

ARTICLES

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Metaphorical Representations of the 2008 Russian-Georgian War: Critical Analysis of Conceptual Metaphors of War in Relation to Gender

(A Case Study based on the newspaper – *The Georgian Times*)

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1. Relevance of the topic

Research embracing gender and language is the subject matter for a variety of directions in modern linguistics. From a sociolinguistic perspective, language is a social practice which shapes who we are, how we build social relationships, and how we view the world. It is supposed that socialization processes and contexts influence how people create self-concepts, social/personal identities, world-views, preferences, values, and expectations (Gustafsod 1998; Wharton 2005).

Depending on the essence and the scope of interest, any social event or phenomenon connected to human activity has a discursive representation in the media. War is not an exception. It makes an impact on the media discourse and creates a field for “verbal struggle” where people – men and women – take certain stances. The article argues that men and women may perceive the reality of war in different ways, which is reflected in the media. Discourse has an ideational function (Halliday 1978,117) which is realized through the representation of a human view of the world. Metaphor is a powerful linguistic tool which serves this function (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). As war is typically a masculine endeavor, it is supposed to masculinize discourse, hereby reinforcing

hegemonic masculinity: “to the extent that war is still a largely male enterprise, [The war] metaphor subtly reinforces traditional gender bias” (Fleischmann 2001,485).

The objective of the research is to study conceptual metaphors for war in connection with gender. We are looking at gendered use of metaphors, that is whether prevailing metaphoric expressions for war differ according to discourse participants’ gender. From this perspective, we make an endeavor to investigate if the “choice” of metaphors is linked to the gender of the discourse participants by uncovering conceptual metaphors which shape and reflect the view of the world at a cognitive level through a qualitative manual analysis combined with a quantitative one.

The theoretical part of the paper is based on critical discourse analysis and conceptual metaphor theory. As for the practical part, it considers the research corpus of 57, 267 words based on a local English language print newspaper – *The Georgian Times* – reflecting the 2008 Russian-Georgian war. We built a mini corpus for the study as the Georgian national corpus is not complete at the present moment. The study considers and analyzes newspaper texts where male and female discourse participants (journalists, politicians, experts) position their stances on the war in the media narratives¹. Here, we view conceptual metaphors in connection with gender regardless of ethnic identity, as all the texts constituting the research corpus contribute to the discourse formation. This formation is likely to reveal gender-based differences of general conceptual metaphors which are supposed to be universal (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). The case study sets the hypothesis with the corresponding research questions:

Hypothesis: Male and female discourse participants create different world-views through prevailing conceptual metaphors regarding war in the media/ they frame war in different ways.

1. What are the linguistic metaphoric expressions used by male and female discourse participants framing war?
2. What are possible source domains of the conceptual metaphors conceptualizing war?
3. What are the productivity/systematicity levels of the conceptual metaphors framing war for male and female discourse participants? (quantitative aspect)
4. What conceptual metaphors prevail in male and female discourse?

1 Any media text narrates something (Chamberlain & Thompson 2004,1), as genre and narrative are two meta languages of media texts prompting readers to read the text (Lacey 2000,248).

2. Theoretical Basis

Gender and language studies have taken a variety of turns and twists throughout its development. The modern theories of language are based on the constitutive nature of discourse, where gender is viewed as social construct which is learned rather than being hereditary (Talbot 1998, 7). Respectively, the studies of sexist language are substituted by the studies of discourse asymmetries (eg. gender based asymmetries) which give way to critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1989; Fairclough & Chouliaraki 1999; Van Dijk 1993a; 1993b). Critical discourse analysis focuses on “the production and reproduction of the ideology of belief systems that come to be accepted as “common sense” (Butcholtz 2003,57) and how dominance and hegemony are maintained in the discourse (Cameron 2001,123). According to Johnstone: “ways of talking produce and reproduce ways of thinking, and ways of thinking can be manipulated via choices about grammar, style, wording, and every other aspect of language” (2002,450).

Traditionally metaphor is viewed as a literary means of representation. However, modern linguistics has a different stance suggesting that our everyday verbal activity is metaphorical (Reddy 1979). Metaphor as a cognitive phenomenon became popular in the early 1980s (Gibbs 1994; Lakoff 1987, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Sweetser 1990). From a cognitive perspective, metaphor shapes and organizes our experiences and everyday realities, thus reflecting human thought and conceptual systems (Lakoff & Johnson 1980,19). As we see, cognitive theorists assume that metaphor is a property of thought rather than of language. Based on cognition, metaphor is not a “statement” in its traditional sense, rather it is “about understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980,5). Claiming that metaphor is “a property of concepts and not of words” Lakoff and Johnson somehow challenged the traditional view of metaphor (Kovecses 2010, X). Therefore, we suppose that conceptual metaphor could be seen as a cognitive mechanism of the brain working independently of language before it becomes realized through linguistic metaphors in the discourse.

Lakoff and Johnson’s conceptual metaphor theory² was transplanted into critical discourse analysis as “metaphors highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience...metaphors may create realities for us, especially social relations” (1980,156). Moreover, “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” and their selective representation defines their persuasive power” (1980,157).

2 Cognitive linguists also refer to the theory as cognitive metaphor theory (Kovecses 2008,168).

The investigation of metaphor in discourse has an important value, as its aim is “to characterize the metaphor used in the sample discourse, in contrast to metaphors used for similar meanings elsewhere...The effect of metaphor upon thinking and practice should also be considered” which creates the basis for critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992,237)

The study of war metaphors from a linguistic point of view incorporating cognitive, social, and critical approaches has been on the scientific agenda for more than two decades. Metaphor is a powerful linguistic tool which has the capacity to load the text with ideological nuances (Goatly 1997). The study of conceptual war metaphors revolutionized the attitudes towards the concept of war and turned it into an object of linguistic interest. George Lakoff presented a critical stance in *Metaphor and War* where he argues that the metaphor system justified the war in the Gulf (1992). His research shows that there are certain metaphors which underlie the competing and contradicting views: WAR IS POLITICS, WAR IS VIOLENT CRIME, WAR IS MEDICINE, and WAR IS A COMPETITIVE GAME. The negative connotation of war is evident in one metaphor only (WAR IS VIOLENT CRIME), the others encourage the state of warfare (Lakoff 1992). As for Underhill’s research, it revealed new metaphors: WAR IS PROBLEM-SOLVING and WAR IS CRIMEFIGHTING (2003,135) based on the newspaper – *The Independent*.

Nevertheless, the relation between conceptual metaphors and gender is represented in the work of Veronika Koller (2004). She studied metaphor and gender in business media discourse revealing the base conceptual metaphor BUSINESS IS WAR. With regard to gender and metaphor, Koller and Semino (2009) studied the metaphoric productivity of two politicians, Angela Merkel and Gerhard Schroder, thus identifying a variety of metaphors in the research corpora with the systematicity of 0.43 (Angela Merkel) and 0.72 (Gerhard Schroder). The impact of gender on conceptualizing war is presented in Susan Hollingsworth’s thesis where she focuses on the fact that women and men choose different source domains to conceptualize war, with women using game/sports metaphors for war less frequently than men (2006). In the Georgian scientific sphere the investigation of the aforementioned issues seems to be a novelty. However, I would mention Nino Kirvalidze’s conference work on conceptual war metaphors in Georgian and American political discourse (2009).

It should be pointed out that when conceptual metaphors are considered, “war” could be viewed either as a source domain (Koller 2004; Lakoff and Johnson 1980) or as a target domain (Underhill 2003; Lakoff 1992). In this article “war” is the target domain which is conceptualized in terms of a variety of source domains.

The role metaphor is supposed to play in constructing or expressing stereotypical gender identities may have three main aspects while being investigated by researchers: 1) gendered metaphors may reinforce power asymmetries predominantly drawing on male experiences to define aspects of reality; 2) metaphors used to refer to men and women; 3) metaphors used by men and women defining reality (Koller and Semino 2009,13). The present study focuses on the third aspect.

3. Research Method

From a variety of methodological considerations the present study is related to two theoretical traditions: the conceptual theory of metaphors and the critical discourse analysis. In this respect the methodological apparatus of the conceptual theory of metaphor (e.g. the theory of domains) is incorporated in a critical analysis to define the role of metaphors in conceptualizing social reality (Charteris Black 2004; Musolff 2004). The method is mainly qualitative manual, incorporating a quantitative element of conceptual metaphor productivity/systematicity and consists of the following stages: (1) *determining the purpose of the analysis*, (2) *selecting relevant sources*, (3) *a close reading identifying linguistic metaphors*, (4) *identifying conceptual metaphors and their systematicity*, (5) *an interpretation of the results*.

