Metaphor as a Tool for Preparing Sojourners

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Abstract

Sojourners, or people who live in a foreign country for a limited period of time, must prepare to communicate effectively in a foreign culture. Current theory suggests that sojourners learn to develop primary social interaction schemas to prepare for intercultural communication. Because sojourners may not stay in a country long enough to develop schemas, sojourners could benefit from a tool designed to help them acquire schemas for their host countries. Conceptual and situation metaphors can help sojourners gain useful insights into the cultures they prepare to face. To investigate metaphors that may assist sojourners, international students studying in the United States were interviewed to uncover the metaphors they already used to describe their experiences, as well as to see if new metaphors could be created to assist future sojourners. The conceptual and situation metaphors uncovered are discussed in within the framework of schemas.

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Introduction

Training for intercultural communication is like directing an actor in a movie. A person visiting in a foreign culture for a limited amount of time, called a sojourner, needs to be able to interact in a variety of social situations. Like actors, sojourners constantly need to process information and adjust to new scenarios quickly while acting naturally and communicating effectively. How to direct an actor or a sojourner can be a challenge because both actors and sojourners may need to prepare for situations they have never experienced.

Actors become burdened when they receive a list of actions to take or avoid from their directors; such a list of rules is called result-oriented direction, which can be restricting and yet too general for actors to apply (Weston, 1996). Result-oriented directing offers a vague description of what is required, but not the means to achieve the desired result. Directing in this manner can cause the actor to think of the effect of his or her actions instead of acting naturally in a scene. For example, a direction to be funny is confusing because there are many ways to be funny; instead of acting, the actor must try to read into the director's meaning. A director may avoid result-oriented direction by using a technique called an adjustment.

> An adjustment can be an "as if." For example, if you wanted a "chilly" atmosphere in a family dinner scene, you might ask the actors to play the scene 'as if' the first person who makes a mistake in table manners will be sentenced to a prison term. (Weston, 1996, p. 15)

These adjustments are neither specific prescriptions that limit the available actions, nor vague descriptions, but metaphors describing the context that can change the way actors behave. In a similar fashion, sojourners should be able to adjust to a new culture without relying solely on a list of specific cultural rules or vague directions. Sojourners should have a supply of metaphors to enable them to prepare for new intercultural encounters.

Literature Review

Because sojourners do not stay long enough in a foreign culture to adjust thoroughly, they may anticipate a disorienting experience. When addressing their plight, commonly used communication theories focus on the factors affecting intercultural communication and the adjustment to a new environment (Gudykunst, 2005; Hottola, 2004; Sobre-Denton & Hart, 2008). However, these theories tend to come from a strongly Western perspective that describes the process in linear terms (Callahan, 2011). Such approaches assume that sojourners have no preexisting experiences that can prepare them for interacting in a new culture. Instead, these theories suggest that sojourners approach cultures without definite expectations and adjust their cultural understanding based on their experiences while in the foreign country. In a foreign environment, constant thought regarding cultural assumptions can be extremely difficult. To reduce the need for constant cognition, sojourners can develop social schemas, which are organized knowledge of concepts and situations. However, no theory currently exists to teach sojourners how to develop these schemas without direct experience or use of case studies as a proxy for experience. A new model of intercultural communication that incorporates metaphors may offer the tools that sojourners need to begin forming schemas without overloading sojourners with information.

Current Theories of Intercultural Communication

Anxiety Uncertainty Management theory (AUM) most closely resembles the techniques study-abroad coordinators use to prepare students to study abroad (Sobre-Denton & Hart, 2008). Both anxiety and uncertainty are greater in intercultural and interethnic encounters (Gudykunst & Nishida, 2001; Gudykunst & Shapiro, 1996). A sojourner, according to AUM, ought to manage his or her anxiety and uncertainty so as not to become overwhelmed and tempted to disengage from the culture (Gudykunst, 2005). This approach requires learning about the culture beforehand to be prepared (Sobre-Denton & Hart, 2008). Furthermore, once in the culture sojourners must continue the learning process, maintaining a state of mindfulness. Mindfulness is a heightened awareness of the communication processes in a foreign culture (Gudykunst, 2005). When mindful, sojourners do not rely on assumptions for their native cultures, but remain constantly aware of how their thought processes may differ from those of strangers (Gudykunst, 2005). This mindfulness allows sojourners to create meaning actively to facilitate communication (Gudykunst, 2005). AUM is designed to allow the sojourner to communicate

effectively in a foreign culture through mindfulness and a constant search for information both before and during intercultural communication.

A proposal for a seven-session program based on AUM explains how to prepare sojourners for facing uncertainty and anxiety (Gudykunst, 1998). Most of the program focuses on training sojourners how to learn once they have entered the host culture. Sojourners would learn how to be mindful in their host environment, how to manage their uncertainty by learning general cultural concepts before visiting the host country, and how to manage their anxiety. Notably, managing uncertainty involves learning only general cultural tendencies, such as a culture's propensity for individualism, not expectations for specific situations. The only specific information that sojourners receive in such a program are survival skills, such as how to navigate public transportation (Gudykunst, 1998). In general, AUM lends itself to teaching sojourners how to learn and adjust once in a foreign culture, not teaching a detailed summary of cultural expectations.

However, avoiding specific expectations may shortchange sojourners of an opportunity to manage their uncertainty and anxiety. Anxiety and uncertainty can arise when sojourners do not have specific expectations for social situations, particularly when they lack the correct schemas (Nishida, 1999). Schemas are "generalized collections of knowledge of past experiences which are organized into related knowledge groups and are used to guide our behaviors in familiar situations" (Nishida, 1999, p. 755). These schemas can be applied to new, but similar, experiences to facilitate thought processes and reduce the amount of thinking required to interact appropriately (Nishida, 1999).

Eight interrelated types of schemas, known as primary social interaction schemas, have been described in the field of intercultural communication: fact-and-concept, self, person, role, context, procedure, strategy, and emotion (Nishida, 1999). Fact-and-concept schemas structure general knowledge, including qualities of different objects and categories. Self schemas organize people's knowledge in terms of their qualities as human beings, members of social groups, and as individuals. Person and role schemas organize information regarding others and may include stereotypes. Person schemas contain information about personality characteristics and other ways of classifying people. Role schemas structure knowledge about people's social roles, such as gender roles and racial stereotypes, and prescribe expected behaviors for those roles. Context schemas also provide information regarding appropriate behaviors, but are

categorized according to interaction situation type (Nishida, 1999). Because role and context schemas both provide information regarding appropriate behaviors, they may be used to determine appropriate procedure schemas. Procedure schemas organize knowledge about different kinds of behavior and different sets of appropriate actions (Nishida, 1999). Strategy schemas provide information for problem solving. Emotion schemas structure knowledge regarding affect (Nishida, 1999). When sojourners are unfamiliar with the social schemas of a culture, they may struggle with intercultural communication. Without schemas appropriate for a particular culture, the sojourner must search for data with which to interpret any ambiguous information; however, with developed schemas, an appropriate schema can supply a likely interpretation based on past experiences (Nishida, 1999). Therefore, sojourners need to develop the primary social interaction schemas relevant to their host countries. Such schema development should allow them to improve their ability to communicate without greatly increasing their need to search for information. Initially sojourners may accomplish this by using modified versions of preexisting schemas (Nishida, 1999).

Chang (2009) used interviews with Taiwanese expatriate workers to discover how sojourners adjust their schemas. Chang (2009) found that sojourners use their own schemas until the original schemas are challenged. Sojourners then experience mental tension and begin to compare their cultural perspectives with their experiences in the host culture, often seeking additional input from members of the host culture (Chang, 2009). The sojourner adapts and gains confidence as schemas evolve to reflect new experiences in a different culture (Chang, 2009). Based on the interviews with expatriate workers, a few possibilities for training sojourners arise. Sojourners can be made aware of their existing social schemas to be able to adapt them more easily when necessary (Chang, 2009). Schemas also may be partially developed in training by using examples from other sojourners' experiences, including both positive and negative experiences (Chang, 2009). By facilitating schema development, such training may help sojourners to reduce uncertainty and anxiety.

Problems with Current Theories

Though both AUM and schema theory describe sojourners' experiences and how sojourners can adjust once they are in a new culture, both theories provide only limited suggestions for how to train sojourners beforehand. AUM suggests that sojourners learn only the basic knowledge, such as how to use the bus system, and the most general knowledge, such the

level of individualism found in a culture. Survival knowledge will not prepare sojourners for nuanced interactions, and vague terms such as individualism can be difficult for a sojourner to use. Furthermore, generalizations about a culture will not apply to every individual in that culture (Ridley, Chih, & Olivera, 2000), and because the sojourner must apply such information on an individual basis, generalizations that prove inaccurate in some instances may be confusing, adding to uncertainty and anxiety. Though mindfulness may eventually help sojourners to adjust, in the short term such a state of constant alertness could overburden a sojourner already faced with an onslaught of new experiences. For these reasons, sojourners need tools that can prepare them before entering a country that are neither too specific nor too vague.

