

THE TRANSNATIONAL-TRANSLATIONAL MODERNITY:
LANGUAGE AND SEXUALITY
IN COLONIAL TAIWAN AND KOREA

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Pei Jean Chen
May 2016

Copyright © 2016 Pei Jean Chen

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

THE TRANSNATIONAL-TRANSLATIONAL MODERNITY:
LANGUAGE AND SEXUALITY IN COLONIAL TAIWAN AND KOREA

Pei Jean Chen, Ph. D
Cornell University 2016

Dissertation Abstract

This dissertation seeks to examine the modern construction of language and sexuality in colonial Taiwan and Korea. It takes a transnational approach to present a circuit of colonial modernity that differs substantially from that assumed by conventional colonial history, which focuses on a uni-directional impact from imperial powers. In particular, Taiwan and Korea are perceived as cultural entities through their vertical relations with their imperial pasts, and segregated from each other as the “unimagined communities.” This research argues that the idea of “unimagined communities” enables a political engagement to examine and challenge the grounds for nationalist imagination; and this “unimagined communities” are not just as the communities that are beyond national boundaries, but also as those that are internal to Taiwanese or Korean society. In advancing this argument, this research tracks the processes of transnational exchange and translational shaping of the modern concepts of national language and literature, as well as romantic love and sexual desires in early twentieth-century Taiwan and Korea. By theorizing and historicizing the construction of modern ideas of language and sexuality, this research challenges the imperialist and nationalistic hegemonies with the notion of “untranslatability” in colonial linguistic and literary practices, and the “critical love” against the normative idea supporting intimate relationships in nation-building. These arguments are supported by the result of the investigation on considerable primary materials, including the novels and writings by literary icons of Taiwan and Korea, as well as numerous public debates and discussions from renowned newspapers and literary magazines in the colonial era.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Pei Jean Chen was born in Taipei, Taiwan. She received her Master of Arts in 2006, from the Institute of Social Research and Cultural Studies, National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan. After earning her MA, she worked as a full-time editor at a publishing house in 2007, and then a weekly newspaper in 2008. In 2010, she began her doctoral studies at Cornell. Pei Jean has spent approximately a decade in the fields of Taiwan and South Korea, and speaks and reads Mandarin, Korean, Taiwanese, and Japanese. In the May of 2016, she received her PhD in the field of Asian Literature, Religion, and Culture from Cornell University. Her research and commentary appear in *Bulletin of Taiwanese Literature*, *Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies*, *ARTCO*, *Pots Weekly* and *Culture Studies Monthly* in Taiwan.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without the generous support from my teachers, colleagues, friends, and family. I am deeply indebted to my chair, Naoki Sakai, for his indispensable contribution to the field of translation and transnational studies, and for his guidance, that has helped me in believing and completing this research project. I would like to express my very great appreciation to my committee members: Brett de Bary, Natalie Melas, and Petrus Liu, for inspiring me with their insightful studies on translation, modernity, comparative studies, and sexuality. Each of them set a standard of scholarly and personal excellence I strive to meet. I also owe a great debt of gratitude to many other Cornell faculty members that I have worked with in the first three years of course works. I thank Edward Gunn, Claudia Verhoeven, Lucida Ramberg, Saida Hodzic, Ellie Choi, and Yongwoo Lee, who have been of great help in many ways in shaping my research project. Thank to Stephanie Divo, Robert Suple, Frances Yufen Lee Mehta, Song Meejeong, and Park Kyeongmin, for their passion and devotion for language teaching that I have greatly benefited from working and learning with them.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to various scholars in South Korea and Taiwan: Prof. Kim Eun-shil of the Department of Women's Studies, Ewha Woman's University; Prof. Baik Youngseo and Choe Keysook of the Institute of Korean Studies, and Prof. Michael Kim of Underwood International College at Yonsei University; Dr. Peng Hsiaoyen and Chen Hsiangyin of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica; Prof. Wu Peichen, Choi Malsoon, and Chi Tawei of The Graduate Institute of Taiwanese

Literature, National Chengchi University. Advice and support given by these scholars has been a great help in advancing my research.

This research project would not have been done without the support of several grants and fellowships. Department of Asian Studies, East Asia Program, Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies, and Graduate School at Cornell provided me generous fellowships and grants for fulfilling course works and conducting research in East Asia. Being awarded with the Fellowships for Doctoral Candidates in the Humanities and Social Sciences from Academia Sinica, and the Dissertation Fellowships from Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange allows me to concentrate solely on my research and writing during the final stages of my doctoral studies. I am also grateful for the invitation and travel support from the Program in Transnational Korean Studies, University of California-San Diego, and The Center for Taiwan Studies at the University of California-Santa Barbara, which allows me to have the opportunity to meet other Asian Studies scholars across different disciplines and regions and to enhance my research project.

I wish to acknowledge the help provided by Kim Scott and Erin Kotmel of Department of Asian Studies, for their kind assistance with the administrative works during my studies. I would like to thank Joshua Young and Doreen Silva of East Asia Program, for their guidance and support for the GSSC events, from which I learn a lot and expanded my community at Cornell and East Asian Studies. My special thanks are extended to Chuang Tienming and Julia, for helping me to settle in and keeping me company from the first day I arrived at Ithaca.

My research project has gained considerable precision and insight from conversations with fellow colleagues at Cornell, especially Song Misun, Lim Wahguan, Wang Chunyen, Huang Junliang, Mina Ann, Walter Hsu, Yi Wejung, Cai Yiwen, Annetta Fotopoulos, Jennifer Goodman, Eileen Vo, Tyran Grillo, Dexter Thomas, Zhang Ning, Clarence Lee, Chen Xiangjing, Lee Sujin, Jack Chia, Chen Shiauyun, and Park Jahyon; and with numerous close friends in Taiwan and South Korea, especially Wu Pinhsien, Liu Yafang, Lin Chien-ting, y, Tsai Yuchen, Ken, Midori, Rachel, Kim Joohee, Chang Suji, Kim Jeongmin, Ki Suyoung, Hong Ham, and Gabriel Sylvian.

Lastly, I extend the deepest gratitude to my mother Liu Suyue, for her unconditional love and faith in me. Thanks to my father, coolest brothers, my best grandparents-in-law, and Amber, who lovingly support me to finish the journey. This dissertation is dedicated to them.

NOTE ON ROMANIZATION AND TRANSLATION

Korean words in the text are rendered using the McCune-Reischauer romanization system; Chinese words are rendered using the Hanyu Pinyin romanization system, Japanese words are rendered using the Revised Hepburn system of romanization, with the exception of proper names for which alternative spellings are well established. For western words, the original spelling was used. Korean, Chinese, and Japanese names follow the standard order—family name first, followed first name—unless a particular name is traditionally rendered in Western order—given name first. All translations from Chinese, Taiwanese, Korean, and Japanese sources in this dissertation are done by me, other than those listed in the notes and works cited.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
0-1 <i>Modernity and Translation as Bordering Systems</i>	2
0-2 <i>The Unimagined Communities: Inter-referencing Taiwan and Korea</i>	10
0-3 <i>Language and Sexuality in the Lure of the Modern</i>	16
CHAPTER 1 MODERNIZATION OF LANGUAGE, AND ITS OTHERS	22
1-1 <i>Rethinking Language Reforms in Colonial Taiwan and Korea</i>	23
1-2 <i>Constructing the "Newness" in Language</i>	33
1-3 <i>Gendering Language: Women in language and the New Novel</i>	46
1-4 <i>Borders and Bordering: Language and Its Others</i>	61
CHAPTER 2 THE UNTRANSLATABILITY OF COLONIAL LITERATURE	69
2-1 <i>Theorizing Untranslatability: Colonial Ambivalence in Languages</i>	70
2-2 <i>Dislocation of the Colonized: The Temporalities in Colonial Modernity</i>	78
2-3 <i>The Untranslatability of Colonial Literature (1): The Untranslatable</i>	87
2-4 <i>The Untranslatability of Colonial Literature (2): The Unhomed</i>	95
CHAPTER 3 SEXUAL MODERNITY AND THE COLONIZATION OF SEX	107
3-1 <i>Love and Its Discontent: The Institutionalization of Modern Love</i>	109
3-2 <i>Governmentality of Sex: The Emergence of Modern Sexual Subjects</i>	122
3-3 <i>Gendering Nation: Translating Female Third-person Pronoun</i>	129
3-4 <i>Representations of Sexuality in 1920-30s Literature</i>	138
CHAPTER 4 CRITICAL LOVE FOR THE NATION	145
4-1 <i>The Fetishization of Love: Love in the Early Capitalist Era</i>	146
4-2 <i>Unreachable Intimacies: Love of Exhaustion in Colonial Everydayness</i>	159
4-3 <i>Critical Love for the Nation (1): Double Suicide</i>	173
4-4 <i>Critical Love for the Nation (2): Same-Sex Love</i>	185
CONCLUSION	203
5-1 <i>Return to the Colonial Present</i>	203
5-2 <i>Unpacking the Complicity of Colonialism, Nationalism, Capitalism and Sexism</i>	208
5-3 <i>Re-imagining Postcolonial Communities and the Politics of "Trans-"</i>	213
BIBLIOGRAPHY	216

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation project seeks to rethink colonial modernity in a transnational and translational revision, in the accounts of translingual language movements and transcultural practices of modern sexuality in early twentieth-century Taiwan and Korea. This project is initiated by the critical insight of postcolonial theory. In the postcolonial practice, creative cultural adaptation has been a crucial form of postcolonial theory that engages with the material realities of the colonized. The growing literature on multiple modernities recognizes the multiplicity of Western modernity itself, as well as the role resistance to colonialism, and other cultural activities play in the shaping of modernity. But in many cases, the concepts this literature deploys to focus on how this shaping occurs are those that emphasize local or regional agency in the appropriation and adaptation of literary writing. These concepts posit an abstract origin, with the aim of elucidating a momentous crevice between what postcolonial scholarship describes as “the West and the Rest.” As a way of questioning the presumed inevitability of this binary, my project intends to return to the concepts of “transnationality” and “translationality” in order to revise the notion of colonial modernity. In order to lay the ground for my discussion of the East Asian context, I will revisit earlier debates about modernity and translation, setting the stage for comparison of what I call the “unimagined communities” of colonial Taiwan and Korea, and the historical temporalities embodied in the institutionalization of language and sexuality as they pursued the lure of modernization and nation-building.

0-1 Modernity and Translation as Bordering Systems

From the late nineteenth century to the early and middle twentieth century, language and translation occupied a central role in imperial/colonial policy (missionary translation, assimilation of imperial languages), in anti-colonial movements (appropriation of western ideas, advocacy of vernacular literature), and later in postcolonial struggles that sought to revise historicism and challenge the rigid binary oppositions of colonialism. It is not surprising that the leading post-colonial theorists made efforts to problematize the unity of language and the traditional concept of translation. Most of them inherited or appropriated Walter Benjamin and Jacques Derrida's critiques of historicism and logocentrism/western metaphysics as primary theoretical sources for their discussions of translation.¹ Their attempt to unveil the rigid binary oppositions maintained by the "metaphorics of translation"² and the value-coding of each word mediated by "catachresis"³ contributed to deconstructing the assumed historical continuity of Eurocentric/gendered conception of translation and to revising the history writing of the oppressed (women, colonized, subalterns). Furthermore, as I shall demonstrate below, the critique of translation is closely connected to the critique of

¹ This attempt also contributes to the critique of the field of translation studies (such as Roman Jakobson and George Steiner), with its caution regarding its "western orientation" (in Niranjana's words) tendency to neglect the question of power imbalance between different languages (Asad 1986: 141; Niranjana 1992: 48), underlying the notions based on an unproblematic representational theory of language, and building the conceptual image of colonial domination into the discourse of western philosophy.

² The metaphorics of translation, in the aspect of gender, as Lori Chamberlain's discussion makes clear, "are a symptom of larger issues of Western culture and in particular of the anxieties involved in establishing and maintaining borders" (Requoted from Simon 1996: 10).

³ Derrida once stated catachresis as the "forced" metaphorical use of words, as a concept-metaphor without an adequate referent. It refers to the original incompleteness that is a part of all systems of meaning (Derrida 1982: 255-256). Spivak applies this word to "master words" that claim to represent a group (such as women or the proletariat) when there are no true examples of the group. Thus, she thinks of "history" as a catachresis, the abuse or misapplication of a metaphor, or the improper use of a word. It is as the act of "reversing, displacing, and seizing the apparatus of value-coding" (Spivak 1990: 228).

Western-centered modernity. As Naoki Sakai elaborates in the “Introduction” of the groundbreaking volume, *Traces 1: Specters of the West and the Politics of Translation* (2001), the issue is to “address the vexed questions of how knowledge production in the Humanities is still haunted by the West/Rest distinction, and how translation serves to create the senses of modernity” (Sakai 2001: xi). To avoid ontological commitment to those fictitious entities, I propose to pin down the notions of modernity and translation as bordering systems—the knowledge-production of boundaries, discrimination, and classification—to encompass the social relations associated with the rise of an international world, nationalism, and capitalism.

I have help in this. The nature of modernity as a bordering concept is best represented by what Stuart Hall (1992) phrases as “The West and the Rest” in his study of the early Europe-centered account of the evolution of modern societies and modernity. Hall traces the discourse on the construction of the West, which utilizes a binary of the “West and the Rest” to claim a unique European/Western self and the inferior “Others.” In the closing chapter of the volume, Hall follows the “cultural” aspect of Western definition of modernity, examining the ways that knowledge was produced and classified and how this works to construct symbolic boundaries for the sense of belonging or exclusion.⁴ In so doing, Hall, offering Michel Foucault’s sense of the “regime of truth” and giving Edward Said’s notion of “Orientalism” as examples, illustrates how the “difference” that proved so critical to the “West as discursive formation” resulted from myopia rather than analysis. Similarly, the conflation of “modernity” with “Europe” or the West builds upon these alleged “differences.” However, in Hall’s discussions, we

⁴ See: Hall, Stuart. “The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power,” in Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (eds), *Formations of modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992: 275-320.

don't see the presence of the "others" or "the rest," but still a represented version; for his discussion is limited to the data and representation made by Western modernization theorists. Rather, critical understanding and deployment of modernity as a concept calls for the recognition that "modernity" is ultimately a discourse of self-representations that also implies representations of Others—in the past or the present. Naoki Sakai has proved to us in his insightful *Translation and Subjectivity* (1997), a tendency towards self-referentiality from modern Western culture should be understood as always already operating in a comparative framework, which he refers to as the "schema of configuration," and the "regime of translation."⁵ Sakai points out how translation is viewed as a model of communication, a trope of border that works to differentiate and determine one language or one group of people from another. Sakai further elaborates later in the essay on "Translation": "Once translation is determined as the relationship of the two terms as equivalent and alike, it gives rise to the possibility of extracting an infinite number of distinctions between the two. Just as in the co-figuration of 'the West and the Rest' by which the West represents itself, constituting itself by positing everything else as 'the Rest,' the conceptual difference allows one term to be evaluated as superior to the other" (Sakai 2006: 73-76). This results in what Meaghan Morris, grounded on Sakai's work, points out, that the opposition of West/non-West is "now becoming an obstacle to analysis as distinct from network-building in intra-Asian cultural studies—except when it is itself made an object of careful empirical work" (Morris 2004: 253). Sakai and Hall's works allow research to identify the relation between borders and the bordering of cultural difference through the operations of modernization and

⁵ See the discussion in: Sakai, Naoki. *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997: 40-71.

translation. The problem of translating specific differences into universal anthropological categories, through the mode of subjection imposed in the “regime of translation,” is a particularly postcolonial one; in which, on the one hand, the conventional idea about modernity continues to be challenged, and, on the other, non-Western cultures emerge to claim alternative forms of modernity.

Against this backdrop, the revision of this Western-centered modernity, as shown below, draws attention to alternative forms of creative cultural adaptation and to overcoming the binarism of the modern and the colonial. Beginning with the “cultural turn” of the 1980s, “alternatives” came to be conceived in cultural terms. The emergence of this turn may be explained with a geopolitical turn of global capitalism, which accompanied the rise of a periphery to reassert its own culture against Western hegemonies. As Dilip Gaonkar (2001) writes in the resulting 2001 volume of *Alternative Modernities*, “Creative adaptation is not simply a matter of adjusting the form or recoding the practice to soften the impact of modernity; rather, ... it is the site where a people ‘make’ themselves modern, as opposed to being ‘made’ modern by alien and impersonal forces, and where they give themselves an identity and a destiny” (Gaonkar 2001: 18). Thus, the Western/imperialist models may cease to serve as the standard of the evaluation of modernity and may become part of the plural, alternative modernities. Here lies a question: is the turn marked by a shift of the borders, rather than an erasing of the boundaries? This is observed the tendency that most of the essays in the volume have to examine modernity from specific national and cultural sites, with the only reference being that of Western models. The question leads me to reflect on Arif Dirlik’s (2013) eloquent critique of “alternative modernities.” He argues: 1) The term “alternative

modernities” is used most prominently with reference to nations and civilizations, with the implied suggestion of cultural homogeneity within their boundaries, which is at odds with simultaneous claims of the “cultural complexity” of the contexts of modernity; 2) Qualifying “modern” with an adjective distracts attention from fundamental questions of modern history. What is needed instead is to confront modernity as a historical concept; 3) In so doing, it is important not to ignore the “darkness”⁶ in the criticism of Euromodernity that is equally the legacy of the many cultural traditions that are invoked in claims to “alternativity.”⁷ The Observations put forth in Dirlik’s criticism of “alternative modernities” had also previously been implied in the project of “provincializing Europe,” as well as in discussions elaborating a more complex category of “colonial modernity.”

