

Uses and functions of conceptual metaphor in pedagogical meditation discourse

Usos y funciones de la metáfora conceptual en discurso pedagógico sobre meditación

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Abstract

In mindfulness and meditation instructional contexts, conceptual metaphor is a powerful facilitator of intersubjective communication about inner events and first-person experiences. Previous studies in meditation discourse have described space as a productive source domain that is used by meditation teachers to characterise metaphorically inner events and abstract concepts related to the meditative practice (Silvestre-López 2019, 2020). This study examines the discourse manifestations of the space source domain used to metaphorically characterise the most representative metaphorical topics (targets) in a corpus of introductory talks about meditation addressed to an audience of non-expert meditators. The analysis is sensitive to the communicative dimension of the use of metaphors in that it distinguishes between non-deliberate and deliberate uses (Steen 2015) and considers the functions they fulfil in discourse (Semino 2008; Goatly 2011). The corpus was analysed

Resumen

La metáfora conceptual es un potente facilitador de la comunicación de eventos internos y experiencias en primera persona en contextos de instrucción de mindfulness y meditación. Estudios previos sobre el discurso de la meditación han descrito la noción del espacio como un dominio productivo en el discurso de maestros de meditación utilizado como fuente para caracterizar metafóricamente eventos y conceptos abstractos relacionados con la práctica meditativa (Silvestre-López 2019, 2020). Este artículo explora las manifestaciones discursivas del dominio fuente del espacio utilizadas para caracterizar metafóricamente temas metafóricos (dominios meta) representativos en un corpus de charlas introductorias sobre meditación dirigidas a una audiencia de no expertos. El análisis es sensible a la dimensión comunicativa del uso de las metáforas y para ello distingue entre usos no deliberados y deliberados (Steen 2015), y considera también sus funciones principales en el discurso (Semino 2008; Goatly 2011). El corpus fue analizado cualitativamente

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qualitatively following a bottom-up approach. Metaphor identification was carried out using DMIP (Reijnierse et al. 2018). Target and source domain coding was done with the help of dictionary information and the domains already identified in a metaphor compendium created in previous meditation discourse analyses (see Coll-Florit & Climent 2019; Silvestre-López & Navarro 2017; Silvestre-López 2020). This approach allowed different layers of domain specificity to be unveiled, with remarkable differences found between non-deliberate and deliberate metaphor use. Among them, differences in degree of source domain granularity (Langacker 2008) ranging from vaguer notions like UNDEFINED SPACE OF SPACIOUSNESS to conceptually richer and finer-grained scenarios like the HOME AND SHELTER, OCEAN, LANDSCAPE, OR SKY models. The speakers were found to use these source domains consistently with explanatory purposes (explanatory function) to help their audience reconceptualise some of the most frequent target topics in their talks (e.g., THE PRESENT MOMENT, THE MEDITATOR, THE MIND, AWARENESS, OR MEDITATION) from more mindfully-oriented perspectives, hence allowing to become aware of and get rid of potential misconceptions. Deliberate uses proved particularly useful in promoting understanding through reconceptualisation, which was in turn facilitated by the vivid imagery evoked through detailed elaborations of source-domain scenery. Besides ideational functions, deliberate metaphors were also found to facilitate positive attitudinal changes towards the practice, as well as to provide for argument structuring and create textual cohesion. Overall, non-deliberate and deliberate uses were found to combine in the speakers' production to aid them in skilfully achieving their own communicative intentions, which underscores the need for further studies that explore potential ways of applying similar findings to real meditation practice, and in instructional settings.

KEYWORDS: Meditation discourse; pedagogical talks; conceptual metaphor; deliberate metaphor, metaphor functions.

siguiendo un enfoque inductivo. La identificación de metáforas se llevó a cabo aplicando DMIP (Reijnierse et al. 2018). La codificación de los dominios meta y fuente se realizó con la ayuda de la información del diccionario y de los dominios ya identificados en un compendio de metáforas elaborado en anteriores estudios sobre el discurso de la meditación (véase Coll-Florit & Climent 2019; Silvestre-López & Navarro 2017; Silvestre-López 2020). El enfoque aquí adoptado ha permitido desvelar diferentes grados de especificidad en los dominios metafóricos, con diferencias relevantes entre metáforas deliberadas y no deliberadas. Entre ellas, los resultados revelan diferentes grados de granularidad de los dominios fuente (Langacker 2008) desde nociones menos definidas como ESPACIO NO DEFINIDO O ESPACIOSIDAD hasta escenarios conceptualmente más ricos como los modelos CASA Y REFUGIO, OCÉANO, PAISAJE O CIELO. El estudio ha permitido desvelar cómo los hablantes utilizan estos dominios fuente de forma coherente con fines explicativos (función explicativa) para ayudar a su audiencia a reconceptualizar algunos de los temas (dominios meta) más frecuentes en sus charlas (por ejemplo, EL MOMENTO PRESENTE, EL MEDITADOR, LA MENTE, LA CONSCIENCIA O LA MEDITACIÓN), aportando perspectivas más cercanas a la filosofía del mindfulness, facilitando de este modo que la audiencia pueda tomar de conciencia de posibles ideas erróneas sobre la práctica. En concreto, los usos metafóricos deliberados se han revelado especialmente útiles para promover la comprensión a través de la reconceptualización, facilitada ésta por las imágenes vívidas evocadas a del dominio fuente. Además de las funciones ideacionales, las metáforas deliberadas también son utilizadas para facilitar cambios de actitud positivos hacia la práctica, así como proporcionar estructura argumental y facilitar la cohesión textual. En general, el estudio ilustra cómo los usos deliberados y no deliberados se combinan en la producción de los hablantes para alcanzar sus propias intenciones comunicativas, subrayando la necesidad de llevar más estudios que exploren posibles formas de aplicar resultados similares a la práctica real de la meditación y su instrucción.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Discurso de la meditación; charlas pedagógicas; metáfora conceptual; metáfora deliberada; funciones de la metáfora.

1. INTRODUCTION

In Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT, Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993) conceptual metaphors are conceived of as cognitive mechanisms that allow us to conceptualise, reason and communicate about relatively abstract areas of experience (the target domains, henceforth TDs) in terms of other experiences that are simpler, more concrete, or more familiar to us (the source domains, henceforth SDs). For example, the metaphor *THOUGHTS ARE OBJECTS*,¹ allows us to structure part of our knowledge about *THOUGHTS* (the TD) according to part of our knowledge about *OBJECTS* (the SD) in the physical space so that we can understand and produce expressions like “the idea never *crossed* my mind” or “let your thoughts *pass by*, do not *cling* to them”.

Conceptual metaphor facilitates the structuring of concepts and communication about abstract experiences related to inner-life events like thoughts, feelings, and emotions (Kövecses 2020). Due to its power to establish connections between perceptual, conceptual, and emotional experience and to verbalise such relationships through metaphorical expressions, conceptual metaphor is a powerful catalyst for intersubjective communication about first-person experiences such as those dealt with in mindfulness or meditation practice settings. Metaphorical language is a productive resource in instructional settings where meditation instructors and novel meditators are expected to share their inner experiences wholeheartedly (Silvestre-López 2016). Among the systematic conceptual metaphors about meditation unveiled in recent research, the metaphor *MEDITATION IS A JOURNEY* has been found to pervade a wide range of lay, spiritual and religious meditation practice contexts (Silvestre-López & Navarro 2017; Silvestre-López 2019). This metaphor, which inherits its structure from the *PROCESSES ARE PATHS* primary metaphor (Grady 1997), allows one to conceptualise and talk about the *process* of meditation as a *journey*. As the meditation journey is expected to include several stages or places that the meditator is to experience and (re)visit, the notion of *space* is thus also expected to be an important metaphorical source in meditation discourse. Several studies have described space as an important area of experience recruited in figurative uses of language in the context of contemplative practices (Silvestre-López & Navarro 2017; Silvestre-López 2019), but the particular discourse manifestations of *SPACE* as a SD for metaphorical expressions in the context of meditation have not been explored yet. This study aims to explore the metaphorical elaborations of the *SPACE* SD in a corpus of videos of pedagogical talks about meditation.

The analysis of conceptual metaphors conducted in this study is framed in CMT and its extended version, the Deliberate Metaphor Theory (DMT, Steen 2015, 2017; Reijnierse 2017; Reijnierse *et al.* 2018), which makes a distinction between the levels of *language*, *thought*, and *communication*. From this perspective, conceptual metaphors can be manifested in *language* (metaphorical linguistic expressions) mainly as *direct*, *indirect*, or *implicit* metaphorical linguistic expressions (see Steen *et al.* 2010 for a detailed account).

