Translating Kōminka: Shaping Narratives of Japanese Rule in Taiwan through Translation post-1975

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Abstract

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This thesis explores the role of translators in shaping historical, political and cultural narratives of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan (1895-1945). It focuses on the translation into Mandarin Chinese of Japanese-language texts written by Taiwanese women between 1934 and 1943, drawing on a corpus of short stories and literary essays with themes ranging from infertility and free love to the choice between a life of work and life as a housewife. The circumstances of their publication gives these texts great political significance. Written under intensified assimilation policies that saw Japanese enforced as the language of Taiwan's textual culture from the mid-1930s, their language of composition was a direct consequence of Japan's imperial presence in Taiwan. Then, after 1945, laws enforced by Taiwan's Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) government subjected these stories and essays to censorship and cultural erasure on account of their symbolic relationship with the former regime. This thesis shows how translation has played a central part in the recovery and repositioning of these texts, providing a medium of mediation on the significance of Taiwan's colonial history to more contemporary times. Through close analysis of translation, retranslation and adaptation carried out by Taiwanese literary scholars, as well as relatives of the women authors concerned, this study shows how translated text is used to comment on linguistic politics in colonial society, as well as on Taiwanese femininity and its history. It finds that rather than engaging in sweeping interventions that wholly alter the content of texts at the level of plot, translators instead employ subtle reframing devices to reshape the political significance of a text in their care. This analysis showcases literature's significant contribution to Taiwan-centric histories of the twentieth century, whilst characterising translation as a history-making force in the context of Taiwan's Japanese-language literature. By taking as its foci both source text and translation, this thesis considers the linguistic designs of the Japanese colonial project both during and after the imperial moment, showing how works written in its throes possess a cultural influence that stretches beyond 1945, expressed through the medium of translation.

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Preface
This is What We Must Transform First

Strange events surrounded writer and critic Xu Shoushang during the final two weeks of his life in February 1948. In his diary, which he kept meticulously, Xu recounts money going missing from his residence on February 6th, followed by a disturbing break-in during the early hours of the 13th. With hindsight, these intrusions into Xu's home eerily foreshadow his death on the 18th when he was murdered in the middle of the night in his quarters at National Taiwan University. The announcement of his murder in *New Life* (C. *Xinsheng bao*) on 23rd February reassured readers that 'the police force has used all their power to solve this case in the past three days,' going on to accuse Xu's former colleague Gao Wuche of the crime (Xu 1993, 13).[1]

Whether Gao Wuche was guilty or not, it does seem likely that Xu's former employers had a role in his murder. From August 1946 to May 1947 Xu served as director of the Provincial Bureau of Translation and Compilation (C. *Taiwansheng bianyi guan*) – a position he took at the insistence of his friend Chen Yi, Chief Executive of Taiwan between August 1945 and May 1947. To take up the job, Xu migrated from China to Taiwan, leaving behind an extensive academic and administrative career. He was well-qualified for the position of director, having held a professorship at Peking University between 1912 and 1917, served as the president of the Beijing Women's College of Arts and Sciences between 1934 and 1937, as well as holding a professorship at West Chengdu University during the Second Sino-Japanese war ('Xu Shoushang' 2012, 3). Administrative experience aside, Xu also had the Japanese language proficiency necessary to oversee the translation of documents left behind by Taiwan's previous

[1] Throughout this thesis, quotations in Mandarin Chinese will be marked by the letter 'C', Japanese the letter 'J', Taiwanese Hokkien the letter 'T', Hakka the letter 'H'. Mandarin Chinese romanization will be provided in *pinyin*, except for the names of Taiwanese scholars who regularly opt for an alternative romanization, and names commonly referred to using a different romanization system (e.g. Chiang Kai-shek). Japanese romanization is in Hepburn, Taiwanese Hokkien romanization in Tai-lō, the official romanization system of the Taiwanese government.

government, the Japanese imperial administration, into Chinese. Xu, like many others in his generation including Chen Yi, had studied in Japan at the beginning of the twentieth century. Between 1902 and 1909 he studied at Tokyo Normal University, where he co-edited the magazine *New Life* (C. *Xinsheng*) with Lu Xun. Such a background, coupled with Xu's good relationship with Chen Yi, made him the ideal overseer of a government department tasked with easing the transition between a Japanese government and the new Chinese Nationalist Party (C. *Kuomintang,* henceforth KMT) administration in Taiwan.

The idea of creating a government office for translation as part of regime change had emerged early on in plans for a KMT government in Taiwan. It is first mentioned in the *Outline Plan to Assume Control in Taiwan* (C. *Taiwan jieguan jihua gangyao*) published by the Taiwan Investigation Committee (C. *Taiwan diaocha weiyuanhui*) on 23rd March 1945, a committee led by Chen Yi (Huang 1998, 94). Article 51 of the eighth chapter on 'educational culture' considers the issue of cultural products from the preceding period of Japanese rule, stipulating how said books and films should be dealt with under the new regime:

> Of the publications printed and films released during the period of Japanese occupation, those that slander our nation and our party, or that misinterpret history, should be destroyed without exception. Simultaneously, we will establish a bureau for translation and compilation, which will translate and compile educational materials, as well as essential works of literature and arts. (Huang 1998, 95)

The urgency of dealing with colonial literature and cinema is emphasised by the need to control the narrative of KMT takeover in Taiwan, and to limit the circulation of subversive material. Like the Nazi government in occupied France, where the Institud Allemand de Paris was tasked with producing 500 'prioritized translations' (*liste Mattias*) from German to French between 1940 and 1944 (Lombez 2017, 655), KMT planners prioritised the transfer of language as an

essential act in ensuring the successful consolidation of power on the island. Taiwan's Bureau of Translation and Compilation would enable this transfer, whilst also functioning as a cultural filter, differentiating between the helpful material to be preserved from the previous regime and the politically subversive material to be 'destroyed without exception'. The Bureau would compensate for the KMT's administrative vulnerabilities in the new territory, by allowing their government to make use of the systems of their predecessors whilst removing negative wartime depictions of the KMT from public view.

The letters between Chen Yi and Xu Shoushang, meanwhile, make it clear that in the former's understanding, the Bureau's operations should extend beyond merely identifying potentially politically incendiary materials. Chen is rather more ambitious in his aspirations for the department, seeing potential for transformative political and social change through its interventions. Viewing language as central in the 'psychological construction' (C. *xinli gouzao*) of the Taiwanese population, Chen Yi suggests that the translation activity at the Bureau would allow for political intervention on a psychological level:

> And so, the psychological construction of the people is vital work in the ruling of Taiwan. What's more, the difficult aspect will be transforming the tools of (their) psychology – spoken and written language. This is what we must transform first. (Huang 1998, 96)

Through an understanding of language and its relationship with the mind, Chen places translators in a unique position as the agents of transformation; actors with access to tools of psychological influence, able to intervene in language and shape its final form.[2] Chen's ambitious assessment of the Bureau's potential is echoed in its wide and loosely defined remit

[2] Chen Yi's rhetoric here is reminiscent of Winston Churchill's remarks in a 1943 speech delivered at Harvard University, where he discusses the political merits of English as a universal language. In the imperial transformations engendered by the Second World War, the integration of other territories through language was increasingly being seen as a possible alternative to the protracted and expensive pursuit of territorial possession proper. See Immerwahr 2020, 321-322.

as detailed in Article 2 of *Organizational Rules of the Taiwan Translation and Compilation Bureau* (C. *Taiwan bianyi guan zuzhi guicheng*) published in the month of its opening in August 1946. Many of the texts mentioned in this document have a connection to education – textbooks, reference works, dictionaries and so on. At the same time, the Bureau was to cover 'famous academic works from around the world', texts 'relating to the customs of this province and other kinds of valuable documents' along with any other works displaying a 'civilized culture and advanced scholarship' (Huang 1998, 98). In other words, the list of works to be considered was broad, and largely at the discretion of the Bureau and its employees.

The translation of some texts was more urgent than others, however. *The Working Situation of the Taiwan Bureau of Translation and Compilation* (C. *Taiwan sheng bianyi guan gongzuo gaikuang*) published in 1947, gives a sense of the works that were prioritized during the first few months of operation (Huang 2017, 100-103). In amongst the educational publications are literary works including *Lu Xun and the Story of Ah-Q* (C. *Lu Xun jiqi A Q zhengzhuan*) and *A Collection of Chinese Stories* (C. *Zhongguo gushiji*). Alongside this influx of literary culture from the Chinese mainland, Xu Shoushang's comments at a press conference on 7th August 1946 suggest that his vision for the Bureau was as tied up with continuity as with change:

> Of course we should eradicate the militaristic jingoism that appeared in this province during the period of Japanese rule. But we cannot suppress the value of purely academic research (from that period). We should take this research and add to it in order to move forward. If we take the positive achievements of the Japanese scholars who carried out research in Taiwan through translation and compilation, we can turn (them) into a collection of research focused on Taiwan. I believe there would be at least 100 substantial volumes. (Huang 1998, 101)

Though Huang Yingzhe (2017, 96) argues that Xu's remarks here echo the sentiments of Chen Yi's earlier letters, arguably he exercises greater restraint in his discussion of breaking with the past. As with other areas of governance, the KMT's desire to establish a capable, high-functioning government within a small time-frame necessitated some spill-over between the regimes, regardless of what official rhetoric proclaimed about a clean break with the past. This included intermediaries involved in the relocation and repatriation of the 350,000 or so Japanese citizens who remained in Taiwan after 1945 (Dawley 2015, 121) as well as the thousands of Japanese officials employed in government ministries across the country.[3] Xu's pragmatism, it seems, led him to see the same potential benefits in the documents left behind by the imperial administration as those being reaped from Japanese personnel still residing in the former colony.

The Bureau's ambitious program, whether compiling Chinese novels or translating Japanese documents, came to an abrupt halt in the political upheaval of 1947. Between February 27th and 28th, anti-government rallies in Taipei were put down by the KMT army, with many civilians killed in what is now referred to as 'The 228 Incident' (C. *Ererba shijian*). The escalation of violence across Taiwan lasted till May, and the failure of the KMT administration to restore calm weakened Chen Yi's position substantially: he resigned from the position of Chief Executive on May 11th 1947. Widely viewed as Chen Yi's personal project, the Bureau's fate was closely tied to the beleaguered Chief Executive, and as such its operations were wound up almost immediately after Chen Yi's resignation. The Bureau was subsumed into the Education Ministry soon after, though the works it had prepared for publication were for the most part abandoned – Lai Tzu-yun (2017, 40) notes that only one, Li Jiye's *Essays on the Four Seasons* (C. *Siji suibi*) reached the public. The change in direction directly affected

[3] It was a well-stocked bureaucracy – as Sayaka Chatani uncovers, there were 86,212 bureaucrats in Taiwan in 1940 catering to a population of six million. Chatani 2018, 6.

Xu Shoushang and other translators at the Bureau, who quickly and unknowingly moved from political insiders to outsiders. Xu's fall from favour is encapsulated in how he was told the news of the Bureau's imminent closure: in the papers, like everyone else. His diary entry for May 17th 1947 notes:

> *New Life* and *The Provincial Gazette* are both reporting that through a resolution passed at the first Government Affairs Council, the Bureau of Translation and Compilation will be revoked. It is strange, as I heard nothing about this in advance. From my own perspective, I can feel grateful for being stripped of my official responsibilities. The whole institute, though, was an office of the cultural establishment. I can't help but say that its sudden closure is a loss for Taiwan's culture. (Xu 1993, 250)

This entry of Xu's diary stands out as a rare moment of political commentary in what is otherwise a mundane record of his daily life. It underlines that whilst the Bureau represented the institutionalisation of translation and its explicit adoption as part of a broader 'political strategy', as Wang Huei-chen (2019, 359) notes, it also gave the translators in its workforce a new political significance. Whilst Japanese-Chinese bilingualism may have had its perks prior to 1947, those benefits were rooted less in the linguistic skills of the translator, and more in their perceived political value. That value, unlike their intellectual proficiencies, was vulnerable to changes in the political status quo.

The translators who worked at the Bureau were compromised by Chen Yi's demise – none more so than those, like Xu Shoushang, who paid for their professional association with their lives. Though the exact circumstances of Xu's death remain a mystery, Huang Yingzhe does not rule out the possibility of a political assassination carried out on behalf of the KMT (Xu 1993, 13). Xu, whose move to Taiwan was partly motivated by a desire to avoid political persecution thanks to his association with Chen Yi, ironically came to face those consequences in the land of his refuge. Lai Tzu-yun (2017, 42) notes how other translators associated with

the Bureau, including Jin Jueying and Li Zhunian, fled to China after Xu Shoushang's murder and the arrest of translators like Lin Shimo. Similarly, Japanese translators working in the Bureau like Ikeda Toshio returned to Japan in 1947. Translators who had been handed an essential role in the KMT government only a year prior were suddenly political exiles, incriminated by the politicization of their profession under Chen Yi's tenure.

From conception to closure, the Bureau of Translation and Compilation represented the explicit adoption of translation as an organ of state; one with especial potency thanks to its perceived capacity to tap into the psyche of readers. Where the abrupt language change between the Japanese and KMT administrations might have weakened the stability of the former, the Bureau's work showed how that change could equally present an opportunity to rewrite the historical record. Though Chen Yi does not explicitly designate translation as a means of historical manipulation, he nonetheless places it at the heart of historical 'interpretation', a means to intervene in texts from the period of Japanese rule to alter their political character. Translation of Japanophone texts from the fifty years preceding 1945, whether they be short stories, novels or academic journals, was harnessed in the Bureau as an efficient and effective means for shaping the narrative around that former regime. It was this association with political communication that helped to outlaw the translation of many Japanophone texts after 1947 as an act made taboo by KMT censorship and its anxious relationship with the past.

From a functionalist perspective, the Bureau's brief existence serves as administrative testament to the necessity of translation in the operations of regime change in Taiwan following 1945. Its establishment reflected a fundamental dilemma for the KMT government; one centred on how to deal with inherited textual relics from the recent past. Was it necessary, or practically possible, to cast nets of cultural and linguistic control over those embodiments of the old order?

And, in turn, what would differentiate a useful and translatable text from a politically unacceptable one that would remain untranslated and perhaps even destroyed? The Bureau and its work might be viewed as an initial experiment in resolving these questions of cultural governance, its closure mere months into its operation as an obstacle to a process of historical reassessment. Rather than fashioning the textual anterior in the shape of a new politics, the Bureau's closure signalled the rejection of engagement, and the turn instead toward narratives of the colonial era built around archives free from material written in Japanese by Taiwanese authors, material that proliferated from 1930 onwards especially. The 'loss for Taiwan's culture' that Xu identifies in his May 17th diary entry was thus a loss defined by the absence of translation, and the relegation of much of Taiwan's Japanese-language textual heritage into the realms of political untranslatability.

The Bureau's successors, Japanese-Chinese translators that feature throughout this thesis who later worked on bringing Taiwan's Japanophone texts over the 1945 breakpoint, would confront the legacy of that 'loss' in their work. Unlike their predecessors, these individuals were not tied to an organ of government – they translated alone, or with a small editorial team. Their work was often personal, a return to the writing of a friend or a family member, and it was often undertaken with a sense of cultural or historic duty, of addressing a long-established textual deficit. These individuals were like Bureau employees, however, in how the visibility and feasibility of their translation activity was highly dependent on political atmosphere. Preoccupations over how to translate these texts were interspersed continually with considerations of whether to comment on the period of Japanese rule, and of how Japanophone writing contributes to histories of colonialism in the Taiwanese context. Throughout, translation is vested with the same transformative qualities Chen Yi identified in

1946: a tantalising ability not just to represent stories of the past, but to tell them anew from perspectives bound indelibly to the present.

Introduction
A Literature of Elsewhere

Wang Changxiong was a man with many names. Born Wang Rongsheng (T. Ông Îng-sing) in Tansui, Taihoku (today's Danshui, Taipei) in 1916, as an adult he took the name Wang Changxiong (T. Ông Tshióng-hiông) when he was in Taiwan, a name pronounced as Ō Chōyū when he was in Japan.[4] Wang's life was splintered between these two localities and the forms of address that went with them: after spending time in Japan as a teenager between 1929 and 1931, he spent eight years in Tokyo from 1935 training to become a dentist. On his return to Taiwan in 1943, he published a short story in Japanese titled "Torrent" (J. *Hon'ryū*), a fictional homage to the spatial and existential divisions laced over the passage of his life. The story's protagonist, Doctor Kō, returns to Taiwan after nearly a decade of study in Tokyo. Through an acquaintance with Itoh Harō, a Taiwanese schoolteacher who had 'become completely Japanese', Doctor Kō reckons with his own feelings toward Japan, the land of the coloniser, and Taiwan, the land of his birth. Thinking of Taiwan at the story's close, he concludes: 'From this point on, I had to firmly plant these feet on this soil' (Ō 2018, 22).

As Wang moved between languages during his early life, so too has "Torrent", his most famous short story, traversed linguistic borders in a prolonged process of literary maturation. In recognition of its many translations into Mandarin Chinese, an anthology of Wang's fiction published in 2002 featured seven different versions of "Torrent" (Lin 2017, 216; n97),

[4] As many of the authors included in this thesis would have operated with multiple pronunciations of their names during their writing career, I have attempted where possible to give some impression of these various pronunciations in the first instance where an author is mentioned.

including an edition edited by Wang himself during the 1990s. In returning to his work some fifty years after its first publication in Japanese, Wang argued that it was necessary that the story be 'reduced' in its Mandarin Chinese translation, a distillation to remove aspects that he identified as the input of Japanese censors (Lin 2017, 216). Wang framed his intervention as one of textual rectification: altering the substance of his writing to match his original intentions, and to flag the invisible influence of the censor over the qualities of his work. From this perspective, Wang's textual transformations can be seen as acts of integrity, as well as a retrospective commentary on his political outlook decades prior. Translation thus afforded Wang an opportunity to assert his personal and creative distance from the Japanese colonial state through a reworking of his writing at the level of syntax. The anthology's inclusion of seven translations, meanwhile, hints at the merit of regarding each in turn. It was a declaration suggesting that the history of "Torrent" cannot be understood through its 1943 iteration or one translation alone, but instead should be regarded in translational chorus, each Mandarin Chinese version of the text offering something distinct to the last.

The question of how and why Japanophone texts such as "Torrent" are translated – and in many instances retranslated – into Mandarin Chinese is the central concern of this thesis. Over its course, it examines a set of writings published by five Taiwanese women between 1934 and 1943, texts that make up the vast majority of Taiwanese women's fiction and literary essays published during the period of Japanese rule. The thesis places these source texts in dialogue with their reimaginings in the years following 1975: a set of translations carried out by a variety of actors, from near anonymous literary translators to well-known Taiwanese academics and relatives of the source texts' authors. By showcasing source text, translation, retranslation and adaptation side-by-side, it shows how that textual euphony can allow us to better understand how Taiwan's Japanophone literature has been read and reread over time. I

identify these stories and essays as spaces of existential deliberation for translator and reader alike, where concerns of language, identity and territory are vocalised. In the self-contained textual corpus that grows from these works, we see literature historicized and politicized, its narrative qualities bent in favour of those two interpretative lodestars. In each instance, it is the movement between languages, translation's passage, that facilitates an open-ended cycle of textual and historical remaking.

The translation history of "Torrent" is an outlier, in the sense that it has already received some scholarly attention. Yet the short story's publication in Japanese, and subsequent translation and retranslation into Mandarin Chinese, is far from a unique or exceptional history as the study herein will show. In its layered retellings "Torrent" is representative of a certain vein of Taiwanese literature published in Japanese from the mid-1930s onwards, the existential uncertainty of Wang's Doctor Kō echoed in characters across Taiwan's textual culture. From 1937, this literature was shaped to varying degrees by the 'imperial subject movement' (J. *Kōminka undō*) promoted in Taiwan by the Japanese government from the eruption of the second Sino-Japanese war. This 'movement' enforced the adoption of Japanese culture and identity by the Taiwanese population, theoretically enabling the closer integration of the empire in support of the war effort. Though earlier attempts at 'assimilation' (J. *dōka*) were often described in vague terms, imperialization under *kōminka* came with a framework designed to permeate the lives of the everyday citizen (Ching 2001, 92; Thornber 2009, 13). From the name-changing program (J. *Kaiseimei*) which compelled Taiwanese citizens to adopt Japanese names, to the volunteer's system (J. *Shiganhei seidō*) drafting young Taiwanese men into the imperial army, *kōminka* had designs on Taiwanese bodies and souls – hoping to make them 'Japanese' not only in name but in nature too. Doctor Kō's angst and confusion in "Torrent"

showcases the effects of this assault on the self, as literate upper-middle class Taiwanese reckoned with the possibility of imperial subjectivity.

In language alone "Torrent" and stories like it showcase the tangible effects of the imperial subject movement and its assimilatory predecessors on the production of literature in Taiwan. By 1937, that literature had long existed in multiple languages: beginning with Classical Chinese at the turn of the twentieth century, vernacular Chinese (C. *baihuawen*) and Japanese from the 1920s onwards, along with experimental writing in Taiwanese Hokkien and occasionally even Esperanto. Whilst the diversity of the field had diminished substantially by 1937, with Japanese becoming ever more dominant, it was nonetheless a marked change when Taiwan's major periodical *Taiwan Daily News* (J. *Taiwan nichi nichi shinpō*) published 'The Commemorative Issue for the Reform of Newspaper Columns and the Proliferation of the National Language' (J. *Kokugo fukyū shimen sasshin kinengō*) on April 1st 1937, with the announcement that Chinese-language articles would be outlawed henceforth in Taiwan's textual culture.[5] The new rules stemmed from an order handed down by Taiwan's new Governor-General Kobayashi Seizō, and were accompanied by the promotion of Shintoism and restrictions on Taiwanese popular religion as part of Kobayashi's renewed drive to engender imperial subjectivity in the colony's population (Isao 2006, 130).[6] In such a climate, publishing literature became an increasingly political act, with Taiwanese authors encouraged

[5] Kawahara Isao questions the totality of the ban, identifying at least two publications that continued to publish in Chinese after April 1937: *Wind and Moon* (C. *Fengyuebao*) and *Taiwan Arts* (C. *Taiwan yishu*). See Isao 2006, 137. Whilst publication may have continued, inevitable sacrifices were made in terms of the content featured. Huang Mei-e sees these constraints reflected in the works of Xie Xueyu, published in the *Wind and Moon* between 1937 and 1941. Huang argues that Xie tailored the style and content of his writing to align with Japanese norms, allowing his stories to become reflections and enforcements of 'colonial culture' (C. *zhimin zhuminzu wenhua*) despite being written in Chinese. See Huang 2019, 53.

[6] Such a wide-reaching change was made possible on a practical level by the reforms to language education in Taiwan following the creation of mixed Taiwanese-Japanese schools from 1920 onwards (Lamley 1999, 227; Wada et al. 2021, 146). The two tiers of Japanese-language education, 'national language study program' and 'basic national language study program' introduced in 1929 gradually ensured that young Taiwanese would have at least some proficiency in the national language, and that from Wang Changxiong's generation onwards, Taiwanese writers based in Taiwan would primarily use Japanese as their language of composition. Chou 1996, 50-51. Kobayashi's decree, therefore, would not choke Taiwanese literary production entirely – but it would privilege young writers, like Wang, with a proficiency in the colonial language.

to write on themes relevant to the war effort and the closer integration of the empire. As a result, a subgenre of works emerged consisting of stories – written predominantly in a confessional, first-person narrative voice – featuring protagonists tormented to varying degrees by their desire to transform into Japanese citizens. This body of work, christened 'Imperial subject literature' (J. *Kōmin bungaku*) in 1943 (Chen 2013, 234), showcased the drive for Japanification in various intensities – from stories like Shū Kin-ha's 1941 "The Volunteer" (J. *Shiganhei*) where the young male protagonist longs to die for the Emperor, to works like "Torrent" which existed in what Bert Scruggs (2015, 50) sees as a more ambiguous political space, where their depiction of existential crisis can be read either as an endorsement of *kōminka*, or as a veiled satire of its political excess. These Japanophone works by Taiwanese authors represented the apogee of imperial control over the production of literature in Taiwan; rather than literature made political, it was politics made literary.

A literature so intwined with the state inevitably feels the effects of the undulations in the latter's influence and reach. With Japanese surrender in August 1945, and the handover of Taiwan to the KMT, the authors of Taiwan's Japanophone texts – whether labelled 'imperial subject literature' or otherwise – entered a state of suspension. How would Taiwan's literary class, predominantly fluent in Japanese as their writing language, fare under a non-Japanese government from across the Taiwan Strait? The answer from the new KMT administration was quick and resolute. By 1947, the prospect of Taiwan's literary sphere continuing to operate in Japanese even for a limited period of transition faded from view.[7] The KMT saw the adoption of a new 'national language' (C. *guoyu*) – this time Mandarin Chinese – as a political priority in Taiwan, tying linguistic transformation to the consolidation of political control on the island,

[7] Wang Huei-chen shows how the possibility of that 'transition' moment is encapsulated in a set of bilingual readers (C. *Zhongri duizhao*) published by Donghua Publishing House throughout 1946. Each was published with a Chinese preface by Su Weixiong which offers justification for the publication of these bilingual readers by indulging in the contradiction necessary to declare both a cultural watershed and acknowledge continuity on practical grounds. See Wang, 2019.

particularly following the introduction of martial law in 1949. After Japanese-language publications were banned in 1946, Taiwanese writers of Wang Changxiong's generation were faced with a choice: either alter their practice to operate in Mandarin Chinese, or stop writing.[8] Many opted for the latter, as Sabrine Marchand (2010, 165) notes, adopting 'silence' in the face of cultural authoritarianism in a new guise and entering a period of 'self-exile' as Chen Fang-ming (2007, 35) terms it. As for the works of Japanophone literature published before 1945, whether doused in explicitly pro-imperial themes like "The Volunteer" or more reserved like "Torrent", this corpus of Taiwanese writing mostly disappeared from public circulation. As the colonial state that engineered the environment of their production was tarred by the brush of political disgrace, so too these works of fiction, essays and reflections became symbols of an old enemy. Once signs of political and linguistic hegemony, this literature was singled out as anti-state material – often on account of its use of the Japanese language alone, rather than its content.

It was not till three decades later, around 1975, when Taiwan's Japanese-language literature would begin to circulate once again in a process of translational rediscovery that this thesis dissects (Scruggs 2015, 27). The death of Taiwan's president, Chiang Kai-shek, and the accession of his son Chiang Ching-kuo to the presidency, allowed for a temporary slackening of the regime's political rigidity under martial law, and the possibility for some small-scale rediscoveries of Taiwan's past in the public sphere (Lin 2017, 2). By 1975, though, the character and composition of Taiwan's literary circles had transformed substantially in comparison to the 1940s.[9] As a consequence, when it became politically possible to circulate

[8] As with *kōminka*, the removal of Japanophone publications was not as immediate as the ban implied. 'The Japanese literary supplement to the *China Daily News*' was in print from March 15th 1946 to October 24th 1946; "Bridge" published by Ge Lei (Shi Ximei); and *New New* with Huang Jinsui as editor-in-chief, was published until November 1946. See Ye 2020, 186-192.
[9] The dominance of Mandarin Chinese in textual culture from the beginning of KMT rule onward placed Taiwanese writers at a significant disadvantage in comparison to the so-called 'extra-provincial' (C. *waishengren*) writers who travelled over to Taiwan from China between 1945 and 1949 to escape the civil war with the Chinese Communist Party. In the period from

some examples of Taiwan's Japanophone literature, the dominance of Mandarin Chinese in literary circles as well as society at large meant that few Taiwanese born after 1940 could read the texts in their first form. To bring that writing over the 1945 divide now required translation, with bilingual writers from Wang Changxiong's generation – educated as children in Japanese prior to 1945, then re-educated in Chinese as adults – often acting as the translators. It is process of translation, one in dialogue with narratives of imperial rule and its aftermath, that this study outlines in details.

Lost At The Border

In the pages dedicated to male authors like Wang Changxiong (Ching 2001; Chie 1995; Lin 2017) the small group of women writers who are the subject of this thesis – Ye Tao (T. Iap̍ Tô/H. iab toˇ), Yang Qianhe (T. Iûnn Tshian-ho̍k), Huang Baotao (T. N̂g Pó-tô), Huang Fengzi (T. N̂g Hōng-chu) and Zhang Bihua (T. Tiunn Phik-huâ) – on occasion feature as minor additions, though in many instances they do not appear at all. On one level, the absence of scholarly attention can be attributed to a lack of source material, as the number of surviving texts written by Taiwanese men in the final decade of Japanese rule far exceeds that of women. Women who lived during this period are uniformly 'underrepresented', as Bert Scruggs (2015, 89) succinctly argues, leading to the adoption of figures like Yang Qianhe as representative of a whole generation of women, despite the exceptional nature of their educational and financial background in comparison to the population average.[10] The brevity of the texts concerned compounds this trend, with the stories and essays penned by the five women listed above rarely surpassing ten pages of text – a volume of writing that struggles to invite in-depth study, even as a collective.

1950 onwards, these writers came to define large portions of the literary world, as Taiwanese authors acclimatised to the new national language. For a detailed analysis of these developments and what followed see Chang 2004, 17-44.

[10] Scruggs critiques this approach, see Scruggs 2015, 90. Though Lin Chun-ju describes Yang Qianhe's family as 'averagely wealthy', there is no denying the exceptional nature of her educational background. Lin 2005, 193.

Aside from these practical explanations, however, there an analytical framework also exists that confines these women and their writing to something of a critical and cultural cul-de-sac. As Lü Ming-chun (2007, 7) notes in her comprehensive and stand-alone study dedicated to women authors who lived under Japanese rule:

> If we go a step further in categorizing women's writing from the period of Japanese occupation, we can discover several prominent features. The content of their works mainly describes the inner emotional state of an individual woman – it is possible to say that they pay an extreme degree of attention to the 'ego' (*xiaowo*), as well as the lived experience of the author. In comparison to the darker aspects of colonial society criticised by male authors, most women authors lean towards exploring the depths of their internalized emotions.

Whilst there is little disputing Lü's argument that women authors often produced works that draw on their emotions and experiences, the separation drawn between that interiority and 'colonial society' points to the depoliticised interpretations that pervade discussion of these texts. Where Japanophone fiction written by men regularly operates in predominantly homosocial spaces of assimilation, whether that be army barracks, the teachers' break room or Tokyo's universities, women's fiction is discussed, as in Lü's assessment, as one step removed from the world of imperial politics and all the existential consequences that come with proximity to explicitly assimilatory spaces. Whilst the discursive space may have been where the work of 'gender-defining' took place for both sexes, as Sayaka Chatani (2018, 14) suggests, the impact of that discourse on the male psyche reverberates quite explicitly through literary fiction of the era, whereas its impact on the lives of women is understood as absent from their narratives of introspection and self-examination. This perceived diversion from the political makes these works less critically striking, their *xiaowo* narratives overshadowed by texts similar in theme and tone written by women in China and Japan.[11]

[11] Similar themes and sentiments lace across this network of texts, with the works discussed in this thesis exhibiting connections with stories including Lu Yin's 1923 story "Old Friends by the Sea" (C. *Haibin guren*), Ling Shuhua's 1929 "Little Liu" (C. *Xiao Liu*) and Tamura Toshiko's 1913 "A Woman Writer" (J. *Onna sakusha*).

In practice, however, the separation between colonial politics and the literary self in the context of Taiwanese women's fiction has not been as absolute as Lü's discussion of their qualities might imply. Their Mandarin Chinese translations, for example, record patterns of reading that do interpret these texts in a political light, whether that be imperial and nationalist politics, linguistic politics or gender politics. They are read and reproduced in reference to the controversial textual history of imperial-subject literature, irrespective of how extensively their content touches on tropes considered politically taboo. This holds true even for texts published prior to the official enforcement of *kōminka* in 1937. The works of Huang Baotao, Ye Tao and Zhang Bihua were published between 1934 and 1936, during what Jing Tsu (2011, 62) describes as the 'intensification' of the morphic 'assimilation' (*dōka*) policy that took place during the 1930s.[12] In the years following 1945, these texts were grouped together with the more explicitly political works that followed them, a grouping that placed them in the orbit of *kōminka* despite their publication beyond its temporal span. Even in content, these works are not as removed from colonial realities as Lü's summative description might imply. In stories like Huang Baotao's 1936 "Feelings" (J. *Kanjō*) discussed in Chapter 3, we see an explicit depiction of the kinds of existential uncertainty and exploration of imperial identity that Ching (2001, 125) argues is characteristic of imperial-subject literature. In short, the internalised emotions of *xiaowo* narratives were not immune to the effects of colonial life, nor have they been read and translated as such. Whether published during *kōminka* or just prior to its enforcement, these texts and their translators have contended with the spectre of imperial subjectivity as a point of political consideration during the presentation of these works in Mandarin Chinese.

[12] Itagaki Taisuke was a particularly influential figure in the development of assimilation policy in Taiwan, particularly in the mid-1910s. He founded the short-lived 'assimilation society' (J. *Taiwan Dōkakai*) in 1914. Lamley 1999, 219. 'Assimilation' had two broad focuses, as Pei-feng Chen points out: to 'civilise' the masses, and to encourage their 'ethnic' or 'national' integration, Chen 2021, 39. The point where *kōminka* and *dōka* overlap is contested by Ching, who argues that *kōminka* should be 'historicized in its own right', rather than lazily regarded as an extension of the preceding policy. Ching 2001, 91.

This thesis responds to the contradiction between perception and practice outlined above, intervening to show how by viewing translation as a mode of political and historical intervention, we reach a fuller history of these texts that have evolved (often quite literally) through time.[13] Through this analytical perspective we can observe how these texts were impacted by the transition between one government and the next in Taiwan, or from another perspective vocalised by Chen Fang-ming (2007, 31) one colonizer and the next.[14] Their specific history, combined with the necessity of translation, has allowed these texts to destabilise the ties between writers, language and land that so often dictate canon formation and the making of national literatures. Even as polygraphic and linguistically ambitious texts using sinographs and roman alphabets gradually came to be accepted within the boundaries of 'Taiwan literature' from the 1970s onwards, the majority of Japanophone works written during Japanese rule continued to occupy something of an awkward critical and cultural positioning right up until the late-1990s.[15] This thesis spotlights the seclusion of these authors through censorship and cultural authoritarianism following 1945, and probes the role of language, identity and rewriting in their rediscovery and cultural integration following 1975.

The possibilities of translation in dealing with this dislocation are revealed in how Taiwanese translators worked with these texts following 1975. Faced with a literature produced 'elsewhere', to use Christina Yi's (2018, xxxvi) description of *kōminka,* translators rely on the

[13] The use of cultural artefacts to shape narratives relating to Taiwan's relationship with other powers comes with historic precedent. Emma Teng shows how 'travel writing, pictures and maps' where integral in 'Taiwan's transformation from a "savage island"' to 'a "Chinese Province"' during the Qing Dynasty. Teng 2004, 3.

[14] Chen Fang-ming's statement that 'there is ultimately no significant difference between the legacy of Japanese warlordism and the language policy of the cultural movements supported by the Chinese Nationalist government' holds true in the continued attempt to place limitations on the writing and circulation of literature. Chen 2007, 31. Norman Smith makes a similar point in his work on women writing in Manchuria during Japanese Rule, noting how the measures put in place by the Chinese Communist Party between 1950 and the late 1970s surpassed the Japanese colonial government in their effective suppression of works written during Japanese rule. Smith 2007, 12.

[15] The discussion of Taiwan's multilingual literature has centred round the concept of 'Sinophone' since 2011, when Shu-mei Shih defined the 'so-called Chinese language – the language of the Han, Hanyu' as a 'colonialist imposition'. Shih 2011, 710. Though Sinophone studies is in its relative infancy, texts using Sinitic writing to express other languages has a longer history in the Taiwan context. Hsin-ya Huang proposes that the first such work was Paiwan indigenous author Kowan Talall's *Traces of Dreams in Foreign Land* (C. *Yu wai meng hen*) published in 1971. Huang 2013, 244.

movement between languages to transform 'elsewhere' into somewhere in the literary historical landscape. This is achieved not only through the prefaces and translator's notes that accompany the stories, insertions which so often 'trace the contours of literary ideology' as Sherry Simon (1990, 112) notes, but also small interventions in the substance of the text itself. In the process of reterritorialization, translators use women's writing as a space to explore the history of the texts at hand: both in terms of their production and publication during Japanese rule, and their subsequent suppression and censorship in the years following 1945. In the case of women's fiction especially, translation often provides an opportunity for the female protagonist to be enveloped within conflicting conceptions of the 'nation' in a manner not dissimilar to the depiction of female characters to make social or political commentary in fiction written by men.[16] Furthermore, given the biographical interpretations that regularly accompany these texts (Ching 2001, 124), translators are frequently representing not only the text but also its author in their Mandarin Chinese iterations. These representations are revised and renarrativised according to the interpretative outlook of the translator and their editor, with those outlooks in turn sensitive to fluctuations in popular historical and political memory.[17]

Translation's open-ended qualities transfer neatly onto this process of successive interpretation. Translations, as understood in this thesis, are by nature relational – bound to their moment of production and its observation of the past by the unique nature of their source text. They are also inconclusive, their existence pointing to the possibility of alternatives, ways

[16] A large body of scholarship explores how male writers use the image of women as a canvas upon which to project their own desires and anxieties concerning the nation. In the case of China, arguments range from how the 'male author reconstructs his self through his relations with women', as Tani E.Barlow describes, or the reductive manipulation of what Stephen Chan terms the 'aesthetics of despair' in the image of the grieving mother, to the possibility proposed by David Wang of discovering not only empathy but also feminist sensibility in the writing of men like Mao Dun. See Barlow 1993, 5; Chan 1993, 14; Wang 1989, 241. Similar themes emerge in Pei-yin Lin's discussion of Taiwanese author Xu Kunquan's 1930s serialized novel *Platonic and Carnal Love* (C. *Lingrou zhidao*), where Xu uses the female protagonist Meizi to express his frustration in Taiwan's failure to modernize. Lin 2017, 106.

[17] This definition of translation's capacities is influenced by the cultural turn in translation studies, spearheaded by Gideon Toury's path-breaking 1987 edited volume *Translation Across Cultures*. James S. Holmes argues therein that the study of translation should focus on how it appears 'in our world of experience', pointing out that this may lead to a fruitful 'meta-discussion' on the purpose of translation studies in society. Holmes 1987, 15.

to the tell a story anew and the alluring prospect of telling it differently. As a result, we see these texts proffered in one moment as proof of cross-strait literary and cultural synchronisation, in another as testament to Taiwan's unique multiculturalism or as vestiges of Taiwan's women's history. When viewed in unison, these various versions and the interpretations they vocalise present a textual forum where conceptions of Japanese rule are explored and re-evaluated. This small network of texts is built upon internal patterns of call and response, whilst remaining sensitive to discursive and interpretative trends beyond their bounds – selectively ingesting external discussion of Taiwanese identity and history, and bringing elements of that discussion to bear in translated text. In this sense, the translations intensify the social relativity that is often read in Taiwan's literature (Tang 2007), and its colonial-era literature in particular (Lin 2017, 13).

The application of 'translation' as a concept here is expansive, looking beyond the conventional understanding of that term as a noun to describe the complete movement of text from one language into another. Across the four chapters that follow, we encounter the process in several guises – as retranslation, as multilingual writing, as pseudotranslation – with translators' interventions lacing like hair-pin fractures over the textual skeleton in each instance. What at the outset might seem a familiar friend thus shifts across the multiple sites of this research, its sensitivity to interpretation and the act of reading rendering no two instances of its operation the same. Translation is viewed here as far removed from the scientific certainties once affixed to its appearance, and is instead characterised as a mode of writing that operates in febrile inconsistency. By viewing this literature through its interaction with translation, we see how translators destabilise notions of 'Japanese' and 'Mandarin Chinese' as categories of linguistic organisation, placing them under scrutiny in an attempt locate conflicting ideas of 'Taiwan' beneath their mastheads.

In this way, part of translation's usefulness to this research is its capacity to represent language perception and use in the wider and non-textual world. As Meschonnic and Boulanger (2011, 59) discuss, translation is often a barometer for changing conventions in the study and 'representation' of language – and this is not 'literary language' alone, as a Bakhtin-style analysis like Dennis Cutchins' (2017, 72) might suggest, but rather language both within and beyond the literary realm. That is not to say, though, that translation can only passively absorb its surroundings and represent them. Rather this thesis argues that they articulate a translator's subjectivity by performing what Mary Snell-Hornby (1990, 81) terms an 'act of communication', becoming texts that have something to say, rather than something to merely reflect. In the context of the stories and essays discussed in this thesis, that 'communication' is understood as one tethered to discussions of the past and its literature, coming together in a collective to provide evolving commentary on that topic. The capacity to be 'designed deliberately' with 'historiographical' intent is a quality that Lawrence Venuti (2004, 26; 35) ascribes to retranslations specifically, as he characterises these texts as retrospective by nature through their unshakeable bond with a textual predecessor. In the context of this thesis, however, all the translation acts under consideration exercise this historiographical consciousness, each enacting to varying degrees the kind of historical revisionism Isabelle Desmidt (2009, 674) argues is common to all translations. Though one might attribute this revisionism to manipulation or misrepresentation, to do so arguably denigrates their textual value all whilst assuming that a perfect translation may exist somewhere. Opting for a divergent approach, this study views translation in its many forms as worthy of study thanks to its ability to host marks of opinion and interpretation. It builds on Lydia Liu's (1995, 41) seminal call to 'expand the notion of history by treating language, discourse, text (including historical writing itself), as genuine historical events' to argue that act of expansion in this instance is undertaken

by translators themselves, their texts consciously and proactively positioning themselves within history's passage through 'acts of communication' that are more historical than literary in character.

Whilst Taiwan may present these dynamics in their extremes, its experience is by no measure exceptional. To look at East Asia alone in general terms, the linguistic standardization programs envisioned by Chao Yuan-ren in China in 1927, or the enforcement of *Putonghua* from 1956 onwards draw on similar logics of language and identity (Tam 2016, 280-283). As Yeounsuk Lee (2009) has shown, the same is true of standardization programs in Japan at the turn of the twentieth century, so too with the campaigns for a de-Japanified Korean national standard following the conclusion of the Korean War in 1953 (Suh 2013, 147).[18] By recasting these movements as moments of politically dictated translation *en masse*, we move closer to appreciating the political qualities of translation that traverse state organs to reach the schools and workplaces of individuals. It is a translational hierarchy that facilitates the designation of language as dialect, and with each label comes translational consequences: the obligation to translate, against the privilege of being understood in your chosen tongue. We envisage translation as a way to move between languages, but it is also a way to order them, an instrument of category and catalogue.

Tales of Reterritorialization

[18] In making these remarks, I do not draw an equivalency between the experiences of Taiwan and Korea either under Japanese rule or in its aftermath. As Pei-yin Lin and Su Yun Kim point out, circumstances were certainly different for Korean authors – many of whom maintained their Korean language in spite of Japanese rule, and were able to switch back to their 'mother tongue' following 1945. See Lin and Kim 2019, 6. The argument I am making here is concerned with patterns of linguistic standardization and cultural integration in the post-war period. Whilst the move to create a de-Japanified Korean standard language following 1953 had different outcomes and consequences in comparison to the 'de-Japanification' (C. *Qu ribenhua* 去日本化) pursued by the KMT following 1945, there are similarities in how both political approaches emphasised the ability to construct a new (or resurgent) national culture through the purposeful removal of the colonial presence from spoken and written language.

Translation is universally recognized as an attempt to domesticize the foreign, to accommodate or neutralize difference and to bring the outside in. More often than not, this exchange plays out along the divisions between different linguistic communities – and they, in turn, are ordinarily distinguished through the vast notions of nation or territory. In the context of postcolonial studies and gender studies, the act of moving a text from one language to another can be read as either subversive or oppressive, depending on the context. Postcolonial scholars have paralleled the relationship between original text and translation to the relationship between metropole and colony, with Europe taking prominence as 'The Great Original' (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999, 4). Feminist scholars, meanwhile, apply a similar analytical lens to argue that the relationship between original and translation is akin to society's understanding of the relationship between men and women, from Adam's rib as the 'source' of Eve – the first translation – to the age-old vision of women existing primarily to reproduce and replicate (Chamberlain 1988). At the same time, both schools of thought argue that these power dynamics can be unwritten, and that the action of translation can be reclaimed by the very same communities marginalized in its previous exercise. There is quite clearly a paradox here. Translation can occupy what M. Rosario (2003, 27) terms as a 'position of inferiority' or a place in the 'margins', in Lawrence Venuti's (1998, 1) oft-cited phrasing. Simultaneously, it can create and sustain systems of hegemonic oppression.

Demarcating oppressive translation and liberating translation is facilitated through reference to grand analytical categories: colonizer, colony, man, woman, privileged, voiceless and so on. In these pairings, a conceptual division can be drawn between what is considered foreign and what is not. The works featured in this thesis eliminate these guiding principles, exposing the paradox of translation in its extremes. Irrespective of their content, these writings were produced in a language (Japanese) that reflected colonial hegemony. At the time of their

publication they were in no sense politically 'minor', nor were they linguistically 'minor', given the proportion of the population with Japanese competency, and the saturation of textual culture with Japanese material. Yet in retrospect, and in their translated afterlives, they do take on the appearance of a *minority*, both in terms of their language and their mass. Their translation matches Guanglin Wang's (2019, 43) description of the translation of minor literatures: it 'represent(s) a *minor* use of language' and 'tries to communicate the marginal or foreign into a host language and into a translating culture'.[19] And herein lies the contradiction. When working with imperial-subject literature and Japanophone texts, translators take on colonial dominance in full knowledge of its failure. These works, once representative of linguistic supremacy, become a small snapshot in a longer literary history, bathetic in the failed political aspirations they represent. In their authors, the ideas of 'foreign' and 'domestic' are in turn rendered inconclusive categories, riddled with contradiction and porous edges. In this case, translation happens within a single literary culture, and it is an inherently introspective and existentially inquisitive process as a result.

Despite translation's centrality to the production and circulation of these texts following 1945, the study of literature written in Japan's empire is dominated by the watershed of the empire's decline, a state of affairs particularly prominent when focusing on Japanophone literature written by non-Japanese citizens in the colonies. What happens to this literature after the empire's collapse is often absent from textual histories or confined to a postscript or epilogue. Such studies can focus on isolated territories alone, looking at the politics of literature, as Leo Ching (2001) demonstrates in his definitive study of imperial-subject literature in Taiwan. Alternatively, they can showcase literature's existence as a source of respite and

[19] Wang is drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's famous notion of 'minor literatures' here, defined by three major characteristics: 'the deterritorialization of the language, the connection of the individual and the political, the collective arrangement of utterance'. Deleuze & Guattari 1983, 16.

entertainment, as Pei-yin Lin (2017, 98-128) has shown in her work on the romances of Xu Kunquan and Wu Mansha published in Taiwan during the 1930s.[20] A more prominent approach, though, is the exploration of the textual networks that laced across the empire from metropole to colony and back again. Karen Thornber's (2009, 2) *Empire of Texts in Motion* is influential in this regard, with its exploration of 'artistic contact nebulae' as 'contact zones' for authors living in Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria. Thornber's intervention focused on widening the scope for comparative literary studies in the context of the Japanese Empire, her argument outlining how literary exchange in that part of East Asia during the first half of the twentieth century didn't just pivot around literature from the West, but operated with its own, internal patterns of exchange mediated by the hierarchies of empire (Thornber 2009, 3). *Empire of Texts* is especially concerned with tracing the reappearance of particular themes and tropes in literature from across the empire, essentially asking how similar novels came to be written and published across different territories– a theme expanded upon by Huang Mei'e (2019) and Heekyoung Cho (2016) amongst others. Thornber (viii) suggests that *Empire of Texts* uncovers only 'the crest of the tsunami', and other works, including Ying Xiong's (2014) comparative study of Taiwan and Manchuria, as well as Christina Yi's (2018) documentation of the literary connections between colonial Korea and Japan, have helped to further expose the depths of Thornber's great wave.[21]

Yet to leave translation unprobed in this acknowledgment of networks conceals its part in the movement of texts between territories in the empire, as well its fundamental role in shaping the everyday lives of those living in the colonies – whether authors or otherwise. As

[20] Whilst Lin's work does touch on imperial politics, her approach is for the most part dictated by tracing the development of literary styles in Taiwan during its colonial era – and how nationalism, socialism, romance and identity related to 'modernity' through literature.

[21] Women writers play a marginal role in this analytical framework. Matters *pertaining* to women are considered, whether that be love and relationships or family and the household, as Su Yun Kim and Kimberley Kono have both demonstrated in their discussion of cross-colonial intimacy in fiction written by men in Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria. See Kim, 2020 and Kono, 2010.

with any empire, Japan's imperialism incorporated a politics of translation at every level, from the translational pedagogy used in Japanese language schools in Taiwan and the plurilingual student activist groups in Tokyo during the 1920s and 1930s, to pages of bilingual publication at literary magazines. On an individual level, we encounter what Judy Wakabayashi (2005, 25) pinpoints as the 'self-translation' undertaken by many authors in the colonies, a translation necessary to write in a language different to the one you speak. In other words, translational influences too plentiful to number found expression in these texts even in their first form. To overlook or downplay these translational origins risks understating the significance and substance of these works.[22]

The initial forays into the translation of Taiwan's Japanophone literature have acknowledged the linguistic complexity and political intensity of the process. In his 2015 book *Translingual Narration*, Bert Scruggs explores Faye Kleeman's (2003, 6) earlier assertion that 'Taiwan's complex cultural legacy is still evident today in the creolization of the modern language, which mixes Taiwanese, Japanese, and even English elements into the now dominant Mandarin base'. Scruggs' (2015, 7) work is careful to emphasise the 'politics of translating a canon of colonial Taiwanese fiction from Japanese to Chinese', though interestingly his discussion of imperial-subject literature and other Japanophone works does not touch on the specifics of translation activity following 1975 through close reading. In his treatment of colonial authors, including a chapter on the women who feature in this thesis, Scruggs comes closer to acknowledging the self-translation and linguistic politics that underlay the production of these stories in their first form, rather than the cultural and political forces that dictated their reimagining from the mid-1970s onwards. Similarly, Serk-bae Suh's (2013) discussion of

[22] To give an example: translation emerges on multiple occasions in Christina Yi's study of Korean colonial literature, most notably in her comments on the 'polyphonic tensions' and 'transparent translation' in Chang Hyŏk-chu's "Hell of Hungry Spirits" (J. *Gakidō*). These comments are tantalizing in their brevity, leaving the reader with the impression that an entire dimension of the text awaits commentary and analysis. Yi 2008, 8-7.

translation in the Korean context takes the colonial era as its primary concern, with consideration of how translational processes continued following the conclusion of the Korean War in 1953 falling beyond the remit of that study.

