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LINGUISTIC STEREOTYPES IN SHORT- AND LONG-TERM MIGRANTS' DISCOURSES ON ARGENTINA, GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Abstract

This paper focuses on short- and long-term migrants between Argentina and Germany, as well as between Argentina and Austria, and their discourses about their lives between their host and home countries. Blogs, journalistic articles, and in-depth interviews are analysed from a qualitative perspective in order to examine hetero- and auto-stereotypes. How can these stereotypes be described from a linguistic and discursive point of view? How do speakers express or avoid the responsibility of uttered stereotypes? To answer these questions, we draw on an overarching Critical Discourse Studies framework. At the same time, Pümpel-Mader's (2010) approach is helpful to better understand the linguistic properties of stereotypes, as it distinguishes between social categories, the characteristics attributed to them, and a series of modifiers. Within this framework, forms and contents of stereotypes, as well as phenomena like subgrouping and the use of personal experience are referred to. Further, some rhetorical strategies used to display stereotype awareness or leading to actual stereotype avoidance are pointed out.

Keywords

discourse, stereotypes, social categorization, migration

1 Introduction¹

Gauchos and steaks on one side of the Ocean, sausages and beer or Sissi and Strudel on the other. Friendly Argentinians versus cold Germans, Austrians dancing waltz versus Argentinians surrendered to a passionate tango. These might be part of the Argentinians'

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representations of Austria and Germany, and of Europeans' ideas about Argentina. But can these expectations be kept alive during a longer stay abroad, while sharing everyday life with the locals? To answer this question, this paper attempts a qualitative analysis of stereotypes of Germany and Austria uttered by Argentinians, and stereotypical representations of Argentina held by Germans and Austrians who spent several months, and some of them even several years, in the respective "other" country.

A number of social psychological studies on stereotypes of Latin Americans and, particularly, Argentinians can be found, though only in the 1990s national stereotypes became a more popular topic for social research in this region (Espinosa et al. 2016; Salazar and Salazar 1998). In earlier studies, Argentinians characterized themselves in an ambivalent way, as solidarity-focused, warm and intelligent, but also as presumptuous, shrewd, lazy and corrupt (Roselli 2000), with a high degree of agreement about their shrewdness (Espinosa et al. 2016; Monsegur, Espinosa and Beramendi 2014). Their Uruguayan neighbours, on the contrary, emphasized the negative characteristics of presumptuous, boastful, gossipy, envious, exaggerated, shrewd and haughty Argentinians (Pérez de León 2007).

Whereas Austria did not attract much attention, stereotypes of Germans have been examined in different Intercultural Communication studies. Spaniel (2002), for instance, detected that learners of German in Spain considered social security, education system, standard of living, industriousness, ambition, arrogance, work and money to be aspects related to Germans. In Bolten's (2006) study, respondents from 18 countries identified Germany with beer, Hitler, cars, soccer and Berlin (in this order) as the five most important characteristics. Furthermore, the American blog writers analysed by Deckers (2010) considered Germans to be direct, orderly, (initially) distant and reserved, unable to queue, liberal regarding nudity and sexuality, among other properties.

In spite of these instructive contributions, there is still some work to do. Stereotypes have been studied for more than four decades by social psychologists, but for a long time there has not been a clear, distinct and applicable theoretical and methodological framework in order to perform a linguistically informed analysis. In recent years, a substantial development has been made by Maria Pümpel-Mader (2010), which will be discussed more extensively below.

Although the relationships between Latin America (particularly, Argentina) and Europe during and after World War II have been investigated intensely, the current situation has not attracted the same interest (however, see Birlé 2010). This is rather surprising, as at the university level there are several European institutions that support agreements with Argentinian universities. Hence, a considerable number of German and French, but also Italian or Swiss students can be found at private or public Argentinian universities, above all in Buenos Aires. The German Academic Exchange Service, on the other hand, provides grants for Latin American students, especially from Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Argentina and Chile, who wish to move to Germany for academic purposes. Even though Austrian institutions are not as present as the German ones in this field,

young adults from Austria are also part of the community of international visitors at Argentinian universities.

As it is mentioned in almost all texts we analysed, the crisis of the Argentine economy in 2001 and 2002 caused and impacted the migration processes between Europe and South America. Whereas for European students the economic situation turned the country into an attractive and relatively cheap place to sojourn, many young Argentinians migrated to Europe in order to find work and improve their lives. However, Austria and Germany in this context were not very popular destinations. In 2010, there were about 7400 Argentinians living in Germany and 1200 living in Austria (Benencia 2012: 184), a number that has hardly changed since 2005 (Texidó 2008: 87–88).

Fifteen years after the crisis, several texts can be found talking about the migration experience to and from Argentina. German and Austrian university students have spent time in Argentina and tell us about it in their blogs; their voices have also been recorded in newspaper articles and in the interviews we conducted. Argentinian students have had the opportunity to study in Germany or Austria. Some of them moved back home; others, however, stayed in order to work there and eventually started families. Fortunately, some of them talk about their lives publicly on the Internet, and others shared parts of their experiences by participating in interviews. Two basic questions guide this investigation:

- 1) How can stereotypes in this particular context be described from a linguistic and discursive point of view?
- 2) How do speakers express or avoid the responsibility of stereotypes?

2 Theoretical framework

Within an overarching Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) framework, we should remember that discourse is “a mode of action” and, simultaneously, “a mode of representation”, “not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning” (Fairclough 1999: 63–64). This is to say that our discursive production reflects our social environment and contributes to the way it is, but also has the power to transform it. Even though these arguments are relevant for all types of discourses, we consider them especially important in the (intercultural) context we deal with. In fact, those who receive discourse about “the Other” frequently are not confronted with other information sources, nor have they had any personal experience with them, as in the case of many parents and relatives of students staying abroad. Therefore, information is centralized in a single person who allegedly can relate faithfully what the others “really” are like, since “[o]ne of the basic conventional conditions of truth is direct observation: “I have seen it with my own eyes” [sic] is the ultimate warrant of truthfulness” (van Dijk 1988: 86).

