

# What is FEMININE? A corpus study of metaphors used by French speaking female influencers writing about sport

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## Abstract

Conceptual metaphors underlying everyday language shape the way we think and act (Lakoff/Johnson 1980): with regard to gender diversity, previous studies showed how unconscious metaphors “enables stereotyping and the tacit dissemination of prejudice” (Melnick 1999) due to rudimentary dichotomic associations like FEMALE/SOFT/PASSIVE/LABILE in opposition to MALE/HARD/ACTIVE/SOLID.

As women’s roles in Western society change and the Internet facilitates dialogue, exchange and awareness, women’s online contributions reveal a significant constellation of metaphors related to women, thus representing a source of linguistic interest.

This paper focuses on women writing specifically for women, more precisely on gender metaphors that underlie Internet posts written by three French speaking top female sport influencers (Sonia Tlev, Stessie Littlebirds and Lucile Woodward): the language these personalities choose and use on Facebook, Instagram and on their blogs is analyzed with regard to the metaphors systematically related to sporting women and the traits assigned to the concept of FEMALE/FEMININE.

Konzeptuelle Metaphern, die der Alltagssprache zugrunde liegen, beeinflussen unsere Gedanken und unser Verhalten (Lakoff/Johnson 1980): in Bezug auf gender-spezifische Unterschiede haben wissenschaftliche Studien gezeigt, wie unbewusste Metaphern sowohl Stereotypen als auch Vorurteile verbreiten (Melnick 1999) aufgrund elementarer dichotomischer Assoziationsketten wie WEIBLICH/WEICH/PASSIV/LABIL im Gegensatz zu MÄNNLICH/HART/AKTIV/FEST.

Die Rolle der Frau befindet sich in der westlichen Gesellschaft im Wandel. Das Internet vereinfacht die Kommunikation und die Bewusstseinsbildung. In Online-Posts von Frauen lassen sich bedeutsame Veränderungen feststellen in Bezug auf das, was als WEIBLICH betrachtet wird. Diese stellen dadurch ein interessantes Untersuchungsfeld für die Linguistik dar.

Im Mittelpunkt der Analyse stehen Frauen, die für Frauen schreiben und zwar mithilfe von Metaphern: die Facebook-, Instagram- bzw. Blog-Posts von drei französischsprachenden Top Sport-Influencerinnen (Sonia Tlev, Stessie Littlebirds und Lucile Woodward) werden im Hinblick auf die verwendeten Metaphern analysiert, die systematisch in Bezug auf sportliche Frauen eingesetzt werden und dadurch bestimmte Eigenschaften mit WEIBLICH assoziieren.

## 1. Introduction

Since Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphor we live by* (1980) explained and exemplified the role conceptual metaphors play in our understanding of reality, metaphor analysis has become a substantial instrument to define and comprehend concepts underlying our discourse: in the process of structuring one concept in terms of another, metaphors influence our attitudes, our set of values and consequently our behavior, without us being fully aware of this process.

The impact metaphors have on conceptual systems has repercussions not only on the individual construction of meaning, but also on a social level, as

[...] language does not simply reflect *social* reality, but it is also *constitutive* of such reality, in other words, it shapes how we see ourselves and the world. If language use is constitutive rather than indexical, then it has the potential to help establish and maintain social and power relations, values and identities, as well as to challenge routine practice and contribute towards social change (Litosseliti 2006: 9).

From this perspective, considering *gender* as “the traits assigned to a sex” (Litosseliti 2006: 11), it seems essential that an accurate analysis of *gender* related discourse takes into account metaphors used both unintentionally and deliberately with reference to the ideas of MASCULINE and FEMININE: in this regard, previous studies showed how unconscious metaphors “enables stereotyping and the tacit dissemination of prejudice” (Melnick 1999) due to rudimentary associations like FEMALE/SOFT/PASSIVE/BELONGS BELOW/MADE FOR EASE in opposition to MALE/HARD/ACTIVE/BELONGS ABOVE/MADE FOR EFFORT AND DIFFICULTY, thus shaping our mindset, our expectations and our conduct.

Even if Schmitt warns about the risks of such a binary conceptual structure possibly leading to a *doing gender* approach (Schmitt 2009: 17), this oppositional system can certainly raise awareness about the process of *gender construction* (Schmitt 2009: 17). It could also be enriched with additional dichotomies, such as PURITY/IMPURITY (cf. von Braun/Stephan 2005: 9-14) and SPIRIT/BODY (cf. von Braun/Stephan 2005: 7-21) as well as PUBLIC/PRIVATE (cf. Wesely 2000: 160-191), as long as we keep in mind that the traits assigned to MASCULINE and FEMININE vary across cultures, generations, societies and contexts (cf. Litosseliti 2006: 11).

In this sense, Melnick's binary schema should be considered as alterable and changes in the traits assigned to each sex should lead to further considerations about the contexts in which the discourse is produced, taking into account that "meaning cannot be inferred by words alone, but by inferential work that involves many situational and contextual parameters" (Litosseliti 2006: 21).

An accurate and systematic metaphoric analysis should additionally help overcoming ambiguity, especially when the traits assigned to maleness and femaleness are not the result of a simple dichotomic opposition, but are rather complex and subtler conceptual constructs.

In fact, as for the alterability of the traits we need to consider that

[...] there have been profound changes in recent decades in terms of raised awareness about gender issues, as well as gender and language. Yet, the complexity of our language choices, the pressures of a climate of political correctness, and the success of feminist campaigns over language, may mean that we are now faced with different, more insidious, forms of sexism than in the past, when instances of sexist language were relatively easily identified (Litosseliti 2006: 21).

Media can be certainly listed among the changes that influenced communication in the last years (cf. Beard 2004: 35-54), including of course *social media*: as media use evolves, also media "representations of gender are changing, becoming less coherent, more subtle, and potentially more insidious" (Litosseliti 2006: 120), which makes a corpus-based analysis of metaphors in social media essential.

As a matter of fact, as women's roles in Western society change and the Internet facilitates dialogue, exchange and awareness, *social media* and *blogs* contributions convey significant concepts associated with MASCULINE and FEMININE: sport is certainly one of the numerous topics which deserve attention.

Previous studies clearly showed how women are encouraged through sports to develop a very specific ideal of femininity (cf. Scraton/Flintoff 2013: 98), "central to which is heterosexual attractiveness and availability" (Scraton/Flintoff 2013: 98); how they are pushed to discipline their bodies with diet and exercise (cf. Scraton/Flintoff 2013: 102) and how society has overall been trained to divide sports between masculine and feminine, placing physical

limits on women, encouraging them to accept these stereotypes (cf. Birrell/Theberg 1994: 344) and to rather choose aesthetically pleasing activities (cf. Schmalz/Kersetter, 2006: 536-557).

Other studies “highlight how gender difference is perpetuated in sport media to uphold male privilege and trivialize women’s athletic accomplishments” (Toffoletti 2016: 5) through several mechanisms:

emphasizing women’s sexuality as a means of objectifying female athletes (Clavio/Eagleman 2011; Duncan/Messner 1998); infantilizing sportswomen through descriptors like “girl” that position women as inferior, weak and unsuited to the physical demands of sport (Bernstein 2002; Koivula, 1999); portraying women who possess muscular and strong bodies as “abnormal” or “unfeminine” – renderings that often negatively characterize female athletes as butch or lesbian, hence naturalize heterosexual masculinity as the athletic ideal (Lansbury 2001; Lenskyj 1987); and depicting female athletes in heteronormative roles as wives, girlfriends and mothers (Cooky/Messner/Hextrum 2013; Heywood/Dworkin 2003) (Toffoletti 2016: 5).

However, *social media* are changing this scenery since they offer female athletes a communication platform, where they can autonomously present themselves without depending on traditional mass media (cf. Beck/Capt 2017: 139). *Social media* allow female athletes to take a more active part in their own public presentation (cf. Lebel/Danylchuk 2012: 461; Sanderson 2008: 930), to share more information about their own identities (cf. Sanderson 2013: 420) and to directly counteract to what is published by mainstream mass media about them (cf. Sanderson 2008: 930). “Given that there are opportunities to control more of one’s self-presentation, it seems natural that one could self-present outside traditional gender norms” (Reichart Smith/Sanderson 2015: 344), so that gender-related metaphors underlying social media posts written by female athletes represent a great source of linguistic interest, especially if we consider that information shared about and by athletes can prompt identification in their fans (Sanderson 2013: 419).

Several studies show how this ability to control their own representations in social media has led sporting women to construct images that differ from traditional gender stereotypes, as for example the association between masculinity and sport (cf. Thorpe/Toffoletti/Bruce 2017: 5):

Although the social media content they create and share online is not always directed towards feminist activism, it is nonetheless seen to harbour transformative potential to enable women to construct alternative discourses around feminine sporting subjectivity. While some of this research notes ambivalences in how young women construct their online sporting identities, including the persistence of conventional articulations of femininity and sexuality as they attempt to meet wider social imperatives to appear as both sporting and feminine, there is considerable scope to further investigate these ambivalences (Thorpe/Toffoletti/Bruce 2017: 6).

Starting from the above-mentioned scientific findings, which confirm how the ability to “bypass the gatekeepers that control traditional media products” (Thorpe/Toffoletti/Bruce 2017: 5) through *social media* as well as the possibility “to trespass gender frontiers and the potential to recreate and (re)define new femininities” (Scraton/Flintoff 2013: 103) through *sport* are redefining the way sporting women construct their public image, this work aims at investigating if and how female sport influencers’ contributions on the web are based on enabled stereotypes and prejudices or if and how they are reworking gender-related concepts.

More precisely this paper examines gender metaphors that underlie Internet posts written by three French speaking top female sport influencers (Sonia Tlev, Stessie Littlebird and Lucile Woodward) intending to answer following research questions:

- I. Which gender-related metaphors referring to sporting women can be identified?
- II. How do these conceptual metaphors differ from common stereotypes, e.g. from Melnick’s dichotomic scheme?
- III. Which new correlations are these top sport female influencers proposing to their followers?
- IV. Which conceptual associations are they based on?

As already mentioned, the language these personalities choose and use on Facebook, Instagram and on their blogs can motivate and inspire other women to follow the same path, so that the gender-related metaphors used to express their goals and ideas have a broader impact and can contribute to redefine the social idea of femaleness.

The focus on three French speaking top sport influencers allows on one side to define a specific context of analysis and on the other side to create an authentic corpus based on web posts: the metaphors identified and illustrated can be considered as gender-specific, given that the influencers clearly address sporting women, as the examples presented will show (cf. Appendix).

## **2. Methodology and corpus**

### **2.1 Methodology**

This paper examines from an exclusively linguistic point of view internet posts written by French speaking female influencers writing about sport. Conceptual metaphors are identified following the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) by the Pragglejaz Group, as described in *MIP: A Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in Discourse* (2007). This method allows to determine the metaphorical use of each lexical unit in a specific context “by comparing the contextual and the basic meaning of the word, referring to contemporary dictionaries in order to avoid bias and reliance on intuition of native speakers and individual analysts” (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3).

