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PRESERVATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF NATIONAL-CULTURAL COMPONENTS IN FOLK TALES RETOLD BY GENERATIVE ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

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Abstract: More and more parents and teachers now ask artificial intelligence to retell folk tales for children. But what happens to the culture carried by a tale when a machine does the telling? This article looks for an answer by comparing two tales of the same international type (ATU 480, "The Kind and the Unkind Girls"): the Uzbek folk tale "Zumrad and Qimmat" and the English tale "The Three Heads of the Well". Both tales were retold by three large language models — ChatGPT, Claude and Gemini — in their original language, in the other language, and as a modern adaptation for young children. We followed six groups of cultural elements, from traditional opening formulas and household objects to forms of address and moral values, and classified each change as preservation, neutralisation, substitution, addition or omission. The picture that emerged is uneven. The English tale kept most of its cultural features, while the Uzbek tale, although its plot survived intact, gradually lost its "cultural clothing": its opening formula became "Once upon a time", its household details turned generic, and the heroine's respectful speech faded away. In the modern adaptations, both heroines drifted towards the same image — an active, self-confident girl — and the stern justice of the folk tale gave way to forgiveness. We argue that AI has become a new and largely invisible mediator of folklore, and that this role deserves close linguocultural attention.

Keywords: generative artificial intelligence, large language models, folk tale, linguoculturology, cognitive linguistics, national-cultural component, cultural transformation, English and Uzbek.

СОХРАНЕНИЕ И ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ НАЦИОНАЛЬНО-КУЛЬТУРНЫХ КОМПОНЕНТОВ В НАРОДНЫХ СКАЗКАХ, ПЕРЕСКАЗАННЫХ ГЕНЕРАТИВНЫМ ИСКУССТВЕННЫМ ИНТЕЛЛЕКТОМ

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Аннотация: Сегодня всё больше родителей и учителей обращаются к искусственному интеллекту, чтобы пересказать детям народную сказку. Но что происходит с культурой, заключённой в сказке, когда её пересказывает машина? В статье предпринята попытка ответить на этот вопрос на материале двух сказок одного международного типа (АТУ 480, «Добрая и злая девушки»): узбекской народной сказки «Зумрад и Киммат» и английской сказки «The Three Heads of the Well». Обе сказки были пересказаны тремя языковыми моделями — ChatGPT, Claude и Gemini — на языке оригинала, на другом языке и в виде современной адаптации для детей. Мы проследили шесть групп культурных элементов — от традиционных зачинов и бытовых реалий до форм обращения и нравственных ценностей — и определили характер их изменения: сохранение, нейтрализация, замена, добавление или опущение. Картина оказалась неравномерной. Английская сказка в целом сохранила свой культурный облик, тогда как узбекская, при сохранённом сюжете, постепенно утратила свою «культурную одежду»: зачин превратился в «Once upon a time», бытовые детали

стали безликими, почтительная речь героини исчезла. В современных адаптациях обе героини сблизилась в едином образе активной и уверенной в себе девочки, а суровая справедливость народной сказки уступила место прощению. Мы приходим к выводу, что искусственный интеллект стал новым и во многом незаметным посредником в передаче фольклора.

Ключевые слова: генеративный искусственный интеллект, большие языковые модели, народная сказка, лингвокультурология, когнитивная лингвистика, национально-культурный компонент, культурная трансформация, английский и узбекский языки.

GENERATIV SUN'IY INTELLEKT TOMONIDAN QAYTA HIKOYALANGAN XALQ ERTAKLARIDA MILLIY-MADANIY KOMPONENTLARNING SAQLANISHI VA TRANSFORMATSIYASI

