

TYPOLOGY OF ETHNIC STEREOTYPES IN RUSSIAN PROVERBS

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Abstract

The article highlights the reflection of stereotypes in Russian proverbs and sayings. In the center of attention are atostereotypes and hetero stereotypes as a variety of national stereotypes.

Keywords: ethnostereotypes, linguistic picture of the world, mental image of the people, linguistics, historical tradition.

A language always reflects the way of thinking of the people who speak it or a specific person, it is a "naive" model of the world around. The concept of "stereotype" and the concept of "language picture of the world" are very closely connected with each other. In this article, one of the frequently used stereotypes of consciousness - stereotype of national characters, or as linguists around the world call this phenomenon - ethnostereotypes - will be the focus of research attention. Nowadays, ethnostereotypes are becoming an object of study in many disciplines. Along with linguistics it is studied by psychology, sociology, culturology, and in all these sciences this phenomenon has different attitudes from total negativity to admiration.

Ethnic stereotypes are one of the types of stereotypes of consciousness. In modern ethnography, culturology and social psychology, the topic of ethnostereotypes is very popular. However, in linguistics it is insufficiently studied. The study of ethnostereotypes is a part of the general problem, which can be conditionally designated as "stereotypes of consciousness and their linguistic expression". One of the initial tasks of such a study is to separate the linguistic aspect of the topic from all the others, to understand what in this problem is not knowingly within the competence of linguists. The concept of "stereotype" was first used by the sociologist W. Lippmann in the early 20th century. He defined stereotypes as "the pictures in our minds (the pictures in our heads)" that save people from the complexity of the world around them. According to the scientist, stereotypes are preconceived notions that "govern the process of perception. They label objects as familiar or as strange and unusual, exacerbating the difference in this parameter: the slightly familiar is presented as very close, and the slightly strange as completely alien. According to W. Lippman, due to inaccuracy and incompleteness of information the stereotype has a pronounced negative connotation and has the following characteristics: stability, rigidity, conservatism, estimation, economy, traditionalism, hypertrophy (tendentiousness). Everything new people perceive through the prism of cultural stereotypes, which are formed on the basis of limited experience [6].

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Stereotype as a certain scheme (cliché) helps a person to perceive and evaluate information automatically, without thinking about it, it serves as a generalization of various phenomena, objects and events. The positive side of stereotypes is the generalization of people's past experience and relieves people from making individual decisions in typical situations, because people are not always able to respond independently to all situations and rely on stereotypes when they lack time and experience [2].

According to Leskinen M. V. There are two main groups of stereotypes: The first group includes stereotypes that arose in speech, language in the pre-industrial era under the influence of tradition or specific historical experience, social practice [5.]. The second group includes stereotypes that emerged during the reforms of the artistic elite or, which were "constructed" by intellectuals in the process of self-identification of a nation and "introduced" with the use of educational tools and propaganda. Consequently, the national stereotype is a fragment of the ethnic picture of the world, it is a mental image of a people culturally determined description of various features of ethnicity, quite stable, emotionally colored and not always reliable.

Ethnic stereotypes, national stereotypes - historically developed external or own ideas about the mindset, mentality and standard behavior of representatives of a particular ethnic group [3]. National stereotypes are usually characterized by simplification, one-sidedness, and often distortion. The source of national stereotypes is often historically established prejudices [4].

A peculiar and interesting method of researching ethnic stereotypes is offered by V. A. Plungian and E. V. Rakhilina [7]. These scientists analyze first of all word combinations "adjective + noun", where the adjective means national or geographical belonging, and the noun means human qualities and attributes. These researchers identify linguistically "marked combinations", that is, units that denote a standard (fixed in dictionaries) modification of a trait or the highest degree of its manifestation (German neatness, French gallantry).

Extensive material for linguistic analysis of stereotypes can be found in proverbs and sayings. Oral folklore is traditionally the most authoritative source for the reconstruction of the national linguistic picture of the world in its everyday naive aspect of existence. The proverbs carry moral values and represent the internal origins of the culture of society, drawn from historical experience, recreating the national and social psychology of the people. Proverbs as one of the most common varieties of proverbs in the speech are especially interesting for the study of national mental and cultural stereotypes. This study was conducted on the material of proverbs, selected by the method of continuous sampling from the collection of V. I. Dahl "Proverbs and sayings of the Russian people" [1]. Ethnostereotypes in modern linguistics are typologically divided into autostereotypes and heterostereotypes.

Autostereotypes are representations of members of a particular ethnic group about themselves. In this case, the object of an ethnic stereotype is typical representatives of their ethnic group. In Russian parables, autostereotypes reflect Russian people. Autostereotypes, as a rule, represent a set of positive evaluations.

