

Contextually conditioned synonyms of *prostitute* in selected Late Modern English comedy dramas: a sociophilological perspective

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*This article aims at presenting an analysis of a selection of the synonyms of prostitute from the pragmaphilological or sociophilological perspective. The major problem that the onomasiological perspective undertaken in Duda (2014) faced was the difficulty in the determination of the illocutionary force of the synonyms analysed in an objective manner. The euphemism-dysphemism disambiguation desired has turned out to be almost unattainable with the help of various lexicographic sources, which simply fail to include (in the majority of cases) any information about the emotional load (or, in other words, illocutionary force) attached to a given lexical item. Hence, the contextual approach in the study of synonyms of prostitute has been incorporated with a view to disambiguating the euphemism-dysphemism potential of as many synonyms as possible. The analytical aim is to compare qualitatively the illocutionary force of the synonyms of prostitute from the period between the mid-17th and mid-18th centuries, based on four selected comedy dramas extracted from the Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760 (Richard Brome's *A Mad Couple Well Match'd*, William Wycherley's *The Country-Wife*, David Garrick's *The Male-Coquette* and Richard Steel's *The Conscious Lovers*).*

Keywords: sociophilology, synonyms of prostitute, illocutionary force, euphemism-dysphemism

1. Theoretical background

Since the cornerstone publication of *Historical Pragmatics* by Jucker (1995) there has been more and more talk in scholarly circles about approaches and methodologies concerning studies of aspects of texts across time, pragmatic analysis of historical texts as well as studies of the historical development of pragmatic functions of specific lexical items and/or syntactic units. In their Introduction to the volume, Jacobs and Jucker (1995: 11-13) formulated two approaches, namely PRAGMAPHILOLOGY and DIACHRONIC PRAGMATICS. The first approach deals with “describing the contextual aspects of historical texts, including the addressers and addressees, their social and personal relationship, the physical and social setting of text production and text reception, and the goal(s) of the text” (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 11). In turn, the second approach, diachronic pragmatics, compares pragmatic units at different stages in the development of a particular language, and may be viewed either as a DIACHRONIC FORM-TO-FUNCTION MAPPING (in Archer and Culpeper's 2011 term, pragmalinguistics) or a DIACHRONIC FUNCTION-TO-FORM MAPPING (or sociopragmatics, to use Archer and Culpeper's 2011 term). Whilst the former “takes a linguistic form as a starting point” (Jacobs and Jucker 1995:13) to study how discourse meanings of selected forms change, the latter starts from a speech function and studies how the realisations of this function change over time. The third approach introduced by Archer and Culpeper (2011: 110) is called SOCIOPHILOLOGY and it stressed the importance of the description of “how historical contexts, including the co-text, genre, social situation and/or culture, shape the functions and forms of language taking place within them” (Archer and Culpeper 2011:110). They refer to this approach as CONTEXT-TO-FORM AND/OR FUNCTION, and as such the approach was formulated by way of complementing

the dichotomy previously proposed by Jacobs and Jucker (1995). It goes without saying that Archer and Culpeper’s introduction of the notion of sociophilology makes all the pieces of the historical (socio)pragmatic puzzle fall into place.