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Annotatsiya: Bugun ko'plab ota-onalar va o'qituvchilar bolalarga ertak aytib berish uchun sun'iy intellektga murojaat qilmoqda. Xo'sh, ertakni mashina qayta hikoya qilganda undagi milliy madaniyat qanday holga keladi? Ushbu maqolada biz bu savolga bir xalqaro ertak tipiga (ATU 480, «Mehribon va yovuz qizlar») mansub ikki ertak — o'zbek xalq ertagi «Zumrad va Qimmat» hamda ingliz ertagi «The Three Heads of the Well» misolida javob izladik. Har ikki ertak uchta til modeli — ChatGPT, Claude va Gemini — yordamida asl tilda, boshqa tilda va zamonaviy bolalar uchun moslashtirilgan shaklda qayta yaratildi. An'anaviy ochilish formulalari va maishiy realiyalardan tortib murojaat shakllari va axloqiy qadriyatlargacha bo'lgan olti guruh madaniy unsurlar kuzatildi, har bir o'zgarish esa saqlash, neytrallashtirish, almashtirish, qo'shish yoki tushirib qoldirish sifatida baholandi. Natijalar bir tekis emas. Ingliz ertagi o'z madaniy qiyofasini asosan saqlab qolgan bo'lsa, o'zbek ertagi syujeti buzilmagan holda asta-sekin o'zining «madaniy libosi»dan ayrila boshladi: «Bor ekan-da, yo'q ekan» «Once upon a time»ga aylandi, maishiy detallar rangsizlandi, qahramonning odobli nutqi esa so'ndi. Zamonaviy moslashtirishlarda har ikki qahramon bir xil obrazga — faol va o'ziga ishongan qizga yaqinlashdi, xalq ertagiga xos qat'iy adolat esa kechirim bilan almashdi. Sun'iy intellekt folklorni avloddan avlodga yetkazishda yangi, ammo ko'zga unchalik tashlanmaydigan vositachiga aylanib bormoqda va bu jarayon jiddiy lingvokulturologik e'tiborni talab qiladi.

Kalit so'zlar: generativ sun'iy intellekt, katta til modellari, xalq ertagi, lingvokulturologiya, kognitiv tilshunoslik, milliy-madaniy komponent, madaniy transformatsiya, ingliz va o'zbek tillari.

Introduction: A folk tale is one of the oldest and most intimate forms of a people's memory. It records how our ancestors saw the world, what they considered good and bad, what kind of houses they lived in, what they ate, and how they spoke to their elders. Every story that begins with "Bor ekan-da, yo'q ekan" ("There was, and there was not") invites the listener into a special world — and that world is, first of all, a national one. This is why folk tales have long attracted not only folklorists but also linguists interested in the relationship between language and culture.

In the last few years, the folk tale has entered an unexpected new stage of its life. Tales are no longer told only by grandmothers and mothers; artificial intelligence tells them too. Tools such as ChatGPT, Claude and Gemini can retell any tale in seconds, shorten it, translate it into another language, or adapt it to the tastes of today's children. The convenience

is obvious. Yet these models were trained mostly on enormous amounts of English text, while digital resources in Uzbek are modest by comparison. International studies have already shown that the answers of language models tend to reflect Western, and particularly English-speaking, cultural values (Johnson et al., 2022; Tao et al., 2024). In other words, when an AI retells an Uzbek tale, there is no guarantee that the tale will remain Uzbek.

Surprisingly, this question has received almost no attention. Research on the cultural bias of language models has relied mainly on surveys and value questionnaires, while folklore texts — especially in an English–Uzbek comparison — have remained outside researchers' view.

With this in mind, the present study sets out to determine, from a linguocultural and cognitive perspective, how far national-cultural elements are preserved in English and Uzbek folk tales retold by generative AI, and in what ways they change. We ask three questions. When language models retell a tale, which cultural elements do they keep and which do they alter? Do these changes unfold in the same way in the English and the Uzbek tale? And finally, how does the heroine herself — her image, her behaviour, her values — change in the process?

