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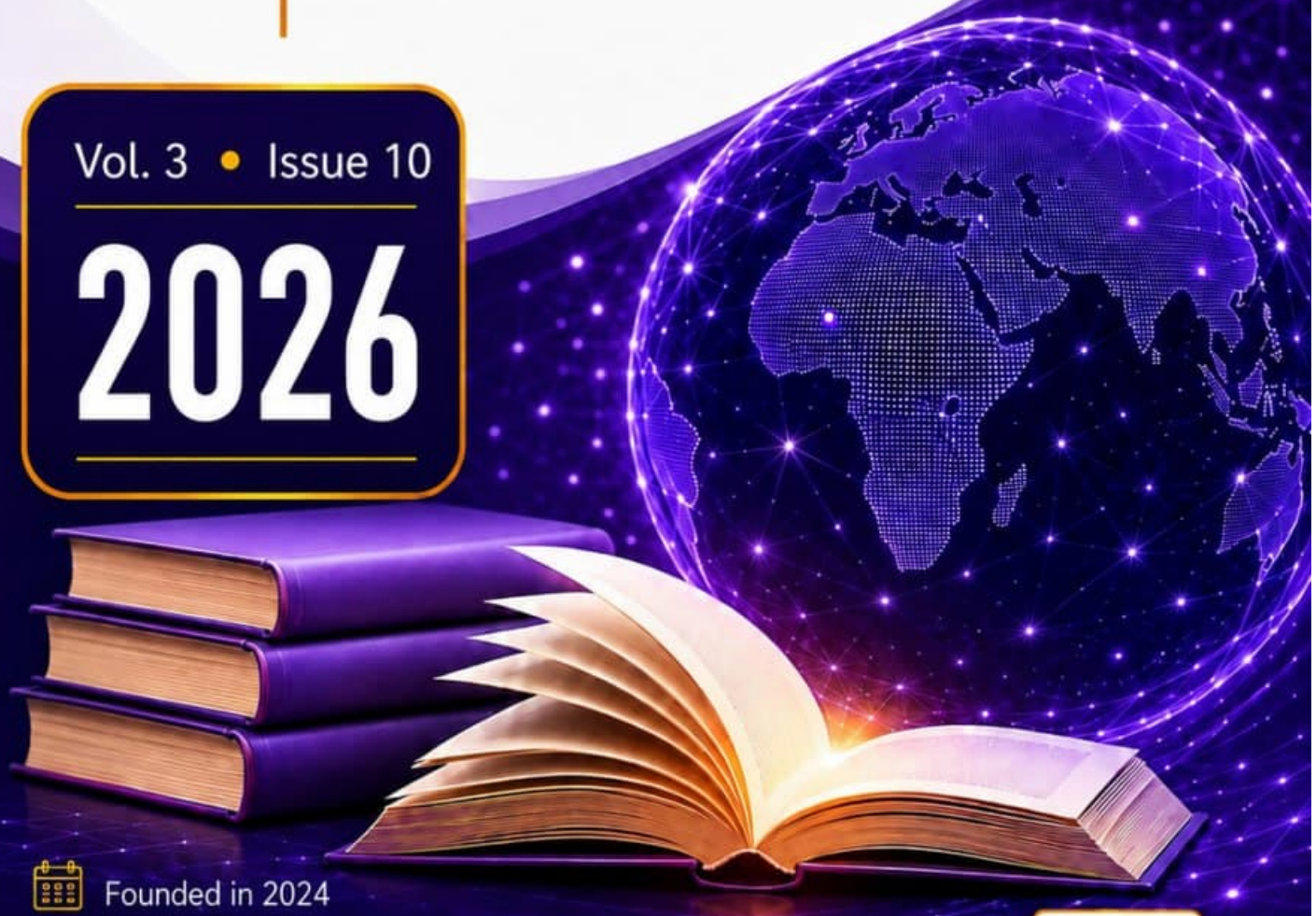
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FOLKLOR DISKURSIDA GENDER IFODASI VA NARRATIV USLUB

