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Abstract: The subject matter of Dissonance in Intercultural Studies as an alternative to "pragmatic failure". The aim is to try to prove whether the term "pragmatic failure" which is so widely used and settled in the field of intercultural studies could be appropriately substituted by the term "dissonance" which derives from the theory of "cognitive dissonance" as of the field of cognitive linguistics and social psychology when intercultural matters are being held. For the purpose of this investigation and review, three different articles have been extendedly analysed, those of Festinger and Carlsmith. (1957), Leontovich, O. (2015), Sen, Blackwell and Acharya (2017) Zamborlin, C. (2007).

Keywords: Dissonance pragmatic failure intercultural studies cognitive linguistics social psychology review

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Cognitive dissonance in intercultural studies

0. Introduction

Over the last decades, relationships among language, culture and identity have become a favourite topic in social science, due to this fact, some scholars have lately begun to pay systematic attention to many areas in the field of pragmatic failure (Dunworth 2002; Maíz 2015), and however, little research has been devoted to Cognitive Dissonance in Intercultural Communication. This has become an important aspect of analysis as it is in its infancy.

A key term should be kept in mind before carrying on with this introduction, that of *linguistic etiquette* defined by Kasper (1997) as "the practice in any speech community of organizing linguistic action so that it is perceived as appropriate/harmonious within the frame of ongoing communication event"

Once having this term in mind, the problems arise when the linguistic etiquette is not respected in a conversation due to a wide range of different factors.

As Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1987:216) explain, in certain situations the *pragmatic force* of an utterance is normally contradictory or uncertain, even in context, and often deliberately. For reasons of politeness, the speaker and hearer should intentionally exploit this contrariness. This is where the term "cognitive dissonance" comes into play.

A *pragmatic failure* could be defined as "the inability to understand what is meant by what is said" (Thomas 1983:91), however, as it will be explained in the literature review, this term springs two other terms, such being *sociopragmatic failure* and *pragmalinguistic* failure. Nonetheless, for the purpose of this paper we will try to prove how a dynamic term which encompasses both ideas can be used in order to narrow down the analysis of any intercultural communication process, this is: "cognitive dissonance". Dissonances can display different degrees of intensity, have rather unpredictable consequences and are strictly bound to contextual conditions and to individual judgments.

When going deep into the term "dissonance" we find ourselves facing different types of the latter: intentional, unintentional, intra-cultural and intercultural. However, the scope to which this paper extends will focus on unintentional intercultural dissonance

The aim of this review paper will be to try to prove whether the term "pragmatic failure" which is so widely used and settled in the field of intercultural studies could be appropriately substituted by the term "dissonance" which derives from the theory of "cognitive dissonance" from the field of cognitive linguistics and social psychology when intercultural matters are being held. In addition, new lines of research will also be tried to be opened for future research adding new information to later on show the main points where they amalgamate and which gaps, limitations and conclusions they leave open for further investigation.

This review paper has been organized into five different sections. This first one being composed by what has been already presented is the *Introduction* which is followed by the *Literature Review* where the key concepts will be exposed and explained in order to create a more consistent vision of the matter as well as to provide an outline description of every factor necessary to understand the general view of the situation. Thirdly, the *Description: Methods and Materials,* this is, the main four articles which have been used to carry out the review which will be critically discussed in the next section, *Findings and Discussion,* based on what has been presented in the previous sections in order to finally reach a *Conclusion* where the key points will be summed up, and the limitations, critiques and further research presented.

1. Literature review

Language is inherently inlaid in culture, therefore, a means of being aware of cultural peculiarities in communication (Vygotsky, 1978, cited in Dunworth, 2002), it is flowing and modification can occur at different levels, firstly on the individual or community and later, on society (Mills, 2008).

Native and non-native English speakers, due to their multifarious cultural background, code and decode messages in different ways from Spanish speakers, while the

former are inclined to be satisfied with the thought that the English language and culture are ubiquitous around the world, the latter also have a strong identity towards their language and, for this reason, a clash takes place which leads to pragmatic errors. As well as this happens in this specific case, each culture and language will code and decode messages in their own particular way.

