TRANSLINGUAL NARRATION

Colonial and Postcolonial
Taiwanese Fiction and Film

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Identity and Ideology

An Introduction

This is a study of colonial Taiwanese fiction, its translation from Japanese to Chinese, and films produced during and about the colonial era. As for the postcolonial condition, the critical approach employed here may prove useful in understanding other once-colonized locales in East Asia and elsewhere. This study is intended to be a postcolonial intervention, not a study of empire. For colonial fiction locative, class, and female identity formations are foregrounded and original texts are read closely as Japanese watakushi shōsetsu (sometimes referred to as the I-novel, but more commonly, and hereafter, shishōsetsu). Such a method may seem paradoxical given the following argument, that these texts are manifestations of Taiwanese culture that happen to be inscribed in Japanese or Chinese, but it seems to suit the texts, first because most of the colonial narratives read closely in this study appear to adhere to the notion of the form as advanced by Edward Fowler or the metanarrative proposed by Tomi Suzuki.² Second, the shishōsetsu, according to Christopher Keaveney, was adopted and politicized by Chinese writers, including those of the May Fourth era, whom many literary historians, such as Ye Shitao (1925-2008), credit with inspiring Taiwanese authors associated with literary modernization.³ For postcolonial film nostalgia and memory define the interpretive mode.

Focusing on colonial and postcolonial identity in fiction and film draws attention to authors, filmmakers, the characters they create, and the underlying ethical concerns that arise whenever two cultures meet. The bodies, cultures, classes, and spaces printed on the page or projected on the screen provide for close reading and critical reflection, but such readings and reflections often eventually return to writers, filmmakers, and the intersection or negotiation between authors (*zuozhe, sakusha*) and their work. "Shinbunhaitatsufu" (Paperboy), by Yang Kui (1906–1985), is a first-person narration of the transformation of a despondent Taiwanese youth living in a Tokyo dormitory into a sanguine labor organizer returning to Taiwan.⁴ But the story of the paperboy reflects the life of Yang Kui, who left behind an impoverished farm background in southern Taiwan, found his way in Tokyo as a laborer by day and student at night, and eventually returned to

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Taiwan, where he organized labor, led leftist reading circles, and became a leading figure in the Taiwanese literary establishment. Intimate first-person narrations such as those of the paperboy and others often seem to be meditations on the colonial transformation of ethical value systems and the possibility of agency; this study proceeds on the presumption that many colonial Taiwanese narratives hinge on identity and the practice of identification.

In The Wretched of the Earth, Frantz Fanon famously observes, "Colonialism forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: 'In reality, who am I?" 5 In the case of the accord between fictional characters and the human beings who create them, this study suggests that the colonial subject is an ephemeral consciousness, a philosophical subject, a person making sense out of the contingencies of life in one body by writing another into existence. The identities considered in this study stem from the destabilized and fractured subjects discovered or produced by postcolonial studies, those that linger among colonial and postcolonial ideological apparatuses. The bodies discussed in this study are those created by colonial authors and postcolonial filmmakers that seem to conform to Judith Butler's theorizations: "The body is not a 'being,' but a variable boundary and surface whose permeability is politically regulated, a signifying practice within a cultural field of gender hierarchy." However, though the bodies on the page and on the screen are the focus of this study, that in no way discounts the fact that real human beings endured both Japanese colonialism and the postwar White Terror in Taiwan.7

For many readers, early twentieth-century first-person narrations from East Asia bring to mind the Japanese shishōsetsu written by authors such as Tayama Katai (1872-1930), whose "Futon" (Quilt) is often cited as a harbinger of the genre.8 However, the form is not limited to first-person narrations, but rather can be more productively thought of as single-consciousness narrations or subject-oriented narratives.9 Lu Xun (1881-1936) wrote perhaps the most famous exploration of the self in China: "Kuangren riji" (Diary of a Madman). 10 He also devoted countless hours to mastering and translating Japanese while living in Japan, so his experiment with a single-consciousness narration is not particularly surprising. Nonetheless, Lu Xun studied Japanese as a foreign language; for Taiwanese writers such as Yang Kui it had been the language of government and education since the turn of the twentieth century. Unlike their Chinese contemporaries, Taiwanese authors in the first half of the twentieth century by and large were more fluent in written Japanese than in Chinese, especially by the 1930s and 1940s. By then, in addition to Yang Kui, Taiwanese authors such as Wang Changxiong (1916–2000) and Yang Qianhe (1921-), among many others, were arguably also writing shishōsetsu. As discussed in chapters 3 and 5, by creating locative and female identities, these two authors introspectively portray the entanglement of language, location, and ethnicity and describe the knot of women, modernity, and tradition.

Other Taiwanese authors, including Zhang Wenhuan (1909-1978) and Wu Yongfu (1913–2008), wrote works that appear to be in the shishōsetsu mode; they describe the feelings between Taiwanese men and women in Taiwan and Japan during the first half of the twentieth century from the vantage point of the thirdperson-omniscient narrator. Their works also underscore the possibilities and problems the metropole-colony relationship creates, and they demonstrate that conflict is not always between the colonizer and the colonized. Regardless of the nature of the conflict or narrative mode, the colonial relationship between Taiwan and Japan differed profoundly from the international relationship between China and Japan between 1895 and 1945. The changing political nature of this relationship is examined in chapter 3 through Wang Changxiong's "Honryū" (Torrent, 1943), but the metropole itself enabled other narratives. In "Ochirai" (Fallen Bud), by Zhang Wenhuan, a young man escapes to modern Tokyo, leaving behind a pregnant young woman to negotiate rural Taiwanese tradition alone.¹¹ The young lovers in "Sazanka" (Camellia), by Wu Yongfu, lament their fate: if or when they return to Taiwan, the dreams they conjure in Tokyo of a love marriage will come to nothing because they have the same surname.¹²

Half a century later, in the 1990s, the postcolonial fiction films of Hou Hsiao-hsien (Hou Xiaoxian), Wu Nianzhen, Wang Tong, Lin Zhengsheng, and others manufactured colonial memories by reproducing the era in costume dramas. Moreover, beyond the narratives each director frames, the production and distribution of their films disclose the passage of time and political winds as well. A national language family (kokugokatei) placard that might have been hung with pride, remorse, or indifference in a Taiwanese home during the late 1930s or early 1940s but hidden or destroyed during the White Terror reappears in Lin's Tianma chafang (March of Happiness) and slyly resurrects a long-entombed moment in Taiwanese history. Documentary films from postcolonial Taiwan offer a rediscovered or simply uncovered past for the Taiwanese. Tze-lan Sang writes of Viva Tonal: Tiaowushidai (Viva Tonal: The Dance Age), "Underneath the film's veneer of postcolonial nostalgia is a strong desire on the filmmakers' part to discover a legacy of Taiwanese ingenuity and agency." ¹³ According to some critics, these turnof-the-millennium filmmakers who were born in China or after the colonial era lack authenticity, but each narrative remains an exploration of ideology and colonial identification. For texts and films produced during the colonial era, each close reading or screening since 1945 necessarily stands as an act of postcolonial identification or rejection. In other words, each simultaneously represents and enables Taiwanese identification and discloses the discursive, ideological field

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wherein that identification happens. Rereading Antonio Gramsci, Ania Loomba writes, "Ideologies are more than just reflections of material reality, ideologies are conceptions of life that are manifest in all aspects of individual and collective experience." This study seeks to suggest among other things that years of scholarly silence and neglect demonstrate how textual or filmic recollections of individual and collective memories, reiterations of the past, disclose ideological currents. Is

Ideologies, however, are not static; nor are the identities they engender, cultural or otherwise; both are fluid. The ideology of the nation manifested as language swept across Taiwan twice in the twentieth century, and as a result, arguments continue today as to the proper location of Taiwanese fiction, poetry, drama, and film in literary canons and university literature, film, and media-studies departments. The debates most often come down to whether the works of Taiwanese authors should be read as tributaries of the larger bodies of either Japanese or Chinese literary or film studies. Often omitted from discussions of Chinese or Japanese film and literature, Taiwanese authors and directors seem to be marginalized along with Japanese-language authors from Manchukuo (Manshūkoku, Manzhouguo) and the Koreas, constituting a field of minor literature in East Asia. Yet colonial Taiwanese writers did not write in a minor language; rather, they were a minority in a major language. 16 This is because from 1895 to the mid-1940s, Taiwan was a Japanese colony, and since 1949 the archipelago has served paradoxically as the permanent, temporary home to the Republic of China. Acknowledging but avoiding the debate about whether colonial Taiwanese literature is Japanese or Chinese, this study explores fiction written by Taiwanese authors during the colonial era and introduces films produced in both the postcolonial and colonial era as simply Taiwanese fiction or film that happens to be written or recorded in Taiwanese, Chinese, or Japanese, in an attempt to effect a more meaningful understanding of contemporary Taiwanese culture.

The official national language in Taiwan changed from Japanese to Chinese in the mid-1940s, and so did the national ideologies. Though the midcentury transformation of a Japanese colony into a province of a Chinese republic was putatively a return to the old country (*zuguo*), it might perhaps be better understood as the cessation of economic colonialism and the reestablishment of settler colonialism at an advanced stage.

The impossible break with settler colonialism differs markedly from the equally futile attempt to sever the link with economic colonialism, as the cases of the United States and India demonstrate in the Anglophone world. The former remains ongoing, as the Cherokee, Navajo, and Ute, among many others, witness. In the latter, although the attempt to decolonize has been made (or, as in the

Taiwanese case, colonial administrators have been repatriated), the material and psychic infrastructures remain: dams, electric power grids, and police stations, as well as schools and the disciplines they enforce. Yet unlike India, Taiwan never attained independence or underwent formal decolonization, and it therefore remains in a still more complicated negotiation. Native Taiwanese draw attention to the role of Han Chinese settler colonialism, but the vestiges of Japanese economic colonization of Han settler colonists is revealed in the Taiwanese vernacular and in households where Japanese is still commonly spoken as a convenience, out of nostalgia, or in protest against the retrocession of Taiwan to China following the Pacific War.¹⁷ It is this second postcolonial state of being that concerns this study and seems more suited to postcolonial studies as it is practiced in the Anglophone teaching machine. 18 The strictures of a Japanese empire and a Chinese republic and their ideological apparatuses muted and in some cases silenced both Native Taiwanese and many descendants of Han Chinese settler colonists for most of the twentieth century: this study is an attempt to listen to the latter, for now the former remains largely the realm of anthropologists and ethnologists. 19

Writers of modern fiction in Taiwan during its fifty years as a colony of the Japanese Empire seem to depict the changes happening around them. Consequently the characters in their fiction explicitly manifest both contemporary ideological shifts and an epideictic discourse, the value-system narration reveals. Underlying this study is an understanding of the relationships between narrators and characters as the limits, or horizons, of the ethical value systems of their authors and their authors' understanding of the uses of identity. Though this is the analytical and theoretical methodology adopted in the chapters that follow, there are a number of other approaches to understanding the creative and intellectual outlet that literature and film provide, which includes offering authors the opportunity to explore new ideas and live vicariously through the characters they create.²⁰ In both cases, the fiction and film of colonial and postcolonial Taiwan present alternative identities, or alternative examples of the practice of identification, in addition to the pleasures, discomforts, and responsibilities offered by fiction and film.

