

**SKILL, SUBSTANCE, AND AUTHORITY:
THE METAPHORICAL USES OF *MINDFUL** IN
THE NEW YORK TIMES AND ON TWITTER**



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Abstract

This pro gradu thesis examines metaphorical uses of *mindfulness*, *mindful*, and *mindfully* in contemporary discourse. It aims to see how mindfulness as a concept is transitioning from its Buddhist roots to the contemporary use. The thesis is a psycholinguistic study which aims to find the attitudes and emotions behind mindfulness by studying the extended metaphors that are used to describe mindfulness. The study is conducted by collecting two corpora of sentences and tweets that include the words *mindfulness*, *mindful*, or *mindfully* from *The New York Times* and Twitter. Theories of image schemas, conceptual metaphors, and sticky images are used to uncover the metaphors that *mindfulness*, *mindful*, or *mindfully* represent, and discourse analysis is used to pair the metaphors with research of Buddhist, secular, and popular mindfulness.

There were altogether ten metaphors that emerged in the study: ENTITY, CONTAINER, SUBSTANCE, PHYSICAL BEING, PRODUCT, INSTRUMENT, SKILL, ACTIVITY, MENTAL STATE and AUTHORITY/PERSON. In addition, mindfulness is used linguistically as a modifier in both corpora. The corpus collected from Twitter entailed four more metaphors than the corpus from *The New York Times* and the common metaphors had different frequencies of occurrence in the two corpora. The differences between the two media were explained using theories of cultural materialism and participatory culture: *The New York Times* is an institute with an American set of values and cultural surrounding whereas Twitter is a platform of multiple values and cultures, and the contents are created by multiple voices. The theories provided a set of tools to compare the two media and explain the differences between the two corpora. One of the main differences was that the Twitter corpus entailed more metaphors which was found to be since Twitter users aim to gain attention by using colorful language whereas the readership and thus the funders of *The New York Times* expect more neutral and informative language, which guides the language used by the journalists. Another main difference between the two corpora was the occurrence of metaphors that referred to instrumental use and value of mindfulness. This was explained by the differences in cultural background of the two media: *The New York Times*, which had more metaphors of instrumental echo, is set in a deeply capitalist culture which instrumentalizes and commercializes also immaterial things, whereas Twitter does not have a single cultural background but is a meeting place for several cultures and thus is not influenced by capitalism as much as the newspaper. The study sheds light on the contemporary discourse of mindfulness and demonstrates how it depends on the media where the discourse takes place whether mindfulness can be seen similarly to what its Buddhist roots suggest or whether it has shifted into a commercialized instrument.

#mindfulness #metaphor #media #psycholinguistic

Tiivistelmä

Tässä pro gradu -tutkielmassa tarkastellaan sanaa *mindfulness* ja sen kahta eri englanninkielistä muotoa, *mindful* ja *mindfully*, nykyhetken julkisessa keskustelussa. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää, kuinka *mindfulness*-käsite on muuttunut buddhalaisista juuristaan nykyaikaan. Tutkielma on psykologivestinen tutkimus, jossa pyritään selvittämään *mindfulness*in liittyviä asenteita ja tunteita *mindfulness*ia kuvailevien laajennettujen metaforien avulla. Tutkimus toteutettiin keräämällä kaksi korpusta, toisen *The New York Times* -sanomalehdestä ja toisen Twitteristä. Teorioita mielikuvakeemoista, käsittemetaforista ja tahmeista käsitteistä (eng. *sticky concepts*) käytettiin selvittämään, millaisia metaforia sana *mindfulness* ilmentää. Diskurssianalyysia puolestaan käytettiin selittämään metaforien yhteyksiä buddhalaiseen, maallistuneeseen sekä kansantajuiseen käsitykseen *mindfulness*ista.

Aineistosta nousi esiin kymmenen metaforaa: ENTITY, CONTAINER, SUBSTANCE, PHYSICAL BEING, PRODUCT, INSTRUMENT, SKILL, ACTIVITY, MENTAL STATE ja AUTHORITY/PERSON. Metaforisen käytön lisäksi sana *mindfulness* käytettiin kielellisenä määritteenä. Twitter-korpuksesta nousi esiin neljä metaforaa enemmän kuin *The New York Times* -korpuksesta. Lisäksi metaforien ilmentymissä oli määrällisiä eroja. Erot korpusten välillä selitettiin käyttäen kulttuurimaterialismin ja osallistuvan kulttuurin (eng. *participatory culture*) teorioita: *The New York Times* on instituutio, joka kantaa amerikkalaisia arvoja ja kulttuuria itsessään, kun taas Twitter on moniarvoinen ja monikulttuurinen yhteisö, jonka sisällön tuottaa moniääninen yhteisö. Teoriat tarjosivat työkalut kahden median taustojen selittämiseen ja korpuksista löytyneiden eroavaisuuksien avaamiseen. Yksi suurimmista eroavaisuuksista korpusten välillä oli se, että Twitter-korpuksesta löytyi neljä metaforaa enemmän kuin *The New York Times* -korpuksesta. Tämä selittyi medioiden erilaisilla käyttötarkoituksilla: Twitter-käyttäjät pyrkivät käyttämään värikästä kieltä saadakseen huomiota twiiteilleen, kun taas *The New York Times*in kieltä ohjailee sen asiakaskunta, joka odottaa neutraalia ja informoivaa kieltä. Toinen suuri eroavaisuus korpusten välillä oli *mindfulness*in välineelliseen käyttöön viittaavien metaforien määrä, joka selittyi medioiden kulttuurisilla taustoilla. *The New York Times*, jossa näitä välineellisiä metaforia oli enemmän, on osa kapitalistista kulttuuria, jossa myös aineettomat asiat kaupallistetaan ja välineellistetään. Twitterillä ei ole samanlaista yksikulttuurista taustaa, eikä siksi esimerkiksi kapitalismi näy siellä niin vahvasti. Tämä tutkimus valaisee sitä, kuinka *mindfulness*in merkitys joko samanlaisena kuin se on buddhalaisissa juurissaan tai sitten kaupallistuneena instrumenttina riippuu siitä, missä mediassa *mindfulness*ista puhutaan.

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SKILL, SUBSTANCE, AND AUTHORITY: THE METAPHORICAL USES OF *MINDFUL** IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES* AND ON TWITTER

1. Introduction, aim and research questions

‘Mindfulness’ is a popular term in the modern Western society today. The word itself creates varied images and ideas: a monk in yellow robes looking peaceful or a young woman on the beach in a steady yoga pose smiling serenely. Each person interprets the concept a little differently depending on their background. The discourse around mindfulness depends on the platform where it takes place. Mindfulness is discussed differently in social media, the academic community, the news, self-help websites, books, and Buddhist scriptures and talks. The most popular interpretation of mindfulness is a mental state of awareness, where a person pays attention to the present moment without judgement, observing what is going on in themselves and around them. However, the term’s wide use has obscured the meaning of it and people may use it without fully comprehending, what they mean by the term.

Mindfulness is not a concept that originally stood on its own. In Buddhism, mindfulness is part of a practice called the Noble Eightfold Path that, for one, is the last of the Four Noble Truths taught by Buddha. The Four Noble Truths are based on suffering and the end of suffering which are the essence of Buddhism no matter the time, the place, nor the tradition (Gethin, 1998). To put the Four Noble Truths simply, the first one says that to live is to suffer, the second one that desire leads to suffering, the third one that it is possible to cease the suffering by letting go, and the fourth one that to let go and cease suffering, one is to follow the Noble Eightfold Path. The eight ways of the path are right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration (Gethin, 1998). Gethin has interpreted view and intention as wisdom, speech, action, and livelihood as conduct, and effort, mindfulness, and concentration as meditation. He elaborates mindfulness to be contemplation of body, feeling, mind and dharma. The practice of meditation helps a person to be free of clinging to past and future, which eases the mind and creates peace and well-being in a person (Kabat-Zinn, 2011).

Most of the discussion around mindfulness in popular discourse is related to secular mindfulness that was formed by Jon Kabat-Zinn in 1979 (Kabat-Zinn, 2003). Kabat-Zinn is a molecular biologist and a long-term practitioner of meditation and yoga, who had the idea of bringing the practices

into a hospital environment to help people cope with stress and disease (Boyce, 2005) Kabat-Zinn created a stress-release program for medical purposes called the Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (from here forth, MBSR). He wanted to form the method without a connection to its Buddhist origins to avoid being labelled as New Age or Buddhist and to be taken seriously in the medical world (Kabat-Zinn, 2011). Kabat-Zinn tried to capture the essence of mindfulness, put it in a format that was practical and accessible for ordinary Americans, and leave out words and concepts that would reveal the Buddhist background of mindfulness. Thus, he brought mindfulness and ‘dharma’, which means the divine law of existence or the conformity to one’s duty and nature (Merriam-Webster, n.d.), to the Western audience (Kabat-Zinn, 2011).

Around the time Kabat-Zinn formed the mindfulness-based program, Buddhist practices had begun to be labelled ‘New Age’, which means a type of spirituality that is constructed picking and choosing different spiritual elements from all religions and traditions (Aupers and Houtman, 2006). Due to that label, Buddhist practices appealed to a limited number of people, and taking a practice with such a label to a hospital would not have been appropriate in America, where the most common religion is Christianity and where many people do not identify with any religion. In his reflection of the creation of mindfulness-based practice, Kabat-Zinn emphasizes his willingness to make the practices, that in his own experience dissolve suffering, available to more people (Kabat-Zinn, 2011, p. 286-287). Kabat-Zinn succeeded in his intentions, and today mindfulness is used and researched in education, healthcare, psychology, military and in business to promote welfare at work. Wide use of mindfulness as a term and a practice has changed its meaning from the Buddhist roots and even the mindfulness-based practice used in the medical sphere. The change in meaning is under the scope in this study.

I have chosen *The New York Times* and Twitter as the sources of my data for they represent two different types of media. *The New York Times* has a reputation of thoroughness (Yale, n.d.) and it aims to report news objectively (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.). *The New York Times* is one of the most widespread newspapers in the United States and it also has a wide international readership (The New York Times Company, 2019). The newspaper was founded in 1851 and it appealed to the cultured and intelligent audience. It comes out in print every morning but also has a website where it holds the articles (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.). The language in *The New York Times* is formal, but also everyday language: it lacks the complexities of scientific language and the poetic quality of fiction. Twitter, on the other hand, is an online microblogging service that was found in 2006 (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.). Twitter is used for social networking, political campaigning, advertising etc. There is a limit of 240 characters per post on Twitter, so the messages are short and to the point. Hashtags are commonly used to improve retrievability and thus gain more likes and retweets. Twitter users are often referred as tweeters and the messages are called tweets.

The language of a newspaper or tweets do not always entail metaphors as they are often understood – “devices of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 3). Metaphor is a figure of speech that is used to describe an entity in terms of another one, for example “life is a journey”. Often metaphors are perceived as rhetorical devices that are used in literature and rhetoric to add color to the language. However, metaphors are pervasive in our most everyday language and thought. Words reveal the underlying structures that direct our thinking and action. These structures, that can be put into metaphors, are called conceptual metaphors. A conceptual metaphor is a concept that is understood using terms and phrases of another concept (Tieteen termipankki, n.d.) Conceptual metaphors are identified by using large amounts of data, for example corpora. The discussion in the form of those metaphors of *mindful** is illuminated in this study, discussion that takes place in news, more closely in the topics of well-being and spirituality, and tweets.

The notation of *mindful** here means, that it is a feature of language that is mentioned as opposed to being used, and that the constraint has been broken with the asterisk (Bauer, 2007, p. 97-98): the notation implies that the research covers the words *mindful*, *mindfully*, and *mindfulness*. A Boolean search, meaning a search that enables the search of the keyword to be combined with operators such as AND/OR with the result of more relevant results (Beal, n.d.), was conducted using the term *mindful**. Using the referred notation style, the operators did not have to be used but the search automatically included all three words, *mindful*, *mindfully*, and *mindfulness*. Using the Boolean search, two corpora from *The New York Times* and Twitter were collected for the study. The data is analyzed utilizing first coding and then theories of image schemas, conceptual metaphors, and sticky concepts. In the end, there is a comparison between the two corpora and theories of cultural materialism and participatory culture will be used to conduct the comparison.

The aim of this study is to find out how the concept of mindfulness is transitioning from its roots in Buddhist philosophy into general use within contemporary discussion as defined by news-reporting in *The New York Times* and social media messaging on Twitter. Understanding the transition of mindfulness is important to those who work with developing and teaching the practice of mindfulness, as they need to be aware of the underlying beliefs that people may have of the practice before they engage in it.

1. What are the metaphors that the term *mindful** refers to in the corpora?
2. How are the three different schools of thought on mindfulness present in the metaphors?
 - a. How are the Buddhist origins of mindfulness present in the metaphors?
 - b. How is the idea of secular mindfulness present in the metaphors?
 - c. How is the popularization of mindfulness present in the metaphors?
3. Are there differences between the metaphors found in *The New York Times* and Twitter?

The first research question I will be looking at is how the term *mindful** is used as a metaphor. To answer it, I will collect a corpus on sentences and tweets that contain the word *mindfulness* or *mindful*, code them, and create categories based on the metaphorical use of the terms. Next, I will examine how the Buddhist, secular, and popular ideas of mindfulness are present in the metaphors. Finally, I will conduct a comparison of the two corpora and answer research question three using theories of cultural materialism and participatory culture.

2. Review of the literature

This section begins with providing an overview of the three main schools of thought concerning mindfulness: Buddhist, secular, and popular. This classification reflects deliberate attempts to promote mindfulness among somewhat different populations and is linked to the timeline and hierarchy in which they are born; first came Buddhist mindfulness which enabled the birth of secular mindfulness which, in turn, enabled the popularization of mindfulness. The outline of the three schools of thought is followed by a section on the theory of conceptual metaphor that is used to analyze the two corpora. Conceptual metaphors are used unconsciously and thus reflect the way in which the various understandings of mindfulness are received by the population. Conceptual metaphors provide a tool to trace the ideas linked with the three schools of thought. At the end of this section, cultural materialism and participatory culture are presented. They are used to analyze the differences and similarities between the findings of the two corpora. Cultural materialism is concerned with power relations in contemporary society and the way different cultural products participate in those power relations. Participatory culture, on the other hand, seeks to explain the way those cultural products are created and circulated in the era of the internet and social media.

2.1. Three viewpoints to mindfulness

2.1.1. Buddhist mindfulness

Buddhism is a religion created in India in the 5th century BC. Buddhist religion is based on the teachings of a man named Siddhārta Gautama, who became a Buddha after years of contemplation of life and the nature of suffering, meditation and, finally, an awakening. Buddha taught for 45 years of his life, and afterwards his teachings were recorded in scriptures. According to Rupert Gethin (1998), *dharma* is the essence of Buddhism; it is not a philosophy, but the underlying nature of things and the way to act (p. 35). Gethin explains the aim of Buddhism to be a practice of living a spiritual life, that involves an ethical conduct and meditational techniques that lead into the realization of the knowledge or the truth, that Buddha himself gained in his awakening (1998, p. 36). Buddha's teachings were not teaching of certain truth or knowledge, but a set of techniques that would help the practitioner see and experience dharma for themselves. The teachings were passed on orally from teachers to students until they were also written down into canons (Gethin, 1998, p. 39-40). Three schools of canons have survived to this date, one of which, the Pāli Canon, is the most relevant for this study as it entails the scriptures on mindfulness.

Buddhism has its own take on mindfulness, which is different from popular mindfulness' meaning in today's Western society. 'Mindfulness' as a term became associated with Buddhism in 1881 when the Pali textual scholar T. W. Rhys Davids translated the Pali term *sati* as 'mindfulness'. *Sati*, according to Rhys Davids, was difficult to translate as it entails the meaning of being aware of the impermanence of everything (Sun, 2014, p. 396). What also made the translation of *sati* difficult was the fact that the Buddhist scriptures are ambiguous in their use of the term. There are no formal definitions, although the scriptures do offer numerous functional demonstrations of *sati* (Bodhi, as cited by Sun, 2014, p. 397).

Mindfulness can be traced back to Buddha's teaching of a set of practices and principles that help a person in their path to happiness and spiritual freedom. At the heart of the practices, according to Bhikkhu Bodhi, lies "a system of training that leads to insight and the overcoming of suffering" (2011, p. 20). Inside this system of meditation, the Noble Eightfold Path sets the principles of the practice. In the Noble Eightfold Path, mindfulness comes in the picture as the seventh of the pathways. Bodhi introduces a scripture called *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, the 'Discourse on the Establishment of Mindfulness', as the most influential text on the practice of mindfulness to appear in the Pāli Canon (2011, p. 19). In *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, Buddha explains the end of suffering and the attainment of nirvana to be the goal of a practice where mindfulness is the method. Bodhi divides mindfulness into two categories based on the scripture: objective and subjective sides. In the objective side, mindfulness is

reflecting on one's own experience, and in the subjective side it is the mental state of a process, where one observes the objects repeatedly.

According to Sun, mindfulness has multiple purposes and definitions in the early Buddhist scriptures. Like every Buddhist practice, it entails an ethical aspect, which is also seen in the Noble Eightfold Path as the modifier *right* before the word 'mindfulness' indicates. Sun elaborates that meditation comprises of four elements in the scriptures: vitality to engage in the practice, mindfulness as 'lucid awareness', interpretation of what has arisen in the practice, and finally, insight that comes when all the other elements are in the practice (Sun, 2014, p. 397-398). Insight is the one element that allows wisdom of the practitioner to grow (Bodhi, as cited by Sun, 2014, p. 398). Mindfulness was most often seen as 'lucid awareness', a cognitive state, that should be combined with other mental factors for the practitioner to develop in their meditation.

Siu-man Ng et al (2017) have compared the modern secular meaning of mindfulness and the Buddhist meaning of mindfulness from two perspectives: awareness and un-clinging. According to them, awareness is seen differently in the Buddhist and the secular contexts, and un-clinging is obscured in the secular context whereas it is an integral part of the Buddhist practices. Ng et al. explain awareness in the Buddhist context to be staying aware of what is arising in the present moment, holding wholesome and unwholesome mental states at equal importance, paying attention to the object of attention while being aware of the mental processes that occur, and finally developing an understanding of the process (2017, p. 279). Un-clinging, according to Ng et al., derives from the Four Noble Truths that state the origin of suffering being the attachment to external objects and clinging to internal experiences (2017, p. 279). Thus, un-clinging is an ability to let go of internal experiences, such as feelings and thoughts, and external objects, such as possessions.

Mindfulness in the Buddhist context is a multifaceted phenomenon that has many explanations and definitions depending on the tradition and the interpretation of the those who have explained the subject. Some of this ambiguity is due to the difficulty of translating the terms that are originally both in Pāli and Sanskrit. However, the fact that mindfulness is part of a practice – a mental state that enables meditation, a cognitive process where the practitioner is aware of the process, and a deeper understanding of the process – is common to every explanation. There is a larger context where mindfulness is set: an ethical conduct of a spiritual path, where the cessation of suffering through deep understanding is the goal. Next, I will explain the way mindfulness is seen in the secular context that is behind the popularized view of mindfulness today.

