Research Article

The Accepted Outsider: A New Interpretation of The Folktale of *Momotaro*

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Abstract

Momotaro is one of the most widely heard folktales in Japanese society, even becoming a compulsory material taught in all elementary schools in Japan. Folktale is something that reflects the structure of thinking of the society. Therefore, the folktale of *Momotaro* was examined to reveal the thinking structure covered in the story. The thought is the view of Japanese society towards people outside their community. This view in Japanese culture is very important. Surprisingly, until now there has been no researcher who relates this folktale to this view. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to fill this void, by presenting a new interpretation different from the previous studies. This research is cultural research, not literary research. Almost all cultural research on *Momotaro* cannot be separated from the use of a historical approach. What distinguishes it from previous research is the use of a non-historical approach. This study used Levi-Strauss' structural approach. This approach is to look at the forms of structure or 'logic' used in the folktale of *Momotaro,* more specifically the logic about the meaning of outsiders for Japanese society.

Keywords: outsider; folktale; Levi-Strauss structuralism; *Momotaro; uchi*-soto

1. Introduction

There is an interesting thing in the elementary school education curriculum in Japan, that is using folktale of *Momotaro* as a compulsory material to be taught to the students. Indeed, it is not only the folktale of *Momotaro,* but there are also other folktales that are taught. However, *Momotaro* is the most popular folktale among students in Japan (Lanham & Shimura, 2007).

The popularity of this folktale draws the attention of many researchers to carry out studies and the history of the studies has been dated a long time ago. Starting from the Yanagita era at the end of the early 20th century and marked by the popularity of a book called *Momotaro no Tanjou* (The Birth of *Momotaro)* that he wrote. Through this book, he tried to lay the foundation for folklore studies in Japan. His study was characterized by his efforts to explore the unique aspects of Japanese beliefs through the study of Japanese folklores and its traces of myths.

Following Yanagita's footsteps, in 1907, Nitobe wrote *Momotaro* no *mukashi banashi* (The Tale of *Momotaro)*. He identified different levels of meaning in the story that have relevance to 20th century Japan. He argued that *Momotaro* was an archetype that represented the pre-history of the Japanese race. Although this tale is a typical Japanese folktale, Nitobe argued

that *Momotaro* symbolized the foreign adventurers who reached Japan from the South Seas and united the nation (his animal companions represented various groups in Japan). Furthermore, Nitobe said that this definition of *Momotaro* was neither historical nor ethical, but rather an economic motivation. *Momotaro,* according to him, was expressed more as Japan's interest in the outside world and its expansive motivation to rule the world. Since Nitobe's opinion was published, the following researchers seemed to simultaneously accept the command and follow the basis of his interpretation. The results of the literature studies indicate that the reading and interpretation of *Momotaro* do not come from nationalism, allegory, imperialistic mobilization, and the like. Take, for example, Hiroshi Kawamori's historical views in Folktale Research after Yanagita (Hiroshi, 2019); Antoni Klaus who has related the story of *Momotaro* with the spirit and nationalism of the Japanese people of the Early Shwa Age (Antoni, 2006); David A. Hendry with his doctoral dissertation declaring *Momotaro* Japan's Best-Loved Folktale as National Allegory (Henry, 2009); and Tierney's writings on how *Momotaro* became a political tool of the Japanese state in colonialism in Southeast Asia (Tierney, 2008).

From the publication of study results on the folktale of *Momotaro* above, they can be subjected into two main categories: the first is historical perspective and the second is hermeneutic perspective. Considering the results of the studies, according to the researcher, it is necessary to conduct a study that introduces a new, 'different' interpretation. Therefore, a different approach is required. This is where the idea of this research is realized.