In the American and European academies, postmodern and postcolonial critical discourse has commonly come to suggest that identity or even the philosophical subject, if it exists, remains forever destabilized, shattered, or even arising from abjection.²¹This stems in large part from the general understanding that "the modern age gave rise to a new and decisive form of *individualism*, at the centre of which stood a new conception of the individual subject and its identity."²² Stuart Hall (1932–2014) writes that prior to this new conception, "One's status, rank and position in the 'great chain of being'—the secular and divine order of

things—overshadowed any sense that one was a sovereign individual."²³ Important European movements such as the Renaissance and Reformation led to a break from "the secular and divine order of things," which eventually facilitated the emergence of a modern identity. In China it might be argued that the dictates of filial behavior or ancestor worship constituted the "order of things" from which the modern individual broke free. Han Chinese cultural practices stemming from Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism offered a vehicle for the practice of identification vis-à-vis familial rituals such as seasonal celebrations, marriages, and funerals, and community practices such as temple festivals. This was probably the dominant discourse of identity in Taiwan when in 1895 modernity in the form of Japanese colonialism arrived—Japanese colonialism that was in large part informed by European colonial management theories. Consequently, it seems tenable to suggest that the Taiwanese moved directly from a traditional order to late modernity, eliding in large part the earliest stages of modernity as Europeans experienced it. As a result, the process of identification for late-modern individuals emerging from Han Chinese tradition into Japanese colonial modernity as captured in fiction from the era constitutes the core of this study.

The discovery or production of the unstable philosophical subject of late modernity depicted in such works and postcolonial representations of identity arises not only from the break with Han Chinese cultural practices. The idioms of Marxism, psychoanalysis, structural linguistics, discourse analysis, and feminism now afford a wealth of possibilities for understanding both colonial and postcolonial Taiwanese subjects. Marxism does not only serve as the engine for change in the proletariat literature of Yang Kui but, particularly as articulated by Louis Althusser, provides the lumpen proletariat, which is the object of both repressive and ideological state apparatuses. Psychoanalysis, especially the unconscious as theorized by Sigmund Freud and expanded on by Jacques Lacan, provides an unfinished identity: identity as a recursive process or flow. How Taiwanese authors conceived of themselves in Tokyo and how they came to terms with their return to Taiwan demonstrate the messy unfinished business of colonial Taiwanese identity. Structural and poststructural linguistics provides another perspective on colonial and postcolonial Taiwanese. Stuart Hall writes, "To speak a language is not only to express our innermost, original thoughts, it is also to activate the vast range of meanings which are already embedded in our language and cultural systems."24 In the case of colonial and postcolonial Taiwan, not only are there two superstructure languages, Japanese and Chinese; there is also the base: Taiwanese, which is rendered incompletely in both Japanese and Chinese. The spoken language must be both translated and transcribed into a written language. The genealogy of the modern subject as derived by Michel Foucault, especially

his studies of disciplinary power, further adds to the understanding of Taiwan in the twentieth century. Certainly both the Japanese colonial administration and later the Republic of China administration set vast documenting apparatuses into motion, which allowed for the administration of programs as different as the national language family system during the colonial era and the silent networks of surveillance active during the White Terror. The public health programs established as part of the *kōminka* movement in particular resonate with mental health facilities studied by Foucault. Last but not least among these five decenterings of the late modern subject, feminism provides two important lenses on Taiwan. First, it highlights the layered and parallel oppression of women in Taiwan during the colonial era. Women were objects of both Japanese colonial power and discipline and the traditional Han patriarchy. Second, the identity politics arising among Taiwanese men and women led to a complicit assignment of Taiwanese women to preserving a precolonial ethnic purity or essence, which is discussed in the conclusion to chapter 5.

On identity, the anthropologist Melissa Brown writes,

At the most fundamental level, identity is the way that a person classifies him or herself, a mental representation or thought. This level of identity, however, is not what is generally discussed by scholars or political leaders, because we cannot know exactly what a person thinks, only what he or she reports thinking or what we interpret him or her to think based on statements or actions. In other words, we cannot know the actual mental representations of individuals, only their public representations (utterances or actions), which may or may not accurately reflect mental representations.²⁵

Adhering to Brown's thinking in literary and postcolonial studies implies possibly understanding fiction to be an author's public statements, which leads the reader to her or his own mental representations. The mental representation known only to the author necessarily transforms as it passes from the prelingual to the lingual to written and edited prose, and finally to the reader. This study does not attempt to disentangle such a complex chain of signification, but it does address the secondary transformative revisions stemming from translation. In particular it traces the politics of translating a canon of colonial Taiwanese fiction from Japanese to Chinese.

Brown further writes that "although group identity is claimed in terms of ancestry and/or culture, it is ultimately held together by common sociopolitical experience." She makes the case that those embracing a group identity to define

or inscribe community boundaries often employ ancestry, but in fact it is socialization and cultural habituation that lead to a mental representation upon which to base an identity. Whereas in principle this study adopts Brown's thinking, especially if audition and phonation as cultural practices are construed as socialization or cultural habituation, the analyses that follow view ancestry or culture as something more than a vehicle by which an individual may claim membership in a community. Ancestry as ethnic practice largely defines the postcolonial condition for both the colonizer and the colonized. The point at which the traditional inflects to the modern, whether it is in the language employed by the legal system or that contained in prose and fiction, describes the contact zone. Coined by Mary Louise Pratt, the "contact zone" refers to the cultural interface between the colonized and the colonizer: "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power." 27

In another asymmetrical power relationship, both Taiwanese nationalists and Chinese nationalists are contending for the history of Taiwan, and for this reason if no other, critiquing colonial Taiwanese literature, especially realist narrative fiction, remains today as it was in the colonial era: a radically political undertaking. Not all critiques are stark polarizing polemics; many in fact are deceptively subtle, but for decades resistance and collaboration were the only key signatures used in the field. The echoes of such a limiting scholarly orthodoxy will likely continue to inflect criticism in Taiwan for some time to come. In the pages that follow, this study attempts to demonstrate how tides and mechanisms of Chinese and Taiwanese nationalist sentiments in postcolonial Taiwanese literary criticism led to shifting perspectives on colonial Taiwan fiction, and how studying these tides provides a more nuanced understanding of the relationships among translation, literature, and community. The identities assumed by the Taiwanese during the twentieth century range from subjects of a Japanese colonial government, to sentries on the Cold War front line, to perhaps a calm voice in the escalating concern about China's role in the future of the planet. For Taiwanese scholars and theorists, literary and otherwise, the Japanese colonial era presented paradoxes and dilemmas during the second half of the twentieth century and continues to do so in the early twenty-first century.

After losing a domestic war to Chinese Communist insurgents, the republican Chinese government and military retreated to Taiwan in 1949. Only four years earlier, the Chinese, led by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), finished an eight-yearlong war with the Japanese, which for many Chinese left a seething desire for vengeance. On the contrary, although innumerable Taiwanese died in U.S. bombings of the island and as Japanese conscripts in the Philippines and other areas of the South Pacific during the waning years of the Pacific War, the Taiwan-

ese escaped the ravages of war the Chinese endured, such as the 1937 Nanjing Massacre. Many of the Qing loyalists and Chinese nationalists in Taiwan during the colonial era suffered psychic and spiritual angst and pain; however, many Taiwanese enjoyed a greatly improved standard of living as a result of Japanese colonial management. Consequently, official discourse in Taiwan after the arrival of the Nationalists at times seemed quite different from the lived experience of the majority of the population. In Taiwan the Nationalist, or republican, Chinese government established a virtual China, which obfuscated or simply denied fifty years of local history. Media censorship and educational policies led to a hegemonic amnesia.

Beyond memories, much of the literature of colonial Taiwan vanished as well. Chinese-language texts circulated, but it wasn't until 1974 that a Chinese translation of Yang Kui's "Gachō no yomeiri" (Mother Goose Gets Married) appeared in a university journal. Following this translation there were many others, but the texts chosen for translation suggested a strong anti-Japanese sentiment, or perhaps aesthetic, rather than a foregrounded Taiwanese subjectivity or consciousness, an identity that resonated with continental sentiments lingering from the Pacific War, known in Chinese as the War Against Japanese Aggression. Politically driven translation became a regular practice. Only unquestionably anti-Japanese stories seemed to enjoy translation, and this process resulted in a canon that left Chinese readers with an incomplete, skewed portrait of the era. However, in the closing years of martial law, translations of colonial fiction began appearing that offered readers glimpses of a colonial Taiwan comprised of more than evil police officers, impoverished peasants, and rape survivors. Such stories disclosed Taiwanese colonial and metropolitan identities more subtle than those defined by a litmus test of resistance to Japanese oppression. Stories exploring global concerns such as class and gender equity were translated. Yet the translators, editors, and authors of these stories often omitted or radically altered portions of the original when translating from Japanese to Chinese. Wang Changxiong claimed that he mistranslated his own work in order to make it more anti-Japanese. In other words, because postcolonial politics mediates the translation of colonial texts, in a manner of speaking the past becomes a mistranslated memory.

It seems tautological to state that the colonial can be fully understood only from the postcolonial, but a more nuanced manner of understanding the apparently self-evident is to consider the creation of the colonial by the postcolonial. One such concern in the case of Taiwan, especially with reference to the translator who actually renders Japanese texts into Chinese, is the dominant culture. Translators confront with every translation they negotiate a foreign and a dominant language and culture. In the case of Taiwan, the question of the dominant culture

belies its simplicity, since in both eras Taiwanese is the dominant spoken language and culture. Japanese-to-Chinese translators must attempt to enunciate only written cultures because the foreign and the dominant culture is Taiwanese. Another concern suggesting intervention stems from the contention noted previously for a master historical narrative. The translator and his or her work shapes and interlaces such histories. These two concerns wind throughout this study but for convenience are discussed in particular in chapter 2. The contentions and negotiations arising over a dominant culture and a master historical narrative make it impossible to recover the colonial era; at best there are only images of the past filtered through the present. Consequently, the grain or qualities of translation lead to a disclosure of both the present and the translated past.

It is here and with its close readings that this study differs from the work of Leo Ching and Faye Kleeman.²⁹ Ching's work adopts a theoretical approach to identity processes and configurations raised by colonization and more particularly the lack of a politically mediated or extended decolonization process in Taiwan. Kleeman explores the Japanese literary field largely from the perspective of empire, surveying Japanese-language policy in Taiwan, as well as writers from Japan and the South Pacific, and devoting one section of her text to Taiwanese writers and colonial language policy. Though both Kleeman and Ching at times approach some of the issues and writers comprising this study, neither offers a meditation or discourse on the influence of translation on perception of the colonial era or how translation reflects the contemporary Taiwanese literary field. By including the problem of Japanese-to-Chinese translation, this study considers two facets that have heretofore gone unexamined in detail: the impact of translation on descriptions of the content and aesthetics of colonial Taiwan fiction, and the traces of the political and cultural concerns of translators left behind in their work in both the martial law era (1947-1987) and the years since. More concretely, this study does not seek to recover or discover colonial Taiwan and the Taiwanese through the lens of fiction; instead it articulates colonial identity concerns, how postcolonial translators and critics transmitted those concerns, and how those translators and critics leave traces of their own contemporary identity concerns on works that are, in theory at least, restricted to the colonial.

