

Metaphor and psychological transference

Dennis Tay

Abstract

Psychotherapy is a mental health activity where therapists assist clients through verbal interaction. The phenomenon of transference, where clients superimpose their past experiences onto present life situations, occurs frequently in psychotherapy and may have varied effects on treatment outcome depending on how it is managed or ‘worked through’. While previous work has linked transference to metaphor based on their theoretical similarity, this paper explores the relationship on the basis of actual psychotherapy talk between a therapist-client dyad at a Chinese university counseling centre. It combines clinical and discourse analytic observations to model ‘working through transference’ as an interactional process of constructing a PRESENT IS PAST conceptual metaphor, and suggests that the process involves guiding the client to move from an awareness of correspondences at the conceptual level (i.e. between entities, attributes, and relations), to the transferential level (between feelings, emotions, and attitudes). Methodological, theoretical, and practical implications for contemporary metaphor research and psychotherapy practice are discussed, and some directions offered for future research.

Introduction

Psychotherapy is a mental health activity where therapists assist clients to understand and potentially modify their feelings, values, attitudes, and behaviors through verbal interaction (Meltzoff & Kornreich, 1970). Transference, the superimposition of one's past experiences onto present life situations, occurs frequently in psychotherapy and has profound implications for treatment outcome (Schaeffer, 2007). If appropriately managed or 'worked through', it can provide insights on how clients' past unconsciously affect their present and future.

Otherwise, it may be detrimental like in the common scenario where therapists become the target of transference and get construed by clients in terms of an abusive figure from their early lives, often resulting in premature termination of therapy (Grant & Crawley, 2002).

The notions of 'construal' and 'superimposition' suggest that metaphor may be relevant in the manifestation of transference in therapist-client interaction. From the perspective of metaphor discourse analysis, the process of 'working through' transference may comprise a unique context to explore not just the conceptual contents but the interactional dynamics of metaphor use in the social world. From the perspective of psychotherapy practice, such exploration may likewise shed new light on the relevance of metaphor to psychotherapy. Specifically, metaphor is not only a strategy to symbolize and communicate difficult-to-describe abstractions (McMullen, 1996; Stott, Mansell, Salkovskis, Lavender, & Cartwright-Hatton, 2010), but may be an inherent yet underexplored mechanism in key psychotherapeutic processes such as transference (Borbely, 2008).

This paper employs a discourse analytic approach to explore the relationship between metaphor and transference. I begin by briefly reviewing psychotherapeutic metaphor research and outlining the recent shift of focus from global mechanisms linking metaphor and

therapeutic change to more localized studies of metaphor in specific circumstances such as transference. I then provide an overview of transference and its theoretical relationship with metaphor, underlining the need to investigate this relationship in the context of actual psychotherapy talk where therapists and clients actually work through the transference. The subsequent analysis synthesizes clinical and discourse analytic perspectives to arrive at a tentative model of this relationship. I conclude the paper by highlighting some methodological, theoretical, and practical implications of the present analysis, and offering suggestions for future research.

Metaphor, psychotherapy, and transference

Metaphor, the act of describing and potentially thinking about something in terms of something else (Semino, 2008), supports the objectives of psychotherapy where there is often a “struggle to find words” for “difficult-to-describe sensations, emotions, psychological states, and views of self” (McMullen, 1996:252). The various strands of metaphor-related research in the mental health literature have characteristically focused on metaphor in terms of therapeutic process and outcome (Orlinsky, Michael, & Willutzki, 2004). Early descriptive studies on the types and frequencies of metaphor use in therapy (Pollio & Barlow, 1975) have led to more theoretical accounts on the therapeutic functions of metaphor (Lyddon, Clay, & Sparks, 2001; Siegelman, 1990), concrete intervention techniques for therapists such as the use of ‘stock’ metaphors and analogies (Blenkiron, 2010; Stott et al., 2010), and adroit ways to respond to and develop metaphors spontaneously introduced by clients (Kopp & Craw, 1998; Sims, 2003). There have also been empirical studies correlating patterns of metaphor use with various aspects of therapeutic process and change. For example, Levitt, Korman, and Angus (2000) compared clients’ use of ‘burden’ metaphors between good and poor

outcome cases, and found that only the former involved a shift from using metaphors of ‘being burdened’ to ‘unloading the burden’. A recent study by Sarpavaara and Koski-Jännes (2013) examined clients’ metaphorical conceptualizations of change as a journey and found that more agentive uses of the metaphor correlated with better outcomes. While these works show that certain ways of using metaphor co-occur with positive outcome, some researchers have argued for a complementary context-centric approach where the focus is not so much on effectiveness, but to document the variability and diversity of metaphors across the equally diverse range of therapeutic contexts in which they appear (McMullen, 2008; Tay, 2013). This dovetails with the shift in metaphor research towards ‘confronting’ the cognitive, interactional, and linguistic aspects of metaphor in actual usage contexts (Steen, 2011; Zanotto, Cameron, & Cavalcanti, 2008). Accordingly, recent studies have broadened the notion of psychotherapy discourse from face-to-face to electronic means of healthcare delivery (Tay, 2015), and by examining metaphors in specific contexts such as therapy for posttraumatic stress disorder (Tay & Jordan, 2015; Tay, 2014).

The phenomenon of transference presents yet another interesting case in this regard. It likewise broadens scholarly attention from how certain sources are used to represent certain targets, to how metaphor-related phenomena may inhere in the psychotherapeutic process. Gelso and Hayes (1998:11) define transference as “the client’s experience of the therapist that is *shaped by* his or her own psychological structures and past, and involves *displacement* onto the therapist, of feelings, attitudes, and behaviors *belonging rightfully* in earlier significant relationships”. Grant and Crawley (2002:7) call it the “*mobilization*, in the here-and-now, of psychological dynamics that originated in the there-and-then” (italics mine). Transference is believed to occur unconsciously (Andersen, 1995). For instance, a client who perceives her therapist as overly critical may be unconsciously projecting experiences with an authority figure earlier in life, such as her mother, onto the therapist. Although therapists are

often the target, any person in a present situation could be the target of a client's re-experiencing of unresolved feelings, attitudes, and behaviors from the past. It is widely held that transference is not intrinsically pathological or irrational. Rather, proper handling of transference often leads to valuable insight and change, while a failure to do so may lead to ruptured relationships and premature termination of therapy (Schaeffer, 2007). Therapists therefore generally agree on the importance of 'working through' transference, so that unresolved conflicts from the past could be "reconstructed" to "throw light on the present, on the here-and-now of the session, to reinforce the understanding of the present" (Sandler & Sander, 1994:1007). Some therapists even consider transference to be inherently valuable and actively try to create conditions for its emergence.

Defining transference as the shaping of some conceptualization of the present in terms of a rightfully distinct conceptualization of the past resonates with the cognitivist understanding of metaphor as cross-domain mapping. Borbely (1998) theorizes the relationship between the two, suggesting that 'present' and 'past' can be analyzed as two domains of a metaphor, and thus recasts the psychoanalytic process of perceiving connections between present and past as an inherently metaphoric enterprise (cf. Arlow, 1979; Casonato, 2001). From the perspective of metaphor discourse analysis, however, one should examine how this plays out in the context of actual psychotherapy interaction (Ponsi, 1997); i.e. whether the process of 'working through transference' could be modeled by a corresponding interactional process of working with metaphoric conceptualizations. In other words, transference provides a context for going beyond examining the representational role of metaphor to how it inheres as a key dynamic in therapy. How then do therapists work through transference, make the unconscious conscious, and allow the past to become 'alive' in the present (Jacobs, 2005)? The first step is to recognize clues that the client's feelings, attitudes, and behaviors towards a current person or situation is related to a past person or situation. Clients may communicate this in various

ways ranging from subtle behavioral cues to symbolic allusions and, in some cases, explicit statements linking past to present (Grant & Crawley, 2002:9-11). This parallels in metaphor theoretic terms the identification of an overarching PRESENT IS PAST conceptual metaphor on the basis of mostly (but not necessarily) linguistic instantiations. Consider the following utterance from a client. While talking about helping her son with his illness, she mentions her own father.