2. Context under scrutiny

This article aims at analysing how genre, co-text and the broadly understood social situation (the relationship between the addresser and the addressee among others) influence the use of a given synonym of *prostitute* in selected Late Modern English comedy dramas. Another issue that is to be tackled in this article is the so-called “‘local’ conditions of language use” to use Leech’s (1983: 10) words. As aptly noted in Wood (2011: 13-14), by local context we need to understand “not only the text but also discursive practices of the speech community in question, text distribution [...] and consumption [...]”. The question, however, that a number of historical pragmaticists try to find an answer to is what exactly is understood by “local” when discussing context. For example, van Dijk (2001: 108) distinguishes between LOCAL and GLOBAL CONTEXTS. The former refers to “properties of the immediate, interactional situation in which a communicative event takes place” whereas the latter is understood via “social, political, cultural and historical structures in which a communicative event takes place”. Van Dijk’s (2001) idea of local context corresponds to Bloor and Bloor’s (2007: 27) notion of CONTEXT OF SITUATION, which is defined as “various elements involved in the direct production of meanings in a particular instance of communication”. In turn, van Dijk’s (2001) idea of global context is reflected in Bloor and Bloor’s (2007: 27) notion of CONTEXT OF CULTURE, which comprises “traditions, institutions, discourse communities, historical context and knowledge base of participants”. Summarising all these approaches it is worth resorting to the three-dimensional conception of discourse presented by Wood (2011: 14) in the following manner:

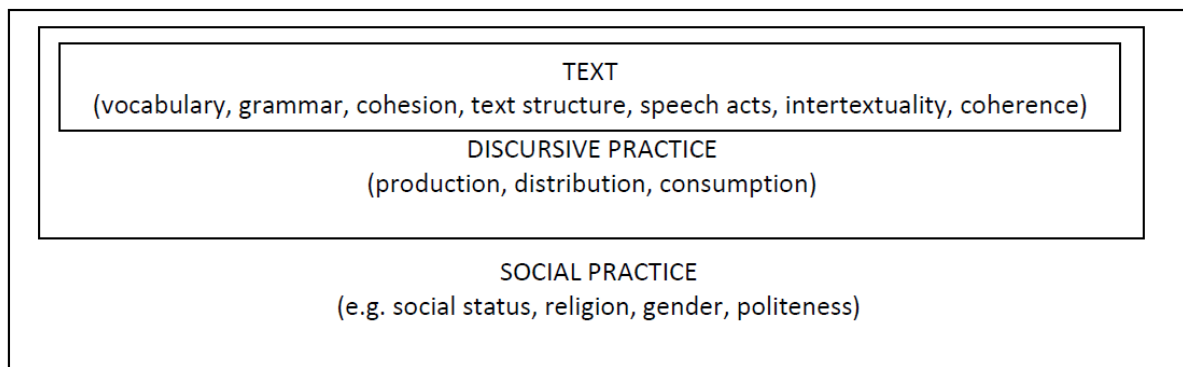


Figure 1: Three-dimensional conception of discourse (adopted from Wood 2011: 14).

As shown in Figure 1, social practice, which is represented by the outer box, corresponds to Bloor and Bloor’s (2007) context of culture and van Dijk’s (2001) global context, whereas the middle box comprises discursive practice, which reflects context of situation in Bloor and Bloor’s terms and local context in van Dijk’s terms. Wood (2011: 14) makes her point by saying that “the analysis of text (in the inner box) is always contained within, that is, in the context of, both ‘Discursive Practice’ and ‘Social Practice.’” Along similar lines, Wodak

(2001: 2) explains that critical discourse analysis is “fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language”. Looking from this perspective, the euphemism-dysphemism disambiguation appears to be more attainable once the context of situation and context of culture are taken into consideration. As Fitzmaurice (2011: 38) points out, “the sociopragmatic roles performed in the relationship depend on the level of the context interrogated. For example, at the cultural level the rules of upper class courtship in early eighteenth-century England gave precedence to family fortunes and dynastic benefit over personal happiness or romantic love in securing a match.” This early-18th-century tendency is well-observed in the comedy dramas under analysis, in which fortune coupled with intrigue lead to numerous situational contexts where the synonyms of *prostitute* are employed either in the sense ‘prostitute’ per se or as terms of abuse.