### **2.2 Corpus**

The corpus of analysis includes a sample of 150 posts whose authors, Sonia Tlev, Stessie Littlebirds and Lucile Woodward, were selected for the metaphor analysis because of their big popularity. The 150 contributions, 50 for each influencer, have been downloaded from Internet channels, in order to describe possible differences and similarities across media platforms. Moreover, the posts taken into account were published in three different years, from 2016 to 2018, to verify the diachronic consistency of the identified conceptual metaphors: the number of posts and the years selected have been chosen considering the research focus, women writing about sport, and so that, for each influencer, the corpus includes a selection of posts from three Internet platforms and from three years (2016, 2017, 2018). Finally, the analysis focuses exclusively on written content, which means that videos and pictures were not considered.

The corpus design generally reflects the need for authenticity and systematicity, with two minor discrepancies:

- As for Stessie Littlebirds, 7 additional blog posts were examined, as 7 Facebook posts out of the 20 only included links to the blog without further content relevant for the analysis.
- As for Sonia Tlev, 4 blog posts have no explicit publication year, but they have been included into the corpus due to their thematic relevance and specially to assure a minimum of analyzed blog posts. There are no blog posts for 2018.

A brief introduction of the three sport influencers is provided in the following paragraphs.

### 2.2.1 Lucile Woodward

With about 177k Instagram and more than 63k Facebook followers<sup>1</sup>, Lucile Woodward defines herself as real people's coach<sup>2</sup>. After working as a scientific journalist<sup>3</sup>, she completed a qualification as sports coach<sup>4</sup> and is now writing posts about coaching, life and nutrition: even if the influencer mostly uses the pronoun *on*, the fact that her posts generally address women emerge from contents like *sport during periods and pregnancy* (exx. (18), (21)).

On her e-shops<sup>5</sup>, she offers different coaching programs (*Programmes course à pied, Yoga débutant, Objectif -10 kilos, Rélévez votre corps d'été, Objectif rentrée*), one nutritional program (*Rééquilibrage alimentaire*) and one cookbook with vegetarian recipes (*Carnet de 31 recettes végétariennes*). She states that her training method is based on 10 years working experience in the field and allows her clients to get back in shape through a balanced nutrition plan as well as varied and regular sport activities<sup>6</sup>, always keeping in mind that it might take time to lose weight as wished<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Status: October 2018.

<sup>2</sup> <https://lucilewoodward.com/a-propos> (08.10.2018).

<sup>3</sup> "J'ai démarré ma carrière comme journaliste scientifique, dans le milieu médical.", [https://www.facebook.com/pg/Lucile-Woodward-255082411199104/about/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/Lucile-Woodward-255082411199104/about/?ref=page_internal) (08.10.2018).

<sup>4</sup> "Coach sportif diplômée d'état (BP Jeps AGFF) [...].", [https://www.facebook.com/pg/Lucile-Woodward-255082411199104/about/?ref=page\\_interna](https://www.facebook.com/pg/Lucile-Woodward-255082411199104/about/?ref=page_interna) (08.10.2018).

<sup>5</sup> <https://shop.lucilewoodward.com/> (08.10.2018).

<sup>6</sup> „Ma méthode ? Elle est basée sur plus de 10 ans d'expérience et sur les innombrables

She publishes sport related content also on Pinterest, Twitter and Youtube and wrote several books (*Une Silhouette de Rêve C'est Malin, Un Ventre Plat C'est Malin, En Forme Pendant et Après La Grossesse, Objectif: Un Corps Canon*). Mother of two, she offers also sport sessions suitable for pregnant women.

## 2.2.2 Stessie Littlebirds

Stessie Littlebirds is specialized in weight training, but writes about several topics, e.g. sport in general, nutrition and lifestyle, on her blog as well as for her 211k Instagram and more than 14k Facebook followers<sup>8</sup>. Moreover, she uploads videos on her YouTube channel<sup>9</sup> and offers a paid training program, *Move with Stessie*, on FizzUp<sup>10</sup>.

She gives various biographical information about herself in several posts, but not in a general overview. Still in her twenties, she considers weight training and fitness as a passion, a need and a therapy<sup>11</sup>. She states that sport helped her put on weight<sup>12</sup>, overcome miscarriages<sup>13</sup>, find her balance and increase her self-confidence<sup>14</sup>.

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“success story” de dizaines de milliers de femme [sic, F.C.] qui me suivent au quotidien. Du renforcement musculaire, du cardio varié, des étirements adaptés, une alimentation équilibrée ET un mental d’acier. C’est ça la clé. Ma clé.”, <https://lucilewoodward.com/a-propos> (08.10.2018).

<sup>7</sup> „Parce que vous le savez bien : si vous avez pris 15kg, vous ne les avez pas pris en 3 semaines... Alors permettez à votre corps de prendre un peu plus de temps pour perdre tout ce poids et se remettre en forme.”, <https://lucilewoodward.com/a-propos> (08.10.2018).

<sup>8</sup> Status: October 2018.

<sup>9</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCo3wPR47N\\_af8nMQIuMAIow](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCo3wPR47N_af8nMQIuMAIow) (08.10.2018).

<sup>10</sup> <https://stessie.fizzup.com/subscribe> (08.10.2018).

<sup>11</sup> <http://lavisiohrauz.com/le-sport-une-therapie/> (08.10.2018).

<sup>12</sup> „C’est une phrase que j’entendais sans arrêt au début, car forcément je n’étais pas bien grasse comme vous le savez. Ils ne comprenaient absolument pas que le sport puisse également aider à prendre du poids. Bon depuis j’ai réussi à leur clouer le bec ehe. Mais au début c’était fatiguant de devoir se justifier et prouver par A+B que mon but n’était pas de maigrir.”, <https://lavisiohrauz.com/5-choses-a-ne-pas-dire-a-fitgirl/> (08.10.2018).

<sup>13</sup> „À la base, j’ai commencé ma remise en forme suite à une fausse couche. Elle n’était pas depuis très longtemps, 9 semaines environ, mais ce n’était pas la première [...]”, <https://lavisiohrauz.com/le-sport-une-therapie/> (08.10.2018).

<sup>14</sup> „Pour avoir confiance en moi [...] Pour avoir un équilibre de vie [...]”, <https://lavisiohrauz.com/le-sport-une-therapie/> (08.10.2018).



Stessie Littlebirds does not write exclusively for a female public and uses gender-neutral adjectives<sup>15</sup>, nevertheless her articles deal with periods<sup>16</sup>, women that inspire her<sup>17</sup>, how women should be treated by men<sup>18</sup>, what is important for a fit-girl<sup>19</sup> etc., so that it is possible to state that the metaphors used are implicitly referred to women.

### 2.2.3 Sonia Tlev

Sonia Tlev is a top French speaking sport influencer with her 1.7m Instagram followers on her fitness profile, 623k Instagram followers on her personal profile, almost 400k Facebook followers<sup>20</sup>, a blog, a Twitter account and a YouTube Channel.

On her online shop<sup>21</sup>, it is possible to choose among different training programs (*Top body challenge 1, 2 and 3*), including training sessions for pregnant women (*Top body femmes enceintes*) and for the post-partum (*TBC post partum*), a nutritional plan (*Top body nutrition*) and a cookbook (*Top body menus*). Additional training programs, nutritional plans and recipes are also available as App<sup>22</sup> for Apple and Android: Sonia Body.

Sonia Tlev defines herself as the coach of 21<sup>st</sup> century women, who have a life, maybe children, but little spare time<sup>23</sup>. She has always practiced sport, since she was a child, obtaining even a regional golden medal for athletics at 14<sup>24</sup>. In her blog she states that in 2010 she discovered fitness and she was so fascinated she decided to share her passion and enthusiasm on social media,

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<sup>15</sup> „[...] nous n’avons pas le droit de nous [sic, F.C.] avouer «*faibles*», «*différent(e)s*», avec des imperfections telles qu’elles soient.”, <https://lavisionrauz.com/skinpositivity-problemes-de-peau-et-alors/> (10.10.2018).

<sup>16</sup> <http://lavisionrauz.com/gere-periode-menstruelle-musculation/> (10.10.2018).

<sup>17</sup> <http://lavisionrauz.com/femmes-me-motivent-2/> (10.10.2018).

<sup>18</sup> <http://lavisionrauz.com/sommes-toutes-princesses/> (10.10.2018).

<sup>19</sup> <http://lavisionrauz.com/5-choses-a-ne-pas-dire-a-fitgirl/> (10.10.2018).

<sup>20</sup> Status: October 2018.

<sup>21</sup> <https://shop.soniatlev.fr/fr/> (08.10.2018).

<sup>22</sup> <https://soniatlev.fr/application/> (08.10.2018).

<sup>23</sup> “Je me qualifie comme la coach des femmes du 21<sup>ème</sup> siècle, avec une vie, pas beaucoup de temps, peut être des enfants [...].”, <https://soniatlev.fr/sonia/> (08.10.2018).

<sup>24</sup> <https://soniatlev.fr/sonia/> (08.10.2018).

first with at-home workout tutorials and later commercializing her own training program<sup>25</sup>. Today she has a son and considers inspiring, helping and motivating other people as being her role on this planet<sup>26</sup>: the metaphors she uses are referred to women only, as clarified by Sonia Tlev's own statement about being a women's coach.

### **3. Findings**

This chapter will present the results of the metaphor analysis, describing and exemplifying the gender-related conceptual metaphors found in the research corpus and illustrating differences and similarities amongst authors, across publication years and media: all examples from the corpus are listed in the Appendix.

The research findings displayed in this paper will not list and discuss all the metaphors spot through the analysis, but will rather focus on those conceptual metaphors the influencers systematically and repeatedly use, at least on one platform or over one year, as these metaphors represent the central thread which runs through the posts analyzed. Exceptionally used metaphors might be certainly considered for further analysis; however they do not help identifying traits generally associated with femaleness, as this paper intends to do.

The examples presented in this paper include several anglicisms, which should not surprise, considering that the corpus consists of social media posts.

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<sup>25</sup> „Pour vous en raconter un peu plus sur mon parcours, depuis l'enfance j'ai toujours pratiqué de façon régulière des activités sportives, j'ai démarré avec une année de volley-ball puis 1 an de basket-ball, 1 an de gymnastique etc, à 14 ans j'obtiens même une médaille d'or d'athlétisme de titre régional mais c'est en 2010 que je découvre le fitness ...Ma vocation! Cela a littéralement changé mon mode de vie et mon état d'esprit au quotidien. [...] J'ai d'abord démarré en partageant sur mes réseaux sociaux de simples entraînements à faire à la maison, sans ou avec peu d'équipement, ce qui me vaut aujourd'hui mes 3 millions d'abonnés d'amour que je chéris chaque jour et motive afin qu'ils arrivent au maximum de leur potentiel.“, <https://soniatlev.fr/sonia/> (08.10.2018).

