教育部 99 年度
全球化下的臺灣文史藝術中程綱要計畫
國際交流計畫

計畫名稱：Taiwan literature off the mainstream:
Between languages, ethnicities and medias
（主流之外的台灣文學：在語言、族群與媒體之間）

計畫主持人：賀安娟副教授

計畫編號：MOE-099-02-03-2-12-1-A06

執行單位：國立臺灣師範大學國際臺灣研究中心

執行期間：99 年 05 月 01 日至 99 年 12 月 31 日

指導暨補助單位：教育部、本校研究發展處

中　華　民　國　一　〇　〇　年　一　月

目　錄

教育部 98 年度臺灣文史藝術國際交流計畫

期末成果報告

一、 計畫緣起與目的

現今之台灣文學研究多鎖定經常為人所提及之作品、作者及主題，其範疇包括「台灣文學之父」的賴和、已受深入研究、作品也經完整編纂的台文／日文作家楊逵、戰後的現代主義者、本土主義者與當代曾受獎的創作者如李昂、朱天心與朱天文姊妹等等，他們的名字已是台灣文學史上不可或缺的一部份，其著作在台灣內外也有著廣大的讀者，並受到學界的研究及文學批評的檢視。

然而本計畫不再把焦點放在這些所謂的主流上，我們希望探討的，是即使在台灣都仍未受到關注的作者、作品或文學創作。透過聚焦於台灣文學場域邊緣上那些較不受注目的部份，我們希望進一步了解台灣文學廣大領域內之淘選運作機制，亦即，什麼樣的因素取決哪些作者與作品得以成為中心，而其他的則被置於主流之外。我們對主流與非主流的區分，並不是絕對的，而是將台灣文學論述中各種程度之認知納入考量。相關的討論，係由以下假設出發：在文學場域的淘選運作機制中，有著前述的「限制」存在。這個研討會並以下列三個相互關連的主題做為探討重點：(1)語言/文字 (2)族群(3)媒體。

(一) 華語／漢字主流之外的台灣文學

數個世紀以來，對台灣文學的辨識一直是建基在文學作品的語文使用上。然而，即使並非全無爭議，華語書寫的文學目前已成為台灣文學語文使用的準常態（quasi-norm），而這個情況，相較於日治時期及更早以前，基本上是存在著差異的。

首先，我們認為在語文使用（linguistic code）上有著兩個必須區隔的層次：一個是語言本身（例如：華語、福佬語、客家語等），再者則是它們在書寫上的呈現，亦即文字型態（例如：漢字、羅馬字、日文假名等等）。在日治時期以及 1970 年代以後，為福佬語建立書寫體系的企圖是個別文學創作者、學者、政治運動者的主要目標。我們所看到的，是由下而上（from below）的語言運動，且這運動持續地透過建立在地文學圈與私人研究社群來發聲。在學術研究上，18 世紀晚期以福佬語書寫的文本發掘，已激發研究者將台語（即福佬語）小說做為文類加以研究，而這伴隨著對另一種特定文本呈現的資料的關注，亦即 19 世紀晚期以來，以長老教會社群為首所編輯與收藏的台灣羅馬字書寫文本。這些文本

並不侷限於教會內部文件與字詞典，更包括了數量龐大的教會報刊、私人撰寫的小說與非小說作品、日記及通聯信件。簡要地說，主流之外的文化場域提供了許多值得深思的文學事例，且其所從屬的語言及文本在當時乃至於今日，都未受到那些文學成就代表者的認同。

（二）漢族主流之外的台灣文學

歷史研究已證實早在 17 世紀，台灣的馬來－波里尼西亞族群（Malayo-Polynesian ethnicities）便已採用羅馬字母建立了基本的書寫體系，其源起是這些族群與隨同荷蘭殖民當局同來的荷蘭傳教士之間所發生的接觸。在隨後的數個世紀，台灣原住民族的「書寫」（就一個廣泛的意涵而言）便朝向文本文字、語言與內容上的多樣性來發展。在當代的台灣，我們觀察到所謂「原住民文學」及南島語的使用已受到越來越多的了解及歡迎。即使就語言而言，許多原住民文學作品已很難與多數漢人作品相區隔，但因著作者族群背景等種種原因，這些作品仍持續處於主流之外。因此，本研討會亦將有一部份投注於族群文學議題上，且不僅由語言的角度出發，亦將關注作者之族群背景內涵，與文學內容之間的連繫。

（三）印刷出版主流之外的台灣文學

20 世紀受到認可的文學作品多數皆為經過印刷出版的作品。這意味著這些作品已通過審慎的編輯過程，讓更多數的大眾可以閱讀。台灣就一如其他地方，文學出版事業包括了高度篩選的運作程序與其他市場相關的機制，而這些對於文稿的形式、語言與書寫體系（orthography）將造成影響。其結果便是，文學創作中的許多部份，包括作者手寫而未經出版業選取編輯的作品，始終未能列入文學主流之內。此外，今日世界無法忽略數位科技與日俱增的角色，數位科技及電子書已與傳統的出版業展開直接的競爭。如今作者可藉由直接在網路上發表作品，來規避出版業的篩選機制。此一現象在台灣是如何呈現的呢？在台灣，人們的文學表現訴諸於什麼樣的數位媒體？另一個與日常生活數位媒體重要性有著立即相關的問題，則是書寫體系的表現形式。網路對於中文做為一種書寫語言如何造成影響？又網路如何創造新的文學類型？台灣的網路文學在文學批評裡頭受到什麼的評價？

基於上述的關注焦點，本中心賀安娟主任遂邀請德國波鴻魯爾大學台灣文化文學研究所（TCL）所長 Henning Klöter 合辦國際學術研討會，針對上述議題進行跨國性的學術討論交流。在國際知名學者馬漢茂教授的領導之下，TCL 可說是歐洲研究台灣文化與文學首屈一指之學術機構。其 *Studia Formosian* 系列乃是致力於出版專著與論文集的台灣文化研究國際學術叢書。因此，這次台德雙方

的合作，在台灣研究在歐洲的推廣上，具有實質的意義。

二、計畫期程

2010 年 3 月　提出計畫案申請
2010 年 4-7 月　與合辦單位德國波鴻魯爾大學確認學者邀請名單
2010 年 8 月　依核定清單編列總經費預算表
2010 年 9 月　製作、寄送研討會海報宣傳
2010 年 10 月　確定研討會議程
　　研討會資訊上網
　　研討會論文催稿
　　研討會住宿、交通安排
2010 年 11 月　舉辦研討會
　　印製研討會論文集
　　進行經費核銷
2010 年 12 月　進行經費核銷
　　撰寫結案報告

三、與會學者

（一）發表人：邀請 8 名來自各國之台灣研究學者及 2 名研究生發表論文。

1. Prof. Dr. Li Khin-huann 李勤岸 (National Taiwan Normal University)
2. Prof. Dr. Ann Heylen (National Taiwan Normal University)
3. Prof. Dr. Henning Klöter (Ruhr Universitaet Bochum, Germany)
4. Prof. Dr. Faye Yuan Kleeman 阮斐娜(University of Colorado, Boulder, USA)
5. Prof. Dr. Raoul David Findeisen (Univerzita Komesheko , Bratislava, Slovakia)
6. Prof. Dr. Liou Liang-ya 劉亮雅(National Taiwan University)
7. Prof. Dr. Crystal Sun Chia-sui 孫嘉穗(National Dong Hwa University)
8. Prof. Dr. Darryl Sterk (University of Alberta, Canada)
9. Tana Dluhosova (Gradate Student, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech)
10. Julia Schulz (Gradate Student, Ruhr Universitaet Bochum, Germany)

（二）主持人及討論人：除由發表人輪流擔任外，尚邀請 2 位波鴻魯爾大學教授擔任主持人及討論人。

1. Prof. Dr. Rüdiger Breuer (Ruhr Universitaet Bochum, Germany)

2. Prof. Dr. Christine Moll-Murata (Ruhr Universitaet Bochum, Germany)

四、 會議時間、地點與議程

（一）日期：2010 年 11 月 5-6 日

（二）地點：德國波鴻魯爾大學

11/5 Tagungszentrum (Bistro Mensa), Seminarraum II

11/6 GB 04/159

（三）議程：

2010 年 11 月 5 日				
9:30-10:00 開幕式	Welcome remarks by the President of the School, Dean of the Faculty and local VIP			
1. Neglected Literature				
場次時間	主持人	發表人	論文題目	引言討論人
10:00-12:00 第一場	Prof. Dr. Henning Klöter (Ruhr Universitaet Bochum)	Prof. Dr. Faye Yuan Kleeman (University of Colorado, Boulder, USA)	Off the Beaten Path: (Post)colonial Travel Writing on Taiwan	Prof. Dr. Rüdiger Breuer (Ruhr Universitaet Bochum)
		Prof. Dr. Li Khin-huann 李勤岸 (National Taiwan Normal University)	The Facts and Fate of Taiwan's Earliest Vernacular Literature: Taiwanese Romanized Literature	Prof. Dr. Ann Heylen (National Taiwan Normal University)
12:00-14:00	午餐 & *Campus tour* *(including a visit of the Library of the Taiwan Research Unit)*			
2. Unwritten Language				
場次時間	主持人	發表人	論文題目	引言討論人
14:00-16:00 第二場	Prof. Dr. Li Khin-huann 李勤岸 (National Taiwan Normal University)	Prof. Dr. Ann Heylen (National Taiwan Normal University)	Idiosyncratic Forms in Personal Writing: The Diary of Cai Peihuo (1929-1936)	Prof. Dr. Li Khin-huann (National Taiwan Normal University)
		Prof. Dr. Henning Klöter (Ruhr Universitaet Bochum)	Negotiating Language: A Comparison of Huang Shihui and Lian Yatang	Prof. Dr. Faye Yuan Kleeman (University of Colorado, Boulder, USA)
16:00-16:30	*Coffee break*			
MA/PhD panel				
場次時間	主持人	發表人	論文題目	引言討論人
16:30-17:15 **MA/PhD panel**	Prof. Dr. Ann Heylen (National Taiwan Normal University)	Tana Dluhosova (Masaryk University, Brno, Czech)	The Concepts of Cultural Field and Literary Style in the Study of Early Postwar Taiwanese Literature	Prof. Dr. Crystal Sun Chia-sui 孫嘉穗 (National Dong Hwa University)
		Julia Schulz	Modern Poetry in Taiwan	Prof. Dr. Darryl Sterk (University of Alberta, Canada)
17:15	晚餐			

2010年11月6日				
3. Unprinted Media				
場次時間	主持人	發表人	論文題目	引言討論人
10:00-12:00 (incl. coffee break) 第三場	Prof. Dr. Christine Moll-Murata (Ruhr Universitaet Bochum)	Prof. Dr. Raoul David Findeisen (Univerzita Komesheko , Bratislava, Slovakia)	An Inquiry into Interventions on Two Manuscripts Stages of *Jiabian* by Wang Wenxing	Prof. Dr. Liou Liang-ya 劉亮雅 (National Taiwan University)
		Prof. Dr. Crystal Sun Chia-sui 孫嘉穗 (National Dong Hwa University)	The Impact of Media upon Taiwanese Literature: Examples from the Publishing and Creative Industries	Prof. Dr. Liou Liang-ya 劉亮雅 (National Taiwan University)
12:00-13:15	午餐			
4. Unknown Ethnicities				
場次時間	主持人	發表人	論文題目	引言討論人
13:15-15:15 第四場	Prof. Dr. Faye Yuan Kleeman (University of Colorado, Boulder, USA)	Prof. Dr. Liou Liang-ya 劉亮雅 (National Taiwan University)	Cultural Translation in Tian Yage's Short Stories	Prof. Dr. Raoul David Findeisen (Univerzita Komesheko, Bratislava, Slovakia)
		Prof. Dr. Darryl Sterk (University of Alberta, Canada)	*Indian Giver?* Gift Economy in Aboriginal Literature from Taiwan	Prof. Dr. Raoul David Findeisen (Univerzita Komesheko, Bratislava, Slovakia)
15:15-15:30	*Coffee break*			
Closed-door Discussion				
15:30-16:30 **Closed-door Discussion**	Henning Klöter & Ann Heylen	Closed-door discussion of all invited participants		
16:30-	晚餐			

六、會議經過與討論重點

The welcoming speech was presented by Prof. Dr. Heiner Roetz, Vice Dean of East Asian Studies at the Ruhr University Bochum (RUB) who mentioned the significance of a multidisciplinary workshop to the consolidation and expansion of Taiwan Studies in Germany. This was especially the case at RUB in terms of future cooperation with Japanese and Korean studies in the internationalization. Mr Chang Wei-ta, Representative Office of Taiwan in Berlin praised the successful continuation of the activities of the Taiwan Research Unit, established by the late Helmut Martin in 1999 and thanked the organizing institutions MOE, NTNU and RUB for this wonderful opportunity of the two day conference entitled "Taiwan literature off the mainstream: Between languages, ethnicities and media". Dr. Henning Klöter (RUB) opened the conference.

The first panel, "Neglected literature" featured the presentations by Prof. Faye Kleeman (University of Colorado). Her paper entitled "Off the Beaten Path: (Post)colonial Travel Writing on Taiwan" singled out several Japanese travelogues and discussed their particular content against the background of the rising Japanese empire and the concurrent interpretation of the civilization discourse. The discussion was presented by Dr Rüdiger Breuer (RUB), who pointed out the possibility for comparative research on colonial travel literature in a future research agenda. Dr. Li Khin-huann's (NTNU) presentation was entitled "The Facts and Fate of Taiwan's Earliest Vernacular Literature: Taiwanese Romanized Literature" in which he also drew attention to some of the neglected writings in the corpus of Taiwanese romanized writings. The discussion by Dr. Heylen (NTNU) centralized the making public of off-mainstream Taiwanese Romanized literature that goes beyond the now canonized Church News publication. The discussant also drew attention to the use and

clarification of terminology. This point was further taken up by Prof. Raoul Findeisen (Comenius University, Bratislava) during the general discussion who called for a clear definition of Taiwanese literature. It was suggested to pay particular attention to uses of terminology throughout the conference.

The afternoon panel, "Unwritten Language" shifted the attention to individual authors that are representative for the history of writing in Taiwan history. Dr. Ann Heylen (NTNU) talked about Cai Peihuo in "Idiosyncratic Forms in Personal Writing: The Diary of Cai Peihuo (1929-1936)" while Dr. Henning Klöter (RUB) focused on Lian Yatang and Huang Shihui in "Negotiating Language: A Comparison of Huang Shihui and Lian Yatang". Both papers addressed the difficulties in bringing the topic of script reform to a wider audience and were examples of language planning "from below". The discussant of Heylen's paper, Li Khin-huann drew attention to the role of the Presbyterian Church in Cai's life. The discussant of Klöter's paper, Faye Kleeman was not convinced that Lian Yatang was part of "from below" process. Questions from the floor and the general discussion furthered the debate on terminology usage. For example, the interchangeable use of "transcription" and "transliteration" in Heylen's paper and the definition of "from below" in Klöter's paper.

The last panel in the afternoon of the first day was the Graduate Students panel. Tana Dluhosova's paper, "The Concepts of Cultural Field and Literary Style in the Study of Early Postwar Taiwanese Literature" singled out short stories in children's readings and discussed how these short stories with a changed narrative in the early postwar years fit with the overall theme as neglected literature. Julia Schultz shared her MA thesis entitled "Modern Poetry in Taiwan". Both the discussants praised the papers for their thoroughness and encouraged the students. The questions from the floor also focused on terminology. For instance it was debated whether to use Taiwan or Taiwanese in relation to poetry and the definition of modern in relation to Taiwanese poetry.

The second day morning panel, "Unprinted media" centralized manuscripts and digital media. Prof. Raoul Findeisen presented the several stages of manuscript layers, using the example of Wang Wenxing's "Family Complaint" in "An Inquiry into Interventions on Two Manuscripts Stages of Jiabian by Wang Wenxing". His theoretical understanding was based on the French model of genetic criticism (*dossier genetique*). In "The Impact of Media on Taiwanese Literature: Examples from the Publishing and Creative Industries," Chia-Sui Crystal Sun (National Dong Hwa University) used several visual illustrations of digital media pertaining to topics in aboriginal literature. The discussant Prof. Liou Liang-ya (NTU) pointed out the

significance of metalingual signs in the analysis of both papers. She also drew attention to wider problems in the adaptation of literature in the media, and called for a comparative perspective on minorities in literary analysis. This debate was continued during the general discussion. Heylen inquired the extent to which it was possible to single out one example and develop it as a case study paying attention to the notion of digitalization in cybernet culture, national media and its reception within the local indigenous community.

The afternoon session, "Unknown Ethnicities" included the presentations by Prof. Liou Liang-ya and Dr. Darryl Sterk (University of Alberta). Liou Liang-ya's presentation "Cultural Translation in Tian Yage's Short Stories" elaborated the notion of minorities in literary analysis. Darryl Sterk in "Indian Giver? Gift Economy in Aboriginal Literature from Taiwan" focused on the issue of naming to the problem of defining ethnicity and global modernity. The discussant Raoul Findeisen drew once more attention to how we should define aboriginal literature, and contrasted the definitions used in both papers. Is aboriginal literature only about identity? During the general discussion, Dr Christine Moll-Murata (RUB) enquired about the economic significance of gift culture in Asia-Pacific nations. Other pertinent questions pertained to explanations how ethnicity has become a commodity, how literature is received for whom it is written and about the magic capacities of the oral tradition.

The Closing Discussion summarized the main points during the two-day conference. The aim of this discussion session was to develop a rigorous framework of key research questions and hypotheses that will enable each participant to rewrite her/his paper for publication in a coherent edited volume. Participants also discussed the timeframe and editorial procedures. It was agreed that the multi-disciplinarity of the conference has been extremely helpful in clarifying some of the easily overlooked themes. These were terminology and bringing out unknown (off-mainstream) sources that in a general discussion of the field would not have come to the attention. Particular reference was made to examples of literary genres such as adventure seafaring travel writing and non-traditional stories rewritten in a literary style that suits children stories juvenile (Kleeman and Dhluhosova). The implementation of new societies systems or its accompanied programs of modernization and language standardization questioned the undercurrent how out of ideological convictions people believe how a language should be written (Li, Heylen, Klöter). Manuscripts are being reproduced but not being studied (Findeisen). Ethnicity has become a commodity in literature (Sun, Liou, Sterk). In all these papers the main surfacing issue focused on the often assumed interrelationship between civilization and standardization. The attempt in all papers was to steer away from a narrow 'identity' discussion.

七、會議成果與未來計畫

In conclusion, the contribution to the field of Taiwan Studies with this conference revealed

1. Terminology
2. Unknown sources
3. Expansion is needed in the field of digital media and politics of publishing in correlation with literary and historical topics

During the closed door discussion, it was agreed on a forthcoming publication. Two suggestions have been made. The first was top have the papers published as an edited volume within the *Studia Formosiana* series, published by the host institution (TCL). The costs of the volume (publication subsidy, professional proofreading) will be borne by the host institution. The second option, suggested by Prof Raoul Findeisen, was to publish a thematic issue in the journal *Studia Orientalia* (2012). Discussions with the panelists are still ongoing and results of publication are expected in two years.

八、會議照片

九、 檢討與建議

The preparation of the conference with the local partner RUB in Germany has been mainly conducted through a consistent email communication. Presenters were contacted and kept informed with circulars throughout the months of August, September and October on a weekly basis.

（一） 經費編列與核銷

The financial administration of the conference clearly showed a transparent model for conference organization in Taiwan. This model, however, is of limited utility when it comes to international cooperation. This required an enormous amount of additional paperwork, not only for the NTNU partner but also for the host university (RUB), and for the panelists who after return to their country received extra emails. In this respect, the European university structure compared with the Taiwanese model, does not take the following arrangements or provisions into account:

1. 住宿費 The imbalance in the amount of money located to (expensive) accommodation and to (inexpensive) printing & stationary expenditures.
建議: suggestion to revise the 2000NT per night limit rate. This rate is too low for hotels in foreign cities. The partial funding also complicates the invoice policies as the host university and the Taiwan partner university are required to submit one invoice for administration. Hotel accommodation should be subject to full reimbursement if an adequate (maximum three stars) category has been reserved.

2.印刷費 Two points can be made. First, the preparation of a conference often requires academic materials such as books which are not always available in the library. Especially conferences that aspire to draw new hypotheses in their findings benefit from the purchase of new and recent academic materials that can be used by staff and students. One example that draws from this conference is the attention paid to aboriginal literature. Aboriginal literature is defined by some as minority literature and is a new topic in the field of literary analysis. However, there was no budget available in the printing and stationary category to purchase books on aboriginal literature to make the students and staff familiar with this topic. In this respect, one of the aims of the conference is severely overlooked: bringing Taiwanese literature to the European students. Second, increasingly European universities implement e-commerce for their internal invoice policies. This new type of e-invoice should be taken into consideration by the Taiwan funding administration and it should be accepted (not suspiciously questioned) that foreign invoices can be less detailed than the classical paper-print invoice or are different in layout to the custom of elaborate invoicing in Taiwan.
建議: suggestion to include the purchase of books as a separate category to enhance the visibility of Taiwan Studies publication in European (foreign) universities, and flexibility with international e-invoice policies.

3.工讀費 was limited to Taiwan. There is a clear lack of financial compensation for helping students (office-in-help) and administrative support in the host university.

Although international institutes usually have student assistants, their tasks are usually bound to particular projects.
建議: to include a category that provides a lump-sum that can be used for office-in-help and administrative support spent according to the regulations of the European university.

4.交通費 Because of foreign languages and unlike the USA where there is a close contact between the university and overseas Taiwanese communities, panelists were more dependent on taxi services. It should also be taken into account that foreign countries may have a different transportation culture, i.e. bicycle culture, no limousine supported service at the university, limited bus and metro system, taxi-on-demand service.
建議: suggestion for more flexibility that allows a reasonable fee to be spent on taxi/alternative transportation.

5.主持費、討論引言費、稿費 The detailed policy of allocating fees for presentation, discussant and moderator in smaller scale conferences is not always the most efficient to the program planning in suggesting appropriate discussants and moderators. This policy also requires elaborate work prior to departure for the conference that was needed to prepare each time a different form for every panelist to fill out and sign during the conference. Also questions were raised with regard to the differences in fees for participants based on their nationality and region of employment.
建議: suggestion to be more flexible in the total amount of money allocated on a daily basis to panelists who are presenters and discussants.

（二） 核定時間與核銷期限

Another issue concerns the strict time framework. Currently, the whole application process, the conference itself and the post-conference administration all have to be completed within one fiscal year. This leaves little time for flexibility when it comes to cancellations and other unexpected developments. More importantly, there is relatively little time between the confirmation of funding (August) and the beginning of the conference (early November). If these conferences are supposed to contribute to top-quality research by international standards, much more time for paper preparation and pre-conference paper exchange would be required. More preparation time would also leave more time for international announcements which would in turn guarantee more international exposure of the conference.

In sum, funding for conferences organized through bilateral cooperation between a Taiwanese and non-Taiwanese university will certainly contribute to Taiwan's academic internationalization and the international development of Taiwan Studies. This laudable initiative, however, is jeopardized by the rigid bureaucratic corset that comes along with the funding.

十、 附錄

（一） 研討會資訊：http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/oaw/slc/taiwan/index.html。

（二） 研討會海報乙張。

（三） 研討會論文集乙份。

（四） 研討會成果報告與照片光碟乙片。

International Symposium

5/6 November 2010

Taiwan Literature off the mainstream: Between Languages, ethnicities and media

Collection of Essays

◆ **Organized by**

International Taiwan Studies Center, National Taiwan Normal University
國立臺灣師範大學國際臺灣研究中心
in cooperation with
Research Unit on Taiwanese Culture and Literature, Ruhr-Universität Bochum

◆ **Sponsored by**

Ministry of Education (ROC)
中華民國教育部
Office of Research and Development, National Taiwan Normal University
國立臺灣師範大學研究發展處
RUHR-UNIVERSITÄT BOCHUM

http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/oaw/slc/Taiwan/index.html

International Symposium

5/6 November 2010

Taiwan Literature off the mainstream: Between Languages, ethnicities and media

Collection of Essays

◆ **Organized by**

International Taiwan Studies Center, National Taiwan Normal University

國立臺灣師範大學國際臺灣研究中心

in cooperation with

Research Unit on Taiwanese Culture and Literature, Ruhr-Universität Bochum

◆ **Sponsored by**

Ministry of Education (ROC)

中華民國教育部

Office of Research and Development, National Taiwan Normal University

國立臺灣師範大學研究發展處

RUHR-UNIVERSITÄT BOCHUM

http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/oaw/slc/Taiwan/index.html

Table of Contents

Faye Yuan Kleeman

Off the Beaten Path: (Post)colonial Travel Writings on Taiwan

I. Introduction: Narrating Other, Narrating Self

This paper deals with an area of Taiwanese literature that is off, way off from the mainstream. In fact, in some circles it may not even qualify as "Taiwanese Literature." If the term "mainstream" implies "common," "popular," "easily accessible," and "commercially viable," the current discussion gestures to a very different sphere of literary production. The language used in this body of literature is not Chinese but Japanese and the writers are Japanese authors, colonial settlers, travelers, and ex-soldiers.

If Taiwanese literature can be defined as written by Taiwanese writers (a loaded term) and/or on the subject matters related to Taiwan, then the body of literature dealt with here would belong to the latter category. Focusing on the travel writing of Taiwan, my paper explores the construction of "Taiwan" in the colonial and postcolonial eras by various Japanese writers and Taiwanese writers who wrote in the Japanese language.

Initially, I wanted to bring in a comparative perspective by contrasting travel writings written by the native Taiwanese to those written by Japanese writers during the colonial period in order to think through issues related to modernity, locations, and identity. But surprisingly, I found almost no writings during that period by native Taiwanese writers.

In the classical sense, there were several famous travelogues (*yūji* 遊記) such as Yu Yonghe's 郁永河 *Bihaijiyou* 裨海紀游, Luo Dachun's 羅大春 *Taiwan haifang bing kaishan riji* 臺灣海防並開山日記, Hu Chuan's 胡傳 *Taiwan riji yu*

bingqi 臺灣日記與稟啟 , and Jiang Shiche's 蔣師轍 *Taiwan riji* 臺灣日記, just to name a few.

However, these travelogues to and in Taiwan were all written in the 17th to 19th centuries, in other words, prior to the Japanese Colonial period. The authors of these records were predominately officials on expeditions and some exiled literati.[1] On the other hand, around the same period, the Taiwanese writer Cai Tinglan 蔡廷蘭 (1801-1859) delineated his unexpected journey to Vietnam in *Hainan zazhu* 海南雜著 (1837).[2] But it seems that until the post-martial law era in the late 1980s, there was an absence of discourse on Taiwan. The nostalgic longing for a primordial landscape and for the grandeur of historical sites and monuments were directed toward the other side of the Taiwan Strait. Perhaps the writing of the Other (be it people or natural landscape) inevitably takes the eye of an outsider. The genre of travel writing stems from meaning-making on the strange and exotic (colonial) frontier. That is, the constructions of Taiwan, both in the pre-colonial and colonial period are seen through the "imperial gaze." No other writings within the confines of "Taiwanese literature", either mainstream or off the mainstream, come close to this genre for its sole focus on the site of "Taiwan" itself.

Although the travel and ethnographic writings produced by Japanese colonial writers targeted a metropolitan audience, the concretization of knowledge concerning the heretofore "unknown" terrain and its people invoked "the spatial and temporal copresence of a subject previously separated by geographic and historic disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect."[3] It is this interactive

---

[1] See Emma J Deng 2004; Li Shuhui 2005 and 2008.

[2] In the fall of 1835, at age 35, Cai Tinglan travelled from Penghu to Fuzhou to take his civil examination. On his way back from Jinmen he encountered a typhoon that took him to Vietnam, a journey that formed the basis for his *Hainan zazhu*. The book provides unique insight into early 19th century Vietnam and was translated into and published in Russian (1872, 1877), French (1878) and Japanese and Vietnamese at the turn of the 20th century. For a detailed study, see Li Shuhui 2008.

[3] Mary Louise Pratt 1992:6-7.

space and time, what Said called "imaginative geography" and what Mary Louise Pratt refers to as the "contact zone," that a mere descriptive travel account is transformed into a discursive, transactional cultural space.

I have argued elsewhere that in the case of a ethnographer, writer, and aesthete like Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満 (1908-1999), whose fascination with traditional Taiwanese folk art dominated his artistic career, his systematization of colonial knowledge later became a source through which the native population conceptualized and even exoticized itself.[4] A more recent case was proposed by Japanese scholar of Colonial Taiwan Marukawa Tetsushi 丸川哲史 (1963-). Marukawa analyzed the representations of Taiwan in the media (TV and print advertisements) of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP or *Minjindang* 民進黨) in the 2000 Presidential election. Marukawa argues that by employing the Taiwanese New Cinema director Wu Nianzhen 吳念真 to capture the native landscape and entrusting the theme song to Taiwanese-language folksong singer Chen Mingzhang 陳明章, for the first time in Taiwanese history, a concrete visual construct was created to mobilize the voters. In this sense, the lush, green rice fields and the traditional red-brick farm houses evoke a nostalgic rhetoric about Taiwan while at the same time articulating a Taiwanese discourse of the self. Even though the geographical parameters (in this case, the boundaries of Taiwan proper) were historically determined, there is heterogeneity in the power dynamic, manifest in the variety of genres employed and the appropriation of the physical environment that warrants a closer examination of this body of works.

II. Empire, Encounters and (Post) Colonial Travel Theory

During the past decades interest in tourism studies has been rekindled, energized by research into areas such as postcolonial studies and global studies. Recent studies highlight conflicts between globalization and nationalism, ethnicities and authenticities, gender and colonial space, and reveal the ethical implications of the asymmetrical power dynamic of the tourist gaze and the native. (Blunt and Gillian,

---

[4] Faye Kleeman 2006.

1994; Smith and Duffy, 2003; Hall and Tucker, 2004; Hooper and Youngs, 2004; Siegel 2002, 2004) This body of new research places the movement of human and material culture (often the result of the movement of capital) in the context of coloniality of the past and the current neocolonial environments, exploring mobility, Diasporas, circulations and transformations of knowledge and goods. They analyze the acceleration of crossing national and other borders seen in tourism through the lens of the (post)colonial enterprise. In light of the politicization of space and the problematization of pleasure, neither the grand tour of monuments nor the private side trip of a personal nature can be viewed naively as just a simple jaunt.

Japanese colonialism played a major role in shaping East Asian modernity. The process of modernization (i.e., Westernization), filtered through Japanese imperial intentions, zigzagged through the linkage of cosmopolitan cities from Dalian, Seoul, Tokyo, Shanghai, Taipei, to British colonial Hong Kong. The circulation, assimilation, and transformation of a modernity mediated by colonial power are the focus of my current long term project. This paper, attending to the aforementioned issues, will be a site-specific study of the cultural flows between Taiwan and Japan, addressing explicitly Japanese perceptions of Taiwan from the pre-colonial (mid-18th century to late 19th century) through the end of the colonial rule in the mid 20th century to current conditions. Inspired by Emma Jinhua Deng's comprehensive and groundbreaking study of the changing Chinese perceptions of Taiwan from the late 17th century on, I will take a parallel look at the Japanese constructions of Taiwan from the late 18th century to the postwar period by delving into various genres of travel writing and the popular mystery novel set in Taiwan, tracing Taiwan's trajectory from "savage island" to Japan's "sovereign territory." The paper will look at literary and visual representations of the journey taken by the Japanese to Taiwan and assess how the image of Taiwan was appropriated to suit the larger ideological landscape of the empire.

As one of the Asian colonial powers during the period from the late 19th century until the end of the World War II, Japan could not avoid casting its own oriental gaze toward its colonial subjects and landscapes. Fujimori Kiyoshi's study of

tourism and its impact on the formation of a modern identity for Japanese intellectuals around the turn of the nineteenth century illustrates two fundamental shifts in Japanese perceptions of their own environment.[5] The nascent practice of tourism (a privilege reserved for high-level bureaucrats and the elite), which mirrored the British "grand tour" tradition of (re)discovering Greece and Italy, was a nostalgic awakening for the Japanese, leading them to look at their own geographical and cultural landscape anew from the point of view of a foreigner, much like the very successful "Discover Japan" campaign of the 1970s, which mobilized the mass consumption of the leisure time that was being afforded to the middle class for the first time in Japan's history. Fujimori's discussion focuses primarily on domestic travel, but he does mention frequent organized group tours to the colonies (Manchuria, Korea, and Taiwan) and their implications for the formation of a modern national consciousness. Fujimori effectively demonstrates, through literary works by Tayama Katai and Nagai Kafū, how tourism at the turn of the century fostered various cultural dichotomies, such as urban/rural, nature/human, and most of all, center/periphery.[6]

In the following sections, I will use an array of print and visual texts to trace Japan's construction and transformation of conceptualizations of Taiwan from early modern times, through the colonial period to the postwar period. The late Tokugawa investigative actual account of people lost at sea called *hyōryūki* 漂流記, which recorded seafarers who inadvertently traveled outside of Japan during the period of the Shogunate's isolationist policy (sakoku 鎖國), was revived in Meiji boys' literature to inspire and accommodate an expanding Imperial ambition. Depictions of Taiwan in popular media such as newspapers and magazines around the Sino-Japanese war tend to emphasize Japan's civilizing mission. Works during the colonial period diverged, with Nishikawa Mitsuru's romantic topographical read of Taiwan (*Kareitō shōka* 華麗島頌歌) and his constructions of historical space (*Sairiuki* 採硫記, Taiwan sōkan tetsudō 臺灣縱貫鐵路) differing drastically from the works of writers such as Kitahara Hakushū 北原白

---

[5] Fujimori (1998).
[6] Fujimori (1998): 53-68

秋, Sata Ineko 佐多稲子, or Nogami Yaeko 野上弥生子 who visited as a formal guests of the Governor-General. The narratives of native writer Lü Heruo 呂赫若, who depicted a Japanese sojourner in the short story "Yülan 玉蘭," and Hikage Jōkichi 日影丈吉, a popular postwar mystery writer who drew on his experiences as a soldier stationed in Taiwan, blending a dreamy yet vivid local landscape into his gothic tales, provide a non-imperial (if not anti-imperial) perspective. Records of actual trips, such as Japanese student's homage to battlefields and shrines across the colonies, or the Showa Emperor's royal visit to Taiwan will be used to compare and contrast the presentational and representational gap in this genre. Using David Spurr's exploration of the formation of colonial discourse through the examination of journalism, travel writing, and imperial administration, this article looks at the Japanese construction of Taiwan from the pre-colonial conceptualization through the high colonial period to postcolonial writings. In *The Rhetoric of Empire* (1993), Spurr identifies eleven basic rhetorical features of colonial discourse and studies how they were deployed. Though he draws his examples primarily from British, French, and American writing of the 19th and 20th centuries, the implications of his study can be applied to different colonial situations. His list ranges from scientifically neutral- sounding classification, naturalization, and appropriation, to demeaning terms such as debasement, negation, surveillance, to more positive aesthetic interventions like idealization, aestheticization, eroticization, and affirmation. Many of the travel accounts of the colonial period can fit into one or more of Spurr's rhetorical devices. By contrasting the pre-colonial value-neutral depiction with discourses infused with a civilizing mission in the early stages of colonial conquest, to the ideologically-bound high colonial period, and finally to the postcolonial enigmatic deciphering of the colonial past, this paper attempts to give a fuller picture of the development of the Japanese discourse on Taiwan.

III. Popular Imaginations and Meiji Modernity

Taiwan, as an island located distinctively to the South of Japan, occupied a major place in Japan's articulation of a Southern vision. In my previous work on the

colonial cultural milieu in Taiwan and the South Pacific during the Japanese occupation (1895-1945), I examined the literary construction of the South and its colonial vision.[7] Largely based on Yano Tooru's 矢野暢 studies on the South Pacific (*Nanyō* 南洋, *Nanpō* 南方), the discourse of the south differs from the later colonial discourse of the North (which mainly centered on Manchuria and Mongolia). The political, economic, and military variations in the nature of the colonial administration also manifested in literary and cultural representations of the two colonies. The longing for the south (*nanpō dōkei* 南方憧憬) and the later, northbound imagination (*hoppō gensō* 北方幻想) pervaded Japan's colonial imagination. The two imaginations complimented each other and can serve as a contrast to help us understand how differently the empire was conceptualized in each place.

Japan's popular imagination of the South had its genesis in the popular genre of the seafarer epic, which fascinated male readers at the turn of the century. Adventure epics (*kaiyō shōsetsu* 海洋小説, *bōken shōsetsu* 冒険小説) such as the popular series of heroic tales created by Oshikawa Shunrō 押川春浪, (1876-1914), including works like *Ocean Island Adventurous Tales: The Underwater Fleet Ship* (*Kaidō bōken kidan kaitei gunkan* 海島冒険奇譚 海底軍艦, 1900) or *Heroic Tales: New Japan Island* (*Eiyū shōsetsu shin Nipponjima* 英雄小説 新日本島, 1906), with its anti-Western nationalistic bent, were hugely popular among male teenage readers.[8] Together with the political novel (*seiji shōsetsu* 政

---

[7] Faye Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003).

[8] Based on an actual incident in which a battleship commissioned by the Japanese government and built by the French disappeared in the Taiwan Strait in 1886, Oshikawa spun a whole series of fantasy tales similar to Western tales such as *Treasure Island* and *The Count of Monte Cristo* or the Chinese heroic romance of *Water Margin* (*Shuihuzhuan*)., Oshikawa's narratives of international intrigue, though highly nationalistic in his outlook, were still a far cry from the advocacy of militarism and hero worship that characterized literature during the Russo-Japanese war and the during the lead-up to the Pacific War. Rather, they emphasized the alliance between the weaker nations who were under the sway of Western imperial powers such as the United States and Britain. See Kitagami Jirō 北上次郎, *Bōken shōsetsu ron kindai hīrō zō 100 nen no*

治小説), another genre that was also popular among the male readership of the time, these writings were important in fostering in the populace an outlook that was global yet nationalistic. In a sense this literature of geography, in the form of narratives about explorers, surveyors, and geographers as well as other more fantastic storytelling, transported them, in their imagination, beyond the confining boundaries of the nation state. For example, Yamada Bimyō 山田美妙, who is credited with leading the vernacular movement (*genbun'itchi undō* 言文一致運動) that defined the characteristics of modern Japanese prose, was also preoccupied with the independence movement in the Philippines. His portrayal of the Philippino hero Emilio Aquinaldo in the novel *The War Tales of Philippine Independence: Aquinaldo* (*Firippin dokuritsu senwa Aginarudo* 比律賓独立戦話あぎなると, 1902) is a passionate plea for the independence of that island nation, which had suffered under the Spanish and American colonial powers.[9] This increasing expansive engagement with the outside world, coupled with the onslaught of a disorientingly fast-paced modern life prompted the preeminent Japanese ethnologist Yanagita Kunio to comment:

The ocean landscape has begun to change dramatically since the beginning of Meiji. There are changes in appearance in the deep mountains with the opening up of railroad and mining or with the flourishing of forestry, but the ocean became even more lively than those. On the whole, things that are active are increasing, and the things that are inactive are on the wane.[10]

---

hensen 冒険小説 近代ヒーロー像 一〇〇年の変遷 [Adventure Novels: A Century of Change in the Modern Heroic Image] (Tokyo: Hayakawa shobō, 1993), pp. 335-341.

[9] The director Kinugasa Teinosuke and the script writer Okuni Hideo planned to make a film on the anti-colonial heroes Aquinaldo and Jose Risal in 1942. In the script, Risal's mother, who was of Chinese descendent, was identified as Japanese to emphasize the connection with Japan and their common fight against US. See Peter B. High, *Teikoku no ginmaku* 帝国の銀幕 [The Empire's Silver Screen]. (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 1995), p.398.

[10] Yanagita Kunio 柳田国男. *Meiji Taishō shi: Sesōhen* 明治大正史　世相篇 [Meiji and Taishō History: Social Conditions] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1967), p.107.

Since the late 19th century, these oceanic epics have anchored the southbound imagination of the Japanese public in the infinite vastness and potential of the open seas, a gateway to unknown lands full of treasure, where pirates roam and British and American battleships dominate the horizon as far as the eyes can see. There the burgeoning Japanese navy thought it might be able to join the Powers. These imaginations of colonial landscapes reflected a fantasy that was deeply rooted in Japan's modernization process, a response to the humiliating, emasculating encounter with the West, the subsequent forced opening of Japan, and the unequal treaties that the West had (first the US, later Russia and France) imposed on Japan since the mid-1800s. In the face of this daunting legacy, Japan's newly acquired industrial prowess and its victories against two older empires—China in 1895 and Russia in 1904—prompted a new enthusiasm not only on the part of the government but also the general public to proceed with the colonial expansion.

It is common to point to newly adopted political institutions, growing military might, entrepreneur capitalism, and a program of mass education as indicators of Meiji modernity, but Japan's relationship to the outside world is another area where there is a clear break with pre-modern feudal society. After two and a half centuries of the Shogunate's isolationist policy, the Meiji government was aware of Japan's geopolitical importance in East Asia and was eager to present the image of a modern state that was part, if not yet fully an equal member, of the civilized world. A global outlook fit into this political agenda and the popular media help foster this new world view. The rapid Westernization process not only had universal official support, its influence extended to the everyday life of the populace, from food and fashion to personal imagination and pleasure. Children, particularly teenage boys, were encouraged to allow their ambitions to transcend the boundaries of their native birthplace and even the nation-state by popular slogans such as "stand up and make something of your life" (*risshin shusse* 立身出世) or "go abroad with great ambition" (*tairiku yūhi* 大陸雄飛), or as the American missionary/teacher Dr. Clark's put it in his popular proclamation to Japanese youth, "Boys, be ambitious!" One theme urged the Japanese to move to

the then frontier Hokkaidō to create a new world for themselves.[11] Many popular novels were published with the young male audience in mind, inviting them to boldly seek adventure, if only in their imagination. Titles such as *Success Stories for Young Boys* (*Shōnen risshiden* 少年立志伝), *Illuminating Models for Young Boys* (*Ichidoku funki shōnen kikan* 一読奮起少年亀鑑), *One Hundred Biographies of Boys in China and Japan* (*Wakan hyakudōden* 和漢百童伝) made the bestseller lists and magazines catering to young boys were popular.

Being modern means being independent and mobile. Modern human right movements such as Civil Rights Movement (Minken undō 民権運動) of the 1870s and 1880s created a modern subjectivity, an individual who asserts his or her will separate from the feudal family system and is not bound to a birthplace. A fortune was to be obtained and a famous name to be made by leaving one's hometown (*furusato*) and following where destiny led you. This liberation from the feudal past, coupled with newly improved technologies for mobility (i.e. railroad, steamboat etc.), and perpetuated by the nationalist, expansionist Imperial discourse as its meta-narrative, drove the ambitious to move around, not only within Japan proper, but also to new worlds outside Japan.

IV. Accidental Travels: Early Meiji Seafarer Accounts and the Discovery of Taiwan

It is within this socio/cultural context that we will examines one of these Meiji seafarer accounts, *Nihon Hyōryūtan* 日本漂流譚 (1892). Edited and written by Ishii Minji 石井民治, the editor of the popular teenage boy magazine *Little*

---

[11] Dr. William Smith Clark (8126-1886) established the Sapporo Agricultural School in 1876 (today's Hokkaidō University) as the first modern university in Japan and a center for modern, scientific, American-style agriculture. His statue, with his finger pointed to the West, which still stands on the high hills overlooking the city, has become one of the most famous tourist sites for visitors who visit Hokkaidō. The colonial nature and the frontier spirit of Hokkaidō as a colonial site in the early Meiji period is attested to by the statue that also graces the university campus, that of the famous colonial scholar Nitobe Inazō's 新渡戸稲造, who was a graduate of the agricultural School.

Citizens (*Shōkokumin* 小国民), and published by Gakureisha (School Age Publisher 学齢社), the series states its purpose clearly in its preface. In the Self-Preface (自序), Ishii recalls that he once saw a blue-eyed boy operating a boat with great skill and ease. He asked how he could be so skillful in manipulating the boat. The little boy told him that he was from England, and since that country has long been a seafaring country (*kaikoku* 海国), they "search out their national interest in the most unusual locations, ten thousand miles away, and dispatch their soldiers to foreign countries where they are not expected." That, he concludes, is why the nation is wealthy and strong. Contrasting this with the condition in Japan, Ishii laments that Japanese adults gent dizzy when setting foot onto a boat and their faces turn ashen; they are no match for a British child. Ishii remarks that in the past relying on single-mast sailing vessels, students had gone to China, and his ancestors had conquered Korea and the Chingus (Makkatsu 靺革十葛) in the North. He blames the Tokugawa government's strict laws against going abroad for frustrating the natural drive of Japan's citizens to explore abroad and it is this frustration that prompts him to edit this series of books on the subject. The book collected Tokugawa-period oral narratives of seafarer as part of the Meiji educational goal of teaching contemporary children about the sea (*kaiji* 海事).

