# Looking at Whores - The challenge of lexicography in the 17th century 

## Tony McEnery and Helen Baker

## Introduction

- What to look for?
- What words were used?
- In focus - whore


## Looking up

- Looking up - the OED
- Looking up - Chambers
- Looking up - Specific texts
- Looking up - the historian


## Key: <br> *In OED <br> Underlined - thought to be rare ${ }^{+}$In Chambers

 ape-gentlewoman, commodities ${ }^{\dagger}$, courtesan ${ }^{*}$, Covent Garden ladies ${ }^{\dagger}$, crack, daughters of sodom, doves of Venus, girls of pleasure ${ }^{\dagger}$, harlot ${ }^{* \dagger}$, hydra, jade, jilt ${ }^{* \dagger}$, kind woman, lewd / wicked / abominable / debauched / disorderly person ${ }^{*}$ or woman, miss ${ }^{* \dagger}$, monster ${ }^{*}$, nightwalker ${ }^{* \dagger}$, nocturnal privateers, nymph ${ }^{* \dagger}$, pirates of the night ${ }^{*}$, prostitute ${ }^{*}$, punk ${ }^{* \dagger}$, quean ${ }^{* \dagger}$, she-friend ${ }^{*}$, strumpet ${ }^{*}$, the sisterhood, traffic ${ }^{* \dagger}$, trull ${ }^{*+}$, wanton ladies, whore ${ }^{* \dagger}$, woman of iniquity, woman of the town *|  | $\begin{aligned} & 1600- \\ & 1609 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 1610- \\ 1619 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l\|} \hline 1620- \\ 1629 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l} 1630- \\ 1639 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1640- \\ & 1649 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l} 1650- \\ 1659 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1660- \\ & 1669 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 1670- \\ 1679 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} 1680- \\ 1689 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1690- \\ & 1699 \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| courtesan | 129 | 93 | 67 | 82 | 51 | 110 | 131 | 112 | 99 | 99 |
| courtesans | 99 | 90 | 59 | 75 | 58 | $\underline{108}$ | 99 | 165 | 121 | 133 |
| harlot | 601 | 735 | 462 | 520 | 686 | 1398 | 774 | 628 | 655 | 505 |
| harlots | 272 | 380 | 309 | 293 | 403 | 850 | 503 | 527 | 408 | 349 |
| jade | $\underline{292}$ | 177 | 130 | 144 | 149 | 154 | 147 | 159 | 270 | 207 |
| jades | 10 | 2 | 3 | 31 | 33 | 50 | 60 | 54 | 89 | 46 |
| jilt | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 37 | 75 | 143 |
| jilts | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 19 | 36 |
| nightwalker | 3 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 4 | $\underline{9}$ | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| nightwalkers | 5 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 6 | $\underline{16}$ | 7 | 2 | 6 | 1 |
| prostitute | 73 | 102 | 83 | 120 | 160 | 262 | 205 | 198 | 327 | 300 |
| prostitutes | 1 | 7 | 5 | 22 | 32 | 36 | 23 | 41 | 41 | $\underline{65}$ |
| punk | 31 | 54 | 24 | 29 | 19 | 28 | 31 | 49 | 79 | 56 |
| punks | 8 | 5 | 1 | 7 | 11 | 14 | 6 | 11 | $\underline{25}$ | 19 |
| quean | 8 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 23 | 49 | 91 | 101 | 60 | 38 |
| queans | 39 | 48 | 32 | 40 | 28 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| strumpet | 268 | 294 | 218 | 351 | 253 | 421 | 228 | 204 | 285 | 218 |
| strumpets | 93 | $\underline{145}$ | 60 | 125 | 72 | 137 | 74 | 74 | 116 | 106 |
| trull | 41 | 28 | 22 | 37 | 38 | 52 | 19 | 31 | $\underline{54}$ | 19 |
| trulls | 12 | 13 | 4 | 16 | 18 | 10 | 6 | 9 | 17 | 7 |
| whore | 981 | 1213 | 1084 | 1129 | 2134 | $\underline{2883}$ | 2167 | 1977 | 2552 | 1652 |
| whores | 256 | 287 | 299 | 409 | 440 | 638 | 488 | 580 | 829 | 578 |
| Peaks | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 3 |

## Visualizing

- Are there ways to visualize this better?
- Also, what about proportions of mention, rather than raw frequencies of mention?