Dipesh Chakrabarty’s (1992, 2000) often-cited phrase “provincializing Europe” is a project of revising history in order to unveil a plural history by critical investigation of translation/transitions and to foster a history writing of “being-in-the-world.” Chakrabarty’s schema of the transition of historical narratives (“History 1” and “History 2”) resonates with the shift away from a Western-centered narrative of modernity to one of alternative modernities: from “History 1,” written by modernization theory and political modernity, to “History 2,” of postcolonial, particular, diverse life-worlds. However, according to Chakrabarty, “History 2,” as a transitional narrative that imperialist and third-world histories are written into reproduces European archetypes of

⁶ The metaphor Dirlik borrows from: Mignolo, Walter. *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options (Latin America Otherwise)*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011. (See: Dirlik, Arif. “Thinking Modernity Historically: Is ‘Alternative Modernity’ the Answer?” in *Asian Review of World Histories* 1:1, 2013: 41.

⁷ See the elaboration of the arguments in: Arif Dirlik ‘s “Thinking Modernity Historically: Is ‘Alternative Modernity’ the Answer?” pp. 5-44.

political modernity. Hence, Chakrabarty's project does not simply target an unavoidable referent of an imagined "Europe," nor does it thoroughly embrace or celebrate the "alternativity." To illustrate the "artifice" in the transition of historical narratives, he critically inquiries into the problem of translation as social-cultural transaction, that assumes a measure of equivalence defined by social-scientific language, with which "the Hindi *pani* may be translated into the English *water* without having to go through the superior positivity of H₂O" (Chakrabarty 2000: 83). The superiority of H₂O is embodied in a set of rules written by the metalanguage of reason, in which the "translatability" and equivalence between different cultures remain unquestioned. Chakrabarty, thus, appeals to "models of cross-cultural and cross-categorical translations that do not take a universal middle term for granted" (Chakrabarty 2000: 83).

To articulate other ways for the comprehension of the varieties of history, Tani E. Barlow's *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (1997) has provided the idea of colonial modernity for the understanding of East Asian modernity that does not become trapped in binarism. Barlow's term "colonial modernity" had been earlier introduced in the title of the first issue of *positions: east asian cultures critique* in 1993. In this pioneering issue and the edited volume, Barlow argued the category could be a useful innovation for unpacking the complicity of the modern and the colonial, and for grasping that, broadly, all modernities are effectively colonial.⁸ In a recent essay, Barlow further states the colonial modernity understood in the East Asian context as "how colonialism worked in inter-Asian relations for a generation of scholars who understood nationalism from an internationalist perspective." Thus, for East Asian scholars, "the challenge of the

⁸ See: Barlow, Tani E. "Introduction: On "Colonial Modernity"", *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, ed. Tani E. Barlow, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997: 3, and 5-6.

neologism of colonial modernity is how we understand the savage history linking emergent states—Japan, Korea, ‘Manchuria’ and China—one instance of a multiply colonized world, yet singular in its particular forms, strategies, ideologies and political practices” (Barlow 2012: 623-624). If we are to go beyond the regional predicament, to historicize the concept of modernity, and to reclaim the humanity in cross-cultural imagination, it is important not to ignore the reproduction of bordering systems between and within different alternatives. In sum, there is a blindness to considering questions of power and historicity, and by problematizing the conventional view of modernity and translation, postcolonial scholars seek to reconfigure these two analytical concepts, which enables the revelation of the silent violence and offers the possibility of a new, radical space, a state of borderlessness.

For most of the scholars working on the historical condition of colonial and postcolonial East Asia, the concept of “colonial modernity” is still an effective framework. However, what I am trying to further discuss in this dissertation is an inquiry into this “living structure”⁹ and its obscured “transnationality” and “translationality,” with which Homi Bhabha (1994) envisages the postcolonial world of statelessness: “For the demography of the new internationalism... there is overwhelming evidence of a more transnational and translational sense of the hybridity of imagined communities” (Bhabha 1994: 5). Similarly, Emily Apter (2006) maps the connecting point of translational and transnational as: “A broad intellectual topography that is neither the property of a single nation, nor an amorphous condition associated with post-nationalism, but rather a zone of critical engagement that connects the ‘l’ and the ‘n’ of transLation and transNation. The

⁹ See the discussions of the concept of “colonial modernity” as “living structure” in: Hyunjung Lee and Younghan Cho, 'Introduction: Colonial Modernity and Beyond in East Asian Contexts', *Cultural Studies* 26, no. 5 (2012): 601–616.

common root ‘trans’ operates as a connecting port of translational transnationalism (a term I use to emphasize translation among small nations or minority language communities) as well as the point of debarkation to a cultural caesura—a trans—ation where transmission failure is marked” (Apter 2006: 5).

What Bhabha and Apter work on is a postcolonial life-intellectual world. I tend to return to the colonial temporalities that have been spatialized and historicized by the colonial power and capitalist nation state, and which were shaped by the “transnationality” and “translationality” of the modern and colonial systems. I argue that, though the “transnationality” and “translationality” constitute the specificities of East Asian modernity, they were appropriated as a means to create the “Others” in colonial discourses. To put this forward: the historical condition of transnationality emerged from transnational encounters before the construction of the modern world, has been regulated by the order of the international world, and obscures the postcolonial struggle with the shadow of the determination of the nation state. Also, the ignorance of the “bordering” nature of translation activities during transnational encounters easily reduces translation to a “movement from one language to another,” and has been limited to the norm of “national/language,” as well as the binary relation of “the original/source and copy/target,” and therefore establishes “the regime of translation” as mentioned above. Thus, it is important to retrieve “transnationality” and “translationality” from the current understanding of the analytical and historical frameworks.

0-2 The Unimagined Communities: Inter-referencing Taiwan and Korea

Comparative studies of Taiwan and Korea are the best examples to illustrate how the “transnationality” and “translationality” have been generated and obscured in the modern and colonial systems. To this end, I propose to return to the emergence of the historical point when the bordering systems began operating. Taiwan, after experiencing the Dutch colonial regime (1624-1662) and Koxinga's rule (1662-1683), was included into Fujian Province and ruled by the Qing dynasty for nearly two centuries. The islanders of Taiwan experienced Hanization (*hanhua* 漢化) in terms of language and lifestyle during this period. From the mid-nineteenth century, the Qing court encountered serial forces from Western powers in the Opium Wars (1841-1842; 1856-1860) and the Sino-French War (1884-1885), and had to open Taiwanese ports to the world. Finally, Qing was defeated by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and signed the “Treaty of Shimonoseki” (April, 1895), with which Taiwan was ceded to Japan, and it remained under Japanese rule for over half a century. During the same period, Korea was under the rule of the Chosŏn dynasty (or Yi dynasty, 1392-1897) for nearly five centuries; during the early establishment of the Chosŏn Dynasty, it was a vassal state of the Ming dynasty (1368-1844), and from the middle of the Chosŏn dynasty, there was ceaseless fighting with Jurchen and “dwarf pirates” (Japanese pirates). Later, in 1637, it became a vassal state of the Qing dynasty. Toward the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty, Korea was invaded by military forces from France, the United States, and Japan, on Ganghwa Island, and finally in 1876, signed the “Treaty of Ganghwa” with Meiji Japan, forcing the opening of the port. From this point onward, foreign aggression and internal problems resulted in the eruption of the Donghak Peasant Revolution in early 1894. When the Qing

government sent troops to suppress the revolt, this triggered Japan's stationing of strong forces on the peninsula. This convergence of military forces brought about the Sino-Japanese War, which led to the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, and Korea also broke away from the Qing and later became a Japanese protectorate in 1905. Finally the "Japan-Korea Treaty" was signed in 1910 and Korea became a Japanese colony.

The brief historical summary of events in Taiwan and Korea depicted above shows the growth and decline of the transnational powers in the two regions. In particular, the shift of imperial powers between East and West and within East Asia in the late nineteenth century indicates the double-marginal position of Taiwan and Korea. This double-marginality marks an important starting point for comparative studies of these two societies. Furthermore, on top of the shared geopolitical experiences, the reason why I am conducting this research with a comparative study of colonial Taiwan and Korea is not confined to the experience of similarities of historical processes or cultural backgrounds. My comparative approach is initiated by the idea of "inter-referencing" (Roy and Ong 2011)¹⁰ to contrast against the conventional East-West or colonized/colonier referencing. Since the tendency to self-reference of current/ex-imperial powers, and the uni-directional reference between the (ex)colonizer and the (ex)colonized reinforce the rigid binary oppositions that still define the postcolonial world. My transnational approach of inter-referencing Taiwan and Korea expects to explore the articulation of the specificities of the Taiwanese and Korean socio-historical situation, and to contrast it against a background of conventional East-West and the

¹⁰ See Aihwa Ong's elaboration of "inter-referencing practices" in the comparative studies of Asian cities: Ong, Aihwa. "Introduction: Worlding Cities, or the Art of Being Global," *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global*. Roy, Ananya, and Aihwa Ong. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

colonizer-colonized referencing. The project seeks to expand the historical and cultural references—which have been confined to North America, Europe, Japan and China—to those countries/societies with/out commensurability for a better understanding of the complex histories of Taiwan and Korea. It also seeks to rectify the situation of an unbalanced labor division within Asian and/or area studies, since compared to the considerable scholarship from and the notable development of Area Studies, Korean and Taiwan Studies remain marginal in the discipline, not to mention the absence of Korean studies in Taiwan and vice versa. This geopolitical and academic situation is implied by the bordering systems that I have discussed above. Taiwan and Korea are perceived as cultural entities through their vertical relations with their imperial pasts, and segregated from each other as “unimagined communities.”

Certainly, the notion of the “unimagined communities” corresponds to Benedict Anderson’s (1983) well-cited analysis on political nationalism as “imagined community,” which has been treated as a universal phenomenon in the history of the modern world. Nonetheless, critiques on “imagined modernity” for its Western-centered, spontaneous, inclusive tendencies¹¹ have urged caution in assuming such an idea can encompass all the different political imaginations. In either case, Taiwan and Korea are never perceived in the same category of imagined community, not even when they were both under Japanese rule and politically, culturally, being converted into Japanese nationalities through assimilation and imperialization policies. The idea of “unimagined communities” enables a political engagement that would examine and challenge the grounds for such nationalist

¹¹ For the detailed discussion of these critiques, please see: Chatterjee, Partha. “Whose Imagined Community?” in *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993: 3-13; Hobsbawm, E. J. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge [England: Cambridge University Press, 1990; Marx, Anthony W. *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

imagination. As I shall demonstrate in the main chapters, Taiwan and Korea have developed, along parallel lines, a cultural imagination that is not posited on an identity, but rather on the different forms of the nationalist imagination propagated by the modern and colonial systems. The experiences and incidents that cannot be subsumed under the general rubric of national history, that goes beyond the national boundaries of language, race or religion possessed by the two societies encourages me to consider them as communities that remained unimagined. Furthermore, I am keen to put forward the concept of “unimagined communities,” not just in relation to communities that are beyond national boundaries, but also as those that are internal to Taiwanese or Korean society. Such communities are transnational, multilingual figures that blur the national linguistic lines, and include as well sexual minorities that challenge the normative ideas constructed by the modern state. These external and internal imaginative limits disturb the implied trajectories of a unitary national imagination, and at the same time, embody the “minimal incommensurability” that Natalie Melas (2007) proposes for a ground of comparison, “without leaving the basis of equivalence unquestioned” (Melas 2007: 27-31).

Notwithstanding the unimagined ground for the comparison of Taiwan and Korea, many scholars have devoted intellectual labor to advancing the field. For example, Mal-Soon Choi’s timely work, *Island and Peninsula: Comparison of Taiwanese and Korean Literature under Japanese Rule* (2013), is one of the few pieces of scholarship that specialize in the comparative studies of colonial Taiwan and Korea. This book centers on the issue of the “modern experience” represented in the colonial literature of Taiwan and Korea, and systematically analyzes the three important historical periods “self-

consciousness and enlightenment,” “left wing and modern,” and “war and mobilization” during colonial times and the accompanied literary production in both regions. Choi proposes an East Asia-oriented historical view to compete with the Western-centric modern discourses, and draws attention to the interconnected colonial/modern experiences embodied in colonial Taiwanese and Korean literature. The key frameworks for reading Choi’s book are “East Asia” and “Japanese colonization,” which are also the familiar fields for the comparison of Taiwan and Korea to emerge into.¹² Karen Laura Thornber’s *Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Transculturations of Japanese Literature* (2009) illustrates how the (semi)colonial writers discussed, appropriated, and translated Japanese literature, and at the same time, received and challenged Japanese cultural hegemony. In this profound book, Thornber conducts the transnational approach to juxtapose and compare Taiwanese and Korean texts, to elucidate the language politics and colonial responses in these texts, and even the competitive relationship between the writers in colonial Taiwan and Korea.¹³ Besides these scholarly publications, more and more physical contact has been made between Taiwanese and Korean scholars. For example, the Institute of Taiwanese Literature in National Tsing Hua University of Taiwan and the Institute for East Asian Studies (IEAS) in Sönggonghoe University of South Korea co-founded the Organization of Comparative Cultural Studies of Korea and Taiwan in 2008. Themed on the comparative studies of the colonial total war experience of the two societies, the members of the organization share

¹² Other examples can be found in: McNamara, Dennis L. “Comparative Colonial Response: Korea and Taiwan,” in *Korean Studies*, Vol. 10, 1986: 54-68; and Abramson, Gunnar. “Comparative Colonialisms: Variations in Japanese Colonial Policy in Taiwan and Korea, 1895-1945,” in *PSU McNair Scholars Online Journal*: Vol. 1, Issue 1, Article 5.

¹³ See: Thornber, Karen Laura. *Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Transculturations of Japanese Literature*. Boston: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2009: 93.

experiences and intellectual findings through transnational networks and translational exchange. Their research findings show how the differences between Taiwanese and Korean scholars on the research of the total war era embody the different postcolonial revision of the colonial history of each side.¹⁴

The intellectual events listed above, to a certain extent, shed light on the question of colonial encounters and resistance in literary production. The literary works of colonial Taiwan and Korea are specific examples of how individual subjects could act upon the world that was changing them, with doubled resistance and collaboration, while confronting the requirements of local values and needs. My assumption is that the self-reflexivity and multi-lingual practices of colonial writers illustrate the specificity of modernization and address complex issues of modernity under Japanese rule. These writers, at the same time, raised questions about cultural production in relation to their political context, language construction, and cultural resistance. It is evidently shown through their adoption of new forms of writing, language and literary reform. More importantly, one should not overlook how language and literary movements coincided with the knowledge production of modern desire through emerging discourses on sexuality and nationality covered by the same intellectual circles in two colonial societies. Furthermore, the construction of modern ideas of language, literature, love and

¹⁴ For example, co-founder Liu Shu-qin states “Compared to the prewar ‘stateless nation’ and postwar ‘division system’ of Korea/Chosŏn, Taiwan was not a nation when being colonized and never progressed as a nation into the postcolonial situation. ... What the Taiwanese research group focuses on is to reveal that under the configuration of de-national and ultra-national, what was the life strategy and the formation of history writing of the colonized in the marginal and torturous life (Liu 2011: xxii). See more discussions and differences in: Liu, Shu-qin ed. *Zhanzheng yu fenjie: “zonglizhan” xia Taiwan-Hanguo de zhuti chongsu yu wenhua zhengzhi* [War and Boundaries: Reshaping Subject and cultural Politics of Taiwan and Korea Under Total War], Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 2011. The conference proceeding is based on the research project embarked on in 2008, followed by a physical conference in 2009. An earlier version was printed in Korea as: Kim, Ye-rim and Han’guk t’aiwan pigyomunhwayŏn’guhoe. *Chŏnjaengiranŭn ‘munt’ŏk’: singminji ch’ongnyŏkchŏn’gwa han’guk t’aiwanŭi munhwagujŏ* [The War as the Threshold: The Total War and the Structuring of Culture in Japanese Colonial Korean and Taiwan], Seoul: Kŭrinbi [Greenbee], 2011.

sexuality in colonial Taiwan and Korea is truly a transnational project. It is represented in the intertwined relationship among Japan, China, Taiwan and Korea, and reflected from the translational capacity these modern concepts in East Asia.

0-3 Language and Sexuality in the Lure of the Modern

To examine the specificities of East Asian modernity within the interconnected historical frameworks in the intertwined transnational context requires a comprehensive investigation and detailed depiction to demonstrate the specificities from the comparison. To this end, this project does not aim at a full-scale analysis but at a specific interrogation of each socio-historical framework and its literary/sexual counterpart. It also should be noted that the result of each interrogation does not conclude in that framework; on the contrary, there is a continuity that enables us to examine both the diachronic (historical and cultural transformations of language and sexuality in twentieth-century East Asia) and the synchronic (differential appropriations and constructions amongst different institutions of a society and comparisons with other societies) development of vernacular movements, as well as sexual discourses in East Asia.

Karatani Kojin, in his *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature* (1993[1980]),¹⁵ has seen the origin and implication of modern literature as the basis for critical thinking on the emergence of the Japanese modern nation-state and modernity. Given this, modern literature, a new kind of writing formed in the language and literary movements, was institutionalized through the practice of writers, not through the “hands of a nation.”