Finally, it is the Taiwanese readers who are, perhaps largely unknowingly, affected by the politics of translation, and who also comprise audiences for postcolonial films representing the colonial era and to a lesser degree films from the colonial era. For postcolonial as well as colonial film, recording technology available to filmmakers alters translational concerns on at least two levels. On one hand, no longer must vernacular Taiwanese be subjected to the strictures of written Japanese or Chinese. On the other hand, the addition of Chinese subtitles to these

films to make them accessible to those who do not speak Taiwanese well continues to inflect viewings, critical or otherwise. These subtitles also draw the work of the translator quite literally into the picture. Chapter 2 begins this study with introductions to the centering and decentering of Taiwanese and Taiwanese fiction written during the colonial era and translated before and after the 1987 lifting of martial law.

Afterword

Indigenization, Translation, and Collective Memory

This study of Taiwanese fiction and film, as well as a consideration of postcolonial discourse, moves from the vernacular Taiwanese literature debate to postcolonial filmic representations of the colonial era and includes an introduction to the problems stemming from translation and identity politics. Since many of the close readings and the nature of identity politics stem from the process of identification, this study concludes with a brief discussion of Taiwanese identity and gestures toward continuing the process of postcolonial studies in Taiwan. Taiwanese identity, as is the case with any process of identification, remains in motion. Moreover, in the case of societies dominated by settler colonists, it eventually becomes an object of the processes of time and space. Indigenization seems to help explain that process and its manifestations in both postcolonial Taiwanese film and fiction and theoretical and literary studies of Taiwan during the Japanese colonial era.

Indigenization seems far more complicated than a simple nativization associated with acting or dressing like a local, because such a nativization presumes a degree of stability that indigenization lacks. In the case of postcolonial or postmartial law Taiwan, indigenization is not a root-seeking movement or a futile attempt to return to a precolonial or pre-retrocession, original state of affairs. Indigenization with reference to the twentieth century instead is the absorption and co-option of colonial and martial law vestiges, both physical and psychic, into contemporary Taiwan. It includes, moreover, the rooting or grafting of political exiles, accidental emigrants, military personnel, and their dependents who arrived in Taiwan during the 1940s into the Taiwanese population and popular memory, not as assimilated natives, but as a distinct yet very much Taiwanese (living in Taiwan) population, not unlike those following Hakka ethnic practices, long established settler colonists, and the Native Taiwanese. Indigenization broadly conceived is not about newer arrivals becoming part of a homogeneous Taiwanese population; rather, it is about locative and linguistic forces acting on the entire population, a persistent self, and time.

In Taiwan and other formerly colonized locales, indigenizing subjectivities offers both an escape from the previously reigning philosophies of unitary identity formations and the perils of exclusively discursive identities, and the critical distance necessary to see such theorizations and the networks of power that they consolidate. Time appears impossible to stop and arrays of cultural identities seem forever in flux, so philosophical subjects, or persons, and the communities in which they come into being must evaluate and adapt to contingencies. This study does not suggest a teleology or trajectory for persons in regions that were once governed as extractive or economic colonies or continue to exist as locations governed by the descendants of settler colonists such as Taiwan, nor does it argue for essentializing discourses; nevertheless, there seem to be identifiable constellations of identities and the communities they form.

Of the "emergent" Taiwan and its nebulous identity in Wu Zhuoliu's *Orphan of Asia*, Leo Ching writes that "it must be apprehended and articulated at the same time in relation to the 'residual' Chinese culturalism and the 'dominant' Japanese colonialism—a contradictory and irreducible triple consciousness that is the embodiment of a colonial Taiwanese identity formation." For Hu Taiming and other characters in Wu's novel there may exist an irreducible triple consciousness; however, for the Taiwanese in the early twenty-first century, translations, original fiction, and films suggest the possibility of a consciousness wherein colonial and postcolonial experiences and particular "residues" have the potential to collapse vis-à-vis the process of indigenization into one irreducible consciousness, or community, the never-ending process of becoming Taiwanese.

The prominence of Japanese colonialism, martial law, and the White Terror in film and fiction, not only in costume dramas such as Hou's famous trilogy or Lin's March of Happiness, but also in texts such as Li Ang's Miyuan or even documentaries such as Yen and Juang's Let It Be, suggests that the discourses and concomitant communal memories once limited exclusively to former colonial subjects or White Terror survivors (locals or political exiles) and their descendants are increasingly open to a growing number of descendants of individuals for whom such memories might be dismissed as inauthentic. In other words, they have appropriated or conceived colonial- and martial law-era memories for films and fiction as well as from them, a circuit, or loop, of postcoloniality. This process is distinct from the Nationalist government's attempts to create memories of Japanese atrocities in the minds of Taiwanese who had never been to China with textbooks and school assemblies. Rather, due to the sheer force of time and numbers, indigenization has led to a seeping of memories from the once marginalized majority (the colonial Taiwanese) to the once centered minority (Chinese political exiles). Regardless of the putative validity of these memories, the impact on those who hold them is very real. These fictional memories or experiences do not only highlight the dubious nature of questions of authentic or inauthentic subjects and the creative forces of memory; they also provide evidence of indigenization. The Taiwanese topolect, which can no longer be equated with the Southern Min spoken in Fujian, the language that drove the vernacular Taiwanese movement, also highlights the process. Linguistic and cultural indigenization draws attention to recollection or construction of public memories—the disappearing and "disappeared"—in postcolonial Taiwan. Taiwanese documentaries such as *Viva Tonal* or *Let It Be* are active agents in this creation of public memory, but perhaps equally important to this communal memory is the body of literature written by the Taiwanese who lived through the colonial era and translated by those who lived through the White Terror.

Since the contours of the body of translations from the colonial era suggest one line of research, indigenization as manifested in translation methodology and reading may provide direction for continuing research. On methodology there are John Dryden's ideas on translation, in particular the metaphrase, paraphrase, and imitation. Dryden explains that metaphrase is the word-for-word or line-for-line approach to translation. The translator who practices translation based on paraphrase keeps the author in view, but the author's "sense" is followed more than are the words on the page. As for imitation, he writes that "the translator (if now he has not lost that name)" varies from word or sense and takes "only some general hints from the original." Lawrence Venuti's ideas on humanist and symptomatic readings of translation also seem useful. The latter locates diction and syntax as well as discursive discontinuities, which reveals the translation to be a strategic intervention. The humanist reading, on the other hand, stresses intelligibility and the use value in the receiving culture.3 A more profitable approach may be to adopt a reading that is both humanist, inasmuch as there is an attempt to disclose how the author wanted the text to be read, and symptomatic because it recognizes the fact that authors cannot help but communicate some excesses. Yet the notion of use value in the receiving culture discloses the question of the direction of translation. Is a translation intended to be foreignizing or domesticating? In the case of the latter, the translation should be transparent and seamless and should suggest that the language and concepts that comprise it have long been naturalized. The foreignizing, on the other hand, draws attention to itself with such things as idioms particular to an era or footnotes explaining turns of phrase or colloquialisms. With their numerous footnotes explaining his use of Taiwanese, many reprints of Lai He represent the foreignizing approach, but Lai He is almost unquestionably recognized as the "father" of Taiwanese literature. Not unlike the possibilities stemming from postcolonial notions of the philosophical subject or its impossibility, further study of translation may disclose new dimensions of indigenization and offer a step toward understanding mistranslated memories. A consideration of translation and the practice of translation also seems to suggest the impossibility or undesirability of emerging from the long shadows that regional East Asian national politics continue to cast.

Finally, in addition to the notion of the past as a mistranslated memory, there is the notion of collective memory. In considering the nostalgia generated for the Brezhnev era in 1990s Russia by old films being shown on Russian TV, Svetlana Boym discloses two strata of memory and nostalgia. There is the visceral link that reminds a viewer of the first time that she or he saw the film: With whom did she or he watch the film? Where? The weather at the time? But there is also a nostalgia for the future suggested by the diegeses. However, what is to be made of the films of the 1990s and 2000s in Taiwan? How does the experiential, affective memory of watching Cold War-era films compare to memories of the diegeses? Given the boom in studies and creative reproductions of colonial Taiwan since the 1987 lifting of martial law, how does no talgia for colonial Taiwan compare to that for the promise of Taiwan unified with China in films produced during the martial law era? Given the shifting political and economic winds in the early 2010s, it may be that memories of colonial Taiwan as well as White Terror Taiwan will again be subject to the strictures of yet another new official discourse before the century is over, but for now they seem to be largely the purview of unofficial and academic semiofficial discourse. Jorge de Alva suggests that postcoloniality should "signify not so much subjectivity 'after' the colonial experience as a subjectivity of oppositionality to imperializing/colonizing (read: subordinating/subjectivizing) discourses and practices."5 Though in many once-colonized locales such a disentangling of subordinating and subjectivizing narratives is reducible to the colonized and the colonizer, in Taiwan the discourses and practices passed from the Japanese colonial government to the Republic of China government add a third narrative, which parallels, interlaces, and conflicts with both those of colonial Japanese and those of settler colonist Taiwanese. By examining not only the narratives captured in the diegeses of postcolonial Taiwanese filmmakers, but also the production, critical, and scholarly response, it seems that new studies may trace multiple contours of indigenization, wherein perhaps lies the future of postcolonial studies.

Notes

Chapter 1. Identity and Ideology

- 1. For studies of twentieth-century Taiwanese fiction in the framework of the Japanese Empire, see Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003); Karen Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); and Kimberly T. Kono, *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- 2. Edward Fowler, *The Rhetoric of Confession* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), xv-xxix; Tomi Suzuki, *Narrating the Self* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 6.
- 3. Christopher Keaveney, *Beyond Brushtalk* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009); Ye Shitao, *Taiwan wenxue shigang* (Gaoxiong: Chunhui chubanshe, 1987), 19–68.
- 4. All text and film titles appear first in the language of original publication or projection and thereafter in English translation (some exceptions are made for clarity); unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. Following current practice in Taiwan, Taiwanese names are rendered in Mandarin Chinese (*guoyu*, *kokugo*). Original Chinese and Japanese glyphs are included in the bibliography and glossary. Yang Gui (hereafter Yang Kui), "Shinbunhaitatsufu," in *Yang Kui quanji*, vol. 4, ed. Peng Hsiao-yen et al. (Tainan: Guoli wenhua zichan baocun yanjiu zhongxin choubeichu, 2001), 19–156.
- 5. "Le colonialisme accule le peuple dominé à se poser constamment la question: 'Qui suis-je en réalitéé?" 'Frantz Fanon, *Les Damnés de la Terre* (Paris: François Maspero, 1978), 178. Also see Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1961), 250.
 - 6. Judith Butler, Bodies That Matter (New York: Routledge, 1993), 139.
- 7. For more on the White Terror, see chapter 2 and Sylvia Li-chun Lin, *Representing Atrocity in Taiwan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).
- 8. These experiments with realism and naturalism are also known as the I-novel. Shiga Naoya (1883–1971), Chikamatsu Shūkō (1876–1944), and Kasai Zenzō (1887–1928) are three other notable authors who experimented with the highly introspective mode. For more on the form, see Fowler, *Rhetoric of Confession*; James A. Fujii, *Complicit Fictions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); and Suzuki, *Narrating the Self*.
 - 9. Fowler, Rhetoric of Confession, xvi, 4, 28.
- 10. Lu Xun, "Kuangren riji," in *Lu Xun quanji*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Renminwenxue chubanshe, 1987), 422–433.
 - 11. Zhang Wenhuan, "Ochirai," Forumosa no. 1 vol. 1 (1933): 37-58.
 - 12. Wu Yongfu, "Sazanka," Taiwan bungei 2, no. 4 (April 1935): 52-76.

