learnt where she had been: she opened her filthy workshop in one of the taverns nearby’ (SXVI). *Nieczystość* and *nieczystota* refer to immoral actions of both sexes (i.e. humans in general), and committing them may cause one to no longer be seen as a human. Such “bestiality” (*bydlęce życie*) is subject to God’s punishment: *Potym áby ludzie zákazány nieczystości sprofnego a bydlęcego życia/ ktore Pan Bog nienawidzi y często karze/ vstrzec się mogli* ‘So that people could avoid the forbidden impurities of debauchery and bestiality, which are objects of God’s hate and severe punishment’ (SXVI).

Nieczysty means ‘dirty; filthy’ in the 16th century,²⁰ but can also refer to somebody suffering from a skin disease: *iesli był nieczyfity [chory korzystający*

lepra eius) ‘Be clean volo mundare (Volo: mundare. Et confestim mundata est lepra eius)’ (Sstp).

²⁰ SXVI does not state what the exact meaning of ‘dirty; filthy’ (*brudny*) is in this case. Some examples given in this entry suggest that it refers to physical features, e.g. *aby iéy [wody] nieplugawił nikt/ álbo co w niey nieczystého piorąc/ álbo plugawe ciało w niey płózcąc* ‘that no one makes the water filthy by washing something dirty in it or by rinsing his filthy body in it’ (SXVI). Other examples seem to refer to ritual purity related to religious prohibitions, e.g. *iz vnich [w Moskwie] to iest rzecz skárada y zá nieczyftego gi máiaq/ kto sie Pfá dotknie* ‘in Moscow

z kąpeli leczniczych]/ [...] zstąd ówo bywa/ iż do dni kilku śiadfzy świérzb álbo krostj sie wyfypa ‘if the bathed patient had been dirty, in a few days his skin will be full of scabies and pustules’ (SXVI). The negative associations that arise from putting uncleanness and disease together are strengthened by the revolting sensations related to skin diseases. Repulsion is also associated with this adjective in another of its recorded uses: *ienci dzis prze nás nieczySTEMI sInami vplwán* ‘we have with us today a man all covered with unclean spit’ (SXVI). The moral meaning of the adjective *nieczysty* is defined as ‘immoral, full of sin, evil,’ hence again it is the negative evaluation that is given prominence, not the information about the particular kind of evil or sin it is. The contexts where *nieczysty* is found, however, demonstrate that it usually refers to transgressions against religion, since we also come across *nieczysty Mahomet* ‘impure/filthy Muhammad’ or *Luter nieczysty* ‘impure/filthy Luther’ and the wrong religions are described as being in the company of the devil himself: *ifz cí Heretykowie dzisieyfy/ towarzystwo z duchy nieczyfTE maią* ‘these heretics of today stay in the company of evil spirits’ (SXVI). The negative connotations of the adjective *nieczysty* are further evidenced by the fact that it is often used to describe the devil, e.g. *áni Duchem Czárthowskim nieczyfTym* ‘[with/by] the evil spirit of the devil’; *diabelftwo nieczyfTE* ‘the filthy devilry’ (SXVI). Another factor that contributes to the negative evaluation associated with *nieczysty* is the fact that everything unclean or impure is separated from the good and the heavenly: *Iuż tám [do nieba] nic nieczyfTEgo/ nic plugáwego wniść áni sie zátáić może* ‘Nothing unclean, impure or filthy may enter the door of heaven or hide therein’ (SXVI). In some cases, *nieczysty* is used to describe wrong actions against humans or harm done to them on account of their social status: *Z tądże one nieczyfTych luDzi mowy: Ktoby wieśniaká álbo chłopá zábil [...] iákoby też pfa zábil* ‘That is why impure people say: killing a villager or a peasant [...] is equal to killing a dog’ (SXVI). Apart from the generalised moral meaning, *nieczysty* has a more exact meaning of ‘debauched or committing prostitution; of thoughts and actions: related to prostitution’ (SXVI). *Nieczysty* often collocates with other adjectives, always negatively marked: *niezbożny i nieczysty* ‘godless and impure’; *plugawy i nieczysty* ‘filthy and impure’; *pomazany i nieczysty* ‘dirty and impure’; *smro-dliwy i nieczysty* ‘reeking and impure’; *cielesny i nieczysty* ‘corporal and impure’;

they find dogs repulsive and everyone who touches a dog is considered filthy’ (SXVI). In translations of the Bible, both in Old Polish and the ones written in the 16th century, *nieczysty* can also refer to moral as well as physical features in the descriptions of “unclean Jews.”

cudzołożny i nieczysty ‘adulterous and impure’; *nieczysty i kazirodski* ‘impure and incestuous’; *sodomski i nieczysty* ‘sodomite and impure’; *sprośny i nieczysty* ‘lewd and impure’; *nieczysty i niepowściągliwy* ‘impure and immoderate’; *nieczysty i nieprawy* ‘impure and immoral.’ A few collocations with negative nouns can also be found: *nieczysta myśl* ‘impure thoughts’; *nieczysta pożądliwość* ‘filthy lust’; *rozpustność nieczysta* ‘filthy lechery’; *nieczysty uczynek* ‘filthy actions’; *nieczysty występ* ‘filthy transgression.’ The importance of all things impure and unclean is further corroborated by the fact that *nieczystość* was subject to severe punishments in the earthly life as well as in the life after death: *iż wżeteczne á nieczyfite ludzie karze Pan Bog kaźniámi ták čielesnymi ná tym świecie/ iáko teź duźznemi y wiecznemi ná onem świecie* ‘God shall punish the filthy and full of sin with corporal pain in this world and with eternal suffering after they die’ (SXVI). The texts mention also severe punishments coming from people, not from God: *Towáryfz nierządnych á nieczyfitych niewiafz vtraći máiętność* ‘He who stays in the company of prostitutes and filthy women shall forfeit all his wealth’ (SXVI). The fact that it was the women who were described as filthy (*nieczyste*), not the man who stayed in their company and is obviously just as guilty, reflects the fact that women were judged more harshly. Nevertheless, *nieczystość* could refer to both sexes and collocated with many negatively connoted nouns: *nieczysty sprośnik* ‘filthy lecher’; *nieczyste i cudzołożniki* ‘the filthy [women] and the adulterous [men]’; *mercha nieczysta* ‘filthy unmarried woman [who lives with a man].’ *Nieczysty* is sometimes put on par with many different names for sinners and criminals, e.g. *gdy inne widzi pijanice/ łotry/ lichwiarze/ złodzieie/ nieczyfite* ‘when one sees drunkards, scoundrels, usurers, thieves and the filthy’; *wfzelki wżetecznik/ ábo nieczyfity/ ábo łákomiec* ‘all lechers, filthy [men] and gluttons’; *Nieczyfitym/ Sodomczykom/ tym którzy ludzi krádną/ kłámcam/ krzywoprzyfężcam* ‘the filthy, the sodomites, the ones who kidnap people, the liars and the perjurers’ (SXVI).