¹⁵ Karatani, Kōjin. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Tran. and Ed. Brett De Bary, Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1993. Originally published in Japanese as: *Nippon kindai bungaku no kigen* [Origins of Modern Japanese literature], Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980.

These institutions enabled the discovery of interiority and the subject of Japanese modernity, which emerged through a process of “inversion” (*tentō*) of semiotic configuration. However, this process has been obscured, and the naturalization of those institutions are mutually implicated with the power structure. Thus, as Karatani proposes, “It was in the face of the overwhelming dominance of the West that the establishment of both the modern state and interiority in the third decade of Meiji became ineluctable. That these developments took place should not be the focus of our critique. What we can criticize are contemporary modes of thought which accept these products of an inversion as natural. ... It is not enough for us now to revise our histories of literature. We must seek to expose the historicity of that very ‘literature,’ of literature as a system which ceaselessly reproduces itself” (Karatani 1993: 94-95).

Following Karatani’s critique on Japanese modern literature, I will investigate the construction of the modern concepts of language and literature in colonial Taiwan and Korea. I am not expecting to explore a particular, native, or alternative modern (language or literature) of Taiwan and Korea in contrast to those of Western, imperial (Japan and China). The question does not lie in “literature” or “language” per se, but in the knowledge produced in their surroundings. Furthermore, I will expand the investigation to another modern institution—sexuality—which emerged in a way that is closely linked with literature and language, and in terms of its relation with the state that sexuality and the state are also in conflict and at the same time complement each other. This can be observed from the practice of the colonial intellectuals, who were constantly involved in both vernacular movements and sexual discourses, with a strong tendency to resist, but who were also complicit with the colonial power. From which, I argue that the

relationship between colonizer and colonized is recalibrated in the colonial texts of both states through the discourses of the vernacular and sexuality that blur geographic and relational lines. In advancing this argument, I will track the processes of transnational exchange and translational shaping of the modern concepts of national language and literature, as well as romantic love and sexual desires, in early twentieth-century East Asia. In so doing, I attempt to problematize the nationalistic imaginaries of the world by inter-referencing Taiwan and Korea, together with juxtaposing the institutionalizations of language and sexuality to rupture the knowledge production of the modern nation-state.

The postcolonial theoretical framework mentioned above offers me an insightful perspective with which to revisit the literary texts and sexual discourses in colonial times. I will look into the terms “vernacular” and “new novel,” which specifically refer to the literature written under the advocacy of the unification of the written and spoken language. The ideology of language reform was brought into existence through enlightenment movements, colonial policy, the educational apparatus, and various socioeconomic factors that created an environment which oppressed but also nurtured the local languages. Taiwanese intellectuals of the period often used Japanese as a means to acquire the skills and knowledge essential for modernization, while at the same time cultivating their vernacular identities (both the Chinese vernacular and written Taiwanese) in order to resist Japanese influences. By the same token, Korea’s reception of (colonial) modernity was mediated by a complicated filtering mechanism—a process of translation begun a generation earlier in Japan and one that continued in Korea under colonial rule. By the late nineteenth century, because of the modern awareness of the language and writing system as a manifestation of national identity and nationalism, a

Korean vernacular script was consciously forged. The script, now known as *han'gŭl* (great writing) in place of the commonly-used derogatory name, *ŏnmun* (vernacular or vulgar writing), is a means for modernization and a cure for rampant illiteracy. The intellectuals and writers of colonial Taiwan and Korea came of age just at this juncture and their literature reflects the prevailing ambivalence regarding these linguistic paths. As will be shown in Chapter 1, what I have observed from the language reform and literary debates in colonial Taiwan and Korea is a two-folded notion of modernity: first, the colonies (re)articulated the past (Chinese) and the present (Japan and the West) imperials through transforming linguistic space, and second, they (re)establish the boundaries between the East Asian geopolitical orders, and the boundaries within the interior socio-political orders by translational encounters and practices. Language or literary in both colonial Taiwan and Korea is an ongoing project of transcultural exchange, not a determination of unity.

These complex issues of modern language can be seen in the discussion of how colonialism, nationalism and liberalism interconnected to shape the modern sexuality through early twentieth-century East Asia. My previous interrogations highlight the intersection of Confucianism (gendered hierarchy) and colonialism (biopolitical production of healthy and normative subjects) in the East Asian context. Among the most eloquently given examples of “East Asian specificities” is the transformation of the Confucian subject of free love. I bring this question into a comparative framework of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese cases and show how intellectuals in East Asian societies were simultaneously articulating the same concerns and sharing the same blind spots. In Chapter 3, I will demonstrate how the discourses of free love and sexology

contribute to the emergence of modern (national/sexual) subjects under the specific intersecting socio-historical frameworks in East Asia. I argue that the liberation of love and sexual desires is not purely a resistance to tradition or hegemony, but formed within a duality of modernization ideology and colonial power, which urges us to problematize the notions of love, equality, and freedom that we are used to claiming as “rights” from the post-war era up to now. For example, the complexity of modern love is embodied in the reading of the ambivalent sign of women—their double characterization as both old and new, emancipated and oppressed; and the institutionalization of love brought about the determined hetero-normative reproductive relationship that excludes many other sexual beings. Together with Chapter 1, I intend to problematize the nationalistic imaginaries of the world by juxtaposing the institutionalizations of language and love to rupture the knowledge production of the modern nation-state.

Moreover, by theorizing and historicizing the construction of modern ideas of language and sexuality, I attempt to challenge the imperialist and nationalistic hegemonies with the notion of “untranslatability” in colonial linguistic and literary practices in Chapter 2, and argue against the normative idea supporting intimate relationships in nation-building with the notion of “critical love” in Chapter 4. I tend to use the notion of “untranslatability” as a critique of the regime of translation, and seek to avoid the conventional sense of political or cultural transactions. It is important to acknowledge that it is translation give birth to untranslatable, as “untranslatability” emerges only when the regime of translation is imposed. What I observed from the colonial literature of Taiwan and Korea is the untranslatable linguistic complexities that emerged and were erased in translation, and the “unhomed” status of colonial subjects

that represents the ambivalence emerged from colonial modernity. To be more specific, the transnationality and translationality embedded in the literature produced by the colonized signify the transactions among different cultures and power relations, however, at the same time, indicate the interruptions of those transactions.

By the same token, when the modern concept of love was constructed as a transparent, global economy, there would be the exceptions emerged. What I term the “critical love” is the “untranslatable” version or the exceptions of the ideal love. I will demonstrate the “exceptional love(s)” (such as love suicide and same-sex love) that are critical of the hegemonic ideologies underlying the civilization project, and are of critical importance in the realization of the revolutionary project. I argue that, the “critical love” is a testimony to the catastrophe of hetero-normative reproductive relationship, and provides an enabling perspective on how (sexual) modernity has been realized in heterogeneous ways. Together with the notion of “unimagined communities” that signifies the geopolitical relation between Taiwan and Korea, I attempt to illustrate the “unimagined language and sexual communities” in modern societies through the notion of “untranslatability” and “critical love.” These arguments will be supported by the results of my investigation of considerable primary materials in the following chapters, including the literary works by Yi Gwang-su, Yi In-jik, Yi Hyo-sŏk, Yi Sang, Hyŏn Jin-gŏn, and Kim Dong-in of colonial Korea, and by Lai He, Zhang Wo-jun, Xu Kun-quan, Weng Nao, and Xie Chun-mu of colonial Taiwan, as well as numerous public debates and discussions from renowned newspapers and literary magazines in the colonial era.

CHAPTER 1

MODERNIZATION OF LANGUAGE, AND ITS OTHERS

This chapter seeks to ask: what is the role of language in the process of modernization? How does it become a vehicle for one to construct the self and others? And how are racial, class, and gender determinations constructed in the formations of language? To shed light on these questions, I will revisit the language movements that emerged during the Enlightenment period of colonial Taiwan and Korea. The pursuit of a phonetic system was a common phenomenon in East Asia at the turn of the twentieth century. Japan witnessed a *hiragana* movement which was in competition with a Romanization movement. Meanwhile, in China and Taiwan, where there was no native phonetic script, discussions on adopting the Roman script received serious attention. Despite such heated debates on adopting a phonetic system in East Asia at the turn of the century, in the end only Korea adopted the exclusive use of phonograms, through a choice made by its people.¹⁶ During this period, a new generation of colonial writers from Taiwan and Korea with complex linguistic subjectivities began to emerge from the imperial assimilation system. The majority of these prominent colonial intellectuals attained the requisite pedigree of a tour of study in Japan, many to the heart of the metropolis—imperial Tokyo.¹⁷ Colonial writers were also learning the idiom and

¹⁶ A lot of scholarship focuses on the history and reform of Korean language, such as: King, Ross. “Nationalism and Language Reform in Korea: The Question of the Lingua in Precolonial Korea,” in Hyung Il Pai and Timothy R. Tangherlini, eds. *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*. Berkeley: Center for Korean Studies, Institute of East Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1998: 33-72; Cho, Young-mee Yu. “Diglossia in Korean Language and Literature: A Historical Perspective,” in *East Asia: An International Quarterly* 20:1, Spring 2002: 3-23; Horigan, Damien P. “Hangul and Hanja: A Brief History of the Korean Writing System,” in *Asian Culture Quarterly* 20:1, Spring 1992: 8-14.

¹⁷ However, somewhat unlike Korean intellectuals, even those Taiwanese intellectuals who were educated in Japan acquired a Japanese that left the problem of standardization for the colonial government. As Jing Tsu points out: “As late as 1940, only 3.4 percent of the Japanese residents in Taiwan were from the Tokyo

technology of literature from the West as it was translated through Japan and through the Japanese language.¹⁸

In the following sections, I will look into the process of language reform, to demonstrate the transition in different eras of the early twentieth century as a reflection of the socio-historical condition and to inquire into the underlying logic of language and literary movements as a critique of the institutionalization of language. As Partha Chatterjee (1993) elucidates in his studies on nationalist imagination in Asia, “[T]he bilingual intelligentsia came to think of its own language as belonging to that inner domain of cultural identity, from which the colonial intruder had to be kept out; language therefore became a zone over which the nation first had to declare its sovereignty and then had to transform in order to make it adequate for the modern world” (Chatterjee 1993: 7). Driven by the desire to be modern and transform tradition, colonial intellectuals of Taiwan and Korea also joined the cultural imagination movement, while borders were created within and outside the imagined cultural entity.

1-1 Rethinking Language Reforms in Colonial Taiwan and Korea

This section consists of two parts regarding the language situations of Taiwan and Korea: the introduction of the speaking and writing systems, and the language reforms

metropole. A Taiwanese was more likely to speak Japanese with a Kyushu accent than a Tokyo accent--that is, if his Southern Min tones had not already altered the Japanese pitch. The mastery of standard Japanese was further derailed by its inevitable contact with Taiwanese, producing a lexical and grammatical hybrid in a reverse direction. This was a source of continual headaches for the colonial educators who had to put theory into pedagogic practice” (Tsu, 2010:165).

¹⁸ A Korean writer Kim Tong-in (1900-1951) once described his need to translate thoughts originally formed in Japanese as he began the painful process of writing in the Korean language. (Reference from: *Kim Tongin cho~njip*, vol. 6, Seoul: Samjungdang, 1976: 19; quoted in Kim Yunsik (ed), *Yi Kwangsu wa ku~u~i sidae* 1. Seoul: ch’ulp’ansa, 1999: 609.)

from 1894 to 1937. In rethinking language reform, I will not devote the discussion to the details of each language movement, but will highlight the following questions: What is the ideology of language reform? What is the rupture between, and the unification of, the spoken (言) and the written (文) languages? What are the essential dilemmas of language movements? As shown below, the key factor in the language history of Taiwan and Korea is **Chinese** (language and writing), with which the two societies formed their writing systems in the past centuries, later transformed the systems through modern reform, and finally dispensed to the people with the goal of nation-building. In a nutshell, the metamorphosis of the regime of the Chinese language reflects the transformation of the geopolitical situation in early modern East Asia, and the local language movements characterized the precarious status of Taiwan and Korea.

Speaking and Writing Systems in Taiwan and Korea

The characteristics of Taiwan's language history are intrinsically related to the Chinese settlement patterns on the island since the seventeenth century. Following earlier political shifts of Dutch colonization (1624-1662) and the Konxinga reign (1662-1683), the island of Taiwan was incorporated into the Qing Empire as part of Fujian Province from 1684, later achieved status as a province in 1886, and then was annexed by Japan in 1895. In addition to the ruptures of Taiwanese history caused by colonization, within the majority of the Han ethnic group inhabitants of the island, which consisted mainly of immigrants from Quanzhou and Zhangzhou in Fujian Province and the Hakka people from the Guangdong area, there were conflicts between these Han immigrants themselves

and the indigenous peoples over languages and land rights.¹⁹ These historical and geographical realities resulted in the complexity and multiplicity of the Taiwanese language. For the Taiwanese, adopting a new language or creating unity of language was a complex proposition. In terms of a writing system, Taiwanese or *Taiwanhua* (臺灣話)²⁰ had no systematic written script, though it was the largest linguistic group and the main spoken language in Taiwan, while the written Chinese language (or classical Chinese, *wenyanwen* 文言文) was the most prestigious language of religion, administration and scholarship. In the early twentieth century, classical Chinese writing was largely replaced by written vernacular Chinese (*baihuawen* 白話文). The Taiwanese literati joined this transformation to abandon the classical writing and adopt the vernacular style. During the 1920s to 1930s, there were different groups of people who tried to create an indigenous literary tradition by promoting a written form of Taiwanese.

Korean, on the other hand, is believed to be more unified in speaking²¹ than in writing. During the long reign of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1897), writing was confined to the ruling elite, who most often wrote only in Classical Chinese—*hanmun* (한문 漢文).

¹⁹ See: Heylen, Ann. *Japanese Models, Chinese Culture and the Dilemma of Taiwanese Language Reform*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012.

²⁰ “Taiwanese language” refers to four kinds of languages: Taiwanese Hokkien 福建話 or Southern Min 閩南話 (spoken by about 70% of the population of Taiwan), Taiwanese Hakka, Taiwanese Mandarin (the official language of Taiwan in the post-war era), and Formosan languages (languages of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan). In the following discussions, I focus on Taiwanese Hokkien, which was termed Taiwanyu 臺灣語 or Taiwanhua 臺灣話 in the language and literature movements.

²¹ Korean has numerous small local dialects (called *mal* 말, literally “speech”, *sat’uri* 사투리), or *pangŏn* 방언 in Korean). The standard language (*p’yojunŏ* 표준어) of both South Korea and North Korea is based on the dialect of the area around Seoul, though the northern standard has been influenced by the dialect of P’yŏngyang. All dialects of Korean are similar to one another and are at least partially mutually intelligible, though the dialect of Jeju Island is divergent enough to be sometimes classified as a separate language. One of the more salient differences between the dialects is the use of tone.

Although a phonetic Korean alphabet, now known as *han'gŭl* (한글)²², was created by a team of scholars commissioned in the 1440s by Sejong the Great (1397-1450), it did not come into widespread use until the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Koreans had to learn Classical Chinese to be properly literate for the most part, but there were some systems developed to use simplified forms of Chinese characters that phonetically transcribed Korean, namely, *hyangch'al* (향찰鄉札), *kugyŏl* (구결口訣), and *idu* (이두吏讀). Chinese characters—*hanja* (한자漢字)²³ continued to exist as the major element of the writing system in Korea, while *han'gŭl* gradually gained popularity when Korea was approaching the modern period. Later, Korean mixed script, *kukhanmun* (국한문國漢文)—a form of writing that uses both *han'gŭl* (Korean alphabet) and *hanja* (Chinese characters)—became the dominant writing style in the eighteenth century. It was not until the Korean Empire (1897-1910)²⁴ period that pure *han'gŭl* writing started to appear in news media and literary writings.

The transformation of the writing systems in Taiwan and Korea marks the degenerating role of Chinese writing; more importantly, it indicates the shift of political power from China to Japan, as well as the emergence of national ideology in Taiwan and Korea from the mid-nineteenth century. From that time, the Qing Dynasty experienced a

²² *Han'gŭl* is a phonetic alphabet system of written Korean. It was completed in 1443 and promulgated in 1446 by Sejong the Great, along with a 33-page manual titled *Hunmin jŏngŭm* 訓民正音, explaining what the letters were as well as the philosophical theories and motives behind them. The *Hunmin jŏngŭm* purported that anyone could learn *han'gŭl* in a matter of days. People previously unfamiliar with *han'gŭl* can typically pronounce Korean script accurately after only a few hours of study.

²³ South Korean high schools still teach 1,800 *hanja*, while North Korea abolished *hanja* after 1948. Nonetheless, a significant proportion of the vocabulary, especially words that denote abstract ideas, are Sino-Korean words, either directly borrowed from written Chinese, or coined in Korea or Japan using Chinese characters. The exact proportion of Sino-Korean vocabulary is believed to be around 65-70%. (See the discussions in: Sohn, Ho-min. *Korean Language in Culture and Society*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.)

²⁴ It is dated after the Chosŏn dynasty officially exited the Imperial Chinese tributary system in 1897, and lasted until the annexation of Korea by Japan in August 1910.

series of defeats in the Opium Wars (1841-1842; 1856-1860), the Sino-French War (1884-1885), and the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), and brought about a precarious status to Taiwan: ports were opened to Western countries, the administration was upgraded from a Prefecture of Fujian to an independent Province, which was ceded to Japan based on the “Treaty of Shimonoseki” and then was under the reign of Japan for over half a century. Before the colonization, Taiwan’s first printed newspaper was published in 1885 as the *Tâi-oân-hú-siâⁿ Kàu-hōe-pò* (臺灣府城教會報, literally “Taiwan Prefecture City Church News”) under the direction of missionary Thomas Barclay (1849-1935). It was notable for being printed in romanized Taiwanese using the Church romanization orthography.