Client: 在帮儿子之余, 我要做好我自己。那我现在肯定不会想在我儿子生病当中, 对我父亲, 有我父亲的遗憾。我不想再次出现在我儿子的身上。这也是我为什么让他去北京去治疗 As I help my son, I want to take care of myself. I certainly do not want to feel the regret I have towards my father over my son's illness. I don't want it to appear again on my son. This is why I sent him to Beijing for treatment.

Although the past-present link is not directly identifiable through any metaphorically used language (Cameron & Maslen, 2010; Pragglejaz Group, 2007; Steen, Krennmayr, Dorst, & Herrmann, 2010), the client appears to be transferring the notion of regret over her father's past situation onto her son's present situation, most tellingly through the phrase 再次出现在我儿子的身上 (appear again on my son). This is a clue to therapists that the client may be harboring deeper complex associations between her current parental and past childhood dispositions which, if disentangled, may provide critical insight on the former. Cross-referencing metaphor theory again, this 'disentanglement' involves an interactional process of eliciting more details about the past to build up conceptual materials in the source domain (Tay, 2013), up to a point where its connections with the present could be confidently illustrated (cf. Kopp & Craw, 1998). Crucially, however, transference goes beyond a merely conceptual or axiomatic understanding of present-as-past or how 'history repeats itself'. If

transference is a form of metaphor, “its units are not only words but psychodynamics” (Borbely, 1998:923). This means that the source and target domains of PAST and PRESENT are not only linguistic or conceptual abstractions, but involve psychological forces which must be retriggered or re-experienced in order for their relationship to be clarified. Therefore, after the initial step of recognizing potential transference activity, the therapist would attempt to build upon this initial awareness and move the interaction towards the level of the unconscious, using various techniques to trigger the client to not only talk about the past, but to ‘relive’ concrete experiences and their accompanying emotions and attitudes. The alignment and parallel development of these principally distinct phenomena – i) working through transference and ii) interactional co-construction of metaphoric conceptualizations, is thus far largely unexplored in actual psychotherapy talk. On the basis of a case study of psychotherapy sessions involving one therapist-client dyad at a Chinese university counseling centre, this paper attempts to address the following questions:

- i) How does transference related phenomena interface with metaphor related phenomena in psychotherapy talk?
- ii) Can the process of 'working through transference' be modeled as an interactional process of working with metaphoric conceptualizations?
- iii) What implications may metaphor analysis have on the clinical working through of transference?

Data and methods

The data, totaling 15 hours of talk recorded with informed consent, consists of nine consecutive session transcripts involving one therapist-client dyad at a Chinese university

counseling centre. Details of the study were not known at the time of therapy. The client was a middle aged staff member who had been facing severe conflicts with her son and ex-husband. She felt frustrated at failing to ‘save’ her son, an undergraduate student on extended medical leave for his own psychological issues, and was angry at her ex-husband for not making a similar effort. She was diagnosed with Borderline Personality Disorder which is characterized by “a pervasive pattern of instability in affect regulation, impulse control, interpersonal relationships, and self-image” (Lieb, Zanarini, Schmahl, Linehan, & Bohus, 2004:453). The therapist applied Object Relations Therapy which focuses on clients’ self-other relationships and therefore emphasizes working through transference (Cashdan, 1988). The data is presented in both original and translated form (T=therapist, C=client), and portions highlighted in the analysis are underlined. In some places, conversational turns with details irrelevant to the analysis are summarized and omitted. Personal names are omitted to preserve anonymity.

The analysis process followed general principles of qualitative metaphor research where metaphor use is investigated with respect to the characteristics of its embedding context (Cameron & Maslen, 2010). It consisted of three manual steps: i) identification of transference, ii) identification of metaphor related phenomena, and iii) correspondent analysis.

Identification of transference

The first step was to identify instances of transferential activity. Expert judgement from the therapist who conducted these sessions was solicited in the absence of an established procedure linking transference to specific aspects of language use. The therapist was requested to indicate transcript sections where transferential activity occurred, and comment on how he interpreted and managed it at the time of therapy. It was determined that the most intense activity occurred over five extracts across sessions two and three. Specifically,

session two was where the therapist first recognized the transference and attempted to get the client to do likewise, while session three involved a more extensive exploration through a role-playing technique. The comments of the therapist were documented to prepare for the third step where transference and metaphor analysis are combined.

Identification of metaphor related phenomena

The second step was to identify metaphor related phenomena from the transcript sections pinpointed by the therapist. It was both deductive and inductive (Steen, 2007:28) in that the predetermined thematic focus on metaphors and other discursive elements relevant to PRESENT and PAST was combined with data-driven sensitivity towards potential emergent elements of interest. The following examples illustrate the process of identifying and documenting these phenomena.

1. 很温馨啊 Very warm
2. 让我们内心一直藏着的这些感受啊试着，试着表现出来 Try to express all the feelings we have kept in our heart

The discourse dynamics approach (Cameron & Maslen, 2010), which considers linguistic units from single words to larger chunks as metaphorical if there is contrast and comparison between their basic and contextual meanings, was used to identify metaphorical language. Examples 1 and 2 are illustrative. In Example 1, the basic meaning of 温馨 is ‘warm’ while the contextual meaning of ‘affection’ can be contrasted and understood with respect to it. In

Example 2, the basic meanings of 藏着, ‘to keep’, and 内心, ‘in the heart’, are combined to convey the contextual meaning of keeping feelings unexpressed. All instances of metaphorical language were thus identified. Their (non)relevance to the overarching PRESENT IS PAST metaphor will be discussed later in the analysis section.

3. 我感觉你是在用对待你父亲的方法来对待我 I feel that you are treating me like how you treated your father.

4. T 哦。你看看，你说这些哦，有时候我都分不清哪个是爸爸，哪个是你。你们真的很像诶！ Oh. See, when you say these things, sometimes I cannot tell which is father, and which is you. You are really alike!

Examples 3 and 4 illustrate a common metaphor-related phenomenon in the extracts. They are not instances of metaphorical language per se, but are where speakers attempt to construct some form of similarity between two things, especially aspects of the past and present. In Example 3, how the patient treated her father in the past is compared with how she presently treats her ex-husband, in a way that is “not obviously non-metaphorical” (Cameron, 2003:74). In Example 4, the similarity between the patient (present) and her father (past) is explicitly described to provoke reflection on the transference activity.

5. 那时候我不能理解这些东西。但是一旦下岗以后，我才觉得我父亲讲的很多话都是对的。因为人是没有危机感的时候，他不会感觉到那些东西。那我现在也是希望(儿子名子)能感觉这种危机感。Back then I couldn’t understand these things. But after I was laid off, I realized that my father was right in many ways,

because someone who does not have a sense of crisis will not sense these things. Now

I wish (son's name) could also have this sense of crisis.

Another example of a metaphor-related phenomenon marked for subsequent analysis is shown in Example 5. Here, the temporal markers 那时候 (back then) and 现在 (now), which connect discussion of something in the past with something in the present, exemplify discursive elements which support the thematic projection from past to present.

