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1. INTRODUCTION

A central tenet of cognitive semantics is that human language shows evidence of an underlying conceptual level that originates in our bodily experience. Some of the earliest work in the field examined the relation between bodily experience and expressions that refer to human emotions. For example, Kövecses (1990) identifies a set of emotions and container images based on a conceptual metaphor THE EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS IN A CONTAINER and Goatly (1997: 48) proposes a root analogy EMOTION = LIQUID. These representations help account for the notions of fullness that are associated with the presence of an intense emotion (e.g. *to be filled with emotion, to have one's fill of, to overflow with emotion* etc.) and emptiness to describe the absence of an emotion (*I feel empty, I feel drained*). Phrases such as these offer linguistic evidence of how an abstract notion can be conceptualised with reference to our bodily experience of the concrete world.

I will suggest that if the body is conceptualised as a “container” that can be “filled” or “emptied”, there is a great deal of linguistic evidence indicating that it is one that is filled with blood. In this paper I will examine corpus evidence offered for this conceptualisation from the occurrence of 'blood' in English phraseology and compare this with phrases from other languages - in particular Malay - in which the translation equivalent of 'blood' occurs.

2. COGNITIVE SEMANTICS

Lakoff (1987) emphasises the importance of folk etymology in accounting for the relationship between what he calls “idioms” and their meanings. He argues that the relationship between idiom forms and idiom meanings is motivated rather than arbitrary. Kövecses (1990) demonstrates this with reference to how idioms for the conceptualisation of anger are motivated by both metonymic and metaphoric schemes of thought. The metonymic schema is that the physiological effects of anger stand for various aspects of the emotion.

The metaphoric schema is based on a set of interrelated conceptual metaphors: ANGER IS HEAT, THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS and ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Evidence for these is found in expressions such as *to let someone stew*, *to make someone's blood boil*, *to simmer with rage* and *to burst a blood vessel*. In these phrases there are correspondences between the source domain, the behaviour of fluid when it is heated in a container, and the target domain of human emotions.

The argument is that these metaphorically and metonymically motivated expressions are made accessible to us because of image schematic knowledge of the behaviour of phenomena. Our internal and non-directly observable emotions are communicated by relating them to some type of readily observable external domain. However, if figurative language does provide evidence of an underlying conceptual level - as claimed by cognitive semanticists - then we would also expect figurative phrases in other languages to show evidence of similar conceptualisations because of the universality of human bodily experience. There is indeed evidence that the body is conceived of as a container in other unrelated languages: for example Maalej (1999: 201) cites the following examples from Tunisian Arabic:

1. *3ammaritlu/ 3abbaatlu raaSu*

she filled his head up

she crammed his head with nonsense

2. *farrRit qualbha*

she emptied her heart

she poured her heart out

For the purposes of cross-linguistic comparison I have proposed the notion of a *conceptual key*; this is a formal statement of an underlying idea that accounts for the related figures of speech that occur in different languages (Charteris-Black 2000b: 281). A conceptual key explains *figurative* rather than literal senses in a language; it does not distinguish between metaphor and metonymy or other figures because different languages may vary in the way that these figures are employed in their phraseology. Charteris-Black (2000a & 2000b and 2001a & 2001b) illustrates how this method can be used in contrastive linguistics and in English for Specific Purposes. If bodily experience were universal, then we would expect to find evidence in

figurative phraseology for cross-lingual or universal conceptualisations. However, it is not clear how for the linguistic *connotations* of figurative phrases are governed by cultural factors to produce language and culture specific variations in the types of evaluations that are conveyed. Clarification can only be obtained through comparative studies that explore conceptualisations against the background of their connotations and evaluations.

I would suggest that there are potentially three candidate conceptual keys that have potential universal motivation for the use of 'blood' in phraseology; these are as follows: BLOOD FOR ANCESTRY; BLOOD FOR LIFE and BLOOD IS TEMPERAMENT. However, I will argue that there is considerable variation in the expressive meaning that attaches to these different underlying conceptualisations and that, therefore, these conceptual keys vary in their *resonance* - both within and between languages. I will examine the connotations of these conceptual keys for evidence of their resonance and, where possible, consider evidence of the extent to which conceptualisations are universal.