The ideas of prejudice and stereotyping draw on a solid research tradition in Social Psychology. After Lippmann’s initial reference to stereotypes, Allport (1971: 21) defined prejudice as “a negative or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group,

merely because he/she belongs to this group and therefore is thought to have the same rejected characteristics the group is ascribed".² Generalizing, constructing categories and prejudice is considered a normal tendency in human beings (Allport 1971: 41). Moreover, the author states that it is not always easy to distinguish between judgements which are based on facts and those that are not (Allport 1971: 21–22). Tajfel (1982) admits that stereotypes share some cognitive functions with the categorization of objects, but he reminds us that they are also influenced by their social context, i.e., the relationship between two or more social groups. Hence, stereotypes are social because they are held by a high number of people.

Stereotypes can convey a negative attitude towards their target, but do not always imply negativity. As a "standard viewpoint", Hilton and Von Hippel (1996: 240) define stereotypes as "beliefs about the characteristics, attributes, and behaviors of members of certain groups", whereas Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, and Esses (2010: 8) would add that they also "shape how people think about and respond to the group". Although stereotypes are transmitted by multi-media content such as images or video clips, language is still an important means for the expression and transmission of stereotypes; language also provides elements as important as category labels that help organize information in a stereotyped manner (Maass and Arcuri 1996: 196–197). Thus, what specifically linguistic observations can be made on stereotyping?

The first (German-speaking) approach to this question was developed by Quasthoff (1973, 1978), who at that moment claimed that a stereotype is:

the verbal expression of a belief which is directed towards social groups or single persons as members of these groups. This belief is characterized by a high degree of collective sharedness among a speech community or subgroup of a speech community. The stereotype has the logical form of a judgement which ascribes or denies certain properties (traits or forms of behavior) to a set of persons in a (logically) unwarrantably simplifying and generalizing way, with an emotionally evaluative tendency. The grammatical unit at the basis of the linguistic description is the sentence. (Quasthoff 1978: 6)

Later, Quasthoff reconsidered the conception as a "sentence" and preferred to regard stereotypes as propositions, composed of references and predications (Quasthoff 1989: 183). In any case, Quasthoff's work included four types of stereotypes, wherein the "basic form" is *Der Deutsche ist fleißig* ('Germans are industrious') (Quasthoff 1973: 240), despite the fact the author discerns a great diversity at the lexical and syntactical level.

More recently, in a contribution that has still not been properly acknowledged, Pümpel-Mader (2010) comes back to Quasthoff's seminal work and underlines the aspects of generalization/simplification and evaluation. Concretely, she conceives stereotypes as structures of knowledge or schemas, which comprise a group of people

² Quotes from Allport (1971) are re-translations from the German version. All translations are ours unless otherwise indicated.

(i.e., a social category), linked in an arbitrary manner to a set of properties (schema values) (Pümpel-Mader 2010: 12–13). Both or one of these elements can be affected by “specifications” (or “modifiers”, as we referred to them on another occasion, cf. Lupprich 2015a). Modifiers indicate the prototypicality (or intensity) of stereotyped formulations; if there are no modifiers, an utterance will not be considered a stereotype (Pümpel-Mader 2010: 32, 424). In this context, the author refers to “linguistic stereotypes”, as the linguistic forms of stereotyping are the central object of her study.

Four groups of modifiers, which add information about the following aspects, can be distinguished:

- 1) evaluation (expressed by lexemes like “good” or “bad”);
- 2) quantity (“many”, “all”, “in general”...);
- 3) typicality/habituality (“always”, “characteristic of”...);
- 4) validity (“true”, “known”, “expected”...).

The (constructed) example “It is a well-known fact that all Italians are habitually late” displays instances of all four modifiers. “All” quantifies the group members affected by the generalization, “it is a well-known fact” indicates validity, “habitually” self-explanatorily expresses the aspect of habituality, and evaluation is embodied by the negative connotation “being late” has in the Western context.

The classification of linguistic forms proposed by Pümpel-Mader (2010) comprises 49 types of stereotypes, reaching from the micro to the macro level. Table 1 gives an overview of the account.

As it can be seen in this and in former analyses (cf. Lupprich 2015b), Pümpel-Mader provides a very useful tool to deal with stereotypes in different written and oral discourses. Although her study concerns German-speaking texts and therefore her classification is adapted to that language, Spanish texts could also be analysed without major issues.

It should be anticipated that we will occasionally discuss the “frequency” of stereotypical expressions.³ In this context, defining frequency as instances of a determined phenomenon that are found easily, might seem somewhat sloppy. Nonetheless, there are some questions that make a precise quantification of stereotypes (and/or stereotypical forms of expression) difficult and that could become objects of further research:

- 1) Should stereotypes (i.e. cognitive schemas, ideas) or stereotyped utterances be counted?
- 2) How should two or more stereotypical attributes within a single utterance (“Southern Europeans are passionate and lazy”) be considered?

³ At the end of her book, Pümpel-Mader (2010: 423) verbalizes the latent distinction between “stereotypes” as structures of knowledge and “stereotypical forms of expression”. Although throughout this article we use “stereotype” and “stereotypical form of expression” (or “stereotyped utterance”) as synonyms, we adhere to this kind of distinction.

- 3) How should explicit and implicit comparisons between two groups, expressed within a single utterance (“Unlike Chileans, Argentinians are considered rather warm”) be treated?
- 4) What can be said about stereotyped utterances repeated within a single turn in conversation?
- 5) How should explicit and implicit comparisons between two groups, expressed within a single utterance (“Unlike Chileans, Argentinians are considered rather warm”) be treated?
- 6) What can be said about stereotyped utterances repeated within a single turn in conversation?

Table 1: Overview of Pümpel-Mader's (2010) classification of stereotypes.

