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## **STEREOTYPES IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION**

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## CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	3
1. THE CONCEPT OF CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION.....	6
1.1. Theories of cross-cultural communication.....	6
1.2. The concept of stereotype.....	14
1.3. Stereotypes as cognitive structures.....	26
1.4. Classification of stereotypes.....	36
2. THE ROLE OF STEREOTYPES IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION .....	40
2.1. The functions of stereotypes .....	40
2.2. Stereotypes in literary texts.....	49
2.3. The importance of stereotypes in cross-cultural communication.....	54
CONCLUSION.....	61
REFERENCES.....	65

## INTRODUCTION

Stereotypes might be of major or minor role in communication. Usually they appear because of lack of experience from the past and in case on drawing conclusions based on limited or superficial information background. Formation of relevant concepts while individuals are getting to know each other may lead to various consequences, which, in turn, or simplify the process of perception of each other, or vice versa – can cause clashes and misunderstandings. Every nation has its own idea about the world, about the people, and about the representatives of other cultures. Certain stereotypes appear in society both, regarding people themselves, and related to behaviour and traditions within their cultural space and regarding the representatives of another linguistic and cultural space. And in the case when stereotypes appear during cross-cultural communication, these consequences are huge, because the interaction between whole nations and countries takes place. Nowadays, modern English language is characterized by abundance of idioms in the language as it reflects all ideas and conceptions of human mind based on the experience of people communication and interaction.

**The topicality** of our research is stipulated by the problem of different ethnic groups living in the world community interaction. The existing perception of one nation about other nations can have a great influence on ethnic interrelations. Knowledge about the origin of stereotypes and mechanisms of their formation is of a primary importance in prevention of ethnic prejudiceness. It is possible to gain such knowledge with the help of the language as a brilliant illustrative material of formation and development of stereotypes in public consciousness. That is why it is important to learn peculiarities of communication between representatives of different cultures – to avoid contradictions and misunderstanding during communication. Agreement between people is impossible without the knowledge and understanding of each other's ethnicity peculiarities: the lifestyle, the culture, the behaviour, living conditions, national character. Such linguists pay attention to the topic of language interaction, people's psychology and cross-cultural communication: W. Lippman, I. S. Kon,

Y. A. Sorokin, I. Y. Markovina, A. V. Pavlovskaya, S. Ter-Minasova. [20, 46, 60, 61, 55, 65]

**The aim** of the work is to consider the phenomenon of stereotype in the cross-cultural communication, to describe the types of stereotypes, describe their characteristics, the main causes of its occurrence and peculiarities of its influence on cross-cultural communication, to analyze the meaning of cross-cultural stereotypes.

The realisation of the aim of the work involves the following **tasks**:

- to explore the concept of stereotype in cognitive linguistics, ehnolinguistics, psychology, cognitive science, social psychology;
- to find the relation between the definitions of stereotype and nation character;
- to reveal the role of stereotypes in cross-cultural communication, examine the influence of stereotypes to the process of sociocultural interaction;
- to consider the kinds of stereotypes, which can be the reason of conflict during the cross-cultural communication;
- to review the classifications of the stereotypes, determine how stereotypes influence on relations between people inside one cultural and language domain;
- to study the influence of the background knowledge on understanding the culture of foreign nationality, compare the concept of background knowledge and stereotype;
- to study the features of perception and understanding of stereotypes in a literary text;
- investigate the interaction of linguistics and culture stereotypes;

The **object** of study is a number of cross-cultural stereotypes of different nations, the **subject** of study is the role and understanding of stereotypes in cross-cultural communication.

**The methods of the research** – the survey of psychological, linguistic and cognitological literature about the problems of language and culture interaction, analysis of the stereotypes.

The **novelty** of the study lays in the consideration of the phenomenon of the stereotype in the broad sense – as a term, which includes representations of one nation about the culture of other nation as a whole.

**Theoretical value** of the research is that the main substantive provisions, generalisations and conclusions can help to deepen linguistic and culturology theory knowledge, and systemise the main points on the theory of cross-cultural communication and stereotypes on the modern stage of research.

The **practical value** consists in the possibility of use the research by students during the lectures and seminars, while writing the courseworks and diploma papers.

## I. THE CONCEPT OF CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

### 1.1. Theories of cross-cultural communication

Cultural understanding of the world ultimately affects human's style of communication as when children start picking up ways of the culture at around the same time they start learning to communicate. It influences to people's speech and behavior.

The basic concept of cross-cultural communication is culture. It not only dictates who talks what, to whom, how, and why, but also helps to determine how communication proceeds and messages are encoded to transmit the intended meanings.

For the first time the word **“culture”** was used as an independent term in 1684 by a German philosopher Samuel von Pufendorf. He believed that culture was “an interface between God and men. According to the command of God culture influences the human nature and activity” [45, p. 6].

The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines the term “culture” as “the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief and behavior that depends upon man's capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations” and as “the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious or social group” [33, p. 237].

Dutch social psychologist Gerard Hendrik Hofstede believes that culture is “the collective programming of the mind that separates one group of people from another”, which is made up of models: how people think, how they feel and how they act. The source of these mental programming is the social environment in which a person grows up and acquires his or her life experience (family, school, friends, place of work, etc.) [12, p. 10].

The scientist divides the concept of “culture” into two types: restrictive and broad. In a narrow sense, it gathers the meanings of civilization, or education, and its results, such as education, art, and literature. According to Hofstede, the restrictive concept is “culture – 1”. And broad definition of culture consists of sufficiently simple

elements, such as food, feelings, physical distance or hygiene, and is defined by Hendrik Hofstede as “culture – 2”. It should be noted that when the term of intercultural communication, it is important to take into account both the wide and the narrow meanings of the term, named “culture”. Only in this way there is a possibility to implement a multilevel approach to this definition.

Among other research papers there are important studies of such cultural anthropologists, as E. Sapir, who emphasizes on the existence of three groups of “meanings” which are related to the word “culture”. First, the culture can be used by ethnologists and historians of culture as a technical term, while embracing the socially inherited features of the material and spiritual life of human (in this sense, “culture” refers to the concept of “civilization”). Second, the use of the term is a designation of the “conditional ideal of individual upbringing”. In the third sense, culture means “not much what a particular nation believe in, or what it’s people created, but how everything created by specific nation and all, what they believe in, function in these individuals’ lives and what significance does it have for them” [62, p. 24].

According to the works of P. Sorokin, “every great culture is not just a conglomerate of various coexisting phenomena, but unrelated to one another, but their unity or individuality, all parts of which are imbued with one fundamental principle and express one and the main value” (here, and further translation is ours) [60, p. 429].

Wider understanding of culture emerged later – it was more connected with the people’s life, with their manner of thinking, feeling and reacting. Currently there are provided many definitions of culture in modern scientific sources. In particular, such as: “culture is a set of spiritual values whose ways of expression are language, science, literature, art”; “culture is a historically determined level of development of a society, creative forces and abilities of a person, which is expressed in certain forms and types of organization, life and activity of people, in their relationships, as well as in their material and spiritual values” [9, p. 7].

In everyday life, the concept is mostly used in three basic meanings: the sphere of life of society, which exists in the form of a system of institutions and organizations, that are engaged in the production and distribution of spiritual values of society; the

set of values and norms which are inherent in a large social group or nation – for example, Ukrainian culture or teenager culture; high level of achievements of the person in any field – for example, culture of life, movie culture.

In the interpretation of A. Kreber and C. Kluckhohn the concept of “culture” is presented as a set of material objects, objects, ideas, images created by man himself during his history, as “second nature”, which forms the human world, in contrast to the wild of nature. At the same time, the scientists emphasize that “culture consists of revealed and hidden patterns of thought and behavior, which are specific achievements of human communities embodied in the characters they are perceived through and transmitted from person to person and from generation to generation. It is necessary to include here the achievements, that are depicted in material goods, which are created by the cultural society [18, p. 18].

No culture exists in isolation. Communication plays an important role in the human life and therefore appears a big part of people’s culture. Highlighting their importance, many researchers culture to communication. Edward T. Hall, great american cross-cultural communication specialist states that “culture is communication, and communication – is culture”. According to this statement, a lot of Western scientists depict culture figuratively in the form of an iceberg, which is based on cultural values and norms, and it’s top is person’s individual behavior based on these norms and primarily manifested in communication with other members of society [9, p. 11].

The term **cross-cultural communication** appeared in 1954 in the in the depths of the American Scientific School of Anthropological Cultures – E. T. Hall and G. L. Trager. The scientists mentioned it in their work “Culture as Communication” while offering this term for wide use and interpret it as a direct link between culture and communication with the ability to compare cultures of different nations of the world [23, p. 49].

American scientist Orlando L. Taylor agrees with the thoughts of Edward T. Hall, and writes in his book “Cross-cultural communication: An essential dimension of effective education” he notes that “communication is the product of

culture. The way in which people can communicate and which is driven by their culture. A person may know more than one culture, be an expert on several cultures, but one thing will be certain: communication is the product and work of culture” [32, p. 21].

The first definition of **cross-cultural communication** was proposed in 1972 by American scientists – Larry Samovar and Richard Porter in the book “Communication between Cultures”. According to this publication, intercultural communication “... occurs when a member of one culture produces a message for consumption by a member of another culture. More precisely, intercultural communication involves interaction between people whose cultural perceptions and symbol systems differ enough to influence the communication event” [28, p. 8]. So, it is a type of communication in which the sender and recipient belong to different cultures.

For today, the term “cross-cultural communication” is based on classical positivist methodology, systemic and dialectic-synergistic methods and approaches. Numerous studies of the problem of cultures interaction indicate that the achievement of positive results depends on the ability of participants to communicate with each other, and it is influenced by many factors, such as the ethnic culture of each interlocutor, psychology of the nations, prevailing in a particular country cultural values. According to the works of T. Hrushevitskaya, V. Popkov and A. Sadokhin such interrelationships of different cultures have been called “cross-cultural communication” – “the exchange between two or more cultures and products of their activities, which takes place in different forms” [44, p. 123].

First of all, when it comes to intercultural communication, such scientists as T. Hrushevitskaya, V. Popkov, A. Sadokhin, S. Ter-Minasova, W. B. Gudykunst, L. Samovar and R. Porter speak about a combination of the two concepts – “culture” and “communication”[11]. In addition S. Ter-Minasova emphasizes, that “the ability to develop communicative competence is characteristic of all representatives of Homo Sapiens, but the concrete realization of this ability is culturally conditioned. Also, this ability is influenced by the person’s most individual experience, so often this

experience impedes the understanding of people of the same culture and language, not to mention different cultures representatives” [65, p. 23].

Thus, we can distinguish and emphasize the following key statements regarding intercultural communication: 1) cross-cultural communication is the interaction of cultures, which takes place in a certain space and time, where the culture phenomenon is considered as a generic concept, cultural contacts take various forms, which are expressed in interrelation, synthesis, complementarity and dialogue; 2) cross-cultural communication is the interaction of cultures with the help of which they enter into dialogue, takes place their actualization, and as a result appears everything what is common and specific for each culture as a system; 3) cross-cultural communication – the interaction of cultures that gets its externalization through verbal language and content which create a specific picture of the world.

