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**CUP-BEARING IN THE CONTEXT OF MALE PROSTITUTION: ON EARLY
MODERN ENGLISH SYNONYMS OF *CALL-BOY***

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The linguistically oriented studies of historical synonyms of *male prostitute* are definitely in minority among the whole array of analyses into lexical items onomasiologically linked to the conceptual category **HUMAN BEING**. In the history of linguistics there have been several attempts at accounting for the dark side of the human nature, that is those lexical items that may be qualified as being linked to the category **FALLEN HUMAN BEING**, for example, Schulz (1975), Rawson (1981), Kleparski (1997) and Duda (2013; 2014). This paper offers a discussion of Early Modern English synonyms of *male prostitute* with due attention to various linguistic means as well as conceptual patterns that are documented to have been at work in the formation of cover terms onomasiologically linked to the conceptual microcategory **CALL-BOY**.

Key words: historical semantics, euphemisation, synonymy, conceptual categories, attributive paths.

To say that the phenomenon of prostitution has existed since the times immemorial is an extralinguistically well-known fact verging with musty truism, but what may come as a smacking piece of news is that prostitution has never exclusively been a female phenomenon as even the ancient Romans had a term for male prostitutes, namely *publici cinaedi*. Even a cursory look at the body of synonyms of *prostitute* that rose to existence during the Early Modern English period suffices to allow one to say that during the historical period in question a number of lexical items onomasiologically linked to the conceptual microcategory **CALL-BOY** were there to serve communication needs in the lexical resources of English. An investigation of various lexicographic works, such as the *OED* (1971) Franklyn (1975), and Partridge (1984), shows that the sociological demand for both euphemistic and dysphemistic names of male prostitutes acquired tangible lexical form in the Early Modern English period, as it is the first historical stage in the history of the English language when there developed several linguistic tools to encode the concept of male-specific sex trade. As for the taxonomic distribution of the mechanisms involved in the formation of the synonyms of *male prostitute*, the data tabled below shows that the process of lexical borrowing has been by far the most productive (5 lexical items) while other formative mechanisms have been at work in the coinage of one or two other lexical items that came into being at that time.

Early Modern English		
Structural Tools		
Compounding	Remodelling	Clipping
<i>love-boy</i>	<i>catamite</i>	<i>Ingle</i>
Semantic Tools		
Borrowing	Eponymy	Circumlocution
<i>bardash</i> (Fr.)	<i>ganymede</i>	<i>love-boy</i>
<i>ingle/ningle</i> (Sc.)	<i>ganymedean</i>	
<i>catamite</i> (Lat.)		
<i>ganymede</i> (Gr.)		
<i>pathic</i> (Lat.)		
Rhetorical Tools		
Metonymy		
	<i>pathic</i>	

Figure 1. Early Modern English synonyms of *male prostitute*.

For the sake of diachronic comparison, the later period in the history of English, that is Present-day English, shows a marked change in the employment of formative tools involved as most lexical items onomasiologically linked to the microcategory **CALL-BOY** which were coined in this period are either of structural or rhetorical nature. To be more precise, the potential of compounding resulted in the emergence of such Pres.E. synonyms of *male prostitute* as *bum-boy*, *call-boy*, *rough trade* and *rent boy*. In addition, metaphorical extensions, zoosemic transfers among others, are evidenced to have been at work in the rise of such Pres.E. synonyms of *male prostitute* as *chicken*, *cat*, *call-boy*, *rough trade* and *rent boy*.

Synonyms of *male prostitute* in Early Modern English

Let us start our discussion with the effect of the process of borrowing in the growth of the body of E.Mod.E. male-specific lexical items onomasiologically linked to the conceptual category **FALLEN HUMAN BEING**, the representatives of which include *bardash*, *ingle/ ningle*, *catamite*, *ganymede* and *pathic*. Our work will be couched in broadly-understood cognitive spirit of analysis, and the terminology and mechanisms employed will run close to those that are put to use in other historical analyses proposed by the *RSDS* scholars (see, for example, Kleparski (1997); Kiełtyka (2008) and Duda (2014)). Among others, we shall make use of the notion of **CONCEPTUAL DOMAINS**, entrenchment, attributive paths formed by strings of attributive values/elements which – from the axiological perspective – may either be neutral (e.g. <ROUND_[NEU]>) or evaluatively loaded and, more specifically, evaluatively negative (e.g. <IMMORAL_[NEG]> or evaluatively positive (e.g. <HONEST_[POS]>).