Literature Review: The idea that language and culture are inseparable is not new in linguistics. E.M. Vereshchagin and V.G. Kostomarov (1990) laid a solid foundation for this field with their work on the national-cultural semantics of words. V.V. Vorobyov (1997) later introduced the notion of the *linguoculturema* as a unit uniting language and culture, and V.A. Maslova (2001) systematised linguoculturology as a discipline in its own right. A. Wierzbicka's (1997) argument that a culture can be understood through its key words has also been highly influential. F. Sharifian (2017) gave the field a contemporary shape by developing the concepts of cultural schemas, cultural categories and cultural metaphors within Cultural Linguistics. In Uzbek linguistics, N. Mahmudov (2012) argued for studying language in close connection with culture, while Sh. Safarov (2006) introduced the theoretical foundations of cognitive linguistics into Uzbek scholarship.

To study the folk-tale hero from a cognitive perspective, the work of G. Lakoff and M. Johnson (1980) on language and thought, together with frame theory, proves especially useful. A frame is a ready-made structure of knowledge that we hold about a typical situation. The image of a fairy-tale hero works in exactly this way: when we hear "the good girl in a fairy tale", we already know what kind of family she comes from, what trial she will face, and how she will be rewarded in the end. V.Ya. Propp's (1928) classic account of the functions of the folk tale remains a reliable tool for identifying the parts of this frame. The ATU index of international tale types compiled by H.-J. Uther (2004) makes it possible to compare plot-related tales of different peoples on a sound basis.

The systematic study of Uzbek folk tales owes much to M. Afzalov (1964), and O. Madayev and T. Sobitova (2001) described the tale as a genre within the system of Uzbek oral folklore. English folk tales were collected and published by J. Jacobs (1890). J. Zipes (1979), in turn, showed that every era reshapes fairy tales according to its own ideas — an observation that is central to our study.

The cultural bias of artificial intelligence has only recently become a serious research topic. E. Bender and colleagues (2021) warned that large language models risk reproducing the dominant views found in their training data. R. Johnson and colleagues (2022) found that GPT-3's responses were dominated by American values, and Y. Tao and colleagues (2024), testing several models, demonstrated that their values align most closely with those of English-speaking and Protestant European countries. Translation studies also help explain what happens when AI carries a tale from one language into another: L. Venuti's (1995) concepts of domestication and foreignisation and P. Newmark's (1988) classification of culture-specific items are particularly relevant here.

Linguoculturology and the cultural bias of AI have each been studied quite extensively. Where they meet, however — the fate of national culture in folklore texts recreated by AI — the question remains open.

Methods

For this study we chose two tales that are very similar in plot but belong to different cultures. The first is "Zumrad and Qimmat", an Uzbek folk tale familiar to almost everyone who grew up in Uzbekistan. The second is "The Three Heads of the Well" from J. Jacobs's collection of English fairy tales. Both belong to type ATU 480: a kind, hard-working girl passes a trial and is rewarded, while a lazy, rude girl receives her punishment. Because the plots are so close, the differences between the retellings can be explained by culture rather than by the storyline.

The tales were retold by three widely used language models: ChatGPT, Claude and Gemini. Each model received three tasks. In the first, it was asked to retell the tale in its own language: the Uzbek tale in Uzbek and the English tale in English. In the second, it was asked to tell the tale in the other language: "Zumrad and Qimmat" in English and "The Three Heads of the Well" in Uzbek. In the third, it was asked to rewrite the tale for today's children aged six to eight. The models were not given the original texts; they reconstructed each tale from what they "knew". This produced a small corpus of 18 texts.

We divided the national-cultural elements of the texts into six groups: the characters' names and their meanings; material realia such as household objects, food, clothing and dwellings; the traditional opening and closing formulas; speech etiquette, that is, forms of address and expressions of respect for elders; the moral content of the tale — diligence, patience, respect, and the logic of reward and punishment; and, finally, mythological figures such as the old woman (*kampir*), the *dev* and the fairy (*pari*).

Each element was compared with the original tale to determine how it had changed. If an element appeared unchanged or with a suitable equivalent, we marked it as *preservation*. If it lost its distinctiveness and was replaced by a general, colourless word, we called it *neutralisation*. If it was replaced by an element typical of another culture, we called it *substitution*. If the text introduced a detail absent from the original, we called it *addition*. If the element disappeared altogether, we called it *omission*.