- 13. Tze-lan D. Sang, "Reclaiming Taiwan's Colonial Modernity: The Case of *Viva Tonal: The Dance Age*," in *Documenting Taiwan on Film*, ed. Sylvia Li-chun Lin and Tze-lan D. Sang (New York: Routledge, 2012), 60.
 - 14. Ania Loomba, Colonialism/Postcolonialism, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 31.
- 15. For a pioneering study that is similar to this line of inquiry but that fails to consider the politics of translation, see Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang, "Beyond Cultural and National Identities: Current Re-evaluation of the *Kōminka* Literature from Taiwan's Japanese Period," *Xiandai zhongwen wenxue xuebao* 1, no. 1 (July 1997): 75–107.
- 16. For more on the concept of a minor literature in the European context, see Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Kafka: Pour une littérature mineure* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1975), 29–33.
- 17. Many studies of Taiwanese culture refer to the Native Taiwanese as aborigines, *fanren*, *banjin*, *shandiren*, Yuanzhumin, or Genshūmin.
- 18. Gayatri Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge Classics, 2008).
- 19. Both anthropology and ethnology are deservedly questioned as neocolonial or neoorientalist, which unfortunately leads to academic turf wars and detracts from the deeper, more lingering questions that postcolonial scholars should attend to in sites of long-standing settler colonization, such as indigenization, which is discussed in the afterword. Furthermore, though their work is usually published in Mandarin Chinese, the increasing attention to authors such as Ligelale Awu and Syaman Rapongan seems encouraging for Native Taiwanese writers. Film, with its sound-reproduction technology, offers a native "voice" to filmmakers such as Mayaw Biho; however, Chinese subtitling still overwrites Native Taiwanese works with Han cultural values, just as English subtitles impose Anglo value systems on films from Cherokee, Apache, or Kiowa documentarians.
- 20. E. Perry Link, *The Uses of Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 300-318.
- 21. Unfortunately the Anglophone American academy is still by and large beholden to the United Kingdom and member states of the Commonwealth of Nations as well as translated works from continental Europe, but because there remain significant differences between the two, especially with regard to colonial discourse and postcolonial studies, I do not employ the generalization of "the West."
- 22. Stuart Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," accessed March 14, 2014, http://www.csuchico.edu/~pkittle/101/hall.html.
 - 23. Ibid.
 - 24. Ibid.
 - 25. Melissa J. Brown, Is Taiwan Chinese? (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 13.
 - 26. Ibid., 10.
 - 27. Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," Profession 91 (1991): 34.
 - 28. For evidence of this, see the discussion of *March of Happiness* in chapter 6.
- 29. Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), and Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun*.

Chapter 2. One Culture, Two Nations

1. Ann Heylen writes of a Taiwanese linguistic continuum vis-à-vis diglossia and the linguistic regimes of the Japanese colonial and postcolonial Chinese Nationalist governments;

in particular, she describes the changes and policies associated with Taiwanese as a spoken vernacular, "low" language of the quotidian, and a "high" topolectical pronunciation in addition to the "high" standard Mandarin pronunciation of the Confucian canon. We seem to concur on the notion of Taiwanese as sustaining a continuum in the Taiwanese literary community during the twentieth century; however, since it seems that one of the overriding principles of the vernacular literature movement was the removal of a barrier of high and low languages, or a collapsing of the two into one written Taiwanese, this study does not adopt her sociosemiotics approach. Ann Heylen, "The Legacy of Literacy Practices in Colonial Taiwan. Japanese-Taiwanese-Chinese: Language Interaction and Identity Formation," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 26, no. 6 (December 2005): 496–511.

- 2. Lee Yeounsuk, *The Ideology of Kokugo*, trans. Maki Hirano Hubbard (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 57.
 - 3. Ibid., 61.
 - 4. Ibid., 68.
- 5. In fact, including Hokkaido in the nation is problematic, as Weng Nao's *Zansetsu* implies. Weng and *Zansetsu* are considered in chapter 3.
- 6. Liu Shengguang, "Chūgoku ni wa nai kotoba, 'Shina' ni tsuite hanron," *Asahi shinbun*, December 30, 1952, 6. Quoted in Joshua A. Fogel, "New Thoughts on an Old Controversy: *Shina* as a Toponym for China," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 229 (August 2012): 9–10.
- 7. Kawahara Isao, *Taiwan shinbungaku undō no tenkai* (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1997), 255–257.
 - 8. Fujii Shōzō, Taiwanbungaku konohyakunen (Tokyo: Tōhōshoten, 1998), 35.
- 9. The Nanjing government of the Republic of China was already in exile in Taipei when the Treaty of Taipei was signed in 1952.
- 10. Victor Mair, "How to Forget Your Mother Tongue and Remember Your National Language," accessed April 22, 2013, http://pinyin.info/readings/mair/taiwanese.html.
- 11. According to Miyazaki Ichisada, by the age of fifteen an aspiring scholar-technocrat probably had memorized seven texts comprised of 431,286 *hanzi*. Quoted in Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1992), 16.
 - 12. Both "topolect" and "dialect" are rendered as fangyan in Mandarin.
- 13. Guo Qiusheng, "Shuo jitiao Taiwanhuawen de jichugongzuo gei dajia zuo cankao," *Nan-yin*, no. 1 (January 1932): 14.
 - 14. Ferdinand de Saussure, Cours de linguistic generale (Paris: Payot, 1969), 28.
- 15. Huang Shihui, "Jiepou Minghongjun de yulun," *Taiwan xinminbao* (1933): 974–978, reprinted in *1930 niandai Taiwan xiangtuwenxuelunzhan ziliaohuibian*, ed. Nakajima Toshio (Gaoxiong, Taiwan: Chunhui chubanshe, 2003), 421.
 - 16. Li Xianzhang, "Xinzi wenti (Taiwanhuawen taolunlan)," Nanyin 1, no. 5 (1932): 8.
- 17. The debate continues today, and computer technology makes possible the sort of rapid dissemination of newly coined characters that would have pleased Guo Qiusheng. For more on the state of the debate as well as an overview of the problem of transcribing vernacular Taiwanese over the past four hundred years, see Henning Klötter, *Written Taiwanese* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz, 2005). Also see Ann Heylen, *Japanese Models, Chinese Culture and the Dilemma of Taiwanese Language Reform* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz, 2012), esp. 53–92.
- 18. Guo Qiusheng, "Jianshe Taiwanhuawen yi ti'an," *Taiwan xinwen*, July 7–August 8, 1931, reprinted in *1930 niandai Taiwan xiangtuwenxuelunzhan ziliaohuibian*, ed. Nakajima Toshio (Gaoxiong, Taiwan: Chunhui chubanshe, 2003), 345.

- 19. Huang Chengcong, "Lun puji baihuawen de xinshiming," *Taiwan* 4, no. 1 (1923): 12–25.
 - 20. Qi, "Fakanci," Nanyin, no. 1 (1932): 1-2.
- 21. Huang, "Lun puji baihuawen de xinshiming," 13 (italics mine). "Language" might also be translated here as "the spoken word."
- 22. The spoken component of verbal communication as opposed to active listening; in other words, de Saussure's "phonation," not "audition." De Saussure, *Cours de linguistic generale*, 28.
- 23. For more on *kango* neologisms, see Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), esp. 284–342. Liu provides examples of Japanese *kango* neologisms that were used in modern Japanese; due to the circulation of knowledge in the early twentieth century, Japanese words coined with Chinese characters were "translated" or "adopted" into modern Chinese. A similar phenomenon seems to be occurring in Taiwan but at an entirely different level; for example, Guo also uses the Japanese *yunmei* (*yunming*) for "fate" rather than the Chinese *mingyun*. Guo's usage is still employed in colloquial Taiwanese in the early twenty-first century: one of countless incorporations of Japanese into Taiwanese.
 - 24. Taiwan jihō, April 23, 1902, 1.
- 25. Li Chengji, "Zhimindi Taiwan meiti shiyongyuyan de chongcenggouzao: 'minzuzhuyi' yu 'jindaixing' de fenlie," in *Kuajiede Taiwanshi yanjiu: yu dongyashi de jiaocuo*, ed. Wakabayashi Masahiro and Wu Micha (Taibei: Bozhongzhe, 2004), 201–239.
- 26. Translated and quoted in Tomi Suzuki, *Narrating the Self* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 42.
- 27. Ferguson's notion of diglossia consists of two linguistic registers: a local vernacular spoken on a daily basis and a highly codified, more complex language used in formal situations. For an application of Fergusonian diglossia to Taiwan, see Heylen, "The Legacy of Literacy Practices in Colonial Taiwan." Lee, *Ideology of Kokugo*, 41.
 - 28. Lee, Ideology of Kokugo, 41.
 - Ibid.
 - 30. Guo, "Shuo jitiao Taiwanhuawen de jichugongzuo gei dajia zuo cankao," 7 (italics mine).
- 31. For nuanced and careful explications of the relationship between spoken and written languages, literature, and narrative strategies in the Japanese context, see James A. Fujii, Complicit Fictions (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); and Suzuki, Narrating the Self. Both authors discuss the emerging -de aru phraseology and its implications as seen by members of the Japanese literary establishment at the time. For more on the fiction, or impossibility, of a single narrator, see Edward Fowler, The Rhetoric of Confession (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
 - 32. Yamamoto Masahide, Genbun itchi no rekishi ronkō (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1971), 77-83.
- 33. Karatani Kōjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, ed. and translation arranged by Bret de Bary (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 47.
 - 34. Ibid
- 35. For an examination of the uses of vernacular Taiwanese in the colonial cinema, see Kuei-fen Chiu, "The Question of Translation in Taiwanese Colonial Cinematic Space," *Journal of Asian Studies* 70, no. 1 (February 2011): 77–98.
- 36. E. Patricia Tsurumi, "Colonial Education in Korea and Taiwan," in *The Japanese Colonial Empire*, 1895–1945, ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 279.