Correspondent analysis

The final step, 'correspondent analysis', involves integrating the observations made in the two previous steps. The therapist's annotations of 'what went on' in the identified extracts as he worked through the client's transference were superimposed onto the discourse analyst's annotations of metaphor related phenomena. This provided a means to understand how metaphor related phenomena reflect, facilitate, or otherwise relates to the unfolding transference activity, as articulated in the upcoming analytic commentary.

Analysis

The extracts are discussed in chronological order, reflecting the gradual process of working through the client's transference.

Extract 1

1. T 啊, 我那个还想到了一点啊。你说过, 您的爸爸对您是非常非常好的 Ah, I just remembered something, you mentioned that your father treated you very, very well

2. C 是的 Yes

3. T 恩。一谈起爸爸这部分啊，你的感觉是？ Right, how do you feel when your father is mentioned?

4. C 很开心 Very happy

5. T 很开心！恩。马上来了啊。立刻感觉很开心！恩。还有呢？ Very happy! Right, immediate happiness! Right, what else?

6. C 很温馨啊 Very warm

7. T 哦。这个好父亲的很棒的父亲的一个形象啊。 Oh, that's an image of a good father

8. C 对 Yes

9. T 恩，很温馨。能说的具体一点吗？ Right, very warm. Can you be more concrete?

10. C 他什么事情总是站在你的角度去想问题。他总是去呵护你 He always considers things from your perspective. He always protects you

(several turns discussing how the father used to advise the client to always 'seize the moment' in life)

11. C 那时候我不能理解这些东西。但是一旦下岗以后，我才觉得我父亲讲的很多话都是对的。因为人是没有危机感的时候，他不会感觉到那些东西。那我现在也是希望(儿子名子)能感觉这种危机感。 Back then I couldn't understand these things. But after I was laid off, I realized that my father was right in many ways, because someone who does not have a sense of crisis will not sense these things. Now I wish (son's name) could also have this sense of crisis.

12. T 诶，稍微慢一点点啊，刚才这是我们一直抓紧时间。这跟父亲的那句话有关系吗？就是我，‘我做事还是比较抓紧时间的啊’ Eh, let's slow down a little, when you said that you like to 'seize the moment' when you handle things, does it have anything to do with what your father used to do?

13. C 对 Yes

Just prior to this extract, the client had been expressing her disappointment at her son's indifferent response towards her efforts to help him. The therapist feels that the present mother-son relationship might be shaped by her experiences with, and expectations of her own late father. He initiates the exploration of this potential transference by casually mentioning a previous discussion of her father (Turn 1), which in metaphor theoretic terms could be seen as initiating the development of the PAST source domain. Since it is premature at this stage to identify transferential mappings between past and present, the emphasis is on eliciting concrete details (Turn 9) of the prospective source domain, much like in other metaphor-related therapy protocols where potential sources are elaborated before connecting them with potential targets (Kopp & Craw, 1998; Sims, 2003). However, unlike in these protocols where metaphors may perform a purely conceptual role of representing something abstract, the therapist attempts to identify how the client 'feels' about the source domain (Turn 3); i.e. conflicts and difficulties originating from the past, which will be crucial in subsequent exploration of how the past influences the present in a profound experiential sense (Grant & Crawley, 2002). In this case, it is the client who initiates the connection between PAST and PRESENT by expressing her hope that, just as her father tried to impart a sense of crisis, she could also do the same for her son (Turn 11). This PAST-PRESENT utterance structure where the two parts are signaled by the temporal markers 那时候 (back then) and 现在 (now) is to be repeated several times subsequently. The therapist regards this as a sign of progress in exploring the transference, and while getting her to 'slow down a little' (Turn 12), also becomes more explicit in suggesting that there is a connection between her father's attitude of 'seizing the moment' and her own.

Extract 2

1. C 但是我爸爸的缺点就是一个，那就是，那我爸没有把，至少是你把工作搞好，他再没有把家搞好，没有把小孩搞好，那我觉得作为一个男人是失败的 But my father had a flaw, that is, even if he managed his work well, he did not do manage his family and children well. That, I think, is a failure for a man

2. T 作为一个男人有一部分是失败的 As a man, he failed in part

3. C 恩对啊。我觉得你只顾你自己，对吧？你没有去管老婆。也不能怪我妈抱怨一辈子，对吧。你没把小孩搞好。那从现在看来，那我觉得在儿子我们也有很多不对的地方。那我就想怎么去引导儿子，去把他搞好 Yes. I think you only care for yourself, right? You did not care for your wife. You cannot blame my mother for complaining all her life, right? You did not manage your children well. So from my present perspective, I feel that there are also many things we are doing wrong for our son. So I am thinking of how to guide my son, to manage him well

4. T (儿子名字) 也说了那个，今天中午就说了那句话啊，'妈妈你在，你在指挥我!' (Son's name) did mention, this afternoon he said "Mum, you are commanding me!"

5. C 但是我指挥他...我不接受 But I command him...no, I do not accept this

6. T 哦。你看这个感觉，因为刚才我说过我们只是让他出去走走啊。并不是要控制他。是因为他，我们知道他下午要炒股，所以就希望他出去走走，主观动机就是还是要照顾他。不过他却得到了很强的感受就是说我们在控制他，这里面有些误解。Oh, you see, because we only wanted him to go take a walk, not to control him. We knew he wanted to play the stock market in the afternoon, so we wished that he would go take a walk instead. The main intention was to care for him. But he felt strongly that we were trying to control him, there's some misunderstanding here

7. C 也可能是以前习惯了 Maybe he is already used to this

8. T 对，以前的习惯，对 Right, used to it, right

9. C 对 Yes

10. T 你看这句话, 我们有没有对爸爸也说过 ‘你在指, 在控制我’? Look at this phrase, have we ever also told father "You are commanding, controlling me"?

11. C 没有 No

12. T 但是我们觉得爸爸也在控制我们 But we felt that father was also controlling us

13. C 对的 That's right

14. T 哦, 没跟他说, 但是我们能感觉到爸爸控制我们 Ok, we didn't tell him, but we could feel that father controlled us

In this extract, the development of the PAST domain continues as a different aspect of the client's father is discussed – his perceived failure to manage the family the way she desired (Turns 1-3). Similar to the PAST-PRESENT structure in Extract 1 Turn 11, the client again relates the past to the present by discussing and then reflecting on the past ‘from her present perspective’ (从现在看来) (Turn 3). She does not want to repeat the mistakes her father made on her son. It can be observed that correspondences between the PAST and PRESENT conceptual domains are being gradually fleshed out. In Extract 1, the father's advice for the client corresponded to the client's advice for the son, while in Extract 2 the father's perceived parental failures corresponds to the client's perceived parental failures. As predicted by the principles of Objects Relation Therapy, these correspondences mainly describe relationships between the client's self and others (Cashdan, 1988; Kopp & Eckstein, 2004). The full extent of transference can however only be revealed by going beyond this conceptual level of awareness, to the level where unconscious feelings, attitudes, and behaviors tied to the past are triggered. In other words, while clients can discern a general conceptual link between

PAST and PRESENT, they may be unaware of deeper level projections from the past which may be constructing a distorted and hence maladaptive experience of the present. The therapist should therefore stimulate the reemergence and re-experiencing of these unconscious elements, grounded in the past, to help the client grasp how influential they continue to be (Kahn, 1997). Correspondingly, in metaphor theoretic terms, the interaction should move from exploring correspondences at the conceptual level, to those at the deeper ‘transferential level’.

