Conceptual Metaphors in Slang:
A Study on the Words *Shit*, *Piss*, and *Blood*

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Pro gradu -tutkielmassa selvitetään, minkälaisia käsitteellisiä metaforia ilmenee slangi-ilmaisuissa, joissa esiintyy sanat *shit*, *piss* ja *blood*. Myös käsitteellisten metaforien eroavuudet ovat tutkimuksen mielenkiinnon kohteena. Tutkimusaineisto on kerätty viidestä eri slangisanakirjasta, mutta vain sellaiset ilmaisut tutkittiin, joissa sanoilla *shit*, *piss*, ja *blood* on metaforinen merkitys. Tällaisia ilmaisuja havaittiin olevan 423.

Tutkimuksen viitekehyksenä käytetään käsitteellisen metaforan teoriaa, jonka perimmäisenä tarkoituksena on tutkia käsitteellisiä metaforia kahden käsitteellisen alueen – lähde- ja kohdealueen – avulla. Käsitteellisten alueiden ollessa tiedossa on mahdollista muodostaa käsitteellinen metafora, joka kuvaa, miten käsitteellistämme ympärillä olevan todellisuuden kielen kautta. Käsitteelliset metaforat ovat muotoa LÄHDEALUE ON KOHDEALUE. Koska jokaisen tutkittavan ilmaisun lähdealue muodostui tutkittavista sanoista *shit*, *piss* ja *blood*, tutkimuksen pääpaino on kohdealueen selvittämisessä.

Tutkimus osoitti, että sanojen *shit* ja *piss* kohdealueina ovat suurimmaksi osaksi negatiiviset käsitteet ja asiat kuten esimerkiksi alempiarvoisuus (SHIT/PISS IS SECOND-RATE), törkeä käytös toista kohtaan (SHIT/PISS IS ABUSE) ja arvottomuus (SHIT/PISS IS OF LITTLE OR NO VALUE). Toisaalta sanalla *piss* on joitakin sellaisia kohdealueita, joita *shit*-sanat eivät ilmaise, kuten esimerkiksi alkoholi ja muut nesteet (SHIT IS A TYPE OF LIQUID); tästä huolimatta *shit* ja *piss*-sanojen välillä on paljon samankaltaisuutta, minkä osoittaa esimerkiksi ilmaisu *shit/piss or get off the pot*, joka pysyy merkitykseltään samana riippumatta siitä, sijoittaako ilmaisuun sanan *shit* vai *piss*. Sana *blood* taas erosi em. sanoista paljon jyrkemmin, sillä sen yleisin kohdealue on väkivalta (BLOOD IS VIOLENCE) ja se viittaa useisiin sellaisiin kohdealueisiin, johon *shit* tai *piss* eivät viittaa, kuten esimerkiksi rahaan ja ponnistukseen.

Käsitteellisen metaforan viitekehyksen mukaan käsitteellisiä metaforia pidetään ihmisten kokemuksien ilmentyminä, sillä käsitteelliset metaforat peilaavat ihmisten kokemuksia ympäröivästä maailmasta, mikä osaltaan selittää miksi tutkittavien sanojen kohdealueet eroavat. Tutkimuksessa esiin tulleet käsitteelliset metaforat osoittavat, että negatiiviset kokemukset korostuvat sellaisten sanojen yhteydessä, jotka viittaavat jätöksiin. Yllättävää kuitenkin oli, että positiivisiakin merkityksiä löytyi. Sekä *piss* että *shit* voivat viitata erikoislaatuisuuteen (SHIT IS EXCEPTIONAL) ja kompetenssiin (SHIT IS CAPABILITY). Tämän lisäksi *piss* voi myös viitata voittoon (PISS IS VICTORY) ja elinvoimaan (PISS IS ENERGY). On vaikea selittää miksi tällaisiin kohdealueisiin viitataan sanojen *shit* ja *piss* yhteydessä. Voi olla, että helppous, joka liittyy erittämiseen, yhdistetään sanoihin *shit* ja *piss*. Niin ikään yksi mahdollinen selittävä tekijä käsitteelliseen metaforaan PISS IS VICTORY liittyen on se, että eläinten (tai jopa ihmisten) sanotaan virtsaavan kukistettujen kilpailijoidensa päälle.

Avainsanat: käsitteellinen metafora, slangi, *shit*, *piss*, *blood*

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1. Introduction

Assigning precedence to stylistically more formal or neutral linguistic phenomena might distort our perception of language and its real features. As an example of such distortion one can cite some aspects with which metaphors were associated before the year 1980. For example, it was believed that the employment of a metaphor required not only deliberateness and conscious effort but also talent on the part of the speaker (Kovecses 2002: vii). It was thought that only exceptional poets or articulate speakers could be metaphor's masters (ibid). Furthermore, it was believed that metaphors are used for "special effects" and that they are "not an inevitable part of everyday human communication, let alone everyday human thought and reasoning" (ibid.). It is very likely that the authors whose studies established the aforementioned features of metaphors were not considering less formal linguistic phenomena such as slang in their research. After all, it is now a well established fact that slang, which is common in everyday speech, is to a significant extent metaphorical (Sornig 1981: 3).

Indeed, the aforementioned traditional conception of metaphor has been challenged since the 1970s (Eble 2003: 156) and especially in 1980, when George Lakoff and Mark Johnson published their book *Metaphors We Live By* (Kovecses 2002: viii). According to Lakoff and Johnson's cognitive linguistic view of metaphor, metaphors are employed daily without any effort by laypeople and not only by ingenious or talented individuals (ibid.). Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson argue that one cannot avoid metaphors in the process of reflection and reasoning (ibid.). That is, as Goatly suggests, metaphors are everywhere (2007: 14). What is also interesting is that conceptual metaphor theorists suggest that we do not create metaphors randomly to explain abstract matters. On the contrary, we do it systematically, i.e. in a patterned way (Goatly 2007: 15). These patterns are called *conceptual metaphors*. It is common to indicate conceptual metaphors with the help of the capitalised equation X IS Y (ibid.). As an example of a conceptual metaphor one can

consider the following equation: ANGER IS HEAT, which gives us a set of expressions like *to be hot under the collar*, *a heated argument*, and *a hot temper* (Goatly 2007: 244). That is, in creating metaphors for anger, we use the same source – the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT. Lakoff and Johnson suggest that the sources of these metaphors lie in our experiences (1980: 5); for example, the aforementioned metaphor ANGER IS HEAT may have originated as the result of people experiencing heat whilst being angry.

Another study which emphasises that metaphors are part of everyday human communication is that of Bolozky's (2007: 1). In his research paper Bolozky studies metaphors in Hebrew slang. Bolozky states that the number of metaphors found in Hebrew slang is no less than that of the highest literary registers of Hebrew (ibid).

What renders Bolozky's study particularly interesting, is the fact that Bolozky is the only linguist to my knowledge who has researched metaphors in slang. The lack of such studies may be connected with scholars shying away from studying taboo speech. In fact, it has been suggested that theories of language have been developed for over a century without any particular examination of taboo speech (Jay 1999: 10). Of course, that is not to say that linguists have not been aware of such taboo speech as, for example, cursing. The taboo nature of the topic of cursing is what most likely kept researchers from delving into the matter. It is likely that slang was not researched for the same reasons. After all, it contains a large amount of taboo speech and is very informal in style.

The tendency of giving precedence to the more formal linguistic phenomena in research is changing. In addition to Bolozky's research paper, there is now a reassuring amount of research on slang, which has been investigated from several different viewpoints. Such perspectives are considered as, for example, second language acquisition (Charkova 2007), people's attitudes towards slang (Cooper 2001), gender and slang (Forsskåhl 2001), and also slang use among different groups such as college students (Eble 1996) or medical staff (Fox et al. 2003). Interestingly enough, although metaphors are in a central role in slang, apart from Bolozky's

research, the metaphorical features of slang have not been examined to any significant extent. It is to partly fill this void in the field of studies of English that I have undertaken my study. My interest also lies in establishing conceptual metaphors that could have pedagogical applications. For example, the conceptual metaphors which the present study will present can potentially be used in foreign language teaching in demonstrating how certain informal words act semantically when used in slang expressions.

In my study I will consider the conceptual metaphors occurring in slang by studying such idiomatic multiword expressions that are built round the words *shit*, *piss,* and *blood*. The rationale for choosing to examine idiomatic expressions containing words for bodily effluvia and fluids is threefold. Firstly, I believe that a comparison of expressions that are based on words from the same semantic field (bodily effluvia and fluids) will yield more information about how we experience the semantic field and the words for it in our daily lives. For example, it is interesting to examine whether words belonging to the same semantic field are used in a similar manner in slang. Secondly, the semantic field which the words *shit* and *piss* share consists of predominantly tabooed ideas which are nevertheless part of everyday life (Andersson and Trudgill 1992: 15, 56-7). Perhaps that is why the words studied in this thesis have generated numerous lasting slang expressions, one of which has been around from the late 15th century (*Collins Slang Dictionary* s.v. *piss (money) against the wall* 'to waste money'). Thirdly, anthropomorphic metaphors, in which an inanimate object is compared to a part of the human body, have attracted attention for decades (Ullmann 1962: 214), but no-one, to my knowledge, has really looked into the question of whether various bodily products such as excrement and urine are equally central in metaphorical language. Furthermore, the role of blood has been studied in metaphors (e.g. Weston 2013; Simó 2011) but not in slang.

My aim is to answer the following research questions:

1. Are there any recurring conceptual metaphors in idiomatic slang expressions that are built round the words *shit*, *piss*, and *blood*?

2. a) In what respect are the conceptual metaphors in the idiomatic slang expressions based on bodily effluvia and fluids different from one another?

b) What explains the possible differences or similarities?

Question 1 pertains to studying the conceptual metaphors that may occur in a systematic manner in connection with different slang expressions based on bodily effluvia and fluids (i.e. *shit*, *piss*, and *blood*). First, I will examine whether there are any common patterns in the slang expressions that are based on bodily effluvia and fluids. Secondly, I will research whether there is a possible explanation as to why certain conceptual metaphors may be more dominant than others. As regards Question 2, the approach will consist of comparing the conceptual metaphors for each of the three words with one another and examining the reasons behind the possible differences or similarities.

The bulk of the material for the study consists of slang expressions collected from various slang dictionaries. I have chosen to consult the following slang dictionaries: *Cassell's Dictionary of Slang* (henceforth *CDS*), *Dictionary of Contemporary Slang* (henceforth *DCS*), *The Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English* (henceforth *RDM*), *Dictionary of American Slang* (henceforth *DAS*), and *The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (henceforth *NPD*) (see Table 1 on page 20 for details on each dictionary). Every dictionary employed in the study, apart from *DAS*, was published in the 21st century. One of the criteria employed by *RDM* and *DAS* for including a word or phrase in the dictionary is that it has to be used in the United States, which means that together with the other dictionaries they permit the study of geographical differences between the slang expressions collected (*RDM*, p. vii; *DAS*, p. xv). Furthermore, in *CDS* entries are furnished with a geographical label only if the usage area and the original use are outside the UK, which means that *CDS* codifies slang from the point of view of the UK. For that reason it, too, sheds light on geographical differences between the uses of the slang expressions studied (*CDS*, p. vii). *DCS*, likewise, focuses on UK slang – this is also the source for the majority of the entries included in the dictionary (*DCS*, p. v). Regional labels are

applied when an expression is not used in all parts of the English-speaking world (*DCS*, p. xvi). *NPD* differs from the above dictionaries in that it contains "slang and unconventional English ... used anywhere in the English-speaking world and ... after 1945" (*NPD*, p. ix).

To recapitulate, I have chosen to examine two slang dictionaries of American English (*RDM* and *DAS*), two slang dictionaries of British English (*CDS* and *DCS*) and a slang dictionary of English in general (*NPD*). The rationale for including such dictionaries in the study is manifold. Firstly, slang dictionaries from both sides of the Atlantic and a general slang dictionary were chosen in order to collect as regionally and generally representative a sample of expressions as possible. Secondly, some of the dictionaries include expressions that have been used only after the year 1945 (*NPD* and *RDM*); to counterbalance this, other dictionaries have no such restrictions (for example, *CDS* incorporates already obsolete words and phrases). The third reason is that these are the newest slang dictionaries I had access to.

2. Theoretical Background

In this section I will discuss two central topics from the point of view of the present thesis: metaphor and slang. Firstly, I will briefly define the concept of metaphor and how it has developed over time. This will be done in Section 2.1. Secondly, I will provide a more exact definition of conceptual metaphors and present the major premises of the conceptual metaphor theory in Section 2.2. Thirdly, features of slang and the criteria that the dictionaries consulted employ for including slang expressions will be discussed in Section 2.3. Finally, the words *shit*, *piss*, and *blood* will be examined in terms of their historical usage, dictionary labelling and semantic features.

2.1 Definition of Metaphor

The concept of metaphor is, perhaps, something that might at first seem quite elementary but on closer examination proves to be much more complex than was initially expected. For example, according to *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (hereafter *CAL*), a metaphor is

an expression, often found in literature, that describes a person or object by referring to something that is considered to have similar characteristics to that person or object:

'The mind is an ocean' and 'the city is a jungle' are both metaphors. (s.v.; italics in the original)

The above definition parallels what Kovecses calls "a widely shared view – the most common conception of metaphor" (2002: vii). According to this view, metaphors are employed for "artistic or rhetorical effect" (ibid.). That is, most people consider metaphors as an example of extraordinary language employment (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3). The phrase "often found in literature" in *CAL*'s definition suggests the same. Herein lies the problematic nature of metaphor. Namely if we were to conform to the above definition, we would, perhaps, become oblivious to metaphorical expressions that are used daily. In other words, we might not, for example, regard the expression *to be hot under the collar* as a metaphor – at least not instantly.

Another example of an expression whose figurativeness might elude us is the word *see*, which originally referred to perception but now also indicates 'understanding' and 'knowing' – not only in the English-speaking world but also in other parts of the world (Dancygier and Sweetser 2014: 3). Interestingly, Dancygier and Sweetser suggest that the "KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor" has produced such expressions as "*transparent*, *opaque*, *illuminate*, and *shed light on*" (2014: 3). Dancygier and Sweetser then ask whether it is right to consider such expressions non-metaphorical on the grounds that they are conventionalised (ibid.). After all, they are used in a figurative way and cannot be taken literally. However, it seems that once metaphors are conventionalized (which is likely to happen; Goatly 2012: 166), people are inclined to become blind to them. That is, a metaphor might come to be used so frequently and so commonly that people do not perceive it as figurative language use any more. Ironically, a figurative term is used to describe such metaphors – they are called "dead" metaphors (Goatly 2005: 39). Although dead metaphors are said to be "dead" in terms of their figurativeness, they are very much "alive" in that they have influence on the way we think and how we perceive the world (ibid.). Indeed, Lakoff and Johnson suggest that "our ...

conceptual system ... is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (1980: 3). That is, "human *thought processes* are largely metaphorical" (ibid., p. 6).

In general, the supporters of the traditional conception of metaphor regard metaphor as an extraordinary entity in language, whereas the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor considers metaphor a frequent and normal element of everyday language (Kovecses 2002: vii-viii). That is, a metaphor has to be novel and non-conventionalized for a proponent of the traditional conception to consider it a metaphor. To distinguish novel metaphors from conventionalized ones, Lakoff and Turner use the term 'image metaphors' to refer to novel metaphors in which "specific and richly specified mental images are mapped" (Lakoff and Turner, quoted in Cruse 2004: 195, 203).

Another problematic feature of metaphors that causes disagreement is the premise that it is possible to replace a non-figurative expression with a metaphorical one and by doing so to achieve the same meaning. It may be difficult to clearly pinpoint what characteristics the supposedly interchangeable figurative and non-figurative words share, as is the case with the metaphorical expression *the mind is an ocean*. For example, *ocean* could refer to a number of possible entities and features and still be sharing them with mind. In other words, to one person *ocean* could mean a mysterious and poorly studied entity, to another person it could mean placidness or unexpectedness. Context would usually narrow the number of possibilities down to some extent but not to the extent that there would be no ambiguity. Generally speaking, cognitive linguists are of the opinion that it is not usually possible to paraphrase a metaphor because metaphors possess features that non-figurative expressions do not have (Cruse 2004: 194). Furthermore, according to the view held by cognitive linguists, similarity is often not the foundation of a metaphor (Kovecses 2002: viii). Cognitive linguists have established that, for example, conceptual metaphors are "based on a variety of human experience, including correlations in experience, various kinds of nonobjective similarity[1] [as perceived by speakers], biological and cultural roots shared by the two concepts, and possibly

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[1] For example, conceptualising life as a gambling game and using expressions which belong to the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME: He is *bluffing*; The *odds are against me* (Kovecses 2002: 72).

others" (ibid., 69). Nevertheless, it is also acknowledged that conceptual metaphors can be built on "objective, preexisting similarity" (ibid.).

All in all, it seems that cognitive linguists and traditionally oriented linguists do not examine and are not referring to the same kind of metaphor. The proponents of a traditional conception of metaphor are interested in image metaphors, i.e. novel metaphors used in, for example, literature, whereas cognitive linguists tend to concentrate on conventionalized metaphors instead. That is, the traditionally oriented linguists usually view metaphors in relation to literature; cognitive linguists, on the other hand, approach metaphors in relation to cognition. Consequently, the methods employed in examining metaphors are also different. For example, I.A. Richards, literary critic and philosopher, developed a framework according to which the analysis of metaphors consisted of determining the various elements of s metaphor (Montgomery et al. 2007: 123). Richards suggested that metaphors comprise a tenor (i.e. what we are talking about), vehicle (i.e. the part of a given metaphor that cannot be taken literally), and ground (i.e. features shared by both vehicle and tenor) (ibid.). For example, in the phrase *the mind is an ocean* the tenor is the word *mind*, the vehicle is the word *ocean*, and their ground might be, for example, an unstudied object.

Cognitive linguists study metaphors in a similar way. That is, they examine how a certain word of phrase in each metaphor is used in order to understand or refer to a particular concept. In their study of metaphors cognitive linguists are interested in linking two conceptual domains together. I will cover this subject in more detail in the following section.

In the present study metaphors will be examined through the prism of cognitive linguistics. Conventionalized metaphors are of primary interest in the study because slang expressions in slang dictionaries are conventionalized (words and phrases need to be conventionalized before they are included in a dictionary). Thus, the term *metaphor* will be employed in this study to refer to conventionalized metaphors. Furthermore, since Lakoff and Johnson were the first cognitive linguists to develop a theoretical framework for the research of metaphors (Kovecses 2002: viii), I

will use their definition of metaphor in my thesis: "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (1980: 5). The framework which Lakoff and Johnson developed is called *conceptual metaphor theory* (Evans 2007: 33) and the above definition is usually applied within that framework.

2.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Conceptual Metaphors

It was outlined in the Introduction that conceptual metaphors are patterns according to which we create metaphors to explain abstract matters. In other words, conceptual metaphors manifest how we conceptualize the world around us (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 8-9). To examine our conceptualizations of the world, cognitive linguists study the conceptual domains of metaphors (Cruse et al. 2004: 195), which are intricate "knowledge structures which relate to coherent aspects of experience" (Evans 2007: 61). For example, the domain JOURNEY is believed to consist of representations for entities such as traveller, form of transport, course of transfer, resting place, barriers encountered on the way, destination etc. (ibid., pp. 61-62).

Conceptual domains include source domain and target domain (Cruse et al. 2004: 195); the process of linking source domain to target domain is called *mapping* (Goatly 2012: 167). In a metaphor, source domain refers to the element that conveys the literal meaning of an expression, whereas target domain is the element that is characterized by source domain (Cruse et al. 2004: 195). In order to illustrate the connection between source and target domain, the formula TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN (or X IS Y) is often used (ibid., p. 196). Hence, for example, in the metaphors "[y]our claims are *indefensible*" and "I *demolished* his argument", the target domain is ARGUMENT and the source domain is WAR because we conceptualize arguing/arguments in terms of war (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 4, italics in the original). Interestingly, arguments, like wars, can be won or lost (ibid.). Moreover, we consider people with whom we are arguing *opponents* (ibid.). Conceptual metaphors reflect how we draw on one domain to describe another domain. However, one has to be careful not to overgeneralize conceptual metaphors, because they

are culture specific – people from other cultures experience and therefore conceptualize the world in a different way, which results in different conceptual metaphors (ibid., p. 5).

Indeed, how we conceptualize the world depends on our experiences. For example, in the English speaking world time is seen as a precious commodity (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 8). The notion of work has been formed in contemporary Western culture as the result of associating work with the time we spend on it: we measure time accurately because it is customary to receive pay with reference to hours, weeks or years (ibid.). This is reflected in the metaphors we use about time. We might not *have* enough time to *give* someone, we *run out* of time or *waste* time, we *invest* time in something, we might also *use* our time *profitably* or ask someone whether something is *worth their while* (ibid.). That is, in Western culture we conceptualize time in terms of money because we experience time with relation to money on so many occasions in our lives. For example, our telephone calls and hotel room stays are charged with reference to time; budgets are created in relation to time and our interests depend on time, too (ibid.). Since we act as if time was a restricted resource – a precious commodity – we comprehend time that way (ibid.). Consequently, we experience and perceive time as an entity that can be "spent, wasted, budgeted, invested wisely or poorly, saved, or squandered" (ibid.). Hence, it is natural that TIME IS MONEY is a recurring conceptual metaphor in the English speaking world.

Interestingly, not all conventionalized metaphors that have to do with time refer to money explicitly. Some metaphors refer to limited resources, as is the case with the metaphor "*have enough* time to..." or to valuable commodities, as is the case with the metaphors "I *lost* a lot of time when I got sick" or "*Thank you for* your time" (italics in the original; ibid., p. 9). Lakoff and Johnson suggest that the conceptual metaphors TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A RESOURCE, and TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY

> form a single system based on subcategorization, since in our society money
> is a limited resource and limited resources are valuable commodities. These
> subcategorization relationships characterize entailment relationships
> between the metaphors. TIME IS MONEY entails that TIME IS A

LIMITED RESOURCE, which entails that TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY (ibid.).

In cases where conceptual metaphors form subcategories of the above type, Lakoff and Johnson have decided to employ "the most specific metaphorical concept", i.e. TIME IS MONEY (ibid.). That is, in their analysis of metaphors they form a taxonomic hierarchy. The same approach will be adopted in the study of the expressions built round the words *shit*, *piss*, and *blood*. The most specific conceptual metaphor will be used in order to characterize the expressions.

It is noteworthy that conceptual metaphors cannot necessarily be employed as formulas with which metaphors for a particular subject (i.e. target domain) could be generated. In other words, what can be used from the established source domain is to some extent limited, i.e. conceptual metaphors can be limited in their productivity. For example, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR might suggest that any word from the domain of WAR can be used as a source to produce an expression for arguing or an argument. That is not the case: one cannot, for example, *torpedo* or *bomb* someone's argument. However, the partially restricted productivity of expressions does not undermine the fact that in the English speaking world people tend to conceptualize arguments and arguing in terms of war. Furthermore, the more exact the description of a conceptual metaphor (i.e. mapping), the more generative the source domain usually becomes in the production of metaphors. Consequently, it is crucial to produce as precise a conceptual metaphor as possible (Cruse et al. 2004: 198). For example, Lakoff and Johnson have suggested that there is the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A PATIENT, as examples of which they provide, among others, the following expressions: "this is a *sick* relationship", "[t]hey have a *strong*, *healthy* marriage" (1980: 49). However, one cannot say "[t]heir relationship went to the hospital" (Cruse et al. 2004: 199). As an answer to this problem, Clausner and Croft suggest a more precise conceptual metaphor: A SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP IS BODILY HEALTH (1997: 261-2). Furthermore, Clausner and Croft suggest that some conceptual metaphors seem to be entirely productive while some are productive only to some extent (Cruse et al. 2004: 199).

Although the conceptual metaphors quoted in this section are established on the basis of longer expressions, this need not be the case. There are also compound words to which a conceptual metaphor can be ascribed. After all, there are a number of conventionalized metaphorical compound expressions in the English language: for example, *honeymoon*, *frogman*, and *bottleneck* (Goatly 2005: 43). In fact, Goatly has demonstrated with a number of compound metaphors that we conceptualise success in terms of height, as in e.g. *high-flier* (Goatly 2007: 36). These kind of expressions will be also examined in the study. Each metaphor, regardless of its length, will be studied employing the main principles of conceptual metaphor theory outlined in this section. As regards the practical steps taken in order to conduct the research, they are discussed in Section 3.

2.3 What is Slang?

Slang is usually defined in terms of formality, or, rather, informality. For example, according to *CAL*, *slang* is "very informal language that is usually spoken rather than written, used especially by particular groups of people" (*CAL* s.v. *slang* n.). The above basic definition, however, does not shed any light on what very informal language is. That is perhaps because drawing the line between informal language and very informal language (e.g. slang) is difficult. For example, how does one determine if a word or an expression is informal or slang? What does slang encompass? Furthermore, the dictionary suggests that slang is "used especially by particular groups of people" (*CAL* s.v. *slang* n.). What groups of people use slang and for what purposes? In this section I will discuss the aforementioned questions and characterize the different features of slang.

Quirk et al. suggest that speakers' choice of stylistic language variety (i.e. formal, neutral, informal) is affected by their attitudes towards the subject, the recipient and the purpose of communication (Quirk et al. 1985: 25). That is, the more polite or impersonal attitude the speaker has towards the hearer and the topic, the more formal his/her choice of words and grammar will be. The opposite is also true: the speaker's friendlier attitude towards the hearer would result in less

formal language and grammar (ibid.). In fact, "slangy" language may be used between very close friends or family members (ibid., p. 27). Another reason why slangy language may be used is the speaker's indifferent attitude towards what the hearer might think of the speaker's language use (ibid.).

To refer to different stylistic language varieties, Quirk et al. propose a "five-term distinction: very formal – FORMAL – neutral – INFORMAL – very informal" (1985: 27). In other words, stylistic language variety is classified along the dimension of formality. Since the term *very informal* is meant to encompass casual, colloquial and slangy language use, Quirk et al. suggest that slang is at the very opposite end of the dimension of formality (ibid.). It is the speaker's more relaxed attitude towards the recipient, the topic and the purpose of communication that makes the speaker use very informal language over informal.

In the light of the above, the borderline between informal language and slang indeed seems to be vague. However, the fact that law enforcement agencies were among the first to develop an interest in understanding and decoding slang in order to stabilize law and order more effectively suggests that slang is usually used among the members of a particular social group, for example, criminals (Sornig 1981: 3). The abovementioned fact also suggests that slang is employed for a particular purpose. So far it has been established that close friends, family members and criminals may use slang. Hence, it seems that close friends, family members, and members of a particular social group (e.g. criminals or soldiers) form respective groups within which slang is used by their members (Dalzell 2010: 238). That is, slang often indicates membership within a particular group.

Another group of people whose members tend to use slang are the young (Dalzell 2010: xi). In fact, each youth generation has employed different slang – slang changes with each generation (ibid.). For example, American college slang in the 1850s consisted of a different lexicon and phraseology than American college slang in the 1900s (ibid., pp. 2-4). Slang is therefore ephemeral, just like the youth of the people that typically employ it. Because of this, the youth of the 1980s

most likely would not have understood the slang that the youth of the 2000s used. In fact, one of the purposes of using slang is to exclude outsiders and not to let them understand what the insiders are discussing or planning (Burridge 2004: 34). In this sense slang is a code-language insofar as outsiders do not understand it, and this is argued to be "the original motivation of slang" (ibid.). Indeed, the word *slang* originally referred to the speech of criminals in the eighteenth century (Allan and Burridge 2006: 69). This is most likely why criminals still employ slang when they do not want the police to understand what they are planning or selling. Understanding criminal slang, on the other hand, enables the police to anticipate criminals' actions. To maintain secrecy, criminals are compelled to frequently invent and change their slang. All in all, it is easy to understand why law enforcement agencies were among the first to be interested in researching slang.

As stated earlier, the youth of the 1980s probably would not have understood the slang of the youth of the 2000s. That is not, however, to say that the opposite is true. This is due to the fact that slang may assimilate into people's vocabulary and become neutral (Thorne 1990: iii). Consequently, once slang becomes mainstream, it ceases to be slang (Allan and Burridge 2006: 71). Some of the slang words of the youth of the 1980s may have become mainstream and therefore are comprehensible to the youth of the twenty-first century. It can therefore be suggested that slang is constantly changing and evolving, and once it ceases to fulfil one of its purposes (i.e. indicating group solidarity and maintaining secrecy) and becomes mainstream, it is no longer considered to be slang.

Strictly speaking, it is then problematic to regard many expressions built round the words *shit*, *piss*, and *blood* as slang. After all, many of them are mainstream and long-lived if not ancient. Because of such complexities every slang dictionary might define slang on its own terms. I will summarize how the dictionaries consulted in this study define slang in the following section. At this point I will point out that from the perspective of slang dictionaries, it is convenient to define slang

as language that is at the very opposite end of formality (i.e. very informal) because such a definition is both rather inclusive and easy to grasp.

Interestingly enough, in the first two decades of the twenty-first century slang has evolved in an intriguing and surprising way. In the past, slang has been associated with spoken language rather than written (Burridge 2004: 34). The advancements in technology, however, have provided slang with a new medium to spread. Computer technology has revolutionalized communication (Coleman 2012: 266). People now communicate via text messages, blogs, emails, instant messages (ibid., p. 267) or chat windows in online games. Stylistic variation in the aforementioned media can range from formal to very informal, suggesting that slang is also employed in writing. In fact, Dalzell argues that on the internet one might come across not only organic (i.e. language that emerged without any particular and conscious effort) but also constructed slang (e.g. leetspeak – a consciously developed "dialect of English" where "various combinations of ASCII characters [are] substituted for Latinate letters of the alphabet"; 2010: 229).

Since communication on the internet is often speech-like, Coleman is of the opinion that it is outdated to define slang as predominantly spoken (2012: 267). On the same grounds it is also outdated to associate slang with lower classes or character. My own experience suggests that slang is often employed on the internet and especially in online games because other gamers' opinion is of little concern to the participant. That is not to say that on the internet there is no slang employment on the basis of group membership. On the contrary, the internet provides us with a great number of opportunities to form and be part of a group in the form of, for example, a large variety of specialized forums.

Slang is indeed changing in many ways but some of the features that have been associated with it continue to be there. For example, according to Sornig, who treats slang, cant, colloquialism and casual speech as synonyms, slang produces many examples of *metaphorical language* use, "where the human skull may be likened to a pumpkin, the whole person to any [-ANIMATE]

object" (1981: 3). That is, slang contains a large number of vivid and colourful expressions. In fact, slang consists of vivid language insofar that Adams decided to title his book on slang *Slang: the People's Poetry*. In the book, Adams refers to Walt Whitman − a poet who proposed that "slang is poetic language in everyday speech, and everyday linguistic invention is the source of poetry, from epic to sonnet to pop song lyric" (2009: xii). Interestingly, Adams argues that "[s]lang may not be poetry, but it's on the way to poetry" (ibid.).

Another feature that pertains to slang is borrowing lexical material from elsewhere, for example, foreign languages or various sociolects and dialects (Sornig 1981: 4-6). It is also typical of slang that some words change their original meanings as the result of semantic shift, i.e. the words start to be used for new referents, as is usually the case with metaphors (Sornig 1981: 18). Indeed, contemporary slang frequently develops as the result of shift in meaning or grammatical function, abbreviation or respelling (Coleman 2012: 40).

In addition to what has already been said about slang, there are many more features typical of slang. For example, it is often employed in a humorous way and it may involve rhyme (as Cockney rhyming slang does). In fact, slang encompasses so many features and contexts of use that its meaning is, as Coleman suggests, unstable (2014: 2). Linguists have been ascribing different features to slang and it is difficult to define slang in such a way that the definition would satisfy everyone. Some of the features that have been attributed to slang are in fact now being challenged. For example, slang is traditionally said to be ephemeral but there are many expressions that are old and nevertheless considered slang (Coleman 2014: 5). One such expression is mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis: *piss (money) against the wall*. Indeed, the expression has been around since the 15th century and is still in use (*CDS* s.v.). There are more examples of this nature: Coleman mentions the word *cool* 'stylish', which found its way to the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1918 (2014: 5). Coleman then adds that "novelty is not enough in itself to distinguish slang from other words: many words have been used for the first time or changed in meaning without

becoming slang" (ibid.). Furthermore, people may adopt expressions that they come across in online slang dictionaries, which might prolong the lifespan of slang (*DCS,* p. vi).

It is difficult to define slang conclusively because there are various purposes for which one would employ slang, different contexts in which slang is used, and a large number of groups that might employ slang. In other words, the context determines what exact meaning *slang* has (Coleman 2014: 2). In one instance it can mean very informal language while in another instance such language as is used by a particular group of people. In fact, *slang* may encompass both meanings at the same time, as is usually the case with youth slang.

Since the slang expressions studied in the present thesis have been collected from five different slang dictionaries, slang will be approached through the prism of the dictionaries' definition of slang. That is, the slang expressions analyzed in the present thesis are considered slang because they are included in the relevant slang dictionaries, which indicates that they have been defined as slang by the editors. It is therefore relevant to consider how the dictionaries consulted in this thesis have defined slang.

2.3.1 Criteria for Including Words and Phrases in the Dictionaries Consulted

Before comparing the criteria employed by each of the five dictionaries considered in the present thesis, it is relevant to point out that *RDM* and *NPD* are edited by the same person, Tom Dalzell. This explains why *RDM* and *NPD* share almost the same criteria. For example, both dictionaries consider only words and phrases that are used after 1945 (*RDM*, p. vii; *NPD*, p. ix). In addition to that, the two dictionaries embrace not only slang but also unconventional English. Employing this approach, Dalzell obviates the need to give a precise definition of slang:

> Rather than focus too intently on a precise definition of slang or on whether a given entry is slang, jargon or colloquial English, I borrow the wide net cast by Partridge when he chose to record "slang and unconventional English" instead of just slang, which is, after all, without any settled test of purity. (*RDM*, p. vii).

Indeed, the editors of the slang dictionaries consulted acknowledge the fact that slang is a difficult concept to define. In contrast to *RDM* and *NPD*, the three other dictionaries – *CDS, DAS*, and *DCS* – include quite an extensive definition of slang in their prefaces. But even with such a definition it is not absolutely clear where colloquial English finishes and slang begins. For example, Robert Chapman is apologetic in the preface to *DAS* because of the fact that "[s]lang shares misty boundaries with a relaxed register usually called informal or colloquial, and we have inevitably strayed across the boundary" (*DAS*, p. xvi). In retrospect, Chapman suggests that he should "probably" have followed Tom Dalzell's footsteps by including the expression "and unconventional English" in the title of his dictionary (ibid.). Jonathon Green, on the other hand, is not equally apologetic in the preface to *CDS* as regards including colloquial English in his dictionary: "... this dictionary contains a number of words that may be categorized by some as colloquial; I make no excuses for their presence. Certain entries have not merely moved into colloquialism but have joined standard English" (*CDS*, p. viii). Furthermore, Green states that "[t]he line between slang and colloquialism, the casual language of everyday speech, is simply too close to draw with any facility. Slang slips unnoticed across that border..." (ibid.).