Initially, the researcher presumed that *Momotaro* (Hukumusume.com, 2021) has a typical Japanese structure of thinking about insiders and outsiders. This folktale covers the relationship among elders (elderly man and woman), *Momotaro,* three animals (Monkey, Dog, Pheasant), and Oni (Giant). These relationships will be studied to find the structure of Japanese society's thinking about insiders and outsiders. From the previous studies, no one saw *Momotaro* as a representation of insiders and outsiders. Therefore, this study is expected to provide a new interpretation with a method that has never been applied in previous studies of the folktale of *Momotaro.*

The proposed interpretation is based on an analysis in a structural approach. An approach must have a distinctive way of observing and questioning a phenomenon. The structural approach used in this study also leads to a unique question, a structuralism question. The question is, what are the structures in the folktale of *Momotaro?* How do these structures represent Japanese society's view of *Momotaro?*

The main difference between this study and previous studies is the use of the theory. This study uses Levi-Strauss' structuralism theory, a theory that is not historical and focuses on searching for the deepest structure of a phenomenon. This approach provides a unique method for studying folktales, instead of focusing on the content of the story or narrative, it shifts to the side of its structure or formal forms. The proposal for the new interpretation is based on a reason that the interpretation of a folktale never gives a definite meaning. This approach is selected with the aims to provide a methodological contestation on studies on the folktale of *Momotaro* using non-structural paradigms, as well as non-Levi-Strauss approach.

2. Methods

The structural approach of Levi-Strauss used in this study indicates that folktales, clothing, and houses can be considered as language. The basic understanding is culture as a text. It means all of them can be treated similarly to studying language texts. Language and culture are the result of the various activities that are essentially similar

or identical. This activity comes from what he calls an uninvited guest, that is the human mind (Ahimsa-Putra, 2001, 2006; Levi-Strauss, 2007). Levi-Strauss's opinion, in this study, is used as a theoretical basis that 'validates' that first, the folktale of *Momotaro* is a cultural product that is like language. Second, in the folktale of *Momotaro,* there is human mind of the Japanese people as the owner of the folktale.

A study on international journals was conducted to find out how far this folktale of *Momotaro* has been interpreted. Based on the results, it can be determined that this study was completely different from what had been conducted by previous researchers.

Furthermore, data collection in this study was carried out by conducting literature study. There were at least two groups of facts, those were the focus of the literature studies, that were myths/ folklore facts about *Momotaro* and ethnographic facts about traditional conceptions of insiders and outsiders according to Japanese society view. Therefore, data collection was carried out by tracing and then determining which folktale of *Momotaro* that would be used as the object of this study. As this folktale has so many versions, the one that is narrated almost thoroughly was chosen because, theoretically, a thorough story can show a more complete structure. In the search for the folktale, dozens of versions were found only in written text, not including the spoken or video versions. From all these versions, this study selected the Fuku Musume Dōwa-Shū Kyō no Nipponmukashibanashi (桃太郎福娘童話集きょうの日本昔話) version of the folktale of *Momotaro* (Hukumusume.com, 2021) as the object of the study because the story was considered as the most complete one (based on theoretical assumptions from Levi-Strauss' view of structuralism) and in line with the study objectives.

The next step was collecting traditional conceptions and views of insiders and outsiders. Exploration of conceptions that reflect the views of Japanese society on the existence of people outside their 'community' was carried out. These conceptions, for example is the concept of *soto* and *uchi*, the concept of *ie*, and so on. These conceptions were used to prove that there were regularities where the structural configuration of the folktale of *Momotaro* changed (transformed) into another structural configuration.

In the process of analysis, the folktale of *Momotaro* was studied by finding the mythemes beforehand. One mytheme was assumed to always reside in one or more sentences (Ahimsa-Putra, 2001, 2006, 2011). Mytheme is the smallest unit, like a phoneme in linguistics, which has no meaning before being related to other mythemes. As meaning in this view only existed if one unit was in opposition to another, then one mytheme was juxtaposed with its oppositional mythemes to reveal its meaning. This step was carried out in such a way that a deeper structural pattern was found (Levi-Strauss, 2007; Wibowo, 2016). This inner structure was then related to the ethnographic data of Japanese society.

3. Result and Discussion
3.1 Previous Studies and Interpretation

The study on the folktale of *Momotaro* was pioneered by Yanagita Kunio (Hiroshi, 2019). Through this book he tried to lay the foundation for folklore studies in Japan. His study was characterized by his efforts to explore the unique aspects of Japanese folk beliefs through the study of folklore. Yanagita described the characteristic features of Japanese folklore as a reference material that had a higher value as a source of religious history compared to folklore found in other countries. Yanagita tried to find traces of myth in folktales. He also explained this in his book on the history of spoken literature, where he summarized the

methodology in studying orally transmitted literature.

