
The structure of consanguinity terms and their gender characteristics in Russian, Spanish and Uzbek languages

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Annotation *The article discusses the terms of consanguinity in Russian, Spanish and Uzbek languages. It analyzes the reflection of the ethnological concept of kinship in Russian, Spanish and Uzbek communicative culture. As research material selected the lexemes denoting kinship relations in the languages under consideration, there described the use features of these units and their derivatives in Russian, Spanish and Uzbek communication. Specific examples show the similarities and differences between consanguinity terms in Russian, Spanish and Uzbek languages in gender terms.*

Keywords *Family, son, daughter, children, grandson, granddaughter, nephew, niece*

Структура терминов кровного родства и их гендерные особенности в русском, испанском и узбекском языках

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Аннотация *В статье рассматриваются термины кровного родства русского, испанского и узбекского языков. В ней анализируется отражение этнологического понятия родства в русской, испанской и узбекской коммуникативной культуре. В качестве материала исследования избраны лексемы, называющие в рассматриваемых языках родственные отношения, описываются особенности использования этих единиц и их производных в русском, испанском и узбекском общении. На конкретных примерах показываются сходства и различия терминов кровного родства русского, испанского и узбекского языков в гендерном отношении.*

Ключевые слова *Семья, сын, дочь, дети, внук, внучка, племянник, племянница*

Rus, ispan va o'zbek tillarida qon-qarindoshlik terminlarining tuzilishi va ularning gender xususiyatlari

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Annotatsiya *Maqolada rus, ispan va o'zbek tillaridagi qon-qarindoshlik terminlari tahlil qilinadi. Unda ushbu terminlarda etnologik tushunchalarning rus, ispan va o'zbek kommunikativ madaniyatida aks etishi o'rganiladi. Tadqiqot materialli sifatida ko'rib*

chiqilayotgan tillarda qarindoshlik munosabatlarini ifodalovchi leksik birliklar tanlangan bo'lib, ularning rus, ispan va o'zbek muloqotidagi qo'llanish xususiyatlari hamda hosila shakllari tavsiflanadi. Aniq misollar asosida rus, ispan va o'zbek tillaridagi qon-qarindoshlik terminlarining gender jihatdan o'xshash va farqli tomonlari ko'rsatib beriladi.

Kalit so'zlar Oila, o'g'il, qiz, bolalar, nabira, jiyan

All of human life, its knowledge, and notions about objects and phenomena are directly reflected in the richness of any language, manifesting themselves above all in its lexicon. "Language is the repository of a people's history, its bearer... Neither the phonetics nor the grammar of a language can show us the living conditions of a people as fully as the lexicon does" (Musaev, 1984: 216; our translation – M. S.).

It should be noted that among the lexico-thematic strata of languages, kinship terms expressing family relations occupy one of the central positions, both in terms of their origin and their stability. They belong to the archaic layers of the lexicon and form part of the basic vocabulary of every language. Having emerged in close connection with the formation of human communities and the definition of relationships among their members, this lexical group functions as an indicator of the most important socio-historical processes.

Terminology has long attracted the attention of researchers. Despite the fact that numerous studies devoted to the linguistic analysis of kinship terms have been conducted to date (see: Morgan, 1934; Trubachev, 1959; Pokrovskaya, 1961; Moiseev, 1963; Braun, 1988; Wierzbicka, 2016; Tolstaya, 2009; Ismoilov, 1966; Egamnazarov, 2010; Zhalilova, 2019; Li, 2013; Sandler, 2020), a number of problems and aspects still remain that require a definitive solution.

According to A.I. Moiseev, kinship is "the relationship between parents and children who

have common progenitors, as well as between ancestors and descendants. Kinship is distinguished into the direct line (parents and children, ancestors and descendants) and the collateral line (brothers and sisters, uncles, aunts, and nephews/nieces), as well as according to generational and ancestral lines (for example, great-grandchild, grandchild, child, parent, great-grandfather, grandfather, and, in reverse order, great-grandfather, grandfather, etc.)" (Moiseev, 1963: 120; our translation – M. S.).

The concept of kinship – close or distant – begins to take shape in human consciousness within the family. The family is considered the basic unit of society. Indeed, in the languages and cultures of the peoples of the world, the formation of notions of kinship (close and distant) in the human mind begins precisely within the family, in accordance with the internal and external relations of society. The term *family* in related and unrelated languages such as Uzbek, Russian, and Spanish exhibits different forms and pronunciations, as well as differences in origin and meaning. This is confirmed by comparing the Uzbek term *oila* with its Russian equivalent *семья* and the Spanish *familia*.