¹ In this paper, formulae like *THOUGHTS ARE OBJECTS* (TD IS SD) are used to represent conceptual metaphors, that is, the associations between two conceptual domains at the level of thought. When discourse topics coincide with metaphorical conceptual domains (TD or SD), these are also capitalised (e.g. *MEDITATION*, *THE MEDITATOR*). The linguistic manifestations of these associations (linguistic metaphorical expressions) are signalled in italics in the examples.

In direct metaphors, there is a direct connection between the TD and the SD which is signalled in language, as in *A IS B* formulae, or as juxtaposition (e.g., *the ocean does not try to stop its waves, so you don't need to try to stop your thoughts*), whereas this connection is not made explicit in indirect metaphors. Finally, implicit metaphors are usually realised through cohesive devices like demonstratives or personal pronouns that refer to either indirect or direct metaphors in the co-text.

At the level of *cognition* or *thought*, metaphorical expressions can be classified as *conventional* or *novel* depending on their degree of entrenchment. Conventional metaphors are highly entrenched in the conceptual, cultural, and linguistic systems of a linguistic community; they are thus very frequent in everyday language and speakers seldom realise that they are using metaphorical language. *The idea never crossed my mind* is an example of a well-entrenched, conventional metaphor in the English language. Novel metaphors, in contrast, are creative or unconventional ways of developing the metaphorical association at the conceptual level.² *Let your thoughts soar through the sky of your mind* could be regarded as a novel metaphorical expression (see Vargas-Sierra & Moreno-Sandoval 2021: 44-45, for a detailed description of the conventional-novel dichotomy).

At the level of *communication*, conceptual metaphors may be manifested as *non-deliberate* or *deliberate* uses. Deliberate metaphors, in particular, are ostensive uses of metaphor *as* metaphor in communication that are usually associated with particular communicative intentions on the part of the speaker (Steen 2015, 2017). According to DMT, in deliberate metaphors “the source domain plays a role in the representation of the referential meaning of the utterance” (Reijnierse et al. 2018: 134), and when metaphors are used deliberately, their structure often “signals that the addressee has to move away their attention momentarily from the target domain of the utterance or even phrase to the source domain that is evoked by the metaphor-related expression” (Steen 2015: 68). Attention to the SD is thus an essential feature of deliberate metaphors and an important factor distinguishing it from non-deliberate metaphor:³ deliberate metaphors invite the addressee to reconsider the TD from the perspective profiled by the SD and to interpret the message according to this reconsideration, but this does not happen in non-deliberate metaphors (Reijnierse et al. 2018; Steen 2015, 2018). This distinction becomes particularly apparent in cases of prototypical non-deliberate and deliberate metaphor. Non-deliberate metaphor accounts for the bulk of metaphor realisations in discourse, and they are prototypically manifested through *indirect* and *conventional* metaphor like those described above. In contrast, in cases of prototypical deliberate metaphor, the invitation to reconsider the TD according to the SD perspective in deliberate metaphors is often manifested through *novel direct metaphor*,⁴ *metaphor repetition*, or *metaphorical extendedness*, among other types (see

2 In metaphor identification procedures like the Vrije Universiteit Metaphor Identification Procedure, MIPVU (Steen et al. 2010), and the Deliberate Metaphor Identification Procedure, DMIP (Reijnierse et al. 2018), a metaphorical expression is regarded as novel if the contextual meaning of the expression in discourse contrasts with its basic meaning, but it is not registered as an independent dictionary entry (see Steen et al., 2010, particularly chapter 3, for a detailed description of this procedure in MIPVU, and Reijnierse et al. 2018, 2020 for how novel and conventional metaphors may be identified as deliberate metaphors at the level of communication in DMIP).

3 This is in fact the main criterion on which DMIP (Reijnierse et al. 2018) pivots to determine the potential deliberate status of metaphorical expressions in discourse.

4 In DMT, novelty and directness are two metaphor traits (at the level of cognition and language respectively) marking deliberateness (Steen 2015, 2017). Thus, both direct and novel metaphors are regarded as cases of deliberate metaphor by definition (Reijnierse et al. 2018: 135).

Reijnierse, 2017 for a detailed description of potential deliberate metaphor realisations in discourse). For example, the creative component of *novel* metaphorical expressions like “soar through” and “the sky of your mind” in *let your thoughts soar through the sky of your mind* is a particularly relevant element in determining deliberateness, as it triggers attention towards the SD of the metaphor, so that the TD is reconsidered according to the SD aspects highlighted in the expression (see Reijnierse *et al.* 2018: 133, 135-137). This example of novel metaphor is also a prototypical case of a deliberate metaphor. Besides novelty, moreover, the metaphorical expression “the sky of your mind” in the example also facilitates, through direct metaphorical language (*B OF A* is a direct metaphor flag), the activation of *SKY* as a key element in the referential meaning for the representation of *thoughts* and the *mind* as *clouds* and the *sky*. Direct language thus works in tandem with novelty to make this example a prototypical case of deliberate metaphor.

Due to the overt communicative intention with which deliberate metaphors are used by speakers in discourse, they are useful tools in meditation pedagogical contexts. Not only in terms of the discourse and communicative functions they fulfil (Silvestre-López 2019), but they have also been found to influence metacognition and affective factors in short guided meditation exercises (Silvestre-López *et al.* 2021), suggesting that the effects of considering the TD from the SD perspective go well-beyond discourse and communication. In light of these considerations, it seems sensible to include the deliberate/non-deliberate metaphor contrast in any analysis focussing on meditation discourse. This study surveys the different discourse manifestations of *SPACE* as a SD to metaphorically characterise the most representative TDs in a corpus of introductory talks about meditation by well-known media speakers and meditation experts. Due to the pedagogical nature of the talks, some communicative value was assumed to hold for at least some of the metaphors used by the speakers. The analysis is sensitive to the communicative dimension of metaphor use in that it distinguishes between non-deliberate and deliberate realisations of metaphor in discourse (Steen 2015, 2017; Reijnierse 2017) and considers the main functions with which deliberate metaphors are used in the talks.

2. METHODOLOGY

The corpus is composed of a selection of eight introductory talks about meditation recorded on video and transcribed for this analysis.⁵ The talks are original oral deliveries by four world-renowned meditation experts and teachers in the media (two talks per meditation speaker) that are currently highly influential and widely followed online by western audiences. All speakers are fluent English users. All talks were delivered in a masterclass (monologue) format, and in all of them the speakers directly address the audience. In two of the videos (Kabat-Zinn 2020, March 30, March 31), the masterclass about meditation is followed by a question-answer session, but only the monologue part was selected and transcribed for analysis in order to adhere to a consistent discursive format throughout. Altogether, the corpus amounts to 30,321 words.

⁵ Full video references are provided in the bibliography list.

Besides the criterion with respect to the speakers' international profile, the talks were selected on the basis of the topic covered and their intended audience, namely, video talks introducing the notion of meditation and explaining the basic principles to an audience of non-expert meditators (adults interested in meditation but with little or no meditative experience at all). A careful talk selection process was followed to guarantee that all talks addressed only the early stages of meditation, and that the conception of meditation was in line with meditative practices designed to develop self-awareness and to provide basic training in attention regulation. Specifically, all talks address the elementary stages of meditation for the uninitiated and are related to the so-called mindfulness regulation practices (focussed-attention in combination with open-monitoring practices) (Dahl *et al.* 2015). Attention regulation practices enable the development of sustained attention and provide the meditator with a clearer view of reality. These practices are therefore necessary for the meditator to develop a solid foundation for any further meditative experience, both in spiritual and secular contexts. In religious and spiritual contexts, these practices also constitute the first stage in the development of the spiritual path, as they quieten the mind and thereby allow access to other areas of inner experience (areas that are more detached from the mundane and closer to divinity). In secular contexts of meditation instruction, these practices underpin a considerable part of today's mindfulness and compassion programmes (Cebolla *et al.* 2014; Matko & Sedlmeier 2019). All practices discussed in the talks, therefore, can be equated with those used for the development of mindfulness and are the prelude to more advanced practices such as those related to the field of loving-kindness, compassion, or ego-deconstructive practices (Dahl *et al.* 2015; García-Campayo 2020).

To ensure the correct analysis of all types of uses (especially deliberate uses related to topic incongruencies, cases of topic-driven metaphor, extended metaphor, or metaphoric echoes within and across talks), and also to adhere to the metaphor identification procedure used in this study (see below), the corpus was analysed following a bottom-up qualitative approach. The analysis was aided by the qualitative analysis software ATLAS.ti and it was conducted in three stages: metaphor *identification*, metaphor *codification*, and metaphor *reconstruction*.