The same line of reasoning is supported by Tony Thorne*,* who in the preface to *DCS* suggests that slang is not necessarily associated with substandard English any more but is considered an appropriate alternative just as any other linguistic style (*DCS*, p. vii). The fact that slang may not be seen as substandard English emphasises how unclear the boundaries are between different linguistic styles. Furthermore, Thorne also points out that the media employ slang, which further blurs the borderline between slang and more formal registers (*DCS*, p. ix). Interestingly enough, I have recently come across the expression *piss themselves laughing* in the headline on an internet site[2] that prides itself as being "the biggest and best site for men in the UK".

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[2] http://www.joe.co.uk/sport/jamie-carragher-and-frank-lampard-pss-themselves-laughing-when-they-see-how-bad-gabriel-agbonahor-has-played-video/23506

As regards whether the expressions studied in the present thesis actually fall into the category of slang, I am of the opinion that in many cases they can be said to represent slang on the grounds that they have many features ascribed to slang and that they are included in the slang dictionaries. This subject will be addressed briefly in the next section. At this point, however, one has to keep in mind that some of the expressions might not be considered as slang in its purest form (if there ever is one) by some linguists, lexicologists or lexicographers because the definition of slang itself is problematic. The different criteria that the five dictionaries employ for including a word or phrase are illustrated in Table 1 on p. 20.

As can be seen from Table 1, the slang dictionaries consulted collect slang using different criteria from one another. One might, for example, wonder why *RDM* and *NPD* consider only slang expressions that have emerged after 1945. The editor of these two dictionaries suggests that the end of the Second World War "marked the beginning of a series of profound cultural changes that produced the lexicon of modern and contemporary slang" (*RDM*, p. vii). By the "profound cultural changes" the editor of *RDM* and *NPD* refers to such inventions as the television and computers, and to "drugs, music, unpopular wars, youth movements, changing racial sensitivities and attitudes towards sex and sexuality" (ibid.). *DCS* and *DAS*, on the other hand, are interested in contemporary slang. However, one has to keep in mind that *DAS* was published in 1995. Consequently, what was current then might not be contemporary any more. As regards *CDS*, it considers slang expressions from the 16th century onward but with the caveat that the older slang expressions "concentrate purely on the villain's vocabulary, the language of the wandering, criminal beggars who thronged through Britain" because the older slang dictionaries, from which *CDS* largely derives its material for earlier centuries, consisted of only such language (*CDS*, p. viii). Moreover, in *CDS* one may, in fact, come across expressions and words that are from the 15th century, as is, for example, the case with the expression *piss (money) against the wall* (s.v.).

Table 1. Criteria employed by the five dictionaries consulted in the present thesis (as stated in the introduction to each volume). I have also indicated whether the dictionaries define slang in their prefaces and whether etymology is included in their entries.

Dictionary	*Cassell's Dictionary of Slang*	*Dictionary of Contemporary Slang*	*The Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English*	*The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*	*Dictionary of American Slang*
Abbreviation	*CDS*	*DCS*	*RDM*	*NPD*	*DAS*
Time frame	16th century →	contemporary: language that is either in use right now or is well established in the active vocabularies of people alive today	after 1945	after 1945	current general American slang
Contains	slang	slang and jargon included	slang, slangy jargon, colloquialisms, acronyms, initialisms, vulgarisms or catchphrases.	slang, slangy jargon, colloquialisms, acronyms, initialisms, vulgarisms or catchphrases, the more prominent examples of Internet and text messaging shorthand	slang and to some extent colloquial and informal language
Does not contain	jargon, with few exceptions: criminal slang and popular drugs related slang included	expressions that have fallen out of use or are intrinsically of little interest	the slang of sports	gestures, although many serve the same function as slang; computer language such as emoticons or leet speak	expressions that are no longer used in America; specialized vocabulary
Regions	UK, USA, Canada, the anglophone islands of the Caribbean, Ireland (North and South), South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. A number of Raj-era entries from India	UK	USA	English-speaking world, pidgin, Creolised English and borrowed foreign terms used by English-speakers in primarily English-language conversation	USA
Etymology	included	excluded	excluded	excluded	excluded
Sources	other dictionaries, old books, magazines, film, television, records, tapes and CDs, the Internet, graphic novels	broadcasts, the press, the internet, networks of human informants; expert-users, enthusiasts and ordinary speakers	American entries from *NPD*, reference works, popular literature, fiction, non-fiction, screenplays, scripts, newspapers (especially underground newspapers), magazines, and popular song lyrics for headwords and citations	in global gathering aided by indigenous contributors from Australia, Canada, the Caribbean, Ireland and New Zealand	Wentworth and Flexner's *Dictionary of American Slang*. A group of collectors
Definition of slang	yes	yes	no	no	yes

The information that Table 1 contains was collected from the prefaces of the five dictionaries.

Consequently, some details might look conspicuous because editors shed light on their dictionaries

differently. This is especially the case with regard to *NPD*, which does not specify any other sources

than the ones in the table. The fact that *NPD* consists of two volumes might suggest that there are so many sources that it would be counterproductive to specify all of them. The editor of *DAS* also acknowledges this, but he is more specific in describing his sources. On the other hand, in discussing what *NPD* does not contain its editor seems to be more specific. That is, in contrast to *NPD*, other dictionaries do not specifically state that they exclude computer language despite the fact that e.g. the frequently used word *noob* ('a more recent form of newbie used in internet communication since around 2002'; *DCS* s.v.) associated with computer slang could not be found in any of the dictionaries except for *DCS*. The reason behind such discrepancy may lie in the fact that Dalzell is more conscious about computer slang. After all, he has covered the subject in his book (2010). Strangely, Dalzell does not mention excluding computer slang from *RDM*, even though e.g. the word *noob* is not covered. Again, the extensiveness of *NPD* might explain why the excluded areas of language are specified to such an extent: everything else is included. As regards etymology, it is not usually included in slang dictionaries, but *CDS* does embrace it.

All in all, in their search for slang expressions, the slang dictionaries consulted are different from one another in that they consider different regions, periods of time, and sources. This kind of variation is ideal from the perspective of this study as the five works complement each other. Consequently, the data collected from such dictionaries can be regarded as regionally and generally quite representative.

2.4 A Closer Look at the Words *Shit*, *Piss*, and *Blood*

In this section I will examine briefly the words *shit, piss*, and *blood* in order to illustrate how the words came to be and how their usage has developed. People's attitudes towards each of the above words have been fluctuating throughout time; how and to what extent this has occurred will be discussed here. I will also shed light on the words' different meanings and the different labels that

some dictionaries ascribe to them. For these purposes I will consult *Collins English Dictionary* (henceforth *CED*), *CAL*, *DCS*, and to some extent *RDM*.

2.4.1 *Shit*

The word *shit* is very old (Rawson 1989: 349). It has been suggested that *shit* goes back to A.D. 1000 and developed from "the Middle English *shiten*, to void excrement; the Old English *scitan*, known from the compound *bescitan*, to befoul; and, ultimately, from the Indo-European root, *skei-*, to cut, to split" (Rawson 1989: 349). The word acquired its modern spelling around the 1650s (ibid.). In contrast to, for example, the word *piss*, *shit* was considered too profane and occurs neither in Shakespeare nor in the King James Bible (Rawson 1989: 349-350). However, in Middle English the verb *shit* was a proper word which was used in religious and medical works (*Middle English Dictionary* s.v.). The noun *shit*, too, was not considered profane in Middle English as it was used as a personal name and place-name element (ibid., s.v.).

To such an extent was the word *shit* considered vulgar that it was not included in some dictionaries in the 1960s and 1970s despite the fact that it was part of the active vocabulary of both men and women (Rawson 1989: 350). Even as late as the 1980s some publications still refused to print the word in the US (ibid., p. 351). *CAL* labels the word as offensive (s.v. *shit*), whereas *CED* describes it as taboo (s.v. *shit*). *Shit* is therefore still not neutral and should be considered informal or very informal. With regard to how the word is used, it has been suggested that the metaphorical use is more frequent than the literal (Rawson 1989: 351).

It is not surprising that there are many expressions built round the word *shit* in slang. After all, one of the features of slang is that it is metaphorical and frequently contains shifts in meaning. From this point of view, the word *shit* is convenient. It seems to enable speakers to refer to a large number of various entities. In other words, it is easy to achieve a semantic shift affecting *shit*.

CDS lists 10 different meanings for the noun *shit*. The noun may refer to 'excrement', 'a contemptible person', 'drugs in general', 'one's actions, one's possessions, one's life' or it may be

used as a general abstract term the meaning of which "varies as to the context" (*CDS* s.v. *shit n.*, senses 1, 2, 3, 5, 6). Furthermore, the noun may also refer to 'any form of weapon', with a definite article to 'the best, the ideal, the ultimate' things or people, or it may be used as "a general intensifier" (*CDS* s.v. *shit n.*, senses 7, 8, 10). All in all, the noun *shit* refers to both negative and positive entities. For example, it may be used "as a term of endearment", as in the phrase *little shit* (*RDM* s.v. *shit*, sense 12). The adjective *shit*, on the other hand, only has a negative meaning and is "applied to any thing or person considered bad, obnoxious, unpleasant, inferior, worthless" (*CDS* s.v. *shit adj.*). The verb *shit*, like the noun, has various meanings: 'to defecate', 'to vomit' and 'to deceive' (*CDS* s.v. *shit v.*, senses 1-3). What is interesting is that in different occupations *shit* may refer to different notions. For example, in the recording industry *shit* may refer to "a hit single" (*RDM* s.v. *shit*, sense 14).

It indeed is the case that *shit* is a polysemous term and manifests a number of semantic shifts and meanings dependent on the context. The entries in both *CDS* and *RDM* attest to Rawson's (1989: 349) statement that the word *shit* may refer to

> [e]xcrement and the act of voiding it, but with a great many extended uses as an exclamation of surprise or disgust; as a personal insult; as a byword for trouble, worthlessness, nonsense, and lying; as a pejorative modifier and suffix; and so on, almost without end, not to mention its specialized use as a synonym for drugs, especially heroin.

It is important to notice that Rawson's book was published in 1989, whereas the dictionaries from which the meanings of the word *shit* were taken were published in the 21st century. This means that even though slang is considered to be under constant change and evolving, some slang words seem to stay the same for a long period of time without any change in their meaning. Again, to some extent this is problematic for our definition of slang, as some might not consider the word *shit* as a slang word because of the fact that it is so mainstream. The fact that some expressions that are built round the word *shit* (e.g. *shithouse*) can be found in *CAL*, a learner's dictionary, may suggest that such expressions should not be regarded as slang as they seem to be in general use and therefore do

not fulfil the main function of slang, i.e. indexing the users' group identity. However, one also has to acknowledge the fact that the word *shit* and the expressions built round it are considered offensive and/or informal. For example, *CED* labels the expression *shithouse* as 'taboo, slang' (s.v.). Hence, word and phrases built round the word *shit* are not merely colloquialisms.

Perhaps the inclusion of the expressions built round the word *shit* in general-purpose-dictionaries and learner's dictionaries attests to the fact that "slang may be seen not as something inherently substandard, but as an option among many available linguistic styles", as Thorne suggests in his preface to *DCS* (p. viii). In the contemporary world it might be relevant to not regard slang as something that escapes the minds and mouths of regular people. Everyone seems to use the word *shit*, from those who are in the recording industry (for a hit song) to those who are in combat. Indeed, Andersson and Trudgill suggest that "English is no different from other languages in having words and expressions that no one is supposed to say but that everyone does say – or nearly everyone" (1992: 14).

2.4.2 *Piss*

The word *piss*, which is believed to be of onomatopoetic origin, was not always regarded as something to be avoided: it was employed casually from the 13th to the 18th century and it appears in both the King James Bible and Shakespeare's works (Rawson 1989: 301). The word developed from "the Middle English *pissen*, the Old French *pissier*" (ibid.) and it became more strongly tabooed by the middle of the 18th century (Rawson 1989: 302). Just before the beginning of the Victorian age the word was censored from a new edition of the Bible (ibid.). Even today the word is avoided in formal language (ibid.). Indeed, it is labelled as offensive in *CAL* and as taboo in *CED* (s.v. *piss*). However, it is used in spoken language, most often in a figurative manner (Rawson 1989: 302). For example, such people of power as Lyndon B. Johnson and Senator William E. Jenner have been heard to use the word *piss* in their interviews (ibid., p. 303).

The noun *piss* is similar to the noun *shit* in that it has many different meanings. For example, *CDS* lists seven different senses. Perhaps it is not surprising that the noun *piss* tends to refer to liquids rather than anything else. That is the case in five senses out of seven in *CDS*: *piss* means 'urine', 'any sort of weak or otherwise unpalatable drink', 'an alcoholic drink', 'beer' or 'high spirits', the last meaning now obsolete (*CDS* s.v., senses 1, 3, 4, 5, 7). As concerns other meanings, the noun *piss* can also mean 'an act of urination' and 'rubbish, nonsense, anything or anyone unappealing, worthless' (*CDS*, s.v., senses 2 and 6). Interestingly enough, the adjective *piss* has only one sense and is ascribed almost the same meaning as the noun in its sixth sense: 'rubbish, second-rate' (now obsolete). Compared to the noun *piss*, the verb is not equally polysemous: it has 5 different meanings. The verb *piss* can mean 'to urinate', to issue 'vaginal secretions' (this meaning now obsolete), 'to exude liquid, other than urine', 'to complain' or 'to deride, to attack, to disdain' (*CDS* s.v., senses 1-5). Most of the expressions built round the word *piss* are labelled as slang in *CED* (s.v.), which supports the assumption that it is to this day an informal or slangy word. Furthermore, *piss* refers to one of the "'unmentionable' bodily functions", which we try not to talk about, but if we do, we may use the more neutral expressions such as *urinate* (Andersson and Trudgill 1992: 56-7) or use a euphemism instead.

2.4.3 *Blood(-y)*

As regards the word *blood*, it has not been considered a wicked word as such (*CAL* and *CED* do not label it in any way) but it becomes one – at least to some extent – once the suffix *-y* is attached to it. For example, if *bloody* is used to refer to anything else than blood, it is considered very informal in both UK and US (*CAL* s.v.). The word *bloody* was used as an intensifier commonly before it became taboo in Great Britain "from ca. 1750 to ca. 1920" (Rawson 1989: 51). Interestingly, Trudgill and Andersson suggest that *bloody* was initially *by our Lady* and thus referred to the Virgin Mary (Andersson and Trudgill 1992: 15). However, Thorne argues that that is a standard folk etymology and that "the word is more probably a simple extension of the literal meaning" (*DCS* s.v.

bloody). Thorne's statement is supported by *CDS* and *NPD* (s.v. *bloody*). Although the word *bloody* is now regarded as quite mild (ibid.), it is still considered very informal (*CAL* s.v.). According to *CDS,* the adjective *bloody* is so prevalent in Australia that it is called 'the great Australian adjective' (s.v.).

Surprisingly, with 12 different meanings in slang the noun *blood* has more senses than the noun *shit* or *piss* (*CDS* s.v.). However, only half of them are in current use. In contemporary use the noun *blood* refers to 'a cheap 'blood-and-thunder' magazine, the precursor of 20C comics and even the bloodier computer games' (*CDS* s.v. *blood* n.2, sense 1), 'a (fellow) Black person', 'a young Black man', 'a term of address to a fellow Black; by extn. a general term of address used by any race', 'a blood relation', 'a friend' (*CDS* s.v. *blood* n.5, senses 1-5). The word *blood* is no longer used as an adjective meaning 'hearty, rakish' (*CDS* s.v.). However, it is still used as an adverb and a verb: in the US and Australia the adverb *blood* means "completely, utterly" (*CDS* s.v.), whereas the verb *blood* signifies 'to cause to bleed' (*CDS* s.v., sense 2). Furthermore, the verb *blood* also used to mean 'to deprive of money' from the mid 19th century to the 1900s (*CDS* s.v., sense 1).

What the above different meanings illustrate is that even though *CAL* does not label the word *blood* in any significant way, it clearly does have certain connotations to it. This is certainly the case when the word *blood* is used to refer to anything else than the red organic liquid, family by birth or first experience – in other words, the most common meanings of the word. In contrast, when the word *blood* refers to something else, for example, a fellow Black person, it clearly indicates group identity, has an informal flavour, and is therefore a clear example of slang.

In the light of the above, it might seem unproblematic to categorize the word *blood* as slang. However, a closer consultation of *CED* reveals that many expressions built round the word *blood* are not labelled at all, which indicates that for this general-purpose dictionary they are neither slang nor informal. For example, such an expression as *blood sport*, which is included in *CDS* in the plural form, is not labelled as slang in *CED* (s.v.). What explains this is that the expression has

different meanings in *CDS* and *CED*. In *CED*, *blood sport* means 'any sport involving the killing of an animal' (s.v.), whereas in *CDS*, *blood sports* refers to the act of 'performing cunnilingus on a menstruating woman' (s.v.). Furthermore, the expressions included in *CED* are neutral in style (e.g. *blood donor* and *blood sugar*). Hence, we can consider the expressions that consist of the word *blood* and that find their way into slang dictionaries as representatives of slang.

3. Aims and Methods of the Semantic Analysis

In this section, the methods employed in the present study will be presented and discussed. The primary material for the study has been introduced in the Introduction and presented in more detail in Section 2.3.1. The material consists of the five slang dictionaries consulted for the study: *RDM*, *NPD*, *CDS*, *DAS*, and *DCS*. In this material, the occurrences of words and expressions built round the words *shit*, *piss*, and *blood* will be examined.

The study will include every multiword[3] slang expression containing the words *shit*, *piss*, and *blood* found in the five dictionaries consulted under the entries for the three words. However, some expressions that might be relevant to this study will not be included in the inventory, because they are spread out all over the dictionaries. For example, the expressions *no shit, Sherlock*; *no shit Dick Tracy!* and *no-shitter* will not be included because they are not grouped together with other expressions that are built round and follow the word *shit* in the dictionaries; they are instead listed as separate entries under the letter *n* (*RDM* s.v.). However, that is not to say that all expressions examined will start with the words *shit*, *piss*, or *blood* because some dictionaries (i.e. *NPD, RDM*) tend to group entries under a particular letter despite them not starting with it. Consequently, such expressions as *for shit and giggles* and *in deep shit* are included in the lists of entries that follow *shit*. All in all, only the entries that follow the words *shit*, *piss*, and *blood* will be collected because

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[3] That is, uses as single words will not be examined.

other possibly relevant expressions are dispersed throughout the dictionaries and one has to know the expression in order to find and collect it.

As regards the examination of the different expressions, not every expression will be analysed with equal scrutiny. It is conceptual metaphors that are of main interest in the present thesis. Hence, before analysing the conceptual metaphors among the expressions, I will classify the expressions into two categories according to whether the words *shit*, *piss,* and *blood* have a literal (e.g. *piss test* 'urine test'; *CDS* s.v.) or figurative meaning (e.g. *piss artist* 'a heavy drinker'; *NPD* s.v.) in the expression. Only the expressions that fall into the figurative category will be scrutinized more closely. In order to evaluate the figurativeness of the expressions, I will write down the various definitions of each expression provided by the dictionaries. I will collect the dates associated with the expressions as well as their origin and other relevant information (e.g. comments) that an editor may have included in each entry. In cases of ambiguity, I will consult citations from authentic material if such are provided by the lexicographers. Moreover, should dissent appear between the dictionaries regarding the definition of an expression, I will consult other sources for further detail and to determine which definition reflects the opinion of the general public best. For this purpose I will turn to www.urbandictionary.com – an internet site where anyone can define a word or expression but where only definitions which bear scrutiny are up-voted by visitors to indicate how successful a definition is. In my analysis I will make explicit which expressions and on what grounds I have consulted at www.urbandictionary.com. However, no definition will be ignored in any of the dictionaries. On the contrary, every meaning will be noted down and mapped accordingly. The purpose of employing www.urbandictionary.com is to find out more about the layman's opinion on the more problematic definitions.

The criteria for determining whether an expression is figurative will present something of a challenge. There are many types of figurativeness – metaphors are not the only manifestations of figurative language. For example, metonyms are also very common representatives of figurative

language. Interestingly, some linguists do not differentiate between metaphors and metonyms but discuss the latter as if they were an instance of the former (see Jackson and Zé Amvela 2000: 70). In fact, the differentiation of metaphors and metonyms has been a debatable subject in recent years (Downing and Mujic 2013: 158). It has been suggested that no unequivocal distinctive feature exists (ibid.). How metaphors and metonyms are viewed is dependent on the applied theoretical framework. In this study I will follow the views shared by many cognitive linguists.

All in all, only expressions whose figurativeness is grounded in metaphorical language use will be studied in the present thesis, therefore metonymical expressions will not be included in the study. To differentiate metonymical expressions from metaphorical ones, I will employ the definition of metonymy applied within conceptual metaphor theory. That is, metonymical expressions, in contrast to metaphorical ones, are believed to "allow one entity to stand for another because both concepts coexist within the same domain" (Evans and Green 2006: 312). For example, in the sentence *Buckingham Palace declined their offer,* the proper noun *Buckingham Palace* is a metonym which within the domain of INSTITUTION refers to another entity – BRITISH MONARCHY. In other words, metaphors refer to a new concept in a target domain whereas metonyms stay within the same domain (Löbner 2013: 53) and refer to "closely associated terms – cause and effect, possessor and possessed, and a host of possible others" (Riemer 2010: 249). Furthermore, the formulas that are used to depict metonymies are different from those of conceptual metaphors. Instead of the formula "X IS Y", "X stands for Y" is used (ibid., p. 311). The above example would be formulated as "BUCKINGAM PALACE stands for BRITISH MONARCHY".

There are not many metonymical expressions that are built round the words *shit*, *piss*, and *blood*. In fact, there is only one metonymical expression based on the word *blood*: *make your blood boil* 'to infuriate you' (*NPD* s.v.), where BLOOD stands for BODY within the domain of HUMAN BEING. The figurativeness of the expression is based on the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT: we speak of anger in terms of heat (e.g. *boil*). However, even though the expression itself is

a conceptual metaphor, the word *blood* is not employed metaphorically and is not the source domain of the expression. Hence, the expression will not be included in the study.

Naturally, expressions in which the words *shit*, *piss*, or *blood* have a literal meaning will be considered non-figurative. For example, the expressions built round *shit* which are literal in nature often denote homosexuals, their act of sex, or anal-sex enthusiasts, where *shit* clearly refers to excrement: e.g. *shit-stabber*, *shitpuncher*, *shit fuck*, *shitpacker*.

Sometimes categorizing expressions is not as straightforward as with the expressions above. For example, the expression *shit a brick* has many meanings. In one meaning the word *shit* refers to defecation (*CDS* s.v. *shit a brick* v., sense 1) but in other cases it has a more figurative meaning[4] whereby the verb *shit* together with the rest of the words in the expression refers to fear, fury, or delight (*CDS* s.v. *shit a brick* v., senses 2-4). Since the other senses are figurative in nature, I have included them in the study. The literal meaning, however, has been excluded. I have employed the same approach to other similar expressions. It is worth noticing that there are many expressions where the verb *shit* seems to have a literal meaning, i.e. it refers to defecation: e.g. *shit one's pants*, *shit one's britches*, and *shit your shorts*. However, the above phrases denote fear, which indicates that defecation is strongly associated with fear and that we experience and understand fear in terms of defecation. In other words, the above expressions are conceptual metaphors. I will discuss this in more detail in Section 4.1.1.2. Suffice it to say at this point that these expressions will be regarded as figurative. All in all, I will define the figurativeness of each expression employing the principles outlined above.

Once I have categorized the relevant slang expressions, I will study the figurative expressions and examine how one conceptual domain is expressed in terms of another conceptual domain. That is, in each expression I will link source domain to target domain based on the definitions and different meanings that each expression has. I will illustrate this connection with the formula

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[4] Many linguists argue that figurativeness is a matter of degree; see e.g. Goatly (2005: 13).

TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN (or X IS Y). Through these steps my aim is to produce a list of conceptual metaphors that would describe the conceptual domains of the expressions as accurately as possible. In cases where subcategories of conceptual metaphors come up, I will use, where possible, the most specific metaphorical concept to describe the subcategories that share similar features with one another. Moreover, since the expressions and meanings are categorised, I will employ the term *categories* and *conceptual metaphors* interchangeably.

After I have ascribed each relevant slang expression to a conceptual metaphor, I will answer the research questions:

> 1. Are there any recurring conceptual metaphors in idiomatic slang expressions that are built round the words *shit*, *piss*, and *blood*?
>
> 2. a) In what respect are the conceptual metaphors in the idiomatic slang expressions based on bodily effluvia and fluids different from one another?
>
> b) What explains the possible differences or similarities?

4. Findings

In this section the findings of the study will be discussed. The target domains of each studied word will be presented. I will first discuss the findings regarding the word *shit*, after which the analysis of the expressions built round the word *piss* will follow. Once I have discussed my findings regarding the word *piss*, I will move on to discuss the target domains of the word *blood*. To summarize my findings, I will compare the established conceptual metaphors and answer the research questions.

To illustrate the findings I will present a number of tables. In the tables I will indicate which part of speech an expression represents, to which regional variety it belongs and when it has been used. This kind of information is important as it contextualises each expression and thus gives a wider basis for analysis. However, sometimes no information was available on region or chronology.

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The consulted dictionaries differ from one another in the way they indicate dates and uses of the expressions. For example, *CDS* presents the information in terms of decades (e.g. 1960s) or even centuries (e.g. 19C); if an expression is still in use, *CDS* indicates this with a plus sign. Other dictionaries do not follow the same principle: *DCS* and *DAS* list expressions which they believe to be in current use, whereas *NPD* and *RDM* state when the occurrences of an expression have been registered. In this study I will use *CDS* as the primary source for the datings because it is the only dictionary which considers expressions from the 16th century onward and explicitly indicates whether an expression is still in use or whether it has become obsolete. I will cite, where possible, the indications regarding dates presented by *CDS* within square brackets. When an expression is not illustrated in *CDS* or the relevant information is missing, I will present the information provided by the other dictionaries. These dates, however, will be presented within ordinary brackets.

In discussing the findings I will present the different meanings that the discussed expressions may have. However, since the number of the studied expressions is high, it would be counterproductive to discuss every single meaning. Consequently, some of the expressions will not be discussed in any greater detail in the main text. The definitions of such expressions can be found in Appendix 1.

4.1 Expressions Based on the Word *Shit*

As the various meanings of the word *shit* may suggest (Section 2.4.1), the number of expressions built round the word is great. *CDS* and *NPD* both have 161 entries for different nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, phrases and exclamations in which *shit* is the central word. Despite the fact that overlaps in entries occur in the dictionaries that I have chosen to consult, every dictionary adds to the list of entries collected from *CDS*. That is, where one dictionary is lacking, another dictionary compensates. In comparison to *CDS*, *NPD* has 86 additional entries. This may be explained by the fact that *NPD* has a fairly long list of expressions containing the word *shit* but which start with

another word. *RDM*, on the other hand, contributes six new entries, which is not surprising because *RDM* specializes in Modern American slang, whereas both *CDS* and *NPD* are much more allowing in their geographical variation. In this respect *DAS* is similar to *RDM*, as its primary interest lies within American slang. *DAS* provides nine previously unfamiliar expressions. Perhaps due to the fact that *DCS* is a pocket-sized dictionary, it has only two new entries to add to the list of entries collected from the other dictionaries, resulting in a total of 264 expressions that are built round the word *shit*.

Not all of the 264 expressions are figurative from the point of view of the present study. I have considered 36 expressions to be non-figurative. To illustrate which expressions were classified as non-figurative and on what grounds I have devised Table 2 (see below). As the table illustrates, there are 35 expressions which are quite straightforward in their meaning and have little if any figurativeness in them (i.e. expressions with a literal meaning) – that is, if the figurativeness of the word *shit* is examined. Moreover, even though *shithouse full* and *shithouse rumor* are labelled as non-figurative, the noun *shithouse* as used alone can be figurative (see Appendix 1). This is due to the fact that the noun is used to denote a number of things, amongst which there are cases of figurative usage.

In 28 cases the word *shit* refers to either defecation or excrement. In fact, the number is even larger, as I decided to group expressions which refer to homosexuals, anal sex or enthusiasts thereof in a different category in order to illustrate how fairly common such expressions are. Naturally, in each expression denoting anal sex or homosexuality the word *shit* is just as literal as the other expressions which belong to the group above it: *shit* refers to excrement. It is the other parts of the expressions which narrow them down to homosexuals or anal sex.

Table 2. Various types and meanings of the non-figurative expressions based on the word *shit*. The number of expressions belonging to each meaning is also indicated.

Type	Meaning	Expressions	Freq.
Literal	**Excrement/defecation**	*all about like shit in a field* (phr.); *shit through a tin horn* (phr.); *shit,shave, shower, shine* (phr.); *shit (or go shit) in your hat* (phr.); *shit dimes and quarters* (verb); *shit in high cotton* (verb); *shitting in high cotton (and wiping with the leaves)* (verb); *shit in high grass* (verb); *shit money* (verb); *shit bowl* (noun); *shit-burner* (noun); *shitaree* (noun); *shit-catchers* (noun); *shit freak* (noun); *shit-hooks* (noun); *shithouse full* (noun); *shithouse rumor* (noun); *shit jacket* (noun); *shitters, the* (noun); *shit ticket* (noun); *shittings* (noun); *shitting up* (noun); *shit on a string* (noun); *shitpaper* (noun); *shit-shark* (noun); *shit-shoe* (noun), *shit stoppers* (noun); *shit-shaped* (adj.)	28
	Homosexuals/ anal sex (also, anal enthusiasts)	*shit-fuck* (verb); *shit-stab* (verb); *shit-hunter* (noun); *shitpacker* (noun); *shitpuncher* (noun); *shitshover* (noun); *shit-stabber* (noun)	7
Mispronunciation	**Shut-in Saturday**	*shitten Saturday* (noun)	1
Total number of non-figurative expressions			36

It is important to note that *shit in high cotton* 'to live prosperously, to feel happy, to be important' (*CDS* s.v.) is a figurative phrase per se, as are many in the above table. However, the basis of figurativeness does not lie in the word *shit*. Rather, it is *high cotton* which conveys the figurative meaning: *DAS* suggests that there is/was a notion that "well-grown *cotton* means wealth" (s.v. *shit in high cotton*). Hence, the verb *shit* in the expression only communicates the action (i.e. defecation), whereas *high cotton* denotes spatial context and wealth. On these grounds the expression is labelled non-figurative.

The expression *shitten Saturday* is classified as non-figurative because the word *shitten* has no figurative connotations. According to *CDS*, *shitten Saturday* means 'Easter Saturday' and is a phrase "referring to the day on which Christ's body was enclosed in his tomb" (s.v.). Hence, the word *shitten* is stated to be a mispronunciation of the word *shut-in*.

Since the 36 non-figurative expressions will not be scrutinized any closer, the remaining 228 expressions based on the word *shit* will form the material on the basis of which I will infer the

existence of metaphorical relations between conceptual domains (i.e. source domain and target domain). The analysis will be presented in the next section.

4.1.1 Target Domains of *Shit*

As was stated above, there are 228 expressions built round the word *shit* which are here considered figurative. Since the source domain has already been established (i.e. *SHIT*), mapping conceptual domains relies on finding which target domain is being used in connection with the word *shit*. Inferring the target domain and categorizing these expressions into groups according to their meaning is a challenge because of the numerous meanings that the same expression may have. Hence, a large number of expressions will belong to more than just one conceptual metaphor. For example, *shithouse* does not only refer to an unpleasant place, but also a jail, a coward, and an unpleasant individual (*RDM* s.v. *shithouse* n., senses 2-5). In addition to that, there are many other expressions which have a number of senses: e.g. *shit(-)kicker* (*CDS* s.v.) has eight senses, while (*the*) *shitter* has 14 (*CDS* s.v.; *NPD* s.v.).

Furthermore, some expressions built round the word *shit* have a different meaning in the UK, US and Australia. For example, in the US the noun *shitpot* is used as an intensifier and has the same meaning as the phrase 'a great deal of' or it refers to 'marijuana of inferior quality' (*RDM* s.v. *shitpot* n., senses 2-3). In the UK, on the other hand, *shitpot* refers to 'an unpleasant person' (*CDS* s.v. *shitpot* n.), whereas in Australia *shitpot* is used as an adjective to mean 'second-rate, inferior' (*CDS* s.v. *shitpot* adj.). What is particularly interesting about the term *shitpot*, is that the noun is not used – as might be expected and even logical – in the literal sense to refer to a commode or a potty. Indeed, this attests to what has been suggested in Section 2.3 about slang: literal use is less common than metaphorical and this is certainly the case as regards the word *shitpot*.

As regards regional variation, I will specify, where possible, the geographical occurrence or origin of each expression. However, these labels are to be consulted with caution as English is a global language and the geographical borders of its occurrence and usage are fuzzy.

Indeed, there are many expressions that are polysemous in nature and this complicates the process of mapping between the conceptual domains of the expressions. I have, however, categorized the expressions according to the target domains in which the word *shit* operates. There are a large number of categories and subcategories, which will be discussed below. I will start the discussion of my findings with the target domain consisting of the largest number of expressions. To illustrate each category and subcategory, I will present various tables. In addition to that, I will discuss the expressions which I did not categorize because it was not possible to determine whether it is the word *shit* that is the main source of meaning or the other words in the expression (e.g. *shit green* 'to be extremely shocked', 'to be enraged' and 'to be afraid'; *CDS* s.v. *shit green* n., senses 1-3).

4.1.1.1 SHIT IS REPULSIVE

The studied expressions support the premise established by cognitive linguists according to which conventionalized metaphors emerge from our experiences: in most expressions *shit* has a negative connotation – it conveys despicability, disgust or other equally negative meanings. I have categorized the expressions in which *shit* denotes repulsiveness into one main category which consists of a number of subcategories. The largest category is SHIT IS DESPICABLE, which contains 51 different expressions (see Table 3 below). The expressions indicate that we tend to speak about **despicable entities** in terms of *shit* and to do this we employ the conceptual metaphor SHIT IS DESPICABLE. Interestingly, the expressions belonging to the category refer mainly to people. There are, however, some exceptions: e.g. the noun *shit bucket* 'a lowly, disgusting place or thing' (*RDM* s.v.) and the adjective *shit hole* "usu[ally] of places, terrible, very disgusting" (*CDS* s.v.).

Table 3. Expressions in which *shit* denotes despicability.