3. METHODOLOGY

The data selected for investigation were all phrases listed under the headword *blood* in the Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms (1995); this work itself is based on evidence from this corpus. I examined 'blood' as it occurs in figurative phrases in the Bank of English that is held by Cobuild at the University of Birmingham. The procedure was to search all the 17 sub-sections of the Bank of English corpus for all figurative phrases containing the word *blood*. Quantitative analysis is based on the number and frequency of the selected phrases in the corpus. It was possible to devise a quantitative measure of the resonance of conceptual keys by multiplying the number of types motivated by the same conceptual key with the number of tokens found for each of these types in the corpus (cf. Charteris-Black 2000b). I then undertook qualitative analysis of the English data by examining the linguistic contexts of these phrases for evidence of their typical connotations.

As far as other languages are concerned, for evidence on figurative phrases including a translation equivalent of 'blood' I have used standard reference works of idioms and proverbs. Because of the difficulty of obtaining corpus

data, it was only possible to undertake qualitative analysis of the connotations by considering the verbal content of the phrases themselves, the translations provided by the reference works, and, where possible, evidence from informants.

I will now consider the findings for each of three conceptual keys proposed.

4. FINDINGS

4.1.1 *Blood for ancestry*

Table one summarises the data collected from the Bank of English:

Table One: *Blood for ancestry*

Phrase (n = 4)	n	frequency*
In your blood	249	0.62
Blue blood	159	0.40
Own flesh and blood	60	0.15
Blood is thicker than water	23	0.06
TOTAL	491	1.23

* Throughout this paper frequency figures are per million words.

Folk beliefs simplify biological concepts so that *blood* - being the most salient inner substance of the body - is used as a metonym for *all* relations that are biologically determined by the genes, the chromosomes or by DNA. *Blood* is therefore a metonym for the genetic relationships between individuals who belong to the same family. This is a common conceptual key occurring over once per million words.

However, the conceptual key BLOOD FOR ANCESTRY can also describe relations between only racially, or ethnically, related individuals as in example three:

3.

But, as it happens, of course, what's happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina is just another tribute to the **'blood is thicker than water'** phenomenon, which is present all over Yugoslavia - and that is that people, however much they might be inter-mixed or inter-married ...((BBC)

Evidence for *blood* as a metonym for all types of cultural and racial inheritance is also found in the phrase *in your blood*. This refers to very distant ancestral relations rather than to family relations as in example four:

4.

Freya out of remote Northern legend: and I later became convinced that she owed much of her undoubted psychic energy to some Viking strain **in her blood!** (British books)

This conceptualisation has emerged from an extension of the dependency of the individual on the family to the tribal dependency of the family on the social group. We can see a social notion of family in the second most common phrase *blue blood*. This phrase originates in Spanish and reflects the social status and eligibility of those with blue veins since these were supposed to indicate good breeding because they implied a “white” (i.e. more transparent) complexion - and therefore absence of any admixture with Moorish blood (Brewer 1992: 118). This implies that, just as genetic factors such as family resemblance may be transmitted between generations, so may good breeding and wealth.

Table two summarises the connotation of phrases in this group:

Table Two: Evaluation in *Blood for ancestry* phrases

POSITIVE (n = 4)	n	MIXED/ NEGATIVE (n =1)	n
In your blood	249		
Blue blood	127	Blue blood	32
Own flesh and blood	60		
Blood is thicker than water	23		
TOTAL	459		32

Most of the phrases in table two express a positive evaluation of members of the same family or social grouping; this originates from both biological and social experience. While a foetus is in the womb it is dependent on the blood supply it shares with its mother. This dependency continues after birth while the child is dependent on its family as biological dependency forms the basis for social dependency. So users of these phrases intend them to convey a positive evaluation because they place a positive evaluation on dependency, protection and nurture. We can see this in the example five:

5.

still my brother and I am upset at what has happened to him. We don't get on but he is still my younger brother. **Blood is thicker than water.** (Sun newspaper)

In the phrase *blue blood* - a metonym for aristocracy - the association of purity and lineage conveys a mixed evaluation that is determined by the rhetorical intentions of the text producer. Interestingly, when the phrase is used to modify an inanimate entity, it implies a positive evaluation meaning 'elite' or 'top quality' as in expressions such as *blue blood bank*, *blue blood publishing concern*, *blue blood credentials*. The most common phrase in the whole corpus is *Blue Blood Estates* (n = 43) as in example six from the US books corpus:

6.