But sometimes there are negative perceptions as well. But in general autostereotypes have a balance of positive and negative elements. Let us begin with the positive qualities that the Russian people saw and noted in themselves:

Table 1. Positive qualities of the Russian people reflected in autostereotypes

Nº	Stereotype	Paremy
1	Steadfastness	Russian is patient to the beginning, russian is stubborn to the end
2	Courage	Russian fighter is an example for everybody
3	Resourcefulness	The earth is strong for people; learn from people, learn from people
4	Hospitality	Russian brings bread and salt.
5	Character	Russian soul is wide open.
6	Service to the king	Russian people are love their king

At all times many could envy the russian people's spirit, patriotism, the people have always been and will always be something like a cult for Russians. This auto-stereotype is so strong and emotionally colored that it often influences or even transforms into a hetero-stereotype: The enemy is afraid, but our people are stoic; If he is Russian, he is a warrior; Our people are heroes, they fight the enemy with a wall; Our people are humble for a while, but when something happens, they take up an axe.

After we have considered positive autostereotypes of Russian people we will pass to negative autostereotypes. There are enough of them.

Table 2. Negative qualities of the Russian people reflected in autostereotypes

Nº	Stereotype	Paremy
1	Irresponsibility	In Russia not all are carps, there are also ruffs
2	Hope for fate	The Russian people like to take chances
3	Boastfulness	The Russian man is both boastful and boastful
4	Gluttony	In the Russian belly and chisel will rot
5	Shortsightedness	The russack is clever, but with a hindsight
6	Addiction to alcohol	The Russian drinks with grief and with joy

Hetero- stereotypes are images of representatives of other ethnic groups that have developed in a given group. Hetero-types can be both positive and negative, depending on the historical experience of interaction between these peoples. Let us list in turn the stereotypical opinion of the Russian people about other peoples.

The most significant cycle of proverbs and sayings is devoted to Tatars who are associated by the Russian people with Mongol-Tatar invasion and subsequent yoke (Khan of Crimea and Pope of Rome did a lot of trouble for us). Therefore the Tartars are perceived as representing unclean forces (Zyryan ryzh from God, Tatar ryzh from devil), from which comes danger, often unexpected, bringing devastation, trouble and death (Empty, as if Mamaj has passed; As if after the Mamaev Bashing).

In this connection the characteristic feature of the Tatar ethnos is anger (More evil than the evil Tatar; And what, good man, have you not seen an evil Tatar? (Tatar teasing)), dishonesty and perfidy (We the Tatars get everything for nothing; Only the Tartars take involuntarily; More evil is the Tatar honor). After the conquest and annexation of the Kazan Khanate to the Russian state, the attitude to the Tatars acquired a different connotation.

The proverbs, which emerged during this period, emphasize the new status of the Tatars (Nowadays one hears about Tatar happiness only in fairy tales; Do not teach the white swan to swim and the boyar son to fight with the Tatars, The Tatar has seen kissel in his sleep, so he has not seen kissel; He went to sleep with a spoon) and "value" of the Tatar territories being part of Russia (Mine is yours - yours is mine - and only (i.e. a Tatar who does not know Russian; Eat a bear of a Tatar - both are useless). Tatar who does not know Russian); There is no use in Tatar eyes; Eat bear of Tatar - both are unnecessary). Besides, in the paremiological fund of the Russian language there are contradictory statements, describing the attitude to foreigners, in particular to Tatars (I love a young man and in a Tatar; Tatar is either thoroughly good, or thoroughly swindler). This contradiction is explained by the fact that proverbs and sayings reflect the personal experience of the speaker, while experience is objective and differs from person to person, which is what the mutually exclusive sayings show.

After the war between Russia and France in 1812 the paremiological fund of the Russian language was replenished by proverbs and sayings, in which there is a stereotypical opinion of the Russian people about the French: The Frenchman is a kurguz. The French wind (vetrogon).

Although emotionally colored stereotypes about a foreign ethnic group have a place to be changed, the sharply negative attitude towards the French nation is preserved to a certain extent to our days: The Frenchman was cursed, but not for long. The reason for this is the fire in Moscow, numerous works by Russian writers and poets about that bloody war and the strength of the Russian spirit, which was able to resist the enemy: The Frenchman burned himself, and he himself froze.

The Russian winter of 1812 was extremely harsh, as a result of which many Frenchmen, dressed in light outerwear, died of the cold. This event is reflected in the following parems: spread his bones in a foreign land, Frenchman; frozen like a Frenchman; frozen Frenchman. The stereotypical view that the Russian winter is deadly for the Frenchman, that he is weak in front of it since then, is firmly entrenched in the Russian people. In the context of stereotypes, the noun French is always contrasted with the noun winter, Russian, cold and so forth.

Ordinary Russian peasants could not stay away and also took part in the partisan units: On the Frenchman and a pitchfork a rifle. Since then, the stereotypical image of the shortsighted, unable to fight, having no courage to be compared with that of the Russians has been firmly entrenched in the minds of the Russian people. For example: Whose field have the French not dotted with their bones? The Frenchman is a fighter, but the Russian is a stoic.