SHIT IS DESPICABLE (51)	
shit a brick! (excl.) AUS (1968, 1998)	shithole (noun) UK [1960s+]
shit-ass; shit-arse (noun) US [20C+]	shithole (adj.) UK [1970s+]
shit-ass (verb) US [1940s(+)]	shit-list (noun) UK [1940s+]
shit-ass (adjective) US [1960s+]	shitlover (noun) US [1960s]
shitbag (noun) UK [1960s+]	shit-nasty (adjective) UK (2001)
shitball (noun) US [1960s+]	shit on (phr.) UK [early 17C; 1930s+]
shitbird (noun) US [1950s+]	shit on from a great height (verb) uk [1920S+]
shitbird (adjective) US [1990s+]	shit-pan (noun) UK [1940s]
shitbox (noun) AUS (1979+)	shit-parade (US)
shit bucket (noun) US (1986)	shit-pit (noun) UK [1990s+]
shit-breeched (adjective) UK [mid-17C]	shitpot (noun) UK [mid-19C+]
shitbum (noun) UK [1960s+]	shitsack (noun) UK [late 18C+-early 19C]
shitbum (adjective) US [2000s]	shit stain (noun) US [1990s+]
shitcunt (noun) UK (1979+)	shitstain (adj.) US [1990s+]
shit-eating (adjective) UK [1940s+]	shit-stick (noun) UK [late 16C] US (1964)
shitehawk (noun) UK [1940s+]	shit-sucking (adj.) US [1990s+]
shitehead (noun) UK (1997+)	shitten (adjective) UK [mid-16C-mid-18C; 1920s+]
shit in your teeth! (excl.) [18C-mid18C]	shitten! (excl.) UK [17C; 1930s]
shitepoke/ shite-poke (noun) US (1926)	shitter (noun) UK [1960s]
shit-poke (adjective) US [1950s]	shitting (adjective) UK [1930s+]
shit-face/shitface (noun) US (1926+)	shitty (adj.) UK/US [mid-16C-mid18C; 1920s+]
shitefire (noun) UK [early 18C]	shitweasel (noun) UK [1990s+]
shit-fuck (noun) UK (1997)	shitwrap (noun) US (2001)
shithead (noun) UK [1940s+]	shiteater (noun) UK [1940s+]
shitheap (noun)UK [1960s+]	shite shifter (noun) IRISH [1970s]
shit(-)heel (noun) UK (1935+)	

As Table 3 demonstrates, many expressions occur more than once in the category (e.g. *shit-ass*, *shitbird*, *shitbum*). This is due to the fact that a number of expressions are used not only as nouns but also as adjectives, verbs or adverbs. This attests to what has been suggested about slang in Section 2.3: it frequently develops as the result of shift in grammatical function. Another noteworthy aspect regarding the expressions in the category is their tendency to overlap many categories because of their polysemous nature. For example, *shitbird* refers both to 'a despicable person' (*RDM* s.v.) and to 'a narcotic drug abuser' (*CDS* s.v.). Hence, many expressions will spread across various categories. For definitions of the expressions, see Appendix 1.

My intention is to group the expressions based on their resemblance in meaning. For example, even though the meaning of the word *despicable* is semantically very close to that of unpleasantness and the expressions belonging to the above category carry overtones of unpleasantness, I have decided to treat the two as different categories. Nevertheless, despicability and unpleasantness are similar to one another to such an extent that I will consider unpleasantness as a subcategory of despicability. Moreover, there is a category which could be considered to be subcategory of SHIT IS UNPLEASANT but on slightly different grounds. Namely, the domain DIRTY manifests entailment because it is part of our knowledge structure as regards the domain UNPLEASANT. After all, we often experience physical or mental dirtiness as unpleasant and therefore DIRTY is connected to and an almost central part of the domain UNPLEASANT. That is, the entailment is "additional knowledge about a source [domain]" which is linked to the target domain (Kovecses 2002: 94). All the subcategories of the category SHIT IS REPULSIVE, are illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4. Subcategories of SHIT IS REPULSIVE.

SHIT IS REPULSIVE (70)	
SHIT IS DESPICABLE (51)	
SHIT IS UNPLEASANT (14)	**SHIT IS DIRTY (5)**
shit detail (noun) UK [1940s+]	shithole US [1960s+]
shit creek (noun) UK [1950s+]	shitty (adj.) UK [mid-17C-mid-18C; 1920s+]
shithook (noun) [1960s+]	shitten (adj.) UK [mid-17C-mid-18C; 1920s+]
shithouse (noun) UK [1940s+]	shitwork (noun) UK [1960s+]
shithouse (adjective) UK [1930s+]	shit order (noun) UK (1971)
shitpicker (noun) US (1971)	
shitpot (noun) UK [mid-19C+]	
shitsack (noun) UK [late 18C+]	
shits, the (noun) UK [1970s+]	
shit street (noun) UK [1960s+]	
shitten (adjective) UK [mid-16C-mid-18C; 1920s+]	
shitweasel (noun) UK [1990s+]	
shit happens (phr.) [1980s+]	
shit on from a great height (verb) UK [1920S+]	

As concerns what the expressions denote in each of the above subcategories, the expressions in the subcategory SHIT IS UNPLEASANT tend to refer to inanimate entities rather than people. For example, *shit detail* refers to 'unpleasant or dirty task' (*CDS* s.v.) while *shitpicker* is a 'demeaning job' (*NPD* s.v.). One expression in the subcategory SHIT IS DIRTY is similar in this regard: *shitwork* means 'any unglamorous occupation, often dirty work' (*NPD* s.v.). *Shit order*, on the other hand, is "a dirty or untidy condition, especially when applied to military accommodation or equipment" (*RDM* s.v.).

4.1.1.2 SHIT IS AN EMOTION

In 50 expressions the word *shit* denotes a particular emotion (see Table 5 below). The most frequent emotion to which *shit* refers is fear (28 instances): e.g. *put the shiters up* 'to frighten someone' (*NPD* s.v.); *shit pickles* 'to tremble with extreme fear' (*CDS* s.v. *shit pickles v.*, sense 2); *shit one's brains out* 'to be absolutely terrified' (*CDS* s.v.). Prima facie *shit* in some of these expressions may seem as if it was employed literally. However, in the context where these expressions are used, nobody is actually defecating, but rather *shitting* is associated with fear. This is evident with the expression *shit bricks* 'to tremble with extreme fear' (*CDS* s.v. *shit bricks* v. sense 2), where *shit* conveys fear, which the word *brick* then intensifies.

What is particularly interesting about the expressions in the category SHIT IS FEAR is that there is not a great deal of geographical variation regarding the origin of expressions. As the regional labels indicate, the majority of the expressions originated in the UK. Does that suggest that *shit* indicates fear in the UK more than in the other English speaking countries? It is impossible to state anything certain with regard to geographical variation as we live in a globalized world where language and ideas have traversed geographical obstacles for a long time. Moreover, fear should most likely have the same effect on people regardless of their nationality or geographical location. For example, *CDS* suggests that *shit oneself* means 'to be terrified' (*CDS* s.v. *shit oneself* v., sense 2) and that the expression was motivated by "[t]he effect of terror on the sphincter muscle" (s.v.). This

theory is supported by a researcher who noticed that some soldiers have been incapacitated by this uncomfortable manifestation of fear before a battle at war (Plamper and Laxier 2012: 210). Are people in the UK more vocal about expressing and linking the aforementioned phenomenon to fear as the result of which numerous expressions regarding fear have been coined? In any case, it is noteworthy that the expressions do not manifest more geographical variation.

Table 5. Expressions in which *shit* refers to a particular emotion.

SHIT IS AN EMOTION (50)	
SHIT IS FEAR (28)	
shit a brick/bricks (verb) UK [1930s+]	shit pickles (verb) UK [1930s+]
shit bricks (verb) UK [1930s+]	shits, the (noun) UK [1940s+]
shiters (noun) UK (1996)	put the shits up (phr.) UK (2002)
shiters (adjective) UK (2002)	shit-scared (adj.) UK [1950s+]
shithouse (noun) [1990s+]	shit (someone) up (verb) UK [2000s]
shit one's pants (verb) UK [1930s+]	shitted (adj.) UK [1990s+]
shit one's britches (verb) UK [1930s+]	shitters (adj.) UK [1990s+]
shit it (verb) UK [1950s+]	shitting (adj.) UK [1930s+]
shitless (adjective) [1910s+]	shitting-it (adj.) UK [1996]
shit one's brains out (verb) UK [1940s]	shit up (verb) UK [1990s+]
shit oneself (verb) UK [1920s+]	shit nickels (verb) US (1968)
shit one's load (verb) UK [1990s+]	shit the life out of (verb) UK [1999]
shit one's/your pants (verb) UK [1930s+]	shit your shorts (verb) US (2002)
shit-out (noun) UK (2000)	shit bullets (verb) US [1940s+]
SHIT IS ANGER (9)	**SHIT IS SURPRISING (8)**
shit a brick/bricks (verb) UK [1960s+]	shite eh! (excl.) AUS (1972 & 1998)
shit or bust (verb) UK [late 19C+]	shitfire! (excl.) UK [1940s+]
shit pickles (verb) UK [1960s+]	shit howdy! (excl.) US [1970s]
shits, the (noun) UK [1960s+]	shitlaw! (excl.) US [1980s+]
shitty (noun) AUS/N.Z. [1970s+]	shit me! (excl.) UK [1990s+]
shitty (adj.) AUS [1960s+]	shit-stopper (noun) UK [1960s+]
shitty-livered (adj.) N.Z. [1980s+]	shit the bed! (excl.) UK (2002)
Shitty Mcshit! (excl.) UK (2000)	shitfuck! (excl.) UK [1970s+]
shitfit (noun) US [1950s+]	**SHIT IS PLEASURE (3)**
SHIT IS DISAPPOINTMENT (1)	shit pickles (verb) UK [1960s+]
Shit sticks! (excl.) US (1964)	shit the bed! (excl.) UK (2002)
SHIT IS EXCITEMENT (1)	shit a brick/bricks (verb) UK [1960s+]
shit one's pants (verb) UK [1930s+]	

Fear is not the only emotion to which *shit* refers. Table 5 illustrates the variety of emotions which *shit* can convey. For example, there are nine expressions in which *shit* denotes anger. In fact, some of the expressions in which this is the case are the same as in SHIT IS FEAR: e.g. *shit pickles* 'to be furious' (*CDS* s.v. *shit pickles* v., sense 3) and *shit a brick* (*NPD* s.v.) can both refer to anger. Initially both expressions referred to fear from the 1930s onwards but began to be also used for anger in the 1960s (*CDS* s.v.). Moreover, in the US the expression *shit a brick* seems to denote only anger or disbelief, but according to *CDS* it has a wider scale of emotional reference in the UK – this, however, is not indicated by any other studied dictionary (including www.urbandictionary.com). Perhaps this is due to the fact that *CDS* has processed much older texts for its entries.

Indeed, as Table 5 above confirms, a number of expressions are employed to convey a wide range of emotions. For example, the exclamation *shit the bed!* is not only used 'for registering wonder' but also 'satisfaction' (*NPD* s.v.). The expressions *shit pickles* and *shit a brick/bricks* are even more polysemous: besides conveying anger and fear, they may convey pleasure (*CDS* s.v.).

Not surprisingly, a number of expressions built round the word *shit* are used as exclamations. It is common to shout out tabooed words in a moment of anger, disappointment or surprise. At times these moments can, perhaps, be so devastating that one tabooed word does not seem to suffice. In such cases a combination of tabooed words can be employed: e.g. *shitfuck!* and *Shitty Mcshit!*, both of which are used as general exclamations (*CDS* s.v., *NPD* s.v.). *Shitty Mcshit!*, however, is defined differently from *shitfuck!*. According to *NPD*, it is "used for registering frustration, annoyance, anger, etc" (*NPD* s.v.). *Shitfuck!*, on the other hand, is only said to be "used as a general exclamation" (*CDS* s.v.). As the above definitions indicate, these kind of exclamations have many functions and pinpointing a single meaning is, perhaps, impossible. Hence, the exclamations in the category SHIT IS SURPRISING may be used in a number of contexts. For example, the expression *shite eh!* is equivalent to the exclamation *wow* (*NPD* s.v.). Interestingly,

some of the exclamations are milder than others: according to *CDS*, this is the case with the expression *shit howdy!* (s.v.). I have grouped expressions which are defined by dictionaries as general exclamations together with other expressions in the category SHIT IS SURPRISING.

The category SHIT IS EXCITEMENT is the first category which does not manifest strong negative connotations. Furthermore, the categories SHIT IS SURPRISING and SHIT IS PLEASURE are presented in the same group as SHIT IS EXCITEMENT and other categories for a number of reasons. Firstly, some of the expressions presented in the above table belong to several categories. Secondly, in all the expressions *shit* refers to a certain emotion.

It is surprising that *shit* may refer to pleasure. This, however, can be explained by one of the senses which *DCS* provides for the verb *shit a brick*: "to defecate after a lengthy period of constipation" (*CDS* s.v. *shit a brick* v., sense 1). Indeed, it is probably the relief that one feels once constipation comes to an end which has induced the association between defecation and pleasure.

4.1.1.3 SHIT IS SECOND-RATE

Not surprisingly, in another set of expressions *shit* refers to an additional negative trait: various types of inferiority. There are 39 expressions in which this is the case (Table 6). The expressions in the category SHIT IS INFERIOR are of various types in terms of referents. For example, the expressions refer to **cars**: *shit can* 'a near-derelict but just drivable second-hand car, or motorcycle, one step from the junkyard' (*CDS* s.v.), *shitmobile* 'a poor quality motor vehicle' (*NPD* s.v.); **food**: *shitburger* 'poor-quality food' (*RDM* s.v.); **people**: *shitbrains* 'a stupid person' (*NPD* s.v.); **quality level**: *shite-awful* 'being of very inferior quality' (*NPD* s.v.); **a bird**: *shit-hawk* 'a seagull' (*NPD* s.v.); and **heroin**: *shit heroin* 'heroin, especially if of poor quality' (*NPD* s.v.).

Table 6. Expressions in which *shit* has a meaning or strong connotation of inferiority.

SHIT IS SECOND-RATE (39)	
SHIT IS INFERIOR (26)	shitten (adjective) UK [mid-16C-mid-18C; 1920s+]
shitbox (noun) UK [1980s+]	shitten end of a brick (noun) UK [mid-19C+]
shitbrains; shit-brain (noun) US (1970)	shitty (adj.) UK & US [mid-16C-mid18C; 1920s+]
have shit for brains AUS (1986)	shitty (adv.) UK [1920s+]
shit-brained (adjective) UK [1970s]	shitwagon (noun) US [1970s+]
shitcan (noun) US]1970s]	shit-ass (adjective) US [1960s+]
shitburger (noun) US (1971)	**SHIT IS INCOMPETENCE (9)**
shite-awful (adjective) UK (1996)	not for shit (adv.) UK (2001)
shitey (adjective) UK [1994+]	you're shit and you know you are (phr.) UK (1966)
shit(e)-for-brains (noun) UK [1959+]	shitily (adverb) UK [1920s+]
shit(-)faced (adjective) US [1930s+]	shitkicker (noun) AUS [1940s+]
shit-for-nothing (adjective) UK [1980s]	shit-sheet (noun) US
shit-hawk (noun) CAN (1993)	shitty (adv.) UK [1920s+]
shitheap (noun) AUS (1984)	shitty UK [1970s]
shit heroin (noun) UK (1950)	shitty-britches (noun) US [1930s]
shitman (AUS Prison) [1980s+]	shit(-)kicker (noun) AUS [1940s+]
shitmobile (noun) (1985, 1995)	**SHIT IS NONCONFORMING (4)**
shit on wheels (noun) US [1950s+]	shitsack (noun) UK [late 18C+-early19C]
?Shitport US, (1982)	shit-sheet (noun) US
shitpot (noun) US (2001)	shitkicker (noun)US (1954)
shitpot (adjective) AUS [1970s+]	shit where one eats (verb) US [1980s+]

Interestingly, in the category SHIT IS INFERIOR there is a word which belongs to three categories[5]: *shitten* 'unpleasant, disgusting; mediocre, second-rate' (*CDS* s.v.). Another similar word is the adjective *shitty*, which has as many as nine senses according to *CDS* (s.v.). These words illustrate the extent to which expressions built round *shit* may carry similar and at the same time various nuances of meaning. The adjective *shitty* may denote filthiness, illness, guiltiness, bad temper, dangerousness, incompetence and it also denotes the same qualities as *shitten.* It is difficult to categorize such a polysemous expression without creating many categories which consist of only a few expressions. Again, to avoid this problem, I have stretched the boundaries of some categories. I have situated the adjective *shitty* in the above category based not only on one sense but various senses. For example, since *shitty* is 'unwell, ill' and 'depressed, guilty' (*CDS* s.v. *shitty* adj., senses 5-

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[5] In addition to SHIT IS INFERIOR, *shitten* belongs to SHIT IS UNPLEASANT and SHIT IS DESPICABLE.

6), I classify it as belonging to the category of SHIT IS INFERIOR on the grounds that an ill and depressed person has inferior physical or mental health.

However, if *shit* refers to the same target domain in many expressions, I have created a separate category. I have followed the same principle when it is impossible to group an expression together with the expressions in an already existing category. Consequently, there are categories which consist of only one or two expressions. These categories will be discussed later.

Table 6 illustrates the various subcategories which are based on the concept of inferiority or are otherwise related to the categories presented in the table. For example, since lack of competence implies inferiority it is considered a subcategory of SHIT IS INFERIOR. Incompetence to follow the rules of society (i.e. SHIT IS NONCONFORMING), on the other hand, is presented as a subcategory of SHIT IS INCOMPETENCE. All the categories are characterized by the superordinate category SHIT IS SECOND-RATE. Again, rather than discussing each category separately, the aim is to group categories which are related with one another in one way or another and to present what kind of taxonomic hierarchy the conceptual metaphors form with one another.

One expression which deserves attention is *you're shit and you know you are*, which is "used by football fans as a chant to disparage (and enrage) the opposing team and fans" (*NPD* s.v.). As the definition indicates, the phrase can be justifiably placed in many groups (e.g. SHIT IS INFERIOR, SHIT IS INCOMPETENCE). Again, this demonstrates how fuzzy the boundaries of the categories are and to which extent the expressions carry various overtones of meaning. One has to consider the categories with these characteristics in mind.

As regards the semantic qualities of the other expressions in the categories illustrated in Table 6, the expressions denote a number of various things. For example, the adverb *shitily* in the category of SHIT IS INCOMPETENCE means 'badly, unsatisfactorily' (*CDS* s.v.), whereas *shitty-britches* refers to 'an infant or child' (*DAS* s.v.). *Shitty-britches* is grouped with the other expressions in the category SHIT IS INCOMPETENCE because the word *shit* in the expression – rather than literally

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referring to excrement – implies that the referent is not able to control his/her sphincter. The expression *shit-sheet*, on the other hand, signifies "a police file (recording criminal activity) or school report (particularly one recording poor results)" (*DCS* s.v.). Since the list consists of people who are incompetent in one way or another (e.g. incompetent at a particular school subject or not able to comply with the law), I have decided to group the compound in the category SHIT IS INCOMPETENT. Furthermore, the expression can also be found in the category SHIT IS NONCONFORMING because *shit-sheet* refers to a police file recording criminal activity. Expressions in the category SHIT IS NONCONFORMING tend to denote unlawful activity. For example, the verb *shit where one eats* means committing a crime in one's own neighbourhood (*CDS* s.v.), whereas the noun *shitsack* refers to 'a nonconformist' (*CDS* s.v.).

4.1.1.4 SHIT IS A PREDICAMENT

Based on some of the studied expressions, we associate *shit* with certain **predicaments**. For example, there are 19 expressions in which *shit* refers to **trouble** (Table 7). The expressions refer to getting someone in trouble, troublemakers and the trouble itself: e.g. *drop in the shit* 'to get someone blamed and into trouble' (*NPD* s.v.); *shit disturber* 'a troublemaker' (*NPD* s.v.); *the shit will fly* 'there will be trouble' (*NPD* s.v.); *three kinds of shit* 'a lot of trouble' (*NPD* s.v.). Moreover, the variety of the expressions which denote the same thing is noteworthy: one can be *in deep shit*, *fall in the shit¸* or *land in the shit*. This demonstrates how productive the word *shit* is in slang.

In some expressions *shit* refers to **a difficult place or situation**: e.g. *shit storm* 'an extremely serious situation' (*RDM* s.v.) while in others it refers to **prison**: e.g. *shitcan* 'the punishment cells' (*CDS* s.v. *shitcan* n., sense 1); *shitter* ' a prison cell used for solitary confinement' (*NPD* s.v. *shitter, the* n., sense 7); *shithouse* 'jail or prison' (*NPD* s.v. *jail* n., sense 3). There is also an expression in which *shit* refers to **a prison officer** (i.e. *shitparcel*). The above categories and expressions illustrate how intertwined the target domains are. *Shit* has definitely negative connotations, which, nevertheless, are interconnected. Perhaps we speak about trouble in terms of *shit* because one could

get in trouble or chastised for not controlling one's sphincter during childhood. Or perhaps these experiences have to do with how we associate fear with losing control of one's sphincter. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.

Table 7. Expressions in which *shit* denotes trouble, difficult place/situation, and prison/prison staff.

SHIT IS A PREDICAMENT (27)	
SHIT IS TROUBLE (19)	**SHIT IS A DIFFICULT PLACE/SITUATION (4)**
drop in the shit (verb) UK (2001)	in the shit (adverb) US (1987)
fall in the shit (verb) UK	to the shithouse AUS (1987...1994)
in deep shit (adverb) US (1999)	shit storm (noun US [1940s+]
in the shit (adverb) UK (1937...2002)	shit street (noun) UK [1960s+]
land in the shit (verb) UK	**SHIT IS A PRISON (3)**
the shit will fly (phr.) UK (1974)	shitcan (noun) US [1970s]
three kinds of shit (adverb) AUS (1995)	shithouse (noun) US (1969)
when the shit hits the fan; when the shit flies UK (1966+)	shitter (noun) US [1960s-1970s]
shit and derision; ... corruption; ... molasses UK (1982)	**SHIT IS PRISON STAFF (1)**
shit comes in piles (phr.) US [1990s+]	shitparcel (noun) UK (1996)
shit creek (noun) US (1941)	
shit disturber (noun) US (1977)	
shit hits the fan, the (phr.) UK [1940s+]	
shithouse (noun) [1970s+] (bad situation)	
shit rain (noun) US (1963)	
shit sandwich (noun) US (1968 - 1997 (+))	
shit-stir (verb) UK [19C+]	
shit-stirrer (noun) UK [1930s+]	
shit street (noun) UK, [1960s+]	

What is noteworthy is that *shit* seems to have a tendency to be first employed in a more general sense but then to develop specialized meanings. The more specialized meaning tends to be based on an earlier, more general, meaning. For example the noun *shithouse* demonstrates this tendency. It has referred to 'any dirty, messy, disgusting place' since the 1940s, but began to also mean 'a jail' in the 1960s (*CDS* s.v. *shithouse* n., senses 3-4), which confirms that semantic specialization definitely occurs. Another similar expression but from the category SHIT IS REPULSIVE is the noun *shit-heel* 'a despicable person' (*NPD* s.v.) or "a general derogatory term of abuse" (*CDS* s.v. *shit-heel* n., sense 1). The second meaning is more specified: 'an informer' (*CDS*

s.v. *shit-heel* n., sense 2). According to *CDS, shit-heel* has been used in its first sense from the 1940s, whereas it has received its second sense only in the 1990s.

4.1.1.5 SHIT IS OF LITTLE OR NO VALUE

In a number of expressions *shit* denotes entities which are **of little or no value**: e.g. **waste** or **a lie** (see Table 8 below). The expressions belonging to the subcategory SHIT IS WASTE tend to denote different containers of waste, e.g. *shitwagon*[6] for 'a garbage truck' (*RDM* s.v.) or *shitcan* for 'any rubbish bin' (*NPD* s.v. *shitcan n.*, sense 1). A fairly popular category is that of SHIT IS A LIE, the expressions of which are likely to be familiar to many. After all, the word *bullshit* can be heard on television fairly regularly. Unfortunately, the noun *bullshit* is not examined in the present study as it was not listed under *shit* in any of the dictionary. Nevertheless, there are many other similar expressions in which *shit* clearly refers to **falsehood**: *I shit thee not* 'I am serious' (*RDM* s.v.); *shitlips* 'a person who talks nonsense' (*NPD* s.v.)*; shit through one's teeth* 'to lie blatantly' (*CDS* s.v.). There are also cases in which interpretation is required. For example, the noun *shit on a stick* means 'a self-appointed tough guy, more words than action' (*CDS* s.v.), in which the word *shit* refers to falsehood indirectly.

As regards the other subcategories, the category SHIT IS WORTHLESS consists of expressions in which *shit* represents little or no worth. For example, *treat like shit* means 'to treat someone in disdainful or humiliating manner' (*NPD* s.v.), which suggests that *shit* is **worthless**. Another expression within the same subcategory – *shite-rags*, refers to 'an idle lazie [sic] fellow' (*CDS* s.v.); the expression is considered relevant because laziness is an unproductive feature. The expressions in the subcategory SHIT IS NOTHING denote **nothingness**: *shit-all* 'nothing, nothing at all' (*NPD* s.v.), *shit pie* 'nothing' (*CDS* s.v.) and *for shits and giggles* 'for no good reason' (*RDM*

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[6] There is a discrepancy between two dictionaries' definitions of the expression. *CDS* defines the expressions as 'a second-rate, run-down automobile', which is supported by www.urbandictionary.com. However, since *RDM*'s cites a relevant passage from a novel in demonstrating the meaning, I will consider both definitions accurate.

s.v.). SHIT IS NO GOOD contains expressions in which *shit* means **'no good'**: e.g. *up to shit* 'no good; hopeless' (*NPD* s.v.); and *shit-box* 'no good' (*NPD* s.v.).

Table 8. Expressions in which *shit* denotes worthlessness.

SHIT IS OF LITTLE OR NO VALUE (25)	
SHIT IS WASTE (5)	**SHIT IS A LIE (9)**
shit around (verb) US [1940s]	I shit thee not (verb) US (1967)
shitcan (noun) US (1948)	shit around (verb) UK [1930s+]
shitcan (verb) US (1975...2001)	shit-eating (adjective) UK [1940s+]
shitcan (adjective) UK (1998)	shitkicker (noun) US (1981)
shitwagon (noun) US (1999)	shitlips (noun) US (1991)
SHIT IS NO GOOD (4)	shit on a stick (noun) US [1980s]
up to shit (adverb) AUS (1978...1992)	shitter (noun) US [1970s+]
shit-box (adjective) AUS (1995)	shit through one's teeth (verb) UK [1970s+]
shithouse (adjective) AUS (1973)	shit for the birds (phr.) US
shitty (adj.) US [1920s+]	**SHIT IS NOTHING (3)**
SHIT IS WORTHLESS (4)	shit-all US (1981...2001)
give a shit(e) UK 1970s	shit pie (noun) UK [1990s+]
treat like shit UK (1999)	for shits and giggles (phr.) US (2001)
shit and wish (phr.) US [20C+]	
shite-rags (noun) UK [late 16C]	

As the above meanings suggest, it is difficult to categorize each expression based on what meaning *shit* has – at least not without stretching the boundaries of some categories. For example, *treat like shit* could easily and justifiably be placed in other categories, such as SHIT IS DESPICABLE or SHIT IS UNPLEASANT. After all, those who we experience as unpleasant or disgraceful are most likely to be at the receiving end of "disdainful or humiliating" treatment. Nevertheless, I decided to group the expression into the more specific category to illustrate the wide diversity of meanings associated with *shit*. Moreover, the aim of the categories which have been discussed hitherto is to reflect the target domains of *shit*: to demonstrate which aspects of our experience with excrement are manifested in our language use. In general, I have categorized the conceptual metaphors from general to more specific. This kind of categorization illustrates the interconnectedness of our experiences. The analysed expressions above suggest that we experience

excrement as something disgusting, unpleasant, dirty or worthless. We associate it with waste or we consider it waste. Similarly, we seem to see it as nothing.

4.1.1.6 SHIT IS ABUSE

There are 19 expressions in which *shit* refers to abuse (Table 9). The largest categories are SHIT IS DAMAGE/HARM and SHIT IS DENIGRATION. The majority of the expressions in the former category refer to **harming** oneself or those close to oneself. This meaning is present in the expressions *shit in* or *shit on*, to which other parts denoting location are attached, e.g. *one's nest*, *one's own backyard* or *one's own doorstep¸ someone's parade*, *the dining room table*. For example, the verbs *shit in one's nest* and *shit in one's own backyard* both mean 'to do anything that jeopardizes one's life by its proximity to one's personal, social or professional life' (*CDS* s.v.). *Shit* in the expressions belonging to the category SHIT IS DENIGRATION denotes various kinds of **denigration**: e.g. the verb *talk shit* 'to say disparaging things' (*NPD* s.v.) and the noun *shit-blitz* 'an intensive media campaign of attack designated to present a negative image of someone or something (*NPD* s.v.) are descriptive examples of that.

Table 9. Expressions in which *shit* refers to abuse.

SHIT IS ABUSE (19)	
SHIT IS DAMAGE/HARM (10)	**SHIT IS DENIGRATION (6)**
shitcan (verb) AUS [1950s+]	talk shit (verb) UK (1993)
shit in one's nest (verb) US [1950s+]	shitbag (verb) AUS (1986)
shit in one's own backyard (verb) US [1950s+]	shit-blitz (noun) UK (2004)
shit on (verb) UK [19C+]	shit-disturber (noun) UK [20C+]
shit on one's own doorstep (verb) UK [late 19C+]	shit-talk (verb) US
shit on someone's parade (verb) US [1970s+]	shitman (noun) AUS [1980s]
shit on the dining room table (verb) US [2000s]	**SHIT IS HUMILIATING (2)**
shit on you! (excl.) US [1930s+]	shit thought one's teeth (verb) W.I. [1980s]
shitogram (noun) US (1991)	shit on (adjective) [1960s+]
shitty US [1920s+]	**SHIT IS ANNOYING (1)**
	shit off (verb) UK [20C+]

One step that I have taken when categorizing the above expressions into groups is the consultation of www.urbandictionary.com. There is an expression on the definition of which two dictionaries disagreed with each other. The expression in question is the verb *shit on one's own doorstep*. According to *CDS*, the expression is used of "one who foolishly has adulterous affairs within their circle of friends and acquaintances" (s.v.). *DCS*, on the other hand, defines it in more general terms: "to do something damaging or unpardonable which will rebound upon oneself or one's friends; to ruin one's own environment" (s.v.). The definition at www.urbandictionary.com clearly supports the view of *CDS* rather than that of *DCS*: "A relationship of any form between you and a person you know is going to cause trouble"[7] (s.v.). Since both definitions mention a relationship that is foolish or which is likely to cause trouble, I have grouped the above expression and variations thereof (e.g. the verb *shit on the dining room table*) with other expressions in which *shit* is used to denote a harmful action.

In addition to SHIT IS DAMAGE/HARM and SHIT IS DENIGRATION, there are categories which consist of only one or two expressions. This is the case with the expression *shit off* 'to annoy, irritate' (*CDS* s.v.), which is the only example in the category SHIT IS ANNOYING, and the expressions in the category SHIT IS HUMILIATING: *shit through one's teeth* 'to suffer, to be humiliated' (*CDS* s.v. *shit through one's teeth* v., sense 3) and *shit on* 'humiliated' (*CDS* s.v.).

4.1.1.5 SHIT IS EXTRAORDINARY

There are 12 expressions in which *shit* denotes **extraordinariness**: **exceptionality** and **capability** (see Table 10 below). The high number of expressions in the category SHIT IS EXCEPTIONAL can be explained by a shift in grammatical function. In this regard the expression *shit-hot* is a good example because it is used as a noun, adjective, adverb, and even as an exclamation. The noun refers to 'a highly skilled fighter pilot' (*RDM* s.v.), the adjective to something 'excellent, wonderful'

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[7] http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=shit+on+your+own+doorstep

(*NPD* s.v.), the adverb means 'extremely, superlatively, especially' (*CDS* s.v.), whereas the exclamation denotes approval (*CDS* s.v.). Interestingly, with regard to the adjective *shit-hot*, *NPD* suggests that "[a] positive sense of [shit] intensifies [hot]" (s.v.).

Table 10. Expressions in which *shit* refers to exceptionality and capability.

SHIT IS EXTRAORDINARY (12)	
SHIT IS EXCEPTIONAL (11)	SHIT IS CAPABILITY (1)
the shit (noun) US (1990)	shit it in (verb) AUS (1992)
shit-hot (noun) (by 1983)	
shit-hot (adjective) [1910s+]	
shit-hot (adverb) [1910s+]	
shit-hot! (excl.) [1980s]	
shitkick (verb) US [1990s+]	
shitkicker (noun) UK [1960s+]	
shitkicking music (noun) US [1950s+]	
shit on a stick (noun) US [1950s]	
shit on wheels (noun) [1950s+] US	
shit all over (verb) UK (2003)	

In one of the above expressions *shit* has an even more positive sense than in *shit-hot*: *the shit* means 'the best' (*RDM* s.v.). On the other hand, in some of the expressions *shit* is not as evidently positive. For example, *shit on wheels* may refer to 'an important person' or 'one who thinks that they are [important]' (*CDS* s.v. *shit on wheels* n., sense 1). Another similar expression is the verb *shitkick*, which means 'to beat up, to kill' (*CDS* s.v.). In the expression the word *shit* seems to intensify the word *kick* to such an extent that the action to which the word *kick* refers is so powerful that it may kill someone. It is on this basis that I have included the expression in the category SHIT IS EXCEPTIONAL

As concerns the category SHIT IS CAPABILITY, it consists of only one expression. The expression in question (i.e. *shit it in*) means 'to do something with ease' (*NPD* s.v.). No other similar meanings were found among the studied expressions.

4.1.1.7 SHIT IS A PARTICULAR KIND OF ACTION

Many expressions in which *shit* denotes some type of action have already been assigned to various categories (e.g. *shit on* 'to abuse, to humiliate' in SHIT IS DAMAGE/HARM; *CDS* s.v. *shit on* v., sense 1). In this section I will discuss expressions where *shit* refers to minor groups of actions not yet covered. These expressions are presented in Table 11.

Since the expression *shit or get off the pot* is "used for urging action" (*RDM* s.v.), *shit* in the expression denotes **any action apparent in the context**. Other dictionaries suggest that *shit or get off the pot* means 'to get out of the way and let someone else try to do it; make your mind up' (*NPD* s.v.). The conceptual metaphors, which are presented as the titles of the categories, encapsulate the meaning of the expressions in the five other remaining small categories. That is, *shit* in the expression *shit or bust* refers to **gambling**: 'to make a last, desperate gambling; also as an excl. of exasperation' (*CDS* s.v.), *shit* in the expression *run shit down* denotes **discussion**: 'to discuss something; to inform someone; to explain something' (*RDM* s.v.), and finally, *shit* in *shit through one's teeth* means **'to vomit'** (*CDS* s.v. *shit through one's teeth* v., sense 1).

Table 11. Expressions in which *shit* refers to various types of action and rapidness.