The first stage in the analysis involved the *identification* of conceptual metaphors in the corpus was made through their expression in discourse by applying DMIP (Reijnierse *et al.* 2018) to the whole corpus. DMIP is currently the standard method used widely by the scientific community to identify deliberate metaphors in discourse. DMIP requires a bottom-up approach like the one adopted in this analysis to identify all potential cases of deliberate metaphor. Firstly, and as proposed by DMIP (first step), the talk transcripts were read to guarantee the correct understanding of each textual unit as a whole. DMIP draws on MIPVU as a second step to identify metaphor-related words (MRWs), or metaphor vehicles. The transcripts were thus analysed following MIPVU as part of the metaphor identification stage. Basically, MIPVU consists in identifying linguistic metaphors (indirect, direct, or implicit) by reading the whole text, establishing the contextual meaning of each unit (the meaning with which each unit is used in the text), using dictionary entry information to determine whether the unit has a more basic meaning (one that is more concrete, bodily-related, precise, or historically older), and deciding whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it. If this is the case, then the unit is marked as a MRW (indirect/implicit metaphor). MIPVU

also permits cases of direct metaphor and metaphor signals (e.g., *A IS B* or *B OF A* metaphor, metaphorical similes, counterfactual reality expressions, etc.) to be identified and considered as part of metaphorical realisations in discourse. Thus, if the lexical unit is signalled in discourse, or if it is part of a direct metaphor, it is also marked as an MRW (direct metaphor). Otherwise, the unit is discarded for metaphorical analysis (not metaphorical).⁶ The third step of DMIP involves deciding on the deliberate or non-deliberate status of each MRW identified in the previous step. If the SD of the MRW is part of the referential meaning of the utterance, then this condition is made explicit and the deliberate status of the MRW is marked as such. Otherwise, the MRW is considered non-deliberate.⁷

Once the status of all MRWs had been identified, the second analytical stage involved the *codification* of the metaphorical TDs and SDs. All MRWs were marked with ATLAS.ti quotations. A compositional coding strategy was adopted (Kimmel 2012) in which TDs and SDs were coded separately. This allows multiple TD-SD combinations to be identified and retrieved (in the metaphor reconstruction stage) as well as their classification in terms of frequency. TD and SD coding was done with the help of dictionary information and the domains already identified in a metaphor compendium (see Coll-Florit & Climent 2019) elaborated in previous studies of meditation discourse (Silvestre-López & Navarro, 2017; Silvestre-López, 2020). The specificity of TD and SD codes was reviewed and, when necessary, the codes were minimally restructured so that their formulation would adhere as closely as possible to metaphor use in the corpus. Following the compositional coding strategy, deliberate metaphor uses were also assigned a deliberate metaphor code. Deliberate metaphor functions were also coded separately. They were selected and assigned to deliberate metaphor uses from a pre-defined list of potential ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions that had previously been uploaded into the ATLAS.ti code list. The list of functions is based on previous literature (Charteris-Black 2004; Semino 2008; Steen *et al.* 2010; Goatly 2011; Kimmel 2012; Steen 2015; Reijniere 2017; Reijniere *et al.* 2018). Each metaphorical expression (or ATLAS.ti quotation) was assigned only one TD code, one SD code, and, if deliberate, one deliberate code. However, as the same expression may fulfil a variety of functions simultaneously, each expression could be assigned several function codes.

The last stage of the analytical process involved the *reconstruction* of conceptual metaphors, which entailed retrieving the correspondences between each TD and SD to reconstruct relevant TD-SD pairings (i.e., conceptual metaphors) and their discourse realisations in the corpus. This process also involved the distribution of non-deliberate and deliberate uses of each TD-SD pairing as well as the functions with which they were used. This process was aided by the ATLAS.ti query tool and its main results are shown in the tables in section 3.

6 For a detailed description of the steps and intricacies of MIPVU, see Steen *et al.* (2010: 25-42).

7 For a detailed and fully-illustrated account of DMIP steps and decisions in all stages of the procedure, see Reijniere *et al.* (2018: 135-141).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Main TD-SD Correspondences and Deliberate Metaphor Functions

TD \ SD	SPACE: UNDEFINED SPACE/ SPACIOUSNESS	SAFE STRUCTURES: HOME AND SHELTER	HERE (a nearby place)	NATURAL SPACE: MASS OF WATER	OPPRESSIVE/ CONFINEMENT STRUCTURES	AWAY (a distant place)	NATURAL SPACE: FIELDS AND LANDSCAPES	NATURAL SPACE: SKY	TOTAL INSTANCES (per TD)
THE PRESENT MOMENT IS...	51	2	0	2	2	0	1	0	58
THE MEDITATOR IS...	16	21	0	17	0	0	1	1	56
ATTENTION IS...	0	8	44	0	0	0	0	0	52
THE MIND IS...	22	2	0	3	0	0	0	2	29
AWARENESS IS...	14	3	1	4	0	0	5	1	28
THOUGHT IS...	3	0	0	7	13	5	0	0	28
CONSCIOUSNESS IS...	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
MEDITATION IS...	7	13	0	0	0	0	2	0	22
DISTRACTION IS...	0	0	0	0	1	9	0	0	10
THE FUTURE IS...	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
EMOTION IS...	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
TOTAL INSTANCES (per SD)	143	49	45	33	17	14	9	4	314

Table 1. Space metaphors in the corpus (TD-SD combinations): General overview.

Table 1 shows all space-related metaphor occurrences in the corpus, arranged by TD-SD combinations. The first row in the table relates to the most frequent SDs in the corpus, arranged from the highest to the lowest frequency scores. The SDs show different degrees of granularity or elaboration (Langacker 2008). Domains with a low degree of elaboration include, for example, UNDEFINED SPACE/SPACIOUSNESS, HERE (a nearby place), and AWAY (a distant place); in these cases, the metaphorical characterisation entails the limited selection and elaboration of the conceptual structure of the SD to be projected onto the TD. Richer or more elaborated SDs include the HOME scenario (Musolff 2016) or nature-related spaces like the MASS OF WATER, LANDSCAPE, and SKY models. These domains provide rich conceptual structure relative to specific elements (e.g., home, owner, visitors; ocean, waves) and their relationships and roles, which is selected and projected onto the structure of the TD, so that the TD elements and relationships are understood in terms of the SD structure (see Silvestre-López 2019; Kövecses 2020)

The first column in Table 1 presents the most frequent TDs (metaphorised topics in the corpus) arranged from highest to lowest frequency. The most frequent TDs relate to highly frequent metaphorised topics in the corpus. In the table, TDs combine with SDs (the external areas of experience providing the conceptual structure with which the TD is characterised or understood) to form conceptual metaphors (i.e., each TD-SD pairing is to be conceived of as a conceptual metaphor formulation). Accordingly, the TD THE PRESENT MOMENT combines with the SD UNDEFINED SPACE/SPACIOUSNESS to form the most frequent conceptual metaphor in the corpus (THE PRESENT MOMENT IS SPACE). Since *the now* is experienced in the physical space immediately surrounding the meditator, *the here* and *the now* correlate in the meditator's experience. The 51 occasions on which THE PRESENT MOMENT IS SPACE is manifested through metaphorical expressions in the corpus suggest that the experiential correlation between *the present moment* and *the present space* is also an important metaphorical topic in the talks.

Table 1 shows 35 different TD-SD combinations (that is, 35 different space-based conceptual metaphors), which indicates that the domain of space is an important and creative source of metaphoric images in the corpus. A substantial part of the speakers' production refers to the figure of the meditator. Since the process of meditation takes place in the meditator, a good number of metaphorical realisations found in the corpus (56/314) characterise the meditator as the space where all the phenomena of meditation take place. This may be a generic metaphorical space, as in the conceptual metaphor *THE MEDITATOR IS SPACE*, but it can also be developed in richer scenarios grounded in more concrete SDs like *HOME AND SHELTER* or *MASS OF WATER*. As we shall see, when these domains become the source of metaphors like *THE MEDITATOR IS HOME* or *THE MEDITATOR IS AN OCEAN* their conceptual structure is often used to highlight or expound, predominantly with deliberate uses, particular aspects or desirable attitudes of the meditator towards the meditative practice.

The topic *MEDITATION* is metaphorised less frequently in the corpus (22 times in total), but it is certainly another salient topic addressed by all speakers in the talks. In this case, meditation is characterised not only as the space where the meditator opens up to the experience of the present moment (*MEDITATION IS SPACE*), but also as a process of *coming back home* (*MEDITATION IS COMING HOME*), which is directly related to the *inner journey* of the meditator towards their *inner home* (their inner self), and inextricably linked to metaphors like *THE MEDITATOR IS HOME*.