Micro level	Sounds	Type 1
	Particles and interjections	Type 2
	Pronouns and articles	Type 3
	Adjectives	Types 4-11
	Nouns	Types 12-16
	Verbs	Type 17
Meso level	Noun phrases	Types 18-27
	Adjective phrases	Types 28-34
	Verbal units	Types 35-36
	Simple sentences	Types 37-48
	Complex sentences	Type 49
Macro level	Texts	-

Regarding the people whose discourse we study, Dervin and Dirba (2008) argue that foreignness is not a homogeneous phenomenon. Following Bauman's terminology, they talk about “solid” and “liquid” strangers. On the one hand, “solid strangers” will presumably stay in the country they have chosen to live in, are usually strongly involved in local society and speak the local language(s) well; they feel a belonging to the place and can be critical of some aspects of their “home culture” (Dervin and Dirba 2008: 5). A “liquid stranger”, on the other hand, “believes s/he knows the locals (through stereotypes and representations) though s/he hardly has any contacts with them” (Dervin and Dirba 2008: 6), counts on a return ticket home and has little involvement in local life. Finally, “fizzy strangers” are a hybrid form; they can stay or leave, e.g. undergraduates who do their whole studies in a foreign country. As the authors show, the distinction between “solid” and “liquid” foreigners is somewhat artificial. People may feel “solid”, but be regarded as “liquid” strangers by locals or vice versa; “solid” and “liquid” foreigners can

also share traits (for instance, if a foreigner considered “solid” decides to return to their place of origin).

Erasmus students can usually be included in the category of “liquid” strangers. As Dervin (2011) points out, they often form “tribes” of international students, although he also registers criticism towards their own national groups and the superficiality of these kinds of international cliques. In general, it can be said that there are different imaginaries about studying abroad, including finding one’s own identity, becoming like “the other”, meeting other cultures, and getting rid of stereotypes (Härkönen and Dervin 2015: 4), which is not always a realistic perspective about one’s stay in another country (Härkönen and Dervin 2015). In fact, Dolby (2004) shows that American students during their trips to Australia were confronted intensely with representations and stereotypes others hold about the USA, whereby they learned more about their own national identity than about the culture of “the Other”.

With regards to the discursive productions about nations and national identity, Condor (2000) and Tusting, Crawshaw and Callen (2002) point out that people are concerned with stereotypes and prejudice and try to avoid them. In Condor’s (2000) study, British respondents were reluctant to say positive things about their own country, even though the author reminds us of the possible influence of the interview situation. Tusting et al. (2002) demonstrate that cultural generalizations in interviews with exchange students after their return home tend to be legitimated with narrations of personal experience. They seldom are justified with others’ experience or limited to the personal sphere. Also, in this case, context influenced the data insofar as many unjustified generalizations were evoked by the particular interactions within the focus groups, their dynamics and power relations.

3 Methodology

In Vasilachis de Gialdino’s (2006: 33) formulation, “qualitative research is interested in people’s life, in their subjective perspectives, in their stories, in their behaviours, in their experience, in their interactions, in their actions, in their meanings, and interprets all this in a situated way, this is to say, locating it in the particular context it takes place”. Therefore, our aim here is to comprehend the migrants’ experience and its relationship with stereotyping, rather than to evaluate a statistically representative, perfectly symmetric set of data.

One way to reach this kind of understanding, according to the author (Vasilachis de Gialdino 2006: 29) is to use more than a single set of materials. Also the results mentioned above encouraged us to work with more diversified data that will eventually permit some kind of triangulation (cf. Wodak and Meyer 2009: 31).

The texts that are analysed belong to three sets of data: journalistic articles, blogs and interviews. All of them were subjected to non-probability sampling methods (cf. Berg 2001) that attempt to establish overall matches in writers’ and speakers’ characteristics,

chronology and topics among the three types of materials. A general criterion was that the reported stays take place after the Argentinian economic and social crisis of 2001 (see Section 1), although, eventually, the availability of data encouraged us to focus on post-2007 stays.

Journalistic articles. Five rather short (i.e. between 700 and 1,700 words long) newspaper and magazine articles dealing with studying in Argentina were selected. They should belong to recognized quality media, be freely accessible on the Internet and not just list tourist attractions, but also report exchange students' experiences and opinions. Texts were taken from three German media sources: one article by *Die Zeit* (a weekly newspaper), one article by the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ, a daily newspaper) and three articles by *UniSpiegel* (a magazine that addresses issues related to university students' life). The texts were published between 2002 and 2012.

Blogs. As a kind of "online diary" (Herring et al. 2004; Hookway 2008; Rulyova and Zagibalov 2012), blogs should contain "self-narratives" (Hookway 2008: 93), a substantial amount of written and informative content (this is to say, not only photos from partying or videos from weekend trips; cf. Herring et al. 2004; Pitman 2013), and some reflections about "the Other" (see Pitman 2013: 44; Rulyova and Zagibalov 2012). Blogs should also be managed by the writers themselves without institutional interference, as this could limit the topics that are discussed or the way of expressing certain thoughts. Eleven blogs (a total of approximately 92,200 words), written by male and female German and Austrian students who spent a couple of months in Argentina (most of them in Buenos Aires) between 2007 and 2012, were chosen. On the contrary, blogs by supposedly "solid" foreigners were harder to locate. Eventually, four blogs managed by long-term migrants (two Argentinians and two Germans) were chosen. In these blogs, the first 15 entries and the 15 most recent ones (May 2015) were selected for analysis, totalling about 49,200 words. In all cases, the original orthography was maintained.

Interviews. The author conducted seven semi-structured interviews (cf. O'Reilly 2005: 116–120; Taylor and Bogdan 1987: 100–132) with respondents from Argentina, Germany and Austria, all of them from an academic context. Most interlocutors were located by snowball sampling (see Berg 2001: 32–33). They were required to have stayed abroad in the "other" country for at least one term, although most of the effective interviewees spent one year or more in the host country. Due to the intention to stay in their host countries and their family bonds there, two of the interviewees can be considered "solid" foreigners, whereas the other five belong to the "liquid" group. The interviews lasted between 45 and 120 minutes, were carried out in the respondents' native languages (Spanish or German), and were transcribed according to standard written orthography (Jenks 2011: 19).

The questions common to all interlocutors encompassed information about learning and using the corresponding foreign language, transnational romantic relationships, the possibility of settling definitively in the host country in the case of "liquid" foreigners, etc. Some questions derived from the immediate context or from what was already known

about the interviewees. Nevertheless, allowing the conversation to “flow” gave participants the possibility to refer to identity constructions that were important to them.

The composition of the data benefits from the advantages of the different communicative situations. In interviews, the researcher can elicit relevant information (cf. Deppermann 2013); blogs avoid the effect of memory distortion (cf. Hookway 2008: 95), whereas journalistic articles display what professional communicators deem relevant and interesting for a wider audience. Table 2 provides an overview of the data and the identifiers used to refer to them.