To enhance the results of the case study, Brigham Young University Corpora (BYU) were used: COCA – the Corpus of Contemporary American English, COHA – Corpus of Historical American English, NOW Corpus – News on the web, GLOWBE – Corpus of Web-based English, BYU-BNC – Brigham Young British National Corpus (<http://corpus.byu.edu/>). The BYU corpora is freely available to researchers online and represents comparatively balanced corpora across genres. Concordance lists of the target lexical units/tokens were explored contextually to reveal the gender of the text/metaphor producer as the gender meta-data were not indicated in all the instances, which is a limitation of the study. We could not use the Bank of English COBUILD corpus as it does not provide free access for researchers.

(1) *Determining the purpose of analysis*

The present study incorporates a critical investigation of conceptual metaphors of war in relation to gender.

(2) *Selection of relevant sources*

The research material is presented by newspaper articles about the 2008 Russian-Georgian war taken from a locally published weekly English language

newspaper: *The Georgian Times*. As the newspaper has a print version only, copies are stored at the National Parliamentary Library of Georgia in the periodical department (the National Georgian Corpus is not complete yet. Therefore, the print material was investigated manually). The time frame considered for the study is the period of the 2008 Russian-Georgian War with its onset on the 7th of August until the 8th of September, which marks the day of Russian troops' withdrawal from Georgian territory (the first articles regarding the war were published on August 11). *The Georgian Times* is a well-established English language newspaper providing relevant coverage of issues in a given period of time.

A manual analysis of conceptual metaphors is a time-costly endeavor compared to a corpus-based automated one. Despite many methodological benefits, the automated corpus-based approach may pose some obstacles. Due to the fact that linguistic metaphors are retrieved through pre-selected lexical items in the software, there might be many linguistic metaphors which may not be easily connected with pre-selected source domains and retrieved automatically. Which means that by analyzing pre-selected lexical items related to a particular conceptual metaphor, we may leave out potential data. A corpus approach can identify representations of gender. However, a corpus search engine cannot detect or differentiate linguistic structures made by male and female discourse participants. Therefore, it is worth identifying conceptual metaphors manually on the textual level as well as collecting the texts (mini corpus).

Our mini corpus comprises 68 newspaper texts regarding the topic of war with a total word count of 57,267. The sample texts feature male and female discourse participants (journalists, politicians, experts) – Georgians as well as other nationalities – positioning their stances on the war (refer to Appendix for more details). All the texts of the mini corpus contribute to the discourse formation from which metaphors are retrieved. The corpus is divided into two sub-corpora: Sub-corpus A (28,328 words) – texts belonging to female discourse participants and Sub-corpus B (28,939 words) – texts belonging to male discourse participants and analyzed manually.

(3) *A close reading identifying linguistic metaphors*

This stage involves a close reading of the sample texts to reveal linguistic metaphors associated with female and male discourse participants. The purpose of the close reading of the selected texts in the corpora is to identify metaphors regarding war. “In order to be able to suggest the existence of conceptual metaphors, we need to know which linguistic metaphors point

to their existence” (Kovecses 2010,4). Therefore, the Pragglejaz (2007) group developed the MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure), which is a relevant methodological tool to find metaphors and metaphorically used words (Kovecses 2010,5). Its primary goal is to establish contrast between the contextual and basic meanings of the lexical unit analyzed. If the new contextual meaning is quite different and contradictory to the basic meaning, a lexical unit can be marked as metaphorical. *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* and *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* are suggested for this purpose by the Pragglejaz group, that is why we have referred to these dictionaries to identify the meaning of the lexical units in focus³.

Based on the aforementioned, the two sub-corpora were analyzed manually by following the MIP. As a result, 34 metaphorically used lexemes/different types of metaphoric expressions conceptualizing *war*, used by male and female discourse participants, were identified.

(4) Identifying conceptual metaphors and their systematicity

After having identified the linguistic metaphors, we focused on conceptual metaphors. The essential relationship between the conceptual metaphors and the metaphorical linguistic expressions can be stated in the following way: “the linguistic expressions (i.e. ways of talking) make explicit, or are manifestations of the conceptual metaphors (i.e. ways of thinking). To put the same thing differently, it is the metaphorical linguistic expressions that reveal the existence of conceptual metaphors” (Kovecses 2010,7).

Traditionally, linguistic metaphor consists of two parts: the *tenor* and the *vehicle* (Richards 1936) which correspond to the *target domain* and *source domain* of a conceptual metaphor, respectively, introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). It should be noted that for cognitive semantics the *notion* or *concept* of something does not stand out separately in the mind; rather, it is associated with coherently arranged schemes of human experiences and knowledge referred to as a *conceptual domain* (Langacker 1987, Lakoff 1987). Thereby, conceptual metaphor consists of target and source domains. However, the traditional terms fail to emphasize the relationship between the two terms, whereas according to cognitive linguistics “the target domain is the domain that we try to understand through the use of the source domain” (Kovecses 2010).

Accordingly, the 34 metaphoric expressions conceptualizing war identified in the research contain the vehicles of the linguistic metaphors indicat-

3 Pioneering in dictionary publishing since 1819, the Collins Dictionary showed similar results.

ing the possible source domains (i.e. to what concept war is compared to). The identification of conceptual metaphors is based on source and target domain mappings, which involve establishing the relationship between the target domain of war and the source domains conceptualizing the target. Thus, the metaphoric expressions/lexemes were categorized into source domains; then conceptual metaphors (CM) were identified based on target domain (war) and source domain mappings.

As for the CM systematicity, Cameron (1999,16) identified the local, global, and discourse systematicity of conceptual metaphors. Local systematicity refers to the development and realization of conceptual metaphor at text level, whereas global systematicity focuses on the conceptual metaphors retrieved from a variety of discourses. As for the discourse systematicity of conceptual metaphors, it could be placed between these two. Our case study identifies lower text-level conceptual metaphors. We would refer to them as *text-bound conceptual metaphors*. The elaboration of the text-bound metaphors on a higher-level (categorizing metaphors retrieved from a variety of texts into common source domains) results in general conceptual metaphors, which we would refer to as *discourse-bound conceptual metaphors*.

To deal with the metaphor systematicity, which is the quantitative aspect of the research, Koller's method was adapted (Koller 2009). The latter consists of the following steps calculating these things:

1. the number and percentage of lexical units realized for each of the source domain to see how productively female and male discourse participants use the metaphors;
2. the number of metaphoric tokens, that is, the number of individual metaphoric expressions;
3. the type-token ratio (mTTR)⁴ to ascertain the variety with which each metaphorically used lexeme is realized;
4. the metaphor density⁵ per 1000 words to determine the frequency with which the metaphoric tokens in focus are used by female and male discourse participants;

This stage is followed by (5) *Interpretation of the results and the Conclusion*.

4 The Type-Token ratio divides the number of different lemmas by the number of its occurrences, thus representing a measure of lexical variety; the higher the ratio, the more lexically varied the discourse is.

5 The number of certain metaphoric tokens divided by the total number of lexical items in male/female corpus.

4. Results

4.1 Linguistic metaphoric expressions

In our case study, we identified 34 metaphoric types/lexemes which realize the metaphors conceptualizing war in male and female discourse drawing on MIP. This is the preliminary step to identifying conceptual metaphors based on target and source domain mappings.

Table 1. *Metaphoric expressions found in the two subcorpora*

Metaphoric Expressions	
expansionist gambit	flare up
play a dangerous game	Ethnic cleansing
the world's biggest player	cleansing operation
a game of Russian Roulette	flush out
zero sum game	torrent of refugees
unleash offensive	flow of refugees
the wolf that ate Georgia	war erupted
push (the boundaries of intervention)	break out
stretch (the boundaries of intervention)	spill-over combat
expansion exercise	spiral out of control
adventure in assault	batter neighbour
sheepish heroes	razed to the ground
cope with the challenges	death rain
defense campaign	resolve the conflict
safeguard lives	solution to the current crisis
respond to threats	campaign of killing
retaliatory fire	violate territorial integrity

To start with, the basic meaning of “gambit” is an opening in chess in which a player risks one or more minor pieces to gain a favourable position. In the example (1), the contextual meaning of “gambit” is “military intervention”, which is a maneuver intended to expand the borders of the warring country. The contextual meaning of the lexical unit is different from the basic one. Thus, it is metaphoric.