Similarly, the *MIND* is a recurrent topic (the fourth most metaphorised TD in the corpus, with a total of 29 instances) in the discourse of the speakers, since many of the processes involved in the early stages of meditation are related to *what to do with the mind* (one of the common preconceptions of non-meditators who want to start meditating), or rather, how to conceive of and relate to the mind. Helping novice meditators to reconceptualise the mind not as *something you have to do something with*, but as a *SPACE* where mental phenomena occur (a *SPACE* in which the meditator does not necessarily have to do something) is certainly one of the most difficult tasks of meditation instructors. This is precisely the reason why the *MIND* is recurrently metaphorised as the *SPACIOUSNESS* in which mental phenomena occur, and one of the main instances of reconceptualisation phenomena in the corpus (see metaphorical functions below).

Since the talks address the early stages of meditation (i.e., meditation practices focusing on self-awareness and attention training and regulation), other recurring topics are *AWARENESS* (also conceptualised as *SPACIOUSNESS* with relative frequency; 14 instances), *CONSCIOUSNESS* (exclusively conceptualised as *SPACIOUSNESS*; 24 instances), and the processes of *ATTENTION* and *DISTRACTION*. The metaphorical conceptualisation of the latter retrieves basic spatial image-schematic patterns such as the proximity-distance image schema (Johnson 1987; Peña-Cervel 2003) to characterise *ATTENTION* as *presence here* (*PAYING ATTENTION IS BEING HERE*) and *DISTRACTION* as *being away* (*BEING DISTRACTED IS BEING IN A DISTANT PLACE*). The *JOURNEY* metaphor mentioned in the introduction, therefore, takes on a new dimension in the attentional processes described in the corpus.

Table 1 provides an at-a-glance panoramic overview of the main TDs, SDs, and TD-SD combinations in the corpus, presenting the domains according to general metaphor frequency counts (discourse manifestations of TD-SD pairings as metaphorical expressions) regardless of their deliberate status (Steen 2015; Reijnierse *et al.* 2018). In other words, the table follows a general frequency criterion to present the information, but it does not

discriminate between non-deliberate and deliberate uses. When a conceptual metaphor (or a TD-SD pairing, as in the table) is used deliberately in discourse, the metaphorical nature of the expressions becomes a salient element in the communicative dimension, an ostensive act of meaningful communication that is usually bound to a particular communicative intention (Reijnierse 2017; Reijnierse *et al.* 2018). Considering the relevance of the communicative dimension and the overtly explanatory nature of the material in the corpus, metaphorical deliberateness is an important aspect to consider in the analysis. Table 2 shows the main TD-SD combinations arranged according to deliberate metaphor frequency counts.⁸ The table gives 23 different possible TD-SD combinations, indicating the extensive use of deliberate metaphor in the corpus (of the 35 different conceptual metaphors in Table 1, 23 involve at least one deliberate realisation in discourse), thus confirming the importance of metaphorical deliberation in the pedagogical talks about meditation analysed.

TD \ SD	SPACE: UNDEFINED SPACE / SPACIOUSNESS	SAFE STRUCTURES: HOME AND SHELTER	HERE (a nearby place)	NATURAL SPACE: MASS OF WATER	OPPRESSIVE/ CONFINEMENT STRUCTURES	AWAY (a distant place)	NATURAL SPACE: FIELDS AND LANDSCAPES	NATURAL SPACE: SKY	TOTAL INSTANCES (per TD)
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THOUGHT IS...	3	0	0	7	13	5	0	0	28
CONSCIOUSNESS IS...	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
MEDITATION IS...	7	13	0	0	0	0	2	0	22
DISTRACTION IS...	0	0	0	0	1	9	0	0	10
THE FUTURE IS...	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
EMOTION IS...	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
TOTAL INSTANCES (per SD)	143	49	45	33	17	14	9	4	314

Table 2. Space metaphors in the corpus (TD-SD combinations): Deliberate uses.

From the TD perspective, the data indicate that THE MEDITATOR is the most frequently used TD in deliberate metaphors (50 deliberate uses out of 56 in the corpus, see Total Instances columns in Tables 1 and 2) and keeps its overall distribution among the three most prolific SDs in deliberate metaphor uses (Table 2), namely, HOME, SPACIOUSNESS, and MASS OF WATER. THE PRESENT MOMENT is in second position, with 19 deliberate metaphor instances (out of 51) also largely drawing on the notion of UNDEFINED SPACE. The third most frequent TD used deliberately by the speakers is MEDITATION, which moves from eighth position in Table 1 to third position in Table 2, with 15 deliberate uses out of a total of 22 (about two thirds of the uses are deliberate).

Some of the most interesting changes between general (Table 1) and deliberate metaphor (Table 2) uses occur at the SD level. A comparison of Tables 1 and 2 reveals that, with 49 instances, HOME AND SHELTER is exclusively realised deliberately in discourse in all metaphors where it appears in the corpus (related to 6 different TDs). Additionally, and despite the

⁸ Besides the total frequency counts, the italicised text in the second line of each cell shows the breakdown of the frequency distribution of each TD-SD combination by speaker (where B stands for Brach, F for Foster, K for Kabat-Zinn, and T for Tolle). For example, from the 21 deliberate metaphor realisations of the THE MEDITATOR IS HOME metaphor 20 are from Brach's production and only 1 is a metaphorical expression by Kabat-Zinn.

fact that spaciousness is a relatively abstract and undefined notion, the SD UNDEFINED SPACE/SPACIOUSNESS shows a considerable degree of deliberation; specifically, it is used deliberately by the speakers on 42 occasions (out of a total of 143 uses) as discursive manifestations of four conceptual metaphors (four different TDs in Table 2). Finally, it is also worth noting that nature-related spaces appear in the next three positions in Table 2, which indicates that - regardless of whether they are images of water, land, or air - nature experiences seem to have particular relevance in the images used by speakers; particularly, the images used to talk about THE MEDITATOR and their AWARENESS of the MIND and its contents (THOUGHT).

The frequency distribution of each TD-SD among speakers in Table 2 also provides insight into the saliency of some metaphorical domains in the discourse of some of the speakers. From the TD perspective, THE PRESENT MOMENT stands as a particularly relevant metaphorical topic in Tolle's talks, accounting for 17 out of 19 deliberate metaphor instances in the corpus, 16 of which are deliberate realisations of the THE PRESENT MOMENT IS SPACIOUSNESS metaphor. AWARENESS is also a recurrent topic in Kabat-Zinn's production, with 9 out of 12 instances distributed, in this case, across five different metaphors; this is the widest range of deliberate metaphorical images in the corpus related to a TD, and is indicative not only of the importance of the topic in the speaker's discourse, but also of his attempts to help his audience understand the notion of mindful awareness from multiple perspectives. From the SD perspective, the speakers' TD-SD frequency distribution breakdown reveals HOME AND SHELTER as a notably important SD that structures a variety of metaphors in Brach's discourse. Specifically, 4 of the 5 TD-SD pairings in which the HOME AND SHELTER model works as a SD are found in Brach's talks through metaphors like THE MEDITATOR IS HOME (20/21 instances), MEDITATION IS HOME (13/13 instances), and ATTENTION IS HOME (8/8 instances). Brach's talks are in fact entitled after the home metaphor, and this widespread use indicates that the talks are conceptually structured around it too. This and other related aspects are addressed and illustrated with examples in section 3.2.

Overall, both the changes in the TD and SD order in Table 2 with respect to Table 1 and the information in Table 2 suggest that, when talking about the most frequent domains, speakers consistently use explicit metaphorical language or salient metaphorical imagery related to some aspect of the SDs, most likely with specific communicative intentions. Table 3 ranks the main functions with which deliberate metaphors are used in the corpus.

DELIBERATE METAPHOR FUNCTION	INSTANCES	%
Explanatory	116	35.58
Evoke vivid, quasi-perceptual imagery	70	21.47
Metaphoric framing (reframing) fostering reconceptualisation	66	20.24
Compress inferences	31	9.51
Create textual cohesion or provide for textual/argument structuring	16	4.91
Create argumentative impact and grab the audience's attention	10	3.08
Highlight/hide aspects of a topic	9	2.76
Other	8	2.35

Table 3. Main deliberate metaphor functions in the corpus.