The schema model describes how sojourners can negotiate social situations, but offers few suggestions for sojourners to develop schemas. Sojourners may be able learn through case studies and examples, but because schemas are developed through repeated experiences, lessons using case studies would need to be repetitive and time intensive. Sojourners can learn about their preexisting schemas as a means of preparing to develop new schemas, but this means they must enter a new culture without the correct social schemas, making communication difficult and leading to uncertainty and anxiety. Though not all negative experiences must be avoided when adjusting to a new culture, sojourners who cannot successfully adjust their schemas while in the host culture may become frustrated and leave (Chang, 2009). If a sojourner does not realize that his or her schemas no longer apply, communication will likely be impaired because using the incorrect schema may lead to incorrect assessments of social situations (Beamer, 1995; Nishida, 1999; Ridley et al., 2000). When the sojourner must rely on isolated thoughts without the benefit of the organizing structure of a schema or context provided by past experiences, the cognitive load is higher and levels of uncertainty and anxiety will likely rise (Nishida, 1999). Because schemas influence what information is remembered, sojourners without the necessary schemas may face a steep learning curve (Ridley et al., 2000). Therefore, until sojourners adjust their schemas through experience, their interactions will likely be difficult and inefficient. Though the process of schema adjustment may explain how cognitive load gradually reduces over an extended period of time, this viewpoint offers very little for those traveling to a new culture for a short period of time or who wish to enjoy casual social interactions early in their experience.

Though current theory suggests that sojourners adjust existing schemas, the means by which this occurs remains unclear.   A process of perspective modification occurs once

sojourners become aware that their schemas no longer apply in the new cultural context (Chang, 2009), but how these modifications occur regarding different kinds of primary social interaction schemas has not been studied with sojourners. Schemas are by their very nature abstract and, though studied using artificial intelligence (Nishida, 1999), may be difficult to study directly with sojourners. This problem may be further complicated because sojourners likely are unaware of their own cognitive structures and manners of thinking.

A Possible Solution

The question, then, is how to study sojourners' adjustment. A better understanding of how sojourners alter existing schemas would add to schema theory and may provide a means facilitating schema adjustment for future sojourners. Because the current theory of schemas in intercultural communication describes an adjustment of existing schemas, it may be useful to examine a different type of cognitive structure formed by comparisons, namely, conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphors structure thought (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Landau, Meier, & Keefer, 2010) and can be used across cultures (Monti, 2009; Sell, 2007). More than mere literary devices, they guide cultural understandings of abstract concepts in terms of more concrete concepts. Therefore, conceptual metaphors may provide a means of studying sojourners' adjustment of cognitive structures. Because they are commonly encountered as manners of expression, conceptual metaphors may also provide tools for sojourners preparing to visit a host country.

Conceptual Metaphor

Metaphors are evidence for the way concepts are organized within a culture (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The term conceptual metaphor does not refer to idiomatic expression, but to comparisons between abstract and concrete concepts, such as TIME IS MONEY (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Time is an abstract concept, something that cannot be felt with the five senses, but money is something that can be held and used. By linking the two, time is understood in terms of the more concrete concept, money. In some cases, more than one metaphor may be required to describe a concept. If multiple metaphors are used to describe something at the same time, they must be coherent. For example, an argument can be understood as both AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY and AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER, both of which are used in the sentence "If we keep *going the way we're going*, we'll *fit all the facts in*" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 92). Because the JOURNEY metaphor entails creating a path, the CONTAINER metaphor makes sense because the

facts are fitting into the container of that path (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). However, one may use inconsistent metaphors at different times, as one may be more applicable than another depending on the situation (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Therefore, although metaphors shape thought, they are not unchanging, but flexible, in their real-life application.

Metaphor can also reframe an existing concept. As integral parts of our conceptual system, metaphors can completely alter perceptions of common social constructs (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). For example, in American culture, argument is often talked about in terms of ARGUMENT IS WAR; however, another culture may view argument differently.

> Imagine a culture where an argument is viewed as a dance, the participants are seen as performers, and the goal is to perform in a balanced and aesthetically pleasing way. […]
> It would seem strange even to call what they were doing 'arguing.'" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5)

Describing such conceptual metaphors can allow us to compare social concepts in different cultures.

However, beyond merely understanding underlying conceptual systems, conceptual metaphor may also actively change cultural perspectives. By using a new metaphor to understand a concept, the very nature of a person's reality can change, especially when it is a metaphor that guides actions (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Though such metaphors can give new meaning, as mentioned previously, it is possible to use more than one metaphor and even apply inconsistent metaphors as long as they are used in separate situations. Because of this, sojourners do not need to replace their own metaphors, but should be able to take on additional conceptual metaphors to use in appropriate situations.

Though most of the literature regarding metaphor merely describes its use within American culture, scholars have examined metaphor in intercultural communication to a limited extent. In one instance, the French, Spanish, and Italian translations of *Metaphors We Live By* were examined to see whether the English examples of metaphors, along with their overarching conceptual metaphors, used could be translated coherently (Monti, 2009). The majority of the translations appeared to be successful, including conceptual metaphors, such as TIME IS MONEY, as well as many specific metaphor examples, including "I don't have the time to give you" (Monti, 2009, p. 215). Such metaphors still made sense in the European languages even despite their slightly different connotations in translation. However, though almost all of the metaphors

were intelligible, some were not typical; for example, the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT would be more common in some of the European contexts than TIME IS MONEY (Monti, 2009). Such variations in the prominence of conceptual metaphors depending on the culture may be expected. However, the fact that the majority of them were still intelligible in translation for a book about metaphor suggests that metaphor truly does cross cultures. If a nondominant conceptual metaphor, such as TIME IS MONEY, can function as a useful example of metaphor even in translation, metaphor may be flexible enough to explain a variety of concepts across cultures.

This use of metaphor to translate not just languages, but concepts, across cultures has been used as evidence that transcultural narrative is possible (Sell, 2007). When a narrative is either translated into another language or read by a non-native speaker, the person reading the narrative still ought to be able to understand what takes place. The reader will need to compare the cultural aspects of the text to the "phenomena, institutions, customs, assumptions, expectations and so on" of his or her native culture to understand the narrative (Sell, 2007, p. 10). Though the concepts of the narrative may be foreign, the reader should still be able to comprehend them by using the comparison of a foreign cultural concept to a concept from one's native culture (Sell, 2007). If concepts from narratives can be translated via such comparisons, similar comparisons in interpersonal communication also should be possible. Providing sojourners with such metaphors in advance could allow them then to prepare for entering a foreign culture.

Situation Metaphor

In addition to learning abstract concepts, such as a cultural conception of time, sojourners also learn how to navigate social situations with specific procedures, such as how to act in a boardroom meeting. A businessperson working in foreign culture needs to understand the concept of time within the context of a new culture to know whether a punctual arrival is or is not expected for a boardroom meeting. A conceptual metaphor such as TIME IS MONEY may provide a nuanced description of this; it explains not only that a businessperson should not be late, but that being late is like wasting money. Unlike the abstract concept of time, a boardroom meeting is situation specific; however, to a sojourner, how to act in a boardroom meeting in a new culture may seem quite abstract. By comparison, how to act at a cocktail party in the sojourner's native culture and other such situations would seem relatively familiar, and therefore, concrete. If boardroom meetings in the host culture usually include socializing, refreshments,

and a relaxed atmosphere, it may resemble a cocktail party in the sojourner's native culture. By comparing two superficially dissimilar situations with similar social expectations, sojourners may be able to understand how to act in a new culture. This paper will call situation-specific comparisons situation metaphors. Unlike conceptual metaphors, situation metaphors do not consist of comparisons to completely unrelated concepts to structure thought. Instead, situation metaphors draw similarities between the actions expected in dissimilar social situations. Though the situations themselves may be very different, both types of situations in a situation metaphor should lead to expectations for similar behaviors within their respective cultures (see Figure 1). This comparison should give the sojourner a limited understanding of expected actions in a situation in an unfamiliar culture.

Metaphor and Schemas

Because both conceptual and situation metaphors may help sojourners to organize knowledge about another culture, both types of metaphors may provide a starting point for schema adjustment. Such metaphors may serve as approximations of schemas; although metaphors are incomplete descriptions, lacking the broad applicability of schemas based on numerous experiences, sojourners may still use them to structure knowledge. Conceptual metaphors have already been described as complementary to schemas; for example, Landau et al. (2010) propose a metaphor-enriched approach to social cognition:

> Put simply, a metaphor-enriched perspective suggests that a complete account of the meanings people give to abstract, socially relevant concepts requires an understanding not only of their schematic knowledge about those concepts in isolation but also how they structure those concepts in terms of superficially dissimilar, relatively more concrete concepts. (p. 3)

If conceptual metaphors can influence thought in a way that complements our understanding of social schemas, learning conceptual metaphors may be a first step to adjusting social schemas in a new cultural environment. Furthermore, if metaphors structure abstract concepts, they may also be useful for describing situations that have not been experienced. Describing a situation in a new culture to someone who has never experienced it can be difficult to describe and abstract; to explain how to act in such new situations, a situation metaphor may serve as a similar cognitive tool.