2.1.2. *Secular mindfulness*

The context of secular mindfulness was created by Jon Kabat-Zinn, an American professor from the University of Massachusetts, as he formed the MBSR program for people who suffer from chronic pain. Sun explicates the roots of Kabat-Zinn's work on mindfulness to be not only in the Buddhist practices but also a German monk Nyanaponika Thera's views on mindfulness as bare attention, which entails the notion of non-conceptuality, and is the moment before the object of attention is conceptualized (p. 399-400). Thus, mindfulness in Thera's view means to experience things directly rather than conceptualize and label them in our minds. Even though this view was inconsistent with the early Buddhist scriptures, it became the foundation of the practice of secular mindfulness. According to Kabat-Zinn, his intention was to keep the essence of dharma and Buddha's teachings in the secularized version of mindfulness but turn it into something that could be used in the medical context to alleviate suffering without the cultural baggage of Buddhism (2011).

In his reflection of the practice and its relationship to the Buddhist roots, Kabat-Zinn explains the origins of the secularization of mindfulness. Kabat-Zinn had been practicing meditation for thirteen years before he started forming the MBSR. According to him, the idea to bring dharma to the general audience came to him at a retreat, and it worked as a way to implement the practice of 'right livelihood' (one of the ways in the Noble Eightfold Path) in his own life (Kabat-Zinn, 2011, p. 286-287). In the beginning, Kabat-Zinn and his colleagues called the MBSR by the name stress reduction to avoid any Buddhist connections. Kabat-Zinn linked the practices of the Stress Reduction Clinic strongly with self-regulation of attention, but already at the beginning of the scientific research projects he carried out on the subject, he called the practices mindfulness meditation and cited several Buddhist scholars and scriptures in his work (Kabat-Zinn, 2011, p. 289-290). So, despite his stated intention to avoid referencing the Buddhist origins of the practice, he later started calling by the name mindfulness-based stress reduction, Buddha's teachings and dharma were in the heart of the practice.

The program produced promising results and it was taken into the medical world to be tested and researched in various fields. The MBSR program has been used to treat for example depression, work-related stress, burnout, and high blood pressure (Pennanen, 2014).. Following the techniques of MBSR a form of therapy, Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT), has also been created to treat various mental illnesses (Pennanen, 2014, p. 96-97). The MBSR program and other mindfulness-based programs are continuously under the microscope in scientific research. With a number of research conducted on the subject each year (e.g. Kabat-Zinn et al., 1992; Arch & Craske, 2006; Petrillo et al., 2009; Goldin & Gross, 2010; Hölzel et al., 2011; see also MindRxiv: mindfulness), mindfulness and the programs have become a topic of interest in media as well, which, in turn, has increased interest in mindfulness among the general public.

Pennanen introduces the three meditational practices in the MBSR program: bodily meditation, a sitting and breathing meditation, and mindfulness-yoga. These practices help the practitioner to be aware of the present moment, come out of the 'autopilot mode' that usually gets us through our days, and actively accept whatever sensations and emotions might occur during the practice. Pennanen points out that the mindfulness-instructor, who ought to have years of training in mindfulness meditation themselves, plays a pivotal role in teaching the practice along with acceptance to their students (2014, p. 99-102). The teacher-student relationship is also important in the Buddhist field of meditational practices but it may vary depending on the tradition.

Jon Kabat-Zinn's mindfulness practices have largely been influenced by different kinds of Buddhist practices even though the practices have separated from the origins especially in contemporary discourse. The secularization of dharma, according to Kabat-Zinn, was necessary in order to bring the meditation practices into scientific and hospital settings, where the religious and spiritual roots of meditation would have been inappropriate (Kabat-Zinn, 2011). The set of practices introduced in the MBSR, where a lot of the secular mindfulness practices are based, lean on bare attention that is one part of the way mindfulness can be understood in the Buddhist context. However, the concept of mindfulness in the secular context is wider than it is in the Buddhist: the word *mindfulness* entails the whole practice in itself in the secular context whereas in Buddhism, the word refers to a certain state of mind, which is often called lucid awareness. The widening meaning of mindfulness in its secular school of thought enabled spreading into the organizational fields and from there, into a wider public sphere.

2.1.3. *Popular mindfulness*

Antti Saari and Esko Harni introduce an idea of ‘post-industrial capitalism’ or ‘affective/cognitive capitalism’, which is contemporary capitalism that is based on work and production being a way to construct identity and become self-fulfilled (2016, p. 101). Many jobs are nowadays less bounded to a physical environment, and more depended on abstract thinking and mental capacity. All this has created a demand for something that enhances self-regulation and mental abilities, and thus, the platform for practices such as mindfulness has been born. Saari and Harni introduce capitalism as a system that adopts forms of life outside of its boundaries and therefore expands itself into areas that first might have been critical to itself (2016, p. 104-105). Saari and Harni explain that capitalism swept Buddhist traditions and ideas, which originally worked as a counterforce for materialism and greed, under its auspices when the traditions came into the scientific sphere. There, the traditions took their place in psychotherapy, education and work and accounted for human capabilities such as reflexivity and creativity. In the era of cognitive capitalism, these capabilities were on high demand in the organizational field, and thus the Buddhist ideas became reduced and reset into the capitalist culture (Saari & Harni, 2016, p. 103-105). Secular mindfulness is an example of a Buddhist tradition to be taken into the scientific sphere, and from there, into the organizational and then public sphere. Thus, secularization of mindfulness enabled the popularization and thus also the commercialization of mindfulness.

The benefits of mindfulness are often the topic of discussion in the popular discourse, and scientific research reveals increasingly more specific benefits that mindfulness has, especially on people’s health. According to Sun, mindfulness has been turned into an instrument of well-being and efficiency (2014, p. 404-405). The increased amount of scientific research on mindfulness has also increased the public discourse around the subject especially in the United States. The benefits it has been found to have on a person’s health and efficiency are lucrative in a society, where healthcare is a subject under constant political debate and the working culture is demanding. Mindfulness is seen as a tool to make people more cognitively and physically competent, and that is what makes it valuable in capitalist societies (Sun, 2014, p. 405).

Mindfulness is sold to people in many forms. Sometimes the commercial mindfulness might entail Buddhism with it. In a study of Buddhism in the media, Borup (2016) found out that Buddhism is indirectly in the media as a part of wellness, spirituality, health, mindfulness, yoga, or Tantra stories, as pictures of Buddha or words such as karma, Zen or Buddhism. Most of the literature linked to the Buddhist category are from writers in psychology, therapy, management, gardening, and general well-being. In Borup’s study, out of 140 books that have the name ‘mindfulness’ in their title, some are academic, but most are about spiritual self-development, out of which one is about classical

Buddhist mindfulness. Some of the mindfulness books mention Buddhism as a philosophical background to the practice (Borup, 2016). More often than not, however, the Buddhist roots of mindfulness are obscured in the commercial discourse and products. Mindfulness is often sold as a tool for personal fulfilment (Sun, 2014, p. 405).

Buddhist scholars often view popular mindfulness as “McMindfulness” (Simão, 2019).. According to João Simão, the term refers to the way mindfulness has been reduced from its context as part of a practice that helps alleviate suffering and become aware of the nature of the self into a practice of stress-reduction and self-fulfillment (2019, p. 75-76). Simão points out, that mindfulness in the organizational context is misused: it has become a way to individualize stress and thus avoid changing the social practices inside the organization that may cause stress and malaise. Therefore, the roots of mindfulness as part of a practice where ethical conduct is as important, have been obscured. Popular mindfulness, according to Simão, include organizational and commercial mindfulness unlike secular mindfulness, which happens in a medical context (2019).

Considering that the roots of secular and popular mindfulness are in Buddhism, it is to be seen if and how the Buddhist roots are present in today’s discourse. Sun argues that contemporary discourse is mostly about the secular and popular practices, which have instrumentalized mindfulness and consider the benefits of it to have an instrumental value (2014). To find out whether the contemporary discourse entails the origins of mindfulness or whether Sun’s argument is true, the language used around the word *mindful** must be studied; the theory of conceptual metaphor is used to reveal the underlying concepts of the word.

2.2. From image schemas to conceptual metaphors

To study contemporary discourse on mindfulness, I will use Lakoff and Johnson’s theory of conceptual metaphors. Before presenting the theory of conceptual metaphor, I will ground it by introducing image schema theory, which lays the cognitive grounds for the existence of language and thus conceptual metaphors.

2.2.1. *Image schema theory*

Image schemas are the fundamental way we perceive things with our physical senses and lingual comprehension (Tieteen termipankki, n.d.). All concepts are built on a few primitive image schemas that are linked together differently in every language. Two different findings have come about the theory of image schemas: according to Johnson (1987), they were built on our physical and bodily experience, and according to Regier (1995, 1996), our brain is built to compute the primitive image schemas. Today, research combines the two views. Ellen Dodge and George Lakoff (2005) give an account of image schemas that combine Regier's argument that the neural structure of the brain accounts for the possibility of their existence and Johnson's argument that the bodily experience creates such schemas.

Dodge and Lakoff (2005) begin by explaining Johnson's theory: according to Johnson, image schemas are born from "recurrent, everyday experiences" that we have as we, for example, move from one place to another (p. 59). Using linguistic analysis, they explain how these primitive image schemas can be detected from language. They point out that different languages use the same collection of basic image schemas, but that the use of them varies a lot between languages. One of the main arguments they make is that image schemas structure experience independently of language (p. 71). Lastly, they explain the neural structure of image schemas using Regier's work as a basis.

Dodge and Lakoff (2005) present two different image schemas that can be explained using Johnson's model of recurrent experience as the base of the schema. The first one they present with more detail is motion related experience. Johnson (1987) has detected the movement experience to consist of three parts: SOURCE, PATH, and GOAL. These three, according to Johnson, are present in every motion experience. Whether the experiencer is already at the goal location or at the start of their journey, all of the three are implied in the experience (as cited in Dodge & Lakoff, 2005, p. 59). The second experiential image schema they inspect is the CONTAINER schema. According to Dodge and Lakoff, children go through an experimental stage where they put things in and out of different objects, which then creates the ground for us to perceive many things, such as our mouths, buildings, boxes, and so on, as containers.

After analyzing the experiential image schemas in the English language, Dodge and Lakoff (2005) give an account of Regier's theory of image schemas as the product of neural structure. Regier (1996) proposes that the image schemas built on spatial relations are born due to the brain structure of human perception mechanisms (as cited in Dodge & Lakoff, 2005, p. 72). Dodge and Lakoff argue that - as the brain is deeply interconnected, and the areas that are responsible for, for example, language, motion and manner function together and even overlap - the same experience may entail many

image schemas which, in turn, explains how different languages explain same experiences using different image schemas (2005, p. 85).

From Dodge and Lakoff's presentation of image schemas and their experiential and neurological grounds, a line can be drawn to conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphor is a theory by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) which combines their previous work on image schemas, neurological studies to language and the way we express ourselves. The theory is based on the English language, but it could be applied to other languages as well, as the theory of image schemas has proven. Image schemas create the ground for conceptual metaphors. As they are the base for our understanding and perceiving of the world, they are also the base of language. Conceptual metaphors are presented more thoroughly in the next section.

2.2.2. Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphor

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson developed the notion of "conceptual metaphor" to describe how we use language that refers to one concept to comprehend other concepts. Our understanding of the world, Lakoff and Johnson suggest, is built on metaphors that form the concepts and labels we give to things surrounding us (1980, p. 3). Lakoff and Johnson say that metaphors can be very conventional, as opposed to poetic, and appear in everyday language often (1980, p. 10-11). Poetic metaphors are easily detectible because they are marked: for example, "life is a journey" or "life is like a box of chocolate" can be understood as metaphors because they are elaborated as such by the presentation of both the concept that is explained and the concept that is used to explain the other concept. Conceptual metaphors, however, are more hidden in language. For example, in the phrase "spend time" there is a conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY. It is not elaborated like the conventional metaphors, but it is present in the use of the verb *spend*, which is often used when talking about money.

This is relevant for the study of the corpora collected from *The New York Times* and Twitter, since news and articles are often straightforward and thorough, and tweets are written in everyday language and due to the restricted number of words that can be used in tweets, also straightforward – both types of texts lack metaphors in the sense metaphors are perceived in the study of poetry, for example. As Lakoff and Johnson state, metaphors are bound to culture and they are often systematic (1980, p. 8-10). The metaphors for the word *mindful** are set in the American (the USA) culture, but as for the tweets, which are written by people around the globe, the English language and the social media as a cultural environment are the connecting factors. Conceptual metaphors reveal our own beliefs and the beliefs of a certain culture: the metaphor TIME IS MONEY, for example, is typical for Western culture where people are paid by the hour, interest in loans is tied to a certain year, and so

forth. Some other cultures that do not value time as highly have a different conceptual metaphor for time. Thus, to research conceptual metaphors is to research the beliefs and values of a certain culture.

In corpus studies, metaphors can be examined in two ways: studying continuous text or using concordances for different metaphors (Baker, 2009, p. 13). I will be analyzing my corpora by studying continuous text drawn from newspapers and tweets. To mark the metaphors I find in the text, I will use the notation style used by Lakoff and Johnson: small capital letters. Lakoff and Johnson created the theory of conceptual metaphor to reveal the ideas and deep-rooted attitudes we have of concepts that we use in everyday language. They identify five types of metaphors: orientational metaphors, ontological metaphors, personification, metonymy, and structural metaphors. Orientational metaphors entail the notion of spatiality, ontological metaphors describe phenomena as entities and substances, and in personification, which is a type of ontological metaphor, nonhuman is seen as human. Some of these metaphors have a clear connection to our body and spatiality, like the metaphor GOOD IS UP. Some of the metaphors are more bound to language and the culture surrounding that language, like the metaphor TIME IS MONEY, which is common in the West where capitalism is the leading system in society (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). The study of metaphors that *mindful** entails is interesting because the word contains ideas and attitudes from ancient Eastern cultures and contemporary Western culture and has both cultural and physical elements to it.

In the case of metonymy, one entity is used to describe another one that is related to it (for example *new blood* is used to describe *new people*). Structural metaphors are built on ontological metaphors and they are built in our culture so inherently that we do not perceive them as metaphors but as a reality. For example, the metaphor TIME IS A RESOURCE is a structural metaphor that builds on TIME IS SUBSTANCE metaphor, and is so deeply grounded in the Western culture that it is not perceived as a metaphor at all, as TIME IS MONEY is (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 61-67). According to Lakoff and Johnson, a large proportion of these metaphors is grounded in the physical experience, which in turn takes place within a background of cultural presuppositions (1980, p. 57). They explicate every experience to be a cultural experience because of the presuppositions each of us has, but they still separate the more physical and more cultural metaphors from each other. ‘Mindfulness’ is a term that, in the American context, has been colored with multiple suppositions depending on the person who is discussing it and the platform where the discussion takes place.

According to Lakoff and Johnson, our systems of meaning can be deconstructed to primitive experiences – image schemas – which are the building blocks of our understanding, and causation, according to some theories, is one of those primitive experiences (1980, p. 69). Lakoff and Johnson, however, state that causation is an experiential gestalt that is built with smaller components, one of which is called direct manipulation. In direct manipulation, a person manipulates one thing to cause

another one, or makes something to create a new thing: for example, one can “*make a statue of clay*”, and thus manipulate the statue to emerge from clay (Lakoff & Johnson, p. 72-73). When looking at the three types of mindfulness concepts from the point of view of the conceptual metaphor theory, mindfulness can be seen as an instrument for direct manipulation in secular and popular mindfulness, where it is used to achieve an outcome. In Buddhist mindfulness, it is a mental state that is entered in meditation, and by meditating a change of state from suffering into non-suffering is aimed for. Therefore, in Buddhist mindfulness it is meditation, not mindfulness per se, that is the instrument for direct manipulation.

The first research question will be answered by using the theoretical grounds and examples of the different kinds of metaphors. *The Corpus of Contemporary American English* (from here forth, COCA) will be used to find collocates, synonyms and more to justify the metaphors that are found. It must be noted that the metaphors and analysis are made by a person from a different culture and language environment than where the material of the study is set and thus, the understanding of the mindfulness metaphors can be negotiated differently to what someone originally from that culture might understand them. However, the COCA will be used to avoid errors in understanding and analysis.

2.3. Sticky concepts

In this study, the theory of conceptual metaphor by Lakoff and Johnson is supplemented by using Sara Ahmed’s idea of ‘sticky concepts’ (2004; 2014). Sticky concepts are somewhat parallel to conceptual metaphors as they attempt to reveal the underlying attitudes behind words. According to Ahmed, emotions are not merely a phenomenon that takes place inside the psyche but also something that happens outside of the psyche, in interaction (2004, p. 117). The emotions that circulate in interaction are seen as attributes that are attached to different kinds of concepts; often they are visible when talking about an ethnic group or another minority. For example, refugees are often described as an uncontrollable flood that surges to Western countries. The attributes that are used get stuck in the concepts and the concepts keep circulating and collecting more attributes, which leads to an image of that concept that is emotionally colored by all of the attributes that “stick”. In this study, I will refer to these impressions as ‘sticky images’ by which I mean the different kinds of emotionally colored visions that certain metaphor entails. Thus, these ‘sticky images’ are parts of the whole ‘sticky concept’. Ahmed argues that these ‘sticky concepts’ circulate between people and thus create an economy of certain affects, for example fear or hate (2004).

Ahmed's theory of affective economies and politics is often focused on revealing the emotional politics behind the way ethnic groups, femininity and queerness are discussed. She introduces emotions of fear, hate and love to often be the underlying tunes. To clarify, I will introduce two emotions in the context of ethnic groups that Ahmed has analyzed in her texts; one being fear and one being hate. In an article called *Affective Economies*, Ahmed explains how fear is not just something that is due to the presence of an identifiable threat but is born in narratives of fear. She argues that by using the verb "swamp" when explaining the manner of how asylum seekers arrive in Britain and start enjoying the social benefits of the British, the speaker creates a fear of not being able to contain something. She uses Freud's theories to explain how the fear is displaced: under the fear that is aimed at something, such as the asylum seekers, is often a deeper fear that threatens the ego (Ahmed, 2004, p. 124-125). Thus, it can be argued that by circulating the emotion of fear in speech and placing it on a threat that can be identified, the real fear that is pressed into the subconscious can be avoided.

Another example of an emotion as the basis of a politicized speech is hate. Hate is an emotion that is often disguised as love in speeches (Ahmed, 2014, p. 42). Especially organizations that are built on hate present themselves as organizations of love, which often leads to the justification of actions. Narratives of hate, just as narratives of fear, create the sense of "us" and the "other". These concepts are created through attributes that are attached to them. Ahmed presents a text from the website of "The Aryan Nation" which introduces white Christians as hardworking, loving, caring and honest people and other races as rapists and lazy people who are being favored by the government. According to Ahmed, these attributes create a narrative where the "other" is threatening "our" security and even taking "our" place in the society (2014, p. 42-43). The text binds the white people together with the nation and thus creates aliens out of the other races. Ahmed argues that these narratives, where the white man and the white race are placed in the position of the victim and where love disguises or justifies hate, are very ordinary. As these examples show, the metaphors like "swamping" have power in the real world, they enable the spread of racism and experiences of fear.