The heroine's image was treated as a frame, and we paid attention to five of its parts: her place in the family, the trial she faces, her relationship with the helper, the motives behind her actions, and the reward or punishment she receives at the end. All texts were analysed qualitatively, following the principles of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Results

Let us state the main finding at the outset: the two tales did not share the same fate. The cultural face of the English tale — the well, the magical heads in the well, the king's palace, the closing "and they lived happily ever after" — stayed in place in almost every text. In the Uzbek tale, the events were retold correctly, but the very things that make the tale Uzbek — its realia, its formulas, its etiquette — often changed. These changes were small when the tale was retold in its own language, grew noticeably when it was carried into another language, and were strongest of all in the adaptations for children.

How does the tale begin? When the models retold the tale in Uzbek, they usually kept the formula "Bor ekan-da, yo'q ekan...". Its full rhyming form, however — "och ekan-u to'q ekan, bo'ri bakovul ekan, tulki yasovul ekan" ("there were the hungry and the full, the wolf was the steward, the fox was the herald") — was often cut short. When "Zumrad and Qimmat" was told in English, the formula was almost always replaced by the familiar "Once upon a time". As a result, an English-speaking reader never meets the distinctive opening of the Uzbek tale at all. Interestingly, the same thing happened in the opposite direction: when the English tale was retold in Uzbek, the models began it with "Bir bor ekan, bir yo'q ekan".

The threshold of the tale, it seems, is always rebuilt to suit the listener's culture.

What do the names lose? The names Zumrad and Qimmat were kept in every text. For an Uzbek listener, though, these are not just names: *zumrad* means "emerald", and *qimmat* means "precious" or "dear". The names themselves hint at the characters' inner worth. In the English texts, this meaning was left without any explanation. So although the names were preserved in form, their content was lost. The namelessness of the English tale's characters — "the king's daughter", "the stepsister" — remained unchanged in the Uzbek retellings.

Household and everyday life. This is where the most change took place. When the tale was told in English, the old woman's *sandiq* (a traditional wooden chest) became a "chest" or simply a "box", and her humble dwelling became the "cottage" or "hut" so familiar from Western fairy tales. Details such as the *tandir* (clay oven), the *dasturxon* (the spread tablecloth at the centre of Uzbek hospitality) and *non* (traditional bread), even when they appeared in the text, were rendered with colourless words such as "oven", "food" or "bread". At the same time, the opposite tendency also appeared: in some texts the models added details that do not exist in the original — a bazaar, silk, a teahouse — in an effort to give the story an "oriental" flavour. This is exoticisation. In such a text, culture is not shown from the inside but painted from the outside, like a picture seen through a tourist's eyes.

Manners and forms of address. In the Uzbek tale, Zumrad's respect for the old woman shows in her words as much as in her deeds. In the Uzbek retellings, affectionate forms of address such as *buvijon* ("dear grandmother") and *onajon* ("dear mother"), as well as the polite form *siz*, were partly preserved. In the English texts, they became a neutral "Grandmother" or simply "old woman". Consequently, Zumrad's good manners were now visible only in what she did — sweeping, tidying, serving — and no longer in what she said.

Who is the old woman? The old woman in the original Uzbek tale is a complex figure: she rewards the good and punishes the wicked without mercy. In the English texts, she was usually called a "kind old woman", sometimes a "magical old woman". In the adaptations for children, she moved considerably closer to the "fairy godmother" of Western tales — a gentle, magical helper. Her stern, punishing side almost disappeared. The magical heads in the English tale's well were kept in the Uzbek texts, but they were sometimes explained through images more familiar to an Uzbek child, such as a *pari* (fairy) or "a magical voice".

The moral of the tale. When the tales were retold in their own languages, their moral logic — kindness is rewarded, wickedness is punished — stayed the same. In the adaptations for children, however, the picture changed completely. The harshest scene of the Uzbek tale — Qimmat and her stepmother dying from the snakes and scorpions that crawl out of the chest — was softened or removed in nearly all adapted texts. Instead, the wicked characters "realise their mistake" and "say sorry". The punishment in the English tale was softened in the same way. And the values at the heart of the original Uzbek tale — respect for elders, service and patience — gave way to values that are understood the same way everywhere: "kindness", "friendship" and "believe in yourself".