In assuming such diminished belief in folklore, Yanagita saw this as the stage where they turned into folktales for children. Following from this idea, Yanagita positioned folktale in the same vein as the folktale of *Momotaro*. In his statement, Yanagita insisted that there were classical folktales that were mythological in nature. According to him, many other stories contained different episodes that branched off from the original (Hiroshi, 2019).

In fact, in the early 20th century, *Momotaro* was more dominantly defined as a national allegory for political purposes. Japanese political writers at that time frequently expressed a view that Japan should grow to the South Sea. A major expansion of the Japanese empire began in 1914 when the Japanese navy occupied Micronesia which was under the Germany and business firms expanded commercial relations and economic investment throughout the Southeast Asia (Tierney, 2008).

According to Tierney, to encourage young people for this imperialistic idea, the folktale of *Momotaro* could not be ignored. In this story, the teachers and researchers at that time found a great means for instilling imperial consciousness. *Momotaro* first appeared in Elementary School readers in the 1880s, and through these readers, the standard version of the story was disseminated throughout Japan. Since the 1890s, a work was found about a giant island in the South Sea in which the character *Momotaro* was described as an imperialist adventurer. Moreover, in Ima *Momotaro* (*Momotaro* Now), which was published in 1895, *Momotaro* was defined as a Japanese general, the island inhabited by the ogres (giants) was Taiwan, and the treasure in the ogre island was Taiwan sugar cane industry (Tierney, 2008).

In 1907, Nitobe Inazō wrote *Momotaro* nomukashi banashi (The Folktale of *Momotaro*). He identified different levels of meaning in stories that have specific relevance for 20th century Japan. He argued that *Momotaro* was an archetype that represented the pre-history of the Japanese race. Although this story was a typical Japanese folktale, Nitobe argued that *Momotaro* symbolized the foreign adventurers who reached Japan from the South Seas and united the nation (his animal companions represented the various ethnicities in Japan). *Momotaro* represented masculinity, while his companion's represented virtue, wisdom, and courage in Confucian teachings. Furthermore, Nitobe said that this definition of *Momotaro* was neither historical nor ethical, but rather an economic motivation. *Momotaro,* was more expressed as Japan's interest in the outside world and expansive motivation to rule the world (Tierney, 2008).

In Hendry (2009), *Momotaro* had a story of which elements allowed to be interpreted as a national allegory. In his dissertation, he put forward his point that the story of *Momotaro* had a story of which elements allowed to be interpreted as a national allegory. He defined national allegory as the act of interpreting a text as if it were indeed about a particular country or nation to which the author owed an ethno-emotional loyalty (Henry, 2009).

Hendry then considered how three tropes of national allegories were read to *Momotaro* in particular, and children's literature in general. The three recurring themes are: the hero's home was attacked, he won due to his relationship to imperial institutions, and the battle location was imagined as an overseas area available for colonization. Through these three allusions, children's literature formed a kind of latent political education for children and instilled vivid Japanese ideas about the empire. Starting from the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), these new political meanings began to be studied in the folktale of *Momotaro,* but in the 1920s, the interpretation of the folktale became increasingly synonymous

with Japanese nationalism and militarism (Henry, 2009).

At that time, the interpretation and definition of the folktale of *Momotaro* was as an encouragement to motivate nationalism, even imperialism. However, there was one opinion that was completely different at that time, that was the critique of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke in *Momotaro* which was published in the Sunday Mainichi Newspaper on July 1, 1924. Akutagawa rejected *Momotaro* who was introduced by Nitobe as a model for youth. He focused his narrative through the perspective of the Ogres (Oni, Giants), reversed the basic elements of the story, and deconstructed the colonial discourse of imperial expansionism. Instead of a hero, *Momotaro* was a lazy figure, who only looked for treasures by conquering their owners, the Ogres (Tierney, 2008).