3. Corpus and methodology

The analytical aim is to compare the illocutionary force of the synonyms of *prostitute* from the period between the mid-17th and mid-18th centuries. The source of analytical data is the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760 (CED)*, from which the comedy dramas from two sub-periods, namely 1640-1679 and 1720-1760, were selected for qualitative analysis. The choice of the two periods was based on the presence of comedy dramas the plot of which was, to a large extent, built around male-female relationships. The preliminary scrutinising of the comedy dramas from the period 1680-1719 showed a virtual absence of the synonyms of *prostitute*. The details of the corpus chosen for further qualitative analysis are presented in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Word counts for comedy dramas in the two 40-year periods of the *CED*

period	comedy drama
1. 1640-1679	47,590
2. 1720-1760	48,510
TOTAL	96,100

As for the frequency of occurrence of the synonyms of *prostitute* in the corpus, it is rather low, but varied with twice as many synonyms in period 1 as in period 2, as shown in Table 2 below:

Table 2. Word counts for the synonyms of *prostitute*

word/ synonym	period 1 1640-1679	period 2 1720-1760	TOTAL
<i>whore</i>	11	2	13
<i>jade</i>	1	3	4
<i>hussy</i>	-	5	5
<i>wench</i>	13	3	16
<i>slut</i>	1	1	2
<i>aunt</i>	3	1	4
<i>bawd</i>	1	-	1

<i>pander/ pandaress</i>	5	-	5
<i>seamstress</i>	1	-	1
<i>woman</i> (also: poss./ADJ./+of)	15	10	25
TOTAL	51	25	76

As shown in Duda (2014), the major problem in a diachronic onomasiological study is the difficulty in the determination of the illocutionary force of the synonyms analysed. Hence, the contextual approach seemed to constitute a logical research tool in order to account for the euphemism-dysphemism disambiguation of the synonyms of *prostitute*.

4. Data analysis

To start with, we shall take a look at the synonyms of *prostitute* used in Richard Brome's mid-17th-century play entitled *A Mad Couple Well Match'd*, which is classified as a sub-category of 'place-realism' comedies (Steggle 2004: 5). As such, to use Steggle's (2004: 5) words, "its action revolves around sex and money, disguise and mistaken identity and the London setting is a very prominent element". This together with another general critical remark noted by Lowe (2010) that "critics are shocked by the coarse, explicit language used by Brome's characters, dismayed by their lack of morals, and at the apparent absence of learning or moral change" make the play in question an ideal mid-17th-century text for the contextual analysis of the synonyms of *prostitute*.

The first extract selected is a scene between Alicia (whose husband Saleware is a silk shop owner) and Lady Thrivewell (Lord Thrivewell's wife, a member of the upper class).

- (1) Alicia: I hope Madam we shal hear of a young heir a comming shortly, and that will make it a rich and fortunate Bed indeed; And then Sir Olyver would thanke me too.
Lady: What a **bold slut** it is, ...

As we can see from the co-text, the phrase *a bold slut* used by Lady Thrivewell may be treated as an epithet, which is to express her disapproval at Alicia's comment, rather than a direct synonym of *prostitute*. It is worth noting at this point that, for one thing, *slut* is treated as a historical synonym of *prostitute* by Schulz (1975) and Rawson (1989), but not by the *OED*. And, secondly, even though we know from the plot of the play that Alicia (here referred to as *a bold slut*) is in fact Lord Thrivewell's lover, it is rather unlikely that Lady Thrivewell knows about her husband's affair at the moment she uses the epithet towards Alicia.

Another extract, this time between Alicia and Bellamie (a youth who turns out to be a woman in disguise), in which, as explained by Lowe (2010), Alicia plans to act as a go-between for Lady Thrivewell and Bellamie. The former is believed to be "tainted by virtue of a fictitious sexual encounter" with the latter. Alicia's plan is supposed to serve the purpose of blackmail and revenge on her part, most probably against the Thrivewells.

- (2) Alicia: Shee is my noble friend, and the sweetest Lady, I need not set her out. But though you thinke you suffer in your honour, in being an instrument twixt your Lord

and mee, with the base blot of *Pander* sticking on you, (these were your words) I have ingag'd my selfe for her to be your *Pandaresse*; be so, I shall be even with you in businesse if you account it so.