So, in order to avoid all sorts of misunderstandings in communication on the cultural level there is a vital need for cross-cultural communication. Talking about cultural aspects of the Great Britain, for example, we need to emphasise, that their peculiarities are connected with the elder times of the existence of the Celts, the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, who brought their own traits, norms, traditions. As a result, certain features have emerged, which can be defined as British commitment to tradition, practicality, discipline, restraint, honesty, sophistication of manners, gentlemenhood and more. Therefore, by understanding all the cultural aspects mentioned above, it is possible to succeed in intercultural communication. It is clear, that it requires knowledge of all the socio-cultural features of communication, as well, as an understanding of the psychological characteristics and difficulties that arise in dealing with representatives of different countries. That is why during the cross-cultural communication people are often driven by some kind of prejudice against other nationalities’ cultures. And this fact is reflected in stereotypes relation to one, or another ethnic group.

So, all the important aspects of cultural science can be achieved at the cross-cultural level. It is clear that this requires knowledge of all the socio-cultural features of communication, as well as an understanding of the psychological characteristics and

difficulties that arise in dealing with representatives of different countries. Psychologists note that since childhood, programming of “ours” and “others” has been laid down. With the development of one’s self, one becomes a member of a particular group. It is, to a certain extent, self-identification, of an archaic nature and associated with self-preservation, since the “others” in the minds of ancient people was perceived as dangerous and hostile, and “ours own” as giving a sense of security and reliability. Thus, even in the modern world of perception, by understanding the meaninglessness of the conflict between “ours own” and “another’s”, people subconsciously feel a certain strain in dealing with people who do not identify as “ours own”.

Hence the bias towards the representatives of other cultures, which is reflected in the stereotypes of one or another ethnic group. According to Walter Lippman's definition, stereotype is a “preconceived notion that resolutely governs all processes of perception” [38, p. 47]. Sometimes it is difficult for a person to abandon stereotypes, because they facilitate the perception of phenomena, do not require efforts for their real knowledge, thus saving energy and time of the person. Of course, such a perception reduces and sometimes deprives a person of flexibility in the perception. In addition, some communication difficulties can be caused by the fact that it is very difficult for a person to accept something “not his”. The bias of the stereotypes means that they reflect non-objective characteristics of reality. So, it is important to realize that stereotypical perception of phenomena is based on complex mental and psychological processes, in particular the psychological unconscious. An important component of national stereotypes – the archetype – is linked to the psychological unconscious. According to Karl-Gustav Jung’s definition, the archetype is “an initial model of the psychological unconscious that influences the perception of reality on the basis of natural instincts and socio-cultural factors. Archetypes pervade national rituals, folk art, myths – all in which the most ancient images of the living world, people, and other things that have become symbolic for national culture are revealed. Archetypal images are the most persistent at the level of the collective subconscious, which is important to remember in intercultural communication” [52, p. 54]. Reproduction of archetypes are symbols – symbols in the form of images, words, objects that convey ideas in the

national consciousness that are important to the whole community. In other words, symbols are archetypes of nationally significant character. In addition to the inherent ethos of stereotypes, archetypes, and symbols, formation of individual's intellect is closely related to language. The language is a means of materializing the various images of the world that create consciousness.

According to Wilhelm Humboldt [13, p. 225], different languages are different visions of the same thing. Because different languages pervade the history of mankind, they are for nations the organs of their original thinking and perception. Thus, language is the basis of interpretation of the world, affecting the consciousness of the speakers of a particular national community. Hence the different pictures of the world created by people who speak different languages, because the content of thinking is influenced by the differences of languages. This should also be borne in mind in the process of intercultural communication.

As mentioned above, communication process can be taken using verbal and non-verbal means. Non-verbal communication plays an important role in the communication process, especially in cases of long pauses and silence. There are the following types of non-verbal communication: physiognomy – facial expression, visual contact; kinesics – gesture, posture, body movement; takesika – touch, handshake, kiss; proxemics – interpersonal distance, space of communication; paralyzing aids – intonation, pitch and pitch, pause, etc., all that convey certain information about the interlocutor and create an atmosphere of communication. According to silence, which often occurs in communication, there is a scientific view that this is one aspect of verbal communication. In some Eastern cultures, it is well known that silence is seen as an expression of wisdom and sometimes speaks more than words. The branch of science that studies silence is called silentology. There are several types of communicatively meaningful silence: silence when changing communicative roles; silence to reflect on the next replica; active silence of the “listener”; waiting silence for the interlocutor's reaction or response. [13, p. 225]

Silence, pauses, or lack thereof often are a manifestation of national communication styles in intercultural communication. For example, speakers of

Eastern countries tend to listen more to their interlocutor – they do not object openly and it is unacceptable for them to enter into discussions with the guest.

Pause and silence, in turn, are indispensable components of their communication. Thus, to gain understanding in intercultural communication is not enough knowledge of a foreign language. Speakers need to know, understand and apply other important components of a successful communication process. It is important not only the knowledge of the language, but also what the person invests in it during communication.

## 1.2. The concept of stereotype

In the everyday life, we are often faced with predetermined perception or cliché about representatives of other cultures and nationalities though we might not realize it. Our attitude to their individual and collective features is determined by similar judgments, attributing to a whole social group certain properties of character or a manner of behavior. These predetermined perceptions come to be called as **stereotypes**. “Ethnic stereotype (from ancient Greek *stereos* – “hard”, and *typos* – “imprint” or “image”) – simplified, schematized, emotionally coloured and quite sustainable image of an ethnic group easily spread on all its representatives” [63, p. 93].

Modern linguistics is concentrated on investigating definition and genesis of the term “stereotype”. Researching stereotypes is not easy – at the first place, there is no common opinion on the emergence and functioning of stereotypes in society. As a result, different interpretations and approaches to this phenomenon have emerged, which in various scientific works can be defined by such terms as “ethnic prejudices”, “national stereotypes”, “ethnic representations”, “national images”, etc.

W. Lippman was the first scientist, who determined the concept of stereotype. He tried to define the meaning of the stereotype, and how its formation happens. Moreover, he says, that this phenomenon should be taken as “mental concepts or

pictures in our heads, which govern the process of perception and the individual's feelings" [20, p. 11].

According to the theory of Walter Lippman, when every person have a deal with the outside world, he or she "inevitably draws a picture or image in his mind not based on personal experience" [20, p. 12]. For sure, many of people have some idea of different factors and phenomena, even before they face them in reality.

The definition, that appeared in 1950s suggest that stereotypes may have a certain degree of reliability. However, during next decades the meaning of "stereotype" has totally changed. Today, the main efforts of researchers are focused not only on the analysis of this phenomenon, but on the study of it's specific forms and types.

The majority of the approaches to the term are based in some way on the idea that stereotype carries only wrong information. The term "stereotype" is defined as a schematic, standardized representation of a social phenomenon or object, usually emotionally coloured and resistant, which expresses a person's habitual attitude to any phenomenon, formed under the influence of social conditions and previous experience.

English dictionaries give similar definitions of the term "stereotype": 1) fixed mental impression; 2) a fixed pattern, which is believed to represent a type of person or event. [4, p. 175]

There are many definitions of a stereotype. The most general definition of this term is the following: "a **stereotype** is a schematic, standardized image or concept of a social phenomenon or object, usually emotionally colored and stable. Expresses a person's usual attitude to any phenomenon that has developed under the influence of social conditions and previous experience" [35, p. 447].

In most works, the stereotype is considered in the context of social interaction, as a kind of "model" of action, behavior. This model is associated with a specific nationally determined choice of a particular tactics and strategy of behavior in any situation. And this choice is determined by a certain set of needs and motives. With such an approach, stereotypes are considered as "signs that are verbal fixation of a certain way of the identified needs of a given social group, ethnic group, national and cultural area", as "a fixed reflection of some activity, whose products act as objects

that satisfy certain needs” [48, p. 177]. V. A. Ryzkov interprets Ryzhkov interprets the stereotype as “a communicative unit of a given ethnos, capable of having an urgent presentation of socially sanctioned needs to have a stimulating typed effect on the consciousness of the individual — the socialized individual, forming the corresponding motivation in him” [58, p. 16]. Such kind of phenomena Y. E. Prokhorov calls “stereotypes of verbal communication” or, more precisely, they can be called stereotypes of verbal behavior. Yuriy Prokhorov defines it as “a sociocultural labeled unit of the mental-linguistic complex of a representative of a certain ethnic culture, realized in verbal communication in the form of a normative local association to a standard communication situation for a given culture” [57, p. 21]. With this understanding of the stereotype, it acts as a “model”, “sample” and “canon”.

When talking about stereotypes, sometimes we see that this phenomenon tends to receive the most negative assessment because they often defined as something devoid of expressiveness and originality. This idea is fundamentally wrong, especially if we explore the role of stereotypes in intercultural communication that provides an opportunity to understand other cultural foundations, to grasp folk perceptions of people from other cultures, to weak the effects of the so-called cultural shock and to understand the way people perceive themselves and others.

S. G. Ter-Minasova notes that “stereotypes allow a person to form an idea of the world as a whole, to go beyond his narrow social, geographical and political world [64, p. 24].

V. V. Krasnykh considers the stereotype as “a fixed mental “picture”, which is the result of the reflection in the consciousness of the person of a “typical” fragment of the real world” [48, p. 178].

Stereotypes as a phenomenon can be divided into two types: stereotypes of behavior and stereotypes-ideas about the subject or situation and, accordingly, they can be designated as stereotypes-images and stereotypes-situations. According to Krasnykh, stereotype is a fragment of the world that exists in the mind. This is a stable, due to national and cultural specifics, idea of an object or situation.

In other words, “stereotype is a way of storing a huge amount of information about the world around us that helps us navigate it” [68, p. 27].

The emergence of stereotypes contribute to two trends in human consciousness: 1) concretization – the association of abstract concepts with some specific images; 2) simplification – the allocation of several features as leading to indicate several phenomena. They are formed both in the process of unorganized transmission of information (rumors, jokes, sayings), and in the process of direct interethnic communication, are based on prejudices rooted in history, are transmitted by fiction and folklore [67, p. 21].

When studying the role of stereotypes in intercultural communication, it is necessary to remember that stereotypes are national always. But sometimes there can be fined their analogues in different cultures. Special attention should be given to such cases, since even if they are coincide in general, these stereotypes can differ in details that are really important for successful communication.

The concept of “stereotype” is discussed not only in linguistics, but also in sociology, ethnography, cognitive science, psychology, ethno-psycho-linguistics. And each of the sciences, mentioned above, has their own idea of the stereotype, their classification of this concept. The stereotypes of thinking and behaviour features are considered within the framework of a subgroup of social stereotypes.

According to Sh. Begley, stereotypes “present a trap, into which many people can fall” [2, p. 66]. In 1995, C. Steele and J. Aronson reported on a study that showed how the existence of negative stereotypes affects those who are part of the stereotyped groups. They proposed that people feel threatened in situations, in which they believe that their performance will identify them as examples of their group’s negative stereotype. [30, p. 797]

Stereotype in the scientific literature is usually defined as a “generalization of representatives of different ethnic groups, characterized by high emotional stability, but doesn’t always adequately reflect the real traits of the group, which is being stereotyped” [59, p. 18].

Differences in stereotypes that exist in different cultures relate to many aspects. For example, conversation topics: what can and cannot be talked about with representatives of other cultures, attitudes toward time, behavior of representatives of different cultures in public places, etc.