The Chosŏn Dynasty also experienced a series of invasions by the military forces of France, the United States, Japan, and other countries, and finally signed the “Treaty of Ganghwa Island” with Japan in 1876, with which Korea was forced to open its ports to the world. Foreign aggression and internal problems led to the Donghak Peasant Revolution in 1894, when the Qing government sent troops to repress Korea and triggered a military response from Japan, resulting in the Sino-Japanese War; when Taiwan was ceded to Japan based on the “Treaty of Shimonoseki,” Korea proclaimed itself the Korean Empire and announced its independence from the Qing Empire. Sponsored by Japan, Korea began its Kabo Reform (*Kabo Kaehyŏk* 갑오개혁) from 1894, and finally signed the “Japan-Korea Treaty of 1910” and became a Japanese colony. During this period, the publication of *Tongnip sinmun* (獨立新聞, 1896-1899) manifested its self-determination of pursuing cultural independence from China by adopting the sole use of *han ’gŭl*, while the publication of *Taehan maeil sinbo*

(대한매일신보大韓每日申報, 1904-1910), founded by British journalist Ernest Bethell (1872-1909) and the leader of the Korean independence movement, Yang Ki-t'ak (1871-1938), was published in three versions— English, Korean, and Korean mixed script—and was strongly antagonistic toward Japanese rule in Korea.

Language Reforms of 1894-1937

Taiwanese language-reform movements were motivated by a need for mass education and were informed by the Japanese colonization and Chinese models of linguistic modernization, both of which were characterized by a vernacularization process away from elitist classical traditions and by the ideology of the unification of spoken and written languages. During the colonial period, there were three distinct yet interrelated proposals for language reform: Romanized Taiwanese (*baihuazi* 白話字) in the 1900s, vernacular Chinese (*baihuawen* 白話文) in the 1920s, and written Taiwanese (*Taiwanhuawen* 臺灣話文) in the 1930s. In colonial Korea, beginning from the Enlightenment Period (*Kaehwagi* 개화기)²⁵, there were fundamental sociocultural upheavals, including linguistic turmoil. During the last two centuries, the progression of Korean language modernization has followed a sequential path, including an awakening to the modern outlook on language, the unification of spoken and written languages, the development of print language for modern media, and the codification and standardization of orthography, grammar and vocabulary, dictionary compilation, public

²⁵ The period is defined as from the Gabbo Reform (*Kabo Kaehyök* 갑오개혁) of 1894 to the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910.

education, etc. Two of the changes most relevant to the Korean language situation were the transformations that occurred in the publishing industry and in the educational system.

Nonetheless, the Japanese policy in Taiwan and Korea during the first decade of colonial rule penetrated much more deeply into Taiwanese and Korean society than the Ming Qing and Chosŏn government ever had, affecting the lives of nearly every Taiwanese and Korean regarding modernization. At the same time, strict press control and limited or segregated education denied outlets of expression and stifled the urban intellectual elite. Intense surveillance and prohibition of assembly also contributed to an atmosphere of animosity and tension in urban areas. Almost all privately owned newspapers were shut down, and the widely circulated the daily papers, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (臺灣日日新報, 1898-1944) and *Maeil sinbo* (매일신보每日申報, 1910-1945), were published by Governor-Generals. Thus, these newspapers became the most important vehicles for the colonized intellectuals to increase contact with the colonial modernization paradigm in the form of mobilization, modern education, and circulation of new ideologies, which stimulated the intellectual class and engendered political consciousness. For example, the Tapani Incident (西來庵事件, 1915) was one of the largest armed uprisings by the Taiwanese Han and Aborigines against Japanese rule in Taiwan, while the March 1st Movement (*Samil Undong* 三一運動, 1919) had massive reverberations throughout the system and compelled the Governor-General of Korea to change course in its administration of the colony.

The early turbulent period of annexation was followed by the subsequent decade of more liberal policies and emerging cultural reform in the colonies during the Policy of Assimilation (*Dōka* 同化, 1915-1937) in Taiwan and the Cultural Rule (*Bunka seiji* 文化

政治, 1919-1926) in Korea. Taiwan's cultural movement was initially affected by the democracy movement of the Taishō period (大正時代, 1912-1926), as well as the introduction of radical anti-traditionalism and vernacular Chinese by the May Fourth Movement in China from 1923 to 1926. In 1921, the Taiwanese Cultural Association (*Taiwan wenhua xiehui* 台灣文化協會) was founded as the most important organization for promoting and preserving Taiwanese culture. On April 15, 1923, the first issue of *Taiwan minbao* (臺灣民報, 1923-1930) debuted, which was the first publication that fully used vernacular Chinese, and the Association set up the Association of Vernacular Chinese in Taiwan (*Taiwan baihuawen yanjiuhui* 臺灣白話文研究會), the official body to promote the vernacular. Taiwan's cultural movement chose to introduce vernacular Chinese, basically as a strategy to borrow the language of the May Fourth Movement to solve their essential difficulties in language reform and cultural development, in response to the dual dilemma of the colonial linguistic assimilation and the limit of the people's education. On the other hand, arguing that every society has the right to preserve its own language and the obligation to defend itself from the linguistic hegemony of an alien language, Lian Wen-ying (1894-1957) inaugurated the Taiwanese Language Preservation movement (*Taiwanyu baocun yundong* 臺灣語保存運動). Together with Cai Pei-huo's (1889-1983) Romanization movement (*Luomazi yundong* 羅馬字運動), which sought to popularize an alphabetic representation system for the indigenous language, he was the first to consider the local vernacular not as a mere dialect of Chinese but as a full-fledged language of its own. However, their proposition was never really practicable. In fact, Taiwan's cultural movements in the 1920-1930s addressed this specific situation of the separation of the written script (vernacular Chinese or Japanese) and the oral language

(Taiwanese). In order to pursue the modernity of language (i.e., the unification of speaking and writing), the intellectuals introduced the vernacular Chinese, but created other new “un-unification of languages” (they wrote in Chinese, spoke in Taiwanese). This contradiction was later, to some extent, resolved by the “Father of Taiwanese Modern Literature,” Lai He (1894-1943). From 1926, he experimented with using Chinese characters to transcribe Taiwanese for literary practices, and later, he used them in the biweekly literary journal, *Nanyin* (南音, lit. Sounds of the South), founded in 1932. This provided fertile ground for native writers to debate the merits of writing in one’s spoken language and to experiment creatively with nativist literature. Taiwanese writers thus created a specific writing style of “written Taiwanese” (*Taiwanhuawen* 臺灣話文): mostly in vernacular Chinese but with a considerable number of terms and usages from the Taiwanese dialect, with which, they compromised with the lack of written script of Taiwanese, on the realization of the unification of written and spoken language.

During the same period, calls for Korean language reform escalated from the whispers of linguists and intellectuals from 1895-1910 to the shouts of the nation during the 1920s. One of the most effective and enduring vehicles for *han’gŭl* promotion and reform was the Han’gŭl Society (*Han’gŭl hakhoe* 한글 학회), founded in 1921 by students of the pioneering linguist, Chu Si-kyŏng (1876-1914). This organization worked diligently to form a modern Korean orthography, compile a comprehensive Korean dictionary (*K’ŭn sajŏn* 큰 사전), and lay the foundations of a modern, standardized Korean language. One group in colonial Korea that received heightened attention after 1920 and who often bore the brunt of GGGK censorship and harassment was the Socialists. Following the Russian Revolution of 1919, Marxist ideology gained increasing currency

among Korean intellectuals. Michael Robinson has argued that the Korean language movement had mass appeal among these more radical elements due to the potential of mass literacization through *han'gŭl* to create mass culture and class-consciousness.²⁶ During the 1920s, Korean vernacular newspapers, such as *Dong-a ilbo* (동아일보 東亞日報, 1920-), and intellectual journals such as *Ch'angjo* (창조創造, lit., “creation,” 1919-1921) and *Kaebŏk* (개벽開闢, lit., “genesis,” 1920-1926), conducted running skirmishes with the Japanese censors. These periodicals attracted many of the best and brightest young intellectuals, making the new vernacular press the center of Korean political and social life. *Han'gŭl*, which had been virtually eliminated from public life during the previous decade, made a strong recovery through renewed circulation in the press and a broader base of support among more diverse groups of Koreans. Literary journals continued the legacy of the recently defunct periodical by experimenting with new genres of vernacular literature, refining the language and exploring the parameters of *han'gŭl* usage. Across the ideological divide, cultural nationalists and leftists alike agreed on the need for language reform, literacization and education for the future of a strong nation. Despite the variation in tactics and tone, by the 1920s, *han'gŭl* and vernacular education had amassed a broad coalition across gender, class, and ideology, and considerable gains were made in the language movement thanks to this consensus. The language movement even enjoyed tacit approval from the colonial authorities. However, this “approval” turned out to be more tenuous than many had imagined. The security of the Korean

²⁶ See the discussions in Michael Robinson’s “Ideological Schism in the Korean Nationalist Movement, 1920-1930: Cultural Nationalism and the Radical Critique,” *The Journal of Korean Studies* 4, 1982: 241–268; and *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920–1925*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988: 88-92.

language and *han'gŭl* was never really assured, and the eventual suspension of Korean usage in bureaucracy (1937), schools (1938), and the press (1939) attest to this fact.

1-2 Constructing the “Newness” in Language

As demonstrated above, the language reform, or the modernization project of language, from the late 19th century in East Asia, has two features: first of all, it is an advocacy of the abolition of Chinese characters (Japanese *kanji* or Korean *hanja*), and even the abandonment of it, in the case of Korea. Second, the vernacular (*hiragana*, *han'gŭl*, *Taiwanhua*) was drawn into the light, right at the moment when the intellectuals were thinking about the standardization/unification of language. In the language reforms of Taiwan and Korea, there was an ideology of educating people and increasing the literacy rate for the civilization project. In putting forward this ideology, intellectuals further promoted the “unification of spoken and written language,” to create a new type of writing that can be participated in by the populace.

In East Asia, the phrase “unification of spoken and written language” can refer to Chinese characters 言文一致, pronounced *ŏnmun ilch'i* in Korean, *genbun itchi* in Japanese, and *yánwén yīzhì* in Chinese. Karatani Kojin has observed, from Maejima Hisoka's (1835-1919) petition for “abolishing Chinese characters,” how he associated “*genbun itchi*” with the modern: “First of all, Maejima asserted that *genbun itchi* was indispensable for the establishment of the modern. ... A second point of interest is that the Maejima proposal does not, in fact, make its subject the “unification of the spoken and written language” commonly understood to have been the aim of the *genbun itchi* movement, but rather the proposal that Chinese characters be abolished. ... We may

understand that *genbun itchi* was first and foremost a new ideology of writing” (Karatani 1993:46-47). According to Karatani, the language reform in Meiji Japan was a reform of writing, and the “abolition of Chinese characters” was at stake in the *genbun itchi* movement. This underlying logic of the movement of the “unification of spoken and written language” is shared by Taiwan and Korea in terms of establishing a modern writing style and the reform of Chinese writing. In this process, Korea benefited from the ready-made *han’gŭl* system and soon adopted it to form modern writing under the influence of the Japanese language, while Taiwanese was struggling in between the vernacular Chinese and written Taiwanese, which reveals a great deal more about the essential dilemmas of vernacularization than the expository discourse on the “unification of spoken and written language.” Furthermore, through the development of the new writing style, Korean people experienced a sense of a modern feeling in this linguistic modernity, while Taiwanese people’s experiments with a new writing format was to preserve a sense of nativeness.

Many progressive intellectuals during the Korean Enlightenment period around the 1880s were heavily influenced by the Japanese linguistic modernization movements. In particular, the idea of *ŏnmun ilch’i*²⁷ was promoted by experimentation with various colloquial written styles, finally resulting in the modern narrative prose style. The first step toward *ŏnmun ilch’i* began with the use of a phonetic script. The general discourse on language during the time was characterized by an emphasis on utilitarianism,

²⁷ Baek Chae-won concludes four formations of *ŏnmun ilch’i* in the early twentieth century: writing Korean with *han’gŭl*; reflecting colloquial language in sentences; phonemic writing (the phonemes correspond to the written symbols); writing appropriate sentences in standard orthography. (See: Baek, Chae-won. “20segi ch’ogi charyoe nat’anan ‘ŏnmunilch’i’i ŭi sayong yangsangwa kŭ ŭimi [A Study on the Usage Aspect and Meaning of the ‘ŏnmunilch’i’ in the early 20th Century],” *Kugŏgung munhak* [Korean Language & Literature]. vol.- no.166, 2014: 77-108.)

pragmatism, and expediency. Linguist Chu Si-gyŏng expounded in his essay on the Korean language in 1897: “Let no one waste precious time learning yet another Chinese graph. The Korean letters that were developed by our great scholars for our use are easy to learn and write, and they should be used in recording everything....” (Requoted from Peter H. Lee 1996: 390). When the use of *han’gŭl* was sufficiently widespread by means of the vernacular press, the private and public initiative to educate the masses and raise the national awareness in the wake of the Japanese annexation led to the birth of modern literature.

Yi Gwang-su was viewed as the father of Korean modern literature and one of the most influential thinkers and writers throughout the discourses on literature and promoting vernacular language in colonial Korea. Yi’s theory of literature and his notion of civilization and of “heart/feeling” (*chŏng* 정) were elaborated in “What Is Literature?” (1916), which pays a great deal of attention to the cultural meanings of literature and promotes the use of modern vernacular Korean to write in daily life. In this essay, Yi asserts that “belles-lettres (*mun* 문) were considered equivalent to literature (*munhak* 문학), a major obstacle that delayed the development of Korean literature”; and “Korean scholars have been wasting their time and energy studying difficult Chinese.”²⁸ Although he knows it is impossible to get rid of classical Chinese in a short time and he compromises, saying that “If we need to use classical Chinese characters, we should find ways to fit them into our colloquial language,” and further advocates: “we should use our

²⁸ See: Yi, Gwang-su. “Munhak iran hao [What Is Literature?]” trans. Rhee Jooyeon in *Azalea*, vol. 4, 2011[1916]: 305. The essay first published in *Maeil sinbo* 10-23, November 1916, reprinted in *Yi Gwang-su Chonjip* [Complete Works of Yi Gwang-su] 1, Seoul: Samjungdang, 1963: 506-519. Translated into English by Rhee Jooyeon, in *Azalea*, vol. 4, 2011: 293-313. The discussion here is based on the original and English translation.

living modern language when describing contemporary reality”; and “we should just write them down as they come out of our mouths.”²⁹

What Yi proposes as “fit classical Chinese characters naturally into colloquial language” turns out to be Chinese phrases (*hanja*) that have “Koreanized” pronunciations; this applies to Japanese, English and other foreign languages, too. In the beginning of this essay, he illustrates changes in the usage of terms over time and thus points out the vitality of language and that “the changing nature of language is not subject to time and space alone.” However, he does not see as classical Chinese, which was widely and diversely in general use in East Asia, positively in that way. Instead, he criticizes how different countries’ use of the same Chinese characters dismissed the (cultural) differences and caused confusion. On this account, Yi attempted to authorize colloquial language by decentering classical Chinese. He refers to the Japanese literary reformer Yamada Bimyō’s (1868-1910) launch of the *genbun ichi* movement and the fruit of the development of Japanese vernacular writing.

There was as much focus paid to the linguistic and formal aspects of a literary work as to its content. Kim Dong-in (1900-1951), a pioneering novelist and founder of the first literary coterie journal, *Ch’angjo*, in 1919, expressed a newly emerging linguistic consciousness of the verb endings and the third-person pronouns in the contemporary literary practices.³⁰ Jeong Yeon-hee argues that Kim Dong-in was trying to establish colloquial style as a modern expression of the novel in the 1920s. Jeong points out that writers of Kim’s generation were the last generation who suffered the “difficulty in expression” (*p’yohyŏn’go* 表現苦), which occurred when Korean writers encountered

²⁹ Ibid., p. 306.

³⁰ See: Kim Dong-in, “Ch’unwŏn yongu (Studies on Yi Gwang-su) 5,” *Samch’ŏlli* vol.7 no.3, 1935: 170-181.