The therapist thus attempts to present the transference in a more experientially concrete way, quoting her son's specific remark of being ‘commanded’ (指挥) (Turn 4) and later asking if she had also made the same remark to her father in the past (Turn 10). He emphasizes the son’s actual words (‘look at this phrase’, 你看这句话 [Turn 10]) to prompt her to explore the possibility that her past feelings of being controlled have been inappropriately displaced onto her present role as a parent. The client in Turn 5 shows the characteristic reluctance or inability to accept this evaluation, to which the therapist also responds characteristically by not forcing the issue and risking damage to the therapeutic relationship (Turns 6-9). Towards the end (Turns 12, 14), the therapist tries to get her to confirm that she had indeed felt controlled by her father, even though she did not express this like her son now does. However, unlike in situations where metaphors perform a representational or explanatory function at the conceptual level (Kopp & Craw, 1998; Sims, 2003), it would be premature, “dogmatic” (Grant & Crawley, 2002:131), and unacceptable to the client if the therapist simply asserts on this basis a statement like ‘you are controlling your son in the same way your father controlled you’. This is because correspondences at the transferential level of attitudes and feelings have to be re-experienced rather than simply talked about. The therapist’s next step would thus be to find more ways to trigger this re-experiencing.

Extract 3

1. T 我们上次提到了那个这个, 您的父亲那部分啊 We mentioned your father the last time
2. C 恩 Yes
3. T 而且同时我也觉察到了你的声音一下子就降了下来 And I observed that your voice suddenly lowered
4. C 恩 Yes
5. T 如果一个女儿在父亲面前声音降低了, 慢慢慢慢声音降低了, 这是什么啊? 什么感觉啊? If a daughter lowers her voice before her father, slowly lowers her voice, what is that? What feeling is that?
6. C 撒娇 Being pettish
7. T 恩. 还有呢? 那我们不猜测啊。如果父亲在面前, 你会怎么样? 你的声音在降低 Yes, what else? Let us not guess. If your father were in front of you, what would you do? Your voice is lowering
8. C 那我可能 Then maybe I,
9. T 是怀念? Yearn for him?
10. C 对的 Correct

This extract occurred near the beginning of the session following Extracts 1 and 2. The therapist recalls their previous discussion of the client's father, claiming that her voice suddenly lowered at that time (Turn 3). He implies this to be a subconscious response by the client, as if the father were actually present (Turn 5). From the therapist's perspective, the attribution of meaning to the client's lowered voice constitutes a turning point in the

exploration of transference. It initiates the shift of the PRESENT IS PAST metaphor from the conceptual level of analysis in previous extracts to the targeted transferential level, where the client's feelings, attitudes, and behaviors towards her father begin to be re-enacted rather than simply talked about. Importantly, the therapist asks the client not to 'guess' what feelings are typically associated with a lowered voice, but to imagine herself actually responding to her father (Turn 7). Through this the client appears to realize that she 'yearns' (怀念) for him (Turns 9-10), which brings the exploration one step closer towards the transferential level.

Extract 3 also highlights the interesting phenomenon of paralinguistic cues (e.g. gestures, vocal features) in metaphor use and interpretation, which have been underexplored due partly to difficulties with capturing them in naturally occurring discourse (Steen et al., 2010:68-74). Besides complementing propositional content (e.g. pointing upwards when saying 'prices are going up'), paralinguistic cues may encode attitudes and emotions (McNeill, 2005) which reveal how speakers feel *about* sources and/or targets, as well as how they feel *within* scenarios circumscribed by them – the latter being particularly relevant in the context of transference.

Extract 4

1. T 难受，我心里面难受 Sad, I feel sad inside

2. C 对啊！我肯定要去管我儿子啊。我这个人可能很倔强，就是我不服输 Yes! Of course I want to be involved with my son. I am a stubborn person, I will not concede

3. T 哦。你看看，你说这些哦，有时候我都分不清哪个是爸爸，哪个是你。你们真的很像诶！

Oh. See, when you say these things, sometimes I cannot tell which is father, and which is you. You are really alike!

4. C 我跟我爸亲嘛 Well, I was intimate with my father

5. T 第一句话，我爸爸是个很好的人 First, my father was a good person

6. C 对啊 Yes

7. T 恩。很会照顾别人 Yes, he takes care of others well

8. C 对啊 Yes

9. T 现在你就在照顾别人。你很善良 And now, you are taking care of others. You are kind

10. C 对啊。我爸很善良 Yes, my father was kind

11. T 你现在也很善良。你看这两句话都讲的都很衔接。这非常的，品质都很接近了。我发现现在你的声音又开始慢慢是不是降下来了 Now, you are kind too. See, these two sentences link so well. This is very, the quality is so similar. I realize that your voice is starting to slowly lower again

12. C 因为我不知道能不能把 (儿子名子) 搞好，我不知道。但是我会尽力去做这件事情的。我也不知道未来去做，是怎么样。但是我觉得哪怕是把我这一生耗尽，我说，我都会去做这一件事情 Because I don't know if I can manage (son's name) well, I don't know. But I will try my best to do this. I don't know what I will do in future. But I feel that even if I use up my whole life, I say, I will still do this thing.

13. T 你在说他还是说你啊？ Are you talking about your father or yourself?

14. C 说我 Myself

15. T 我感觉是在说他。他这辈子是在耗尽的。也是耗尽的 I feel that you are talking about him.
He also used up his whole life.

16. C 对啊！那我想我为我儿子因为我对我儿子有责任啊！Yes! I do this for my son because I have a responsibility towards him!

17. T 你看我是不是在试图，一直在您跟他之间做比较？ Do you see that I'm always comparing you to him?

18. C 是的。但是有一点我跟我爸不一样。我爸什么事都憋在心里头。那我，我什么事情我会说的。这一点我跟他不一样 Yes. But there is one thing different between me and my father. My father keeps everything bottled inside. As for me, I will say anything I want. We are different in this way.

This extract follows shortly after Extract 3 where the client elaborated on how she was yearning for her father. The discussion turned briefly to her mother whom she felt was compromising her ability to care for her son by constantly asking her for money. In Turn 1 the therapist summarizes the client's sadness over the situation, and in Turn 2 the client states her determination to continue taking care of her son. At this point the therapist decides to continue his transference exploration strategy on both the previously described conceptual and transferential levels.

On the conceptual level, he becomes far more explicit than in previous extracts in trying to establish similarity between the client's PRESENT and her father's PAST parental style, claiming to be unable to distinguish the two (Turn 3). From Turns 5 to 11 he constructs systematic correspondences between the father 'taking care of others' and 'being kind' and her own present qualities, which she readily agree with. Later on, Turn 17 marks the first time the therapist explicitly draws her attention to his ongoing attempt at comparing the two of them. As previously mentioned, however, transference exploration needs to move beyond the conceptual to the experiential. Recall in Extract 3 how the therapist attempted to trigger the client to re-experience PAST feelings towards her father by highlighting her lowered voice. In Turn 11, he again suggests that her voice is lowering, but while in Extract 3 the suggestion

was made in the context of discussing only her father, here the suggestion is being made right after an explicit comparison of their parental attitudes. The intention is to trigger re-experiencing of PAST feelings while the PRESENT is topically salient, thereby prompting the client to realize that the former may have been carried over to the distinct situation of the latter. It is thus an attempt to map elements at the transferential level from the PAST to the PRESENT domain. Additionally, by suggesting that what she says in Turn 12 about herself could easily apply to her father (Turn 13, 15), he is also implying that there may be deeper correspondences between PAST and PRESENT she is still unaware of, regardless of how she has thus far clearly juxtaposed conceptual aspects of PAST and PRESENT (Extract 1 Turn 11, Extract 2 Turn 3).