Also, stereotypes-representations can be used in different ways. For example, Koreans say: “a wife should be like a fox, and a husband – like a bear”, meaning that the wife should be smart, flexible and cunning, and the husband should be strong as a bear. At first glance, these associations in Koreans are similar to the same in Ukrainians. But a closer look reveals that the Ukrainian fox primarily is the symbol of cunningness, and this quality is perceived as a negative one in Ukrainian culture. As long as the bear used to be perceived as clumsiness for Ukrainians.

The same thing happens with national (ethnocultural) stereotypes, which are divided into autostereotypes – an idea of one’s people and one’s culture and heterostereotypes, schematically summarizing the views on other peoples and cultures.

The stereotype as a phenomenon is considered from different points of view. The attitude to stereotypes is ambiguous. For example, O. A. Leontovich believes that “stereotypes are simplified mental representations of various categories of people, exaggerating moments of similarity between them and ignoring differences. Stereotyping involves a static view on society and individuals, the inability to perceive the uniqueness of the human person, the desire to reduce all people to a limited number of types with a standard set of characteristics” [50, p. 236]. Definition of O. A. Leontovich is given in the context of intercultural communication problems. O. A. Leontovich believes that “the various types of stereotypes that exist at the language level can interfere with intercultural communication” [50, p. 240].

But this is not entirely true with respect to the stereotype, stereotyping cannot be considered as a clearly negative phenomenon. S.G. Ter-Minasova claims that, despite on being schematic and generalized, stereotypical representations contain initial knowledge about other peoples and other cultures and thereby pave the way for communication with them, easing the cultural shock [65].

A. V. Pavlovskaya also notes the positive role of stereotypes: “Stereotypes allow a person to get an idea of the world as a whole, to go beyond its narrow social, geographical and political world” [55, p. 17]. E. I. Rogov defines the stereotype as “a stable and at the same time simplified image of a phenomenon in the absence of information. It is stereotypes that allow a person to significantly reduce the response time to changing reality, accelerate the process of cognition” [38, p. 193].

The positive role of stereotypes in intercultural communication cannot be denied. Getting into an unfamiliar ethnic environment, a person may experience a cultural shock. For all its schematics and generalization, stereotypical ideas about other peoples and other cultures prepare for a clash with a foreign culture, weaken the blow, and reduce cultural shock.

In addition, stereotypes allow you to get basic background knowledge about stereotypical representations and behavior in different cultures, which is very important for the successful implementation of the communication process without conflicts, misunderstandings and awkward situations.

One cannot overestimate the importance of nationally determined ideas about an object or situation, as well as the peculiarities of behavior of representatives of different cultures in a business environment. This has to do with business etiquette and the promotion of goods in the international market. Many marketing experts emphasize the need to study the views of consumers about products made in other countries. These opinions are often formed on the basis of stereotypical ideas about these countries. For example, Germany is associated with reliability and high quality, Japan – with advanced technologies in electronics, France – with good wine. Therefore, understanding how potential consumers perceive the country and culture of the manufacturer of the promoted product is an effective marketing tool.

However, in intercultural communication one cannot rely only on stereotypes. They should be considered only as a factor giving a primary idea of this or that people. During the process of communication, this idea can change significantly. “Involuntary fixation on an existing stereotype seriously complicates the observation of the real actions of partners, and in this case, the stereotype acts as a communication filter,

sorting out those moments of actions that do not correspond to the stereotype. Thus, stereotypes lead to some distortion of reality and the inclusion in the communication process of a kind of “autopilot”, which involves a rigid perception scheme and substantially complicates or even completely eliminates feedback from communication partners. The consequence of this, as a rule, is that the actual behavior of partners, as well as their intentions, go unnoticed or misunderstood, this affects the course of communication and can become a source of conflict. Therefore, the problem of constructing adequate behavior taking into account existing stereotypes is always relevant” [44, p. 327].

In the process of contact with an unfamiliar (other) culture, a certain attitude develops towards it. The bearer of another culture is traditionally perceived as “other”. The “other” concept can be associated with people, who carry a particular culture, contacts with which are most intense or especially significant for the culture of the recipient.

In Russian culture of the 19th century, the idea of “total strangers” was most often associated with the French people, but besides of that knowledge of French language was a sign of belonging to the elite, to the social stratum opposed to all other social strata. This is what the following dialogue in the “Marriage” of N. V. Gogol testifies to in a comedic spirit: “And... what language are spoken in Sicily? – Naturally, everything is in French. – Hmm resolutely” [43, p. 94].

In the end of XIX – beginning of XX century more often as a “stranger” is considered a representative of German culture. It is interesting that in the ancient slavic language all foreigners were called by the word “german”. Here is Russian proverb of the XII century characterizes the British people: “english germans are not selfish people, but are fierce fighting” (“аглинские немцы не корыстны люди, да драться люты”). Later this word has been supplanted by the word stranger, but the meaning of the word “german” was narrowed only to those foreigners who came from Germany. The root of the word “немецкий” – нем-, from “немой” (“mute”), so “немец” means person, who can’t talk (doesn’t know the language). So, the definition of a “foreigner”

was based on individual's inability to speak on the native, in this case ancient slavic language and inability to express oneself verbally.

A foreigner from the lands far away and then a foreigner from any other countries who replaced the German, shifted the emphasis from language proficiency to origin. The meaning of the word “чужий” becomes full in contrast: “рідний” – “чужоземний”, means “чужий”, “other”. Now we can notice a culture conflict in this opposition to inherent conflict between native and someone's else culture.

In the late 40s, a large-scale study was conducted to identify how representatives of one country perceive the peoples of other countries, what factors determine their perception. The difference between positive and negative answers determined the so-called “denominator of friendliness” [14, p. 96].

Let us dwell on this type of stereotypes, as **gaps**. The main feature of the gaps is that they occur in the process of communication, in a situation of contact between the two cultures exchanging texts. There are four groups of culture gaps:

- subjective gaps, reflecting the national-cultural characteristics of the communicants to various linguistic and cultural communities;
- activity-communicative gaps that reflect the cultural identity of the various activities in their communicative aspect;
- gaps of cultural space (landscape), if we consider the process of communication in the wider sense, or cultural gaps of the interior, if we consider that a particular act of communication;
- textual gaps arising due to the specifics of the text as a communication tool. The specifics of the text may be content, form of reproduction of the material, poetics of the author [49, p. 202].

The first group of gaps is classified as subjective or national psychological gaps. They arise as a result of a mismatch between the national psychological types of participants in communication and are of several types:

- gaps that reflect the traditional and to a certain extent stereotypical perception of the national character of another people;

- gaps which reflect discrepancies in how manifested in different nations similar quality;
- self-reflexive gaps, reflecting how the carriers of a particular culture to understand their national character [61, p. 23].

The existence of “characterological” gaps is due to the specific features of the national character of the carriers of various local cultures [39]. As a result of intercultural communication in some cultures, certain stereotypes are formed in relation to other cultures, in particular those that capture the most characteristic feature of a particular nation, less pronounced in other nations.

As a result of intercultural communication in some cultures, certain stereotypes are formed in relation to other cultures, in particular those that capture the most characteristic feature of a particular nation, less pronounced in other nations. It is generally believed that the main thing in the English national character is poise, in French – passion, in American – pragmatism, in German – punctuality. [46, p. 125]

Punctuality can be seen as a relative characterological gap for Spaniards and Latinos compared to speakers of German and Dutch cultures: punctuality is highly valued by Germans and Dutch, but it means little to Spaniards and even less to Latinos. All characterological gaps are relative, in national variants of character, these universal signs occupy different places in the value system of the corresponding culture, varying in degree of prevalence.

This statement is confirmed by the analysis of such an attribute of a national character inherent in all peoples as industriousness: you can see the difference between the hard work of the Americans and the hard work of the Germans. The industriousness of a German is thoroughness, accuracy, conscientiousness, discipline, prudence, but without scope and risk. The industriousness of an American is scope, energetic assertiveness, inexhaustible business excitement, initiative [3, p. 97].

Thus, for Americans, the content of such a sign as industriousness in many respects does not coincide with how the Germans understand it: clearly expressed organizational data, the ability to instantly navigate situations typical of Americans are laconic for Germans, equalizing the concepts of hard work and discipline. “self-

reflective” characterological gaps reflect the understanding and self-image of the bearers of various cultures.

National-specific features of thinking of representatives of different cultures can cause the emergence of “mental gaps”, which belong to the second group – to the activity-communicative gaps. The existence of mental gaps is revealed when the recipient resolves the mental tasks characteristic of a foreign linguistic and cultural community [41, p. 43].

This kind of gaps arises in cases when the carriers of a certain culture are invited to guess a riddle in translation from another language. In this case, the recipients are unable to give the correct answer to the riddle, reflecting the specifics of a foreign culture. In this case, the presence of gaps violates the process of intercultural communication. In order for this kind of intercultural communication to take place, it is necessary not only to translate texts from one language to another, but also to build them in the form familiar to the native speaker or translator, in accordance with the peculiarities of his mindset, to introduce cultural-ethnographic traditional for the PN images and symbols.

On the one hand, society has developed such stereotypes of behavior according to which a woman plays a subordinate role with a man, she must be a good housewife, able to perform any work, she must be kind, patient, obedient, tender, loyal, beautiful. The absence of a husband in this model is considered a departure from the norm, and the departure from the husband is considered as a riot.

On the other hand, a woman is always negatively evaluated by male society, as evidenced by philosophical, historical, literary discourses, political events. The language fixed a patriarchal attitude: “stereotypes were firmly entrenched in it, according to which many vices are inherent in a woman, therefore, comparison with her man always carries a negative connotation: talkative, curious, flirty, narcissistic, capricious, hysterical as a woman, female logic; a comparison with a man only decorates a woman: the male mind, male grip, male character” [14, p. 126].

Nowadays, when international contacts are becoming more widespread and intense, the problem of a smile has suddenly become especially acute. One of the

strange features of the representatives of Slavic culture in the eyes of the West is gloom, coldness, lack of a smile. The Slavic people are not smiling, they are a smiling nation, and therefore we must be on our guard: anything can be expected from these gloomy people. Slavic people, having fallen into the English-speaking world, are perplexed about smiles.

We are surprised to note that in the Western world everyone smiles, always and everywhere. In the view of the Slavic people, a smile is an integral part of Western culture, inextricably linked with the norms of behavior. Therefore, we can say that a smile is a stereotype, because in the minds of one or another people, it causes very specific associations with representatives of the Western world.

In the Western world in general and in the English-speaking especially a smile is a sign of culture, it is a tradition, a custom: to stretch your lips to the appropriate position to show that you have no aggressive intentions, you are not going to rob or to kill. This is a way to formally demonstrate to others their belonging to a given culture, to a given society. In the Western world, a smile is at the same time a formal sign of culture, which has nothing to do with a sincere disposition towards the person you smile at, and, of course, like all of humanity, a biological reaction to positive emotions – Russians have only the last.

So, the existence of various types of etiquette norms and, as a consequence of this, rejection or disapproval of stereotypes of behavior characteristic of representatives of another culture, can create difficulties in communication. As a result, there may be a misunderstanding between the communicants, for example, with an incorrect, often opposite interpretation of gestures of a foreign culture that do not have equivalents in the recipient's native culture, or one of the interlocutors may have an unfavorable impression of the other, in Japanese culture it is considered unacceptable to sit cross-legged or stretching them out. For the British, this pose is a behavioral norm. Communicating may be in a state of frustration or such called “cultural shock” [41, p. 156].