SHIT IS A PARTICULAR KIND OF ACTION (7)	
SHIT IS ANY ACTION (1)	**SHIT IS MOVING (3)**
shit or get off the pot (phr.) UK, CAN [1930s+]	shit off (verb) [1950s+]
SHIT IS GAMBLING (1)	shit off! [1966] UK
shit or bust (verb) UK [late 19C+]	shit out (verb) UK [1960s+]
SHIT IS TALKING (1)	
run shit down US (1970)	
SHIT IS VOMITING (1)	
shit thought one's teeth (verb) UK [late 18C+]	

As concerns the conceptual metaphor SHIT IS MOVING, it consists of expressions in which *shit* refers to some kind of movement. For example, the expression *shit off* means 'to run away' (*CDS* s.v. *shit off* v., sense 2). Not surprisingly, the same expression used in the imperative is

equivalent to the expression *go away!* (*NPD* s.v.). The verb phrase *shit out*, on the other hand, means 'to run away; to yield' (*NPD* s.v.).

4.1.1.8 SHIT IS A PARTICULAR QUALITY

The number of expressions in which *shit* refers to a certain kind of quality is high. The majority of these expressions have already been placed in different categories (e.g. SHIT IS DESPICABLE). What sets the previously classified expressions apart from the ones discussed in this section is that in these expressions *shit* refers to miscellaneous qualities not yet covered (see Table 12). This is the case in eight expressions in which *shit* refers to **rapidness**, **black colour**, or **unfairness**.

The expressions in the category SHIT IS RAPID refer to a short amount of time and thus also to the rapidness of defecation: e.g. *shit and a shave* 'a short sentence of imprisonment', "an inference that the sentence is for no more time than it takes to get ready to go out" (*NPD* s.v.) and *shit and git* 'to leave quickly' (*NPD* s.v.). SHIT IS BLACK contains expressions in which *shit* denotes blackness: the noun *shit-skin* refers to a 'Black person' (*CDS* s.v.), the adjective *shitskin* means 'pertaining to Black people' (*CDS* s.v.), whereas *shit-stick* is a 'billy-club' (*CDS* s.v. *shit-stick* n., sense 2). Since *billy-club* is frequently black[8], I suggest that it is black colour to which the word *shit* refers in the expression.

Table 12. Expressions in which *shit* refers to a particular quality.

SHIT IS A PARTICULAR QUALITY (8)	
SHIT IS RAPID (3)	**SHIT IS BLACK (3)**
shit and a shave (noun) UK (1996)	shit-skin (noun) US [20C+]
shit and git US (1990, 1994)	shitskin (adj.) US [1960s]
like shit off a shovel UK (1998)	shit-stick (noun) UK Prison [1990s+]
	SHIT IS UNFAIR (2)
	shitten end of a brick (noun) UK [mid-19C+]
	shitty end of the stick (noun) UK [mid-19C+]

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[8] This is suggested by search results for pictures of a *billy-club* at www.google.com.

Shit in both expressions of the category SHIT IS UNFAIR denotes unfairness: *shitten end of a brick* is 'unfair treatment, deliberately engineered bad luck, the bad side of a deal or situation' (*CDS* s.v.), whereas *shitty end of the stick* is 'an unfair position to be in; inequitable treatment' (*NPD* s.v.).

4.1.1.9 SHIT IS RURAL

Interestingly, and, perhaps, not surprisingly, *shit* seems to be associated with **rural life** (Table 13). For example, the expression *shitkicker* and variations thereof (e.g. *shitkicking*, *shitkickers* etc.) refer to rural features in one way or another: the noun *shitkicker* may refer to 'a farmer or other country person' (*CDS* s.v. *shitkicker* n., sense 3), whereas the adjective having the same form refers to anything 'pertaining to rural or stereotypically Western life' (*CDS* s.v.). The expression *shitkickers* is used for 'heavy boots such as farm, cowboy, or hiking boots' (*DAS* s.v.) and therefore does not exclusively refer to the countryside, but it clearly builds its meaning on rural qualities. It is suggested in *CDS* that the word *kicker* in the expression may have its origins in "kicking one's way through animal dung" (s.v. *shitkicker* n.). The expression *shit stompers* also refers to 'heavy work boots' (*NPD* s.v.), or to 'cowboy boots' (*CDS* s.v. *shit stompers* n., sense 1) and 'cowboys' (*CDS* s.v. *shit stompers* n., sense 2).

Table 13. Expressions in which *shit* refers to rural characteristics.

SHIT IS RURAL (7)
shitkicker (adjective) US [1960s+]
shitkicker (noun) US [1960s+]
shitkicking (adjective) US [1960s+]
shitkickers (noun) US [1960s+]
shit stompers (noun) [1970s+]
shitters (noun) AUS [1940s]
shitville (noun) US [1970s]

In the light of the above, *shit* is experienced to be something pertaining to the countryside, where it is much more perceptible and, perhaps, in its natural environment. After all, it is used in

fertilizers and can generally be encountered with a much higher probability in agricultural environments than in towns.

4.1.1.10 SHIT IS AN INTOXICANT

In some expressions the word *shit* refers to an **intoxicant**: either to **alcohol** or **various narcotics** (Table 14). For example, the noun *shit-face* may be 'used as an intensifier of the degree of intoxication [e.g. *shitface drunk*]' (*NPD* s.v. *shit-face* n., sense 2) or it may refer to 'a drunken party' (*CDS* s.v. *shitface* n., sense 2). As regards what types of narcotics *shit* refers to, the definition of the expression *shitbird* as 'a narcotic drug abuser, a heroin addict' suggests that *shit* can either refer to heroin or any other type of drug (*CDS* s.v. *shitbird* n., sense 1), whereas *shitfaced* may imply that a person is 'under the influence of cannabis' (*CDS* s.v. *shitfaced* adj.2, sense 2).

Table 14. Expressions in which *shit* refers to an intoxicant.

SHIT IS AN INTOXICANT (4)
SHIT IS ALCOHOL (2)
shit(-)face (noun) US (1977)
shit(-)faced (adjective) US [1960s+]
SHIT IS NARCOTICS (2)
shitbird (noun) UK [1950s+]
shit(-)faced (adjective) UK [1970s+]

It is difficult to explain unequivocally why *shit* is used for intoxicants. The expression *shitface* may have its origins in the effect that alcohol has on people's appearance: alcohol may relax the muscles of a person's face to such an extent that they droop a little. The more alcohol one consumes, the more visible the various effects of consumption become. That is, *shit* could then refer to the peculiar and unattractive appearance; cf. "you look like shit", even when one is just tired or exhausted. As to *shitbird*, according to *CDS,* the noun *shit* has been used to refer to heroin and occasionally to morphine since the 1940s (*CDS* s.v. *shit* n.5, sense 1). Slang words for narcotics are,

in fact, very common, because they prevent outsiders (e.g. the police) understanding what the subject of conversation is.

4.1.1.11 SHIT IS SELF

In a number of the studied expressions *shit* refers to **an individual's self** (Table 15). For example, the expression *get your shit together* means "to take control of your personal condition; to get your mind and emotions under control; to become organised" (*NPD* s.v.) – a variation of *pull yourself together* (ibid.); and the expression *shit-eating* means 'self-satisfied' (*DAS* s.v.). Similarly, *one's shit doesn't stink* also denotes things connected with the individual's self, although the individuals negative characteristics are this time more emphasized.

Table 15. Expressions in which *shit* refers to an individual's self.

SHIT IS SELF (3)
get/have your shit together (verb) US 1969
(one's) shit doesn't stink (phr.) US [1940s+]
shit-eating (adjective) UK [1940s+]

I would suggest that in such expressions *shit* refers to an individual's characteristics because it emphasises that it is the disadvantageous aspects of an individual's self that are being referred to. That is, *get your shit together* implies that one is panicking or acting in a manner which is not appropriate in the context – the individual is asked to eliminate the possible and undesired idiosyncrasies, i.e. *shit*.

4.1.1.12 SHIT IS (A PILE OF) MINCED BEEF

It is not absolutely clear to which quality *shit* refers in the expression *shit on a shingle* 'minced beef on toast' (*CDS* s.v.). What is clear is that *shit* refers to minced beef here, but it is not equally clear which quality is shared by the two. For example, it may be the colour of cooked meat or its form (i.e. a small pile).

Table 16. The expression in which *shit* refers to minced beef.

SHIT IS (A PILE OF) MINCED BEEF (1)
shit on a shingle (noun) US [1930s+]

4.1.1.13 Unmapped Expressions

There are nine expressions which could not be mapped for various reasons (see Table 17 for the expressions and their meaning). At least in six of them it is difficult to pinpoint the target domain of *shit*. For example, the expression *have shit on the liver* means 'to be irritable' (*NPD* s.v.) but even though the definition is straightforward, it is not clear which word denotes irritability in the expression. The expressions *shit and shinola*; *shit green* 'to be extremely shocked; to be enraged; to be afraid' (*CDS* s.v. *shit green* v., senses 1-3); *shit-kicker* 'a prostitute' (*NPD* s.v. *shit-kicker* n., sense 4); *shitringer*; and *shittalay* are equally difficult to analyse. Even if it is possible to infer that, for example, *shit* in *shit-ringer* does refer to a stockman (who used to call people – hence *ringer*), it is impossible to say for certain which quality of the stockman is emphasized. I have decided to leave such cases unmapped.

Table 17. Unmapped expressions and some of the definitions.

UNMAPPED (9)	Source
have shit on the liver (verb) AUS (1935) ' to be irritable'	*NPD* s.v.
shit and shinola (noun) US (1948) 'in poker, three two's'	*NPD* s.v.
shit green US [1960s+] (many senses; see main text)	*CDS* s.v.
shit-kicker (noun) US (1967) 'a prostitute'	*NPD* s.v.
shit on (verb) UK [1970s+] 'to deal with comprehensively'	*CDS* s.v.
shit-ringer (noun) AUS [1940s+] 'a stockman'	*CDS* s.v.
shittalay (noun) US (1992) 'a Chevrolet car'	*NPD* s.v.
shit-fight (noun) UK [1990s+] 'a bitterly contested struggle'	*CDS* s.v.
shitfire (adverb) UK [1960s] 'enthusiastically, energetically'	*CDS* s.v.

The remaining two expressions, i.e. *shit on* and *shit-fight*, are to some extent clear in terms of the target domain of *shit*. However, the target domain is difficult to pinpoint due to its abstract and ambiguous nature. For example, does the verb *shit on* refer to some kind of investigation or study?

It is not unequivocally clear what 'to deal with comprehensively' means and the dictionaries consulted do not provide any more context to disambiguate the definition. Similarly, 'a bitterly contested struggle' is too vague a definition to enable one to decide what exactly the word *shit* refers to in *shit-fight*.

4.2 Expressions Based on the Word *Piss*

The number of expressions built round the word *piss* is slightly lower than that of expressions built round the word *shit*: in total, there are 182 expressions based on the word *piss*. With its 150 entries, *CDS* is the most abundant source for the expressions. Perhaps this is due to the fact that *CDS* collects expressions from the 16th century onward and because its primary interest seems to lie within British English (although it covers many other regions), where *piss* may be a more common word in expressions. Nevertheless, each dictionary has entries which the other works do not list. For example, *NPD* has 24 entries that *CDS* does not have, whereas *RDM* has two entries which neither *NPD* nor *CDS* have. Similarly, both *DAS* and *DCS* contribute three more expressions to the list of entries collected from the aforementioned dictionaries.

Interestingly, some words based on the word *piss* are similar to those built round the word *shit* in terms of their referents. For example, both types of expressions refer to particular forms of sexuality: cf. *shit-stabber* 'a male homosexual' (*NPD* s.v.) and *piss freak* 'a person who derives sexual satisfaction from being urinated on' (*CDS* s.v.). These expressions are also similar to one another in that their root word is employed non-figuratively: *shit* is used to refer to excrement, while *piss* refers to urine. In addition to *piss freak*, there are many more expressions of similar kind. In fact, there are as many as 35 expressions where *piss* is used in a literal sense (see Table 18).

Table 18. Expressions in which *piss* is used non-figuratively.

Type	Meaning	Expressions	Freq.
Literal	Urine/ Urination	*piss blood* (verb); *piss broken glass* (verb); *piss ice water* (verb); *piss in a quill* (verb); *piss on ice* (verb); *piss out of a dozen holes* (verb); *piss razor blades* (verb); *piss pins and needles* (verb); *piss-test* (verb); *piss up a storm* (verb2); *piss when one cannot whistle* (verb); *piss call* (noun); *piss-factory* (noun); *piss fat* (noun); *piss flaps* (noun); *piss freak* (noun); *piss hard* (verb); *piss hard-on* (noun); *piss-hole bandit* (noun); *pissholes in the snow* (noun); *piss-horn* (noun); *pissing place* (noun); *piss-kitchen* (noun); *pissoir* (noun); *piss pipe* (noun); *piss play* (noun); *pisspot juggler* (noun); *piss prophet* (noun); *piss-proud* (adjective); *piss slave* (noun); *piss test* (noun); *piss-to-windward* (noun); *piss tube*, *pee pipe* (noun); *piss-warm* (adjective); *pissy weed* (noun)	35

As can be expected, in verb expressions *piss* tends to refer to urination. In such expressions the latter part of an expression is a central contributing element of meaning. For example, in the expression *piss blood* 'to work extremely hard', 'to worry excessively, to make a great fuss', and 'to suffer a great deal' (*CDS* s.v. *piss blood v.*, senses 1-3) it is the word *blood* which conveys hard work, anxiety and suffering (different meanings of *blood* will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.3). Interestingly, many verb phrases tend to denote pain or its cause: e.g. *piss broken glass*, *piss razor blades* and *piss pins and needles* all have the same meaning: 'to have a venereal disease' (*CDS* s.v.). Another similar expression is *piss out of a dozen holes*, which is used of a man who is 'infected with syphilis' (*CDS* s.v.) In one expression *piss* is accompanied by a phrase which denotes affluence: *piss on ice* 'to live well' (*DAS* s.v.). The expression originated from "the practice of putting cakes of *ice* in the urinals of expensive restaurants and clubs" (ibid.).

Similarly to verb phrases, the noun phrases based on the word *piss* are also of various kinds. For example, many expressions denote erection: e.g. *piss fat* and *piss hard-on* 'an erection caused by a full bladder' (*NPD* s.v.); *piss-horn* 'the erection with which a man awakes, due as much to the need to urinate as to the desire for sex' (*CDS* s.v.). Some expressions are quite self-explanatory: e.g. *piss-test* 'a urine analysis' (*CDS* s.v.); *piss tube/ pee pipe* 'a metal tube partially buried in the ground, into which soldiers urinate' (*NPD* s.v.); *piss pipe* 'the male urinary tract' (*CDS* s.v.); *piss-warm* 'tepid, lukewarm in an unpleasant way' (*CDS* s.v.). In contrast to these expressions, some

expressions have figurative elements in them: e.g. *piss prophet* 'a physician who makes all their diagnoses on the basis of inspecting the patient's urine' (*CDS* s.v.); *pisspot juggler* 'a chambermaid' (*CDS* s.v.).

In some cases it is difficult to determine whether *piss* is employed in its literal sense or not. For instance, it is clear that the noun phrase *piss-to-windward* 'an entirely inept person' (*NPD* s.v.) is used figuratively. After all, it does not imply that a person literally urinates against wind; instead, it indicates that the person in question is capable of doing something so unproductive. In the light of the above, one could suggest that it is used figuratively to indicate that the person is incompetent to evaluate surrounding circumstances. On the other hand, the word *piss* inside the phrase is used non-figuratively. That is, in order for the expression to work, one has to understand that *piss* refers to urination. The expression consists of many elements and in order for it to work every element has to be taken literally. Together the elements produce a caricature of a person doing something very unproductive and by doing so they illustrate an epitome of carelessness. On the grounds of *piss* being employed non-figuratively in the expression and the expression becoming figurative only as the result of adding each non-figurative element together, I have categorized the expression as non-figurative. I have applied the same approach in regard to the expression *piss in a quill* 'to agree on a plan' (*CDS* s.v.), which, according to *CDS*, may have originated from "the narrowness of the quill and the need to bend the flow of urine to achieve the feat" (s.v.).

All in all, the expressions in the above table will not be examined any further since the word *piss* is not employed figuratively in them. Consequently, the analysis will consist of the remaining 147 expressions.

4.2.1 Target Domains of *Piss*

Interestingly, the expressions in which *piss* has a figurative meaning tend to be almost as frequently polysemous as the expressions based on the word *shit*. One word is exceptional in this regard: with

its 19 different senses the noun *pisser* is the most polysemous word among the studied expressions (*CDS* s.v.; *NPD* s.v.; *DAS* s.v.; see Appendix 1). Consequently, it will belong to a number of conceptual metaphors – this will also be the case with other polysemous expressions. Moreover, in some of the expressions the words *piss* and *shit* may be used interchangeably as long as the other parts of the expression are preserved: e.g. the expression *shit in* 'to win easily' (*NPD* s.v.) and *piss in* 'to achieve with ease' (*CDS* s.v.) are very similar in meaning. The expressions are also similar as regards their region of use: both of them are labelled as New Zealand English (*CDS* s.v.). Other expressions in which the words *shit* and *piss* may be employed interchangeable are *shit or get off the pot* and *piss or get off the pot* "[m]eaning either make a decision or let someone else do it" (*CDS* s.v.).

The above expressions indicate that *shit* and *piss* have similar qualities or that we conceptualise them similarly. In this section I will examine the domains onto which the expressions built round the word *piss* are mapped. I will start with the most popular conceptual metaphors.

4.2.1.1 PISS IS A TYPE OF LIQUID

Since urine is a liquid it is not surprising that the most frequent referent of the word *piss* in the expressions is some other **type of liquid** (Table 19). After all, it is easy to find similarities between *piss* and other liquids. However, it seems that similarity is not the basis of figurative language as regards the word *piss*. The findings of the study support the view of cognitive linguists according to which conceptual metaphors are based on a variety of human experience. This is demonstrated by the large number of expressions in which *piss* refers to **alcohol**. Even though *piss* and alcohol are both liquids, it seems that we associate *piss* with alcohol because we experience the existence of a causal relationship between the two: a large consumption of alcohol beverages (e.g. beer) is often accompanied by a full bladder.

Table 19. Expressions in which *piss* refers to a type of liquid.

PISS IS A TYPE OF LIQUID (54)	
PISS IS ALCOHOL (46)	piss (money) against the wall; piss it up the wall UK [late 15C+]
on the piss (AUS) (1965...1999)	pisso (noun) AUS [1960s]
piss artist (noun) UK [1940s+]	piss on (verb) AUS (1998)
piss-ass drunk (adjective) UK [1940s+]	piss(-)pot (noun) UK [1960s+]
piss cutter / piss-cutter (noun) US [1940s+]	piss-quick (noun) UK [early 19C]
pissed (adjective) UK [20C+]	piss-tank (noun) UK [20C+]
pissed as a ... (phr.) UK [20C+]	piss-up (noun) UK [1950s+]
pissed as a bastard (adjective) UK (2003)	couldn't organise a piss-up in a brewery (expression) UK (1984)
pissed as a chook (phr.) N.Z. [1980s+]	piss up (verb) N.Z. (1998)
pissed as a cunt (adjective) UK (1961)	piss up; piss up large (verb) N.Z. (1998)
pissed as a fart; pissed as a brewer's fart (adjective) UK [1960s+]	pissy (noun) AUS (1979)
pissed as a newt (adjective) AUS [1950s+]	pissy (adjective) UK [1970s+]
pissed as an owl (adjective) AUS (1977)	pissy-arsed (adjective) UK [1940s+]
pissed as a parrot (adjective) AUS (1977+)	pissy-drunk (adjective) US [1990s+]
pissed as a rat (adjective) UK [1980s+]	pissy-eyed (adjective) N.Z. [1980s+]
pissed as arseholes (adjective) UK [1940s+]	pissy pal (noun) UK [late 19C+]
pissed as a twat (adjective) UK (2003)	pissy-pukey (adjective) US [1960s]
pissed out of your mind; pissed out of your skull (AUS) (1969)	**PISS IS RAIN (4)**
pissed to the ears (adjective) UK [1960s+]	piss down (verb) UK [1920s+]
pissed to the eyeballs (adjective) AUS [1990s+]	pisser (noun) UK [1920s+]
pissed to the gills (adjective) US [1970s+]	piss on (verb) UK [1950s+]
pissed up (adjective) UK (1999...2001)	piss upon (verb) UK [1950s+]
pisser (noun) N.Z. (1998)	**PISS IS ANIMAL SECRETION (2)**
pisser (noun) UK [1980s]	pisser (noun) AUS (1980)
pisser (noun) IRISH [2000s]	pisswhacker (noun) AUS (1981)
piss-head/ pisshead (noun) UK [1950s+]	**PISS IS OIL (1)**
pissing fou (adjective) UK [19C]	piss cutter (noun) US (1954)
piss it on the walls/ out the window/ up the wall (verb) UK [late 15C+]	**PISS IS SWEAT (1)**
piss it up (verb) UK [1960s+] 'to drink'	piss one's tallow (verb) UK [late 17C]
piss-maker (noun) UK [late 18C-early 19C]	

As the table above illustrates, in a substantial number of expressions *piss* refers to alcohol, which indicates that our experiences with *piss* are strongly associated with intoxication. It is important to notice that there are many expressions starting with the same phrase *pissed as ...*, which is used in many combinations to convey that someone is 'very drunk' (*CDS* s.v.). In the commentary *CDS* calls this phenomenon overlexicalisation (s.v. *pissed as ...*). There are as many as

10 expressions which use the phrase *pissed as ...* as their foundation. Another similar construction is *pissed to the ears/eyeballs/gills* 'extremely drunk' (*CDS* s.v.). There are also many compounds in which *piss* refers to alcohol: e.g. *piss artist* 'a heavy drinker' (*NPD* s.v.); *piss-cutter* 'a drunken spree' (*CDS* s.v. *piss cutter* n., sense 4); *piss-tank* 'a drunkard' (*CDS* s.v.).

Some expressions which are included in the category PISS IS ALCOHOL do not have as strong a link between *piss* and alcohol as others. For example, the expressions *piss it on the walls* and *piss (money) against the wall* may mean 'to squander or waste money' generally (*NPD* s.v.) or 'to waste money on drink' (*CDS* s.v.). According to *CDS*, the origin of the expressions lies in "the idea of 'wasting' a drink – and therefore money – by urinating afterwards" (s.v.). Interestingly, the idea of wasting in regard to *piss* recurs in a number of expressions. This will be discussed later.

As regards the other expressions in which *piss* refers to alcohol, the noun *pisser* has a number of meanings many of which are close to one another semantically. For example, *pisser* may refer to 'a pub' (*NPD* s.v. *pisser* n., sense 8), 'a drunkard' (*CDS* s.v. *pisser* n., sense 11), and 'a heavy drinking session' (*CDS* s.v. *pisser* n., sense 12). This illustrates how *piss* implies the schema for alcohol consumption in general, not only the liquid.

Another liquid which is referred to by the word *piss* is **rainwater**: e.g. *pisser* 'a day on which it rains heavily and continuously' (*CDS* s.v. *pisser* n., sense 5); *piss down* 'to rain heavily' (*NPD* s.v.); *piss on* 'to drench with rain' (*CDS* s.v. *piss on* v., sense 3). It is difficult to pinpoint which experience causes this kind of association. Perhaps it is the spatial context in which both urination and rain may occur. For example, many may urinate outside and the sounds which are caused by the falling effluvia onto the surrounding objects may be associated with the similar sound caused by rain. In any case, there are many similarities on which one may draw on in associating rain with urine.

The other categories are considerably smaller than those covered above. For example, PISS IS ANIMAL SECRETION consists of only two expressions, which, in fact, refer to the same entity:

pisser and *pisswhacker* 'a type of cicada which releases a liquid when held' (*NPD* s.v *pisser* n., sense 10; *NPD* s.v. *pisswhacker* n.). The smallest categories, i.e. PISS IS OIL and PISS IS SWEAT, both contain only one expression: *piss cutter* 'in oil drilling, the third man on a cable tool rig' (*NPD* s.v. *piss cutter* n., sense 3) and *piss one's tallow* 'to sweat' (*CDS* s.v. *piss one's tallow* v., sense 2).

It is difficult to suggest one unequivocal reason which would explain why *piss* is associated with certain types of liquid. The common denominator that the liquids in the categories illustrated in the above table share seems to be movement. For example, to consume alcohol one has to *pour* it. Similarly, rain *falls*, cicadas *release* liquid, oil is *pumped* which causes it to *flow*, whereas sweat is *passed* through a skin. Hence, it may be the case that *piss* refers to only such liquids which involve movement one way or another. On the other hand, is movement and ability to flow not characteristic of all liquids?

4.2.1.2 PISS IS OF LITTLE OR NO VALUE

There are a number of parallels between *piss* and *shit* in terms of their referents: in many expressions *piss* also refers to **worthlessness** (Table 20). For example, there are 12 expressions in which *piss* refers to **wasting something**: e.g. *piss about* 'to waste time, to mess about' (*CDS* s.v. *piss about* v., sense 1); *piss away* 'to waste or squander something' (*NPD* s.v.) and *piss in the wind* 'to engage in hapless, futile activity' (*NPD* s.v.). Why *piss* denotes wasting in so many expressions may be explained by the oldest expression in the category. As the definition of *piss (money) against the wall* 'to waste money on drink; thus to waste money in general' (*CDS* s.v.) suggests, *piss* is often associated with consumption of alcohol, which is viewed as a futile and expensive activity.

Table 20. Expressions in which *piss* denotes worthlessness.

PISS IS OF LITTLE VALUE (23)	
PISS IS (TO) WASTE (12)	**PISS IS WORTHLESS (7)**
piss about (verb) UK [20C+] (sense 1)	I wouldn't piss in your ear if your brain was on fire (phr.) AUS (1985)
pissant (around) (verb) AUS [1940s+] (sense 1)	I wouldn't piss on you if you were on fire (phr.) UK (1994)
piss around (verb) UK [20C+]	piss and wind UK [1920s+]
piss-arse about (verb) UK [1920s+]	piss-ass (adjective) US [1950s+]
piss away (verb) UK [20C+]	pissing contest (noun) US (futile contest)
piss-ball about (verb) UK [1920s+]	piss-in-the-wind (adjective) UK [1990s+]
piss-fart around (verb) AUS (1988 ... 2002)	pissy-ass (adjective) US [1950s+]
piss in the wind (noun) UK [1960s+]	**PISS IS A LIE (4)**
piss-in-the-wind (adjective) UK [1990s+]	piss elegant (noun) UK [1960s]
piss in(to) the wind (verb) UK [1960s+]	piss-elegant (adjective) UK [1940s+]
piss it on the walls/ out the window/ up the wall (verb) UK [late 15C+]	pull your pisser (verb) UK (1969 ... 2001)
piss (money) against the wall; piss it up the wall UK [late 15C+]	piss on one's foot (or in one's pocket) and call it rain (verb) US (by 1980s)

In a number of expressions *piss* is a worthless entity. This is especially the case as regards the expressions *I wouldn't piss in your ear if your brain was on fire* 'I could not care less about you' (*NPD* s.v.) and *I wouldn't piss on you if you were on fire* "used for expressing the utmost personal contempt" (*NPD* s.v.). In these expressions *piss* is implied to be worthless to such an extent that its preservation in critical moments (e.g. saving someone's life) is seen as the epitome of contempt towards the person who is at risk. Other expressions which belong to the category PISS IS WORTHLESS are ambiguous to an extent, as the word *piss* does not directly denote worthlessness in them. For example, the expression *piss and wind* means 'empty talk' (*CDS* s.v. *piss and wind* n., sense 1), whereas the adjective *piss-ass* means 'insignificant, useless' (*CDS* s.v. *piss-ass* adj., sense 1). Moreover, the categories PISS IS (TO) WASTE and PISS IS WORTHLESS are close to one another in that some expressions can be justifiably placed in both of them: e.g. *piss-in-the-wind* 'pointless, time-wasting' (*CDS* s.v.).

The similarity between the words *shit* and *piss* is manifested by another quality: *piss* can also refer to a lie, although this occurs less commonly. In contrast to the 12 expressions in which *shit* refers to **a lie**, there are only 4 expressions of that nature as regards *piss*: e.g. *piss elegant* 'a pretentious, ostentatious, self-obsessed male homosexual' (*CDS* s.v.); *pull your pisser* 'to befool, or mislead, or tease someone' (*NPD* s.v.). In some of these expressions *piss* does not explicitly refer to deception (e.g. *piss elegant*); however, it implies falsehood in one way or another.

4.2.1.3 PISS IS ABUSE

Another aspect in which the expressions built round the word *piss* parallel those based on the word *shit* is their tendency to refer to **a type of abuse**. There are 23 expressions in which this is the case (Table 21). Among these expressions *piss* most frequently refers to **rudeness** or **harm** (10 expressions): e.g. *piss all over* 'to treat contemptuously' (*CDS* s.v. *piss all over* v., sense 1); *pissballing* 'mean, contemptuous' (*CDS* s.v.); *piss cutter* 'a person who disparages a friend' (*NPD* s.v. *piss cutter* n., sense 2); *piss upon* 'to treat contemptuously' (*CDS* s.v. *piss upon* v., sense 1); *piss into someone's tent* 'to impinge upon another's interests (*NPD* s.v.). It is not surprising that *piss* is associated with rudeness and harm. After all, bladder evacuation is considered taboo and as such may be perceived as rude in public places. Moreover, urinating on someone's property decreases the value of the property or even renders it worthless, which suggests that urine is harmful.

On the grounds suggested above it is also possible to explain why *piss* refers to many other entities in the below table. For example, *piss* also refers to **destroying something**, as is the case with the two expressions in the category PISS IS RUINING: both *piss on someone's parade* and *piss-parade* mean 'to shatter illusions, to ruin an otherwise satisfactory situation' (*CDS* s.v.). Destroying and harming are semantically very close to each other and it is not surprising that *piss* refers to both kinds of activity.

Table 21. Expressions in which *piss* denotes abuse.

PISS IS ABUSE (23)	
PISS IS HARM(ING)/DAMAGE (10)	**PISS IS SATIRE/MOCKERY/PARODY (5)**
piss all over (someone) (verb) UK [17C+]	take the piss out of AUS (1976...2001)
piss around (verb) UK [20C+]	piss-take (noun) UK [1970s+]
piss-arse about (verb) UK [1920s+]	piss-take (verb) UK [1940s+]
pissballing (adjective) UK [2000s]	piss-taker (noun) UK [1990s+]
piss cutter / piss-cutter (noun) BAHAMAS (1982)	piss-taking (noun) UK [1940s+]
piss in someone's pool (verb) US	**PISS IS DISRESPECTFUL (2)**
piss into someone's tent (verb) UK (2002)	pissing-tail (adjective) W.I. [20C+]
piss on (verb) UK [17C+]	pissy-tail (adjective) W.I. [20C+]
piss on someone's chips/sandwiches (verb) UK [1980s+]	**PISS IS COCKY/ARROGANT (1)**
piss upon (verb) UK [17C+]	pissy (adjective) UK [1950s+]
PISS IS RUINING (2)	**PISS IS IRRITATING (1)**
piss on someone's parade (verb) US [1970s+]	piss about (verb) UK [1980s+] (sense 3)
piss-parade (verb) W.I. [1970s+]	**PISS IS REJECTION (1)**
PISS IS HUMILIATING (1)	piss off! (exclamation) UK [1910s+]
piss on someone's shoe (verb) US [1970s]	

In some expressions *piss* denotes a different type of abuse from the ones discussed so far. For example, in one expression *piss* refers to **humiliation**: *piss on someone's shoe* 'to humiliate' (*CDS* s.v.). There are also instances in which *piss* denotes **mockery**: e.g. *take the piss out of* 'to satirise someone or something' (*NPD* s.v.) and *piss-take* 'an act of mockery or teasing' (*NPD* s.v.). That is, *piss* is not only associated with physical abuse but also mental abuse. This is also manifested by the expressions in which *piss* refers to **arrogance**, i.e. *pissy* 'cocky, arrogant' (*CDS* s.v. *pissy* adj.3, sense 1), **disrespect**, i.e. *pissing-tail* 'disrespectful, bumptious' (*CDS* s.v. *pissing-tail* adj., sense 1), or to **irritating behaviour**, i.e. *piss about* 'to irritate or tease someone' (*CDS* s.v. *piss about* v., sense 3). Perhaps the mildest kind of abuse to which *piss* refers is **rejection**: *piss off!* 'an excl[amation] of rejection, dismissal' (*CDS* s.v.).

All in all, *piss* refers to a wide range of abuse in the studied expressions. It seems that the taboo and unpleasant qualities of urine motivate our associations with abuse. That is, emptying one's bladder onto a person or object is experienced as abuse.

4.2.1.4 PISS IS AN EMOTION

Another frequent referent of *piss* in the studied expressions is **a certain emotion**: there are 23 expressions in which this is the case (Table 22). In seven expressions *piss* denotes **annoyance**: e.g. *pissed* 'angry, annoyed' (*NPD* s.v.); *pissed off* 'furious, very annoyed' (*CDS* s.v.); *pisser* 'an annoyance' (*RDM* s.v. *pisser* n., sense 3); and *piss on a nettle* 'to be annoyed, uneasy, tetchy' (*CDS* s.v.). According to *DCS,* the expression *pissed off* "emerged at the time of World War II" (s.v.); however, it is difficult determine what caused *piss* to be associated with irritation. It is equally difficult to find a connection between *piss* and **anger**, to which *piss* refers in five expressions: e.g. *pissed off* 'angry' (*NPD* s.v.); *piss in one's pants* 'to be furious' (*CDS* s.v. *pissed in one's pants* v., sense 3); *piss-making* 'infuriating' (*CDS* s.v.).

Table 22. Expressions in which *piss* refers to a certain emotion.

PISS IS AN EMOTION (23)	
PISS IS ANNOYANCE (7)	**PISS IS ANGER (5)**
pissed (adjective) US [1950s+]	pissed off (adjective) US [1940s+]
pissed off (adjective) US [1940s+]	piss in one's pants (verb) UK [1920s+]
pisser (noun) US (1943 ...2001) (*NPD* sense 5)	piss-making (adjective) US Black [1990s+]
piss-off (noun) UK [1980s+]	pissy (adjective) UK [1970s+]
piss-off (adjective) UK [1990s+]	pissy-fit (noun) UK (2011)
piss (someone) off (verb) UK [1950s+]	**PISS IS CONTEMPT (2)**
piss on a nettle (verb) UK [mid-16C – mid-18C]	piss on (verb) UK [17C+]
PISS IS FEAR (5)	piss upon (verb) UK [17C+]
piss bullets (verb) US [1940s+]	**PISS IS EXCITEMENT(1)**
piss in one's pants (verb) UK [1920s+]	piss one's pants (verb) US [1920s+]
piss one's pants (verb) UK [late 18C; 1960s+]	**PISS IS EXHAUSTION (1)**
piss-weak (adjective) AUS (1979 ... 1987)	pissed out (adjective) US [1960s+]
piss-willie (noun) US [1970s]	**PISS IS DISAPPOINTMENT(1)**
PISS IS INTEREST (1)	piss flaps (interj.) AUS (1985 ...2002)
piss in one's pants (verb) UK [1920s+]	

As the expressions in the categories PISS IS ANNOYANCE and PISS IS ANGER suggest, some overlap occurs. For example, *pissed off* may mean not only 'furious' but also 'very annoyed' (*CDS* s.v.). The fact that overlap occurs indicates how close annoyance and anger are to each other

semantically. Perhaps this is due to annoyance often being followed by anger. That is, anger may frequently be caused by annoyance.