Japanese, and it was also a result of the gap between the spoken and written languages (Jeong 2004: 212-213). For example, Kim Tong-in asserted that the founding of the third-person pronoun (그) and past tense verb ending (-ㅆ다),³¹ which did not exist in the Korean writing system, were of great importance in establishing the narrative style of “a sense of realness (사실성 or 實感味)” (Jeong 2004: 212-215). Kim Hyo-jin also highlights similar features of the development of modern Korean literature in relation to the concept of *ŏnmun ilch'i*. Kim focuses on the transformation of the literary style in Yi Gwang-su’s early novels—his first short novel, “Maybe Love,” (written in Japanese, 1909) and the so-called first Korean modern piece of literature, *Heartless* (written in pure *han’gŭl*, 1917)—to illustrate how the imitation and translation of Japanese works helped Yi to develop the syntax of the “*ŏnmun ilch'i* style” (언문일치체의 문법) and to form his modern writing. Like Kim Dong-in’s experience, Kim Hyo-jin also argues that Yi’s adoption of the Japanese third-person pronoun (彼) and past tense verb ending (-た) helps him to form a confessional narrative. (Kim 2014: 182) Kang Nae-hui, in his article, “The Ending –da and Linguistic Modernity in Korea,” historicizes linguistic usages that are considered to have a natural existence today. He analyzes the transformation of the “–da ending” in the Korean system and its transforming relationship with social action, national autonomy, modern literature, cultural resistance to Chinese, and modernity. He proposes that: “The construction of this new linguistic system caused a cultural upheaval, dramatically transforming linguistic sensibility and the grounds for expression, thus

³¹ Since Korean is a discourse-oriented language in which verb-endings are the site of almost all the pragmatic nuances and honorifics, the speakers not only convey the referential meaning of the utterances but also pragmatic information in every utterance. Without changing the verb-ending, it would have been impossible to give an objective rendering of an event, since the ending expresses the social attributes of the speaker and the listener with regard to such factors as gender, social status, and age. (See: Son, Ho-min. *Korean Language in Culture and Society*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 2006.)

playing a key role in the formation of linguistic modernity” (Kang 2004: 140). Kang also assumes that much of the “modern feel” of the “-da” style lay in its strangeness and novelty, its foreignness. He also points out that the Korean “-da” bears a certain resemblance to the Japanese “-ta” inflections, which reflect the travel, education, and life that most Korean intellectuals and modern writers had in Japan. (Kang 2004: 153-156)

The debates in colonial Taiwan show a different way to the reform of writing. The gap between written vernacular Chinese and spoken Taiwanese was the obstacle in the development of new writing. The New Literature movement confronted the status of colloquial Chinese Mandarin as the standard modern vernacular Chinese and launched a new body of literature using the modern language. During the 1930s, however, questions were raised concerning whether this movement really suited the unique circumstances in colonial Taiwan. The cultural affinities to China claimed by Zhang Wo-jun (1902-1955) were attenuated as the colonial experience continued. Zhang, in his article, “The Meaning of the New Literature Movement,” had proposed to “build vernacular literature” and “reform the Taiwanese language,” unifying the Taiwanese dialect with Mandarin: “Our new literature movement carries a mission of reforming the Taiwanese language. We expect to transform our local language into a rational language that conforms to written characters. We expect to rely on the Chinese national language to reform Taiwanese local language.”³² To some extent, the debate in the 1920s marked a Chinese identity against an encroaching Japanese one. (Heylen 2005) However, Huang Mei-e (2004) argues that “Japanese colonizers did not prevent Taiwanese from using vernacular Chinese, it was the Taiwanese literati who argued that the vernacular Chinese was based on a certain

³² See: Zhang, Wo-jun. “Xin wenxue yundong de yiyi [The Meaning of the New Literature Movement],” *Taiwan minbao*, 67, special issue, August 26, 1925.

local accent and was not understandable for the majority of Taiwanese, and hesitated to adopt the new writing style” (Huang 2004: 71). Indeed, Japan played a key role in all these interactions. Ironically, Japan itself provided a nurturing environment for reformers, since language reform in Taiwan was inaugurated by a group of Taiwanese students studying in Tokyo. (Kleeman 2003: 147) Furthermore, besides the influence from the May Fourth vernacular movement, the circulation and positive reception of Japanese writings in the *genbun itchi* style was salient evidence that Taiwanese had been aware of the shift of paradigm, and that the import of the materiality of daily life from Western culture also influenced the reform of writing in Taiwan. (Huang 2004: 63-69)

Nonetheless, the idea of “unification of spoken and written language” (*yánwén yīzhì*) was never put into practice until the debate about written Taiwanese (*Taiwanhuawen* 臺灣話文) emerged in the 1930s. Among the few advocates of the Taiwanese language movement, the key figures were Hung Shi-hui (1900-1945) and Guo Qiu-sheng (1904–1980). Countering the claim that Taiwanese writers should follow the track beaten by the protagonists of the May Fourth Movement and write in the vernacular Chinese, Huang Shi-hui was among the first to contend that the language of literary composition by Taiwanese authors should be *Taiwanhua*. Huang Shi-hui’s better-known articles were published between 1930 and 1934 and are all associated with the debate on nativist literature. His essay, “How Could We Not Advocate Nativist Literature?”³³ laid the foundation for an indigenous language reform movement that sought to foster a separatist native identity, not only during the colonial period, but well into the postwar

³³ Extract from: Huang, Shi-hui. “Zenyang bu tichang xiangtu wenxue? [How Could We Not Advocate Nativist Literature?]” *Wurenbao*, nos. 9-11, Aug 6-Sep 1, 1930.

era. Many scholars have pointed out Huang's nationalist tendency³⁴ toward his advocacy of "nativist literature"; however, the label "nativist literature," although frequently applied by the participants of the debate themselves, is arguably misleading. Most importantly, it obscures the fact that the main focus of the debate was actually on language and writing,³⁵ not on literature in the narrow sense.

The language debate centered on issues about the status of the orthographic standardization of written Taiwanese and the spread of literacy. The magazine *Nanyin* evolved as the main forum of debate on orthographic standardization with the contributions on written Taiwanese that appeared in its columns: Column for Discussions on Written Taiwanese (*Taiwan huawen taolunlan* 臺灣話文討論欄), Column for Attempts in Written Taiwanese (*Taiwan huawen changshilan* 臺灣話文嘗試欄), and Issues Concerning New Characters (*Xin zi wenti* 新字問題), in which Guo Qiu-sheng set out to collect folk literature, including jokes and simple folktales in the Taiwanese dialect. As for the language to be used in creating literature suited to this specific locale, Faye Yuan Kleeman concludes the process involved three elements: eschewing Chinese colloquialisms with no counterpart in Taiwanese; employing local idioms from the Taiwanese language; and reading the written language in the local pronunciation. (Kleeman 2003: 155) The rejection of the literary language, a lingua franca that unified

³⁴ See the discussions on Huang's nationalistic tendency in: Hsiao A-chin, *Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism*, 40; Chang, Sung-sheng Yvonne. "Taiwanese New Literature and the Colonial Context," in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. by Murray A. Rubinstein, New York: Sharpe, 1999: 267; Lin, Pei-Yin. "Nativist Rhetoric in Contemporary Taiwan," in *Cultural Discourse in Taiwan*, ed. by Chin-chuan Cheng, I-chun Wang and Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek, Kaohsiung: National Sun Yat-sen University, 2009: 56.

³⁵ By linking "nateness" with language, Huang devoted many essays to discussing the negotiation between speech and writing, as well as the creation of new writing styles. (See: Huang, Shi-hui. "Yanwenyizhi de lingxing wenti [Some Problems concerning the unification of speech and written language]," *Nanyin* 1:6, April 2, 1932.)

China's many vernacular languages and could be read in a variety of regional pronunciations, left the Taiwanese without a written script with which to express themselves, other than the foreign languages of Chinese and Japanese which they might learn in school. As the cases show above, language debates allied with literature debates sought to be "a means of preservation rather than distinction" (Tsu 2010: 154). What Hung Shi-hui and Guo Qiu-sheng tried to do in the *Taiwanhuawen* movement may not have succeeded in helping to build up a visible script for the Taiwanese language, but it may have preserved folk cultures conducted within the Taiwanese language. And through the process of negotiation and experimenting, certain writing formats in Taiwanese were emerging.

How Newness Enters the World?

Accordingly, the advocacy of language reform was actually an advocacy of erasing the old (classical Chinese writing) and embracing the modern (vernacular); the colonial intellectuals were not just trying to overcome the privileged writing tradition, but were finding the way to deal with the "new." The notion of "newness" here is of course a well-known trope of hybridity. Salman Rushdie (1947-) defends the *Satanic Verses* (1988) for its celebration of "hybridity, impurity, intermingling, the transformation of the new and unexpected combinations of human beings, cultures, ideas, politics, movies, songs."³⁶ This, he says, "is how newness enters the world," an inspiring and provocative thought taken up by Homi Bhabha. Bhabha elucidates in the chapter with the same title, "How Newness Enters the World," of *The Location of Culture* (1994): "The present of the world, that appears in the art-work through the breakdown of temporality, signifies a

³⁶ See: Rushdie, Salman. *The Satanic Verses*. London: Viking, 1988: 394.

historical intermediacy, familiar to the psychoanalytic concept of *Nachtraglichkeit* (deferred action): ‘a, transferential function, whereby the past dissolves in the present, so the future becomes (once again) an open question, instead of being specified by the fixity of the past’” (Bhabha 1994: 219). Newness here is the irruption of the possible, the movement beyond the boundaries (time and space) of the known. If my reading of Bhabha is correct, the colonial intellectuals’ notion of vernacular and literature is supported by Bhabha’s demonstration of the connection between history and art, and the value of literature/art lies not in its transcendent reach but in its translational capacity: in the possibility of moving between media, materials and genres, each time both making and remaking the material borders of difference; articulating “sites” where the question of “specificity” is ambivalent and complex construed.

Vernacular/literature (and its translational nature), to colonial intellectuals, can bridge old and new, traditional and modern, native and foreign, and at the same time, border them. Bill Ashcroft notices “when this occurs, colonial space is the first thing that must be made ‘new.’” He also cautions about the imperialist aspect of this “newness,” and proposed to read the newness that was “forced into the world by imperial power” as “dis-articulated resistances and transformations of the inhabitants” (Ashcroft 2005: 96). In the East Asian colonial situation, language is the key to this process. What I have observed from the language reform and literary debates in colonial Taiwan and Korea is this two-fold (articulated and dis-articulated) notion of newness: when facing the past (Chinese) and the present (Japan and the West), the colonies, on the one hand, resisted the traditional and modern imperials by (re)articulating these powers through transforming topographic space (i.e., language), and, on the other, (re)defined the

boundaries between/within the exterior (geopolitical orders) and the interior (socio-political orders).

This can be further argued in the transliteration of the English word “modern” in East Asia. Emerging *Modŏn* (모던 in Korean), *modan* (モダン in Japanese), *moden* (摩登 in Chinese), *mo-tīng* (毛斷 in Taiwanese), which are the transliterations of the English term “modern,” contested with the Chinese-oriented translation—*kūndae* in Korean, and *kindai* in Japanese are based on the Chinese characters 近代—of “modern.” Though scholars like Chen Fang-ming may argue that the various transliterations of “modern” reflect the absence of the equivalent concept in East Asian societies (Chen 2004: 10), what I read from this phenomenon is an active engagement in the construction of a worldview. As Korean scholar Hwang Ho-duk illustrates in his studies on the revolution of the Korean modern language and the phenomenon of transliterate loan words from English based on Chinese characters in 1930s’ Korea, it is through these activities that “worldiness has been introduced and a linguistic sphere has been newly formed” (Hwang 2010: 305). More importantly, Hwang sees the transliteration of “modern” as the most manifest event that shows the interruption of the unrivalled system of the sinosphere and the supremacy of English (or the commencement of a global system). Furthermore, on either side of the debate were the traditional Confucian elites (traditional Taiwanese literati or Korean *yangban*³⁷) and a new breed of educated social reformers. The former

³⁷ *Yangban* (兩班) literally means “two orders” or “groups” referring to two kinds of bureaucrats: the *munban* (文班) or literary and scholarly rank, and the martial rank, known as *muban* (武班). The *yangban* (whether civilian or military) was essentially a literati, expected to hold public office, follow the Confucian doctrine through study and self-cultivation, and help cultivate the moral standards of Chosŏn society. The *yangban* dedicated years to the study of Chinese classical literature upon which examinations for government bureaucratic positions were based, and any sort of manual labor was considered inappropriate for their status.

argued for the continued usage of Chinese characters, while the latter promoted the vernacular for the people, connecting the society to the globalizing forces engendered in enlightenment by intimately linking the vernacular script to “new knowledge.”

As Andre Schmid (2002) points out from his discussion of the Korean enlightenment movement (*munmyŏng kaehwa*): “As a modern discourse par excellence, *munmyŏng kaehwa* offered a conceptual framework in which various groups could come to terms with their recent integration into the global capitalist system. At the same time, ...nationalism was the vehicle for accelerating the peninsula’s inclusion in the global capitalist order, and these globalizing forces—in particular what was called ‘new knowledge’ (*sinhak*)—stimulated a radical rethinking of the nation and its identity (Schmid 2002: 32-33). Grounded on Schmid’s elucidation, Daniel Pieper further expounds his theories on Korean language movement: “At the heart of this discourse on ‘new knowledge’ lay the issue of language, in particular the debate over script. This discussion—played out in the pages of the newly emerging popular press—concerned not merely issues of orthography and grammar, but the very conception of modern, legitimate knowledge, as well as the establishment of new literature” (Pieper 2011: 20). Pieper’s points of view resonate with Korean language scholar Han Kee-hyung’s opinion on the articulation and connection between enlightenment ideology, language (*han’gŭl*) as a medium, and print press, for: given that the establishment of a modern print media was associated with the ideology of enlightenment, modern formation of language, knowledge, and literature were nurtured and legitimated in those modern print media.³⁸

³⁸ See: Han, Kee-hyung. “Maech’eŭi ōnŏbunhalgwa kŭndaemunhak -kŭndaesosŏrŭi kiwŏne taehan maech’eronjŏk chŏpkŭn [The Linguistic articulation in modern print media and Literature: An approach to the origins of novel through media discourse],” *Taedong munhwa yŏn’gu* [East Asian Studies] 59: 0, 2007: 9-35.

By the same token, Huang Mei-e articulates the exploration of new knowledge and western literature in colonial Taiwan to inquire into the development of Taiwanese literature. For example, the reception of new knowledge and world literature intersected with the reception of western detective novels (ex. Sherlock Holmes and Arsène Lupin), in which the modern writing style, knowledge of science, law, medicine, and experiences of urban landscapes, time, consumption, and capitalist life were introduced to the local society. (Huang 2004: 308-309) The circulation of foreign knowledge and literature was through the forms of modern education, libraries, bookstores, and newspapers. There were also the specific organizations, such as the Association of New Knowledge (*Xinxuehui* 新學會, 1906), which aimed at “collecting the works of Eastern and Western scholars, selecting the best, translating the originals, categorizing them, introducing and contributing to our people” (Requoted from Huang 2004: 288). It seems that the members of the association considered “foreign” as “new” and “good” for people, without considering the gap between the imaginative “new” and the social condition. Since it should be noted that, in this period (the 1900s), the serial novels advertised as the “new novel” in the *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* were mostly written in classical Chinese (though “vernacularized” as “simple classical Chinese”), and the idea of “new” is about its foreign content, not a reflection of local reality. Kim Young-min also suggests that some new novels produced in Korea in the 1900s-1910s retained virtually the same narrative structures and styles found in traditional *han’gŭl sosŏl* ³⁹ (novels written in *han’gŭl*). Furthermore, he notes that newspapers frequently used the word “new” in order to appeal

³⁹ Traditional *han’gŭl sosŏl* such as *Honggiltongjŏn* (Story of Hong Kiltong; ca.1610), *Kuunmong* (Nine Cloud Dream, 1689), and *Imgyŏngŏpŏjŏn* (Story of Im Gyŏng-ŏp, ca. 1726) were the few literary works written in *han’gŭl* in pre-modern Korea, which were created to affirm the validity of Confucian morality.

to readers by emphasizing the “newness” of information and knowledge (Kim 2006[1]: 46-7).

1-3 Gendering Language: Women in language and the New Novel

The remaining question about the gap between the traditional form and style and the label “new” in the serial novels can be further examined in light of the problem of gender. Given that the practice of language reform, new knowledge, and new novels were intimately associated with the enlightenment movement, another key figure—woman—was brought onto the stage of modernization. Though only a few female writers, educated women, could participate in the enlightenment movement and produce relevant new knowledge and writings, certain figures of new women and modern girls were created and totalized as new national subjects. I will further discuss this issue in Chapter 3. In this section, the questions that I want to raise from the discussion of language and literary reforms are: What is the role of gender in language? What were the women’s roles in new novels? The first question is initiated by the fact that, in pre-modern times—especially in Heian Japan and Chosŏn Korea—the phonetic scripts were known as women’s scripts. They were scripts that were despised by men and mostly used by women (mainly elite or noble women) until the late nineteenth century. However, this gender aspect of the vernacular was ignored in the process of modernizing language. The second question is based on and will be discussed with the practice of the so-called “new novel” in 1900s Korea and 1920s Taiwan.

The term *women's script* (or writing)—*Onna mo ji* (おんなもじ) and *amk'ül* (암클)⁴⁰—refers to phonetic *hiragana* and *han'gŭl*, which were related to ideographic Chinese characters, *kanji* and *hanja*, and have gender, class, and even racial references in conventional use. In Karatani Kojin's "Nationalism and Écriture," and Jacques Derrida's response to this article, questions about phonetic writing, national spirit, and gender are connected, with reference to Dante and Descartes' usage of Latin and French. Karatani notes:

The *écriture* in the kana syllabary is called 'women's writing.' In fact, this *écriture* gave birth to a great deal of women's literature after the tenth century. Nevertheless, Japanese *écriture* is fundamentally the combined usage of Chinese characters and the kana syllabary. The nativist scholars perceived the true 'spirit of Yamato' in the literature by women written purely in the kana syllabary. ...However, the *écriture* of women's court literature, limited to the theme of love or the relations between the sexes, would not have currency in other areas. At that time and ever since, the mainstream of Japan's *écriture* has been the mixture of Chinese characters and the kana syllabary. (Karatani 1995: 18-19)

Why did the use of *kana*, once limited to the literature themes of love and written by women, later become a national sign in Japan? Karatani argues "[W]ithin the phonocentrism of nativist scholars who criticized this mixture lies a romantic, aesthetic line of thought that aims to privilege emotion and mood above that which is moral or intellectual. Although this phenomenon has nothing to do with the West, it nonetheless runs parallel to the Western trend. It is a 'modern' line of thought, as it were" (Karatani

⁴⁰The term is also written as 암클. *Am* (암) is a prefix that signifies a noun is feminine.

