

# SUPPLETIVE RELATIONSHIPS AND GENDEROLOGICAL DIFFERENCES IN KINSHIP TERMS ACROSS LANGUAGES

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**Annotation:** This study explores the intricacies of kinship terminology, focusing on suppletive relationships and genderological differences across various languages, with an emphasis on the Uzbek language. Kinship terms, deeply rooted in societal structures and cultural norms, serve as linguistic markers of social roles, age, and gender distinctions. Suppletion, wherein semantically related terms derive from different lexical roots, reveals the complexity and diversity inherent in linguistic systems.

By examining functional-semantic paradigms, this research categorizes kinship terms based on their relationship to age, gender, and generational hierarchies. The study identifies patterns of male, female, and gender-neutral terms, showcasing both universal linguistic tendencies and culture-specific variations. Particular attention is given to how these terms reflect societal gender dynamics and their historical evolution within the framework of linguistic systems.

The findings contribute to the broader understanding of linguistic phenomena such as synonymy, suppletion, and semantic change. By situating kinship terminology within its socio-cultural context, the study highlights the dynamic interplay between language and societal norms. This research not only enriches comparative linguistics and sociolinguistics but also deepens our comprehension of how languages adapt to encapsulate complex social relationships.

**Key-words:** Kinship terminology, Suppletive relationships, Gender distinctions, Functional-semantic paradigms, Comparative linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Semantic change, Linguistic anthropology, Uzbek language, Gender-neutral terms.

## **Introduction.**

Kinship terminology has long been a focal point in linguistic and anthropological studies due to its role in reflecting societal structures, familial hierarchies, and cultural values. The terms used to describe kin relationships offer profound insights into how languages encode social roles, age distinctions, and gender dynamics. Suppletive relationships within kinship terminology where semantically related terms stem from distinct lexical roots highlight the richness and complexity of linguistic systems across diverse cultures.

This study examines the suppletive relationships and genderological differences in kinship terms across various languages, with a particular focus on the Uzbek language. By categorizing terms into functional-semantic paradigms, the research delves into how languages differentiate kin based on age, gender, and generational relationships. Special attention is given to the interplay between

male, female, and gender-neutral terms, which reveals both universal patterns and culture-specific distinctions.

The analysis contributes to understanding the dynamic interaction between language and societal norms. By exploring the historical evolution and structural characteristics of kinship terms, this work sheds light on broader linguistic phenomena such as synonymy, suppletion, and semantic change. Ultimately, this study enhances our appreciation of how languages adapt to encode intricate social relationships, enriching the broader field of comparative linguistics and sociolinguistics.

### **Methods and results**

The system of kinship terms, which represents horizontal kinship meanings, is categorized into specific functional-semantic microparadigms. These paradigms are characterized by the nature of suppletive correlates they form. Similar to the system of vertical kinship terms, they are divided into the following subgroups:

a) Suppletive correlates representing male denotations:

Both suppletive correlates in the functional-semantic microparadigm refer to male individuals.

Examples:

- aka-uka (elder brother-younger brother)
- oga-ini (elder brother-younger sibling).

b) Suppletive correlates representing female denotations:

Both suppletive correlates in the functional-semantic microparadigm refer to female individuals.

Examples:

- opa-singil (elder sister-younger sister)
- egachi-singil (elder sister-younger sibling).

c) Suppletive correlates with mixed gender denotations:

One correlate refers to a male, while the other refers to a female.

Example:

- aka-singil (elder brother-younger sister).

d) Suppletive correlates with male and neutral gender denotations:

One correlate refers to a male, while the other is gender-neutral.

Examples:

- amaki-jiyan (uncle-nephew/niece),
- tog'a-jiyan (maternal uncle-nephew/niece).

e) Suppletive correlates with female and neutral gender denotations:

One correlate refers to a female, while the other is gender-neutral.

Examples:

- amma-jiyan (paternal aunt-nephew/niece),
- xola-jiyan (maternal aunt-nephew/niece).