Included in the first book of the series is one of the earliest accounts of Japan's encounter with Taiwan, titled "Sailors from Shima drifted to Taiwan and returned to home by Qing ship."[12] The account documented the adventure of six seamen from Fuse village of Shima country (志摩国布施村) in 1757, the 7th year of the Hōreki 宝暦 (1751-1764) reign period. They loaded up their boat with merchandise from Ōsaka heading toward Ōzaki port in Shima when a gust of westerly wind blew them adrift. For several months (156 days to be precise) they floated aimlessly in the ocean, enduring countless hardships, watching two of their companions perish due to thirst, until finally one day they came ashore in a foreign land whose landscape somewhat resembles Japan. When the four sailors first came ashore, they were met by eight men in strange attire 異様な扮装 who

---

[12] 「志摩の人、台湾島に漂流し、清国船に因りて故郷に帰る」 See Ishii Minji 石井民司. *Nihon hyōryūtan* 日本漂流談譚. (Tokyo: Gakureikan, 1892): 67-93.

were armed with spears 鎗, bows and arrows 弓矢, and rifles 鉄砲. These eight men stripped them of their clothes, forcing them to put on furs, siezed all their belongings, disassembled their boat, and took away all the metal nails, and locked them in a small salt-making hut. It turned out that these eight men were bandits. They were subsequently arrested by the village elders who came with two hundred peasants to rescue the Japanese fishermen.

From this point on, the narrative changes; the dark and suffering tone shifts to a more jovial atmosphere with observations of the local hospitality, nature, landscape, customs and their many comical interactions with the natives.

In the presence of the village head, they tried to ask the four seamen some questions. However, they could not understand their language at all. The Japanese wrote in a cursive style 草体, but they could not read them at all, even after adding more kana 仮名, they still could not figure it out. Non-cursive style 楷書 were then used, but they still could not read it. Finally, we all gave up and laughed together wholeheartedly. (72)

The four were carried about on boards (similar to the sort of palanquin that was used in a Japanese village *matsuri* festival) and toured many villages. Wherever they went, they were treated with rice wine and dumplings made with millet 粟, and the villagers lined up along the road to see them. The Japanese complained that the strong wine tasted sweet with a slight sour flavor, but the food smelled so awful that they could not stand to eat it.

The food had such a strong stench that we could not bear to put it in our mouths at all. But if we did not eat something, it would be a violation of proper etiquette. Four of us shared one (bread 饅頭) together, not touching rest of the food, and our hosts laughed heartily. (74-5)

Later, they were brought to meet with three high officials in the capital of Koxingga's （コクセンヤ） beautiful golden court. There they witnessed humbling (i.e. having the prisoners pass through their crutches) and harsh

treatment, leading to executions. They were put up in a nobleman's house and stayed in the capital for about forty days:

We were put in a room deconrated on all four sides with brocade curtains 金襴 and the daybeds covered with fur and carpet. We were treated to a feast every day. The meals were like in Japan, either one soup with five dishes or two soups with seven dishes. They suited our taste. We were given the best rice wine similar to the *morohaku*[13] wine in Japan three times a day. Other than that we were provided with money and one *koku* 石 and six *to* 斗 of rice daily. The coins look like the currency of the Kan'ei period 寛永通寶. We were provided with hot water three times a day. We stayed for forty days, wanting for nothing. Every day, visitors in different attire came wanting to see us. Princes and noble ladies came one after another and we made them laugh. Some women brought their children; they approached us and threw sweets and such at us as if the four of us were monkeys or parrots kept for entertainment. Though we felt bad about it, being drifters from another land, we were at the mercy of others. There was nothing we could do but endure the humiliation and pass the days and months. (78-79)

This is a rare passage in the mostly superficial descriptive narrative that reveals a more reflective side as the travelers meditate on their own position vis-à-vis their captors. One of the companions fell ill, and despite thirty natives nursing him day and night, he succumbed to the disease and passed away. An elaborate funeral was mounted on his behalf with one hundred and fifty monks chanting sutras and thousands of common folks joining the funeral procession. After the funeral, they were escorted out of Taiwan and arrived at Fuchow (清国の福州). From there, accompanied by an escort of eighty and three physicians, they embarked on their journey to the city Nanjing. Their journey in mainland China was another cultural shock; the cities were busier and the castles grander and where they were treated even better than in Taiwan, receiving many luxurious gifts and silver.

---

[13] Morohaku 諸白 is a wine made during the Tokugawa period with the best quality white rice in addition to Kakemai 掛米 and kōji 麹. It is also used to refer to the top quality wine.

Feasting on the best seafood (though the traveler notes that in China they eat mostly river fish such as carp and crucuan 鮒 and little sea fish), they all gain weight and long for the simpler fare such as noodle and wheat rice that they usually ate at home. After many days of farewell parties that extended on into the wee hours, the travelers finally set out on their journey home, with loads of precious gifts and many people shedding parting tears. Upon their return, they are interrogated by the local government and, though strictly forbidden to ever set sail again, they are united with their families and live happily ever after.

Compared with later travel writing produced during the colonial period, *Nihon hyōryūdan* is surprisingly devoid of any colonial agenda and nationalistic sentiment. There is no evidence of either a civilizing mission or territorial ambition, and the result is a value-neutral depiction of a foreign land. The Taiwan presented by the *Nihon hyōryūdan* revealed first to mid-18th century Japanese, and later to the 19th century readers, a genuine human encounter characterized, despite language barriers and different customs, by good-will and an accommodating host. The narrator(s) are full of curiosity, at times awed by the hospitality and kindness of the local people, appreciative of the swift justice dealt to their transgressors, and at the same time, homesick. It is an account of incidental sojourners who wandered into a realm without preconception or previous knowledge. They encounter three different level of civilizations: first, the more primitive indigenous tribe, later, with the exilic provincial regime of Zheng Chenggong, and finally, with a wealthy and prosperous Qing society. There are times the travelers were disgusted or in awe by the people and its society they encountered, there were enjoyment, homesickness, sadness, and good will. The foreign countries were depicted mostly as is without much critical assessment. This will soon change as the mutually equal stance soon to be reframed into a relationship between colonial overlord and its subject.

V. The Strategic and Popular Conceptualization of Taiwan in late 19th c. Japan

The first formal contact between Taiwan and Japan occurred in November, 1874 in the so called "Mudanshe Incident" (牡丹社事件) when 66 fishermen from Okinawa were shipwrecked and landed in Taiwan; 55 of them were captured and beheaded by the aborigines. The newly established Meiji government saw this as a prime opportunity to make a firm claim on Okinawa, an independent island state that occupied an ambiguous place between China and Japan historically. It also saw the incident as an opening for an expansion of Japanese influence to Taiwan. One year after the incident, a student studying in China, Mizuno Jun 水野遵 and Kabayama Motonori 樺山資紀, who later became the first Governor-General of Taiwan, were sent on a secret mission to Taiwan to scout out the situation.

Japan appointed Soejima Taneomi（種臣；たねおみ；たねとみ副島種臣特命全権大使）as special ambassador to negotiate with the Qing Court over the "Mudanshe Incident." Seizing upon the Qing state's refusal to take responsibility with the justification that the inhabitants of Taiwan were "citizens beyond the reach of civilization" 化外之民, Japan invaded Taiwan in May of 1874, proclaiming its action a "righteous act of self-preservation" 自力救済の義挙. Japanese soldiers remained in Taiwan for about six months, forcing the Qing Court to come to the negotiation table.[14]

A decade after the Mudanshe Incident, the Qing became involved in a war with France over their conflicting interests in Vietnam. When the French blockaded Taiwanese ports and attacked Qing troops on the island, the Qing was forced to re-evaluate the strategic importance of the island and belatedly adopted a policy of engagement and development. Before the incident, the Qing consensus was that the burdens of governing Taiwan outweighed the benefits to be gained from colonizing the island.[15] It is during this period that historical figures like Liu Mingchuan 劉銘傳 made their mark on Taiwan. Serving as the Governor for Fujian and Taiwan, Liu was the first to propose that Taiwan be separated from

---

[14] Both countries signed the peace treaty on October, 31st, 1874 in which Qing paid Japanese government 100,000 pieces of gold for condolence money. In the treaty, though Japanese army's occupation of Taiwan was denied, Okinawa was tacitly handed over to the rule of Japan.

[15] Emma Deng 2004: 81.

Fujian to become an independent province, and served as its first governor. He is also credited with setting up the administrative system for the island, much of whick was adopted by the Japanese during the colonial period and, later, by the Nationalist Government.[16]

Together with the emergence of Taiwan as a strategic site in East Asian geopolitical realm as part of Japan's colonial ambition, discourse on Taiwan also began to appear in popular media. Fukuzawa Yukichi's *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization* (Bunmeiron no gairyaku 文明論之概略, 1875) in which he proposed a relativist schema of comparative civilization that brings historical time and circumstances into consideration. For example, China, Turkey, and Japan was considered relatively civilized in comparison to some of the African and Australian colonies and European nations (and Japan) were the most civilized of all, at the time. This graduated system of primitiveness (yaban 野蛮), semi-civilized (hankai 半開) and civilized (bunmei 文明) set in stone the modern outlook of Japan and Fukuzawa's later *A Discourse on Leaving Asia* (Datsua ron 脱亜論, 1885) was only a further methodological elaboration on the same subject. Often referred to as an early support of imperialism for his support of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) Fukuzawa ultimately believed modernization in Asia could best be achieved by the military prowess.

Although most Western media of the day still considered Japan an "underdeveloped country," the Meiji elite willingly accepted the mission of civilizing their fellow Asians as part of their destiny (Komori 2001: 15). One way to assert one's civilized status was to create a marginalized "primitiveness." Japanese colonialism is founded upon a Japanese brand of Orientalism that turns against its Asian neighbors the superiority of a Western modernity that it had only recently acquired for itself. This dualistic discursive strategy, incorporating both assimilation and exclusion, was present throughout Japanese colonialism. The

---

[16] Liu instituted under the Provincial Government 3 prefectures (*fu* 府), 11 counties (*xian* 縣), 3 subprefectures (*ting* 廳), and one directly-administered independent department (*zhili zhou* 直隸州)。

emergence of the individualistic, modern subjectivity was quickly folded into the national (and imperial) projects of "enriching the nation and strengthening the military" (*fukoku kyōhei* 富国強兵) and "escaping Asia to enter Europe" (*datsua nyūō* 脱亜入欧).[17]

The idea that Taiwan was a semi-civilized (if not totally primitive) place that needed to be tamed took root at this time.[18] The popular media's reports (both textual and visual) of the 1874 Taiwan invasion (Taiwan shuppei 台湾出兵, aka. Mudanshe Incident) brought into the foreground the aboriginal tribes, which were referred to as the "barbaric people of Taiwan" (台湾の蕃民) who were at the mercy of the Imperial soldiers (我軍隊の仁恵). After Japan acquired the island as its first colony, Taiwan's image as a no man's land lurking at the edge of the empire was further reinforced. In Meiji, melodramatic pulp fiction such as *My Guilt* (Onoga tsumi 己が罪, 1899) by Kikuchi Yūhō 菊池幽芳 (1870-1947), which was serialized in the *Osaka Daily News* 大阪毎日新聞 from 1899 to 1900 were immensely popular bestsellers. After getting pregnant by her boy friend and gave birth to an illegitimate child out of wedlock, the female protagonist Minō Tamaki decides to become a nurse in a Taipei hospital to redeem her sin[19] Similarly, Shimazaki Tōson's 島崎藤村(1871-1943) *New Life* (*Shinsei* 新生, 1918) depicts in a Naturalist mode the author Toson's affair and impregnation of

---

[17] There is an immense literature on modernity and the formation of the subject in Japan. The discourse on modernity has been pursued from various academic disciplines and has focused on features ranging from social and political history to literary and cultural domains such as the fantastic (Napier 1996), ethnography (Ivy 1995), folk belief (Kawamura Kunimitsu 1990), and madness (Matsuyama Iwao 1993). While a schema of East/West, modern/pre-modern dichotomies prevails in these critical engagements, the more recent trend is to avoid the binary construction of the two elements and probe the complexity and complicity of the two sides. This more synthesized and integrated view can be seen, for example, in Kawamura's take on the folksy fantastic as crucial to the ideological and institutional construction of 'modern Japan,' or in Gerald Figal's *Civilization and Monsters* (1999), in which he asserts that a discourse on fantastic (*fushigi*) was at the heart of the historical configuration of Japanese modernity.

[18] For further discussion of Japan's civilizing mission in Taiwan see Leo T.S. Ching 2001: 158-60.

[19] See Nakane Takayuki 2001: 134-152.

the younger sister of his deceased wife. The young woman Setsuko was subsequently sent to Taiwan to avoid scandalizing the author. Taiwan as an abstract conceptualization of a remote land to which the unfortunate and the downtrodden escape underwent some changes in the 1920s, and particularly after the Sino-Japanese war erupted 1937 and the Imperial Subject Movement (*kōminka undō* 皇民化運動) of compulsory assimilation was implemented. Taiwan was reconfigured as the strategic forefront of the Greater East Asian War, the island took on the image of a modern military fortress which serves as the gateway to Japan's southern front.

VI. Imperial Tours and Casual Travelers during the High Colonial Period

Japanese tourists visiting Taiwan during the high colonial period perceived a jarring juxtaposition of uncouth, primeval indigenous peoples and a traditional agrarian society characterized by garish, exotic temples existing side by side with a highly developed railway system, exurban?? print media, popular entertainment, and a modern cityscape with wide roads and bustling city life like that of Taipei. Nevertheless, the symbol of Taiwan modernity was its railway system. Similar to the European railway system that brought about a dramatic increase in mass human movement and gave birth to European modern tourism, the railway system in Taiwan was the prime achievement and the pride of Japanese colonial rule. Building upon the two modest segments (Taipei to Jilong; Taipei to Xinzhu) built by Liu Mingchuan in 1891 and 1893, the Japanese finished the trans-island railway 縦貫鉄道 in 1908[20] and 1912 they established the first tourist bureau to promote tourism in Taiwan.

The expatriate writer Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満 (1908-1999) is known primarily for his earlier Romantic and ethnographic poetic delineations of Taiwan through poetry collections brimming with local color such as *The Mazu Festival* (*Masosai*

---

[20] The completion of the trans-island railway was viewed by the colonial government as the most important accomplishment in the first thirteen years of colonial rule in Taiwan. For activities related to this event and its consequence on other aspects (trade, exhibitions, agriculture etc.,) of domestic life, see Lü Shaoli 2005: 202-204.

媽祖祭,1935), *Opium* (*Ahen* 亜片,1938), *Biographies of Immortals* (*Ressenden* 列仙伝,1939), *A Record of Taiwan Customs and Lands* (*Taiwan fudoki* 台湾ふどき,風土記,1940), *A Paean to the Beautiful Isle* (*Kareitō shōka* 華麗島頌歌,1940), *Folktales of the Beautiful Isle* (*Kareitō minwashū* 華麗島民話集,1942), *A Record of Prominent Customs of the Beautiful Isle* (*Kareitō kenpūroku* 華麗島顕風録,1935-36, 1981) and *Taiwan Pictorial* (*Taiwan ehon* 台湾絵本,1943). Nishikawa Mitsuru's Romantic topographical read of Taiwan is mirrored in a series of historical narratives on Taiwan. Some of his historical narratives replicated and fictionalized an existent historiography like his adaptation of Yu Yonghe's 郁永河 account of mining sulfur for the Qing court, *Bihai jiyou* 稗海記游, into *Sairyūki* 採硫記.[21] Others, like *Tale of the Red Fort* 赤坎記 (1940), sought to appropriate the historical legitimacy of the Zheng Chengong era to justify Japan's Southern advance 南進 ambition on the eve of the Pacific War. The narrative mode employed by Nishigawa in his historical tales often mined pre-colonial historical relics and reframed them under contemporary colonial ideologies. In his epic novel *The Taiwan Cross Island Railway* (*Taiwan sōkan tetsudō* 台湾縦貫鉄道, 1942), Nishigawa retraced the history of the railway system, creating an outling of the temporal and spatial development of Taiwan epitomized by the linking up of strips of railway built by the previous regime and their completion under the colonial regime. In Nishikawa's discursive reinvention of Taiwan's past, its modernity was embodied in this potent symbol of technological advancement.

Rail and other transportation systems are the hardware that provides the infrastructure for the movements of humans, resources, knowledge, and information; the newly acquired mobility of mass ridership made possible the rise of several auxiliary industries. The popularity of tourist destinations such as the Eight Scenic Spots of Taiwan 臺灣八景[22] was solidified through popular polls; the selection criteria emphasized locales with a similarity to a famous site in Japan (i.e., Sun Moon Lake 日月潭 and Biwako 琵琶湖), a tie to colonial politics (i.e.

---

[21] See Nakajima and Kawahara 1998: 359-436.

[22] Lü Shaoli 2005: 375-385.

the Shinto shrine Taiwan Jinja 台湾神社 which enshrined the conquering hero of Taiwan, the Crown Prince Kitashirakawa no miya Yoshihisa Shinnō 北白川宮能久親王), or industrial significance (i.e. sugar plantations), to accommodate both local and metropole travelers.

In her study of Japanese emigration to Manchuria, Tessa Morris Suzuki points to Shinto shrines and the Manchurian railway as manifestations of two contrasting mythological constructions; the former represents the myth of colonialism and the latter myth for the modern nation-state.[23] A railway system and shrines can be seen throughout all Japanese colonies, combining the Eastern myth of the (supposedly) stable and impervious tradition, the imperial reign, that can be traced back thousands of years and the accelerating technology of modernity represented by the railway.

The best showcase for this intersection of imperial myth, modernity, and consolidation of territorial legitimacy was the trip the Showa Emperor (at the time Crown Price 東宮) took on 1923 to survey the island colony for the first time.[24] The Imperial trip, known as *gyōkō* 行幸 or *gyōkei* 行啓,[25] was not an innocent pleasure tour. It combined the ancient practice of a ruler surveying his domain (*kunimi* 国見), with an assertion of imperial reign over the emperor's new island that was founded upon modern technology and military prowess, thus extending the Meiji national polity or *kokutai* 国体 onto Taiwan. Various naming acts, such as designating the diverse aboriginal tribes as Takasagozoku 高砂族, an

---

[23] テッサ・モーリス＝スズキ「植民地思想と移民——豊原の眺望から——」吉見俊哉等編岩波講座　近代日本の文化史　第 6 巻『拡大するモダニティー　1920-30 年代』（東京　岩波書店）：185-213.

[24] See Kleeman 2006 for more discussion on the visual presentation and representation of this trip.

[25] In Japan, *gyōkō* 行幸 referred to outings of the Emperor while *gyōkei* 行啓 indicated an outing by the emperor's mother, the empress, the crown prince, or his wife. The crown prince Hirohito at that time had not yet succeeded to his father, Emperor Taishō's, throne but was already taking care of the day to day imperial affairs due to the poor state of the Emperor's health. This trip was referred to in popular media using both terms interchangeably.

auspicious name with classical referents, or renaming local natural sites, edifices, and mountains with names that recall the metropole (i.e. New High Mountain 新高山), or designating Taiwan's first national parks, are all evidence of the deliberate transformation of the native landscape into the imperial geo-body. Taiwan, implicated in this Name-of-the Father signification loop, thus was incorporated into the symbolic order of the empire.

VII. The Enigma of an Inner Journey: Fauna, riddle and the literary topoi of Lü Heruo and Hikage Jōkichi

There are many reasons why people traveled from the metropole to the colonies. Unintentional seafarers; colonial administrators, bureaucrats, and soldiers; imperial outings; and the newly mobilized pleasure seeking middle class are all part of the human flow that shuttled between the metropole and the colonies. They came with official obligations, or with a certain political agenda, for economic reasons or just pure enjoyment. Whether they were aware of it or not, most, if not all of them, seem to have undergone some sort of transformation over the course of the journey.

This last section of the article veers away from the typical sort of travel writing and recasts the fundamental question of colonial travel—the relationship between power and space—in a slightly different frame. In both Lü Heruo's 呂赫若 short story "Gardenia" (Yülanhua 玉蘭花, 1943)[26] and Hikage Jōkichi's 日影丈吉 (1908-1991) murder mystery novel *Internal Truth* (*Naibu no shinjitsu* 内部の真実, 1959), Taiwan, and in particular the illusive fragrance of the flower Yülan, become the trope for the Japanese protagonists. Lü's touching tale depicts an intimate friendship formed between a Japanese visitor to the colony and a native boy. The serene and warmhearted story is also unique in that it portrays an intensely personal interaction between Japanese and the native that is in fact quite

---

[26] First published in *Taiwan bungaku* 4.1 (December, 1943): 119-131. Text quoted from reprint in Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao 1999: 2/263-275.

rare in the whole body of colonial literature. Hikage Jōkichi, a popular postwar suspense writer who is known for his detached style and cogent plots, spent four years (1943-1946) as a soldier stationed in Taiwan. Based on this experience he wrote two novels and many short stories using Taiwan as the stage for his dark and enigmatic tales of a love triangle between two Japanese soldiers and a Taiwanese woman.[27]

To avoid the direct political implications of colonialism, Lü set the point of view of the story low, letting us see the whole situation through the eyes of a seven-year-old boy who was barely able to leave his mother and grandmother's side. The boy's eyes serve as an innocent observer of the Japanese, with no judgments and no preconceptions.
The story begins with the adult narrator looking at some old faded photographs of his childhood.

To this day, I still have some twenty photographs that I took of my family when I was a young boy. Every one of them has turned brown and began to fade; there are some where the contours have blurred and the images are disappearing. But just a glance at them can bring back the ambiance of my home when I was little. Most of the pictures were of my grandmother, aunts and mother; all of them have since passed on. They were dressed in skirts and tops that were trimmed in chunky five-colored cords, and with the deck chairs and potted plants in the yard as the background, they looked stiff. In most of those photos, the childish me would either be standing by my grandmother or clinging to my mother's side. Though my grandmother and mother were holding my hands, they were staring stiffly and nervously into the camera as if there were not a moment to spare to pay attention to me.[28]

---

[27] Hikage's writings on Taiwan, which are referred to by the critics as *Taiwan mono* (tales of Taiwan) include another novel, *The family of Ō* 応家の人々 and short stories like "Miancenggui" 眠床鬼 (The nightmare demon?), "Tensenkyū no shinpanjitsu" 天仙宮の審判日 (Judgment day in the Palace of the Heavenly Immortals), "Kieta ie" 消えた家 (The family that disappeared), and "Sawakgu shitai" 騒ぐ屍体 (The noisy corpse).
[28] Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao 1999: 2/263.

The gentle clash of the modern technology and the native taboo is revealed. The pictures were taken by a Japanese houseguest and a photographer, one Suzuki Zenbei, who was staying with the family. Despite his first reticence, the boy quickly befriends Suzuki and the two spend their long sunny days roaming the tranquil countryside. When Suzuki is struck down by illness, no Western medical doctor can save him but a female shaman who performs a native magical ritual for retrieving a lost soul (*zhaohun* 招魂) is able to nurse him back to health.

Suzuki, a longhaired wanderer who escapes from the metropole to pursue his personal artistic fulfillment in the colonies. There he glories in the temporary respite from the social obligations and expectations, pampered by his attentive hosts. His pastoral utopia is nevertheless a temporary one. He leaves Taiwan with a sense of loss and a tinge of reluctance, while the children watch him through the lush leaves and the intoxicating perfume of the magnolia, just as they the day that he arrived. This encounter, though endearing, is evanescent and fated to end. Suzuki may capture the island, it's scenery and it's people through the mechanical eyes of the camera he brought from Japan, but his soul was caught and captivated by the indigenous landscape.

The trope of the magnolia flower also plays a major role in Hikage's mystery novel. As the narrator Otaka tells of a bewildering murder case about a Japanese soldier's mysterious death, the initially balanced and dispassionate tone gradually gives way to a more frantic, confused voice. The murder occurred on a moonless night, with only the heady scent of the magnolia to guide the investigators to the crime scene. With chapter titles like "The Conditions for Darkness and Time" (II) "A Mathematical Deliberation on the Pistol" (III), and "An Observation on Calculation of a Live Bullet" (IV), the author clearly wants to impart an aura of scientific impartiality to the entire investigation. Nevertheless, as the narrative progresses, instead of solving the puzzle, more and more characters become suspects and at the same time the suspicion grows that the dead soldier may have just committed suicide. All involved in the murder are somehow connected to the native women who remind the narrator of the fragrant flower. The case remains

unsolved to the end of the book, which is interrupted by the death of the narrator, Private Otaka, in an American air raid. Obviously, the usual rules of deduction does not work in this case. The more reasoning one applies to the case, the more fractured it becomes; rational deduction gives birth to more pieces of puzzle. Written either at the end of or right after the demise of the Japanese empire, these tales serve as counter-narrative to the high-spirited Meiji discourse of modern rationalism.

In several essays Hikage discusses his travail in trying to figure out what is the exact equivalent of Yūlan in Japanese, English, and Latin. A self-proclaimed horticulture buff, he searched through many encyclopedias of plants and flowers and failed to identify the kind that he remember he saw in Taiwan. The untranslatability of the native flora and fauna, which is rooted deeply in the soil of the indigenous landscape, come to symbolize the epistemological and geographical gaps between the native and the colonizer, between the local and the metropole. Despite the dizzily disorienting vision and the seduction of the languorous tropics, the island remains a *terra incognita* for these men. Though the two narratives anchored themselves in the materiality of their loci, the unique native fauna, the magnolia is an enigmatic gestures to the haunting ghost of colonialism. Taiwan is merely a discursive space through which these sojourners can roam, whether nursing one's frustrations (like Suzuki) or atoning for collective sin (like Otaka).

VIII. Conclusion

In *Imperial Eyes*, Mary Louise Pratt's landmark study of travel writing and empire, we learn that travel books by Europeans created the domestic subject of European imperialism. She treats the "relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and "travelees," not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power."[29] Through an examination of travel

---

[29] Mary Louise Pratt 1992: 1-14.

accounts from the eighteenth century to Paul Theroux, Pratt demonstrates that the metropolitan reading public was engaged in the expansionist enterprise and profited not only through material benefits but also through the possibility of imagining (or actual experiencing) the outside world. In other words, travel writing produced "the rest of the world" for the metropole readership.

Unquestionably, colonial and exploration discourses played a significant role in the ideological apparatus of Empire, but for better or worse, these are examples of how Taiwan was represented through Japanese eyes. By reading between the naively celebratory and the haughtily dismissive accounts and balancing the hyperbolic against the authentic, there is a Taiwan to be found. It is my sincere hope that this study will contribute to the transcultural, translingual study of Taiwanese literature.

Bibliography:

English

Hall, C. Michael and Hazel Tucker, eds. 2004. *Tourism and postcolonialism: Contested discourses, identities and representations.* London, New York, NY: Routledge.

Ching, Leo T.S. 2001. Becoming "Japanese." Berkeley: University of California Press.

Smith, Mick and Rosaleen Duffy, eds. 2003. *The Ethics of Tourism Development.* London, New York, NY: Routledge.

Coles, Tim and Dallen J. Timothy. 2004. *Tourism, Diaspora, and Space.* London, New York, NY: Routledge.

Deng, Emma Jinhua. 2004. *Taiwan's Imagined Geography : Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895.* Harvard East Asian Monograph. Cambridge: Harvard Asia Center.

Kleeman, Faye Y. 2003. *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of the South.* University of Hawaii Press.

----------. 2006. "Gender, Ethnography and Colonial Cultural Production: Nishikawa Mitsuru's Discourse on Taiwan." In David Der-wei Wang and Ping-hui Liao, eds., *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 294-311.

Chinese

Chen Meixia 陈美霞. 2008. "Rijushiqi lüxingwenxue lunshu: shenfenrentong yu xiandaixing 日据时旅行文学论述：身份认同与现代性. "*Taiwan Research Quarterly* 台湾研究集刊 . Vol.100 No.4 (2008.4): 94-102.

Hong Mingshui 洪銘水. 2000. "Liang Qichao yu Lin Xiantang de meiguo youji 梁啓超與林獻堂的美國遊記." In *Lüyouwenxue lunwenji* 旅遊文學論文集. Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe.

Kleeman, Faye Y. 2006. "Cong baodao lai de mingxinpian: Zhimindi zhuyi biaoxiang yu diguo xiangxiangli de jingjie 從寶島來的明信片：殖民地主義表象與帝國想象力的境界 "Visual Imagination of the Japanese Empire: Production, Appropriation, Circulation, and Transformation." In K. C. Tu, ed., *Taiwan Imagined and Its Reality: An Exploration of Literature, History, and Culture* (Santa Barbara: University of California at Santa Barbara, 2006): 35-46.

Li Huiquan 李惠铨 . 2006. "Lianganwenhua jiaoliu de cuicanmingzhu: Taiwanban *Xuxiake youji* jianjie 两岸文化交流的璀璨明珠－台湾版《徐霞客游记》简介." *Xixiangzhanxian* 思想戰線 32.3 (2006.5):9-10.

Liao Binghui 廖炳惠 . 2000. "lüxing yu yiyang xiandaixing--- shitan Wu Zhuoliu de <Nanjing zagan> 旅行文學與異樣現代性—— - 試探吳濁流《南京雜感》."*Zhongwei Wenxue* 中外文學 (2000.7).

Lin Shuhui 林淑慧. 2008. "Lüyou, jiyi yu lunshu: Cai Tinglan *Hainanzazhu* de kuajiezhilü 旅遊、記憶與論述—蔡廷蘭《海南雜著》的跨界之旅." (Travel, Memory, and Discourse: Cai Tinglan's Trip to the Land Beyond in Notes from Hainan) *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 26.4 (2008.12): 219-247.

----------. 2005. "Taiwan Qinzhi qianqi lüyoushuxie de wenhua yiyun 臺灣清治前期旅遊書寫的文化義蘊." Zhongguoxueshuniankan . 27 (2005).

Lü Shaoli 呂紹理. 2005. *Zhanshi Taiwan* 展示臺灣 (Exhibiting Taiwan). Taipei: Maitian chubanshe.

You Jingxian 尤靜嫻. 2004. "Youmu oumei youxin Taiwan --- shilun Lin Xiantang <huanqiu youji> zhongde xiandaixing 游目歐美，游心臺灣——試論林獻堂堂《環球遊記》中的現代性." In *Wenxue yu shehuixueshu yantaohui: 2004nian qingnianwenxuehuiyilunwenji* 文學與社會學術研討會：2004 年青年文學會議論文集." Tainan: Taiwan wenxyueguan.

Xu Qianhui 徐千惠 . 2002. *Rizhishiqi tairenlüwaiyouji fenxi* 日治時期台人旅外遊記分析." Master thesis, Institute of Chinese Literature, Taiwan Normal University.

Zhu Shuangyi 朱双一 . 2008. "Cong lüxingwenxue kan rijushiqi Taiwan wenren de minzurentong 从旅行文学看日据时期台湾文人的民族认同." *Taiwan Research Quarterly* 台湾研究集刊 . Vol.100 No.2 (2008.2): 1-44.

Japanese

Ikeda Hiroshi 池田浩士. 1997. *Kaigai shinshutsu bungaku ron josetsu* 海外進出文学論序説. Tokyo: Inpakuto shuppan.

Fujimoro Kiyoshi 藤森清. 1998. "Meiji sanjūgonen tsuurizumu no sōzōryoku" 明治三十五年・ツーリズムの想像力. In Komori Yōichi 小森陽一 et. al., eds. *Media hyōshō ideorogii* メディア・表象・イデオロギー. Tokyo: Ozawa shoten.

Gilbert, Helen, and Anna Johnston, eds. 2002. *In Transit: Travel, Text, Empire.* Vol. 4 - Travel Writing Across the Disciplines. New York: Peter Lang.

Hikage Jōkichi. 日影丈吉. 1975. *Kareitō shiki* 華麗島志奇. Tokyo: Bokushisha shuppan.

----------. 1997. *Hikage Jōkichi shū* 日影丈吉集. Tokyo: Riburio shuppan.

Hulme, Peter and Tim Youngs, eds. 2002. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ishii Minji 石井民司. *Nihon hyōryūtan* 日本漂流談譚. Tokyo: Gakureikan, 1892.

Komori Yōichi 小森陽一. 2001. *Posutokoroniaru Postcolonial*, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Lü Heruo 呂赫若. 1991. *Lü Heruo ji* 呂赫若集. Ed. Zhang Henghao 張恒豪. Taipei: Qianwei chubanshe.

----------. 1995. *Lü Heruo xiaoshuo quanji* 呂赫若小説全集. Tr. Lin Zhijie 林至潔. Taipei: Lianhe wenxue chubanshe.

Marukawa Tetsushi 丸川哲史 . 2000. *Taiwan Posutokoroniaru no shintai* 台湾、ポストコロニアルの身体. Tokyo: Seitosha.

Nakajima Toshio, and Kawahara Isao 河原功, eds. 1998. *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū* 日本統治期台湾文学：日本人作家作品集. vol.1 Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川満 Tokyo: Ryokuin shobō.

Nakane Takayuki 中根隆行. 2001. "Tabisuru koroniaru disukōsu" 旅するコロニアル・ディスコース. In Amano Tomoyuki 天野知幸 et al., eds., *Meiji kara Taishō e media to bungaku* 明治から大正へ メディアと文学. Tsukuba:Tsukuba daigaku kindai bungaku kenkyūkai. Pp.18-42.

Siegel, Kristi, ed. 2002. *Issues in Travel Writing: Empire, Spectacle, and Displacement.* New York: Peter Lang.

Soyama Takeshi 曽山毅. 2003. *Shokuminchi Taiwan to kindai tsuurizumu* 植民地台湾と近代ツーリズム. Tokyo: Seikyūsha,

Spurr, David. *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration.* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993.

Suzuki Masao 鈴木正男. 1992. *Shōwa tenno no gojunkō* 昭和天皇の御巡幸. Tokyo: Tendensha.

Tarumi Chie 垂水千恵. 2002. *Ro Kakujaku kenkyū: 1943 nen made no bunseki o chūshin toshite* 呂赫若研究—1943 年までの分析を中心として. Tokyo: Kazama shobo.

Lí Khîn-huānn (aka Chin-An Li)

The Facts and Fate of Taiwan's Earliest Vernacular Literature: Taiwanese Romanized Literature

Abstract

Taiwan's vernacular literature precedes that of China's by thirty-three years. The Church Press, written in Taiwanese Romanization and published in 1885, was the first newspaper in Taiwan's history. The Church Press contains an abundance of literary work and I believe it is the earliest launch of Taiwanese literature. Luā Jîn-sing's (賴仁聲) novel *Mother's Tears* published in 1924; Tshuà Puē-hué's (蔡培火) essays *Ten Ten-Cent Opinions* published in 1925; and Tēnn Khe-phuàn's (鄭溪泮) novel *Out of Dead Point* published in 1926. In 2010, I footnoted and republished 6 volumes of Romanized Taiwanese literature written from the 1920s to the 1950s. The first part of this paper will discuss how significant these three works are in the history of Taiwanese literature in terms of the choice of linguistic code and script. I will also analyze why these important works have been erased completely in the mainstream.

The second part of the paper will focus on current developments in the digitalization of Taiwanese Romanized literature. In 2007, I set up a website called "Taiwan Romanized Literary Documentary Museum" (台灣白話字文獻館), funded by the National Science Council. Aside from The Church Press, I also collected work from the collections of Tamkang High School and National Taiwan University Library. The accumulation of these collections reveal that Taiwanese Romanized literature is a precious treasure in both quantity and quality, and its digitalized form strongly contributes to further documenting the Taiwanese language, literature, and its culture. I will introduce and present the website of the Church Press digital archive: how the project originated, functions and is propagated, how to solve the technical issues of the coexistence of romanizations and Chinese characters.

Keywords : Church Romanization, Taiwanese literature, Taiwan culture, Taiwanese, Taiwan Church Press, Digital Archive

I. Taiwan Pe□h-uē-jī and vernacular literature

Pe□h-uē-jī literature literarily is literature written in Pe□h-uē-jī. Pe□h-uē-jī is a orthography for writing the colloquial Taiwanese language. Apart from the other two systems advanced by Tsua Poe-hoe, which are Pe□h-uē-jī written in Japanese kana and Pe□h-uē-jī written in Zhuyin Fuhao, products in order to accommodate to the needs during the Japanese ruling period and the KMT ruling period respectively. Pe□h-uē-jī has been known as the orthography mainly promoted by Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, and therefore it has also been known as Church Romanization. This Romanization has been developed and revised by Carstairs Douglas, John Macgowan, Elihu Doty, John V. N. Talmage, William Campbell, and Thomas Barclay, and has become standardized gradually. In 2006, the Ministry of Education in Taiwan promulgated the Taiwan Romanized Phonetic System, which is also a revision of the mentioned orthography.

The origin of Pe□h-uē-jī

Pe□h-uē-jī is a Romanized orthography. It has its origin in the Romanization initiated and promoted by the Presbyterian Church in Amoy in 19th century. And it has been called the Church Romanization. This Romanization was imported into Taiwan with Christianity. In 1865, James L. Maxwell (1836-1921) arrived in Taiwan and set up an evangelical base in Tainan, where the promotion of Pe□h-uē-jī began to flourish in Taiwan. The most conspicuous figure in the promotion of Pe□h-uē-jī in Taiwan is Rev. Thomas Barclay (1849-1935) from Canada. He established the Taiwan Church Press in 1885, a periodical printed in Pe□h-uē-jī. This periodical served not only the evangelical purpose but also a record of the social development and cultural phenomena in Taiwan during the late period of the ruling of Qing Empire, the Japanese ruling period and the early days after WWII.

The reason why this orthography was named Pe□h-uē-jī reflects the notion of three different writing systems. The first is the traditional Archaic Chinese writing system with Sino graphs, which is called the Words of Confucius. The second is the orthography that is used in writing colloquial language spoken in Beijing, which is called the Words of the Chinese People. And the third serves in writing the colloquial language of Holo people. Since the third one is neither about the abstruse Archaic Chinese nor the Mandarin, which is not understood among people in Taiwan, the orthography was called Pe□h-uē-jī, which means the Words of the Colloquial language .

Pe□h-uē-jī reached its high peak in 1880s due to the pre-modern scheme of Qing Empire had no intervention in people's daily writing system. During the late days of the Qing ruling period, people who are acquainted with Pe□h-uē-jī were not confined among the believers of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. It was believed that there once were more than hundreds of thousands of people who can read Pe□h-uē-jī. Before the Neo-literature Campaign began in 1920s, quite a lot of literary works in Pe□h-uē-jī have appeared. It was the ban executed by the KMT government from 1969 and the campaign of Mandarin in Taiwan causing the downfall of Pe□h-uē-jī. In fact, the users of Pe□h-uē-jī are not only limited to the Holo people. This orthography has also been employed in writing Hakka and some aboriginal languages. Due to its long history and popularity, Pe□h-uē-jī is also recognized as Taiwan Romanization.

This orthography has encountered oppression from the governments before and after WWII. With the proposition of Tshua Pue-hue, Taiwan Culture Society proclaimed that promoting Pe□h-uē-jī is one of the key tasks and resolved to publish in Pe□h-uē-jī in 1924. Nonetheless, the Japanese ruling authority did not allow Tshua Pue-hue to set up Pe□h-uē-jī teaching classes, and the Taiwan Church Press in Pe□h-uē-jī even temporally ceased the publication amid WWII due to the concern that it was against the Kokugo (Japanese) Campaign. After the War, the KMT government forbid the Taiwan Church Press to be printed in

Pe□h-uē-jī and rejected the import of *A Dictionary of Southern Min*, a dictionary edited by Embree[30] in 1973 printed in Pe□h-uē-jī, published in Hong Kong.[31] The newly translated Taiwanese and Atayal Bible by Mary Knoll and Presbyterian Church also were prohibited in 1975. In 1984, the Ministry of Education even issued an missive to request the Ministry of Interior Affairs to stop the Church from employing Pe□h-uē-jī in its works. Basically, Pe□h-uē-jī is banned and disappear from all the periodicals and publications.

Even so, people with enthusiasm and passion for Taiwan's languages and cultures kept on preserving Pe□h-uē-jī in other possible respects. In the second half of the 1980s, Pe□h-uē-jī resurrected in the orthography with the mixture of Romanization and Sino graphs and had begun to be found in literary works and essays. This orthography participated in the democratization and the Taiwanese literature campaign and resumed its vigor in studying groups, book clubs and periodical publications. During the last 20 years, the trend of co-employment of Pe□h-uē-jī and Sino graphs in Taiwanese literary writing has surged.

The early days of promoting Pe□h-uē-jī

The missionaries coming to Taiwan in 19th century would like the illiterate believers to be able to read the Bible by themselves, and therefore, they promoted Pe□h-uē-jī in order to serve this purpose. (Tan 2007:21) James L. Maxwell, a missionary in Tainan, offered a printer and its accessories. This printer is the first movable-type printer in Taiwan. After this, Rev. Thomas Barclay began to organize a press. He went back to the U.K. to learn the pertinent skills and

---

[30] Bernard L.M. Embree (1923~1997) is Canadian. This dictionary is based on the common colloquial Taiwanese. He recorded the Taiwanese lexicon with Pe□h-uē-jī and provided English explanations.

[31] According to TLI, the original planner of the Dictionary, it is said "we have abruptly received a missive from Taipei City government in which the content of this Dictionary, to be published in Taiwan in a half of a year, is deemed against the Mandarin Campaign in Taiwan. The government will require all the printing agencies to refuse its production...under these circumstances, we have no choice but to commission the publication to TLI, HK and officially name it *A Dictionary of Southern Min*.

returned to Taiwan to set the printer ready in 1884. This press is named by Rev. Barclay as Chu-tin-tong, now known as Sin-lau Press.

The printer was not only used in printing Bibles in Pe□h-uē-jī, but also served in publication of the Taiwan Church Press. The first issue of Taiwan Church Press was rolled out in July, 1885. This periodical is the first newspaper in Taiwan. The goal of its publication is to facilitate evangelical works and the communication among the churches.

Literary Works in Pe□h-uē-jī on the Taiwan Church Press

There are quite a lot of literary works from the Taiwan Church Press. And these works compose the earliest colloquial literature in Taiwan (Tan 2007 : 119). We may regard these works as the early spring of Taiwan literature.

On the early issues of the Taiwan Church Press, we can find shorts stories. The first one is Jit-pún ê Koài-sū (a strange story in Japan) published in January, 1886. There are also many essays and news reports. For example, Pe□h-oē-jī ê lī-ek (the advantage of Pe□h-uē-jī) published during June to August, 1885; Lūn Pun Gín-á ê Hong-sio□k (On the custom of giving children away, in April, 1887); Lūn kiù chia□h a-phiàn ê lâng (On saving the opium-addicted, December, 1887). As regards to news reports, Pak-káng-má ê sin-bûn (the news of Matsu in Pak-kang) written by Chiu Pou-ha can be found on the eighth issue in February, 1886. Another instance is Tī Hêng-chhun Koān Kiâⁿ-iû Thoân-tō (Evangelical trip in Heng-chhun County, 1887). One can observe the abundance of literary works on this periodical. Moreover, these works are colloquial ones marking the dawn of a modern society in Taiwan. Below I would like to cite from *The Advantage of Pe□h-uē-jī* by Iap Han-chiunn:

To learn Pe□h-uē-jī is better than to learn Sino graphs. Some people who can read Sino graphs but just cannot explain them. The reason is the huge amount of Sino graphs and the consequences of difficulties to explain all of them. One can find the numerous Chinese characters in the Kangxi Dictionary and, usually, there is more than one explanation for a single character. To say that a child starts to

learn them when he is seven or eight years old, he has to study for seven to eight years to know only some the Sino graphs. And only one to two among ten can recognize the pronunciations of some easy characters without knowing their explanations. More than a decade one has to keep on studying before he can explain Sino graphs. Even so, he may still make mistakes and it is difficult to interpret very clearly. All of these are not due to the deficiency of Sino graphs, but it is just too hard to master and the explanations are elusive.

For example, the character 故, it can be explained as causes, or the origins, or a conjunction meaning 'therefore'. Another example is 以, it has meanings like 'employ', 'allowed' or as a conjunction inferred to 'because'. One can simply find many other difficult characters and even a pundit is not able to explain every character. I know that some pastors requested scholars to teach them to read the Bible printed in Sino graphs and were taught wrongly. We should not blame the scholar for his insufficient knowledge. This kind of things occurs only for the elusive meaning of each character. If scholars cannot capture the knowledge of Sino graphs, how can we expect a layman to explain the Bible written with Sino graphs well? If one cannot explain the Bible, then one would not be able to understand the religion. Therefore, if one want to spread Christianity in every nations, he has to translate it clearly to facilitate people to read it.

Nonetheless, Sino graphs are difficult to explain, Pe□h-uē-jī are easy for all people to learn. If the Bible and other books can be translated into Pe□h-uē-jī, people can learn by themselves. Without Pe□h-uē-jī, few can read the Bible. In a word, Pe□h-uē-jī is better than Sino graphs.

The literature in the colloquial language on *Koà-chhài-chí*

The discovery of the abundance of texts in Pe□h-uē-jī is significant to the history of Taiwan literature. It plays a revolutionary role in the spreading phenomenon and the media of culture and thoughts.

Koà-chhài-chí, with a subtitle as the Church Press of Presbyterian Chuch in Northern Taiwan, was established by Tan Chheng-tiong (1895-1960), who is

proclaimed as the father of rugby in Taiwan and the father of choirs in Taiwan. Tan Chheng-tiong was also the president of Tamshui Senior high School. *Koà-chhài-chí* became a seasonal periodical from July, 1925. It had been printed in Pe□h-uē-jī and each issue has about 50 pages. *Koà-chhài-chí* became a monthly periodical from its fourth issue (1926.5) and each issue has about 14 pages. This periodical maintained its independence until the 22nd issue and, after that, the periodical merged into the Taiwan Church Press published by the Presbyterian Church in Southern Taiwan. As the founder and publisher of *Koà-chhài-chí,* Tan Chheng-tiong was also the editor-in-chief. The materials on *Koà-chhài-chí* include many literary works and translations and contribute to our better understanding of the works done by the Church in Northern Taiwan.

