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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by John Ewing Shell entitled "A Hermeneutic Analysis of Metaphor in a Successful Case of Psychotherapy." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in psychology.

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A HERMENEUTIC ANALYSIS OF METAPHOR IN A SUCCESSFUL CASE OF PSYCHOTHERAPY

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

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John Ewing Shell

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JES
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ABSTRACT

Metaphor has received considerable attention in the psychoanalytic literature on the process of psychotherapy. Empirical studies of metaphor in therapy, however, have yielded suggestive but inconclusive results. If not all novel metaphors are clinically relevant and some frozen ones are, clinical relevance itself becomes the criterion. The present study undertook to describe a successful case of psychotherapy, which would permit distinguishing those metaphors which were relevant to it and observing about how they contributed to it.

Analyzing the transcript yielded a hierarchical thematic structure, at whose highest level there was a single pervasive theme. This theme depicted the patient's situation in a way that gathered all themes at lower levels of the hierarchy together. This central issue became clear as the therapy proceeded and came to be represented in a novel and striking metaphor. Some lower level themes also had a striking metaphoric representation.

The novel metaphors which contributed to the therapy were thematic. They were produced directly, with prior development in the theme but not in the metaphor itself. Recurrence was not seen as a necessary criterion of importance. The thematic metaphors were not repeated more often than non-thematic ones. The process of explication was not paraphrasing into literal language but rather by incorporating particular concrete situations into the overriding theme.

Frozen metaphors were observed which represented concrete and static dimensions of the patient's self-world. They provided the

ground from which the themes emerged. Being unobtrusive, they were not thematized in the therapy but might profitably have been so.

The therapist's metaphors also contributed to the dialogue, but instances were observed where they created misunderstanding. The therapist used metaphor to emphasize and to thematize. The instances of misunderstanding imply that clinicians should be circumspect in using their own metaphors, which may not accurately represent the patient's experience.

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CHAPTER I

METAPHOR IN PSYCHOTHERAPY: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Metaphor has become an important area of study because it provides insight into one way people invest speaking with lively meaning. Psychotherapy is speaking which intends change. Understood as a creative act, metaphor is an empirically practicable example of the process of change. This study, as outlined in this chapter, was an attempt to build on previous empirical work following refinements implied in it. The fruits of empirical study may then be applied to an understanding of speaking and the process of psychotherapy. Metaphor is an important element of any dialogue, but especially one such as psychotherapy with a focus on change, because it draws on usual vocabulary but makes something new of it. A new meaning is disclosed, which invites the hearer to come along. This meaning may be explicated after the fact but does not easily survive paraphrase or translation. It includes the hearer who understands it in a unique event. It is more than intellectual, more than reference to some concrete object in quotidian reality. Perhaps profound, perhaps playful, it discloses new possibilities of speaking and of being together.

The widest context in which this empirical study was conducted was Heidegger's "fundamental ontology," where Mitsein, speaking and being together, is central to being human. Within Heidegger's broad horizon, the description of dialogue by Gadamer was applied specifically to

psychotherapy, which is a dialogue revealing and recapitulating the patient's self-world. Metaphor occurs within the dialogue and contributes to it in several ways. It will be argued that metaphor is a dialogue "in miniature" and is central to the unfolding of the dialogue. Just as the patient's problems and capacities are derived from the past and the therapy aimed at future innovations, the novelty of a metaphor takes old lexical meanings and opens up new possibilities. Metaphor is the vehicle for studying the process of dialogue.

Chapter II explicates previous work on metaphor in psychotherapy. The first section offers a brief survey of the development of psychoanalytic theories of metaphor from classical to post-Freudian, from metaphor as Fehlleistung (a slip or "parapraxis," the product of the conflict between impulse and inhibition) to more recent suggestions that metaphoric productivity is central to the process of psychoanalytic psychotherapy. The second section recounts previous empirical efforts to define the role of figurative language in successful psychotherapy. These efforts point to the usefulness of reconsidering the nature of metaphor, which is then taken up in the third and fourth sections. The third section is a brief look at interactive theories of metaphor, which argue that metaphor does more than put words together in an unusual phrase. This leads, in the fourth section, to the radical proposition of hermeneutics; that metaphor is a fundamental example of how people understand each other and co-create the situation in which they live. Following Gadamer, dialogue is argued to be a representation, with the particular meaning Gadamer gives the term [Darstellung], of the participants' self-worlds and the mutual attempt to fuse

them. Dialogue constitutes the context in which meaningfulness is possible and the important metaphors in the dialogue not only express something, but also enlarge the realm and the fullness of dialogue. The dialogue is about something, but also is something, through which the self-worlds of the participants are presented and represented. Psychotherapy is clearly a dialogue which intends something beyond a purely cognitive acquisition of information. As the dialogue unfolds, the participants are caught up in it and its expanding possibilities for new ways of understanding.

Chapter III develops a hermeneutic approach to the empirical problem of identifying metaphors that contribute most to psychotherapy. A major point to this approach is that any element of a text must be understood in light of the whole. The empirical task is to take the transcript of a complete psychotherapy, read it carefully, and describe the role of metaphor in what occurred. The meaningfulness that the psychotherapist and the patient work out is central, not the salience of particular phrases to outside observers, as prior researchers has suggested. This study attempted to highlight those metaphors that the participants used, rather than the meaning they might have had to others. The hermeneutic method provides a stringent procedure for rendering the activity of participants from a first person perspective. The hermeneutic method is quite suited to such an exploration, for it recapitulates the search for a representation and new possibilities of representation in the clinical setting. Metaphor is among those novel events that attract the attention of the experienced therapist and a study of metaphor must reveal the contribution to the therapeutic

process in a manner similar to the therapist coming to understand novelty. The hermeneutic circle also provides a theory of validity that need not appeal to external criteria. The study can remain within the text and, if well done, claim that its findings are valid.

Chapter III provides a rationale for studying a single case of time-limited psychotherapy. A successful case with a very verbal patient was sought, so that the transcript would be most likely to contain fruitful instances of figurative language. The validity of such a study is established by its coherence, comprehensiveness, clarity, and plausibility. Foremost to its importance is that it illuminate the data in a way that is impressive and one that must be taken seriously. The results have to make sense of something that comes to be seen clearly.

The method elaborated in Chapter III recapitulates the clinical process of coming to understand the patient. The point is not to unearth historical facts, but to arrive at plausible and productive interpretations. In a clinical setting, the therapist seeks to understand what the patient presents, illuminated by clinical theory and experience. As in this study, theory and previous experience are not imposed on the data, but serve to heighten sensitivity to which issues are important. The therapist arrives at an understanding of the patient's self-world, of what is presented and of the presumptions that structure the presentation. As the dialogue unfolds, the therapist's understanding becomes concise--the central issues are clear--and elaborate--the manifestation of the issues in the myriad of concrete situations is clear. A hermeneutic method is particularly appropriate to

understanding clinical data, for it allows the thematic structure of the dialogue to emerge without restricting it to pressuposed categories.

Chapter IV describes the first steps of analyzing a particular case. The aim was to understand what occurred in the course of therapy and to make it available to the reader in a concise, but comprehensive way. A hierarchical structure of themes emerged from the content of the dialogue. The myriad of individual comments and descriptions, i.e. the ways in which the participants represented their experience, resolved first into a large number of themes. Many of these themes were subsumed under more inclusive ones, a second order of thematic structure. This second level of organization also helped the import of other themes become clear. In turn, the second order themes revealed themselves as aspects of a third and most concise set of themes. This third order was the central issue for the patient and his dialogue with the therapist. In this particular case, it was a young man's conflict between doing what others wanted and doing what he wanted. The conflict manifested itself in whether others held him back or whether he was holding himself back. The conflict could be rendered in terms of compliance and autonomy, or passivity and activity, or many other theoretical issues. This study differs from a case study, in that illuminating particular manifestations of theory was ancillary. The discussion of the themes remained close to the patient's own words and sought to avoid imposing theoretical inferences and abstractions on the text.

Chapter V presents results of the analysis. Foremost among them is that a hierarchical thematic structure emerged, in which the major issues of the patient can be encapsulated. The patient's major insight at this highest level of comprehensiveness, and hence of the whole therapy, is represented in a metaphor. This metaphor stands out precisely because it gathers together all the major themes of the patient's life. It is a novel metaphor, but there are many other novel metaphors which do not have the comprehensiveness and implicative power this one had for the patient. A comparison with other, less comprehensive, metaphors highlights the concept of thematic metaphor as opposed to merely clever metaphor. Thematic analysis also revealed several groupings of frozen metaphors having clear clinical relevance. An instance where the therapist appeared to misunderstand the importance of one grouping of frozen metaphors is explored. The results of this thematic analysis are compared to those obtained by outside raters, who were restricted to metaphor as phrase, because they did not concern themselves in any continuing way with the unfolding dialogue.

Chapter VI discusses the conclusion from this analysis that the important metaphor is thematic. It "thickens" the dialogue by encapsulating several of the contents of the psychotherapy and of the patient's life situation. The importance of novelty to the metaphors that "do the work" is refined by adding the further condition of being thematic. Novelty or frequency alone is not sufficient. There must be a vibrancy, which resonates with important issues in the psychotherapy, otherwise the novelty is just flashy cleverness. Because of a thematic metaphor's centrality to the process of therapy, it is comparable to

other elements which reveal and co-constitute the patient's situation, such as the recapitulation of issues with the therapist, dreams, and changes in stable patterns of behavior. This comparison, with observations of how the therapist in this case dealt with his own and the patient's metaphors, leads to clinical implications. Two major implications became apparent: One was that the therapist would do well to be chary in producing metaphors. They may not represent the patient's world accurately and result in imposing something external on it. The second was that important dimensions of the patient's world are represented in frozen metaphors which do not attract attention, and the therapist would do well to reflect on them and thematize them explicitly.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON METAPHOR IN PSYCHOTHERAPY

1. INTRODUCTION

It is appealing to conceive of language as well organized and highly structured, with clear, enumerable rules. Every word has a meaning that has been fixed by prior usage and is a stable element of the lexicon. Each element refers to some object in reality or to some thought, and there are logical rules for juxtaposing words. By extension, speaking is a utilitarian process whose main function is to convey information about some objective reality. The truth of a statement is established by comparing its denotation to this reality. Literal meaning as lexical referent is primary. Metaphor is one instance that breaks the rules of grammar and semantics. It combines words in unpredictable ways, creating a new reference that threatens to be semantic nonsense. Speaker and hearer share the rules and check every utterance against them. It is these rules which connect the speaker and hearer and make communication possible. Errors are either nonsense, or in need of emendation to rescue the meaning, or an artful but subsidiary embellishment. Language is seen to be well-organized, predictable, and rational.

Important human speaking, however, involves more than strings of lexical items. A dialogue is the creation of a meaningful situation out of the historically determined meanings of the words. It is a project unfolding in time, having as much to do with the future as with

the past. The future of the dialogue is indeterminate; it is not nonsensical or chaotic.

We do not typically live our lives in a state of disarray. There is a structure to our existence which is both found and created. A dialogue is constrained by cultural and linguistic factors, but is also an opening up of possibility. Our statements may or may not accord with the facts and constraints, that is, they may be true and grammatical or not. In either case, there is the prior sort of truth and relatedness that we live out in the dialogue. This must be so, for it is a part of our existence and indeed constitutes it at that moment.

Fundamentally the issue is not truth as correspondence between signifier and thing, or grammaticality, or even politeness. Every statement is a disclosure of our being at that moment with that other person. How much is opened up and how well is the question. The dialogue is a moment in the life of the two people involved. Any statement in it may be judged according to its truth value, that is, the accuracy of its reference to something external to that moment. Independent of that is its quality of being a constituent of that moment. As a creation toward the future, the issue is not truth but fullness. In the dialogue a portion of both lives becomes figural. The words used are not simply signifiers of some extra-linguistic reality but also are constituents of current reality. They are at that moment the "stuff" of life, provided by language and creatively designed. The meaning of the dialogue is in how fully it discloses the structure being made of the present moment and those that precede and will follow.

There is more to metaphor than ornamental wit, just as there is more to meaning than the lexicon. Reduction of meaning to some molecular literalness prevents access to dialogue. Meaning does not reside solely in the dictionary. Individual words have a historically determined meaning, but it does not help predict what will be said. Meaning is created within the dialogue, and the freedom of metaphor would seem to be crucial in this creativity. Compiling words does not yield insight into dialogue, and dialogue is not exhausted by literal paraphrases. The problem is to find a way of understanding the nature of dialogue, in this case, therapeutic dialogue, and the creative role of figurative speaking within it.

2. PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORIES

The psychoanalytic literature traditionally deals with language in much the same way as the linguistic literature, albeit with its own concepts of history and determinism. Freud himself did not address the question of metaphor directly. Anderson (1964), however, did survey classical analytic sources, and throughout, found an insistence on paraphrasing metaphor into rational objective exposition as the goal. Metaphor was included among the Fehlleistungen, a slipping through of instinctual impulse, although disguised and displaced. It invited working through into secondary process, like every other bit of such material. The primary process, in which A is asserted to be B, must be decoded into sequential and "realistic" statements. To say, "The man is a wolf," hides some meaning behind it, which much be discovered and

laid bare in literal language. Metaphor was to be harnessed by the reality principle.

Sharpe (1940) stated the classical Freudian position, that metaphor is an expression of conflict between instinct and inhibition, analogous to a neurotic symptom. The proper treatment is to translate it from its encoded, symptomatic form into direct reference to the hidden impulses and inhibitions. Ekstein and Caruth (1966) took a slightly different tack and allowed metaphor to stand, in order to establish communication with severely disturbed patients. This was a temporary stratagem, necessitated by the threatened inundation if primary process material were addressed directly. Metaphors are allowed to keep their function of hiding what is really going on. Voth (1970) agreed with the concept of metaphor as hiding something and suggested that analytic work could be furthered by focusing explicitly on metaphor. Those that appear when resistance is low "lead directly to the deepest roots of the personality" (pg. 621). He recommends that the analyst request associations to elements of the metaphor, just as he would to a dream. He left it to the clinician's intuitive skill, however, to determine which metaphors would be productive. It is also noteworthy that his first example of a metaphor is a slip of the tongue.

Arlow (1979) broke with the traditional view and went so far as to say psychoanalysis is "essentially a metaphoric enterprise" since the unconscious is a "metaphoric apprehension of childhood experience" (pg. 373). He further suggested that patient and analyst communicate through metaphor, but the analyst needs to interpret the metaphors in

terms of unconscious fantasy. There is an unconscious analogy in which a missing term must be supplied. Metaphor remains an error, a displacement of meaning in the service of warding off anxiety. The "true" meaning is hidden behind the metaphor. For instance, he noted, "the transference in the psychoanalytic situation represents a metaphorical misapprehension of the relationship to the analyst" (pg. 382; emphasis added); and again, "[Patients] are impelled to address the analyst in such terms because at best they experience only a distorted, disguised approximation of what they unconsciously fantasy" (pg. 378; emphasis added). A literal description of the fantasy, i.e. from the undistorted point of view of the analyst, is more truthful and hence the goal of treatment. The psychoanalytic enterprise becomes a clearing away of the patient's metaphorical distortions in order to build the essential reconstructions and insights in terms the analyst will accept as accurate. The main difference that Arlow asserts is that this is a necessary process rather than an unfortunate hindrance.

Shengold (1981) suggests that metaphor is a first step in the process of gaining insight. As such, it provides the link between affective intensity and sober reflection. It is the means by which earliest memories can be evoked containing "primal metaphorical links" between body-ego and representations of the external world. Following Winnicott, he calls such experiences transitional phenomena--phenomena that relate the interior world to the exterior. Like transitional objects, they are not wholly invented nor merely found. They are invested with an intensity which can dispel "the defensive wrapping around the patient's emotions" (pg. 301). This in turn leads to a

conviction about one's self and the dynamics of one's experience of prior times. In this sense metaphor is not a mask for other things but is the expression of a felt intensity of the current situation and an old experience of childhood. Shengold stresses the capacity of metaphor to bring together: "The metaphor insight refers to the coming to consciousness of that power metaphor itself possesses to make psychic connections of force and meaning" (pg. 302). Describing a clinical example, he states, "In this sensation, the feeling of reality, conviction and identity--feelings whose integration marks the full operation of insight as a process--were brought together. . . Metaphor had evoked the experiential" (pp. 301-302).

Schafer (1983) asserts that there are experiences that can only be known as metaphors: "The metaphor creates an experience that one has never had before" (pg. 127). He applies this idea specifically to new experiences within the transference, finding within it the paradox of old moments being lived in the present. Past situations are more clearly articulated and made accessible by the preliminary work of prior interpretation. Schafer draws an analogy between the psychology of metaphor and interpretation within the transference. Both involve an innovative transformation of the experience of previously routine events. The distinction between past and present, inner and outer, subjective and objective, fades in this transformation.

3. EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The psychoanalytic literature reflects the importance of figurative language in and for the process of psychotherapy. The patient's

characteristic images and novel juxtapositions are seen as constituents of the organization of personality. Generally it is left to the therapist's clinical experience and intuition to decide which expressions are worthy of attention.

There are some recent studies of the specific role of metaphor in psychotherapy, which make an effort to describe its function more precisely. The best description remains that of Barlow (1973; see also Pollio, Barlow, Fine, & Pollio, 1977), who distinguished between frozen figures--those which are "quite similar to ordinary vocabulary items"--and novel figures--"which do the work" (Pollio and Barlow, 1975, pg. 242). In one particular session of Gestalt therapy, he found three segments defined by bursts of novel figurative production by the patient. Corresponding differences in the therapist's behavior were also noted. The first segment of this initial session between this patient and this therapist was dominated by literal speaking. It came to an end when the therapist asked the patient to engage in a typical Gestalt therapy exercise. This request ushered in a period of highly figurative speaking in which personifications of the patient's personality conversed. This segment ended with the therapist discussing the literal implications of the patient's figures. It was at this time that the only occurrence of interpretation was seen. The final segment was understood as the therapist leading the patient out of the "strange" formulations of the exercise back to the "familiar", but now with a resolution of the presenting problem. Barlow theorized that metaphors generated a non-intrusive, playful heuristic, through which the patient acquired "dramatic insight".

When this insight was examined quantitatively, the patient's novel figures were found to correlate 0.42 ($P < .07$) with utterances judged to reflect insight. When regions of insight were considered, the relationship was stronger. Two patterns were found: In one there was a co-occurrence of figurative language and insight. In the other, bursts of novel metaphors alternated with literal statements expressing insight. These results were considered only suggestive because of the special nature of the interview. Gestalt therapy makes use of explicitly figurative techniques, thereby generating an unusually high rate of novel metaphor. In addition, the analysis of insight was not entirely satisfactory, because of the unusual nature of the session. The patient had been in psychotherapy quite some time with someone else. In this initial interview, the dramatic quality of her insight could be seen as compliant statements of what she thought this new fellow wanted. The unit of analysis, a single statement or a series of statements, contains no check against intellectualized compliance.

Barlow sought to meet these objections by examining sessions from a long-term course of traditional psychoanalysis (1973). Here there was no overt instruction to speak figuratively. Despite this, he found that regions judged to contain insight were either highly metaphoric or strictly literal. The metaphoric regions affirmed a relation between past and present experience or stated a general case. The literal ones either stood alone as direct statements or--most significantly--explicate a preceding metaphoric statement. Barlow contends this is not only the key to the relationship of literal to figurative but to the process of psychotherapy generally. Novel metaphors serve to juxtapose

diverse elements of the patient's life. They portray them in a form rich with implication which is then worked out through a process of "literalizing" the metaphor. A productive metaphor will recur again and again as different implications and applications are worked out, in "a continuous, dynamic process" (Pollio, et al., 1977, pg. 157). What the patient gains from such psychotherapy is not just a particular insight into one aspect of his life, but the capacity to use this process further, "to maintain contact with his experience of himself and others" (loc. cit.).

Amira (1982), following Barlow's arguments, reasoned that successful therapies should show higher novel metaphor rates than unsuccessful ones. He avoided the problem of identifying insight validly and reliably by using cases with elaborate measure of overall outcome (Strupp and Hadley, 1977). His hypothesis, however, was not borne out in his sample of ten cases. There was no significant difference between them, which led him to question Barlow's conclusions. He suggested that further work would need to look to the quality of the figurative language and the recurrence of figures. He found examples of frozen figures "fraught with clinical significance nonetheless" (pg. 67), alluding to "a certain vibrant quality" (pg. 69). His response to the empirical problem of identifying which metaphors "do the work" was to include all figurative production, both frozen and novel, in his analysis. This undoubtedly added to the variance, making it even harder to discern significant patterns, not to mention burying "vibrant qualities" even deeper. Not only may frozen figures be felt intuitively to be important, but not all novel ones are. The proper procedure would

be to make a finer distinction between them, not a cruder one. Novel figures may not be therapeutically productive if they are merely witty or embellishing. What seem to outside raters to be frozen figures may generate productive exploration between therapist and patient. The empirical problem is to discern what is useful to the psychotherapy, which is not the same as novel to raters.

Differences in approach may make results incommensurate. Barlow surveyed a single session, the first between that particular patient and therapist, as well as five sessions of a long psychoanalysis. Amira examined samples from time-limited psychotherapy. It may be wrong to assume the role of metaphor will be the same in such different situations. Barlow also used ratings of insight that were of necessity focused on explicit statements. The relationship of such statements to the overall success of a psychotherapy, aside from intellectualization, was not empirically established. There is no doubt that self-understanding is crucial, but not by itself sufficient. Amira's data included a full array of outcome measures appropriate to short term psychotherapy, as developed by Strupp and the Vanderbilt Psychotherapy Project. Amira dealt with cases of psychotherapy judged overall to be successful, rather than particular instances of insight in sample sessions. By this means he avoided the difficult issue of distinguishing insight from other things such as telling the therapist what he wants to hear.

Both Barlow and Amira shared the same methodology for distinguishing metaphors and categorizing them as novel and frozen. This procedure consisted of three trained raters separately perusing the text

then conferring on their findings. Those figures of speech that all three agreed on, either separately or during conference, were included as proper instances. The conference also determined the rating of novel or frozen. As such, the raters approached the transcripts as a linguistic task, not a clinical one. They did not have access to transcripts of the whole psychotherapy or to any clinical information about the case. As conceived in these terms, such information is not relevant. Amira, however, noted that raters with more clinical experience seemed more apt to notice clinically relevant metaphors. Since these studies did not produce definitive results on the role of metaphor in psychotherapy, a change in approach seems warranted. Amira suggested this when he noted that the distinction between novel and frozen was not wholly congruent with the distinction between clinical relevance and irrelevance. In addressing psychotherapy, the issue must be what went on in the therapy and how figurative language participated in that process. It thus becomes a question of which metaphors contribute to the process and how. At the same time the attributes of the metaphors "which do the work" should be specified more precisely.

4. METAPHOR IN CONTEXT

Interactionist Theories

Figurative language attracts attention because it is more than a simple statement of some "fact." It contributes to the context in ways that objective statements do not. Black (1962) argued that a metaphor could not be replaced by some set of literal statements about properties. An "emphatic" metaphor is not "expendable." The substitution by

literal statements would entail the loss of expressive presence. Emphatic metaphors have "a power to present in a distinctive and irreplaceable way insight into 'how things are'" (1979, pg. 21). Black emphasizes that a metaphor is a system of relationships, which cannot be laid out in sequential fashion: "Every metaphor is the tip of a submerged model" (1979, pg. 31).

The crux of the interactionist view is that it envisions a system of mutual influence and modification by both terms of the metaphor. For Black, "a system of associated commonplaces" of one term is projected onto the other, creating an "implicative context." This projection alters the original systems or contexts of both terms. Both come to be seen in a new light because of their interaction. A metaphoric statement does more than compare one term's qualities with the other's. As Turbayne put it, "I do not merely pretend that a man shares the properties of wolves, I intend it" (1962, pg. 15; emphasis in original). To say "The man is a wolf," is not just to assert he has some properties of a wolf. It creates a structural correspondence. A new set of associations is created in which the man seems more wolf-like and the wolf more human-like. This capacity of metaphor to say something other than simple reference to the qualities of objective reality defines its domain of creating and created meaning.

Metaphor generates new meaning in an instance of tension between past and future, between fact and possibility, between identity and difference. Berggren (1962/1963) points out that the putative semantic anomaly must be maintained for there to be tension between incompatible referents and their forced integration: "Metaphor constitutes the

indispensable principle for integrating diverse phenomena and perspectives without sacrificing their diversity" (pg 237; emphasis in original). Without tension, metaphor is either anomaly, myth, or frozen non-metaphor. Enlarging on Black, Berggren notes the effect of a tribal shaman saying, "The man is a wolf," where the ordinary reality is dissolved into myth. There is no tension, for by the shaman's power, he is now a wolf. There is no tension left in "the arm of the chair," for what else could it be called? The phrase no longer creates an association to the body; it merely denotes a part of the chair. Nor is there tension in anomaly, for it is rejected as meaningless nonsense. Frostig (1929) noted that myth has a social function which distinguishes it from the similar semantic constructions in schizophrenic speech. There is a disconnection between the meaning of the word and the experience of the word, for the "metaphors" of schizophrenic speech do not occur within a dialogue where there is a shared sensible reality. The tension, the carrying on of conversation, has vanished in psychotic disconnectedness. It is easy, however, to imagine hearing a nonsensical utterance and assuming that the speaker intended something by it. In that case, tension is restored, not between the words, but between speaker and hearer. The hearer might well inquire and the ensuing dialogue will elucidate, or better, create the meaning. The location of the tension leads toward metaphor's place in a much wider context.

Ricoeur (1977) criticized Black for treating tension as a conflict at the level of the word. He argued the man is a wolf and is not: The copula is at issue, creating an ontological and not a semantic problem.

He suggested that the relationship is more like that between concrete and abstract, that is, a matter of interpretation. In denotative language the word stands for the thing. In poetic language there is "a certain 'fusion' between meaning or sense and the sense" (pg. 209). The referential function of the word recedes before the actuality of the discourse, which intends something beyond the utilitarian exchange of information. Metaphor is more than the static juxtaposition of seemingly anomalous words. It occurs in a context, which co-constitutes the meaning of the phrase. In turn, the metaphor co-constitutes its context. A hermeneutic understanding offers a productive advance for the study of metaphor in psychotherapy.

Hermeneutic Theories

Metaphor can be conceived of as a juxtaposition of words or as a phrase, as in the studies of Barlow (1973) and Amira (1982). These are not the only possibilities, for a metaphor can be approached as an element of discourse which participates in the structure of discourse. Ricoeur (1977, 1981) acknowledged the interactionist view of metaphor, but sought to go beyond it. For him, metaphor could be a "local event," constrained by semantic features, but it is imbedded in a broader context, called discourse. Discourse has a number of properties. It is the largest unit of analysis, applying to "The Complete Works" or to a single lyric poem, or to the transcript of a course of psychotherapy equally as well. The event of creation is evanescent; the meaning is brought forward in time through interpretation. The meaning of the discourse endures with the structure of propositions,

which predicates some subject to have certain attributes; it is, however, also an interpersonal event. It says something about something and also is an act of speaking or writing, requiring understanding. Reference is not only to extra-linguistic reality, but to its own existence in that particular situation. It predicates what it means as well as that it means.

Ricoeur argues that the meaning of discourse is revealed by a hermeneutic reading which moves repeatedly from particular statement to the whole text, i.e. from text to context. The process is circular, for the understanding of a particular statement illuminates the understanding of the whole, and vice versa. The hermeneutic circle is an elaboration of the simple notion that understanding does not take place in a vacuum. New events are interpreted in the light of previous experience. We bring not only experience in similar matters to bear but also successive levels of assumptions and predispositions acquired through personal and cultural history. At the highest level of abstraction is our understanding of the nature of being human. Understanding must take place within a context.

The process is circular also because there is no predetermined goal. It is inductive and exploratory. There is no assurance where the process will lead, for each new answer provides the basis for new questions to be posed. What was understood before is recast in a new form. It becomes its future possibilities. At the end is not a final, absolute statement but an illuminating transparency of what the understanding has become.

Ricoeur concentrates on discourse as written text, because he feels that is where the hermeneutical problem is greatest. He writes of "the power of a work to project a world of its own and to set in motion the hermeneutical circle, which encompasses in its spiral both the apprehension of projected worlds and the advance of self-understanding in the presence of these new worlds" (1981, pg. 171). The text is fixed, allowing successive readings. Its meaning is alienated because the event of creation and the event of understanding are now separate. Writer and reader live in separate worlds. The aim of hermeneutics is for the reader to be able to enter into the world proposed by the text. The text reveals a world, but this world comes to be shared by the reader in a specific act of understanding. Through this act the world of the text and the world of the reader merge; in Gadamer's (1960/1975) technical term, the horizons fuse. Following Austin, Ricoeur contends that the decisive aspect of discourse is that it is an illocutionary act: "What is said of the subject is one thing; what I 'do' <u>in</u> saying it is another" (1981 pg. 168).

Ricoeur argues that metaphor shares these properties with discourse and can be thought of as a miniature discourse. Metaphor takes the form of a proposition that lays claim to meaning, but clashes semantic sets. As proposition it is anomalous; as event it can be interpreted. It is, in the form of an interpersonal event, disclosing the being of the speaker at that moment with that listener. This is no less true for metaphor than any other verbalization. The speaker reveals his stance toward the world, the listener, and himself, presenting his utterance for interpretation and inviting a furthering

response. The listener can understand it only if this complex Gestalt is taken into account. Discourse is "an architecture of themes and purposes" (1981, pg. 175), which has to be apprehended as more than a conglomeration of semantic bricks. Linguistic decoding can be complete, accurate, and exhaustive; apprehending discourse is provisional and probabilistic, always awaiting revision and augmentation.

The meaning of discourse is not hidden behind the text but disclosed through it. As reference to an external reality, it can be decoded; as an event, it offers an invitation to interpret. Successive efforts to understand and further the discourse are a dialectical process toward the broadest possible understanding of a problematic event. By talking about things, the speaker reveals himself and his world. His values and motivations emerge from what he says and what he does not say. The horizon of the discourse may be broad or narrow. His speaking refers to things but is also an event here and now which furthers the relationship. The speaker's statements have a truth value that can be checked, as well as an immediacy in revealing mood and attitude. What he says about objects and how he handles them may reveal why he does so. He invites his partner to see the world as he does. As code for objects, the discourse refers. As disclosure, it is an event "waiting for fresh interpretations which decide [its] meaning" (1981, pg. 208).

Even a single striking metaphor occurs within the context of discourse, and Ricoeur emphasizes that it is the whole of discourse which projects a world. Drawing on the theory of models, in particular that of Mary Hesse, Ricoeur (1977) elaborates on metaphor and how it

refers. A theoretical model is a redescription: "Things themselves are 'seen as'" (pg. 243). The interaction of metaphor and its referent comes to be an identification. The identification is clearest and most elaborated in a "metaphoric network," that is, in the discourse as a whole. There are "radical" and "systematic" metaphors which cover a larger area than the single phrase, organizing the individual metaphors into networks. Like models, such metaphors serve as schemas. In this context Ricoeur refers to Lewin's concept of field, one of his rare mentions of Gestalt theory. Rather than schema, then, these networks might be better thought of as forming a Gestalt, a whole to be subsumed under a smaller set of overarching metaphors. Such considerations lead to the conclusion that when metaphor is seen as a heuristic, it is necessary to remember that the application of the heuristic to a particular domain will also change the heuristic. It is not a scale model, independent of the larger field to which it refers. The relationship--and the idea of metaphoric truth--involves tension.

Although his stance toward spoken discourse is not consistent, Ricoeur denies specifically at one point that conversation does more than refer to "the situation common to the interlocutors, that is, the aspects of reality which can be shown or pointed to" (1981 pg. 177). Buber (1979), of course, would disagree and in Gadamer's Truth and Method (1960/1975) Gespräch (conversation, dialogue) occupies a central role. Gadamer even describes the process of interpreting a text as entering into a dialogue with it.

5. METAPHOR IN DIALOGUE

The Nature of Dialogue

Dialogue is the shared participation of two people. The description of what people do together--and of the world--was radically changed in the description developed by phenomenological hermeneutics of what people are. This philosophical tradition proposes a "paradigm shift" from the prevailing Cartesian view of what it is to be human. Heidegger defined his goal to be a "fundamental ontology," not what a thing is, but what a thing is. To reach it, he undertook to destroy the primacy of all preconceptions about what a thing is. This left him with the incontrovertible remainder that it is some thing. It exists in the world; it is there; it is a Being-There--a Dasein. Notions about physical properties (res extensa), or mind (res cogitans) appended to the body like a rider on a horse, or about the skin being the boundary of the self, or about speaking being the communication of information--all such notions were set aside as limited particular ways of thinking about things as Heidegger sought other more general ways of thinking about Being.

The crucial point for Heidegger is that Being is not a collection of physical or mental attributes nor a vague ethereal idea. It has a structure through which it manifests itself. Already this last sentence contains an error and shows part of the difficulty in approaching Heidegger. Being does not have a structure--it is that structure. It is not other than its manifestations. Heidegger (1927/1979) expresses this in a startling summary: "Das 'Wesen' des Daseins liegt in seiner

Existenz" (pg. 42). Taking the words in their everyday sense, this would be translated, "The 'essence' of existence lies in its existence." Dasein has begun to establish itself as a common English term and the sentence is a bit clearer when it is left as is, "The 'essence' of Dasein lies in its existence." Dasein is Being-There and existence comes from the Latin ek-sistere, how a thing stands out, shows itself, or becomes figural. Heidegger put the word Wesen in quotation marks to call attention to it. It is a form of the verb "to be," so a translation with curious words might maintain the sense: "The 'Being' of that Being There lies in how it becomes figural."

Da-sein, Being-There, is a recognition that Being is always situated. It is in a particular place at a particular time. It has a history and a future; it arises and passes away in its particular manifestations. In time and space it has limits; its situatedness has a horizon. At the horizon Being is no more. The possibility of not-being is another fundamental mode of Being, and one which makes going-on-being fundamentally problematic. There is an openness to Being, so that Dasein is not just this or that; what it is, is one possibility among many. The situatedness of Dasein has limits, but within those limits there are virtually infinite possibilities. Dasein becomes figural in its manifestations, but what it is, is its own possibility: "Dasein ist je seine Möglichkeit" (pg. 42; emphasis in original). Thus, the translation might read, "The 'Being' of Dasein appears as it might be."

Heidegger was well aware of the everydayness of the words he chose, as well as of their resonance with previous cultures. His

exploitation of the resources of the German (and often Greek) language makes translation a formidable task. No philosopher has relied so heavily on the manipulation of quite ordinary words to illuminate his thinking. The origin of his vocabulary was in the topic he chose; the everyday person in his everyday world, not some metaphysical realm for which new terminology could be invented. The sesquipedalian English translations with their many hyphens lose both this everyday quality and the sense of how many terms Heidegger re-constitutes are related etymologically. For example, the important term eigen, meaning one's own, is generally translated by "authentic." The origin of the English in the Greek authentike, (cf. "author") is precisely what Heidegger is after, since it means "one who does a thing himself," according to the Oxford English Dictionary. In modern American usage, however, authentic has come to mean real, reliable, genuine, which is quite a different constellation. There is also no way to follow the strand from eigen to ereignen, to happen, and aneignen, to acquire. Heidegger's thesis that something that happens is what one does oneself to acquire a world becomes at best paradoxical and at worst confusing; in the original, it is playfully profound. When "acquire" is changed to "appropriate," with its origin in proprium, one's own, the point is recaptured, but it sounds more like what an accountant, rather than Being, does.

For Heidegger Dasein is "thrown" into the world. This throwing (werfen) is also an entwerfen, a designing, a making something of the world. "Things" reveal themselves in their possible usefulness or resistance to Dasein's projects. This usefulness exists within

Dasein's understanding of the world. This understanding is not merely intellectual; most of the time it is not at all. It is a fundamental constituent of Being-in-the-world. It is what makes things of the world familiar (gewohnt) and makes dwelling (wohnen) possible. The existence of a jug is not in its substance or shape, but in its pouring. Dasein at that moment is pouring, with grateful satisfaction. To view things dispassionately is to keep them at a distance, not to appropriate them. This is a possibility, of course, and a project of "objectivity" in its own right. Tourists gawk at a foreign city, but do not dwell there; their project is to visit and not to get involved.

Dasein is its projects and the tools being used in them. The useful desk, pen, paper, the physiology necessary for sitting in the chair and writing, the history of being educated, leading up to wanting to write something, and also the culture that raises the questions and makes universities available to answer them; all these manifest themselves in the project of writing. They are the project, not items that take up independent space. They stand out only when offering resistance to the project. The desk is neither in consciousness nor space, neither is the pen and paper, nor the floor, nor any other thing required for the writing. Subject and object are a unity; they reveal themselves as separate only to a particular way of looking at them from a distance. In the course of writing, they are only there as the writing. The pen writes smoothly on the paper and draws no attention to itself; it is zuhanden (in one's hands). When it runs out of ink, it is refractory. It is in a different mode than before; it is vorhanden (in front of me there, requiring attention). It is suddenly

"outside" the project of writing and calls for the project of finding the ink bottle. The "outside-ness" is in regard to the project and not in some abstract space. When a thing is vorhanden, it is not yet a useful tool for human activity. It may be broken; it may be getting in the way; it may be absent and needed urgently. The ink bottle that is not in the drawer when needed exists with much more obtrusiveness than the one that is.