In SXVI, the definiton *brud* ‘dirt; filth’²¹ does not mention any metaphorical meanings referring to human morality. *Brud* means ‘dust, dirt, impurity’ or ‘residue, dregs, rubbish’ (SXVI). The latter meaning is limited to certain side effects of manufacturing processes, e.g. oil production or metal smelting:

²¹ *Brud* derives from the North Slavic and Proto-Slavic **brudǫ* ‘uncleanliness; impurity,’ whose origins are unclear. It is also hypothesised that *brudny* derives from the Proto-Slavic **brudǫ* ‘sharp, spicy, of unpleasant taste, revolting, disgusting.’ It is unclear, however, where the vowel *-u-* comes from (SEBor).

Drożdże albo brudy olejowe ‘Yeast or oil impurities’; *Szlák/ szimowiny/ brudy albo żużel od kruszca* ‘Coal dust, scum, dirt or cinder from the ore’ (SXVI). The former, on the other hand, may denote tangible features, impurities or uncleanliness, e.g. *Sczierka, iaką brud włazni zczieraiaq* ‘The cloth used for wiping dirt in the bath house’ (SXVI); however, it is predominantly associated with morality: *Poydzyefsz potym do ląźniey/ ábyś płokał ciáło/ Pátrż by ná dufzy więcey brudu nie przywrzáło* ‘You shall then go to the bath house to clean your body, but beware lest your soul is tainted with more dirt’ (SXVI). The dirty soul mentioned here is most likely put in opposition to moral purity. Most texts emphasise the moral aspect of *brud* ‘dirt; filth’ and give it far greater prominence: *Pierwey brud ná dufzy obacz/ Toż potym ciáło kapać rácz* ‘Before you go and bathe your body, first notice the filth on your soul’ (SXVI). Just as it was the case with *czystość*, the authors’ intention was to emphasise the moral virtues and to give them priority over all other values and virtues: *Nie pomoże nic brud s ciálá/ ieśli sie cnotá zbrukála* ‘It will not be of any worth [to clean] the dirt from your body, if your soul is filthy’ (SXVI). In sixteenth-century texts, *brud* does not receive any additional adjectives or metaphors that would strengthen its negative connotations. Nevertheless, the negative evaluation of *brud* is evidenced by the fact that it is often associated with disease (and a very nagging one, namely with scabies), which in general refers it to human suffering: *A tam sie odmyie y odpadnie fwierzb z brudem poppołu* ‘And then you shall wash away the dirt along with the scabies’ (SXVI). In moral terms, the negative evaluation of *brud* is emphasised by its collocations with sin – the dominant anti-value of sixteenth-century society: *Wodá oná nie tylo brud s ciálá zmywa: ále y dufzę od grzéchów oczyścia* ‘Not only does water cleanse your body of all the dirt, but it also renders your soul free from sin’ (SXVI). The associations of filth (*brud*) and sin are further corroborated by how the adjective *brudny* was used in that period. One of the meanings of *brudny* listed by SXVI is ‘immoral, dishonest, evil, disgusting’ and in one example it is used to metaphorically describe the devil himself: *á ochmistrz twoy on brudny iuż cie dawno czeka/ áby cie też odprowadził do onych ciemnych rozkoszy swoich* ‘your dirty steward [i.e. the devil] is waiting for you to lead you to his dark and filthy pleasures’ (SXVI). Another metaphor used here is the one of light – just as *czystość* was bright and glistening, moral filth is associated with darkness, cf. *ciemnych rozkoszy* ‘dark pleasures.’ The following quote from Mikołaj Rej evokes similar associations: *Co ma bydź biało, niechayże będzie biało; a co ma bydź brudno, niechay będzie brudno, a złego nigdy nie chwalić, a dobrego nie ganić* ‘What is

white shall remain white; what is filthy shall remain filthy. You should never praise the evil and reprove the good' (L). Mikołaj Rej used the opposition of *brudny* 'filthy' and *biały* 'white,' thus *brud* 'filth' is set against whiteness and the good associated with it. The fact that *brud* is put on par with evil in this fragment further reinforces the image.

In Grzegorz Knapski's *Thesaurus* from the 17th century, *czystość* is split into two different entries: 1. *czystość powszechnie* ['generally'] 'munditia, puritia' (Cn), the former translated back in the Latin-Polish volume as *ochędożność* 'tidiness' and 2. *czystość cnota* ['chastity'] 'castitas feminarium: castimonia summa virorum & mulierum' (Cn), translated back as *niewinność* 'innocence.' Analogically, the adjective *czysty* also received two different entries: 1. *czysty, omyty, chędogi* 'clean, cleansed, tidy'²² and 2. *czysty, cnotę czystości mający* 'pure, endowed with the virtue of purity' (Cn).²³ *Nieczystość* 'dirtiness, impurity' is cross-referenced with three other entries: *cielesność* 'sexual intercourse [lit. corporality]'; *nierząd* 'prostitution' and *plugastwo* 'filth.' *Nieczysty* 'unclean, impure' has two cross-references: *plugawy* 'filthy' and *sprośny* 'lewd.' The definition of *cielesność* lists a number of different sins, e.g. *ciéléśność ábo nieczystość z białogłową niémężatą* ['*cielesność* with a maiden'] 'promiscuity'; *ciéléśność z białogłową kréwną* ['*cielesność* with a kinswoman'] 'incest'; *ciéléśność z osobą bogu poślubioną* ['*cielesność* with a person betrothed to god'] 'prostitution' (Cn). It is an array of very grave sins, which proves that in the 17th century, *nieczystość* still met with a great condemnation.²⁴ *Brud* in Knapski's *Thesaurus*²⁵ is cross-referenced with *plugastwo* 'filth,' which seems to be interpreted in physical terms.