<sup>26</sup> “Je suis sûre que nous avons tous un rôle sur cette planète, j'aime aider les gens, les écouter, les conseiller, les rassurer, les booster, donc je pense que le mien était de démarrer une communauté d'entraide et le vôtre est de la faire évoluer et de devenir à votre tour une source d'inspiration !”, <https://soniatlev.fr/sonia/> (08.10.2018).

### 3.1 JOURNEY METAPHOR

#### 3.1.1 Lucile Woodward's JOURNEY METAPHOR

Considering our daily experience, it should not surprise that practicing SPORT might be conceptualized as being on a JOURNEY: one of the effects of a regular workout is indeed a bodily CHANGE, whether an improvement of muscle tone or fat loss, which is commonly known as well as advertised. Within the analysis of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, not only CHANGE is conceptualized as MOTION, but a more specific scenario is offered and schematized: “Self-Initiated, Long-Term, Purposeful Change is a Journey” ( Lakoff/Espenson/Schwartz 1991: 15).

Thus, *self-initiated, long-term, purposeful sport practices*, as those wished for and suggested by Lucile Woodward to her followers, are not only MOTION, but more precisely a JOURNEY: as sporting women chose to start practicing (*self-initiated*) on a regular base (*long-term*) for several specific reasons, e.g. self-acceptance, (*purposeful*), they START MOVING:

- (1) On est *toujours débutant* à un moment donné (ILW, 01/10/2016).<sup>27</sup>

This MOTION might be described as MOVING AWAY from a previous LOCATION characterized by *bad unhealthy habits* (exx. (2), (3)), but most of all it is a MOTION TOWARDS the DESTINATION of their JOURNEY, e.g. *self-acceptance* (ex. (4)) and a FORWARD MOVEMENT, as the references to PROGRESS indicate, both as verb (exx. (5), (6)) and substantive (exx. (7), (8), (9)).

As the TRAVELLER moves forward to the DESTINATION, the DISTANCE from the STARTING POINT increases (ex. (10)): “*On est bien loin de tout cela maintenant*”) and SPORTING WOMAN are pictured as being on a PATH, having WAY AHEAD of them, towards their objectives (ex. (11)): “*votre chemin vers une*

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<sup>27</sup> For a better readability, not all examples are exhaustively listed in text: see Appendix for a complete listing of the corpus examples in consecutive order.

Sources and posting dates are provided for the examples exhaustively reported in the text.

Sources are referred to with a 3-letter abbreviation: the first letter refers to the medium (B for Blog, F for Facebook and I for Instagram), the following two letters refer to the authors (LW for Lucile Woodward, SL for Stessie Littlebirds and ST for Sonia Tlev). As Sonia Tlev has two Instagram accounts, IST abbreviations additionally include a numerical reference either to her personal account (1) or to her fitness account (2).

See: 6. Corpus for website addresses and date of access.

meilleure acceptation de soi”), but also BEHIND them, representing what they have already achieved through their practice (ex. (12)): “*réalisez le chemin parcouru*”).

On the other side, when the DESTINATION sporting women aim at is an objective that cannot be achieved as expected, this objective is described as MIRAGE:

- (13) Le ventre plat en une semaine est *un mirage* [...] (LWB, 16/05/2018).

In example (13) the SPORT OBJECTIVE, a flat abdomen, is a DESTINATION that cannot be reached in one week: within the JOURNEY metaphor, the ideas of illusion and unattainability represent the connection between the flat abdomen and the idea of MIRAGE, while realistic objectives are defined as “*atteignables*”, in line with the source domain DESTINATION, as in example (14).

Furthermore, the idea of MOTION OVER A PATH implies the concept of DURATION, meaning a reference to the TEMPORAL AXIS (e.g. ex. (19): “*en une semaine*”), underlined using durative verbs, as in example (15):

- (15) La 3<sup>e</sup> semaine est la plus dure. On le sait. *On continue* !! (FLW 26/05/2017).

*Continuer* entails also the idea of ENDURANCE, especially as used in a prompt related to the hardest week, “*semaine [...] la plus dure*”: on the way towards their DESTINATION, SPORTING WOMEN might face difficulties, as stressed also in:

- (16) À demain pour de *nouvelles aventures sport et fitness* (ILW, 29/01/2017).

Here the substantive *aventures* does not contradict the idea of JOURNEY, but specifies it as possibly difficult and challenging, and yet interesting, as in Larousse<sup>28</sup>.

Thus, in this FORWARD MOVEMENT OVER A PATH, considering also the possible challenges, SPORTING WOMEN might need to adjust their PACE in order to reach their DESTINATION (ex. (17)): “*C’est en changeant les rythmes que l’on progresse [...]*”) or even to give up on PROGRESS, for example during PREGNANCY, seen as a sort of BREAK during the JOURNEY, as marked by the

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<sup>28</sup> „Entreprise comportant des difficultés, une grande part d’inconnu, parfois des aspects extraordinaires, à laquelle participent une ou plusieurs personnes [...].”, <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/aventure/7035> (10.10.2018).

temporal preposition in (18): “Mais ce n’est pas *pendant la grossesse que l’on progresse* [...]”.

Moreover, given the possible difficulties of the JOURNEY, TRAVELLERS might need the help of a GUIDE, meaning a SPORT COACH, who can share this adventurous journey experience with them (exx. (19), (20)), take on a more active role and lead the travel (exx. (21), (22)) and avoid SPORTING WOMEN falling down during their JOURNEY (ex. 23)).

Although TRAVELLERS might face difficulties on the PATH, the workout program proposed by the Lucile Woodward is described by the influencer as “*accessible*”, as in (24): the adjective brings to mind the concept of a ROUTE to reach the DESTINATION, represented in the example by the WORKOUT PROGRAM.

Additional elements of the source domain JOURNEY can be also found in the use of expressions that are usually referred to VEHICLES, but in the posts relate to the human BODY:

(25) *Faites le plein* d’anti oxydants juste après, surtout pour éponger les effets toxiques de l’alcool (BLW, 23/05/2017).

(26) Voici l’objectif de mon programme ! *Vous amenez* [sic, F.C.] vers l’acceptation de soi *dans un corps en bonne santé* (FLW, 02/05/2018).

As SPORTING WOMEN are conceptualized as TRAVELLERS, their BODY is seen as a VEHICLE to reach the DESTINATION, which explains also both the image of women having their own *wings* (ex. (27)) and the metonymy of their *advancing heart and lungs* (ex. (28)).

While in (25) a healthy nourishment, *anti oxydants*, is conceived as FUEL, in line with the idea of HUMAN BODY as CONTAINER, sport practice can also be understood as FUEL for the VEHICLE (ex. (29)), as workouts help SPORTING WOMEN to MOVE TOWARDS their SPORT OBJECTIVES.

The idea of the BODY as CONTAINER underpins also example (26), *dans un corps*, where the verb *amener* can be related to the metaphor of the SPORT COACH as a GUIDE for the JOURNEY, since here SPORTING WOMEN are not pictured as actively driving the VEHICLE, but rather as being carried to their DESTINATION, *vers l’acceptation de soi*, by the WORKOUT PROGRAM, so metonymically by the SPORT COACH.

### 3.1.2 WOMEN AS TRAVELERS: What is FEMININE?

As illustrated in 3.1, Lucile Woodward's posts convey the idea of SPORTING WOMEN being as TRAVELERS, projecting specific aspects of the source domain, SPORT, onto the target domain, JOURNEY, while other aspects are hidden.

Lucile Woodward's conceptualization of practicing SPORT as being on a JOURNEY includes indeed some specific aspects of the idea of JOURNEY: taking as example Larousse's definition of *voyage*<sup>29</sup>, we can easily identify the major elements that shape the common concept of JOURNEY, meaning a TRAVELLER moves from a STARTING POINT and covers a PATH towards a DESTINATION, which might require an active involvement from the TRAVELLER, for example in case of walking or driving to a destination, or a passive displacement<sup>30</sup>, for example when TRAVELLING on a VEHICLE driven by somebody else. All these fundamental elements emerge also from the example illustrated in 3.1.1: SPORTING WOMEN are TRAVELERS that leave their previous LOCATION, their bad unhealthy habits, and START MOVING over a PATH TOWARDS their DESTINATION, their SPORT OBJECTIVES, in their own BODIES, seen as VEHICLES. The movement from the STARTING POINT to the DESTINATION over a PATH implies also the idea of TIME needed to cover a certain DISTANCE, which is again to be found in the influencer's posts.

On the other side, the common idea of JOURNEY might as well vary depending on the context and include additional aspects, e.g. the kind of PREPARATION to the journey, the presence and composition of a LUGGAGE, the necessity of actively choosing the ROUTES, the presence of travel COMPANIONS or GUIDES, the necessity of BREAKS during the JOURNEY, the idea of RETURN and the characterization of the JOURNEY itself, as pleasant, difficult, adventurous, boring etc. While WORKOUTS are pictured as ROUTES, the PREGNANCY as a BREAK and a SPORT COACH as a GUIDE, other elements do not emerge in the analyzed posts. As for a more specific description of the JOURNEY, the examples show how DIFFICULTY and CHALLENGE represent its main characteristics, expressed through the idea of ADVENTURE. In this sense FEMALE, as related to SPORTING WOMEN, is rather associated to ACTIVE through the idea of MOVEMENT TOWARDS A DESTINATION, rather than to PASSIVE,

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<sup>29</sup> <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/voyage/82584> (08.10.2018).

<sup>30</sup> Notice here the passive form in the dictionary: *être transporté*.

marginally expressed in the idea of a GUIDE, who is however also a woman: Lucile Woodward.

Furthermore, FEMALE is associated with VIGOROUS and MADE FOR EFFORT AND DIFFICULTY, as the JOURNEY SPORTING WOMEN embark on is a difficult and challenging experience: the fact that the idea of LUGGAGE and PREPARATION are not mentioned in the posts can also be understood as proof that WOMEN have already all they need to face hard times during the JOURNEY. The only help they get is the support of another woman, their SPORT COACH, who contributed to select the suitable ROUTES. Again, the necessity of slowing down and taking a TEMPORARY break on the PATH should not be understood as contradiction, as SPORTING WOMEN keep heading to their DESTINATION, in their Self-Initiated, Long-Term, Purposeful CHANGE.

Thus, it should not surprise that a RETURN JOURNEY is not mentioned at all, as on one side the LOCATION the TRAVELLERS left is a condition they don't want to get back to and on the other side since SPORTING WOMEN are pictured in the posts as having all they need to reach their DESTINATION and never go back.

## 3.2 FIGHT METAPHOR

### 3.2.1. Lucile Woodward's FIGHT METAPHOR

In everyday life sport can be easily related to COMPETITION, in the sense of sporting contests and thus to further source domains as WAR or 1 ON 1 PHYSICAL AGGRESSIONS (cf. Lakoff/Espenson/Schwartz 1991: 66).