In the process of perceiving stereotypes of the culture of other people, a certain attitude is formed to them. Most often they are perceived as something other. So a

conflict of cultures arises – the result of discrepancies between the accepted (and this is stereotypes) in one's own culture and that is other to the recipient.

The clash of stereotypes characteristic of different cultures (that is, a conflict of cultures) can create difficulties in communication, cause “cultural shock” and thus lead to a misunderstanding of the culture of other people.

So, the main feature of stereotypes is their cultural determinism – a person's ideas about the world are formed under the influence of the cultural environment in which he lives. Also, stereotypes are shared by most people, but they can vary depending on the historical, international, as well as the domestic political situation in the country. During the process of perceiving stereotypes of the culture of other people, a certain attitude is formed towards them, most often they are perceived as something other. Thus, a conflict of cultures arises – the result of discrepancies accepted in one's own culture and that is other to the recipient.

### 1.3. Stereotypes as cognitive structures

The very concept of “stereotype” is considered not only in the work of linguists, but also in sociologists, ethnographers, cognitologists, psychologists, and ethno psycholinguists. Representatives of each of the above sciences has their own idea of the stereotype, their own classification of this concept. For example, social stereotypes that manifest themselves as stereotypes of thinking and behavior of an individual, or ethnocultural stereotypes are distinguished – this is a generalized idea of the typical traits that characterize any people.

There are autostereotypes that reflect what people think of themselves, and heterostereotypes that relate to other people, and they are more critical. For example, what is considered a manifestation of prudence among one's people, and among other people – a manifestation of greed. As an example, we cite stereotypical representations of the British in relation to Germans (according to the above classification, they are heterostereotypes). Here is the the main stereotypes of the British in relation to the Germans and analyze them in terms of reality.

The love to beer is a common stereotype about Germans. It cannot be said that beer was some kind of nationally specific drink of the Germans. Other nations also drink beer. But at the same time, we cannot disagree with V. N. Vodovozova, when she writes: “beer is such an extent, the German invention that the whole of Germany, we can safely say, flows with this frothy drink of amber, pale yellow, brown or milky brown color. Passion for beer and the ability to make it perfectly – a characteristic feature of the Germans, and this they have been distinguished from the most ancient times” [40, p. 249].

Already in the Middle Ages, beer was considered as one of the main food products. The Germans called beer “flüssiges Brot” as known as “liquid bread”.

The bureaucracy of the Germans is by no means a myth. In order to spend at least a couple of days in Germany, a foreigner must fill out a lot of forms.

Superficiality in affairs in Germany is not approved – everything that is being done in everyday life must be done good.

Only the Swiss are more cleanly nation than the Germans. Public transport in Germany always arrives on time (just like any person who has arranged an appointment with someone).

The Germans’ love of order was also reflected in proverbs: "**Ordnung ist das halbe Lebe**" – *"the order is the soul of any thing to be done"*; "**Heilige Ordnung, segensreiche Himmelstochter**" – *"saint order – blessed son of the heaven"*.

Many foreigners tend to think that the Germans are a rude nation, but in reality they are simply straightforward. Any German will almost always tell you what he really thinks.

The Germans are considered arrogant, because their language sounds arrogant, and also because they think that everyone knows, even if in fact it is not.

We can not say that the Germans have no sense of humor, it’s just different than that of other nations, and it manifests itself differently in different situations. For foreigners, German humor may seem serious, which is connected with the bureaucracy of the Germans, with a large number of rules and regulations and the proverbial love of the Germans for order.

It is true that the Germans use a handshake gesture, wherever they are and whoever they meet. A handshake is considered a tribute to courtesy. Only young people and close friends replace the handshake with some other gesture.

Specialists in ethnic psychology, studying ethnocultural stereotypes, note that nations that are at a high level of economic development emphasize qualities such as intelligence, businesslikeness, enterprise, and nations with a more backward economy – kindness, warmth, hospitality. This can be confirmed by the research of S. G. Ter-Minasova, according to the results of which “professionalism, hard work, responsibility, etc. are more valued in English society, and hospitality, sociability, justice” [65, p. 255].

N. V. Ufimtseva differentiates ethnic stereotypes and cultural stereotypes: ethnic stereotypes are not accessible to self-reflection of a member of an ethnic group and are facts of behavior and the collective unconscious, it is impossible to specifically train them, and cultural stereotypes are available to self-reflection and are facts of unconsciousness and consciousness, it can already be taught.

V. V. Krasnykh divides stereotypes into two types – stereotypes-images and stereotypes-situations. Examples of stereotypes-images: a bee – a hard worker; a ram – stubborn; and situation stereotypes: a ticket – a composter, a stork – a cabbage.

There are two categories of stereotypes: superficial and deep [56, p. 42].

Superficial stereotypes are those ideas about this or that people which are caused by a historical, international, internal political situation or other temporary factors. These stereotypes change depending on the situation in the world and society. The duration of their existence depends on the general stability of society. These are, as a rule, representations associated with specific historical realities. Superficial stereotypes are of undoubted interest primarily for historians, as well as for everyone who is interested in the socio-political processes taking place in society.

Unlike superficial, deep stereotypes are unchanged. They do not change over time. Deep stereotypes are amazingly stable, and it is they that are of greatest interest to the researcher of the features of a national character: the stereotypes themselves

provide material for studying the people who are the object of stereotyping, and assessments characterize the characteristics of the group in which they are common.

Among the deep stereotypes, external ones associated with the attributes of the life and life of the people stand out in a special group; in Russian they are often called the word “klukva”. Despite the constant changes in the life of peoples, such stereotypes change very slightly. Furs, samovars, huge shawls, nesting dolls have been considered an integral part of Russian life for several centuries. Some of these attributes are still valid. Some attributes of Russian life went into oblivion in a natural way, however, they are cultivated in our country either for commercial reasons, as they are well bought by foreigners, or purely ceremonial.

The problems of general and specific stereotypes are determined by their division into invariants and variants. The universal, invariant models of behavior seem to be completely determined by the biological properties of man. However, it should be noted that they are substantially corrected by social, cultural mechanisms. The effect of cultural factors on the universals of behavior is especially pronounced when social significance is given to “natural” actions. Among the Kutenai Indians, coughing has an ethnically differentiating meaning: according to the characteristic nasality of coughing, they distinguish their tribesmen from representatives of other groups. The regulation in the sphere of “natural” behavior affects only the external side of the actions, their design and understanding, while the nature of the actions remains unchanged, universal and invariant. Such behavior does not imply a category of choice and, therefore, has only one way of implementation. There is no “wrong” option in this behavior.

Alternative behavior always implies a choice and, accordingly, an alternative solution: you can do it “right” or “wrong”. Such behavior is regulated exclusively with the help of secondary restrictions that do not follow directly from the context. These restrictions are private, conditional and relative in nature, which allows us to consider them as ethno-differentiating signs that underlie the division of people into separate groups. In turn, the category of choice serves as the basis for all sorts of ethical assessments and concepts regarding certain actions.

If in the case of invariant forms of behavior, stereotyping is exposed to external aspects of the activity, then in the case of variant forms of behavior, both the plan of expression and the plan of content are stereotyped. Of course, ethnic characteristics can manifest themselves in the deep and surface structure of the stereotype of behavior. But if the identification of the general and special in the external side of the stereotype does not cause particular difficulties, then similar procedures with respect to the internal, substantial side of the stereotype are very difficult, since this sphere is not limited to pragmatic meaning and, as a rule, is complicated by everyday, ethical, religious and other views.

The ways of forming stereotypes, and most importantly their distribution, transmission, since most of the deep stereotypes formed long ago, are different. An example is Britain, in which national stereotypes were formed against the background of various historical events. The origin of the English ethnic group from the substrate compiled by various Germanic tribes and their existence on the island for a long time determined the main features of their stereotypes of behavior. Their dominant function (stereotypes) is logical thinking, which determines pragmatism and prudence, which are manifested both in public policy and at the household level. An additional function is the sensation, which is expressed in a noticeably brighter form than that of continental Germans (but less than that of the French). This function is realized in the tendency to receive pleasure, as an essential ethnic line at the household level and at the level of national policy.

Manifestations of the sensual and intuitive components of ethnic stereotypes of behavior (and national culture, respectively), on the contrary, have infantile, primitized forms. This was manifested in the rejection of Catholicism, which the British never fully understood and perceived as an other phenomenon, as well as in an endless conflict with the Irish (largely due to the clash of ethnic stereotypes of the two ethnic groups, precisely because of the incompatibility of the predominantly sensory perception of the world by the Irish and mental rationalism English).

Stereotypes are always national, and if analogues are found in other cultures, then these are quasi-stereotypes, because, coinciding in general, they differ in nuances,

details that are of fundamental importance. For example, the situation of the queue in different cultures is different, and therefore, stereotypical behavior will be different: in Russia they ask, “Who is the last?” or just get in line, in a number of European countries they pick up a receipt in a special device and after that follow the numbers that light up above the window, for example, at the post office.

The basis for the formation of ethnic consciousness and culture as the regulators of human behavior are both innate and acquired in the process of socialization factors – cultural stereotypes that are assimilated from the moment a person begins to identify himself with a particular ethnic group, a certain culture and become aware of their element. So, we live in a world of stereotypes imposed on us by culture. The set of mental stereotypes of an ethnos is known to each of its representatives. Stereotypes are, for example, expressions in which a representative of a rural, peasant culture speaks of a bright moonlit night: it’s light so that you can sew, while a city dweller in this typical situation says: it’s light so that you can read. Similar stereotypes are used by native speakers in standard communication situations. Moreover, almost any, and not just the logically main attribute, can become the dominant in the stereotype.

The cultural sphere of a particular ethnic group contains a number of elements of a stereotypical nature, which, as a rule, are not perceived by the bearers of another culture; these elements are Y. .A. Sorokin and I. Y. Markovin is called gap [61, p. 18]: everything that the recipient noted in the foreign cultural text, but does not understand what seems strange to him and needs interpretation, serves as a signal for the presence of nationally specific elements of the culture in which the text is created.

Sustainability of culture, its viability is due to how developed are the structures that determine its unity, integrity. The integrity of culture involves the development of “cultural stereotypes – stereotypes of behavior, perception, understanding, communication, that is, stereotypes of the general picture of the world. An important role in the formation of stereotypes is played by the frequency of occurrence of certain objects, phenomena in people’s lives, often expressed in longer human contacts with these objects in comparison with others, which leads to stereotyping of such objects” [53, p. 108].

The most important stereotype is the stereotype of behaviour. Stereotypes have much in common with traditions, customs, myths, rituals, but differ from the latter in that traditions and customs are characterized by their objectified significance, openness to others, and stereotypes remain at the level of latent mindsets that exist in their environment.

Rites and customs, as varieties of stereotyped behavior, have become the objects of ethnographic research. Rites and customs, as varieties of stereotyped behavior, have become the objects of ethnographic research. This is not accidental, since ethnic identity of the culture is clearly expressed in stereotypes of behavior. The set of stereotypical forms of behavior developed in every society, of course, is not limited to the sphere of rite and custom. Standards of behavior are characteristic of many other areas of activity, and above all – communication (etiquette), socialization of individuals, technological processes (labor techniques and skills), game behavior, etc.

Despite the fact that human behavior is varied and diverse, another statement is no less true: human behavior in society is typified, that is, it obeys the norms developed in society, and therefore it is inevitably standard in many respects. This situation is the result of two opposing trends. The first trend can be called centrifugal. It manifests itself in a variety of behavior, its variability. It is this aspect of behavior that is meant when it comes to individual characteristics, a kind of “stylistics” of behavior.