One notable exception to this general trend is Tzu-yu Lin's (2020) recent exploration of the translation of colonial-era author Weng Nao's poetry. Lin approaches a set of translations (and retranslations) of Weng's poetry, drawing on close readings to discuss 'translation strategies' (359) and how these multiple approaches relate to 'colonial memory' as expressed and addressed in translation (358). Lin's analysis is focused on 'what may have been gained or lost' in a linguistic sense (359), with an attention to how translators might transfer a sense of either Japanese or Taiwanese Hokkien into their translations in standardized Mandarin Chinese. Her discussion of the translator's 'compromise' (362), meanwhile, is compelling in relation to the texts discussed in this thesis, where translators are continually negotiating competing political, linguistic and historic considerations in a manner that inevitably leads to one taking prominence over another. What follows echoes Lin's call for the necessity of 'rereading of the original texts' through their translations (367), whilst expanding those 'rereadings' to think less about translation strategy, and more about the relationship between these translations and their socio-political context. It also explores how these translations and their reframing of colonial rule relate to literary production outside of the translational context, in recognition – as Theresa Hung (2003, xi) observes – that the creation and recreation of colonial femininity in translated text has literary, as well as 'political and social implications'.

The chapters that follow bring together these implications with close readings of translated text to discuss the translation of Japanophone literature written by women in Taiwan between 1934 and 1943. It deals with translation as a source material – through translated text

– and as an abstract concept, through reference to translation as a process, enmeshed in the communication of politics, identity and history. In relation to the first, one might question the necessity of taking literary translations, and the translations of women's writing in particular, as the source base to delve into questions of Taiwan's twentieth century history and national identity. These texts score poorly in metrics of visibility and popularity: they were not read by a large audience, nor were their authors household names. From a stylistic point of view, moreover, the majority of the texts in this thesis are too fragmentary to launch any form of unique aesthetic. And yet, they make worthy entry-points in two ways. Firstly, they are a singular body of texts – as many of their translators point out. Secondly, the miniature corpus is noteworthy not only as it features Taiwanese women writers, but also in its capacity to cover a wide range of 'women's issues', from arranged marriage and sexual health to the struggles of being a single mother. These are themes present in women's fiction written across the empire, and here we encounter them anew from the Taiwanese perspective.

From The Outside, In

The thesis begins with a discussion of *Taiwanese Customs* (J. *Minzoku Taiwan*), an ethnographic journal run by Japanese amateur ethnographers and published in Taiwan between 1941 and 1945. This journal serves as an effective starting point as its contents demonstrate the integral role played by translation in acts of assimilation in Taiwan – on both a practical and a political level. I draw on Tarek Shamma's (2015, 94) concept of 'translation ideologies' to show how the magazine constructs and operates within its own politicized translation practice. In particular I focus on the figure of a young Taiwanese woman named Huang Fengzi, whose writings feature in the magazine in the years between 1942 and 1943. Through Huang's articles, all of which are structured around explaining Taiwanese Hokkien terms with a high level of cultural specificity through anecdotes from Huang's life, we uncover the value placed on

bilingual women within the magazine as effective intercultural communicators, who under the watchful eye of the journal's male Japanese editors are well placed to communicate their culture to outsiders. Huang Fengzi, though, unlike the other women included in this thesis, is yet to have her full set of writings translated into Mandarin Chinese. The chapter proposes some reasons for this absence, pointing to Huang's proximity to imperial rhetoric, as well as the lack of a retrospective memoir that could have provided her with an opportunity to reframe the writing she published as a young girl.

In contrast, the second chapter focuses on Yang Qianhe – a writer who has been translated, retranslated and adapted more than any other woman featured in this thesis. Yang is arguably the archetypal woman author from the Japanese colonial era in Taiwan, and as a consequence she is the most famous of set. Chapter Two considers her 1942 short story "Flower Blooming Season" (J. *Hanasaku kisetsu*/C. *Huakai shijie*) in particular, delving into the three translations and two adaptations of the text that have been published since 1975. The chapter shows how these various versions of "Flower Blooming Season" have dealt with the text's ambiguous attitude toward national identity, using its plot as a discursive space to present and revise images of femininity under Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan. Whilst the earlier translations focus their interventions on mentions of Japanese culture and its appearance in the lives of Taiwanese girls, in the more recent translation and adaptations the multilingual reality of Yang Qianhe's early life is given greater articulation: painting a picture of a girlhood that is translational, both in its colonial existence and its postcolonial presentation.

Within the third chapter, these questions of multilingualism and its appearance in relation to the period of Japanese rule are opened up further. The chapter begins from the vantage point of the 1990s, when ideas of a multilingual and multicultural society were

emerging in Taiwan's political and cultural mainstream – though largely with the exception of Japanophone speakers and Japanophone literature, whose status remained politically contested. I highlight the translation work of literary historian Ye Shitao to show how he captures the paradoxical status of Japanese within Taiwan's twentieth century cultural history, as both a language of political power and a language of a suppressed minority. Ye approaches his translations of Zhang Bihua's "Cresent Moon" (J. *Mikaduki*/C. *Xin yue*) and Huang Baotao's "Feelings" (J. *Kanjō*/C. *Ganqing*) as sites of historical rediscovery, very much endorsing the view of these stories of refractions of reality. As a consequence, he uses glossing and untranslated Japanese as a means to point to the linguistic reality of the source texts and the society from which they sprung. The chapter then proposes Zhu Tianxin's *The Ancient Capital* (C. *Gudu*) as a form of riposte to Ye's translation work, arguing that the use of translation in this canonical text exposes how the form of historically transparent translation Ye champions only begins the work of reconciliation and resolution, rather than signalling its conclusion.

Both Ye Shitao and Zhu Tianxin offer commentary on the position of translation vis-à-vis history and identity in their work, and the final chapter grows from their perspectives to discuss the significance of translation as a literary and cultural trope in Taiwan's women's activist movements from 1987 onwards. It showcases a discussion of a translation of Ye Tao's 1936 short story "Children" (J. *Ai no kesshō*/C. *Ai de jiejing*) by her granddaughter Yang Cui, foregrounding her discussion of literature as a corporeal experience shared between women. I extend this characterisation by looking at how it reverberates through historical fiction written by famous Taiwanese feminist author Li Ang, and later a millennial author named Yang Shuangzi. In the latter's 2020 *Records of A Pleasure Trip in Taiwan* (C. *Taiwan manyou lu*) we are presented with a pseudotranslation, replete with prefaces and notes that reframe the

‘translation’ and its historical significance. It presents, in other words, a fictional retelling of the historical processes documented and discussed within the body of this thesis.

Though this is the study of translation principally between two languages – Japanese and Chinese – there is no escaping the presence of English as a lingua franca in this study, as it appears in many moments as a mediator between the languages that are central to this discussion. One especial place where this is felt is in the use of names, and their romanization. The convention in existing Anglophone scholarship is to use *pinyin* and Mandarin Chinese pronunciations of Taiwanese author names from the period of Japanese rule. Whilst these conventions are understandable concessions made with accessibility and consistency in mind, they nonetheless represent a historical aberration. When we speak of an author like Yang Qianhe, for example, there needs to be an acknowledgement that at the time of her writing, her name would have rarely been pronounced using the standard Mandarin Chinese pronunciation ‘Yang Qianhe’, and instead would more often have been pronounced using a Taiwanese Hokkien pronunciation such as Iûnn Tshian-ho̍k, or a Japanese reading of the characters of her name. Names are a recurring flashpoint in the texts that follow, their political and personal symbolism emphasized by author and translator alike as a shorthand to convey identity within the confines of the shortest of short stories. As Amanda Hopkinson (2016, 37) explores, names here are often not happenstance or coincidental, but instead reveal a ‘great deal about perceptions’ on the part of both the translator and the author. In that spirit, whilst I have followed convention in the body of the text, I have endeavoured as far as possible to point to alternate pronunciations and readings of names as testament to the historical reality they are anchored in, and to push away from the gravitational pull toward ‘standardized’ language which this thesis documents resistance and response to.

Equally, there is no escaping my involvement as a translator in the very processes that this thesis documents and dissects. The reader may disagree with the word choice in my English translations, and as far as possible I have left the source text *in situ* for the reader to make their own judgment should they wish. All translations are comparative by nature, and all of them grow from some form of interpretation. My own are no exception.

Chapter One
The Last Monument

The inaugural July 1941 issue of *Taiwanese Customs* (J. *Minzoku Taiwan*) opens with the journal's editor, a Japanese doctor named Kanaseki Takeo, leading the reader through the ruins of Carthage. A coastal city on the northern shores of modern-day Tunisia, Carthage was razed to the ground by Roman invaders in the closing act of the Third Punic War between 149 and 146BC. After three years of siege, the Roman soldiers breached the city's ailing defences, laying waste to the focal point of Carthaginian culture with unconstrained vengeance. Theirs was a destruction of such infamy that tales emerged in the centuries that followed of the Roman general, Scipio Aemilianus, ordering his men to sow the land of Carthage and its environs with salt, thereby condemning the land to perpetual infertility. Whether Scipio's soldiers truly drove ploughs over the ruins of the city or not, the siege and its infamous conclusion have made the image of Carthage a symbol of the violence of conquest and the terror of war in their extremes. The elimination of Carthaginian civilisation encompassed not just the control of a land and its people, but the subjugation of a culture, occupied by force and brutalised to a point where revival was near unthinkable.

It is here, in the dust of a civilisation, that Kanaseki Taeko opens his folklore magazine in 1941. He writes in the fifth year of the imperial subject movement in Taiwan, and against such a backdrop Kanaseki points to Carthage as a cautionary tale, as with parabolic flourish he outlines how to eliminate a culture conscientiously. The Romans, in his view, acted with 'irresponsibility' toward future generations in their actions at Carthage. He argues that leaving nothing behind, not even a single folkloric record, was the conqueror's mistake, a decision that neglected their obligation to future historians and cultural enthusiasts whose understanding of all things Carthaginian would be marred by the totality of Roman aggression. *Taiwanese Customs*, Kanaseki postulates, would show how to do things differently, by providing the

record of an eliminated culture that the residents of Carthage lacked. As the wave of assimilation accelerated with the intensification of Japan's war effort during the 1940s, Kanaseki positioned his magazine as the act of preservation that should accompany assimilation as a moral necessity.

In exploring how *Taiwanese Customs* might achieve this mighty goal, Kanaseki goes on in his preface to ruminate on what makes an effective monument to a culture under siege. He suggests that to achieve the best results, it is necessary to redefine 'monument' (J. *moniyumentoumu*) by slackening the close association held between that word and the material. A preferable monument, he contends, comes not from objects that contain hints of how bodies might once have interacted with them, but from bodies themselves. In other words, what commemorates a culture best is a record of the experience of the people who determine its texture, rather than the objects that they interact with along the way:

> The word 'monument' (J. *moniyumentoumu*) comes from the verb 'monere', that is 'to remember'. Engravings on coins, carvings into stone, the shapes left behind, are nothing more than the simplification of memory. The passage of memory from one spirit to another – that is a true monument (J. *kinenbutsu*). One folkloric group, that is to say a people, is one enormous monument in and of itself. (Kanaseki 1941, 1)

Whilst Kanaseki does not deny that objects are linked to memory, he understands their connection as a shallow one. Objects here are accessories to cultural practice, rather than manifestations of its substance. In contrast, the optimal monuments are the cultural practices of a 'folkloric group' passed from generation to generation through word-of-mouth, over time forming the cornerstones of collective identity. Recipes, songs, stories, handicrafts, religious rites: it was these practices, unmoored from their material trappings, that Kanaseki wished to commit to paper in *Taiwanese Customs*. By taking record of these immaterial details, Kanaseki

argues that the 'spirit' of a culture can be retained even as its material expression is corroded. In the Carthaginian context:

> When the Romans destroyed Carthage, though the destruction of every physical monument placed substantial toil on that future intellectual who would write *Salammbô*, the Romans were not able to destroy the monuments in the spirit of the Carthaginian people. (Kanaseki 1941, 1)

The purpose of this urgent record keeping is hinted at here through veiled reference to the French novelist Gustave Flaubert and his 1862 novel *Salammbô* set in Carthage around a century prior to its sacking by the Romans. In referencing Flaubert's plight in writing his novel without any records to refer to, Kanaseki implies that the purpose of 'spirit' preservation is not to serve as material for the eventual reconstruction of what was lost, but rather as a record for future researchers and writers wishing to replicate or recreate that culture in their work. By designating the 'types' of monument best suited to this task, Kanaseki anoints himself and other contributors to *Taiwanese Customs* as individuals well-placed to determine what culture should remain, and how to distinguish between the good monument versus its deficient counterpart.[23]

Whilst Kanaseki's preface identifies the ideal monument, it omits mention of how such a record should be taken. The process of monument-making is left unbroached, a reflection perhaps of how the finer details of evidence gathering and cataloguing would weigh down Kanaseki's rhetorical grandstanding. To leave out such details, though, was quite the omission given the substantial practical challenges facing writers contributing to *Taiwanese Customs* and their editors in taking record of the 'spirit' as Kanaseki envisaged. Firstly, they had to deal with the question of how to make the non-textual textual. In most instances, their sources spoke in Taiwanese Hokkien, and there was no standardized system for writing in that language

[23] There are echoes here of what Yuko Kikuchi terms as 'oriental orientalism', a phenomenon that Kikuchi links to the Folk Art (J. *Mingei*) movement founded by Yanagi Sōetsu. Kikuchi argues that the analysis and curation of aesthetic content by Japanese scholars and cultural enthusiasts created a definition of 'beauty' that was only perceivable through Japanese eyes. Arguably we see a similar trend here with the idea of 'preservation'. Kikuchi 2004, 123.

during the 1940s. There were several possible approaches, ranging from romanization schemes devised by missionaries from the nineteenth century onwards, to the phonetisication using sinographs championed by Taiwanese nativists during the 1920s; though even within these systems there was much variation.[24] Secondly, writers and editors had to consider their readers, who were anticipated to be literate in Japanese. As a consequence, and in accordance with publication regulations relating to language enforced by Taiwan's imperial government, the majority of the magazine's content was written in Japanese – with the exception of the occasional examples of Taiwanese Hokkien included for reference purposes. And so, a disjunct existed between the language of the magazine's source material and the language of its audience – and the writers and editors were thereby compelled to establish communication between the two. The operation of monument-making, in other words, was in practice an operation of translation.

The translation taking place in *Taiwanese Customs* operated in both a practical and a political sense. Practically, the magazines contributors worked to translate Taiwan's customs to make them legible to readers in the metropole with little or no knowledge of Taiwan. This encompassed both linguistic translation – finding ways to express Taiwanese Hokkien terms in Japanese – as well as cultural translation – finding ways to make Taiwanese culture legible to Japanese readers.[25] On a political level, meanwhile, *Taiwanese Customs* enacted the logic of assimilation in microcosm. The ideological approach underpinning the imperial subject movement recognised the colonies as different and thus unintelligible – yet it also suggested that through their adoption of Japanese culture, and the Japanese language especially, those

[24] Henning Klöter divides the sinographic approach, for example, into three broad categories: 'phonetic loan characters', 'etymological characters' and 'semantic loan characters'. Klöter 2005, 31.
[25] Similarly, Taiwanese contributors engaged in a form of self-translation, as they packaged their life experiences and cultural insights into articles digestible for the Japanese reader. For Taiwanese contributors, as with many Taiwanese authors who published in Japanese during the 1940s, there was a perhaps a degree of what Shaden M. Tageldin terms 'translational seduction': the shallow promise made by assimilatory rhetoric that the adoption of a new language could bring with it the privileges of a new, superior colonial identity. Tageldin 2011, 10.

living in the colonies could move closer to the metropolitan ideal. Through this process of Japanification, the gulf dividing residents of metropole and colony could become ever narrower, allowing the colonies to be made knowable to their distant observers. In this sense, the linguistic transfer into Japanese enacted within *Taiwanese Customs* was practically necessary to make its contents accessible, but it also mirrored the logic of wartime assimilation in its privileging of Japanese as the dominant language, its vocabularies and grammars the ones that would survive into posterity whilst others faded into obscurity.[26]

Given this political context, *Taiwanese Customs* arguably enacted its translations within an ideological framework, what Tarek Shamma (2015, 94) might refer to as a 'translation ideology'.[27] The ability to form a 'translation ideology' specific to the journal and its task was in part a consequence of the loose definitions that populated the ethnographic academic space in Japan, as well as the nascent qualities of Folkloric Studies in Taiwan specifically. Alan Christy (2012, 202) posits that the terms anthropology (J. *jinruigaku*), ethnography (J. *minzokugaku*), and native ethnology (J. *minzokugaku*) were frequently used 'interchangeably' by practitioners, with their definitions evolving as geographic, political and temporal context required.[28] Kanaseki's preface captures this tendency in action, in its attempt to define and delineate the purpose of folkloric practice in Taiwan. Those initial remarks set the tone for the remainder of the magazine's approach, its columns' spaces not only for recording customs, but also for determining the qualities of the new field of 'Taiwan folklore

[26] Moreover, the culture of the colony is only given the legitimacy of recognition, as Kim Brandt argues, once it is made legible in Japanese, a variation of the idea promoted by European imperialists that languages and cultures become such only once discovered by the conqueror, wilfully ignoring the alternate grammars that predate colonial imposition, as Trivedi highlights. See Brandt 2007, 72; Trivedi 2015, 102.

[27] Shamma is responding to Vincente Rafael's question: 'can translation be faithful to empire?'. Rafael explores the use of translation by American and Spanish Empires to enact their ideological aims. Rafael 2015, 92.

[28] Alan Christy identifies this fluidity in the founder of Japanese ethnography Yanagita Yunio's career, showing how 'he shifted from designating his work as Kyōdo kenkyū (native place, or community, studies) to minkan denshō (popular traditions) to finally, minzokugaku by the 1940s', with each shift in label entailing a correspondent shift in the purpose of the field. Christy 2012, 96.

studies', and how practitioners in that field should carry out their research.[29] Kanaseki's preface establishes some initial disciplinary directions, which would later be expanded upon in editorial roundtables published in issues of the magazine up until its fold in 1945. The magazine was constructing a methodological approach within its pages, and the question of effective translation – on both a political and a practical level – was central to that construction.

There are many different ways in which this translation ideology might be regarded, especially given the diversity of approaches showcased within the magazine itself. For our purposes, however, we will take Kanaseki's opening remarks as our analytical anchor. How did the magazine's approach to translation facilitate the capture of the 'spirit' necessary to make good monuments? One approach, it seems, was through the use of women's writing. In comparison to other magazines and periodicals of the period, what is striking about the articles published in *Taiwanese Customs* is the high volume of columns penned by women authors, and Taiwanese women in particular. These contributions focus on so-called 'women's issues' – marriage, childhood, family life and so on – as well as commenting on themes regularly covered in the magazine, including Taiwanese religious practices and superstitions. These pieces are highly anecdotal, their writers supplying life experience and memory as the tools through which to facilitate interlingual and intercultural transfer. This volume of women's writing reflects a fundamental aspect of the 'translation ideology' exhibited by *Taiwanese Customs*: the notion that women were skilful interlingual communicators, thanks to their proximity to the home and their role nurturing the minds and bodies of the next generation. To

[29] A point should be made here with regards to the magazine's audience. Though it is difficult to trace the magazine's readership with absolute certainty, its contributors and its publication details give some sense of who would have been accessing the magazine. *Taiwanese Customs* was most likely intended for Japanese and Taiwanese intellectuals who moved in academic circles in Taiwan. Evidence of this circulation is reflected in the story of the magazine's genesis, as Kanaseki and Ikeda took their inspiration from another ethnographic magazine (*Ethnic Groups*) produced at National Taihoku University. This suggests that these publications were in circulation amongst academics based at the University, as well as amongst contributing Japanese authors living in Taiwan like Nishikawa Mitsuru. Besides this, there was also evidently a desire to attract readers from the metropole with an interest in Taiwan, as reflected in the content of adverts surrounding Huang Fengzi, see pages 71-82.

put it in Kanaseki's terms, women and girls were closest to the cultural 'spirit' he identifies, and as a consequence they could provide the kind of communication of Taiwanese essence that he idealized. They were the custodians of that culture, naturally placed through their gender to facilitate the communication of ritual and custom to others.

The presence of women's voices and their interlingual writing is a defining quality of *Taiwanese Customs*, yet neither aspect is explored in existing scholarship on the magazine. The chapter that follows begins with a potted history of *Taiwanese Customs*, outlining the role of Huang Fengzi, a young Taiwanese girl whose writing featured prominently in the publication, suggesting that the significance of her contributions has been overlooked in favour of analysis focusing on the political motivations of the editorial team who packaged and presented her work for public consumption. I then move to examine how Huang's writing helped the editorial board to achieve their stated goal of capturing oral culture. Focusing on how the magazine attempted to deal with the hyper-orality of folk songs, I show how the composition of Huang's regular column 'A Young Girl from Manka: Recollections' (J. *Manka no shōjo: Omohida*) comes closer to the meaningful exchange of cultural practice than the regular 'bilingual reader' style showcased elsewhere within the publication. I then show how Huang's role as an intercultural communicator is strengthened through her depiction in adverts published within the magazine. These advertisements stress Huang's linguistic skill, and draw her into the discourse of assimilation policy and its aims. Huang's depiction here points to the centrality of translation to the idea of assimilation – and how, in practice, the altering power of linguistic transformation was a means to draw a further dividing line between Taiwanese and Japanese identity, as Huang's language is treated as 'different' to Japanese proper, a product of translation rather than her natural state of being.

The Story of *Minzoku Taiwan*

Taiwanese Customs was published between July 1941 and January 1945, producing a total of 43 volumes at an average of 50 pages apiece. The editorial team was led by a pair of amateur ethnologists: Kanaseki Takeo, who worked in the anatomy department of Taihoku Imperial University, and Ikeda Toshio, a former school-teacher who started working in the press office of Taiwan's imperial administration in 1941. Together, the pair oversaw the publication of essays, commentaries, photos and illustrations of over 200 authors, Japanese and Taiwanese alike.[30] In terms of the relationship between the two editors, though Kanaseki was nominally the editor-in-chief, Ye Shitao (2020, 114) suggests that in practice, Ikeda probably carried out most of the editorial duties. Of the 43 issues published, two were focused explicitly on women: the April 1942 and November 1943 editions. Women writers including Yang Qianhe, Zhang Meihui (J. Hasegawa Mie) and Huang Fengzi featured in these issues, and also featured in regular editions that were not dedicated to women's issues alone.

Unlike most ethnographic journals produced by Japanese researchers in Taiwan, *Taiwanese Customs* was interested predominantly in recording the culture of Han Taiwanese (J. *Hontōjin*), rather than the indigenous communities (J. *Takasagozoku*) who predominantly lived on the island's eastern seaboard. The divergence in subject matter did not, however, prevent the researchers behind *Taiwanese Customs* drawing on precedents set by existing ethnographic practices in Taiwan. As Ying Xiong (2014, 112) highlights, Kanaseki and Huang Deshi discuss the inspiration for the journal's creation in an article published in the second issue of the magazine in August 1941. In 'The Full Story of the Debate: The Founding of *Taiwanese Customs*' (J. *Ronsō no shimatsu: Minzoku Taiwan hakkan ni saishite*) they pick out

[30] Chang Wen-hsun points to Kanaseki's comments made in the 'Editor's Afterword' (J. *Hensyū kōki*) in the June 1943 issue of the magazine as evidence that he and Ikeda hoped to create a forum-like atmosphere within the pages of their publication, where Japanese and Taiwanese writers could document their respective understandings of Taiwan's folk customs. Chang 2017, 117.

a magazine focused on indigenous communities titled *Ethnic Groups of the South* (J. *Nanpō Minzoku*), founded by the Institute of Ethnology at Taihoku Imperial University, as their main source of inspiration (Kanaseki & Huang 1941, 42).[31] *Ethnic Groups* was one in a long sequence of Japanese-led anthropological publications focused on Taiwan, contributing to a practice established by Japanese researchers including Mori Ushinosuke and Torī Ryūzō, whose fieldwork prior to 1903 made foundational contributions to imperial policy through the collection and collation of material relating to territory and indigenous culture (Barclay 2015, 56). Mori and Torī carried out four anthropological surveys in Taiwan between 1896 and 1900, work that would find an institutional home in the National Taiwan Museum established in 1908 where much of their research remains on display to this day (Barclay 2015, 70). The research tradition that Kanaseki and his affiliates drew on, in other words, was a tradition rooted in Japan's consolidation of territorial control in Taiwan at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Though accompanying cultural rather than territorial conquest, *Taiwanese Customs* continued the practice of research aiding the designs of the imperial state. Indeed, the existence of the magazine was a direct response to the 'rebuilding of local cultures' (J. *Chihō bunka shin kensetsu*) policy promoted by the Imperial Rule Assistance Cultural Division in a January 1941 pamphlet titled *The Fundamental Principle Plan for the Rebuilding of Local Cultures* (J. *Chihō bunka shinkensetsu no konpon rinen to sono hōsaku*). This 'para-fascist political organisation', as Pei-yin Lin (2020, 166) terms it, promoted the 'awareness of tradition' (J. *dentō no jikaku*) as a component of total mobilization necessitated by the war effort. The Division looked to ethnographical researchers and 'folk art' (J. *mingei*) enthusiasts across the empire to fuel this 'awareness' through the publication of their findings for both academic and non-academic

[31] The Institute of Ethnology (J. *Dozoku Jinshugaku Kyōshitsu*) was headed by Utsushikawa Nenozō, and was founded not long after Taihoku University in 1928. The Institute was exceptional, as Akitoshi Shimizu explains, as the 'only institute established in the name of "ethnology" in a Japanese university before World War II'. Shimizu 1999, 135.

audiences (Brandt 2007, 5). The call was met with enthusiasm not only in Taiwan, but also in other parts of the empire such as Manchuria, where a local Ethnology Association was established in Shinkyō (today's Changchun) in 1941 (Nakao 1999, 249). For individuals like Kanaseki and Ikeda, the modification of assimilation to incorporate 'localization' provided a stimulus to continue with cultural research even as said culture was gradually made 'Japanese'. It granted permission for preservation in the face of elimination, a paradoxical sentiment echoed in Kanaseki's opening appeal to Carthage in 1941.

Unlike Mori and Torī, however, Kanaseki Takeo was neither a professional ethnographer nor an anthropologist. Born in Kagawa prefecture in Japan, Kanaseki was a medical man by background. He took up his post in the anatomy faculty of Taihoku Imperial University in 1934, after graduating from Kyoto Imperial University (Zhang 2019, 230). His interest in Taiwanese customs was thus entirely extraprofessional: beginning with essays published during the 1930s in magazines including *A Record of Taiwan's Local Customs* (J. *Taiwan fūdo ki*) and *Taiwan Arts* (J. *Taiwan bungei*). He also published fiction under Taiwanese pennames during the 1940s, including crime novel *The Boat Murder* (J. *Fune no satsujin*) serialised in *Taiwan Police Times* (J. *Taiwan keisatsu jihō*) in 1941 under the penname Lin Xiongsheng, and the semi-autobiographical *Southern Wind* (J. *Minami no kaze*) serialized in *Taiwan Arts* between July 1942 and December 1943 under the penname Su Wenshi. *Southern Wind* stars a man named Kōsuke Kota; the editor of an ethnographic journal who visits several fieldwork sites frequented by *Taiwanese Customs* researchers. Given the parallels between Kōsuke and Kanaseki, Chang Wen-hsun (2017, 121) argues that this unfinished novella served as an outlet for Kanaseki's personal qualms about the politics and ethics of assimilation, and his own involvement in that process through *Taiwanese Customs*.

Ikeda Toshio's close relationship with the imperial establishment may have been one source of Kanaseki's qualms. Originally from Shimane prefecture, Ikeda travelled to Taiwan at the age of 8 in 1924. After a six-year stint as a teacher at Ryūzan (today's Longshan) Public School, in March 1941 he joined the Office of The Governor-General as an editor for government publications – a role that put him at the heart of the imperial media machine. In 1943, he entered the propaganda department as an editor for the government magazine *New Construction* (J. *Shin Kensetsu*). Ikeda's job goes some way to explaining how *Taiwanese Customs* came to be published by the Taihoku Branch of the Kyoto Public Publishing company, a publishing house that regularly served as a mouthpiece for the authorities.[32] In the final year of the war, conscription took Ikeda away from his desk job in Taipei, delivering him to a military base in Heitō (today's Pingdong) county in Southern Taiwan. Ikeda was briefly absorbed back into government following 1945 as a translator in the KMT's short-lived Bureau of Translation and Compilation (Fugeshi 2019, 259-260). However, following the turmoil of the 228 Incident in 1947, Ikeda returned to Shimane prefecture as a newlywed accompanied by his Taiwanese wife, former writer for *Taiwanese Customs* Huang Fengzi.

By 1947, Huang and Ikeda's relationship had both personal and professional dimensions, though the extent of the overlap between the two in the years preceding their marriage remains unknown. Huang had been born 18 years earlier, in Manka (T. Báng-kah) district (today's Wanhua district), in Taipei in 1928. Her life was exceptional from the outset, thanks to her family's long-held prominence in Taiwanese academic and social circles. Her great-grandfather was a renowned violinist famous for his extensive knowledge of folk customs in the Manka area. Her grandfather, meanwhile, had passed the Qing imperial examination,

[32] Set up in Taipei in 1933, Kyoto Public Publishing Company became incredibly profitable during the war as the primary publisher of government publications including *Official Gazette* (J. *Kanpō*). The appearance of *Taiwanese Customs* on the roster of this particular publishing house is likely a direct consequence of Ikeda's employment within the publishing organs of the imperial administration. Wang 2019, 470.

and her father held a doctorate of law from Kyoto University and had taught at Kansai University prior to the war (Qiu 2010, 15). During the 1940s, the family was registered as a 'Japanese-language family' (J. *Kokugo katei*) meaning that the Huangs spoke Japanese at home, and their daughter's education was also carried out in the national language. Huang Fengzi joined Ryūzan Public School in 1935 at the age of 8, and it was there she met Ikeda Toshio. Struck by Huang's writing ability after reading her essay 'Sweet Rice Balls' (J. *Odango*) in 1938, Ikeda became her mentor – a connection that would propel her toward a regular column in *Taiwanese Customs* as well as several essay collections published under her name alone.

Huang was the break-out star of *Taiwanese Customs*, the project's poster-girl, and her association with Ikeda had a large part to play in the trajectory of her writing career. In her popularity we see refractions of what Harald Salomon (2017, 103) describes as the 'childhood boom' in Japanese popular culture during the 1930s, where stories of childhood allowed for the consolidation in the urban conscience of childhood as a stage of life with certain psychological and emotional characteristics distinct from adulthood (116). At the same time, Huang's elevation concords with Frühstück and Walthall's (2017, 9) assessment that children 'became political actors' across the empire during the war period. The deeply gendered and political dynamics that underpin Huang's frequent appearances in *Taiwanese Customs,* however, are often overlooked in favour of analysis that focuses solely on Kanaseki and Ikeda. Given their biographical backgrounds, the pair make a convenient reference point when discussing the magazine and its associated controversies. As the well-meaning enthusiast and the government employee, their profiles map onto the ethical debates that have long been associated with the magazine, debates which can be summarised in one essential question: was the publication a mouthpiece of the imperial government and its assimilatory designs, or a valuable contribution to Taiwanese folklore studies compiled by conservationists in muted

opposition to assimilation? Wu Micha (2006, 360) suggests that the latter, more sympathetic interpretation dominated Taiwanese academic thinking prior to 1990, with *Taiwanese Customs* receiving appreciation even during the period of martial law. The ethics of the magazine were called into question, however, by Kawamura Minato's 1996 monograph *The Fiction and Fact of Great East Asian Ethnology* (J.*"Daitōa minzokugaku" no kyojitsu*), an intervention that sparked a debate in Taiwanese and Japanese academic circles over whether *Taiwanese Customs* espoused racist hierarchies and colonialist exoticism (Wu 2006, 358). There is no escaping, as Ying Xiong (2014, 109) highlights, the obvious alignment between some of the journal's contents and the direction of colonial policy, particularly in the issues published in 1944 and 1945. At the same time, much of the material – like Kanaseki's description of Carthage – operates in ambiguous discursive spaces where imperial policy was neither explicitly condemned nor championed. Different readers have interpreted these passages differently depending on their viewpoint: a state of affairs that emphasises the degree of ambiguity necessary to put into practice the policy of localization in assimilation.

The pertinence of the debate sparked by Kawamura's book is reflected in how similar themes and anxieties emerged as points of discussion in early editions of the magazine itself. These initial issues of *Taiwanese Customs* make it clear that the editorial team, and Kanaseki in particular, had some awareness of their morally ambiguous position, and utilised the public forum provided in the pages of the magazine to discuss the problem. The magazine's second issue, published in August 1941, features the prospectus that Tarumi Chie (2006, 266) notes was handed round to publishers prior to the printing of the journal to help pre-empt any censorship concerns surrounding its contents. Given the prospectus' intended readership, it is no surprise that the text is rich in political discourse. It opens with the declaration that the 'imperialisation of the Taiwanese people must be accelerated at all costs', before going on to

advocate the destruction of the 'evil customs of this island' in favour of a 'modern culture'. The piece then emphasises the 'responsibility' of Japanese researchers to 'record and research' these customs given the empire's expansion into the 'South' – in other words, ethnographical research is framed here as a contribution to the war effort and the expansion of empire (Chen et al. 1941, 42). Most emphatically of all, the prospectus compels the reader to feel no shame in the destruction of the Taiwanese way of life, 'we should not grieve the annihilation of Taiwan's old customs', and indeed goes as far as to suggest the 'manmade policy' of imperialization was simply accelerating the erasure of 'evil customs' that would have taken place naturally over time (Chen et al. 1941, 42).

On the page that follows, the editors include a response from Taiwanese author Yang Yunping (1941, 43) under the title 'Research and Affection' (J. *Kenkyū to ai*). In the piece Yang, who Lin Ruiming (2019, 131) describes as a 'pioneer of the Taiwan New Literature Movement' along with Lai Ho, expresses disbelief at the contradiction between the desire to 'research Taiwan's customs' and the belief that researchers should 'not grieve the annihilation' of said subject matter.[33] Eager for discussion, Kanaseki publishes his longer response in the pages that follow under the title 'Affection towards Folklore' (J. *Minzoku e no ai*). Acknowledging Yang's literary background, he implores him to heed the 'context' (J. *mizukara bunmyaku*) and 'tone' (J. *goki*) of the sentiment expressed in the prospectus (Kanaseki 1941, 44). This emphasis on 'context' seems a veiled acknowledgment of the purpose of the prospectus (to avoid censorship), and the ways in which the wording necessary to achieve the aims of that document may distort the true intentions of the individuals involved with *Taiwanese Customs*. He states this more explicitly later:

[33] He goes on to note that the title of his short riposte, 'Research and Affection', had been affixed to his article without his consent by the Taiwanese-Japanese editorial team. Yang 1941, 43.

> Our love for the Taiwanese people, and our enthusiasm for understanding their customs, is unmatched. However, the decision of whether it is suitable to freely express that love and enthusiasm in the contents of our prospectus is another matter. If we didn't have affection for Taiwanese customs, then who among us would carry out this project? What else, aside from affection, would push us to seek out this difficult task? (Kanaseki 1941, 45)

Kanaseki goes on to thank Yang for giving him the opportunity to respond to his concerns in a public fashion, before inviting the Taiwanese author to make his own contributions to the journal: an invitation that Yang accepts, with his writings featuring regularly in *Taiwanese Customs*. This splintered debate between Kanaseki and Yang echoes the themes of later postcolonial discussions over the motivations of *Taiwanese Customs*, with Kanaseki's explanation being that the journal included ideological discourse superficially, and that any logical reader would understand the necessity of those comments within the political context that the magazine was published. To put it differently, in Kanaseki's view, the political pandering that took place within the magazine was an indisputable necessity to ensure publication in spite of censorship, and as a consequence those statements made out of practical necessity could not outweigh the sincerity with which Japanese researchers carried out their work. Yang, it seems, was persuaded by this logic – not only as he contributed to the magazine, but also as he went on to defend its operations in the post-war period.

Read through the lens of colonial politics, Kanaseki and Yang's exchange – as well as the debate decades later in the 1990s – places *Taiwanese Customs* between the polarities of colonial violence and colonial benevolence. Though this is certainly an essential component of *Taiwanese Customs*, the unwavering focus on establishing the moral qualities of the colonial gaze serves to overlook its modes of expression – in particular with regards to the women who wrote for the magazine. The abstract qualities of 'affection' take on a paternalistic sheen when viewed in this light, an overtone accentuated when one considers the contents of the articles penned by women. All of these pieces, including Huang Fengzi's, are comprised of

recollections centred on a theme. The author recounts an anecdote from her life experience, and this anecdote explains a culturally specific practice or term to the reader. Far removed from dry academic prose, the pieces provide the magazine with an emotional pulse, couching descriptions of cultural practices in the psychology of girlhood.

This emotive aspect was arguably intentional. As Chang Wen-hsun (2017, 119) notes, *Taiwanese Customs* was remarkably free of judgmental commentary pieces: though the prospectus condemned 'evil habits' that must be 'annihilated', the editors refrained from highlighting which habits specifically needed to be eliminated within the contents of the magazine proper. Indeed, Chang (119) suggests that it was Kanaseki's intent that the reader draw the correct conclusion on which customs were 'evil' without direct prompting from the editorial team. A central aspect of this unspoken differentiation was the communication of emotions, positive and negative, in the writings of women featured throughout. In her article 'Life in a Taiwanese Household' (J. *Taiwan no katei seikatsu*) published in April 1942, for example, Zhang Meihui (1942, 18) presents a rose-tinted vision of her grandmother as a 'so-called person of the new age' with unbound feet, who became educated through frequent interaction with foreigners. Zhang recalls sitting in her bedroom listening to her stories whilst cutting shapes of flowers and peaches out of paper. As a point of contrast, Yang Qianhe's (1942, 32) January 1942 essay on 'The Meaning of Becoming a Bride' (J. *Totsugu no kokoro*) recounts her emotional distress during the process of betrothal and leaving behind her mother for her husband's home. Given Kanaseki's comments on the operation of the journal's critique, these didactic displays of emotion arguably communicated the morality of various customs to the reader. Those causing distress should be eliminated, those evoking joy should remain. In their benevolence, the editors become the custodians of these emotions, curating them within the broader political message of the magazine.

The supply of an emotional compass was but one function of women's writing in *Taiwanese Customs*. It also provided a solution to several translation challenges the magazine faced in communicating the realities of Taiwanese life to a Japanese audience. Given Kanaseki's emphasis on capturing the 'spirit' of the culture soon to be eliminated, a word-for-word transfer of Taiwan's myths, songs and recipes into Japanese alone would not be sufficient. The emotive essays supplied by women, though, provided cultural testimonials – explanations and translations of tradition grounded in their memories and their emotions, rather than illegible objects. Moreover, these descriptions were generally set in the home and centred on the family, creating relatable scenarios through which to communicate aspects of Taiwan's culture to a reader with little contextual knowledge to draw upon. As we will see in the section that follows, these anecdotal dictionaries not only provided the magazine with its beating heart, but also fulfilled one of its key missions of translating culture as a living phenomenon, rather than solely documenting its material traces. In the framework of Kanaseki's Carthaginian logic, women's writing provided that living trace: fragment upon fragment of the ideal monument.

Translation, Custom-made

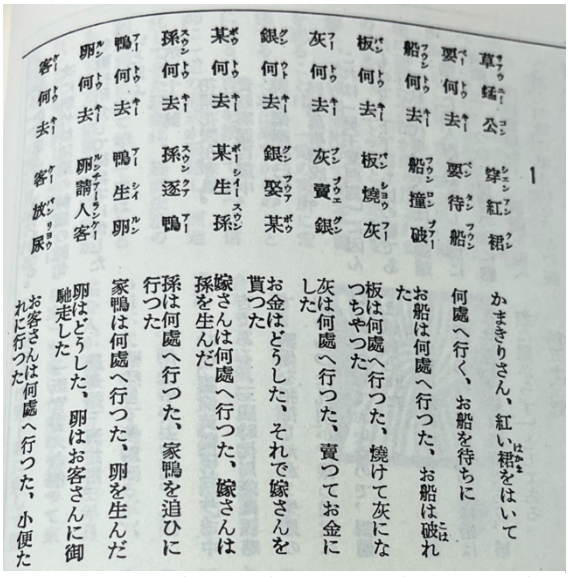

Figure 1: Extract from the first column of "Extracts of Children's Songs From Daitōtei".

Various forms of interlingual and intercultural exchange took place in the pages of *Taiwanese Customs*, some more easily recognizable as translations than others, in the sense that they supply a source text in Taiwanese Hokkien and its reiteration in Japanese. Within this category is a regular column published from the magazine's first issue in July 1941 as 'A Translated Collection of Taiwanese Folk Songs'

(J. *Taiwan utayō shūyaku*), as well as a later series on a similar theme titled 'Extracts of Children's Songs from Daitōtei' (J. *Daitōtei warabe uta shiyō*) first published in the January 1943 issue. The translational quality of these columns is explicit: they exhibit a source text (the folk songs) and a translation of that text into Japanese. In the first column of this style the translations were fragmented, comprised of word-by-word definitions and explanations of individual terms from the songs interspersed with pronunciation advice, and an 'explanation of meaning'. This final translation provided a prose iteration of the song's story in Japanese. By June 1943, the format had evolved to remove the fragmentary structure, replacing it with the more recognizable 'bilingual reader' arrangement: source text above, translation below. This configuration facilitated comparison, as well as providing some testament to the linguistic transformation binding the top half of the page to its lower complement (see Figure 1).

Theoretically speaking, these folk song columns should have been ideal candidates for Kanaseki's desired monuments. They stemmed unequivocally from oral culture, and they were detached from the material. Yet the writers of these columns seem to strain against their medium: as their source material is non-textual, their conversion into a textual space is awash with practical difficulties. How to increase the legibility of text as a phonetic artefact and convey its orality to the reader? The strategy for achieving this goal, in both the early edition of the column and its later variant, was to use *katakana*, the Japanese phonetic script, alongside Taiwanese Hokkien written using sinographs. *Katakana* provided the reader with the phonetics of the source material, and consequently they would be able to

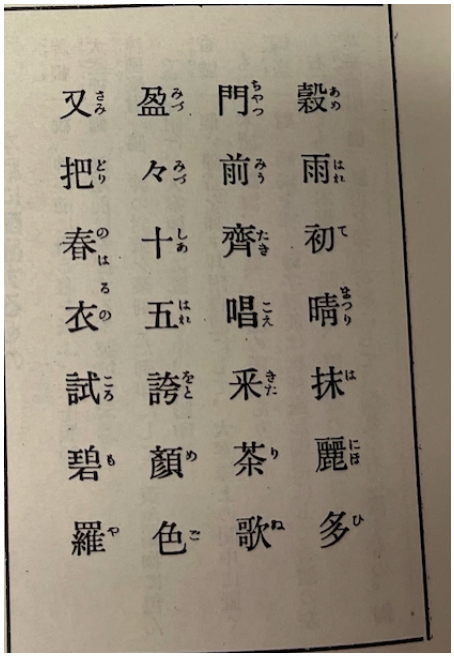

Figure 2: Panel from the advert for Nishikawa's Pear Blossom Wife (J. Rika fujin) included in issue one (July 1941, 25).

imitate the sound of the song lyrics, even if they were unaware of their meaning. In this way, some of the orality of the source material could be conveyed in its new format.

The combined use of sinograph and *katakana* to indicate the phonetics of Taiwanese Hokkien was nothing new. Nishikawa Mitsuru, a prolific Japanese author who lived in Taiwan from a young age, regularly used the strategy in his poetry and fiction (Ying 2017, 65).[34] The allusions to the soundscape of Taiwanese Hokkien gave his work what Liao Ping-hui (2006, 13) terms a 'quasi-ethnographic edge', contributing to the perceived authenticity of his depiction of Taiwan. An advert for Nishikawa's *Pear Blossom Wife* (J. *Rika fujin*) appeared in issue 1 of *Taiwanese Customs* displaying the strategy, suggesting that this phonetic element was one of the text's major selling points (see Figure 2). It was also a convenient approach for Nishikawa, who Zhang Liangze and Chen Zaoxiang claim had limited working knowledge of Taiwanese Hokkien, and generally relied on a dictionary when writing his stories. Nishikawa was thus able to 'write' in Taiwanese Hokkien by extracting the language from its context, aspects of his practice that have fuelled accusations of exoticism in his writing (Ying Xiong 2014, 65).

Nishikawa's approach was convenient for contributors to the folk song columns, as it resolved several of their core methodological difficulties. It made the oral visible on the page, and helped to convey the defining aspect of the source material to the reader. Additionally, the process helped to demarcate the difference between the foreign and unfamiliar sounds of the Taiwanese song and the Japanese translation, affirming the division between the observed and the observer. At the same time, as we will see in the examples below, the addition of phonetics

[34] Nishikawa's relationship with the folklorists at *Taiwanese Customs* was not straightforward. Xiong points out that Nishikawa fell out with Kokubu Naoichi and others at the magazine, for example, over his 'analogy of photography with painting'. Ying 2014, 107.

in an article where almost all other contextual details relating to the song are removed does little to communicate the meaning of lyrics when sung or heard in real life. The observer may be able to string together the lyrics' phonetics in their mouth, but even as they imitate the sounds, the contents of the column would leave them unaware of where those sounds might be heard, the tune that might accompany them, or who might be singing them and on what occasion. To put it differently, language becomes knowable in the shallowest of senses: it can be possessed, but it cannot be fully understood. Like the objects reproduced in photographs and illustrations throughout the magazine, the songs are made tangible by isolating them from the context that makes them intelligible. In short, the column achieves linguistic translation, but falls short of the cultural communication integral to the magazine's translation logic. Without human context, language becomes a weaker monument: words made objects by their abstraction.

Inada Osomu's 'A Translated Collection of Taiwanese Folk Songs', regularly published between the July 1941 and November 1941 issues of *Taiwanese Customs*, showcases the strengths and weaknesses of this approach. The first column in the series features four songs collected by Inada during fieldwork in May 1941, translated into Japanese using the fragmentary approach described above. The first song in the collection describes a mountain scene with flowers and bitter gourds, and a young woman who leaves her village in search of love. Its opening lines are given as follows:

山蒜開花五畷紅
冬瓜切斷古錢窓

The mountain garlic flower blooms
Five lines of red, the division between fields
The cut white gourd, old-coin windows.

A Japanese translation of sorts then follows. This translation includes *katakana* interspersed within the original verse structure – additions that improve the legibility of the text by adding Japanese grammar to the sentence structure. In the second line, for example, キテ *kite* adds the nuance that the flowers have just begun to bloom; a clarification of the precise meaning of the line that may have otherwise gone unnoticed by the reader:

> 山蒜花開**キテ**五畷（スデ) 紅**ナリ**
> 冬瓜切斷**スレバ**古銭窓

This hybrid version of the song is almost reminiscent of the historic writing practice *kambun yomikudashi*, where Chinese characters are written out in the Japanese order, creating a text that is 'no longer Chinese – although nor was it 'proper' Japanese', as Judy Wakabayashi (2005, 121) describes.[35] The version clarifies syntactical meaning, adding grammatical details necessary to give the text greater legibility to a Japanese reader. The additional *katakana* provided alongside the characters in parentheses, meanwhile, signals pronunciation – that the word for field division '畷' for example, should be pronounced 'su-de'.

Inada's hybrid version of the song is then followed by a reference section that breaks down the verse word-by-word, providing longer explanations and definitions when necessary. Where the first translation cited above is about clarity at the level of sentence structure, this secondary section is about confirming the meaning of culturally specific terms. Given the brevity of the verse, there are several instances where the meaning of the words in the context of the song would remain unclear if a simple, parallel Japanese word was provided alone as a

[35] Ying Xiong argues that Nishikawa's use of *katakana* is in itself a form of *yomikudashi.* Xiong 2014, 62.

translation. We see an example of this in Inada's discussion of 'old coin windows' (古銭窓 T. *kóo-tsînn- thang*):

> 古銭窓。古き銭にはその中央に口形の穴があった。そして古い建物の窓は丸形の中にこの形の枠をはめていたから、窓を稱して古銭窓といふのである。
>
> 'Old coin windows' - Old coins have a 口-shaped hole in their centre. And, because in the centre of the circle-shaped windows of old buildings there is a border in a 口-shape, the windows are called 'old coin windows'.

The explanation Inada provides here is necessary to understand the function of the term 'old-coin window' within the textual fabric on both a pragmatic and poetic level. Only by explaining the term 'old-coin window' in more detail does he allow for the image of the seedless gourd to appear in the reader's mind, and for that pale ring to echo the rim of windows and coins. Whilst these explanations do provide some contextual depth, even the most intricate of terms is explained within a short set of sentences. The brevity of the article's format only serves to heighten its taxonomic edge, Inada's translation dissecting the song and displaying its fragments for the reader's perusal.

Such an approach might have been more successful if, at the article's close, Inada had brought together those pieces to form a new, cogent whole. What he presents instead, however, is a final version of the song written in prose. As each version passes, the lyricism of the source material is slowly dissipated, until we reach his final iteration: the 'explanation of meaning' (J. *ishaku*). This final iteration is detached from the source text, in the sense that it appears in prose rather than verse. Despite the initial efforts made to indicate the song's orality, this final version decontextualises the lyrics by reading them as words on a page, rather than vocal artefacts with rhythm and tone:

> 山百合の花は咲くとその花瓣には紅い五筋がついている。冬瓜（とうがん）は切斷すると切口が古錢窓に似ている。
>
> When the mountain lily flowers blooms, their petals have five red streaks. When the bitter gourd is cut open, the incision seems like an old-coin window. (Inada 1941, 18)

The lack of poetic style in Inada's work here on one level reflects his interests as an ethnographer, rather than as an amateur poet or lyricist. At the same time, it also suggests a level of anxiety over conveying the meaning of the song to an audience with little to no cultural or linguistic context. The transformation of the song's 'mountain garlic' (山蒜 T. *suann-suàn*) to 'mountain lily' (山百合 J. *yamayuri*) in the first line underlines this tendency. Though both plants have reddish flowers, the mountain lily Inada describes are indigenous to Japan, unlike the 'mountain garlic' the song refers to. Read in the context of his overtly taxonomic approach, the alteration made here points to the challenges faced by Japanese contributors to *Taiwanese Customs*, as they dealt with terms and turns of phrase that they struggled to communicate in the colonial language.

Inada himself openly discusses the challenges of the translation process within the article, focusing in particular on the adjective 'raiaoran' (挑弄 - ライアオラン) used to describe a young woman featured in the song. He defines the term as a 'dynamic kind of liveliness, that is nonetheless graceful, quiet and beautiful' (J. *Dōteki ni wa kappatsude shikamo yūbi, shizuka-teki ni wa tanrei*). Inada acknowledges the definition's imperfections: 'currently I am unable to find the suitable translation that should be used to express this word in the national language' (J. *Kokugo de dō ni arawasubeki ka, ima wa tekitōna shakugo ga mitoranai*) (Inada 1941, 18). The distance between languages seems unbridgeable to Inada here, as he strains to create an equivalency between the source and the translation whilst taking into consideration the

perspective of his reader. From this viewpoint, the splintered presentation of his translation adds to the sense that expressing the song in Japanese was not a simple endeavour. To exercise linguistic control over his source material, Inada draws it away from its context till he reaches an 'explanation of meaning' that fundamentally alters the nature of the song, by transforming it into prose. The reader might sense the linguistic outline of the source material, but will be left with little knowledge of the song's meaning as a *song,* sung by voices and heard by others.