Bellamine: What dee meane Lady?

Alicia: To urge against my selfe, for that sweete Lady, which no Woman else I thinke would doe, that loves you so unfainedly as I. But 'tis my fate, and the injunction I must lay upon you, to make mee yours. That first you give your selfe to her Embraces; I'll give you means for your accesse to her, and your successe with her, which done, and on your faith affirm'd to mee, 'tis so, I will perpetually bee yours more freely then your Lords.

The use of both terms *pander* and *pandaresse* is, as shown by the co-text, neither auspicious nor inauspicious. It seems that neither of the two interlocutors wishes to offend the other or is afraid/embarrassed to speak about a sexual go-between, which would be the experiential ground for using a euphemism. As a result, which is also confirmed by the definition provided in the *OED*, both *pander* and *pandaresse* are conspicuous *prostitute*-associated terms. Interestingly, the words are spelt with capital letters, which may point to their recent (early 17th century) eponymous formation based on the Latin proper name *Pandarus*.

In turn, as noted in Lowe (2010), the content of the play is “highly sexual and immoral”, and one of its critics, Kaufman (1961) argues that *Mad Couple* is the most obscene of Brome’s plays. If we are to believe the criticism by Kaufman, it is the use of the term *whore* that may be held responsible for the obscenity that *Mad Couple* is accused of. It is interesting to note at this point that the word *whore*, as Rawson (1989: 415-416) elucidates, was still in common use throughout the Middle English and Early Modern English periods.¹ And, as such, the term is frequently used in Shakespeare’s works as well as the King James Bible of 1611 with no tones of obscenity. However, in the course of the 17th century more and more synonyms of the word *whore* began to be recorded in the *OED* (see, Duda 2014: 143-201), which may indicate that the illocutionary force attached to the term changed from neutral to obscene and language users felt the urge to create cover terms to save their “pragmatic face.” The fact that the word *whore* became one of the strongest dysphemisms towards the end of the 17th century is also evidenced by Rawson (1989: 416), who acknowledges that “in the eighteenth century [...] this was one of the words that people began to be nervous about using.” In *Mad Couple* one of the extracts with the term *whore* which, today, is a heavily-tainted synonym of *prostitute* is the comment of Wat (Carlesse’s servant).

- (3) Wat: For necessities sir, but you must not now count Sack and Tobacco, **Whores** and Fidlers in abundance, necessities.

One of the main characters of the play, George Carlesse, is notorious for his debauchery, immoral behaviour, evil ways, and he is all bad. This is reflected in another passage where sexually explicit language is used to him and about him:

- (4) Lady: 'Tis well you consider it now. And still consider, George, how ill excess of wine, roaring and **whoring** becomes a gentleman, and how well sobriety, courtesy, and noble action; and dangers wait upon the one sort, and what safety accompanies the other!

¹ For a complete etymological account of the word *whore*, see *the Oxford English Dictionary*.

- (5) Carlesse: Wine, roaring and *whoring*! I will lay that saying of yours, madam, to my heart. But wine is the great wheel that sets the rest a-whirling.

These local contexts serve as ample evidence that one of the earliest synonyms of *prostitute* had a negative colouring already in the second half of the 17th century, to some ears at least. Interestingly, it is mostly Carlesse that uses the word *whore* on numerous occasions throughout the play.

Yet another extract including a synonym of *prostitute* is one by Carlesse, again, who says:

- (6) Carlesse: I dare not tell him now I cannot; but I wish well for the Monies sake; and let the Vintners pray, and all the decay'd Sparks about the Towne, whom I will raise out of ashes into flame againe. Let them pray for my good wokes. O my young Lady aunts grave waiting Woman. If shee were not hers, and out of this house I should take her for *a Bawd* now. But being hers, and here how much may I mistake? all flesh is frayle.