In Linde's *Słownik języka polskiego*, the lexemes *czystość* and *czystota*²⁶ mean *ochędożność*, *odchędóstwo* 'tidiness,' and refer to the physical sphere. The provided example explicitly emphasises the interrelations of health and cleanliness

²² 'Purus, putus, mundus & elegans, permundus' (Cn).

²³ 'Custus, castissimus, abstinentissimus rebus Veneris' (Cn).

²⁴ Kobylińska (2006) writes about the sexual offences in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Kasina Dolna. Many sins were committed there, among them prostitution, promiscuity, adultery and incest. It thus seems quite curious that the catalogue of the offences, despite containing numerous euphemisms, does not feature *nieczystość* or *nieczysty* in any form.

²⁵ 'Strigmentum (back-translated as *oskrobiny* 'peels'; *strużyna* 'shaving, scrap'; *brud*), illuvies (*brud*; *plugastwo* 'filth'; *nieochędożność* 'untidiness'; but also *powódź* 'flood'), paedor (*brud*; *smród* 'stench').'

²⁶ *Czystość* and *czystota* in L are collapsed into one entry.

(czystość) – and thus of *czystość* as a vital value: *Czystość potrzebna do utrzymania zdrowia* ‘The hygiene [lit. cleanliness] that one needs to remain healthy’ (L, no source given). The opposite to *czystość* given by Linde is *nieczystość* ‘uncleanliness, impurity’: *nieczystość skóry, zapchawszy pory powierzchowne, parowaniu przeszkadza* ‘the dirt [lit. uncleanliness] that accumulates on one’s skin clogs the pores, thus preventing evaporation’ (L, 18th century). The physical meaning of *czystość* is given as the primary one, and the metaphorical meaning is given as secondary: *czystość obyczajów, serca* ‘moral purity, purity of heart’ and *czystość* as *cnota ściągająca się do umiarkowania miłości* ‘a virtue consisting in sexual moderation.’ *Dziewictwo* ‘virginity’ and *panieństwo* ‘maidenhood’ are given as synonyms to *czystość*. Linde provides no examples, and thus no possibility to define the ethical evaluation of the lexemes in the 17th and 18th centuries. The entry for *czysty*²⁷ gives the following exemplification: *serce czyste* ‘pure heart’, *sumienie czyste* ‘clean conscience’ and *bez plamy, bez skazy* ‘without any stains or flaws.’ The following fragment taken from Piotr Skarga’s seventeenth-century works exemplifies the high value attributed to *czystość*: *Byłbyś czystym człowiekiem i na wszelkie dostojęstwa godnym* ‘You would be a pure man and worthy of every honour’ (SW). It is also worth mentioning that *czystość* is given in a social context here,²⁸ as it is judged on the basis of its social importance and function.

Brud in Linde’s *Słownik...* is described as *plugastwo* ‘filth’, *nieczystość* ‘impurity’, *gnóy* ‘puss’ and refers predominantly to filth in the physical sense, it is, however, also usually associated with a moral condition resulting from it: *Z rąk twych brud wodą zmywasz, omyi wprzód sumnienie* ‘You use water to clean your hands of dirt, cleanse your conscience first’ (L, 17th century). Cleansing oneself (lit. removing dirt) is a metaphorical phrase for clearing oneself of all suspicion and accusations, therefore the associations with moral aspects of human life are still present: *Niewinnyś – obmyi się z brudu* ‘If you are innocent, cleanse yourself of all dirt’ (L, 18th century). Nevertheless, it is not necessary that *brud* refers to crucial aspects of morality, cf. *Jać to będę prał jego brudy? Sam napisał, sam niech poprawi* ‘Must I be the one to wash his dirty linen? He wrote it, so he must correct it himself’ (L, 18th century).²⁹ The adjective *brudny* ‘dirty; filthy’ in Linde’s *Słownik* is defined as *nieczysty, plugawy, osmolony* ‘unclean,

²⁷ Linde defines *czysty* as *chędogi* ‘tidy’; *niebrudny* ‘not dirty’ and *nieplugawy* ‘not filthy.’

²⁸ *Dostojęstwa* ‘honours’ refer to important social and political functions.

²⁹ SWil quotes the same passage, offering the following explanation: *nieprzystojne, bezecne wyrażenia, obrazy, myśli, postęпки* ‘inappropriate, immoral words, images, thoughts, actions.’

impure; filthy; scorched.’ *Brudny* pertains to physical features, but it can also refer to the moral condition of a human, e.g. *brudny charakter, postępek* ‘filthy personality, deeds’ (with additional adjectives: *czarny* ‘black, dark’; *zły* ‘bad; evil’; *szpetny* ‘ugly’). The association with the adjective *zły* directly expresses the word’s negative evaluation, while the association with *czarny* emphasises its relation to darkness. *Brudny* can also mean *ciemny* ‘dark’ when combined with names of colours, e.g. *brudnosiwy* ‘dark grey’ or *brudnozłoty* ‘dark gold’ (L). The process of likening *brudny* ‘dirty’ to *ciemny* ‘dark’ began in the 16th century, but then it was limited to swarthy complexion: *Vzrzał pod gorą bieżąc dziwnego człowieka/ [...] brudny/ czarny by Murzyn/ szpetny/ okopciwały* ‘Running by a mountain, he saw an odd figure. [...] He was dirty, black as a Negro, ugly, sooted’ (SXVI). The adjectives referring to dark complexion, i.e. *brudny, czarny, okopciwały* ‘dirty, black, sooted’ collocate here with *szpetny*, which has unequivocally negative connotations.