However, the diversity of behavior is never unlimited (otherwise, it would be impossible for people to communicate, their association in various kinds of social formations). The opposite (centripetal) tendency toward the unification of behavior, its typification, and the development of generally accepted patterns and standards of behavior is directed toward streamlining heterogeneous behaviors. This second tendency is expressed in the fact that every society, taking care of its integrity and unity, develops a system of social codes (programs) of behavior prescribed to its members.

A set of typical behavior programs is specific for each team. All of them are aimed at neutralizing the tendency towards individualization of behavior, restraining the growth of its variability, since an uncontrolled growth of diversity would inevitably

lead to the collapse of society. Nevertheless, socially approved behavior programs never cover the entire sphere of human behavior in society.

Some fragments of behavior remain unregulated, because they are not regarded as socially significant. Moreover, each ethnic culture is characterized by its own ideas about the significance of certain fragments of behavior and, therefore, its own configuration of the border between mandatory (typed) and free (individual) behavior. At the same time, the more important areas of behavior, the more tightly they are regulated, the greater the control over the observance of standards and samples.

Standardized behavior has its own options. In accordance with the characteristics of social organization in the field of a given behavior, various types are distinguished: the behavior of a peasant, warrior, hunter, artisan, etc. In accordance with the criteria of biosocial division of the life path, the behavior of children, adults, old people, men and women is different. With the introduction of other coordinates (for example, ethnic and religious), we can talk about the behavior of the Japanese, unlike the European, the Christian, unlike the Muslim. If we move to an even higher level of abstraction, then we can talk about epoch-making styles of behavior – for example, about the behavior of a medieval man. Real human behavior is always a synthesis of several types, several programs.

So, we can conditionally talk about two main forms of behavior. One of them comes down to relatively free, variable behavior. The other is a regulated behavior that obeys the standard patterns of action developed in the team in standard situations. Now it is necessary to find out what is the nature and functions of stereotyping.

Each society in the process of interaction with the external environment accumulates a certain experience. This experience is the foundation on which the very possibility of a collective in time is based. Naturally, the team is interested in storing, accumulating and transmitting this experience to future generations. The transfer of accumulated information occurs in two ways: genetically and non-genetically.

The transmission of hereditary information is carried out in the process of socialization and is entirely based on learning. Storage, transmission and accumulation of social information involves its streamlining and selection of the most significant

fragments. The stereotyping mechanism is “oriented towards the fulfillment of these functions. With its help, the accumulated information is not just a sum of useful knowledge, but in a certain way organized experience, which, due to the presence of a structure, can be transferred in time”. However, collective memory cannot include all experience. Stereotyping of the most significant information allows “not only the selection, but also to maintain its working volume in the conditions of constant updating” [37, p. 9].

The structuring property of stereotypes is directly related to their centripetal introvert orientation, that is, to internal mechanisms of self-organization. The introverted, regulatory nature of stereotypes brings them closer to the concept of social norm – the basic category of social control. Stereotyping applies to all behavior in any area of human activity, but the social norm regulates only the social behavior of people.

Norms can be understood as historically established rules of behavior, and then they are synonymous with standards of behavior. But the concept of norm always contains evaluative meaning. In this case, the norm acts as an expression of a certain external point of view, according to which any act can be characterized as “right” or “wrong”, “good” or “bad”, “high” or “low”, etc. A natural correlate of the norm in this sense is a violation. Moreover, the norm exists only against the background of violations. The complete triumph of the norm is in principle impossible, since this concept is meaningless. Meanwhile, behavioral stereotypes exist not only for expressing the norm, its observance, but also for its violations, that is, “incorrect” behavior has its own standards. This is indicated by a wide class of phenomena inherent in each ethnic culture.

According to Y. M. Lotman, “the norm and its violation are not opposed as dead realities. They are constantly moving into each other. Rules arise for breaking the rules and anomalies necessary for the norm. Real human behavior will fluctuate between these poles. Moreover, various types of culture will dictate a subjective orientation to the norm (“correct” behavior, “life as usual”, “like people”, “according to the charter”, etc. are highly appreciated) or its violation (striving for originality, unusualness,

eccentricity, foolishness, depreciation of the norm by an ambivalent combination of extremes)” [51, p. 26].

Orientation to the violation of the norm does not necessarily refer only to the sphere of individual behavior. Entire layers and groups of society have their own models of both “right” and “wrong” behavior. At the same time, the second type of behavior in the historical plan is not an innovation, since it has much deeper roots. In every society and at all times, the first type of behavior was inevitably replaced by a second, a vivid expression of which was a holiday. It is important that the ratio of norms and stereotypes of behavior is not reduced to their identification. Norms and stereotypes of behavior in some cases overlap, and in some – significantly diverge.

#### 1.4. Classification of stereotypes

According to Walter Lipmann, stereotype is the picture of the world in human minds schematically determined by the culture. Our stereotypical world is not as we would like to have. It is a world in our minds that we imagine. If the events correspond to our expectations we have a perception that we move along with the world. [20]

Social stereotypes are related to the ideological construction of the model of the “Other”, that allows and justifies the dominance of “Self” over “Others”. In the line with these ideas philosophers, sociologists, linguists analyze stereotypes of gender, age, national and racial stereotypes. In the interpretations of social stereotypes and their main properties, as a rule, negative assessment is provided, which appeared on the first stages of their usage.

Stereotype is interpreted as “the result of logical categorization, general for all”. It is the ‘product’ which was formed by the participants of the groups, and also properly by the relationships between the groups and respectively shared by these groups’. By its nature stereotype is an imaginary, unproved knowledge which realizes relations between “Self” and “Imaginary” [47, p.75].

Ethnic stereotypes lately became the object of lingua-cultural research and attracted attention of linguists. The well-known stereotypes form the culture and act as

ethnic-cultural identifiers. Stereotype is a stable combination of valuations, attitudes, consequence of actions or motions which function in this or that situation as a whole regardless the content of the situation.

An indispensable condition for communication is not only knowledge of a common language, but also the presence of certain knowledge accumulated before it. For communication, it is necessary that its participants have a certain commonality of social history, which is reflected in knowledge about the world. This knowledge, which is present in the minds of participants in a communicative act, is called background. According to the definition of O. S. Akhmanova, background knowledge is “mutual knowledge of the realities of the speaker and listener, which is the basis of linguistic communication” [36, p. 498].

The need for accounting in the process of communication of background knowledge is now universally recognized. Background knowledge held by members of a particular ethnic and linguistic community is the main object of culture-oriented linguistic and regional studies. According to E. M. Vereschagin and V. G. Kostomarov, there are three types of background knowledge: universal human background knowledge (e.g. all people know what is sun, wind, time, birth etc.); regional background knowledge (e.g. the people, who live in tropical area don't know what the snow is); country-specific background knowledge.

The last type is the information, available to all members of a particular ethnic and linguistic community and which are associated with knowledge of national culture. Such background knowledge, peculiar for a certain linguistic community and absent in foreigners, was given the name of country-specific.

Country-specific background knowledge include a system of beliefs, attitudes prevailing in a given society, ethical values, aesthetic tastes, norms of verbal and nonverbal behavior, and most of the knowledge possessed by all members of a given society.

Background geographic knowledge is very important for the “decoding” and interpretation of national stereotypes of culture, for their understanding and proper interpretation. Indeed, many aspects of people's life, traditions of life, customs, and

historical events that are known to members of a given linguistic society and are unknown to a foreigner, have led to the emergence of certain stereotypes in this cultural space. Therefore, any foreign language must be studied against the background of the history and culture of the country, since in many linguistic units the national originality of the lifestyle of one or another people, the facts of the country's history, natural and geographical features, and culture are reflected. Language units represented in the linguistic and regional aspect can provide a large amount of background knowledge, that is, historical and cultural information that is necessary for the correct and effective learning of a non-native language. [66, p. 85]

Background knowledge plays a special role in the understanding of a foreign cultural text. The text in this case is the true junction of linguistics and linguoculturology, since it belongs to the language and is its highest tier, while the text is a form of cultural existence. Linguoculturology deals with this problem – a scientific discipline that studies material culture and mentality embodied in a living national language and manifests itself in linguistic processes in their effective continuity with the language and culture of an ethnic group.

An important place in linguoculturology is given to the study of precedent names and key concepts of culture. Case names are individual names associated with well-known texts (Oblomov, Taras Bulba), situations that are known to most representatives of this nation (Ivan Susanin, grandfather Talash). It is necessary to distinguish between the concepts of “stereotype” and “case name”: a stereotype exists as a representation of the culture of other people, which can be both true and false; a precedent name can be fully understood only by a representative of a given nation, since he knows what situation or text it is associated with.

So, for the successful implementation of a communicative act between different nations, not only language skills are required, but also the presence of certain knowledge related to the culture of a country. Such knowledge is called background.

Precedent names play an important role in the communication process – individual names, situations, widely known to representatives of a particular nation. In

our opinion, precedent names are a component of such a concept as background knowledge.

Both background knowledge and precedent names are very important for “deciphering” and interpreting national cultural stereotypes, for their understanding and correct interpretation.

So, we can conclude, that in the culture of some individual nation to stereotypes refer: verbal behaviour, non-verbal behaviour (such as facial expressions, gestures, body movements), national character and ideas about it by other nations, social situations, behavior in social situations, features of everyday life and daily life of the nation, national cuisine, religious and national rites.

So, the behaviour of each person is individual and various, but despite this, we can confidently assert that human behavior in any society is typified, ie it is subject to the rules, worked out in a given society.

Stereotypes exist in any society, but it is especially important to emphasize that the set of stereotypes for each of them is purely specific. Cultural stereotypes have a great influence on the regulation of human behavior within the native cultural and linguistic space, which begin to be assimilated precisely from the moment when a person begins to realize himself as part of a certain ethnic group, part of a certain culture.

Thus, there can be distinguished two forms of behavior in one or another sociocultural space: free, variable behavior (individual for each person) and regulated behavior that obeys the stereotypes of behavior existing in a given society.

## II. THE ROLE OF STEREOTYPES IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

### 2.1. The functions of stereotypes

Belonging to the certain ethnos greatly impacts the socialization of an individual, their formation as a personality in the frame of the definite national cultural community. This phenomenon was emphasized traditionally in comparison with some cultural images.

Famous poets, writers, philosophers said about such things as "German accuracy and punctuality" – *німецька акуратність на пунктуальність*, "French courtliness" – *французька галантність*, "Russian perhaps" – *російське "авось"*, "Chinese ceremonies" – *китайські церемонії*, or "Southern temperament" – *південний темперамент*. Such expressions depict widespread national cultural stereotypes. They are based on the people's experience in the process of communication with the representatives of other nations.

The model of behaviour, which is not fully understood and acceptable to the situation in the present which is not successful, from the point of other social group can be regarded as a stereotype.

As we have mentioned earlier, stereotype can be an unnecessary generalized in order to save mental energy, time and other people's resources. This kind of generalization is affectively justified and driven from the mechanisms of the situation valuation or its specific characteristics. Stereotypes become evident on the associative verbal level.

Stereotypes can cause negative emotions because of the lack of the information provided by all the resources. Stereotypes are connected with the national or group culture and identification. It is possible to speak about the stereotypes which are connected with the description of people than things. As a result the attempts to understand and describe the individual's choice in any situation, people from other

cultures assign to them such “essences” as stereotypes. Then essential information is saved as a “rule of the game” with representatives of mentioned culture or subculture.