Although Ahmed's theory is often used in studies on ethnicity or gender, the same ideas can be applied to almost any concept that we have a strong image of. Mindfulness certainly is such a concept. As presented in the introduction, the mental images one may get in their head once they hear or read the word "mindfulness" often entail a serene scene of a young woman doing yoga or a monk in yellow robes. The emotions that are often attached to these images are serenity and concentration. Depending on the context where mindfulness is discussed and the knowledge people have of it, other emotions that lie behind the concept can be for example compassion, acceptance, kindness et cetera. In this study, the conceptual metaphors that are found in the two corpora are examined to find such emotions that lie behind the way people perceive mindfulness, and the analysis aims to reveal the

way that the instances circulate the concept. In this way, the work of metaphors on our thoughts, feelings and actions can be traced.

2.4. Cultural materialism

I will use the theory of cultural materialism to answer research question three about the differences between the two corpora. Cultural materialism is a theoretical approach which aims to analyze cultural products in relation to contemporary society and the power relations in it. As the term ‘material’ suggests, those adhering to this approach are typically interested in physical objects, which are then examined in terms of the ideas they promote as part of a culture. For instance, the Barbie doll is a physical object which has been played with by millions of children around the world. Or rather, by millions of girls. The vision of a woman’s body, the clothing, the accessories, and the activities encouraged by the Barbie franchise has been subjected to heated debate: precisely the kinds of debates that are promoted by cultural materialists.

Cultural materialists also regard objects such as literature or scripture as material objects which are circulated within a society and examine them in terms of the way cultures build up around them. John Brannigan, a new historicism and cultural materialism theorist, says that for cultural materialists, literary texts circulate and create meaning within contemporary society (1998, p. 9). Brannigan presents an example of the work of cultural materialists to be the re-reading of Shakespeare’s, Wordsworth’s, and other renowned British author’s works in the light of Margaret Thatcher’s politics; the imperialist notions of the literary works and the politics were in the foreground of the studies. Thus, cultural materialists try to find the ideologies and politics within literary texts and explain the ways that literary works are being recreated, reassigned, and circled in the society of today (Brannigan, 1998, p. 12-13). The circulation of ideas about mindfulness through scripture, self-help books and social media can also be studied in a similar manner. But whereas a study of the Barbie doll would involve studying girls at play, I will examine the circulation of concepts of mindfulness through an examination of conceptual metaphors. Just as a girl playing with a Barbie doll is not consciously reflecting on the desirability of large breasts, a small waist and long, slender legs, those using conceptual metaphors are not necessarily aware of the route by which they have come to understand the notion of mindfulness.

A study of yoga in the museums by Rumya Putchá shares similarities with this study. It does not include cultural materialism itself but is parallel to the key ideas of the theory. The study analyzes the cultural product of yoga in a place of other cultural products, a museum, which is also an institute where power relations and politics take place (Brannigan, 1998, p. 12). In her study, Putchá introduces

a new phenomenon of yoga at a museum, which is popular in the United States and in Great Britain. She explicates the phenomenon to be a continuation of imperialist discourse: white people have adopted a practice from the Orient and taken it into museums, which, especially in Britain, are full of cultural artefacts that are stolen from other cultures during the imperial times.

According to Putcha, museums that have art from other cultures work as spaces where cultures are reduced into sections in an institution where anglophonic cultures stand at the center (2020, p. 3). Yoga, on the other hand, is a reduced practice to achieve health and wellness, much like the popularized idea of mindfulness. Putcha argues that, by doing yoga in a space where there are cultural artefacts stolen during the imperial era, the museums create a space for travel that entails an idealized experience of different cultures aimed for the white people, who are also in the center of that experience and for whom the experience is built (2020, p. 4). Although Putcha's study does not include literary pieces, her study makes use of ideas found in cultural materialist criticism. Art and yoga are both cultural products, materials that circulate in contemporary society and entail and affect power relations and politics, and also create and gather meaning as they circulate. As people participate in a yoga class or look at a piece of art, they change the meaning of yoga and the art they are looking at – the same goes with when *The New York Times* writes about a certain subject or when people participate in the conversation on Twitter.

Putcha's study is an example of a critical analysis of oriental cultural practice in the Western, and more specifically Anglophone context. Her critical inspection of yoga in museums is related to the study on mindfulness because there is parallelism between the way yoga and mindfulness exist and circulate in the Western societies today. A cultural materialist approach is used to analyze how power is present in the way mindfulness is talked about in *The New York Times* and Twitter. However, power relations cannot be analyzed identically from the sentences collected from *The New York Times* and the Twitter posts: the latter is a platform where everyone has a chance to participate in creating the discourse and the pieces of discourse collected in the corpus can be from anyone anywhere in the world – only the language is English. The former, on the other hand, is an American institution, which in its part circulates certain politics and power relations. Thus, theory on participatory culture is used to supplement the analysis of the differences and provide theoretical grounds to explain the differences between the two sources.

2.5. Participatory culture

Participation has changed a lot since the Internet has become accessible to ordinary people. Before that, institutions such as newspapers, schools, governments and so on had the power to decide how and what information will be distributed. Since the launch of the Internet, the nature of information has changed from being essentially unilateral to becoming more multifaceted. In the 21st century, social media has come into the picture as well. From MySpace and chat forums to Twitter, Facebook and YouTube (to name a few), several platforms have emerged to enable public discussion that includes every person who has access to a device and access to the Internet. Thus, the public discussion which used to take place within the platforms of institutions by selected people, has undergone a change as well. This pluralistic public discussion and its by-products, such as content creation, has been given the name ‘participatory culture’ (Delwiche & Henderson, 2013).

According to Pierre Lévy (2013), we all live in multiple communities at the same time. These communities are based on knowledge, and the key thing is that everyone in the community has directed their attention towards certain information. Lévy calls these communities “ecosystems of knowledge” (2013, p. 101). The ecosystems are formed by personal knowledge management, which enables everyone to contribute to the community. To be able to pass on the information to the community, an individual has to first choose their source, assemble the information, categorize it and finally share it with others (Lévy, 2013, p. 103). The main source of information, according to Lévy, is other people in the online community. By tagging and categorizing information, the people with the same interests and objectives can help each other find more information on the subjects that their community is formed on. With this in mind, it can be said that the ecosystems of knowledge create themselves and also trap people inside of them, as the information that circulates in the community also comes from inside the community and evolves therewithin.

Along with ecosystems of knowledge, the systems and algorithms of social media must be discussed. Although it may seem that Twitter, for instance, is a free platform for everyone to express their opinion and participate, there are, in fact, limits to platforms as well (Kelty, 2013, p. 25). Christopher Kelty presents two sides to participation and power: on one hand, there are *Formal Social Enterprises*, which have a regulated structure and existence, and on the other hand, there are *Organized Publics*, which are informal and center around attention, as explained by Lévy. The first mentioned describes *The New York Times*: it is hierarchically structured and voices in it are limited to the people that work there, its funding depends on the customers who buy and read it, and it is a part of the more liberal media in the United States. The second one covers Twitter: by following certain accounts, hashtags, or topics, and contributing to those topics that capture their attention, people participate in a Twitter community within the limits of their own interests, and thus, participate in an

Organized Public. However, as Kelty points out, Twitter users do not have a say in how Twitter works, but they merely fall into the web of algorithms that are behind the structure of Twitter (2013, p. 26). Thus, even though Twitter is a place where everyone can express themselves freely and participate in the ecosystem of knowledge of their choosing, the structure of Twitter still controls the users.

The theory on participatory culture complements the theory on cultural materialism in answering research question number three about the differences between the two corpora. Together they help examine the power relations between the sources for the two corpora, *The New York Times* and Twitter, and thus help analyze the implications on the similarities and differences between the conceptual metaphors that are found in the corpora. Arguably the Twitter users who post about the topic “mindfulness” have created an ecosystem of knowledge around the term. At times, a *Formal Social Enterprise*, such as *The New York Times*, can be involved in the ecosystem as Twitter users often share links to pieces of news or articles. This overlapping of the two, however, is not a part of this study as Twitter posts with links tend not to have text which would make the search for conceptual metaphors difficult.

3. Methodology and materials

To gather the data for this study from *The New York Times* and Twitter, I have used the method of corpus linguistics. For further analysis, the corpora are coded and then analyzed using discourse analysis.

3.1. Corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistics is a tool for the study of language. According to Tom McEnery and Andrew Hardy, it is a multifaceted set of procedures, but generalizations of the methods can be made (2012, p. 1). One of the generalizations of corpus linguistics is that the corpus is a large-scale set of data that is machine-readable. The fact that it is machine-readable makes the words in it analyzable in context with the help of concordances, and thus allows the researcher to see patterns of language. To put together a corpus, one must choose the kind of corpus that they want to collect: for this study, the sample corpus approach was used. The sample corpus is collected by first choosing the sampling frame (McEnery & Hardy, 2012, 8-9), which in this case was the word *mindful** in *The New York Times Topics* articles and in Twitter posts. Then, the text must be compiled together into a form that is searchable and readable. A sample corpus may be relatively small, and it is fixed to fit a certain research question. Large web-based corpuses, such as COCA, are searched using concordances and they are indexed, which enables to find words without the program going through the entire corpus (McEnery & Hardy, 2012, p. 45). The small sample corpora collected for this study was searched and analyzed manually.

The first corpus for this study is comprised of 2,559 words collected with the help of a concordance-like procedure. The articles that included the word *mindful** in the form of *mindful*, *mindfully* or *mindfulness* were collected and copied into a file. The timeline for the articles was from January of 2019 to January of 2020. Within that timeline, there were total of 32 articles in the topic page out of which 16 articles had the *mindful** in them. The body text and the headings of the articles made up a corpus with 21,733 words and 105 instances of *mindful**, which accounts for 0,5 % of the entire data. To help investigate the word in the context of the sentences that it appeared in, only the sentences with one or, some cases, two instances of *mindful** were separated into their own file. The corpus of the sentences is 2,559 words which is 11,8 % of the entire data.

The second corpus was collected from Twitter using the same timeline as with the first corpus: January 2019 until January 2020. Twitter was chosen as the platform for the corpus. For the Twitter corpus, the instances were found using Twitter's own search tools. The words that were searched were *mindfulness* and *mindful*, which resulted in tweets that included the words both inside the text and as hashtags. A day-by-day timeline was used in the search due to the popularity of the words: for each month, eight or nine days were chosen and either the most popular or the most recent tweet was chosen to the corpus. Approximately half of the tweets chosen into the corpus were from the "most popular" tweets and half from the "most recent" ones to get a wide range of tweets. The instances of *mindful** collected from Twitter provide a narrow representation of the total number of tweets that include the word as there were thousands and thousands of such tweets every day. The methods of

collecting from both the “most popular” and “most recent” side of Twitter enable the presentation tweets that have become “sticky” through circulation and tweets that will become “sticky” through being accessible at the top of “most recent” tweets. There are altogether 107 tweets and 3,378 words in the corpus. *Mindful** appears in the corpus 138 times, which makes up for 4,09 % of the data. However, only 131 of the 138 were included in the study, for the rest stood alone as hashtags which made finding metaphors impossible.

Another generalization in corpus linguistics is that the corpus must match the research questions at hand. For this study, the research questions were formed before collecting the corpora. Finally, the researcher must be aware of the internal variation that may occur in the corpus; there can be differences in, for example, the dialect (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 1-2). Variation, according to Michael Oakes, means that certain features of language have different functions (2009, p. 159). Variation inside the corpus collected for this study may occur since all the articles that the corpus has been compiled from have been written by different journalists. To avoid variation, however, the first corpus has been compiled from a digital archive of *Times Topics: Meditation*; the topic name narrows the subjects of the articles down to spirituality, Eastern religions, and well-being.

Research conducted using corpus linguistics can be either quantitative or qualitative. The corpora are analyzed qualitatively using methods that are paired with corpus linguistics, which, in this study, is more of the method for data collection and formation than analysis. Alice Deignan introduces the study of metaphors in corpus linguistics to have two strands of research: “analysis of linguistic patterns of metaphor, and research into the use of metaphor in specific genres” (2009, p. 9). The second research strand is used in this study; finding metaphors of *mindful** in newspaper articles and tweets that relate to topics such as well-being, meditation, and spirituality. The connection between Critical Discourse Analysis and corpus linguistics has been considered by Gerlinde Mautner, according to whom the amount of data in corpora might aid the analysis between the language and the social (2009, p. 32-33). Although I am not engaging in Critical Discourse Analysis, but its sister branch of discourse analysis, Mautner’s observation is relevant for this study as well: large scale data collected makes the analysis more relevant. The analysis of the corpus was to first find the metaphorical patterns and then deepen the analysis of the metaphors with coding and later on, discourse analysis.

3.2. Coding

To categorize the two corpora and answer the first research question, the data was coded. According to Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion and Keith Morrison (2011), coding can quantify qualitative data and reduce it into a manageable form. Corpus linguistics is applicable in both quantitative and qualitative research, and in this research a qualitative approach is used in the analysis of the corpora. Coding as a method applies to the research as there is a large amount of data to be analyzed and coding provides tools to carry out the first phase of the analysis, which is to find patterns in the sentences that indicate the underlying metaphors and group those metaphors together under labeled categories. Coding is a tool for deductive research, which is the research method of the first phase of this study.

Coding is used to identify similarities in a mass of data (Cohen et al., 2011). Coding can focus on anything, but in this thesis, the coding is based on Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphor. Codes are descriptive and they derive from the data. The research should easily understand them so that the process of coding is easier; the process itself does not take place just once but includes reading and rereading of the data as the codes are formed and reformed, placed and replaced in the process (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 560). A researcher should be careful not to let the existing codes influence the coding of the data – in this research, the first corpus was coded half a year before the second, and in the coding of the second corpus this matter was to be considered carefully as to avoid imposing the pre-existing codes on the data. This meant that the initial codes were assigned without looking at the first set of coding and the axial codes were created based on the initial open codes that were found instead of forcing the open codes to match the earlier axial codes.

Cohen et al. present four types of coding: open coding, analytical coding, axial coding, and selective coding. Only two of the types of coding are relevant for this research and thus only they will be presented here. The first type of coding that was used in analyzing the corpora is open coding. According to Strauss and Corbin, “an open code is simply a new label that the researcher attaches to a piece of text to describe and categorize that piece of text” (1990, as cited in Cohen et al., 2011, p. 561). Thus, open coding is the initial process of the analysis. Here are three examples of open coding from this study:

1. But in order for physicians to be able to “prescribe” mindfulness as a therapy, it would help to be able to quantify it. INSTRUMENT
2. Given that one known effect of practicing mindfulness is the reduction of stress and anxiety, travelers could stand to benefit. SKILL
3. Got my first semester med school schedule. First week includes: intro to mindfulness, intro to nutrition, intro to U.S. health systems/policy. I imagine these are somewhat recent developments in #meded and I'm so happy about it! #medtwitter DISCIPLINE

In all the cases, open codes were assigned based on knowledge of Lakoff and Johnson's theory of extended metaphor and using COCA to find out more about the collocates of the words that surround *mindfulness*; the process of open coding was an attempt to categorize the content of the extended metaphors used in the tweets. The open codes presented in the examples were the result of two to three readings and rereadings of the data – as the reading progressed, the open codes got clearer and some of them had to be revised.

After having used open coding for the corpora, axial coding was applied to refine the analysis. Axial coding, as presented by Cohen et al., is used to group together the open codes that have a common denominator and collect those codes under categories and subcategories that describe the codes on an abstract level (2011, p. 561-562). Here is an example of an axial code found in this study, and three instances of open coding that were included in the axial code:

substance

1. Surety is the cage of fools, mindfulness the #elixir of the #wise. #wisdom #equanimity #balance #mindful #mindfulness DRINK
2. #bellletstalk and make this year of putting yourself first! Find someways to incorporate mindfulness(whatever it means to you) into your everyday life - reading a book, meditating, writing in a journal, calling your mom, yoga, drawing, going for a walk - whatever helps calm you INGREDIENT
3. Good Morning Kissables Fam Out There... Meditate -- Wave some mindfulness into your morning routine. It could be a brief meditation, grounding you and softening your reaction to whatever challenges are in store for the day. @KissesDelavin #KissesDelavin #DNinang WATER

Below the axial code SUBSTANCE are three examples that were analyzed as SUBSTANCES. The final axial code represents the metaphor that is found in all three examples. In some cases, the initial open code became the final axial code. This was the case with for example INSTRUMENT and SKILL that were presented above. The axial codes thus describe an overarching metaphor which combines several more specific codes. The axial codes are thus, in Lakoff and Johnson's terms, extended metaphors which can then be considered in terms of what they reveal about mindfulness among the general population of Twitter users.

The coding process in the research began with going through the instances of *mindful** one by one and coming up with a code for each instance. Cohen et al. note that there are several computer programs that can be used in coding, but as the focus of the coding in this research is abstract and requires the ability to interpret symbolic meanings of words, using a computer to analyze was not suitable. Hence, the coding was executed manually. After each of the instances (105 in the first corpus and 131 in the second) had been open coded, the codes were grouped into categories. For the first

corpus, there were seven categories and for the second, ten categories to be found. An inter-rater reliability test was performed for the categories and the result was a 90 % agreement on both.

3.3. *Discourse analysis*

After finding the conceptual metaphors from the corpora, discourse analysis is used to analyze the connections between the three types of mindfulness and the metaphors. Conceptual metaphors, according to Lakoff and Johnson, are the way our systems of communication and thinking are built, and they reveal the beliefs that are built within our culture (1980, p. 3-6). By using discourse analysis, I attempt to explicate the metaphors and answer research question two to shed light on whether the beliefs that surround the word *mindful** match Buddhist, secular, or popular mindfulness.

Language, according to James Paul Gee, always happens within a context, entails a practice within itself, and includes politics (2010). Context, in his view of language, is present in all communication, because to say everything that we mean would take too much time. The purpose of Discourse Analysis is to reveal how language is used in each situation, and what context(s) are present in the communication – to link the language and the social. Gee introduces the Situated Meaning Tool, which is designed to inspect the different definitions of a word in different contexts (2011, p. 151-153). The tool will be used by providing an explanation to how the metaphors were present in the language and by viewing the metaphors as the context for *mindful** and then connecting the metaphorical context with the three schools of thought that exist for mindfulness.

Discourse analysis has been used before to study the meaning of mindfulness. Jessie Sun (2014) has conducted a historical discourse analysis on mindfulness to put it in its context. Sun collects etymological roots for the term and then, from there, starts introducing all the concepts where the word was and is used starting from the Buddhist scriptures and ending in popularized mindfulness. In her article, she draws connections between Buddhist mindfulness, secular mindfulness, and the contemporary discourse around the concept today. She examines the mainstream discourse through a critical lens that stems from the Buddhist philosophy behind mindfulness. She concludes by considering the possibilities of the secular and popular contexts of mindfulness sticking to the Buddhist lens in the consideration.