California, one of the oldest **Blue Blood Estate** enclaves, homeowners once considered building a wall around their exclusive area to keep out the riffraff of surrounding Los Angeles. (US newspapers)

We can see that in such contexts there is a positive evaluation of wealth and a tendency to equate wealth with high social position. This positive evaluation of lineage through its associations with wealth and privilege is also found in the British corpora. However, there can also be a strong negative evaluation of inherited wealth and social position as we can see from the following:

7.

They need a **good swift kick in their blue blood asses**. They need to get hurt once in a while. They need to get some feeling in them. (British magazines)

8.

The fact is we are getting fed up to the gills with the arrogance of the aristocracy. **Blue blood makes us see red.** (Today newspaper)

9.

The hardest nuts to crack are the real waspy **blue-blood types** who think being included in Vows is the most tasteless thing you could do. (Times newspaper)

In these cases high *blue blood* is metaphorically associated with in breeding,

laziness, snobbishness and arrogance. Therefore the evaluation conveyed by *blue blood* depends on the writers' rhetorical intentions – particularly as to whether they wish to place a positive or negative evaluation on tradition. When a cognitive semantic representation - such as BLOOD FOR ANCESTRY - is combined with qualitative analysis of attested uses we may arrive at an explanation of what I have termed its cultural resonance (Charteris-Black 2000b: 281).

4.1.2 Evidence for 'Blood for ancestry' from other languages

Since the conceptual key BLOOD FOR ANCESTRY is based on universal extra-linguistic experience of breeding, it is not surprising that there is evidence for it in other phraseological systems. For example, in Moroccan Arabic we find *from your blood and flesh* 'someone from your own family' (equivalent to the English *own flesh and blood*) and *he's got the blood of x family* implying 'he is related to family x'. These uses also highlight the metonym in which 'blood' stands for biologically shared genetic relationships. There is also evidence from other varieties of Arabic: in Tunisian Arabic *a drop of blood is better than one hundred friends* and in Egyptian Arabic *blood never changes to water*.

In Malay BLOOD FOR ANCESTRY is found in *darah putih* - blood white - and *darah jernih* - blood clear - which have the same sense of 'good breeding' found in *blue-blooded*. In Malay 'white' has a positive connotation as we find for example in *putih hati* - white liver - 'kind hearted'. Although a different colour is used in both languages a positive evaluation of lineage is conveyed by the pattern: colour term + blood. This illustrates how cultural outlook may be common to the phraseologies of both languages. We find similar metaphorical uses of language to express an underlying positive evaluation of family ties in proverbs from other languages - as in the translations provided in example ten:

10.

Your own shirt is closer to your body (Lithuanian)

A spoon is closer to your own mouth (Russian)

Brothers are like calabashes: they bump other but do not break (Buganda)

The boys of the family pee in one hole (Kenya)

Rather one's own relations than a stranger's (Japanese)

One should not go between the nail and the finger (Turkish)

Blood is thicker than water (Turkish)

It is evident that the strong positive connotation of this conceptual key appears to be one that operates across languages and could be claimed as a figurative universal.

4.2.1 *Blood for life*

Quantitative evidence for this conceptual key is shown in table three:

Table 3: *Blood for life*' (n = 12)

Figurative phrase	n	Frequency
New blood	472	1.18
Fresh blood	148	0.37
To bay for someone's blood	121	0.30
Young blood	94	0.24
To have blood on your hands	56	0.14
Blood is shed/spilled	44	0.11
A flesh and blood	37	0.09
To scent blood	25	0,06
To be flesh and blood	14	0.03
To be after someone's blood	13	0.03
To be out for someone's blood	13	0.03
Like getting blood out of a stone	4	0.01
TOTAL	1,041	2.60