In the talks, the speakers introduce and try to explain some of the most basic notions of meditation to a non-expert audience. This is not only reflected in the diversity of conceptual metaphors used deliberately in the corpus, but also in the spread of functions with which they are used by speakers. Specifically, 35.58% of the uses fulfil an explanatory function. It is important to note that the same deliberate metaphor may be used with more than one function simultaneously,⁹ and in several cases, the explanatory intention is also fulfilled with a metaphor that evokes vivid imagery through SD structure activation (21.47%). For example, in order to describe the impermanent nature of thought and the non-reactive observation that the meditator is expected to work on during their meditation practice, the meditation experts sometimes talk about the MIND (TD) as if it were the SKY (SD), where thoughts are to be passively observed as if they were drifting clouds. It is also common for the meditation teachers to use deliberate metaphor as a tool to shift the perspective of their audience, that is to say, to help them to reconceptualise a topic from an external perspective or point of view. For example, in order to foster acceptance and cultivate non-reactivity towards aversive inner events (e.g., negative experiences, intrusive thoughts, or annoying memories), at some points the speakers try to change the “ordinary” (that is, non-meditative) attitude of their audience (non-experts in meditation) by comparing them (MEDITATORS, TD) with an OCEAN (SD) so that, in meditation, these experiences are just superficial phenomena, i.e., waves on the surface of the ocean “that they are” (an ocean in whose depths there is a timeless state of calm). This illustrates one of the cases of the *metaphoric framing (reframing) fostering reconceptualisation* function (20.24%). The bulk of deliberate metaphor functions in the talks, (together with *highlight/hide aspects of a topic*, used in 2.76% of instances) can be classified as ideational functions, as they are used mainly to promote conceptual and attitudinal understanding towards the practice aspects targeted in the metaphors. However, these uses also merge with other textual and interpersonal dimensions, with some metaphors used as a resource to *compress inferences* (9.51% of uses), *create textual cohesion or help to structure an argument* (4.91%), and *create argumentative impact and grab the audience’s attention* (3.08%).

3.2. Discourse Manifestations of Metaphorical Space in the Talks

This section analyses a selection of the most representative conceptual metaphors in the talks illustrating, with anchor examples from the corpus, their main discourse realisations through non-deliberate and deliberate uses, together with the main functions with which the latter are used in discourse. Specifically, metaphors related to the notion of UNDEFINED SPACE or SPACIOUSNESS are presented first (section 3.2.1), before more concrete representations of space through less abstract scenarios like HOME AND SHELTER (section 3.2.2) and the nature-related spatial domains MASS OF WATER, FIELDS AND LANDSCAPES, and SKY are explored (section 3.2.3).

3.2.1. Spaciousness Metaphors

The interconnection between physical and mental space is a key idea in the field of meditation, as *the now* is experienced in the immediate present space – referred to as the *space of presence* or *space of consciousness* by many meditators (Silvestre-López, 2016). In this

9 This means that the same metaphorical realisation may fulfil one or of the various functions specified in Table 3.

space, sensory perceptions of the physical and material merge with mental perceptions of the meditator's inner life. It is a generic space of fully open awareness, of the mindfulness of all that unfolds in present-moment experience. It is thus a space in which the barriers between the physical and the mental are diluted to give way to direct attention to the experience *as it is* in the present moment.

Due to its peculiarity, it is not surprising that this conception of the meditative space appears in the widest range of conceptual metaphors in the corpus. Table 4 shows the conceptual metaphors that draw on the notion of UNDEFINED SPACE/SPACIOUSNESS as an SD in the corpus. This SD is the source of 9 different conceptual metaphors (TD-SD pairings in the table) realised non-deliberately in the talks. Four of these metaphors also include deliberate uses in the discourse of the speakers, namely, THE PRESENT MOMENT (16 instances), THE MEDITATOR (14 instances), CONSCIOUSNESS (8 instances), and AWARENESS (4 instances).

TD \ SD	UNDEFINED SPACE/ SPACIOUSNESS (total counts)	NDM	DM
THE PRESENT MOMENT IS...	51	35	16
CONSCIOUSNESS IS...	24	16	8
THE MIND IS...	22	22	0
THE MEDITATOR IS...	16	2	14
AWARENESS IS...	14	10	4
MEDITATION IS...	7	7	0
THE FUTURE IS....	4	4	0
THOUGHT IS...	3	3	0
EMOTION IS...	2	2	0
TOTAL INSTANCES	143	101	42

Table 4. SPACIOUSNESS conceptual metaphors and non-deliberate (NDM) /deliberate (DM) uses in the talks.

Overall, most non-deliberate metaphor realisations instantiate highly conventional entrenched (Charteris-Black, 2004) metaphorical uses in non-specialised contexts of everyday language use, most often exploiting the notion of UNDEFINED SPACE. This vaguely-defined metaphorical space is activated, on most occasions, by expressions that evoke spatial characteristics of containment or three-dimensionality with a low degree of conceptual elaboration as in, for example, “arises *in* your mind”, “comes *into* your mind” (THE MIND IS A SPACE), “lead you *into* meditation” (MEDITATION IS A SPACE), “coming *into* presence” (CONSCIOUSNESS IS SPACE¹⁰), “tap *into* [...] awareness” (AWARENESS IS SPACE), “go back *into* the present moment” (THE PRESENT MOMENT IS SPACE), and “*in* what you are” (THE MEDITATOR IS SPACE) in the examples below.

- (1) ... one thing after another *arises in* your mind, and you identify with everything that *comes into* your mind, amplified as I said by the digital stuff... (Tolle, 2014, March 2, 0:44)

¹⁰ *Consciousness* and *presence* are used as synonyms by the speakers in the talks. A methodological decision was taken in the metaphor identification and codification stage such that all metaphorical expressions targeting consciousness and presence (topics, target domains) in the corpus were coded with the umbrella code “TD_Consciousness”.

- (2) So, we spend perhaps a little bit of time getting here, and you'll notice, when I *lead* you *in* the meditation, I'll spend a longer period of time just to give you the sense of what it's like to listening [sic] to the sounds, listening to and feeling the sensation. (Brach, 2012, July 10, 7:12)
- (3) ... but even then, there was underneath that a profound interest in *coming into* presence and understanding the nature of reality. (Brach, 2012, July 10, 1:25)
- (4) It really depends on our willingness to not take personally things that aren't personal and learn to *tap* deeply *into* this profound interior resource, perhaps the most fundamental aspect of our being human: awareness itself. (Kabat-Zinn, 2020, March 31, 22:25).
- (5) ... now we *go back into* the present moment and, as you become more aware of your sense perceptions... (Tolle, 2014, March 2, 13:07)
- (6) That's just something else that is allowed, deeply allowed to *arise* and *dissolve in* what you are. (Foster, 2012, May 24, 18:57)

When the conceptual metaphors are used deliberately, their discursive realisations take on a more specific character than conventional everyday uses. This qualitative distinction between non-deliberate and deliberate uses is deployed in different ways in the corpus. In some cases, for example, deliberate uses make explicit mention of the SD, as in the deliberate discourse realisations of CONSCIOUSNESS IS SPACE and AWARENESS IS SPACE in (7) and (8), where the TD is characterised as a *space* or a *place* through direct metaphors.

- (7) ... and *the only place* that we can really discover the source of our creativity, our... see truly the nature of reality, *is when we're fully present* [...] because we know that *presence* is really the source of everything. (Brach, 2012, July 10, 14:05)
- (8) *A mindful awareness* does not oppose or interfere or judge or do anything to mess with what's right here. It just allows. *It's space*. (Brach, 2012, July 10, 21:08)

In some other cases, like in the metaphor THE PRESENT MOMENT IS SPACE, the conventional mappings of non-deliberate realisations like (5) are further expanded in deliberate uses such that *the present moment* is not only overtly addressed as a space, but some *spaciousness qualities* of that metaphorical space are also elaborated and described explicitly by the speakers. As suggested in the introduction, the importance of the domain of space in meditation discourse may be due to the widespread conceptualisation of meditation as a journey process. In this case, THE PRESENT MOMENT IS SPACE metaphor is licensed by the common-ground metaphor MEDITATION IS A JOURNEY, which is made explicit in one of Tolle's talks as follows:

- (9) But the now to most people is an abstract thing, and not interesting enough; so, let's see what that means and let's make it into meditation. So, let's call this, our *meditation* this afternoon, "*the journey into the now*." (Tolle, 2014, March 2, 3:42)

This metaphor, appearing in minute 3:42 of the talk, allows Tolle to set the ground for his audience to better follow his description of the steps of meditation and the "*journey into the now*" (i.e., the journey into the present moment); in other words, once the JOURNEY

domain is activated, it is readily available for the interpretation of subsequent discourse contents. This deliberate use allows conventional expressions like “first *step*”, “*step into*”, or “*go a little bit deeper*” that would otherwise have been classified as non-deliberate uses to be reconsidered as deliberate metaphor instances. Example (10) includes a selection of talk fragments distributed across different times to illustrate the development and elaboration of the metaphor throughout the talk (the example illustrates realisations of the metaphor that extend over 20 minutes in the talk, but they are in fact used throughout the whole talk).