Conceptual and situation metaphors may therefore provide a means of structuring schemas and may provide a means of studying the schemas used by sojourners. As mentioned previously, eight interrelated primary social interaction schemas are relevant to intercultural communication (Nishida, 1999). Conceptual metaphors may structure knowledge in a manner similar to five of the primary social interaction schemas: fact-and-concept, person, self, role, and context schemas. These five kinds of schemas define expectations for objects, people, and behavioral parameters. Situation metaphors relate most closely to role, context, and procedure schemas, as roles and contexts often determine the procedure schemas, or series of actions taken. The last two types of schemas, strategy schemas, which guide problem-solving, and emotion schemas, which determined affect, are less relevant for short-term cultural immersion and are not discussed here. As sojourners have more experiences, their schemas may become better developed and more abstract, leading to less reliance on comparisons to schemas from their native cultures.

The study of conceptual metaphor across cultures and as an element of social cognition suggests an important link and merits further study to determine if sojourners can use metaphors to prepare for intercultural engagement. Furthermore, situation metaphors specific to particular social interactions are worth investigating as a possible training tool for sojourners. Therefore, this paper proposes to identify and analyze the conceptual and situation metaphors that sojourners use to describe their experiences outside of their native countries.

Method

To discover what conceptual and situation metaphors are used by sojourners to describe their experiences, interviews were conducted with ten international students studying at a large university in the southeastern United States. Respondents were recruited as a convenience sample through email messages sent through the community liaison at the university international center. Respondents were offered the opportunity to share their experiences while being treated to coffee or tea. To ensure that all respondents were non-natives, only those who had lived primarily outside of the United States until age sixteen were invited to participate. Ten respondents were recruited, the majority of whom were graduate students. Respondents were citizens of nine different countries: Russia, China, India, Libya, Malaysia, South Korea, Dominican Republic, Vietnam, and Brazil. Two respondents were Indian, but one identified with the Punjab region while the other had ties to various parts of India and did not identify with any one Indian subculture. Six were male and four were female. This diverse group allowed the interviews to explore metaphors from several different cultural perspectives.

Respondents were invited to describe their experiences during the interview process (see Appendix A). First, they were asked about their cultural background, including age, socioeconomic status, length of time they lived in their native country, whether they would identify themselves with any subcultures within their country of origin, and what kind of cultural training they received before traveling to the United States. Initial questions regarding culture were very broad, allowing the respondents to discuss the cultural differences most salient to them. Later questions were more specific and targeted the topics respondents chose to address earlier in the interview. Respondents were asked to describe specific concepts and social interactions in the United States that were different from those in their native countries. After describing a perceived difference, respondents were asked how they would explain such a situation or concept to people from their native countries planning to visit the United States for the first time. After respondents had described as many situations and concepts as comfortably as possible, they were asked to create situation metaphors intentionally. The interviewer began by giving an example of a situation metaphor, such as "a boardroom meeting is like a cocktail party" and then asked the respondent questions about the incidents that the respondent had mentioned earlier in the interview as being surprising aspects of American culture. Interviews lasted between forty-five

minutes and an hour and a half. Length varied largely depending on language ability and respondents' desire to elaborate on their answers.

The interviews were recorded and then analyzed using the constant comparative method from Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As metaphors were discovered in interviews, they were compared to metaphors from previous interviews. Individual metaphors and themes were written on notecards along with the time at which they occurred during the interview. Notecards were sorted and grouped according to common themes, allowing patterns to emerge. The interview process concluded when interviews ceased to produce new types of metaphors. As the different types of metaphors were sorted, there appeared to be relationships between certain kinds of schemas and certain types of metaphors. The primary social interaction schemas that most closely related to different groups of metaphors were identified and metaphors in this paper will be organized accordingly.

Results

The interview process uncovered both conceptual and situation metaphors. Conceptual metaphors arose during all ten interviews to explain concepts corresponding to some, but not all, types of primary social interaction schemas. Metaphors corresponding to self, emotion, and strategy schemas did not appear during the interviews; cultural differences related to these schemas were not directly addressed during the interview process and, therefore, it is not surprising that metaphors corresponding to them did not occur. Very few conceptual metaphors related to fact-and-concept and person schemas arose during the interviews. Due to their abstract nature, sojourners may be less aware of fact-and-concept schemas. Furthermore, sojourners seemed to avoid describing information related to person schemas during the interview, perhaps from a desire to avoid overgeneralizing what Americans are like. Most conceptual metaphors related to information from role and context schemas, both of which provide parameters for actions and therefore provided information to trigger procedure schemas.

Conceptual metaphors frequently related to more than one schema type. Metaphors frequently could be applied to either role or context schemas, while metaphors related to both role and context schemas overlapped with person schemas. Conceptual metaphor's broad applicability in structuring different kinds of knowledge and the interrelated nature of primary social interactions schemas may explain this overlap. Sojourners' use of conceptual metaphors that describe multiple schemas may allow researchers to see how these schemas interact. For example, the use of conceptual metaphor to uncover the ways in which person, role, and context schemas overlap suggests that knowledge regarding a person might not be easily separated from that person's role and context (see Figure 1).

Conceptual Metaphors

Fact-and-Concept

Conceptual metaphors describing race and time were the only conceptual metaphors that corresponded to fact-and-concept schemas. Brazil was described as "a big melting pot when it comes to race." The metaphor primarily serves to conceptualize what race is without setting parameters for behavior, making the metaphor similar to information included in fact-and-concept schemas. However, in describing race the metaphor also provides some information regarding roles of different races within Brazilian society, indicating that a lack of distinction and hierarchy may be expected between people of different races. The conceptualization of race

as a melting pot may therefore influence procedure schema selection and appropriate actions indirectly, by influencing the conceptualization of expected social roles.

Another sojourner used a conceptual metaphor to define time. Referring to her own culture, she stated that, "we don't really value time," a metaphor that fits into the classic TIME IS MONEY metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Interestingly, although most respondents described time as different in the United States than in their native culture, only one described time with this metaphor. All sojourners who discussed conceptualizations of time described it by giving examples of meetings in their native countries, often describing a scenario where someone is told to come at a certain time and then arrives at a later time. It would appear that abstract concepts such as time are primarily understood in terms of their use within a social context, and therefore may not be disassociated easily from the roles, contexts, and procedures experienced.

Person

Sojourners rarely used metaphors regarding people and many sojourners avoided defining Americans in any one way. Person schemas were usually described in association with information regarding role, context, and procedures. A characterization of bus drivers as friendly, for example, was usually accompanied by a description of the pleasantries they exchanged with bus drivers, a description of a procedure. Only two types of conceptual metaphors corresponding to person schemas occurred. In the first, people were described in terms of the conceptual metaphor A PERSON IS A TOOL. For example, a Korean respondent compared his work experience in Korea with the United States. After relating an anecdote of how his manager in Korea had admonished him for leaving his shift ten minutes early even though all the work was completed, he said, "People here (in the United States) are more flexible, and (…) laid back, not really, like, straight-edged." The use of "flexible" and "straight-edged" here indicate a metaphor of A PERSON IS A TOOL. Also in keeping with A PERSON IS A TOOL, the Haitian respondent referred to Americans as being "more blunt." Though closely related to the role schema, as it implies the behaviors one can expect and is associated with employers in particular, A PERSON IS A TOOL does define the perceived prevalent personality traits of people in different cultures.

Only one other type of conceptual metaphor related to person schemas arose during interviews. SOCIALLY DISTANT IS COLD appeared in two separate interviews. The same Korean sojourner who described Koreans in a workplace environment as being "straight-edged" referred to Koreans as "chill" in a club setting where he was getting drunk and they were not. Similarly, a

Malaysian described bus drivers in her country as being "cold" compared to the ones in the college town in the United States where she currently resides. This characterization of a type of person in the United States relates to person schemas. However, the application of SOCIALLY DISTANT IS COLD to people in certain social positions, such as bus drivers, and certain contexts, such as a club, makes the metaphor applicable to roles and contexts as well.

Role

Sojourners preferred to describe social roles rather the characteristics common to people in their host country. Three different respondents used the word "hierarchy" to describe power interactions. Hierarchy describes a relationship where one person is higher than another, providing a conceptual metaphor where POWER IS UP. One respondent from Haiti described interactions in an office as hierarchical, while a second respondent, from Russia, used hierarchy while describing the importance of showing respect to older people, such as professors, in Russia. A third respondent used several metaphors to describe power including the word hierarchy, saying that in Vietnam, "People have a rank of lower [or] higher (…). In my country, people tend to maintain a (…) hierarchy based (…) way to communicate. You need to (…) show your respect to the person who is at [a] higher level than you." He also described it as "a big distance." Interestingly, this concept of POWER IS UP was initially applied to how to interact with a professor, but as he began to explain the interaction, he began to describe interactions in a business office, as well. This implies that the conceptual metaphor is an abstract idea that can be applied in a variety of situations dealing with the concept of relationships and power. A fourth respondent also used the word hierarchy, but more frequently used the term "stratification" to describe social class structure in India, which he considered, based on his experiences, to be less stratified in the United States.