- 37. Duosang, dir. Wu Nianzhen (1994). Duosang is a Taiwanese hanzi transcription of the Japanese tōsan (father).
- 38. National Diet Library, Japan, "The Japanese Calendar: Calendar History 2," accessed August 19, 2014, http://www.ndl.go.jp/koyomi/e/history/02_index1.html.
- 39. The Xinhai Revolution itself is named after the traditional calendrical system based on the Ten Heavenly Stems and Twelve Terrestrial Branches.
- 40. Sylvia Li-chun Lin, *Representing Atrocity in Taiwan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 10.
- 41. For many, including the author Huang Chunming and critic Jiang Weiwen, the debate remains very much alive. Taiwen bihui, ed., *Jiang Weiwen kangyi Huang Chunming de zhen- xiang* (Tainan: Yaxiya guoji chuanbo, 2011). For more on Cai Peihuo's work on transliteration, see Heylen, *Japanese Models*, esp. 53–92.
 - 42. Although Lai He was conversant in Japanese, he wrote only in Chinese.
 - 43. Lawrence Venuti, The Scandals of Translation (New York: Routledge, 1998), 67.
 - 44. Ibid.
- 45. For examples, see David Pollard, ed., *Translation and Creation* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 1997); Sari Kawana, *Murder Most Modern* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); and Qian Gao, "Hard History, Soft Story: Resistance in a Nostalgic Key," *Modern China Studies* 20, no. 1 (January 2013): 45–63.
- 46. Cressida Heyes, "Identity Politics," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, accessed April 16, 2013, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2012/entries/identity-politics/.
 - 47. Ibid.
- 48. Identity politics also plays a key role in Hakka settler and Native Taiwanese reactions to Han Taiwanese settlers. For more on identity, see Linda J. Nicholson, *Identity before Identity Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); and Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs Identity?" in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 1–17.
- 49. Joseph S. M. Lau, ed., *The Unbroken Chain* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983). x.
- 50. For a succinct summary of the history of publication and translation as well as both originals and a Mandarin translation of the story, see Yang Kui, *Yang Kui quanji*, vol. 5, ed. Peng Hsiao-yen et al. (Tainan: Guoli wenhua zichan baocun yanjiu zhongxin choubeichu, 2001), 398–399.
- 51. For example, see Noriko J. Horiguchi, *Women Adrift* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 123-156.
 - 52. Huang Yuan, ed., Shanling (Shanghai: Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe, 1936), 177-226.
- 53. As noted in chapter 1, for now the truly native languages of the islands currently known as Taiwan remain the object of anthropologists and ethnologists.
- 54. "Semantic tracing" is Tang's term. Tang Xiaobing, "On the Concept of Taiwan Literature," in *Writing Taiwan*, ed. David D. W. Wang and Carlos Rojas (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 51–89.
 - 55. Ibid., 78-81.
 - 56. Ibid.
 - 57. Ibid.
- 58. Tarumi Chie, *Taiwan no Nihongo bungaku: Nihon tōchijidai no sakkatachi* (Tokyo: Goryūshoin, 1995), 9–12.

- 59. Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 190–192.
 - 60. Ibid.
- 61. Angelina C. Yee, "Writing the Colonial Self: Yang Kui's Texts of Resistance and National Identity," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 17 (1995): 113.
- 62. Quoted in Sau-ling Cynthia Wong, *Reading Asian-American Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 17.
- 63. Margaret Hillenbrand, *Literature, Modernity, and the Practice of Resistance* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 93.
- 64. Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 1.
 - 65. Ching, Becoming "Japanese," 11.
- 66. For Wang's film, see chapter 6. For Yan and Zhuang's film, see my "Cultivating Taiwanese," in *Documenting Taiwan on Film*, ed. Sylvia Li-chun Lin and Tze-lan D. Sang (New York: Routledge, 2012), 89–111.
- 67. The Nationalist Party over the past decade or two has come to be known as the GMD, the Guomindang (Kokumintō). In older texts and some twenty-first-century texts, the party is also referred to as the KMT. This is because in the Wade-Giles transliteration scheme the party name is rendered "Kuomintang."

Chapter 3. Locative Identity and Cultural Free Agency

- 1. Detailed histories of these literary journals are available in Kawahara Isao, *Taiwan shinbungaku undō no tenkai* (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1997), 179–222; and Xu Junya, *Rijushidai Taiwan xiaoshuo yanjiu* (Taibei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1994), 126–129.
- 2. The general treatment of so-called *kōminka* literature and more specifically studies of Chen Huoquan and Zhou Jinbo provide illustrative examples. However, such literary politics are limited to neither the postcolonial nor *kōminka* eras. See Chen Jianzhong, *Rijushiqi Taiwan zuojialun: xiandaixing, bentuxing, zhiminxing* (Taipei: Wunan tushu chuban, 2004), esp. 268–284.
- 3. Poshek Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993).
 - 4. Ibid., xiv.
 - 5. Ibid., xi.
- 6. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1961), 212.
- 7. Biographical information on Weng Nao is drawn from Yang Xingting (Yang Yizhou), "Yi yaozhe de juncai Weng Nao," in *Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, Wang Changxiong heji*, ed. Zhang Henghao (Taibei: Qianwei, 1991), 139–142; Xu Junya, "Huanyingzhiren—Weng Nao ji qi xiaoshuo (daixu)," in *Huangxi wenxue: Weng Nao zuopin xuanji*, ed. Chen Zaoxiang and Xu Junya (Zhanghua: Zhanghuaxianli wenhuazhongxin, 1997); and Zhang Henghao, "Huanyingzhiren," in *Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, Wang Changxiong heji*, ed. Zhang Henghao (Taibei: Qianwei, 1991), 13–15.
 - 8. Yang, "Yi yaozhe de juncai Weng Nao," 141.
 - 9. Ibid., 140.
 - 10. Ibid., 141.

- 11. Zhang Jianlong, "Shengxiyusi de 'gundilang'—Zhang Wenhuan," in *Zhang Wenhuan ji*, ed. Zhang Henghao (Taibei: Qianwei, 1991), 262–264.
 - 12. Weng Nao, "Utadokei," Taiwan bungei 2, no. 6 (June 1935): 46-48.
- 13. Weng Nao, "Yoake maeno koimonogatari," *Taiwan shin bungaku* 2, no. 2 (February 1937): 2–20.
 - 14. Weng Nao, "Gonjisan," Taiwan bungei 2, no. 7 (July 1935): 1-40.
- 15. The protagonist's name is unstable, a common name in either Chinese or Japanese. Though Kimiko drinks coffee and chats with Hayashi Haruo, perhaps Yuzhi falls in love with Lin Chunsheng. Moreover, a contemporary metropolitan reader would have seen only Hayashi on the printed page, but a colonial reader, perhaps as a function of her most recent conversation or the text she had just read, was likely to understand 林 as either "Lin" or "Hayashi." It is impossible, and here irrelevant, to know Weng Nao's intent, though it seems possible that he chose the name because it works in both languages.
 - 16. エデン.
 - 17. Weng Nao, "Zansetsu," Taiwan bungei 2, nos. 8-9 (August-September 1935): 36.
 - 18. Ibid., 41-42.
- 19. It is likely that Weng in this instance simply uses "geisha" as a euphemism for "prostitute." However, one cannot completely discount the notion of trained geisha in southern Taiwan during the Japanese colonial era.
 - 20. Weng, "Zansetsu," 55.
- 21. Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz, eds., "Introduction," *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 3.
- 22. Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," trans. H. H. Gerth, in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. Kurt Wolff (1903; New York: Free Press, 1950), 410.
- 23. Ye Shitao, "Wu Zhuoliu lun," in *Wu Zhuoliu ji*, ed. Zhang Henghao (Taibei: Qianwei, 1991), 277; Hong Mizhen, "Wu Zhuoliu shengping xiezuo nianbiao," in *Wu Zhuoliu ji*, ed. Zhang Henghao (Taibei: Qianwei, 1991), 291; Xu Junya, ed., *Rijüshiqi Taiwan xiaoshuo xuandu* (Taibei: Wanjuanlou, 1998), 413.
- 24. Zhang Henghao attributes the term to Governor-General Kobayashi Seizō; Mark Peattie credits Japanese journalists. Zhang Henghao, "Fan zhimin de langhua," in *Yizhan fengqing*, ed. Wang Changxiong (Taibei: Taibei xianli wenhua zhongxin, 1993), 316; Mark R. Peattie, "Japanese Attitudes towards Colonialism," in *The Japanese Colonial Empire*, 1895–1945, ed. Ramon H. Meyers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 121. See also Chen, *Rijushiqi Taiwan zuojialun*, 269–284.
 - 25. Peattie, "Japanese Attitudes," 121.
- 26. Jian Suzheng, "'Huangminhua yundong' botao: Taiwan zuojia de kumen yu guozu shenfen rentong wenti," http://www.complit.fju.edu.tw/TaiwanLit/paperPage.htm#Japan (site discontinued).
- 27. T. B. Macaulay, "Minute on Education," *Sources of Indian Tradition*, vol. 2, ed. W. Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 48.
- 28. The data are incomplete, but by 1942 at least 9,604 families (77,679 persons) had attained model family status (Wu Micha, ed., *Taiwanshi xiaoshidian* [Taibei: Yuanliu chubanshe, 2000], 153). Today in Taiwan there is still a population segment with truncated Japanese names. When the Chinese Nationalists assumed control of the islands in 1945, it seems that the Taiwanese were forced to adopt Chinese names. Since many children born under Japanese rule had no

Chinese name to return to, Japanese names, often three or four characters in length, were reduced to two. This is especially evident in women's names, where often the final *ko* was deleted.

- 29. Fanon, Wretched of the Earth, 209-210.
- 30. Unlike some European incursions into Africa and the Americas, which denied the existence of precolonial civilizations, the Japanese recognized imperial China as a civilization. However, 1937 regulations essentially prohibiting the publication of Chinese-language texts, the performance of traditional theater, and temple sacrifices assuredly stifled Han Taiwanese culture.
 - 31. Fanon, Wretched of the Earth, 212.
- 32. Translations of "The Doctor's Mother" are taken from the Jane Parish Yang translation included in *The Unbroken Chain*, ed. Joseph S. M. Lau (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 16.
- 33. Though the text makes no mention of it, it seems reasonable to speculate that Kanai visits Shintō shrines.
 - 34. Wu Zhuoliu, "The Doctor's Mother," 22.
 - 35. Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (New York: Routledge, 1994), 85.
 - 36. Ibid., 86.
 - 37. Ibid. (italics in original).
 - 38. Wu Zhuoliu, "The Doctor's Mother," 19.
 - 39. Ibid.
 - 40. Bhabha, Location of Culture, 87.
 - 41. Ibid.
 - 42. Wu Zhuoliu, "The Doctor's Mother, 19.
- 43. Wang Changxiong, "Honryū," in *Nanfang Nanyang Taiwan*, ed. Kurokawa Sō (Tokyo: Shinjuku Shobō, 1996), 220–250.
- 44. Lü also raises the issue of translation and postcolonial authorial intervention. In particular, he highlights the deletion of a significant passage at Itō's father's funeral and the discrepancies in the opening passage (the alteration of the interior *naichi* to northern country *kitakuni*) between the Yuanjing translation and the Qianwei translation. Though both are translations rendered by Lin Zhonglong, the Qianwei translation was also edited by Wang himself before its 1991 publication. Lü suggests that Wang's changes were designed to make the novella more anti-*kōminka*, but in fact they make his message more ambiguous. Lü Xingchang, "Wenzhang qiangushi, deshi cunxinzhi," *Guowen tiandi* 7, no. 5 (June 1985): 17–22.
 - 45. Zhang Henghao, "Fan zhimin de langhua," 310-313.
- 46. Dr. Hong is actually Hong *xiansheng*. Similarly, the doctor's mother is *xiansheng ma*. Both are transcriptions of spoken Taiwanese.
 - 47. Wang, "Honryū," 220.
 - 48. Ibid., 221.
 - 49. Wu Yongfu, "Kubi to Karada," Formosa, inaugural issue (1933): 59-66.
 - 50. Lü Heruo, "Seishū," Seishū (Taihoku: Shimizu Shoten, 1944).
- 51. Tarumi Chie, *Taiwan no Nihongo bungaku: Nihon tōchijidai no sakkatachi* (Tokyo: Goryūshoin, 1995), 99.
 - 52. Wang, "Honryū," 222.
 - 53. Tarumi, Taiwan no Nihongo bungaku, 100.
 - 54. Wang, "Honryū," 224.