- (10) [05:16] So, as we *enter the now*, we become more aware of our surroundings, it's the *first step into the now*.
 [5:58] ...and that *is the space of now*, so, the word to use is “you acknowledge what is”, and close to acknowledging you *go a little bit deeper*...
 [06:20] And there are some people who are not yet ready to *go any deeper* than that, and that's fine, it's enough to just *go two steps into the now*; *well, let's just call it three (people like the idea of steps), let's call it step one*: you become more aware of your surroundings; *step two*: you acknowledge, and with the acknowledgement comes a sense of the goodness of the ways in which life manifests continuously around you. And then you *go a little deeper still: the next step takes you deeper*.¹¹
 [15:34] Now, the next *step down into the now* is...
 [20:23] ... and now we *can go even deeper*: sense perceptions, acknowledging, appreciating, feeling the energy field in the body, all these things *arise in the present moment*.
 [29:12] So, when we *go to the deepest level of the present moment, when you go to the deepest level of the moment, what do you find?* And what do you *discover?* Yourself, the essence of you. So, the essence of you, which is conscious space, is inseparable from the essence of the present moment. (Tolle, 2014, March 2)

The expressions in (10) help to see Tolle's characterisation of the “*journey into the now*” as a vertical journey, that is, an exploratory process that takes the meditator deeper into the present moment until s/he can discover her/his very essence. But the italicised THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A SPACE expressions work in the talk not only as reconceptualisation boosters; they are also used recurrently by Tolle throughout the talk as discourse structuring devices to create textual cohesion and to produce a coherent line of reasoning based on an expected script of steps that need to be taken throughout the process.

Repetition is a key factor in this example. On the one hand, and in tandem with the activation of the JOURNEY metaphor, repetition allows the SD (the notion of physical *space* and the notion of a *journey* down into a physical space) of conventional expressions like “*first step*” and “*go deeper*” to be revitalised and then reconsidered as an important area of experience with which the TD is revisited or understood. In other words, repetition works here as a metaphorical extendedness mechanism that allows highly conventional and

¹¹ At the point where Tolle states “*people like the idea of steps*”, Tolle gesticulates with his hands, which reveals his awareness of this *loose use* of language, and he and his audience start laughing. This reinforces the awareness of all the parts involved in this communicative event of the fact that Tolle is using metaphorical language, and is deliberately playing on words (metaphorical words) to make clear that there are no “real steps” in meditation, but that the use of words (“*let's call it step x*” / “*people like the idea of steps*”) may help the audience to reconceptualise meditation and the present moment in terms of previous and more familiar experiences (i.e., journeys, stairs-steps, and “profound spaces”).

otherwise non-deliberate expressions to become salient elements in the meaning of the utterance, and hence be reconsidered as deliberate metaphor uses (see Reijnierse 2017, 2020 for an extended account of the role of repetition, extendedness, and co-text in deliberate metaphor identification and use). On the other hand, repeating metaphorical expressions of progress (e.g., *go, first, second*, etc.) and depth (e.g., *step down, go deeper, the deepest level*) at very distant points in the talk make these expressions work as *attractors* (Cameron & Deignan 2006). That is, their use allows the speaker to echo previous explanations and quickly compress inferences so that the audience can understand the whole talk as a full informative unit: the talk has allowed the audience to experience “the meditation journey” and to take home a structured set of steps to continue the journey on their own.

The last line in (10) explicitly associates the essence of the present moment with the essence of the meditator, and both are described as “conscious space”. This is a recurrent idea in the talks that is often also developed through the metaphorical characterisation of THE MEDITATOR AS SPACE. Whereas conventional and non-deliberate uses of metaphor like (6) simply refer to UNDEFINED SPACES, deliberate uses like (11) and (12) often portray novel conceptions of the meditator as SPACIOUSNESS.

(11) We’re not trying to stop sensations or emotions, we’re not trying to have perfect feelings, are not trying to have enlightened feelings, we’re not trying to get rid of feelings. The same thing... *we’re being the space* for all feelings, any feelings as they arise, stay for a while, express themselves, and pass. (Foster, 2015, January 3, 5:12).

(12) ... all sounds or smells, all tastes, all memories, all ideas about the future, *they’re all allowed, they’re all embraced, they are all held in this vastness, in this vastness that you are.* (Foster, 2015, January 3, 7:00)

This process of reification often brings forth an emphasis on certain attitudes that the meditator is expected to develop through the process of meditation, like adopting an open-hearted, non-reactive stance towards any kind of inner event that s/he experiences. The attitudes of the meditator are thus characterised as qualities of the space with which the meditator identifies. Accordingly, the meditator in (11) and (12) is pictured as a vast, open, or boundless space in which all phenomena (even affective ones) are to be “welcomed”.

3.2.2. Home Metaphors

“Welcoming” all inner phenomena (as if they were part of the meditator’s inner home) is a widespread metaphorical image in the talks that draws on the HOME scenario, one of the most productive sources of metaphorical images in the corpus. The rich structure of this domain in terms of participants and roles (home, owner-host, receiving/welcoming guests-visitors, etc.) is congruent with its exclusive realisation of HOME AND SHELTER through deliberate metaphors in discourse, as shown in Table 5, which ties in with the trend of greater SD detail and elaboration in deliberate uses described in studies like Silvestre-López (2019, 2020).

TD \ SD	SAFE STRUCTURES: HOME AND SHELTER	NDM	DM
THE MEDITATOR IS...	21	0	21
MEDITATION IS...	13	0	13
ATTENTION IS...	8	0	8
AWARENESS IS...	3	0	3
THE PRESENT MOMENT IS...	2	0	2
THE MIND IS...	2	0	2
TOTAL INSTANCES	49	0	49

Table 5. HOME AND SHELTER conceptual metaphors and non-deliberate (NDM)/deliberate (DM) uses in the talks.

This space-based model also draws on the JOURNEY metaphor, and it basically helps to profile THE MEDITATOR as a safe space in which to take shelter, namely, his/her own HOME. If THE MEDITATOR IS HOME (one of the journey spaces), then MEDITATION is conceptualised as the journey process in which the meditator comes back home (MEDITATION IS COMING BACK HOME).

As mentioned in previous sections, the talks address the notion of meditation from a beginner's perspective. Meditation thus involves a series of practices aimed at regulating the novel meditator's attention while also helping him/her to adopt an open, non-striving attitude towards the practice. THE MEDITATOR IS HOME and MEDITATION IS COMING BACK HOME are enriched metaphorical elaborations of a highly-entrenched metaphor related to everyday processes of awareness, attention, and distraction, namely, PAYING ATTENTION IS BEING HERE/ BEING DISTRACTED IS BEING AWAY. It is thus not surprising that notions like AWARENESS and ATTENTION also appear as significant TDs that combine with the HOME AND SHELTER SD. Example (13) illustrates how the PAYING ATTENTION IS BEING HERE metaphor is used first by the speaker to talk about the process of regaining attention ("come back"), and then how this conventional, non-deliberate metaphorical use is elaborated deliberately by drawing on the HOME SD ("coming back" becomes "coming home"), as illustrated by expressions like "coming home" or "being intimate with".

- (13) And what would it be like if instead of racing through to the end line we learn to pause and *come back*? *Come back*. Okay... Let's *come back here*... And what would it be like if we paused and *came back* and really just *stayed* with what's here, enough? [...] And this is the promise, in a way, of a path of presence, that we give ourselves this blessing of *coming home* and *being intimate with our inner* life and also *intimate with* the world around us? (Brach, July 10, 49:38)

Although the HOME scenario is used by all the speakers in the corpus, it is particularly relevant in Brach's talks (see Table 2 and its description in section 3.1.). This is a very prolific image that has already been found to permeate different social spheres of meditation practice (see Silvestre-López 2019, 2020), and which, in the case of Brach's talks, is taken from a

famous poem by the 13th-century Sufi poet Rumi. Not only does Brach mention Rumi as the inspiration for this metaphor in her talks, but she also states explicitly that the talk series is entitled “Introduction to Meditation: Do you make regular visits to yourself?” after this poem. Example (14) reproduces this acknowledgement and illustrates how the metaphors drawing on the HOME SD in her talks become a prototypical case of *topic-driven* deliberate metaphor uses (Reijnierse 2017).