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Annotatsiya.
Diskurs tadqiqotlari va gender lingvistikasining o‘zaro yaqinlashuvi tobora kuchayib borayotganiga qaramay, kengroq ijtimoiy-siyosiy jarayonlar kontekstida gender diskursini tanqidiy o‘rganish yetarlicha e’tibordan chetda qolmoqda. Ushbu maqolada ingliz, italyan va o‘zbek folklor diskursida «erkak» va «ayol» tushunchalarining konseptualizatsiyasi ularning nominativ-konseptual asoslariga alohida e’tibor qaratilgan holda tadqiq etiladi. Folklorning muayyan, o‘zgarmas muallifga yoki yagona narrativ egasiga ega emasligi inobatga olinib, tadqiqot korpusi ushbu og‘zaki matnlarni yozib olgan folklor to‘plovchilarning genderiga ko‘ra tahlil qilinadi. Folklor yagona muallif yoki doimiy hikoyachisiz mavjud bo‘lgani sababli, tadqiqot metodologiyasida folklor to‘plovchilarning genderi matn uslubini o‘rganishning muhim tahliliy mezoni sifatida qo‘llaniladi. Natijalar to‘plovchining genderiga qarab gender tushunchalarining shakllanishida sezilarli uslubiy va konseptual tafovutlar mavjudligini ko‘rsatadi. Erkak va ayol to‘plovchilar «erkak» va «ayol» tushunchalarining nominativ-konseptual xususiyatlarini qayd etishda turlicha lingvistik afzalliklarni namoyon etadilar. Miqdoriy va sifat tahlili shuni ko‘rsatadiki, ayol to‘plovchilar nozik hissiy va maishiy diskursni qayd etishga ko‘proq moyil bo‘lsa, erkak to‘plovchilar har uchala folklor an’anasida tizimli va ijtimoiy maqomga oid nominativ belgilarni ta’kidlaydilar.

Kalit so‘zlar: gender o‘ziga xosligi, diskurs tahlili, folklor diskursi, konseptualizatsiya, kognitiv semantika, kognitiv-assotsiativ zonalar.

ГЕНДЕРНАЯ РЕПРЕЗЕНТАЦИЯ И НАРРАТИВНЫЙ СТИЛЬ В ФОЛЬКЛОРНОМ ДИСКУРСЕ

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Аннотация.
Несмотря на всё более тесное взаимодействие дискурсивных исследований и гендерной лингвистики, критическое изучение гендерного дискурса в контексте более широких социально-политических процессов остаётся недостаточно разработанным направлением. В данной статье исследуется концептуализация понятий «мужчина» и «женщина» в английском, итальянском и узбекском фольклорном дискурсе с особым вниманием к их номинативно-концептуальной основе. Учитывая, что фольклор не имеет постоянного авторства или единого носителя повествования, исследовательский корпус анализируется с точки зрения гендерной принадлежности собирателей, зафиксировавших данные устные тексты. Поскольку фольклор существует без единого автора или неизменного рассказчика, в методологии исследования гендер собирателей фольклора используется в качестве важного аналитического критерия изучения стилистических особенностей текстов. Результаты выявляют существенные стилистические и концептуальные различия в формировании гендерных понятий в зависимости от гендерной принадлежности собирателя. Мужчины и женщины, занимающиеся сбором фольклора, демонстрируют различные лингвистические предпочтения при фиксации номинативно-концептуальных характеристик понятий «мужчина» и «женщина». Количественный и качественный анализ показывает, что женщины-собиратели чаще фиксируют тонкие эмоциональные и бытовые аспекты дискурса, тогда как мужчины-собиратели во всех трёх фольклорных традициях акцентируют внимание на системных номинативных признаках и характеристиках, связанных с социальным статусом.

Ключевые слова: гендерная идентичность, дискурс-анализ, фольклорный дискурс, концептуализация, когнитивная семантика, когнитивно-ассоциативные зоны.

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GENDER REPRESENTATION AND NARRATIVE STYLE IN FOLKLORE DISCOURSE

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Abstract.