Słownik wileński lists *czystość* (and its synonym *czystota*, for which it provides no further elucidation) with two meanings: 1. *przymiot tego, co jest czyste, ochędóżność, ochędóstwo* ‘the feature of that which is clean, tidiness’ and 2. *panieństwo, dziewictwo* ‘maidenhood, virginity’ (SWil). Under the first meaning SWil gives the following exemplification: *czystość zwierciadła, diamentu* ‘the purity/cleanliness of mirror, diamond’; *czystość mieszkania* ‘tidiness of a house’; *czystość w ubiorze* ‘tidiness of attire’; and metaphorical: *czystość stylu, języka* ‘purity of style, language.’ SWil also gives examples pertaining to morality: *czystość zamiarów, obyczajów, serca* ‘purity of intentions, manners, the heart.’ Among the meanings associated with moral purity, the one that refers to sexuality is listed as the most prominent. It does not, however, mean that the lexeme *czystość* could not be used to describe other aspects of morality. *Czystość serca* ‘purity of the heart’ and *czystość zamiarów* ‘purity of intentions’ convey meanings that include different aspects of morality, hence they convey the meaning of morality in general. The same applies to some collocations with the adjective *czysty*:³⁰ *człowiek czysty jak bursztyn, jak szkło, jak kryształ* ‘a man [i.e. human] clear/pure as amber, glass, crystal’ or *czysty jak niemieńska woda* ‘clear as water from Niemen’; *czysty jak kryniczna woda* ‘clear as spring water’; *czysty jak łza, jak rosa* ‘clean as a tear, as dew.’ All of the above meanings are

³⁰ *Czysty*: 1. ‘tidy, not dirty, not filthy’; 2. ‘uncontaminated, honest, modest’; 3. ‘perfect, complete, proper’; 4. ‘(of income) after tax, costs, credit’; 5. ‘real, true’; 6. ‘obvious, overt’; 7. ‘(of a field) open, not overgrown’ (SWil).

listed with the explication: *bez najmniejszej skazy, czystego sumienia* ‘without the smallest flaw, of clear conscience.’ The collocations given in the dictionary do not point to the meaning of the adjective, but they do evoke pleasant associations with light, brightness or glitter as well as the high value which is typical for crystals and amber.³¹ Hence, the reason why *czysty* is used in such collocations is to emphasise *czystość* as a moral value. The fact that *czystość* as virginity is listed separately most likely results from the frequent use of *czystość* in this narrow sense.

Słownik wileński gives an extended definition of the antonym *nieczystość*. It received the traditional descriptions related to the physical sphere: ‘lack of tidiness, cleanliness’ and the moral: ‘prostitution, promiscuity’; ‘immorality, self-seeking’; ‘moral flaw.’ *Nieczystość* as a name for a moral feature thus has two specialised meanings: one pertaining to sexuality³² as well as one related to bad intentions. These meanings are carried over to the adjective *nieczysty*.³³ However, when *nieczysty* pertains to human sexuality, it refers not only to the very behaviour, but also to thoughts and intentions: *myśli nieczyste* ‘filthy thoughts’; *żądze nieczyste* ‘filthy desires’; *spojrzenia nieczyste* ‘lewd [lit. dirty] look.’³⁴ The entry for *brudny* ‘unclean, filthy, blackened’ contains similar metaphorical meanings but they are not limited to sexuality – they refer to morality in general: *brudna sława* ‘dirty fame’; *brudne skąpstwo* ‘filthy miserliness’; *brudny postęp* ‘dirty deeds’ and *brudny interes* ‘dirty business,’ which directly refers to seeking easy money.

Słownik warszawski gives a very laconic definition for *czystość*: ‘noun derived from *czysty*.’ It lists examples related to physical aspects of *czystość*, e.g. *czystość w ubraniu* ‘tidiness of attire’ as well as examples pertaining to morality: *czystość obyczajów, zamiarów, serca* ‘purity of manners, intentions, the heart.’ Sexual purity is treated as a separate meaning of *czystość*. It relates to both sexes – more precisely to all women and to a very limited group of men, namely priests:

³¹ Physical and chemical descriptions notwithstanding, SWil defines *kryształ* ‘crystal’ as ‘a siliceous rock [...] used for its transparency as decoration, a precious stone’; *bursztyn* ‘amber’ is likewise ‘for its hardness, permanence and beautiful colour, used as a material for carving various fine objects.’

³² Cf. *grzech nieczystości* ‘the sin of impurity.’ As we can see, this particular meaning is illustrated by a religiously motivated example.

³³ *Nieczysty* 1. ‘contaminated with undesired substances; unclear, muddy’; 2. ‘untidy, dirty’; 3. ‘lewd, debauched, lecherous’; 4. ‘dishonest, immoral, insincere’ (SWil).

³⁴ The entry for *brud* in *Słownik wileński* is copied directly from Linde (L).

czystość dziewicza ‘the purity of a virgin’ and *czystość kapłańska* ‘the purity of a priest.’ The dictionary lists as many as fifteen meanings for the adjective *czysty*; the first two exhibit the fine division between the physical (‘not dirty, tidy’) and the moral (‘flawless, noble, righteous, honest, innocent’) (SW). The exemplification given for the latter meaning includes: *czyste serce* ‘pure heart’; *czyste sumienie* ‘clean conscience’ and *miłość czysta* ‘pure love,’ which received an additional explanation: ‘perfect, platonic,’ suggesting that it was regarded as better than love that involved sexual intercourse. The positive evaluation of *czysty* is reinforced by the simile using the imagery of the most precious stone, namely a diamond: *człowiek czysty jak brylant* ‘a man as pure as a diamond.’ Other contexts for *czysty* also include value judgements, e.g. *robota czysta* ‘good job [lit. clean job]’ or *czysta prawda*³⁵ ‘pure truth’ (SW).

Nieczystość ‘a noun derived from *nieczysty* [‘unclean’] is used to denote both physical features, e.g. *nieczystość bielizny* ‘dirty laundry [lit. ‘the dirtiness of laundry’]’ as well as moral ones, e.g. *nieczystość serca* ‘impurity of heart’ or *nieczystość myśli* ‘impurity of thought.’³⁶ *Słownik warszawski* lists also the Old Polish meaning of *nieczystość*: *grzech nieczysty* ‘the sin of impurity’ along with an array of anti-values, such as *bezwstyd* ‘shamelessness’; *nieskromność* ‘immodesty’; *cudzołóstwo* ‘adultery’; *lubieżność* ‘lecherousness’ and *rozpusta* ‘decadence.’ However, it is difficult to say whether this meaning was traditional yet still in use in the early 20th century, or if it had already become old and dated. The adjective *nieczysty* is listed with a physical meaning of ‘dirty, unclean, untidy’ (SW), with such examples as *ręce nieczyste* ‘unclean hands.’³⁷ Nevertheless, the dictionary also gives a metaphorical meaning of *ręce nieczyste*: *mieć nieczyste ręce* ‘take bribes, steal [lit. have dirty hands]’ – which explicitly refers to unethical conduct, and serves as evidence for the negative connotations of the adjective. Another meaning of *nieczysty* is physical: ‘contaminated, unclear, muddy, containing undesired additives, impure.’ The dictionary provides the following exemplification: *mąka nieczysta* ‘impure flour’; *woda nieczysta* ‘unclear/contaminated water’ and *złoto nieczyste* ‘impure

³⁵ For *czysta prawda*, the dictionary lists additional, highly evaluative collocates of *szczerza* ‘honest’ and *święta* ‘holy.’