In this study, I attempt to examine a piece of the contemporary discourse around the concept of mindfulness applying similar ideas as Sun did in her study of the discourse. I will be making connections between the discussion of mindfulness in the data collected from *The New York Times* and Twitter and the Buddhist, secular, and popularized concepts of mindfulness. However, I will focus on the conceptual metaphors found in the corpora rather than aim for building a bigger picture

on the subject as Sun did in her study. I will also examine the metaphors considering all three views on mindfulness unlike Sun, whose aim was to study the discourse appreciating and respecting the Buddhist roots of the practice (Sun, 2014, p. 409).

4. Results and discussion

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first two sections are focused on answering the first and second research questions on the metaphors that appear in the two corpora and their connections to the three schools of thought in mindfulness. The first section introduces the metaphors found in *The New York Times* corpus and the second section the ones that were found in Twitter corpus. The third section answers research question three on the differences between the two corpora.

4.1. Mindful* in The New York Times

The instances of *mindful** in the corpus were divided into seven categories based on the metaphors they represent and according to which the results are divided. The first category to be presented and analyzed is mindfulness as a modifier, where mindfulness has a linguistic use to define an entity. The second category is mindfulness as a fixed concept, where mindfulness is an ENTITY that exists unchanged. The third category presents the instances, where mindfulness is a PRODUCT that can be used and sold, and from there derives the fourth category, where mindfulness is an INSTRUMENT to achieve something. The fifth category, which is also the largest one, is mindfulness as a SKILL: mindfulness is practiced and learned. The sixth category is mindfulness as a MENTAL STATE, into which a person enters. The final category presents mindfulness as an AUTHORITY and a PERSON. In each section, discourse analysis is used to discuss the metaphors to answer research questions two: how the three types of mindfulness are present in the metaphors and represented in the context provided by the metaphors.

Metaphor	Number of <i>mindful*</i> -instances	Percentage of <i>mindful*</i> -instances
INSTRUMENT	7	6,7 %
AUTHORITY/PERSON	7	6,7 %
PRODUCT	13	12,4 %
Modifier	13	12,4 %
ENTITY	19	18,1 %
MENTAL STATE	19	18,1 %
SKILL	27	25,7 %

Figure 1. Frequency of the metaphors found in *The New York Times* corpus.

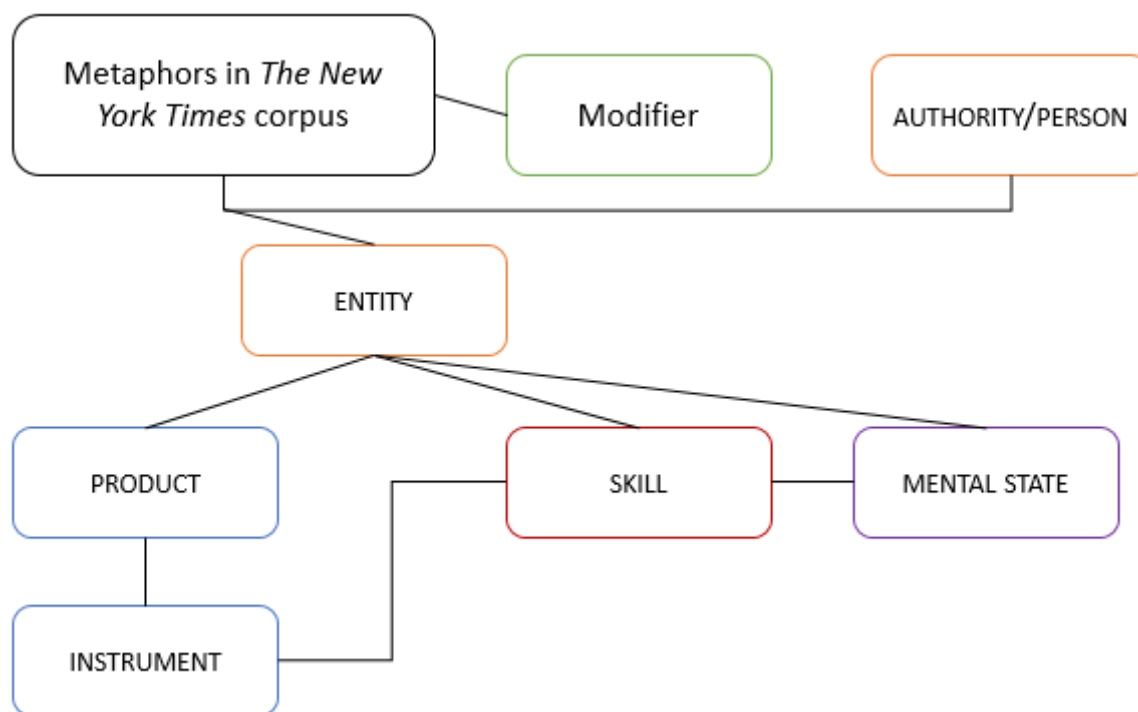


Figure 2. The metaphors are related to one another in complex ways and some metaphors are the basis of others.

As Figure 2 shows, the metaphors are interconnected with one another. The relationships between the different metaphors are more explicitly explained in the analysis of each one of the metaphors, but a brief account of them is provided here to clarify the figure. For one, “modifier” is not a metaphor, but it represents *mindful** serving a linguistic purpose to complete and define an entity. ENTITY, on the other hand, is the basis for all the other metaphors except for AUTHORITY/PERSON which serves as a rhetorical device. PRODUCT, SKILL and derive equally from ENTITY and the metaphor INSTRUMENT can be further categorized from PRODUCT. INSTRUMENT and SKILL are both means for direct manipulation and they are thus connected to one another. MENTAL STATE and SKILL are connected due to the nature of a SKILL, which can be a mental or physical capacity that is trained.

4.1.1. *Mindfulness as a modifier*

In the corpus, there are thirteen instances, where mindfulness is used as a modifier, which makes up for 12,4 % of the instances of *mindful**. Modifier here means that the term has a linguistic rather than metaphorical use – it defines an entity. The instances can be divided into three groups: in the first group, mindfulness is used as a part of a name, and in the second group, mindfulness is a defining part of a noun phrase. In the last group, which is only one instance, mindfulness has purely linguistic meaning. Although it here is of linguistic use and purpose, according to Lakoff and Johnson it can further be analyzed into a CONTAINER (1980, p. 10). They state, however, that LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS FOR MEANING is such an integral part of speech, that it is difficult to view it as a metaphor. Thus, in this category, the metaphor will be applied in the cases where its appearance is obvious.

In the first group, where mindfulness is used as part of a name, it is mostly in the names of departments of different universities, where mindfulness is studied. Here are two examples of such names in the sentences they were used:

1) *Mr. Boughton discovered mindfulness after his own bout with PTSD, eventually becoming a trustee of the Oxford University Mindfulness Center.*

2) *In November, Eric Loucks, director of the Mindfulness Center at the Brown University School of Public Health, and colleagues published a study in Plos One, a science journal, that put forward a possible solution: an eight-week mindfulness-based program.*

One of the six names in which mindfulness is used as a modifier is *Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction*, the program formed by Kabat-Zinn. This is an instance, where *mindfulness* can be seen as a modifier but also having a metaphoric use. The whole sentence goes as follows:

3) *They started with one of the most widely used mindfulness curriculums, a program called Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction, first developed in the late 1970s at the University of Massachusetts to help hospital patients manage chronic pain.*

Here, *mindfulness* is used with the word *based*, which suggests that mindfulness is a CONTAINER: looking at the clusters of the verb *base*, the prepositions *on* and *in* are the most often used, and they both refer to an object or a place with boundaries (COCA). Perceiving abstract things as having boundaries, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Dodge and Lakoff (2005), is innate for humans. In addition to the name of the program, there are two instances in the category, where the cluster *mindfulness-based* appears.

The word *mindfulness* appears as a modifier without the addition *-based* four times in the corpus. In these instances, it defines independent concepts that *mindfulness* supplements.

4) *In Loucks's study, as in many mindfulness studies, most of the participants who responded to advertisements seeking volunteers were white, college-educated and by definition interested in trying the practice, so it's not clear if the results apply more widely.*

5) *In 2013, at the age of 87, he visited the United States and held mindfulness events at the World Bank headquarters in Washington and at tech companies in the San Francisco Bay Area.*

The noun *studies*, that appears with *mindfulness* in the 4th instance, is used as a general term for research. It often appears without a specification of the type of study or studies that are in question (COCA). Thus, *mindfulness* has a defining purpose in the noun phrase. In the case of the 5th instance, *mindfulness events* correspond to a happening or an occasion that is devoted to a certain subject; *mindfulness* in the phrase is indicating the subject of the event, and thus has a defining purpose.

The last instance where *mindfulness* is a modifier is different from the others, as it cannot be analyzed to be an ENTITY. It has a purely linguistic purpose.

6) *The Plos One paper was one of more than 7,000 studies published last year that included the word "mindfulness," according to the U.S. National Library of Medicine; in 2007, roughly 70 scientific articles were published on therapeutic uses of the practice, JAMA noted the following year.*

The indicator of linguistic purpose in the instance is *the word* and quotation marks around *mindfulness*. It narrows the meaning of *mindfulness* simply to a lexical term, a unit of language, that can be used to identify something, in this case studies that include it.

Although *mindfulness* has a defining linguistic use in these two categories, it still exists as an entity of its own. One of the definitions Lakoff and Johnson give to the metaphor of ENTITY is that it can be referred to (1980, p. 26). Thus, to be able to refer to *mindfulness* in these sentences, it needs to exist as an understandable entity. *Mindfulness* as an existing entity that can define curriculums, departments, and programs does not correspond to the Buddhist, the secular, or the popular idea of *mindfulness*. Arguably, MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY and thus also a modifier is the basis to all three views of *mindfulness*: to be able to define *mindfulness*, the concept of it must be made understandable for humans, and to understand an abstract experience or phenomenon, it is often made into an entity (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980. p. 25).

4.1.2. *Mindfulness as an ENTITY*

One of the metaphors that *mindful** represents is MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY. The use of mindfulness as a modifier builds up to it being something fixed, something that can, as it is, define other entities, such as scientific areas of research or a program, as was proved in the previous chapter. MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY is an ontological metaphor, as it describes a phenomenon as an ENTITY. Referring ‘mindfulness’ to be an ENTITY makes it more understandable: it is easier to quantify it, identify different aspects of it, see it as a cause, and motivate actions with it (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 25-27). Mindfulness as something unchanging appears in the corpus 19 times, which is 18,1 % of the instances of *mindful**.

Eight of the 18 instances of MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY describe mindfulness as something that simply exists, something that can be referred to as a whole — something that can be quantified as one. Examples of such sentences are the following:

7) *“If you have any interest in mindfulness today, it’s thanks in part to Goenka.”*

8) *What he means is that mindfulness is often associated with peacefulness.*

9) *“We’re talking about a sort of a slightly more sophisticated version of the advice that your mom gave you, when you were a kid, of ‘take a deep breath,’ ” said Dan Harris, the co-anchor of ABC’s “Nightline” and the weekend edition of “Good Morning America” who has authored two books about mindfulness and meditation.*

In the seventh example, the metaphor can be elaborated further to MINDFULNESS IS A CONTAINER, for it is used with the preposition *in*, which suggests that the entity of *mindfulness* in this case is a closed space where the *interest* takes place. Examples eight and nine, on the other hand, refer to a broader entity, an existence which can be made associations of and written into books.

Five sentences in the corpus that refer to mindfulness as a fixed ENTITY show it by identifying different aspects of mindfulness. Some of them highlight the benefits of mindfulness:

10) *You’ve heard about the benefits of mindfulness before.*

11) *The fad is backed by reams of scientific research showing the benefits of mindfulness for your physical and mental health — how even short-term stints improve your attention span and your ability to focus, your memory, and other cognitive functions.*

The use of the noun *benefit* with *mindfulness* suggests that there are also other aspects to the ENTITY. The aspects can be, for example, disadvantages. The word *benefit* also suggests that one can receive something from mindfulness, as the collocations of benefit often entail verbs such as offer, receive, and provide (COCA). Some of the sentences refer to a specific aspect of mindfulness:

12) *The neuroscience of mindfulness involves, in part, strengthening a part of mental capacity known as “working memory” — a short-term, moment-to-moment catalog of tasks understood by scientists to effectively hold only a few pieces of information at one time.*

As well as when referring to the *benefits of mindfulness*, here the preposition *of* indicates that a certain aspect of mindfulness is identified instead of the whole ENTITY.

There are three sentences where mindfulness is seen as a fixed ENTITY, mindfulness is also an object towards which action is aimed at. According to Lakoff and Johnson, such actions and the aims of the actions become OBJECTS (1940, p. 30-31). In the first sentence where MINDFULNESS IS AN OBJECT, it can be discovered:

13) *Mr. Boughton discovered mindfulness after his own bout with PTSD, eventually becoming a trustee of the Oxford University Mindfulness Center.*

The verb *discover* is an action that is aimed at something, that in this case is mindfulness. The other example of mindfulness being an object is when it is used with the verb *adopt*:

14) *In the newsmagazine of the Royal New Zealand Air Force, the military explained the rationale behind adopting mindfulness.*

Mindfulness is suggested to be something one can claim as their own. Hence, mindfulness is an ENTITY that has been contained in physical limits and further, it becomes property.

Finally, two of the 18 sentences that imply mindfulness to be a fixed ENTITY suggest that mindfulness is also an IDEOLOGY or a CAUSE.

15) *Thich Nhat Hanh, Preacher of Mindfulness, Has Come Home to Vietnam*

16) *Many Americans know him as the foremost proponent of mindfulness, a mental state achieved by focusing one’s awareness on the present moment.*

MINDFULNESS IS AN IDEOLOGY/CAUSE is seen in the words *preacher* and *proponent*, which reveal how the ENTITY of mindfulness is being spread to people by someone. Although mindfulness is an IDEOLOGY in these cases, it has still been contained into a limited ENTITY that can be spread around.

The metaphor MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY, as stated at the end of the analysis of mindfulness as a modifier, is not equivalent with the Buddhist, the secular, nor the popularized idea of mindfulness, but at the same time it is the basis for all three views. The subcategories of ENTITY, which in

this case are CONTAINER, OBJECT, and IDEOLOGY or CAUSE, on the other hand, have connections with the views. MINDFULNESS IS AN IDEOLOGY/CAUSE has similar features with the Buddhist and secular ideas of mindfulness, where it is widely taught to people, and thus spread. In both orientations, offering teachings on mindfulness is important for the practice to deepen (Sarbacken, 2005, p. 264; Pennanen, 2014, p. 102). However, Buddhists or secularist mindfulness practitioners do not view mindfulness as something that should be enforced on people – the Buddha has said that it is important for the practitioner to find their own truth inside of them, and Jon Kabat-Zinn has underlined a similar conduct (Kabat-Zinn, 2011). MINDFULNESS IS AN OBJECT is a metaphor that corresponds to the popular idea of mindfulness as something that can be the object of an action, something that is used for one's own aspirations (Sun, 2014, p. 404-405). Mindfulness as an OBJECT is a basis for the next category, where the metaphoric meaning of mindfulness is a PRODUCT. MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY is also the basis of the sticky concept *mindfulness*; it is the basis of understanding and the basis of the stories that are told and thus it is the one that is sticky, the one that gathers attributes and sticky images.

4.1.3. *Mindfulness as a PRODUCT*

Thirteen instances, 12,4 % of the instances, of mindfulness were interpreted to contain metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A PRODUCT. Like most of the metaphors in this study, this metaphor builds on MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY. To be able to comprehend mindfulness as a PRODUCT, it needs to be understood as an ENTITY and furthermore, a CONTAINER. Mindfulness as a PRODUCT is also linked to the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS AN OBJECT, where mindfulness is an object of action. The way MINDFULNESS IS AN OBJECT can be elaborated further into MINDFULNESS IS A PRODUCT is looking at the verbs and nouns used within the metaphors: the verbs that occur are often used when talking about a product made for human benefit and use, and the nouns are products itself with *mindfulness* as a defining part of the name. Therefore, the category is divided into two according to whether the metaphor is formed using verbs or nouns.

In seven instances of the phrases, *mindfulness* is used with a verb that suggests mindfulness to be a PRODUCT. Four of those verbs are *use* which makes mindfulness a direct object. Synonyms for the verb *use* are for example *consume* and *benefit* (COCA), which add to the conception of mindfulness here being a PRODUCT:

17) *Research also has shown that use of mindfulness can help soldiers overcome post-traumatic stress disorder.*

18) *That has been the experience of Britain's chief evangelist for use of mindfulness in the military, Commander Tim Boughton.*

Mindfulness appears as a PRODUCT because in both examples, there is someone or some people who use it for their own purposes, and in both cases an outcome of the use is suggested. When using any kind of products, people expect an outcome that makes their lives better, which is also the idea behind consumerism (Chappelow, 2019).

In the following examples appear other verbs that are used within the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A PRODUCT:

19) *Overlooked No More: S. N. Goenka, Who Brought Mindfulness to the West*

20) *Instead of rolling out of the bed and looking at your phone, try the three M's: mindfulness, movement and mind-set.*

In the 19th instance, where *mindfulness is brought to the West by Goenka*, mindfulness is again an object that is moved around by someone, imported to places. Although abstractions, such as joy or boil, can be *brought*, they are still bound to be fixed entities and containers in our understanding and thus, objects that are movable (COCA; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In the instance, *brought* seems to be a comparison to the term *import*, which is often used when products or even abstractions like education are brought from one country into another. The 20th instance, on the other hand, has a similar structure to the instances where *use* is used to build the metaphor. The verb *try* is often used with other verbs, such as *do* or *get* (COCA), but in this case it is used with a direct object, *mindfulness*. The metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A PRODUCT in the instance can be construed by saying, that mindfulness is comparable to, for example, a medicine or a trial-period of a software.

Two instances of *mindfulness* are in names of products:

21) *In addition to Calm, there is also Headspace, iMindfulness, Aura, Breethe and Buddhify, each with their own central voices.*

22) *They call it "McMindfulness".*

In the first one of the two, *mindfulness* has gotten a prefix *i*, which suggests a connection to Apple-products. Thus, mindfulness here is a product that is comparable with other Apple-products such as iPads or iPhones. In the second one, *McMindfulness* is mentioned. It is a name that is used for the popular and consumerist ideas of mindfulness that have drifted away from the Buddhist roots of the practice and serve as a part of popular culture and capitalist ethos. Thus, the 22nd instance has two levels: on one hand, mindfulness as a consumable product that, for example, instance 21 represents, and on the other hand it is a meta level name for consumerist mindfulness.

In three instances, *mindfulness* is used to define a product or a consumerist phenomenon:

22) *But mindfulness apps represent something that feels totally remote.*

23) *Over in the tech world, mindfulness is deeply in vogue.*

In the first example, *mindfulness* is used to define the type of applications that are in question. It functions as a modifier but is also an integral part of the noun phrase; the word *app* is often used with another noun that defines the app, such as *app store* or *mobile app* (COCA). The 23rd instance represents mindfulness as a fashion phenomenon. According to COCA, *vogue* is used with topics such as fashion, designer, and magazine. Thus, mindfulness here is compared with a consumerist phenomenon.