In these phrases 'blood' refers to a human animate entity that we might call 'life force', because 'having blood' is taken as the defining feature of something living. Proverbs often embody prototype conceptualisations and the proverb *like getting blood out of a stone* contrasts 'blood' (a prototypical entity associated with living creatures) with 'stone' - a prototypically inanimate entity. This proverb is normally used to comment on the difficulty of obtaining something - typically money - from someone. There is historical evidence for this association in the concept of *blood money*: money paid to a victim or a victim's family for compensation for an injury they have suffered. This concept was once part of Anglo Saxon law but is now more commonly associated with traditional Arabic culture.

In terms of their expressive value we find that English phrases divide between those which imply a positive and those with a negative evaluation as we can

see from table four:

Table 4: Evaluation in *Blood for life* phrases

POSITIVE (n = 5)	n	NEGATIVE (n = 7)	n
New blood	472	To bay for someone's blood	121
Fresh blood	148	To have blood on your hands	56
Young blood	94	Blood is shed/ spilled	44
A flesh and blood	37	To scent blood	25
To be flesh and blood	14	To be out for someone's blood	13
		To be after someone's blood	13
		Like getting blood out of a stone	4
TOTAL	765		276

Those phrases with a positive connotation may best be described as *figurative blends* as they combine a metonym with a metaphor rather as we have seen with the phrase *blue blood*. The metonymic element is captured by the conceptual key BLOOD FOR LIFE: in this case it is a metonym because we may consider blood and life as fundamentally from a common domain since blood is a prototype entity of a living creature. However, the metaphoric element originates in the pre-modifying adjectives: *new*, *fresh* and *young*; these adjectives have positive connotations as we can see from example eleven:

11.

You know, Washington, frankly, is a city that could do with a dose of **fresh blood** and fresh ideas. (US National Public Radio)

Evidently, words such as *fresh*, *new* and *young* are associated with positive notions of fertility, creativity and productivity and when used metaphorically imply intellectual vitality, physical vigour and enthusiasm. However, as we will see later, this may be less the case in cultures where tradition, age and wisdom may be more highly valued than novelty or originality and to this extent they reflect culture-specific encodings.

The premodifier of 'blood' may also convey a negative evaluation; the evaluative element in these phrases originates in metaphorical associations with negatively evaluated forms of behaviour. These can be grouped into two types: the behaviour of predatory animals (*bay*, *scent blood* or *to be after*

blood etc.) and the behaviour of violent people such as murderers (*to shed or to spill blood* or *to have blood on your hands*). *To be out for someone's blood* could activate either the human or the animal mental association. I will consider each of these types of negative evaluation in turn.

To bay for someone's blood appears to originate in practices such as fox hunting where the behaviour of a pack of dogs is used as a metaphorical source domain to describe negatively evaluated human behaviour as in example twelve:

12.

The *Turks* will be **baying for blood** and their fans could be worth at least a goal start (Sun newspaper)

When there are evaluations of whole social groups such as 'the Turks' – we can see that there is a highly emotive rhetorical intention behind the choice of the phrase. Though behaviour of British members of parliament may also be likened to that of predatory animals as in example thirteen:

13.

If we do that at the behest of the PM, we'll have the Opposition **baying for our blood** as soon as the truth begins to come out. (British books)

This is probably meant to refer to the characteristic behaviour of British politicians when they employ non-verbal means to express disapproval.

We also find a schema for predatory animals in *to be after someone's blood* and *to scent blood*:

14.

I'll have to keep a lookout for his ex, though. **She'll be after my blood.** (British books)

15.

The sight of the British prime minister at international conferences, with a pack of pressmen at his heels **scenting blood**, has not been good for national self-esteem. (Economist)

In over 30% of the occurrences of *to scent blood* in the corpus the agent was the press. The other professional group that is frequently referred to using a

figure drawing on the domain of predatory animals are lawyers as in:

16.

The patent lawyers **scented blood** - and not just on the laboratory bench. (Economist)

17.