As can be seen from the co-text, the term *bawd* is used with reference to Carlesse's aunt, Lady Thrivewell, whom he almost obsessively desires and, as Lowe (2010) aptly puts it, "craves for her bed". Like in the case of *pander* and *pandaress*, the lexical item *bawd* has always had direct sexual appellations, which is confirmed by the *OED*, and, as such, its semantics is far from the euphemistic side of the evaluative scale.

In turn, the next extract (between Carlesse and Nurse to Lady Thrivewell) includes the lexical item *aunt*, which is lexicographically evidenced to be a historical synonym of *prostitute*, but the co-text seems to be ambiguous and provides little help in the disambiguation of its use.

- (7) Nurse: My Lady desires you.
Carlesse: And shee shall have me Nurse -- And she were ten Unkles wives, and she ten of mine *Aunts*.
Nurse: O this head! nay now you will not heare mee, shee desires you to goe abroad in the Coach with her.

The ambiguity of the use of the term *aunt* by Carlesse lies in the fact that Lady Thrivewell, whom he is referring to, is his, as Lowe (2010) puts it, "step-aunt". We may, however, risk formulating a hypothesis that since Carlesse desires his step-aunt sexually, and the term *aunt* started to be employed in the sense 'prostitute' in the early 17th century (see the *OED*), he might mean that his actual aunt is one of his aunts, in the sense 'prostitutes' (he talks about ten). This hypothesis is in a way reinforced by the reaction of the nurse, who informs Carlesse that he has misunderstood her words. The context of situation, in this case, seems to point to the euphemistic value of the term *aunt*, as used in this extract.

Last but not least, Lady Thrivewell uses the term *poor wench* when she refers to her chamber-maid:

- (8) Lady: True George, for had you not first beene sullied with Wine, you would not have abus'd your selfe to ha tumbled in the dirt with your Litter-mules, nor offer'd to seduce my Chamber-maide. Suppose you had overcome her, how could you have come off but with shame to your selfe, and the utter ruine of *the poore Wench*?

In this extract Lady Thrivewell evidently pities her chamber-maid and the use of the term *wench*, especially with the modifier *poor*, is euphemistic in nature. In the case of *wench*, as shown in Duda (2014: 135–136), it is the collocational partner that makes the whole compound or phrase a synonym of *prostitute*. To illustrate the point, suffice it to mention the late-14th-century *common wench*, *wanton wench* and *wench of the stews*, the late-16th-century *light wench* and the 17th-century *wench of the game*. Etymologically speaking, as evidenced by the *OED*, the lexical item *wench* was originally used in the sense ‘girl, young woman’ and in the middle of the 14th century the semantics of *wench* underwent the process of moral pejoration through which the word started to be employed in the sense ‘wanton woman, mistress’. Looking at the immediate co-text, here the collocational partners of *wench*, it is hard to escape the impression that it is the words *common*, *wanton*, *stews*, *light* and *game*² that are the morally tinted elements of the whole composite determinants. Not surprisingly, in all these phrases, as well as the phrase *poor wench* used by Lady Thrivewell in the passage quoted above, the euphemistic overtones of the semantics of *wench* are conspicuous.

The next late-17th-century play, entitled *The Country-Wife* by William Wycherley, also seems to be an apposite source of sexually related lexical items as, like Brome’s play, it involves male-female relationships based especially on the exaggerated jealousy of the main character, Mr. Pinchwife. In the first two extracts, both Mrs. Pinchwife and her sister Alithea seem to use euphemistic terms to refer to women who are strangers to them, and they would rather not call a spade a spade when referring to the women’s morality.

- (9) Mrs. Pinchwife: Ay, but we sate amongst ugly People, he wou'd not let me come near the Gentry, who sate under us, so that I cou'd not see'em: He told me, none but ***naughty Women*** sate there, whom they tous'd and mous'd; but I wou'd have ventur'd for all that.
- (10) Alithea: Why, pray, who boasts of any intrigue with me? what Lampon has made my name notorious? what ***ill Women*** frequent my Lodgings? I keep no Company with any ***Women of scandalous reputations***.