The reason of using stereotypes lies in the fact that people do not have a tendency to react every time in a new manner to the situations happening with them, but sometimes they add some new ideas to the existing categories. In these cases cognitive process stays on the commonplace consciousness level, which is restricting itself by the life experience based on the typical for the definite knowledge area conceptions. If person refuses using stereotypes, there appear a constant tension of attention in his or her mind. Also it increases a chance to make a mistake in everyday life, and it is often unsafe.

It is easier for people to characterize wide human groups both on the national and social grounds roughly and with some changes. Such categorizing has inner tendency to keep stability during the long periods of time.

Stereotypes can be understood by little children even if they're not clear realize the groups those refer to. The knowledge of stereotypes of national behavior gives the opportunity to forecast the actions, reactions of the individuals belonging to a certain ethnic group. With this the reaction of the individuals in accordance with the stereotypes can become ineffective in conditions of ambiguity of the situation that can lead to deformation of interpersonal communication that can increase misunderstanding.

Stereotypes of national behavior in everyday life are close with the rules and norms of national etiquette. In some extreme situations, or when there is no time to think they make the behavior and activity easier for understanding and allow to save time and efforts.

Review of some ethnic stereotypes idioms in the English language gives different names of nations besides their direct main meanings, they gained figurative meanings to the representatives of some ethnos.

For example, if something characterized with the word "**Chinese**" in American slang, it means that this thing was "*badly-done*". Such prevailing opinion has appeared

because of the fact that many of the production facilities and manufactures located in China produce low quality products and supply other countries with them.

**"Chinese walls"** – *"imagined barrier existing between different departments of an organisation, intended to avoid conflicts of interest"* [8, p. 145].

Primarily a financial term, it describes the rule, when communication between two or more departments of one company to be sure, that important information will not leak between them. This idea of distancing the people was evoked by the image of the Great Wall of China, one of the longest fortifications in the World. There are some alternatives of this idiom, such, as *"firewall"* or *"ethics wall"*, but they are not so popular in english-speaking community.

According to the edition of the Webster's Practical Dictionary verb, as **"to Jew"** means *"to cheat", "to defraud", "to play with", "to haggle with"* [34, p. 623]. Appearing of such a verb probably related to the interpret of this word probably related to the fact, that the jewish people were the first who invented loans. Also, the biggest number of traders are the representatives of this nationality, that is why there is a stereotype, that Jewish people have a lot of money.

The word **"Scotch"** in it's means *"cheap"* or *"inclined to frugality"* [24]. Although this stereotype isn't widely known in the U.S.A. today, as it was a few decades in the past. But the stereotype, shown the Scotch people as nation drinking a lot whiskey is still actual.

On the other side, there is a big number of idioms in the English slang with the word **"Dutch"**. It is determined by the fact of geographical closeness and cultural contacts. Practically, there are some negative evaluation characteristics in all meanings of the given set word expressions. The word **"Dutch"** very often symbolizes something bad or untrustworthy. For example, **"Dutch comfort"** means *"bad moral support"*. Expression **"Dutch defense"** – doubtful or wicked defense. **"Dutch gold"**, can be sometimes offensive, means "an alloy of copper and zinc in the form of thin sheets, used as an imitation of gold leaf" or foil [6].

Some phrases, such as **"Dutch courage"** – bravery fueled by alcohol consumption – and **"Dutch reckoning"**, which means a non-itemized bill that seems

excessively high, were probably coined as a result of the long-standing rivalries between maritime behemoths England and the Dutch Republic, present day it is Netherlands, over everything from trade routes in the East Indies to North American colonization. But the phrase "**going Dutch**", which sometimes expressed as "**Dutch treat**" or "**Dutch lunch**", harks back to an entirely different kind of Dutch – German immigrants, as in the phrase "Pennsylvania Dutch". It means *"going somewhere out to have a meal together, where the bill is splitted among the participants, according to the cost of his or her order"*. According to that, people will not be beholden to anyone and purchase only what they could afford. While, there is no slang term equivalent of a "**Dutch treat**" in the Netherlands, but there is something called an "**Amerikaans feest**", which can be translated from Dutch as *"going American"*. It describes an assembly, where all the guests bring their own food and beverages, and host provides only the place for their gathering.

"**Dutch bargain**" describes *"a bargain"* or a deal, made while been drinking a bottle of hard drinks. "**Dutch act**" means *"suicide"*, the origin of this idiom could be stipulated by the fact that in Scandinavian countries people often commit suicide.

"**Dutch feast**" is a feast where the master gets drunk before the guests; the idiom "**Dutch courage**" – is liquor or *"false courage from drinking liquor"*. This idiom dates back to the period on English-Dutch war of the end of XVII century, when the captain of the ship made his sailors drink hard drinks to be brave before the battle.

"**Dutch uncle**" is *"someone who gives avuncular advice"*, a man who *"gives advice to one of their relatives"*. "**Dutch auction**" is a *"sale in which the price of something gradually goes down until someone agrees to buy it"*. "**In Dutch**" in American slang means *"to be in trouble"*. "**Dutch barn**" is a *"farm building with a roof but no walls"* – it is used to store hay.

"**Irish coffee**" is a *"hot drink made with coffee, "Irish whiskey" and cream"*. It is named in this way, because of another one stereotype, that "**all Irish people are drinking a lot of whiskey**".

"**Irish Setter**" is a large dog with long dark red hair – it named "Irish" because of its red hair, which reminds the Irish people hair colour. By the way, there is a

stereotype, that "**all Irish people are red-haired**": obviously, it is not true – only some part of population of Ireland is red. But, the number of red-haired people in this country is bigger, than in any other one.

Also, there is a common stereotype about "**the fighting Irish**". It appeared because of the fact, that Ireland was named a remarkably violent country.

"**Irish people are usually related with potatoes**" – such stereotype appeared among Englishmen after this plant was brought to Ireland from America. After this time a third of Irish people were completely dependent on the potato. That is why during the Great Famine, which took place at 1845-1849 when there were no harvest of potato, a lot of Irishmen have died. There is a similar stereotype about "**Belarusian potatoes**" in the countries members of the CIS. It appeared when Belarus was a part of USSR – BSSR, actually, and there was a decision made to plant potatoes on its territory.

There are idioms and stereotypes about Mexicans are very popular in US English. It is related to the fact of close location of countries' borders. American people take Mexico as the criminal country, where all US laws are not working. The phrase "**Mexican standoff**", which means *"an unsatisfactory outcome/a deadlock because neither party is willing to back down"*, describes "a tense confrontation in which each side is equally matched, unable to act but also unable to give way without loss of face... The most plausible explanation for the phrase is to be found in the easy racial stereotyping it offers" [8, p. 147].

There are dozens of terms and idioms in US slang depicting their disparaging attitude to Mexicans, such as:

"**Mexican breakfast**" – which means *"a cigarette and a cup of coffee or a glass of water"*;

"**Mexican brown**" – *"a brownish Mexican marijuana"*;

"**Mexican mud**" is *"a weak heroin from Mexico"*;

"**Mexican bush**" is *"a low-quality marijuana from Mexico"*;

"**Mexican wave**" is *"the effect that is made when all the people watching a game of football, baseball, etc. stand up, move their arms up and down, and sit down again one after the other in a continuous movement"*;

"**Mexican rank**" is *"a temporary rank"* [8, p. 148].

A lot of stereotypes in English language are also connected to France – one of the most powerful countries in 18th century, as long, as The Great Britain. The most popular expression is "**to take French leave**" means *"to leave without saying goodbye"*. This idiom was frequently used in 18th century and described people, who left the ball without saying goodbye to the hosts.

In contrary, French people are using the phrase "**filer à l'anglaise**", which means *"to leave in the English way"* and mean totally the same.

"**To assist in the French sense**" (to help like a Frenchman) – *"to assist without taking a participation"*, *"to help doing nothing"* means to participate ironically without doing something. "**Pardon my French**" is a common English phrase, which describes *"ostensibly disguising profanity as words from the French language"*. The phrase is uttered in an attempt to excuse the user of profanity, swearing, or curses in the presence of those offended by it, under the pretense of the words being part of a foreign language. Such expressions reflect the times, when these two countries – England and France – probably were envy's and joked ironically one about each other.

"**English breakfast**" is *"a large cooked breakfast consisting of bacon, eggs, toast"*. "**English muffin**" is *"a round flat piece of bread that you toast before eating it"* – usually related to the traditional breakfast in England.

"**Indian gift**" is a gift in return for which an equal gift is expected. "Indian ink" is black ink made in China and Japan, used when writing ideographs with a brush; "**Indian file**", old-fashioned, a line of people, with each person walking behind another; "**Indian hay**" in American slang means *"marihuana"*.

All these idioms appeared in the language as a cause of human experience, travelling and learning other cultures. Understanding and correct translation of such idioms can help understand the origin of such set-expressions, idioms and the history

of human relationships, studying the history of the appearance of these idioms opens historical pages of interaction of the neighboring peoples.

Mental stereotypes presuppose the existence of the model of evaluation building. This model cannot be reduced to the list of personal features and cannot be correlated with the integral mentality.

Mentality is defined as the system of images which are at the heart of human understanding of the world and their place in this world, and thus determine the actions and behavior of people.

Representatives of different cultures use different ways of “measurement” and description of personalities in everyday life. For example, representatives of western cultures (European or North American) describing themselves and other people often use abstract character traits, while the Chinese, Japanese or Koreans are much more likely to use role descriptions, e.g. *"I am a friend of somebody"*, or situational, instead of *"I am shy..."*, the Japanese would say in an unusual surrounding *"I am usually not talkative"*.

Stereotypes are historically changeable. For example, such formulations which were typical in the definite period of time in one culture, e.g. **"stable and politically literate"** or **"efficient, ambition manager"** differ in time and situations of the usage, as they were typical for the certain period of time and history of the definite nation. The fact that the system is switched from one stable state to another can be judged as the change in mental stereotypes.

Stereotype can be an operative model with the help of which a society can be regulated and controlled.

Stereotype can be considered as a cultural category which has an impact on formation of collective cultural identity. It can be described as collective, as it is shared by all the members of the community providing them mutual understanding; and also it can be normative as all the members of the community usually consider a stereotype as a norm or rule; stereotypes are reproducible, as they are regularly reproduced in unchangeable form in verbal texts.

Language stereotypes can be represented by sentences, paragraphs, texts. Stable non-metaphoric word-combinations or discourse stereotypes are of great interest. For example, "*пушкінський геній*", "*братські почуття*", "*материнська ласка*". Discourse stereotypes are culturally specific. It should be mentioned that cultural specificity is not synonymous to national specificity.

Different cultures can be the same in variable degrees that leads to the coincidence of cultural connotations. Cultural connectedness lies in the foundation of stability and repeatability. In fact they are quotations of different types of discourse. They are deprived of authorship. They are normative and usual and they have all properties of stereotypes. Such stereotype word-combinations are language "habits", eternal sublimations of ideas. To some extent it is possible to say that these stereotype word-combinations fix the time, slowing down its way.

Consequently ageing of discourse stereotypes points out that definite change took place in the discourse, that in its turn points to the times changes. In this case it is possible to say about their historicity.