Bilingual interaction is a relevant feature of language learning and a tool for cultural exchange between interlocutors since it is full of language strategies that enhance meaning. (Velasquez 2010: 1). As Thomas (1983) stressed "emerging cross- cultural pragmatic differences may potentially threaten or disrupt collaborative interaction between native and non-native interlocutors" (p. 109) which is the basis of this study.

Thomas (1983) and Riley (1989) suggest that pragmatic errors are the result of an interactant imposing the social rules of one culture on his communicative behaviour in a situation where the social rules of another culture would be more appropriate. According to Liebe-Harkort (1989) some difficulties in intra-cultural communication are potentially compounded further, if one of the speakers is monolingual and cannot imagine that the intentions of their speaking partner may be different than his or her own the communication would break down, however, the ideal situation would take place if s/he were to use a form or expression the other would normally use. Clearly, *communicative competence* must include *pragmalinguistic competence* (i.e., choosing appropriate form) and sociopragmatic competence (i.e., choosing appropriate meaning) if inter-cultural pragmatic problems are to be avoided. Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982:14) state this as follows:

> Many of the meanings and understandings, at the level of ongoing process interpretation of speaker's intent, depend upon culturally specific conventions, so that much of the meaning in any encounter is indirect and implicit. The ability to expose enough of the implicit meaning to make for a satisfactory encounter between strangers or culturally different speakers requires communicative flexibility and adaptability.

Bearing all the previous in mind, conversations involving interlocutors who share different cultural knowledge are more likely to cause breakdowns in communication as a result of language transfer rather than those who share the same cultural background.

It is necessary now to set the division in Pragmatic Failures between sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic failures. Pragmalinguistic failures occur when speakers inappropriately transfer speech acts, strategies or utterances from their native language that, in spite of their semantic or syntactic equivalence, convey a different pragmatic force in the target language (Thomas 1983: 102). An example of a pragmalinguistic failure taken from a previously carried out research in the Masters on Linguistic Investigation has been extracted from one of the questionnaires where a Spanish student stated "The film doesn´t like him" in order to convey "no le gusta la película" (Ramírez and Bonilla 2016). Sociopragmatic failure, on the other hand, arouses when different perceptions of what founds appropriate linguistic behaviour clash in cross-cultural encounters (Thomas 1983). Examples of this would be the wrong assessment of any specific facet which differs across cultures, such are, for example, that of social distance, politeness or the ignoring of fixed conventions.

It is at the stage of the theory where cognitive dissonance springs in and where various authors claim that the difference between pragmalinguistic failures and sociopragmatic failures should not be a dichotomy but rather a continuum where the view is dynamic and they overlap rather than establishing a clear-cut difference. That continuum is regarded under the name of *cognitive dissonance*, term which offers a dynamic view on the matter.

Some authors carrying out research into Intercultural Studies have narrowed down the term to simply "dissonance" simplifying it and reducing its scope for the sake of their investigation (Zamborlin, 2007), nonetheless, such theory does not stay simply in "dissonance" but rather enlarges to c*ognitive* dissonance as will be explained now.

Although the theory of Cognitive Dissonance was not originally developed to be implemented into Intercultural Studies, the aim of this paper is to expand its knowledge and basis to such.

Half a century ago Leon Festinger (1957), a social psychologist[1] from New York, developed the Cognitive Dissonance Theory. This theory belongs to a category labelled "action-opinion theories", meaning that it is counterintuitive, in other words, it proposes

actions which can influence subsequent beliefs and attitudes – putting it in other words, addresses the pervasive human tendency to rationalize. Cognitive dissonances are based on three fundamental assumptions according to Festinger (1957). The first one states that "humans are sensitive to inconsistencies between actions and beliefs", this is, humans are able to recognize when they act in a way which is not consistent to their beliefs, opinions or attitudes, or as Festinger says, we have an "in-built alarm" that goes off when we notice any inconsistency. The second one claims that the recognition of an inconsistency will cause dissonance, therefore motivating the individual to resolve the dissonance. The dissonance may vary in degree nonetheless, depending on the importance of one´s belief, principle or attitude. It must be taken into account, regarding these two points, that the greater the dissonance the more one will be motivated to solve it. And thirdly, Festinger (1957) claims that dissonance can be solved in three different basic ways: the first one, *a change in beliefs,* where the solution is simply to change your beliefs, the second one, is *to change actions,* this is, to make sure you never do such action again, and third and last, to *change perception of action*, meaning to rationalize your action, to change the way you view, perceive and remember your accomplishments, dissolving the dissonance if you may. As a general theory, this serves as the basis for this review paper, however, I will try to add my own critical view on this matter adjusting it to a more intercultural way of perceiving the theory in the discussion when dealing with the articles chosen