Representing mindfulness as a PRODUCT that can be consumed is not in line with the Buddhist nor the secular mindfulness. However, the popular view on mindfulness corresponds more with the idea of consuming mindfulness for a person's own benefit and fulfilment. It also corresponds with the ethos of cognitive capitalism that Saari and Harni have presented: production and work are part of constructing an identity and work requires an increased capacity to self-regulate (2016). Mindfulness as a PRODUCT is a reduced set of tools that can be used to self-regulate and make a person feel better in an instant, and thus become more self-fulfilled. Scholars and practitioners of Buddhism and Buddhist mindfulness call the aforementioned view on mindfulness *McMindfulness*, referring to the spectrum of reduced mindfulness practices as a menu of McDonalds, that is cheap and easy to digest. In the popular discourse, the reduction and thus simplification of mindfulness has contributed to the stickiness of the mindfulness concept. It has become a cultural product that acts like a physical product, such as the Barbie doll, itself. Mindfulness as a PRODUCT is linked together with mindfulness as a MEANS to achieve goals, as an object and a product are the basis of the idea of an instrument.

4.1.4. Mindfulness as an INSTRUMENT

From the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A PRODUCT develops further a metaphor where MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT. In the corpus, there are seven instances of the INSTRUMENT metaphor, which is 6,7 % of all the instances. The instrumental value and use of mindfulness in the sentences is present in the purpose of use mentioned after mindfulness; it is used to achieve a certain benefit or a goal. The analysis is divided according to the instrumental purpose of mindfulness, whether it is health or a general goal.

The first group of MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT is instances, where mindfulness is viewed as a means for health benefits and medical treatment. Studies have shown multiple health benefits that mindfulness practice has and thus, it has been shaped to treat different kinds of conditions. Most of the practices used in the field of medicine are based on Kabat-Zinn's MBSR-program (Gethin, 2011, p. 268). The instances mention specific purpose of use for mindfulness:

24) Loucks and his colleagues wondered whether a mindfulness regimen designed specifically to reduce blood pressure would work better than general mindfulness programs, which previous studies have shown to have mixed results when it comes to lowering blood pressure.

25) *But in order for physicians to be able to “prescribe” mindfulness as a therapy, it would help to be able to quantify it.*

In the 24th instance, the word *regimen* is used with mindfulness to refer to it as a treatment, an instrument for lowering blood-pressure in this instance. The verb cluster *designed to* reinforces the idea of mindfulness being a treatment, and moreover a product that can be refined and designed for specific purposes. Also the 25th instance considers mindfulness a treatment: the verb *prescribe* is usually used with words such as *doctor, medication, and drug* (COCA). It is *prescribed as a therapy*, which suggests a specific medical and thus instrumental purpose.

The other instances of MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT all discuss mindfulness as an INSTRUMENT for war and military purposes.

26) *“The purists would say that mindfulness was never developed for war purpose,” he said.*

27) *The Latest in Military Strategy: Mindfulness*

Although the instances above are about mindfulness in the military and war, they talk about the instrument of mindfulness a little differently. The first one, the 26th instance, discusses the purpose of mindfulness, which reveals the instrumental perspective. The verb cluster *developed for* points to the purpose, and the specifically designed instrument *mindfulness* that can be employed in war. The 27th instance, on the other hand, equates *military strategy* with *mindfulness*, and thus makes mindfulness an instrument and a strategy for military purpose. The word *strategy* often has clusters such as *for dealing with* and *for coping with* attached to itself, which suggests that a strategy is an instrument to deal or cope with something (COCA). Therefore, mindfulness here is an instrument used in military to deal with the inherent challenges of being in the military and war.

The metaphor MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT in this corpus presents itself in the form of INSTRUMENT for health and for military – mindfulness is used to achieve something. Lakoff and Johnson introduce a concept of direct manipulation: action is manipulation to achieve a change, which in turn has roots in birth (1980, p. 74). Mindfulness in the case of it being an INSTRUMENT can be seen as a means for direct manipulation: it is used to achieve a change in conditions, a birth of something new. The metaphor sticks to the concept a similar image as the metaphor PRODUCT: *mindfulness* gets the attributes a physical product which is used to gain something and which has an instrumental value.

MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT is in line with both secular and popular mindfulness. Secular mindfulness was originally created to make dharma accessible to ordinary Americans, who did not care for the religious inclinations of Buddhist mindfulness and dharma (Kabat-Zinn, 2011). Kabat-Zinn formed secular mindfulness to harness its benefits for medical use, and thus created it to be an instrument for wellbeing. This works as a base for the popular perspective on mindfulness as an instrument that can help achieve goals, become healthier, even be more effective at work, which in turn goes together with the idea of cognitive capitalism where mental resilience and effectiveness are an advantage in working life (Saari & Harni, 2016, p. 102). Buddhist mindfulness does not view mindfulness as an INSTRUMENT but as an inherent part of meditation.

4.1.5. Mindfulness as a SKILL

The largest category of metaphors found in the corpus collected from *The New York Times* views mindfulness as a SKILL that can be practiced, trained, and taught. The category includes 27 instances, which is 25,7 % of the total. MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL is similar to MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT: they both view mindfulness as a means for direct manipulation but not the action itself. A SKILL, like an INSTRUMENT, can help a person make a change and thus create something new. The instances under the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL are divided into two categories: in the first category, mindfulness is trained by an individual, and in the second category it is a SKILL that is passed on socially through teaching.

In the first category, the verbs and nouns used with *mindfulness* suggest that mindfulness is a SKILL that is trained similarly to any physical or mental skill.

28) Loucks's study compared participants with themselves before and after the mindfulness training, but it's impossible to be certain whether the training itself caused the observed changes.

29) Practice a few minutes of mindfulness meditation, and do a short session of exercise, such as a yoga sequence or a series of stretches.

30) "Any type of mindfulness exercise, whether one minute or 10 minutes, can help your mind and body," said Dr. Bell, who recommends starting with a short exercise and then building from there.

Each of the instances above include words that are used in topics such as workout, athletics and skill. The words *training*, *practice*, *exercise*, and *session* also appear in each other's collocations, which makes them interlinked (COCA). The verbs *train* and *practice* with *mindfulness* point to a consistent rehearsing of the SKILL that is mindfulness. In the corpus, there are instances of *training* and *practice* where *mindfulness* appears either before or after the verbs, defining the kind of exercise that is going on. The noun *exercise* is often used with physical training, which can be interpreted as a skill practice.

The second category, where MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL, it is passed on socially through the act of teaching. The category includes nouns that refer to teaching.

31) *In his later years, Mr. Nhat Hanh devoted his life to teaching mindfulness and engaged Buddhism.*

32) *“He played a really pivotal role in initiating a generation of people who would become the first mindfulness teachers in the West.”*

33) *Levitt worked as a musician and a voice-over actress before she became a mindfulness instructor, and it, too, is an art.*

The verb *teach* entails the idea of imparting knowledge or a skill to another person, and the noun *teacher* has the same root as the verb and entails the same idea but refers to the one imparting the skill or knowledge (COCA). In the 31st instance, *mindfulness* is placed after *teaching*, which indicates mindfulness being the subject of teaching, the skill to be imparted to someone. In the 32nd instance, *mindfulness* defines the word *teacher*, which could be analyzed as it being a modifier. However, in the American school system, there are teachers such as English teacher, sports teacher, and mathematics teacher and all the while being subjects, the defining words also are skills when they are analyzed from the point of view of an individual and the act of teaching. The word *instructor* is close to *teacher*, and the collocation of the two include similar words (COCA). The analysis for the cluster *mindfulness teacher* also applies in the case of *mindfulness instructor*: mindfulness can be viewed as a SKILL because of the meaning of the word *instructor*.

The metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL can be somewhat traced to all the three schools of thought in mindfulness that are under the scope in this study: the Buddhist, the secular, and the popular. Buddhist mindfulness recognizes the need to practice mindfulness in order to be able to meditate and live according to the Noble Eightfold Path. Teaching mindfulness and meditation is also an important part of the Buddhist philosophy – many Buddhist schools see meditation and mindfulness as social practices that grow deeper in the guidance of a teacher (Sarbacker, 2005, p. 265). Secular mindfulness views mindfulness above all a SKILL which can be used as an instrument for self-help in various situations and which should be practiced to be able to derive benefits from (Sun, 2014, p. 404-405). Secular mindfulness, which is born in an individualistic society, stresses the aspect of the

individual learning process of mindfulness. The MBSR-program also emphasizes the importance of the teacher who is there to help and guide with the learning process (Pennanen, 2014, p. 102). Popular mindfulness, like secular mindfulness, leans on the individual benefits that mindfulness as a SKILL or an INSTRUMENT may have. The SKILL metaphor sticks the images of learning and teaching to the concept, which then has its sounding board in the Buddhist origins of the term.

4.1.6. *Mindfulness as a MENTAL STATE*

The sixth metaphor that stemmed from the *The New York Times* corpus is MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE. It shares elements with mindfulness as a SKILL, as a skill is an ability that can be physical or mental – mindfulness is a mental ability that arguably helps achieve a mental state. MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE also goes together with the metaphor CONTAINER: according to Lakoff and Johnson, states are often conceptualized as CONTAINERS (1980, p. 30). There are 19 instances of the metaphor, which is 18,1 % of the total. The instances can be divided into three categories: in the first, mindfulness is in the form of an adjective (*mindful*) or an adverb (*mindfully*), in the second, it is paired with the verb *be*, and in the third, the full noun *mindfulness* is used in the sentences.

In the first category, *mindfulness* appears in the forms *mindful* and *mindfully*. The adjective *mindful* defines the way something is:

34) *Alone and armed with a pair of disposable blue gloves, I tried to bring a mindful approach to my task.*

35) *The paper, in the journal *Progress in Brain Research*, reported that the troops who went through a monthlong training regimen that included daily practice in mindful breathing and focus techniques were better able to discern key information under chaotic circumstances and experienced increases in working memory function.*

In the 34th instance, *mindful* defines the type of *approach* that is in question. The same happens in the 35th instance, where *mindful* defines *breathing*. Looking at the literal meaning of the word *mindful* by finding synonyms for it, it means watchful, attentive or aware (COCA). The meaning of the word suggests a certain state of mind that is brought to *an approach* or *breathing* to make it *mindful*. The adverb *mindfully* works similarly to the adjective:

36) *One week, participants practiced mindfully eating something sweet or salty in class: Loucks asked them to describe how they felt emotionally and physically before, during and after taking a bite; then they did the same for foods from a variation on the Mediterranean diet.*

The synonyms of *mindfully* are *carefully*, *attentively*, and *consciously*, which, similarly to *mindful*, suggests an approach with a certain state of mind (COCA).

The analysis of the second category derives from the first one – the meaning of *mindful** is at the center. In this category, all the instances include the verb *be* either explicitly or implicitly.

37) *For a while, I flitted among several meditation books and apps, trying different ways to be mindful without pain.*

38) *Become mindful of your breathing.*

39) *Staying mindful about what's happening around you will distract you from anxious thoughts about tomorrow.*

In the 37th instance, the adjective *mindful* is used with the verb *be*. *Be*, according to COCA, means to “have a quality of being, be identical to, or occupy a certain position or area”. These definitions support the idea that *mindful* is a MENTAL STATE. *Mindful* is a quality of being, a state that is occupied. The verb *become*, that is used with *mindful* in the 38th instance, means to “enter or assume a certain state or condition” (COCA). Thus, it points to *mindful* being a state that can be entered or assumed. In the 39th instance, the verb *stay* is used; *to stay* has *be* implied, as it means to remain to be the same. The collocations of *stay* are often places or states of being. Thus, the meaning of *mindful* together with the definition and collocates of *stay* can be drawn under the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE.

The third category of the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE includes three instances that must be analyzed separately for they are different from other instances under the metaphor. Unlike in the two categories, these instances include the noun *mindfulness*. In the first one, *mindfulness* as a MENTAL STATE is visible in the verb and the noun phrase before *mindfulness*:

40) *Alternatively, buy some noise cancellation speakers or use an app to facilitate rhythmic breathing and mindfulness.*

The verb *facilitate* means to “make easier” or “increase the likelihood of a response” (COCA). The second definition, according to COCA, is used in physiology. Looking at the phrase *facilitate rhythmic breathing and mindfulness*, there is a parallel drawn between *rhythmic breathing* and *mindfulness*. Breathing is a physiological phenomenon, thus *mindfulness* in this case could be interpreted to be of the same origins – a phenomenon that takes place in the body, more specifically in the mind. Therefore, *mindfulness* can be facilitated the same way as breathing, which makes it a phenomenon of the body, a MENTAL STATE.

In the second instance of the third category, *mindfulness* is explicitly told to be a mental state:

41) *Because loneliness, like mindfulness, is a subjective state, it's difficult to make definitive conclusions about why and how a focus on acceptance prompted greater sociability.*

Again, a parallel is drawn between states of mind *loneliness* and *mindfulness*, and they are told to be *subjective states*. *Subjective*, according to COCA, means that it takes place within the mind and a *state*, as meant in this instance, is a condition or a place (COCA). Both of these point explicitly to MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE. The third instance in the category is again different:

42) *After getting our room assignments — a single, dormlike space — we were guided to a table to receive a “yogi job,” a traditional element on retreats where guests are assigned a daily task to bring mindfulness to everyday activities, such as washing dishes.*

Here, mindfulness seems to be used as a product as it can be *brought*. However, here it is not brought to a place but an activity, which makes the nature of it more abstract. *Bring* can mean to “cause to come into a particular state or condition” (COCA), which makes *mindfulness* the state that is *brought to everyday activities*.

MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE is largely based on the literal meaning of *mindful**. When analyzing the metaphor, it is beneficial to take into account the etymology of the word. According to Online Etymology Dictionary, the word *mindful* has the root *mind* and the suffix *-ful*. It has meant “having knowledge, remembrance or recognition” and “taking thought”, which is close to the meaning nowadays as well. *Mindfulness* is a derivative from the word *mindful*, and in the 16th century it had the meaning of “attention, heedfulness; intention and purpose” (Online Etymology Dictionary). The origins of the word *mindful** suggest that it is, in fact, a mental state. So do the Buddhist origins of mindfulness.

In Buddhism, mindfulness is viewed first and foremost as a mental state. The term *sati*, that was translated to *mindfulness*, means to remember and be attentive (Gethin, 2011). The Buddhist scholars often refer to mindfulness as *lucid awareness*, which is a mental state that helps a person to be attentive in meditation and life (Bodhi, 2011). Secular mindfulness makes references to mindfulness being a state of mind, but views mindfulness as the whole practice instead of a state that helps the practice like Buddhist mindfulness. Popular mindfulness, like the secular, views mindfulness also as the whole practice, and more as a tool or an instrument than a mental state. Thus, MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE is a metaphor that derives from the Buddhist origins of mindfulness. As the Buddhist origins and also the origins of the word suggest that mindfulness is first and foremost a mental state, it can be argued that it is at the root of the concept and that underneath the sticky images that it has gathered over time, the root is still present in the concept.

4.1.7. Mindfulness as AUTHORITY/ PERSON

According to Lakoff and Johnson, the most obvious ontological metaphor is the one where an inanimate object is characterized as a person (1980, p. 33). Lakoff and Johnson further note, that personification is not limited to the metaphor PERSON, but the PERSON gets a certain character that lets us justify the actions around the personified object (1980, p. 34). There are seven instances of mindfulness, which is 6,7 % of the instances, where it gets human-like traits. The metaphors that are interpreted from the instances are mindfulness is an AUTHORITY and a PERSON.

In the instances, *mindfulness* is viewed as to allow people to do something:

43) *“We can’t control if the plane is delayed, or if our luggage gets lost, or the traffic on the road, and meditation and mindfulness allows us to learn to accept the unknowns, and even embrace them,” said Dr. Bell.*

44) *Mindfulness, he said, “lets us unplug from the speed and complexity and noise of everyday life and allows us to return to being in peace.”*

An authority, as defined by COCA, is “a person or people who exercise control over others”, or “an expert whose views are taken as definitive”. In the 43rd and 44th instances, mindfulness is seen as something that controls a person and their actions. That is seen in the use of the verbs *allow* and *let*, which both point to someone who is superior and gives a permission to *learn* and *unplug*. The verbs also have a meaning of “make something possible” (COCA), which also can be interpreted to point to an authoritative figure that makes something possible.

Mindfulness as someone capable of helping others, and thus can be seen as superior in a sense, is visible in the instances:

45) *A certain kind of mindfulness might help people “care less about feeling bad.”*

46) *Mindfulness and meditation can also help you appreciate the destinations you’re exploring.*

In these instances, *mindfulness* is personified by using the verb clusters *might help* and *can help*. The verbs *might* and *can* represent an ability to do something but leave room for hesitation – it is not certain that the action will occur. Paired with the verb *help*, these indicate that someone has the power and the ability to help but may choose not to. Thus, they put *mindfulness* in a superior position of AUTHORITY.

Only one of the seven instances, where MINDFULNESS IS A PERSON, does not correspond with the AUTHORITY metaphor:

47) *Mindfulness* — *the practice of using breathing techniques, similar to those in meditation, to gain focus and reduce distraction — is inching into the military in the United States and those of a handful of other nations.*

Here, *mindfulness* is *inching* its way to *the military*. *Inching* means to “advance slowly”, and its collocates do not draw parallels to any specific topic or phenomenon; the interpretation of it in this context is, then, neutral and without any specific characteristic apart from the human-like ability to move. Therefore, in this instance, MINDFULNESS IS A PERSON instead of an AUTHORITY. The addition right after *mindfulness*, “*the practice of using breathing techniques...*”, suggests that the writer also views it as a SKILL despite the personification. However, the addition does not change the fact that *mindfulness* is personified to having a mind of its own.

MINDFULNESS IS AN AUTHORITY or a PERSON are metaphors that are not equivalent with either the Buddhist, the secular, or the popular mindfulness. All three views of mindfulness see it as an inanimate phenomenon that a person uses, practices, or enters. Arguably, personification of mindfulness is more of a rhetorical device than an image of the metaphoric way mindfulness is seen in the American society. Although it is more of a rhetorical device than an inherent way of viewing the concept of mindfulness, it may still stick to the concept; as the concepts gathers more sticky images on itself, it becomes vaguer and more complex, and at some point it may acquire more human-like traits such as, for example, the concept of corporation has done in the course of time.

4.1.8 Summary of mindful* in The New York Times

There were altogether six conceptual metaphors that were found in *The New York Times* corpus. Along with the six metaphors, there was a category where *mindful** was used linguistically as a modifier. The most frequent conceptual metaphor of the six was MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL. The conceptual metaphors MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT and MINDFULNESS IS AN AUTHORITY/PERSON were the two least frequent metaphors in the corpus. Other metaphors that were found in the study of *The New York Times* corpus were MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE, MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY and MINDFULNESS IS A PRODUCT. As the analysis so far has proven, all the three schools of thought in mindfulness are present in these six metaphors. MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL corresponded with all three ideas of mindfulness whereas MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE was set in the Buddhist realm of mindfulness. MINDFULNESS IS A PRODUCT, on the other hand, could only be traced to popular mindfulness. The main difference between the three schools of thought in mindfulness can be summed up in the purpose of mindfulness: in Buddhism, it is an approach to meditation, whereas in secular and popular views it has become the practice itself and further in the popular view a tool for constructing an efficient

self. These differences were present in the instances that were picked to represent certain metaphors and in the metaphors themselves.