The linguistic analysis loosely followed Pümpel-Mader’s (2010) method. Social groups and their stereotyped attributes were determined, as well as modifiers, attitudes towards stereotypes and some noteworthy rhetorical or discursive resources. It should be noted that the analysis focused on the different genres or communicative situations and, to a lesser extent, on the duration of stay. As materials were not chosen proportionally, explanations based on the speakers’ nationality will be avoided.

Table 2: Data analysed.

Journalistic articles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i> (T_FAZ06) ● <i>Die Zeit</i> (T_Zeit12) ● <i>UniSpiegel</i> (T_UniSp02, T_UniSp08, T_UniSp11)
Blogs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Blogs by “liquid strangers” (B_Be, B_Bo, B_Ca, B_Ch, B_Da, B_Di, B_Lu, B_Mi, B_Ro, B_Sa, B_Si) ● Blogs by “solid strangers” (B_Jr, B_Mn, B_Mr, B_Oi)
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Interviews with “liquid strangers” (E_Al, E_Fr, E_Pe, E_Re, E_St) ● Interviews with “solid strangers” (E_Je, E_Ra)

4 Contents and attitudes: a short description of the data

Before moving on to a more detailed analysis, we will briefly present the different groups of analysed texts: newspaper and magazine articles, blogs and interviews.

4.1 Journalistic articles

The journalistic texts aim to inform about exchange students’ experience, above all in Buenos Aires. With the exception of one article, stereotypes did not need to be looked for, as they could be found with ease, in spite of the fact that these texts are rather concise. Only the report by *Die Zeit* displays some pretension of objectivity, as the writer does not adopt the students’ perspective, but positions themselves as a “neutral” observer. Different students and employees who work at the intersection between German and

Argentine institutions are quoted, and numbers and facts about bi-national academic cooperation are cited.

On the contrary, the shortest text, the 2008 article by *UniSpiegel*, refers to the impressions of one single student. Information is given about university life, but also about going out, partying, etc. At the end, a short “language guide” full of Spanish expletives can be found. The other three articles (T_UniSp02, T_UniSp11 and T_FAZ06) present similar approaches – even if stereotypes are slightly less condensed – and paint a general picture of happy, relaxed, dancing, irresponsible and somewhat uncivilized Argentinians or Latin Americans.

4.2 Blogs

Unlike in newspaper articles and interviews, in blogs, neither journalists nor researchers mediate or co-construct the sojourners' discourse; there are neither questions nor modifications by editors. This is not to say that blogs do not have intended interlocutors or addressees; nevertheless, writers are free to touch on the topics they consider relevant, in a manner they deem appropriate not only for their families and friends, but also for a greater (potentially worldwide) audience.

It was surprising to find that exchange students as well as long-term migrant bloggers start to express stereotypes about their host countries at the very beginning of their stay, when they cannot yet rely on any kind of credible “overall” experience. As can be seen in migrants' blogs, many writers do not change their mind for years: some of them insist on stereotyping, while others keep their interest in politics rather than in everyday culture. Also, attitudes towards home and host countries are not substantively modified. Nevertheless, vis-à-vis a relatively strong similarity (regarding topics and style) among exchange students' blogs, the limited sample size does not allow us to assert the same about long-term migrants' writings.

4.3 Interviews

Among the seven people interviewed for this study, two of them can be characterized as “solid” foreigners, insofar as both of them are fathers to children born and living in countries different to their native countries.⁴ Nationality was not a particularly challenged topic in these interviews, and neither of the interlocutors claimed to have abandoned their original national belonging – expressed by means of more or less stereotyped formulations.

⁴ In reality, at this point, the distinction between “home” and “host country”, “local” and “foreigner” becomes somehow artificial. In fact, raising their family for many people will imply some kind of “home”, even if they do not live in the place they were born. Moreover, after half a life spent abroad, it is hard to define how “foreigner” or “local” someone is.

The other five interviewed students can be regarded as “liquid” foreigners, although two of them had had partners from the “other” country and another one adduced relatively stable relations with his host country, albeit with little enthusiasm to live there “forever”. Some of these interviewees presented positive attitudes towards their home and host countries, while others touched on negative stereotypes and only showed sympathy for their host countries.

In both groups of interviews we noted that stereotypes are often clustered around some kind of “nodes”. Stereotyped utterances (or questions related to stereotypical traits) are frequently followed by other stereotyped expressions, whereas long stretches of talk dispense with that kind of reference.

5 Discursive and rhetorical aspects

5.1 Formulations

Regarding the way stereotypes are formulated, Pümpel-Mader’s (2010) work gives us the possibility to take into account the micro (i.e., phonetic and morphological) level as well as the text level. Nevertheless, the most important level has shown to be the syntactic one, which affects sentences and phrases. Even though written and spoken language offers a wide range of resources to express stereotypes, speakers and writers did not show themselves to be as creative as we had expected at the beginning of this study, with the exception of some blog writers concerned with producing stylistically attractive texts.

As a matter of fact, in all genres we observed a very clear tendency – in spite of the shortcomings regarding quantification mentioned above – toward “typical” formulations, which include at least types 37 and 45, and perhaps also types 38 and 44. Whereas type 37 consists of a noun phrase + a form of the copulative verb “to be” + an adjective as predicate (Pümpel-Mader 2010: 255–264), and therefore coincides with Quasthoff’s (1973) “basic form”, type 45 requires a predicate with some “to do” verb (i.e., other than a copulative verb or “to have” (Pümpel-Mader 2010: 289–290), for instance:

- (1) *“Die Argentinier sind sehr an Europäern interessiert”, erzählt sie. (...) “Alle wollen etwas über Deutschland wissen.” (T_UniSp02)*
 [“Argentinians are very interested in Europeans”, she says. (...) “Everybody wants to know something about Germany.”]

Example (1) contains both types 37 and 45. In the first sentence, the copulative verb “to be” attributes to Argentinians the quality of being interested in Europeans, whereas in the second sentence, “everybody” (because of the antecedent, relating to “every Argentinian”) performs the action of wanting to know things about Germany.

The following fragments (2) and (3) contain examples of type 38 (noun phrase + “to be” + “like that”) and type 44 (noun phrase + “to have” + object). As Pümpel-Mader

(2010: 288) has already observed, the latter is not as frequent as the formulations with “to be”, but still has some relevance in the corpus.

