

From Empire to Motherland:
Writing and the Politics of Translation in the Literatures of
Transcolonial Taiwan, 1937-1960

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Comparative Literature)
in the University of Michigan
2016

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Dedicated to
my parents,
Kira,
and
Yuchung
with a heart full of love
and gratitude

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Department of Comparative Literature for having provided an intellectually nurturing and enlightening environment for my academic pursuit. I also appreciate its financial support in the forms of fellowships, teaching appointments, summer funding, and study-abroad fellowships. I am grateful to Rackham for awarding me Barbour Scholarship and Graduate Research Grant. I would like to thank Sweetland Center for Writing for letting me participate in Dissertation Writing Institute. With all these generous forms of support, I have been able to study and do research in China, Japan, and Taiwan, and to own the luxury of concentrating on writing the dissertation. I am especially thankful to have been supported by Taiwan's Ministry of Education during my study in the United States.

I extremely appreciate the support and guidance of my committee. My dissertation chair Professor Jonathan Zwicker has shown me how to think innovatively but write with great precision and logic. His wit always opened up new routes for me when I felt facing dead ends. I would not be able to develop my project with confidence without his insights in comparative East Asian studies. I am truly lucky to have his generous support. Since I entered the program, my other dissertation chair Professor Yopie Prins has offered me wise advice and firm support in various aspects. Her patience and belief in me have greatly encouraged me to carry on my project and to develop my academic identity. I truly admire

her wisdom, openness, and elegance. Professor Xiaobing Tang has taught me the dedication and rigor that are required in doing research. It was a great pleasure working as a graduate student instructor for his class Introduction to Modern Chinese Culture. I have learned greatly from him on how to construct a class and teach effectively. And finally, Professor Youngju Ryu always impresses me with her crystal clear thoughts. Everytime after I met with her, I felt more confident in how to enhance and deepen my interpretation thanks to her insightful and constructive comments. She is a model mentor and scholar for me.

I am also grateful to Professor Frieda Ekotto, whose vigor and encouragement have helped me persist through tough times. I am so lucky to have stayed close with this amazing artist of life. Professor Anton Shammass has taught me how to be a respectful and warm mentor. The time spent with him was one of the most unforgettable memories in my years in Michigan. Professor Anne Herrman has been extremely supportive and understanding. I would have given up without her kind and firm support. I would like to thank Nancy Harris, the graduate coordinator of the department, who has always offered me strength with her humor, laughs, and wisdom during my years in Michigan.

It was great pleasure to be around with my fellow complitters. I have enjoyed the company of my cohort—Basak Candar, Chris Meade, Maria Hadjipolycarpou, Shannon Winston, and Spencer Hawkins—who have given me intellectual stimulus and emotional support. The time we spent together at Old Town and Ashley's has been one of the tokens of my graduate study. I especially cherish the friendship with Basak and Chris, my previous roommates, who have made me feel at home in Ann Arbor. And Emily Goedde, my precious friend, whose strength, gracefulness, kindness, and wisdom have enlightened me in so many ways. Without

her company and support I would not be able to finish the dissertation. Having met her family makes me realize where her strength and charm come from. I am very grateful to have become close to Theo, Lena, Brian, Jean, and Craig, who are so adorable, warm, and lovely.

My Taiwanese friends Ason Chiang, Chuang-Chung Hu, Huiwen Chuang, and Bonnie Hsieh have cared for me in the past years. They made me feel at home during severe winters and late night writings in Michigan.

I am indebted to my parents, Pan Muhuei and Yo Bisha, who have unconditionally supported me no matter what I chose to do. Even though they have little idea of what my work is about, they have allowed me to go this far, both physically and academically. My father always maintains a sense of curiosity and a yearning for knowledge, which has influenced my interest in reading since I was young. My mother, who is kind, loving, and sincere, has taught me how to love and give. She, who cannot speak English, was so brave to come to the United States alone to watch Kira for me so I could concentrate on my dissertation. It was so precious for me to have spent quality time with her after I have lived in the US and have become a mother.

My daughter Kira, who was born in the middle of dissertation writing, has brightened up my life. Without her lovely company and distraction, the days when I worked alone in Michigan would be so unbearable. The joy of watching her achieve each milestone, big or small, overlaps with my joy of accomplishing each piece of writing.

And to Yuchung, who brings zest to my life with his fearlessness and creativity. His various habits such as painting, making sake, and growing bonsai have colored my tedious days of reading and writing. He always leads me to new adventures while providing me a sound base of life. I am so lucky to have him in my life. Thank you.

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Abstract

“From Empire to Motherland: Writing and the Politics of Translation in the Literatures of Transcolonial Taiwan, 1937-1960” examines the literary culture of Taiwan from the end of the Japanese colonial period through the war, liberation, and the subsequent arrival of the Nationalist regime from Mainland China. Focusing on Lu Heruo (1914-1951), Zhong Lihe (1915-1960), Lin Haiyin (1918-2001), and Sakaguchi Reiko (1914-2007), the dissertation demonstrates how these four writers grappled with the enforcement of two monolingualisms during the transwar period, and how their writing reflects multilingual soundscape through an emphasis on cacophony, intertextuality, and translation. The introduction argues for a transcolonial approach to reconceptualize complex relationships between wartime and postwar periods, and to reconfigure the existent markers that separate these writers into unrelated categories. Chapter 1 reads Japanese and Chinese stories by Lu Heruo (“A Happy Family” and “Warfare in Hometown”) to analyze how the rhetoric of untranslatability creates a malleable, multilingual space within the monolingual text. Chapter 2 analyzes forms of intertextuality and intersubjectivity in Zhong Lihe’s “The Fourth Day,” “Outlaws and Hill Songs,” and “Willow Shade,” suggesting how translatability serves to create transnational identity. Chapter 3 reconstructs the importance of Lin Haiyin in the 1950s in bridging the knowledge gap between Japanese and Chinese materials through re-phoneticization and translation. It also repositions Lin’s signature nostalgic work *Old Stories from Peking’s Southside* as a transcolonial work that releases the sentiments of “double diaspora.” Chapter 4 analyzes how Japanese writer Sakaguchi Reiko

translates diverse sounds into creating a Taiwanese women's discourse that disturbs the male-dominated imperialist and Nationalist discourses in "The Zheng Family" and "The Story of Indigenous Woman Ropō." A close reading of these writers in relation to each other demonstrates a complex multilingual legacy made visible and audible in The National Museum of Taiwan Literature, where visitors are now encouraged to *hear* the cacophonous literary heritage and to review the unsettling relationship between aurality and textuality. This dissertation sheds new light on the most contested literary history of Taiwan, and addresses the ambiguous linguistic territory intersected by Japanese-language literature and Sinophone literature.

Keywords

Taiwan literature; transcolonial; monolingualism; translation studies; Sinophone literature; Japanese-language literature

Introduction

The linguistic history of modern Taiwan is marked by the enforcement of two monolingualisms. Taiwan first acquired the concept of a communal “national language” under Japanese colonial rule from 1895-1945. Prior to colonization, there was no single unified language; rather, multiple tongues were spoken by different ethnic groups, including diverse indigenous tribes and immigrants from various parts of China. The Japanese colonial government established an educational system to teach the Japanese language to the people of Taiwan. While this was the first time in Taiwan that different ethnic groups could communicate through a communal language, the space for the use of native tongues shrunk significantly.¹ The use of other languages was forbidden especially after the breakout of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937.

After the Nationalist regime from Mainland China officially took over the rule of Taiwan in 1949, a second new national language—Mandarin Chinese—was strictly enforced. Along with this change of national languages the citizens of Taiwan went from the subjects of the Japanese empire to being part of the “Motherland.” The Japanese language was forbidden and other native tongues were prohibited or restricted in the public domain.

¹ Chou Wan-yao, *Hai xin xi de niandai: Riben zhimin tongzhi moqi Taiwan shi lunji* 海行兮的年代：日本殖民統治末期台灣史論集 (Taipei: Yun Chen Wenhua, 2003), 80-81, 120-121.

It was not until Martial Law was lifted in 1987 and the Nativization Movement (*Bentuhua yundong* 本土化運動) subsequently emerged that the dialects of Hakka, Hokkien (Hoklo, Minnan, or Taiwanese), and indigenous languages become more prominent on public broadcasting channels². In this context, universities began to establish departments of Taiwanese literature and culture in distinction to Chinese literature from late 1990s onward. In 2003 a museum dedicated to the literature of Taiwan—the National Museum of Taiwan Literature—was also opened. Its mission is to preserve and show the richness of the “considerable number of literary works produced in Taiwan from the aboriginal history, the Netherlands, Spain, Zheng Chenggong’s South Ming regime, Qing governance, Japanese colonialism and the Republic of China.”³ This dissertation is an attempt to understand this complex linguistic history and how writers during the transwar period grappled with the enforcement of two monolingualisms.

The Museum itself can give us some insights into how to approach this issue. One section of the permanent exhibition focuses on the multiple languages of the island: “Symphonies of Languages, Blossoms of Multiethnic Literatures.”⁴ Along the walls of the exhibit room are representations of the wide range of languages that have appeared in Taiwan in chronological order—indigenous languages, Dutch, Hokkien, Hakka, Japanese, and Mandarin Chinese—both in *textual* and *auditory* forms. While displaying books or manuscripts written in those languages, the literature museum also provides headphones that play the “sound performances” of these texts. For example, the museum not only showcases the book *Footprints of Atayal Tribe* (1991) written by Walis Naqang, an

² The public Hakka broadcasting channel started in 2003 and the indigenous channel began in 2005.

³ See “Birth of the Museum.” National Taiwan Literature Museum Website, http://www.nmtl.gov.tw/content_167.html.

⁴ This permanent exhibition ran from 2004-2009. I visited the museum in August 2009.

indigenous writer, in a Roman transliteration of the Atayal language, but the visitor can also listen to a recording of the writer reciting his text. The literary journal that carried the Japanese-language short story “A Small Town Grown with Papaya Trees” (1937) is accompanied by a reading of Yie Di, a poet who received a Japanese education.⁵

At the center of the room is a small exhibition space called “Mothers’ Voices.” Seven wood statues all depicting mothers holding infants are placed in the center. On the baby’s forehead is a sensor area, which, when touched, releases a lullaby, sung in a soft soothing voice. Lights from above highlight the mother and child, foregrounding the eye contact between them. The handcrafted, rough outlines and wood convey unadorned, simple emotion (See Image 1).



Image 1 Exhibitory Space of Mothers’ Voices

(Copyright National Museum of Taiwan Literature)

⁵ Long Yingzong 龍瑛宗. “Papaya no aru machi” パパイヤのある町. In *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku: Taiwanjin sakka sakuhinshū* 日本統治期台湾文学：台湾人作家作品集, ed. Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao, vol 2 (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 1998).

When I visited the Museum and bent down to listen closely to the lullabies, I found that I did not understand them all, for they were sung in nine indigenous languages and two dialects. I had to rely on the Chinese translation to understand the words. When other visitors touched the statues, different lullabies were sung at the same time. This heteroglossia reifies the title “Symphonies of Languages, Blossoms of Multiethnic Literatures.” Through the installation of recitals and lullabies, the museum creates a soundscape that accommodates Taiwan’s complex history, ethnicities, and mother tongues.⁶

Through its exhibitions the Museum undertakes the job of identifying and creating a new—or highlighting an existing yet neglected—soundmark of Taiwan. A soundmark, according to Murray R. Schafer, is “a community sound which is unique or possesses qualities which make it specially regarded or noticed by the people in that community.... Once a soundmark is identified, it deserves to be protected, for soundmarks make the acoustic life of the community unique.”⁷ According to the museum, the various tongues represent the acoustic identity of Taiwan; it is these multiple voices that make Taiwan “Taiwan.”

In addition to marking an acoustic identity, this exhibition provides a productive way to look at the dynamics between aural and textual. Displaying materials written in various languages is insufficient; the texts have to be accompanied with sound in order to properly convey Taiwan’s “literary” heritage. These speaking voices unfold different aspects of the texts. Take my experience of Jiang Kui’s *Whirlwind* (1957) for example.

Whirlwind was written in Chinese under the anti-communist ideology promoted by the

⁶ Schafer defines soundscape as “any acoustic field of study.” See Murray R. Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*. (Rochester, Vt.: Destiny Books, 1993), 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

Nationalist regime. When I put on the headphones, I was surprised to hear a heavily accented Mandarin, while I had expected standardized Beijing-style Mandarin as taught in school. Hearing this text being read by the author's fellow villager from Shandong, I had a revelation about the 1950s, a period marked by re-Mandarinization and enforced monolingualism: Although it was an authoritarian period that enforces a strict national language policy, this single national language was inflected by multiple accents. In other words, the sound installation in the museum helps us “hear” not simply the texts but the historical contexts as well.

The superimposition of sound, however, also runs the risk of confining these texts. For example, the recital of *Footprints of Atayal Tribe* (1991) conveys the special sound quality of the Atayal language, yet the text—a transcription of the Atayal language in Roman alphabet accompanied by the Chinese translation—is marked simultaneously by three language systems. This textual complexity is erased by the sound performance of the recital.

The task of this dissertation is to return to the multiple literatures of transwar Taiwan through an attention to soundscape and an analysis of how monolingual texts reflect—unconsciously or against the grain—multilingualism. To do so, I analyze the work of four writers whose careers span the decades of the 1940s and 1950s—Lü Heruo, Zhong Lihe, Lin Haiyin, and Sakaguchi Reiko—and trace how these writers traverse various colonial, political, cultural, and linguistic territories in their lives and writings. These four writers all charted distinctive routes among various colonial spaces of Taiwan, the Japanese empire, and China. Lü Heruo (吕赫若 1914-1951) traveled across Taiwanese countryside and to Tokyo, the metropole, during the last decade of Japanese

colonial rule; his writing also traverses two national languages as he changed his writing language from Japanese to Chinese during the early postwar period. Zhong Lihe (鍾理和 1915-1960) escaped the imperial-subject movement as he left Taiwan for China in 1938 and lived in Mukden (capital of Manchukuo, today's Shengyang) and Beijing until relocating to a small town in Taiwan in 1946. Lin Haiyin (林海音 1918-2001) was born in Japan to Taiwanese parents but lived in Beijing for two decades until her return to Taiwan in 1948. Sakaguchi Reiko (坂口禰子 1914-2007) was a Japanese writer who lived in Taiwan in 1938-1946, during which she traversed both modernized and indigenous areas of the island. She continued to write about her experience in Taiwan after her return to Japan even when Taiwan was no longer part of the Japanese empire. Their writings demonstrate the intersecting and overlapping networks informed by these multiple routes and transcolonial experiences.

Cacophony and Translation

Cacophony and translation are at the heart of my approach to the texts that follow, as I examine the complexity of language and identity during a transcolonial moment. Cacophony can be thought of as a linguistic heterogeneity that may be hidden or obscured by the written text, but which is revealed if one considers the texts orally. I use cacophony to refer to the strange sounds and textual references that reify a complex soundscape and history. Even though cacophony interrupts the assumed consonance of monolingualism and singular identity, it usually goes unheard because of “consonant reading” practices—reading that prioritizes literary taxonomy such as periodization, nationality, identity, and language. To refuse “consonant reading,” I approach the texts of

this period by listening to the cacophony formed in the interstices between two national languages, between the national language and local dialects, as well as between textuality and aurality.

I developed my concept of cacophony through readings of Lü Heruo, a prominent writer who published many Japanese stories on Taiwanese folk tradition in the last decade of Japanese colonial rule. He compares the so-called “imperialist-subject literature” as “one corresponding note” to the symphony orchestrated by the colonial government. He writes, “The literary works need to be in consonance (協和音) with the symphony composed by all citizens who devote themselves to the great project [Pacific War].”⁸ This statement, surely influenced by his time of studying and performing vocal music in Tokyo,⁹ is more complex than its primary, collaborative message. A symphony, composed of various instruments and diverse movements, has a fundamental heterogeneity. Every citizen who joins this symphony can only produce a “consonant” or “harmonious” note, but not “the same” note. Even voices that repeat propaganda slogans contribute distinctive sound qualities. Therefore, this sense of “consonance” is not a fixed one; it might be consonance to one ear but cacophony to another, or, consonance in one period but cacophony in other periods or under different theoretical foci. A heterogeneous quality is embedded in each note but “concealed” in a symphony of propaganda. Lü’s metaphor provides a fresh way of viewing the so-called propaganda literature of the transwar period: while writers did not have a choice but to write something that corresponded to the political ideology of the time, they still contributed

⁸ Lü Heruo, “Kyōwaon toshite,” *Taiwan Bungei* 1, no. 2 (1944): 4-5.

⁹ Lü studied vocal music in Tokyo and performed in Takarazuka Revue during 1939 to 1941. See Fujii Shōzō, “Taiwan zuojia yu riju “Da dong ya ge wu ju”—Lu Heruo de dong bao guo min ju” 台灣作家與日劇「大東亞歌舞劇」—呂赫若的東寶國民劇. *Taiwan xian dang dai zuojia yanjiu ziliao hui bian 10: Lü Heruo*, ed. Xu Junya (Tainan: Guoli Taiwan wenxue guan, 2011), 269-292.

different voices. Thus one of the aims of my project is to retrieve the cacophonies that lie unnoticed in the symphonies orchestrated as monolingual and mono-ideological.

In order to hear the cacophony, one has to first abandon one's own presumptions about the literatures written during the transwar period. Indeed, Lü's metaphor can be thought of in relation to Jacques Derrida's concept of monolingualism. In his meditations of language, Derrida writes of his relationship with the French language, the colonizer's language, as a student in colonial Algeria and as a Franco-Maghrebian Jew: "Every culture institutes itself through the unilateral imposition of some 'politics' of language," and it is "through the power of naming, of imposing and legitimating appellations" that a culture establishes its domination.¹⁰ This view of monolingualism explains how the Japanese empire and the Nationalist regime legitimated their rules through the enforcement of national language. Yet for Derrida the monolingualism is not unified but multiple and it can create a space for revolt: "It is open to the most radical grafting, open to deformations, transformations, expropriation, to a certain a-nomie and de-regulation."¹¹ Lü's focus on "consonance" resonates with this multiplicity within monolingualism: all of the different voices and pitches have the potential to deform, transform, and expropriate the main theme of the symphony.

If monolingualism is indispensable language politics for a legitimate domination, what kind of domination can monolingualism-s justify? And how does a second monolingualism reflect the traces of the first? The plural form of monolingualism-s has

¹⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other or the Prosthesis of Origin* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 39.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 65.

an already implied bilingualism, and the transition from one monolingualism to another also produces dislocation and “preparation” simultaneously.¹²

The space between these two monolingualisms inevitably nurtures cacophony, as the transition from Japanese to Mandarin Chinese generates an ambiguous space in which both standardizations create awkward sounds that undermine the illusion of national language.¹³ Transcolonial Taiwan is also an important space to examine the unstable relationship between aurality and script, as Chinese and Japanese share some similar orthography while having different pronunciations and meanings. Even after Mandarin became the new national language, many Taiwanese still understood and pronounced Mandarin with their knowledge of Japanese *kanji*.¹⁴

The idea of cacophony shares some similarities with Rey Chow’s idea of “Xenophone.” In her project to challenge the idea of a “native speaker,” Chow argues that the nativeness of speech only becomes audible when there are non-native speakers, so that native speakers do not exist before non-native speakers.¹⁵ She uses the term

¹² Chou Wan-yao also emphasizes how the promotion of a “national language” (國語 *kokugo*, here meaning Japanese) of the Japanese colonial government actually prepared for the implementation of “national language” (國語 *guoyu*, here meaning Mandarin Chinese) of the succeeding Nationalist government. Chou writes, “Although the content of this ‘national language’ was different, it still was national language. It was perfectly justified to learn national language as a national citizen.” See Chou, *Hai xin xi de niandai*, 114.

¹³ Here is one example of cacophony. The work *Taiwan ren san bu qu* (台灣人三部曲 1962-1969) written by Zhong Zhaozheng (鍾肇政 1925-) includes a language joke that happens right after the end of WWII. The term “retrocession” (*guangfu* 光復) was one of the popular Chinese expressions that describe Taiwan’s return to the motherland. Unable to say it in Chinese, Taiwanese pronounced this term in Japanese—“*kōfuku*.” Interestingly, “*kōfuku*” shares the same pronunciation as “surrender” (降伏) in Japanese, which makes the pronunciation of “*kōfuku*” refer to the two opposite positions that Taiwanese is associated with—China’s victory and Japan’s surrender. The capacity of bilingualism or multilingualism, a product of Taiwan’s immigration history and colonial history, thus, acquires an ambiguous space between languages in which Taiwanese can maneuver.

¹⁴ Japanese pronunciation, thus, became the major obstacle for officials in charge of re-Mandarinization in the Nationalist regime. See Jing Tsu, *Sound and Script in Chinese Diaspora* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2010), 5-6.

¹⁵ Rey Chow, *Not Like A Native Speaker: On Language as a Postcolonial Experience* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 58-59.

“Xenophone” to refer to the state where multiple accents of a language undermines “the presumed unity and continuity of the native speaker’s speech [which] already bears with it what Deleuze calls an ‘inherent variation.’”¹⁶ At one level, the different accents of “Taiwanese Japanese” (台湾国語) and “Taiwanese Mandarin,” (台灣國語) fundamentally disrupt the claim of a standard Japanese or Chinese. However, this recognition cannot erase the actual pressure and violence suffered by the Taiwanese to speak and write the “one and only” language. Chen Huoquan’s “The Way” (1943) reminds us of this violence as the protagonist blames himself for not *thinking* in Japanese even though he can write fluently enough; he cannot become a “real” Japanese because of this “lack.”¹⁷

Inevitably, the representation of cacophony relies on translation. On the one hand, writers rely on translational techniques to transcribe voice, noise, accent, dialect, and folk ballad in a national language. On the other hand, translation serves as a concrete way for writers to traverse frequently changing linguistic and cultural territories. The conventional division between writers of Japanese and writers of Chinese neglects the fact that many of them were bilingual. Their translational practices are an important way to capture the past prior to the enforcement of current monolingual and mono-ideological policies. When the writer translates and recasts a text written in other languages in his/her own work, s/he actually treats a piece of tamed or silenced history. Through translation the writers cite the work and create an “after life” of the text in the present.

¹⁶ Ibid., 59.

¹⁷ Chen Huoquan, “The Way” (Michi), *Bungei Taiwan* 6, no. 3 (1943): 87-141. I refer to the reprint in Kawahara Isao, *Nihon shokuminchi bungaku seisenshu: Taiwan hen* series 5 (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2000), 9-89.

The writers examined in this project engage with translation/citation in distinctive ways, through which they not only interrogate the prescribed history and ideology but also create a powerful cross-temporal, transnational, and transcultural imaginary. Lü Heruo cites his own translation of the eighteenth-century *Dream of the Red Chamber* in his fiction yet pushes for untranslatability and opacity against the trend of translating Chinese vernacular classics into Japanese during early 1940s. Zhong Lihe writes a Chinese story that reads like Chinese translation of a Japanese story, and cites/translates Hakka hill songs into a Korean folk song. Lin Haiyin cites Japanese folklore studies in her Chinese essays, yet hides her sources. And Sakaguchi Reiko cites neutrally written research materials and translates them into women's oral stories in her interlingual translation. These practices demonstrate the complexity that surrounds the concepts of translation and translatability. While the roles of these authors as writers are obvious, their roles as translators have been "invisible," a twist of the critique of Lawrence Venuti, who has argued that scholars must examine the cultural practices that have privileged the author yet rendered the translator "invisible."¹⁸ In their engagement with multiple languages in the monolingual text, these writers are already translators, and even this role seems less visible in the tradition of authorship, they produce texts that make questions about translation more visible and significant.

The Transcolonial

¹⁸ Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London/New York: Routledge, 1995). He argues that it is important to deconstruct such notions as fidelity, transparency, and the original.

The prefix “trans-” can mean “across,” “beyond,” “through,” “traverse,” and “on the side of.”¹⁹ These prepositions indicate many possible relationships (temporal, spatial, methodological, and conceptual) extending from the limit of an entity, and these relationships mark the borderline of the entity as not fixed but porous. Similar to how a focus on trans-lation helps us understand how writers transcend boundaries of time, space and national identity to further connect the source texts to another context, the concept of the trans-colonial is useful in exploring and examining the various complex connections between the colonial period and the postwar period.

I propose that transcolonial is a more productive term than postcolonial for the transwar period because it has the potential to help us rethink the seemingly insurmountable gaps produced by complicated identity politics in Taiwan. This is primarily because postcolonial articulations in Taiwan are complicated by identity politics and the ambiguous status of Taiwan’s national identity.²⁰ According to literary scholar Ping-hui Liao, for people who identify with a Chinese ethnic consciousness, the year 1945 marks the beginning of postcoloniality as Taiwan was liberated from Japanese colonial rule; for the nativist camp who identify with a Taiwanese ethnic consciousness, however, it is not until martial law is lifted in 1987 that Taiwan entered a postcolonial period.²¹ Shu-mei Shih argues that “serial colonialism” (Dutch, Chinese, and Japanese) has never ended if one considers the perspectives of the indigenous people.²² While the

¹⁹ “Trans-,” Dictionary.com Website, May 14, 2016, <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/trans->.

²⁰ See a series of debates on postcolonial on *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly* in 1995-1996.

²¹ Liao Ping-hui, “Houzhimin yanjiu de wenti ji qianjing: ji ge yatai diqu de qishi” 後殖民研究的問題及前景：幾個亞太地區的啟示。In *Rentong, chayi, zhutixing: cong nuxing zhuyi dao houzhimin wenhua xiangxiang* 認同、差異、主體性：從女性主義到後殖民文化想像, ed. Jian Yinyin (Xindian: Lixu Wenhua, 1997), 111-52.

²² Shu-mei Shih, “Introduction: What is Sinophone Studies?” *Sinophone Studies: A Critical Reader*, ed. Shu-mei Shih, Chien-hsin Tsai, Brian Bernards (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 31.

idea of postcolonial cannot bridge these profound differences among various ethnicities in understanding Taiwanese history, transcolonial helps us examine how transitional moments were actually lived and conceptualized instead of forcing us to decide whether the advent of the Nationalist regime marks a “returning to motherland”²³ or a “re-colonization.”²⁴

The concept of “transcolonial” first appears in South Asian Studies. Historians Durba Ghosh and Dane Kennedy use this term to refer to the transnational and border-crossing networks that exchange imperial experiences to decenter the empire.²⁵ Historians Michael S. Dodson and Brian A. Hatcher further use this term to resist the limiting binaries prevalent in postcolonial studies such as “before/after, premodern/modern, European/Asian, national/international, or resistance/accommodation.”²⁶ In this approach “trans-colonial” means more than surpassing geographical and political boundaries; it challenges the analytical paradigms based on dichotomies. Brian Bernards has further developed the term by arguing for a “transcolonial consciousness” to discuss writers’ individual responses to multiple colonial experiences. Bernards uses “transcolonial consciousness” to “[think] across different colonial spaces that may be traversed and imperial regimes encountered within a lifetime,” arguing that this concept

²³ Chen Fangming points out that the continuation of colonial legacy is seen not only in the government structure and scale, but also in its official intervention in literary production. See Chen Fangming, *Xin Taiwan wenxue shi* 新台灣文學史, vol. 1 (Taipei: Lianjin Chubanshe, 2011), 211-215.

²⁴ The debate between Chen Yinzhen and Chen Fangming from 1999 to 2001 can be an example of this separated view.

²⁵ Ghosh and Kennedy use transcolonial to “extend out analytical focus to the multiple networks of exchange that arose from the imperial experience, networks that connected colonies to one another... across the geographical and political boundaries that normally delimit such inquiries.” See Durba Ghosh and Dane Kennedy, “Introduction,” *Decentering Empire: Britain, India and the Transcolonial World*, ed. Durba Ghosh and Dane Kennedy (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2006), 2.

²⁶ They argue that this term better addresses “the lively dynamics of cultural translation out of which South Asian modernities emerge.” See Michael S. Dodson and Brian A. Hatcher, “Introduction,” *Trans-colonial Modernities in South Asia*, ed. Michael S. Dodson and Brian A. Hatcher (New York: Routledge, 2012), 6.

“allows for a broader, but also self-reflexive, perspective on various models of colonization.”²⁷

Like Dodson and Hatcher, I find transcolonial productive in breaking the dichotomies that cause theoretical impasse in the studies of Taiwanese literature such as native-soil (*bentu*)/foreign (*wailai*), resistance/collaboration, Taiwanese ethnic consciousness/Chinese ethnic consciousness, and native writer/émigré writer. The transcolonial approach can capture multiple cultural legacies that intersect beyond arbitrary identities and periodization.

Furthermore, this approach also balances a disparity in scholarly evaluations of works written in different periods or on different themes. For example, Lü Heruo’s wartime writing has been more thoroughly discussed than his postwar works written in less sophisticated Chinese. Zhong Lihe’s works written in Taiwan on native characters have been given more interpretative space than those about his experiences in Manchuria and China. Lin Haiyin is best remembered for her nostalgic writing about Mainland China, but her attempts to translate Japanese folklore studies have been neglected. Sakaguchi Reiko’s wartime stories can be seen in some anthologies of works written in Japan’s former overseas territories, while her postwar stories on aborigines have not been given much critical attention. With a transcolonial approach, I hope to not only shed new light on these undervalued works but also elucidate writers’ unrecognized efforts in bridging multiple literatures and histories.

Japanese-Language Literature and Sinophone Literature

²⁷ Brian Bernards, “From Diasporic Nationalism to Transcolonial Consciousness,” *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 26, no. 1 (2014): 5.

In the past two decades, literary history in East Asia has begun to turn away from models that privilege national literatures and instead to foreground the crossing of borders, the diasporic, the colonial, and the post-colonial. In Japan, the term “Nihongo bungaku” or Japanese-language literature rose to prominence following the publication of Kurokawa Sō’s three volume “*Gaichi no Nihongo bungaku sen*, one of the first anthologies of transwar literature that brought together works written in the Japanese language by Japanese living outside Japan as well as colonial subjects.²⁸ This trend was supported by scholars such as Kawamura Minato,²⁹ Tarumi Chie,³⁰ Komori Yōichi,³¹ and Li Yuhui³² to contemplate the concept of Japanese-language literature and to make Japanese literature more inclusive. At roughly the same time, a renewed interest from Chinese diaspora studies to the Sinophone as a literary concept emerged that took seriously the question of how to write a diverse history of modern “Chinese” literature that was not bounded by nationality, political regime, and ethnicity.³³ Shu-Mei Shih defines Sinophone as the bodies of texts that have been categorized as “literature in Chinese” written outside China (*huayu wenxue*) as opposed to “Chinese literature”

²⁸ This three-volume anthology focuses on the “location” of the colony (The South, South Sea/Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria) and juxtaposes the works of Japanese writers and the colonized writers produced in that specific location. Kurokawa Sō, “*Gaichi no Nihongo bungaku sen* 「外地」の日本語文学選 (Tokyo: Shinjuku Shobō, 1996).

²⁹ Kawamura Minato, *Ikyō no Shōwa bungaku: “Manshū” to kindai Nihon* 異郷の昭和文学：満州と近代日本 (Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 1990). *Umi o watatta Nihongo: Shokuminchi no “kokugo” no jikan* 海を渡った日本語：植民地の「国語」の時間 (Tokyo: Seidōsha, 1994). Nanyō Karafuto no Nihon bungaku 南洋樺太の日本文学 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shoten, 1994).

³⁰ Tarumi Chie, *Taiwan de Ribenyu wenxue* 台灣的日本語文學, trans. Tu Cuihua (Taipei: Qianwei Chubanshe, 1998).

³¹ Komori Yōichi, *Yuragi no Nihon Bungaku* 揺らぎの日本文学 (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1998).

³² Li Yu-hui, *Ribenyu wenxue yu Taiwan* 日本語文學與台灣 (Taipei: QianweiChubanshe, 2002), 14-15.

³³ The idea of Sinophone first appears in Shu-Mei Shih’s *Visuality and Identity: Sinophone Articulations across the Pacific* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007).

written inside China (*zhongguo wenxue*) to give these marginalized works full theoretical focus.³⁴

Inspired in part by the rise of Francophone and Anglophone literary studies in Europe and North America, both of these approaches have moved the study of East Asian literature away from national histories that falsely isolate literatures which came about in moments and zones of intense contact, especially in the decades of the middles of the twentieth century. But for all of the productive power these approaches bring to bear, both are still wedded to an idea of literature tightly bound to the language of its expression and do less well in coping with the messiness of the translingual, especially between Japanese and Chinese. Indeed, while Taiwan as a site of literary inquiry should not be narrowly circumscribed by the island's political borders—past, present, or future—a rereading of Taiwan's transcolonial literature suggests that approaches that foreground language do not go far enough. For what are we to make of the writer who works in two languages? Or translates his own work from one to another? Or a manuscript of a story composed orally in a language with no script but recorded in the hand of one colonizer only to be rendered into the language of another?

An examination of Taiwan's transcolonial literature shows where the Japanese-language literature and Sinophone literature face their limitations. For example, the concept of Japanese-language literature falls short to address the writers such as Lü Heruo, who changed his language from Japanese to Mandarin and Zhong Lihe, who only wrote in Mandarin through the transwar period.³⁵ Sinophone studies has leverage in

³⁴ Shu-mei Shih, "Introduction: What is Sinophone Studies?" *Sinophone Studies*, 8.

³⁵ This concept neglects those works written in other languages but address the experiences of Japanese colonial rule and modernity. For example, the Taiwanese writer Lai He (1894-1943), who was regarded as "father of Taiwanese modern literature," wrote Chinese short stories with traces of vernacular Chinese,

addressing Chinese works written in pre-colonial or postwar Taiwan, but with its emphasis on Sinitic languages, it reaches its theoretical limit when addressing the Japanese works written in transcolonial Taiwan. Brian Bernards and Chien-hsin Tsai treat Taiwan's colonial history as one aspect that makes Taiwan's Sinophone practices special, yet they do not provide substantial discussions on how Japanese-language literature can be part of Sinophone articulations.³⁶ To subsume Japanese-language literature as one heteroglossia under Sinophone articulations runs the risk of sacrificing the historical and social condition of how that literature was produced and read. Taking those Japanese works written *after* the end of WWII for example,³⁷ it will be problematic to see this continuation of a previous colonial linguistic legacy as part of Sinophone efforts as the works were deliberately *not* written in Mandarin or Chinese topolects.³⁸

Furthermore, while the concepts of Japanese-language literature and Sinophone literature take various languages and locations into consideration in order to criticize the center of power that China and Japan stand for, in practice they tend to emphasize the distinction between China/Japan and its “margins,” which paradoxically repeats the

classical Chinese, as well as Minnan dialect, despite his Japanese education. See Li Yulin, *Fanyi yujing: zhuti, lunli, meixue*. 翻譯闖境：主體、倫理、美學 (Taipei: Shulin chuban youxian gongsi, 2008).

Traditional Taiwanese literati also altered their writing style and conceptualization of civilization after being in contact with Japanese and Western modernities under colonial rule, even though their language of literary creation was classical Chinese. See Huang Meie, *Chongdie xiandaixing jing xiang: rizhi shidai Taiwan chuantong wenren de wenhua shiyu yu wenxue xiangxiang* 重疊現代性鏡像：日治時代台灣傳統文人的文化視閾與想像 (Taipei: Maitian Chuban, 2004).

³⁶ Even though Tsai and Bernards make a parallel between the two bodies of literature, the commonality between them seems inadequate and vague. It remains questionable if Taiwanese writers under Japanese colonial rule could “choose” a language to write if they wanted to publish their works especially in the period of 1937 to 1945. See Tsai and Bernards, “Sites and Articulations,” *The Sinophone Studies*, 183-190.

³⁷ Notable examples include Wu Zhuoliu (吳濁流 1900-1976), who wrote Japanese short stories such as “*Potsudamu kacho*” (1947) and novels such as *Orphan in Asia* (1945) and *Taiwan Rengyo* (1975), Huang Linzhi (黃靈芝 1928-), who wrote Japanese *Haiku* and *Tanka* (1971-2003) and translated his Japanese story into Chinese (*Xie* 1970), Zhang Wenhuan (1909-1978), who published a Japanese novel *Jinihaumono* in 1975.

³⁸ Traumatized by the “228 Incident,” a violent suppression of the Nationalist government on the Taiwanese, many intellectuals decided not to learn Chinese language throughout their lives. See Peng Ruijin, *Forty Years of Taiwan's New Literature Movement* (Kaohsiung: Chunhui Chubanshe, 1997), 47.

practice they have criticized. For example, Ozaki Hotsuki and Kawamura Minato maintain a line between colonizer and colonized and thus separate Japanese-language literature from “colonial literature” (植民地文学), the former referring to the works written by the colonized while the latter the works written by Japanese writers who had contact with colonies. Yet such distinction makes ethnicity dominate the texts. Carlos Rojas also criticizes the limiting use of language, nationality, and ethnicity as conventional literary taxonomy in Sinophone literature.³⁹ Instead of framing a work as Sinophone, he argues that it is more productive to listen to “authorial voice”—to engage the actual words closely, to approach the text as a sort of “secret code” that might be in conflict with itself, and to broadly consider the aspects that might have influenced the author instead of to judge the work from literary taxonomy.

While the linguaphone frameworks have noticed how various dialects and indigenous languages create noise within Japanese-language literature and Sinophone literature respectively, this attention still neglects the realm where Japanese-language literature and Sinophone literature bring noise to each other or a cacophonous soundscape in which all these languages intersect and collide. Therefore, what these texts require is not an approach which focuses on the language of composition over site of composition; rather, what we need is a set of tools to recover and to make sense of the cacophonous soundscape of the transcolonial as always marked by multiple and competing voices, like the Museum of Taiwan Literature’s “Symphonies of Languages.”

³⁹ Rojas argues that the approach of Sinophone can be counterproductive because it usually “designates only literature originating from outside the ‘home’ nation” and thus “implicitly reaffirming the normative nationalism that the category was ostensibly attempting to challenge in the first place.” This critique can be applied to Japanese-language literature as well since in practice it also strengthens the ethnic division between Japanese writers and non-Japanese writers and the linguistic line between mother-tongue speakers and non-mother-tongue speakers. See Carlos Rojas, “Danger in the Voice: Alai and the Sinophone,” *The Sinophone Studies*, 302-303.

Gendered Language Politics

This study also indicates the treacherous relationship between female writers and translation. The translational practices of male writers such as Lü Heruo and Zhong Lihe can be classified in ready-made categories. Lü's translational practices engage with major literary categories such as Chinese classic vernacular novels, Japanese literature in colonial Taiwan, and Chinese literature in early postwar period. Zhong engages with the May Fourth tradition in modern Chinese culture and translates this tradition onto different ethnicities (Japanese and Korean), regions (Manchuria and small villages in Taiwan), and historical moments. However, the translational practices of female writers discussed in this study indicate far more ambiguous and devious routes. Lin Haiyin's translation is obscured in her concealment of Japanese folklore sources and in her non-systematic rendering of this body of literature. Sakaguchi Reiko's intralingual translation twists the imperialist ethnographic study, yet this practice directs us to an ambiguous realm in the prevalent discussions of Japanese colonial literature. These obscure routes to Taiwanese culture also contribute to Lin and Sakaguchi's marginal roles in Taiwanese literary history as opposed to Lü and Zhong.⁴⁰

In comparison to these female writers' hazy relationships to Taiwanese culture and literature, the exhibition in the National Museum of Taiwan Literature on mothers' voices constructs a direct link between mother tongue and Taiwan literature. Those wood statues of mother and infant "stand for something else"; they "come to *mean*" as "[their]

⁴⁰ Lin occupies a somewhat important role in Taiwanese literary history, yet this role is mainly attributed to her achievement in nurturing Taiwanese native writers during her tenure in *Literary Supplement of United News* 聯合報副刊 as editor-in-chief (1953-1963).

sign status takes precedence.”⁴¹ They endorse this statement that the lullabies are where Taiwanese literature finds its roots—a pristine origin prior to the education of national languages. Ironically, the fact that these mother tongues are being staged and standardized in similar format in an official institution indicate how the use of the image of a loving mother softens the authoritative utilization of mother tongue as *the* symbol of an authentic identity. Actually, the works of Lin and Sakaguchi provide interesting twists of the idea of mother tongue and the culture it is meant to stand for. Lin’s protagonist relies not only on mother tongue but also father tongue to connect to her hometown; Sakaguchi constructs a scene in which grandmother’s story transmits traditional knowledge to later generations while the discourse of mother tongue is invalid. These all remind us how gender plays an important yet ambiguous role in language politics and in the construction of national literature.

Structure of the Chapters

While the chapters are structured around the work of individual writers, my approach is to focus on a set of thematic concerns that circulate between and among the work of these writers from an overt meditation on language and translation to the formation of transnational and gendered identities. Critical to my reading of the literature of this period is an attention not only to language but to sound more broadly as it appears in the pages of these stories: to the pre-linguistic, to accents, to folk ballads, to the unintelligible uttered in an unknown language, and to the cacophony of the crowd. It is in attention to sound—an ear for the shifting soundscape of transcolonial Taiwan—that these writers marked individual identities as cultural, social, and historical.

⁴¹ Mieke Bal, *Double Exposures: the Subject of Cultural Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 4.

In my first chapter, “Recalcitrant Translation: the Transcolonial Writing of Lü Heruo,” I analyze Lü Heruo’s Japanese wartime stories and Chinese postwar stories by emphasizing the malleable space between languages. Through re-contextualizing his Japanese story “A Happy Family” (1943) within the trend of translating the classics of Chinese vernacular fiction into Japanese in the late 1930s and early 1940s, I argue that Lü’s partial citation, rather than a full translation, of *Dream of the Red Chamber*, enables him to constitute a hybrid cultural constellation of classical Chinese culture, Taiwanese cultural practices, and symbols of colonial modernity. This translational practice may have prepared him to write in vernacular Chinese in the postwar period. Furthermore, by repositioning his series of postwar Chinese stories “Hometown Warfare” (1946) within the transcolonial framework, I re-evaluate the overlooked stories and argue that the protagonist’s eloquence in multiple languages and rhetorical strategies serve as important methods to circumvent the compulsory changes in language and identity.

In the second chapter, “Inhabiting East Asia: Zhong Lihe’s Experiments with Stateless Identity,” I examine the writer Zhong Lihe, whose short writing career tightly connects to the transwar period. I argue that a transcolonial and translational approach sheds new light on Zhong’s overlooked “The Fourth Day” (1945), a Chinese story that reads like a translation of a Japanese story, and “Willow Shade” (1954), a story that recaptures his Manchurian experience written in the postwar period. Through a depiction of the disenfranchised Japanese citizens waiting for repatriation in Manchuria after Japan’s defeat in “The Fourth Day,” Zhong transforms the May Fourth tradition of an “obsession with China” through his keen observation of a Japanese postwar consciousness. I further show how Zhong “translates” Hakka hill songs into the Korean

folk song “Arirang” in his “Willow Shade,” which proves that the conventional periodization of Zhong’s career fails to notice the complicated picture of translations and intersections that mark his transcolonial consciousness.

In the final two chapters I focus on two women writers and examine how they register and experience this transitional period differently. In chapter three, “Muted Informants and Double Diaspora: Lin Haiyin’s Transcolonial Task,” I argue for Lin Haiyin’s (林海音 1918-2001) important role in the 1950s in mending the knowledge gap caused by the transition from Japanese colonial rule to the Nationalist regime. By foregrounding Lin’s unknown role as a translator, I demonstrate how Lin translates and transforms Japanese imperialist ethnography in her series of essays about Taiwanese folk culture (1950-51) and her short story “On the Heroic Souls of Wushe” (1953). Repositioning Lin in a transcolonial framework, I also illustrate how the cacophony of postwar Taiwan permeates her *Old Stories from Peking’s Southside* (1957-1960), often read as nostalgic for China of the 1920s. I argue that Lin strategically connects contemporary Taiwanese society to pre-Nationalist Taiwanese history, the two marginalized and silenced discourses under the Nationalist “anti-communist” ideology that centers on Mainland China.

In the fourth chapter, “The Cacophonous and Undisciplined Discourse of Women: Sakaguchi Reiko’s Transwar Writing,” I argue for the importance of the Japanese novelist Sakaguchi Reiko (坂口禰子 1914-2007) in Taiwanese literary history as her transwar stories constitute an alternative history of Taiwan against dominant imperialist and nationalist narratives. In her wartime novella *The Zheng Family* (1941), she deploys a diverse soundscape to resist the major theme of the imperialist symphony. Through

intralingual translation she translates the imperialist ethnographic knowledge back into its original context. In her postwar “Story of the Indigenous Woman Ropō” (1960), she uses women’s retelling the story of the Wushe Incident, an aboriginal uprising that had been subjected to tellings by both the Japanese empire and the Nationalist regime. This story shows how she contemplates her own act of translation and storytelling, and how she creates a fictional channel to approach the subaltern in a self-reflexive way.

Sakaguchi does not have the multilingual capacity of the other Taiwanese writers, yet this does not stop her from coding, representing, and understanding the noise and cultures strange to her. Through intralingual translation Sakaguchi shows us that even monolingual practice contains multiple variations between the imperialist and traditional, between male and female, between modern and indigenous. Her monolingual writing practices Derrida’s ethical stance on monolingualism: “It is the monolanguage *of* the other.... [L]anguage is for the other, coming from the other, *the* coming of the other.”⁴²

These four writers traversed multiple political, cultural, and linguistic territories both physically and textually. Their works collect, mix, and edit various sounds and fix them within different linguistic and historical frameworks. Through an examination of translation and soundscapes within this transcolonial framework, my dissertation reconfigures this contested literary history of Taiwan and addresses the ambiguous linguistic territory intersected by Japanese-language literature and Sinophone literature. In the writers’ repeated negotiations of multiple ideologies, identities, and languages, they prove to us that experiences, languages, and memories, with their accumulative and reinventing qualities, know no national and ethnic boundaries.

⁴²Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other or the Prosthesis of Origin*, 68.

Chapter 1

Recalcitrant Translation:

The Transwar Writing of Lü Heruo

Xin Xin 新新 was the first magazine to appear in postwar Taiwan. It was born at a late-summer gathering in 1945 in which a few Taiwanese intellectuals came together to learn Mandarin Chinese from a member who spoke it fluently. The magazine's goal was "to provide the Taiwanese who were under Japanese rule for fifty years with a way to learn the culture of 'motherland' (*zuguó* 祖國)."⁴³ At this early postwar moment when Taiwan "returned" to the motherland, many Taiwanese only read Japanese. In order to catch up with the trend of learning Mandarin, this magazine adopted a bilingual format. Yet this bilingual format was only a temporary expedient for the transitional period. From the third issue on, the magazine began to use Mandarin instead of Japanese in its "Foreword."⁴⁴ Less Japanese appeared in later issues, indicating the editors and the readers' progress in Mandarin. However, this short period of co-existence between

⁴³ Zheng Shifan, "Cang sang hua 'Xin Xin': tan guang fu hou di yi ben za zhi de dan sheng yu xiao shi" 滄桑話新新: 談光復後第一本雜誌的誕生與消失. *Xin Xin Fukeban* (Taipei: Wusanlian Taiwan Shiliao Jijinhui, 1995).