[1] Field for which the original Cognitive Dissonance Theory was originally created.
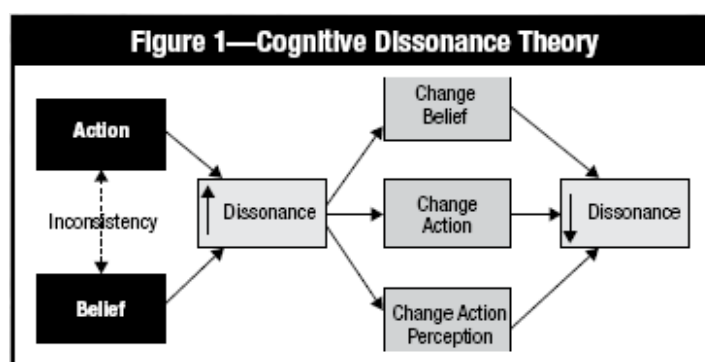
Bem (1967) states that if a person holds two cognitions which are mutually inconsistent with one another, such person is bound to experience the pressure of an aversive motivational state called cognitive dissonance – such is the pressure upon that person that they will try to remove it by different mechanisms, one of such will be by altering one of the two dissonant cognitions.

On the other hand, some concepts must be defined as follows:

- *Cognition* (cognitive element) is defined as belief, opinion, attitude, perception or piece of knowledge about something (oneself, persons, objects, issues, etc (Aronson, 2004).
- *A Cognitive System* (Littlejohn and Foss 2005: 81) is a "complex, interacting set of beliefs, attitudes and values which affect and are affected by behavior".
- *A Drive* (Griffin 2006: 228) is "any internal source of motivation that impels an organism to pursue a goal or to satisfy a need, such as hunger, self-preservation or sex". Dissonance would therefore be an aversive drive
- *Communication* is defined as "all those processes b which people influence one another" (Watson and Hill 1989: 41)
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Once having set these terms, going back to Festinger´s theory, it can be stated that it is a "consistency theory", stating that people are more comfortable with consistency than inconsistency – people seek balance. The mind set as a system which takes inputs from the outside and, after processing it, creates behavioural outputs (Littlejohn and Foss 2005: 81) Thus, it can be concluded that such overall theory is a *nomothetic* theory, this is, one that

seeks universal and general laws; such is the attempt at which Festinger aimed. However, this basis is only of use for an expansion in the case of this paper. Intercultural relations cannot be limited, in my humble opinion, to a set of mathematical factors where *a* alters *b* and therefore leaves us with *c*, but rather offers a set of useful tools and abilities which allows us to comprehend deep into what is happening among these intercultural encounters as will be tried to be enlightened in the following sections.

2. Description: methods and materials

A dissonance occurs in any circumstance in which speakers, deliberately or not, organize the linguistic action in such a way that hearers perceive it as grammatical but conflicting with the harmonious flow of the conversation (Zamborlin, 2007: 21).

In order to expand the concept of Cognitive Dissonance enclosed in the frame of social psychology to intercultural encounters four articles have been selected which stand out in importance for this research paper. It must be held in mind that it is a growing field that of adding up cognitive dissonances to intercultural studies and therefore, the amount of data regarding such is limited; therefore, the reason of choosing these articles will be explained afterwards: Festinger and Carlsmith. 1957. Cognitive Consequences of Force Compliance. Leontovich, O. 2015. Cognitive Dissonance from an Intercultural Communication Perspective. Sen, Blackwell and Acharya. 2017. Explaining Preferences from Behaviour. A Cognitive Dissonance Approach. Zamborlin, C. 2007. Going Beyond Pragmatic Failures: Dissonance in Intercultural Communication.

Regarding these four articles it is important to note down how they can be divided into sets of two, those dealing with intercultural communication and those dealing with social psychology and science.