Though she did not use the term hierarchy, a Malaysian respondent did use distance to describe relationships between students and professors, saying that, "there's very little gap between you and the professors. I mean if you choose to be close to your professors, right? So I don't think that there's a wide gap between students and the professor." This was in response to a follow up question regarding classroom interactions. Earlier in the interview she had described the difference between Malaysian classrooms and classrooms here in that students speak up and do not just listen to what the professors tell them, as they do in Malaysia. Though hierarchy was not mentioned, this sender-receiver type of communication resembles the "hierarchy based (…)

way to communicate" described by the Vietnamese respondent, who also mentioned "a big distance." People like professors in positions of power are, therefore, seen as communicating from farther away when those with less power, the students, do not respond or ask questions. The person in power is higher and, the greater the distance, the less interaction takes place. The metaphor is similar to that of a ladder, where a person in power is above and more interaction can take place when two people stand on rungs close together.

Conceptual metaphors related to role schemas were also used to explain differences in levels of individualism. The Russian respondent used a spatial metaphor to describe the individual's place in society. She repeatedly mentioned a "private zone" when describing the level of interpersonal interaction with which Americans were comfortable. Referring to Americans, she said: "They are open minded enough, but, uh, they have some private zone, uh, different from Russia, and this private zone is, uh, way much bigger. So, uh, you are not expected to interrupt with someone's privacy." This "private zone" metaphor was abstract, used to describe two different types of relationships where a degree of individualism was expected. First, she mentioned that something she had not previously understood about practices in the United States was why families let seniors live in communities apart from them. She described how, after coming here, that these "places for senior people are very well equipped" to care for seniors' medical needs. Additionally, she described how seniors preferred to live apart, once again referring to a private zone: "Lots of senior people here in U.S., they want to keep some, um, privacy again, some zone for themselves." Going into further detail, she described how a person she had met who lives in senior housing was happy not to have to spend all of her free time taking care of her grandchildren. This same sojourner applied the phrase "private zone" to describe romantic relationships and Americans' fear of commitment. She described relationships first in terms of responsibility, contrasting Russia, where people her age are getting married and having children, with people her age in the United States, where people her age are considered quite young. She then incorporated the metaphor of a "private zone" to explain her understanding of the American approach to romantic relationships as shying away from responsibility: "If something, uh, somehow bothers you or touches your private zone or too much interferes with something in your life, and even if you are about to start a relationship (…) actually the word relationship is kind of scary, because that means you're responsible." In both uses of the term "private zone," the term implied a degree of separation from other people,

associated with a degree of freedom from responsibility. It may be interpreted as a higher degree of individualism. Because she did not describe the private zone as unique to the United States, but different and "much bigger" than in Russia, it would appear that the metaphor uses the idea of physical space, a zone that is controlled by a person, to describe how much control an individual has over interpersonal interaction. By describing more than one kind of a relationship, both a romantic one and one between a grandmother and grandchildren, this metaphor appears to be an abstract one describing levels of individualism and the degree of interdependence expected in society.

The Punjabi sojourner used a similar metaphor when comparing levels individualism in the United States and India. "There is much more importance given to the individual um and, like, individual space is respected a lot." To further explain this broad statement he gave examples of how parents in India have influence in their adult children's lives. This use of space to describe respecting an individual's autonomy is congruent with his use of the metaphor "stratification" to describe class differences in India because both are spatial metaphors.

The concept of openness tied into this conceptualization of individualism-as-space. Before describing the "private zone," the Russian respondent used the metaphor of openness in saying, "Americans are not really open to people. So, I mean, um, they are open minded enough but, uh, they have some private zone, uh, different from Russia." This appears to be a very abstract conceptual metaphor as she is using it in two different ways within the same sentence. In order to use this abstract metaphor, she first clarifies how she is applying the "open" metaphor. Americans are open in that they are ready to engage in new ideas readily, but they are not open in that they are not ready to engage in strong interpersonal relationships easily. Openness implies that a person is a room with a door or a country with a border, which may be easy to access or difficult; available to everyone and everything or only a few. Ideas may gain access to an American easily, with this metaphor, but not many people can truly access an American through interpersonal interaction. Therefore the openness metaphor describes the roles individuals fulfill in society by describing the level of interaction expected.

A second respondent used openness in a similar way, in conjunction with closeness, to describe friendship in Brazil:

We are just closer, more into helping each other, not here that you are not, it's just, you

know, very open, like you know, somebody you just met you can invite them to have

lunch or dinner with your family. Um, they are more open to go to each other's houses.

Once again, openness refers to the degree of interpersonal interaction expected. It is congruent

with the spatial metaphor that describes relationships in terms of the "closer" physical proximity.

Like the hierarchy metaphor, closeness describes roles by describing individuals' interactions in

terms of space.

These two respondents used degrees of openness to describe Americans' avoidance of

close interpersonal relations, several respondents used open mindedness to describe how

American professors are more willing to interact than what they would expect in their own

countries: "I think generally professors here are very, you know, friendly and open minded and

willing to help." It was unclear from the description if professor interactions referred to greater

openness to interpersonal relationships or greater openness to interacting with new ideas and

people from other countries. A Haitian respondent described professors as being accessible in

the United States because of their willingness to interact. However, a Korean respondent

described open mindedness as engaging new ideas, with his host family making him more

comfortable by trying to understand things from his point of view: "They were really, like, open

minded about the culture I was coming from and they really helped me a lot." Openness and

accessibility in both cases seemed to make the sojourner more comfortable.

In line with the openness they seemed to prefer, several people used openness to describe

how sojourners should approach cross-cultural engagement. "You should really be open minded,

like that's the main thing when you come to the States. (…) if you're open minded here, people

are going to be nice to you and are actually going to try and help you out." Here, open

mindedness is described as a means of acculturating and preparing to interaction with the host

culture. However, the Russian respondent had the exact opposite reaction to whether sojourners

should rely on open-mindedness. She described a newcomer to the United States who "keeps

their mind opened, really opened, and they think everybody's supposed to love them" and is

disappointed when they find people with whom they do not get along. She reflected that

anywhere you go there will be some people who like you and some who do not, and this is

normal. However, she cautioned that approaching a new culture with this openness could be a

mistake. An open approach may or may not be an appropriate approach for a sojourner, but it

appears be an important way they understand their own approaches to cultural engagement and the degree of interaction they can expect in a host culture.

Role schemas were also described through the conceptual metaphor of A RELATIONSHIP IS A BOND. Though not immediately apparent as a spatial metaphor, it is congruent with other spatial metaphors in that metaphors of close bonds imply a greater expectation for interpersonal interaction and interdependence. The metaphor was applied by a Chinese sojourner to describe family relationships in China in terms of attachments, where he saw a "very, very, very tight attachment" and "very, very strong attachments to the family." Similarly, the Punjabi respondent characterized family relationships in India to be "close knit." The Russian sojourner described expectations for a family to remain "intact" with older relatives living with the family for their entire lives. In comparison, a Haitian spoke regarding the lack of communication she has observed between classmates compared with her own country, saying, "I don't know why people (in the United States) are so afraid to bond with people." Through A RELATIONSHIP IS A BOND, sojourners described roles in families and other strong relationships.

Context

Although conceptual metaphors describing power relationships and the strength of interpersonal relationships primarily concerned social roles and helped described role schemas, the level of individualism and accessibility of other people also lays the foundation for context schemas. Conceptual metaphors describing truth and proxemics provided a backdrop for these roles, allowing for the development of context schemas. Several spatial metaphors also emerged when discussing the level of abstraction acceptable in conversation in Haiti. She explained that "Here (in the United States) people are more like (…) 'We like to simplify things to bottom-line everything.' We are more, like, theoretical, we never grounded our things, our way of thinking; that's a huge difference." Both the terms "grounded" and "bottom-line" indicate that SPECIFIC IS DOWN. When later asked how she would explain this difference to someone coming from Haiti to study in the United States, she said, "I would just tell them that, 'Don't try to hide, not hide the truth, but elevate the truth. So, just state the way it is.'" Initially describing truth as an object that can be displayed or hidden, she switched midway to a spatial metaphor congruent with her earlier comments, describing the use of abstract knowledge as elevating truth. One sojourner described a similar attitude toward knowledge when comparing the abstract and theoretical scholarship of his native country with the applied schoolwork he had experienced during his

studies in the United States. Compared with the level of information he would have learned

studying in his native country, he said, "Here [in the United States] you will touch yourself

deeply." This "deep" knowledge describes the amount of detailed knowledge and specific skills

he has gained studying in the United States. His manner of phrasing it implies that detailed

knowledge is now within him, but the detailed knowledge reflects the same SPECIFIC IS DOWN

concept used by the Haitian respondent.

In addition to the spatial metaphors used to describe knowledge and truth, the Brazilian

sojourner used color. "It's not that Brazilians are dishonest at all, it's just that we find the gray

spot between and Americans tend to be more black and white in terms of right and wrong, and

we tend to find middle, gray areas." In using the term "middle" she does utilize a spatial

metaphor. However, she also uses color describe how Brazilians and Americans determine

moral norms. This provides a context schema for how truth is used in Brazilian society,

providing information to cue procedure schemas.