By the January 1943 issue, the uncoordinated approach taken by Inada in this first foray into folk song translation was consolidated into a more uniform textual presentation. Where Inada's article reads as a compilation of fieldwork notes rather than a polished translation, the column 'Extracts of Children's Songs from Daitōtei' compiled by Umishima Hiroto that features in issues from January to September 1943 takes on the aesthetic qualities of a bilingual reader. The source text remains a sinographic transliteration of a song, with *katakana* phonetic aids inlaid to the right of each character. The Japanese translation follows, though in this case it mirrors the lyricism of the source rather than transferring into it prose (see Figure 1). Whilst phonetics and semantics remain divided in these versions, the textual arrangement arguably makes it easier for the reader to achieve simultaneous reading: they can sound out the lyrics whilst reading its translated meaning below. Despite this, the columns still contain no explanatory endnotes or contextualisation of meaning – the words appear like objects on the page: decontextualised and disembodied. Whether in Inada's translation, or these later examples, translators deal with the difficulties of linguistic transfer through the objectification of language – its meaning is superficially legible, but its application and cultural resonances remain obscured.

The objectification process at play here is exacerbated when one considers the participatory potential of *katakana*. As a phonetic alphabet, the appearance of *katakana* allows

the reader to sound out a word irrespective of whether they know its meaning. This quality, as well as the relative ease with which the system can be learned, ensured that *katakana* appeared in textbooks and educational materials in Taiwanese schools from the early twentieth century onward. The purpose of *katakana* in *Taiwanese Customs*, however, seems less educational and more curatorial. In the bilingual-reader style columns in particular, the inclusion of the song's phonetics with little explanation or contextualisation seems designed to allow the reader to extend their observation of the lyric to include an additional sensory plane. The reader is given the thrill of letting uncommon sounds sit in their throats, an act of exoticist play rooted in the power of possession. The performativity of this kind of textual interaction is made evident in Jennifer Robertson's (1999, 276) discussion of an exhibition of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere plays in Takarazuka, a city in Hyōgo province, Southern Japan, in September 1941. Robertson details how the play *Mongol* (J. *Mongōru*), 'a love story in which was embedded Japanese colonial propaganda' relaying Mongolia's position in the empire, included *katakana* in the dialogue scripts offering an opportunity for the audience to learn some Mongolian, including 'thank you' (*moroguchibaaina*) and 'how are you' (*sain baaina*). This form of reading brings the spectator into an artificial orbit with the colonial other: artificial as the proximity is detached from the reality of language as a living thing, relying instead on its distillation into digestible soundbites.

By relying on similar processes of distillation in their translations, both Inada and Umishima Hiroto fall short of Kanaseki's stated ideals for the memorializing process. Though they are not outliers in their representation of colonial language, and draw on strategies used by others, the depersonalisation of language in their writing strips orality of its proximity to the kind of spirit-to-spirit transfer that Kanaseki emphasises. As the reader leafs through photos and illustrations of the objects featured in the magazine, they are presented with an opportunity

to experience vicarious touch, holding the papery representation of an object in the palm of their hand. In reading the translations included in ‘A Translated Collection of Taiwanese Folk Songs’ or ‘Extracts of Children’s Songs from Daitōtei’, those same patterns of vicariousness are extended to the voice. How, though, to move beyond these taxonomic approaches, and inch closer to the sort of exchange that Kanaseki idealizes? To put it differently, could a different approach to translation be found that would include both context – an indication of the living word – whilst maintaining legibility to a Japanese audience?

A possible alternate approach was exhibited in the writing of women featured in the magazine. Unlike the columns, these articles were not translations in the strictest sense; they operated without a source text, instead offering a form of interlingual and intercultural interpretation centred on culturally specific words and phrases. This quality is especially apparent in Huang’s Fengzi’s regular column for the magazine ‘A Young Girl from Manka: Recollections’ published between March and December 1942. The column reads as an unconventional dictionary made up of twenty entries spread across multiple issues of the magazine. Each entry begins with a term, either in Japanese or Taiwanese, which is then explained in the text that follows through anecdotes from Huang’s memory. These definitions can be divided into two types: the first are vignettes focused on a large theme such as new year festivities. These contributions begin with a subheading in Japanese, with anecdotes then being used in the body text that follows to define and contextualise multiple Taiwanese terms relating to the theme. The second type were generally shorter, providing definitions for culturally-specific Taiwanese terms that provided the subheading for the entry.

Throughout this column space, Huang becomes a spokesperson of her community. As she communicates the meaning of festivals, religious and social rites, her words act as a

gateway to the cross-cultural understanding absent from columns like Inada's. Her first essay to showcase this quality predated her regular column, and was published in the January 1942 issue. Titled '坐月内 フウエ　ゲエ　ライ(J. *fuue gee rai*), the article describes the experience of a local woman after giving birth to a son, describing the month of 'confinement' (做月内 T. *tsò-guėh-lāi*) undertaken by women after giving birth. Without any reference to the Japanese term for confinement, Huang proceeds to prosaically describe events in simple terms, before providing more culturally specific details. She explains how the mother from her neighbourhood was expected to eat a whole chicken on her own on the third day after giving birth, before providing a more general definition of sorts of the term used to describe this meal:

> この、赤ちゃんが生まれて三日目に食べる鶏を抵腹鶏　ヲアパク　ケエ　と云って、この鶏は誰にも分けてはいけないのださうです。
>
> So, the chicken that is eaten on the third day after the birth of a child is called '抵腹鶏 woa paku kee' (chicken to support the abdomen). It is said that this chicken must not be shared with anyone else. (Huang 1942, 38)

Through narration, Huang conveys the meaning of terms like 'woa paku kee' and their usage in her life without recourse to a direct word-for-word translation in Japanese. By opting for this anecdotal approach, a transfer of meaning is facilitated unconstrained by the lack of direct equivalency between Huang's context and that of her reader. Given her perspective as a child, moreover, Huang can convey her ideas and stories in simplistic terms that would seem inappropriate in the prose of the adults publishing in the magazine. As a young girl, Huang possesses the perspective necessary to depict culture as a lived experience, whilst the anchor of the home, the family, and the neighbourhood – all recurring themes in her columns – makes her an ideal ethnographic object of study, as will be discussed later.

Ethnography aside, however, Huang's translations of oral culture are situated within descriptions of her life, her memories transplanted and transposed onto the page. The contrast between Huang's anecdotal translation approach and the taxonomic strategies found in the folk song columns is perhaps best expressed in her first 'Recollections' column published in March 1942, as it features a song. In a segment titled 'Mother's Neighbourhood' (J. *Haha no sato*), Huang describes 'the earliest journey I could remember from childhood' (J. *watashi ga chisaii toki ni ichiban hayaku oboeta michi*): the journey to visit her maternal grandparents. She describes her relationship with her maternal grandfather who doted upon her, giving her peanuts and toys whenever she went to visit. As a consequence, 'she always looked forward to going there' (J. *da kara, watashi wa soko e iku no o tanoshiminishiteita*). The emotional context for the recollection established, Huang then moves to describe how she learnt many things from her grandfather - in this instance, the following song:

フアウニイコン チエンアンクン
草蜢公 穿紅裙
ベエトオキイ ベエ ッェツン
要何去 要坐船
ツントオキイ ツンロンポア
船何去 船撞破
パントオキイ パンシヨフウ
板何去 板燒灰

かまきりさん 紅いはかまをはいて
どこへ行くの お船に乗りに
船はどこへ行った こはれてしまった
船板はどこへ行った
焼いて灰になった

Grasshopper wearing the red skirt,
Where are you going?
You are riding on a boat
Where is the boat going?
The boat breaks in a collision
Where are the planks going?
The planks burn to ash.

She finishes the section with further details about her grandfather:

> と歌ったものだ。この祖父はお盆の放水灯 （パンツイヲエン）の時には、何時も獅仔灯 （サイアアヲエン）や火船灯 （フエツンヲン）などをつくつてくれたので、顔もはつきりおばえている。少し細長い顔で色が黒く、南京豆が非常に好きて、聲が大きかった。
>
> When it was time for water lanterns (T. *pàng-tsuí-ting*) during the lantern festival, my maternal grandfather would always make lanterns in the shape of lions (T. *sai-á-ting*) and boats (T. *hué-tsûn-ting*) – so I remember his face clearly. His face was slender and narrow, a blackish colour. He loved peanuts, and had a loud voice. (Huang 1942, 23)

Though the song relies on the same transliteration through *katakana* as the renditions by Inada and Umishima cited above and is not accompanied by explanatory notes, the anecdotal context gives the reader some sense of the situation in which it would be heard. Huang's recollection stages a transmission of information, extended from grandfather to grandchild, from memory to text, from Huang to reader. The same grasshopper song had featured in the first column of 'Extracts of Children's Songs from Daitōtei' – which allows us to compare the two approaches. Where Huang provides the living memory fleshed out by a narrative, Umishima Hiroto provides the systematic, word-for-word translation (see Figure 1). In the juxtaposition between these two approaches, we see the contribution made by women's writing in the context of *Taiwanese Customs*. Huang's rendering of the lyrics may not be more adept or accurate than Umishima Hiroto's efforts, but the presentation of the song within the context of her childhood memories does seem a closer representation of culture as a lived experience, rather than as a lifeless artefact. Positioned as the community members with clearest understanding of custom, the life experiences of Huang and her fellow writers are valorised – the realisation of the spirit-to-spirit transfer Kanaseki outlines in his 1941 preface. This interplay between gender, language and effective communication is an important feature of *Taiwanese Customs* as a publication, and in Huang's columns in particular we see the operation of a translation ideology that values women as translators of sorts within the context of discussing and preserving folkloric practices.

This approach, where women are taken as valued representatives of their communities, was commonplace within the context of folklore studies and ethnology in Japan. The father of 'native ethnology studies' (J. *Minzokugaku*), Yanagita Kunio, placed an emphasis on women in his work through what Noriko Kawahashi (2005, 459) understands as an essentialist and objectifying lens that 'builds up a unitary image of women from his own perspective' that is then presented as an expression of 'universal experience'. The prioritization of women and girls mapped onto their broader depiction in the nationalist media as what Glenda S. Roberts (2005, 107) terms the 'true repositories of Japanese tradition'. As child bearers, nurturers and keepers of the home, women were seen as the custodians of tradition, naturally equipped through their socialisation as mothers to communicate cultural practices to others. These patterns of prioritization reverberate in *Taiwanese Customs*, an aspect made manifest by the volume of Taiwanese women's writing published under its masthead.

Beyond resonances with ethnology practices in Japan, there was also precedent for placing women in positions of translation and interpretation within the Taiwanese context. Paul Barclay (2005, 325) has shown how intermarriage between Japanese men and indigenous women was wielded as a component of expansionist policy during the conquest and control of mountainous Atayal territories in central and northern Taiwan between 1908 and 1914. This policy, Barclay contends, built on patterns of behaviour established by 'bicultural couples' during the Late Qing, who regularly acted as intermediaries between settlers, merchants and indigenous communities. An example of a woman in this position is Yayutz Bleyh, an Atayal woman married to a Japanese man who regularly served as an interpreter and translator between her own community and the colonizers between 1910 and 1930.[36] Though separated

[36] Kirsten Ziomek describes how Yayutz was viewed as the 'model colonial subject' within the colonial archive, and as a 'highly respected mediator' in Atayal oral histories. Ziomek 2015, 124.

from Yayutz Bleyh by ethnicity and social status, the women who contributed to *Taiwanese Customs* were placed in similar positions of interlingual and intercultural communication for similar reasons. Like Yayutz Bleyh, their bilingualism gave them the required practical skills, and their proximity to the guiding influence of Japanese masculinity made them politically trustworthy. *Taiwanese Customs* extends this understanding of women as cultural go-betweens, showing how the interactions between resident and outsider during territorial expansion mapped onto the cultural conquest of the imperial subject movement. In both instances, women are prioritised as ideal communicators thanks to their centrality to their own communities, as well as in the Taiwanese context, their proximity to the nurturing influence of Japanese masculinity.

The magazine's translation ideology, in other words, drew on patterns of communication present in the Yanagita school of ethnography in Japan, as well as precedents for translation practices used in Taiwan during the earlier period of Japanese rule. Given how neatly Huang Fengzi fits these precedents, it seems likely that they influenced the frequency of her appearances in the magazine. As a female child, she is an ideal communicator of cultural practice valued in ethnography. Her close relationship with Ikeda Toshio, meanwhile, placed her in adjacency to Japanese masculinity like the women interpreters who historically facilitated communication between their communities and outsiders. Pei-yin Lin (2020, 168) argues that the presence of Huang's writings in *Taiwanese Customs* offers an opportunity to 're-think the top-down imperialist call, which is often gendered as masculine, for revitalising the (colonies') local cultures'. Lin's argument, in other words, is that Huang's Fengzi's writings represent a young woman's infringement on imperial policy by redefining what that policy looked like from the bottom-up. Whilst this is true to a degree, it should also be acknowledged that Huang's experiences were mediated to the reader in frameworks fashioned by the magazine

editors, frameworks that relied on a heavily politicized understanding of language and its relationship with identity. As a consequence, it is difficult to argue, as Anne Sokolsky (2010, 264) suggests, that Huang's writing can be seen as proof that 'not all Taiwanese had truly changed their spirits despite the superficial use of Japanese clothing and language'. Given the political qualities of *Taiwanese Customs* and Huang's creative proximity to Ikeda Toshio, it is arguably difficult, if not impossible, to access the reality of her 'spirit' in her writings.

What we can glimpse in *Taiwanese Customs*, however, is how Huang's image and identity were placed in close proximity to imperial discourse. This is most apparent in the advertisements for Huang's stand-alone publications that featured intermittently throughout *Taiwanese Customs*. As we will see in the section that follows, these advertisements wrapped Huang and her writing in the discourse of imperial policy. There is a continuation of Huang's role as an intercultural communicator in these adverts; however, in the comments on her language abilities we equally see how translation and interpretation could place limitations on the colonial subject proficient in Japanese. There is a sense that Huang's Japanese is somehow 'other' or unnatural – a linguistic transformation undertaken by Huang through assimilation to displace her natural language. For all the political correctness of her language choice, the perception of her Japanese as inauthentic points to the limitations of assimilation policy, and the role of linguistic transformation therein. Taiwanese citizens could never become Japanese fully, instead they become translations of the metropolitan original: imitations in motion.[37]

Taiwan's Toyoda Masako

[37] Trivedi and Bassnett famously articulate this idea: 'Europe was regarded as the great Original, the starting point, and the colonies were therefore copies, or 'translations' of Europe, which they were supposed to duplicate'. Bassnett and Trivedi 1999, 4.

After Ikeda Toshio took interest in Huang's compositions in 1938, he passed her short essay 'Sweet Rice Balls' on to aforementioned literary behemoth Nishikawa Mitsuru, who published the text in the inaugural issue of his new magazine *A Record of Taiwanese Local Customs* (J. *Taiwan fū doki*) in February 1939. With the endorsement of Nishikawa behind her, Huang's literary star rose quickly during her time at high school. Her breakout publication, *The Birth of the Seven Star Goddess* (T. *Tshit-niû-má-sinn*) was published by Hikōyama publishing house in February 1940, and then promptly reprinted by the Taipei branch of Kyoto Public Publishing Company – the publishing house that would go on to publish *Taiwanese Customs* in 1941.[38] *The Birth of the Seven Star Goddess* included eleven essays written by Huang between the ages of 11 and 12 on annual festivals in Taiwan, constituting what Wu Peizhen (2019, 326) considers a 'pioneering work' in the field of Taiwanese folklore studies. The following year, an additional set of essays on traditional culture in Taiwan was published under the title *General Fan, General Xie* (T. *Tshit-iâ-peh-iâ*), a collection which included Huang's writings and letters from her graduation trip to Japan in 1941.[39] The apogee of Huang's career, though, was *A Taiwanese Girl* (J. *Taiwan no shōjo*), published first in Japan by Kyoto Publishing Company in 1943, and subsequently published by their Taipei branch in 1944. *A Taiwanese Girl* collated seventeen previously published essays, along with seventeen new pieces. The collection was both the apex and the swan-song of Huang's career as a writer: she published little else after 1944.

As this publication record makes clear, Huang was more than just a contributing author to *Taiwanese Customs*. The volume of work she produced in the years between 1938 and 1943

[38] *The Birth of the Seven Star Goddess* (T. *Tshit-niû-má-sinn*) refers to festivities on the seventh day of the seventh month in the Chinese lunar calendar. The 'Seven Star Goddess' is a name for the weaving-girl spirit, who is in turn related to the weaving-girl star, Vega. Hong Shuling recounts how on this day children give offerings to the goddess at dusk, including food and flowers like Jasmine and Cock's comb. Hong 1998. https://nrch.culture.tw/twpedia.aspx?id=2038

[39] General Fan, General Xie (T. *Tshit-iâ-peh-iâ*) are two spirits who exist to capture ghosts and enforce justice.

indicates the interest in her writing that fuelled her journey toward literary fame, as she reached a level of exposure far exceeding other Taiwanese women authors of the period. Proof of this lies on the pages of *Taiwanese Customs*, where Huang's name appears not only in the author credits at the beginning of articles, but also in advertisements for her other writing collections, in particular *A Taiwanese Girl*. These advertisements are replete with short descriptions of Huang, her writing and reviews of her work published elsewhere, and they make striking companion pieces to her columns published in the magazine. As Huang's essays were published without preface or commentary in the magazine proper, the advertisements are valuable as they offer a window into how Huang was perceived by the editors of the magazine, and how they wanted to present Huang to the wider world. Across the advertisements there are two patterns that emerge in this regard. Firstly, they style Huang as an indispensable cultural communicator thanks to her gender, her age and her bilingualism. Secondly, and consequently, they emphasise the immense political capital of Huang's writing, slotting her work with ease into the discourse of imperial policy. She is painted as a poster child for the assimilation movement, with adverts pointing to the fluency of her Japanese prose as an awe-inspiring feat demonstrating the efficacy of the education system in Taiwan. As a Taiwanese girl writing memoirs of her childhood in Japanese, Huang and her essays are shown here as emblems of two cultures moving ever closer under the guidance of imperialist paternalism – a sentiment expressed by Ikeda in his afterword to *A Taiwanese Girl*.

In this sense, the adverts entrench the image of Huang as an intercultural communicator. As a gifted child, she provides precious definitions and anecdotal translations for the Japanese reader in a prose that is unadorned by academic jargon or the pretensions of literary style. At the same time, the adverts equally point to the limitations of Huang's position. Some reveal the scepticism surrounding her capacities as a writer: was she really producing these essays herself?

Or was Ikeda acting as her ghost-writer? These suspicions, as well as general astonishment at Huang's language abilities, stress the extent to which the Japanese language was still a territory beyond reach for Taiwanese writers like Huang. Her styling as an interlingual communicator aids this enclosure of her identity: her acceptance into the Japanese cultural sphere is predicated on how she provides representations of her cultural origins – content that emphasises her degree of difference, despite her ability to write in Japanese. The adverts thus present a paradoxical bind: Huang is a Taiwanese girl first and foremost, her Japanese viewed as unnatural – a deviation from her identity, a translation of her true self.

The fashioning of Huang's image along political lines within this advertising space was by no means exceptional. Advertisements in print media were often the site where images of the ideal woman were created and consolidated in Taiwan, as in other parts of the Japanese empire. Yongmei Wu (2021, 110) has shown how advertisements for medical products in the Manchuria-based newspaper *Shengjing Times* (C. *Shengjing shibao*) by the 1930s were aligned with regular columns such as 'Family Doctor' in promoting the 'ideological concept' of 'good wives and wise mothers' (J. *ryōsai kenbo*/C. *xianqi liangmu*) amongst the paper's readers in Manchuria. The presence of these medical advertisements, Wu (127) suggests, was as much about selling a product as conveying the '"colonial modernity" of the empire of Japan'. Adverts in the metropole could be equally politically motivated in their depiction of women. Ayuu Ishida (2021, 147) argues that political messaging underpins the change of physique in the women featured in advertisements between the end of the Taishō (1912-1926) and the beginning of Shōwa eras (1926-1989), with thin, fragile frames being replaced with healthy, wide-hipped bodies in a mirroring of the government's encouragement for women to aid the

war effort through having children.[40] The pages of magazines and newspapers became sites for constructing and reconstructing politicised images of femininity, and for defining how that femininity related to the war effort on both a national and imperial level.

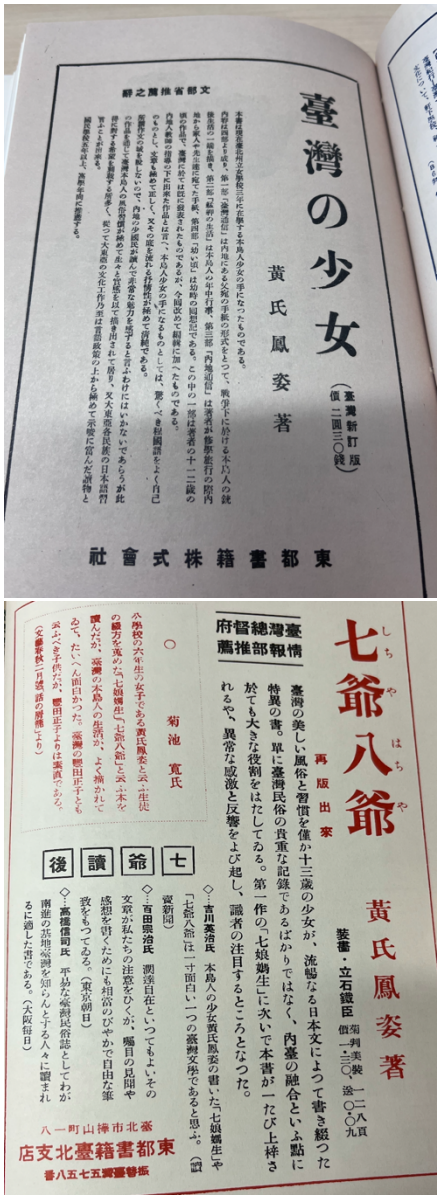

Figure 3: (T) Advert for A Taiwanese Girl published in 1944 including the recommendation from the literature bureau. (B) Advert for General Fan, General Xie from 1941, including quotations from reviews published in Japan and Taiwan

In Huang's case, the politicisation of her writing and image in the advertorial spaces of *Taiwanese Customs* was more explicit and direct than the examples cited by Wu and Ishida. We consistently see the promotion of a girlhood shaped by the colonial education system, with Huang's writing acting as an endorsement of her schooling and the effectiveness of Ikeda's tuition in particular. Moreover, her accounts of life in Manka showcase how Huang took the skills learnt at school back to her community - a responsibility Hung Yuru (2017, 333) argues had been placed on Taiwanese children receiving Japanese education since the end of educational segregation in 1920, but which intensified during the war period. The lens of the localization policy is also apparent in Huang's presentation, as she perfects the delicate balance between representing Taiwan's culture in a way that nonetheless demonstrates the efficacy of assimilation and imperial hegemony. Given Huang's Taiwanese identity, and the localized content of her writings, the

[40] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney argues that Japanese women were 'recast as exclusively reproductive agents whose role was to produce sons and raise them to be ideal soldiers' during the war through slogans including 'Reproduce and Multiply' (J. *umeyo fuyaseyo*). Tierney 2006, 151.

alignment with the imperial government's political messaging is arguably a display of Huang's relevance to readers with no knowledge of her life or the society she lived in. The content of the adverts themselves is explicit in associating Huang's writing with imperial policy, using rhetoric lifted from the political sphere to emphasise the value of her work. An advert for *General Fan, General Xie* that featured in the magazine throughout its 1941 issues stressed the centrality of Huang's writing to the 'coming together of the Homeland and Taiwan' (J. *neitai no yūgō*), and featured a quote from Kakahashi Shinji's review of the book originally published in *Osaka Daily* (J. *Ōsaka mai nichi shinbun*) advocating for those who 'do not know about Taiwan, the foundation of our Southern Advance' (J. *nanshin no kichi Taiwan o shiran to suru hitobito*) to learn more about Taiwanese customs through reading Huang's work.[41] Huang's writing is expressly framed here as part of the promotion of the imperial agenda, whether that be the promotion of the empire's 'Southern Advance', or the establishment of closer ties between Taiwan and the metropole. In the confines of these advertisements, the content of Huang's writing is overlooked in favour of her political symbolism as young Taiwanese girl writing in Japanese. The prevalence of this discourse in Huang's advertisements equally emphasises the extent to which her writings were published in a framework designed with political messaging and projection in mind.

For the metropolitan reader, this has the effect of stressing the relevance of a Taiwanese writer like Huang and the highly localized themes of her essay, as both are couched in the broader context of the empire. Judging by the advert from 1944 (Figure 3), Huang's publishers had an ideal set of readers in mind for this intra-imperial exchange. The advert recommends *A Taiwanese Girl* to students in 'year five and above' as well as students in high school. Whilst

[41] 'Nanshin' refers to the expansion of Japanese occupied territories toward the South China Sea, in contrast to 'hokushin' which emphasised military expansion to the north. Hiromitsu Iwamoto anchors the policy of 'nanshin' in the 16th century, and Toyotomi Hideyoshi's plans to invade Southern China. Iwamoto 1995, 21.

the advert concedes that the text may not hold a huge amount of interest for Japanese children – 'it can't be said that children in the Homeland will find *A Taiwanese Girl* overly fascinating' – it nonetheless points to the improving qualities of Huang's writings for Japanese children undergoing their own national language education. As in images of children playing together in intermarriage journals published in Korea, or co-prosperity sphere propaganda published in Manchuria, the image of intra-imperial friendship flourishing amongst the youngest generation was a highly-prized imperialist ideal during the 1940s. Kanaseki (1941, 40) equally points to the potential for Huang's writing to improve young readers in Taiwan, urging them in a 1941 review of *General Fan, General Xie* to 'emulate Miss Huang and work hard to take a record of folklore on this island'. Huang is painted here as both model student and model child, a paragon of the colonial citizen forwarded as a template for her compatriots and a point of exchange for residents in the metropole, the improvement of the colonial subject and the integration of the empire's inner and outer territories facilitated through her writing.

Huang's age and identity also amplified the perceived authenticity of her writings. The advertisements place great emphasis on her essays as the product of her 'hand', a mark of legitimacy intended to establish that corpus as a genuine expression of Taiwanese culture and to convey the efficacy of imperial policy to the metropolitan reader. These repeated allusions connect the text to the reality of Huang's corporeality, a sentiment reemphasised in editions of *A Taiwanese Girl* published with Huang's photo printed on the inside page, showing her pen in hand, dressed in the navy sailor's school uniform common to Japanese girls' schools. Comments on the purity and innocence of her writing stem from a similar urge, as her perspective as a child is taken as proof of the uncorrupted nature of her account of Taiwanese customs. The description of *A Taiwanese Girl* as an expression of a 'child's pure heart' (J. *junshin'na jidō no kokoro*) in adverts published throughout the 1943 and the initial 1944 issues

of *Taiwanese Customs* even echo Kanaseki's ruminations on the long shadow of Carthage: that the most valuable transfer of culture is heart-to-heart, spirit-to-spirit.[42] As a reflection of Huang's 'heart', *A Taiwanese Girl* represents the epitome of Kanaseki's idealized exchange, with reader and writer coming to know each other better through the shared passage of hand and eye upon the page.



Figure 4: Toyoda Masako reading aloud to her assembled classmates in the 1938 film Composition Class, as her teacher looks on.

The emphasis on Huang's identity as a child served multiple political purposes. Firstly, the focus on Huang's age drew her into the proliferation of rhetoric focused on children during the war period.[43] From the mid-1930s onwards, children became the emblems of both the promising future and the totality of the war effort, so all-consuming that it reached even the youngest in society. In Huang's case, her depiction as an extraordinarily gifted young writer created intentional parallels with a young Japanese writer named Toyoda Masako, who, like Huang, began her writing career at school under the watchful eye of a male teacher. Her short essay collection *Composition Class* (J. *Tsudurikata kyōshitsu*) published in 1937, was an exemplary take on the 'life essay' (J. *seikatsu tsudurikata*) style of writing which Wu Peizhen (2019, 326) argues was encouraged in the Japanese domestic education system during the late 1930s. In these essays,

[42] These marks of corporeal authenticity relate to Joyce C.H Liu's discussion of 'psyche politics' as a central point of contention in colonial Taiwan. In the power structures of empire, the occupation of an individual's interior life, their 'psyche' (*xin*) as Liu translates it, was of paramount importance. In the display of Huang Fengzi as a model student in these passages, there is a sense that she is a student not only of the Japanese language, but of imperial citizenship also. Liu argues that the imperial subject movement required Taiwanese citizens to undertake an intense confrontation with the self, a kind of 'sadomasochistic self-effacement'. Huang appears here as an emblem of that process and its successful outcome. Moreover, given Huang's age and her talent, there is an implication for her 'self-effacement' was unnecessary, and that the politics of her 'psyche' was already intimately aligned with the imperial ideal prior to her discovery by Ikeda. She thus embodies generational renewal, and the teleological progress of empire toward integration. See Liu 2009, 262-263, 270.

[43] For further discussion of the politicization of Huang's image during the war, see Liu 2013.

children were encouraged to 'record the reality of their everyday life' in an unadorned compositional style (Wu 2019, 326). Toyoda Masako's contribution to this genre was so popular that in 1938 it was made into a film directed by Kajirō Yamamoto, with Hideko Takamine starring as Toyoda. The film moves between Toyoda's homelife in Tokyo, and her time at school. It shows her reading aloud to giggling classmates with the encouragement of her male teacher (Figure 4), and the fallout from her writing being published in a small literary magazine titled *Red Bird* (J. *Akai tori*). The connection between Huang and Toyoda was first established by Kikuchi Kan, who encountered Huang and *Birth of the Seven Star Goddess* during his travels in Taiwan for the Literary Homefront Lectures Movement in 1940.[44] In a review of *General Fan, General Xie* featured in its 1941 advert in *Taiwanese Customs* and originally published in *Literary Summer and Autumn* (J. *Bungei shunjū*), he describes Huang as 'Taiwan's Toyoda Masako' (J. *Taiwan no Toyoda Masako*), noting that the young Taiwanese girl's 'meekness' (J. *sunao*) exceeded that of her Japanese counterpart. Nishikawa Mitsuru's journal, *Literary Taiwan* (J. *Bungei Taiwan*) accentuated the parallel, publishing two pieces "From Toyoda Masako to Huang Fengzi" (J. *Toyoda Masako kara Huang Fengzi e*) and "From Huang Fengzi to Toyoda Masako" (J. *Huang Fengzi kara Toyoda Masako e*) in Volume 2, number 5 of the magazine in March 1941 (Qiu 2010, 17). The pairing was a mark of commendation and acceptance for Huang, drawing her ever closer toward the ideal of Japanese identity so highly valorised in Taiwan's textual culture during this period.

The similarities between Toyoda and Huang, moreover, were easily apparent. Both girls saw their writing flourish under the watchful eye of their male teachers, both wrote and published about their home life and its idiosyncrasies. It is equally unsurprising that Kikuchi

[44] The Literary Homefront movement was founded in May 1940, and carried out a series of lectures in Taiwan between 16th and 24th December 1940 with the intention of visiting authors and exploring the overlap between the war and literature. Gao 2019, 503-504.

Kan opted to compare Huang with a figure from Japanese literary culture, as opposed to a writer from Taiwan's internal literary sphere. Whilst on one level this was due to the desire to appeal to Japanophone readers, on the practical front there were simply very few Taiwanese precedents – male or female – to draw upon. Huang's ascension to a modicum of celebrity made her exceptional amongst the small number of Taiwanese women writers active during the 1940s, who rarely had their work amplified to such a degree. Even Huang's fellow contributor to *Taiwanese Customs*, Yang Qianhe, was never afforded the same degree of promotion. Emulating a popular Japanese writer, meanwhile, added a degree of familiarity to an unknown Taiwanese writer. The adverts and reviews had to facilitate an introduction of sorts between Huang and her Japanophone readers, and veiled parallels to Toyoda Masako certainly helped to achieve this.

The pairing between the two girls also placed Huang's Japanese language ability in an emphatically positive light. Toyoda was renowned for a writing talent that surpassed her age, and Huang was given similar accolades by association. A 1941 advert for *General Fan, General Xie* describes the text as a 'remarkable book in which a Taiwanese girl at the mere age of thirteen uses fluent Japanese to put together writings of Taiwan's beautiful customs and practices' (J. *Taiwan no utsukushī fūzoku to shūkan o wazuka jū san sai no shōjo ga, ryūchōnaru Nihon bun ni yotte shosa tsudutta tokui no sho*). This assessment was echoed by Kanaseki (1941, 40) in his 1941 review of *General Fan, General Xie*, where he states that 'the talents of Miss Huang must be highly praised' (J. *Huang-shi no tenbun mo mata takaku hyōkasare nakerebanaranai de aru*). By 1944, adverts for *A Taiwanese Girl* explicitly promoted her writing as a fruit of 'the cultural work in Greater Asia' (J. *Daitōa no bunka kōsaku*), and imperial language policies especially. Where Toyoda represented the successes of the domestic education system, and the literary talent dormant in the next generation, Huang

presented a similar endorsement of the imperial education infrastructure - and the advancement of its language teaching in particular.

Yet it was this discrepancy, the fact that Huang was born and raised in Taiwan, Toyoda in Japan, that undermined the comparison between the two. Specifically, Huang's Japanese was treated with a level of scepticism rarely present in comments on Toyoda's writing. The marvel of a Taiwanese girl's language capabilities is emphasised as though it were an unimaginable feat, despite such skills being the express aim of imperial policy. This sentiment was common to discussions of women's writing in the colonies. As Christina Yi (2018, 67-71) notes, Korean author Yi Chŏngnae faced similar, thinly-veiled astonishment following the publication of her short story "Patriotic Children's Squad" (J. *Aikoku kodomo tai*) in *Arts* (J. *Bungei*) in January 1942. Yi (2018, 71) points to how the editors of the journal focused not on 'the style or content of her writing, but the fact she could write in *Kokugo* at all.' Unlike Toyoda, Huang and Yi's language skills were understood as exceptional in the sense that they deviated from the norm. They were effective poster-girls for linguistic assimilation as their bilingualism far exceeded expectations, and yet their Japanese was also somehow different to Toyoda's, marred by acquisition in the colonies and the insurmountable hierarchies of colonial identity. As Japanese intellectuals like Kikuchi Kan were presented with Japanophone texts such as Huang's, written far from the metropole, their response was an othering embrace - an acceptance made heavy by caveats of cultural hierarchy.

For Huang Fengzi, scepticism toward her Japanese fluency was consistently centred on her proximity to Ikeda Toshio. He features in many of the adverts and reviews either by name or through reference to an abstract 'teacher from the Homeland' (J. *naichijin kyōshi*). Ikeda's presence, at least initially, may have been considered an additional political endorsement of

Huang's talents. He represented the efficacy of the education system in nurturing Huang's polylingual flair, as well as the fulfilment of the Japanese schoolteacher's political duty as an agent of empire. In this idealized set-up, the dynamic between metropole and colony is reflected in their relationship, as the benevolent coloniser guides the willingly colonised to intellectual and cultural improvement. And yet, the ambiguous perimeters of Ikeda's mentoring in practice produced accusations that the author behind *A Taiwanese Girl* and Huang's other writings was in fact the Japanese teacher, not the Taiwanese student. This suspicion intensified thanks to Huang's age, Ikeda's regular reference to Huang's family as a case study in his articles published in *Taiwanese Customs*, and his penchant for publishing articles under female pennames. [45] Ikeda was a paradoxical constant in discussions of Huang's writing, simultaneously showcasing and undermining the efficacy of imperial education in the colonies.

Articles on Japanese-language acquisition in Taiwan featured in *Taiwanese Customs* did little to alter these perceptions. The emphasis of these articles fell regularly on the mistakes common to Japanese-language speakers in Taiwan, and whilst this evidence was presented with the stated intention of improving education services in the colony, it also strengthened the image that the Japanese used by Taiwanese was not equal to the language used in Japan proper. In an article titled 'On the National Language Dialect of the Islanders' (J. *Hontōjin no kokugo kaon ni tsuite*) a teacher from a girl's school in Yilan, a coastal town in the north-east of Taiwan, named Saitō Shichirō (1943, 8) details the common mistakes of Taiwanese Japanese-language learners. Whilst his reflections on 'Taiwan's national language problem' (J. *Taiwan no kokugo mondai*) place emphasis on the need for teachers like him to embrace the 'teaching target of

[45] Ikeda's use of female pennames presents methodological challenges when using *Taiwanese Customs* as a source. The identity of many 'women' authors is difficult to ascertain given Ikeda's preference for female pennames (Zhang Meihui, Yang Qianhe and Huang Fengzi are notable exceptions). Whilst this is an issue, it does simultaneously reveal the innate value placed on women's writing within *Taiwanese Customs*. A woman's perspective is championed through Ikeda's adoption of their perspective – pointing to the cultural and political capital of women's writing during this period.

using correct forms of the national language, and correct pronunciation', the use of the term 'accent' or 'non-standard pronunciation' (J. *kaon*) of Taiwanese students stresses the engrained difference in their use of language. In a table of examples, Saitō points to the different pronunciation of simple words such as 'correct', which he suggests is pronounced as 'ta-ra-shii' by Taiwanese, instead of the standard 'ta-da-shii', or the suffix indicating a polite request pronounced as 'ku-ra-sai', as opposed to 'ku-da-sai'. By December 1944, the critique had become more direct. In his essay 'The National Language of Young Islanders' (J. *Hontō seinen no kokugo*), Isumi Kiyoteru (1944, 13) argues that the 'national language movement's fundamental problem' (J. *kokugo undō no kisorekina mondai de aru*) is the way it was used by young people in Taiwan. Isumi, like Saitō, then proceeds to provide a series of examples as evidence to support this claim. The content of these articles, and their implication that the Japanese used in Taiwan was fundamentally flawed, diminishes the adulatory assessment of Huang's writing in the adverts of *Taiwanese Customs*. It also helps explain the deference to Ikeda Toshio as an explanation for her abilities.

The proliferation of accusations pinpointing Ikeda as Huang's ghost-writer is hinted at by a comment made in the 1944 adverts for *A Taiwanese Girl*, in which the provenance of the work is tied to Huang explicitly, noting that this is how the work should be regarded 'though it is said that this work was produced under the guidance of a teacher from the Homeland' (J. *naichi kyūshi no jidō no shita ni dekita sakuhin to wa ie*). The muted rebuttal of suggestions that Ikeda served as Huang's scribe suggests that such rumours were frequent and unwelcome. Ikeda's recurring prominence as an interlocutor between Huang and her readers points to the entrenchment of the idea that a young Taiwanese girl could not possess the faculties to communicate with Japanese readers independently. Her presence naturally necessitates a meditator, a translator to make her life legible to observers in the metropole. As in the

archetypal colonial framework supplied by Bassnett and Trivedi (1994, 4), where the metropole is viewed as the first 'original', the colonies its many 'translations', there is a reluctance to move Huang out of a translational lens. She can represent Taiwanese culture, perhaps even a connection with Japanese, but there are limitations placed on her ability to exist within the confines of the Japanese language, and by extension Japanese identity. The unshakeable presence of Ikeda, in other words, emphasises the reluctance to view a resident of the colonies as an independent Japanese speaker in her own right, despite this attitude being in contradiction to the integration aims of imperial policy. It is here, in the contradictory thicket of language and colonial identity, that Taiwan's Toyoda Masako differed from the original.

Another Taiwanese Girl

Alongside Huang, another Taiwanese girl was promoted in a fever of colonial politics in the early 1940s. Sayon, a young Atayal girl, was born in 1922 in Ryohen (C. *Liuxing*), making her Huang's senior by six years. Her name made headlines in 1938, when on 27th September she fell and drowned in a river whilst carrying her male Japanese teacher's luggage down a mountainside. The story caused a sensation: as Darryl Sterk (2014, 212) points out, Sayon's identity and the circumstances of her death provided the perfect storm for the construction of political narrative. Sayon was taken as the blood sacrifice for Japanese citizens killed during the Musha incident in 1930, as well as an emotive example of a colonial subject putting their life on the line in service of the empire.[46] The furore was such that the Governor-General at the time, Hasegana Kiyoshi, presented Sayon's family with a commemorative bell on April 14th 1941. This bell would provide the inspiration for a 1943 film, *Sayon's Bell* (J. *Sayon no kane*) directed by Shimizu Hiroshi, and starring the darling of 'national policy' (J.

[46] The Musha Incident in 1930 saw six Seediq tribes in Musha, central Taiwan, under the leadership of Mona Ludaw, attack twelve police stations. This resulted in a militarised response from the Japanese, including 1305 police officers, 13030 military troops, aerial bombings and chemical gases: up to 644 Seediq were killed. Barclay 2015, 84.

kokusaki) films produced by the Manchuria Film Company (J. *Man'ei*), Ri Kōran (C. Li Hsiang-lan).

As with Huang's advertisements, Sayon's story, and its filmic retelling, placed a girl living in Taiwan in close proximity to a male school-teacher. This teacher becomes an explicit symbol of the imperial state in Sayon's story: she dies for her teacher, and so she dies for the empire. Lin (2012, 141) views *Sayon's Bell* as a translation, and Shimizu Hiroshi as a 'cultural agent/translator'. Strikingly, Lin (2012, 150) also identifies sequences of the film with an 'ethnographic' quality: moments where the camera pans to show Atayal life as it took place around Ri Kōran's Sayon. Whilst the film was not popular, the fact that a film adaptation of Sayon's story was made with a star like Ri Kōran at the helm demonstrates the cult-like popularity of Sayon, and the enthusiasm for narrativising her life-and-death story within analogies of empire.

Indeed, imperial discourse and its refractions appear in *Sayon's Bell* in a manner that resonates directly with the discursive patterns used to promote Huang's work in the advertisement pages of *Taiwanese Customs*. Both girls are placed in an 'ethnographic' context, explicitly in Huang's case, implicitly in Sayon's. They are both kept in constant proximity to their male teachers, and both are shown as contributing to the empire and its war effort: Sayon with her life, Huang with writing about her life. It is the organic and instinctive nature of their contribution, whether Huang's writing or Sayon's self-sacrifice, that turns both girls into emblems of emotional commitment to the empire. The connection sustained between the pair and their male instructors, meanwhile, acts as a microcosmic reflection of their broader dedication to the empire. On a discursive level, the political framing of their stories shares uncanny similarities. Where Huang is a gateway to the 'foundation of our southern advance,

Taiwan', her writing facilitating closer ties between colony and metropole, *Sayon's Bell* begins with the following text on screen:

> 'Taiwan, an eternally summery beautiful island, serves as an important base in Japan's project of southward advancement (J. *nanshin*).' (Lin 2012, 149) (Figure 5)

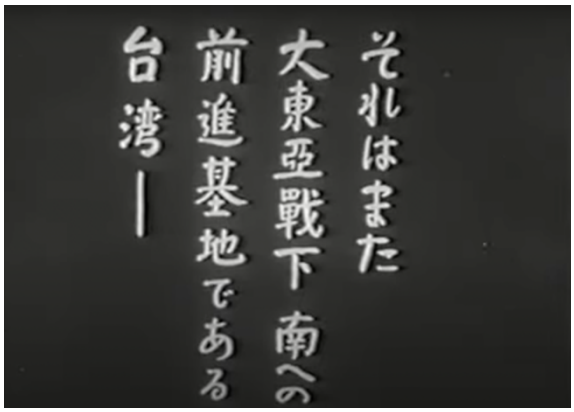

Figure 5: The introductory slide to the 1943 film Sayon's Bell (J. Sayon no kune), announcing Taiwan as the foundation of the empire's 'Southern Advance'.

Lin (2012, 149) views this positioning of *Sayon's Bell* in relation to the Southern Advance policy as a move intended to 'ensure readability amongst Japanese spectators'. In other words, the reference placed a foreign film within a contextual framework that the target audience would understand: the framework of empire. The advertisements and reviews for Huang's writing did the same thing, though the measure of difference is smaller, given Huang's identity as a Han Taiwanese woman versus Sayon's Atayal identity, and the latter's representation as a reformed savage in Shimizu's film.

Another essential distinguishing feature between the pair is how the voice of Sayon is entirely absent from her various representations. All the observer encounters is that 'reconstructed' version of her figure that Ziomek (2015, 123) laments, her spirit reanimated and reimagined without any need for recourse to her reality. The image of Sayon, in other words, lives in a world almost entirely divorced from its corporeal owner, and as her body was never recovered, she can be imagined and reimagined without contradiction. Huang Fengzi, on the other hand, is depicted as an individual with agency through her writings. Irrespective of whether Ikeda Toshio was in actuality penning essays on Huang's behalf behind the scenes,

the emphasis across advertisements and reviews fell on the organic nature of Huang's writing. The specificity of Huang's writing to *her* was part of its intrinsic value to the Japanese reader. She is presented as an individual who can, and does, translate herself: the advertisements and reviews are simply helpful contextual aids along the way. With this agency comes the possibility of moving closer to metropolitan identity, as demonstrated in the presentation of Huang as Toyoda's mirror image. Yet with the added prefix, as *Taiwan's* Toyoda Masako, Huang is territorialized once again, her integration into the intracolonial hierarchy between Taiwan and Japan demonstrating how the public-facing image of her works was mediated first and foremost through imperial politics. As in *Sayon's Bell*, it was this imperial framework that made Huang's translations legible, and relevant, to Japanese observers. The thematic and stylistic substance of her writing would always come second to the dominating lens of imperial politics, falling over the eyes of her Japanese editors and readers alike.

Huang's suspension between Sayon and Toyoda captures what Kirsten Ziomek (2015, 124) might describe as the 'liminality' of her public image.[47] Though all three girls demonstrate the pliable qualities of a child's identity in a political context, Huang's position is unique in the sense that her gender equally pulls her into the practice of translation, her writing thrust into the limelight as a touchstone of communication between colony and metropole. Her liminality is not accidental, but rather a limitation on her cultural flexibility. The scepticism toward Huang's Japanese identity limits her capacities as a cultural go-between, ensuring her reliance on a Japanese figure – in most instances a man – to facilitate and control the terms of that exchange. It shows how Taiwanese writers, even when writing in Japanese, were still viewed as different – and how an essentialist view of language could lead the Japanese of the colonies to be treated as an imitation of the original, but never its equal. It is this idea, of being forever

[47] Ziomek introduces this idea of 'liminality' in relation to identity in her discussion of Yayutz Bleyh. Ziomek 2015, 124.

caught in an imitation of an original, that equally frustrates the Taiwanese authors of imperial-subject literature like Shū Kin-ha and leads to the existential crises of characters like Taiming, the protagonist in Wu Zhuoliu's 1946 novel *The Orphan of Asia* (J. *Yugamerareta shima*/ C. *Yaxiya de gu'er*).[48] The combination of scepticism over Huang's Japanese abilities, and her absorption into the rhetoric of imperial policy, shows how such linguistic essentialism persisted even when the text at hand was Japanophone, and advertised as such. In the realm of the spirit, the Japanese of the other would always be lesser – trapped in a translational dimension that stressed divergent origins, and ensured that the process of 'becoming' Japanese would stretch on infinitely, its stated aim impossible to actualise.

Lost Monuments

Kanaseki's monuments were not as long-lasting as he might have envisaged when penning his preface in the summer of 1941. *Taiwanese Customs* continued to appear throughout the war, even when Ikeda Toshio joined the army in 1944, and there were hopes for its survival in translation following 1945. The magazine was likely amongst the selection of Japanese materials Xu Shoushang identified as worthy of replicating in Chinese at the Bureau of Translation and Compilation, to serve as the bedrock of academic study under the new KMT government in Taiwan. The survival of *Taiwanese Customs,* though, was as short-lived as the Bureau charged with its translation. After the 228 Incident in 1947, proposals to produce a Chinese version of the journal faltered. Though contributor to *Taiwanese Customs* Yang Yunping's journal *Taiwanese Folkways* (C. *Taiwan fengwu*), established in 1950, was widely viewed as a successor publication to the earlier magazine, the original *Taiwanese Customs* did

[48] When Taiming arrives in Japan he is advised by a friend to tell people he meets that he comes from 'Fukuoka or Kumamoto' as 'they say our Japanese sounds like Kyushu dialect'. Wu 2006, 55.

not circulate publicly in Taiwan following 1945, a testament to the political qualities of its content.

The translation and compilation of the magazine following 1945 was marred by the censorship measures that the magazine faced during its first publication. Versions published during martial law by Shonando publishing house in Tokyo and Guting Publishing House in Taiwan retained omissions enforced by the colonial censor, specifically Ikeda Toshio's article on the miracles of You Yinggong (J. *You yinggong no reigen*), Su Weixiong's article on sex and Taiwanese slang (J. *Sei to Taiwan rigen nitsuite*) and the entirety of the final issue which had been scheduled for publication in February 1945. These censored pieces were kept by Ikeda Toshio, and were eventually compiled in a republication and translation project by Taiwan-based SMC publishing house in 1990 (Dai, Minzoku Taiwan). An author and publisher named Lin Chuanfu translated and edited the volume himself. Lin, who had been looking to put together a series focused on Taiwan's history, discovered the Kanaseki's magazine whilst in Japan, and resolved to translate and republish the volumes. His intention, Lin Wenyi (1990, 2) argues in the preface to the Chinese translation published in 1990, was to allow 'a new generation of Taiwanese who overlook Taiwan's history to become familiar once again with the simple lives lived by their ancestors in the past through these books' (C. *rang shuyu Taiwan lishi de xin yidai Taiwanren, cong zhe tao shu qu wenxi xiri xianren zai guoqu shengming zhong na zhong pushi de shiqu suiyue*). The contents of the magazine, then, were certainly being used for cultural rediscovery, though not on the terms the magazine's original editorial team would have imagined, given the lack of widespread Japanese proficiency in Taiwan by 1990. The Chinese version produced by Lin replicated the Japanese original without making a large number of amendments or adding expositional or analytical essays. As in the original magazine, the authors are represented by their names alone, bar the occasional sentence-long

biography added at the end of some columns. Noticeably absent from the Chinese version, though, are the advertisements which arguably emphasised the magazine's political qualities, though they are replicated in the Japanese reprint published alongside the translation. The emphasis in Lin's translation fell firmly on the value of the content included in the magazine, rather than the context in which the magazine was created. The value of the written record, despite its political associations, is taken as paramount.[49]



Figure 6: Fevervine Dance Theatre's performance of A Taiwanese Girl in Tainan in 2018.

In Lin's translation, Huang Fengzi's name is one amongst many. The absence of the advertisements accelerates her integration into the list of names in the magazine, as the reader is left unaware of her publishing career beyond the covers of *Taiwanese Customs*. Indeed, the work that Huang published outside of the magazine, her stand-alone collections including *A Taiwanese Girl*, are yet to be translated into Mandarin Chinese. Perhaps as a consequence, these works have arguably faded into the background of Taiwan's Japanophone literature, despite the volume of Huang's publications between 1938 and 1944, and her success in Japan. Pei-yin Lin (2020) has begun a gradual reframing of Huang's work in the academic sphere, arguing that the political infrastructure underpinning her writing should not undermine its content and its artistic qualities, nor should it allow readers to overlook the expression of Huang's personality in her articles. Most recently, Huang's life was reimagined through dance by Fevervine Dance Theatre (C. *Jishiteng wudao jichang*) between 2016 and 2018, with the

[49] This same emphasis on the content of *Taiwanese Customs* is arguably found in how more recently the journal has provided inspiration for rediscovering Taiwan's ghost and monster culture through the *yaoguai* genre. See Chang 2017, 108.

troupe adopting the universality of a 'Taiwanese girl' and reinventing it, as dancers appear as multiple versions of Huang on the stage, providing a new spin on the notion that Huang was one girl who represented many.[50] The medium of dance is a convenient medium for adapting Huang's work – it allows for her to be represented beyond the confines of the political framing of *Taiwanese Customs*, and the potentially politicised connotations of Japanophone text.