Historicity of discourse stereotypes appears explicitly when they focus on historical personalities or historical events, for example, "*наполеонівські плани*" (great, big plans). Respectively, they can be regarded as a cultural code, as fragments of collectively reproducible cultural and historical interpretation.

Some stereotypes are formatted inside the cultural model on the basis of real facts. Such stereotypes are manifested in the mythologizing of real persons, for example politicians, poets, scientists, etc. Historical figure such as Napoleon is constructed in cultural language model as "*Great Conqueror*", "*Winner*", we say Napoleonic ambitions, Napoleonic syndrome, and there are no such set expressions as "*Napoleonic failure*" as Napoleon as a historical personality is culturally stipulated.

Stereotype of "**Genius**" is associated in Russian culture with Pushkin. They say: "**the genius of Pushkin**" – "*пушкінський геній*", "*талант Пушкіна*". It is a strong stereotype.

Let's consider some examples of stereotypes in the world literature. For example, stereotype of "**beauty**" or "**femininity**" is associated in Russian culture with

the characters of Ivan Turgenev. These stereotypes are kept in combinations **"тургеневские девушки"**. This comparison is applied when the author wants to emphasize emotional subtlety and demanding nature of a personality.

Stereotype of selflessness and generosity is connected with **Don Quixote**. There are such word-combinations in the language as *"воювати з вітряними мельницями"*, *"лицар печального образу"*. Stereotype of *"suffering philosopher asking questions about the sense of life is depicted in the image of Hamlet – to be or not to be"*, *"гамлетовське питання"* [47, с.80].

People perceive stereotypes as role models. Therefore, it have a very significant impact on individuals, it is stimulating the formation of such character traits that are reflected in the stereotype. The self-organization of society, which opposes destructive tendencies, is carried out by using the stereotypes. Stereotypes stabilize society, give a person a sense of security, confidence, security. They can be useful only if stereotypes are using consciously, of if it is descriptive rather than evaluative and if it is accurate and modified by further observations and experiences of communication with real people. However, stereotypes can also have a negative meaning when, for example, they are based on false beliefs, distortions, and half-truths. Therefore, although stereotypes are close to the social norm, they are standards of both normative and non-normative behavior.

## 2.2. Stereotypes in literary texts

Such words as “stereotype” and “stereotypical” usually have negative meaning both, in Ukrainian and English, because it is determinate with the word "template", which in turn defined as “commonplace, devoid of originality and expressiveness”. This is not fully fair towards stereotype, especially in the context of cross-cultural communication. Even if they are schematic and generalized, stereotypes about other nations and other cultures prepare for an encounter with other culture and decrease cultural shock. “Stereotypes allow human to receive view of the world itself, go beyond their social and geographical world frames” [54, p. 29].

The most popular source of the stereotypes about national characters are cross-cultural anecdotes – such anecdotes, which are built on pattern plot: representatives of different nations react to it differently, according to the features of their national character, which they ascribe on the anecdotes homeland.

The European anecdotes are depicted in this joke:

*"Paradise is where cooks are French, mechanics are German, policemen are British, lovers are Italian, and it is all organized by the Swiss. Hell is where cooks are British, policemen are German, lovers are the Swiss, mechanics are French, and it is all organized by Italians" [1, p. 11].*

So, the one source, where we can look for national characters, – is cross-cultural jokes and anecdotes of different types: ones, in which representatives of cultures talk about themselves, and another ones, which are created by another cultures.

Another source can be considered as national classical fiction literature. The word *"classical"* in this context is not accidental, because literature of this rank has passed the test of time: its works have earned recognition, influenced the minds and feelings of its people and its culture.

Let's take a look on William Somerset Maugham's novel "The Moon and Sixpence", where the author describes the desire of British to always respect decency. A lot of things which they do testifies to their insincerity, is hypocritical, because the British tend to adhere to certain standards of behavior.

*"Oh, my poor dear, you're thinking of that day he came here to look at my pictures. What does it matter if he didn't think them any good? It was stupid of me to show them to him. I dare say they're not very good....*

*...Even if he didn't like them he should have been civil. He needn't have insulted you." [22, p. 104].*

*"New arrivals claimed my host's attention, and I was left to myself. When at last we were all assembled, waiting for dinner to be announced, I reflected, while I chatted with the woman I had been asked to 'take in', that civilized man practises a strange ingenuity in wasting on tedious exercises the brief span of his life. It was the kind of party which makes you wonder why the hostess has troubled to bid her guests, and why the guests have troubled to come. There were ten people. They met with indifference, and would part with relief. It was, of course, a purely social function. The Stricklands 'owed' dinners to a number of persons, whom they took no interest in, and so had asked them; these persons had accepted."* [22, p. 37].

Further, Maugham writes about the stereotype, that British people can not imagine their life without whiskey:

*"He was heart-broken because he had no whisky, wanted to make coffee for me..."* [22, p. 80].

The smalltalk – a characteristic feature of the Western world – is also frequent stereotype about West European people. This is especially characterise the British people:

*"They talked of the political situation, and of golf, of their children and the latest play, of the pictures at the Royal Academy, of the weather, and their plans for the holidays"* [22, p. 38].

There is such a stereotype about the British and their character traits that they are stiff, arrogant people:

*"The women were too nice to be well dressed, and too sure of their position to be amusing. The men were solid. There was about all of them an air of well-satisfied prosperity..."* [22, p. 37].

*"... I have a recollection of large, unbending women..."* [22, p. 30].

Once Heinrich Heine said: "Those, who wants to get to know Germans from the better side, I recommend to read their folk songs" [42, p. 5]. Glorifying the individual's best qualities, such as hard-working, honesty, courage, independence, creators of such songs did not recognize the halfness in the dispute between good and evil.

Nonetheless, literature does not give full and objective representation of the people and their national stereotypes, because each classic literary work is a creation of subjective thoughts of its author. In order to study the problem of perception and understanding of stereotypes in a literary text, we need to address the issue of understanding a foreign cultural text as a whole. Understanding can be defined as a positive result of human communication.

Clear understanding of the meaning of the text can become a criterion of adequacy of his understanding, and the ambiguity of the text and the non-identity of its interpretations can be considered as noise, which appears during the process of communication. If the ambiguity of the text is the goal of the communicator, which seeks to ensure that the content is interpreted ambiguously, the result of perception will be only the most general impression of the textual meaning: each of the recipients understands the idea in its own way, and the interpretation of the text can vary significantly.

The content (meaning) of the text has a significant impact on the degree and adequate understanding: the closer it is to the interests and needs of a group, the more similar are the options for understanding information in this group.

The question of the adequacy of the criteria for understanding should be addressed in relation to the different texts or types of information in different ways. As one of the main and most general criteria for the adequacy of understanding, one can consider the behavior corresponding to the situation of using speech, or, in other words, the behavior corresponding to the meaning of the statement.

An introduction to the "other" majority can be achieved as a result of mastering the language of a linguistic-cultural community – this is the first step towards

understanding its cultural identity. Incomprehensible (“other”) should be interpreted widely: it can be unknown language, unusual perception of the recipient standards, needs and values. We can analyze the dialogue of Pat Holman and Robert Locamp from the novel “Three Comrades”, written by Erich Maria Remarque, as an example:

*"- Also, was willst du nun, Tee oder Kaffee?  
- Kaffee, einfach Kaffee, Pat. Ich bin von Lande. Und du?  
- Ich trinke mit dir Kaffee.  
- Aber sonst trinkst du Tee?  
- Ja.  
- Da haben wir es.  
- Ich fange schon an, mich an Kaffee zu gewöhnen. Willst du Kuchen dazu? Oder Brötchen?  
- Beides, Pat. Ich werde nachher auch noch Tee trinken" [26, p. 195].*

*"- So – now what will you have, tea or coffee?  
- Coffee, plain coffee, Pat. I'm homely. And you?  
- I'll have coffee with you.  
- But otherwise you take tea?  
- Yes.  
- Then we'll have that.  
- I'll start now and get used to coffee. Will you have cakes with it or sandwiches?  
- Both, Pat. One must make the best of one's opportunities. I'll have some tea after, too" [27, p. 156].*

This dialogue looks like simple smalltalk for common reader, who's not German. But in Germany the concepts of tea and coffee in the postwar period had a certain social connotation – coffee was considered a drink of ordinary people, and tea – a drink of representatives of higher layers of society. Understanding of this gives reader the sense of such dialogue and shows better personalities of the main characters.

So, the main reasons for an inadequate understanding of a foreign cultural text may be descriptions of speech situations, which are not usual for the listener, facing the unusual non-verbal behaviour, which includes facial expression, gesture, body language. This kind of behaviour can be interpreted in the own listener's way. Unfamiliar culture should be considered as a self-organizing system, that has a specific set of codes which are "other" to another local culture. Thus, the process of understanding of unknown culture becomes a "decoding" of "other" codes, and transformation them to listener's native ones.

### 2.3. The importance of stereotypes in cross-cultural communication

Usually, when people from different cultural groups are communicating, both of them have a little of knowledge about each other's cultural background. In some way individuals can feel awkward and anxious. In such cases individual may want to receive some kind of guideline for their discourse or behaviour. That is why individuals may call on a stereotype to receive some additional knowledge and help themselves in unusual situation. Under the pressure of relative multiplex and unpredictable information, stereotypes can function as "cognitive shortcuts" in an intergroup encounter. Such an idea is depicted by scientist Tajfel. He indicates that categorization is the basic cognitive process in stereotyping. Individuals employ stereotyping in their cognitive processes to "simplify information from the social environment", then "make sense of a world that would otherwise be too complex and chaotic for effective action" [31, p. 148].

In this situation categorization makes a composition of social information of chosen cultural group and shows it's typical characteristics. So, stereotyping in some way is totally ration phenomenon. It can have the function of managing daily individual adjustments and it should be treated as valuable.

According to E. C. Collins, the communication, the exchange of information to create a "common ground" is a key factor in creating coordination between the groups involved [5, p. 45]. Besides of that, people inevitably face a context in which they meet

members of other clusters when intergroup communication takes place. In order to create opportunities for positive interaction, people can rely on culturally shared information [5, p. 368]. As says R. Krieglmeyer, in this time “stereotypes play a role in providing processing resources” [17, p. 103].

For instance, using the stereotype, that “British people prefer to start a conversation by talking about the weather”, the person, who’s not from The Great Britain, will be able easily and quickly fit into the indigenous society. But, stereotyping may not guide people to the entirely successful communication, it can only fulfill the desire to avoid inappropriateness.

As H. Tajfel told, that “the “cognitive shortcuts” function of stereotypes tended to be related to the individual”, but he thought “stereotyping also has a social function, such as motivating individuals to preserve their group values and providing clues to explain certain social events”. As long, as stereotyping presents typical characteristics of a certain cultural cluster, it guides individuals by setting criteria for their target as soon as it becomes known. Tajfel said, that “most categorizations in the physical environment are neutral”, for example, such as *"Swedes are tall"* [31, p. 149].

But, it depends on the preferences for one over another: some classifications are regarded as “value-loaded” [31, p.154]. Tajfel argues that “tall” is not consequently value-free, even it is neither commentary nor derogatory. The trait “tall” is obvious for categorizing Swedes. In this case, the fact that an individual encounters tall Swedes who dislike their social categories may modify the general stereotype. However, Tajfel argues that, when the instances relate to a trait with a strong value, a differentiation will arise, since individuals tend to preserve their group value. In other words, the people who do not fit the feature of their group will be treated as outsiders. Furthermore, in order to avoid the threat to the values of a certain group, individuals prefer to keep out the “right person” rather than let in the “wrong person” [31, p. 158].