According to Sh. Rahmatullayev, *oila* "is a word of Arabic origin derived from the form 'ā'ilat(un); in its adaptation into Uzbek, the phoneme 'ayn with a long *fatha* vowel was replaced by the sound â, the *hamza* with *kasra* by the sound i, and the final *t* was omitted: 'ā'ilat → âila (*oila*). The noun, formed from the active participle 'ā'il(un) of the verb 'āla ('to

maintain, to support dependents') by means of the suffix -at(un), means 'a social group consisting of parents and children living together'" (Rahmatullayev, 2003: 338).

The author of the *Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language*, A.V. Semyonov, interprets the Russian lexeme *семья* as follows: "Семья. Indo-European: k'ei- + -m- (family). Proto-Slavic: *semyja* (members of the household, family). In modern Russian, the word *семья* derives from Old Russian, where it was already widely attested in the 11th–12th centuries in the forms *с(ять)мья* and the bookish variant *с(ять)мия*. The term goes back to Proto-Slavic *semyja* and, further, to the Indo-European combination of the root k'ei- and the suffix -m, which is reflected in words of many languages, such as Old High German *heim* ('home'), Lithuanian *seima* ('family'), among others" (Semyonov, 2003; our translation – M. S.).

As noted by J. Corominas in his etymological dictionary, in Spanish the word *familia* derives from Latin *famīlia*, *ae* and originally did not strictly denote the family in the modern sense, but rather the slaves and servants living in the same household (Corominas, 2011: 324; *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*, CREA). In this meaning, the term *familia* is already attested in texts of the 3rd century BC. It should also be noted that the root *famīlia* is related to *famūlus* ('servant'). The *ul/il* alternation can also be observed in other examples, such as *Sicilia* and *siculo*. Subsequently, in Latin, the term *familia* expanded its semantic scope to include not only the wife and children, but also the *pater familias*, under whose legal authority the aforementioned slaves and servants were likewise placed. Traditionally, *famūlus* and related terms are associated with the root *fames* ('hunger'), which indicates that the head of the household was obliged to provide sustenance for all those living under his roof. Over time, *familia* replaced the previously used lexeme *gens* (Kobyakova, 2006: 985; Gaichenya, 2018: 68–77). The lexico-semantic field of

"kinship relations" constitutes one of the structural components of the linguocultural concept of family.

The explanatory dictionary by S.I. Ozhegov defines kinship as "a relationship based on a person's origin with respect to another (direct kinship) or the bond between different individuals descending from a common ancestor, as well as relationships between people united by marriage" (Ozhegov, 2023: 375). According to the definition of the Royal Spanish Academy, *pariente* is "said of a person with respect to another: one who has a kinship relationship with that person."

In the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Uzbek Language*, the term *qarindosh* ('relative') is interpreted as follows: "1) persons belonging to the same line of descent, relatives on the father's or the mother's side (with respect to one another); 2) persons of common origin, closely related" (*Explanatory Dictionary of the Uzbek Language*, 2008: 248–249).

In all the languages of the world, including Russian, Spanish, and Uzbek, the terms denoting kinship are divided into two groups:

- Terms of consanguineous kinship (see Table 1);
- Kinship terms arising from marriage (see Table 2).

Ruso	Español	Uzbeko
прапрадед	tatarabuelo	katta buvasining (bobosining) otasi
прапрабабушка	tatarabuella	katta buvisining (momosining) onasi
прадед	bisabuelo	buvasining (bobosining) otasi
прабабушка	bisabuella	buvisining (momosining) onasi
дед (father of the father)	abuelo (father of the father)	buva, bobo
дед (mother's father)	abuelo (mother's father)	buva, bobo
бабушка (mother's father)	abuella (mother's father)	buvi, momo
бабушка (mother's mother)	abuella (mother's mother)	buvi, momo
отец	padre	ota
мать	madre	ona
сын	hijo	o'g'il
дочь	hija	qiz
внук (son of the son)	nieto (son of the son)	nevara
внучка (granddaughter)	nieta (granddaughter)	nevara

Table 1. *Terms of consanguineous kinship*

Ruso	Español	Uzbeko
жена	esposa	xotin
свекор	suegro	qayin ota (erning otasi)
свекровь	suegra	qayin ona (erining onasi)
тесть	suegro	qayin ota (xotinning otasi)
тёща	suegra	qayin ona (xotinning onasi)
Сват	casamentero	sovchi
сватья	casamentero	quda
деверь (husband's elder brother)	cuñado (husband's elder brother)	qayin og'a
деверь (husband's younger brother)	cuñado (husband's younger brother)	qayin ini
золовка (wife of the husband's younger brother)	cuñada (wife of the husband's younger brother)	qayin egachi
золовка (sister of the husband)	cuñada (sister of the husband)	qayin singil
шурин (wife's older brother)	cuñado (wife's elder brother)	qayin og'a
шурин (wife's younger brother)	cuñado (wife's younger brother)	qayin ini
свояченица (wife's younger brother's wife)	cuñada (granddaughter)	qayin egachi (qayin opa)
свояченица (wife's sister)	cuñada (wife's sister)	qayin singil

Table 2. *Terms of kinship arising from marriage*

From the examples presented in the tables, it can be seen that, from a gender perspective, the differences between kinship terms in Russian, Spanish, and Uzbek are more numerous than their similarities.