(2) *El alemán promedio tiene un sentido de responsabilidad con lo que hace que se traduce en empleados que requieren menos supervisión.* (B_Mr_170415)
[The average German has a sense of responsibility for what he does which translates into employees who require less supervision.]

(3) *Me han contado que la gente del Norte es más así. Los del Sur es como son más abiertos. Así me han dicho a mí.* (E_AI_22:53)⁵
[I was told that the people from the North are more like that. Those from the South are like more open. This is what I was told.]

At this point, the following clarifications should be made. Firstly, some types are frequent because they actually represent highly used patterns. Secondly, nonetheless, there could be some kind of bias in determining what “type” a fragment belongs to. Within a Critical Discourse Studies framework, the pronoun “we”, for instance, does not necessarily have to be analysed as an indicator of a stereotype (Pümpel-Mader’s type 3), since there are numerous other approaches to deal with personal pronouns. Thus, for utterances like “We are warm, but to a certain extent”, a syntactic description was preferred, although a morphological approach would be possible.

Thirdly, some types are considerably broader than others. While rather sophisticated formulations like “Men are like wafers” or “boys will be boys” (Pümpel-Mader’s types 41 and 42) have not been found at all and probably do not present many variations, others seem to be wide-ranging. Particularly type 45 with its “to do” predicate includes almost every non-copulative verb except “to have”. Thus, subgroups could be useful for a finer-grained analysis of this type of utterances; for instance, predicates introduced by “like” or “want to” (cf. example 1) could be considered subtypes in further studies.

5.2 Content

Having commented on formal features, something more should be said about the content of the stereotypes detected in the corpus. The most important target of stereotypes are definitely the speakers’ and writers’ host countries. In all texts, at least one stereotyped reference of this kind can be found, although in most of them there is far more than one. Home countries, on the other hand, are also stereotyped to some extent; many authors refer to them, some do not. Further, attributes of continents or regions (Europe, South or Latin America), neighbouring countries (to the home and host countries) and of countries

⁵ As Pümpel-Mader (2010: 265) points out, the alleged properties of a given group are usually mentioned before or after the type 38 sentence.

from the same continent are mentioned. Curiously, the most prominent among “other” countries is Japan, its underground and its outgoing tourists.

Regarding Argentina – which is, due to the composition of the corpus, the most frequent target – stereotypes like meat, tango, gauchos, soccer and *mate* (a kind of tea) are typical items in written texts about exchange students’ sojourns. In the meantime, they did not have any relevance in the interviews neither with long-term nor with short-term migrants.

But also some other similarities among the texts were spotted, as Austrian narrow-mindedness, Argentinians’ ebullience, friendliness, patience, helpfulness and patriotism or national pride, German orderliness, as well as punctuality and tardiness in general, to mention a few.

- (4a) *Die Argentinier sind eben überschwänglicher als wir.* (T_UniSp02)
[Argentinians are just more effusive than us.]
- (4b) *So seien sie eben, die Argentinier: herzlich und überschwänglich.* (T_FAZ06)
[The Argentinians, they are said to be just like that: cordial and effusive.]
- (5a) *Auch der Nationalstolz ist hier sehr ausgepraegt, was fuer Deutsche eher unueblich ist.* (B_Mn_140208)
[Also national pride is very pronounced here, which is rather unusual for Germans.]
- (5b) *Das ganze entpuppte sich in erster Linie als Propagandaveranstaltung – und wie ueberall huldigt sie natuerlich dem argentinischen Nationalstolz.* (B_Lu_150508)
[This all turned out to be essentially a propaganda event – and of course like everywhere she rendered homage to the Argentine national pride.]

These examples confirm that stereotypes not only present repetitive content (as Deckers 2010 observed) but also tend towards formal constancy, as Pümpel-Mader (2010: 7) claims, even or especially among different speakers or writers. In (4a) and (4b), the adjective *überschwänglich* and the particle *eben* are repeated, whereas in (5a) and (5b) modifiers (*sehr*, *ueberall*, *natürlich*) increase the magnitude of the Argentine “national pride”.

Moreover, stereotyped perceptions of national ingroups and outgroups can be shared among groups, although on occasion the valuation may vary (Fant 2012: 19). For instance, an Austrian interviewee voices that Argentinian men are “dramatic and histrionic” in sentimental relationships (cf. below), whereas an Argentinian respondent conversely considers German couples to be “odd” because of the “licentiousness” they take for granted (cf. example 8).

5.3 Subgrouping

Stereotypes are social not only because of their content, but also because they construct references and divisions (Pätzold and Marhoff 1998: 74). Although we have been considering national groups, still some finer distinctions can be made. This is where subgrouping becomes relevant. In fact, subgrouping is not a new phenomenon for Social Psychology, but it has not been considered much in CDS-oriented accounts. According to Richards and Hewstone (2001: 53), subgrouping means that atypical individuals are seen as a group within a superordinate category. This process is thought to increase the perceived diversity within social groups and could even be a main factor in stereotype change.

For the present data, this means that broader national groups are split into smaller groups that are included within a nation (cf. Deckers 2010). Three categories were particularly relevant, as they were found in all interviews, journalistic articles and blogs: sex/gender, regional groups and social class.⁶ For example, in this fragment an interviewee distinguishes between male and female Argentinians:

- (6) (The interviewer asked about “warmth” and “coldness” the interviewee had mentioned before.)

*Und ansonsten mit *cálido* *frío*, keine Ahnung, was jetzt Freundschaften oder Liebesbeziehungen oder ja, was das betrifft, kann ich das irgendwie auch nicht so beurteilen, weil bei Freundschaften, halt irgendwie war ich zu kurz da, um wirklich feste Freundschaften mit Argentinern zu haben, oder mit Argentinierinnen, weil mit Argentinern ist es dann ja wieder ein bisschen kompliziert, eine Freundschaft zu haben. (E_Re_15:36)*

[And besides that, with warm and cold, no idea, regarding friendships or romantic relationships or anything, I can't assess that, because regarding friendships, somehow I was there just too short of a time to have really strong friendships with Argentinians, or with female Argentinians, because with male Argentinians once again it is a bit complicated to have a friendship.]