On one hand, the articles dealing specifically with cognitive dissonance in intercultural communication are those written by Olga Leontovich and Chiara Zamborlin – both deal with the implementation of cognitive dissonance into intercultural communication. Zamborlin uses as her base of research 6 utterances produced by her during her stay in Japan and analyses the dissonances found at the time of the encounter by expanding the theory to a more intercultural approach. Leontovich on the other hand sets her study based on another perspective. While Zamborlin exemplifies her theory through a more quotidian perception, Leontovich intends to assert the need for a high level of intercultural competence for interpreters, translators and intercultural communication specialists in order for them to take cognitive dissonance into account in the intercourse of their professional activities.

On the other hand, the articles written by Festinger and Carlsmith and Blackwell et al. deal specifically with Cognitive Dissonance but only at a psychological level which will be tried to be correlated with the other two in order to reach common points and outcomes. Festinger and Carlsmith (1957)'s main hypothesis is "what happens to a person´s private opinion if he is forced to do or say something contrary to their opinion?" and base their research on an experimental work based on this question. Their aim was to create dissonance in the mind of their participants and try out how they would react based on economic enhancements, this is, if the sample they gathered of people would fight back the dissonance created in their minds based on economic remunerations.

The fourth and last article, although focusing mainly in political science, allows to this review paper to select certain important and curious factors they outline which could be implemented in intercultural studies, which are those of socialization and empathy and ethnic attitude and violence decisions. Its main focus is to prove how actions can induce changes in preference.

In the following section, these four articles will be intertwined by means of the literary review afore presented in order to reach common points overlapping the knowledge they all pose in order to reach a final conclusion as to whether the term cognitive dissonance is appropriate as a more dynamic continued overall umbrella substitute for pragmatic failure in intercultural studies.

3. Findings and discussion

The worldview largely depends on the way reality is conceptualized and categorized in a certain culture (Leontovich 2015), this is, the mapping[2] through which a person sees the world is not necessarily the same as the word itself. In my judgment, this is the first statement that should be kept in mind when dealing with intercultural communication and, specifically with cognitive dissonance.

However, this vision can be changed, as Festinger (1957) claims in his work dealing with social psychology, under certain conditions, the private opinion of a person can change as to bring it closer to the overt behaviour that person has been obliged to perform. This is, as an example, if at a debate a person is forced to improvise a speech to support a certain point of view which they do not agree with, their private opinion will move towards the position taken in the speech. Therefore, the changed opinion of that person will naturally experience a greater change than that of the people listening or reading it. Stating it in a different manner, as Blackwell et alli (2017) pose, actions may be chosen for various reasons as may be because of imitation, experimentation or habit.

In terms of social psychology, let us say a person believes in "X" but as a result of the pressure put on them, publicly claims to believe in "not X". Such person therefore now holds two cognitions which psychologically do not fit together. In other words, their cognition of private belief is dissonant with that they claim to have. Nonetheless, the claim of believing in "not X" comes with cognitive associations that that person corresponds with such belief as to cognitive elements of reasons, pressures, promises or rewards which lead that person to state that they believe in "not X". So to speak, that person is left now with consonances and dissonances about the same cognitive matter. The only way for that dissonance to be reduced is for that person to change their private opinion as to bring it into correspondence with what they have said. Consistently, that private opinion will fluently change in order to finally correspond one way or another with what they have stated. It should be noted that the observed opinion would change the greatest when the pressure upon were sufficient to justify such beliefs.

As Festinger and Carlsmith (1957) claimed, the more important the subjects tended to believe their experiment was or the more money they would give the participants the less dissonance they would encounter in the results when obliging them to claim something they did not believe in.

As an overall come out of Festinger and Carlsmith (1957) they clearly admit that cognitive dissonance does not only take place at a small cognitive intrapersonal level as they had tried to demonstrate with their experiment, but rather enlarges to many other areas in life, stating it differently, cognitive dissonance might be operating in many real- life situations, and, indistinctively and more obviously in intercultural relations. However, it could all be summed up as "the consequences of preferences" as Blackwell et alli (2017) define it, still leaving open that such preferences are affected by action choices.