Having only this context at our disposal, we may seriously doubt whether the phrases used are in fact used as cover terms for *prostitute*. Fortunately, Mr. Pinchwife’s comments when talking to his wife and Alithea seem to resolve the doubts.

- (11) Mr. Pinchwife: What you wou'd have her as impudent as your self, as errant a Jilflirt, a gadder, a Magpy, and to say all a meer ***notorious Town-Woman***? [...] Hark you Mistriss, do not talk so before my Wife, the innocent liberty of the Town!
- (12) Mr. Pinchwife: No, you keep the Men of scandalous reputations Company. [...] Ay, my Dear, you must love me only, and not be like the ***naughty Town Women***, who only hate their Husbands, and love every Man else, love Plays, Visits, fine Coaches, fine Cloaths, Fiddles, Balls, Treates, and so lead a wicked Town-life. [...] In ***baggage***, in. What all the lewd Libertines of the Town brought to my Lodging, by this easie Coxcomb! S'death I'll not suffer it.

² According to Green (2003), *game* meant ‘group of prostitutes, especially in a brothel’ from the late 17th century up to the early 19th century.

- (13) Mr. Pinchwife: The Fool her Gallant, and she, will muster up all the young santerers of this place, and they will leave their dear *Seamstresses* to follow us; what a swarm of Cuckolds, and Cuckold-makers are here?

His use of *town woman*, *baggage*, already well-grounded synonyms of *prostitute*, and, most probably, *seamstress* as well, provides evidence that in all cases the reference is to prostitutes.

Additionally, the three gentlemen Harcourt, Dorilant and Horner use *wench* and *whore*, synonyms of *prostitute*, and *jade*, a *prostitute*-associated term when talking about women.

- (14) Harcourt: Damn'd, senseless, impudent, virtuous *Jade*; well since she won't let me have her, she'l do as good, she'l make me hate her.
- (15) Dorilant: Ay, when he can't be the better for'em; we hardly pardon a Man, that leaves his Friend for a *Wench*, and that's a pretty lawful call.
- (16) Horner: But, why should'st thou hate the silly Poets, thou hast too much wit to be one, and they like *Whores* are only hated by each other; and thou dost scorn writing, I'am sure.

As evidenced by the co-text and the context of the situation, the three gentlemen evidently use the words as terms of abuse to express either their anger or frustration.

The third comedy drama extracted from the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760* is *The Male-Coquette* by David Garrick. The title per se and the fact that the main character *Daffodil* is mostly busy with what Carlesse from *Mad Couple* would call *whoring* suggests that the text should be rich in obscenity, but it is almost devoid of any synonyms of *prostitute*. The only extract where we may infer from the co-text that a form of prostitution may be taking place is in the words of Mr. Tukely and Arabella.

- (17) Mr Tukely: I met Miss Sophy this Moment *in a Hackney Chair*, at the End of the Street: I knew her by the Pink Negligee`; but upon my crossing the Way to speak to her, she turn'd her Head away, laugh'd violently, and drew the Curtain in my Face.
- (18) Arabella: Sophia! No, no; she is *in a Hackney-Chair*, you know, without a Servant, in her Pink Negligee` -- Ha, ha, ha.

On the other hand, when we take into account that nowhere in the plot is it implied that the character Sophia, who is in this *hackney-chair*, would want or try to offer herself for hire, we may seriously doubt that prostitution is meant in this context of situation. That is why *hackney-chair* is most likely to be a synonym of *sedan chair* or *bath-chair*, *plying publicly for hire* (see the *OED*).

Last but not least, the early-18th-century play *The Conscious Lovers* by Richard Steel is, like *The Male Coquette*, relatively careful with language. Only two extracts contain the terms *jade* and *hussy*, which are used with reference to a female servant, Phillis.