In Lucile Woodward's posts SPORTING WOMEN certainly seem to FIGHT against EXTERNAL IMPEDIMENTS to their healthy lifestyle, described as ENEMIES (ex. (30)) to *survive* (ex. (31)), e.g. *stress* or *holiday meals*, but also against MISLEADING IDEAS about what to aim for, seen as a WEAPON ATTACK (ex. (32)): *bombarde d'images*) or as a DICTATORSHIP (ex. (33): *la dictature du régime et de l'hyper minceur*).

SPORTING WOMEN are asked to *take control* of their nutrition style and to prove *courage* and *perseverance*, because this is what it takes to be in shape:

- (34) Le but est de *prendre vous-même le contrôle* de votre alimentation, et non l'inverse (LWB, 13/06/2018).
- (35) Chacune s'est révélée plus *courageuse*, plus *persévérante*, plus *exceptionnelle* ! (ILW, 19/07/2018).

(36) Pour être en forme, *il en faut du courage* (ILW, 21/07/2018).

Thus, the idea of SPORT shares specific elements with the concept of FIGHT<sup>31</sup>, as “ensemble des actions menées pour obtenir quelque chose, pour défendre une cause” (Larousse): in the case of Lucile Woodward’s corpus, what women aim at obtaining and defending is a HEALTHY SHAPE, achieved through *healthy nutrition* (ex. (37): “*on se blinde* de vitamine C et d’iode”) and *sport practice* (ex. (38)): “pratiquer un sport régulier, à l’air pur autant que possible. Ainsi vous rendez votre système respiratoire *plus résistant* aux maladies”), which function like a MILITARY EQUIPMENT, strengthening their defense capabilities, and might also be related to other WINNINGS, e.g. elegance and confidence (ex. (39)): “La pratique du fitness *m’aide à gagner* en élégance, en maintien, et en confiance en moi”).

In this sense, SPORTING WOMEN fighting for a HEALTHY SHAPE are defined as WARRIORS (ex. (40): *communauté de warrior*) and their BODY PARTS can metonymically be described as SOLDIERS (ex. (41): “globules blancs: *les petits soldats* anti virus et microbes du corps”).

Furthermore, in line with the conceptualization of the BODY as a CONTAINER and SPORTING WOMEN as WARRIORS, their BODY EXTERIOR is referred to as ARMOR (ex. (42): *un corps en acier*), while the BODY INTERIOR, e.g. *bones* and *articulations*, is something that needs to be *protected* (ex. (43)).

Within the SPORTING WOMEN as WARRIORS metaphor, women that fail to achieve their purpose could be commonly considered as *weak* and *without value*. However, Lucile Woodward encourages her warrior community to refuse these attributions, when related to unhealthy imperatives, such as not putting on much weight or practicing sport during pregnancy:

(44) Tu n’es pas *une femme nulle* si tu ne fais pas de crossfit enceinte (BLW, 21/02/2018).

(45) La moyenne médicale de prise de poids pendant la grossesse c’est 9 à 12kg. Et ce n’est qu’une moyenne. Donc ok il y en a qui prennent 7 – 8, mais il y en a qui prennent 15 ou plus. Et ce n’est pas MAL. Vous n’êtes pas *un échec* ... (BLW, 21/02/2018).

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<sup>31</sup> <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/lutte/48139> (08.10.2018).



On one side these OBJECTIVES are not considered as healthy, on the other side, warriors are also human beings, so they shouldn't feel guilty if sometimes they cede:

- (46) Si malgré tous ces conseils, il vous arrive de *craquer* : pas de culpabilité ! Déjà parce que vous êtes humaine [sic, F.C.] [...] (BLW, 13/06/2018).

As the verb *craquer* is referred to SPORTING WOMEN, it is possible to identify a metonymical relation to the BODY as ARMOR metaphor, with WOMEN being the WHOLE for the PART BODY.

Even if SPORTING WOMEN clearly need to fight against EXTERNAL IMPEDIMENTS to a healthy lifestyle, Lucile Woodward's posts indicate as well an INTERNAL FIGHT, not only in the sense of impediments coming from the human body, e.g. *period pain* preventing women from working out (ex. (47)), but also as WOMEN might see their own BODY as an ENEMY (ex. (48)).

Nevertheless, no matter if the IMPEDIMENTS originate in the human body, in misleading ideas or life situations, SPORTING WOMEN have to FIGHT against all this showing COURAGE and ENDURANCE, in order to OBTAIN and DEFEND their HEALTHY SHAPE.

### 3.2.2 Stessie Littlebirds' FIGHT METAPHOR

Stessie Littlebirds mentions in her blog a few statements that motivate her, as she declares, which are clearly related to the concept of FIGHT:

- (49) De citation à proprement parler non je n'en ai pas, par contre j'aime beaucoup me motiver avec quelques petites phrases comme « *toujours se battre et ne jamais abandonner* », « *surpasses-toi ou tes ennemis souriront de ta défaite* » ou bien encore je me rappelle sans cesse que si *je ne me bats* pas toutes les personnes qui doutent de moi auront gains de satisfaction et c'est juste inimaginable (BSL, 25/02/2016).

Thus, she also motivates her own followers encouraging them to *fight* (exx. (50), (51), (52)) and *not to give up* (exx. (53), (54)), as well as to *stand up* and *advance*, as in a FIGHT (ex. (55)).

In fact, in order to change their bodies, SPORTING WOMEN need to act as WARRIORS and prove their ENDURANCE (ex. (56): "Il va falloir *redoubler*

*d'efforts, tenir bon*"), because the same idea of LOSING WEIGHT is also conceptualized as FIGHT:

- (57) Que ce soit d'un point de vue esthétique mais surtout pour ma santé. Contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait penser, ce n'est pas une chose facile de *prendre du poids*. Comme tous objectifs *c'est un combat* d'aujourd'hui, de demain et bien plus encore (BSL, 18/08/2016).

In this sense, PERFORMANCE IMPROVEMENT in SPORT PRACTICE can be seen as ADVANCE: while in Lucile Woodward's posts PROGRESS is conceptualized within a JOURNEY METAPHOR as FORWARD MOVEMENT to a DESTINATION, as seen in 3.1.1, within Stessie Littlebirds' FIGHT METAPHOR, this ADVANCE should rather be understood as ADVANCE on a BATTLEFIELD, as in (55).

This explains why the influencer describes her own shape as not being *the most glorious*, when her body is not advancing:

- (58) Alors non en ce moment je n'ai pas la shape *des plus glorieuse* [sic, F.C.] mais je sais que j'ai été capable de bien mieux, et dès que j'aurais *remis la machine en route* je sais que je ferais encore mieux [...] (ISL, 08/12/2016).

Even if in other examples the concept of ADVANCE is not furtherly specified as being referred to a fight (ex. (59)), the adjective *glorieuse*, in (58), clearly implies the idea of SPORTING WOMEN as WARRIORS.

Thus, as she states in her blog, Stessie Littlebirds likes when female athletes are portrayed as WARRIORS:

- (60) La première photo que j'ai vue d'elle c'était avec cela et j'ai trouvé cela tellement cool. Elle est jolie et pourtant *elle fait si forte et guerrière à la fois*. J'aime énormément ! [...] La première photo que j'ai vue d'elle c'est avec une arme. Vous devez vous dire que je suis complètement folle. Mais je trouve que cela colle tellement avec *l'image de la femme guerrière*. Je suis totalement fan (BSL, 18/02/2017).

and encourages her followers to behave as WARRIORS, *using what hurts them to get stronger* (ex. (61)).

In her case, the ENEMY hurting her were several miscarriages and a boyfriend breaking up with her <sup>32</sup>, so again both EXTERNAL OCCURRENCES and

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<sup>32</sup> „Pour ma part vous le savez sûrement si vous me suivez via instagram, je ne supportais

OCCURRENCES related to her BODY, as for Lucile Woodward. On the other side, *other people's words* and *gazes* can also hurt and be pictured as ENEMIES that can hurt (ex. (62)).

Although analyzing Lucile Woodward's and Stessie Littlebirds' posts a shared idea of SPORTING WOMEN being WARRIORS emerges across years and media platforms, the above-mentioned examples show a substantial difference.

In Lucile Woodward's posts, SPORT is conceptualized as a FIGHT to OBTAIN and DEFEND a HEALTHY SHAPE: WOMEN, as WARRIORS, might need to face several INTERNAL and EXTERNAL OCCURRENCES, e.g. period pain or stress, threatening their healthy lifestyle, but these are not considered as a trigger for the FIGHT.

On the other side, Stessie Littlebirds is rather using sport as a THERAPY, as she wrote in a blog post dating 2015<sup>33</sup>, in order to react against EXTERNAL OCCURRENCES and start feeling better, which implies a clear connection to the metaphor TREATING ILLNESSES AS A FIGHT (cf. Lakoff/Espenson/Schwartz 1991: 176): SPORT, as a THERAPY TREATING EMOTIONAL PAIN, is conceptualized as FIGHT and WOMEN, facing EXTERNAL OCCURRENCES with the help of SPORT, are conceptualized as WARRIORS.

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plus mon corps après plusieurs fausses couches. Mais je vous avouerai également que mon ex-copain de l'époque avec qui je venais d'avoir une rupture plutôt difficile m'avait motivé [sic, F.C.]. Je voulais lui faire « payer » le fait de m'avoir laissé tomber. Cela peut paraître idiot mais à l'époque l'accumulation des deux m'a vraiment aidé à ne pas lâcher. Servez-vous de tous ce qui vous blesse, de toutes les choses que vous détestez pour vous rendre plus fort. ", <http://lavisionrauz.com/se-motive-long-terme/> (26.07.2018).

<sup>33</sup> <http://lavisionrauz.com/le-sport-une-therapie/> (26.09.2018).

### 3.2.3 WOMEN AS WARRIORS: What is FEMININE?

Both Lucile Woodward and Stessie Littlebirds recur to the metaphor PRACTICING SPORT is FIGHTING and conceptualize SPORTING WOMEN as WARRIORS: although the metaphorical mapping has a different background, as illustrated in 3.2.2, in both cases fundamental elements of the concept of FIGHT are projected onto the SPORT PRACTICE.

Lucile Woodward's *warrior community*, as she defines her followers, are endowed with ENDURANCE and use SPORT PRACTICE and HEALTHY NUTRITION as a MILITARY EQUIPMENT: thus, the influencer's conceptualization of FIGHT acquires rather the aspects of a DEFENSE against EXTERNAL and INTERNAL OCCURRENCES and ENEMIES.

In Stessie Littlebirds' posts EXTERNAL OCCURRENCES trigger the need for SPORT, conceptualized as THERAPY and consequently linked to the concept of FIGHT: SPORTING WOMEN, as WARRIORS, react to these external threats and FIGHT for THEIR WELL-BEING: in order to ADVANCE towards their victory, they need to be endowed with ENDURANCE, so that they don't give up and can prove their value.