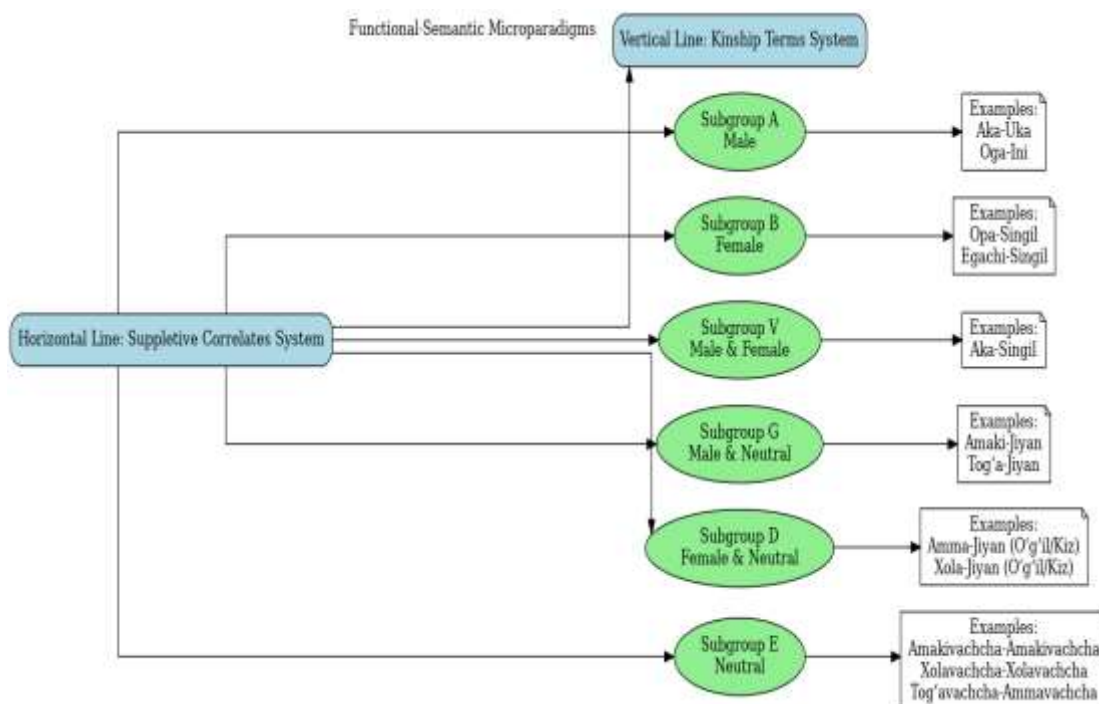
f) Suppletive correlates with neutral gender denotations:

Both correlates refer to neutral genders.

Examples:

- amakivachcha-amakivachcha (cousin-cousin on the paternal side),
- xolavachcha-xolavachcha (cousin-cousin on the maternal side),
- tog'avachcha-ammavachcha (maternal uncle's cousin-paternal aunt's cousin).

This analysis highlights the nuanced gender-based and relational distinctions within the kinship terminologies of various linguistic systems.



### Suppletive Relationships in Kinship Terms: Analysis of "Amakivachcha" and "Xolavachcha" in Uzbek Language

#### Semantic Variants of Amakivachcha

The term amakivachcha (paternal cousin) semantically belongs to the horizontal kinship line and encompasses the following eight lexical-semantic variants (LSVs):

- Amakivachcha 1: "Son of the father's elder brother" (relative to the father's younger brother's son and daughter).
- Amakivachcha 2: "Daughter of the father's elder brother" (relative to the father's younger brother's son and daughter).
- Amakivachcha 3: "Son of the father's younger brother" (relative to the father's elder brother's son and daughter).
- Amakivachcha 4: "Daughter of the father's younger brother" (relative to the father's elder brother's son and daughter).
- Amakivachcha 5: "Son of the father's elder sister" (relative to the father's younger brother's son and daughter).
- Amakivachcha 6: "Daughter of the father's elder sister" (relative to the father's younger brother's son and daughter).
- Amakivachcha 7: "Son of the father's younger sister" (relative to the father's elder brother's son and daughter).
- Amakivachcha 8: "Daughter of the father's younger sister" (relative to the father's elder brother's son and daughter).

#### Semantic Variants of Xolavachcha

Similarly, the term xolavachcha (maternal cousin) denotes the following kinship relations:

a) Xolavachcha 1: "Son of the mother's elder sister."
b) Xolavachcha 2: "Daughter of the mother's elder sister."
c) Xolavachcha 3: "Son of the mother's younger sister."
d) Xolavachcha 4: "Daughter of the mother's younger sister."