- 55. Ibid., 235. Lü Xingchang suggests that much of the controversy over "Torrent" stems from the deletion of this portion of the narrative from the Lin translation reprinted in the Avanguard anthology. Lü, "Wenzhang qiangushi, deshi cunxinzhi," 17–20.
 - 56. Wang, "Honryū," 237.
 - 57. Ibid., 239.
 - 58. Ibid., 247.
 - 59. Fanon, Wretched of the Earth, 209.
- 60. Lü Heruo's short story "Fengshui" also takes up the issue of traditional Taiwanese death rituals. See chapter 6 for an exploration.
 - 61. Timothy O'Connor, Persons and Causes (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
 - 62. Richard Condon, The Manchurian Candidate (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959).
- 63. This admittedly very terse introduction to free will is derived from Timothy O'Connor, "Free Will," in The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2013), ed. Edward N. Zalta, accessed April 28, 2013, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2013/entries/freewill/.
 - 64. Fanon, Wretched of the Earth, 250.
 - 65. Lü, "Wenzhang qiangushi, deshi cunxinzhi," 21-22.

Chapter 4. Class Consciousness, Fictive Space, and the Colonial Proletariat

- 1. Liu Jie, *Taiwan wenhua zhanwang*, trans. and annot. (Japanese to Chinese) Lin Shuguang (Gaoxiong, Taiwan: Chunhui chubanshe, 1994), 7–8.
- 2. Kawahara Isao, *Taiwan shinbungaku undō no tenkai* (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1997), 134–136.
 - 3. Ibid., 136.
 - 4. Wu Micha, ed. Taiwanshi xiaoshidian (Taibei: Yuanliu chubanshe, 2000), 126.
- 5. Following the 1927 split in the Taiwan Culture Association, the *Taiwan New Citizens Post* published more conservatively.
 - 6. George Shea, Leftwing Literature in Japan (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1964), 69–72.
 - 7. Ibid., 71.
- 8. Beyond these circuits, in 1924 the association began convening an annual summer lecture series (*xiaji xuexiao*) in Wufeng (Taizhong County), which included discussion groups in addition to lectures. Wu, *Taiwanshi xiaoshidian*, 128.
- 9. "Proletariat" is usually translated (as opposed to transcribed as *puroretaria or puluo*) as *musansha* or *wuchanzhe* in both modern Japanese and modern Chinese; however, though in English "proletarian" or "the proletariat" usually refers to exploited urban unskilled labor, many contemporary Taiwanese scholars appear to understand *wuchanzhe* in a broader "possessor of nothing substantial—land, equipment, etc." sense. This expanded field of understanding thus includes sharecroppers as well as unskilled agrarian labor, in addition to urban unskilled labor.
 - 10. Anthem of the global communist movement.
- 11. Gerald Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 97.
 - 12. Ibid.
- 13. Jamil Khader, "Transnationalizing Aztlan: Rudolfo Anaya's *Heart of Aztlan* and US Proletarian Literature," *MELUS* 27, no. 1 (2002): 83.
- 14. This list is a modification of Khader's "strategies of proletarian literary production." Ibid., 83.

- 15. Josephine Herbst quoted in David Madden, ed., *Proletarian Writers of the Thirties* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), xxi.
- 16. Other English-language sources include Marián Gálik, "Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un and the Theory of Proletarian Realism," *Asian and African Studies* 5 (1969): 49–70; Marián Gálik, "The Proletarian Criticism of Kuo Mo-jo," *Asian and African Studies* 11 (1975): 145–160; Anthony James Kane, "The League of Left Wing Writers and Chinese Literary Policy" (diss., University of Michigan, 1982); Wang-chi Wong, *Politics and Literature in Shanghai* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1991).
- 17. Other English-language sources include Iwamoto Yoshio, "Aspects of the Proletarian Literature Movement," in *Japan in Crisis: Essays in Taishō Democracy*, ed. Bernard S. Silberman and Harry Harootunian (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 156–182; and Heather Bowen-Struyk and Norma Field, eds., *For Dignity, Justice, and Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).
- 18. Odagiri Hideo, *Shakaishugi, shakaishugi bungaku kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1994), 252–253.
 - 19. Shea, Leftwing Literature in Japan, 2.
- 20. Pickowicz also highlights Proletkult futurists Vladimir Mayakovsky and V. E. Meyerhold and observes three defining aspects of the group: domination by proletarianized intellectuals, support for a radical break with middle-class and traditional artistic conventions, and pursuit of radical experiments with language and artistic forms. In his notes on the pure proletariat group, beyond the writers' backgrounds, he highlights the anti-intellectualism of the group and group members' tendency to apply more traditional forms. Paul G. Pickowicz, *Marxist Literary Thought in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 73–74.
 - 21. Ibid., 71-75.
- 22. A Communist Party of the United States of America organization loosely connected to the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers. Eric Schocket, "Redefining American Proletarian Literature: Mexican Americans and the Challenge to the Tradition of Radical Dissent," *Journal of American and Comparative Cultures* 24, nos. 1–2 (Spring–Summer 2001): 61.
- 23. Waldo Frank quoted in Schocket, "Redefining American Proletarian Literature," 61. Also see Henry Hart, ed., *American Writers' Congress* (New York: International Publishers, 1935), 76.
- 24. Walter Rideout, *The Radical Novel in the United States 1900–1954* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), 12.
- 25. Conventional wisdom may hold that though the capitalist and the government may collude, it is generally the government that wields power, or at the very least this is the image the most powerful capitalists would want accepted as conventional wisdom; however, inverting this power structure reifies class identity over national identity, or in the case of Taiwan and Japan over colonial identity.
- 26. Though Lü Heruo (1914–1950?), Long Yingzong (1911–2000), Lai He (1894–1943), and perhaps Zhang Wenhuan (1909–1978) are all well-known, the inclusion of a Yang Kui short story in a Taiwanese junior high school reader established him as the best-known colonial-era author. In the 1990s references to Yang Kui even appeared in pop music.
- 27. Zhang Jilin, "Taiwan puroretaria bungaku tanjyō: Yō Ki to dainihon teikoku" (diss., Tokyo University, 2001).
- 28. Tarumi Chie, "An Author Listening to Voices from the Netherworld: Lü Heruo and the Kuso-Realism Debate," trans. Bert Scruggs, in *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule*, 1895–1945,

ed. Ping-hui Liao and David Der-wei Wang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 262–276. Tarumi's addition to the reevaluation and extension of the so-called *kuso*-realism debate advances that *kuso* (feces) was used by some of the Japanese romantics to describe the realism employed by members of the Jinminbunko (People's Archive) in Japan. In Taiwan during the later years of the colonial period writers associated with *Bungei Taiwan* (Literary Arts Taiwan), a literary journal dominated by Japanese writers, used the term to label fiction written by writers attached to the Taiwanese-writer-dominated literary journal *Taiwan bungaku* (Taiwan Literature).

- 29. Yang Shouyu, "Shengming de jiazhi," Taiwan minbao (1929): 254-256.
- 30. Yang Yunping, "Qiuju de bansheng," Taiwan minbao (1928): 217.
- 31. A-chin Hsiau (Xiao Aqin), "Kangri jitijiyi de minzuhua: Taiwan yijiuqilingniandai de zhanhou shidai yu rijushiqi Taiwan xinwenxue," *Taiwanshi yanjiu* 9, no. 1 (2002): 181–239.
- 32. In colonial Taiwan there existed a parallel school system. Children of Japanese colonist settlers and economic and military personnel attended *shōgakkō* primary schools, and Taiwanese children were educated in *kōgakkō* common schools. Eventually, educational opportunities were stratified according to entrance exams rather than ethnic lines; however, Zhuang Shuzhi suggests that the fact that exams were taken in Japanese ensured that the best opportunities were given to Japanese, and perhaps in some cases Taiwanese, middle-class children. Zhuang Shuzhi, *Taiwan xinwenxue guannian de mengya yu shijian* (Taibei: Maitian chubanshe, 1994).
- 33. Sasaki Takamaru (1898–1986) was a playwright who worked in television, film, and the theater. According to Liu Ping, he also played an important role in the development of proletarian theater in Japan and influenced the movement in China. Liu Ping, "Zhongguo zuoyixiju de fazhan yu Riben zuoyixiju de yingxiang" (Symposium on Proletarian Literature in East Asia, University of Chicago, November 1, 2002).
- 34. In 1928 this group would reorganize itself as the Taiwan Academic Research Society (Taiwan Gakujutsu Kenkyūkai) and come under the direction of Fu Chengli and the Tokyo branch of the Japanese Taiwanese Communist Party (Nihon Kyōsanto Taiwan *minshu shibu* Tōkyō *tokubetsubu*).
- 35. Tarumi Chie, *Taiwan no Nihongo bungaku* (Tokyo: Goryūshoin, 1995), 17–30; Liang Mingxiong, *Rijushiqi Taiwan xinwenxue yudong yanjiu* (Taibei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1996), 209–216.
- 36. One *wan* is 3.75 kilos; a thirty-*wan* barrel of gravel would weigh 112.5 kilograms, just under 250 pounds.
 - 37. Yang Kui, Yang Kui quanji, vol. 4, 6.
 - 38. Ibid., vol. 4, 8-9.
 - 39. Ibid., vol. 4, 9.
 - 40. Translations by Angelina Yee.
- 41. Angelina C. Yee, "Writing the Colonial Self: Yang Kui's Texts of Resistance and National Identity," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 17 (1995): 115–119; Leo Ching, *Becoming "Japanese"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 126–128; Faye Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 160–174.
- 42. Hamza Alavi, "Marxism, Ex-colonial Societies, and Strategies of the Left: Extract from a Letter to a Friend," accessed March 13, 2013, http://hamzaalavi.com/?p=213.
 - 43. Ibid.
- 44. Leon Trotsky, "Introduction," in *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, by Harold Robert Isaacs (New York: Atheneum, 1966), i–ix.