In this sense, as for the Lucile Woodward's JOURNEY METAPHOR, in Stessie Littlebirds' posts, the source domain FIGHT can as well be ascribed to a more general PATH METAPHOR: from a STARTING POINT, characterized by unpleasant the presence of ENEMIES, the SUBJECT, the WARRIOR, MOVES through several OCCURRENCES towards an END POINT, the VICTORY, in accordance with the idea of SPORT as THERAPY.

Seen the different background of the two influencers, as illustrated in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, it should not surprise that different aspects of the same source domain, FIGHT, are projected onto the target domain SPORT: as a qualified entrepreneur who is successfully conciliating family and career, Lucile Woodward focuses on a work-life balance, which she considers important also for her followers, hence giving priority to the defense and preservation of all the fundamental elements of a healthy lifestyle.

On the other side, for Stessie Littlebirds sport has been a way to overcome a difficult situation and find a new balanced lifestyle, which justifies the propensity for a PATH conceptualization:

(63) La *route est longue*, avec des *obstacles* mais le travail paie toujours! (ISL, 12/11/2017).

In both cases, the FIGHT metaphors, similarly to the JOURNEY metaphor, counteract the traditional dichotomies, since FEMININE is again associated with ACTIVE, as SPORTING WOMEN react to EXTERNAL and INTERNAL OCCURRENCES and PROGRESS TOWARDS their OBJECTIVES. Moreover, considering that the FIGHT requires ENDURANCE from the WARRIOR, FEMININE is evidently connected with VIGOROUS and with MADE FOR EFFORT AND DIFFICULTY.

### 3.3 CONSTRUCTION METAPHOR

#### 3.3.1 Stessie Littlebirds' FIGHT METAPHOR

Beside the FIGHT metaphor, Stessie Littlebirds' posts reveal a further conceptualization of SPORT: picturing BODY as a BUILDING, in line with Lakoff (cf. Lakoff/Espenson/Schwartz 1991: 192), the influencer describes her sport practice as a CONSTRUCTION WORK (ex. (64): “je me suis *dessinée*, *creuser* [sic, F.C.] ” and (65): “*éviter* [sic, F.C.] *d'avoir un trop gros déséquilibre* entre les muscles du dos et les pectoraux.- *Dessiner* le décolter [sic, F.C.]”) and BODY PARTS as ELEMENTS OF A BUILDING (ex. (66): la *construction des muscles* and (67): *épaules* qui sont *magnifiquement dessinées*), which can consequently be made out of *concrete* (ex. (68): *des abdos en béton*).

SPORTING WOMEN are expected to take the lead of the CONSTRUCTION of their own BODY (ex. (69): *maître de votre corps*) and to work on it in their SPORT PRACTICE (ex. (70): Maintenant *au boulot*).

The idea of BODIES/PEOPLE as BUILDINGS is extended also to a Stessie Littlebirds' personal situation without sport practice, when she felt *empty*, *extinguished* and *destroyed* (ex. (71)), a ruined BUILDING she could *reconstruct* practicing SPORT (ex. (72)).

Within this CONSTRUCTION METAPHOR, expressions like *base de votre transformation* (ex. (73)), referred to nutrition, or *structure d'entraînement la plus adaptée* (ex. (74)) confirm the idea of SPORTING WOMEN WORKING on their own BODIES as CONSTRUCTORS/BUILDERS. Therefore, PRACTICING SPORT is CONSTRUCTING, but can be also metonymically defined as CONSTRUCTION ELEMENT, e.g. a *pillar* (ex. (75)).

In the process of constructing, SPORTING WOMEN should not forget the importance of BALANCE and, as BUILDERS in charge of their own BODIES, they shouldn't stop training during their periods, as underlined in (76) by the durative verb *continuer*, implying again a reference to women's ENDURANCE:

(76) Premièrement, est-ce que je *continue* de m'entraîner ? Bien sûr ! Cependant toutes les femmes n'ont pas les mêmes douleurs, les mêmes symptômes prémenstruels (maux de ventre, humeur massacante, la fatigue etc) donc il faut trouver *son équilibre* (BSL, 24/08/2016).

### 3.3.2 WOMEN AS CONSTRUCTORS/BUILDERS: What is FEMININE?

Starting from a well-based metaphor that conceptualizes BODY as a BUILDING, Stessie Littlebirds pictures SPORTING WOMEN as BUILDERS that work on their BODIES both focusing on ELEMENTS of the BUILDING (BODY PARTS) and on the BUILDING as a WHOLE, without forgetting that the CONSTRUCTION PROCESS regards also their MENTAL WELL-BEING, as not only BODIES but PEOPLE in general, and metonymically their components, can be considered as BUILDINGS. Fundamental STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS in this process are both TRAINING, with should be regularly practiced with ENDURANCE, and NUTRITION.

Coherently with Stessie Littlebirds' idea of SPORT as a FIGHT, the CONSTRUCTION domain can also be ascribed to a more general PATH METAPHOR in which the SUBJECT, the BUILDER, proactively moves from a STARTING POINT towards an END POINT: WOMEN PRACTICING SPORT are therefore conceptualized as ACTIVE and, if we take into account the side references to the ENDURANCE needed in the process, as VIGOROUS. Furthermore, the idea of FEMININE is also related to HARD and SOLID, as SPORTING WOMEN work on a BUILDING nobody can destroy.

Nevertheless, in line with the idea of SPORT as THERAPY, women might still be associated with LABILE, whenever they do not practice sport or before they start training, as they can be affected by EXTERNAL OCCURRENCES and even destroyed.

Again, the influencer's personal experience seems to affect her conceptualization of SPORT and thereby the aspects of the source domain projected onto the target domain: the fact that no idea of COLLABORATION, SUPPORT or

TEAM WORK is mentioned, even though CONSTRUCTION WORK is definitely not a one-person activity, relates again to the idea of SPORT as THERAPY, a healing process that the patient undergoes alone, supported only by counseling.

Thus, even though the THERAPY METAPHOR is not explicitly used in the posts analyzed, it is possible to notice that this source domain affects the aspects of the source domain CONSTRUCTION that are highlighted and projected onto the target domain SPORT: SPORTING WOMEN cover what seems to be an INDIVIDUAL PATH, which underlies the association between FEMININE and ACTIVE/VIGOROUS. Stessie Littlebirds motivates her followers to cover this PATH, the same that helped her, but no post in the analyzed corpus conveys the idea of the influencer considering herself as a THERAPIST, which can be related to her biography: unlike Lucile Woodward, that pictures herself as a GUIDE on the PATH, Stessie Littlebirds is not a qualified and experienced training coach, but a passionate sportswoman and a successful influencer.

### 3.4 SYSTEM METAPHORS

#### 3.4.1 RELIGION METAPHOR

The idea of RESISTING A TEMPTATION as related to *trash food* or to *chill out* instead of working out is not new: also Lucile Woodward refers to it in her posts (ex. (77)). However, Sonia Tlev goes further and systematically uses expressions related to religion: as seen in 2.2.3, she thinks that inspiring, helping and motivating other people is her role on this planet, her *vocation* (ex. (78)); thus, she pictures herself as a GURU for SPORTING WOMEN, a SPORT COACH that helps women, listens to them, advises and reassures them, creates a community in which people help each other, exactly like a GURU (ex. (79)), giving women messages of hope, support and strength (ex. (80)).

SPORTING WOMEN are referred to as DISCIPLES/BELIEVERS following her: they need to *accept* themselves as they are (ex. (81): *s'assumer dès le départ*), without being *ashamed* (ex. (82): *N'ayez pas honte*), but through SPORT PRACTICE they have to become a *better version* of themselves (ex. (83)), they have to *improve* (ex. (84): *pour s'améliorer par la suite*), till they get the body of a *goddess* (ex. (85)).

The idea of becoming the BETTER VERSION OF ONESELF crosses all analyzed years and social media platforms (exx. (86), (87)) and is in some cases

connected to other source domains, e.g. CONSTRUCTION (exx. (88): *Construisez votre MEILLEURE VERSION* and (89): on *construit* son body fort, *résistant*) or JOURNEY (ex. (90): pour *créer votre parcours jusqu'à* votre meilleure version).

The reference to other source domains, which are interestingly shared by the other two influencers, should not be understood as an absence of systematicity: the analysis clearly illustrated that the RELIGION source domain, together with the SCHOOL source domain illustrated in 3.4.2, dominates Sonia Tlev's posts. However, these minor metaphors can be seen as corresponding to the idea of PATH, as FOLLOWING A RELIGION can be also viewed.

PRACTICING SPORT is indeed conceptualized as FOLLOWING A RELIGION, respecting *religious commandments* (exx. (91), (92)), following evangelical messages, e.g. *loving themselves* (ex. (93)), *stop being sad* and *hesitating* (ex. (94)) and *don't listen when others make them doubt* (ex. (95)), as women are their own *judges* (ex. (96)). Moreover, as in the case of RELIGION, SPORT should not be viewed as a trend, but as a *way of life* (ex. (97)).

SPORTING WOMEN, as DISCIPLES, as asked to *believe* (exx. (98), (99), (100)), since *everything is possible to those who believe*<sup>34</sup> (ex. (101)) and WOMEN are *capable of big things*<sup>35</sup> (ex. (102)).

As DISCIPLES and BELIEVERS, SPORTING WOMEN are described as *unique* (ex. (103) and (104)), but also as members of a (religious) COMMUNITY, where women *help each other, are generous* (ex. (105)) and seem *stronger when staying together* (ex. (106)).

Even if UNHEALTHY FOOD is pictured as a SIN (ex. (107): *votre péché mignon pendant votre grossesse*), which SPORTING WOMEN need to remedy (ex. (108): ou pour *remédier aux petits excès des fêtes*), a regular SPORT PRACTICE allows also some exceptional little pleasures that would otherwise be blamed, which can be enjoyed without *feeling guilty* (exx. (109), (110), (111)). Therefore, if SPORTING WOMEN FOLLOW SPORT PRACTICE as A RELIGION making the *right choices* (ex. (112)), they will not *regret* the results (ex. (113)).

However, the SPORT/RELIGIOUS PRACTICE is not easy and requires DISCIPLES to be brave and perseverant, to stand pain and difficulties:

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. Mark 9: 23, <https://www.bibleserver.com/text/KJV/Mark9> (28.03.2019).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. John 14: 12, <https://www.bibleserver.com/text/KJV/John14> (28.03.2019).



(114) *N'ayez pas peur de la difficulté, ne culpabilisez pas au moindre échec, c'est la vie c'est comme ça!!* (IST, 03/04/2018).

(115) *La douleur et les difficultés que vous avez aujourd'hui deviendront force et honneur DEMAIN !* (FST, 23/07/2018).