Another category which shares an expression with the category PISS IS ANGER is the category PISS IS FEAR. Namely, *piss in one's pants* may also mean 'to be terrified' (*CDS* s.v. *piss in one's pants* v., sense 2). As regards the other expressions of the category, *piss* refers to either **cowardice**: e.g. *piss-weak* 'puny and cowardly' (*NPD* s.v.) or **fear**: e.g. *piss bullets* 'to be terrified' (*CDS* s.v.). In contrast to the categories PISS IS ANGER and PISS IS ANNOYANCE, it is easier to explain how PISS IS FEAR may have emerged from our experiences. At least in popular culture, fear-induced bowel and bladder evacuation is a fairly common eventuality. Moreover, it is undeniable that stress affects our brain's stress response systems, which in turn have certain effects on our body (Mawson 2012: 7-8). For example, visceral changes are known to have caused, among many things, "increases in defecation ... [and] changes in urination" (Cameron 2001: 28). Indeed, fear may start our fight-or-flight reaction, which in turn is manifested by a number of symptoms in our body (e.g. involuntary sweating) (Muse 2012: 92-93; Springhouse 2003: 118).

In addition to the above category, *piss in one's pants* may also mean 'to be very keen' (*CDS* s.v. *piss in one's pants* v., sense 4), which constitutes the category PISS IS INTEREST. The core emotion here seems to be excitement, which may be associated with *piss* for the same reasons as fear. As regards the other small categories, they tend to contain expressions in which *piss* has a negative meaning: e.g. *piss on* 'to despise or feel contempt for someone or something' (*NPD* s.v. *piss on* v., sense 1); *pissed out* 'exhausted, finished' (*CDS* s.v.); *piss flaps*, which is said to be used as an exclamation of disappointment[9] (*NPD* s.v.).

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[9] *NPD* uses the definition listed in *Roger's Profanisaurus* (1997). The same meaning is still given in *Roger's Profanisaurus: The Magna Farta* (2008): *piss flaps* '[e]xclamation of disappointment' (s.v. *piss flaps* interj., sense 2).

4.2.1.5 PISS IS EXTRAORDINARY

It has been established that in a number of expressions *shit* refers to positive qualities such as exceptionality. In this regard *piss* is similar. It has positive connotations in as many as 23 expressions (Table 23). Most frequently *piss* is used as an intensifier to indicate **exceptionality**, e.g. *piss-awful* 'very bad, very unpleasant' (*CDS* s.v.); *piss-ass drunk* 'extremely drunk' (*CDS* s.v.); *pissy* 'extremely' (*NPD* s.v.); *piss-sick* 'utterly contemptuous' (*CDS* s.v.); and *pisser* 'an extraordinary person or thing' (*NPD* s.v. *pisser* n., sense 4).

Table 23. Expressions in which *piss* refers to extraordinariness.

PISS IS EXTRAORDINARY (23)	
PISS IS VERY/EXCEPTIONAL (15)	**PISS IS VICTORY (3)**
piss-awful (adjective) UK [1970s+]	piss all over (someone) (verb) UK [17C+]
piss-ass drunk (adjective) UK [1940s+]	pissant (around) (verb) AUS [1940s+]
piss-easy / piss easy (adjective) N.Z. [1980s+]	piss it in (verb) AUS (1996)
piss-elegance (noun) UK [1960s+]	**PISS IS COMPETENCE (4)**
piss-elegant (adjective) US [1940s+]	piss it (verb) UK [1970s+]
pisser (noun) US (1943 ...1972) (*NPD* sense 4)	piss in (verb) N.Z. [1980s+]
piss-poor/ piss poor (adjective) UK (1946)	piss it in (verb) AUS (1996)
piss(-)pot (noun) US (1993)	piss through (verb) UK [1910s+]
piss-sick (adjective) UK [1990s+]	**PISS IS ENERGY (1)**
piss-ugly (adjective) US [1980s+]	piss and vinegar (noun) US [1920s+]
piss-walloper (noun) US [1900s]	
piss-warmer (noun) CAN [20C+]	
pissy (adverb) BAHAMAS (1982)	
pissy-drunk (adjective) US [1990s+]	
pissy-pukey (adjective) US [1960s]	

There are also some instances in which *piss* denotes **victory** or **superiority over others**: e.g. *piss all over (someone)* 'to thoroughly defeat, or humiliate or overwhelm' (*DCS* s.v.), *pissant (around)* 'to defeat, to outwit' (*CDS* s.v. *pissant (around)* v., sense 2). Similarly, *piss* may also refer to **competence**: e.g. *piss it* 'to succeed or achieve very easily' (*NPD* s.v.); *piss in* 'to achieve with ease' (*CDS* s.v.). However, whether the expressions refer to competence is not absolutely clear: the meanings are ambiguous and not explicit. After all, *piss in* may imply either that a task is easy or

that the person working towards finishing the task is exceptionally competent. Hence, there is also a separate category PISS IS EASY, which will be discussed in later sections. Another ambiguous expression is the expression in the category PISS IS ENERGY: *piss and vinegar* 'energy, enthusiasm' (*NPD* s.v.). It is not unequivocally clear what *piss* refers to in the expression. In any case it seems to have a positive connotation, which is why it is grouped with the other expressions in the category PISS IS EXTRAORDINARY.

Why we refer to extraordinary qualities employing the word *piss* is difficult to determine. As such, it does not have any positive connotations which would motivate its use as a positive intensifier; but then again, in many expressions *piss* is used as a negative intensifier. For example, *piss* is combined with the word *awful* to mean 'very bad, very unpleasant' (*CDS* s.v. *piss-awful* adj.). Similarly, *piss-poor* means 'extremely poor or feeble' (*NPD* s.v.). That is, we draw on the negative qualities which we associate with *piss* and we refer to these qualities in modifying the other parts of an expression. Thus, *piss-poor* is very poor because *piss* has negative connotations; we might, for example, perceive *piss* as waste or something else which is of little value. Similarly, we draw on the features with which we associate *piss* (e.g. alcohol, intoxication) in the expression *pissy-drunk* 'very drunk' (*CDS* s.v.).

As regards the expressions in the category PISS IS VICTORY, *piss* seems to be employed with reference to "[t]he image ... from the literal behaviour of animals or humans ritually signalling victory" (*DCS* s.v. *piss all over* v.). In other words, we may associate *piss* with victory because we experienced (i.e. perceived) it as a signal of victory. Whether it is actually true that humans urinate or had urinated ritually on those they have defeated in, for example, a fight or war, is not as relevant as understanding that to us it indicates domination and thus victory over others. It may be the case that *piss* implies defeat because one has to be defeated very severely in order not to be in a condition to dodge another person's urine.

All in all, in using the word *piss* we seem to draw on what we may have experienced. For example, *piss* may be associated with vigour or energy because younger children may have a faster metabolism as the result of which they can empty their bladder more frequently. Moreover, at a young age children are learning to control their bodily functions. Consequently, learning to empty one's bladder appropriately – and in the right context – becomes one of the most important steps towards the institutions of society (e.g. nursery school, school) and thus also successful socialisation. Could we associate *piss* with vigour because of the aforementioned aspect? There is no substantial evidence which would confirm this. It is important to note that in many cases it is difficult if not impossible to pinpoint the experience which motivates us to conceptualise the world around us the way we do. In such cases one can only hypothesize about the possible motivations. In fact, our experiences alone do not necessarily always explain why we use words in a certain way. For example, *DCS* suggests that *piss it* 'to succeed effortlessly' (s.v.) may have its origins in *piece of piss* 'a ridiculously easy task' (*DCS* s.v. *piss it* v.).

What is surprising and noteworthy is that *piss* does not refer to older people in any expressions even though a number of features associated with the elderly could motivate this link. For example, it is a studied fact that the elderly may lose control of their sphincter muscles with age**,** which would result in involuntary voiding (Saxon et al. 2014: 55). Moreover, high blood sugar level, which the elderly tend to suffer from more frequently than younger individuals, can manifest itself through more frequent urination (ibid., p.: 232)**.** One would think that these aspects would somehow be reflected in the conceptual metaphors where the word *piss* is a central part of meaning. And yet they are not. Whether we associate *piss* with youth and energy because there is a stronger connection between urination and younger children than, for example, adults, is uncertain. However, if this were the case, one would also expect *piss* to refer to the elderly. What may explain the possible discrepancy is that slang is employed and coined mainly by the young and therefore it is their experiences which are reflected by the studied conceptual metaphors.

4.2.1.6 PISS IS REPULSIVE

There are 19 expressions in which *piss* refers to something repulsive (Table 24). For example, in nine expressions *piss* denotes **despicability**: e.g. *piss artist* 'a general term of abuse' (*CDS* s.v. *piss artist* n., sense 2); *piss-ass* 'despicable, unworthy, inconsequential' (*NPD* s.v.); *piss-head* 'an obnoxious person' (*CDS* s.v. *piss-head* n., sense 2). Another type of repulsiveness is manifested in eight expressions. In these expressions *piss* denotes **unpleasantness**: e.g. *piss-head* 'an unpleasant person (*DCS* s.v. *piss-head* n., sense 2); *piss-pot* 'an unpleasant person' (*CDS* s.v. *piss-pot* n., sense 2).

There are two expressions which are shared by the categories PISS IS DESPICABLE and PISS IS UNPLEASANT, i.e. *piss-head* and *piss(-)pot*. This is due to the fact that a single expression carries different overtones of meaning. Furthermore, the same expressions seem to be used in a number of contexts, which is indicated by the way dictionaries define them. That is, many expressions are defined through various words, which are, however, semantically very close to each other.

Table 24. Expressions in which *piss* refers to something repulsive.

PISS IS REPULSIVE (19)	
PISS IS DESPICABLE (9)	**PISS IS UNPLEASANT (8)**
piss artist (noun) UK [1940s+]	piss-head/ pisshead (noun) UK [1970s+]
piss-ass (adjective) US [1950s+]	pisshole / piss-hole (noun) UK [1950s+]
piss-bucket (noun) US [2000s]	pisshouse (noun) US und. [1930s-1940s]
piss cutter / piss-cutter (noun) US [1940s+]	pissing contest/match US (1983 ...1992)
pissface (noun) UK [1990s+]	piss(-)pot (noun) UK [late 16C+]
piss-head/ pisshead (noun) UK [1970s+]	pissy (adjective) UK [1970s+]
piss'n'tail (noun) UK [1970s]	pissy-fit (noun) UK [1970s+]
piss(-)pot (noun) US (1973)	pissy-ass (adjective) US [1950s+]
piss-willie (noun) US [1970s]	**PISS IS DIRTY (2)**
	pisshole / piss-hole (noun) UK [1950s+]
	pissy-ass (adjective) US (1975)

I have decided to include PISS IS DIRTY as a subcategory of PISS IS DESPICABLE on the grounds that dirty objects are likely to be viewed as unpleasant or even despicable (depending on the level of dirtiness). The category consists of expressions in which *piss* denotes dirtiness: e.g. *pisshole* 'any very dirty house, room or place' (*CDS* s.v. *pisshole* n., sense 2).

Interestingly, *piss* seems to be associated with many qualities with which *shit* is also associated: both are perceived as very unpleasant substances. The strong unpleasantness associated with the words *shit* and *piss* seems to motivate us to use such words in order to refer to unpleasant entities.

4.2.1.7 PISS IS SECOND-RATE

In 18 expressions *piss* refers to **various types of inferiority** (Table 25). For example, there are 10 expressions in which *piss* denotes **insignificance**: e.g. *pissing-tail* 'officious but impoverished and socially unimportant' (*CDS* s.v. *pissing tail* adj., sense 2); *piss-weak* 'puny and cowardly' (*NPD* s.v.); *pissy* 'insignificant, trivial, inferior' (*DCS* s.v.). In four expressions *piss* refers to **inferiority**: e.g. *pisshole* 'second-rate, inferior, disgusting' (*CDS* s.v.); *piss up a rope* 'go away and do something characteristically stupid' (*DAS* s.v.). The expression *piss up a rope* is grouped with the other expressions in the category PISS IS INFERIOR because in the expression *piss* means 'do something characteristically stupid' and therefore something which is substandard.

In addition to the aforementioned categories, there are also two smaller categories: PISS IS INCOMPETENCE and PISS IS FAILURE. In the expressions which comprise the category PISS IS INCOMPETENCE *piss* tends to refer to incompetence implicitly. For example, the expression *pissabed* means 'a bed-wetter' (*DCS* s.v. *pissabed* n., sense 1) and in it *piss* is used non-figuratively. However, there is another sense for the expression. Namely, it can be used as 'a general derisive epithet' (*CDS* s.v. *pissabed* n., sense 2) and in this use *piss* indicates that the person is not capable of controlling one's bladder. In other words, the expression grounds its meaning in **incompetence**. Another expression from the same category, *piss britches* 'a general term of abuse', has originated

from the meaning "one who 'wets their pants'" (*CDS* s.v.) is used in a similar manner. The category PISS IS FAILURE consists of only one expression: *piss on one's shoe*, which means 'to blunder, to fail in a task' (*CDS* s.v.).

Table 25. Expressions in which *piss* refers to inferiority.

PISS IS SECOND-RATE (18)	
PISS IS INSIGNIFICANT (10)	**PISS IS INFERIOR (SECOND-RATE) (4)**
pissant (noun) UK [1930s+]	pisshole (adjective) UK [1950s+]
pissant (adjective) UK [1960s+]	pisspot (adjective) UK [mid-17C; 1930s+]
piss boy (noun) US (1999)	piss up a rope (verb) US (1940s(+?))
pissing-tail (adjective) W.I. [20C+]	pissy (noun)
piss on (verb) UK [1930s+]	**PISS IS INCOMPETENCE (3)**
piss-weak (adjective) AUS (1979 ... 1987)	pissabed (noun) UK [mid-18C; 1920s]
pissy (noun) UK	piss britches (noun) US [1960s]
pissy (adjective) UK [1970s+]	pisspot (adjective) UK [mid-17C; 1930s+]
pissy-ass (adjective) US [1950s+]	**PISS IS FAILURE (1)**
pissy-tail (adjective) W.I. [20C+]	piss on one's shoe (verb) UK [1980s]

Why *piss* may be associated with incompetence has been discussed above but no light has been shed on why *piss* refers to insignificance or inferiority. Perhaps *piss* is associated with insignificance or inferiority because it has no financial or any other kind of value in our lives. Its supply is never-ending and everyone produces it. Hence, it is experienced as insignificant and inferior.

4.2.1.8 PISS IS A PARTICULAR KIND OF ACTION

There are 15 expressions in which *piss* refers to a particular kind of action that has not yet been discussed (Table 26). The miscellaneous actions presented under this section could not have been grouped with the previously categorized actions, e.g. PISS IS RUINING.

In the 15 expressions, **flatter** is the most frequent action to which *piss* refers (three expressions). All the expressions in the category have the same structure: *piss* functions as the verb, whereas the rest of the expression specifies the destination or target of the action, e.g. *piss down someone's back* 'to flatter someone' (*CDS* s.v.). Flatter is in *CDS* stated to be a negative quality in

connection with only one expression, i.e. *piss in someone's pocket* 'to curry favour, to be extremely close to someone, to ingratiate oneself' (*CDS* s.v.), which is noteworthy. After all, it is logical to assume that *piss* would refer to an insincere praise rather than a genuine one. Perhaps this is the case but it is not explicitly stated in the dictionary. In any case, the target of *urination* (i.e. flatter) is either someone's back or pocket, which could suggest that the phrase has negative connotations. On the other hand, urinating on someone is seldom a positive or a sought after act.

Table 26. Expressions in which *piss* refers to an action.

PISS IS A PARTICULAR KIND OF ACTION (15)	
PISS IS FLATTERY (3)	**PISS IS VOMITING (1)**
piss down someone's back (verb) UK [late 18C-early 19C]	piss up (verb) US [1960s-70s]
piss up someone's back (verb) UK [late 18C-early 19C]	**PISS IS DISCHARGING (1)**
piss in someone's pocket (verb) AUS [1920s+]	piss pure cream (verb) UK [late 19C]
PISS IS DEFECATION (1)	**PISS IS COMPLAINING (2)**
piss backwards (verb) UK [late 17C-1900s]	piss up a storm (verb1) US [20C+]
PISS IS GIVING BIRTH (2)	piss and moan (verb) US [1950s+]
piss bones (verb) UK [late 19C-1900s]	**PISS IS ANY ACTION (1)**
piss children (verb) UK [late 19C-1900s]	piss or get off the pot (phr.) UK [1930s+]
PISS IS MOVING (2)	**PISS IS EJACULATION (1)**
piss about (verb) UK [1930s+] (sense 2)	piss one's tallow (verb) UK [late 16C-17C]
piss off (verb) UK [1920s+] cf. DCS	**PISS IS LAUGHTER (1)**
	piss oneself/ yourself (verb) UK [1940s+]

In addition to flatter, *piss* can refer to DEFECATION: e.g. *piss backwards* 'to defecate' (*CDS* s.v.); GIVING BIRTH: e.g. *piss bones* 'to go into labour, to give birth' (*CDS* s.v.); MOVING: e.g. *piss about* 'to wander, to go' (*CDS* s.v. *piss about* v., sense 2); VOMITING: *piss up* 'to vomit' (*CDS* s.v.); DISCHARGING: *piss pure cream* means 'to have gonorrhoea'; the phrase *pure cream* refers to "the discharge that accompanies the sickness" (*CDS* s.v.); COMPLAINING: e.g. *piss up a storm* 'to complain strongly, to make major fuss' (*CDS* s.v. *piss up a storm* v.1); ANY ACTION: *piss or get off the pot* 'either make a decision or let someone else do it' (*CDS* s.v.), which suggests that *piss* denotes any action apparent in the context; EJACULATION: *piss one's tallow* 'of a man, to be

sufficiently sexually excited as to ejaculate (without actual intercourse)' (*CDS* s.v. *piss one's tallow* v., sense 1); and LAUGHTER: *piss oneself* 'to laugh uproariously' (*NPD* s.v.).

Some of the expressions in the categories are very visual. For example, the expression *piss backwards* in the category PISS IS DEFECATION is supposedly based on "the image ... of a woman" (*CDS* s.v.). Many categories indicate that *piss* is associated with the flow of a liquid substance: e.g. vomiting, ejaculation, discharge. That is, the conceptual metaphor PISS IS A TYPE OF LIQUID seems to be manifested in some of these categories. Some actions, on the other hand, have nothing to do with liquid: giving birth, complaining, laughter, movement, action. Interestingly, the expression *piss or get off the pot* has the same meaning as *shit or get off the pot*: the word *shit* and *piss* are interchangeable in the expression, which again illustrates the extent to which they may have the same qualities.

There is an expression in the table which is preceded by a question mark. The question mark indicates that *piss* in the expression *piss off* 'to leave, to go away' (*DSC* s.v.) does not necessarily have any meaning. According to *DCS*, "[t]he word piss [sic] has no specific significance, but adds intensity and often overtones of exasperation, both where used descriptively and as an instruction" (s.v.). Since no other dictionary suggests the same, I have decided to include the expression but with a certain caveat.

4.2.1.9 PISS IS A PARTICULAR QUALITY

There are nine expressions in which *piss* refers to a particular quality that has not yet been discussed (Table 27). The qualities covered under this section are various and could not have been grouped with other qualities previously discussed. In five expressions out of eight *piss* denotes **easiness**: e.g. *piss in* 'to achieve with ease' (*CDS* s.v.); *piss in the hand* 'anything considered very easy' (*CDS* s.v.); *piss through* 'to do something with no difficulty' (*DCS* s.v.). *CDS* sheds light on why *piss* is associated with easiness. According to *CDS*, *piss in*, for example, is used to refer to easiness because of "the natural ease of urination" (s.v.).

Table 27. Expressions in which *piss* refers to a particular quality.

PISS IS A QUALITY (9)	
PISS IS EASY (5)	**PISS IS RAPID/SHORT (1)**
piss in (verb) N.Z. [1980s+]	pissing while (noun) UK [mid-16C-17C]
piss in the hand (noun) N.Z. [1970s+]	**PISS IS AMUSING (2)**
piss it (verb) UK [1970s+]	pisser (noun) US
piss it in (verb) AUS (1996)	piss in one's pants (verb) UK [1920s+]
piss through (verb) UK [1910s+]	**PISS IS YELLOW (1)**
	piss-burned (adjective) UK [late 17C-early 19C]

In addition to easiness, *piss* may also refer to **a short amount of time** as in *pissing while* 'a short time' (*CDS* s.v.). Even though *pissing* in the expression refers to urination, I have decided to include it because *pissing*, rather than indicating urination alone, implies that urination does not take long – a feature on which the meaning of the expression is founded. In two expressions *piss* denotes **amusement**: *piss in one's pants* 'to be overcome with laughter' (*CDS* s.v.); *pisser* 'a very funny person or thing' (*DAS* s.v. *pisser* n., sense 3). The use of *piss* is explained by *CDS* to be connected with the notion that something is funny "supposedly to the extent that one wets oneself" (s.v. *piss in one's pants*). Surprisingly, there is only one expression in which *piss* is used to refer to **colour**: *piss-burned* 'discoloured, esp[ecially] of a grey wig that has turned yellow' (*CDS* s.v.). This suggests that the colour yellow is not a dominating feature of urine or that it is not a feature which necessarily catches our attention. That is, we do not associate urine with the colour because other features are more linkable to it.

4.2.1.10 PISS IS A PRISON

There are two expressions in which *piss* refers to **a prison** (Table 28): *piss can* 'a prison' (*CDS* s.v.) and *pisser* 'a solitary confinement in prison' (*NPD* s.v. *pisser* n., sense 7). It is noteworthy that *shit* also refers to prison in three expressions. Why both *shit* and *piss* refer to prison is difficult to determine unequivocally. Perhaps the association is motivated by the conditions in which many inmates live. For example, in some English speaking countries inmates who share a cell together

have only one toilet at their disposal, which means that in prison one cannot avoid being subjected

to the smell and other characteristics associated with excrement and urine.

Table 28. Expressions in which *piss* refers to a prison.

PISS IS A PRISON (2)
piss can/ piss-can/ pisscan (noun) US (1940s ...1968)
pisser (noun) US (1970s...1990) (*NPD* sense 5)

4.2.11 PISS IS SELF

There is one expression which could not be grouped with the other categories because in it the word

piss refers to an entity that is not connectable with the referents so far discussed. In the expression

piss-elegant 'a pretentious, ostentatious, self-obsessed male homosexual' (*CDS* s.v.), the word *piss*

refers to a number of things, one of which is **an individual's self** (i.e. the *self-obsessed* part of the

definition).

Table 29.The expression in which *piss* refers to an individual's self.

PISS IS SELF (1)	Source
piss-elegant (adjective) UK [1940s+] 'a pretentious, ostentatious, self-obsessed male homosexual'	*CDS* s.v.

Again, here *piss* parallels the word *shit* by referring to the same entity. Consequently, it seems

that *piss* refers to self for the same reasons as *shit*: it is the negative traits of an individual which are

denoted by the words.

4.2.12 Unmapped Expressions

In some expressions (Table 30) it is difficult to determine which entity the word *piss* denotes

because the definition does not clarify that. This is the case, for example, with the expressions *piss*

and punk 'bread and water' (*NPD* s.v.) or *piss cutter* 'a major confrontation' (*CDS* s.v.). Moreover, in

some cases an expression consists of two semantically close words as in, for example, the

expression *piss-rotten* 'appalling, unpleasant, distasteful' (*CDS* s.v.). It is not certain what function *piss* has in such cases. After all, the word *rotten* alone implies that something is unpleasant, appalling or distasteful. Rather than mapping the expressions with a degree of uncertainty, I have decided to list them separately as unmapped expressions.

Table 30. Unmapped expressions built round the word *piss*.

UNMAPPED (10)	Source
piss and punk (noun) US (1970) 'bread and water'	*NPD* s.v.
piss cutter / piss-cutter (noun) US [1940s+] 'a major confrontation'	*CDS* s.v.
pisser (noun) US (1991) 'during the Vietnam war, an observer of enemy supply trails'	*NPD* s.v.
piss-kitchen (noun) UK [mid-18C] 'a kitchen maid'	*CDS* s.v.
piss on you! (excl.) UK [1950s+] 'a general abusive exclamation'	*CDS* s.v.
piss over teakettle (phr.) UK [1990s+] 'head-over-heels'	*CDS* s.v.
piss(-)pot (noun) US (1987) 'US military M-1 helmet'	*RDM* s.v.
piss-rotten (adjective) UK [1940s+] 'appalling, unpleasant, distasteful'	*CDS* s.v.
piss upon (verb) UK [1930s+] 'to hell with it'	*CDS* s.v.
pissoliver (noun) US [20C+] 'a pistol, a revolver'	*CDS* s.v.

4.3 Expressions Based on the Word *Blood*

In comparison with the expressions built round the word *shit* or *piss*, the expressions based on the word *blood* are not equally numerous. *CDS* contains the highest number of relevant entries: 40. *NPD* includes in its inventory 21 entries which *CDS* does not list. Interestingly, *RDM* does not contribute to the list of expressions gathered from *CDS* and *NPD*. This is most likely due to the fact that *RDM* is – as the editor states – "an intended consequence of [*NPD*]" (*RDM*, p. vii). That is, many American English expressions in *RDM* are borrowed from *NPD*. Nevertheless, *RDM* does contain many American English expressions which *NPD* does not list. This, however, is not the case with expressions built round the word *blood*. Perhaps such expressions are not extensively employed in American English. It is then surprising that *DAS*, which also concentrates on slang employed in American English, adds two previously unlisted expressions. Regardless of its restricted size, *DCS* contributes three new expressions which could not be found in the above

dictionaries. Thus, the total number of the expressions built round the word *blood* and collected for the study is 66.

Not surprisingly, in some of the expressions *blood* does not have a figurative meaning. These expressions are considered non-figurative and will not be examined any further. Table 31 below illustrates which expressions do not meet the criteria of figurativeness employed in this study. Interestingly, all the expressions in the table except one are classified as non-figurative because *blood* has a literal sense. The expression *make your blood boil* (which means 'to infuriate you'; *NPD* s.v.) is an exception because in it the word *blood* seems to refer to the person in question (i.e. the body) rather than his/her blood. As concerns other expressions, they may be figurative per se but it is not the word *blood* which establishes the figurative sense but rather the other part(s) of the expression (e.g. *blood bread* 'payment for donating blood' (*NPD* s.v.); *blood-worm* 'a sausage, esp. a black pudding' (*CDS* s.v.); *blood medicine* 'alcohol' (*CDS* s.v).

Table 31. Non-figurative expressions built round the word *blood*.

Type	Meaning	Expressions	Freq.
Literal	**Blood**	*make your blood boil (verb) ; bloodhound (verb); blood bank (noun); blood box (noun); blood bread (noun); blood cloth (noun); blood factory (noun); bloodhammer (noun); blood medicine (noun); blood nose (noun); blood-red fancy (noun); blood sports (noun); blood-worm (noun); blood and guts alderman (noun); blood jemmy (noun); blood wings (noun); blood wagon (noun); bloody monthlies (noun)*	17
Metonymical	**Body**	*make your blood boil* (verb)	1
Total number of non-figurative expressions			18

The expressions which denote medical entities (i.e. hospital and ambulance) share the same characteristics. For example, the word *blood* in the expression *blood bank* 'hospital' (*NPD* s.v.) may be categorized as literal based on what *blood* refers to in the expression. On the one hand, the word *blood* may refer to blood and thus emphasise the function of a hospital as a place where blood transfusion occurs. Moreover, the word *bank* in the expression draws on the features of a real bank where people preserve their money or borrow money from. Hence, *blood* should be examined in

relation to the word *bank*: hospitals and banks are respectively institutions where flow of money and flow of blood occurs. This suggests that *blood* is not used figuratively. On the other hand, blood transfusion is only one aspect of a hospital's activity. Could it be that the word *blood* in the expression is a metaphor for health and everything that is interconnected with it? There is nothing which would substantially support this suggestion. For this reason the expression *blood bank* and other similar expressions, i.e. *blood wagon* 'an ambulance' (*CDS* s.v.), *blood box* 'an ambulance' (*NPD* s.v.) and *blood factory* 'a hospital' (*CDS* s.v.), will be classified as non-figurative. Moreover, *blood factory* is similar to the expression *piss-factory* 'a public house' (*CDS* s.v.) in that both *blood* and *piss* are evidently non-figurative in both expressions.

The expression *blood wings* 'the first set of parachute insignia that a paratrooper receives upon qualification at different levels of expertise' (*NPD* s.v.) is not considered figurative because multiple sources (e.g. Dowty 2007: 23; CNN news[10]; www.urabdictionary.com[11]; www.youtube.com[12]) confirm that *blood wing* is a rite where the insignia is hit into a person's chest with a bare pin resulting in a small wound and blood. Furthermore, two expressions have no figurative basis at all: *blood nose* 'a nose that is bleeding, as from a punch' (*NPS* s.v.) and *blood cloth* 'an improvised sanitary towel' (*NPD* s.v.).

As regards the verb *bloodhound* 'to track someone down' (*NPD* s.v.), it is a derivative expression which originated from the noun *bloodhound* 'any of several large breeds of hound with a keen sense of smell' (*OED* s.v.). Moreover, it is stated that the noun originated "from [the hound's] use in tracking (wounded) game" (ibid.), meaning that the word *blood* is used in a literal way. Interestingly, the noun *bloodhound* has different meanings in slang from standard English. In slang the noun means either 'one who perjures themself for money' or 'a policeman' (*CDS* s.v.). Since the latter meaning is an instance of an animal metaphor (i.e. the similarity between the police tracing a

[10] http://edition.cnn.com/US/9701/31/hazing/index.html
[11] http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=blood+wings&defid=1549901
[12] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=71tOBbR_g_4

criminal and a hound tracking game), it will not be examined further; the former meaning, on the other hand, will be studied because its meaning is based on another concept entirely.

Since there are 18 expressions which are categorized as non-figurative, the study will examine 48 expressions in which *blood* has a figurative meaning. The expressions built round the word *blood* will be analysed and mapped in the following section.

4.3.1 Target Domains of *Blood*

All in all, there are 48 expressions built round the word *blood* which are considered figurative by the criteria set in the study. The conceptual metaphors will be mapped employing the same principles as above. The source domain is known (i.e. *BLOOD*), therefore mapping conceptual domains relies on finding which target domain is being used in connection with the word. It is interesting that the expressions based on the word *blood* tend to be less polysemous than those based on the words *shit* and *piss*. For example, the most polysemous expression (i.e. *bloody bucket*) has four senses (*CDS* s.v.), while the most polysemous expressions built round the words *shit* and *piss* have 14 (i.e. *the shitter*; *CDS* s.v.; *NPD* s.v.) and 19 (i.e. *pisser*; *CDS* s.v.; *NPD* s.v.; *DAS* s.v. *pisser* n.) senses respectively. Consequently, the expressions based on the word *blood* overlap conceptual metaphors to a much lesser degree. Perhaps our experiences regarding blood are much less ambivalent than those regarding excrement or urine. Indeed, it is likely that our experiences with blood are more restricted and not as multifaceted. I will discuss the possible reasons why this is the case in the following sections.

Below I will present and discuss the conceptual metaphors that I have mapped examining the figurative expressions built round the word *blood*. First, I will present the most popular conceptual metaphor based on the number of relevant expressions. Secondly, I will group the possible subcategories with the established conceptual metaphors in order to illustrate the possible link between our experiences and the relationship between the metaphors. Lastly, I will discuss and summarize my findings.

4.3.1.1 BLOOD IS A PARTICULAR KIND OF VIOLENCE

The most common target domain of *blood* is VIOLENCE (Table 32). There are 10 expressions in which *blood* denotes **violent places**, **individuals**, or **behaviour**: e.g. *blood bucket* 'a notably tough saloon or bar' (*CDS* s.v.); *bloodhouse* 'a public hotel, especially a rough one' (*NPD* s.v.); *bloodman* 'a person who is at any moment capable of physical violence' (*NPD* s.v.); *blood or beer!* "a street challenge, albeit usu[ally] jocu[lar], i.e. 'will you fight or buy a round?" (*CDS* s.v.). I have placed one expression in the category BLOOD IS VIOLENCE on slightly uncertain grounds. Namely, the expression *bloody flag is out* means 'drunk' but *CDS* suggests that the expression originated from Shakespeare's Henry V and is connected with "the aggressiveness that so often accompanies heavy drinking" (s.v.). Even though the expression is listed in the category with the other expressions in which *blood* indicates VIOLENCE, I have decided not to include it in the calculations because aggressiveness is only mentioned as an etymological detail.

Table 32. Expressions in which *blood* refers to a particular kind of violence.

BLOOD IS A PARTICULAR KIND OF VIOLENCE (19)	
BLOOD IS AGRESSION/VIOLENCE (10)	**BLOOD IS STRUGGLE (4)**
blood bucket (noun) US [1960s]	blood in the elevator (noun) UK [still in use]
blood house (noun) AUS/N.Z. [1950s+]	blood on the floor US/UK [1990s]
bloodhouse (noun) AUS [1950s+]	blood on the stairs (noun) UK [still in use]
blood in (verb) US (2000)	blood on the walls (noun) UK [still in use]
bloodman (noun) US (2002)	**BLOOD IS SACRIFICE (1)**
blood or beer! (excl.) UK [late 19C-1900s]	blood stripe (noun) US [1968]
blood simple (adjective) US (1994)	**BLOOD IS DEATH (2)**
bloody bucket (noun) US [19C+]	blood in, blood out (noun) US [1990s+]
?bloody flag is out (phr.) UK [late 17C - early 19C]	blood weapon (noun) US (1990)
Bloody Monday (noun) UK [late 17C - 18C]	**BLOOD IS DESTRUCTION (1)**
bloody (or blue) murder (noun) UK [mid-19C+]	bloody (or blue) murder (noun & adv.) US (1980s)
	BLOOD IS DANGER(OUS) (1)
	blood alley (noun) US [1970s+]

In addition to VIOLENCE, *blood* often also refers to STRUGGLE (4 instances). Indeed, in all of the expressions belonging to the category BLOOD IS STRUGGLE, *blood* functions as evidence

that a conflict has occurred. The other parts of the expressions provide the spatial context for the struggle: e.g. *blood in the elevator* 'evidence of a struggle for professional supremacy' (*DCS* s.v.). The spatial context does not, however, differentiate between occupations or indicate that the struggle pertains only to a particular profession. In fact, every expression in the category BLOOD IS STRUGGLE is stated to be "an item of corporate and political slang" (*DCS* s.v.).