#### Semantic Structure of Aka and Uka

The terms aka (elder brother) and uka (younger brother) represent "male children of the same parents" and are distinguished by the semantic component of age difference:

- Aka: "Elder son of the same parents."
- Uka: "Younger son of the same parents."

For instance:"Katta aka Halimni hovlidan so‘riga boshladi. Ukalaridan biri dasturxon, biri choy ko‘tarib keldi" [5].

Juxtaposed Terms: Og‘a-ini and Aka-uka

In Uzbek, there are paired terms (og‘a-ini, aka-uka) that semantically encompass both the meanings of aka and uka. These terms are heteronyms, with each component (aka//og‘a and ini//uka) serving as hyponyms of a shared hyperonymic meaning.

However, the usage differs:

- Og‘a-ini: Broadly used, including metaphorical meanings like "friendship or camaraderie."
- Aka-uka: Limited to kinship without metaphorical extensions.

The paired term aka-uka represents a complex lexical unit, encompassing:

1. "Elder and younger sons of the same parents."
2. "Sons of the same father but different mothers," synonymous with the term tug‘ishgan (half-siblings).

### **Functional-Semantic Implications**

- Aka-uka: Specific to brothers, integrating kinship and age hierarchy.
- Tug‘ishgan: Functional-semantic flexibility, applying to siblings of both genders.

The terms aka and uka form a stable suppletive relationship, denoting "male offspring of the same parents." These terms are united by a shared integral semantic feature and operate as heteronyms within the paired expression aka-uka. Moreover, the term tug‘ishgan supplements aka-uka as a synonym for broader sibling relationships, extending to daughters of the same parents. This nuanced system reflects the rich semantic intricacies of kinship terms in Uzbek.

### **Lexicographic Evidence of Kinship Terms for Male Siblings in Uzbek Language. Historical Usage of Kinship Terms.**

According to ancient Turkic linguistic sources, the meaning of "male children born to the same parents" was historically conveyed through the terms *ini* and *eci* [6]. Additionally, Uzbek classical literature and encyclopedic sources note the use of the terms *tug‘on*, *hamzod*, and *ixvon* [1] to signify "male siblings of the same parents."

In ancient Turkic written monuments, words like *gadas*, *garundas* [1], *ogdas*, and *omukdash* were used to denote "brothers and sisters born to the same parents" without gender differentiation. Other terms, such as *gansiz* ("fatherless children") and *gandas* ("siblings sharing the same father"), also appear in these sources [3]. Similarly, the terms *kandash* and *kadash* were used to refer to "siblings with the same father" [4; 348].

### **Persian Influence**

In the Uzbek lexicon, the term *birodar*, borrowed from Persian-Tajik, denotes "brothers from the same parents." However, it also carries the secondary meaning of "close friends akin to brothers" [3].

### **The Term *Ikkiz* and Its Meanings**

In ancient Turkic texts, the polysemic term *ikkiz* encompassed meanings such as "children," "close relations," "brothers," and "twins" [7]. In modern Uzbek, *egizak(lar)* is the term for twins, with the following semantic distinctions reflecting horizontal kinship:

- a) "Two male children born simultaneously from the same mother."
- b) "Two female children born simultaneously from the same mother."
- c) "One male and one female child born simultaneously from the same mother."

The "a" category directly connects to the concept of "aka-uka" (brothers). However, the chronological aspect differentiates *egizak* (twins) from the conventional meanings of *aka* (older brother) and *uka* (younger brother). In the case of twins, "aka" and "uka" refer to male siblings born almost simultaneously, whereas in other contexts, "aka" implies an age gap of at least a year.

### **Hierarchical Nuances of *Aka***

The term *aka* (elder brother) can denote one or more individuals relative to younger siblings (*uka*). Within a sibling group, *aka* may further differentiate into:

- *Katta aka* ("eldest brother")
- *O‘rtancha aka* ("middle brother")

- *Kenja aka* ("youngest elder brother")

For example:

1. "Katta aka Halimni hovlidan so'riga boshladi. Ukalaridan biri dasturxon, biri choy ko'tarib keldi" (*O'. Usmon*).
2. "Ahrorning akalari miq etmay Halimning hikoyasini eshitishar, ora-chorada o'rtanchi aka so'kinardi" (*O'. Usmon*).
3. "Akalaringni nega xafa qilding, o'g'lim, Asror o'zidan javob kutayotgan otasining ko'ziga qarayolmadi" (*O'. Usmon*).