Despite the growing convergence of discourse studies and gender linguistics, the critical examination of gender discourse within broader sociopolitical processes remains relatively underexplored. This article investigates the conceptualization of "man" and "woman" in English, Italian, and Uzbek folklore discourse, with particular attention to their nominative and conceptual foundations. Recognizing that folklore does not possess fixed authorship or a single narrative owner, the research corpus is analyzed according to the gender of the folklore collectors who recorded these oral texts. Since folklore exists without a single author or a permanent narrator, the methodology employs the gender of folklore collectors as a key analytical criterion for examining textual style. The findings reveal significant stylistic and conceptual differences in the representation of gender concepts depending on the collector's gender. Male and female collectors demonstrate distinct linguistic preferences when documenting the nominative and conceptual characteristics of "man" and "woman." Quantitative and qualitative analyses indicate that female collectors tend to record more nuanced emotional and domestic discourse, whereas male collectors emphasize systematic and status-related nominative features across all three folklore traditions.

Keywords: gender identity, discourse analysis, folklore discourse, conceptualization, cognitive semantics, cognitive-associative zones.

Introduction. Today, the use of the term "discourse" in text-related research is becoming a tradition. This term is widely used in the field of text linguistics, as well as in literature, sociology, political science, philosophy, logic, and psychology. According to T. A. van Dijk, the main reason why discourse analysis covers different areas of linguistics is related to the following factors [25]:

1. The analysis of units (texts, communicative phenomena) larger than linguistic units such as words and utterances;
2. The introduction of communicative activities and interactions into the field of linguistics;
3. Taking into account not only verbal but also nonverbal aspects of communication;
4. Studying language in social, cultural, and cognitive contexts;
5. Clarifying concepts such as coherence, speech acts, and communicative roles.

Discourse analysis includes such types of speech activities as speaking, listening, reading, and writing. Through this analysis, it is possible to analyze various types of dialogic and monologic texts, natural speech, and genres.

In the process of discourse analysis, psychological (cognitive, cultural-historical), linguistic (grammatical, textological, stylistic), semiotic (semantic, syntactic, pragmatic), philosophical (structural, poststructural, deconstructive), logical (argumentative and analytical), informational, and rhetorical approaches are usually applied. According to T. A. van Dijk, the special subject of discourse analysis is style [26, 25].

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on language and discourse is becoming as popular as joint studies of language and gender. However, studies analyzing feminine and masculine discourse in linguistics are still limited for political and social reasons. According to A. Nurmonov and A. Rakhimov, the interaction of linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena and the application of discursive-synergetic and cognitive approaches have a positive impact on the intensification of research in this area [14].

S. Mukhammedova and M. Saparniyozova believe that the original meaning of the word "discourse" is "speech" or "speaking," and that in various textbooks, the term is used as a synonym for "text" [13]. Its narrow interpretation as "text" or "conversation" contributes to the division of discourse into written and oral types. However, Sh. Safarov argues that the concepts of discourse and text are not synonymous and that "discourse" should be interpreted more broadly than text [16]. According to E. Cross, an Australian expert in the field of discourse analysis, discourse has social roots, whereas text has linguistic roots [4]. E. Benveniste was the first to introduce the term "discourse" into linguistics, interpreting it as the typical speech of a speaker [2].

Concepts are interpreted differently by different scholars. In particular, the simplest concepts are represented by single words, while more complex ones are represented by compounds and sentences. M. Rasulova [15] and G. Xoshimov [27] study the concept as the main category of cognitive linguistics and emphasize that defining it is the main task of cognitive linguists. According to D. U. Ashurova, it is incorrect to regard all notions as concepts [1]. In general, a concept is a multidimensional construct that includes not only conceptual and defining features but also connotative, figurative (expressive and affective), evaluative, and associative features, all of which must be taken into account in its conceptual description.

The first approach to the concept was proposed by Yu. S. Stepanov, who relied primarily on cultural studies. According to Yu. S. Stepanov, the concept is the basic unit of culture in the human mental world [20], and all cultures are interpreted as sets of concepts.

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The creation of a specialized categorical apparatus in the field of gender stylistics requires the introduction of the terms "gender style" and "gender stylization." Gender methodology is based on the author's gender characteristics and speech. Gender style varies depending on the gender of the author and follows certain patterns. The plot and content structure of any type of text depend on the gender of the author or the subject of speech.