She says that a decent lawyer should always suggest marriage counselling before agreeing to proceed with the divorce-if lawyers are keen to **taste blood**, they are probably only in it for the money. (British magazines)

Here we the activation of a schema originating in fox hunting is quite clear; once the hounds have successfully scented blood and the quarry has been hunted, there is the right of the hounds to taste its blood. It is evident that the journalist believes that his reader regards hunting as an outmoded social practice and, therefore, effective in conveying a negative evaluation of other forms of social behaviour that may be represented as outmoded.

The phrase *out for someone's blood* is also used to negatively evaluate one's opponents by activating a schema for predatory animals as in example eighteen:

18.

Mandelson's reply was that the press were 'completely hysterical, out of control, and **out for my blood**'. He was prepared to say that he had made a mistake but not that he had done anything 'fundamentally wrong'. (Independent newspaper)

Activation of a schema for a violent human agent is evident in *blood to be shed* or *spilled*. Here there is a blending of figures as *blood* is a metonym for the victim's life, and *shed* - which literally means to part or to separate (as in watershed) - has an extended meaning that refers to the death (or injury) that results from an act of aggression. Similarly, "spilled" literally refers to the effect of human agency on inanimate liquids is used metaphorically to refer to an animate liquid - blood. The effect is similar to the activation of a predatory animal schema, except that in this case a predatory human schema is activated. This implies innocence on the part of the victim and guilt on the part of the agent - a much stronger rhetorical effect than had more neutral terms such as 'injured' or 'killed' been use. This is often used as a covert way of establishing reader sympathy towards the victim as in example nineteen where Israel is represented as the innocent party in the conflict:

19.

Witnesses said that it was only a miracle that prevented much more Jewish **blood being shed** because the first suicide bomb was aimed at a bus carrying Jewish nannies to a settlement inside the largely PLO-controlled Gaza Strip (Times newspaper)

This is clear evidence of the important rhetorical role of metaphorical phrases to construct a covert evaluation by the author. It is likely that the origin of this evaluation is in the Bible where *shed blood* implies a guilty agent and an innocent victim as in example twenty:

20.

There are men in you who *slander* to **shed blood**, and men in you who eat upon the mountains; men *commit lewdness* in your midst. (Exekiel, 22, 9)

What is interesting about the group of phrases motivated by the conceptual key BLOOD FOR LIFE - is that while 'blood' may have a positive connotation (as with the conceptual key BLOOD FOR ANCESTRY), this may be overridden by the other words (usually verbs) in the phrase. The emotive content of words in figurative phrases is not constant: 'blood' can convey a positive or a negative emotive force. 'Blood' is therefore a metonym and the expressive content comes from the modifier rather than the nominal element of the phrase. This is why cultural resonance relies on negatively evaluated verbs such as *bay*, *scent*, *shed* or *to be out for* or on positively evaluated adjectives such as *young*, *new* etc. While this may be fairly transparent in the case of words such as *fresh*, *young*, *bay* or *to be out for* – it is more opaque in the case of words such as *spilled*, *shed* or *stone*. It is for this reason that we need a close analysis of the figurative processes at work to understand the evocative potential of such phrases when they are used by politicians or journalists.

4.2.2 Evidence from other languages

We find evidence of the same notion of *blood* as a prototype for life in a Moroccan Arabic expression used to refer to someone who is very ill: *he hasn't got a drop of blood left*. Conversely, the Moroccan Arabic expression used to refer to someone who is very healthy is *the blood is almost coming out of his cheeks* and implies an association with blood and good health. We

find this type of positive evaluation in an English phrase not included in the reference source *red-blooded* (usually used to refer to male sexual vitality). Further cross-linguistic evidence of this prototype conceptualisation is in the notion of 'blood-sucking' implying 'exploitation'; we find this in the Moroccan Arabic expression: *suck your blood* and in the English phrase *to bleed someone dry*.

In Malay phraseology *darah* 'blood' is associated with limited supply and inherent value, hence it is also vulnerable - like life - to loss or depletion as with the English like *getting blood from a stone*:

21.

Minta darah pada daing

Ask blood from dried fish

Like asking for blood from a dry fish.

There is evidence of the same conceptualisation in example twenty-two:

22.