The lack of translation activity surrounding Huang Fengzi is perhaps also due to the course of her life post-1945. After she moved to Shimane prefecture with Ikeda in 1947, she did not publish again bar a small number of retrospective essays that appeared during the 1980s. As a result, the 'reconstructed' image of Huang as a colonial subject has not been revised in the public sphere: her own voice has not emerged to supplement or contradict the essays she wrote as a child during the 1940s. Perhaps, living in Japan, she did not feel such an intervention necessary. Huang's silence is in marked contrast to other Taiwanese authors who published in Japanese during the war period – in particular Yang Qianhe. Yang, whom we will encounter in Chapter Two, published a memoir recounting her life story in Japanese in the early 1990s, which then fuelled enthusiasm in academic circles for a retrospective dedicated to her writing. Significantly, it also gave Yang the opportunity to provide the definitive account of what her writing signified, and how her life should be understood in relation to the political and historical transformations that took place during its span. Huang's lack of an equivalent reflection has arguably made it harder to reframe her writing and its significance, particularly given how she has lived for most of her life in Japan. To put it simplistically, where Huang was once too close to Taiwanese identity to be fully accepted as a Japanophone writer, she is now too close to

[50] See Sun 2018.

Japanese identity to be reintegrated and embraced as a Taiwanese author. And so her liminality continues.

Chapter Two
"Flower Blooming Season" and its Five Afterlives

It was the summer of 1983 when Zhang Liangze, a professor of Taiwan literature at the University of Tsukuba, made a speech at the North American Taiwanese Association's East Coast summer meeting. After descending from the stage, Zhang was approached by members of the audience: two younger men and one older woman who reminded the Professor of his own mother. As they exchanged greetings, Zhang caught sight of the name badge on the older woman's chest. It was a name he recognised, one he had encountered over the course of his research in newspapers and journals published decades prior. 'Miss Yang Qianhe?' he enquired, 'are you the Yang Qianhe from before, the Yang Qianhe who published work in Taiwan's literary magazines before the war?'. The woman answered in the affirmative, surprised that anyone would recognise her name so many years after it had appeared in print (Zhang 1999, 31).

The same scene repeated itself on a larger scale some six years later, when Yang Qianhe arrived unannounced to the 7th Taiwan Literature Conference at the University of Tsukuba in August 1989. The conference, organised by Zhang Liangze, hosted academics, students and editors with a common interest in Taiwan's contemporary literary scene and its history. Given the profile of the attendees, Yang's arrival caused quite a commotion. As word of her presence spread, the conference's schedule of events was almost eclipsed by the unexpected sight of a writer thought lost to the past (Zhong, 1993). It was through these two events that Yang Qianhe, in her late sixties by 1989, returned to the literary community she had first belonged to as a young woman forty-six years earlier.

Zhang Liangze had been entirely correct in his deduction of Yang's identity during their chance encounter in 1983. Born in Kodamachō, a south-western district of colonial Taipei,

Yang published several articles in Japanese following her graduation from Taipei Girl's High School in 1940. She was hired that same year by Japanese editor and author Nishikawa Mitsuru as part of the new team of women writers at *Taiwan Daily News* (J. *Taiwan nichi nichi shinpō*) (Nishikawa 1999, 25), and during her twelve months at the paper she wrote on 'Taiwan's culture, arts and humanities' whilst also publishing 'book reviews under different pen names' (Lin 2001, 65). Between 1941 and 1943, Yang worked as freelance author publishing essays in *Taiwanese Customs* (J. *Minzoku Taiwan*) and *Taiwanese Literature* (J. *Taiwan bungaku*) – as well as her only work of fiction "Flower Blooming Season" (J. *Hanasaku kisetsu*) published in *Literary Taiwan* in 1942. Zhang's initial recognition of Yang's name and her reception at Tsukuba are testament to the volume of her work published during her three years active as a writer. The excitement that surrounded her, meanwhile, sprang from a curiosity rooted in her absence from the literary scene following 1943: a silence broken by her arrival at Tsukuba.[51]

Like Huang Fengzi, the conclusion of Yang's writing career in 1943 stemmed from political as well as personal causes. Following Pearl Harbour in 1941 Taiwan's print media outlets were streamlined substantially, with remaining publications subject to a high degree of political scrutiny. It was a challenging time to begin a writing career, as artistic expression was increasingly constricted by the print industry's ties to the war effort. There were also practical matters to consider, as freelancing led to a lifestyle of instability even for male writers. Through a confluence of these concerns, after marrying her husband Lin Jiaxiong in the summer of 1943, Yang turned her life over to the responsibilities of starting a family. It was partly considerations of her role as a wife and mother that kept Yang from reigniting her writing career after the establishment of the KMT government in 1945. But she also acted with

[51] Though Yang stopped writing after 1943, she was still active in public life in the decade following 1945. She stood in local elections held in 1950, going on to serve a three-year term as Provincial Assembly Representative for Taichung. Yang's time in what Xie Lifa terms the 'political whirlpool' ended abruptly, however, following the arrest of her husband Lin Jiaxiong in 1953. See Xie 2001, 483. In 1977 Yang followed her adult children to live in America, and it was there she died in 2011.

political motivations. Unlike her contemporaries who published in Japanese during the 1940s, including now familiar names like Yang Kui and Lü Heruo, Yang opted not to transfer her writing career into Mandarin Chinese, the new national language. She had no interest in learning the language of the new government, and though she resented having to use Japanese, she resolved that it was the best course of action given the imperfect options available (Yang 1999, 2).

Despite her political reservations and frustrations, Yang did not let the language of her youth fade away in the years following so-called 'retrocession'. Throughout her life she remained literate in Japanese, maintaining the skill in the privacy of her own home. In that personal space, the language of the former coloniser took on a new meaning, as it morphed into a place of refuge from the political cataclysm of regime change during the early 1950s.[52] As a consequence of her linguistic self-discipline, when Yang came to write her memoir *The Prism of Life* (J. *Jinsei no purizumu*/C. *Rensheng de sanlengjing*) in 1993, she composed the volume in Japanese and published it through Tokyo-based Sōbun publishing house. Though Yang paid for the publication herself, a common practice amongst Taiwanese of her generation publishing memoirs during the 1990s, her autobiography garnered more attention than the average 228 memoir or *Nihonjinron*.[53] Yang's dramatic reappearance at Tsukuba sparked a renewed interest in her life and career amongst Taiwanese academics, who anticipated *The Prism* as a unique record of a young life lived under Japanese rule.[54] At the same time, the

[52] Yang recalls how writing letters to her husband in Japanese whilst he was imprisoned during the fall-out of the 228 Incident provided her with emotional respite – the once dominant language evolving into the language of political outcasts. Yang 1999, 5.

[53] These 'Taiwanese Nihonjinron' as Leo Ching terms them, are accounts of the colonial period written by elderly Taiwanese in Japanese, and published in Japan. Ching suggests that twenty-four such books were published between 1992 and 2003, and discusses how the volumes 'recollect and re-examine with immense emotion and conviction personal experiences ranging from ardent condemnation of Japanese rule to equally passive affirmation of Japanese colonialism'. Ching 2019, 85.

[54] Zhang Liangze is explicit in terming Yang's work a 'treasure of Taiwanese literary history', and views this value as one of the essential motivations for his translation. Zhang 1999, 9.

memoir gave Yang an opportunity to record her own life story, and to address any politically contentious aspects of her writing career on her own terms.

The relative success of *The Prism* was such that it inspired a collection of Yang's complete works, published by SMC books (C. *Nantian Shuju*) between 1998 and 2001. This retrospective featured Mandarin Chinese translations of Yang's essays, her only work of fiction "Flower Blooming Season", as well as a selection of reviews and essays by Taiwanese, Japanese and Taiwanese-American commentators. Amongst this wealth of material, *The Prism* took centre stage: Volume 1 republished the Japanese text in full, Volume 2 its Mandarin Chinese translation. Volume 3, meanwhile, was a collage of Yang's other writings alongside reviews, letters and articles relating to her life and the writing she produced over its course. The project's motivation is made quite evident in the blurb included on the inside cover of its second volume, which reads:

> In a society under Japanese colonial rule, a young Taiwanese girl was able to push past the dual discrimination of ethnicity and gender, and through her writing give voice to the perspective of Taiwan's female intellectuals. Yang Qianhe is unprecedented. She is an exception. (Yang 1999, Inside cover)

Overseen by Zhang Liangze and Yang's daughter Lin Zhimei, the group working on the translation and compilation of the material published in the SMC collection were keen to emphasise the exceptional quality of Yang's contribution to Taiwan's literary culture through both her writing as a young woman and her later memoir. The trinity of volumes sought to weaken the barrier erected by regime change in 1945, presenting Yang as a foundational author of Taiwan's literary tradition whose relevance stretched beyond the linguistically aberrative context of the early 1940s.

Translation was essential in this endeavour. Whilst Yang may have maintained her language skills over the decades, the Japanese-language capabilities in the Taiwanese population were limited thanks to decades of under-funding in Japanese education from the 1960s onward (Huang 2015, 134).[55] Even amongst the academics and students who were the primary audience for her writing during the 1990s, the publication of Yang's work in Japanese alone would have had limited reach. To communicate widely the 'perspective of Taiwan's female intellectuals' encapsulated in Yang's work, that perspective would need to undergo a linguistic transformation. The SMC collection was a landmark publication in this regard, as it republished Yang's writing in Japanese alongside Mandarin Chinese translations. The translation work was undertaken by Zhang Liangze and Lin Zhimei, in consultation with Yang Qianhe throughout.

These volumes marked the first time that much of Yang's work had circulated publicly in Mandarin Chinese – with one notable exception. "Flower Blooming Season", Yang's 1942 short story, tells of a young woman named Huiying (T. Huī Ing), who is on the verge of graduating high school. The text documents her consideration of the future that awaits her as an adult, contemplating life as a housewife and mother versus life as a working woman, the reader privy to her inner thoughts through a first-person confessional narrative voice. Around her is a cast of women who appear as potential role models for adulthood — from her Taiwanese classmates who are engaged before graduating high school, to her friend with a Japanese name who helps Huiying find employment at a newspaper. Huiying openly considers the merits and drawbacks of each lifestyle throughout her narration, though the text ends before she reaches any real resolution of which role model she will emulate. "Flower Blooming

[55] Huang notes how though Taiwanese universities were able to set up Japanese departments in 1963, they were subject to strict limitations that stipulated that only one program could be 'established at a private university once every three years'. Teaching provision ceased entirely with the severing of diplomatic ties in 1972. See Huang 2015, 134-135.

Season" was first translated into Mandarin Chinese in 1979 during the initial surge of translation activity focused on colonial-era texts that began around 1975. It was translated again in 1992, partly in response to events at Tsukuba, before the third translation by Lin Zhimei was published in 2001.

It is remarkable that a text only 17-pages in length has inspired three translations in as many decades: ever more so given the conventional plot and the stylistically unremarkable narrative structure. The durable appeal of the text to translators, then, is arguably not rooted in its artistic qualities. Rather, it appeals thanks to its political properties. Firstly, the text is written by a woman, and is the most substantial surviving piece of fiction by a Taiwanese woman published during the 1940s. Secondly, the text exists at the nexus of Taiwanese and Japanese femininity, portraying both without overwhelmingly supporting either. The extent to which the text's relationship with identity and colonial modernity has fuelled its translation is evident in the versions of "Flower Blooming Season" themselves. Each version keeps the substance of plotline summarised above intact, whilst amendments to style, presentation, and structure are marginal. Instead the point of divergence rests on the text's depiction of Japanese womanhood and its appeals: a small aspect of the source text that is undoubtedly its most political feature.

The 1979 translation sets an important precedent in this regard. As the first translation, it provides a textual role model to which later versions respond. This version omits a series of small yet crucial images from the text: the kimono worn by Huiying's beloved music teacher; the narrator's reference to Japanese literature and film; the emotional vibrancy of her connection to a girl with a Japanese name who has connections in the newspaper industry. These omissions, whilst making little difference to the story's exposition, enact subtle shifts in its historical context. Where in Yang's 1942 story Huiying's existential deliberations are

projected onto the Taiwanese and Japanese women who feature in her life as a matter of historical course, the 1979 translation softens the association made in the narrative voice between desirable womanhood and Japanese identity. The teacher can be beloved if there is no mention of her kimono, Huiying can ruminate on girlhood if no mention is made of the Japanese book that inspires her, and she can become a writer if the singularity of her friendship with the Japanese girl who introduces her to employment opportunities is diminished.

Though these excisions may seem slight, they establish a politicised interpretation of "Flower Blooming Season" in translation that focuses specifically on the protagonist's interaction with signifiers of Japanese womanhood. The attention to this aspect of the text in translation misrepresents its centrality to the source text, where national identity appears almost incidental to the narrator – never mentioned explicitly and consistently overtaken by concerns relating to family, friends and fashion trends. The removal and subsequent restoration of details relating to Japanese womanhood in the Mandarin Chinese versions of "Flower Blooming Season", however, allow questions of identity to become a focal point of the text's afterlife in translation. In the 1979 translation, the historical reality of Huiying's life is airbrushed with precision, allowing the appeals of Japanese womanhood to fade from Huiying's self-narration. By the 2001 translation, the emphasis on presenting the 'perspective of Taiwan's female intellectuals' meant it was essential to acknowledge Huiying's proximity to Japanese culture, whether symbolised by kimono-clad characters or the mention of samurai movies. In the process of translation, Huiying's depiction is centred not only on whether to marry young or not, whether to work or have children, but also on considerations of her proximity to Japanese identity and its role in her future.

This chapter traces the role of translation in reshaping "Flower Blooming Season" from 1979 to 2018. It begins with a discussion of the necessity of incorporating translations into the

history of “Flower Blooming Season”, as they allow us to better understand how the text has been read following 1979. I argue that in translation, Yang’s text has been treated as a piece of literature that flirts with imperial subjectivity; its Japanese elements initially removed due to political unacceptability under martial law, and then gradually reincorporated with the reappraisal of Japanese rule following the formal beginning of democratization in 1987. The chapter then moves to explore each translation in detail, drawing on a set of close readings to demonstrate how Yang Qianhe’s depiction of femininity has been contested through translations of “Flower Blooming Season”. It finishes with a discussion of the most recent versions of “Flower Blooming Season”: adaptations by millennial author Yang Shuangzi. “Flower Blooming Season” 2017 and 2018 reimagine the story once again, using the textual distance afforded by adaptation to take on contested femininity in a new framework. Incorporating “Flower Blooming Season” into the constellation of short stories published in China, Taiwan and Japan throughout the twentieth century showcasing same-sex love between girls at high school, Yang Shuangzi moves the world of “Flower Blooming Season” away from the polarities of Taiwanese and Japanese identities, focusing instead on the patriarchal heteronormativity that affected educated young women of Yang Qianhe’s generation irrespective of citizenship.

The purpose of the comparisons herein is not to pinpoint a ‘correct’ iteration of “Flower Blooming Season”, nor the most faithful. Instead, they aim to demonstrate how examining translations of Taiwan’s Japanophone literature can serve as a valuable exercise into understanding how these politically contentious texts have been interpreted over time. It spotlights the history of a text in translation that exhibits how broader public sentiment and narrative-making related to the period of Japanese rule in Taiwan affect the reading of literature from that era in a highly literal sense, at the level of the text itself. As the most representative record of Taiwanese womanhood under Japanese rule, whether in fiction or non-

fiction, translations of "Flower Blooming Season" become a site where the qualities of that womanhood are redefined. By appreciating this additional layer to the text, added through consecutive waves of translation, we can better grasp how "Flower Blooming Season" has been read over time – and how those readings relate to popular narratives of Japanese rule in Taiwan.

Subjective Imperial Subjectivity

Though Yang Qianhe is not a household name in Taiwan, she is undoubtedly the 'most studied' and 'most famous' woman author from the colonial period, as Bert Scruggs (2015, 104) and Anne Sokolsky (2010, 245) have respectively described her. She is also the most translated woman author of the period by a considerable margin, though existing scholarship does little to acknowledge this dimension of her history. Instead, we encounter two approaches: a semi-historical reading of Yang's work that reflects its proximity to her life story, or a comparative structure that places Yang's depiction of girlhood alongside those of contemporaries in Taiwan and other parts of the Japanese Empire. Representative work from the former includes Chen I-chun's (2008, 2016) approach, which takes "Flower Blooming Season" and *The Prism* as source texts to discuss girls' education and the position of women writers in Taiwan during Japanese rule. In the latter category, Bert Scruggs (2015) places Yang alongside fellow women authors of the period Zhang Bihua, Huang Baotao and Ye Tao, highlighting thematic similarities and stylistic idiosyncrasies between their short stories. Anne Sokolsky (2010), meanwhile, places Yang alongside Huang Fengzi, a natural comparison given the educational and social background shared between the pair. Others have looked beyond Taiwan, including Chen Pei-Jean (2013) in her comparative treatment of Yang Qianhe and Korean author Ye Kwang-su, Satako Kakihara's (2017) comparison between Yang and

Ōsako Rinko, and Lü Ming-chun's (2010) reading of Yang's writing alongside Yang Xu, who wrote in Manchuria during Japanese occupation.

In short, commentary and analysis are plentiful, though remarkably silent on the ways in which translation has mediated Yang Qianhe's work over time. The cumulative effect of these approaches is to present "Flower Blooming Season" 1942 as a stand-alone text, when understanding its entire history arguably necessitates attention to its translational afterlives. This is especially true when one considers which versions of the text have the largest audience: the three versions in Chinese will likely have courted a readership far surpassing the Japanese original, as Mandarin Chinese has long been the primary reading language in Taiwan where most of Yang's readers post-1945 reside. Yang Shuangzi, whom we will meet later in this chapter, is a prime example: her understanding of "Flower Blooming Season" is built through interaction with translations of the text rather than its first Japanese form.

The distinction between "Flower Blooming Season" 1942 and the various versions of "Flower Blooming Season" that have followed is an important one, though that is not to say that the translations are entirely independent of their 1942 source. There is, of course, an inevitable relationship between this textual corpus: translation stemming from source, its characteristics built around a particular interpretation of the 1942 text. Given this interdependency, it is possible to use the translation to learn more about otherwise obfuscated corners of the source text. For "Flower Blooming Season", the attention to its portrayal of Japanese women in translation can prompt, in turn, a reassessment of how the 1942 source overlays the hierarchies of colonial identity over Huiying's musings on how to live a meaningful life. How does imperial subjectivity relate, if at all, to her admiration of Japanese women and her enjoyment of Japanese cultural products? Existing conceptions of imperial-subject literature have little to offer in answer to this query. Given the hyper-masculine

representation of imperial subjectivity in these works, the established image of the imperial subject is that of an ambitious, conflicted man in the prime of youth, rather than a young woman deciding whether to get married or not. Joyce C.H Liu (2009, 279) characterises the imperial subject movement in these terms, viewing *kōminka* as a rejection of the 'weak, the private, the irrational, the feminine old world,' and imperial subjectivity as a state of being open to men and men alone.

Huiying's dilemmas exist in an entirely different register to these texts. The young men who dominate them are explicit in their desires, often discussing national identity in the frankest of terms and openly viewing themselves through that existential prism. Huiying's considerations of these matters is more subtle, in most instances a secondary consideration to other aspects of her life – as noted above. It is possible, though, to see how her confessional narrative could be aligned with this group of controversial texts full of men eager to die for the emperor. "Flower Blooming Season" fulfils Leo Ching's (2001, 125) definition of imperial-subject literature as a body of works that grapple with 'identity struggle', as various protagonists reckon with the process of becoming Japanese. In Yang's work this 'struggle' is presented from a different perspective – with the crossroads between marrying young and working as a writer being superimposed on the generalised categories of 'Taiwanese' and 'Japanese'. Huiying's ruminations on the matter align with Sayaka Chatani's (2018, 15) understanding of imperial subjectivity as a notion tied to an individual's day-to-day desire for social and cultural betterment, where Japanese identity promises 'social mobility' in contrast to the Taiwanese alternative. Whether present in "Flower Blooming Season" intentionally or subconsciously, the arbitrary categories of 'Taiwanese' and 'Japanese' are present in the story as thematic through-lines that the reader can interpret politically if they so desire. Indeed, the 1979 translation does exactly this through its omissions.

The political potential of the text's themes is amplified when one considers the broader politicisation of women's identity within Japan's colonies. The tension between the path of the 'modern girl' and the traditional household was an identity struggle unique to women, precipitated by what Theodore Yoo (2008, 11) calls Japan's 'own brand of modernity' projected onto the well-educated, upper-class women in Taiwan and Korea. From this perspective, the classroom becomes the site of assimilation, influencing female students' image of themselves and their place in society. It is this image of self that Huiying wrestles with throughout "Flower Blooming Season", her elite education exposing her to the possibilities of colonial modernity that emerge across her narration in the contrast between the married lives of her Taiwanese friends and the professional image of the Japanese-presenting women in her life.

Anne Sokolsky (2010, 257) reads these themes directly into "Flower Blooming Season", arguing that Yang's critique of Taiwanese identity is strengthened by the contents of her other essays, including "A Girl's Fate" (J. *Onna no shukumei*) published in *Taiwanese Customs* in 1943.[56] Yang's daughter Lin Zhimei takes issue with this characterisation of her mother's work. In a 2012 essay, Lin (2012, 198) disputes the necessity of politicised readings of Yang's 1942 story, arguing that these interpretations fundamentally misunderstand the purpose of the text. Lin makes it clear that her mother's intentions were simply to record her life experiences, and that any indirect political resonances are the reader's inference rather than the author's intent.

[56] This short essay contains Yang's critique of the *shim-pua* (媳婦仔) system, a practice popular amongst young families in Taiwan during and prior to the colonial period where young girls would be adopted and raised by another family with the expectation that they would eventually marry one of their sons. See Yang 1943, 41-43. For a discussion of marriage practices during Japanese rule, see Lü 2007, 17-19.

Lin's position on this matter is understandable, as Japanophone literature from the 1940s is frequently used as source material for questioning the author concerned and their political loyalties. For Yang Qianhe, the line between fiction and reality is easily blurred, as "Flower Blooming Season" shares an intimate relationship with the story of Yang's early life. The draw of Huiying's character is strengthened by her similarities with Yang: both attend elite girls' schools in Taipei, both decide to work at a newspaper immediately after graduating. The later publication of *The Prism* only exacerbates the overlap between Yang and Huiying, with the memoir appearing almost as an extended coda to the fragmentary text that preceded it. Yang's voice picks up where Huiying left off, a young girl's Japanese transformed into the Japanese of a woman. Given the ease of these parallels, political readings of "Flower Blooming Season" could lead to political comment on Yang Qianhe. Indeed her explanation of her continued use of Japanese in the preface to *The Prism* seem almost to anticipate these discussions, and to offer an answer to any speculation about Yang's political beliefs (Yang 1999, 10).

Lin's comments shield Yang from political scrutiny to a degree, as does the substance of "Flower Blooming Season" 1942. The tone of the text is ambivalent enough that Lin's assertion that any political undertones stem from the reader rather than the author feel justified. Once its translations are considered, however, this changes. The disappearance and reappearance of specific aspects of "Flower Blooming Season" in translation arguably legitimises Sokolsky's reading, and indeed suggests that the translator and editor of the 1979 translation agreed with her assessment. Whilst the political engagement of the 1942 source text is debateable, the translations – including Lin Zhimei's – slip into what Bert Scruggs (2015, 9) terms the 'politically driven translation' practice that pervades Mandarin Chinese versions of Japanophone texts written during Japanese rule in Taiwan. The 1979 translation sets the precedent, establishing translation as a space to explore politicised interpretations of Yang's

work. Lin may dispute the veracity of those interpretations, but they now form an integral part of the text's history – its multi-faceted, political afterlife.

Omission: Removing the Kimono

"Flower Blooming Season" 1979, translated by Chen Xiaonan, appeared in Volume 8 of the anthology *A Complete Collection of Taiwan's Literature before the Retrocession* (C. *Guangfu qian Taiwan wenxue quanji*), a watershed eight-volume collection collating short stories and poetry from the colonial era *en masse*.[57] Featuring 166 pieces by 75 authors, the anthology led to the increased recognition of authors such as Yang Kui who previously were 'more often encountered in memoirs than seen on library shelves', as Joseph Lau (1983, ix) notes. With the oversight of an editorial team comprised of Ye Shitao, Zhong Zhaozheng, Zhang Henghao, Lin Fan and Yang Ziqiao, the anthology capitalised on a brief period of 'liberalization' in Taiwan that commenced with the accession of Chiang Kai-shek's son, Chiang Ching-kuo, to the presidency in May 1972 and ended with the Kaohsiung Incident in December 1979 (Jacobs 2016, 3).[58] The intervening seven years allowed for what Pei-yin Lin (2017, 2) terms a small-scale 'rediscovery of Taiwan's long-forgotten literary heritage'– including a reappraisal of the Japanophone literature featured in *Taiwan's Literature before the Retrocession*.

It is clear from the preface to Volume 8 that the anthology's deputy editors, Zhang Henghao, Lin Fan and Yang Ziqiao, were aware of the historical significance of their

[57] Each volume was named after a stand-out text by an author from the period; "Flower Blooming Season" was published in Volume 8, titled *Capon* after Zhang Wenhuan's 1942 story. In 1982 four additional volumes were published, focusing exclusively on poetry – showcasing the work of 127 poets. Yang Ziqiao notes that there were originally plans for the series to include plays, prose and essays, however these translation tasks have not been undertaken as yet. See Yang 2001.

[58] Whilst this 'liberalization' should not equated be with democratization, it did allow for the growth of an extra-parliamentary oppositional faction referred to as 'dangwai' (黨外), literally 'outside the party'. *Dangwai* activists were able to air their political opinions in magazines including *The Taiwan Political Review* (C. *Taiwan zhenglun*) published for five issues in the winter of 1975, as well as *Formosa Magazine* (C. *Meilidao zazhi*) which published four issues between August and November 1979. See Jacobs 2016, 5-6; 15-21.

undertaking. They describe the 'vigour of being responsible for history' as they reintroduce the works published before 1945 long maligned through 'oversight or misunderstanding' (Lin, Yang and Zhang 1981, 1). This exercise entailed not only translating the works and reframing their political significance, but also inserting them into a literary historical timeline. The preface is unremitting in this regard, describing the works it precedes as a constituent part of 'China's anti-Japanese cultural struggle', as well as 'the history of China's New Literature' (Lin et al., 1981, 1). From the outset, then, the volume's works are presented as a manifestation of the cross-strait struggle against Japanese aggressors.

Later in the preface, though, the editors do widen the remit for inclusion. Whilst they emphasise the importance of an 'anti-imperialist, anti-feudalist national consciousness' within a work, they nonetheless state that they are not 'limited to this theme' and look to also include works that 'reflect ideas of love and romantic personal life during the colonial period' (Lin et al., 1981, 3). The basis for exclusion is also outlined here in full, as 'works serving the imperial agenda with a strong yet concealed sense of imperialization' would receive the editors' 'unspoken and tolerant criticism' through their omission (Lin et al., 1981, 4). In other words, the works included did not necessarily have to be as thoroughly anti-Japan as the preface's opening statements imply, though they certainly could not harbour any pro-imperial sentiments.

"Flower Blooming Season" is framed as one of these unpolitical works reflecting attitudes toward love and romance during the colonial period. Yang Ziqiao (1979, 173) paints the story in these terms in his preface, where he summarises the plot as 'reflecting the way girls at high school in that era thought of marriage, and their married life'. Whilst the translation does certainly retain these themes, the sections of the text it omits suggest that some modifications were necessary to allow the story to wholly fit said description in the eyes of the translator and editors. When viewed in isolation, these interventions may appear small enough

to amount to acts of the subconscious, the kind of 'non-deliberate construction' that A-chin Hsiau (2000, 19) views as endemic to Taiwan's cultural nationalism. Taken as a collective, however, the pattern of omission is consistent enough that it can be viewed as deliberate. The omission of the text's depiction of Japanese femininity points to the political contentiousness of those details – if they were inoffensive, then extraction would be unnecessary.

The first notable omission comes in the story's opening pages. Huiying, who is still in school, attends a music class where she and her peers prepare a singing performance to mark their graduation. The school's music teacher is a commanding presence in the story's opening, in which she suggests that the girls take her as a role model. She is described as 'refined' (J. *senren*) like an 'artist' (J. *geijutsukahada*), dressed in a kimono with a wide, blackish collar. In the 1979 edition, however, mention of her kimono is removed entirely:

> 黒っぽい、しかもキモノの衿が広い程似合う洗練されたきこなしをする私達の好きな芸術家肌のその先生は。。。
> We all loved this teacher, with her artist's disposition, wearing a blackish, wide collared kimono that suited her and gave her an air of refinement … (Yang 1942, 146)

> 黝黑的皮膚， 穿着相當講究, 具有藝術家風度， 而且深受同學們愛戴的這老師。。。
> This teacher was deeply loved by my classmates – she was dark-skinned, well dressed, with an artist's demeanour… (Yang 1979, 178)

Chen attributes the 'blackish' colour to the teacher's skin (C. *youhei de pifu*), removing the kimono present in the 1942 text.[59] The absent kimono can be viewed as an attempt to neutralise the political symbolism of the teacher character, whom Sokolsky (2010, 252) views as a 'symbol of Japanese authority' within the world of the story.[60] In this scene, the teacher's

[59] Using the colour 'black' to refer to the teacher's skin colour may also mark an attempt to signal her identity as Taiwanese, as Japanophone texts from the period frequently referred to Taiwanese as having 'black' or 'blackish' skin. We see an example of this in Huang Fengzi's description of her grandfather's face in "My Mother's Neighbourhood", as discussed in Chapter One.
[60] Some Japanese teachers in the colonies proactively viewed themselves through this lens. As Sayaka Chatani notes, several teachers possessed a power complex so profound that they saw themselves as representing 'a higher ideal of empire than

apparel signals her association with Japanese womanhood, an association that complicates the class's affection for her.

Whilst this association is superficial, its political resonance is clearer when one considers how some colonial-era literary works depict the kimono as a symbol of the cultural control exercised on Taiwan's citizens by the colonial state. Wu Zhuoliu's 1945 short story "The Doctor's Mother" (C. *Xiansheng ma*), for example, reflects the heightened politics of the apparel. In one scene the title's namesake shreds her kimono with a kitchen knife, attempting to ensure that she isn't posthumously buried in the outfit against her will (Scruggs 2015, 45–49). The cast of characters is small in "Flower Blooming Season", and the music teacher is the only adult whom Huiying seems to truly admire throughout the story. By omitting the details of her dress that could be read as political, Chen removes an opportunity for the teacher to represent a desirable projection of womanhood apparelled in the Japanese style.

Later in the text, Huiying continues to search for role models to inspire and guide her passage into adulthood, and finds some instruction in Ōsako Rinko's *A Girl's Age* (, J. *Musume jidai)*, published in Tokyo in May 1940 and followed by *A Girl's Truth* (J. *Musume no shinjitsu*) in December of the same year. Yang does not mention Ōsako Rinko by name, though she does reference the book's immense popularity and the influence it had upon Huiying and her friends:

> 1942:丁度私たちが学校を出た頃「娘時代」が盛に読まれていた。むすめとしての私たちの形のないなやみをなるほどうまく取り出してくれているが、何といっても台灣のむすめである私たちにはピッタリ來ないところが多くあった。では私たちはどんな氣持ちで娘時代を送っているのだらうか。それは自分がぢかにふれ、感じている身近かなものでありながら、どうしてもそれを形にとって見ることが 出來なかった。只分っていることは、私たちには古

colonial officials'. Free from the distractions of a political career, teachers were able to selflessly transmit the purity of empire within the established hierarchies of the classroom. Chatani 2018, 142. Chatani's insights reverberate in Wu Zhuoliu's *Orphan of Asia*, where the Japanese teachers who the protagonist encounters as colleagues are depicted as dogmatically invested in the enforcement of imperial rules. See Wu 2006, 23-24; 39-41.

> い時代の因習と新しい時世の動きとの摩擦がより一層強くまとはりついていることであった。
>
> It was precisely around the time we left school that *A Girl's Age* had a great number of readers – the author skilfully expressed the invisible worries of young girls like us. In the end, however, as we were girls from Taiwan, there were many parts of the book that didn't match our experiences precisely.
>
> And so, in what mood did we pass the days of our girlhood? Though 'girlhood' was part of everything we encountered and the things we felt affection for, it was also something we could not actualise. There was only one certainty: as far as we were concerned, the friction between old customs and the new age clung to us with ever greater strength. (Yang 1942, 151-152).

The themes of *A Girl's Age* and "Flower Blooming Season" are remarkably similar, as Satoko Kakihara (2017, 199) reflects, with both commenting on the preordained movement from 'student to wife to mother', insisting that women should have the 'freedom not to marry'. Chen Xiaonan's translation omits the name of Ōsako's text entirely, removing the half a page of prose quoted above about the book and its impact on Huiying and her friends – a considerable contraction in a translation of only 27 pages. Here omission serves a dual purpose. Firstly, as in the example of the music teacher, it removes an emblem of Japanese womanhood – one idealised and enjoyed by the young protagonist. Secondly, it removes evidence of the intertextual relationship between "Flower Blooming Season" and a bestselling Japanese work of the period. Here the onus falls not only on removing links between the protagonist and Japanese womanhood, but also any suggestion that Yang modelled herself as a writer on a Japanese contemporary.

In each instance, Chen destabilises the connections established in the original text between metropole and colony, between Huiying, Yang Qianhe and the kimono-clad, intellectual Japanese women who surrounded them. In his translation, we encounter a version of "Flower Blooming Season" that deemphasises cultural alignment between Japan and

Taiwan, allowing the story to meet the rhetoric of the anthology's preface with greater ease. It is difficult to say whether said political posturing wholly reflects the editors' or translator's genuine views, or whether it amounts to rhetorical grandstanding with censors in mind. This is especially difficult to determine given Chen Xiaonan's relative anonymity – besides "Flower Blooming Season", much of his translation work focused on the writing of Herman Hesse.[61] If we take the translation at face value, though, there is a clear reshaping of the story's content to remove the appeal of Japanese womanhood in various guises from the protagonist's musing. Whilst the translation may present itself as apolitical, there is an implication that it was only through removing these references that such an assessment could be reached. In turn, this suggests that the group of intellectuals compiling *Taiwan Literature before the Retrocession* did consider aspects of "Flower Blooming Season" contentious enough to merit them untranslatable. Further examples of omission consistent with these early examples are revealed when "Flower Blooming Season" 1979 is read alongside Zhaozheng Zhong's 1992 translation, as we shall see in the section that follows.

[61] Examples of this work include: *A Collection of Famous works by Herman Hesse* (C. *Hese mingzuo xuan*) (Taipei: Zhiwen, 1972) translated by Chen Xiaonan and *Homesickness* (C. *Xiangchou*) (Taipei: Zhiwen, 1971) Translated by Chen Xiaonan. The latter has been reprinted on multiple occasions, most recently in 2001.

Restoration: A Stop-gap Translation



Figure 7: Annotated copy of Chen Xiaonan's 1979 translation of "Flower Blooming Season". All the sections in red are replicated exactly in Zhong Zhaozheng's 1992 translation.

"Flower Blooming Season" 1992 maintains a close relationship with its predecessor. Its translator, Zhong Zhaozheng, a prolific Taiwanese author and contemporary of Yang Qianhe, frames his "Flower Blooming Season" as a necessary return to the text in the wake of Yang's re-entry into literary circles. When Zhong's work is read alongside "Flower Blooming Season" 1979, however, it quickly becomes apparent that large swathes of his work imitate that earlier version word-for-word. Over 75 percent of Zhong's translation is a replica of Chen Xiaonan's prose, mirroring the earlier publication to the smallest detail – word order, punctuation and so on (see Figure 7). Of note are two prolonged sections of unbroken replication: a section on Huiying's relationship with her father, and a page detailing the visit of two friends to Huiying's house (Yang 1979, 181–182, 191; Yang 1992, 295–296, 304–305). Amongst these extensive similarities, however, Zhong does make some changes to the text. In between small alterations to sentence length and punctuation, he restores a selection of details omitted from the 1979 version. By reinstating these passages, Zhong's translation appears as a half-way house, somewhere between an edited version of Chen's translation and a new translation in its own right. Zhong's (1993) commentary on translating Yang's writing reinforces the sense that his interventions are a wholly necessary, yet incomplete return to Yang's short story. His translation of her work

appears as a restorative, stop-gap translation – one that provides much-needed updates, but defers a more thorough reworking to future translators.

The lengthiest restoration concerns the passage on *A Girl's Age* mentioned in the preceding section. In Zhong's 1992 iteration, the omitted paragraph returns in full, detailing the impact of the text on Huiying and her contemporaries:

> 正好也是我們畢業的那一陣子「姑娘時代」很風行，擁有大量的讀者。她把我們這些未婚少女的無形煩惱很巧妙地提出來討論，然而我們畢竟是台灣女子，很多地方都不就見得切合我們的情形。那麼，我們又以什麼樣的心情過我們的小姐日子呢？那是我們日常裏所接觸，所感愛的，可就是怎麼也沒法讓它具體地成行。唯一知道的是在我們來說，舊時代的因習和新時世的動向之間的摩擦，更強固地糾結在一塊。
>
> As it happens, around the time we graduated high school, *A Girl's Era* was very popular and had a large readership. The author discussed with great skill all the invisible worries of us young girls who were yet to be married. Yet, at the end of the day, we were girls from Taiwan, so there were many parts of the book that didn't suit our situation.
>
> So, in what mood did we pass the days of our girlhood? This 'girlhood' was everything we encountered, everything we felt love for in our everyday lives, but it was also something we had no means to actualise. As far as we were concerned, there was only one certainty: the clash between customs of the past and trends of the new age was strongly intertwined with our lives (Q. Yang 1992, 299).

The second restoration comes later in the same section. Huiying describes how she and her two closest friends regularly visit a doctor's wife whom they regard as culturally sophisticated. Unlike her Japanese teacher, Huiying and her companions regard this woman as a peer, viewing her lifestyle as one of the possible paths for them to tread after high school. During their visit, the doctor's wife mentions two Japanese comedians whom she is particularly fond of: Ken'ichi Enomoto 榎本健一 also known as 'Enoken' エノケン (written in Zhong's

edition as 榎健 C. *Jiajian*) and Roppa Furukawa 古川ロッパ (written in Zhong's edition as 綠波 C. *Lübo*):

> といふ言葉も付け加える奥様然としたかの女は，この頃ではエノケンやロッパの喜劇とか, チャンバラ映画がかえって面白くなったといふ
> She added that that she had recently come to find the comedies of Enoken and Roppa, as well as samurai films, very entertaining (Yang 1942, 152).
>
> 她還談起如今她居然開始喜歡 「榎健」和 「綠波」的喜鬧片子 (註：此二人均為早期著名的喜劇演員) 和打鬪電影。
> She also brought up how recently she had unexpectedly started to enjoy the comedies of Enoken and Roppa (Note: these were two famous comedians from the early period) and martial art films. (Yang 1992, 299–300).

The mention of Enoken and Roppa dates the text to the 1940s, when films featuring both performers were likely shown in cities throughout Taiwan. Following the Mukden incident in 1931, limitations were placed on the Chinese films that had been a popular mainstay in Taiwan's cinemas during the 1920s, with pro-imperial productions – such as the films featuring Rappo and Enoken from the late 1930s – being shown in their place (Baskett 2008, 18). As the doctor's wife has a penchant for these films, they become attributes of feminine sophistication to Huiying. In a similar fashion to the music teacher example, an interest in Japanese cultural products combines with what Huiying perceives as a more mature, sophisticated image of womanhood. Such idealisation explains the passage's absence from the 1979 translation, whilst the 1992 inclusion is consistent with the passage on *A Girl's Age*. Similarly, the kimono reappears in Zhong's translation: the teacher is described as wearing 'a black kimono, with a wide collar' (黑色的和服，而且領子越寬的, C. *Heise de hefu, erqie lingzi yue kuan de*) (Yang 1992, 292). In other words, there is far less reticence in the 1992 edition about surrounding the feminine ideal, as perceived through the eyes of the story's protagonist, in the trappings of Japanese influence.

There are many reasons for Zhong's translation taking the shape that it did. Firstly, the reappearance of some of the text's Japanese details points to the shift in Taiwan's political atmosphere by 1992. From the late 1980s onwards, there was a significant thawing in Taiwan-Japan relations after nearly two decades of diplomatic tension following the severing of official ties in 1972.[62] The reinvigorated relationship, which Peng-er Lam (2004, 249) argues was largely thanks to Lee Teng-hui's presidency beginning in 1988, had a profound effect on the visibility of the Japanese language in educational and cultural contexts. In 1989 the first Japanese language department established since 1972 in Taiwan was founded at National Chengchi University (Huang 2015, 134), whilst in 1993 Japanese TV shows were legally broadcast for the first time since the severing of diplomatic relations (Ishii, Su and Watanabe 1999, 418). This contextual backdrop goes some way to explaining Zhong's decision to include the references to a Japanese novel and two Japanese actors that were noticeably absent from the 1979 edition of "Flower Blooming Season". The reappearance of these details in turn sheds light on their absence in the earlier iteration – a retrospective reflection of the socio-political context into which *A Complete Collection of Taiwan's Literature Before the Retrocession* was published in 1979.

It would be a mistake, however, to view Zhong's translation as an absolute rebuttal of Chen's earlier work. As noted above, the two translations are closely connected and in many passages are almost identical. The absence of extensive reinterpretation, along with the obvious edits to include passages previously omitted, suggests that Zhong simply intended to update Chen's iteration to allow readers to access a more complete version of the text. His

[62] The cause of this diplomatic rift was the formal political recognition of the People's Republic of China by Japan in 1972, a mirroring of US recognition in the same year. This distancing came after a prolonged period of diplomatic difficulty between Japan and Taiwan, caused by the contested sovereignty of the Diaoyutai (J. Senkaku) Islands, a set of landmasses scattered between Taiwan and Japan. See Hsiau 2021, 2-3 for an overview and Harrison 2006, 115-130 for a detailed discussion of the island dispute.

motivation seems linked, in part, to Yang's reappearance in 1989, as he notes how her writing, once considered 'works of the past' became 'of the time' (Zhong 1993). This renewed interest in Yang's work, though limited to literary circles, provided a clear impetus for retranslation. At the same time, Zhong explains that he struggled with translating Yang's writing after 1989:

> This task is one I couldn't turn down, though I have to say that it was a struggle. My eyesight is badly diminished thanks to years of overwork, and I had too little spare time (Zhong, 1993).

Aside from the limitations Zhong identifies, it is also possible that his translation of "Flower Blooming Season" was a vote of confidence – omissions aside – in Chen's earlier work. This is especially true given Zhong's involvement as an editor for *Taiwan's Literature before the Retrocession*. Such confidence seems increasingly likely given the absence of a critique or rebuff to Chen's work either within the translated text itself or Zhong's later reflections on the process that produced it. There is no explicit mention of the need to restore previously omitted passages – though when reading the two versions side-by-side the reader is left in little doubt that this is his translation's major contribution. As a consequence, Zhong's translation silently restores the 1979 translation, fleshing out its omitted portions, but leaving the rest of its interpretation intact, a more thorough reworking left to future translators. Lin Zhimei would take up the mantel, replacing Zhong's intimate knowledge of "Flower Blooming Season" 1979 with her own, unique relationship with the 1942 source text, a connection predicated on her viewpoint as Yang Qianhe's daughter.

Addition: A Treasure of Taiwanese Literature

"Flower Blooming Season" 2001 appeared during a moment of flux in Taiwan. The election of Taiwan's first non-KMT president, Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) candidate Chen Shui-bian, in 2000 brought with it a shift in attitudes toward Japan at a political level

along with a rise in public reinterpretations of Japanese rule (Lam 2004, 249).[63] It is no coincidence that this political softening coincided with an uptick in the translation of Japanese writing from the colonial period. Spearheaded by Avanguard (*Qianwei*) publishing house, several anthologies were published at the turn of the millennium featuring colonial-era authors who wrote in both Chinese and Japanese. A multi-volume anthology of Yang Kui's work published by Taiwan Literature Centre appeared in 2001, and complete anthology of Wang Changxiong's work by the Taipei Cultural Bureau in 2002. Viewed as a collective, the appearance of these anthologies is certainly a moment of note in the creation of what Scruggs (2015, 27) terms Taiwan's 'translated canon'. Included amongst this rush of translations, Yang Qianhe's textual corpus was absorbed into the rediscovery and production of lost heritage that these anthologies represented.

As with earlier translations of "Flower Blooming Season", the 2001 edition reflects its moment of publication. The openness to Taiwan's historic connection with Japanese culture is especially evident, with the new translation unflinchingly showcasing the text's Japanese features as an integral component of its fabric. To this end, the version was published in a single volume alongside a Japanese copy of the 1942 text, allowing the reader to consider the versions side-by-side should they have the ability. In tandem, Lin Zhimei fleshes out the text in an unprecedented fashion. Described by Yang Ziqiao (1979, 173) in 1979 as 'prosaic', the

[63] Bi-yu Chang highlights the centring of Taiwanese identity under Lee Teng-hui's presidency (1988-2000) through policies including the 1995 initiative 'Running Big Taiwan, Establishing the New Zhongyuan' (C. *Jingying de Taiwan, jianli xin Zhongyuan*), as well as the new history textbooks introduced in 1997 *Knowing Taiwan* (C. *Renshi Taiwan*). Chang notes that the latter was critiqued for what some viewed as the textbook's 'deliberate omission' of the atrocities of Japanese colonialism. Chang 2004, 37. Chen Shui-bian's administration built on this precedent through a process of what Yoshihisa Amae describes as an 'appropriation of Japanese colonial heritage'. This entailed not only the discursive shift in Taiwan-Japan relations that Lam describes, but also the introduction of policies that proactively enshrined the position of Japanese colonial heritage in contemporary Taiwan. This included changes to the status of historical sites from the period of Japanese rule through 'revision to the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (C. *wenhua zichan baocun fa*) in 2000' which 'allowed local governments to list them as "historic sites" (C. *guji*) or "historic structures" (C. *lishi jianzhu*) and reconstruct them with financial help from the central government'. Though, as Amae notes, the tone of this preservation was Taiwan-centric, it nonetheless provoked controversy during Chen's administration. See Amae 21, 25, 50. In the literary world, Xiaobing Tang shows how these sentiments reverberated through aspects of the Taiwan Literature debate during the 1980s, such as Peng Ruijin's discussion with an air of 'dubious pride' of Japanese colonialism as a marker of Taiwan's distinctiveness. Tang 2007, 66.

narrative style in “Flower Blooming Season” 1942 is unadorned, recounting events with a degree of detachment. Lin’s translation intervenes on several occasions to heighten the text’s confessional tone, whilst also styling Yang’s writing in a fashion arguably more accessible to the twenty-first century reader. Read in the context of the anthologising process, these amendments appear as a ‘bid for canonicity’, a feature that Lawrence Venuti (2004, 27) argues recurs in retranslations of marginal texts. To put it another way, by situating “Flower Blooming Season” firmly within the context of its first language, along with added rhetorical flourishes, the 2001 translation emphasises both the text and Yang’s historical import at a moment when the mood amongst many Taiwanese intellectuals was receptive to that reframing.

The unambiguous foregrounding of Japanese elements within Lin’s retranslation sets it firmly in conversation with its predecessors. Lin moves through the moments omitted from Chen’s first translation, using each in turn as an opportunity to reveal, rather than conceal, the text’s relationship with all things Japanese. The music teacher’s kimono, for example, is pointedly ‘a Japanese kimono’ (日本的和服,C. *Riben de hefu*), and the title of *A Girl’s Age* is left untranslated as 娘時代, with a Chinese translation following in brackets (少女時代 C. *Shao nü shidai*) (Yang 2001, 146; 154). As the sites of intervention align between Lin’s translation and the earlier versions, her work is arguably as much in conversation with its predecessors as it is with the source text. This is especially true given Yang Qianhe’s (2001a, 49) implication that Lin consulted earlier editions whilst putting together her own, as well as Lin’s (2012, 191) own comment that her intention in retranslating the text was to amend the ‘translation errors’ of earlier versions, in particular the version published in 1979. From this standpoint, the refashioning seems neither coincidental nor accidental, but a premeditated marker of difference in contrast to earlier editions.

There are two additional instances worth considering in this vein. The first comes at the story's opening; the schoolgirls are gathered in music class rehearsing a song to mark their upcoming graduation. In the 1942 text, they sing the first two lines of the final verse of the Japanese graduation song Aogeba Tōtoshi (仰げば尊し). Lin's version replicates the lyrics closely:

> 朝夕なれにし、学びの窓
> 蛍のともしび、つむ白雪 .
> The window where we studied morning and night,
> The light of the fireflies, stacked white snow (Yang 1942, 145).
>
> 朝夕相處，同窗共學
> 螢燭之光，白雪輝映
> From morning till night, we studied together by the same window,
> The light of the fireflies reflected in the snow (Yang 2001, 144).

Lin's replication of the romantic imagery in "Flower Blooming Season" 1942 marks a departure from the approach taken in each of the earlier translations, where the standard Chinese translation of Auld Lang Syne by Hua Wenxian is used in its place (Jia 2014, 695):

> 驪歌初動，離情轆轆
> 驚惜韶光匆促
> Our leaving song is beginning,
> The pain of separation rumbles,
> Shocked as cherished youth hurries by (Yang, 1979, 176; Yang, 1992, 290)

By opting to delicately mirror the famous song in the source text, Lin explicitly designates the language of the school environment from the outset, anchoring the text in its historical moment. Through the inclusion of a translation of Aogeba Tōtoshi, the reader is set up from the story's outset to discover Japanese as the language of the school environment – or at the very least the language of the formal graduation ceremony. The displacement of this detail in earlier translations, meanwhile, with the adoption of the Chinese translation of Auld Lang Syne, masks the historic reality underpinning Yang's text. Lin's retranslation, on the other hand,

gives the fullest impression of the language of the school environment – with her version proactively communicating not only plot, but historical context too.

A similar approach comes toward the close of "Flower Blooming Season", where Huiying details a meeting with a student named Tagawa-san, through whom she learns of an employment opportunity at a local newspaper. Though she is the only character in the story with a recognisably Japanese name, Tagawa's identity is left unremarked upon by the narrative voice. It remains unclear whether she is Japanese, or simply a Taiwanese girl who has adopted a Japanese name. What is clear, however, is Tagawa's sophistication as a working woman, and her proximity in age to Huiying. Unlike the schoolteacher, Tagawa-san poses as a plausible role model for Huiying, a plausibility made manifest in the older girl supplying her with a job opportunity:

> テニスの試合で〇〇高女出身の田川さんといふ文學をやる人と知り合い，翠苑さんたちとはしなかった議論につばを飛ばしたりしたが。その頃であった。私がある新聞社に入る機会を与へられたのは。
> At a tennis match I got to know Tagawa-san, a high-school graduate who was a writer. We talked animatedly about topics I could not discuss with Cuiyuan-san and the others. Through Tagawa-san, it was around that time that I had the opportunity to begin working at a newspaper (Yang 1942, 153).