Here, several references to another source domain emerge (difficulty, fear, failure, pain, strength and honor): the concept of FIGHT underlies the need for ENDURANCE, as RELIGIOUS PRACTICE might be seen as an INTERNAL FIGHT, in line with the idea of ASPECTS OF THE SELF as DISTINCT INDIVIDUALS (cf. Lakoff/Espenson/Schwartz 1991: 209). Consequently, SPORTING WOMEN, as DISCIPLES, might need to ignore *their own inner voice* (ex. (116)) and create a strong mind, made of *steel*, reference that implies the idea of the MIND as an ARMOR (ex. (117): *mental d'acier*).

Briefly, as DISCIPLES that FOLLOW A RELIGION, SPORTING WOMAN FIGHT an INTERNAL conflict in order to become a BETTER VERSION of themselves: in this context, the SPORT COACH plays a fundamental role as a GURU, inspiring women to BELIEVE, to make prove of ENDURANCE and to help each other as part of a COMMUNITY.

In this sense, women are conceptualized as part of a TRADITIONAL SYSTEM, RELIGION, in which they still BELONG BELOW, as they need to follow a set of COMMANDMENTS coming FROM ABOVE.

Nevertheless, as they FIGHT against SIN and GUILT, as long as they stay within this SYSTEM and follow the RELIGION, they prove to be ACTIVE, VIGOROUS, HARD and SOLID (as steel), as well as MADE FOR EFFORT AND DIFFICULTY.

Furthermore, the ideas of SIN and GUILT imply a reference to the dichotomy PURITY/IMPURITY, which is however not related to the opposition FEMININE/MASCULINE, but to a contrast between WOMEN that PRACTICE SPORT or do not FOLLOW this RELIGION.

### 3.4.2 SCHOOL METAPHOR

As mentioned in 3.4.1, another metaphor characterizes Sonia Tlev's posts, the idea that PRACTICING SPORT is ATTENDING A SCHOOL: her followers are required

to work out regularly, as PUPILS ATTENDING A SCHOOL are required to do their homework.

The influencer proposes a SPORT PROGRAM to women, through which the connection between WORKOUTS, seen as task to accomplish, and EXERCISES is easily created: on one side, TRAINING SESSIONS are SCHOOL SESSIONS that *should not be missed* in order to have results (exx. (118), (119), (120)) or should at least be *caught up* (exx. (121), (122)), as they are *compulsory* (ex. (123): LE CARDIO **EST OBLIGATOIRE**). On the other side, WORKOUTS are also seen as HOMEWORK that should be done as well during HOLIDAYS (ex. (124)), since PRACTICING SPORTS requires DILIGENCE:

(125) Et le mot challenge, car oui c'est *un entraînement sportif qui demande de la rigueur, de la volonté*, vous ne pouvez pas vous mentir, *vous devez apporter 100%* de vous-même et laisser les excuses derrière vous, pour une réussite à la hauteur de votre volonté (BST, N.A.).

Therefore, SPORTING WOMEN are required to be *disciplined* (exx. (126), (127)) and have to look for *effective* training methods, not easy ones (ex. (128)).

As PUPILS, they have to *fix their objectives* and *improve their performance* and their results till they reach them:

(129) *Fixez vous* [sic, F.C.] *des OBJECTIFS !* (BST, 04/01/2017).

(130) Un concentré d'énergie et de musiques motivantes pour bouger et *booster vos performances* (BST, 25/03/2016).

In order for this to happen, they have to *understand* their bodies and *learn* to have a balanced nutrition plan, verbs that imply again a reference to SCHOOL (ex. (131)). Just like SCHOOL, Sonia Tlev's SPORT PROGRAM allows some *breaks* (ex. (132): *Il est tout à fait permis de s'offrir des pauses*), but it envisages a set of *rules to follow* (ex. (133): *règles pour réussir*).

Within the SCHOOL metaphor, the SPORT COACH is pictured as a TEACHER, who *motivates* her PUPILS (ex. (134): " *motive afin qu'ils arrivent au maximum de leur potentiel*"), but also *punishes* them when needed (ex. (135):  *pour vous botter le popotin*). Together, TEACHER and PUPILS can *throw away useless books* and *open a new chapter* (ex. (136)), coherently with the idea that LIFE IS A BOOK (cf. Lakoff/Espenson/Schwartz 1991: 186), which might be as well related to the conceptualization of SPORTING WOMEN as PUPILS.

The SCHOOL METAPHOR can be also ascribed to a more general idea of PATH, as DISCIPLINED PUPILS MOVE FORWARD TOWARDS their OBJECTIVES. However, as they need to follow a set of RULES COMING FROM ABOVE, this idea of PATH is placed within a TRADITIONAL SYSTEM, as for the RELIGION METAPHOR, in which there seem to be no action freedom, apart from the minor possibility of taking a SHORT BREAK from time to time.

Thus, FEMININE is again ACTIVE and VIGOROUS, as SPORTING WOMEN are conceptualized as disciplined PUPILS that accomplish their duties also in difficult situations. Nevertheless, out of this SCHOOL SYSTEM and without the severe guidance of a TEACHER, women would probably neglect their homework (sport practice) and not proactively reach their objectives, which confirms the traditional association FEMININE/PASSIVE/LABILE.

### **3.4.3 WOMEN IN A SYSTEM: What is FEMININE?**

Even if Sonia Tlev's source domains can be also somehow associated with the idea of PATH, they drastically differ from those found analyzing the other two influencers, since RELIGION and SCHOOL represent TRADITIONAL SYSTEMS in which the SUBJECT can PROGRESS and EVOLVE only following a set of RULES coming FROM ABOVE. It is important to note that, in both cases, sporting women need to prove ENDURANCE/DISCIPLINE, meaning they are pictured as both ACTIVE and VIGOROUS/MADE FOR EFFORT AND DIFFICULTY. However, they still BELONG BELOW, in the sense that they are given RULES FROM ABOVE: considering that Sonia Tlev defines herself as a source of inspiration and motivation for women (cf. 2.2.3), these RULES are not necessarily male-defined, nor the systems male-dominated. Nevertheless, it is interesting to mention that, in line with traditional stereotypes, women are still pictured as in need of external guide and support, just like pupils and disciples.

Moreover, the RELIGION metaphor implies a reference to the dichotomy PURITY/IMPURITY, not in the sense of an opposition between MASCULINE and FEMININE, but in terms of GUILT, related to sporting women who are not following a sport program. The idea of GUILT marginally emerges also in Lucile Woodward's posts (ex. (46)), but in Sonia Tlev's conceptualization, GUILT plays a fundamental role, as essential element of the source domain RELIGION, through which it is associated to the concept of IMPURITY.

#### **4. Conclusion and possibilities for future research**

After analyzing a corpus of 150 Internet posts written by French speaking female sport influencers, it is possible to answer the four research questions presented in the introduction, keeping in mind that the results presented are related to the specified context of analysis.

- (I) Five different gender-related metaphors could be identified: women practicing sport are on a JOURNEY, FIGHTING, CONSTRUCTING, FOLLOWING A RELIGION and ATTENDING A SCHOOL. These metaphors can be defined as gender-specific as the influencers are explicitly or implicitly writing for sporting women, even if a minor percentage of male readers cannot be excluded. These five metaphors seem different at first sight, but the source domains share specific aspects: JOURNEY, FIGHT and CONSTRUCTION, can be considered PATH METAPHORS, as from a STARTING POINT the SUBJECT MOVES towards an END POINT and is required to make prove of ENDURANCE.

While Stessie Littlebird's conceptualization of FIGHT is clearly linked to the idea of PATH, through the SPORT as THERAPY metaphor, Lucile Woodward's idea of FIGHT is rather seen as a DEFENSE, but still makes ENDURANCE necessary.

As for the other two source domains, RELIGION and SCHOOL, the idea of PATH is framed within traditional systems, in which the SUBJECT needs to follow RULES given FROM ABOVE in order to IMPROVE. However, similarities with the other source domains can still be found, as RELIGION implies an INNER FIGHT and as both RELIGIOUS practice and SCHOOL attendance demand ENDURANCE.

- (III) Given that the above-mentioned metaphors are referred to women, meaning they are gender-specific, it is possible to identify which traits are assigned to FEMININE through these metaphors: the analyzed source domains conceptualize sporting women as ACTIVE/VIGOROUS/HARD/SOLID/REACTIVE TO EFFORT AND DIFFICULTY, as they progress towards a goal, they resist and overcome impediments, react to either EXTERNAL (JOURNEY, FIGHT, CONSTRUCTION) or INTERNAL (FIGHT, RELIGION, SCHOOL) difficulties.

However, Sonia Tlev's source domains, RELIGION and SCHOOL, place women within traditional systems, underlining women's need for

guidance and control: if for Lucile Woodward a sport coach is a guide during her journey, Sonia Tlev goes much further and presents women as in need for external rules, commandments and punishments. In this sense FEMININE still BELONGS BELOW, as in Melnick's dichotomies, and the above-mentioned traits are subjected to the existence of an external control: this implies that, without a given set of strict rules, Sonia Tlev's women would be pictured as PASSIVE/LANGUID/SOFT /LABILE/MADE FOR EASE, even if this external control is not described as MASCULINE, since Sonia Tlev presents herself as guru. Sonia Tlev also recurs to the dichotomy PURITY/IMPURITY, again not in the sense of opposition between MASCULINE and FEMININE, but rather as related to a feeling of guilt, which rises when the given rules are broken.

- (II) Although an exhaustive analysis of all traditional gender-related dichotomies is not possible, due to contextual restrictions, the above-mentioned traits show a clear attitude of the influencers towards gender-related stereotypes. The correlations proposed by Lucile Woodward and Stessie Littlebirds definitely counteract the traditional dichotomies: even if the traits assigned to MASCULINE and FEMININE cannot be considered as reversed, since the analyzed metaphors refer to sporting women only, those assigned to women clearly do not reflect traditional dichotomies. As for Sonia Tlev's posts, a significant difference emerges, since FEMININE is still linked with BELONGS BELOW, as in the traditional constellation, although the influencer does not define ABOVE as MASCULINE, which represents a substantial discrepancy with Melnick's oppositional system. Even though the association FEMININE/BELONGS BELOW implies a connection to LANGUID, Tlev's metaphors still conceptualize women as capable of action and reaction, thus differing from Melnick's dichotomies.
- (IV) Seeing herself as a sort of guru for sporting women, Sonia Tlev pictures women as in need for strict guidance and support, thus appealing to a more traditional conception of FEMININE, which underpins her posts and differs from the associations implied by the other two influencers. Lucile Woodward and Stessie Littlebirds constantly underline women's own strength and their ability to find their own way: this tendency should not surprise, as it is in line with their personal experience, meaning that of a successful entrepreneur, Lucile Woodward, (cf. 2.2.1), and of a sporting

woman who managed to overcome personal difficulties through sport, Stessie Littlebirds (cf. 2.2.2).

Briefly, on one side social media clearly help redefining gender-related traits, as women can choose and control how they present themselves and, avoiding external ascriptions, they can convey new ideas of FEMININE that counteract traditional dichotomies. However, on the other side, this change is still in process and classical stereotypes marginally persist even in women's own imagery and communication strategy, meaning in their self-ascription, showing that traditional gender-related traits are not exclusively externally ascribed.