³⁶ It is unclear whether *nieczystość pochodzenia* ‘impure origin [lit. impurity of origin]’ referred to animals – as in one of the meanings of *czysty*: ‘an animal of pure blood, pure race’ (SW) – or people and their social background, including children born out of wedlock.

³⁷ Additionally explained as *nieumyte* ‘unwashed.’

gold' – they reinforce the negative judgement irrevocably tied to *nieczysty* by associating it with deficiency. The collocation *powietrze nieczyste* 'polluted [lit. unclean] air' is very interesting, since it is explained as 'rotten, reeking, infected' – which evokes negative feelings through the associations not only with an unpleasant smell, but also with the danger of infection. The two other meanings of *nieczysty* pertain to broadly defined morality: 'filthy, suspicious, ambiguous, vague, unclear, dishonest' as well as to sexual aspects of morality: 'lecherous, debauched, lustful, adulterous, immoral, lewd, shameless' (SW).³⁸ For the former, SW lists the usual examples: *nieczysta sprawa, interes* 'dirty business' but it also gives *nieczysta siła* 'dark [lit. impure] powers,' i.e. the devil: *Z duchami nieczystymi błąkać się wiecznie po ziemi* 'To walk the earth with devils forever' (SW, 19th century). The dictionary also lists *nieczysty* functioning as a noun ('the impure one') denoting the devil: *Chyba sam nieczysty podał mu koncept stawać w obronie hetman* 'It must have been the impure one himself who made him defend the hetman' (SW, 19th century). As in the case of the sixteenth-century use, *nieczysty* denoting the devil, i.e. the absolute anti-value, exemplifies the highly negative connotations of the word.

Brud 'dirt, filth' in SW refers mainly to physical features and it denotes all that evokes revolt and disgust: 'dirt, filth, muck, puss,' including dirty items, animal manure, human excrements or even *brud w głowie* 'lice [lit. filth in one's head].' The disgust is transferred onto some immoral actions, described as *brudy życia* 'lit. the filth of life.' In metaphorical terms, *brud* (more often the plural *brudy*) denotes *nieczyste sprawy* 'dirty deeds'; *podejrzane, bezeczne postępy* 'suspicious, immoral actions'; *świństwa* 'vileness.' Sometimes *brud* occurs next to the word *zbrodnia* 'grave crime,' which shows how strong a word it was: *Domyślił się jakiegoś brudu, może nawet zbrodni, i dlatego badać nie chciał* 'He thought that there was something suspicious [lit. dirty], maybe even a crime, so he decided not to look into it any further' (SW, 19th century). The old meanings of *brudny* are still present in SW: 1. 'unclean, dirty, filthy, scorched'; 2. 'black, ugly, lewd, low, mischievous, dishonourable.' The examples include *brudny charakter* 'lit. dirty personality,' which probably refers to negative character traits in general, as well as *brudne uczucie* 'dirty feelings.' The latter has negative connotations, since its meaning may be reinforced by the word

³⁸ SW lists one more specialised meaning of *nieczysty* 'tainted, unclean,' which relates to ritual norms regarding food: *zwierzęta czyste i nieczyste* 'clean and unclean animals.'

tonąć ‘drown,’ which refers to the ultimate loss of one’s life: *Tonąc w brudnych uczuć steku* ‘Be drowned in a flood of dirty feelings’ (SW).

In twentieth-century Polish, the lexeme *czystość* still carries the two traditional meanings. In its physical sense, *czystość* is defined as the ‘noun derived from *czysty*, meaning not dirty, free from contaminants’ (SJPDor). The example given in SJPDor refers to real-world phenomena, but it also bears some positive connotations related to light: *weszła na schody lśniące czystością* ‘she climbed up the steps, which shone with cleanness.’ The power of *czystość* manifests itself also in this context given for the adjective *czysty*: *Łóżka i stoły zarzucone były czystą bielizną tak lśniącą, że zdawało się w niej odbijać błękitne niebo jaśniejące za oknem* ‘The beds and the tables were laid with linen so brightly clean that it seemed reflect the blue sky outside’ (SJPDor). The moral meaning of *czystość* is defined as ‘noun derived from *czysty* in its meaning of noble, righteous, sincere’ or more narrowly as ‘absolute sexual abstinence’ (SJPDor). In its general meaning, *czystość* does not denote any particular features and it seems that the emphasis is put on the positive evaluation: *Relacje o jego [Tomasza Zana] charakterze, jakie nas doszły, są zgodne w podziwieniu dla jego czystości moralnej* ‘The revelations that we heard about his [Tomasz Zan’s] character are unanimously full of admiration for his moral purity’ (SJPDor). The same applies to the adjective *czysty*, e.g. *Nie gardź bracie naszą życzliwością, bo ona płynie z czystego serca* ‘Do not reject our kindness, mate, our intentions are true [lit. it comes from pure heart]’; *Z czystym sumieniem mógł jej zresztą przysiąc, że nie ona była przyczyną rozejścia* ‘With a clear conscience,³⁹ he could swear to her that she was not the cause of their separation’ (SJPDor, 20th century). *Czysty* occurs predominantly in well entrenched formulaic phrases, which express positive evaluation. The narrow meaning of *czystość* that refers to sexuality occurs in mythological and historical contexts – which makes this meaning quite antiquated: *Gdyby kapłanka od ognia nie dotrzymała ślubu czystości, musiałaby umrzeć* ‘Were the priestess of the fire not to observe her vow of chastity she would have to die’ (SJPDor, taken from *The Pharaoh and the Priest* by Bolesław Prus); *Penelope w czystości dziesięć lat przetrwała* ‘Penelope remained chaste for ten years’ (SJPDor). The following

³⁹ The associated phrases are: *z czystym sumieniem* [‘with a clear conscience’] ‘with no hesitation or doubt, with absolute certainty of rightfulness’; *mieć czyste sumienie* [‘have a clear conscience’] ‘be convinced of one’s innocence’: *Mam czyste sumienie, nic nie jestem winny* ‘My conscience is clear, none of this is my fault’ (SJPDor).

context presents a somewhat ironic approach to purity (chastity): *Nie bądźże takim moralizatorem, wiesz przecie, że nie ślubowałem czystości* 'Oh, come on. Stop sermonising me! You know I haven't taken a vow of chastity' (SJPDor). The irony here does not mean that chastity is not perceived as a value by the speaker, but the speaker would like to distance himself from it and emphasise that he does not take it seriously.