(1) *How NATO responded and will continue to react to the **expansionist***

***gambit** of its former adversary towards NATO's closest de facto ally, will have a lot to say about the relevance of the alliances [GT 33]*

In example (2), Putin is depicted as a dishonest “player” who skilfully manipulates another “player” – Georgia – in the “game of Russian roulette”. The contextual meaning of the lexeme is a warring country which is different from its basic meaning as a person taking part in a game or sport. He is the only one to presuppose the outcome of “the game”; Another linguistic expression in focus is “zero sum game”, the contextual meaning of which is the outcome of a war when the loss of a warring country (lost Georgian territories) becomes the gain of another one (in this context the adversary is Russia) according to a game theory. Here, the phrase gains metaphoric meaning through the new context.

(2) *As it stands now, Putin has manipulated **the player in the verbal game of Russian roulette**, where only he is deciding...who is to win and who is to lose in **a zero sum game** [GT 35]*

In the following extract, we focus on the lexeme “unleash”, which basically means to give freedom to an animal by setting the leash/lead loose. In the given context, a large number of soldiers get the complete freedom to brutally attack another country. The new meaning makes the mentioned lexeme metaphoric.

(3) *The Russians captured Tskhinvali, then **unleashed their offensive nationwide** [GT 25]*

A comparison of an enemy with a beast is evident in the phrase such as: “The wolf that ate Georgia” [GT 57], where Russia is a “wolf” mercilessly devouring a “lamb” – Georgia.

The bold linguistic expressions “push” and “stretch” represented in example (4) are under scrutiny. The basic meaning of “push” is to use the hands, arms, or body to make some part of a body move into a particular position; As for “stretch”, its basic meaning is to make something longer by expanding it. The contextual meaning of these verbs is to make the “military intervention” conducted by Russia more intense with the purpose to expand it as far on Georgian territory as possible to gain control. Therefore, military intervention is like an “expansion exercise”. As a result, the context makes the meaning of the lexemes in focus metaphoric.

(4) “What will stop Russia” cites the political analyst: “*In the last few days the Kremlin has been **pushing the boundaries of military intervention** to see how far they would be allowed **to stretch** [GT 14]*”

Ralph Halbig evaluates the armed conflict in the region in the article “It doesn’t matter who began war because that is a childish question which at-

tempts to skirt the problems” [GT 45]. He talks about the Ossetians as “sheepish heroes” united with Russian forces who started war against the Georgians.

- (5) ...*the sheepish heroes of the mountains have now undertaken their risky and inequitable **adventure in assault*** [GT 45]

Here, we focus on the expression “adventure in assault” where the contextual meaning of the lexeme “adventure” is a risky military endeavor to attack the country that used to be a part of them (Russia). However, with more negative connotation, as with the adjective “inequitable”, Halbig wants to stress the fact that this adventure is unfair, which varies the form of the basic meaning of the lexeme. Another expression in focus is “sheepish heroes” where the basic meaning of the lexeme “hero” is a person who is admired by many people for doing something brave or good. However, the contextual meaning differs from its original one in a way that it defines the people who did not commit anything admirable; Moreover, the adjective “sheepish” ascribes a silly appearance to an ironically used “hero” involved in the “adventure of war”. Hereby, *adventure* and *challenge* become the qualities of *war* in the following phrase: “cope with the challenges [of war]”.

Vakhtang Maisaia, the Chairman to the Foreign Policy Association of Georgia, contributed an article “Why and How Georgia Overlooked the Russia’s Aggression!” He evaluates Georgia’s military actions towards Russian aggression.

- (6) *However, before touching on the concrete facts of the Russian planned incursion, it is more adequate to underscore what were the reasons of our military misuse in waging a **military defense campaign** against Russian troops* [GT 68]

The linguistic expression in focus is “a military defense campaign” with the axis being “campaign” defined by “military” and “defense” as auxiliary concepts. The contextual meaning dictates that the country of Georgia conducted military actions against Russia as a defense in response to unlawful intervention. As for the basic meaning of “campaign”, it is a series of planned activities that are intended to achieve a particular social, commercial, or political aim. The defensive nature of military actions is apparent in the linguistic metaphors: “safeguard lives”, “retaliatory fire”, and “respond to threats.”

The next linguistic metaphor to investigate is represented in example (7): “*hostilities flaring up*”. The basic meaning of the phrasal verb ‘flare up’ is to suddenly start burning more brightly (of flames, a fire, etc.), to burst into intense, sudden flame, to intensify especially after having died down; however, the contextual meaning of the phrasal verb in focus is about “war hostilities” which deteriorate the situation between the two countries.

- (7) *The sight of **hostilities flaring up** on the doorstep also prompted European leaders to take action* [GT 1]

A female discourse participant talks about the hostile events in the article “GORI – the Town Which Has Survived” to mark the 26th of August, the day when Russia declared the independence of the breakaway Georgian regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

Linguistic metaphoric expression is highlighted in example (8). The basic meaning of the lexical unit “flush out” is “to clean something by causing water to pass through it”. As for the contextual meaning, it is as follows: “to force a person or an animal to leave the place where they are hiding or dwelling”. In this case the phrasal verb acquires metaphoric meaning. As for the phrase “cleansing operation”, it is another metaphor where the adjective “cleansing” carries a metaphoric connotation. The basic meaning of “cleansing” is to clean the skin or wound, to remove impurities off a surface. The contextual meaning is to force people to abandon their residence through a military operation.

- (8) Russian “storm troopers” “...conducted one more **cleansing operation and flushed the old people still remaining in their houses out of the gorge**” [GT 46]

The flushing out of people resulted in a “*torrent of refugees*” or “*flow of refugees*” [GT 46] which is still another metaphor. The basic meaning of “torrent” is a large amount of water moving very quickly. Contextually, the lexeme acquires a new meaning denoting people’s rapid movement from one place to another as a result of hostile war operations.

The female politician, an opposition party leader, comments on the events of the war applying the linguistic metaphoric expression “war erupted”.

- (9) *I used to say that had war **erupted** in Georgia, Abkhazia and South Ossetia would be a part of that war. But I could not imagine that actions would be unfolded on such a large scale* [GT 25]

The basic meaning of the verb “erupt” coined in Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary is to throw or force something out violently, like lava, ash, and gases. However, the context defines another meaning for the lexeme, which is about the war breaking out after tensions between the two countries reach a critical point. The same applies to the phrases: “war broke out” and “spill-over combat”.

Another metaphoric type to analyze is “**violence could quickly spiral out of control**” in example (10). The lexical unit which should undergo scrutiny is the verb “spiral”, as it establishes a metaphoric relation in the expression. The basic dictionary meaning is “to move in continuous circles, going upwards

or downwards”. Nevertheless, the context suggests that it is said in regard to violence, which cannot have spiraling movements. Therefore, the verb is metaphorically used.

(10) *All the negotiations have been stalled since summer 2006 contributing to increasing tensions and the likelihood that any **violence could quickly spiral out of control** is rising* [GT9]

And the final expression to look at is given in examples (11) and (12).

(11) *They are just bullets now! Directed at innocent people – the bullets that have killed the parents of the displaced children living beside me!!! ... I do believe that God will stop **the death rain** and soon a kind rainbow will appear shining again* [GT 64]

(12) *We Hope a Kind Rainbow Will Replace **the Death Rain** Soon* [GT 64]

The linguistic expression to be closely examined is “the death rain”. In this type, the vehicle of the metaphor is supposed to be “rain”, as the adjectivized noun “death” in context, basically also refers to something that causes death. As for “rain”, it stands for “bullets” which cause death.

The basic meaning of the lexeme “violate” is “to go against or refuse to obey a law, disturb or not respect someone’s privacy”. However, taking the context of war into consideration, it implies the illegal intervention of armed forces into another country’s territory, which makes the phrase metaphoric. As for the lexical unit “campaign”, its basic meaning represents “a series of planned activities to achieve a particular social, commercial, or political aim.” Nevertheless, the lexeme “killing” ascribes metaphoric meaning to the latter, thereby labeling the aforementioned “campaign” as criminal.

The last phrases to look at are: “solution to the current crisis” and “resolve the conflict.” The lexical units “solution” and “resolve” are to be investigated; Their basic meaning is stated as follows: “to find a method or process of dealing with a problem.” In the given context, the features of “problem/sun” are ascribed to “war”, which necessitates an immediate resolution in order to withdraw the country from the war crisis. Consequently, the phrase functions as a metaphor in the discourse.

In spite of varying levels of conventionality, the metaphoric expressions discussed above are mostly traditional as the dictionary provides contextual meanings different from basic ones.