It should be noted that throughout Russian history, foreigners were successfully integrated into the Russian nobility. In pre-Petrine times a quarter of the nobility had Tatar roots. Thus, the third Russian tsar Boris Godunov traced his lineage back to a Tatar murza Chet, who was baptized in the 1310s with the name Zakharia (Chet-Zakharia belonged to the royal family of Chingisids). From the Tatars came the Russian nobles Ermolovs, Davydovs, Cherkasskys, Dashkovs, Apraksins, Derzhavins, Arsentyevs, Karamzins, etc. Of Germans: Khvostovs, Beklemishevs, Orlovs, Levshins, Markovs, Vostokovs, Tolstovs, Pushkins, Protopopovs, etc.

Especially many Germans lived in Russia in the XVIII century. But Germans at that time could also be called Poles, Dutch and French. According to a number of authors it is possible to assume, that the image of "German" was perceived by Russian political and common consciousness not as exoethnonym, but rather in the meaning of "dumb" (different) and "not mine" (alien), and thus served to create external reference points of Russian national identity. According to M. Fasmer, Old Russian "nmts" means "a person speaking obscurely, incomprehensibly: "foreigner", n'chin, "German, any foreigner" [8].

Perceptions of the Germans, which took on the character of ethno-stereotypes, developed gradually in Russia, some of which proved quite stable. Beer, pipe and tobacco as obligatory external features not only of German life, but also of the Germans themselves, were perceived almost as their organic properties. Such traits of Germans as cunning (The German is cunning: he invented the monkey, the fox is cunning but the German is smarter than the fox), the ability to adapt to situations (The German is like a willow: he started right there), a disposition to take charge (German come from the Germans, but is good to point), as well as prudence turning to avarice, accuracy which tends to become pedantic, were always traditionally opposed to the indigenous Russian qualities. Nor did the latter sympathize with the foresight and pragmatism of the Germans, as well as their excessive knowledge (the German has a tool for everything).

Representatives of other nationalities also lived in Russia: Roma, Greeks, Moldavians, Georgians, and Chuvashs.

The national character of the Roma is one of the most elaborated in Russian folklore. In terms of detail and intensity, it is close to the above-mentioned ethnonyms "Tatar" and "German". The paremiological portrait of the Roma in Russian has a generally negative connotation. Among the social and moral characteristics of the Roma, Russian proverbs and sayings most widely and definitely feature motifs of wandering, lack of a permanent place of residence (the homeless Roma), deceit (the Roma will tell the truth once in their lifetime, and even then they will repent; The Gypsy will not live a day without deceit), trickery and theft, especially evident in his economic behavior (A stolen mare will not be much cheaper than a bought one, said the Gypsy; The Bear dances, and the Gypsy takes money). The last couplets point to two main activities of Roma - participation in fair performances and the purchase, sale and exchange of horses. In general, for a Gypsy, a horse is the closest friend and a great value (Every Gypsy praises his horse; A Gypsy treasures his move (horse)). Russian proverbs warn against dishonesty characteristic of gypsies in dealing with them, noting the gypsy's vindictiveness: "Who will cheat a gypsy, will not live three days. Of biological characteristics, the Russian language captures such a feature of the Roma as endurance against frost (The Gypsy has been selling his coat since Christmas; How cold it is there - said the Gypsy, wrapped in an old dragnet).

Representatives of the Greek ethnos in the Russian language consciousness are endowed with such character traits as cunning, deceit and greed (If the Greek has gone to the truth, keep your ear to the ground; The Greek will tell the truth once a year; A gypsy will deceive a gypsy, a gypsy will deceive a Jew, and a Jew will deceive an Armenian, an Armenian will deceive a Greek, and only one devil will deceive a Greek, and that if God will let him; The Greek will eat one olive, and that will suck his thumb).

Thus, Russian proverbs and sayings about the representatives of different nationalities are valuable material for the construction of ethno-stereotypical images of foreigners, because they reflect the

features of the perception of ethnic strangers by Russians, fixing the features of their national character. The analysis of the proverbs shows that Russians negatively assess other ethnic groups, endowing their representatives with such negative traits as greed, avarice, anger, cunning, deceit, frivolity, guile and aggressiveness. At the same time, in the proverbial fund of the Russian language there are neutral parables, where the "ethnic" theme is a way of illustrating universal ideas, norms and values: "In what people you live, keep to that custom", "One does not go to another's monastery with his own charter".

Ethnic stereotype is a schematized image of one's own or someone else's ethnic community, which reflects a simplified knowledge of the psychological characteristics and behavior of representatives of a particular nation and which forms the basis of a stable and emotionally colored opinion of one nation about another or about itself. Ethnic stereotypes are relatively stable, change slowly over time, are reproduced from generation to generation, and are independent of reality, which is characterized by a state of permanent dynamics. Ethnostereotypes formed in proverbs and sayings are based on prejudices that are rooted in historical traditions. Although many of them are outdated and reflect only ethno-historical reality, they are, to one degree or another, preserved in the collective memory of the people and retransmitted in contemporary assessments.

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