There can be no insight in the sense of seeing behind appearances to what is "really" going on. Especially where the Dasein of the self is concerned, there is no thing. Dasein is its future possibilities. Heidegger (1927/1979) stresses this by choosing the term Durchsichtigkeit, roughly transparency, although again there is no "thing" to look through. It is rather "ein verstehendes Ergreifen der vollen Erschlossenheit des In-der-Welt-Seins durch seine wesenhaften Verfassungsmomente hindurch" (an understanding grasping of the full disclosedness of being-in-the-world on through its essential constituent factors) (pg. 146; emphasis in original). Looking at the self, one sees as in a clearing, through the constituent factors of being-in-the-world. Being-there is the clearing in the forest of manifestations: not a thing, but a disclosure.

The hermeneutic circle captures this process of disclosure. It is not an attempt to reduce the whole to its elements, or any reduction at all. It seeks to reveal the meaning of what is at hand so as to make further events possible. It adds nothing and subtracts nothing. Through interpretation it seeks to make the phenomena durchsichtig, while remaining faithful to the structure of the original. It is not a

convergent procedure that yields a "correct" answer. Rather than narrowing to a final result, the hermeneutic circle opens up to include more and more of the context in which the content at hand finds itself. Its horizon expands to include known and not-known elements of the field of subject and object. As interpretation proceeds, a meaningfulness is revealed. There are other possible meanings, for each interpretation occurs in a different context.

Like any paradigm shift, Heidegger's ontology is difficult. In translation, especially, the terms are obscure and recalcitrant for they express an entirely different view of the world. This view is not just dealing with some specialized phenomenon but with the everyday world of everyone. It is hard to work through to a new understanding of the existence of the simplest things even when it is a new construal of a single subject and a single object. It is even more complicated when two people together are considered. Heidegger states that Mitsein (being with others) is a constituent of Dasein and in Being and Time the analysis of Dasein also implies an analysis of Mitsein. The problem of dealing with two not entirely congruent self-worlds recurs in his later work dealing with language. Language is a co-constituent of Dasein and is the means through, and by, which the possibility of isolation is staved off. Truth is an emergent property of Dasein's projects and can be shared with others. Through language we come to share a world with others.

Gadamer (1960/1975) continues this line of argument. His central intent is presaged in the curious order of his title: Truth and Method. He prefaces his analysis of language with the words, "It is

concerned to seek that experience of truth that transcends the sphere of the control of scientific method wherever it is to be found, and to inquire into its legitimacy" (pg. xii). The scientific method determines the nature of the truth it permits. Gadamer seeks to legitimize an experience of truth in other domains and to derive from it a method for the human sciences, which "resists any attempt to change it into a method of science" (pg. xii).

Gadamer finds the experience of this truth in art, philosophy, and language. His excursions into aesthetics, historiography, and theology display an impressive breadth of learning and are fascinating in their own right, but the reader is constantly aware that Gadamer has a general purpose in mind when examining a particular topic. This purpose is no less than a theory of experience itself.

After a critique of aesthetic theories which argue the importance of subjectivity and of genius, Gadamer suggests a clue to the aesthetic experience lies in the nature of play [Spiel]. In this fundamental mode of experience he finds subjectivity being transcended: "The mode of being of the game [Also Spiel] does not permit the player to behave toward the game as to an object" (pg. 92). Play has its own existence, independent of the subjectivity of the players. When they reflect upon the game, i.e. distance themselves from it, they are no longer playing. To be in the game, the players give themselves over to it, are caught up in it, and lose themselves in it: "All playing is a being played" (pg. 95). The spirit of play is removed from the serious purposefulness of other activities, yet playfulness is not the subjective mood of the players. To be caught up in it, they must be wholly serious. Not

taking the game seriously is to be a spoilsport. Playfulness resides in the playing and its nature of being free of quotidian concerns. The game has its own rules, which must be strictly observed for the game to proceed, but these rules are different from the tasks posed by purposeful problem solving. Playfulness exists in the game when the players want to play.

Gadamer makes a great contribution to the theory of play, but his intention, which is the concern here, is to illuminate modes of being, in particular modes of being together. He argues that to engage in an activity "represents it" [stellt es dar] and a game represents only itself: "Its mode of being is self-representation [Selbstdarstellung]" (pg. 97). The players do not represent themselves, but rather the game. The play takes over the self-representation of the players, becomes their reality, and exists as itself. The players are not manipulating some object outside themselves. The subject-object split disappears in playfulness.

Gadamer follows his line of analysis from play [Spiel] to drama [Schauspiel], from representation [Darstellung] to performance [Darstellung]. What is applicable here is his argument against subjectivity as the only mode of being of human activity and how this analysis lays the foundation for a description of dialogue. Dialogue also has the essential property of play; its only purpose is to participate in it. Imparting information, making dogmatic assertions not "open to discussion," and entertaining with wit are forms of communication that tend to bring dialogue to an end. As in play, the participants in dialogue are caught up in it and find themselves governed by it. The

dialogue has a content which the participants wish to understand and it is this mutual intent, not the participants, which conducts the dialogue. The subjectivity of the participants, which might ask for information or help, or pit assertion against assertion, yields to the shared purpose of being together. Similarly content cannot be split off from dialogue, for it is in the speaking that the content exists. To abstract some element, some "fact" or phrase, is to sever it from the on-going process of coming to an understanding.

The participants in a dialogue begin in misunderstanding and distance. The dialogue is motivated by lack and alienation; it intends to create possibility and alliance. Analogous to play, the intentionality of the dialogue resides in the dialogue itself, not the consciousness of the speakers. The self-worlds of the participants are initially separate and as they come to understand each other there is a "fusion of horizons." This technical term is well illustrated when Gadamer (1977) writes of his experience during Heidegger's lectures on Aristotle. The topic came alive in a way that Gadamer no longer knew whether the issue belonged to Aristotle, Heidegger, or himself. Indeed, he realized it belonged to all. This lack of distinction impelled him to an analysis of the nature of interpretation and of understanding, itself. The world of an author or any other person is different enough that the text or utterance which mediates it requires interpretation. Successful interpretation is not couching some content in different words, but apprehending the world of the other. The horizons of the other and the interpreter, their self-worlds, come to be shared.

The fusion of horizons is an elaboration of Heidegger's enigmatic Mitsein. Coming to an understanding is more fundamental than any simple cognitive process. It is never complete and exists only as a continuing event. The content of the dialogue is not known and then imparted by one person to others, as in a lecture. The understanding is not reached and then put into words. The understanding is the event of the dialogue, not some bit of information, and as such co-constitutes human being. Heidegger's conception of Mitsein has to be inferred from his writings on language. Gadamer's discussion also leads him to an analysis of the nature of language.

Language is not a tool that humans have, for it exists only in being used, and to be human is to speak. For Heidegger, being human and speaking are the same thing. Speaking is how humans exist, how we find ourselves in the world and create a human dwelling. One of Heidegger's most intriguing articles is an exposition of a poem by Hölderlin which contains the line, ". . . dichterisch wohnet der Mensch [. . . poetically man dwells]" (1954). Human being is "thrown" into an uncanny [unheimisch, un-homey] world and must construct a dwelling place. Language is not a tool, but rather co-constitutes the world and the process of dwelling. Heidegger's explicit intent was always ontological and the analysis of language is an analysis of human existence. Similarly, Gadamer's analysis of dialogue is simultaneously an analysis of ontological concerns: "On [language] depends the fact that man has a world at all" (pg. 401). The world exists as world only insofar as it comes into language and language exists only insofar as it is a Darstellung (a representation in Gadamer's sense) of the world. This

representation is not a reflected "objective" consideration of something at a distance but something co-constituted by language that human being gets caught up in.

Gadamer argues that the process of coming to an understanding is an act of interpretation, as from one language to another. What a word means is not immediately understood and the word itself becomes an issue. Its meaning becomes figural and draws the dialogue on until some degree of understanding is reached. If there is no difference between the participants, their mutual understanding was reached before the dialogue and is taken for granted. What they mean is no longer figural. They no longer translate, just speak. There can be no new understanding or possibility. This state of affairs is ideal or trivial. The ideal is never reached and subjectively purposive conversation is not dialogue. Buber's (1979) characterization of most human interaction as "I - it" points to a failure to want to enter into dialogue. Such conversations occur within the shared world of everyday culture, where much is taken for granted. Perfect dialogue does not exist and the world of another person is never fully known. There is always something that is not fully disclosed that draws us back into dialogue. Things that are taken for granted can become figural again. Our presuppositions become obvious when things go counter to our expectations. The process of interpretation confronts our "prejudices" as Gadamer terms them, i.e. our prior understandings, and calls them into question. When understanding is not complete, the language of the dialogue calls attention to itself and is problematic, like a foreign tongue. As the dialogue proceeds, the language becomes transparent,

indistinguishable from the thing said. As Gadamer (1960/1975) put it, "Every conversation presupposes a common language, or better: it creates a common language" (pg. 341).

For Gadamer language exists only in its use, in dialogue, which implies that it is essentially in the process of being created at every moment. The history of the language is brought into the present in every speech act. The set of historically fixed signs and symbols provides a means of understanding the world revealed in those signs. Like other traditions, language is molded to fit every new situation and every new situation brings with it a new use of language. This constitutes the "effective-history" [Wirkungsgeschichte, literally the history of the effect something has] of language. The world reveals itself in a particular way to a particular viewer. The object represents itself as understanding, as language. Because language is not a fixed system of signs, it offers the possibility of dealing with an unending number of situations and expanding understanding more and more. Gadamer traces the consequences of thinking about language as a fixed system and concludes, "It can be stated as a fundamental principle that wherever words assume a mere sign function, the original connection between speaking and thinking, with which we are concerned, is changed into an instrumental relationship" (pg. 392). To the extent that a word merely stands for an object, the object exists at a distance, "vorhanden" is Heidegger's term, to be manipulated. This implies that the meaning of the word resides in some pre-linguistic proposition that could be worded in a number of different ways. Each synonymous wording means the proposition, but is not the proposition

itself. Hence, there is some ideal logic, some final order of things as they are, of which any expression is a more or less adequate reflection.

Gadamer argues that a person who speaks is considering a particular situation and creating a particular situation. Logic and abstraction, universals and formalisms, deduction and induction do not come into play. Concept formation involves a different process:

> If a person transfers an expression from one thing to the other, he has in mind something that is common to both of them, but this need not be in any sense generic universality. He is following, rather, his widening experience, which sees similarities. . . . It is the genius of linguistic consciousness to be able to give expression to these similarities. This is its fundamental metaphorical nature, and it is important to see that it is the prejudice of a theory of logic that is alien to language if the metaphorical use of a word is regarded as not its real sense" (pg. 388-389; emphasis added).

As dialogue opens up new possibilities of understanding, it creates new meaning. Metaphor is a particular linguistic event where this is visible. The reciprocity between the elements of the figurative phrase is also the reciprocity between new situation, new meaning, new language. In any dialogue, words are fundamentally metaphoric. This quality, however, is to be found in the dialogue as a whole, for that is where the new meaning comes to be, not in the words.

Dialogue has a dual nature. It is about something and is an event of being together in which a relationship is created, revealed, and carried forward. As with metaphor, the tension between participants, between what is said and what is meant, and the shared intention of resolving the tension, keeps the dialogue going. The disparity shakes

the sessile assumptions. The tension is resolved when the dialogue has acquired a history and the participants understand each other. Dialogue is a tension between the mythic dissolution of the boundaries between the participants and the facticity of those boundaries.

The verbal expression of a situation is also the creation of a situation. When an old word is "applied" to a new thing, both the word and the thing are modified. As in the interactionist theory of metaphor, the elements affect each other. Hermeneutics would go one step further and point out that "word" and "thing" are not separate. Similar to the Whorfian hypothesis, "things" emerge in human projects toward dwelling in a world that is structured by language. That structure is then altered by the new task at hand, or more precisely, that structure is the new task. If going to the moon is a race, then races also resonate as great adventures. Inductive and deductive reasoning have no access to this mode of thinking which alters the very perception of the thing . The context in which the task exists co-constitutes the task. Text and context interpret each other mutually, in a fundamentally metaphoric manner. This is also a model of the hermeneutic circle, which proceeds from element to element repeatedly until text and context are one.

As long as human speaking is measured against logic, it will sometimes appear chaotic and even wrong. By placing metaphor at the center, Gadamer makes the process of interpretation a rigorous basis for human science. Truth is not measured by syllogism and correspondence between sign and referent, nor is it in opposition to art and play. The meaning of human activity emerges through continuing effort

to understand it. There is an understanding inherent in the activity and an observer can come to understand the activity. A therapist can suggest new ways of understanding reports by the patient of activities outside the therapy as well as activities within it. The meanings are not fixed by lexical or personal history, but like a metaphor they can gathering many themes and purposes together. Thinking of thinking as a on-going process of interpretation opens up possibilities of understanding important human issues that have proved recalcitrant. Psychotherapy is not a source of second class data which are suspect, but one obvious access to particulars of the human condition. Having a dash of art and play does not disqualify psychoanalytic psychotherapy as a rigorous endeavor.

Psychotherapy as Dialogue

Psychotherapy is an especially clear case of two people establishing a dialogue that continues for a period of time. It is not a utilitarian exchange of information, in which one person communicates to another. One might say they form a relationship, although that too presumes there are two separate people, bounded by their respective skins, communicating. If the dialogue is taken as a unitary phenomenon, some other word to denote the situation is needed. Heidegger's ontology and Gadamer's analysis of dialogue can provide a fruitful shift in understanding the process of psychotherapy and how metaphor contributes to it.

In psychotherapy the context is a dialogue centering on the experiences of one of the participants. Something about these experiences

has been declared a problem and one of the tasks of the therapy is to articulate the problem in detail. Patterns of problematic experiences emerge across domains of the patient's life, past and present, and are recapitulated in the therapist's office. The dialogue--and the figurative language within it--is about those patterns and is those patterns.

Taking dialogue as the unit of analysis permits an approach to the meaning and relationships that the participants create in it. Smaller units in isolation, like words or phrases, bind themselves to lexical meaning for they are not situated in a meaningful dialogue. Dialogue is the creation of a lived world with an other, a Mitsein. It is holistic in considering the two people as-they-are-together and how the world has come to look and feel to them. This proceeds on the basis of cognitive activities but is not exhausted by them. Any utterance, word, or phrase can only be properly understood in the context of the dialogue. A single utterance may be of interest in its own right, for instance as a bit of information or as a catchy metaphor, although its fundamental role is to contribute to the continuing of dialogue. The way in which any element contributes is the structure of relationships that are possible in the participant's worlds. In the case of psychotherapy that structure is the transference.

If I am, I am in relationship to an other. Dasein is Mitsein. This is a fundamental mode of being, not an accidental attribute. I can only be alone if I am able to maintain connectedness (Winnicott, 1958). Much psychoanalytic research of recent years has been devoted to elaborating various theories of object relations and the prescence of "internal" objects (Cf. Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983). This

interest signals a recognition of the importance of the human environment and a shift away from a biological or mechanical focus. A psychotherapeutic dialogue is the manifestation and creation of relationships, which periodically become the content of the dialogue. Balint (1968) defines regression as the need for a particular form of relationship. Regressive therapy involves allowing and managing the relationship, while "realistic" problem solving recedes. Balint contends it does not make much difference what the therapist says in regression, for "words are not quite reliable tools anyhow" (pg. 166). The meanings of the words become "subjective," peculiar to that situation.

Metaphors can be instances of dialogue that have become idiosyncratic, mythopoeic, and problematic. There is a tension between past forms of relatedness (the transference) and the future possibilities of more gratifying relatedness. There are times when the tension is too great and the metaphor will be opaque and hard to understand. Radnitzky (1973) describes an instance of psychoanalytic interpretation as being applied at a time when something does not make sense and there is a "crisis of co-understanding" (pg. 236). The analyst removes himself temporarily from the on-going dialogue to hold a particular event in thought. The analyst's knowledge of theory provides a heuristic for interpreting what has been going on. A formal interpretation provides the patient new meanings. The "crisis of co-understanding," as a disruption of the dialogue, is resolved by mutual efforts to interpret.

Such a description is too cognitive and takes the stance of the patient not understanding something, whose meaning is supplied by the therapist. This distance tends to locate the tension between the

participants, which is precisely not the time for an interpretation. When the dialogue is going well, the tension exists between the old patterns of behavior--the old determinism of "internal" objects--and the freedom of future possibility. The "possibility of possibility" (Kierkegaard, 1844/1980, pg. 42), of a new pattern of relating to objects emerges in the dialogue with the therapist, but as Kierkegaard argued, such possibility is anxiety. The possibility of ending the old patterns of object relations reawakens what Schafer calls a "danger situation" (1983, pg. 96). The tension exists between understanding that one does not have to behave with the therapist in the old way and the old fear of retaliation and annihilation.

The tension is resolved by the creation of Mitsein through mutual understanding. The therapist demonstrates that new ways of relating can be tolerated. The patient's way of understanding a situation can be shown to be a continuation of old patterns which are no longer necessary. Interpretation is a shared activity. The particular desires for gratification are unmasked and the authentic need to be in dialogue becomes transparent. The mythopoeic comes into contact with the current possibilities of being with the other and that Mitsein is enlivened by the mythic. It acquires a liveliness that is different from a dispassionate discussion of the mechanics of living. The consulting room becomes a Tummelplatz (Freud, 1914/1946, vol. 10) and the participants playmates. There are scuffles and disruptions and unmet demands, but also mutual devotion. The business of being together becomes transparent and the novelty of that which is encapsulated in metaphor becomes shared language.

Meaning does not lie hidden behind what is said, as reference to something else, but emerges out of the continuing dialogue. Metaphor at such times will not be hard to understand. To the extent that the central issues of the psychotherapy are clear, the expressions of them are clear. Paraphrasing into literal language may not be possible, but that is not the criterion. The task is to apply the understanding encapsulated in a central metaphor to concrete situations. Working together to clarify the historical roots of the current situation and arriving at a description of the patterns in the history creates a new understanding of that history.

What our world is, is created as we go, out of the matter provided by the facts of our history and the possibilities within our horizon. In authentic living, when the matter before us has been appropriated, it is no longer external. It has become a part of the "architecture of themes and purposes" (Ricoeur, 1981, pg. 175) we are constructing. The others participate in it by sharing a continuing dialogue. This dialogue is the creation of Mitsein, not a mere exchange of information about something out there. The proper unit of analysis is not the linguistic sign and its referent exchanged between two distinct organisms, but rather what the people involved make of the situation. The possibilities toward the future as disclosed in dialogue are the common architecture, are their Mitsein. Reflections on and statements about the situation are not privileged data. They are derivations from the projects of Dasein reflecting on themselves as they have been thus far revealed; they are not Dasein itself. At that moment Dasein is the expressing and reflecting, and not the expressed and reflected.

Black (1979) was only half correct when he said metaphor states "how things are." It is also a project to construct how they will be. The patient wrestles with newly disclosing constituents of Mitsein, that is, how the therapeutic relationship might become. The therapist takes care of the patient by aiding transparency through which relatedness can be maintained throughout. The future with the therapist need not be constrained in the same way the patient's past was. Disavowed possibilities can be lived out in the therapy. Dasein expands its horizons by coming to understand the therapist's world and becomes new possibilities of dialogue, of being.

Clinically relevant metaphors are the ones which have to do with the truth of the situation. They reveal the patient and his self-world as it manifests itself in the therapy. In this world metaphors are literally true, for they create the truth. The most fruitful metaphors have to do with the broadest issues. Discovering these issues is not just a cognitive process. Patient and therapist settle in to be together with the intention of changing the situation they create. Some aspects of the situation will not be accessible to reflection by the patient. They will be disavowed, repressed, split off; whatever term is chosen, they cannot be talked about, yet can be seen by the therapist as powerful influences. Such "unconscious" intents will be felt to function as if they were external causes. They masquerade as responses to the facticity of the world and are facts of the patient's self-world. Operating like natural laws, there is no other possibility, or so it seems to the patient. The therapist, on the other hand, will not understand why the patient cannot do otherwise. The world of

the therapist and the world of the patient are structured differently. The therapist sees different meanings and choices than the patient. For example, the patient may complain that people from whom he has sought help, such as doctors, lawyers, teachers--perhaps even therapists--have always been disappointing and have taken advantage of him. To the patient it seems the way the world works. Such folks <u>are</u> disappointing. The therapist, with a secure sense of his own skill, will be primed with this history and its meaning when the patient begins structuring their relationship that way. The therapist has come to understand the patient's world and the events that made some choices impossible. Explication of the meaningful history, when the patient is able to see it as a consequence of his own unmet needs, sets the stage not only for insight but also for a new possibility of using the therapist in a more gratifying way. The therapy succeeds insofar as the patient forms a relationship with the therapist that is different than was possible before. The patient comes to understand the choices that exist in the therapist's world and comes to share them as possibilities.

In discussing tradition, Gadamer (1960/1975) makes a point that applies as well to psychotherapy. The interpretation of a tradition is an event in the tradition itself. In terms of the patient's personal tradition, coming to understand it in new contexts, i.e. within the transference, is an event that brings history into the present and makes something new of it. "Tradition comes to speak anew, something emerges and exists from then on that did not exist before" (pg. 419), is Gadamer's description. Such an experience is not the

intellectualized manipulation of historical facts from a distance, but living out the history anew. Through the event of interpretation the "facts" of the patient's history no longer determine the present situation. The "facts" become ambiguous and call for a new understanding, which offers the possibility of freedom from what had seemed like a pre-determined reality.

Making sense of the historical roots and motivations creates a new "center of psychic activity." The therapist's interpretations are probabilistic and tentative, subject to later precision and elaboration. The intent is not to arrive at a factual early developmental history--Freud gave up on this notion, too--but to establish a relationship in which painful, exhausting, and ineffective projects can be given up. The interpretations serve to further the dialogue, the Mitsein, the "fusion of horizons." The dialogue is a shared activity with the aim of coming to see what is problematic in the patient's life and to create a new meaning and a new future out of his history. As Ricoeur (1981) says, "The hermeneutic of self understanding take the detour of causal explanation" (pg. 264). Created by shared activity, the relationship cures (Guntrip, 1969). In the terms of this discussion, coming to share a world cures.

The tension of the metaphors which "do the work" or any other productive expression in therapy exists between past and future, between mechanical necessity and free choice, between what was needed and what can be acquired now. As the therapy makes the central issues clear, the expressions of them will be clear. It may be that such expressions must be metaphoric. When the therapist has come to

understand the patient's world, the metaphors will also be understood. If they are figural because they are opaque, that is an expression of the remaining distance between the patient's world and the therapist's understanding. The central metaphors must stand out for other reasons.

CHAPTER III

A HERMENEUTIC APPROACH TO METAPHOR IN PSYCHOTHERAPY

1. NOVEL EVENTS IN PSYCHOTHERAPY

There are many different styles and theories for doing psychotherapy. No matter which is applied to a particular case, there is always the underlying question of why what the patient has done previously has not worked. The very decision to come to therapy implies that some painful predicament in the patient's life is beyond his or her capacity to resolve or escape. Discovering the knot in the puzzle is not a simple matter. Something in the patient's world is hindering productivity and gratification and the situation has become such that the patient seeks out professional help. The answers available to the patient in his or her world are not sufficient. The hard work entails discovering what options are precluded; that is, do not exist in the patient's world. This is true at least in that portion of the world which the patient is able to reflect upon. The resolution of the situation will demand something new, a novel understanding. Any psychotherapy that aims at resolving will involve the effort of incorporating into the patient's world a new stance, a new Befindlichkeit. What had seemed mechanical and necessary will be seen to have new possibilities. As the patient changes, the situation changes.

There are several sources of novelty in anyone's world. Fundamentally the relationship with the therapist, and a posteriori the recognition that there are other possibilities in his or her world, is the

agent of change in any psychotherapy. Such a relationship--or dialogue--can be established with anyone, regardless of his or her professional status. Change does not only occur in psychotherapy. Within the dialogue, novelty is possible when there is a change in stable patterns of behavior. There are patterns to how anyone deals with the tasks of being. Any novelty in the dialogue represents a new possibility of understanding of what the situation is, what the task is, and the project needed to take care of it.

Metaphor suggests itself as an empirically practicable example of novel events in the dialogue. It is frequent, easily captured in a transcript, and reliably distinguishable by trained raters. As discussed in Chapter II, however, wholly satisfactory criteria for finding those metaphors that make an important contribution to the psychotherapeutic dialogue have not been offered. It is apparent that novelty of a phrase to outside raters is not necessarily novelty within the dialogue. Metaphors that attract the clinician's attention, as reflected in the psychoanalytic literature, are somehow different from the ones produced commonly. The difference is left to the clinician's intuition. Typically little attention is paid to words per se. The meaning expressed through words carries the dialogue. Reflecting on words rather than on their meaning removes one from the dialogue and interrupts it. A clinically important metaphor, however, "thickens" the dialogue and gives it far-reaching implications. These implications provide new possibilities for continuing the dialogue along new paths.

Continuing the dialogue is not the same as rigidly decoding the metaphor into literal language or discovering the meaning hidden

"behind" it. The metaphors which do the work are paths, not masks. Working out the implications is an act of interpretation, of which a translation into genetic, economic, or topographical terms is a special case. There is always the danger that such translation will become a lecture rather than an alliance-building interpretation.

In a good metaphor the spread out strands of the dialogue are momentarily brought together in a condensed utterance. Such an encapsulation attracts the therapist's attention, because it has a vibrancy that resonates with many issues the patient is struggling with. This point of view suggests that a good metaphor is not opaque and cryptic, in need of emendation or translation. On the contrary, the possibilities opened up in it are clear, apparent, and immediately apprehended. How the possibilities will be worked out is, of course, open, for they are possibilities, not facts. This openness is discomforting and there will be uncertainty in not knowing how the metaphor will apply to the many issues gathered together in it. The explication will not be immediately apparent; translation is not the point.

This encapsulation distinguishes the clinically relevant metaphor from expressions of wit. Novelty per se may have flash and sparkle, but without application to important issues. Getting caught up in playing with words, "He dressed like a '39 Buick," does not lead to new possibilities of understanding for the words are not at issue. A psychotherapeutic dialogue has the intention of laying bare failed and painful projects and re-presenting them. Flashy wit and startling metaphors call attention to themselves but not to the implications for the patient's troublesome tasks.

Figurative language is not the only novel event in therapy. There are others which thicken the dialogue. One of Freud's epochal insights was that dreams have a meaning that can apply to myriad experiences. Another was the importance of resistance. Some path the dialogue might follow is blocked, making important possibilities inaccessible. The issues are brought together and expressed in the impossibility of pursuing them. Sudden changes in stable patterns of behavior also attract attention. There are many sorts of things that contribute significantly to the therapeutic process. Metaphor was singled out, not because it is unique (although a case could be made that it is fundamental), but because it is practicable. It promises to yield empirical data on the process of therapy and on what every beginning therapist wishes to acquire, profound and reliable clinical intuition.

2. EXPLORING METAPHOR AS A NOVEL EVENT

A hermeneutic approach to metaphor implies a rationale for an empirical study of metaphor in psychotherapy. A central hermeneutic tenet is that any utterance can only be understood when the whole dialogue is understood. Truth is not a matter of congruence between utterance and "objective" reality but of the utterance's contribution to the continuing dialogue. The meaningfulness of any element reveals itself only in light of the whole. The empirical research on metaphor in psychotherapy cited in Chapter II made clear that focusing on figurative phrases that are novel to raters does not fully distinguish which ones contribute to the process of therapy; as Barlow (1973) said, which metaphors "do the work." The implication of this statement is

that we must know what the work of the particular course of therapy was before we can determine what metaphor does in it. The meaning of a discourse is precisely the province of the hermeneutic method.

The course of the psychotherapy must also be available in order to discern what is novel in it. Novel events stand out--are figurative--only against the background of the stable patterns and self-understanding of the patient. Similarly, data from studies of metaphoric productivity and verbal problem solving in other settings do not have direct and obvious applicability to the special conditions of psychotherapy. The special conditions of psychotherapy and the special sort of problem solving that occurs there have prompted a large literature with innumerable theories, disagreements, and controversies. The question of which metaphors contribute to this therapeutic process can best and most clearly be answered by studying therapy. The argument developed so far also requires that a full transcript be considered. The question would seem best approached with the study of a single case. In order that there be the data at hand on the question, the case should be a successful one with a verbal and figuratively productive patient. Any hypothesis about a correlation of verbal or metaphoric production is deferred. Only the implication from the studies of Barlow (1973) and Amira (1982) that only some figures are clinically relevant is to be followed. A hermeneutic approach will make it possible to discern clinical relevance and distinguish those figures that do the work among both novel and frozen figures.

With no need for generalizability, a case was selected for its high frequency of metaphoric production. It was taken from among those

involved in the Vanderbilt Psychotherapy Project (Strupp & Hadley, 1977, 1979). Strupp and Hadley's widely accepted measures showed this case to be successful. It is the successful case, pseudonymously Ernest, described by Strupp (1980) comparing it to an unsuccessful one of the same therapist. It was also among those sampled by Amira (1982), which will provide an interesting comparison of the metaphors identified by a hermeneutic method and those identified by more objective, linguistic procedures. The patients in the Vanderbilt project were male undergraduate students at that university with comparable presenting complaints and situations. In exchange for their agreement to participate in the study, one group received a maximum of twenty-five sessions at no cost with experienced professionals in the Nashville community. A comparison group had sessions with respected, but not clinically trained Vanderbilt professors. Every session was tape recorded, making the preparation of a complete transcript possible. This is one of the few accessible bodies of such transcripts and thanks are appropriate to Prof. Strupp for making them accessible to others not involved in his project. For this study it was of great benefit to be able to obtain the record of an experienced psychotherapist. He and the patient were involved in a study of therapy outcome measures, which eliminated the risk of contamination by a conscious interest in figurative language.

3. THE APPROPRIATENESS OF A HERMENEUTIC METHOD

Empirical research on metaphor in psychotherapy has yielded unclear results because of an inexact definition of the clinical relevance of a particular instance. Novelty is certainly important, perhaps even necessary, but not sufficient. With the aim of discerning clearer criteria of clinical relevance, a hermeneutic method for seeing the issues of a therapy seemed appropriate. Following Gadamer, that last sentence could be turned around. Borrowing the hermeneutic method to apply to a psychotherapy offered the hope that the true criteria would emerge.

The hermeneutic method as developed by Heidegger and Gadamer seemed especially appropriate to an exploration of clinical relevance, because it deals precisely with the meaning of a dialogue as it emerges. It can describe the themes which the participants got caught up in and the meaningfulness they worked out, as well as the process of the text becoming meaningful to the reader. The hermeneutic circle is a method of checking preliminary, tentative understandings, so that an accurate description is derived. The work of coming to an understanding remains within the text and makes no appeal to external criteria to explain. The aim is to describe which metaphors are relevant and not to explain why.

Remaining within the text, the reader can discern the relevance of metaphor as an emergent property. A priori criteria for relevance or for novelty, as in Barlow's procedure, are suspended. Care must be taken to prevent presuppositions about figurative language or clinical

relevance from being imposed upon the text. The metaphors the therapist and patient used and how they used them are to be highlighted, which is not the same as outside raters finding phrases which meet their criteria for figurativeness or novelty. This is a stringent method for rendering the text and its emergent properties clearly. It is not necessary for all presuppositions, or as Gadamer called them, pre-judgments, to be destroyed, to see the text clearly. Indeed, an absolute bracketing is both inappropriate and impossible. At the very least, the prior history of a word must be known as its lexical referent for its application to a dialogue to be understandable.

No rating system or categories will be imposed on the text for metaphors or communication units. No hypotheses are proposed, merely an intent to observe and describe the themes and purposes of the therapy. No interpretations from a particular theoretical orientation are presupposed. The meaning of the whole emerges out of the synopticon provided by the thematization. Any other reader of the transcript who stays close to the text will be able to make sense of it in much the same way. Such an observer must be willing to undertake a lengthy immersion in the text and the multiple iterations necessary.

Thematizing to Reveal the Structure of the Text

Conceiving of metaphor as an element of a whole text, within which it must be understood, creates a difficult procedural problem. It is far harder to treat a large text as a whole than to isolate discrete phrases. With a large text, the practicability of handling hundreds of pages becomes an issue. It can be thought of as an approach to a

domain, rather than a particular thesis. The method is exploratory, not confirmatory, and the intention is to illuminate and describe a domain. Concrete particulars reveal themselves within the broader context, in this case, the important metaphors within the whole text. The resulting description is broad and discursive, and necessarily so. There is an emphasis on the procedures followed, because they are an integral part of the description. The background from which the conclusions emerge and how they were arrived at are of equal importance with the conclusions themselves. The way that the text was arranged and organized is how the information becomes accessible to the reader. Originally the text is opaque, calling for a work of interpretation, through which it becomes transparent.

This procedure is akin to the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967) on "grounded theory." They present a "frank polemic" against the verification of logico-deductive theory in sociology, insisting that the direction of empirical efforts must be to generate theory from data. Such a theory should "fit" and "work" to describe and explain the observed phenomena. Preconceived categories which are imposed on the data are anathema. The area of study and the nature of the behavior within it should be very loosely defined at the outset. The boundaries of the study and the nature of the phenomena emerge as the observer immerses himself in the material. They recommend a process of "memo-writing" for both the immediate observer and later analysis, in which ideas about emergent categories are noted. Over the long and arduous process of gathering the data, a consistency emerges in the definitions of the categories. All important incidents are included and mutually

bounded by "the constant comparative method" (passim). This provides a density to the description, as well as parsimony. The area of study is also defined by seeing what applies to it and what can be attributed elsewhere. An implication of their method is that the write-up of the study should reflect the process of emergence, rather than couching itself in abstract language at a distance from the data.

They stress the crucial point that the researcher needs to be clear about the level of abstraction at which he is working. They fault many studies for making too great a leap, e.g. an anthropologist who combines a description of Yucatan folk culture and "general notions of the nature of society" (pg. 126). They suggest a progression from 'substantive' theory to 'formal' theory. Substantive theory concerns one area, e.g. the health care provided terminally ill patients. Comparisons are confined within the area, delineating one set of data from others, but not yet making higher level assumptions about how the categories apply to other areas. For example, they cite their own work in hospitals, where they noted some patients received better care when terminally ill than others. It became apparent from their data that the nurses treated higher status patients better and they were able to define the variables that contributed to this attribution of status. But they insisted they were not yet ready to talk about social status as it applies in other realms. That would have been too great an abstraction from data limited to the particular situation of the hospital. To arrive at a formal theory of social status as it applies broadly, one must compare the theory derived from the hospital to other

theories grounded in other situations. Formal theory can only be grounded in such laborious external comparisons.

There is also an underlying theoretical issue, which goes to the heart of the hermeneutic approach. The research task becomes one of revealing the structure of the text, and the structure has to be understood as existing only through the process of revelation. It is not there independent of the procedure, as posited by some naive realism. The description of the structure has no concrete referent to be checked against for accuracy. Describing the structure is the structure.

The hermeneutic method is not to verify hypotheses derived from theory, but to generate plausible suggestions, in this case, of how the patterns of figurative expressions contribute to the course of the dialogue. These suggestions may then yield hypotheses about metaphor in therapy that could be tested, but that is a separate operation. Abstracting from this single case must be limited, for no leap to a general theory is permissible. The contention here is that defining the properties of the metaphors which have a function in this one case is already a significant contribution. It will yield a refinement of the understanding of which metaphors "do the work," from the point of view of the participants in the therapy, not outside raters who impose their understanding on the text.

Denying that there is a single interpretation with objective validity does not imply that all possible interpretations are equally valid. There is a text which records the words of the therapist and patient. These in turn set limits to the field in which the interpretation takes place. The hermeneutic circle is a process of working

through parts to arrive at a view of the whole. Heidegger (1927/1979) stresses that this process occurs in time, through projecting possible understandings that find confirmation or require modification, still within the text. A preliminary construal creates a range of possible meanings, which are actualized later in understanding. The text can reveal itself only through the act of interpretation and exists as the readers understanding. This act of interpretation is the exercise of an individual, who arrives at a personal understanding.

4. A HERMENEUTIC THEORY OF VALIDITY

By staying with a text, a hermeneutic reading may make no appeal for validity to an external criterion. The truth of the understanding to which it comes is validated internally by returning to the text, which must be comprehensively rendered. Anomalies within the text must be accounted for, or at least noted. They cannot be ignored. On the other hand, a clear and concise understanding, founded upon the full range of the data is the ideal. Too much commentary does not open the text to the reader but adds to the obscurity. Heidegger's image of a forest path leading to a clearing sets clarity out as a prime criterion. The text should be made more accessible. Extending the image, the underbrush is cleared away, so that more light can fall on the clearing. Like a clearing, coming to an understanding is not a "thing," but an absence of hindrance. The process of interpretation clears and illuminates by articulating one of the possible meanings within previous ambiguity.

Packer (1985) explicates Heidegger's hermeneutics, contrasting it with other major paradigms in psychology. Packer argues that it is "more appropriate to human action, embracing the historical openness, the ambiguity and opacity, the deceptions, dangers and delights that action manifests" (pg. 1092). The empiricist paradigm in his view considers data to be independent of theory and observer. The data are held to be context free and subject only to the mechanisms of cause and effect or stimulus and response. The hermeneutic investigator undertakes to describe the "structure of everyday practical activity," when people are not reflecting on what they do as in pencil-and-paper tasks or "most interview situations" (pg. 1086). One of the points Packer makes is the distinction between talking <u>about</u> doing something and doing it.

In the clinical interview the patient is talking about something and by talking is doing something with the therapist. The dialogue has a content which cannot be independent of the situation (transference) with the therapist. Shell, Pollio, and Smith (in press) make the point that understanding an utterance has to take the <u>Mitsein</u> [the being-with] with the therapist into account. The experienced clinician does not rely on the empiricist view as described by Packer. Whatever the theoretical orientation of the clinician, what the patient talks about is not discrete causal "variables," but a seamless, interdependent web in which a central issue is the situation of the patient with the therapist. No presenting complaint, for instance, can be understood without taking into account the fact that it is presented at this time under these circumstances.