### Social Usage of *Aka*

In conversational Uzbek, *aka* also serves as a term of respect for older individuals, irrespective of kinship. In this context, the horizontal kinship meaning of *aka* becomes irrelevant. For instance: "Birinchi masala yuzasidan Bo'taboy akaga so'z berishdi" (*A. Qahhor*).

### Conclusion

The historical and semantic evolution of kinship terms like *aka* and *uka* reflects a rich interplay between familial and social relationships in the Uzbek language. While rooted in precise definitions tied to age and parentage, these terms also carry extended and metaphorical meanings influenced by historical usage, cultural norms, and borrowed linguistic elements.

### The Lexeme "Uka" and its Suppletive Counterparts

The term referring to "the younger son of the same parents" is expressed in many Turkic languages as "ini." Specifically, in the Northeastern and Kipchak groups of Turkic languages, the lexeme "ini" serves as the antonym to the term "aka." This lexeme also appears in ancient Turkic written monuments in the form of "ini," retaining the meaning of "the younger son of the same parents" [7].

In Uzbek, the meaning of "the younger son of the same parents" is conveyed through the synonymous lexemes *uka* and *ini*, which form a suppletive linguistic relationship typical of synonymy. For example:

"Every time his younger brother left the house, he felt uneasy, as if a single kind word would bring him back" (*S. Ahmad, Ufq*).

Although *uka* and *ini* are considered synonymous units in the sense of "the younger male child of the same parents," their usage differs. The term *uka* is also used in colloquial Uzbek to mean "younger sister" or "nephew," whereas *ini* cannot be employed in such contexts. Furthermore, *uka* can be used to address unrelated younger individuals during conversations.

The semantic structure of *uka* and *ini* is unified by the integral semantic feature "a younger person," which makes them synonyms. However, a differential semantic feature distinguishes the two. In *ini*, the semantic structure emphasizes "male," making it inapplicable to younger females. In contrast, *uka* incorporates both "male" and "female" meanings, making it suitable for both genders. Another distinguishing feature of *uka* and *ini* is their suppletive valency. The term *uka* is in a stable suppletive relationship with *aka*, while *ini* aligns with *og'a*, forming heteronymous relationships. Consequently, combinations such as *aka-uka* and *og'a-ini* arise, which also exhibit suppletive relationships between them. For example, in *aka-uka*, the "younger sibling" component retains a weak association with the "female" gender, whereas in *og'a-ini*, the dominant feature remains "male."

Furthermore, *uka* is in a suppletive relationship with *opa*, forming the pair *opa-uka*. However, *ini* does not combine with *opa* to create a similar pair like *opa-ini*.

The pair *aka-uka* shares a suppletive semantic relationship with the term *brothers*, while the pair *og'a-ini* has a much weaker connection to this term.

In summary, the meaning of "the younger male child of the same parents" is expressed through the stable suppletive relationship of the terms *aka* and *uka*, distinguished by their relative age as "eldest brother," "middle brother," or "youngest brother."

### Twins in the Uzbek Lexicon

In contemporary Uzbek, the term *egizak* refers to "siblings born at the same time." In ancient Turkic, such children were called *ikkiz* or *yekuz* [7].

The semantic structure of *egizak* is complex, encompassing "two children" along with the potential meanings "elder brother and younger brother," "elder brother and younger sister," "elder sister and younger sister," or "elder sister and younger brother." However, its primary feature is "siblings born at the same time," neutralizing any age-related distinctions.

Professor A. Berdialiyev has conducted a detailed etymological analysis of the term. He suggests that *egiz* originated from a combination of the words *ikki* (two) and *yuz* (face/person). Through phonetic transformations over time, *ikki yuz* evolved into *egiz*. Adding the diminutive suffix *-ak*, the word became *egizak*, meaning "two little children.[1]"

The term *egizak* functions as a lexical unit reflecting suppletive relationships within the horizontal kinship terminology system.