The Ogres were described by Akutagawa as living a happy life in peace and harmony. If the colonial narrative did not humanize the colonized, Akutagawa reversed the colonial stereotype by changing his narrative perspective. He also satirized the South Sea imperialism of his time by describing *Momotaro* who disturbed and colonized the Ogre, a race that loved a peaceful life, loved togetherness in pleasure, lived happily by having parties, strumming the koto strings, dancing, and singing ancient poems. *Momotaro* had ruined their lives and plundered their treasures until there was nothing left. By conquering the island, *Momotaro* had unwittingly stimulated the feelings of resentment of those he had colonized (Tierney, 2008).

Akutagawa's opinion can indeed be said to be unique and bold because his writing was completely different from those of previous researchers. Not only that, but subsequent researchers also agreed to the definition before Akutagawa. For example, Reider also revealed the interpretation of Oni (in the story of *Momotaro)* as foreign enemies in World War II. He said that

through the story of *Momotaro,* the Oni were increasingly interpreted as an evil allied force during the Japanese war at the time. In the story, the reason for *Momotaro* 's naming was because he was born from a peach, which was divinely sent and floated on a river. As the boy growing up, he began to show miraculous power. At that time, Oni from a faraway island often became robbers who looted treasure and kidnapped people. Young *Momotaro* decided to confront and subdue the Oni. His aging parents gave him dan'go cakes for his packed meal. On his way, *Momotaro* met a dog, a monkey, and a pheasant who all became his followers in exchange for his delicious cake. *Momotaro* and his three followers went to Oni Island, defeated them, and took back all his treasures (Reider, 2017).

Reider invited readers to examine the main reason why *Momotaro* destroyed the Oni was that they were enemies of the Japanese empire. Using the term "Oni" as a designation for a different race to be conquered, or to select people with different traditions and manners, was an old custom as we have seen. In this respect, one might argue, this custom was brought to the foreground by the geopolitical events of the era, as Iwaya Sazanami's "Momotarö" reflected the spirit of the Japanese Empire. *Momotaro* claimed that the Oni had stolen treasures from people. However, he also stated before embarking on the adventure that he would take all Oni's treasures. They included an invisible straw raincoat, an invisible hat, and a lucky hammer. Those magical items certainly did not belong to humans. This means that, apart from being a Japanese hero because of his courage and enthusiasm, *Momotaro* also expressed the imperialistic mind of taking (looting) one's valuable possessions. For this reason, Reider argued that *Momotaro* should be read as the personification of Japanese imperialism exemplified by Japan's aggression in Manchuria in 1931, China in

1937, and continuing into the Pacific War of 1941 (Reider, 2010).

Before Reider's study was published, Antoni Klaus also conveyed similar thing in defining the meaning of *Momotaro*. Klaus also had strong suspicions about the folktale of *Momotaro* being transmitted to school students to instil the ideology of Japanese nationalism to their heart. To prove this conjecture, Klaus then adapted historical facts, where in the past (before the Meiji/ Modern era). the samurai dominated the virtue in defending the nation. This must then be changed by mobilizing that virtue did not only belong to some groups. In traditional times, apart from the samurai, those from the peasant class, merchants, and other commoners were forbidden to carry weapons. According to Klaus, it was from this point that schools took on the role of campaigning for the common good. Virtue to defend the nation, and it was the right and at the same time the obligation as a citizen. By using mandatory military service, practically all youth can be ideologically indoctrinated into the meaning of nationalism. The nation has a strong legal basis for this. By using Rescript on Education, the doctrine was required and propagated through moral education and military training. National pride and a sense of ' Japan Ichiban ' were instilled in children through stories in folktale readings for primary education (Shogaku Kokugo Tokuhon) (Antoni, 2006).