4.2 Conceptual metaphors for war

As mentioned in the Method Section, the identification of conceptual metaphors is based on the target and source domain mappings, which means

to understand one thing in terms of another (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). To conduct this, we focused on:

- the source domain identification;
- categorizing the metaphoric expressions/lexemes into a variety of common source domains;
- the target domain (war) and the source domain mappings;

The source domains are identified through *vehicles* of linguistic metaphors (parts which carry the weight of comparison). Bearing this in mind, there are two types of metaphoric relations in linguistic metaphors: 1. highly evocative relations which unambiguously indicate a specific source domain (anchors), and 2. ambiguous relations which may correspond to several source domains (Shaikh et.al 2014,215) and the choice is supposed to be subjective.

Table 2 shows different source domains conceptualizing war in relation to gender. All the metaphors retrieved from the texts are categorized and united by a variety of source domains identifying discourse-bound conceptual metaphors. The largest amount of metaphoric types is associated with *game/sport conceptual metaphor*. Evidence for the source domain *game* was found in the following lexemes: “gambit”, “player”, “game”, “play”, “push”, “stretch”, “exercise”.

Table 2. *Different source domains conceptualizing war*

Source domain	Metaphoric types	Occurrences in male discourse	Occurrences in female discourse
<i>game /sport</i>	expansionist gambit	3	
	(the world’s biggest) player	8	
	a game of Russian Roulette	2	
	zero sum game	2	
	play a dangerous game	7	
	push stretch expansion	1	
	exercise	1	
	exercise	1	
<i>Defense</i>	defense campaign	4	
	safeguard lives	1	
	retaliatory fire	2	
	respond to the threats	1	
<i>crime</i>	violate territorial integrity	4	
	campaign of killing	1	1
<i>Problem</i>	solution to the current crisis	5	
	resolve the conflict	4	2

Adventure		adventure in assault cope with the challenge heepish heroes	1 8 1	
beast		unleash offensive the wolf that ate Georgia	4 2	
Natural disaster	Fire	hostilities flare up		1
	Volcano	Erupt break out spill-over combat	2 2 1	5
	Tornado	(violence) spiral out (the city) razed to the ground batter the neighbor	1	2 2
	Flood	death rain flush out torrent of refugees flow of refugees cleansing operation Ethnic cleansing	4	3 4 5 3 1 2

“Expansionist gambit” (a noun metaphor defined by the auxiliary concept “expansionist”, example 1) indicates that “military intervention” which, like an opening in chess, is a maneuver intended to expand the borders of the warring country. In example 2, Putin is depicted as a dishonest player who skillfully manipulates the player – Georgia – in a “game of Russian roulette” (noun metaphor). Military incursion is like “a zero sum game” (noun metaphor), as the loss of a warring country (lost Georgian territories) became Russia’s gain according to a game theory. Therefore, “military activities” are compared to “a game” and “warring country” to “a player”.

The following lexical units “push”, “stretch”, “expansion exercise” (example 4) also belong to the general source domain of “game”, conceptualizing military activities and a strategic deployment of forces. The text-bound CMs are: MILITARY INCURSION IS AN EXPANSIONIST GAMBIT, MILITARY INCURSION IS A ZERO-SUM GAME, WAR IS A GAME OF RUSSIAN ROULETTE, WARRING COUNTRY IS A PLAYER, MILITARY INCURSION IS AN EXPANSION EXERCISE which can be united by the general discourse-bound metaphor WAR IS A GAME. Mapping the source domain of GAME onto the target of WAR “*is a metaphor in which there is a clear winner and loser, and a clear end to the game. The metaphor highlights strategic thinking, team work, preparedness, the spectators in the world arena, the glory of the winning, and the shame of defeat*” (Lakoff 1992,473).

War as Game Mappings

Source Domain – Game	Target Domain – War
Participants of a game-players/contestants	Participants of war – warring countries/soldiers
Moves of a game	Maneuvers/incursion/assault
Winner/loser	Conquering and defeated countries
Body movements	Strategic deployment of forces

In the expression “unleash offensive” (verb metaphor), the lexical unit “offensive” is compared to a “beast” that is “unleashed” in the fierce game of war. Underhill mentions in his comment that the linguistic expression of the cognitive metaphor primarily appeared in Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*, where Mark Anthony says: “let loose the dogs of war” (Act 3, sc.1, 1.273 cited in Underhill 2003,144). According to our study, it is mostly associated with men. The “beast” source domain is evident in the metaphor “*the wolf that ate Georgia*” [GT 57], where the enemy is dehumanized and compared to a wolf.

War as Beast Mappings

Source Domain – Beast	Target Domain – War offensive
Scary and vicious, ready to attack	Aggressive soldiers ready to attack and destroy
Release from a leash	Strong and violent force becomes unrestrained

Another major domain is the domain of “natural disaster” which is represented by the subdomains of “fire”, “volcano”, “tornado”, and “flood”. In the example “hostilities flaring up”, the quality underlying the conceptual mapping is the quality of fire – “intensifying” which is attributed to “hostilities”. Moreover, Underhill identifies the metaphor “...to ignite a war” which presupposes a conceptual basis connected to the source domain “fire” (2004,143). Respectively, “ignite” and “flare up” are synonyms and self-explanatory as well. Therefore, the relation in the linguistic metaphor is an anchor which refers to a specific source domain “fire”.

As mentioned before, some relations in the linguistic metaphors are not self-explanatory in terms of evidencing source domains. Rather, they could imply several options. In search of anchoring a relevant one, possible options come forward. A conceptual comparison has to be established between “cleans-

ing operation” – a lexical unit of the target domain of war – and the source domain which “flushes” out (verb metaphor). It could be a “flood” possibly flushing out objects, or it may as well be an “antiseptic” (iodine, peroxide) flushing out unwanted bacteria from a wound. The two possible source domains suggest alternative conceptual frames⁶: FLOOD-frame or ANTISEPTIC-frame.

Semantically, “flood” bears a negative connotation, whereas “antiseptic” has a more positive aspect. From a Georgian perspective, “cleansing operation” is more likely to be emotionally associated with a flood, as according to the given context, the people living in the gorge were forced out /flushed out of their dwelling. From a Russian perspective, the other conceptual frame would do, as the “storm troopers”, like an antiseptic, flushed unwanted people out of the gorge. Therefore, the war reality framed from the Georgian perspective may be compared to FLOOD.

As for “cleansing operation”, it is a metaphor on its own. “Cleansing” in military activity first appeared in the Bosnia and Herzegovina war and means a forceful displacement or removal of people from a place. In this meaning it stands quite close to “flush out”. Therefore, we included it in the sub-domain of “flood” as one of the types of a natural disaster domain.

If we analyze the linguistic metaphor “the death rain”, structurally, it is a noun metaphor (“rain” defined by an auxiliary concept – “death” meaning loss of lives) which substitutes the original target of comparison “bullets” and as a vehicle carries the weight of comparison. In this context *bullets* fall onto people like disastrous rain causing destruction through deluge and inundation.

Another sub-domain of “natural disaster” is “volcano”. To elaborate on the conceptual comparison, the optional source domains have to be considered, as the metaphoric relations established by the verb “erupt” are not self-explanatory. The following lexical units “active volcano”, “geyser”, “tooth”, and “rash” may all erupt. The variety of source domains introduces ambiguity through four alternative conceptual frames: WAR ACTION IS AN ACTIVE VOLCANO / GEYSER / TOOTH / RASH.

Nevertheless, war brings about destruction, devastation, and the loss of lives, the outbreak of which is conditioned by reaching the critical point of tensions in the region and is thus similar to a volcanic eruption. An analogical feature that draws “an active volcano” and “war” closer is the power of destruction. Therefore, the threats and danger posed by war are more likely to be associated with “an active volcano”-frame rather than “geyser”, “tooth”, or “rash” frames. Other linguistic variations for the frame could be “spill-over combat”

6 George Lakoff (2002) argued that metaphors can act as conceptual frames in many areas, presumably affecting people’s attitudes, intentions and actions

and “break out”. The conceptual frame here is WAR ACTION IS AN ACTIVE VOLCANO.