Do not take a crab's blood (Thai)

You cannot get blood from a stone (Turkish)

In these languages 'blood' is contrasted with something that is not in limited supply, and not valuable. Therefore blood is conceptualised as a prototypical entity of a living creature and, by implication, absence or depletion of blood is a prototype state of things that are not alive. There is clearly a strong negative evaluation implied when living things become like inanimate, bloodless or dead things. However the conceptual key BLOOD FOR LIFE is more active in English than in Malay and can be used with different expressive values.

4.3.1 *Blood is temperament*

This conceptual key is also very resonant and the full data are summarised in table five:

Table 5: *Blood is temperament* (n = 9)

Figurative phrase	n	frequency
Bad blood	274	0.68
In cold blood	232	0.58
Blood sweat and tears	136	0.34
Make your blood boil	87	0.22
Sweat blood	75	0.19
Blood and thunder	74	0.19
A rush of blood (to the head)	39	0.09
Make your blood run cold/ freeze	23	0.06
Taste blood	10	0.03
TOTAL	950	2.38

In these phrases 'blood' refers metaphorically to the domain of the emotions as a result of underlying physical experiences of the type of physiological changes that are undergone by the body when experiencing different types of emotion. For example, the body can feel cold when someone is afraid, and it can become hot when they experience other types of negative emotion such as frustration and anger – hence Lakoff's conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT. A good example of this is the phrase *a rush of blood to the head* to refer to a very powerful emotional experience that overcomes our normal social constraints on behaviour. For example, we experience a flow of blood to the head when we are extremely angry. However, although there is a metonymic element in some of the phrases in which 'blood' stands for an emotion, they are primarily metaphoric; for example, it is unlikely that we could ever literally *sweat blood*. We can see this combination of metonymic and metaphoric elements in the following:

23.

It is creating **bad blood**, especially between the Americans and many Asian countries, that will make it even harder to agree on an agenda for further liberalisation. (Economist)

“Blood” could be considered a metonym for “feeling” but since we could never talk of blood being inherently ‘bad’ (as opposed to say ‘infected’) whereas we can talk about feelings being bad the modifying element is clearly metaphorical. However, such phrases are best described as figurative blends.

Table 6 shows the evaluation of these phrases:

Table 6: Evaluation in ‘*Blood is temperament*’ phrases

POSITIVE (n = 5)	n	NEGATIVE (n = 5)	n
Blood sweat and tears	136	Bad blood	274
Make your blood boil	87	In cold blood	232
Sweat blood	75	A rush of blood	39
Blood and thunder	74	Make your blood run cold/ freeze	23
Taste blood	5	Taste blood	5
TOTAL	377		573

The two most frequent types *bad blood* and *in cold blood* clearly have a negative evaluation and reflect everyday folk understanding of the relationship between bodily physiological experience and human emotion. Just as we associate feeling and human emotion with the warmth of the human body that comes through physical contact with other people (or sentient beings) so we relate the disassociation of behaviour and human feeling in the phrase *in cold blood*. This implies that there was no empathetic feeling on the part of a human agent; yet the transitivity of this phrase is not always clear. While at the surface level the phrase seems to refer to the blood of the agent, it could also refer to the transformation of the blood of a victim from its normal warm state to the coldness associated with death. There is evidence of such metaphor in the collocations of the phrase in the corpus: the words in the slot preceding *in cold blood* are: *murdered, shot, killed* and *executed*. Coldness then seems to be metaphorically transferred from the actual physical temperature and state of the victim to describe the feelings of the agent who is responsible. This type of transference is effective in connoting guilt on the part of the agent and innocence on the part of the victim – rather as we have seen in the analysis of the phrase *to shed blood*. What is apparently a verbal act of description is in fact one of evaluation.

The powerful emotional force of these expressions can be found in the expression *blood, toil, tears, and sweat* that was coined by Churchill in his speech subsequent to Dunkirk:

24.

I say to the House as I said to ministers who have joined this government, I have nothing to offer but **blood, toil, tears, and sweat**. We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many, many months of struggle and suffering.