Klaus suspected this tale arose as a political allegory when Japan confronted its war enemies at the time. The depiction of folktale characters taught in schools clearly contrasted between good and evil, between Japan and its continental enemies. That way, it becomes very easy for students to identify which one to defend, and which one to fight against, as easy as distinguishing between the good and evil characters in the story. This persuasive image is very thick in the folktale of *Momotaro.* According to him, there was no depiction of propaganda in children's stories as well as that depicted in the folktale of *Momotaro.*

Meanwhile, Satoru Aonuma stated that the character *Momotaro* was told as an imaginary hero who freed his people from attacks of evil demons from faraway land. By constantly communicating to the younger generation, the Japanese empire wanted to instil a justification for war against its enemy in the 1930-1940's era, namely the United States. Satoru also stated that his story had been adapted to an ideology that opposed imperialism and capitalism. Satoru's article critically examined how *Momotaro* represented a folk hero who gained class consciousness as a proletarian and offered a critique to American dominant ideology (Satoru, 2014).

As described above, *Momotaro* as a Japanese folk tale had been widely studied by scientists. Starting from Yanagita Kunio's study, known as Minzokugaku whose main objective was to explain the race of Japanese descent. Yanagita's opinion was later developed by Hashimoto Sentaro and other local (Japanese) lecturers and researchers. This group was more likely to research it to reveal local identities. Although Akutagawa (1925) had a different view at that time, most definition of *Momotaro* in the later period were more focused on war propaganda. There were many studies that explain the connection of this story with the national allegory to promote Japanese militarism and nationalism (Antoni, 2006; Henry, 2009; Hiroshi, 2019; Reider, 2010; Satoru, 2014; Tierney, 2008). Of the many studies, each had its own peculiarities in its explanations. That is, even though it seemed as if the definition of *Momotaro* had not changed, the discussion has developed with various opinions. Thus, *Momotaro* had been interpreted into various opinions, from Yanagita's approach, which was initially very dominant, local-nationalistic interpretation, then carried over to

imperialistic propaganda and motivation, to criticism of colonialism.

The meaning and definition that continued to develop as Japanese identity until now were not due to the fixed values in the folktale of *Momotaro,* but due of the ongoing narrative process. This narration occurred both through the adaptation of the story, as well as the critical work, which sought to define it. Based on this perspective, folklore like *Momotaro,* would never have a single, stable meaning. Therefore, it is necessary to continue to develop by updating existing interpretations. It was under these conditions that this study was conducted.

3.2 New Interpretation of *Momotaro*

The folktale of *Momotaro* did have many variants of stories from various sources. The story the researcher found, started from an 1885 English children's story book republished by the Cambridge Digital Library entitled Japanese Works: *Momotaro* (Cambridge University, 2021), to articles containing the folktale of *Momotaro* from its collector (Yanagita Kunio), both from Japan (Antoni, 2006; Hiroshi, 2019; Reider, 2010) and Western researchers (Antoni, 2006; Henry, 2009; Tierney, 2008), suggested that the folktale of *Momotaro* had been narrated in many versions. These versions also indicated differences in narrative and polarization. Although there were many versions, with the Levi-Strauss structural approach, it was not too difficult to choose which one to use as the object of the study. This was because the structural approach almost did not question the narratives that had many versions, but only focused on the formal form of the folktale in question.

This sample of the folktale of *Momotaro* was taken from a collection of Japanese tales summarized on the online site *Fukumusume dōwa-shū kyō no nipponmukashi banashi* (福娘童話集きょうの日本昔話) (Hukumusume.com,

2021). The summary of the folktale was as follows. A spouse of elderly man and woman went to find Momo fruit (peach) in a river in the forest while they were looking for firewood. The fruit was then brought home. Arriving at home, the fruit was then split. What a surprise when a baby came out of the fruit. The couple welcomed the arrival of the baby and considered it a gift given by God to them. They then named him *Momotaro.* When *Momotaro* was a teenager, he learned that there were Oni, evil giants who often stole treasures and disturbed the elders' lives. Therefore, he asked permission to go to the Oni's place and defeated him and brought back all the treasures he had looted. The elders allowed it and gave dan'go cakes as packed meals during his trip. On the way, he met 3 animals, the Monkey, Dog, and Pheasant. After each was given a dan'go cake, the three animals joined forces with *Momotaro* to defeat the Oni. Long story short, they were finally able to defeat the Oni and bring home the treasure.

