

A multifactorial approach to WAR and CORRUPTION metaphors in South Asian Englishes

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Abstract

The present paper provides a corpus-based study of WAR and CORRUPTION metaphors in South Asian Englishes (specifically Indian English, Bangladeshi English, Nepali English and Pakistani English). Considering the highly news-relevant nature of these concepts, the South Asian Varieties of English corpus (SAVE2020) serves as the database. In an initial step, we outline the source domains at different levels of schematicity used to construe WAR and CORRUPTION, revealing the salient domains AT LOCATION and PERSON. By pursuing a multifactorial approach, this study aims at answering the question whether the choice of source domain is governed by the sociolinguistic factors GENDER and VARIETY, and intra-linguistic factors, for example, length and semantic prosody of the metaphor-related words. It furthermore investigates whether multifactorial analyses, which are still a novelty within research on metaphor variation, constitute a suitable methodological approach. By doing so, our research demonstrates the need to complement this quantitative approach with a qualitative one that offers a more fine-grained description of the source domains used to structure metaphorical concepts like WAR and CORRUPTION.

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1 | INTRODUCTION

The cultural influence of language variation is especially worth considering in regional varieties of English that share a common history and are in close geographic proximity. This paper will investigate differences in the varieties of English spoken in Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan by studying metaphors. Metaphors offer a way of capturing cross-varietal differences because they, first and foremost, are in the business of revealing underlying cultural schemas and frames that the speakers of a language follow. Identifying these cultural schemas and frames as they are instantiated in specific varieties of a language allows us to pinpoint cultural variation in metaphoric conceptualizations and, in particular, demonstrates to what extent a pluricentric language like English is used to give expression to these metaphors. To start off, we describe the varieties under scrutiny and explain the concept of a linguistic metaphor within the framework of Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020). Then, we situate this study in previous research by summarizing findings concerning metaphor research in the varieties under scrutiny, in general, as well as a synopsis of research concerning the investigated target domains WAR and CORRUPTION. We explain the motivation, annotation and distribution for the investigated predictors that influence source domain choice and outline the process of extracting and categorizing the linguistic metaphors. After that, we give an overview of monofactorial associations between the investigated variables and present the statistical analysis of computing association rules. At the end, we discuss 12 association rules that govern source domain choice.

2 | THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The varieties of English spoken in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan share a common history, considering the countries they developed in were collectively colonized by the British Empire. In 1947, these nations gained political independence. Although Nepal does not have a colonial past, English entered the country in the 17th century and was associated with prestige early on (Giri, 2015, p. 95). Indian English (IndE) has fallen most prominently within the purview of researchers of world Englishes. It has been descriptively studied regarding pronunciation, lexis and syntax, and (as a more recent addition) pragmatic approaches have been undertaken (Degenhardt, 2021). Pakistani English (PakE), Bangladeshi English (BanE) and Nepali English (NepE) have not yet experienced the same level of academic interest; still, similar descriptions exist, for example, in the *Handbook of Asian Englishes* (Bolton et al., 2020). Nevertheless, studies of a cognitive linguistic nature are still few and far between for these South Asian varieties.

English plays a bigger role in India and Pakistan than it does in Bangladesh and Nepal. In India, English is de facto one of the official languages and is used in education, administration, law and so on. The same holds true for Pakistan. In Bangladesh, the national and official language is Bangla, which 98% of Bengali people speak. English is used within various public domains, however. In Nepal, English has historically had an important status but is currently not an official language. Nevertheless, it plays an institutionalized role and is used in administration, newspapers and advertisements (Verma, 1996).

Even though these varieties share some features, there are some distinctions between the varieties that attest to cultural differences. PakE differs from IndE in that it shows influences from Arabic cultures (Bolton et al., 2020). Nepal has been shown to directly translate Nepali idioms and proverbs into English, which results in new fixed expressions (Verma, 1996, p. 87). Bangladesh, as opposed to Pakistan and India, is characterized by a stronger opposition to the institutionalization of English and, instead, elevates the status of their official language Bangla (Bolton et al., 2020).

Because of their unique social, political and cultural histories, it is important to ask to what extent this influences the different Englishes, especially in the realm of conceptualization. This is the point at which taking a cognitive sociolinguistic approach can be fruitful and help explain what is shared among the Englishes and what is (cultural-conceptually) different. Investigating universality in cognitive linguistics is not a new phenomenon. Today, there is a broad consensus among researchers that while basic universal concepts exist, there are also many cultural differences in the construal

of various concepts, and we can see this reflected in language (Kövecses, 2010). Although cross-cultural comparisons have been researched for quite some time, studies on cross-varietal differences are relatively new, and especially sparse when it comes to researching variety-specificity from a corpus-linguistic perspective (Wolf & Polzenhagen, 2009). Studying conceptual metaphors is one way of capturing those differences.

In its essence, a conceptual metaphor describes the process of understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003 [1980], p. 5). The conventional notation for expressing this mapping process is A IS B, for example, CORRUPTION IS AN OPPONENT. The domain that is being metaphorically construed, namely, A, is commonly referred to as the target domain and is usually abstract in nature. The domain used to conceptualize the target domain is known as the source domain, namely, B, and is usually more concrete. One pervasive way of realizing a conceptual metaphor is in language and, therefore, a metaphor-related expression like *fighting corruption* serves as linguistic evidence for the existence of the conceptual metaphor CORRUPTION IS AN OPPONENT in the conceptual systems of English speakers. We adopt this general view of conceptual metaphor.