To see the differences between the three schools of thought and thus to connect the conceptual metaphors better with their contexts, I will shortly present the three schools of thought. In Buddhism, mindfulness, according to Sun (2014) and Bodhi (2011), is a cognitive state that is acquired to meditate. It is one part of a whole practice called The Noble Eightfold Path, which entails many elements and spans over the whole life of an individual. This explanation of mindfulness connects to the conceptual metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE. It can also be connected to MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL for a skill is a mental (or physical) ability that enables something, in this case meditation. Secular mindfulness, according to Kabat-Zinn (2011) and Pennanen (2014), is a treatment that has the essence of dharma in it: it is contemplation and acceptance which has been harnessed to relieve stress. Therefore, the conceptual metaphors MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL and AN INSTRUMENT can be traced to secular mindfulness for they entail the idea of using mindfulness as a means for something.

Popular mindfulness is more difficult to define and it needs to be defined in relation to cognitive capitalism: mindfulness has become popular because mental abilities and identities have become the commodity of today, and in that context popular mindfulness was commercialized and popularized (Saari & Harni, 2016). The essence of secular mindfulness, which is a set of meditative practices and acceptance, is present in the popular school of thought. With this is mind, the conceptual metaphors MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL, MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT and MINDFULNESS IS A PRODUCT can be connected to the popular view of mindfulness.

Most of the conceptual metaphors were easy to connect with the particular schools of thought but that was not the case with all of them. Two metaphors, MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY and MINDFULNESS IS AN AUTHORITY/PERSON, referred to mindfulness as a general phenomenon and a general concept without any specific connections. Especially ENTITY is such a metaphor that it leaves out any connections to a specific purpose that mindfulness might have. MINDFULNESS IS AN AUTHORITY/PERSON, however, seemed to be a rhetorical device rather than implying that mindfulness would have authoritative characteristics.

4.2. Mindful* on Twitter

The corpus collected from Twitter was coded and categorized as extended metaphors. All six metaphors found in *The New York Times* corpus also appeared on Twitter corpus but in different volumes. Whereas MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL was the most frequent metaphor in *The New York Times*, MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE appeared most frequently on the collected Twitter posts. Other categories found on Twitter were mindfulness as a modifier, ENTITY, CONTAINER, SKILL, ACTIVITY, SUBSTANCE, PHYSICAL BEING, PRODUCT/INSTRUMENT and AUTHORITY/PERSON. Most of the metaphors were explained in the previous section, but four of them are new. MINDFULNESS IS A CONTAINER entails an idea that mindfulness is a fixed space one can enter or put something in. MINDFULNESS IS AN ACTIVITY presents mindfulness as something that people do and something that is timed. MINDFULNESS IS A SUBSTANCE refers to mindfulness as a substance that can be quantified by using words such as *a little* or *a lot*, it can be drunk and mixed into/with something. MINDFULNESS IS A PHYSICAL BEING refers to an animate or inanimate object that is physically graspable.

Metaphor	Number of <i>mindful</i> *-instances	Percentage of <i>mindful</i> *-instances
AUTHORITY/PERSON	2	1,5 %
CONTAINER	4	3,1 %
PHYSICAL BEING	4	3,1 %
ENTITY	6	4,6 %
ACTIVITY	6	4,6 %
SUBSTANCE	6	4,6 %
PRODUCT/INSTRUMENT	10	7,6 %
Modifier	13	9,9 %
SKILL	14	10,7 %
MENTAL STATE	66	50,4 %

Figure 3. Frequency of the metaphors found in the Twitter corpus.

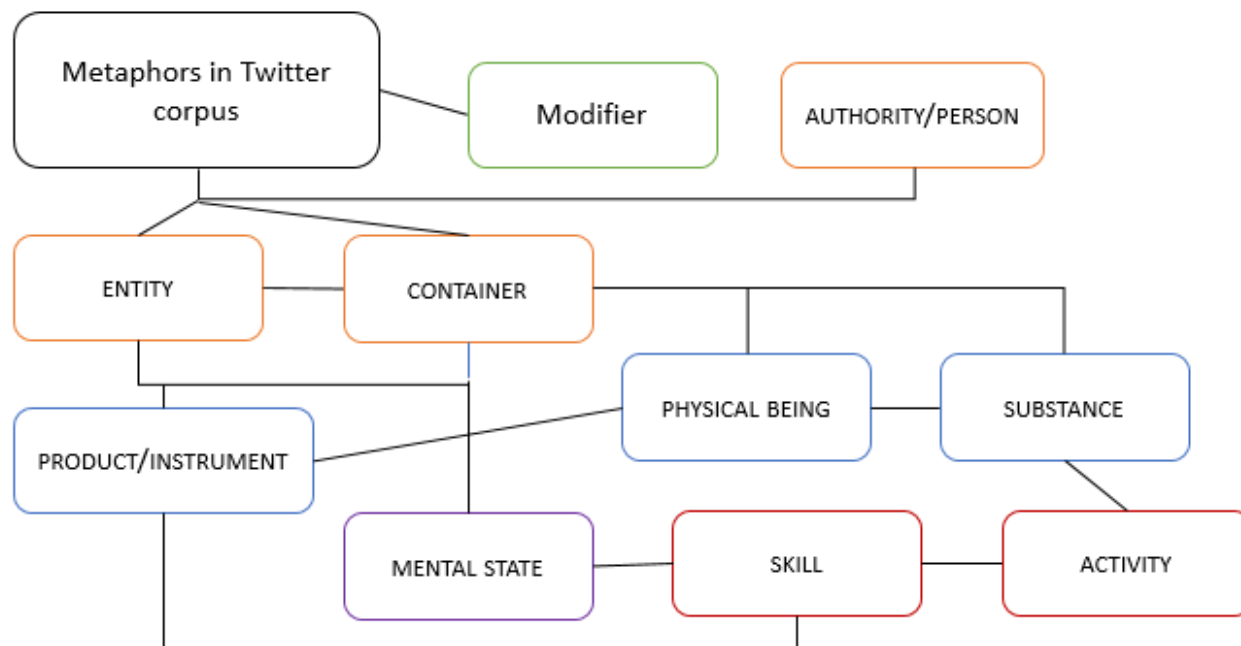


Figure 4. The interconnected relations between the metaphors.

Figure 4 presents the way these ten metaphors are connected to each other similarly to figure 2 provided earlier. The same relationships between modifier, ENTITY, PRODUCT/INSTRUMENT, SKILL, MENTAL STATE and AUTHORITY/PERSON that were presented in the beginning of the analysis of *The New York Times* corpus hold true for the analysis of Twitter corpus. In addition, there are new connections between the metaphors that are, again, explained more thoroughly in the analysis but are briefly introduced here. ENTITY and CONTAINER are equal ontological metaphors that work as a base for understanding other metaphors. CONTAINER metaphor shares features with all the metaphors except AUTHORITY/PERSON, which stands on its own with only vague connection to the PHYSICAL BEING metaphor. CONTAINER, as well as ENTITY, are the basis for PRODUCT/INSTRUMENT, PHYSICAL BEING and SUBSTANCE, which in turn are connected to one another for they share the nature of being physically graspable instead of immaterial entities. MENTAL STATE is a CONTAINER with in-out-orientation. ACTIVITY and SUBSTANCE are connected to each other: according to Lakoff and Johnson, activities are often perceived as SUBSTANCE. SKILL and ACTIVITY share similar features as practicing a skill is an activity and an activity can be practicing a certain skill.

4.2.1. *Mindfulness as a modifier*

In the Twitter corpus, there were 13 instances where *mindful** had a linguistic meaning rather than metaphoric, and they make up for 9,9 % of the instances. Just as in the first corpus, the instances can be divided into groups: names and noun phrases. In both cases, the word defines an entity and brings the “stickiness” of the word to it so as to make the whole concept stickier and more meaningful. When *mindful** is a part of a name, it gives an additional value and meaning to the defined entity.

1) The Mindful Medicine

[@TheMindfulMed](#)

At The Mindful Medicine, we can travel to YOU or...visit us at our Studio Clinic in West London! Our start up offer is only valid for the first few customers so hurry to avoid disappointment

DM for more enquiries!

Here, for example, the word *mindful* is integral to the name of the association *The Mindful Medicine*. It brings a value to the name that would not be there otherwise, holistic and more invested in alternative choices for health.

2) *The Mindful Room in our school library serves many purposes. This week/month it is providing an alternative to the cafeteria for students observing Ramadan. Ramadan Mubarak!*

The same theme goes with the second name. The word *mindful* adds a value to the *room*, which otherwise would just be another room in the school. The name suggests that the room is used for quiet time, and for religious purposes, like in this case for the students who practice Ramadan. Here, the metaphor LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS FOR MEANING (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 10) can be detected from the instance: *The Mindful Room* is but a physical container, also a container for meaning as it entails the ideas of mindfulness, quiet time, concentration, and perhaps even sanctuary in itself. Arguably, the metaphor is parallel to sticky concepts.

Aside from names, *mindful** is used in nominal phrases as a defining factor. There are three of these nominal phrases in the corpus and they are all the same: *mindfulness meditation*.

3) *Mindfulness meditation alters neurophysiological characteristics that are linked to anxiety and depression, new research conducted with elementary school students reveals. (n=66)*

4) *mindfulness meditation is probably my biggest component of sustaining good health mentally.*

Meditation is a word that rouses certain images and connections. It may be best known from Buddhist connections. The secularization of mindfulness, however, has brought with itself meditation to the Western people, and thus using the word with meditation may make the concept seem less foreign. In addition to making meditation seem more understandable, the word *mindfulness* defines the type of meditation that is being discussed; meditation is a broader term and refers to any kind of formal practice where a person trains their awareness and attention (Schultz, 2020). Thus, *mindfulness* here is an attribute to the head of the phrase, *meditation*.

As was noted in the analysis of *The New York Times* corpus, mindfulness has to exist as an independent entity for it to be able to define other entities which, then, leads to the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY. Lakoff and Johnson argue that abstract phenomena and experiences are made into an entity for us to be able to understand them and talk about them (1980, p. 2).

4.2.2. *Mindfulness as an ENTITY*

The metaphor MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY is the base of understanding for the concept of mindfulness. As Lakoff and Johnson note, seeing a phenomenon or an experience as an entity makes them more graspable, and thus, understandable. There are six instances, which is 4,6 %, in the corpus where mindfulness can be analyzed to be an independent ENTITY. Just as in the coding of *The New York Times* corpus, the extended metaphor and axial code MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY was created by a few initial open codes: in addition to ENTITY, mindfulness was seen as a DISCIPLINE and a LANGUAGE.

Two of the five instances represented mindfulness as an ENTITY that can be identified as a whole, and also where different aspects can be found.

5) *“trauma-sensitive mindfulness” is such a beautiful concept and we need more of that*

6) *How ironic that Elsevier—Elsevier!—has sent me a bunch of emails lately about mindfulness and research/life balance.*

In the fifth example, mindfulness is referred to as a concept and it is paired with the attribute *trauma-sensitive*. The attribute, arguably, presents an identified aspect of the whole concept of mindfulness which is characteristic for an ENTITY metaphor. In the sixth example, the tweeter has received *emails about mindfulness*. The word appears to be an abstract yet somehow identifiable concept here as well, and it is referred to as a whole.

The other instances can be analyzed further as DISCIPLINE and LANGUAGE. Both are concepts that can be seen as ENTITIES; different disciplines, such as history or mathematics, are seen as a whole

and referred to as a whole, and the same applies to languages. The instances that viewed mindfulness as a DISCIPLINE used *mindfulness* with words that refer to courses or classes:

7) *Got my first semester med school schedule. First week includes: intro to mindfulness, intro to nutrition, intro to U.S. health systems/policy. I imagine these are somewhat recent developments in [#meded](#) and I'm so happy about it! [#medtwitter](#)*

Here, the tweeter mentions a course called *intro to mindfulness*. The name of the course suggests that mindfulness is a DISCIPLINE where the students start at the intro level course and go deeper into more advanced courses. The fact that there are different levels of courses in the discipline that is mindfulness refers to that different aspects of it can be identified which, then, is innate to an ENTITY.

One tweet refers to *mindfulness* as a LANGUAGE. A language is often referred to as an independent system that exists on its own, which then in Lakoff and Johnson's metaphorical system is an ENTITY. Just as with a discipline, one can identify different aspects of a language: there are different areas such as grammar or vocabulary in the whole of language and it can be perceived as difficult or easy. The choice of words in the tweet clearly point towards a LANGUAGE metaphor.

8) *Yogi @DSmithShow speaking mindfulness: live in the moment. [#Manny2SD](#)*

The verb *speak* with no postpositions, as concordance lines in COCA show, is often used when expressing which language someone speaks. In the tweet, the sentence construction attests to the conclusion of *mindfulness* here being a LANGUAGE (and thus, an ENTITY) – there is a clear subject, the *yogi*, who *speaks mindfulness*.

MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY, as mentioned in the analysis of *The New York Times* corpus, is the base for understanding the concept but not in line with the ideas of either Buddhist, secular, or popular mindfulness. It is the ENTITY of mindfulness, however, that collects meanings and qualities to itself as it circulates in speech and in written forms creating itself in the process. As this process goes on, different aspects of it can be identified from it. To understand abstract ENTITIES, humans often project boundaries on them, which makes them CONTAINERS (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 58).

4.2.3. *Mindfulness as a CONTAINER*

Humans are physical beings bounded by the surface of their skins, with in-out orientation. This orientation and boundedness is often projected onto other things as well. Physical beings such as buildings are obvious metaphors but the quality can be projected onto more abstract things – such as mindfulness (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 29). According to Lakoff and Johnson, there are two types of CONTAINERS: CONTAINER OBJECTS and CONTAINER SUBSTANCES. In this chapter, one of the instances is clear to represent mindfulness as a CONTAINER OBJECT and the rest are vaguer. In the corpus, there were 4 instances, 3,1 %, that represented *mindful** as a CONTAINER.

According to Lakoff and Johnson, the most obvious way to detect the metaphor CONTAINER are prepositions such as *in*, *into* or *to* (1980, p. 31). Arguably, prepositions and expressions that refer to *going through* mindfulness can be also seen as a sign of CONTAINER metaphor; to go through something means that it has an in-out orientation which, according to Lakoff and Johnson, is the key element of a CONTAINER (1980, p. 29). These prepositions and expressions are present in all the instances of *mindful** as a CONTAINER.

9) *back in my mindfulness bag*

10) *Non-joke tweet: I am trying to get more into mindfulness, and it's frustrating how we feel the need to preface that it's for "the business professional." It's been really cool and nice but I'm not interested in books like "mindful business: exploiting labor in utter serenity"*

11) *one thing i've learned through extreme self awareness, a lot of anguish and overall mindfulness is that the men i've dated in the past were just to fill a void i had trouble filling myself. i explored in people what i was afraid to tap into myself.*

The 9th instance is the only one which points clearly to a CONTAINER OBJECT. A bag is “a flexible container with a single opening” (COCA) and it can work as a container for CONTAINER SUBSTANCE. The tweet suggests that there is a *mindfulness bag* one can crawl into. *Mindfulness* seems to be an inseparable part of the bag – the *bag* is *mindfulness* and *mindfulness* is the *bag* – which makes it the CONTAINER OBJECT rather than CONTAINER SUBSTANCE. The *mindfulness bag* participates in the circulation of the idea of mindfulness by making it sound like a sleeping bag rather than a handbag, since the tweeter suggests that they are the ones that go *in* the bag. The 10th and 11th instances lack a similar reference to an object or even a substance, which is why they are analyzed as CONTAINERS.

The other two examples of the MINDFULNESS IS A CONTAINER metaphor work in similar ways. They both include the idea that mindfulness itself is the CONTAINER that one *gets into* or *goes through*. Lakoff and Johnson state that experiences, events and states are often comprehended using the

CONTAINER metaphor (1980, p. 30). Thus, mindfulness is perceived as a more understandable phenomenon when it has boundaries through which one can enter or leave. In the 10th instance, the tweeter uses the expression *get more into mindfulness* by which they suggest that they are somewhat inside the mindfulness container, but they would like to be more inside of it. The tweeter of the instance number 11 suggests that they have gone *through* the mindfulness container to learn something. According to COCA, to go through means to go in on one side or surface and come out on the other.

MINDFULNESS IS A CONTAINER is a basic ontological metaphor that, just as MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY, helps people comprehend the concept. It creates a base for the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE, for Lakoff and Johnson (1980) say that states are often perceived as CONTAINERS. Just as with MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY, the metaphor CONTAINER is not in line with Buddhist, secular or popular mindfulness but rather is the base for understanding and talking about the phenomenon. The CONTAINER metaphor, as shortly mentioned in the analysis of the *mindfulness bag*, participates in the circulation of the concept of *mindfulness* by suggesting that it is a closed space, perhaps a safe or soft space, people can enter.

4.2.4. *Mindfulness as a MENTAL STATE*

MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE was by far the largest category of metaphors found in the Twitter corpus: it consists of 66 instances which make up 50,4 % of the entire corpus. The metaphor stems from the CONTAINER metaphor which creates the base for understanding a certain state of mind or a physical state. Just as with *The New York Times* corpus, the instances under the metaphor are divided based on linguistic features rather than metaphorical variation. They are, again, divided into three categories: the first consists of those where the adjective *mindful* is used with the verb *be*, the second includes the cases where the adjective *mindful* is used as an attribute to a noun, and lastly come all the cases where the noun *mindfulness* is used.

Most of the time, the adjective *mindful* was used with the verb *be*. The phrase often included the expression *be mindful of something*. The verb *be*, as presented by COCA, is synonym to verbs such as *exist*, *take place* and *be situated*. It also means to have a certain quality of being. In the following examples, *mindful* is the quality of being or the state of existence where one is:

12) *Be mindful of how you treat people. Be mindful of the energy you put out. Everything will eventually come back to you.*

13) *Who am I that You are so mindful of me Lord ?*

14) *BE MINDFUL NOT MINDLESS.*

The etymology of the word *mindful* reminds the word to consist of two parts, *mind* and *-ful*. The word *mind* refers to the processes of thinking, remembering and consciousness, and the suffix *-ful* means “to be full of” or “having” (Online Etymology Dictionary). The meaning of the word and its etymology both point to a mental process, and thus, a certain state of mind. The verb *be* reinforces the analogy, as it suggests that mindful is a quality of being or a way of existing.

In a few cases of MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE, the adjective *mindful* was used as an attribute in noun phrases.