In addition to using space and color to describe abstract conceptualizations of

individualism, sojourners also described the use of physical space and proxemics by using

conceptual metaphors. The Haitian sojourner described how people get much closer to each

other in Haiti than they would in the United States, using the example of how close people will

sit next to each other on the bus. When asked how she would describe this to another, she said,

"I would tell him to respect other peoples' space, respect other peoples' boundary." Boundary as

a conceptual metaphor implies an area around a person that should not be touched. The

sojourner from Brazil used a similar metaphor, a bubble, to describe how not to get too close to

people in the supermarket. These intangible restrictions to entering into another person's space

allow for sojourners to articulate something that is very abstract.

Though not described immediately in conjunction with spatial metaphors relating to

relationships, it is notable that both the Haitian and Brazilian sojourners used spatial metaphors

to describe interpersonal relationships, as well, just as the Russian and Punjabi sojourners had.

Both the Haitian and Brazilian sojourners noted greater physical distance maintained in the

United States and also used space to explain the level of interpersonal involvement expected in a

culture. This use of a common metaphor to describe both physical and interpersonal interactions

suggests that their physical experiences influenced their understanding of social interactions.

Although not all spatial metaphors used to describe social roles were applied to physical space as

well, future research may explore the connection between sojourners' perceptions of proximity in physical interactions and the perceived intimacy of interpersonal relationships.

Concepts and Anecdotes

Whether responding to a probe for a concept or a specific situation, conceptual metaphors were rarely used alone. Many of these conceptual metaphors occurred when sojourners were asked about specific situations, but not when asked for general concepts that were different from their native countries. The resistance to define concepts apart from context may be due in part to sojourners' holistic worldviews, but very likely the interrelated nature of schematic knowledge requires that concepts be defined in context. Conceptual metaphors, therefore, were used in conjunction with specific examples that clarified the meaning of the metaphor. Most, if not all, of the conceptual metaphors previously described related to role and context schemas. Because role and context schemas provide information used to determine culturally appropriate behaviors, these schemas may be used to activate more specific procedure schemas. In one such case, when a respondent described knowledge and scholarship in the United States as he would to a fellow countryman, he said, "Here, you, you will touch yourself deeply and learn a lot about the science. For example, I am a mechanical engineer; I know now about (…) numerical analysis, I know everything, but if I were in (his native country) maybe I don't get this knowledge." Immediately after using an abstract conceptual spatial metaphor, he filled in the concept with a detailed example. The metaphor on its own provides context, but the example crystalized his explanation. Similarly, when asked how she would prepare sojourning students to interact with professors, the Malaysian respondent encouraged them to be open and then gave an example of how openness towards professors would likely play out: "Try to be more open and don't be afraid, um because I think that most professors would certainly help you if you have problems." The Chinese respondent followed up his description of "strong attachments to the family" with a description of how parents influence decisions about whom to marry and how many people live with their parents even after marriage. Both role and context schemas set parameters for behaviors (Nishida, 1999), and therefore it is fitting that metaphors associated with these kinds of schemas should be followed by examples of behaviors. Conceptual metaphors provide background that, with the addition of specific examples, may help form a context, role, or person schemas. These schemas may in turn trigger the use of appropriate procedure schemas once appropriate procedure schemas have been developed (see Figure 2).

Situation Metaphors

Although conceptual metaphors occurred in all of the interviews, situation metaphors did not always emerge and some respondents seemed to reject the use of situation metaphors. Situation metaphors did not arise naturally in conversation. To prompt the creation of situation metaphors, the interviewer provided an example of a situation, referring to a sojourner's earlier description of a situation in the United States, and asking if there was a situation where one would act similarly in his or her native country. Essentially, the interviewer described a procedure schema provided by the sojourner earlier in the interview and then asked for information regarding the context, role, or person schema that would trigger that procedure schema in the sojourner's native country. A situation metaphor was created if the sojourner could describe a situation, such as a specific role or a context, that would lead to the appropriate actions, indicating the triggering of an appropriate procedure schema (see Figure 3). The sojourners' ability to create situation metaphors may have depended on a variety of factors, but the clearest distinction arose depending on amount of time sojourners had spent in the host country. Those sojourners who had been in the United States for an extended period of time were less likely to make comparisons between situations in native and host cultures. Long-term sojourners may have difficulty distinguishing between their native schemas and the schemas of their host culture due to extensive schema adjustment over time (Nishida, 1999). Acculturation, therefore, may influence sojourners' ability to create situation metaphors.

Long-Term Sojourners

No situation metaphors emerged in the interview with the Korean respondent. However, it should be noted that this respondent had lived in the United States for the longest period of time, approximately five years, and by his own admission was "Americanized." Though still a citizen of South Korea, his ability to make comparisons between the two cultures may have been limited by a high level of acculturation.

The two sojourners who had spent between three and five years in the United States were able to create one or two situation metaphors each but did not seem enthusiastic about the task. The amount of time spent in the United States may influence sojourners' ability to create metaphors. At a certain level of acculturation, schemas may become more abstract and comparisons between cultures may become less salient, making situation metaphors more difficult to construct.

When asked to create a situation metaphor, the Chinese sojourner who had spent four and a half years in the United States had difficulty thinking of possibilities. Earlier in the interview he remarked that one frequently asks questions of professors in the United States but not in China. When asked for a person whom he could ask questions in China he initially suggested a person in a mentoring position at a university in his native country; however, when asked whether interactions with a professor in the United States are like interactions with a mentor at a university in China, he said that it was different because of the types of questions asked. Other situations yielded no comparisons. For example, he described how Americans may bring friends who are strangers to the host to a party, something not common in his culture. He could think of no comparable situation in China. Though he did not suggest situation metaphors of his own, he did respond to a probing question from the interviewer. After the sojourner described relationships between parents and adult married children as being less close in the United States, he could think of not comparable interaction in China. However, when probed whether there were some other type of relationship that would be similar, such as the relationship between a person and an uncle or aunt, he responded enthusiastically, "That's still a way to explain that. Yeah, probably here, yeah, the married people treat their parents more like the like the uncle, aunt in China." Though likely not a situation metaphor that a sojourner would use, preparation for how others will interact may be useful to reduce uncertainty and anxiety. The Chinese sojourner was unable to originate a situation metaphor, but his enthusiastic acceptance of the example included in a probing question suggests that such comparisons were not problematic for him. His lengthy residence in the United States may have made comparisons more difficult to make as the differences were less salient.

The Libyan sojourner estimated he had spent between three and four years in the United States and, like the Chinese sojourner, he had difficulty creating situation metaphors. He described interactions with professors as freer in the United States. When probed for a relationship similar to that of his relationship with professors in the United States, he mentioned the relationship of a friend but when pressed further he reverted to using the adjectival form, describing relationships with professors as "more friendly." Thus, it is unclear whether this was a useful situation metaphor that could assist in the development of procedure schemas. He also described a greater degree of independence for people living in the United States than in Libya, combined with a greater respect for the rules and laws. When asked for a situation in Libya in

which people acted in accordance with the law and had greater personal independence, he mentioned the big city. He then accepted following rules and living independently in the big city as a comparable to the lifestyle he had observed in small town life in the United States, making it potentially a good metaphor for someone who had lived mostly in a small town in Libya but was familiar with the big city. When pressed further for any other types of rules, such as social or religious rules, that people did follow in Libya, he readily agreed, "Small town (…) they don't follow the government rules, but they follow the social rules." He maintained that this was a good example following probing questions, affirming that, just like in Libya the first person in line would have to pay for everyone when going out to lunch, he would have to follow the traffic laws in the United States.

Though the Libyan sojourner did not create strong situation metaphors comparing the United States and Libya without prompting, he did use one variation of a situation metaphor unprompted. When asked what a Libyan coming to the United States should expect when meeting people, he began by describing how a person in Libya might invite someone he had just met to his home; however, in the United States this would not occur until after the acquaintance had developed. He then made a comparison to Japanese culture, "In Japan for example, before I go to Japan, the advisor, with us said to us, don't shake hands with him the first time when it comes first time, Japanese people don't shake hands [the] first time with you, [they wait until] after [the] third time." To explain greetings in the United States, describing when a person first invites a new acquaintance to visit at home, he made a comparison to greetings in Japan, specifically how well two people should know each other before they start shaking hands. This abstract comparison provides specific information for how to act when greeting and developing relationships in the United States. However, instead of using an example from his native country, he used one from a less familiar country. It may be that actions in specific situations in Japan remained more accessible and were easy to compare than those from his native country.

One and a Half Years' Experience

Of the six sojourners who have lived in the United States for approximately one and a half years, four were able to create situation metaphors that provided sufficient role information to help develop procedure schemas, while two did not. It is unclear what caused sojourners who had spent approximately the same amount of time in the United States to react differently to the creation of situation metaphors. Personality, as well as native culture, may have influenced this

metaphor. Furthermore, though the sojourners had been in the United States for similar periods of time, they may have acculturated at different rates; the two sojourners who did not create situation metaphors had more experience traveling abroad and may have learned to adjust more quickly. Finally, cultural bias may have made some sojourners more open to situation metaphors.