Furthermore, we follow the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed by Kövecses, who makes the case for viewing 'conceptual metaphors as simultaneously involving conceptual structures, or units, on several distinct levels of schematicity', that is, taking a 'multilevel view of conceptual metaphor' (2020, p. 51). This proposal adds levels of granularity to the study of conceptual metaphors and allows for the analysis of source domains as 'a large system of concepts related to each other at several levels, or layers, of precision of specification' (2020, pp. 51–52). These conceptual constructs are hierarchically ordered in that they go from most schematic to least schematic: image schemas, domains, frames and mental spaces (2020, p. 52). While image schemas are highly schematic conceptual structures that give our most basic experiences meaning, such as CONTAINER, domains are more informationally rich and rely on image schemas to define different aspects of the domain. For instance, one aspect of the domain BODY is made meaningful by the image schema CONTAINER (2020, p. 53). Frames are even less schematic, but more conceptually specific than domains and, thus, 'elaborate [...] particular higher-level concepts within a domain' (2020, p. 54); for example, INGESTION is one frame that elaborates the domain BODY. Finally, on the least schematic, but most conceptually rich level, mental spaces are online constructions that occur in working memory during actual discourse. They 'borrow their structure from frames, but the generic structures from frames are further elaborated by specific information from context' (2020, pp. 53–57). Since Kövecses argues that all of these cognitive structures play a role in metaphorical conceptualization (2020, pp. 55–58), we make it a point to discuss in which way we have applied this insight to the present study (see the annotation steps outlined in Section 4).

3 | PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Previous research into metaphors in South Asian Englishes demonstrates that insights from Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory have yet to be taken fully into account. Furthermore, previous research has largely neglected metaphors attributable to PakE, BanE and NepE speakers. Findings regarding IndE exist, for example, concerning metaphors used by Indian politicians, in which POLITICS is conceptualized as WAR, HISTORY, SOCIETY or PROGRESS, and the NATION as NATURE, WAR or a PERSON, for example, 'the challenges India faces' (Antil & Verma, 2020). Related to the latter, yet at a more fine-grained level, is the result of a study on Sanskrit, which reveals that the state is conceptualized via the human body. Metaphorical expressions reflect the mapping of different aspects of BODY to STATE; for example, the welfare of a state is often understood as the health of a body (Trynkowska, 2013).

Naidu sheds light on metaphorical expressions in IndE used in the *Times of India*. Especially concerning domestic news, '[m]any metaphorical expressions used were culturally loaded expressions which needed cultural schema to interpret and understand' (2009, p. 217). An example for that is the expression *creamy layer*, which, in IndE, refers to lower classes, whereas in British or American English, *cream* would be used to conceptualize an elite group of people (2009, p. 137). Guldénring took a comparative approach to emotion metaphors in New Englishes, including IndE (2020). Her results demonstrated that the preferred source domain is OPPONENT when conceptualizing ANGER and

FEAR in this variety, for example, 'How can you look into the eyes of fear when you have already decided that it is your enemy?' (2020, p. 192).

The two target domains that this study will focus on are WAR and CORRUPTION, as part of the methodology was developed using these metaphors (cf. Ajidahun et al., 2023). It is important to emphasize that the choice of WAR and CORRUPTION was and is not motivated by the varieties as such but by their saliency in the newspaper register. Furthermore, based on the common assumption that some target domains will be more abstract than others, we have selected the two target domains specifically because they show a different extent of abstractness; CORRUPTION is viewed here to be the more abstract target domain vis-à-vis WAR. We assume this distinction might have some explanatory value if these target domains end up being metaphorically construed in different ways.

Furthermore, the domain WAR has a special status since it often functions as a source and a target domain. Metaphorically construing abstract concepts such as LOVE, ARGUMENTS or BUSINESS as WAR is very common and has been researched extensively (e.g., Kövecses, 2010; Krennmayr, 2015). That it also functions as the target domain, as we investigate it in this study, has multiple reasons. The domain WAR lies on a continuum on which it is concrete enough to map onto more abstract concepts, but too far removed from many people's lived realities as to not need further conceptualization by more concrete domains. It is also possible that it is not viewed as a primary metaphor, so that there is a multidirectional connection between the concept WAR and the other domain (Fabiszak, 2007, p. 22).

The underlying metaphor of WAR, which was analysed by Lakoff (1991), can be formulated as STATE IS A PERSON alongside the metonymy THE RULER STANDS FOR THE STATE. Lakoff (1991) also found other metaphors regarding WAR that have been empirically verified by later research, for example, WAR IS A GAME (Charteris-Black, 2004; Fabiszak, 2007).

WAR also appears to be extensively linked to the domain HEALTH. Lakoff states that WAR IS MEDICINE and gives the metaphorical expressions of *clean out enemy fortifications*, *surgical strike* and *military operations* (1991). Fabiszak, however, finds that WAR IS A DISEASE, for example, *the civil wars that have plagued Afghanistan* (2007). Other source domains that are connected to WAR are CATASTROPHE (Fabiszak, 2007) and, more in line with the image schema level discussed above, WAR IS A CONTAINER (Dirven & Pörings, 2003, p. 64).

The target domain CORRUPTION has been researched, for example, within African Englishes and China English. In African Englishes, the domain of MONEY and FOOD are related, leading to conceptualizations such as GREED IS HUNGER or LEADERSHIP IS EATING. CORRUPTION is, relatedly, conceptualized as AN EATER, and A BRIBE as A FOOD GIFT (Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2007), or more simply put, CORRUPTION IS FOOD/EATING (Ajidahun et al., 2023). The metaphor CORRUPTION IS FOOD can also be found in Colombia and the EU (Isaza & Ossewaarde, 2021).