Nieczysty in the physical sense of 'devoid of cleanliness, dirty, contaminated, untidy' refers only to features of space. Its more general ethical meaning is: 'violating the moral principles of a given group, acting immorally, dishonest, evil, bad,' while the more specific one is: 'promiscuous, obscene, lewd, offensive' (SJPDor). What is interesting, the negative evaluation associated with *nieczyste sumienie* 'unclear conscience' is no longer related to God, damnation and eternal punishment. It now refers to the psychological discomfort that it brings, as well as feelings of anxiety or insecurity: *Nieczyste sumienie kazało mi się mimowolnie czegoś obawiać i mieć bacznie na ostrożności* 'His unclear conscience made him anxious, whether he liked it or not. He felt he had to be careful' (SJPDor). Although this is a substantial shift in the perception of the concept, it does not mitigate the negative evaluation. In fact, this evaluation might even be augmented, since the only entity to which human beings are responsible for their actions are they themselves and the consequence they have to suffer is that they lose their peace of mind, a basic value in its own right. *Nieczysty* in the 20th century is closely related to business and trade and is used to describe actions which are detrimental to society and thus condemned. Examples of such actions include dishonesty, law violation, fraud and bribery: *Sfałszował weksle, miał jakieś nieczyste sprawy przy kartach, wyrzucono go z klubu* 'He forged some bills, played some dirty tricks at card games and he was relegated from the club' (SJPDor). *Nieczyste myśli* 'impure thoughts' received a humorous exemplification in SJPDor, and it seems that the expression does not have any negative overtones: *W bogobojnym panieństwie wytrzymałam tyle lat, a jak popatrzę na te szkaradzieństwa, to zaruśko nieczyste myśli plamią duszę* 'I have remained piously chaste for all these years, but when I see all this obscenity, right away my soul gets tainted with impure thoughts' (SJPDor).

The primary meaning of *brud* is 'dust or mud on a thing; contamination; lack of cleanliness' (SJPDor); the evaluation it carries is negative. *Brud* is described as a state detrimental to humans that must be fought against, and it is likened to vermin, which always evokes feelings of repulsion: *Zapuszczałem się w ścieki moralne, grzebałem w śmietniku upodlenia, ocierałem się o wszelki brud*

I've plunged into real moral sewers, dug deep in dumps full of degradation, I've rubbed against all kinds of moral dirt'; *Piórem Jarochoowskiej kieruje jakaś demoniczna pasja grzebania się w brudach ludzkiego charakteru* 'Jarochowska's style of writing is driven by some kind of obsession with the deepest and dirtiest areas of human psychology' (SJPDor). The negatively loaded expressions *ścieki* 'sewage'; *śmietnik* 'dump'; *demoniczny* 'demonic' and *grzebanie się* 'rummaging' reinforce the negative evaluation of *brud*.

In modern dictionaries of Polish (since the 1950s), *czystość* is included with both meanings: the physical and the moral. The physical definition of *czystość* is: 'lack of dirt or any other unwanted impurities and dust' (PWSP); the provided examples display the traditional tendency to see *czystość* in terms of light, brightness and brilliance: *Wasza kuchnia zawsze lśni czystością* 'Your kitchen is always clean and shiny' (PSWP); *Jej dom lśnił czystością* 'Her home simply sparkled' (SJPDun). In moral terms, *czystość* is defined as 'nobleness, morally accepted actions, freedom from evil' (PSWP). In some dictionaries, the word is considered as typical of literary language (USJP, ISJP) and sometimes it is limited to the narrow meaning: 'sexual abstinence, virginity' (SJPDun) or 'abstaining from sexual intercourse' (ISJP). The exemplification includes *czystość pobudek* 'nobleness [purity] of intentions'; *czystość pragnień* 'purity of desires'; *czystość obyczajów* 'purity of morals'; or the sexually connotated *śluby czystości* 'vow of chastity' (ISJP), *czystość przedmałżeńska* 'pre-marital purity' (SJPDun).

The adjective *czysty* 'free from dirt or any impurities in the form of dust, mud or stains' usually refers to everyday objects, e.g. *czysta bielizna* 'clean underwear'; *czyste skarpetki* 'clean socks'; *czysta pościel* 'clean bedlinen'; or to people and animals: *Kot to bardzo czyste zwierzę* 'Cats are very clean animals' (ISJP). Sometimes it exhibits positive aesthetic connotations, which suggests positive evaluation: *Nocą spadł czysty, świeży śnieg i ulice wyglądały naprawdę pięknie* 'The streets looked really beautiful with all the clean, fresh snow that fell that night' (PWSP); *Miał ładne, zadbane ręce i zawsze czyste paznokcie* 'His hands were nice and tidy and he always kept his fingernails clean' (ISJP). The ethical meaning of *czysty* is 'conforming to the moral norms and standards; free from evil' (PWSP); 'honest, righteous, good, flawless' (SJPDun); 'noble, righteous, moral' (USJP). There are just a few examples of use: *czyste intencje, zamiary* 'noble, pure intentions', *czyste pobudki* 'noble impulse.' The narrower meaning – 'maintaining absolute sexual abstinence' (PWSP, USJP) – does not always have a separate entry in dictionaries. The exemplification usually conjures up an image of positively regarded tradition on the one hand, but