The Haitian sojourner created a situation metaphor for interacting with classmates at her American university. Early in the interview she described how American students interacted in the classroom: "In my country like, if I sit next to you then we can talk and we can be friends. But here it is more like after school, then we gather to go to a bar, then we can be friends, but in the classroom, not really." When asked if there would be a situation in Haiti where she might interact in manner similar to the Americans students she described, she responded by suggesting an office. After further probing to determine how well this comparison fit, the metaphor was modified slightly to interactions between people who work for the same company but work in different departments. If they sit near each other they may speak to each other but they would not feel obligated to speak with each other. The situation metaphor, therefore, describes how students in one culture behave like coworkers from different departments at work in another culture.

A second situation metaphor described how to interact with a physician in the United States. The Haitian sojourner expressed her surprise that her physician had asked her if she had any questions during her appointment. She would not expect to ask her doctor questions in Haiti. She described interactions with professors in a similar manner, explaining that she would not ask them for help very often in Haiti but was expected to ask questions at her American university. The questions she had regarding schoolwork or medical tests would instead be addressed to family members in those fields. For example, she if she needed help with a class project she would ask an uncle in engineering for help. If she had a medical exam and did not understand why, she would ask her sister in the medical field. She explained, "that's why in Haiti, like, most of the family, they want to make sure that they have a doctor or an engineer so someone they can ask, 'What does that mean?'." When asked if she could ask questions of professionals here like she would family members in those professions in Haiti, she readily agreed.

The Malaysian sojourner had not traveled to other countries before coming to the United States and reported only five days' training before coming to the United States. With this short period of training, she may not have acculturated quickly, making cross-cultural comparisons

easier. Culture and personality may also have had some role. She was able to construct one significant situation metaphor. During the interview she described how in her experiences people often spoke with people they did not know in the grocery store in the American college town where she lives; this is not something that she would expect to see in her native country. Initially, when asked, she could think of no situation where she would behave similarly in Malaysia. However, after rephrasing the question, she did suggest that it was similar to speaking to "old people" in Malaysia. She was then asked a follow up question, "Would you say that you treat strangers in the street like (…) they're older than you?" and readily affirmed that she would. The level of politeness and the level of interaction appropriate with strangers in public places in this part of the United States may be higher than in her native culture, but it is comparable to her experiences with a certain type of person within her native country.

This similarity between situations across cultures may have influenced the Malaysian sojourner's ability to acculturate. She stated that she did not have difficulty adjusting to speaking with people in the grocery store. However, she still finds other situations challenging. Asking questions in class continues to be difficult for her, even though she considers it to be important in the context of her American university. When asked to think of a comparable situation where she would be expected to ask questions in Malaysia, she was unable to do so, even after several probing questions during the interview. Without a procedure schema for asking questions in any context, she had difficulty adjusting. With a procedure schema for greeting certain kinds of strangers, older people, she was able to adjust to greeting strangers in the grocery store. This suggests that sojourners do alter existing procedure schemas to adjust to a new culture. Situation metaphors may help sojourners adjust more quickly by making the procedure schema more easily accessible. However, it also means that situation metaphors may not be possible for some of the most anxiety-inducing situations. More in-depth interviews may yet uncover situation metaphors that would be of assistance, but they may not be possible under some circumstances. Due to cultural differences, some procedure schemas used in a host culture may never be used within a sojourner's native culture. In such cases attempts to make comparisons between roles or contexts in the two cultures would fail yield examples triggering similar procedure schemas.

The Indian sojourner who did not identify with a particular region was able to make one situation metaphor regarding how students and professors interact. He described how students are not to disagree with their professors in India, but that students here may. When asked to

create a situation metaphor, he described students' interactions with professors "like a sophomore talking to someone who's a senior" in India. An Indian student would still defer to someone who had taken the class previously, but would be able to disagree.

The Punjabi sojourner created a situation metaphor to describe how American students interact with one another. He initially described how students in India would contact each other freely even if they did not know each other well. In his experiences in the United States, however, students used email frequently to set up meetings and determine each other's availability. When prompted to create a situation metaphor, he compared it to a workplace situation where email would be used to set up meetings. Indian students in the United States may, therefore, need to treat student acquaintances as if they were coworkers when deciding to schedule a meeting.

Eight Months' Experience

Only one sojourner had spent less than a year in the United States. The Vietnamese sojourner had been in the United States for eight months and was able to create a situation metaphor with little prompting. He had traveled to other countries previously, but never outside of Asia and never for much longer than a week. He was able to create situation metaphors readily, possibly in part because of a low level of acculturation.

The first situation metaphor he created described a classroom setting in the United States. He described the casual atmosphere where students sit with their hands behind their heads and dress comfortably. When later asked to make a comparison to a situation in his own country, he came up with the a situation metaphor comparing the classroom to a house and the professors like friends: "So in class, just act like, um, your friend at your house (…) and your teachers just like your friends, but with more respect." When asked if there were any type of person in his native culture that he would treat like a friend with more respect, he mentioned that there may be a few close teachers. Though necessarily modified in terms of the level of respect, he was still able to make a comparison without any prompting. He did later add a few other rules to guide behavior in a classroom, such as the rule that people should not playfully touch or hit each other unless they know each other well. Despite the number of adjustments made on top of the situation metaphor, he still saw sufficient similarities between the procedure schema for a classroom and the procedure schema for a friend's house to make the comparison, even wording it as if he were giving advice to a sojourner.

The Vietnamese sojourner also created a stronger situation metaphor that did not require modification. During the interview he described how business professionals in the United States adhere to a set of business ethics that was different from what he had experienced in Vietnam. When prompted to make a comparison to a situation in Vietnam, he likened using work ethics in an independent working environment in the United States to visiting a pagoda in Vietnam:

> So, in Vietnam in (…) holy places like in pagoda, even, uh, even when there's no supervision people tend to act, uh, honestly because they believe that someone from, you know, up high may be seeing them and, uh, they don't want to do bad things. Stuff like that. So you can, you can tell people that when (…) people work for example in (…) an independent environment without any supervision but (…) they have the work ethic to follow, and it's like when you are in a pagoda and you are religious. (…) It's not a perfect comparison but it can I think it works somehow. If you don't do that it's fine you are not penaltied [sic] (…) but you'd better do that or you will have bad feelings later, so it's kind of a similarity between the two situations.

This clearly described situation metaphor makes comparisons between two very different situations. Of all the sojourners interviewed, the Vietnamese sojourner who had been present in the United States the least amount of time seemed to grasp purpose of a situation metaphor best. He was the only one to use the situation metaphor, without prompting, as if he were explaining to another sojourner how to act. His own personality or culture may have contributed to this, but the amount of time he had spent in the United States and a potentially lower level of acculturation may have facilitated the ease of metaphor creation.

Resistance to Situation Metaphors

Other sojourners who had been in the United States for a period of time similar to the Haitian and Malaysian sojourners, between one and two years, did not make situation metaphors readily. This may in part be due to personality differences, but there were indications that cultural bias and level of acculturation may have influenced their disinclination to create situation metaphors.

Cultural bias in the form of expectations for learning may have influenced their desires to create situation metaphor. For example, the Brazilian and the Russian sojourners seemed to have a different expectation of learning in a university setting. The Russian sojourner described a greater degree of independence in her undergraduate work in Russia, where only one exam is

given for a course and students are less dependent on their professors for learning. She described it as: "In the University you are supposed to learn how to study (…) you do not learn things, you just learn how to study these things." The Brazilian sojourner described a similar difference between expectations for students in the United States and Brazil, where undergraduate students in Brazil are more likely to conduct their own research. Due to experiences in learning independently, they may have rejected the creation of situation metaphors because they expected other sojourners to adjust by learning about the culture on their own. Making a comparison between cultures as a teaching device from this perspective might impose too much information on someone who should be getting information and learning about the culture through their own experiences.

A resistance to comparisons was particularly evident in the interview with the Russian sojourner. When she described how people dress to go to the parties she has observed in the United States, she jokingly made a comparison to how Russians dress:

At my age, people in Russia are a bit more mature, and uh, I had to go back like four or five years [laughs] because, because I was in my first month I was going to parties, expecting something like a cocktail party. Really, I was wearing like heels and classic stuff [laughs].

This appears to be a situation metaphor that describes how a Russian sojourner should approach dressing for parties in some American contexts as if he or she were four or five years younger. However, when asked follow up questions regarding whether she would use this metaphor to describe dressing when speaking to fellow Russian, she indicated that she would not, stating, "I would just say, like, wear something really casual, and that's it" and "I would not teach someone." The use of an apparent situation metaphor in a humorous context may still indicate that such comparisons do structure thought. The Russian sojourner's refusal to create a metaphor was consistent with the rest of the interview in which she seemed disinclined to give specific directions for how another sojourner should act. She may have considered it inappropriate to tell a peer how to act, in which case her refusal may have been a reaction to the phrasing of the probe. Sojourners from certain cultural backgrounds may also be less open to preparation that includes information regarding procedure schemas; instead, they may prefer to learn how to act in situations through their own information gathering.