Extract 4 is the most explicit attempt thus far to trigger the client to explore how her past feelings and experiences unconsciously shape her present – in other words, to model her transference as a process involving metaphor. It nevertheless seems from Turn 18 that the client's awareness of the PAST-PRESENT link remains stagnant at the conceptual level as she continues to compare the two in an objective way. In the final extract below the therapist therefore decides to utilize a role-playing technique to recreate interaction scenarios between the client-as-daughter, client-as-wife, and the therapist as both father and husband, which allows her to re-experience deeper feelings from the 'there and then' in the 'here and now', and stimulate insights about her transferential condition (Holmes, 1992).

Extract 5

1. T 好, 现在开始我不提 (儿子名子) Alright, from now on I will not mention (son's name)
2. C 恩 Okay

3. T 你觉得在爸爸这儿，你以孩子的身份，很想会得到什么样的自由？这个针对爸爸希望能在爸爸面前能得到什么样的自由？As a child, what kind of freedom would you expect from your father? What kind of freedom would you like from him?

4. C 那比如讲我考学的时候啊 For example, when I was studying,

5. T 恩！ Yes!

6. C 他根本就不尊重我。而且我跟他说的好好的，我应该报什么东西。他就根本不尊重我……那他剥夺了这个权利……那我觉得他总是在剥夺你的权利。他用他的眼光来看你，包括我学文学理，我以前想学文科的,对吧。他说学文科有什么出息啊,学理科。他总是在就是不断地在剥夺你，他不给你任何自由 He did not respect me at all. And I explained my choices clearly to him, yet he did not respect me. He deprived me of this right...I feel that he always deprived people of their rights. He judged me, including my choice to study the humanities. He said the humanities are useless. Study science instead. He kept depriving me, and did not give me any freedom

7. T 剥夺。你用的是剥夺诶! Deprived. You used the word ‘deprived’!

8. C 对啊! Yes!

9. T 他从我身上拿走我的这个选择的权利 He took my right to decide away from me

10. C 对啊! 我考大学的时候,我说我想学文科.他说学文科没用。然后我以前是在一个不好的中学，那我就想转到一个好的中学里头去,他说什么要靠自己。他就是他用他的语言来剥夺,我觉得我被他剥夺了一生啊。尽管他对我很好，他剥夺了我一生很多的权利。不是一次的权利.是n多次的权利 Yes! I said I wanted to study humanities in university, he said that was useless. And when I wanted to transfer to a better high school, he said I had to depend on myself. He always deprived me with his words, I feel like he has deprived me all my life. Even though he treated me very well, he deprived me of many of my rights in life. Not once, but many times.

11. T 那你告诉爸爸当我的这个回首一下，当我回首我这个时候 Then tell father how you feel when you look back at those times

12. C 我没有告诉他 I did not tell him

13. T 我们这个模拟的。只能在这个咨询这个环境下发生。不会在现实生活当中发生。让我们内心一直藏着的这些感受啊试着，试着表现出来 This is role-playing. It can only happen in this counseling environment, not in real life. Try to express all the feelings we have kept in our heart.

14. C 那我觉得我蛮恨他的，因为他剥夺的不是一次 Then I feel like I quite hate him, because he deprived me more than once

15. T 可以对父亲，用你的方式，就对话的方式 You can use a dialogue style

16. C 那我觉得你多次的剥夺我这种权利 Then I feel that you deprived my rights many times

17. T 称呼一下‘爸’ Address me as ‘father’

18. C 那爸，你多次的剥夺我这种权利，选择的权利。那我觉得我是比较恨你的 Father, you deprived my rights many times, I feel that I quite hate you

(Several turns elaborating how client's father deprived her of her rights)

19. T 你看啊，我这是感觉一下啊。你们不尊重权威。你跟你妈都不尊重权威 You see, I feel that you don't respect authority. Neither you nor your mother respects authority

20. C 我已经很尊重你了。我已经就没有跟你吼过一次了。我心里面压了这么多东西我没有跟你吼过一次，就是看你你对我很好的份上 I already respect you a lot. I never shouted at you, even though so many things are pressing upon my heart, because you treat me well

21. T 是你心里面不尊重权威，一点都不尊重我的权威 It is you who do not respect authority in your heart, you do not respect my authority at all

22. C 那没办法你的权威不能让别人过的好 Too bad, your authority does not help anyone

23. T 你看我说一句, 你马上回。那我就剥夺你,不让你长 You see, you rebut me immediately.

Then I will keep depriving you and not let you grow

24. C 那我觉得你是很残忍的一个人 Then I feel you are a very cruel person

(Several turns elaborating client's feelings towards her father. Therapist then starts to role-play as client's husband)

25. T 你看我们, 老丈人, 你的感觉跟我的感觉很接近! 你的女儿不看你的权威, 也感觉我的妻子都没看过我, 认真看过我 See, father-in-law, our feelings are so close! Your daughter does not look at your authority, and I feel that my wife has never seriously looked at me either

26. C 这不对了 This is wrong

27. T 我的妻子真的没有认真的理解, 没有认真的看我的需求 My wife has never seriously understood, never seriously looked at my needs

(Several turns elaborating how her husband feels)

28. T 我感觉你是在用对待你父亲的方法来对待我。这次父亲在场就看的到。这么明显, 就让你看一下权威, 你都不看! 我提了这个要求, 都说的这么明白, 你都不懂, 都不能理解一点点! 不停的叨叨叨叨, 反驳, 反驳, 使劲的反驳。也不知道别人在要什么 I feel that you are treating me like how you treated your father. If your father were here he would see it. It's obvious; you refuse to recognize my authority! I stated my request so clearly, but you don't understand it at all! You keep nagging and rebutting, you don't understand what others want

29. C 那你知道别人要什么吗？你总是想着你自己要什么 Do you understand what others want, then? You're always thinking of what you want

30. T 你看，你看最后我知道了。原来你是跟老爸的关系到现在，到影响到我们的关系。你从来不看人内心需求 You see, you see, now I understand. Your relationship with your father is influencing our relationship until now. You never look at the needs of others

31. C 也许是的 Maybe

32. T 恩 Yes

33. C 但是你看我内心需求吗？你也没有看 But do you look at my needs? Neither do you

34. T 你现在看不了，你爸爸看不了。怪不得我们这个样子 You cannot see it now, your father cannot see it now. No wonder we are like this

The therapist prepares the client for the role-playing activity by stating that he will stop mentioning her son, and requesting the client to discuss her father from her childhood perspective (Turns 1-3). He focuses on the issue of 'freedom', which was also brought up in Extract 2 as regards how the son currently feels controlled by her. From this childhood perspective, the client from Turns 4 to 10 reveals mostly negative details of how her father deprived her of key decision making rights as she was growing up. It is worth noting that while discussion of the father had been mostly positive in previous extracts where reference was made to the client's own parenting attitudes (e.g. Extract 4), it is mostly negative in the present extract where the focus shifts to her childhood perspective. Quickly switching from idealizing to devaluing others is a characteristic feature of Borderline Personality Disorder (Lieb et al., 2004), and may contribute towards the subconscious justification and obfuscation of the client's transference, since she can highlight positive and downplay negative aspects

when rationalizing her PRESENT attitudes with reference to those from the PAST. This underlines the importance of creating a space for clients to re-experience significant past relationships on their own terms as much as possible so that, in metaphor theoretic terms, the source domain is maximally developed to provide a full context for understanding the target domain.