One of the factors which takes part in the whole intercultural situation pulled from the psychological field is that of consequences as has been stated before. Individuals, as Blackwell et alli (2017) define, are likely to lower their standards and opinions of others of whom they are to speak ill of or to harm, this is, these lower opinions are consequences of the will to harm. When taking this concept to the frame of intercultural communication, stereotypes begin to play an important role. The overt public pressure of cognitive dissonance will be greater the greater the stereotype or lower, if such stereotype is that of a positive one. Preference change will always depend on the individual´s tendency to minimize costs, this is, in intercultural communication, a certain person will try to "maximize utility given costs". Although the aim of the paper written on "preferences from behaviour" only deals with action inducing change of preference through cognitive dissonances, it can be stated, as shown in the other three research papers under discussion, that dissonances and change in preference is not only induced and caused by a choice in actions but by many other external factors as will be explained.

One of the key points implemented is that cognitive dissonance should not only be seen as a problem as it usually happens since it is associated with pragmatic failure or pragmatic errors in intercultural studies. The simple word "failure" or "error" induces the student to straight ahead ponder it as a mistake, but it is rather a "shaper" to my account. Cognitive Dissonance helps a person shape their own basic ideology on various fields as well as to expand their background knowledge – rather than a mistake, in my opinion, it is a creator.

Cognitive dissonance creates psychological costs to individuals (Blackwell et alli 2017), the issue is multidimensional, therefore individuals will try to lessen those costs by adjusting to what creates less dissonance in their intra-cognitive frame. Regarding empathy to another person, the mechanism remains the same; when a cognitive dissonance arises from the fact that someone´s preferences are in conflict with another individual´s preferences with whom they share a connection, individuals seek to minimize such dissonance to make their preferences become closer to one another´s. My addition up to this point deals with intercultural communication when two foreign individuals find themselves sharing an abroad experience. This is, it is usually the matter with sociopragmatic, pragmalinguistic, pragmatic errors, failures and dissonance that one of the two people engaging in a conversation is the one that is causing a breakdown. Nonetheless, in my humble opinion, this is not so – it is not one of the two in the exchange, but rather the two interacting individuals. When two foreigners share an experience abroad, none of them being natives of the culture or sharing the same language, a third-culture should be created, one that applies to either both of them and the one they are surrounded by. Cognitive dissonance costs should be applied to all of them and not taken for granted that one of them is "wrong" but rather that the "costs" of the non-harmonious flow affects both and has been caused by both persons' actions.

Violence is that outcome of prejudice. Ethnic animosities are passed down across generations and they co-evolve with violence (not necessarily physical). A progressive resolution of cognitive dissonance helps lower socially and individually constructed violence. However, although these ethnic animosities can be passed down through generations, even if violence disappears, hostility can still remain intact (Sen 2017). Prejudice and violence and hostility create cognitive dissonance, on the most basic level across cultures, such is, i.e., from white to black population, religion, morals. The greater the cognitive dissonance these differences pose the greater the hostile attitudes towards their victims. Although this past statement by Archarya (2017) applies in political science to ethnicities, it can be extended easily to intercultural relations, stereotypes and prejudices.

A quote from Fearon and Laitin (2000 as mentioned in Blackwell et alli 2017) describes the international situation as follows: "actions may […] result in the construction of new or altered identities, which themselves change cultural boundaries". Other types of violence and hostility can surge due to cognitive dissonance across cultures such as segregation, discrimination or racist attitudes. It is safe to say, then, that the awareness of cognitive dissonance in intercultural studies is of great importance.

All these remarks dealing with social psychology can certainly be expanded to intercultural studies and magnify the scope of understanding many situations which occur in interculturality as Leontovich, O. (2015) and Zamborlin, C. (2007) attempt to and develop in their respective papers.

Dissonances can happen interculturally, according to Zamborlin (2007) across three pragmatic domains, being Illocution when the utterance is perceived as a face threating act being to direct or indirect, Style when the utterance is perceive s inappropriate due to the choice of lexis, syntax or formulae and in Discourse when utterances are noticed when an unexpected topic is chosen. As well, related to these, come into play the factors which can trigger a dissonance, being linguistic (due to language transfer), sociolinguistic (when speakers do not conform to the sociolinguistic norms) or pragmatic when speakers only act on the limited encyclopaedic pragmatic knowledge they hold. A lot of work people invest in "relational work" goes unnoticed in the conversation and many other factors apply such as rudeness and politeness. Based on this, Leontovich (2015) clarifies these are the reasons through which the discrepancy between the ways of categorizing and conceptualizing reality through the prism of different cultures and languages causes cognitive dissonance, still, adding up dissonances in such exchanges cannot only be limited to pragmatic levels but also to the cognitive and semantic strata.