How did the heroine herself change? In the original tale, Zumrad is a patient, obedient and hard-working girl. She does not rebel against her fate; she bears it patiently, and it is precisely her patience and service that are rewarded. The king's daughter in the English tale, by contrast, sets out on her own to seek her fortune. In the AI retellings, and especially in the children's adaptations, both heroines changed in the same direction: they became active girls who make their own decisions and speak openly about their feelings. Their actions were no longer explained by duty and patience but by "finding her own way" and "wanting to help others". The stepmother, too, softened and lost much of her former cruelty. In short, two heroines from two different peoples gradually merged into a single "global modern heroine".

Discussion

Our results point to one clear conclusion: language models remember the chain of events in a tale well, but they systematically alter the cultural details that make it distinctive — especially those belonging to Uzbek culture. This confirms, this time on folklore material, the conclusion of Tao and colleagues (2024) that the values of language models lean towards English-speaking cultures.

This process might be called "cultural flattening". The model takes the general fairy-tale template it knows best, lays it over the Uzbek tale, and adjusts the tale to fit. In the language of translation studies, this is domestication (Venuti, 1995). There is, however, one important difference: a translator chooses this strategy consciously, whereas the AI does not choose anything — it simply repeats what it has seen most often.

The cases of exoticisation reveal a different problem. The models do not know Uzbek culture from the inside; they tend to imagine it through a generalised image of "the East". As Bender and colleagues (2021) warned, a model inherits the views found in the texts it learned from. If most of what has been written about Uzbek folklore was written from the outside, the model will look at the Uzbek tale through that same outside lens.

In our view, the most serious change took place in the moral content of the tales. A folk tale is, above all, a form of upbringing. It teaches a child what to value by making the child feel it. When values that matter deeply to Uzbek people — respect for elders, service, patience — are replaced by universal ones, the tale loses part of its purpose. In Sharifian's (2017) terms, one cultural schema is being replaced by another.

The changes in the heroine's image are not accidental either. Zipes (1979) noted long ago that fairy tales are reworked in every era to suit the spirit of the time. This has always happened, but artificial intelligence both speeds the process up and makes it uniform: heroes of different peoples are becoming more and more alike.

The findings also matter in practice. Teachers and parents who use AI to prepare tales for children should explicitly ask the model to keep the traditional opening, national realia and forms of address. More broadly, digitising Uzbek folklore and building open electronic corpora would help future models "understand" Uzbek culture better.

Of course, our study has its limits. It covers only two tales and three models, and language models are updated quickly, so the results reflect a particular moment in time. Future research could include a larger number of tales, add Russian as a third language, extend the analysis quantitatively, and examine AI tools that generate images.

Conclusion

This study has shown that when artificial intelligence recreates a folk tale, its national-cultural elements do not all share the same fate: some are preserved, some lose their colour, some are replaced by something else, and some disappear entirely. The five-part model of preservation, neutralisation, substitution, addition and omission proved to be a practical and effective tool for tracing this process.

The plot of the tale and the names of the characters turned out to be the most stable parts. Household realia, the traditional opening and speech etiquette proved to be the parts that change most readily. A clear imbalance was observed between the English and the Uzbek tale: the English tale largely kept its face, while the Uzbek tale was more exposed to neutralisation, domestication and exoticisation. In the adaptations for children, the moral content of both tales shifted towards universal values, and the heroine changed from a patient, obedient girl into an active, independent one.

Artificial intelligence is becoming a new storyteller of folklore. It tells tales much as our grandmothers did, but it does not know or feel everything our grandmothers knew and felt. That is why it is an urgent task today to monitor its influence on national culture, to enrich Uzbek cultural heritage in the digital world, and to teach people to use AI in education with cultural awareness.

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