The affection Huiying feels for Tagawa here is palpable, the reference to the 'topics' discussed with Tagawa exclusively setting her apart from Huiying's other peers. Whilst Tagawa's identity may be incidental to the platonic chemistry she shares with Huiying, historically speaking her implied sophistication as well as her professional experience would undoubtedly have been tied to her proximity to Japanese identity – either as a Japanese citizen *or* as an assimilated Taiwanese. Though certainly a small moment in the text, confined to a sentence alone, this exchange is nonetheless a significant one in Huiying's internal monologue. Tagawa

is exceptional, and there is an implied comparison between the sophisticated author with knowledge of the world of work, and Huiying's classmates, whom she insinuates are ignorant of the world Tagawa occupies. Lin's version expands on the description of this conversation, emphasising Huiying's enthusiasm for her conversation partner and their lively exchange:

> 我曾經在一次網球比賽的機緣，結識了一位 OO 高女畢業的文學同田川小姐。我們兩人在一起盐局談闊論，連我與翠苑她們所未能話及的議題，我與田川也都能談得口沫橫飛。我就是在這段期間，由田川處獲知機會而進入一家報社工作。
> One time at a tennis match, I had the luck to get to know high-school graduate Tagawa-san, who was also interested in literature. The two of us chatted together loudly and indulgently about topics that I had never even talked about with Cuiyuan and the others. Tagawa-san and I were able to have brilliant discussions about all of that. It was during that period that I learnt of a job opportunity, through Tagawa-san, and started work at a newspaper (Yang 2001b, 158).

The slight expansion of this passage allows Huiying's positive attitude toward Tagawa to become less ambiguous. Lin's changes are even more apparent when contrasted with the 1979 translation, where there is no mention of the enthusiastic dialogue shared between the two young women, only a detached recital of events:

> 在一次網球比賽中我曾認識一位出身××高女的田川小姐，她是個文學工作者。在她的引介下，在翠苑她們的反對聲中，我終於進入報社服務。
> One time at a tennis match, I meet high-school graduate Tagawa-san, she was a writer. Through her introductions, despite Cuiyuan's protestations, in the end I started working at a newspaper (Yang 1979, 187).

Absent here too is the comparison between Tagawa-san and Huiying's classmates contained in all other versions of "Flower Blooming Season".[64] Read in the context of other omissions

[64] The 1992 edition lies somewhere in-between: C: 在一次網球比賽中我認識了一位出身 XX 高女，在學文學的田川小姐，開始和她高談闊論一些以前跟翠苑她們從未交談過的議論。也是正在這樣的時候， 我獲得一個機會，進了一家報社會。E: One time at a tennis match I met high-school graduate Tagawa-san, who was studying literature. I started to talk excitedly with her about a number of topics I had never discussed with Cuiyuan and the others. And it was at that time I was given the opportunity to start working at a newspaper. Yang 1992, 301.

within the 1979 translation, the understatement of Tagawa's connection with Huiying appears consistent with removal of small yet specific details that cast images of Japanese femininity in a desirable light. The removal of the comparison between Tagawa and Huiying's Taiwanese classmates seems especially purposeful in this light, as the matter of Tagawa's name turns this moment into the clearest comparison between Taiwanese and Japanese identity in the text, with Huiying's enthusiasm constructing a hierarchy of sorts, with Tagawa-san above, the others below.

Huiying's exchange with Tagawa-san is not the only moment of addition in Lin's translation. Elsewhere, she makes several stylistic changes to the text that range from cosmetic alterations intended to aid the reader in navigating the plot, to rhetorical flourishes that add empathetic appeal to the story's protagonist. Read considering Lin's 2012 commentary on her translation, these additions appear as a further response to the perceived deficiencies of earlier iterations of "Flower Blooming Season", and Chen Xiaonan's in particular. Speaking of that first translation, Lin (2012, 191) reflects that: 'if the meaning of the source text is lost when translating, then the mood of the text, and its internal logic, will be washed away substantially. The reader may not know all that is said (in the source text)'. Whilst this comment has obvious resonances with the restored Japanese details outlined above, the reference to the text's 'internal logic' arguably reflects Lin's interest in making the text accessible for the twenty-first century reader. To this end, she explicitly teases out the story's structure, making use of the break points naturally present in the text to divide the story into seven micro-chapters. In Lin's iteration, "Flower Blooming Season" no longer darts from scene to scene in a disorienting fashion, and instead proceeds in brief, signposted episodes – an 'internal logic' rendered visible to the reader's eye. A desire to strengthen the text's organization likely also lies behind other small interventions in the translation's presentation, such as the addition of short phrases in Huiying's conversation with her aunt about marriage around halfway through

the text (Yang 2001, 148). These are interventions we might expect in a retranslation hoping to enter an author into a nascent canon, as that induction is arguably made more probable when the translator treats the text as living literature with a need to court the reader, rather than an exact reconstruction of the literary past.

Lin's stylistic critique of earlier editions, in particular the communication of 'mood', is also relevant here. What Lin means by her reference to 'mood' here is arguably made evident in her "Flower Blooming Season", which features several small alterations that strengthen the presence of Huiying's voice within the text. With asides and added exclamations, the restrained patter of Huiying's narrative voice in "Flower Blooming Season" 1979 and 1992 is replaced by a voice more adolescent in tone. These changes certainly amplify the communication of mood, as the emotional cadences of the text come alive in much the same way as its seven sections are given explicit expression on the page. An early example comes when Huiying ruminates during music class on the topic of her classmates who are already engaged:

> 乙女の日への惜別と結婚といふはなやかなスタートをきらうとする胸おどるやうな希望とが，どのやうにこの人達の胸に交叉しているだらうか。
> The painful separation from the days of our girlhood, a new start through marriage – do they loathe this? Are they thrilled by hopes for the future? How are they interweaving these feelings in their hearts? (Yang 1942, 145)
>
> 不知她們的心靈中如何複雜的交織著「道別少女生活」和「憧憬絢麗的結婚生活」
> I don't know how the complex feelings of 'leaving behind girlhood' and 'looking forward to a glorious married life' are interweaving in their hearts (Yang 1979, 176; Yang 1992, 290).
>
> 要告別少女時代，開始跨人多彩的婚姻生活，幾多惜情？幾多憧憬？這些人的心中，不知正交織著多麼複雜的感情！
> Do they want to leave behind girlhood, and start striding toward a colourful married life? How much pity do they feel? How much do they long for the

> future? I don't know how they are interweaving such complex feelings in their hearts! (Yang 2001, 143)

These unanswered questions are twinned with an increased use of exclamation within the narrative, lending a confessional tone to Huiying's musings. The contrast between the 1979 and 1992 versions and Lin's iteration reflects her critique of that earlier work, whilst revealing the strategies she utilised to rectify those perceived deficiencies. The punctuation added here may seem unremarkable, but it injects a sense of interiority to the passage, whilst conveying the emotional urgency of Huiying's thoughts.

A similar amplification of the text's confessional style is present in the addition of asides during essential pieces of narration, as in the following scene where Huiying recounts the tale of her mother's death and her father's recent sickness:

> そのころ私はまだ女学校にいたが、今父に死なれたら！！と実に悲壮な気持ちで、母の病のときにしたよりも真剣に祈った。私にはどんな神様でもよかったのだ。この哀れな少女の願ひをきいてくれるありとあらゆる神に。父！この世に私がただ一人頼ることの出来る者、ああそれはむつつりとやさしい言葉一つかけてくれない父その人なのだ。
> Around that time, I was still at the Girl's school, so if father had died!! In a truly solemn mood, I prayed more earnestly than the time my mother was sick. For me, any god would do. All gods please listen to the prayers of this pitiable girl. Father! The only person in this world who I can rely on, my very solemn father who doesn't say a single kind thing to me (Yang 1942, 149).

The passage thrums with Huiying's earnest appeal to a higher power—and Lin exacerbates this confessional tone by explicitly reorganising the text to have Huiying address the gods directly:

> 那時候我還在上「女學校」。如果父親去世了，我可怎辦呀！懷著悲壯的心情，我全心祈求神明保佑父親平安，甚至還比母親臥病更用心祈禱 **(以前實在還不懂事情的嚴重性。)** 我在心裡呼喚著。。。「什麼神明都好，各方神明啊！請聽聽我這可憐少女的祈願吧！父

> 親可是我在這世上剩下一個依賴的親人呀！雖然他是常繃著臉，沒能說出一句親切的話。」
> At that time, I was still at the Girl's School. If my father had died – what would I have done! Filled with solemnity, I prayed to the gods with all my heart to bless and protect my father and keep him well. I prayed even more earnestly than when my mother was on her sickbed (**before I didn't really understand the seriousness of the situation).** In my heart I cried out … 'Any god will do, all gods! Please listen to the prayers of this pitiful girl! My father is the only relative left in this world who I can rely on! Although his expression is always serious, and he's incapable of saying anything affectionate to me.' (Yang 2001b, 151).[65]

The combination of emotive requests, along with the addition of an explanatory aside in parentheses, heightens the intimacy of this moment, as the reader feels they are peering behind the curtain, as though reading a personal diary. Though viewed in isolation the presentation of a scene such as this makes little difference to the overall development of the plot, cumulatively over the course of the text such an approach gives the narrative greater depth through the heightened representation of its emotional rhythm.[66] From her viewpoint as Yang's daughter, moreover, Lin is in a position to deliver an authoritative emotional interpretation of the text – particularly considering the similarities between Huiying and Yang Qianhe herself.

It is this synchronicity between Yang and Huiying, strengthened through the publication of "Flower Blooming Season" 2001 alongside Yang's memoir *The Prism*, that gives Lin's translation a purpose distinct from its predecessors. The attention is not only to the text as a piece of historically significant literature, or as a capsule of Taiwan's colonial history, but also to Yang as an author, and her place within the fast-evolving concept of Taiwan literature. This dual focus is reflected in Lin's (1999, 345) early commentary on translating her mother's work, where she states the need to restore the text for historical purposes,

[65] The emphasis here is added.
[66] Other instances of note include: Huiying's comments whilst walking by the estuary at Danshui (compare Yang 2001b, 168; Yang 1942, 159); Huiying's reaction to discovering her childhood friend has given birth to a baby (compare Yang 2001b, 160; Yang 1979, 198; Yang 1942, 157); and Huiying's reaction to a sobbing classmate (compare Yang 2001b, 144; Yang 1979, 192; Yang 1942, 145).

alongside a desire to preserve the 'artistic quality and tone' of that writing. In her fuller translation of "Flower Blooming Season", Lin presents a text that aims to aid the reader in understanding 'all that is said' in the 1942 source text, with that knowledge extending beyond plot to encompass 'mood' also. It is an appeal to declare Yang as an author of note within her generation, placed alongside names like Wang Changxiong and Yang Kui, not just as a tokenistic acknowledgement of her status as a woman who wrote during a pivotal moment of Taiwan's history, but as a woman writer with a stylistic voice and presence all of her own.

A Backward Glance

In 2009, a young woman named Yang Shuangzi unknowingly fulfilled Lin's translational aspirations. Yang, a graduate student at the time, was working her way through a core course reading list when she found herself unexpectedly taken with a twenty-seven-page account of girlhood in its twilight published almost seventy-five years earlier. Leafing through Lin Zhimei's translation of "Flower Blooming Season", Yang Shuangzi was moved by the 'female friendship Yang Qianhe created' and how these relationships evolved under the pressure to marry. Through her engagement with Lin's translation, Yang Shuangzi, born in 1984, established an intimacy with the elder Yang 60 years her senior, describing her in familial terms: 'you could almost say it is like Yang Qianhe is our sister!' (*shuoqilai Yang Qianhe hai suan shi benjia zimei ne*) (Yang 2018, 56).[67] The circumstances surrounding Yang Shuangzi's interaction with "Flower Blooming Season", from the anthology's inclusion on a university reading list to Yang's quick affinity with Yang Qianhe, point to the partial success of the 2001 translation's aspirations, with "Flower Blooming Season" forming part of an

[67] The 'our' here is in reference to Yang Shuangzi (real name Yang Ruoci) and her twin sister, who began the process of researching Yang Qianhe together. Yang discusses her sister's untimely death, and its impact on her writing, in the epilogue of her novel *Flower Blooming Season* (C. *Huakai shijie*) published in 2017. See Yang 2017, 343-345.

evolving canon, introducing Yang Qianhe to readers with little previous knowledge of her life or her writing.

In Yang Shuangzi's case, this chance encounter sparked a research and writing project that culminated in the publication of two new versions of "Flower Blooming Season", first a full-length novel in 2017, and second a short story published as part of a collection in 2018.[68] Unlike the other versions of "Flower Blooming Season", these two most recent iterations do not share a direct relationship with the 1942 source text. As Yang Shuangzi does not consider herself a Japanese speaker, her interaction with Yang Qianhe's work has happened exclusively in translation, as in that initial encounter with Lin Zhimei's work back in 2009. As a consequence, Yang Shuangzi's retellings of "Flower Blooming Season" cannot be considered translations in the same sense as the other editions considered in this chapter. Rather, they represent a reimagining of the text, an adaptation that modernises the story and reframes its relationship with the present day through the lens of queer identity and the depiction of same-sex love between girls. As in the translations proper, the depiction of femininity in "Flower Blooming Season" is still contested ground, though in Yang Shuangzi's treatment that contestation centres on imagining and depicting the tension between queer identity and its normative alternative. In this rereading, the matter of national identity is pushed to the side. Whether Taiwanese or Japanese, all of Yang Shuangzi's characters are caught in gravitational orbit around patriarchal familial expectations that descend upon them as they graduate high school.

Despite these marked differences, Yang Shuangzi has publicly connected her work to Yang Qianhe's on several occasions. In particular, the younger Yang believes the 2018 short

[68] In terms of Yang's writing timeline, the short story predated the novel. Her version of "Flower Blooming Season" won Taizhong's literary award in 2015.

story edition of "Flower Blooming Season" has closer resonances with Yang Qianhe's version, and this is certainly true in terms of plot structure and exposition.[69] The short story features three young girls on the brink of graduating high school in Taizhong: Hatsuko, Yukiko and Sakiko. Like Huiying, Zhuying and Cuiyuan, this trio are under pressure to marry – though they do not have the close three-way friendship that Yang Qianhe's characters share. Instead, Hatsuko, who is from a poorer family background, is shown as a voyeur to Sakiko and Yukiko's secret friendship and its severance. Hatsuko's observations begin one day in the library, where she passes her time reading the novels of Yoshiya Nobuku, a Japanese novelist famed for her depiction of same-sex love between girls.[70] On that particular day, Hatsuko finds herself drawn into a Nobuku-style story in the real world, as she accidentally overhears Sakiko and Yukiko's whispered and affectionate conversations between the library bookstacks. As the story progresses, and it becomes clear that Yukiko and Sakiko will be separated by their respective marriages, Hatsuko is weighed down by an unidentifiable sorrow, as well as a nostalgia for a time when the two girls could meet in the library peacefully and share each other's company. The grief and confusion that Huiying experiences is transferred onto Hatsuko, with marriage serving as the trigger for their shared emotional dilemmas. Told from Hatsuko's perspective, this dilemma is given the added weight of youthful romance and affection cut short prematurely, an addition that reflects Yang Shuangzi's interpretation of "Flower Blooming Season".

[69] I am grateful to Yang Shuangzi to sharing her thoughts with me about her two different versions of "Flower Blooming Season" over email. The novel, *Flower Blooming Season*, is centered around a time-travel, body-switch plot. A Taiwanese university student named Xinyi falls into a lake on her graduation day, and awakens to find she has switched bodies with a young girl named Yukiko (T. Lûnn Seh-nî) living in Taizhong during the 1930s. She then goes on to live as Yukiko, forming a close friendship with a Japanese classmate named Sakiko. Through the time-travel device the plot delves into the disconnect between contemporary Taiwanese society and the late-colonial era. This is emphasised in the plot through language: Xinyi's inability to understand both Japanese and Taiwanese emphasises the after-effects of linguistic transformation in Taiwan following 1945. It also means that Xinyi, as Yukiko, has to operate through translation to survive.

[70] Hatsuko is especially fond of Nobuya's work *Flower Tales* (J. *Hanamonogatari*) published in serial in a magazine *Girl's Graphic* (*Shōjō gahō*) between 1916-24 and 1925-26. Michiko Suzuki notes that the majority of these stories take place in schools, and that they often feature young girls who are 'melancholy' and 'nostalgic' – traits that Hatsuko shares. See Suzuki 2006, 581-2.

So whilst certainly not a translation, Yang Shuangzi's version of "Flower Blooming Season" fits the definition of an adaptation, as laid out by Linda Hutcheon and Siobhan Flynn (2013, 7) as both 'repetition without replication' and an 'announced revisitation'. "Flower Blooming Season" 2018 is repetitive in the sense that it returns to the same literary world occupied by Huiying and her contemporaries, but it avoids direct imitation by shifting the focus to explore that world from a new perspective. Yang Shuangzi (2018, 22) articulates the qualities of this intertextual relationship when she describes Yang Qianhe and her writing as a 'coordinate' (C. *zuobiao*), a contextual anchor around which the younger Yang constructs a new literary universe. The weight of this anchor is felt in the structural components shared across the texts. "Flower Blooming Season" 1942 opens with a school song and the girl's practising together in the classroom; the same scene is replicated in Yang Shuangzi's 2018 edition in the final two sections of the text, with song lyrics interspersed amongst the prose, gradually propelling the protagonist and her classmates toward adulthood. Yang Shuangzi also explicitly divides her text into seven vignettes, a decision that reflects the 'internal logic' of Yang Qianhe's work made explicit in Lin Zhimei's translation. This interpolation of similarities and deviations pulls the story into a space of adaptation, as defined by Guanglin Wang (2019, 49), where the emphasis is no longer on fidelity to a source text, but rather 'a play of hybridization and differentiation to bring about renewal'. In Yang Shuangzi's work, this 'renewal' centres on making love between girls the defining aspect of the story, a dynamic only implicit in Yang Qianhe's writing.

There is one scene in Yang Qianhe's "Flower Blooming Season" that is particularly pivotal in Yang Shuangzi's 'renewal'. In the penultimate scene of Yang Qianhe's story, the three girls visit the beach at Tansui (today's Danshui) – a coastal village to the North-west of Taipei – in anticipation of Zhuying's imminent marriage. As they disembark from the bus, Huiying reflects that 'somehow on that day, our chests were tight with a sadness greater than

when we left school, though we endured it silently' (J. *Nandaka sonohi wa gakkō o deru toki yori mo mono ganashi kanshō ga sannin no mume o shimetsuketeitarashiku, dochiramo buin no mama jitto shite ita*). The silent grief at their imminent parting dominates Huiying's thoughts as she walks along the beach with Zhuying, thinking of the 'waves of marriage' (J. *kekkon no nami*) and how they inevitability destroy the 'friendship of girlhood' (J. *musume no tsukiai*). As they walk, Huiying draws the word friendship '友情' (J. *yūjō*) in the sand with her toes. As she watches the tide sweep her inscription away, Zhuying remarks on the cinematic qualities of their set-up: 'is it not like we're in a scene from a movie?' (J. *eiga ni detekuru yauna shīn janai*?). With Cuiyuan standing on the edge of the sand watching them, Zhuying and Huiying proceed hand-in-hand down the shore, an image of girlhood's serenity soured by the prospect of their imminent separation through the institution of marriage.

This filmic moment, with its dramatic landscape and emotional vibrancy, is singled out by Yang Shuangzi (2018, 56) as the point of her connection with "Flower Blooming Season". 'I remember the friendships created by Yang Qianhe's pen,' she writes in 2018, 'the female protagonist, Huiying, walking hand-in-hand on the beach with her best friend – that scene pulled at my heart'. Huiying's melancholy at the prospect of separation from her friends, as well as their emotional intimacy, acts as the linchpin of Yang's reimagining of their story. Cuiyuan watching her two friends walk away hand-in-hand is transformed into Hatsuko watching Sakiko and Yukiko's affectionate exchanges through the cracks between library shelves. In "Flower Blooming Season" 2018, Hatsuko is even given a cinematic moment of her own to rival Huiying's, the sun setting over the river that runs through Taizhong as she walks home from the library, full of grief:

> There was a hollow, depressed feeling in her chest, and so she took the long route home. The long route went down past the waterside at Midori-kawa, to Suzuran Road and back again, until you come to the water at

> Yanagi-kawa. The warm, red light of the sunset filled the sky, and Hatsuko lifted her head to look up at the branches above filled with white cedar tree blossoms. With the soft touch of the breeze, petals floated down to her below.
>
> Hatsuko was tormented by the memory of Sakiko-san and Yukiko-san on the other side of the bookshelves, shoulder to shoulder, the low sound of their laughter as they read. Her two classmates were just like those graceful blossoms. The azaleas that filled the city paled beside them. It took Hatsuko all she had to stop herself from crying. Their situation was something only the Gods above could understand. (Yang 2018, 46-47)

Through scenes such as this, we see how the main motif of Yang Shuangzi's "Flower Blooming Season", as well as its driving sentiment, derive in large part from this beach scene in Yang Qianhe's earlier work. In this sense, Yang Shuangzi's "Flower Blooming Season" epitomises the 'backward look' that Fran Martin (2010, 6) identifies in Chinese cultural depictions of same-sex love between girls. She enacts what Martin (63) describes as Zhu Tianxin's understanding of the 'female homoerotic ellipsis', the necessity of infinite returns to the ill-fated schoolgirl romance, condemned by social normativity to expire on graduation, and thereby 'forever suspended, never reaching its conclusion'. It achieves this not only in how Hatsuko and Huiying are unified in their longing glances back at the perfection only possible in high school, but also in Yang Shuangzi's literal 'backward look' to Yang Qianhe's short story as a template for her own. In "Flower Blooming Season" 2018, we see Yang Shuangzi reading the pain of unsated desire into Huiying's despair by the ocean. She captures that sentiment, and then extends it across the entirety of her iteration.

The 2018 story also contains two additional qualities of Martin's 'backward look': the depiction of girlhood as a period of irreplicable perfection, and girlhood as a trigger for nostalgia that stays with an individual for the remainder of their lives (Martin 2010, 51). Yang Shuangzi makes explicit the utopic qualities of the moment of peace shared between Huiying and Zhuying on the beach prior to the latter's marriage. When Hatsuko first sees Yukiko and

Sakiko between the bookshelves, meanwhile, they appear to her 'illuminated like a mirage', the dream-like quality of the scene making her feel as though she is absorbed in a novel, rather than witnessing reality (Yang 2018, 27). Equally, "Flower Blooming Season" 2018 conveys the sense of a perfect relationship existing for a perfect, yet finite, period of time. This sentiment is reflected in the story's narrative structure, comprised of Hatsuko's recollections told in the third-person, as well as this opening introduction to her character:

> Many years later, when she had been repatriated to Japan after the war, Hatsuko would think back countless times on the questions that had flashed across her mind that spring. The library like a Castella cake, with its four-leaf clover carvings and iron bannisters; the dust illuminated by the setting sun; Sakiko-san and Yukiko-san. That spring the blossoms on the white cedar trees bloomed in a lilac haze. (Yang 2018, 22)

Here, as in the rest of Yang Shuangzi's text, flowers in bloom are openly cited as symbols of youthful girlhood in its prime, destined to wither under the glare of maturity into heterosexual inevitability. The story ends with Hatsuko's emphatic assertion that she will 'never forget' the spring when she observed Sakiko and Huiying's relationship – a sentiment that underlines the story's emphasis on the preciously finite qualities of girlhood, romanticised by the protagonist long after their days of youth have passed.

By reading these themes in Yang Qianhe's work, and then giving them expression in her own writing, Yang Shuangzi incidentally places "Flower Blooming Season" in a new cultural context, and within a very particular lineage of women's writing. "Flower Blooming Season" 2018 establishes a connection between Yang Qianhe's writing and what Fran Martin (2010, 12) terms 'female homoerotic' stories written during the May Fourth movement in China, as well as in Taiwan during the 1970s. Both Yangs are pulled into a lineage of women's fiction, including Lu Yin's 1923 short story "Old Acquaintances by the Sea" (C. *Haibin guren*), and Zhu Tianxin's "Waves scour the sands" (C. *Lang tao sha*) published in 1976 while Zhu

was still a high-school student. Yang Shuangzi's version of Yang Qianhe's story resonates with these precedents, as well as with real-life accounts of same-sex love in Taipei's single-sex high schools, recorded in books including Zhang Qiaoting's 2000 *Campus Memory* (C. *Xunfu yu dikang*), a collection of accounts of such relationships at Taipei First Girl's School (C. *Bei yi nü*), a school founded during the period of Japanese rule (Martin 2010, 24). The resonances with this wealth of literary heritage are clear, and they place Yang Qianhe's short story in a new framework where its depiction of femininity is dominated by the tension between heteronormativity and its alternative. Whereas translations of "Flower Blooming Season" were interested in drawing the story into understandings of Taiwan's colonial history clustered around questions of national identity, Yang Shuangzi's reading shows the potential to break the text away from the confines of national literatures, placing it instead within a transcultural framework, structured around the shared trope of romance between young women.

Despite the parallels, Yang Shuangzi herself does not place Yang Qianhe or "Flower Blooming Season" 2018 in the context of these stories depicting same-sex love between girls at high school. Instead, she positions both in a firmly Japanese cultural arena. In a 2018 essay, for example, she describes Yang Qianhe's life story as a prime candidate for a Japanese 'morning drama' (J. *asadora*): 'Yang Qianhe would make a suitable lead for a Japanese 'morning drama', which tell the story of a heroine's growth: much more so than the sensationalist 8 o'clock TV dramas' (Yang 2018, 58). These 'morning dramas' are frequently set in the post-war period, using the personal development of a young heroine as an allegory for Japan's national recovery following 1950 (Scherer & Thelen 2020, 2). "Flower Blooming Season" is similarly read as an offshoot of Japanese culture. Yang Shuangzi (2018, 55) argues that the story is an example of *yuri* (C. *baihe*) or the 'Girl-love' (J. *Gaaruzurabu*) genre,

content which depicts intimate relationships between teenage girls and young women.[71] This contextualisation modernises Yang Qianhe's writing, reinventing it within the non-literary space of manga and television dramas. It also points to the fluidity of Yang Qianhe's image in Yang Shuangzi's mind. She is indisputably a Taiwanese historic figure, and her life or writing can be understood through Japanese cultural products without contradicting that fact. Where ideas of Taiwanese and Japanese are placed in carefully delineated hierarchies and relativities in translations of Yang Qianhe's work, Yang Shuangzi moves away from a purist form of national identity, appealing instead to synchronicity between Japan and Taiwan embodied in figures like Yang Qianhe and their writing.

More so than in the translations of "Flower Blooming Season", in Yang Shuangzi's work there emerges an acceptance of Taiwanese and Japanese co-existing as a historical fact, and a normalization of 'Japanese-ness' as a component of Taiwan's historic identity. The interrelation between them becomes part of the material reality of Hatsuko, Yukiko and Sakiko's lives, as opposed to a refraction of the grand analogies of empire, nation or territory. The use of names in the story underlines this. Yang Shuangzi makes it evident that the girls' names are spoken with a Japanese pronunciation, yet at the same time she acknowledges Yukiko's Taiwanese name, Lûnn Seh-nî, allowing the character to change name according to the context in which she finds herself. The ideal of co-existence is expressed in a dream sequence where Hatsuko reflects on the multiple names for blossoms, referring first to the Japanese name for the plant and then the Taiwanese:

> The flowers in this famous saying are called 'sakura' in the Homeland, but the people on this island call them 'khóo-lēng-á'. Hatsuko knew, regardless of language, that when someone spoke about spring flowers, they were without a doubt picturing blossoms. (Yang 2018, 36)

[71] In the epilogue to *Flower Blooming Season*, Yang Shuangzi describes how when thinking of her novel, the anime *Anohana* (J. *Ano hi mita hana no namae o bokutachi wa mada shiranai*) 'floats into her mind'. In the series, the male protagonist is visited by the ghost of a former classmate, and endeavours to help her spirit pass into the next life. Yang 2017, 345.

In this passage, and throughout the entirety of “Flower Blooming Season” 2018, Yang Shuangzi acknowledges the historical realities of her fictional world, whilst also casting off some of the political weight that comes with those realities. In her penname, too, we encounter this desire to be both, and to explicitly acknowledge the Japanese aspects of Taiwan’s linguistic heritage. In an afterword to the novel *Flower Blooming Season*, Yang (2017, 31) uses the Japanese reading of Shuangzi (ふたご·双子) *futago* to explain how the name relates to herself and her twin sister. Though the name is legible in Chinese without explanation, Yang specifically delineates the meaning and Japanese pronunciation of the term when explaining the origins of the pseudonym ‘Shuangzi’. In the linguistic realm, ideas of Taiwanese and Japanese identity thus overlap, as in the extract above where the beauty of blossom – and of girlhood too – is shared between Japanese and Taiwanese onlookers, transcending nation and its associated denominations.

Yang Shuangzi’s distance from the 1942 source text, afforded to her by adaption, arguably makes this satisfaction with duality possible. It is easier to reconcile the co-existence of language, culture and identity when the reality of Yang’s compositions in Japanese – a product of a violent insistence on uniformity – are once removed from the contemporary retelling. “Flower Blooming Season” 2018 goes some way to peeling the story away from its relationship with linguistic politics, contested and revised repeatedly in translation, and instead refocuses the story as a depiction of the tragic inevitability of heteronormativity and its entrance into women’s lives, irrespective of their national identity. In Yang Shuangzi’s story, itself inspired by translation, we see an attempt not only to normalise Taiwan’s Japanese-language heritage, but to make it visible as a historic reality unclouded by the narrative of

nation. The chapter that follows explores author Ye Shitao's own attempts to capture this historical reality in his translations of Taiwanese women's fiction published during the 1930s.

Chapter Three
In The Name of The People

'In essence, literature is predicated upon real circumstances. How can literature that forgets its own history reflect the broad mass of the people?' (Ye 2020, 297)

On an August day in 2018, passengers on the Danshui-Xinyi line of the Taipei Metro (MRT) passing through the Taipei 101/World Trade Centre station heard the overhead announcements in five languages. For the first time, the customary communication of station name and safety information in Mandarin Chinese, English, Taiwanese Hokkien, and Hakka was followed by an additional language: Japanese. The echo of '*Taibei ichi maru ichi/senkai hou eki sentaa'* through the carriages reflected the pragmatism of Taipei's local government, as well as their enthusiasm in welcoming the yearly influx of Japanese tourists and business makers to Taiwan's capital. At the same time, it marked the induction of Japanese into a system with distinctly political origins. Since 2000, when multilingual transit announcements were enshrined in law as manifestations of Taiwan's multiculturalism, the humble tannoy has acted as a welcoming signal to residents and visitors alike.[72] By accommodating passengers of various linguistic backgrounds, they provide a public declaration of multilingualism as both pragmatic necessity and cultural creed. If MRT carriages appear as a reflection of society in microcosm, as Yomi Braester (2005, 168) argues is sometimes the case, then the announcement systems suggest a desire on the part of Taiwan's government to encourage a sense of multilingual community. From August 2018, in some parts of Taipei's MRT at least, this community was expanded to include Japanese speakers.[73]

[72] Article 6 of the 2000 Public Transport Announcement Language Equality Protection Law (C. *Dahzhong yunshu gongju boyin yuyan pingdeng baozhang fa*) includes the relevant regulation about the localization of transit announcements. See Law & Regulations, 2000. This regulation formed part of a legislative package designed to entrench and protect plurality in Taiwan under the Democratic Progressive Party president Chen Shui-bian from 2000 onward, including unsuccessful proposals for a language equality law. Klöter 2004, 4. The changes built on long-growing momentum for linguistic inclusivity following the lifting of martial law in 1987, and Zhu Gaozheng's use of Taiwanese on the floor of the Legislative Yuan that same year, Klöter 2005, 188.

[73] Braester discusses this sentiment in relation to the Muzha-Neihu Line fire in 1994. Braester 2005, 168. His notion of a 'community of listeners' who find affinity through engaging with audio media is also relevant here. Braester 2003, 159.

'Multilingualism' as a cultural and political principle, though, is far from a unique quirk of Taipei's cosmopolitanism. The early years of Taiwan's formal democratization following the end of martial law in 1987 were dominated by the promotion of a multilingual ideal within the political sphere. The second presidential election held in 2000 is a case in point. The victor, opposition leader Chen Shui-bian, was popular in part due to his capacity to move effortlessly between Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese Hokkien on the campaign trail, his electioneering a masterclass in 'codeswitching' (Price 2019, 156-157). Chen's victory was a transformative moment that heralded the arrival of a new era of 'linguistic governance' in Taiwan, one that would openly aspire to leave the monolingual dogma of the KMT's media and education policies in the past (Tsu 2011, 2).[74] As Su-chiao Chen (2010, 80) puts it, the prospect of new democratic beginnings was the 'promise of multilingualism', a promise made tangible to the population through gestures such as train announcements. The move toward greater language equality offered the possibility of a closer linguistic relationship between the state and the people, with the former accommodating the needs of latter in an act of linguistic democracy writ large.

And yet, as with any multilingual society, Taiwan's languages are not distributed in equal proportions throughout the population. The nation has a diverse linguistic profile, including Mandarin Chinese, Taiwanese Hokkien, Hakka and sixteen indigenous languages – the most widely spoken of which are Amis, Paiwan and Atayal. Given the nature of democratic politics, the languages with the highest number of speakers – in Taiwan's case Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese Hokkien – routinely exercise a greater degree of influence than those

[74] The embrace of Taiwan's linguistic pluralism signalled a definitive break with the monolingual dogma of the KMT prior to 1987, and the Japanese before them. The repressive language policies enforced during the imperial subject movement in schools and workplaces were mirrored by the KMT government following 1950; with 'disciplinary patrols' (C. *jiuchadui*) patrolling school corridors from 1956 onwards to enforce monolingualism amongst Taiwan's youngest generation. Public broadcasting was similarly limited, with bilingual television channels effectively outlawed till the lifting of martial law in 1987. Klöter 2004, 3.

spoken by minorities. The privileging of majority languages in this way undermines the utopic notions of a multilingual society somewhat, as parts of the population are pulled closer to the political mainstream than others. As A-chin Hsiau (1997, 305) argues, 'nation-state ideology', the notion that a unified national language is a definitive marker of nationhood, has proved resilient in Taiwan. In other words, whilst the legacy of strong-arm monolingualism under martial law may have been rejected in principle, in practice it has proved hard to overcome. The championing of 'multilingualism' during the 1990s offered an attractive veneer of plurality, though it masked the persistence of social and political hierarchies still determined by language.[75]

Even post-1987, there is one language minority that consistently falls to the bottom of those hierarchies: older Taiwanese who cannot speak Mandarin Chinese, but are fluent in Japanese and one other language (often Hakka or an indigenous language). This small demographic, dispersed throughout Taiwan, are what Shumin Lin (2015, 71) terms a 'historically displaced' minority, who constituted the main 'non-Mandarin-speaking group' during the 1990s (75). Thanks to their bilingualism, individuals within this demographic often speak a non-standard form of both Japanese and their additional language, existing within a linguistic ecosystem that defies easy categorisation.[76] Lacking an aptitude in any majority language, moreover, makes it difficult for these elderly citizens to climb the linguistic ladder to political visibility. Through their marginality and hybridity, these heritage Japanese speakers became emblems of social backwardness during the 1990s thanks in part to their inability to ascend the multilingual hierarchy.[77] Even as Japanese products established a strong presence in

[75] The multilingual hierarchy is by no means unique to Taiwan. Parallel trends emerged in Singapore in the post-war period, with the multilingual presentation of bilingual education and 'Four Official Languages' policy undermined by the anti-dialect bent of the 'Speak Chinese' campaign: E.K. Tan 2016, 529. The trend is also relevant to post-war Malaysia, with the introduction of what Brian Bernards terms a 'hierarchical model of multiculturalism'. Bernards 2012, 316.
[76] For a detailed discussion of the variations in Taiwan's Japanese, as well as its historic evolution, see Jian 2011.
[77] Lin argues that this side-lining of Taiwan's Japanese speaking population has evolved in the years following 2000, seeing them placed in the same rhetorical and discursive space as South-East Asian migrants – who are widely viewed as the victims of social and political inequality in contemporary Taiwan. Lin 2015, 71.

Taiwan's popular culture throughout the decade,[78] this pocket of the older generation remained adrift in a non-linear linguistic existence recognisable as neither 'Japanese' nor 'Taiwanese', but rather something in between.

Traces of this minority language group within Taiwan's literary sphere were relatively scant during the early 1990s. Much of Taiwan's Japanophone literature published prior to 1945 maintained its outsider status throughout the 1990s, even as the definition of 'Taiwan Literature' evolved to become increasingly linguistically diverse.[79] From the late 1980s onwards a surge of 'experimental writing' along with the popularity of postcolonial theory, inspired attempts to codify Taiwan's languages, and Taiwanese Hokkien in particular (Tang 2007, 66). The result was linguistic innovation within literature, from the creation of new sinographs to better codify languages other than Mandarin Chinese (Shih 2013, 10), to the proposed adoption of new scripts.[80] Whilst this climate allowed for greater recognition of Japanophone literature, as shown in the uptick of translation activity throughout the decade, what Yvonne Chang (1997, 121) terms the political 'stigma' affixed to that body of works persisted. As the status of elderly Japanese speakers reflects, the historic relationship between the Japanese language and Taiwanese identity remained complex and at times controversial following 2000.[81] Though Japanese had been targeted for elimination by the KMT from as early as 1946, and though the kind of Japanese spoken in Taiwan is arguably heavily localised, there was no overcoming the

[78] Shuling Huang states that 'Japanese-language commercials added up to 2.67 million seconds in 2001 in Taiwan'. Huang 2011, 13. Yu-fen Ko, meanwhile, extends Baudrillard's theory of 'signs', arguing that material items such as Hello Kitty products became vessels for the consumer's particular idea of 'Japan', and 'Japanese-ness' during the 1990s. Ko 2003, 180.
[79] 'Japanophone' here is understood through Travis Workman's definition of the term as the 'vehicular language' that facilitated literary production in Japan's colonies, including Okinawa. Workman 2015, 192.
[80] A-chin Hsiau discusses the range of approaches and their advocates, from a system that combines Chinese and Roman characters, romanisation alone and the use of the Korean alphabet (K. *Hangul*). Hsiau 1997, 311.
[81] A distinction is needed here between the younger generation's interaction with Japanese language and culture in Taiwan – one 'driven exclusively by consumption' as Leo Ching notes, and the historic or heritage Japanese-language speakers who were educated during colonial rule. Ching highlights the liminal status of these individuals in his discussion of their memoirs, stressing their 'marginalized existence' through a lack of recognition from both Taiwan's and Japan's governments following 1945. See Ching 2019, 82. With the acceleration of historical and cultural reassessment from the beginning of Lee Teng-hui's presidency onwards, the complex reality of that generational marginalization had to be confronted – particularly given its juxtaposition with the centring of Japanese popular and consumer culture by Taiwan's younger generation throughout the 1990s.

link between that language and the former coloniser during the 1990s. The multilingual promise thus made its debut on the literary page, with the remnants of Taiwan's Japanese-language literature kept at a distance thanks to their colonial connotations.

Given this reluctance to delve into Taiwan's Japanese-language textual culture, the publication of *A Collection of Taiwanese Literature 1: Selected Works in Japanese* (C. *Taiwan wenxueji 1: Riwen zuopin xuanji*) by renowned author and Taiwanese literary historian Ye Shitao in 1996 made an emphatic statement on the relevance of Taiwan's Japanophone literature to its history. Compromised of Ye's translations of a selection of that textual corpus into Mandarin Chinese, the philosophy of *A Collection* is self-evident in its title: *Works in Japanese* contributing to *Taiwanese Literature*. Beyond labels, Ye endeavours to make the Japanophone identity of his source texts and their authors legible in his translation. To do this, he adopts strategies including the glossing of terms to provide Japanese definitions, and the inclusion of untranslated Japanese within his majority Mandarin Chinese translations. Unlike authors who use these strategies of sinographic dislocation to expose what Duncan James Poupard (2019, 211) terms an 'ethnocultural gap' between the language of the majority (Mandarin Chinese) and those marginalised in its shadow, Ye does not disrupt textual linearity to comment on ethnicity and cultural discrepancy. Rather, he is commenting on a temporal gap: the erasure of these texts and their authors from the literary historical record through decades of censorship. By exposing the source text within his translations, Ye writes against these patterns of exclusion. In doing so, he argues for a vision of 'Taiwan literature', as the title of his collection suggests, that does not shy away from its roots in Japanophone writing. Even in translation, an act theoretically intended to render the unintelligible comprehensible, Ye endeavours to construct a historically transparent literature, one that presents the reader with the marks of its creation through visual signposts of linguistic difference on the page. His

translations thus commemorate a heritage once suppressed, and offer an open invitation to the reader to engage with that heritage, should they wish to.

Ye's collection was hardly a literary blockbuster, though his consideration of how to make Taiwan's Japanese heritage legible is echoed in other texts from the period. Zhu Tianxin's *The Ancient Capital* (C. *Gudu*) is an especially pertinent example. Split between 1990s Taipei and Kyoto, the 1997 novella is a multilingual pastiche of localities, time periods and texts. Japan, its culture and its language loom large over the plot, no more so than in its concluding passages when the narrator pretends to be a Japanese tourist using a colonial map from the 1930s to guide her stroll around Taipei. The scene arguably enacts the linguistic and historical rediscovery Ye champions in his translation approach, and yet contemplation of colonial reality does not bring the protagonist any existential clarity. The story ends with an expression of her despair at the dislocated history she encounters, and its irresolute correspondence with her personal identity. The return of Japanese heritage, whether literary or linguistic, is shown here to be more destabilising than Ye's portrayal of historical recovery would suggest. Through reference to Ye's translation of Zhang Bihua's 1934 "New Moon" (J. *Mikaduki/C. Xinyue*) and Huang Baotao's 1936 "Feelings" (J. *Kanjō/*C. *Ganqing*) alongside *The Ancient Capital,* the discussion here considers literature's role in confronting the place of the Japanese language in Taiwan's multilingual renewal during the 1990s. It shows how the complexity of that positioning lies in the language's historic relationship with both hegemony and erasure in the Taiwan context, and how its palpable presence on the page can prove unsettling as a consequence.

Translating Taiwan as Centre

From today's vantage point, Ye Shitao appears a towering figure in the field of Taiwan literary studies – though it wasn't always so. Born in Tainan in 1925, Ye is part of the later generation of Taiwanese intellectuals born under Japanese rule who received their education in Japanese. His initial publications, pieces in his view 'infatuated with pure art and escapism', appeared alongside the likes of Huang Fengzi and Yang Qianhe in the Japanese-language literary journals published during the 1940s (Ye 2020, 119). After 1945, Ye was labelled a leftist by the KMT in 1949 during the tumult of regime change and enforcement of martial law, and served a three-year prison sentence between 1951 and 1954. Upon release, he became a leading figure in the southern school of writers in Taiwan, contributing regularly to the so-called 'Taiwan literature debate' that began in the 1970s. These contributions promoted 'nativisation' (C. *bentuhua*) and 'identification with the island' as the essential qualities of Taiwan literature (Hsiau 2000, 98), and were made with such vim that Lin Yaofu (1992, 10) argues some began to view him as a spokesperson of 'literary separatism'. Despite his reputation in some circles for intellectual extremism, the publication of Ye's career-defining work, *A History of Taiwan Literature* (C. *Taiwan wenxue shigang*) in 1987 saw a confluence between his narrative of Taiwan's literary history with the revisionist mood entering mainstream culture upon the lifting of martial law. Widely considered to be the first literary history of Taiwan, Ye presents a unified and linear narrative of literary progression, beginning in 230 CE and ending in the mid-1980s. Throughout, Ye manifests his belief that Taiwan literature and its analysis should 'take Taiwan as its centre' – in others words, it should regard Taiwan not as a colony of Japan, or a province of China, but rather a place that merits a standalone history in its own right (Ye 2020, 300).

In comparison to his career as a literary critic, Ye's work as a translator is less well-known. Wang Huei-chen (2015) provides the most extensive discussion to date of Ye's translation work in her article documenting his practice during the 1980s. Wang (2015, 119)

frames that decade as a transformative period in the study of Japanophone literature written in colonial Korea and Taiwan, with Japanese academics including Shimura Kojiro and Matsunaga Masayoshi making major contributions through the republication of these texts in anthologies. Much of Ye's translation work during the 1980s was focused on reproducing these collections in Chinese, utilising his position as a writer 'who crosses time and languages' (C. *kua shidai kua yu*) as Wang (2015, 116-119) points out, to act as an intercultural messenger between readers, writers and publishers in Japan and Taiwan. These translations, like Ye's contributions to the Taiwan literature debate, did not shrink away from political commentary. Indeed, as Wang (2015, 123) documents, Ye's omissions to sections of the accompanying essays to the 1984 *A Selection of Taiwan's Modern Literature 1: The Dream of the Vivid Bird* (J. *Taiwan gendai shōsetsu sen 1: Sai ōtori no yume)* were so extensive that he subsequently felt obliged to publish a public apology to the editor Matsunaga Masayoshi in *The People's Daily* (C. *Minzhong ribao*), chalking up his omissions to their differing opinions over Taiwan's literary relationship with China. Arguably, though, these political interventions were extensions of Ye's vocal reputation in the 'Taiwan literature' debate – focused on the framing of texts in their accompanying essays, rather than intervening in their composition at sentence-level.

The same cannot be said of Ye's 1996 *A Collection of Taiwanese Literature (1): Selected Works in Japanese*. Whether due to shifts in the political atmosphere by 1996, the freedom that comes with compiling one's own anthology, or a combination of both, *A Collection* saw Ye intervene in the textual substance of his translations to commemorate the linguistic reality of the source text that inspired them. As with interventions to Yang Qianhe's "Flower Blooming Season", Ye's modifications make no substantive difference to plot, instead consisting of small interjections that make the Japanophone identity of the source text evident to the reader in translation. These additions rely on strategies common to the presentation of minority languages in sinographic writing: glossing and the inclusion of untranslated text

(Poupard 2019, 216). Unlike many examples of this kind of writing, however, Ye's emphasis does not fall on the phonetic qualities of sinographs alone: he does not exclusively use Chinese characters to imitate the sound of Japanese on the page. Instead, he uses glosses and untranslated text to shatter what Judy Wakabayashi (2016, 175) terms the 'character illusion': the sinographic vocabulary shared between Japanese and Chinese that allows for a degree of legibility and comprehensibility between the two. The linguistic disruption allows the translation to acknowledge the source text, the distance between the two signalling the historic dislocation traversed by Taiwan's Japanophone literature. For Ye, a writer so often associated with nativism, to adopt such an approach counters Lawrence Venuti's (2005, 189) characterisation of 'translation nationalisms' as 'performative acts' that always serve a notion of 'homogenous language, culture or identity'. In a staunch rejection of the linguistic homogeneity artificially engendered by authoritarian cultural and educational policies, translation is wielded here to argue specifically *against* homogeneity. And so, in an ironic turn of events, literature produced in an environment of colonial monolinguistic control becomes a space to argue for multiplicity in Ye's translations.

Ye's reasoning for this approach can be understood through a differentiation between the acts of the state and the acts of the individual. Whilst literature written in Japanese during the colonial period may on one level represent the colonial state and its desired control over cultural production, on another level it represents the language of an individual, and their means to express themselves through literature. It is through this humanisation that Japanophone literature gains value in Ye's eyes, as the determiner of cultural importance is placed on a text's ability to represent and communicate the experiences of ordinary people. Aligning with Yang Kui's argument that literature's purpose is to provide a record of the people for the people (Lin 2017, 90), Ye argues that literature – whether contemporary or historic – only fulfils its purpose when it captures life as accurately as possible. Fiction, as he puts it in *A History of Taiwan*

Literature, should express and circulate experiences 'unique to the people', with an especial focus on representing those ordinary people marginalised by the habits of cultural elitism, where authors write only for themselves or other authors, rather than the society at large (Ye 2020, 63). The reliance on literature for historic representation goes some way to explaining Ye's translation approach, as he strives to represent a linguistic experience that not only permeated the literary world during the 1940s, but also influenced the everyday lives of Taiwanese citizens through their education and employment.

Women writers occupy a vital position in this enthusiasm for literature to act as a gateway to history written from below. As there were so few Taiwanese women writing and publishing in the 1940s, the representative weight of their work is arguably amplified in Ye's historically-oriented framework. To put it differently, only a small number of texts remain that were written by Taiwanese women during Japanese rule, and consequently those texts gain historic value as rare insights into a perspective otherwise lost to the passage of time. Though these women writers were in no sense representative of the average woman of their time, thanks to their education and class, as Bert Scruggs (2015, 90) points out, they nonetheless acquire the aura of representativeness thanks to their relative rarity. Ye's selection of texts for his 1996 collection fulfils that expectation of representativeness, as we shall see in the following discussion of Zhang Bihua's 1934 text "New Moon".

Speaking Japanese, Thinking Taiwanese

Zhang Bihua's "New Moon" (J. *Mikaduki*) was published in the June 1934 edition of *Formosa* (J. *Fōrumosa*), a literary magazine associated with the Taiwan Arts Research Association (C. *Taiwan yishu yanjiu hui*) established by a group of Taiwanese students including Zhang Wenhuan and Wu Yongfu attending Tokyo University and Meiji University

in May 1933 (Liu 2009, 594). Discussing the publication in 1987, Ye Shitao (2020, 85) argues that *Formosa* and its associated organisations intended to combine the 'several thousand-year cultural legacy of mainland China' with the 'unique nativist tendencies' of Taiwanese writers to forge a new literature. Interestingly, the editors of Formosa did not consider works written in Japanese at odds with this overall goal.

It is unclear how Zhang Bihua came to have her writing published in the magazine. Relatively little is known about her involvement with the Taiwan Arts Association, or the details of her life more generally. Bert Scruggs (2015, 91) suggests that she was either 'one of the Taiwanese students living in Tokyo' at the time or the 'daughter of Taiwanese parents born and raised in the metropole'. Given the contextual details surrounding *Formosa*, the former is perhaps more likely. Whilst it is certainly difficult to speak conclusively about Zhang's experience as a young author in Tokyo, details can be pieced together about the atmosphere in which she wrote. In September 1932, Japanese authorities accused the group of students who would later establish the Taiwan Arts Research Association of holding 'anti-Imperialist demonstrations' (Liu 2009, 592). Advocates of left-wing politics, the group and their activities bookended a period of activism for Taiwanese students in Tokyo, with several movements established on campuses between 1920 and 1936 (Tsurumi 1979, 636). As such, their magazine and the authors featured within its pages were committed to the exploration of left-wing and anti-imperial sentiments, in so far as such an exploration was possible in Tokyo's print environment by the mid-1930s.[82]

Popular left-wing sentiments, such as opposition to arranged marriage and feudal society, appear throughout "New Moon". In this sense, the story is quite conventional for its

[82]Serk-bae Suh discusses how left-wing organisations in Korea would get around censorship restrictions in Korea by publishing their material in Japan. Suh 2013, 141.

time, as Scruggs (2015, 91) points out. The plot, played out across seven pages, centres on a wealthy landowner Daying (J. Taiei), whose daughter Yuhui (J. Tamae) begins an illicit love affair with a servant boy in the household named Jinyuan (T. Tsìn Guân). Despite facing significant opposition to their relationship from their families, the lovers nonetheless decide to press ahead with a secret marriage by moonlight. This clandestine union is presented as an image of hope at the story's close, proffered as a symbol of the younger generation's triumph over the prejudices of their elders.