The first step in this study was finding the relationships between the characters in the story. The relationship between these characters could be grouped into two: 1) the relationship between elderly man and woman, and *Momotaro* and Oni (Giant); 2) the relationship between *Momotaro* and the three animals and the Oni (Giant).

When observing the beginning of the story, the elders left the house to meet their daily needs. Just then they found *Momotaro* and brought him home.

… …おばあさんは大きな桃をひろ
いあげて、家に持ち帰りました。
(Hukumusume.com, 2021)

……… The elderly woman picked up a large peach and brought it home.

The relationship between the elderlies and *Momotaro* and Oni is Home and Outside the house. The following is a scheme from this unit analysis.
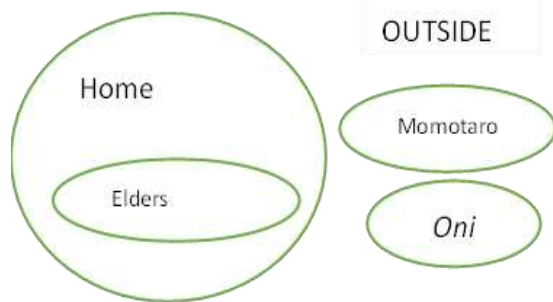
Figure 1 Scheme: Relationship of the elders, *Momotaro,* and Oni

At first, viewed from the house/family of the elders, the relationship between the elders on the one hand, and *Momotaro* on the other hand is the relationship between the in-group and the out-group. Likewise, the relationship between the elders and Oni. This relationship then changed. The first structural configuration change is that when *Momotaro* received kindness from the elders by being picked up and cared for as a child; *Momotaro* is included in the in-group (in-group with Grandparents). This in-group status seemed to be getting stronger when the Oni figure was presented in the story. It was said that at that time, *Momotaro* conveyed his wish to his grandparents to defeat the Oni who had stolen the treasures of Grandparents and other villagers. The relationship depicted here is that the elders and *Momotaro* were in the same house, while those outside the house were Oni. The schema for the relation is:
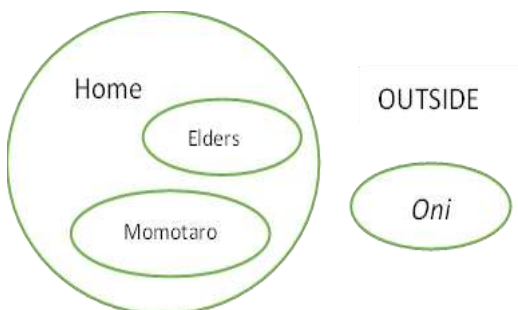

Figure 2. Scheme: Relationship Change 1 Outside

Changes in relationship were repeated in the folktale when *Momotaro* met the three animals, namely Monkey, Dog, and Pheasant. At the meeting with the three animals, *Momotaro* gave each a dan'go cake. After they received the gift, they declared that they were ready to help *Momotaro* against the Oni.

　…そしてある日、桃太郎が言いました。「ぼく,鬼ヶ島へ行って,わるい鬼を退治します」　おばあさんにきび団子を作ってもらうと, 鬼ヶ島へ出かけました.

　… …こうして、イヌ、サル、キジの仲間を手に入れた桃太郎は、ついに鬼ヶ島へやってきました。

(Hukumusume.com, 2021)

…Then one day, *Momotaro* said, "I will go to Onigashima's place, I will eliminate that evil devil."

After making a packed meal of dan'go cake, *Momotaro* immediately left for Onigashima's place.

… …Thus, *Momotaro* who then had the support of the three animals Dog, Monkey, Pheasant) finally arrived at Onigashima's place.