Although it is a periodical for evangelical purposes, it called for contributions of religious novels, translations, and scientific education for children from its inauguration. This fact proves that Tan Chheng-tiong had very special thoughts about this periodical, and he wanted to set up a periodical for creative writing. Additionally, he would like to practically promote literary works in Pe□h-uē-jī. He even planned to have a column for women, though this column did not realize. However, from the 17th issue, a column for children appeared (the author is presumably a female.)

From the first issue, an author with the pseudonym Soat-hong Ia□t-lâm had written quite a lot of pieces. What she wrote were relevant to family and female issues, e.g., Chû-ài ê kiat-chí (the fruits of love; on the 2nd issue), Chū-koh ê hoē-gī (the meeting of arrogance; the 3rd issue), Jîn-ài ê pò-siông (the return of kindness; the 5th issue), Chū-iû lú ê gô□-kái (the misunderstanding of a free woman; the 7th issue), Hó-pháiⁿ kéng-gū lóng ū lī-ek (the benefit of good and bad circumstances; the 8th issue), Hi-êng sim ê chhi-chhám (the misery of vanity; the 9th issue), Tì-sek ê goân-thâu (the origin of the knowledge; the 10th issue), Tī ki-niû 1 ji□t kú ê kám-sióng (reflections after starving for a day; the 11st issue), 2 ê kiong-hí (two congratulations; the 12nd issue), Chō-hoà ê ò-biāu (the marvelousness of the creation; the 15th issue), Siōng-tè ê gâu (the ability of God in

the column for children; the 17th issue), and kám-chhiok (some thoughts; the 20th issue) etc.

The Accomplishments of Pe□h-uē-jī literature

The Pe□h-uē-jī literature does not only accumulate in the Taiwan Church Press, but independent publications of novels also occurred in 1924. Loa Jin-seng's *Án-niá ê Bãk-sái* (the tears of Mother) is one of the instance. The novel includes two volumes: Án-niá ê Bãk-sái and S...p-j„-kè ê Kì-hö. Each volume has 18 chapters. Loa Jin-seng was diligent in writing novels. His other works include *Chhì-á-lăi ê Pek-hăp-höe* (1954), *Thià°-lí Iâ°-kòe Thong sè-kan* (1955) and *Khó-ài ê Siû-jîn* (1960) etc.[32]

Loa Jin-seng took a character, named pastor S.J., in his novel *Chhì-á-lāi ê Peh-ha□p-hoe*, to give a long address to speak out for his own ideas about love and marriage. It is supposed that these ideas were also the Christian ones that belong to his era for he cited scriptures after each of point in that address. Under the influence of the Occidental society, the church in Taiwan at that time was relatively progressive in the 1920s and 1930s. People in the church can publicly discuss about love, marriage and sex. From today's respect, this is not surprising at all, but it was not an easy step for Loa to be that outspoken at that time.

In regards to essays, Tshua Pue-hue published *Cha□p-hāng Kóan-Kiàn* in 1926. This book is the only volume of essays in the Japanese ruling period. Tshua discussed the issues about Taiwanese people and the particularity of Taiwan comprehensively and deeply. He also introduced progressive concepts about society, civilization, life and philanthropy in it. With a lot of metaphors, he wanted his argumentation to be understood by common people and establish a brand-new society.

---

[32] This series of novels, the Early Spring of Taiwan Literature: a series of Pe□h-uē-jī Literature, edited by Li, Khin-huann with notes in Mandarin and English was published in 2010.

The door of the Romanization warehouse is easier to open

"People like you who are acquainted with Romanization are believed to care a lot about the progress of Taiwan. Therefore, I hope I can work together with you to promote Romanization diligently. If everyone can learn the 24 letters of the Romanization, I think that Taiwan would be redeemed. Our island is amid an age of knowledge poverty. Nothing is in our head and the lack of knowledge will starve us to death. Now we should hurry to open the door of the Romanization warehouse first. The door is easier to open. Since we are hungry and weak, other doors are more difficult to open. Let's begin at this warehouse, and feed our brain with some food. After we become stronger, then we can open the warehouse of Japanese and Chinese languages, or even English and other foreign ones. My fellowmen, let's study Romanization and write in Romanization in order to provide books for people to read and redeem them for the starvation By this way, Taiwan would advance and be refurnished and revitalized." (From the second point: New Taiwan and Romanization)

Apart from the mentioned, Tenn Khe-puan also published his novel, *Chhut Sí-sòa*^{n} in 1926. This novel includes two volumes. The story depicts two generations of a family in 40 chapters in the first volume. Unfortunately, the script of the second volume was destroyed in an U.S. air attack during the Pacific War.

The Project of the Digital Archive of Pe□h-uē-jī Literature

I am leading a project sponsored by the National Science Council of Taiwan. The project, The Project of the Digital Archive of Pe□h-uē-jī Literature 1885-1969, aims to establish a online archive (http://www.tcll.ntnu.edu.tw/pojbh/script/index.htm). The project began in August, 2007.

In the third year of this project, the online items have reached a number of 2458 (inc. Taiwan Church Press and *Koà-chhài-chí* No.1-22). The archive also includes digital pictures of 1652 items. We are still working on the digitalizing of the literary works written in Pe□h-uē-jī. And we also cooperate with the Library of

NTU to digitalize the collection of Pe□h-uē-jī literature contributed by Yang Yun-ping. 89 items have been scanned at the end of March this year. Our team is now working on the postproduction of these items and will put them online in the future.

資料類別	細目名稱	2007	2008	2009
網站資料庫詞條	相關背景資料	14	0	0
教會公報白話字文獻	揀選之教會公報文章（含詩、散文、小說、戲劇）	1754	1576	1646
芥菜子	芥菜子期刊內文全文	118	466	0
白話字相關史料圖像	網站相關資料圖片（含授權圖片）	78	0	0
	新出土之白話字文獻圖片	989	225	1176
合計		2953	2267	2822
總計		**8042**		

2007-2009 典藏產出表

The colloquial literature in China

Compared to the campaign of a written colloquial language led by Hu Shi and Lu Xun in the beginning of 20th century, the practice of colloquial literature observed in the inauguration of *Taiwan Church Press* in 1885 was even earlier. This is evidence that Taiwan began to pursue the freedom from the bondage of Archaic Chinese writing. In addition, the new medium of Taiwan literature is a local language in Taiwan, but not a language from China. People usually take the story by Lu Xun published on *Xin Qingnian* in May, 1918 as the first herald of May Fourth Campaign and the cultural revolution. Lu Xun published his first novel only in 1923. By the same year, the Taiwan Church Press had been publishing for

38 years. With this observation, we can see that Pe□h-uē-jī literature is a leading revolution but not a consequent campaign after what happened in China.

Conclusion: the revelation of Pe□h-uē-jī Literature

Since the 19th century, the texts in Pe□h-uē-jī preserve the records of the crucial moments in Taiwan history and reveal the unique historical and cultural experiences of the Taiwanese. Through the online Digital archive of Taiwan Pe□h-uē-jī, we can find many overlooked events and some pertinent cultural phenomena. These data are precious in academic research or pedagogic practice. Taiwanese Teachers can employ these data as reading and teaching materials. With user-friendly designs, one can search data according to the genre, author, or chronicle order. Some examples are provided as follows.

1. **Taiwan will become a province** (1886.06 no.11 p.78)

Taiwan is valued by the officers in the capital, and these superior officers are discussing to promote Taiwan as a province.[33] An official missive has been sent to the governor, and the governor also released a post to tell the merchants and people to inform the financial demand of establishing a new province. In order to close the financial gap, the tax on the goods in the harbor will be raised. Some commissioners are assigned to every place to ask people to report the goods to export in order to be examined, tax levied before forwarding. On April 20th, the governor released another post to clarify that misunderstandings have come up with the tax levy. Not all transported items would be collected tax in the harbor, and carriages, goods in carrying poles, and the ships voyaging inside the harbor are still tax-free. Only the goods sent into the harbor will be levied tax. The new regulation requires a tax rate of 0.5%. Some people say that the three guilds are reluctant to pay the new tax and the new tax will not be collected successfully. Other people say that the provincial capital will be in the neighborhood of Sa□h-tang-pó in the Changhoa County. There is also news about a cable that will be set between An-ping to Peng-hu and Amoy for emergent communication.

---

[33] 底線是作者加 ê，爲著強調起致。

From the report above, we can know that Taiwan became a province until 1886 as a territory of the Qing Empire just as the Chinese territories. This is essential in the understanding that Taiwan was not part of China before the occupation from the Qing Empire.

2. **The railroad in Taiwan** (1905.03 No.240 p.31-32)

The building of railways in Taiwan is initiated by a governor of the Qing Empire whose name is Liu Mingchuan. He became the governor of Taiwan in Guangxu 11th year (A.D. 1885) and began the construction of railways in Guangxu 13 (1887). From then on, the railway began to extend and reach Tek-chham (i.e. Hsinchu) in Guangxu 17 (1891). Unfortunately, Liu Minchuan left Taiwan in 1891 and the construction stopped. **Therefore, the railways built in Qing ruling period are from Keelung, via Taipei, and stops at Tek-chham. The total length is merely 63 miles.**

In Guangxu 20 (1894), a war began between China and Japan. Qing Empire recognized that it is defeated in Guangxu 21 (1895, Meiji 28). Taiwan with the railway became part of Japanese Empire. Japanese Empire emphasized even more on the railway construction and they continued to maintain the existent line.

Nonetheless, they found the old line is not long and good enough. To improve it, they overhauled the railway and straightened the line. To an extent, the railway became almost a new one and no more the line built by governor Liu. The Japanese also extend the line southbound and the railway has reached Pek-kong-khenn (the entrance of Tudigong tunnel) in May last year.

Also they found the insufficiency of the railway between Taipei and Keelung, and they built an extra line to Hoo-boe (i.e. Tamshui) from Taipei. This new line is completed in Meiji 34 (1901) with the length of more than 13 miles.

If someone told you that the railways in Taiwan are built by Liu Minchuan, just ask him to read this article. Then he should know that the railroads are re-built to an extent that almost nothing is left from the ear of Liu Minchuan.

3. The clauses of the peace treaty 和約 ê 條款 (1895.05 No. 122 p.46)

The clauses of the peace treaty between China and Japan have been printed on the Paper, we think that it is not necessary to translate all of them. Only the gist of them are listed below.

1.Korea is independent and no contribution is needed from China.
2.China cedes a part of Liaodong to Japan (this clause is abolished later)

Taiwan is ceded to Japan.
Peng-hu is ceded to Japan.
3.The two sides will assign representatives to confirm the boundaries.
4.China has to compensate Japan for 200 million silver liang. (extra 100 million silver liang is required for calling off the cession of Liaodong) All compensation are due in 8 years. 50 millions are due in the first half of the first year. 500 millions are due in the second half of the first year. The rest have to be paid in six yearly installments. If payment is not made in six months, interests are to be calculated at 5% per year. If debts are all cleared in 3 years, no interest would be incurred and all the paid interests would be refunded.
5.People in Taiwan and Peng-hu who want to move to other regions can sell their properties and leave these islands. The exodus period is two-year long. The ones who stay after two years from now would have the Japanese authority to decide their citizenship. The treaty is stamped and confirmed that the two countries will send officers to hand over Taiwan in two months.

These are the main points in the Treaty of Shimonoseki. The fifth clause clearly states that Japanese set a 2-year period for Taiwanese to decide their nationality. People who do not want to become Japanese can leave. This is a relatively liberal practice in the history of colonial ruling.

4. Why the Taiwanese are forbidden from using the Bibles in Taiwanese? (1960.05 No.857 p.13-14)

It is heard that the Department of Education of Taiwan Province has ordered to ban the Romanization Bibles. Our Pe□h-uē-jī Bible is forbidden. Today, the prevalence of Mandarin in Taiwan is conspicuous in the history. The Pe□h-uē-jī Bibles have never obtruded the works of the Department of Education. No civilized country in the world will ban the local languages or orthographies. The previous rulers from Japanese Empire prohibited Pe□h-uē-jī and took this orthography as one of the United States of America or the United Kingdom. **They asked us not to preach in Taiwanese. They wanted us to change our names. They would like to assimilate all the people to become the sons of the Japanese emperor in order to make their country even stronger. But the history has proved that this kind of thinking is enormously wrong. As one can see, the powers today are all countries that tolerate all kinds of nations and languages and orthographies.**

Listen to the Taiwanese spoken by today's young people. Sometimes you cannot understand. The reason is that they are not speaking Taiwanese, but only a degenerated variety. They speak Mandarin with the Taiwanese pronunciations. This is not only found among young people, but also others in the society. The standard Taiwanese is gradually forgotten and the degenerated one becomes common. Even the announcers in the radio stations speak the degenerated kind, too. For example, they say Béng-kok as the allied nations, Chiú^{n} Chóng-chhái as the President Chiang. This is observed two or three years ago and the same things still happen today. No one care about it or pay attention to these things. They just pronounce the Sino graphs intuitively, and the Sino graphs have no notes for the eight tones of Taiwanese. With the help of Pe□h-uē-jī, one will not make this kind of mistakes. Therefore, Taiwanese can only be well presented in Pe□h-uē-jī. In 1960 (R.O.C 49), after prohibition of Taiwanese speaking and the confiscation of Pe□h-uē-jī Bibles, the young people in Taiwan had have problems to speak in Taiwanese.

5. The Chinese people eat the meat of barbarians. News from Poo-sia (1903.08.01 No. 221)

On July 20th of the old calendar system, a vigorous boy of one of our brethrens in the Church of Gû-lân village was asked by his parent to study in the church on Saturday. He said that he will go but he never arrived in the church. The boy joined other children to catch frogs in the fields near the mountains. When the boy was catching frogs, 8 barbarians appeared suddenly and cut his head away. His body was also stabbed with spears. People who witnessed this are frightened. Poor boy! He came to study with me for two days but he could never make it for the third day and be killed by the barbarians. The people of that village grouped up and waited in the halfway. They take shifts to ambush at night and killed the barbarian at 9 o'clock. They took the head of the barbarian to the court of the city.

After the daybreak, I went to attend the service in the city and saw the body of that barbarian lied by the road to the city. I saw the headless corpse and more than a hundred of people got around it. Some of them took a knife and want to cut the meat of the body and stopped by the guards. I came back from the city at noon and met people who had meat of the barbarian in hand. I went to the place where the body lies, nothing is left but his bowels only.

Many people planned to eat his meat and said that it is delicious and nutritious. Some took his heart as medical material and claimed that it can heal heart disease. Some has his gall and maintained that the gall can heal the wounds of knife or guns. The gall costs 30 dollars. There were also people who took his bone in knees to heal rheumatoid. Even his bones were taken to stew to extract the glue to heal typhoid. I was told that everything of the corpse of a barbarian is useful except the large and small intestines and the hairs. They just wasted nothing of it. It seems that hunt this barbarian down is better than hunting several deer. The custom is that people have to award the hunter with 10 thousand liters of rice. They just treasure the corpse of the barbarian. To hunt a barbarian is worth a year-long works in the rice paddies. Also the hunter is praised by many people. I think that they are very strange in that they love eating the meat of barbarian than the meat of deer. Their eyes are blind and their ears are deaf. This kind of news is rare. The uncivilized barbarians only kill people to cut their heads in order to

demonstrate their courage and strength and have honor and happiness. However, the civilized people hunt a barbarian is not only awarded of 10 thousands liter of rice but praised by everyone. They eat almost everything of the corpse. The barbarian are terrible, but these civilized people are much more like barbarians.

Without reading this report, one may think that barbarians are more brutal than the Chinese people. Contrary to this, the barbarians only kill people for bragging their courage. The Chinese people unexpectedly eat the meat of barbarians as nutritious food. What a civilized people they are!

Last Remarks

What counts for Pe□h-uē-jī is the colloquial language. The importance of this orthography reveals in the modernity in the content written in it and the historical significance that it realized the Taiwan literature written in the colloquial language.

When the two novels, *Án-niá ê Bãk-sái* and *Chhut Sí-sòa*^{n} were published, there were no other Taiwanese novels written with Sino graphs. And the so-called neo Taiwan literature written in Mandarin was merely in its beginning. These things demonstrate the convenience of Pe□h-uē-jī and that writing in Pe□h-uē-jī is practical among Taiwanese people. Since literary writing in languages that are not mastered by a writer would stifle the progress of writing, only literature in the mother tongue of a writer is possible to express the cultural spirit of a nation and produce pieces of world class. This is the revelation of Pe□h-uē-jī literature.

參考書目

Embree, Bernard L.M.. 1973. A dictionary of Southern Min. Hong Kong:Hong Kong Language Institute.

Li 李勤岸 2009.〈白話字文學—台灣文學 ê 早春〉，《台灣文學館通訊》，第 22 期。

Li 李勤岸 2007.〈蔡培火白話字散文《十項管見》的關鍵：論述中的譬喻〉，《海翁台語文學》，第 72 期。

Li 李勤岸 2008.〈話講 khah 白 leh—談白話字文學 kap 白話文學〉，「2008 台語文學國際學術研討會」。

Li 李勤岸、邱藍萍、李姿倫 2007.〈白話字文學中的文化現代性－電腦輔助語料庫分析〉，「成功大學跨領域對談：全球化下的台灣文學與文化研究國際學術研討會」。

Li 李勤岸 2006.〈台灣語文主體性的失落:論 1969 年《台灣教會公報》〉，「中興大學台灣文學傳播全國學術研討會」。

Li 李勤岸 2006.〈賴仁聲白話字文學中 ê 跨語言現象〉，「中山醫學大學第一屆台灣語文學術研討會」。

Li 李勤岸 2005.〈詩教詩學：母語教學的柔性策略〉，「2005 南台科技大學語文教育國際學術研討會」。

Li 李勤岸 2004.〈白話字小說呈現的台灣人形象與文化面貌〉，「2004 第二屆台灣羅馬字國際學術研討會」。

Lua 賴仁聲. 2010 [1925].《Án 娘 ê 目屎》. 台南:開朗出版社。

Lua 賴仁聲. 2010 [1954].《刺仔內 ê 百合花》. 台南:開朗出版社。

Lua 賴仁聲. 2010 [1955].《疼你贏過通世間》. 台南:開朗出版社。

Lua 賴仁聲. 2010 [1960].《可愛 ê 仇人》. 台南:開朗出版社。

Tan 陳慕真. 2007.《漢字之外：台灣府城教會報 kap 台語白話字文獻中 ê 文明觀》 台南：人光出版社。

Tenn 鄭溪泮. 2010 [1926].《出死線》. 台南:開朗出版社。

Tshua 蔡培火. 2010 [1926].《十項管見》. 台南:開朗出版社。

Ann Heylen 賀安娟

Idiosyncratic Forms in Personal Writing: The Diary of Cai Peihuo (1929-1936)

Abstract

Within the corpus of narratives of the self (or personal writings) pertaining to the Japanese colonial period, Cai Peihuo's 蔡培火 (1889-1983) diary is quite exquisite. The handwritten manuscript is composed in three different orthographies: Taiwanese church romanization, a self-devised phonetic system and Chinese-character writing. The entries for the years 1929 to 1931 are written in romanized Taiwanese; those for the years 1932 to early 1934, in a mixture of Cai's phonetic Taiwanese script and Chinese-character writing; and those for the years 1934 to 1936, entirely in Chinese characters. This paper will investigate these three orthographies from the vantage point of their linguistic value and social meaning for the diarist set against the background of the language debates in the colonial setting. However, this discussion will not focus exclusively on Cai's linguistic activism promoting romanized Taiwanese. Rather, the attention in this paper will shift to how his use of "orthographic code-switching" is embedded in a larger context of a society making the transition from illiteracy to literacy. I will suggest meanings behind these literacy practices to explain the change to character writing in the diary, in particular.

In 2001, Wu Sanlian Foundation published *Complete works of Cai Peihuo*, with inclusion of the diary. Interestingly, the published version of the diary is entirely reworked in Chinese character-writing. The contemporary reader is presented with a highly diversified linguistic text that is rendered orthographically coherent and uniform, but the manner in which the manuscript itself bears witness to historical authenticity enacted through its writing is missing. This part will explore some meanings behind the commercial publishing venture. It will draw from interviews with the people involved in the editing process. My intention is to present a discussion of manuscript reworking for academic and commercial purposes.

PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS PAPER IS A ROUGH DRAFT THAT NEEDS MUCH MORE WORK FOR PUBLICATION PREPARATION. FEEDBACK WELCOME.

Introduction

This paper builds on a previous article published in *Journal of Chinese Overseas* (JCO, 2007) in which I provided an analysis of his shifting orthographies as an example of personal development, the self and identity. That paper began with an introduction to the personality of Cai Peihuo situated in the colonial environment of the 1920s and 1930s. Special attention was paid to his linguistic activism during these years. Then followed a discussion of the diary, with special reference to those entries that throw light on his proposals for orthographic reform. My reading of the diary was partly inspired by research work in historiography that engages with the "literary turn" to the study of autobiography as a genre (for example, Watson 2000). The objective was to search out personal narratives and ascertain the extent to which these writings may challenge the conventional historical accounts, and in turn open the way to new interpretations and narratives. The purpose was to present a more personal account of the actions and passions governing Cai's encounter with social change under Japanese colonial rule.

Contextualizing Cai Peihuo's Biographical Details

Cai Peihuo was born into a humble literati family in Beigang 北港 in 1889. His great-grandfather had left Quanzhou 泉州 Prefecture in Fujian 福建 Province in China and settled in Beigang, present-day Yunlin 雲林 County in central Taiwan. The family earned a living in trading and teaching. Cai was the fourth of five children: Jiapei 嘉培, Peichuan 培川, Peiding 培頂, Peihuo, and Peiting 培庭. Customarily, Cai Peihuo received a traditional education in writing and reciting Classical Chinese at the village school in the Beigang community temple. When

he was six years old, the Japanese took control of Taiwan. His father passed away shortly after the annexation. The family returned to the paternal clan in Quanzhou, but was forced to go back to Taiwan when faced with poverty there. The Cai family abided by the rules of the new regime. While his two elder brothers were employed by the colonial authorities (Jiapei as a language teacher and Peichuan as a lower clerk), the three youngest ones including Peihuo were sent to the Japanese Common School (Kōgakko 公學校) established for Taiwanese children in Beigang. In 1906, Cai Peihuo continued his studies at the normal school division of the Government Japanese Language School (Taiwan Sōtokufu Kokugogakkō Shihanbu 臺灣總督府國語學校師範部) in Taihoku (Taipei 台北), to be trained as a schoolteacher. Upon graduation in 1910, Cai was one of the first group of 66 Japanese- educated Taiwanese elementary schoolteachers.

His first teaching assignment was at the Common School in Agongdian 阿公店 village, present-day Gangshan 岡山. Recommended by the Japanese school principal, Cai was promoted to a position in the Tainan Number Two Common School in 1912. That year he married Wu Suqing 吳素卿. Because of his engagement in the Assimilation Society (Dōkakai 同化會), he was dismissed after two years of teaching. The Assimilation Society, set up under the patronage of Japanese statesman, Count Itagaki Taisuke 板垣退助 (1837-1919), was a first attempt in which local gentry families engaged with Japanese businessmen and colonial officials to bring about a more "humanitarian" interaction between the locals and the colonial authorities. During one of Itagaki's tours down south, Cai was introduced to Lin Xiantang 林獻堂 (1881-1956), heir of the wealthy Lin clan descended from Wufeng 霧峰, and was asked to act as interpreter. The authorities reacted negatively to Itagaki's island tour during which he propagated assimilation and listened to Taiwanese local grievances. That adversely affected Cai, leading to his loss of employment in 1914. His temporary engagement as a private tutor in Chinese for the Lin clan allowed him to make ends meet. Also, he became one of the first Taiwanese to receive financial support to study abroad under the patronage of Lin Xiantang. In February 1915, Cai left for Japan.[34] In

[34] The choice of Japan was made at the instigation of Lin Xiantang, and was closely

Tokyo, Cai first entered a preparatory school for English and mathematics, and then enrolled at Tokyo Higher Normal School (Tokyo Kōtō Shihangakkō 東京高等師範學校) to be trained as a secondary school teacher in biology and chemistry.

While lodging in the Takasago Dormitory 高砂寮, Cai befriended the Taiwanese student community, and soon promoted himself as one of the key members involved in early Taiwanese student activism in Tokyo. He was ranked among the founding fathers of the Taiwanese journal, *Tai-Oan Chheng Lian* (*Taiwan youth* 臺灣青年), the forum for Lin Xiantang's politically inspired New People's Society (Shinbinhoe 新民會), which spearheaded the organization of the Taiwan Parliament Petition League Movement (Taiwan Yihui Shezhi Qingyuan Yundong 臺灣議會設置請願運動). The movement lasted from 1921 to 1931 and is considered as the start of Taiwanese political awareness (Zhou 1989). It developed out of earlier drafts debating the abolishment of Law No 63, which was an imperial enactment granting the colonial administration the right to pass some special colonial laws. In 1921, Cai converted to Christianity and became a Presbyterian. Through his Christian connections, Cai expanded his contacts in Japanese political circles, which included his friendship with the Christian pacifist, Yanaihara Tadao 矢内原忠雄 (1893-1961).[35]

After his return to Taiwan in 1922, Cai settled down with his family in Tainan 台南, where he helped expand the local power base of the colonial reform movement. The colonial reform movement also included a cultural component. This was the Taiwan Cultural Association (Taiwan Wenhua Xiehui 臺灣文化協會) which was active from 1921 to1927, as an island-wide forum for the

---

related to the plans to set up a Taichū (Taizhong 台中) middle school, a first attempt to improve the educational facilities in the colony for and by the Taiwanese. It was Lin Xiantang's intention to have Taiwanese graduates from Japanese universities as instructors. At the time, the project was under discussion between the colonial authorities and influential Taiwanese in the Taizhong vicinity.

[35] Cai met Yanaihara in 1924 through the introduction of Reverend Uemura Masahisa 植村正久(1857-1925), who was principal of the Tokyo Theological College (東京神學學院) and a fervent advocate of pacifism in Japan. For a discussion of the thoughts of Yanaihara Tadao, see Doak (1995: 79-98).

"elevation of Taiwan culture" (*tisheng Taiwan wenhua* 提升臺灣文化) led by Dr. Jiang Weishui 蔣渭水 (1891-1931). Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Cai's activism remained closely linked to the gamut of organized societies, political parties, petition movements, linguistic polemics and the management of the Taiwanese vernacular press. In 1927, Cai successfully negotiated with the Japanese for the transfer of *The Taiwan Minpao* 臺灣民報 (*Taiwan People's Paper*) from Tokyo to Taiwan. The next step was to turn the weekly paper into a daily paper and make it financially independent. This would be achieved in April 1932 when the inauguration issue of *Taiwan xinminbao* 臺灣新民報 (*Taiwan New People's Daily*) rolled off the presses in the colony.

In early August 1937, after the death of his wife, Cai and his six daughters moved to Tokyo. He made a living by running a Taiwanese restaurant and teaching Chinese on the side. Through his connections with Japanese pacifists, he obtained a passport and moved to Shanghai 上海 and Nanjing 南京 in 1943, and from there to Chongqing 重慶 where in 1945 he aligned himself with the KMT. He returned to Taiwan in 1946, and accepted several posts in the national and provincial assemblies. The remainder of his career reflected his KMT membership at the higher echelons in society. Examples of his influential positions were the presidency of the Taiwan branch of the Red Cross (1952-83) and presidency of the Danshui Commercial Management School (Sili Danshui Gongshang Guanli Zhuanke Xuexiao 私立淡水工商管理專科學校), present-day Aletheia University (Zhenli Daxue 真理大學).

Cai is canonized as an anti-colonial figure and one of the key players in the home front Taiwanese mobilization movement during the 1920s and the 1930s. He belonged to the first generation of Japanese-educated Taiwanese who witnessed firsthand the transformation of their society, studied overseas, joined the elitist opposition political reformers who presented themselves as the cultural avant-garde, and turned staunch nationalists in the eyes of the beholding state after the regime change in 1945. What distinguished Cai from his peers was his ardent promotion of romanized Taiwanese (*luomazi* 羅馬字 or *peh-oe-ji* (H) 白話字).

A general misunderstanding in relation to the topic even to date is that Cai's linguistic activism was only about promoting romanized Taiwanese. Very little attention has been paid to the fact that in the first half of 1931, Cai devised a new orthography for writing Taiwanese. He abandoned the alphabetic writing and switched to another orthographic representation. The diary provides the contextual understanding of the facts and forces that were involved in the process. There are three orthographies in the diary: Romanized Taiwanese, a phonetic one and Chinese character writing. In hindsight, of the first two, none was successful, and by 1934, Chinese character writing in public life was banned. The most obvious explanation lies in colonial oppression and cultural inadequacy – Japanese model, Chinese culture. Nonetheless, the fact that Cai went all the way up to talk and discuss his Romanization plans with the Japanese Governor-General and at the time highly placed officials, intellectuals and statesmen is not to be easily dismissed. It shows that debates on language reform, standardization and orthography were common practice. This totally makes sense at the time, even when we project it onto the world scale. Japan's entry into the general culture of modernity around the turn of the 20th century coincided with the historical project of nation building aimed at creating a global presence. The directive for a standard and official language, literacy campaigns, modern and liberal reforms of popular schooling and institution building established a network of educational, social, political and economic relationships central to the dominant ideology of nation building (Grillo 1989; Joseph 1987; Olender 1992; Woolard 1998).

The questions I am asking in this paper are:

1) what were these three orthographies?
2) what do they say about literacy in our definition?
3) how can we interpret this ongoing debate with language and script?

I find one of the diary entries that captures the gist of this paper, the following: During a conversation with Izawa Takio in Tokyo in March 1931, Cai gained the insight that the colonial administration, as well as Izawa, had a serious problem with his particular usage of the romanized script. According to Izawa, the problem lay not in Cai's efforts in devising a transliteration system that would "encourage

Taiwanese in studying Japanese," but in the orthographic representation. Izawa argued that the colonial government would show a much more lenient attitude if Cai agreed to giving instruction in Taiwanese through the use of the Japanese phonetic kana-syllables *(kanazukai* 仮名遣) (Cai 2000, entry 30 March 1931: 167). But the conversation meant much more to Cai; his diary entry reads as a token of recognition.[36]

Cai Peihuo's calls for language modernization are closely related to the transition from illiteracy to literacy. That is a given, However, studies of literacies tend to view literacy as a top down process, and little attention is paid to the role played on the grassroot level. It is not my intention to elaborate on this topic; my colleague Henning Klöter will do this in his presentation. My understanding and interpretation of the transition from illiteracy to literacy is more suited in the discourse field. I draw from work that offers critical perspectives on literacy and education, more specifically the volume by James Gee, *Social linguistics and literacies. Ideology in Discourses* (1996). Gee (1996: chapter 1) calls literacy a socially contested term. Although massive claims have been made for the ability that literacy is supposed to name, he rejects the traditional view of literacy to replace it with a socially and culturally situated perspective (1996: 22). The traditional meaning of literacy is the ability to read and write which situates literacy in the individual, rather than in society. As such, Gee argues, "it obscures the multiple ways in which literacy interrelates with the workings of power" (1996: 22).

I. The three orthographies

1.1. Romanized Taiwanese

---

[36] In the past, I had seen that he [Izawa Takio] did not approve of me propagating the Roman script, so I was very suspicious and fearful that he might have bad intentions and wanted to obstruct using Taiwanese to teach the Taiwanese people; but now that Mr. Izawa has explained to me very clearly that this is not the main point, I feel very much at ease (Cai 2000, entry 30 March 1931: 167).

Romanized Taiwanese refers to the alphabetic (or romanized) transliteration for the Southern Min dialect (Minnanyu 閩南語) spoken in Taiwan (also called Taiwanese [tai-oan-oe (H) 台灣話])[37] that the Presbyterian Church had been using as a medium in educational instruction, church publications and other writings related to evangelism since the latter half of the 19th century.[38] The continuation of these activities was tolerated by the Japanese colonial administration as long as the foreign churches were compliant with the new colonial directives. Cai had learned of this script medium at a fairly young age. This was when one of his elder brothers was sent to the Presbyterian middle school in Tainan, and for a short while the two corresponded in this alphabetic script (Cai 1969: 1; Cai 1965: 183; Cai 2000: 19). For Cai, the immediate attraction of romanization was not so much its inherent quality as a secret writing script as its pedagogical advantages. He considered it an easy way to learn the transliteration system because of its alphabetic writing specificities. This would enable children and illiterate adults to write down the pronunciation and meaning of the Classical Chinese characters in Taiwanese vernacular to facilitate memorization. And, it could also be used as a mnemonic device in studying the Japanese language. In 1914, during the preparations for the establishment of the Assimilation Society, Cai had first suggested publishing a newsletter in romanized Taiwanese, but the idea found very little support among its Taiwanese and Japanese members (Cai 2000, entry 16 March 1934: 292; Cai 1974: 4).

1.1.1. Cai Peihuo and Romanization

In Japan, Cai developed the idea further to promote romanized Taiwanese as a didactic tool in language learning by linking contemporary notions of a strong nation, education, and instruction to the concept of language standardization. Published in the Taiwanese-run journal, *The Taiwan Minpao*, his articles added fuel to the ongoing language debate over how to elevate Taiwanese culture.

---

[37] For a discussion of terms, see Klöter (2004).

[38] This part could do with some more explanation for the uninformed reader. For examples, Heylen (2001). More emphasis on how it was used in the Presbyterian church

Between 1919 and 1922, the colonial administration took steps to abolish Chinese language (*hanwen* 漢文) instruction. In response to these changes, the politically active Taiwanese student community in Tokyo not only demanded the preservation of the Chinese language in colonial education, but also called for its reform based on modern Chinese standards. Of central concern was the search for a common language that could be used to mobilize the Taiwanese population, overcome the widespread problem of illiteracy, and make the masses receptive to change. In particular, the model of Chinese language standardization in Republican China encouraged the inclusion of Chinese language reform on the Taiwanese nationalist agenda. To this end, *The Taiwan Minpao* adopted a "Mandarin Chinese Only" policy for its language of publication from May 1923.[39] Meanwhile Cai held firm to his belief that romanizing Taiwanese was a better way to help elevate Taiwanese culture. He even succeeded in having the idea included in the statutes of the Taiwan Cultural Association. His first publication in romanized Taiwanese, *My humble opinion in ten points* (*Cháp Hāng koán kiàn*) appeared in 1925.[40] In this social critique, he expounded his thoughts on Chinese culture, Japanese modernity, and the need for learning in Taiwanese society. The second chapter, "The relation between a New Taiwan and the Roman script" (Sin Tâi-oân kap Lô-má-jī ê Koan-hē), elaborated on romanized Taiwanese as an appropriate language medium for Taiwanese people to gain knowledge of the world. Cai repeated these ideas in his 1928 publication, *To the citizens of the Japanese country* (*Nihon hongokumin ni atafu* 日本本國民に與ふ). By 1929, Cai had been propagating romanized Taiwanese for over a decade. His name had become synonymous with Taiwan's romanization effort, among both the Taiwanese cultural avant-garde and Japanese colonial administration officials.

---

[39] Its predecessors, *Tai Oan Chheng lian* and *The Formosa,* were bilingual editions published in Japanese and Chinese. Depending on the contributor and/or the translator, the articles in Chinese were either written in the Chinese literary language, sometimes in Classical Chinese, or in Mandarin.

[40] Cai started writing in October 1923, but was interrupted in December when he spent 65 days in prison for his involvement in the Social Order Incident (see below). He finished the treatise on 28 October 1924 (Chhoa 1925: iii). For a discussion of this social critique, see Heylen (2002: 68-81).

This is not to say that Cai was successful in his attempts to make the popular instruction of romanized Taiwanese socially acceptable. As observed by Hsiau, "Few Taiwanese intellectuals showed interest in Ts'ai's [Cai's] proposal, and many felt uneasy about its foreign origin. In particular, the colonial administration suppressed Ts'ai's activities because it believed that the distribution of a tai-oan-oe ("Taiwanese") romanization system would undermine the policy of linguistic assimilation. Thus by 1935, the promotion of the romanization form had come to a halt" (cited in Hsiau 2000: 45). To date, Cai's diary is the primary source that reveals not only the difficulties and many setbacks he experienced, but also the ideals that inspired him to persevere for as long as he did.

1.2. Phonetic script

In the first half of 1931, Cai devised a new orthography for writing Taiwanese. He abandoned the alphabetic writing and switched to another orthographic representation. The decisive moment is recorded to have taken place in Japan, and is the afore-mentioned audience Cai had with Izawa Takio. The diary provides the contextual understanding of the facts and forces that were involved in the process. In April Cai returned to Taiwan. In less than one month he had devised a new phonetic system, and published *Textbook in new Taiwanese script* (*Sin-khoàn ê pè-oē-jī khò-pún*). This 20-page textbook was published in 1931 by Taiwan Baihuazihui Yexing. It is reprinted in *Complete Works of Cai Peihuo*.[41] This new phonetic script consisted of 28 symbols, of which 19 were taken from the phonetic Japanese *kanazukai*, five from the Chinese phonetic alphabet, and four were newly created symbols. Cai also added 14 different diacritics to indicate the tones and arranged the writing order in a way similar to that of the Korean *hangul* script. In June, Cai applied for a permit to organize a new series of lectures to be given at the Martial Arts Temple (Wumiao 武廟) (Cai 2000, entry 12 June 1931: 174).

---

[41] volume 6: *Taiwan yuyan xiangguan ziliao, xia* (台灣語言相關資料下 Materials related to the Taiwanese language, part 2), pp. 24-44.

The diary is the main source of information. Cai writes his diary in the newly devised phonetic script Cai wrote about the concept and inception of the new Taiwanese phonetic script throughout 1931 in romanized Taiwanese. In January 1932, he started experimenting with this new Taiwanese phonetic script, but gradually the Chinese-character writing pushed to the foreground. This point was reached in mid-February 1934. The Taiwanese phonetic script now disappeared as a form of writing, but remained a major topic in the diary until early February 1935. This is expressed in his application for a prospectus, which he mainly arranged while in Japan. In the meantime, he finds out that he is not getting much support for his new orthography. The 31 December entry on the Taiwanese phonetic script ended in minor despair: "No progress has been made on this matter, it is truly regrettable!" (Cai 2000, entry 31 December 1933: 279) Nonetheless, he did not give up: "I do not know what I will be doing this year, but I must persevere with the Taiwanese phonetic script!" (Cai 2000, entry 1 January 1934: 281) And so he did. Between February and April 1934, Cai was back in Tokyo. The main issue on his agenda involved seeking Japanese support for the "language question" (Cai 2000, entry 26 January 1934: 284). This was his final attempt to promote this movement, and if it was not successful, he would consider leaving Taiwan and opening a student dormitory in Tokyo. The influential friends whom Cai contacted to this end included Yanaihara Tadao, Izawa Takio, Iwanami Shigeo 岩波茂雄 (1881-1946), and Yasuoka Masahiro 安岡正篤 (1898-1983).[42] The idea was to publish a prospectus entitled *Prospectus for the Popularization of a Taiwanese Script and the Name List of Supporters within the Island* (*Taiwan hakuwaji fukyū no shuisho oyobi taiwan shimanai sanseisha shimei* 臺灣白話字普及の趣旨及び臺灣島内贊成者氏名) (Cai 1934a). Yanaihara Tadao wrote the addendum in which he elaborated on the usefulness of a Taiwanese script as a tool for instruction of the Japanese language in the colony. Returning to Taiwan, Cai rallied support and collected a total of 103 signatures for the petition list.

---

[42] Iwanami Shigeo was the founder of the Japanese publishing house, Iwanami Shoten (岩波書店), in 1913. Yasuoka Masahiro was a Japanese nationalist and scholar of Confucianism who had taught East Asian thought at the Takushoku University (拓殖大學) in the 1920s.

Han Shiquan and Lin Panlong agreed to act as the prospectus' co-authors. Another trip to Tokyo followed in August to make the final publication arrangements. On most of the occasions during which Cai succeeded in rallying Japanese support, he had to make sure that the promotion of the phonetic script was not contradictory or prejudicial to the Japanese language policy. It was an easy script to learn and was specifically aimed at the large illiterate masses who did not have proper access to Japanese-language instruction on a regular basis. Inauguration of his prospectus was celebrated with a ceremony in the presence of four supportive Japanese officials. They were Minister of Colonization Nagai Ryūtarō, Nagata Hidejirō 永田秀次郎 (1876-1943), Saitō Makoto 斎藤実 (1858-1936) and Izawa Takio.[43] Cai summarized the main points of their speeches, which revealed the emphasis each put on the complementarity between Cai's phonetic system and the necessity for improveing the instruction of the Japanese language in the colony, and which described Cai's activism as an act of loyalty to the Japanese empire. To this end, Nagata Hidejirō even compared Cai's mission with the patriotism of the Japanese Esperantists (Cai 2000, entry 14 December 1934: 308).

Cai eventually was to find out at the beginning of the next year that support from top-level Japanese bureaucrats was no more than idle talk. It is therefore debatable to what extent this effort to publish a prospectus with Japanese intellectual backing may be seen as a swan song.

1.3. Chinese character writing

I find this the hardest part, and it requires much more work. We do have a general idea that Chinese was somehow standardized, and that the transition from *wenyanwen* to *baihuawen* went rather smooth, one way or another. The early

---

[43] Nagata served in the Ministry of Interior and was formerly mayor of Tokyo (1930-33). Cai's contact with him may be traced to earlier years when he was supervisor of the Taiwan and Korean student dormitories in Japan. Navy Admiral Saitō used to serve as Governor-General of Korea (1919-27), and was Prime Minister of Japan (1932-34).

1920s writings that the Taiwanese students in Japan published in *Tai Oan Chheng Lian* and *The Formosa* reveal that language was not standardized at all. It was in several instances a mixture of Classical Chinese grammar, Southern Min syntax and Japanese vocabulary. This mixture was also one of the main criticism of the advocates of Mandarin *baihuawen* writing in *The Taiwan Minpao*, urging the Taiwanese to make an effort and properly study Mandarin *baihuawen*; drawing attention to a codified structure (Heylen: chapter 4). Furthermore, in a recent article Chen Pei-feng drew attention to the facilitating and intermediate role that Chinese characters played in the process of Japanese language standardization, illustrating this with the journal *Taiwan Kyoiku zasshi*. Cai also wrote fluently in Japanese. The Chinese language that he used in his diary will be discussed when this article is prepared for publication.

II. Projection in the Diary

2.1. Representation

What makes this diary unique and special among other diaristic writings is the orthographic presentation of the manuscript. The entries for the years 1929 to 1931 are written in romanized Taiwanese; those for the years 1932 to early 1934, in a mixture of Cai's phonetic Taiwanese script and Chinese-character writing; and those for the years 1934 to 1936, wholly in Chinese characters.

The presentation of the manuscript also reveals that the orthography and literary mode in which Cai wrote was not always consistent with the orthography that he was writing about. For instance, Cai wrote about the concept and inception of the new Taiwanese phonetic script throughout 1931 in romanized Taiwanese. In January 1932, he started experimenting with this new Taiwanese phonetic script, but gradually the Chinese-character writing pushed to the foreground. In looking for a controlling pattern in this orthographic alternation, I have found that the entries he recorded in Japan tended to be penned in Chinese characters, while accounts on the intricate dealings of matters Taiwanese were written in mixed scripts, and the Taiwanese phonetic script was used in confessional entries and prayers, though not consistently. This suggests that the alternating style captures a

structure of feeling which was prone to a considerable degree of indecision and moving back and forth between scripts, until Cai finally settled on using Chinese characters exclusively. This point was reached in mid-February 1934. The Taiwanese phonetic script now disappeared as a form of writing, but remained a major topic in the diary until early February 1935.

The value of the diary's historical authenticity thus goes beyond the contents, and draws attention to the linguistic codes that were employed. But what are we to make of these ruptures in writing? Is there more to say than that Japanese pressure and contempt for his non-Sinitic-rooted linguistic proposal forced him to abandon the project and return to full-fledged Chinese character writing? I would argue here that the orthographic code-switching is highly relevant in probing Cai's encounter with social change under Japanese colonial rule. The role of language in this process of making sense of the old and the new simultaneously is not simply idiosyncratic. Rather, language modes reflect prevailing and changing sociocultural patterns in significant ways, and shed light on how social change is internalized in new integrations or in ongoing conflicts and challenges within the psyche.[44] In his work, *Language and Power*, Benedict Anderson refers to the multifaceted aspects of leaping out of one's native language system into that of the colonizer, and links this to the emergence of a new generation of bilingual literati who became cultural middlemen (Anderson 1990: 125). This theme of middle-ness also characterizes discussions of colonial modernity in subaltern studies. Likewise, Erlmann (1999:117) in his work on South Africa and the West writes about the "rise of a class of individuals whose intermediate position within the colonial social fabric uncomfortably sandwiched them between the colonial bourgeoisie and the indigenous masses." But bilingualism was not merely the acquisition of a new technical vocabulary. These new middlemen also faced a grave psychological problem that involved making an effort to control two mental universes or the development of two interacting or conflicting modes of

---

[44] I draw here from literature in psychoanalytic works that investigate identity conflicts and resolutions that are the effects of colonial experiences. One example is Roland's work on India and Japan (1988).

consciousness (Anderson 1990: 125). From this perspective, the orthographic narrative and the way it unfolded in the diary reveal Cai's mental efforts in dealing with such changes in modalities of consciousness.