Unlike Uzbek, Russian and Spanish have a gender category to designate "mother and father" collectively: *родители* in Russian and *padres* in Spanish. It should be noted that in Spanish, *padre* corresponds to Russian *отец* and Uzbek *ota*, while *padres* corresponds to *отцы* and *otalar*. In Spanish, the lexeme *padre* cannot be used to mean both 'mother and father' simultaneously. As a synonym of the Spanish lexeme *padre*, one can use *progenitor* (Rus. *прародитель*, Uzb. *avlod*). The Spanish–Russian and Russian–Spanish Dictionary translates it as *предок, прародитель* (Spanish–Russian and Russian–Spanish Dictionary, 1996); however, to refer to the mother, the feminine form is required with the ending -a, that is, *progenitora*.

In Russian, there is no gender category for the pairs *брат* and *сестра*, *тётя* and *дядя*, *бабушка* and *дедушка*, *двоюродный брат* and *двоюродная сестра*. In Russian and Spanish, in situations related to children, the gender category also plays a role: *дети* in Russian and *hijos* in Spanish. In Russian, *сын* and *дочь* have different roots, whereas in Spanish, *hijo* ('son'), *hija* ('daughter'), and *hijos* ('children, sons') share the same root. In Uzbek, the equivalents of *сын* and *дочь* (Rus.), *hijo* and *hija* (Esp.) are *o'g'il* and *qiz*, which are lexemes with different roots and are used only to indicate the sex of the children.

The data presented above show that when naming close relatives – parents and children – each family member has their own designation. However, in Russian, these lexemes come from different roots: *мать*, *отец*, *родители*, *сын*, *дочь*, *дети*. In Spanish, on the other hand, there is a single root with different markers within the family domain: *madre*, *padre*, *padres*; *hijo*, *hija*, *hijos*.

It is also important to note that the Spanish lexeme *hijos* and the Russian *дети*

(Uzb. *bolalar*) are not completely equivalent. In the first case, it refers exclusively to the children of specific parents, whereas in Russian, the term *дети* can refer to any group of children, regardless of kinship or personal relationships among them. In Spanish, to refer to a group of children, the term *niños* is used, which can be translated into Russian as *ребята* and into Uzbek as *bolalar*. The *Great Russian–Spanish Dictionary* offers both *hijos* and *niños* (Turover, 2007), confirming this observation.

In Russian and Spanish, a different situation is observed regarding the terms designating grandchildren and nephews/nieces. In both languages, each relative has a distinct designation: *внук* – *nieto*, *внучка* – *nieta*; *племянник* – *sobrino*, *племянница* – *sobrino*. All these terms share the same root. In Uzbek, due to the absence of a gender category, they are translated as *nevara* and *jiyan*, respectively.

The term *nevara* is a general term with a broad meaning and is used indiscriminately to refer to the son or daughter of a son, the son or daughter of a daughter, as well as the son or daughter of a younger brother (see: Ismoilov, 1966: 96). When necessary, the gender is specified with the expressions *o'g'il nevara* ('grandson') and *qiz nevara* ('granddaughter'). Additionally, the lexeme *nevara* is also used in new senses, such as *nevara kelin* ('grandson's wife') and *nevara kuyov* ('grandson's husband') (Ismoilov, 1966: 97).

The term *jiyan* is used to designate the children of sisters or brothers – both consanguineous and non-consanguineous (for example, uncles and cousins) – as well as the children of the father's sisters. When greater precision is required, the forms *o'g'il jiyan* ('nephew') and *qiz jiyan* ('niece') are used.

As a result of the observations made and the contrastive-comparative analysis, the following conclusions were reached:

- In Russian and Spanish, the designations of lexemes referring to parents, children,

and the children of the latter in the domain of direct consanguineous kinship differ.

- From a gender perspective, the differences between consanguineous kinship terms in Russian, Spanish, and

Uzbek are more numerous than their similarities.

- In cases where Russian and Spanish consanguineous kinship terms have no direct equivalents in Uzbek, they are translated using descriptive explanations.

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