From this story, the relationship between *Momotaro,* the three animals, and Oni can be described in two schemes, that are the story before receiving the cake, and after it. Prior to receiving the cake, the three animals (Monkey, Dog, Pheasant) were not members of *Momotaro* 's inner group/coalition against Oni. That is, the three animals and Oni, from *Momotaro* 's position were both outsiders. After receiving the cake, the three animals then declare a coalition to attack the Oni, which means that their positions change to *Momotaro* 's insiders in the context of confronting the Oni. So, the relation schema is as follows.
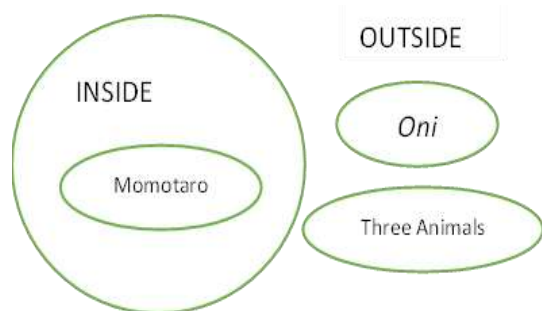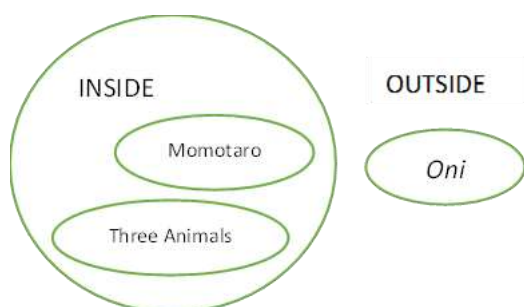
Figure 3. Scheme 3: Relationship 2

Figure 4. Scheme 4: Changes in Relationship 2

Based on these units of analysis, it can be said that the relationship between *Momotaro,* the three animals, and the Oni is a repetition of the previous relationship between the elder, *Momotaro,* and Oni.

The study found the above relational scheme of the structure of the folktale of *Momotaro.* Based this structure, it is found that in the folktale of *Momotaro* there is a logic about outsiders, insiders, and outsiders becoming insiders. The logic of this folktale represents the views of the Japanese people in the context of their social relations. Through searching ethnographic data, it is found that the concepts of Japanese society are related to this view. The Japanese called this concept as *uchi-soto*.

The concept of *uchi-soto* came from the Japanese view of the *ie* system. This system divided two groups in the context of their interaction, that is *uchi* no mono (insiders) and *soto* no mono (outsiders). This strategy is well known and believed by the Japanese people in the expression of their social

interactions (Mulya & Kirana, 2018). According to Wetzel (Wibowo, 2016), discussing Japanese social behaviour would be impossible without referring to the importance of the *uchi-soto* boundary which was rooted in this concept of ie.

Davis and Ikeno (Mulya & Kirana, 2018) said that the word *ie* can be defined in four meanings, namely 1) residential building, 2) family, 3) a group containing a large family, or also 4) family lineage originating from an ancestor. This concept of *ie* had been an inherent view of the Japanese people's mind for a long time. With this concept, Japanese people felt accustomed to being part of one group.

Davis and Ikeno (Izarina, 2012) confirmed that the Japanese also tend to look at everyone in their groups. Likewise, when dealing with foreigners, they would automatically consider themselves, Japanese people, as an inside group (*uchi*), while non-Japanese people as an outside group (*soto*). Furuta, et al (Wibowo, 2016) explained that the concept of *uchi-soto* is a norm of consciousness related to human relationships which classifies people into two interactional groups, that are the inner group and the outer group.

Nakane also said that in the interaction pattern between the inner and outer groups, there are differences in attitude and view so that a wall is built between the two groups that limits them. Japanese people are very hard to open-up to anyone who is not from their group. This is an important consequence of the concept of *uchi-soto* that foreigners need to understand before getting to know the 'cold' attitude when interacting with Japanese people (Izarina, 2012).

In terms of behaviour, Japanese people have the terms *honne* and *tatemae*. *Honne* is an expression of the heart, while *tatemae* is refraining from telling the truth. The Japanese will use the attitude of *honne* to *uchi no mono*, and *tatemae* to *soto no mono* (Henry, 2009).

Furthermore, Doi stated that what distinguishes the *uchi-soto* relationship is the presence or absence of *enryo* (遠慮) in their relationship. Enryo is self-restraint, not feeling free, or letting go. In relation to *uchi-soto*, fellow family members do not need to be enryo at all because they are considered insiders. The term *miuchi* (siblings, members of one family) has the meaning of people in the inner circle, while on the contrary, the outer circle is people outside the family who will establish *giri* (social norms) in the pattern of their relationships. However, the relationship of *giri* (friends, office mates, etc.) can become an inner circle when dealing with the world of *tanin* (other people) who do not have a close relationship at all (Wibowo, 2016).