In his drive to advance Chinese-Japanese biliteracy, Cai internalized romanized Taiwanese as a viable medium of personal writing, which was analogous, but also juxtaposed to the dominant Japanese language medium in public discourse. The alphabetic orthography not only introduced a new body of knowledge and a mnemonic device, but also represented a new concept of inscription whose transformative power lay in the transparency of its semantic content. The colonial administration adopted a zero-tolerance attitude. The alphabetic writing was in direct competition with the Japanese language. Ideologically speaking, it was emblematic of the superiority of western civilization. If successful, Cai's proposals could have challenged not only the centrality of the Japanese language in ruling the colony, but also the superiority of the Japanese script in its civilizing mission *tout court*. The Taiwanese phonetic script that Cai developed throughout the course of 1931 lacked these cultural-linguistic trappings. Through its enactment in writing, Cai may well have realized that the Taiwanese phonetic script was an appropriate mnemonic devise to further his linguistic activism within Taiwanese colonial society, but the script was insufficient to serve as the sole basis to articulate his own modern self-fashioning in private writing. After a longstanding psychological attachment and emotional commitment to the potential of alphabetic writing, Cai may have experienced a mental displacement and spiritual void. At this juncture, the Chinese character script reappeared on his diary pages as the only alternative to restoring his spiritual equilibrium and maintaining continuity with his peculiar double-mindedness. In this way, the orthographic narrative reflected Cai's inner dilemma in his identification with the colonial *Weltanschauung*. It is not an exaggeration to state that the creativity of alphabetic and phonetic writing enabled Cai to see that his own personal struggle was part of a much greater Chinese one, namely, the need for a reassertion of Chinese culture to restore a semblance of self-esteem and remove notions of inferiority about Chinese civilization.

2.2. Meaning

I have argued previously (2007) that the direction that Cai took to partly resolve this impasse led him onto the path of Christianity. Christianity offered an alternative model from which Cai derived self-esteem, empowering him to move out of colonial marginality and assume "responsibility" in the community.[45] Cai's choice of Christian values with which to realize his spiritual self profoundly clashed with his core personality that was still strongly identified with traditional Chinese norms and values. Cai tried to advance himself with a colonial power that asserted the superiority of its own *Weltanschauung,* but at the same time denigrated the cultural codes of daily Taiwanese life and its Chinese customs. The acquisition of qualities that enabled ambitious Taiwanese to attain good positions, economic advancement, and often recognition by their own communities required the internalization of Japanese cultural values while being confronted on a daily basis with the devaluation of the indigenous self by the Japanese. This ambiguity was not easily resolved, and may explain the other psychological dimension to Cai's quest for a measure of parity with the Japanese rulers. This is well illustrated by the manner in which Cai identified with the Japanese social patterns of hierarchal relations. Gaining recognition from high-ranking Japanese officials was important to his modern self-fashioning.

I would now like to put this argument against the background of James Gee's interpretation of literacy practices. In his work *Social Linguists and Literacies* (1996) he focuses on how literacy can be approached as a discourse, and is a socially contested tool. His insights are equally helpful for my analysis in trying to understand the switching of orthographies that Cai Peihuo used.

III. Literacies and Discourses

3.1. Explaining

---

[45] For similar examples, see van Klinken (2003).

Literacy is not something given. It is a social practice that involves learning and acquisition. To cite from Gee (1996: 40), "Literacy must have something to do with being able to read *something*. And this something will always be a text of a certain *type*. Different types of texts call for different types of background knowledge and require different skills to be read meaningfully." Further, "one does not learn to read texts of type X in way Y unless one has had experience in settings where texts of type X and read in way Y" (1996: 41). For our immediate purpose, "These settings are various sorts of social institutions, like churches, schools, banks... One has to be socialized into a practice to learn to read texts of type X in way Y, a practice other people have already mastered. Since this is so, we can turn literacy on its head, so to speak, and refer crucially to the social institutions or social groups that have these practices, rather than to the practices themselves. When we do this, something odd happens: the practices of such social groups are never just literacy practices. They also involve ways of talking, interacting, thinking, valuing, and believing (1996: 41).

That is one point to keep in mind.

Another is the relation between literacy, social practice and discourse. Gee distinguishes two types of discourses in society: primary and secondary. Primary Discourses are those to which people are apprenticed early in life during their primary socialization as members of particular families within their sociocultural settings. Primary Discourses constitute our first social identity, and something of a base within which we acquire or resist later Discourses. They form our initial taken-for-granted understandings of *who* we are and *who* people 'like us' are, as well as what sort of things we ('people like us') do, value, and believe when we are not 'in public'. Secondary Discourses are those to which people are apprenticed as part of their socializations within various local, state, and national groups and institutions outside early home and peer-group socialization. They constitute the recognizability and meaningfulness of our 'public' (more formal) acts. The distinction between the two is not clear-cut, and people strategically use aspects of their primary discourses in pulling off performances in some of their secondary discourses (1996: 137-138).

Discourses are not mastered by overt instruction, but by enculturation (apprenticeship) into social practices through scaffolded and supported interaction

with people who have already mastered the Discourse. Said otherwise, discourses are mastered through acquisition, not through learning. This is how we acquire our native language and our primary discourses, and it is how we acquire all later, more public-oriented discourses. If you have no access to the social practice, you don't get in the Discourse – you don't have it (1996: 139). For our immediate purpose, this distinction between acquisition and learning is significant in assessing Cai's devising and experimenting with orthographies.

3.2. Culture Master Myth

There are ways of thinking encouraged by the master myths of Chinese culture - *hanji* sphere of influence - and they seem natural, inevitable, and unavoidable. Normally we take our master myth for granted, and along with it the fact that they are pervasive social theories (moral obligation for thought). If interested in addressing some of the issues in learning and acquisition with regard to the switching of orthographies that Cai used in his diary and what characterized his linguistic activism, then a good start would be by saying that he choose to think differently from the commodity master myth in terms of literacy practices embedded.

In reading the diary, the issue of the foreign origins of the orthographic representation appears to be of secondary importance to Cai. However, he is aware and records the negative reception by his peers. Two examples can be given:

My work at this stage is not only hampered by the authorities, but also by Lu Bingding 盧丙丁 and several people from the Cultural Association who are inciting opposition wherever they can. They say that I am a Christian, that the kind of script that I propagate is no more than a means to preach my religion, and that it is of no benefit to their Marxism. They also say that since this new script is only for use in Taiwan, it is limited in scope and practice. They tell people not to study it (Cai 2000, entry 16 July 1931: 178).

The world of Christianity was tied in with the practice of romanized Taiwanese, and equaled the mastery of a secondary discourse. For Cai, Christianity became a secondary discourse to which he was apprenticed as part of his socializations within society and this was outside early home and peer-group socialization. He became a Christian at adult age and was converted in Japan. However, his introduction to the Church and the romanized script happened at an earlier age, but cannot be considered as the acquisition of a primary discourse, for the simple reason that Cai was not raised in a Christian family. Within the Christian community, Cai was "properly socialized." His mastery of this religion-based discourse and its orthography occurred through acquisition and enculturation into social practices with scaffolded and supported interaction with people that had already mastered the Discourse: the Presbyterian community in Japan and Taiwan. Church romanization as the orthography was learned by being apprenticed to the social group that read (and act, talk, value) in certain ways to the romanized text-types, with ample experience in social settings where texts of that type are read in those ways (adapted from Gee 1996: 44-45).

However, within society at large, the Church literacy was not a dominant literacy because it did not belong to the dominant secondary discourses in society, which were still Chinese character-based and increasingly the Japanese public-sphere literacy with mastery of the Japanese language. A useful remark, but not to be pursued here, is that Japanese functioned as a meta-language for it enabled the critique of other literacies and the way they constituted Taiwanese as persons in society.

The second example draws from 1932 when Cai was preparing the prospectus to apply for the phonetic script and was gathering signatures. In the process, he gathered the support of Han Shiquan. However, there was one moment of panic when in May 1932 , Han Shiquan 韓石泉 (1897-1963) expressed his doubts on the matter to Cai (Cai 2000, entry 25 May 1932: 216).[46] The entry is interesting in

[46] Han Shiquan was a medical doctor in Tainan who was active in the home front mobilization movement and a close friend of Cai Peihuo's. For a discussion of Cai and

that Cai was more concerned about the possibility that Han would give up halfway through and not complete the mission, rather than that Han might have been of the opinion that the phonetic script was not worth pursuing any longer. Cai took a different view of the matter: If only the Taiwanese people would learn to communicate with the phonetic script, they would be culturally awakened. This mission had to be completed and those engaged in it were greatly contributing to the long road ahead in Taiwan's future. Cai drew strength from the words that Yanaihara Tadao had once said in a letter to him: "Do not expect this mission to be completed in your lifetime. Ah! His words are a real comfort to me!" (Cai 2000, entry 25 May 1932: 217).

3. 3. Enculturation of social practices

Literacy effects are produced by historically and culturally situated social practices of which reading and writing are only bits that are differently composed and situated in different social practices. In Taiwan, Church Romanization sustained because it was historically and culturally situated. With the Romanized script, Cai had ample experience in social settings where that type of texts were read in those ways. The church community based literacy practices had its understood values. Christians were socialized or enculturated into that social practice. When Cai in his diary writes that he is being criticized for the church teachings or when Zhang Hongnan tries to address the church prejudice in the propagation of the Romanized script (article in *Formosa* 3.4., 1923), one detects the encounter of two different discourses; in essence ways of thinking, talking, interacting, valuing and believing that conflict with one another. The diary gives us insights in how Cai set up lectures and organizes classes to teach Romanized Taiwanese. This appears not to have been done within the church-based community and its environment, but in the mainstream Chinese public-sphere, i.e. at the martial arts (*wumiao*) temple. These classes bring us to the two different notions of learning and acquisition. As afore-mentioned, the notion of learning is understood as overt teaching (classroom-oriented) and differs from a process of

---

Han's interactions in the diary, see Heylen (2008).

apprenticeship and social practice. One of Cai's main concerns was to pull the romanization as a strictly church based literacy away from its religious environment and make it accessible and acceptable in mainstream society. The steps he thereto takes not only involve classroom teaching, but also creating the minimum possible basis to make it more widely accessible. I refer here to the 1927 article in *The Taiwan Minpao* in which he outlines the plan for a printing press, in 1923, to have the use and propagation of the roman script incorporated in the statutes of the Taiwan Cultural Association. In the meantime, we do see the support that is rendered by the Presbyterian church. However, these tokens of support and organizational activities were marginal and very far removed from coming even close to being part and parcel of culturally shared histories and on-going activities. For Cai himself this led to frustration. This frustration can be explained by looking at it from the viewpoint of the creation of bi-discourse. It is not unusual to refer to Cai as an example of bi-discoursal people, those who mastered two contesting or conflicting discourses (Gee 1996: 136). In addition to the primary Chinese discourse, he had acquired the secondary Japanese discourse and the Church-community Romanization one. He went to Japan became Christian, returned to Taiwan and found himself in a situation where he – like most of his peers – was unable to accommodate or adapt, becoming consciously aware of what he was trying to do or was being called upon to do (Vygotsky 1987). In those years away, Cai had become somewhat marginal to the home repertoire that mainstream members had not, providing him with other insights. It requires more work and documentation from the diary with extracts to see to what extent he infused each of these discourses with aspects of the other discourses, and how that translates as a source of challenge and change.

The phonetic script that he devised corresponded to a practice of learning overt teaching. It demonstrates that abstracting literacy from its social setting in order to make claims for literacy as an autonomous force in shaping the mind or a culture simply leads to a dead end (cfr. literacy as an autonomous model). It lacked the social backing at both the grassroot level and above. In that sense, there was not much difference with his promotion of romanized Taiwanese outside of the church community, which equally lacked support. What is striking is that he has

to go through this learning-phonetic- apprentice, to return to the mainstream literacy practices: Chinese character writing, which interestingly qualifies as another secondary discourse, and which only started using fulltime in his private writing from 1934 onwards. These years coincide with his frequent visits to Japan, and he records on several instances that he started studying Chinese, which refers to Mandarin *baihuawen*. It requires access to his manuscript versions to see in which language he wrote his contributions to *Tai Oan Chheng Lian*, *The Formosa*, *The Taiwan Minpao*, even if we know that he published two works in Japanese in 1927 and 1938.

Conclusion: Lessons for Today

During the final years of his life, Cai Peihuo entrusted one of his sons-in-law, Zhang Hanyu 張漢裕 (1913-1998), with the preservation of his oeuvres for posterity. For years, the manuscripts lay untouched, stacked away in cartons, but Zhang kept his promise to Cai, making it his last wish to come true. By the mid-1990s, concrete progress was made, resulting in a seven-volume publication, of which the first volume includes a reworked version of Cai Peihuo's diary.[47] I make special reference here to the notion, "reworked." The published version of the diary is not only reworked in terms of editing and corrections, but has been re-written (re-translated) in Chinese-character script. The politics of translation preserved the Taiwanese lexicon and syntax for the years 1929 to 1934, followed by a translation closer to Mandarin lexicon, especially for the entries which were written in the phonetic script system for the years 1932 to 1934[48], and the years 1934 to 1936, retain the complex writing mixture of Taiwanese and Classical Chinese syntax and lexicon. The contemporary reader/researcher is thus presented

---

[47] The initial idea was that Chang's private foundation, *Zhiyou* 至友文教基金會, would publish Cai's diary, letters, and poetry in one or two volumes. Because of the expenses of publishing and the lack of storage room, a larger foundation was contacted. Personal correspondence with Dr. Chen Li-fu, who compiled the manuscripts between 1994 and 1995.

[48] The version 1932 to 1934, was translated while Cai was still alive and completed by one of his family members. See preface, *The Complete Works of Cai Peihuo*, vol . 1, p. 11.

with a highly diversified linguistic text, but nevertheless, orthographically coherent and uniform, ready for investigation and application.

To what extent can we frame this in the context of cultural translation and what does it ay about the dominant Discourses and literacies that developed post 1945 in Taiwan? This part needs to be developed (time constraints, main ideas to be presented during the presentation). I would therefore like to conclude with the observation that puts the published diary in a broader perspective.

In Taiwan, history writing and the representation /documentation of the past is characterized by a sociocultural struggle. It is not an exaggeration to note that this struggle was "enacted by and on people's bodies and minds, often with much pain and injustice" (cited in Gee: 137). These struggles are always between 'kinds' of people, enacted by specific people with their specific and idiosyncratic bodies, minds and feelings. The disclosure of the Japanese colonial period along with an interpretation predisposed to Japanese and Taiwanese language usage, initially represented by non-mainstream people, of which Cai is an example – but so are his peers – has become a new mainstream and stands for a new center of social power. This new center of social power finds expression in the Taiwanization or identification with Taiwan. The diary and this kind of writings/ publications are representative of a new discourse that has taken place in Taiwan since the 1980s and cannot be ignored present day.

Cited References:

Anderson, Benedict R.O'G. 1990. *Language and Power. Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Chhòa Pôe-hóe. 1925. *Cháp Hāng koán kiàn* (My humble opinion in ten points). Tainan: Tainan Presbyterian Press.

Cai, Peihuo 蔡培火. 1928. *Nihon hongokumin ni atafu – shokuminchi mondai kaiketsu no kichō* 日本本國民に與ふ-植民地問題解決の基調 (To the citizens

of the Japanese country. Toward a basic solution of the colonial problem). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店.

_____. 1928. *Yu Riben benguo guomin shu – jiejue zhimindi wenti zhi jidiao* 與日本本國國民書 解決殖民地問題之基調 (To the citizens of the Japanese country. Toward a basic solution of the colonial problem). Taihoku (Taipei): Taiwan Kenkyūkai 臺灣研究會.

_____. 1934. *Taiwan hakuwaji fukyū no shushi oyobi Taiwan tōnai sanseisha shimei* 臺灣白話字普及の趣旨及び臺灣島內贊成者氏名 (Prospectus for the popularization of Taiwan vernacular script and the name list of supporters within the island). Tokyo: Seikōsha 精興社.

Cai 1969: 1; Cai 1965: 183; Cai 2000: 19

Erlmann, Veit. 1999. *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination. South Africa and the West*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gee, James Paul (1996) *Social linguistics and literacies. Ideology in Discourses* . London: The Falmer Press.

Grillo, Ralph D. (1989) *Dominant Languages. Language and Hierarchy in Britain and France*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Heylen, Ann (2002) "Cháp Hāng koán kiàn: Cai Peihuo's Vision on the Cultural Enlightenment of the Taiwanese People." *Ricci Bulletin* 2002: 68-81.

_____. (2007) "An excursion into Cai Peihuo's Colonial Diary (1929-1936)," *Journal of Chinese Overseas* (JCO) vol 3, no 2 (November), pp. 239-262.

_____. 2008. "Diary Studies and Trends in Taiwanese historiography: Locating Colonial Modernity and Nationalist Stereotypes in the Tainan Region." In *History,*

Society and Culture in the Tainan Region. Hsieh Kuo-hsing, ed. Tainan Area Studies Series 1, Tainan: Taiwan County Government 台南縣文化局.

Joseph, Earl J. (1987) *Eloquence and Power. The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages*. London: Frances Printers.

Klinken, Jerry van. 2003. *Minorities, Modernity and the Emerging Nation: Christians in Indonesia, a. Biographical Approach*. Leiden: KITLV Series VKI 199.

Klöter, Henning. 2004. *Written Taiwanese*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Olender, Maurice (1992) *The Languages of Paradise: Race, Religion, and Philology in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard UP.

Roland, Alan. 1988. In *Search of Self in India and Japan. Toward a Cross-Cultural Psychology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Watson, C.W. 2000. *Of Self and Nation. Autobiography and the Representation of Modern Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Woolard, Kathryn A. (1998) "Language ideology as a field of inquiry: Introduction," In *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard and Paul V. Kroskrity (eds), pp. 3-45. New York: Oxford UP.

Henning Klöter

Negotiating language from below: A Comparison of Huang Shihui and Lien Yatang

PRELIMINARY DRAFT - NOT FOR QUOTATION

Introduction

The late 1920s and early 1930 witnessed the first systematic attempts in Taiwan's history to establish linguistic norms 'from below'. By these attempts I refer to language ideologies and reform proposals made by groups or individuals not associated with governmental language planning institutions. They are typically targeted at linguistic varieties that are not part of official language planning. Two key protagonists of the early 'language from below' movement in Taiwan were the intellectuals Huang Shihui 黃石輝 (1900-45) and Lien Heng 連橫 (1878-1936; also known as Lien Yatang 連雅堂). Huang is generally considered the initiator of the first nativist literature debate 鄉土文學論爭. Countering the claim that Taiwanese writers should follow the track beaten by the protagonists of the May Fourth Movement and write in northern Chinese *baihua*, Huang was the first to claim that the language of literary composition by Taiwanese authors should be Taiwanese Southern Min (hereafter: Taiwanese). In a widely-quoted newspaper article of 1930, he fiercely rejected the notion that Taiwanese was vulgar and not appropriate for literary composition. Lien Heng is also known for his attempts to elevate the status of Taiwanese by make detailed proposals for its written representation. His significance in Taiwan's intellectual history, however, goes far beyond his promotion of the Taiwanese language, as his contributions span diverse fields such as history, poetry, linguistics and journalism. Referring to his *Dictionary of Taiwanese* (臺灣語典), scholars seem to agree that Lien was among Taiwan's first linguists, or, in more elevated terms, the first rescuer of the Taiwanese language.

The main purpose of this paper is a systematic comparison of early attempts to establish a Taiwanese language from below. The comparison will show that the ideological and academic differences within language from below movements in Taiwan have thus far not received sufficient attention. Although Huang and Lien both shared the same goal, i.e. the recognition of Taiwanese as a literary language, they differed fundamentally in their approach and arguably also in their ideological convictions.

1. Huang Shihui

1.1 Biographical notes

Most previous studies analyze Huang Shihui and other proponents of nativist literature as figures of Taiwan literature history. This perspective, as I argue, ignores many important aspects of Huang Shihui's work and overemphasizes his position in literary contexts. As a matter of fact, Huang himself has not written a single literary work of any lasting significance. I claim that a close reading of Huang Shihui's essays from the perspective of language planning will lead to a more satisfying analysis, capturing various dimensions of his language policy and providing us with a more nuanced understanding of his ideological convictions. I will conclude that Huang's role as an ideological trailblazer of a distinct Taiwanese cultural identity is overemphasized in previous studies. Instead, dichotomies like "pro-Taiwanese" vs. "pro-Chinese" do not apply to his sociolinguistic agenda.

Huang Shihui was born in Tainan on 20 April 1900. His birth name was Zhimu 知母, but he later used Shihui and also the pen names Shounong 瘦儂 and Shoutong 瘦童 in his publications. During his childhood, his family moved to Kaohsiung County. After graduating from public school, he became a professional chop carver. After moving from Kaohsiung to Pingtung, he married, at the age of 24, his wife Wu Shiyong 吳氏雍. The couple had two sons (Chengxi 承系 and Tiehun 鐵魂) and two daughters (Bingyun 冰芸 and Pinhui 品惠). During the 1920s, he became an active participant in the cultural and political resistance against the Japanese colonial government. When the Taiwan Culture Association 臺灣文化協會 split into nationalist right wing and a socialist left wing in 1927,

Huang started to serve in the standing committee of the latter where he was responsible for women affairs. At the age of 34, Huang and his family moved to Qishan 旗山 in Kaohsiung County. Health problems and economic pressure prevented Huang from a more active participation in the political resistance and the language debate. In 1945, following a false medical diagnosis, he died from a lung disease four days after his 45th birthday. Many important details of his biography await further research. For example, in a newspaper article of 1933 (所謂「運動狂」的喊聲——給春榮克服二先生 / "Shouts and screams of a so-called 'crazy agitator', for Chunrong and Kefu") he mentions his recent release from prison and the fact that since his release he has not been willing to write anything. It seems obvious that his imprisonment was related to his political activism, but this assumption still needs to be verified.

1.2 Historical context

Huang Shihui occupies a peculiar position in the history of Taiwan literature. On the one hand, as he is widely recognized as *the* initiator of the first nativist literature debate, a serious overview of Taiwan's literature history without the name Huang Shihui would be incomplete. On the other hand, however, neither a literary work nor a theoretical treatise in the field of literature theory or history is associated with the name of Huang Shihui. As a matter of fact, it seems that his position in Taiwan's literature is for the most part associated with a few opening lines of a newspaper article he published in 1930. The first passages of the article read as follows (first part quoted from Hsiau 2000: 40, second part my translation):

> You are Taiwanese. Over your head is the Taiwanese sky. Your feet walk on Taiwanese soil. All you see are the conditions of Taiwan. Everything your ears hear is Taiwanese news. What you undergo is Taiwanese experience. That which you speak is also a Taiwanese language. Therefore, that powerful, gifted pen of yours, that productive brilliant pen should also write Taiwanese literature.
>
> How should Taiwan literature be written? We have to write texts in Taiwanese, poems in Taiwanese, novels in Taiwanese, songs in Taiwanese,

> we have to describe things Taiwanese. There is nothing strange about it. Why don't we write texts in Taiwanese? Why don't we write poems in Taiwanese? Why don't we write novels in Taiwanese? Why don't we write songs in Taiwanese? Inelegant! Rough! This is what the old aristocrats think!

It is commonly known that Huang's call for a literature written in the local Southern Min variety of Taiwan must be seen in the context of language debates in the aftermath of the May Fourth Movement of 1919. Huang's position was formulated in opposition to Zhang Wojun 張我軍, a Taiwanese student at Peking University, who had written essays in which he advocated the expansion of northern Chinese *baihua* style literature to Taiwan. In his newspaper articles, Huang Shihui strongly rejected the cultivation of Mandarin *baihua* or classical *wenyanwen*, as he considered the "noble style" reflected in these varieties to be "insulated from the unlearned laboring masses" (Huang 1930). Instead, he argued that "we should use affairs and a language that is closest to us" (Huang 1931, transl. Fix 1993: 138).

The opening lines of his essay "How could we not advocate nativist literature" (*Zenyang bu tichang xiangtu wenxue*) seem to be the rhetorical leitmotif of the first nativist literature debate that was finally triggered by Huang's publication of a follow-up essay in 1931. With his almost hypnotizing repetition of the words "Taiwan" and "Taiwanese" he succeeded in enforcing a local Taiwanese dimension to the "language of literature" debate that had reached Taiwan from Beijing. In most analyses, there is common agreement that Huang's concerns went beyond language choice. Lin, for instance, argues that the relationship between nationalism and nativist literature "can be traced back to the left-leaning intellectual Huang Shui-hui's call for promoting Taiwan's native soil literature in the early 1930s with an attempt to popularize literature among the masses" (Lin 2009: 56). Whereas Hsiau cautiously writes that "Huang demanded more radical 'localization' of literature" (Hsiau 2000: 40), Fix goes further by arguing that Huang's "analysis went further than a mere recognition that his implied reader spoke Taiwanese and resided in the colony. Huang advocated the creation of an independent Taiwanese culture. His rules for language reform, if taken to the

extreme, called for the complete localization of language and literature" (Fix 1993: 138). Chang even goes a step further by arguing that the claim for literature in the local language on things Taiwanese, voiced by Huang and other nativists, "clearly envisioned a 'Taiwanese consciousness' as something to be distinguished from the more inclusive 'Chinese consciousness,' or ethnic Han consciousness" (1999: 267).

1.3 Huang's oeuvre

It is hard to avoid the impression that assessments of Huang's position in Taiwan's literary and intellectual history are rather restricted if not biased with regard to their textual evidence. In the following passages, I will first place Huang's first essay, which preceded the nativist literature debate, in the broader context of his oeuvre. Followed by this, I will quote and translate some passages of his contributions to the nativist literature debate. By juxtaposing these passages with the frequently-quoted "first lines" of Huang's first nativist article, I intend to provide some pieces of textual evidence which hint at a broader spectrum in Huang's thinking.

At the age of 17 or 18, Huang became involved in the activities of local poet societies, among which the famous Pingtung-based Li Society 礪社. According to Lü (1996), he later published more than 120 poems in classical Chinese style in the Chinese section of the Tainan Shimbun 台南新報. Until now, a total of 200 of Huang's early poems have been found (Lü 2010). This dedication to traditional Chinese poem writing is apparently incompatible with the conception of Huang as an advocate of an independent Taiwanese culture. In the 1920s, he started to publish political essays in different newspapers, among which the communist weekly Taiwan Dazhong Shibao 台灣大眾時報. The range of topics of his earlier essays evidence to a socially engaged mind that was by no means restricted to sociolinguistic issues. In February of 1927, he published an essay on "The Liberation of Women and the Future of Society" (婦女解放與社會前途, Taiwan Minpo 144), followed by an article on "The Future of the Chinese Revolution" (中國革命的前途, Taiwan Dazhong Shibao 1) in May 1928 and a contribution

entitled "Let's Welcome our Labor Day" (歡迎我們的勞動節, Taiwan Dazhong Shibao 2) one week later.

Huang's better-known articles were published between 1930 and 1934 and are all associated with the debate on nativist literature. The label 'nativist literature' 鄉土文學, although frequently applied by the participants of the debate themselves, is arguably misleading. Most importantly, it hides the fact that the main focus of the debate was actually on language and not on literature in a narrow sense. The language debate centred on issues such as the status of the Taiwanese Southern Min vernacular (referred to as Tai-oan-oe 台灣話, hereafter: Taiwanese), orthographic standardization of Taiwanese, and the spread of literacy in written Taiwanese (台灣話文). Contributions appeared in different newspapers and magazines. Founded in 1931 by young intellectuals from central Taiwan, the magazine Nanyin 南音 ('Sounds of the South') evolved as the main forum of the debate on orthographic standardization. The orthographic debate in Nanyin did not last very long. In a note in volume 5, the editor announced that the number of pages for columns in written Taiwanese would henceforth be reduced to avoid the impression that the magazine was exclusively a forum for discussions on written Taiwanese. Given the historical context, it seems likely that the debate was discontinued due to Japanese censorship. In this context it must be emphasized that from the outset, the debate faced various limitations. Most importantly, Japanese censorship obviously prevented the group from publishing a position questioning the fundamentals of linguistic hierarchy in the colony. The top position of this hierarchy was occupied by Japanese as the national language (*kokugo* 國語), and the breathing space of Taiwan's Sinitic languages was in a process of quick diminishment when Huang first called for writing Taiwanese texts.

In the first issue of Nanyin, Huang's comrade-in-arms Guo Qiusheng 郭秋生 (1904-1980) published a detailed set of principles for the selection of characters to be used in written Taiwanese texts. In the following issues, these proposals were practically applied and discussed in an enthusiastic, sometimes capricious language debate. As I have analyzed before (Klöter 2005, chapter 4), it was by no

means uncommon for the participants of the debate to propose the use of one particular character in one issue of Nanyin and to provide a counterproposal to that proposal in the next issue. The contributions on written Taiwanese appeared in the columns 'Column for discussions on written Taiwanese' 台灣話文討論欄, 'Column for attempts in written Taiwanese' 台灣話文嘗試欄, and 'Issues concerning new characters' 新字問題. Apart from Huang Shihui and Guo Qiusheng, contributors to the debate included Huang Chunqing 黃純青 (1875-1965), Lai He 賴和 (1894-1943), Li Xianzhang 李獻璋 (1904-1999), and Zhuang Chuisheng 莊垂勝 (1897-1963).

Huang Shihui contributed the following fourteen essays to the nativist literature debate. As pointed out above, it can be assumed that his temporary imprisonment and his health problems prevented him from playing an even more active role.

1930

(1) 怎樣不提倡鄉土文學 [How could we not advocate nativist literature?]. Wurenbao 伍人報 9-11, 6 August - 1 September (Nakajima 1-6)

1931

(2) 再談鄉土文學 [Another discussion of nativist literature]. Taiwan Shimbun 台灣新聞 24 July (Nakajima 53-64)

(3) 我的幾句答辯 [My response in a few sentences]. Showa Shimbun 昭和新報 142-144 (15-29 August) (Nakajima 69-73)

(4) 鄉土文學的檢討——再答毓文先生 [A review and discussion of nativist literature: Another answer to Yuwen], original place of publication unknown (Nakajima 105-111)

(5) 和點人先生談枝葉 [Talking about this and that with Dianren]. Taiwan Shimbun 台灣新聞 3 September (Nakajima 113-117)

(6) 給點人先生——為鄉土文學問題 [For Dianren, on issues concerning nativist literature] *Showa Shimbun* 昭和新報 (Nakajima 119-120)

(7) 對「台灣話改造論」的一商榷 [A discussion of 'A theory of the reform of the Taiwanese language'], original place of publication unknown (Nakajima 147-152)

(8) 鄉土文學的再討論給克夫先生的商量 [Another discussion of nativist literature, exchanging opinion with Kefu], original place of publication unknown (Nakajima 153-157)

1932

(9) 新字問題（台灣話文討論欄） [Column for discussions on written Taiwanese: Issues concerning new characters]. Nanyin 南音 1/4, 22 February (Nakajima 269-271)

(10) 言文一致的零星問題 [Single problems concerning the unification of speech and written language]. Nanyin 南音 1/6, 2 April (Nakajima 279-295)

(11) 答夫人（台灣話文討論欄） [An answer to Furen]. Nanyin 南音 1/8, 13 June (Nakajima 299-301)

1933

(12) 所謂「運動狂」的喊聲——給春榮克服二先生 [Shouts and screams of a so-called 'crazy agitator', for Chunrong and Kefu]. Taiwan Shinminpō 台灣新民報 967-969, 29-31 October (Nakajima 403-412)

(13) 解剖明弘君的愚論 [Dissecting Minghong's stupid position]. Taiwan Shinminpō 台灣新民報 974-978, 5-9 November (Nakajima 421-433)

1934

(14) 沒有批評的必要，先給大眾識字 [There is no need to criticize, first teach the masses how to read] Xianfa Budui 先發部隊 1, 1-2 (not reprinted in Nakajima 2003)

1.4 Selected passages from Huang's essays

As argued above, a close look at some selected passages from Huang's essays shows that it is impossible to claim that Huang advocated Taiwan's radical cultural demarcation from China. For example, in his very first article (# 1) on nativist literature we find the following lines:

> Although Taiwanese can only be used in Taiwan, it still has a joint relation with the whole of China. To be sure, what we speak with our mouths cannot

> be understood by persons from other provinces, but what we write down with characters will certainly be understood by persons from other provinces. (Nakajima 2003: 2)

These lines are in full support of my previous claim that the promotion of written Taiwanese by Huang Shihui and other young language activists of the Japanese period was by no means tantamount to a linguistic disassociation from the Northern Chinese *baihua* movement (Klöter 2005, 2009). Instead, linguistic reforms brought up by the May Fourth movement remained appealing for the young intellectuals, albeit to different degrees. As I have shown in a previous study (Klöter 2005: 155–176), their promotion of written Taiwanese was in other words by no means tantamount to a linguistic demarcation from the Northern Chinese *baihua* movement. One of Huang's associates, Zhuang Chuisheng, formulated the orthographic tenet of the group with the words, "to use Chinese characters for their meaning to write Taiwanese texts—this is what we call written Taiwanese" (Zhuang 1932: 7). For example, following the Mandarin model, it was proposed to use the characters 怎樣 for Taiwanese *an-cuann* 'how' (Mnd. *zenyang* 'how'), 信 for *phue* 'letter' (Mnd. *xin* 'letter'), 給 for *hoo* 'give' (Mnd. *gei* 'give'), 說 for *kong* 'speak' (Mnd. *shuo* 'speak'), etc. (for details, see Klöter 2005: 155–176). The approach to model written Taiwanese on written Mandarin was not uncontroversial. Guo Qiusheng, for instance, deliberately deviated from the Mandarin model, arguing that "for us as Taiwanese, Mandarin as a vehicle of expression is also a scary iron chain" (1932: 36). His approach to replace Mandarin characters with new Taiwanese characters was, however, not welcomed by his fellow activists.

In any case, Huang's refusal of cultural separation between China and Taiwan is not merely a comment made in passing. When Liao Yuwen 廖毓文 (1912-1980) accuses him of trying to lock Taiwan's doors, Huang writes the following (1931/ #4):

> [Liao Yuwen writes:] "We should not lock the door and protect ourselves and stubbornly stick to a Taiwanese literature in the Taiwanese language for

> the purpose of popularizing literature." — I have always made clear that I am against locking our doors! In my article 'Another discussion of nativist literature' in *Taiwan Shimbun*, I stated very clearly: We advocate nativist literature with the aim that those who can read the Taiwanese vernacular can also understand the (northern) Chinese vernacular, and essays written in the Taiwan vernacular should be understandable for Chinese, this has nothing to do with locking one's door. ... I am sure that he [Liao Yuwen] has read these lines. If he really wants to discuss seriously, why does he still claim that I advocate close doors?

The contributions to the debate on nativist literature can basically be divided into two groups. The first group includes those which deal with the basic question *whether* there ought to be literature in the local vernacular; the second group is comprised of articles which discuss *how* spoken Taiwanese should be converted into written texts. Huang contributed to both groups. As the following passage shows, this part of the debate went beyond the selection of particular characters. Those involved in the discussion also touched on the question whether and how texts written in Taiwanese should make use of transcriptions in order to facilitate the reading. In 1932, Huang writes (# 10, Nakajima 2003: 282):

> If we either use loan characters or create new characters, we have to indicate the reading. Thus, everyone recognizes the importance of transcription. Even Lai Minghong of the opposing faction recognizes it. But how should we transcribe? ... As nobody has a good method, we can consider all systems. We can use Japanese *kana*, this would be the easiest and the most common method. If you can't use *kana*, you can also use the Roman alphabet or Chinese phonetic symbols. In my opinion, *kana*, the Roman alphabet, or Chinese phonetic symbols—none of these solutions is as good as using the *fanqie* system that was common in the old days. I believe that *fanqie* is alive, and all the other systems are dead.

Huang's call for literature in the local Taiwanese vernacular was certainly not part of a blind cultural navel gazing, as the frequently-quoted first lines of his first nativist essay may suggest. It must therefore be emphasized that the Taiwanese home soil is by no means the focal point of Huang's ideological agenda. Instead, all of his sociolinguistic proposals are inextricably linked to his socialist convictions. In other words, Huang was at first a socialist, and his advocacy of literacy in Taiwanese was a response to the needs of the illiterate masses. From Huang's point of view, the masses were in first instance illiterate and underprivileged, and only in second instance Taiwanese. At the end of the first section of essay # 1 he writes:

> Furthermore, when we write texts or compose poems, we write for Taiwanese readers, especially for the hard-working masses. These broad hard-working masses have not received higher education, so our art and literature must be easy to understand. The hard-working masses have to understand easily, nothing else needs to be considered! To be sure, we should not restrict ourselves narrow-mindedly to the lower classes, but the easily understandable essays we compose for the lower classes are certainly also easy to understand for intellectuals—for the class of scholars they add a degree of understandability. Therefore, no one can doubt that our readers are the broad masses, especially the broad masses closest to us. (Nakajima, p. 2)

Interestingly, in his last contribution to the nativist literature debate he returns to the issue of mass illiteracy. After four years of discussion on character selection and Taiwanese orthography, this essay obviously has a weary and cynical undertone. He writes (1934: 1-2):

> All the present literary works, the new ones and the old ones, the good ones and the bad ones, they all have nothing to do with the masses. This is a fact, and however bull-headed and stubborn you are, you just can't deny it! Why, then, are art and literature insulated from the masses? The answer is simple: the masses can't read. However good a work is, the masses can't read it.

> The only way they can go is keeping distance and they do not have the slightest chance to enjoy even a fraction of the grace of literature. You want to consciously create 'proletarian works' for the masses. Still, you don't get as excited with them as when you jerk off, and you reach parts of the intellectual class only, especially the leisure class with its tea snacks and drinks. And the masses? They have nothing to do with that.

The rhetoric of Huang's last contribution to the nativist literature debate is in obvious contrast to his first paragraphs published in 1930. The words 'Taiwan' and 'Taiwanese' are almost completely absent from his vocabulary, instead his writing is interspersed with Marxist terms like 'masses' 大衆, 'class' 階級, and 'proletarian' 普羅. This is certainly not a new development in his thinking, as his Marxist convictions are evident even before the beginning of the nativist literature debate. His focus on mass literacy also shows that his affinity with the ideals of the May Fourth Movement was much closer than his opposition to Zhang Wojun may suggest. In any case, his argument is strikingly reminiscent of the famous writer Lu Xun who, according to Schwarcz, argued that "Intellectuals had before them a task far more modest than the one envisioned by idealistic prophets of this new literature. First, they had to teach the masses how to read" (1986: 209).

1.5 Interim conclusion

The few passages quoted above clearly indicate that Huang does not qualify as an advocate of complete localization and Taiwanese nationalism, and that his thinking focused on language planning, policies of literacy and the status of the Taiwanese language, and not on literature in a narrow sense. In this respect it must be emphasized that language planning is by no means restricted to official institutions. Cooper points out that it "may be initiated at any level of the social hierarchy, but it is unlikely to success unless it is embraced and promoted by elites or counterelites" (1989: 183). Similarly, Spolsky argues that "Language activists are significant participants in language management...Working at the grassroots level, they attempt to influence existing, former, or potential speakers of the language to continue its use and to persuade government to support their

plans. Lacking authority, they depend on acceptance of their ideology by those they try to influence..." (2009: 204). The constraints with regard to the role of government agencies formulated in both quotations clearly apply to the language policy of Huang and the other advocates of nativist literature. As the aims of the language activists were in diametric opposition to the language policy of the Japanese colonial government, it is idle to analyze the reasons for the failure of the movement.

The issues discussed in this paper are by no means restricted to Huang Shihui alone and they deserve attention with regard to other figures of the first nativist literature debate as well. Thanks to the publication of a comprehensive source book of the original essays (Nakajima 2003), most relevant texts are now easily accessible. A systematic re-reading of the nativist literature debate remains a desideratum for research on Taiwan's cultural history.

2. Lien Heng

2.1 Historical background

Lien Heng's interest in language research came in the later years of his life. According to Li Tengyue, it was aroused in 1929, at a late phase of his intellectual development (Li 1951: 16). In the preceding decades, Lien had earned recognition as a many-sided scholar, poet and journalist. His extensive research in China and Taiwan resulted in his major work, the monumental three-volume *General History of Taiwan* (台灣通史). His linguistic interest was focused on the Taiwanese language which, then as now, was spoken by 75 percent of the Taiwanese population.

Lien's interest in the Taiwanese language was by no means an individual hobby of an aging scholar. His first newspaper article on Taiwanese (see next paragraph) appeared in 1929, at a time when intellectuals like Zhang Wojun, Huang Shihui and others had become engaged in debates on the choice of a language for literary composition and the social status of Taiwanese. As shown in the section on Huang Shihui above, between 1930 and 1933, the debate on written Taiwanese would reach its peak. Specifically, most of Lien's articles on Taiwanese were published

at a time when the group around Huang Shihui 黃石輝 and Guo Qiusheng 郭秋生 published articles in the Taiwan Xin Minbao 臺灣新民報, Taiwan Xinwen 臺灣新聞 and Nanyin 南音. In principle, Lien Heng shared the young intellectuals' resentment against the increasing linguistic assimilation and the gradual extinction of Taiwanese. During the early phase of his linguistic research Lien wrote (1929a, my translation):

> Today's children start their education at the age of seven when they are still naïve [...] and the sounds of their speech resemble a baby's babble. But the local schools strictly prohibit the use of Taiwanese. Today's youngsters shoulder their satchel and go to Japan to get a degree. When they return after ten years of hard work, they have already forgotten their Taiwanese! From today's high gentry and the noble gentlemen to the ordinary clerk in the village, [...] they all regard themselves as men of ability and integrity. But when they are engaged in a conversation, they do not care to answer in Taiwanese anymore. [...] When I witnessed the imminent extinction of Taiwanese, I had to start trying to put Taiwanese in order, on the one hand to preserve it, on the other hand to develop it.

The question whether or not Lien Heng needs to be distinguished from the group around Huang Shihui and Guo Qiusheng has been neglected in previous research. For example, Shu-hui Wu writes (2005: 260):

> Lien Heng's attention to Taiwan's popular culture and his efforts to present it through literary writings crystallized the meaning of Taiwan's Homeland Culture movement. These writings were well received in the 1930s by young writers who published on similar subjects in literary journals, such as *Southern Sounds* [Nanyin – HK] and *Taiwan Literature and Arts*.

Similarly, Gunn writes that "Lien's lexicon addressed a debate among young writers of Taiwan concerned with how to represent their local language and was followed by a handful of stories written using Taiwanese Southern Min" (2006: 90). A similar stance can be found in Heylen (2001) who argues that Lien

was writing "in support of the emerging cause on nativist literature" (p. 272). To be sure, Lien Heng and the young writers contributing to *Nanyin* shared the same goal: preserving the Taiwanese language by establishing a written standard. However, a closer look at some of their contributions reveals that Lien's attitude towards the young intellectuals was rather critical if not depreciative, and vice versa. Although he acknowledged that they shared the same goal, the writing of Taiwanese, the senior literati Lien Heng had little sympathy for the "unscholarly" approach of the young intellectuals. Even though he never directly criticized activists like Guo Qiusheng or Huang Shihui, he did formulate a veiled sideswipe. The following passage was written a few months before the orthographic debate in *Nanyin* unfolded. The key arguments of the proponents of local literature in the Taiwanese vernacular had already been formulated (e.g., in Huang Shihui 1931, Guo Qiusheng 1931a, b, c). Only one month before this passage was published, Guo had openly questioned the viability of Lien's findings. Guo literally argued that there was no need "to adhere to laws and letters of classical allusions and etymology, as Mr. Yatang" (Guo 1932: 14). Lien, on the other hand, argued (1932, part 1, my translation):

> In the last years, our Taiwanese personalities have often praised local literature, and they made the proposal to remodel the Taiwanese language. This is exactly what I have planned. Looking back, however, it is easier said than done. Why? The ones who talk about the plan are not necessarily able to carry it out, and the ones who are able to carry it out do not necessarily do so. That is why Taiwanese is becoming weaker with each passing day. Well, if you want to promote local literature, you first need to regulate the local language. But this regulating is a highly complicated business. You need to know how to start, how to collect, how to research, and how to decide. Only someone with erudition, a meticulous attitude, and determination will bring this to a good conclusion.

Who are "the ones who talk about the plan" to create local literature criticized for being unable to carry it out? Given the date when and the historical context against which above quotation was published, it seems safe to assume that Lien

was distancing himself from the group around Huang Shihui and Quo Qiusheng. The main reason for this distance lies in the fundamentally different answers to the question how the Taiwancse language should be written, as will be discussed presently.

2.3 The *Dictionary of the Taiwanese Language*

2.3.1 Bibliographical notes

Lien Heng never saw the publication of his *Dictionary of Taiwanese*. Instead, in the early 1930s, Lien had only presented the sketchy outcomes of his first etymological investigations, which were never to be fully completed. These results were published in a column of the newspaper *San liu jiu xiao bao* 三六九小報, lit. 'The 3-6-9 Gazette' (hereafter: SLJ).[49] Lien's column was titled *Taiwan-yu jiangzuo* 台灣語講座 'Lectures on the Taiwanese Language' (hereafter: *Lectures*). Between January 1931 and January 1932, each issue of the paper contained one column in which he discussed the etymological origins of some Taiwanese expressions. Altogether, 324 expressions were treated in 108 SLJ issues. In January 1932, a new column with the title *Yayan* 雅言 'elegant language' replaced the *Lectures on Taiwanese*.[50] The new series contained short

---

[49] The name of the journal, which was published nine times per month, derives from the fact that its day of publication always ended in 3, 6, or 9, viz. on the 3rd, 6th, 9th, 13th, 16th, 19th, 23rd, 26th, and 29th of the month.