A metaphor that is shared by many cultures is CORRUPTION IS A DISEASE (Ajidahun et al., 2023; Negro, 2015; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2007), with varying levels of schematicity from CORRUPTION IS HARMS TO HUMAN LIFE (Pan, 2020), over CORRUPTION IS AN INFESTATION OR PLAGUE (Isaza & Ossewaarde, 2021) to CORRUPTION IS VERMIN (Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2017). The destructive properties are also visible in the metaphor CORRUPTION IS A NATURAL DISASTER (Negro, 2015) or A DESTRUCTIVE NATURAL PROCESS (Isaza & Ossewaarde, 2021).

Agency is extended to CORRUPTION by mappings, such as CORRUPTION IS A PERSON (Ajidahun et al., 2023) and CORRUPTION IS AN ENTITY (Isaza & Ossewaarde, 2021; Negro, 2015). Further metaphorical mappings include CORRUPTION IS POISON, CORRUPTION IS A WEED, CORRUPTION IS DIRTY and CORRUPTION IS A GAME (Isaza & Ossewaarde, 2021; Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2017; Negro, 2015).

Although these studies find wide-ranging and rich conceptualizations for the target domain concepts WAR and CORRUPTION as well as, at times, present a variety-specific view, they still leave gaps in terms of a focus on South Asian Englishes and consideration of the source domain at various levels of schematicity. Moreover, the majority of these studies are monofactorial in nature and report frequencies concerning how often a conceptual metaphor is found in the data. With a multifactorial approach and the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020) in mind, we aim at taking it a step further. First off, this involves viewing the conceptualization of the target domain via a mapping from a specific source domain (with various levels of schematicity) as a choice from the metaphor profile of the target domain or, in other words, a choice from the collection of source domains that lend themselves

to the metaphorical construal of a target domain concept. In a given context, this choice can be analyzed by taking into account intra- and extra-linguistic factors, for instance, VARIETY and GENDER, which are the main objects of investigation for the present study. Other factors, which we also included, are TARGET DOMAIN, SEMANTIC PROSODY, PERSISTENCE and LENGTH of metaphor-related words (MRWs). This multifactorial approach was undertaken not only because monofactorial analyses never suffice to paint the whole picture but also because previous literature suggests the interplay of these factors. For instance, the communicative context can influence metaphor production (Kövecses, 2005, p. 236), which is why it is important to stress that this study controls for that possible source of variation by using newspaper data, as well as including the control variables LEXICAL DIVERSITY, NEWSPAPER and AUTHOR.

Furthermore, the semantic prosody for literal words is different for metaphorical ones (Bednarek, 2008, p. 125). By realizing a metaphor from a negatively connotated domain with a metaphoric expression that has a positive semantic prosody, it might be possible to mitigate the negative effects of the conceptualization. Also related to the metaphorical expressions, we included the length of the MRWs (Steen et al., 2010, p. 37) to catch possible language processing effects. Persistence of the source domain is included because of its implications towards interactions of domains. It has been suggested that contextual priming plays a role on the level of mental spaces, which is at play in actual discourse (Kövecses, 2020, p. 120). In addition, GENDER has been shown to be a highly influential social variable in linguistic choices with the assumption that women tend to drive linguistic change and are more innovative in their language use. In metaphor research, there have been studies that report on the significant association between source domain choice and gender (Zeng et al., 2020, p. 14). Weaving these strands together, our research questions can be summarized as follows:

- How are WAR and CORRUPTION conceptualized in South Asian newspaper texts?
- How do VARIETY and GENDER influence source domain choice when it comes to the metaphors WAR and CORRUPTION?

Furthermore, we are interested in testing the applicability of a more sophisticated multifactorial approach than is usual in metaphor studies of this kind.

4 | METHODOLOGY

In the following section, we outline the steps undertaken to extract, annotate and analyse the metaphorical data from newspaper texts written in BanE, IndE, NepE and PakE. The present analysis is based on a dataset drawn from four components of the 2020 update of the South Asian Varieties of English corpus (SAVE2020), that is, the Bangladeshi (SAVE2020-BD), Indian (SAVE2020-IND), Nepali (SAVE2020-NP) and Pakistani (SAVE2020-PK) components (see Bernaisch et al., 2021). Every component includes two newspapers each of which contributes between 1.3 and 1.68 million words to the corpus sampled in the years 2019 and 2020. Because the present study focuses on sociolinguistic influences on the choice of source domains, we sampled the metaphors from those texts for which the author's GENDER was inferable.

As mentioned above, insights from the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020) acted as a motivation for our annotation scheme and prompted us to revise a procedure first introduced by Güldenring (2017), which at its core involves the construction of metaphor profiles for a target domain concept that, in turn, provides corpus-based evidence for what Kövecses (2005) terms 'the range of the target domain', namely, the different source domains available for the conceptualization of a particular target domain. As will become clear from the examples given below, we took into account Kövecses's (2020) proposal to consider source domains at different levels of schematicity and, thus, we started from the most schematic reading that we could glean from the MRWs used to conceptualize WAR and CORRUPTION.

TABLE 1 Variable annotation.