It is necessary, thus, for people, if they are to have a high level of intercultural competence, to have the ability to find the reasons, types, and effects for cognitive dissonance and the tools to bridge such intercultural dissimilarities when interacting with representatives of an alien culture. The background, encyclopaedic knowledge of a person expands when confronting dissonances while being open to its consequences. The old beliefs clash with the new beliefs contradicting someone´s values, morals or convictions and, if responded appropriately the personal encyclopaedia is to expand and advance and progress are accumulated and reached.

Zamborlin (2007), as has been explained before, defines the possible ways in which cognitive dissonance can take place in intercultural encounters. However, Leontovich (2015) extends the theory by defining how harmonization can be achieved through four different means: "attempting to explain the inexplicable, […] minimizing the regret connected with irrevocable choices, […] justifying their own behaviour which goes against their own principles" and "aligning their perception of other individuals with their own actions towards them".

A point which should be noted as an overall summary of causes is the following gathering of factors which can cause breakdown and cognitive dissonances in intercultural instances: divergence of background knowledge, implicit meanings, violation in the order of speech interaction, extralinguistic factors (gender, age, status, level of intellect, profession, ethnicity), equivocation and uncertainty, use of euphemisms, political correctness, pseudonomination, shift of emphasis, silence, avoidance of response as well as non-verbal (gestures), some provisions of diplomatic protocol and etiquette, the sphere of interpersonal relations, of a person and their environment and the sphere of regulation of people´s activity related to the cultural values they are creating.

> The search for retrieving consistency as a way out of cognitive dissonance can serve as a proof of an individual´s communicative competence. Leontovich (2015:50)

To my belief, a proper third-culture person should be able to adapt instantly, if not, naturally and intrinsically to all these situations and have the potential to avoid cognitive dissonance as an innate capacity. Every theory here presented in this review paper poses the solution of one individual changing their actions, their way of acting and responding to certain situations, to change your own beliefs, meaning, to rationalize your action, to change the way you view, perceive and remember your deeds, liquefying the dissonance if you might. However, I do not believe in change, but in expansion adding a more intercultural view on the matter, adapting or expanding your beliefs, taking in your stride the other person´s axiology, this is, rather than changing them, actually expanding and acquiring all beliefs, values, morals and standards possible in order to extend the scope and cognitive continuum, becoming dynamic and allowing oneself the option of choosing among a vast field of intercultural encyclopaedic background knowledge.

4 Conclusion

This paper has only dealt with intercultural un-intentional dissonances. However it might be safe to state that cognitive dissonance is appropriate as a more dynamic continued overall umbrella substitute for pragmatic failure in intercultural matters. One of the underlying outcomes is that insufficient knowledge of a foreign language (misunderstanding of polysemy, homonymy, puns and so on) can lead to cognitive dissonance among cultures and languages.

Many future lines of research remain open when merging cognitive dissonance with the field of intercultural studies, as said before only intercultural matters have been dealt with, therefore other lines dealing with intracultural and intentional dissonance remain open in this field. Specific research on intercultural cognitive dissonance with specific languages and cultures could also be carried out (Russian-American, Chinese- Indian, Kenyan-Spanish). It would as well be very interesting to carry out research on intentional cognitive dissonance, as an example, how a third-culture person can control situations, or in other words, the power of manipulation; dissonance could probably be used for personal outcomes as well as mixed with body language: a new research could be opened on the manipulation of dissonance: Leontovich (2015) "a claim that the other persons' opinion is unjustified and points to their inadequate perception of reality". To my belief, a person with control over cognitive dissonance can be dangerous, still, it is to be researched on.

It can also lead, not only to positive outcomes or manipulation intercultural encounters, but also to negative ones, cognitive dissonance could lead to people rationalizing the choice of immoral actions to their own mental benefit and well-being.