The short story has been translated twice into Chinese – first by Chen Xiaonan in 1979 as part of the aforementioned anthology *A Complete Collection of Taiwan's Literature from Before the Retrocession*, and second by Ye Shitao in 1996 in *A Collection*. The two versions are divided on the purpose of the story. The former argues that the vignette's main concern is the generational divide over the issue of marrying for love and women's rights, with the younger, modern-minded characters opposing the traditional values of the older generation (Yang 1979, 329). Ye Shitao (1996, 178), meanwhile, views the text's socio-political commentary as its defining aspect, stating in his translator's note that the 'story's main theme is opposition to feudalism'. Neither interpretation is a misreading – "New Moon" arguably comments on both themes. The absence of feudalism from the 1979 discussion, however, points to the anti-communist sentiments that were still rife in Taiwan at the end of the 1970s.[83] By framing the story as a generational conflict, as opposed to a class struggle between those with land and those without, the 1979 version sidesteps potential political controversy. Ye's revisionist argument for the centrality of anti-feudalism, meanwhile, guides his use of language throughout his translation, as he uses flashes of Japanese and Taiwanese Hokkien within the

[83] Erik Mobrand identifies anti-communism as a core tenant in the KMT's systems of government from 1950 to 1987, beginning with the White Terror. Though the intensity of this sentiment fluctuated in the thirty years, the end of the 1970s saw a resurgence in anti-communist attitudes especially in literary circles. Mobrand 2020, 624. As Edwin A Winckler describes, nationalist writers frequently accused their nativist counterparts of harbouring communist sympathies in the run-up to the Gaoxiong Incident in December 1979: Winckler 1994, 34.

text to indicate the linguistic dimensions of the class difference dividing the lovers and their families.

In the adoption of this linguistic commentary, Ye in fact takes his lead from Zhang Bihua. Though "New Moon" is for the most part written in Japanese, there is one striking exception. In the text's opening, Daying confronts Jinyuan about his relationship with Yuhui. Hoping to eliminate the problem, he suggests that Jinyuan should marry another servant named Hongmei (T. Hông Muî). Jinyuan refuses, and so Daying falsely accuses him of raping Hongmei. When Jinyuan later comes to relay the conversation to his father, he uses a Taiwanese term for servant girl (T. *tsa-bóo-kán*) to refer to Hongmei:

> 貧乏の為にありもしない事をそれに無理に**査某嬤**をおしつけられて。
> Because of our poverty, (the boss) has foisted this baseless claim, and the servant girl **(*tsa-bóo-kán*)** onto me. (Zhang 1934, 24)

In this moment, the reader senses the story's socio-political commentary map onto its lexicon, with the two households divided not only by class but also by language. Ye leaves the term, with all its implications, untranslated in his 1996 iteration:

> 為的是貧窮，就把沒有的事推給我，而且強迫我娶**查某嬤**.
> Because we are poor, (the boss) has pushed this untruth onto me and is forcing me to marry a servant girl (***tsa-bóo-kán***). (Zhang 1996,170)

This approach contrasts with the earlier 1979 translation, where Chen Xiaonan translates the term into Mandarin Chinese as *binü* (婢女):

> 老闆以為我們窮就欺負，竟平白誣賴我，逼我娶他的**婢女**。
> The boss thinks that just because we are poor, he can bully us, falsely accuse me for no reason, and force me to marry his servant girl **(*binü*)**. (Zhang 1979, 335)

Taking the untranslated term for 'servant girl' (T. *tsa-bóo-kán*) as his starting point, Ye extends the mirroring between language and class to other interactions in the text, centring the character

of Jinyuan each time. In an early moment, Jinyuan runs to Daying after being summoned by the older man. In Zhang Bihua's 1934 text, Jinyuan refers to Daying in his speech as 'master' – in Japanese 旦那様 *danasama*:

> 「**旦那様**、御用ですか」
> 'Master (***danasama***), how can I serve you?' (Zhang 1934, 22)

The narrative then dips into Jinyuan's perspective, where he refers to his employer using a more informal term for 'master' – in Japanese 主人 *shujin*:

> さうして喜歡に充ち滿ちた瞳で仰ぐやうにして**主人**の顔を見つめた。
> And so, Jinyuan raised his eyes full of happiness to look intently at the face of his boss (***shujin***). (Zhang 1934, 22)

Ye replicates the oscillating levels of formality represented in these terms, whilst adding a linguistic dimension. In his 1996 translation, Jinyuan refers to Daying as 'master' (C. *laoye*) in Chinese when speaking, but then uses a Taiwanese term for boss (T. *thau-ke*) in his subconscious:

> 「**老爺**，有事嗎？」
> 'Master (***laoye***), you called for me?' (Zhang 1996, 167)
>
> 於是用充滿喜歡的眼睛仰視**頭家**的臉。
> And so, Jinyuan raised his eyes filled with happiness to look at the face of his boss (***thau-ke***). (Zhang 1996, 168)

There is no suggestion in the source text that Jinyuan is thinking in Taiwanese here – the detail is Ye Shitao's addition. The inference reflects the text's internal logic, as well as a historical reality, as the majority living under Japanese rule during the mid-1930s would have taken Taiwanese Hokkien as their primary spoken language. The social relativity of Jinyuan's linguistic register is revealed once again through small acts of multilingual writing at the story's close. The two lovers unite to exchange vows beneath the new moon, symbolic of the rejuvenating potential of their generation and the promise of new beginnings. Even as the pair

stand on the precipice of marriage, Ye hints at the social divide that persists between them, by showing Jinyuan addressing Yuhui (J. Tamae) using the formal Japanese suffix *san*:

> 「**玉惠桑**，對不起，為了我你被父親那麼責備，有沒有受到傷害？」
> '**Tamae-san**, I'm sorry – because of me, you've been so reproached by your father. Are you not upset?'
>
> 「**玉惠桑**，你真的相信我吧？」
> '**Tamae-san**, do you truly believe me?' (Zhang 1996, 176)
>
> 「**玉惠桑**，這是真的嗎？我不知怎樣感謝妳母親才好。」
> '**Tamae-san**, is this true? I don't know how I will ever thank your mother enough.'
>
> 「**玉惠桑**，如果這世界上的女人都像你一樣具有頑強的決心，戀愛破滅的悲劇也就不再上演了。」
> '**Tamae-san**, if all the women in the world had the same unstoppable determination as you, there would be no need to stage tragedies about lost love!' (Zhang 1996, 177)

Here the character 桑 pronounced 'sang' imitates the Japanese suffix さん *san*. Thus whereas in the source text, Jinyuan refers to his lover as Tamae-san (玉恵さん), in the translation the detail of his address is retained through the phonetics of 桑 *sang*.[84] The consistent appearance of this detail throughout their conversation implies that the pair are speaking in Japanese for the entirety of their exchange – hence my decision in the extracts above to use the Japanese pronunciation of the name 玉惠. As with Jinyuan's use of the Taiwanese word for servant girl early in "New Moon" 1934, Ye's insertion here emphasizes that each aspect of the text's social tensions has a linguistic expression. This approach is epitomized in his insertion of the term '*thau-ke*' into the narration of Jinyuan's thoughts – the contrast between that word and the formal 'master' (C. *laoye*) he uses in dialogue with Daying hints at how the servant's true

[84] This approach also appears in several other translations by Ye Shitao, including Ye Tao's "Children" (J. *Ai no kesshō*/C. *Ai de jiejing*), discussed in Chapter 4.

language – the language of his consciousness – is in fact Taiwanese Hokkien, a different language to the one he is obliged to speak in a work environment.[85]

Ye's intervention here, and in the final scene between Jinyuan and Yuhui above, is based not on literary style, or even on making substantial alterations to the direction of the plot. Instead, his changes focus on accentuating the text's historical backdrop, conveying how the relationships it portrays would have taken place across multiple languages depending on the class and status of the characters involved. Though Zhang's writing contained some gesture toward that reality, Ye's text exacerbates that small feature of "New Moon" 1934, indicating the web of languages woven beneath the social commentary of that first text. Whether read as a commentary on free love or feudal injustices, Ye's translation of the text implies that these inequities are deepened by the presence of a colonial state – and that they are expressed and entrenched through everyday conversation. The translation folds considerations of class and language into its being, extending the source text's own gestures toward the linguistic expression of societal division. We will see Ye take a similar approach with a more controversial text in the section that follows.

Tales of The Homeland: Translating Huang Baotao's "Feelings"

Alongside Zhang Bihua's story of love across the class divide, Ye included an additional story of love beleaguered by separation in Huang Baotao's 1936 "Feelings", the story of a Taiwanese single mother and her son, whose Japanese father has abandoned them and returned to Japan. The story's depiction of a child whose existence is enveloped in the politics of empire was prescient at its moment of publication. Following the outbreak of the Sino-

[85] This element of 'consciousness' (C. *yishi*) plays into the discussion of 'Taiwanese consciousness' (C. *Taiwan yishi*) in the Taiwan literature debate. Chih-yu Shih argues that though the term was pivotal in the 'democratization-into-independence' argument that emerged following the lifting of martial law in 1987, the sentiment behind it has a longer historical precedent stretching back to the period of Japanese rule. Shih 2007, 700.

Japanese War in 1937, images of children appeared with increasing frequency in propaganda produced and distributed by the Japanese government in both the metropole and its colonies. Whether it be the images of young women and girls used as what Koresawa Hiroaki (2017, 122) terms 'child diplomacy' during the establishment of Manchuria in North-east China, or the images of Korean and Japanese children on the cover of 1940s intermarriage magazine 'Japan and Korea as One Body' (J. *Naisen Ittai*) (Kim 2020, 105; 120), children played a vital symbolic role in the consolidation of cultural assimilation across the empire. They gained what Sabine Frühstück (2020, 282) describes as 'emotional capital', a phenomenon that emerged in print media and graphic art in Japan, as well as Western Europe, America and China throughout the Second World War (Pozzi 2014, 102). Depictions of the youngest generation were deployed across these disparate contexts, becoming an evocative rallying cry that recurred in saccharine images of victory, as well as graphic depictions of violence. The unrest that Huang sows within the mother-son relationship in "Feelings" thus offers an emotive commentary on identity at a moment when images of the youngest in society were being used with increasing frequency in political allegories focused on that very subject.

We encounter the aftermath of this discursive proliferation in Taiwanese author Lü Heruo's 1946 short story "Wartime in my Hometown: Name-changing" (C. *Guxiang de zhanshi: gaixingming*) a short text that focuses its anxieties on the child's vulnerability to cultural assimilation. The five-page story reflects on the name-changing policy that saw many Taiwanese children take Japanese names during the early 1940s, depicting an encounter between an unnamed narrator and a group of children in a train station. As he watches, the narrator realizes the group is teasing one child, a boy called Gotō, about his name. The narrator, assuming Gotō is Taiwanese, immediately feels an outpouring of sympathetic solidarity with the child:

> I cast a commiserative glance over Gotō and spoke to him in Taiwanese:
> 'You changed your name incorrectly – look, it has made everyone laugh at you like this.'
> I mistakenly thought that this Gotō was a Taiwanese child who had changed his name whilst studying at primary school with Japanese students. My presumption, though, was incorrect. When he heard me speak Taiwanese, not only did Gotō not make a sound, but he looked at me very carefully for a moment, and then all the muscles in his face shifted into an arrogant and contemptuous expression.
> I knew then that he was Japanese, and so I hurriedly spoke to him in that language:
> 'Have you changed your name? Why are your classmates teasing you about changing your name?'
> 'Stop humiliating me — I am Japanese! Who would want to be Taiwanese?' (Lü 2006, 619-620)

Another child interjects to explain that they are not teasing Gotō because he has changed his name, but rather because they think name-changing is 'meaningless' (C. *gai xingming shi jia wei de*). The narrator then feels a patriotic pride for the children teasing Gotō, as he believes they understand instinctively the political posturing represented by the name-changing policy. The short scene thus presents two polarities: an optimistic vision of the child who resists through pure instinct, and the child so malleable that they absorb assimilation entirely. Though the narrator initially seems heartened by his interaction with the schoolchildren, the story ends on an ambiguous note. It remains unclear whether Gotō is a Taiwanese child convinced of his Japanese identity, or a Japanese child affronted by the narrator's miscalculation. It is the absence of existential certainty that lends the vignette its palpable anxiety. The narrator and the children share the liminal space of the train platform, and it is unclear in which direction each will proceed from that crossroads. Published during the tumult of regime change in Taiwan, "Wartime in my Hometown: Name-changing" crystallises the image of the child as a political vector through which adults gauge the political condition of the nation.

The same sense of a child's sensitivity to the encroachment of assimilation permeates Huang Baotao's text, published a decade earlier. In Huang's narrative, anxieties surrounding the political susceptibility of the young are focused on the political symbolism of the 'mixed'

child – an individual born to a Japanese parent and a Taiwanese parent. The discursive power of these children lies in how their existence condenses the existential dilemma Lü's narrator encounters on the train platform in a single body: one child conflicted in nature and in nurture. "Feelings" (J. *Kanjō* /C. *Ganqing*) originally published in *Taiwan Literary Arts* (C. *Taiwan wenyi*/ J. *Taiwan bungei*) foregrounds such a child. Born to a Taiwanese mother, and raised without his Japanese father, Tarō bears his Japanese name as a marker of social superiority. Japan, and the absent father who resides there, cast a spectral shadow over the story – though the place itself is rarely referred to as 'Japan' (J. *Nihon*) but rather as 'the Homeland' (内地 J. *naichi*).[86] The word appears 26 times over the course of the six-page text, either as a stand-alone term or as a prefix to compound nouns such as 'person from the Homeland' (内地人 J. *naichijin*). The word recurs with such frequency that it arguably forms the emotional and political crux of the text, capturing with each iteration the child's psychological attachment to the abstract notion of Japan; an attachment grounded in an intimate absence, as it represents the home of an absent parent, yet also a place the child has never seen first-hand. A comparative reading with Japanese author Yuasa Katsue's short story "Red Dates" (J. *Natsume*), written and published in Korea in 1937, shows how Huang's construction of the Homeland through the eyes of a child is not an isolated incident, but rather taps into a discursive pattern. Its appearance, refrain-like across "Feelings", anchors the text in Tarō's outlook, his identity delineated and disseminated through the discourse of empire.

Two Tarōs

From the moment the reader meets Huang Baotao's Tarō, it is instantly apparent that he feels an emotional connection with the concept of 'the Homeland' (内地 J. *naichi*). Even in

[86] The term 'naichi' literally translates to 'inner lands', implying the orientation of all colonies toward the gravitational pull of the Japanese archipelago. It is often translated into English as the more emotive 'Homeland'.

the opening sentence, we are given a glimpse of the division in Tarō's mind between himself, a person 'of' the Homeland, and the people of Taiwan who surround him:

> 太郎の名前は、**内地人**が付ける名である事は、母から聞いて始めて太郎に解った。**内臺人**の間に出来た児である事は、少なからず彼の自尊心を傷付けた。學校でも彼だけが、内地語と**台灣語**の持主だった。
>
> The first time Tarō understood that his name – 'Tarō'– was associated with people from the Homeland (**内地人** *naichijin*) was when he heard it from his mother. The fact he was born from a relationship between a person from the Homeland, and a person from Taiwan (**内臺人の間に出来た児である事は** *nai tai jin no aida ni dekita ko de aru koto wa*), wounded his self-esteem considerably. At school, he was the only one who could speak the language of the Homeland (**内地語** *naichigo*) and the language of Taiwan (**台灣語** *Taiwango*).[87] (Huang 1936)

Tarō's existential duality is condensed within these opening phrases. As the prose moves between 'Homeland' and 'Taiwan', it maps Tarō's spatial dislocation onto the page. It exposes, too, the role of his mother in creating and sustaining the image of the Homeland within her child's mind, as Huang shows it to be is a place Tarō can only visit through her words:

> 太郎の母は彼か極く幼い時、寝付の悪い彼に床の中でやさしく未だ見ぬ**父の國**の話をよく聞かせて呉れた。タタミと云ふ不思議なものや、煉瓦も石も用ひない、木ばかりで造ってある、お伽話の中にでも出て来る様な小さな家の話だの、水が綺麗に澄んで居て、美しい花が澤山咲いて居る田舎の話を、感傷的な口調で話して呉れた。その度毎に太郎は益々寝付が悪くなって、興奮するのだった。母はよく**内地の話**をして呉れるのだったが、然し母は**内地**の事は餘りとく知らなかった。母自身も**内地**を見た事はなかったのだ。
>
> When Tarō was very young, and sleeping badly in his bed, his mother would tenderly tell him of his father's country (**父の國** *chichi no kuni*), a place Tarō had not been able to see yet for himself. With a sentimental air, she would tell him stories of houses that seemed from a fairy-tale: houses built not of brick or stone, but of wood and a wonderful thing called tatami. She would speak of the countryside where the water flows clear, where beautiful flowers bloom on the mountainside. Every time his mother told him these stories, Tarō would grow so excited that he couldn't sleep.

[87] Due to the pandemic, I am currently working with a transcription of this text that lacks page numbers, provided in Huang 2013.

> His mother often told him stories of the Homeland (**内地の話** *naichi no hanashi*), though she knew little of the place. The truth was his mother had never seen the Homeland (**内地** *naichi*) with her own eyes. (Huang 1936)

Beyond her stories, Tarō's mother fills their shared world with talismanic reminders of the relationship from which Tarō sprung. She believes it necessary to hang a Japanese flag in their home 'as Tarō's father was a person from the Homeland' (太郎の父が内地人である事から J. *Tarō no chichi ga naichijin de aru koto kara*), and wears an unflattering kimono, as it was the style Tarō's father preferred. When evoking the Homeland for her son, she retreats into that prior relationship, sustaining it through retelling and embellishing the stories she first heard from Tarō's father:

> だから太郎の小さい時よく**内地**の話をして呉れたのは、皆父が話した美しい内地の受うり話だった。
>
> The stories she often told Tarō when he was small were all the beautiful stories of the Homeland (**内地** *naichi*) that his father had once told her. (Huang 1936)

Through the romanticisation of an imagined Japan, Tarō's mother relives the time she shared with his father and shrouds the shame of Tarō's upbringing in the trappings of racial and cultural superiority. This strategy for dealing with Tarō's status allows the mother to become the coloniser in the place of the absent father, as Scruggs (2015, 102) notes. The concept of the Homeland/*naichi* plays an integral discursive role in both the father's micro-colonization, and the mother's extension of that act in his absence.

As the story documents the creation of the Homeland in Tarō's eyes, it reaches its emotional apogee in capturing the destruction of that ideal by its creator. The undoing begins when Tarō's mother reveals to her son that she is to marry a Taiwanese man. She wears her change of heart on her sleeve, trading her kimono for a qipao in a symbolic representation of

her emotional volte-face. Indeed, it is on the matter of clothes that tensions between the pair reach a head. Mother announces that her fiancé is coming to visit, and requests that Tarō changes his clothes for the event:

> 「そうしてお呉れ、それから―お前には言ひにくいんだけれと、今着てゐる**内地人の着物**をこの**臺灣服**と變へて呉れませんの...」太郎の表情はさっと變った。それを目さとく見つけて、母は辨解する様に小聲になって「あの人か臺灣の人だし、お前だって本居地は臺灣に有るのだから、殊更に**内地の着物**を着なくても好いぢゃないの」太郎は答えなかった。母の結婚を喜んで居た朗らかな氣分が、そ の一言て微塵に壊されてしまったのた 。
>
> 'So then… this isn't easy to say to you…would you change out of the clothes of the Homeland (**内地の着物** *naichijin no kimono*) and into Taiwanese clothes (**臺灣服** *Taiwan fuku*) for me?'
> Tarō's expression shifted suddenly. As her keen eyes saw the change, his mother explained, her voice growing quiet:
> 'It is only that my fiancé is from Taiwan – and as you live in Taiwan, after all, it is not right to deliberately wear the clothes of the Homeland (**内地の着物** *naichi no kimono*)'
> Tarō didn't respond. The cheerful mood created by his happiness at the prospect of his mother's marriage was shattered into pieces by what she had said. (Huang 1936)

Tarō's exasperation at his mother's request leads to a heated outburst at the story's close: 'Mother, whatever anyone says, I am the child of a person from the Homeland!' (お母さん、僕は誰が何と言っても内地人の子供何ですよ *Okāsan, boku wa dare ga nantoittemo naichijin no kodomo nandesu yo*). It is at this moment that the effectiveness of the mother's fantasy is revealed: the strength of Tarō's rejection shows that the Homeland is no longer her dominion, and that it now lives another life in the mind of her child, his self-declaration as *naichijin* conveying the sway of words in the emotional power structures of empire.

Tarō's gravitation toward *naichi* as a source of self is mirrored in another young boy of the same name, featured in Yuasa Katsue's short story "Red Dates" (J. *Natsume*) published in Korea in July 1937. Featured in the literary magazine, *Central Review* (J. *Chūō Kōron*), "Red

Dates" foregrounds another child protagonist named Tarō born to a Japanese mother and a Korean father. Like his namesake in "Feelings", the Tarō in "Red Dates" finds existential solace in the concept of the Homeland, using the term to express connection to his absent mother after she returns to Japan and to exercise cultural leverage over his classmates. The reappearance of these similar themes only a year after the publication of Huang Baotao's "Feelings" may be coincidental, though it is more likely that the two authors were inspired by the same source text, or even that Yuasa read Huang's story whilst on a visit to Tokyo in 1936.[88] Either way, the two texts are united in their depiction of *naichi* as an evocative term that shatters the illusion of a child's political naivety in the reader's mind.

As in "Feelings", names are consequential in "Red Dates". Tarō is mostly referred to by his full name: Kim, Tarō (金、太郎 J. *Kimu, Tarō*), with a comma consistently erecting a divide between surname and forename. Kono (2010, 88) argues that this deceptively small textual detail captures the 'figurative boundary between these two identities that were construed as mutually exclusive' – with the 'two identities' reflected in the common Korean surname 'Kim' and the common Japanese given name 'Tarō'. The division also mirrors the dividing line between the child's parents, both of whom are present at the outset of "Red Dates". Throughout they act as unfiltered mouthpieces for their child's divided identity, with the father hoping to raise Tarō as Korean, the mother viewing their child as Japanese exclusively. The concept of *naichi* appears at the moment Tarō's mother returns to Japan, announcing to her son: 'Tarō, I am going back to the **Homeland**' (太郎ちゃん、**内地**に帰らう J. *Tarō chan,* ***naichi*** *ni kaerau*) (Yuasa 1995, 174). It's here that Tarō's obsession with the 'Homeland' begins in earnest, as the word comes to signify his connection to her, and all that her motherhood

[88] Though Yuasa returned to Korea after the death of his wife at the beginning of 1936, Mark Driscoll notes that he returned to Tokyo in October 1936 and mixed with left-wing literary intellectuals. There is a chance that he may have encountered "Feelings" during this visit. Driscoll 2005, 16.

represents. He delights in telling his classmates that his mother has returned to the Homeland, relishing in their envy:

> When asked about his parents, Kim, Tarō would answer: 'My mother has returned to the **Homeland**' (お母さんは**内地**に帰ってる J. *Okāsan wa* ***naichi*** *ni kaetteru*), and all his classmates would look envious (Yuasa 1995, 182-183)

Tarō's comments here make it evident that he understands the differing social status of both his parents, as he omits any mention of his father, described earlier in the text as recognizably Korean through his apparel: 'dressed in a waistcoat in the Korean style (J. *Chōsenfu*), whose Korean-style trousers (J. *paji*) flapped on his thighs as he climbed the slope toward them' (Yuasa 1995, 171). What's more, Tarō has evidently also registered the social capital to be gained from broadcasting his vicarious link to the 'Homeland' through his mother. Yuasa makes it clear that the young school children, most of whom are Korean, are fascinated by anything from or related to the Homeland:

> At school, everything was from the Homeland (内地 J. *naichi*).
> 'Hey look, it's a pencil!'
> 'It's from the Homeland (内地 J. *naichi*)'
> 'You're lying!'
> 'Really – it is from the Homeland (内地 *naichi*)!'
> Then everyone was jealous and went to take a look. (Yuasa 1995, 182)

'Homeland' becomes the children's refrain, repeated to bring self-assurance and proximity to the political and cultural inner sanctum despite living in a territory beyond its reach. As Kono (2010, 94) puts it, 'these children have created their own fiction of *naichi* identity for the purposes of legitimizing their own heritage and their own status within colonial Korea'. As with Tarō in "Feelings", *naichi* comes to represent an emotional ideal that is both distanced from the politics of empire through proximity to the home, and at the same time wrapped up in its psychological repercussions. In both stories, the word becomes a means for the author to

express a broad sympathy for the child born between, and a more generalized anxiety about the fate of a younger generation coming of age in a schooling system that teaches them to value a culture different to that of one or both of their parents.

The comparison between "Feelings" and "Red Dates" comes with several caveats. The differing position of both authors, for example, is of note. Yuasa Katsuei was born in Japan in 1910 and then lived in Korea from the age of 2 to 19, when he returned to Japan to attend Waseda University in Tokyo (Driscoll 2005, 13). Though he later came to be associated with a group of authors writing pro-imperial 'colonial development literature' (J. *kaitaku bungaku*) in Manchuria, Yuasa's earlier works, including "Red Dates", exhibit what Driscoll (2005, 18) reads as a critique of the Japanese imperial project through their depiction of the struggle of Korean citizens and failed relationships between Korean and Japanese couples.[89] As this summary of his life and works demonstrates, Yuasa is a well-established author whose biographical details are well-known and whose broad array of published works offer insight into the development of his thinking on several matters. Huang Baotao, on the other hand, is relatively unknown. Her biographical details are scant enough that some have come to question her gender based on what Scruggs (2015, 89) describes as 'hearsay'. Her work, limited to "Feelings" and other short pieces including a text titled "Life", offers few clarifying details.[90] As such, there is much that distinguishes the two authors, yet the details of their two stories analysed above are remarkably similar. The recurrence of the term *naichi* with much the same purpose and effect across the two works emphasises how the politics of the term in Huang Baotao's work are not incidental, but rather part of a discursive pattern that also reverberates

[89] Su Yun Kim points out that this approach to determining the political allegiances of a text relies on a false 'binary' that can oversimplify the politics of intermarriage stories. Kim 2020, 12.
[90] "Life" (J. *Jinsei*/C: *Rensheng*) which records the accidental death of a pregnant woman at a mine, was published *New Taiwanese Literature* (C. *Xin Taiwan wenxue*) in 1935.

through Yuasa's text. This context is essential as we now turn to consider how Ye Shitao's leaves *naichi* untranslated in his 1996 rendering of "Feelings".

Not Japan, But The Homeland

The fact that Ye Shitao's translation was the first version of "Feelings" published in Mandarin Chinese gives some indication of the text's politically contentious nature. The story's candid exploration of identity within its short span provides one explanation for its omission from earlier collections, in particular the 1979 anthology *A Complete Collection of Taiwan's Literature Before the Retrocession.* Even with the kind of editing used in "Flower Blooming Season" 1979, it would have been difficult to tone down the portrayal of identity-driven angst in the text, as that turmoil makes up the bulk of the plot's substance. As Su Yun Kim (2020, 4) discusses in relation to Korean Japanophone colonial-era literature, the theme of intermarriage and mixed relationships provided a site for authors to 'explore their feelings about becoming proper imperial subjects' and to vicariously experience imperial subjectivity through their characters. Moreover, as its title implies, Huang's vignette is constructed around the psychological and emotional toll of embracing Japanese identity in contrast to its Taiwanese alternative. The story's constant motion between 'Homeland' and 'Taiwan' points to the protagonist's existential plight – one that the author shares in some form, whether consciously or subconsciously. By consistently privileging Tarō's perspective with the term *naichi*, "Feelings" comes into proximity with the imperial-subject literature that took masculine identity crises, like Tarō's, as one of its defining characteristics.

The question then arises of why Ye chose to translate the text, despite this political baggage. He gives some answer in his translator's note, where he describes the content of "Feelings" thus:

> This short story explores the psychological ups and downs of a Japanese child born of a Japanese-Taiwanese relationship and living in Taiwan. It is full of description of his psychology. This child, with his Taiwanese-Japanese mixed blood, leans toward his father's bloodline. He does not want to wear Taiwanese clothes, even though his father is an emotionless cad. This is a piercing story about the issue of Taiwanese-Japanese mixed children, an issue much discussed during the period of Japanese rule and part of the reality of life in colonial Taiwan (Huang 1996, 194).

The final sentiments of this translator's note points to Ye's interest in the text as one that captures an aspect of ordinary life under Japanese rule. The centring of Tarō's 'psychological ups and downs' seems essential in this regard, as in this interpretation "Feelings" gives voice to a perspective rarely articulated in the historical or literary record. The difficulty of registering a Taiwanese-Japanese marriage resulted in many mixed relationships, from committed partnerships to brief affairs, being undertaken off the record.[91] Consequently, many of the children these unions produced were also absent from the statistics on intermarriage and related population demographics in Taiwan and Korea. Whilst "Feelings" was not penned by a 'mixed child', its attempt to document that mindset and life experience, however superficially, gives it historical value in Ye's eyes. The frequent references to *naichi* throughout the text, meanwhile, are central in what Ye identifies as the enshrining of Tarō's point of view within the story, allowing it to be read as a record of the child's perspective despite its third-person narration.

As "Feelings" expands on the experiences of the 'mixed child', it is also representative of the swell of discourse surrounding mixed relationships and intermarriage during the final two decades of Japanese rule in Taiwan. The story's reflection of this 'issue much discussed' was evidently a point of interest for Ye – one arguably compounded by the fact that the subject

[91] Eika Tai shows that only 783 official intermarriages were registered in Taiwan by 1944. Though the 1933 intermarriage law (J. *kyōkonhō*) gave the impression that intermarriage was both legal and practically possible, the low number of registered unions reflects the fact that Taiwan and Japan's social administrative systems were kept separate by design. Tai 2014, 114.

of intermarriage was rarely broached in literary writings by Taiwanese authors.[92] As discussed in the previous section, the emotive power of the shared household, and the union of colony and metropole in 'one body', made intermarriage a frequent touchstone in imperial propaganda. The prominence of the term *naichi* in the mind of a child throughout "Feelings" in this way mimics the provocative language that characterised this type of media. In other words, whether read from a historical or political perspective, the term *naichi* is central to "Feelings" in several senses. It is more than an incidental turn of phrase, rather a loaded term with political implications. As such, it is significant that Ye decides to leave *naichi* untranslated throughout his 1996 translation – beginning with the opening lines, which read thus:

> 太郎這種名字，唯有**内地人(日本人)**才會取的名字這個事實，從母親嘴裡聽見了以後，太郎才開始明白. 他是**内台人**結合才會生下來的事情，這多少傷了他的自尊心。**在學校裡唯有他才會講内地語(日語)** 和台灣話。

> Tarō only started to understand that a name like Tarō was one solely taken by ***naichijin* (C. *Riben ren*)**, after he heard it from his mother's mouth. The fact he was born from a ***neitaijin*** union really hurt his self-esteem. At school he was the only student able to speak both ***naichigo* (C. *Riyu*)** and Taiwanese Hokkien. (Huang 1996, 189)

In these opening lines, Ye leaves *naichi* untranslated - providing an explanatory gloss in the brackets that follow, with *naichijin* translated as 'Japanese people' (C. *Riben ren*), *naichigo* as 'Japanese' (C. *Riyu*). For the remainder of the text, *naichi* remains untranslated and unglossed, as in this central paragraph concerning the mother's storytelling:

> 雖然母親常講**内地**的故事，其實母親不太瞭解内地的事。 母親本身也從沒到過**内地**，雖然和來視察的**内地人**父親有了親密的

[92] The most notable intermarriage story published in Taiwan is arguably Sakaguchi Reiko's "Passionflower" (J. *Tokeisō*), a short story published in *Taiwan Literature* (J. *Taiwan bungaku*) in 1943. The protagonist, Jun, is born from a Japanese-Aboriginal relationship, and spends the duration of the story coming to terms with his identity. See Kono 2010, 43-73 for a discussion of the story; Scruggs 2015, 102-103 for a comparison between "Passionflower" and "Feelings".

> 關係而失下了太郎，但那**内地人**父親卻找了個藉口返回内地，再也沒有回到母親的身旁。
>
> Even though his mother often told these stories of ***naichi***, in reality she didn't know much about ***naichi***. She herself had never been to ***naichi***, though she had an intimate relationship with Tarō's father, who was ***naichijin*** when he came to Taiwan on an inspection trip, and she then gave birth to Tarō. But that ***naichijin*** father, found an excuse to return to ***naichi***, and never again came back to Tarō's mother's side. (Huang 1996, 190)

Ye takes the same approach with the pivotal moment where Tarō's mother asks him to change his outfit:

> 「不過.....很難向你開口，你要把現在穿的**内地人**衣服換上台灣衣衫.....」 太郎的表情突然變了，母親敏銳地看到，用辯解一般的心聲說:「那人是台灣人，你也是生在台灣，並不需要特地穿著**内地**的衣服吧?」
>
> 'But … It's difficult to say this to you, you should change out of the ***naichijin*** clothes you're wearing currently and put on Taiwanese clothes.'
>
> Taro's expression changed suddenly. His mother perceptively noticed, and explained her intentions: 'My fiancé is Taiwanese, and you were born in Taiwan – don't you think it unnecessary to go out of your way to wear the clothes of ***naichi***?' (Huang 1996, 192-193)

The repeated appearance of *naichi* is given significance throughout the text thanks to the gloss that follows the term in the first instance. Whilst one could argue that the average reader would be able to deduce the meaning of *naichi* without additional input from the translator, by adding the translation in parentheses the term is signposted as of the past, and as distinct from the text surrounding it. It is what Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffen (2002, 55) consider a 'self-conscious' exposure of 'language variation' where the translation in parentheses emphasizes the linguistic otherness of the preceding term. There is an argument, for example, if you were to read "Feelings" aloud, that the brackets require you to read *naichi* with the Japanese pronunciation, as opposed to any other.

Ye's treatment of *naichi* is amplified by other short moments of glossing throughout the translation that reinforce the reader's sense of Japanese as the language of Tarō's perspective. In the source text, Huang moves from the outside in, first describing the Cape Jasmine plants climbing beside Tarō's window before panning to the Japanese flag above his bed. There is quite a clear distinction made here between the home as an inner sanctum, evidently Japanese in Tarō's eyes, and the world beyond the window. Tarō's disregard for the 'people of this island' (本島人 J. *hontōjin*) is spelt out in explicit terms:

> 太郎の平常から氣にかけて居る唯一つの願ひは、**内地人**て ある父に逢ひたい事たった。**本島人**とさえ見れば**リイヤ**と言って、劣等人種てある様に思って居るこの邊りの人達から逃れて行きたくもあり、又**内地**と云ふ全然生活様式の變った見知らぬ國に對する好奇心からでもあった。
>
> As far as Tarō was concerned, in his everyday life he had only one wish: to meet with his father, that person from the Homeland (**内地人**である父に逢いたい事だった J. *naichijin de aru chichi ni aitai koto datta*). His wish stemmed from a desire to escape the people of this island (**本島人** J. *hontōjin*) shouting 'RII YA' (**リイヤ**) and the thought of the low-grade people (劣等人種 J. *rettō jinshu*) all around him, as well as his curiosity about life in the Homeland (**内地** J. *naichi*), that utterly different and unfamiliar country. (Huang 1936)

In the source text, 'Rii ya' (E. Hey, you!) is written in katakana as リイヤ, a feature Ye transfers into his own version, with a translation following in parentheses: リイヤ (你呀). As with *naichi*, the retention of the detail from the source, along with the translation in gloss, enshrines something of Tarō's perspective within the translation.

In sum, these details point to a translation approach that is political in tone, one that conveys not only the meaning of the words from page to page, but also some sense of the historical context that accompanies them. There is an argument, too, that the untranslated

naichi is consequential even to the reader who is unaware of its historical significance. To put it differently, even if the reader does not grasp the political significance of the word, they can nonetheless deduce that it has a meaning that goes beyond the literal Mandarin Chinese meaning of *neidi* as 'inner land' or 'mainland'.[93] In this way, the legibility of the characters 内地 across Chinese and Japanese is hampered by the translation's insistence on difference, a divergence in meaning communicated through the splintering of the text using parentheses. Conveying this distinction is arguably central to the plot – without it the nature of Tarō's character, and the cause of his rift with his mother, is harder for the reader to glean. It is also, however, a moment of historical didacticism in how it indicates the distance between the language of the literary present and its past life, as well as the vocabularies used to describe the relationship between Taiwan and Japan during the late 1940s: the two places bound together as a whole, yet constantly segregated by their 'inner' and 'outer' territorial statuses. By preserving the presence of *naichi* in the text, Ye preserves a core aspect of Tarō's superiority complex, first over his peers, and eventually over his mother.

The inclusion of such a term in this context is not without its politics. Whilst Tarō's portrayal in "Feelings" is hardly sympathetic, Huang's story allows Tarō an affectionate grasp over his 'Homeland', and even shows his rejection of Taiwan as an alternative to the idealised and unknown country of his father. By including such a narrative under the masthead of 'Taiwanese literature', all whilst making explicit to the reader Tarō's rejection of Taiwanese identity, Ye makes comment on how the history of the mixed child should be understood.

[93] A worthwhile cross-reference can be made here to the works of Irish writers following Irish independence in 1916. Their work often included Irish phrases, even though, as Delisle and Woodworth highlight, only a small proportion of the Irish population at that time spoke Irish and Irish alone. The inclusion of Irish was less about communication on a practical level, and more on a political level. That politics is communicated not only in the meaning of words, but the appearance of certain phrases in a different language: Delisle and Woodworth 2012, 75. This kind of nontranslation can be incredibly subtle, as Maria Tymoczko discusses in her analysis of Joyce's coded Irish wordplay in *Dubliners*. Tymoczko 2000, 150-151. In Ye's case, the inclusion of Japanese acts as a subversive form of political communication in how it spotlights a historically marginalized perspective (Taro's outlook). The use of a colonial language in this context is jarring, but also potentially radical as an act of linguistic reclamation.

Children like Tarō, Ye seems to suggest, represent a Taiwanese experience – and the literary representations of their psychology thus merit inclusion in Taiwan's literary scope, rather than drifting, as those children so often did, beyond the bounds of identity thanks to their uncategorizable parentage.[94] This aspect is compounded when one considers how Ye bracketed the story beneath the title of the collection – 'Taiwan literature' – even as debate continued in Taiwan's intellectual circles over whether to include political Japanophone literature beneath that masthead.[95]

And yet, the politically cautious translator conscious of 'political taboos' that Wang Huei-chen (2015, 124-125) describes is not entirely transformed. Ye omits a final passage from the story's conclusion, including Tarō's declaration: 'I am the son of a man from the Homeland!'. Perhaps he viewed those final paragraphs as superfluous to the story's overall narrative arc – but then perhaps also, Tarō's steadfast commitment to assimilation at the story's close would tip the delicate balance between a text of historical value and one of controversy. In a version laced with untranslated testaments to Tarō's perspective in sentence after sentence, with the source text and translation sharing an intimate bond, the severing of that dialogue at its climax reflects the resilience of Ye's caution, and how Tarō's perspective remains, at least in part, untranslatable.

All-seeing I: Privilege and Peril of Translation in Zhu Tianxin's *The Ancient Capital*

What to translate and when is a preoccupation shared by the protagonist of Zhu Tianxin's novella, *The Ancient Capital*. Published in 1997, a year after Ye's *Collection*, *The Ancient Capital* follows a nameless narrator as she walks around Taipei and Kyoto. As she

[94] This may also be a reflection of historical reality, as Evan Dawley discusses, where the status of mixed children was determined by the identity of their mothers. Dawley 2015, 122.
[95] The extent to which *kōminka* literature was still a controversial issue is reflected in Chen Ying-zhen and other author's essays in *United Daily* (C. *Lianhe bao*) in 1997 'blatantly denouncing the *kōminka* literature from Taiwan's Japanese period', see Liao 1999, 209.

wanders, the text sporadically divulges details about her friendship with a woman named A, played out over a set of recollections from their time together as teenagers, then as university students, and finally as women reuniting in Kyoto after an extended time apart. The novella is collage-like in structure and in substance. As the non-linear plot overlays time and place, Zhu's prose ingests multiple languages and texts – on occasions signposting their origins, on others letting them appear unadorned. The two most consequential of these external texts are Yasunari Kawabata's 1965 novel set in Kyoto *The Ancient Capital* (J. *Koto*) and the Japanese-language colonial-era map that the protagonist uses on her final walk around Taipei in the novella's closing passages. Both are explicitly acknowledged in the book's presentation, even if they are not consistently cited within the text itself. Zhu's work shares its title with Kawabata's, and the novella is regularly published with a map of Taipei, and on occasions Kyoto also, lying on the inside cover waiting to be unfolded (see Figure 8). As it navigates these source texts, Zhu's *The Ancient Capital* is awash with a near-constant litany of translation choices: the decision to translate or not translate; to acknowledge translation or to obscure its traces.

Though much separates Ye's translated short stories and Zhu's novella in terms of style and content, there are uncanny parallels in how this unlikely corpus considers the position of Japanese in Taiwan's multilingual image-making. Where Ye's work is concerned with visibility, Zhu's novella is more concerned with the consequences of that historical revisionism from the perspective of a Taiwanese woman living in Taipei during the 1990s. *The Ancient Capital* not only places the historic relationship between Taiwan and Japan under scrutiny, but it specifically questions how to move between these two locales and their respective languages from its vantage point in the late-1990s. In this sense, the novella is a natural partner to Ye's versions of "New Moon" and "Feelings". The questions that Ye probes through translation – how identity relates to literature and land, how Taiwanese authors cast ownership over their

history – are similar to the questions Zhu poses throughout *The Ancient Capital*. Here the cityscape provides a source text, with Zhu's narrator approaching her surroundings not just as a reader, but as a translator too. She constantly navigates the movement between languages, unfolding the depths of city and self as she goes.[96] The similarities are compounded when one considers that the Japanese map of colonial Taipei used by the narrator would likely date to the 1930s, when commercial maps were sold to Japanese tourists visiting Taipei for leisure (Allen 2012, 37).

To read Zhu's novella as a commentary on translation politics is to diverge from the critical consensus surrounding her work. Thanks to its high-concept premise, *The Ancient Capital* invites critical engagement – though it is yet to be read as a translational text in the manner I am proposing here. The novella is most often analysed as a consideration of space and place, shot through with an anxious nostalgia for a lost time.[97] Its use of language, meanwhile, is read through the lens of 'postmodern literary techniques' in the words of Jen-yi Hsu (2007, 272) who views Zhu's intertextuality and multilingual writing as choices of literary style, rather than acts of translational commentary. Whilst there is no disputing the centrality of spatiality, temporality and intertextuality to the novella's plot, it is also true that translation – of many kinds – underpins the narrator's musing on these themes. Through glossing techniques present in Ye Shitao's work, Zhu's narrator unearths and exhibits the historical traces buried in the architecture and landscape that surround her. The emphasis here is not on translation as a derivative art, as Karen Thornber (2009, 385) implies in her brief comparison of Kawabata's novel and Zhu's novella, but rather translation as a site to explore possibilities, both those past

[96] Though Zhu Tianxin was born in Taiwan, *The Ancient Capital* displays many of the stereotypical qualities of *waishengren* writing, namely nostalgia for a lost past, dislocation, and an ill-assured sense of self. Many of Zhu Tianxin's most notable works, such as her 1992 novel *Thinking of My Brothers in the Military Compound* (C. *Xiang wo juancun de xiongdimen*) reflect her experience growing up amongst *waishengren* in military compounds (C. *juancun*).
[97] See Chen 2007; Møller-Olsen 2020; and Liao 2000.

and those yet to come. In her negotiation of untranslated Japanese, Zhu's narrator is a translator, her discomfort and revelation in the urban space a direct consequence of the novella's translational arc.

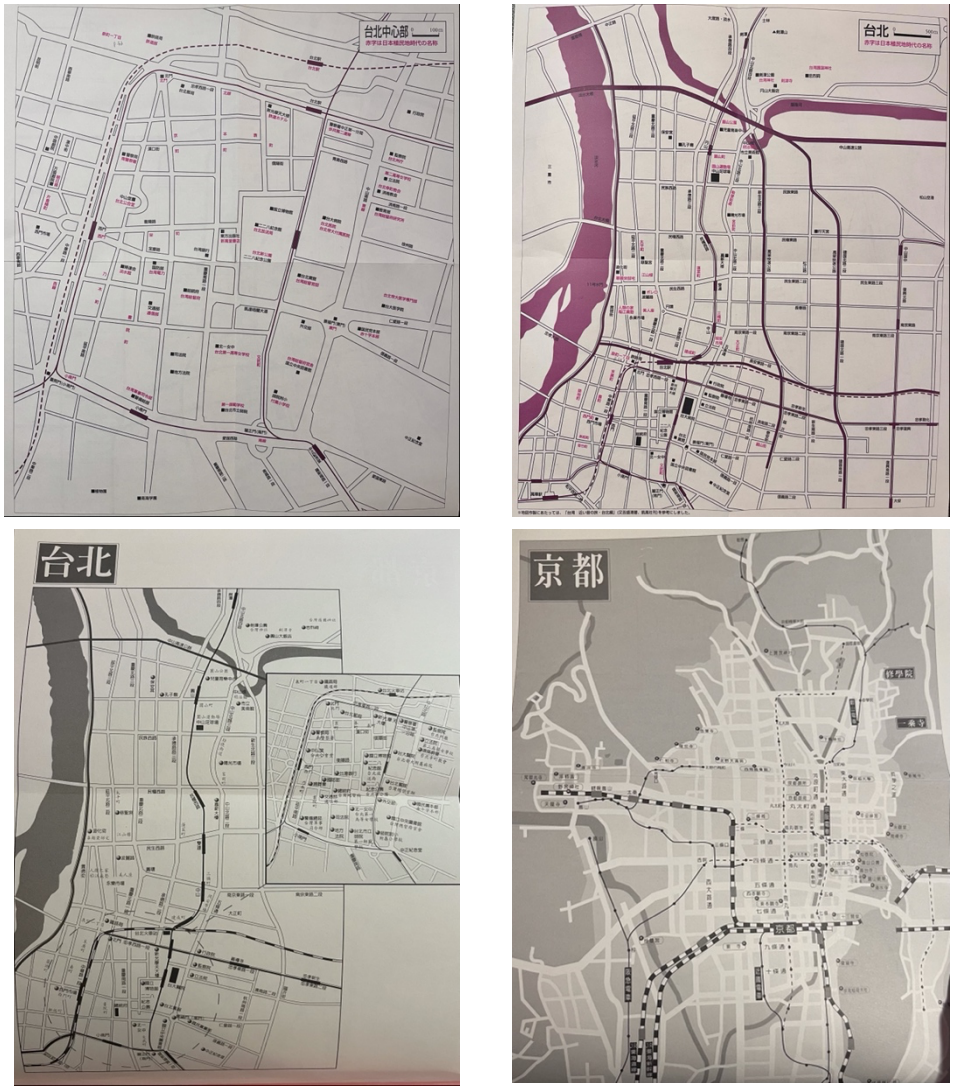

Figure 8: (T) Maps of Taipei published in the Japanese translation of The Ancient Capital/ (B) Reversible map of Taipei and Kyoto published with the Mandarin Chinese version of The Ancient Capital

Resident in Exile

The Ancient Capital begins with a map in miniature, folded out on the reader's palms. On one side they see Taipei, with the colonial era names of its districts placed alongside their

contemporary appellations, on the other side, the Japanese city of Kyoto. The map lays the groundwork, quite literally, for the urban theatre where Zhu's narrator traverses the layers of time, and the layers of language too. The buildings and streets of Taipei, as the map provided divulges in its use of colonial-era names, are enmeshed in this layering, though the traces of that involvement are often invisible to the naked eye. Given this historical context, it is unsurprising that the process of naming the city – and the records kept of those names on maps – have long proved areas of contention. Joseph Allen (2012, 81-84) shows how the streets of Taipei have consistently provided an outlet for the ideological leanings of whichever government sits in what is today called the Presidential Palace (C. *Zongtongfu*) on Chongqing South Road (C. *Chongqing nanlu*). Reinventions range from the Japanese imposition of names in the 1920s to the Nationalist government's use of street names to map Taipei in the image of China during the 1950s, with streets in the northern-western parts of the city taking the names of locations in north-western China and so on (Allen 2012, 83). In each of these moments, Taipei's internal geography does seem to reflect what Alexis Nouss (2016, 144) terms the 'dogma of state', as its buildings and side streets are named and renamed to suit the ascendant vision of territorial identity and statehood.

The Ancient Capital uses untranslated Japanese text to question the processes that underlie this layered naming of place in Taipei, focusing on the unspoken yet incessant cycles of translation that facilitate the transformation of street signs. Zhu's narrator pays particular attention to the names of places she passes, a process that orientates around translation – most strikingly in the narrator's decision to refer to parts of Taipei by their Japanese, colonial-era names, as opposed to more recent appellations. This refusal to translate signals a resistance to the passage of time, as well as taking issue with the politicised process of naming. By mixing past names with those currently in use, Zhu's narrator disrupts the homogenous wash of

linguistic uniformity within the urban space. The constructed wholeness of the city is unpeeled, layer by layer, leaving exposed the monuments of a temporal gap not dissimilar to that spotlighted in Ye Shitao's translations.