BARDASH: As to the etymological roots of *bardash*, the emergence of the word in the lexico-semantic system of English in the first half of the 16th century must have been the result of the adoption of Fr. *bardache*, which in turn was earlier borrowed from Arab. *bardaj* ‘slave’. The historically original and the only sense evidenced in the history of the word in English was ‘catamite’. In terms of analytical tools adopted, the semantics of E.Mod.E. *bardash* may be accounted for in terms of activation of the evaluatively neutral conceptual value <MALE_[NEU]> coupled with the cognitive

prominence of the negatively loaded conceptual value <COMMERCIALY UNCHASTE_[NEG]> presupposed for the attributive paths of **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]** and **DOMAIN OF MORALITY [...]** accordingly. Additionally, for the sense ‘catamite’, we may speak about the involvement of an entrenchment link to the relevant elements of the attributive path within **DOMAIN OF SEXUALITY [...]** for which the evaluatively neutral conceptual element <HOMOSEXUAL_[NEU]> is active. The following *OED* historical contexts of use testify to the male-specific evaluatively laden sense of *bardash*:

1548 *Zanzeri, Bardasses.*

↓

1721 With your false Calves, *Bardash*, and Fav’rites.

As for the illocutionary force of the word we are justified in saying that the lexical item in question was dysphemistic – rather than auspicious – in nature as the semantics of its etymologically original Arab. form *bardaj* is conceptually linked with the negatively loaded element <LOW_[NEG]> presupposed for the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF SOCIAL STATUS [...]**. The lexicographic works of today that have been consulted, such as Oxford Dictionaries (2012), Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (2002) and Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2012), fail to include *bardash* in their macrostructure, which bears witness to the disappearance of the lexical item from the English word stock before the advent of the Present-day English period.

NINGLE/INGLE: The origin of this E.Mod.E. synonym of *male prostitute* lies in obscurity, yet – as the *OED* editors conjecture – both *ningle* and its clipped variant *ingle* entered the lexico-semantic system of English towards the close of the 16th century and the two words were both used synonymously in the sense ‘boy-favourite, catamite’. However, the *OED* records the homonymous lexical item *ingle*, which is said to have derived from Gael. *aingéal* ‘fire, light’ employed in this particular sense from the beginning of the 16th century. Interestingly, out of a number of lexicographic works that have been consulted only Partridge (1984) makes a note of the falsely assumed etymological link between the two homonyms, that is *ingle* ‘catamite’ and *ingle* ‘fire’. Partridge (1984) argues that from around the second half of the 19th century *ingle* was used *catachrestically* in the sense ‘open fireplace’. The semantics of this yet another lexical item onomasiologically linked to the conceptual category **FALLEN HUMAN BEING** is accountable in terms of positing an entrenchment link to such **CDs** as **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]**, **DOMAIN OF SEXUALTY [...]** and **DOMAIN OF MORALITY [...]** for which the evaluatively neutral conceptual values <MALE_[NEU]>, <HOMOSEXUAL_[NEU]>, and negatively loaded conceptual element <COMMERCIALY UNCHASTE_[NEG]> are activated respectively. The male-specific pejoratively pregnant sense of *ningle/ingle* discussed here is evidenced by the following *OED* illustrative quotations:

1592 I am afraid thou wilt make me thy *ingle*.

1708 Those whom Venus is said to rule; as... Ganymedes, Bardachoes, Hufilers, *Ingles*.

↓

1926 The Romans were startled by the arrival of this Asian *ingle* as their Emperor.

As to the illocutionary force of *ningle* and *ingle*, one may safely assume that the lexical item in question was rather inauspicious as the *OED* provides the additional information that the sense ‘boy-favourite’ tended to be employed with heavy negative colouring. Even though the *OED* records the last use of *ingle* in the first half of the 20th century, the word is not included in the macrostructure of such lexicographic works of today as Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2012), Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (2002) and Oxford Dictionaries (2012).