METHODOLOGY

Various types of analysis can be carried out using the key term "discourse." However, this can lead to significant terminological disagreements within linguistics, as many scholars still cannot clearly distinguish between notions such as "discourse analysis" and "critical discourse analysis." This is a particularly interesting and noteworthy issue. When researchers understand the essence of discourse, choose an appropriate type of analysis, and determine whether to integrate other fields of linguistics, they can achieve their research objectives.

In this part of our research, we explored the styles of male and female folklore texts through various stylistic devices. As research methods, we applied two approaches from different fields: cognitive linguistics and discourse linguistics. Accordingly, we used the discourse analysis proposed by S. Mills [12] and the conceptual-structural method proposed by G. G. Slishkin to explore gender concepts [19].

When we statistically analyzed folklore texts collected by approximately one hundred and fifty male collectors and fifty female collectors from English, Italian, and Uzbek cultures, the study found that in folklore texts narrated by men, male characters were mostly protagonists (in 43% of English masculine texts, 46% of Italian masculine texts, and 40% of Uzbek masculine texts).

In folklore texts recorded from female narrators, male characters are portrayed as weak and passive individuals. This is because female "authors" automatically bring female protagonists to the forefront. Among the positive qualities of male characters, greater emphasis is placed on courage, generosity, and luck (19% of English masculine texts, 22% of Italian folklore texts, and 11% of Uzbek masculine texts).

However, among the negative qualities, tyranny and infantilism in comic folklore texts, which occur only in masculine texts, were criticized more frequently (4% of English masculine folklore texts, 16% of Italian folklore texts, and 43% of Uzbek folklore texts).

Female protagonists are passive in masculine folklore texts, and their most common role is that of a "housewife": 53% in English male texts, 44% in Italian masculine texts, and 53% in Uzbek masculine texts, compared with 73% in Uzbek feminine texts. Nevertheless, female protagonists do not withhold their advice from members of the stronger sex and often appear as a long-awaited reward. Moreover, 17% of British, 36% of Italian, and 23% of Uzbek masculine narrators depict women as saviors and intelligent individuals.

There are distinctive differences between men's and women's folklore texts. Men's discourse is ethical and political-economic in nature in the languages under comparison:

La cortesia che le bell'alme accende, costa talora acerbi affanni e pene; ma presto o tardi la virtu risplende, e quando men ci pens ail premio ottiene (The wisdom that fills loving hearts is sometimes achieved through hardship and suffering, and eventually a person comes to light. The less you think about it, the greater the reward) [3];

Er qayerda bo'lsa, xotin ham o'sha yerda bo'ladi; Erni bor qiladigan ham xotin, yo'q qiladigan ham xotin (Where the husband is, the wife is there; the woman who creates the man can also destroy him).

Furthermore, apagorezis (advice, counseling) is actively used in men's verbal behavior:

– Gar saloming bo'lmaganda kallangni sapchaday uzardim. Yotib yesang bu dunyo hech narsa bo'lmaydi (If you lie down, your head will easily be cut off) [24].

Events are often portrayed tragically in male texts. Men frequently refer to nature and environmental hypersemes in their texts:

Princess sang wonderful songs about the lake in the royal garden, on weeping willows staring at the still surface, on goldfish moving in the water between the reflections of the branches. To sing, she had to see the trees, the lake, and the green shoots of rice in the fields.

Moreover, toponyms are frequently used in masculine texts:

Cantire, Greenock, Telltown, Oriel, Glenbroun, Abernethy, Kintraw, Lochgilphead; Kan'on shahri, Avg'on bog', Kustontoniya va Balx shahri, Tug'doq, Eron, Turon, Farang, Afg'on, Sirdaryo, Qo'qon, O'ratepa, Qorachiriq, Ajam, Urganch, Ko'hiqof, Eram, Qo'qon, Marg'ilon, Namangan.

In this research, it was found that women's texts were less popular and fewer in number than men's texts. For example, the numbers of English folklore texts narrated and recorded by women and men were 53 and 7, respectively; the corresponding figures were 50 and 4 for Italian folklore texts and 53 and 11 for Uzbek texts. Therefore, in order to obtain objective results from practical analyses, we selected texts narrated by women in a proportion of at least one-third of the men's texts.

Male protagonists can be found in texts narrated by both sexes, but it was found that female protagonists did not appear at all in 26% of English, 20% of Italian, and 25% of Uzbek folklore texts narrated and collected by men.