[50] The title hints at a line in Book VII of the *Analects* which reads 子所雅言，詩、書、執禮，皆雅言也. Not following the common translation for *yǎ yán* 'things one often talks about', Waley translates the line as "The occasions upon which the Master used correct pronunciation [雅言 *ya yan*] were when reciting the *Songs* or the *Books* and when practising ritual acts" (Waley 1938: 126). Nienhauser suggests that *ya yan* refers to the standard language as opposed to the local dialect, holding that "Confucius [...] spoke two languages—one an elegant, formal, archaic, and somewhat contrived (*ya-yen*) official tongue, the other his native, regional dialect" (1986: 98). Some quotations by Lien Heng suggest that he interpreted the phrase similarly. For instance, in a letter to Li Xianzhang (reprinted in Lien 1957: 151–52), Lien writes that the Taiwanese language—in contrast to Mandarin—contains many elements of the *ya yan* of the Zhou (1122–255 BC) and Han (206 BC–AD 220) dynasties. Elsewhere he explicitly refers to *ya yan* as an old term for the court language *guanhua* 'Mandarin' (Lien 2003).

explanations and commentaries on Taiwan's languages, culture, and history as well as elaborations on Lien's etymological research. In 1957, both columns were posthumously published as parts of the *Taiwan Yudian* 'Dictionary of Taiwanese'. The preface to the dictionary is a reprint of Lien's articles previously published in the *Taiwan Minbao* 台灣民報 (1928, 1929). Its main body contains an expanded and revised version of the *Lectures*, followed by a complete reprint of *Elegant language*. Some obvious differences between this edition and the *Lectures* are noteworthy. First, in the book edition, almost four times the original number of Taiwanese expressions is treated. Whereas the sequence of entries in the *Lectures* is rather unsystematic, the main body of *Dictionary of Taiwanese* is arranged into four volumes: volume one covers monosyllabic expressions, volume two, three and four treat disyllabic expressions. The book edition also contains numerous instances of orthographic revisions based on new etymological explanations.

The final version of *Dictionary of Taiwanese* is based on a rearrangement by Lien's son Lien Zhendong 連振東 and revisions by Chen Hanguang 陳漢光 (Yao 1986: 3). However, we may still assume that most of these revisions were made by Lien Heng himself, even though the book edition was published more than 20 years after he had passed away in Shanghai. Li Tengyue (1951: 16) mentions the existence of a four-volume manuscript of the *Dictionary of Taiwanese* handwritten by Lien Heng. It is also known that Lien himself was not altogether satisfied with the first results of his research published in the SLJ column, which he expressed in a letter to Li Xianzhang 李獻璋 (reprinted in Lien 1957: 151–52). In this letter, he also mentioned that he had collected etymological evidence of several new expressions.

2.3.2 Methodology: Etymology-based orthography

In the literature we find many references to the linguist Lien Heng. For instance, in Wu Shuhui's biography we read that Lien "began to work on historical linguistics" (2005: 102) or that "Lien had listened to and reflected upon the everyday language of the Taiwanese, approaching it from a historical, comparative and descriptive perspective so that he would find a [...] historical explanation for each word" (2005: 272). At this juncture it must be pointed out,

however, that Lien did not belong to the cohort of Chinese scholars who, well-trained in Western linguistic methodology, made groundbreaking contributions to the field of Chinese linguistics. It is noteworthy that we do not find any reference to Lo Ch'ang p'ei's [Luo Changpei 羅常培] (1930) and Chiu Bien-ming's [Zhou Bianming 周辨明] (1931) pioneering studies on Southern Min dialects in Lien's work. Aside from these missing links to Chinese linguistics, Lien's approach hardly qualifies as comparative or descriptive. It seems thus misleading to describe Lien Heng as a linguist. Instead, he should be seen as a traditional Chinese philologist who was chiefly concerned with establishing links between Taiwanese expressions and their origins as attested in written sources.

Lien Heng's contribution can be described as the first attempt to write Taiwanese according to etymological principles. As a historian, Lien had, in the words of Laurence Eaton, "looked to China and everything Chinese and his greatest work, the exhaustive Comprehensive *History of Taiwan* is written from a strongly Chinese perspective as a chronicle of the spread of Chinese culture into the barbarian wilderness of Taiwan" (Eaton 2000). As a philologist, Lien sought the linguistic roots of Taiwanese expressions in the canon of scholarly Chinese literature. Lien was strongly inspired by the work of the Chinese scholar Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 1869–1936), in particular his study on Chinese dialects (新方言 'New dialects', Zhang Taiyan 1917–19). Other works Lien quotes to provide evidence for his findings cover a broad range of genres from various periods. Lexicographic works include, for instance, the Chinese character dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 'Explanations of simple graphs and analyses of composite graphs' (AD 100) and the rhyme dictionary *Jiyun* 集韻 'Collected rhymes'. Other important sources are the Confucian Classics and poetry of the Tang Dynasty (AD 608–907).

The rationale behind Lien's investigations was to establish a link between a Taiwanese expression and a corresponding reference in written source. He considered Classical literature was the sole legitimate source for a Taiwanese orthography. In one of his newspaper columns he wrote (1932, part 4, my translation):

> In the language of Taiwan, there is not a single expression without character and hence not one character without origin. If the usage of a character is different and not compatible with the usage during the various Chinese kingdoms, then a dialect expression is used. Dialect expressions have been used since ancient times. If you take a detailed look at the *Lessons from the States* in the *Book of Odes*, you find it peppered with dialect expressions. The same auxiliary word is, for example, written as 兮, 且, 只, 忌, and 乎.

There is no doubt that Lien's findings were also intended as orthographic proposals. In fact, for the traditional scholar Lien Heng, the separation of etymology from orthography was unthinkable. From his point of view, finding etymologies and providing orthographic solutions were two sides of the same coin. Conducting the investigations, he reasoned, was a responsible scholarly task (1929b, my translation):

> I am Taiwanese. I can handle the Taiwanese language, but I was not able to write it. Hence, I could not understand the meaning of Taiwanese—what a shame! [...] In my spare time, I have conducted detailed research on Taiwanese and only then was I able to appreciate its great elegance. Ordinary persons may not understand what lies in it. Moreover, even the Confucian scholars of today are not able to understand the Taiwanese elements which originate in the period between the Zhou and the Qin dynasties and now. That makes me very happy!

The following three examples show that the links between Taiwanese expressions and references in traditional literature are for the most part based on semantic associations. Phonological criteria only play a minor role, both as a criterion for etymological verification and in the presentation of entries. In the SLJ column, the sound of Taiwanese expressions is sometimes indicated by near-homonyms. In the *Lectures*, we only find three entries with attached romanized transcriptions and indication of tones (SLJ 77, May 1931). These were, however, omitted from the book edition. The negligence of phonological criteria is reflected in Lien's

sporadic and vague indication of the sounds of both the Taiwanese entries and the quotations from old sources.

(1) 查某 'female' (Lien 1931, *SLJ* 35; 2001: 82): "Women are called 查某. In the old days, women had a clan name, but no personal name. A woman is therefore called 'someone', and, for example, referred to as 'someone's lady someone' or 'someone's wife someone'. Saying 查某 is like saying 'this girl', as, for example, in the reference 'this young lady' in the *Odes of Shao and the South* of the *Book of Odes*".

(2) 適陶 'play, have fun' (Lien 1931, *SLJ* 129; (2001: 119): is pronounced like 敕桃. It means 'have fun'. [The meaning of] 適 is 'go to', as in the line 'go to that happy land' in *The Odes of Wei* of the *Book of Odes* (quoted line translated by Legge 1940: 172). 陶 is 'happiness', as in the line 'When a man rejoices, he looks pleased' in the *Record of music* of the *Book of Rites*" (Legge 1885: 177). [51]

(3) 彭亨 'self satisfied, smugly' (Lien 1931, *SLJ* 43; 2001: 137): "The Taiwanese sound of 彭亨 is the same as of the characters 拼 and 風. It means 'splendid on the surface, but empty on the inside'. As in one of Han Yu's poems: "When he moves his burden to the other shoulder, his skin is numb. – When he makes use of his force, his belly is swollen with conceit." [52]

4. Concluding remarks

An understanding of the status of languages and language ideologies within a society requires an analysis that goes beyond the traditional 'language from

---

[51] The Book of Rites belongs to the Confucian Classics. In the SLJ edition, Lien erroneously refers to the Record of music as the source of this line. The later book editions (e.g. 2001: 119) contain the correct reference to the book Tan Gong.

[52] These lines are quoted from Han Yu's *Cheng nan lianju* 'Linked verse on the region to the south of the city'.

above' approach. Lien Yatang and Huang Shihui are both important figures in Taiwan's early language from below movement. They shared the belief that the local Taiwanese language should gain recognition and be promoted as a written language and language of literary composition. However, their believes emanated from very ideologies. Huang Shihui was a socialist, and his plea for language reform was closely linked to a program of (language) education for the masses. Lien, on the other hand, was a traditional scholar who tried to establish philological links between the Taiwanese language and the Chinese classics. Their philological approach to the writing of Taiwanese was also very different. Whereas Huang and the other intellectuals associated with Nanyin tried to make their Taiwanese texts look like northern Chinese *baihua*, Lien selected characters on the basis of etymological verification. An analysis of these ideological and methodological differences is crucial for a more nuanced understanding of early language movements in Taiwan.

References

Chang, Sung-sheng Yvonne. 1999. "Taiwanese New Literature and the colonial context," in: Murray A. Rubinstein (ed.). *Taiwan: A new history*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, pp. 261–274.

Chiu, Bien-ming. 1931. The phonetic structure and tone behaviour in Hagu (commonly known as Amoy dialect) and their relation to certain questions in Chinese linguistics. *T'oung Pao* 28:245-342.

Cooper, Robert L. 1989. *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eaton, Laurence. 2000. Would-be heir to whose legacy? *Taipei Times*, 14 March, 9.

Fix, Douglas L. 1993. Taiwanese nationalism and its late colonial context. PhD dissertation. University of California, Berkeley.

Gunn, Edward M. 2005. *Rendering the regional: local language in contemporary Chinese media*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Guo, Qiusheng. 1931a. Taiwan huawen de xin zi wenti. *Taiwan Xin Minbao*, 28 November, 7 December.

———. 1931b. Jianshe 'Taiwan huawen' yi ti'an. *Taiwan Xin Minbao*, 29 August, 7 September.

———. 1931c. Jianshe Taiwan baihuawen yi ti'an. *Taiwan Xinwen*.

———. 1932a. Shuo ji tiao Taiwan huawen de jiben gongzuo gei dajia zuo cankao. *Nanyin* 1:14.

———. 1932b. Taiwan huawen changshi lan. *Nanyin* 1 (2-6, 10).

Heylen, Ann. 2001. Language reform movements in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule (1914-1936). Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculteit Letteren, Department Oosterse en Slavische Studies, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Leuven.

Hsiau, A-chin. 2000. Contemporary Taiwanese cultural nationalism. London: Routledge.

Klöter, Henning. 2005. *Written Taiwanese*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

_____. 2009. "Re-writing language in Taiwan," in: Fang-long Shih, Stuart Thompson and Paul-François Tremlett (eds.). *Re-writing culture in Taiwan*. London: Routledge, 102–122.

Li, Tengyue. 1951. Lien Yatang xiansheng de Taiwanyu yanjiu. *Taiwan Fengwu* 1 (1):16-19.

Lien, Heng. 1929. Taiyu zhengli zhi zeren. *Taiwan Minbao*.

———. 1929. Taiyu zhengli zhi touxu. *Taiwan Minbao*.

———. 1931-1932. Taiwanyu jiangzuo. *San liu jiu xiao bao*.

———. 1932. Yayan. *San liu jiu xiao bao*.

———. 1957. *Taiwan yudian*. Taipei: Zhonghua Congshu Weiyuanhui.

———. 1986. *Taiwan yudian*. Taipei: Dahong Tushu Gongsi. Original edition, 1957.

———. 2001. *Taiwan yudian*. Tainan: Shifeng Chubanshe. Original edition, 1957.

Legge, James. 1871. *The Chinese Classics with a translation, critical and exegetical notes, prolegomena, and copius indexes: vol. iv, part i, the first part of the She-king, or the Lessons from the States, and the Prolegomena*. 5 vols. Vol. 4. Oxford: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press.

———. 1885. *The sacred books of China: The texts of Confucianism, Part iii*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

Lin, Pei-Yin. 2009. "Nativist rhetoric in contemporary Taiwan," in: Chin-chuan Cheng, I-chun Wang and Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek (eds.). *Cultural discourse in Taiwan*. Kaohsiung: National Sun Yat-sen University, pp. 52–77.

Lü Meiqin 呂美親. 2010. 黃石輝 [Huang Shihui]. In: Encyclopedia of Taiwan. Internet source: http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/content?ID=7591, date of access 5 January 2010.

Lü Xingchang 呂興昌. 1996. 頭戴台灣天-腳踏台灣地：論黃石輝台語文學兮觀念佮實踐 [Over your head is the Taiwanese sky. Your feet walk on Taiwanese soil: On the ideas and the practice of Huang Shihui's Taiwanese literature]. Internet source: http://ws.twl.ncku.edu.tw/hak-chia/l/li-heng-chhiong/thau-ti.htm, date of access: 5 January 2010.

Lo, Ch'ang P'ei (Luo Changpei). 1930. *Phonetics and Phonology of the Amoy Dialect*. Vol. 4, *The National Research Institute of History and Philology Monograph A*. Beiping: Academia Sinica.

Nakajima, Toshio 中島利郎, ed. 2003. 1930 年代台灣鄉土文學論戰資料彙編 [A collection of materials on the Taiwanese *xiangtu* literature debate in the 1930s]. Kaohsiung: Chunhui chubanshe 春暉出版社.

Nienhauser, William H. 1986. *The Indiana companion to traditional Chinese literature*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Schwarcz, Vera. 1986. *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

ShiYilin 施懿琳. 2004. 黃石輝 [Huang Shihui]. In: Lin Rengqian 林礽乾 et al. (ed.) 臺灣文化事典 / Taiwan Culture Encyclopedia. Taipei: Shida Renwen Zhongxin, pp. 829–831.

Spolsky, Bernard. 2009. *Language management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Waley, Arthur. 1938. *The Analects of Confucius, translated and annotated by Arthur Waley*. London: George Allen & Unwin.

Wu, Shouli. 1955. *Jin wushi nian lai Taiyu yanjiu zhi zong chengji*. Taipei: Dali Chubanshe.

Wu, Shu-hui. 2005. *Lien Heng (1878-1936). Taiwan's Search for Identity and*

Tradition. Bloomington: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies.

Yao, Rongsong. 1986. Daodu. In *Taiwan yudian.* Taipei: Dahong Tushu Gongsi.

Zhang, Taiyan. 1917-1919. Xin fangyan. In *Zhangshi congshu, shanghan, liu qi ce*. Hangzhou: Zhejiang Tushuguan.

Chia-Sui Crystal Sun 孫嘉穗

Impact of media on Taiwanese Literature: Examples from the Publishing and Creative Industries

This paper regards publishing as one kind of media and explores Taiwan literature in the framework of media, culture and society. With the development of new technology and the cultural policy of promoting cultural creative industries, Taiwanese literature has been transformed to different media forms to interact with Taiwanese cultural and society.

The aim of this research focuses on the following areas:

(1) the impact of new technology, its effect upon the development of the publishing industry and its link to Taiwanese literature

(2) the connection between Taiwanese literature, publishing, and cultural creative industries

(3) media space and cultural landscape: how the contents of a book can be transformed into different cultural forms, cultural products, different media forms and in so doing, change cultural landscape

(4) cultural development through Taiwanese literature.

Taiwanese literature has been regarded as the concept of 'text' in this paper and explored off mainstream perspectives. People access Taiwanese literature through different media forms. The media impact of Taiwanese literature, when transformed to different media forms, connects with different social issues such as indigenous movements. Cultural imagination transforms stories to interact with history, local cultural landscapes and media space to connect with local people and form new networks.

With the development of new technology, 'books' have been transformed into different formats. Publishing has moved from traditional printed forms to digital formats and literature can now be read through different platforms. In recent years, Taiwanese literature has been adapted to various media forms through the increasing attention of the cultural creative industry, which has been promoted in

Taiwan by the driving force of cultural policy and commerce. New possibilities open for audiences to access Taiwanese literature through different media and reading platforms. However, in going from printed to other media forms problems of cultural translation may also occur that could transform the cultural meaning of literature. This paper attempts to draw attention to the impact of media upon Taiwanese literature and argues that although cultural development through new technology and creative industry brings new ways for Taiwanese literature to reach wider audiences, the new developments may also have a negative effect upon Taiwanese literature. The awareness of cultural interpretation through the adaptation process must be taken into account to ensure that Taiwanese literature maintains its essence through the changing media environment and social change of the new technology development.

This paper will deal with some of the opportunities and challenges that the Taiwanese publishing industry is confronted with in the transition from a dominant printed media to an increasing digital media format. Special attention will be paid to the position of Taiwanese literature in this changing process.

New Technology and Taiwanese Literature

This paper first explores the transformation of the publishing industry from the overview perspectives. The opportunities and challenges transforming Taiwanese literature from print to digital media will be addressed. Ylib publishing house will be taken as an example to show the attempt by a Taiwanese publishing house to adopt the digital media format. This section will also show how Ylib publishing house confronted the challenge of facing a small market, copyright issues and new reading platforms.

The form of books has changed and developed in various ways in recent years. Books on the Internet, CD ROM, video books, audio-books etc. have changed the concept of books as being an exclusively printed medium. The new cultural forms referred to above have expanded the possibilities for books and provided new avenues for them to cross borders when publishers target global markets.

To increase the sale of books some publishers link books to other merchandise. For example, the contents of a book can be extended to link with a computer game or other spin-off product, which adds to the book's popularity in countries beyond the country of origin. Sometimes the contents of a book are reproduced in another form, such as TV drama, cartoon, a film, comic book or the basis of computer software and electronic games that were suitable for global markets. Therefore, books link with other cultural creative industries thereby providing the audience access to the literature through different media forms.

Electronic Data Base and New Forms for Books

The case of the Yanliu publishing house shows some ambitious new projects on the part of Taiwanese publishers to connect printed books to the new media and in so doing to explore new possibilities. The Yanliu publishing house is building a huge electronic database within the Chinese language market, this could become a resource for many kinds of book production. The database can be used to store the content of books. The publisher believes that 'Content is king'. Mr. Wang, the publisher of Yanliu, said "Content can be transformed into different forms." By building this electronic database, the Yanliu publishing house wishes to be able to produce books 'of any kind, using any format and in any place'.

Ylib publishing house is the pioneer in transforming publications from print media to digital media formats in Taiwan. Readers in Taiwan can purchase e-book versions from its website http://www.ylib.com/activity/Ebook/reading.htm. Ylib Koobe e-book system provides many literature titles. Among titles available are folk stories of Taiwanese aboriginal literature. The electronic version of aboriginal folk stories with pictures and each aboriginal folk book contains different aboriginal historical, cultural and custom background.

Although e-Book versions of printed books are still in the early stages of the development in Taiwan, they can provide different functions compared with the mainstream printed formats. E-book format provides new possibilities for issues which relate to languages, ethnicities and media of Taiwanese literature. For

example, e-book format enables the means of promoting aboriginal languages and culture. Many aboriginal languages have only existed in the spoken form and do not have written form. E-book format provides opportunities for the book to be read in aboriginal language, at the same time, with subtitles in written forms so that it can meet the needs of readers with different ethnic backgrounds.

New technology not only changes the production process of publishing, it also provides new opportunities for different reading platforms. With the development of new technology, readers can read Taiwanese literature from mobile phones and different reading platforms.

Although new possibilities have been provided, the Taiwanese publishing house confronted the challenge of facing a small market and copyright issues. The convergence of new technology with traditional publishing house methods requires more capital. With a small market and the problem of illegal copying, many publishing houses are hesitating to make the investment to transform the print format to digital format. Also copyright issues require authorization from authors', however, some authors are not willing to give rights for the electronic version. All of the above reasons make it difficult for the publishing house to transform the Taiwanese literature to digital formats.

New technology provides new possibilities for the ethnic minorities to voice their stories by different media forms. The shift from print to multimedia forms of publishing industry also enables aboriginal literature to express the stories by aboriginal languages in oral media format.

The Internet, for example, has heralded a new era in communications. On one hand, it has created unprecedented opportunities for ethnic minorities to communicate their world views, their cultural products, their commerce, to a global audience. On the other hand, the Internet facilitates unauthorized reproduction and dissemination of digital images, documents, etc., and thus enables ongoing exploitation of ethnic minorities and undermines the control of knowledge and information they have strived for (Alia and Bull, 2005: 104).

Although new technology provides new ways to spread and promote Taiwanese literature, when stories have been adopted by different media forms, different commercial forces may transform the literature. The institution who own the media may change stories to suit its commercial needs or for political reasons. Stories having certain types of plot e.g. conflicts, may be softened to become acceptable to wider audiences. Although it may have more channels by which to bring its literature to a wider audience aboriginal literature may lose cultural interpretation by being transposed by people who are not the people who own the media: the new production process may change the literature to fit its media forms and meet the needs for the new audience.

The convergence of media transforms the ways to access literature. Readers are not only can read the book but also can listen, watch and interact with the literature. For the young generation, digital literature provide new ways to access the stories and literature with the mobile reading platform re-define the publishing and open new path to experience the stories.

The Transformation of Taiwanese Literature to Cultural Creative Industries

This section focuses on ways in which Taiwanese literature interfaces with new media: the transformation of Taiwanese literature from print media to a variety of media forms. Different media forms and case studies reveal ways by which Taiwanese literature goes beyond its printed format to reach different audiences. This will be illustrated with examples such as the transformation of indigenous stories into cartoon media format. It is my intention to reveal issues that surface from the interaction among publishing and creative industries.

The development of new technology publishing industry enables books to be transformed from printed form to a range of media forms. Stories may have started as books, then been adapted to radio, TV drama, film, cartoon, musical, or become the main theme of a cultural festival, museum, or even transform the cultural landscape in which the stories were originally set.

During the processes of adaption, literature has been transformed into different kinds of media products to reach wider audiences: the cultural capital has been expended when literature extended to varieties of media forms.

How do the political and economic factors of media influence cultural production when literature is transformed into different media forms? How does indigenous literature transform to different cultural creative industries?

The cases of production of *Princess Banenn* and *Legend of the Atayal shooting Suns* stories reveal ways of aboriginal stories being adapted to motion picture and cartoon formats. *Princess Banenn* is an aboriginal love story which has been adapted to different media formats. From its printed form, it has been adapted to music and song by aboriginal singers. The story was also transformed into motion pictures with aboriginal folklore. Motion picture production with modern design brought about new life for a traditional love story but with traditional aboriginal songs as background music. The new production attracts the young generation of aboriginal people and brings new visual experience for non-aboriginal audiences to access aboriginal culture.

The *Legend of the Atayal shooting Suns* story comes from the legend of Atayal tribe, it is another attempt to transform the original story into cartoon format. The story is about the journey of Atayal young people shooting one of the two Suns. The cartoon with cute figures makes the story easy to access for an audience of all ages. The production also adds humorous plots that appeal to children. Although the cartoon provides easy access to aboriginal culture, the cultural translation from printed to cartoon format may transform the focus of the legend. The cartoon format keeps the story line in a simple way but it may have lost the cultural background of aboriginal life during a specific time.

Joanna Hearne pointed out that new indigenous animation productions intervene in the conteste sites of media and education in several ways:

(1) films represent pedagogical iconographies as scenes of storytelling rather than scenes of classroom education, (2) they draw on and redirect the conventions of animated media, including opening and closing credits and images, voice acting, trickster and storytelling characters, in ways that assert native control over visual and aural representations, (3) they acknowledge children, especially indigenous children, as producers and receivers of knowledge embedded in people and languages from culturally specific tribal traditions, and (4) they offer alternatives to English-language, acculturating, mass media cartoons by presenting native-controlled images that counter productions of stereotypically noble or villainous Indianness in Disney and other animated films (Hearne, 2008: 89-90).

Another example, *Seediq Bale,* shows an attempt to adapt the aboriginal story to film. The story is about the hero of Seediq tribe. The hero is the representative figure of aboriginals who were against Japanese during the Japanese colonization.

The film is the biggest production ever made in Taiwan about an aboriginal story. However, it is controversial in many ways. Although the film meant to promote the aboriginal hero, the director Wei Te-Shen, from Han background, touched upon issues about who owned the rights to give the cultural interpretation of an aboriginal story.

The positive aspect of the film is that it uses the aboriginal oral language in the film, so it gives authenticity to the story; it can address in aboriginal language that which the printed form can not do.

From 1960s to the present day, indigenous peoples have created connections across cultural, geographical and political boundaries. The reasons are mainly strategic, to strengthen their power on the world stage. At the centre of what is called a 'pan-indigenous' movement is a burgeoning network of media and communications. The communications are directed towards both insider and outsider news consumers, and to more generalized socio-political organizational and lobbying activities. (Alia and Bull, 2005:104)

Taiwan literature also plays a role to provoke the pan-indigenous movement: an indigenous writer such as Shaman Rapongan is a distinctive example. He has participated in indigenous social movements in Taiwan for a long time. His work expresses the social condition of indigenous people and gives many details about island life, the sea and cultural custom about the tribe. Although he writes in Han people' language, his works helps non-indigenous people better their understanding of indigenous cultural and social life; readers are more aware of indigenous issues and the inequality of their social condition.

However, whether there is a pan-indigenous identity emergence forming through increased indigenous literature probably remains to be questioned. The works of Shaman Rapongan are popular with and familiar to non-indigenous audiences. However, in his tribe, being a writer sometime does not raise his social status within his tribe. He has been asked to demonstrate his ability to fish in order to prove he can be a man of the tribe. Also his writing must continue to be written using Han people's language for it to appeal more to non-indigenous audiences. He gained his recognition through Han people for being a distinctive indigenous writer, but whether his work inspires the pan-indigenous identities with different points of view with different people is uncertain.

The TV drama *Dana Sakura* which was produced by public television in Taiwan is another adaptation of Taiwanese literature. The story is about the aboriginal hero who fought against Japan during the colonized period. *Dana Sakura* catches the attention of indigenous people and the story fits the multicultural agenda for public television to have a voice for different ethnic groups. The actors include a famous indigenous dance group instructor and an indigenous popular singer. The fan culture appeals to the audiences to discuss the TV drama. For many young indigenous people who participate in the acting of *Dana Sakura*, it also reinforces the sense of indigenous identity. However, there is some criticism about how representative of the tribes. Some actors play roles for tribes other than their own. Indigenous audiences recognise actors who do not represent their own tribe, although they are all indigenous people. The sense of identity of actors not playing roles true to their tribe resulted in criticism from the audience who felt

that the production should have paid more attention to the cultural differences among different tribes and how that would fit to the historical background of the story. Another issue is about who owns the power, i.e. has the authority, to determine the cultural interpretation of the stories. The production is not necessarily produced by indigenous people; sometimes people of a different ethnic background will look at the story with a different viewpoint and understanding. The production process may be limited by financial constraints thus necessitating compromises in different ways, even to the extent that the story's original intent may be lost.

Literature not only interacts with local people, in some cases, literature also reshapes the cultural landscape. The cultural landmark and cultural trail of Li-Ho shows how a story became alive and continues to extend into various cultural activities and social networks. Cho Li-Ho's museum and cultural park and related literature activities have also reshaped the local cultural landscape and connected with cultural imagination and memory.

Cultural and Development of Taiwanese Literature

In this section, the future development of Taiwanese literature in its interaction with cultural creative industries will be discussed in more detail. Attention will be paid to the importance of creativity between languages, ethnicities and media.

Although in many ways aboriginal literature has been regarded as marginalized in Taiwanese literature, in recent years, under the umbrella of promoting Taiwan in cultural perspective, aboriginal literature has been brought into the spotlight for its authenticity to represent Taiwan. The aboriginal stories also reach global markets via their electronic versions and other media formats.

In Australia, cultural creative industries have been promoted with aboriginal culture because they can create job opportunities for aboriginal people. The production of good cultural creative products can express aboriginal points of view and further economic growth. The production of good aboriginal media not only strengthens the identity among aboriginal people, it also becomes a bridge to

non-aboriginal ethnic people and has a positive effect for the acceptance of aboriginal people in society and makes visible the aboriginal culture.

Although there are positive effects for the cultural media production which adapted aboriginal literature, sometimes commercial factors may twist aboriginal culture into something far removed from its original meaning. To transform printed work into other media formats usually demands more cultural capital to enable production. Due to lack of funding from aboriginal people, production often includes people from other ethnic backgrounds. In some cases, unfortunately negatively, aboriginal literature only becomes material that enables non aboriginal people to produce cultural goods to make a profit; the outcome being of no benefit whatsoever to aboriginal people. Conflict between aboriginal and non aboriginal people arises because aboriginal people often feel that people from other ethnicities took advantage of them and they lost the right to give their own cultural interpretation; other people got to know their literature and media production through the interpretation of other ethnicities groups.

Alia (2004) pointed out 'New Media Nation' which is the international movement in which minority people, particularly indigenous people are "creating and running their own media and programming and projecting their voices across cultural, political and geographical boundaries". Some examples can found from Sami media in Arctic Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia; Iwi (tribal) Radio and the Aotearoa Maori Television network in Aotearoa; Aboriginal programming in Australia and Torres Strait Islands; and the emergence of indigenous radio, television, literary publications and a music industry under Greenland Home Rule (Alia and Bull, 2005). Canadian Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN) became a gateway to promote multiculturalism by a service having two main functions: to provide programming by and for indigenous people in several indigenous languages plus French and English; and to enhance multicultural understanding among minority peoples, and between minority and majority peoples (Alia and Bull, 2005).

The 'New Media Nation' movement "explores the progression from experiences of colonial domination to cultural revival and survival "(Alia and Bull, 2005). Taiwan literature in many ways echoes the cultural revival of 'New Media Nation'. More and more indigenous writers create the literature to emphasize their ethnic background. Publication becomes a media form to strengthen the ethnic identity and is a bridge to communicate with other ethnic groups.

Examing the problems and challenges of Native American Media, Ritva Levo-Henriksson pointed out three central functions of ethnic minority media.

(1) the preservation of linquistic and cultural identity, or, in another words, the promotion of group uniqueness, (2) the promotion of integration, which is needed to maintain contact with the majority culture, and (3) the education of the majority population. Of these, the preservation of linguistic and cultural identity, including the cultural traditions of an ethnic minority, is the most vulnerable area of ethnic media operation. (Levo-Henriksson, 2007:32)

Conclusion

This paper starts with the impact of new technology upon the publishing industry, it explores how new technology provides new possibilities for Taiwanese literature and ways in which e-books can keep oral languages and have written subtitles for readers from different ethnic backgrounds. The paper moves to show how Taiwanese literature has adapted to different media forms and linked with cultural creative industries. Although different media formats provide new ways for audiences to access aboriginal literature, in some cases it also gave the rights of cultural interpretation to people of other ethnicities. The adapted cultural production may only be of commercial benefit and thereby lose opportunities to emphasize aboriginal culture adapted from aboriginal literature. Whether the development of minority media should be controlled by aboriginal people is a debatable issue. However, to keep aboriginal culture, and not be solely concerned with commercial matters, demands use of specialist media production to adapt aboriginal literature, to reinforce aboriginal identity, so that the cultural development of aboriginal people may be enhanced.

Culture has become a major force of economic and social change. The transformation of Taiwanese literature is connected to local identity, cultural preservation, fan culture network, reshaping local landscape, city renovation and cultural consumption; all very positive. However, in addition to the positive side, an awareness of the danger of impact that culture products which transform Taiwanese literature must be maintained. Products have been used for political and commercial motivation, far removed from their original meaning and intent.

Bibliography:

Alia Valerie, Bull Simone (2005) 'From colonization to cultural revival: homeland,

Diaspora and the 'New Media Nation', *Media and Ethnic Minorities* , Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Hearne Joanna (2008) 'Indigenous Animation:Educational Programming, Native Interventions, and Children's Culture', in Pamela Wilson and Michelle Stewart (eds), *Global Indigenous Media*, Duke University Press, 89-108.

Ritva Levo-Henriksson (2007) *Media and Ethnic Identity—Hopi Views on Media, Identity, and Communication*, London: Routledge.

Liang-ya Liou

Cultural Translation in Tian Yage's Short Stories

Abstract

Confronted with the decline of indigenous traditions as a result of multi-colonization, the Beinan writer Sun Da-chuan laments in 1991 that the Taiwanese aboriginal cultural decline is irreversible. While this might not be the case with all the twelve aboriginal ethnic groups, it foretold a dismal future that was generally anticipated. A cultural revivalist movement ensued, with some aboriginal intellectuals returning to their tribes to re-learn their cultural heritage and collect oral histories from the elders. Retrospectively, this revivalist movement signifies both a construction of cultural identity vis-à-vis the center and a cultural revival within the tribe. Although the articles and books published by these intellectuals may have more Han readers than aboriginal ones, the work of some intellectuals in the tribe helps preserve and revive rituals, dances, stories, legends, and festivals. These intellectuals find their cultures threatened by modernity in the form of (1) capitalism, which leads to pollution of their land and their impoverishment, and (2) the nation-state, which assimilates and destroys their culture through the State Apparatuses. At the same time as they are attacking modernity and reclaiming cultural identity, however, all of them are themselves at the crossroads between past and present, between traditional tribal knowledge and modernity. Writing in mandarin Chinese rather than their native tongue, they are furthermore putting themselves in the position of translator in multiple senses. Cultural translation is thus an issue faced by indigenous intellectuals under modernity and tied up to the issue of indigenous culture under Taiwanese modernity. This paper seeks to explore how a precursor to Sun Da-chuan, the Bunun writer Tian Yage (Tuobasi Tamapima) deals with this theme in three of his short stories "Tuobasi Tamapima," "The Last Hunter," and "The Wake," and how

the narrators of these stories negotiate between two languages, cultures, and epistemologies through cultural translation.

Key words: indigenous culture, Taiwanese modernity, cultural translation, Tien Yaco (Tuobasi Tamapima)

During a parliamentary election campaign in December 2007, the Kuomingtang (abbreviated to KMT) presidential candidate Ma Ying-jiou surprised many people when he condescendingly addressed an aboriginal community which had lived on the margins of Taipei for more than thirty years: "I'm treating you like humans.... Since you have come to our city, I will give you a good education." Although both the KMT and the KMT-affiliated media tried to exonerate him, the clearly racist remarks cannot but reveal a Han's or more specifically a Mainlander's ethnocentrism and discrimination against indigenous peoples. Gone is the familiar Ma who often speaks a simple phrase in different aboriginal languages as well as Minnan and Hakka to show his endorsement of multiculturalism and multi-ethnicity. As the Democratic Progressive Party presidential candidate Hsieh Chang-ting pointed out, when one says "I'm treating you like humans," one means: "you're actually no humans." Apart from Ma's implicit animal metaphor, which suggests the barbarous/civilized, you/we binarisms, it is worth noting that Ma duplicates an old KMT discourse that valorizes urban modernity and disparages indigenous cultures as backward and primitive. Speaking in the tone of a former mayor of Taipei, Ma implicitly refers to the aborigines as the "mountain people" (a derogatory term one uses during KMT's rule) whom he would only reluctantly allow to "trespass" on the terrain of civilization (i.e. "our city") on condition that they receive a "modern" education. One major irony about this incident is that most of aboriginal legislators and legislative candidates failed to speak out against Ma's racism, a reticence that indicates their submissiveness and compliance to, if not complicity with, the KMT. Partly because the KMT ruled Taiwan from 1945 to 2000, many aboriginal politicians have depended for their power on the KMT, although it is the Democratic Progressive Party (founded in 1986) that has helped raise concerns about native histories and cultures and insisted on racial and ethnic equality. One may even say that some of these

aboriginal politicians are token figures who have internalized the KMT's ethnocentrism and discrimination against aborigines.

The incident is a backlash against the Aboriginal Movement which began in the early 1980s and which succeeded in 1994 in renaming in the Constitution as "aborigines" from the derogatory "mountain people." The act of self-renaming signifies the attainment of subjectivity on the part of indigenous peoples. After the issue of ethnicity has dominated for twenty years and people's views on indigenous people have changed due to the success of the Aboriginal Movement, observes Hsieh Shih-chung, Ma's remarks both outraged and discouraged the activists because he retained the old KMT thinking of the binary opposition of Han people vs barbarous peoples (Hsieh 2007). Ma's racism also reveals the difficulty of demanding aboriginal rights and reviving indigenous cultures under Taiwanese modernity. The indigenous peoples had been partially colonized by the Dutch, the Spanish, the Ming Chinese loyalists, and the Qing Chinese successively before they were colonized by Imperial Japan and later the KMT. The Dutch and the Spanish incorporated Taiwan into their modernity project in the early seventeenth century, whereas the Qing China did not start to modernize Taiwan until the last ten years of its rule from 1885 to 1895. But it is Imperial Japan that first carried out a comprehensive, systematic modernity project, which included instilling notions of the nation-state by reconstituting the population into modern subjects. Japanese colonial modernity underlined the nation-state, capitalism, modern medicine and hygiene, technological progress, agribusiness, modern education, modern military forces, and discourses such as science, medicine, biology, and anthropology. Native cultures were generally viewed as inferior; native folk beliefs, be they aboriginal, Minnan, or Hakka, were deemed as superstitious. Although anti-Japanese on the surface, the KMT, which fled to Taiwan in exile from China in 1949, continues the Japanese modernity project to a great extent, with very similar emphases. One major difference is that the KMT's claim of the nation-state projected an imaginary unified China, which was untenable in reality. Another major difference is that the KMT marginalized and further assimilated aborigines by banning their languages in public discourse and destroying their cultures and historical memories (Sun 2000).

Confronted with the decline of indigenous traditions as a result of multi-colonization, the Beinan writer Sun Da-chuan laments in 1991 that the Taiwanese aboriginal cultural decline is irreversible (Sun 1991). While this might not be the case with all the twelve aboriginal ethnic groups, it foretold a dismal future that was generally anticipated. A cultural revivalist movement ensued, with some aboriginal intellectuals returning to their tribes to re-learn their cultural heritage and collect oral histories from the elders. Retrospectively, this revivalist movement signifies both a construction of cultural identity vis-à-vis the center and a cultural revival within the tribe. Although the articles and books published by these intellectuals may have more Han readers than aboriginal ones, the work of some intellectuals in the tribe helps preserve and revive rituals, dances, stories, legends, and festivals. These intellectuals find their cultures threatened by modernity in the form of (1) capitalism, which leads to pollution of their land and their impoverishment, and (2) the nation-state, which assimilates and destroys their culture through the State Apparatuses. At the same time as they are attacking modernity and reclaiming cultural identity, however, all of them are themselves at the crossroads between past and present, between traditional tribal knowledge and modernity. Writing in mandarin Chinese rather than their native tongue, they are furthermore putting themselves in the position of translator in multiple senses. Cultural translation is thus an issue faced by indigenous intellectuals under modernity and tied up to the issue of indigenous culture under Taiwanese modernity. This paper seeks to explore how a precursor to Sun Da-chuan, the Bunun writer Tian Yage (Tuobasi Tamapima) deals with this theme in three of his short stories "Tuobasi Tamapima," "The Last Hunter," and "The Wake," and how the narrators of these stories negotiate between two languages, cultures, and epistemologies through cultural translation.

Tian Yage (Tuobasi Tamapima) is renowned for his aboriginal short stories collected in The Last Hunter (1987) and Lovers and Prostitutes (1992). Both collections of short stories show concerns over problems confronted by indigenous people living in the tribe or in the city, such as the loss of hunting ground, the dominant society's discrimination against and exploitation of indigenous people, the loss of population due to migration to cities, the younger

generations' assimilation into mainstream culture, the cultural gaps and conflicts of values between old and younger generations, the conflicts between men and women, and prostitution. At the same time, these stories also delve into indigenous people's traditional beliefs, ceremonies, taboos, and mythologies. Although many stories are set in the tribe, the relationship between the tribe and the city is a theme covertly or overtly treated in nearly all the stories. That the city represents the center of colonial modernity whose influence has penetrated the tribe is another implicit theme throughout the stories. The first story of The Last Hunter entitled "Tuobasi Tamapima," for instance, portrays the first-person narrator as a college student coming back to his tribe with city habits; the story seems autobiographical because the author's aboriginal name is Tuobasi Tamapima. Although his voice is subdued among multiple communal voices when he boards a truck, it is his voice that frames the whole story. At the outset, the narrator is mistaken for a Han by an old sentry. Although he immediately tells the old man his true identity, he gloats over the mistake: "I have become so white that people don't recognize me as a mountain fellow. So I'm superior to my people in the tribe" (Tian 1987:17). Obviously he has internalized Han values and disparages indigenous values; here "white" is a social register that refers not only to the color of skin but also speech and manners. He displays similar split consciousness as the truck approaches his tribe. Contrasting the sight of the dim and quiet tribe with that of the shining and boisterous city in his memories, he regrets coming back. Only the thought of his mother welcoming him urges him to go home. If the author uses his Bunun name in place of his Han name to show his true identity, he shows that he is a modern aboriginal intellectual plagued by split consciousness.

In this story, the conflict between the city and the tribe is one between modernity and indigenous beliefs and values. The narrator is evidently attracted more to the city and its values despite his critique on them. Apart from presenting the narrator's divided consciousness, the story also depicts the heteroglossia on the truck, with a spectrum of positions on modernity. The driver, who used to show his gift for hunting and sniping when young, now hates farming life and makes a living by driving a second-hand truck. He had attended a military school in order

to get a watch and a handbag and had obtained a pension when he was discharged, the sight of which money became a spectacle when he returned to the tribe. Whereas tribal people used to exchange one thing for another rather than using money, money is aligned with modernity together with notions of commodity. That the pension the driver had earned after so many years of work in the military can only afford him to buy a second-hand truck indicates the aborigine's poverty in money economy. Despite differences among them, younger generations on the truck like money, commodities, and modern conveniences, whereas old men tend to have reservations about modern ways of lives. Hunter Omas not only dislikes young people who have lost the ancestor's ability to run and chase after animals bare-footed but considers money the filthiest thing in the world. He believes that indigenous people should stick to traditional life of farming and hunting rather than receive education or work in factories, for he thinks they cannot compete with city people in academic performance and are often mistreated when they work in factories. As far as ecological issues are concerned, he argues that stopping hunting is against nature, that the hunter only helps balance the animal's lives in the woods. He attacks the Forestry Bureau for destroying the animal's home despite that it has established national reserves. He tells a story about a group of monkeys discussing over being forced to move constantly because the old forest is replaced by plantation forest, which deprives them of hiding places and food. Thus, Hunter Omas's criticism on the KMT's policy for depriving aborigines of their hunting rights entails contesting epistemologies about how to keep ecological balance.

To the people on the truck the narrator serves as the translator of the laws of the government while at the same time to the reader he also supplies knowledge unobtrusively about what these people think of the institutions and Han people by presenting their speech and thought. Take the conversation on cutting trees for example. Hunter Dian, who shares Hunter Omas's beliefs in traditional values, cannot make out why he is charged with stealing national property by the Forestry Bureau simply because he cuts a tree in the wilderness. The narrator explains that it is now stipulated that those precious trees belong to the Forestry Bureau, which alone has the right to cut trees. To avoid violating the law again, the narrator

cautions him against cutting trees outside aboriginal reserves. Staring at the narrator, Hunter Omas objects by saying that before those who speak Mandarin came, those trees belong to the forest and one can always cut trees to make furniture. The narrator then muses to himself that he is unable to make these elders understand the spirit of a democratic country, for they have been free to hunt, fish, and farm ever since they were born; they were taught to abide by the tribesman's customs rather than national laws. It is worth noting that Hunter Omas calls the narrator "college student," criticizing him for talking nonsense. The elders show contempt for the narrator because he represents city values to them. They believe that one should defend oneself against the invasion of other tribes or peoples. On the other hand, although the narrator endorses city values mostly, he is also attracted to tribal values from time to time. While he mentions the ban on hunting, he recalls his dream to become a hunter when young and wishes to hear more hunting stories. Later on a drunkard mimics the face of a contemptuous Han looking down on everyone on the truck, then mimicking Dian begging for the mercy of the narrator. Whereupon the latter reflects that since Dian did not know the law, he should not have been punished. Such reflection indicates that the narrator negotiates between tribal values and city values. To the extent that the reader may not be familiar with Bunun tribal values, the narrator also serves as a translator for him/her.

A number of important issues are raised and discussed by riders on the truck, which give us a picture of the problems confronted by indigenous people. When a young woman expresses her intention to send her son to school, the narrator feels reassured that he can at least expect respect from younger generations who know the value of intellect and education. Implicit here is his critique on the elders for naively believing that aborigines can survive by insisting on the old ways, when the outside world has undergone tremendous changes. On the other hand, the narrator cannot help being attracted to indigenous tradition to some extent, especially the stories about hunting, taboos, and mythologies. In recording instead of giving his answer or solution to the debates between Taiwan modernity and indigenous culture, the narrator both invites the reader to participate in the conversation and serves as a translator between two languages and two cultures.

Again, this is an idiosyncratically implied role the narrator of most stories takes, as can be seen in the fact that while the stories are mostly written in mandarin Chinese, they blend some Bunun terms and phrases whose meanings are explained in the endnotes. Interestingly, some of the conversations in the stories are spoken in Bunun but presented in Chinese, which means that they are translations by the narrator. Moreover, the use of multiple communal voices in this story, which recurs in stories such as "Die of Regret" and "The Wake," carries significance in cultural translation. On the one hand, it conjoins indigenous oral culture with the modern form of short fiction. On the other, it indicates that indigenous identity is defined in relation to the indigenous community, which in turn, being heterogeneous itself, sustains indigenous culture vis-à-vis dominant culture.