From Turns 11 to 17, the therapist initiates the role-playing activity and crucially shifts the client from merely recalling the past to re-experiencing it. This is done by explaining the imaginative nature of the exercise (Turn 13) and encouraging her to address him as ‘father’ (Turns 15, 17). The role-play subsequently develops to focus on the key conflict, originating from the client’s past, between her feeling deprived and her father’s authority not being respected. Compared to the previous extracts, the direct confrontational style of this role-played dialogue better facilitates the client to express her innermost feelings of hate (Turn 18), repression (Turn 20), and the cruelty of her father (Turns 24) – source domain attributes which were unlikely to have surfaced if the therapeutic interaction remained in the PRESENT frame. It is precisely the therapist’s intention to illuminate how these innermost feelings resulting from unresolved conflicts in the past are being replicated in present conflicts involving her son and husband. The therapist therefore adopts the additional role of the client’s husband from Turn 24 onwards as he hopes to present this insight. Turns 25 and 27 are particularly interesting fictive exchanges between his two roles. By addressing the father with the voice of the husband, the therapist presents the critical similarity between PRESENT and PAST, and hence the core theme of the transference – that the client has been treating her husband in the same way as she treated her father; in both present and past, she is unwilling to understand the needs of others. In Turn 30, this important conclusion is reiterated with the husband’s voice. Insights delivered via the voice of a role-played character differ from those delivered by the therapist in two important ways. Firstly, it may be more impactful on the

client since her interpersonal issues directly involve these characters. Secondly, it creates the semblance that the insights have emerged from the role-play rather than some background analysis by the therapist. The role-play concludes with the client seemingly still unable to accept the insight (Turn 26), but it allowed her to explore important feelings and experiences from a daughter and wife's perspective (Turn 29, 33), which is arguably more authentic than that of a psychotherapy client.

A further observation related to metaphor in the role-play concerns the directionality of mappings between PRESENT and PAST. In the previous extracts, inferences flowed only from past to present since the topic of discussion was clearly grounded upon the client's present situation, with the distinction between the two consistently and deliberately (cf. Steen, 2013) signaled by therapist and client (e.g. 现在 'now' in Extract 1 and 从现在看来 'from my present perspective' in Extract 2). The transferential metaphor can be observed to develop in 'correspondent' fashion (Wee, 2005), where elements in the source and target are systematically juxtaposed and compared. During the role-play, however, therapist and client are simultaneously enacting roles from both past (daughter, father) and present (wife, husband). Past and present characters address each other (Turn 25), emotions and feelings originating in the past are inevitably filtered through present perspectives (Turn 22), and it is through this interaction that the 'class inclusive' (Wee, 2005) insight of 'the client is unwilling to understand the needs of others' emerges (cf. Borbely, 1998:926). This type of variation in the discursive construction of metaphor at different stages of the transference exploration process remains an interesting prospect for further study.

Other conceptual metaphors

Besides the centrally relevant PRESENT IS PAST conceptual metaphor analyzed above, other instances of metaphorical language in the extracts suggest other operative conceptual metaphors as summarized in Table 1.

Extract	1	2	3	4	5
Metaphor					
EMOTIONS ARE CONTAINERS				我 <u>心里面</u> 难受 Sad, I feel sad <u>inside</u> 我爸什么事都 <u>憋在</u> <u>心里头</u> My father keeps everything <u>bottled inside</u>	我们内心一直 <u>藏着</u> 的这些感受 all the feelings we have <u>kept in our heart</u> 是你 <u>心里面</u> 不尊重权威 It is you who do not respect authority <u>in your heart</u>
LIFE IS A JOURNEY		<u>引导</u> 儿子 <u>guide</u> my son			
TIME/EMOTION IS SPACE					当我 <u>回首</u> 我这个时间 when you <u>look back</u> at those times 你的感觉跟我的感觉很 <u>接近</u> our feelings are so <u>close</u>
CONTROL/EMOTION IS PHYSICAL FORCE	<u>抓紧</u> 时间 <u>seize</u> the moment				他 <u>剥夺</u> 了这个权利 He <u>deprived</u> me of this right 他 <u>从我身上拿走</u> 我的这个选择的权利 He <u>took my right</u> to decide <u>away from me</u> 心里面 <u>压</u> 了这么多东西 so many things are <u>pressing upon my heart</u>
AFFECTION IS WARMTH	很 <u>温馨</u> 啊 Very <u>warm</u>				
UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING	站在你的 <u>角度</u> 去想问题 considers things <u>from your perspective</u>				当我 <u>回首</u> 我这个时间 when you <u>look back</u> at those times 没有认真的 <u>看</u> 我的需求 never seriously <u>looked</u> at my needs 但是你看我内心需求吗？你也没有看 But do

			you <u>look at</u> my needs? Neither do you
LIFE IS A RESOURCE		哪怕是把我这一生 <u>耗尽</u> even if I <u>use up</u> my whole life 他这辈子是在 <u>耗尽</u> 的 He also <u>used up</u> his whole life.	

Table 1 Other conceptual metaphors

Many of these conceptual metaphors are known to be common in psychotherapy talk and emotions-related discourse in general (Kövecses, 2000). Their relevance to the present analysis of transference can be considered in terms of their ontological relationship with PRESENT IS PAST (cf. Kimmel, 2010); i.e. whether they provide inferential structures which support, conflict, or are neutral with respect to the conceptualization of the present in terms of the past. None of the examples in Table 1 seem to be conflicting in any way which renders PRESENT IS PAST less acceptable. The conceptual metaphors EMOTIONS ARE CONTAINERS, CONTROL/EMOTION IS PHYSICAL FORCE, AFFECTION IS WARMTH, and LIFE IS A RESOURCE can be considered as neutral since they neither conflict nor augment the overarching PRESENT IS PAST, but are instead deployed for more localized descriptive and conceptualization needs in the extracts. Interestingly, the remaining examples LIFE IS A JOURNEY, TIME/EMOTION IS SPACE, and UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING do seem to conceptually cohere with the metaphorical construction of PRESENT and PAST as two distinct yet related conceptual entities. LIFE IS A JOURNEY facilitates the imagination of present as past as two connected points on a path where the patient's past can be construed to bear upon her present, although this was not obviously exploited in the extracts. Likewise, TIME/EMOTION IS SPACE and UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING both facilitate the construction of this conceptual continuity. The patient 'looks back' at 'those times' in the past from her present 'perspective' and gains some understanding, and this can serve as a conceptual backdrop for therapist and patient to discuss and further analyze the

transference. While the present analysis is limited to explicating PRESENT IS PAST as the main mechanism of transference, future research can elaborate on the wider cluster of ontologically supportive metaphors which also play a role.

Metaphor as a model for transference

The analysis has provided an account of how working through transference could be modeled as an interactional process of working with metaphoric conceptualizations of the PRESENT in terms of the PAST. Figure 1 illustrates a tentative model of transference as metaphor.