DISCUSSION

In this part of our study, different folklore texts from same-sex groups (in which both the narrator and the collector were male or both were female) were analyzed according to gender parameters. The cognitive features of the "male" and "female" concepts in the three languages under analysis were taken into account. In texts narrated by both sexes, the concepts of "man" and "woman" are represented as follows:

Table 1. Representation of Male and Female Concepts in Gender Texts

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Males narrators folklore discourse		*Female narrators folklore discourse*	
Representation of male characters	*Representation of female characters*	*Representation of male characters*	*Representation of female characters*
Oppression–	Cruelty–	Passive–	Oppressor–
Foolishness–	Oppression–	Spoiled–	Envious–
Greed–	Amazon–	Oppressor–	Cunning–
Wisdom+	Intelligence+	Dependent–	Savior+
Justice+	Hardworking+	Courageous+	Smart+
Bravery+	Ingenuity+	Supporter+	Resourceful+
Aptitude+	Humility, modesty+	Provider+	Caring+
			Oppressed+

In the study, the concepts of men and women were studied differently, in particular, within the analytical and socio-psychological aspects, and each concept was studied within four conceptual zones: intra-, extra-, quasi-intra-, and quasi-extra zones. For example, the diagram above provides an analysis of male and female concepts in three languages from an evaluative perspective. At the core of the nominative field of the concept "female" are units such as grown-up girls (princesses, fairies, poor girls, sisters), women (brides, rival wives, mothers, and stepmothers), and dames (old women). At the core of the nominative field of the concept "male," such linguistic units as young men (princes, sons of the poor, brothers), men (kings, spouses, fathers), and old men (judges, Hizr) are included.

We now analyze the associative field of units at the core of the concepts "male" and "female." The nominative field of the concept "male" includes the following associations. For instance, in texts by female narrators, princes are spoiled: Shahzoda bir kuni uxlab yotib, tushida bir parini ko'ribdi. Uyg'onsa, tushi emish. Shundan keyin u pariga ko'ngil qo'yib, gapirmabdi ham, kulmabdi ham. Podsho o'g'lining ahvoliga achinib yig'labdi [23, p. 307]. In texts by English and Italian male narrators, princes are portrayed as brave: When Prince heard that he was supposed to slay the dragon, he wasn't even worried... [7].

The denotation "(poor) young man" is mainly associated with boldness in texts by both sexes: Devlar birin–ketin g'ordan chiqa boshlabdilar, Hotam g'ordan chiqqan birinchi devning kallasini uzib tashlabdi. Qolgan devlarning ham birma–bir kallasini olib tashlay beribdi [22]; Quindi la giovane prese l'uovo, lo colpì sulla fronte della fata e cadde morta. Quando la giovane vide che era davvero morta, entrò in una carrozza con la figlia del re e guidò fino al palazzo [6].

The quasi-extra zone is formed through the image of "young man–hard worker," represented by 20/1047 (Work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, All [11, 10]; Giovane ozioso, vecchio bisognoso; Yigit husni mehnatda [18]), and the quasi-intra zone is formed through the cognitive image "a man of his word," expressed through various phraseological units and proverbs, such as a man's man, man to man [11], essere pieno di sicurezza [29], bir so'zli, degani degan, Yigit so'zi–bitta [18].

The gestalt "brothers–tyrants" was found only in the intra-zone of Italian and Uzbek men's texts: Quindi uccisero il fratello minore, lo seppellirono e presero la piuma dal padre, dicendo che l'avevano trovata [5]; Yo'lda ikkala akasi ukasini o'ldirishga maslahat qilibdi. Ukasining ko'zini o'yib, bir chuqurga tashlab kelgan ekanlar [22].