On the other hand, pedagogical implications, I suggest to take cognitive dissonance as an overall matter in such in pedagogic environments, for students to apply only one dynamic continuous concept which spans over many different factors and still comprises them all perfectly when learning a new language and all the culture-language related

problems which may arise. (According to Thomas 1983:101) Pragmalinguistic failure is fairly easy to overcome. It is simply a question of highly conventionalized usage, which can be taught quite straightforwardly as "part of the grammar". Sociopragmatic failure is much more difficult to deal with, since it involves the Student's system of beliefs as much as his/her knowledge of the language. I presume to sum them up under the umbrella term cognitive dissonance.

The world view depends on the way reality is conceptualized and categorized in a certain culture where many factors which play a certain role are to be kept in mind: gender asymmetry, local standards of beauty, feelings of offence, perplexity, vexation, norms of behaviour, political, religious, ecological, other types of discourse, embarrassment, identity crisis, amazement, indignation, and frustration. It is not only a nice dynamic continuum to substitute pragmatic failure but it also leaves a wide seam of new research on the open.

To conclude, self-persuasion is to be mentioned, the self plays a major role in the control of what happens around oneself, the intention to change yourself, manner of filtering information, simplifying information, combining and restructuring it, being prone to filling in blanks, inclination for self-analysis, everything leads to one conclusion regarding intercultural cognitive dissonance: the pursue of an overall achievement of consonance.

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APPENDIX

Examples of Cognitive Dissonances (Leontovich 2015):

Dormitory - Am. hostel, Br. room where people sleep. An American college teacher was speaking to a British teacher and remarked that at his college, male and female undergraduates now sleep in the same dormitory. "Ye gods!" said the Englishman;

Pants {сокр. от pantaloons} — I heard an American student at Cambridge University telling some English friends how he climbed over a locked gate to get into a laboratory building and tore his pants, and one of them asked, "But how could you tear your pants without tearing your trousers?"; wash up - in American English to wash oneself, not

The dishes. Philip French recalled in a New Statesman article that he once suggested to his American hostess that he help her wash up, and was met with a startled look.

One example is the situation described by W. Churchill in his memoirs about **World War II:** "The British wanted to raise an urgent matter <...> and told the Americans they wished to 'table it' (that is, bring it to the table). But to the Americans, tabling something meant putting it aside. 'A long and even acrimonious argument ensued,' Churchill wrote, 'before both parties realised that they were agreed on the merits and wanted the same thing'"

During **Nikita Khrushchev's** visit to the USA in 1959 his favourite gesture - hands clasped above his head meaning: "peace," "friendship" - became the reason for cognitive dissonance in Americans because they perceived it as a gesture of victory. In association with the phrase "We'll bury you" it did not contribute to the Soviet leader's popularity.

Another illustration is from the experience of a Russian student who was invited to have dinner in the **Sri Lanka Embassy in Moscow**. She had a culture shock when all the distinguished guests except the Ambassador's wife started eating with their hands. It was an example of cognitive dissonance produced by the contradiction between the student's idea of good manners and Sri Lanka traditions.

We carried out a small experiment in several groups of Russian university students showing them a slide with an image of an **African tribe chief** dressed in a leopard skin, with a spire and an ivory necklace. We further asked them a question: "Do you think this is an educated person?" The majority of the students replied either: "No, I don't think so" or "Educated by the standards of his tribe." In reality, the commentary to the photo of the tribe chief in the magazine said that he had received a good education in one of the prestigious UK universities. This information amazed the student due to the cognitive dissonance between the chief's appearance and their idea about what an educated person should look like.

The British scholar V. Swami carried out a research during which respondents from **Europe and South Africa** were shown a number of silhouettes of female figures and asked to choose the one they liked best. The majority of Europeans chose the same slim figure, whereas respondents from South Africa pointed out a heavier one. V. Swami further provides data proving that respondents from African countries demonstrate a more positive attitude to heavy figures than those from the UK, Malaysia, China, and India. It is possible to predict that when people relocate to a different country, those who consider themselves attractive by the standards of their own culture will not necessarily match the local standards of beauty, and this can evoke feelings of perplexity, vexation, or offence.

A similar effect is produced by differences in rituals, norms of behavior, convictions, values, and political correctness. An American fainted when in **Kazakhstan** he, as an honourable guest, was offered a ram head and was expected to pick out the eyes and eat them.

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