## Candlestick plots

- Japanese commodity dealing
- Visualization of commodity trading trends
- If the opening frequency is above the closing frequency then a filled candlestick is shown (top opening, bottom closing)
- Closing frequency above opening frequency, hollow candlestick (top closing, bottom opening)
- Lines above and below 'wicks' represent high and low points.
- Hollow $\uparrow$ (opening bottom)
- Solid $\downarrow$ (closing bottom)


| Decade | Semantic fields attached to WHORE |
| :---: | :---: |
| 00s | Criminality (1), Gender identity (1), Insult (2), Location (1), Near synonym (2), Purchase (3), Relative (1), Religious (23), Undesirable characteristic (3) |
| 10s | Acting (3), Controllers (2), Criminality (2), Gender identity (2), Honesty (1), Insult (1), Near synonym (1), Purchase (1), Relative (1), Religious (20), Undesirable characteristic (1) |
| 20s | Acting (4), Controllers (1), Criminality (3), Gender identity (1), Honesty (1), Insult (2), Purchase (2), Relative (4), Religious (23), Undesirable characteristic (2) |
| 30s | Age (1), Acting (1), Controllers (3), Criminality (4), Gender identity (2), Honesty (1), Insult (2), Near synonym (3), Purchase (2), Relative (2), Religious (7), Title (1), Undesirable characteristic (3) |
| 40s | Acting (2), Controllers (4), Criminality (4), Gender identity (1), Honesty (1), Insult (1), Near synonym (3), Purchase (3), Relative (2), Religious (41), Undesirable characteristic (3) |
| 50s | Acting (3), Controllers (1), Criminality (3), Disease (1), Gender identity (1), Honesty (1), Illegitimacy (1), Insult (3), Intercourse (1), Location (1), Matrimony (2), Near synonym (3), Purchase (2), Relative (2), Religious (55), Undesirable characteristic (5) |
| 60s | Age (1), Acting (2), Controllers (2), Criminality (4), Disease (2), Falsehood (1), Gender identity (1), Honesty (1), Insult (3), Matrimony (1), Metaphor (1), Near synonym (2), Pity (1), Purchase (2), Relative (2), Religious (38), Similie (1), Undesirable characteristic (2) |
| 70s | Age (1), Acting (1), Controllers (2), Criminality (2), Disease (1), Gender identity (2), Honesty (1), Illegitimacy (1), Insult (2), Near synonym (2), Pity (1), Purchase (1), Relative (3), Religious (31), Title (3), Undesirable characteristic (2) |
| 80s | Age (2), Allow (1), Acting (4), Controllers (2), Criminality (4), Exclamation (1), Falsehood (1), Gender identity (2), Honesty (1), Illegitimacy (1), Insult (4), Know (1), Location (1), Near synonym (1), Pity (1), Profession (1), Purchase (3), Relative (2), Religious (30), Title (2), Undesirable characteristic (1) |
| 90s | Age (1), Acting (6), Controllers (6), Criminality (6), Gender identity (2), Honesty (1), Insult (8), Punishment (2), Purchase (4), Relative (2), Religious (27), Similie (1), Title (1) |