In the case of exchange students, also categories related to university (“Argentine teachers/students”) play a role. Additionally, in some blogs we detected another subgroup – taxi drivers:

- (7) *Jeder Taxifahrer, Bus, etc. hat mindestens eine Nationalflagge irgendwo haengen. (B_Mn_140208)*

[Each taxi driver, bus, etc. has at least one national flag in some place.]

⁶ From the perspective of Membership Categorization Analysis, Czyżewski et al. (1995) assert that the collections “ethnicity”, “sex/gender” and “age” are usually the most relevant ones, because they are able to classify people unambiguously, are rooted in society and sometimes even are physically visible.

Considering that Murray (2016), regarding Greek-Australian encounters, also has found that “bus driver examples” appear very frequently, we suggest that categories referring to public transport workers or shop assistants are not as unforeseeable as they seem *prima facie*. In the time shortly after their arrival, those are the people foreign students interact with and who serve as a basis for generalizations and stereotypes, until they meet fellow students and/or make new friends.

5.4 Personal experience

As mentioned above, personal experience serves to legitimize stereotypes, but also makes it more difficult to criticize them (Tusting, Crawshaw and Callen 2002). Above all in the interviews, personal experience was made relevant. In the following extract, the respondent was asked if he believed that German couples were rather liberal in general terms or if he was solely referring to specific couples he met:

(8) E: *Pero vos decís que eso es general o eso es en alguna persona o no sé.*

Al: *Por lo que me han dicho- yo lo he visto bastante, lo he visto varias veces, en distintas parejas, y me han dicho que sí, que es generalizado, que así funciona ahí digamos. Yo, bueno, no entiendo la verdad.* (E_Al_31:35)

[E: But do you think that this is general or is it about one person or I don't know.

Al: Because of what I was told- I have seen it many times, I have seen it several times, in different couples, and I was told that yes, that it is generalized, that this is sort of how it works there. I, well, the truth is I don't understand.]

Observation of “different couples” and reference to other people’s perceptions seem to be strong evidence for the generalization of “this is how it works there”. Hence, personal experience can lead to the generalization of allegedly typical traits, as well as stereotyped utterances are sometimes followed by narrations of significant episodes. Nevertheless, some stereotypes blatantly derive from single events. In this fragment, the writer’s comment is based on her experience when checking in for her flight to Argentina, where she gets in touch with “South Americans” for the first time:

(9) *die Leute in der Schlange jedoch, schien das nicht großartig zu kratzen, ob sie noch länger warten müssten oder nicht und da dümmerte mir, dass ich ein erstes Charakteristikum von Südamerikanern entdeckt hatte- Ruhe, Geduld, Gelassenheit... die bis hin zur Gleichgültigkeit reichen.* (B_Be_260812)

[but the people in the queue did not seem particularly worried about whether they would have to wait longer or not and at this point it dawned on me that I had discovered a first characteristic of South Americans- calmness, patience, imperturbability... which {can even become} indifference.]

As Allport (1971: 21) claims, “it is not easy to tell how many facts are necessary to justify a judgement”, as nobody knows all members of a certain social group, and

therefore no prejudice is completely justified. In spite of the fact that personal experience is used to substantiate stereotypes, as Tusting et al. (2002) have already shown, it does not ensure an adequate "sample size". Hence, single events can serve as justification for stereotypes as well as situations experienced repeatedly.

5.5 Rhetorical means

Only two rhetorical means that are of particular interest in the analysis of stereotypes will be mentioned: comparisons and the attribution of stereotypes to other speakers.

Especially in the article by the *FAZ*, the newspaper as enunciator provides rather factual information (for example, statistics), whereas subjective and stereotyped fragments are attributed to the students by means of direct and indirect speech. This remarkable manoeuvre leads to the publication of stereotyped perceptions, without the need for the newspaper to take the responsibility for them:

- (10) *"Die Leute hier in Buenos Aires sind einfach herzlich, offen und hilfsbereit", schwärmt (Name) "Und sie verbreiten gute Laune, auch wenn mal etwas nicht so gut läuft." Die 24 Jahre alte Hessin studiert in der argentinischen Hauptstadt evangelische Theologie am Instituto (...). (T_FAZ06)*
 ["People here in Buenos Aires are simply cordial, open and helpful", enthuses (name). "And they spread good vibes, even when things do not go that well." The 24-years-old Hessian studies Protestant Theology at the Instituto (...) in the Argentine capital.]

Of course, direct and indirect speech are a common resource in journalistic texts and often serve the purpose of emphasizing the truthfulness of the information (van Dijk 1988: 84). Nevertheless, the positioning of the *FAZ* substantially differs from that of *UniSpiegel*, where the writer does not even make an attempt to challenge or to "outsource" stereotyped appraisals:

- (11) *Und auch die Gitarren dürfen niemals fehlen – die Argentinier sind leidenschaftliche Sänger. (T_UniSp08)*
 [Neither should be missing guitars – Argentinians are passionate singers.]

On the other hand, comparisons have shown to be an important aspect of stereotyping (cf. Fant 2012; Heinemann 1998), probably because people tend to stereotype those aspects they perceive as different from their "own" culture (Deckers 2010: 536). In our data, host and home countries are frequent targets of comparisons. They can be uttered explicitly or stay implicit, and sometimes stereotypes about one country imply stereotypes about the other one:

- (12) *Alter, das hier ist einfach so anders als unser verschlafenes Österreich. (B_Be_211012)*
 [Man, this is just so different from our sleepy Austria.]

- (13) *Eeeh?* – *Anstatt eines höflichen 'Wie bitte?' geben die Argentinier meistens diesen undefinierbaren Laut von sich, wenn sie etwas nicht verstanden haben. Generell sprechen sie sehr laut und gestenreich, und nicht selten arten normale Tischgespräche zu wilden Schreiereien aus, da keiner den anderen ausreden lässt.* (T_UniSp08)

[*Eeeh?* – Instead of a polite “Pardon?”, Argentinians mostly cast this indefinable sound when they do not understand something. Generally they speak very loudly and with many gestures, and often normal table conversations turn into fierce yelling, because no one lets the other finish.]