- 45. Coincidentally, one of Lamming's characters, a writer, befriends a communist organizer.
- 46. Yang Shouyu's competence in Japanese is perhaps questionable. Though Huang Wuzhong and Zhang Henghao believe he graduated from common school, which would in fact make him competent in the Japanese language, Xu Junya's research indicates that he did not graduate from common school. Xu has been unable to ascertain if Yang Shouyu did in fact pen the short "Rai Wa to shōsetsu" (Lai He and Fiction). If Yang did actually write the elegy, then this would be his only known Japanese-language work. Xu Junya, "Yang Shouyu xiansheng shengpingzhuzuo nianbiao chugao," *Wenxue Taiwan* 23 (1997): 168–169.
- 47. Licentiate (*xiucai*) was the lowest grade of successful examinee in the Qing Empire's meritocratic bureaucracy.
 - 48. Xu, "Yang Shouyu xiansheng shengpingzhuzuo nianbiao chugao," 154-155.
- 49. The nature and source of these scripts is unclear, though it is quite likely they were from Xiamen or other Fujian sources. Lai He's connections with Xiamen as a doctor and writer are well documented, as is the close relationship between Yang Shouyu and Lai He.
 - 50. Xu, "Yang Shouyu xiansheng shengpingzhuzuo nianbiao chugao," 163.
 - 51. Huang Wuzhong, "Yang Shouyu de xiaoshuoshijie," Wenxuejie 11 (1984): 67.
 - 52. Xu Junya, interview with the author, February 2002.
- 53. Shi Yilin, "Shilun rizhishiqi Yang Shouyu de xinjiutishi," *Zhongguo xueshu niankan* 20 (1999): 614.
 - 54. Ibid., 615.
- 55. Peng Ruijin, "Yang Shouyu xiaoshuo 'Diandaosi,'" *Taiwan wenyi (xinshengban)* 8-1, no. 48 (1995): 29.
- 56. In the original Chinese text Yang uses the Japanese *kumiai* for "cooperative" rather than the Chinese *hezuoshe* or *zuzhi*. This is another example of the hybrid Chinese that writers such as Yang Shouyu, Wang Shilang, and Zhu Dianren employed. At this level it is merely an insertion of Japanese *kanji* compounds into Chinese sentences, but there are also cases where syntax itself exhibits a Japanese inflection. One of the most common examples of Japanese inflection in his writing is the use of *kekkyoku* rather than the more colloquial *jieguo*.
- 57. Yang Shouyu (Yang Songmao), "Juelie," *Taiwan xinminbao* (1933): 396–399, reprinted in Yang Shouyu, *Yang Shouyu ji*, ed. Zhang Henghao (Taibei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1991), 225–243.
- 58. Su Huizhen, "Yonggan 'Juelie' de Yang Shouyu," *Lianhe wenxue Unitas* 180 (1999): 119–120.
 - 59. Ibid., 122.
- 60. During the colonial era, several publishers and book printers were located in Wanhua, which is also known for certain criminal elements.
- 61. In the postcolonial era, Wang also experimented with children's literature. Weng Jiayin and Lin Wenbao, "Wang Shilang yu ertong wenxue," *Dongshi yuwen xuekan* 7 (1994): 117–219.
 - 62. Mao Yibo, "Taiwan laozuojia Wang Shilang," Zhuanji wenxue 46, no. 1 (1985): 89.
- $63.\,$ From September 1936 to May 1937 Wang acted as editor for the journal because Yang Kui was extremely ill.
- 64. Zhang Henghao, "Heise qingnian de beijü," in *Wang Shilang, Zhu Dianren heji* (Taibei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1991), 103–135.

- 65. The symbolic reading of *Chidaobao* (Equator) as "Red Path" should not be overlooked. Generally speaking, there are no extant issues of these journals available to the public. According to Shi Shu, there are at least two extant issues of *Equator*. Shi Shu, "Sanshi niandai Taiwan zuoyi wenxue," Xiandai Taiwan wenxue yantaohui, Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy Preparatory Office, Academia Sinica, December 17, 1994.
- 66. Chen Fangming, "Taiwan xinwenxue yu pipan jingshen de taitou," *Lianhe wenxue Unitas* 185 (2000): 142–143.
- 67. "Tenkō literature" refers to works produced by writers claiming to have renounced, or converted away from, communism and Marxism following the June 1933 joint statement of conversion by two central Japanese Communist Party leaders, Sano Manabu and Nabeyama Sadachika.
- 68. Zhang Henghao, "Ranshao de linghun—Wang Shilang jixü," in *Wang Shilang, Zhu Dianren heji* (Taibei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1991), 14.
 - 69. Zhang Henghao, "Heise qingnian de beijü," 103-108.
 - 70. Lin Wenyue, "Ping louxiangqingshi," Lianhe wenxue Unitas 31 (1987): 213.
 - 71. Kawahara Isao, interview with the author, October 2002.
 - 72. Zhong Zhaozheng, "Taiwan wentan de buxiu laobing," Wenxue sichao 12 (1982): 62.
- 73. Miriam Silverberg, *Changing Song* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).
 - 74. Wang Jinjiang (Wang Shilang), "Yeyu," Diyixian, no. 1 (1935): 152-158.
- 75. Reports in both the *Taiwan New Citizens Post* and other newspapers indicate that there were in fact contemporaneous strikes by movable-type setters in Taihoku.
- 76. For another example of the egregious violence against children in fiction of the era, see Yang Shouyu's "Shengming de jiazhi" (The Value of Life).
- 77. Zhang Henghao, ed., Wang Shilang, Zhu Dianren heji (Taibei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1991), 69.
- 78. His ten known short stories are contained in the Avanguard collection, but oral histories and extant critiques indicate that other works were published.
- 79. Zhu Dianren (Zhu Shifeng), "Daodu," *Taiwan xinminbao* (1932): 400–403, reprinted in *Wang Shilang, Zhu Dianren heji*, ed. Zhang Henghao (Taibei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1991), 147–162.
 - 80. Zhang Henghao, "Ranshao de linghun," 14.

Chapter 5. Women Writers, Female Roles, and the Body Politic

- 1. Judith Butler, Bodies That Matter (New York: Routledge, 1993), x.
- 2. Ye Shitao, *Taiwan wexueji 1, Wenxue Taiwan congkan 2* (Gaoxiong: Chunhui chubanshe, 1996), 2.
- 3. She also wrote that Li Xinghua, a writer associated with *Minzoku Taiwan*, was also a Japanese man. Yang Qianhe, "Yinqie qidai geng shenzhong de yanjiu taidu," *Wenxue Taiwan* 16 (October 1995): 331–334.
- 4. Weng Shengfeng, "Rizhishiqi zhiyefunü ticai wenxue de bianqian ji nüxing diwei," *Taiwan xuezhi* 1 (April 2010): 1–31.
- 5. In the case of the Japanese Empire, see Takenaka Nobuko, *Shokuminchi Taiwan no Nihonjōsei seikatsushi* (Tokyo: Tabeta shoten, 1995); Noriko J. Horiguchi, *Women Adrift* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); and Kimberly T. Kono, *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). A notable

exception to the rule is Anne Sokolsky, "Yang Qianhe and Huang Fengzi: Two Voices of Colonial Taiwan," *Japan Studies Association Journal* 8 (2010): 239–266.

- 6. Frederic Jameson, "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism," *Social Text* 15 (Autumn 1986): 65–88.
- 7. E. Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 22.
- 8. Suzuki Michiko, *Becoming Modern Women* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 65-78.
 - 9. Ibid.
 - 10. Zhang Bihua, "Mikaduki," Forumosa 3 (July 1934): 22-23.
 - 11. Ibid., 25.
 - 12. Ibid., 24.
- 13. Lu Xun, "After Nora Walks Out, What Then?" (Beijing Women's Normal College, December 26, 1923), trans. Wen-Chao Li, accessed March 9, 2013, http://userwww.sfsu.edu/wenchao/translation/nora.pdf.
 - 14. Koyama Shizuko, Ryōsai Kenbo (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
 - 15. Ding Naifei, Obscene Things (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), xiii.
 - 16. Zhang, "Mikaduki," 29.
 - 17. Xu Junya, Rijushidai Taiwan xiaoshuo yanjiu (Taibei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1994), 467.
- 18. Ding Fengzhen, "Taiwan rijushiqi duanpianxiaoshuo zhong de nüxingjiaose" (Master's thesis, National Chenggong University, 1998), 63.
- 19. Xu Junya, "Rijushiqi Taiwanxiaoshuo zhong de renwuxingxiang-yi nüxing, zhishifenzi, nongmin wei tantaoduixiang," *Si yu yan: renwen yu shehuikexue zazhi* 31, no. 1 (1993): 73–109.
 - 20. Ibid., 73-88.
- 21. Wen Wenlong, "Shounan nüxing de daiyanren: lun Lü Heruo xiaoshuozhong de nüxing jiaose," *Taiwan wenyi* 154 (1996): 85–95.
- 22. Shen Naihui, "Rijushidai Taiwanxiaoshuo zhong nüxingyiti shenxi (shang)," *Wenxue Taiwan* 15 (Summer 1995): 284–306.
- 23. Sally Lieberman, *The Mother and Narrative Politics in Modern China* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998), 19–51.
- 24. Ding Fengzhen, "Taiwan rijushiqi duanpianxiaoshuo zhong de nüxingjiaose," conclusion.
- 25. Biographical data for Ye Tao taken from Yang Cui, "Ye Tao," *Rijuyilai Taiwan nüzuojia xiaoshuo xuandu*, vol. 1, ed. Qiu Guifen (Taibei: Nüshu wenhua, 2001), 53.
 - 26. Ye Tao, "Ai no kesshō," Xinwenxue yuebao 1 (1936).
 - 27. Yang Kui's short story "Nanzan" (Difficult Delivery) describes a similar situation.
- 28. Yang Cui, "'Ai de jiejing' daodu," *Rijuyilai Taiwan nüzuojia xiaoshuo xuandu*, vol. 1, ed. Qiu Guifen (Taibei: Nüshu wenhua, 2001), 62.
- 29. For more on parks in Taiwan, especially Taipei, see Joseph R. Allen, *Taipei* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 91–112.
 - 30. Yang Cui, "'Ai de jiejing' daodu," 63.
 - 31. Huang Baotao, "Jinsei," Taiwan shinbungaku 1 (1935): 20-22.
 - 32. Huang Baotao, "Kanjyō," Taiwan bungei 3, no. 4 (1936): 22-26.
- 33. As was noted earlier, in "Torrent," Japan was referred to as *naichi* and Taiwan was referred to as *hondō*. In "Feelings," Tarō, according to the narrator, understands himself as a union of *naichi* and Taiwan, and he speaks *the language of the interior (naichigo)* and Taiwanese.