Variable	Levels
FIRST.AUTHOR	full name of the first author of the newspaper text
GENDER	<i>female, male</i>
LEXDIV	numerical [-92.6; 92.32]
MRW.LENGTH	numerical [2; 43]
NEWSPAPER	<i>Daily Times, Dawn, Nepali Times, New Age, The Daily Star, The Himalayan Times, The Statesman, The Times of India</i>
PERSISTENCE	<i>at location, body related, miscellaneous, nature related, none, object related, person</i>
SOURCE.DOMAIN	<i>at location, body related, miscellaneous, nature related, object related, person</i>
SEMANTIC.PROSODY	<i>negative, neutral, positive</i>
TARGET.DOMAIN	<i>corruption, war</i>
VARIETY	<i>Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan</i>

4.1 | Identification of metaphorical patterns

We first extracted all concordance lines containing target domain lexis and determined for each concordance line whether it contained metaphor-related expressions that reflected a conceptual metaphor pertaining to WAR or CORRUPTION or not. In doing so, we took a cue from the MIPVU (Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije University) (Steen et al., 2010) that 'can be used as a very first step towards conceptual analysis' (Nacey et al., 2019, p. 61) and helps to systematically discover metaphorical patterns. Metaphorical patterns are defined by Stefanowitsch as 'a multi-word expression from a given source domain (SD) into which one or more specific lexical item from a given target domain (TD) have been inserted' (2006, p. 66). We marked each concordance line as metaphorical when it contained at least one MRW from a given source domain and had a target domain lexeme that is in a paradigmatic relationship with another literal lexeme. For instance, for (1) below, we could insert the noun *illness* into the slot occupied by *war*, which would render the utterance as non-metaphorical.

(1) If **war** breaks out [...] (SAVE2020-PK: 4366663)

Furthermore, we discarded all concordance lines that were non-metaphorical, that is, those that contained a literal reference to WAR or CORRUPTION or contained compound constructions, like *war photographer* or *corruption charges*.

4.2 | Annotation of factors

We annotated the resulting 1154 metaphors for the variables and controls listed in Table 1. The dependent variable in the following analysis is the source domain of the respective metaphor.

The annotation scheme used to determine the source domain involved in each metaphorical instance was largely motivated by the desire to work along the schematicity hierarchy laid out by the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020). We decided to start with the broadest source domain label possible, which lent itself from the most schematic interpretation underlying the source domain lexis (underlined in the following examples). Examples (2)–(6) in Table 2 illustrate this.

When applying these labels, we asked ourselves what would be the most basic thing we could say about this metaphor conceptually in order to work from the lowest 'precision of specification', to borrow Kövecses's (2020)

TABLE 2 Annotation examples.

Example	Label	File
(2) province's strategy to <u>combat corruption</u>	PERSON	SAVE2020-NP: 4548332
(3) discuss the deployment of artificial intelligence <u>in war</u> , amongst other things.	AT LOCATION	SAVE2020-BD: 43919
(4) to <u>hide</u> their <u>corruption</u> .	OBJECT	SAVE2020-PK: 4417742
(5) which had become <u>sick due to corruption</u>	BODY	SAVE2020-BD: 50206
(6) NAB is committed to <u>root out corruption</u>	NATURE RELATED	SAVE2020-PK: 4425899

TABLE 3 Annotation at different levels of schematicity.

Most schematic source domain label	Less schematic, more elaborated source domain labels
AT LOCATION	BASIS, BOUNDED SPACE, DESTINATION, LEVELS, ON THE SURFACE, PATH, POINTS ON A JOURNEY
BODY RELATED	ILLNESS, PLEASURE, SKIN RELATED, VOICE RELATED
NATURE RELATED	ATMOSPHERE, CLOUDS, FIRE, MUD, PLANT, STORM, VOLCANO, WATER
OBJECT	BURDEN, COMMODITY, CONTAINER, FOOD, FORCEFUL OBJECT, GROUP OF OBJECTS, HIDDEN OBJECTS, OBJECT IN A CONTAINER, INSTRUMENT, MOVING OBJECT, OBSTACLE, PARTS OF AN OBJECT, POSSESSION, SIZE, WEAPON
PERSON	ANIMAL, HEALTHY PERSON, HELPER, PERSON BEING BLAMED, PERSON BEING CONTROLLED, PERSON BEING HELPED, PERSON INVITED, PERSON IN A GROUP, PERSON IN CONTROL, PERSON MOVING, OPPONENT, PARENT/CHILD, PRODUCER, SPEAKING, SPIRIT, PERSON TRAVELING, PERSON WITH ENERGY

words. In (2), CORRUPTION is being understood as some sort of sentient being with agency, which we broadly termed PERSON, while (3) illustrates that WAR can be conceptualized as a physical location. In (4), we find an example of reification of CORRUPTION, hence the label OBJECT. In (5), CORRUPTION is like an experience related to the physical body, while (6) shows that CORRUPTION has the quality of something we find in nature. After these initial labels were applied, a second round of annotation was conducted to determine if a more conceptually rich label, that is, something akin to *domain* in the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory sense, could be formulated for each metaphorical instance. Considering examples (2)–(6) again, the more elaborated labels applied in this second round were OPPONENT, BOUNDED SPACE, HIDDEN OBJECT, ILLNESS and PLANT, respectively. This does not perfectly preserve the image schema and domain distinction made in the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory, but it does allow for levels of schematicity, which were kept consistent throughout the annotation process for both WAR and CORRUPTION, since they largely shared the same source domains at these levels. Table 3 summarizes the annotation scheme used overall.

Note that we also included a miscellaneous category to capture those metaphors that seemed to be more creative and, thus, did not easily fit the schematic categories of the two annotation rounds, for example, *a blot of corruption* (SAVE2020-IN: 4336327) as an instance of CORRUPTION IS A STAIN. These creative metaphors were infrequent and not considered in terms of schematicity because they could not be neatly grouped with any other metaphors. The largest proportion of extracted metaphors exhibit the source domain *person* (34.66%), as in (2), followed by *at location* (26.95%), as in (3) and *object* (18.37%), as in (4). For *body related*, as in (5), *nature related*, as in (6) and *miscellaneous* metaphors, we observed fewer occurrences in the corpus. They make up 11.96%, 4.68% and 3.38% of the extracted metaphors, respectively.