15) *"Mindful breathing brings us back to the present moment, which is where life is always taking place."*

16) *Non-joke tweet: I am trying to get more into mindfulness, and it's frustrating how we feel the need to preface that it's for "the business professional." It's been really cool and nice but I'm not interested in books like "mindful business: exploiting labor in utter serenity"*

To analyze examples 15 and 16, the etymology and meaning of the word *mindful* must be considered again. The capability of remembering and being aware and attentive, which is the capability of being *mindful*, is an approach that is brought onto the tasks of *breathing* in the 15th example and *business* in the 16th. Therefore, it is a mental state that is assumed to perform the activity at hand. It carries within the assumptions that the task is also done in a certain way: as the 16th example of a tweet elaborates, *mindful business* is used to take an advantage of the labor force *in utter serenity*. Thus, although business is done mindfully and serenely, the term does not incorporate ethics. The 16th instance includes a sarcastic tone: it implies that *mindful business* is not, in fact, very mindful as it is *exploiting labor*. Despite the sarcastic tone, the metaphor remains the same.

The third group of instances where *mindfulness* was perceived as a MENTAL STATE could be, in turn, divided into three types. The first type compares it to other states of mind, the second one defines it as a mental state and the third one includes cases where *mindfulness* appears to be used as an adjective to describe the activity. The first type includes a list of mental qualities:

17) *Our #MHAWNZ challenge: Look beyond the skills and expertise of your people and start looking at their mental strength in terms of hope, confidence, resilience, optimism...and mindfulness. How you can incorporate occupational mindfulness into your workplace?*

Looking at the list of qualities, they all appear to be qualities of the mind. They all are experienced within a person's mind and are mostly private experiences. Looking at COCA's definitions of all five qualities, they share common features as being "a feeling" of some sort or "an experience or a state of being". Therefore, the comparison points to *mindfulness* being a mental state that is comparable with other mental states.

The second type of *mindfulness* in MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE includes a definition of the word as a mental state or a quality.

18) *"Mindfulness is the quality and power of mind that is aware of what's happening — without judgment and without interference. It is like a mirror that simply reflects whatever comes before it. It serves us in the humblest ways, keeping us connected to the moment."*

The definition itself explains mindfulness as a *quality of mind* which is parallel to a mental state. The third type, however, requires a deeper analysis to explain the way MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE is present in it:

19) *I did a mindfulness water painting activity today but, since I was facilitating, I was just being mindless with my own painting and accidentally painted "they" and when I realized I turned it into a circus tent...*

The word *mindfulness* here is in the position of an adjective and is used in an adjective-like way. It is noteworthy to mention that activities such as "mindful coloring" or "mindful painting" have emerged as mindfulness has spread through the Western societies. This particular activity, *a mindfulness water painting activity*, seems to be a similar activity to, for example, "mindful painting". The *water painting* is done in a mindful state of mind – hence, *mindfulness* in this case appears to be a MENTAL STATE.

As stated also in the analysis of MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE in the first corpus, the metaphor is in concordance with the Buddhist view of mindfulness but not the secular or popular. The Buddhists view mindfulness as the state of mind that one enters when doing meditation, so it is only one part of the practice and not the whole practice as the secular and popular views of mindfulness appear to interpret it (Sun, 2014). As noted above, MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE does not include ethics; the Buddhist mindfulness does not include ethics either, but just as mindfulness, ethics is part of the holistic Noble Eightfold Path that the Buddhist practitioner may follow (Bodhi, 2011).

4.2.5. Mindfulness as a SKILL

The metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL shares similarities with the metaphors MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE and MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT. A skill can be a physical or a mental “ability that is acquired through training” (COCA). Considering that mindfulness takes place in a person’s mind, it is a skill that derives from the mental state of mindfulness. Arguably, to be able to enter the mental state of mindfulness, one also needs to practice it. Mindfulness as a SKILL can be seen as a means for direct manipulation, which is similar to the way the MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT metaphor views it – a means for action but not the action itself. There are 14 instances, 10,7 % of the whole, of the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL in the Twitter corpus.

There are three verbs used with the SKILL metaphor: *practice*, *train*, and *teach*. As they are identical to the ones that were found in the first corpus, each of the mentioned verbs will be presented and analyzed with one example. The most frequently appearing verb of the three is *practice*.

20) I PLEDGE TO PRACTICE #MINDFULNESS AND BE A BETTER LISTENER. I PLEDGE TO PRACTICE #MINDFULNESS TO BE AWARE OF MY EMOTIONS. I PLEDGE TO PRACTICE #MINDFULNESS AND ATTENTIVE TO MY FAMILY, FRIENDS, LOVED ONES AND OTHER INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AROUND ME

In this example, the verb *practice* can be understood twofold. *To practice* means to “learn by repetition” or “carry out” (COCA). Thus, in this example the tweeter can either mean that they train mindfulness to become, for example, *aware of their emotions* and be *attentive to* the people around them or that they carry out the “customary way of behaviour” (COCA) that is mindfulness to achieve the mentioned goals. In both cases, although slightly different in meaning, mindfulness is a means to direct manipulation, and it is used to achieve a certain goal – thus, it is a SKILL.

Another verb that was used with mindfulness that points to it being a SKILL is *train* and more precisely the noun derivative *training*.

21) After feeding us some mission BBQ we had someone a speaker give mindfulness training and boy o boy that made me sleepy. Gotta wake up for a presentation now

In the tweet, the person has received *mindfulness training*. COCA defines training as an “activity leading to skilled behavior”. Thus, the *mindfulness training* can be seen as an action that leads to bettering of the SKILL that is mindfulness. In a few cases mindfulness was mentioned with the verb *teach*:

22) i like how all therapists on tv are like mystic sages who offer cryptic advice & change their patients’ lives instead of like, a dude who teaches you mindfulness

When someone teaches another person, they are helping the person to acquire a certain skill or knowledge. Therefore, this example could be analyzed as both a DISCIPLINE (and further, an ENTITY) and a SKILL.

MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL, as analyzed earlier with the corpus from *The New York Times*, is in line with all the three schools of thought in mindfulness: Buddhist mindfulness views the practicing of mindfulness as an important part of meditation, and secular and popular mindfulness seek to gain personal benefits from training it. In addition, teaching is an integral and important part of both Buddhist and secular mindfulness (Pennanen, 2014). Mindfulness as a SKILL adds an aspect of patient rehearsing and perhaps goal-orientedness to the circulating concept. Arguably, if a person views mindfulness as a skill, they see it as a constant practice instead of, for example, a state that one can achieve instantly or a product one can purchase and try.

4.2.6. *Mindfulness as an ACTIVITY*

There are six instances, which make up for 4,6 % of the instances, in the corpus, where mindfulness appears to represent an ACTIVITY. An activity, as defined by the Merriam-Webster dictionary, is “the quality or state of being active” and COCA presents for example *action*, *doings* or *goings-on* as synonyms. The metaphor can be seen as being intertwined with the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL; to achieve a skill, one must do the activity of practicing it and to perform an activity, one must have the skill to do it. There are three different types of instances under the metaphor: in the first type, the verb refers to an activity, in the second, the activity of mindfulness is timed, and in the third, it is listed among other activities.

The first type of the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS AN ACTIVITY lays the groundwork for all of the types. There are two instances of the metaphor, where the verb used with *mindfulness* is *do*.

23) *Although the Government's initiative for schools to do mindfulness with children is commendable, it will not help children's mental strength unless the test-driven-everyone -must-get-A*-in-everything-approach is changed.*

24) *Going to try and find a place and time to do some mindfulness at work tomorrow shouldn't be that hard on a Monday*

The verb *do* means to “engage in” or “to act or perform an action” (COCA). In both cases, *mindfulness* is the activity or action that is being done. In the 24th example, the tweeter says they *try to find a place and time* for mindfulness, which reinforces the idea that it is an ACTIVITY. According to Lakoff and Johnson, ACTIVITIES are often perceived as SUBSTANCES and thus further CONTAINERS, which include space, time, and other elements such as energy that the activity may take (1980, p. 31).

Deriving from the idea that ACTIVITIES ARE CONTAINERS, there is the idea that it includes the time spent doing the activity. An activity can be measured in time, which is obvious in the following tweets:

25) [#5things](#) *I was grateful for today*

1 a new day

2 bit of sun

3 getting a bit of housework done

4 10mins of #mindfulness

5 my joy in taking photos

[#mentalhealth](#) [#MentalHealthMatters](#) [#MentalHealthAwareness](#) [#depression](#) [#anxiety](#) [#gratitude](#) [#Happiness](#) [#JOY](#) [#JoyTrain](#)

26) *DEDICATE MORE TIME TO: - Loved ones - Your health - Mindfulness - Your dreams - Acts of kindness - Self-development*

In the 25th tweet, the tweeter mentions that they have spent 10 minutes doing mindfulness and the tweeter of the 26th example speaks generally about *dedicating more time to mindfulness* – arguably, the verb *do* is implicit in the sentence. *Mindfulness* in the 26th tweet could also be analyzed as an ENTITY or even a PERSON; the tweeter has drawn a parallel between an entity such as their health or dreams and also with people such as their loved ones. However, *acts of kindness* and *self-development* are, like mindfulness, “things to engage in” and thus, activities, which points to *mindfulness* also being an ACTIVITY in the example.

The third type of MINDFULNESS IS AN ACTIVITY entails parallels drawn between mindfulness and other activities.

27) *Ok tell me all of your favorite resources, rhythms, etc. for adding centering prayer/medi[t]ation/mindfulness to your regular life!*

28) *March 14th is [#SocialPrescribingDay](#). Please contact your local [#GP](#) or [#CCG](#) or [#MP](#) to ask for [#Yoga](#) and [#Mindfulness](#) to be part of the listed activities available to you and your community.*

The 27th example lists *centering*, *prayer*, *meditation*, and *mindfulness* together. All the first three nouns entail an idea of doing something: centering includes concentrating, prayer includes communicating and meditation includes contemplating. Thus, mindfulness, when compared to these, is also an ACTIVITY that includes doing something. In the 28th example, *mindfulness* is referred to as an *activity* alongside yoga.

MINDFULNESS IS AN ACTIVITY becomes a CONTAINER that includes a space, a time, and doing. Arguably, it also includes other resources such as energy or attention, that could be needed for *doing mindfulness*. The metaphor participates in creating and circulating the concept of mindfulness by entailing the idea of *doing* and perhaps measuring the *doing* in time – it becomes a performance of some kind, instead of, for example, a state of being. The ACTIVITY metaphor does not go together with the Buddhist idea of mindfulness, which views mindfulness more as a state of being rather than something one does. However, secular and popular views of mindfulness are in line with the metaphor. They both see mindfulness as an activity that is performed and can have positive effects on a person.

4.2.7. *Mindfulness as a SUBSTANCE*

According to Lakoff and Johnson, we usually categorize our experiences, activities and emotions as substances and entities. To categorize an abstract experience, activity, or emotion as a substance, helps one to quantify and categorize it (1980, p. 25). Lakoff and Johnson point out that activities are often seen as SUBSTANCES and thus it can be said that the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS AN ACTIVITY derives from the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A SUBSTANCE but as the metaphor ACTIVITY shares elements with the SKILL metaphor, it was presented before the SUBSTANCE metaphor. Both activities and substances can be further analyzed as CONTAINERS, or CONTAINER SUBSTANCES in some cases. The metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A SUBSTANCE appears in the corpus six times, which makes up for 4,6 % of the instances.

The instances where the SUBSTANCE metaphor can be detected, compare mindfulness to a drink, talk about it as if it acts like liquid.

29) *Surety is the cage of fools, mindfulness the #elixir of the #wise. #wisdom #equanimity #balance #mindful #mindfulness*

30) *Good Morning Kissables Fam Out There... Meditate -- Wave some mindfulness into your morning routine. It could be a brief meditation, grounding you and softening your reaction to whatever challenges are in store for the day. @KissesDelavin #KissesDelavin #DNinang*

These two examples appear to talk about mindfulness as a liquid of sort. In the 29th example, *mindfulness* is referred to be an *elixir*: according to COCA, elixir is “a substance believed to cure all ills” and “a sweet flavored liquid” that is used to cover an unpleasant taste of a medicine. In the 30th example, the tweeter has used the verb *wave* when describing how a person should add mindfulness into their *morning routine*. The noun *wave* means “a movement like that of an ocean wave” or “one of a series of ridges that moves across the surface of a liquid” (COCA). The verb, on the other hand, means movement in a certain way, often back and forth. In this case, the meaning of *wave* seems to derive from the noun rather than the verb, as the verb does not describe moving something *into* something. Thus, in this case, mindfulness is viewed as a liquid that *waves into* a container, the *morning routine* – and there, it becomes a CONTAINER SUBSTANCE.

The rest of the instances of the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A SUBSTANCE have a verb used in them that refers to merging, and something that is merged into.

31) Our #MHAWNZ challenge: Look beyond the skills and expertise of your people and start looking at their mental strength in terms of hope, confidence, resilience, optimism...and mindfulness. How you can incorporate occupational mindfulness into your workplace?

32) #bellletstalk and make this year of putting yourself first! Find someways to incorporate mindfulness(whatever it means to you) into your everyday life - reading a book, meditating, writing in a journal, calling your mom, yoga, drawing, going for a walk - whatever helps calm you

Both examples include the verb *incorporate*. According to COCA, it has three possible meanings: “make into a whole or make part of a whole”, “include or contain”, and “unite or merge with something already in existence”. In both cases, there is something that is already in existence, *workplace* in the 31st and *everyday life* in the 32nd example, and those point to the last definition of *incorporate*. Merriam-Webster provides one additional definition for the word: “to blend or combine thoroughly”. To be able to “merge” or “blend” something into something else, when thinking in the physical terms that the human mind usually does when it comes to abstract experiences, they both must be in a form where they mix together so that they become one. Arguably, substances have such a quality, which then leads to *mindfulness* here being a SUBSTANCE and *workplace* and *everyday life* the existing CONTAINER SUBSTANCES where *mindfulness* is blended.

The metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A SUBSTANCE is a conceptual metaphor that is also a rhetorical device, an imaginative expression, to make one’s language more colorful. Although one might, arguably, view mindfulness as something that they should “merge or wave into their life”, it is hardly viewed as an actual substance. The SUBSTANCE metaphor does not correlate with Buddhist, secular or

popular ideas of mindfulness, although especially in the secular and popular discourse of mindfulness the metaphor may pop up as a rhetorical device. MINDFULNESS IS A SUBSTANCE may add to the stickiness of the concept by creating the image that mindfulness is something like an ingredient to add and mix into one's life. It may even become an ingredient in the recipe for a good life or an efficient working life. Thus, although the metaphor seems to be more of a rhetorical device than a subconscious idea of the concept, it still has an effect on the concept of mindfulness.

4.2.8. *Mindfulness as a PHYSICAL BEING*

According to Lakoff and Johnson, people are bound by the surface of their skin and the physical experience, which is why they make sense of the world by projecting that experience on various things to make sense of the world and to be able to discuss it. Especially our in-out orientation, which makes us containers with an inside and an outside, is something that we project on other beings with a bounding surface (1980, p. 29). Sometimes this metaphor is extended to phenomena that are not bound by a surface, phenomena such as activities or linguistic expression, which have come up earlier in this study. As noticed, the CONTAINER metaphor includes various subcategorizations, and one of those metaphors found in this study is PHYSICAL BEING. A physical being has a container-like orientation with a binding surface and an in-out-orientation. However, it has been broken into a separate metaphor because the instances do not have the specific features of a container, but merely features of different physical beings and objects. There are four instances, 3,1 % of them all, of the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A PHYSICAL BEING.

All five instances were coded differently in the process of open coding. The codes that were assigned were BUILDING, PLANT, WEAPON and MOUNTAIN. Thus, they were given the extended metaphor of PHYSICAL BEING as they all have surfaces, and they all exist in the physical world instead of being abstract. The codes BUILDING, PLANT and WEAPON were assigned based on the verbs used in them:

33) *Even when obstacles crowd in, the path to Nibbana can be won by those who establish mindfulness and bring to perfection equipoise.*

34) *Our ancestors cultivated mindfulness through their spirituality via relationships with each other and the land - Dr. Angela Rose Black*

35) *We shook up the world with this mindfulness and spirituality. Starting from the base of the pyramid on upwards. The insiders became outsiders fast.*

In the 33rd instance, *mindfulness* is *established*. The verb *establish* refers to “setting up or laying groundwork for”, and the noun *foundation*, which has the meaning of the “lowest support of a structure”, is to be found in its collocates (COCA). The verb *cultivate* is used in the 34th instance, and according to COCA, it refers to growing crops or plants thus making mindfulness a plant that is *cultivated*. The tweeter of the 35th instance talks about having shaken up the world; Merriam-Webster defines the verb *shake up* as “to effect an extensive and often drastic reorganization” which points to a destructive weapon of some kind. All the three instances have different codes, but they share one thing: whether a living or inanimate, all of the three are PHYSICAL BEINGS bound by a surface, with a container-like in-out orientation. Although all of them are also CONTAINERS, the instances lack the implications to a CONTAINER (mainly implications of the in-out orientation) and are therefore assigned the subcategorized metaphor.

One of the four instances of MINDFULNESS IS A PHYSICAL BEING was identified looking at a noun that was used with the word *mindfulness*.

36) *I think I've lost the ability to like. Giving my mind but my self is absent. Mindfulness at its peak*

In the 36th instance, *mindfulness* is said to be *at its peak*. In Lakoff and Johnson’s theory of conceptual metaphor, the word “peak” often refers to the up-down orientation of different things. Here, however, it is used in the noun form, which can refer to three things: the highest possible value or level or the highest point of mountain or a hill (COCA). The first interpretation would make *mindfulness* here a PRODUCT with a value, whereas the two latter interpretations seem to point to a physical being, such as a mountain or a highrise, that has different levels of height thus making it a PHYSICAL BEING.

The metaphor CONTAINER carries PHYSICAL BEING under its umbrella along with the metaphors PRODUCT and INSTRUMENT. Arguably, it shares some elements with the metaphor PERSON: a PHYSICAL BEING can be a living being just as PERSON. MINDFULNESS IS A PHYSICAL BEING does not correlate with any of the three schools of thought in mindfulness, but it can be seen used as a rhetorical device in all the three different types of mindfulness. Especially the words *cultivate* and *establish* are present in dharma talks that different Buddhist speakers give, and they are also commonly used by the founder of secular mindfulness, Jon Kabat-Zinn. Because popular mindfulness has its roots mainly in Kabat-Zinn’s work, the words may appear in its discourse as well. The aforementioned verbs create an image of mindfulness being something that one can refine and build, and these seem to go hand-in-hand with the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL. Thus, different metaphors reinforce each other as they circulate and create the concept of mindfulness.

4.2.9. Mindfulness as PRODUCT/INSTRUMENT

The metaphors MINDFULNESS IS A PRODUCT and MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT are both built on MINDFULNESS IS A CONTAINER and MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY – to be able to comprehend the concept, it must be thought as an ENTITY and to be able to produce, try and pass it on like product or use it for a purpose like an instrument, it needs to be understood as a CONTAINER or a PHYSICAL BEING. Unlike in the analysis of the corpus collected from *The New York Times*, here the metaphors PRODUCT and INSTRUMENT are analyzed together. Out of the two metaphors, PRODUCT is higher in the hierarchy and INSTRUMENT is a further subcategorization of it: a PRODUCT is sold, bought and used and the same applies to an INSTRUMENT with the addition of it being used for a certain purpose. The two metaphors appear in the corpus altogether 10 times, which makes up for 7,6 % of the instances.