Cognitive images with negative connotations, such as "husband–sponger" and "fathers–passive," are found only in texts by women: Karomatxon chiqsa, Salomatxon ekan. U ham kirib yig'lab yubordi. Salomatxon ham yomon ahvolda qolibdir, uni ham eri eri mol–mulkini yeb, urib haydab yuboribdi [23]; Otasi keyingi xotinining gapiga kirar ekan [24]. Proverbs such as babbo e mamma non campano sempre [21], Onang o'gay bo'lsa, otang o'zingnikimas [17], and ota bo'lish oson, otalik qilish qiyin [17] can easily form the extra zone. However, in English folklore texts collected by both men and women, "father–head of the family" can be part of the quasi-intra zone: …thereupon the man picked up the hammer and nails which he had with him, and ran to the spot from whence the outcry came [8]. The quasi-extra zone also includes proverbs that lead to the creation of the image of the "father–provider" in women's texts: A father is a treasure; a brother is a comfort [17]; A padre avaro, figliolo prodigo [29];

Haydar, otang o'libdir, moli senga qolibdir. Bolang suvga oqibdir, shamolingni qo'yvor [10].

The next stereotypical image, "king–tyrant," is common to texts by both sexes. In women's texts, kings are usually condemned for their oppression of women. This, in turn, can form the above-mentioned nomination in the intra-associative zone: La figlia disse: "È inutile, caro padre; non puoi sposarmi, perché sei mio padre". Non la ascoltò, non mise l'anello sulla sua suoneria e vide che le stava bene, e voleva sposare sua figlia Nolens Volens; faqatgina uzukni taqib ko'rganida qizning qo'liga to'g'ri keldi, zudlik bilan ota o'z qiziga uylanishni istadi [30].

In the Uzbek language, the cognitive image of the king includes the reaction of "stupidity," which is located in the quasi-intra zone: – E, ahmoq, sening gunohing bormi, yo'qmi, mening nima ishim bor. Ishqilib bir kishini dorga osish kerak–da. O'g'rini dorga ostirsak, bo'yi novchalik qilib, oyog'i yerga tegib qoldi. Sen juda vaqtida kelding [24].

As we have observed, young men are portrayed by female authors as weak and spoiled; middle-aged men are portrayed as greedy and cruel, and sometimes passive in their relationships with family members. In their portrayals of men, female authors depict spoiled princes and tyrannical kings. Thus, in women's texts, one can observe instances of discrimination against the opposite sex. For example, in folklore texts, princes are often turned into frogs, and the majority of us feel disgust toward frogs:

Do you remember in the fairy tale, how the wicked witches spell
Turned the handsome prince to a toad?

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By the power of a potion, she handed him the notion
He was lower than the dirt in the road.
And though she left him green and warted, her evil plans were thwarted
Their chanced to happen by a young miss
Who inspite of his complexion, offered him affection
And broke the wicked curse with her kiss
So if you've never been frog kissing
Then you don't know what you've been missin',
There's a wealth of opportunity under each and every log.
And if you've never been charm–breakin',
Then you've never been handsome prince makin'.
You've got to slow down, turn around, bend down,
Kiss you a frog!
There's a happy–ever–after–land, deep in the heart of man
Where a prince and princess abides.
But all we get are glimpses, of the happy prince or princess
'Cauce they're covered with a green warty hide.
Though they're full of life's potential, they're lacking one essential
To enable them to shine like a star.
That's a handsome guy or missus, to smother them with kisses
And love them just the way that they are.
That's the secret of frog kissing
You can do it too if you'll just listen
There's a wealth of opportunity under each and every log.
That's the secret of charm–breakin',
That's the secret of handsome prince makin'.
You've got to slow down, turn around, bend down,
Kiss you a...
You've got to slow down, turn around, bend down,
Kiss you a...
You've got to slow down, turn around, bend down,
Kiss you a frog!

In Uzbek folklore texts narrated by men, the quasi-intra zone of the core of the "male" concept also includes the cognitive reaction "judges–greedy":

Ey, ahmoq chol, dalada ikki marta "Hormang", desam ham "Bor bo'ling", demading, – debdi... Dehqon mo'l hosil olish yo'lini bilsa ham, beklar tufayli o'z mehnatining natijasidan mahrum bo'lib qola beribdi [23].

The quasi-extra zone of the core concept is represented by proverbs at a ratio of 10/1047:

Qozi rishva (pora)siz bo'lmas, qiz ishvasiz [18];

Qoziga bersang suyar, bermasang so'yar [17].