The next source domain is seen in the example “violence could quickly spiral out of control” (verb metaphor). The lexical unit which should go under scrutiny is the verb “spiral” as it establishes metaphoric relation in the expression. However, the source domains that can carry the weight of comparison in the case of “spiraling out of control” could be “tornado”, “plane”, or “car” (vehicle). Albeit it is more likely about a plane or a car that might spiral out of control, when a pilot or a driver cannot control a vehicle and the latter starts moving uncontrollably in a circular way. The same can also be said about a tornado: “she felt as if a *tornado had settled deep in the pit of her stomach and was just starting to spiral out of control*” (Arthur 2008, 97), “*I am a Tornado. Sometimes life situations cause me to spiral out of control*” (Heitz 2014), “*The Red Tornado whizzed out of control over the jungle canopy*” (Wood 2011,18);

As it appears, the following conceptual frames compete: the WAR VIOLENCE IS A TORNADO-frame and the VIOLENCE IS AN OUT-OF-CONTROL VEHICLE-frame. The feature we would focus on is the “destructive power” of a tornado inflicted upon people and a residential area which is similar to the connotative meaning – the “destructive power” of war. The given context dictates the analogy between war violence and tornado as a source domain which may have other linguistic variations such as: “*batter the neighbour*” and “*the city razed to the ground*”. Thus, WAR VIOLENCE IS A TORNADO.

The “volcano”, “fire”, “tornado”, and “flood” text-bound CMs could be united under the general domain “natural disaster”, which is presented in Table 2. It indicates the general discourse-bound CM: WAR IS NATURAL DISASTER based on the mapping.

War as Natural Disaster Mappings

Source Domain – Natural Disaster	Target Domain – War
Volcanic eruption	Military tensions reaching critical point
Destructive force of tornado	War violence
Disastrous Rain (falling down)	Bullets/ missiles
Flood/inundation	Military cleansing operation

The evidence for the source domain “defense” was found in the following linguistic variations: “safeguard lives”(verb metaphor), “retaliatory fire”(noun metaphor), and “respond to the threats” (verb metaphor) (Table 2). The lexical units “safeguard”, “retaliatory”, and “respond” are self-explanatory in terms of highlighting the defensive side of war rather than destruction and the loss of lives. It is interesting to note that the conceptual metaphor WAR AS DEFENSE first appeared in Underhill’s work *War in Iraq* (2003,142) with the following linguistic variations: “(George Bush) has rewritten America’s security doctrine around the notion of pre-emption, so that he can confront the worst threats before they emerge” or “France and Germany both worried about America’s claim to a right pre-emptive action to deal with new threats from terrorism and weapons of mass destruction”.

War as Defense Mappings

Source Domain – Defense	Target Domain – War
Resistance against danger	Military actions/measures against enemy
A thing or person providing protection	Country Armed forces
Protecting resources	Security doctrin

As for war being conceptualized as a “crime”, the following lexemes “violate territorial integrity” (verb metaphor), “campaign of killing” (noun metaphor) take the weight of comparison (Table 2). The basic meaning of the lexeme “violate” is to go against or refuse to obey a law, or to disturb or not respect someone’s privacy. In the given context it implies the forceful incursion of armed forces into another country’s territory, which makes the phrase metaphoric. As for “campaign”, the basic meaning is a series of planned activities to achieve a particular social, commercial, or political aim. The basic denotative meaning is positive. However, the lexeme “killing” ascribes a negative connotation to the lexeme “campaign”. Thus, two text bound CMs emerge: WAR IS A VIOLATION OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY and WAR IS A CAMPAIGN OF KILLING which stress the criminal side of war. The two text-bound CMs can be united by the following discourse-bound metaphor: WAR IS CRIME

War as Crime Mappings

Source Domain – Crime	Target Domain – War
Criminals	Intruding armed forces of a warring country
Building is burgled	Country is intruded upon
A person is dishonored	Territorial integrity is infringed

Our study identified the source domain conceptualizing war as “adventure” (Table 2) based on the following linguistic variations: “adventure in assault” (noun metaphor), “cope with the challenges” (noun metaphor), and “sheepish heroes” (noun metaphor) (example 5). The vehicles of the linguistic metaphors are self-explanatory and point to the source of comparison established between the challenges of adventure and military assault, soldiers and adventurers/heroes. Thus, they indicate the following text-bound CM: ASSAULT IS AN ADVENTURE, MILITARY INTERVENTION IS A CHALLENGE, SOLDIERS ARE SHEEPISH HEROES. The mapping of the source and target domains results in the discourse-bound CM: WAR IS AN ADVENTURE.

War as Adventure

Source Domain – Adventure	Target Domain – War
Adventurer	Soldiers/ armed forces
Challenges	Strategic interests
Adventure destinations	Territories of warring countries
Seek adventure	Assault/attack

The last source domain presented in Table 2 is “problem” and the “war as a problem” conceptual frame is realized through the expressions “solution to the current crisis” (noun metaphor), “resolve the conflict” (verb metaphor). The lexical units undergoing scrutiny are “resolve” and “solve”, the basic meaning of which is to find a method or process of dealing with a problem. In the given context, the property of “problem” is ascribed to “war”, which like a complex sum requires resolution so that the country finally emerges from crisis. The metaphoric lexical units are self-explanatory and indicate the source of comparison – problem. Therefore, the CM is: WAR IS A PROBLEM.

War as Problem Mapping s

Source Domain – Problem	Target Domain – War
A person/entity who deals with it	Government/Armed forces are involved
Requires logical thinking	Requires strategic thinking
Complexity	Crisis

4.3. Systematicity of Conceptual Metaphors for war

The case study reveals that there are some source domains which are predominantly ascribed to the male discourse participants, with such conceptualizations of war as: *game/sport*, *defense*, *adventure*, and *beast*. As for the the source domains *natural disaster*, *crime*, and *problem*, these are more common with women (Table 3).

Table 3. Results of metaphoric systematicity for different source domains

Source domains	Metaphoric Types		Metaphoric Tokens		mTTR		Metaphoric Density	
	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
<i>game/sport</i>	8 –		25 –		0.32 –		0.86 –	
<i>Defense</i>	4 –		8 –		0.5 –		0.28 –	
<i>Crime</i>	2 1		5 1		0.4 1		0.17 0.04	
<i>Problem</i>	2 1		9 2		0.22 0.5		0.31 0.07	
<i>Adventure</i>	3 –		10 –		0.3 –		0.35 –	
<i>Beast</i>	2 –		6 –		0.3 –		0.21 –	
<i>Natural disaster</i>	5 10		10 28		0.5 0.36		0.35 0.98	
<i>Overall</i>	26 12		73 31		0.36 0.39		2.52 1.09	

However, the overall mTTR shows that male and female discourse are lexically more or less equally varied (0.36 and 0.39 respectively for male and female). However, male discourse is more varied due to some metaphoric expressions (*game/sport*, *defense*, *crime*, *problem*, *adventure*, and *beast* metaphors).

The *natural disaster* general source domain incorporates several sub-do-

mains out of which the *flood* subdomain is more common for female discourse than the male one. The other subdomains of the *natural disaster* CM are shared by male participants, but with less frequency/density.

Metaphoric density indicates that the prevailing conceptual metaphor for male discourse is *game/sport* CM (0.86 per 1000 words) and *natural disaster* CM (0.98 per 1000 words) for female discourse. As for the overall density, male discourse is 2 times denser than the female one (2.52 and 1.09), indicating that men used metaphoric expressions more than women did, with similar lexical variety though.

4.3. BYU Corpora-based Data

The case study revealed the tendency for different framing models of war reality due to gender impact. The media framing of the 2008 Georgian-Russian war through conceptual metaphors reveals that men associated war mostly with game/sport and women with disaster. Therefore, we used the BYU corpora to enhance the results of the case study by identifying the prevailing metaphoric expressions for male and female discourse.

Table 4 (see Appendix) displays the results of the linguistic inquiry for the metaphoric expressions grouped according to the different source domains. The metaphoric frequencies are displayed across 5 corpora: COCA, COHA, NOW, GLOBWE, and BNC where the letters *m*, *f*, and *n* stand for *male*, *female*, and *no meta data* (without the indication of gender of the discourse participant) respectively.

Along with the metaphoric expressions from Table 2, the ones present in the given corpora, the results include the metaphoric expression “war is a game...”. In this case the conceptual basis for a variety of linguistic interpretations is “pasted” into the discourse as a direct conceptualization, such as Calusewitz’s metaphor “War is politics pursued by other means”, where the target and source domains of the metaphor are verbally given in the text conjoined with the verb “to be”.