Following the dependent variable, SOURCE.DOMAIN, we included variables that serve as controls. The author's name(s) of the newspaper texts are given in the SAVE2020 metadata. In order to include this variable in the analysis and to be able to extract their GENDER, we extracted the FIRST.AUTHOR of each text. The variable LEXDIV controls for

TABLE 4 Distribution of GENDER across SOURCE.DOMAIN.

GENDER/SOURCE. DOMAIN	At location	Body related	Miscellaneous	Nature related	Object	Person	Sum
Female	56 (29.02%)	16 (8.29%)	7 (3.63%)	7 (3.63%)	28 (14.51%)	79 (40.93%)	193 (100%)
Male	255 (26.53%)	122 (12.7%)	32 (3.33%)	47 (4.89%)	184 (19.15%)	321 (33.4%)	961 (100%)

TABLE 5 Distribution of VARIETY across SOURCE.DOMAIN.

VARIETY/SOURCE. DOMAIN	At location	Body related	Miscellaneous	Nature related	Object	Person	Sum
Bangladesh	91 (22.03%)	51 (12.35%)	16 (3.87%)	17 (4.12%)	97 (23.49%)	141 (34.14%)	413 (100%)
India	10 (32.26%)	6 (19.35%)	2 (6.45%)	1 (3.23%)	8 (25.81%)	4 (12.9%)	31 (100%)
Nepal	50 (18.8%)	27 (10.15%)	3 (1.13%)	8 (3.01%)	38 (14.29%)	140 (52.63%)	266 (100%)
Pakistan	160 (36.04%)	54 (12.16%)	18 (4.05%)	28 (6.31%)	69 (15.54%)	115 (25.9%)	444 (100%)

the lexical diversity of each newspaper text. In order to arrive at a single LEXDIV measure, we calculated all measures included in the *quanteda.textstats* package in R (Benoit et al., 2018) for each text. In a second step, we applied a principal component analysis using the *stats::princomp* function. As a result, the LEXDIV variable accounts for 93.23% of the variance in all calculated measures and ranges from -92.6 to 92.32 . The NEWSPAPERS in the SAVE2020 components under scrutiny are listed in Table 1 and are included in the analysis as a control for editorial preferences.

The two sociolinguistic variables that are the focus of this analysis were annotated as follows. The author's GENDER was either given in the metadata or collected via a Google search. Of the metaphors under scrutiny, 16.72% were written by women and 83.28% were written by men. The distribution of GENDER across SOURCE.DOMAIN in Table 4 shows that while both female and male authors use the source domain *person*¹ most frequently, female authors do so relatively more often, that is, in 40.93% of all cases. In contrast, male authors tend to use *body related* and *object* source domains in 12.7% and 19.15% of all cases, respectively, which is relatively more frequent than women who use *body related* and *object* source domains in 8.29% and 14.51% of all cases. We also annotated the metaphors for their respective VARIETY, that is, *Bangladesh*, *India*, *Nepal* and *Pakistan*. The number of metaphors we were able to extract ranged from 444 metaphors (PakE) to 31 (IndE). This is due to the sparse author information of the Indian newspaper texts. Most texts did not have any author names listed in the metadata for which we could annotate GENDER. But since we are specifically interested in the GENDER effect on source domain use, we had to exclude a large proportion of the extracted metaphors. Table 5 highlights that both BanE and NepE authors mainly use the source domain *person* (in 34.14% and 52.63% of all cases, respectively). Out of the 31 metaphors from India, *at location* was the most frequently used source domain in 32.26%. Lastly, PakE authors, similarly to IndE authors, show a preference for the source domain *at location* using it in 36.04% of all cases.

In addition to the two sociolinguistic variables, we also annotated other factors, as listed in Table 1. The MRWs include words that reflect the source domain of the respective metaphor and are within the same clause boundary as the target domain lexeme under investigation. The length of these words was labelled MRW.LENGTH in the analysis, which counts the alphanumeric characters of the MRWs. They range from 2 (e.g., *in* _) to 43 characters (e.g., *bloody__took tens of thousands of lives on both sides*). We included a measure for PERSISTENCE of the source domain to see whether writers exhibit a tendency to stay within the same source domain or switch between them within a newspaper text. In PERSISTENCE, we annotated the source domain of the previously used WAR or CORRUPTION metaphor within a newspaper text. If the current metaphor was the first one in the text, we annotated PERSISTENCE as *none*.

Also related to the MRWs is the variable `SEMANTIC.PROSODY`, which refers to associations with which they can be perceived. In order to annotate the levels *negative*, *neutral* and *positive*, we checked for collocations of the MRWs using the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbe; see Davies, 2013). We took a rather conservative approach in that we only annotated an instance as positive or negative if the 10 most frequent collocates were positively or negatively connotated, respectively. For instance, we considered *dark clouds of* as negative, *facilitating* as positive and *engaged in* as neutral. Lastly, because this study focuses on the two target domains *corruption* and *war*, the `TARGET.DOMAIN` was annotated accordingly. Of the 1154 extracted metaphors, 448 (38.82%) have the target domain *corruption*, while 706 (61.18%) have the target domain *war*.