This paper offers one of many possible analyses related to gender-metaphors in sport and social media and opens a way for further investigation in the metaphor analysis, which would require supplementary corpora. On one side it would be certainly interesting to verify which traits are assigned to MASCULINE through metaphors across social media and if and how they differ from traditional stereotypes. On the other side, further corpora would also allow to investigate if and how the metaphors identified and described in this work can be spotted on other platforms and media, during other time periods, for other languages and influencers. Furthermore, as different media give different opportunities to control one's self-presentation, additional analyses could focus on the differences between self and external ascription of gender-related traits and on their relation to media usage.

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## 6. Corpus

### 6.1 Lucile Woodward

ILW = Instagram: <https://www.instagram.com/lucilewoodward/?hl=de> (01/08/2018).

BLW = Blog: <https://lucilewoodward.com/> (31/07/2018).

FLW = Facebook: [https://www.facebook.com/pg/Lucile-Woodward-255082411199104/posts/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/Lucile-Woodward-255082411199104/posts/?ref=page_internal) (01/08/2018).

### 6.2 Stessie Littlebirds

ISL = Instagram: <https://www.instagram.com/s.littlebirds/?hl=fr> (26/07/2018).

BSL = Blog: <http://lavisionrauz.com/> (01/08/2018).

FSL = Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/lavisionrauz/> (30/07/2018).

### 6.3 Sonia Tlev

IST1 = Instagram / Personal account:  
<https://www.instagram.com/soniatlev/?hl=de> (30/07/2018).

IST2 = Instagram / Fitness account:  
<https://www.instagram.com/Soniatlevfitness/?hl=de> → Fitness Account (30/07/2018).

BST = Blog: <https://soniatlev.fr/> (01/08/2018).

FST = Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/soniatlevfitness/> (30/07/2018).

## 7. Appendix

- (1) On est toujours débutant à un moment donné (ILW, 01/10/2016).
- (2) Vous avez le pouvoir de vous détacher de vos mauvaises habitudes [...] (ILW, 30/03/2018).
- (3) L'addiction au sucre, à la nourriture, au grignotage... Vous pouvez progressivement vous en détacher. Détachez vous [sic, F.C.] ! Envolez-vous !! Rejoignez ma lame de fond [...] (ILW, 30/03/2018).
- (4) Où en êtes-vous aujourd'hui ? Vers une meilleure acceptation de vous-même ? (FLW, 24/06/2018).
- (5) On peut tout à fait avoir un sport de prédilection, où l'on progresse et où l'on s'éclate (BLW, 23/05/2018).

- (6) Elle progresse!! Elle progresse vraiment alors qu'elle continue à vivre normalement malgré sa remise en forme (BLW,10/11/2016).
- (7) Et notre progression semble déranger certains [...] (FLW, 20/11/2016).
- (8) Alors soyez fière de vous, de vos progrès et de ce corps qui vous fait vivre tant de choses (ILW, 12/06/2018).
- (9) C'est en étant bien informée qu'on peut se fixer les bons objectifs, faire les progrès qu'on attendait, etc. (BLW, 16/05/2018).
- (10) Et bien regardez comme elle prend goût au sport et au healthy ! Pourtant ce n'était pas gagné !! Elle qui râlait des les 3 premiers squats ... Hahaha !! On est bien loin de tout cela maintenant ! [...] (BLW, 10/11/2016).
- (11) Mon programme vous a-t-il aidé dans votre chemin vers une meilleure acceptation de soi ? (FLW, 30/06/2018).
- (12) Relisez votre lettre à vous-même et réalisez le chemin parcouru (FLW, 24/06/2018).
- (13) Le ventre plat en une semaine est un mirage [...] (BLW, 16/05/2018).
- (14) Et surtout si on se fixe des objectifs atteignables ! (BLW, 23/05/2017).
- (15) La 3e semaine est la plus dure. On le sait. On continue !! (FLW, 26/05/2017).
- (16) À demain pour de nouvelles aventures sport et fitness (ILW, 29/01/2017).
- (17) C'est en changeant les rythmes que l'on progresse et que l'on aide son corps à toujours s'adapter (BLW, 23/05/2018).
- (18) Mais ce n'est pas pendant la grossesse que l'on progresse, que l'on s'entraîne, que l'on garde son niveau "d'avant" (BLW, 21/02/2018).
- (19) J'ai encore une fois adoré partager et vivre cette aventure avec vous, voir vos résultats et vos évolutions (FLW, 24/06/2018).
- (20) Je reste là pour vous accompagner sur le long terme !! (ILW, 24/10/2017).
- (21) [...] j'ai trouvé que ces connaissances étaient vraiment indispensables pour guider des femmes enceintes dans une activité physique [...] (BLW, 21/02/2018).
- (22) Et si vous vous laissiez totalement guider ? (FLW, 04/12/2016).
- (23) Je suis là ! Avec vous ! Je ne vais pas vous laisser tomber en si bon chemin (ILW, 24/10/2017).
- (24) Programme d'été ACCESSIBLE À TOUS ! (FLW, 19/05/2018).

- (25) Faites le plein d'anti oxydants juste après, surtout pour éponger les effets toxiques de l'alcool (BLW, 23/05/2017).
- (26) Voici l'objectif de mon programme ! Vous amenez [sic, F.C.] vers l'acceptation de soi dans un corps en bonne santé (FLW, 02/05/2018).
- (27) C'est le moment de voler de vos propres ailes, de vous révéler et d'être fières de vous (FLW, 24/06/2018).
- (28) Ou du fractionné ultra hard core qui pique de temps en temps pour faire progresser le coeur et les poumons (BLW, 23/05/2018).
- (29) Il faut mélanger renforcement musculaire et cardio (BLW, 16/05/2018).
- (30) Le manque de sommeil provoque du stress et donne faim. Deux ennemis de la forme en hiver. On grignote, on se démotive, on prend du poids [...] (BLW, 15/11/2017).
- (31) Survivre aux fêtes : mes 6 conseils de coach. Oui, ça arrive dans 10 - 12 jours, et oui, ça va faire exploser les crans de ceinture !!! (BLW, 23/05/2017).
- (32) Aujourd'hui on nous bombarde d'images de corps photoshopés. (ILW, 12/06/2018).
- (33) Et oui parce que moi aussi je l'ai vécu, vers 18 - 20 ans, la dictature du régime et de l'hyper minceur (BLW, 10/11/2016).
- (34) Le but est de prendre vous-même le contrôle de votre alimentation, et non l'inverse. (BLW, 13/06/2018)
- (35) Chacune s'est révélée plus courageuse, plus persévérante, plus exceptionnelle ! (ILW, 19/07/2018).
- (36) Pour être en forme, il en faut du courage (ILW, 21/07/2018).
- (37) Ensuite, pour favoriser le développement du système immunitaire, on se blinde de vitamine C et d'iode (BLW, 15/11/2017).
- (38) Je vous encourage à pratiquer un sport régulier, à l'air pur autant que possible. Ainsi vous rendez votre système respiratoire plus résistant aux maladies (BLW, 15/11/2017).
- (39) La pratique du fitness m'aide à gagner en élégance, en maintien, et en confiance en moi (FLW, 26/01/2016).
- (40) Trop fière de cette communauté de warrior [...] (ILW, 19/07/2018).
- (41) Le sport accélère la circulation sanguine et augmente la production de globules blancs : les petits soldats anti virus et microbes du corps (BLW, 15/11/2017).
- (42) [...] on profite de l'eau fraîche et de ses bienfaits drainants pour se refaire un moral et un corps en acier [...] (BLW, 04/07/2018).

- (43) Par exemple le foot + la natation pour protéger les os et les articulation [sic, F.C.], et assouplir le bassin (BLW, 23/05/2018).
- (44) Tu n'es pas une femme nulle si tu ne fais pas de crossfit enceinte (BLW, 21/02/2018).
- (45) La moyenne médicale de prise de poids pendant la grossesse c'est 9 à 12kg.  
Et ce n'est qu'une moyenne. Donc ok il y en a qui prennent 7 - 8, mais il y en a qui prennent 15 ou plus. Et ce n'est pas MAL. Vous n'êtes pas un échec ... (BLW, 21/02/2018).
- (46) Si malgré tous ces conseils, il vous arrive de craquer : pas de culpabilité ! Déjà parce que vous êtes humaine [sic, F.C.] [...] (BLW, 13/06/2018).
- (47) Et surtout ça permet de booster sa motivation quand on a l'impression d'être complètement abattue par la douleur des règles (BLW, 17/01/2018).
- (48) Pourtant à l'âge de 18 ans mon corps réagissait au moindre écart alimentaire, je le voyais comme un ennemi (FLW, 13/04/2018).
- (49) De citation à proprement parler non je n'en ai pas, par contre j'aime beaucoup me motiver avec quelques petites phrases comme « toujours se battre et ne jamais abandonner », « surpasse-toi ou tes ennemis souriront de ta défaite » ou bien encore je me rappelle sans cesse que si je ne me bats pas toutes les personnes qui doutent de moi auront gains de satisfaction et c'est juste inimaginable (BSL, 25/02/2016).
- (50) Faites le point, mais si vous choisissez de vous y mettre, battez-vous et donner le meilleur de vous-même ! (BSL, 25/02/2016).
- (51) N'abandonnez jamais, ne vous laissez faire par personne, battez-vous (ISL, 27/03/2017).
- (52) Il lui a donné envie de se battre [...] (BSL, 01/09/2016).
- (53) Persévérez, n'abandonnez jamais (BSL, 18/08/2016).
- (54) N'abandonnez jamais & croyez en vous! (ISL, 08/12/2016).
- (55) Vous êtes votre propre ennemi alors battez-vous, relevez-vous, et avancez [...] (BSL, 30/10/2016).
- (56) On parle de votre corps, il ne peut pas se transformer en une semaine. Il va falloir redoubler d'efforts, tenir bon mais dites-vous bien que tout cela en vaut la peine. Il va falloir redoubler d'efforts, tenir bon [...] (BSL, 27/06/2017).
- (57) Que ce soit d'un point de vue esthétique mais surtout pour ma santé. Contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait penser, ce n'est pas une chose facile