From the perspective of metaphor theory, the transferential condition could be described as the result of the formation of unconscious associations between conceptual domains (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). However, while metaphor theory focuses on conceptual correspondences involving propositional knowledge of entities, attributes, and relations, transference critically involves complex relationships at the deeper transferential level of feelings, emotions, and attitudes. Since many therapists believe that the latter elements must be ‘re-experienced’ rather than simply talked about (Grant & Crawley, 2002), working through transference would require them to establish the PAST and PRESENT domains in psychotherapy discourse, guide clients from the conceptual to the transferential level, and help them understand how past psychological dynamics continue to affect the present, after which further appropriate actions could be taken. The present analysis suggests that the conceptual level is more readily accessible as the client draws objective comparisons between PAST and PRESENT, and the therapist expands the source domain by eliciting more details about the PAST. The transferential level, on the other hand, requires more time and effort as source domain information is not accessible by simply adopting an analytic perspective. We saw how role-playing may have facilitated access to feelings, emotions, and attitudes, although

this difficulty of access may also imply subsequent difficulty with accepting the therapist's interpretation of its present relevance.

The contrast between the conceptual and transferential levels is furthermore reflected through differences in the discursive structure of the PRESENT IS PAST metaphor as the therapy progressed. Prior to the role-play, the explication of conceptual correspondences was done in a fairly systematic way, with explicit markers of comparison (e.g. 'now' in Extract 1 and 'from my present perspective' in Extract 2) occurring between statements about PAST and PRESENT. This structure was not observed during the role-play as the emphasis shifts from expanding the source domain and establishing correspondences to a more bidirectional scenario where PAST and PRESENT inform each other, leading to the class-inclusive insight that 'the client is unwilling to understand the needs of others'.

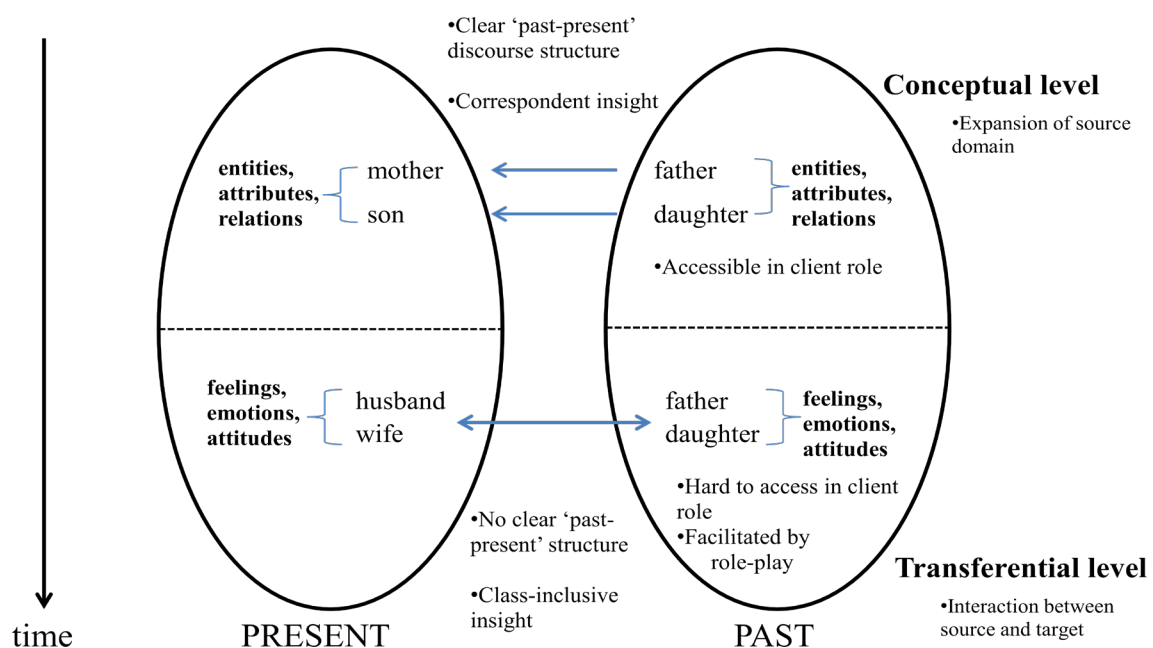


Figure 1 A model of the relationship between working through transference and metaphor

Implications and future directions

Some implications for metaphor research and psychotherapy practice could be discerned from this study. Firstly, in terms of methodology, the present ‘correspondent analysis’ where clinical and discourse analytic insights on a specific phenomenon in therapist-client interaction are integrated may also prove profitable for the study of metaphor in other domains where the production and/or reception of discourse is similarly driven by specialized technical considerations (e.g. advertising). Although metaphor research has succeeded in showing that metaphors are indispensable in real life text and talk, their particular significances and applicability in the various contexts in which they appear still need to be cogently argued for, to convince respective practitioners of their relevance. It seems that the most direct way to “expand (one’s) theoretical perspectives to account for empirical data” (Gibbs, 2010:3) would thus be to seek systematic input from practitioners on the ostensible import of linguistic and discursive elements we assume to be worthy of attention.

Secondly, demonstrating how metaphorical processes inhere in transference adds another dimension, beyond metaphors used *in* therapy (Stott et al., 2010) and metaphors as framing devices *of* therapy (Tay, 2011), to the role and relevance of metaphor in psychotherapy. This may in turn motivate further study of unexplored metaphor-related interactional dynamics, one example in this paper being how the therapist strategically exploited the client’s paralinguistic behavior to guide her towards the transferential level of the PRESENT IS PAST metaphor (Extract 3). More generally speaking, the ways in which activities and processes in the social world may be inherently metaphorical comprise a relatively uncharted area of contemporary metaphor research, along with the various metaphor-related phenomena one may expect to identify from such cases.

Lastly, the transference-as-metaphor model may offer an alternative, complementary framework for therapists to identify and manage the transferential condition. Approaching transference as cross-domain conceptualization provides a means for therapists to construct

their clients' continuous stream of lived experience as two distinct conceptual structures of PRESENT and PAST. The notion of mappings, and how the relationship between source and target may be discursively instantiated in different ways, may also provide a more nuanced picture of how clients construe the relationship between past and present, as we saw in the contrast between the correspondent and class-inclusive structures in the analysis. Another intriguing question is whether metaphor may be a useful model not just for transference management, but also for explaining the nature of the transferential condition to clients. While transference tends to be linked to maladaptive aspects of clients' present situation, therapists may explain its intrinsically non-pathological nature by couching it as an outcome of the normal human tendency to draw cross-domain associations. In this regard, clients' prior use of metaphors including their exploration of transference as the conceptual level may be a useful point-of-departure, as subsequent explorations at the transferential level could be couched as a natural extension of this tendency to metaphorize.

There are nevertheless several limitations to the present analysis. It is firstly based on the interaction between a single therapist-client dyad over a limited number of sessions, and is thus silent on other possible ways in which metaphorical and transferential phenomena relate, as well as cases where working through transference requires extended periods and multiple strategies and resources. Future research planning to integrate observations from a broader range of cases must still balance the needs of data variability and detailed analysis. Secondly, the present discussion of transference has not touched upon the common and concomitant phenomenon of 'counter-transference' (Schaeffer, 2007), which concerns how therapists themselves may react to clients according to their own transferential tendencies. If the client's transference is represented by the interactional negotiation of one conceptual system, as suggested by the present analysis, the added complexity of negotiating another conceptual

system representing the therapist remains an intriguing and challenging prospect for future research.

Summary and conclusion

This paper has proposed a model of the relationship between metaphoric conceptualization and the transference condition, on the previously unexplored basis of actual psychotherapy talk. While existing literature describes this relationship in terms of a displacement of feelings, attitudes, and behaviours from one domain to another, the present discourse analytic and metaphor theoretic approach provides a more nuanced description by tracing how the conceptualization of PRESENT in terms of PAST is discursively realized, constructed, and negotiated between therapist and client. Implications for metaphor research include the replication of ‘correspondent analysis’ as a feature of collaborative research, as well as a call for greater attention to the inherent metaphoricity of activities and processes in the social world. Implications for psychotherapy practice include the potential use of metaphor as a model to interpret as well as explain transference, although these should be considered against the limitations of the present work.