In Uzbek, the terms for male relatives belonging to the father and mother are represented by the words "amaki" and "tog'a."

The term "amaki" is an invariant lexical unit meaning "father's brother" and includes meanings such as "father's older brother" and "father's younger brother." In some dialects of Uzbek, people older than one's father are referred to as "bobo"//"bova" or "ota," and those younger than the father are called "aka" or "ova."

In standard Uzbek, the meanings of "father's brother" are expressed through syntactic combinations of the word "amaki" with words like "older," "younger," or "middle," such as "katta amaki," "o'rtanchi amaki," or "kichik amaki." Sometimes, the phrases "to'ng'ich amaki" (first-born uncle) for the father's older brother and "kenja amaki" (youngest uncle) for the father's younger brother are also used. These expressions, like "katta (to'ng'ich) amaki," "o'rtancha amaki," and "kichik (kenja) amaki," are hypernyms, with the term "amaki" being the general label for these subcategories.

The semantic construction of the term "o'rtancha amaki" (middle uncle) is more complex compared to other hypernyms, as it contains both "older" and "younger" meanings. The person called "o'rtancha amaki" is smaller than the "to'ng'ich amaki" but older than the "kenja amaki." The semantic structure of the term "amaki" neutralizes the concepts of "older" and "younger."

The other terms of the hypernym "amaki," such as "katta/to'ng'ich amaki" (older uncle) or "kichik/kenja amaki" (younger uncle), represent the main and leading meanings, namely "older" and "younger."

The term "aka" has also been mentioned as another word for "father's younger brother." It turns out that "aka" is also used in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In Evenki, the lexemes "aka," "akaj," and "aki" refer not only to the father's brother but also to the mother's brother. In Sakha (Yakut), "avaka" exclusively refers to the father's brother, demonstrating the international nature of the term. In some Turkic languages, the word "avaka" has a variant "abake" (or "abaga"), which is considered by A.A. Pokrovskaya [6] to be a combination of "aba + ga." The "ga" part is a phonetic variant of the diminutive suffix "-ka." The root "aba-" is related to "father" and also to the word "abu," meaning "grandfather" in some contexts[2].

The term "amaki" belongs to the vertical kinship system and has weak associative relationships with terms such as "father" and "grandfather." Hence, the word "amaki" refers to both "father's brother" and "grandfather's grandson." Since the relationship between "amaki" and "father" or "grandfather" is weak, there is no heteronymic relationship between them, and therefore, terms like "amaki-ota" or "amaki-bobo" do not exist.

The term "amaki" is in a complementary relationship with terms such as "aka," "uka," and "jiyan" (nephew/niece). Thus, "amaki" is a linguistic correlate of the word "jiyan," meaning the son or daughter of a brother.

In Uzbek, the terms for "mother's brother" are also unique and have distinct linguistic properties. The term "tog'a" is used to refer to the mother's brother. It has a similar role in the kinship system as "amaki" but relates to the mother's side of the family.

In some dialects of Uzbek, the terms "ota," "bobo," or "bova" can also refer to the mother's brother, while "aka" may be used for the mother's younger brother or "inisi." In these dialects, terms related to vertical kinship like "father" or "grandfather" are not used to refer to the mother's brother.

Some lexicographical sources mention that the term "tog'a" in modern Uzbek is derived from the phrase "tay ag'a," meaning "mother's brother," with the "tay" element indicating "from the mother's side."

In fact, the modern term "tog'a" historically comes from the combination of "tay" and "ag'a." The word "tay" indicates "from the mother's side," and "ag'a" refers to the paternal uncle. This term evolved phonologically to become "tog'a."

The term "tog'a" is functionally related to several terms in the kinship system, including "jiyan" (nephew/niece), with which it forms the pair "tog'a-jiyana." In the semantic construction of both "tog'a" and "jiyan," the dominant theme is "mother's side" ("onaga qarashli"), creating a clear relationship between the two words.

Moreover, in some Turkic languages, the word "tay ake" is used to describe the mother's brother, and it is related to the Uzbek "tog'a."

In Kyrgyz, the word "tay ake" refers to the mother's brother. In Uzbek, the word "tog'a" is derived from this combination, as in "tay ag'a" becoming "taog'a" and eventually "tog'a."