1995: 19). Derrida further opens up the discussion with the problem of women. He postulates that the use of the vernacular (in the cases of Japanese *kana* and French) is associated with women (as author and/or reader), “[S]o it is a complicated gesture, at the same time ‘pro-feminine’ and, on the other hand, less neutral and innocent than that. In any case, I think the question of the mother tongue, the maternal language, and the role of the woman in these questions of nationalism should be discussed here and should be discussed more widely” (Derrida 1995: 9-10). Though the problem of women in the transition of modern writing was not continued in Karatani and Derrida’s dialogue, what is at stake here is questioning the unquestioned.

Accordingly, I propose to question the gender and class inequality in language that were ignored by the intellectuals who advocated vernacular writing in colonial Taiwan and Korea. As briefly mentioned above, Korean *han’gŭl* plays a similar role to that of *hiragana*; it was excluded by (classical) Chinese users and called *ŏnmun* (諺文, vulgar script), and at the same time, associated with and called women’s writing—*amk’ŭl* (암글). A scholar of the Korean language, Ho Ung (1918-2004) states: “[T]he name *amk’ŭl* is for the script used by women who were submissive to men and couldn’t write or learn *hanja*” (Ho 1979: 164). Subordinate to Chinese writing, *han’gŭl* is perceived at the same time as being feminine and vulgar. In fact, this gender and social association continued to affect Korea’s cultural production in and after the modernization project. For example, in the movie, *Sweet Dreams (Mimong)*, 1936), which depicts how modernity corrupts women, there is a scene in which a male teacher stands, surrounded by his female students who are reading about a crime in a newspaper. One of the female students hands the newspaper to the teacher, and he reads out the title word by word for

the students and also for the audience, since the title is mostly written in *hanja*. Here, the man, who is of a higher social hierarchy, is the representative of Chinese writing, while the women are dismissed from the cultural capital. Another example can be found in the novella, “Downpour” (*Sonakpi*, 1935),⁴¹ written by the famous writer of naturalism, Kim Yu-jŏng (1908-1937), which depicts Korean people in rural area as uneducated and disempowered in the colonial period. A desperate couple struggles to earn a better life by moving to the colonial capital (now Seoul), which is a great city. The husband is concerned that his country bumpkin wife might not fit in, so he launches into a long explanation of all the things she must keep in mind, and the first thing is the question of language (dialect). “Bumblin’ country-speak was a surefire way to be spotted as a mark, so she must never use dialect [*sat’uri*] or say ‘Ah’ instead of ‘I’ or ‘D’you’ instead of ‘Do you,’ nor end sentences like a question.”⁴² Gawping was also discouraged; she should look sharp and walk with a smart step.”⁴³ Here, again, the man is shown to be more able to use the “civilized” language than the woman; the passage also demonstrates the inequality between the language that was a vulgar dialect in a rural area and the language that was standardized through the modernization project and mainly used in literary circles and in the capital city.

This inequality of gender and class in language was represented in different ways in Taiwan. As mentioned in previous sections, Taiwan’s language structure was divided into written vernacular Chinese and spoken Taiwanese; the latter, due to the lack of

⁴¹ Originally published in Korean as *Sonakbi* in *Chosun Ilbo*, 1935. My discussion is based on the English translation: Kim, Yu-jeong, *Downpour*, translated by Yoonna Cho, Seoul: Literature Translation Institute of Korea, 2014.

⁴² The explanation of the specific linguistic usage here is as in original text: ‘합세’를 ‘하십니까’로, ‘하게유’를 ‘하오’로 고치되 말끝을 들지 말지라.

⁴³ See: Kim, Yu-jeong, *Downpour*. trans. Yoonna Cho, Seoul: Literature Translation Institute of Korea, 2014: 11.

script, was constantly viewed as inferior. As Zhang Wo-jun attributes the greatest disadvantage of the *Taiwanhua* to its lack of a developed script system: “[A]lmost nine-tenths of our daily speech has no appropriate script, because our speech is local speech (*tuhua*, language of the soil), a scriptless language of an inferior grade . . . so it is of no literary value” (Requoted from Tsu 2010: 152). In addition, spoken Taiwanese was also an obstacle to the colonizers’ language policy, since it was the true “enemy” of the popularization of Japanese among the populace. The Governor-General of Taiwan did not abolish the learning of Chinese, but strictly prohibited people from speaking Taiwanese in public.⁴⁴ A news report from *Taiwan minbao* in 1928 shows an extreme case, in which a schoolgirl of Tainan Second Girls’ High School was dismissed from the honor of giving the graduation speech for speaking Taiwanese in public.⁴⁵ Spoken Taiwanese, thus, was given the image of being “uncivilized” and “vulgar,” and this image was also accepted by the language’s advocates. Chng Sôe-sèng (1897-1962)⁴⁶ contributed serial essays on the advocacy of *Taiwanhuawen* (written Taiwanese) and once proposed replacing the “ungraceful language” (*buya de yuyan*) with new words.⁴⁷ Before new words emerged to replace the old, it was unavoidable and necessary to continue to use those ungraceful terms in writing. Though Chng was not arguing against the language itself, he reveals an attitude of seeing *Taiwanhuawen* as under-developed. Furthermore, in the discussion of the ungraceful terms or usages in *Taiwanhuawen*, Chng gives an example that connects gender and language: “[A]ssuming that you are going to create a novel that depicts a

⁴⁴ See: Xu, Xiqing. *Taiwan jiaoyu yange zhi* [The Evolution of Education in Taiwan]. Nantou: Guoshiguan taiwan wenxian guan, 2010: 164-265, translated from the Japanese original: Taiwan Kyōikukai. *Taiwan Kyōiku Enkaku Shi*. Taihoku: Taiwan Kyōikukai, 1939.

⁴⁵ See: “Tainan nugao guai xianxiang,” *Taiwan minbao*, April 1, 1928: 3.

⁴⁶ The Romanization of the original name 莊垂勝 here is based on the Taiwanese Romanization System, not Hanyu Pinyin, out of respect for his will and contribution to the advocacy of *Taiwanhua*.

⁴⁷ See: Chng, Sôe-sèng[Fu Ren]. “Taiwanhuawen zabo 3,” *Nanyin*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1932: 8.

woman hysterically shouting and cursing in public [*majie de pofu* 罵街的潑婦], ...the [ungraceful] language is instead more suitable. This connects readers with explicit experience, and puts the woman figure into life....You can not make an ordinary village woman speak the Beijing accent [*lanqing guanhua* 藍青官話] or noble style, it doesn't make sense to literature."⁴⁸ In this passage, Chng demonstrates certain terms that are gender-specific in Chinese and Taiwanese; *pofu majie* is a popular phrase that suggests women are hysterical and ungraceful.⁴⁹ The passage also suggests the distance between an ordinary woman and graceful language/accent.

The reform of language contributes to its standardization, in which gender and class inequality are introduced into the modern language. Korean *han 'gŭl*, vernacular Chinese, and written Taiwanese represent new writings that are of great importance to building and preserving the local culture at the intersection of modernization and colonization, while ideas about being progressive and “new” remain unchallenged. In the development of the “new literature” (*xin wenxue*, 1920-1926)⁵⁰ or the “new novel” (*sin sosŏl*, 1906-1917)⁵¹ in colonial Taiwan and Korea, the use of the vernacular (in script and writing style) and the contents of modern life are the important criterion for

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁴⁹ In addition to the construction in language, I will further discuss in Chapter 3 how this hysterical image of woman was constructed in the modernization project.

⁵⁰ The first wave of the New Literature Movement (*xin wenxue yundong*) is defined as occurring between 1920-1926. Its starting period is marked by the influence from the May Fourth vernacular movement in the early 1920s, and the establishment of the first Taiwanese literary media, *Taiwan Youth* (*Taiwan qinglian*), which was founded in Tokyo in 1920. After the debate and experiment carried on in the first half of the 1920s, the father of Taiwanese modern literature, Lai He, and the other two leading writers, Zhang Wo-jun, and Yang Yun-ping, published their first new novels (all written in the Chinese vernacular) in 1926, and this marks the end of the first wave of the Taiwanese literary movement.

⁵¹ The emergence of the New Novel (or New Fiction, *sin sosŏl*) was grounded in the Enlightenment era, which gained its momentum through the growing distribution and circulation of newspapers. Most of the scholarship on this subject defines its time period as being from The Japan–Korea Treaty of 1876, later with the realization of Yi In-jik's “Tears of Blood” (*Hyŏrui nu* 혈의누, 1906), the first modern Korean novel, to the publishing of Yi Gwang-su's full-length modern novel, *Heartless*, (*Mujŏng* 無情, 1917). *Han 'guk sinsosŏl chŏnjip* [The Complete Collection of Korean New Novels] (1968) defines 1900-1917, the time from the first appearance of Yi In-jik's novel to Yi Kwang-su's *Mujeong*, as the New Novel era.

measuring the “new.” This emergence of the new literary movement was grounded in the Enlightenment Movement, which gained its momentum through the growing distribution and circulation of newspapers, which has been mentioned in previous sections. As a cultural phenomenon, the new literary movements in early twentieth-century Taiwan and Korea speak to a time when writers approached literature as a means to disseminate didactically their visions of modernity. This process can be seen in the so-called first new novels in Korea and Taiwan—Yi In-jik's (1862-1919) “Tears of Blood” (*Hyōrui nu* 혈의누, 1906)⁵² and Xie Chun-mu's (1902-1969) “Where's She Heading For?” (*Kanojo wa doko e* 彼女は何処へ, 1922)⁵³—which both feature exemplary women who serve as a symbolic site of the authors' “civilizing mission.”

One may notice that the first new novel in Taiwan was written in Japanese, not in the local vernacular. Regardless of the language, the novel was published by the Taiwanese Cultural Association, the most important organization for promoting Taiwanese culture in the colonial time; thus, even though it was written in Japanese, “Where She's Heading For?” is considered to be a Taiwanese novel. On the other hand, Yi In-jik's first novel, “A Widow's Dream” (*Kafu no yume* 寡婦の夢, 1902),⁵⁴ was written in Japanese and published in Japan when he was interning at the Newspaper of the Old Capital (*Miyako sinbun*) between 1901-1904. The novel is regarded as the origin of Yi's literary creation in Japan,⁵⁵ but it was comparatively ignored in Korea. The plot of “A Widow's Dream” shows Yi's concern for a widow's suffering from the social

⁵² Originally published in Korean as “Hyōrui nu” in *Mansebo*, no. 23-28, July 20 to October 10, 1906.

⁵³ Originally published in Japanese (in *Taiwan* no. 4-7, 1922. 07-10) under the penname “Zhui Feng” (追風) by Xie Chun-mu.

⁵⁴ “Kafu no yume,” *Miyako sinbun*, January 18, 1902 and January 29, 1902.

⁵⁵ See: Li, Kenji. “Kafu no yume no sekai rijinchoku bungaku no genten [The World of ‘A Widow's Dream’: The Origin of Yi In-jik's Literature],” *Chosen gakuho* [Journal of the Academic Association of Koreanology in Japan], 1999: 161-185.

constraint of the ban on widows remarrying, which was lifted during the Kabo Reform. Another significant literary figure, Yi Gwang-su, also debuted his first modern novel, “Maybe Love” (*Ai Ka* 愛か, 1909),⁵⁶ when he studied at Meiji Gakuin, Tokyo. “Maybe Love” was also excluded from a considerable number of complete collections of the writer’s works in Korea because of its written language and the depiction of same-sex love⁵⁷ between a Korean student and his Japanese cohort; its translation into Korean was deferred till the 1980s. Aimee Nayoung Kwon, in her newly published *Intimate Empire* (2015), uses “Aika” as the embarking example from which she addresses her goal of examining “the broader significance of such intimately shared but disavowed colonial pasts in the modern histories of Korea and Japan and their contested legacies in the Asia-Pacific” (Kwon 2015: 6). “Aika,” as well as other novels written in Japanese by Korean writers, was one of the subjects which were long forgotten after the abrupt collapse of the Japanese empire in Korea.

Notwithstanding the different attitude toward early modern novels written in Japanese by Korean and Taiwanese literary critics, in fact, there were still other short pieces written in the vernacular Chinese and *han’gŭl* prior to “Tears of Blood” and “Where’s She Heading For?” “Terrifying Silence” (*Kepa de chenmo* 可怕的沈默, 1922)⁵⁸ was written in the vernacular Chinese and published three months prior to “Where’s She Heading For?” The piece was discovered in the 1990s, making the two

⁵⁶ Originally published under the name of Yi Po-kyong in *Shirogane gakuhō* 19, 1909: 35-41. The reprinted version as “Ai ka,” in Kurokawa So, ed., *“Gaichi” no Nihongo bungakusen* 3, Chosen, Tokyo: Shinjuku Shobo, 1996: 21-26. For the Korean translation, see Yi, Gwangs-u. “Saranginga,” translated by Kim Yunsik, in *Munhak sasang*, 1981: 44-46. For a full English translation and introduction, see: Yi, Gwang-su. “Maybe Love,” trans. by John Whittier Treat, in *Azalea: Journal of Korean Literature and Culture*, vol. 4, 2011: 321-327. And Treat, John Whittier. “Introduction to Yi Gwang-su’s ‘Maybe Love’ (Ai ka, 1909).” *Azalea: Journal of Korean Literature and Culture*, vol. 4, 2011: 315-27.

⁵⁷ The same-sex love scene depicted in “Maybe Love” will be further discussion in Chapter 4.

⁵⁸ Published under the penname “Ou” (鷗, meaning “gull”) in *Taiwan wenhua congshu* no. 3, April 6, 1922.

novels compete for the fame of being the first modern novel in Taiwan. However, the background of the author of “Terrifying Silence” remains unknown, and it is comparatively short (about 3000 words); thus, it has less literary and historical value than “Where’s She Heading For?” A few months prior to “Tears of Blood,” there were some sketches serialized in *Taehan maeil sinbo*, which were written in *han’gŭl*, but they were short and without any plot or character development.⁵⁹ Kim Young-min calls this kind of sketch “editorial narrative,” which “is a narrative form located between the editorial and the ‘new novel,’ and one which laid more emphasis on the explanation of political affairs than on the plot of a story” (Kim 2006[2]: 172). On this point, “Terrifying Silence” also joins this tendency of novels to express the political situation of the colonial society, rather than being the realization of a new writing style.

Nonetheless, the remaining question about the gap between old and new in terms of the practice of new writing is not limited to the language or the writing style. As briefly discussed at the end of the previous section, many novels labelled as new still carry traditional ideologies. Critics on the problem of the new novel point out the writers’ inability to comprehend the complex political situation manifested by the civilizational ideology, colonial power, and international situation.⁶⁰ I argue that examining the representation of women in new novels and seeing how the “woman question”⁶¹ was incorporated into the discourse on civilization and enlightenment will bring the question

⁵⁹ See: Kim, Kichung. “Hyol-ui Nu: Korea’s First ‘New’ Novel Part 2: The Power of the Press,” *Korean Culture* 6:2, 1985: 17-25.

⁶⁰ For example, Kim Yun-sik defines the New Novel as the outcome of the failed attempt to mimic Japanese political novels. (See; Kim Yun-sik, *Han’guk kŭndae sosŏlsa yŏn’gu* [A study of the history of modern Korean fiction]. Seoul: Ŭlyumunhwasa, 1986: 15-44.

⁶¹ The term “woman question” (婦女問題 or 여성문제) was circulated and was central to the nation-building in East Asian societies at the turn of the century. It encompasses all the issues that related to the liberation and civilization of women discussed in the emerging press and media, usually led by male intellectuals at a time which was decidedly nationalistic. With the term, the role of women was reimagined in light of the pursuit of modernity.

to light. To this point, I want to focus on the problem of the “new novel” and the representation of woman and language in it. The uncanny conjunction of the new woman’s debut in the pioneering new novels, “Tears of Blood” and “Where’s She Heading For?” of colonial Korea and Taiwan powerfully suggest that the connection between the New Women and the new literary media was not a matter of sheer coincidence. In light of notable similarities in their delineation of the woman figure, the critical differences between these two novels compel us to question the status of women in language and as language.

As mentioned above, Yi In-jik, in his debut work in Japanese, had already touched upon the woman question, due to his intellectual experience in Japan and from the Kabo Reform. After his return to Korea after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), he worked as an editor and journalist in newspapers, including *Mansebo*, where he published his remarkable new novel, “Tears of Blood.” The plot of the novel is a complex one; Yang Yoon-sun’s (2014) well-written summary helps give the reader a sense of the story’s main developments:

[I]n the midst of the Sino-Japanese War, a seven-year-old girl, Ongnyŏn, becomes lost and, when wounded by a gunshot, spends a night alone on Peony Hill.