4.3 | Statistical analysis

Because of the data sparsity in the Indian component of SAVE2020, we decided to analyse the metaphors under scrutiny using association rules (see Hahsler et al., 2023). The method of arriving at association rules involves extracting frequent combinations of variable levels and ‘discovering interesting relations between variables in large databases’ (Hahsler et al., 2011, p. 2021). An association rule is structured as a number of conditions on the left-hand side (LHS), that is, a list of independent variable values, and a corresponding ‘consequent, which contains one resultant condition’ (Gries et al., 2020, p. 72) on the right-hand side (RHS). To prepare the data for this analysis, we first logged the `MRW.LENGTH` variable and then cut the two numeric variables `LEXDIV` and `MRW.LENGTH.LOG` into categorical variables. In doing so, we used the `tree::tree` function in R (see Ripley, 2023) and cut the variables at the suggested thresholds. Thus, the regressor `MRW.LENGTH.LOG.CAT` takes the level *low* for `MRW.LENGTH.LOG` values ≤ 1.24245 , *medium* when $1.24245 \leq \text{MRW.LENGTH.LOG} \leq 1.86883$ and *high* for all values higher than that. Because the `tree::tree` function did not suggest any splits for `LEXDIV`, we decided to split this variable at its median, -36.04258 , to be able to use it in the association rules.

The `arules::apriori` function (see Hahsler et al., 2005, 2011, 2023) that mines association rules take the parameters *support*, *confidence* and *maxlen*. *Support* defines the proportion of data points that contains all conditions included in a specific rule, both on the LHS and the RHS. We set this parameter to 0.05 following Gries et al. (2020). The *confidence* of a rule measures the proportion of times that the LHS actually leads to the defined RHS, namely, the cases in which this rule is correct. We set this parameter to 0.5 in order to be left with those rules that are correct in at least 50% of all cases. Lastly, the parameter *maxlen* defines the number of conditions to be maximally included in the LHS. We did not limit the number of conditions in a rule and, thus, kept the default value of 10 defined by the function. We will look at the generated rules in Section 5.

5 | RESULTS

The parameter settings listed in Section 4.3 resulted in 107 rules with `SOURCE.DOMAIN` on the RHS, of which 62 feature `GENDER` and/or `VARIETY` on the LHS. Each rule comes with its support and confidence value as well as another confidence measure called lift, which measures the rule’s ‘deviation from independence’ (Hahsler et al., 2011, p. 2023), that is, the difference between its observed and expected distribution. Following Gries et al. (2020), we plotted an overview of the distribution of support and lift. Figure 1 shows the support of each rule on the x-axis, with the set minimum of 0.05, and the respective lift on the y-axis. The colours correspond to the different `SOURCE.DOMAIN` levels. As shown in the legend, there are only rules for the source domains *at location* and *person*. The rules for the source domains *body related*, *miscellaneous*, *nature related* and *object* did not surpass the thresholds of support and/or confidence that we set in the model formula. The dashed lines mark the median values of support and lift for each source domain. Out of the 107 rules, 54 include the `SOURCE.DOMAIN` *at location* and 53 the `SOURCE.DOMAIN` *person* on the RHS. Although at

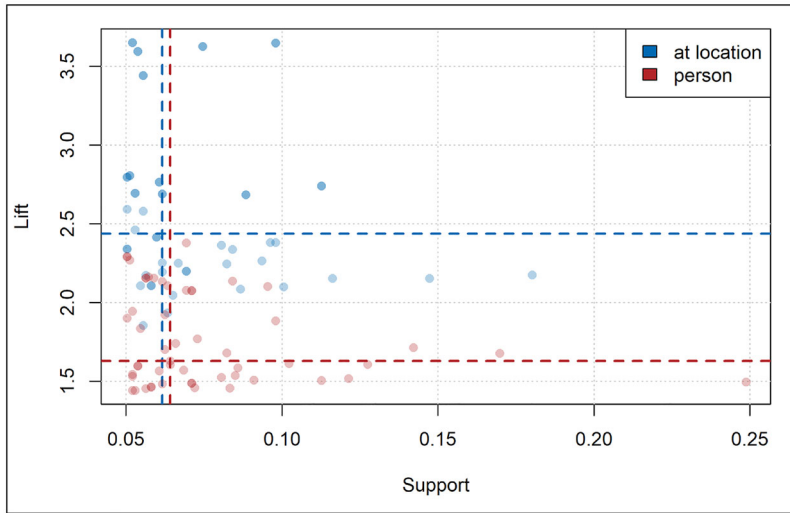


FIGURE 1 Overview of association rules by SOURCE.DOMAIN. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

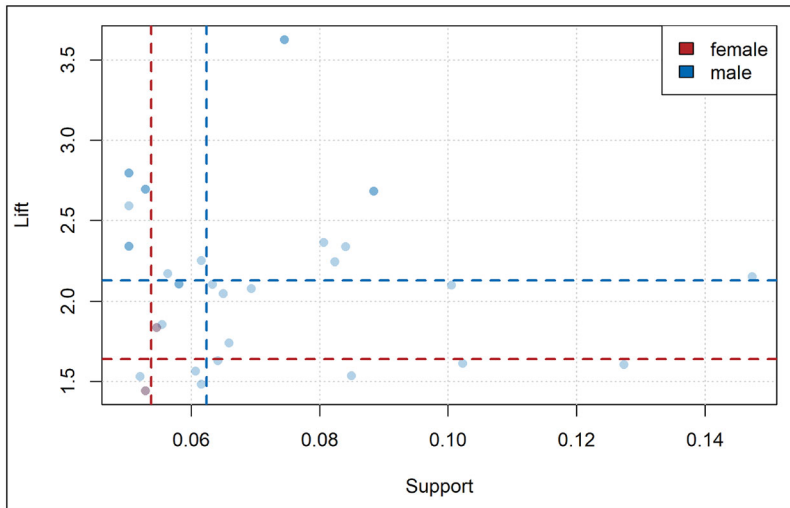


FIGURE 2 Overview of association rules by GENDER. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

location metaphors exhibit a slightly lower support median than *person* metaphors, their median lift is higher than that of *person* metaphors. Thus, they seem to deviate more strongly from their expected distributions.