- (19) Phillis: I know not what I have seen, nor what I have heard; but since I'm at Leisure, you may tell me, When you fell in Love with me; How you fell in Love with me; and what you have suffer'd, or are ready to suffer for me.

Tom: Oh! the *unmerciful Jade*! when I'm in haste about my Master's Letter -- But, I must go thro' it.

(20) Phillis: We don't think it safe, any more than you Gentry, to come together without Deeds executed.

Lucinda: Thou art *a pert merry Hussy*.

Phillis: I wish, Madam, your Lover and you were as happy, as Tom and your Servant are.

In both cases the words are used as terms of abuse, and they are semantically close to *prostitute*, but cannot, in fact, be treated as synonyms of one. According to the *OED*, both *jade* and *hussy* are terms of reprobation applied to women, the former originated in the late 16th century and the latter in the mid-17th century. It is worth noting, however, that both words had other primary senses, from which the derogatory female-specific meaning evolved. As is recorded in the *OED*, from the end of the 14th century *jade* was used in the sense 'a horse of inferior breed, usually ill-conditioned, worn-out horse' and *hussy* had the primary sense of 'a housewife' from the first half of the 16th century.

We may observe, however, an extremely subtle way of referring to women of doubtful reputation that is employed in both of the 18th-century comedy dramas. The phrase *a woman of quality* is used on several occasions in a somewhat ambiguous way, as illustrated in the exchange between Daffodil and Tukely in *The Male-Coquette*.

(21) Daffodil: Fond creature! I know there are a thousand Stories about me: You have heard too of Lady Fanny Pewit, I suppose? Don't be alarm'd.

Mr. Tukely: I can't help it, Sir. She is a fine Woman, and *a Woman of Quality*.

Daffodil: A fine Woman, perhaps, for *a Woman of Quality* – but she is an absolute old Maid, Madam, almost as thick as she is long – middle-aged, homely and wanton! That's her Character.

It is first and foremost the local context of the communicative acts in the two comedy dramas that allows us to treat these instances as synonyms of *prostitute*. However, there is an aspect of the context of the culture of the first half of the 18th century that boosts the plausibility of the aforementioned interpretation. On the one hand, in 1725 the pamphlet *Modest defence of publick stews* was published, which offered definitions of the two categories within the social group of prostitutes, namely PUBLIC WHORING (lying with a certain set of women, who have shook off all the pretence of modesty, and for such a sum of money, more or less, profess themselves always in a readiness to be enjoy'd) vs. PRIVATE WHORING (the other branch of whoring, viz. private – debauching married women, debauching young virgins). On the other hand, in 1757 *The Prostitutes of Quality* is published as a mild form of erotica, in which the phrases *woman/person of (my/the highest) quality* are explicitly used with reference to so-called private whoring.

4. Conclusions

A general observation that seems to follow from the analysis conducted is that in the majority of cases the co-text, the social relation between the addresser and the addressee of the communicative exchange, and the so-called context of situation enhanced the euphemism-

dysphemism disambiguation. Another tentative conclusion, which can only be confirmed in a fully-fledged analysis of a larger number of texts, is that whereas *A Mad Couple Well Match'd* reflects the libertine culture of the time with the explicit references to sexual issues, *The Country Wife* in a way condemns the obscenities of city life by talking about it in a more illicit manner. The distribution of the synonyms presented goes hand in hand with Burke's (2000: 45-47) claim that "a stylistic change in the expression of politeness coincided with a general shift of rituals towards informality in Europe as the humiliating style common in medieval and early modern periods was criticised and, consequently, declined in the 18th century together with elaborate forms of address and formality". However, the choice between explicit and illicit language, which here may be referred to as the choice between dysphemism and euphemism, still largely depended on the context of situation and, first and foremost, the relationship between the addresser and the addressee.

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