⁴⁴ Ibid. The inaugural magazine was published in November, 2015, and the third issue was published in March 1946.

Japanese and Mandarin in the literary journal held the potential to resist discourses of “national language,” for the discourses behind each language undo each other. Set against the Mandarin, the new national language, the Japanese materials become disassociated from the “imperialist spirit,” while which the Mandarin, when set against the Japanese, underlined the ironic fact that many Taiwanese had to learn “the language of their motherland” of which they had to learn from the beginning.

An advertisement on the index page of its inaugural issue provides a view of the mistranslation during the transitional period. The advertisement for the “Full Moon Chamber” restaurant invites potential customers in two languages. The two languages are arranged in the same format, so both readers of Chinese and Japanese may assume that each is a translation of the other (See Image 2). When one takes a closer look, however, the two languages actually have different messages. In the Chinese version, it says, “It is our mission to build a new Taiwan! Let’s drink at night to prepare for tomorrow! A restaurant for us—Full Moon Chamber!!” Yet the Japanese version sends a completely different message: “Hey you, come here! Get drunk among beauties and intoxicate with fine wine! To your heart’s content.....” While the Chinese one responds to the energetic slogan of the newly arrived Nationalist regime, the Japanese one summons those who had to bitterly swallow Japan’s defeat.

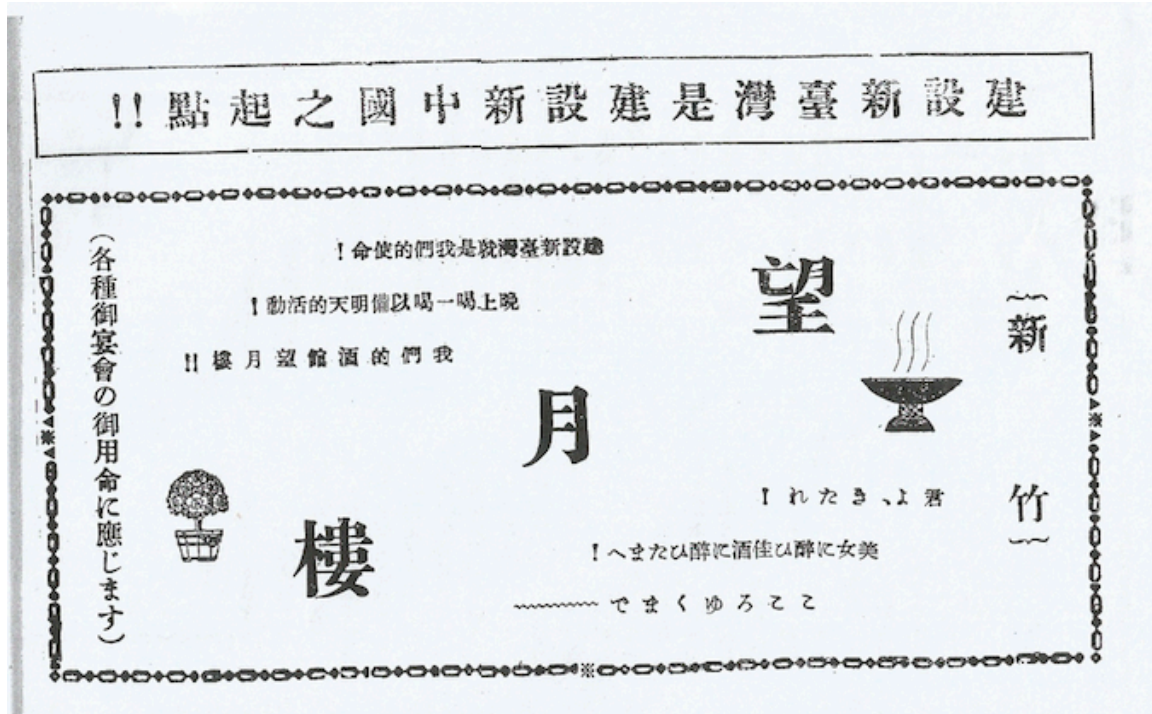


Image 2 Advertisement on the Inaugural Issue of *Xin Xin* (Index page)

This intentional “untruthful” translation actually creates a malleable space between languages for Taiwanese writers and readers who were bilingual. The double message becomes a kind of language joke that satirizes the authentic spirit and legal state associated with “the national language.” Thus, languages seem to become lighter and playful, instead of authentic and sacred, in this untruthful translation. The ways the advertisement quickly made use of the rhetoric of the two languages and cultural milieus point to how rhetorical strategy is essential at the transitional period.

In this chapter, I will discuss the Taiwanese writer Lü Heruo and his use of untruthful translation and rhetorical strategies under the transcolonial approach. First I will examine his use of citation of *Dream of the Red Chamber* in his Japanese-language works. Second I will consider how he inserts questions of linguistic identity into his

postwar Chinese-language stories. This mode of reading Lü's stories allows for a reinterpretation of his works in ways that cannot be easily seen in conventional periodization of Taiwanese literature, and which have not been addressed by Japanese-language literature and Sinophone literature studies, as they tend to be associated with their own primary language.

Lü Heruo (呂赫若 1914-1951) is one of the most important writers who witnessed and wrote through the transition of national language from Japanese to Mandarin Chinese. During the colonial period he was a renowned writer, and his *Clear Autumn*, a collection of seven short stories written between 1941-1943, which was published by Kiyomizu Bookshop in Taipei in March of 1944, is now remembered as the first—and one of the only—books of “pure literature”⁴⁵ written by a Taiwanese in Japanese. Only two years later, in February of 1946, shortly after Taiwan's liberation at the end of the war, Lü published his first short story written in Mandarin—“The Warfare of my Hometown: Name Changing” (故鄉的戰事：改姓名). Despite publishing these works in two different languages, neither *Clear Autumn* nor “Hometown” was written in Lü's native language: the Hokkien dialect.⁴⁶ We might then ask: What does it mean to produce literary works in one's non-native language—*twice*? In this chapter, I aim to use Lü's works to interrogate the ways in which literature reacts to the superimposition of varied territorial maps during a period in which national boundaries are being redrawn. More precisely, I will examine the ways in which Lü utilizes his trilingual ability to simultaneously play and circumvent the monolingual game of a “national language.”

⁴⁵ Here “pure literature” does not stand opposite to “mass literature” as in the convention of Japanese literary studies. By “pure literature” I mean fictional works instead of non-fictional categories such as history, politics, economy, or international relations—the genre more popular during the wartime.

⁴⁶ Hoklo, or Minnan (閩南話) and Taiwanese (台灣話), is spoken by the majority of the populace in Taiwan, while the rest of the people speak Hakka and various aboriginal languages.

While the shift from Japanese—the language of Lü’s education—to Mandarin—the newly adopted “national language” of liberated Taiwan—seems abrupt, the shift itself was in some ways prepared for, though not anticipated, in Lü’s wartime work. For in the same years that Lü was composing the stories that would comprise *Clear Autumn*, he had also begun work on a translation of the Qing novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* into Japanese. I argue that Lü’s work as a translator and his immersion in the literary world of the Qing period is crucial to understand Lü’s writing career. This is in part because it is through reading and translating vernacular Chinese fiction that Lü began to develop his own voice in the “foreign” language of Mandarin, and also because his writing in Japanese include representations of the atmosphere of the eighteen-century Chinese novel.

Lü’s career traversed a complex and varied linguistic, cultural and political territory, when the borderlines on maps of East Asia were continuously changing between 1937 and 1946. By analyzing the hybrid cultural constellations in his wartime stories such as “A Happy Family” (Gōke heian 合家平安, 1943), written in Japanese, and the lexical anomalies in the postwar story “The Warfare of my Hometown: Name-changing” (1946), written in Chinese, we can see the ways in which Lü is at once confined by the enforced ideologies and monolingual policies that span the transcolonial moment and yet still breaks free from those restrictions through translational practices. As one of the few writers who established a literary career in both Japanese and Chinese, Lü continually repositioned Taiwan and reinvented his identity in the interstices between China and Japan, and out of the shades where empire and motherland overlap. Lü’s work is thus a critical site for examining this contested period in Taiwanese history.

“A Happy Family” and Its Classical Others

Lü’s 1943 story “A Happy Family” describes the decline of a wealthy and influential Taiwanese family due to the patriarch Fan Qingxing’s addiction to opium.⁴⁷ This addiction not only drains the entire family fortune built by earlier generations but also destroys the happiness of Yufeng, his second wife, and his three sons. Fan’s story is one of utter and repeated failure: after losing his fortune to opium, his deceased first wife’s brothers help him get a clerk position at a local rice business, yet he uses the company funds on opium and loses the job; when his two younger sons start an eatery business with funds from the sale of his mansion and a loan from the brothers of his deceased wife, the new business is successful at first, but the decadence of Fan and his sons again destroys hopes for a happy family. The two younger sons have no choice but to leave for the South,⁴⁸ so Fan is forced to rely on Yufu, his eldest son whom he adopted with his first wife. The story ends with Yufu’s struggles, who can barely sustain his own big family, caught between feelings of filial piety and hatred towards his adopted father.

This anachronistic theme about opium obsession⁴⁹—which often surfaces in writing of this time as a marker of backwardness and an inability to break free from feudalistic bonds—has aroused two divergent responses from writers of Lü’s time and today’s critics. Contemporary writers who adopted an imperialist framework like the

⁴⁷ Lü Heruo, “Gōke heian 合家平安,” *Taiwan Bungaku* 3, no.2 (1943): 47-73. I refer to the reprint in Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao, *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku: Taiwanjin sakka sakuhinshū* 日本統治期台湾文学：台湾人作家作品集, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 1998), 215-242.

⁴⁸ “The South” refers to Southeast Asia. In the story, they go to The South for farming, while many contemporary texts mention that the young people head south to join the imperial army.

⁴⁹ According to Zhong Shu-min, the historian of Taiwanese history, during the Japanese colonial period, the government managed opium consumption by issuing permits, but the government did not take forceful measures to decrease the consumption because it contributed considerably to tax revenue. Zhong also speculated that there could be “biopolitical reasons” behind the passive measures. See Zhong, Shu-min, “Rizhishichi yapian zhuanmai zhidu ji chi yinxiang” 日治時期鴉片專賣制度及其影響, *Taiwan xue tongxun* 台灣學通訊 45 (2010): 6-7.

Japanese writer Nishikawa Mitsuru⁵⁰ and the young Yeh Shitao⁵¹ criticize the backwardness depicted in Lü's works as not reflective of Taiwan's modernity under the Japanese empire. In contrast, most contemporary critics such as Tarumi Chie and Chen Fangming see the feudalism depicted in Lü's stories as anti-colonial resistance to the imperial-subject movement: by presenting various aspects of feudalistic life he preserves pre-colonial collective memory. However, these polarized interpretations do not adequately show the intricacy of Lü's wartime work. The various temporalities and cultural imaginations that inhabit his stories do not fit neatly into and further disturb the categories that the scholar Faye Kleeman has established—(Chinese) nationalist, nativist, or collaborationist—in her analysis of how Taiwanese writers respond to the imperial-subject movement.⁵²

These cultural, temporal, and aesthetic intricacies are most evident in his second wife Yufeng's recollections of the splendid history of the Fan clan. Yufeng had married Fan before the beginning of the family's decline and her memory stands as a constant reminder of the loss she has suffered.

⁵⁰ Nishikawa Mitsuru (西川滿 1908-1999) was a poet, novelist, and publisher active in colonial Taiwan during late 1930s and 1940s. He established the journal *Bungei Taiwan* (文芸台灣 1940-44), which was influential in the wartime literary scene. Nishikawa promoted exoticism and colonial romanticism in this journal as opposed to its competitor journal *Taiwan Bungaku* (台灣文學, 1941-43) led by the Taiwanese writer Zhang Wenhuan (張文環), who promoted realism. Lü Heruo's short stories were often published in *Taiwan Bungaku*. The divergent imaginations of the two journals on how the literature of Taiwan should be explain why Nishikawa made this criticism.

⁵¹ Yeh Shitao (葉石濤 1925-2008) was Nishikawa's disciple and worked as an editor of *Bungei Taiwan*. His later *Taiwan wenxue shigang* 台灣文學史綱 (1987), the first Taiwanese literary history written by a Taiwanese, was influential in constructing the concept of Taiwan literature.

⁵² Faye Kleeman illustrates three major trajectories made by native Taiwanese writers during this moment of reconfigured time and space in the empire. She divides the native Taiwanese writers into three groups: "nationalist" writers who stressed cultural ties to China, "nativists" who emphasized a distinctive Taiwanese identity, and "imperialist-subject" writers who tried to assimilate to Japanese modernization, and Lü is categorized into the group of nativists. Kleeman points out that even though the writers of various groups develop different strategies to negotiate with the imperial-subject movement, to some extent they all present irreconcilable struggle between tradition and colonial modernity. See Faye Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 175.

Although it had fallen into other's hands now, the mansion they owned in Duabotsu village was the most luxurious building in the area. The main building (正身) was divided into front and back parts. It included four wings (護龍) and the whole lot was more than ten thousand square meters. During that time five maids (查媒嬭) had looked after the mistress [Yufeng], but now everything seemed like a distant dream.⁵³ Their private space included two rooms: the inner one was the chamber and the outward one the lounge. In the middle of the room was placed a luxurious double-layered bed, and the backrest (靠背) was embossed with patterns of pythons (蟒), flowers, and birds decorated with golden threads. A blanket in dark red embroidered with a portrait of a beauty spread on the bed. At both sides of the dressing table by the window were painted chairs in shapes of plum blossoms (梅の花の形), which made the room look dark even in the midday. In the center of the lounge there was a *paduak* table carved with “dragons with no horns” on its front side (正面に蟒を彫った紫檀の中案卓). On that table was an ancient cyan copper Ding (青緑の古銅鼎) carved with Eight Trigrams, chopsticks, spoons, incense box (著、匙、香盒), and vase and bowls decorated with portraits of beauties. On the wall hung a painting of “Fortune, Sons, and Longevity” and a couplet of golden characters—“Virtue of ancestors leaving a reputation forever, inheriting deeds and celebrating its continuity” (常在祖德永流芳, 遠接宗功慶澤長). On both sides of the hall were arranged eight armchairs made with Chinese cedar (両面には各八個の楠の交椅). On the walls behind the chairs hung panels of flower-and-bird paintings and couplets: “Luan birds converse in sounds of zither, phoenixes fly wing to wing during plum blossoms (錦瑟聲中鸞對語, 玉梅花際鳳雙飛);” “Chirping in harmony within cozy canopy, drinking wedding wines in glorious peach blossoms (鶯語和諧春風帳暖, 桃花燦爛盞酒杯浮). The crimson decorative lantern embroidered with Eight Immortals hung from the roof further polished the overall color. Her husband Fan Qinxin would not get off the luxurious bed until afternoon. When he woke up at one o'clock, he could call “Yufeng, Yufeng” while yawning, and then had his breakfast. All the maids were extremely busy (転手古舞)⁵⁴: some preparing food, some holding washbowls, some helping him dress, some placing opium trays. The only thing Yufeng had to do was to put on makeup and sit at the rim of the bed looking at him and this would make Fan satisfied and happy like a child. He would sit himself up while holding her delicate hand, wink his sleepy eyes, and wash his face reluctantly. After breakfast, Fan would take Yufeng to the yard followed by maids who held fans in summer or stove in winter. The inner and outer yards of the mansion were planted with chrysanthemums and arranged with trees and rockwork (樹木山石) as well as bird cages. The couple appreciated the scene while listening to birds and smelling the fragrance of sweet osmanthus. Yufeng would have the chignon decorated with a golden hairpin of jade wrapped by chrysanthemums, wear crimson robe with the

⁵³ Although this passage is set to be Yufeng's collection, it is not narrated by Yufeng's first-person narrative, but by the omniscient narrator's point of view.

⁵⁴ It seems that Lü misplaces the word here. The correct term should be 天手古舞, literally meaning “heavenly hands old dancing.”

pattern of butterflies dancing around flowers (群蝶が花に戯れている) and a red blouse straight-stitched with five-colored thick threads, and a skirt in emerald color stitched with five-colored threads. Fan wore short boots made with black satin, and a common Chinese long gown embroidered with chrysanthemums. They strolled slowly and enjoyed the ways their clothes slightly wrinkled as the wind blew. The building's delicate structure, and painted ridges and carved beams (雕梁畫棟) in vivid blue and red colors, and the figures, curled dragons and koi's tail on the roof were so pretty when they were seen from the yard. Immersing herself in the satisfaction of her blissful fortune, Yufeng cannot help squinting at the white and smooth profile of her husband. After their walk, Fan would lie in his luxurious bed, and Yufeng lay beside him, with the opium tray in the middle, serving opium to Fan until dark. After dinner Fan finally had time to check accounting records, and of course Yufeng was the person who was in charge of cash. She followed his husband's order in every way and counted cash in front of him. This was her job until they lost all the fortune. From this we can see how Yufeng had loved her husband.⁵⁵

The length of this paragraph and its intricate description construct a splendid past, impenetrable in its detail. The colorful and lavish past stands in stark contrast with the dull surroundings and the heartlessness that marks the relationship between the couple in the present.

Yet to a reader familiar with traditional Chinese fiction, the passage calls to mind the intricate descriptions that mark Qing novels like *Six Records of Floating Life* (浮生六記, 1808)⁵⁶ and *Dream of the Red Chamber* (紅樓夢, 1791). And indeed, as we can see in his diary from these years, in addition to reading these novels together with plays such as *Peony Pavilion* (牡丹亭, 1598) and *Peach Blossom Fan* (桃花扇, 1699), a few months before he published "A Happy Family,"⁵⁷ Lü had discussed the idea of translating *Dream*

⁵⁵ *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku: Taiwanjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 2, 220-222.

⁵⁶ In "Wedded Bliss" (閨房記樂), the first chapter of *Six Records of Floating Life*, the author Shen Fu (沈復, 1763-1825) recounts the interactions between him and his deceased wife.

⁵⁷ According to Liu Shuqin, Lü read *Six Records of Floating Life*, purchased *Peony Pavilion* and *Peach Blossom Fan* in March 1942. See Liu, Shuqin, "Zaibo 'Shiliu'" 再剝石榴, in *Taiwan xian dang dai zuojia yanjiu ziliao hui bian series 10 : Lu Heruo* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編10：呂赫若, ed. Xu Junya (Tainan: Guoli Taiwan wenxue guan, 2011), 92-93.

of the Red Chamber with Kiyomizu Bookshop—the publisher of *Clear Autumn*.⁵⁸ By the time Lü wrote “A Happy Family,” he had already begun translating *Dream of the Red Chamber* and there are unmistakable traces of intertextual reference that mark this story’s relationship with the great Qing novel. Indeed, it is almost as if Lü has inserted into his own family saga, set in colonial Taiwan, passages taken from his translation of the family saga *Dream of the Red Chamber*.

Most of the details that Lü arranges to signify the glorious past derive from the third chapter of *Dream*. The scenes in Fan’s mansion and garden, with bird cages and painted ridges and carved beams, draw from the passages when the heroine Lin Daiyu first enters Rongguo Palace (榮國府).⁵⁹ As a relative who has just moved into the palace, Daiyu notices numerous luxurious details, which are further adapted by Lü in the story. The details of Yufeng’s ornate clothing draw from the descriptions of Wang Xifeng, the “clandestine female administrator” of the big household in *Dream*.⁶⁰ The object of Yufeng’s nostalgia—delicate furnishings in the room and lounge—are further adapted from the description of Madame Wang’s major hall (正室) and side chambers (耳房) in the palace.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Lü writes in the diary of March 3rd, 1942, “I want to transcribe the history of the life of Chinese people and *Dream of the Red Chamber* into drama.” In March, 14th, 1942, he wrote, “I felt better this evening, so I retrieved *Dream*, the work I have put aside since last year. I have to translate this masterpiece and spread it even though it may take me ten years. This is the obligation of being a Taiwanese.” In May, 1942 Lü returned to Taiwan. On December 28th he promised Wang Rende, the publisher of Kiyomizu Bookshop, that he would translate *Dream of the Red Chamber*, but what got published from the bookshop is his *Clear Autumn*. See Tsai Wenbin, *Zhongguo gudian xiaoshuo zai Tai de ri yi fengchao* 中國古典小說在台的日譯風潮, master’s thesis (Xinchu: Tsinghua University, 2011), 13.

⁵⁹ Here is the original text in *Dream of Red Chamber*: 正面午間上房，皆雕梁畫棟，兩邊穿山遊廓廂房，掛著各色鸚鵡、畫眉等鳥雀。且院中隨處之樹木山石皆在 (emphasis added)

⁶⁰ 縷金百蝶穿花大紅洋緞窄被襖，外罩五彩刻絲石青銀鼠褂；下著翡翠撒花洋皺裙” (emphasis added).

⁶¹ 大紫檀雕螭案上，設著三尺來高青綠古銅鼎... 地下兩溜十六張楠木交椅，又有一副對聯，乃烏木聯牌，鑲著鑿銀的字跡，道是‘座上珠璣昭日月，堂前黼黻照煙霞’；“臨窗大炕上鋪著猩紅洋氈，正

What are we to make of these citations?⁶² It is not that Lü simply copies and pastes these details from the eighteenth-century masterpiece; he actually “vulgarizes” the refined royal ornaments for the setting of a mansion in the Taiwanese countryside. Instead of the carved autographs of imperial family members, Lü places the painting “Fortune, Sons, and Longevity,” a painting of the three celestials who each represent fortune, sons, and longevity, which signifies the utmost goal in one’s life in Taiwanese folk custom and religion. (See Image 3). The original couplet praising the splendor and literary talent of imperial guests in the hall of the palace⁶³ is replaced by ones showing plebeian values—ancestral virtues, outstanding descendants, and wedded bliss—so the setting fits the concerns and taste of commoners. The numerous and hierarchical maidservants in *Dream* are localized in the story as Lü reframes them under the common local custom of trading women and refers to them using the Taiwanese term “*zabogan*” (查媒嫖).⁶⁴ Another localized setting is the architectural format: Lü uses local Hokkien terms such as “zhengshen” (正身) and “huron” (護龍) to plot the space.⁶⁵ Although Lü keeps the same descriptions of trees and rocks in the garden, he plants local flowers such

面設著大紅金錢蟒靠背...兩邊設一對梅花式洋漆小几。左邊几上文王鼎匙著香盒，右邊几上汝窯美人觚 (emphasis added)

⁶² Taiwanese scholars such as Wang Huijen have noticed the relationship between *Dream* and Lü’s short stories. Wang writes, “Lu’s plan to translate *Dream* should be related to his writing on themes of Taiwanese families.” Yet such intertextuality has never been disclosed and discussed. See Wang Huijen, “Zanqian Taiwan zhishi fenzi yuedu sishi” 戰前台灣知識份子閱讀私史, *Zhanzheng yu fenjie: zong li zhan xia Taiwan Hanguo de zhuti chongsu yu wenhua zhengzhi* 戰爭與分界：「總力戰」下臺灣、韓國的主體重塑與文化政治 (Taipei: Lianjin Chubanshe, 2011).

⁶³ The original couplet writes, “座上珠璣昭日月，堂前黼黻照煙霞。”

⁶⁴ In Taiwanese custom, the “maidservants” (Lü uses “查媒嫖” in his works while 查某嫖 is a more common translation) are not simply maidservants. They are a kind of commodities because they are usually “purchased” from the poor families. They are used as servants and may be married to the sons of the new family.

⁶⁵ In the upside-down U shape of a traditional Taiwanese architecture, the middle part is “Zhengshen” (正身) and the two sides are “huron” (護龍).

as chrysanthemums and sweet osmanthus instead of the peach and crabapple trees that appear in *Dream*.



Image 3 Painting of “Fortune, Sons, and Longevity” (Copyright Mosheng Fohuashe)

Therefore, Yufeng’s recollections are inscribed with multiple temporalities and spaces—the eighteenth-century Chinese royal life and contemporary Taiwanese life—as well as tastes of various classes—royalty, gentry, and plebeian. To understand this setting requires a knowledge of both Qing high culture and local Taiwanese customs. In addition, Lü even inserts Japanese terms like “extremely busy” (天手古舞, literally meaning “heavenly hands doing ancient dances”) to describe the “dancing” gestures of

maidservants. Although this text of Yufeng's recollection is often read as part of Lü's "realistic" portrayal of colonial Taiwan,⁶⁶ the haunting traces of *Dream* suggest a deep hybridity: classical Chinese imagery with local Taiwanese customs and the Japanese language. Through these descriptions, Lü indicates the mutual embeddedness of the layers of identity in colonial Taiwan—it is not a simple question of "returning" to an authentic "native" identity or "returning" to an authentic "Chinese identity"; both are in part constructed from a vantage point that is both colonial and modern.

The ways in which Lü grafts various temporalities onto one another recalls Walter Benjamin's practice of "citing without quotation marks," or the "surrealist montage" he attempts to create in his *Arcades Project*.⁶⁷ As Tejaswini Niranjana has argued, "For Benjamin, the historical materialist (the critical historiographer) quotes without quotation marks in a method akin to montage. It is one way of revealing the constellation a past age forms with the present without submitting to a simple historical continuum, to an order of origin and *telos*."⁶⁸ Similarly, in Lü's textual references to *Dream* we can see a kind of collage in which "the origin" cannot be precisely located in the complex picture stitched together out of classical masterpiece, local tastes and customs, and modern interventions (the Japanese language as well as random indications of modern devices such as the chimney of the sugar factory, a phonograph, and so forth).

But to understand this collage—and how Lü experiments with this technique in Taiwan in the 1940s—we must turn to history of the enterprise of translation in Imperial

⁶⁶ Tarumi Chie argues that Lü tries to "record" the disappearing local culture in his "camera-like" depictions of "various human relationships, architectural structures, and clothing, as well as traditions and customs." See Tarumi Chie, "An Author Listening to Voices from the Netherworld: Lü Heruo and the Kuso Realism Debate," *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 267.

⁶⁷ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

⁶⁸ Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 45.

Japan and how it was that in the 1930s and 40s the masterpieces of Ming-Qing fiction became a contested site for the cultural proprietorship over Chinese culture in the age of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.

The Trend of Translating Chinese Classics

Lu is not the only intellectual who thought to translate the classics of Chinese vernacular fiction during this time. Taiwanese writers such as Huang Dershi (黃德時 1909-1999) and Yang Kui (楊逵 1906-1985) respectively published translations of *The Water Margin* (水滸傳, 1589) and *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (三國演義, 1330-1400) between 1939 to 1943.⁶⁹ We can think of this return to the classics in two ways: on the one hand it recalls the ways in which Japanese writers like Tanizaki Junichirō (1886-1965) turned in the same years to work on the Japanese classics like *The Tale of Genji*.⁷⁰ It was also part of a broad intellectual current during the Second Sino-Japanese War for Japan to “know its enemy,” which resulted in the publication of a wide range of books on Chinese history, society, culture, and literature.⁷¹ In addition, the slogan “Japan and

⁶⁹ Other examples include *Journey to the West* (西遊記) translated by Nishikawa Mitsuru, “Yuefei” (岳飛) translated by Liu Wanchuan (劉頑椿) and *Cases of Judge Bao* (包公案) translated by Jiang Xiaomei (江尚梅), “Enlisted Mulan” (木蘭從軍) translated by Huang Zongkui (黃宗葵). See Tsai, *The Trend of Translating Chinese Classic Novels in Taiwan*, 10-12. See also Wang, “Private History of Reading of Taiwanese Intellectuals During Wartime,” 142.

⁷⁰ In so-called “koten kaiki” [return to classics], Tanizaki Junichiro (1886-1965) turned to translate the eleventh-century Japanese classic *Tale of Genji* during 1939-41. According to Brian Hurley, this act of translation shows Tanizaki’s desire to redeem an authentic Japanese cultural identity. See Brian Hurley, “Toward a New Modern Vernacular: Tanizaki Junichiro, Yamada Yoshio, and Showa Restoration Thought,” *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 39, no. 2 (2013), 359-396. The acts of translation of both Japanese and Taiwanese intellectuals can be seen as small projects that correspond the grand project of “overcoming (Western) modernity.”

⁷¹ According to Wang Huijen, the imperialist concept of Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere has generated the publication of books on “Chinese studies” (支那学), for example, “China Series” by Sōgansha (創元社), “Series of Chinese Culture” by Jinbunkaku (人文閣), and “Modern Chinese Literature Series” by Iwanami Shoten (岩波書店). See Wang, “Private History of Reading of Taiwanese Intellectuals During Wartime,” 139.

China as one” (日支一家) also emerged at this time, as did the concept of the “Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere,” which strategically emphasized the cultural proximity between the two countries. Thus “China” emerged in these years as both “the other” and “the internal” for the Japanese empire.

It was in the context of this wartime ideology that both Japanese and Taiwanese writers engaged in the business of translating vernacular Ming-Qing fiction. For example, Yoshikawa Eiji (吉川英治, 1892-1962), the popular Japanese novelist, adapted the great fourteenth-century Chinese novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* into a serialized version, *Sangokushi* (三国志), which was simultaneously published in both Japanese and Taiwanese newspapers. In Taiwan the story was published in the most widely read newspaper *Taiwan Daily News* (Taiwan hibi shinpō 台湾日日新報) for over four years from 1939 to 1943. Before the serialization began, the newspaper advertised that the work not only “echoed the current war situation” but also offered a way “to understand real China and real Chinese people.”⁷² This “China Fever,” however, offered a different opportunity for Taiwanese intellectuals: the very status of Taiwan as a part of the Japanese empire afforded them the opportunity to reimagine the classics of Chinese fiction as in fact part of a common heritage of East Asia. Indeed, it was—in some ways paradoxically—through *translating* these works out of Chinese and into Japanese as the common linguistic currency of empire that writers like Huang and Yang could authorize them as part of a not-yet invented canon of a still inchoate East Asia. Zhang Xinjian (張星建 1905-1949), the founder of the Central Bookstore and editor of *Taiwan Bungei*,

⁷² “*Honshi ni rensai suru engi sangokushi Yoshikawa Eiji shi no shinhen*” 本紙に連載する演義三国志吉川英治の新編, *Taiwan Daily News*, late afternoon version, August 4, 1939, sec. 6.

would, for example, imagine Taiwan's positionality in two interrelated ways: on the one hand it was the "base of the South" (南方基地), a physical launching point for Japanese colonial expansion, but it was also "the nodal point between Chinese and Japanese cultures," a *base* for the translation of Chinese culture into Japanese as a transimperial language.⁷³

In the wake of Yoshikawa's translation of *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, Huang Dershi also serialized his translation of *The Water Margin* in the *Taiwan Shinminpō* (台灣新民報). Huang's translation was so popular in Taiwan with both Japanese and Taiwanese intellectuals that it was later published as a book by the Kiyomizu Bookshop⁷⁴ and was disseminated in Japan, Korea, and Manchuria.⁷⁵ Huang writes in the preface of the first volume of *The Water Margin*,

Now it is the time to call for constructing Greater East Asia. In order to fulfill this goal, the primary task is to increase the mutual understanding, good will, and guidance (指導) between China and Japan. Even though the task can be fulfilled by books on politics and interactions of the fields in economics, industry, and travel, the channel of the novel is the most convenient way in order to know the ethnicity of China and to thoroughly understand and grasp this deeply rooted tradition and complex society. As a result, *The Water Margin*, the so-called epitome of the Chinese society and the most widely read [Chinese] work in both Japan and China in the several hundred years, is undoubtedly the best fit.⁷⁶

Huang's pronouncement shows his multifaceted concerns. First, he adopts imperialist rhetoric; then, he foregrounds the role of literature at this critical time suggesting how his own translation can be one means to promote mass literature.⁷⁷ If Chinese society and the

⁷³ "Taiwan Geijutsu kai he no yōbō" 台灣芸術界への要望, *Taiwan Geijutsu* 3, no. 1 (1942).

⁷⁴ *Sui Ko Den* 水滸伝, 3 vols. (Taipei: Kiyomizu Bookshop, 1941-1943).

⁷⁵ Huang Dershi, "Riju shichi Taiwan de baozhi fukan: yige zhubian zhe de huiyi" 日據時期台灣的報紙副刊：一個主編者的回憶 *Wenshun* 文訊 21 (1985): 63-64.

⁷⁶ "Preface" *The Water Margin* vol. 1.

⁷⁷ Tsai argues that Huang's adaptation and translation may come from Huang's long-hosting dream to produce mass literature and to compete with Yoshikawa's work. See his *The Trend of Translating Chinese Classic Novels in Taiwan*, 43-47.

Chinese ethnicity are so hard to grasp, the Taiwanese writer can play the role of translator—or put differently, native informant.⁷⁸ Huang, the first Taiwanese intellectual to delineate Taiwanese literary history, was searching for a unique position for the Taiwanese, within the new map of empire.⁷⁹ In other words, Huang deploys his agency through his “native” knowledge of Chinese culture and society in his adaptation and translation, thus using the “national language” to address to the other territories of the Japanese empire.

Another important intellectual of this period is Yang Kui, an iconic figure of New Literature Movement in Taiwan in the 1930s. His short story “The Newspaper Boy” (新聞配達夫 1934) was the first work written by a Taiwanese to be published in a Tokyo literary journal.⁸⁰ Like Huang, Yang considered classic Chinese novels a new “canon” for the empire and thus translation a critical task.⁸¹ In the preface to his version of *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sangokushi monogatari* 三国志物語, 1943), Yang Kui writes,

Now we are in the blood battle of the war to liberate Greater East Asia. Everyone in the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, let us emulate the spirit of the three heroes and support each other. I want to present this *great classic of Greater East Asia* (大東亜の大古典) to you as spiritual food for us to comfort, discipline,

⁷⁸ The figure of native informant first appears in anthropological research. It describes the role taken by a native member of the community who gives information of one’s own culture to foreign investigators. Gayatri Spivak analyzes the (im)possible position of native informants. They have a story to tell and their position allows them to provide information but they can never tell the story because their story is always mediated by the dominant power and judged by the imperial audience. Huang and Yang’s role of translator to some extent reflects this dilemma. See Gayatri Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

⁷⁹ “*Taiwan bungakushi josetsu*” 台湾文学史序説 *Taiwan Bungaku* 3, no. 3 (1943): 7.

⁸⁰ *Bungaku Hyoron* 1, no. 8 (1934): 199-233.

⁸¹ In “Writing before the Writer’s Congress of Greater East Asia,” Yang writes, “On how to concretely promote the cooperation between Japan and China on literature, I have the following suggestions. The Association of Literature-for-Nation should establish Department of East Asia in charge of translating works from China and publish them on Japanese journals.... But I think such a project should not be limited within China, but to other regions in East Asia.” Originally published on *Taiwan Jiho* 275 (November 1942). I refer to *Yang Kui Quan Ji*, vol. 10 (Taipei: Guoli wenhua zichan baocun yanjiu zhongxin choubai chu, 2001), 56.

and encourage each other, so we can break through this road of hardship”
(emphasis added).⁸²

Yang Kui’s translation appeared just after the serialization of Yoshikawa Eiji’s translation of the same novel concluded, and we might wonder about his motivation for turning again to this work, both utilizing the popularity of the novel and thus “seizing the populace of mass literature”⁸³ while perhaps simultaneously asserting a kind of cultural proprietorship over Chinese culture. Yang’s rhetoric of “canon formation” reveals a new agency—bilingualism and familiarity with both the Chinese and Japanese culture—granted by Taiwan’s intermediate position within the blueprint for Greater East Asia that would stretch—in its grandest version—from Japan to Manchuria and China, the Dutch East Indies, French Indochina, and as well as to other regions that had not yet become part of the Japanese empire such as Thailand and Australia.⁸⁴ Li Wen-ching, who has written about the literature of Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule, has argued that translating Chinese classics help these Taiwanese writers avoid producing so-called imperial-subject literature while not openly challenging imperialist policy,⁸⁵ but Li does not take into consideration how Huang and Yang position themselves and their translations. In their prefaces we can see the ways in which Taiwanese intellectuals reconfigure their positions and their work in the empire: translating and adapting the classics of vernacular Chinese fiction becomes one of the ways to demonstrate the important position of Taiwan and Taiwanese in the imperial project.

⁸² *Yang Kui quan ji*, vol. 6, 3.

⁸³ Tsai proposes that Yang tries to draw the attention of readers of popular literature through popular classic Chinese literature that had been part of cultural life of the Taiwanese. See Tsai, *The Trend of Translating Chinese Classic Novels in Taiwan*, 66-67.

⁸⁴ Ezawa Shinji, *Taitōa kyōeikan no shisō* (The Concept of Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere). (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1995), 14. The 1942 map of “The South” also delineates a similar boundary. See also appendix of *Gaichi no nihongo bungakusen: Nanpō / Taiwan* (Tokyo: Shinjuku Shobō, 1996), 357.

⁸⁵ Li Wenqing, *Gongron de xiangxiang: diguo, zhimindi yu dadonya gongronquan, 1937-1945 共榮的想像：帝國、殖民地與大東亞共榮圈* (Taipei: Daoshiang chubanshe, 2010), 223-224.

In the context of reimagining these works as part of a new imperial canon, Huang and Yang adapt and reimagine these novels to make them more relevant to contemporary reality. As both Tsai Wenbing and Yokomichi Keiko⁸⁶ have noted, Huang and Yang remove plot elements related to magic and wonders and add new details to make anachronistic elements more reasonable and logical for contemporary readers. For example, Yang's translation removes some meticulous details about Chinese culture and customs that may pose challenges to Japanese readers, including long clan pedigrees and the prophecy of a Taoist priest, but he also adds some details to make his version of *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* resonate with the ongoing war.⁸⁷ In other words, the writers have attempted to “modernize” the classics by shortening temporal and cultural distances.

The war provides a critical context to understand this return to the classics: in the advertisements for Yoshikawa's translation of *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* in *Taiwan Daily News*, the author compares Chiang Kai-shek to the main character Liu Bei, both of whom used the Shu area, today's Sichuan, as their base, and compares Japan to the character Cao Cao from the North, who eventually wins the war.⁸⁸ *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* is here reimagined not simply an old fictional text, but as a kind of prophecy for the future. It was within this context that Lü Heruo himself began to imagine a translation of *Dream of the Red Chamber*—a novel unrelated to war and

⁸⁶ Yokomichi Keiko, “Lun rizhi houchi de fanyi xianxiang: yi Yang Kui ‘Sanguozhi wuyu’ weizhu” 論曰治後期的翻譯現象：以楊達「三國志物語」為主. Originally published in *Translator in History of Translation Conference*. Taipei: Taiwan Association of Translation and Interpretation, 2013. Retrieved from the website of Taiwan Association of Translation and Interpretation. <http://www.taiwantati.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09>.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 15. According to Yokomichi, Yang fabricates the details about the tears of Liu Bei's mother and how Liu Bei searches for his mother among the crowds on his way to the battlefield—a popular theme in contemporary war-related news or stories.

⁸⁸ “Honshi ni rensai suru engi sangokushi Yoshikawa Eiji shi no shinhen,” *Taiwan Daily News*.

adventure, a work, rather, firmly grounded in the domestic sphere—and while the translation was never completed the unfinished project provides a critical key to understanding his wartime Japanese writings.

The Dialectics of Impenetrability

A year before the publication of “A Happy Family” (April, 1943), Lü was determined to translate *Dream* despite the fact that Matsueda Shigeo (松枝茂夫, 1905-1995) had begun to publish a Japanese translation of *Dream* in the Iwanami Bunko series in 1940.⁸⁹ We might puzzle over Lü’s compulsion to translate this novel again. It appears very similar to Yang’s retranslation of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*—both seem to be contesting who has the right to authorize the interpretation of Chinese culture for an emerging “Greater East Asia.” Although Lü ended up abandoning this project—what he once called “the obligation of the Taiwanese” to translate *Dream*—this “failure” in some ways casts a doubt on the entire question of “translatability” of Chinese classics within imperialist discourse, which I will demonstrate later.

If we return to the extended quote from “A Happy Family,” which is layered with detail upon detail in an almost dizzying display of language, we can begin to interrogate the meaning of this excess detail. Part of what is striking about the passage is its abundance of surface details through which Lü introduces a different way of viewing the pre-colonial past—a perspective that seems to complicate a modern division between surface and depth.

⁸⁹ Due to the war only three volumes of Matsueda’s translation of *Dream* were published, while the complete fourteen volumes were published in 1951. Also, Yeh Shitao mentioned in his notes that he and his wife had access of this translation during the wartime. *Yeh Shitao Quanji* 葉石濤全集, vol. 10, (Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung shi wenhua ju, 2006), 137.

Here, the reader is stuck—seemingly endlessly—upon a surface that leads not to depth or interiority but that simply meanders. If Roland Barthes once suggested that the reality effect is generated precisely by that detail which eludes or resists symbolic reading, this partly explains why the citation of *Dream* escapes the reader and scholar’s attention as the detail adds to this “reality effect.”⁹⁰ Lü’s description also seems to amplify this affect by offering such a dizzying array of details that the reader feels almost compelled to try to decipher them as pointing towards some kind of deeper meaning but that, in the end, seem almost to themselves signify a past “Chineseness” which is itself uninterpretable to the modern reader in Japanese. The details come from mixed exteriorities: a chamber and back garden—a traditional setting in Chinese classics, refined patterns on the garments, local flowers, and royal/plebeian ornaments. But behind this enumeration of detail exists no genuine inner core: no specific value system or conceptual framework to hold the detail together. Instead, the reader’s attention is directed to the fact that each distinct detail seems to represent its own system. In this passage, Lü appears to complicate a modern consciousness in which surface exists only as prelude to depth, and exteriority is to be lifted in order for interiority to appear. But Lü’s entangled, labyrinthine details not only weave an impenetrable net but also refuse the reader’s attempts to untangle the threads and identify an “origin” in the past.

This grappling with the complexity, rather than the “purity,” of origins, can be seen in other stories that Lü wrote during this period. The story “Fortune, Sons, Longevity” (財子壽 1942) unfolds through a series of stories on feudalistic styles and

⁹⁰ Roland Barthes, “The Reality Effect,” *Roland Barthes: The Rustle of Language*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1986), 142.

Taiwanese customs.⁹¹ Take *Clear Autumn* for example, five of the seven stories included in the book deal with traditional aspects of Taiwan.⁹² Despite the fact that these stories are situated in contemporary Taiwan, where colonial modernity has been present for four decades and the wartime mobilization has affected the daily life of Taiwanese, the stories portray wicked, or even grotesque, feudalistic lifestyle. Symbols of modernization such as the chimneys of sugar factory and air sirens as well as the modern lives of doctors and accountants contrast with the gloomy, eerie atmosphere. While some researchers speculate that Lü uses these symbols to criticize the way colonial modernity and capitalism have shattered the traditional order in the countryside,⁹³ a more productive reading is to see them as examples of how Lü actually reinforces the connection between feudalistic consciousness and modern symbols to create an effect of the uncanny, “species of frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been familiar.”⁹⁴ In this ambiguous state the things once familiar and homey—be they feudalistic *or* modern—become strange because of this complication made by Lü.⁹⁵

This incongruous, illogical interweaving of the two clashing entities—modernity and backwardness—permeates in the stories. For example, the successful and calculating brother in the story “Fengshui” (風水 1942) first disregards the traditional reburial rite

⁹¹ This story also won the “Award of Taiwan Literature” (台湾文学賞) in 1943. See Tarumi Chie, *Taiwan de riben yu wenxue*, 136.

⁹² Except for “Clear Autumn” (1944) and “Neighbor” (1942), the other five stories, “Fortune, Sons, Longevity” (1942), “A Happy Family” (1943), “Temple Courtyard” (1942), “Moonlit Night” (1943), and “Pomegranate” (1943) all deeply engage with traditional or feudalistic practice or lifestyle.

⁹³ See Liu, “Zaibo Shiliu,” 112-113.

⁹⁴ Sigmund Freud, “The Uncanny,” *The Uncanny* (London: Penguin Publisher, 2003), 124.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 154. Ghost, or “return of the dead,” according to Freud, is one of the sources of the experience of uncanny. He writes, “Today we no longer believe in them [the return of the dead], having *surmounted* such modes of thought. Yet we do not feel entirely secure in these new convictions; the old ones live on in us, on the look-out for confirmation. Now, as soon as something happens in our lives that seems to confirm these old, discarded beliefs, we experience a sense of uncanny.” According to Freud, ghosts in fictions do not necessarily generate feelings of uncanny as they are allowed in this fictional world. In the case of “Fortune, Sons, Longevity,” it is not the real spirits and ghosts that are frightening, but the living ghosts.

proposed by the other filial and upright brother, but later strongly believes in the power of *fengshui* and insists on performing the rite immediately after encountering misfortune. In other words, this character, who succeeds within the modern capitalistic logic but unexpectedly embraces superstition, suggests an intertwined path between modernity and backwardness. In another story, “Moonlit Night” (1943), which treats the tragic women oppressed by a perverse feudalism, the heroine is abused not only by her mother and sister-in-law but by her husband, who works as an accountant in the city, “a mix of a modern intellectual and a handsome man.” By utilizing the effect of the uncanny, Lü challenges the division between modernity and non-modern traditions. He focuses on the characters who possess both the modern and anachronistic qualities, the “modern ghost” whose existence hinders the telling of a modern story.

The “ghost story” framework is most evident in “Fortune, Sons, Longevity,” which depicts the immorality and collapse of a traditional Taiwanese household. The plot centers on the ways in which Zhou Haiwen, the patriarch of the household who has an unusual obsession with money, mistreats his wife, seduces his maidservants, and shows no attachment to his mother and brothers. Although this “spectacle of wickedness” itself is interesting, it is the framing of the work that complicates the division between modernity and tradition. The story is set to be a modern ghost story: “even in today’s civilized society, in the hardly trodden bridge in the village, the villagers still believe that there will be dark hands reaching out from under the bridge and grabbing the ankles of the passersby.” This bridge further leads to Zhou’s mansion, where abandoned buildings show traces of decay and “give the impression of antiquity and lack of human atmosphere.” This setting frames Zhou, a feudalistic ghost in colonial Taiwan, who

ironically serves as the “Head of the Neighborhood” (保甲) within the colonial officialdom. In other words, in the series of feudalistic stories, Lü creates different kinds of ghosts—old and young, men and women, and ghosts-to-be.⁹⁶ Haunting spirits are everywhere in this world: the upright characters in “Fengshui” and “Zakuro” (1943) are haunted by their deceased parents who keep reminding them of their duties in their dreams, and the wicked characters keep haunting the present and challenging modernity with their illogical and inexplicable existence.