What is immediately noticeable from the 107 rules that we collected are the limited choice of source domains. The only two source domain constructs that have an adequate level of support in our data and result from important rules are *at location* and *person*. According to previous literature, war and corruption are commonly conceptualized drawing from a multitude of source domains, such as *illness*, *food*, *natural disaster* and many more. It is important to note that these source domains were all present in our data, but our results suggest that they do not show a generalizable pattern.

Of the rules with SOURCE.DOMAIN on the RHS, 34 include GENDER on the LHS. These rules are plotted in Figure 2. The two rules that include *female* authors are plotted in red and the 32 rules that refer to *male* authors are plotted in

TABLE 6 Association rules without relevant ancestors.

LHS/If...	RHS/then...	CONFIDENCE	LIFT
VARIETY = <i>Pakistan</i> ; MRW.LENGTH.LOG.CAT = <i>low</i>	<i>at location</i>	0.9275	3.4417
VARIETY = <i>Pakistan</i> ; SEMANTIC.PROSODY = <i>neutral</i>	<i>at location</i>	0.5801	2.1525
VARIETY = <i>Nepal</i>	<i>person</i>	0.5263	1.5184
GENDER = <i>male</i> ; MRW.LENGTH.LOG.CAT = <i>low</i>	<i>at location</i>	0.7234	2.6842
TARGET.DOMAIN = <i>war</i> ; GENDER = <i>male</i> ; SEMANTIC.PROSODY = <i>neutral</i>	<i>at location</i>	0.5802	2.1529
NEWSPAPER = <i>Daily Times</i> ; GENDER = <i>male</i> ; SEMANTIC.PROSODY = <i>neutral</i>	<i>at location</i>	0.5678	2.1069
GENDER = <i>male</i> ; SEMANTIC.PROSODY = <i>negative</i> ; MRW.LENGTH.LOG.CAT = <i>medium</i>	<i>person</i>	0.7207	2.0793
GENDER = <i>male</i> ; PERSIST = <i>none</i> ; SEMANTIC.PROSODY = <i>neutral</i> ; LEXDIV.CAT = <i>high</i>	<i>at location</i>	0.5	1.8553
GENDER = <i>male</i> ; SEMANTIC.PROSODY = <i>negative</i> ; LEXDIV.CAT = <i>low</i>	<i>person</i>	0.5592	1.6134
TARGET.DOMAIN = <i>war</i> ; GENDER = <i>male</i> ; SEMANTIC.PROSODY = <i>negative</i>	<i>person</i>	0.5568	1.6064
GENDER = <i>female</i> ; SEMANTIC.PROSODY = <i>negative</i>	<i>person</i>	0.6364	1.8359
GENDER = <i>female</i> ; MRW.LENGTH.LOG.CAT = <i>high</i>	<i>person</i>	0.5	1.4425

Abbreviations: LHS, left-hand side; RHS, right-hand side.

An overwhelming majority of 70.75% of this source domain is made up of the more elaborated domain *opponent*, followed by 10% of *person being controlled*. The domain *opponent* clearly evokes a negative stance towards war and corruption, as someone that is in opposition to the speaker. *Controlling* someone has the added granularity of having power over the personified domain as well as conceptualizing the *person being controlled* as inherently someone that behaves in such a way that they have to be tamed.

6.2 | Variety

6.2.1 | Pakistan

Starting with those rules that contain Pakistan as one of their conditions, we can see that PakE authors tend to use the source domain *at location* in two very specific cases. The first case is that with the highest lift, which combines PakE authors and MRW lengths of three characters or less as in (11). In this case, authors are 3.4417 times more likely to choose the source domain *at location* than expected. The second case is that of PakE authors and neutral semantic prosody as shown in (12) with a lift of 2.1525. Taking a closer look at the source domains and the nested, less schematic domains that were annotated as shown in Table 6 in Section 5, we can see that nearly all cases of metaphors used by PakE authors with a short MRW length can be classified as *bounded space*, as also exemplified in (11). This appears logical since the MRWs *in* and *at* tend to be used when introducing this domain. PakE authors seem to use these MRWs more frequently than authors in other varieties. Looking at the domains of those metaphors that fall under the second rule mentioned here, we can see a more diverse picture than we did for the first one. We can still see a lot of cases in which the domain is a *bounded space*, which also overlaps with the previously mentioned rule. In contrast to the first rule, however, we also find the domains *destination*, as shown in (12), *path* and *points on a journey*.

(11) There was no **corruption** in the purchase of the laptops [...] (SAVE2020-PK: 4415804)

(12) He went to **war** with a global coalition. (SAVE2020-PK: 4366119)

6.2.2 | Nepal

The shortest rule that exceeds the support threshold of 0.05 states that NepE speakers are 1.5184 times more likely than expected to choose the source domain *person*, as in (13). Again, looking at the more specific domains that are nested into the source domain *person* when used by NepE authors, we find a large number of cases that fall under the domain of *opponent*, as in (13), but we also find several cases of *being controlled*, *being blamed*, *being helped*, *being invited* and *helper*.

(13) [...] provide online services hoping to fight **corruption** by reducing human contact. (SAVE2020-NP: 4344575)

6.3 | Gender

Our results show preferences for both recorded genders: *male* and *female*. Male authors use the two source domains *at location* and *person*, whereas female authors limit themselves to the source domain *person*. This falls in line with previous research that suggested a significant association between SOURCE DOMAIN and GENDER (Zeng et al., 2020, p. 14), here verified by a multifactorial approach.

6.3.1 | Men

Male authors metaphorize both war and corruption by drawing from the source domain *at location* with an MRW that has less than four characters. In practice, this often means that metaphorical expressions such as *in war/corruption* are common realizations by male authors in all varieties of English. Given how conventional this construct is, it is surprising that there is a gender effect here at all.