on the other hand it usually suggests that this usage is reflective of a world-view that belongs to the past: *Tradycja poucza, że tylko czysta dziewczyna ma prawo do białej ślubnej sukienki* 'Tradition advises that only a pure girl has the right to wear a white wedding dress' (PWSP). In modern dictionaries, the moral meaning of *czystość* and *czysty* is given as less prominent or important. In *Słownik polskich leksemów potocznych* ('Dictionary of Polish colloquial lexemes'), the abstractum *czystość* does not appear at all. The same dictionary lists three (quasi-)ethical meanings of *czysty*: 'innocent', 'without any proof of guilt' and 'lawful; legal.' Although these obviously derive from the older moral meanings and retain the positive evaluation, they have been adapted to the modern reality. All the meanings in question emphasise the legal aspects of human actions instead of their moral evaluation, e.g. *Z punktu widzenia prawa morskiego bardziej zagrożony od kapitana był drugi oficer. [...] w tej sytuacji kapitan był czysty* 'In terms of maritime law, the second mate was more vulnerable than the captain. [...] in this situation, the captain's hands were clean' (SPLP); *Dziewuszcze wybebeszyli torebkę i kieszenie, ale ponieważ była czysta [...] zaraz ją puścili* 'They gutted the lass's bag and her pockets but since she had nothing suspicious on her [lit. she was clean], they let her go' (SPLP); *Że „Szejk” prowadził niezbyt czyste interesy w stolicy to fakt* 'It's a fact that "the Sheikh" used to do some shady business in the capital' (SPLP). This fact might suggest that spoken language is used in conversations about everyday issues, rather than in pondering great philosophical questions. The other reason might be that the modern take on reality is more practically-orientated. These days, the concepts of "immoral" and "unlawful" have grown quite similar and more and more often morality is equalled with lawfulness. This, of course, is a gross oversimplification, but perhaps modern life leads us to make those. The word *czysty* 'clean' has also acquired an interesting new meaning, i.e. 'free from narcotics': *Ma prawo wrócić, kiedy następny raz odbędzie „detoks” i będzie czysty* 'He is allowed to come back once he has gone to the rehab again and is clean' (SPLP). It is hard to ascertain which meaning it immediately derives from: the moral or the physical. Narcotics are subject to very heavy social criticism in moral terms due, on the one hand, to their adverse social effects, but on the other hand, to the extremely negative, and ultimately lethal, impact of their use on the human health.

The moral meaning of *nieczystość* is 'violation of the moral principles of a group; dishonesty,' e.g. *nieczystość intencji, działań, poczynań, interesów* 'unfairness of intentions, actions, business' (SJPDun, PWSP); in USJP it has

been qualified as an expression typical for literary Polish.⁴⁰ The more specific meaning of *czystość* is ‘promiscuity; obscenity’ (PWSP), e.g. *nieczystość myśli* ‘impurity of thought’; *grzech nieczystości* ‘the sin of impurity’ (USJP, SJPDun). Dictionaries list a limited number of examples of this usage, which suggests that the expression is not widely used, e.g. *Za grzech nieczystości ksiądz zadał mu srogą pokutę* ‘The priest gave him severe penance, when he had confessed the sin of impurity’ (PWSP). In this example, *grzech nieczystości* ‘the sin of impurity’ is used in a church context, which indicates that it is treated as a religious term and it probably has this function in most examples of use. The abstractum *nieczystość* practically does not appear in its physical sense.

Nieczysty refers mainly to the ethical: ‘violating the moral principles of a group; dishonest’ (PWSP), ‘violating moral or legal principles; causing moral reservation; suspicious; illegal’ (SJPDun), e.g. *Tej willi i samochodu dorobił się na pewno na jakichś nieczystych interesach* ‘He must have earned the money for his car and his house by doing some shady business’ (PWSP), *Chyba nie miał nieczystych zamiarów wobec niej* ‘I think he didn’t have any ignoble intentions towards her’ (ISJP), *Dorobić się majątku w nieczysty sposób* ‘Get rich in a shady way’ (USJP). The other meaning of *nieczysty*, one related to sexuality, is: ‘characterised by promiscuity’ (PWSP), ‘promiscuous, obscene, shameless, dirty’ (SJPDun), e.g. *mieć nieczyste myśli* ‘have impure thoughts’; *grzechy nieczyste* ‘sins of impurity.’ The exemplification again has a religious context: *Nie wiedział, jak powiedzieć na spowiedzi o swoich nieczystych myślach* ‘He didn’t know how to confess his impure thoughts to the priest’ (PWSP). The physical meaning of *nieczysty* has ceased to be listed in dictionaries and it seems that it has been completely replaced by the adjective *brudny* ‘dirty.’

The contemporary meaning of *brud* ‘dirt’ is a continuation of its physical meaning of: ‘any kind of substance (dust, mud) which resides on the surface of an object and thus renders it unclean’ (SJPDun), ‘lack of order, lack of cleanliness’ (PWSP). The exemplification of *brud* is mostly neutral, but there is a number of contexts that allude to the colour black, which has a negative connotation: *Te meble są czarne od brudu* ‘The furniture is so dirty that its practically black’ (PWSP); *Podłoga w kuchni była czarna od brudu* ‘The kitchen floor was black with dirt’ (ISJP). In its moral sense, *brud* means ‘immoral, unfair actions, moral

⁴⁰ Another meaning of *nieczystość* that derives from this one is ‘violation of the rules of a given sport’ (PWSP), e.g. *nieczystość zagrania* ‘unfairness of a play’ (SJPDun). Analogically, *nieczysty* means ‘violating the rules of a given sport; foul’ (PWSP).

evil, disgrace' (PWSP), 'that which is morally reprehensible; evil' (SJPDun); it was given the following exemplification: *brudy życia* 'dirty dealings [lit. the dirt of life]'; *brudy z przeszłości* 'old dirt from the past' (SJPDun). The contexts suggest that it is something to be ashamed of, and therefore an object of social contempt: *Nie należy wywlekać brudów rodzinnych na jaw, gdyż jest to bardzo żenujące dla osób postronnych* 'You shouldn't dig up dirt on your family publicly, because it is very awkward for the people who aren't directly involved' (PWSP). The associations with the negatively perceived darkness are visible in the expression *wywlekać brudy domowe na światło dzienne* 'lit. bring the family's dirt to daylight,' which suggests that *brudy* [Pl.] dirt' should be kept away in some dark place.