In addition to the enryo proposed by Doi, Makino prefers *kyoukan* (共感) or caring as the basic element of *uchi-soto*. The greater the care, the more it shows the feelings of fellow *uchi* groups, and vice versa, the less caring, then it shows outsiders (*soto*). Thus, intimacy (enryo) and care (kyoukan) are the basic elements that determine the pattern of the *uchi-soto* relationship. This pattern, for Japanese people, is encapsulated in a view of togetherness (*shuudan shugi*), and because of this the awareness of always being in the group environment is something that is always attached to the heart and mind of Japanese people (Wibowo, 2016).

As written by Doi and Makino above, the researcher also believes that the most important basic element in the *uchi-soto* relationship is intimacy and concern. The process when *Momotaro* becomes an inner group (*uchi*) of the elderly man and woman' family can also be explained in these two ways. For example, the closeness between the elders and *Momotaro* has been established since his childhood, since *Momotaro* is considered their own child (member of the family), therefore they are in the same *uchi* group. The familiarity of the three animals (Dog, Monkey, Pheasant) with *Momotaro* is established since they met and subsequently set up a joint strategy against the Oni. Since that meeting, the process of becoming a *uchi* group began.

Their care can also be traced through the story. The elderly man and woman care for *Momotaro* by taking him as a child, feeding him, raising, and caring for him. *Momotaro* cares for the elders by sacrificing himself to fight the Oni. This mutual care shows that they are in the same circle of *uchi*, and so does *Momotaro* 's care for the three animals. *Momotaro* cares about them by giving dan'go, while the three animals care for *Momotaro* by empathizing with the problems he is facing and willing to help him defeat the Oni.

The explanation above results in an understanding that if there is no process of intimacy and care between the characters in the story above, there will be no change in *soto* to *uchi* because the high intensity of the two elements is what makes *uchi* happen. If it is low or absent, then the relationship of *Momotaro* and the elders remains as *soto*, and so does with the three animals and *Momotaro*. Therefore, the meaning of the folktale of *Momotaro* can be deduced from the explanation above. Based on the relationship of the characters in the folktale, the structures, and their relationship to the concept of *uchi-soto* in Japanese society, the meaning of the folktale of *Momotaro* is that outsiders (*soto*) are accepted as inner groups (*uchi*).

4. Conclusion

Based on the results of data processing, it obtained answers to the research problems that have been previously formulated. The answers can be concluded as follows. First, the structure in the folktale of *Momotaro* can be extracted from the relationships between the characters of elderly man and woman, *Momotaro,* three animals, and Oni. The first structural configuration is the relationship between grandparents at home (in-group) and those outside the home (out-

group), who are *Momotaro* and Oni. Second, Grandparents and *Momotaro* in the house (in-group) with Oni who stays outside the house (out-group). These changes from the first configuration to the second configuration are repeated in the third and fourth configuration, that is the relationship between *Momotaro,* the three animals, and the Oni. From *Momotaro* 's point of view, the three animals were originally out-group like Oni. However, after getting a favour (receiving dan'go cake), the three animals joined *Momotaro* 's group. Meanwhile, the Oni remained as outsiders.

From the structures of the above folktales, it can be proven that there is a change in the structural configuration regarding the views of Japanese people about insiders (*uchi*) and outsiders (*soto*). The starting point of the study boils down to the position of Grandparents as stated above. With this starting point, then at the beginning of the story, *Momotaro,* the three animals, and the Oni are nothing but outsiders (*soto*) to the elders. After being related to the Oni, the structure changes, the elders, *Momotaro,* and the three animals are in one group (*uchi*), while the Oni remains in the outer group (*soto*).

Based on the structural configurations found above, it can be said that a new meaning has been obtained. The new meaning is the initial hypothesis proposed that the folktale of *Momotaro* represents an outsider who is accepted as a member of the inner group (*uchi*).

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