Both Lü’s contemporaries and current critics have tended to see Lü’s work a kind of “record” or “realistic” description of a disappearing lifestyle or collective memory. For example, at the time when Lü’s feudalistic stories were published on literary journals, Yeh Shitao, then a young student of Nishikawa, criticized Lü’s stories as “simply records of Taiwanese life in the old days.”⁹⁷ This understanding of Lü’s work as primarily a kind of documentary realism has continued to this day. Chie Tarumi, for example, has emphasized that Lü’s motivation to record disappearing local culture can be seen in what she calls the “cameralike realism” in his depictions of “various human relationships, architectural structures, and clothing, as well as traditions and customs.”⁹⁸ Chen Fangming similarly points to Lü’s emphasis on “collective memory” of the Taiwanese.⁹⁹

And yet if we continue to see Lü’s work as entirely—or even primarily—as documentary in character, a seemingly objective recording of the world vanishing before

⁹⁶ The heroine of “Moonlit Night” almost succeeds in committing suicide by jumping into the water near the end of the story.

⁹⁷ Yeh uses the term “increment Realism” (クソリアリズム) to describe the works that realistically portrays the life of the native Taiwanese. See Liu, “Zaibo Shiliu,” 96.

⁹⁸ Chie Tarumi, “An Author Listening to Voices from the Netherworld: Lü Heruo and the *kuso* Realism Debate,” *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, Memory*, ed. Liao Ping-hui and David Der-wei Wang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 263-276.

⁹⁹ Chen Fangming, *New Literary History of Taiwan* vol. 1 (Taipei: Lianjin Chubanshe, 2011), 170.

his eyes, we miss entirely the self-conscious use of a work like *Dream* to fold into the present a literary and intertextual past. Indeed, if Lü's work is photographic, it is more a montage than reportage: in contrast to what Tarumi refers to as "camera realism," we see in Lü's work a self-conscious deploying of details from various temporalities and cultural milieu resulting not in an unmediated and transparent record of reality but in an impenetrable surface woven out of descriptive detail. This method not only refuses to satisfy the colonial desire to uncover or protect the "primitive" but also stands against nativist efforts to use "the native origin" to resist the violence of colonialism. Lü thus develops a way in which he is able to question the very idea of nativeness—an origin that is imagined to serve or resist the colonial gaze.

One of the hallmarks of description in Lü's writing—and an aspect of his writing that stands in sharp contrast to the work of Sakaguchi Reiko (坂口禊子 1914-2007), for example, who also worked in the genre of family saga¹⁰⁰—is his use of phrases and imagery from works like *Dream*, descriptions that go "untranslated," even uncommented upon as if the descriptions themselves somehow stubbornly resist translation. In this sense, the impenetrability of the surface detail becomes one element of this untranslatability: the details can only be rendered in a baroque Chinese that would be all but impenetrable to a Japanese reader because the reality that he sought to capture was itself a baroque reality. For the act of translation assumes commensurability not only between two languages but also between two cultures: the ideal translation should transfer a text not only from one linguistic context to another but also from one cultural community to another without loss of meaning. Thus, translatability indicates "the

¹⁰⁰ Here I refer to Sakaguchi Reiko's *Teikka* (鄭一家 1941). I examine this work closely in the fourth chapter of my dissertation.

possibility of equivalents that bridge the gap between two languages.”¹⁰¹ Yet, in the colonial context, this very idea of equivalence becomes problematic for it neglects the constituent power asymmetry between the colonizer and colonized.¹⁰² The colonizer desires linguistic transparency to justify its power and culture over the other, similar to the way it desires an uninterrupted visual representation of the unknown territory through cartography. Thus at the heart of Lü’s descriptive technique resides a kind of magical trick that thwarts the desire for transparency and translatability by weaving an impenetrable surface of details that foregrounds the specter of untranslatability.

This impenetrability, or refusal of transparent translation, can be seen in how the wicked protagonists are characterized. Behind this past composed by dizzying details and abstruse terms the reader still cannot locate an explanation for Fan’s indulgence in opium.¹⁰³ Thus at the center of the story is a figure—Fan—who refuses all analysis as to motive, who remains quintessentially uninterpretable. Both Fan and Zhou, the aforementioned protagonist in “Fortune, Sons, and Longevity,” are marked by an obsession—with opium and with money respectively—but these obsessions are never explained, never given motivation. Lü’s refusal to provide any psychological explanation for the decadence of these characters has been the subject of criticism of his technique;¹⁰⁴ however, this very opaqueness can be seen as one form of resistance to the colonial desire

¹⁰¹ Suh Serk-Bae. *Treacherous Translation: Culture, Nationalism, Colonialism in Korea and Japan from the 1910s to the 1960s* (Irvine: University of California, 2013), xvii.

¹⁰² According to Niranjana, colonial translation serves as a major way to employ violent “symbolic domination” on the colonized. See Niranjana, *Siting Translation*, 32.

¹⁰³ In a later passage Lü only briefly mentions that Fan begins to smoke when Yufeng is recovering from birth and that Fan’s relatives pass this bad habit to him.

¹⁰⁴ For example, Yu Shengguan, a literary scholar in Taiwan, considers the extreme characterization of Fan a failure since the only thing Fan does is to indulge in opium. As Lü never releases Fan’s internal thoughts, there is no way to know the motive and psychology of this character. Yu considers such a “flat” character “not worth writing.” See Yu, Sheng-guan, “Chimeng, rendao zhuyi, yu qianxiandai wozu de ningshi” 啟蒙、人道主義與前現代我族的凝視. *Taiwan xian dang dai zuojia yanjiu ziliao hui bian series 10 : Lu Heruo*, Tainan: Guoli Taiwan wenxue guan, 2011, p. 293-324.

for transparency, and to the underlying idea that one culture can be rendered transparently for another culture via language.

How, then, are we to understand the seemingly contradictory impulses that inhabit Lü in these years—the ultimately unrealized (or abandoned) desire to translate *Dream* and the refusal to endorse translation as a transparent medium? Here we might return to an important moment in Lü's own formation as a colonial intellectual when he perhaps first saw his own culture as it was seen by the Japanese.¹⁰⁵ Lü saw the stage production of *Madame Chen* (1940)¹⁰⁶ when he was studying music in Tokyo. He expressed his excitement and feelings in a newspaper article in 1941: “Shoji wonderfully presents the suffering and psychology of the Chen family.... The story successfully grasps the natives [Taiwanese] who receive modern education. But comparatively speaking, the story reveals the difficulty of depicting more traditional characters, the ones distanced from modern education and trends.... What would happen if this kind of play were presented on the stage in Taiwan?”¹⁰⁷ After observing how Taiwanese native customs attracted a colonial gaze in the metropole, Lü began to consider the problem of how to present the traditions from the angle of the colonized instead of colonizer. In contrast to *Madame Chen*, which presents an educated Taiwanese intellectual and his Japanese wife who

¹⁰⁵ Here Lü seems to experience what Benedict Anderson terms as “spectre of comparisons,” a kind of “double consciousness” through which one sees one’s familiar culture both closely and from afar as one internalizes the gaze of the dominant culture. See Benedict Anderson, *The Spectres of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World*. New York: Verso, 1998, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ *Chin fujin* 陳夫人(1940) is Shōji Sōichi’s (庄司総一 1906-1961) famous and popular work that not only was performed on the stage but won the “Literary Award of Greater East-Asia” (大東亜文学賞) in 1943. The first volume of the novel depicts how a Japanese woman Yasuko accommodates herself to Taiwanese culture and customs after moving back to Taiwan with her Taiwanese husband. The second volume focuses on the identity struggle faced by their half-Japanese-half-Taiwanese daughter. This work was influential in that it triggered quite a few Japanese and Taiwanese writers to write about Taiwanese tradition and culture, and one of them was Sakaguchi Reiko, the subject of the fourth chapter of this dissertation.

¹⁰⁷ Lü Heruo, “*Chin Fujin no kōen*” 陳夫人の公演, *Kyōnan Shinbun*, May 20-25, 1941.

together observe the traditional customs and characters of Taiwan, Lü offers Fan as an opaque entity impenetrable to this modern, rational line of vision. This intentional opaqueness of the most feudalistic of characters, moreover, foregrounds the untranslatability between cultures, languages, and power structures.

Unlike Huang and Yang, whose work successfully translates *The Water Margin* and *Romances of the Three Kingdoms*, Lü's "A Happy Family" can be seen as a questioning of the very translatability of the classical novel, almost as if the novella is born out of his own abandoned attempt to translate *Dream*. Through the juxtaposition of various details of different cultures and different temporalities, Lü seems to be expressing a fundamental notion of the very possibility of translation as an endeavor: How can one translate the classics of one culture and language into another culture and language without compromising its status as a part of the canon? To do so, does one need to also translate the discourse and parameters that make one work a classic into another culture? The implicit questioning of the very possibility of such translation stands in sharp contrast to the work of Huang and Yang, who not only translate such classics but also embed them in a discourse of power by making their translations more transparent and more readily accessible to the contemporary world.

Thus in Huang and Yang's translation of classic novels we can see a subtle attempt to shift the *telos* from Chinese cultural history to the imperial one. Yang's rhetoric of a "great classic of Greater East Asia (大東亜の大古典)" suggests his impulse to reposition the work from a "classic of China" to a classic of empire. Huang chooses a work, "an epitome of Chinese society," but repositions it as "a shared cultural heritage in the empire" ("the most widely read work in both China and Japan" in Huang's words).

Undoubtedly both Yang and Huang have intended to empower the position of Taiwanese intellectuals and their rhetoric may have been influenced by the strict control on speech in the wartime. Yet in their act of translation they seem to be caught in an “either-or” binary: either Han loyalist *or* obedient subject of empire. There seems to be no middle ground between a nationalist and a collaborationist reading of their work. Lü, on the other hand, comes back again and again in his writing to create figures that represent a double existence. In Lü’s creation of collage and impenetrability, as well as characterization of extremely ambiguous characters who are both modern and feudalistic, he prioritizes the concept of untranslatability and inexplicability and thus refuses a smooth transition. What Lü does is not simply an aesthetic choice of materials but an ethical decision through which Lü resists both the violence of scopophilia and the violence of translation—the two paralleling sets of violence at work for colonial modernity.

The Void of *Qing* as Untranslatability

Central to *Dream of the Red Chamber*—and to how it has been read for much of the twentieth century—is a focus on emotion or sentiment *qing* (情). However, *qing* is one thing entirely absent from Lü’s own approach to the family saga in “A Happy Family.” Indeed, it is almost as if *qing* becomes one element of *Dream* that cannot be redeployed—*translated*—into the modern, colonial setting of Taiwan in the 1940s. And instead of the obsession with *qing* we find in *Dream*, we find instead an addiction to opium. *Qing*, according to Haiyan Lee, is a critical and mutable concept in literature and culture from the late imperial period into the modern period in China. It generally means “spontaneous expression of natural human desires” but its relation to Confucian ritualism

and moral rectitude has shifted over time. Lee argues that *Dream* revolutionarily shapes *qing* into an intrinsic and discrete personal value and it is the first work in Chinese literary history in which “the male-female dyad is placed not on a continuum with, but in opposition to, the parent-child one.”¹⁰⁸ Moreover, *qing* appears broadly in the literature and drama of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries including two plays Lü had (planned to) read around this time—*Peony Pavilion* (牡丹亭, 1598) and *Peach Blossom Fan* (桃花扇, 1699).¹⁰⁹ *Peony Pavilion* is about how *qing* between a male and female can cross the boundary between life and death, while *Peach Blossom Fan* is about *qing* between a couple that stands against hardships and is transcended after the collapse of the Ming dynasty. Lü was obviously aware of the centrality of *qing* in these texts and yet the ways in which Fan is characterized as a heartless, even “inhuman” person—the very opposite of Jia Baoyu, the passionate protagonist of *Dream*—suggests that for Lü there is no space for this idea of *qing* as a sentiment in colonial Taiwan. In other words, Taiwan has lost the socio-cultural background—i.e. Confucian framework—against which *qing* can exert its power. While Lü is able to deploy the (empty) signifiers of a splendid cultural past, the “essence” of *qing* becomes a kind of stubborn, untranslatable kernel that resists being incorporated into the modern rewriting. It is as if the very untranslatability of *qing* into contemporary Taiwan indicates the incongruity between the socio-cultural framework that values such heightened spiritual sentiment and the Taiwanese reality.

In some sense, the space created by this absence of the essence in *Dream* is filled up with opium addiction: Lü replaces the high spiritual sentiment with this lowly

¹⁰⁸ Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 45.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 25. Lee uses the term “the cult of *qing*” to refer to this trend seen in philosophical, literary, and theatrical domains in Ming-Qing dynasties.

corporeal shame. In contrast to Cao Xueqin, the author of *Dream*, who arranges a supernatural setting and gives Baoyu a celestial existence to possibly “lend cosmological validation to a new mode of subjectivity—the sentimental self,”¹¹⁰ Lü pushes in the opposite direction of this worldly, secular Fan marked by soullessness and non-attachment. The essence of *qing* signifies Baoyu’s celestial existence, but the void of *qing* constitutes Fan’s ghost-like existence. “Opium ghost” (鴉片鬼) is a common term that refers to the people who are addicted to opium as their fragile and lifeless figures makes them similar to “living ghosts.” These addicts, with their grotesque and shameful images, become famous markers of “uncivilization” against which twentieth-century Chinese and Taiwanese intellectuals most often articulated their own versions of modernity and civilization. Yet Lü’s emphasis is not on how this poisonous habit damages the individual or national body; rather, Lü shows how (colonial) modern logic is devoured by the opium addict, the living ghost.

Through the creation of the “opium ghost” Lü proposes an existence that traverses different temporalities. Taiwanese scholars such as Chen Fangming and Lin Ruimin have proposed that Lü utilizes “family history” to resist “national history,” but in works like “A Happy Family,” “Fengshui,” and “Fortune, Sons, and Longevity,” Lü is more interested in describing the lasting influence of one character, rather than writing the linear history of a family saga. While we might expect that a family saga would traverse several generations, in “A Happy Family” Lü gives no indication of previous generations. This blank suggests that Lü does not attempt to contrast Fan against the *previous* or the *next* generations, but rather shows how he *remains* static—an irresponsible opium

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 48-49.

addict—as his role itself shifts from son, to father, to grandfather. Fan’s ghostlike nature points to how—like the past itself—he will haunt future generations while spending his own life preserved within an antique atmosphere, unmarked by modernity.

Besides a brief sketch of his pale face and gaunt figure, which are common to all opium smokers, the last scene in “A Happy Family” embodies Fan as a ghost. In the final scene, Fan visits Yufu, his adopted eldest son to ask for money, since his eatery has failed and his two younger sons have left for the South. Despite his bad straights, Yufu still cowers before his father. Fan appears like a ghost: “Yufu saw a person standing in the shade of betel nut trees looking at the stars. That person seemed to have recognized him and walked towards him silently. From the dim light of the National-Language Training School, he recognizes his father, Fan.”¹¹¹ While Fan expresses his loneliness as an old man and how much he wants to dote on Yufu’s children, Lü highlights the darkness that surrounds Fan: “It is too dark. Yufu cannot see the expression on his father’s face. Several bats fly down from the eaves.... It is even darker now. Yufu cannot see the face of his father, but can only hear his cold voice.”¹¹² Here, Fan appears like a ghost from the past that still haunts his son as he attempts to live a modern life marked by the symbol of colonial power—the National-Language Training School.¹¹³ Fan steps out of his own world, a glorious image full of references to the eighteenth-century classic *Dream of the Red Chamber* and walks, ghostlike, into modern darkness.

This final scene which portrays the protagonist as a living ghost resonates with the climax of “The Golden Cangue” (金鎖記 1943), Zhang Ailing’s well-known story

¹¹¹ *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku: Taiwanjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 2, 238.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 239.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 237. Yufu puts his hope on his malnourished daughter, who “is able to pick up some Japanese from the National-Language Training School.”

written in the same year. Both stories revolve around an aging character who haunts the next generations. “The Golden Gangue” tells the story of Cao Chichao, who is forced by her family to marry to the disabled son of a rich family and whose desire for love and sexuality are never satisfied. This trauma makes her, in turn, haunt the lives of her own children so they can never find happiness in marriage. In a climax scene of the story, the aged Chichao invites Shifang, her daughter’s suitor, for dinner, so that she can destroy the attachment between them.

Shifang... saw a small old lady standing at the doorway with her back to the light so that he could not see her face distinctly. She wore a blue-gray gown of palace brocade embroidered with a round dragon design, and clasped with both hands a scarlet hot-water bag; two big tall amahs (servants) stood close against her. Outside the door the setting sun was smoky yellow, and the staircase covered with tortoise plaid linoleum led up step after step to a place where there was no light. Shifang instinctively felt that was a mad person. For no reason there was a chill in all his hairs and bones.¹¹⁴

Here, Shifang, a “modern man” who has studied abroad but still admires old Chinese atmosphere, literally shivers. After this chilling prelude, Chichao further utilizes opium to trick Shifang by implying a fabricated addiction on the part of her daughter, which makes Shifang ashamed of his obsession with an (imagined) oriental beauty. It is ironic that “the Chinese woman he adores, the woman he has thought to have preserved old Chinese aura is actually an opium addict.”

Not only do Chichao’s obscured face, association with darkness, and ghostly existence parallel Fan’s. The ways details of the past are inscribed in her costume and surroundings are strikingly similar to Lü’s own emphasis on surface. By linking the two most common yet incongruent images of China—opium and Chinese beauty—together

¹¹⁴ Zhang Ailing, “Jinsuoji” 金鎖記, *Huigu jan I: Zhang Ailing duanpian xiaoshoji zhi yi* 回顧展 I: 張愛玲短篇小說集之一, (Taipei: Huanguan chubanshe, 1991), 183.

and making the opium the inner core of the oriental beauty, Zhang ridicules the Western prejudice of the orient through the character Shifang. In addition, the ways in which Chichao tricks Shifang with superficial rumor and general prejudice of the Chinese are similar to the ways in which Lü arranges surface details and an opaque opium addict to simultaneously satisfy and mislead the modern way of looking. Both writers seem to find inspiration in *Dream* in presenting colorful, ornamental details to construct a different consciousness in which each ornamental detail exists for its own reason, instead of covering the core.¹¹⁵

Fan and Chichao, one an opium addict and the other madwoman, appear from the darkness of the past and are preserved in a timelessness under the weight of which the promise of modernity seems to be smothered. This past, despite being shrouded in darkness, effortlessly haunts modernity.¹¹⁶ Writing in 1943, both Lü and Zhang, one in colonial Taiwan and the other in semi-colonial Shanghai, call on the ghostly power of the past to haunt the present. In their stories, the younger generation bears no similarity to the “new youth” who attempt to break free from a backwardness represented by their parents and grandparents but seem instead to wilt before their spectral power.

Stories of Mistaken Identity

¹¹⁵ Zhang, a famous fan of *Dream*, shows her fascination with complicated ornaments and colors in traditional Chinese life-style in many of her stories. In an essay titled “Chinese Life and Fashions” (1943), she writes, “This hyper attention on details is the point of this period (the 19th century)... The ornamental details on clothing in old China are completely meaningless... Numerous little funny details gather around here, continuously growing more details in an impertinently, unreasonable way.” See Zhang Ailing, “Genyi ji” 更衣記, *Zhang Ailing Quanji: Liuyan* 張愛玲全集：流言, (Taipei: Huangguan Chubanshe, 1991), 69-70. This also explains my feeling of déjà vu when reading Zhang and Lü’s works as they share keen sensitivity to color and old-fashioned ornaments which may have been inspired by *Dream*.

¹¹⁶ Fan emphasizes the love between father and son, which moves Yufu, who feels the responsibility of filial piety, while Chichao implies that her daughter is an opium addict, a traditional way of spreading rumor while what matters the most for a woman is his reputation.

In 1946, three years after Lü wrote “A Happy Family,” and a year after Taiwan’s liberation, Lü published his first story in Chinese, “The Warfare of my Hometown: Name Changing” (故鄉的戰事：改姓名).¹¹⁷ What is interesting is how quickly Lü embraced the idea of writing in Chinese despite the fact that his entire education was in Japan and both Japanese and Chinese coexisted in public discourse during that early postwar period (August 1945~October 1946). This quick embrace of the new language, however, is haunted by traces of Lü’s previous linguistic environment. Not unlike Fan in “A Happy Family,” the Japanese language itself becomes a kind of ghost in “The Warfare.”

Set at the end of the colonial period, the story starts with a scene at a platform where the narrator is waiting for the train. There he notices a group of Japanese elementary-school students line up in order. When the train finally comes, one student suddenly sneaks onto the car, while the other students curse him and call him “a name-changer.” The narrator thinks he must be a Taiwanese kid who had adopted a Japanese name during the heyday of the imperial-subject movement, but it turns out that the kid who disobeys is actually Japanese and that the other kids use “name-changer” as a synonym for “fraud.” The story foregrounds the thoughts of the narrator as he considers the situation:

The colonial authority used brutal and enforcing measures to make Taiwanese brothers (台灣同胞) change their names, and inflicted this humiliation on Taiwanese brothers. Japanese people, was this right? Taiwanese brothers, why were you being such fools? You not only lost your name, but also were humiliated. Suddenly I was so angry that I almost wanted to hit the kid, but my hands were constrained due to the tough situation. My thoughts changed after a while. I thought that after the name-changer kid, Goto, was fully humiliated, he would understand what it meant to

¹¹⁷ “Gu xiang de zhan shi: gai xing ming” 故鄉的戰事：改姓名, *Zheng Jing Bao* 2, no. 3 (1946): 12-13. I refer to *Zheng jin bao banyuekan fukeban* 政經報復刻版 (Taipei: Wusanlian Taiwan shiliao jijinhui, 1995).

change his name, wouldn't this be his improvement (進步)? I gave Goto a pitying look, and talked to him in Taiwanese:

“It is wrong to change your name. See? You are being made fun of this way.”

I had thought Goto was a Taiwanese fellow countryman who studied in elementary school with Japanese kids and changed his name, but I was wrong. Without replying to me, Goto looked at me thoroughly after hearing my Taiwanese. The muscles on his face made an arrogant and scornful look. I suddenly realized that he was a Japanese, so I quickly used Japanese to ask him,

“Have you changed your name? Why did your companions blame you for changing your name?”

“Don't humiliate me. I am Japanese. Who wants to be Taiwanese?” said Goto angrily.

“If so, why did they call you name-changer?” I felt strange, so I asked again.

“Because it's fraud. Name-changing is fraud,” replied his companion from the other side.

.....

Obviously these kids had used the term “name-changer” as a synonym for “fraudulence” because they thought name changing was fraudulent. It was true, as people have said, that children are innocent. Japanese always emphasized that letting Taiwanese change their names meant to treat them equally, so Taiwanese could become real Japanese. But didn't they expose their belly here?¹¹⁸

The train started moving slowly on the track. Outside the window were rice farms. Golden rice ears trembled in the wind. I saw a wild bird fly away from the rice farms and dance in the sky. I thought to myself:

“Ai! Japanese, you are such idiots! You could not even cheat your own children, how could you cheat the descendants of Yellow Emperor, the people who have five-thousand-year long cultural history?”¹¹⁹

In contrast to his wartime “A Happy Family,” this story is much simpler—a short encounter on the train. Gone from this story are any traces of the author who had written about big households, feudalistic lifestyle, and the oppression of women. Here, Lü straightforwardly criticizes the imperial-subject movement and displays a rhetoric indebted to Mainland China. On the one hand, Lü uses the narrator's thoughts to directly express criticism of the Japanese who enforced the name-changing plan as well as of the Taiwanese who followed the plan. On the other hand, he adopts expressions common to how Han Chinese emphasize their own cultural heritage—“descendants of Yellow

¹¹⁸ The expression of “exposing their belly” (曝露了他的肚子) is an appropriation of Japanese idiom that means “revealing one's real intention” (腹を見られる).

¹¹⁹ *Zheng jin bao banyuekan fukeban*, 13.

Emperor” and “five-thousand-year history.” In repeating the term “Taiwanese brothers,” a term used by Mainlanders to refer to the Taiwanese, Lü reveals an attempt to fit Taiwanese people into this new identity; however, the almost compulsive repetition of this term seems simultaneously to suggest an anxiety on Lü’s part over the impossibility of Taiwanese really becoming “brothers” of Mainland Chinese because of historical, political, and cultural realities.

One of the reasons that contributes to this impossibility of finding a cultural and historical common ground is the awkwardness of the Chinese used in the story—a constant reminder of the alienation of Lü’s generation from Chinese as forming any kind of a “mother tongue.” Lü’s written Chinese, translated partly from Japanese and partly from the Taiwanese Minnan dialect, reveals traces of these other, non-official languages that inhabit the postwar moment. Examples of this abound: the surplus preposition in the expression “stepping into on the platform” (踏入去月台) is influenced by the usage of Minnan dialect; the Japanese syntax of perfect tense (出来た) can be seen in this Chinese expression—“They have become lined up like long snakes” (旅客就成了長蛇的列出來了); and the expression of “exposing their belly” (曝露了他的肚子) is another appropriation of Japanese idiom that means “revealing one’s real intention” (腹を見られる). Although the story is still *legible* to a Chinese reader, these linguistic marks create interruptions and create questions. While Lü quickly switched his language of writing from Japanese to Chinese and aligned with the rhetoric of “motherland,” these linguistic anomalies indicate an alternate history and culture that marks the Chinese language of post-imperial Taiwan. This trilingual reality—the narrator switches between the Taiwanese dialect and Japanese in a story composed entirely in Mandarin—demonstrates

a complicated linguistic network in which one speaks different languages according to the addressee both *within* the story and at the level of textual composition.

Although this linguistic awkwardness is itself a trace of the fact that for Lü Chinese was a learned written language, I want to emphasize that this quick adoption of Chinese may have been a strategic choice. Chen Fangming sees these awkward expressions as “traces of struggle”—the struggle of using a new official language in a new era.¹²⁰ This interpretation of “struggle” emphasizes the violence of the enforcement of a new language and ideology of the new regime. Yet it is important to note that the enforcement of monolingualism actually happens *after* Lü’s adoption of Chinese: Lü had adopted Chinese when Japanese continued to coexist with vernacular Chinese in the public scene.¹²¹ Lü seems to actively choose whom he wants his readers to be and he gives the readers of vernacular Chinese what they have expected to read—the wrongdoings of the Japanese and praise for Chinese culture.

In “Warfare of My Hometown: Name Changing,” Lü belatedly participates in “The War of Resistance” (the way WWII is referred to in Mainland China)—a war in which all of his intended readers have theoretically participated¹²²—and defies Japanese imperialism by straightforwardly criticizing Japanese policy in the colonial period.

¹²⁰ Chen Fangming, “Hongse qingnian Lü Heruo: yi jianho sipian zhongwen xiaoshuo wei zhongxin” 紅色青年呂赫若：以戰後四篇中文小說為中心, *Taiwan xian dang dai zuojia yanjiu ziliao hui bian series 10 : Lu Heruo* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編10：呂赫若 133-150.

¹²¹ For example, Long Yingzong (龍瑛宗 1911-1999), another prestigious Taiwanese writer during Japanese rule, wrote a few Japanese stories in 1945 such as “*Seitenhaku hakujitsu hata* 青天白日旗, in *Xinfeng* 1 (Nov, 1945). Wu Zuoliu (吳濁流 1900-1976), an important Taiwanese writer who also wrote in Japanese during this time, in the article “*Nichibun haishi ni taisuru kanken*” 日文廢止に対する管見, in *Xinxin* 7 (October 1946), proposes to continue using Japanese besides Mandarin because Japanese language has been the major tool through which the Taiwanese intellectuals connect to the world. Some magazines such as *Xinfeng* (1945-1946) and *Xinxin* (1945-1947) were bilingual that they published works written in both Chinese and Japanese.

¹²² Because the coexistence of Chinese and Japanese at this time, I propose that this story was written mainly for the Mainlanders who came to Taiwan after the end of the war.

Indeed, even though the real war is over, there remains a new battle over identity for the Taiwanese to fight in order to break away from the suspicious status of a former colony that might have joined the wrong side in the war. There is a sense of *déjà vu* because not too long before the Taiwanese would have been under suspicion if they have joined the wrong side in the war.¹²³

It is surely no coincidence that Lü—suspected as a double-crosser *twice*—chooses “mistaken identity” as the theme for his first postwar story. Indeed, as the first story Lü writes after the war and in a new language to redefine himself within a newly demarcated national boundary, the story seems almost allegorical. The young Japanese whose identity is mistaken is especially important to the story. First, Lü uses the youth’s condescending reaction to the narrator to demonstrate how the Taiwanese were mistreated during Japanese rule—even a Japanese kid is very much aware of the hierarchy between the Japanese and the Taiwanese. Second, when this youth is mistaken by the narrator as Taiwanese, he is verbally punished by both his Japanese companions and by the Taiwanese narrator who decides to let him be “fully humiliated.” By making the youth a proxy for those Taiwanese people who changed their names during the imperial-subject movement, Lü implies that there is no need to blame the Taiwanese after the end of the war since those people who have changed their names/identities have been humiliated by both the Japanese and the Taiwanese. Third, the association of name

¹²³ During the war, because most of the inhabitants in Taiwan were immigrants of China and that Taiwanese and Chinese shared cultural and linguistic roots, the “imperial-subject movement,” to some extent, was to make sure that the Taiwanese, by becoming “real Japanese,” were loyal to Japan instead of its enemy—China. See Wu Ruei-ren, “Taren zhi yan: minzu guojia duizhi jiegou zhong de ‘huangmin wenxue’ yu ‘yuanxiang wenyi’” 他人之眼：民族國家對峙結構中的「皇民文學」與「原鄉文藝」, *Taiwan xian dang dai zuojia yanjiu ziliao hui bian series 11 : ZhongLihe* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編 11 : 鍾理和. Ed. Ying Fenghuang (Tainan: Guoli Taiwan wenxue guan, 2011), 171-218.

changing with fraudulence indicates that the Taiwanese cannot pass as Japanese (since this is simply cheating) even though they have followed the imperial-subject movement; therefore, Taiwanese should be “clear” from the impact of “poisonous imperialist legacy,” a prejudice towards Taiwanese from the Mainlanders.

Through the figure of the Japanese youth whose identity is mistaken, and through the association between name changing and fraudulence, Lü implies that his identity—a “Taiwanese brother” who shares cultural and linguistic roots with China—should not be mistaken. As an exceptionally successful writer during colonial rule who was capable of writing in Japanese fluently, Lü would be a suspicious subject. Therefore, there is an alignment between the idea of the Taiwanese with their “unchangeable” identity as part of the Chinese ethnic community and the language in which the story is itself written. Yet Lü’s—and his narrator’s—deftness in code switching defies such a clear demarcation of identity.

Contrary to neatly defined national boundaries and national languages as well as a clear division between self and enemy during the war, the very problematic existence of Taiwan as a historical fact keeps reminding us about the “name-changing fraudulence” that always questions such demarcations. If name changing under Japanese rule is fraudulence, however, the second “name changing” that Lü goes through in adopting the Chinese language should be a kind of fraudulence too. The story is thus an aporia: if we believe what Lü has proposed to be true, we cannot trust this story since it is itself an act of name changing in the very fact that it is written in Chinese. It is, according to its own logic, a kind of fraud. Moreover, slogan-like terms such as “Taiwanese brothers” and “descendants of Yellow Emperor,” bring a feeling of *déjà vu* because they are similar to

an earlier set of slogans: “Japan Taiwan As One” (日台如一) and the “excellent Yamato race.” This is the aporetic nature of Lü’s postwar stories: in the very act of denouncing the cruelty of the Japanese in order to fit Taiwan within the context of resisting Japan, he points to the similarities between the Japanese rule and the Nationalist regime.¹²⁴

In another postwar story “Bright Moonlight: on the Eve of Liberation” (月光光—光復以前, 1946),¹²⁵ Lü again utilizes the theme of disguise and “real.” The story, set at the end of the colonial period, tells how the Chuang family has to pretend they are a “national-language family” (國語家庭)—a Taiwanese family that speaks Japanese even in private indoor space—in order to find a secure place away from air raids. The old and young family members—a grandmother and three kids—who cannot speak Japanese are kept out of the public space. One night under the bright moonlight, with the intention to disobey the absurd colonial policy, the father leads his kids to sing a common Hokkien folksong “Bright Moonlight” (月光光) in the yard.¹²⁶ The words of grandmother—“We are Taiwanese, how can we live if we are always not allowed to speak Taiwanese”¹²⁷—express Lü’s idea of the Taiwanese identity and the irony that both the colonial rule and the Nationalist regime—which itself adopted the idea of a national language from Japanese policy—enforced similar linguistic regimes.¹²⁸

While some scholars use this phrase to argue for Lü’s proposal of nativeness, what I want to emphasize here is the less discussed part—the protagonist Chuang

¹²⁴ Here I refer to the first three stories written by Lü during the postwar period: “Warfare of My Hometown: Name Changing” (1946), “Warfare of My Hometown: An Award” (1946), and “Bright Moonlight: on the Eve of Liberation” (1946). His last story “Winter Night” (1947) is not included in my discussion since it does not have this aporetic nature but criticized the Nationalist regime directly.

¹²⁵ Lü, Heruo, “Yue guang guang: guang fu yi qian” 月光光：光復以前 *Xinxin* 7 (1946): 16-17.

¹²⁶ This folk song has a long history and has several different versions in both Minnan and Hakka dialects.

¹²⁷ “Yue guang guang: guang fu yi qian,” 17. “Taiwanese” (台灣話) here means Hokkien (Minnan) dialect.

¹²⁸ Chen, Fangming, “Hongse qingnian Lü Heruo” 133-150.

Yuchiu's rhetorical strategy for "passing." Confronting the landlord who will lease the house only if they have become imperial subjects and have adopted a Japanese lifestyle, he replies, "I totally approve of the imperial-subject movement. My family is a national-language family. We have a furo (Japanese style bath), tatami, and Shinto altar; we dress in Japanese style. Now I have some doubts about your house: can your house accommodate our Japanese lifestyle?"¹²⁹ Chuang knows that the only way to deceive the follower of the imperial-subject ideology is to pretend to be an even more earnest follower. Even though his family is in no way a national-language family in reality, he deftly lists items of the official campaign to pretend they are devoted followers and pose a challenge to the authenticity of the landlord himself. The way Chuang utilizes popular slogans is reminiscent of how Lü repeats the popular rhetoric of Mainland China in the previous story. In other words, the change of identity remains at the rhetorical level.

In "A Happy Family," the opium ghost haunts modernity as a remnant of a pre-colonial past; in "Bright Moonlight," however, Lü makes both the pre-colonial and colonial past haunt the very language of the text through awkwardly rendered Chinese in the translation of the Hokkien (or Hakka) folksong "Bright Moonlight." This non-Mandarin folksong which calls forth a kind of quasi-mythical history of itself being sung in the fields under the bright moonlight without clouds in the sky suggests a wish for a space where the historical language of Taiwan, which falls outside of any "national language policy," can be spoken freely without political intervention. This ghost of dialect emerges within the interstices of the text as the Nationalist regime reinforced the national language policy in the same year and further banned the use of dialects in public in the 1950s. The shortly-lined, rhythmic form in the transliteration of the song with

¹²⁹ "Yue guang guang: guang fu yi qian," 16.

strange Chinese¹³⁰ presents a completely different language style and cultural terrain from the slogans of “descendants of Yellow Emperor” and “five-thousand-year Chinese history.”

In these postwar stories, the lexical anomalies, with their unusual forms, are themselves historical ghosts that haunt the clear and complete turn from the “imperialist” to “motherland” discourse. Like the “living ghost” in “A Happy Family” who traverses various temporalities with its ambiguous existence, these ambiguous linguistic forms can be seen as another type of “living ghost” whose existence poses challenges to the rigid boundaries of national languages and cultures. This chapter gives shape to these “ghosts” and uses them to embody the ambiguous space in language, culture, and identity produced in each different imagination of a political territory.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to examine Lü’s linguistic strategies in the process of changing his writing language from Japanese to Chinese to demonstrate how the rhetorical and translational strategies practiced through the transcolonial experience create a malleable, multilingual space within the monolingual surface. First, through putting the quotations back to their original reference, this chapter elucidates the ways in which Lü turns the details of *Dream of the Red Chamber* into movable modules and blends them with objects from other temporalities and cultures to create impenetrability for modernized desire. It also shows how Lü utilizes untranslatability to challenge the

¹³⁰ Ibid., 17. 月光光，/ 秀才郎，/ 騎白馬，/ 過南塘。/ 南塘勿會得過，/ 掠貓來接貨；.... The word 勿會 (meaning “not”) is a new word coined from Hokkien dialect; thus, it is unintelligible to readers of Mandarin.

assumed interchangeability between languages and cultures in the imperialist discourse. Then I examine how Lü's deftness in language switching and his protagonists' flexible rhetorical strategy, just like the bilingual advertisement mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, not only indicate the dislocation between language and identity but also prove the malleability of identity on a linguistic level. The conventional periodization of Taiwanese literature will not suffice as Lü's stories needs to be examined from a transcolonial approach to really show the repeated linguistic and identity battles that have baffled Lü.

These complex translational and multilingual practices interwoven with various textual references and cultural milieus would have been overlooked in conventional literary taxonomy such as language, nationality, and ethnicity in the discussions within Japanese-language literature or Sinophone literature. Lü's change from Japanese to Chinese in writing, baroque language, and his protagonists' language switching, which can only be elucidated under transcolonial approach, demonstrate where concepts of Japanese-language literature and Sinophone literature intersect but lose their interpretive power if one fail to consider them and the linguistic environments alternately.

In the next chapter, I will examine another Taiwanese writer Zhong Lihe and his alternative route and distinctive language choice different from Lü Heruo in the transwar period. Zhong left Taiwan for Manchuria in late 1930s and returned to Taiwan in 1946. He chose to write in Mandarin Chinese in the transwar period despite his Japanese primary education, and his literary works were informed by modern Chinese literature, namely, the May Fourth sentiment and style. How Zhong translates among Japanese-

composed plot in his mind, daily use of the Hakka dialect, and literary language of Mandarin Chinese is the main concern of the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Inhabitant of East Asia:

Zhong Lihe's Experimentations with Stateless Identity

In the article “The Way I Learned to Write” (1959), Zhong Lihe (鍾理和 1915-1960) discusses how he became a writer who writes in vernacular Chinese even though his primary education and the political environment under Japanese colonial rule hindered this linguistic choice for literary expression. He mentions that he received a Japanese education in primary and middle school, and afterwards he studied classical Chinese in a private home school, during which time he read broadly, including Chinese classical novels and modern works written in vernacular Chinese by May Fourth writers. He writes that he considers his first collection of short stories, *Oleander*, published in Beijing in 1945, a “failure,” because of his immature use of vernacular Chinese. Here is his explanation:

First, I learned Japanese at school and during the period immediately after my school years I was still surrounded by Japanese. Second, my Chinese, I should say vernacular Chinese, was self-taught. I used Hakka (a dialect) pronunciation to read the language. As a result, I suffered so much in my writing as this made my words unnatural and disjointed. In my first efforts at writing literature, even as I held my pen I would be mentally composing the first draft in Japanese, which I would translate into Chinese before transcribing it on the paper. Japanese syntax and Chinese with Hakka pronunciation, these were my two great enemies. Now even

though the former factor has gradually been eliminated, the latter—using Hakka pronunciation to read and write—remains the same, despite the fact I have learned vernacular Chinese. If I could use the standard pronunciation to read and write, I would easily tell if my writing makes sense, if it is fluent as vernacular Chinese. I would find mistakes and correct them just through listening to what I have written.... I have been learning, I am still learning even now, because I never could write nice, fluent prose. I don't know when I can complete the learning process and become a real "writer."¹³¹

This pressure of writing "standard" prose troubled Taiwanese writers for two decades. First, during the imperial-subject movement (1937-1945), which tried to turn the Taiwanese into the "real" Japanese, their competition with the "pure-blooded" Japanese writers in writing standard Japanese was doomed to fail. Then, after Taiwan was handed over to the "motherland" (Mainland China) at the end of WWII, native Taiwanese writers, with their Japanese education and dialect accents, still could not catch up with the Mainlanders who had been immersed in the "orthodox" environment. Even though Zhong's Chinese prose is smooth and graceful, and his novel *Farm of Bamboo Hat Mountain* won the second prize for Long Fiction in the 1956 China Literature and Arts Award (中華文藝獎金長篇小說第二獎),¹³² he still considered himself insufficient. One can probably attribute his feeling of insufficiency to his strict self-discipline as a writer, yet it may also be related to his experience of doubly negating his own language and identity from the colonial period during the nationalist regime.

While he may have felt unskilled in writing vernacular Chinese, in this chapter I will show that the core of his sense of unprofessionalism—his multi-lingual reality—

¹³¹ Zhong, "The Way I Learned to Write," *Taiwan xian dang dai zuojia yanjiu ziliao hui bian series 11 : Zhong Lihe*, 83-85. Here I refer to T. M. McClellan's translation of this quote in his introduction of the book *From the Old Country: Stories and Sketches of China and Taiwan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 84-85. It is an anthology of Zhong's stories selected and translated by McClellan. I also refer to T. M. McClellan's translation in my analysis of Zhong's short stories.

¹³² This award is arguably the highest recognition during the 1950s. Established and sponsored by the Nationalist government, it supported the works that demonstrated anti-communist sentiments within the political background of Chinese civil war and cold war.

actually demystifies the linguistic-nationalism enforced on the island both during and after colonial rule. If Benedict Anderson is correct in proposing that (mono)linguistic policy and print capitalism are indispensable in creating the imagined communities of a modern nation,¹³³ what kind of community can be imagined by Zhong, in his reading of (classical and modern) Chinese literature, Japanese literature, and his everyday use of Japanese and Hakka? Zhong's works—written in or translated into vernacular Chinese with hardly any traces of Japanese and Hakka—simultaneously show and refute a clear demarcation of linguistic boundaries that sustain an imagined national identity and culture. This chapter examines the complexity of Zhong's works as products of continual translations and debates among multiple languages and identities.

In the previous chapter, I discussed the ways in which Lü Heruo utilizes untranslatability to create an impenetrability that resisted modern consciousness and makes the cacophony of Hokkien (Minnan) folk song criticize the national language policy in both regimes. In this chapter I examine how Zhong's use of translatability and resonance of cacophonies to create a stateless and transnational consciousness. I analyze the translative quality in Zhong Lihe's "The Fourth Day" (1945), a Chinese-language story that reads like a translation of a Japanese story, and discusses the resonance of cacophonies between his work on colonial experience and the one on post-colonial nativist experience. Zhong's writing career is usually divided into the China/Manchuria period (1938-1946) and the homeland period (1950-1960) because of his treatment of different subjects: he expresses hardships and disappointment of living in China and Manchuria in the former while portrays farmers' lives in a small Taiwanese mountain

¹³³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

village in the latter. My research proposes a new methodology to treat Zhong's China/Manchuria period and homeland period as an organic whole instead of two separate entities. This methodology grants us access to a new worldview nurtured by Zhong's transcolonial experience.

After the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War while writers in Taiwan worked on returning *to* the motherland, Zhong, however, wrote about returning *from* the motherland. His path was completely opposite from other writers in Taiwan because he had left Taiwan for China in 1938 and only returned to Taiwan in 1946. Zhong left Taiwan for China because he had been curious about China¹³⁴ and because his love for a woman who had the same surname with him was opposed by his feudalistic father and the self-contained Hakka society. He left for Mukden alone in 1938, bringing his sweetheart to join him in 1940, after which they moved to Beijing in 1941, when he was devoted to becoming a writer. He translated essays and short stories of Japanese writers and submitted the translations to newspapers; he also published his debut work *Oleander*—a collection of short stories—in Beijing in 1945. His eight-year experience in China brought him disillusionment with the motherland myth earlier than the other Taiwanese,¹³⁵ as Taiwanese were discriminated against and mistreated by the Chinese during and after the war.¹³⁶ After returning to Taiwan, he still devoted himself to writing

¹³⁴ As indicated in his essay “Old Country Folks” (原鄉人, 1957), he decided to go to China due to various reasons: a Japanese prejudiced education, sojourners from China, his brother's obsession with China, and works of May Fourth writers. See *Zhong Lihe Quanjì* vol. 2, ed. Zhang Liangze (Taipei: Yuanzin Chubanshe, 1976), 21-36.

¹³⁵ Soon after the end of the war, the natives suffered from rocketing inflation and the corrupted and discriminating government. In 228 Incident that happened in February 1947, the government killed thousands of citizens. During “White Terror” (1949-1987), thousands of intellectuals were killed or put in prison. See Chou Wan-yao, *Shao nian Taiwan shi* 少年台灣史 (Taipei: Yushanshe, 2014), 199-205, 214-221.

¹³⁶ In an essay titled “Return from the Motherland” (祖國歸來, 1946 or 1947), he talks about the suffering of Taiwanese in China. Chinese police officers and officials treated their “Taiwanese fellowmen” similarly

even though he was struck by poverty, tuberculosis, and no recognition of his works. Eventually he died on his writing desk without his dream realized—to publish a book in Taiwan.¹³⁷

Contrary to this lack of recognition when he was alive, posthumously his works were included in many discussions, including the waves of the nativist movement (1970s), debates of Chinese or Taiwanese ethnic consciousness (1980s), and the postcolonial debate (1990s) in Taiwan. As Fenghuang Ying has demonstrated in the article “The Literary Development of Zhong Lihe and Postcolonial Discourse in Taiwan,” Zhong’s works have been gradually canonized in this process of theorization.¹³⁸ Each trend focuses on part of Zhong’s oeuvre that fits its premise; or to put it differently, Zhong’s works contain all the elements that each trend searches for. For example, in an article published in 1972, while criticizing the modernist literature, Tang Wenbiao affirms Zhong’s works on farmers’ lives and his status of being a “nativist writer.”¹³⁹ In 1980, his life story—eloping with his sweetheart to China during Japanese colonial rule—was made into a movie titled after his most famous essay *Old Country Folks* (原鄉人). In this biographical movie, Zhong’s yearning for Chinese cultural roots is romanticized alongside the romantic plot.¹⁴⁰ After 2000, informed by postcolonial studies, Ying Fenghuang and Chen Fangming regard the coterie periodical *Literary Friends Bulletin*

to Japanese and Koreans. Their assets were confiscated, their bodies and belongings were examined simply because they came from Taiwan. The end of the warfare did not help, but worsened, the situation for the Taiwanese. When the Taiwanese in China had no choice but returned to Taiwan, they were treated not as citizens but as refugees among the Japanese and Korean. See *Xin ban Zhong Lihe Qianji* vol. 3, ed. Zhong Tiemin (Kaohsiung Shi: Chunhui chubanshe, 2009).

¹³⁷ Due to this tragic death, he is also called “a pen plower who fell on a pool of blood” (倒在血泊裡的筆耕者). See Zhang Liangze, “Zhong Lihe Qianji Zongxu,” *Zhong Lihe Qianji*, 3.