Acculturation may have been another barrier to metaphor creation. Some sojourners may have acculturated more quickly than others on a similar timeframe. The Russian and Brazilian respondents both had spent extensive periods of time studying in other countries, as well, and, as experienced sojourners, may have adjusted more easily. The Brazilian sojourner had also lived in the United States as a child and taught English in her native country. Through acculturation, their schemas may have become more developed and more abstract, making comparisons between specific types of situations more difficult. For example, the Brazilian sojourner was willing to describe physical proximity in terms of a bubble, using a conceptual metaphor to provide an abstract framework, but was unwilling to make comparisons to specific situations within her native country. She did later make comparisons between acceptable physical proximity in the United States and the European countries she had visited but did not give a more specific example.

The only case in which the Brazilian sojourner was able to create a situation metaphor related to the type of schoolwork expected in the United States. She compared the amount of work expected of college students in the United States to the amount of work expected of a high school student in Brazil. However, she would not make a similar comparison to describe how students interact interpersonally. Though an explanation of workload may provide context for a sojourner, it does not indicate how they should interact in a social situation and does not have any clear applications for procedure schemas, making its usefulness as a situation metaphor to prepare sojourners limited.

Limitations

Because the sojourners were recruited as a convenience sample, the same qualities that caused them to volunteer for the interviews may cause them to be unrepresentative of other international students. These qualities may also make them the type of people who help new sojourners adjust to a new culture. The respondents focused their comparisons primarily on their observations of American culture in a large southeastern research university and the surrounding small college town; therefore, the situation metaphors and conceptual metaphors used may not be generalizable to other American subcultures. Furthermore, the metaphors used and created are representative of their own views of both their own and American culture and may not be commonly held views.

During the course of the interview sojourners often recommended other means of preparing sojourners. These recommendations frequently came in the form of rules, such as not to touch someone unless you are friends, to be polite to the bus driver, or to tip waiters in restaurants. The sojourners interviewed did not imply that such rules would add to new sojourners' cognitive load. However, these sojourners' levels of acculturation may make them unaware of how such rules may add to recent arrivals' cognitive load.

The sojourners interviewed provided only one specific suggestion for preparing others, indicating that sojourners should read. The Russian sojourner, who would not give recommendations for how to act once within the host country, did advise sojourners to read in preparation. She stated that sojourners should "just read as much as possible about the place just be excited about coming." The Vietnamese sojourner went so far as to recommend a particular book, *Living in the USA.* He had read so much about American culture that he was occasionally unable to distinguish between situations he had experienced and situations about which he had read. His extensive reading apparently had aided schema formation without the benefit of direct experience. This information seeking behavior supports AUM's emphasis on information seeking behavior.

In addition to describing how to prepare, most impromptu suggestions for sojourners involved how to learn once in the host country. Several sojourners strongly recommended that sojourners observe the actions of those around them. That sojourners themselves suggest that a heightened state of awareness of others' actions while in a host country suggests that mindfulness is a technique used by sojourners to adjust their existing schemas, just as recommended by AUM (Gudykunst, 2005). The respondents stated that new sojourners should watch and imitate others' actions, such as holding doors. The Vietnamese, Korean, and Haitian sojourners all gave the advice to observe and watch others to learn what to do. This supports the suggestion that sojourners adjust their schemas while actually in residence in a foreign culture.

Sojourners also gave advice that others should meet people and engage American culture. For example, the Indian sojourner commented on some international students' failure to interact in American society: "They don't really tend to mix with other people. Maybe because they're scared, or maybe because they don't want to, but that'd be something I would, I'd like to tell them, you know, you should just go out, you know, meet people." The Korean student gave similar advice, suggesting that sojourners find people with similar interests.

Sojourners offered a variety of advice for future sojourners. Rules for behavior, encouragement to read, and suggestions of how to learn through observation were all suggested as means for adjusting to the host country. No situation metaphors were used without prompting, though conceptual metaphors were used in combination with specific anecdotes. Though some sojourners were able to create situation metaphors, they were equally favorable toward some of the more typical preparations prescribed by AUM and schema theory, including gathering information to reduce uncertainty and adjusting schemas through experience once present in the host country. The sojourners' interviews, therefore, suggest that the recommendations made by AUM are commonly used when adjusting to a host culture. However, the respondents' use of conceptual metaphor and the ability of many of the sojourners to create situation metaphors indicate that using metaphor as a tool to prepare sojourners may be a complementary approach.

Conclusion

Sojourners are faced with the difficult task of adjusting their existing schemas to function in a new culture. This study expands our understanding of how sojourners adjust schemas and how the process of adjustment may be facilitated. All sojourners interviewed used conceptual metaphors, which is unsurprising considering that such metaphors are hypothesized to structure thought even within a single culture. However, sojourners' use of conceptual metaphor to describe schemas for both their native cultures and their host culture indicates that metaphor is useful to describe social interactions and make comparisons across cultures. Attempts to prompt the creation of situation metaphors met mixed results. Sojourners who had been in the host country for a long period of time or had traveled extensively were less likely to make comparisons between different situations; it would appear that these sojourners have already developed abstract schemas for their host culture. With a well-developed understanding of different cultures, such sojourners may not make comparisons easily because they are no longer in the process of adjusting their schemas. Sojourners who had spent less time outside of their native countries, however, more easily made comparisons between contexts and roles leading to specific procedures. These sojourners may still be in the process of adjusting and fine-tuning their schemas. Less experienced sojourners may be more open to using metaphor because they are still comparing their knowledge of their own cultures with their experiences in the United States. None of the sojourners interviewed had been in the host culture for less than eight months; future studies should investigate how sojourners recently arrived to a host culture describe their experiences.

Both AUM and metaphor may be applied to intercultural training, though the usefulness of each may depend on the stage of the sojourner's acculturation. Before leaving their native culture, sojourners seek information to reduce uncertainty and anxiety by reading books and speaking with others. This initial stage is an appropriate time to introduce conceptual and situation metaphors and prepare the sojourner for future schema adjustment. Once in the host culture, sojourners begin to make adjustments to their original schemas. They may do so by making comparisons to familiar concepts and situations in their native cultures. This stage is likely the best time for sojourners to use situation metaphors, as the comparison may facilitate schema adjustment; it is also likely the best time to create situation metaphors for future sojourners' use. Finally, experienced sojourners with well-adjusted, abstract schemas for the

host culture no longer rely as heavily on comparisons between cultures; these sojourners are unlikely to create situation metaphors. Throughout their time in the host culture, sojourners maintain a state of mindfulness, observing others in the host culture to avoid making assumptions incongruent with those of the host culture. This state of mindfulness is likely most productive in later stages of schema adjustment, when sojourners have developed a framework for interpreting their observations. However, training sojourners in conceptual and situation metaphors for early intercultural interactions may prepare sojourners for understanding their observations and so facilitate the process of schema adjustment. Future research should investigate the interaction between mindfulness and metaphor to understand how sojourners can use conceptual and situation metaphors to assist them in their observations and interpretations of their host culture.

Based on the observations of this study, some suggestions for training with metaphors can be made. Conceptual metaphors that explain both physical and social interactions should be addressed early in the training process; such metaphors provide a means of understanding many aspects of a culture and may lay a foundation for understanding other concepts. Their broad applicability also makes them the simplest and easiest to remember, potentially easing the sojourner's information load. Other conceptual metaphors may be used in conjunction with specific examples, teaching sojourners how to use conceptual metaphors to put specific interactions in context and providing sojourners a means of adjusting schemas when situation metaphors may not be possible. Sojourners should train in situation metaphors last, after they have an understanding of the broader cultural context through conceptual metaphors. Situation metaphors may be put to best use soon before or immediately after entering the culture, so that they may be used when schema adjustment first begins.

Metaphor may be used as a tool to reduce uncertainty and anxiety by facilitating the process of schema adjustment. The person who trains sojourners is like a film director: charged with providing sufficient background information for the scene without overwhelming the actor. Just as directors use metaphors or adjustments to guide actors, trainers may also use metaphors to prepare sojourners for interactions in foreign cultures. While directors may creatively construct such comparisons on the spot to meet their own whims, trainers are charged with the task of preparing sojourners for far less flexible situations where there are no second takes. By

investigating metaphors used by sojourners, this study lays the foundation for building metaphors that can be used by sojourners in the future.

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Appendix A: Protocol

Metaphors as Tools Interview Protocol

Interviewee name: _____

Date/Time: _____

Sections:

_____ A. Background

_____ B. Expectations

_____ C. Concepts: General Questions

_____ D. Concepts: Specific Questions

_____ E. Situations: General Questions

_____ F. Situations: Specific Questions

_____ G. Creating Metaphors

Other topics discussed:

_____

_____

_____

Introduction

To help with our research, I will be recording the interview. Only those assisting in the research will have access to the recording. This consent form that essentially states that all information will be kept confidential and you may stop the interview process at any time or refuse to answer any question if you are uncomfortable; please read and sign it (hand form). Thank you.