In many stories, Tian presents how indigenous people are placed in a dilemma today. If traditionally a Bunun man is either a hunter or a farmer who takes pride in his physical strength, in the story "The Last Hunter" Tian shows how the encroaching modernity threatens his world. The hunter Biaz goes to the forest after a fight with his wife Pasulang but has difficulty finding his preys due to the decrease of animals in number. What's worse, in order to avoid accusations of poaching and owning an unlicensed gun, he has to bribe a police officer by giving him the best of his game. Biaz sticks to the traditional role of a hunter and a farmer, despite that he had hated his traditional father for giving him a hard life when he was young. At the urge of his wife, he had once tried to earn more money by getting a temporary job as a worker, yet he was unfairly laid off after working diligently for five days for a Han. As his experience outside the tribe makes him feel cheated and humiliated, he stops getting temporary jobs again although his wife keeps nagging at him. Feeling safe and content in the tribe, he comes to realize that, with the intervention of the nation-state, even the tribe is no longer a self-sustaining paradise. A great proportion of forest is turned into national property so that what used to be traditional hunting ground becomes off limits. Biaz is no longer allowed to hunt freely like his ancestors because the government has banned hunting in the national forest and laid down gun and powder control regulations. Moreover, land development has brought along

humans, roads, and cars, which has intruded upon the living space of animals and forced them to run away to higher mountains. Even in his own woods, animals are decreasing so rapidly that he has no use of his hunting skills. If he used to feel proud that he is a great hunter, he is faced with the possibility that one day he may have neither preys nor hunting ground.

Although Biaz remains too optimistic and confident to linger on that thought, the narrator suggests otherwise for the tribe is under the influence of modernity. For one thing, the need of money presents itself as a new value in place of the traditional one that puts a premium on self-sufficiency and self-reliance within the tribe. Whereas aborigines used to emphasize endurance and physical strength, Pasulang is typical of present-day aborigines who complain about the cold house and scant clothing. Thus in order to have a better living condition in winter, many people would find temporary work down the mountains after the harvest. For another, the nation-state is embodied in the Mainlander police officer who disparages Biaz as a "savage" and charges him with breaking the law by his very act of hunting. Evidently speaking from a Han chauvinistic point of view, the officer denigrates aborigines as cruel, lazy, dirty, backward, uneducated, unlawful, and shameless. On top of all these humiliations, he threatens Biaz by saying that "All you hunters should be put into jail to be educated." (Note that his remarks display the same racism and ethnocentrism as Ma Ying-jiou's understatements, which is not surprising given that both men are products and agents of KMT ideology.) He undermines his own rhetoric, though, when he turns out to be a hypocrite who suggests that Biaz bribe his way out by giving him the best of his game. The depiction of the police officer generally fits the impression that under the KMT's rule, only those civil servants who had been guilty of grave misconduct or are physically ill are sent to the mountains. It is worth noting that the police officer judges the aborigine's degree of education and civilization by his/her command of Mandarin Chinese. Likewise, he demands Biaz's Chinese name and ignores his tribal name. In so doing, the officer denies not only the values of indigenous cultures and languages but the subjectivity of indigenous people. One may say that the police officer embodies the KMT's assimilation policy toward aborigines.

The narrator plays an important role in cultural translation. Due to his bilingual background, he is able to serve as a translator between the two cultures and languages. In portraying Biaz, the narrator shows us how his concerns, fears, and joys are tied to aboriginal taboos and beliefs as well as to the changing world that encroaches on him. Unable to find the real cause of Pasulang's miscarriage, Biaz blames it on her "impatient womb," while Pasulang blames it on Biaz's "maladjusted seed," witch family, and ancestor's curse. In bluffing with a fellow hunter, Biaz declares that the population of animals in the forest remains the same since, unlike men, they are free from vasectomy; in so saying he makes fun of the government's family planning program that encourages men to undergo vasectomy. The irony is that he does not know that even though animals can escape vasectomy, they are still under the influence of modernity in the form of land development and plantation forest. When Biaz runs into the police officer, the narrator depicts Biaz as both terrified by the officer's unkindness and amused to see the officer's nose resemble that of a mountain boar looking for food. Judging from the officer's greed, his observation proves correct. The narrator also presents the officer's fear of Biaz's physical strength and crescent sword as he threatens him with jailing, Biaz's compromise due to his fears of jail and Pasulang's leaving him, and Biaz's curse on the officer in Bunun. By juxtaposing Biaz's secret insistence on coming back to hunt (even without a gun) with the officer's suggestion that Biaz never be a hunter again, the narrator shows us the tension between tribal values and city values.

Apart from money economy and assimilation policy through school education and law enforcement, the KMT's modernity project also underlines the military forces with which to defend itself against the invasion of the Communists. We have discussed how in "Tuobasi Tamapima" the driver had been willing to attend a military school in exchange for a watch and a handbag. In "The Wake," Tian delves into the relationship between indigenous people and the military institutions through the death of a young aboriginal soldier. Starting with the ill omen the dead soldier's father gets right before he receives the bad news, the story shifts to the night of the funeral and the multiple voices which probe into the cause of the death. Three different versions of how and why Idik died are offered.

The first one, provided by Idik's close friend, attributes his death to his troubled love relationship with a promiscuous Atayal woman. The second one, offered by his uncle, ascribes his death to the pressures of military training, especially the shooting orders that coerce him into killing people. The third one, provided by the village officer who accompanies Idik's father to get his dead body and based on information from the military, attributes his death to emotional problems that lead to his possible disobedience to his superiors. Both of the first two versions mention that Idik had confided in a woman his wish to commit suicide, although neither woman is present to confirm it, whereas the third version wavers between seeing him as a suicide and considering him as killed by his superiors due to his disobedience. Young people tend to think that Idik kills himself because of his painful breakup with his girlfriend, whereas elders believe the real cause is that he is unable to resolve the conflict between the shooting orders and his own ethics.

Despite their differences, these views shed light on Bunun ethics and conceptions of masculinity inflected by Christianity. According to his uncle, Idik's ethics is molded by traditional Bunun beliefs in loving people on this land and inflected by Christian beliefs in universal love. Taiwanese modernity, which in the form of the nation-state stresses military forces and coercion, has compelled him to go back on his ethics. On the other hand, Idik's uncle may have broadened the Bunun notion of "people on this land" here to include other tribes and peoples. This suggests that Bunun ethics is under the influence of Christianity, which in turn shows the heritage of colonial modernity for it was missionaries who came alongside the European colonizers to convert aborigines. As far as notions of masculinity are concerned, traditionally Bununs put a premium on valor and manhood. Idik, however, is effeminate. To his uncle, Idik is tender, conscientious, kind-hearted, cowardly, and timid; to his close friend, he is shy, quiet, and a bit sissy when he speaks. According to the village officer, his apparently grief-stricken superior says that Idik demonstrates first-rate performance during military training, that he is diligent but quiet. His superior supposes that Idik should not have been afraid to speak because he spoke Mandarin Chinese with an accent. While it is debatable whether Idik re-masculinizes himself in the army or his superior re-masculinizes him after his death, a crucial issue is the possibility of

his committing suicide. Since it is generally believed that no one has ever heard of a Bunun man killing himself, even for a Bunun man to express the wish to do so is deemed as unmanly.

A relevant issue is whether one should always take care not to break taboos. As old people discuss over Idik's death, an old woman raises doubt about whether one is allowed to bring home a suicide so that friends and relatives can bid farewell to the departed. In response an elder announces that since suicides are bad deaths, they can neither be brought home nor be buried well. The elder even accuses Idik's parents of violating the Bunun taboo, given that Idik is a suicide. The harsh words drive Idik's mother to cry out loud; after she turns to whimper, Idik's father has to retort to the elder by insisting that Idik could not have been a suicide because Idik's mother had given him a bamboo necklace to protect him from evil. Nevertheless, Idik's father does not seem to be convinced of his own statements. It is likely that Idik's parents break taboo out of their love and grief for Idik. In fact, Idik's parents had violated taboo before by eating piglets which died of miscarriage—a violation that is believed by the family to bring curse on them so that Idik's mother had suffered two miscarriages before she gave birth to Idik. They gradually stop believing the curse after Idik is born, however. Early on old people had talked about taboo. Some taboos are respected, while others are deemed as odd, constraining, and superstitious. The change in attitudes toward taboos on the part of older generations indicates the influence of modernity. Nonetheless, some elders believe that violating taboo will bring bad luck to the tribe. Thus, Idik's father's insistence on Idik's not being a suicide leads to an elder's lament about the younger generations' tendency to break taboo. Such an ongoing negotiation over the issue of taboo is a negotiation between the values of indigenous culture and those of modernity.

The wake is centered on two important rituals: First, Idik's mother drives Idik's soul out of the tribe by thrashing a bunch of reeds at the corners of the house and the coffin as well as the ground as she walks along the path toward the setting sun; and second, the relatives and family friends sing an elegy in Bunun eight-note chorus to both celebrate human life so the dead Idik may be sent to heaven and to

console the souls of Idik's parents, family, and friends. And yet most young people from Idik's family cannot sing in Bunun eight-note chorus. Instead, they choose to watch the videotapes of Japanese wrestlers' matches. In their excitement about the matches, they almost forget they are mourners at the wake for Idik, that early on they had dug a hole in the public graveyard for Idik's coffin to be placed in. The juxtaposition of the ritual performers with the videotape viewers is telling of the generational gap and the tension between indigenous culture and modernity. Television and the mass media in general constitute a powerful means of modernity, even more powerful perhaps than school education because it apparently aims at entertainment rather than instruction. Without stepping outside the tribe, younger generations may become a modern Taiwanese subject by watching television, while at the same time they may disconnect themselves with Bunun oral tradition. As it turns out in the story, they can neither sing old Bunun songs nor tell Bunun stories.

As in the story "Tuobasi Tamapima," heteroglossia prevail in the story "The Wake" with different people speaking and telling stories. Since the wake is a Bunun social occasion for mourners to share stories about and sing elegies for the dead, it is a culturally important event for Bununs to relive and reenact their oral tradition. Aside from performing rituals, the mourners also tell each other Bunun stories, mythologies, legends, and taboos. Performativity is integral to oral tradition. Since it is not written down, there may be different versions of the same story. Even old people may forget and need to check with an elder about the details of a taboo. Sadly, except for the village officer, the young mourners in the story do not join the talk after the elegy. Finding himself ignorant of the old legends, stories, and taboos, the village officer is eager to learn but wishes that they could all be written down to be better understood and preserved. The old people disagree, however, pointing out the problems with a written law. An old minister argues that only when one breaks taboo do the old people explain it and then one learns about it, whereas a written law is something given and oppressive, allowing for no negotiating ground. An old woman remarks that textbooks have already replaced old people, so that young people are no longer interested in either taboos or old people. Pointing her fingers at the viewers of the wrestlers' matches,

she observes that school education has reduced the opportunities for old people and younger generations to get together. In the eyes of old people, then, school education and television are threatening to indigenous traditions because they render the latter obsolete.

Like the third-person narrator of "The Last Hunter," the third-person narrator of "The Wake" serves as a translator between two cultures, two languages, and two epistemologies in an unobtrusive way. The narrator sometimes narrates partially from different individuals' points view and sometimes from the point of view of the community. By presenting the inner thoughts of Idik's father and the village officer, for instance, the narrator not only contrasts the views of different generations but helps negotiate and translate between different positions. Idik's father is traditional but does not refrain from breaking taboo sometimes, whereas the village officer receives school education, is unfamiliar with indigenous culture, but seems interested to learn about the latter. Thus, depending on whether the reader is a traditional or a modernized Bunun, he/she can identify himself/herself with Idik's father or the village officer while seeing how his/her own position is critiqued by other positions. Most important of all, the narrator presents the multiple voices of the community and shows the power of indigenous oral culture. Though often disparaged as inferior because they have no written language, indigenous cultures in fact have rich oral traditions that entail epistemologies quite different from cultures that privilege writing. Significantly, the very form of the story "The Wake" succeeds in re-inscribing oral tradition in writing by not only transcribing speeches of diverse individuals but also presenting how stories invite stories, and legends invite legends in an ongoing development. The interaction and role-exchange between storyteller and listener distinguish the story from the novel. As Walter Benjamin notes in his "The Storyteller," whereas the novelist has secluded himself in writing, the storyteller "takes what he tells from experience—his own or that reported by others. And he in turn makes it the experience of those who are listening to his tale" (Benjamin 146). The same story is told and retold in different ways, carrying the traces of the storytellers. Always a repetition with a difference, the layers of retellings constitute a web that contain collective memories and experiences and show the living power of oral tradition.

It is noteworthy that the ongoing debate in the story "The Wake" between writing and oral expression ends in an ambivalent "both/and." On the one hand, the debate ends with the advice by an unidentified voice that "So we should get together more often and live together. If we don't want to abandon Bunun ways of living, we can't leave our tribe. In the past, taboos and legends are in the charge of the chief of the tribe. Now we depend on ourselves for the knowledge of them; the village head is not in charge of them" (Tian 1992: 11). The stress on reviving the community and oral culture in the tribe is made more urgent by the social change under modernity, with the chief of the tribe replaced by the village head. On the other, since this story, like other stories by Tian in the two collections of short stories, is presented in written form, the narrator still endorses writing. As the translator between two cultures and two languages, then, the narrator suggests that indigenous people depend on the tribe for the revival of their culture and heritage while at the same time they cannot survive without knowing how to cope with modernity. To the extent that younger generations receive compulsory school education, they are compelled to become modern subjects, which makes it even more difficult for them to cherish indigenous cultures. Just as the tension between indigenous culture and modernity is inevitable, so the modern aborigine is caught in split consciousness. The modern aborigine cannot have indigenous identity without problematizing the barbarous/civilized, backward/modern binary oppositions that underwrite modernity. At the same time, the modern aborigine needs to know both indigenous cultures and modernity well so he/she can negotiate between them. The aborigine needs to have a double vision so that he/she may critique the values of each with those of the other.

In conclusion, set in the late 1980s or early 1990s, Tian's three stories show an acute awareness of the problems with which indigenous people are confronted under Taiwanese modernity. While the multiple communal voices manifest diverse positions, the narrator, either first-person or third-person, serves as a translator between dominant culture and indigenous culture, between Chinese and Bunun. Although the stories are written mainly in Chinese, Bunun words and phrases are blended in the narrative from time to time. Moreover, some conversations and interior monologues are in fact translations by the narrator,

since they are originally spoken or thought by characters in Bunun. Thus, while indigenous people are forced to use Mandarin Chinese, the narrator is re-writing the language to make it a new indigenous language. Aside from that, the narrator re-inscribes indigenous oral tradition in writing by transcribing stories and legends the characters tell each other. In so doing, the narrator underlines his aboriginal identity without losing his claim to a modern Taiwanese subject. One may say that the narrator is implicitly re-conceptualizing the modern Taiwanese subject by demanding that ethnic diversity be taken into account, although he seems to put greater stress on reviving indigenous tradition. Tormented by split consciousness sometimes, the narrator as the translator paradoxically embraces both indigenous culture and modernity so he may survive.

Bibliography

Benjamin, Walter. 2002. "The Storyteller: Observations on the Works of Nikolai Leskov." Selected Writings. Vol. 3 (1935-1938). Eds. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings. Trans. Edmund Jephcott, Howard Eiland, and Others. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap P of Harvard UP. 143-66.

Hsieh, Shih-chung. 2007. "Our Whole Family Are Humans (wo-men quan-jia dou shi ren)." Liberty Times (zi-you shi-bao) A19, Dec. 28, 2007.

Sun, Da-chuan. 1991. "Make History Alive: The Aborigine's Past, Present, and Future (huo-chu li-shi yuanzhumin de guo-chu xian-zai yu wei-lai)." Have a Drink Infrequently (jio-jio jio yi-ci). Taipei: Zhang lao-shi. 108-26.

-----. 2000. "Language, Power, and the Construction of Subjectivity: The Example of the Issue of Taiwan Aboriginal Languages (Yu-yan quan-li he zhu-ti-xing de jian-go yi tai-wan yuan-zhu-min mu-yu wen-ti wei-li)." The Construction of Ethnic Identities Between Seams: Taiwanese Aboriginal Languages, Cultures, and Politics (Jia-fong zhong de zu-qun ren-tong tai-wan yuan-zhu-min de yu-yan wen-hua yu zheng-zhi). Taipei: Lian-he wen-xui. 34-47.

Tian, Yage (Tuobasi Tamapima). 1987. "Tuobasi Tamapima." The Last Hunter (Zui-hou de lie-ren). Taichung: Chen-xing. 15-43.

-----. 1987. "The Last Hunter (Zuei-ho de lie-ren)." The Last Hunter (Zui-hou de lie-ren). Taichung: Chen-xing. 45-74.

-----. 1992. "The Wake (An-hun zhi-yei)." Lovers and Prostitutes (Qing-ren yu ji-nu). Taichung: Chen-xing. 21-43.

Darryl Sterk[53]

Indian Giver?
Gift Economy in Aboriginal Literature from Taiwan[54]

The gift is a theme in literary works since the 1980s about Taiwan's aboriginal peoples, both by Chinese writers and by aboriginal writers. This paper explores this theme, drawing on the anthropological tradition on gift economy and exploring what significance "aboriginal writings," about and by aboriginal people, on the gift have for that tradition. The two guiding ideas of the paper are that gift giving seems to foster community, but also that in modern society there is a tension, an uneasy coexistence, between, gift economy and commodity economy. A third, related, guiding idea, will appear later in the paper, when the aboriginal relation to the natural world is discussed

I begin with a discussion of the anthropological tradition of gift theorizing and explore what scholars in other fields, including literary criticism, have made of it. In this section I define crucial terms, especially "gift economy". Then I look at works by male Han Chinese writers, in particular Ye Shitao and Wu He. Male

---

[53] The writer is a full-time sessional at the rank of Assistant Professor in Chinese language, literature and translation in the Department of East Asian Studies at the University of Alberta, Canada. He welcomes any commentary on this paper at shidailun@gmail.com.

54 This paper is based on a chapter of my PhD dissertation on national interethnic romance in Taiwan. I discuss the national interethnic romance, in which a national meaning is read into relations aboriginal women and Chinese men, in a recent book chapter ("Romancing the Formosan Aborigine" in *Becoming Taiwan*), a more accessible representation of the main lines of the dissertation. But the present paper may seem somewhat unfocused, as it includes material from the dissertation while adding new material. Being unfocused is not usually a virtue in a conference paper, and I apologize in advance for the length while maintaining that an artificial focus should not be imposed on thought when it is still too wild to be tamed. In the conference presentation I will only glance at the Chinese writings and focus on fiction by aboriginal writers as well as a recent documentary, speculating on what relevance these materials have for gift theory.

Chinese writers like Ye and Wu have had an obsession with the image of the aboriginal women. The aboriginal maiden became the ultimate Nativist object of desire, a symbol of the island of Taiwan, in writings by Taiwanese nationalist authors; in earlier works, from before 1980, she was an object of desire for Chinese writers, but in these works she tended to become Chinese, as the object of Chinese pedagogy. Both Ye Shitao's short story series *Last of the Siraya* 西拉雅族的末裔 and Wu He's novel *Survivors* 餘生 are centered around romance between Chinese men and aboriginal women. Interestingly, the gift givers in both cases are women. In my dissertation, the figure of the gift giving aboriginal woman in the 1990s is presented as an antidote to the image of the abject aboriginal prostitute typical in cultural production of the 1980s, but here the main concern is the supposed community building property of the gift. Having discussed these two works, I then move on to discuss the dubious gift at the climax of a major novel, *Beguiling Garden* 迷園, by the female Chinese novelist Li Ang. After having discussed these Chinese cases, in which the aborigines tend to be co-opted for Taiwanese nation building (Wu's novel being exceptional in this regard), I look at the role the gift has played in aboriginal literary self-reflection. One interesting research finding is that there seems to be little emphasis on gift giving in aboriginal mythology as it has been recorded in modern times, whereas there is an abundance of reflection on the problems aborigines face living in modern liberal society. Contemporary aborigines remember an earlier social order based on gift-giving, but that order no longer seems viable. I also consider what significance aboriginal literature might have for gift theory, suggesting that modern aborigines still have much to teach us about the social negotiation of gift and commodity economies as well as about the human relationship to the non-human world. I end with a discussion of a documentary in which many of these issues come to a head when a boat so big it goes against tradition is built to be displayed on the Taiwan mainland at, among other places, the Mitsubishi museum, the aboriginal museum built by the Japanese automotive giant. The title of this paper, Indian Giver, may raise eyebrows, but the intention is not to offend Indians or anyone else; rather, this paper will interrogate this common phrase, in order to remind us how fundamentally we can misunderstand

other societies, assuming overhastily that our mode of existence is the only or the best way to live.

1. Interdisciplinary discourse on gift giving and community formation

One might say that the study of gift economy has to begin with Marx. The concept with which Marx begins *Capital* is the commodity, and the opposite of the commodity is the gift. Marx's argument on 'commodity fetishism' in the first chapter of *Capital* – in a commodity economy relations (of value) between commodities replace social relations between people – has certainly provided inspiration to modern theorists, who have argued that gifts relate receivers to givers. Counter-gifts create new relations and create further debts. Hence "commodity exchange establishes objective quantitative relationships between the objects transacted, while gift exchange establishes personal qualitative relationships between the subjects transacting" (Gregory 41). In a commodity economy, things are quantitatively related using the medium of money as a measure of value (socially useful labor time according to Marx), while the social order is constituted by the giving of gifts in a gift economy. Of course, the status of gift economy in a truly communist society is debatable. It is not at all clear how one could give a gift to someone when one does not have any private or personal property to begin with, when everything is held in common. This essay will therefore attempt no comment on communist utopia.

The modern study of the gift began with a Parisian sociologist's reflections on Melanesian ethnography. Writing in Paris about the Melanesians in the 1920s, Marcel Mauss, a sociologist in Durkheim's circle, conceived a theory of the gift that Levi-Strauss would later go on to praise as the first total theory of social structure. Mauss's main insight for our purposes was that gift giving fostered interpersonal relations. It did so because a Melanesian gift, according to Mauss, simply had to return, because the giver was somehow implicit in the gift; a magical power, the *hau*, required a counter-gift on pain of sickness or death. The object given as a gift was therefore in a way fundamentally inalienable. In Taiwan people still speak of the *xinyi* (心意), the 'heart's intent' of the giver, as if it is

somehow lodged in the gift. This usage is reminiscent of Mauss's description, but we should not assume an identity, because modern Taiwanese people live in a very complicated modern society. The societies Mauss was theorizing were built around gift exchange. Counter-gifts required further counter-gifts, in an unending chain that maintained the social order. Gift giving was thus not the expression of a selfless generosity. Indeed, it was often a way to display social status. Rather than conspicuous consumption, the Melanesians and the Amerindians who practiced the potlatch had conspicuous gift giving. But once the first exchange had occurred, the giver and receiver were tied together. By contrast, in a modern commodity exchange, once the commodity has been paid for, the seller and buyer go their separate ways.

The gift economy as practiced in certain so-called primitive societies is not a form of social organization most people today would be willing to accept. Mauss did not focus on the exchange of people, but the exchange of women and slaves was a part of the primitive gift economy. Levi-Strauss made the exchange of women the foundation of his theory in *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, in which male peers exchanged daughters to avoid breaking the taboo on incest. But gift exchange, as everyone knows, persists in a modern liberal or capitalist socioeconomic order within the family and between friends. With family and friends, gift exchange prevails, while between strangers commodity exchange prevails. In a modern commodity economy, the meaning of 'gift' changes in contradistinction to 'commodity'. As Pierre Bourdieu put it, "The particular difficulty we have in thinking about gifts is due to the fact that as the gift economy has tended to shrink to an island in the ocean of the equivalent-exchange economy, its meaning has changed..." (235). The commodity is a matter of interest, the gift of disinterest or the other's interest. The commodity is selfish, the gift supposedly pure. Like the commodity, the gift as an object is alienated in the giving; it becomes the recipient's property; it is bad form to ask for it back. But the gift does in contrast to a commodity tend to remind us of the giver and of the giver's generosity. One is not supposed to go and sell a gift for personal profit. Furthermore, in a commodity transaction, reciprocity is a matter of legal necessity. In a gift exchange, it is not. A gift may be reciprocated, and will be if a social connection is established or strengthened by the giving, but it shows a

misunderstanding of the nature of gift-giving, as an institution in capitalist society, to insist on or expect reciprocation. One must assume a gift is gone in the giving. Paradoxically, it is exactly this attitude that encourages reciprocation and the formation of durable social ties.

Pierre Bourdieu also seems to be the writer who introduced the term "gift economy," in the quotation in the previous paragraph. This notion is important enough to this essay to take a few moments to consider in depth. It may initially seem paradoxical, because gift giving seems to go against economy. A consumer will try to maximize his purchasing power and saving, while a seller will try to cut costs and maximize sales. For both the imperative is in some sense economy. But one cannot practice economy in gift giving. One would quickly find oneself without friends if it were clear that one was, as a friend, being economized. Yet we all understand that as gift givers we are limited. None of us has unlimited resources to draw on. We tend as well to give things that are limited. No-one would buy coffee for the owner of Starbucks; nobody would make a gift of air, because everyone has enough. And so there is in some sense an economy of gifts. We have to be economical in gift giving because as agents we are limited, even if in giving gifts we are always going beyond what is required: you pay the listed price for an item in a store, whereas in gift giving the more you give the better, depending on the situation. This is what, I think, Bourdieu was getting at with this turn of phrase. There is certainly more to say, however, in that it is often the personalized gift, however inexpensive, that moves us the most. We accept commodities as gifts, but prefer the gift the giver has made himself or herself, a scarf a girl weaves herself as a gift being superior to one she buys at the store as a gift, as Emerson put it in an early essay on the gift. Yet even in this case of a gift one makes oneself (thus only paying for materials, not for manufacturing), the production of the appropriate gift is usually time-consuming, and none of us has unlimited time. There is thus economy even in the inexpensive gift.

Bourdieu, as a sociologist, illustrates how the theory of the gift has exceeded the discipline of anthropology and become significant to scholars concerned in general with the problem of modernity. What these scholars say is relevant to modern aborigines. Anthropologists tend to study the gift as a principle of

organization in primitive societies, but as aborigines become modern aborigines in settler societies around the world, the anthropologists follow the sociologists in meditating upon the enduring relevance of gift exchange in their communities. Gift theory had already exceeded disciplinary boundaries with Mauss. For Mauss, who was as a Durkeimian concerned with *anomie* and isolation in urban society, gift exchange was implicitly related to urban communogenesis. For George Bataille, who proceeds from the notion that the sun gives without expectation of return, gift exchange might be an alternative social model, which Bataille rather dubiously saw at work in postwar geopolitics, in the Marshall Plan redistribution of American wealth to Europe in particular. Hélène Cixous argues that this kind of giving without return is gendered, and that "...a feminine economy allows for the possibility of giving without expectation of return..." (Schrift 11). The main contribution of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological reflections on the gift can be summed up in another term, "symbolic capital":

The gift economy, in contrast to the economy where equivalent values are exchanged, is based on the denial of the economic (in the narrow sense), a refusal of the logic of the maximization of economic profit, i.e., of the spirit of calculation and the exclusive pursuit of material (as opposed to symbolic) interest, a refusal which is inscribed in the objectivity of institutions and in dispositions. It is organized with a view to the accumulation of symbolic capital (a capital of recognition, honor, nobility, etc.) that is brought about in particular through the transmutation of economic capital achieved / through the alchemy of symbolic exchanges (exchange of gifts, words, challenges and ripostes, women, etc.) and only available to agents endowed with dispositions adjusted to the logic of "disinteredness" (dispositions that can culminate in the "supreme sacrifice," the only that consists in "giving one's life," preferring death to dishonor, or, in the context of the modern State, "dying for the fatherland"). (Bourdieu 234-235).

Reading Bourdieu requires a knowledge of Bourdieu's sociology, in which the subject negotiates unconscious dispositions rather than consciously calculating subjective interest in a "phenomenological" account of human behavior or by following rules in a purely structuralist one. In other words, Bourdieu's account is

an elaboration of the idea that great gift givers, like philanthropists today or patrons in the past, are greatly honored. Bourdieu also elaborates the greater sociality of gift giving by emphasizing the ritual communication that seems to go along with gift giving in any social context, traditional or modern, and it is this communication that "transfigures economic capital into symbolic capital, economic domination (of the rich over the poor, master over servant, man over woman, adults over children, etc.) into personal dependence (paternalism, etc.), even devotion, filial poetry or love" (Bourdieu 237-238). Gift giving, then, is not just about social status. It is part of an ethical social ideal. Though in the passage quoted above we still seem to be left with a hierarchical society, we have to acknowledge that many human relations, of children to parents for instance, simply cannot be egalitarian. Bourdieu's is also a sociology motivated by a profound political concern:

At a time when to make it easier to "blame the victims," there is a greater tendency than ever to pose political problems in moral terms, the cult of individual success, preferably economic, which has accompanied the expansion of neo-liberalism, and whose most ardent advocates are found among some devotees of socialism, masks the need for collective investment in institutions that produce the economic and social conditions for virtue, or, to put it another way, that cause the civic virtues of disinterestedness and devotion—a gift to the group—to be encouraged and rewarded by the group. (Bourdieu 240)

In his insistence upon virtue, Bourdieu may be hearkening back to Rousseau, at a time when many of us are reacting to the Ayn Randian notion that only the individual knows what is best for himself, when it is therefore best to just go ahead and do what you want without worrying about anyone else. It seems like time for a new politics, out of which we might find means to raise up the island in the midst of the ocean of equivalent commodity-exchange into a continent.

The most interesting recent (if the 1970s can be called recent) reinterpretation of gift exchange by an anthropologist is Marshall Sahlins, who places gift economy in the larger context of political philosophy. Sahlins argues that the true meaning

of the *hau* in Melanesia is that "...one man's gift should not be another man's capital, and therefore the fruits of a gift ought to be passed back to the original holder" (Sahlins 79). This makes gift economy the very opposite of capitalism, founded upon a principle of surplus accumulation. Sahlins goes on to contrast Mauss with Thomas Hobbes. For Hobbes, individuals submit to the state in an attitude of fear or terror in order to escape the state of nature where everyone has recourse to force; in Mauss exchange of gifts replaces the perpetual war of the state of nature, but not in a way that requires submission to authority or a hierarchical society: "Except for the honor accorded to generosity, the gift is no sacrifice of equality and never of liberty. The groups allied by exchange each retain their strength, if not the inclination to use it" (Sahlins 85). Finally, perhaps strangely for a scholar who implicitly claimed to be discussing aboriginal economics (his book was entitled *Stone Age Economics*, though the title does not specify gift or commodity economics), exchange is a social matter: "...every exchange, as it embodies some coefficient of sociability, cannot be understood in its material terms apart from its social terms" (Sahlins 95). This emphasis on sociality recalls Bourdieu's interest in communication. While it does not comment on hierarchical relations between parents and children, for instance, it does seem a more egalitarian vision than Bourdieu's; though in Bourdieu's vision remaining hierarchical relations, for instance between the patron and the patronized, would be based on love as much as on power.

Literary critics have also drawn on this tradition of gift theory. The only example of the theory of gift economy being adapted for literary criticism in *The Logic of the Gift*, a collection of essays on which I have drawn heavily in the foregoing discussion, is Derrida's "The Time of the King," which argues that a gift can only be a gift when it is recognized as a gift by neither the giver nor the recipient; if it is recognized as a gift that should at some point be reciprocated, not immediately, in the way of a commodity exchange, but at some point in time, then it is no longer pure. Naturally, purity is a concept that Derrida would probably deconstruct, and an obsession with purity does not get one very far in a messily complicated world. Derrida ends his essay with Baudelaire's "Counterfeit Money." He does not engage in any criticism of the story; he chooses rather to let a writer have the last word, at least in this chapter. In the remaining three chapters

of his book *Given Time*, however, he returns constantly to the story. The last word is, however, in any case the reader's, as the reader will go on to consider the significance of the story – what does it mean when a rich man gives what seems like a fabulous sum, in the form of a counterfeit coin, to a beggar? In doing so, the reader will be reflecting on the meaning of the gift through literary criticism.[55]

The notion of a gift economy is very suggestive as an approach to literary criticism. Poems used to be given as gifts, and even today, when the production of literature has been marketized, when it is often a big business, one can get the book one wants from the library, for free. Even if one chooses to pay for a book, what one gets from the author sometimes seems far in excess of the price of the book, if the book is life-changing. The gift is also an interesting way of thinking about literary history. For students of Chinese literature, the plots of *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and *The Dream of the Red Chamber* furnish numerous examples of pivotal gifts. In the former, gifts are dangerous pawns in a political game; Guan Yu lets Cao Cao get away because of the kindness he had once received from Cao Cao. In the latter work, gifts are similarly interested, but usually the interest is economic. One might even try to argue that the transition from the world of the former to the world of the latter shows us something about traditional Chinese social development. Something of this tradition remained in Republican literature, for instance in Shen Congwen's stories, like "Baizi," about river prostitutes and customers who "pay" them with gifts; the prostitute perhaps offers sex as a gift, as a wife would. Students of Taiwanese literature might be reminded of "The Doctor's Mother" 先生媽 by Wu Zhuoliu, written just over a decade after "Baizi," in which the mother's relationship with the beggar seems to be a traditional relation of regular patronage. Wu Zhuoliu seems nostalgic for an older, aristocratic order that was passing away: the mother's son was a doctor, not a member of the gentry; and his aim in life seems to be raising his social status, in his particular case by becoming Japanese. The warped colonial society of this short story would soon pass into history, but the aristocratic order of Taiwanese gentry society would pass away along with it, to be gradually replaced by a new,

---

[55] I had meant to read *Given Time* but ran out of time. Given time, I will eventually read it.

petty-capitalist or capitalist order. In petty capitalism, the family is the basic social and economic unit; what I am referring to here is the tendency towards small family enterprises in postwar Taiwan, particularly among native Taiwanese people. In capitalism, by contrast, the individual, not the family, is the basic social and economic unit. The capitalist order is most relevant when understanding the postwar experience of the Formosan aborigines, because they were absorbed into the capitalist economy, not into the petty capitalist one, because they were not family members.

Out of these reflections on the history of gift theory we may crystallize several key notions. One that in modern society gift giving and commodity economy coexist uneasily, because we have to treat a certain group of people, strangers, one way while we treat another group of people, friends and family, another way. Two that gift giving is formative of social relations and potentially communogenetic and part of an alternative ethical social vision. Three that for modern readers of traditional works of literature gift relations will seem particularly striking because of how different they seem from the order with which we are familiar.

2. Maiden as patron: The motif of the gift in two Chinese novelistic representations of aboriginal maidens in the 1990s

Modern Chinese authors have faced aboriginal communities which were to them unfamiliar orders. They were fascinated. Gift giving became a theme in their literary reflections about aborigines. In writing about aborigines, Chinese authors were often writing their own nationalist imagination. This should not be surprising, given that modern writers tend to see in primitive society a principle of collectivity that seems to be missing from modern life. The aborigines may seem especially interesting to writers for whom liberal individualism is a problem. Arguably, Ye Shitao was such a writer. In the following work by Ye Shitao, an aboriginal maiden becomes an agent capable of holding her own in both the commodity and gift economies and a symbol in a Taiwanese nationalist vision. After an analysis of this vision, I will go on to consider a counter-vision offered by Wu He a decade later.

2.1 Überflower's search for the figurative foundation of national community in Ye Shitao's "Xilaya zu de moyi" 西拉雅族的末裔 [Last of the Siraya] series

Ye Shitao's *Xilaya zu de moyi* 西拉雅族的末裔 [Last of the Siraya] is a series of five short stories; the year after they were published separately in various newspapers, they were published together in book form. The series consists of "Xilaya zu de moyi" 西拉雅族的末裔 [Last of the Siraya], "Ye juhua" 野菊花 [Wild Honeysuckle], "Liming de juebie" 黎明的訣別 [Parting at Dawn], "Pan Yinhua de diwuge nanren" 潘銀花的第五個男人 [Silverflower Pan's Fifth Man], and "Pan Yinhua de huantie jiemei men" 潘銀花的換帖姐妹們 [Silverflower's Sworn Sisterhood]. The novel tells the story of Pan Yinhua or Silverflower Pan, a Siraya maiden, from her teens to her late twenties. She starts off as a dutiful daughter of Siraya tenant farmers, becomes a servant in the landlord's household, gets pregnant by the landlord's son and runs off rather than live as a concubine in a big household. She goes back to her parents but soon marries a rich Taiwanese man to provide for her parents and child. When he dies, she inherits his wealth and is a well-off woman. By the end of the series, she has remarried, her new husband being a mainlander, and has founded her own independent community. She is very successful. Her husband sells yams from her farm at the market, while she owns a store, in which the Gao sisters, her sworn sisters, work. She employs over ten people, including servants from gentry families in Tainan. But she treats her employees, and many others besides, like family, showing them munificence. She becomes the center of a thriving community in which she enjoys both wealth, because of her successful economic rationality, and, as a great gift giver, prestige.

The foremost American scholar of Siraya society, John Shepherd, has described Ye Shitao's understanding of Siraya culture as stereotyped ("Siraya Marriage Practices" 15). One should not read Ye Shitao's *Xilaya zu de moyi* to understand Siraya culture. Ye started writing about aborigines in the late 1960s, based on the year he spent as an elementary school teacher in Yilan. For him, the aboriginal maiden was an object of both compassion and desire. The aborigines, in his mind, were sexually uninhibited, in contrast to the Chinese; while he saw enough of

aboriginal poverty, especially the sort of poverty that drives aboriginal girls into urban prostitution, to realize that the social determinants of aboriginal poverty also deserved understanding. Both tendencies were present in the story "Yiluka Molai" from 1967, which mixes fantasy with reality.

By contrast, the Silverflower series is a work of romantic nationalism, in particular Taiwanese nationalism. It represents natiogenesis, the 'birth of a nation', as an organic process. Silverflower is named for a kind of honeysuckle. She is also associated with the chrysanthemum, and the uncultivated variety at that. The chrysanthemum blooms in the fall, suggesting the consummation of autumn rather than the potentiality of spring. She is "the daughter of the earth" (4.290)[56] and "earth mother" ("Faxian pingpuzu" 99), the fruits of the earth and the earth itself. In her latter identity, Silverflower is the "rich land" (4.290) in which the different generations of settlers plant their 'seeds'. As a Romantic nationalist, Ye Shitao was trying to distinguish Chinese nationalism from Taiwanese nationalism, the former state-imposed, the latter supposedly a natural process rather than a political idea which Ye Shitao was promoting in a tendentious work of literature. The title of the series, *Last of the Siraya*, suggests the elegiac mood of works in North America like *Last of the Mohicans* or Arthur Kroeber's *Ishi: Last of His Tribe.* In these works, the Amerindian was the 'vanishing American'. These were works about a 'dying race'. The mood in this series by Ye Shitao is not tragic or elegiac but rather triumphalist. The series represents natiogenesis through the mixing of race. Racially, the progeny in this series are mixed, and the mixture is Taiwanese. Racialist national discourse should seem worrying, but in the series natiogenesis also occurs on the levels of identity, class, and language. In terms identity, Silverflower initially insists she is Taiwanese (4.208), but later identifies herself as Siraya in distinction to the *Ibutun*, the Taiwanese or Fujianese. By the end of the series, she still sees herself as Siraya (5.053), but not her husband, who becomes a Taiwanese because he is going to live out his life in Taiwan (4.289). Her children, presumably, are Taiwanese by identity. Silverflower is the last of the Siraya, but her children are the first Taiwanese. Linguistically, in the

---

[56] References are to the *Ye Shitao Quanji – Xiaoshuo* vols. 1-5.

community at the end a *lingua Taiwanica* prevails. Silverflower knows some Siraya words but neither she nor anyone in her community can form a sentence in Siraya. Wang Shu-an her husband speaks a Chinese language or dialect, but by the end he has learned to speak some Taiwanese and has been told he will have to learn more. Knowing that the KMT was just at this time enforcing a national language policy with Mandarin as the national language makes the monolinguistic complacency of the Silverflower series rather unbelievable, a function of Ye Shitao's hopes and dreams in 1990 and not of the realities of 1950.

What is most interesting about the series in the present paper is how the economic economy of commodity exchange and the familial economy of gift exchange are in a sense juxtaposed in Ye's novel. They are also arguably in tension, and it is this tension that gives the series its modest interest as a work of literature. His stereotyped understanding of the matriarchal and exuberant generous nature of Siraya culture is the inspiration for his national vision, which also involves a calculating, instrumental and possessive rationality that seems distinctly modern.

In the Silverflower series, the value void in secular society is filled with a rough-and-ready philosophy of individualism. When at the beginning Silverflower is offered the choice of whether or not to go into service, she says she will follow the wishes of her parents (4.202). They make the decision that she would have made. This is the last time she expresses filiality by a pretense of obeying her parents. When, after getting pregnant, Silverflower is offered a place in the family without any need to work, she decides that she wants to live on the basis of her own labor (4.217), not dependent on her parents (4.176), in order to be a "proud and independent Siraya" (4.218). Thereby, she achieves the freedom of the prototypical unencumbered liberal mother, "without cares or ties, eating the fruits of her labor, supporting herself and her children" (4.281).

Silverflower's readiness for independence is due to her calculative rationality, a psychological hallmark of the liberal economic subject. Ye Shitao's Silverflower Pan is obsessed with numbers. The Pans have three *fen* of land of their own and rent two *fen*. They pay five *yuan* a month in rent. Silverflower will make fifteen

yuan per month. Her parents will get a hundred *yuan* in compensation. After Silverflower gets pregnant her salary doubles. The Pengs in total give her one to two thousand *yuan* and lots of jewelry (5.062). She makes enough at the Peng household to buy a *jia* or two of land in a remote area (4.218).[57] She gives the money she has made to her younger brother and tells him to buy a two *jia* mango orchard for her (4.178). Wang Tugen her second man and first husband has three *fen* of his own (4.181). He gives a bridal gift of two hundred *yuan* to Silverflower's parents, as well as ten *yuan* a month (4.182). After discovering Silverflower at the train station and visiting her the same night, Young Master Peng her first husband and the father of her eldest son gives her five hundred *yuan* (4.191). This allows her to buy two more *jia*. She considers finding a husband among her own people but she cannot bear to leave the three *fen* of land she has at Lumu mountain (4.276). The new sundry goods store in the last story makes fifty *yuan* the first day, equal to fifteen hundred a month or twice the salary of a civil servant. Silverflower will take half of the profit. Given Silverflower's numerical inclination, it seems disingenuous of her to tell the Gao sisters, "we're sisters, so there shouldn't be any need to haggle over each and every catty" (5.063). Silverflower is quite a contrast with the aborigines in Yilan in the late 1960s, who, according to Ye Shitao's autobiographical memoir on the topic, were not very good at counting: anything above two or three was 'lots and lots'.

The ideal in Smithian liberalism is for everyone to provide capital-based services, but in practice, some master economic rationality more effectively than others, as is the case in the Silverflower series. Silverflower starts out as a laborer. She treats her body as a kind of capital. "Her body was full and firm: it was her greatest capital" (4.180). The term I have translated 'capital' is literally 'root money' (本錢), the money one needs to start a business, and, by metaphorical extension, one's talent. However, I think the translation is justified given the ways in which she views her body, her *benqian*. Her body allows her to labor productively. As owner of her body and the land on which she works, her labor is not alienated. She uses her sexual attractiveness to get advantageous terms in both the marriages

[57] Three *fen* equals 1/12th of an acre. A *jia* 公頃 is slightly less than a hectare.

she contracts. I have already traced in detail how she accumulates two forms of capital, land and money. In the fifth story, a mode of production crystallizes. The temporal background here is the land-to-the-tiller program in the early 1950s. The Taiwanese, of course, did not dominate the mainlanders politically at this time, but the program sowed the seeds, so to speak, for Taiwanese economic power. Many larger landowners were compensated with government bonds or shares in government corporations. They switched from land to new forms of capital enterprise. Smaller landowners often went on to start small businesses or factories, as Silverflower does. Silverflower literally owns the community she creates. She will own the buildings she builds for her workers. Though she owns the new sundry goods store, she is herself illiterate and needs someone to watch over the new store and keep accounts (5.051). She offers the Gao sisters a profit-sharing opportunity, though the sisters demure, insisting that all they need is food to eat and clothes to wear. Silverflower offers the sisters what seem like generous terms as managers of the sundry goods store, but her offer is after all not all that generous. The profit is twice a civil servant's salary, but Silverflower takes half of that; each sister therefore makes half a civil servant's salary. They are managers who have a cut of the profit but not ownership. Silverflower is supposed to be a benevolent capitalist. Ye Shitao has a sanguine view of labor-capital relations for someone who started out as a socialist.[58] This, at any rate, is his allegorically national Taiwanese community from the perspective of the equivalent-exchange economy. Out of the selfishness of individuals a national community has, it seems, in a strictly utilitarian sense, bloomed. The community at the end seems in some sense 'capitalist', in that Silverflower owns all the capital, but perhaps we might better term it petty capitalist, because Silverflower treats everyone in the community like family.