Kvale (in press) focuses on psychoanalytic therapy as qualitative research. This harkens back to Freud's definition of psychoanalysis as not only a method of treatment but also a methodology that would "gradually yield a new scientific discipline" (1923/1940, vol. 13, pg. 211; this author's translation). Kvale argues that psychoanalysis can be seen as a method between "scientistic" objectivity and "subjectivistic" reliance on the "experienced therapist's judgment." One of the qualities of psychoanalytic research he lists is the focus on the human relationship between patient and therapist and its "communicative interaction."

Kvale (1983) notes that the hermeneutic circle has no end. Each understanding sets the circle into further motion. In practice it ends when a new Gestalt emerges. The text is rendered coherently, comprehensively, and clearly. It is brought into our world and makes sense. The interpretation is not merely plausible, but also useful. It has the Prägnanz of a good Gestalt. There is, of course, no single "right" understanding, if "right" is measured against external criteria. For one thing, a final understanding is never reached. For another, one good Gestalt will preclude another. Ihde (1979) argues that the number of possible good Gestalts is theoretically infinite. Nevertheless, some few are more obvious, more salient, and better than others. Analogously, even if one interpretation excludes others, some few, perhaps one, will yield a better understanding.

Armstrong (1983) suggests three tests of the validity of this understanding: Inclusiveness, intersubjectivity, and efficacy. Inclusiveness is the ability of an interpretation to contain all the parts

in a coherent whole. As it proceeds, it can include the items encountered with growing sophistication and refinement. Intersubjectivity is the capacity to persuade others that the interpretation is reasonable. Just as some interpretations have greater scope and depth than others, some interpreters will see more clearly and persuasively than others. Over the course of time such people will receive a mandate and their work will take on a certain authority. In new areas, however, or especially in new paradigms, the other to be persuaded must be shown the process of interpretation from its tentative beginnings through its increasing clarity to the final formulation. The third test of efficacy requires that an interpretation produce applications to new discoveries and continued learning. It must contribute to the expansion of the paradigm, pushing back the horizon of understanding.

None of these tests alone secures validity, but Armstrong argues that taken together, "they do introduce testing and evaluation, thereby rescuing the field from the anarchy of total relativism" (1983, pg. 349). They must be taken together, for each alone has an inherent problem that makes it insufficient. Inclusiveness alone can eliminate those interpretations which cannot account for the whole of the text, but cannot decide between two conflicting but complete explications. Intersubjectivity may mean that many people share the same mistaken view. Beyond that is the problem of the implicit assumptions that go to make up the Weltanschauung of a particular group at a particular time. Another problem is that persuasion fades into rhetoric, which of itself or through the mandated authority of the author induces agreement. Again here, conflicting theoretical camps cannot reach of final

conclusion, since each has a complement of adherents. Given enough time, of course, some positions will attract more, while others will die out. This has more to do with the third test, which is the crucial one. Armstrong contends that it introduces something new to the process of interpretation which is fundamental. The test of efficacy puts the assumptions which constitute our hermeneutic point of departure at risk. Not arriving at a clear and productive understanding may mean that the interpreter's skill is limited--but it may also mean the methods he brings to the text are inappropriate or inadequate.

Every investigator brings to his project a set of explicit and implicit assumptions which co-constitute the results. These include theoretical, personal, and cultural elements. A completely atheoretical and presuppositionless openness to the task is impossible, for it is through these elements that the text acquires its meaning. They also set limits to the possible interpretations, for they demarcate the horizon within which things can be seen. Selecting one interpretation excludes other possibilities. If one's assumptions are not open to question, the exclusion takes place through dogmatism, not inquiry. Holding opinions is unavoidable, but the grip should not be tenacious. Communication among those holding conflicting views is ideally a dialogue, not authoritarian polemic. The aim is increased efficacy of understanding. Efficacy should not be misunderstood as a technological term, for instance that one style of therapy gets better results than another. That question is unanswerable precisely because of the assumptions each theory brings about goals, progress, cure, etc. Here efficacy is taken to mean, although Armstrong does not fully explicate

it in this way, that some approaches reveal more of the topic at hand than others. The interpretation arrived at excludes fewer possible meanings than any other. It will be inclusive and persuasive, and beyond that, it will open up new areas of inquiry and application.

Armstrong (1983) neglects a second level of interpretation, which seems important. One person's understanding becomes the object of interpretation of another person and the hermeneutic circle is started again. This is important since it implies that the understanding of one is no more objective for the other than the original topic. Objectification of results is possible only with a shared language and set of assumptions. The phenomena under discussion are presented at a level of abstraction which takes many elements as given. Pretending to some objective validity evades the issue of understanding as an emergent property. To communicate results with an audience of divergent backgrounds, it is necessary to reproduce the process of interpretation leading to the results.

In the present study, there was also a prior process of coming to an understanding, i.e. the one between the therapist and patient that constitutes the dialogue under investigation. This study sought to understand how the participants came to an understanding, but with a focus on a specific topic. Specifically, the topic was the contribution of figurative language to their on-going efforts.

5. THE APPROPRIATENESS OF THE HERMENEUTIC METHOD TO CLINICAL DATA

Coming to an Understanding

The method employed in this study recapitulates the clinical process of coming to understand a patient. The point is not to unearth historical facts (Cf. Spence, 1982), but to arrive at plausible and productive interpretations. In a clinical setting, the therapist seeks to understand what the patient presents, illuminated by clinical theory and experience. The therapist arrives at an understanding of the patient's self-world, of what is presented and the presumptions which structure that presentation. As the dialogue unfolds, the therapist's understanding becomes concise--the central issues are clear--and elaborate--the manifestation of the issues in the myriad of concrete situations is clear.

The therapist finds themes in the diverse reports and reactions of the patient. Patterns of relationships to boss, spouse, parents--and the therapist--emerge. Any particular incident comes to be understood in light of the theme. It might be more accurate to say the therapist also creates themes by finding the commonalities that were obscured by different accidental details. Thematizing is a process of coming to an understanding, an interpreting guided by clinical theory and experience. The therapist arrives at an understanding of the patient's situation which is both concise and elaborate.

The therapy proceeds in time and the thematizing is an on-going process for the therapist. Themes will evolve as new data are added

and new connections among themes made. The therapist cannot know precisely what will transpire, although the experienced therapist will quickly arrive at an understanding of the patient. This understanding enables the therapist to see relationships among the themes and make connections to the patient's reports and behaviors. The transcript of the therapy is fixed and later developments can be compared to earlier formulations of the theme. Despite the difference between viewing the text as a whole and doing the therapy as it proceeds, the activity of thematizing is the same circular process.

With an explicitly hermeneutic method there are internal criteria for validating an interpretation and distinguishing it from preliminary speculations. An important criticism of Freud (e.g. Bettelheim, 1983) is that he felt it necessary to seek a positivistic rationale for his new science. This search led him and his followers into formulations that now seem unfortunate. It is also clear now that the search was not necessary, that psychoanalysis is not only valid, but also an important research tool in its own right. The hermeneutic concept of validity supersedes the idea of an interpretation being valid because it matches some external "fact." As Spence (1982) put it, there is a "narrative truth" that applies in psychotherapy, in contradistinction to "historical truth." An even more radical position is argued here: That historical truth <u>is</u> narrative truth, that the validity of an interpretation lies in its contribution to the on-going dialogue. Different therapists may give different interpretations and theorists derive from their clinical practice data that confirm their own

theories. Differing opinions are not invalid. The test is in the contribution.

6. SUMMARY

In summary, the hermeneutic method provides a stringent procedure for exploring the transcript of a psychotherapy. It can lay bare the issues discussed and how they unfolded in the course of the dialogue. Coming to understand the text concisely and clearly proceeds slowly and painstakingly, with each understanding validated within the text. The particular content is subsumed in themes. As a theme is developed, it acquires further content and further relationship to other themes. The hermeneutic method reveals the structure of the dialogue, "the architecture of themes and purposes." Only within that architecture the role of metaphor can finally be discerned.

CHAPTER IV

DERIVING THE THEMATIC STRUCTURE

1. INTRODUCTION

When metaphor is conceived as an element of dialogue, the problem of discerning which are creative becomes one of finding points of change and new direction in the dialogue. The thematic structure of dialogue must be laid bare and visible. This chapter will present how the thematic structure of one specific case of psychotherapy was derived, and the results of that process. It will be a long and involved chapter, requiring patience and persistence. Capturing thematic structure requires enough detail of the original to make the themes intelligible. The text must be represented so that it can be easily overseen. The condensed summary should maintain as much of the original language of the verbatim record as possible. The loss of texture and detail is offset by the ease of seeing large elements of content and their juxtapositions. Tentative conclusions about the structure need to be checked against the full text.

The method of analysis used in this study proceeded slowly, step by step. Only the initial steps of making a transcript and condensing it were clearly envisioned. How to proceed from there emerged from the general intent of making sense of what happened in this therapy and what contributed to its success. In retrospect the steps were:

Step 1: Making a verbatim transcript

Step 2: Clearing and condensing the text

Step 3: Organizing the text into content areas

Step 4: Describing the themes both within and across content areas--First level of thematic structure

Step 5: Organizing the themes: A hierarchy of themes emerges--Second level of thematic structure

Step 6: Organizing the hierarchy: The central issues stand out clearly--Third level of thematic structure

The steps were not discrete in practice, since important themes became apparent even during the preparation of the transcript. Distinctions among steps were dictated by the task of representing the process, which by its nature was doing several things at different stages on different steps. The process was circular, going over the same material again and again, arriving each time at a clearer understanding of how the elements relate to each other and to the whole. This presentation of the material will also proceed in the same manner, although the steps will seem less intertwined. Laying out the results of the thematic analysis in a "bottom up" fashion seemed desirable, both because it illustrates the process and because the process is integral to its results. The presentation must recapitulate the process of the analysis, staying close to the full transcript and referring to it frequently. In a sense, the reader must be able to participate in the process of inferring and interpreting.

The intent of proceeding slowly through the text was to avoid leaping to conclusions which would impose theoretical presuppositions. Step by step the structure of the dialogue was allowed to emerge from

the text. To have proceeded immediately to a high level of thematization, and of necessity, abstraction, would have been an invitation to organize the elements of the text according to a priori categories given by one or another clinical theory. The procedure chosen for this study is by its nature slow and arduous, but it offers the chance to remain true to the text and its structure. Without this approach, the search for the contribution of metaphor to the process of therapy would have been co-opted by theoretical biases. It would appear that only Oedipal metaphors, or narcissistic, or whatever, had been considered. Argument at the level of theory would have likely followed, which is not the intent of the present study. The aim, rather was to arrive at a relatively presuppositionless description of what was important to this case of therapy and how figurative language contributed to it.

The problem of hitting a good compromise between a terse overview and a mass of detail has no easy solution. The representation of the material that follows threatens to be ponderous. A lengthy presentation seems necessary, however, to communicate to the reader the complexities of the text. If relationships among the themes and the changes within them are to be clear, there must be enough detail to appreciate them but not so much that the detail obscures the structure. This is not just a problem of presenting the material but also in the process of analysis. Working with the text proceeded at times with a very condensed version and at times with the verbatim record. This is unavoidable, since the intent is to relate details to larger elements and to the whole. This means constantly going back and forth between them. The larger structures and ultimately the structure of the whole

organizes the details, which in turn elaborate the structure. This is not strictly a "bottom up" procedure, although it will be presented that way. It is circular, going from bottom to top and back again constantly.

One other point to keep in mind while working with the text is that it is now complete. It can be seen as a whole and the circular process of analysis can be employed. For the participants, however, the dialogue unfolds in time. They did not know what would happen next nor precisely what themes would emerge, how the themes would relate to each other, nor how the themes would evolve. The participants were trying to understand the material in process, without the luxury of poring over the complete text to check possible connections. One of the therapist's main activities might well be described as proposing thematizations to the patient. In the next chapter several instances of proposals that were rejected by the patient will be presented. Several times the therapist misunderstands the patient and one important instance will provide an example of how metaphor did not contribute to the dialogue. The point here is that the connections between themes are tentative, calling for an act of interpretation and elucidation. The theme of Expressing Himself is not necessarily the same as that of Being Himself. From the common sense point of view of the outside observer, they certainly seem to go together. There are, however, enough examples in this text to show that such assumptions are not always correct, as understood by the patient. Initially, themes were kept discrete, depending on the precise language used. This resulted in a large number of themes, which will be presented below.

Only by condensing the text and achieving an overview could a summary of relationships between themes be made.

The therapist's process of coming to understand connections the patient makes--and does not make--is an arduous one. Similarly, this analysis had to proceed carefully, making no such assumptions until the connections could be demonstrated. The therapist had the advantage of proposing relationships between themes to the patient and eliciting his reaction, accepting, rejecting, or emending them over a period of time. Without access to the participants, this study can only appeal to the text as a whole and to connections that were clear and intelligible to them and that could be derived by later reading.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE

The patient was a twenty year old male undergraduate in his junior year of college. He volunteered to participate in a study of therapy outcome measures. In return for his participation and agreeing that the case could be used for research purposes, he was assigned to an experienced therapist drawn from the Nashville community for a maximum of twenty-five sessions of individual therapy. The study is presented in Strupp and Hadley (1977 and 1979) and this particular case is considered in Strupp (1980). In that article the patient was given the pseudonym of Ernest.

Ernest was the older of two children. His parents' marriage was intact and the family had lived in the same city since Ernest's early childhood. The family seemed reasonably prosperous. Ernest's only other experience of psychotherapy was at age eight, when he was taken

for two sessions with a presenting complaint of twitching. By Ernest's report the therapist determined that his mother was overbearing. The twitching stopped shortly afterward.

As a child, Ernest had many allergies and still suffered from hay fever. He did not learn to read until age ten, but then read voraciously and quickly caught up with his peers academically. By high school he was in the top ten percent of his class. His social relations in elementary school were marked by "being kicked out of the in-group in sixth grade." He felt constrained by peer pressure and left out in junior high. In high school was more comfortable, because there was no in-group. He mentioned having at least one girlfriend during those years.

When he came to college several hundred miles from home, he felt unprepared socially and academically. His grades were less than they might have been, because he did not work at the end of the semester. The amount of work left to be done overwhelmed him. He did well when challenged by difficult courses, but reported mediocre grades in easy ones, which he let slide.

Being unprepared socially was manifested by not meeting people or becoming involved in activities. He felt "safe" on his freshman hall, and thought everyone on campus was involved in fraternities and sororities, which he did not like, or like him was not involved in anything. Sophomore year he lived off campus with two male roommates. Three women lived next door and the six of them were friendly, until he became "involved" with one of them. She had been dating a student who was off campus for the year. Ernest knew it was a "triangle," but got

more involved than he intended. When the old boyfriend returned, the young woman took up with him again. This rejection was very painful and was one of the presenting complaints.

3. STEPS IN DERIVING THE THEMATIC STRUCTURE

Step 1: Making a Verbatim Record

The first step was the preparation of a verbatim record from tape recordings of the therapy sessions. From the beginning of text analysis, notes were made, analogous to the "memo-writing" suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Such notes served to fix tentative notions about the emerging themes and to mark illustrative examples in the mass of data. As analysis proceeded, new themes emerged and old ones were modified. Notes on the procedure itself and the important issue of how best to present the material also were kept. As the structure came to be seen more clearly, the notes helped refer to passages that provided examples of the original texture of the theme and highlighted important changes in the flow of dialogue.

The following excerpt offers an example of the verbatim record from one session. In all cases the quality of tapes was quite good, with very few, and apparently trivial, instances of the dialogue being inaudible. Nevertheless, transcription required at least two hearings. The first was to transcribe as much as possible; the second was to check for accuracy and fill in gaps. Some passages required many hearings to acquire an accurate record. Paragraphing at this point was cued primarily to noticeable pauses in the patient's speaking. The

multiple hearings provided not only as accurate a record as possible, but also the beginnings of an immersion in the therapy, and notes were made for future reference to salient, curious, or important passages.

P: (pause) "I think one of the things that still bothers me with my parents is, like I spoke to them yesterday and, you know, the only thing I've been doing in the past week, I've been doing a few extra things, but mostly I've been just working in school, my schoolwork and I really can't talk with them about that, because they don't understand it, and when I talk with them on Sunday, I really don't have anything to say, and, you know, I just feel they, I don't know, you know, probably it's me, but, you know, they mention the fact, well, I'm not very talkative and I have nothing to say. You know, they, I kind of feel guilty, because, you know, I don't have anything fantastic to tell them."

T: "So you're letting them down?"

P: "Yeah, I didn't, you know, I just, you know, I'm expected to call them every Sunday or they'll call me and we're supposed to talk and there's just not always something to talk about. You know, I've just never been the type of person who can make things up to talk about or pull things out of mid-air to talk about, and that's one of the fears, that's one of the fears that I have in, you know, trying to meet people, that I'm going to be stuck without having something to say. [Uhhuh.] You know, I just don't have a real knack for, you know, starting conversations, or, you know, just for chit-chatting with somebody."

T: "Small talk."

P: "Yeah. You know, sometimes if other people start it, I can do OK, but it's just very hard for me to. You know, I don't know if that's because I just close myself up when, you know, I'm around strange people, or, you know, I'm just, you know . . . If they start it, you know, I'm OK. [Uhhuh.]

(pause) "I guess to a certain extent, you know, all my decisions had you know, been made for me until I left home and I guess I came away almost with an instinctive feeling of fate, in other words, that I really didn't have anything to do with, you know, my course of life, or, you know, any decisions I was going to make. It really didn't matter because things were going to turn out a certain way, but they always had in the past, and I think I was sort of waiting around for fate to pick me up and drag me along."

T: "By fate you mean some external force."

Step 2: Clearing and Condensing the Text

The next step was designed to remove extraneous phrases, e.g. "you know," and incomplete sentences which are revised into a different sentence structure (false starts). Since it was not yet fully clear what would be important, nothing of potential substance was deleted. This step already eliminated an important element of the patient's verbal style, his hesitancy and loquacity, which must be noted and taken into consideration. This step permitted the addition of punctuation, so as to break up long run-on sentences, and thereby to facilitate reading. Notes also were made about recurrence of topics and emergent themes. Additional paragraphing was done based on topic

shifts, not just pauses. Small interjections by the therapist were incorporated in brackets into the paragraph to maintain its topical unity. The first pass for reduction produced the following text of the same passage:

P: "I think one of the things that still bothers me with my parents is . . . The only thing I've been doing is schoolwork and I really can't talk with them about that, because they don't understand it, and when I talk with them on Sunday, I really don't have anything to say.

"Probably it's me; well, I'm not very talkative and I have nothing to say. I feel guilty, because I don't have anything fantastic to tell them."

T: "So you're letting them down?"

P: "Yeah. I'm expected to call them every Sunday and we're supposed to talk and there's not always something to talk about.

"I've never been the type of person who can make things up to talk about or pull things out of mid-air to talk about.

"That's one of the fears that I have in trying to meet people, that I'm going to be stuck without having something to say. [Uhhuh.] I don't have a real knack for starting conversations or for chit-chatting with somebody. [Small talk] I don't know if that's because I close myself up when I'm around strange people or I'm, you know . . . If they start it I'm OK. [Uhhuh.]

(pause) "All my decisions had been made for me and I came away with an instinctive feeling of fate; in other words, that I really

didn't have anything to do with my course of life, and I think I was waiting around for fate to pick me up and drag me along."

T: "By fate you mean some external force."

By this point in the analysis the text had become quite familiar and the next pass was designed to break down paragraphs into particular topics and statements that were the patient's reflection on what he was saying. The topics were emerging more clearly and further extraneous material could be eliminated. Another pass produced the following version:

P: (pause) "It bothers me with my parents that when I talk with the, I really don't have anything to say. Just schoolwork, but they don't understand it.

"Probably it's me.

"I'm not very talkative.

"I feel guilty, because I don't have anything fantastic to tell them."

T: "So you're letting them down?"

P: "I'm expected to call them every Sunday and there's not always something to talk about.

"I've never been the type of person who can pull things out of mid-air to talk about.

"One fear I have in trying to meet people, is that I'm going to be stuck without having something to say. I don't have a real knack for starting conversations or for chit-chatting with somebody.

"I don't know if that's because I close myself up.

"If they start it, I'm OK.

(pause) "All my decisions had been made for me and I came away with an instinctive feeling of fate, that I really didn't have anything to do with my course of life. I was waiting around for fate to pick me up and drag me along."

T: "Some external force?"

From this condensation of the text, particular contents and their sequence may be readily seen. The substance of the content was revealed without being obscured by less important verbiage. Up to this point, all the participants' words were maintained. As will be shown in detail in Chapter V, paraphrasing is likely to distort meaning. The original 400 page manuscript was reduced to 120. In keeping with the conviction that topics are imbedded in the whole of dialogue, the next step was to begin a further condensation, so that the whole could be viewed synoptically. The aim was a brief discursive description of the text that could be read in just a few minutes. Changes in the original words were avoided as much as possible. The page and a half long example is represented by the following few lines:

"It bothers me that I do not have much to say when I talk with my parents. I am not very talkative and feel guilty because I do not have anything fantastic to tell them. I could talk about my school work, but they do not understand it.

"I fear getting stuck with nothing to say when meeting people. If the other starts it, I am OK.

"All my decisions were made for me, which left me with a feeling of fate. I was waiting for fate to pick me up and drag me along."

With this much condensation, the analysis could easily follow the dialogue from session to session. For example, other times when the patient described himself as not being very talkative could be quickly checked and compared. Reference to fuller versions provided the necessary detail and texture of the original. For example, despite his description of himself as not being very talkative, the verbatim record showed him to be quite verbal. It also highlighted pauses in the flow of speech, which often implied some degree of difficulty with the topic. This affective emphasis contributed to the understanding of which themes were most problematic for the patient and thereby also to the thematic structure that was the aim of this analysis.

Step 3: Organizing the Transcript into Content Areas

As the previous step of clearing away less important parts and condensing the text was proceeding, the main areas of concern to Ernest were becoming plain. In the first therapy session Ernest said the main reason for coming to therapy was his difficulty in introducing himself to new people. At a party he would end up staring into the crowd and never getting involved. Another reason was that he would not stand up for himself when he had been wronged. He also wanted more casual relationships with women, noting that the first two reasons also had to do with women. As the condensation proceeded, it was borne out that his social relations, especially with women, were the central issue.

When the therapist asked him to "fill him in on his life," Ernest responded first with social concerns. He continued by talking about his family, and later about academic and career problems. Other topics

were mentioned, concerning the therapy and descriptions of his experience of himself. The following domains comprise the major content areas of the dialogue:

I. Social Relations in General

II. Friends at Home

III. Michael, His Best Friend

IV. Difficulty Making Friends at College

V. Betty and the Triangle

VI. Other Girlfriends

VII. Family Relations

VIII. Academics and Career Plans

IX. Therapy

X. Self, Bodily and Emotional Experience

All statements of patient and therapist fell under one or more of these rubrics. The central area of Ernest's concern is shown by the number of contents having to do with relating to others outside the family. This organization was an intermediate step between the welter of individual statements and a brief table of themes. Individual statements conveyed the texture and content of the dialogue in detail; managing the mass of information was still arduous. A bare table of themes would be brief and highly organized, providing a quick overview. The intent was to arrive at such a table and discover the relationships of figurative language to the themes and their changes. The particular content of this therapy, in the sense of being a case study, is of less interest.

The problem of presenting hermeneutic research becomes crucial at this point. The discussion has to be clear and striking, and yet reproduce enough of the content to flesh out the structure and make it intelligible. The goal is to make the structure clear without inundating the reader in detail. Since a great deal of detail is necessary, guides in the form of outlines will be provided. The following examples were selected for brevity and clarity and do not imply that the statements occur for the first time in the indicated session. The selection was done after themes had been derived and was guided by an understanding of which themes were most important to the dialogue. The examples reflect an attempt to acquaint the reader with the domain generally, with an eye toward more important themes. Examples are drawn from a very condensed version of the text. Statements have been changed from first to third person, because the condensation was intended to be generally descriptive. They do, however, maintain the vocabulary of the original statements as much as possible and still remain intelligible. In the following section, it should be noted that Ernest often speaks of people or friends in general, when in context it is clear he is referring mainly to female friends. Numbers refer to the session in which the remark was produced.

I. Friends in General

One of Ernest's presenting complaints was that he had trouble meeting new people and conversing with them. Even when he had made friends, he felt the relationship was fragile. Disagreement was equated for him with rejection, so he worried about the consequences of

expressing himself. He had to do what the other, whom he placed above himself, wanted.

6: Keeps anger inside. T: In the interest of being accepted or not being embarrassed.
7: Being somebody else, depending on what the other wanted. Wanted to be accepted by everybody.
11: Does things for friends to please them and be accepted.
17: People are above him: Has to be up to their expectations and impress them. Works to bring himself up to their level.
23: Standing up for himself means expressing everything, including anger.

II. Friends at Home.

There was considerable ambivalence in Ernest's report of his social situation before coming to college. He was active and involved, but the involvement was at the cost of inhibiting himself. In high school he had felt quite constrained by peer pressure.

6: Felt left out in junior high, because he did not do what the other kids did. Felt it was too late to make friends.
9: In high school he had the feeling that people would not accept him, if his opinions were different from theirs.
17: Peer pressure, so he did like Michael; became a mirror image of those around him. What did not fit into the mold was laughed at.
21: Cautious with his peers in high school, afraid of being shunned and laughed at.

III. Michael, His Best Friend.

The most prominent figure for him in high school was his best friend Michael. He was popular and Ernest thought if he could be like him, he would have friends, too. The only time he dated one girl consistently was when Michael had a girlfriend.

4: Identified with and emulated Michael. Others identified him with him and he had to make a very strong effort to be himself, not a copy.
9: Has replaced one all knowing figure with another (father with Michael), afraid he would not measure up.

16: The big test about expressing himself will be with Michael, because he played up to him more than anybody. Recently started to express his own opinions to him and expected him to disapprove, but he agreed.

IV. Difficulty Making Friends at College.

Unlike being caught up in the peer pressure of a group in high school, during the freshman year of college he did not get involved in social activities. The few friends he made scattered away. He rationalized that he wanted to be self-reliant but felt left out and wished later he had met a lot of people. Later in the therapy he and the therapist arrived at an understanding that he wanted to be a part of a group in which he could feel free to be himself without the strictures of peer pressure. At least the therapist came to see his lack of involvement as a reaction to the demands of the social situation in high school and a fear of rejection by new people.

7: Rather than taking the chance of being rejected, he avoids new people altogether. On guard, not himself when meeting new people.
13: Got dragged into joining a fraternity, but did not really enjoy it. Fraternity members are happier, but they are cruel and prejudiced. He would rather be like he is, with decent values.
18: Wanted to find somebody to be a bridge to social involvement, but also rejected their invitations.
18: Made no effort to meet anyone outside his dorm freshman year.
20: In college he hid himself away, rationalized he did not want a lot of friends.
20: Depended on friends in high school to determine the diretion he took, and in college he went the opposite way, [i.e. be self-reliant].

V. Betty and the Triangle

The previous year he had been living with two roommates next door to three girls. The six of them went out casually, but he got involved with one of them, Betty, who had been dating another student. This young man was off campus for a year and when he returned, Betty took up

with him again. Ernest was very hurt by this rejection and became even less involved socially.

5: Betty was the first one with whom he ever let himself totally go and he got hurt in the end.
16: Betty not as important. More respect for his own feelings.
22: Saw Betty again, but remembers the triangle. She was dishonest, had no respect for his feelings. Used to do anything to please her. Got more involved than he intended. Leery of falling into the same trap.

VI. Other Girlfriends

Since the triangle, he dated one other girl sporadically, but most often took a girl out only once or twice. His fear of rejection and his efforts to be accepted were most prominent with women. He dated little in high school and in college found himself very uncomfortable on dates, because he had to work so hard to say the right things. When he got "involved," he devoted himself to pleasing her at the expense of being himself. He was constantly "uptight" and "on guard." He reacted by avoiding getting "involved" and going out with a woman only once or twice. Sexual activity was never explicitly mentioned by Ernest or the therapist.

1: Wants more casual relationships. Always wanted to get immediately involved. Feared never finding somebody to love.
5: Not worth it to date seriously, because nothing will come of it.
6: If he initiates things, he would probably be shunned.
7: It almost stops him if the girl does not show any encouragement.
8: More assertive and honest with Amy and felt better.
9: Dates are serious, make him uptight. Fear of rejection. Feels he has to please her, give the right impression, compete for her attention. Has never had a relationship where he has been himself.
13: Stood up for himself when Amy broke a date.
15: In competition for a girl, he always loses. Has decided to make friends instead of compete. In a group with bigger and better looking guys, he gets intimidated.

VII. Family Relations

One of the presenting complaints was an "implicit conflict" with his parents. Overtly they got along well, but he felt they were trying to run his life. They wanted him to go to law school and come into the family business, but that would have been "stifling." In more general terms, he saw that he had accepted their values and stopped himself from doing a lot of things he would have liked to do. He depended on their interest and praise and felt guilty if he did not get it. He blamed them for his inhibition, but later in therapy accepts that his situation is his own fault. His sister, grandparents, and a favorite uncle were mentioned occasionally but did not play a significant part in therapy.

1: He is expected to call every Sunday, obligated to sound happy.
3: Accepted their values and now they rule his life by guilt. He prevents himself from doing things.
7: Felt guilty if parents did not show an interest; rationalized not doing something, if he thought they would not approve. Always feels guilty about something.
8: Go home for the summer or be on his own?
11: Holds back enthusiasm, anger, opinions, due to his need to be accepted, especially by his parents.
24: They are the last thing that can hold him back. Or his last excuse to hold himself back.

VIII. Academics and Career

When he came to college, Ernest planned to follow his father's advice: Study a field that would be useful to the family business and then join him in it. At some point the patient decided he neither liked the major he had chosen nor did he want to return home. This left him with the problem of deciding on a course of study and a direction for his future. The decision was difficult and he felt his

first two years of college were a waste. By his junior year he had found a major which he enjoyed. Motivation, however, remained a problem. He worked well at the beginning of the semester, but "fizzled out" toward the end. He let easy courses, that are no challenge, slide and felt overwhelmed by the amount of work to do before final examinations.

2: Does not know what to set as a goal.
4: Compares himself to others. Not satisfied if somebody has done as well or better. Tries to build himself up to what they are.
4: Working on hard courses, putting easy ones off. Challenge motivates him. Looks to others for praise.
7: Parents wanted him to go to law school. Deciding against it left him the problem of choosing a profession.
7: Compares himself to others above him.
18: Everything was planned by others. This left him with a feeling of fate.
19: Parents want graduate school, he wants to decide for himself.
20: Change in attitude. Will finish the semester. Interested and disciplined.
21: Getting nervous about summer job. Has never had to prove himself. Could convince himself not to take it.
23: Lost confidence, not one of the smartest freshman year.

IV. The Therapy

The therapy was occasionally a topic of the therapy, even though Ernest seemed rather reluctant to talk about it. At one point he said a strong person should be able to "solve his own problems." The therapist often tried to relate the content of Ernest's reports to the therapy situation, e.g. "one-sided conversations," but Ernest generally evaded the connection. He came initially out of "curiosity" and at the end felt it had been worthwhile, which was a "shock."

20: Was unhappy, wanted answers. No one in college guiding him.
21: Never admitted his problems to himself before. It would be wrong if the therapist told him what to do. Friends were told what to do and it messed them up.

25: Therapy has done him good. Admitted some things to himself. Knows what to do, but taking action the most difficult.

V. Self, Bodily, and Emotional Experience

This content area is a miscellany, including statements about himself and his physical and emotional experience which were not clearly involved with other contents. For instance, statements about anger in general, that were not part of a reaction to a particular person, were placed here. Similarly, when he was talking about being "uptight" on dates, that was placed under the rubric of girlfriends. Comments about tension in general fell here. The accounts of dreams he offered could have been included in the area of the therapy, since they reflected to some extent his expectation of what therapy entailed. He assumed the therapist wanted dream reports and provided some. Nevertheless, their content dealt with his view of himself. Since this step dealt mainly with content and avoided inference, it was appropriate to include the dreams here.

A. Views of Himself

2: Impatient, starting things and not finishing.
2: Idealized great-grandfather. He got a kick out of everything and was full of life.
2: Read Ayn Rand's version of the ideal man, which was disheartening.
4: Adventuresome fantasies: Would like flying, parachuting, hang-gliding. Likes spelunking to be alone.
7: Compares himself to other people he places above him.
10: Uncle, whom he idolized, makes no effort to keep in touch.
14: Worried about his appearance.
14: If it does not look like he is making an effort, he cannot fail.
20: Has become self-reliant, will not depend on others to determine the direction he takes.
24: Never unhappy before college and never learned to handle it.

B. Bodily Experience

1: Always very nervous and tense.
6: Tension comes from keeping anger inside. Also associates death, and loneliness with his intense artwork.
23: Taking a chance physically lets the tension out

C. Emotional Experience

1: Tells father of several areas of discouragement: Triangle, losing self-confidence in school, competition for graduate school.
1: Depressed when friends scattered away last year.
2: T: Angry enough to end the conversation with parents?
9: He endures today because the future will better. Would like to be happy now
10: Always feels guilty about something.
11: Holds back anger due to his need to be accepted. 18: Depressed by realizing his situation was his own fault.
23: Standing up for himself means expressing everything, including anger.
23: As long as he did not express his emotions, he would not be vulnerable and could never be told that he was wrong. But then he was never right, either.
24: Never unhappy before college and never learned to handle it.

D. Reports of Dreams

3: Car dream: Going backwards, anything he did was useless. Unable to keep the car from falling into the lake.
3: Bridge dream: Slipped off, fell into water, shattered.
13: Prison dream: Was running away from home but there were barbed wire fences. He started through a hole in the fences, but his father was outside with two German shepherds. He did not resist his father bringing him back.

In collecting the text into the ten content areas, sub-headings became apparent and parallels emerged in other content areas. For example, peer pressure and his reliance on his best friend for guidance were frequent topics and characterized an important mode of how he got along with others during his school years. Doing what others want in order to be accepted also informed his attitude toward his parents.

Collating the text revealed themes occurring within and across content areas and led to the next step of analysis.

Step 4: Describing Themes Within and Across Content Areas

First Level of Thematic Structure

Collating the content brought statements together in categories that were small enough to be seen all at once. This was done first on the very condensed version of the text. Following the methodological rule of going slow, a great number of themes closely related to the topical content began to be seen. Frequent reference to the verbatim record insured that the nuances of Ernest's attitude toward the content was taken into account. This step organized the text into smaller units that were thematically coherent, although his attitude toward the theme was not always consistent. This point will be discussed later, as it contributed to the next level of organization. Some themes occurred within a single content area, while others could be seen in more than one. This level of organization also made it possible to understand some statements and reports, which had been unclear before. Some themes were clearly parallel or in opposition. This presaged the next level of organization.

One very important issue for Ernest was his sense that he had to be very careful in how he conducted himself with friends and family. A number of themes emerged having to do with this issue:

Not Expressing Himself

9: In high school he had the feeling that people would not accept him, if his opinions were different from theirs.

17: Would say things, because he wanted to be the type of person others expected.

Peer Pressure

16: Peer pressure strongest in junior high; mainly about appearance. None in high school, no in-group.
17: What did not fit into the mold during high school was laughed at.

Parents' Expectations

10: Owes it to parents to sound happy.
19: Feels guilty when he is not being what his parents expect.

Expressing Himself with Negative Consequences

3: If he sounds down when parents call, they call back later to check. Puts on sounding happy.
19: When he would speak out spontaneously in high school and others' opinions differed, he would think he said the wrong thing.

Not Being Himself

7: Being somebody else, depending on what the other wanted. Did not realize who he was any more. Wanted to be accepted by everybody.
17: Was a mirror image of those around him.

There had been times when he did lose friends or was rejected, which made him sensitive to what others think of him. This was the fear that motivated the themes listed above. This fear was most prominent when out on a date.

Losing Friends

7: Tossed out of the in-group in sixth grade.
9: Dates are serious, make him uptight. Gets discouraged, assumes rejection. Works hard to please her.
16: Had three groups of friends: Michael, those at school, those in the neighborhood. School friends turned against him; neighborhood friends moved away; that left Michael.

Feeling Insecure, Humiliated, and Vulnerable

8: Parents think he cannot survive, is vulnerable. Mother treats like a child.
16: In junior high what did not fit in the mold was laughed at. Seems absurd now but at the time he felt hurt and humiliated.

By the time Ernest began therapy, he already felt that his compliance was something to be overcome and that he had been working on doing so. Several other themes emerged that expressed his feeling of depending on others, which he seemed to accept as a given state of affairs. His motivation did not last, because he needed encouragement and praise. Without encouragement, he assumed rejection or that he was doing something wrong. This attitude applied to his social relations, especially with women, to his parents, and his academic work.

Needs Encouragement

7: If the girl does not show any encouragement, he takes the attitude they do not want him at all. Not bold enough.
7: Everything he did was something his parents took an interest in and pushed him along.

Wants Praise

11: Wanted praise from parents in high school. Cannot expect it anymore. Parents do not understand his field. Wants praise of instructor. Needs someone else to tell him his work is good.

Motivation Does Not Last

2: Impatient; starting things and not finishing.
5: Working hard now, but always gets unmotivated at the end of the semester.

Has No Confidence

9: Under pressure to give the right impression. No confidence, belittles himself, gets discouraged.

23: Felt world revolved around him before he came to college. Here he felt very insignificant. Lost confidence, not one of the smartest, freshman year.