Most of the instances were assigned the open code INSTRUMENT but there were two instances that were labeled as PRODUCT. A product is something that is manufactured, sold, and then bought and owned by the customer. A product can also be tried as a solution for various things, which, then, makes it an instrument. The two instances with open codes of a PRODUCT had words that referred to owning and using *mindfulness*:

37) *it's wild to see a 22 year old completely change the standard for what is acceptable in the fashion world. congrats on the new launch [@gracefituk](#) thank you for your continual mindfulness and ethics you don't just speak to but act on! I'd be proud to support you and tala!!!*

38) *“Have a cup of tea or a bath”*

“Have you tried mindfulness?”

“You have to take responsibility”

“Failure to engage”

“Manipulative”

“Build resilience”

“Too reliant on services”

“You're not ill enough for our help”

“You're too ill for our help” [#TheLackOfSupportInMHservices](#)

In the 37th instance, the tweeter refers to *your* [...] *mindfulness*, which makes *mindfulness* come across as possession. The collocates of the word possession refer to material objects and buying (COCA), thus making a piece of possession a product. In the 38th instance, the tweeter quotes a question of whether they have *tried mindfulness*; COCA defines *try* as “to put to test, as for its quality, or give experimental use to”. The definition suggests that *mindfulness* in the tweet is something to “use experimentally”, which again points to *mindfulness* being a product that is used.

MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT was the more mainstream metaphor in this category, for most of the instances included a purpose for using mindfulness. In the instances, mindfulness was used to gain a certain state or as a solution or a cure in some conditions.

39) Online Mindfulness Therapy

Mindfulness Therapy is the application of #mindfulness for healing #anxiety and #depression and emotional pain. This is a very powerful approach once you have learned how to do this.

40) Loadshedding level 37 is when Eskom teaches you yoga and mindfulness as a way to achieve enlightenment

41) Mmkay, it's getting dark & I'm going to go social media dark for Shabbat. I've been spending more time on here than I'd like (especially FB) & get a lot of value from the mindfulness & discipline of tuning out for a day. Shabbat shalom!

All three examples include a way of describing, for what ends mindfulness is used. The 39th instance presents *mindfulness* as something to be used *for healing anxiety, depression, and emotional pain*. The 40th instance introduces *mindfulness as a way to achieve enlightenment*. The 41st instance talks about the *value* that is gotten from *mindfulness*. Thus, all of them represent an instrumental view on mindfulness: whether mindfulness is used for healing, enlightenment or gaining some value, it is a PRODUCT that is used for certain purposes.

As concluded in the analysis of *The New York Times* corpus, the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS A PRODUCT corresponds only with the popular views of mindfulness, where it is seen as a reduced set of tools to use. The metaphor MINDFULNESS IS AN INSTRUMENT, on the other hand, corresponds with both the secular and popular mindfulness; in both schools of thought, mindfulness is used for achieving something, for example better physical or mental health. Buddhist scholars often criticize the commercialization and instrumentalization of mindfulness and thus, Buddhist mindfulness does not correspond with it nor do some Buddhist scholars and practitioners accept the way mindfulness has become in the Western society. According to Simão, in popular mindfulness the people have become consumers instead of practitioners (2019). Arguably, these two metaphors have entered the circulation of the concept of mindfulness as mindfulness has become more popular and a certain willingness

to brand oneself as a modern person who cares about their wellbeing, identity, and efficiency has become more popular. The number of companies, courses and instructors in the business of mindfulness has increased and brought about the images of mindfulness being an easy solution that one can purchase which, then, has stuck into the concept.

4.2.10. *Mindfulness as AUTHORITY/PERSON*

According to Lakoff and Johnson, personification is an obvious ontological metaphor that allows us to view phenomena in terms of human motivations and characteristics (1980, p. 33). Often personification is not limited to just PERSON, but they can be identified as something else, for example an AUTHORITY which was found in the analysis of the first corpus. There were only two instances, which is 1,5 % of all instances, where personification could be detected, one of them under the metaphor AUTHORITY and one under PERSON.

The first instance to be analyzed views mindfulness as an AUTHORITY:

42) As humans, we are blessed with the ability to think about the past and the future.

As humans, we are cursed with the ability to think about the past and the future.

Mindfulness can give us a time out from all of this.

Much like the instances found in the corpus of *The New York Times*, this instance uses the phrase *mindfulness can do something*. The word *can* indicates the possibility of *giving* but not the certainty of it, which puts *mindfulness* in a superior position compared to the object *us* – which signifies the position of an AUTHORITY. The second instance, on the other hand, characterizes *mindfulness* with an adjective that is mostly used with humans:

43) mindfulness is attractive

The collocates of the adjective *attractive* are nouns that refer to a person (*woman, candidate, investor, etc.*) and adjectives that seem to further define an attractive person (*young, intelligent, sexy, etc.*) (COCA). A few of the collocates refer to an inanimate phenomenon, for example the collocate nouns *option* and *alternative*. As there are no indications of other options in the tweet, it can be argued that the adjective is used as if *mindfulness* was a PERSON.

The metaphors MINDFULNESS IS AN AUTHORITY and MINDFULNESS IS A PERSON do not correspond to any of the three schools of thought in mindfulness, and thus it can be said that it is a rhetorical device used to make the language more colorful. However, the metaphor AUTHORITY may participate in the stickiness of the concept of mindfulness. The metaphor creates an idea that mindfulness grants something, perhaps an improved health or mood, or that it may give a pass to a certain state of mind

to some people, but not everyone. Thus, the metaphor may lead to the concept gathering sticky images such as mindfulness is not for everyone and that it has an authority over people, especially those who do not engage in mindfulness therefore making hierarchies between those who practice mindfulness and those who do not.

4.2.11. Summary of mindful* on Twitter

All in all, there were ten conceptual metaphors in the Twitter corpus. In addition to MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY, SKILL, MENTAL STATE, PRODUCT/INSTRUMENT AND AUTHORITY/PERSON, which appeared in *The New York Times* corpus, there were four additional metaphors: MINDFULNESS IS A CONTAINER, ACTIVITY, SUBSTANCE and PHYSICAL BEING. In addition, *mindful** appeared as a linguistic modifier. The most frequent conceptual metaphor in the Twitter corpus was MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE whereas the least frequent ones were MINDFULNESS IS AN AUTHORITY/PERSON and MINDFULNESS IS A PRODUCT.

The summary that was presented at the end of the analysis on *The New York Times* corpus, sums up the way that the three schools of thought in mindfulness are present in six of the ten metaphors that appeared in the Twitter corpus. However, there were four more metaphors in the Twitter corpus and thus, a short summary of how the three schools of thought in mindfulness may appear in the metaphors is in order. The essence of Buddhist mindfulness, where it is a cognitive state and an approach to meditation, cannot be connected to any of the four metaphors, CONTAINER, ACTIVITY, SUBSTANCE or PHYSICAL BEING. It may share some roots with the idea of a container, as a cognitive state can be seen as a space one enters. However, the idea of a container is permanent and un-changing, which contradicts Ng et al.'s idea of mindfulness as being awareness and un-clinging (2017).

Secular mindfulness, which sees it as a practice, can be connected to the metaphor MINDFULNESS IS AN ACTIVITY. An activity is performed and timed, just as the practice of mindfulness. As Kabat-Zinn created the eight-week mindfulness-program, he also set the ground for timing the activity of mindfulness. As popular mindfulness is greatly similar to secular mindfulness in essence, it can be connected to the same metaphor. The metaphors MINDFULNESS IS A PHYSICAL BEING and SUBSTANCE are, like MINDFULNESS IS AN AUTHORITY/PERSON, more about the playfulness and color of the language than a way of perceiving mindfulness.

4.3. Differences between the two corpora

This study was based on corpora collected from two different media: *The New York Times* and Twitter, which are different in terms of power and organization. By Kelty's (2013) definition, *The New York Times* is a *Formal Social Enterprise* whereas Twitter users create an *Organized Public* among themselves within the limits of Twitter algorithms. Power relations between the two are different as the position of *The New York Times* is set in the political structures of the American society, and although its official aim is to produce neutral news, it has been said to lean on the side of liberal and leftist values and discourse in its news (New York Times (News), n.d.). Twitter, on the other hand, includes politics on many sides with the exception of banning people, who violate or threaten Human Rights in their Twitter speech, such as Donald Trump. Both media have roles in contemporary politics and power, and they both contribute to the public discourse differently.

The differences in organization and structure are visible in the metaphors that were found in the two corpora. *The New York Times* corpus produced six conceptual metaphors whereas the Twitter corpus produced ten. Thus, there seems to be a difference in the use of language between the two media, which can be traced back to the fact that one of them is a *Formal Social Enterprise* and the other one an *Organized Public*. The journalists of *The New York Times* follow layers of standards formed by the company itself, the education they have undergone, and ethics of journalism, and it naturally affects their use of language: it is more neutral and informative than in a platform such as Twitter, where the writers are more heterogeneous in background. The objectives of the writers are also different: on Twitter, the writers aim to make their tweet popular and thus they use more colorful language to attract likes and retweets, whereas *The New York Times* aims to uphold standards, sell itself but most importantly, maintain its readership. The differences of objectives is visible in the use of neutral language: the most neutral metaphor MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY and the linguistically modifying use of *mindfulness* includes 30,5 % of all the instances of *mindful** in *The New York Times* corpus in comparison to 14,5 % in the Twitter corpus.

The differences in the conceptual metaphors that were found in the two corpora should be examined in relation to contemporary politics as well, which is the objective of cultural materialism (Brannigan, 1998). *The New York Times* is a company and a newspaper set in the American culture and therefore it echoes American lifestyle and values. Twitter, on the other hand, is not set in one culture but includes many. However, Twitter includes ecosystems of knowledge that build within themselves and thus may build their own cultures in the course of time – mindfulness may be the focus of such a community, for as Lévy states, the ecosystems of knowledge are built around attention towards a shared interest (2013, p. 101). The corpus does not provide enough information to examine the existence of such a community and thus, the analysis will focus more on the politics of *The New*

York Times. As Allsides has evaluated in 2013 and 2020, *The New York Times* leans on the left side in the political field. Traditionally, conservative right side is based on Christian values where, arguably, mindfulness with its Eastern religious connotations may not belong. By discussing mindfulness in the news, *The New York Times* exhibits liberal discourse.

Another noteworthy point in analyzing politics in the metaphors is the effect of capitalism. The United States has a system that is, according to Lippit, the most dynamic but at the same time the harshest form of capitalism (2005, p. 6). Capitalism strives to commodify not only physical products but also immaterial things such as yoga or mindfulness, as it lives on producing, marketing, and consumption. The commodification of things is at the same time instrumentalization of things – products are always instruments for something, such as better health, better appearance, or better life. This instrumentalization and thus the effect of capitalism is visible in the metaphors. As mentioned earlier in the analysis, there are three metaphors with an instrumental connotation: PRODUCT, INSTRUMENT, and SKILL. The frequency of instrumental metaphors is much larger in *The New York Times* corpus as in the Twitter corpus: 44,8 % of the instances in *The New York Times* corpus were of instrumental connotation in comparison to 18,3 % of the same in the Twitter corpus. Thus, the capitalist system is present in the writings of *The New York Times* much more than on the multicultural Twitter.

In addition to politics, also emotions can be detected from the conceptual metaphors that were found in the two corpora. As Ahmed (2004; 2014) states, emotions are present in speech and cultures of affect are build by circulating emotionally charged concepts, which Ahmed calls “sticky concepts”. Earlier in the analysis, there have been some speculation to what kind of sticky images the metaphors may attach to the sticky concept of mindfulness. Some of the metaphors, for example ENTITY and CONTAINER do not entail any specific emotions in them and thus, they are neutral. Others, however, do include emotions and sticky images. The metaphor MENTAL STATE included a lot of instances, where the words *mindful* and *mindfully* were used as an instruction for a certain approach. The instructional aspect entails a similar connotation to the AUTHORITY metaphor, where mindfulness was seen as an authoritative figure. Thus, the concept of mindfulness entails an authoritative aspect to it.

The hypothesis presented alongside the review of Ahmed’s ‘sticky concepts’ was that the metaphors may entail emotions and sticky images that refer to serenity, acceptance and perhaps awareness. Looking at the metaphors that were found, not one of them seems to adhere to the hypothesis. Mindfulness is discussed in term of many different concepts, but the hypothesized terms are not easily connectable to any of the ten metaphors. Thus, it must be concluded that although the theory of conceptual metaphors by Lakoff and Johnson may reveal underlying attitudes behind concepts, the metaphors may not always correspond to the emotions that are circulated with the concepts. Another possible conclusion is that the concept of mindfulness has become so common that the emotions and attributes around it have also become detached from only one set of attributes. Therefore, the concept

has circulated long enough to have become a word that means slightly different things to different groups of people. Therefore, the emotions at display with the concept of mindfulness as defined by the metaphors that were found in the two corpora, did not differ from each other.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to find out how the concept of mindfulness is transitioning from its Buddhist roots to the contemporary use as defined by news-reporting in *The New York Times* and social media discussion on Twitter. The study was based on corpora collected from *The New York Times* and Twitter, and the theory used in the study was Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphor (1980). In addition, there were theories of image schemas, sticky concepts, cultural materialism, and participatory culture. The metaphor theory, along with image schemas and sticky concepts, was used to answer the first research question, which was to find out the metaphors that the word *mindful** represents in the two corpora. As an answer to the first research question, altogether ten different metaphors and a category of non-metaphoric use were found in the sentences and tweets.

The metaphors that were found are mindfulness as ENTITY, CONTAINER, SUBSTANCE, PHYSICAL BEING, PRODUCT, INSTRUMENT, SKILL, ACTIVITY, MENTAL STATE, AUTHORITY/PERSON, and modifier. The first two metaphors lay the ground for all the other metaphors for they enable comprehending, defining, and discussing of the concept. Every metaphor has something in common with the two basic ontological metaphors. The metaphor PHYSICAL BEING is a direct subcategorization of CONTAINER as it has the in-out orientation, but the difference is that a PHYSICAL BEING is more concrete physical entity, either animate or inanimate. PRODUCT, and thus also INSTRUMENT, are both CONTAINERS with a specific purpose – consumption. CONTAINER also lays ground for understanding MENTAL STATE, which is a mental CONTAINER with an in-out orientation and out of which one performs different tasks.

SKILL is a mental or physical ability that is rehearsed. In this study it is more mental than physical, which is why it shares the element of being a mental phenomenon with MENTAL STATE. ACTIVITY, on the other hand, shares elements with SKILL: rehearsing something is an activity itself, and one needs a capacity to perform the activity. In addition to being *done*, an activity is measured in time. SUBSTANCE is again a physical phenomenon, moreover something that can be measured and mixed, something that moves like, for example, water. The final metaphor is AUTHORITY/PERSON. The latter of the two is commonly used as a rhetorical device – an impersonal object or entity gets humanlike characteristics. An AUTHORITY is a further description of PERSON: it characterizes an authoritative power that in this study, mindfulness was found to have over people. The non-metaphorical use of mindfulness, mindfulness as a modifier, was its use as a linguistic device to define entities.

Research question two was set to find out how Buddhist, secular, and popular mindfulness are present in the conceptual metaphors. The answers to these questions draw to the writings and previous research done on all three types of mindfulness to bring the metaphors into context. The contextualization of the metaphors relies on Gee's Situated Meanings Tool (2011, p. 151-153), which is used to connect the metaphors to the context that is present in the sentences and tweets and then to the social context behind the language. In this study, the metaphors already represent a connection to the social, and Gee's tool was used to supplement the metaphors and taking them into the context regarding the three different types of mindfulness represented in the review of the literature.

The dive into the contexts behind the metaphors revealed, that the discourse on mindfulness in *The New York Times* and Twitter is ambivalent and does not favor any of the three ideas of mindfulness. In fact, as Nicholas Van Dam et al. point out, there are many definitions on mindfulness and not one of them has been agreed to be the correct one (2018, p. 38). The three views on mindfulness overlap partially, which is seen in the contextualization of the metaphors as well: it is impossible to state that, for example, MINDFULNESS IS A SKILL does not fit to the Buddhist or popular understanding of mindfulness even though it is at the heart of secular mindfulness. Similarly, it is impossible to say that MINDFULNESS IS A MENTAL STATE does not belong to the secular concept of mindfulness, even though it is an essential part of the Buddhist understanding of mindfulness. MINDFULNESS IS A PRODUCT was, however, a concept that only popular mindfulness corresponds to.

The third research question examined the differences between the metaphors found in the two corpora and the conclusions that could be drawn of the differences. The examination was based on the theories of cultural materialism and participatory culture which were used to explain the differences. There were several noteworthy findings to the question. First, it was noted that the media where the corpora had been collected are different from each other as producers of cultural products and from the point of view of cultural context. *The New York Times* is a formal institution, and its main purpose is to preserve itself by keeping a paying readership, which affects the language that is used in it. The readers of *The New York Times* are consumers with expectations towards the paper, and therefore it is important for the paper to produce news and articles that reinforce its own status as a cultural product. In addition, it is set in the American cultural context. Twitter, on the other hand, is a platform where the participants create the discourse. There is not only one set of expectations but multiple, yet the main purpose of Twitter users is to gain attention in the form of likes and retweets. Thus, the language is more colorful and even provocative at times. Twitter is set in multiple cultures with the culture of social media as the unifying factor.

The different backgrounds and contexts of the two media were found to be the main reason behind the differences that were found between the two corpora. The differences itself were mostly in the occurrence of the common metaphors, but also in the fact that four more metaphors were found

in the Twitter corpus compared to the corpus from *The New York Times*, which was found to owe to the different purpose of the two media. Noteworthy differences in the occurrence of the metaphors were following: the metaphors PRODUCT/INSTRUMENT and SKILL, which shares elements with INSTRUMENT, were double as frequent in *The New York Times* as on Twitter. This was found to be due to the capitalist culture where *The New York Times* is set. The metaphor MINDFULNESS IS AN ENTITY was more frequent in *The New York Times* than on Twitter, which was due to the two having different expectations laid on them language-wise.

To draw together the aim and the three research questions, this study shows that the discourse on mindfulness is partially transitioning into a direction, where mindfulness is seen as having an instrumental and commercial value, however, the Buddhist roots of the practice are still present in the way mindfulness is seen. The direction that the concept takes depends on the media where it is presented: a news media set in a capitalist culture commercializes mindfulness more than a multi-voiced social media platform. The study of the metaphorical uses of mindfulness, although it sheds light on the contemporary discourse, is also a small-scale study that focuses on one two media: *The New York Times* and Twitter. For further research, it would be beneficial to include more different types of media, for example traditional books from the Buddhist tradition and secular practice, in the study and collect a larger corpus to inspect.

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