Japanese soldiers find her the next morning and take her to the Japanese Red Cross. Major Inoue, a Japanese army surgeon, tries to help her find her parents, but since they are nowhere to be seen, he decides to adopt her and sends her to his home in Ōsaka. Under his childless wife’s warm care, Ongnyŏn learns the Japanese language and goes to elementary school just like a Japanese child. But things begin to change in a year or so later when Major Inoue dies in war.

Realizing that her adopted child will make it harder for her to find a husband, Mrs. Inoue increasingly harbors a grudge against Ongnyŏn. Unable to take her stepmother's ill-treatment, she runs away from home. On a train she takes in an aimless flight from town, she chances to make the acquaintance of a young Korean man, Ku Wansŏ, who was stopping over in Japan en route to the West, and follows him to the United States to continue her education. When arriving at San Francisco Bay, however, Ongnyŏn and Ku Wansŏ feel lost, as they neither know anyone to turn to for help nor speak any English to get by. Ku Wansŏ manages to communicate in a written form of literary Chinese with a luxuriously dressed Chinese man, who later turns out to be a historical figure, Kang Youwei. This reformist scholar and politician introduces Ongnyŏn and Ku Wansŏ to a Japanese-speaking Chinese man, who in turn makes an arrangement for them to enroll in a school in Washington, DC. Ongnyŏn excels in high school and soon graduates with honors. Her remarkable story even appears in a US newspaper. It happens that her father, Kim Kwanil, who has been going to school in the United States as well, reads the article and finally manages to reunite with his daughter. In the presence of Kim Kwanil, Ongnyŏn and Ku Wansŏ promise to marry and to become the future leaders of Korea" (Yang 2014: 109; underlined by me).

As the summary demonstrates, Yi incorporates his experience of the Enlightenment movement, the Sino-Japanese War, Western learning, and the transition of imperial powers into "Tears of Blood," in which the protagonist Ongnyŏn is represented as a figure of civilization and a new national subject. Through the woman-centered narrative, the novel leads the readers to experience the drastically changing history of Korea.

Language(s), as highlighted above, played a symbolic role in the transition of culture and power. Ongnyŏn encounters different kinds of languages during her adventurous journey from being a war victim toward becoming a new woman. The languages represent her experience of modern education via the Japanese empire, a literary legacy mastered by male intellectuals, and a Western language that symbolizes a new future. Moreover, there is another key existence of language—*han ’gŭl*—that was not present above, but that is essential for the establishment of the narrative and the novel. As shown in an advertisement for the novel:

This novel, written in pure Korean writing (*sun kungmun*), was serialized last fall in *Mansebo*. ...If you read this novel, you could enhance the national spirit (*kungmin chŏngsin*) at the same time, whether you are man or woman, and gain a new thought that will make you shed tears of blood. It imitates the manner of the Western novel (*sŏyang sosŏl*). We hope you, the people of honor who subscribe to it, can read it closely.⁶²

The Korean vernacular, the national spirit, and Western literature are juxtaposed here to suggest the emergence of a modern sensation that joined by the populace, regardless of gender, in this advertisement. It is desirable to see a scholar of modern nationalism quote Benedict Anderson’s (1983) well-cited argument of the imagined national ties in conjunction with the hegemony of the vernacular and print-capitalism⁶³ for a further understanding of this advertisement and the novel here. However, as Derrida argued previously, the role of woman should be taken into account in the discussion of the vernacular and nationalism. In regard to this, I propose to read Ongnyŏn as the

⁶² Extract from: “Advertisement,” *Mansebo*, April 3, 1907–June 29, 1907.

⁶³ See: Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso, 1983: 24-36.

representative of *han'gŭl* in the comprehension of “Tears of Blood,” Korean nationalism, and modernity. Ongnyŏn’s representation as the Korean vernacular comes out most conspicuously in the scene of the marriage proposal. Ku Wansŏ suggests to Ongnyŏn that they should speak in English instead of Korean in order for him to avoid using the casual form of address to her as if she were hierarchically inferior to him. It is as if he wanted to immediately reform the Korean custom by speaking in a Western language. Nevertheless, Ongnyŏn does not follow his suggestion, but responds “in neat and tidy Korean” instead, even though “she is good enough to be his teacher when speaking in English.”⁶⁴ Ongnyŏn’s return to Korean, after being educated in Japanese and English, grants the language a new value. The female protagonist and the language, in and outside the text, are both transformed as modern and national symbols.

The connection between woman and language is more implicit in “Where’s She Heading For?” The story depicts a young woman, Keika, who is studying in high school in colonial Taipei. It has been arranged that she will marry a young man, Seifu, from a family of equal social rank, who is studying in Tokyo and will return to the colony soon. Keika seems to be very satisfied with the arrangement and is preparing to meet her future spouse. However, the arrangement is an agreement between the parents of two families, and Seifu is a believer in free love. He severely criticizes the traditional marriage system; he is in love with another woman in Tokyo and is prepared to persuade Keika to fight the backwardness of the culture with him. Nonetheless, Seifu hesitates to tell Keika the truth in person, since his betrayal will bring shame on her and ruin her reputation. He asks Keika’s cousin, a close friend and cohort in Tokyo, to pass the message to her tactfully. Keika is in the depths of despair when she learns the truth, but has to accept it in pain; she

⁶⁴ See in: “Tears of Blood,” *Mansebo*, October 4, 1906.

realizes that there is no one to blame but the oppressive social system. The story ends with Keika's departure for Tokyo, with the ambition of coming back to save other Taiwanese women who are suffering as she is.

The protagonist Keika, like Ongnyōn, enters the stage as a victim and exits as a heroic modern woman. The transformation is mediated and legitimated by a modern education that is outside colonies, guided by men, and practiced with the imperial language. In this novel, the key factor for Keika's transformation is the private life that has to be compromised by the need to civilize. Given that, Keika is satisfied with the arrangement and the man she was going to build her future life with, and there is no evidence offered to show that she is oppressed by the family or society, as the male intellectual characters claim. Instead, Seifu, who has to justify his pursuit of free love and his unwillingness to reconcile with Keika, is the one who criticizes the arranged marriage and proclaims reform against the social system. To this point, only the male characters speak the language of civilization and social reform, and soon they impose the language on the women. After being informed with the truth and "awakened" by her cousin's enlightening words, Keika, though suffering from the hopeless situation for a while, finally comes to the conclusion: "I don't blame anyone, anymore. It's not my mother's fault, nor Seifu's; it's the harm from the social system, a fault made by arranged marriages and familial oppression. I am just one of the victims. As you [the cousin] said, there are so many people weeping because of the system. I have come to realize everything. I want to fight for these people, keep fighting courageously."⁶⁵ It should be noted that, in the original Japanese text, the phrases "social system" (社會制度),

⁶⁵ See in: *Taiwan*, no. 6, 1922: 66.

“arranged marriage system” (媒妁制度), and “familial oppression” (家庭專制) are constructed with Japanese-made Chinese words (*Wasei kango*) which emerged in the nineteenth century and which were exclusively used by male intellectuals. Even educated woman like Keika, who attended a girls’ high school, were not able to apply these phrases to express her own thinking.⁶⁶ As Zhang Wen-xun (2005) points out: “Keika’s declaration of fighting against the ‘social system,’ ‘arranged marriage’ almost merely reproduces the words of Seifu and Kusachi, the words of her own do not exist” (Zhang 2005: 93).

Much of the content of the modern school education was seen as being important for the “new” woman, but to administer it in the English language was difficult in practical terms, irrelevant because the central place of the educated woman was still at home, and threatening because it might devalue and displace that central site where the social position of women was located. This problem was resolved through the efforts of the intelligentsia, which made it a fundamental task of the national project to create a modern language and literature suitable for a widening readership that would include newly educated women. Through textbooks, periodicals, and creative works, an important force that shaped the new literature of Taiwan and Korea was the urge to make it accessible to women who could read only one language— their vernacular. Indeed, the nationalist construct of the new woman derived its ideological strength from making the goal of cultural refinement through education a personal challenge for every woman, thus opening up a domain where woman was an autonomous subject.

⁶⁶ Since in girls’ high schools women were educated in language (i.e., Japanese), household works, and manners, there was not much chance for women to be exposed to those advanced phrases. See: You, Jianming, and Wu, Meihui. *Zouguo liang ge shidai di Taiwan zhiye funü fangwen jilu* [Taiwanese career women through political changes] Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindai shi yanjiusuo, 1994.

1-4 Borders and Bordering: Language and Its Others

I have demonstrated how the conception of modernization works as a bordering system and has affected the language reforms in colonial Taiwan and Korea. By encountering the foreign and imperial powers, colonial intellectuals came to think of and reinvent the local language, with which they constructed a new national image and transformed it to make it useful for the modernization project. Through this process, the borders between different languages first were made to enclose a cultural entity that was invented by an imaginary, pure language unity. Furthermore, following Sakai's critique on national language unity: "The most effective device for producing a palpable 'sentiment of nationality,' however, is to create the positivity of a 'mother' tongue. Closely related to this is the idea of the 'native speaker.' If we are to criticize the constructs of national and ethnic culture, we must begin by analyzing unitary notions of the mother tongue, native language, or national language" (Sakai 2005: 18). Today, one might ask: what national language is not an ideological construction? It would be just as easy to prove that standard American English, identified as a "mother tongue" by some, excludes Ebonics; that Mandarin, as the *guoyu* (national language) is an oppressive nationalist fantasy; that standard French is complicit with the class domination of the elite in Paris... It is as Sakai explains, the mother tongue can only be in the register of the imaginary, and the unity of a language is posited as an idea, which can be complicit with the notions of racism and colonialism.

Accordingly, it is important to trace back to the emerging point of the ideology of a national language. I have shown that the intellectuals and writers of colonial Taiwan and Korea came of age just at this juncture and how their literature reflects the prevailing

ambivalence regarding these linguistic paths. During this period, a new generation of colonial writers with complex linguistic subjectivities began to emerge from the imperial assimilation system (Chen 2006; Han 2006; Mitsui 2013). The majority of these prominent colonial intellectuals attained the requisite pedigree of a tour of study in Japan, many to the heart of the Tokyo. Colonial writers were also learning the idiom and technology of literature from the West as it was translated through Japan and through the Japanese language. The advocacy of “the unification of the written and spoken language” also brought together different groups of people who tried to create an indigenous literary tradition by promoting the written forms of Taiwanese and Korean. However, their proposition ended up quite differently in the two regions: it was never really practicable in colonial Taiwan, but was transformed comparatively “successfully” in colonial Korea.

Notwithstanding the differences in the modernization of the languages in the two colonies, to claim a pure language unity remains challenging. Language unity in the Taiwanese context, no matter whether constructed as a visible script or not, never accomplished its end. As Chiu Kuei-fen notes: “If the history of Taiwan is a colonial history, the culture of Taiwan since ancient times is represented as ‘cross-cultural’ hybrid features. It is in the historical evolution of confrontation, compromise and regeneration between different cultures. A ‘pure’ locality, ‘pure’ Taiwanese local culture and language never existed” (Chiu 1993: 151). However, the current advocates of modern vernacular failed to observe this transcultural mediation. The followers of the Chinese vernacular movement initiated by the May Fourth intellectuals from the late 1910s overlooked the entangled relationship among the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Europeanization of the latter. As Edward Gunn notes: “To add a distinct rhetoric of intellectual authority to the

moral authority of vernacular and the practical authority implied by adopting new style innovations, vernacular advocates also deliberately embraced Europeanization, with the largely tacit recognition that much of this further Europeanization had its source in Japanese innovations” (Gunn 1991: 39). Jing Tsu further points out that this “Japanese innovation” does influence the debates of Taiwanese languages, “yet it is often overlooked that the Japanese language itself was undergoing important transformations in the 1860s, and through the 1880s. The idea of a consistent national orthography and a ‘national language’ was still taking shape” (Tsu 2010: 163). Indeed, Indra Levy also argues “the rise of the modern vernacular in Japanese literature is simultaneously conceived of as a new turn toward the West and as a return to the native body of spoken Japanese. Thus the vernacularization of the Japanese literary style known as *genbun-itchi*...cannot be fully grasped as an ideology of returning to the native tongue” (Levy 2006: 24). Even though colonial language encounters, like many other aspects of colonialism, are characterized by an asymmetric power relationship—in this case, between the languages of the colonizer and the colonized. What we have observed from the language movements in early twentieth-century East Asia, thus, is an ongoing project of transcultural exchange, not a determination of unity.

By the same token, the anticolonial movement can never be realized by excluding one culture from another. Andre Schmid expresses caution regarding the “pure Korean movement,” which emerged in and after the colonial occupation as anticolonial rhetoric. He argues that when the nationalists try to pinpoint the Japanese influence and disavow it, “the power of Japanese colonial writing to lay claim to certain arguments is confirmed rather than refuted. ...Paradoxically, this approach results in a history that tries to escape

colonial interpretations but in fact confirms the power of colonial history to direct some of the fundamental lines of inquiry in modern Korean history” (Schmid 2002: 259-26).

As far as the Korean language movement is concerned, it seems to have successfully reinvented *han’gŭl* to make it serviceable for nation-building and national recovery from the late nineteenth century to the post war era, but it in fact reinstates the irresistible hegemonic forces of Chinese and Japanese in the Korean language. In another words, the invention of modern vernacular by the Korean people underlies an imperialist ideology. Choi Chungmoo raises a corresponding question by revisiting the colonization of consciousness of colonial Korea. She states: “By colonization of consciousness I mean the imposition by the dominant power of its own world view, its own cultural norms and values, on the (colonized) people so that they are compelled to adopt this alien system of thought as their own and therefore disregard or disparage indigenous culture and identity” (Choi 1997: 350). That is to say, driven by a powerful desire for recognition, the colonized are often trapped in the colonizer’s worldview. The colonized’s adoption of the colonizer’s historical perspective is not just attributable to colonial indoctrination, but involves an unconscious psychological mechanism. As Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) notes in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1968 [1961]), “the native never ceases to dream of putting himself in the place of the settler—not of becoming them, but of substituting himself for the settler” (Fanon 1968[1961]: 52). Under these conditions, the rewriter of history accepts and adopts the imperialist perspective, and exemplifies again the imperialist horizon, delimiting the historical basis for constructing a new worldview. It is the political ideology of the pure Korean movement, no matter whether it succeeded or not,

that reduplicates and reinforces the colonial imperialist ideology, and works with the fantasy of living in a “better world” that forms the colonial modernity.

Despite the fact that no language should be viewed as a pre-given entity, the heterogeneity of a language should not be overlooked. In the process of modernizing language, the reformers, on the one hand, challenged the imperial Chinese that had dominated the East Asian cultural domain for centuries, and on the other, they created a new hegemonic language to serve the nation-building and to secure new social hierarchies. To question the equality of the language advocated by colonial intellectuals, is as Trinh Minh-ha (1989) argues: “[F]or to say that language is caught within a culturally and sexually dominant ideology is not to deny the heterogeneous history of its formation or, in other words, to refuse to see ‘race, class, and gender determinations in the formation of language’” (Trinh 1989: 44). Trinh’s argument is from her challenge to First World patriarchal notions of literature that constructs universal paradigms of what writing is, and to First World feminists who construct “woman” as a monolithic category that excludes many “women of color.”⁶⁷ I take up her stance to examine the problems of gender, race, and class in the construction of modern language and literature in colonial Taiwan and Korea. As discussed in a previous section, the underlying imperialist ideology of language movements enables the advocates to reconstruct new hierarchies through the standardization of language. Without long-privileged classical Chinese, a new vernacular has been invented to preserve and specify the social orders in terms of racial, class, and gender differences. Now the task is to trace in their mutual conditioned historicities the specific forms that have appeared, on the one hand, in the domain defined by the hegemonic project of nationalist modernity, and on the other, in the numerous

⁶⁷ See the discussion in Trinh, *Woman, Native, Other*, pp. 5-44.

fragmented resistances to that normalizing project. In so doing, I want to conclude this chapter by discussing the blurred boundaries of race, class, and gender that are represented in the novel “Language of the South.”

“Language of the South” (*Nampō no kotoba* 南方の言葉, 1941),⁶⁸ was written by a Japanese female writer, Masugi Shizue (1901-1955),⁶⁹ who spent her childhood and teenage years in colonial Taiwan. The experience of living in Taiwan later became an important source for her writing. Among many of her stories that depict Taiwan, “Language of the South” touches upon the issues of language policy and inter-racial marriage, as well as the ambivalence of imperial subjects. The story begins with a colonial official and policeman who come to a family in a Southern town to take a census. They are amazed by the daughter-in-law of the family—Ahon (アーホン阿花), who, though she looks like a local woman and a native Taiwanese speaker, can speak elegant *Kokugo* (national language) with a Tokyo accent. The woman, named Kimura Hanako, is from Tokyo; she comes to Taiwan to seek refuge with her old friend after an unsuccessful marriage, but fails to find the friend. While she is lost on the streets, Hanako meets a Taiwanese rickshaw driver, Li Jinshi, who can speak Japanese fluently. Later, the two get married. Hanako adapts to her life in the small town in Southern Taiwan, where people are studying hard to master Japanese, including Hanako’s mother-in-law. The

⁶⁸ Originally published in Japanese as “Nampō no kotoba,” in *Kotozuke*, Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1941: 3-20; later reprinted in: Masugi, Shizue, and Isao Kawahara. “Nampō no kotoba,” *Kotozuke*. Tōkyō: Yumani Shobō, 2000: 3-20. My discussion is based on the later version.