Interestingly, the full form of the phrase only occurs three times and it has become abbreviated to *blood, sweat and tears* that is the third most frequent phrase for this conceptual key. It is likely that the figure is effective because it is a multiple metonym: *blood* stands for the desire to survive, *toil* for work, *tears* for suffering and *sweat* for all types of figurative struggle. It is probably because there is some overlap between *toil* and *struggle* that the latter has been taken to include the former and led to the loss of 'toil' in the phrase.

What is most important about the phrase is that it is used intentionally by the text producer to evoke a very powerful emotional response in the text receiver. In the following examples we can see from the verbal contexts in bold that the phrase indicates a strong emotional response and from those in italics that this is a positive one:

25.

Christianity's about effort - about expending **blood, sweat and tears** to be what you've been designed by God to be and do what you've been designed by God to do. That's certainly not incompatible with *personal fulfilment* and *lasting happiness* quite the (British books)

26.

but nothing worthwhile can be created without **blood, sweat and tears**, and at least we know that our Creator is alongside us, sharing our **suffering** and never abandoning that enormous struggle to *'make everything come right'*. (British Books)

The activation of metonymic schemas for survival, suffering and struggle serves as a very economic metonym for all types of intense emotional response to life. It is perhaps the positive evaluation that accounts for its high frequency of use in the corpus and its special cultural resonance in English. This may also account for the equally positive connotation of another shorter phrase 'sweating blood' to signify working or struggling very hard:

27.

I am sure the directors are aware that every player here is willing **to sweat blood** to be *successful*, but our playing resources are really stretched. (Sun newspaper)

28.

We've **sweated blood** to be gay, and by thunder we've *just bloody well GOT to be GAY*. (British magazines)

In these examples the words in italics again indicate a positive evaluation of expending effort towards a worthwhile goal. I think it worth emphasising the rhetorical motivation underlying the selection of these phrases. Clearly they are intended by the speaker/writer to evoke a strong positive emotional response on the part of the hearer: they imply that whatever sacrifice has been necessary is justified because it is as valuable to us as our blood is valuable.

There is also a powerful rhetorical intention in another high frequency expression: *to make my blood boil*:

29.

"If Thompson tries to box he'll get humiliated and if he fights he will get annihilated." Thompson, said: "His disrespect **makes my blood boil** and I'll make him pay." (Sun newspaper)

30.

That arrogance **made my blood boil**. I said to them I seem to remember that Portsmouth football club asked me to come over and offered me money to play in this country. (Times newspaper)

In each case we can see that the phrase is used with positive evaluation of the speaker/ hearer who claims that their emotion is one of righteous indignation; conversely, there is a strong negative evaluation of the object of the phrase. This implies that the negative evaluation we might normally pass on the emotion of anger in other contexts need be suspended in this case because of the gravity of the offence that gave rise to this emotion. It is this strong evaluation that is often overlooked in cognitive semantic approaches that restrict themselves to analysis of the conceptual basis in bodily experience; this view needs to be balanced by the role of such expressions in revealing what connotation or evaluation is intended by the author. Consider the phrase *make your blood freeze*:

31.

however much we wish to believe that normal people like us could not commit them, the ugliest truth is that soldiers all over the world have done things that would **make your blood freeze**. (Guardian newspaper)

Here the notion of blood freezing rather than boiling is used to intensify still further the evaluation. It does this by combining an image found in *cold blood*

with the image from *make one's blood boil*. In the former coldness is metaphorically transferred from the physical temperature of the victim to describe the feelings of the agent who is responsible to convey the notion of guilt. In the latter *making* implies that the person experiencing the emotion is powerless to restrain their emotions because they are natural in such situations.

The phrase *blood and thunder* refers to the determination, excitement or passion and invariable has a positive connotation in English. It implies that intensity of feeling is likely to lead to success and good entertainment; this probably reflects a typically English cultural value placed on a certain way of playing football. In this respect the phrase *blood and thunder* may be contrasted with having a *rush of blood* – this usually places a negative evaluation in a sporting context.