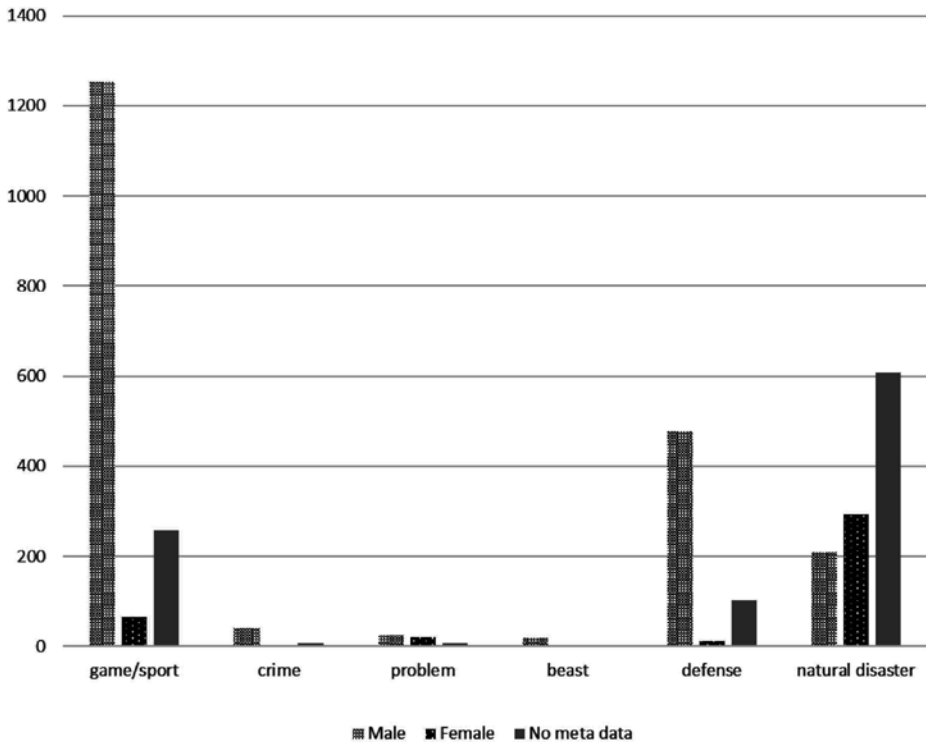
The most notable ones are “*War is a game of pleasure, rather than dark hazard*” (N3) and “*War is a game of pure chance, in which great leaders form their plans on some unintelligible inspiration*” (N7). Also, “*War is a game, which, were their subjects wise, kings would not play at*” (N1-William Cowper) in COHA (Concordance List 1, see Appendix).

In GLOBWE (Concordance List 2, see Appendix): “*In many parts of the world, war is a game, in which the individuals can win counters – counters which bring him prestige in the eyes of his own sex; he plays for these counters as he might, in our society, strive for a tennis championship. Then proving oneself a man and proving this by success in organized killing due to a definition which*

many societies have made manliness” (N2), or “War is the game of the wits for the general” (N4 – a Cartesian attitude towards military skills). “War is a game of strategy fought between generals, and soldiers are unwitting participants” (N8 – Patrick Wyatt, a journalist). Or Churchill’s quote: “War is a game that is played with a smiling face, if you can’t smile, grin, keep out of the way till you can” (N9).

And in the NOW corpus (Concordance List 3, see Appendix): “War is a game played according to rules accepted by both sides... We are sportsmen not butchers, we shoot down planes, not pilots” (N5 – Red Baron of World War I, Manfred von Richthofen). “War is a game tailor-made for fans of berserk” (N7 – Richard Eisenbeis, a journalist).

Chart 1. Frequencies of metaphoric expressions for war grouped according to different source domains



To reveal the prevailing metaphoric frames in terms of conceptual metaphors with regard to gender, the frequencies of metaphors have been added up and displayed in Chart 1 where the linguistic metaphoric expressions are grouped according to the source domains. The prevailing frames for the male

discourse participants are “war is a game” and “war is defense” implying a variety of linguistic variations (Table 4, Appendix). As for women, the following frame prevails: “war is a natural disaster”.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The undertaken case study was an attempt to find out how gender influences the male and female choice of conceptual metaphors with regard to the reality of war in the media covering the 2008 Russian-Georgian armed conflict. The differences and particularities in the metaphoric expressions and conceptual basis accordingly suggest that there is a tendency that male and female participants may have different framing models applied to the reality of war.

The most essential part of the research was the identification of conceptual metaphors. The axis of conceptual metaphor is a source domain carrying the weight of comparison. Therefore, evidencing them is crucial. The linguistic metaphoric expressions structurally represented by *nouns* or *nouns defined by auxiliary concepts* introduce less ambiguity in source domain identification as they point at the source of comparison. Such linguistic metaphoric expressions were “death rain” (for the female discourse participants), “expansionist gambit”, “a game of Russian roulette”, “a zero sum game”, “adventure in assault”, “defense campaign/practice”, and “player” (prevalent in the male discourse participants’ discourse).

As for the linguistic metaphoric expressions structurally represented by verbs or verbals (“erupt”, “spiral out of control”, “flush out”), they may suggest a variety of metaphoric frames if they are not self-explanatory in implying a plausible source domain (“unleash”, “flare up”). To evidence the choice of a metaphoric frame, we looked at the denotative (literal or dictionary meaning as well as the origins of a word) and connotative (emotional and imaginary association surrounding a word) meanings of a word. Connotative meanings of a word supported the choice of cognitive frames such as: CLEANSING OPERATION IS A FLOOD, WAR ACTION IS AN ACTIVE VOLCANO, and WAR VIOLENCE IS A TORNADO. However, the choice of metaphoric frames might be subject to further tests verifying the attribution of source domains based on more substantial evidencing.

Evaluating the aforementioned in terms of metaphor systematicity, the study showed that the metaphoric density of conceptual metaphors for male discourse participants is almost twice as much as for female participants, 2.52 and 1.09 respectively, with a similar lexical variety though (mTTR 0.36 for male and 0.39 for female). These data indicate that men appear more metaphorically

active in the given discourse than women. Although the index of the lexical variety of metaphors is similar with both genders, there is a difference between the preferred lexical units/lexemes used metaphorically by men and women in the discourse. According to the study, the cognitive metaphors “chosen” by male discourse participants predominantly framing war as “a game” might be an indication of an aggressive and competitive mindset, a typical masculine trait. As for the framing of the reality mostly as a “natural disaster” – associated with female participants – it reflects a more or less different subjective reality, which stresses fleeing, destruction, the loss of lives etc.

As for the BYU corpora data, they reveal the prevailing patterns for male and female discourse, such as men associating war mostly with political game and defense, whereas women associating it more with natural disaster. The existence of natural disaster metaphors is pervasive in [this] discourse (Charteris-Black 2006; Wodak 2006) as they indicate the behavior of natural forces transmitted onto war. These metaphors were present in the female discourse as well as in the male one based on our study. However, the prevailing tendencies/frequencies of the male and female discourse highlight the particularities and differences of framing attitudes.

Based on the aforementioned, the case study we conducted puts forward the probability of a gender-based “preference” of metaphors which starts at cognitive level. As Lakoff and Johnson put it, “Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities” which reinforce their persuasive power (1980,156). Moreover, “by using particular metaphors writers can therefore define the topic, argue for that conceptualization, and persuade readers to share in their metaphor and thus to relate to them. In short, metaphor is ancillary to constructing a particular view of reality” (Koller 2004,2). Therefore, through the selective choice of conceptual metaphors, male and female discourse participants are likely to create different realities somewhat gendering the war discourse.

There might be a variety of factors influencing such a prevalence of cognitive models such as understanding war as “*the space where women... are not*” (Higonnet 1995,87). The memory of the Great War was defined as a masculine subject and in many respects men and women “were fighting different wars” (Watson 2004). Watson argues that these differences should be acknowledged noting that: “*how people thought about gender and class...profoundly influenced how they imagined the experience of different kinds of war work*” (ibid., 6). Historically, wars profoundly influenced gender regardless of culture and nation (Goldstein 2001) and today the media continues to play a significant role in influencing the images and perception of war in our heads (Lippman 1922).

Such pictures viewing war as men's domain, their business, are so ingrained in our human existence (Goldstein 2001) that they become naturalized.

In this sense, metaphors are like implicit power which may gender reality as well as reflect power relations, as "metaphorical activity occurs at sites of difference, in struggles over power" (Kress 1989,71). If we consider the conceptual metaphors associated with the male discourse participants, they could put men in more powerful discursive positions as they perceive reality as "a competitive game and defense" which is the embodiment of Calusewitz's metaphor: "War is politics pursued by other means". This model of conceptual metaphor possibly stresses men's competitive participation and their discursive hegemony. By contrast, constructs of women's cognitive model of reality more or less highlight the repressive and devastating force of war, which probably put them in a more feeble position. Presumably, metaphors continue to reinforce gender stereotypes that are socially accepted and could be an indication that discursive power remains in the hands of the dominant group.