CATAMITE/GANYMEDE: In turn, the etymological roots of E.Mod.E. *catamite* may be traced back to Lat. *Catamītus* which – according to the *OED* – is a corrupted form of *Ganymēdes*

‘the name of Jupiter’s cupbearer’. From the close of the 16th century *catamite* was used in English in the sense, somewhat ambiguously defined by the *OED*, ‘boy kept for unnatural purposes’. Interestingly, the same Lat. form *Ganymēdes* gave rise to another historical synonym of *male prostitute*, namely *ganymede* which was employed in the sense ‘catamite’ from the end of the 16th century. Close scrutiny of the mechanisms that may have been at work in the formation of E.Mod.E. *catamite* and E.Mod.E. *ganymede* leads one to draw the obvious conclusion that the latter was formed as a result of the employment of the mechanism of eponymy while the former may be labelled as a remodelled form of *ganymede*. The working of the mechanism of eponymy is confirmed by the *OED* which informs us that the ultimate origin of both *catamite* and *ganymede* is Gr. *Γανυμήδης* ‘Trojan youth, whom Zeus made his cupbearer’. In terms of cognitive mechanisms, the semantics of both *catamite* and *ganymede* may be rendered in terms of activation of the evaluatively neutral conceptual values <MALE_[NEU]>, <HOMOSEXUAL_[NEU]> and the negatively loaded conceptual value <COMMERCIALLY UNCHASTE_[NEG]> presupposed respectively for the attributive paths of such **CDs** as **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]**, **DOMAIN OF SEXUALITY [...]** and **DOMAIN OF MORALITY [...]**. The following *OED* historical material testifies to the male-specific morally loaded sense of *catamite* and *ganymede*:

1593 His smooth-chin’d... *catamite*.

↓

1795 A certain young man... a common *catamite*.

1591 *Puto*, a *ganymedes*, *Cynaedus*.

↑

1708 *Ganymedes*, Bardachoes, Hufflers.

As to social status parameter apparently foregrounded in the semantics of the word, one may assume with a fair degree of certainty that the sense ‘boy kept for unnatural purposes’ is also accountable in terms of activation of the negatively loaded conceptual element <LOW_[NEG]> presupposed for the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF SOCIAL STATUS [...]**. Needless to say, the social position of *catamites* and *ganymedes* must have been somewhere not too far from the bottom of the social ladder. Interestingly, the *OED* records that *ganymedean* – as a derivative of *ganymede* – was used in the 17th century in the sense ‘one who follows the practices of a *Ganymede*’. It is worth mentioning, however, that the derivative in question must have been a one-time-occurrence as the *OED* provides only one quotation as the historical context of its use (1603 *Pandars*, *Ganymedeans*, *Enhausers of Lust*).

The lexicographic works that have been consulted, such as the *OED*, *Partridge* and *Cassell’s Dictionary of Slang* (2003), show a tendency to treat *catamite* as the basic level term onomasiologically linked to the conceptual microcategory **CALL-BOY**, and include the lexical item as the central definitional element to define other synonyms of *male prostitute* in the history of English. Furthermore, the slang dictionaries, such as *Partridge* (1984) and *Cassell’s Dictionary of Slang* (2003), include *ganymede* – but not *catamite* – in their macrostructure, which gives one grounds to assume that *catamite* may have been treated as an orthophemism. As to the illocutionary force of *ganymede*, it is extremely difficult – if not altogether impossible – to determine whether the lexical item in question is a euphemism or a dysphemism. In fact, one is reduced to speculating in saying that the low social status and the slang register associated with the sense ‘boy kept for unnatural purposes’ places *ganymede* closer to the dysphemistic side. Today, however, out of the lexicographic works consulted, only *Oxford Dictionary* records the lexical item *catamite*, as used in the sense ‘boy kept for homosexual purposes’ with the additional style-specific label *archaic*.