Depends on Others to Decide for Him

18: Depended on others to make decisions. No one to make decisions for him at college, consequently he did not get involved in anything.
25: Wanted a path to follow, things to happen to him. Everything major had been planned by others.

Along with his problem in keeping motivated without encouragement or praise, much of his effort was devoted to pleasing and impressing others. As he put it, he placed others above him. He compared himself to others academically and socially, and always with the feeling that he did not measure up. Coming to college, where his classmates had all been at the top of their classes in high school, was a blow to his confidence. Socially he felt left out. Others seemed to be having more fun.

Compares Himself to Others Negatively

2: Others are always better, compares himself in thinking about graduate school and gets discouraged.
7: Compares himself to other people he places above him, competes with them to bring himself up to their level.

Wants to Please Others

9: Under pressure to give the right impression and please a date.
11: Parents wanted him to always do better. T: Works to please others, not for self-satisfaction. P: Wants to please friends by saying what they want to hear.

Placed Others Above Him and Wants to Impress Them

4: Becomes friends with people better than he is academically. Pulls himself up by being with them.

17: People above him: Women, uncle, Michael, profs, debate coach. Be up to their expectations. Impress them. Bring himself up to their level.

Emulated Michael

One of the people he placed above him was Michael, his best friend throughout his school years. He thought behaving like Michael would gain him acceptance by the in-group. Michael served as a model for fitting in. He also "played up" to Michael more than anyone, wanting to gain his approval.

4: Identified with and emulated Michael. Others identified him with Michael and he had to make a very strong effort to be himself, not a copy.
17: Doing like Michael gave security vs. being laughed at.

Others Judge Him

Closely related to his desire to please others and fit in with the group was a strong feeling that others judge him harshly. He felt he must be careful in what he said and did to avoid being rejected. He tried to dismiss the importance of others judging him by saying they judge only on inconsequential things. He recognizes that he judges others harshly also. If they said or did something that was not proper, he would think less of them.

17: People judge on inconsequential things, so he keeps feelings inside; agrees in order to fit in.
19: Felt saying one wrong thing would blow it. Judged people that way and thought they judged him so.

Intimidated by Competition

He was considering going to graduate school to get to the top of his field, but worried that the competition would be too much.

Socially he got intimidated by competition with bigger and better looking young men. He felt he could not hold a woman's attention if there were other men in the group.

2: In thinking of graduate school, he compares himself to others and they are always better.
15: Gets intimidated [in a mixed group] because he has no confidence. In competition for a girl, he always loses.

Idealizes Others

He idealized several people, but generally felt he could not measure up to them. The idealization served largely as a basis of comparing himself negatively.

2: Idealized great-grandfather, who was full of life and got a kick out of everything.
2: Depressed by reading of Ayn Rand's perfect man. Does not know what to set as a goal.
17: Idealizes any girl he gets involved with, places her above him, and has to meet her expectations.

Intolerant of Others

He had given others a great deal of power over him. One reaction he had was to be as intolerant of others as he expected them to be of him.

17: Feels others are above him; finds fault to show they are not perfect, then is disappointed.
19: If a girl liked him for being himself, he would belittle her.

Parents Run His Life

While he depended on others to set his goals and directions, he was frustrated that they did. One of the presenting complaints was that his parents run his life. He also described how others could easily sway his opinion.

3: Feels like parents planned his life out. Accepted their values and now they rule his life by guilt. They pressure him to be active socially.
6: Accepted parents' values: He was always made to feel terribly guilty.

Others Sway His Opinions

9: Others sway his opinion, Michael especially. Differences not acceptable.
10: Can express his opinion intellectually, but remembers waiting to see what friends thought about a movie.

Has a Feeling of Fate

The passivity in his feeling of everything being planned out by others and his compliance with others' opinions was also expressed in statements about fate.

3: Car dream: Going backwards, anything he did was useless. 18: Others had always made his decisions. This left him with a feeling of fate. Assumed things would happen, and nothing did when he came to college.
24: Left choice of college up to chance. There is one perfect school, one perfect woman, one perfect job. Figuring everything out is impossible, so he leaves it up to chance.

The Future Will Be Bad

When he thinks about the future, he feels his situation will continue unaltered. Things will continue to be bad.

23: Does not want to look to the future. Constant moderation; nothing great can happen.
24: Future is not going to be better. Nothing laid out beyond college. Afraid of the future.

There are a number of themes dealing with what he wants to do, in contrast with the themes listed above. Instead of complying with others, he wants to express himself, assert himself, and be himself. It is well to note that there are fewer of these themes and that they

are less well articulated than the previous ones. This lack of clarity in itself characterizes the patient's difficulties and will contribute to the next step of organizing the themes.

Asserting Himself

8: Feels an obligation to go home for the summer, but wants to be on his own, prove he can survive.
13: Stood up for himself when Amy broke a date

Expressing Himself With Positive Consequences

16: Having made decision on summer job, freer in talking to parents. The big test about expressing himself will be with Michael, because he played up to him more than anybody. Recently started to express his own opinions to him and expected him to disapprove, but he agreed.

Making an Effort

14: Make an effort to overcome problems.
18: He could sit and do nothing all his life. Has to make an effort to stay involved.
24: He realizes he must do things for himself. Earlier he had expected things to happen to him.

Being Spontaneous

5: Ok meeting new people, if something just pops into his head.
15: He can overcome intimidation and join a group if it is a spontaneous thing, but he can rationalize his way out of it.

Being Honest

6: Being more honest with parents; not putting on an act.
8: More honest in therapy than elsewhere, letting things out.

Being Himself

4: Others identified him with Michael and he had to make a very strong effort to be himself, not a copy.
9: Has never had a relationship where he has been himself.

Deciding for Himself

3: If he does something because parents want him to, that is wrong. If he rebels, that is wrong. He has to decide genuinely what he wants to do.
16: Having made a decision on a summer job, he is freer in talking to his parents.

Feeling More Secure

13: Now has lost his insecurities and learned to hide them better.
16: Gained some security recently. Sees what to do, but it is hard to carry out.

Motivated by Academic Competition and Challenge

1: Has to be challenged. Does well in hard courses, poorly in easy ones.
4: Tries to build himself up to what others are by competing with them. Not satisfied if somebody has done as well or better.

Belonging to a Group vs. Being an Individual

An important conflict that emerged was between belonging to a group at the expense of being himself, viz. peer pressure, and being an individual. Before college he was caught up in the mores of the group and felt he lost his individuality. In college he became "self-reliant," but felt isolated. This was parallel to "getting involved" with girlfriends but having to devote himself to pleasing them. When he has gotten "involved," he has not been able to "be himself." If he does not get "involved," he feels he has no friends. At the time of the therapy he was anticipating that he would join committees the next year and recognized he would have to "make an effort." Sometimes when he contemplated making new friends, he worried that it was too late or that he would be a "fifth wheel." As he said at one point, he knows what to do but makes excuses. The conflict derived from his fear of

rejection and competition and from a recognition of the high cost in inhibition that fitting in had required during his school years.

18: Tired of going out on one date. Would rather be involved with a group. Wants to get involved in activities next year.
13: Fraternity members are happier but have group values. In the group they are cruel and prejudiced. He would rather be like he is, with decent values.
21: Thinks about the political movement in 60's. It would have been easy to talk. You could be an individual and part of a group.

Conflict Within the Family

In the first session when the therapist invites Ernest to "fill me in on your life," one observation Ernest responds with is that there is "an implicit conflict" between him and his parents. They "are still trying to run my life to a certain extent." He puts up with it and seems glad they are still able to talk about anything. As the themes of the therapy emerge, however, it becomes clear that this conflict is a central one. This is not surprising for a young adult, but Ernest is having enough difficulty with resolving the conflict that he comes to therapy and it forms a central issue. In the same context in the first session, he admits it creates conflict "within himself." This "internal" conflict becomes a central focus of the therapy and contributes to the next step of thematic organization. There are conflicts among other members of the family which serve as background but do not become focuses.

4: Conflict between grandfather and grandmother after divorce, between grandfather and her children. They do not speak at all now.
10: Conflict between doing stuff for his parents and having his own life. Put on an act of sounding happy; has stopped because he felt terrible doing it.

As discussed earlier, the process of analysis does not involve only one step at a time. As themes are seen (Step 4), their relationship to other themes is sometimes immediately apparent (Step 5). Some themes are so salient that they appear while preparing the transcript (Step 1). Breaking the process into discrete steps is for clarity of presentation only. On the other hand there are statements whose thematic quality is not recognized until other themes are seen. The importance of the conflict manifest in the following themes was not clear until a higher level of thematic organization had been worked out. This is an example of the observation that the meaning of the parts is not available until the structure of the whole is derived. Working with a text has the advantage over doing therapy in that it is possible to return to earlier statements and understand their importance in light of what becomes clear only later. The following themes are not frequent nor is their content as elaborated with detailed reports as others. Indeed, they seem to be qualitatively different from the themes noted so far. They represent more of an overall attitude toward his situation, in other words, a mode of being situated.

Blames Others for His Situation

1: Tense as a child, taken to a child psychiatrist, who determined it was his mother's fault.
15: He puts the blame on others, because he adapts [sic; viz. adopts?] the attitudes of the people he is with.

His Situation is His Own Fault

13: He is his own prisoner, not his parents'. Has not done things and later wishes he had. Blames himself.

18: Came to the revelation that his situation is his own fault and got depressed. Let others make all his decisions. Blamed parents for holding him back, but it was himself. Blamed college for his lack of involvement.

Holding Back

One of the largest themes that emerged was that he prevents himself from doing things he wants to. He never did anything bad as a child and still "holds back" on doing things he wants and on expressing his feelings.

18: Wanted to find somebody to be a bridge to social involvement, but also rejected their invitations. Resisted getting involved in social activities
23: As long as he did not express his emotions, he would not be vulnerable and could never be told that he was wrong. But then he was never right, either.

Being On Guard

He feels he cannot be careless about what he says, because one mistake could "blow the relationship."

7: Not interested in dating, uncomfortable; always on guard not to say the wrong thing.
17: On guard, because he gets involved with girls he places above him and they judge him.

Not Getting Involved

He wanted to be involved in social activities but found himself avoiding them.

1: Stares into crowd at a party, never really getting involved.
2: Not listening to others; one-sided conversations with sister--he has always done so much less. T: Trouble getting involved.

Feeling Guilty

One thing that prevented him from doing things was that he always felt guilty.

6: He accepted his parents' values: He was always made to feel terribly guilty.
10: Told parents he was not going home for whole summer, felt guilty.
19: Guilt feelings when he is not being what parents expect, i.e. happy.

Rationalizing Himself into Inaction

One important way he had to hold himself back was to think of all the things that could go wrong if he took the initiative and rationalize himself into inaction.

7: Rationalized he did not want to do something, if he thought parents would not approve.
21: Not worry about what others think vs. rationalize into inaction

Avoiding Conflict

Not expressing himself, especially when angry, has the result of him avoiding conflict. He would not "stand up for himself," which is a presenting complaint. It becomes clear that what he meant in particular was not standing up for himself when involved in the triangle with Betty.

6: Wanted to break roommate's neck but just walked off. Then he started shaking. Afraid anger might be violent. Waits until he can discuss it calmly, but by then, he is no longer angry and they never discuss it.
19: If somebody does something not to his better interests, he has a tendency to let it slide by, but it causes tension, which builds up.

Conversation Is Difficult

One of the presenting complaints was his difficulty in meeting new people, especially young women, and not knowing what to say to start a

conversation. He also noted that since breaking up with Betty he was not paying attention to what others were saying. The theme of conversation being difficult is closely related to his fear of saying the wrong thing and being rejected.

5: Self-conscious meeting new people, does not know what to say.
15: In a group with bigger and better looking guys, he gets intimidated. He is more of a listener than a talker and the girl's attention is not directed toward him.

Not Making an Effort

Given his fear of rejection if he did anything wrong, Ernest falls into passivity. The therapist observed frequently that he was reluctant to "take a chance," but Ernest articulated the passivity as not making an effort. He experienced activity as encountering strong resistance. Everything required great effort and there are times when it seemed too much.

14: He can put up with his situation rather than make an effort to get what he wants. Settled for dating Amy rather than seeing others.
18: He could sit and do nothing all his life. Never had to work at anything. Looks to others to approve and just drifts.

Too Late to Make Friends

One prominent rationalization for not being more involved socially was that it was too late to make friends. He used this attitude as an excuse for not making an effort to get involved. He saw his fellow students being active on committees and having formed groups of friends and felt he would be a "fifth wheel." He came to the recognition that he would be more comfortable making friends with young women rather than wanting to "get involved" immediately, but rationalized it was too late to do that.

15: Realizes mistake of dating too seriously freshman year, but too late now.
20: Wishes he had met a lot of people, but too late now.

Always Being Tense

Tension was the bodily concomitant to his "internal conflict," which was also played out in his social relations. Before the therapy began, Ernest had already recognized that not expressing himself was making him tense. He and the therapist worked out early in the therapy that the main feeling he was not expressing was anger.

6: Tension comes from keeping anger inside.
19: Has never had a relationship that was not filled with tension and anxiety.

Ambivalence

At this point we can also include his numerous expressions of ambivalence and not knowing what to do.

5: Does not know what he wants: Live in New York or in the country?
24: Confusion, because he does not know what he wants.

Thinking More of Himself

In the second therapy session he says he has a new attitude and does not know where it is taking. He used to be very open, but now he is keeping more to himself and thinking more of himself. This is troublesome, especially when his mother accuses him of being selfish. Looking at his history, we can see that before college he was hemmed in by peer pressure and the fear of humiliation. Up to now in college he has been working toward disentangling himself from the strictures imposed by others. He does indeed have a new attitude, and is suffering some of the consequences of this change. It leaves him open to

his mother's rebuke and to a sense of being isolated. In terms of his previous dedication to compliance, he is isolated. This new attitude, however, opens up the possibility of establishing different sorts of relationships. He no longer has to be as concerned about others' opinions of him. It is even possible that he can devote himself to his work with less of an eye to others' approval.

2: Has a new attitude and does not know where it is taking him.
20: Change in attitude: Meeting new people; will finish the semester; interested and disciplined. Success depends on his attitude.
24: Expected things to happen to him. Has realized he must do things for himself.

Changing the Way He Gets Involved with Others

Recognizing that his style of relationship has not been satisfactory and that he has isolated himself in reaction, he wants to change how he relates.

7: It is not just his responsibility to keep the friendship going. Others should take steps, too.
15: Make friends before dating. Liked casual dates last year, but got mixed up with Betty.

Change in Attitude after the Triangle with Betty

Being rejected by Betty was a major event to be coped with. He is very aware that the reaction prompted big changes in his attitude.

2: Since the triangle, he is giving less of himself. If he opens himself up, he may be hurt.
22: Used to do anything to please Betty. Leery of falling into the same trap. Willing to be friends, but no commitment.

Step 5: Organizing the Themes: A Hierarchy of Themes Emerges

The Second Level of Thematic Structure

The order in which themes were presented in Step 4 presaged the organization which was emerging. Some themes were clearly parallel and others clearly opposite. Some of the themes enumerated in Step 4 can be represented as clusters that go together. As the analysis proceeded, some of the relationships among the themes seemed obvious, yet the relationships had to be considered tentative until the structure of the whole text was made clear and all relationships checked against it. What seemed obvious to an outside observer may not have been obvious to the participants in the therapy, and it was their understanding that was the aim of the analysis. Indeed, the dialogue unfolded as the therapist and patient came to understand what they meant. This process includes making thematic connections between content areas and connections between themes. This organization leads to increased brevity and a more comprehensive overview. For example, common sense might suggest Ernest's discomfort with having to sound happy when he telephones his parents and his problems with peer pressure during his school years are related: Both have to do with others' expectations imposed upon him. Such an assertion could not be confirmed within the dialogue until the second level of thematization reveals that "Being Accepted" is an issue encompassing several themes. This is an instance of the hermeneutic proposition that the meaning of elements does not become clear until an understanding of larger conglomerates, and ultimately the whole, is arrived at.

This proposition seemed best rendered as a hierarchical structure, in which "higher order" themes encompass "lower order" ones. For example "Being Accepted" entailed "Parents' Expectations," "Peer Pressure," "Not Expressing Himself," etc. A second level of thematization emerged from the way Ernest and therapist came to understand what Ernest reported about his outside relationships and to his stance toward therapy. Sometimes Ernest made the connection, and sometimes the therapist. The therapist tended to make the widest ranging connections which Ernest sometimes did not understand. For example, on one occasion Ernest was talking about how he prevents himself from doing things he wants to. The therapist observed that this is a case of his parents holding on to him. Ernest responded, "I don't understand." The therapist was making a connection between two themes, which could be argued to be related on theoretical grounds, but Ernest did not see the relationship. The interpretation was too wide ranging at that point in therapy. Rather than thinking simply of "distance" between the themes, a hierarchical structure permits thinking of "levels." Ernest was working at one level and the therapist attempted to thematize at a higher level.

Moving between levels is not inherently an error--on the contrary, it seems an essential aspect of the process. Both participants make connections and come to understand particular contents as thematically related, as well as seeing that different themes involve the same issue. This permits them to discuss "higher order" issues, not just individual instances and events. The problem for the therapist is to couch his comments at a level the patient can understand, and

conversely, to be able to discern connections the patient makes between seemingly disparate topics and to understand the higher order theme that is proposed.

Step Five of the analysis will be represented in an array of major sets of themes comprising the second level of structure. First order themes formed meaningful groupings which could be identified as an overriding theme. For instance, the themes Not Expressing Himself, Peer Pressure, Parents' Expectations, Expressing Himself with Negative Consequences, and Not Being Himself all had to do with the issue of being accepted. These themes could be assimilated into a second order theme of Being Accepted. In the following array the second order themes are underlined, followed by a brief description and a list of first order themes they encompass.

It needs to be noted that this arrangement became clear only in relation to the next step of analysis. It does not, and cannot, represent all connections among themes. At each level some detail is lost. As the analysis moves further away from the verbatim text, the representation becomes less concrete. The greater degree of abstraction becomes less demonstrable and more open to argument. Imposing theoretical presuppositions on the structure becomes more likely, which invites argument about constructs, not data. Several formulations of issues become possible. The following organization is presented as making sense, as being comprehensive, and as being true to connections made by the participants. The lengthy presentation in the previous steps was intended to provide enough of the content so that the reader can understand this more abstract organization of the text.

Being Accepted

An important issue for Ernest was fitting into the group and being accepted by others. This entailed a number of themes having to do with doing what others imposed on him.

Not Expressing Himself
Peer Pressure
Parents' Expectations
Expressing Himself with Negative Consequences
Not Being Himself

Being Rejected

Closely related was what he feared would be the consequences if he did not comply.

Losing Friends
Feeling Insecure, Humiliated, and Vulnerable

Depending on Others

Ernest also recognized that he looked to others to determine what to do. Without the encouragement of others, his motivation did not last. An important motivator was praise. Without it, as when he found himself in large college lecture halls, he lost confidence that he could excel academically. Without encouragement by a date, he assumed she does not want to go out with him anymore.

Needs Encouragement and Attention
Motivation Does Not Last
Wanting Praise
Depends on Others to Decide
Losing Confidence

Others Are Above Him

Intertwined with the themes listed above was the attitude that he has to go to "special lengths" to win acceptance. He did not "place much value" on himself, but over-valued others. Impressing them, pleasing them, and emulating them would prevent their assumedly harsh judgment of him. He felt he could not compete with other young men for a woman's attention. His judgment of others was equally strict. If they did one thing wrong, they would "fall off the pedestal."

Compares Himself to Others Negatively
Wanting to Please Others
Impress Those Above
Emulated Michael
Others Judge Him
Intimidated by Competition
Idealizes Others
Intolerant of Others

Others Decide for Him

He stated that he had to do what others, especially his parents, wanted and let his opinions be swayed by what others thought.

Parents Run His Life
Others Sway His Opinions

Future

Ernest's attitude toward the future was that the restrictions imposed by others would continue, which was bad. Others had always decided for him, which left him with a feeling of fate. These themes seemed important early in the analysis, but their relationship to other themes was at first unclear. At this level it became possible to understand them as expressions of his experience of the need for compliance and his discomfort with it. In talking this way about the

future, Ernest was not so much planning and projecting a future, as fearing that the constraints of the past would continue.

Has a Feeling of Fate
Expects the Future to be Bad

Asserting Himself

The several themes on the issue of doing what he wants to do belong together. They express his desire and his efforts to free himself from the constraints of others' expectations. This grouping is his anticipation of how he would want to behave in the future.

Asserting Himself
Expressing Himself with Positive Consequences
Making an Effort
Being Spontaneous
Being Honest
Being Himself
Deciding for Himself
Feeling More Secure
Motivated by Academic Competition and Challenge

Conflict Within Himself

When he came to college, he freed himself from the restrictions of high school peer pressure, but found himself not belonging or being involved with others. He expressed conflicting attitudes toward belonging, wanting to be involved, but not at the expense of his individuality as in school.

Belonging to the Group vs. Being an Individual
Wants to Belong
Wants to Be Involved
Wants to be an Individual, Alone

Conflict in the Family

Ernest's personal conflicts manifested themselves in conflicts with his parents. Because he is Thinking More of Himself, his mother calls him selfish. She kept "dropping hints" that she would like him to come home for the summer, but he wanted a summer job. His parents expressed opinions about what he should do, but he wanted to decide for himself. Ernest's reports about conflict among other family members was not specifically related to this situation, but seemed to serve as a background of people not having to get along. Several family members were no longer on speaking terms, which echoed the patient's fears of losing relationships if he did not comply.

Whose Fault?

Ernest was unhappy and recognized at the beginning of the therapy that he was not doing what he wanted. He had been preventing himself from doing things because he had accepted his parents' values; in other words, his situation was their fault. As therapy proceeded, the ways he had been preventing himself became elaborated, leading to the recognition that his situation was largely his own fault. Recasting the issue in this way provoked a period of depression toward the end of the therapy and offered the possibility of more freedom in Asserting Himself.

Blames Others for His Situation
His Situation is His Own Fault

Holds Himself Back

The themes gathered above under the heading of Asserting Himself are less well elaborated than those dealing with his experience of doing what others want. Doing what he wants was not a simple matter. His attempt during the freshman year not to get caught up in group values and peer pressure left him feeling isolated and uninvolved with the youthful activities and pleasures around him. Getting involved with a girlfriend got him involved in a painful triangle. He kept his feelings inside, because expressing himself would not be acceptable. This provoked the experience of physical tension, which in turn he also tried to hide. In the course of the therapy he and the therapist articulated this "internal" conflict to include a number of themes of how he held himself back. That he was holding himself back, not his parents or other powerful figures, was a recognition that found powerful expression on several occasions. This recognition was an articulation of the previous themes, Whose Fault?, dealing with particular content areas.

Holding Back
On Guard
Not Getting Involved
Feeling Guilty
Rationalizes Himself into Inaction
Avoids Conflict
Conversation is Difficult
Not Making an Effort
Too Late to Change
Always Tense

Ambivalence

The unclarity seen in the themes of Asserting Himself was also manifest in his direct expressions of not knowing what to do and ambivalence.

New Attitude

One area of ambivalence was a focus of the therapy throughout. Ernest had begun making changes before beginning therapy but worried about the effects of those changes. They did not seem wholly positive to him. Early on he stated that he had a new attitude and did not know where it was taking him. From the perspective of the analysis so far, that attitude could be understood as a result of an effort to change from his old way of relating to others, i.e. compliance, without a clear idea of how to relate in the future. One way that became articulate was to make friends with women, rather than dating seriously from the beginning.

Thinking More of Himself
Changing the Way He Gets Involved with Others
Change in Attitude after the Triangle with Betty

Step 6: Organizing the Hierarchy: The Central Issues Stand Out Clearly

Third Level of Thematic Structure

Previous steps in the analysis make the issues of therapy clearer and more succinct. Themes emerged from the mass of the transcript, making an organization available which gathered individual statements

together. Groupings of themes became apparent. Some themes seemed to be parallel; some also had their opposite. For instance, agreeing with friends and not expressing himself seemed parallel to peer pressure, while being spontaneous and asserting himself were their opposites. This led to the idea of a hierarchical structure, in which a second level of themes encompassed, summarized, and linked the myriad lower order themes. In Step 5 thirteen groupings of themes, i.e. second order themes, were identified. These second order themes were also connected, having parallels and opposites. A third level of thematic structure could be discerned.

This sixth step of the analysis gathered the themes together in yet a simpler organization. It abstracted an overriding theme from the arrangement of the themes in Step 5. The central issue of the therapy, where the work was done, showed itself as a tension between Doing What Others Want, as he had in the past, and Doing What He Wants in the future. The theme of Holding Himself Back revealed itself both as conflict and the possibility of change. At the beginning of the therapy the attitude that others, e.g. parents, had held him back and were responsible for his unhappy situation, predominated. He was not able to rebel against them, i.e. leap to the opposite pole of Doing What He Wanted, because of the expectation of being rejected and isolated. The hard-won recognition that, as a young adult in college, he was holding himself back, opened up the possibility that he could stop doing it without necessarily being rejected. He could change his behavior, unlike being a victim of fate. His response to his situation did not have to be predetermined. In the following array the third order

themes are underlined and followed by the second order themes they encompass:

Doing What Others Want

Being Accepted
Being Rejected
Depending on Others
Others Are Above Him
Others Decide for Him
Future

Doing What He Wants

Asserting Himself

He Holds Himself Back

Conflict Within Himself
Conflict in the Family
Whose Fault?
Holds Himself Back
Ambivalence
New Attitude

He had come to feel that only if he did what others wanted, would he be accepted by them. A large part of what he did was aimed at pleasing or impressing others by doing what he thought they wanted. He reported several instances where expressing himself had had negative consequences. Others were above him and without their attention and encouragement, he was unmotivated to continue in a project. He idealized several people, including his best friend. By emulating him, he had hoped to be as popular and socially adroit. He depended on others for direction.

On the other hand, it also gave him the feeling that his life was already planned out. Fate was in control and he did not have to make

any decisions or exert himself toward a goal he might set. His parents had run his life, but he rejected their suggestions about what to do after college. This left him without a direction and he remarked that his first two years of college were a waste. By the time he entered therapy he had chosen a major on his own and in the course of the therapy started making decisions about how to pursue his career.

One pole of this most encompassing thematic structure was Doing What Others Want. The opposite pole, Doing What I Want, was not a negation of that, in the sense of having no connection with others, but a disentangling so that a different sort of relationship could be established. Ernest spoke of involvement with others in both a positive and a negative sense. Positively, it meant having many friends with mutual interests and activities, having a close relationship with a girlfriend, expressing himself freely to his parents, and keeping busy with his work. On the negative side, it meant doing what others wanted, giving them control over him, and putting on an act just to please them. This compliance seemed necessary to prevent them from humiliating him or from leaving him isolated.

Ernest felt that doing what others wanted was necessary to be accepted by them. Being accepted is an important theme of his involvement with others. As an adolescent, peer pressure was felt strongly. Disagreement was equated with dislike, so he became a mirror image of those around him. In the sixth grade he lost friends who moved away and was rejected by others, leaving him one best friend, Michael. To keep from losing this last friend, he adapted [sic] all his attitudes and opinions. Even when he was defiant with teachers in high school,

he would be arguing from a position he thought reflected peer opinions. He wanted to be part of the group, although maintaining this position came at the cost of his spontaneity.

Doing What He Wanted meant spontaneity and self-assertion, with others showing respect for his feelings, also. He idealized his great-grandfather, who loved kidding around and got a kick out of everything. He admired people who were free-spirited, creative, and could let go. His view was that he could not do that. One time he kidded a young woman, but she got upset and ran off crying. When he spoke out in class discussions and others voiced different opinions, he thought he said the wrong thing. When he did not sound happy when talking to his parents, they worried and called him back later to check on him. His efforts at self-determined activity seemed to provoke adverse reactions from others.

Just before beginning therapy he found himself with a new attitude, which was disconcerting, for he did not know where it was taking him. The progression began freshman year, where he had the chance of disentangling himself from the peer pressure of earlier school years. In doing so, he found himself isolated, which became uncomfortable. There seemed to be only fraternity types, who were involved in activities, and those like him who were not involved at all. Having looked to a group for direction, he was unable to provide himself one and just drifted. The new attitude revealed itself as a struggle to "be an individual" and still be socially involved.

The attitude he was striving for was to assert himself and to express his own opinion. Being spontaneous could overcome the problems

he had meeting women and rationalizing himself into inaction. Others had run his life and he wanted to decide things for himself. Whenever he has met a young woman, he immediately wanted to get involved, by which he meant all the things encompassed by Doing What Others Want. He wanted just to make friends with a woman and establish a more casual relationship, in which he could be himself.

He feared that asserting himself would result in rejection or humiliation by peers or lack of acceptance from by his parents, so he held himself back. The values he accepted were his parents' and he prevented himself from doing things. He was constantly on guard and tense, because one mistake might "blow it." He would think about everything that could go wrong and rationalize himself into inaction. The "tension" between the poles of the conflict manifested itself in physical tension. One of the first points of change in the dialogue was the recognition that the tension comes from holding feelings inside, predominantly anger. He reported a recent argument with his sister where he wanted to rant and rave and throw things. Remarkably, he wondered if it was the first time he had gotten into a fight with her. Academics also caused tension, because he felt under pressure to perform. There was a time in high school when he sleepwalked. With the therapist's help, some of this was formulated in terms of being free to feel intensely as opposed to maintaining control and calm moderation, i.e. "hiding" his feelings, even from himself.

This was a young man in his junior year of college, who was looking back on everything having been planned for him, but nothing was laid out past college. He did not like much of his past and was, of

course, concerned about his future as he approached deciding on a career. The highest level of thematic structure outlined in this sixth step makes his attitudes toward time clear. His life before college had been dominated by others' plans and wishes for him. He had imposed many restrictions on himself, by accepting parental values. His course beyond college was not planned out, by him or others. He saw the possibility that the old pattern of compliance might continue, a "path of constant moderation." He could "sit and let the world go by" all his life. When he contemplated being a active force he became anxious and anticipated "all the things that could go wrong." The magnitude of the change from compliance to activity, from the patterns of the past to the openness of the future, contributed mightily to the tension between the poles of the thematic structure.

The theme of Holding Himself Back revealed itself both as conflict and the possibility of change. Before college he had been enmeshed in Doing What Others Want. At college he freed himself of peer pressure and group values, but at the expense of not being involved with others. What involvement he had, such as the triangle with Betty or his brief period as a fraternity member, was painful and disappointing. He wanted to belong to a group and have pleasant dealings with young women, but shied away. He recognized that he was likely to fall back into the same rut of Doing What Others Want. He could blame others for his situation, for it was what they wanted, or he could accept the responsibility that it was he himself who was holding him back. Thus, he could make an effort to change his old way of doing things and create a better way in the future.

The conflict between Doing What Others Want and Doing What He Wants is the central issue of the therapy. The conflict manifested itself in the issue of Holding Himself Back and whose fault that was. This highest level of thematic structure organizes lower order themes. Its own organization is that the themes comprising Holding Himself Back are the manifestation of the conflict and can be schematically rendered as follows in Figure 1:

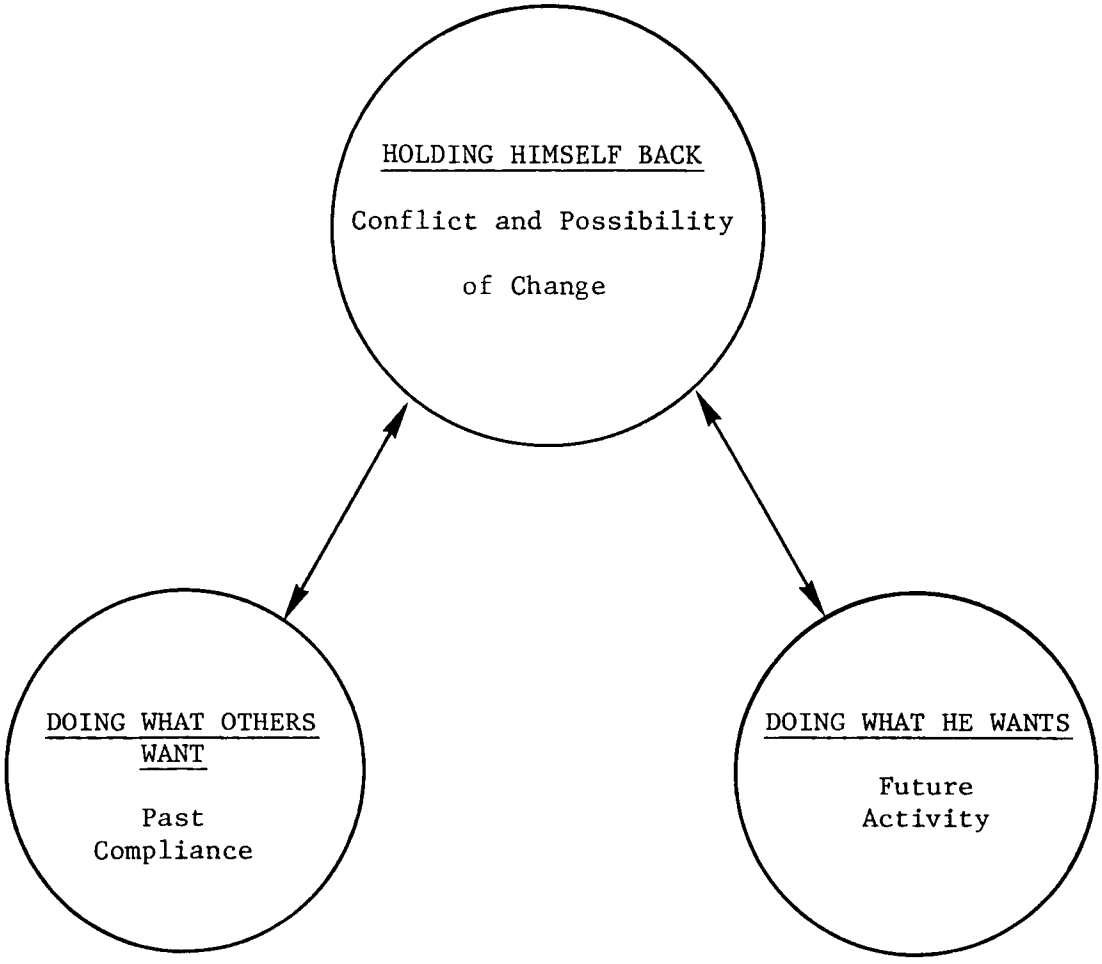


Figure 1. The central conflict revealed at the highest level of thematizing

Ernest's recognition of and attitude toward the themes as they unfolded in the course of the therapy were crucial, yet they could not be rendered adequately at this level. For example, at the beginning of the therapy, he had already recognized the pernicious effect peer pressure had on him before college. He also knew he limited himself socially during the freshman year. Only much later did he see the connection and therapy terminated before he clearly understood and accepted the necessity of that progression. What was not clear was that he honored his efforts to disentangle himself, or even the history that led to him being so sensitive to peer pressure. He probably terminated, continuing to think of both periods as painful failures and very likely maintained the idealization of himself breezing through all ages and stages. Such attitudes were important to understanding the themes and how they related, yet could not be represented schematically.

These attitudes were not themes but Ernest's Befindlichkeit within the theme; that is, his stance or attitude toward the content of the theme. Befindlichkeit is Heidegger's (1927/1975) term for how one "befinds" oneself in a situation. The standard translation is "mood" (Macquarrie and Robinson, 1968) but it is more than the affective component of the response to a situation. It co-constitutes the situation itself. Rather than saying frustration elicits aggression, Befindlichkeit implies that a situation is frustrating because we are angry. For instance, in a long segment of Session 7, acceptance was the theme. Ernest added to it that he has come to feel it was not just his responsibility to keep the relationship going, that he wanted

acceptance now only from a limited group of friends and that he saw he needed encouragement in all phases of his life. The content areas ranged from girlfriends to peer pressure to academic motivation to his parents. He reported on the situation in a particular domain, at a particular time, and added a current reflection on it.

Another example of the importance to a theme of his way of being in a situation occurred in Session 20. He began the session by talking about how his attitude had changed and and how he was making an effort to meet a new friend. He was very pleased and looking forward to pursuing the friendship over the summer. The first several minutes of the session dealt with the themes of Change and Having a New Attitude and how the Future might be. In the middle of this he described, in the present tense, how he stops himself by thinking that it is too late to get involved with others. The people on campus have known each other for at least a year and he would be like a fifth wheel. This was not a current rationalization, for he was not looking at it as necessary anymore. His next comment showed this clearly, for he wished he had had the new attitude of making an effort to meet people sooner. However, the statement about being a fifth wheel clearly has to do with the theme of it being Too Late To Make Friends, even though at that moment he did not think it was. That attitude had been superseded and he had gained some distance from it.

To have included all the variations of attitude toward the themes, i.e. his Befindlichkeit, would have required an elaborate system of markers, which would have created far too complex a representation. Yet this was central to an understanding of the therapy as process and

change. This would also have opened up the problem of marking inferences from his behavior with the therapist to the verbalizations, e.g. whether he wanted acceptance from him also. This was never articulated. The one time the therapist tried to bring it up, Ernest denied that it was a factor, yet it clearly set the tone for much of what the patient did. It seemed more efficient to include understanding of Ernest's attitudes as part of the discussion of change points within themes. The purpose of deriving the thematic structure was precisely to be able to determine where the dialogue changes in what it talks about and how it talks about it. Only with this done, would it be possible to examine the role of metaphor in this process.