¹³⁸ Fenghuang Ying, “The Literary Development of Zhong Lihe and Postcolonial Discourse in Taiwan,” *Writing Taiwan: A New Literary History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 140-155.

¹³⁹ “Let’s Like Zhong Lihe” (Lai xiai Zhong Lihe) *Zhong Lihe Qianji*, vol. 8, ed. Zhang Liangze, 275-84.

¹⁴⁰ The movie *Yuan Xiang Ren* 原鄉人 (1980) was directed by Li Xin and produced by Dazhong dianyin shiye you xian gong si.

(文友通訊), circulated among Zhong and a few native writers, as local resistance to the mainstream anti-Communist genre at the service of the official ideology.¹⁴¹ These interpretations of Zhong reaffirm Zhong's importance and relevance to each renewed imagining of Taiwanese identity.

By examining his overlooked stories drafted in Manchuria and Beijing—"The Fourth Day" (第四日, 1945), "The City at Dusk" (都市的黃昏, 1939), and "Willow Shade" (柳蔭, 1954, a revision of "The City at Dusk"), I point out that Zhong's experiences in Manchuria and China are far more complicated than "disillusionment with China." These stories deal with profound ambiguities of national boundaries and identities, and they help elucidate the ways in which Zhong constructs a consciousness that removes artificial national badges. I argue that his multilingual condition and his experience of living in the interstices between Japan, China, and Taiwan as a "stateless" person have nurtured the possibility of an identity unrestricted by national boundaries. Zhong contemplated the arbitrariness and impermanence of national boundaries and identities based on his own experiences: he lived in Manchuria, a part of China governed by Japan; he was economically dependent on Japanese-related matters due to his education in Taiwan; he identified culturally with China but was discriminated against by Chinese people. At the conclusion of WWII—a war that could have had completely opposite results and theoretically could have turned people into another "kind"—further made him consider the possibility of a life unmarked by nationalist narratives. His living in interstices in geographical, temporal and psychological terms and his constant

¹⁴¹ See Chen Fangming, *New Literary History of Taiwan* vol. 1 (Taipei: Lianjin Chubanshe, 2011), 288-296. See also Fenghuang Ying, *Reassessing Taiwan's Literary Field in the 1950s*, PhD thesis (Austin: University of Texas, Austin, 2000).

translation from Japanese and Hakka to Chinese, made Zhong remain in a state in which he must compare, negotiate, and conciliate among multiple frameworks, identities, and cultures.

Even after the 1970s when most of Zhong's works underwent the process of canonization described above, the stories I discuss here have been largely neglected. Zhang Liangze, the editor of *Complete Works of Zhong Lihe* and the literary scholar who first introduced Zhong's works to college curriculum in the 1970s, had to strategically emphasize Zhong's "patriotism" and "traditional Chinese spirit" under the dominant Nationalist ideology. In his article "The Experiences of Japan and Motherland in the Works of Zhong Lihe," the first academic research on Zhong, Zhang writes, "His love for his own nation [China] is so deep that he reprimands it harshly; his hatred of aliens [Japanese] is so strong that he treats it with benevolence."¹⁴² With this contradictory logic, Zhang has attempted to *conceal* the ambiguities of these works so they could be widely appreciated within the strict ideology control of the Nationalist regime.

At the present time, these ambiguities still have not been thoroughly discussed. The first reason for the neglect of these works in the scholarship of Zhong may be their "randomness," since they fall outside the category of disillusionment with China, the major theme of his China/Manchuria period. The second reason is that the nativist movement and postcolonial trends tend to focus on his works written after 1950, the so-called homeland period, or the stories that feature farmers and the Taiwanese countryside. The works that I will scrutinize, with their themes of the Japanese people at the post-surrender moment and a Taiwanese-Korean friendship, are at odds with the preferred pastoral or realistic depictions of native Taiwanese scenes. Nevertheless, by focusing on

¹⁴² Zhang Liangze, "Zhong Lihe QuANJI Zongxu," *Zhong Lihe QuANJI*, 19.

these marginal works, my research proposes a reading that allows the ambiguities between national boundaries to flourish instead of being dismissed as they do in the nationalist and nativist approaches.

Through close-readings of these marginal works alongside his diary entries and his canonized *Homeland Series*, and with attention to cacophonies and translative qualities, I argue that Zhong produces a transnational understanding of East Asia and pursues a stateless identity that surpass the nationalist and nativist readings. My research proposes to follow this transcolonial approach and treat Zhong's China/Manchuria period and homeland period as an organic whole instead of two separate entities. In his repeated revisions of previous stories (due to the lack of recognition of his works in his lifetime), he continually negotiates his experiences of multiple ideologies from the Japanese empire, China as a modern nation, and his native hometown.

Japanese People at the Post-Surrender Moment

The end of the war in 1945 provoked Zhong to write an intriguing story “The Fourth Day” (1945; revised in 1957, 1959),¹⁴³ a story that only features Japanese characters. The title indicates the exact time during which the story happens—*the fourth day* after Japan declared defeat on August 15, 1945. Told from the perspective of Komatsu, a junior functionary, who witnesses the bewilderment of the Japanese who are sent to a shelter in Manchuria in order to await repatriation, the story realistically

¹⁴³ In Zhong's diary entry on May 25, 1958, he mentions that he wrote to *Literary Journal* to ask for the manuscript of “The Fourth Day” which he sent out in the summer of 1957. From this entry, Zhong must have revised this work in 1957. See *Zhong Lihe Quanji* vol. 6, 228. Since there is only one manuscript left, we are unable to know how much Zhong had changed the text in his revision. Also, in his letter to Zhong Zhaozhen written on August 12, 1959, he sent out the manuscript of “The Fourth Day” for his feedback and mentioned it as an “old work (舊作).” I presume that the framework and setting of the story should have been developed when it was first written in 1945. See *Zhong Lihe Quanji* vol. 7, 78-79.

describes the disoriented Japanese soldiers and common people at this chaotic moment in an ambiguous place. The characters, plot and atmosphere are convincing within the work itself, yet it becomes illogical when we consider the context and language in which it was written. While Chinese (and Taiwanese) society was celebrating China's victory as shown in newspapers, Zhong chose to write a story that spoiled the party. Why would he care about a group of evil Japanese soldiers, the lackeys of imperialism, who had made China suffer for more than a decade? What are the imperatives that press Zhong to "neutralize" the enemy and write a story that would have been controversial if it were published?

This story is also unique in Zhong's oeuvre because the majority of Zhong's works have autobiographical traces, but this story, with its setting in a Japanese military camp where almost no Chinese characters appear, is a rare stretch of his imagination. Among the Chinese works written at this period that mention Japanese characters, the majority still follow the binary prototype of propaganda literature—the evil enemies vis-à-vis the heroic Chinese soldiers. Yet Zhong chose to sympathetically portray the common faces of the Japanese when they are dislocated from their national identity. Most interestingly, its theme, concern for, and understanding of the psychology of the Japanese all make the work read like "a Chinese translation" of a Japanese story.

Linguistically speaking, "The Fourth Day" should be categorized with Chinese literature since it is written in Chinese, yet it lacks "Chineseness" because it captures solely the mentality and feelings of Japanese soldiers and commoners without using any Chinese characters as a comparative basis. By "lacking Chineseness" I mean that it lacks the conventions of Chinese literature written at that time, the most obvious quality being

a focus on “Chinese people” and a Chinese person’s point of view. Its viewpoint may be the reason that Zhong was not able to publish this work in any Chinese newspapers or journals throughout his life.¹⁴⁴ After all, this story, with its political incorrectness in allowing the Japanese people to have qualities of common people, does not fit into the anti-Japanese atmosphere in early postwar China or Taiwan. More importantly, in my following discussion, I argue that this story initiates a different phase in his career—a search for stateless consciousness—and that such a practice shows an adjustment of, if not deviation from, the May Fourth tradition. In other words, this work loosens the relationship between a national literature and its ethnicity, between Chinese literature and a Chinese person’s point of view.

The story captures the disorientation of the Japanese people waiting at a military camp in Manchuria. Through the narrator Komatsu’s eyes, the reader sees various Japanese people’s reactions to defeat and repatriation. The “Japanese compatriots abroad (在留邦人),” who are transported to this shelter truck after truck, look exhausted and lost, all covered by yellow dust, the symbol of Manchurian land. The soldiers, released from their previous work routines, spend time talking about all kinds of issues of the world because they have “surplus time, surplus brains and surplus mouths.”¹⁴⁵ And this is also the first time in a long time that they can think about their private matters—an everyday life free from the dictates of the state.

The climax of the story is when the Department Head, Saito, releases his indignation and frustration on his subordinate Akuzawa in violent ways. In the modest banquet that the army holds for the “compatriots abroad” who are leaving soon, the drunk

¹⁴⁴ This story was first published posthumously in *Zhong Lihe Quanji* vol. 2, 137-164.

¹⁴⁵ *Zhong Lihe Quanji* vol. 2, 138.

Akuzawa arrogantly claims that Japan has lost simply because of the atom bomb, and Japan will re-emerge again soon. In Komatsu's view, Akuzawa is "un-Japanese"—a person who is not fit to be a Japanese citizen—since he has shamelessly oppressed the Chinese for his own benefit, while Saito is the only person who "truly and sincerely took grief for the nation's defeat on his own shoulders." When Akuzawa beats and insults the Chinese chef who accidentally spills hot soup on him, Saito beats Akuzawa madly, like "a carnivorous beast."¹⁴⁶ This scene in which a demonized Japanese is punished and eventually made to apologize to the Chinese chef may be the only scene that resonates with the Chinese readers for whom justice has prevailed. Scholars such as Jiang Hu singles out this scene and takes it as proof for Zhong's patriotism for China.¹⁴⁷ This unilateral view neglects the complexity of the work as a whole and overlooks what "justice" means at this ambiguous moment for the Japanese.

Indeed, this fight indicates that discipline, reason, and nationalist myths are all invalid at this moment, and the fact that Japan cannot prevent the existence of such "un-Japanese" means that Japan has never been a "unified" country. What matters at this moment, as Zhong has realistically portrayed, are the sounds of hitting flesh, the ways the two bodies wrestle and engage with each other, and a man who waves his fists like a beast—in other words, the physical and psychological needs to confront the unbeatable trauma of defeat. This violent scene is not the only place where the "animalistic" quality is revealed; it is also shown in other scenes that express carnal desire. For instance, at the beginning of the story, Komatsu notices a Japanese woman who falls asleep with her

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 158-159.

¹⁴⁷ Jiang Hu, *Xiang zhi hun: Zhong Lihe de rensheng yu wenxue zhi lu* 鄉之魂：鍾理和的人生與文學之路 (Beijing: Zuoja chubanshe, 2006).

breasts left uncovered and a Japanese man who masturbates—“there lurked a deep primitive instinct, reminiscent of *monkeys*.”¹⁴⁸ In the banquet, the drunken men also put up an ugly scene by trying to kiss and hug the Japanese women who help pour *sake*, saying, “You are my heart and soul, my very *flesh*”; meanwhile the women “struggled and squealed like *monkeys*.”¹⁴⁹

Here Zhong sensitively captures the postwar phenomenon to be discussed later in Japan—“decadence” (*daraku*) as expressed in pulp magazines and post-surrender culture. As John Dower has pointed out in his *Embracing Defeat*, Sakaguchi Ango’s essay “On Decadence” (“*Darakuron*,” 1946) and Tamura Taijiro’s short story “Gate of Flesh” (“*Nikutai no mon*,” 1947) are the first and most representative pieces that capture the post-surrender Japanese society.¹⁵⁰ Sakaguchi attempts to find “authenticity” and “truthful humanity” in carnal behavior as a way to disconnect the illusionary wartime experience. Tamura uses “*nikutai*” (flesh)—the individual, sensual body—to overthrow the discourse of “*kokutai*”—emperor-centered national body. Similarly, Zhong also pictures what the disengaged bodies from nationalist ideologies would look like. Their “surplus brains and surplus mouths” do not fit into the tidy and rigid contours of a Japanese citizen; their animalistic behavior goes against the heroic and sacred national spirit. Yet it is these chaotic, decadent, and disenfranchised bodies that powerfully ironize the abstract national identities.

While these bodies reflect some sense of post-surrender Japanese mentality, they also reflect Komatsu’s modern, nationalist consciousness because he sees them from a

¹⁴⁸ Zhong *Lihe Quanji* vol. 2, 141, my emphasis.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 154-155, my emphasis.

¹⁵⁰ John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co./New Press, 1999), 155-157.

morally superior position. Komatsu describes the women transported here as “bags of meat fattened by filth and debauchery.”¹⁵¹ He sees the compatriots as things—“a load of bricks” rather than people—to be packed off soon.¹⁵² His focus on their “animalistic qualities” implies his uneasiness and willingness to apply modern order and reason to them. He divides the Japanese into a few categories: Saito, the patriot; Akuzawa, the “un-Japanese;” and in between them the majority of the “Japanese compatriots abroad,” in whose “chaotic and entangled conversations, Japan frequently disappeared like soap bubbles, leaving only their own affairs hanging emptily between them.”¹⁵³ In other words, this ranking reveals his respect for Saito, his contempt for Akuzawa, and slight critique of his compatriots. His obsession with Japan as a nation still lingers, which makes him judge people according to the level they are attached to it.

Nevertheless, Komatsu changes his attitude significantly after meeting a few acquaintances and fellow provincials in town. He is “surprised and deeply moved by the openness and enthusiasm” of his friends who express the same lesser wish—“home, career, life, wife and children.” The sudden transition is astonishing because “[i]n the past, even just a few days ago, not one of them would have dared to speak like this,” but at this moment they all discard the previous belief and attitudes “like a pair of worn-out shoes” as if “just awakened from a long dream.”¹⁵⁴ He recalls the content of his mother’s letter: their neighbor, a former soldier, is sent back home because he loses a leg, but now the neighbor and his wife have returned to normal life by starting a small eatery. All these seemingly minute and unimportant details have taken off the cold and judgmental

¹⁵¹ *Zhong Lihe Quanji* vol. 2, 140.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 142.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 146-47.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 148.

appearance of Komatsu and made him a humane character. It is his *community*—a more intimate network of fellow provincials and family—that releases him from a political system supported by nationalist institutionalization and identification.

As the story goes, Zhong makes Komatsu move from the public discourse governed by military hierarchy to the private discourse filled with personal interactions. At the end of the story he shows sincere concern towards his colleague Suzuki, who plans to give up his previous job—playing the violin—after returning to Japan:

Komatsu turned his face toward him [Suzuki] and quizzically and introspectively sized him up from head to toe, as if they were meeting for the first time. Suzuki's shoulders were broad and strong; seated next to him, he was almost a head taller than Komatsu. Komatsu could see that for a strapping big guy like this to play a small delicate instrument like the violin was like a plowman trying to hold a pen. Not too fitting, right enough.¹⁵⁵

This is the first time Komatsu “looks” at Suzuki anew—as a person, not a comrade in the army. At this final moment, eventually, Komatsu is able to program the world differently by imagining his comrade who holds a violin, a plow, or a pen, instead of guns.

Undoing the Imagined Community

Locating “The Fourth Day” within Zhong’s career helps us understand how Zhong begins to divert from the May Fourth sentiments with this story solely about the Japanese. In his another short story “Oleander” (1944), the most representative story during Zhong’s sojourn in China, Zhong features the main character Zeng Simian, a character similar to Zhong himself. When this intellectual from Southern China watches the people who live in the same compound in Beijing, what reflects in Zeng’s modern consciousness are their “poverty, ignorance, conformism, illness, disorder, homelessness,

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 140.

poor hygiene, lack of safe and reliable medical facilities, substandard education, official and commercial corruption, opium and gambling addiction, suspicion toward new systems and new things”.¹⁵⁶ Many studies have pointed out that Zeng’s critique of the inhumanity and backwardness of the Chinese is inherited from the May Fourth sentiment in its analysis of the national character out of the passion to rejuvenate the Chinese. Similar to Lu Xun, who describes the feudalism in China as “cannibalistic” in his short story “A Madman’s Diary” (1918), Zhong shares Lu Xun’s “moral burden” to analyze the “disease” of the Chinese people.

Even though Zhong has joined Chinese intellectuals in the project of rejuvenating China through language and literature that address “the Chinese people” for “patriotic” reasons, the object of his patriotism has become vague and suspicious. The backwardness of the Chinese makes him wonder if he belongs to this “imagined community” as the depressing reality destroys his imagination of a great cultural China from which Taiwan inherits its culture. He makes his character Zeng ask, “Were he and they really members of the same race, with the same customs, cultural traditions, history, and destiny?” After reviewing the factors that bind a nation together, Zeng cannot project a shared past and future. In her analysis of how Chinese intellectuals have formed a superior “class,” Rey Chow defines Chinese intellectuals’ “obsession with China”¹⁵⁷ as an “obsession with *unification* of China in *all* aspects” and this brings about “the Chinese” as an imagined

¹⁵⁶ See *Zhong Lihe Quanji* vol. 1, 57. From this quote one can find that the scope of Zhong’s critique is broader than national character; he mentions modern facilities such as hygiene system, hospitals and education—the realms out of national character. Wu Ruei-ren point out that Zhong’s values and morality are affected by the Japanese colonial modernity. That is, Zhong is both affected by May Fourth sentiment and colonial modernity when he is confronted with “the Chinese.” See Wu, “Taren zhi yan: minzu guojia duizhi jiego zhong de ‘huangmin wenxue’ yu ‘yuanxiang wenyi,’” 171-218.

¹⁵⁷ C. T. Hsia has pointed out that the Chinese intellectuals, out of patriotic passion, have “the obsessive concern with China as a nation afflicted with a spiritual disease and therefore unable to strengthen itself or change its set ways of inhumanity” See Hsia, “Obsession with China: the Moral Burden of Modern Chinese Fiction,” *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 533-534.

community in the twentieth century.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, Zeng's (and Zhong's) suffering comes from this obsession with imagining China as a unified whole, as well as his inability to convince himself of this unified aspect. This is exactly the reason for his complicated feelings—"sympathy," "disgust," "vexation," and "doubt"—when confronting "the Chinese."

I propose that "The Fourth Day" provides an outlet for Zhong's suffering from the combination of "obsession" and "disillusion" with China. His complicated mentality and situation make him interested in studying the case of Japan at this post-surrender moment when national identities have become void for the Japanese. Having been arrested by, and released from, the nationalist-militarist myth, they have just underwent an "obsession" and "disillusion" with Japan. For those Japanese people who had suddenly stepped on a "foreign" land after surrender, Zhong observed a sense of dislocation similar to his own experience.

Even though Komatsu is a Japanese soldier, Zhong seems to project himself on him. The whole story can also be seen as Komatsu's transition from an obsession to disillusion with Japan. At the beginning, similar to the way the May Fourth intellectuals and Zhong see "the Chinese," Komatsu applies reason and order, the "modern" thoughts, on those filthy and uncivilized "Japanese compatriots abroad." Nevertheless, Komatsu's family and fellow provincials pierce his former belief in a superior national identity, which then become "soap bubbles." Through his exploration of the Japanese mentality at this moment, the object from which Zhong is disillusioned is not simply China or the

¹⁵⁸ Rey Chow, *Women and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading between West and East* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 92.

Chinese identity but a broader sense of national identity. He has come to the realization of the abstractness and arbitrariness of all national identities.

Zhong's diary, written at the time when "The Fourth Day" was first drafted, also proves this transition of thoughts. On October 1, 1945, he wrote the following words in one of his diary entries:

After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (1937) Japan came to North China, changed Peking into "Beijing," and made the clock ahead one hour. Therefore the Chinese also used "Beijing" and set the clock one hour ahead. Japan was defeated. When the motherland recovered "Beijing," they made "Beijing" Peking again, and set the clock back one hour. This is human life, in other words, History.¹⁵⁹

These words definitely would not be the way in which the Chinese governments describe the beginning and conclusion of the Second Sino-Japanese War. While people roared and cheered on the streets to welcome the heroic Chinese soldiers back home in Beijing,¹⁶⁰ Zhong, with a calm tone, treats these critical moments in history as minor differences in between "Beijing" and "Peking," or one hour ahead and one hour back. He implies that these nominal differences, in fact, have very little impact on people's everyday lives.

In another diary entry about flea market, he also foregrounds how people's everyday lives are irrelevant to national identities after the end of the war. In the popular flea markets in Beijing where people are selling and buying Japanese items, the Japanese did not care if an indecent exposure of their furniture and clothes would harm their national pride, and the Chinese could not care less if their craving for items from their enemy would lessen their patriotic spirit. It is at such scenes where national pride and identity do not matter: both parties—winners and losers—are equal in their desire to live

¹⁵⁹ *Zhong Lihe Quanji* vol. 6, 12.

¹⁶⁰ In the diary entry written on October 16, 1945, Zhong describes that the streets are crowded of the people who welcome the Chinese soldiers back home, but such a cheerful scene suddenly turns into a scene of revenge: the Chinese beat some random Japanese on the streets.

their lives that follow in better conditions. This attention to objects necessary for everyday life can also be observed in “The Fourth Day” when Zhong describes the luggage and belongings that accompany the Japanese compatriots: “suitcases, backpacks, bedrolls”; “boiler, galvanized bucket, crockery.”¹⁶¹

In “The Fourth Day” Zhong’s attention to miscellaneous items, disenfranchised bodies, and intimate community indicates his interest in the aspects that *undo* the imagined community as opposed to the ultimate goal of the May Fourth New Culture Movement to build a modern nation and modern citizens. The May Fourth intellectuals seek to rejuvenate China through reforms in language and literary forms: the modernization of literature is necessary in order to modernize the nation. No matter the task of various literary works is to civilize the common people or to freely express feelings and thoughts of the enlightened souls, to some extent literature is utilized for the purposes of nation building and creation of national citizens. Even though Zhong has practiced this trend in “Oleander,” what Zhong does in “The Fourth Day” (and the diary entries) is opposite to nation building but “nation collapsing” and “citizen undoing.” He sets the background of the story against a collapsing empire. He criticizes the violence of nationalist myths under which “nation, family, and life are all roped together.”¹⁶² His characters are undoing their citizenship by showing more attachment to personal belongings and carnal desire, to petty wishes and family members, and by relying on small personal networks instead of top-down policies or public media. These trivial, immoral, humble, frivolous aspects, which are opposite to sacred and spiritual national identities, become the new source of meaning. Through exploring various gestures of the

¹⁶¹ *Zhong Lihe Quanji* vol. 2, 140, 144.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 139.

Japanese citizens who dislocate from their national identities, he resumes their multiple faces and personalities—a treatment opposite to the singular Japanese appearance in hyper-nationalist wartime propaganda not only in Japan, but also in China or Taiwan.

This may be part of the reason why Zhong writes a Chinese work that does not feature Chinese people or use a Chinese person's point of view. First, it might be difficult for him to depict these various Japanese faces and gestures from a Chinese's point of view under the political circumstances. Second, Zhong may imply that even though the work is about the Japanese soldiers and common citizens, it is still a critical issue for readers of the Chinese language in China and Taiwan. It is clear that the war has produced two antagonistic camps with their own sense of justice and eventually creates winners and losers. Yet this division covers the fact that the two camps have become similar in the suspension of their everyday life under their respective ultra-nationalist ideology. Zhong's other diary entry manifests this sentiment. Zhong witnesses a scene on the street where the Chinese beat the "Japanese devils":

The sounds of hitting people's flesh, of people falling like a huge tree falling on the ground, of fists swaying in the air, and of moaning.... Hats were flying in the air. But this was not part of welcoming Chinese soldiers back home but a scene in which the demented people were beating "Japanese devils"!

The people hitting included gentlemen, shop clerks, commoners, soldiers, students, street vendors, seniors, and kids. The people who were hit similarly included gentlemen, shop clerks, commoners, soldiers, students, street vendors, seniors, kids, and plus women.¹⁶³

Zhong points out that the two oppositional sides, ironically, share a similar common face; people have various identities before being "Chinese" and "Japanese." Zhong seems to ask: if the Japanese people have begun to dislocate themselves from their national identity at this post-surrender moment, would the Chinese, on the contrary, regain their

¹⁶³ This diary entry was dated October 16, 1945. *Zhong Lihe QuANJI* vol. 6, 28-29.

national pride at this post-victory moment and let this identity surpass any other identities in a mad way?¹⁶⁴ In this sense, the story of the Japanese is relevant to the Chinese in disclosing how illusory the national identities are.

The act of writing a story that only features the Japanese can also be seen as a way to *undo* the imagined community as he challenges the definition of “Chinese literature” and overthrows the association between Chinese literature and the Chinese. Is it possible that something written in Chinese is not Chinese literature? Chinese translations of works originally written in foreign languages fit into this category. In fact, if what Zhong says is true that in his early career he would “mentally compose the first draft in Japanese” and “translate it into Chinese before transcribing on the paper,” “The Fourth Day” then can be regarded a Chinese translation of a Japanese story. From another point of view, however, the fact that he, a Taiwanese, writes the psychology and condition of the Japanese in vernacular Chinese, a language/literature he has inherited from the May Fourth tradition, has signified his transgressive qualities in moving between various languages and antagonistic ideologies.

Moreover, he even attempts to apply his reflection on the May Fourth Movement onto the Japanese. In one of his diary entries he mentions that the Chinese intellectuals “have carried the people’s coarse and clumsy huge bodies on the stage” after the May Fourth Movement, and he further wonders “what costumes the Japanese are made to wear and what dances they are made to dance” at this moment when the Japanese people

¹⁶⁴ This worry seems to have come true. In a later essay “Returning from fatherland” (祖國歸來, 1945-46), Zhong describes how “War of Resistance” divides the land into two sections—“The Rear” (大後方) and “the enemy-held territory” (淪陷區) which later become “war-resisting area” and “recovered area.” When those who live in “The Rear” return to the “recovered area,” they discriminate and doubt the loyalty of the people who live in the “enemy-held territory.” Zhong writes that the position of Taiwanese is even lower than “slaves” or “dogs” under such circumstances.

become the center of discussion.¹⁶⁵ This concern surpasses the thinking of the Chinese intellectuals, who have carried the huge body of the Chinese people on the stage in order to enlighten them and to form an imagined community. What does it mean that Zhong, a “Chinese” intellectual, also cares the huge body of “the other” and bothers to carry it on the stage, as seen in “The Fourth Day”? Does this not indicate that his imagination of “a community” is a transnational one?

In addition to this transnational concern, meanwhile, Zhong emphasizes the importance of an intimate community in constructing a stateless identity. T. M. McClellan, translator and researcher of Zhong’s works, values Zhong’s later *Homeland Series* (1950-52) written in Taiwan as they “marked the start of a new phase in his career, in which [Zhong] explored community rather than seeking nation and sought to depict goodness rather than demanding justice.”¹⁶⁶ While I agree with him on the importance of *Homeland Series*, I would argue that in “The Fourth Day” Zhong has foregrounded the importance of intimate community in releasing a citizen from abstract national identities and in providing a sense of belonging.

In the story it is after his meeting with some fellow provincials (鄉親) in town that Komatsu contemplates on the violence of nationalist identity. Their frankness and enthusiasm changes Komatsu’s belief in a superior national identity. Interestingly, when Zhong mentions fellow provincials, he uses “*xiangqing*” (鄉親), a common term in Taiwan in both Hakka and Hokkien dialects, instead of “*laoxiang*” (老鄉) or “*tongxiang*”

¹⁶⁵ The diary entry was dated Oct. 10, 1945. See *Zhong Lihe Quanji* vol. 6, 21. (五四運動我們最大的收穫便是在旁邊發現了數千年來被人們所遺忘的一群「民眾」。由那時候起這時代的寵兒便搬著它粗野而拙笨的巨體登上了舞台。而日本的「民眾」則遲至此刻才被人發掘。然而不管如何。我們靜靜地看著他們是要穿起何種式樣的披衣去跳他們的舞。)

¹⁶⁶ T. M. McClellan, “Home and the Land: the ‘Native’ Fiction of Zhong Lihe,” *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese* 9, no. 2 (2009), 167.

(同鄉), which are much more common expressions in China.¹⁶⁷ *Tongxiang* is a general term in both North and South China especially in the use of “associations of fellow provincials” (*tongxianghui* 同鄉會). While *laoxiang* is mostly used in North China, *xiangqing* is mostly used in South China in the coastal area from which Taiwan has received most of its immigrants since the late seventeenth century. This means that when Zhong thinks of fellow provincials (of Komatsu), he relies on *his own* familiar Taiwanese support network for imagination. “The Fourth Day,” first drafted in Beijing with fluent vernacular Chinese, hardly contains any traces of the Japanese language or dialects of Taiwan, yet this term is the only spot that Zhong has neglected—a “mistake” Zhong is unable to catch, a “cacophony” Zhong cannot hear—because for him it is simply too natural to use a Taiwanese term when he thinks of “fellow provincials.” Thanks to this imagination of Taiwanese fellow provincials, a moving ending comes into being in which two former soldiers avidly look forward to the stateless everyday life back at home.

“The Fourth Day,” thus, is a critical experiment in which Zhong has tried to inhabit “the other” and negotiate multiple ideologies, languages, and literatures; in so doing he has exemplified a stateless identity. Zhong crosses and mixes his Japanese education, his cultivation in modern Chinese literature, his Manchurian experience, and his community experience in his hometown. Zhong’s experience of dislocation, his mastery of multiple languages and dialects, and his familiarity with wartime propaganda of both sides all encourage this resolution. He transfers the bitterness of being a

¹⁶⁷ The various combinations of characters in the terms also indicate different levels of intimacy. While the word “xiang” (鄉 meaning “town” or “hometown”) remains the same in all three expressions, the Chinese expressions uses “lao” (老 meaning “old”) or “tong” (同 meaning “the same”) to modify “xiang”, which implies that the fellow provincials come from one’s old home or the same hometown. However, in the Taiwanese term “xiangqing,” “xiang” is the word to modify “qing” (親 meaning “parent,” “one’s own blood,” or “relative”), which means that, literally, the fellow provincials are seen as a kind of “blood-related” relatives, so they are imagined as a more intimate existence in Hokkien or Hakka.

Taiwanese—who experiences irreconcilable conflict between cultural identification and reality under Japanese rule, the feelings of confusion, alienation, disillusion and desperation in wartime and postwar China¹⁶⁸—into building a transnational and community-based understanding.

This pursuit of a stateless identity and transnational understanding are further explored in Zhong’s works after his return to Taiwan on a refugee ship in 1946, a period that scholars have marked as the “nativist” period of his career. In the four short stories that compose the *Homeland Series* (1950-1952), as well as in his novel *Farm of Bamboo Hat Mountain* (1956), Zhong shifts from his previous focus (on the Chinese and Japanese) to the people and landscape of his hometown, a small, self-contained village in Southern Taiwan. Zhang Liangze, the first scholar who studied Zhong’s works, appreciated the nativist sentiments in Zhong’s works and compared him to “little grass” that “firmly grasps the land and emits the fragrance of country soil,” which differs from those “famous, rare flowers transplanted from foreign lands.”¹⁶⁹ By “transplanted flowers” Zhang means the trend of modernism introduced by departments of foreign literatures in the 1960s. To Zhang and the other advocates of nativist literature, Zhong’s works in the 1950s, with depictions of landscapes, farmers, their beliefs and daily activities, are more “authentic” and “grounded” than modernist works. Nevertheless, I argue that even though Zhong shifts his concern to his hometown, he is still in conversation with previous experiences of colonial Taiwan, Manchuria, and China. He continues to explore a

¹⁶⁸ McClellan contributes Zhong’s compassion to Japanese people to his experience of the postwar China, as in some of Zhong’s postwar nonfiction writings, Zhong expresses vexation that Taiwan residents of the Mainland were treated in the same way as Japanese and Koreans by the victorious Chinese government. See McClellan, *From the Old Country: Stories and Sketches of China and Taiwan*, xxix.

¹⁶⁹ Zhang Liangze, “Zhong Lihe Quanji Zongxu,” *Zhong Lihe Quanji*, 3.

stateless identity and transnational understanding of East Asia within his observations of the farmers and workers in the small mountain village.

In the following section, I read his Manchurian stories “The City at Dusk” and “Willow Shade” alongside his canonized *Homeland Series* to demonstrate how Zhong transforms his observation of native culture into a transnational understanding. In singling out his signature farmer stories, we miss an important piece of his imagining of native culture and definition of community. Through an examination of the intertextuality between “Willow Shade” and *Homeland Series*, I argue that Zhong “transplants” the locally-bound hill songs into Manchuria and translates hill songs into a Korean folk song. I point out the neglected transnational quality in Zhong’s imagining of native culture and the inseparability of his Manchurian, Chinese, and nativist experiences.

Taiwanese-Korean Friendship in Wartime and Postwar Periods

“Willow Shade” (柳蔭 1954, published in 1959) is a revision of “The City at Dusk” (都市的黃昏 1939), one of the first stories Zhong wrote during his eight-year sojourn in China. The majority of the story was rewritten in 1954 under the title “Willow Shade,” which was first published in *United Daily News Supplement* with minor revisions in 1959,¹⁷⁰ but “The City at Dusk” was never published in Zhong’s lifetime.¹⁷¹ Both the first and second stories share the theme of friendship between the Taiwanese narrator and his Korean friends after their encounter at an automobile school in Mukden. Yet the two versions highlight different characters and details, and the editing and supplementation of

¹⁷⁰ I refer to McClellan’s study about the dates and details of different versions. See McClellan, *From the Old Country: Stories and Sketches of China and Taiwan*.

¹⁷¹ “The City at Dusk” was first published in *Xin ban Zhong Lihe Qianji* (2009). I refer to the scanned manuscript made public on the website Digital Museum of Zhong Lihe 鍾理和數位博物館. http://cls.hs.yzu.edu.tw/ZHONGLIHE/08/iframe/i_0221_0.asp?CHNO=01

plot and characters illustrate Zhong's progression as a writer and his efforts to get published.

“The City at Dusk,” the first version of the story, features Kim Tae-gi (金泰基), a twenty-two-year-old Korean man whom the narrator laments as “poor and unfortunate.” Even though both the Taiwanese narrator and Kim wander in a foreign land and share the same objective—to get a driver's license and make a living in Mukden, Kim eventually has to give up this plan due to his unusually short stature and the fact that he has a wife and a five-year-old daughter—the tragedy of an arranged marriage. The differences between the Taiwanese narrator and Kim in economic and familial conditions, as well as plot arrangement, keep them from sincere and in-depth communication.¹⁷² The distance is intentionally arranged so that the narrator's sentiments and emotions can be nurtured, and, as the story proceeds, Kim becomes the receiver of the narrator's overflowing emotions and an indispensable “other” that embodies the narrator as a character¹⁷³

In his revision of the same story, “Willow Shade,” in the postwar period, however, Zhong makes Kim a minor character and pivots the story around a brand new character—Park Shin-jun (朴信駿). While Zhong keeps the same setting and characterization of Kim,

¹⁷² For example, the narrator is not home when Kim visits and says that he actually feels closer to the narrator and his cousin even though he also has some Korean friends. At the end of the story, when the narrator moves into Kim's old place where Kim and his family are nowhere to be found, he can only connect to Kim through the Japanese old landlady. She tells a story of how Kim is extremely happy one day because he receives some compensation from a car accident. Kim's confession and the landlady's words are important information that embodies Kim's personality and pathetic situation. However, Zhong makes the narrator absent at those occasions, and this absence further foregrounds the distance between the two.

¹⁷³ When the narrator moves into Kim's previous apartment, facing the empty space, he has the following feelings: “Months had passed since that encounter; it was another year now. I still heard nothing from Kim. Now we have moved into his past apartment. Who would know that there was no trace of him even though the place remained the same? I missed him but he was nowhere to be found (室邇人遐). My heart was full of sadness at seeing the scene. Ah! Were he, his wife, and young child still in Mukden? Maybe now he just gave a deep sigh toward the misty sunset at a desolate place in a lonesome village? Maybe he was enclosed in a cold house at the margin of the city, like orphans who lost his way and clung to each other! Maybe he lived a happier life in a densely populated city! Maybe he and his wife became pertinent wanderers who walked into the open fields like ghosts or stray dogs! Maybe.....”

he lets the narrator show far more attachment to Park than to Kim. To some extent, one can say that the fifteen-year lapse (1939-1954) between the two versions has nurtured a new character Park, who has replaced Kim to become the center of the story. The characterization of Park and the narrator's attachment to him are pivotal in order to probe the ways in which Zhong combines and reflects on his Manchurian and nativist experiences.

The opening of "Willow Shade" clearly points out the importance of Park Shin-jun as the story unfolds with the narrator's sentimental reminiscences of him:

It was in Shenyang that I met Park Shin-jun, a young man from Korea, born and raised beside the Taedong River.

He was the type of man whom one encounters but rarely in the wilderness that is life: a person worthy of one's most cherished memories who would long have a place in a corner of one's heart. Rather dark of complexion, Park had a broad but elegant forehead and feet that seemed out of proportion with the rest of his body. With his quietly gleaming eyes, he had the intelligence and slight tendency to melancholy common to literary youth. In his tight-fitting oil-stained khaki working gear, with narrow sleeves and too short trousers, he looked even taller and slimmer than he was—like a bamboo pole. In reality, what lay beneath that sackcloth attire was a soul that matched any bamboo pole for goodness, simplicity, and straightforwardness.

Among my many classmates, and especially among the Koreans, Park was the first one that I got to know—on account of his love for art and literature... and we became the best of friends.¹⁷⁴

This opening has effectively delineated a vivid and lovable character Park, a sentimental and educated young man. Unlike the first version in which a distance between Kim and the narrator is maintained, the similarity between Park and the narrator is emphasized. They share the same interest in literature; their friendship is grounded as the narrator clearly remembers him—both his appearance and personality—years after. One main factor that contributes to their familiarity is the communal language—Japanese—they share; Park speaks Japanese "fluently and accurately" while Kim's Japanese has "a very

¹⁷⁴ *Zhong Lihe Qianji*, vol. 2, 1.

heavy Korean accent.” Similar to “The Fourth Day,” a Chinese story in which all the dialogues are logically conducted in Japanese, “Willow Shade” has the same “translatative” quality as it happens at the Japanese-occupied Manchuria in 1939.

The title “Willow Shade” indicates the spot where the narrator and Park chat while waiting to practice driving; it symbolizes a cherished bound of friendship at a temporary shelter away from intense heat of the Mukden summer and the modern mechanical order of the colony. Park reveals to the narrator why he has left Korea for Manchuria: when his love for his childhood sweetheart is not allowed as his family had already arranged a marriage for him, so he has decided to go to Manchuria “to bury his hope,” while his poor girlfriend works as a prostitute in Nampho. Unfortunately, their friendship comes to an abrupt end when Park has decided to leave with his girlfriend, who passes by Mukden on the way to Zhang Jiakou.¹⁷⁵ When the narrator returns to Mukden from a trip, Park has already gone. Their mutual friend Kim Tae-ki hands the narrator a letter from Park and tells him the story, which makes the narrator “feel great loss, confusion, and worry.” After this twist, the story quickly ends with a conclusion similar to “The City at Dusk,” only in a more condensed way: the narrator moves into the apartment previously occupied by Kim and feels loss when thinking of his friends Kim and Park.

Even though it is the commonly used “official language” and elite education that allow them to connect to each other more easily, for example, they can discuss Tolstoy’s *Resurrection*, Zhong emphasizes that their attachment is beyond language and ethnicity

¹⁷⁵ Park’s experience parallels Zhong’s own experience such as they both travel to Manchuria because of their frustration of free love and they both elopes with their lovers eventually.

by making the narrator feel touched when he hears Park sing a Korean folk song

“Arirang”:

.... Then he [Park] changed the subject to Korean folk songs. Park believed that in any country the best and most direct reflection on life—especially the moral life of the two sexes—was the folk song. He sang for me an extremely moving folk song that brimmed with the suffering and recriminations of a love affair:

“Arirang.”

We lay on our backs in the willow shade, our hands behind our heads, letting the smaller curtain of the willows and the big curtain of the sky take us in their soft, serene embrace.

Arirang (阿里蘭),
Arirang (阿里蘭),
Arariyo (阿拉里呦).
Arirang (阿里蘭),
...

Park didn't really have much of a singing voice, but the beautiful musical phrases and rhythm of the song took me away to that sad, far-off country described by its lyrics.¹⁷⁶

The unfamiliarity with the lyrical and cultural background does not impede the narrator's appreciation of the song since he feels strong emotions from the melody and Park's unadorned voice. This Korean folk song with simple phonetic combinations stands at the opposite end from the reference of the (Japanese translation of the) Russian novel. While the former is in verbal format, the latter requires education and sensitivity to the written language.

In fact, this Korean folk song may be a more direct expression than the other dialogues conducted in Japanese in the whole story. The setting of the story requires the narrator to “translate” a previous cross-cultural interaction in a Japanese colony into Chinese. While the meanings of Japanese dialogues can be translated with their pronunciation missed, the pronunciation of the Korean folk song can be mostly preserved

¹⁷⁶ *Zhong Lihe Qianji*, vol. 2, 4.

in the translation. In the translation of “Arirang,” while briefly summarizing the meaning—“the suffering and recriminations of a love affair”—Zhong can only transliterate the Korean pronunciation with Chinese characters that share a similar pronunciation, so the combination of Chinese words do not produce meaning except for imitating the Korean pronunciation. Because of its verbal format and simple combination of phonetic elements, the Korean song can be “transliterated” into Chinese with its original pronunciation mostly intact. Besides, the melody of the folk song does not need translation to convey its emotions, and this is why the narrator can still be touched even though he does not have knowledge of Korean or Korean culture.

This scene, the only “untranslatable” moment in the story but embedded with the most “translatable” elements, actually epitomizes the whole story. Its visual and acoustic elements embody the title “Willow Shade”: the characters are enclosed with the willow, the sky, and man’s singing voice—a moment of unification of human and nature—so they can momentarily avoid the noisy and filthy urban environment in Mukden. Interestingly, this presentation of the balance between human and nature as well as the appreciation for folk songs are regarded the signature of Zhong’s nativist works written after his return to Taiwan. The fact that such qualities appear in a story far from the nativist context encourages us to reconsider the general division of Zhong’s works into the China/Manchuria period and the homeland period. In the rewriting of the same story Zhong reconstructs his memory of Manchuria with his observation of the nativist context, suggesting a nuanced connection across the transwar period.

Resonance Between Korean “Arirang” and Hakka Hill Songs

Upon closer examination, one can see that the “Arirang” scene is reminiscent of the scene in another one of Zhong’s short stories, “My Outlaw and Hill Songs” (1952, revised in 1958), the last story of the *Homeland Series*. *Homeland Series* includes four short stories that depict Zhong’s own feelings in confronting an impoverished and lifeless view of his hometown after his return from China. In the first two stories “Village of Bamboo Tops” (first written in 1950, revised in 1952 and 1958) and “Uncle A-Huang” (written in 1952, revised in 1958), Zhong describes his disbelief when seeing that his teenage playmate, a literary youth Bingwen, and his childhood hero, robust and diligent Uncle A-Huang, have become lifeless swindlers and lazybones. While Zhong initially utilizes the “Lu Xun-ian” contrast between his recollections and the current scene to create dramatic effects,¹⁷⁷ he gradually suspends his “rational-scientific ethos” and tries to imagine the world from their perspectives. Therefore, the series also illustrate a process from disillusion to acceptance, from disappointment to hope for the narrator. Hakka hill songs play an important role in this transition.

In the last, and also the most uplifting, story, “My Outlaw and Hill Songs,” the autobiographical narrator finds hope in the hill songs against the depressing reality. When he ponders the depressing scenes in the countryside, the lyrics and melody of hill songs interrupt his thoughts:

¹⁷⁷ As researchers have pointed out, the scenes when the narrator encounters his childhood playmate Bingwen and his childhood hero Uncle A-Huang are reminiscent of the scene when Lu Xun’s narrator meets his childhood playmate Runtu in the short story “Hometown” (Guxiang 故鄉, 1921). See Zhang Qingwen, *Zhong Lihe wenxue li de Lu Xun* 鍾理和文學裡的魯迅. Master thesis. (Taipei: Zhengzhi University, 2005). See Qian Guochang 錢果長, “Comparison between Lu Xun and Zhong Lihe,” *Taiwan xian dang dai zuojia yanjiu ziliao hui bian series 11: Zhong Lihe*. 161-169. See Zhang Liangze, “Zhong Lihe wenxue yu Lu Xun—lian yishu dou xiangtong zhi licheng” 鍾理和文學與魯迅—連遺書都相同之歷程, trans. Liao Weizhi, *Taiwan wenxue yuwen lunji* 台灣文學語文論集. (Changhua: Changhua xian li wenhua zhongxin, 1996), 86-117. See Sawai Noriyuki 澤井律之, “Two Versions of ‘Guxiang’: on the Influence of Lu Xun on Zhong Lihe,” *Taiwan xin wenxue yu Lu Xun* 台灣新文學與魯迅, ed. Nakajima Toshio (Taipei, Qianwei chubanshe, 2000), 95-119. Yet the fact that Zhong’s narrator tries to accept Uncle A-Huang’s logic shows that he has adjusted Lu Xun’s sentiment.

I looked east, where the teak trees grew lush and green on the steep hillside. I saw human figures dressed in blue flitting in and out of sight among the trees. Female figures. Blue headscarves were tied around their bamboo hats, the corners trailing behind and flapping in the breeze like tails. That's where the hill songs were coming from.

At the earth god's shrine I think of my lad again (二想情郎伯公埤).
Kneeling in front of earth god I pray (伯公神前說囑詞):
If you can hear me, take these words to my lad (有靈郎前傳一句),
Tell him I miss him all the time (小妹何時不想伊)!

.... It was very strange: the calm, warmth, and the longing in the tone of the hill song, and the vacillation, unease, and coldness of its real-life surroundings were so out of balance. Through the profound emotions of romantic love, the song expressed an insistent love for life. You could imagine those young, tender lives being nurtured and maturing in the bright sun. Amid all the change and upheaval, perhaps this was the only unchanging thing I could find.¹⁷⁸

The figures of working women among the trees and the lingering sentiments of their song have lifted the narrator from a cruel reality. Having realized the fact that hill songs will remain to be sung by the following generations of young people, the narrator finds everlasting energy for life and productivity.

Similar to the way that the verbal elements are emphasized in the transliteration of the Korean folk song "Arirang," the Hakka expressions and pronunciations are preserved in his translation/transliteration of the hill songs.¹⁷⁹ In keeping the Hakka expressions such as "ba'gong" (伯公, meaning "earth god" rather than father's uncle in vernacular Chinese), "seimue" (小妹, meaning "young lady" instead of the youngest sister in vernacular Chinese), and "him" (伊, meaning "that person" in classical Chinese but not common in vernacular Chinese) in his Chinese translation, Zhong makes Hakka—his mother tongue—visible and audible in the text written in vernacular Chinese.

¹⁷⁸ *Zhong Lihe Qianji*, vol. 2, 250-251.

¹⁷⁹ There are five hill songs in the whole story.