PATHIC: Yet another E.Mod.E. synonym of *male prostitute* is *pathic* which is agreed to have been adopted from Lat. *pathicus* ‘suffering, remaining passive’ and started to be used in the lexico-semantic system of English in the sense ‘man or boy upon whom sodomy is practised’ from the outset of the 17th century. Apart from being an example of the employment of borrowing strategy, E.Mod.E. *pathic* may also be described as an instance of the working of the metonymic extension based on the \\FEATURE FOR PERSON ADORNED WITH THIS FEATURE\\ contiguity pattern. In terms of cognitive framework adopted here one may account for the semantics of *pathic* by postulating the involvement of an entrenchment link to such CDs as **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]**, **DOMAIN OF SEXUALITY [...]** and **DOMAIN OF MORALITY [...]** for which the evaluatively neutral conceptual values <MALE_[NEU]>, <HOMOSEXUAL_[NEU]> and the negatively loaded conceptual element <COMMERCIALLY UNCHASTE_[NEG]> are activated respectively. Additionally, the unengaged nature of the homosexual involvement evidently present in the sense ‘man or boy upon whom sodomy is practised’ may be rendered in terms of the activation of the negatively loaded conceptual value <PASSIVE_[NEG]> presupposed for the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF CHARACTER AND BEHAVIOUR [...]**. The male-specific sexually-specialised sense of *pathic* is evidenced by the following *OED* historical contexts of use:

1603 He... was the noted *Pathick* of the time.

1718 The first was his *pathic*, the second his concubine.

↓

1972 *Pathic*, a person who assumes the passive role in any abnormal sexual act.

As to the illocutionary force of *pathic*, we may assume – somewhat speculatively – that the lexical item in question was rather inauspicious in its evocative capacity. The reason behind such an assumption is the lesser importance and the lower social status associated with the conceptual value <PASSIVE_[NEG]>. Let us add that the historically original sense of *pathic* is evidenced to have been subject to the process of generalisation when – in the first half of the 17th century – the word started to be used in the widened sense ‘one who suffers or undergoes something’ (1636 A mere *pathic* to Thy devilish art). Significantly, neither the historically original nor the generalised sense of *pathic* has survived in the lexico-semantic system of English till this day; the word is absent from the macrostructure of many lexicographic works of today, such as Longman, Macmillan and Oxford Dictionaries.

LOVE-BOY: Finally, the E.Mod.E. compound *love-boy* registered in the sense ‘catamite’ is evidenced by the *OED* to have been a one-time 17th century occurrence in English. No other etymological or lexicographic works record the lexical item *love-boy* in their macrostructure, which may confirm its highly ephemeral nature. As in other cases, for the sense ‘catamite’ one may speak about the activation of such conceptual values as evaluatively neutral <MALE_[NEU]>, <HOMOSEXUAL_[NEU]> and negatively loaded <COMMERCIALLY UNCHASTE_[NEG]> presupposed for the attributive paths of **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]**, **DOMAIN OF SEXUALITY [...]** and **DOMAIN OF MORALITY [...]** respectively. The following *OED* quotation testifies to the male-specific sense of the once-documented *love-boy*:

a1656 Pausanias, being discovered by Argilius, his *love-boy*.

The semantics of the constituent element *love* leads one to a conclusion that the whole compound *love-boy* did not necessarily have a negative illocutionary force, but rather the lexical item discussed here may have been used as a circumlocutory phrase to refer to call-boys of the Elizabethan times. Obviously, the scarcity of resources that record *love-boy* in the sense ‘catamite’ make it a daunting task to establish any plausible evocative nature of the lexical item in question, which disappeared from the English word stock soon after it was coined.

Curiously enough, the analysis of lexical items onomasiologically linked to the conceptual category **FALLEN HUMAN BEING** enables one to formulate, if not a general tendency, than at least a repetitive pattern of certain female-specific synonyms of *prostitute* to undergo a shift in the value of the conceptual element presupposed for the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]** from <FEMALE_[NEU]> to <MALE_[NEU]>. In the whole body of historical synonyms of *prostitute* at least four constitute examples of the case in point, namely E.Mod.E. *punk* and Pres.E. *trug*, *hustler* and *tart*.