The use of Japanese place names begins in the novella's opening. Their appearance serves a portal-like function, allowing the narrator to compare the city today and the city past, as in the following instance:

> The school was in Bunbuchō (文武町). When you walked out of the door, you would immediately see the Residency of The Governor-General (總督府 J. *Sōtokufu*). The building was less than forty years older than you, yet you all thought it had one or two hundred years of history, or sometimes that it had been built by the Nationalist government during your father's generation. (Zhu 2002, 167)

Each name here marks a crossroads where the protagonist makes a translation decision. The focus on Residency of The Governor-General (today the Presidential Palace), is noteworthy given the building's architecture. The narrator uses the Japanese name for the building, even whilst expressing uncertainty over its origins. There is a knowing irony here. The schoolgirls look up at the structure uncertain of its genesis, and yet if they were to look at that same structure from above, they would see its purposeful outline in the shape of 日 (J. *ni,* C. *ri*) the first character in the word for Japan (日本 J. *Nihon*, C. *Riben*) (Allen 2012, 34). The narrator thus unknowingly reads the building in her decision to leave the name untranslated. The same contrast between now and then takes place as the narrator observes what she considers the 'ugliest stretch of the city' from a train window:

> The residents of the area, as if in disgruntled agreement, placed their backdoors, illegal constructions, public toilets, vegetable patches and rubbish tips all in plain view of the passing trains. It filled the place with the dense

> smell of a country village, even though the route passed through what were once the most bustling areas: Kenseichō (建成町), Owari-machi (御成町), and Hōrai-machi (蓬莱町). （Zhu 2002, 168）

The narrator's resurrection of the idyllic past in juxtaposition with contemporary decay conveys a disillusion bordering on disbelief at the nature of the city in the present. The use of the former names erects several barriers, not only between the historic city and its current appearance, but also between the narrator and her surroundings. She feels no connection with the 'ugliest stretch of the city', and so the Japanese names provide a refuge as they evoke an urban environment that meets the narrator's unspoken expectations. The decision not to translate, in both instances above, resists what Nouss (2016, 144) describes as the 'urban order's unitarism and centralism' – the homogenizing processes present even in cities that claim to house diversity. The urban condition is one that gravitates toward the veneer of totality, a smoothing of difference into cohesive community, and translation often facilitates this construction of cohesion. By refusing to partake in this process, Zhu's narrator expresses what Nouss (2016, 144) describes as the 'trace of exile' – a dissent that articulates the struggle to belong.

This sense of passing through the city as a resident exile is explored to the full in the novella's closing passages, where the narrator is mistaken for a Japanese tourist by a taxi driver. Instead of correcting him, the narrator decides to play along. She extends the fantasy by imagining herself as a Japanese tourist from the 1930s, using a colonial map as her guide for an amble around Taipei.[98] Naming proves essential here once again, as in the following instance:

> 西門町，日本人の歡樂街。殖民地圖上這麼說。
> Seimonchō, a pleasure street for Japanese people. This is what it said on the colonial-era map.

[98] This is not the first instance of the narrator trying on this alternative perspective – though the use of the map is most protracted instance. Earlier in the text, the narrator consistently refers to Taiwan as 'the Southern Country' (J. *minami kuni* C. *nanguo*), a namesake frequently used in colonial-era literature of the 1930s and 1940s: Zhu 2002, 168；190; 223; 228; 231. Huang Baotao, for example, refers to Taiwan as 'the Southern Country' in "Feelings". Huang, 1936.

> 西門町，位於早拆掉的西門舊址，附近有未廣町，壽町，築地町，新起町，若竹町。
> Seimonchō is located at the former site of the long demolished West Gate. Nearby you can find Suehirochō, Kotobukichō, Tsuijichō, Shinkichō, Wakatakechō. (Zhu 2002, 230)

Though the narrator doesn't always directly signal that she is reading from the map in the pages that follow, the listing of the different districts quickly makes it apparent that this is what she is doing. Consistent with earlier instances, the protagonist rarely translates the place names on the map – despite translation arguably being necessary to fully understand her journey, hence the translations of the names provided on the novella's accompanying map (see Figure 8). This untranslated text allows for a temporally and linguistically pluralistic experience of the city – one the narrator anticipates will deliver a homecoming. Yet, in the final instance, it leaves her more at sea than ever. The novella closes with an anguished cry of existential uncertainty: 'Where is this place? ….. You cry out, in tears.' (這是哪裡？。。。你放聲大哭 C. *zhe shi nali? ... Ni fangsheng daku*), and so concludes the story's translational arc (Zhu 2002, 246). The narrator diligently unpicks the promise of plurality born through historical transparency, only to discover its emptiness.

To Narrate, First Translate

What these examples demonstrate is that many of the novella's climatic moments pivot around the narrator's decision to translate or not translate her surroundings. The way translation anchors the text and provides a site for the narrator's temporal and spatial experimentation is overlooked in most critiques of *The Ancient Capital*. Despite this, Zhu and her narrator are frequently discussed in terms associated with translators without ever being explicitly labelled as such. Chien-hsin Tsai (2012, 147) discusses the narrator in *The Ancient Capital* as a 'heterotopic agent', as she tries to weave together disparate locations and temporalities in a vain attempt to experience each simultaneously. Liao (2000, 7) in turn describes Zhu's narrator as

'Janus-faced' in her desire to somehow live between times and places. This pull between past and present, and the desire to exist somewhere in between, are precisely the qualities Michael Cronin (2012, 474) attributes to translators. By explicitly viewing the narrator in *The Ancient Capital* as a translator, we open the possibility of translation not simply facilitating narration but forming an integral part of the story being told. In other words, to overlook the text's near constant interaction with the act of translation, or to acknowledge it only through the expansive concept of intertextuality –is to underestimate its commentary on linguistic politics and the role of translation in constructing historical narrative.

The reason behind translation making only a passing appearance in commentary centred on *The Ancient Capital* may in part be due to the sense that by discussing Zhu's work as a commentary on translation, there is an accompanying implication that the novella is somehow derivative of Yasunari Kawabata's 1965 novel of the same title. Karen Thornber (2009, 385) articulates this view:

> This novella, the narrator declares, is the Taiwanese "old [textual] capital," not the Japanese book (Kawabata's *Ancient Capital*) parading around in Chinese clothes (translation).

There is a dismissal of translation's role in the novella here through the suggestion that to explore the work in translational terms would underestimate its literary value, independent of Kawabata's own *The Ancient Capital*. There is an assumption that translation, as a process, can never quite shake off the marks of imitation that limit its creative and artistic capacity thanks to its indebtedness to another work. This view of translation is contrary to the depiction of the process in Zhu's work itself, where the encounter of foreign text is a site of discovery delivering the narrator to new sensations, however unwelcome they may prove to be. It also underestimates the role of translation in establishing a hierarchy between reader and narrator, which is arguably one of the text's central tensions. The reader is frequently reliant on the narrator for translation,

to explain the significance of one term or another. She often reneges on this task. In allowing her narrator to withhold information in this manner, Zhu points to the power of translators over the construction of meaning. As the narrator struggles to piece together the translational details of the city surrounding her, sifting through the information to reach a direction, the reader is equally required to piece together the text by parsing the translated and untranslated material the narrator provides. The centrality of this dynamic to the novella is made overtly apparent in the need to publish the text with a map, as well as the copious footnotes and explanatory parentheses that appear in both the English and Japanese translations of *The Ancient Capital*.

The questions of translation and hierarchy are especially pertinent with regards to the passages of Kawabata's novel included indiscriminately amongst Zhu's own prose. There is no attempt, apart from in the final instance (Zhu 2002, 222), to show that these passages originally belonged to a different work and that they are translated.[99] A reader without knowledge of Kawabata's work certainly wouldn't make the connection till the final quotation – and even here it is not necessarily obvious which parts of the text originate from Kawabata, and which from Zhu. As the narrator and her friends stand perplexed before the Residency of the Governor-General, so the reader craves the bird's eye view that decodes the text as it decodes the landscape. In this way, *The Ancient Capital* ruminates on the ethics of translation, on its relationship with power and with narrative, whether historical or fictional. In its inconsistent approach to translation, and the narrator's oscillations between finding possibility and utter

[99] Whilst Zhu Tianxin weaves other texts into the narrative structure throughout *The Ancient Capital*, including Tao Yuanming's *Peach Blossom Spring* (C. *Tao huayuan*), Kawabata's novella and the map of colonial Taipei take precedence in the translational hierarchies established by the text. This is evident not only from the book's presentation, from its shared title with Kawabata's work to the maps tucked into its inside cover, but also from the prominence of Kawabata's text as an intertextual touchstone throughout the novella's narration. With respect to the novella's commentary on identity, the level of intertextual and interlingual play throughout the text arguably points to the protagonist's existential fluidity. Whilst this unmooring from an existential anchor is certainly destabilizing and disorientating for the narrator, it is also liberating, as she is afforded the ability to experiment with different perspectives in an acknowledgment of identity's porous boundaries. Whilst the textual and linguistic collage of the *The Ancient Capital* takes Kawabata and the Japanophone map as its main sites of exploration, its multiplicity emphasises the possibility of other choices – whether be related to narrative, or to identity.

disappointment in the act, the novella emphasises that translation is part of the story, with its power lying in how the reader may not even realise that this is the case.

Closing the Temporal Gap

Zhu and Ye's historically-conscious texts emerged at a moment during the 1990s when Taiwanese academics and intellectuals were moving to institutionalize a historical discipline that took Taiwan explicitly as its focus – an urge reflected in the establishment of the Taiwanese Historical Association in 1995 (Huang 2015, 134). In this climate of 're-discovery', as Bi-yu Chang (2009, 38) terms it, there is no avoiding translation's involvement in the events of Taiwan's twentieth century, nor its essential role in collating and writing the history of that period. Crucially, the translation and its translator do not operate as neutral parties in this process. As objective as a translator may try to be, there is no escaping what Maria Tymoczko (2000, 24) terms the 'overdetermined' nature of translation. It is a form of writing that revolves around choices, and those choices are in turn sensitive to a translator's conscious and unconscious biases. It is in these decisions that historical narratives take root, are reinforced and reimagined. The challenge posed to a translator of such a text is how to acknowledge the full breadth of that weighty history in their work, and what the consequences of that intervention might be.

Japanophone texts from the colonial era written by Taiwanese authors occupied an awkward position in this reassessment. The contradiction between their language (Japanese) and their author's assumed identity (Taiwanese) destabilizes the linear relationship between language and territory traditionally favoured in canonization. It is this contradiction that allowed these texts and their authors to become historically isolated during martial law – dislocated by language and censorship policies from the generations of writers who followed them. Prior to the 1990s, the divide between 'Taiwanese' and 'Japanese' identities presented

in many of the stories penned by Taiwanese authors during Japanese rule persisted in the difficulty of neatly categorising them within one national literature or another. Against this backdrop, translation emerged following 1987 as an opportunity for *re*territorialization and a marker of acceptance.[100] The preservation of difference through untranslated text and glossing extends this reintegration, revising the stigma of Japanophone texts by emphasising their alignment within a Taiwan that houses multiple languages and cultures within its borders.

This absorption proposes something close to resolution. It approaches the problem of erasure, and counters it through visibility. Yet, as *The Ancient Capital* seems to reflect, can acknowledgement of the past amount to the ordering of its disordered relationship with the present? Can acknowledging the temporal gap narrow its width, pulling the past and present together with conclusive clarity? From the vantage point of Zhu's narrator it seems perception of the hidden past serves sometimes only to destabilize the present, as historic realities are made knowable, yet their significance unreckoned with. Moving between languages, translating or not translating, presents an opportunity for that encounter with what has passed, though in Zhu's literary world, the appearance of the temporal gap alone is not enough: her protagonist yearns for that gap to be bridged, and is frustrated by translation's inability to perform that essential, reconciliatory task.[101]

[100] We might consider this in the context of Bi-yu Chang's remarks on the importance of 'branding Taiwan as a cultural product' in the DPP's cultural policy following 2000, Chang 2004, 39. In this context, the symbolic importance of incorporating Japanophone literature under the masthead of 'Taiwanese literature' is amplified. It is equally essential to differentiate between these texts and the Japanese cultural products popular with Taiwanese consumers during the 1990s. Shuling Huang argues that these products gained their popularity by capitalising on their status as a 'sign of Japan' – a relationship with contemporary Japanese culture that Japanophone texts from Taiwan's colonial era do not share. See Huang 2011, 12.

[101] This yearning is rooted in a desire to make the past tangible and to maintain its qualities against the corrosive influence of the present. As Møller-Olsen describes, this is the appeal of Kyoto, and perhaps also of Kawabata's literary homage to the city: they are symbols of preservation, rather than erasure. The protagonist's interaction with Kyoto is predicated on an understanding of that place as a representation of cultural and historical values that the narrator feels contrast with the those she sees reflected in the Taipei skyline. The narrator feels that her hometown's approach to preservation has removed traces of her own memory and identity from the urban fabric – a removal that lies at the heart of the novella's plot. See Møller-Olsen 2020 for a discussion of these themes and their relationship with nostalgia.

In both Zhu and Ye's writings, the contribution of translation in shaping historical narrative is put on display. The source text embedded in their work allows for the reader to become aware of translation as it weaves beneath the surface, a representation of the text in its first form. In contrast to an approach that deemphasises difference, their translations foreground divergence – a nod to transparency that undercuts the murky operations of censorship and the homogenising agenda of cultural assimilatory policies. Whilst these practices bear the hallmarks of resistance and revisionism, they equally extend the entanglement between translation and the politics of nation. To work with these texts, so firmly situated in the confluence of controversy, translators are obliged to wade into the mire of linguistic and colonial politics that accompanies the work in their care. The translator remains in place as the narrator, Japanophone literature as a site to tease out uncategorizable corners of Taiwanese identity.

Chapter Four
From The Same Blood

The anxious translator-protagonist of Zhu Tianxin's short story "Long, Long Ago There was an Urashima Tarō" (C. *Congqian congqian you ge Pudao Tailang*) frequently writes nonsensical letters of explanation and dissent, handing them in anonymously to the authorities. Consumed by neuroses, Li Jiazheng believes he is being tailed by political spies and that his family and friends are implicated in his crimes. In denunciation letter 76, no.16 Li defends himself against the crime of staying at a property where he is not registered (a 'non-registered domicile'), though the fervour of his denial seems worthy of a crime of far greater magnitude (Zhu 2022, 25).

As the story unfolds, it becomes apparent that a large portion of Li's incessant paranoia is tied to his existence as a translator. His proximity to Japanese hangs over his thinking, allowing his mind to pre-emptively indict him for unspecific crimes. As he dips into Japanese to communicate with certain members of his social circle, Li's profession expands from a source of income to a social role with political consequences. Indeed, by the story's close, Japanese becomes a subversive code as Li speaks on the phone with his friend Old Cai. Though the pair speak to each other in Japanese throughout the story, with Old Cai addressing Li as 'Bao-san', it is in this final telephone call that the language switches from a signal of their intimacy to a sign of their political precarity. Old Cai calls to say that he has been framed for the murder of a member of the National Assembly, at which point Li urges him to speak in Japanese – ostensibly to keep their conversation private from anyone who might be listening in on the line. In this moment the tool of Li's profession becomes the tool of his dissent, the terms of his prophetic self-denunciation fulfilled.

"Long, Long Ago There was an Urashima Tarō", as the title indicates, captures the paranoia of living under martial law in Taiwan through a retelling of one of Japan's national fairy tales. The story of Urashima Tarō has been a mainstay of the Japanese national canon from the Meiji period (1868-1912) onward, when the story began to appear regularly in children's textbooks (Mifune 2009, 191-192). It tells the story of a young boy named Tarō, who rides on the back of a turtle to a kingdom beneath the sea. After spending what feels like a handle of days in the subaquatic world, Tarō succumbs to home-sickness and returns to the surface, only to find that years have passed, and he has become an old man. In this retelling, Li Jiazheng is written in Tarō's image, torn between two linguistic worlds, and isolated from reality by his fears. Li's discovery of his face, suddenly covered in wrinkles and topped by a grey mass of hair, acts as a moment of mourning at the story's end for youth wasted away under the strains of existence in a police state. From the story's title to its close, Li Jiazheng is set apart from the world, and his job as a translator serves only to exacerbate that seclusion.

A Japanese-Chinese translator is a provocative figure through which to explore the consummate cruelties of totalitarianism, and its encroachments on the mind. The linguistic border between Chinese and Japanese, moreover, is evidently of interest to Zhu, given her tracing of that border in *The Ancient Capital*. But whereas in that work we see translation driving the plot, in "Long, Long Ago" translation is evoked not as practice on the page, but as an act of social and political consequence. Though the story contains no evidence of Li Jiazheng's translating in a professional capacity, his use of the language of his profession with his friends nonetheless comes to mediate his relationship with the state. Captured in Li's story are the shadows of translators like Xu Shoushang and others at the Bureau for Translation and Compilation, whose interlingual work politicized their identities with the direst of consequences. In Li's isolation there are glimpses, too, of that older generation proficient in Japanese who struggled to learn Mandarin after the war, cut off from society by government

rhetoric that characterised them as 'people deprived of education' (C. *shixue minzhong*) (Lin 2015, 74). In this way, Zhu uses a translator to convey the sense of placelessness induced by rapid and violent changes in linguistic social norms, capturing how a language once at the core of political life could become the language of its exiles.

In Li Jiazheng's solitude and unease, Zhu presents a pessimistic view of Japanese-Chinese translation, a depiction enforced by translation's failure to produce transformation in *The Ancient Capital*. Zhu herself, however, is not a translator – but rather the daughter of one. Her mother, Liu Musha, was born in 1935 and received her education in Japanese up until regime change in 1945. After the arrival of the new government, Liu married Zhu Xining, a writer and soldier who came to Taiwan in 1949 following the end of the Civil War in China. It wasn't till the 1960s, with Zhu's encouragement, that Liu decided to begin translating after stumbling across a translation column dedicated to Japanese fiction run by Crown Publishing (Teng 2014, 4).[102] Liu was passionate about introducing Japanese authors like Ishikawa Tatsuko to a Taiwanese audience, and consequently her translations often include lengthy prefaces that explain the text to come and introduce the author to the uninformed reader. Liu Musha never faced political recrimination for her translation work, in part perhaps because she didn't begin translating till long after 1945 – and when she did begin, her practice focused on works published in Japan, rather than Taiwan's own Japanese-language literature. Though Zhu Tianxin does not undertake translation work herself, the influence of her mother's profession reverberates through both "Long, Long Ago" and *The Ancient Capital* in their exploration of the interstice between the old language and the new.

[102] Liu Musha had published some work as an author prior to beginning translating, most notably her story "In the Days without Artillery Battle" which won the second place in the essay prize of the Taiwan Women's Writing Association. Teng 2014, 4.

Liu Musha's work as a translator was simultaneous to her work as a mother, and she would often mention the two parts of her existence together (Teng 2014, 4). The difference between Liu's linguistic life and that of the three children she bore and raised whilst translating was one mirrored in families across the world in the post-war period, as the younger generation emerged into the tumult occasioned by the retreat and dismantling of territorial empires. In Taiwan, the dramatic overhaul of the education system between 1945 and 1960 mapped linguistic and cultural distinctions along generational lines, the outlook of children born in the post-war years shaped by markedly different educational frameworks than their parents. Zhu Tianxin confronts this language divide between generations in her fiction, probing a corner of her personal history that maps onto the national experience too.

But where translation offers only frustrated intertemporal connectivity in *The Ancient Capital*, Liu Musha's outlook on translation is more optimistic. In Chen Yundong's view (2007, 422-423), Liu promoted a sense of the literary translator's duty as catalysing connection between author and reader, the text bringing the two closer together in a moment of commonality born through the passage of words into the shape of a story. The possibility of translation facilitating a union, however temporary, between reader and author burdens the translator with the responsibility of engendering that connection, whilst also privileging them with the capacity to achieve such a feat.

Liu is not alone in her appraisal of translation's connective potential. We see Taiwanese women in the post-war generation using translation to seek out points of association with the women preceding them who lived during the colonial era. Beginning in the 1980s and growing in earnest during the 1990s, translation practice here is about recovering narratives of women's lives, and placing them in a framework of women's writing and activism. In the context of literary fiction, this impulse for a revisionist overhaul stems not only from the dominance of

translations by men during the martial law era, but also from the prominence of Taiwanese women as 'iconographic' images in colonial-era fiction drawn solely to aid 'male author's construction of identity and selfhood', as Pei-yin Lin (2017, 181) puts it. From the short stories by authors like Lü Heruo during the 1940s, to earlier depictions of women's misery in proletarian fiction, women and girls in distress were frequently portrayed as the proof of society's disintegration. In other words, women's stories were told not for the sake of telling them, but either to facilitate the male author's social commentary or to aid the expression of a male protagonist's existential woes.[103] Even in the translation of women's Japanophone writing from 1979 onward, the proliferation of male commentary continues. In women's hands, however, translation becomes a means of establishing new lineages of writing and activism – an outlet of women's history, and a spring from which Taiwan's contemporary women's movement could flow.

We have already encountered one instance of this handover to women translators in the earlier discussion of Lin Zhimei's work with "Flower Blooming Season" in Chapter Two. Though Yang Qianhe has been incorporated into narratives of Taiwan's women's movement, particularly via her reputation as 'Taiwan's first female journalist', "Flower Blooming Season" presents its commentary on gender through the introspection of an eighteen-year-old protagonist, and consequently is less obviously aligned with women's activism. Though Yang's political activities during the 1950s did bring her into contact with Taiwan's women's movements, especially Taichung's Women's Association, the themes of her 1942 short story are taken by Lin Zhimei, first and foremost, as reflections of her mother's personal experience, rather than an exploration of themes universal to women living in Taiwan under Japanese rule.

[103] The extent of this trend is reflected in the debate over whether several of the texts written by women during Japanese rule were, in fact, written by men. This discussion proliferates especially around women who left behind little trace besides their stories or essays.

Fiction by older women, in particular a writer named Ye Tao, made more overt commentary on gender politics and its relationship with social inequality. As an older woman, Ye Tao had the opportunity to be involved in social activism during Japanese rule, and her involvement with those activities has shaped the reading of her fiction following 1945.

The chapter that follows considers the translation of Ye Tao's 1936 short story "Children" (J. *Ai no Kesshō/* C. *Ai de jiejing*), and the reinvigoration of women's intergenerational connection through literature proposed in a reading of the text by Ye Tao's granddaughter, Yang Cui. Yang describes women's fiction in corporeal terms, foregrounding its ability to hold the image of society in the same way the womb can carry new life. From this gynocritical standpoint, translation becomes an act of the body, an inheritance passed from women to others. The passage of interlingual exchange is thus redefined: no longer is women's writing simply a by-product of man's, as Eve's body was to Adam's, becoming instead a domain open to women's bodies alone in visions of a literary gynocracy. The remarks made here consider how Yang's characterisation of translation and its relationship with women's bodies is echoed through other texts that aren't translations, but that use translation as a trope to indicate an intergenerational bond between women. In these pseudotranslations and pseudohistories, we see refractions of the notion that Japanese-Chinese translation is the space where histories are recovered, rewritten and reframed – a form of commentary on the patterns of translation and retranslation that have spun through women's Japanophone literature from the publication of *A Complete collection of Taiwan's Literature Since the Retrocession* in 1979 onward.

The Birth of Taiwanese Feminism

In her response to *The Birth of Chinese Feminism*, a historical account of feminist movements in China from the turn of the 20th century onwards, Chen Ya-chen (2017, 2) asks

why Taiwanese feminists, from Xie Xuehong to Yang Qianhe, are absent from that volume's scope. Their omission, Chen contends, is indicative of a broader trend in the study of Taiwan and its women's movements, where Taiwanese women are subsumed within the women's movements active on the other side of the Taiwan Strait, despite the multitude of localized factors distinguishing the two. How to locate the birth of Taiwanese feminism, Chen seems to ask, as an entity divisible from feminism or women's activism in China? It was a question that preoccupied women in Taiwan's 'second-generation' of women activists, who during the 1980s looked to establish a genesis moment for Taiwan's women's movement derived from Taiwan's particular historic experience. The search for origins played out in Taiwan's women's press, in particular *Awakening* (C. *Funü xinzhi zazhi*), a magazine set up by Annette Lu Hsiu-lien in 1982, in which Taiwan's women's movement was placed in correspondence with its Chinese, Japanese and American equivalents. This process of self-definition, as Shujen Wang (1998, 252) highlights, paralleled the exploratory debates centred on 'naming and defining the nation' that gained momentum during the 1980s.

In 1993, a definitive source of Taiwan's women's movement was located by a historian named Yang Cui. Her book, titled *Taiwan's Women's Liberation Movement during Japanese Occupation: Taking Taiwan People's News as a Site for Analysis* (C. *Riju shiqi Taiwan funü jiefang yundong: Yi <Taiwan minbao> wei fenxi changyu*), provided what Doris Chang (2018, 92) describes as the first conception of Taiwan's women's history that began from the period of Japanese rule. Yang's interpretation of that history grew from essays on women's rights published in *Taiwan Youth* (T. *Tai-oan Chheng Lian*) and *Taiwan People's News* (C. *Taiwan Minbao*) from 1920 onward, when the first essay on women's rights by Peng Hua-ying was published in *Taiwan Youth* (Lu 2004, 83). The linguistic profile of these publications was multifarious; pieces were published in Taiwanese, Japanese and vernacular Chinese, a heterogeneity that reflects the decade of linguistic and literary experimentation and fluidity that

took place in Taiwan during the 1920s (Ye 2020, 70). Yang's reconceptualization of the women's movement argued for its inception under conditions of direct colonialism as its distinguishing feature – that 'concurrence with the encounter of colonial power and knowledge', as Hsin-yi Lu (2004, 83) puts it, marking the birth of Taiwanese women's activism as distinct, whether from its cross-strait counterpart, or other movements based elsewhere.

For Yang Cui, the revision of past narratives was anchored in her own personal history. Her grandmother, Ye Tao (T. Iap̍ Tô/H. iab toˇ) was amongst the first generation of Taiwanese women activists. [104] Born in 1909 in the Southern Port of Gaoxiong, Ye was a left-wing activist and author, imprisoned at different moments by both the Japanese and KMT authorities for her political activities. In the December 1983 issue of *Awakening*, Ye was profiled as 'An Outstanding Woman' (C. *Nü zhong haojie - Ye Tao*) by Huang Hua. The profile roots Ye's political activities in the free spirit of her mother, Huang Mei (T. N̂g Bí/H. vongˇ mi´) who 'enjoyed travelling despite having bound feet' (Huang 1983, 38). Ye was equally progressive, persuading her parents through 'fervent protest' that her feet should not be bound, and going on to receive a 'new style education' before becoming a teacher at Gaoxiong's Third Public School (Yang 2001, 53; Huang 1983, 38). After the beginning of Japanese rule, she became involved with the farmer's movement, heading up the women's section of the Farmer's Association. It was through this activism that Ye met Yang Kui in 1927, and the pair would marry in 1929. On their wedding day they were arrested by the Japanese police, spending 17 days in a jail in Taizhong during what Yang Kui described as a 'honeymoon paid for by the government' (Huang 1983, 38). Both were arrested again during the crackdown that followed the 228 Incident, and whilst Ye Tao was freed, Yang Kui went onto serve 12 years in prison until 1961. Ye Tao died in 1969 only eight years after his release, at the age of sixty. In her

[104] I have included the standard Hakka pronunciation for Ye Tao and her mother's name here, as they lived in the south of Taiwan and likely used Hakka when speaking.

commitment to social justice throughout her life, from land rights to the anti-colonial struggle, Ye is an archetypal women's activist of her generation according to Yang Cui's definition, when the campaign for women's rights was incorporated within a general struggle for greater equality within the colonial state (Yang 1993, 16).

Outside her political campaigning, Ye Tao was also a writer, publishing in both Chinese and Japanese, as well as running literary journals with her husband. Though she is widely acknowledged as a 'driving force in colonial Taiwanese literary circles' (Scruggs 2015, 98), Ye left behind only a small number of writings of her own. In Chinese she produced a poem titled "My Instructor is Very Strict" (C. *Wo de jiaolian zhen yanli*), in Japanese a short story titled "Children" (J. *Ai no kesshō*). The latter was published in February 1936, in Volume 1 of a small literary pamphlet titled *New Literature Monthly Bulletin* (J. *Shin bungaku keppō/* C. *Xin wenxue yuebao*), a short-lived accompaniment to *New Taiwan Literature* (J. *Taiwan shin bungaku/* C. *Taiwan xin wenxue*) which was set up by Ye Tao and Yang Kui in 1935. Despite increasing limitations on the freedom of the Taiwanese press by the mid-1930s, *New Taiwan Literature* nonetheless adopted a commitment to plurilingualism in the name of internationalist left-wing politics, with works appearing in Chinese and Japanese up until 1937 and the cover including the Esperanto translation of New Taiwan Literature 'La Formosa Nov-Literaturo' throughout 1936.[105] On occasions the journal would also publish works from other left-wing writers across the empire, such as Korean author Chang Hyŏk-chu, presenting a chorus of voices united not only in their literary profession, but in their political outlook also.

[105] As Kawahara Isao discusses, Yang Kui was committed to Esperanto – and Latin alphabet languages – as a solution to the political and communicative inadequacies of Chinese and Japanese text. In his "Editor's note" to the May 1937 edition of *New Taiwanese Literature*, Kui penned a response to the ban on Chinese publications in which he advocated Esperanto as an alternative: 'For those who only write in Chinese and for those readers who only read Chinese, I beg your understanding and forgiveness. Let's all start again by learning a, i, u, e, o'. Kawahara Isao 2006, 135.

The overlap between literary and political commentary extended to Ye Tao's "Children" where women's issues including infertility, sexual health and the burden of motherhood are brought together alongside questions of class and wealth inequality. The 3-page story is centred round a conversation between two former co-workers, Suying (J. Sueko/T. Sòo Ing) and Baozhu (J. Hōju/T. Pó Tsu). The women had previously worked together as teachers in a girls' high school, though here their similarities end. Suying suffers under the burden of financial struggles, alongside misfortunes in her personal life: she married for love, but her relationship with her husband has soured over time. Baozhu, on the other hand, is the daughter of a rich fish merchant from another city, and consequently her marriage was not a love-match, instead arranged according to her father's wishes. As the story unfolds, the two women divulge their respective miseries, misfortunes that unite them despite their differing social classes. Baozhu confesses that she is a syphilis carrier, and that she has passed the disease on to her own child. Consumed with the wish to have a healthy child, she openly covets Suying's young son, whom she presumes to be perfect. The story ends with Baozhu learning that malnourishment, brought on by poverty, has caused Suying's son to lose his sight:

Ye Tao, "Children" (1936), p. 14	
「まあ困るわね！欲してことが早く分かれば。。。。」 と素英は言って嘆じた。この人に養って貰へたら、自分たちの愛の結晶も、ほんとに可愛い少く青ったらうに。。。と考えたのであった。	'I'm in such trouble! If only I had known earlier about your wishes…' said Suying with a sigh. If I had let her raise my child, they would be cute and less gaunt: that's what she was thinking.
「早く分かればって。。。誰か呉れる人があるの？。。。。。ねえ？。。。。」 寶珠は大分氣乗りになって来た。	'If only you'd known earlier? Is there someone giving their child away? What is it?' Baozhu was now showing a great interest in the situation.
「いいえ。。。私たしの。。。」 素英ドギマギした。 「あなたの？。。。。あなたの愛の結晶？眞實？。。。。」	'No … My …' Suying flustered. 'Your? … Your child? Really?'

寶珠は言われないものやうに、。。。非常に欲しがっているがのやうに、言ふことがせっかちになって来た。 「ですけど。。。もう駄目。。。」 「どうして？。。。外の人にやったの？」 「いいえ。。。でも人にやれなくなってしまったの！。。。」 「どうして？。。。」 「盲目になったの。。。」 「メクラ？。。。まあ。。。愛の結晶が盲目に？。。。」 「ええ。。。」 「どうして又そんなにったの？。。。」 「ヴィタミン缺乏とか言ふの。。。」 「病気？。。。」 「ええ、營養不良の病気。。。」 「營養不良の病気？。。。」 「ええーー。」 それから二人共黙ってしまった。二人はこれの立場から「愛の結晶」が盲目にされたことを惜しりつ、自分の身の上を悲んだ。	Baozhu was now speaking hastily, as if she had something she really wanted to say but could not say. 'Though…it is already useless…' 'Why?...Have you already given him to someone else?' 'No … Though no one will want him now!' 'Why?...' 'He's gone blind…' '*Blind*? … Ah … Your child is blind?' 'Mmm…' 'How did this happen?' 'They said it was a lack of vitamins…' 'A disease…?' 'Mmm, a malnutrition-related disease…' 'A malnutrition-related disease?' 'Mmm --.' And so the two of them were silent. From their respective standpoints, the pair felt regret over the news of the child's blindness, and each mourned their own circumstances.

This concluding image of the story, two women unified in grief over their own misfortune and that of their offspring, is given some relief by Baozhu's declaration that she hopes Suying's next child will have healthy sight. It is a brief moment of companionship between the pair, as Ye Tao shows the afflictions of patriarchal expectation surpassing wealth and status, trapping both women within the painful existence conferred upon them as a consequence of their gender.

The Womb, Emerging with Resilient Vitality!

There are resonances between the issues explored in "Children" and those championed by the contemporary women's movement in Taiwan, thanks to the story's focus on women's

reproductive health and the various pains associated with childbirth and raising children. These themes broadly align, for example, with the discussions surrounding abortion rights that dominated the earliest campaigns in Taiwan's contemporary women's movement from 1970 onward.[106] Given these resonances, as well as Ye Tao's lifelong opposition to authoritarianism, "Children" made a good candidate for translation following the lifting of martial law in 1987, and it built on the strong translation tradition within Taiwan's nascent contemporary women's movement.[107] As such, there have been two translations of the short text, published within a small window of time. The first is a translation by Ye Shitao, published in his aforementioned 1996 anthology *A Collection of Taiwan Literature* alongside his translations of "Feelings" and "New Moon". "Children" shares thematic parallels with these texts in its depiction of distressed femininity, though the commentary on social class perhaps brings the work in closer alignment with Zhang Bihua's "New Moon" and its critique of feudal society. Ye Tao's story certainly qualifies under Ye Shitao's (1996, 2) argument that the works by women in his collection show 'an anti-feudalist, anti-imperialist fight for women's rights'. In the stakes of historical representation, paramount to Ye Shitao's practice, Ye Tao's story provides a vital commentary on life under colonial rule for women, bringing with it a degree of realism absent from the social caricatures that one could argue emerge in Huang Baotao's "Feelings" and Zhang Bihua's "New Moon".

The second published translation of the text was completed by poet and left-wing intellectual Xiang Yang, and was published alongside an interpretation of the text by Yang Cui in *A Reader of Taiwanese Women's Fiction Since the Japanese Occupation* (C. *Riju yilai*

[106] Abortion was a central issue from 1969 onwards, following the publication of "The Guiding Principles of the Population Policy of the Republic of China". See Chen 2013.
[107] Translation, as Doris Chang notes, was front and centre in the establishment and growth of Taiwan's women's movement from the 1970s onward. Annette Lu, who is regularly pinpointed as the founder of Taiwan's contemporary women's movement, was heavily influenced by her experience of studying abroad in America, leading to a feminist outlook that combined Western thought with an awareness of Taiwan's political and social situation. Lu's Pioneer Press (C. *Tuohuangzhe chubanshe*), established in the early 1970s, regularly published translations of feminist theory as a means to catalyse women's activism in Taiwan. Chang 2009, 18.

Taiwan nü zuojia xiaoshuo xuandu) in 2001. Yang's accompanying essay also pushes for representation, though of a different sort. Where Ye Shitao's efforts are focused on compiling a fuller picture of the national literature, and thereby the national history, Yang's interpretation of "Children" homes in on the matter of women's writing specifically, foregrounding the commentary within Ye Tao's text concerning the reality of life for Taiwanese women living under Japanese rule, and the significance of that depiction for future generations. Yang Cui uses Xiang Yang's translation as an opportunity to alter the interpretative lens, reading "Children" as an expression, first and foremost, of a suffering universal to women's bodies.

Throughout these accompanying notes, protagonists, author and text are bound together by a shared biology which Yang characterises in gynaecological terms to emphasise the ability of her grandmother's story to regenerate through reading and translation. Yang mounts an argument for a woman's perspective, presented in literary text, to be deeply representative of the social condition. There is an implication of women's innate ability to possess social relativity, to bear visions of society as the womb might bear a child. In the utero-text, Baozhu's fertility problems and Suying's sickly child become metaphorical representations of society's suffering under colonial rule:

> "Children" takes the pain of not being able to give birth to a healthy child to symbolise women's grief about their own bodies, society's gloominess and sorrow.
>
> We can go as far as to say that within literature written by women, there more or less exists a womb that can get pregnant and give birth. It can hold the soft image of society. (Yang 2001, 61)

And later, Yang's hopeful interpretation of the story's ending equates to a better future not only for the two women, but also the society surrounding them:

> Yet, the womb's ability to become pregnant regenerates. At the end of the story Baozhu wishes Suying: 'May your next child have clear sight'. It is a turn of events, a hint of sunshine. (Yang 2001, 63)

In other words, "Children" is interpreted here as a work of social commentary with historical significance in its ability to capture the truth of colonial society.[108] Moreover, the capacity to capture this portrayal is tied specifically and exclusively to women writers, through appeals to female biology.[109] If we read Yang's designation of "Children" as a utero-text through Caroline Rupprecht's (2013, xiv) concept of 'womb fantasies', where the womb is evoked in response to 'sterility', Yang's image of "Children" as a figurative womb can be seen as a promise of women's literary regeneration from a place of deficit – a critical mirroring, in other words, of Baozhu's hopeful evocation of a future child at the text's conclusion.

Perhaps counterintuitively, it also signals a reworking of what Yang (2001, 61) describes as the 'inseparable link and relationship between femininity and childbirth', as it moves the childbearing function prescribed to women out of the domestic sphere and into the public, and the political. In Yang's socially-relative maternity, there are echoes of the discourse of 'social feminism' that Doris Chang (2009, 25) argues Annette Lu used following her induction into politics in 1992 to encourage women to become involved in the political sphere. This rhetoric characterised a woman's maternal capacity as an asset to her public service, rather than a cumbersome obstacle to be cast off in pursuit of that goal. The image of a woman as 'the protector and preserver of the inner core of precolonial culture' in colonial fiction, as Scruggs (2015, 112) argues, is thus inverted in Yang Cui's analysis of "Children" – the text

[108] The infertile woman as a mirror to social ill is not an uncommon trope - syphilis sufferer Zhang Qiuliu in Mao Dun's 1928 novel *Pursuit* (C. *Zhuiqiu*), for example, is viewed by Marston Anderson as the embodiment of 'shidaibing', the sickness of the age: Anderson 1990, 145. With Zhang Qiuliu, though, there is no hint of an uncontainable grief at becoming barren - rather, Mao Dun's 'tendency to associate revolutionary women with infertility', as Jin Feng argues, puts a virtuous spin on defeminization: Jin Feng 2003, 117.

[109] Yang's reading of Ye Tao's text here mirrors Beauvoir's reading of the womb as a source of pain - 'the womb, secret and sealed like a tomb' - but also of life - 'the symbol of immanence and depth'. Beauvoir 2011, 198; 229.

and the women it portrays retain their maternal connection to the 'inner core', and it is that connection too that makes them worthy embodiments of external politics and its workings on broader society.

As if to emphasise the concrete and socially relative dimensions of Ye Tao's work, Yang Cui moves her framing to encompass her grandmother's personal history, pointing to the allegorical potency of her life's passage:

> If we think of Ye Tao, sick and condemned in a cell during the 228 Incident generously raising her voice in song, then the story's ending shouldn't feel unexpected. It shows a social activist, like the womb, emerging with resilient vitality! Because the womb, in the dark and dank, can become pregnant with life. (Yang 2001, 63)

In this description Ye and the text become one, unified in their resilience and resistance – bodies of flesh and bodies of text becoming ciphers for society as a whole – both are singular, and yet they encapsulate the experience of many. Using the womb as an image to express this idea compounds the sense of simultaneous individuality and universality: a womb is unique to one body, but also a trait shared across bodies, and the site where a new, separate body can be made. It also provides an effective image of an origin point from which the literary and political movement has grown. In its womblike qualities, Ye Tao's "Children" is capable of remarkable individuality, as well as an ability to move beyond the individual in service of another.

When it comes to the contents of Xiang Yang's translation itself, there several changes that can be interpreted in light of Yang's comments above. The principal example is the story's final scene, where Baozhu discovers that Suying's son is blind, and therefore not as 'valuable' as she first perceived. In Xiang's interpretation, Baozhu's impatient coveting of Suying's child is underemphasised in favour of expressions of empathetic solidarity:

Ye Tao, "Children" (2001), p. 58 **Translated by Xiang Yang**	
「啊，真難過！真希望妳能早點明白。。。」 素英說著又嘆了一口氣。對眼前的這個人來說，只要能養個小孩就好，她當然會覺得自己有個愛的結晶的小孩一定很可愛囉。。。素英這樣想著。	'Ah, it is so sad! I truly wish that you had known earlier…' Suying said this whilst letting out a sigh. As far as the woman in front of her was concerned, all would be well so long as she could raise a child. Of course Baozhu thought that if she had her own precious child, they would be cute… This is what Suying was thinking.
「早點明白。。。誰是不如意的人呢？嗯？。。。」	'Known earlier … Who is the unsatisfactory person? Huh…?'
寶珠興致很高地追問著。	Baozhu asked with great interest.
「不是啦。。。我的。。。」 素英心慌了起來。	'No … My…' Suying became flustered.
「你的？。。。你的愛的結晶？真的嗎？」	'Your …? Your child? Really?'
寶珠好像是不被信賴的人的樣子，急躁地想知道真相地問著。	Baozhu seemed like someone who didn't have faith in what they were being told, irritably asking questions to seek out the truth.
「只是。。。太壞了。。。」	'It's only … It's all rotten…'
「怎麼了？。。。是外面的人搞鬼的嗎？。。。」	'What is it? Is someone else causing mischief?'
「不是啦。。。什麼人也沒有搞鬼！。。。」	'No! No one is causing mischief!'
「那又怎麼了？。。。」	'Then what's wrong?'
「孩子眼睛瞎掉了。。。」	'My child has lost his sight…'
「瞎子？。。。啊。。。愛的結晶瞎掉了？。。。」	'Lost his sight? Ah … Your child is blind?'
「嗯。。。」	'Mmm…'
「為什麼會變成那個樣子呢？」	'How did things become this way?'
「說是缺乏維他命。。。」 「生病了？。。。」	'They said it was to do with vitamin deficiency…'

「嗯，是營養不良的病。。。」 「營養不良的病？。。。」 「嗯——」 兩人都沈默了下來。兩個人從各子不同的立場一面對於「愛的結晶」瞎掉了的事惋惜著，一方面則悲哀著自已的遭遇。	'He's sick?' 'Yes, it's a malnutrition disease…' 'A malnutrition disease?' 'Mmm…' The two of them fell into silence. From their own different positions the two of them regretted the news of the child's blindness, each lamenting their own misfortune.

The possibility of Baozhu taking Suying's child, or even considering such an act, is markedly less prominent here than in "Children" 1936. Suying no longer ponders what her child might have become had they been raised in the other woman's care, and Baozhu no longer asks outright whether Suying is giving away her child, instead opting to ask whether a stranger is 'causing mischief' – an allusion, perhaps, to the child being taken away by the authorities on account of his parents' left-wing sensibilities. By altering these small moments in Baozhu and Suying's exchange, Xiang Yang subtly alters the dynamic of the women's conversation. The prospect of Baozhu taking Suying's child, as lightly inferred in "Children" 1936, sows an implicit divide between the two women: as Baozhu seeks an outcome, however briefly, that allows her to benefit from Suying's hardship, her marital wealth places her in a position of superiority in comparison to her fellow woman. To put it differently, it plants the possibility of the wealthier woman leaving behind the afflictions of her peer, with the women potentially divided by their respective positions in relation to class struggle, rather than united within a gendered suffering. Of course, the prospect of Baozhu's wish fulfilment is fleeting, over before it has even really begun, yet its emergence in the source text somewhat undercuts Yang Cui's reading of feminine solidarity in story. Ye Shitao's 1996 version, as a point of contrast, makes Baozhu's moment of selfish outburst explicit:

Ye Tao, "Children" (1996), p. 183-184. Translated by Ye Shitao	
‘哎呀！真令人傷心。。。只要提前知道想擁有孩子。。。‘	‘Ah! It does make my heart ache… If only I’d known before that you wanted a child…’
素英說著嘆息，她想，如果由寶珠來領養，我們底愛的結晶也就會可愛地長大吧！	Suying said with a sigh. She thought, if I had given my child to Baozhu to raise, our child could have grown up cute!
「提早知道就。。。有人要送給我孩子嗎？ 是不是？」	‘If only you’d known earlier … Is there someone who wants to give me their child? Is that it?’
寶珠十分感興趣。	Baozhu was completely interested.
「不！是我的。。。」	‘No! It’s my …’
素英慌張起來。	Suying became flustered.
「你的，把你的愛的結晶送我？ 真的嗎？」	‘Yours, you would give your child to me? Really?’
寶珠兀自不相信，有非常渴望似地，她的話就性急起來。	Baozhu seemed in disbelief, and full of longing. Her words came out in a rush.
「可是。。。不行哪。。。」	‘No … It is not possible.’
「為什麼？給了別人嗎？」	‘Why? Have you given him to someone else?’
「不！可是已經無法送人了。。。」	‘No! But there’s already no way that I give him to anyone …’
「為什麼？」	‘Why?’
「變成瞎子了呢。」	‘He’s gone blind.’
「瞎子 ？ 哎呀！ 愛的結晶卻變成瞎子？」	‘Blind? Ah! Your child has lost his sight?’
「缺乏維他命之故。。。」	‘It is because of a lack of vitamins…’
「生病嗎？」	‘Is he sick?’
「是啊！營養不良的病呢。」	‘Yes! It is a malnutrition-related disease.’
「營養不良的病？」	‘A malnutrition-related disease?’
	‘Yes.’

「是啊。」 於是兩個人皆沈默下來。兩個人各自從自已的立場疼惜「愛的結晶」變成瞎子的事，也悲傷著自已的身世。	And so the two of them fell silent. The pair, from their respective positions, felt regret over the news of the child's blindness, and felt grief at their own circumstances.

Here Baozhu's inner thoughts are unmasked, laid bare to the reader as she becomes noticeably excited by the prospect of taking Suying's child as her own – even asking the other woman directly: 'you would give your child to me, really?'. In Ye's version, there is no softening of Baozhu's callous appeals to Suying – eroded empathy causing her to prioritise her own desires above all else.

Why would Xiang Yang opt to alter this exchange? One explanation might be what Louise Von Flotow (1997, 104) describes as the gravitational pull toward 'women's commonality' in feminist translation practice that takes place during the emergence of women's studies as a discipline, as was the case in Taiwan throughout the 1990s.[110] The softening of Baozhu's intent does present a 'commonality', as her empathy places the two women on the same side – rather than the covert opposition implied by her coveting of Suying's son. This is arguably an intervention that strengthens the origin story lacing across Yang's commentary: it is more persuasive to show women united in the face of shared hardship, rather than divided. It is a change, but it is not a departure from the identity of the text in its first form, where questions of women's health dominate.

As with Lin Zhimei's translation of "Flower Blooming Season" and accompanying commentary, Yang Cui's reading of "Children" in translation raises questions about the role of

[110] The institutionalization of women's studies as an academic discipline began during the 1980s, including the *Newsletter of Women's Studies* (C. *Funü yanjiu tongxun*) established in 1989 and the *Journal of Women and Gender Research* (C. *Funü yu xingbie yanjiu*) in 1990. See Hsieh 1994.

reinterpretation for those working with their family's texts.[111] The corporeal connection between Ye Tao and Yang Cui is not an abstract one – they are of the same blood. With that bloodline, the possibility of reinterpretation – a textual rebirth – does not necessarily contradict Yang's reframing of "Children". Rather, it seems only to naturally extend the womb-like properties that she identifies in the short text. Yang (2001, 63) argues that 'to understand the ideological tension contained in "Children", you must first understand Ye Tao and the time in which she lived'. In this sense, Yang achieves and extends the liminality between individual and collective that she discusses in her commentary. Her reading of Xiang Yang's translation frames the text by emphasising textual agency, and the possibility of continuous renewal through reading. The section that follows will explore how this conception of translation as a site of renewal has expressed itself as a trope through pseudotranslation, with activist women authors looking to connect personally and artistically with women from the past.

Translating the Realm: Living Flesh, Imaginary Text

Translation's potential to bond Taiwan's second-wave women's movement with its antecedent is encumbered by one significant impediment: a lack of source texts. As Hsieh Hsiao-chen (1994, 142) reflects, this was a problem across the discipline of women studies in Taiwan at the beginning of the 1990s. Whilst the import of western feminist thought through translation bolstered the contemporary movement, the direct application of that theoretical framework came with limitations when applied to the development of women's studies and activism in Taiwan. How, then, to locate a tradition of women's writing, or strive toward a canon, when material from its origin moment is either lost or non-existent? Qiu Guifen (2001)

[111] Yang has written elsewhere about her connection with her paternal grandmother, and how research exacerbated that sense of intergenerational communication. In the afterword to her monograph *Taiwan's Women's Liberation Movement During the Period of Japanese Occupation*, titled 'Granny Ye Tao's Long Hair' (C. *Ama Ye Tao de changfa*) Yang recalls how she poured over copies of the colonial-era newspaper *Taiwan People's News* (C. *Taiwan Minbao*) hoping to 'meet my beloved paternal grandparents once again...in history'. Yang 1993, 618.

addresses this concern in her preface to the collection that published Xiang Yang's translation of "Children" – *A Reader of Taiwanese Women's Fiction Since Japanese Occupation*. Rebuking the linearity adopted by male scholars including Ye Shitao, Chen Fang-ming and Peng Ruijin, Qiu (2001, 6) argues that when women's perspectives are centred, Taiwan's literary history is defined by 'incoherence' (C. *bu shi guan*) and 'rupture' (C. *duanlie*) – a severance rooted in mid-century regime change and its repercussions in the literary textual space. The irony, of course, is that Qiu's endorsement of 'rupture' as a critical framework prefaces what is a stereotypically linear collection of women's fiction that progresses chronologically, drawing a straight line between the writing of Ye Tao, Yang Qianhe and women writers from the 1970s and 1980s. Even whilst dismissing the literary lineages favoured by feminist critics (discussed in terms of grandmothers, mothers, daughters and so on) Qiu (2001, 5) nevertheless places the 'first' women writers as the successors of those following, demonstrating the challenges inherent to giving rupture its due representation. This contradictory commentary manifests the simultaneous desire to commemorate the events that drew a dividing line between two generations of women writers, and the desire to claim a connection to those works published prior to 1945 in an act of radical linearity.

One way to deal with 'rupture', and the resulting scarcity of sources texts written by women in Ye Tao's generation, is to compensate for absence by imagining what those histories might look like, and committing them to paper as substitutes for texts never written. Identifying retrospective icons in this manner is not unusual in women's movements, where the urge to decentre the male perspective can produce new historicist works in the vein of Zhao Mei and Xu Lan's 1994 novels *Empress Wu* (C. *Wu zetian*) (Ning 2002, 206). What is striking about these fictional histories in the Taiwan context is their emphasis on linguistic exchange as a central component of their fictitious reconstruction. In much the same way that Yang Cui establishing a link between her feminine corporeality and the author's through the medium of

text, we see other writers – who aren't actually engaging in translation in their writing – anchoring their imagined histories in the same anatomical intensity induced by linguistic exchange.