The significance of a critical analysis of conceptual metaphors is its contribution towards acquiring new attitudes and ways of thinking with regard to conflicts requiring a departure on its part from the old stereotyped cognition. The changes in metaphorical use of language may influence subsequent action (Sapientza 1987) through triggering a perceptual shift (Sackman 1989). The so-called "perceptual shift" will also be reflected in the media discourse as a crucial socio-linguistic tool for eradicating asymmetries in discourse as well as in social life.

The present study on a critical analysis of conceptual war metaphors associated with gender and based on the particular case of the 2008 Georgian-Russian war, was the combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis. The results obtained from the case study show prevailing tendencies of gendered metaphorical representations which contributed to the conclusions we drew above. As for the BYU corpora, the considerable amount of gender-annotated material supported the results of the case study. However, there is another limitation to the applied corpus, as the texts are not completely annotated in terms of the text-producer's gender.

Based on the aforementioned, the results cannot be entirely generalized at this stage and are subject to further tests verifying the choice of gender-linked conceptual frames. We reckon that the human cognition revealed through the prevailing conceptual metaphors in male and female discourse would reveal similar results if not the same in other cases as well.

In summation, it would be interesting to test the tendencies in another more substantial corpus such as the Bank of English COUILD Corpus for fur-

ther research and significant results; the research may also take the following directions such as source domain attribution or the choice of certain metaphors from the perspective of a text-recipient, as well as the study of the ideological effects of conceptual metaphors.

Appendix

Mini Corpus: The Georgian Times (August 11 – September 15, 2008)

Subcorpus A

- [GT 1] Georgia All Alone in Standoff with Russia. (Ketevan Khachidze-Journalist) 11/08/2008 p.2,3
- [GT 5] Opposition Declares Moratorium on Domestic Political Disputes. (Nino Japaridze-Journalist) 11/08/2008 p.6
- [GT 6] Georgian Rally for Sick and Wounded.(Rusudan Gvazava-Journalist) 11/08/2008 p.6
- [GT 7] Human Chain Stretches from Russian Embassy to Freedom Square. (Nino Japaridze) 11/08/2008 p.6
- [GT 9] Georgian Conflict Alert: the Need for an Immediate End to Hostilities in South Ossetia. (Nino Japaridze)11/08/2008 p.7
- [GT 10] Hackers Also Target Saakashvili's Site. (Nino Japaridze) 11/08/2008 p.8
- [GT 11] Russian Hackers Attack Georgian Websites. (Nino Japaridze)11/08/2008 p.8
- [GT 14] What Will Stop Russia? (Nino Japaridze) 18/08/2008 p.2.
- [GT 15] Gori Razed to the Ground. (Nino Japaridze)18/08/2008 p.3
- [GT 17] Refugees Flee to the Capital. .(Rusudan Gvazava) 18/08/2008 p.6
- [GT 20] Roki-Tunnel of Misfortune. (Marika Kakhadze-Journalist) 18/08/2008 p.3,8.
- [GT 21] Georgians Rally Worldwide to Protest Against Russia's Offensive. (Eka Chikovani-Journalist)18/08/2008 p.10
- [GT 24] Georgia: Russian Cluster Bombs Kill civilians.(Nino Japaridze) 18/08/2008 p.13
- [GT 25] Nino Burjanadze: "Demonstrating unity is very important but we have nothing to celebrate". 18/08/2008p.13. (Nino Burjanadze-opposition party leader)
- [GT 26] "Putin Cannot be Stopped by Russian Public Opinion" – Valeriya Novodvorskaya – politician). 18/08/2008 p.16
- [GT 28] IOC Comments on Situation in Georgia. (Giselle Davies-Head of

- IOC) 11/08/2008 p.3
- [GT 29] Russia Leaves but Stays. (Nino Japaridze)25/08/2008. p.2
- [GT 30] Russian Won't Ever Stretch the Skins of Georgians on Drums. (Nana Gagua-Journalist)25/08/2008. p.2
- [GT 32] Georgia Sues Russia in the Hague and Strasbourg for "Ethnic Cleansing". (Dali Bzhalava-journalist) 25/08/2008. p.3
- [GT 34] Who Here Helped Russia Occupy Georgia? (Dali Bzhalava) 25/08/2008 p.5,10
- [GT 37] Despite Provocation, Politicians Stand Together. (Nino Japaridze)25/08/2008. p.8
- [GT 40] New "Weapon" Against Georgia – Forest Fires. Nino Japaridze)25/08/2008 p.11
- [GT 41] More Victims of Russian Peace. (Shorena Tsivkarashvili-journalist) 25/08/2008 p.13
- [GT 42] Tsoetne Bakuria: "Saakashvili has fulfilled the most beautiful dream of Russia". 18/08/2008 p.16 (Jana Asanidze-Journalist)
- [GT 43] In War and Peace. (Tinatin Dzhaparidze) 25/08/2008 p.18,19.
- [GT 44] Why do Georgian Emigrants in Russia Keep Silent? Nino Japaridze) 25/08/2008 p.18
- [GT 46] GORI – the town which has survived. Nino Japaridze) 01/09/2008 p.3.
- [GT 49] Dead but not forgotten. (Rusudan Gvazava)01/09/2008 p.4
- [GT 51] "The Population is assisting us immensely, but what is the government would take care of us as well?" (Shorena Tsivkarashvili) 01/09/2008 p.5
- [GT 54] We shall Overcome, Says Business Community.(Manana Abashidze) 01/09/2008 p.9
- [GT 55] Rompetrol Has Enough European To Last Several Months. (Manana Abashidze)01/09/2008 p.9
- [GT 59] Much is Promised, But What Will It Deliver? Nino Japaridze) 08/09/2008 p.6
- [GT 64] We Hope a Kind Rainbow Will Replace the Death Rain Soon. Nino Japaridze) 08/09/2008 p.17
- [GT 65] Russia's Hard Stance on EU Observers May Challenge EU-Bordered Deal. Nino Japaridze) 15/09/2008 p.2
- [GT 66] Burjanadze Presses for Facts. (Ketevan Khachidze-Journalist)15/09/2008 p.4
- [GT 67] Salome Zourabishvili : "Resolution in Georgia stalled with frozen relations in Europe". p.5 (opposition party leader)

Subcorpus B

- [GT 2] Europe has learned nothing from the Crimes of Hitler. (Kakha Lomaia – State Secretary of Georgia) 11/08/2008 p.2
- [GT 3] Obama, McCain Urge Restraint in Georgia. (Obama and McCain cited) 11/08/2008 p.3
- [GT 4] Russia Crosses the Line. 18/08/2008 (Richard Holbrooke and Ronald Asmus-Journalists) p.17
- [GT 8] Euronews Lies About South Ossetia Fighting. (I.G. Chopan – Journalist) 11/08/2008 p.7
- [GT 12] The SU-24 Bomber and Russian Military Diplomacy. (Amiran Salukvadze-Journalist) 11/08/2008 p.8, 13.
- [GT 13] Mzhavia Demands an UN Administration for Gali. (Temur Mzhavia – Head of Legitimate Government of Abkhazia) 11/08/2008 p.10
- [GT 16] We came in to Get saakashvili Out, say Russians.(Aleko Akobia – Journalist) 18/08/2008 p.5
- [GT 18] Neo-Imperial Russia's True Geopolitics in Waging War Against Georgia. (Vakhtang Maisaia – Chairman of Foreign Policy Association in Georgia) 18/08/2008 p.8
- [GT 19] The Russian-Georgian War Was Pre Planned in Moscow. (Pavel Felgenhauer – Journalist) 18/08/2008 p.8
- [GT 22] Putin Deliberately Destroys Reputation of the Russian Federation. (Merab Pachulia-Journalist) 18/08/2008 p.10
- [GT 23] “We hope that we will, in future, be much better positioned to win any information war”. (Malkhaz Gulashvili – President of Media Holding) 18/08/2008 p.11
- [GT 27] What the West Can Do?(Richard Holbrooke) 25/08/2008 p.16
- [GT 31] Strob Talbott: “Not Clear What Russia is going to do next”. 25/08/2008. p.3 (President of Brookings Institute)
- [GT 33] Georgia Invaded: A Test Case for NATO. (Nodar Tangiashvili Journalist) 25/08/2008 pp.4,5.
- [GT 35] Putin Cheats in “New Great Game” of “Russian Roulette”. (Merab Pachulia-Journalist) 25/08/2008 p.6.
- [GT 36] Gone from Senaki but not Very Far. (Aleko Akobia-Journalist) 25/08/2008 p. 8
- [GT 38] Gia Karkarashvili: “If we had fought better, our tanks would be at the Roki Tunnel, not at Igoeti”. (Former MP and Minister of Defence of Georgia) 25/08/2008 p.9,10.
- [GT 39] Mamuka Areshidze: War Toll is Higher than Official Data Suggests” (Political analyst and expert) 25/08/2008 p.9,10