Acknowledgements

This research is supported by Departmental Research Grants (1-ZVEQ, G-UB78) of the Department of English, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. I thank the editor, reviewers, and colleagues from the Mental Health Education and Counseling Centre of National Huaqiao University, China for their critical and constructive comments. The usual disclaimers apply.

References

- Andersen, S. M. (1995). Meaning Ascription in the Elicitation of Emotional Response: Automatic and Nonconscious Processing. *Psychological Inquiry*, 6(3), 197–204.
doi:10.1207/s15327965pli0603_2
- Arlow, J. (1979). Metaphor and the psychoanalytic situation. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 48, 363–385.
- Blenkiron, P. (2010). *Stories and Analogies in Cognitive Behaviour Therapy*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Borbely, A. F. (1998). A psychoanalytic concept of metaphor. *Int J Psycho-Anal*, 79, 923–936.
- Borbely, A. F. (2008). Metaphor and psychoanalysis. In R. W. Gibbs (Ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 412–424). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cameron, L. (2003). *Metaphor in Educational Discourse*. London: Continuum.
- Cameron, L., & Maslen, R. (Eds.). (2010). *Metaphor Analysis*. London: Equinox.
- Cashdan, S. (1988). *Object relations therapy: Using the relationship*. New York: W.W.Norton.
- Casonato, M. (2001). Transference: Love, Journeys, and Psychoanalysis. *PSYART*, Dec 2001.
- Gelso, C. J., & Hayes, J. (1998). *The Psychotherapy Relationship*. New York: Wiley.
- Gibbs, R. W. (2010). The wonderful, chaotic, creative, heroic, challenging world of Researching and Applying Metaphor: A celebration of the past and some peeks into the future. In G. Low, Z. Todd, A. Deignan, & L. Cameron (Eds.), *Researching and Applying Metaphor in the Real World* (pp. 1–18). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Grant, J., & Crawley, J. (2002). *Transference and Projection*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Holmes, P. (1992). *The Inner World Outside: Object Relations Theory and Psychodrama*. London: Tavistock/Routledge.
- Jacobs, M. (2005). *The Presenting Past: The Core of Psychodynamic Counselling and Therapy*. London: McGraw-Hill.
- Kahn, M. (1997). *Between Therapist and Client: The New Relationship* (Revised.). New York: W. H. Freeman.
- Kimmel, M. (2010). Why we mix metaphors (and mix them well): Discourse coherence, conceptual metaphor, and beyond. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(1), 97–115.
- Kopp, R. R., & Craw, M. J. (1998). Metaphoric language, metaphoric cognition, and cognitive therapy. *Psychotherapy*, 35(3), 306–311. doi:10.1037/0033-3204.35.3.306
- Kopp, R. R., & Eckstein, D. (2004). Using early memory metaphors and client-generated metaphors in Adlerian therapy. *J Ind Psychol.*, 60, 163–174.
- Kövecses, Z. (2000). *Metaphor and Emotion. Language, Culture and Body in Human Feeling*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenges to Western Thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- Levitt, H., Korman, Y., & Angus, L. (2000). A metaphor analysis in treatments of depression: Metaphor as a marker of change. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, 13(1), 23–35. doi:10.1080/09515070050011042
- Lieb, K., Zanarini, M., Schmahl, C., Linehan, M., & Bohus, M. (2004). Borderline personality disorder. *Lancet*, 364, 453–61. doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(04)16770-6

- Lyddon, W. J., Clay, A. L., & Sparks, C. L. (2001). Metaphor and change in counselling. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 79(3), 269–274.
- McMullen, L. M. (1996). Studying the use of figurative language in psychotherapy: the search for researchable questions. *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*, 11(4), 241–255.
doi:10.1207/s15327868ms1104_1
- McMullen, L. M. (2008). Putting it in context: Metaphor and psychotherapy. In R. W. Gibbs (Ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 397–411). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McNeill, D. (2005). *Gesture and Thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Meltzoff, J., & Kornreich, M. (1970). *Research in Psychotherapy*. New York: Atherton Press.
- Orlinsky, D., Michael, R., & Willutzki, U. (2004). Fifty years of psychotherapy process-outcome research: Continuity and change. In *Bergin and Garfield's Handbook of Psychotherapy and Behavior Change* (pp. 307–389). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Pollio, H., & Barlow, J. (1975). A behaviorial analysis of figurative language in psychotherapy: one session in a single case study. *Language and Speech*, 18, 136–154.
- Ponsi, M. (1997). Interaction and transference. *Int J Psycho-Anal*, 78, 243–263.
- Pragglejaz Group. (2007). MIP: A Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in Discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 22(1), 1–39. doi:10.1207/s15327868ms2201_1
- Sandler, J., & Sander, A. (1994). Comments on the conceptualisation of clinical facts in psychoanalysis. *Int J Psycho-Anal*, 75, 995–1010.

- Sarpavaara, H., & Koski-Jännes, A. (2013). Change as a Journey-Clients' Metaphoric Change Talk as an Outcome Predictor in Initial Motivational Sessions with Probationers. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 10(1), 86–101. doi:10.1080/14780887.2011.586256
- Schaeffer, J. A. (2007). *Transference and countertransference in non-analytic therapy. Double-edged swords*. Plymouth: University Press of America.
- Semino, E. (2008). *Metaphor in Discourse*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Siegelman, E. Y. (1990). *Metaphor and meaning in psychotherapy*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Sims, P. A. (2003). Working with metaphor. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 57(4), 528–536.
- Steen, G. (2007). *Finding Metaphor in Grammar and Usage*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Steen, G. (2011). The contemporary theory of metaphor - now new and improved! *Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 9(1), 26–64.
- Steen, G. (2013). Deliberate metaphor affords conscious metaphorical cognition. *Journal of Cognitive Semiotics*, 5(1-2), 179–197.
- Steen, G., Krennmayr, T., Dorst, A. G., & Herrmann, J. B. (2010). *A Method for Linguistic Metaphor Identification: From MIP to MIPVU*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Stott, R., Mansell, W., Salkovskis, P., Lavender, A., & Cartwright-Hatton, S. (2010). *Oxford Guide to Metaphors in CBT. Building Cognitive Bridges*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tay, D. (2011). THERAPY IS A JOURNEY as a discourse metaphor. *Discourse Studies*, 13(1), 47–68. doi:10.1177/1461445610387736

- Tay, D. (2013). *Metaphor in Psychotherapy. A Descriptive and Prescriptive Analysis*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Tay, D. (2014). Bodily experience as both source and target of meaning making: Implications from metaphors in psychotherapy for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder. *Cognitive Linguistic Studies*, 1(1), 84–100.
- Tay, D. (2015). Metaphor in case study articles on Chinese university counseling service websites. *Chinese Language and Discourse*, 6(1), 28–56.
- Tay, D., & Jordan, J. (2015). Metaphor and the notion of control in trauma talk. *Text & Talk*.
- Wee, L. (2005). Class-inclusion and correspondence models as discourse types: A framework for approaching metaphorical discourse. *Language in Society*, 34(2), 219–238.
doi:10.1017/S0047404505050098
- Zanotto, M. S., Cameron, L., & Cavalcanti, M. C. (Eds.). (2008). *Confronting Metaphor in Use. An Applied Linguistic Approach*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.