In short, Uzbek folklore texts narrated by men are mainly characterized by political criticism, whereas English and Italian folklore texts narrated by men primarily address family and domestic issues. Uzbek texts focus on resistance to bureaucratic authority and the condemnation of injustice.

In folklore texts narrated by both men and women across all three nations, the nomination "old man" within the "male" concept contributes to the formation of the gestalt "old man (king, father)–family man":

Qarasam, amakim o'g'li bilan qizini axtarib charchadi va juda og'ir ahvolda qoldi. Bularning ahvolini ko'rib rahmim kelib... [23].

Nominations such as "princess," "fairy," "poor girls," and "sisters" contribute to the formation of the nomination "girl" within the core of the "female" concept. In texts narrated by both men and women, these nominations are associated with conceptual characteristics such as "princess–wise" and "(poor) girls–industrious":

"Oh!" says he, "I had a daughter. And I asked her how much she loved me. And she said 'As much as fresh meat loves salt.' And I turned her from my door, for I thought she didn't love me. And now I see she loved me best of all. And she may be dead for aught I know" [8];

... e uscendo dalla stanza indossò lo stesso vestito che indossava quando la mandò via per essere uccisa. "Mi hai fatto uccidere perché ti ho detto che ti amavo tanto quanto acqua e sale: ora hai visto cosa significa mangiare senza sale e acqua". Suo padre non poteva dire una parola, ma l'abbracciò e le chiese perdono [6];

Mana, kuyovingiz kimsasiz o'tinchi edi. Ikkimiz birgalashib mehnat qildik, xor bo'lmadik, och qolmadik, reja bilan ish qilib bordik, mehnatdan bosh tortmadik, kam bo'lmadik. Natijada sizning darajangizga yetdik [24].

In the Uzbek cognitive worldview, the quasi-intra zone of the core of the "princess" concept includes the cognitive reaction "princess–cruel." This stereotypical association is found mainly in texts narrated by men:

Mehmonjon, siz yaxshi yigit ekansiz. Bu fikrdan qayting. Men oshiqlarga shart qo'yaman. Shartimni bajarsa meni oladi. Bajara olmasa, boshi kesiladi. Mening shartim og'ir, bajara olmasdan siz ham o'lib ketmang! – dedi Mohistara [24].

Another distinctive feature of Uzbek folklore texts narrated by men is that female characters are endowed with

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militant qualities, resulting in the formation of the cognitive image “girls–Amazon”:

U yigitlarning kiyim-boshini kiyib, qora sochini qalpog‘i tagiga bostirib olib, otni minib yo‘lda ketaveribdi [24].

Folklore texts attributed to English female narrators also depict the militant qualities of women. This is illustrated by a humorous folk song performed by Nancy E. Pirshel. The song tells the story of a brave princess with beautiful, shiny brown hair who is captured by a dragon while riding a horse without her guards. Her father, the king, promises that whoever rescues his daughter from the dragon’s clutches will be allowed to marry her. However, when one of the knights reaches the princess, he discovers that she has already killed the dragon herself, although her beautiful hair has been burned in the process:

In days that have long since passed,
There lived a beautiful mahogany lass.
An unmarried and virtuous princess, alas,
She was brave, strong and bold.
One morning while riding no guard around,
Armed with sword should trouble abound,
She heard the most horrible sound,
And her nose burned of sulfur.
The sky it darkened, gave her horse a fright.
A dragon swooped as black as night,
Grabbed the princess then out of sight.
Her horse ran frightened home.
The king cried, "All knights be sworn!
Kill the dragon with your swords.
Return me daughter for this reward,
That you may marry her."
The bravest knight in all the realm,
Young, handsome and vain as well
Declared the maid his holy grail
And rode off to rescue her.
The knight he climbed up rugged heights
Snagged a run in his pristine tights
At cavern’s shaft, he saw no lights
And heard no sound inside.
The knight called the dragon out.
But only a lady’s voice came back.
"I killed the dragon!," the lady shout.
And stepped into the sun.
The princess dressed in scraps of cloth,
Her mahogany hair was all burned off.
A muddy face, the vain knight scoffed,
"Can you clean be for we go?"
The princess still in clothes undone,
Told the knight, "I work alone."
The knight rode lone into the setting sun.
And the princess was happy thereafter.