4. DISCUSSION

The process of deriving the thematic structure was a long one yet unavoidable. To understand the content of this therapy--or any other--in a rigorous and coherent manner required it. It is an elaboration of the process an experienced clinician uses, that is, one who does not immediately translate individual patient statements into theoretical terms. Articulating the patient's issues without imposing on them myriad presuppositions calls for a methodical and painstaking approach. There is no way for a therapist to enter into the patient's lived world without involvement in the mass of detail; nor can an empirical investigation of the meaning evolved in a therapy avoid a similar immersion. It has to proceed methodically from the inchoate transcript to an understanding of the central issues as they were articulated in the

dialogue. Keeping in mind that the steps are discrete only in retrospect, the procedure can be schematically depicted in Figure 2.

The highest level of thematic structure provided a succinct overview of issues in therapy. It made possible a return to the full complexity and texture of the transcript with a clear idea of what the elements were contributing to. It was as if all the strands of a complex web were knotted in this simple exposition of conflict and possibility of change. This knot provided a guide for determining which metaphors "do the work." Knowing the thematic structure of the whole, it was possible to see which elements contributed to it and which were digressions or mere flourishes. The metaphors regarded as important by clinical intuition stood out clearly because of their position in the web. No a priori set of concepts from theory needed to be imposed on the participants' own words. An understanding of the role of metaphor could be acquired by seeing more clearly what the therapy was about. The thematic structure organized the strands so that the analysis of metaphor could proceed without getting lost in the confusion of particular exchanges.

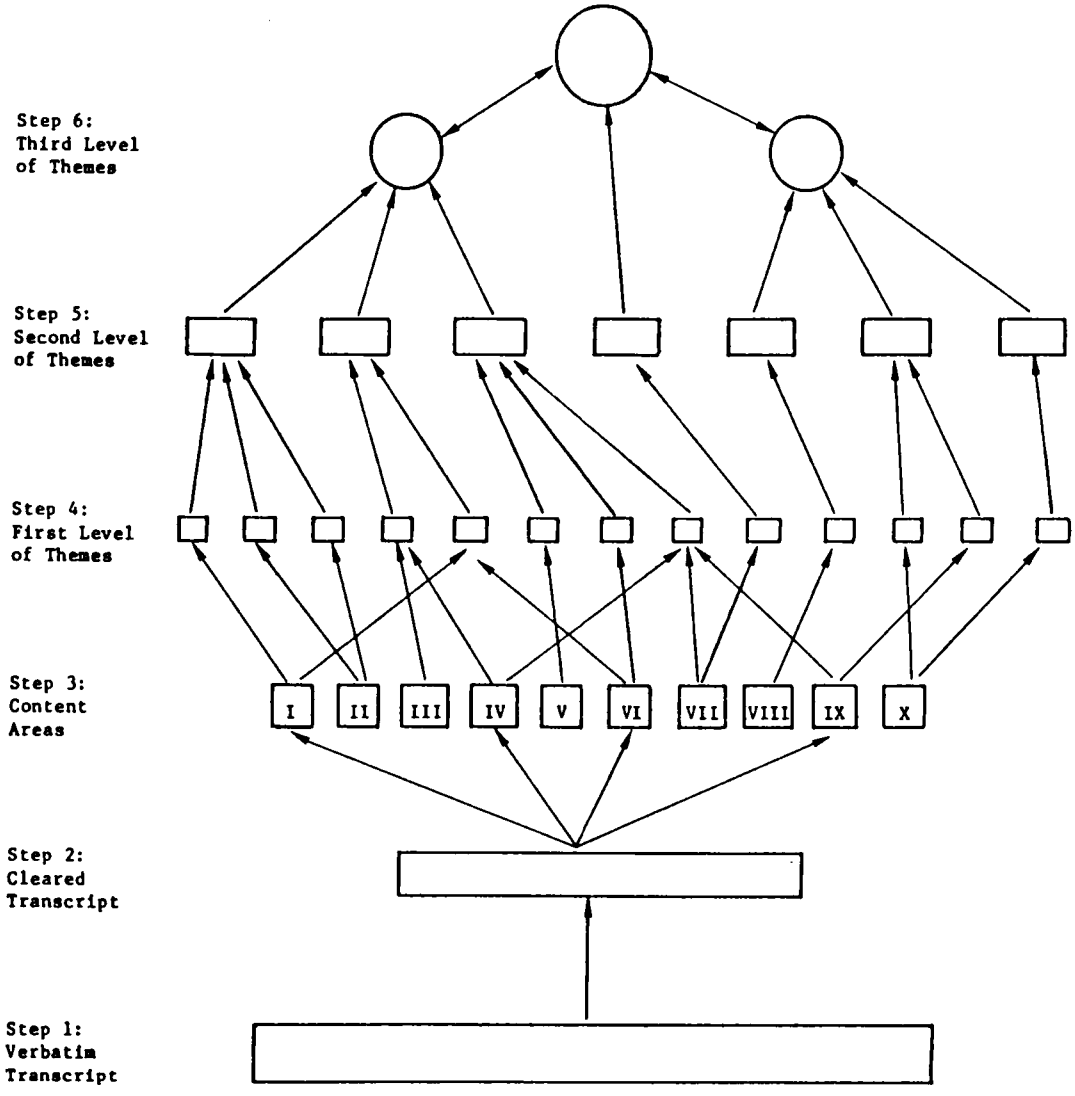


Figure 2. Schematic overview of the process of thematizing the transcript

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

1. A CENTRAL METAPHOR AND ITS ROLE IN THERAPEUTIC DIALOGUE

"I'm My Own Prisoner"

The highest level of thematic structure concerned the conflict between doing what others want and doing what Ernest wants. The conflict manifested itself in the question whether others were holding him back from doing what he wanted or whether he was holding himself back. The central metaphor of the therapy--"I am my own prisoner,"--encapsulated the recognition that while feeling surrounded by barbed wire, the patient himself was responsible for that situation. His lack of freedom was a result of attitudes and behaviors he imposed on himself. In this metaphor he represented the recognition that he had been inhibiting himself and was not held back by overt authority. This insight had been emerging at a few points in previous sessions. In the metaphor it was concentrated, clear, simple, direct.

The metaphor derived from a "strange" dream reported in the thirteenth session. In this dream Ernest was running away from home but had to go through barbed wire fences. There was a hole in the fence, but when he got through, his father was standing there with two German shepherds. Ernest said to himself, "I guess I'll go back," went back, and "everything was OK and there wasn't any problem." Ernest found the dream "curious," because he had had a good conversation with his

parents lasting forty minutes the evening before and felt they were "starting to understand each other a little bit."

Ernest's first comment on the dream was about the conversation, in which his parents said they had never said he could not do anything. They realized that they could not stop him from doing what he wanted to. They said he was free to do as he liked, but they had a right to express their opinion. The patient did not understand why he accepted being caught and brought back in the dream. He also remembered that when he was about to jump out the window he had to go back and take care of some trivial task. He commented that he always thinks of the complications and cannot seem to be "totally free, no strings attached" even in a dream.

The barbed wire and his father with the dogs reminded the patient of a prison. He continued, "I guess the obvious thing is that somehow I feel that I'm being held prisoner. I guess it has to do with my whole attitude." The therapist prompted him, "Your whole attitude?" He explained, "Towards my parents and the way I've always wanted to have acceptance and everything else." He was <u>being</u> <u>held</u> prisoner, passive, compliant; but it had to do with his attitude, over which he could exercise some control. He then recalled a conversation when he was fourteen. Following a discussion group on premarital sex, he asked his parents what they would think if, when he was eighteen or nineteen, he lived with a girl. Their response was "they wouldn't be thrilled, but they realized that by the time [he] was that age, they couldn't stop [him] from doing it." His parents acquiesced then and in the conversation the previous evening to his independence, but he had taken

"the opposite attitude of being felt [sic] locked up." Once again the passive voice intruded, and the grammatical error may point to the conflict and confusion he was wrestling with.

The therapist wondered, "Could there be some reason why you picture yourself locked up?" Ernest had worked the issue to the point where he responded, "When I think about it, I take the attitude that I'm my own prisoner and not necessarily theirs, because there's been times when I haven't done things and a little while later I wish I had. Offhand, I just blame myself for it. There isn't even any thought of my parents' or what anybody else's attitude would be. At the time I didn't take the initiative to do something."

The metaphor of being his own prisoner also applied to themes at the second level of the hierarchy. It gathered all the issues of those themes together in a pointed representation of the dilemma of holding himself back. This central conflict involved all lower level themes. Being accepted meant not expressing himself, not being himself, and complying with others' expectations. This was motivated by his fear of being rejected. He held himself back if he did not receive encouragement from women or professors. He needed their attention and praise. Without it, his motivation did not last and he lost confidence. He felt insecure and compared himself negatively to others. Hence others were above him and he idealize and emulated them, suppressing what he wanted to do. Others decided for him; peer pressure dictated his social behavior and his parents ran his life.

The metaphor of being his own prisoner had to do with the theme of holding himself back and the attitude toward it involved in the

question of whose fault that is. Was he held back by his parents, or did he hold himself back? He acknowledged that his parents did not overtly prohibit him from doing things, aside from hints that they would like him to come home for the summer. Early on, however, he stated he felt that he had accepted their values and prevents himself from doing things. If he does anything wrong, he feels guilty, and wrong is defined in parental terms. He rationalizes himself into inaction and thinks of all the things that could go wrong. Taking a chance does not seem worth it any more. The therapist ended the session in which the dream was reported by returning to an extension of the metaphor, that there was a hole in the fence. He asked, "Where is this hole and what is it?" Ernest responded that at the end of the dream he found an application for a summer job in the mail: "I guess I feel that if I don't go home this summer, I'll be on my own and broken away." The metaphor of breaking away reverts to the attitude that his parents exert some force on him to hold him back.

The topic of the summer job supplied the context in which one of the two other uses of the prisoner metaphor occurred, specifically the possibility of a hole in the fence. In the following session, Ernest reported that he had indeed been offered a summer job, saying "As we were discussing before, I saw it as the way out." The therapist responded, "Uhhuh, like a hole through the fence." Ernest picked up the metaphor, saying there were other holes, but a summer job was the easiest. The only other occurrence was in the next to last session, which the patient began by announcing that he had come to the realization that he had to do things for himself. He was still leery of

committing himself to his parents' travel plans because he did not want to be "tied down." He continued, "I view [my parents] as being the last thing that can hold me back. It may be they're the last excuse I have to hold myself back." The therapist responded with an allusion to the metaphor, "Like the prison dream." Ernest agreed and responded with a comment on rationalizing, "As if . . . I don't want to go out into the world and I want to sit and vegetate. He did not use the prison metaphor, however.

The metaphor of being a prisoner brought together the major themes of therapy. He had to do what others wanted; they ran his life; they were above him and he had to do what they wanted to gain acceptance. They prevented him from doing what he wanted, from expressing himself, from being himself. Being his <u>own</u> prisoner manifested the issue of where responsibility lay. The question of whether others held him back or whether he held himself back received a concise answer in this one sentence. The highest level of the thematic structure was represented in this striking metaphor. It brought together all the strands dialogue had woven to this point. The central issue--his own responsibility--stood out clearly.

"<u>I Was Like a Snail</u>"

There was a second striking figure Ernest used late in the therapy to represent what had happened when he came to college: "I was like a snail. I came out of my environment and I closed in upon myself when I arrived here, crawled back into my shell." He said this in Session 23 with termination very much on his mind. It was part of a summing up of

what he had learned in the therapy. He began the session with the observation that as a child he had felt "the whole world revolved" around him. Like "all children," he had felt "that the whole world was out there for them." Even in high school he had managed to "establish a place for [himself] so it looked like things revolved around [him]." When he came to college, "instead of being the center of the universe, [he] started to have feelings of being totally insignificant."

On several occasions since Session 13 the patient had expressed rueful sadness at how his situation was and at his responsibility for it. On this occasion he described how he had "given so much of himself" to be accepted by others and yet his neighbors had not invited him to their party. He felt hurt, but "kept it inside," as he did generally. Now he has gained a greater capacity to express his feelings "more openly," just as he has recently gotten more involved in the "outside world." He recognized that the past, before college, had been a "carefree" and "creative" time. He anticipated the future would be "a path of moderation," a "strait and narrow path," with "no great ups or downs." He feared that he would not be able to "let things out" or to "let himself go."

Near the end of the session he produced the image of being "like a snail." This heightened the contrast between the openness and freedom of being creative, "letting himself go," being "the center of the universe" and the constraint of following "a strait and narrow path." A snail keeps everything inside, not just feelings. Like the prison metaphor, this simile was a novel description of himself which gathered the themes of Holding Back together. The context of "looking back" at

the past, contrasting the two styles of openness and closing up, raise the image to the third level of thematic structure. The sad recognition that he had done it and was not an innocent victim unable to protest made it a complement to the prison metaphor. In the dream itself, he had been caught, brought back, while trying to escape. The later discussion lead to the recognition that he is his "own prisoner." The image of the snail offered this insight immediately.

The figure was a simile, making the single quality of enclosure salient. It was not as elaborate as the richer metaphor of the prison. It also received no further articulation, most obviously because it occurred in the last few minutes of the second to last session of the therapy. It is also clear, however, that both therapist and patient understood it immediately. No inquiry was needed to understand it, as demonstrated by the ensuing exchanges:

> Therapist: Yeah, I think your figure of speech is an interesting one. You know, you kind of keep a shell. That's protection. [Uhhuh.] It both protects from outside and from within. In other words, it serves to keep the things inside and it also protects you from things outside.
>
> Patient: Yeah, well, you know, I think. . . . You know, I felt that as long as I didn't express my emotions, I wouldn't be vulnerable to people, and, you know, I could never be told that I was wrong.
>
> Therapist: But there's a price.
>
> Patient: Yeah, I was never right, either, you know, but . . .
>
> Therapist: But it also meant missing certain satisfactions [Uhhuh] and pleasures that come with it, [Right] creativity and intensity.

Patient: Uhhuh, and so, you know, it's just sort of a question of crawling back out of the shell and, you know, kind of letting myself go again.

The therapist's response was to highlight the protective nature of the snail's shell. Ernest understood this comment on the shell's dual nature and was able to apply it immediately to the practical problem of vulnerability were he to express his emotions. He reverted to the simile to describe the way he could end his uncomfortable isolation. He could "crawl back out of the shell." The allusion by the therapist of protecting him from "things inside" was not followed up and could be considered as less salient to Ernest than protecting himself from humiliation.

The therapist remarked on the "figure of speech," showing that it attracted his attention as a novel expression. The important point is that he had no trouble understanding it as a description of Ernest's experience when he first came to college. The shift from the victimization of the prison metaphor to the protection from vulnerability of the snail simile did not have to be laboriously deciphered. The salient quality of the shell was immediately obvious. Clinically the simile represents an advance on the prison metaphor, for it, in its contrast with "center of the universe," opens up the issue of maintaining personal balance. Nevertheless, it seems to offer fewer possibilities for elaboration than the prison metaphor, which offered itself to be articulated in much more detail. Several threads were spun out, e.g. going back to tend to some small task and getting the application for the summer job. Others could have been. His sister was riding a

bicycle outside the fence, unhindered. Perhaps he saw her as not subject to the same forces. His description of multiple fences and German shepherds could also have called to mind a concentration camp, instead of a prison. It would have been very interesting to know Ernest's response to the suggestion that his father was returning him to a concentration camp, rather than a prison. Occurring so near the end of the therapy, when terminating was the task, the snail simile was not referred to again by either participant. Indeed, in the next session the patient recapitulated his earlier ambivalences on a small scale, covering old ground, rather than advancing along the lines implied by the simile. The simile received no later elaboration and it is difficult to think of how the image itself could have been extended. The prison image had several possibilities; the snail simile was more limited. Slowness and sliminess and garlic butter are not at issue, for the simile draws only on the quality of protectedness. That is the sole thread that emerges from the image. It might have served as a concise allusion to vulnerability, but it did not have the same possibilities of gathering central issues together as the prison metaphor.

2. METAPHORS AT LOWER LEVELS OF THE THEMATIC STRUCTURE

As the prisoner metaphor encapsulated the issues of the highest level of thematic structure, other metaphors brought lower order themes together. These metaphors do not involve thematic issues which are as wide ranging as the prisoner metaphor and do not, at first glance, have the implicative power of this metaphor. Some could be called novel, some frozen; all have important clinical relevance. The metaphor of

being his own prisoner subsumes the metaphors of holding himself back, keeping feelings inside, letting feelings out, in a manner analogous to the third level of theme gathering the lower levels together. The third level lays bare the unity of the lower level themes; they are all related as aspects of that highest level. Similarly, metaphors at lower levels are related through the themes. It is possible to think of metaphors organized hierarchically according to their contribution to a particular theme.

The metaphors in the following pages were selected for their frequency as well as for their potential in representing an issue and opening up further discussion. They are only examples, the list is neither complete nor comprehensive. Such a list is presented in the appendix.

The Level III theme of Doing What Others Want was comprised of a number of themes which found expression in the following figures of speech:

Level II: Being Accepted

6: afraid the anger would spill out
6: putting on somewhat of an act
6: I can hide the tension
7: not letting myself come out
7: T: a chameleon-like process
16: a certain mold you have to be in
17: if something was said that didn't fit into the mold, it was looked down upon
17: like the mirror image of the people around me
17: like a split personality, but that I forced upon myself
17: T: like a chameleon
18: my values had been a reflection of the people around me

Level II: Being Rejected

8: being stranded
8: T: you let yourself open
19: saying one wrong thing would blow the whole thing
19: T: you had very little leeway

Level II: Depending on Others

2: they really knocked me down [academically, as a freshman]
11: [a teacher] was always pushing me along and helping me along
18: I was dragged into [joining a fraternity]
18: there wasn't anybody there for me to latch onto [x2]
20: didn't have anybody guiding me along
23: the whole world revolved around me [x5]
23: the center of the universe [x2]
23: insignificant in other people's eyes
24: be guided in the right way [x2]
25: I wanted to see a path to follow

Level II: Others are Above Him

4: pull myself up by being with these people, not hanging on to them, but trying to build myself up to what they are
9: under pressure to give the proper impression
9: I have to be this much above everybody else [in order to compete]
14: bringing them down to my level
16: model myself after [Michael]
17: [girls] who I've placed above me
17: people I've had up on a pedestal
17: I'll view other people as being pretty nearly perfect, from a distance

Level II: Others Decide for Him

1: my parents are still trying to run my life
1: [parents] rule by guilt
8: shape me or mold me
9: I'll let my opinion be swayed
11: [parents] prodded and pushed me along
13: I got dragged into joining
14: my parents would pressure me
20: T: be malleable

Level II: Future

18: waiting around for fate to pick me up and to drag me along
18: T: like a leaf in the breeze
18: sit and do nothing all my life
23: this strait and narrow path
23: no great ups or downs
24: just one right course that's going to lead to my eventual happiness
24: T: no leeway
24: T: one perfect school, one perfect woman, one perfect job

The Level III theme of Doing What He Wants was represented in the following metaphors:

2: I went [into the relationship with Betty] with the attitude, "Ha, ha, ha."
2: set a goal for myself and go towards it
2: pulling up and going away; living like vagabonds
4: push myself [x2]
5: totally open up
6: let myself go
6: being open and honest [x2]
8: let my own feelings come out
9: bring my own feelings to the surface
13: glad that I stood up for myself [x2]
14: I'll not have any pressure [from my parents]
16: not put on a show
19: T: wouldn't have to hold yourself to such a narrow line
19: push myself forward
21: what do you have to lose? [x2]
24: not tied down at all

The Level III theme of Conflict and the Possibility of Change was represented in the following metaphors:

Level II: Conflict Within Himself

1: [Conflict with parents makes for] conflict within me
1: [the conflict] has not really come to the surface
1: a very close group of friends
1: every time I'd start dating someone, I'd immediately want to get involved

2: gave everything I had to that situation
15: T: seeking deeper involvement
21: I knew I wanted to be a part of something down underneath, but outside I was saying to other people and to myself that I'm an individual.

Level II: Whose Fault?

3: [parents] implanting this guilt within me
6: they didn't explicitly hold me in, but . . .
6: they were the ones who gave me these attitudes
14: the feelings of being held back
18: I had tunnel vision
18: I looked at [parents] as my reason for holding me back
24: [parents] a threat to my freedom
24: [parents] are the last excuse I have to hold myself back [x2]

Level II: Holds Himself Back

1: sitting down and staring into the crowd
2: one-sided conversation [x2]
2: uptight
2: T: If you open yourself up, you may be hurt
2: T: holding you off at a distance
2: T: If you don't get enough encouragement, you might be inclined to back away or put [the relationship] on the shelf
3: T: holding yourself back
3: keeping everything inside of myself
7: I rationalized my way out of it
10: I owe it to my parents
10: T: a feeling of indebtedness
11: I hold back my enthusiasm as I hold back my anger 12: not expressing myself . . . on guard to say the right thing
12: great pressures upon me
13: can't have a totally free, no-strings-attached daydream
13: sitting down and letting the world go by
14: if it doesn't look like I'm making an effort, then if I fail, I haven't sacrificed anything
14: keep up the front [x2]
18: I drifted toward the other people I knew
19: let things slide by [x2]
19: T: reflecting badly on [your parents]
20: I hid myself away
21: let all the tension out
22: find short cuts [x2]

22: I was allergic to everything
24: rationalize my way into deciding that I don't want to go out into the world and I want to sit and vegetate.

Level II: Ambivalence

2: you can't lug a forty gallon fish tank around [if living like a vagabond]
19: on the one hand - on the other hand

Level II: New Attitude

7: it's a two-way street [x2]
15: become friendly with girls and then gradually slide into things
16: T: you no longer feel like you're trapped
18: I came to a not so startling revelation
18: take ahold of my life; . . . start leading it in some sort of direction
20: down underneath I knew I wasn't happy [x2]
23: I'm swinging back the other way
23: T: that pendulum swing
23: now I can express my feelings more openly
25: I'm not a conglomeration of everybody around me
25: keep an open mind

Change in Attitude after the Triangle with Betty

2: used to be a very open person
2: I swung towards the other end of it [toward being selfish]
2: T: you really went over like a pendulum
22: leery of falling into the same trap
25: [Betty] is playing games again

The theme Being Accepted was represented in the figure of being in a mold, with the converse of letting himself and his feelings come out. Anger might "spill out." What did not fit into the limitations of the mold of peer pressure was "looked down on," which is elaborated by others being "above" him. Being the mirror image of the people around him, by not expressing himself, was another mode of Being Accepted. His values came to be a "reflection" of the group he was with. Tension

and other feelings could be "hidden." He "put on an act," with the result of feeling like a split personality, depending on the group he was with at the moment. Notably, he recognized that he forced the split personality on himself. The therapist suggested the image of the chameleon, blending in with the environment.

The theme Being Rejected was "being stranded," with the implication of isolation as well as having no way to rejoin others. "One wrong thing" would result in his being rejected, a hyperbole which recalls the constraints of a mold. The therapist recognized the constraint, representing it in terms of "no leeway." Without constraint of a mold, he would have been "open" and vulnerable.

The theme Depending on Others was represented in figures of wanting others to "guide" him and set a "path" to follow. Teachers and parents had "pushed" him along. Without guidance, he lost confidence freshman year and felt "insignificant in other people's eyes." He got no special attention in large college classes and was "knocked down." Before college he had felt "the whole world revolved around" him, "the center of the universe." There was no one "guiding" him and no one for him to "latch onto." Without guidance he "drifted" and "got dragged" into unsuccessful ventures. Besides being passive in seeking social relations, he did not like what he got dragged into. He was not making progress in resolving the conflict of wanting to be an individual and belong to a group.

The theme Others are Above Him is itself a metaphor, which represented Ernest's sense of having to "build himself up" and to be "above" others to compete academically and socially. Indeed, it could be

argued that "competing" is itself a metaphor because it was the construction he imposed on his academic efforts and his situation with females. That is not the only possibility of understanding how he might have functioned. He did not feel he was able to contribute much to others, who are so far above him. Only by adhering to the "mold" and "modeling" himself after Michael did he feel "up to" what others expected. Contributing was understood by him in terms dictated by others--by peer pressure and others' values. His view of himself does not match the view that emerges from reading the transcript and must be seen as a particular construal of his situation. He was "under" pressure to perform. He put others above him, on a "pedestal," especially women. "From a distance" he saw them as perfect, but when he got involved more "closely," he became intolerant, bringing them "down to his level."

The theme Others Decide for Him is represented in a number of passive images. His parents "rule" and "run" his life. They "shape" and "mold" him, "prodding" and "pushing" him along. His friends "swayed" his opinions. Often he wants to "break away" from these constraints but, as seen above, he depends on others' guidance, their "mold" and "pushing." On the other hand (a figure he used frequently), he expected the future to be bad because these constraints would continue without relief. The "path" he wanted others to lay out for him would be "strait and narrow," without great "ups and downs." He could see himself as very passive, "waiting around for fate to pick me up and to drag me along," as the therapist said in response, "like a leaf in the breeze." He could "sit and do nothing" all his life. Having

earlier articulated what he wanted to do, near the end of the therapy he lapsed again into ambivalence and anxiety about it. He found himself worrying that there was "just one course" to follow and how hard it was to find it. As the therapist replied, there was "just one perfect school, one perfect woman, one perfect job," highlighting the constraints, "no leeway," that he imposed on himself.

The theme Doing What He Wants included figures representing breaking the constraints. He looked forward to "not being tied down at all." He would break the mold by "letting himself go," letting feelings "come out" and "come to the surface," and living like a "vagabond." This quaint word reflected a romanticized view of being free, unlike dropping out or being a bum. It makes sense that many of the figures he used in this theme are the opposite of those in Doing What Others Want. "Open" meant expressing himself, not being vulnerable. He would "push" himself and push himself "forward." He would stand "up" for himself and not "put on a show." Instead of immediately wanting to get involved, he would enter a relationship with the attitude of "Ha, ha, ha." He would "set his own goal and go toward it," not letting others determine his path or be "under" pressure from his parents. As the therapist said, he would not have to "hold himself to such a narrow line." Ernest asked rhetorically, "What do you have to lose?" which is, of course, the central question.

The conflict between Doing What He Wants and What Others Want was "within" him, but in his family conflict did not "come to the surface." He wanted "close" friends and to get immediately involved. He "gave everything" he had to the relationship with Betty, but she did not

reciprocate. The therapist suggested he wanted a "deeper" involvement. At the same time, he had resisted many social involvements. "Down underneath" he wanted to belong to a group, but "outside" he was saying he wanted to be an individual.

The theme of Whose Fault? was represented by figures of guilt being "implanted" in him and attitudes being given to him by his parents. He felt "held back" and "held in." The most striking images of his own responsibility were derived from the prison dream. Others were that he had had "tunnel vision," and that his parents were a "last excuse to hold himself back." He came to recognize that he had "looked at" his parents as his reason for holding back and as a "threat" to his freedom, even though they had never explicitly given him a reason or threatened him.

In therapy the most elaborated theme was Holding Back and it is not surprising that the most frequent use of metaphor occurred in this theme. "Holding back" was itself a frequently used metaphor, along with its variant of "keeping things inside." As a Level III theme, these will be discussed later in the chapter. Ernest also represented the conflict as "hiding" himself away and not letting things come "out." "Keeping up the front" and "putting on an act" was such an effort that it made him tense and "uptight." He was always "on guard" to say the right thing. He rationalized his "way out" of taking the initiative and was "allergic" to everything. He would not "stand up" for himself and let things "slide by." He liked building models, but soon lost interest and "put them up on the shelf forever."

Ernest's ambivalence was represented in the frequent use of "on the one hand," "on the other hand." There was one striking metaphor early in therapy to represent his dilemma of what to make of himself after college. He had fantasies of living like a vagabond, but also wanted to have a fish tank, and "you can't lug a forty gallon fish tank around."

Ernest's New Attitude found representation in many metaphors that were the opposite of those in the themes of Doing What Others Want and Holding Back. Even before therapy he had been making changes in how he functioned. He had devoted himself to keeping up friendships but has come to feel it was a "two-way street." Instead of immediately dating seriously, he would be more casual and "gradually slide into things." The figure of coming to "a not so startling revelation" highlighted a powerful insight, that his situation had been his fault. Instead of going by what others wanted, he saw he could "take ahold of [his] life" and "start leading it in some direction." When he came to college, he isolated himself from most of the activities around him as a way of avoiding peer pressure and compliance he had experienced in high school. Near the end of the therapy he found himself more ready to take part in college life. He was "swinging back the other way" toward being involved. The therapist added to the metaphor, making it a "pendulum swing." In the course of the therapy he had gained confidence in his capacity to express himself "openly" and not be a "conglomeration" of everyone around him.

In high school he had been a "very open person" but the painful experience with Betty had made him less willing to get involved. In

Session 2 when he said this, being "open" meant being involved in what was going on around him. As the themes of his unwillingness to express himself at that time were developed, being "open" came to mean expressing himself. By Session 23 expressing himself was no longer the issue it had been, as shown by his pleasure in having expressed himself more and more "openly" to his parents and in resisting their impositions. Being "open" was again being "open" to what was going on around him, as in the snail simile. He had been "open" in high school, with friends and activities, albeit in a manner that had not been entirely satisfactory to him. At college, especially with Betty, he had become more and more "closed," "hidden away," and uninvolved except with things in his immediate environment. He had not gone "out" and sought them out. He had "swung" in his attitude and, again, the therapist heightened it with "swung like a pendulum." By the end of the therapy the old pattern of compliance was seen as a "trap" and he was leery of "falling" into it again. Just as he had "played up" to Michael, he could see Betty was "playing games," with rules he did not like, again.

This abbreviated selection of metaphors used in this therapy shows that many of the themes are graphically depicted by more or less frequent figures of speech. Like the prisoner metaphor and the snail simile, some of the figures manifest the thematic issues in a way that provokes further dialogue. They become a concrete instance of the issue that provides the possibility of understanding how the themes are developed and related, aside from the "factual" reports of events and reactions. On the other hand, some apparently do not lead the dialogue

further. The study of how metaphor functioned in this psychotherapy can continue next with the most frequent and obvious metaphors.

3. FREQUENCY OF IMPORTANT METAPHORS

The metaphors identified and categorized through an analysis of thematic structure are not frequent, and frequency alone is not a criterion of their importance. Other metaphors occurred far more often and did not have the implicative power of either the prisoner metaphor or the snail simile. The quality of their contribution seems to have been different and less striking. The function of sheer frequency and how such metaphors carry the dialogue is an important question.

The theme of Holding Himself Back was central to the therapy, being a third order theme. It was frequently represented in metaphors of keeping or holding feelings inside and holding himself back, and the opposite, letting feelings out and letting himself go. The frequencies of these metaphors are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Frequency of Metaphors in the Theme of Holding Himself Back

Metaphor	Patient	Therapist
Keep, hold feelings inside	27	10
Let feelings out	14	4
Hold (himself) back	9	12
Let himself go	4	1

Table 1 makes a noteworthy point: Ernest spoke mostly of keeping feelings inside, whereas the therapist spoke more often of holding back or of his parents holding on to him. Metaphors of expressing himself, e.g. feelings coming out and letting feelings out, were used fourteen times by Ernest and four by the therapist. When these are included, the difference between holding in and holding back becomes even greater. The therapist spoke less than Ernest and would be expected to produce fewer figures of speech overall. That he used "hold back" more often, even though speaking less suggests this was a key notion for him in understanding Ernest's situation. The representation of this central conflict in these metaphors was so common that labeling the theme with a metaphor seemed to capture the issue best. Holding Himself Back rather than holding himself in was chosen because it manifested the question of responsibility more clearly. It was clear throughout therapy that he was holding his feelings in, but he often felt his parents were responsible for holding him back. Thus, Holding Back was used as the theme name, even though Ernest expressed himself more often with holding in.

A second theme that found expression in metaphor frequently was Others Were Above Him, with its variant of putting them "up" on a pedestal. Similarly, he was "below" others and had to "build himself up" to reach their level. He had to be "above" others in order to compete and would occasionally tear others "down." The frequencies of these metaphors are listed in Table 2.

As with the previous theme the representation of Ernest's experience in the metaphor was so central to the theme that the metaphor

Table 2. Frequency of Metaphors in the Theme of Others Are Above Him

Metaphor	Patient	Therapist
Others are above him	9	0
Put others on a pedestal	7	1
Build himself up, reach their level	8	0
Be up to others expectations	2	1
Has to be above others	2	0
Tear others down	2	0

suggested itself as the label. This theme was much less pervasive and central to the therapy. It is a second level theme, being subsumed into Doing What Others Want at the third level. Four of the nine occurrences of "others above him" and all eight of the occurrences of the "pedestal" image were in Session 17. That others were "above" him was a particular issue, focused on at length in a single session. The vertical dimension in general was more pervasive and represented an attitude within a number of themes. This pervasiveness led to a recognition of the importance of this dimension and identifying Others Are Above Him as a Level II theme. It was not as pervasive as the theme of Holding Back, especially in light of the concentration of most instances in a few sessions. The issue of self-esteem is, of course, not unrelated to the overall issue. Nevertheless, the "higher" order themes were not articulated in terms of poor self-esteem or idealization. These are potentially important issues; in this therapy they were not central. The discussion of them and their metaphoric

representation were central only to one session. The theme of holding back or holding in occurred in every session. This vertical dimension was not thematized as being as central as Holding Back, reflected in the therapist's rare use of it. He chose to pursue the possibilities in the dimension of backward and forward.

Being Uptight is a first level theme which found repeated and important representation in metaphors, listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Frequency of Metaphors in the Theme of Being Uptight

Metaphor	Patient	Therapist
Under pressure	10	5
On guard	12	2
Uptight	11	0

The experiences of being "under pressure," "on guard," and "uptight" occurred in different situations and were soon worked out in therapy to be the theme of his tension. Especially in high school, he felt "under pressure" to do well academically. On weekends "a great burden was lifted off [his] shoulders." He was "on guard" to say the right thing and make the right impression. Dates made him "uptight." The tension was so great that his "stomach was tied up in knots," but he had learned to "hide" it and keep it "inside." Ernest and the therapist established early in the therapy that it was particularly important to keep anger "inside" and that the effort in doing this

caused the tension. The three metaphors in this grouping are related to the "holding back" and "keeping inside" grouping, which will be discussed later in this chapter. The frequency of the tension metaphors emphasizes the powerful affective experience of "holding back" or "keeping inside."

Table 4 presents figures related to the common image of "pushing" himself or being "pushed" and its opposite of "sitting and doing nothing" or passively "falling," out of control. Unlike the preceding lists, these metaphors are not thematically linked. They occur in many different contents and many different themes. They represent Ernest's Befindlichkeit in general, a stance or attitude that applies broadly. He has to push himself or be pushed or dragged--without some outside motivator he might sit and do nothing. Only at the highest level of thematic structure does this issue of activity and passivity become salient.

Table 4. Frequency of Metaphors of Activity and Passivity

Metaphor	Patient	Therapist
Pushing himself	15	3
Being pushed	9	6
Sit and do nothing	15	0
Being dragged	6	0
Falling	12	2

He "pushes" himself to make an effort of getting schoolwork done, meeting girls, and in physical exercise. He "pushes" himself forward

to assert himself. He did not like "being pushed" into situations not of his own choosing. His peers in high school "pushed" things on him. Sometimes he got "dragged" into things, like joining a fraternity. On the other hand, he depended on his parents "showing an interest and pushing him along," and they "pushed [him] along and gave [him] lots of confidence." Without their "pushing and prodding," he would not pursue an interest. "Pushing" was how they paid attention to what he was doing and he was grateful for the attention. This contradiction reflects the patient's ambivalence about others running his life and deciding for himself.

Without some "push" he could see himself "sitting and doing nothing." Without some external or self-applied impetus he would not overcome his inertia. Activity did not proceed from innate mobility. He daydreamed about being "mobile" and living like a "vagabond" but was having trouble not succumbing to spring fever. In Session 18 he reported the recapitulation of the insight that his situation was his own fault and that he had been depressed by it over the weekend. All his decisions had been made for him and he acquired "an instinctive feeling of fate." The striking representation of this insight was that he was "waiting around for fate to pick [him] up and drag [him] along." The full extent of his passivity is captured in this image.

"Falling" is a figure that Ernest used quite frequently and is related to "being pushed" and "dragged" by its passivity. The first occurrence was in the dream of the car going backwards and falling into the lake in Session 3. On that occasion the focus was on going "backwards." In the same session he also reported a dream in which he

slipped off a bridge and fell into water. The most common use of "falling" was in regard to "falling" into old ruts and patterns of passive behavior and into the trap of getting involved with Betty. He also "slips" in his motivation, just as he "slowly slipped away" from the bridge. "Slipping" was a slower version of "falling" with its clear antithesis to activity and assertion.

The therapist used "being pushed" in yet another way. He suggested on two occasions that Ernest feared "being pushed" away or aside by his parents. This fear of rejection then motivated compliance. Ernest never used the figure "pushed away," but on both occasions responded in terms of how important being accepted by friends was to him. This evaded the issue of being "pushed away" by his parents specifically. Rejection for him was being "tossed out" or "kicked out" of the in-group and being left "stranded" by friends.

Other representations of compliance, but with an interpersonal component, was being a "reflection" of others and being "shaped" or "molded" by them. The frequencies of these two images are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Frequency of Metaphors of Being Influenced by Others

Metaphor	Patient	Therapist
Being a reflection of others	4	0
Being shaped, molded	6	0

Three of the four occurrences of being a "reflection" were in Session 18. This session was dominated by Ernest's recognition of his previous dependency on others to decide things for him. It was a powerful and productive session, for which being a "reflection" served as a summation of many of the themes of Doing What Others Want. The instances of being "shaped" or "molded" were more scattered. Being a "reflection" was also more poignant, for it implies the disappearance of the self, not just an influence on it. The metaphor revealed the dilemma of wanting to be accepted but effacing himself to the extent that he did nothing that would "establish" him with his friends. Being a "mirror image" encapsulated all the themes of his compliance.