The Hakka hill song in “My Outlaw and Hill Songs” resonates with “Arirang” in “Willow Shade” as they both blend into the natural environment and bring elevation of spirit, and a juxtaposition of the two scenes shows their similarities in setting and function. The natural setting of willow trees is completely absent in “The City at Dusk” (1939), the original version of the story. Yet Zhong’s return to his hometown and his re-encounter with Hakka hill songs after the war inspire him to transplant the hill song heard in a small village in Taiwan into the capital of Manchuria. The change of the titles of the same version of the story—from “The City at Dusk” that emphasizes the urban environment to “Willow Shade” that suggests a natural setting—also indicates that Zhong shifted his focus about a previous experience after returning to his hometown. Zhong creates a scene of blue sky and the gently tossing willow branches, similar to how hill songs thrive among the trees, for “Arirang,” the most popular Korean folk song. Moreover, Zhong inserts his understanding of hill songs into this rewriting of an old story through the new Korean character Park. In letting Park say “in any country the best and most direct reflection on life—especially the moral life of the two sexes—was the folk song,” Zhong transfers his observation of “the only unchanging thing” in his hometown to Manchuria and enlarges this understanding to the “transnational” level. He attempts to broaden the native hill songs to the realm of all folk songs that express romantic love. In so doing Zhong experiments with “inter-subjectivities”: he inhabits Park by making Park advocate his own observation, but he also learns how to sing a Korean song in this act of inhabiting. More importantly, while hill songs are local and secluded because they are sung only in small mountain villages, they are not as “rooted” and “grounded” as the nativist approaches would suggest. In Zhong’s imagination, as long as there are natural

settings and sincere emotions, the folk songs can be transplanted as they all share straightforward expressions of universal romantic love. In other words, these are the qualities that make the hill songs “translatable.”

Furthermore, the fact that “Arirang” demands a “straightforward” and “unadorned” expression and that it can only be sung in Korean syllables indicate a realm that predates “official language.” If we situate the story in the Manchukuo setting, we will assume the official language be Japanese. However, if we reconsider the fact that this scene is newly created in his act of rewriting under the Nationalist regime, then his emphasis on this unofficial linguistic realm is even stronger because this realm resists *both* the Japanese language in the colonial period and the Chinese language in postwar Taiwan.

Both Zhong and the formerly discussed Lü Heruo find power in the cacophony of dialect folk songs. With these songs being sung in natural settings and translated in awkward Chinese, both writers highlight a space where national language policy fails in the oral format. While Lü utilizes “Bright Moonlight,” a widespread folk song with a long history, to indicate the quasi-mythical, pre-colonial history, Zhong searches for resonance in other locations and cultures. Zhong translates the hill songs into the Korean “Arirang” to highlight the resonance—the translatability between the two.

In the analysis above, we find a similar sentiment of transnational understanding as seen in the previously discussed “The Fourth Day.” In “The Fourth Day,” Zhong has tried to inhabit “the other” and negotiate multiple ideologies, languages, and literatures, and in so doing he has exemplified a transnational understanding and a stateless identity. Yet this transnational understanding is not confined within his China/Manchuria period, but can also be observed in his homeland period. In other words, a transnational

understanding does not conflict with a nativist context. Through inhabiting Park in “Willow Shade,” Zhong learns to sing “Arirang” and to study its cultural significance in Korea, and simultaneously, he searches for connections with, instead of seclusion from, the other cultures. This encourages us to rethink the prevalent comment on his depiction of farmers’ lives and hill songs as “creating a pastoral utopia” in the native land as a remedy for his disillusion with China.¹⁸⁰

While the nativist approach tends to interpret Zhong’s homeland stories as the construction of Taiwanese ethnic consciousness as opposed to Chinese ethnic consciousness, I emphasize that Zhong imagines an identity unbounded by national ethnic consciousness. While “pastoral utopia” suggests a self-contained, secluded, and pure core from which a Taiwanese identity can be imagined, the ways in which Zhong moves among various subjectivities, ethnicities, cultural contexts, and languages defy the presumption of such an uninterrupted core. Instead of seeing his disillusion with Chinese national identity as the “seeds” of his construction of Taiwanese national identity,¹⁸¹ his transnational imagination and the undoing of (Chinese and Japanese) national identities, as shown in “The Fourth Day” and diary entries, move further into his homeland period than scholars have previously suggested. The transcolonial approach helps us see the interwoven aspects unbounded by divisions in historical periods and locations in Zhong’s transwar works.

His diary entries written after 1950 also refuse a simplified division of themes and periods in his writing career. Written in his homeland period when the mainstream

¹⁸⁰ See Yu Zhao-wen, “Lishan Nongchang ping xi: jian tan Zhong Lihe de chuanguo licheng” 笠山農場評析—兼談鍾理和的創作歷程. *Taiwan xian dang dai zuojia yanjiu ziliao hui bian series 11: Zhong Lihe* (Tainan: Guoli Taiwan wenxue guan, 2011), 127-128.

¹⁸¹ Wu Ruei-ren, “Taren zhi yan: minzu guojia duizhi jiego zhong de ‘huangmin wenxue’ yu ‘yuanxiang wenyi,’” 171-218.

literary theme being anti-Communist literature, his diary entries demonstrate concerns that far exceed these presumed boundaries. He reads literature from both East and West, watches Taiwanese and Japanese films, comments on works of Yokomichi Riichi,¹⁸² Niwa Fumio,¹⁸³ Lin Yutang,¹⁸⁴ Charlotte Brontë,¹⁸⁵ Maugham,¹⁸⁶ and Balzac.¹⁸⁷ While noticing how his hometown, a small village, is much more modernized than twenty years before, he is also glad that the Japanese people “have retrieved their everyday life.”¹⁸⁸ Even though he is devoted to collecting and translating local Hakka idioms and common sayings into Chinese, he also makes profound analysis on the different characteristics of Japanese and Chinese languages.¹⁸⁹ The ways in which he moves in between Hakka, Japanese, and Chinese, local and transnational, and East and West demonstrate his transnational, if not cosmopolitan, considerations. He is not limited by his location, a monolingual language policy, as well as the anti-Communist and anti-Japanese mainstream ideologies.

More importantly, a stateless imagination and understanding of both the local and transnational indicate an opposite approach from the notion of “orphan”: instead of being an “orphan of Asia,” as the canonized *Orphan of Asia* (亞細亞的孤兒 1943-1945)

¹⁸² *Zhong Lihe Qianji*, vol. 6, 66, 69.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 137. *Michi ha tsuzuite iru* 路は続いて居る, 1949.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 177.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 212, 214-216.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 188. He had this idea after watching the Japanese film “東京はか踊く.” I cannot find any information about this movie. Maybe Zhong has mistaken the title.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 61. He writes, “The Japanese terms have strong and clear impressions; they are as concrete as relief—touchable and deep. They are powerful and vigorous like bullets. But when they are connected to form long sentences, or strung into long chains, they are not as wonderful. Auxiliary words that help shape the image become obstacles here. On the contrary, the Chinese long sentences or four-word idioms convey smooth and ordered impressions—a manner of writing, a flat surface, integrated, like chains and each chain is in nice order. But if you snap them and break them into words, into bullets, they are not as wonderful. The auxiliary words shape images poorly, so I can only throw the weak and dull words out without covering them up.”

written by Wu Zuoliu (吳濁流 1900-1976) is generally applied to Taiwan and the Taiwanese, Zhong aspires to become an “inhabitant of East Asia.” Wu’s work describes how a Taiwanese intellectual in 1920s to 1940s cannot locate his identity between Japan and China and eventually goes mad for want of a solution. Originally written in Japanese, the work was given many different titles in various Japanese and Chinese publications. The current title was finalized in 1962.¹⁹⁰ The work gained further attention after the termination of Taiwan-US diplomatic relationship in 1978 because the term “orphan” symbolizes how Taiwan was abandoned after resolutions of wars and international situations. Nevertheless, before this orphan concept takes shape in the 1960s and 1970s, Zhong’s works in the 1940s and 1950s provide a different imagination of Taiwan and of its relationship to East Asia as seen in his undoing of national identities and seeking resonance across linguistic and national boundaries. The ways in which Zhong transfers the bitterness of being a Taiwanese into building a stateless understanding are worth significant attention in order to surpass the binaries between Chinese and Taiwanese ethnic consciousness, between nativist and modernity, between the local and transnational.

Zhong’s works written in Chinese with references to the Hakka dialect constitute an important component to Sinophone literature, yet the works discussed here also reveal the limitation of the Sinophone approach. For example, “The Fourth Day” is “literature in Chinese” written inside China, which contradicts the definition of Sinophone literature—

¹⁹⁰ The original title of this novel is *Ko Shimin* (胡志明), which was published in Taiwan in Japanese in 1946. The title was changed to *Ajia no Koji* (Orphan of Asia) when it was published in Japan in 1956. The title was changed to *Yugamerareta shima* (Distorted Island) when it is published by Hiroba Shobō in 1957. The first Chinese translation used the title *Gu fan* 孤帆 when it was published in Taiwan in 1959. The Chinese title—*Yaxiya de guer* (亞細亞的孤兒), a direct translation from *Orphan of Asia*—was first confirmed in its 1962 version published in Taiwan. See Korokawa, *Gaichi no nihongo bungaku sen 1*, 356.

“literature in Chinese” written *outside* China.¹⁹¹ “The City at Dusk” written in Manchuria and “Willow Shade” written in Taiwan do fit into the definition in terms of the location and the questioning of “Chineseness” in their content about colonial experiences. Yet, this questioning of “Chineseness” can be seen as a questioning of “Japaneseness” as it actually shows irrelevance to Chineseness. The Sinophone approach, thus, does not have a better interpretative power on these stories. Moreover, all these stories fall outside the realm of “Japanese-language literature” because they are written in Chinese. “The Fourth Day,” a story that captured the post-surrender sentiment of the Japanese before the sentiment was embodied in Japan, deserves more attention in the studies of Japanese literature. These three stories, again, prove the limitation of both the Sinophone literature and Japanese-language literature, and simultaneously foreground the necessity for an approach that addresses the intersections of the Sinophone literature and Japanese-language literature.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter is to use Zhong’s multilingual capacity and experiences of Manchuria, China, and Taiwan to amplify the transcolonial approach that breaks the periodization as well as linguistic, geographical, and national boundaries. Informed by this approach, I treat Zhong’s China/Manchuria period and homeland period as an organic whole instead of two separate entities. In his repeated revisions of previous stories (due to the lack of recognition in his lifetime), he continued to negotiate with his experiences of multiple ideologies from Japanese empire, China as a modern nation, and

¹⁹¹ Shu-mei Shih, “Introduction: What is Sinophone Studies?” *Sinophone Studies*, 8.

his hometown. He utilizes translation and translatability in unprecedented ways by writing a Chinese story without “Chineseness” and translating Hakka hill songs into a Korean folk song. Unlike Lü’s protagonists in his postwar stories who are eloquent in multiple languages, Zhong’s protagonists do not possess the deftness in switching languages according to different occasions. Nevertheless, instead of linguistic eloquence, they represent Zhong’s eloquence in multiple identities and national consciousnesses as well as his deftness in transgressing and connecting among them.

While we can see how Zhong’s works in different phases indicate the main influence of a particular theme or ideology, the transcolonial approach allows us to see how he confronts himself with previous memories and impressions and further reshapes them with new understandings. Zhong carries his stateless imagination from early postwar China to anti-Communist Taiwan, yet transfers his understanding of a postwar small village into the Japanese occupied Manchuria. In his repeated negotiations of multiple ideologies, identities, and languages, and in his re-invention of the self by constantly inhabiting “the other,” he has proved to us that experiences, languages, and memories, with their accumulative and reinventing qualities, have no boundaries.

In the next chapter, I will bring my attention to Lin Haiyin (1918-2001), an important literary figure who combined the roles of writer, editor and publisher in her career from 1950s to 1990s in Taiwan. Both Lin and Zhong lived in China for a long period of time, yet unlike Zhong, who went to Manchuria and China as an adult, Lin grew up in Beijing and lived there for more than two decades (1923-1948). Both Zhong and Lin used Chinese as their literary language in the transwar period, yet, similar to Zhong’s use of dialect and translation, Lin also placed cacophonies in her work by

introducing various accents and by translating Japanese folklore research into her Chinese essays. I will argue for her neglected importance in the transwar period by illustrating how she mends the knowledge gap between Japanese and Chinese materials as well as transforms the male-dominated discourses at the transition from empire to motherland.

Chapter 3

Double Diaspora and Muted Informant: Lin Haiyin's Task in the Transwar Period

In the 2009 exhibition that honored Lin Haiyin (1918-2001), the Taiwan Museum of Literature utilized the power of voice to make Lin's autobiographical novel *Old Stories from Peking's South Side* vivid. The title of the exhibition, "Go Through the Forest and Listen to Sound of Sea," adopted a poetic interpretation of Lin Haiyin's name (which could be translated literally as "forest sea sound"). A white architectural diorama that mimicked the work's backdrop—Beijing *hutong* (or alleys)—attracted the visitor's attention, while in the front headphones were placed. When the visitor put on the headphones, s/he would hear a little girl's voice narrating the work.¹⁹² This naïve voice gave life to the dull, white diorama, encouraging the visitor to imagine how the protagonist, a little Taiwanese girl, had spent her childhood in Beijing and had so many impressive encounters.

¹⁹² The source of this sound installation comes from the radio drama based on this fiction produced by Cui Xiaoping in Broadcasting Corporation of China in 1970s. See Tsai Zhenjia, Chen Jiali, and Jiewei Li, "Literary Soundscape in Museums—Analyzing the Role and Function of Sound in Literary Exhibits," *Bowuguan ji kan* 24, no. 1 (2010): 96.

Behind the diorama, on the wall, were ink illustrations of the work in dreamy colors.¹⁹³ They provided a realistic perspective to the work in contrast with the white diorama, which required the visitor's imagination to give it colors. But the choice of a white, spotless color for the diorama in some ways conveys the feelings of the majority of readers towards this work—a nostalgic work filled with the pure emotions and observations of a little girl. It, along with the naïve narrating voice, attempt to create an unreal setting that only exists in memory, detached and pure, which responded to a reading of *Old Stories from Peking's South Side* as an attempt to construct a childhood utopia.¹⁹⁴



Image 4 Exhibition on Lin Haiyin (Copyright Chen Jiali)

¹⁹³ The illustrations are an enlarged version of the illustrations in the picture book adapted from *Old Stories from Peking's South Side*. See *Chen nan jiu shi*, illustrated by Kuan Weixin (Taipei: Gelin wenhua, 2000).

¹⁹⁴ See Chen Yuling, “Nuxing tongnian de wutuobang” 女性童年的烏托邦 *Zhong Wai Wenxue* 25, no. 4 (1996): 103-130.

As I listened, however, I found the standard articulation of the Beijing-style Mandarin in the naïve little girl's voice was another case of a sound installation that simplified the complexity of the text—a tendency mentioned earlier in the introduction. Let us take a look at the cacophonous opening of *Old Stories*. As you read it, listen to the different pronunciations and amusing translations:

It was very bright outside. Perched on the bare tree branch were several little birds that were unafraid of the cold. I wondered to myself, when would the tree be covered with leaves again? This is our first winter in Beijing.

Mama still could not speak Pekingese very well. She was telling Song Ma what to buy at the market today and she could not say, “Buy one catty of pork, not too fat” (買一斤豬肉，不要太肥). What she said sounded like, “Buy one catty of bark not to fly” (買一斤租漏，不要太回)¹⁹⁵.

After Mama finished combing her hair, she smeared the leftover oil on her hands over my hair, plaiting into two pigtailed. I saw Sung Ma preparing to go out with a basket in her hand and hurriedly called after her,

“Song Ma, I'll go with you to the marketplace.”

“You are not afraid of that mad woman at Hui-nan Hostel?” (惠難館 literally meaning “Generosity Disaster Hostel”) Sung Ma asked.

Song Ma was a native of Shun-yi County and could not speak Pekingese very well. So she pronounced it “Hui-nan Hostel,” Mama said “Huei-wa Hostel” (灰娃館 literally meaning “Gray Doll Hostel”), Papa said “Fei-an Hostel” (飛安館 literally meaning “Fly Peace Hostel”), I said “Hui-an Hostel” (惠安館 Hui-an is a place name. The literal meaning of Hui-an is generosity and peace) like the other children in our hu-tung. I didn't know which one was actually correct.

Why should I be afraid of the mad woman at Hui-an Hostel? Yesterday she even smiled at me! That smile of hers was really appealing, if it were not for Mama holding tightly on to my hand I would have walked over and talked to her.

The Hui-an Hostel was the first building along this hu-tung of ours. Above the three stone steps were a pair of large black doors, over which hung a horizontal tablet inscribed with four characters “Hui-an County Hostel,” which Papa has taught me to read “Fei-an Hostel” when we were walking past it. Papa has said that those who lived inside there were all students from “Fei-an,” who were studying at a university, just like Younger Uncle.

“Also at Peking University?” I asked Papa.

“There are plenty of universities in Peking. There's Chinghua University, Yenching University...”

“Can I go into Fei-an..., no, Hui-an Hostel to play with the younger uncles?”

¹⁹⁵ The literal translation of the phrase is, “But one catty of the rent leak, not too return.”

“Can’t do that! Can’t do that!” (做唔得).¹⁹⁶ I know no matter what I asked, Papa would always use this Hakka expression to deny me. I thought to myself that the day will come when I would climb those three steps and walk through those pitch black doors.¹⁹⁷

In this quote we hear various accents: the mother’s Taiwanese Mandarin, the babysitter Song Ma’s Shunyi accent, the father’s Hakka, and the narrator’s imitation of the local Beijing accent. The ways in which Lin transcribes and translates the dialectic traces with Chinese characters indicate a mature writer behind the deliberately adopted little girl’s perspective. The museum’s choice to present the work from its inward narrative yet neglects the background that nurtures these different sounds. How might this exhibition have been changed if similar techniques from the soundscape of Taiwan that we learned/heard in the exhibition “Symphonies of Languages, Blossoms of Multiethnic Literatures” have been used?¹⁹⁸

Lin Haiyin’s personal history marks a special intersection among Taiwan, China, and Japan. Lin’s parents were from Taiwan, yet Lin was born in Osaka, Japan in 1918 when her father, who had received a Japanese primary education, started a business there. The family returned to Taiwan when Lin was three but then moved to Peking when she was five. They lived there for twenty-five years before returning to Taiwan in 1948. She was exposed to three different languages before Mandarin Chinese became her major language: Japanese, Hakka dialect (her father’s mother tongue), and Hokkien dialect (her

¹⁹⁶ This phrase is pronounced as “Tzo um de.”

¹⁹⁷ The translation of this work in this chapter is mostly adopted from the English version translated by Pang-yuan Chi and Nancy Ing. See Chi and Ing, *Memories of Peking: South-side Stories* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2002). Chi and Ing translate the title into “Memories of Peking: Southside Stories.” Because the original title (城南舊事) does not literally use “memories,” and I also consider it misleading to treat this work as a record of Lin’s own memories. Here I use a more literal translation of the original title—*Old Stories from Peking’s South Side*.

¹⁹⁸ See the opening of Introduction of this dissertation.

mother's mother tongue).¹⁹⁹ Yet unlike Lü and Zhong, discussed in previous chapters, she never received a Japanese primary education because she was educated in Peking; thus, her writing is considered to bear influences of the May Fourth tradition,²⁰⁰ and the relationships between Lin and the Japanese materials, which will be discussed later in this chapter, have never been noticed.

The 1950s, the period when Lin started her writing career, marked a more complete, systematic control on speech. The Nationalist government retreated to Taiwan in defeat against the communists in 1949, with the approximately one million people associated with it, most of them officials, soldiers and their families, who were just released from the eight-year war against Japan. The government made Mandarin Chinese the new national language, while the old national language, Japanese, now was identified as “poisonous imperialist residue.” Because of the ongoing heated battle against the Communists, the Nationalist regime hunted dissidents for their sympathy with Communists or dissatisfaction with the Nationalist rule.²⁰¹ The regime also established the Writers' Association and various well-paid literary awards to encourage writers to participate in the military campaign to “combat the Communists and restore the nation” (反共復國). The nation that needed to be restored was the “lawful China” symbolized by its legitimate political history and classic culture established by the Nationalist regime. The majority of published literary works created a certain level of urgency to reestablish the legal order and to recover the beautiful homeland since the “pure and only” homeland

¹⁹⁹ See Xia Zuli, *Cong cheng nan zou lai: Lin Haiyin chuan* 從城南走來：林海音傳 (Taipei: Tianxia wenhua, 2000), 24.

²⁰⁰ Zhang Jiahui, *Lin Haiyin xiaoshuo zhong de wusi jieshou ji yingxiang yanjiu* 林海音小說中的五四接受及影響研究. Master thesis. (Kaohsiung: Zhongshan University, 2004). Wang, Shujen, *Wenxue yin du zhe: Lin Haiyin ji qi chuban shiye* 文學引渡者：林海音及其出版事業. (Taipei: Xiu wei zi xun, 2008), 31-34.

²⁰¹ During “White Terror” (1949-1987), thousands of intellectuals were killed or put in prison. See Chou Wan-yao, *Shao nian Taiwan shi*, 214-221.

was now “illegally stolen” by the Communists.²⁰² In this atmosphere, nostalgia and anti-communism were the two most prevalent themes in the 1950s. It is my contention, however, that even though Lin was one of the mainstream writers who relied on this system, she created ways to avoid official ideology in her works.

The first half of this chapter examines the cacophonies in *Old Stories from Peking's South Side* (1957-1960). Even though the work has been considered as one of the representative nostalgic works about 1920s Beijing, I show that Lin constructs the work with specific themes and sounds that resonate with Taiwan in the 1950s. Additionally, I argue that a new definition for nostalgic literature—a literature not only about the past, but also about the present and future—is necessary to interpret the work. Through a transcolonial approach I reconfigure *Old Stories* as a product shaped by the two intertwined times and spaces—1920s Beijing and 1950s Taiwan, and by analyzing the presentation of various dialects and the complicated entanglement between past and now, here and there, I argue that the work refuses a simple positioning of a past-oriented nostalgia. I then demonstrate the ways in which the work creates a unique double diaspora, the experience of returning to the first homeland after feeling at home in the second homeland. Therefore, it produces a more complex sense of nostalgia, a nostalgia that shows both the distant echoes of Taiwan in her postmemory and cacophonies of contemporary Taiwan.

Besides reconfiguring Lin's most well-known and discussed *Old Stories*, the second half of this chapter aims to argue for Lin's important yet overlooked role in mending the knowledge gap caused by the transition from Japanese colonial rule to the

²⁰² David Wang, “Of Scars and National Memory,” *The Monster That Is History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of Berkeley Press, 2004), 148-182.

Nationalist regime—namely, the transition from the knowledge produced in Japanese to the knowledge produced in Chinese. At first glance, as Lin’s literary career began after she relocated in Taiwan in 1948, three years after the conclusion of the war, Lin does not seem to fit into a project that examines the transwar period in Taiwan.²⁰³ However, my study shows that Lin not only links 1920s China to 1950s Taiwan in *Old Stories* but also translates and utilizes pre-1945 Japanese-language sources in her series of essays on Taiwanese folk culture. In so doing she connects contemporary Taiwanese society to pre-Nationalist Taiwanese history, the two marginalized and silenced discourses under the Nationalist “anti-communist” ideology that centers on Mainland China. Actually, the fact that she possessed a reading knowledge of Japanese has never been noticed by previous studies. Even though she is known for being a “bridge” between China and Taiwan, by elucidating the ways in which her knowledge of Taiwan is mediated through Japanese materials, my research complicates her bridging role in the triangular relationship.

In this chapter I analyze Lin’s intermediate role in the 1950s by looking at three sets of materials: her signature work *Old Stories from Peking’s South Side* (1957-1960), her series of essays on Taiwanese customs (1950), and “On the Heroic Souls of Wushe” (1953), a short story based on The Wushe Incident (or *Musha Jiken* 霧社事件).²⁰⁴ These works not only demonstrate Lin’s efforts in relocating herself among Taiwan, China, and Japan in the 1950s but further proves Lin’s neglected yet important role in bridging the Japanese-pronounced past to the Mandarin-speaking present and in connecting the

²⁰³ When she lived in Beijing, she had another kind of writing career—a reporter for “World Daily News.” (1935-1940).

²⁰⁴ The Wushe Incident refers to the aboriginal uprising that happened on October 27, 1930, in Wushe, a mountain village in central Taiwan. The aboriginal people secretly plotted this uprising and killed 139 Japanese people. The dramatic event shocked both the Japanese empire and the Taiwanese society. More information about the event will be discussed later when I analyze Lin’s “On the Heroic Souls of Wushe.”

nostalgic sentiment of Beijing to contemporary Taiwan. More importantly, these works indicate Lin's ambition to transform the male-dominated discourses in the transcolonial period—the anthropological research on Taiwanese folk culture in the 1940s and political anti-communist nostalgia in the 1950s—by adding personal attachment and non-mainstream historical viewpoints.

This chapter, maintaining the focus on cacophony and translation, illustrates both how these two concepts help shedding new light on Lin's works as well as repositioning her contributions in the 1950s. In the discussions of *Old Stories*, cacophony refers not only to the accents marked in the previous quote but also to the unnoticed resonance of these accents and the soundscape in Taiwan in the 1950s. In her essays about Taiwanese folklore and “On the Heroic Souls of Wushe,” I consider her roles as a writer and a translator and analyze the ways in which she cites Japanese folklore studies and historical records without quotation marks. In so doing I uncover hidden, complicated paths and negotiations embedded within the works.

Cacophony in *Old Stories from Peking's South Side*

Old Stories from Peking's South Side demonstrates Lin's unique life path and her attachment to both Beijing and Taiwan through various departures and returns. In this piece of autobiographical fiction, Lin draws from her own childhood experiences to create a compelling picture of Beijing. As mentioned above, although Lin's parents were Taiwanese, she lived in Peking from age five to thirty. *Old Stories from Peking's South Side* features Yin-tzu, a little girl from Taiwan, and her various encounters in Peking. While the work is related to the first few years of Lin's experience in Peking, it would be

misleading to read her autobiography as equivalent with fiction, and Lin herself emphasized the fictional element.²⁰⁵ In addition, as I will show, this autobiographical reading simplifies the complexity of the work and blocks echoes placed within it.

Among the four major independent yet connected episodes that constitute the work, “Hui-an Hostel,” from which I cited above, is the first and the most important. While its length (half of the book) and structural integrity suggest that the episode itself could be considered a novella, more importantly for this study, this first episode demonstrates a complex entanglement between Taiwan and Mainland China. The main story line in “Hui-an Hostel” is Yin-tzu’s encounter with the madwoman Hsiu-chen and an orphan girl Niu-erh, yet with closer examination, we find that this episode is more about Yin-tzu, and how she relocates herself. Making this episode the “threshold” of her series of nostalgic writings, Lin repositions her childhood from the 1950s Taiwan to reconstruct the 1920s Beijing.

The tragic story starts with the little girl Yin-tzu’s curiosity for Beijing and the madwoman Hsiu-chen in the neighborhood. Ignoring advice from adults not to get close to her, Yin-tzu considers her an interesting playmate. It turns out that Hsiu-chen had been in love with a young student, who returned to his hometown after promising to marry her but disappeared soon afterwards without knowing her pregnancy. Hsiu-chen goes mad because her child is taken away and abandoned soon after birth. Niu-erh is Yin-tzu’s playmate whose foster parents want her to be an opera singer and often mistreat her. By putting together the stories told by Hsiu-chen and Niu-erh, Yin-tzu discovers that Niu-erh is the child that Hsiu-chen mentions every day. Yin-tzu then gives them a gold bracelet

²⁰⁵ Lin writes, “Don’t ask me if these stories are true or false, I just want the readers to share my recollections of my childhood.” See Lin, “Preface,” *Old Stories* (Taipei: Guang chi Chubanshe, 1960), 5-11.

stolen from her mother so they have money to travel to see Niu-erh's father. After seeing them off, Yin-tzu falls seriously ill and sleeps for ten days. When she wakes up, she sees the gold bracelet on her mother's wrist and hears the sad news that Hsiu-chen and Niu-erh died in a train accident. Soon after this tragedy, Yin-tzu's family moves to a new place, and Yin-tzu is encouraged to forget the past.

Between Yin-tzu, the naïve character/narrator, and the story of the “complicated and sad world of adults”²⁰⁶ that she witnesses, Lin interweaves language jokes such as the cacophonous opening quoted above. In the opening we heard various pronunciations of the same term “Hui-an Hostel.” In order to represent the different oral pronunciations of the word, Lin transcribes and translates dialectic traces with Chinese characters similar to each character's pronunciation. Those translations, new combinations of Chinese characters, form funny meanings. The juxtaposition of these accented variations with the original causes comical effects for the reader.

The noises of various pronunciations, even though they seem irrelevant and marginal within the tragic main plot, are important details in shaping the foreignness of Yin-tzu and her family. From the quote we know that the narrator is not used to Beijing as she directs her attention to its unexpected coldness. The different pronunciations further emphasize the family's identity as outsiders as they bring their strange pronunciations to interact with the new environment. Not only do their strange pronunciations cause dissonance within the fluent vernacular Chinese that narrates the story, but the perspectives behind those pronunciations further indicate a cultural gap.

Later Yin-tzu is called “little Southern barbarian” (*xiao nan man tzu* 小南蠻子) by Hsiu-

²⁰⁶ Lü Zheng-hui, “Wu lin niandai de Lin Haiyin” 五零年代的林海音, *Taiwan xian dang dai zuojia yanjiu ziliao hui bian series 13: Lin Haiyin* 台灣現當代作家研究資料彙編13：林海音 (Tainan: Guoli Taiwan wenxue guan, 2011), 275.

chen's mother when she misbehaves, which reminds Yin-tzu of the term—"Northern devil" (*ba a gui* 北仔鬼)—that her dad uses to complain about the people in Beijing.

Lin's juxtaposition of the two terms suggests the long-held estrangement between people from the North and South because of distinctive customs and linguistic expressions. Even so, this juxtaposition also indicates the commonality between the two groups as each has similar expressions to make fun of the other.

Linguistic and cultural barriers between Northerners and Southerners pose fewer obstacles to Yin-tzu than to her parents. While the three-syllable Hakka verbal quirks of Yin-tzu's father such as "can't do that" (*tzo um de*) and "what to afraid" (*gim ma gai*) and the "Taiwanese Mandarin" spoken by Yin-tzu's mother continue to reveal their foreignness, Yin-tzu has quickly switched from her father's pronunciation to the local one, as seen in her self-correction in the quote. Yin-tzu avoids her mother tongue because it is not a viable social language in the new environment. The way that Yin-tzu makes fun of her mother's pronunciation also indicates her fast adaptability and immediate responsiveness between different dialects and cultures.

Throughout the story Yin-tzu effortlessly switches back and forth between her mother tongue and the social tongue and between the intimate family scenes and new social experiences. Interestingly, however, Lin has Yin-tzu speak her mother tongue when she makes outward connections and speak the public tongue at home. For example, Yin-tzu always corrects her mother's "Taiwanese Mandarin" at home, introducing noises from her new environment. In a scene when Niu-erh sings and dances a Pekingese song "Flower Drum," Yin-tzu sings in return a Hakka love song she learned from her father. The juxtaposition of the two songs reveals two distinctive linguistic and cultural sources,

but this difference does not hinder the emotional bond between Yin-tzu and Niu-erh as they are both amused by each other's tongue-twisting lyrics. Through Yin-tzu's interchanging linguistic uses Lin gives her an intermediate role who brings noises to both the private and social conditions. Yin-tzu often demonstrates linguistic eloquence seen in the first chapter, yet while Lü Heruo's protagonists switch his language according to the other party's preference, Yin-tzu demonstrates more flexibility as she can choose either local or foreign accents.

The characterization of a little girl allows Lin to circumvent the official ideology prescribed by the Nationalist regime, and Yin-tzu's lack of education contributes to her intermediary role, as she is not burdened by cultural and historical literacy in her view of Beijing. Yin-tzu accumulates her understanding of Beijing through personal encounters, random conversations she overhears, and secrets she carefully listens to. Therefore, the whole work can be seen as a collage of "authentic" stories gathered through unofficial, unauthorized channels. (This style of story-gathering and storytelling can also be observed in Sakaguchi's works, the subject of the next chapter.) Lin's representation of China, thus, differs from the mainstream nostalgic genre that expresses what David Wang terms as "nationalized nostalgia."²⁰⁷ Li Jinghuan, a woman writer contemporary with Lin, for instance, also writes about Beijing, but her Beijing is different from Yin-tzu's Peking. Her Peking is "the crystallization of five-thousand-year moral culture" and "everything

²⁰⁷ In his study on anti-communist literature, David Wang points out that anti-communist sentiments cannot be separated from diaspora and nostalgia: The traumatic experience of exile and losing a familiar value system makes the nostalgia of the émigré writers "nationalized." David Wang, *The Monster That Is History*, 169-170.

there symbolize the uniqueness of Chinese spiritual culture.”²⁰⁸ In contrast to Li’s desire to use Beijing as the everlasting and transhistorical symbols for the orthodox China, Lin’s “disjointed” nostalgia brings ruptures and noises to the genre, as Yin-tzu’s Beijing does not represent History or Tradition, but a “new” place not yet defined by larger frameworks.

Cacophony of Double Homelands

Besides depicting a noisy Beijing filled with various accents and outsiders, *Old Stories from Peking’s South Side* demystifies the idea of homeland as a pure origin, since the “origin” in Mainland China Lin traces is made of “reconnections”—a cross-cultural experience. The following quote from “Hui-an Hostel” shows how Yin-tzu connects her distant hometown, Taiwan, to Beijing:

I remembered Mama had said that we had come from our homeland far, far away, an island surrounded by water. We came by a large steamship, then by train before arriving in Peking. I once asked Mama when we would be going back and she said not for a long time. It was so difficult coming over so we would have to stay for some years. So was the place that Hsiu-chen mentioned as far away as our island?²⁰⁹

Here we see that Yin-tzu depends on the postmemory—the memory of her mother—to imagine her hometown.²¹⁰ And this memory of Taiwan provides a framework—the idea of distance—through which she comprehends new things she learns in Beijing. The traces of her past have become mixed with the desire to understand the new environment.

²⁰⁸ This literary expression of nostalgia for an imagined “cultural China” continued in the following three decades, as seen in some works of Chi Chun (琦君), Yu Guang-chung (余光中), and Zhang Xiao-feng (張曉風).

²⁰⁹ Lin, *Memories of Peking*, trans. Chi and Yin, 35.

²¹⁰ This is another evidence that supports my view of this work as fiction.

In addition, the fact that this passage is about a distant memory of Taiwan is written *in* Taiwan implies a more complicated entanglement of time and space.

Taiwanese scholarship tends to separate the literary works of the 1950s into themes of contemporary Taiwan and themes of historical China.²¹¹ For example, Chia-ling Mei comments on Lin's writings about Beijing: "All Lin's writings about Beijing are destined to be merely memories, the 'old' stories. It is old because the dislocation between Taiwan and Beijing, it is past because it signifies the break between adulthood and childhood, between now and past."²¹² Yeh Shitao (葉石濤, 1925-2008), a nativist literary historian who drafted *Outlines of Taiwanese Literary History* (台灣文學史綱, 1987), the first book on Taiwanese literary history after WWII, also made the following comments on Lin's *Old Stories* a few years after its publication, "Beijing is too far from us. Graceful plebeian lives, sideshows on skywalks, old bookshops in Liulichang, noisy stands in Changdian, camel bells, boiled mutton, are at the most encounters in dreams, no more than mirage-like memories."²¹³ Here Yeh intends to criticize the writers who came from Mainland China for not paying attention to Taiwan but to those distant memories of China.

Scholarship in Mainland China gave attention to Lin's work after a film adaptation of the work was released in 1982. Here the attention was placed on Lin's moving nostalgia for Beijing. Scholars such as Gu Jitang, for example, link this nostalgia

²¹¹ While Chen Fangming criticizes anti-communist and nostalgia novels mostly written by male writers, he affirms the works of *women* writers because they tend to write about their everyday life and space, so their works direct the focus to Taiwan rather than to Mainland China. See Chen, *New Literary History of Taiwan* vol. 1, 310-311.

²¹² Mei Jialing, *Xingbie haishi jiaguo?—wulin yu ba jiu lin niandai Taiwan xiaoshuo lun* 性別，還是家國？——五〇與八、九〇年代台灣小說論 (Taipei: Maitian Chuban, 2004), 247.

²¹³ Yeh Shitao, "Lin Haiyin lun" 林海音論 (1967), *Taiwan xiangtu zuojia lun ji* 台灣鄉土作家論集 (Taipei: Yuanjing chubanshe, 1979).

to Lin's "motherland consciousness" (祖國意識) by writing that "Lin's attachment and yearning for Beijing is the source for her lifelong affection, and this affection rests in her memory, sublimates into consciousness, and finally became rooted in ethnic and national consciousness."²¹⁴ This comment, highly influenced by political opinion, represents the mainstream positioning of Lin. That is, the majority of the scholarship in Taiwan and in Mainland China tend to interpret *Old Stories* from this similar angle.²¹⁵

Nevertheless, is it possible that a nostalgia work is solely about the past and another place? Aren't the current moment and location, as well as the displacement of a familiar time and space, prerequisites for nostalgic sentiments? Svetlana Boym's theory of nostalgia sheds new light on *Old Stories*. In *The Future of Nostalgia* Boym discerns two types of nostalgia: restorative nostalgia and reflective nostalgia. "Restorative nostalgia," she writes, "attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home.... [It] does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth or tradition."²¹⁶ In the context of Taiwan, the idea of restorative nostalgia provides a framework to interpret the nostalgic sentiment in anti-communist novels and in nostalgic essays since these works tend to use symbols—linear Chinese history, imaginary origin, essence of Chinese culture—to construct a single and "true" plot of national identity. According to Boym, "reflective nostalgia," on the contrary, "does not follow a single plot but explore ways of inhabiting

²¹⁴ Gu Jitang, "Lin Haiyin de liang an qing jie 林海音的兩岸情結. *Lin Haiyin yanjiu lunwen ji* 林海音研究論文集, ed. Shu Yi and Fu Kuangming (Beijing: Taihai Chubanshe, 2001), 176.

²¹⁵ The Taiwanese scholar Fang Mingju made a satire in her article on this similar interpretation. She writes, "No wonder Taiwan and China come from the same roots!" while implying that the Taiwanese scholarship should view Lin's intermediate role between "tradition and modern, Taiwan and Mainland China, patriarchy and feminism." See Fang, "Ruhe shou bian Lin Haiyin" 如何收編林海音, *Lin Haiyin yanjiu lunwen ji*, 111.

²¹⁶ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xviii.

many places at once and imagining different time zones; it loves details, not symbols.”²¹⁷

This second mode helps us interpret *Old Stories*, as Lin recaptures all kinds of sensory details in this work. Lin’s way of creating a child narrator helps her to summon a lost time, and to experience time differently.²¹⁸ She inhabits multiple time zones as she lets current noises penetrate her work of the past.

The cacophony of various accents is related to two different historical realities. First, it refers to the fact that quite a few Taiwanese intellectuals who received a Japanese education decided to leave Taiwan, then a colony of Japan, to travel to China in search for better social conditions and a stronger cultural identification.²¹⁹ Lin’s father, who moved to Beijing in 1922, is one of them. The result of this historical background is the “double homelands”—Beijing and Taiwan—in Lin’s nostalgia.²²⁰ Thus, Lin’s work addresses a complex, marginalized history about the exile of Taiwanese intellectuals in China.²²¹ If the street scenes and chatter demonstrate Lin’s nostalgia for her Peking experience, the Hokkien and Hakka dialects also indicate her nostalgia for Taiwan, a

²¹⁷ Ibid., xviii.

²¹⁸ Lin writes in the beginning of *Chen nan jiu shi*, “Silently I reminisce, slowly I began to write. I see the caravan of camels approaching under winter sun, I hear the pleasing tinkle of the bells, and childhood days return once again into my heart” See *Chen nan jiu shi*, 6.

²¹⁹ According to Xueji Xu (許雪姬), before 1937, there were about sixty Taiwanese people in Beijing, after 1937, also the beginning of the imperial-subject movement, the number of Taiwanese people in Beijing increased to more than five hundred. Among these Taiwanese immigrants/travelers are some important writers such as Chang Wojun, Chang Shengchie, and Zhong Lihe. See Xu, “1937 zhi 1947 zai Beijing de Taiwan ren” 1937至1947在北京的台灣人, *Chang geng renwen shehui xuebao* 長庚人文社會學報 1, no. 1 (2008): 33-34.

²²⁰ In Lin’s another work *Liang di* 兩地, she writes in the foreword, “‘Two places’ means Taiwan and Beijing. Taiwan is my homeland; Beijing is where I grew up. I never left these two places.... When I was in Beijing, I always imagined what Taiwan looked like. After returning to Taiwan for a few years, I think of Beijing all the time. How much has it changed since then?” See *Liang di* (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1966), 1.

²²¹ The literary scholar Peng Xiaoyen makes a similar point when she points out that this background of the work has not been treated seriously enough. See “Foreword,” *Memories of Peking: South Side Stories*, ix-xxxi. The scholar Ying Fenghuang also proposes to see Lin and Zhong Lihe as the group of Taiwanese writers on exile in China. See Ying, “Lin Haiyin de nuxing xiaoshuo yu Taiwan wenxue shi” 林海音的女性小說與台灣文學史, *Zhongguo nuxing shuxie: guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 中國女性書寫：國際學術研討會論文集. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1999.

Taiwan that only exists in the stories told by her mother, in the Hokkien and Hakka folk songs sung by her parents, distant legends and vague concepts. Her return to the first hometown, Taiwan, cannot cure her nostalgia for Taiwan that only exists as vague impressions acquired in childhood.

The existence of “double homelands” further causes “double diaspora,” an idea I will discuss for fully below. Lin was forced to leave her homeland twice: first she left Taiwan for Beijing with her family at the age of five, and she moved back to Taiwan during the Chinese Civil War. The memories of the two places overlap and intersect with each other. Her memories of Beijing include her memories of Taiwan; her first memories of Taiwan can only be reconstructed with the medium of Beijing memories. Language plays an important role in representing her relationships with these two places. With her familiarity of Beijing, she no longer hears the Beijing dialect as noise, and Taiwan can only be embodied through the scattering sounds of dialects. After being frequently exposed to the Taiwanese sounds upon her return to Taiwan, she develops a new relationship to the Taiwanese dialects: the formerly distant echoes become everyday soundscape. Therefore, what Lin attempts to grasp in *Old Stories* is this complex relationship with the two hometowns and how that relationship is manifested by her sensitivity to the changing soundscape.

Second, the recurring noises among the vivid descriptions of the Beijing customs and details in *Old Stories from Peking's South Side* resonate with the here-and-now in Taiwan. The “Taiwanese Mandarin” (台灣國語) spoken by Yin-tzu’s mother could be heard everywhere in Taiwan as the Hokkien speakers, the majority of the Taiwanese population, tried to speak Mandarin. Among the Mainlanders who came to Taiwan, only

those who came from Beijing could recapture the Beijing in Lin's work, but the majority of the Mainlanders may have similar experience of linguistic conflicts in Taiwan. Seen from this view, the work cannot be detached from when and where it was written. One may explain that her representation of foreignness, strange pronunciations, and cross-cultural experiences come from Lin's autobiographical details since they correspond to the real situation of her family. As Lin's father speaks Hakka and her mother speaks Hokkien and they moved to Beijing in the 1920s, so Lin simply "presents" them in this nostalgic work. However, since there are abundant materials Lin could have written on, the carefully constructed plot, themes, and characterization also indicate the fictionality of the work. More importantly, we, as readers, are not able to know if strange pronunciations and cross-cultural experiences really existed in Lin's memory (or postmemory), but we know they did exist when Lin wrote *Old Stories*, as Taiwan, a small island, had received more than one million people from Mainland China who came from different provinces and spoke different dialects. In other words, the 1950s Taiwan was also a noisy scene where "Northern devils" met "Southern barbarians."

Interestingly, when this work was adapted into a film in Mainland China by the Shanghai Film Production Company in 1982, the details of an outsider's view and odd pronunciations were omitted, for they did not affect the integrity of a compelling story and "foreignness" was irrelevant in a post-Cultural Revolution China that searched for authentic and heartwarming stories. It is these cacophonies, nevertheless, that make the work significant in reflecting the "here-and-now" in Taiwan. No matter whether this was Lin's actual experience in the past or present, she presents a cacophony that would

resonate with the new émigrés in Taiwan. Old stories are never past as the current cacophony infiltrates them and resonate with old noises.

Another piece of evidence of this infiltration of cacophony can be found in the intertextuality of Taiwanese folk songs in Lin's other story about the present-day Taiwan. In "Crab Shell Cake" (蟹殼黃 1957), another popular story Lin wrote a little earlier than *Old Stories*, Lin arranges Taiwanese folk songs to introduce a different linguistic and cultural system and to convey affection. "Crab Shell Cake" tells a story about the "Hometown Café" where the young owner from Guangdong always has problems handling his staff no matter if they come from Beijing, Shandong, or Shanghai, until he hires a Taiwanese girl. At the end the owner and the Taiwanese girl are able to surpass linguistic and cultural barriers and get married. In the story the Taiwanese folk song "Diu Diu Dang A" is an important medium that connects two people and two cultures as the Taiwanese girl teaches the song word by word to the Mainlander. This scene is reminiscent of the scene in "Hui-an Hostel," when Yin-tzu and Niu-erh are both amused by Yin-tzu's Hakka love song. This portrayal of folk songs echoes the ways in which Zhong Lihe, the subject of the previous chapter, uses the Korean ballad "Arirang" to convey the friendship between the Taiwanese narrator and his Korean friend. The fact that untranslatable folk songs, marked with strange Chinese or alphabetic transcriptions, can communicate trust and love implies a vibrant oral discourse ungoverned by official national language policy.²²²

²²² Lin uses Roman alphabet to transcribe the pronunciation of the Hokkien folk song "Diu Diu Dang A" 丟丟銅仔 in "Xie ke huang" 蟹殼黃. See Lin, *Lin Haiyin zuopin ji 5: Lu zao yu xian dan* 林海音作品集5: 綠藻與鹹蛋 (Taipei: You mu zu wen hua, 2000), 137-150.

In sum, the cacophonies in *Old Stories* are both distant echoes and present-day sounds. Boym in her study on nostalgia creates a unique image to visualize nostalgia: “A cinematic image of nostalgia is a double exposure, or a superimposition of two things—of home and abroad, of past and present, of dreams and everyday life.”²²³ *Old Stories from Peking’s South Side* demonstrates a similarly entangled picture of nostalgia as it moves in between Taiwan and China, past and now, autobiography and fiction. However, while Boym uses a visual image to foreground the complexity of nostalgia, Lin creates an acoustic presentation—a duet of contemporary and past cacophonies—to explain the ways in which nostalgia is entangled with multiple places and temporalities. The changing and resonant soundscapes Lin has experienced in Beijing and Taiwan become the sources of cacophony that interrupts monolingual policy and prescribed orthodox history.