- 34. Kono, Romance, Family, and Nation, 43-74.
- 35. Ibid.
- 36. In the case of Sakaguchi's work, the mother is Native Taiwanese, not a descendant of Han Chinese immigrants.
 - 37. Ding Fengzhen, "Taiwan rijushiqi duanpianxiaoshuo zhong de nüxingjiaose," 3.2.
- 38. Of the Taihoku Higher Academy for Girls, founded in 1931, Patricia Tsurumi writes: "This institution, about which government general records and the Taiwan Education Society's own History of Education Reform in Taiwan (Taiwan kyōiku enkakushi) are strangely silent, offered a two-year regular course and a one-year graduate course to higher girls' school graduates. The academy's role in the colonial education system is, however, unclear, because little is known regarding its curriculum or the interests of the students." Patricia Tsurumi, Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 219.
- 39. Yang also notes in her autobiographical chronology that she delayed her graduation until July in order to participate with a classmate one year her junior in a Ping-Pong tournament. In the June tournament she and Ōtsuka Naoko took the doubles title. Yang Qianhe, *Jinsei no pulizumu* (Taibei: Nantian shuju, 1998), 352.
- 40. Yang Qianhe, "Hanasaku kisetsu," *Taiwan bungaku* 2, no. 3 (1942): 144–161, reprinted in *Hanasaku kisetsu* (Taibei: Nantian shuju, 2001).
 - 41. Ōsako Rinko, Musume jidai (Tokyo: Kaiseisha, 1940).
 - 42. Yang Qianhe, "Hanasaku kisetsu," 018.
- 43. It seems plausible that a collection of essays detailing the thoughts and emotions of young women in Japan proper would also be less than transparent for Japanese and creole female teenagers raised in Taiwan. Moreover, by the same standard, it would probably be more accessible to Taiwanese teenagers born and raised in Tokyo.
- 44. For more on women's magazines in prewar and war-era Japan and China, see Sarah Frederick, *Turning Pages* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006); and Sylvia Li-chun Lin, "The Discursive Formation of the 'New' Chinese Women, 1860–1930" (diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1998).
- 45. Otokami Tamako, "Naichijin musume no kekkon muzukashi wo dôsuru," *Taiwan fujinkai* 1 (1934): 24–31.
- 46. Yang Cui, Rijushiqi Taiwanfunü jiefang yundong-yi Taiwanminbao wei fenxi changyu 1920–1932 (Taibei: Shibao wenhua chuban, 1993), 54–65.
 - 47. Ibid.
- 48. This Chinese-language section also implies an attempt at intergenerational communication. The sector of the female population who could read Chinese would largely be older women; the younger generation, like the paperboy, were largely Japanese literate.
 - 49. Yang Qianhe, "Hanasaku kisetsu," 004.
 - 50. Ibid., 026.
- 51. Xu Junya, "'Huakaishijie' daodu," *Rijuyilai Taiwan nüzuojia xiaoshuo xuandu*, vol. 1, ed. Qiu Guifen (Taibei: Nüshu wenhua, 2001), 94–101.
 - 52. Yang Qianhe, "Hanasaku kisetsu," 018.
 - 53. Xu, "'Huakaishijie' daodu," 94-96.
 - 54. Ibid., 96.
 - 55. Yang Qianhe, "Hanasaku kisetsu," 010.
 - 56. Ibid., 021.
 - 57. Xu, "'Huakaishijie' daodu," 98.

- 58. Yang Qianhe, "Hanasaku kisetsu," 035-036.
- 59. Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986), cited in Partha Chatterjee, "The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question," in *Postcolonial Discourses*, ed. Gregory Castle, 155 (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001).
 - 60. Ibid.
 - 61. Chatterjee, "Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question," 156 (italics mine).
 - 62. Ibid., 163.
- 63. Xu Junya, "Rizhishiqi taiwanxiaoshuo zhong de funü wenti," *Taiwan wenxue luncong-cong xiandai dao dangdai* (Taibei: Shidai shuyuan, 1997), 48–49.
- 64. Actually, Itō refuses to speak Taiwanese with either parent. Unsurprisingly, it is his mother who comes to Itō's home on the New Year holiday in an attempt to reconcile her son and husband—a restoration of the spiritual sphere.
- 65. One striking exception to this is "Nanzan" (Difficult Delivery), a story rich in reversed gendered roles and metaphors; even the title implies birth. The first-person narrator, a male, remains at home and sews children's school uniforms while his wife travels to southern Taiwan to sell them. In the single class clash contained in the narrative, a fight over a doll between the landlord's second wife's daughter and the narrator's daughter, the second wife argues with the narrator. Both landlord and merchant roles are assigned to women, while the male narrator remains at home sewing and caring for the children.

Chapter 6. The Appearance of Colonial Taiwan in Fiction and Film

- 1. For examples of these, see Chen Roujin, *Taiwan xifang wenming chutiyan* (Taipei: Maitian chubanshe, 2005); Chen Roujin, *Taiwan modeng laoguanggao* (Taipei: Huangguan chubanshe, 2008); and Joseph R. Allen, *Taipei* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).
 - 2. Susan Stewart, On Longing (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 23.
- 3. In "A Chat with the Governor General about Discontinuing Chinese Columns in Daily Newspapers," Kobayashi Seizō allegedly offered that "bearing in mind the principle behind my administration, making Taiwan more completely a part of Japan, I can barely contain my enthusiasm as I celebrate the move to enlarge the use of the language and rhetoric of Japan proper for reporting and discontinue the Chinese, or more appropriately the Taiwanese, section of the newspaper, which in the past accounted for one quarter or one half of it." *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, April 1, 1937, 144.
- 4. Linda Connor, Glenn Albrecht, Nick Higgenbotham, Sonia Freeman, and Wayne Smith, "Environmental Change and Human Health in Upper Hunter Communities of New South Wales, Australia," *EcoHealth* 1, suppl. 2 (2004), 55.
- 5. Sanjay Khanna, "What Does Climate Change Do to Our Heads?" accessed April 25, 2013, http://www.worldchanging.com/archives/007906.html.
- 6. Zhu Dianren, "Qiuxin," *Taiwan xinwenxue* 1, no. 2 (March 1936), translated by Sylvia Li-chun Lin as "Autumn Tidings," *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series* 19 (July 2006): 27–37.
 - 7. Ibid.
 - 8. Ibid.
- 9. Marilyn Ivy, Discourses of the Vanishing (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 12.

- 10. For a nuanced examination of the difference between assimilation and *kōminka*, see Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 89–132.
- 11. Wu Zhuoliu, "The Doctor's Mother," trans. Jane Parish Yang, in *The Unbroken Chain*, ed. Joseph S. M. Lau (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 22. See chapter 3 for a close reading of this passage.
- 12. Etienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," trans. Chris Turner, in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, by Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (London: Verso, 1991), 104.
 - 13. Stewart, On Longing, 23.
- 14. John J. Su, *Ethics and Nostalgia in the Contemporary Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 5.
 - 15. Ibid., 5.
 - 16. Ibid.
 - 17. Lü Heruo, "Fengshui," Taiwan wenxue 2, no. 4 (October 1942): 40-57.
- 18. For more on this split and *Taiwan Literature*, see Kawahara Isao, "Chūgoku zasshi kaidai 'Bungei Taiwan,'" *Ajia keizai shiryō geppō* 186 (February 1975): 1–18.
- 19. Tarumi Chie, "An Author Listening to Voices from the Netherworld: Lü Heruo and the Kuso-Realism Debate," trans. Bert M. Scruggs, in *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.
 - 20. Ibid., 264.
 - 21. Kaneseki (Kanaseki)? Jyōbu, "Kantōgo," Minzoku Taiwan 1, no. 1 (July 1941).
- 22. Tarumi, "An Author Listening to Voices from the Netherworld," 264. For an in-depth examination of the uses of the quotidian in colonial East Asia, in this case Korea, see Serk-Bae Suh, *Treacherous Translation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 71–103.
 - 23. Aaron Santesso, A Careful Longing (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 13.
 - 24. Hofer in Santesso, A Careful Longing, 13.
 - 25. Banks in Santesso, A Careful Longing, 13.
 - 26. Santesso, A Careful Longing, 13.
 - 27. Ibid., 15.
- 28. Zhong Zhaozheng, "Xu" (Introduction), in *Taiwan lianqiao*, by Wu Zhuoliu, trans. Zhong Zhaozheng (Irvine, CA: Taiwan chubanshe, 1987), 3.
- 29. Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 19.
- 30. Jackson Lears, "Looking Backward: In Defense of Nostalgia," *Lingua Franca* 7, no. 10 (1998): 59.
 - 31. Su, Ethics and Nostalgia in the Contemporary Novel, 2.
- 32. The following is a tip-of-the-iceberg discussion of Ricouer's thoughts on memory. For those more familiar with Ricouer, this study is more concerned with the shades of creativity and memory, not feats of memorization or recollection. Paul Ricouer, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 19, 4.
 - 33. Ibid.
 - 34. Ibid.
- 35. See, for example, Keith Dromm, "'Based on True Events': Filmmakers' Obligations to History," *International Journal of Applied Philosophy* 20, no. 2 (2006): 263–276.

- 36. A clear example of this is the opening sequence in Wu Nianzhen's *A Borrowed Life*, discussed in chapter 2.
- 37. Tze-lan D. Sang, "Reclaiming Taiwan's Colonial Modernity," in *Documenting Taiwan on Film: Issues and Methods in New Documentaries*, ed. Sylvia Li-chun Lin and Tze-lan D. Sang (New York: Routledge, 2012), 60; Sylvia Li-chun Lin, "Emerald Horizon: A New Paradigm for Representing Colonial History" (Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association, October 12, 2012, Boulder, CO).
- 38. A notable exception to this is the *Saideke balai* (*Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale*), dir. Wei Desheng (2012).
 - 39. Lu Xun, "Zixu," Lu Xun quanji (Beijing: Renminwenxue chubanshe, 1987), 416.
- 40. Lee Haiyan, "Woman, Sacrifice, and the Limits of Sympathy," Frontiers of Literary Studies in China 6, no. 2 (June 2012): 184.
 - 41. Shu-mei Shih, Visuality and Identity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 14.
 - 42. Ibid.
- 43. Yingjin Zhang, Cinema, Space, and Polylocality in a Globalizing China (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 20.
 - 44. Miriam Hansen, Babel and Babylon (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).
 - 45. Sang, "Reclaiming Taiwan's Colonial Modernity," 59.
 - 46. Ibid., 60.
 - 47. Lin, "Emerald Horizon."
- 48. This is only a brief introduction to colonial-era documentaries; for an in-depth post-colonial study from a film and media studies perspective, see Guo-Juin Hong, *Cinema Taiwan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 13–32.
- 49. To be precise, the film was produced under the auspices of the Japanese colonial governor's office and the military police led by the colonial government; however, by the 1940s, many Taiwanese were employed as bureaucrats and police officers.
- 50. For reflections on the Taiwanese elements of *Hill of No Return* and two of Wang's other films, collectively known as his Taiwan Trilogy, see Hong, *Cinema Taiwan*, 139–158.
- 51. This labor is nothing new for viewers in Taiwan, who are accustomed to subtitles on all television programs, which were originally designed to allow Chinese speakers access to Taiwanese programming and vice versa. More recently, this practice has come to encompass Hakka and Native Taiwanese television programming. In any case, viewers are, in fact, reading text in addition to reading images and interpreting recorded language.
- 52. The diegesis contains only two seated individuals, the theater owner/director and the proprietor of the teahouse. Perhaps the fact that they remain seated is a form of protest for an older or missing generation. The younger actors and actresses, as well as Ajin and Yoshi, stand as they listen, foreshadowing their future.
- 53. It is important to note that the corpses of both Taiwanese and newly arrived political exiles disappeared following the February Twenty-Eighth Incident and during the ensuing White Terror. For a particularly stark and chilling evocation of the era, see the preface in Huang Chun-ming, *The Taste of Apples*, trans. Howard Goldblatt (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), xv.
- 54. As is the case with all the films discussed in this chapter, with the exception of *Proceeding South through Taiwan* and *Patriotic Taiwanese Youth-Troop*, the local audience has been formally educated in standard Chinese (*guoyu*) by the state.

- 55. Joseph S. M. Lau, ed., *The Unbroken Chain* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), ix–xvi.
 - 56. Roberta Rubenstein, Home Matters (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 6.
 - 57. Ricouer, Memory, History, Forgetting, 4.

Afterword

- 1. Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese*" (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 176–177.
- 2. John Dryden, "On Translation," *Theories of Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 17.
- 3. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1995), 20–21.
 - 4. Svetlana Boym, The Future of Nostalgia (New York: Basic Books, 2001).
- 5. Quoted in Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 16.

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