It is familial (and also, in this case, very much libidinous) ties that constitute the community as a community instead of simply a market in which one person

---

[58] In the late 1940s, he 'armed himself with socialism' against the exploitative Chinese nationalist Chen Yi regime. In 2000, the future education minister Du Zhengsheng could still wonder whether Ye Shitao was still a socialist (談葉石濤的文學觀).

dominates all the others. In the Silverflower series, Ye Shitao represents the national community as a family, each individual bound to each other individual by relations of gift exchange. Silverflower "had always longed for a big lively household from olden times in which many different groups of people live together" (5.052). Silverflower's relations with the people in the community are more like family relations than like the temporary, instrumental relations between capitalist and workers. In this family there is a very clear hierarchy, which is why the use of the family metaphor in nationalist discourse is usually problematic, implying both aspects of paternalism, authority and indulgent love, both of which inform Silverflower's community. Silverflower expresses love towards her parents, her workers, and even to strangers. She remarried, it turns out, to be able to support her parents. She is generous towards her workers. She not only houses but also feeds them: she "felt that by controlling the stomachs of all the family members she controlled their daily lives. She had a sense of supreme satisfaction and authority" (5.063). She is also the one who wears the pants in her remarriage. She and her mainland husband have a fantastic sex life, but she is on top. She is generous to strangers in the house warming party she throws at the end, "another day to get roaring drunk besides the festival day of Ali" (5.064), the Siraya ancestral deity. Every time, in fact, the Taiwan Sugar Company train passes through the village, Siraya people, presumably plantation or factory workers come to Silverflower's stoop and enjoy her communal hospitality. The regularity of the visitation suggests the persistence of ritual in a newly secular society. This particular observance is also contrary to prudence and accumulation, the principles of the capitalist.

Is Silverflower truly generous? Her generosity does not exactly seem to be pure. But an obsession with the purity of the gift may be fruitless, Silverflower's generosity fruitful. She is rewarded in both economic and symbolic currency. Silverflower takes satisfaction in doing good by everyone under her authority, and in doing so she becomes a host in Derrida and Dufourmantelle's sense in *De l'hospitalité* of someone with the "power of hospitality" (*Of Hospitality* 5; 149). In the French context, the guest is always a 'foreigner'. Liberal French writings on nationalism by Julia Kristeva and others always address the issue of the foreigner,

these days someone from the Maghreb. How fitting, that, in the Taiwanese context, the host, the one with the power of hospitality, would be an aborigine.

About ten years after Ye Shitao published the Silverflower series, Wu He wrote a novel about, among other things, the development of a gift economy based on a regular practice. Through Wu He is in some sense even more of a Romantic than Ye Shitao, he was also more honest, more realistic, about the possibilities for the aborigines in the national community of contemporary Taiwan, for aboriginal community per se, and for aborigines trying to balance gift and commodity economies as community members and economic agents.

2.2. Why does she do it? Communogenetic 'sexual healing' in Wu He's *Yusheng* 餘生 (1999)

Wu He left the literary scene in the late 1970s, a time in which he was also involved in Dangwai activities. He returned to it after a decade-long Zen retreat in Danshui. He reappeared in the 1990s with formally bizarre literary writings about neurotic or psychotic characters who were also I narrators, but the collective concern implied by his Dangwai involvement is also present in his aboriginal fiction. Wu He turned over a new leaf formally and thematically by taking an interest in the aborigines in the mid-1990s. To write his novel-length *sanwen*, *Sisuo Abang Kalusi* [Contemplating Abang and Auvini Kadesengan] (1997) he lived in a Paiwanese mountain village. And in the novel, more precisely a work of ethnographic metafiction, *Yusheng* (2000), he lived in Qingliu, where the survivors of the Wushe incident of 1930 were moved after the dust settled. Yusheng is short for *jiehou yusheng* (劫後餘生), meaning 'remains of life' or 'holocaust survivors'. Earlier literary and filmic treatments of the Wushe incident interpreted it as an act of national resistance against the Japanese, in keeping with nationalist artistic policy. Wu He rejects the Chinese nationalist interpretation of the past but neither does he impose a Taiwanese nationalist interpretation upon it. Instead, he sees history in the contemporary scene. The wounds of history have in some sense not yet healed. The character Maiden in the novel is the most conspicuous bearer of these wounds, as well as being a gift giver, a potentially

communogenetic figure in the manner of Silverflower Pan. Like Silverflower, but less successfully, she has to balance the commodity and gift economies in her relations with others.

Maiden, a former prostitute and a divorcée with two absent children. She takes off near the beginning of the book to try to make some money by selling herself in Taizhong, but when her pimp comes to Qingliu to get the money he says she stole from him, she decides to give "herself" to the men of the community as a way of making amends. In the end of the book, the narrator and a character called Maiden trek along the river by the reservation up to Mahebo, the site where Mona Rudao and other members of the community commit suicide by jumping off a cliff after the Wushe rebellion fails. Maiden makes the pilgrimage hoping commune with her ancestors and learn how to maintain peace of mind in a world of change. When they get to Mahebo they stay in a guest house. They sleep in the same bed. But when they get back to Qingliu, the narrator tells Maiden he has to leave. Maiden she doesn't want him to go but he is unyielding. She sends him off at the bridge. And so, what seemed like it would become another story of a Chinese man and an aboriginal woman (a formula of which Ye Shitao's Silverflower series was one kind of inversion, in that Silverflower is dominant) turns out to be a story about an aboriginal woman's negotiation of her economic relations with Chinese society and her gift relations to the members of her aboriginal community; Wu He's Chinese narrator remains an observer.

According to the narrator's observation, Maiden does not manage her life very much, but she already has a sense of what her problem is and has even tried to change. She knows she lacks "resolve" (絕心) (203) and is therefore unable to manage her desires, a mass problem in modern life, a universal problem of the masses. She is "not doing anything" (無所事事) and therefore has no direction to her life. As the narrator observes, she has nobody to care for her (48). She claims to have come back to the village "to live the life she wanted, neither depending on nor controlled by other people" (56), using the same individualist discourse as Silverflower. Maiden is as committed to individualism and independence as Silverflower. Capitalist modernity, which breaks up the old social structures,

makes such individualism and independence possible. In a modern liberal order, though, there is more onus on the individual to self-regulate and to develop his or her own potential rather than taking 'the easy road'. In this regard, the narrator represents Maiden as failing to cope; she could be seen as an anti-Silverflower. Maiden and the narrator, who is implicitly identified with Wu He, are two of a kind in a certain respect. The narrator tells Maiden that he excels at 'disorderly dancing' (亂舞), a specialty (專長) she turns out to share, a specialty which does not, one suspects, demand a great deal of training or self-discipline. It is a charming moment. However, there is a method in the narrator's madness – which is goal-oriented, directed towards literary 'research' – as there does not seem to have been in hers by the time the narrator makes her acquaintance.

Maiden's relations with others had, until now, been instrumental, based on rational calculations of interest. Maiden's 'fate', like that of many aboriginal women in settler societies around the world, was prostitution, which is implicit in Silverflower's first marriage, which seemed very much an economic decision. In the 1980s, discussions of Atayal child prostitution were more or less hysterical, which is as it should be. But willing self-prostitution is a different issue. The narrator's position on the issue initially seems neutral. He points out that in a free market, freedom should mean the freedom to sell sex (136), and though he also caustically describes prostitution as "renting out human flesh by the hour" (136). At any rate, Maiden chose her fate freely, as she says herself in telling her life story to the narrator. She was once married, and after the divorce she went straight to "a high-class establishment" (147). She was a bit older than most of the girls working there, but she was buxom and aboriginal. There was a market for that. There were rules for her to follow. Her weight had to stay below fifty kilos, and she could not shave her armpits. She accepted these terms. As a high class take-out girl, Maiden was exploited from a Marxist perspective, but arguably she was letting herself be exploited, and the terms of her employment were far from slavery. She agreed to work at the establishment, and even partly founds her identity on her impression that it was 'high-class' because it was a place where Chopin was played. She continued to work at the establishment, until one day a

distinguished older aboriginal man took her out to a hotel suite, had her take off her clothes, examined her pudendum, and then reminded her of who she was:

The ancestors shed so much blood at Wushe; one would never have imagined that their grandchild would be selling it on a hotel bed.... (148)

Maiden left the profession immediately. On an initial reading, one might immediately assume that it was a good thing for Maiden to quit prostitution, but in retrospect it seems to me that she makes the decision for the wrong reason, because she has been shamed. Naturally, in any society young people do need to be reminded sometimes when they are out of line. But Maiden is an autonomous agent, and a liberal would emphasize that a meaningful resolution should come from within. It is possible that she is simply spinning a good tale. Perhaps she got too old and was expelled from paradise. At any rate, rather than turning over a new leaf, Maiden eventually goes back to prostitution, on a rather lower order of respectability, for lack of any better idea of what to do with herself. Near the beginning of *Yusheng*, Maiden leaves for the city to find what she describes euphemistically as a "temp job" (56). She returns twenty pages later covered in bruises (76) and breathlessly tells the narrator her story. A certain Gui Gong (龜公) or Turtle Lord ('turtle head' (龜頭) being slang for penis) had entrapped her at a nightclub, where she was no doubt innocently minding her own business. Turtle Lord asked her to go with him to a "safe place" (77). There she was raped with the assistance of the other prostitutes, four hideous old whores, in his stable. A couple of minutes later customers started coming in one after another for the aboriginal "meat" that had "a different consistency." Maiden is lucky to have made it out alive!

Thereupon the narrator remarks, "Aiya! What an awful story about a nice girl falling into a pit of fire" (78). It is one of the most striking moments in the novel. It is a politically incorrect response to say the least. One admires Wu He's courage. But Maiden says, "Yes, how did I get written into the plot of such a vulgar novel?" The exchange is brilliant and extremely funny. The narrator has heard the story before, and so has Maiden. Perhaps Maiden has even told the story before. The narrator implies that Maiden is embellishing or misrepresenting the

passivity of the part she played. She was claiming victimhood, denying her own agency. Maiden seems to agree. But that is not the end of the story. Turtle Lord soon tracks Maiden down (87), clamouring that she stole from him when she left. Maiden appears on the scene as well. Drunk, she starts hurling invectives at Turtle Lord. A native policeman sends Turtle Lord, who ends up seeming surprisingly harmless, on his way, and reproaches Maiden, telling her she has shamed the village of Qingliu (89).

This reproach brings us to Maiden's 'gift' to the men in her community. Turtle Lord's appearance on the reservation becomes humorously known as the "Little Sister Incident," a contemporary recurrence of the Wushe Incident. In English we often speak of our debt to society, which is a gift-debt rather than a commodity-debt. Relatedly, we also speak of giving something back. The latter formulation seems closest to the one Maiden uses herself – *huikui* (回饋). In fact, Maiden gives herself back. She agrees to 'marry' and make love to one of the local men after church every Sunday. Though the practice seems *ad hoc*, not based in tradition, it may be an adaptation of a tradition in which women gave themselves to heroes returning from the headhunt. It is also ritualized, described as "the secret ceremony of intercourse" or "the ceremony of giving something back." Maiden tells the narrator, "I give them the consolation of sex, and herein is neither transaction nor shame: the things they bring me are gifts, given in order to please me" (168). It is not clear why Maiden agreed to this kind of recompense. Perhaps it is the only way she can think of to be useful. One might imagine that she was coerced or shamed into it; but in accounting for herself Maiden describes herself as willing: though unsure if her way of being generous is "right and appropriate," she has learned to give something back (89). Hilariously, the narrator is drawn into the Little Sister Incident. Maiden announces an end the ritual on Christmas, in order to make a fresh start in the New Year. She feels she has given back enough (168). The local men try to get the narrator to convince Maiden not to cut them off, explaining that they cannot go whoring in the city because they would inevitably run into their own relatives (169). All of this is partly to highlight the "sex problem" of aboriginal men, who are less competitive sexually or socially than Chinese men, even Chinese men who might seem like unmarriageable losers. The narrator wants the men of Kawanakashima to set her free, but he agrees to

talk with her on their behalf. In the end, his mediation is ineffectual. As a last resort, the local men use a discourse of obligation, in order to try to talk Maiden into continuing, but, very much her own woman, she retorts, "...what 'duty' do I have? I did it out of pity..." (183). The narrator would rather she had used the term compassion, but he does not say anything. At any rate, the ceremony marking the ending of Maiden's recompense (189), the men return to the vocabulary of gratitude and the logic of giving, according to which the recipient has no right to demand a gift or imply that gift giving is a matter of duty. Since Maiden has refused to show up at the ceremony, they use a loudspeaker so that she will hear them as they express their thanks. They 'tell it'. One of them says Maiden gave him the confidence to start a business, another the determination to find a marriage prospect (191). They leave a pile of counter-gifts for her in the courtyard (192). Maiden never counters these counter-gifts, but gifts tend to beget gifts and in the process build and maintain social relations. This is the nature of a gift economy. The image of the pile of gifts may well remain with the reader for the rest of the novel and beyond, as a symbol of communal possibility unrealized before the end of the novel. The sense of an ending of the novel is a function of the relationship between the narrator and Maiden.

This relationship also seems to be based on generosity, on gift-giving. This friendship actually comes to seem intensely meaningful to the narrator. "At a very young age," he says, "I realized that inside me there was a kind of indifference or even coldness" (161). This coldness seems to be realized in Wu He's writing in general as anti-sentimentality. Emotional coldness does not of course inhibit lust. The narrator's sexual attraction to Maiden is a recurrent theme in the novel. For instance, he sees her wearing a transparent silk dress, with a few black tulips growing on her "important parts" (119). He is intensely aware of her body. But then, beyond sexual desire, the narrator is surprised by something that seems a lot like love. On the trek to Mahebo, Maiden 'reaches out' to him:

I was not ashamed that the smile in her eyes warmed me; in my compromising middle age I had never needed to compromise for the sake of a helping hand or

this kind of human warmth, so very self-contained and self-sufficient had I been in my loneliness; but now these woman's hands were so very insistent and real....

Though the narrator comes for research and leaves for freedom, he almost stays for love. The narrator falls in love with Maiden (251) but does he sleep with her, one more aboriginal woman and one more Chinese man – the same old story? Having reached Mahebo, the narrator and Maiden spend the night at a guesthouse. Maiden takes a shower, and when she gets into bed with narrator she is naked. She asks if she can sleep a bit closer (245). He does not reply and instead loses himself in thoughts of

Maiden's existence among the mountains and rivers, and then of a kind of simple, natural life...I don't know when I fell asleep, and maybe when I was melting into Maiden's eyes, I felt the streamwater flow over my body, softly and incessantly. (245)

This sounds sexually euphemistic, but is inconclusive. Just before sleep he sees in her eyes "the sadness of life, that kind of sadness that...no, not just sadness, but rather a long accumulated sense of life's desolation, of an endless insecurity about the future, and despair; a sense of life that was inconsolable, not even temporarily, by any act" (245), certainly not by a night of lovemaking. And so, after returning to Mahebo, the narrator and Maiden return to Qingliu. He tells her he is leaving. She holds his legs and begs him not to go (247). She sends him off from the bridge. "Think of me when you smile," she says (248). These are clichés of romance fiction, but somehow they work here. They leave the reader profoundly sad, but also moved. What are we to make of the narrator's experience in Qingliu and of his departure at the end?

As a national allegory, *Yusheng* is not a comedy or a tragedy. It refuses to end in a conventional way. The narrator has not, I do not think, left her with the potentially disturbing memory of a night of sweet passion, which she might mistake as a source of meaning in her life. The narrator and Wu He leave Maiden poised on the edge of a community that she has begun to help create, and on the edge of the nation to which she has the possibility of contributing. By leaving, Wu He

allegorically leaves the relationship between the aborigines and the Chinese up in the air. It might have been tempting to end this 'novel' happily, with the narrator married to Maiden, each domesticating the other, the latest in a long series of unions between fictional aboriginal maidens and Chinese settler men. But such an ending would have been, one senses, intolerably vulgar, a facile and unconvincing resolution of everyone's problems.

Both the Silverflower series and *Yusheng* are about the femina economicus, the female economic agent. Silverflower seems to be a textbook case in 'economic learning' by aborigines (see Simon, "Learning and Narratives of Identity"), and in the course of the series wins back a symbolically sizable chunk of the land out of which her ancestors were cheated. But even Maiden has various productive schemes for her six *fen* of land (the narrator remarks at one point that unlike him Maiden is a capitalist), schemes that might succeed if she would only apply herself. Both works suggested that economic independence is communogenetic, if the independent individual serves as a patron, a gift giver who initiates and sustains a gift economy. This economy serves as the foundation for a communal allegory, which is nationally Taiwanese in the case of Ye Shitao and locally aboriginal in the case of Wu He. There is inevitably a national significance to the friendship between Maiden and the narrator. Wu He flirts with the kind of familial symbolic resolution that Ye Shitao uses in his series; he even flirts with Maiden.[59] But in the end he opts for friendship. Containing implications of equality and helpfulness, friendship is a safer metaphor than family for the relations between aborigines and settlers in a modern settler society. Friendly relations are equal, but all friends know that no two people ever meet in a relation of perfect equality. Sometimes everybody needs a helping hand.

---

[59] Sex is a big concern in both works, and seems to be a metaphor for the libidinal, pleasurable component of communal belonging. This pleasure does not necessarily have to be paid for, and when it is paid for it just isn't the same. One might assume that, in writing about a woman's pleasure, the two works are "socializing in a different way the relation to nature, matter, the body, language, and desire" (Irigaray 189), as Luce Irigaray put it; but given that both Ye Shitao and Wu He are Chinese men this seems a problematical avenue of inquiry.

3. The provenances of the donated garden in Li Ang's *Miyuan* 迷園 [Beguiling Garden]

We expect a woman writer like Li Ang to be more sensitive than her male counterparts to gender; but of the three Chinese works I discuss in this paper Li Ang's novel is the least sensitive to aboriginality. The aborigines are strangely concealed in *Miyuan*, a novel I discuss here because it concludes with a gift of land, originally aboriginal land, as a founding act of Taiwanese nationhood.

Set in the 1970s and 1980s, the story in *Miyuan* begins in the distant past. Once upon a time, there was a pirate named Zhu Feng who married, had four children with, and finally abandoned a Taiwanese woman surnamed Chen, who had Dutch, Chinese and aboriginal blood. Her grandson, Zhu Jiancheng, established the family fortune under his grandmother's direction. Mrs. Chen cursed her husband Zhu Feng, declaring that whoever identifies the pirate as ancestor will ruin the family. Centuries later, in living memory, Zhu Feng and Mrs. Chen's descendent, a Taiwan nationalist dissident under the Japanese, was persecuted by the KMT. Confined to the family garden – the Han Garden – he spent the rest of his life frittering away the family fortune converting the garden from a traditional Chinese garden to an idealized representation of Taiwan's floral, as opposed to faunal, heritage: he uproots all the Chinese trees and replaces them with Taiwanese trees. He also spends a fortune representing it photographically. By the 1970s, the garden has had to be sold to his wife's uncle, with a twenty year redemption clause. The dissident's daughter, Zhu Yinghong, restores the garden in the main action of the story. She restores it in both senses of the term – the garden is redeemed and then restored to vernal glory – by marrying a parvenu land speculator or developer named Lin Xigeng, a man who got rich by riding the real estate bubble of mass urbanization in the 1970s. Lest Lin Xigeng try to 'develop' the garden the way he has developed his landholdings around Taipei, Zhu Yinghong donates the garden to the "twenty million people of Taiwan."

The work is clearly a Taiwanese national allegory, uniting parvenu economic muscle with the gentry cultural heritage. A member of the latter tradition uses the

money of the former group to rejuvenate the symbolic garden and give it away. Li Ang, by this gesture of the gift, seems to be saying that national belonging is in generosity not in the genes. It is a less ethnic and more civic concept of Taiwanese nationhood than Ye Shitao's covertly racial nationalism, though Li Ang spends a worrying amount of time on facial features as a marker of mixed ancestry. At any rate, this national gift goes against the grain of the commodity economy; the act of giving the garden away at the end conclusively endorses a gift as a founding or redeeming national act, as a model for national belonging.

We cannot be comforted by Zhu Yinghong's gift of the Taiwanese garden to the Taiwanese people, however, if we inquire into its 'provenances' proximate and ultimate. Lin Xigeng's money, which restores the garden, is in a sense impure. It came 'from the people'. After the foreign relations crises of the early 1970s, many investors left Taiwan. Lin Xigeng took the opportunity to buy a lot of land around Taipei City, having realized in his youth that "in an island country like Taiwan, land was the most precious resource." He bought the land for well below its normal market value, because the diplomatic crisis resulted in a crisis in investor confidence. Lin Xigeng invents the advance sale system, so that developers no longer need much start-up money to begin new developments. The new system allows bidding, which Lin Xigeng encourages with high pressure advertizing, because it is in his interest for a housing bubble to form. Two decades after the land-to-the-tiller program was implemented in the 1950s, people wanted urban real estate. During the bubble, the price of real estate becomes a nightmare for ordinary people, but a dream come true for Lin Xigeng. Thus, the gift of money for the restoration of the garden is no longer so obviously a 'donation' but seems rather more a 'return'. Effectively, home-buyers' money has been used to develop a tourist attraction which they probably have to pay to see, braving traffic jams each way.

But we can go further back, to the foundation of the family fortune.[60] Ultimately, we must go back to Zhu Jiancheng, to the great eighteenth century land grab, in

---

[60] There is a rise and fall to the family's fortune. Zhu Yinghong's father's wealth derived from the same process of urbanization that benefited Lin Xigeng. When Zhu Yinghong's

which Chinese settlers outcompeted Formosan aborigines for land. Li Ang is content to complacently present Zhu Jiancheng as a heroic pioneer, or rather to present Mrs. Chen as a capable Mestizo matriarch. The novel is therefore implicitly about the triumph of a group, the Taiwanese people, who retrospectively identified as Mestizo over the aborigines. This history of aboriginal displacement and dispossession is only implicit in the novel; but there is a sign of it, in the place of origin of the person who manages the restoration of the garden. Zhu Yinghong's father makes the decision to restore the Han Garden in the early 1950s, but he does not himself lift a finger. He only 'has the work done'. Under the father is a family servant, the Rooster Castrator (閹雞羅漢). It is the Rooster Castrator who shares the family lore with Zhu Yinghong, stories about the dangerous crossing the settlers made from China to Taiwan (109), about relations between settlers and aboriginal women, and about the curse Mrs. Chen put on her wayward husband. The Rooster Castrator does some of the renovation work himself, but he also hires temporary labour when some major project is undertaken. These temporary labourers are analogous to the construction workers who build the projects Lin Xigeng sends up in the cities. But more to the point is the fact that the Rooster Castrator comes from a community to the west of Lugang called Dingfanpo.

Dingfanpo was the setting for a short story Li Ang would go on to write a decade later, "The Ghost of Dingfanpo" 頂番婆的鬼. In that story, Dingfanpo is specifically described as a site of disinheritance. In other words, in "The Ghost of Dingfanpo," Li Ang focuses on aboriginal material marginalized in *Miyuan*; she confronts the issue of historical aboriginal disinheritance more directly:

Han grandpas married uxorilocally by taking savage grannies as wives. But when the relatives of those grandpas arrived, they felt that the land belonged to the

---

father was persecuted by the KMT after the war, the family decided to divide. Zhu Yinghong's father got the worst land, the least productive agriculturally, the most 'out of the way'. But after the war the town got bigger and bigger, and the land the father was assigned was eventually, by historical alchemy, transmuted into commercial and residential gold. Thus, ironically, the KMT was part of the reason why Zhu Yinghong's father became so rich.

grandpas and occupied it. They not only hounded out the grannies, but also sometimes sold them to the 'Endless Spring Mansion' 萬春樓.

Zhu Yinghong's possession of the garden is thus reimagined as the result of a kind of cheating. In the modern system of land ownership, the law asks only who has the deed, but a long historical view makes any ownership claim questionable. The question is still open: though Li Ang writes a story in which a Mestiza ghost manages to escape the nightmare of history after three centuries, she does not in this story (or any other) address the issue of a restitution of land or aboriginal self-governance rights. In this respect, her story still seems an escapist fantasy, less compelling even than Ye Shitao's romantic vision of Silverflower as a economically cunning but ultimately kindhearted community leader, and certainly less compelling than Wu He's disturbing ethnographic description of the ritual of recompense on the Qingliu reservation. But even Wu He, as an outsider, is not necessarily the best source on the significance of the gift to modern aborigines. To assess this significance, we need to consider aboriginal literary self-reflection.

4. Indian gift? Gift Economy in literature by aborigines from Taiwan

The term Indian gift is attested from 1765, meaning "a present for which an equivalent return is expected" according to the Online Etymology Dictionary. American settlers were not impressed with the exchange practices of the indigenous population. But anyone who has read up on the theory of gift economy will immediately understand where the "Indians" were coming from. And anyone who has given a gift will realize that sooner or later some kind of return is expected – it is hard to maintain friendly feelings towards someone who does not reciprocate. However, there is a limit to modern liberal theorizing on the basis of middle class urban life experience. Modern aborigines share modernity with the modern middle class urbanite, but they also have some kind of link to a special kind of tradition, in which, according to anthropologists, society is founded on gift exchange rather than commodity exchange. Aborigines are also relatively impoverished, so that they, more than members of the mainstream, feel the difficulty of balancing the old and new attitudes towards exchange. To understand

the significance of the gift to aborigines, we should include the reading of aboriginal fiction, which, it seems to me, should have something to say to gift theorists. It seems odd that gift theory, having started with modern urban intellectual reflections on indigenous practices, should not have eventually returned to indigenous peoples. It does not seem to have, at least not to indigenous peoples as they live today. It is not my intention to offer even the most fragmentary proglema to the intellectual project of contributing a modern aboriginal perspective, which is, after all, most suitably the task of an aboriginal intellectual. The same two guiding questions that informed my treatment of Chinese writings on the aboriginal gift – the gift as communogenetic and the tension between the gift and commodity economies – will continue to guide the discussion. These seem appropriate leads, given the challenges contemporary aboriginal communities face and given that the aboriginal encounter with capitalism has been treated in sociological, anthropological or historical literature.[61]

To these two guiding notions I wish to add another notion, that the human relation to nature can be understood as a gift economy. The text that provoked Marcel Mauss to his seminal reflections on the gift was not about interpersonal gift giving, but rather about the gifts of the forest and the relatively puny countergifts, offered to the forest spirits, of human beings. Mauss theorized an ethnographic text recorded by an Englishman surnamed Best of the discourse of a Melanesian man named Tamati Ranapiri. Marshall Sahlins noted that "Tamati Ranapiri's discourse on gifts was by way of introduction to and explanation of a certain ceremony, a sacrificial repayment to the forest for the game birds taken by Maori fowlers" (76). Sahlins's interpretation is that anything received as a gift cannot become the source of profit – if the gift is given again, any net income must be returned to the original giver. As noted above, in the first section of this paper, the consequences of viewing exchange as gift exchange are radical, as gift exchange goes against the capitalist principle of accumulation. Viewing the human relation to nature as a

---

[61] See, for instance, "Resistance is Futile: Aboriginal Peoples Meet the Borg of Capitalism."

gift economy is even more radical. If we view nature's bounty as a gift, then we must give thanks to nature, share its bounty, and in some sense give something back in return.

Over and over in aboriginal literary texts, both fiction and non-fiction, the necessity of sharing what has been given by nature is stressed. In "The Hunter" by Husluma Vava, for instance, we are told that,

...the Bunun believed that game was bestowed by the god of heaven. For this reason it could be shared with others who saw it; it is the duty, then, of a successful hunter to share his game with those around him. This is the oldest of traditions. What power do we have to change it? (75)

In "Elegy," by the Orchid Island writer Lekal, the communogenetic character of the primitive relation to nature is suggested.

No one could say why, but for some reason the wild herbs had grown especially well that year. They were like manna from heaven—there was plenty to eat, but it couldn't be stored. (56)

Wild herbs and "the gifts of the sea" (58) can only be preserved for a certain length of time before they go bad. Hence the necessity of sharing; hence the tendency to break bread (or in this case yams and fish) together.

Many aboriginal stories thematize the gift mythically or in the mode of a fairy tale. "The Thunder Goddess" by It Ta-os allegorizes the human relationship to nature as a gift economy. The bounty of nature is personified as a woman, Youwai. She hands the young brave Dayin a gift, a bunch of grapes (91), and she has magical powers (95). But as Thunder Goddess she also represents the capriciousness and power of nature. She becomes Dayin's wife and is introduced to the community, but when offended by her husband's ingratitude, her temper is stormy. Their connubial relation suggests the love-hate intimacy of the primitive human relationship to nature as reimagined in modern times. In Auvinni Kadresengan's

accounts of a hero's journey in "Home to Return To," for instance, helpers, seen as ancestors and not as nature spirits, continually appear to offer the hero assistance. These narratives seem close to fairy tales; they would be amenable to interpretation using the methodology of Vladimir Propp. We could easily treat the helpers as gift givers.

The more realistic sections of Auvinni's story recall in detail a harmonious balance between gift and commodity exchange. The hero goes down to barter with the headman on the plains (102). But most of the description is taken up with the elaborate rituals of gift exchange surrounding the barter. The montagnards present the headman with gifts. The headman, being a good host, receives them with *ikakes*, a sweet wine made from glutinous rice (101). After the bartering is done, they go into the hills and bring back a log to make a new mortar for the headman (102). In return, the headman gives them food for the road (102).

Auvinni's story seems set in recent memory, either in his lifetime or his father's. The most touching piece in the collection of translated aboriginal literature by John Balcom, *Indigenous Writers of Taiwan*, is set in the present. It is an essay by the doctor Topas Tamapima about his stay on Orchid Island in a collection he titled 蘭嶼行醫紀, an ironic reference to Schweitzer's 非洲行醫紀. He relates asking a local to sell him fresh parrotfish, only to be rejected, because this parrotfish was a gift from a relative. We would expect the rejection, given Sahlins's thesis. But the author goes on to contrast this rejection with a gift of a fish he receives from another local. The author's conclusion, "sincerity is worth more than money" (155) is touching but the exchange deserves more analysis. Perhaps the gift was offered in exchange for special medical attention, and though Topas Tamapima makes no reference to any countergift on his part, what gift could he offer besides a medical one? From the giver's perspective, sooner or later he will need to see the doctor; eventually what he has given will come back to him in kind. But the keyword here is sincerity, which reminds us of Bourdieu's attempt to describe a habitus of gift giving in which sincerity, while not entirely disinterested, is still sincere. At any rate, it seems clear is that parrotfish cannot be bought. The two economies, commodity and gift, seem incommensurable. The

parrotfish never becomes a commodity. A gift economy resists commoditization and prefers a kind of gift barter.

But when they set their stories in the present, in which the dominant mode of fiction seems to be realism, aboriginal writers often express the difficulty of maintaining the old attitudes, the old ways. The difficulty is felt both in the human-nature relation and in interpersonal relations. First, the relation between humanity and nature seems to fail, with harmful consequences. In "The Last Hunter" by Topas Tamapima, the hunter, who has endured a failed stint as a factory wage worker, laments the modern, implicitly Chinese attitude towards nature. He hunts to bring a gift back to his woman, a gift that is appropriated by an agent of the state, a guard, at the end of the story. But while he is still up in the alpine hunting ground, he prophetizes that some day modern men "would unravel the enigma of the forest and, like sinners condemned to hell, they would regret their previous lack of understanding in seeing the forest as nothing but a source of timber" (15). The modern lack of appreciation for nature's bounty can be harmful. In Auvinni's story, no matter how hard the hunter hunts, there is never enough: "game was becoming scarcer because of the decline in nature" (109). It may be simplistic to blame modern man for this decline, but it is true that modern man's destructive capacity is so much greater than primitive man's, and that primitive people's cultural notions often contributed to the respectful management of "natural resources," the gifts of mother earth.

Second, interpersonal relations, even entire communities, become strained in the new order. In "Ginger Road" by Badai, the difficulty of balancing gift economy with commodity economy in the human realm is thematized in the wider context of nature. It is so difficult for aborigines to maintain this balance because the aborigines face this challenge from a position of economic marginality and because enterprising settlers can be so aggressive. "Ginger Road" is the story of a sixty year old man named Luben who grows ginger and maintains the road to the ginger patch. Nature produces the ginger, but the productive capacity of Luben's family is destined for the factory and the market. Connecting Luben to the market is what seems like a caricature of the Taiwan Jew, an exploiter named Ni'en with

two wives and a bad Puyuma accent. Ni'en asks Luben, "Will you let me take your ginger off your hands this year?" (26). Ni'en makes a show of generosity, offering to buy Luben lunch the next day, and Luben is thankful for the opportunities Ni'en provides to him and his family. However, he mediates the community's marginal economic relationship to the outside world; he is structurally an exploiter. Moreover, he brings to the scene a new habitus, Bourdieu's word for a mindset full of attitudes and inclinations. Ni'en habitus is best suited to a commodity economy:

...some people in the village regarded him as a little stingy. He liked to shortchange people and would haggle over a few cents. But there was no winning because he was the only outsider to handle the sale of the village crops and offer them odd jobs. (28)

Luben may feel short-changed but is too proud to haggle or do anything to express his discontent. While Luben just wants to support his family, without obvious desires of his own, both his son and his wife have been drawn into the capitalist order in another way, not just as industrious producers but also as desirous consumers. Budan wants a two thousand dollar bicycle (32), a lot of money for a poor family, while his mother, Luben's wife, wants a sewing machine (34). There seems to be no way for Luben to satisfy the both of them, but somehow in the end he finds a way.

The story is poignant, not just because we feel sorry for Budan but also because Ni'en is not quite a caricature. He does after all offer to buy Luben lunch. His humanity also seems to be illustrated in the wild goat kill episode. Luben is still a hunter, not just a ginger farmer; he kills a wild goat. Ni'en hears about it:

He came to ask Luben to sell him a bowl of the blood. Luben, of course, knew why he wanted it but said nothing. He mixed the blood with onion flowers, medicinal herbs, and wine and gave it to Ni'en free of charge. But the following day his two wives came up the mountain and, when they came to Luben's door, they blushed and presented him with some fruit. (36)

The episode is to some extent a joke at Ni'en's expense, because he wants the blood to maintain or restore his sexual potency. His two wives must feel embarrassed in several ways. It is not clear whether the counter-gift is Ni'en's idea, but then he does not stand in its way. The fruit was likely purchased on the market, not picked wild from nature, in the way that the goat was hunted by Luben. But it is still a gift, unnecessary, unexpected and in some sense sincere. There is gift economy – humanity, generosity – within the capitalist, commodity economy.

But as long as the capitalist economy remains dominant, these generous impulses will not be cultivated and Luben's family will likely remain economically marginal. The dominance and incomprehensibility of the capitalist economy is conveyed near the end of the story when Luben is reading the newspaper after a long day of ginger picking.

It was all the business and financial news. "...trading on the stock market was hot. At mid-session the market was at 11 thousand and by the close of trading it was up another 235 points. 1.5 million shares were traded, delighting investors." He didn't understand a word. Bored, he flipped to the back page and read: "...in high tech, *Forbes* listed four new tycoons with an average age of 36 who had joined the ranks of billionaires, with respective fortunes of $25 billion, $22 billion..." He still didn't understand. How many zeros were there in a billion? How many years would he have to grow ginger? How many baskets would he have to carry on his back? (40)

It is easy for someone investing in ginger as a commodity to treat the investment abstractly and numerically when he remains ignorant of the people involved in ginger production. But it turns out that this was Luben's last season growing ginger. The ginger road – the Puyuma silk road, which opened opportunities for Luben's community but also drew it into an exploitative economy – gets washed out; no doubt the price of land will plummet and someone like Ni'en will take it off Luben's hands.

In this example, as in "The Last Hunter" by Topas Tamapima, the Chinese people seem to be blamed, or perhaps the system itself is to be blamed. Closer to the truth would be the realization that the aborigines themselves have become modern and have therefore become to some extent estranged from tradition. I am told that with the introduction of the refrigerator on Orchid Island the Dawu people became selfish. People were now able to hoard; technology changed the relationship to nature and thus the constitution of the community. People no longer ate communally. With this anecdote in mind, I sensed that the stories in the Balcom collection were not completely honest. This is to be expected. Given aboriginal marginality, the most important task at hand does not seem to be ruthless self-criticism. But, having read the Balcom collection, there still seemed to be much left unsaid. In the following, and final, section of this paper, I discuss a documentary in which aborigines self-consciously meditate upon their own willing compromise with the new capitalist order.

5. Keep Rowing: The rationalization of compromise in Kawut na Cinat'kelang 划大船

The 2009 documentary Kawut na chinat'kelang is about the construction of a unprecedented fishing boat, which is not used for fishing but is rather rowed to the Taiwan mainland for display. The director Lin Jianxiang 林建享 has a Yami or Dawu name, si salokasok, though he does not speak much Dawu. He does seem to be an aborigine, because in a voiceover early in the film he recounts a childhood memory of observing traditional boat construction and related rituals. He also appears in the documentary visually at two points: 1) he appeals for money at a meeting attended by government agency representatives, a meeting at which he reveals that he is one of the planners of the event his documentary records (making him a participant-observer ethnographer); 2) He thanks the Dawu crew for their participation in the project at the end of the documentary. Documentaries cost money to make, and this one was made with the partial support of the whisky company Johnny Walker, hence the title of this subsection. Lin Jianxiang himself did not make the documentary to make money. He told me the documentary was not for sale; he gave me a copy of the documentary once he understood the nature

of my research, and in return I promised him a copy of my essay. He also offered some feedback. To him, the gift economy within aboriginal society was complicated, messy, material; which reminded me how much of a bookworm I am, how little on-the-ground practical observation informs my thinking and writing.

Lin Jianxiang's documentary is a fascinating exploration of gift and commodity economy, in the human realm but within a natural context. The Langdao tribe of the Dawu people make a huge fourteen oar boat that goes against a taboo against boats larger than ten. They do so, it seems, partly in order to share Dawu culture with the people of Taiwan, and partly for profit. But the actual economics of the affair are not very clearly presented by the film. The project costs three million NTD (三百萬) to complete, about a hundred thousand USD. Two million was going to come from the Council of Indigenous Affairs (原委會), with the remaining one million from the Council for Cultural Affairs (文建會). It is not clear why a boat fashioned from the wood of the forest by Dawu labor and then rowed to the mainland by Dawu rowing power should cost anything at all; the expense of supplies bought on the commodity market like paint and glue to fit the planks of the boat together and beautify it should have been nominal. It seems that the Dawu people profited from the enterprise, both from the funding and from the remuneration provided by the Mitsubishi museum and other locations where the boat was displayed. But neither is it my intention here to be a bean counter. I do not know enough about the economics of the project to do anything more than speculate. What I offer instead is a commentary on two related aspects of the film.

First, the film offers an explicit, conscious aboriginal justification for participation in the commodity economy. Early in the film one fellow, who is not a major presence in the film, contrasts the traditional way of life with the modern one. Traditionally, however much you caught from the sea or picked from the earth you shared. By contrast, modern people are in business, on a massive scale, and they are always striving to make money. Then, Guo Jianping 郭健平, a local Dawu intellectual who co-organized the whole project with Lin Jianxiang, explains the significance of the boat in an interview with a Japanese reporter. The reporter asks him not whether they are breaking taboo but rather whether they are

making a breakthrough 突破, the latter being a much more positive term, usually reserved for scientific advances. Guo Jianmin's reply, which not quite fully coherent, is worth quoting in full:

這個東西不拿來當成是生計生產的工具，純粹用商業的思考，就算觀光客來了看了，賣給你了，跟我一點關係都沒有，等於是切開禁忌的部分，所以它就跳脫了過去、他們對於造舟的禁忌思考的恐懼・・・它不是爲了捕魚・

This thing is not to be taken and used as a means of subsistence production. Rather it is informed by purely commercial thinking: even if the tourists come and see it, I'll sell it to you, but that has nothing to do with me. What we're doing is making a clear break with the taboos. So it transcends the past, the fear that they felt when thinking about the taboos associated with boat building...it's not for fishing.

The name of the boat? Ipangana. 跨越號. Transcendent. The transcendence of taboos leads me to my second comment on the documentary, which is that the Dawu do not exactly transcend their taboos. In this multicultural day and age, the enlightenment ideal of illuminating the benighted superstitions of the past sounds vaguely politically incorrect. But some of them could not transcend this aspect of tradition even if they wanted to. They are still afraid. Their attitude towards the sea, like the Maori attitude towards the forest, mixes awe, gratitude and fear. The taboos in question are taboos against spirits (anito) of one type or another. Breaking a taboo offends anito. The local people rationalize by concluding that the people on Taiwan will be safe because the anito are confined to Orchid Island. But this does not solve the problem for residents of Orchid Island. And so at every step of the way they perform the traditional rituals, such as sacrificing a chicken, whose blood anoints the boat and makes it sea-worthy. Respecting these requirements does not change the fact that they made a fourteen oar boat. To do so, they had to negotiate tradition, negotiate with the anito. Lin Jianxiang and Guo Jianping also had to negotiate with the local people, especially the elders, because they went ahead with the plan before telling everyone about it.

At any rate, the boat got built. The significance of that is huge. The Dawu keep rowing. They have to change with the times; they accept that and want to change. Building the boat was a willing, eyes-wide-open compromise with the modern

commodity economy, a compromise that did not give up tradition, a firm but not fixed foundation for Dawu identity. They did not dispense with the traditional rituals that constitute the cultural surround of boat building. In doing so, they do not appear as slaves to traditional notions. Rather, they appear dignified aboriginal participants in the modern world.

Conclusion

In this paper I have explored the significance of gift exchange by studying stories by Chinese and aboriginal writers from Taiwan as well as an aboriginal documentary filmmaker's film. Initially I brought two guiding ideas to the discussion, that gifts foster community (that gifts are communogenetic) and that in the modern world people must balance commodity economy and gift economy. Later I added another, more inclusive idea, that the human relationship to the environment can be treated as a gift economy, one in which we always get more than we give. Viewing exchange in this way has implications not just for how we use natural resources but also for how individuals inhabit communities and relate to others. These ideas were derived from my meditations on readings from the academic tradition on gift exchange beginning with the seminal reflections of Marcel Mauss.

I argued that it was not surprising that male Chinese writers like Ye Shitao and Wu He should find the aboriginal maiden so fascinating, nor that Chinese writers in general (including female writers such as Li Ang) should find in the idea of aboriginal community a collective principle missing from modern experience. I found that Ye and Wu have a healthy respect for the aboriginal maiden, rather than viewing her as pitiful. Ye seems to adopt the aborigines for the cause of Taiwanese nationalism. Li ends her novel with a redeeming national gift without being honest about where the gift came from (from the aborigines). Wu alone seems to try to simply observe the aborigines without adopting them for his cause; he observes Maiden's potentially communogenetic ritual gift to the men of Qingliu but does not himself participate in the ritual.

When I turned to aboriginal literature and film, I found that in mythopoetic texts aboriginal writers relate memories of an earlier time when interpersonal and human-nature relations were regulated by gift economy, but also that in modern times economically marginal aborigines feel more than anyone the difficulty of balancing the old ways and the new. Giving gifts is a matter of generosity, of being over the top, of excessiveness, of giving more expected; but these people are so poor that they have to economize rigorously even when giving gifts. Yet they still manage to move people with their gifts, as in the case of Luben's gift to Ni'en. I observed at the end of that story that though Ni'en's gratitude may be real, one man's gratitude is not going to change the system. Luben seems beleaguered, a figure of pity. The people of Orchid Island who make the boat, by contrast, seem more saavy and competent. They get money from the government, make an unprecedentedly big boat, negotiate tradition while respecting it, make money (presumably) when the boat is displayed in Taipei, while the boat itself is still a gift to the people of Taiwan.

The largest objective of this paper was to propose a modern aboriginal contribution to the tradition of gift theory. It seems to me that they should have much to contribute because of the uniqueness of their experience. Dawu aborigines may, after they grow up, go to Taipei for university and work, but their childhood experience differs from the typical urban Chinese childhood, in which contact with nature is largely mediated through the Discovery channel and in which ritual or taboo consciousness is similarly attenuated. It seems to me that it is unacceptable for a book like *The Logic of the Gift* to use aboriginal life as a starting point for reflection on the gift without including aboriginal theories of its logic. It also seems to me that the documentary Kawut na Cinat'kelang opens or joins a conversation about how to maintain a tradition of gift exchange while participating in the modern economy. It does not close this conversation; I am not fully satisfied with Guo Jianping's account of how in selling the boat he accepts that he will have nothing to do with the people who pay the museum fee to view the boat. But is the boat not in some sense his gift to them? Are they not therefore in some sense indebted to him, even though they have paid the price of entrance? And is he not indebted to nature, which provided the raw materials for the boat

without expectation of return? Human beings may always consciously or not have selfish intentions in giving gifts, but nature, being unconscious, gives the perfect gift, the gift which is truly pure. That is, if we accept that nature is unconscious; but traditional aborigines do not think nature is unconscious. Modern atheists may find it impossible to credit animism, the idea of spirits of nature to whom we are beholden, to whom we may be indebted. But modern liberal environmentalists will be the first to insist that something is wrong in the way people relate to nature and to one another in the modern world, and if they are open-minded they will listen to the gift of aboriginal wisdom, being ready to reply in kind.

AN INQUIRY INTO INTERVENTIONS ON TWO MANUSCRIPTS STAGES OF *JIABIAN* BY WANG WENXING

to be presented at the conference
Taiwan Literature off the Mainstream:
Between Languages, Ethnicities and Medias

Ruhr University of Bochum, Nov 5–6, 2010

by Raoul David Findeisen (Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave)
〔瑞士〕馮　鐵（斯洛伐克布拉迪斯拉伐考門斯基大學）

Abstract

The famed novel *Jiabian* 家變 (1972/73) by Wang Wenxing 王文興 (b1939), also known abroad thanks to several translations (the English one with a fairly unfelicitious title-rendering as *Family Catastrophe,* 1995 by Susan Wan Dolling), is certainly not "off mainstream". Yet the approach to Wang Wenxing's text I am proposing in my paper, definitely is, and is chiefly concerned with the medium of hand-writing: As commonly known, political developments since the late last century have resulted in the rapid emergence of a great number of Taiwan literature curricula and departments, several of the latter more or less loosely connected to specialized collections that have increasingly been flooded by donations in manuscript form. As a consequence, most sharply in the Tainan National Museum of Taiwan Literature, the question arose: How whither with manuscripts? Or: Now that they are perfectly well conserved up to the highest standards of the state-of-the art, which can be interests for future research?