Double Diaspora

Taken as a whole, *Old Stories from Peking’s Southside*, with the repeated disappearances of the main characters at the end of episodes, conveys sentiments of uprootedness, an experience shared by the new settlers from China, but “Hui-an Hostel,” with its extremely tragic ending, demonstrates the most dramatic dislocation among all. The ending focuses on Yin-tzu’s complicated feelings about the future and the death of her friends. In this section I will offer a close reading of the extreme tragedy to demonstrate how Lin projects a more recent diaspora onto the previous experience of diaspora.

²²³ Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 7.

As the chapter concludes, Yin-tzu lies half-asleep/half-awake in the hospital. There she overhears the conversation between her mom and Song Ma about the train accident that involved Hsiu-chen and Niu-erh and how people misunderstood the situation, thinking madwoman Hsiu-chen had attempted to take away Yin-tzu as well. Not knowing how to express her sorrow and panic, Ying-tzu cannot stop crying. When her health improves, a carriage comes to the hospital to take her to the new home. Let us take a look at the poetic ending of the episode:

The sun was shining on me, very warm and I was almost falling asleep when Papa suddenly touched my chin with his fingertip, saying,

“How come the talkative Yin-tzu has suddenly become silent? Tell Papa, what are you thinking?”

Did what he said hurt me that deeply? How come the minute I heard what Papa said, my eyelids fluttered, brushing and moistening the hands that covered my face. I didn’t dare take down my hands.

Mama must have signaled Papa a message with her eyes, for she said,

“Our little Yin-tzu is thinking of her future!”

“What will the future be?” Since getting on the carriage, this was the first time I said anything.

“In the future, Ying-tzu is going to have a new home, new friends, new school...”

“What about those in the past?”

“Everything in the past is gone; it’s of no interest anymore. Ying-tzu will slowly forget everything.”

I didn’t answer, couldn’t help remembering again—the little chicks in the west chamber, the little red padded jacket flitting by the well house, the tear ducts flashing with a smile, the cover on the urn under the eaves, the small house in the side courtyard, the gold fish bowl on the kang, the picture of the fat baby on the wall, the run in the rain... can all these be considered the past? Will I forget all of them in the future?

“Here we are, we’ve arrived! Ying-tzu, we’ve arrived at Hsin-lien-tzu Hutung, our new home! Hurry and look!”

New home? Mama just said this is “the future.” How come it appeared so fast?

Then I will take away the hands covering my face.²²⁴

Some scholars have noticed the tragic elements of the story. For instance, Lü Zheng-hui, a literary critic, describes this episode as “extremely tragic” and argues that the work,

²²⁴ *Memories of Peking*, 135-137.

even though narrated by a little girl, should not be categorized as “children’s literature” because Lin tries to present a “complicated and tragic world of adults through a little girl’s eyes.”²²⁵ Yet there are other aspects of tragedy in this story that have not been discussed—Yin-tzu’s involvement in the deaths of her friends, and her sense of regret and incapability.

What Lin tries to do in this episode, I argue, in addition to presenting the tragic situation of women, a topic which has been discussed by many scholars,²²⁶ is to show how Yin-tzu deals with this traumatic experience at the age of six. Some scholars position Yin-tzu as a benevolent observer of a tragic world, yet she is actually an active participant in all episodes.²²⁷ And her involvement in “Hui-an Hostel” is far more serious. Hsiu-chen and Niu-erh have suffered in their life, and they only recognized each other as mother and daughter for a few hours before they die. It is Yin-tzu who helps them recognize each other, but it is also Yin-tzu who gave them a gold bracelet to use for travel, which indirectly causes the tragic deaths. The reason why Lin makes such a “cruel” arrangement for Yin-tzu is meaningful—what an extreme tragedy Yin-tzu has to deal with at the beginning of her adventures in Beijing!

From the brief indication of this tragedy in the next episode, the unusually cruel arrangement emphasizes the importance of forgetting. Yin-tzu faces such a sudden break from the past that she never mentions the names of Hsiu-chen and Niu-erh again; she is encouraged by her parents to forget the past so she can keep enjoying new things in her

²²⁵ Lü Zheng-hui, “Wu lin niandai de Lin Haiyin,” *Anthology of Research Materials of Taiwanese Modern and Contemporary Writers: Lin Haiyin*, 275.

²²⁶ Scholars such as Ying Fenghuang and Fang Mingju point out the focus on women’s tragedy in this work. See Ying, “Lin Haiyin de nuxing xiaoshuo yu Taiwan wenxue shi,” and Fang, *Zhong li xun ta: Taiwan nuxing xiaoshuo zong lun* 眾裡尋她：台灣女性小說綜論 (Taipei: Maitian Chuban, 2002).

²²⁷ For instance, in the next episode “Let Us Go See the Sea” about her friendship with a thief, it is she who accidentally leaves clues for a policeman that causes the thief arrested.

life. This ending suggests that the following episodes are “the future” Yin-tzu sees after “she takes off the hands covering her eyes.” In this future Yin-tzu actually forgets and moves on with new experiences and new friends. In the beginning of the next episode, for example, Yin-tzu overhears a conversation between her father and mother, in which her mother asks her father not to be too strict with Yin-tzu because she has just recovered from the incident with the madwoman of Hui-an Hostel. Yin-tzu thinks to herself, “Why do you mention that strange thing again, mom?” This phrase implies that Yin-tzu is “forgetting” and has decided this past experience is “strange.”

If we consider when and where the work was published—the 1950s Taiwan—Yin-tzu’s experience of a sudden dislocation and parting with close friends is allegorical of the diaspora of Lin and of the majority of Mainlanders who came to Taiwan. The sudden and tragic deaths of Hsiu-chen and Niu-erh may be Lin’s artistic transformation of the violence she feels from dislocation and uprootedness, which may explain why it was mercilessly arranged in Yin-tzu’s early childhood. Additionally, since it is Yin-tzu who caused Hsiu-chen to be misunderstood by the neighbors, the sudden dislocation deprives her of the opportunity to explain or redeem Hsiu-chen. Yin-tzu’s forgetting then serves as the mechanism to protect herself against the feelings of guilt of leaving the past and responsibilities behind, which parallels the feelings of the Mainlanders who were forced to leave their families behind. Lin seems to suggest that forgetting is necessary to cope with a sudden transition and to face the future. With all these parallel sentiments, the story of “Hui-an Hostel” can also be read as reflecting the reality in Taiwan in which émigrés face dislocation and loss of the loved ones. Thus, the work presents a picture in

which the past and present overlap, in which a more recent diaspora is projected onto the previous experience of diaspora.

Upon closer examination of the Taiwanese dialects in *Old Stories*, the current diaspora in the 1950s could even have been inspired by previous experiences of diaspora, such as to how to treat a foreign place like home. The episode suggests that speaking the foreign tongue is key to passing into the new identity. The rare appearance of Hokkien or Hakka dialects in later episodes contributes to the family's merging into the Pekinese way, and even Yin-tzu's mother, whose Taiwanese Mandarin had amused Yin-tzu, can later speak Mandarin very well. It is an optimistic indication of the possibility for the newcomers to master a foreign tongue, the possibility to be at home in a foreign town. Such a tale of acculturation provides a drastic contrast with Lin's other famous short story written around the same time "Chun jiou" (Lunar New Year's Feast 春酒, 1953) that scorns the "transit passenger" mentality (過客心態) of some powerful Mainlanders in Taiwan.²²⁸ *Old Stories from Peking's Southside*, an opposite version of this mentality, offers a positive example of embracing differences and unfamiliarity in a foreign place.

More importantly, the sudden dislocation at the end of "Hui-an Hostel," which parallels Lin's recent experience of diaspora, demonstrates a circular shape of Lin's double diaspora. Lin uses the dislocation Yin-tzu feels at the beginning of her Beijing experience as a metaphor for the end of Lin's own Beijing experience as well as the beginning of her direct Taiwan experience. This beginning of her direct Taiwan experience provides Lin with linguistic and cultural materials to reconstruct a distant

²²⁸ "Chun jiou" 春酒, *Lin Haiyin zuopin ji 5: Lu zao yu xian dan*, 23-28.

memory of Taiwan. That is, through this recreation of the past, Lin is able to open up multiple temporalities that intersect and overlap in complicated ways.

It is no coincidence that Yin-tzu is the most remembered and loved character in Lin's oeuvre, as she is both naïve and sharp, adventurous and kind, yet to frame Yin-tzu within the 1920s Beijing neglects how she crosses various tongues and cultures as well as adjusts to frequent dislocations and new environments. If the white diorama of the Beijing *hutong* in the Taiwan Museum of Literature relies on the visitors' imagination to give it colors, it should be projected with the colonial Taiwan where Japanese colonial rule forced some intellectuals to relocate in Beijing. The little girl's voice speaking in flawless Mandarin should be accompanied by the soundscape of 1950s Taiwan where all kinds of accents interact and conflict with each other. Through *Old Stories*, Lin has demonstrated the complexity of her nostalgia—nostalgia for two hometowns—and how multiple accents connect multiple places and temporalities. *Old Stories*, then, can be seen as a very unique transcolonial work with the longest span (1920s to 1950s) across the end of WWII.

In the first half of the chapter, I have analyzed the most famous and most discussed work by Lin; now I will switch to probably her most neglected works—a series of essays on Taiwanese folklore. After learning the fact that Lin possesses double homelands and suffers from double diaspora, we may understand why she was motivated to know more about Taiwan, her first homeland, by researching and writing about it in the beginning of her career. In her process of research, Japanese materials became essential sources for her to understand Taiwan's past even though the Japanese language and Japanese colonial regime were deemed as evil and poisonous. The second half of the

chapter examines the ways in which Lin further experiences and bridges the transcolonial period by translating and changing the Japanese materials.

Translating from the Muted Informants

Lin's first job in Taiwan was editor-in-chief for the *Weekend Magazine* of the *Mandarin Daily News* (*guoyuribao zhoumo zhoukan* 國語日報週末週刊), a special newspaper dedicated to the education and promotion of the Mandarin language. It was (and still is) the only paper that uses Mandarin Phonetic Symbols to mark every Chinese character so that even the difficult characters can be easily pronounced and learned by early Mandarin learners. Lin's task, thus, was to provide a "model" of well-written Mandarin articles for potential learners. In contrast to the weekday content that tended to be "too serious," Lin wanted to present "worldly, trivial matters" (人間瑣事) in the "Weekend Magazine" section, while still maintaining "the credo of being educational."²²⁹ It is this casual setting of "humane" and "trivial" that grants Lin space for stories about Taiwan.

During her tenure (1949-1954) with the *Mandarin Daily News* Lin wrote a huge amount of essays and sketches on Taiwanese customs and traditions ranging from history, religion, produce, festival activities, proverbial sayings, etc. This series of folkloric articles, even though still maintaining a high readability and sense of humor, have not been given much academic attention in comparison with her "signature" works on nostalgia and women's issues. Yet when I first read these articles, I had a sense of *déjà vu*. Until I read Lin's biography did I understand where the feelings came from. According to

²²⁹ Lin, "Yi bai chi" 一百期, *Guoyu ri bao* 國語日報, November 25, 1950, sec. 3.

Xia Zuli, Lin's daughter, who wrote Lin's biography, Lin was interested in Taiwanese folk culture when she returned to Taiwan in 1948. She would go to the Provincial Museum (now The Taiwan Museum) to read its Japanese-language collections in order to "understand her homeland." *Taiwanese Folklore* (*Minzoku Taiwan* 民俗台湾) attracted her the most, so she copied the table contents of each issue in her notebook. She also bought an expensive copy of Ikeda Toshio's *The Family Life of Taiwan* (1944)²³⁰ to satisfy her curiosity about her "homeland."²³¹

This anecdote reveals the ways in which Lin has consulted the knowledge framework established under Japanese colonial rule to understand and write about her familiar yet strange homeland. When comparing Lin's articles to the researches done by Ikeda Toshio (池田敏雄 1916-1981), an important Japanese folklorist, who was devoted to understanding and recording the disappearing Taiwanese customs under the influence of the Imperial-subject Movement in the 1940s, I found that some of Lin's articles are actually translated and recast from Ikeda's research. In fact, Lin's willingness to understand Taiwan and to introduce Taiwanese culture to the Mainlanders, to some extent, continues the efforts of Ikeda as well as the scholars and writers who engage with the monthly journal *Taiwanese Folklore* (1941.7~1945.1) in the late colonial period.²³² This unexpected continuity challenges the assumed knowledge break between the colonial period and the Nationalist regime. It is unexpected because the connection is made by a writer who showed no traces of possessing a reading knowledge of Japanese.

²³⁰ Ikeda Toshio, *Taiwan no Katei Seikatsu* 台湾の家庭生活 (Taipei: Tōto shoseki kabushikikaisha Taihoku shiten, 1944).

²³¹ Xia, *Cong cheng nan zou lai*, 110.

²³² Ikeda Toshio, then worked in the Information Office of the Government-General, was the actual editor of *Taiwanese Folklore*. See Tsu Yun Hui, "For Science, Co-Prosperity, and Love: The Re-imagining of Taiwanese Folklore and Japan's Greater East Asian War," *Wartime Japanese Anthropology in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Akitoshi Shimizu and Jan van Breman (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2003), 190.

In terms of topics, the range of Lin's essays corresponds to the editing rules of *Taiwanese Folklore*: "to gather and record the folkloric data of Taiwan" and "to publish regional histories, geographies, and natural data besides folkloric data."²³³ For example, Lin's "Fragrant Flowers of Taiwan" and "About Plants" describe the natural environment of Taiwan; "Mengjia" and "Beitou in Two-hundred Years Ago" are about regional histories; "Mazu Fair," "Noon Water and Dragon Boat Racing," and "Spending July" can be seen as enlarged versions of the "Seasonal Calendar" (歲時曆) column that describes the customs of special seasonal events in *Taiwanese Folklore*. More specifically, Lin not only continues some of the terms or viewpoint adopted by Ikeda, but also translates Ikeda's writings into vernacular Chinese. Her practice suggests a contradictory situation: Lin transplanted Japanese-written folkloric studies onto a newspaper dedicated to promoting the education of the new "national language"—Mandarin Chinese. How does she deal with the cacophony—Taiwanese dialects and Japanese in the original text—and represent or hide it in the Chinese text?

This contradiction between her position as an editor for the newspaper dedicated to the education of the Mandarin language and the publication of her translation of Japanese materials on the same paper points out her important role at this transwar moment. She negotiates with the knowledge framework about Taiwan established by the Japanese empire and the Nationalist regime's official policy of re-Mandarinization. In this section I will analyze her strategy in bridging contemporary Taiwan to pre-Nationalist and pre-colonial past by discussing her translations.

²³³ According to the *kode* コデ section at the beginning of each issue. *Minzoku Taiwan: nanpō shūzoku no kenkyū to shōkai* 民俗臺灣：南方習俗の研究と紹介, v.1-5:1 (Taipei: Tōto shoseki kabushikikaisha Taihoku shiten 1941-1945)

Comparing Lin's essays with Ikeda's book, I find that Lin's "Miscellany of Taiwanese Folklore: About Plants,"²³⁴ "Mengjia,"²³⁵ and "Miscellany of Taiwanese Folklore: Winter-born Maiden"²³⁶ are respectively translated from "*Oboekaki*" (notes 覺書), "*Manga shouki*" (Notes on Mengjia 艋舺小記), and "*Danshiniua*" (Winter-born Maiden 冬生娘仔) in Ikeda Toshio's *The Family Life of Taiwan* (1944). Lin's "About Plants" describes a few local plants and the myths around them; "Mengjia" talks about the history and current state of Mengjia, one of the earliest developed cities in Taiwan; "The Winter-born Maiden" traces the history of a traditional girls' toy.

In "About Plants" Lin translates the items about plants from Ikeda's "*Oboekaki*" and put them into an article. Even though she follows Ikeda's original format of listing the items, she makes the folk knowledge more lively and interesting by using colloquial language and by connecting the knowledge to contemporary Taiwanese society, and thus transforming the stiff, neutral tone of Ikeda's encyclopedia writing style. The way she uses Mandarin Phonetic Symbols (ㄅㄆㄇ) to mark the Hokkien pronunciation of the plants brings cacophony to the Mandarin newspaper. In the article she indicates that she translates Hokkien terms into Mandarin,²³⁷ but actually she translates the Hokkien terms originally recorded and explained in Japanese into Mandarin. While Lin's knowledge of Hokkien language and culture adds liveliness to the article, it is certain that Lin benefits from Ikeda's comprehensive research method, so that she can choose the materials most interesting to her readers.

²³⁴ "Taiwan minsu za ji: guanyu zhiwu de" 台灣民俗雜集：關於植物的, *Guoyu ri bao* 國語日報, December 16, 1950, sec. 3.

²³⁵ "Mengjia" 艋舺, *Guoyu ri bao* 國語日報, December 23, 1950, sec. 3.

²³⁶ "Taiwan minsu za ji: dong sheng niang zai" 台灣民俗雜集：冬生娘仔, *Guoyu ri bao* 國語日報, December 30, 1950, sec. 3; *Guoyu ri bao* 國語日報, January 6, 1951, sec. 3.

²³⁷ She is aware of her own translational practice by writing "when translated into Mandarin, it means...."

Lin's essay "Mengjia" further demonstrates her complicated negotiations with the Japanese-language sources under the Nationalist regime. In this essay Lin introduces the geography and history of Mengjia, a formerly prosperous region in Taipei. Even though more than half of the essay is translated from Ikeda's text, however, Lin frames the knowledge with her own observations and experiences. In comparison to Ikeda's thorough investigation of the history of Mengjia and his neglect of its contemporary form, Lin is more concerned with the current state of the region such as the price of goods and how people commute here to do business.

In the essay the reference of two important historical records from the Qing dynasty has been interpreted as her inclination to Chinese knowledge framework, yet the hidden tri-fold relationship among China, Japan, and Taiwan complicates Lin's role at the transwar moment. Lin mentions Yu Yonghe's *The Small Sea Travel Diaries* (1698) and Huang Shujing's *Record of a Tour of Duty in Taiwan Strait* (1736) to discuss the origin of the place name Mengjia. Wang Yu-ting, a Taiwanese scholar who first studied Lin's folklore essays, uses Lin's reference of these Qing records to argue that Lin views Taiwan not from the Taiwanese point of view but from the dominant Chinese culture.²³⁸ However, by comparing Lin's essay with Ikeda Toshio's chapter "Notes on Mengjia," we can see that Lin's essay is translated from Ikeda's research, including the references of those Qing records. Thus, this "reference within a reference" makes it problematic to judge if Lin adopts the discourse of Chinese culture to view Taiwan, since to some extent she adopts the Japanese framework to understand Taiwan.

²³⁸ Wang Yu-ting, "Xiang xiang Taiwan de fangfa: Lin Haiyin zhu bian Guoyu ri bao zhoumo zhoukan shiqi zhi minsu shuxie ji qi xianxiang yanjiu" 想像台灣的方法：林海音主編國語日報週末週刊時期之民俗書寫及其現象研究 (1949-1954) *Chen Da Zhongwen Xuebao* 35 (2011): 155-182.

Lin's essay "Winter-Born Maiden" (冬生娘子) is an ultimate case of Lin's "citation without quotation marks" because the majority of the essay comes from the translation of Ikeda's text. Ikeda traces the custom and history of a doll-like toy—"Winter-Born Maiden"—from how it is made, the legend of the girl named "Winter-Born Maiden" in Fujian province of China, from details of how people offer sacrifices to her to associated ballads and customs. Lin follows this structure and uses the length of two issues to tell a more thorough story about this tradition. This long translation is evidence that Lin must have possessed a fair reading knowledge of the Japanese language. The scholar Wang uses Lin's reference to the Fujian tradition to argue that Lin presents "the everlasting relationship between Taiwanese culture and Chinese culture," yet again, this view neglects the importance of "muted" Ikeda in providing this knowledge of Taiwanese folk traditions as well as Lin's practice of bringing this Japanese anthropological practice into the Nationalist regime. Here Lin's translational practice creates a new meaning for Benjamin's "citation without quotation marks." In order to publish the "citation"—pre-colonial Taiwanese traditions, an important piece of history neglected in the dominant ideology—Lin has to lift the quotation marks to hide the actual informant. In so doing Lin is able to introduce the knowledge in a casual, "trivial" way and to avoid the association of Taiwan with the "poisonous" Japanese language and imperialism.

One major goal during Lin's transformation of the Japanese anthropological knowledge into Mandarin adaptation is phoneticization. As Jing Tsu has poignantly pointed out, the task of the Nationalist government in 1946 is not the education of Chinese characters, as Taiwanese had learned Chinese characters in their Japanese

education, but “the Mandarin pronunciation” of the Chinese characters.²³⁹ The *Mandarin Daily News* for which Lin worked as an editor was especially dedicated to educating people the correct pronunciation since every single Chinese character was marked with Mandarin Phonetic Symbols in the paper. Juxtaposing Ikeda’s Japanese text with Lin’s Chinese translation, one can find that one section—the lyrics of the ballad—stays the same (See Image 5 and Image 6). Ikeda uses mainly Chinese characters and some Japanese *kanji* characters to record the Hokkien-pronounced ballads, and unexpectedly, this becomes immediately accessible to Lin’s Chinese-language readers despite the strange effect caused by some Hokkien terms and Japanese words.²⁴⁰

For phoneticization Ikeda uses the *katakana* system to transcribe the pronunciation of Hokkien ballads, yet in Lin’s text, the same space is overwritten (or over-pronounced) with Mandarin Phonetic Symbols. While the Hokkien pronunciation was somewhat preserved in the Japanese folklore research, in Lin’s time this pronunciation had to be subordinated to the new “national pronunciation.” Interestingly, however, for the Taiwanese readers who speak the Hokkien dialect, the text itself has already had its Hokkien pronunciation as they do not need phoneticization to pronounce a language they already know. Seen from this light, Lin’s transplantation of the records of ballads still inserts cacophony into the “standardized” Chinese text. This phenomenon of “similar ideograph yet two pronunciations” between Chinese and Japanese is an important characteristic manifested in the transcolonial moment. And the fact that this “similar ideograph yet two pronunciations” is further linked with the Hokkien dialect demonstrates a multilingual soundscape within the text.

²³⁹ Tsu, *Sound and Script*, 5-6

²⁴⁰ The only Chinese characters that Lin changed are the Japanese word “ru” (溜, Lin uses “liu” 溜 instead) and the term 能敏 (Lin uses 靈敏 instead).

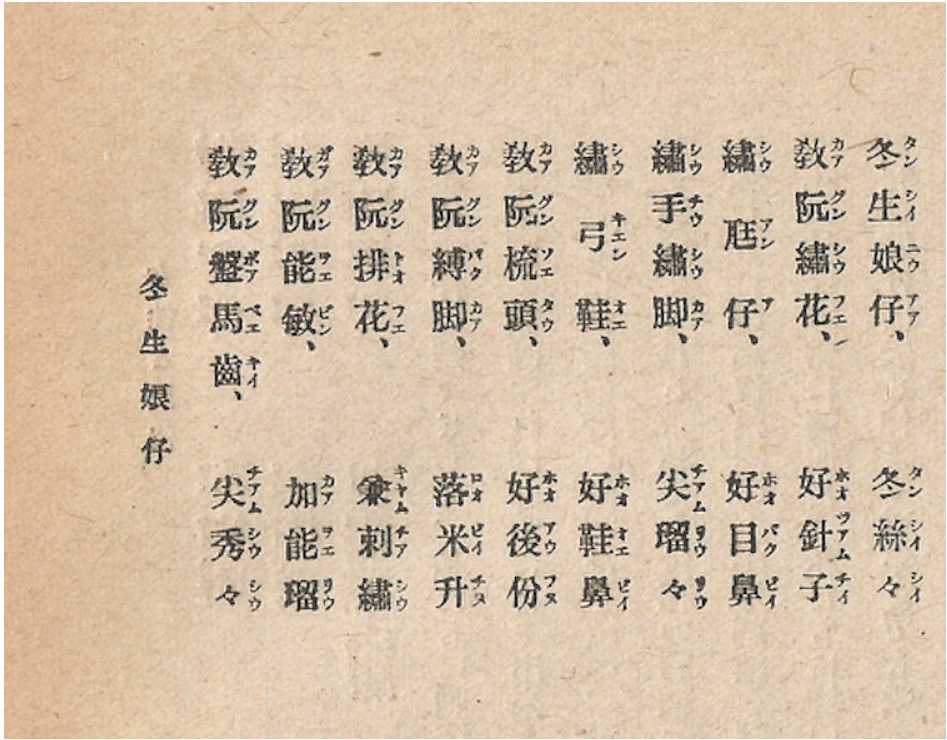


Image 5 Ikeda Toshio's Japanese Translation of the Winter-Born Maiden Ballad
 (Ikeda Toshio , *Taiwan no Katei Seikatsu*, 185)



Image 6 Lin Haiyin’s Chinese Phoneticization of the Winter-Born Maiden Ballad
(*Guoyu ri bao*, January 6, 1951, sec. 3.)

Even though to some extent Lin continues the themes and concerns of Ikeda Toshio and *Taiwanese Folklore*, Lin’s translations and transplantations make the folk knowledge more alive and analytical. Despite the fact that Ikeda was so interested in women’s lives that one-fourth of his *The Family Life of Taiwan* is given to “Women and Folklore” section, he never analyzes the meaning of the customs or criticizes certain immoral traditions but rather maintains the neutral role of one who collects and describes.

In contrast, Lin is more flexible in showing her value judgments. At the end of her “Winter-Born Maiden,” Lin summarizes this custom: “The lyrics show that the meaning of the ‘Winter-Born Maiden’ is to make girls more interested in needlework and in becoming dutiful wives and loving mothers.” She further comments that “Now the world has changed; ‘Winter-Born Maidens’ have to keep up with the times so they can remain popular among men.” Even though they deal with the same subjects, they frame their information in different ways. Lin not only translates Ikeda’s texts from Japanese to Chinese but also transforms Ikeda’s neutral, anthropological context into a more personal, living context.²⁴¹

In the end, Lin’s transplantation of the folkloric knowledge to the “Weekend Magazine” greatly transforms the imperialist context from which the knowledge originally emerged. The folkloric research was not an innocent scientific anthropological research; rather, the development of its discourse goes hand-in-hand with the concept of Greater East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere. The founders of *Taiwanese Folklore* proposed that in order to deal with diverse peoples and cultures in the Co-Prosperty Sphere, the empire had to understand their diverse folkloric knowledge for strategic reasons, and the research of Taiwan constitutes a small part of the big picture of Greater East Asian Folkloric Studies (大東亞民俗学). The magazine was dedicated to compiling all the factual data “on linguistic, social, and cultural conventions from specific places” for possible useful analysis in the future. Yet this “cold scientism that disdained personal and emotional attachment to the object of knowledge” also aroused the criticism from native

²⁴¹ Johannes Fabian argues that one of the problems about anthropological research is “non-coeval-ness,” which means that the researcher does not stand at the same position in modernization with the observed. See Niranjana, *Siting Translation*, 10, 79.

researchers.²⁴² It is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss to what extent the association of Taiwanese customs to Co-Prosperity Sphere was true or a strategy for the journal's survival.²⁴³ Yet it is fair to say that Lin's practice "trivializes" the grand purpose that the folkloric knowledge was supposed to serve, as it turns the knowledge into a weekend pastime whose survival depends on its level of entertainment. Lin also transforms the knowledge base from where it lacked the most—personal attachment and emotional investment on the textual level. Trained as a reporter in China, Lin has good communication skills and the ability to transform formal and dry historical records into popular newspaper articles.

Besides this unnoticed translational practice of Japanese folklore knowledge, Lin was one of the first writers who utilized Japanese materials to write in Chinese about "The Wushe Incident," an uprising of aboriginal people to resist Japanese rule in 1930. In the next section I will examine how her short story "On the Heroic Souls of Wushe" (霧社英魂記 1953) further demonstrates her ambition to reposition the colonial and pre-colonial history of Taiwan.

Repositioning "The Wushe Incident"

Some background information of "The Wushe Incident" is necessary for us to understand the importance of Lin's short story. The Wushe Incident refers to the

²⁴² For example, Yang Yun-Pin (Yo Un Hei 楊雲萍) in an article titled "Research and Love" criticized the "arrogant attitude" and "mechanical methods" of researchers. See Tsu Yun Hui, "For Science, Co-Prosperity, and Love: The Re-imagination of Taiwanese Folklore and Japan's Greater East Asian War," *Wartime Japanese Anthropology in Asia and the Pacific*, 198.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 202-203. Tsu has an insightful analysis of the ambiguous position of Taiwanese Folklore. Tsu writes, "In terms of science, therefore, *Minzoku Taiwan* was to remedy the excesses of assimilation, but in terms of politics, it was to facilitate the very policy whose damage to science it aimed to ameliorate. In short, the magazine was simultaneously committed to the preservation and erasure of Taiwanese culture."

aboriginal uprising that happened on October 27, 1930, in Wushe, a mountain village in central Taiwan. When more than two hundred Japanese from ten neighboring schools gathered at the Wushe Public School for an annual sports festival, aboriginal people hidden nearby suddenly appeared and killed 139 Japanese people. Unexpectedly, it took modernized Japanese troops two months to quell the riot because of the mountainous terrain. This dramatic event shocked both the Japanese empire and the Taiwanese society with the fact that the aboriginal people chose to fight a war they could not win. One of the dramatic scenes was the collective suicidal of aboriginal women and children, who hung themselves together on the trees. According to historical records and studies of the event, three major reasons contributed to this dramatic uprising: the exploitation of the aboriginal people, Japanese abandonment of their aboriginal wives, and the secret planning of Mona-Rudo, the headman of Mehebu tribe.²⁴⁴

This was not the only riot that occurred under Japanese rule, yet this incident was especially shocking to the Japanese as it happened after Japan had governed Taiwan for thirty-five years and at a “model village,” which the colonial government had used to display its successful assimilation policy. Thus, the incident not only made the Japanese government review their “aborigine-management policy” but also generated a huge amount of media coverage as well as official reports in the 1930s. The story still attracted many Japanese researchers and writers even until the 1980s. In Taiwan, after the arrival of the Nationalist regime, The Wushe Incident was rendered as a “patriotic” incident. The government built a “Monument of Anti-Japan Uprising by Aborigine Brothers” (霧社山胞抗日起義紀念碑) and a “Monument for Heroic Demeanor and Blood Shed for Justice”

²⁴⁴ See Chou Wan-yao, “Shi lun Taiwan zhanhou guanyu wushe shijian de quanshi” 試論台灣戰後關於霧社事件的詮釋, *Taiwan fongwu* 台灣風物 60, no. 3, (2015): 11-58.

(碧血英風) for Mona-Rudo in 1953. This event receives further attention recently in Taiwan as the Taiwanese director Wei Te-Sheng made a film *Seediq Bale* (賽德克·巴萊 2010) based on this historical event. The film, as well as a comic book²⁴⁵ and TV series,²⁴⁶ is recent attempt to reframe the event from the tribe's view and to bring this view to the public.

Chou Wan-yao, an important scholar of Taiwanese modern history, points out how the national-language policy and strict control on speech after 1950 resulted in the unilateral understanding and interpretation of this historical event. Chou writes, “The people who were educated under Japanese colonial rule could not express themselves in Chinese, while those who could use Chinese later could not read Japanese materials, which resulted in the huge difference between generations in understanding Taiwan's past.”²⁴⁷ Unknown to historians and literary scholars, Lin Haiyin was one of the first people who wrote about The Wushe Incident in Chinese. In this section I examine how she portrays and repositions this historical event, and I argue for her important role in realigning the knowledge written in Japanese in the Chinese discourse.

Lin's short story “On the Heroic Souls of Wushe—The Tragic Story of a People Unreconciled to Oppression” (霧社英魂記——一個不甘壓迫的民族的血淚故事) was published in *Haiyan ji* (海燕集 Anthology of Petrels)—a collection of twenty-four stories written by female writers, which was printed in 1953.²⁴⁸ Before Lin's story, there were

²⁴⁵ Qiu Ruolong, *Wushe shijian (diao cha bao gao man hua)* 霧社事件：調查報告漫畫 (Taipei: Shi bao wenhua, 1990).

²⁴⁶ *Wuzhong Fei yin: Wushe shijian* 霧中緋櫻：霧社事件, produced by Taiwan Public Television in 2003.

²⁴⁷ Chou, “Shi lun Taiwan zhanhou guanyu wushe shijian de quanshi,” 21.

²⁴⁸ “Wushe yinhun ji—” *Haiyan ji* 海燕集. ed. Zhang Shuhan (Taipei: Haiyang Chubanshe, 1953), 150-155. Even though *Haiyan ji* claims to follow the official ideology of anti-communist and anti-Russia

only two Chinese sources that mention this event. The first person was Liu Zhiwan, who based his work on Japanese records to write on The Wushe Incident in Chinese in the postwar era. His well-surveyed historical record “The Wushe Incident” was accomplished in Nantou County in 1951 but was only printed in two hundred mimeographed copies.²⁴⁹ This historical record is characteristic of descriptions of remote and proximate causes, minute details of the event, and an analysis of official response of the Japanese government. The second Chinese source was Yun Pin’s article “Spirit of Fighting Against Repression of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Fellow Countrymen—The Epic Wushe Incident” published in *China Weekly* in October, 1953.²⁵⁰ This article arbitrarily places the event under the Han-Chinese historical view. Lin might have read both resources and used some of the information from both, but she develops her own angle in narrating the event. She also offers some details absent in those two resources, which suggests that she may have had access to other Japanese-language materials about the event.

Yun Pin and Lin use completely different frameworks to narrate this event. Yun Pin shows his China-centric view by comparing it to San Yat-sen’s revolution, Zheng Chenggong’s resistance against the Manchus at the beginning of the Qing dynasty, and Taiwanese elite opposition to Japan’s takeover in 1895. Even though Yun Pin uses the term “aboriginal brothers” in the title and at the beginning of the article, when he begins

sentiment, only three stories among twenty-four actually follow this ideology, and Lin’s story is especially unique among the mostly “love in eras of upheaval” stories.

²⁴⁹ Liu Zhiwan, *Taiwan Riyuetang Shihua (fu Wushe Shijian)* 台灣日月潭史話（附霧社事件）（self print, 1951).

²⁵⁰ See Yun Pin, “Taiwan shanbao de kang bao jingshen—ke ge ke qi de wushe shijian” 台灣山胞的抗暴精神—可歌可泣的霧社事件, *Zhongguo yizhou* 中國一周 183 (1953), 10-11. In an updated version written in 1959, Liu Zhiwan considered this “Yun Pin” as “Yang Yun Ping.” Yet since there are quite a few mistakes in this article, Chou doubts if this is the same “Yun Pin.” See Chou, “Shi lun Taiwan zhanhou guanyu wushe shijian de quanshi,” 24.

to narrate the event, he uses “savage people” (蕃眾) and “savage citizens” (蕃民) to refer to the aborigines. The description that “Japan’s oppression was extreme because of their backwardness and ignorance” reveals his China-centric view and political expediency.²⁵¹

On the contrary, similar to aforementioned Liu, Lin chooses to tell the story more from the aborigine’s point of view. She gives space to the aborigines by indicating their prehistoric existence at the location. She begins her story this way:

At the middle of the island of Taiwan, at the hills in between Habo River and the upstream of Chuoshui River where the altitudes reached over one thousand meters was where Wushe was located. The eleven tribes of Atayal lived at this lovely location along the branch of Chuoshui River.

Sometimes the water of the river comes down in torrents from overhanging cliffs; sometimes it slowly passes by the gap covered blooming heathers; other times it turns among ridges and peaks. When spring comes, the famous Wushe cherry blossoms covered the hills. When you look over the Notaka Mountain Range, it is thrilling mountain scenery.

There was no written record to know exactly when the ancestry of the Wushe people on their hunting routes came to this branch of Chuo-shui River. After they lay the foundation of life, their descendants called the creek “Mehebu” (meaning “ancestor”). Mehebu Creek, Mehebu Mountain, as well as Mehebu Rock Cave where they later perished together heroically, are named in memory of their ancestors. They especially respected the giant cypress trees; they said there lay the spirits of the ancestors.²⁵²

This unprecedented portrayal of the aboriginal lifestyle, language, and belief system demonstrates Lin’s progressive understanding of the identity of the aborigines. I am not suggesting that Lin was completely free from China-centric views as she was the product

²⁵¹ Corresponding to the overall theme of *Zhongguo yizhou* where Yun Pin’s article was published, “Taiwan shanbao de kang bao jingshen” is framed within the golden rule of the Nationalist regime—“opposing communism and resisting Russia” (反共抗俄). The issue where this articles was published was a special one that celebrates “Taiwan Retrocession Day”—a holiday that commemorates the end of Japanese colonial rule and Taiwan’s handover to Republic of China on October 25. The nature of the event and the fact that the opening ceremony for the Wushe memorials was held in mid 1953 may be the reason why the article came into being.

²⁵² “Wushe yinhun ji,” 150-151.

of her era.²⁵³ Yet the opening indicates that Lin chooses to value the history of the people by creating a utopian picture for their pre-colonial lifestyle. She also maintains the interest of an anthropologist (or folklorist?)²⁵⁴ but balances this knowledge with literary imagination.

This framing also shows Lin's literary technique unseen in previous Chinese records, which makes the story the first Chinese story that uses literary techniques to fictionalize the historical event. While Liu Zhiwan's research follows the style of historical account without personal judgment and Yun Pin's article is half propaganda half journalistic, Lin dramatizes the event and makes it more readable and moving. Vivid descriptions of the natural scenery continue throughout the piece. Lin uses them to create dramatic effects or soften the violent killings. Right before she begins the climax blood shedding scene at Wushe Public School, she builds up the tension by writing, "It always rained in winter in the mountains, but that morning on the twenty-seventh was surprisingly sunny. Water flowed and clouds floated. Wind blew and trees trembled. Everything in nature was peaceful and quiet like before."²⁵⁵ This portrayal of a peaceful moment makes the following description of the pre-arranged killings of some police officers and the mass killing at the school even more dramatic.

Lin also characterizes Mona-Rudo, the leader of the riot, and tries to fathom what might be in his mind as the tribal leader whom the Japanese had tried to win over. Lin reasons for him, "But Mona-Rudo was not a person who compromises. He might have quickly satisfied the needs of the Japanese; he might have asked his subordinates to be

²⁵³ She is still restricted by China-centric view since she does not consider pre-colonial Chinese immigrants as "invaders" to aborigine villages.

²⁵⁴ This can be seen in the description of ancestor worship, the main activities of hunting, weaving, and dancing and singing, as well as the indication of their sense of beauty.

²⁵⁵ "Wushe yinhun ji," 152.

patient; he might have seemed to be cooperative. He had put up with all this. But now after seeing his tribal people suffer as well as the misfortune of his sister, he only hated the Japanese more.”²⁵⁶ These psychological clues, different from historical records on the causes of the riot, constitute Mona-Rudo as a complex character who arouses the reader’s interest.

The clearest dramatization of the event occurs at the scene when Mahon-Mona, Mona-Rudo’s daughter, enters the rock cave with alcohol and meat offered by the Japanese to lure her brother, Tadaw-Mona, into surrender. Even though there was such an account in Japanese historical record, Lin fictionalizes the whole scene and creates melodramatic effects by adding dialogue and psychological details for the siblings:

Mahon-Mona first cried. Didn’t she know her brother’s temper? Wasn’t she aware of the personalities of the men of Wushe? If she mentioned anything about surrender, how would her brother scold her? But she could see how anxious he had been in these days from his suddenly aging face....

Holding his sister’s hand, he walked her out of the cave. It was the final embrace before they would be parted by death. Even the heroic brother could not hold back his tears, which dropped on Mahon-Mona’s cheeks, rolling down along with sister’s tears....

In the cypress forest where the spirits of ancestors lay, Tadaw-Mona soothed his sister and said, “My sister, promise me in front of ancestors, that you will live happily and bravely for Wushe, and take the responsibility of nurturing our descendants!”²⁵⁷

While this fictionalized description reads overly sentimental, it can arouse the reader’s affectionate response and identification more effectively than historical or journalistic writing. Lin chooses to foreground the sibling’s love and Tadaw-Mona, a viewpoint unseen before and many decades after. While the nationalist government has appointed Mona-Rudo as *the only* iconic hero of the “anti-Japan” movement, Lin embodies both

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 151-152.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 154.

Mona-Rudo and his son Tadaw-Mona as heroes, which was more loyal to historical records. The scholar Wang Yu-ting considers this story “reportage” and argues that Lin utilizes her hybrid identity to “report” Taiwan in journalistic style.²⁵⁸ Yet from the above analysis, we can see that Lin uses literary skills—fictionalization, characterization, as well as tension building—to make the story more intriguing. In other words, Lin intends to popularize the historical event in Chinese according to the Japanese materials available to her. Furthermore, her literary technique provides a model for the following works on the incident.²⁵⁹

More importantly, the story demonstrates Lin’s ambiguous relationship with Japanese-language materials and the ideology of the Nationalist regime. Lin continues to use Japanese terms (such as Notaka Mount Series 能高連峰 and police substation 駐在所), yet she never follows the Japanese records to refer to the aborigines as “savages” (蕃人). Nor does she adopt the Nationalist official appellation “aboriginal brothers” in the main body of the text.²⁶⁰ Instead, she invents more neutral terms such as “the Wushe inhabitants,” “men and women of Wushe,” and “men of the Atayal (Seediq) Tribe.”²⁶¹ The most politically-correct description in the story appears at the end: “This is the heroic death of the people (民族) who refused the oppression of the invader and died for intense love and hatred. The bodies of the anti-invaders perished, but their spirit will remain alive

²⁵⁸ Wang Yu-ting, “Bao dao zhe de zhongjie weizhi —tan wuling niandai Lin Haiyin shuxie Taiwan zhi fayan ce lue” 報導者的中介位置—談五零年代林海音書寫台灣之發言策略 *Taiwan wenxue xuebao* 台灣文學學報 17 (2010): 136-156.

²⁵⁹ This literary technique is further adopted by Chen Ququan. Yet Chen’s work has greatly deviated from historical records. See Chen, *Wushe Shijian* (Taipei: Diqu Chubanshe, 1977).

²⁶⁰ The only place she uses this term is at the “footnote” where she adds that the “aboriginal fellow countrymen” who live in today’s Wushe are not the original Wushe tribe. This is very interesting, as Lin seemed to realize that this term should not intervene the tribe’s past; it can only live in the “footnote.”

²⁶¹ According to Chou, Wan-yao, the tribes in Wushe call themselves “Seediq” instead of “Atayal.” “Atayal” was a violent categorization attributed by the Japanese. In Liu Zhiwan’s record, he refers to them as “Mountain Tribe.”

on earth for ages to come!”²⁶² In the context of 1953, the “people” here would be read as “the Chinese people,” yet since Lin emphasizes “Wushe” and “Atayal” (Seediq) in the rest of the story, she leaves space for other interpretations.

The most progressive achievement of the story lies in the way in which Lin creates a different value system other than the Nationalist “anti-oppression” and Japanese “fearsome savage” discourses. The themes of nature and ancestor stitch the whole story together: from a utopian imaginary of the aboriginal life, the connection between “maltreatment from the Japanese” and “under the spirits of ancestors,” to the final farewell and suicide scenes. While Yun Pin highlights the spectacle of the collective suicide—people hung themselves together on the trees—as “strung bananas,” Lin’s narrative implies that the final suicide scene can be a way to re-connect to their ancestors when she writes “the cypress trees lay the spirits of ancestors.” It is not until the 1990s that the aborigine’s point of view was collected and made known to the Taiwanese society.²⁶³ This more recent record first offered the aboriginal’s view on The Wushe Incident: because their “gaya”—law, ancestor’s teaching and value system that have governed their life for hundreds of years—was damaged after the Japanese came, the Seediq people wanted to abide by “gaya” again through this event so they could connect to ancestors again after death. Surprisingly, as early as 1950s, Lin has sensitively emphasized their strong belief in ancestors and in nature from which their ancestors had come. More research is necessary to know what Japanese materials Lin had consulted to

²⁶² “Wushe yinhun ji,” 155.

²⁶³ Qiu Ruolong’s documentary *Gaya: The 1930 Wushe Incident and the Seediq Tribe* (1998) discusses from the aborigine’s view what motivated the Seediq Tribe to fight this unwinnable war. In Seediq language, “gaya” has lots of meanings. It can mean law, ancestors’ teaching or value system and worldview. See Chou, “Shi lun Taiwan zhanhou guanyu wushe shijian de quanshi,” 42-44.

write the story,²⁶⁴ yet what is certain is that she tells the story from the aborigine's point of view more than the writers before or decades after her.

Junya Xu, a scholar of Taiwanese literature, comments on Lin's "surprisingly quick control of Taiwanese culture and history" as Lin transcribed formerly mentioned *The Small Sea Travel Diaries* from classical Chinese to vernacular Chinese into seven installments on newspaper in November, 1951.²⁶⁵ My research answers why Lin was unexpectedly well informed: she benefited from Japanese folkloric studies to grasp Taiwanese culture and history.²⁶⁶ The fact that she was one of the first people who wrote on "The Wushe Incident" in Chinese and the first person who re-positioned the event in neither imperialist nor Nationalist ways demonstrates her acute sensitivity to male-dominated historical and anthropological research.²⁶⁷

Through the above analysis on the ways in which Lin quotes, translates, and transcribes Japanese-language materials without quotation marks, I illustrate the hidden paths and circuitous routes among her work, the imperialist ideology, and the Nationalist discourse. For Lin the early 1950s marked a new territory in which she experimented on ways to graft historical narratives onto the current society, and to reposition historical records anew. These quotations, translations, and transcriptions are concrete ways in

²⁶⁴ Lin participated in the "Summer Seminar on Local History" (夏日鄉土史講座) organized by the Taiwanese Youth Cultural Association (台灣青年文化協會) in August 1951. As many scholars of Taiwanese history participated as lecturers, Lin might have gathered some materials from this seminar.

²⁶⁵ See Xu Junya, *Di mei ji: Taiwan wenxue/fanyi, youji yu shuping* 低眉集：台灣文學/翻譯、遊記與書評 (Taipei: Xin rui wen chuan, 2011), 180.

²⁶⁶ It is important to notice that Lin's series of essays on Taiwanese folk culture as well as the vernacular translation of *The Small Sea Travel Diaries* were written *before* her participation in the "Summer Seminar on Local History."