- de prendre du poids. Comme tous objectifs c'est un combat d'aujourd'hui, de demain et bien plus encore (BSL, 18/08/2016).
- (58) Alors non en ce moment je n'ai pas la shape des plus glorieuse [sic, F.C.] mais je sais que j'ai été capable de bien mieux, et dès que j'aurais remis la machine en route je sais que je ferais encore mieux [...] (ISL, 08/12/2016).
- (59) Avance à ton rythme, mais avance toujours (ISL, 12/11/2016).
- (60) La première photo que j'ai vue d'elle c'était avec cela et j'ai trouvé cela tellement cool. Elle est jolie et pourtant elle fait si forte et guerrière à la fois. J'aime énormément ! [...] La première photo que j'ai vue d'elle c'est avec une arme. Vous devez vous dire que je suis complètement folle. Mais je trouve que cela colle tellement avec l'image de la femme guerrière. Je suis totalement fan (BSL, 18/02/2017).
- (61) Servez-vous de tous ce qui vous blesse, de toutes les choses que vous détestez pour vous rendre plus fort (BSL, 06/08/2016).
- (62) Les mots, les regards peuvent blesser (BSL, 18/02/2018).
- (63) La route est longue, avec des obstacles mais le travail paie toujours! (ISL, 12/11/2017).
- (64) Puis depuis que j'ai commencé à travailler les pecs je me suis dessinée, creuser [sic, F.C.] (ISL, 12/11/2017).
- (65) Pourquoi je fais les pecs? - éviter [sic, F.C.] d'avoir un trop gros déséquilibre entre les muscles du dos et les pectoraux. - Dessiner le décolter [sic, F.C.] [...] (ISL, 05/06/2018).
- (66) N'oubliez pas que le repos est également très important pour la construction des muscles (BSL, 25/02/2016).
- (67) Dans ses vidéos, ce sur quoi je « bug » à chaque fois ce [sic, F.C.] sont ses épaules qui sont magnifiquement dessinées (BSL, 18/02/2017).
- (68) Tu veux mon secret pour des abdos en béton [...] (FSL, 29/08/2016).
- (69) Personne ne le fera à votre place, vous seul être [sic, F.C.] maître de votre corps [...] (BSL, 25/02/2016).
- (70) Gardez bien vos bras le long de votre corps (lorsque vous êtes en position allongée) car cela vous permettra d'avoir un meilleur équilibre. Maintenant au boulot [...] (BSL, 29/08/2016).
- (71) J'étais cette personne vide, éteinte, détruite par les autres, écrasée [...] (ISL, 27/03/2017).
- (72) Il lui a permis de se reconstruire partiellement mais bien suffisamment (BSL, 01/09/2016).

- (73) L'alimentation c'est ce qui changera votre corps, c'est la base de votre transformation (BSL, 10/10/2016).
- (74) C'est la structure d'entraînement la plus adaptée pour les débutants [...] (BSL, 27/06/2017).
- (75) Je me demande encore comment j'ai pu vivre si longtemps sans avoir cette activité dans ma vie. C'est un véritable pilier, un véritable besoin (BSL, 25/02/2017).
- (76) Premièrement, est-ce que je continue de m'entraîner ? Bien sûr ! Cependant toutes les femmes n'ont pas les mêmes douleurs, les mêmes symptômes prémenstruels (maux de ventre, humeur massacante, la fatigue etc) donc il faut trouver son équilibre (BSL, 24/08/2016).
- (77) Et oui si votre frigo regorge de fromages, knacki balles, crèmes desserts... Ça sera plus difficile de résister à la tentation que si vous n'avez que des pommes, des bananes, des amandes et du pain complet dans vos placards (BLW, 15/02/2018).
- (78) Ma vocation ! Cela a littéralement changé mon mode de vie et mon état d'esprit au quotidien (BST, N.A.).
- (79) Je suis sûre que nous avons tous un rôle sur cette planète, j'aime aider les gens, les écouter, les conseiller, les rassurer, les booster, donc je pense que le mien était de démarrer une communauté d'entraide et le vôtre est de la faire évoluer et de devenir à votre tour une source d'inspiration ! (BST, 2016).
- (80) Et je veux envoyer un message d'espoir, de soutien et de force à toutes les mamans qui connaissent cette fatigue de dingue et la dureté de reprendre et trouver du temps!!! (IST, 27/03/2018).
- (81) Pour se remotiver, il faut s'assumer dès le départ pour s'améliorer par la suite (BST, 04/01/2016).
- (82) N'ayez pas honte, vous êtes toutes belles et vous le serez encore plus en ayant une alimentation équilibrée et une activité physique régulière (BST, 04/01/2016).
- (83) Devenez votre meilleure version en moins de 12 semaines ! (BST, N.A.),
- (84) Pour se remotiver, il faut s'assumer dès le départ pour s'améliorer par la suite (BST, 04/01/2016).
- (85) Et bientôt un corps de déesse dont vous serez fières ! (BST, 04/01/2016).
- (86) On devient SA MEILLEURE VERSION ? (IST1, 11/06/2018).
- (87) Souvenez vous [sic, F.C.] toujours, le but n'est pas de "ressembler à" mais devenir VOTRE meilleure version ! (FST, 29/07/2018).

- (88) Construisez votre MEILLEURE VERSION de vous-même [...] (IST2, 02/10/2016).
- (89) [...] on construit son body fort, résistant, notre meilleure version !!! (FST, 26/06/ 2017).
- (90) Je vous souhaite du fond du cœur d'avoir le déclic, la motivation et la discipline pour créer votre parcours jusqu'à votre meilleure version [...] (FST, 16/07/2018).
- (91) Ne jamais désespérer [sic, F.C.] ! Ne jamais se comparer! Ne jamais se critiquer! Ne jamais se rabaisser! Ne jamais être impatiente!!! (IST1, 27/03/2018).
- (92) NE PAS ATTENDRE la reconnaissance des autres, ne pas envier les autres, ne pas critiquer pour se sentir supérieur ! (FST, 26/07/2018).
- (93) Pour ne pas détester les autres, il faut d'abord s'aimer soi-même [...] (FST, 26/07/2018).
- (94) Plus de tristesse Plus de plaintes Plus de doutes Plus de gênes Plus d'excuses Plus de report [sic, F.C.] [...] (FST, 03/01/2017).
- (95) N'écoutez pas les envieux et jaloux qui vous font douter de vous!!!! (IST1, 10/04/2018).
- (96) Vous êtes la seule capable de vous juger [...] (IST1, 10/04/2018).
- (97) CE N'EST PAS UNE MODE, C'EST UN MODE DE VIE [...] (FST, 29/07/2018).
- (98) Croyez en vous ! Essayez ! Persévérez !! (IST2, 27/07/2017).
- (99) Croyez en vous [...] (FST, 29/07/2018).
- (100) Il suffit d'y croire, de persévérer et de ne rien lâcher avant d'obtenir... (IST1, 08/09/2017).
- (101) [...] j'ai la conviction que tout est possible à qui veut y croire et travailler pour (BST, 2016).
- (102) On en attend trop des autres alors qu'on est capable de grandes choses lorsque l'on s'en donne les moyens ... (IST1, 08/09/2017).
- (103) Vous êtes toutes uniques les filles et n'avez pas le même métabolisme que vos amies (IST1, 11/06/2018).
- (104) Donc plus de comparaisons, vous êtes uniques (FST, 29/07/2018).
- (105) Tout cela est grâce à vous, une énorme communauté d'entraide, généreuse, toujours prête à aider l'autre, le point fort du TBC C'EST VOUS (BST, 2016).
- (106) A plusieurs on est plus FORTES (BST, 04/01/2016).

- (107) C'était quoi votre péché mignon pendant votre grossesse ??? (IST1, 16/11/2017).
- (108) Que ce soit pour bien démarrer l'année ou pour remédier aux petits excès des fêtes [...] (BST, 04/01/2016).
- (109) Il est important de considérer ce moment comme une pause plaisir, que vous devez savourer sans culpabiliser ! (BST, 21/03/2016).
- (110) [...] ne culpabilisez pas pour les bonnes choses à manger ! (FST, 24/12/2016).
- (111) Mais ne culpabilisez pas quand vous vous faites plaisir pendant vos repas : cheat meal une fois par semaine [...] (FST, 29/07/2018).
- (112) Faites les bons choix au lieu des mêmes erreurs [...] (FST, 10/06/2018).
- (113) [...] vous ne regretterez pas les RÉSULTATS ! (FST, 28/08/2016).
- (114) N'ayez pas peur de la difficulté, ne culpabilisez pas au moindre échec, c'est la vie c'est comme ça!! (IST1, 03/04/2018).
- (115) La douleur et les difficultés que vous avez aujourd'hui deviendront force et honneur DEMAIN ! (FST, 23/07/2018).
- (116) N'écoutez pas cette petite voix qui vous rend incertaine! (IST1, 10/04/2018).
- (117) A partir du moment où vous vous créez un mental d'acier c'est 100% de confiance en vous qui se forme pour être LA MEILLEURE version de vous-même ! (FST, 16/07/2018).
- (118) A moins d'être blessée ou réellement malade, on ne loupe pas sa séance (BST, 04/01/2016).
- (119) Si vous faites attention à avoir une alimentation équilibrée et non un régime stricte et que vous suivez bien le programme sans louper de séances vous aurez des résultats [...] (IST1, 31/07/2017).
- (120) Lundi: règle numéro 1 on ne rate pas sa séance [...] (FST, 11/06/2018).
- (121) Pour le moment samedi, on profite de son weekend, repos, à moins que vous ayez des séances à rattraper ??? ? (IST1, 25/11/2017).
- (122) Si vous loupez une séance, essayez de la rattraper pendant le weekend par exemple? (FST, 29/07/2018).
- (123) LE CARDIO EST OBLIGATOIRE, sans LE Cardio ce n'est plus le TBC [...] (IST1, 11/06/2018).
- (124) Les vacances ne sont pas une excuse pour arrêter !! (FST, 23/10/2017).
- (125) Et le mot challenge, car oui c'est un entraînement sportif qui demande de la rigueur, de la volonté, vous ne pouvez pas vous mentir, vous devez



- apporter 100% de vous-même et laisser les excuses derrière vous, pour une réussite à la hauteur de votre volonté (BST, N.A.).
- (126) On peut toujours trouver une petite excuse, un contre temps, un empêchement ou on peut se dire GOOO, se motiver, être déterminée et disciplinée ! (FST, 29/07/2018).
- (127) SOYEZ DISCIPLINÉES [...] (FST, 23/07/2018).
- (128) On ne cherche pas la facilité mais l'efficacité !! (FST, 29/08/2016).
- (129) Fixez vous [sic, F.C.] des OBJECTIFS ! (BST, 04/01/2017).
- (130) Un concentré d'énergie et de musiques motivantes pour bouger et booster vos performances (BST, 25/03/2016).
- (131) Afin de comprendre votre corps et apprendre à avoir une alimentation équilibrée, pour de meilleurs résultats ! (BST, N.A.).
- (132) Il est tout à fait permis de s'offrir des pauses goûter pendant le programme [...] (BST, 21/03/2016).
- (133) Voici quelques règles pour réussir!!! (IST1, 27/03/2018).
- (134) [...] ce qui me vaut aujourd'hui mes 3 millions d'abonnés d'amour que je chéris chaque jour et motive afin qu'ils arrivent au maximum de leur potentiel (BST, N.A.).
- (135) Comme promis, je vais être derrière vous pour vous botter le popotin ! (BST, 04/01/2016).
- (136) On jette le livre et ouvre un super chapitre ensemble [...] (IST2, 28/08/2016).