The classic example to this case could be regarded as the witch-hunt. Tajfel concludes that “it represents a powerful protection of the existing system of social values, and any mistakes made are mistakes to the extent that they endanger that system” [31, p. 158].

Following this example, we can see that stereotypes are responsible for arousing social events, because they explain collective actions to a certain extent. That is why we can make an assumption, that social groups may employ stereotypes to justify their behaviors against out-groups. People have a psychological need to establish causality for what they perceive. In such case, stereotyping can occasionally fulfill this demand. And even more – a stereotype can act either as cause or result. For example, stereotypes are considered as a result where it generated Americans' negative image of Turks after World War 2 [15, p. 90]. But, a stereotype is taken as a cause to explain the existence of anti-Semitism [31, p. 201]. In any case, stereotypes play an important role in justification.

According to the social function of stereotypes, a social group provides and maintains positive identities of members by distinguishing itself from other groups on the basis of its valuable characteristics [31, p. 163]. So, stereotypes play a positive role in supporting social groups to maintain and and create positively assessed differentiations.

Besides of that, people can shape their social identity or self-respect by comparing the characteristics of their own cultural social group with other groups [31, p. 162]. This process doesn't only fulfill person's ethnocentrism, it is also to guide them to locate their own group accurately. Given the stereotypes that provide multidimensional connections to distinguish each social group, people can easily find similarities or differences between their social groups and members of other particular group. Even more, it can stimulate them to act positively to integrate into that group.

On the other hand, stereotypes do not always have a negative image. A. M. Czopp says “unlike negative stereotypes, positive stereotypes are often perceived as admirable qualities” [7, p. 44]. Positive stereotypes are valuable by groups, which attempted to preserve them. This kind of stereotypes not only emphasize the benefits of the target group, but also build active relationships between groups. For example, stereotypes of African Americans who have inner athletic prowess and musical abilities may create a positive interaction among African Americans and other groups who value these capabilities [7, p. 413].

According to Tajfel, groups' reciprocal images exert a vital influence on the relations between groups. In this case, the involvement of positive stereotypes may create a platform for promoting group interaction [31, p. 67].

In their study of intercultural communication, J. Spencer-Rodgers and T. McGovern affirmative disclosure of negative stereotypes is censured as one of the basic causal factors which lead social perceivers to be biased against out-groups [29, p. 609]. However, abundant researchers, such as S. Y. Peng, M. E. Hill and M. Augoustinos, prove that stereotyping is impossible to eliminate [25, 11].

The context of intercultural communication should be considered as one of the motivating factors. In the process of intercultural communication, people often face problems such as language barriers, low information context, uncertainty and intergroup anxiety. In this situation, the stereotype is used automatically to reduce the information to a controlled size "simplify and make sense of a confusing and complex barrage of perceptual information" [11, p. 259].

Krieglmeyer and Sherman indicate, that individuals may have the motivation to manage their stereotypes [16, p. 103]. However, they also argue that stereotypes can only be guided by practical individual information if such information is available. Spencer-Rogers and McGovern acknowledge that people usually have lack of the familiarity and experience of other groups in intercultural communication. In this case, stereotyping is resistant to elimination, as it provides a relatively stable structure to help people solve difficult situations. Also, like cognitive beliefs, the intensification of stereotypes is hardly conscious for a person [10, p. 311]. It is inevitable that individuals develop their stereotypes unconsciously.

On the other hand, stereotype is assessed as the use of useful social information. Hill and Augoustinos stress that stereotypes include both descriptive and explanatory information, which leads individual to understand the other groups and avoid inappropriateness [11]. For example, guided by the stereotype of Chinese as traditional and less open, people can avoid sensitive topics, such as relationships between man and woman, in communication with Chinese participants [25, p. 249]. As a result, this stereotype reduces the incompetence that is felt to some extent in communication

processes. Even the label of "*traditional*" for the Chinese is not precise enough. As a result, the existence of stereotypes depends to some extent on individuals.

In addition, people may not notice the negative impact of stereotypes and ignore this issue [19, p. 342]. The inevitability of the stereotype is also related to its support. Lyons and Kashima illustrate that people have a great advantage in maintaining their stereotypes, even if they are challenged by evidence [21, p. 996]. In fact, stereotypes circulate through various channels in a person's daily life, such as the media. For example, radical right-wing political parties promote racial discrimination through propaganda, the roots of minority stereotypes in their constituency, and hostility to immigrants. Lyons and Kashima point out that stereotypes can also run through people's chains by mixing information. For example, stereotypes of students are revealed through classmates, family members or the media [29, p. 613]. Stereotypes circulate through these environments. Even worse, passing from one person to another makes the information more stereotypical. In this case, H. Itakura stresses "once formed, cultural stereotypes are not easily dismissed" [25, p. 246].

Studying stereotypes on the material of idioms, phrasal verbs and set-expressions we learn the history of human relationships of the neighboring countries, their interaction during the certain periods of time. Learning the world literature gives the opportunity to understand the origin of such set-expressions and idioms, to understand the content of the discourse and correctly render the meaning of them, consequently all this knowledge makes it easier to understand other people in intercultural communication and facilitate mutual understanding. Ethnic stereotypes as ideas of other nations are reflected in the languages, they are represented in the idioms and set-expressions. Undoubtedly they enriched the languages giving a broad understanding of human communication.

The language fixes collective stereotypical and reference representations, it objectifies the interpretative activity of human consciousness and makes it available for the research.

The picture of the world of any ethnic group becomes the foundation of cultural stereotypes. Its analysis helps to identify differences in the national culture of a particular group of people.

Stereotypes, which act as a cognitive faith, play an important role in intercultural communication. They depend on a person's cultural background and their need to classify, sharing as a social belief in a particular group. The negative effects of stereotypes, which can lead to misunderstandings, prejudices and psychological threats, are alarming to scientists who want to reduce their impact. Some techniques, such as raising cultural awareness, allow some to control stereotypes to some extent through multilateral efforts. Despite the negative impact of stereotypes, their functions should be highlighted as valuable.

In intercultural communication, stereotypes play the role of cognitive labels, helping people cope with difficult circumstances and mental stress. Given the possibility of stereotypes to present the typical characteristics of a particular group, they can be addressed during social events.

Moreover, it can also benefit both individuals and social groups in its positive sense. The inevitability of the stereotype is proved by research. It is used voluntarily in intercultural communication to meet complexity management requirements and can be considered valuable to some extent.

In any case, stereotypes permeated every aspect of public life and were supported by social activities.

## CONCLUSION

On the basis of our research we can make such a conclusion, that such a phenomenon as “stereotype” can be considered in two aspects: as a relatively stable, generalized image or a series of characteristics, which are peculiar to representatives of one cultural and linguistic space, or to representatives of other nations in the eyes of a given people; as a culturally determined representation, which exists both in the form of a mental image and in the form of a verbal shell. In this case, according to certain semiotic models, the stereotype is both – a process, and a result of communication. As a generic concept, stereotype includes a standard, which is a non-linguistic reality, and a norm that exists at the language level. In the role of stereotypes may appear as characteristics of other nation, as all that relates to ideas of one nation about the culture of another nation as a whole.

The terms “national character” and “stereotype” are almost identical in the widest sense, as long, as they are formed because they are formed under the influence of the cultural and historical environment of a particular nation. The only difference is that the national character is a generic term, which includes stereotype as part of a whole. The typical features of the national character of the British consider balance, stiffness, arrogance, the desire to follow the rules; Germans are considered with punctuality, bureaucracy, accuracy, love of order, thoroughness in business, discipline, hard work. In accordance with the mentioned above features of the national character, there are formed different stereotypes of culture in English and German society, which are designed to emphasize these features and prevailing ideas about the nation.

The conflict of cultures appears during the process of perception of another nation’s culture stereotypes. It is a result of mismatch of accepted norms and standards, which are belong to stereotypes, in their own and another one cultures to the recipient’s culture. Culture collision, which is characterized for different cultures (the same, as the culture conflict), can create some difficulties in communication, become a reason of the “cultural shock” and in result lead to misunderstanding of other people’s culture. The main stereotypes, which create the communication difficulties between people of

different cultures, are subject or national psychological and activity-communicative lacunae, which are depict national and cultural features of the communicants to different linguistic-cultural communities and cultural identity of the various activities in their communicative aspect.

The behaviour of each person, despite the fact that in particular cases it is always individual, is typified in any society – it complies with the standards, which developed in this society individually and in a various of ways. The set of the stereotypes is purely specific for each individual society. Cultural stereotypes have an impact on human behavior within people's native cultural and linguistic space. It starts to be used precisely from the moment when an individual realizes himself as part of a certain ethnic group, part of a certain culture. While dividing stereotypes to different groups, scientists are guided by such principles: belonging to the particular nation – autostereotypes, which describe what people think about themselves, and heterostereotypes, thoughts about other nations; unconsciousness of stereotypes – ethnic stereotypes, cultural stereotypes, gaps; psycholinguistic aspect of perception of the surround reality – stereotypes-images and stereotypes-situations; stereotypes' stability and their historical, cross-cultural, inner political background of appearing – superficial and deep stereotypes; existence of similar stereotypes in different countries – quasystereotypes, which generally have a lot in common, but differ by some particular details; culture's integrity, it's structure stability and vitality – behavioral, perceptual, stereotypes, understanding, communicative stereotypes.

Such phenomena are related to stereotypes: verbal behaviour, non-verbal behaviour (facial expressions, gestures, body movements), national character, social situations, behaviour in social situations, everyday life features, national cousine, religious and national ceremonies.

For the successful implementation of a communicative act between different nations, it requires not only the language skills, but also the presence of background knowledge. The precedent names play an important role in communicative process. Those are individual names, situations, which are widely known to a particular nation representatives. Precedent names appear to be a part of such a term as the background

knowledge. Both, background knowledge and precedent names are important for “decrypting” and interpretation of national cultural stereotypes, for their comprehension and understanding. They include the worldview system, the system of beliefs in particular society, the system of ethical values and aesthetical tastes, the norms of verbal and non-verbal behaviour and much of this society members’ knowledge. Many aspects of people's life, traditions, historical events, which are well-known for the society members but are unknown to foreigner, became the reason of stereotypes’ appearing in particular culture.

Every language divides the world in its own way – it has its own manner of world’s conceptualisation. That is why we can make a conclusion, that every language has its own picture of the world and linguistic identity is obliged to organize communication according to this picture. In this way appears individual human perception of the world, which is inscribed in the language. Unfamiliar culture should be considered as self-organizing system, which has its specific set of codes, “other” for any local culture. Thus, the process of understanding a foreign culture appears as a decryption of “other” codes and converting them to individual’s native ones. The main reasons of misunderstanding during cross-cultural communication are the descriptions of situations, behaviours, emotions or appearance, which are rare for one of communicators. Also, it is failed when the listener encounters atypical non-verbal behaviour, such as facial expressions, gestures, body movements which have no analogues or are interpreted in some other way in his culture, but are usual for the speaker.

The language fixates collective stereotypical and reference representations, objectifies interpretative activity of the human consciousness. The foundation of some ethnicity cultural stereotypes The picture of the world of some peculiar ethnicity plays a role of a foundation for the cultural stereotypes about this nation. The analysis of such picture of the world helps to identify the differences between cultures of some peculiar nations.



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