²⁶⁷ A photo taken in 1951 symbolically presents Lin's marginal position in writing on the customs and history of Taiwan. In the "graduation shot" of the "Summer Seminar on Local History" taken in August, 1951, Lin was the only female student among the group of fifty-four people. See *Taiwan xian dang dai zuojia yanjiu ziliao hui bian series 13: Lin Haiyin*, 21. According to Xia, Lin was the only female student among eighty in this history seminar. See Xia, *Cong chen nang zo lai*, 89.

which she transgresses boundaries of languages and political regimes and further establishes transcolonial understandings of Taiwan.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter is to let the reader listen to the soundscapes surrounding Lin and to hear the cacophonies in her work no matter if they are accents, noises from the crowd, or citations without quotation marks of Japanese references. Taiwanese scholar Ming-ju Fang has pointed out that it is difficult to incorporate Lin as she stands between “tradition and modern, Taiwan and Mainland China, patriarchy and feminism,” my research further complicates this view by disclosing how she appropriates Japanese materials in the Chinese discourse and how her signature nostalgic work contains nostalgia for both Taiwan and China. My reading of Lin breaks free from conventional readings that frame her as part of the “nostalgia for China camp” by showing the ways in which she creates a duet of contemporary and past cacophonies as well as releases double diaspora to illustrate a more complex entanglement of historical times in her nostalgia. The restoration of quotation marks not only discloses her unknown role of translator but also demonstrates how she dialogues with and transforms the folklore knowledge of the imperialist discourse. Lin offers a unique way to rethink the transcolonial period even though she wrote only after it. Besides her widely recognized editorship in *United Daily News Literary Supplement*,²⁶⁸ Lin’s pioneering role in the 1950s requires more attention as she created new channels to connect, dialogue, and reflect on the transcolonial experience of Taiwan.

²⁶⁸ When she was the editor-in-chief for *Literary Supplement of United News* 聯合報副刊 (1953-1963), she promoted nativist literary movement by nurturing native writers when the émigré writers from mainland China dominated the literary scene in 1950s and 1960s.

In the next chapter, I will discuss another woman writer Sakaguchi Reiko, a Japanese writer whose wartime and postwar stories constitute an alternative history of Taiwan against dominant imperialist and nationalist narratives. Sakaguchi also showed deep interest in Taiwanese folk customs and engaged with the folklore research of the imperialist discourse. Her “citation without quotation marks,” again, transforms this knowledge and places this alienated imperialist knowledge back to its earlier discourse. Interestingly enough, Sakaguchi also fictionalized The Wushe Incident, yet her experience of living with the aborigines prompted her to deeply reflect on her own role as colonizer/writer who describes and voices for the subaltern. Sakaguchi’s sojourn in Taiwan (1938-1946) compensates for Lin’s absence in Taiwan; her reflection on the colonial rule creates a space unavailable for many Taiwanese writers who could not express themselves in Japanese under the Nationalist regime. We will enter her literary world by listening to the cacophonies she heard in Taiwan.

Chapter 4

Cacophonous and Undisciplined Women's Discourse: Sakaguchi Reiko's Transcolonial Writing

“The language here, like chattering of shrikes,
was totally unrecognizable.”
-- Huang Shujing,
Record of a Tour of Duty in Taiwan Strait (1736)²⁶⁹

“The Taiwanese languages were
no difference to bird chirping”
--Nogami Yaeko,
“Travel Notes of Taiwan” (1936)²⁷⁰

The Zheng Family (鄭一家 1941) is a novella about the three generations of the Zhengs, a Taiwanese family. Written by Sakaguchi Reiko (坂口禔子 1914-2007), one of the most important Japanese writers during the colonial period in Taiwan, it begins with this colorful and noisy opening scene: On the main street a huge, rarely seen parade draws the attention of everyone in the township. Lead by sacrificed, whole, roasted pigs and lambs and a three-meter paper figure hung with animal organs to drive away evil

²⁶⁹ Huang Shujing (黃叔璥 1666-1742) was a supervisor censor of Taiwan in the Qing Dynasty. He recorded various aspects of Taiwan while serving official duty in Taiwan in 1722-23. This quote from *Bai hai ji you* 裨海記遊 (1736) shows that an official from Beijing could not understand the dialects in Taiwan.

²⁷⁰ Nogami Yaeko (野上弥生子 1885-1985) is an important woman writer of Japanese modern literature. She visited Taiwan in 1936 and wrote two articles about this travel. See Nogami, “Taiwan Yūki” 台湾游記 *Kaizō* 18, no. 4 (1936) and “Bankai no hitobito” 蕃界の人々, *Kaizō* 18, no. 5 (1936). I refer to *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku: Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū hukkoku bekkann* 日本統治期台湾文学日本人作家作品集復刻別卷, ed. Nakajima Toshio 中島利郎 and Kawahara Isao 河原功, 411-452.

spirits, this is the funeral of Zheng Chao as the name is written on a white flag in the parade. Sakaguchi writes:

Here comes the band. The gongs, drums and flute should blend into a sorrowful march, but for those whose ears are not used to Taiwanese music, it's nothing more than loud noises. Gongs and drums, never shifting from their *forte* beat, are so loud that they can be heard from afar. The flute, characteristically sad, suddenly rises as if shooting into the sky. The instruments compete, as if each wanted to make strongest impression of its existence. Decorated Carts (藝閣山車), hung with quilts, hanging scrolls, rings of flowers, and paintings of the twenty-four stories of filial piety, are resplendent in gorgeous colors that seem unrelated to sadness. A Taoist priest and a Buddhist monk read scriptures as they walk before the coffin. The priest has the most serious look of all the participants. Those Japanese girls, who have come to sightsee, are terrified by his grave expression. The coffin is carried by twenty-four family members, each in turn, who bear the surname Zheng. Beside the coffin is Shuhong, the son of the deceased; he wails in his hemp mourning clothes, a ring of grass on his head. Shuhong is still upset—he did not want to present the death of his father in this ridiculous style, but it is this style that makes him feel pure sorrow, like a child. Directly behind Shuhong is Kiichiro, the grandson, who wears the same mourning clothes as his father, but he seems relaxed.

Two hundred meters behind the usual funeral participants are the women family members who hold a long piece of fabric pulled by the man who lead them. The women cry out, “How sorrowful! How sorrowful!” Behind Zheng Jiang Yu, wife of the deceased, and Zheng Zhou Cuixia, Shuhong's young second wife, should have been Shuhong's daughters—Kyuko, Michiko, and Akiko, but they stayed at home because they were too young.

Cuixia, a young intellectual, thought to herself, “This is total nonsense. How can such an extravagant funeral provide service to our deceased father-in-law?” No tears came at the thought of this. She just couldn't stand how the group cried skillfully in loud voices. She thought of her husband Shuhong, who must be suffering too. And then, when the face of Kiichiro, who must be just behind Shuhong, appeared in her mind, she was suddenly panic-stricken and cried aloud, “Oh how sorrowful!” Despite all this, when she saw Yu's staggering steps, her big body moving above her small bound feet, a smile suddenly came to her face...

When Cuixia, who had been an excellent actress in the parade, saw Yu pause from wailing, blow her nose, and wipe her snot on her shoes, and start to wail again, “Oh how sorrowful,” she felt extremely disappointed by thinking: Yu is probably not that sad.²⁷¹

²⁷¹ *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 5, ed. Nakajima Toshio (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 1998), 220-222.

The music of the band, the splendid colors in the funeral parade, and the wailing of family members constitute a spectacle full of exotic flavors. Why does a novella, written at the peak of the imperial-subject movement (1937-1945) in which the Taiwanese are required to become “true Japanese,” start with a Taiwanese-style funeral? Why are the different family members shown to have various responses besides sorrow? From this first scene Sakaguchi has arranged a series of odd juxtapositions and contradictory mindsets that prevail throughout the novella: the deceased in contrast with the living, the colorful and noisy funeral in contrast with a woman’s private monologue, and the son Shuhong’s feeling of ridiculousness in contrast with his sincere tears. In this chapter, I will unpack the different layers of meanings in this opening scene, as it serves as a microcosm of the discordant elements between cultures, genders, and generations that Sakaguchi carefully arranges in the story.

The Zheng Family (鄭一家 1941) dramatizes the urgency of the imperial-subject movement in the early 1940s. It was first published in *Taiwan Jihō* (台灣時報), an official organ, in 1941 and was included in a book under the same title published two years later, which also contained other short stories.²⁷² The story unfolds from this compelling funeral parade, in which the reader meets the main characters of the story—the deceased grandfather Zheng Chao and his wife Yu; their son Shuhong and his second wife Cuixia; and Shuhong’s son, Kiichiro. The grandfather Chao, when alive, diligently Japanized himself under the imperial-subject movement despite his seniority, while his wife, grandmother Yu, refused to follow the Japanese lifestyle. Their son Shuhong, who

²⁷² *Taiwan Jihō* is the official organ of Taiwan Prefectural Office (台灣總督府). The scholar Tarumi Chie considers it ironic how such a story that seems to ridicule the imperial-subject movement got published on the official journal. She thinks that the reason might be that Ueda Fukutaro, the editor of the journal, did not interfere the content. See Tarumi, *Taiwan de Ribenyu wenxue* (Taipei: Qianwei Chubanshe, 1998), 120.

studies in Japan and brings back a Japanese wife, struggles between his father's Japanization and his mother's insistence on Taiwanese customs. Shuhong's second wife Cuixia, a Taiwanese native like Shuhong, is not interested in Taiwanese traditions. Shuhong's son Kiichiro is a college student who currently studies in Japan. The dispute between Yu, who insists on holding Chao's funeral following the Taiwanese tradition of a long repose of the body for forty-nine days before interment, and Shuhong, who wants to use Japanese style cremation, constitutes the main plot. Besides the three generations, Sakaguchi also briefly describes the pre-colonial generation, or the life of the great grandfather, a legendary figure who accumulated abundant wealth from maritime trading. From this framework the reader can sense Sakaguchi's plan to discuss generational differences between Taiwan before and during Japanese colonial rule.

The story's dispute needs to be understood through the historical background of the imperial-subject movement. The imperial-subject movement (*Kōminka undō* 皇民化運動) was a totalizing mobilization aiming at erasing Han Chinese culture and increasing the loyalty of the Taiwanese to Japan during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). According to Wan-yao Chou, the imperial-subject movement was a "wartime policy," an unusual development of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan (1895-1945). During the first four decades of Japanese colonial rule (1895-1937), the colonial government was more tolerant of Han Chinese culture.²⁷³ Yet as the rivalry between Japan and China heightened in the war, the colonial government took a series of measures to "Japanize" Taiwanese people, including the national language movement, the name-changing program, the military recruitment campaign, and reforms of native religion and social

²⁷³ Wan-yao Chou, *The Kōminka Movement: Taiwan Under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945*, PhD dissertation (New Haven: Yale University, 1991).

customs. Ideally, a Japanized Taiwanese should speak Japanese, change his/her name to a Japanese one, die for the Japanese emperor, and adopt Japanese religions and customs. Thus, the main question Sakaguchi raises in *The Zheng Family* is: can imperialist ideology successfully silence the noisy Taiwanese funeral?

The Zheng Family presents numerous disruptive details that interfere with the imperialist modern vision, and the most disruptive details appear in the form of cacophony. In the words of the previously discussed writer Lü Heruo, literary works need to be “in consonance within the symphony composed by all citizens who devote themselves to the great project” at the peak of the imperial-subject movement. This chapter will show how *The Zheng Family* plays the tunes of the symphony while simultaneously producing cacophony that is disharmonious with it. In some ways similar to the work of Lin Haiyin, Sakaguchi uses cacophonies such as band music, cries, accents, native dialects, as well as women’s voices and monologues to present various utterances and mindsets against the “harmonious” imperialist symphony. The funeral, therefore, serves as the manifestation of the conflicts between the imperialist and its margins, between modern and traditional, young and old generations, and between men and women.

As a Japanese writer who came to Taiwan in 1938, Sakaguchi was extremely sensitive to the different Taiwanese soundscapes. Other writers who travelled to Taiwan such as Satō Haruo²⁷⁴ and Nogami Yaeko²⁷⁵ also described the languages they heard in Taiwan as “parrots” or “bird chirping” and marked accented Japanese in their works with *Katakana* symbols. Sakaguchi adopts similar format in her works, but she also shows far

²⁷⁴ Satō Haruo, “*Musha*,” *Kaizō* 7, no. 3 (1925). I refer to *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū hukkoku bekkā*, 21-54

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 411-452.

more interests in decoding, translating, and presenting these noises instead of calling them bird chirping. Her wartime and postwar writings demonstrate her interest in seeing the unfamiliar culture and languages as both cacophony and music. For example, in the previous quote, Sakaguchi puts energy in sorting out the noisy funeral band music. While the sounds made by the band could be “loud noise” for those whose ears are not used to the Taiwanese style of music, the narrator in the novella can understand them as musical notes and discern different instruments and analyze how each instrument maintains its own timbre while going together as a whole. Such “literacy” requires a familiarization with Taiwanese culture, through which one can translate the cacophony into musical notes, instead of leaving the cacophony as it is. This immersion into Taiwanese culture makes Sakaguchi different from those Japanese travelers as she engages with “the logic” that generates the cacophony. Most importantly, as she does this, she also challenges the criteria that determine the sound as cacophony.

Sakaguchi Reiko (坂口禊子 1914-2007) was born in Kyūshū. She came to Taiwan in 1938 as an elementary school teacher. At that time she stayed with the Chen Family in Taichung, a “Model Family of Practicing National Language” (国語模範家庭). This experience became the model for *The Zheng Family*. She returned to Japan in 1939 due to illness but came back to Taiwan again in 1940. This time she began to publish short stories in the *Taiwan News* and joined the literary journal *Taiwan Literature*, a journal run by Taiwanese writers that aimed to present the social reality in Taiwan. Her important works of this period include “Black Soil” (1940) and “Spring Autumn” (1941), two stories about Japanese agricultural immigrants *The Zheng Family* (1941), as well as “Clock Grass” (1942), a story about a young man who has a Japanese father and an

indigenous mother. She also became close friends with Yang Kui, an important Taiwanese proletariat writer.

Because of frequent air raids in Taichung, and upon Yang's advice, she moved to *Nakahara* (中原), an indigenous village, along with her children and lived there during the last days of the war and the early postwar period (April 1945~January 1946). This unique ten-month experience makes the concept of "the end of the war" ambiguous for her. Since *Nakahara* village was adjacent to the village *Kawanakashima*, where the survivors of The Wushe Incident were relocated, she kept writing about The Wushe Incident even after returning to Japan in March 1946. Despite economic difficulties, she continued to publish a fiction series that featured aborigines including: "The Story of Bikki" (1953), "Indigenous Land" (1953), "Musha (The Wushe Incident)" (1953), "The Story of Indigenous Woman Ropō" (1960), "Eve in Indigenous Land" (1961), and "The Death of Tadao-Mona" (1961). Her experience of living with the indigenous people at the end of the war must have been so impactful that she not only switched the trajectory of her writing in the postwar period but also felt urged to continuously narrate, contemplate, reflect, and reinvent her time there in order to digest this experience.

This space for coming to terms with the colonial experience was not afforded to many Taiwanese writers who could not express themselves in Japanese under the Nationalist regime that followed the war. Yet Sakaguchi's writing shows us the intensity and possibilities with which Taiwanese writers could have responded to the colonial experience from different angles. Examining Sakaguchi's work is thus important for us to understand the break and the transition from colonial period to Nationalist regime in Taiwan. Indeed, although some studies affirm Sakaguchi's importance in wartime

Taiwan, very few scholars have given attention to her postwar stories and almost none have discussed how she addresses the transwar period.²⁷⁶ This chapter utilizes a transcolonial framework, developed in earlier chapters, to shed new light on Sakaguchi's transwar works and to bring light to this ignored portion of her work.

Sakaguchi occupies an ambiguous position in research about colonial/postcolonial literature in Taiwan because of the difficulty categorizing her. Her works are different from the majority of Japanese writers, such as Satō Haruo and Nishigawa Mitsuru, who show colonialist desires. Whether she can see colonial Taiwan from a non-colonizer's view continues to be the center of the debate around her work. Ozaki Hotsuki and Nakajima Toshio consider her a special writer who was not drowned by the imperialist trend.²⁷⁷ Ogasawara Jun argues that she still includes imperialist thoughts in her work, but she does keep a distance from masculine militarism.²⁷⁸ Yet, even though she might not see the islanders from the colonizer's point of view, she also could not construct "nativist" response because of her ethnicity. Most contemporary studies of Taiwanese literature tend to search for traces of resistance in the texts about "becoming Japanese," but the texts that occupy the center of these investigations remain to be the ones written by native writers. Works of Japanese writers, such as Sakaguchi, are generally excluded from this discussion because the writers had occupied a superior social position during

²⁷⁶ The only scholar that discusses Sakaguchi's transwar experience so far is Ogasawara Jun. See Ogasawara, "Sakaguchi Reiko no Taiwan banchi shōsetsu to sono keihu: senchū to sengō o tō shite" 坂口澪子の台湾番地小説とその系譜：戦中と戦後を通して, *Nihon Taiwan gakukai hō* 17 (2015): 165-184.

²⁷⁷ Ozaki Hotsuki 尾崎秀樹, *Kindai bungau no shōkon* 近代文学の傷痕 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991), 159. Toshio Nakajima comments that Sakaguchi was a unique Japanese writer "who did not see the islanders from the colonizer's point of view." *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 5, 557.

²⁷⁸ Ogasawara Jun, "Bankou Lingzi de 1945 tiyan ji qi zhanhou xiezuo: yige fandi zuojia dui Taiwan shandi de huaijiu yu zuigan" 坂口澪子の1945體驗及其戰後寫作：一個蕃地作家對台灣山地的懷舊與罪感. In *Heweì zhanhou: yazhou de 1945 nian ji qi zhihou* 何謂戰後：亞洲的1945年及其之後, ed. Xie Zhengyu, Matsuoka Masako, Liao Pinghui, and Huang Yinjer (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, 2015), 492.

the period. There remains an assumption that Japanese writers cannot understand the struggles and nuances of “becoming Japanese” because they “already were Japanese.” But, as Sakaguchi’s work shows, this assumption can be limiting.

Both her wartime and postwar works tend to be judged as to whether or not she could grasp “the reality” and surpass the colonizer’s view in her writing. Contemporary discussions about *The Zheng Family* revolve around Sakaguchi’s ability to transcend the colonizer’s view. While most studies generally affirm a certain level of ambiguity in this work, they conclude that she still projects upon Taiwanese natives with a colonizer’s gaze.²⁷⁹ The studies of Li Wenru and Lin Hueijun are the rare cases that discuss the representation of Taiwanese women in this work, but they too emphasize the power imbalance between the author and the objects of her representation, and thus fail to recognize the subversive power of Taiwanese women’s voice as presented in the work.²⁸⁰

Similarly, her postwar stories about the indigenous people and The Wushe Incident are usually given value based on the criticism she offers for the official policy on managing the indigenous population (理蕃政策). Dai Guohui, a Taiwanese anthropologist active in Japan, affirms Sakaguchi’s continuous efforts in writing about

²⁷⁹ Ide Isamu sees the work as a process in which Sakaguchi gradually resolves her doubts, as near the end of the story, the imperialist view seems to dominant. Zhu Huizu affirms the ways Sakaguchi recognizes the native structure of feelings, but she concludes that Sakaguchi’s representation of native customs is an example of how the colonizer recycles ethnographic knowledge to strengthen its authority and control. See Zhu Huizu, *Xiandai de yizhi yu fanyi: rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiaoshuo de houzhimin sikao* 現代的移植與翻譯：日治時期台灣小說的後殖民思考 (Taipei: Maitian Chuban, 2009), 241, 264-266. Zeng Hsinpei criticizes Sakaguchi for not having accurate knowledge in comparison to native writers, even though both groups utilize detailed descriptions of funeral customs. See Zeng Hsinpei, *Minsu jishu yu wenxue shijian: 1940 niandai Taiwan wenxue zang yi shuxie yanjiu* 民俗記述與文學實踐：1940年代台灣文學葬儀書寫研究 Master thesis. (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2010).

²⁸⁰ Lin Huijun, “Diguo nuxing zhimin zhi yan: Bankou Linzi xiaoshuo zhong de nuxing xingxiang” 帝國女性殖民之眼：坂口禔子小說中的女性形象, *Zhong wai wenxue* 中外文學 36, no. 1, 2007: 155-182. Li Wenru, “Ribei nuxing zuojia bixia huang min hua shiqi de Taiwan jiating—cong Bankou Linzi “Zheng yi jia” tan qi” 日本女性作家筆下皇民化時期的臺灣家庭—從坂口禔子「鄭一家」談起, *Taiwan wenxue pinglun* 台灣文學評論 3, no. 1 (2003), 112-131.

The Wushe Incident, yet he hopes that “Sakaguchi could more accurately offer criticism of the colonial system and grasp the reality of the ruler and the overruled in the colonial system,” thus “the basis [of her work] could be enlarged and she might produce good works.”²⁸¹ Kawahara Isao, a Japanese scholar of Taiwanese literature, affirms the ways in which Sakaguchi skillfully captures the detailed relationship among characters, yet he also points out Sakaguchi’s lack of criticism of the colonial government’s official policy.²⁸² While they recognize Sakaguchi’s efforts in writing about this important event in the postwar period, their critiques of Sakaguchi’s lack of criticism neglects the literary qualities in her work that offer nuances.

Research on both Sakaguchi’s wartime and postwar works tend to draw a clear line at Sakaguchi’s ethnicity or to judge her work from a fixed point of view, and thus are prevented from seeing certain aspects of her work. According to the common conceptualizations of Japanese-language literature, Sakaguchi’s works would be categorized as “colonial literature” as opposed to “Japanese-language literature,” a categorization that implies her ethnicity has predetermined how her works can be interpreted. This chapter provides a much more comprehensive examination on her works by disregarding the literary taxonomy and closely engaging with the texts.

In the chapter that follows, by analyzing her wartime novella *The Zheng Family* (1941) and her postwar story “The Story of Indigenous Woman Ropō” (1960), which was nominated for the Akutagawa Award, along with other related stories “Clock Grass” (1942), “Indigenous Land” (1953) and “The Death of Tadao-Mona” (1961), I elucidate

²⁸¹ Dai Guohui, “Wushe feng qi shijian de gaiyao yu yanjiu de jinri yiyi” 霧社蜂起事件的概要與研究的今日意義, *Taiwan Wushe feng qi shijian yan iu yu ziliao* 台灣霧社蜂起事件研究與資料 (Taipei County: Guo shi guan, 2002), 50-51.

²⁸² Kawahara Isao, “Zai Riben wenxue shang Wushe fengqi shijian de weizhi” 在日本文學上霧社蜂起事件的位置, *Taiwan Wushe feng qi shijian yan iu yu ziliao*, 270.

the ways in which Sakaguchi presents women's voices as both cacophony against the major code of the mainstream ideology and as sounds nurtured from the culture surrounding them. From this transcolonial approach, we can see that "The Story of Indigenous Woman Ropō" supplements the missing voices in *The Zheng Family* and that the two stories constitute a collage of hidden voices of various woman figures. I also explore the ways in which Sakaguchi utilizes the orally-narrated women's stories throughout the transwar period to create an alternate historical understanding that works against the dominant discourses of both the Japanese empire and the Nationalist regime. My analysis highlights the neglected complexities in her work and re-evaluates Sakaguchi's importance in the history of Taiwanese literature despite her Japanese ethnicity.

Pre-linguistic and Linguistic Cacophonies

The funeral scene that unfolds in *The Zheng Family* engages with the reader's different senses, which are not evoked by a "modern," Japanese-style funeral. Sakaguchi foregrounds the colors and noises because they are opposed to the Japanese practice in which quietness is essential in order to create a solemn atmosphere.²⁸³ The future of this noisy native Taiwanese custom, as impressive as the scene is, should be dark because it seems it will soon be buried like the dead body it is commemorating. Under the imperial-subject movement, eventually this "backward" native funeral custom would be replaced

²⁸³ Whether the wailing in a Taiwanese funeral is sincere or not remains to be the attention of Japanese intellectuals. The obvious reason lies in the drastic difference between Japanese and Taiwanese funeral customs; while one is silent and inhibited, the other is noisy and expressive. Another surprising fact for the Japanese intellectuals is the existence of the profession of "crying women" (泣き婆), who are hired to cry for the deceased; therefore, the crying in a Taiwanese funeral is always seen as insincere, artificial, and not modern. See Zeng, *Minsu jishu yu wenxue shijian*, 39-42.

by the more hygienic, economical, and restrained—in other words, more modern—Japanese style.²⁸⁴ Sakaguchi implies the dark future of these traditional funerals through the voice of the educated Taiwanese young woman Cuixia, who considers this funeral “nonsense.”

In *Women and Chinese Modernity*, Rey Chow discusses a similar scene in Ba Jin’s novel *Family* (1931), a three-generational family saga that portrays how an educated young generation struggles in a feudalistic household. Interestingly, Ba Jin, an important figure of modern Chinese literature, also arranges a comical funeral scene where the women family members often “make mistakes” by crying when there are no guests or staying quiet when guests enter. Crying, thus, is displayed—and critiqued—not as a sincere expression of emotions but as a meaningless ritualistic performance. Though a minor detail in the long novel, this scene provides stark contrast to the massive descriptions of psychological interiority emphasized by major characters in the story, and according to Chow, this psychological interiority is a preferable narratological means for social reform in modern Chinese literature.²⁸⁵ Even though Sakaguchi’s three-generational family saga was written in a different context from Ba Jin’s *Family*, the contrast between exteriority and interiority can also be seen in Sakaguchi’s funeral scene. The preference for interiority as symbol of modernity is shown in Sakaguchi’s disparate depictions of Yu and Cuixia: an old woman to be observed by her exterior actions and a young woman whose interiority is revealed and affirmed.

²⁸⁴ A Taiwanese-style funeral is made of two main parts: long repose and interment. During the long repose, the body needs to be placed at home for forty-nine days accompanied by scripture-reading, funeral music, and crying. After forty-nine days, a ceremony of interment will be held. The opening scene is based on the second part—the interment ceremony. Later in the novella Sakaguchi also describes the long repose.

²⁸⁵ Chow, *Women and Chinese Modernity*, 98.

Sakaguchi's reversal of chronological order and placement of the funeral scene at the beginning reveals an exotic ethnographic desire. In this structural adjustment the funeral receives full spotlight not for its original significance but through its examination under foreignized eyes. Yet, the engagement of the senses with the band music's cacophony and Yu's "soprano" wailing voice filled with "endless energy" generate powerful sensual impressions that disrupt Sakaguchi's conclusion on Taiwanese funeral as being formalistic and meaningless. The cacophony is similar to the trivial yet powerful "details" in Chow's analysis of Ba Jin's funeral scene—"the sensuous, trivial, and superfluous textual presences" that disturbs grand vision.²⁸⁶ The cacophony is also an indigestible element within the modern vision and is preserved, although it is marked as "strange" in that system.

Yet Sakaguchi's aim is not simply to present cacophony as disruptive detail, but to create another framework to place this cacophony, so the cacophony becomes logical and legible in this supportive framework. This framework, as I will demonstrate below, is the women's framework, which shows how imperialist discourse is also a gendered discourse. Indeed, I contend that if we return to the opening after reading the entire story, we find that various wailings do not simply satisfy ethnographical gaze, but constitute a different discourse that contends with the imperialist discourse.

Right after the cacophony of the Taiwanese instruments and Yu's soprano crying, Sakaguchi inserts the cacophony of the deceased elder Chao's accented Japanese as if to disavow the sacredness of the national language. Sakaguchi creates a vivid image of Chao by showing the gap between his endeavor to speak Japanese and his actual Japanese. When Chao was alive, even though he painstakingly follows the Japanese style in

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 85.

dressing, dieting, and indoor decoration, he was unable to correctly pronounce the syllables with “d” and “z” so the common Japanese term “dōzo” (please) would become “rōro” (not a meaningful pronunciation) in his utterance. He also would say “Do you want ice water and (あるいは) tea?” while he actually means water “or (それとも)” tea. In another example, while Chao wants to shout in Japanese to stop his fellow townsmen from speaking Taiwanese in front of a Japanese official, what came from his mouth is a Taiwanese phrase, “*Ri gon goggi ho ra!*” (汝講國語好啦 You, talk in national language. The Taiwanese pronunciation is marked with *Katakana*). Sakaguchi creates a comical image of Chao by showing how Japanese remains an “exterior decoration” for him. This comical and ironical delineation challenges the imperialist language policy that sees the education of the national language as a powerful device to cultivate the national spirit.²⁸⁷

Scholar of Taiwanese colonial literature Li Yuhui also writes of Chao’s “Taiwanese-style Japanese” in her study and argues that this differentiation between Japanese spoken by the Japanese and Japanese spoken by the Taiwanese is a violent mark that excludes the Taiwanese from the realm of “standard” Japanese language.²⁸⁸ While the differentiation may be true, I argue that it is indeed this “Taiwanese Japanese” that overthrows the power associated with the Japanese language. This “slip of the tongue,” as well as his relaxation when he “must” speak Taiwanese to Yu, reveals the limit of the Japanese language education. Because of this strained effort, Chao’s Japanese creates uneasiness in the imperialist discourse as this unsatisfactory imitation disarms the solemn imperial mission. From the colonizer’s perspective, Chao should be the ideal imperial subject; Sakaguchi’s comical representation of Chao, however, makes Chao an

²⁸⁷ See Lee Yeongsuk, *The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan*, trans. Maki Hirano Hubbard (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2009), 165-168.

²⁸⁸ Li Yuhui, *Japanese-language Literature and Taiwan*, 165.

embarrassing existence within the empire. If the sacred national language only serves as exterior decoration for Chao, how can Chao adopt the “true spirit of the Japanese”? Chao’s deviated and artificial Japanese disturbs the identity of an imperial subject and further overthrows the imperialist project of “spiritual reform” through a “badly learned” national language.

Contrary to the exteriority demonstrated in Chao’s imitation of Japanese appearance, Yu’s association with tradition seems substantial and powerful. Yu’s crying voice aligns with her “traditional” body (bound feet), and the noisy opening has announced the victory of the willful grandmother. While Yu utilizes her traditional relationships (Taoist priest and townsmen), knowledge (folk legends and ghost stories), and gesture of a sad old mother, her educated son Shuhong seems powerless under the pressure of his mother and the anticipation of the townsmen.²⁸⁹ Under the weight of the regional relationship Shuhong’s powerlessness indicates a soft spot within the imperialist discourse. More importantly, Yu is able to make Shuhong, a Japanized intellectual, “wail (號泣)” in the funeral. Sakaguchi depicts Shuhong as an extremely contradictory character in the first scene: “Shuhong is still upset—he did not want to present the death of his father in this ridiculous style, but it is this style that makes him feel pure sorrow, like a child” (my emphasis). Yu’s power uncovers the “traditional” part unknown to Shuhong, a cultural memory that cannot be erased even after his studying in Japan and marrying a Japanese woman. Shuhong’s wailing reveals that the cultural memory is still stored in him and is recalled by Yu’s will.

²⁸⁹ Historically the leading family of the small town, the Zhengs cannot cede past relationships so easily; people of the town look forward to seeing their impossible dreams realized by the Zhengs—to have an extravagant funeral within the imperial-subject movement.

Citing Without Quotation Marks: Intralingual Translation

Sakaguchi makes Yu simultaneously powerful and ignorant by framing Yu within two conflicting discourses—traditional vis-à-vis imperialist. To do so, Sakaguchi experiments with two different ways of citation and constructs two conflicting understandings of Yu. In her “citation *with* quotation marks,” she shapes Yu into an ignorant character. At the moment when Chao is seriously ill and Yu asks Shuhong to worship the “sea goddess (Mazu)” and the “lonely ghosts” so that Chao’s health would return, Sakaguchi puts down the source of Zeng Jinlai’s *Taiwanese Religions and Bad Habits of Superstitions* (台湾宗教と迷信陋習 1938) and quotes the chapter about “lonely ghosts” to explain how this superstition has come into being.²⁹⁰ Right after this two-page excerpt is a short sentence saying that Chao has passed away. The timing of this excerpt is carefully designed, and the structural arrangement indicates that Yu’s superstition is no way helpful. Through directly citing the source, Sakaguchi borrows Zeng’s neutral and authoritative voice to criticize Yu, and in this borrowing Sakaguchi applies the imperialist historical view to “civilize” the Taiwanese. In fact, Zeng originally wrote his book to respond to the policy of the colonial government to correct harmful Taiwanese customs under the movement “Mobilization of National Citizen’s Spirit” (国民精神総動員), the first large-scale mobilization during the imperial-subject movement

²⁹⁰ According to Zeng’s research, lonely ghost is the spirit of the unknown and unburied skeletons which are believed to have supernatural power. See Zeng Jinlai, *Taiwan shūkyō to Meishin Rōshū* 台湾宗教と迷信陋習 (Taihoku: Taiwan shūkyō Kenkyūkai, 1938). I refer to the online scanned version provided by Digital Library and Museum of Buddhist Studies, College and Liberal Arts, National Taiwan University. <http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/museum/TAIWAN/jb/bk/203/203000.htm>.

to increase the loyalty of the Taiwanese.²⁹¹ The ideology of the imperialist discourse is thus duplicated in this act of citation.

Nevertheless, at a later moment in the story, Sakaguchi utilizes the notion of “citation *without* quotation marks”²⁹² to shape Yu into an important storyteller who passes the cultural memory onto younger generations. While the family waits for the grandson Kiichiro to come back from Japan for the funeral, Yu tells her granddaughters the story of Meng Jiangnu (孟姜女), a legendary woman whose cries for her dead husband make the Great Wall fall. A summary of the tale is helpful to understanding why Sakaguchi chooses this tale to resonate the novella. Meng’s husband was conscripted to build the Great Wall. After she embarked a long journey to see her husband, she was told that her husband had died. Her cries were so sincere that the Great Wall fell so she was able to find the skeleton of her husband in its wreckage. As her tears touched the skeleton, the muscles and skin slowly grew back and her husband seemed to return to life. Following the advice of an old man, Meng put the body in a hemp bag, but the muscles and skin of the body started peeling off. Meng was so angry that she made the old man, who later turns to the form of the Earth God, to guard the graves. Even though this legend is based on the same source—another chapter of Zeng’s book (“Earth God and Meng

²⁹¹ Zeng writes in the preface of the book, “The government wants to actively intervene the local religions to carry out the new policy, but local people are not well educated and the educators are not familiar with local traditions, so the superstitions cannot be corrected. Also, some monks and Taoist priests do not have the correct beliefs to instruct local people, as they do not have the ideal to change the society. However, religion is powerful in educating people, awakening people’s conscience. The religion is meaningful in making the society better.” With the intention to civilize Taiwanese society, Zeng offers his research to the authorities to increase the colonizer’s understanding of Taiwan. See Zeng, *Taiwan shūkyō to Meishin Rōshū*, 3.

²⁹² Here I use Tejaswini Niranjana’s interpretation of Walter Benjamin’s idea of “historical materialist.” Niranjana writes, “For Benjamin, the historical materialist (the critical historiographer) quotes without quotation marks in a method akin to montage. It is one way of revealing the constellation a past age forms with the present without submitting to a simple historical continuum, to an order of origin and telos. See Niranjana, *Siting Translation*, 45.

Jiangnu”),²⁹³ Sakaguchi’s “citation without quotation marks” makes the content of the citation blend into Yu’s character and the theme of the novella, and shows how she is empowered by the ability to pass on cultural knowledge in her own terms.

The placement of this citation, similar to previous structural design of the excerpt, is embedded with important clues to understand the character of Yu. When Shuhong accepts the compromising way of holding a Taiwanese funeral while building a Japanese-style tomb, the major conflict between the grandmother and father has been resolved. It is at this moment of release that the grandmother’s voice slides into old legend:

“Michiko and Akiko, do you know that the stele must be put at the corner of the grave? You don’t? Pay attention to that if you see one next time. Let me tell you why it’s called ‘houtu (后土),’ meaning Tudi Gong (Earth God). That’s right, he is watching the graves. Do you know the story of houtu? No? Then let me tell you the story. By the way, your big brother should have boarded the ship now. What? He wrote a letter? Oh, your father has it, saying that he will take the ship at the end of the month? And today? The twenty-fifth. Almost there. Then, let me start the story.”²⁹⁴

This storytelling voice, different from Zeng’s detached tone, is scattered, spontaneous, and personal. Even though Sakaguchi still depends on the same source, she uses casual oral expressions and verbal, feminine auxiliary words (“なのさ”, “ね”, “よ”) to transform the original text. In other words, her “intralingual translation” personalizes and revises the authoritative ethnographic knowledge. Sakaguchi not only plans the timing and voice of this storytelling, but also carefully selects a tale that reverses the initial impression of a formalistic Taiwanese funeral and thus challenges the “modern” view of Taiwanese women’s wailing.

²⁹³ Zeng, *Taiwan shūkyō to Meishin Rōshū*, 268-270.

²⁹⁴ Nakajima, *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 5, 46.

If Taiwanese people are familiar with the tale of Meng Jiangnu, whose wailing and tears make miracles happen, it seems logical—as opposed to “uncivilized”—that Taiwanese do not inhibit wailing and tears at a funeral but rather amplify them. Through “citing without quotation marks,” Sakaguchi transforms the knowledge produced for the imperialist discourse into cultural memory and empowers Yu to pass this cultural memory onto later generations. It is the elimination of quotation marks that gives Sakaguchi leverage to insert an alternative perspective in shaping Yu into a powerful character. In so doing she builds a framework for the “cacophony,” so it becomes less dissonant and more a common soundscape nurtured by cultural memory.

This narrative technique is an important aspect of Sakaguchi’s fictionalization, yet it has not been given enough critical attention; scholars who notice Sakaguchi’s use of folklore knowledge criticize her inaccurate knowledge. For example, the work of previously discussed Ikeda Toshio, a folklorist contemporary of Sakaguchi’s, criticizes her for “not digesting the knowledge from books and thus failing to recognize the difference between knowledge and actual practice.”²⁹⁵ Zeng Hsin-pei in her recent study also points out Sakaguchi’s lack of authentic folklore knowledge in comparison to the folkloric depictions in the works of other Taiwanese writers such as Lü Heruo.²⁹⁶ Yet as Sakaguchi frames the knowledge in a fictional story, it is important to examine the narrative element instead of merely focusing upon Sakaguchi’s ignorance of customs. Zhu Huizu, a scholar of Taiwan’s colonial literature, in her study argues that Sakaguchi’s representation of native customs as well as Ikeda’s critique demonstrate how the

²⁹⁵ Ikeda used the fake female name Huangshi Qionghua when submitting his critique. See Zhu, *Xiandai de yizhi yu fanyi*, 262-263.

²⁹⁶ Zeng points out that the ways Sakaguchi uses the folklore knowledge shows that she, as an outsider of Taiwanese custom, only knows the surface, rather than the connotation, of Taiwanese culture. See Zeng, *Minsu jishu yu wenxue shijian*, 96.

colonizer “recycles and self-authenticates the ethnographic knowledge of the empire.”²⁹⁷ Yet Zhu dismisses the ways in which Sakaguchi revises and transforms the ethnographic knowledge into an oral story. If this revision is an act of “recycling,” the recycled object has been transformed into something else. The orally-delivered tale is not meant to bear resemblance to the original ethnographic research because of the plot, characterization, and verbal style; it is a tale told by an old Taiwanese woman in a private occasion, not ethnographic information provided by a professional researcher.

When Zeng Jinlai transcribes Taiwanese religious practices such as worshipping “lonely ghosts” and “Earth God” in his book written in Japanese, these practices no longer make sense in the ethnography of the imperialistic system. He is doing what Chow terms as a “reverse translation”—instead of making the source text relevant to the new context, the reverse translation makes the original “inadequate and inferior.”²⁹⁸ Here Zeng translates what is Taiwanese into the ethnographic knowledge of the empire, through which the Taiwanese practices no longer have exchange value in this game of language/literacy exchanges.

However, if what Zeng does is “reverse translation,” what Sakaguchi does is “reverse reverse translation.” Namely, she translates the ethnographic knowledge of the imperialistic discourse back into its original Taiwanese context where the practice still has meaning. Sakaguchi utilizes intralingual translation in this cross-cultural context as the target language and source language stay the same—Japanese. Through this translational practice she brings the text from the language/literacy of modernization into the language/literacy of Taiwanese cultural practice. In order to give the text literacy in

²⁹⁷ See Zhu, *Xiandai de yizhi yu fanyi*, 264.

²⁹⁸ Chow, *Not Like a Native Speaker*, 66-67.

the new (yet old) context, she creates a story-telling occasion and changes the style of the text, so the text can regain relevance and meaning.

In this section I have analyzed how Sakaguchi's characterizations, her use of cacophony, and her application of conflicted frameworks challenge the imperialist discourse. Even though Sakaguchi cannot escape from the "obligation" to repeat the official theme, she turns up the volume of Taiwan's cacophonies—band music, the crying voices of Yu and Shuhong, strange Japanese, and the grandmother's story—so that they counter the imperialist symphony. As she experiments with the cacophonies, she is analyzing, satirizing, making the current sounds echo to the distant ones in cultural memory, and translating the cacophony back into its original soundscape where it is no longer cacophonous. In the next section I will examine a strange romantic encounter between Kiichiro, the grandson, and Cuixia, his step-mother, to show how Sakaguchi simultaneously plays the imperialist symphony and the women's cacophony in this unusual scene.

Romantic Encounter Within/Against the Imperialist Discourse

While the noisy funeral scene, in which the imperialist discourse clashes with the traditional one, is the climax in the first half of the story, the romantic encounter between the grandson Kiichiro and his step-mother Cuixia constitutes another climax in the second half of the story. This romantic encounter highlights the incongruities between the imperialistic and women's discourses. In Sakaguchi's rendering, the women's discourse plays its own tune and remains uninfluenced by the imperialist vision.

Cuixia and Kiichiro are both the most modern and the most isolated figures in the family. Cuixia is isolated in the family because of her education and her having no blood relationship with Shuhong's half-Japanese, half-Taiwanese children. She cannot identify with Yu nor is she identified by those children. Her eldest step-daughter, Kyuko, disdains her "Chinese-ness."²⁹⁹ Being twenty years younger than Shuhong means that she is only twenty-five, around the same age with Kiichiro. As for Kiichiro, he represents the brightest hope in the family: being the eldest grandson who studies in Japan, he will become the head of the family after Shuhong. His being in Japan also means that he is closest to the center of the empire in the family.

An unexpected "romantic encounter" between Cuixia and Kiichiro not only awakens Cuixia's consciousness of her womanly desire, but also reveals Kiichiro's exotic gaze. One evening Cuixia leads Kiichiro to view the blooming of "the beauty in the moonlight" (月下美人)—a night-blooming cactus's nickname. In this romantic setting they interact like man and woman, rather than mother and son. Cuixia senses Kiichiro's lively youth while Kiichiro notices Cuixia's beauty in a Taiwanese-style blouse (台湾服). While watching the bud gradually open in the moonlight, they have the following conversation:

Kiichiro: "This flower is a Chinese beauty, not a Japanese one."

Cuixia: "What do you mean?"

Kiichiro: "I mean it has the destined beauty (宿命的な美)."

In the darkness, Cuixia's purple blouse is mysteriously beautiful. Her bare feet in stitched slippers are white.

Kiichiro: "Mother, you are so beautiful tonight" (お母さん。今夜は素敵ですね。).

Unexpected and as if surprisingly attacked, Cuixia feels panic.

Cuixia: "What, me? Come on, Kiichiro" (まあ、私なんか。いやな樹一郎さん。)

²⁹⁹ For example, she complains that the fabric Cuixia buys for her is full of "Chinese flavor" (支那趣味).

That was unexpectedly coquettish. Kiichiro feels his blood flow backwards.
After a while he turns to her, looking angry.
Kiichiro: “I will come back later.”³⁰⁰

This scene illustrates the level of “Japanization” Kiichiro has become because his gaze on Cuixia completely aligns with the colonizer’s. It is the “Taiwanese flavor” of Cuixia—her Taiwanese blouse, her feet with stitched slippers rather than the Japanese “geta” (下駄), and a Chinese classical setting—that arouses his desire. For him Cuixia is similar to the beautiful flower with a beautiful Taiwanese name that may bloom without anyone’s notice. This exotic gaze reminds the reader of the interaction between Taiwanese women and Japanese men in the works of Satō Haruo (佐藤春夫, 1892-1964) and Nishigawa Mitsuru (西川満, 1908-1999), the leaders of romantic colonialism.³⁰¹ Similar to those Japanese male characters, Kiichiro also demonstrates a high level of morality by not becoming further involved in the “romantic encounter.” A three-generational (Chao, Shuhong, and Kiichiro) *male* project of Japanization has finally achieved success at this moment: Kiichiro is so completely Japanized that he even develops an exotic gaze on his step-mother.

Even though Cuixia becomes the object of Kiichiro’s exotic gaze in this encounter, her thoughts show that she is not confined by this gaze. Instead, she develops “individualism” irrelevant to the feudalistic family structure or to the collective goal of the empire. The encounter gives Cuixia the opportunity to contemplate her marriage and life:

³⁰⁰ Nakajima, *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 5, 52-53.

³⁰¹ Satō Haruo and Nishigawa Mitsuru tend to use Taiwanese women to reflect Japanese men’s superiority in their works characterisitic of exotic gaze, among which the most famous ones are Satō’s “A Strange Tale of the ‘Presepts for Women’s Fan’” (女誠扇綺譚, 1926) and Nishigawa’s “Spring on the Rice River” (稻江冶春詞, 1940). See Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun*, 87-118.

“Until that moment, she had never seen Kiichiro as a man. She had never sensed this before: since he is the eldest son, her life will be in his hands after Shuhong dies.... They have been married five years but she does not have children. She sincerely considers it a good thing because if she has her own children, she would prey on every family member in order to protect her children and herself. Smart as Cuixia is, she does not want to see herself stuck in that mire. She has made up her mind that if Shuhong dies, she will leave this family and live by herself. Part of the reason is that she wants to avoid Kyuko’s intense gaze and unpleasant upfront conflicts. However, this way of thinking also comes from her resignation after living with the forty-five year old Shuhong.”³⁰²

Cuixia’s self analysis has been neglected or misread by different scholars. For example, Lin Hui-jun argues that in order not to produce children who have “impure blood [Taiwanese blood],” and who will make the family deviate from being the “real” imperial subjects, Cuixia sacrifices her motherhood “to help the family complete the three-generational project of becoming imperial subjects.”³⁰³ When Lin quotes the same passage in her article, nevertheless, she obliterates the last “irrelevant” sentence of Cuixia’s self analysis: “However, this way of thinking also comes from her resignation (あきらめ) after living with the forty-five-year-old Shuhong.” This omitted sentence disrupts Lin’s way of framing Cuixia within the imperialist discourse. In this sentence Sakaguchi implies that this marriage of twenty-year age difference is unable to fulfill Cuixia’s desire to be a woman and a mother. Shuhong must have failed her in some way if she has become so resigned. If Cuixia’s infertility is actually Shuhong’s, who is reluctant to have children without Japanese blood as they would interfere his execution of the imperialist project? Cuixia does not “renounce the right of motherhood to show a gesture of self-sacrifice” as suggested by Lin. Different from Shuhong, Cuixia is indifferent to the imperialist project; what she cares about is personal happiness.