This assessment will result in a twofold orientation of my paper: (1) Manuscripts are the usually hidden witnesses of the creative process. While traditional *banben yanjiu* 版本研究, originally established as a discipline to provide Song dynasty collectors with reliable empirical data about the authenticity of items the were offered, on printed texts, it soon expanded into manuscripts. These are a medium in the process of disappearance, particularly so in the Chinese-speaking world, where the multitude of homophonic compounds considered standard testify to the wide usage of electronic tools in text production. (2) On the basis of two drafts of *Jiabian* that were the basis of the serialized publication of the novel in *Zhong-wai wenxue* 中外文學 in 1972, the journal's year of foundation, and of the book-version in 1973, a preliminary assessment of creative strategies and interventional policies, along with idiosyncratic modes of their material excecution on the manuscript, will be given.

1. A Sketch of the MS Situation and the Publication History
一、手稿與出刊和版本情況簡介

1.0 Terminology

As elaborated elsewhere,[1] the terminology about manuscripts and their status in the creative process is sophisticated, yet extremely heterogenous and, in sum, generally applied in a reluctance to make any judgement about the status of the particular physical item (i.e. the manuscript) in this process. This is why in the following, I shall give a number of Chinese terms that roughly correspond to those given with a generic English term in top of each column, followed by my own proposal. The latter strives at a most general and sufficiently abstract wording, taking into consideration that extant witnesses usually lack in safe indications as to whether and how many other manuscript versions of a particular text have actually been produced. Therefore, in this particular instance, I consider it appropriate to recur to the wording of authors who might possibly not have been safe whether their 'drafts' would ever reach the stage of printing—i.e. simply to number the stages of their manuscripts.[2]

'draft'	'revised copy'	'clear copy'	
草稿＊[3]	修稿	謄清稿	一稿

[1] R.D.F., „Modern Chinese Writers' Manuscripts—Or: When Did Authors Start to Keep Their Drafts?", *Asian and African Studies* NS 18,2 (Bratislava, 2009), 265–292, esp. 273–279.

[2] See, as a particularly speaking example,

[3] The terms marked with an asterisk * are employed in the considerations elaborated by Xie Kunhua 解昆樺 in his paper „Liaosi taigu—liang'an xiandai shi shougao banben xue" 僚嘶胎骨——兩岸現代詩手稿版本學 (presented at the conference „Shougao, wenben yu shuuwei wenxian guoji huiyi" 手稿、文本與數位文獻國籍會議 (Zhongli and Tainan, Sep 24–25, 2010). Some of them are established and may be considered of ‚common usage', while others are, as it seems, specifically coined for the purpose to clarify the procedures involved during the whole process from the earliest written document to the first printed version and to modified prints of a text.

原稿	復制稿	清高	二稿
初稿	抄稿	正清高	三稿
	改稿	抄正稿	…
	騰修稿*	謄稿*	定稿
	修改稿	列印稿*	訂稿
	列印修改稿*[4]		

The following list assembles all known documents relevant to an assessment of the writing process of the given work, including sketches and drafts not yet transposed into any textual organization, also such as it might be produced for a publisher in view of a possible contract.[5] In other words what has been named *dossier génétique* by the school of genetic criticsim.

handwritten

[PP 1–n 飛頁試寫記錄 'scribblings on separate sheets']

M 1–30*†[6] 飛頁試寫記錄 'scribblings on separate sheets'
*推測性 hypothetical

M 31 "原稿" 'original draft', 259 sheets 張, numbered 1–257, 2 versions of sheets 54–55, sheet 247 only extant in previously produced xerocopy (by author?) 部份反面有試寫記錄 partly with "scribblings" on versoes

M 32 "抄正稿" 'clear copy', 220 sheets 張, numbered 1–220, on horizontal manuscript paper 國立臺灣大學 'National Taiwan University', symetrically divided into two blocks of 2 x 12 x 25 printed squares for 600 characters each, brand-name 金山牌 ('Golden Mountain').

---

[4] In this particular case, the implied reference to the printed version tends to blur the border-line before and after technical reproduction, in other words: before a text is becoming public.

[5] The two stages of sketches written by Mao Dun 茅盾 for his novel *Ziye* 子夜 (1932) and named 提要 for the synopsis and 大綱 for the plot structure of single chapters are a fine example. See R.D.F. „Von Ford zu Citrën—Überlegungen zur Genese des Romans *Mitternacht* (1933) von Mao Dun", *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 28 (2004), 159–181, esp. 164–165, with a *dossier génétique* pp. 179–180; tr. as "油'福特'到'雪鐵籠'——關於茅盾小說《子夜》(1933年)譜系的思考",收入馮鐵(著),《"在拿波里的胡同裡"——中國現代文學論集》(南京大學出版社2009年),第456—479頁。

[6] In the following list asterisks mark a testified or necessary document which has not been consulted. A cross † indicates that the witness is not extant.

What I have labelled here as "scribblings" can be addressed as a highly abstracted short-hand version of what the Austrian writer Robert Musil has himself called *Sudelblätter*, i.e. preliminary stages of segments intended to be inserted in the future text. In terms of the nature of their relationship to the fully elaborated textual body, they are roughly congruent with scribblings applied on the versoes of single manuscript sheets. Those scribblings put down on separate sheets piled up at the side of the 'working manuscript' with the linear running text when the author was working on the novel are, according to his testimony, usually destroyed after one working day.[7] Yet, as will be discussed in detail below, these scribblings, even though the author declares they are not legible to him any longer, have to be considered a pre-stage of the full-fledged manuscript, given that there is a specific relationship between each portion of scribblings and the manuscript text.

The numeral 30 represents an estimate based on author's recellections. To group these witnesses in separate group named "PP" here, for the traditional Greek terms of *parerga* and *paralipomena* ('accessories' and 'dropped versions')[8] coined in philology, has the advantage that no implicit statement is made as for the number of such scribblings. However, it describes quite aptly the procedures employed by the author.

---

[7] This information is based on detailed discussions with Wang Wenxing on Sep 24 (in Zhongli) and Sep 28, 2010 (in Taibei). For further information of this kind, no particular mention of this source is made.—His recent *Jiabian liu jiang—xiezuo guocheng huigu* 家變六講——寫作過程回顧 (Taibei: Maitian chubanshe, 2009), despite the subtitle, essentially introduces the novel on the basis of a close reading and records discussions about it, emphasizing conceptual aspects rather than its material manifestions.

[8] The German philosopher Schopenhauer published a book *Parerga und Paralipomena* (2 vols., 1851) with notes around his main work *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (1819/60) 作為意識和表現的世界. It is conventionally translated as *Fulu yu buyi* 附錄與補遺 which retains the implication of something originally not intended for publication (during an author's lifetime).

Originally, the author had intended to circulate the novel in hectographed form among close friends—and we may assume this would have been hand-written.[9] Therefore, the shift from the 'original draft' M 31 to the 'clear copy' M 32 prepared for the first publication bears as its most distinctive trait adaptation to conventionalized puncuation and, above all, dropping of the whole sophisticated and highly differentiated range of alternative graphemic representations and idiosyncratic punctuation, covering the whole range from simplified characters, medium and bold face, superposition and index position, varying graphic patterns of emphasis, quantified blank spaces, etc. In other words: to what was typographically accepted and possible without any further costy cast of lead types at the time. A second important device is that the sections originally just marked by a line of space are now numbered and labelled with a sequence by capital Latin letters from "A" to "O", respectively. It highlights occasionally restrained public sphere under conditions of censureship in which additional stages between pre-publication and publication may occur.

However, the date of completion given on M 31 (f257r [MF0001_01_264]) in the English form as "6:10 p.m./July 21/1972" is maintained on M 32 and just translated into Chinese as （全文完畢）/一九七二年七月廿一日. (f220a [MF0001_02_435]). As the first installment appeared less than two months later, we may infer (1) that the date does not refer to actual writing process, and that (2) all negotiations and arrangement, including typography, with the journal's editor, as well as the production of the clear copy were made within a relatively short period of time.

---

[9] See „'Jiabian' xinban xu' 《家變》新版序 [Oct 16, 1978], in *Jiabian* (1978), 1.

Witnesses
printed

P1 Wang Wenxing. "Jiabian". *Zong-wai wenxue* 中外文學 no 4 (Sep 1972), 140–173 [ch.s „A" to 22]; no 5 (Oct 1972), 150–184 [23 to 63]; no 6 (Nov 1972), 133–162 [64 to 94]; no 7 (Dec 1972), 152–188 [95 to 117]; no 8 (Jan 1973), 124–153 [118 to 129]; no 9 (Feb 1973), 143–176 [130 to „O"].

P 2* Author's copy of serialized print or list of corrections.

P 3 Taibei: Huanyu chubanshe 寰宇, Apr 1973; 2nd printing, June 1973; 3rd printing, August 1973 – 201 pp. Responsible: Chen Dahong 陳達弘 (hereafter "Huanyu ed.").

P 4 勘誤表 'Corrigenda', in "Huanyu ed.", [203].

P 5* Author's copy of Huanyu ed. 作者手上寰宇版 with corrections.

P 6 Taibei: Hongfan shudian 洪範, Nov 1978; 2nd printing, Feb 1979; 3rd, May 1979; […]; 9th, Mar 1983; […]; 18th, June 1985; […]; 25th, Feb 1993 (with copyright certificate no 11916 by Ministry of Internal Affairs). Responsible: Sun Mei'er 孫梅兒, acting editor: Zhang Li 張力 (hereafter "Hongfan ed.").

PRC Editions

- Shenyang: Liaoning daxue chubanshe 沈陽遼寧大學, June 1988 – 186 pp.
- Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文學, Feb 1992 – 238 pp.

The indication of the number of printings in the first book-edition P 3 (Huanyu edition) does, according to the author, not actually represent the real situation, as the publishing house reprinted the successful novel approximately 20 times, with the intention of reducing the writer's royalties.[10] In terms of the stages the textual body underwent, the List of Corrigenda appended to the Huanyu edition on an unnumbered

[10] See Lachner, *Die familiäre Katastrophe*, 20–21, who puts forward an estimated 40,000 copies of this edition, on the basis of a usual 2,000 copies per print. By extrapolation, at least 100,000 copies of *Jiabian* circulate on Taiwan alone.

page constitutes a distinctive stage (see section 2), as it has been compiled after the book-version was typeset and in print, and there has to be addressed as a separate document, however restricted the number of proposed interventions might be.

More important, however, is that the author felt necessary to give the following hint, quite prominently placed on a separate page (unnumbered p.5 in Hongyu edition):

《家變》曾在《中外文學》月刊連續刊載，現經作者稍加更動，與前文小有不同，喆此敬致讀者。作者謹誌。

This remark should not only alarm anybody interested in the genesis of the text, but also compels to postulate an additional document P 2, i.e. either applied on the serialized version P 1, or on proofs of Hongyu edition based upon P 1 (both hand-written), or a list of corrigenda similar to P 4, produced in any medium. The same goes for the preparation of the Hongfan edition P 6, as the text was evidently typset anew, as visible already from the differing number of pages.

These documents (named here P 2 and P 5) would constitute here what Xie Kunhua calls *kanyin yanggao* 刊印樣稿 and *kanyin xiurun gao* 刊印修潤稿, respectively, in which the purpose of the hand-written intervention on a printed text ruling the terminology: Either the proof is intended to demonstrate how its own typesetting has to be modified, or it is produced in view of producing a wholly new set.

Finally, the two PRC editions from 1988 and 1992 which I have not been able to see, definitely belong to the publication history. As the author did not have any knowledge of the earlier one, it is as illegal as the fourth and subsequent

reprints of the Huanyu edition, and fully pirated version. Needless to say that the occasionally respected shift from full to simplified characters in Taiwan printed versions as a graphematic device is certainly missing in these two editions, because for contemporary literature, mainland publishing houses almost exclusively simplified characters.

Translations

German In Anton Lachner, *Die familiäre Katastrophe—Wáng Wénxīngs literarischer Bildersturm: […]* Frankfurt a.M. [etc.]: Peter Lang, 1988 (Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 27: Asiatische und Afrikanische Studien; 26), 217–313 [ch.s "A" to "C", 1 to 9, "M" to "O", and 147 to 157].

English *Family Catastrophe,* tr. by Susan Wan Dolling. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995 (Fiction from Modern China) — 259 pp.

French *Processus familial,* tr. by Camille Loivier [Sandrine Marchand 的筆名]. Arles: Actes Sud, 1999 (Un endroit où aller; 66) — 393 pp.

It may come as a surprise that translations are listed here as well, yet seeing that the three of them are not just authorized, but have been written in close cooperation with the author, and that moreover the author has explicitly approved particular solutions at least as far as his foreign-language skills are reaching,[11] they have to be considered at least as aesthetic statement on translingual variants of the text. These do most frequently occur in the equivalents of puns based on components of Chinese characters, as well as in the technique of transposing basically classical idioms 成語, the frequent usage of the non-Latin 注音符號 transcription and the role of dialectal elements pervading the novel's text.

2. Layers and Stages

[11] See Susan Wan Dolling, „Translator's Postscript", in *Family Catastrophe,* 255–285.

二、手稿中的層級與階段

2.0

Essentially, any intervention on a single manuscript constitutes a layer. This assessment is made on the basis of an exclusively spatial analysis of the manuscript situation. However, if additional pecularities are taken into consideration, such as differing writing tools, specific execution of writing out graphs that may indication varying writing speed, or other elements, such as the indication of dates of revision and the like, additional statements may be made about the place of these interventions in time. This perspective allows to group together different layers, i.e. to identify different working periods, i.e. stages of the manuscripts. It goes without saying that different physical items that may be attributed to one 'work' (especially if they are published, i.e. usually printed) in any case as such constitute stages. For these basic terms, rarely elaborated in Chinese, I propose terms *cengji* 層級 and *jieduan* 階段, thus emphasizing the role of spatial and temporal dimensions, respectively.

2.1 The Title of *Jiabian*

A particularly distinctive case in point is the title of the novel.

Not less than eight different versions have been considered in writing by Wang Wenxing before he finally opted for the last and present, *Jiabian*. They have been considered in the following order:

1a) 《出亡的父親》

1b)《逃亡》 (added simultanously as an alternative or sub-title)

2) 《出走》
3) 《棄家》
4) 《四人之家》
5) 《父親》
6) 《范
7) 《家的分裂》
8) 《家變》

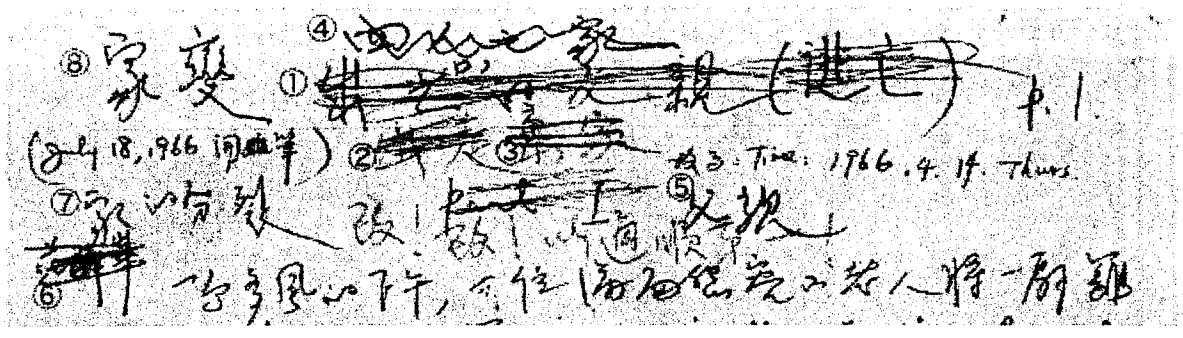

圖1：“原稿”第1張正面最上部份 First Draft, f1r top [MF0001_01_001].

As an emphatic 改！改！叫通順第一！ in red appears in the same writing style under the writing line formed by titles 2) and 3), whereas 《父親》 was written earlier, and the information “改了： Time: 1966.4.14. Thurs.” was added with another writing tool, it is (1) reasonable to assume that the first option was considered some time before the precise date in April 1966, and (2) this sort of self-encouragement was written before 《范曄》 (no 6) was considered. 5) has not been crossed out, but instead a date for 開筆 is given under the final title: *July 18, 1966* in this form in English. This is why I consider it safe to say that 5) and 6) have been written at the same time.[12]

[12] Contrary to the claim of Lachner in *Die familiäre Katastrophe*, 42, Wang Wenxing has not invented the compound *Jiabian*. He has had a precursor in the Qing scholar Qian Ruyi 錢孺飴 (exact dates unknown, early Qing) who wrote a *Qian shi jiabian lüe* 錢氏家變略. See *[Qian shi] zupu houlu er juan* 錢氏族譜後錄二卷, i.e. *Haiyu Qian shi jiacheng* 海虞錢氏家乘 by Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664); cf. *Kanseki Database* <kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/kanseki> (Sep 17, 2010) and *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, ed. by Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1944), 2 vols., 1:148a–150a.

In conclusion, we may ascertain, that the various options possibly up to (7) 《家的分裂》 have been considered during the period between Apr 14 and July 18, 1966, i.e. all before writing out the novel actually started. In this case, at nine layers may be identified, due to the intervention in (6). As a specific trait of these title of these title drafts I would like to point that two options evidently rejected in the end, i.e. (5) and (7), are not marked in any way as invalid. A general assessment of the spatial organization of this part of the sheet of the draft hints to the fact that *Jiabian* was retained, but ultimate evidence may only be drawn from the fact that (8) has actually become the sole title for all subsequent witnesses, hand-written and printed.

Roughly 5 stages may be identified, according to writing-tools and to the execution of graphs. However, it is dubious whether such an obviously experimental pre-writing phase, as far it is evidently outside the period of writing of the whole manuscript (such as emphasized here by the inserted dates) should be integrated in the assessment overall analysis of the manuscript, and not be dealt independently.[13]

2.2 Structure

Probably the most distinctive trait of *Jiabian* are its two

Though in this instance the *jiabian* are clearly connected to the *zhengbian* 政變 painfully experienced by Ming loyalists, it remains to be held that coining of the compound has its particular context.

[13] There are noted cases in literary where title drafts have developped an independent existence, with only vague conceptions about the imagined work's content, and as consequence unidentifiable or inexistent text that may be attributed to a title. The blank space left for à ‚work' has been manipulatively filled in the case of *Der Wille zur Macht,* à work—as many others by Nietzsche—that the claimed author has never written. Cf. Erich F. Podach, *Ein Blick in Notizbücher Nietzsches* [A Reading of Nietzsche's Note-Books] (Heidelberg: Rothe, 1963).

interwoven narrative lines, with a framing plot running over roughly four months from April 14, 1967, to July of the same year, and the protagonist's flash-back covering his childhood from age 9 to the time of the narration, i.e. 1969. There can be no doubt that this date was determined according to the date of Apr 14, 1966, when the author deemed necessary to indicate that he changed titles—most likely identical with a breakthrough in the novel's mental conception, as it is before the writing process started.

I know of no better visualization of this structure than the figure drawn by the German translator of part of the novel:

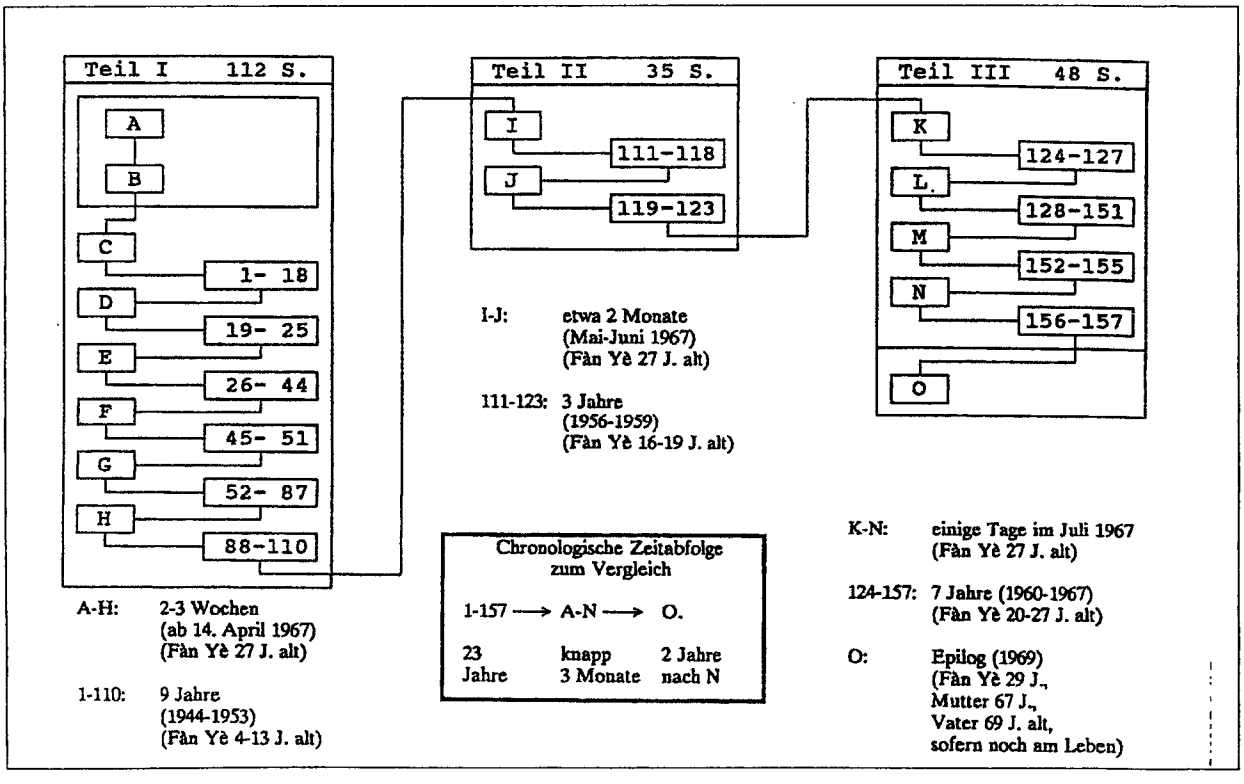

圖2：《家變》描寫機構 (Lachner, *Die familiäre Katastrophe*, 28).

The most decisive overall intervention in the whole process of composition of *Jiabian* is probably the insertion of the double and parallel sequence of letters and numerals for the single chapters that mark this narrative pattern and make it

transparent. As it a device uncontestably implying the whole work, this could be considered an invention on a level higher than the 'stage'.——It is, by the way, not unlikely that this was among the journal editorship's requirements.

2.3

An overall but not yet systematically executed analysis of the manuscripts results in up to five layers for the draft M 31, and at least three layers for the clear copy M 32. Evidently, the likely hand-written insertions on proofs (P 2 and P 5) constitute two layers. This assessment can be represented as follows, whereby the in the printed versions Layer 2 of the proofs with insertions is shared by the witness respectively preceding in time:

Stage 1		P 6
Stage 1	Layer 2	P 5*
Stage 1		P 4
Stage 1		P 3
Stage 1	Layer 2	P 2*
		P 1
	Layer 3	
	Layer 2	
Stage 1	Layer 1	M 32
	Layer 3	
	Layer 2	
Stage 2	Layer 1	
	Layer 5	
	Layer 4	
	Layer 3	
	Layer 2	
Stage 1	Layer 1	M 31
Stages 1-n		PP 1-n/M 1-30

圖3：Scheme of Layers and Stages 層級與階段的抽象圖表

3. Notation and Nature of Interventions
編寫的方式與性質

3.0 Terminology

There are just two basic textual operations—provided the text is linear: to remove something and to add something, no matter how the quantity is. Even moving bigger text portions from one place in a textual body to another is nothing else. I am emphasizing this aspect because (as in other languages as well) a wide range of expressions are in use, partly synonymous, partly vague, and partly both together. To name just a few:

'intervention'			
改變	更動	修改	改寫
改動	更正	修寫	調動＊
改正	訂正	修辭	
改善			
改為…			
'deletion'			
刪改			刪除
刪修			減十[14]
'insertion'			
加進		補充	添加
插入			加十

A terminological difficulty—only to a certain degree specific to the Chinese language and its contexts and its traditions of criticism—is the dominance of expressions with a strong teleological implication by their reference to the set of

---

[14] The proposals marked by a plus + are from Li Ping 李萍, „Autorintervention bei modernen chinesischen Autoren" 現代作家著作版本上文字調動研究 (draft for Ph.D. thesis Bochum, Ruhr University, 2007) and by their brevity have the undeniable advantage to hint to the basic nature of the operations.

normative categories coined in traditional stylistics 修辭學. This becomes explicit in all compounds including a character with a positive value judgement, such as 善 (as opposed to 惡) or 正 (as opposed to 曲 or 歪).

In the following, however, some intervention markers used by Wang Wenxing shall be discussed.

3.1 Deletion 刪除

On the following two sample pages, we find a whole range of deletion markers represented, from circumscribed segments that are afterwards filled with a deletion pattern (f68r, lines 4 and 18), obviously derived from traditional techniques originally employed with a writing-brush which could result in complete blackening of the passage, up to casual crossing out emphasized to various degrees (f68r, line 9). We find also an instance cumulated deletions that constitute not less than 5 layers (f245r, line 1).

Most of the interventions accompanied by deletion are evidently immediate, such as the increased size of the space caused by the double deletion between lines 9 and 10 which is in turn deleted (f68r), or the inclination towards the bottom om line 22 (f245r), due to the two insertions at the end of line 21.

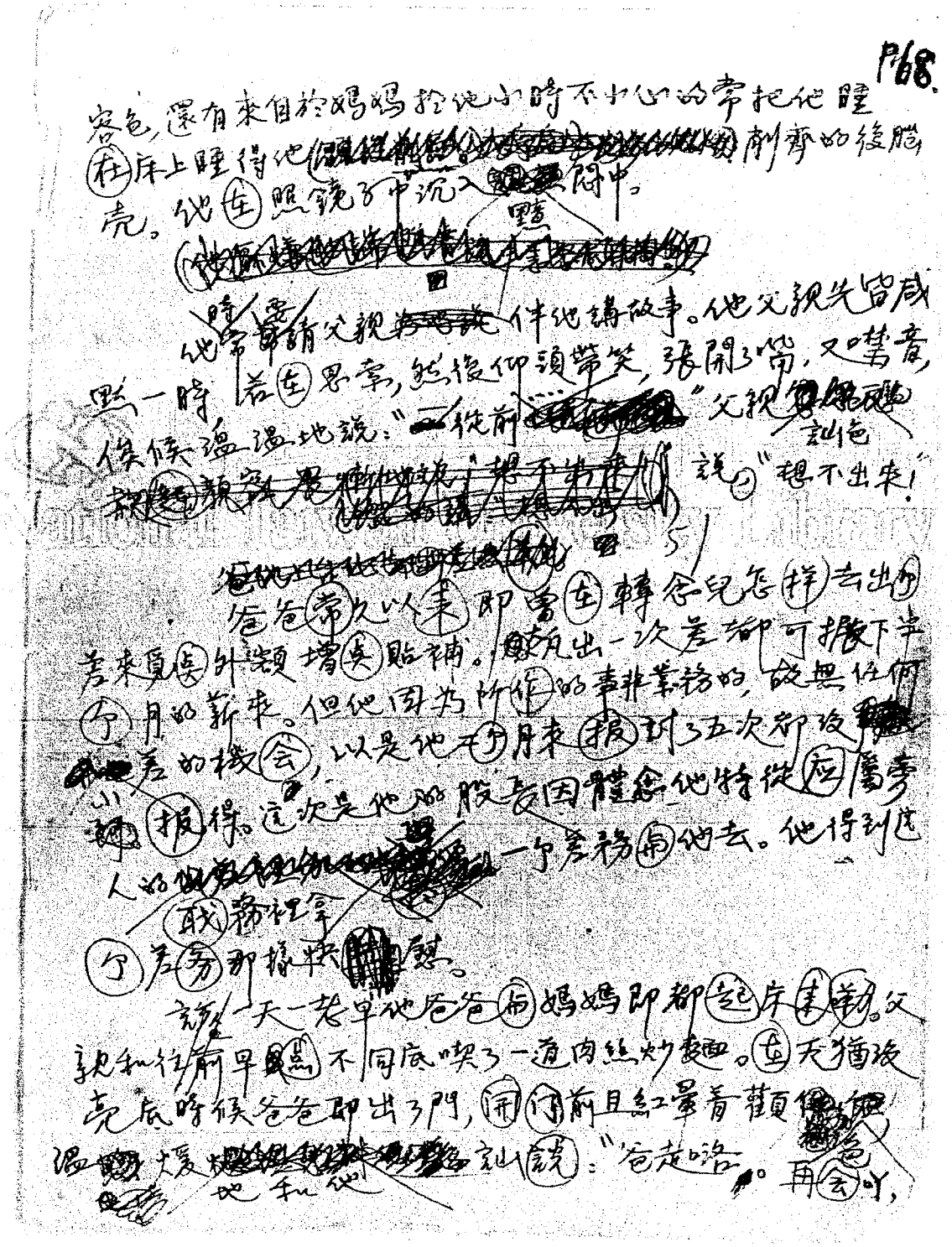

圖4： f68r [MF0001_01_071].

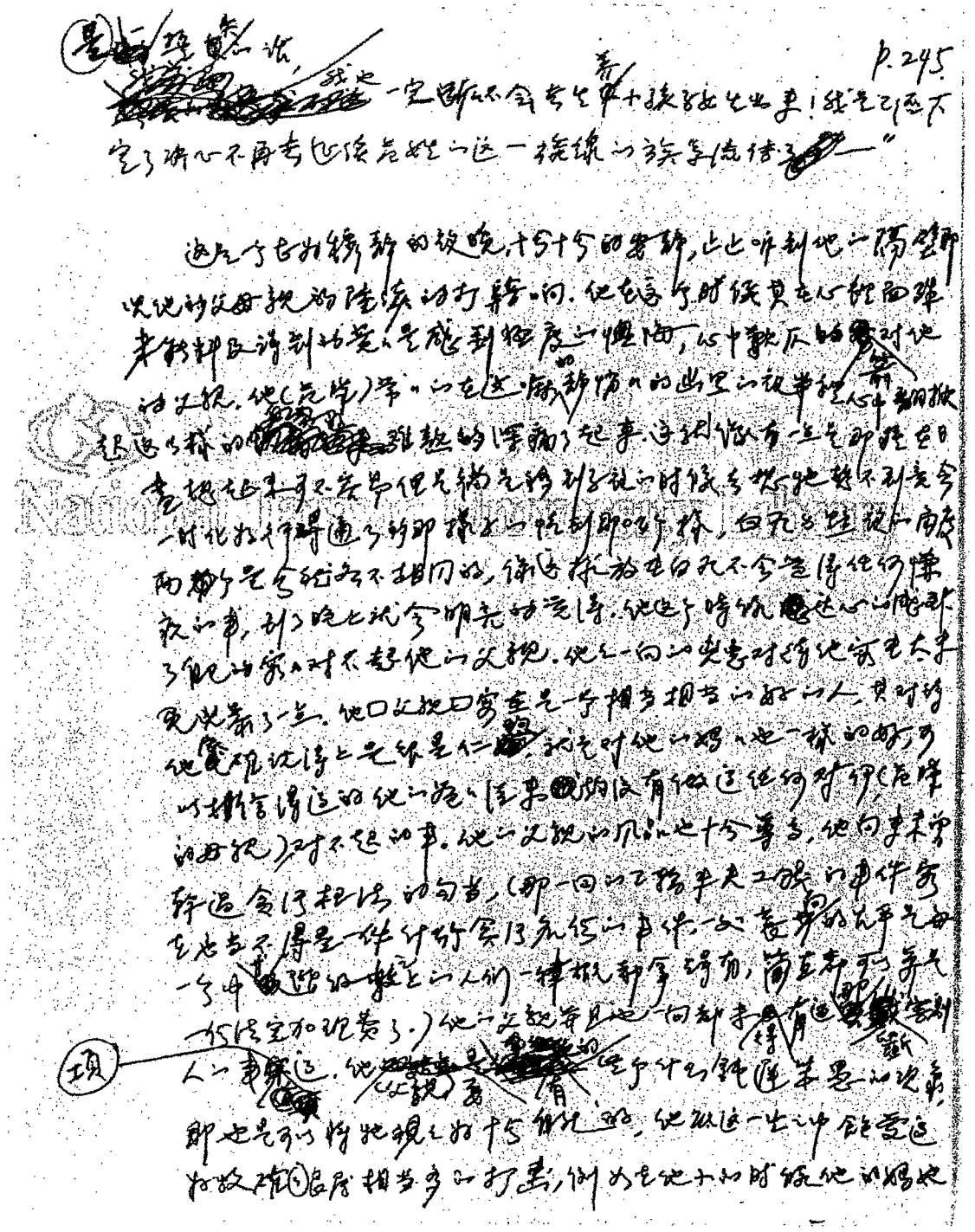

圖5： f245r [MF0001_01_248].

3.2 Insertion

In any case, in the assessment of manuscript to determine whether an intervention is ‚immediate' 立刻改寫 or ‚postponed'

事後改寫 is of far greater importance, as it may contribute to define stages that group the various layers. In several instances, this can be determined unambiguously, as there are two basic shapes of insertion markers: (1) „V"-shaped diagonal lines if applied from the top of the line (f245r, line 1, multiple), or their upside-down counterparts when applied from the bottom of the line, with both employed also designate passages of several characters. Except for the first and the last line of a page, these represent usually immediate intervention, whereas (2) characters encircled in margin and connected to the relevant passage by a line (f245r, line 22, left margin) may also be postponed interventions. In the latter instance, both markers appear cumulated, thus constituting three layers.

Insertion markers of the upside down „V" shape reveal both individual writing mood (by their length) which tends to become more controlled with shorter single strokes from characters toward the end of M 31, and the similarity of the insertion marker shape's right-hand part with some stroke types. This is well visible on f13r both insertion markers and *pie* and *shu* strokes tend to be written across several writing lines and therefore present a challenge in identification. Below, the same page is reproduced twice, once with the markers and once with the strokes.

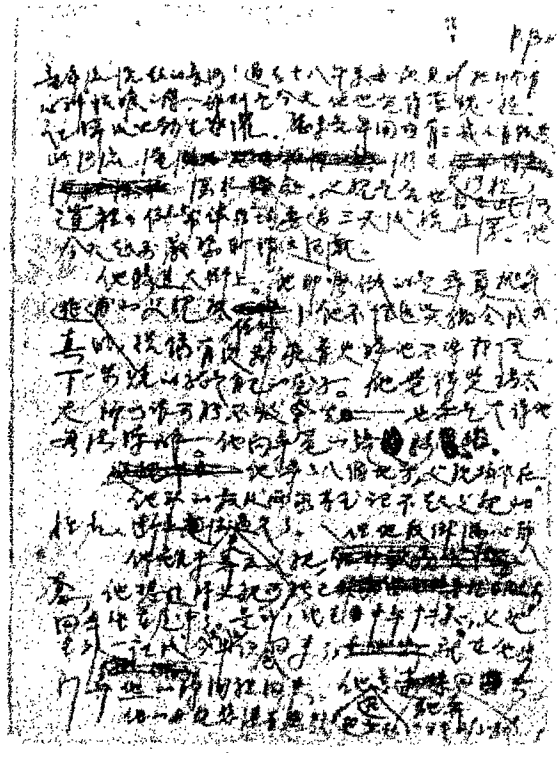

圖6：添加符號
f13r [M0001_01_013]

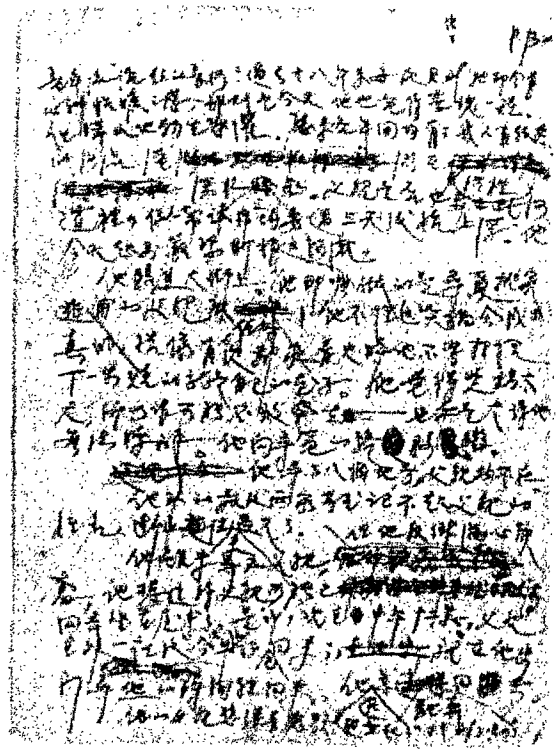

圖7：撇 and 豎 across writing lines

3.3 Inversion 變序式

Though even inversion may be conceptualized in this very same way, i.e. as 'deletion' and 'insertion', in the case of Wang Wenxing, this operation deserves particular attention, as inverting the sequence—many in binomical compounds, but also in tetra- and polynomical idioms (*chengyu* 成語)—in order to modify or even invert the semantic value is a distinctive stylistic device. An estimated 1000 such instances appear throughout the novel, and therefore maybe considered paradigmatic for the whole work.[15]

Yet usually inversions have their graphically distinctive marker, i.e. a doubly curbed line surrounding the elements to be inverted from opposite sides, so that it hints to the

[15] Cf. Lachner, *Die familiäre Katastrophe*, 103–119.

movement of elements if imagined as stretched out. In one case, on f12r, this inversion is in turn deleted, so that 3 textual layers are created.

圖8：f12r [MF0001_01_12], line 9 第9行: 張瞭 > 瞭張 > 張瞭

The same inversion marker may also encompass several characters, as in the following example:

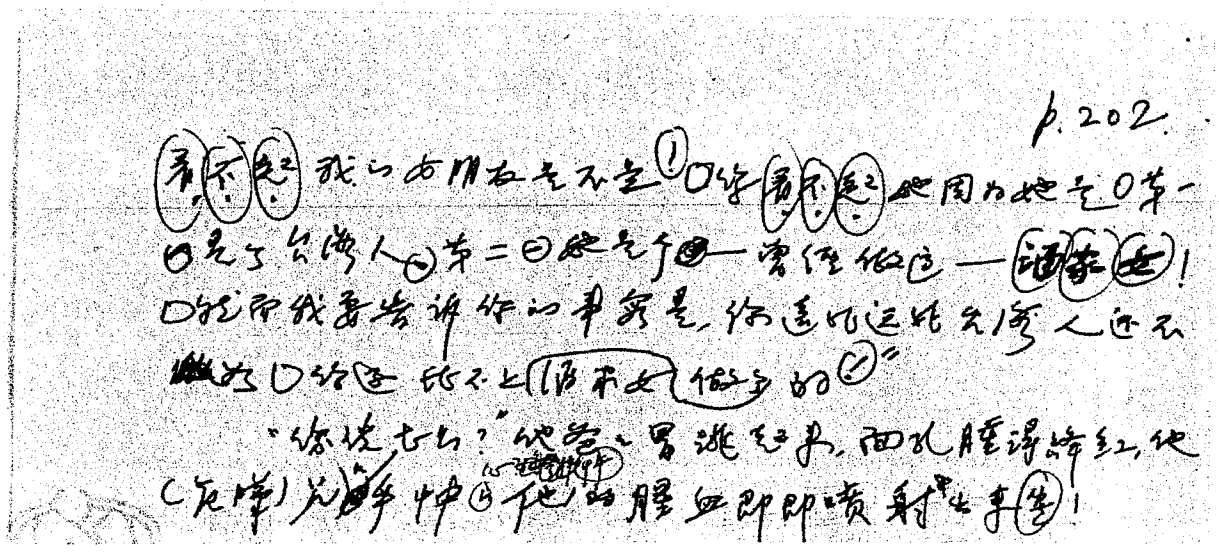

圖9：f202r [MF0001_01_205], line 4: 酒家女做個的 > 做個酒家女

3.4 Puncutation, Emphasis and Typography

The few lines shown in the detail of f202r above already show a number of the idiosyncratic devices typical for the author and briefly mentioned in Section 1 and increasingly used in the latter parts of the draft manuscript. Outstanding is the modification the modification of existing punctuation signs, such as the superposition of an exclamation mark (line 1), and its superposition combined with italics (line 4). There is

also the bold face for a 頓號 or for a whole word (both line 2), ort he emphasis by underdots (line 1 two times). In each of the first four lines, we also find squares to indicate blank space in the size of the respective number of characters. Finally, line 6 has a word in the 注音符號 transcription. Most of these metalinguistic devices are emphasized by encircling, except for the squares that are not additionally marked.

Bibliography

P1 Wang Wenxing. "Jiabian". *Zong-wai wenxue* 中外文學 no 4 (Sep 1972), 140–173; no 5 (Oct 1972), 150–184; no 6 (Nov 1972), 133–162; no 7 (Dec 1972), 152–188; no 8 (Jan 1973), 124–153; no 9 (Feb 1973), 143–176.

P2 ——. *Jiabian.* Taibei: Huanyu chubanshe [editor: Chen Dahong 陳達弘], 1973.4; 2nd ed. 1973.6 (Changchunteng wenxue congkan 常春藤文學叢刊; 8); […].

P5 ——. *Jiabian.* Taibei: Hongfan chubanshe, 1978

——. *Jiabian.* Shenyang: Liaoning daxue chubanshe, 1998.6.

——. *Jiabian.* Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1992.2.

——. *Jiabian liu jiang* 家變六講. Taibei: Maitian chubanshe, 2009.11.

*

Grésillon, Almuth. *Eléments de critique génétique. Lire les manuscrits modernes.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994. German version as *Literarische Handschriften. Einführung in die "critique génétique".* Bern [usw.]: Lang, 1999 (Arbeiten zur Editionswissenschaft; 4).

Hay, Louis. "Éléments pour l'étude des manuscrits modernes". *Codicologica* 1 (1976), 91–107.

Hummel, Arthur W. (ed.). *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912),* 2 vols. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1943.

Lachner, Anton. *Die familäre Katastrophe—Wang Wenxings literarischer Bildersturm: Sprache und Stil des Roman*

"Jiabian". Mit einer Teilübersetzung und einer Einführung zu Autor und Werk. Frankfurt a.M. [etc.]: Lang, 1988 (Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 27: Asiatische und afrikanische Schriften; 26).

Li Ping 李萍.

[Liu Bannong 劉半農 (ed.)]. *Chuqi baihua shigao* 初期白話詩稿 [Manuscripts of Early Vernacular Poetry]. Beiping: Xingyuntang shudian, 1933—55 pp.

Qian Ruyi 錢孺飴. *Qian shi jiabian lüe* 錢氏家變略 [A Short Account of Changes in the Qian Family; 17th cent.].

Xie Kunhua 解昆樺. "Chugou xinshi wenti yuyan: Lai He xinshi shougao zhong de yixiang jingying yu xiuci yishi" 雛構新詩文體語言：賴和新詩手稿中的意象經營與修辭意識 [The Genre and the Language of New Poetry in the Moulding Stage: Conceptual Efforts and Conscience of Style in the Manuscripts of Lai He's New Poetry]. Unpublished Paper, 2010, 23 pp.

Zhu Jun 祝君; Wu Nai 無奈 (directors). *Jiabian,* TV serial in 20 sequels, 960 mins. [Nanning: Guangxi minzu yinxiang chubanshe 南寧廣西民族音像出版社, 2003].

RUHR-UNIVERSITÄT BOCHUM

International Symposium

Taiwan Literature off the Mainstream :

Between Languages, Ethnicities and Medias

主流之外的台灣文學：在語言、族群與媒體之間

◆ Conference Participants:

Raoul D. FINDEISEN — Professor, Department of East Asian Studies, Faculty of Philosophy, Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia

Ann HEYLEN — Associate Professor at the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Culture, Languages and Literature; Director, International Taiwan Studies Center, National Taiwan Normal University

Faye Yuan KLEEMAN — Professor, Department of Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Colorado, USA

Henning KLÖTER — Chair, Department of Chinese Languages and Literatures; Director, Research Unit on Taiwanese Culture and Literature, Ruhr University, Bochum

LI Chin-an — Chair and Associate Professor at the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Culture, Languages and Literature, National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan

LIOU Liang-ya — Professor, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, National Taiwan University, Taiwan

Darryl STERK — Lecturer, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada

Crystal SUN Chia-sui — Assistant Professor, Department of Indigenous Languages and Communication, National Dong Hwa University, Taiwan

◆ Organized by :

Research Unit on Taiwanese Culture and Literature (TCL),
Department of Chinese Languages and Literatures of Ruhr University Bochum RUHR-UNIVERSITÄT BOCHUM
International Taiwan Studies Center at National Taiwan Normal University

◆ Sponsored by:

Ministry of Education (ROC)
Research Unit on Taiwanese Culture and Literature (TCL)
International Taiwan Studies Center at National Taiwan Normal University

◆ Venue: Ruhr University Bochum, Bochum, Germany

5-6 November 2010

Ruhr University Bochum, Bochum, Germany

http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/oaw/slc/Taiwan/index.html RUHR-UNIVERSITÄT BOCHUM