- [GT 45] “It doesn’t matter who began war because that is a childish question which attempts to skirt the problems”. (Ralph Halbig – Journalist) 25/08/2008 p.18
- [GT 47] “Power Politics and historical legacies still matter” – Cory Welt (Specialist on Georgia) 01/09/2008 p.4
- [GT 48] The EU Wakes Up, But Up To What Point? (Nodar Tangiashvili) 01/09/2008 p.4
- [GT 50] Russia Has Lined Up Its Dominoes. (Mamuka Areshidze) 01/09/2008 p.4
- [GT 52] Temur Yakobashvili: “We should not rely on the international organizations in which Russia has a right of veto”. (Minister of Reintegration) 1/09/2008 p.6
- [GT 53] “I know if I go back home in Abkhazia, I will never be able to leave again” (Former resident and IDP from Abkhazia) 01/09/2008 p.6
- [GT 56] Georgia Splits the Kremlin. (Andrei Piontkovsky – Political analyst) 01/09/2008 p.16
- [GT 57] The Wolf that Ate Georgia. (Antonio Cassese – Jurist specializing in international law) 01/09/2008 p.16,17.
- [GT 58] Georgia: More Sinned Against than Sinning. (Andrew Webb – resident in Georgia) 01/09/2008 p.18,19.
- [GT 60] The USA Energy Security “Caucasus” Vector: Why did Cheney Visit the Region??? 08/09/2008 (Vakhtang Maisaia) p.8
- [GT 61] Shalva Pichkhadze: EU Condemns Russia for “Excessive Use of Force, and not for the Use of Force... (Shalva Pichkhadze Political Adviser) 08/09/2008 p.9
- [GT 62] David Bakradze: “I hope the CIS countries will withstand Russia’s political pressure”. 08/09/2008 p.9 (Chairman of the parliament)
- [GT 63] Tsoetne Gamsakhurda’s Letter to the Georgian Times: If Georgians living in Russia decided to appropriate a region of Russia for themselves, would Russia be so acquiescent to their demands? (The son of Georgia’s first President) 08/09/2008 p.10
- [GT 68] Why and How Georgia Overlooked the Russia’s Aggression??? (Vakhtang Maisaia) 15/09/2008 p.8

Table 4. *Source Domains distribution across BYU corpora data*

Source Domain	Metaphor	COCA			COHA			NOW			GLOBWE			BNC		
		m	f	n	M	f	n	m	f	n	m	f	n	m	F	n
game/ sport	war play*	6	2	-	39	2	-	231	18	18	81	-	35	5	-	-
	zero sum game	78	12	-	18	1	-	388	26	123	363	21	78	17	-	-
	war is a game	-	-	-	10	-	-	7	-	1	7	-	3	-	-	-
crime	violat* territorial integrity	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
	campaign of killing	4	-	1	-	-	-	26	4	7	3	-	2	-	-	-
problem	resolve conflict/ war	6	16	3	11	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	3	1	1
	solution to war	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	1	2	3	-	-	-
Beast	unleash war/ offensive	1	-	-	1	-	-	14	-	-	2	-	3	2	-	-
defense	defense campaign	2	1	-	1	-	-	16	-	5	4	-	-	1	1	2
	retaliatory fire	2	-	-	-	-	-	275	5	64	22	-	11	1	-	-
	safeguard lives	3	-	-	-	-	-	141	6	16	9	-	4	1	-	-
natural disaster	war erupt*	18	8	8	8	4	3	64	151	391	14	19	85	2	3	9
	war spill* over	-	1	-	-	-	-	11	11	19	4	10	7	1	-	-
	rain of death	-	1	-	4	2	2	2	1	2	2	5	1	1	-	-
	violence spiral* out	1	-	-	-	-	-	6	8	12	1	6	5	-	-	-
	hostilities flare* up	1	-	-	1	-	1	3	3	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
	soldiers flush* out	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	torrent of refugees	10	2	-	8	4	3	6	2	-	16	36	25	2	-	4
	cleansing operation	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	10	24	4	5	6	1	-	1

Concordance List 1. WAR IS A GAME in COHA

corpus.byu.edu/coha/

Corpus of Historical American English

SEARCH FREQUENCY CONTEXT

CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT [?] SAVE LIST CHOOSE LIST CREATE NEW LIST [?]

1	1832	MAG	NorthAmRev	A B C	philosophy on this subject is contained in the words of Cowper: War is a game , which, were
2	1835	NF	EssayOnRace/Wages	A B C	such a curse as to the labourers. "Senior, u War is a game , which, were their subjects wile,
3	1837	FIC	LettersLuciusM	A B C	about to extend their dominion over new territories, and to whom war is a game of pleasur
4	1839	MAG	USDemRev	A B C	main cause of war and the mode of removing it, that war is a game which, if nations were v
5	1843	FIC	LettersFromNew	A B C	to inspire terror, which leads to the execution of spies. War is a game , in which the devil pla
6	1856	FIC	EustawSequelThe	A B C	. We are strong, and will make good fight; but war is a game of great uncertainty. Panics are
7	1889	MAG	NorthAmRev	A B C	and Washington in the Peninsula. There are some who think that war is a game of pure che
8	1904	MAG	Nation	A B C	truths, happy will Peace Congresses be if they boldly utter them War is a game which kings
9	1981	FIC	LionIreland	A B C	had you for his dinner, idiot child, do you think war is a game for babies to play?" The exub
10	1981	FIC	LionIreland	A B C	had you for his dinner, idiot child, do you think war is a game for babies to play?" The exub

Concordance List 2. WAR IS A GAME in GLOWBE

Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE)

SEARCH FREQUENCY CONTEXT

CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT [?] SAVE LIST CHOOSE LIST CREATE NEW LIST [?]

1	80 B	wwwreviewer.com	A B C	like: "Because for them, for most children in the world today, war is a game , so they like it. And this movie, because they,
2	GB G	ppu.org.uk	A B C	going out on a war party. # In many parts of the world, war is a game in which the individual can win counters - counter
3	GB B	order-order.com	A B C	the Falle accusations of indiscriminate Israeli bombing of civilian targets? # Casual Observer thinks war is a game or is
4	HK G	home.miss.net	A B C	by travel". # Military: what is the epistemology of the Conqueror? War is a game of wits for the general. It is not a phys
5	IE G	...fresdo-of-aether.net	A B C	peris (except by proxy, and that doesn't count). Gears of War is a game aimed squarely at the male demographic who l
6	IN G	...sharewecentral.com	A B C	country's destiny, suffers... # Stargate Empire at War 1.0 Stargate Empire at War is a game mod for Stargate fans. This i
7	PK G	iron-islam.org	A B C	Before going away, he shouted as loudly as he could: "Assuredly, war is a game of chance. This day avengeth the day of
8	US G	codeofhonor.com	A B C	than the unit AI. # Fave! Slugik # Rrst of all, Blood War is a game of strategy moreso than StarCraft 2. The only match
9	US G	rense.com	A B C	shattered 14 # Churchill and Roosevelt knew what was going on. Churchill bragged that " War is a game that has to be
10	US B	vg247.com	A B C	, is something I don't understand and is incredibly distasteful. # Gears of War is a game of excessive violence and very it

Concordance List 3. WAR IS A GAME in NOW corpus.

The screenshot shows the NOW Corpus interface with a search for 'war is a game'. The interface includes a search bar, navigation tabs for SEARCH, FREQUENCY, and CONTEXT, and a list of search results. The results table has columns for rank, date, source, and text. The text column shows the phrase 'war is a game' highlighted in green in each entry.

Rank	Date	Source	Text
1	16-10-29 AU	Kotaku Australia	the next the map resets as if nothing was lost. Everything is consequence-free. War is a game. # After
3	16-09-29 IN	Hindustan Times (1)	- But, as Lieutenant General HS Panig reminded us on Thursday, "war is a game of chess". And the t
4	16-04-09 IE	The42	3160429 War Is A Game (But Still Hell
5	14-10-26 AU	The Conversation UK	7 fer. # At first, this is an unreflecting period for whom the war is a game played according to rules at
6	13-08-21 ZA	Mail & Guardian Online	4034199 # Winston Churchill once said that war is a game that is played with a smile. "If you can't
7	13-02-09 AU	Kotaku Australia	real shame, because Berserk: Millennium Falcon Arc, Chapter of the Holy Demon War is a game tarlo
8	12-05-25 US	WNYC	these weapons have the potential to pollute the earth for a very long time... War is a game where ind

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