- (14) And one of the lines I most love, this is “*Rumi*”, is this, he says: “*Do you make regular visits to yourself?*” That’s it. Isn’t that wonderful? *Do you make regular visits to yourself?* So, I’m re-titling these two classes with that: “*Do you make regular visits to yourself?*” And what we find is that there’s suffering when we leave home - and we all leave home. I mean, if you look at today... What was today like? I mean, how many moments did you leave your body in some way? Just lose [sic] track of your body and your senses? How many moments did you leave your heart - leave the kind of tender quality of the heart, that sensitivity? We leave home. We leave... We disconnect from our belonging to this natural world, to the Earth. We leave home. And what happens is that when we leave home regularly, we lose touch with what we most value. (Brach, July 3, 6:53)

Besides the clear topic-driven metaphor case, deliberateness is also made apparent in the example through other textual characteristics like conceptual juxtaposition (target and source concepts are simultaneously tackled throughout the fragment), elaboration (explanations of what “making regular visits” means and of the implications of “leaving home”), or extendedness (the conceptual metaphor smears over the fragment with a range of metaphorical expressions like “*leave home*” and “*leave your body*” that are repeated to put her points across). The vivid image evoked by the HOME metaphor is thus a perspective changer used with the clear intention of fostering the reconceptualisation of the processes of ATTENTION, MEDITATION, and THE MEDITATOR. Moreover, the talk title (and topic) and the repeated echoes of the metaphor throughout her two talks work as well as effective discourse structuring devices in that they provide textual cohesion and argument coherence.

Interestingly, the HOME SD does not simply remain as a reverberation of a well-established traditional model in contemplative traditions. Brach manages to recontextualise (Semino et al., 2013) it in various ways, as in (15).

- (15) Now, what’s your attitude when you’re visiting yourself? Because you might consider, if you’re visiting another person, what’s your attitude? You know, if it’s Aunt Myrtle who you’re doing out of duty, right? You’re visiting her out of duty and you’re thinking: “Oh, she’s just going to repeat the same stories and she’s kind of judgemental.” And [you] could be talking about your own mind, right? Same story: it’s judgemental. But you know you’re going to get bored or you know you’re going to get reactive. What’s your attitude in going towards that? So, we start to sense that when we visit ourselves, it might not always be comfortable what we come to. And what’s our approach to that? (Brach, July 3, 11:30)

Brach craftily uses the metaphor to address two important attitudinal components in early meditation practice by specifying particular details of a fully-fledged scenario (probably well-known to her audience), namely, the non-judgemental and non-reactive attitudes of the practice (Kabat-Zinn, 2003). Moreover, comparing the meditator’s judgemental mind to aunt Myrtle’s attitudes and behaviour also allows Brach to “split roles”, so that the meditator

is no longer identified with his/her mind. This disidentification process is also an important step in early meditation practice in that it may favour the development of more desirable attitudes and perspectives towards the practice.

THE MEDITATOR is the prototypical HOME in most examples, but some parts of the meditator are also often profiled as salient instances as, for example, *the body*, *the heart* (as in example 14), or *the breath* (15). In the corpus, metonymies typically combine with HOME and JOURNEY metaphors to address the process of attention, licensing the metonymically motivated metaphors like OBJECTS OF ATTENTION ARE PARTS OF THE MEDITATOR'S HOME, vehicled, for example, with novel metaphorical expressions like “home base” in (15).

- (15) And what we can do [...] is pick a *home base* - and there are many *home bases* that you can choose from. Some of you [...] will choose to be with *the breath* - that you'll let *the breath* be right at the centre, kind of in the foreground, and you'll let... When *the mind travels*, you'll go: “Oh, *come back, come back*, and relax”, and you'll *find your way back* to the breath. *The breath is a valuable home base*, especially if you want to refine the attention and get it very, very quiet and precise [...] and just know that whenever *the mind travels* and you want to have a *place to come home* to, you can feel your body right here (Brach, July 3, 37:27)

Finally, meditation can also be seen as a safe space, a place to find refuge and relief when in troubled times. This facet is highlighted not only in the MEDITATION and MEDITATOR TDs, but through the metaphors AWARENESS IS HOME and THE PRESENT MOMENT IS HOME, as in (16), (17) and (18).

- (16) This is, *in some sense, a new place to take refuge, a new place to reside* that's always been here [...]. The capacity we've had all along of which requires a certain kind of cultivation to learn how to *inhabit our own awareness*. (Kabat-Zinn, March 30, 8:40)
- (17) So, seeing if right *in this moment* there isn't a certain quality of *refuge*, of actually being *out of the storm, out of the ferocity of the winds and the turbulence of what we're experiencing...* (Kabat-Zinn, March 30, 14:00)
- (18) So, just this moment, just this breath coming in, just this breath leaving the body, just this *resting in this timeless moment we call now* [...] and *taking up residency here*, as if your very life depended on it. (Kabat-Zinn, March 31, 13:36)

Overall, HOME AND SHELTER metaphors are realised in the talks as rich deliberate elaborations that promote the reconceptualisation of meditation as a journey to revitalise positive back-home aspects and thus establish a positive affective connection with meditative practice. In other words, this reconceptualisation process has the function of highlighting desirable aspects of meditation practice towards present-moment experience (like warmth and openness), as well as evoking the protection sensation we feel when we return home after having been away on a long trip or for a long period of time.

3.2.3. *Natural Space Metaphors*

The generic notion of space is also represented metaphorically in the talks through more elaborated nature-related scenes. When metaphorical SDs belonging to the realm of nature

are used deliberately,¹² the emphasis is placed on the *lack of agency* with which natural phenomena take place. In other words, metaphorically characterising TDs like those shown in Table 6 allows the speakers to reconceptualise them as the spaces in which natural and weather phenomena simply happen, without any human agent causing or controlling the process.

SD \ TD	NATURAL SPACE: MASS OF WATER	NDM	DM
THE MEDITATOR IS...	17	4	13
THOUGHT IS...	7	1	6
AWARENESS IS...	4	3	1
THE MIND IS...	3	0	3
THE PRESENT MOMENT IS...	2	2	0
TOTAL INSTANCES	33	10	23

SD \ TD	NATURAL SPACE: FIELDS AND LANDSCAPES	NDM	DM
AWARENESS IS...	5	3	2
MEDITATION IS...	2	0	2
THE PRESENT MOMENT IS...	1	1	0
THE MEDITATOR IS...	1	0	1
TOTAL INSTANCES	9	4	5

SD \ TD	NATURAL SPACE: SKY	NDM	DM
THE MIND IS...	2	0	2
AWARENESS IS...	1	0	1
THE MEDITATOR IS...	1	0	1
TOTAL INSTANCES	4	0	4

Table 6. MASS OF WATER, FIELDS AND LANDSCAPES, and SKY conceptual metaphors and non-deliberate (NDM)/deliberate (DM) uses in the talks.

This is indeed the common ground upon which metaphors like THE MEDITATOR IS A LANDSCAPE (19), THE MEDITATOR IS THE SKY (20), and THE MEDITATOR IS THE OCEAN (20 and 21) are built. Such images, moreover, allow speakers to highlight the *ephemeral* nature of all types of present-moment experience manifestations. This is illustrated, for example, in (21) where objectively fleeting experiences like sounds and smells, along with more abstract inner events like emotions, thoughts, and feelings are all described as entities that *come* and *go*, *arise* and *dissolve*, *appear* and *disappear* in the *everlasting* space in which they are allowed to exist.

(19) So, I often *think of us, of our inner life, as a kind of wilderness*, and there's all parts of our being, *there's inner weather*, there's these vulnerable parts of us... (Brach, 2012, July 10, 24:25)

(20) Many people think that meditation is about *stopping thought*, but *the sky doesn't need to stop the clouds, the ocean doesn't need to stop its waves. We're not trying to stop thoughts*. (Foster, 2015, January 3, 4:45)

(21) Now I'd invite you right now, again just as an experiment, without any expectation, just to begin to notice what's appearing in present experience, that "*the waves*" – *as I call them* – of

¹² Natural-space-related non-deliberate uses belong to conventional expressions widely used in everyday language such as "the field of awareness" (AWARENESS IS A FIELD-LANDSCAPE). Due to space constraints, and because deliberate uses are more representative of the "natural spaces" SD category, the discussion here deals mainly with deliberate uses.

present experience, all the waves that are appearing in the ocean that you are. So, thoughts, sensations, feelings, sounds, smells: these are all just waves in the ocean that you are. So just begin to notice these waves appearing and disappearing, notice thoughts coming and going. [...] Just notice thoughts arising and dissolving. [...] And what you begin to notice is that thoughts come and go; is that it seems to be the nature of thought; it seems to be the nature of these waves, is [sic] that they appear and disappear. And what you are, somehow, doesn't appear and disappear. What you are, you could say, is the space in which waves, in which thoughts are allowed to appear and disappear. It's like what you are is the ocean in which all these waves are allowed to come and go. Not because you are allowing them: they're naturally allowed. They're naturally allowed to arise and dissolve in you. (Foster, 2012, May 24, 2:50-5:04)

The same holds for AWARENESS – AWARENESS IS THE SKY (22), AWARENESS IS THE OCEAN, 23) – and MIND – THE MIND IS THE SKY (24), THE MIND IS THE OCEAN (25).