|  | 0 | 10 | 20 | 30 | 40 | 50 | 60 | 70 | 80 | 90 |  | Nature of Collocates |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Criminality | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 10 | Consistent |
| Gender identity | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 10 | Consistent |
| Insult | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 10 | Consistent |
| Purchase | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 10 | Consistent |
| Relative | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 10 | Consistent |
| Religious | 23 | 20 | 23 | 7 | 41 | 55 | 38 | 31 | 30 | 27 | 10 | Consistent |
| Acting | 0 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 9 | Consistent |
| Controllers | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 9 | Consistent |
| Honesty | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 9 | Consistent |
| Undesirable characteristic | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 9 | Consistent |
| Near synonym | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 8 | Consistent |
| Age | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | Transient/ Initiation |
| Title | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 4 | Transient/ Initiation |
| Disease | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | Initiation and Transience |
| Illegitimacy | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | Transient |
| Location | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | Transient |
| Pity | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | Initiation and Transient |
| Similie | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | Transient/ Initiation |
| Falsehood | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | Transient |
| Matrimony | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | Transient |
| Adultery | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | Transient |
| Allow | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | Transient |
| Client | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | Transient |
| Exclamation | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | Transient |
| Know | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | Transient |
| Intercourse | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | Transient |
| Metaphor | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | Transient |
| Profession | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | Transient |
| Punishment | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | Transient |

## Fields

- Purchase - hire, Price, keep
- 'keep their whores, under a yearly rent'
- 'keep a Whore, paying only Ten Shillings and Six Pence'
- 'Must chain her , or she 'll trade with forty more'


## Criminality

- criminals (KNAVE, THIEF, ROGUE)
- criminal processes (STEAL)
- Knave - criminality
- Rogue - criminality and begging
- beggars, runnagate, vagabond and vagrant


## Gender identity

- woman, her, she
- 'The Court would make her either a fool or whore'
- she + BE + a +whore
- 'my wife cuckolds me, she is a whore, a whore, a whore'
- 'she is a Whore and her child a bastard'
- 'Go tell thy mistress Whore, she is a Whore'


## Playing and Making

- PLAY V MAKE
- 'for gain to play the whore'
- 'some forced are, By being poor and very bare , To play the Whore or Thief'
- 'And what do many fair Ladies do, but play the Whores with themselves, and commit Uncleanness'
- To make a whore of my daughter, is no hurt to me'
- 'That Thief has sold her then into some Bawdihouse. Was this your project for her education, To steal my child to make a whore of her ?’


## Controllers

- Transient collocates: PANDER, WhOREMONGER and PIMP
- PIMP per decade, normalised per ten million words:1.7 (00s), 6.1 (10s),1.4 (20s), 6.9 (30s), 16.3 (40s), 7.3 (50s), 15.8 (60s), 14.8 (70s), 22.3 ( 80 s ), 24.8 (90s)
- Consistent collocation: BAWD
- broker, brokers, procurers, wenches, courtesans, harlots, harlots, prostitute, punk, strumpet , parasites, ruffians, fornicators, harbouring, bridewell, carted, midwife


## Undesirable characteristics

- arrant, impudent, painted, swear
- base, crafty, filthy, lust, notorious, shameless
- drink, lewd, drunk
- common - common WHORE
- common whore collocates with criminals (pick-pockets), beggars (wanderers), those controlling or facilitating the sex trade (bawds) and others engaged in the same activities (harlot, prostitute)
- 'A Prostitute or Common Whore, IS a Creature in the form and shape of our mother Eve, but of far more impudence, for as Eve desired to hide her nakedness, this covets to discover it, making a Trade of lust, and a pastime of incontinence. A painted lesabell peeping out at her polluted windows, with a nod or beckon to allure the simple ; and shamelessly saluting those she ne'er saw; and may be compared to a Jakes, which every rogue uses for necessity, and then abhors it'


## Conclusion

- Approach the study of words in the past with caution
- Dictionaries are a partial guide - in both senses of the word
- Other academics with relevant expertise may prove helpful
- The corpus can reveal long term patterns
- Some of these are new to us - collocation is far from being fixed in public discourse