You are taking part in series of interviews being conducted to understand how people living abroad think about their host culture, which in this case is the United States. I will start by asking you some questions about your background, and then ask you questions about your experiences in the United States as well as in your native culture.

(start recording)

A. Background
I will begin by asking you some background information.

Question: What is your race? _____

Question: What is your gender? _____

Question: In what year were you born? _____

Question: What is your native country? _____

Question: Do you consider yourself to be from a particular region, subculture, ethnic group, language, socioeconomic class, or religious group within that country?
_____

_____

Question: Are you currently a citizen of that country? (If not, where? When did you change citizenship?)

_____

Question: How long have you lived in your native country? Have you lived there at different periods of your life?

_____

Question: How long have you lived in the United States? Have you lived here at different periods of your life?

_____

Question: Have you lived in or visited any other countries? (For how long?)

_____

Question: What training or preparation did you receive before traveling abroad? (Ex: A class? Read a book? Grow up with American media?)

Probe: Is (*method of preparation*) common in your country?

_____

Question: How comfortable do you feel in United States culture?

Probe: Do you feel you have adjusted well to U. S. culture?

Probe: Did you have difficulty adjusting at first?

B. Expectations: Now I'd like to know a little about your expectations before coming here.

Question: What were your expectations of the United States before you came (The first time? The second time? *If applicable).*

Probe: Were those expectations fulfilled?
Probe: What were they like instead?
Probe: Can you give me any examples?
Probe: How does that compare to your native country?

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C. Concepts: General Questions: Now that I know a little about expectations, I'd like to hear a little about your thoughts on American culture.

Question: What ideas are looked at differently in the United States than in your native country? (ex: student, scholarship, theories, time, arguments, health, love, family, friendship/ friend, work, truth, power, freedom, patriotism, etc?) (*Alternatively*: In general, how do you think that U. S. culture is different from your native country?)

Probe: Can you give me any examples?
Probe: What aspects of U. S. culture have been hard for you to adjust to?
Probe: What is (*concept*) like in the U. S.?
Probe: What is (*concept*) like in your country?

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D. Concepts: Specific Questions: After talking about how things are different, I'd like to hear how would explain these differences to someone planning to study abroad.

Question: How would you explain (*concepts mentioned in part C*) to someone from your country that was planning to come to the U. S. for the first time?

Probe: Does (*conceptual metaphor*) better describe (*metaphor*) either here or in your native culture?

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E. Situations: General Questions: After going over these general ideas, I'm going to ask you a little about more specific instances.

Question: What are some social situations that are different in the United States than in your native country? (Ex: meeting new people, greeting different kinds of people, classroom behavior, parties, etc.)

Follow up: How are you expected to act in (*situation*) here?

Follow up: How does that compare to how you would act in your native country?

Probe: What other interactions are different here than in your native country? (ex: different situations with professors, fellow students, roommates, restaurant staff, bus drivers, secretaries, etc.?)

Probe: What did you expect them to be like?
Probe: How are they different?
Probe: Can you be more specific?
Probe: Can you give me an example where you've seen this?

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F. Situations: Specific Questions: Regarding some of these situations, now I'd like to hear how you'd prepare people from your country planning to come to the U. S.

Question: How would you describe how to act in (*situation mentioned in part E*) to someone from your country traveling to the U. S. for the first time?

Probe: Can you walk me through what you would do in that situation?
Probe: How are you expected to act?
Probe: What do you need to know to behave appropriately in that situation?
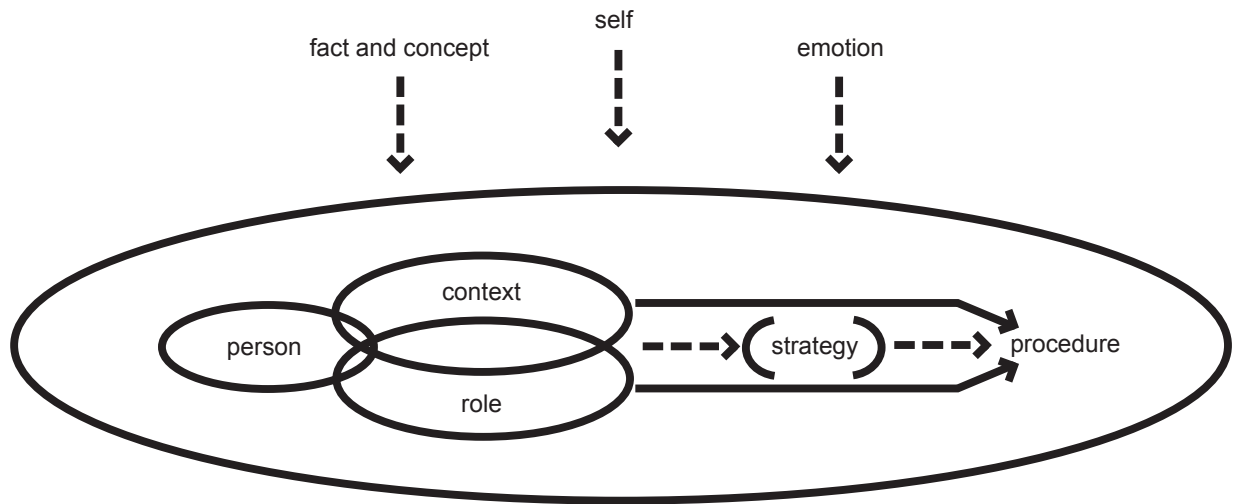
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G. Creating Metaphors: Now let's talk about preparing people for these situations a little differently. Though these situations you described for me (like *concepts from part F*) are different in the U. S. than in your native country, the way you act in them might be similar to a different kind of situation in your native country. For example, a business meeting in one country may be like a cocktail party in a country like the U. S. because of the way you are

expected to act. So, in another country there might be food and drinks and chit chat in a business meeting and less of a clear agenda than in a typical U. S. business meeting.

Question: You mentioned that you would act like (*X*) in (*situation mentioned in part E*) in the U. S. Are there any situations in your native country where you would act that way?

Follow up: So, would you say that in (*situation*) in the U. S., you would act like (*X*)?

Do you think it might help someone traveling to the U. S. for the first time to tell them to act like you're in a (*situation from native country*)?

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Appendix B: Figures

Figure 1. Person, context, and role schemas overlap and trigger appropriate procedure schemas; when problem solving is required, strategy schemas trigger appropriate procedure schemas. Fact-and-concept, self, and emotion schemas influence the whole process.
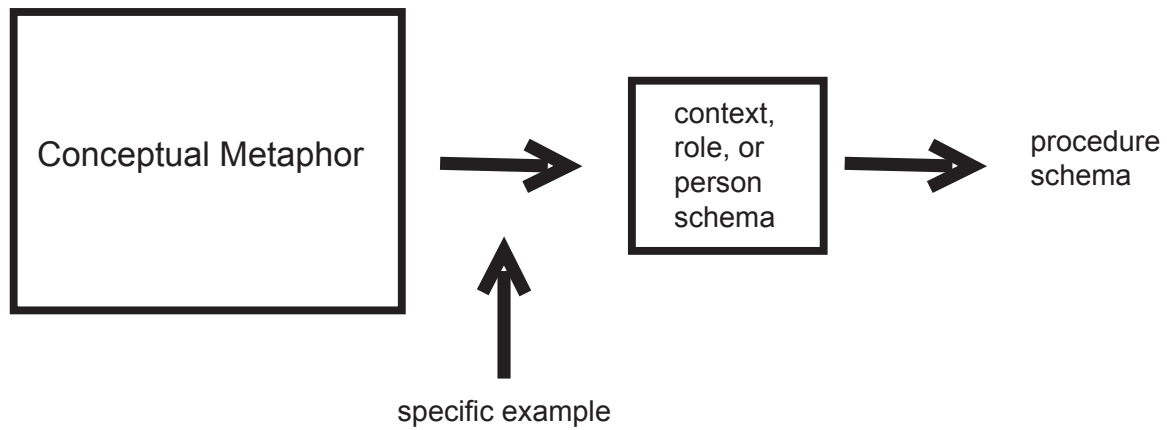
Figure 2. A broad conceptual metaphor, clarified and narrowed in focus by a specific example, provides information similar to a context, role, or person schema and triggers the appropriate procedure schema.
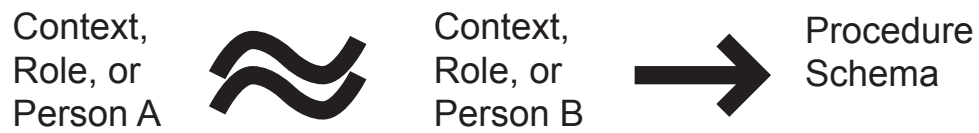
Figure 3. A situation metaphor compares information from a familiar context, role, or person schema to a context, role, or person schema in another culture to determine the appropriate procedure schema.