The grouping in Table 6 of "underneath," "burying" and "hiding" feelings, and "closing himself up" are variations on the "holding back" and "keeping inside" metaphors. Although they clearly relate to the theme Holding Back, they are listed separately because the represent what will be called a different "dimension" in Ernest's self-world. "Underneath" or "burying" has a different implicative context that "holding back" or "keeping inside."

Table 6. Frequency of Metaphors of Hiding Feelings

Metaphor	Patient	Therapist
Hid feelings, hid himself	5	0
Bury feelings	3	3
Closed himself up	1	0
Down underneath he felt	6	2
Being open	14	3

Acting one way, "down underneath" he wanted to do something different. For instance, when he came to college, he resisted invitations to get involved in social activities but "down underneath" he "wanted to make a lot of friends." He came to therapy "out of curiosity" but "down underneath" he wanted "some answers." He "buried" his feelings and thought about taking action spontaneously until it was "driven into the ground and buried over." The therapist, who used the figure as often as Ernest and thus relatively more frequently, suggested he "buried" his wish to be himself. The image of feelings and wishes being buried seems more graphic than just being kept inside. The metaphor of "closing in upon himself" occurs in the context of the snail simile. Like a snail, he had pulled back into his shell and isolated himself from the life of the college around him. He had withdrawn into himself, which implies an interpersonal dimension that "keeping inside" does not have. "Burying" and "hiding" both imply that the feelings and wishes are intended to be inaccessible to Ernest so that conscious conflict does not occur. He was aware, however, of his wishes and feelings, if not of the meaning of his tense efforts to suppress them. The meaning was worked on in terms of being "open." Ernest wanted to be "open and honest" and to express himself and recognized that he was not letting himself "come out." Ideally, he would "totally open up and not hold back anything." The therapist's use of the metaphor of being "open" was to suggest it also meant being vulnerable. If he "opened himself up" he might be hurt. On one occasion the therapist said, "you're letting yourself open or vulnerable" making his sense of being open explicit. Ernest was well aware that he feared

humiliation and rejection if he said the wrong thing, so this use accorded with his experience. He recognized that he did not want to "open [himself] up for criticism by [his] peers. This is the only occasion, in the final session, on which he used the figure in this sense. It would seem that in general for Ernest being "open" is a positive quality, with the risk of vulnerability represented in other ways.

Both Ernest and the therapist frequently used the figure of a road or path or direction in the sense of making progress, getting somewhere. Lumping all the variations together, Ernest used such figures thirty-five times and the therapist nineteen. Ernest sees the future as a "strait and narrow path" and there was "just one right course that's going to lead to my eventual happiness." Being able to talk more openly with his parents was "a step forward." He wanted to "set a goal and go towards it." Often he "went against" what he wanted to do. he wanted to make friends when he came to college, but "went the opposite way." He did not "see things through to the end." He "took the easy way out" and "drifted." And of course, the hole in the fence at the prison was a "way out," which applied to the summer job that would help him "break away" from home. The therapist also used metaphors of direction frequently, with a distinctly nautical bent. Ernest's parents had "charted" things out for him, but he was struggling to determine his own "course." He "steered" away from competition.

There were several metaphors which the therapist used that were not often used by Ernest. One was that Ernest gave himself little

"leeway," which the therapist used eight times and Ernest once. Another was that Ernest was "struggling" within himself about expressing himself and wanting to please others, which the therapist used seven times and Ernest three times. Six times the therapist suggested that Ernest's parents were "holding on" to him, a figure Ernest used once. Ernest preferred other representations of these issues. Rather than giving himself little "leeway," he was "on guard" to say the right thing. He did not often speak abstractly about a conflict or "struggle." Generally he talked about the conflict in terms of concrete content, using the figures "on the one hand," "on the other hand" very often.

The metaphors noted in this section are the most frequent ones that contributed to the elaboration of a theme or represented an attitude. The groupings emerged from similarities in the vehicle. The similarities allowed including even infrequent metaphors as variations on what could be called the dimensions of Ernest's world.

4. METAPHORIC DIMENSIONS OF THE PATIENT'S SELF-WORLD

How the preceding metaphors are relevant and how they contribute to the therapy is quite different from the salience of the prisoner metaphor. They do not stand out and attract attention to themselves. They do not invite the therapist to ask for associations to arrive at some interpretation. They are not a novel event in the therapy and are neither thematized nor played with in the course of the dialogue. Their contribution is subtler and represent Ernest's Befindlichkeit within the themes: How he is routinely situated. In the case of this

therapy, these metaphors are mostly spatial and it is possible to derive a geometric map of the directions Ernest imposes on his situation.

Up and Down

The single metaphor which was most frequent was that others are "above" him, with its variant of putting them "on a pedestal." Conversely, Ernest situated himself "down," on the vertical scale. As a freshman, his confidence was "knocked down." He pictured himself as one of the "lower" characters in The Fountainhead. He had to be "up" to others' expectations. He was "under" pressure and had to psyche himself "up" to finish the semester's work. Asserting himself meant standing "up" for himself. He saw himself "falling" into an old pattern academically of ending the semester on a "down" note and "falling" into the same trap with Betty. A dream of falling off a bridge and shattering was reported. If he agreed with others, then they would think "highly" of him. If he got a response from Betty, then he was "floating on cloud nine." Sitting "down" and thinking was how he rationalized himself into inaction. He felt like he was sitting "down" and letting the world go by.

The dimension of up and down was an essential element of Ernest's world. It manifested "low" self-esteem and the sense that others have the "upper hand" on him. His idealizations are "above" him and passivity is "down."

Backward and Forward

There was a complicated interrelationship of metaphors expressing forward or backward motion and the lack of motion. Taken together, these metaphors were the most frequent set of figurative representations in the therapy, occurring in every theme at every level. The "prison" metaphor can be included in the set, for the "fences" and "guard dogs" stop escape. Ernest is "caught" and brought back. There is a "hole in the fence," a "way out." "Holding back" or being "held back" was the central issue.

Progress is represented as moving forward. "Pushing on" and "taking things to the end" was getting his work done. He often looked for "short cuts" or "ways around" work, taking the "easier road." Having "drifted" into situations for a long time, he felt an urgency to "start leading his life in some sort of direction." Asserting himself was "pushing himself forward." Making an effort was "pushing himself." When he berated himself for not having "moved faster," the therapist suggested he was thinking how much "further ahead" he would have been by then and that he wanted to "get from point A to point B without any time elapsing." He talked or thought his "way out" of uncomfortable situations. Choosing a profession was a "big step forward."

If friends rejected him, he was "stranded," "left just standing there," with no possibility of progressing. When his opinion did not agree with theirs, he would "backtrack" to readjust it. The therapist suggested he relied on others to be a "bridge" to social involvement.

The demands he put on himself were described by the therapist as holding himself to "a narrow line." There would be serious

consequences if he "stepped this way or that just a little too far, or even a matter of inches." The therapist described Ernest's parents' plan for him as something they had "charted out" and suggested he wanted to determine his own "course." His parents and he "constantly go back and forth." On the other hand, he wanted to be "mobile" after college, "not tied down by anything." Adventuresome fantasies of living like a "vagabond" occurred to him, but he could not "lug a forty gallon fish tank around." He pondered "going against" what his parents wanted and recognized he would always be "running into problems." It was a "block" on his part that kept him from making friends. He wanted to, but "went the opposite direction." He "went against" many of his feelings. The therapist observed he was "moving more toward" expressing his feelings. He realized that it was not just his responsibility to keep the friendship going. It was a "two-way street."

Near the end of the therapy, Ernest complained of not making progress. The future would be bad, because he would have to "follow a path of moderation," "a straight and narrow path," all his life. There was "just one right course" that would lead to his eventual happiness. He wanted "a road he could follow" and know he would be happy. The therapist suggested this attitude gave him 'little leeway" and, approaching termination, he was "backsliding."

In Session 3 Ernest reported a dream in which he was in a car "going backwards." He was not able to stop it from "falling" into a lake, where it "slipped" and "slid" into the water. His associations to the dream included that he was "not going forward" and that becoming more selfish, as accused by his mother, could be thought of as "going

backwards." The therapist used the figures of being "in the hands of some force," and later, of "picturing his parents as pulling him back." This interpretation shifted the course of the dialogue from passivity in general to a question of others being in control, effecting the feeling of going backwards. The therapist was working on the theme of Ernest being held back by others, rather than not being able to control the car. Going backwards by becoming more selfish was not an issue, as was borne out in later sessions. What his mother had called selfishness was his attempt to free himself from the compliance that pervaded his relationships.

In and Out

An important dimension in Ernest's world is in and out. Expressing himself is often couched in terms of speaking "out" and "letting" his thoughts and feelings "out." Conversely, he "keeps things inside." The first thing identified as being "kept inside" was tension, but in Session 6 anger emerged as the main thing "kept inside." Ernest reported that during a visit home, he got into an argument with his sister for the first time. He found himself "ranting and raving" over a disagreement about a game's rules. In general, anger was described as "spilling out." The effort to maintain control was so great that he feared he would "crack up." Disappointed with a roommate's change of plans, he walked away and started shaking. The tension he complained of was linked with this effort to "keep everything inside" early in the therapy. His father "blew up" from the tension of working with his grandfather and had a few sessions of psychotherapy. His tension

"comes out" in twitches or pains in his stomach, but he had learned to "hide" it from others. The therapist suggested he had been seeking "external" praise and bolstering and that he was guided by "outside forces," rather than what he felt "inside" himself. Ernest blamed his parents for "implanting this guilt within [him]." They had "placed their values within [him]."

The snail simile involved the dimension of in and out, for if he stayed "inside" the shell, he was safe. Freshman year he had "hidden" himself away and at the time of the therapy worried about going "out" into the world after graduation. Keeping his feelings "inside" was a way of agreeing with others in order to be accepted. The therapist said he had been like a chameleon. He had blended "in" with his environment and had avoided sticking "out" in any way.

The snail simile captured an important dimension which occurred frequently. Ernest wanted to be "open and honest," but he recognized that he had "closed in" upon himself. The therapist noted very early, in Session 2, that if he "opened himself up," he might be hurt. To be "open" was to be vulnerable. His feelings were "hidden" and "buried," or as the therapist said, "submerged." He often acted one way, but "down underneath" he wanted to do something different.

Discussion

These spatial metaphors are frozen. They do not attract the sort of attention that the prisoner metaphor does. In the case analyzed here, the therapist was attuned to Ernest's choice of words, as shown by his occasional reference to Ernest's "figure of speech." When

Ernest said he had always just "spit back" the opinions of others, the therapist inquired if he had any thoughts about that phrase. In this instance and others his attunement, however, seemed to come out of psychoanalytic theory. He seemed to be thinking of an early developmental issue when the phrase stood out for him. Similarly, his predilection for the figure of "holding back," when Ernest "keeps inside," was likely based on psychosexual theory and was perhaps a misjudgment of the developmental level of that issue. Ernest had a small number of dimensions in his world, which were represented in a small number of frozen metaphors. Being frozen, they did not stand out and become the content of the dialogue. The therapist used them but did not help Ernest thematize them as issues in and of themselves. They remained the ground for other themes to become figural.

This frozenness seems to have been precisely their contribution to the therapy, to be static elements of Ernest's world, his Befindlichkeit in different situations. Such attributes are mechanical, like the law of gravity, and the issue is not that things fall but how they came to be dropped. That others were above him was as obvious to Ernest as the sun rising and required no explication. Self-understanding involved the history of how he came to look "down" on himself and the intent of putting others "up on a pedestal," not the concrete physical reality--in his world--of others being higher. The very frozenness of the metaphors represented the static quality of his world.

5. THE OCCURRENCE OF METAPHOR IN THEMES, REVISITED

The dimensions of Ernest's world that emerged and the metaphors which define them occurred in many different themes. It is precisely this wide appropriateness that is the function of these metaphors in the dialogue. They are how Ernest appropriated and structured his world. Examples of the dimensional metaphors can be found in all of the higher order themes as well as in almost all of the first order themes.

Third level themes are the dimensions as they were worked out from the metaphors at the level of the phrase. The theme of Doing What Others Want is passivity, being "pushed," wanting to be "guided," and being "dragged" along by fate. The converse theme of Doing What He Wants is letting feelings "out," going "out" into the world, and building himself "up" to the level of others. Between those two themes, is the Conflict and Possibility of Change, holding himself back or being held back. Keeping feelings "inside" and not letting them "out" made him "uptight" and he had to be "on guard." He was "trapped" behind barbed wire fences, but there was a "hole," a way "out." The structure of Ernest's world is the structure of the therapy.

The dimension in/out defined both "internal" and social issues. Ernest kept feelings and wishes "in," with the result of tension and conflict "within" him. He was "inward" and closed "in" upon himself, not getting involved. When he expressed his feelings and opinions, he was afraid others would reject him. He found himself agreeing with peers for the sake of being accepted. He wanted to belong to a group

and be an individual. He and his parents talked a lot but never about feelings. In therapy as well he was very loquacious but had trouble initially talking about important things and looked to the therapist to set the topic. A resolution of the conflict between Doing What He Wants and Doing What Others Want would entail accommodating his desire to express himself to what is acceptable to others differently. The conflict between "keeping things inside" and "letting things out" would have to be resolved as well.

Similarly, looking "up" to others would have to be shifted. He had given others a great deal of power over him, power which he resented and feared. He constantly compared himself to others. His idealization of others "above him" resulted in feeling discouraged and "knocked down." He cannot "meet up" to their expectations and with a date especially he became anxious. The theme of Others Are Above Him was not elaborated as much as Holding Back and did not serve to organize the dialogue as pervasively as the in/out dimension. It was, however, a possibility opened up by the dialogue and it is possible to imagine it having been pursued as the central dimension of Ernest's self-world.

6. SEQUENCES OF METAPHORS BETWEEN PATIENT AND THERAPIST

An interesting observation made during the analysis was that metaphors which did not carry the dialogue forward were sometimes easier to notice than those which did. When things were going well between patient and therapist, there was a smooth flow in which particular utterances did not call attention to themselves. When there was

a disparity between patient and therapist there was a hitch--a turbulence in the smooth flow that often was quite noticeable. The clearest of these occurrences were when the response to a metaphor was another, different metaphor.

Being Like a Chameleon

Not expressing a differing opinion to be accepted by others was an important theme for Ernest. On two occasions, once in Session 7 and again in Session 17, the therapist suggested Ernest was like a chameleon. Both times Ernest understood and accepted the image but never used it himself. In Session 7 he was talking about "having to be somebody else around different people" during high school. "That gets to be a big problem, because all of a sudden you don't realize who you are any more." The therapist responded, ". . . you lost sight of where you were. It was kind of a chameleon-like process." Ernest said, "Right," but went on to focus on being accepted and liked rather than not being noticed. He wanted very much to be noticed and to have girls invite him to join them.

In Session 17 he was talking about how anything that "didn't fit into the mold" was laughed at or looked down upon. He "adapted" [sic] the values of the group he was with, either at home or at college, "and it's like a split personality, but that I forced upon myself." The therapist responded, "Like a chameleon," which "blends in" with the environment, "so that those about you wouldn't see something." Ernest responded that there were times when he would want to "totally blend in" but there also were times when he would "stick out totally" by

being outrageous. The chameleon simile does not quite represent the situation for him. The quality of "blending in" is correct: Ernest, however, was focusing more on "not being yourself." It felt more like a "split personality," something more "inside" than a superficial change of color.

Being Tense and Cracking Up

Transitions between themes did not necessarily represent breaks. Most often transitions represented connections being made between themes. For example, in Session 6 the dominant theme was tension. Ernest began by reporting on a visit home during which time he was less tense with his parents and had expressed himself openly. For Ernest not expressing himself was clearly related to tension. The visit also reminded him of an incident at age eight when he wanted his room repainted black, and of his interest in black and white, "very intense" art. Later in the session he talked about difficulties in starting a conversation with a woman for fear of being shunned. This lead without an obvious break back to the topic of intense art and his own tension: "You know, I find it's difficult to relax and to be off my guard." This lead to the theme of holding back, keeping feelings inside. The theme of tension occurred as a link between initiating activity and being rejected and his choice to hold back. This transition did not cause a break in the mutual understanding, because it did not become figural in the dialogue, which proceeded to elaborate both themes of tension and holding back.

Ernest spoke of his stomach being tied up in knots while others thought he was calm. The therapist responded, "[They] didn't see the inside of the package," and it is the idea of "inside" that carried the theme. Later the therapist supplied the notion that Ernest is holding anger inside and remarked he had been skirting around that word. Ernest accepted this suggestion and related that he got furious with his sister during the visit, "probably for the first time." He related another event when he wanted to break a friend's neck, but said nothing: "I just walked off and I started shaking. . . . I thought I was about to crack up and, you know, I started saying to myself that I had better hang on and of course I did."

The therapist then asked if "cracking up" and the anger "spilling out" in violence were the same. While Ernest overtly accepted the equation, he immediately returned to talking about his pattern of withdrawal and efforts to calm himself, i.e. not crack up. There was a break in the flow, where Ernest did not continue on the topic of expressing feelings violently to others. At this point the issue for him was self-control, and it was strictly an internal matter. Cracking up and spilling out are different issues. One has to do with himself and the other is focused on the other person. The therapist was undoubtedly correct that the interpersonal dimension was important; but the metaphor Ernest used did not mean that at the time and the therapist's shift to the interpersonal is rejected. It did not continue the dialogue. Indeed, a long pause ensued, and Ernest shifted to reporting a discussion with his parents, where they "jumped to the defensive" when he accused them of being responsible for his unhappiness. This

topic's link to the preceding one is a distant one, but leads in a profitable direction. The link is his pattern of holding himself back and the direction is whether he or others are responsible for this pattern of inhibition. One hallmark of this therapy is that even when there is a disparity between participants, the dialogue was not completely disjointed. There continued to be a mutual effort to carry on.

The issue of cracking up was different from that of the interpersonal problem of expressing anger, and was one that did not get overtly addressed in the therapy. It occurred only one other time, in a dream reported in Session 3. The session began with Ernest volunteering immediately that he had had a series of dreams for years about falling into water. He reported a recent one about being in a car going backwards which finally went off the road into a pond. The aspect the therapist focused on was the feeling that Ernest was utterly under the control of outside forces and could do nothing to stop the backwards movement. During the discussion Ernest reported one of the "strangest" dreams was him walking across a bridge. He slipped off and was "hanging on." He lost his grip and as he was falling, he turned into a record, which shattered when it hit the water. He woke up screaming. "Hanging on" occurred in the report of the anger with his friend, with "cracking up" in one and "shattering" in the other. The parallel could have been developed in the direction of the experience of losing control, of not holding back, of expressing anger, and of the terror "cracking up" would bring. In Session 3 the therapist chose to respond by returning to the image of going backwards, which occurred only in the reported dream.

These were the only occurrences of "cracking up," "shattering," and "spilling out," so it is not clear that a major potential theme failed to be elaborated. There are always possibilities that must be rejected in favor of pursuing others. Indeed, the major themes generally are interpersonal, with which "spill out" would fit, and have to do with change and hindrance to it, which would fit with "going backwards."

Holding Back and Keeping Feelings Inside

The greatest disparity between Ernest and the therapist had to do with the articulation and definition of the issue of expressing himself. Ernest was consistent in describing it in terms of the dimension of in and out. Anger, among other feelings and opinions, was kept "inside" and he was afraid letting it "out" would result in rejection. The therapist, on the other hand, was consistent in understanding it as a problem of "holding back." He used the figure twelve times in eight different sessions, as follows:

2: Since the experience [with Betty], you may be holding back?
3: You were holding yourself back because of them
3: you held back on self-expression
5: you hold back from going further
7: acceptance means at times holding back
7: rather than take the chance, you hold back
14: You might be the one who is holding back.
15: you hold back and keep things casual
21: you back off or hold back in the social [situations] out some kind of fear
21: if you hold back, you may not get anywhere, but you won't be shunned or ashamed.
25: fear comes up and you tend to hold back
25: there would be a fear that would hold you back

Ernest used the figure nine times in six sessions, as follows:

5: totally open up and not hold back anything
11: I hold back my enthusiasm as I hold back my anger
11: the things I hold back were a result of guilt or the need to be accepted
14: I don't know if it was really the feeling of being held back. I just felt either it wasn't worth it or nothing would come of about because of it.
18: I looked at [my parents] as the reason for my guilt and my reason for holding me back
21: I'm always holding myself back from any sort of challenge
24: I view [my parents] as the last thing that can hold me back. It may be they're the last excuse I have to hold myself back.

"Holding back" is one of the few figures, and the only thematic one, that the therapist used more frequently than did Ernest. The theme of Holding Back was the largest and most articulated one. It will be argued that "holding back" was the therapist's figure and that Ernest's experience was better defined by his figure of "keeping things inside" and by the snail simile, "closing in upon himself."

When asked for background information in the first session of therapy, Ernest responded that there was an "implicit" conflict between him and his parents, which "makes a certain amount of conflict 'within' [him]." The conflict had not yet "come to the surface." The first description he gave of his father was of the tension his father "kept inside." With the advantage of knowing what themes and dimensions were later focused on, it is possible to see the importance of "inside" and "hidden" in these first reports.

The first occurrence of the figure "holding back" is in Session 2. Ernest had begun a report of the change after the triangle with Betty, saying "I've taken up a different attitude and I don't know where it's

taking me." He had "given everything [he] had" to the relationship and had gotten "burned." In Session 1 there had been a passing comment that when he started dating someone, he "immediately wanted to get involved." The hyperbole of having "given everything" attracts attention to his tendency to devote himself early on to a relationship. It also amplified what was meant by "getting involved." It is also an exaggerated involvement. The implication that he had idealized expectations of the relationship was not pursued. Instead the focus was on "opening up" and being vulnerable. He was expecting more from people with him giving less. The therapist wondered if he might be "holding back" since that experience. Ernest responded in terms of having been a "very open" person but now found himself keeping more to himself. It makes sense that at that time for him the opposite of being "open" was not "holding back" but rather being "closed in" upon himself, as he said much later. The therapist also responded in terms of "staying away" from being vulnerable, because if he "opened" himself up, he might be hurt. Ernest said he had not thought about that explanation for his new attitude. He had thought of being "open" as something wholly positive and this possibility of making himself vulnerable by being "open" had not occurred to him. The therapist had understood the painful possibilities in the image of being "open," although he mixed the metaphor somewhat by including "staying away." This dimension was on his mind for his next comment was that Ernest might have been "holding [himself] off at a distance." The therapist was also likely thinking of this "holding back" in regard to Ernest's attitude toward therapy. He had, after all, missed the first appointment by forgetting

the time that had been set, and earlier in this session, "one-sided conversations" had been a complaint. Ernest felt he had little to say to his sister. When the therapist inquired about the possibility of a concern about "one-sided conversations" in therapy, Ernest had responded, "I guess so," and proceeded to complain about not feeling "close" to, i.e. involved with, his sister. This would easily raise questions about his involvement at this stage in therapy.

It is well to remember that Ernest was a very loquacious patient, despite his complaints that conversation is difficult. There are only a few brief pauses in the early sessions of the therapy although there are more and longer ones toward the end. Ernest did pause at length following the therapist's comments about being "open" to being hurt and "holding [himself] off at a distance." After the pause, he brought up an entirely unrelated content, interspersed with more pauses. Finally he asked the therapist if he had any questions. This was a clear disruption for a few moments in the unfolding of the dialogue. Such disruptions did not occur very often and are more salient because of their infrequency. This disruption can be attributed to the novel extension of the "open" metaphor to include the possibility of vulnerability as well as to the therapist's implication that Ernest himself was the author of his current attitude. Instead of being "taken" somewhere by it, he had created it. This was quite contrary to his passive, compliant, "safe" stance.

Ernest began the third session with the comment, "I guess we can start," which suggests he was not "holding back" at that point in the therapy. He immediately launched into a report of the car dream. In

the dream he was in a car going backwards, unable to stop it. The therapist took the literal description of the dream and wondered if Ernest felt he was going "backwards" in some other way, inviting a metonymy. That did not progress and the therapist switched to the image of being controlled by an outside force. That lead to a discussion of Ernest's parents running his life, in which the therapist wondered if he pictured them "pulling [him] back." Ernest responded that they had not explicitly prevented him from doing things, but because of the feelings they had placed "within" him, he prevented himself. In the discussion the therapist also used the figures that he had "held back on [his] own self-expression" and that he was "holding [himself] back" because of them. In this context "holding back" because of the feelings "within" him made sense to Ernest and he responded in terms of feeling "free" to express himself with his parents, being the "class clown," and the "regimentation" at junior high school. In high school there were more "outlets."

Similarly, in Session 5 Ernest was talking about a number of things he would start but not finish. For instance, he would take a girl out only once. The therapist observed, "You get involved in a certain way, but you hold back from going further." Ernest agreed that he was not that involved with Amy, his current girlfriend, and contrasted that with the relationship with Betty. With her he had let him "totally go." He did not know what it took for him to "totally open up and not hold back anything." This was his first application of the figure "hold back" and in conjunction with "open up" it still seems imbued with the sense of holding things "inside" and "closing" up.

The effort to keep things, especially anger, "inside" and the resulting tension are the dominant content of Session 6. Both Ernest and the therapist used metaphors of keeping or holding "in" and letting "out" frequently, eighteen and eight times, respectively. "Hold back" is used by neither in this session. Ernest also commented that he had not been "open," equating it with "holding inside." He also talked about times he had "put on an act" and "put up a front." These are elaborations of how he kept things "inside," not "open" to others. Near the end of the session Ernest reported an instance when he told his parents he felt they had "ruled by guilt." They immediately "jumped to the defensive." The therapist wondered, "Were your parents in their defensiveness also saying that they didn't hold you in all that much but you were holding yourself in more than they expected?" "In" is the dimension that defined how Ernest and the therapist were understanding his situation. Ernest responded that they had not "explicitly held [him] in," but that they were responsible for giving him those attitudes. If it were not for them, he would not have felt the way he did. He felt himself to be the passive victim of these forces "within" him.

In Session 11 Ernest was feeling good that Amy had called him and asked him out. It was an "ego thing" and he was able to be more honest and more himself with her. They had gotten into a discussion of the things that bothered them in their relationship and Ernest had been able to be critical of her and to ask her what bothered her about him. Her only response was that he did not show much enthusiasm about certain things. He continued with the therapist, saying her criticism was

". . . true. I hold back my enthusiasm as I hold back my anger or my opinions. It's just kind of a defensive thing. I keep all my emotions under control. I was thinking about whether the things I hold back were a result of guilt or the need to be accepted."

Disparities between patient and therapist can be understood as either a possible elaboration of a situation or a misunderstanding of the situation by one or the other. Ernest wanted to be accepted, and hence "blend in" with his peers in high school, but he also wanted to be noticed. The therapist's suggestion of being like a "chameleon" summarized part of Ernest's efforts, but not all. His reaction to the simile was an immediate response that he also wanted to "stick out." He did not want to disappear. Indeed, having been a "mirror image" of those around him was profoundly disturbing. The disparity between "holding back" and "keeping inside" represents a misunderstanding by the therapist of a fundamental dimension of Ernest's world.

7. THEMATIC AND NON-THEMATIC METAPHORS: A COMPARISON WITH OUTSIDE RATERS

The therapy analyzed in this study was among the successful ones sampled by Amira (1982). He employed the figurative language rating procedure detailed by Barlow, Kerlin, and Pollio (1971). That procedure has three raters trained in recognizing figurative language, but not necessarily clinical psychology, read transcripts in random order. The raters begin by finding instances of figurative language independent of each other. They then confer to decide jointly which instances are figurative and to distinguish novel and frozen figures. The

hypothesis of both Barlow (1973) and Amira was that novel figures contributed to a successful outcome. Figures that were identified by all three raters independently were maintained and given the notation "(3 + 0)". The first digit indicates the number of raters identifying it independently; the second indicates the number who were persuaded during the conference to include it. Thus "(2 + 1)" indicates that two saw it initially and persuaded the third to include it. If raters cannot be persuaded, the phrase is rejected as figurative. Similarly, if all agree or are persuaded later that a figure is novel, it is rated so, but if all agree it is figurative but cannot agree that it is novel, it is rated frozen.

Amira sampled an early, middle, and late session of the course of psychotherapy, in the case here, Sessions 2, 13, and 24. In Session 2 five novel figures were identified independently by all three raters and four others by two raters with the third concurring after discussion. None identified by any rater was rejected by the two others. Eight were produced by Ernest and one by the therapist. The novel figures as identified are underlined in the following excerpts:

> Fifteen minutes later my father called back. . . . He always picks me out. He asked me what I was all upset about. (3 + 0)
>
> Ever since the first semester they [the professors?] really knocked me down and I lost a lot of self-confidence. (3 + 0)
>
> My grandfather on the other hand is a much more practical person. He really counts his money. He's very close to his money. (2 + 1)
>
> I've sort of taken up a different attitude, you know, and I don't know where it's taking me. (3 + 0)

I sort of went in with the attitude that while I really like this girl, you know, "Ha, ha, ha," I'd have a good time with her and that's fine. . . . (2 + 1)

It didn't end very pleasantly. . . . Even afterwards, you know, I was still sort of on my hands and knees to her. (3 + 0)

. . . but you have to be settled down. You can't just lug a forty gallon fish tank around with you. (2 + 1)

As a kid I used to always start models . . . and never finish them. . . . I'd put them up on the shelf forever. (2 + 1)

Therapist: If you don't feel enough encouragement [from a girl], you might be inclined to back away or put them on the shelf and be done with them. (3 + 0)

From the perspective of an understanding of the whole it is clear that not many of these metaphors contribute to a theme at any level. Of course, they represent something, but are not later elaborated into a thematic contribution. His grandfather being "close to his money" was in contrast to his admired great-grandfather, who was generous to a fault, fun-loving, and "got a kick out of everything." Ideals are a theme, but this particular contrast does not recur and does not gain meaningfulness by what emerges later. Similarly, "lugging a forty gallon fish tank around" had to do with the important theme of his uncertainty of how to plan his future, but this funny image was not developed into a wider ranging understanding of the impediments to his adventurous fantasies. He has daydreams about living like a vagabond, but was ambivalent, because he would also like to settle down and have a fish tank. He could not hitchhike with it.

The other metaphors are less tangential to the thematic structure. His father "picks [him] out," an representation of family conflict and his parents running his life. As a freshman he lost confidence and feeling "knocked down" represented the negative comparison to others. He had entered the relationship with Betty just for laughs, "Ha, ha, ha," but found himself more involved than just having a good time. When she left him to go back to her old boyfriend, he was not just on his knees (pleading?), but on his "hands and knees," a novel expansion of the image. This subservient posture continued until he got angry at her giving the dog [!] he had given her to her old boyfriend. This image also anticipated the theme of others being above him, especially women.

Starting and not finishing model building projects, "putting them on the shelf forever," was elaborated later in the theme of needing encouragement and attention. The therapist took this not very striking metaphor, which one rater had to be persuaded of during conference, and applied it to a more important set of circumstances involving his pattern of relationships with women. This wider application places the metaphor at a higher level of the thematic structure, raising it from the particular theme of needing encouragement to the more general one of depending on others. The metaphor is not just a heuristic than can be applied from one situation to another. It represents a pattern concisely which unifies the situations. Coming to understand such a pattern then implies how to alter it and thereby contributes one element to the highest level of structure, the possibility of change.

The final metaphor to be considered, "I've sort of taken up a different attitude, you know, and I don't know where it's taking me," occurred in the context of his mother's complaint that he was selfish for not sending cards and inquiring about the family's health. Ernest generalized the attitude to cover having difficulty paying attention to conversations and to his withdrawal from social activities after breaking up with Betty. The attitude applied to many content areas, but it was the metaphor of the attitude "taking him" to unknown places that raised the representation to be a central issue. He was the passive object of some outside force, the aims of which he did not understand and in which he did not concur. He did not see his "selfishness" as a useful counterbalance to his tendency to get involved in unwise situations. This metaphor opens up the central issue of who is responsible for his general pattern of inhibition, idealized dependency, and passivity. It is not flashy (although all three raters picked it out) and by itself might go unnoticed by a therapist. Passivity was not a content for either participant in this session, although the therapist focused on it at length in the third session, in which the patient reported a dream about being in a car over which he no control. This metaphor was one thin strand that was later woven into a clear tapestry.

In Session 13 there were nine occurrences of novel figures identified by all three rater independently and three identified by two with the third concurring after discussion. None were rejected. The therapist produced seven of them and Ernest five.

I don't know why I've taken the opposite attitude of being felt [sic] locked up. (3 + 0)

Therapist: Could there be some reason why you take that attitude? Picture yourself locked up? (3 + 0)

I don't know. I kind of . . . When I think about it, I sort of take the attitude that I'm my own prisoner and not necessarily theirs. . . . (3 + 0)

Therapist: You know, you run less risk if you picture yourself as a prisoner. (3 + 0)

Therapist: You're really your own prisoner. (3 + 0)

Everything is done by a peer vote. (2 + 1)

As time went by, these stories started to grow and flourish. (2 + 1)

I'm sitting here sucking this all in, because I had an undying trust in people. (3 + 0)

Therapist: The question that we really have is where is this hole in the fence and what is it? (3 + 0)

Therapist: There is a way out for you, at least as pictured in your dream. (3 + 0)

Therapist: That would be the way through the fence. (3 + 0)

Therapist: That's where the struggle wages. (2 + 1)

Eight of the novel figures had to do with the same image of being held in prison, which stemmed from a dream Ernest reported early in the session. The report was rated literal, including the first occurrence, "I guess the obvious thing is that somehow I feel that I'm being held prisoner [in the dream]. I guess it has to do with my whole attitude." Ernest was describing his dream literally, as it happened, but as the image is applied to "my whole attitude," the metonymy produces a series of utterances rated as novel figures. Ernest produced two of them, the

therapist six. The metaphor of being a prisoner has already been discussed at length as being Ernest's crucial description of himself. This session was included in Amira's sample by chance and the raters were consistently unanimous in identifying all eight of the occurrences of figurative language derived from the prison dream. This rating procedure functions well in finding instances of figurative language. The problem is that it does not distinguish between these important instances and the less significant ones. For instance, in this session three other novel metaphors were identified. Based on the ratings alone, they are the equivalent of the prison metaphors, when in terms of the process of the psychotherapy they contribute nothing. It is significant that there was not unanimity among the raters before the conference on these three metaphors. The procedure, however, does not use the agreement figures to distinguish between metaphors; only to gauge the reliability of the particular set of raters.

There are three novel figures identified in Session 24. The patient produced all of them. One was identified by one rater, with the other two concurring after discussion. Two were identified by two raters, with the third concurring.

> I just sort of psyched myself up for it and said, "I'm going to continue working." (1 + 2)
>
> I still have this feeling that there's a road I can follow that will guarantee to me that I won't have that feeling [unhappiness]. (2 + 1)
>
> The feeling that it always happens to the other guy and doesn't happen to me, then one day I found that I wasn't happy and all of a sudden the other guy was myself. (2 + 1)

The first figure has to do with the first level theme of motivation not lasting. Apparently it was identified by one of the raters, because of being a self-quote. This rater was then able to persuade the other two that this was legitimately figurative. This is the sort of guideline that a group of raters can establish for themselves although the initial disagreement suggests other raters may not feel it is figurative at all. It is perhaps more of a stylistic oddity than a metaphor. The second metaphor, "having a road to follow that will guarantee" Ernest that he would not feel unhappy, is a variation on the first level theme of the future being bad. If he could not find that road, that guarantee, he expected things to continue as bad as they had been. "Guarantee" was the operative element of the representation considered thematically. The "road" metaphor is of interest and is considered in the section of this chapter on recurrence, but it did not contribute in itself to the theme. The third metaphor, "The other guy was myself," is a clever play on words but again not thematically important.

The rating system employed by Amira and Pollio and Barlow did not distinguish among figures that were or were not thematic at different levels of the hierarchy. This result supports Amira's conclusion that the ratings did not single out clinically relevant novel metaphors and excluded frozen ones entirely without regard to relevance. Some of the novel figures identified had no thematic importance at all. Others contributed only to first level themes. If Session 13 had not been sampled, even this very verbal and highly metaphoric dialogue would seem to have produced no outstanding figures of speech. The hypothesis

that metaphor correlates with therapeutic success is still likely enough to deserve a test. The deciding factor will be to restrict attention to those metaphors that revealed themselves as representations of higher order themes.

It is easy to contend that the important metaphors have a salience that makes them stand out in comparison to the other, less thematically important, ones. Hence, raters who are trained to distinguish figurative language and who are clinically experienced should have more success than raters who are not sensitized to clinical issues. It has been observed, however, that groups of raters using Barlow's procedure develop criteria for distinguishing between figurative and literal, between novel and frozen, which are particular to that group. Results across groups are not directly commensurate. For example, the frequency of metaphoric production obtained by one group will not be the same as that obtained by another. "Vibrancy," as Amira (1982) called it, or clinical relevance is too ineffable a criterion, without reference to an understanding of the thematic structure, to yield reliable distinctions. A group of raters given the instruction to pick out the clinically relevant figures in transcripts of sessions sampled from a psychotherapy might be able to find the ones in a particular session but could not know which themes were important without examining all or most of the entire therapy.

8. RECURRENCE OF METAPHOR

One hypothesis that Amira (1982) drew from his study for future research was that the figures which contributed to a successful outcome

would occur more frequently. Given that he had sampled only three session from each therapy, he could not test this on his data. Examination of the full transcript of this therapy reveals that the novel figures identified by the procedure used by Amira's raters do not occur frequently. Of the twenty-four figures identified, only two recur.