In the light of the above, we associate blood with **violence** and **struggle**. This is not surprising: blood is often the most visual outcome of violence, which most likely explains why we tend to speak of VIOLENCE and STRUGGLE in terms of BLOOD in so numerous expressions. Moreover, we also associate blood with SACRIFICE: *blood stripe* 'a military promotion that is made possible only by the demotion of another unit member' (*NPD* s.v.); DEATH: e.g. *blood in, blood out*, which is "used for expressing the rules for entering (to kill) and leaving (to be killed) a prison gang" (*NPD* s.v.); DESTRUCTION: e.g. *bloody (or blue) murder* 'total destruction' (*DAS* s.v.); and DANGER: e.g. *blood alley* 'an unsafe stretch of road' (*NPD* s.v.). These conceptual metaphors illustrate that blood has different overtones of meaning, all of which, however, primarily have to do with VIOLENCE. For example, *blood alley* is **dangerous** because of potential violence; **destruction** and **death**, on the other hand, are often outcomes of violence, whereas **a struggle** involves the use of violence.

4.3.1.2 BLOOD IS RED

There are five expressions in which *blood* refers to the **colour red** (Table 33), which illustrates that another quality which we associate with blood is its colour. This is not surprising as the colour of blood is very strong and distinct: there are not many entities in nature which possess the same feature (cf. *blood moon*) – at least not with the same intensity. In fact, it is surprising that there are only five expressions in this category.

Table 33. Expressions in which *blood* refers to the colour red.

BLOOD IS RED (5)	Source
bloodnut (noun) ' a red-haired person' AUS [1960-1983]	*NPD* s.v.
bloody back (noun) 'a soldier' UK [late 18C-mid-19C]	*CDS* s.v.
bloody cunt hat (noun) 'a narrow green cap worn by English Army officers' UK (1980)	*NPD* s.v.
Bloody Mary (noun) 'a drink made of vodka and tomato juice' (sense 1) UK (1956)	*NPD* s.v.
bloody (noun) 'abbreviation of Bloody Mary' US (1978+)	*CDS* s.v. & *NPD* s.v.

The meaning of some of the expressions listed in the table may suggest that the expressions would have no basis to be on the list: i.e. *bloody cunt hat* and *bloody back*. However, even though the expression *bloody cunt hat* itself refers to a narrow green cap, the word *blood* seems to refer to the red stripe in the cap (*NPD* s.v.); *bloody back*, on the other hand, used to refer to a soldier because of the soldier's scarlet jacket (*CDS* s.v.). Interestingly, the expression *Bloody Mary* also denotes 'a menstruating woman', which is a pun on "Mary I of England (1516-58), known popularly as *Bloody Mary* for her vindictive attacks on Protestantism", which is yet another instance of *blood* referring to violence (*CDS* s.v.).

4.3.1.3 BLOOD IS A RELATION

In some studied slang expressions *blood* refers to **a close connection** (e.g. fellowship, family, nationality), which is not surprising. After all, there are expressions in standard English which are based on the same motivation: e.g. *blood relation* 'someone who is related to you by birth rather than through marriage' (*CAL* s.v.), or the idiom *blood is always thicker than water* 'loyalty to family first' (Hartland 2009: 127). This means that we experience blood as an extension of ourselves; interestingly, in slang this is not only the case in regard to family (see Table 34). For example, *blood brother* and *bloodfire!* were both used by blacks to indicate group identity, whereas *blood chit* was used to refer to "a cloth badge that identifies a military aviator as American and promises a reward for aiding him" (*DAS* s.v.). Among the studied expressions there have not been many instances of rhyming slang; *blood blister* 'a sister', however, is an example of one.

Table 34. Expressions in which *blood* refers to relation.

BLOOD IS A RELATION (4)	Source
blood blister (noun) ' a sister' AUS [20C+]	*CDS* s.v.
Blood brother (noun) 'a fellow black' US (1960)	*DAS* s.v.
blood chit (noun) 'a cloth badge' US (1941)	*DAS* s.v.
bloodfire! (excl.) 'greeting to a fellow Black person' UK/US [1990s]	*CDS* s.v.

What the above expressions illustrate is that we speak about a close relationship in terms of blood. Hence, we associate blood with family, shared ethnicity and nationality. Do we experience blood as something which reflects our features and thus also us? The next category indicates that this may be the case.

4.3.1.4 BLOOD IS SELF

There is one expression in which *blood* seems to refer to **the individual or his/her qualities** (Table 35). The word *blood* in the expression *(your) blood is worth bottling* means 'you are wonderful' (*NPD* s.v.) refers to a person's positive qualities or the person itself. Similarly, *make your blood boil* 'to infuriate you' (*NPD* s.v.) may be an expression in which *blood* refers to a person, rather than his/her blood. However, the expression has been excluded here because the figurativeness of the word *blood* is grounded in metonymy.

Table 35. The expression in which *blood* refers to an individual's self.

BLOOD IS SELF (1)	Source
(your) blood is worth bottling' you are wonderful' AUS [1950s+]	*NPD* s.v.

4.3.1.5 BLOOD IS VERY (intensifier)

In four expressions *blood* functions as **an intensifier** (Table 36): e.g. *bloody* 'exceedingly' (*NPD* s.v.); *bloodyful* 'a general negative intensifier, very, exceedingly, abominably or desperately' (*CDS* s.v.); *bloody well* 'definitely, certainly' (*NPD* s.v.) and *bloody hell* "used for registering shock, surprise, exasperation, etc ... [c]ombines [bloody] (an intensifier) with [hell] (used in oaths)" (*NPD*

s.v.). In these expressions *blood* has a similar meaning to *very*, but it is used, according to *CDS*, as a negative intensifier, at least in regard to two of the expressions: *bloody* and *bloodyful* (s.v.). In contrast to *CDS*, *NPD* does not comment on negativity; on the contrary, it cites some sources in which the expression *bloody* is used in a positive way: e.g. "It was bloody good of the Maitlands to have me there at all" and "My friend, an old chap called Dusty, he was bloody good at that" (s.v.). In the light of the above examples, the adjective *bloody* may be used in a positive or a negative sense.

Table 36. Expressions in which *blood* is used as an intensifier.

BLOODY IS VERY (4)	Source
bloody (adv.) 'exceedingly' UK [late 17C+]	*NPD* s.v.
bloody hell!; bee aitch; BH 'used for registering shock, surprise, exasperation, etc' UK (1982...2000)	*NPD* s.v.
bloodyful (adv.) 'very, exceedingly' UK [17C+]	*CDS* s.v.
bloody well (adv.) 'definitely, certainly' AUS (1904(+?))	*NPD* s.v.

As regards the semantic qualities of the expressions in the above table, it is difficult to explain the motivation behind associating *very* or *exceedingly* with blood. To my knowledge, there are no contexts in which blood would present itself as an exceeding entity and thus provide the required experience for association. It could be that *blood* is used as an intensifier because it is vital for life, or perhaps the intensifying effect of the word *bloody* lies in its taboo nature rather than emerging from our experiences. The expression *fucking* (e.g. *fucking stupid*) would be another example of a taboo intensifier which has not necessarily originated as a result of our experiences.

4.3.1.6 BLOOD IS MONEY

Three slang expressions indicate that we speak about money in terms of BLOOD (Table 37), which is supported by Goatly. Goatly illustrates with a number of expressions from standard English how we tend to conceptualise MONEY as LIQUID or BLOOD (2007: 17). For example, we tend to speak about the movement of money as if it was liquid: e.g. *cashflow* 'movement of funds' and *inflow* 'income' (ibid.). Similarly, we associate a vast amount of money with a vast amount of

liquid: e.g. *flush with (money)* 'having plenty of money' (ibid., p. 18). Moreover, we speak about receiving or losing money in terms of receiving or losing blood: e.g. *bleed (dry)* 'take money from in a heartless way'; *bloodsucker* 'extortioner' (ibid.).

Table 37. Expressions in which *blood* refers to money.

BLOOD IS MONEY (3)	Source
blood bank (noun) 'a finance company' US (1975)	*NPD* s.v.
blood poker (noun) 'poker played as business with no social trappings' US (1988)	*NPD* s.v.
bloodhound (noun) 'one who perjures himself for money' UK [early 19C+]	*CDS* s.v.

In the light of the above it is then, perhaps, surprising not to find any more slang expressions of this kind. This indicates that we tend to associate some aspects (e.g. violence) with blood much more than others.

Some of the expressions listed in the table also have other meanings. *Blood bank* may refer to a hospital (i.e. *blood* is literal) (*NPD* s.v.), whereas *bloodhound* can denote a policeman (i.e. animal metaphor) (*CDS* s.v.). These meanings will not be examined further.

4.3.1.7 BLOOD IS UNPLEASANT

In two expressions the word *blood* denotes unpleasantness or displeasure (Table 38): *bloody* means either 'abominable or terrible' or 'unpleasant' (*CDS* s.v.), whereas *bloody Nora!* is used as 'an excl[amation] of displeasure' (*CDS* s.v.). Moreover, the adjective *bloody* is 'a general negative adj[ective]' (*CDS* s.v.) and it is also used 'as an intensifier' (*NPD* s.v.) and 'as in infix' (e.g. *abso-bloody-lutely*) (*CDS* s.v.).

Table 38. Expressions in which *blood* refers to unpleasantness.

SHIT IS UNPLEASANT (1)	Source
bloody (adj.) ' abominable or terrible' UK [late 18C+]	*CDS* s.v.
bloody (adj.) ' unpleasant' UK [early 19C+]	*CDS* s.v.
BLOOD IS DISPLEASURE (1)	
bloody Nora! (excl.) 'an excl. of displeasure' UK [2000s]	*CDS* s.v.

As the low number of expressions suggests, we do not experience *blood* as an exceptionally unpleasant entity, at least not to the same extent we do excrement or urine. Interestingly, the above expressions end with the suffix *-y*. The suffix carries a number of meanings when it is attached to a noun (Hamawand 2007: 72). In the expressions above the suffix *-y* may convey that something is 'full of blood' or 'has blood-like appearance" or other qualities associated with *blood*. It is possible that the word *bloody* refers to the appearance of blood or its smell and thus elicits negative associations with unpleasantness. In other similar expressions *bloody* refers to either colour or violence, e.g. *Bloody Mary* 'a drink made of vodka and tomato juice' (*NPD* s.v.), *Bloody Monday* "the last day of the school term, on which holidays begin and on which punishments are traditionally given out" (*CDS* s.v.). Perhaps the expression *bloody Nora!* denotes displeasure because the word *bloody* refers to blood, in which case *bloody Nora!* may refer to a menstruating woman with whom intercourse is not possible – a feature which may elicit associations of displeasure.

In any case it is clear that our experiences with blood are not monotonous. As the expressions manifest, to us blood consists of various aspects and nuances. It is, however, difficult to pinpoint which experiences exactly elicit our associations with, for example, displeasure or unpleasantness. It may be the case that we experience blood as unpleasant not because of its appearance but because we associate it with pain, violence or misfortune (e.g. accidents).

4.3.1.8 BLOOD IS DESPICABLE

In the light of the various meanings *blood* has in the studied expressions, we do not usually associate blood with purely negative attributes – at least not to the same extent as *shit* or *piss*. Nevertheless, some aspects of blood are experienced as negative. For example, the expression *bloodclaat* refers to 'a contemptible person' (*NPD* s.v.). According to *CDS,* the literal meaning of the expression is 'sanitary towel' (i.e. *bloodclaat* originated as the result of the "Jam[aican] pron[unciation] of *blood cloth*; *CDS* s.v. *bloodclaat* n.), which suggests that it is menstrual blood to

which the word *blood* refers in the expression (s.v. *bloodclaat* n.). That is, we experience menstrual blood as despicable. This is indicated by two expressions (see Table 39), which, however, have the same origin.

Table 39. Expressions in which *blood* means despicable.

BLOOD IS DESPICABLE (2)	Source
bloodclaat; bloodclot; blood clot (noun) 'a contemptible person' W.I./UK [1950s+]	*NPD* s.v.
bloodclaat (adjective) 'a derogatory intensifier' UK [1970s+]	*CDS* s.v.

4.3.1.9 BLOOD IS AN EFFORT

In one expression *blood* appears to refer to **an onerous effort or work** (Table 40): *blood money* 'in gambling, money that is won after long, hard work' (*NPD* s.v.). The association between *blood* and hard work or struggle is certainly not novel. For example, it is manifested in the common idiom *blood, sweat and tears* 'great and difficult personal effort' (Sera 2004: 35). In addition to that, the slang expression *piss blood* 'to work extremely hard' (*CDS* s.v.) is built on the same concept. It seems natural to associate *blood* with an onerous effort as executing the most physically demanding assignments (e.g. operating in a combat zone) may often involve inflicting injury and bleeding. The same scheme of onerous effort may then be transferred to other contexts such as office work.

Table 40. The expression in which *blood* refers to onerous effort.

BLOOD IS AN ONEROUS EFFORT	Source
blood money (noun) US (1979)	*NPD* s.v.

4.3.1.10 Unmapped Expressions

In four expressions the referents of *blood* are ambiguous or uncertain. For example, in *blood ball* 'an annual butchers' ball' (*CDS* s.v.) it is not possible to attach a particular meaning to *blood* as the word can refer to a number of entities (e.g. meat, butcher, the colour of meat, blood etc). Similarly, it is unclear what *blood* refers to in the expression *bloody flag is out* 'drunk' (*CDS* s.v.). According

to *CDS* the expression originated in "Shakespeare's Henry V (1598-9): 'Stand for your own; unwind your bloody flag'; ult[imately] aggressiveness that so often accompanies heavy drinking" (s.v.). That is, *blood* seemed to refer to aggressiveness before but in contemporary use the phrase refers to intoxication. In any case it is difficult to ascribe any clear meaning to *blood* in the expression. Hence, the expression remains unmapped. I have, however, mentioned earlier (p. 85) that it might be possible to group it with other expressions in the category BLOOD IS AGGRESSION/VIOLENCE.

Table 41. Unmapped expressions built round the word *blood*.

UNMAPPED (4)	Source
blood ball (noun) 'an annual butchers' ball' UK [late 19C-1900s]	*CDS* s.v.
bloody flag is out (phr.) 'drunk' UK [late 17C - early 19C]	*CDS* s.v.
Bloody Jesus, the 'the life, the 'daylights'' (noun) UK [20C+]	*CDS* s.v.
blood(y) oath! A general expression of agreement' (excl.) UK [mid-19C+]	*CDS* s.v.

The rationale for not mapping the expressions *(the) Bloody Jesus* 'the life, the 'daylights''' (*CDS* s.v.) and *blood(y) oath!* 'used for register agreement' (*NPD* s.v.) is similar to the other expressions in the list. According to *CDS*, the expression *(the) Bloody Jesus* is synonymous with the following expressions: *the baby Jesus*, *the bejasus*, *the bejeesus*, *the bejesus*, *the bejeysus*, *the bloody Jesus*, *the Jesus*, *the living Jesus*, *the plazazus*, which all mean 'the life, the 'daylights''' (s.v. *bejazus*). Since the expressions in which *blood* is not present (e.g. *the baby Jesus or the Jesus*) have the same meaning as *(the) Bloody Jesus*, it seems to be the case that the word *blood* is not semantically meaningful in the expressions; instead, it is the personal noun *Jesus* and its variants which seem to convey the meaning. Hence, *(the) Bloody Jesus* is not mapped.

As regards the expression *blood(y) oath!*, which is used as the 'general expression of agreement (*CDS* s.v.), it is unclear which function the word *blood(y)* has in it.

4.4 Comparison of the Established Conceptual Metaphors

As appears from the previous sections, there is a large number of recurring conceptual metaphors among the expressions built round *shit*, *piss*, and *blood*. Not only is there a substantial recurrence of conceptual metaphors within the context of one word, but there are also many conceptual metaphors which recur across the three studied words. This is especially the case with the expressions based on the words *shit* and *piss*: there are as many as ten conceptual metaphors which *shit* and *piss* share (see Table 42).

As the below table illustrates, the target domains of SHIT and PISS are very similar. In fact, they are almost identical apart from some subcategories (e.g. PISS IS INSIGNIFICANT, PISS IS RAIN). Despite the similarity, some conceptual metaphors are not as prevalent among the expressions built round the word *piss* as compared to those based on the word *shit*. This is especially the case with the conceptual metaphor SHIT IS A PREDICAMENT: the corresponding conceptual metaphor could not be found among the expressions built round the word *piss*. There is, however, a target domain within the conceptual metaphor SHIT IS A PREDICAMENT which is shared by both SHIT and PISS, i.e. PRISON. In addition to that, the actions to which *piss* and *shit* refer differ to some extent: in some expressions *shit* may refer to gambling or talking; similarly, *piss* may denote a number of other actions to which *shit* does not refer in any of the studied expressions.

Despite the minor differences between the target domains of *shit* and *piss*, there is a clear similarity between the target domains of SHIT and PISS, which can be explained by a number of factors. For example, *shit* and *piss* are part of the same semantic field (i.e. bodily effluvia). Hence, they possess a number of similar characteristics, e.g. unpleasant smell, they are both taboo and are considered unusable waste of our bodies. Since *shit* and *piss* possess a number of similar features, our experiences as regards *shit* and *piss* are also similar. We experience them as unpleasant, despicable, second-rate and worthless.

Table 42. Conceptual metaphors of SHIT and PISS. To compare the conceptual metaphors I have placed similar metaphors next to each other. The first number in brackets following each category indicates how many expressions belong to the category. The second number in square brackets gives the percentage of expressions belonging to the category out of all the expressions built round the word.

Conceptual Metaphors of SHIT and PISS	
SHIT IS...(273)	**PISS IS...(210)**
REPULSIVE (71), [26,0%]: despicable (51), unpleasant (14), dirty (5)	**REPULSIVE (19), [9,0%]:** despicable (9), unpleasant (8), dirty (2)
AN EMOTION (50), [18,3%]: fear (28), anger (9), disappointment (1), excitement (1), surprising (8), pleasure (3)	**AN EMOTION (23), [11,0%]:** annoyance (7), fear (5), anger (5), contempt (2), interest (1), excitement (1), exhaustion (1), disappointment (1)
SECOND-RATE (39), [14,3%]: inferior (26), incompetence (9), nonconforming (4)	**SECOND-RATE (18), [8,6%]:** insignificant (10), inferior (4), incompetence (3), failure (1)
A PREDICAMENT (27), [9,9%]: trouble (19), a difficult place/situation (4), a prison (3), prison staff (1)	**A PRISON (2), [1,0%]**
OF LITTLE OR NO VALUE (25), [9,2%]: waste (5), no good (4), worthless (4), lie (9), nothing (3)	**OF LITTLE OR NO VALUE (23), [11,0%]:** waste (12), worthless (7), lie (4)
ABUSE (19), [7,0%]: damage/harm (10), denigration (6), humiliating (2), annoying (1)	**ABUSE (23); [11,0%]:** harm(ing)/damage (10), ruining (2), humiliating (1), satire (5), disrespectful (2), arrogant (1), irritating (1), rejection (1)
EXTRAORDINARY (12), [4,4%]: exceptional (11), capability (1)	**EXTRAORDINARY (23), [11,0%]:** very/exceptional (15), victory (3), competence (4), energy (1)
A PARTICULAR KIND OF ACTION (7), [2,6%]: any action* (1), gambling (1), talking (1), vomiting (1), moving (3)	**A PARTICULAR KIND OF ACTION (15), [7,1%]:** flattery (3), defecation (1), giving birth (2), moving (2), vomiting (1), discharging (1), complaining (2), any action* (1), ejaculation (1), laughter (1)
A PARTICULAR QUALITY (8), [2,9%]: rapid (3), black (3), unfair (2)	**A PARTICULAR QUALITY (9); [4,3%]:** easy (5), rapid (1), amusing (2), yellow (1)
AN INTOXICANT (4), [1,5%]: alcohol (2), narcotics (2)	**A TYPE OF LIQUID (54), [25,7%]:** alcohol (46), rain (4), animal secretion (2), oil (1), sweat (1)
SELF (3), [1,1%]	**SELF (1), [0,5%]**
RURAL (7), [2,6%]	
MINCED BEEF (1), [0,04%]	

* any action apparent in the context.

It is then not surprising that in most cases the target domains of *shit* and *piss* are negative: SHIT or PISS can be REPULSIVE, FEAR, ANGER, DISAPPOINTMENT, ANNOYANCE, CONTEMPT, EXHAUSTION, DISCHARGE (as regards gonorrhoea), SECOND-RATE, A PREDICAMENT, A PRISON, OF LITTLE OR OF NO VALUE, ABUSE, VOMITING and SELF. Interestingly, as many as 81,7% of the expressions where *shit* is the central word refer to the

aforementioned target domains. In this respect the expressions built round the word *piss* differ, because *piss* is not equally strongly linked to negative features: 52,9% of the expressions refer to a negative entity. Naturally, classifying ALCOHOL as a negative entity would increase the percentage substantially, because 22,0% of the expressions built round the word *piss* refer to it. Perhaps it is justifiable to categorize alcohol as a negative entity because in most of the cases where alcohol is referred to, it is the high level of intoxication which is meant. Regardless of how alcohol is classified, it is clear from Table 42 that positive target domains are a minority.

Conceptual metaphors are suggested to emerge from our experiences and this is evident from the conceptual metaphors which have emerged in connection with the expressions built round the words *shit* and *piss*. The conceptual metaphor SHIT/PISS IS FEAR is a valid example in this regard. It seems that in some people fear is accompanied with losing control over one's sphincter muscles. Thus, their experiences as regards fear or, perhaps, even many other emotions such as excitement are associated with defecation or urination. It is then not surprising that fear comes to be expressed in terms of *shit* and *piss*.

There are, however, some conceptual metaphors to which the same approach does not seem to apply. For example, it is difficult to imagine contexts in which *shit* or *piss* would be experienced as exceptional. Exceptionality is perhaps an extension of experiencing elimination as uncomplicated. After all, there are a number of conceptual metaphors according to which we experience *piss* as something easy. Hence, we may experience *shit* in the same way and as the result conceptualise EXTRAORDINARY in terms of SHIT or PISS. In any case, experience alone may not explain all the conceptual metaphors. Some conceptual metaphors seem to emerge as the result of similarity between the two domains. This is especially the case with such conceptual metaphors as PISS IS RAIN, PISS IS LIQUID and PISS IS OIL.

As concerns the target domains of BLOOD (see Table 43), there is less similarity between them and those of SHIT and PISS. Nevertheless, there are some parallels between the target

domains. It seems that unpleasantness is the common denominator as regards *shit*, *piss*, and *blood*. This is indicated by the target domain REPULSIVE, which we understand in terms of SHIT, PISS, and BLOOD. Interestingly, there are a number of expressions for the conceptual metaphors SHIT IS DIRTY and PISS IS DIRTY; yet, there are none as concerns the expressions based on *blood*. This, however, is not surprising as blood does not belong to the same semantic field. Consequently, BLOOD does not share the same features with SHIT or PISS. For example, it is not a waste of our body; rather, it is a crucial and functional part of it. This factor is reflected in the conceptual metaphors of BLOOD. Apart from BLOOD IS REPULSIVE, BLOOD IS VERY, BLOOD IS SELF and BLOOD IS A COLOUR (red), there are no other similarities between the conceptual metaphors. Moreover, in contrast to the conceptual metaphors SHIT IS SELF and PISS IS SELF, the conceptual metaphor BLOOD IS SELF contains an expression with a positive meaning. That is, the word *blood* in the relevant expression refers to a positive trait of a person – the opposite is true of SHIT/PISS IS SELF.

47,6% of the conceptual metaphors underlying the expressions built round the word *blood* suggest that we experience BLOOD as something violent: e.g. aggression, struggle, sacrifice. The link between blood and violence is not surprising as blood often follows violence. This explains why we understand violence in terms of BLOOD. The conceptual metaphor BLOOD IS MONEY, on the other hand, reflects quite another aspect of blood: its significance to our body. It is difficult to pinpoint the experiences on which we draw in our conceptualisation of MONEY in terms of BLOOD. It is perhaps the similarity between the two domains which is the basis of the conceptual metaphor: both are essential elements in our lives. Moreover, Goatly argues that "a schema for liquid (blood) and its movement is mapped onto the domain of finance" (2007: 20) but he does not hypothesize why this is the case.

Table 43. Conceptual metaphors of SHIT, PISS, and BLOOD.

Conceptual Metaphors of SHIT, PISS, and BLOOD		
SHIT IS...(273)	**PISS IS...(210)**	**BLOOD IS...(42)**
REPULSIVE (71)	**REPULSIVE (19)**	**REPULSIVE (4), [9,2%]**: despicable (2), unpleasant (1), displeasure (1)
AN EMOTION (50)	**AN EMOTION (23)**	
SECOND-RATE (39)	**SECOND RATE (18)**	
PREDICAMENT (27)	**PRISON (2)**	
OF LITTLE OR NO VALUE (25)	**OF LITTLE OR NO VALUE (23)**	**MONEY (3), [7,1%]**
ABUSE (19)	**ABUSE (23)**	
EXTRAORDINARY (12)	**EXTRAORDINARY (23)**	**VERY (4), [9,2%]; EFFORT (1), [2.4%]**
A PARTICULAR KIND OF ACTION (7)	**A PARTICULAR KIND OF ACTION (15)**	**A PARTICULAR KIND OF VIOLENCE (20), [47,6%]**: aggression/violence (10), struggle (4), sacrifice (1), death (2), destruction (2), danger(ous) (1)
A PARTICULAR QUALITY (8)	**A PARTICULAR QUALITY (9)**	**RED (5), [11,9%]**
AN INTOXICANT (4)	**A TYPE OF LIQUID (54)**	
SELF (3)	**SELF (1)**	**SELF (1), [2,4%]**
RURAL (7)		
MINCED BEEF (1)		
		A RELATION (4), [9,2%]

The conceptual metaphor BLOOD IS EFFORT may shed light on other possible reasons why we associate blood with money. Some expressions in the English language (e.g. *sweat blood; blood, sweat and tears*) suggest that we understand effort or exertion in terms of BLOOD. It seems that blood refers to effort which comes as the result of an enormous sacrifice (i.e. one *sweats blood* or loses blood figuratively). These concepts map logically onto the domain of money-making. It is possible that BLOOD IS MONEY and BLOOD IS EFFORT are intertwined conceptual metaphors which indicate how we see working and earning in terms of losing blood.

Another conceptual metaphor only manifested in the expressions based on *blood* is BLOOD IS A RELATION. It is not surprising that we understand a close connection in terms of blood. After all, the word *blood* is used in the context of family discourse, e.g. *blood relation* – one who shares the same blood is a close person, i.e. a relative.

All in all, the conceptual metaphors established in the present study indicate that some conceptual metaphors recur because of our experiences as regards the studied source domains. The source domains SHIT and PISS, for example, are often mapped onto target domains which denote negative features or carry negative connotations. The source domain BLOOD, on the other hand, is different in this respect. It is most often mapped onto the domain of violence, which is certainly supported by our experiences with blood: when we get hurt as the result of violence, blood usually indicates how serious and harmful the violence was. When consulting the above tables one has, however, to acknowledge the fact that slang is mainly coined and used by younger people. In addition to younger people, special groups (e.g. prisoners, criminals) also play a crucial role in the creation of slang. It is then their experiences and conceptualisations of the world that are reflected in the findings. Nevertheless, the study has showed that the words for bodily effluvia (i.e. *shit* and *piss*) are very frequent in slangy expressions and that *shit* and *piss* are predominantly used in a figurative way. It seems that in slang these words are as productive in their figurative use as human bodyparts are in anthropomorphic metaphors. To which extent this is true, however, needs to be studied.

5. Conclusion

This study examined the slang expressions built round the words *shit*, *piss*, and *blood* which were collected from five slang dictionaries. The aim of the study was to establish which conceptual metaphors are present in the expressions and whether some conceptual metaphors recur more frequently than others. The possible reasons behind recurring metaphor concepts were also in the focus. To answer the research questions set by the study, I employed conceptual metaphor theory in which our conceptualisation of the world is studied by examining the conceptual domains of conventionalized metaphors. Within the framework of conceptual metaphor theory, conceptual domains – source domain and target domain – are linked together. This procedure is called *mapping*.

Before collecting the relevant slang expressions, I discussed and problematized the notion of slang to show that there are no clear-cut boundaries between slang and informal or even neutral English. In addition to that, the discussion together with the examination of the criteria employed by the slang dictionaries for including entries emphasized that there are indeed grounds for regarding the studied expressions as slang. Once this was established, I provided a closer look at the studied slang words *shit*, *piss*, and *blood* in order to contextualise the words and also to illustrate how their use has gradually changed and in which direction.

The studied material comprised only such figurative expressions where the words *shit*, *piss*, and *blood* are used metaphorically. Expressions in which the words have a literal or metonymical meaning were classified as irrelevant. All in all, 228 expressions built round the word *shit*, 147 expressions based on the word *piss*, and 48 expressions with *blood* as a central element were scrutinized. Since the source domain of the expressions was established (i.e. SHIT, PISS, and BLOOD), mapping conceptual domains relied on finding which target domain is being used in connection with the words. However, there were cases in which it was not clear whether the

meaning of an expression was based on the studied word or another word in the expression. In these cases the expressions were not mapped and were discussed separately.

The present study has established a large number of recurring conceptual metaphors the source domains of which are SHIT, PISS, and BLOOD. The target domains of SHIT and PISS manifest a certain tendency: both SHIT and PISS are predominantly used to refer to negative traits. For example, in 81,7% of the cases SHIT had negative connotations, whereas 52,9% of the target domains to which PISS referred were negative (e.g. repulsive, second-rate, prison). There are, however, many neutral target domains, and even positive ones. The high number of categories manifests that even though our experiences are to a large extent negative as regards excrement and urine, they are also multifarious. The target domains of BLOOD, on the other hand, are not as negative in nature as those for the two other words, but they are equally diverse. The main difference is that BLOOD predominantly maps onto the domain of violence in 47,6% of cases, which does not in itself indicate that we experience blood as a negative entity.

What seems to motivate us to map the source domains of SHIT, PISS, and BLOOD onto different target domains is our experiences as regards excrement, urine, and blood and also their different features. In a number of instances it seems that conceptual metaphors are based on similarity (e.g. *piss* refers to other types of liquid) rather than our experiences, but this is not in conflict with the view supported by cognitive linguists. After all, conceptual metaphors are said to emerge not only from our experiences but also, for example, from subjective and objective similarity.

An interesting connection established by the study is that of SHIT/PISS and FEAR. It has been suggested that fear causes some people to lose control over their sphincter. This, however, is not unequivocally established by medical studies. Nevertheless, there are some indications that this kind of connection may exist. This suggests that conceptual metaphors shed light on how people experience the world around them. In other words, the language which people employ also reflects

the world in which they live. In a way, conceptual metaphors act as keys to the human mind, to the subjective and cultural reality of people, which seems in many cases to coincide with the objective universe studied by natural sciences. For example, some conceptual metaphors indicate that we experience both *shit* and *piss* as waste, which is a biological fact. Moreover, the reality which may be outside the scope of natural sciences can be reached through the study of conceptual metaphors.

Conceptual metaphors reflect the cultural reality of people, which renders them a significant subject of study. The results of studying conceptual metaphors can be employed in a wide range of contexts. For example, in (foreign) language learning conceptual metaphors can be used as illustrative examples of a particular cultural trait. Moreover, conceptual metaphors can function as the Rosetta stones of language learning: one can learn the meaning of a number of idiomatic expressions by studying a single conceptual metaphor. However, a language learner need not remain a passive interpreter of conceptual metaphors. The conceptual metaphors established, for example, by the present study can be used as a formula to generate new expressions if needed. All in all, conceptual metaphors may have far-reaching applications in foreign language learning – if not for producing speech, then for understanding it.

A study based on comparing conceptual metaphors in which the source domains consist of words belonging to the same semantic field (e.g. SHIT and PISS) on the one hand and of words in a slightly different (e.g. BLOOD) category on the other, can reveal a number of interesting facts. For example, such an approach can emphasize the differences in our conceptualisation of the world and explain why some conceptual metaphors based on the source domains of certain semantic fields produce certain types of meaning while conceptual metaphors based on source domains of different semantic fields produce meanings of quite another type. By concentrating on a number of source domains within the same semantic field one can form broader conclusions as regards our conceptualisation of the world. For example, one can hypothesize that certain semantic fields have a tendency to produce certain meanings without scrutinizing the conceptual metaphors. This,

however, would result in only approximate theories, the factual basis of which is not grounded to the extent which would be required in the scientific field but which, however, would help students of foreign languages to infer the meaning of some conceptual metaphors approximately.

More research is required in this field to establish conceptual metaphors of different kinds. There is a wide range of conceptual metaphors to choose from but deeming some conceptual metaphors as more important than others may not be justifiable. For example, from the point of view of foreign language learning, it is crucial to have a good command of all styles of language – not only the formal one as insufficient proficiency in less formal language may lead to misunderstanding and result in awkward if not hazardous situations. Furthermore, the advancements in technology have broadened the contexts in which more informal language is used. Slang may be employed not only on the streets but also in the media, on the internet and potentially in any online-computer game.