³⁰² Nakajima, *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 5, 55.

³⁰³ Lin Hui-jun, “Diguoxing zhimin zhi yan,” 166.

Cuixia's indifference to feudalistic collectivity and her attention to personal happiness are actually demonstrated in her meaningful cry in the opening scene, yet her cry, another dissonant sound within the cacophony, is easily overlooked in the noisy and spectacular funeral march. Let us return to the scene where Cuixia is first introduced:

Cuixia, a young intellectual, thinks to herself, "This is total nonsense. How can such an extravagant funeral provide service to our deceased father-in-law?" Thinking this, no tears came. She just can't stand how the group cries skillfully in loud voices. She thinks of her husband Shuhong, who must be suffering too. And then, when the face of Kiichiro, who must be just behind Shuhong, rises in her mind, she is suddenly panic-stricken and cries aloud, "Oh how sorrowful!" (my emphasis)

Cuixia's inability to produce tears and loud crying voice at the beginning shows her reluctance to join the collective behavior prescribed by tradition. What makes Cuixia cry loudly, quite unexpectedly, is the memory of the romantic encounter with Kiichiro. Two causes may explain this cry. First, she feels shameful for her inappropriate gesture that night. Second, the cry may also indicate her grief over her irretrievable youth and the impossibility to marry a young man like Kiichiro, who has never married and who admires her beauty. The funeral then becomes a perfect camouflage for her in which she can openly shows her hidden desire and regret.

Thus, in addition to the obvious clash between feudalism and imperialism, the noisy funeral parade at the beginning is cacophonous in different ways. The strange Japanese of the deceased Chao, the various crying styles of Yu, Shuhong and Cuixia, as well as the confident, non-crying of Kiichiro all indicate their different positions in the feudalistic and imperialist systems. If framed within the imperialist discourse, the funeral march both invalidates the imperial-subject movement and manifests its tolerance. Yet seen from the women's discourse, the funeral also serves as a ceremony for Cuixia's

irretrievable youth and desire, as Cuixia later “sings an elegy in her heart for her escaped youth.”³⁰⁴ Sakaguchi has inserted a women’s discourse that overlaps with the imperialist discourse in the very first scene quite skillfully.

Sakaguchi orchestrates the symphony of the imperialist discourse to play in full volume in the dialogue between Shuhong and Kiichiro before Kiichiro embarks for Japan after the funeral is over. The two men both agree that in terms of imperial expansion, if one puts too much weight on a “trivial” thing like funeral, the huge project of reviving Asia will be an impossible task. Kiichiro confidently states, “Japanese is a race (人種) that digests anything and Japanizes them. No matter Chinese culture or European civilization, Japanese people make them their own, as if they do not feel anything foreign in their stomachs after swallowing them.... They just absorb the nutrition yet still maintain the pureness within themselves and that is why Japanese is such a scary race.”³⁰⁵ Kiichiro’s statement is powerful in that it attempts to overthrow the whole funeral contention that has been key to the story as well as to silence and domesticate all the noises and heterogeneous elements within the overreaching imperial arms. This belief explains Kiichiro’s calmness and relaxation in the noisy Taiwanese funeral.

The scholars have paid extra attention to this speech and used it as an evidence for Sakaguchi’s support of the imperialist empire. For example, Zhu Huizu writes,

“As the narrative moves to the later part of the story, the narrator’s compassionate cross-cultural understanding and her sympathy for the Taiwanese are replaced by the affirmation of Japan’s superiority.... The sympathy and the recognition of cultural difference that the author has demonstrated are no more than what Renato Rosaldo terms as ‘imperialist nostalgia,’ in other words, ‘mourning the things they have destroyed.’ Eventually they just glorify and rationalize the Greater East-Asia Sphere.”³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ Nakajima, *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 5, 58.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 57

³⁰⁶ Zhu, *Xiandai de yizhi yu fanyi*, 240-241.

This reading neglects the cacophonies that Sakaguchi creates in the novella and the ways in which she skillfully makes the imperialist discourse and women's discourse intertwine in the funeral scene and in the romantic encounter.

More importantly, Zhu, as well as the other scholars, takes for granted the final, two-page long chapter in which Cuixia's voice returns. Kiichiro's grand speech fails to end the story because one thing still waits to be resolved at the end—the embarrassment between Kiichiro and Cuixia. Sakaguchi excludes Shuhong from the final farewell scene so the step-mother and son can discuss the incident. Kiichiro first explains to Cuixia that he simply expresses appreciation for something truly beautiful at that night, and Cuixia tells Kiichiro that she feels surprised to have sensed her own youth. Eventually this romantic episode does not undermine the great imperialist project; however, the space at the end of the story is given to Cuixia's private thoughts on how she makes sense of her marriage and the temptation of that summer night. She concludes, "To a woman who tries hard to build herself up every day at a corner of the world, the happiness may be how she dedicates everything to her forty-five-year-old husband and compensates the sorrow of her irretrievable youth with more happiness. Cuixia now realizes that in her blood, there is youthful, fragrant flavor. And that is all."³⁰⁷ After this thought, the narrator aligns with Cuixia's vision that looks over the sea. In other words, it is Cuixia's meditation, a woman's private thoughts on marriage that concludes the story of the three generations of the Zhengs.

The different idea of "blood" in Cuixia's monologue and Kiichiro's speech further reveals the huge discrepancy between the imperialist discourse and women's

³⁰⁷ Nakajima, *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 5, 59.

discourse. It is Kiichiro's emphasis on Japanese pureness that troubles many Taiwanese men.³⁰⁸ As shown in works that portray the imperial-subject sentiments, the main struggle of Taiwanese intellectuals is the inability to become "real" Japanese. The colonial government then utilizes this psychology in promoting the volunteer conscription system—one can become a "real" Japanese by shedding blood for the emperor. Indifferent to this obsession of pure Japanese blood, Cuixia only wants to assert that her blood contains "youthful, fragrant flavor." It is the balance between desire and responsibility in a marriage that occupies her mind, not the concern of an inferior Taiwanese citizen troubled by ethnicity. In Sakaguchi's imagination, the obsession with blood and ethnicity only exist in men who answer the call of the imperialist discourse, while women are occupied with other "trivial" matters. Yet it is in these trivial matters that women prove to be resistant to the male-dominated imperialist discourse.

Alternative and Powerful Discourse of Taiwanese Women

As a story written by a Japanese writer, *The Zheng Family* is very unique. Almost no Japanese characters appear in the story except for Sayo, the deceased wife of Shuhong, but Sayo is only briefly mentioned and recollected as a beautiful, quiet Japanese woman. She occupies a distant and insignificant role in comparison to Yu and Cuixia. However, another contemporary novel is usually compared to *The Zheng Family: Madame Chen* (陳夫人 1940), Shōji Sōichi's famous and popular work that not only was performed on the stage but won the "Literary Award of Greater East-Asia" (大東亜文学賞) in 1943.

³⁰⁸ See Hoshina Hironobu, "'Xie yi' de zheng zhi xue—yuedu Taiwan 'huang min hua shiqi wenxue'" 「血液」的政治學—閱讀臺灣皇民化時期文學, trans. Mo Suwei, *Taiwan wenxue xuebao* 6 (2005), 19-57. See also Wu Peijun, "Xieyi de ai mei xian—Taiwan huang min hua wenxue zhong 'xie' de biaoxiang yu riben jindai you sheng xue lunshu 血液的曖昧線—台灣皇民化文學中「血」的表象與日本近代優生學論述, *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu xuebao* 台灣文學研究學報 13 (2011), 217-241.

The first volume of the novel depicts how a Japanese woman Yasuko accommodates herself to Taiwanese culture and customs after moving back to Taiwan with her Taiwanese husband. The second volume focuses on the identity struggle faced by their half-Japanese-half-Taiwanese daughter. This work was influential in that it triggered quite a few Japanese and Taiwanese writers to write about Taiwanese traditions and culture, one of them being Sakaguchi.³⁰⁹

When *The Zheng Family* was first published in 1941, it was regarded as the “smaller version” of *Madame Chen*,³¹⁰ but this interpretation misreads the two works as the focus of *The Zheng Family* is completely different from *Madame Chen*. Even though *Madame Chen* depicts many Taiwanese customs and partly addresses the inequality between Taiwanese and Japanese, it centers on how Yasuko, the ideal image of a graceful Japanese woman (大和撫子), successfully overcomes the harsh reality in Taiwan. The equivalent of Madame Chen in *The Zheng Family* will be Sayo, but this Japanese woman is only a shadowy existence in the story. Sakaguchi places the main focus on the “obstacle” of Sayo—her mother-in-law Yu— and the “replacement” of Sayo—the second wife Cuixia. The portrayal of Taiwanese female characters proves to be Sakaguchi’s strategy in resisting the imperialist discourse.

Different from the position of Japanese women, Sakaguchi finds in their Taiwanese counterparts the potential not to be mobilized within the imperial-subject movement. For example, in another famous story “Light” (1943), Sakaguchi depicts how

³⁰⁹ Other examples will be Lü Heruo’s feudalistic short stories and Nawa Eiichi’s “*Aochi*” (煽地). See Zeng, *Minsu jishu yu wenxue shijian*, 93.

³¹⁰ Huangshi Chonghua “Teiikka o yomu” 鄭一家を読む, *Minzoku Taiwan* 5 (1941). I refer to *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan wenyi pinglun ji (za zhi pian)* 日治時期台灣文藝評論集 (雜誌篇), vol. 3, ed. Huang Yinzhe. (Tainan: Guojia Taiwan wenxue guan choubeyu, 2006), 208.

Sada, a Japanese woman, reacts to the conscription of her husband.³¹¹ Even though the story as a whole expresses a dislike for the war, as the heroine does not have children, she is forced to feel grateful that her husband can pledge loyalty to the emperor (or perhaps Sakaguchi was forced to insert these politically-correct words within the story for it to be published). A series of studies have pointed out that Japanese women may not be the victims of the war; rather, they collaborate in sanctifying motherhood.³¹² Yu and Cuixia, nevertheless, refuse to be indoctrinated into the imperialist discourse that shapes Japanese women into sacred wartime mothers.

Surprisingly, as a Japanese writer, Sakaguchi's perception of generational difference shaped by the Han Chinese culture and colonial education is social-historically realistic. In Wan-yao Chou's study that analyzes the actual influence of the imperialist-subject movement, generational difference is key in how the event affects Taiwanese. Chou divides Taiwanese population into three groups: the young generation which reached their adolescence during the imperial-subject movement; the middle-aged generation which had passed their youth in 1937; and the old generation which was born before Taiwan's cession to Japan in 1895.³¹³ These three generations respond to the movement on different levels. Sakaguchi's observation of different mindsets and limitations of three generations of men correspond to this research.

More importantly, her creation of a women's discourse further provides valuable insights as to why the imperialist efforts to reform Taiwanese religions and customs were

³¹¹ Nakajima, *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 5, 89-112.

³¹² For instance, Anne McClintock has emphasized the importance of female fertility in building the empire. See Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contact* (London: Routledge, 1995), 47-50. Kanō Mikiyo even coins the term "maternal fascism" to refer to the sanctified discourse of motherhood during the war. See Kanō Mikiyo, *Bosei fashizumu* (Tokyo: Gakuyō shobō, 1995).

³¹³ Wan-yao Chou, *The Kōminka Movement*, 223-224.

“superficial and inconsequential.”³¹⁴ While Chou’s reasoning for this conclusion comes from the fact that there was no trace of Shintoism right after the end of WWII, Sakaguchi suggests that Yu’s powerful existence and storytelling to her granddaughters may be a concrete reason for that failure. Not only does Sakaguchi’s characterization of Yu echo some contemporary native writers’ imagination of senior women who become salvation for modernized and educated males,³¹⁵ but the storytelling scene also suggests a possibility for Yu’s granddaughters to preserve part of the cultural memory.

In the following section, I examine how Sakaguchi’s transwar works illustrate her contemplation of the Japanese empire. After returning to Japan in March, 1946, despite the fact that Taiwan was no longer a territory of Japan, Sakaguchi continued to write about Taiwan based on her ten-month experience of living close to the survivors of The Wushe Incident. In Japan, her viewpoints were not restricted by the official tone of the Nationalist regime to position The Wushe Incident as “anti-Japan revolution.” Nor did she follow the official explanation of the incident of the Japanese empire. Through continuously writing about the indigenous people and their lives, she searched for a deep understanding, not only of the aborigines, but also of herself as a colonial writer.

From Empire to the Nationalist Regime

The concept of “postwar” may be anything but a clear-cut ending for Sakaguchi, as she occupied the interesting position of witnessing the turmoil when the indigenous villages were (theoretically) released by the Japanese government to the nationalist

³¹⁴ Ibid., 46-47.

³¹⁵ This unique treatment of senior women can be observed in the short story “Weather, Belief, and Chronic Disease” (Kikō to shinkō to jibyō to 気候と信仰と持病と, 1943) written by the Taiwanese writer Zhou Jinpo (周金波) and the story “Magnolia” (玉蘭花, 1943) written by Lü Heruo.

regime. In comparison to people with Han Chinese cultural background who might cheer for “returning to motherland” at this moment, it remains unknown and under researched as to how the indigenous people viewed this shift of political power. Sakaguchi's work provides us with some insights for this neglected territory.

Her short story “Indigenous Land” (蕃地1953) actually ends at this ambiguous transitional moment. According to Sakaguchi’s description, right after Japan’s defeat, the Department of Management for Indigenous People (理蕃課) continued to do the same work as the Chinese authorities were not interested in governing the indigenous area at this moment.³¹⁶ After the news of Japan’s defeat spread, different generations of the indigenous people reacted to it differently. While “the young indigenous people intuitively disliked the new power because they had believed in Japan and Japanese people,” the older generations struggled with the dilemma of whether or not they should attempt a better political position at this transitional period. Sakaguchi should have also witnessed the chaos when the Japanese began to repatriate, as she described such a scene in the work: a great amount of luggage forms long lines in the villages since the indigenous people refused to carry the luggage for the Japanese. Even though all these are Sakaguchi’s own observations and understandings, they should also be regarded as important information about how the Japanese colonial power first persisted and then slowly crumbled in indigenous areas during the early postwar period.

³¹⁶ Sakaguchi writes, “After the war ended, China [Nationalist regime] let Japan side manage the indigenous land. Even though the governor Chen Yi was in charge of governing Taiwan after his arrival in Taipei, he did not show optimistic attitude to the indigenous area. Entrusted by the Chinese government, the Department of Managing the Indigenous People continued to do the same work.” See Sakaguchi, “Banchi” 蕃地 *Banfu Ropō no hanashi* 蕃婦ロポウの話 (Tokyo: Yamato Shuppan kabushikikaisha, 1961), 166.

Two versions of the same story, one written during the war and the other in the postwar period, can be a starting point for us to examine Sakaguchi's transcolonial consciousness. "Clock Grass" (1942) is Sakaguchi's first story that focuses on the aborigines, a story made famous because of censorship.³¹⁷ The story features Yamagawa Jun, a police officer who has a Japanese father and an indigenous mother. He has no desire to marry indigenous women but has troubles finding Japanese women who agree to marry him because of his "impure" blood. The majority of story happened in Kumamoto, Sakaguchi's hometown, as Yamagawa Jun goes to Japan to attend an arranged meeting for marriage and to meet his father who had left him behind in the indigenous area. Despite his struggles, he still shows loyalty to the official policy in which his father participates.³¹⁸

Ten years later this story was rewritten as "Indigenous Land." The new story still features a police officer, Hayashida Jun, who is troubled by his blood; however, Sakaguchi has changed the majority of it. Her ten-month experience living with the aborigines made her shift the background to the indigenous area from Kumamoto. In this revision she openly criticizes the colonial policy through Jun's thoughts. Jun is angry that the Japanese authorities do not release the news of Japan's surrender to the aborigines: "Is it legitimate to keep lying to them under the pretense that they do not have radios and cannot read the newspaper? Who said 'we look forward to your fighting efforts' to them when they were sent off to the warzone as volunteer soldiers (義勇隊), as loyal and brave

³¹⁷ When this work was published in the journal *Taiwan Bungaku* (2:1) on February 1, 1942, only the first page and last page were published, the rest forty-six pages (65-110) were being censored. I refer to Nakajima, *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 5, 145-148. The revised version of this story was published in her book *Teikka 鄭一家* (Taiihoku: Kiyomizu shoten, 1943). I refer to Nakajima, *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 5, 149-220.

³¹⁸ Because the original version was censored, there is no way to know if this expression of affirmation was a product of censorship.

Japanese?” Sakaguchi’s understanding of the selfish, hypocritical, and exploitative Japanese policies makes her write a moving ending for this version. When there are riots after the news of Japan’s defeat spreads, Sakaguchi lets Jun head to his mother’s village, instead of the police office, to align with the indigenous people.

The scholar Ogasawara suggests that Sakaguchi’s motivation for writing on the indigenous people comes from her guilty feelings as a colonizer and her nostalgia for Taiwan.³¹⁹ In this reading, through the protagonist Jun’s choice in the story Sakaguchi realizes the route she could not take—to go back to the place she regarded as homeland.³²⁰ I suggest, however, that Sakaguchi’s transcolonial consciousness is much more complex than the revision of the same story and mixed feelings of guilt and nostalgia. I intend to point out that her “The Story of Indigenous Woman Ropō” (蕃婦ロポウの話, 1960), which was written almost two decades after *The Zheng Family*, not only continues her interest in women’s discourse but also reflects her contemplation of herself as a colonial writer who represents “the other.”

Repositioning The Wushe Incident with Women’s Chats

Using a story-within-a-story format, “The Story of Indigenous Woman Ropō” is constituted by the dialogues between the indigenous woman Hatse and the narrator, a Japanese woman. This layer of the story touches upon the conflicting values between indigenous culture and modern Japanese culture represented through the two interlocutors. Another layer of the story uses The Wushe Incident and the subsequent

³¹⁹ Ogasawara, “Sakaguchi Reiko no Taiwan banchi shōsetsu to sono keihu” 165-184.

³²⁰ Ibid., 181. Ogasawara points out how Sakaguchi’s postwar writing on indigenous land and people overlaps with her hometown and family in Kyushu. He writes, “Sakaguchi’s postwar ‘Indigenous fictions’ release her looming consciousness of guilt as a writer who began her career as ‘citizen of the empire’ in the wartime as well as her feelings of love for the “indigenous land” in Taiwan as a distant hometown.”

compulsory relocation of the tribe as the backdrop.³²¹ The “I” in the story asks Hatse to tell the story of Ropō, a beautiful indigenous woman, and her husband Nogan. They lived a happy life with their young son until Nogan died after participating in the Wushe uprising. Even though Ropō promised that she would never feel happiness and sorrow again, she fell in love with Katayama Sanrō, a Japanese inspector who resembled Nogan. One year after the conclusion of the uprising, the Japanese authorities ordered the remaining tribal people (mostly seniors, women and children) to relocate in *Kawanakashima* to prevent from similar uprisings. The tribal people, escorted by the Japanese inspectors, passed by the narrow path on top of the gorge. Torn by feelings of guilt, revenge, and love, Ropō dragged Katayama off a cliff, to fall together in the gorge. Even though the story told by Hatse is dramatic, the dialogues between the two interlocutors make it even more interesting. Hatse, bold and lively, raises sharp questions to challenge the values of the narrator, who is cautious and tends to overthink. The discussions and reflections unrelated to the major story are full of satires and insinuations, through which the two interlocutors gradually come to know each other better.

Ogasawara in his article “A Genealogy of Sakaguchi Reiko's Indigenous Literature from Taiwan in the Wartime and Post-War Periods” traces how Sakaguchi

³²¹ The Wushe Incident refers to the aboriginal uprising that happened on October 27, 1930, in Wushe, a mountain village in central Taiwan. When more than two hundred Japanese from ten neighboring schools gathered at the Wushe Public School for an annual sports festival, aboriginal people hidden nearby suddenly appeared and killed 139 Japanese people. Unexpectedly, it took modernized Japanese troops two months to quell the riot because of the mountainous terrain. This dramatic event shocked both the Japanese empire and the Taiwanese society with the fact that the aboriginal people chose to fight a war they could not win. One of the dramatic scenes was the collective suicidal of aboriginal women and children, who hung themselves together on the trees.

creates fictional stories from the people she has actually met.³²² When Sakaguchi lived in Nakahara, she enjoyed building personal relationships with her indigenous neighbors. She was also interested in learning more about The Wushe Incident from the survivors, but it was difficult to gain this information as the survivors were reluctant to mention the incident due to surveillance of the Japanese authorities and the trauma of losing close family members. From her memoir, however, it seems that she did make some successful connections with both indigenous and Japanese women survivors, as well as recorded their recollections in her notes.³²³ Ogasawara concludes, “[You can see from her notes that] those women who experienced The Wushe Incident built friendship with Sakaguchi and trusted her. Sakaguchi made a relationship of mutual trust with the women from Nakahara and Kawanakashima; therefore, she collected “women’s chats” (余話), modified them and put them in the stories.”³²⁴ Interestingly, “The Story of Indigenous Woman Ropō” adopts this format of women’s chats, through which Sakaguchi not only makes the indigenous values clash with modern values, but also creates ground for mutual understanding.

It is from these women’s chats that Sakaguchi imagines how women view The Wushe Incident—an aspect absent in the imperialist and nationalist discourses. While most records available to Sakaguchi emphasize “deaths”—the bloody killing at the playground—and “savageness,” Sakaguchi is more interested in “women survivors” such as how they remember this event and how they live with trauma. For example, Sakaguchi

³²² Ogasawara, “Sakaguchi Reiko no Taiwan banchi shōsetsu to sono keihu: senchū to sengō o tō shite,” 165-184.

³²³ Ibid., 174. Ogasawara deemed Sakaguchi’s memoir a reliable source as these women survivors correspond to historical records and recent researches.

³²⁴ Ibid. 174. Kawanakajima was the place where the survivors of The Wushe Incident were relocated to. Sakaguchi herself relocated to Nakahara, the neighboring village of Kawanakajima.

puts her focus on the parting scene between husbands and wives. Nogan and Ropō sing each other beautiful farewell songs as they depart in two opposite directions—one to death, the other to life. Hatse also describes the passionate scene between her and her husband that “her body was frenziedly inflamed with desire, a bodily experience unforgettable for a lifetime.”³²⁵ Hatse remembers the event in her own way with her bodily memory and her own romanticization of Ropō’s story.³²⁶ Both the romantic and sexual scenes greatly contradict the dominant viewpoints of the uprising—“violent savages” under the empire or “heroic revolution” under the Nationalist regime. It is only in women’s chats that these politically incorrect memories can thrive and pass on.

The tragedy of Ropō in the story belongs to the same trajectory of the survivors’ discourse. Ropō’s self-discipline and self-restriction emphasize the physical and psychological torment confronted by survivors, who are mostly women. After her husband died, Ropō leads an ascetic life by covering herself up and eating very little. She later falls in love with the Japanese inspector Katayama, yet “the more beautiful dreams she has, the more sufferings she bears.”³²⁷ Eventually “the god [of the tribe, *Uddofu*] punishes her for not keeping her promise with her husband,” and she was “possessed” when she kills Katayama and herself. Through Ropō’s suffering and death Sakaguchi highlights the feelings of guilt confronted by the survivors. By focusing the tribe’s relocation after the uprising and by letting Hatse, through her idiosyncratically bold talking style, demonstrate vitality after all her suffering, Sakaguchi shifts the “dead”

³²⁵ See Sakaguchi, *Banfu Ropō no hanashi*, 22.

³²⁶ When Hatse describes the beautiful farewell songs that Ropo and Nogan sing to each other prior to Nogan’s death, the narrator asks Ropo who actually recorded these details. Hatse replies angrily, “You suspicious stupid thing! When you are embraced by men, you probably doubt if this embraced person is truly myself.” Sakaguchi seems to imply how storytelling may carry one off and make the storyteller believe that his or her story is true.

³²⁷ See Sakaguchi, *Banfu Ropō no hanashi*, 39.

discourse to the survivor's discourse, which is manifested in women's chats. Thus, women's chats constitute a lively field in which women survivors struggle, reflect, and share.

Through establishing disparate frameworks for men and women, like how she builds two frameworks to view the same event in *The Zheng Family*, Sakaguchi again shows how she finds in women resources to resist imperialism. In her postwar stories, Sakaguchi's portrayal of male characters shows the influence of imperialist ideology, yet her depiction of women's psychology and feelings escapes such an influence. For example, in the story "The Death of Tadao-Mona" (1961), Sakaguchi attempts to understand Tadao-Mona's motive to rebel.³²⁸ Tadao-Mona is the son of Mona-Ludo, both of whom played important roles in the riot, although Mona-Ludo is usually considered "the hero" of the riot. In Sakaguchi's imagination, interestingly, Tadao-Mona has a troubled identity under Japanese colonial rule. She makes the teenager Tadao-Mona ask Kabasawa, the Japanese police officer who was known to be close to Tadao-Mona in reality, these questions: "I don't understand. Why am I Tadao-Mona from Mehebu tribe? Why am I not one of the kids from Japan? Why am I in Mehebu? I don't understand."³²⁹ This characterization Tadao-Mona seems illogical and ungrounded. While the troubled identity makes sense for characters like Jun, the son of a Japanese police officer and an indigenous woman, who appears in her works "Clock Grass" (1942) and "Indigenous Land" (1953), this application of the struggle of "becoming Japanese" on Tadao-Mona indicates that Sakaguchi is still confined by the imperialist ideology to imagine the male characters.

³²⁸ Sakaguchi, "Tadao-Mona no shi" タダオモナの死. *Banfu Ropō no hanashi*, 185-286.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 230.

However, her imagination of Habao, Tadao-Mona's wife, is able to resist such an influence. She arranges a scene in which women's marginal roles project an opposite view of the riot. On the night before the riot, at the house of Tadao-Mona and Mona-Ludo, Mona-Ludo tells his grandson, an infant, that the Southern tribes will join tomorrow's riot while he ignores Habao, who is nursing the child. The sharp contrast between men's heroic plans and a woman nursing a baby reflects Sakaguchi's conceptualization of two opposite discourses—one grand but heading to death yet the other trivial but continuing life. While the infant boy is a potential participant in Mona-Ludo's heroic plan, the female adult Habao is excluded and marginalized. Habao's thoughts at the moment further embody this contrast with her metaphors of day and night:

Koton, koton, tonton.

There were sounds of cloth-weaving somewhere in the village. The women diligently weaved cloth until midnight. Habao felt fear when thinking of how that peace and serenity might be broken. She felt that the men's world and the women's world were clearly divided into light and darkness. One was warm, full of sunlight, a broad world with vast blue sky, breeze, and fragrance of flowers and resin. The other was dark, damp, with smell of blood and moaning sounds here and there. That world was governed only by power with no sense of warmth. Two worlds, just like day and night, were clearly separated.³³⁰

Again, sounds play a significant role in opening up Sakaguchi's imagination of women's world. The weaving sounds, steady and firm, imply a continuation of life, yet the moaning sounds, feeble and suffering, indicate the disappearance of life. In addition, contrary to the conventional metaphor in which men are associated with bright outer world while women are associated with dark inward space, Sakaguchi builds an opposite imagery that turns the male world into a dark space, while the female world is one of hope and light.

³³⁰ Ibid., 274-275.

It remains questionable if Sakaguchi's binary imagination is applicable to the worldview of indigenous culture; nevertheless, her construction of a women's discourse does speak to the fact that women's voices had been ignored since the event happened. What did they feel when they had to stop weaving and nursing their children? Could they have choices other than following the order of their fathers and husbands? What happened to them when they value life more than death? Sakaguchi seems to ask these questions in her project that focuses on women survivors and the tough conditions they were faced with.

A Trifold Role of Narrator/Listener/Storyteller

Besides the continuation of the focus on women's discourse, "The Story of Indigenous Woman Ropō" compliments *The Zheng Family* in interesting ways. For example, Sakaguchi transforms the confident narrator in *The Zheng Family* to a diffident narrator in "Ropō." In the latter Sakaguchi engages with and reflects on her own position as a Japanese narrator, a position that is absent in the former. The first sentence in "Ropō" already implies Sakaguchi's self analysis on telling stories. The story begins with Hatse's words: "Actually, I didn't know Ropō that well. It's not that I haven't met her or if I have photos or records to refer to. I feel diffident in telling such an unclear story."³³¹ These phrases fit Sakaguchi herself more than Hatse, as Hatse would have been unfamiliar with modern products such as photos and records. Through Hatse's words, Sakaguchi actually expresses her own feelings on telling stories of the indigenous people. Even though she might meet them in person, and despite the fact that she can rely on photos or records, there are still unknown things confronting her when she writes. That is

³³¹ Ibid., 7.

why she writes the following words in the foreword of “The Death of Tadao-Mona”: “It was totally an adventure (冒険) that I wrote about the event from only a handful of information. It is certain that I missed the target all the time.”³³² This awareness of “missing the target” is the reason for her “diffidence.” In Hatse’s storytelling Sakaguchi reflects on her own act of storytelling, and this has important implications on the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized.

Sakaguchi examines the relationship between local informants’ storytelling and the colonizer’s curiosity. The narrator of the story—a Japanese woman who resembles Sakaguchi herself—relies on Hatse’s storytelling to learn about the beautiful tragedy. The narrator/listener’s desire for stories is so strong that she not only solicits Hatse with her favorite millet wine but also bears Hatse’s upfront criticism of her and the modern values she represents. In fact, through the narrator’s low position and Hatse’s eloquence, Sakaguchi projects her own desire for a non-existent, ideal storytelling scene through which she could gather abundant writing materials.

We must recall, however, that the scene is idealized because in reality most survivors chose to remain silent.³³³ Since an ideal informant like Hatse does not exist, Sakaguchi is aware of her being the *actual* storyteller. Even if such an informant did exist, the language barrier would also make this story impossible, as Sakaguchi does not know the indigenous language and the indigenous people speak limited Japanese.³³⁴ An interesting scene in the story symbolizes Sakaguchi’s reflection on her own act of storytelling:

³³² Ibid., 189.

³³³ She writes, “Both the people who live in KawaNakajima and Nakahara did not talk about The Wushe Incident.” See Sakaguchi, “Banchi sakusha no memo” 蕃地作者のメモ, *Bungakusha* 文学者 4, no. 4 (1961), 92.

³³⁴ Sakaguchi, *Banfu Ropō no hanashi*, 188.

Influenced by millet wine, Hatse talked non-stop in Japanese, Taiwanese, and Atayal. My brain worked like a windmill that turned diligently. Although I got a little bit of what she said, the majority of the understanding was complemented by my imagination. I became fascinated by Hatse's moving lips and watched the tattoo on her face dance with the muscles. I thought even though Hatse was telling the story of Ropō, she actually didn't say anything. Hatse seemed to disappear gradually, only her lips continued to move in front of me. And then it was me who was moving those lips. Wait, that was strange. Was I dreaming? I shook my head quickly.³³⁵

Here Sakaguchi openly shows her fear as a narrator/listener/storyteller. Even though she attempts to “communicate” with the indigenous people, communication is not happening. Her own imagination fills up all the gaps and cracks in their communication, which makes the product of this communication—her fictions—similar to fantasies. This self-doubt and awareness of her own vulnerability indeed interrogate a common power hierarchy in which the person who speaks has a higher power than the ones who remain silent. In Sakaguchi's experience the mute ones retain the way to “truth,” to which Sakaguchi has no access.

This self-doubt marks a different approach from *The Zheng Family*. In *The Zheng Family* the narrator is an outsider who observes the three generations of Taiwanese characters. She decides not to look at The Zhengs from the perspective of the only Japanese in the story—Sayo, the deceased Japanese daughter in law—which also means that she tries to conceal her voice and her intervention.³³⁶ By entering the minds of Taiwanese women characters, she demonstrates confidence in knowing and representing them. In “Ropō,” however, she confronts her intervention by manifesting herself in both roles of listener and storyteller. She is the listener who desires a good story; she is also

³³⁵ Ibid., 37.

³³⁶ But Sakaguchi does show more identification with Cuixia, an educated young woman, who resembles herself most in the story.

the actual storyteller, who fabricates stories based on ambiguities. The self-doubt may be resulted from these reasons: first, the indigenous people pose as an ultimate conundrum for her more than the Han Chinese; second, she is more willing to face her own vulnerability after the end of WWII and after writing a series of aboriginal stories. No matter which one is closer to the fact, one thing is certain: it is not that she did not make enough efforts in learning and representing the “reality” as criticized by Dai and Kawahara, but that she demonstrates a Spivakian doubt by questioning that confidence in speaking for the subaltern without regarding the different positions and resources of the writer/researcher and their object.³³⁷

More interestingly, Sakaguchi again plays with quotation marks—literally—in “Ropō.” Even though the whole story is constituted by the dialogues between the Japanese narrator and Hatse, *no* quotation marks are used in the story. This poses challenges for the reader as it is sometimes difficult to discern among the narrator’s thoughts and words as well as Hatse’s words. This format makes all these three things mingle together, which further causes ambiguities between the listener/narrator and the storyteller. While the fantasy of Hatse’s moving lips overlapping with the narrator’s lips creates an impactful image and expresses Sakaguchi’s self-doubt, this unique format implicitly underlines the presence of this image throughout the story.

Moreover, Sakaguchi may have tried to purposefully “miss the target” and to continue her writing “adventure” instead of approaching the reality. In the postscript that talks about why and how she wrote “Wushe” (1953), her only story that focuses on the event itself instead of using the event in the background: “No matter what, I had to write

³³⁷ Gayatri Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 66-111.

about The Wushe Incident at least once, therefore, I used real people [as characters in the story]. I had planned to write as close to the facts as possible. But considering there were still survivors, I decided to construct a fictional world. I appreciate your understanding.”³³⁸ Although it depends on the situation which method—fictionalization or realistic portrayal—can protect the survivors more, Sakaguchi’s choice of fictionalization is a moral choice. She might have realized that the truth can never be represented by her and that what she can do is to save the path to truth for those women survivors.

How should we view Sakaguchi, then, whose portrayal of male characters is confined by the imperialist ideology yet whose depiction of female characters contains powerful details to overthrow the imperialism? Can she only be categorized as “part of the colonizer’s side who can only view the aborigines from the colonizer’s view,” as argued by Yang Chien-he, a Taiwanese women reporter and writer contemporary to Sakaguchi?³³⁹ Is it not because of this rigid division between a Japanese writer (colonizer) and native Taiwanese (colonized) that we have overlooked her insights on generational differences in Taiwanese society under the imperial-subject movement, her translation of invalidated traditions back into their former meaningful context, her construction of a women’s discourse to resist the imperialist project, her representation of The Wushe Incident through women’s chats, and more importantly, her self reflection and self doubt about her representation of the aborigines? If Taiwanese people were considered to have undergone the project of “becoming Japanese” during the imperial-subject movement, can we consider Sakaguchi’s stories in the transwar period efforts of

³³⁸ Sakaguchi, *Banfu Ropō no hanashi*, 269.

³³⁹ Ogasawara, “Bankou Lingzi de 1945 tiyan ji qi zhanhou xiezu,” 494-495.

“becoming Taiwanese” or “becoming aborigine”?³⁴⁰ Sakaguchi’s project may have failed—just like a Taiwanese can never become Japanese, a Han Chinese cannot become aboriginal, and a Mainlander cannot become native Taiwanese—yet she shows us that she has made enormous efforts in “becoming” in the sense of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari’s “becoming-minoritarian,” in which one rends oneself from the major identity.

According to Deleuze and Guattari, “All becoming is a becoming-minoritarian” (instead of becoming-majoritarian) and that “[y]ou don’t deviate from the majority until there is a little detail that starts to swell and carries you off.”³⁴¹ Sakaguchi’s experience with the aborigines makes her break from her Japanese identity and gives her the desire and urgency to make a flight or an escape. Becoming is not imitation or identification, but “to extract particles between which one establishes the relations of movement and rest, speed and slowness that are closest to what one is becoming” and thus “it constitutes a zone of proximity or indiscernibility.”³⁴² To me the “Ropō” story illustrates Sakaguchi’s desire of “becoming-aborigine” in which she deconstructs the role of storyteller and creates a zone of proximity between herself and the aboriginal woman. The text itself is also deterritorialized with the absence of all quotation marks so that the narrator’s thoughts, the narrator’s words, and Hatse’s words are not clearly distinguished. Both the content and structure show that she is willing to take risks and leave her comfort zone as a Japanese colonial writer; therefore, maintaining a strict line at her ethnicity does not do justice to her efforts in becoming aborigine and is unproductive in understanding the nuances in her works.

³⁴⁰ Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

³⁴¹ *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press), 291-292.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 272, 293.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter is to reposition Sakaguchi and to listen to cacophonies in her work undiscovered in previous studies. Through a focus on diverse sounds—music, cries, strange Japanese, women’s storytelling, women monologues and women’s chats—this chapter examines how she constructs a powerful women’s discourse to resist the imperialist framework. In addition, a transcolonial approach allows us to discover the continuities, revisions, and reflections in her transwar works, and we find that Sakaguchi actually enriches the transcolonial approach by writing the literature of Taiwan in her own way in the transwar period. Even though Sakaguchi was not bilingual or trilingual, as the Taiwanese writers discussed in previous chapters were, it is certain that she attempted to cross the boundaries of languages and cultures through the translation of strange sounds, through “reverse reverse translation,” and, when confronting the muted subalterns, through questioning her own storytelling. Even though Sakaguchi vividly captures the generational and gendered differences of a Taiwanese family under the imperial-subject movement and translates the imperialist ethnographic knowledge back into its original context, her ethnicity and the language of her work have prevented her from being thoroughly discussed and recognized in the Taiwanese literary history. With her efforts in becoming-Taiwanese and becoming-aborigine, her work shows how limited the literary taxonomy can be. We can now recognize how Sagaguchi has resisted the ethnic and political identity she was given by establishing a *Taiwanese* women’s discourse sound by sound.

Conclusion:

From Empire to Motherland to Mother Tongue

A few months after the end of the exhibition “The Development of Taiwan Literature,” the National Museum of Taiwan Literature launched another exhibition, entitled “Native Mother-Tongue Literatures.” Continuing the emphasis of the multilingual soundscape in the previous exhibition, the literature museum divided the exhibitory space into three major sections—indigenous literature, Hakka literature, and Hokkien (Minnan or Hoklo) literature—in order to show how different ethnic groups have developed a valuable literary heritage on the island. In a glass case in the section on indigenous literature, the museum displayed a manuscript diary written by Baliwakes (1910-1988), an important aboriginal musician of the Puyuma Tribe who received Japanese training for teachers and spent most of his life teaching and writing music. At a very basic level, his life reflects not only the political but also linguistic history of the people of Taiwan during the transwar period: in 1941 he changed his name to the Japanese Shinhō Ichirō 森宝一郎 and then, in 1946, changed it again to the Chinese Lu Senbao 陸森寶.

Even though the manuscript is meant to stand in an unambiguous way for “indigenous” literature in the museum, the ways in which it was discovered and has been perceived and translated suggest a much more complex story about the intersections of multiple languages. This is how Baliwakes’ son discovered the manuscript:

One day in December 2002, my second elder brother Lu Chenhui found the manuscript of father’s diary at the lowest level of father’s closet. We were happy, as we found this manuscript fourteen years after father has passed away. Nevertheless, we were faced with a big challenge: we could not understand the content. It was written in Japanese *katakana*, but it was not Japanese but the Puyuma language. In other words, father used Japanese *katakana* to transcribe the Puyuma language. Not only my brother and I but also the Japanese and the Puyuma people could not understand the manuscript. Everyone was puzzled without knowing what to do.³⁴³

In many ways, this manuscript embodies the issues that this dissertation has attempted to tackle: how multilingual soundscape is encoded within monolingual systems; the importance of translation for this coding and for the transition from one monolingual coding system (Japanese) to another (Chinese); and the continuing lack of a practical and a theoretical space in which to place an ambiguous text such as this, despite the fact that Taiwan was, and continues to be, multilingual. Indeed, before the manuscript—Baliwakes’ recording of his childhood written between 1915-1926—was finally published in 2007, it first had to be translated into Chinese by someone who knew Japanese, the Puyuma language, and Chinese.³⁴⁴

The continuing lack of a practical and a theoretical space for texts like this can be observed in the museum’s contradictory message. The museum itself constitutes a hybrid

³⁴³ Lu Xianwen, “Lu Senbao zizhuan shou gao yu bianzhe de hua” 陸森寶自傳手稿與編者的話, in Sun Dachuan, *Baliwakes kua shidai chuan chang de buluo yinfu—Beinanzu yinyue linghun Lu Senbao* BaLiwakes 跨時代傳唱的部落音符—卑南族音樂靈魂陸森寶 (Yilan: Guoli Chuantong Yishu Zhongxin, 2007).

³⁴⁴ Lu Xianwen’s brother in law ended up translating this text.

cultural space with an overarching theme of the symphony of multiple languages while simultaneously creating an original linguistic home for each ethnicity in its categorization. While the former implies the ways in which various languages conflict and resonate with each other in order to form a symphony, the latter emphasizes a pure and preserved zone for each unique tune.

After the enforcement, and lift, of two monolingualisms, what kind of a linguistic future can we imagine for Taiwan? How can we theorize the relationship between mother tongue and monolingualism? How should we position mother tongue between the impulse to make it an original, pre-colonial existence and the consideration of its multiple renderings in practice?

Jing Tsu's work, which questions the essentialism of a mother tongue is helpful in rethinking this dilemma. She writes, "[For t]hose who were forcibly alienated from their mother tongues, linguistic nativity can no longer be assumed as a once-and-for-all endowment. Instead of a threshold of social birth, it marks a repeating process of acquisition."³⁴⁵ Here we can see clearly Baliwakes' manuscript as practice as he learned to re-phoneticize the Puyuma language with Japanese orthography at the age of five. He learned his mother tongue together with the Japanese language and under such circumstances, it seems arbitrary to emphasize the Puyuma language as the pre-given mother tongue of Baliwakes.

The promotion of mother tongue as a pristine, original language comes from the presupposition that both colonial rule and Nationalist rule have successfully oppressed and silenced various native tongues and cultures. Yet as I have attempted to show in this dissertation, monolingualism cannot successfully dictate linguistic possibility as various

³⁴⁵ Jing Tsu, *Sound and Script in Chinese Diaspora*, 12.

tongues and translative practices create cacophonies and allow for heterogeneous historical understandings. The current idea of mother tongue as it has come to be imagined, however, recalls what Derrida terms the “prior-to-the-first language”—a language that does not exist, and therefore, the desire of “return” becomes the desire of invention.³⁴⁶

The history of the museum building of the literature museum gives us some ideas on this concept of “origin” that vacillates between return and invention. Originally built in 1916, the museum site was a Japanese prefectural government building (1916-1945). It was seriously damaged in 1945 during WWII. When the air force support command of the Nationalist government used the site (1950-1969), it was functionally, although not aesthetically, renovated from its remaining façade. The Tainan City government continued to use the building in this form until it was deemed to be structurally insound (1969-1997). Later the building was assigned heritage status and was renovated back to its “original” state—a balanced Western-style façade with Mansard-styled roof and two turrets—to house the literature museum (2003-current). However, the “original” state was a tricky idea for the fact that the initial blueprints were missing (and this symbol of Japanese colonial modernity is mixed with French architectural traces).³⁴⁷ In other words, while the museum claims to have returned to the “original” architecture with remarkable values of modernity and aesthetics, this “origin” is presumed and invented. The palimpsestic museum building, which has undergone four transformations under three different regimes in this past century, resonates to the literary traditions it represents inside. Just like the renovation cannot erase the palimpsestic traces of the site, the

³⁴⁶ Jacques Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other*, 62.

³⁴⁷ According to the recording of an interview of the architect who was in charge of renovation placed in the exhibit of the renovation. I visited the museum in January, 2016.

prioritization of mother tongues is unable to deny the translations and transformations they have gone through.

It is tempting to use mother tongue as the opposite of the colonizer's language as this emphasis on nativity seems to compensate the violence of colonial hegemony, yet under some circumstances, mother tongue may become another monolingualism. In 1988 the Hakka intellectuals organized "Return My Mother Tongue Movement" (還我母語運動) to protest the dominance of the Hokkien language (Minnan, or Taiwanese) and culture. Even though various native tongues have become more audible in Taiwan by this time, the language and culture of the Hoklo people who occupy the majority of Taiwanese population still predominate over the available resources; thus, the Hokkien language became the most prominent mother tongue in Taiwan. The efforts to develop the script for Hokkien that prioritizes its phonetic components after 1980s also threaten the other languages that have less linguistic sources. Tsu poignantly links these efforts to the two monolingualisms that Taiwan has experienced, as she writes, "It shows how a minor language, barely known in its written form to the majority of its native speakers tries to regain its rightful status as the original host of a linguistic setting that was one-sidedly claimed by Japanese and Mandarin."³⁴⁸ The fact that any language can become monolingualism should be one of the reasons why Derrida does not propose to use his mother tongues to resist French even though he is still haunted by the violence of French inflicted on him.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁸ See Tsu, *Sound and Script in Chinese Diaspora*, 72.

³⁴⁹ Derrida writes, "I am monolingual. My monolingualism dwells, and I call it my dwelling; it feels like one to me, and I remain in it and inhabit it. It inhabits me." See his *Monolingualism of the Other*, 1.

How do we promote mother tongues without the presumption of origin that was suggested in the wood statues of mothers singing lullabies in dialects to their babies? The loss felt by Baliwakes' son of not understanding father's diary manuscript is the tragedy caused by two monolingualisms. This sense of loss is shared by the later generations of the Taiwanese people who could not have a sense of the linguistic experience of older generations. How can we transform this loss into a creative power? As in this case the two linguistic breaks are bridged by translational practices of Baliwakes and the translator who knows the Puyuma language, Japanese, and Chinese, can we imagine mother tongue as a translingual practice that is renewed and reinvented in its contact with other tongues?

As an alternative to emphasizing divisions, an exhibition that stresses the importance of translation and mutual understanding would be more meaningful for understanding the soundmark of Taiwan. We need an animate space, both in theory and in practice, to show the organic boundaries between languages. Here is how I would imagine the new exhibitory space for mother tongues. I would set up a table with moveable words and terms in different languages, where visitors create their own multilingual text. I would also create a small space for sound installations in multiple languages, where visitors could adjust the volume of each language and hear how they conflict, obscure, and resonate each other in this symphony. I would design many tubes and passageways in various sizes, where visitors would pass through to read or hear a text in one language and then in another. And finally, to visualize texts embedded within multiple historical and multilingual contexts, I would design transparent slides, each marked with a special quality, and ask visitors to superimpose slides on each another.

Combining visualization and sound installation, this exhibit would be “translated” from the texts I have read closely in this dissertation, demonstrating how labyrinthine and noisy these texts can be.

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