In example (12), the comparison between Austria and Argentina is made explicit. The stereotyped Austrian property of being “sleepy” favours Argentina and implies some positive characteristics like liveliness. In fragment (13), by means of an implicit comparison (“instead of”) Argentinians are constructed as “impolite”, since a “normal” table conversation (“normal” not from the Argentinian speakers’, but from the writer’s ethnocentric point of view) should not be “loud” and even less contain “fierce yelling”, but rather, elements like letting the interlocutor finish their turn. The author obviously ignores the fact that pragmatic norms can vary, that overlapping talk is not always impolite (e.g. Albelda Marco and Briz Gómez 2010: 250), and that also German speakers have some of these “indefinable sounds” in their repertoire.

5.6 Stereotype awareness

In qualitative social research, the interview situation itself has frequently not been considered noteworthy. In this context, Talmy (2010), Deppermann (2013) and Cho (2014) convincingly claim that interviews should not be seen merely as a data source, but as a social practice, where meaning is constructed in a collaborative manner between interviewer and interviewee. The interviews we carried out constituted rather symmetric constellations with little status differences between interlocutors. Having met our respondents beforehand revealed to be convenient, as it helped create a comfortable situation and formulate more specific questions (cf. Garton and Copland 2010). Conversely, this more detailed or superficial knowledge about each other could have led to certain demonstrations of politeness towards the interviewer, whose overall choice to live in Argentina was hardly challenged.

Furthermore, knowledge about our research project could also have had effects on the interviewees' discourse. Although they did not know exactly what the study was about (the topic of the interviews was defined as “your experience in Austria/Germany/Argentina”), some interviewees were visibly aware of the interviewer’s power of data representation (Talmy 2010: 137–138) and tried to avoid stereotypes. One person even stated that she felt that the conversation, compared to the chats she had had with the interviewer before, was a rather “unauthentic” scenario. However, these kinds of situations can help to better understand how speakers deal with and try to elude

stereotypes, probably by pursuing the norms of political correctness, as happens in this example:

- (14) E: *Und so irgendwie, das Verhältnis zwischen Männer und Frauen, wie findest das da?*
 Re: *Ja, finde ich auch ähnlich, also da gibt es meiner Meinung nach auch alles, also da gibt es die ganze Bandbreite in Argentinien wie in Österreich, also es gibt Machos, es gibt Männer, die die Frauen am liebsten nur vorm Herd haben, es gibt Männer, die gleichberechtigte Beziehungen haben (...) Das ist halt- für mich ist es schwer, das irgendwie über einen Haufen zu scheren und einen eindeutigen Unterschied auszumachen (...) ich meine ich kann da jetzt auch nur von Beispielen reden, die jetzt natürlich auch wieder nicht generalisiert sind (...) Also es wird schon alles immer recht inszeniert auch, egal ob das jetzt jemandem auf der Straße nachplärren ist oder jemanden auf ein Getränk einladen, oder jemanden umwerben, oder dann enttäuscht sein, weil man sich bei jemandem nicht gemeldet hat, dann ist das halt umgekehrt, dann ist es halt negativ, dann sind sie [die argentinischen Männer] halt total dramatisch und theatralisch weil sie- weil du die Erwartungen von ihnen nicht erfüllt hast oder keine Ahnung. (E_Re 20:20)*

[E: And, somehow, what do you think about the relationship between men and women?

Re: Yes, I think it's similar, well in my opinion there are also all kind of things, well there is a broad spectrum in Argentina as well as in Austria, there are machos, there are men who just want to see women in the kitchen, there are men who have relationships with equal rights {...} It is just- for me it is hard, to somehow to lump {them} together and to distinguish a clear difference {...} I mean here again I can only talk about examples, which of course again are not generalized {...} So here everything is quite performed too, no matter if it is about shouting flattery on the street or inviting somebody out for a drink, or courting somebody, or being disappointed afterwards because you didn't get in touch, then it is just the other way round, then it is just negative, then they (Argentinian men) are just absolutely dramatic and histrionic because they- because you have not fulfilled their expectations or no idea.]

When asked about her experience with Argentinian men, at the beginning of her turn, the respondent tries to paint a broad picture of different kinds of males and is reluctant to make clear-cut differentiations, referring to examples “which of course (...) are not generalized”. In the final sentence, nevertheless, she uses the “classical” stereotyped pattern “Argentinian men are just absolutely dramatic and histrionic” (i.e., type 37), adding quantity (*sie, total*) and validity modifiers (*halt*).

In fact, some kind of stereotype awareness was observed not only in interviews, but in all revised genres. Very common ways to deal with stereotypes are mitigations and circumlocutions (cf. Pümpel-Mader 2010, *passim*),⁷ as can also be observed in example (14). This method was detected in the interviews, in some blogs, and, to a smaller extent,

⁷ In Deckers's (2010: 537) opinion, hedges like “seem to” or “apparently” may serve three purposes: to mitigate the negative force of stereotypes; to point out a merely personal opinion; or to indicate that the process of stereotyping the “other” culture has not finished yet.

in journalistic articles. Furthermore, one respondent remarks that his opinions are not based on statistical findings. Ironically, another blogger precisely uses statistics to “justify” a stereotyped utterance, although in the next sentence he recognizes his statement as an “outburst”:

- (15) *Y el hecho persiste, en que estadísticamente las mujeres simplemente no tiene la mentalidad o el entrenamiento que hace falta para guiar una tonelada y media autopropulsada en forma confiable en la vía pública. Y no me rompan con que no generalice. En fin, pasado el exabrupto (perdón), el viaje fue bárbaro (...)* (B_Mr_021014)
[And the fact persists, that statistically women simply do not have the mentality or the training necessary to navigate safely one and a half self-propelled tons in the public street. And don't needle me that I shouldn't generalize.
Eventually, after this outburst (sorry), the trip was fantastic (...)]