In any case, a great deal of research remains to be done in this field. For example, the examination of other words for bodily effluvia (e.g. *sweat*) would result in a more precise understanding of the semantic field and its components. Consequently, a broader understanding of our experiences and conceptualisation would provide us with more powerful tools in language teaching and learning. Moreover, it would be ideal if the natural sciences also scrutinized similar subjects to confirm or disprove whether some of our experiences are based on factual occurrences or mental and subjective manifestations. All in all, there certainly are many conceptual metaphors which are yet to be found and established. With each freshly established conceptual metaphor we embark on potentially learning something new about the reality in which we exist. That alone renders the study of conceptual metaphors worthwhile.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Expressions collected from the studied dictionaries and their definitions. The primary source for the definitions is *CDS*, if the source of a definition is another slang dictionary, this is indicated within square brackets.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">Expressions Found in the Studied Dictionaries</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">Expressions based on the word shit and their definitions</td></tr>
<tr><td><u>Expressions (264)</u></td><td><u>Definitions</u></td></tr>
<tr><td>all about like shit in a field</td><td>everywhere UK (from 1999) [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>drop in the shit (verb)</td><td>to get someone blamed and into trouble (UK). A variation of LAND IN THE SHIT; a conventional sense of 'drop' combined with IN THE SHIT (in trouble). [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>fall in the shit</td><td>to get into trouble (UK). A conventional sense of 'fall' combined with IN THE SHIT; leading to the clichéd envy of 'he could fall in the shit and come out smelling roses'. [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>get your shit together; have your shit together</td><td>to be focused, organized, self-confident (US, 1970)</td></tr>
<tr><td>give a shit(e) (verb)</td><td>to care, to be concerned - usually in a negative context (UK, 1970s) [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>have shit for brains</td><td>to be stupid; to lack intelligence (Australia) 1986. [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>have shit on the liver</td><td>to be irritable (Australia, 1935)</td></tr>
<tr><td>in deep shit (adverb)</td><td>in serious trouble (US, 1999) [RDM]</td></tr>
<tr><td>in the shit</td><td>1. in considerable trouble (UK, 1937...2002). You can be IN DEEP SHIT, FALL IN THE SHIT or LAND (someone else) IN THE SHIT. 2. in combat (US). [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>I shit thee not</td><td>I am serious (US, 1967) [RDM]</td></tr>
<tr><td>land in the shit</td><td>to get someone blamed and into trouble (UK). A conventional sense of 'land' (to set down) combined with IN THE SHIT, generally heard as 'landed (someone) in the shit'. [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>like shit off a shovel</td><td>extremely fast, swift, prompt (UK). Found in 1998 [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>not for shit</td><td>of a person's ability to do something, not at all, by no means, not in any circumstances (UK). Found in 2001 [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>run shit down</td><td>to discuss something; to inform someone; to explain something (US, 1970) [RDM]</td></tr>
<tr><td>talk shit (verb)</td><td>to say disparaging things (UK). Found in 1993 [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>the shit</td><td>the best (US). Found in 1990 ... 2001 [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>the shit will fly</td><td>there will be trouble (UK). Found in 1974 [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>three kinds of shit</td><td>a lot of trouble (Australia). Found in 1995 [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>treat like shit</td><td>to treat someone in disdainful or humiliating manner (UK). Found in 1999. [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>up to shit</td><td>no good; hopeless (Australia). Found in 1978, 1992. [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>when the shit hits the fan; when the shit flies</td><td>the moment when a crisis starts, especially if such trouble has been expected (UK, 1966). [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>you're shit and you know you are</td><td>used by football fans as a chant to disparage (and enrage) the opposing team and fans (UK). Found in 2001. [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>shit a brick/ bricks (verb)</td><td>(also shit bricks/pickles) 1. [late 19C+] to defecate after a lengthy period of constipation. 2. [1930s+] (also sweat bricks) to tremble with extreme fear. 3. [1960s+] to be furious. 4. [1960s+] to be absolutely delighted; [NPD] to have a difficult time accepting something; to react with anger (US) 1971 ... 2001.</td></tr>
<tr><td>shit-all (noun) ?adjective?</td><td>nothing, nothing at all (US, 1981). A variation of FUCK ALL. [RDM]</td></tr>
<tr><td>shit all over (verb)</td><td>to surpass someone or something by a great degree (UK). Found in 2003. [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>shit and a shave (noun)</td><td>a short sentence of imprisonment (UK). An inference that the sentence is for no more time than it takes to get ready to go out. Found in 1996. [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>shit and derision(!); shit and corruption!; shit and molasses!</td><td>used for registering annoyance and frustration (UK). Originally air force, describing weather conditions. Found in 1982. [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>shit and git</td><td>to leave quickly (US, 1990) [RDM]</td></tr>
<tr><td>shit and shinola (noun)</td><td>in poker, three two's (US). Found in 1948 [NPD]</td></tr>
<tr><td>shit and wish (phr.)</td><td>[20C+] (US Black) a general retort to anyone who says 'I wish...'</td></tr>
<tr><td>shitaree (noun)</td><td>a toilet (UK). Found in 1994.</td></tr>
<tr><td>shit around (verb)</td><td>see SHIT v.3. 1. [1930s+] (also shit around) to deceive, to bamboozle, to tell lies, to exaggerate. 2. [1940s] (US) (also shit around) to waste time.</td></tr>
</table>

shit a shitter	*See* DON'T SHIT A SHITTER: Sentence, *by 1970s,* Don't try to hoodwink an expert hoodwinker [*DAS*]
shit-ass; shit-arse (noun)	(*also* **shit-arse**, **shite-arse**) [20C+] (*orig. US*) a contemptible person; also attrib.
shit-ass (verb)	by 1940s **3. v** To behave like a despicable or contemptible person, esp by betrayal of a duty or promise. [*DAS*]
shit-ass (adjective)	(*also* **shit-arse**, **shit-assed**) [1960s+] (*orig. US*) very bad; [*RDM*] despicable, of poor quality (US, 1967)
shitbag (noun)	**1.** [late 19C-1910s] the stomach. **2.** [1920s+] (*orig. Aus.*) (*also* **shite-bag**) a general pej. Term, whether of people or things. **3.** [1990s+] (*US black/teen*) a colostomy bag; [*RDM*] a despicable person or object (UK). Found in 1964, 2001.
shitbag (verb)	to denigrate or criticise someone or something (AUSTRALIA). Found in 1986. [*RDM*]
shitball (noun)	[1960s+] (*US*) a general term of abuse; [*NPD*] a despicable person or object (UK). Found in 1964, 2001.
shitbird (noun)	**1.** [1950s+] a narcotic drug abuser, a heroin addict **2.** [1950s+] a general term of abuse; [*NPD*] a despicable person (US). Found in 1952 ... 2001
shitbird (adjective)	[1990s+] (*US*) a general term of abuse. [SHITBIRD n.2]
shit-blitz (noun)	an intensive media campaign of attack designed to present a negative image of someone or something (UK). Found in 2004. [*NPD*]
shit bowl (noun)	a toilet (US, 1967) [*RDM*]
shit box (noun)	[1980s+] **1.** the anus **2.** a run-down vehicle. **3.** anything bad or inferior; [*NPD*] **2.** a dispicable person (Australia) 1979. **3.** A small and shoddy dwelling (Australia) 1995. **4.** the Chevrolet Chevette (US, 1992).
shit-box (adjective)	no good (Australia) 1995 [*NPD*]
shitbrains; shit-brain (noun)	a stupid person (US, 1970) [*RDM*]
shit-brained (adjective)	[1970s] stupid, brainless (cf. AMOEBA-BRAINED adj.).
shit-breeched (adjective)	[mid-17C] a general term of abuse. [SHIT n.1 (1)]
shit bricks (verb)	*see* SHIT A BRICK
shit bucket (noun)	a lowly, disgusting place or thing (US, 1987) [*RDM*]
shit bullets (verb)	(*also* **piss bullets**) [1940s+] (*US*) to be terrified.
shitbum (noun)	[1960s+] a general term of abuse.
shitbum (adjective)	[2000s] (*US*) contemptible, unpleasant, worthless. [SHITBUM n.]
shitburger (noun)	poor-quality food (US, 1971) [*RDM*]
shit-burner (noun)	a person assigned to the task of cleaning out latrines, dousing the spoils with fuel, and burning the mixture (US) 1991. Coined during the Vietnam war. [*NPD*]
shitcan (noun)	**1.** [1970s] (*US prison*) the punishment cells. **2.** [1970s] (*US*) a near-derelict but just drivable second-hand car, or motorcycle, one step from the junkyard; [*NPD*] **1.** any rubbish bin (US) 1948. **2.** a cheap car (US) 1971; [*RDM*] **2.** a bathroom; an improvised outdoor toilet (US, 1981)
shitcan (verb)	[1950s+] (*Aus./US*) **1.** to do someone a wrong. **2.** to stop, to abandon a course of action, to toss away; [*NPD*] to throw something away; to discharge someone from employment (US) 1975, ... 2001
shitcan (adjective)	rubbishy (UK) 1998 [*NPD*]
shit-catchers (*also* **poop-catchers**) **(noun)**	[1930s] (*Aus.*) knicker-bockers.
shit-chute (noun)	**1.** [1960s+] the anus (cf. ALLEY WAY n.; DIRT BOX n.). **2.** [2000s] a disgusting, filthy place.
shit comes in piles (phr.)	[1990s+] (*US Black*) problems always come at the same time, rather than one by one.
shit creek (up shit creek; up shit creek without a paddle; up the creek) (noun)	[1950s+] an unpleasant, problematic situation; [*RDM*] stranded, in trouble (US, 1968). Embellishments abound.
shitcunt (noun)	a contemptible person; used as a harsh term of contempt (UK) 1979, ... 2001. When neither **SHIT** nor **CUNT** is abusive enough this combination may serve. [*NPD*]
shit detail (noun)	[1940s+] (*orig. Milit.*) any unpleasant or dirty task.
shit dimes and quarters (verb)	[2000s] (*US Black/drugs*) to excrete bags of drugs after swallowing them when facing a police search.
shit disturber (noun)	a troublemaker (US) 1977 [*NPD*]
shit-disturber (noun)	[20C+] a malicious gossip.
(one's) shit doesn't stink	*See* THINK one's SHIT DOESN'T STINK, v phr, by 1940s, To be very conceited; be stuck up and self-impressed [*DAS*]
shit(-)eater (noun)	[1940s+] a general term of abuse; [*DAS*]: by 1940s, A contemptible person; [*NPD*] a coprophiliac (US) 1996
shit-eating (adjective)	[1940s+] **1.** a general term of disparagement. **2.** sly, duplicitous. **3.** toadying, subservient; [*NPD*] sycophantic (UK) 1974; [*DAS*] by 1960s Stupid; self-satisfied
shit-eating (or turd-eating) grin (noun)	(*also* **cat-eating-shit grin**, **shit-eating smile**) [1950s+] (*orig. US*) a smug, self-satisfied smile; [*NPD*] a broad smile, ingratiating and unctuous (US, 1957)

shite-awful (**adjective**)	being of very inferior quality (UK: SCOTLAND) 1996 [*NPD*]
shite eh!	wow! (Australia) 1972 & 1998 [*NPD*]
shitehawk (**noun**)	(*also* **shitehound**) [1940s+] a person of little worth; [*NPD*] a despicable, worthless person (UK) 2000, 2001
shitehead (**noun**)	a contemptible person; used as a general term of abuse (UK) 1997. A variation of **SHITHEAD** [*NPD*]
shitehole (**noun**)	see: **SHITHOLE**: 1. a bad place; a dirty, run-down or disreputable place (US) 1965 ... 2002 2. the anus (UK, 1937) [*NPD*]
shitepoke/ shite-poke (**noun**)	**1.** [late 18C+] (*Can.*) the bittern. **2.** [1930s] a general term of abuse. [*RDM*]: a despicable person (US, 1926)
shit-poke (**adjective**)	[1950s] (*US*) a general term of abuse.
shite-rags (**noun**)	[late 16C] 'an idle lazie fellow'.
shiters (**noun**) => **put the shiters up**	to frigten someone (UK:SCOTLAND) 1996 [*RDM*]
shiters (**adjective**)	scared (UK) 2002. From **SHIT-SCARED** (terrified) and other variations on the theme. [*NPD*]
shite shifter (**noun**)	[1970s] (*Irish*) a term of abuse.
shitey (**adjective**)	faeces-covered; of poor quality (UK: SCOTLAND) 1994, ... 2001 [*NPD*]
shit-face/ shitface (**noun**)	**1.** [1950s+] an unpleasant, distasteful person; also directly as term of abuse. **2.** [1960s+] a drunken party; [*NPD*] **1.** a despised person (UK, 1937) **2.** used as an intensifier of the degree of intoxication (US) 1977
shitface (**adverb**)	(*also* **shitfaced**) [1960s+] extremely, very, completely, totally; usu. *shitface drunk*.
shit(-)faced (**adjective**)	*adj.2* (*also* **shitface**) (*orig. US*) **1.** [1960s+] (*also* **shitty**) very drunk (cf. ARSEHOLED adj.) **2.** [1970s+] under the influence of cannabis. /// *adj. 1* **1.** [1930s+] (orig. US) stupid, ignorant. **2.** [1970s+] a general intensifier, total, complete.
shit-fight (**noun**)	[1990s+] a bitterly contested struggle, e.g. A sporting encounter.
shitfire (**noun**)	[early 18C] a term of abuse applied to a hot-headed person.
shitfire (**adverb**)	[1960s] enthusiastically, energetically.
shitfire! (**excl.**)	[1940s+] a general excl.; [*RDM*] used as an oath (US, 1970)
shit(-)fit (**noun**)	[1950s+] (*US*) an emotional outburst; [*NPD*] **1.** a bad case of diarrhoea (US) 1975. **2.** a tantrum (US) 1968, ... 2001
shit(e)-for-brains (**noun**)	(*also* **dick-for-brains**, **shite-for-brains**) [1970s+] an all-purpose insult (cf. CRAPBRAIN n.); [*NPD*] an idiot (US) 1994 ... 2002
shit-for-brains (**adjective**)	[1970s+] an all-purpose insult, the implication being of stupidity; [*RDM*] stupid (US, 2003)
shit-for-nothing (**adjective**)	(*also* **shit for the catfish**) [1980s] (US) third-rate, of very poor quality.
shit for the birds (**phr**)	*WWII armed forces,* nonsense; lies and exaggerations; = BULLSHIT [*DAS*]
shit freak (**noun**)	a person with a fetish for excrement (US, 1973) [*RDM*]
shit-fuck (**noun**)	a despicable person (Australia) 1997 [*NPD*]
shit-fuck (**verb**)	[1980s+] (*US gay*) to have anal intercourse (cf. ASK FOR THE RING v.).
shitfuck! (**excl.**)	[1970s+] a general excl.
shit green (**verb**)	[1960s+] (*US*) **1.** to be extremely shocked. **2.** to be enraged. **3.** to be afraid.
shit happens (**phr.**)	[1980s+] an all-puprose statement of resignation in the face of life's vicissitudes, i.e. these things happen.
shit-hawk (**noun**)	a seagull (Canada) 1993 [*NPD*]
shithead (**noun**)	(*also* **shathead**, **shitehead**) **1.** [1940s+] a derog. Term of general abuse; thus adj., *shitheaded*. **2.** [1990s+] (*US prison*) a prison guard; [*NPD*] an objectionable, obnoxious, despised person (UK, 1961); [*DCS*] **2.** a hashish smoker
shitheap (**noun**)	[1960s+] **1.** a dirty, unpleasant, disgusting place or object **2.** a contamptible person; [*NPD*] a motor vehicle that is in poor repair or that lacks power (Australia) 1984
shit(-)heel (**noun**)	(*also* **shit-healer**, **shit-heeler**) **1.** [1940s+] (*US*) a generally derog. Term of abuse; also as adj. **2.** [1990s+] (*UK/US Und.*) an informer; [*NPD*] a despicable person (US, 1935)
shit heroin (**noun**)	heroin, especially if of poor quality (UK, 1950) [*NPD*]
shit hits the fan, the (**phr.**)	[1940s+] the difficulties start to happen, esp. When such problems have been expected to occur sooner or later; usu. with *when*.
shit(e)hole/ shit hole (**noun**)	(*also* **shitehole**) **1.** [19C+] a lavatory. **2.** [19C0] the anus (cf. A-HOLE n.; DIRT BOX n.). **3.** [1960s+] a general term of hostility or abuse (cf. ARSE n.1) **4.** [1960s+] a disgusting place, an absolutely worthless place, esp. of a bar or venue; [*RDM*] **2.** a despicable person (US, 1976)
shithole (**adjective**)	[1970s+] usu. of places, terrible, very disgusting.
shithook (**noun**)	[1960s+] (*orig. US campus*) **1.** a foolish, clumsy person. **2.** an unpleasant, aggressive individual; [*NPD*] **1.** the hand (US, 1970) **3.** a CH-47 Chinook helicopter (US) 1991. Vietnam war usage.
shit-hooks (**noun**)	[1970s] (*US campus*) the hands.

shit-hot (noun)	a highly skilled fighter pilot (US, 1983) [*RDM*]; [*DAS*] by 1918, An especially gifted and effective person; a notably successful person; = BALL OF FIRE; HOT SHOT; WINNER
shit hot/shit-hot (adjective)	[1910s+] **1.** excellent, fashionable. **2.** first-rate.
shit-hot (adverb)	[1910s+] extremely, superlatively, especially.
shit hot! (excl.)	[1980s] an excl. of approval.
shithouse (noun)	(*also* **shitehouse**) **1.** [mid-17C; 1940s+] an unpleasant person. **2.** [late 18C+] a lavatory (cf. BACKHOUSE n.). **3.** [1940s+] any dirty, messy, disgusting place. **4.** [1960s] a jail. **5.** [1970s+] (*orig. Aus.*) a bad situation **6.** [1990s+] a coward.
to the shithouse	to hell (Australia). 1987, 1994. [*RDM*]
shithouse (adjective)	**1.** [1930s+] unpleasant, disgusting, filthy, messy, second-rate. **2.** [1990s+] of a person, ill, exhausted, run-down, highly nervous.
shithouse full (noun)	[20C+] (*US*) a very large number or amount.
shithouse rumor (noun)	gossip (US, 1968) [*RDM*]
shit howdy! (excl.)	[1970s] (*US*) a mild excl.
shit-hunter (noun)	[late 19C-1900s] a sodomite.
shitily (adverb)	*see* **SHITTY** adv. [1920s+] badly, unsatisfactorily.
shit in (verb)	[1980s+](*N.Z*) to win easily; [*NPD*] to win easily or by a large margin (AUS), 1979, 1988
shit in high cotton (verb)	(*also* **shit in tall cotton**) [1930s+] (*US*) to live prosperously, to feel happy, to be important; euph. alternatives include *fly/live/travel in high cotton*.
shit in high grass (verb)	[20C+] (*W.I.*) to aim for or reach a higher social class than that to which one was born.
shit in one's britches (verb)	*see* SHIT ONE'S PANTS v. [1930s+] to be terrified or extremely excited.
shit in one's own backyard (verb)	(*also* **shit in one's nest**) [1950s+] (*orig. US*) to do anything that jeopardizes one's life by its proximity to one's personal, social or professional life, e.g. To steal from one's own workplace, to conduct an affair with an in-law etc (cf. SHIT ON ONE'S OWN DOORSTEP v.).
shit in your teeth! (excl.)	[18C-mid-19C] a general excl. of dismissal.
shit (or go shit) in your hat (phr./sentence)	*by 1950s* = GO TO HELL, GO FUCK oneself [*DAS*]
shit it (verb)	(*also* **shite it**) [1950s+] to be terrified, to act in a cowardly manner. [*NPD*]: to be very nervous or worried; to be thoroughly frightened (UK), 2000, 2002
shit it in (verb)	to do something with ease (AUS) 1992 [*NPD*]
shit jacket (noun)	[1970s] (*US Black*) an outside lavatory.
shitkick (verb)	[1990s+] (*US*) to beat up, to kill.
shit(-)kicker (noun)	**1.** [1940s+] a shoe or boot, esp. one used for everyday wear or work. **2.** [1940s+] (*Aus.*] one who performs menial tasks; an unskilled labourer. **3.** [1950s+] (*US*) (*also* **kicker**) a farmer or other country person (cf. BOGHOPPER n.). **4.** [1960s] (*US*) a Western film. **5.** [1960] (*US*) a depressive person. **6.** [1960s+] (*US*) (*also* **crap-kicker**, **shitkick**) a fool, a person of meagre intelligence. **7.** [1960s+] something exceptional and powerful, i.e. that 'kicks shit'. **8.** [2000s] (*US*) a thug; [*RDM*] **3.** a prostitute (US, 1967) **4.** a fraudster, especially one who adopts a pose of extreme modesty (US, 1981)
shitkicker (adjective)	(*also* **S.K.**) [1960s+] (*US*) pertaining to rural or stereotypically Western life.
shitkickers (noun)	(*also* **shit stompers**), by 1960s, Heavy boots such as farm, cowboy, or hiking boots. [*DAS*]
shit(-)kicking (adjective)	[1960s+] (*US*) rough, crude, rural.
shitkicking music (noun)	[1950s+] (*orig. US*) music that makes the hearer want to get up and dance, shout, sing, generally have a good, boisterous time.
shitlaw! (excl.)	[1980s+] (*US campus*) a general excl. of annoyance.
shitless (adjective)	*see* SCARED SHITLESS adj. (*also* **scared crapless**, …**pissles**, …**titles**, **scared shit**, **shitless**) [1910s+] extremely frightened; occas. as n., a state of terror.
shitless (adverb)	[1910s+] to an extreme extent; usu. as SCARED SHITLESS adj.
shitlips (noun)	a person who talks nonsense (US). Extended from SHIT (rubbish, nonsense) with 'lips' representing the mouth that emits it. 1991 [*NPD*]
shit list/ shit-list (noun)	(*also* **s-list**) [1940s+] a list of people one considers distasteful, untrustworthy and otherwise unacceptable; thus *on my shit list*, very unpopular in my eye; similarly ext. to places.
shitload(s) (noun)	(*also* **shitloads**, **shitpot**) [1960s+] a great many, a large amount; usu. as *a shitload of*; thus *by the shitload*, in large amounts.
shitlover (noun)	[1960s] (*US*) a term of abuse.
shitman	(noun) **1.** [1980s] (*Aus.*) one who gossips maliciously. **2.** [1980s+] (*Aus. Prison*) an unimportant person. **3.** [1980s+] (*Aus. Prison*) an assistant, one who is low(er) in the hierarchy; [*RDM*] used as an intensifier of what follows (US, 1959)
shit me! (excl.)	[1990s+] an excl. of surprise, astonishment, resignation.

shitmobile (noun)	a run-down car (US, 1985) [*RDM*]; [*NPD*] a poor quality motor vehicle (Australia) 1995
shit money (verb)	*by 1980s* To be extremely lucrative [*DAS*]
shit-nasty (adjective)	very unpleasant (UK) 2001 [*NPD*]
shit nickels (verb)	to be very frightened US 1968 [*NPD*]
shit off (verb)	**1.** [20C+] to annoy, to irritate. **2.** [1950s+] (*also* **shit**) to run away.
shit off!	go away! (UK) 1966 [*NPD*]
shitogram (noun)	an especially virulent e-mail message (US, 1991) [*RDM*]
shit on (adjective)	[1960s+] humiliated.
shit on (verb)	**1.** [late 19C+] to abuse, to humiliate. **2.** [1970s+] to deal with comprehensively.
shit on (excl.)	[early 17C; 1930s+] a synon. with *the hell with*; [*DAS*] (someone or something) An exclamation of powerful disgust, contempt, rejection, etc.
shit a brick!; shit-a-brick!; shit on a brick!	used for expressing annoyance, disgust or shock (AUS) 1968, 1998 [*NPD*]
shit on a shingle (noun)	(*also* **SOS**) [1930s+] (*mainly US milit.*) minced beef on toast; thus *shingles*, toast.
shit on a stick (noun)	**1.** [1950s] (*US*) someone important. **2.** [1980s] (*US Black*) a self-appointed tough guy, more words than action.
shit on a string (noun)	an elusive or difficult task (US) 1981 [*RDM*]
shit one's brains out (verb)	[1940s] to be absolutely terrified.
shit oneself/yourself (verb)	(*also* **crap oneself**) **1.** [mid-19C+] to defecate in one's underclothes; thus *shit yourself!* A dismissive insult. **2.** [1920s+] in fig. use, to be terrified.
shit one's load (verb)	[1990s+] to be absolutely terrified.
shit one's/your pants (verb)	(*also* **cack one's pants**, **shit in one's britches**) [1930s+] to be terrified or extremely excited; [*NPD*]: **1.** to soil your underpants by accidental defecation (UK), 2001
shit on from a great height (verb)	[1920s+] (orig. *RAF*) to be extremely unpleasant, to make a great deal of trouble for someone else.
shit on my dick or blood on my knife (phr.)	used for giving prisoner a choice - submit to anal sex or be knifed (US, 1976) [*RDM*]
shit on one's own doorstep (verb)	(*also* **shit on one's own backdoor**) [late 19C+] used of one who foolishly has adulterous affairs within their circle of friends and acquaintences (cf. SHIT IN ONE's OWN BACKYARD v.); [*DCS*] *British* to do something damaging or unpardonable which will reboun upon oneself or one's friends; to ruin one's own environment.
shit on someone's parade (verb)	*see* PISS ON SOMEONE'S PARADE v. [1970s+] (orig. US) to shatter illusions, to ruin an otherwise satisfactory situation.
shit on the dining room table (verb)	[2000s] (*US*) to become involved in a sexual relationship with a friend or employee.
shit on wheels (noun)	**1.** [1950s+] (orig. *US*) an important person or one who thinks that they are. **2.** [1970s] an old run-down vehicle.
shit on you! (excl.)	[1930s+] (orig. *US*) a general term of abuse.
shit or bust (verb)	(*also* **shit or go blind**) [late 19C+] to make a last, desperate gamble; also as an excl. of exasperation.
shit order (noun)	a dirty or untidy condition, especially when applied to military accommodation or equipment (UK) 1971 [*NPD*]
shit or get off the pot (phr.)	(*also* **crap or get off the hole**, **get off the pot** (or **shit**), **piss or get off the pot**) [1930s+] a phr. meaning either make a decision or let someone else do it; esp. as excl.; [*RDM*] used for urging action (CANADA, 1961)
shit-out (noun)	a coward (UK) 2000 [*NPD*]
shit out (verb)	(*also* **shite out**) [1960s+] to behave as a coward, to run away from danger or confrontation.
shit out of luck (adjective)	very unlucky (US, 1947) [*NPD*]
shit out (ouf luck) (phr)	[1930s+] (*US*) at the end of one's good fortune, in serious trouble with no escape.
shit out of someone, the	*See* BEAT THE SHIT OUT OF someone, *by 1950,* To defeat or thrash thoroughly; trounce; =CLOBBER [*DAS*]
shitpacker / shit-packer (noun)	an anal-sex enthusiast (US) 1964 [*NPD*]
shit-pan (noun)	[1940s] a general term of abuse.
shitpaper/shit paper (noun)	[1990s+] (*US*) lavatory paper.
shit-parade (noun)	*American* an alternative form of **shit-list** [*DCS*]
shitparcel (noun)	a prison officer (UK) 1996 [*NPD*]
shitpicker (noun)	a notional menial, demeaning job (US) 1971 [*NPD*]
shit pickles (verb)	*see* SHIT A BRICK v. **1.** [late 19C+] to defecate after a lengthy period of constipation. **2.** [1930s+] (*also* **sweat bricks**) to tremble with extreme fear. **3.** [1960s+] to be furious. **4.** [1960s+] to be absolutely delighted.
shit pie (noun)	[1990s+] nothing; [*NPD*] a comparative example for anything of no value (UK) 1999
shit pit/shit-pit (noun)	[1990s+] **1.** a lavatory **2.** any dirty and/or disgusting place; [*NPD*] a field-latrine (UK) 1995

Shitport (nickname)	Norfolk, Virginia (US) 1982 [*NPD*]
shitpot (noun)	***n.1*** [mid-19C+] **1.** an unpleasant person. **2.** an unpleasant place. **3.** a chamberpot, a lavatory. ***n.2*** *see* SHITLOAD n.; [*NPD*] **1.** a contemptible, worthless individual (UK, 1937) **2.** a great deal of (US) **3.** marijuana of inferior quality (US, 2001)
shitpot (adjective)	[1970s+] (*Aus.*) a second-rate, inferior.
shitpuncher (noun)	a male homosexual (New Zealand) 1998 [*NPD*]
shit rain (noun)	a series of disastrous events (US, 1963) [*RDM*]
shit-ringer (noun)	[1940s+] (*Aus.*) a stockman.
shits, the (noun)	**1.** [1930s+] (*also* **shits**) diarrhoea. **2.** [1940s+] terror, fear. **3.** [1960s+] (*Aus.*) a bad temper; thus GET THE SHITS (WITH) v.; GIVE SOMEONE THE SHITS v. **4.** [1970s+] anything objectionable or unpleasant; [*NPD*] **2.** the worst (US) 1971
for shits and giggles (phr.)	for no good reason (US) 2001. Something is done, for example, for shits and giggles. [*NPD*]
put the shits up (phr.)	to frighten someone (UK) 2002. [*NPD*]
shitsack (noun)	**1.** [late 18C+-early 19C] a Nonconformist. **2.** [late 18C+] a general pej., an unpleasant person.
shit sandwich (noun)	**1.** [1960s+] a humbling experience; 'humble pie'. **2.** [1980s] (*N.Z.*) homosexual anal intercourse; [*RDM*] a troubling, odious situation (US, 1968)
shit-scared (adjective)	[1950s+] terrified.
shit-shaped (adjective)	used of a prison cell that has been daubed with excrement (UK) 2001 [*NPD*]
shit-shark (noun)	[mid-late 19C] a night-soil collector.
shit, shave, shower, shine (expression)	used as a jocular reminder of a man's tasks before going out on the town (US) 1985. [*NPD*]
shit-sheet (noun)	*American* a police file (recording criminal activity) or school report (particularly one recording poor results) [*DCS*]
shit-shoe (noun)	(*also* **shit-shod**) [late 19C] one who has trodden in excrement.
shitshover (noun)	a male homosexual (UK) 1996. An obvious allusion to anal intercourse. [*NPD*]
shit-skin (noun)	[20C+] a derog. term for a Black person (cf. BLACK-BELLY n.).
shitskin (adjective)	[1960s] (*US Black*) a derog. term meaning pertaining to Black people.
shit (someone) up (verb)	[2000s] to disturb, to terrify.
shit-stab (verb)	[1990s+] to have anal intercourse, usu. in a male homosexual context (cf. ASK FOR THE RING v.).
shit-stabber/ shitstabber (noun)	[1960s+] (*orig. Gay*) **1.** the penis (cf. ARSE-OPENER n.). **2.** a male homosexual (cf. BROWN ARTIST n.).
shit stain (noun)	[1990s+] (*orig. US*) a fool (cf. DIPSHIT n.); [*RDM*] a stupid, despicable person (US, 1997)
shitstain (adjective)	despicable, unpleasant, foolish (US) 1995 [*NPD*]
shit-stick (noun)	(*also* **shite-sticks**) **1.** [late 16C] a contemptible person **2.** [1980s] (*US*) the penis, esp. when used for anal intercourse (cf. BAT n.7). **3.** [1990s+] (*UK prison*) a billy-club.
shit sticks! (excl.)	used as a mildly profane expression of disappointment (US,1964) [*RDM*]
shit-stir (verb)	[late 19C+] to gossip maliciously in the hope of causing trouble.
shit-stirrer (noun)	**1.** [late 19C+] a malicious gossip. **2.** [1930s+] a trouble-maker; a political activist.
shit stompers (noun)	[1970s+] (*US campus*) **1.** cowboy boots. **2.** cowboys; [*RDM*] heavy work boots (US, 1975)
shit stopper/shit-stopper (noun)	[1960s+] a prank, a funny scene, an escapade.
shit stoppers (noun)	drain-pipe trousers (a tight-cut, narrow-legged part of a Teddy Boy's 'uniform') (UK) 2003. [*NPD*]
shit(-)storm; shit storm (noun)	[1940s+] (*US*) a very confused or frightening situation; [*NPD*] an extremely serious situation (US),1962 ... 2001
shit street (noun)	[1960s+] a fig. bad place; esp. as *in shit street*, in disgrace; *up shit street*, in difficulties; [*NPD*] an unpleasant place to be; serious trouble (UK, 1961).
shit-sucking (adjective)	[1990s+] (*US*) an abusive intensifier.
shitsure (adverb)	[1950s+] (*US*) certainly, definitely.
shittalay (noun)	a Chevrolet car (US) 1992 [*NPD*]
shit-talk (verb)	to engage in bragging, insulting conversation (US) [*NPD*]
shit-talker (noun)	[1990s+] (*US Black*) one who talks nonsense.
shitted (adjective)	[1990s+] terrified.
shitten (adjective)	*see* SHITTY adj.**1.** [mid-16C-mid-18C; 1920s+] unpleasant, disgusting; mediocre, second-rate (thus *shittiness*, unpleasantness. **2.** [mid-17C-mid18C; 1920s+] covered in excrement; generally filthy.
shitten! (excl.)	[17C; 1930s] a general excl. of derision.
shitten end of a brick (noun)	*see* SHORT END (OF THE STICK) n. [mid-19C+] (orig. US) unfair treatment, deliberately engineered bad luck, the bad side of a deal or situation; be ext. the unfavoured option in a bet on sport; thus short-ender, a contestant who is expected

	to lose (cf. FUZZY END OF THE LOLLIPOP n.).
shitten Saturday (noun)	[mid-19C] (*mainly school/provincial*) Easter Saturday.
shitter (, the) (noun)	**n.1** (*also* **shiter**) **1.** [20C+] the anus (cf. DIRT BOX n.). **2.** [1960s] in fig. use of (4), a disgusting place or situation. **3.** [1960s-70s] (*US prison*) a punishment cell. **4.** [1960s+] (*US*) a lavatory, a commode. **5.** [1960s+] one who defecates in a public place. **6.** [1970s] (*US gay*) in coprophiliac sex, one who defecates on their partner. **7.** [1970s+] (*UK Und.*) a thief who likes to excrete inside the places he robs. // **n.2** (*also* **shiter**) [1970s+] (*orig. US*) **1.** a braggart, a boaster. **2.** a term of abuse; [*NPD*] **4.** a liar; a braggart; a bluffer (US) 2002. **5.** a coward (UK) 2001. **6.** a horse (US) 1958. **7.** a prison cell used for solitary confinement (US) 1990. **8.** the hell (Australia) 1971. Used as an intensifier.
shitters (noun)	[1940s] (*Aus.*) cattle.
shitters, the (noun)	[late 19C+] diarrhoea.
shitters (adjective)	(*also* **shiters**) [1990s+] terrifed.
shit the bed!	used for registering wonder or satisfaction (UK) 2002. An elaboration of SHIT!. [*NPD*]
shit the life out of (verb)	to frighten someone (UK) 1999. [*NPD*]
shit through a tin horn (phr.)	*See* LIKE SHIT THOUGH A TIN HORN adv phr, by 1940s, Very rapidly and easily; effortlessly [*DAS*]
shit through one's teeth (verb)	**1.** [late 18C+] to vomit. **2.** [1970s+] (*also* **shit through one's mouth**) to lie blatantly. **3.** [1980s] (*W.I.*) (*also* **shit through one's nose**) to suffer, to be humiliated.
shit ticket (noun)	[1990s+] (*US juv.*) a sheet of lavatory paper.
shitting (adjective)	(*also* **shiteing**) [1930s+] **1.** cowardly. **2.** a general term of abuse. [*NPD*]: used as a negative intensifier (UK) 1966, 2001
shitting in high cotton (and wiping with the leaves)	enjoying prosperous times (US) 1984 [*NPD*]
shitting-it (adjective)	scared; very nervous (UK) 1996 [*NPD*]
shittings (noun)	diarrhoea (Bahamas) 1982 [*NPD*]
shitting up (noun)	in prison, a deliberate act of protest by decorating a cell with excrement (UK) 1996 [*NPD*]
shit train (noun)	a great number of; a lot of (US, 1989) [*RDM*]
shitty (noun)	[1970s+] (*Aus./N.Z.*) a fit of temper; [*NPD*] a bad mood (Australia) 1979
shitty (adjective)	*adj.1* (*also* **shitey**) **1.** [mid-16C-mid18C; 1920s+] (*also* **shitten**) unpleasant, disgusting; mediocre, second-rate; thus *shittiness*, unpleasantness. **2.** [mid-17C-mid-18C; 1920s+] (*also* **shitten**) covered in excrement; generally filthy. **3.** [1920s+] (*US*) mean, malicious, nasty. **4.** [1920s+] (*US*) tedious, futile. **5.** [1920s+] (*US*) unwell, ill. **6.** [1960s+] depressed, guilty. **7.** [1960s+] (*Aus.*) bad-tempered. **8.** [1970s] (*US*) dangerous. **9.** [1970s] incompetent. *adj.2 see* SHITEFACED adj.2 (1); [*NPD*] **1.** awful; of poor quality (US, 1924) **2.** in a bad mood (Australia, 1971) **3.** drunk (US) 2003
shitty (adverb)	(*also* **shitily**) [1920s+] badly, unsatisfactorily.
shitty-britches (noun)	*by 1930s* An infant or child; =POOTBUTT [*DAS*]
shitty end of the stick (noun)	*see* SHORT END (OF THE STICK) n.[mid-19C+] (*orig. US*) unfair treatment, deliberately engineered bad luck, the bad side of a deal or situation; by ext. the unfavoured option in a bet on sport; thus short-ender, a contestant who is expected to lose (cf. FUZZY END OF THE LOLLIPOP n.); [*NPD*]: an unfair position to be in; inequitable treatment (UK) 1974, 2001
shitty-livered (adjective)	[1980s+] (*N.Z.*) a bad-tempered.
Shitty Mcshit!	used for registering frustration, annoyance, anger, etc (UK) 2000. **SHIT!** Intensified by an elaborated reduplication. [*NPD*]
shit up (verb)	[1990s+] to terrify.
shitville (noun)	[1970s] (*US*) a very out of the way, rural place; [*RDM*] any remote, forsaken town (US, 1977)
shitwagon (noun)	[1970s+] (*US*) a second-rate, run-down automobile; [*RDM*] a garbage truck (US, 1999)
shitweasel (noun)	[1990s+] a term of abuse, used of a person or an unpleasant thing.
shit where one eats (verb)	[1980s+] (*orig. US*) to commit a crime in one's own neighbourhood; lit. and fig. (cf. SHIT ON THE DINING ROOM TABLE v.).
shitwork (noun)	[1960s+] unpleasant, unwanted, prob. dirty occupations.
shitwrap (noun)	a despicable person (US) 2001 [*NPD*]
shit your shorts (verb)	to behave in a nervous or grightened manner (US) 2002 [*NPD*]