When just conceptualizing war but using words with neutral semantic prosody, men also preferred the source domain *at location*. On the one hand, this shows that, at least under some circumstances, the two investigated target domains behave differently in terms of source domain choice. On the other hand, this might imply that when men in South Asian newspaper writing write about war, they do so by drawing from the specific source domain *at location*, for example, *leading us towards war* (SAVE2020-BD: 44309) or *get into armed conflict* (SAVE2020-PK: 4356912). This choice perhaps reflects male authors' tendency to simply highlight the existence of war over trying to glorify or vilify it.

The control variables NEWSPAPER and LEXICAL DIVERSITY also play a role in men metaphorizing war and corruption with a neutral semantic prosody. Firstly, in the Pakistani newspaper *Daily Times*, male authors use the source domain *at location* for both target domains; realizations are, for example, *high level corruption* or *engaged in warfare*. The male authors in this newspaper, specifically, might try to show a neutral stance towards these topics by conceptualizing them by the target domain *at location*, similar to men in general doing so with the target domain *war*. Secondly, when a newspaper article has high lexical diversity, the first metaphor that is used to conceptualize war and corruption neutrally is also *at location*, exemplified here by an article in the Pakistani newspaper *Dawn*, which makes use of *destination* for its first mapping of war: *push the nation once more towards war* (SAVE2020-PK: 4422034).

Moving on from the rules that determine when men use the source domain *at location*, men tend to conceptualize both target domains using a negative semantic prosody by drawing from the source domain *person*. As was the case with neutral semantic prosody above, negative semantic prosody alone does not suffice to explain this preference, but it is combined with other factors.

Firstly, men personify both war and corruption by using MRWs that have a negative connotation and are between three and six characters long. Examples for that are *bloody conflict*, *fight corruption*, or *a fierce [...] war*. Secondly, they also do so, more generally, in articles that have low lexical diversity. Finally, men tend to especially personify war in

a negative way as opposed to corruption. This might be a hint towards the higher level of concreteness of the target domain when it comes to the conceptualization of war; that is, it might more readily lend itself to being connected to something that has agency than corruption. It is, simply put, easier to imagine what *fighting war* might look like as a person than it is to *fight corruption*. In other words, the metonymic link between a fighter and war is conceptually more salient than a corrupt actor and corruption.

6.3.2 | Women

Looking at the female authors in our data, they only show a preference towards construing both target domains as a person, thus, limiting source domain variability even more. They do so for MRWs that are negatively connotated, meaning they are conceptualizing war and corruption as a 'bad' or 'evil' person. Examples are, *a conflict that killed over 220,000 people* (SAVE2020-NP: 4343827), *a passionate fury at the wickedness of war* (SAVE2020-BD: 58477) or *a victim of the corruption* (SAVE2020-BD: 3108). Female South Asian newspaper authors also personify the domains by using longer metaphor-related expressions, such as *protect vulnerable people from [...] conflict* or *lost their husbands to the bloody war* (SAVE2020-NP: 4548346).

7 | CONCLUSION

The overarching aim of this study was to investigate WAR and CORRUPTION metaphors in South Asian English newspaper writing and to do so by applying a multifactorial approach. We view this undertaking as insightful for various reasons.

Overall, we can say that a multifactorial analysis helps to showcase the generalizable patterns of how the target domains WAR and CORRUPTION are construed in the investigated varieties. It allows us to draw conclusions concerning how, in particular, VARIETY and GENDER affect a South Asian newspaper author's source domain choice. Both NepE and PakE demonstrate a variety-specific metaphor preference. PakE authors draw from WAR/CORRUPTION ARE LOCATIONS (using a short MRW with *neutral* semantic prosody to realize it, e.g., *in battle*). In reference to the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020), we find this interesting in terms of what this says concerning schematicity and preference. We were, in fact, surprised to find a metaphorical choice related to this lower level of conceptual specification, namely, something relatively image schematic, to show a variety-specific pattern at all, considering its assumed universality. Additionally, NepE authors use the image schema WAR/CORRUPTION IS A PERSON about 1.5 more often than expected. Since personification is such a prevalent metaphorical conceptualization and one of the 'most obvious ontological metaphors' (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003 [1980], p. 33), a variety-specific preference is also surprising.

Male and female authors also showed different preferences. Although women only showed a preference for using the source domain PERSON for both target domains (using either long or negatively connotated MRWs), male authors showed some patterns that only applied to the target domain *war*, namely, conceptualizing it as a *person* using MRWs with a negative semantic prosody, and as *at location* with neutral MRWs. This supports our approach of looking at two target domains with different levels of abstractness, as some South Asian authors show different preferences in the metaphorization of these domains, while others do not distinguish between them.

Because we also looked at the general distribution of more and less schematic source domain levels, as motivated by the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2020), we saw that there is a larger collection of source domains from which South Asian English newspaper authors can potentially choose and other studies have prominently discussed (monofactorially). However, in our study, we conclude that a multifactorial view narrows down the attestable patterns (here: *at location* and *person*). This has direct relevance for any future study interested in making claims about variety-specific metaphor preference.

Although the multifactorial statistical approach in this study constitutes a valuable addition to existing research, future studies might benefit from complementing this quantitative approach by taking a closer qualitative look at the mental frames applied, which we admittedly glossed over here. Moreover, the lack of sociolinguistic information in the metadata hindered the generalizability of parts of our analysis (e.g., for IndE speakers). Thus, exhaustive sociolinguistic metadata still remains a desideratum.

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NOTE

¹ Note that from this point onwards, we will reserve small capital letters for variables and lower-case italics for the variable levels.

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