Brudny in its physical sense means 'full of dirt, i.e. impurities in the form of dust or mud' (PWSP). Some negative evaluation can still be found among its few examples, e.g. in the phrase *obdarty i brudny* 'ragged and dirty,' which alludes to poverty (a strongly felt anti-value): *Przed domem bawiła się gromadka nieprawdopodobnie obdartych i brudnych dzieciaków* 'A bunch of incredibly ragged and dirty kids were playing around the house' (ISJP). We should also pay attention to the examples which emphasise the mutual relations of dirt and illness: *Chorobą brudnych rąk lekarze nazywają chorobę, której przyczyną jest nieprzestrzeganie higieny, np. żółtaczkę* 'A dirty hands disease is how doctors refer to a disease that is caused by bad hygiene, e.g. jaundice' (ISJP). In its moral sense, *brudny* 'dirty' means 'not conforming to the moral norms and standards of the day' (PWSP), 'dishonest or obscene' (ISJP), e.g. *brudne pieniądze* 'dirty money' (described in ISJP as 'a disapproving expression'). The examples which refer to socially dangerous behaviours are strongly negative, e.g. *pranie brudnych pieniędzy* 'money laundering': *Handlarze narkotyków i oszuści podatkowi starają się na rynku dzieł sztuki wyprać brudne pieniądze* 'Narcotic dealers and tax fraudsters try to launder their money on the art market' (ISJP); in this example, narcotics and fraud reinforce the negative evaluation characteristic of *brudny*. The same applies to *brudna robota* 'dirty work': *Części społeczeństwa polityka wydaje się brudną robotą* 'A section of society considers politics dirty work' (ISJP), where the negative connotation of the adjective is strengthened by the associations with politics, which is negatively perceived by a considerable part of Polish society.

This short history of the two meanings of the lexeme *czystość*, the ethical and the physical, shows that *czystość* (and other related lexemes) has been a part of Poles' language of values since the very beginnings of Polish all the way until the present

day.⁴¹ The positive evaluation of *czystość* in both its meanings has been reinforced by the metaphor of light, which has always been favourable to humans. This metaphor – whose roots lie in our sensory perception: clean has been associated with bright and shiny – is still used for the physical meanings of *czystość*, but for centuries it was also used to talk about its moral aspects.

The ethical meaning of *czystość*, i.e. ‘moral purity, righteousness, goodness, nobleness’ was very well documented in Old and sixteenth-century Polish. The lexeme was used to refer to an array of positive features, but it was also used in its more specific meaning of ‘absolute sexual abstinence’. Regardless of its meaning, *czystość* was always valued very highly – it was listed alongside other important values and described with adjectives of positive evaluation. The documented examples often involved references to God, Jesus Christ and Holy Mary. This was caused mainly by the fact that the lexeme was part of the religious terminology of the day,⁴² and due to that *czystość* was an important issue in the lives of people in those times. The positive evaluation of *czystość* in its moral sense did not change significantly in the following centuries. What changed, however, was the way it was expressed: religious associations gave way to the social ones – *czystość* was presented as socially beneficial and came to be used for matters of everyday life. In its wider sense, over centuries, *czystość* was used to describe positive features in general, e.g. *czystość serca* ‘purity of the heart’; *czystość zamiarów* ‘nobleness of intentions’; *czystość obyczajów* ‘purity of manners.’ The wide in scope and vague understanding of *czystość* in its moral meaning led to it being used to describe anything that was considered good and proper at the time, which is further corroborated by how the context in which the adjective *czysty* was evoked. Today, *czystość* is less frequently used to describe moral values, which likely has to do with the fact that the word is considered exalted or lofty (some dictionaries qualify *czystość* as typical for literary language). Yet, the positive

⁴¹ An important reservation has to be made. The study is based on dictionary definitions, which do not always show the full variety and extent of different meanings. What is more, the differences in the design of the dictionaries result in discrepancies in the number of examples for different historical periods. The study did enable me to draw some conclusions, which, however, should not be treated as definite.

⁴² All lexemes derived from *czysty*, i.e. *czysty*, *czystość*, *czystota* and their negations, i.e. *nieczysty*, *nieczystość*, *nieczystota* and *nieczystość* are listed in the dictionary of Old Polish religious terminology (Karpluk, 2001). Karpluk argues that while the lexemes themselves are native to Polish, their religious meaning might have spread from Czech, where they are likely to have been semantic borrowings from Latin.

evaluation still exists in some fixed phrases: *czyste ręce* ‘clean hands’; *czyste serce* ‘pure heart’ and *czyste intencje* ‘noble intentions’; as well as *czyste sumienie* ‘clear conscience’ – which is highly valued regardless of one’s confession or worldview. Owing to the generality of its meaning and its strong positive evaluation, *czysty* could adapt to the changing nature of people’s lives, which is evidenced by the fact that today *czysty* is used mainly in legal contexts as ‘legal, lawful.’ The more specific meaning of *czystość*, i.e. ‘sexual abstinence,’ has lost much of its importance along with the changes in human morality; by the 20th century, it acquired somewhat humorous overtones. Presently, its use is limited to *czystość przedmałżeńska* ‘pre-marital purity’ and as such it remains an important value for the part of Polish society which is committed to Catholicism. Throughout the history of Polish as a language, the positive evaluation of *czystość* has been reinforced by the strongly negative evaluation of its antonyms, i.e. *nieczystość*, and *brud*, which has gradually taken over the former’s ethical connotations.

The physical understanding of *czystość* was not well documented in the Old Polish period, mainly due to the nature of the source texts, which predominantly belonged to religious discourse. This meaning has nevertheless existed since the dawn of Polish, has not changed in any significant way and today it has become the primary sense of the lexeme. Among the factors that have contributed to this are most probably the cultural changes of the recent decades and the rise of vital values in the overall axiological hierarchy – *czystość*, after all, is inextricably linked to comfortable life and pleasant feelings. Ever since the beginnings of Polish, *czystość* in its physical sense has been given positive evaluation, albeit slightly less vividly so than its moral counterpart. This positive evaluation has usually been expressed by associating *czystość* with human health. As in the case with the moral meaning of *czystość*, the value of *czystość* in its physical sense has always been strengthened by the negative evaluation of *brud*, which evokes the feelings of revulsion and anxiety.

Translated by Jarosław Józefowski

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