Renowned feminist author Li Ang's 2000 *Autobiography: A Novel* (C. *Zichuan de xiaoshuo,* J. *Jitsutō no shōsetsu*) and *A Drifting Journey* (C. *Piaoliu zhi lü*) are both examples of this tendency. Through both texts, Li tells the life story of Xie Xuehong, a Taiwanese left-wing activist who lived during the Japanese colonial-era. Xie was born in Chuanghua county, western Taiwan in 1901, and during her early adult life travelled between China and Japan with her husband Zhang Shumin. During the 1920s she was instrumental in the founding of the Taiwanese Communist Party, and following her exile from Taiwan after 1947, she was involved in the founding of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League in Hong Kong. In *Autobiography: A Novel* and *A Drifting Journey,* Li Ang memorialises Xie in a manner that forges an intimacy between the pair. As Ya-chen Chen (2017, 40) discusses, the process of writing sees Li merge her physical self with Xie (Li 2000, 91; 94), and declare the establishment of a 'blood relationship' between the two as Li declares 'I am your cousin' (Li 2000, 226-227; 233-234; 236). The union of two bodies is reflected in the cover design of *Autobiography* (Figure 9). The cover image shows two female figures clasped together at the hip by the promise of new life – a sprouting seed, which could be read as an illusion to the text. The story is part Li, part Xie, an immersive marriage of minds that traverses language. The image seems the embodiment of the fractured selfhood that feminist scholars have argued for in postcolonial autobiographical studies, ranging from the fictionalized autobiography to the pseudonym adorned, multi-author fragmentary texts that contribute to feminist biographical and autobiographical practice (Moore-Gilbert 2009, 18). Simultaneously, Li's appeal to bodily unity between two women through literary composition bears a striking resemblance to Yang Cui's evocation of the bond forming utero-text.

Autobiography makes a logical focal point for this kind of narrative-making about the past.[112] In the process of self-reflection and interrogation required to put one's life to paper, the only standards of accurate representation an author must meet are those set by their own desires and intentions. The centring of autobiography within the realm of memory (either through recollection alone or a return to previous memory records – diaries and so on) allows for narrative to take a firm hold over the shape of the text and its perceived qualities. The presentation of a life *story* is a pre-requisite, with the mundane glossed over in favour of moments of note in the same manner one might expect in a conventional realist novel. Li reflects on this in the subheading published on the cover of *Autobiography: A Novel:*

> *Autobiography: a real novel?*
> *A novel: fictional autobiography?*
> *After all, in the gap between what is truth and what is fiction*
> *Whose novel is it? Whose autobiography is it?* (Li 2000, cover)

The controversial status of autobiographies as records of the past is amplified when these texts wade into the thicket of contested histories of events, people or objects, where suddenly the weight of experience becomes valuable currency in the hierarchy of narrative and the jostle to see which will succeed. This has been the case in Taiwan, where autobiography has provided an important outlet for individuals following 1987 to express their take on the events of the twentieth century and how they pertain to 'Taiwan Question' (C. *Taiwan wenti*) as it exists today.[113] The mass movement of people in and from Taiwan in the mid-twentieth century contributes to this, as autobiography becomes a format that allows the author to re-establish

[112] *Autobiography* did not mark Li's first foray into fictive biographical writing: in 1993 she took political dissident Shi Ming-te as her subject in a novel that Chiu Kuei-fen argues marks the beginning of Li's use of fiction to 'preserve historical memory that is fast sinking into oblivion'. Chiu 2002, 71.

[113] The precise qualities of this 'problem' are subjective, as Melissa Brown points out: 'On the China side, the problem is how to bring Taiwan back into the Chinese nation. On the Taiwan side, the problem is how best to maintain comfortable economic and political trajectories without being swallowed up or bombed by China'. Brown 2004, 4. Though left unmentioned by Brown, Japan plays a secondary role in this arrangement, as a potential ally for Taiwanese interests based on the historic colonial relationship between the two.

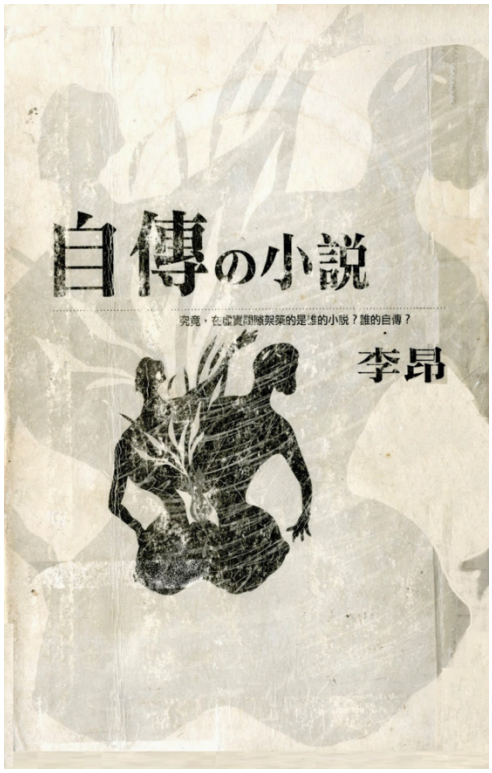

Figure 9: Early cover of Autobiography: A Novel

their own identity despite the flux caused by regime change, forced migration and authoritarian and interventionist policies during martial law. The 1990s was a fruitful decade for this form of retrospective, ranging from Japanophone memoirs (J. *Nihonjin ron*) published by older Taiwanese with affection for the period of Japanese rule, to accounts written by those who lived their lives across the Taiwan Strait prior to 1945, such as Chi Pang-yuan and her autobiography *The Great Flowering River* (C. *Ju liu he*), or autobiographies looking for what we might call a third way determined by Taiwanese subjectivity, such as Yang Qianhe's *The Prism of Life* (J. *Jinsei no purizumu*). Drawing on this extensive precedent, Li uses Xie's fictional autobiography to simultaneously explore both that past life, and how its passage relates to Li Ang as a Taiwanese woman living and writing at the turn of the twenty-first century.

As is often the case in the biographies listed above, language plays a pivotal role in this coming together of textual bodies past and present. The performative use of the Japanese possessive marker の in the title of *Autobiography* reflects Li's awareness of the historical context of her work (Chen 2017, 26).[114] It is an acknowledgement that a historically accurate portrait of Xie Xuehong's autobiography would have to be written in Japanese, rather than Mandarin Chinese. Equally, and to a greater extent than Yang Cui's experience with Ye Tao, the inclusion of Japanese on the cover opens up a linguistic void between Li Ang and Xie

[114] Li also explores the history of language in other works, most famously in her 1991 novel *The Lost Garden* (C. *Miyuan*).

Xuehong, one made ever deeper by Li's lack of Japanese. Because of this distance, within the imagined text, and the imagined history, there is an imagined translation: transference of sorts does take place between Li Ang and the imagined work of Xie Xuehong that she conceives as a Japanophone text. Indeed, in Li's comments on writing *Autobiography*, she echoes several sentiments of translators working with Japanophone texts. This is true both of her declaration of a 'blood relationship' between herself and Xie, but also her desire to subvert established narratives surrounding a notable woman from the past. In a 2003 interview, for example, she discusses her desire to revise critic Chen Fang-ming's 1991 account of Xie Xuehong's life *A Critical Biography of Xie Xuehong* (*C. Xie Xuehong pingzhuan*) in her fictionalised *Autobiography* (Chen 2017, 26). This desire to counter Chen's source text reverberates with the revisionist aspirations vocalised by Yang Qianhe's daughter Lin Zhimei (2012,191) who specified her intention to correct the errors of both translations and commentaries on her mother's work through translation. Yet *Autobiography: A novel* and *A Drifting Journey* are not translations, and nor do they portend to be. In her questioning of dividing lines between autobiography, novel, fact, and fiction, and the linguistic realities that lie therein, Li's *Autobiography* is an example of Hu Ying's (2000, 12) description of womanhood made as a 'tale of translation'. In *Autobiography,* that translation is made part of the fiction.

A Translator by Any Other Name

While Li Ang's fictional portraits of Xie Xuehong don't amount to pseudotranslations, Yang Shuangzi's 2020 novel *Records of a Pleasure Trip in Taiwan* (*C. Taiwan manyou lu*) certainly fits Gideon Toury's (1984, 41) classic definition of that genre of text as one that presents itself with a translational veneer, yet in actuality possesses 'no original'. *Records* is so effective in this regard that Zhan Minxu (2020), writing in his book review column for *Unitas* (*C. Lianhe wenxue*) in 2020, remarked that he initially wrote off Yang Shuangzi's 2020 novel

as being unsuitable for the column's stipulated contents, which placed translated fiction beyond their remit:

> At the start, I didn't choose *Records of A Pleasure Trip in Taiwan*, for no reason other than that I thought from the original volume that it was a Japanophone novel from the period of Japanese rule, originally written by Aoki Chigako and newly translated by Yang Shuangzi. As this didn't match the requirements of the *Unitas* book review column, I crossed it off the list. It wasn't till later, when the author and publisher released a statement, that I realized I was mistaken. *Records of a Pleasure trip in Taiwan* is not a translation, but an original novel written in Mandarin Chinese. (Zhan 2020)

Zhan's mistake was an easy one to make, as even in its amended second edition *Records* is not forthcoming about its truthful and fictional aspects. The original cover from the 2020 edition included both Aoki Chigako 青山千鶴 and Yang Shuangzi's names on the cover as 'authors' (著 C. *zhe*) (Figure 10). Whilst the 2021 reprint shows Yang's name alone, its back cover presents quotes from characters in the book as though they were real people. The disguise is so complete that the publisher added a disclaimer on the inside page in the second edition – though it is small enough to be easily missed:

> This book from the first page to the last is a novel. Through a fabricated translated style, the truth of that era (the period of Japanese rule) emerges. (Yang 2021, dedication page)

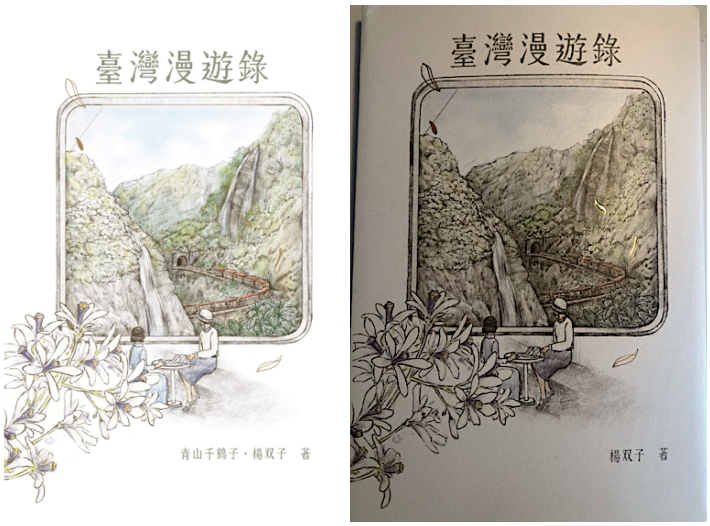

Figure 10: (L) 2020 cover of Records of A Pleasure Trip in Taiwan with two authors names: Yang Shuangzi (楊双子) and Aoki Chigako (青山千鶴) (R) 2021 cover with only Yang Shuangzi's name (楊双子)

What *Records* presents, in other words, is a pseudotranslation so effective that readers of the first edition did not think to second-guess the work's authorship or its historic identity. The veneer of translation plays an integral part in the novel's presentation, and it goes on to play an integral role in its plot, which depicts the growing relationship between a Japanese author Aoki Chigako and her Taiwanese translator Wang Qianhe (T. Ông Tshian-ho̍k) as they travel around the island together. Not unlike Yang Shuangzi's reimagining of Yang Qianhe's "Flower Blooming Season" in her 2017 novel *Flower Blooming Season*, translation sows intimacy between the two characters, subverting the expected dynamic between the pair as colonized and colonizer – as the latter acts as an indispensable guide to the former.[115] Yang Qianhe also appears here through an illusion to her name, as both the Japanese protagonist and her translator share the characters 千鶴 (C. Qianhe, J. Chigako T. Tshian-ho̍k) in their names – a feature both characters recognise and discuss during their first meeting (Yang 2021, 44).[116]

[115] The same dynamic exists between Yukiko and Sakiko in *Flower Blooming Season* 2017. Their friendship is forged in translation, and it is through that translational dynamic that Yukiko makes herself a new identity.
[116] Affinity through a shared name is something Yang Shuangzi references in relation to Yang Qianhe - as they share the surname 楊. Yang 2018, 56.



Figure 11: (From Top to Bottom) Opening scene of Go Southward depicting a train moving at high speeds; Scene showing three young women standing at the back of a train departing Taihoku Station; A railway map of Taiwan that punctuates the documentary's various sections.

Why was it necessary to present *Records* as a translation? The translational veneer is a high-concept addition to an otherwise relatively simplistic plot. Arguably, by casting herself as a translator and the text as a translation, Yang uses the novel not only to communicate a plot – but also a series of political messages about the use of language in literature and its relationship with Taiwan's colonial history. *Records* is a pastiche of translation's role in historical and political communication – a culmination of the translation record that spans across the reimagined writings of Yang Qianhe, Ye Tao, Huang Baotao, Zhang Bihua and Huang Fengzi. Pseudotranslation here pads out the scarce or inaccessible historical archive in a tactic that recurs across fiction from divergent geographies and periods, from 16th century Spanish pseudohistories (Méndez-Oliver 2017), to Ryūnosuke Akutagawa's 1918 novel *Death of a Disciple* (J. *Hōkyōnin no shi*) (Beebee & Amano, 2010) and Jose Luis Borges' faux encyclopaedic entries (Kohlrausch 2018, 153). These disparate works are connected through how their author poses as both 'translator' and historian – a knowing nod, perhaps, to how often the two roles overlap. Their works, meanwhile, signpost what Emily Apter (2006, 212) describes as an 'other' world of textuality; symbolic tributes to alternative histories or canons. Yang's *Records* achieves this in how it imitates Taiwan's Japanophone literary canon, and compensates for the dearth of women's writing therein.

By operating with a phantom source text, Yang has the liberty to amalgamate material from the colonial era and re-present it through her own imagining. With *Records* she seems especially concerned with reimagining cultural products that express the colonial gaze. The preface of *Records* draws parallels with the works of Nishikawa Mitsuru, the Japanese author whom we met in Chapter One well-known for his portrayals of Taiwan as a land of exotic wonder. Zhan Minxu (2020), meanwhile, points to the similarities between *A Record* and a documentary produced by the imperial government in 1939 titled *Go Southward to Taiwan* (C. *Nanjin Taiwan*, J. *Nanshin Taiwan*). The hour-long documentary showcased Taiwan as a flourishing, modern colony, providing a space for narrativizing Taiwan's place within the empire, not only through the title's purposeful allusion to the 'Southward Expansion' (J. *Nanshin ron*) policy, but also the narrator's descriptions that frame the images on the screen, as Yu-lin Lee notes (2013, 125). Building on other visual representations of Taiwan, such as the popular picture-postcards depicting indigenous communities that Paul Barclay (2010) describes, *Go Southward* packaged the colony in a manner enticing to audiences in the metropole, and provides viewers today with a view of the world through 'imperial eyes' as Chin-tong Tsai (2012, 102) has argued.

The similarities between *Records* and *Go Southward* abound. Both structure themselves around a train journey through Taiwan, and both focus on the local qualities of each destination (Figure 11). In *Records* the focus falls explicitly on food, with each chapter named after different dishes and foodstuffs, and though *Go Southwards* contains a more varied presentation, including Taiwan's landscapes and factories, it also pays attention to 'local' foods and delicacies. The viewer sees bananas in Taichū (today's Taizhong), rice-fields near Tainan and street food markets in Daitōtei, Taihoku (today's Dadaocheng, Taipei) (see Figure 12 and 13). As the camera moves throughout Taiwan, it gravitates toward images of women – particularly

in the metropolitan scenes, where walkways and gardens are almost exclusively populated by women in qipao and kimono (see Figure 14). In the figures of Aoki Chigako and Wang Qianhe, represented by faceless figures on the cover of *Records*, the reader is similarly guided from location to location by the image of youthful women. The 'imperial eyes' find their equivalent in Aoki Chigako's first person narrative, though they are tempered somewhat by her deference to Wang Qianhe's translations to understand both the language and the food presented to her.

The resonances between these two works take on a different light when we consider the ethical debates surrounding *Go Southward* during its digitization. This process, which we might consider a translation of sorts, was carried out by the National Museum of Taiwan History between 2005 and 2008, when a large number of Japanese films from the colonial period were digitized for posterity.[117] Across these five years, those involved in the archival project reckoned with questions over how to ethically conserve this colonial relic, with project director Jiing Yng-ruey making clear that digitization should provide a momentum for what Lee (2013, 121) terms a '"new" history'. Given the parallels between Yang's *Records* and *Go Southwards*, the appearance of the former marks the historic positioning of the latter. It is a reimagining of the state-sponsored media intended to encourage intra-imperial travel, and in its translational masquerade it equally ponders similar questions to those posed by archivists dealing with *Go Southwards* about documenting and representing the past in the present. Is it ethical, or indeed possible, to turn the colonial gaze in on itself – harnessing its expression to show the reader the malignant qualities of that outlook?[118] And how far should the contemporary historian, curator,

[117] Lee's analysis arguably supports the idea of seeing digitization as a kind of translation, as he describes the new version of the documentary shifting form as 'a montage, not a projection' and the idea that the digital film presents a representation, as opposite to a part-for-part duplication. See Lee 2013, 123; 125.

[118] Mary Louise Pratt examines these questions of morality and power in relation to travel writing, arguing that the power and violence of travel writing is sustained by the dynamics of empire. These texts are situated in the colonies but published in the metropole, and consequently they give consumers in the colonial heartland a 'sense of ownership, entitlement, and familiarity' over the colonial other. In this sense, the power of travel writing is heavily reliant on context – a context that arguably exists beyond the control of the text's author. See Pratt 2008, 3. Yang Shuangzi's *Records of a Pleasure Trip in Taiwan* very purposefully intervenes in this context, alerting the reader to the colonial power dynamics that underpin the novel's

translator or archivist intervene to reframe that gaze – is it possible to do so without compromising the historical integrity of the source at hand?



Figure 12: (L) Young banana picker portrayed in the Taichū portion of the documentary; (R) Rice fields shown in the Tainan portion



Figure 13: Food and diners at street market in Daitōtei (today's Dadaocheng).

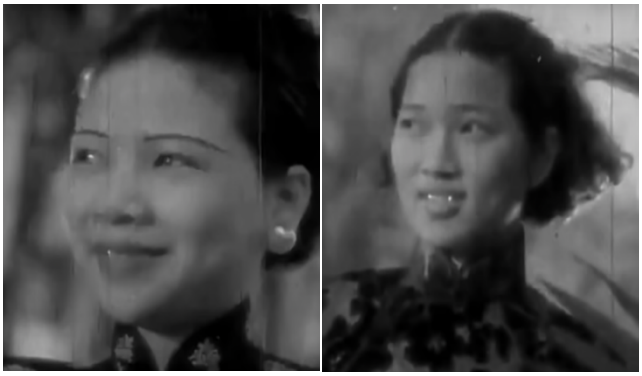

Figure 14: Headshots of women shown following scenes at Taihoku Zoo

Aoki Chigako's Life and Works

Pseudotranslations engage with these questions in structurally complex ways. Their authors regularly incorporate some form of backstory into the text, to substantiate the sense of their 'translation' existing as a 'second version' of an 'original' kept elsewhere. The phantom source text becomes the necessary focus of the paratext, which can either verge towards the ridiculous in a nod to the reader that a construction is afoot, as in Mario Bellatin's novel *Mrs Murakami's Garden* (S. *El jardín de la señora Murakami*) (Logie & Stevens, 2017), or take a pseudohistorical approach that deepens the integration of fact and fiction. This was the

relationships. Through this intervention, the text disrupts the patterns of othering that can accompany colonial travel-writing even in the postcolonial moment.

approach taken by Akutagawa, for example, when the historical exposition surrounding his source text for *Death of a Disciple* was so effective that scholars spent years searching for it in vain (Beebee & Amano 2010, 23).

In Yang Shuangzi's case, she opts for the pseudohistorical approach. This entails not only 83 footnotes that combine a mixture of true historical explanation concerning the idiosyncrasies of society during Japanese rule and fictitious information about Aoki Chigako and her writing, but also a mocked-up translation of a fictional column from *Taiwan Daily News* and illustrations of key locations visited in the novel. Though these details are in themselves worth exploring in greater depth, for the purposes of this chapter what is noteworthy is the novel's preface and three epilogues. Through these short essays, we are presented a history of *Records* in brief, as well as a lengthier exposition explaining the book's translation history and the process behind this 'new edition' by Yang Shuangzi. Here we have a network of women including Yang Shuangzi, Akira Sagako, a fictional Japanese academic who provides Yang with the 'manuscript', Aoki Chigako's daughter Aoki Kiyoko, Wang Qianhe, and her daughter Wu Zhengmei. Through this web of mothers and daughters, writers and translators, there emerges the story of multiple versions of *Records*: from its first publication in 1954 in Japanese, to its amended publication in 1970, a secret translation into Chinese in 1977 by Wang Qianhe, and then its first publication in Taiwan in a Mandarin Chinese translation in 1990. There are striking similarities between this multi-voice narration of a translation history, and the chorus of reviews, letters and reflections that fill the volumes of Yang Qianhe's retrospective published between 1998 and 2001. The revelation that Yang Shuangzi's work is posing as a pseudo-*re*translation emphasises the view of retranslation as a site of intervention, and a moment to assess works associated with historic controversy anew.

The plot of *Records* is not overtly political, rather incidentally so. The narrative is told in the first-person by Aoki Chigako, and chapter by chapter she recounts her journey around Taiwan and the affection she gains for Wang Qianhe along the way. The preface, written by the fictional Japanese academic Akira Sagako, emphasises the political stakes of the story:

> No matter how much the Office of The Governor-General claimed that the citizens of Taiwan and Japan were the children of the Emperor, in practice Taiwan's people were inferior to the people in Japan. (Yang 2021, 4)

She makes this statement alongside a word of caution to the reader concerning Aoki's true identity, and the allegorical nature of her relationship with Wang Qianhe:

> Always be aware of the fact that Ms Aoki has the status of a colonialist. (Yang 2021, 5)
>
> As Ms Aoki appears before her as the narrator, Wang Qianhe inevitably becomes a metaphor for the relationship between colonialist and colonized people, whether she desires it or not. This book is described from the perspective of colonialists, and fits this framework perfectly. I would like to remind readers that Ms Wang Qianhe as written by Ms Aoki is not Ms Wang herself. We can easily enter into the trap created by the narrator, so we must be cautious. (Yang 2021, 7)

Noting that Aoki Chigako's trip to Taiwan was at government invitation and linked to the promotion of imperial policy (Yang 2021, 4) Akira Sagako goes on to dismiss the warm sentiments that Aoki Chigako espouses for Taiwan, as 'it was just a journey, her experience of Taiwan is lacking' (8). The preface's searing critique of the narrator in *Records* aids Yang Shuangzi in ensuring that the intentions of her novel are not misinterpreted as showing a nostalgic sympathy for the coloniser's perspective – a critique that she would be at pains to avoid. It also provides a condensed crash course in colonial politics that the reader can carry with them as they proceed into the novel – a guiding hand that allows moments like the scene below to gain a didactic tinge:

身後鞋櫃那裡傳來壓低的吩咐聲。
「王小姐，是秘書吧，那麼青山老師的皮鞋就麻煩妳了。」
---- 什麼？
我立定腳步回頭去看，一個連報名號都輪不上的中年男人，正站在小千面前發號施令，「這裡，還有這裡，濺滿泥水了。把鞋子擦拭乾淨這種簡單的工作， 至少時辦得到吧。」

太無禮了！
我當即甩下身邊的人們。
「王小姐是我的通譯。」
「咦，青山老師您。。。」
「請不要對我的通譯做出無理的要求。」
我強硬地把小千拉到身邊。

The hushed sound of instructions made its way over from the shoe rack behind us.
'Miss Wang, as you're the secretary, can you get on with Ms Aoki's shoes?'
What?
I stopped in my tracks and turned my head back to look. A middle-aged man who hadn't even signed up for the event was standing in front of Chigako issuing orders: 'Here, there's still a spot here, covered in mud. You should be able to do simple work like this, cleaning a pair of shoes!'
How rude!
At that moment, I left behind the group of people surrounding me.
'Miss Wang is my interpreter.'
'Ah, Ms Aoki, you…'
'Please do not bother my interpreter with these meaningless requests.'
I forcefully pulled Chigako to my side.
(Yang 2021, 58-59)

This symbiotic relationship between preface and main text mirrors the dynamic we have encountered elsewhere, as the former informs the reading of the latter and its significance. An additional parallel comes in Yang's endeavour to include a representation of censorship within her 'new edition' of *Records* - as in the following passage:

「少年， 包裝費十錢夠嗎？」
少年看看那硬幣，又看看我.
「X, XXXX? XXXXXX?」
我指著木盒，又指指硬幣。
「這——是——包——裝——費——」
「X, XXXXXXX, XX!」
「包——裝——費——」

「XX！XX!」

‘Young man, is 10 kuai enough for the bag?’
The boy looked at the coin, and then looked at me.
‘X, XXXX? XXXXXX?’
I pointed to the wooden box, and pointed again at the coin.
‘THIS ---- IS ---- PAYMENT ---- FOR ---- THE --- BAG.’
‘X, XXXXXXX, XX!’
‘PAYMENT ---- FOR ---- THE --- BAG.’
‘XX！XX!’

(Yang 2021, 31)

The censorship here, and in other instances throughout the book, is applied universally to instances where characters are speaking Taiwanese Hokkien. For expositional purposes, it serves as a constant reminder of Aoki Chigako’s position as an outsider, and her reliance on Wang Qianhe that shifts the power dynamic between them as colonized and coloniser. In the novel’s epilogues, however, these deleted sections are described as homages to the censorship that the book faced during its first publication in Chinese in 1990:

> In the summer of 1987, Chiang Ching-kuo’s government announced the lifting of martial law. One hot afternoon that summer, my mother called my office from her home in Austin, expressing her hope that *Records* would be translated into Chinese and published in Taiwan.
>
> The arduous process of publishing a Chinese version of *Records* has finally come to an end today in 1990. This translation could not find a publishing house for three years. After discussing with Aoki Kiyoko, I recompiled, printed and distributed the work at my own expense. This is the version of *Records* that greets Chinese readers.
>
> Considering the current social atmosphere in Taiwan, the Chinese version of *Records* includes some omissions, and the title of the book has also been changed. It can only be said that this is an excerpt version of the Japanese edition, which is beyond my grasp.
> (Yang 2021, 364)

In other words, Yang Shuangzi not only replicates the reframing that translators of Japanophone literature carry out in their prefaces, but also joins them in the attempt to meaningful commemorate the lack of translation that accompanied these texts in various forms

in the decades following their initial publication. The influence of Yang Qianhe's translation history is evident here also in how it is Wang Qianhe and Aoki Chigako's daughters who take the lead in publishing translations of *Records*, and the detail of Wang's relocation to America.

The contents of the paratext and footnotes in *Records* is thorough and convincing, to the point where the reader is lulled – not unlike reviewer Zhan Minxu – into believing the text to be historically authentic, rather than historically imagined. Given the deceit necessary to construct this pretence, it is unsurprising that discussions of pseudotranslations like Yang's are often accusatory in tone. Manipulation, forgery, and deceit are taken as a pseudotranslation's natural partners, with a text's false face read as an intended entrapment of the reader within the confines of a distorted truth. The sense of a hyper-constructed conspiracy has obvious repercussions for any text with aspirations for historical relevance – and it has repercussions for the author, too. Foregrounded as the architect of deception, an author's identity comes under scrutiny as a potential beneficiary of the fraud. As the author submerges themselves within another name, there is a sense of the rewards to be had – whether personal satisfaction, in the instances where the author leaves their own identity undisclosed, or public accolade, in the instances where an author claims to have unearthed (and in many cases, translated) a mythical 'lost' text. At its most extreme, this can amount to the kind of 'passing' James St André (2018, 13) identifies in historic Chinese-English pseudotranslations, works mired in the politics of colonial fetishism and exoticism that find a contemporary echo in the poetry of Araki Yasusada, a fictional survivor of Hiroshima who was eventually revealed to be the creation of Kent Johnson, a college professor in Illinois (Duncan 2020, 350).

The taboo of this 'cross-identity' performance, though, is quite different in Yang Shuangzi's case (St André 2018, 2). If the appeal of pseudotranslation is the ability to tap into translation's 'cultural capital', as Liu Qian (2019, 390) argues, then in the case of *Records* the

capital to be expended is less about trying on a different identity to capitalise on the economic gains to be had from the consumer's taste for the exotic, and more about the cultural gains attached to translation as a medium of historical connectivity. In other words, Yang Shuangzi purposely adopts the role of the translator in pursuit of an intervention in depictions of the past – and as with the other examples cited in this chapter, that adoption (though imagined) impacts the translator's identity and how they view their positionality in relation to the colonial era. So whilst the appeal of pseudotranslation to the pseudotranslator is often taken as the ability for self-displacement, an indulgence in 'otherness' of 'deterrorializing that which is one's own' (Logie & Stevens 2017, 667) – in this instance the proximity to translation seems rooted less in an unreality, and more in a desire to situate the self and its community through the historically connective properties of translation. In sum, if *Records* draws on pseudotranslational reflections of the 'norms, poetics and politics of translation activities in a given historical and cultural context' (Liu 2019, 392) then the novel captures translation as an essential medium in the thrashing out of historical narrative, and the translator as an individual uniquely suited to this rewriting through their ability to bridge rupture through a parallel presence in disparate times.

The Literary Amber

In Zhu Tianxin's "Long, Long Ago There was Urashima Tarō", Japanese-Chinese translation, and its practitioner, are painted in shades of pessimism. Li Jiazheng fulfils Delisle and Woodworth's (2012, 127) view of the translator as an individual often placed under great restraints thanks to their positionality vis-à-vis structures of power. These individuals are most often working on someone else's behalf – whether that be the 'original' writer, a patron or the state – and their ability to determine meaning is restricted as a consequence. This form of 'second-hand authority' removes translators from the true operations of power – they are

always secondary, always the agent of someone else, always operating in derivatives (Delisle & Woodworth 2012, 127). Despite the inherent limits placed on the translator in this view, there is also an acknowledgement in "Long, Long Ago" of the translator's persistent association with subversion, even when their activities are far removed from the subversive (Delisle & Woodworth 2012, 217). The idea of betrayal is rooted here not in the content but the concept of translation, and its symbolic capital as a form of writing that aims to expand an existing concept or existing canon in some way, making it a receptacle of outside influence. These cynical assessments of translation and its capacities entwine across "Long, Long Ago", emphasising the challenges faced by translators hoping to carry out their work in a police state.

Marks of that viewpoint also appear in Yang Shuangzi's *Records*. The detailing of censorship, secret translations and abridged publications, contained both within the paratextual material and embedded in the body of the novel itself, points to the struggle of both translator and translation to exist unamended and uncontained. Yet what separates Zhu and Yang's approach is the triumphalist tone that also exists in *Records*: in the novel's completion the socio-political challenges of translation are overcome and firmly designated as relics of the past. In Yang's fictionalised representation of translation, the translator's 'second-hand authority' is elevated, the characters featured in *Records* and their descendants seizing the means of translational production to shape the text according to their wishes. In the metafictional addition of Yang Shuangzi as one in a line of these 'translators', moreover, we encounter refractions of the sentiments in Yang Cui's writing on women's colonial literature as a site of simultaneous connection and renewal between generations, the text a porous membrane allowing for public acts of cross-temporal transfer and communication previously stymied by censorship and stigma.

Records does come with ethical concerns of its own, however. The text's existence as a pseudotranslation makes it arguably the most manipulative of all those considered in this thesis, and for some readers its performed 'translation' may serve only to reinforce negative conceptions of translators and their practice. The justification for such an approach, and for placing it alongside the other 'genuine' translations included in this study, is to explore questions of intent: what does the fake translation aim to achieve? From this viewpoint, *Records* presents not only a fictionalised representation of the history of Taiwan's Japanophone literature in translation and retranslation, but also an opinion on the positionality of translators to historical and literary narrative. Translators are shown using the medium to enact connection *in spite* of rupture, operating interlingually to forge an impossible intimacy between the past and present that acknowledges the communication gap dividing the two. By flirting with the possibility of translation, *Records* blurs the line between history and fiction – and in doing so asks what the purpose of translation might be in the historical context, whether it is best served to educate about the past, or instead to open new avenues for bring those living now closer to those who lived before.

Perhaps, too, depicting manipulation is part of what *Records* was hoping to achieve. As José Santaemilia (2005, 5-6) suggests, all translation – to varying degrees – is about engaging in forms of manipulation, a 'restriction of truth' of some kind, but a restriction that doesn't necessarily have to be malicious in inspiration or impact. By mirroring and exaggerating that artifice, *Records* makes metatextual comment on the role of translation in shaping perceptions of Japanese rule through its reworking and reshaping of literary text written during that period. In her epilogue to *Records*, Yang Shuangzi talks about literature from the period of Japanese rule – whether imagined, like *Records,* or extant like "Children" – as acting like pieces of 'amber' that allow the reader to glimpse a suspended vision of society as it existed before (Yang,

2021, 367). In her pseudotranslation, Yang sets a resin of her own, with translation's capacity to rename and reframe caught in its core.

Conclusion
Renamed, Reframed

The recipient of the 2021 Akutagawa prize, Japan's most prestigious literary award, was a winner unlike any other. Li Kotomi, also known by her Chinese name Li Qinfeng, won the award for her short novel *The Island Where the Spider Lily Blooms* (J. *Higanbana ga saku shima*) making her the first Taiwanese citizen to join the list of Akutagawa winners, who include Ōe Kenzaburō, Murakami Ryū, Ogawa Yōko and Murata Sayaka amongst their midst. In her acceptance speech, Li reflected that despite her identity, and the themes of her work that touch explicitly on issues of 'language, nations, culture and history', she was in no sense intending to represent Taiwan as a nation, nor its relationship with Japan through her novel. 'I am nothing more than an individual born in Taiwan,' she continued, 'who chose to move to Japan' (Li 2021). Li's aversion to association with the vortex of national politics reflects her positioning within that framework by others. As she details in the same acceptance speech, since winning the prize she has been called the 'Pride of Taiwan' by representatives of her homeland, and has simultaneously received verbal abuse from Japanese netizens who label her a 'Japan-hater' due to the negative portrayal of contemporary Japan and its politics that can be read into *The Island* (Li 2021). Her literature has been read, in other words, as a vector for national identity in the Taiwanese-Japanese context albeit against her wishes.

One senses that the women featured in this thesis, from Huang Baotao to Ye Tao, might express a similar sentiment if asked to reflect on their literary language. Indeed, 'I am nothing more than an individual born in Taiwan' is close in sentiment to Yang Qianhe's reflections on her literary language at the beginning of *The Prism*, where her Japanese proficiency is depicted almost as a historic accident, the by-product of her simply being born where and when she was:

> Though I am not Japanese, and do not use Japanese in my everyday life, I still use Japanese to write. This is because I was born in Taiwan during Japanese colonial rule, a fact that I bear and have no ability to remove – a healed historical wound. (Yang 1999, 10)

What differentiates Li and writers like Yang, of course, is the matter of choice when it comes to language. For Li, learning Japanese was a personal decision. As a self-professed *otaku*, a term used to refer to young people who are deeply passionate about aspects of Japanese popular culture, Li taught herself Japanese whilst in high school. Her love for Japanese anime and boybands withstood the stern comments of her teacher, who attempted to dissuade her from continuing her language study by branding Japanese 'the language of the invaders' who 'killed babies with bayonets' (Li 2019). The liberty to choose one's writing language is not to be understated, and marks one of many significant dividing lines between Li Kotomi and the women whose writing features in this thesis. At the same time, they are pulled together in varying degrees as Taiwanese women writing in Japanese, who thanks to the language of their writing are absorbed into questions of state politics and identity formation, whether contemporary or historic.

Given Li's commitment to Japanese culture, it seems unlikely that she would have read Zhang Bihua's "New Moon" or Huang Fengzi's *A Taiwanese Girl*, whether in Japanese or in translation. And yet, *The Island where the Spider Lily Blooms* is concerned with many of the themes broached in either those colonial-era source texts, or their post-war translations. The novel is constructed around the question of women's identity, and how that identity relates to language – in particular Chinese and Japanese. The protagonist is a teenage girl who is washed up on the shores of an island, with no memory of who she is or her life prior to regaining consciousness on the beach. She is found by a woman name Yona, who the reader quickly realises exists in an alternate linguistic universe to the washed-up girl. Umi, as this girl is later

christened, speaks Hinomotokoka (Language of the Land of the Rising Sun), a purified form of Japanese written in hiragana and katakana exclusively with all foreign words – including those of Chinese origin – expunged. Yona, meanwhile, speaks a form of Japanese dominated by Chinese loanwords spoken with Chinese pronunciation, the orality of her speech conveyed to the reader through the abundance of Chinese characters in her speech, as well as the Chinese pronunciations provided in *katakana* alongside. As a consequence of this difference, the initial interactions between Umi and Yona are dominated by translation, as they struggle to understand one another and communicate through their inverse languages.

As the story progresses, it becomes evident that each woman's language is the product of an ideological understanding of the relationship between identity and language: whether the notion of a 'pure' Japanese untainted by foreign influence, as in Umi's case, or the sino-centric hybrid language spoken by Yona. In representing these neologisms on the page, Li Kotomi pushes at the boundaries of both Chinese and Japanese, and the ways to compose literature with those languages. On the one hand, *The Island* ruminates on the universal ethics of translation, of bringing new concepts and new people into a culture through language, and on the other it provides a very specific commentary on the relationship between Japanese and Mandarin Chinese, as experienced by a Taiwanese woman existing between those languages. The probing of those linguistic boundaries, the exploration of where and how they overlap, in what Leo Ching (2001, 197) terms the 'triangulation' between Japan, China and Taiwan, places Li's award-winning work in dialogue with Taiwan's historic Japanophone fiction, and the history of that literature in translation.[119] This remains true even though *The Island* exists in a

[119] Glynne Walley suggests that 'The Island' in the novel could be read at points as a reference to Taiwan. Walley 2022. This sense is amplified when we consider how Taiwan was regularly referred to as an 'island' in literature from the colonial era – most commonly through the name J. *Hontō* 本島.

futuristic and dystopian literary landscape, far removed from the realist interiorities of women's writing many generations earlier.

These texts are unified in how they may not have been conceived with national politics in mind, and yet are nonetheless regarded through a lens that continually reads them in reference to stories of Taiwan, as nation, as island, as colony and as community. Tied to a 'periphery in search of a narrative', to use Robert Eskildsen's (2005, 281) description of Taiwan, Japanophone literature offers the potential for new narrative avenues: routes to be traced, mapped and catalogued through translation. Language and its literary casing are enlisted to the task of defining the national community – with the emphasis falling on utilising stories, poetry and essays as unifiers, ways of indicating 'the fact of sharing, in the past, a glorious heritage and regrets', a sense of origin that, as Ernest Renan (1990, 19) suggests, can often outweigh 'common customs, posts and frontiers'. It is that claim to a common past, explored and constructed through the web of languages that said past compasses, that lies at the root of discussions centred on Japanophone literature written by Taiwanese women during the period of Japanese rule – and similar concerns spill over onto discussion of Li Kotomi's work also.

Of course, this is one of a number of possible approaches to thinking about Li's work and its intertextual resonances. One might equally place her alongside Chinese-born Japanese-language novelist Yang Yi who was the first foreign born author to win the Akutagawa prize in 2008 for her novel *The Morning of Blurred Time* (J. *Toki ga nijimu asa*), or an author like Kuroda Natsuko who won the Akutagawa prize in 2013 for her novel *ab sango* (J. *ab* さんご), which consistently experiments with script in an attempt to motivate the reader to 'conjure up word associations based on sounds', as Tamaki Mihic (2022, 9) puts it. These comparisons would all be rewarding, and yet there is something especially thought-provoking about the

correspondence between *The Island* and earlier Taiwanese women's writing in Japanese. Each text and translation in this small corpus reflects on women's social role and depiction in societies beset by varying degrees of linguistic totalitarianism, and each has been co-opted into narratives of nation, read as sites where identity is contested, formed and reformed through a polyphony of grammars and vocabularies.

Most of all, the resonances here provide one example of the oversights born from excluding the women authors featured in this thesis from Taiwan's literary landscape. Rather than secluding these authors to a critical cul-de-sac, the success of Li's novel provides one example of how the themes of that historic fiction, and its incidental relationship with language binary and hybridity through translations, are not concerns relegated to the past, but rather part of ongoing questions to do with language and identity, as expressed in literary text. The continued translation, retranslation and adaptation of Taiwan's Japanophone literature also testifies to this: these texts remain open-ended to contemporary readers, providing points of projection and exploration for questions of identity and how they relate to the past. From this viewpoint, Li Kotomi's *The Island* might be regarded not only as a postcolonial novel, but as a novel wrapped in the same translational politics as earlier examples of Taiwan's Japanophone literature, though written by authors in divergent circumstances.

The questions that Li poses about the relationship between language, community, inclusion and exclusion touch on a truth universal to human existence: that language of all forms is used to mark a relationship with territory, and the body's placement or displacement from that land. It is a connection that can be used for functionalist ends or for violence, for co-operation or hierarchy. Empire is no exception to this tendency: as the territories within its grasp are placed in political, economic and social hierarchies, their languages undergoing taxonomic transformation to become firm entities that can be incorporated into those same

scales of difference and power.[120] In the Japanese Empire, from its earliest forays into conquest, colonisation and the bringing of the outside in was a process ideologically guided by linguistic and cultural standardization. The erasure of difference, and compliance to a central, controlled ideal, was valorised even as its aims were proved impossible to actualise. Translation is a tool of the imperial state's operation here, its assimilatory requirements a demand for self-translation on the part of the subject. As with 'The Language of the Land of the Rising Sun' in Li's novel – the idealized Japanese free of translation's influence – the purity and unity of culture as dictated by the state is taken as the ultimate expression of the ethnonationalist and ethnoimperialist cause.

Translation was equally a practical component of imperial architecture, from its inception to its defeat. Researchers like Hoshina Kōichi joined the tradition of inter-imperial exchange, studying and translating the development of empire in Prussia, or the police systems used by the English in Shanghai, accumulating the context upon which to devise an imperial ideology of their own (Lee 2009, 161). Translation was equally present in the operations of empire within the colonies, from the indigenous women like Yayutz Bleyh in the early stages of Taiwan's colonisation, to the young Korean men hired as interpreters for the Japanese police force in Korea (Suh 2013, 1). Even with the arrival of war, the Japanese military machine relied on translation to function. Taiwanese conscripts were deployed in Southern China as translators despite their fluency in a language distinct from those spoken by the populations they were sent to interpret (Chatani 2018, 170). The task of expanding the empire, whether by bullet or textbook, was accompanied by the task of translation as both practical and ideological necessity.

[120] Robert Young discusses this tendency in relation to European colonialism: 'languages had to be fabricated so that translation could take place: both were instruments of colonial rule and power'. Young 2016, 1208.

Traces of this translation activity in many instances, though, are fleeting – there is little evidence left of the interpretation work carried out by Taiwanese soldiers in Southern China, for example, many of whom would not have possessed the literacy to commit their experience to paper even if they had access to the means.[121] In the Japanophone literature written by residents of the colonies, however, we do encounter the translation operations of empire in suspension. These texts were often made in translation, as the author wrote in a language different to the one that they spoke, and their history has been mediated by translation – as future generations have accessed their work in another language in the years following their publication. So whilst we may encounter an 'Empire of texts in motion', to borrow Karen Thornber's (2009) phrase, the question of what drives those texts, what places them 'in motion', is answered by the process of translation and linguistic exchange within a framework produced by empire, but not necessarily operating on its terms. Therein lie power hierarchies, aspiration, and projections of the self: writers on occasions looking for acceptance into a linguistic whole, at other moments rejecting the premise of that whole from within, and sometimes simply taking it as a functionalist tool necessary to fulfil the urge to write, and live as writer. To acknowledge the translation that underpins each of these approaches to composing literature is to delve deeper into Thornber's network of stories, poems, plays and essays, and to regard them as texts entangled with the conception of imperialism as a mode of translation, colonies and metropole caught together in a cycle of translational exchange responsive to shifts in domination and resistance.

The practical questions of translating such a text in the postcolonial moment are riddled with considerations of linguistic ethics, political affiliation and reckoning with the legacy of imperial history. As Travis Workman (2011, 707) discusses, how does one begin to translate a

[121] Chatani comments on the invisibility of this labour, noting how Japanese officials and military did not make record of the number of interpreters recruited in Taiwan. Chatani 2018, 170.

text that is known to be the product of translation – occurring with varying degrees of consent – yet without a source text.[122] Given the politics of this writing, it is no surprise that Taiwan's Japanophone literature has received more translation than its Korean equivalents. Though a fully-fleshed discussion of the comparative colonial experiences of Taiwan and Korea is beyond the remits of this thesis, suffice to say the higher numbers of Koreans conscripted into the Japanese Army,[123] as well as the women forced into sexual slavery as so-called 'comfort women', and the reluctance on the part of Japan's post-war governments to acknowledge and apologise for that violence, has strengthened the stigma affixed to Korea's Japanophone literature.[124] The picture in Taiwan, on the other hand, is complicated by the transformation of Japanese into a quasi-language of dissent in the years following 1947. Following the establishment of the KMT government and the 228 Incident, many of Taiwan's political exiles made their home in Japan,[125] whilst literate political prisoners sitting in jails in Taiwan, like Yang Qianhe's husband Lin Jiaxiong, exchanged letters with their loved ones in the language of the former coloniser. In those moments that association weakens, and it becomes a language of something else: of resistance, yes, but also of a tool of survival – placed in the mind by virtue of historic accidents.

[122] Serk Bae-suh discusses Korean poet Chŏn Ponggŏn, who in 1961 'confessed that Japanese was still his primary mode of literary expression' and that 'even many years after liberation, he still developed poetic images in Japanese in his mind and translated them into Korean'. Serk 2013, 151.

[123] Mandatory conscription for Korean men was introduced in April 1944, though they had been 'eligible' for military service from 1938 onwards. Taiwanese conscription was introduced in April 1945, and thus was only in place for three months. Ohnuki-Tierney 2006, 163.

[124] The nature and scale of the 'comfort women' issue operates in estimates, due to inconsistent record-keeping and the stigma that prevented many victims from coming forward. Pyong Gap Min suggests that between 50,000-200,000 women were involved in the system, with the majority coming from Korea. The campaign for an official policy and compensation from the Japanese government began in the late 1980s, when survivors came forward to testify about their experiences. The matter is divisive in Japan, where Min notes that despite the efforts of Japan-based advocacy groups, the government remains reluctant to consider the comfort women system as 'sexual slavery'. See Min 2021 1, 206. Taiwan also had a comfort women system, though to a lesser extent than Korea. Wu Hsiu-ching's 2015 documentary *Song of the Reed* (C. *Luwei zhi ge*) tells the story of survivors in Taiwan and the support they have received in dealing with their trauma.

[125] Peichun Han discusses how opposition to the KMT was especially pronounced during the 1950s, when Taiwanese students 'were also involved in a number of Taiwanese independence movements even after moving to Japan'. At the same time, Taiwanese integration into Japanese society was not straightforward, thanks to their exclusion from the family registration system (J. *koseki*). See Han 2008, 126

The translations of Taiwan's Japanophone fiction featured in this thesis interact with this failed hegemony that surrounds the use of Japanese in Taiwan following 1945. From the 1990s onward, moreover, they increasingly err toward exploring what a reclamation of that language looks like, and how it might impact identity and literature in contemporary Taiwan. This gravitation toward Japanese is arguably quite different from the idea, expressed by Joseph Allen (2012, 191) that Taiwan's rediscovery of its Japanese past is about expelling anxiety linked to the threat of China's military aggression 110 miles away across the Taiwan Strait. Whilst there is some truth to this idea, the adoption of Taiwan, Japan and China as fixed principles that an individual or society can oscillate between obfuscates the instability of those categories as a way of organising identity, or indeed organising language. A 'Taiwanese-centric' approach, as argued by Evan Dawley (2018, 252), would necessitate an alternative perspective; one that recognises the Taiwan-China-Japan trinity as geopolitical fact, whilst acknowledging that the exploration of Taiwan's Japanese heritage, as well as its colonial history, can be undertaken without that trinity in mind. This literature can take 'Taiwan as centre', as Ye Shitao (2020, 300) once described in a 1977 essay, in how it reaches to explore Japanese components of Taiwanese culture and heritage as Taiwan's historic reality, rather than a chess piece in the game of geopolitical strategy.

Translated text thus becomes a space for exploring what that multilingual, Taiwan-centric literature might look like. It is quite literally a means to determine the *look* of a text, and to push the boundaries of what is considered a textual or typographic standard. The incorporation of Japanese within that multiscript writing, one routinely employed for languages lost, suppressed or secluded, signals an attempted redefinition of Japanese in the Taiwan context as a minority language with a history of suppression. In this sense, we see a movement away from the framework of empire, and an urge to forge alternative systems of cultural and social organisation. Though, as the word 'postcolonial' itself implies, to break away from

imperial precedent is a drawn-out process, elongated over years of reinvention and redefinition. In this sense, where we often regard the colony as 'writing back', as Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffen (2002) famously put it, in actuality it may simply be writing quite assertively for itself, and itself alone.

Does this historical revisionism in translation amount to what Scruggs (2015, 9) views as a presentation of 'mistranslated memory'? Some would argue that there is no such thing. The notion that literary translators in particular can operate in mistranslations is hotly contested – given how the act is so embedded in the processes of interpretation, and the impossibility of direct equivalencies between one language and the next.[126] In the context of the translations discussed in this thesis, the pursuit of accurate translations or inaccurate translations in itself seems secondary to identifying some portion of the interpretative patterns that underlie translation activity – characterising translation as 'opportunity rather than problem' as Subramanian Shankar (2012, 89) suggests. To this end, rather than using polarities of accuracy as our primary metric for discussing translation, instead we can look at each text as the by-product of interpretation, which may in turn produce reactions and opinions that differ in sentiment to that of the translator. That chain of reading is a place where narratives concerning the past are fashioned, and translators play a role in that fashioning that often goes unnoticed or unremarked upon, despite their centrality to the process.

Lai Tzu-yun (2019, 5) suggests that the history of Taiwan is, in essence, a history of translation – of languages co-existing, disappearing and reappearing with the passage of time. The texts showcased in this thesis testify to that viewpoint, showing how translation both shaped literary production during Japanese rule, and shaped the reception of that literature in

[126] This instinct to quantify translation is described by Lefevere and Bassnett as 'teritum comparationis'. Lefevere and Bassnett 1990, 3. Such an approach has been roundly critiqued by scholars of literary translation, not least Theo Hermans. See Hermans 1985, 8.

the decades that followed. This study has shown how, instead of regarding these interventions as errors or hallmarks of a bad translation, they can alternatively be used to understand the opinion of the translator toward both the period of the literature's composition and their contemporary times. Histories, of course, are not written through attention to translation alone. But the role of the translator as an unseen mediator between periods of time and across languages is too significant to ignore. In Taiwan's case, the translations of Japanese-language texts do not substantiate Zhong Zhaozheng's (1993) argument for a sense of a consistent 'spirit' across Taiwan's literatures, regardless of their language. Instead they reveal an obsession with what this 'spirit' constitutes, teased out beneath the surface of consecutive translations. For as long as people dispute the definitions of 'Taiwan' and 'Taiwan literature', translation will retain its capacity to reframe narratives of the years 1895-1945.

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