Expressions based on the word *piss* and their definitions

Expressions (182)	Definitions
on the piss	on a drinking binge (Australia) 1965...1999 [*NPD*]
take the piss out of	to satirise someone or something; to make a joke of someone or something; to send up someone or something (Australia) 1976 & 2001 [*NPD*]
I wouldn't piss in your ear if your brain was on fire	I could not care less about you (Australia) 1985 [*NPD*]
I wouldn't piss on you if you were on fire	used for expressing the utmost personal contempt (UK) 1994 [*NPD*]
pissabed (noun)	**1.** [mid-17c+] a bed-wetter. **2.** [mid-18C; 1920s] a general derisive epithet.
piss about (verb)	(*also* **piddle about/around piss around**) **1.** [20C+] to waste time, to mess about. **2.** [1930s+] to wander, to go **3.** [1980s+] to irritate or tease someone. [*NPD*]: to play the fool, to waste time; to make a mess of something; to inconvenience someone (UK, 1961) 2002
piss all over (someone) (verb)	v. *See* PISS ON v. (1) **1.** [17C+] (*also* **pish on**, **piss all over**, **piss upon**) to treat contemptuously. **2.** [1930s+] to hell with; thus excl. *piss on it, who cares!* **3.** [1950s+] to drench with rain; usu. as pissed on. [*DCS*]: to thoroughly defeat, humiliate or overwhelm.
piss and moan (verb)	[1950s+] (*orig. US*) to complain, to whine.
piss and punk (noun)	bread and water (US) [*NPD*]
piss and vinegar (noun)	[1920s+] (*orig. US*) energy, enthusiasm, cheekiness; usu. in phr. *Full of piss and vinegar.*
piss and wind (noun)	[1920s+] **1.** empty talk. **2.** one who is full of pompous braggadocio. [*DAS*]: *by 1922*, Pretentious but feble show; gaudy display
pissant/ piss-ant (noun)	[1930s+] an insignificant person, a 'nobody'; thus [1930s+] *drunk as a pissant*, very drunk; [1940s+] *game as a pissant*, very brave; [*DAS*] by 1903, **1.** A despicable person; an insignificant wretch; [*RDM*] a small person (US, 1946); [*DCS*] Trifling, paltry, insignificant.
pissant (adjective)	[1960s+] insignificant, trifling.
pissant (around) (verb)	[1940s+] (Aus.) **1.** to mess around. **2.** to defeat, to outwit.
pissaphone (noun)	a funnel-shaped urinal used by the military (Australia, 1943) [*NPD*]
piss around (verb)	*see* PISS ABOUT v. (also *piddle about/around, piss around*) **1.** [20C+] to waste time, to mess about. **2.** [1930s+] to wander, to go **3.** [1980s+] to irritate or tease someone.
piss-arse about (verb)	[1920s+] (*orig. Milit.*) to mess about; [*NPD*] to play the fool, to waste time; to make a mess of something; to inconvenience someone (UK) 1948
piss artist (noun)	**1.** [1940s+] a regular drunk. **2.** [1970s+] a general term of abuse.
piss-ass (adjective)	*see* PISSY-ASS adj. (*also* **piss-ass**) [1950s+] (US) **1.** insignificant, useless. **2.** unpleasant; [*RDM*] despicable, unworthy, inconsequential (US, 1974)
piss-ass drunk (adjective)	*see* PISSY-ARSED adj. [1940s+] extremely drunk (cf. ARSEHOLED adj.).
piss away (verb)	[20C+] to waste, to waste time.
piss-awful (adjective)	[1970s+] very bad, very unpleasant.
piss backwards (verb)	[late 17C-1900s] to defecate.
piss-ball about (verb)	[1920s+] to mess about, to idle.
pissballing (adjective)	[2000s] mean, contemptuous.
piss blood (verb)	**1.** [late 19C+] to work extremely hard. **2** [1960s+] to worry excessively, to make a great fuss. **3** [1960s+] to suffer a great deal.
piss bones (verb)	(also **piss children**, ...**hard**) [late 19C-1900s] to go into labour, to give birth.
piss boy (noun)	a person of no consequence (US, 1999) [*RDM*]
piss britches (noun)	[1960s] (*US Black*) a general term of abuse.
piss broken glass (verb)	(*also* **piss razor blades**) [1960s+] to have venereal disease, esp. gonorrhoea.
piss-bucket (noun)	[2000s] (US) a contemptible person.
piss bullets (verb)	*see* SHIT BULLETS v. [1940s+] (US) to be terrified.
piss-burned (adjective)	[late 17C-early 19C] discoloured, esp. of a grey wig that has turned yellow.
pisscall / piss call (noun)	[1950s+] a stop for urination, e.g. during work or on a journey etc. [*RDM*]: **2.** time to wake up (US, 1960)
piss can/ piss-can/ pisscan (noun)	[1940s-50s] (*US prison*) a prison; [*NPD*] a local police station or jail (US) 1961
piss children (verb)	*see* PISS BONES v.
piss cutter / piss-cutter (noun)	[1940s+] (*US*) **1.** a generally obnoxious person **2.** an admirable or exceptional person. **3.** an outstanding or excellent thing. **4.** a drunken spree, a binge. **5.** a major confrontation; [*NPD*] **2.** A person who disparages a friend (BAHAMAS) 1982, **3.** in oil drilling, the third man on a cable tool rig. (US) 1954
piss down (verb)	[1920s+] to rain heavily
piss down someone's back (verb)	(*also* **piss up someone's back**) [late 18C-early 19C] to flatter someone.
piss-easy / piss easy (adjective)	[1980s+] (*orig. N.Z.*) very easy [PISS- pfx]
pissed (adjective)	**1.** (*also* **peed**, **pissed up**) [20C+] drunk; thus *half-pissed,* tipsy. **2.** [1950S+] (US)

	annoyed; thus *pissedness*, anger.
pissed as a ... *phr.*	[20C+] in combs. listed below meaning very drunk
pissed as a bastard (adjective)	very drunk (UK) found 2003 [*NPD*]
pissed as a chook *phr.*	[1980s+] (*N.Z.*) very drunk.
pissed as a cunt (adjective)	extremely drunk (UK) 1961 [*NPD*]
pissed as a fart; pissed as a brewer's fart (adjective)	[1960s+] very drunk.
pissed as a newt (adjective)	[1950s+] very drunk.
pissed as an owl (adjective)	very drunk (Australia) found 1986 [*NPD*]
pissed as a parrot (adjective)	[1980s+] (*Aus.*) extremely drunk.
pissed as a rat (adjective)	[1980s+] very drunk.
pissed as arseholes (adjective)	[1940s+] extremely drunk (cf. ARSEHOLED adj.].
pissed as a twat (adjective)	very drunk (UK) 2003 [*NPD*]
pissed off (adjective)	[1940s+] (*orig. US*) furious, very annoyed; bored. [*NPD*]: fed up; disgruntled; annoyed; angry (US, 1946) Also found in 1977 ... 2001
pissed out (adjective)	[1960s+] (*US*) exhausted, finished.
pissed out of your mind; pissed out of your skull	very drunk (Australia) 1969 [*NPD*]
pissed to the ears (adjective)	[1960+s] extremely drunk.
pissed to the eyeballs (adjective)	[1990s+] (*Aus.*) extremely drunk (cf. ARSEHOLED adj.).
pissed to the gills (adjective)	[1970s+] (*US*) very inebriated.
pissed up (adjective)	*see* PISSED adj. 1. [*NPD*]: in a drunken condition (UK) 2001
piss-elegance (noun)	(*also* **piss-elegant**) [1960s+] extreme elegance, used lit. and ironically.
piss elegant (noun)	[1960s] a pretentious, ostentatious, self-obsessed male homosexual.
piss-elegant (adjective)	[1940s+] extremely elegant (usu. used ironically or deprecatingly); [*NPD*] conceited, haughty (US) 1957 ... 1991
pisser (noun)	**1.** [late 19C+] a urinal. **2.** [late 19C+] the penis. **3.** [late 19C+] the vagina **4.** [20C+] (*N.Z.*) a woman. **5.** [1920s+] a day on which it rains heavily and continuously. **6.** [1920s+] one who urinates. **7.** [1930s+] an electric pylon. **8.** [1950s-60s] a very unpleasant place. **9.** [1970s] (*US prison*) solitary confinement. **10.** [1980s] a public house. **11.** [1980s] a drunkard. **12.** [2000s] (*Irish*) a heavy drinking session; [*NPD*] **3.** a criminial who urinates in their clothing when caught by authorities (Australia). **4.** an extraordinary person or thing (US, 1943) **5.** an annoyance (US, 1943) **6.** during the Vietnam war, an observer of enemy supply trails (US) **10.** a type of cicada which releases a liquid when held (Australia, 1980); [*DAS*] by 1940s **1.** A very difficult job or task **3.** A very funny person or thing
(pisser) => pull your pisser	to befool, or mislead, or tease someone (UK, 1969) [*NPD*]
pissface (noun)	[1990s+] (*UK juv.*) a general term of abuse.
piss-factory (noun)	[late 19C-1940S] a public house.
piss-fart around (verb)	to waste time (Australia) 1988 ... 2002 [*NPD*]
piss fat (noun)	an erection caused by a full bladder (Australia) 1984 [*NPD*]
piss flaps (noun)	(*also* **piss-flappers**) [1970s+] the labia (cf. DEW-FLAPS n.). [*NPD*]: Roger's Profanisaurus, 1997, also offers its use as an exclamation of disappointment: 'Oh piss-flaps! I never win the Lottery!' 1985 ... 2002.
piss freak (noun)	[2000s] a person who derives sexual satisfaction from being urinated on.
piss hard (verb)	*see* PISS BONES v.
piss hard-on (noun)	(*also* **piss-horn**) [1960s+] the erection with which a man awakes, due as much to the need to urinate as to the desire for sex. [*RDM*]: an erection driven by a full bladder (US, 1969)
piss-head/ pisshead (noun)	**1.** [1950s+] a heavy drinker; [*DAS*] by 1970s, A despicable person; a stupid bore; [*NPD*] a drunk; a habitual drinker (UK, 1961)
pisshole / piss-hole (noun)	[1950s+] **1.** a urinal, a lavatory. **2.** any very dirty house, room or place; [*RDM*] **1.** the entrance to the urethra (US, 1996) **2.** An unpleasant location (UK, 1973)
pisshole (adjective)	[1950s+] second-rate, inferior, disgusting.
piss-hole / pisshole bandit (noun)	**1.** [1960s+] a minor criminal. **2.** [1970s] a male homosexual who solicits in lavatories.
pissholes in the snow (noun)	[1960s+] of the eyes, bloodshot, shrunken and showing signs of excess.
piss-horn (noun)	*see* PISS HARD-ON n.
pisshouse / piss house (noun)	**1.** [mid-17C; 1940s+] a lavatory (cf. BACKHOUSE n.) **2.** [1930s-40s] (*US Und.*) a police station.
piss ice water (verb)	*by 1980s*, To be very cool; exhibit sangfroid [*DAS*]
piss in (verb)	[1980s+] (*N.Z.*) to achieve with ease.
piss in a quill (verb)	[late 17C-mid-18C; 1950s] to agree on a plan.
pissing contest/match (noun)	[1970s+] (*mainly US*] any form of competition in which the participants are motivated more by the need to assert their superiority than by any desire to attain an

	accurate or positive conclusion; also attrib.; [DAS] by 1970s, An argument; disagreement; confrontational debate
pissing fou (adjective)	[19C] very drunk. [PISS v.1 (1) + FOU adj.1; the idea of urinating through drunkenness]
pissing place (noun)	[mid-17C] the vagina.
pissing-tail (adjective)	(*also* **pissy-tail**) [20C+] (W.I.) **1.** esp. of a young person, disrespectful, bumptious. **2.** officious but impoverished and socially unimportant.
pissing while (noun)	[mid-16C-17C] a short time.
piss in one's pants (verb)	[1920s+] **1.** to be terrified. **2.** to be overcome with laughter. **3.** to be furious. **4.** to be very keen.
piss in someone's pocket (verb)	(*also* **piss in the same pot**] [1920s+] (*Aus.*) to curry favour, to be extremely close to someone, to ingratiate oneself.
piss in someone's pool (verb)	*American* a vulgar alternative to *rain on someone's parade* [DCS]
piss in the hand (noun)	[1970s+] (*N.Z.*) anything considered very easy; [NPD] something that is very simple (New Zealand) 1984
piss in the wind (noun)	[1960s+] a waste of time; [NPD] to engage in a hapless, futile activity (US) 1974
piss-in-the-wind (adjective)	[1990s+] pointless, time-wasting.
piss in(to) the wind (verb)	[1960s+] to waste one's efforts or time.
piss into someone's tent	to impinge upon another's interests (UK) 2002 [NPD]
piss it (verb)	[1970s+] to succeed with no difficulty whatsoever, to win very easily.
piss it in (verb)	to win easily (Australia) 1996 [NPD]
piss it on the walls/ out the window/ up the wall (verb)	*see* PISS (MONEY) AGAINST THE WALL v.
piss it up (verb)	[1960s+] to drink.
piss-kitchen (noun)	[mid-18C] a kitchen maid.
piss-maker (noun)	[late 18C-early 19C] a heavy drinker.
piss-making (adjective)	[1990s+] (*US Black*) infuriating.
piss (money) against the wall; piss it up the wall	v. (*also* **piss it/money on the walls, ... Out the window, ... Up the wall**) [late 15C+] to waste money on drink; thus to waste money in general.
piss'n'tail (noun)	[1970s] a general term of abuse.
pisso (noun)	[1960s] (*Aus.*) a drunkard; a general term of abuse.
piss-off (noun)	[1980s+] something or someone annoying; [NPD] an annoyance, an irritation (UK) 2000.
piss-off (adjective)	[1990s+] annoying, irritation.
piss off / piss (someone) off (verb)	(*also* **pee off**) **1.** [1920+s] to leave; esp. as PISS OFF. **2.** [1950s+] to annoy; thus *piss-off*, a state of anger; [NPD] **3.** to get rid of someone (Australia) 1972 ...1987
piss off! (exclamation)	[1910s+] an excl. of rejection, dismissal.
pissoir (noun)	[1970s+] (*US campus*) the lavatory.
pissoliver (noun)	[20C+] (*US*) a pistol, a revolver.
piss on (verb)	**1.** [17C+] (*also* **pish on**, **piss all over**, **piss upon**) to treat contemptuously. **2.** [1930s+] to hell with; thus excl. *piss on it, who cares!* **3.** [1950s+] to drench with rain; usu. as *pissed on*; [NPD] to drink heavily; to continue a drinking binge (Australia) 1998
piss on a nettle (verb)	[mid-16C-mid-18C] to be annoyed, uneasy, tetchy; thus *on nettles*, anxious, uneasy.
piss oneself/ yourself (verb)	(*also* **pee oneself**) **1.** [late 18C; 1960s+] to fig. urinate onself, in the context of being utterly terrified. **2.** [1940s+] to laugh uproariously.
piss on one's foot (or in one's pocket) and call it rain (verb)	*by 1980s,* To lie and mislead cajolingly
piss one's pants (verb)	**1.** [late 18C; 1960s+] (*also* **pee one's pants**, **piss one's breeches**) to be terrified. **2.** [1920s+] (*US*) to be very excited, in a state of suspense; [NPD] *piss your trousers*; *piss your pants*: to soil your clothing by accidental urination (UK). Found in 1966.
piss one's tallow (verb)	**1.** [late 16C-17C] of a man, to be sufficiently sexually excited as to ejaculate (without actual intercourse). **2.** [late 17C] to sweat.
piss on ice (verb)	[1920s] (*US*) to live well, esp. to visit an upmarket restaurant. [RDM]: to be living in luxury (US, 1960)
piss on one's shoe (verb)	[1980s] to blunder, to fail in a task.
piss on someone's chips/sandwiches (verb)	(*also* **piss on one's chips**) [1980s+] (*orig. Can.*) to spoil someone else's or one's own plans; [DCS] British more vulgar synonyms for the American phrase rain on someone's parade.
piss on someone's parade (verb)	(*also* **rain on someone's parade**, **shit...**) [1970s+] (*orig. US*) to shatter illusions, to ruin an otherwise satisfactory situation.
piss on someone's shoe (verb)	[1970s] (*US*) to humiliate.
piss on you! (excl.)	[1950s+] a general abusive excl.
piss or get off the pot (phr.)	*see* SHIT OT GET OFF THE POT [1930s+] a phr. meaning either make a decision or let someone else do it; esp. as excl.

piss out of a dozen holes (verb)	[late 19C+] of a man, to be infected with syphilis.
piss over teakettle (phr.)	[1990s+] head-over-heels. [var. On ARSE OVER TEAKETTLE phr.]
piss-parade (verb)	[1970s+] (*W.I.*) to shatter illusions, to ruin an otherwise satisfactory situation.
piss pins and needles (verb)	[late 18C-early 19C] to have veneral disease, esp. gonorrhoea.
piss pipe (noun)	[1990s+] the male urinary tract.
piss play (noun)	sexual ebhaviour involving urination and urine (US) 1999 [*NPD*]
piss-poor/ piss poor (adjective)	**1.** [1940s+] third-rate, incompetent, useless. **2.** [1960s] totally lacking in finances.
pisspot; piss-pot (noun)	**1.** (*also* **pee-pot**) a chamberpot; occas. a lavatory or urinal. **2.** [late 16C+] an unpleasant person. **3.** [1960s+] a drunkard; [*RDM*] **1.** an extraordinary example of something (US, 1993). **2.** a despicable person (US, 1973). **3.** a terrible thing or place (US, 1964). **4.** a US military M-1 helmet (US, 1987)
pisspot (adjective)	[mid-17C; 1930s+] third-rate, incompetent.
pisspot juggler (noun)	[1900s-30s] (*Can.*) a chambermaid.
piss prophet (noun)	[late 17C-early 19C] a physician who makes all their diagnoses on the basis of inspecting the patient's urine.
piss-proud (adjective)	[alte 18C+] of a man, having an erection on waking; [*NPD*] having an erect penis as a result of urinal pressure (UK)
piss pure cream (verb)	[late 19C] to have gonorrhoea.
piss-quick (noun)	[early 19C] gin mixed with marmalade topped up with boiling water.
piss razor blades (verb)	*see* PISS BROKEN GLASS
piss-rotten (adjective)	cc[1940s+] appalling, unpleasant, distasteful.
piss-sick (adjective)	cc[1990s+] utterly contemptuous.
piss slave (noun)	the passive member of a sadomasochistic relationship in which urine is a source of pleasure (US, 1981) [*RDM*]
piss (someone) off (verb)	to irritate, anger, annoy or provoke someone. [*DCS*]
piss-take (noun)	[1970s+] a tease, a hoax, a practical joke; [*NPD*] an act of mockery or teasing (UK, 1977)
piss-take (verb)	[1940s+] to tease; [*NPD*] to mock; to tease; to deride; to ridicule (UK) 2002
piss-taker (noun)	[1990s+] a teaser, a joker, a mocker.
piss-taking (noun)	[1940s+] teasing, mocking, fooling.
piss-tank (noun)	[20C+] a drunkard.
piss test (noun)	[1990s+] (*drugs*) a urine analysis, carried out to check for drug use.
piss-test (verb)	(*also* **piss**) [1990s+] (*drugs*) to carry out a urine analysis.
piss through (verb)	[1910s+] to do something with no difficulty.
piss-to-windward (noun)	an entirely inept person (Barbados) 1965. [*NPD*]
piss tube; pee pipe (noun)	a metal tube partially buried in the ground, into which soldiers urinate (US, 1977). Vietnam war usage. [*NPD*]
piss-ugly (adjective)	[1980s+] (*orig. US*) very ugly; [*DAS*] by 1970s, Very ugly; nasty and menacing
piss-up (noun)	[1950s+] a drunken party; a drunken spree.
couldn't organise a piss-up in a brewery (expression)	used of an inefficient person or organisation (UK, 1984) [*NPD*]
piss up (verb)	[1960s-70s] (*US*) to vomit; [*NPD*] see *piss up*; *piss up large* (verb): to drink beer or other alcoholic beverages (New Zealand) 1998
piss up; piss up large (verb)	*see* piss up (verb)
piss up a rope	*See* GO PISS UP A ROPE, by 1940s, Go away and do something characteristically stupid [*DAS*]
piss up a storm (verb1)	[20C+] (*US*) to complain strongly, to make a major fuss.
piss up a storm (verb2)	[1990s+] (*US*) to urinate for a relatively long time.
piss upon (verb)	*see* PISS ON v. (1) **1.** [17C+] (*also* **pish on**, **piss all over**, **piss upon**) to treat contemptuously. **2.** [1930s+] to hell with; thus excl. *piss on it, who cares!* **3.** [1950s+] to drench with rain; usu. as *pissed on*.
piss up someone's back (verb)	*see* PISS DOWN SOMEONE'S BACK v.
piss-walloper (noun)	[1900s] (*US*) something remarkable, impressive.
piss-warm (adjective)	[late 19C+] tepid, lukewarm in an unpleasant way.
piss-warmer (noun)	(*also* **pee-warmer**) [20C+] (*Can.*) a general term of extreme approval.
piss-weak (adjective)	puny and cowardly (Australia, 1971) [*NPD*]
pisswhacker (noun)	a type of cicada which releasses a liquid when held. (Australia, 1981) [*NPD*]
piss when one cannot whistle (verb)	[late 18C-early 19C] to be hanged.
piss-willie (noun)	[1970s] (*US*) a coward; [*NPD*] a despicable coward (US) 1977.
pissy (noun)	a heavy drinker (Australia) 1979 [*NPD*]; [*DAS*] insignificant, trivial, inferior
pissy (adjective)	(*adj.1*) [1930s+] redolent of urine. // (*adj.2*) **1.** [1950s+] drunken. **2.** [1950s+] weak, ineffectual, trifling. **3.** [1970s+] unpleasant. // (*adj.3*) **1.** [1950s+] cocky, arrogant. **2.** [1970s+] angry; [*NPD*] **4.** given to drinking (Australia) 1979; [*DAS*] by 1973, Stupid; silly; offensive
pissy (adverb)	extremely (Bahamas) 1982. [*NPD*]

pissy-arsed (adjective)	(*also* **piss-ass drunk**, **pissy-ass drunk**) [1940s+] extremely drunk (cf. ARSEHOLED adj.).
pissy-ass (adjective)	(*also* **piss-ass**) [1950s+] (*US*) **1.** insignificant, useless. **2.** unpleasant; [*RDM*] dirty, inconsequential (US, 1975); [*DAS*] by 1973, Stupid; silly; offensive
pissy-drunk (adjective)	[1990s+] (*US*) very drunk.
pissy-eyed (adjective)	[1960s+] (*US*) extremely drunk (cf. ARSEHOLED adj.). **2.** [1980s+] (*N.Z.*) (mildly) drunk.
pissy-fit	*British* a tantrum, fit of bad temper. Recorded in use by Leicester University students in 2011. [*DCS*]
pissy pal (noun)	[late 19C+] an acquaintance picked up in a public house or a friend who one only sees in the pub; a close friend.
pissy-pukey (adjective)	[1960s] (*US*) very drunk.
pissy-tail (adjective)	*see* PISSING-TAIL adj.
pissy weed (noun)	[2000s] (*US Black/drugs*) marijuana that burns with a slightly urinous smell (cf. AFRICAN BUSH n.).

Expressions based on the word *blood* and their definitions	
Expressions (67)	**Definitions**
make your blood boil	to infuriate you (UK, 1848) [*NPD*]
(your) blood is worth bottling	phr. *see* BOTTLING adj.: [20C+] (*Aus.*) excellent, first-class; also note approving/congratulatory phrase. *his/her/your blood's worth bottling*; [*NPD*] you are wonderful (Australia) Used in 1958 & 1969
blood alley (noun)	an unsafe stretch of a road US (1983) & (2004) [*NPD*]
blood ball (noun)	[late 19C-1900s] an annual butchers' ball. [the butchers' sanguineous trade]
blood bank (noun)	hospital (*UK*) 1981, a finance company (US) 1975 [*NPD*]
blood blister (noun)	[20C+] (*Aus.*) a sister [rhy. sl.]
blood box(noun)	[1970s+] (*Aus./US*) an ambulance
blood bread (noun)	payment for donating blood (US) 1971 [*NPD*]
blood brother (noun)	black, fr about 1960, A fellow black [*DAS*]
blood bucket (noun)	[1960s] (*US*) a notably tough saloon or bar
blood chit (noun)	*Korean War armed forces* A cloth badge that identifies a military aviator as American and promises a reward for aiding him [*DAS*]
bloodclaat; bloodclot; blood clot (noun)	(also **blood clath, ...clot, ...cloth**) [1950s+] (*orig. and mainly W.I./UK Black*) a highly derog. description of another person; [*NPD*] a contemptible person (Jamaica) West Indian, hence UK black patois; literally a 'sanitary towel', applied figuratively. (1994 & 2000)
bloodclaat (adjective)	[1970s+] a general derog. intensifier.
blood cloth (noun)	an improvised sanitary towel (Antigua and Barbuda) 1996 [*NPD*]
blood factory (noun)	[2000s] a hospital.
bloodfire! (exclamation)	[1990s] (*UK/US Black*) an excl. of greeting to a fellow Black person
bloodhammer (noun)	[2000s] the penis (cf. AX n.2).
bloodhound (verb)	to track someone down (US) (1963) [*NPD*]
bloodhound (noun)	[Early 19C+] **1.** one who perjures themself for money. **2.** a policeman (cf. ANIMAL n.1)
blood house/ blood-house (noun)	[1950s+] (*Aus./N.Z.*) a public house with a reputation for violence; [*DCS*] Australian. A squalid, disreputable establishment, usually a bar, pub, café or hotel.
bloodhouse (noun)	a public hotel, especially a rough one (Australia) 1952 & 1998 [*NPD*]
blood in (verb)	in prison, to establish your credentials for toughness by slashing another prisoner (US) 2000 [*NPD*]
blood in, blood out (noun)	phr. [1990s+] (*US Und.*) a ritual phr. meaning that to join a prison or street gang you must kill, and that you may leave it (other than finishing your sentence) only by being killed yourself.
blood in the elevator (noun)	evidence of a struggle for professional supremacy. An item of corporate and political slang. [*DCS*]
bloodman (noun)	a person who is at any moment capable of physical violence (US, 2002) [*NPD*]
blood medicine (noun)	[late 19C] (*US*) alcohol. ['a tonic']
blood money (noun)	in gambling, money that is won after long, hard work (US, 1979) [*NPD*]
blood nose (noun)	a nose that is bleeding, as from a punch (Australia) 1960 ... 1983 [*NPD*]
bloodnut (noun)	a red-haired person (Australia) 1960 ... 1983 [*NPD*]
blood oath! (excl.)	(*also* **bloody oath!**) [mid-19C+] (*Aus.*) a general expression of agreement.
blood on the floor (noun)	evidence that a seirous conflict has taken place. An item of corporate and political slang. [*DCS*]
blood on the stairs (noun)	evidence of a struggle for professional supramacy. An item of corporate and politcal

	slang. [*DCS*]
blood on the walls (noun)	evidence that savage conflict has taken place. An item o corporate and political slang. [*DCS*]
blood or beer! (excl.)	*excl.* [late 19C-1900s] a street challenge, albeit usu. joc., i.e. 'will you fight or buy a round?'
blood poker (noun)	poker played as business with no social trappings (US) 1988 [*NPD*]
blood red (noun)	[2000s] fellatio [rhy. Sl. = HEAD n.10]
blood-red fancy (noun)	[mid-19C] a crimson handkerchief, as worn by costermongers.
blood simple (adjective)	crazed by violence (US, 1994) [*NPD*]
blood sports (noun)	[1990s+] performing cunnilingus on a menstruating woman.
blood stripe (noun)	a military promotion that is made possible only be the demotion of another unit member (US) (1968) [*NPD*]
blood tub (noun)	[mid-late 19C] **1.** a thug, a street gangster. **2.** a theatre presenting lurid melodrama. **3.** in fig. use, a dangerous place or situation.
blood wagon / bloodwagon (noun)	[1930s+] an ambulance
blood weapon (noun)	a weapon captured from an enemy soldier, escpecially a soldier killed by the man taking the weapon (US) (1990) [*NPD*]
blood wings (noun)	the first set of parachute insignia that a paratrooper receives upon qualification at different levels of expertise (US) 1989 [*NPD*]
blood-worm (noun)	[mid-19C-1900s] a sausage, esp. a black pudding [its main ingredient and its appearance]
blood and guts alderman (n)	[19C]a fat and pompous man
blood and 'ounds	excl. (also **blood and ouns!**) [mid-16C-1950s] a mild oath.
bloody (noun)	[1980s+] (*US campus*) a *bloody* Mary, a drink of which the chief constituents are vodka and tomato juice. [abbr.]
bloody (adjective)	*adj.1* (*also* **bleedy**) **1.** [late 18C+] a general negative adj., abominable or terrible; esp. in the UK and Aus., where it is so widespread as to be termed 'the great Australian adjective'. **2.** [early 19C+] usu. of a person or experience, unpleasant. **3.** [20C+] as in infix, e.g. ABSOBLOODYLUTELY adv., *not bloody likely* etc. *adj.2* [mid-19C] rakish; [*NPD*] **1.** used as an intensifier; damned UK, 1676 **2.** unpleasant; unpleasantly difficult UK, 1934
bloody (adv.)	(*also* **bloodyful**) [late 17C+] a general negative intensifier, very, exceedingly, abominably or desperately.
–bloody– (infix)	damned (AUS) 1945 ... 2001 [*NPD*]
bloody back (noun)	[late 18C-mid-19C] a soldier. [his scarlet jacket; ? Extra ref. to the frequent floggings of army discipline]
bloody bucket (noun)	(*also* **bucket of blood, tub of blood**) (US) **1.** [late 19C+] a notably tough saloon or bar. **2.** [1920s] a speakeasy. **3.** [1920s+] a cocktail made up of vodka and tomato juice, a 'bloody Mary' **4.** [1950s] a tough area of a town or city, orig. that which surrounded a local rough tavern.
bloody cunt hat (noun)	a narrow green cap worn by English Army officers (UK) Robert Th., a former member of the New Mexico National Guard (1948 to 1955), reports the use of cunt hat for oversea hat and bloody cunt hat for the oversea hat of English officers (it had a red stripe) 1980 [*NPD*]
bloody flag is out	phr. [late 17C- early 19C] drunk. [orig. in Shakespeare's Henry V (1598-9): 'Stand for your own; unwind your bloody flag'; ult. Aggressiveness that so often accompanies heavy drinking]
bloodyful (adverbial)	*see* BLOODY adv. [late17C+] a general negative intensifier, very, exceedingly, abominably or desperately.
bloody hell!; bee aitch; BH	used for registering shock, surprise, exasperation, etc. (**UK**) Combines **BLOODY** (an intensifier) with **HELL** (used in oaths) to create an expletive so familiar that it is often pronounced as one word. Occasionally abbreviated to euphemistic initials 1982 & 2000 [*NPD*]
bloody jemmy (noun)	[early 19C-1910s] an uncooked sheep's head.
bloody Jesus, the (noun)	*see* BEJAZUS, THE n. [20C+] the life, the 'daylights'; esp. in phr. *beat/kick/knock the bejezus out of*.
Bloody Mary (noun)	**1.** a drink made of vodka and tomato juice, and, optionally, Tabasco or Worcester Sauce (UK) 1956. **2.** the bleed period of a woman's menstrual cycle (US) 1968 & 1999 [*NPD*]
Bloody mary (noun)	[1940s+] (US) a menstruating woman, used by a woman of herself, e.g. *I'm bloody mary today.*
Bloody Monday (noun)	[late 17C-18C] the last day of the school term, on which holidays begin and on which punishments are trad. given out.
bloody monthlies (noun)	[20C+] menstruation, usu. male use.
bloody (or blue) murder (noun)	*see* BLUE MURDER n. (*also* **bloody murder**) [mid-19C+] cries of terror, horror, alarm; usu. in phrs. cry blue murder; SCREAM BLUE MURDER v.; [*DAS*] **1. n**

	phr, by 1970, A shattering defeat; total destruction **2. adv phr,** by 1980s, As if announcing general slaughter and universal destruction
bloody Nora! (excl.)	[2000s] an excl. of displeasure
bloody oath! (excl.)	*see* blood oath! excl.; [*NPD*] used to register (enthusiastic) agreement (Australia) 1848... 1992
bloody well (adverb)	definitely, certainly (Australia) 1904 [*NPD*]