- (22) So, we can simply rest in awareness and let whatever unfolds unfold, *as if our awareness... sometimes the images used is "like the sky"*. (Kabat-Zinn, 2020, March 31, 20:24)
- (23) And yet if we *drop down below the surface*, there's *gentle undulations and stillness, and that's as true for our awareness, if not much more true than it is for the ocean*. And so, even in the midst of the full catastrophe of the human condition, and we certainly are, we can, in taking our seats, really take a stand in our relationship to whatever's going on, and the *turbulence* and the challenges of it at all, and find a kind of domain of strength and clarity and stability and calm [sic]. (Kabat-Zinn, 2020, March 30, 3:35)
- (24) And I think I might have mentioned this yesterday: that *storms can arise and weather patterns in the space of the sky, of the atmosphere, turbulence, calmness, light, darkness, rain, snow... and in the mind*, also, again depending on conditions in the world [...]. For now, simply let it all play out *in the space of the mind, like weather patterns*, and resting in awareness that is capable of holding it all (Kabat-Zinn, 2020, March 31, 20:35)
- (25) That's just *the nature of the mind: to wave; just like it's in the nature of the ocean to wave, depending on the atmospheric conditions and storms; and so, the mind can be very turbulent at the surface but just like the ocean: drop down twenty or thirty feet, and even in tempest or hurricane there's simply gentle undulations [...]*. The more we work with whatever *turbulence and resistance, or impatience, or whatever it is, boredom, that arises, those are all just waves on the surface of the ocean of the mind...* (Kabat-Zinn, 2020, March 30, 19:55-21:47)

Natural-space metaphors like the ones described above are powerful inner-event reificators in that the vivid, quasi-perceptual SD imagery evoked (e.g., the sky and the clouds, or the ocean and the waves) allows emotional and mental events to be reconsidered as if they were impersonal phenomena whose existence does not depend on the meditator. In the examples involving the SKY SD, moreover, the physical distance between the clouds and the observer also helps to highlight a convenient distance between the thinker and the thoughts which – in tandem with non-agentive relationship described above – promotes the representation of the meditator as a passive, non-reactive observer (instead of an active agent involved in the process of *generating* and *clinging to* thoughts).

By recalling relatively pleasant experiences, the images used in examples like (20), (21) and (22) facilitate the transfer of this feeling of tranquillity to the practice of meditation. This helps to reconceptualise mental contents as entities beyond the meditator's control, but most importantly, it also helps to stimulate a positive attitude towards the practice, since mental phenomena are not always pleasant experiences. The affectively positive and negative valence of mental events is illustrated by comparing the relative calm induced in (20), (21), and (22) and the images of turbulent atmospheric phenomena in (19), (23), (24), and (25). Finally, it is worth noting that, in the talks, these kinds of negative images are usually evoked by the speakers to refer to ordinary, non-meditative states of consciousness. A clear example is the THOUGHT IS A MASS OF WATER metaphor.

- (26) Some people are so out of touch with their surroundings... they are never where they are, they are *in the stream of their thinking*, with only enough attention not to bump into things. And a lot of that [is] negative too, critical, critical, complaining, having an issue with this or that, thinking about how unpleasant was yesterday, or 10 years ago, and thinking what might go wrong tomorrow, or tonight, in all kinds of [sic], it takes you to that. That consciousness is continuously *being absorbed by thinking* and people are *in the grip of the stream of thinking*, it *pulls you along* amplified these days by the digital gadgets. [...] and *you're drowning in stuff*, and I'm not meaning physical stuff, some people also *drown in physical stuff*, but *you're drowning in mental stuff*, one thought after another, one text message, after another one... (Tolle, 2014, March 2, 9:27-11:57)

This example illustrates very vividly how the metaphorical nature (initially concealed, due to the entrenchment of this expression in everyday language use) of the highly-conventional expression *stream of thought* becomes more apparent and explicitly metaphorical through the repeated use of MASS OF WATER-related expressions like *drown*, *absorb*, *pulls along*, or *stream* in the production of the meditation teacher. The image of thought as a *stream* in which the thinker is *absorbed*, *pulled along*, or even *drowned* becomes a stronger source in the speaker's mental and discursive representation of thought. It thus becomes part of the referential meaning of the utterance and takes part in its purported representation in the receiver's mind, which evidences, in turn, and as pointed to in the DMT framework (Reijnierse *et al.* 2018) the progressively more deliberate nature of the metaphor.

4. CONCLUSION

The bottom-up qualitative analysis approach to metaphor analysis adopted in this study has made it possible to reveal the ways the joint use of deliberate and non-deliberate metaphor can foster understanding, facilitate communication and allow speakers to achieve particular communicative ends in their talks. UNDEFINED SPACE-SPACIOUSNESS METAPHORS are mainly used in the corpus to highlight attitudes of the acceptance of present-moment experience, particularly in relation to TDs like THE PRESENT MOMENT, THE MEDITATOR, THE MIND, AWARENESS and CONSCIOUSNESS. These TDs are characterised metaphorically as spaces in which all present-experience phenomena are allowed to arise and take place. The results and discussion section has also illustrated how the UNDEFINED SPACE/SPACIOUSNESS SD can also be elaborated through more detailed scenery related to the domain of nature. In these cases, the SDs MASS OF WATER, LANDSCAPE, and SKY are used in the talks to also emphasise

the need of the mediator to *become the space* in which all physical and mental perceptions are allowed. The peculiarity of nature-related conceptual metaphors lies in their particular emphasis on non-volitional aspects. That is to say, portraying THE MEDITATOR, AWARENESS, THE MIND, OR THE PRESENT MOMENT as natural spaces helps to remove the agency component from the meditation scene. This hiding/highlighting capacity of metaphors is skillfully exploited in the talks to favour the understanding (in a non-expert audience) of the need to adopt an open and non-reactive attitude towards all present experience phenomena. The conceptual metaphors drawing on the HOME AND SHELTER SD also highlight an open or *welcoming* attitude to present-moment experience. However, rather than downplaying agency, the cosiness and familiarity of home-related experiences is exploited to evoke warm feelings and a friendly attitude towards all kinds of mental and perceptual phenomena. Finally, another important aspect emphasised in HOME metaphors is the central role of the meditator, who is portrayed as both the departure - and endpoint of the journey metaphor.

Since its inception, DMT has had a variety of both supporters and detractors and has generated a heated academic debate that is still active (see Steen, 2017). This paper takes the stance that deliberate uses of metaphor do have an important bearing on communication. The importance of incorporating the non-deliberate/deliberate distinction in metaphor analyses has been illustrated by placing special analytical focus, on the one hand, on domain granularity differences and, on the other, on how deliberate uses are realised discursively with a variety of functions.

The unveiling of SD granularity differences would not have been possible without the methodological approach adopted here, that is, a qualitative bottom-up analysis involving a flexible approach to TD and SD identification and coding. The findings subscribe to the aforementioned tendency for non-deliberate uses to appear as less-defined domains or as vaguer elaborations in discourse, which is illustrated mainly in the analysis described in section 3.2.1. For example, some conceptual metaphors are elaborated in the corpus mainly through conventional mappings both in non-deliberate and deliberate discourse realisations. In such cases (e.g., THE PRESENT MOMENT IS SPACE metaphor), non-deliberate realisations instantiate, on the whole, broad elaborations of conventional expressions of the TD-SD mapping (see example 5), whereas deliberate uses exploit more dimensions of the mapping, thereby describing more qualities of the TD in terms of salient SD features (see example 10). Examples like these illustrate how non-deliberate and deliberate discourse realisations of the same metaphor can both draw on conventional mappings. However, the contrast between non-deliberate and deliberate uses is commonly grounded in novelty differences. Specifically, non-deliberate metaphors are usually realised through conventional metaphors and deliberate uses through more creative TD-SD elaborations like, for example, the contrasts between (6) and (11, 12) in THE MEDITATOR IS SPACE.

The strong discourse and communicative implications of deliberateness in discourse have also been made apparent by analysing the functions with which deliberate metaphors are used in the talks. Due to the instructional character of the talks, ideational functions have been identified as a pervasive category, particularly those involving the reconceptualisation of a topic according to the SD perspective (usually associated with the reproduction of vivid, quasi-perceptual physical SD imagery) in order to promote understanding or to trigger an attitudinal change towards the practice. While these sometimes overlap with the interpersonal dimension, many deliberate uses have also been found to fulfil a range

of functions traditionally belonging to the textual dimension, such as creating textual cohesion and providing for argument structuring by compressing inferences.

Overall, these findings suggest that metaphorical language is part and parcel of meditation instructional discourse. Thus, it may be desirable to undertake further research aimed at raising the awareness of instructors and meditation teachers about the importance and implications of the use of metaphor for pedagogical purposes, but also in terms of exploring the potential ways in which the deliberate use of metaphoric images may have a bearing on the understanding of the practice.

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