Retracting from uttered stereotypes and limiting certain attributes to Argentinians, Germans or Austrians observed or met personally indicates stereotype awareness. Nevertheless, consciousness about stereotypes and even a negative attitude towards expressing them openly, claiming that something is a stereotype or ridiculing stereotypes uttered by others, does not prevent people from articulating stereotypes themselves. Even refusing a stereotype can lead to the creation of another one:

- (16) *Es gibt Vorurteile und Stereotypen von Menschen, Kulturen und Ländern. Dazu gehört z.B. das Deutschland besonders bürokratisch wäre und es in lateinamerikanischen Ländern hingegen sehr locker und unkompliziert zu geht. Über dieses Vorurteil kann ich seit spätestens heute nur noch lachen!!! Ich habe zwar keine Ahnung wie bürokratisch der Mittel- und Südamerikanische Kontinent sonst so ist, aber Argentinien ist dies bezüglich schon einmal der Wahnsinn und übertrifft Deutschland bei weitem in Sachen Bürokratismus.* (B_Da_170808)
[There are prejudice and stereotypes about people, cultures and countries. One of them is e.g. that Germany is allegedly particularly bureaucratic and that Latin American countries on the contrary are very relaxed and straightforward. From today on I can only laugh about this prejudice!!! I have no idea how bureaucratic the rest of the Middle and South American continent is, but in this aspect Argentina is mad and greatly surpasses Germany regarding bureaucracy.]

5.7 Trying to avoid stereotypes

But are there any (more) successful strategies to avoid stereotypes? Although much more research would be necessary to answer this question properly, we detected some moves in the speakers' and writers' discourses.

Speaking about his personal life without generalizations was the way a long-term stranger chose to avoid stereotypes in an interview – which is clearly Fant's (2012) “avoidance” strategy. Factual information (like numbers and interviews to informants from acknowledged institutions, cf. van Dijk 1988: 83–88) made the text by *Die Zeit*

(T_Zeit12) more “objective” than the other journalistic articles. Uttering stereotypes and establishing similarities with other countries is as useful as denying typicality referring to similar experiences in other places:

- (17) *Jetzt folgt ein Hürdenlauf durch Behörden, der nicht typisch argentinisch ist ([Name] hat ähnliche Erfahrungen auch mit deutschen Behörden gemacht) (...)* (B_Jr_270907)
[Now we start to run the gauntlet through authorities, which is not typically Argentine ({name} has also made similar experiences with German authorities) (...)]

Finally, one interviewee dissolves stereotypes, claiming that “the typical” is just everyday life, be it in Germany, England, Argentina or elsewhere:

- (18) E: *Okay. Ja und was würdest du jetzt so sagen, was weiß ich wenn man jetzt zum Beispiel so ein Jahr auf Austausch ist oder so, was macht das da eigentlich erfolgreich?*
Fr: *Dass man eben nicht sich mit Menschen umgibt, die man auch in [anderen europäischen Städten] wo auch immer man herkommt, sich umgibt. Also das Wichtige für mich war zu sagen, in Argentinien zu sein, und diesen Rythmus zu leben (...) dass man wirklich da war, und an einer Form des Lebens teilhatte die jetzt aber mit ganz großen Anführungszeichen typisch argentinisch war, nämlich- und das ist eben so typisch deutsch wie typisch englisch und so weiter, man hat einen Arbeitsalltag, einen Alltag in dem man sozusagen Dinge tut mit Menschen zusammen.* (E_Fr_58:46)
[E: Okay. So and what would you say that, for example when you go on an exchange year or something like that, what makes it successful?
Fr: To not just be surrounded by people you are also surrounded by in (other European cities) wherever you come from. So the most important thing for me was to say, to be in Argentina, and to live that pace (...) to have been really there, and to have participated in a lifestyle that was now absolutely quote unquote typically Argentine, in the sense that- and this is as typically German as (it is) typically English and so on, you have a working routine, an everyday life where you so to speak do things together with people.]

6 Conclusions

Throughout this contribution, we examined three sets of qualitative data in order to learn more about the forms and contents of stereotypes in journalistic texts, blogs and interviews, and about phenomena like subgrouping, reference to personal experience, relevant rhetorical means and stereotype awareness.

Regarding formal aspects, we conclude that stereotypes present relatively constant (syntactic) patterns, which can be analysed by means of Pümpel-Mader's (2010) description. Concerning the content of stereotypes, host countries and, in second place, home countries are the most relevant targets. But also their attributes are relatively stable among the different (national) groups, even though a positive or negative evaluation of the same or similar items is possible. Subgrouping was related to sex and gender

categories, to regional groups and to social class, among others. However, subgroups (e.g. Argentinian men) can also be attributed stereotypical characteristics or attitudes.

Among rhetorical means, we referred to comparisons as an important aspect of stereotyping; and to direct and indirect speech, which allow us to avoid taking the responsibility for stereotypes without avoiding stereotypes themselves. Personal experience, on the other hand, in accordance with previous studies, frequently joins generalizations, although it cannot be taken as a warrant for an adequate “sample size”.

Like Härkönen and Dervin (2015), we doubt “imaginaries about study abroad” regarding identity and intercultural encounters are realistic. In the context of this analysis, in particular the goal “to get rid of their stereotypes” (Härkönen and Dervin 2015: 4) seems rather difficult to achieve. Moreover, further research could clarify to which degree interactions with “the Other” lead to stereotyping, and how much contact is required to increase perceived diversity, and to change or dismiss stereotypes.

Nonetheless, and probably because the stay abroad (or at least the destination chosen) is voluntary and usually conveys some desire to meet the “other” culture, representations of ingroups and outgroups do not follow the classical “intergroup bias” (Aronson 1994: 152). Thus, the representation of the locals is not automatically negative; host countries are often (although not always) evaluated positively, whereas home countries are sometimes seen (and stereotyped) in a negative way. Furthermore, the analysis of discourses by “solid” strangers reveals that they are not immune from formulating stereotyped expressions. Therefore, a tentative conclusion could be that there are no rigid boundaries between solid and liquid foreigner’ discourses, although more work about solid foreigners is definitely needed.

Somewhat surprising to us was finding a great deal of explicitly stated stereotypes without mitigation strategies in blogs, newspaper and magazine articles, considering that these are publicly accessible texts with little if any anonymization. Therefore, we assume that writers are either not conscious about the public status of their blogs and statements published in journalistic articles, or that they are not particularly aware of stereotypes. Regarding Condor’s (2000) and Tusting et al.’s (2002) accounts, this is a rather unexpected outcome. Conversely, in face-to-face conversations, the interview context made many respondents try to avoid stereotypes by means of different – more or less successful – strategies. In this sense, the triangulation of the data proved to be useful in spotting similarities and differences between different communicative situations.

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