The shelf metaphor in Session 2 occurred again in Session 5, with Ernest contrasting his lack of persistence to those people who are able to devote themselves to one major goal; and again in Session 22 where he was talking about how he typically avoids hard work. The therapist did not use it again after Session 2.

One of the metaphors from the prison dream in Session 13, "a hole through the fence," was used by the therapist again in Session 14. Ernest reported he had gotten the summer job, saying, "and as we were discussing [at the end of Session 13], I saw it as the way out." The therapist repeated the figure they had been using in their previous discussion, "Uhhuh. Like a hole through the fence." This was the only recurrence of any figure from the prison dream, although the therapist referred to the dream again in Session 24. Ernest was talking about not wanting to commit himself to his parents' vacation plans and said, "I view them as being the last thing that can hold me back. It may be they're the last excuse I have to hold myself back." The therapist responded, "Like the prison dream." Concurring in this, Ernest continued, "Uhhuh, it's almost as if I rationalize my way into deciding that I don't want to go out into the world and I want to sit and vegetate."

The therapist's reference to the prison dream almost two months later shows he was aware of its central importance. There is no later

reference to any of the many other dreams Ernest reported. The brevity of reference shows that the therapist intended to summarize Ernest's conflict about who was the agent of holding back, in terms that had already been worked through and established in mutual understanding. Near the end of the therapy, when Ernest was opening issues again that had earlier been worked through, the therapist's remark served to recall the crucial insight of Session 13 into the process of terminating. It implied all of the metaphors of the prison dream and applied them again to the concrete situation of asserting himself against the plans his "parents had made. Incidentally, it is gratifying to note that Ernest did assert himself. In the final session he reported that he had told his parents he would stay on campus for an end of the semester party and join them later.

The novel figure identified in Session 24, a "road" he could follow did recur, with several variations, frequently in the therapy. As was seen in the analysis of the thematic metaphors, the road figure was used only in a single theme, that of the future. It did not get extended to other themes nor did it contribute to the definition of a dimension of Ernest's world that was a central focus. Despite its frequency, it was only of limited importance.

Recurrence per se does not seem to be an element for identifying the important novel figures. In point of fact, the analysis of this psychotherapy showed they do not recur often enough to stand out on that basis. Frequency cannot distinguish between those identified by outside raters and those of central thematic importance. The therapist's reference to the prison dream two months later, however, would

suggest that metaphors might recur after long periods of time, when reference to issues once worked through is needed when they are being worked through again. The distinguishing factor is the thematic nature of the metaphor, not its single recurrence. The therapist used the chameleon simile twice; neither time did it entirely capture Ernest's experience.

Recurrence of frozen metaphors seemed to be a more important factor. Being "open," keeping things "inside," feelings coming "out," and similar images were very frequent, but as was seen, did not consistently stand out in a way that the therapist grasped their full import. It is singularly significant that the one thematic metaphor that the therapist used more often than the patient was "holding back." Although Ernest did use it to describe himself on occasion, it was the therapist's figure.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

1. METAPHOR AND THEMATIC STRUCTURE

Just as human being is always situated, figurative language always occurs in some context. The simple sounding empirical question, "Which metaphors contribute to psychotherapeutic success?" must be expanded to include the contexts in which the metaphors occur. Metaphor is not just a phrase but can also serve to encapsulate the themes of the whole dialogue. To examine the clinical relevance of figurative language in even one case it was necessary first to explicate the ground of dialogue against which metaphoric speaking arose.

The works of Heidegger and Gadamer have produced a profound and extensive ontology of human existence and dialogue that were borrowed for this study and applied to the particular problem of metaphor. They offer to psychoanalytic psychology an enormously fruitful paradigm shift and new way of conceptualizing what metaphor is. In the hermeneutics of both Heidegger and Gadamer metaphor is a central element of human being and speaking. A revision of criteria for the clinical relevance of metaphor entails an explicit understanding of metaphor in the contexts of therapeutic dialogue, dialogue in general, and human being.

The particular case analyzed here came to be understood in terms of a hierarchical thematic structure, which provided the ground for clinically relevant metaphors to become figural. The importance of

thematic structure for understanding psychotherapy in general will be discussed later. That clinically relevant metaphors occur within important themes in therapy makes intuitively good sense. How that is can now be made explicit.

Figurative language contributed to the present case of psychotherapy in two ways. The prisoner metaphor manifested the central issue of the therapy in a single sentence. It contained not only the issue of being constrained, but also the stance within that situation of being the author of it: "I am my <u>own</u> prisoner, not theirs." Similarly, there were other figures which represented issues of lower level themes. The second important contribution was that some frozen, unobtrusive, figures defined significant dimensions of Ernest's self-world. While such figures did not manifest themes as pointedly as did the prisoner (or snail) figure, their recurrence in many different themes provides a background out of which particular issues emerged.

As a representation of the most concise and comprehensive level of thematic structure, the prisoner metaphor also applied to all other themes. The question of responsibility for the constraint received an answer which not only manifested the conflict, but also implied the possibility of change. The graphic simplicity of being one's own prisoner made it clear that the choice of finding a way out was also possible. A second figure, the snail simile, approached the prisoner metaphor in importance. It occurred during the process of termination and represented not only a summary of understanding gained through therapy but also a shift in understanding the possibility of change. The protective but constraining nature of the snail's shell was the

major quality carrying the simile. The way out of prison into freedom had become crawling out of the protection into the possibility of danger. The perception of a wholly positive resolution had evolved in the context of termination anxiety into the recognition of an ambivalent resolution.

This is not so much a development of the metaphor per se, but of the central theme of the therapy. McMullen (1985) suggests that repetition and development of metaphors might distinguish successful and unsuccessful cases. The present study tends to disconfirm that. The prisoner metaphor itself was not developed in successive approximations but occurred unheralded, immediately. It was the theme of holding himself back which developed toward greater clarity until it could be represented starkly in this simple and direct figure. The snail simile was also not developed nor even repeated.

On the basis of this exploratory study no general conclusions can be drawn on this point. It is possible to imagine, though this study observed no such case, that a frequently repeated novel metaphor might have little or no importance to thematic structure. Conversely, there may be cases where a metaphor is developed and elaborated. There is clear evidence in this case, however, that encapsulating metaphors can be produced immediately without prior elaboration. The development of the theme of Holding Himself Back lead to the production of an entirely new image, not a revision of the earlier one.

An important result of this study is that the contribution of figurative language to the therapeutic process derives from its capacity to represent a central theme and not from novelty per se. The

central metaphor is novel and gathers themes together. Both characteristics are necessary. Repetition by itself is not a criterion of the importance of a metaphor to the therapy.

2. NOVEL METAPHORS RECONSIDERED

The central issue of the therapy--the third level of thematic structure-was whether Ernest was the passive object of his parents' prohibitions or the active agent in inhibiting himself. The striking representation of his insight was "I am my own prisoner, not necessarily theirs." Overtly his parents had prohibited nothing while he was at college, as far as is reported. Ernest said that on several occasions they expressed the recognition that they could not stop him if he wanted to do something. Nevertheless, he has taken "the opposite attitude" of feeling "locked up." This was a direct representation of how he "befinds himself" in any situation, and hence a representation of his Befindlichkeit at the highest level of thematic structure. Indeed, it could be argued that representations at that level involve Befindlichkeit, the patient's situatedness in general, rather than the content of a particular situation. Such representations apply to all situations which are the focus of therapy. They depict a commonality of the patient's mode of Being-in-the-World in any particular situation. This commonality is understood--through an act of interpretation--by gathering thematic strands together and in turn applying and illuminating them--through further interpretation--the particular strand under consideration. It is a generality, but is saved from empty abstraction because it is filled with the content of situations

to which it applies. The commonality is at once every situation. Ernest's passivity is not an abstraction, but the way he finds himself in any number of situations; it was his mode of being situated. The highest level of thematic structure does not supersede other levels; it brings them together, so that commonality among them can be understood. The commonality of Ernest's mode of Being-in-the-World is his Befindlichkeit.

The unique contribution of figurative language is to actualize Ernest's habitual stance in a situation, his Befindlichkeit in it. For the case examined here, Ernest's passivity found its earliest ("I've taken up a different attitude and I don't know where it's taking me.") and clearest (surrounded by barbed wire fences, acquiesces in being caught and brought back, "I don't know why I've taken the opposite attitude of being felt [sic] locked up.") representation in metaphor. The "different attitude" was described in the context of his mother's complaint that he was selfish for not sending cards and for not inquiring about the family's health. Ernest generalized the attitude to cover having difficulty paying attention to conversations and to his withdrawal from social activities after breaking up with Betty. The attitude applied to many content areas, but it was the metaphor of the attitude "taking him" to unknown places that raised the representation to become a central issue. He was the passive object of some outside force, the aims of which he did not understand and which he could not control. He did not see his "selfishness" as a useful counterbalance to his tendency to get involved in unwise situations.

The distinction between novel and frozen metaphors (Barlow, 1973; Pollio, Barlow, Fine, & Pollio, 1977) is correct. What has here been called gathering themes together, is a quality of novel metaphors. Conversely, some novel metaphors may have little or no clinical relevance. The central metaphor must be novel and gather themes together. Even without an explicit interest in metaphor, the therapist in this case recognized and attended to those novel metaphors representing something important about Ernest's situatedness. Like other novel events in psychotherapy, novel metaphors provided a content for discussion having wide implications. As emerged from this study, the prisoner metaphor encapsulated the single most significant issue in Ernest's life. By encapsulating, it brought all the strands together into a single central knot. It made the tension between old needs and present possibilities manifest and transparent.

The qualities which make the prisoner metaphor stand out as a central organizing insight are that it is novel and that it represents the self-world in a way that it simple, direct, and powerful. It is not an abstraction, a reflection on the self from an outside point of view, but is applicable to all the particular situations the patient has to deal with. The preceding dialogue of therapy has clarified the issues so that the "architecture of themes and purposes" (Ricoeur, 1981) of the self-world is starkly apparent. Particularities have been cleared away and the overall structure of the self-world reveals itself. The metaphor of clearing away obscurities has been developed elsewhere into the suggestion that "insight" might be better captured in the term "through-sight" (Shell, Pollio, & Smith, in press).

A novel metaphor which does not make a central issue and its tension manifest lacks important clinical relevance. It may be witty, funny, ornamental, enjoyable; it does not carry the dialogue forward by opening up possibilities of clearing up issues of particular situations. It may make a point, but does not bring themes to a point. One example noted in this therapy was when Ernest was telling of his adventuresome fantasies, wanting to live like a vagabond after college. But he also wanted to have a fish tank and "you can't lug a forty gallon fish tank around with you." This conjures up the hilarious image of a young man hitchhiking on the side of the road with his backpack and fish tank beside him. Such an image invites playing with the incongruities of Ernest's desires, which would be appropriate if he were mired in his uncertainty and ambivalence in too earnest a manner. Figurative language can have a quality of playful wit which contributes productively to the style of the dialogue. "Lugging a fish tank around" could serve as a leitmotif and counterbalance for ponderous rumination. As the dialagoue transpired this issue was not developed as a central theme.

The central theme and its metaphoric representations illuminate all issues salient in the self-world. There are, however, themes at lower levels of structure which also find metaphoric representation. These are of more localized applicability and serve to organize smaller spans of dialogue. One example is that others were above Ernest, with its rhetorical emphasis of having put them up on a pedestal. This figure occurred almost exclusively in Session 17 and dominated the dialogue for that period. At that time it was the salient issue and

represented and organized it in a manner similar to the function of the metaphoric representation of higher level themes. The difference is that it did so only for a single session rather than for several. The central metaphor has a broad relevance to all areas of the self-world; there are figures with more restricted applicability that are nonetheless important for a particular issue.

None of the metaphors in this therapy was hard to understand. Even those derived from dreams were clear representations of some theme or aspect of the patient's self-world. At no point was laborious deciphering noted or needed. The therapist's response to the prisoner metaphor was not to figure out what it meant, but to ask if there were a reason for picturing himself locked up. Coming to understand the metaphor consisted not in finding its hidden meaning, but rather in how it applied to the concrete situations and actions of the Ernest's self-world. Central metaphors represent the self-world and its possibility for change. Things were that way and they were not. Ernest was a prisoner and there was a hole in the fence. He was like a snail and he could crawl out of his shell. These two figures summarized what Ernest had come to understand more clearly about himself and the implications for different activity. They did not end the hermeneutic of self-understanding; they pointed ahead. Their tension was between representation of the issue at a high level of abstraction and coming to understand its manifestation in concrete situations. What was the fence? Not taking the initiative to meet women and using his parents as an excuse to sit and vegetate. What was the way out? A summer job.

The representation of the concrete situation was literal while couched in figurative language. In his world Ernest was a prisoner. An outside observer might not see it but Ernest's first-person account of his situation was that he was surrounded by hindrances with one small possibility of escape. There is no meaning hidden behind the metaphor, nothing to decipher. Nor is there tension between Ernest's experience and the contradiction of a third-person observer who has not entered Ernest's world. The metaphor encapsulated and represented Ernest's first-person experience as a concrete situation (the prison) with broad applicability. The tension lies in recognizing his own responsibility for imprisoning himself and in coming to understand incidents of holding himself back as particular instances of the overall "architecture of themes and purposes." The therapeutic process did not require explicating the prisoner metaphor into literal language for it was already literal. It revealed the issue of responsibility in a stark manner and carried the dialogue forward into the possibility of change.

Within dialogue the ordinary distinction between literal and figurative language disappears. The primacy of literal reference for communicating information derives from situations where there is not--or not yet--an intention to become involved in the whole of the other's self-world. In the extreme it is a situation of "I - it" rather than "I - thou" (Buber, 1979). Each utterance in the context of dialogue is not just a "local event" but also a disclosure of the self-world (Ricoeur, 1981). Its meaning is not fixed by lexical constraints, hence the putative anomaly or category error of metaphor ceases to be a

criterion. The meaning of an utterance within dialogue is decided by the possibilities it reveals within the shared self-world of the participants. Metaphor in dialogue is distinguished by its capacity to represent economically and strikingly, without sacrificing any implicative power. What has been called the vibrancy of metaphor is the quality of a short phrase being able to gather many themes together in an instant and through its clarity open up many possibilities. When the central issue of a psychotherapeutic dialogue has become clear, it can be represented tersely. A central thematic metaphor is powerful and stands out in the dialogue because it <u>is</u> the problematic issue of the patient's self-world.

Barlow (1973) argued that the process of working with clinically relevant metaphors was "explicating the implicit" meaning of the metaphor, which he found to be a literal paraphrase. His conclusion makes sense if one observes that his data came from a case where the process of literalizing was predominant and there may well be many such cases. From the present analysis, however, it appears that literalizing is not necessary and does not have to be the intent of the participants. Metaphors are not hard to understand and need not be deciphered. The process would seem to be more one of applying the clear representation of the central metaphor to the particular themes encapsulated in it. That may include articulating the issues in "literal" terms, but the central metaphor is already literal when viewed from within the perspective of the dialogue. It is part of the shared language of patient and therapist and is available to represent the highest level issue within particular situations. The clarity of the central issue as

represented in the central metaphor can be applied to make the issues of particular situations just as clear.

With the advantage of having the entire text at hand the present analysis was able to discern which metaphors encapsulated the central issue of therapy. The arduous process of deriving the thematic structure yielded a rigorous description of which issues were focal and discovered a central metaphor which gathered subsidiary issues together. The central conflict and possibility of change, i.e. activity and passivity, compliance and initiative, was revealed most strikingly in the prisoner metaphor. All other themes in the hierarchy were aspects of this issue. It gathered the concrete, situated actualizations of the issue into a clear and striking representation. The terseness of metaphor lends itself to encapsulating the full breadth of an issue with a clarity that a more pedestrian exposition cannot bring. In metaphor the entire issue is present at once, revealing the implications for future activity in a compelling manner. At the moment the metaphor is produced, how the implications will be worked out as the dialogue unfolds is not known in detail. Nevertheless, central thematic metaphors attract attention because of how they bring the common strands together.

There is evidence in the text that both patient and therapist were aware of the importance of the prisoner metaphor for encapsulating the central issue. It stood out as a representation (in Gadamer's sense) of Ernest's situation, revealing the central issue in its simplicity and pervasiveness. Its power derived from Ernest being--at that moment--trapped behind barbed wire he himself had erected. He was not

just talking about his situation from a distance, reflecting on it. The dialogue had caught him up and brought this central issue into the actual present moment. He was a prisoner. The prisoner metaphor also had the Prägnanz (implicative power) to reveal to Ernest that he was his own prisoner and that a resolution of the conflict was a possibility. Although Ernest had begun to make changes before therapy, he was unsure of his direction. The prisoner metaphor and its implied resolution could serve as a leitmotif in various concrete situations. Especially when issues seem muddled and obscure, it could serve to represent them with greater clarity. As the dialogue unfolded, both participants had it available for revealing the structure of any situation newly reported.

3. THE ROLE OF FROZEN METAPHORS

The analysis of thematic structure accomplished the aim of discerning which novel metaphors are clinically relevant. Their relevance derives from being thematic. Aside from that it yielded another point of interest: Some frozen metaphors have clinical relevance, confirming Amira's (1982) suggestion. Some contribute to one theme or another, but lacking the implicative power of a central thematic metaphor, do not gather themes together. Even though they do not attract attention to themselves, some others do represent and reveal the static dimensions of the patient's world. Their very frozenness is the important thing. In them another aspect of the patient's Befindlichkeit is made manifest. They are the ground against which themes become figural and as ground are unobtrusive. At no point did the therapist in this case

remark on a dimensional metaphor and appeared to miss the distinction between keeping things "in" and holding things "back." This misunderstanding created some disruption in the smooth flow of the dialogue which was eventually resolved.

Considering the most frequent frozen metaphors and their occurrence in many different themes lead to the understanding that they represented ordinary dimensions of Ernest's self-world. While the therapist demonstrated his attunement to Ernest's figures of speech on several occasions, these dimensional metaphors did not attract his attention and comment. Early in the therapy Ernest's first-person experience "keeping feelings inside" was not adequately represented by the therapist's representation in "holding himself back" from expressing them. Logically, they seem equivalent, but while the difference was never thematized, the preponderance of "keeping inside" over "holding back" early on in Ernest's utterances indicates he felt some difference. There is a dimension in his self-world of "in and out" which did not map onto inhibiting himself until the latter stages of therapy.

The prisoner metaphor brought both aspects together. Ernest was both inside the prison, unable to get out, and being held back by the fences and his father with the dogs. Throughout therapy Ernest had spoken of stopping himself through "rationalization" and other ways, so he was able to understand himself eventually in terms of holding himself back. The therapist's suggestion of a different way of representing his inhibition was close enough to Ernest's experience that he could appropriate it. The dimension did not change, as shown by the

snail simile; "inside" still represented Ernest's situation, but it came to be understood differently. The protective but "holding back" quality of being inside the shell--and inside the prison--became more apparent. The very fact of Ernest being caught up in dialogue with the therapist and expressing himself as he had not done before encouraged him to "crawl back out of the shell;" he did not feel he needed its protection quite as much.

The very frozenness of such metaphors represented the concrete and static quality of some important attributes of his everyday world. The dimensions were the ground out of which the third level theme became figural and were thematized in them. But in becoming figural, the conflict brought with it the fact that Ernest himself was responsible within his situation. In and out was no longer an immutable "fact" or mechanical necessity. It was not a given of the situation he had been thrown into and had to deal with; it was eigen, his own and he came to see that responsibility for it need not be relegated to the world. The skin is the boundary of the body but not of Dasein. Keeping feelings "inside" the skin or the skull is not a physical necessity but rather a project, a way of understanding and structuring human existence. It is a common one provided ready-made by Western culture, so common that it rarely calls attention to itself. Nevertheless, it is a choice, at least unreflectedly, and subject to change.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) found that there are coherent systems of metaphor in a given language community that structure the world of that community. They began from a concern that figurative language's role in understanding the world had not been adequately assessed in

"traditional" philosophy and linguistics. They discovered "metaphors we live by," such as "good is up" and the body is a "container." These two certainly were important to Ernest, serving him as "orientational" metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson propose the term living metaphor as a third category to novel and frozen. A metaphor that is alive functions as part of the culture's conceptual system and structures individual perceptions. "Rational argument is war," with verbal attacks, defensive maneuvering, and counterattack, provides a paradigm for that activity. Saying the "mouth" of the river merely denotes a geographical feature, neither organizing a large domain of experience nor leading to a conceptual system, e.g. eye, head, body, or foot of the river. Lakoff and Johnson argue that living metaphors are grounded in physical and cultural experience. "Rational argument is war" derives from the more basic experience of physical combat. Such structural metaphors have an "experiential basis," providing the "dimensions of experience" and "influence our experience and our actions" (pg. 68).

A more radical statement of this position would emphasize the unity of the structure and the experience, rather than keeping them separate and allowing one to influence the other. There are dimensions of the self-world in which the world exists. They are the terms which the culture makes available for experiencing at all. One by-product of the present study was empirical confirmation of the importance of such dimensional metaphors. Most attention in the clinical literature has been directed toward novel metaphors and novel events. Their clinical implications have long been recognized and this study can contribute to articulating them. Perhaps its novel, and certainly unexpected, result

is the clinical implications of frozen metaphor as the ground of ordinary existence.

4. CLINICAL IMPLICATIONS

The process of analysis that emerged while thematizing the present transcript is important in its own right. It offers a rigorous method of organizing utterances clearly and of making distinctions between central and peripheral issues easily. As themes develop, their interplay can be represented as centrifugal, going off on tangents, or as centripetal, drawing them to the center. Meaningful relationships among themes bring them together, or as depicted in Chapter IV, raise them to a higher level of synthesis. A hallmark of time limited psychotherapy is its focus on a single pervasive issue. Tangents and extraneous themes are cut short. The present study confirms the intuitive understanding that it is possible to discern a single issue where the work of the therapy gets done. This can be understood as a structural reason for success in this case. Ernest was quite verbal and was introspective enough to enter into a dialogue with the intent of understanding himself better. He was quite pleasant and likable which also engaged the therapist in dialogue, which another more fragile and less verbal patient had not been able to do (Strupp, 1980). With Ernest tangents and digressions were not predominant, even though the therapist at no time cut them short. The great majority of time was spent in exploration of themes and their interrelationships. The work of understanding that was accomplished in therapy is reflected in the clarity and simplicity of the central thematic metaphor.

The thematizing process of the present analysis is a rigorous and explicit version of the cognitive work of therapy. Starting from confusion and bewilderment, the patient and therapist sort through the details to find commonalities. A particular presenting complaint cannot be understood except in the context of a central issue of the patient's self-world. For a therapy of whatever length to be successful the issues must be clarified. One skill of the experienced clinician lies in arriving at this clarity in dialogue with the patient. Gathering together all the aspects of the patient's life in a simple statement also makes the direction of progress salient. If the question is articulated well, the answer is obvious. No matter how long the therapy, there must be a central issue that informs and organizes the particularities. The central issue will, of course, be represented differently over the course of therapy, especially as it moves toward resolution. Nevertheless, therapy cannot address an isolated symptom nor a random, inchoate set of issues thoroughly. Whatever theory or technique a therapist chooses, the process of therapy is fundamentally dialogic.

Thinking of the on-going dialogue of therapy by explicit thematizing may be useful in bringing about a shift from immediate content to larger, more central issues. Clinical theory provides one sort of organizing schema for this shift. The experienced clinician is able to apply sedimented theory to the dialogue without stopping to reflect. For the less experienced therapist the shift is not as skilled, more likely to be figural in itself, and perhaps will disrupt the dialogue by imposing theory on the concrete situation. The process of

thematizing might prove to be an intermediate step for the therapist to organize contents without getting too far afield. With a thematic structure in mind, the clinician can organize patient statements and issues in terms that stay close to the patient's own words. Connections and parallels can be pointed out without leaping to theoretical abstractions. The therapist can help the patient, not by supplying theoretical "explanations," but by moving to a higher, more comprehensive, level of thematic structure still using the patient's own words. Inadvertent paraphrases that are not accurate or imply incorrect connections between themes and contents can be avoided. Thematizing also sets the intent of the dialogue, so that it is focused on the patient's understanding of his or her participation in the situation, not on intellectualization, psychological chit-chat, or being an innocent victim. Even if the broad meaning of a particular representation is not immediately clear, its ramifications become clear as it is applied to different contexts. These points all follow from the guideline of staying close to the patient's own words and trying to understand the experiential basis of the content and the process in those terms. The dialogic process of coming to an understanding of another person's self-world proceeds by thematizing, that is, by coming to see the Befindlichkeiten which structure broad areas of the person's world.

Explicitly thematizing the patient's utterances also provides non-intuitive criteria for recognizing the central metaphors. They will be those which gather themes together and which will represent the main aspects in which the patient has accepted some situation as necessary. Ernest was held back by the barbed wire fences and kept inside a

prison. Offered an opportunity to escape, he goes back for a while to take care of some small chore. When he gets through the hole in the fence, he acquiesces in being caught and is brought back by his father and the guard dogs. The fences and his father as guard seemed to be the way things were, yet his hesitancy and his acquiescence made it clear he was not devoted to escaping. Being caught in the situation makes his responsibility for holding himself back unavoidable and makes the possibility of change salient. The prisoner metaphor was produced in the thirteenth session, after enough thematizing had occurred to permit articulation of a third level of thematic structure. Its importance in gathering themes together and clarifying them was apparent. In contrast, the fish tank metaphor occurred in the second session, before the issues of ambivalence were clearly understood. It is possible to imagine this novel metaphor being produced later in therapy and serving to bring together the issues of wanting freedom and of making it impracticable.

The therapist in this case recognized the importance of the prisoner metaphor, working with it at length and repeating it twice more in the twelve ensuing sessions. It is likely that he--and every experienced therapist--is thematizing more or less explicitly. The process of entering into the patient's world requires it in some form. An interesting future study would be to describe the modalities of thematizing reported by therapists and whether or not central issues (viz. the third level of thematic structure) are couched in figurative language. The present study showed the importance of metaphor in clarifying the main point, and there is sufficient theoretical and anecdotal

argument to make it likely and worth investigating. In the case analyzed here the central metaphor was derived from a dream report. There is nothing to suggest that central metaphors have to come from dreams. Dreams and metaphors are both novel events in therapy and the relationship between them is another fruitful area for empirical study.

The role of frozen (or living) figures in therapy is harder to summarize. Reflection on the dimensions of the patient's world permits the clinician to focus on those that are central and problematic. In the therapy analyzed here, the frequency of the metaphors suggested that the participants often chose to focus on an "internal" dimension, keeping things inside and holding back. This was both Ernest's experience and a good fit with the therapist's theoretical orientation. Even the most extreme intrapsychic position, however, has possible interpersonal implications. These implications were apparent in Ernest's concern with having been isolated. The metaphor of "hiding" feelings could suggest the question of "hiding" them from whom. Depending on the answer--from himself or others--the therapist could pursue one course or the other, occasionally suggesting the other dimension might be important. Novel thematic metaphors are striking and apparent; frozen dimensional metaphors do not attract attention and require a special effort to see, despite their greater frequency. Being aware of their importance as the ground out of which particular situations emerge, the therapist can make them the content of the dialogue and thematize them. For instance, in one session Ernest thematized the up/down dimension. At that time the dimension itself was salient. It

had emerged as an issue and came to be emphasized in the figure of "putting them on a pedestal."

One way a therapist participates in the therapeutic dialogue is to draw parallels between situations and to summarize commonalities, i.e. to thematize at a higher hierarchical level. The summaries will often be couched in figurative language. The clinical question is whether the therapist's metaphors are elaborations of a patient's representation of an experience that contribute to the understanding of that experience or whether they are inaccurate representations, proceeding from the therapist's experience rather than from that of the patient. The analysis of this therapy showed that the therapist's suggestions of metaphors to represent Ernest's experience were not uniformly accepted as accurate. The image of "holding himself back" was discussed in the previous chapter. The analysis suggested this figure was an imposition of a theoretical construct on Ernest's experience. Some of Ernest's use of the figure seemed to reflect his compliance although he preferred the figure of "keeping inside." The therapist's suggestion that Ernest was like a "chameleon" was seen as only partially accurate. He wanted to blend in to be accepted but also wanted to stick out and get attention. Other suggestions such as "backsliding," i.e. falling into old patterns of behavior, having a "picture" of himself or someone else, i.e. viewing himself or others in a particular way, having a "rough grading system" for himself and others, or being an "active force" in his own life, i.e. doing what he wanted, were not used by Ernest at all.

In this therapy both metaphors that gathered themes together and those representing the dimensions of his situatedness were produced by Ernest. The one exception is "holding back," which the therapist produced first, but this is not clearly an exception. There is no indication that it supplied Ernest with a representation of his experience that yielded perfect clarity. In the course of therapy it did not obviously become part of the shared language of the participants in which there was clear and smooth agreement of what it meant in Ernest's self-world.

The analysis of this therapy leads to the implication that therapists should be circumspect in their use of metaphors. A metaphor may be suggested, as a representation to be accepted or rejected by the patient. Care must be exercised that metaphors are not insisted upon, like any interpretation, especially those which are so frozen that they do not call attention to themselves. Such imposition is unempathic and may come to hinder the smooth unfolding of dialogue. The intent of dialogue is to arrive at a mutual understanding of the patient's experience, not a lecture about how it is to be understood in light of some theory or other. The therapist, of course, may describe his or her own experience, using figurative language. This may or may not be a productive therapeutic contribution to the dialogue; that is different, however, from defining the patient's experience in terms foreign to it.

The therapist actively contributes to the dialogue and will provide the patient new words in which to understand his or her experience. The analysis of this therapy suggests that the most productive metaphors are those derived from the patient's own language, not

radical alternatives. They will help make the implications of the patient's descriptions explicit and show that he is being listened to and heard. There are, of course, different techniques applicable to different presenting problems. There are times when the therapist must supply information and prescriptions, for instance at times of inarticulate confusion. To the extent, however, that coming to understand oneself and change one's Befindlichkeit rather than a particular situation is the intent, directive interventions are misapplied. The essential element of exploratory therapy is not communicating new information but establishing a relationship that has new possibilities. The therapist must enter into the patient's self-world, which is most easily done by using the patient's words. The therapist's contributions do not consist of telling the patient what he or she is "really" saying. The meaning of an utterance does not lie hidden behind it but in the future of the dialogue. Insisting that the therapist's understanding has priority risks coercing the patient into acceding to that of a stronger, more "correct" reality.

Changes in a figure can manifest misunderstandings. The patient is struggling toward a clear representation of his or her situation. When the therapist's preliminary understanding does not add clarity, it does supply a point that can be reacted to. Ernest wanted to be accepted, but not just by blending in like a chameleon. He also wanted to "stick out" and get attention. The therapist's representation of part of the intention made another part more salient and elicited the emendation. More problematic was the disparity between "holding back," used predominantly by the therapist, and "keeping inside," used

predominantly by Ernest. There were times when the two figures seemed equivalent; there were also times when they represented different experiences. The therapist did not consistently note the in/out dimension and sometimes seemed to be using the "holding back" figure in a manner that did not clarify or even capture Ernest's experience. The therapist's use of this figure may have been motivated by a theoretical formulation of impulse and inhibition. Ernest's use may reflect his tendency toward compliance, manifested with the therapist. Progress in this or any other therapy is not a strait and narrow path, despite Ernest's assumptions. His more frequent use of the "holding back" figure toward the end of the therapy was not unequivocal proof that he had come to understand himself in those terms. All that is clear is that on some occasions the disparity contributed to a slight disruption of the dialogue.

Another sort of change in a figure that was observed served rhetorical purposes. Speaking about his change in attitude from high school, when he wanted lots of friends, to college, where he did not, Ernest said he "swung the other way." The therapist responded that when he swung, he "went over like a pendulum." Making the vehicle of the figure explicit heightened the sense of going from one extreme to another. It was a vivid and economical way for the therapist to comment on the shift Ernest was describing. It brought into focus the importance of Ernest's ambivalence about social activities, as well as reflecting the therapist's sensitivity to the power of figurative language. It also implies a playful quality to dialogue, which does not have to be serious and cerebral all the time. Psychotherapeutic

dialogue does not aim at a strictly intellectual understanding but proceeds also as a Mitsein, a being together. The pleasure of sharing time together as manifested in being caught up in play contributes to the dialogue just as certainly as the hard work of thematizing.

Changes in a figure can also manifest extensions of the figure from one theme to others. Starting and not finishing model building projects, "putting them on the shelf forever," was elaborated later in the theme of needing encouragement and attention. The therapist took this not very striking metaphor, which one rater in Amira's study had to be persuaded of as novel and applied it to a more important set of circumstances involving his pattern of relationships with women. This wider application places the metaphor at a higher level of the thematic structure, raising it from the particular theme of needing encouragement to the more general one of depending on others. The metaphor is not just a heuristic than can be applied from one situation to another. It represents a pattern concisely which unifies the situations. Coming to understand such a pattern then implies how to alter it and thereby contributes one element to the highest level of structure, the possibility of change.

Metaphor is not a heuristic in the sense it is a model that is separate from any particular content to which it can be applied. It is a representation--in Gadamer's sense--of the content, a Darstellung which is the existence of the content at that moment. It is an event that calls for interpretation to decide its meaning. Dating girls only once or twice is "seen as" starting model building projects and "putting them on the shelf forever." The two different situations are

thematized at a higher level by finding the commonality. Not finishing models is not a "scale model" of not pursuing a dating relationship. The understanding of the model building projects, as well as that of dating, is clarified by being thematized. One does not explain the other. Together they form what Ricoeur (1981) called a systematic metaphor. There is more of an interaction among the members of the system (viz. theme) than one serving to explain and depict the other.

The meaning of a scale model or a heuristic is already fixed and is independent of what it is applied to. The meaning of a metaphor is not fixed but is interpreted by how it represents further situations, i.e. what situations are thematized by it. The present study had the advantage of dealing with an entire text and unconstrained access to any part, at any time. The therapist in dialogue does not know what will come and must tolerate considerable ambiguity. There are many utterances whose meaning is not clear, especially early on. Their meaning may or may not become clear by being subsumed into themes later on. Indeed, their meaning exists in the way they are thematized.

Wishing to resolve the ambiguity, the therapist wants to understand immediately. There was an instance in Session 17 where Ernest was discussing being a mirror image of the people around him. He just "spit back" what was given to him. The therapist responded by asking if he had "any thought about your selection of your phrase 'to spit back.'" Ernest answered in terms of things being "pushed" or "forced" on him. The therapist was clearly struck by the early developmental issue of spitting back and intended to make a genetic interpretation if possible. However, the ground had not been laid for that. The history

that Ernest deals with is his adolescence and nothing earlier. The therapist was uncharacteristically heavy handed in trying to wrench a particular phrase into a theoretical model. At this point early history was not available for thematizing. Ernest proceeded to discuss maturation in terms of "getting away from" peer pressure and "learning to survive" without Michael. That was the issue at that moment and the therapist was seduced by a hidden theoretical meaning in a single phrase.

In other cases, of course, there will be early history available to the dialogue to be thematized. Indeed the full understanding of an issue requires including its genetic origins. The point is that psychoanalytic theory cannot be imposed without the dialogue degenerating into a lecture. Each patient must discover the meaning of early events and how they produced the current situation for him or herself. Ricoeur's description is apropos: "The hermeneutic of self-understanding takes the detour of causal explanation" (1981, pg. 264). It is, however, a detour for causation itself is just one way among many--and not a necessary one--to understand. It is also clear that "narrative history" (Spence, 1982), or as is used here, thematizing, is the issue, not unearthing old events objectively. By appropriating early stages of the theme, Ernest keeping feelings inside at age 3 for example, the theme could acquire greater articulation and richness in understanding its intent. Knowing why keeping things inside was a good choice early in life emphasizes that it was a choice and one that need not be perpetuated.

The analysis of this case yields four ways for a therapist to attend specifically to figurative language.

1. A novel metaphor may occur which encapsulates a number of themes. It becomes an important element of the shared language of the dialogue and is explicated by incorporating other situations and themes into it;

2. Frozen metaphors represent the structural dimensions of the patient's self-world which can be thematized;

3. Making the vehicle explicit can make a figure more pointed and striking;

4. A metaphor from one theme can be applied to another, thematizing both together.

The present analysis also suggests that metaphors which make the greatest contribution to the therapeutic dialogue are produced by the patient. The therapist may disrupt the process by introducing figures which are inaccurate representations of the patient's experiential basis. Asking for an explication of a figure or for associations to it probably elicits formal, intellectualized reflection. The process of explication proceeds by thematizing, not by paraphrasing.

The comparison of the thematic and dimensional metaphors that emerged from this analysis of the entire text with the novel metaphors identified by outside raters showed three things:

1. Important novel metaphors can be identified by Barlow's procedure but they are not distinguished from those that make little or no contribution to the therapy;

2. The recurrence of novel metaphors is not a distinguishing characteristic. Thematic metaphors did not recur much and some recurrent novel metaphors were not very important to the thematic structure;

3. Frozen figures present the "necessary" aspects of Ernest's world. They represent orientational, structural, and ontological Gestalts (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Such figures are not striking and may be overlooked. Explicitly thematizing them is productive, because they represent static or mechanical aspects of the patient's situation.