In conclusion, the term "tog'a" refers to the mother's brother in the Uzbek kinship system and is functionally related to "jiyan" in the family structure. It also exists in several Turkic languages, each with its specific phonetic and semantic variations.

The Uzbek word "jiyan" has a complex semantic structure with various functional-semantic variants (LMV), derived from its relationship to family roles. It has different meanings depending on the family connections of the individual being referred to.

**1. "Jiyan" in relation to "mother's sister" or "mother's brother":**

- **Variant 1:** Refers to the son of the mother's sister.
- **Variant 2:** Refers to the daughter of the mother's sister.
- **Variant 3:** Refers to the son of the mother's brother.
- **Variant 4:** Refers to the daughter of the mother's brother.

**2. "Jiyan" in relation to "father's sister" or "father's brother":**

- **Variant 1:** Refers to the son of the father's sister.
- **Variant 2:** Refers to the daughter of the father's sister.
- **Variant 3:** Refers to the son of the father's brother.
- **Variant 4:** Refers to the daughter of the father's brother.

When "jiyan" is used in the first and second lexical-meaning variants, it is in a suppletive relationship with the term "tog'a" (uncle on the mother's side). In this case, the term "jiyan" means "son of the mother's sister" or "daughter of the mother's sister," and they are referred to as "uncle's son" or "uncle's daughter." [3] Similarly, when used in the third and fourth variants, "jiyan" refers to "son of the mother's brother" or "daughter of the mother's brother," which also carries a suppletive relationship with "tog'a."

Therefore, "jiyan" covers relationships that connect to the broader family terms:

**Jiyan 1:** The son of the brother (male cousin on the mother's side), related to "amaki" (uncle).

**Jiyan 2:** The daughter of the brother (female cousin on the mother's side), related to "amaki".

**Jiyan 3:** The son of the sister (male cousin on the father's side), related to "tog'a" (uncle).

**Jiyan 4:** The daughter of the sister (female cousin on the father's side), related to "tog'a".

The structure of family relations can be classified into horizontal and vertical categories. The horizontal axis includes terms like brother, sister, uncle, aunt, cousin, and their variations (e.g., *tog'avachcha* for male cousin on the father's side). The vertical axis divides the relationships into categories based on gender, such as:

- Male-related vertical terms (e.g., father, son).
- Female-related vertical terms (e.g., mother, daughter).
- Gender-neutral vertical terms (e.g., child, grandchild).

These family terms are also divided on the horizontal axis based on gender, such as:

- Male-specific horizontal terms (e.g., brother, uncle).
- Female-specific horizontal terms (e.g., sister, aunt).
- Gender-neutral horizontal terms (e.g., cousin, nephew).

Some family terms serve multiple roles and meanings depending on their context. For instance, "jiyan" can refer to the child (son or daughter) of a sibling (either brother or sister) and is used in conjunction with terms like "amaki," "amma," "tog'a," and "xola" (aunt) based on whether the reference is to the maternal or paternal side.

"jiyan" is a highly polysemous lexeme, with a complex and nuanced semantic structure in relation to family terminology, reflecting the different roles of the individuals and their gendered relationships within the family.

### **Conclusion**

The kinship terminologies in the Uzbek language represent a complex and nuanced system that reflects the cultural, historical, and linguistic evolution of familial and social relationships. These terms are characterized by functional-semantic microparadigms, which encapsulate gender-specific, mixed-gender, and neutral-gender relationships. Through suppletive relationships, such as those observed in the pairs aka-uka and og'a-ini, these terms emphasize both hierarchical distinctions and horizontal familial connections.

Historical linguistic evidence reveals that ancient Turkic roots, phonological evolutions, and external influences, such as Persian, have enriched the Uzbek kinship lexicon. Terms like amaki (paternal uncle) and tog'a (maternal uncle) illustrate the structural alignment and differentiation within vertical and horizontal kinship systems. Additionally, lexical flexibility allows these terms to extend metaphorically and respectfully in social contexts, signifying broader societal values.

Overall, the Uzbek kinship system demonstrates an intricate interplay between language and cultural identity, showcasing how linguistic structures adapt to represent evolving familial and social dynamics.

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