PUNK: Let us take E.Mod.E. *punk* as an example of the <FEMALE_[NEU]> to <MALE_[NEU]> semantic transfer, as well as a series of other intriguing semantic shifts. Although several etymological sources, such as the *OED* and (Rawson, 1989), refrain from determining the origin of *punk*, Patridge (1984) supposes that the lexical item in question may be ultimately etymologically linked to Lat. *punctum* ‘small hole, usually caused by pricking’. However, diachronically, the original sense with which the word appeared in the course of E.Mod.E. period was ‘prostitute, strumpet’. Hence, with the aid of cognitive tools one may say that, at the beginning of its existence in the lexico-semantic system of English, the semantics of *punk* was associated with activation of the evaluatively neutral conceptual value <FEMALE_[NEU]> presupposed for the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]**, as well as with foregrounding of the morally pejorative conceptual value <COMMERCIALY UNCHASTE_[NEG]> presupposed for the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF MORALITY [...]**. The following *OED* quotations testify to the historically original sense of *punk*:

1596 He hath a *Punck* (as the pleasant Singer calcs her).

↓

1785 Like a poor pilloried *Punk* he bawled.

1928 It amused him to hear the cast-off locutions of duchesses in the mouth of this ageing prostitute... The poor super-annuated *punk* was so gruesome.

Interestingly, at the beginning of the 18th century *punk* developed several senses that are both variously related and utterly unrelated to the human-specific sense ‘prostitute’, for example, the unrelated sense ‘rotten wood or fungus growing on wood’.¹ This sense of *punk* – as evidenced in the *OED* – underwent the process of meaning generalisation when, in the second half of the 19th century, the word started to be used in the generalised sense ‘anything worthless, nonsense, rubbish’, as testified by the following *OED*-extracted contexts:

1869 Better have the simplest... thoughts, clearly expressed, than what Carlyle calls ‘phosphorescent *punk* and nothingness’.

↑

1973 I don’t like the family Stein. There is Gert, there is Ep, there is Ein. Gert’s writings are *punk*, Ep’s statues are junk, Nor can anyone understand Ein.

In turn, at the beginning of the 20th century, the sense ‘anything worthless, rubbish’ underwent a further twist of meaning modification of a metaphorical kind. At that time *punk* developed the derogatory sense ‘passive male homosexual, catamite’, especially – as H. Rawson (Rawson, 1989, p. 313) argues – in isolated all-male societies, such as hoboies, sailors and prison inmates. Certainly – as the *OED* suggests – the rise of this very sense of *punk* may have been conditioned by the historically original sense ‘prostitute’, as in both senses the attributive value of sexuality comes into

¹ As evidenced by the following *OED* historical context: 1705 Or else they take *Punck*, (which is a sort of a soft Touchwood, cut out of the knots of Oak or Hiccory Trees, but the Hiccory affords the best).

play.¹ The conceptual schema that may have played a role in the emergence of this male-specific negatively loaded sense may be labelled as PROSTITUTION IS DECOMPOSITION/ FILTH, through which both passive homosexuality and (male) prostitution are still frequently conceptualised as something worthless, dirty or rotten. Needless to say, as evidenced earlier in the semantic literature of the subject (see, for example, Schulz (1975), Kleparski (1997), the concept of **PHYSICAL FILTH** almost inevitably evolves/ transforms – sooner or later – into **MORAL FILTH**. This general tendency in semantic evolution is well-documented for both female-specific and male-specific lexical items. Apart from the word *punk* discussed in this paper, the conceptual metaphor PROSTITUTION IS DECOMPOSITION/ FILTH seems to have been at work in the formation of such female-specific synonyms of *prostitute* as M.E. *putain*, *filth* and E.Mod.E. *baggage*, *fling-dust* (-*stink*), *drab* and *pucelle*.