Therapy is not just a cognitive enterprise and the understanding it fosters is not just a reflected awareness of objective facts. The process of thematizing aims at a clear and striking representation of the central issues bringing the patient to therapy. Thematizing is a mutual effort to which therapist and patient both contribute. The thematic understanding achieved at any one point of therapy is tentative and provisional. The process continues to include more and more different situations within the therapy and without. The participants come to share a world by appropriating each other's understandings; their horizons fuse. The patient especially benefits by coming to understand what is possible and what is not, what is necessary and what is open to an effort of will, in the therapist's world. The therapist, of course, also does not remained unchanged. The new understanding is a new representation of the patient's being, involving not only cognition but also affect and activity. Projects which had been painful and in vain, but seemed necessary, can be given up. Choice and will gain greater latitude. Cognitive insight by itself is not therapeutic. What Freud called working through can be described in hermeneutic terms

as the slow and arduous process of appropriating new projects and mourning the impossibility of others. The new projects emerge as possibilities through entering into the therapist's world. A maturer, better understood, and more realizable Mitsein becomes possible.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

METAPHORS WITHIN THEMES

1. LEVEL III: DOING WHAT OTHERS WANT

Level II: Being Accepted

Not Expressing Himself

8: T: expressing yourself more, then there's some inclination to backslide [x2] at this point
10: T: for fear you might put your foot in it
16: agree with them and they'll think highly of me
16: T: submerged your own feelings
16: T: the price you would have to pay
16: T: equate disagreement with being disliked
16: T: submerge yourself and what you wanted
17: if something was said that didn't fit into the mold, it was looked down upon
18: a reflection of other people's opinions [x2]
19: T: keep yourself blended in

Peer Pressure

13: everything is done by peer vote
16: a certain mold you have to be in
16: T: a very high level of conformity
16: one crazy thing that stuck with me
16: be cool
16: be in
16: definitely out
16: looked at as scum
16: in-group [x3]
16: everybody else was outsiders
16: not any peer pressure, except what you wanted to put on yourself
17: things pushed on me
17: I simply grinned and beared it
19: every little thing always mattered
19: every little thing was looked at or picked apart

Parents' Expectations

3: I'll put on the happiness [when they call] [x2]
19: if I'm not particularly effervescent

Expressing Himself with Negative Consequences

6: off my guard [and got into a fight with his sister]
6: ranting and raving [at sister]
6: crack up [from being angry]
6: T: cracking up
6: T: anger would spill out
6: spill out
19: backtrack, trying to readjust my opinion
25: nothing that people could hold against me
25: open myself up for criticism

Not Being Himself

6: putting on somewhat of an act
6: put on some sort of a front
6: T: he didn't see the inside of the package
6: I can hide the tension
7: T: go to special lengths [to be accepted]
7: confused. . . . Where was I, because I was always on my guard
7: not letting myself come out
7: stymied my own personality
7: I felt inside that something was wrong
7: being somebody else, depending on what I thought the person thought I should be like [x2]
7: you don't realize who you are
7: T: lost sight of where you were
7: T: a chameleon-like process
7: T: you lose sight of where you are
8: I wasn't really being myself
9: being something you're not
9: T: staying on the stage forever
9: I was never totally myself
9: T: playing a part
10: putting on a act
10: didn't establish myself
10: if I had been myself
15: become less and less myself
15: T: if you come up to the situation cold, then you begin to perform
16: put on a show
16: T: twist yourself and your life to suit [Betty]
17: T: you're called on to perform
17: people didn't regard me very highly

17: like the mirror image of the people around me
17: T: you weren't being yourself
17: I spit back what was given to me
17: T: any thought about your phrase "spit back"
17: like a split personality, but that I forced upon myself
17: T: like a chameleon
17: T: fit in with the environment
17: T: blend in
17: T: not stand out
17: T: those about you wouldn't see something
17: go the opposite way
17: stick out totally or totally blend in
17: T: you stuck out totally
17: T: clowning
17: T: not being yourself
17: T: what you weren't putting on the line was yourself
17: I never was myself
18: my values had been a reflection of the people around me
19: lost a lot of my identity
20: I was changing personalities
20: didn't know who I was
20: T: you carried this kind of picture into your situation with other people
20: T: it meant foregoing being yourself
20: T: being what others wanted rather than what you were
20: T: it carried over
20: T: that was the next step
23: my pride was hurt
23: gave so much of myself

Level II: Being Rejected

Losing Friends

1: I might sit around and might not meet too many people
1: being stranded
1: he ended up walking out
1: [the relationship with Betty] broke up
1: the relationship severed
1: that left me out in the cold
1: the little group of friends] just scattering away
7: I got tossed out [of the in-group]
8: being stranded
8: left just standing there
10: he went off in a different direction
10: [friends] turned against me
10: kicked out [of the in-group]
10: I didn't have a friend in the world
10: T: a fear of being pushed off

10: T: that is a strong force
11: T: [your parents] might push you aside
11: [Betty and I] broke up
16: my friends turned against me [x2]
19: T: if you step this way or that just a little too far, or even a matter of inches
19: saying one wrong thing or having one wrong opinion would blow the whole thing
19: T: you had very little leeway
19: T: toe the line or stick so exactly to expected behavior
23: be like a second thought

Feeling Insecure, Humiliated, and Vulnerable

8: T: kind of unprotected
8: T: you let yourself open [x2]
8: it's hard to picture myself going out into the world
9: this defensive mechanism to protect myself [from being rejected]
9: T: you steel yourself against it
9: if somebody looked at it from the outside, they'd say, "You don't have anything to worry about."
10: I carried this insecurity over with me
10: the high point of my insecurity
10: people who used to pick on me
13: [junior high] was absolutely my worst insecure years
13: learned to hide [my insecurities] better
14: some fault in me
14: pick up on little things
16: it really hurt
16: this kept going on and on and on
16: it upset me, but I fought it back
16: T: they really got to you
16: [making fun of others] eventually turned against me
16: T: well designed to take away from your own security
25: a lowly opinion of myself

Level II: Depending on Others

18: T: look for clues
18: nobody branches out
18: nobody in between
18: there wasn't anybody there for me to latch onto [x2]
18: T: be a bridge
18: T: that kind of pattern to follow
18: I drifted toward the people I knew
20: didn't have anybody guiding me along
20: there weren't people around me
20: a limited environment

Needs Encouragement and Attention

7: it almost stops me, if the girl doesn't [encourage]
7: if [parents] don't show an interest, I feel let down
10: that carried all the way into freshman year
11: nobody to look over my shoulder
11: T: prod you [x2]
11: T: external praise
11: feedback [x6] (get more, positive, constant)
11: T: spurs you on [x2]
11: [a teacher] was always pushing me along and helping me along
11: if I [got a response from Betty], I was floating on cloud nine
14: T: external bolstering or fortification
14: T: it rubs off on you
14: I put more value on other people's feelings
20: a very limited environment

Motivation Does Not Last

14: slough off everything
14: I see myself slipping
14: end [the semester] on a down note
14: fall apart
22: I've blown off all the work [x2]
22: T: you'd let down?
22: throw my arms up
22: on the borderline [of giving up]
22: sense that feeling coming on
24: T: start out in high gear
24: T: fizzling out
24: start out big [x2]
24: fizzled away
24: interest dies down
24: I never follow it through

Wanting Praise

11: T: the pay-offs were for not doing as well
11: constantly looking for praise

Depends on Others to Decide

18: If I did make a decision, there was always somebody there backing me
18: I was dragged into [joining a fraternity]
20: still looking towards my friends in high school
20: in my mind I looked for, I looked to them for guidance

20: down underneath I came here hoping to find some answers
20: to find some direction
24: be guided in the right way [x2]
24: find the right way
25: I wanted to see a path to follow
25: Everything was picked up from somebody else

Losing Confidence

2: they really knocked me down [academically, as a freshman]
2: all of the wind knocked out of me ["]
19: T: you were belittling yourself and the thing that runs through the center of this
19: T: operate from a base where you had value placed on yourself
19: T: When something came easily, you would write it off.
19: T: write yourself off
19: T: a rough grading system [x2]
19: T: running through this
19: T: some further look into yourself
19: T: how you would appraise yourself
19: T: so tough in your evaluation [x2]
19: T: a picture you have of yourself
20: when I came here, I was on top of the world
20: hard-nosed professors
20: knock my confidence down
20: shot way down
20: build it up again
23: the whole world revolved around me [x5]
23: [this attitude] carried over from childhood
23: children feel the whole world is out there for them
23: the center of the universe [x2]
23: T: a blow to your pride?
23: didn't know how to handle myself
23: being totally insignificant [x2]
23: T: you went from one extreme to the other
23: a tremendous blow to my confidence
23: insignificant in other people's eyes
23: one of the brightest
23: stuck in these huge classes
23: nobody here knows whether you're alive or not
23: an insignificant part of [the world]

Level II: Others are Above Him

7: someone standing over me saying, "Do this"
7: look up to your parents
11: [sister] started out at a constant level

11: I started out below her
11: ended up above her
14: T: tear [a date] down
14: females somewhat above me
14: put myself somewhat below them
17: place [certain people] in a category above me
17: [girls] who I've placed above me
17: place her above me
17: T: has to do with the image or the picture you have of the woman beforehand
17: people I've had up on a pedestal
17: T: up on a pedestal
17: Michael was certainly on a pedestal
17: [Michael] is still up there, but he has come down a ways
17: teachers who I've put up there
17: used to have my coach up there
17: any girl I've been involved with has always been up on a pedestal
17: these people who I put up there
23: the people I looked up to
23: very free-spirited people

Compares Himself to Others Negatively

2: you can picture yourself as one of the lower characters [in The Fountainhead]
4: pull myself up by being with these people, not hanging on to them, but trying to build myself up to what they are
4: reach the same level
7: other people that I, in my own mind, place above me
9: I'll start comparing and find something which disqualifies me
9: I can never quite get there
9: I belittle myself
11: T: sell yourself short
17: try to bring myself up to their level
17: look down upon myself
17: [parents] always tried to build me up

Wanting to Please Others

7: T: it starts with your parents, but then spreads out to other people
7: T: shaping yourself to other people
7: I was still playing the game of being accepted

9: under pressure to give the proper impression
9: T: under the pressure to make an impression
10: T: insure staying in their love
17: be up to what I think her expectations are
17: always catering to their needs

Impress Those Above

9: T: afraid you won't measure up
15: it's gone from a feeling of being friendly to a feeling of I have to impress this person
15: T: it goes from being casual to being serious
15: T: you don't do the sliding easily
15: T: working so hard on proving something
16: played up more to [Michael] than anyone else

Emulated Michael

4: T: a copy of someone else
9: lived in the shadow of Michael
9: I took on his attitudes and never established myself
9: I substituted one all-knowing figure for another
11: I had him placed above me
16: in [Michael's] good graces
16: my goal was to be like him
16: T: modeling yourself after him
16: model myself after him
16: he was a grade behind me
17: Michael was like a security blanket for me
17: T: If you just went along, no chance was being taken.
17: T: brought him here with you
19: being Michael's sidekick
19: Michael was somewhat of an authoritarian figure
19: he kind of like replaced my parents

Others Judge Him

7: he doesn't look at me in the same light
9: I belittled myself in other people's eyes
12: always be condemned for [speaking out in class]
12: [high school teachers] still looked down on [speaking out in class]
14: T: others will measure you
14: they look at me and see the negative aspects
17: what gets me uptight
17: [a mistake] is going to stick in people's minds
17: T: people are going to look for the negative thing that they can latch onto

17: T: they're going to look down on you
17: not look upon me very kindly
17: meet up with their expectations
17: if something was said that didn't fit into the mold, it was looked down upon

Intimidated by Competition

9: a male dominated field
9: I have to be this much above everybody else [in order to compete]
14: big husky football player types
15: trying to hold somebody's attention
15: no longer is her attention directed towards me
15: T: steer away from competition

Idealizes Others

2: [great-grandfather had] lots of life
2: ["] died without a penny
2: ["] a crazy person
2: ["] get a kick out of everything
10: idolize [an uncle] [x2]
17: a lot of the time [idealization] is all in my mind
17: I see her performing
17: I get a mental picture of what she's like
17: I look at myself as being far from perfect
17: I'll view other people as being pretty nearly perfect, from a distance

Intolerant of Others

5: let [roommate] see the light . . . the true way
14: be extremely picky
14: looking for something in a girl not to like
14: picking out faults
14: overbearing in my mind
14: bringing them down to my level
17: they just sort of fall off [the pedestal]
19: If I pictured somebody in a certain way and they said something that blew that picture, I would make notice of it in my mind, so it was a two way thing.
20: I looked down on a lot of things

Level II: Others Decide for Him

1: Other people have the upper hand on him
1: going against their grain
3: I got dragged into it
3: he dragged me down there
13: I got dragged into joining
24: everything I've ever done has always been planned out

Parents Run His Life

1: my parents are still trying to run my life
1: [parents] rule by guilt
1: I never did anything wrong
2: they help me along and push me along
2: badgering me
3: they are pushing me
3: T: something they've charted out for you
3: T: outside forces that just pull you backwards
7: my parents showed an interest and pushed me along
7: T: you went by their values more than what you felt inside yourself
7: I have this feeling inside of me that they must approve
7: I can't talk with them, which is another step [forward]. It still doesn't get over the step of knowing they approve
8: treating me like a child
8: treating me like somebody who is not yet ready to take on the world
8: shape me or mold me
8: T: resentment's too tepid a word
8: not a matter of revolting [sic] against them
8: [my mother] constantly wants to hang on
8: T: holding on to you
10: my mother keeps dropping hints
10: T: a game they play [being indirect]
11: [parents] prodded and pushed me along
11: they were always pushing me along
11: the pushing along by my parents
11: got pushed along
12: I was really hooked on home [x2]
12: mother trying to run my social life
12: too stifling [to live at home]
12: they never pushed me
14: my parents would pressure me
17: my parents always tried to push me along and give me lots of confidence in myself
18: if they weren't enthusiastic, I would play it down
19: my mother constantly prying [x2]
19: be swayed by my parents
20: T: you have a picture of them
20: T: the pattern you're describing
20: I got a whole spiel
20: tried to mold me
20: T: be malleable
24: an added pressure is my parents

Others Sway His Opinion

9: I'll let my opinion be swayed

Level II: Future

Has a Feeling of Fate

17: this feeling of doom hanging over me
18: an instinctive feeling of fate
18: I really didn't have anything to do with my course of life
18: waiting around for fate to pick me up and to drag me along
18: T: some external force
18: T: determining your own course
18: T: like a leaf in the breeze
18: I assumed that was the way life was going to be
18: sit and do nothing all my life
18: just sit and wait for something to come along
20: looking towards the future
20: T: look ahead to the future
20: T: go back to the past
20: go back

Expects the Future to be Bad

23: follow a path of moderation
23: this straight and narrow path
23: a middle road through life
23: no great ups or downs
23: had your path laid out in front of you
24: T: looking to the past
24: T: this reflects how you feel
24: look to the past [x4]
24: look to the future [x2]
24: T: look towards the future
24: just one right course that's going to lead to my eventual happiness
24: T: no leeway
24: T: a lot of pressure
24: T: no margin for error
24: T: only one right course
24: seeing what courses other people are following might help me
24: I view being old and miserable as being worse than being young and miserable.
24: T: you picture it as having more strength to face anything that's miserable
24: a road I can follow that will guarantee to me that I won't [be miserable]

24: T: playing it very safe
24: looking for a sure bet
24: I can follow this road and I know I'll be happy
24: take wild chances
24: sat down and concentrated
24: everything has to be planned out
24: all the options have to be looked at
24: T: where does that pressure come from?
24: I say to myself, "I don't want to be like that when I grow older."
24: all of a sudden the other guy was myself
24: lay out all my options
24: T: play it so safe
24: T: one perfect school, one perfect woman, one perfect job
24: T: doesn't give you much leeway
24: T: put you under much added pressure
24: sit down and figure something out
24: go in the right direction

2. LEVEL III: DOING WHAT HE WANTS

13: T: Where is this hole in the fence and what is it?
13: T: there is a way out for you
13: broken away
13: T: the way through the fence

Level II: Asserting Himself

Asserting Himself

1: [father] a strong person
3: T: like a sit-down strike
6: stand up
8: I can survive
8: it changed things on both ends by deciding not to compromise myself
8: be out on my own
8: prove I have the capability of surviving
8: it's time to cut the cord
8: get away with more
9: if other people don't like you, tough
9: T: stand for what you believe in
9: T: letting the chips fall where they may
10: I squelched the guilt feelings
10: T: not have the guilt feelings tip the scale
13: glad that I stood up for myself [x2]
13: she's playing a game
19: push myself forward

23: get up and say something
23: I view that as standing up for myself [x3]

Expressing Himself with Positive Consequences

3: I turned into the class clown
5: let down all the defensive mechanisms
5: relieve all my mechanisms
5: totally open up
6: that [feeling] pretty well comes out
6: let all emotion out
6: T: being more direct
6: being more direct
6: let myself go
8: let my own feelings come out
8: let a lot of things out
9: bring my own feelings to the surface
10: [intellectual debate] provided a good confidence builder
10: [intellectual debate] provided a good outlet
12: this hang-over from high school [not speaking out]
12: there is room to express yourself [in college classes]
12: T: you faced up to something and expressed yourself
12: I'm starting to get back into [class participation]
14: speak out [x4]
14: say what was on my mind
14: get back in the swing of things . . . feeling freer to speak out
16: I'd fight [the reaction of not expressing himself] back
21: not being bubbly and happy
21: to counterbalance that . . . wild arguments with one teacher
21: the teachers went on the defensive
21: being like the Devil's Advocate
24: one thing that helped a bit was to get [my thoughts] out

Making an Effort

2: push on
4: push myself [x2]
4: T: manage the tough things
5: dive into something
5: fight that tendency [to stop working at end of semester]
7: T: you kind of press [to be accepted]
14: push myself
20: extending yourself
21: T: mobilize yourself
22: psyched myself up
22: going out with a bang rather than a whimper
22: outline in my head what I have to do
22: ration my time well
22: psyche myself up

22: T: over the long pull might be worthwhile
22: sitting down and memorizing [x2]
22: finally dawned on me [x2]
23: dead tired
24: fight [the tendency to do nothing] back
24: break my inertia
24: psyche myself up

Being Spontaneous

2: I went [into the relationship with Betty] with the attitude, "Ha, ha, ha."
19: T: take a chance on yourself
21: what do you have to lose? [x2]
21: kidding around
21: she'll just tell you to get lost
24: exercise my ability to do things spontaneously
25: the kids had a rather low threshold [of violence]
25: I got totally cremated
25: I always managed to survive
25: sitting there trying to talk my way out of a fight
25: just let go and slug me
25: let yourself go
25: release all your energy
25: T: something really mobilized you
25: a total gut reaction
25: all of my adrenaline had to start flowing
25: T: get mobilized [x3]

Being Honest

6: being open and honest [x2]
11: more open

Being Himself

4: let other people know that I actually exist
7: the real me
7: T: the real you
8: T: being yourself
9: T: if you were just yourself
11: more honest and a lot more myself
11: be myself
14: they already knew who I was
15: T: if you can be yourself and slide into things
16: not put on a show
16: be totally myself
17: I can be completely natural

19: establish myself as my own entity
19: I can be myself
20: T: underneath you were hoping to find some way so that you could get to be more yourself and feel more free and more your own person
20: T: being comfortable with yourself and the willingness to be yourself
20: being myself
20: constantly be myself

Deciding for Himself

1: I'd like to be mobile. [x2]
2: set a goal for myself and go towards it
2: pulling up and going away
2: living like vagabonds
3: T: a mind of your own
4: I build up these adventuresome fantasies
7: I knew something was wrong with [parents'] choice [of career], inside of me
7: a big step forward, because I chose a profession
10: stick with what I plan
12: I've gone the other way
14: I saw [the summer job] as the way out
14: T: like a hole through the fence
14: there were other holes
14: I'll not have any pressure [from my parents]
14: [the summer job is] the easiest way out
16: no longer be under their roof
18: reaching the point where I'm able to make decision
19: I had to find something else to do, so surprisingly enough, I did.
22: T: build on it as you would choose
22: an exposure to [the problem] in awareness
22: [being told what to do] colored my view toward psychiatrists
24: If it went against what my parents wanted, I don't think it would cause any major catastrophe.

Feeling More Secure

19: T: not care so much if you went a little this way or that way
19: T: wouldn't have to hold yourself to such a narrow line

Motivated by Academic Competition and Challenge

1: T: something that would test you
5: take it to the end
5: seeing things through to the end

9: bring myself up to their level
9: get up to his level
9: right up there
9: within the top
9: no longer in the top
9: the top 10%
9: I should set goals and continue to grow [x2]
11: catch up with everybody
11: T: catch up
11: I started gobbling up everything I could get my hands on [reading]
11: I caught up

3. LEVEL III: CONFLICT AND POSSIBILITY OF CHANGE

Level II: Conflict Within Himself

1: [Conflict with parents makes for] conflict within me
3: an interesting conflict; fighting it one way, leaning towards it in the other
3: struggling with self-assertion
3: T: an old struggle [x2]
10: T: the struggle between [expressing yourself and wanting to please]
10: T: some shift in that balance toward expressing yourself
10: T: not quite reached where you would like to be
12: T: something you hadn't come to grips with
13: T: come to grips
13: T: that's where the struggle wages
15: T: you run between these two
19: a struggle within me
19: on one side of the coin - on the other hand
23: conflict within me
23: on one hand - on the other
23: T: your pride wins out
23: my pride wins out
24: talking to my parents, I still have mixed emotions

Belonging to the Group vs. Being an Individual

1: a very close group of friends
20: down underneath I wanted to make a lot of friends, and yet I went almost a totally opposite direction
20: T: a question of balance, of self-reliance on the one hand, involvement on the other
21: I'd like to feel I'm a part of something. When I came here, I went against that feeling.

21: I knew I wanted to be a part of something down underneath, but outside I was saying to other people and to myself that I'm an individual.
21: T: going through some struggle between being an individual or being blended in as a member of the group
21: look more towards being a part of something and still remaining an individual

Wants to Belong ±Cf. Peer Pressure'

12: close friends
12: the grass is always greener on the other side
21: become a part of something
21: part of a crowd or a movement
21: a common bond between people
22: becoming a part of it
23: everybody was there with you

Wants to be Involved

1: every time I'd start dating someone, I'd immediately want to get involved
1: both families were really close
1: T: a very close situation
2: a close group of friends
2: gave everything I had to that situation
15: T: seeking deeper involvement
15: T: one to one kind of involvement

Wants to be an Individual, Alone

4: hide out [hang gliding]
4: can't see two inches in front of your nose [spelunking]
4: even if you are there with people, you are there by yourself
13: T: you work and struggle to develop your own [values]
20: I preached that it's a weak person that can't solve their own problems
20: not to the point of becoming a hermit
20: I went the opposite way
24: not tied down at all

Level II: Conflict in the Family

1: [the conflict] has not really come to the surface
1: [He and sister are not] close to each other
1: [he and sister have] never been close

1: if I go against the grain [of his parents]
2: [my father] always picks me out
2: T: [their call] stirred you up
4: my grandmother doesn't have money flowing out of her ears
4: her friends pushed [grandmother] into [conflict with grandfather]
4: she was pushed into it
4: everyone in the family was forced to take sides
4: I'm placed on my grandfather's side
10: we took the side of my grandfather
12: [father and grandfather] hit head-on
12: we constantly go back and forth

Level II: Whose Fault?

Blames Others for His Situation

3: the feelings [parents] placed within me
3: implanting this guilt within me
6: the values that had been placed in me [by parents]
6: T: [parents] didn't hold you in . . . you were holding yourself in
6: they didn't explicitly hold me in, but . . .
6: they were the ones who gave me these attitudes
6: T: they got the message across
6: T: they kept you in
10: I was stopped [by guilt]
13: I'm being held prisoner [by the fences]
13: T: you put [your parents] in that role [of holding him prisoner]
13: T: you picture them in that role
14: T: your family was holding on to you [x2]
14: T: you aren't free
14: T: you wouldn't get more involved outside
14: the feelings of being held back
15: putting the blame on the other people
15: adapt the attitudes of the people I was with
15: the attitudes I adapted to
18: I looked at [parents] as my reason for holding me back
20: who am I to say stop giving me everything?
24: [parents] a threat to my freedom
24: I view them as being the last thing that can hold me back
24: T: saying your parents held on to you
25: T: like if there were a groove and you get pushed along in it
25: Everything was picked up from somebody else

His Situation is His Own Fault

13: I'm my own prisoner and not necessarily [parents']
13: T: You're really your own prisoner
14: T: you might be the one who is holding back
17: like a split personality, but that I forced upon myself
18: I turned up my nose at them
18: I want to kick myself
18: I had tunnel vision
20: T: it was a two-way street
20: I had no idea what was out ahead of me
20: T: you hadn't really looked at
20: T: forces going in different directions
24: [parents] are the last excuse I have to hold myself back [x2]
24: T: like the prison dream
24: T: instead of seeing it as something between you and someone else, you saw it as something within yourself
24: T: You place the same demands on yourself to be happy that you have always pictured your folks placing on you, so it sounds like you have taken on their attitude about that.
25: T: hesitancy about taking on responsibility

Level II: Holds Himself Back

Holding Back

1: keep this tension inside
1: [father] just blew up [from tension]
2: After hemming and hawing, I told [father] some things
2: T: stay away from being vulnerable
2: T: If you open yourself up, you may be hurt
2: T: holding you off at a distance
2: T: back away
2: T: put them on the shelf
3: T: feel like you're trapped
3: T: you've held back
3: T: holding yourself back
3: T: sour grapes
3: keeping everything inside of myself
5: T: a preconception that stands in the way of doing something
5: T: you don't see them all the way through
5: T: You would start in but wouldn't go to the end with it
5: T: You hold back from going further
5: not hold back anything
5: not seeing things through to the end
6: T: you kept [the tension] inside
6: T: you kept yourself held in . . . at some internal expense
6: T: you were less held in, more direct
6: not all emotion is kept inside

6: what I hold inside
6: keep [anger] inside of myself
6: keeping all this inside [x6]
6: not being as open and honest [x2]
7: a block on my part keeping me from becoming friends with others
7: T: holding back on things that are important [to be accepted]
7: T: you hold back and go another way
8: keeping [anger] inside of me
8: keep it all inside
8: T: cut off your awareness of feeling a certain way
10: T: veer away from what you wanted to do
10: actions were squelched by guilt
10: T: you buried your wish to be yourself
10: I tend to be somewhat indirect [x2]
10: T: you hold yourself in
10: T: play it safe
10: keep everything inside
10: kept a lot inside
11: I hold back my enthusiasm as I hold back my anger 11: it's a defensive thing
11: the things I hold back were a result of guilt or the need to be accepted
12: T: not expressing yourself directly
12: T: not facing up to your feelings directly [x2]
12: I wouldn't admit to myself
12: like I almost forgot how [to express myself]
12: I totally lost contact with the idea of class participation
13: can't have a totally free, no-strings-attached daydream
13: can't do something right off the bat
13: I've taken the opposite attitude of being felt locked up
13: T: you picture yourself locked up
13: T: you picture yourself as a prisoner
13: T: picture yourself being trapped behind barbed wire
13: T: picture yourself being captured
13: T: picturing yourself caught or trapped, held in.
13: I would be happier if I could slough [failure] off
15: T: if you hold back and keep things cool, things come off all right
15: T: you become all tied up
16: hide [my feelings]
16: inside I felt [not to express himself]
17: keeping my feelings inside
17: T: what were you afraid would come out?
18: hold myself in
18: I close myself up
18: play it down
19: down underneath I thought
19: let my true feelings come out
20: I had a very narrow scope
20: a very narrow view

20: I hid myself away
20: I never came into contact with the other half
20: T: you judged it by too small a sample and then retreated
21: trying to hide what I was
21: I'm always holding myself back from any sort of challenge
21: I couldn't take my own advice
21: I shy away from it
21: T: you back off
21: T: you hold back
21: T: steer away from
21: T: hold back
21: T: not get anywhere
22: I knew inward, but I never admitted to myself
22: kept pushing it back
22: I was never honest with myself [x2]
22: I was allergic to everything
22: T: become allergic to things you don't like
22: as long as I stayed on my freshman hall or in my room, I was safe
23: kept things inside
23: holding it inside
23: swallow my pride and keep my mouth shut
23: T: keep your mouth shut
23: T: that's where your pride comes in
23: squelch it all
23: keep it inside [x3]
23: T: what you might let out
23: letting it all out [x2]
23: let myself go [x2]
23: T: let yourself go
23: I was like a snail
23: closed in upon myself
23: crawled back into my shell
23: T: keep a shell
23: T: protects from outside and from within
23: T: keeps the things inside
23: T: there's a price
23: crawling back out of the shell
23: T: You've been playing it safe, but underneath that isn't the way you want to be
25: something was stopping me
25: as if I'm scared of the world out there
25: T: a fear that comes up
25: T: hold back
25: T: a fear that would hold you back
25: as if I was afraid to make things happen

<u>On Guard</u>

2: uptight
6: T: less guarded

6: uptight
6: off my guard
7: very much on guard [x6]
9: uptight [x4]
9: T: under pressure [x2]
9: on my guard
10: uptight
10: T: on guard [x2]
10: T: being vigilant that nothing wrong comes out
10: T: anxiety is like a signal
10: T: anxiety is like a bell going off
10: T: something might come out
12: not expressing myself . . . on guard to say the right thing
14: still on my guard
14: keep up the front [x2]
15: uptight
17: constantly be on your guard
19: T: constantly walking on eggshells

Not Getting Involved

2: T: If you don't get enough encouragement, you might be inclined to back away or put [the relationship] on the shelf
9: if you don't keep yourself occupied, you make up things.
T: Magic?
11: I was very inward and always thinking about things

Feeling Guilty

10: I owe it to my parents
10: T: a feeling of indebtedness
10: I still don't have a clear conscience
18: I don't have anything fantastic to tell them
18: T: you're letting them down?
19: T: some reflection on your parents
19: T: reflecting badly on them
22: it's terrible living with myself

Rationalizes Himself into Inaction

7: I would rationalize. At the time I thought this was what I felt inside myself
7: I rationalized my way out of it
7: you can't rationalize your way into or out of [certain things]
10: T: you sell yourself
13: a chance to meet a new face
13: a split-second decision and I usually don't
13: sit there thinking [x2]

15: rationalize my way out [x2]
19: driven in the ground and buried over
19: one little mistake could blow the whole thing
20: rationalize my way out of it
21: falling into this pattern
21: rationalizing my way around it
21: rationalized my way out of it
21: my consciousness always gets in there and starts the same pattern of thought
21: sitting home all summer
21: give myself too much leeway
24: rationalize my way into deciding that I don't want to go out into the world and I want to sit and vegetate.
25: think my way out of it
25: T: rationalize your way out of it

Avoids Conflict

1: simply let things go by
1: won't stand up for myself
1: staying away from conflict
1: I just shake my head and say "Yes."
19: let things slide by [x2]

Conversation is Difficult

1: I shy away from certain [social] situations.
1: sitting down and staring into the crowd
2: not listening to a single word they're saying [x2]
2: one-sided conversation [x2]
2: T: one-sided conversation
18: pull things out of mid-air to talk about
18: chit-chatting with somebody
18: T: small talk

Not Making an Effort

1: dropped the course
1: T: get up a head of steam
1: I just want to get out of here
1: I was allergic to everything
5: I look to the outside world and see it as somewhat mundane
9: I'm sort of lazy about [dating a girl more than once]
9: my outside contact [with girls] is limited
13: sitting down and letting the world go by
14: going out on a limb and maybe falling off
14: if it doesn't look like I'm making an effort, then if I fail, I haven't sacrificed anything

18: I drifted toward the other people I knew
21: sit here and watch the world the world go by
21: the same situation as this weekend, but on a different scale
22: take the easy way out
22: find short cuts [x2]
22: finding some way around something
22: keep moving around
23: take the easier road
23: sit there and do nothing
24: fallen into that pattern [of doing nothing]
24: T: slide into the easier ways
24: sit around and think

Too Late to Change

20: that's stopped me
20: not going out and meeting people
20: I'm going to start fresh and new
20: like a fifth wheel

Always Tense

1: build up a lot of tension [x2]
6: the artwork is a reflection of my tension
6: the tension could be reflected in the things I like
6: my stomach was being tied up in knots
6: the tension mostly comes out in pains in my stomach
6: it used to come out [in twitches]
12: great pressures upon me
12: T: [quasi-sleepwalking] an automatic thing
12: under pressure to perform
12: [at the weekend] this great burden was lifted off my shoulder
12: everything would be piled on
16: under pressure [x3]
16: my nerves get on end
16: little things started to get on my nerves
16: problems thinking straight
17: the pressure relieved off me
17: feeling a bit more pressured
19: tension builds up
19: T: tie yourself up in knots
19: never had a relationship that hasn't been filled with tension and anxiety
21: let all the tension out
21: counterbalance my overcautiousness [x2]

Level II: Ambivalence

2: you can't lug a forty gallon fish tank around [if living like a vagabond]
18: at a total loss
18: couldn't make a decision as to where to go from here
19: approaching another big decision
19: on the one hand - on the other hand
21: I'm having trouble pinpointing it or getting a grasp on it

Level II: New Attitude

16: T: you no longer feel like you're trapped
17: their expectations or my expectations or something in between
17: that forced me to go off on my own
17: I started to get away from that
17: about time I learned to survive on my own
17: T: moving more toward expressing yourself and being yourself
18: I came to a not so startling revelation
18: T: you have taken a fresh look
18: T: the picture you had isn't quite the way it is
18: T: you have a role in your own destiny
18: take ahold of my life
18: start leading [my life] in some sort of direction
19: I got it out of my system
19: I wasn't as uptight
19: things would probably just come naturally
19: T: if you didn't press so hard
20: like a repeat of my education before college
20: it clicked and I started to do well
20: down underneath you might not believe it
20: T: pushing yourself
20: T: get from point A to point B without any time elapsing
20: be in the position I want to be in at this point
20: T: some particular point you see yourself getting to
20: looking back
20: down underneath I knew I wasn't happy [x2]
20: T: you complained about not having moved faster
20: T: ready for this next step
20: I've always been somewhat slow
20: at some point
20: it's not nice to look back
20: T: how much further ahead you'd be now
22: going the other way now
22: it's all a state of mind
22: T: a different kind of investment
22: T: picked up an interest
22: T: change that pattern

22: T: your focus
22: T: you've stepped back and taken another view
22: T: this change spreads out from schoolwork to other fields
23: I'm swinging back the other way
23: a tempered view
23: hanging on to a little bit so I can survive
23: T: that pendulum swing
23: now I can express my feelings more openly
24: completely opposite from the way things used to be
24: T: gotten out of that pattern
24: T: some inclination to slide back [into old attitude]
25: looking at it more objectively
25: things I wouldn't admit to myself [x2]
25: break out of the patterns I've developed

Thinking More of Himself

22: I never showed myself any respect
25: it's my life

Changing the Way He Gets Involved with Others

7: T: two-way? [others have the responsibility to stay in touch also]
7: it's a two-way street [x2]
7: growing away [from being somebody else, to be accepted]
7: T: moving in a particular direction [toward less insecurity]
15: a casual atmosphere
15: become friendly with girls and then gradually slide into things
16: see [Betty] in a different light
16: T: see yourself in a different light
16: I view our relationship as . . .
16: see [the relationship] in that light
16: that will be the really big test [expressing his feelings to Michael]
17: meet somebody on neutral territory
17: T: no spotlight
20: if I could've been myself
25: T: you've taken a different kind of look at yourself
25: T: how do you see this whole thing?
25: I plan to be myself
25: I'm not a conglomeration of everybody around me
25: re-establish myself as a person
25: T: you see yourself
25: T: building on these feelings
25: T: build further on some of the things
25: try to build on the stuff
25: I'll be running into problems

25: keep an open mind
25: leave a little more to intuition

Change in Attitude after the Triangle with Betty

2: give of myself
2: me giving less of myself [x2]
2: used to be a very open person
2: T: more self-focused
2: taken up a different attitude
2: don't know where it's taking me
2: giving less of myself [x2]
2: I swung towards the other end of it [toward being selfish]
2: T: you really went over like a pendulum
8: I just threw my social life out the window
8: [my social life] is not worth pursuing
12: on a course to convince myself I never wanted to see Betty again
12: admit my true feelings to myself [x2]
16: following [Betty] around
21: months ago I'd be jumping at this chance to get back in with her, but now it's just playing it by ear
21: letting her make all the moves
22: Betty happened to show up out of the blue air
22: mixed emotions [x2]
22: take a moderate view
22: I didn't know what would come out of dating her
22: she led me to believe [x3]
22: leery of falling into the same trap
25: [Betty] is playing games again
25: would have been totally sucked in by it
25: I believe her for the wrong reasons
25: [any relationship] is going to have to come from her

VITA

John E. Shell was born in Houston, Texas, on July 17, 1942. He graduated from Lakewood, California, High School in June 1959. The following September he entered Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, and was graduated in June 1963 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in German. Following a year spent teaching at the Gymnasium Ernestinum in Celle, Federal Republic of Germany, under the auspices of the Pädagogischer Austauschdienst of the Federal Republic and the Fulbright Commission, he entered Rice University in Houston, Texas. He received the Ph.D. degree in Germanics in 1972 from that university.

The academic years 1968 through 1972 were spent as Assistant Professor of German at the State University of New York, Buffalo. Reductions in faculty lead to his non-reappointment and he did not return to academia until the autumn of 1975 as an Assistant Professor of German at Indiana State University, Evansville. Reduction in faculty lead to another non-reappointment. The summer of 1977 was spent in the Federal Republic of Germany at a Fulbright Summer Seminar.

With the prospects of a fruitful and satisfying career in literary and cultural history becoming dim, he decided to pursue a corollary interest in the psychology of language. He began his study of verbal problem solving under Professor Howard Pollio at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in 1977 and was admitted to the Clinical Psychology Training Program in 1978. He completed his predoctoral clinical internship at Denver General Hospital, Denver, Colorado, in 1985.