The stereotypical association of stepmothers with oppressors occurs in texts narrated by both men and women. One of the folk songs collected by George Douglas, “Cooing Dove,” tells the story of a stepmother who kills her stepdaughter:

“WHERE have you been all the day,
My bonny wee cooing dove?”
“O I have been at my stepmother’s house;
Make my bed, mammy, now!
Make my bed, mammy, now!”
“What did she give you, to your dinner,
My bonny wee cooing dove?”
“She gave me a little four-footed fish;
Make my bed, mammy, now, now, now
Make my bed, mammy, now!..”

Similar plots are also found in Italian and Uzbek folklore texts:

La matrigna, piena di rabbia e gelosia, chiamò una strega dalla città e le disse: Vedi mia figlia è viva, e lei è nella casa di alcune fate di un’aquila che spesso viene sulla mia terrazza. Ora, devi farmi il favore di trovare un modo per uccidere questa mia figliastra;

O‘gay ona bolani yaxshi yuvib taramay, ozoda qilib qo‘ymay, bir chakkada, eski ko‘rpada yotqizib, uning qorni ochib

non desa, urishib-ziriqtirib, bir tomonga uloqtirib, xo‘rlabdi. O‘gay ona Bo‘z bolani yo‘q qilib, boyning davlatiga o‘z bolasini ega qilmoq fikriga tushibdi [24].

In Uzbek folklore texts narrated by women, the cognitive reaction “mother–oppressed” is particularly prominent:

Zindondan onamni olib kelinglar, – debdi. Onasi bilan yig‘lab-siqtab ko‘rishibdi [23].

In general, in texts narrated by women, discrimination against women by men often occurs as a result of the intervention of a second group of women (stepmothers, stepsisters, and cousins) or a third party (cunning old women). This is because the enemies of female protagonists in these texts are mostly other women, such as sisters, daughters-in-law, or rivals. The protagonists are brutally punished, tortured, and humiliated by them.

Although the dominance of housewives and the vulnerability of male protagonists in women’s texts may be condemned, our observations show that these categories of protagonists remain highly prominent and widespread. Stepmothers and witches are most frequently condemned in folklore texts for their deceptive and fraudulent qualities (less than 9% in English texts narrated by men, 8% in Italian texts, and 15% in Uzbek folklore texts narrated by men, compared with 45% in Uzbek texts narrated by women).

In texts narrated by men, the image of the old woman is often associated with poverty and helplessness, giving rise to the associative reaction “old woman–helpless”:

They were very poor, and the old woman got her living by spinning, but her son Jack was so lazy that he would do nothing but bask in the sun in the hot weather, and sit by the corner of the hearth in the winter time. His mother could not persuade him to do anything for her… [8];

kampir esa birovlarning kirini yuvib, yirtiq-yamog‘ini qilar, shu bilan tirikchilik o‘tkazar ekan [22].

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Female narrators, on the other hand, portray older women with negative connotations, giving rise to the associative reaction “old woman–witch”:

An old witch, in days of yore, lived in this neighborhood; and whenever she wanted money she would assume the shape of a hare, and would send out her grandson to tell a certain huntsman who lived hard by that he had seen a hare sitting at such a particular spot, for which he always received the reward of sixpence [9];

Kampir bir tishini sug‘urib pichoq qilib, eshakning oyog‘iga sanchib-sanchib cho‘loq qilibdi, tuyani cho‘ktirib, uning og‘ziga ikkita sovunni solib, oq ko‘pigini oqizib, qo‘liga ro‘molchani olib, ko‘zidan oqqan yoshni artib o‘tiribdi [23].

We identified the following characteristics of narrators based on the extent to which gender-related concepts are represented in folklore texts:

1. Male narrators pay less attention to the negative qualities of female protagonists and focus primarily on the positive qualities of female characters.

2. Female narrators place greater emphasis on female protagonists and their positive qualities. They also highlight the negative qualities of male protagonists.

3. In texts narrated by women, discrimination against women is depicted in various situations, whereas texts narrated by men devote relatively little attention to this issue.

In general, texts narrated by men tend to portray women positively, with particular emphasis on their wisdom and resourcefulness. In this way, these texts contribute to fostering respect for women among young readers.

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