Within cognitive framework adopted here, the male-specific pejoratively pregnant sense of *punk* may be accounted for in terms of activating and foregrounding of such conceptual values as evaluatively neutral <MALE_[NEU]> and <HOMOSEXUAL_[NEU]>, as well as negatively loaded <PASSIVE_[NEG]> and <COMMERCIALLY UNCHASTE_[NEG]> presupposed for the attributive paths of, respectively, **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]**, **DOMAIN OF SEXUALITY [...]**, **DOMAIN OF CHARACTER AND BEHAVIOUR [...]** and **DOMAIN OF MORALITY [...]**. The following *OED* material testifies to the metaphorical sense of *punk*:

1904 *Punk*,... a pervert.

1926 The '*Punks*', young bums, were sent for 'mickies', bottles of alcohol.

↑

1977 The involuntary homosexuals tend to be good-looking young men... forced into becoming jailhouse '*punks*' by older men serving long sentences.

Yet another change – apart from that of the female > male kind – is, as Hughes (2006) points out, the shift of the word from the British to the American variety of English with no accompanying shift of semantic value, but merely with a change of register value. As for the survival of the lexical item in question in Present-day English, *punk* is recorded in the informal sense 'worthless fellow, young hooligan, petty criminal' in such modern lexicographic sources as Longman, Macmillan and Oxford Dictionaries, the last of which also includes the sense 'passive male homosexual' with the note that the word belongs to the prison slang.

This paper is meant to be a contribution to the human-oriented research carried out in the realm of diachronic semantics. Though relatively narrow in its scope, our analysis enables us to formulate several conclusions of varying generality and importance. The analysis of the lexical items onomasiologically linked to the conceptual category **CALL-BOY** shows that most – if not all – historical synonyms of *male prostitute* are characterised by the presence of what has been formalised as the conceptual element <PASSIVE_[NEG]>. The reasons behind this peculiar trait that characterises English historical synonyms of *male prostitute* may be sought for in extralinguistic reality. To be more specific, the primary source of formation of the synonyms in question was Latin (*catamite*, *pathic*), Greek (*ganymede*) and French (*bardash*). Interestingly, it was the ancient world of Greece and Rome where male dominance was frequently mastered through relationships of noble citizens with men or boys from lower strata of society. This gives one (possible) extralinguistic grounds to assume that male prostitutes – like female ones – were perceived as slaves and treated

¹ On the contrary, Skeat (2005) advocates the feasibility of the word being imported by sailors from the Low Countries.

like commodities to be used (and abused), which only the most important and richest citizens could – for obvious reasons – afford. Such portrayal of a prostitute, both female and male, is reflected on a linguistic level with the semantic history of a number of lexical items, for example, *bardash*, *catamite*, *ganymede* which originally meant either ‘slave’ or ‘cupbearer’. Obviously, we feel that to verify the hypothesis formulated above one would have to engage in further data-oriented analysis, including contrastive analysis that would cover not only Germanic languages, but also representative languages from other subgroups of Indo-European family.

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**ПРИСЛУГОВУВАННЯ В КОНТЕКСТІ ЧОЛОВІЧОЇ ПРОСТИТУЦІЇ:
СИНОНІМИ *ХЛОПЧИКА ЗА ВИКЛИКОМ* У РАННІЙ ПЕРІОД
РОЗВИТКУ СУЧАСНОЇ АНГЛІЙСЬКОЇ МОВИ**

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У статті розглянуто лексичні одиниці, які можна кваліфікувати як такі, що пов'язані з концептуальною категорією **ПРОПАЩА ЛЮДИНА**. Подано результати аналізу синонімів *male prostitute* у ранній період розвитку сучасної англійської мови з належною увагою до різних мовних засобів їхнього творення. Розглянуто концептуальні моделі, які лежать в основі творення термінів, ономасіологічно пов'язаних з концептуальною мікрокатегорією **ХЛОПЧИК ЗА ВИКЛИКОМ**.

Ключові слова: історична семантика, евфемізація, синонімія, концептуальні категорії, атри-бутивні ланцюжки.