4.3.2 Evidence from other languages

Table seven summarises some Malay phrases and their evaluation for this conceptual key:

Table 7: Evaluation in Malay *Blood is temperament* phrases

POSITIVE	Translation	NEGATIVE	Translation
Darah manis Blood sweet	To deal easily with danger	Darah hati Blood liver	Annoyed
Darah merah Blood red	brave	Darah panas Blood hot	Short tempered
Darah perwira Blood hero	Very brave	Darah kering Blood dry	cruel
		Darah tersembur Blood ejected from the mouth	Startled
		Darah muda Blood young	Impetuous

The most productive conceptual basis for Malay figurative units is that the quality of blood represents a psychological state that I refer to as 'temperament'. It can either refer to a habitual psychological mood or to a psychological state on a particular occasion. It is likely that this conceptualisation has its origins in pre-scientific modes of thought in which

internal bodily experience is related to, and associated with, particular mental or psychological states. Changes in psycho-affective state are often accompanied by changes in physiological state; following a conceptual metonym OUTCOME FOR CAUSE, changes in psycho-affective state are lexicalised as being caused by the physiological change – rather than in being the cause of physiological change. The lexicalisation of abstract psycho-affective states by observable physiological ones is probably best considered as a type of euphemism. We find further evidence of the importance of psycho-affective state in the Malay term *semangat* which can be translated as ‘enthusiasm’ or ‘spirit’ but literally refers to a vital force that permeates both animate and inanimate matter (Winstedt 1951: 19).

As with the English phrases, in the Malay figurative units the content of the evaluation originates in the postmodifying adjective. Adjectives that convey a positive evaluation in other figurative contexts such as *jernih* ‘clear’ and *manis* ‘sweet’ (e.g. *hati jernih* – liver clear – ‘pure’; *hitam manis* – black sweet – ‘attractively dark-skinned’) carry their positive expressive meaning with them. The same is the case with adjectives that convey a negative evaluation in the phraseological system (e.g. *orang muda* – man young – ‘naïve’; *kering darah* – dry blood – ‘startled’). In this respect we may generalise that for the conceptual key BLOOD IS TEMPTERAMENT is primarily metaphorical and the evaluation originates in the modifying element while, as with English, *darah* ‘blood’ is a metonym that stands for the affective domain. This is interesting, as it appears that in addition to the conceptual keys, evaluation in figurative blends may sometimes show evidence of cross-linguistic similarity.

5. SUMMARY

Table 8 shows a summary for the resonance of English conceptual keys using the method described in section three.

Table 8 Summary of Resonance of Conceptual Keys in English Phraseology

CONCEPTUAL KEY	TYPES	TOKENS	RESONANCE (types X tokens)	%
Blood for life	12	1,041	12,492	53.2%
Blood is temperament	9	950	8,550	36.4%
Blood for ancestry	5	491	2,455	10.4%
TOTAL	26	2,482	23,497	100%

BLOOD FOR LIFE is the most resonant conceptual key accounting for over 50% of the resonance for 'blood' in English phraseology; BLOOD IS TEMPERAMENT accounts for over a third of the remaining resonance. BLOOD FOR ANCESTRY is the least resonant conceptual key accounting for around 10% of the resonance.

The data from reference sources suggests that there is evidence of a similar conceptual motivation in other languages; however, while the conceptualisations are similar the resonance may differ. For example in the case of Malay, table seven shows eight different types for the conceptual key BLOOD IS TEMPERAMENT but only one type was found for BLOOD FOR LIFE and two types for BLOOD FOR ANCESTRY. This may be because other culture-specific lexis occupies the semantic space taken by 'blood' in English phraseology; in Malay *semangat* 'life force' or 'vital substance' is used to convey a similar notion to English expressions such as *red-bloodied*. While *darah mudah* 'blood new' would translate into English with a negative connotation of 'impetuous'; this is because a different more negative cultural value is placed on young people. In Malay youth is associated with impetuosity and lack of judgement rather than the more positive enthusiasm or creativity conveyed by *new blood* in English.

However, further research is needed to provide more quantitative and qualitative analysis of corpus data on 'blood' in the phraseology of a number of languages before we can make full cross-lingual comparisons of the resonance of this group of phrases. Identification and interpretation of conceptual keys, their resonance and their expressive meaning is important in assisting language learners and translators in finding appropriate target language formulations of figurative phrases.

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