⁶⁹ Masugi Shizue (真杉 静枝) was born in Japan but moved to Taiwan in 1904 with her family. Later she was trained to be a nurse at a hospital in Taichung in 1915-1916. In 1918, her parents forced her into an arranged marriage with the Japanese manager of a train station near Takao City. She later escaped the marriage and fled to Osaka, where she eventually worked as a journalist. She began publishing short stories in 1927, including “Ekichō no wakakizuma” (The Young Wife of the Station Manager), based on her arranged marriage. She returned briefly to Taiwan with her lover, Nakamura Jihei, in 1939. (See: Kono, Kimberly T. *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010: 184.)

story ends one day when her mother-in-law dies in an accident that happens in the street. Li Jinshi is so sad that he curses in Taiwanese *kàn lín-niâ* (カンニンニヤ, lit. fxxk your mother), and Hanako weeps beside him.

The novel was written in the middle of the total war era, in which there was a strong tendency to promote linguistic assimilation and the *Kōminka* (imperialization) policy. The marriage between the Japanese woman and the Taiwanese man is enabled by the medium of Japanese. When the colonial official questions Hanako about her “downgrade” to marry a man from the remote area of the colony, she replies: “when I got into Li’s rickshaw, I found his *Kokugo* so amazingly good that I couldn’t help telling him my story. ...After staying at his house for about half of a month, I thought about marrying him.”⁷⁰ Nonetheless, Hanako, as a colonizer, has to adapt herself to the local Taiwanese language and life manners to survive in the colony. She becomes a typical bilingual figure in the Japanese colonies. The novel reveals that, though the *Kokugo* policy was strictly pushed in colonial Taiwan, the locals were still living with the Taiwanese language in daily life. But it’s a tentative situation to Hanako. Later, when Li’s Japanese proficiency was getting to be so good that “people hardly can tell he is Taiwanese, Hanako plans to put on her kimono again, and confess to neighbours that her real identity is Japanese.”⁷¹ On the other hand, Li’s occupation makes him one of the groups of people that require Japanese proficiency, with which he secured his job and even married a Japanese woman. However, the very moment when Li was painfully crying his heart out over his mother’s death, he unconsciously came out with Taiwanese to release his sorrow. When hearing Li cry out, “*kàn lín-niâ*,” Hanako “never feels the

⁷⁰ In “Nampō no kotoba,” p. 11.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 20.

moment like this, she feels intimate with her husband, and reaches out her hand to comfort the him.”⁷² For this unusual scene, Wu Pei-chen (2013) elucidates “the Taiwanese phrase, *kàn lín-niâ*, that bursts out in the ending tells of not just Li’s extreme grief for his mother’s sudden death, but also the impossibility to reform Li’s identity or ethnicity. The swear word that connotes Taiwanese ‘male sexual’ masculinity could be read as a symbol of recuperating the ‘castrated’ masculinity from the colonizer; and the impulse to speak the ‘mother tongue,’ when the emotion deep inside the body needs to be expressed, is not possible to be ‘corrected’ by colonial linguistic assimilating policy” (Wu 2013: 122). To this point, we can affirm that the title of the novel indicates the language of the Taiwanese (*Taiwanhua*) of the colony, which is Southern to Japanese empire, and of the ordinary people who inhabit the southern part of Taiwan. However, the language of belonging, to these transnational characters, cannot be easily determined as singular. Furthermore, the complexities of language(s) that are represented in the novel also obscure any race, class, and gender determinations in the institutionalization of modern language.

⁷² Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

THE UNTRANSLATABILITY OF COLONIAL LITERATURE

In this chapter, I redefine the colonial ambivalence that was experienced by the colonized as “untranslatable.” I see the colonial ambivalence as an interruption, a discontinuity and a fold in the homogenous time-space relationship; I argue that it is the untranslatability embedded in colonial texts, in terms of the cultural and lingual practice in the representation of the lives of the colonized modern subjects. The notion of “untranslatability” is articulated with the social action of cultural translation, with which one takes action when encountering the foreign and representing the foreign; yet I tend to use the notion of “untranslatability” as a critique of the regime of translation. The leading question would be: how can one recognize the co-figuration and the determined “copy,” “belatedness,” and “inferiority” that it signifies? My assumption is: it is the socio-political desire for representing the unknown/untranslatable that makes the translation happen, and more importantly, it is translation that gives birth to the untranslatable. However, the work of translation is a practice by which the initial discontinuity between the translator and the translated is made (falsely) continuous. That is to say, in the regime of translation, the initial incommensurable difference is regulated or modified by national borders and other markers of collective (national, ethnic, racial or “cultural”) identification. Thus, to uncover the untranslatable, one should examine the initial moment of translation and self-reflectively criticize the presentness.

As shown previously, a crucial and specific social fact in Taiwanese and Korean colonial history is the formation of the language. I propose that to problematize the unity of a language is to raise the question of temporality and the temporalization of forms

through which temporality is expressed in those social spaces whose appearance has been spatialized by the imperial capitalist state. The ambivalences in the usages of language that I'm going to discuss cannot be demonstrated via any version of translation, which shows an aspect of the untranslatability of colonial texts. The condition of language and its representation in literary works is specific to colonial Taiwan and South Korea. Accordingly, I will revisit colonial modernity—with an adequate account of the crucial space-time relationship represented by both cultural translation and the untranslatability in the colonial literary texts—by reading the self-reflection and multi-lingual practices in colonial Taiwanese writer Wu Yung-fu's first literary work, "Head and Body" (1933), and colonial Korean writer Pak T'ae-wŏn's novella, "A Day in the life of Kubo the Novelist" (1934). These two colonial writings demonstrate the specificity of modernization and address the complex issues of modernity under Japanese rule, and at the same time raise questions about cultural production in relation to their political context, language construction, and cultural resistance. As I will show below, the literary works of colonial Taiwan and South Korea are specific examples of how individual subjects can act upon the world that is changing them, with doubled resistance and collaboration, by the requirements of local values and needs.

2-1 Theorizing Untranslatability: Colonial Ambivalence in Languages

The translatable and the untranslatable are both posterior to translation as repetition. Untranslatability does not exist before translation: translation is the a priori of the untranslatable.

____Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*, p. 5.

As Meaghan Morris writes in the “Forward” of Naoki Sakai’s *Translation and Subjectivity*, it is desirable to create a transnational space of debate that crosses linguistic as well as racial, ethnic, gender, sexual, and religious boundaries. She proposes a space where “people could confront from different contexts the legacy of the imperialisms that have given all the categories of ‘culture’ so much of their diversely lived rigidity, while also engaging with the new geographies of capitalism transforming the very concept of ‘global’ power along with the maps and material forms of its distribution” (Morris 1997: xi). Accordingly, Sakai illustrates the example of Theresa Hak Kyung Cha’s *Dictée* (1982)⁷³ as a multilingual text, which is closely related to the issues of the heterogeneity of language, the politicality of literature, and its multi-nationalism. *Dictée*, in Sakai’s conclusion, “invites us to see the operation of poetics in the poiesis or manufacture of the identity of national language,” and at the same, it “harbors a most radical attempt to work on the configuration of languages. It disrupts the symmetrical boundary of the inside and outside of a national language, and puts the process of configuring in jeopardy” (Sakai 1997: 39). The ambivalence, as Sakai has pointed out, that is embedded in the configuration of national language and that is inherent in *Dictée*, is irreducible and is something with which we have to live. This is because, “on the one hand, the need to fight against imperialist oppression—which may well require manufacturing in the future of the national community as the subject of resistance—is far from diminished in the world today, and, on the other hand, the homogenization of that national community could too often lead to the tremendous victimization of those who are culturally and linguistically heterogeneous” (Sakai 1997: 39).

⁷³ Cha, Theresa Hak Kyung. *Dictée*, New York: Tanam Pres, 1982.

What Morris proposes and Sakai illustrates here is crucial to East Asia in the global age. In particular, when examining the legacy of the imperialisms (China, Japan, and the West) and the impact of state capitalism on Taiwan and Korea, “language” can serve as a good platform for creating a transnational space. What is paradoxical here is that Sakai adopts a postcolonial reading of Cha’s text to demonstrate its postcoloniality, without acknowledging that Cha’s “pre-life”⁷⁴ was already equipped with heterogeneity. Nonetheless, this condition of postcoloniality, compounded by the imposition of the legacy of colonialism and Cold War geopolitics, is a symptom of colonial modernity in East Asia. What is at stake here is the recuperation of the heterogeneity embedded in colonial languages that was obscured by imperialist and nationalist apparatuses in and after colonization. To this end, I shall revisit postcolonial critiques of translation and further deepen the notion of untranslatability, by which I seek to understand the structure of ambivalence in the colonial daily life of Taiwan and Korea that embodied in the complexities of languages, and the “unhomed” moments experienced by colonial subjects.

Postcolonial critiques on translation have revealed the heterogeneity and the ambiguous marginal life of the colonized in the metaphor of translation. Tejaswini Niranjana, in her *Siting Translation* (1992), draws on Benjamin and Derrida to render a complex critique of translation and historicism in their treatment of colonial cultures. She shows how interconnected the discipline of translation studies is with other disciplines, such as history and philosophy, constructing the exotic other as eternal and unchanging.

⁷⁴ Theresa Hak Kyung Cha (1951-1982) was a Korean-American immigrant whose mother was displaced from Korea to Manchuria by Japanese colonialism. Though Sakai, in the analysis, points out her mother’s being deprived of her mother tongue, Cha’s case of heterogeneous language, I argue, is not just enabled in the postcolonial condition, but by the colonial reality experienced by people of the colonies.

She articulates Benjamin's notion of translation with his essay, "Theses on The Philosophy of History" (1940), stating that Benjamin addresses the problem of "writing history" from his notion of translation, which "was 'figured' into his conception of historiography" (Niranjana 1992: 115). She stresses Benjamin's critique of historicism by stating that "Benjamin's conception of allegory suggestively brings together the task of the allegorist (and the reader of the allegory) with the task of the historian and the translator" (Niranjana 1992: 110). She suggests that in Benjamin's later work, "The Task of the Translator," the task of the critical historian comes, which is linked in his text to questions of "survival" and "living on." She also finds this tendency of the critique of historicism in Derrida's work. For Niranjana, Derrida's work is most important because what it "has afforded us is the notion that origin is always already heterogeneous, that it is not some pure, unified source of meaning of history" (Niranjana 1992: 39).

Niranjana's critique on translation studies and the attention she draws on Benjamin and Derrida's works aim at attacking translation's role within the power structure: "Translation as a practice shapes, and takes shape within, the asymmetrical relations of power that operate under colonialism" (Niranjana 1992: 2). She highlights the power relations in the translation of the colonized peoples, and takes translation studies to task for its western philosophical and ideological bias. Furthermore, she cautions that even for postcolonial translators, it's not just a question of avoiding western metaphysical representations; it is a case of "dismantling the hegemonic West from within," but must call into question every aspect of colonialism and liberal nationalism (Niranjana 1992: 167). The deconstructive strategy of writing/translating offers alternative images and identities that are less discriminatory and more open to change and cultural evolution and

thus become important to postcolonial theorists. Translation, in a postcolonial perspective, is reconfigured as a metaphor for marginal people's ambiguous experience in the dominant culture.

Similarly, grounded on Benjamin and Derrida's thoughts, Homi Bhabha, in the last chapter of *The Location of Culture* (1994), takes this postcolonial critique of translation one step further, proposing "translational culture" as a new site of cultural production and as a new speaking position (Bhabha 1994: 212). He begins the chapter with an epigraph from Benjamin's "The Task of the Translator" and later brings in Derrida's deconstruction of Benjamin's concept of translation as an after-life or survival, in order to deploy it in a wholly new context unintended by either Benjamin or Derrida (i.e., the context of Rushdean migrancy and hybridity). There he goes on to speak of the residual cultural unassimilability of the migrant as an instance of what Benjamin called "untranslatability," to focus on "making the linkages through the unstable elements of literature and life—the dangerous tryst with the 'untranslatable'—rather than arriving at ready-made names" (Bhabha 1994: 227). For Bhabha, that untranslatable quality of translations is instead a point of resistance, a negation of complete integration, and a will to survive that is found in the subjectivity and hybridity of the migrant.

Similar to Bhabha, Sakai, in his discussion of the figure of translation, also indicates the migrant as an effective subject for envisioning a heterogeneous world. By problematizing the traditional view of translation and the schema of an international world (which are both operated in metaphor), Sakai considers translation as a figure for creating a new site for heterogeneous subjects rather than differentiating or discriminating different languages or meanings in a postcolonial transnational context. As

he writes: “Now the democratic subject resides not in the nation or ethnicity, but in the immigrant and the refugee, those who are heterogeneous to the assumed homogeneity of the nation. It is necessary to think of democracy not as the figure of the nation, but rather as the figure of the foreigner in us – that is, to envision a democratic society founded not on national language but on translation” (Sakai 2014: 33). For Sakai, translation possesses an amplificatory character, can operate by exceeding the narrow meaning of language or communication, and offers the possibility to inquire into sociality; thus, he proposes an understanding of translation as heterolingual address, as a refusal of the idealist resolution of the situation of incomprehensibility, in/by which we discover ourselves and which concerns a kind of translocal, translinguistic practice, a practice which is both contextual and respectful of the “foreigner” in all of us.

The “foreigner” in Sakai and Bhabha’s works explicitly refers to migrants, and implicitly indicates all kinds of “others,” social minorities who inhabit the dominant culture. Gayatri Spivak takes this discussion of translation further to combine it with a feminist framework. In her widely cited essay, “The Politics of Translation” (2000[1992]), Spivak considers translation as an important approach in pursuit of the larger feminist agenda of achieving women’s “solidarity.” Her translations, reflecting her readings of Devi’s stories, enact a complex articulation of the double context of postcolonialism and gender, of nationalism and sexuality, of the global and the local. Moreover, like other translation theorists, Spivak is sensitive to the political weight of language (especially the hegemonic position of English in her case) and to the manner of translation (not its cultural meaning). But to me, what distinguishes Spivak from other translation theorists, besides the feminist perspective, are the material realities of

language that she engages in through the practice of translation. To caution against the imbalance of power between languages in women's global solidarity, one sufficient way to Spivak is: "if you are interested in talking about the other, and/or in making a claim to be the other, it is crucial to learn other languages" (Spivak 2000: 407). This is not a superficial fairness of language exchange, but a critique of the politics of translation that currently gives prominence to English and other hegemonic languages of the colonizers.

To wrap up the postcolonial critiques of translation that I have demonstrated above, I want to highlight the heterogeneity, after-life, and survival in translation that are indicated by postcolonial theorists. Translation as a bordering system simultaneously creates the translatable and untranslatable (i.e., the equivalence and incommensurability) in asymmetrical power relations. As Sakai has pointed out, "It is translation that gives birth to the untranslatable" (Sakai 1997: 14), and neither the translatable nor the untranslatable are anterior to translation. However, the equivalence between different cultures is always given and unquestioned, while the figure of untranslatability or incommensurability is constantly "filtered" or "fragmented" to facilitate a homogeneous space and progressive worldview for social orders. The reductionist view of translation obscures the heterogeneity underlying the disparate experiences of world inhabitants, who intersect with but are not confined to national language frontiers. Furthermore, as the postcolonial theorists suggested, translation, or to be more specific, the heterogeneity embedded in translation, should be reconfigured into the after-life or survival of marginal peoples, i.e., the postcolonial figures of the migrant and refugee, as Bhabha and Sakai referred to them.

Nonetheless, though the stateless subjects of the migrant and refugee are eminently adequate to problematize the homogeneous view of language and space, to me, weighing these postcolonial figures too heavily may leave out a potential problem resulting from the uncritical celebration of hybridity and “post” of periodization. Given this, regardless of the complicity with global capitalism, the figures moving from one place to another, or being displaced, are given emphasis as to their origins, and may reaffirm the cultural barriers. In addition, many scholars have called attention to the falseness of the term “postcolonial,”⁷⁵ which risks linguistically reinstating the centrality of the colonial narrative: like other theoretical models, postcolonial discourse often inverts rather than interrogates the oppressed/oppressor binary. Thus, I argue for a return to the “pre-life” of these postcolonial subjects: that is, the colonial subjects who were forced to move from one metropole to another and who were constantly struggling with linguistic complexity. It is these colonial realities that constituted the colonial ambivalence and created “colonial double discourse,” as Choi Chungmoo elaborates, that “has created for colonized people an illusion of living in the same social and cultural sphere as that of the metropolis, while it ruthlessly exercises a discriminatory politics of hierarchy. Under these circumstances (post) colonized people continue to live at the edge of the metropolis” (Choi 1997: 353).

The “double colonial discourse” is ahistorical, outside the progressive myth of modernity, because there is an attempt to “universalize” the spatial fantasy of modern cultural communities inhabiting “correlative spaces” within a contemporary moment contained in a “homogeneous empty time” of modernity. This is crucial to postcolonial

⁷⁵ See the discussions in: Shohat, Ella. “Notes on the ‘Post-Colonial’,” *Social Text* 31-32, 1992: 99-113; and Choi, “The Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory: South Korea,” 1997.

revisionists, who often have to translate the lived experience of different temporal worlds into the code of secular, disenchanted, historical time. I would argue that, to revise the dichotomy of the space-time relationship from a postcolonial perspective, in Bhabha's words, "is to move the location of cultural difference away from the space of demographic plurality, to the borderline negotiations of cultural translation" (Bhabha 1994: 319). More importantly, I propose to see the unquestioned translatable as the inclusivity of hegemonic conventions, and the untranslatability and incommensurability as the embodiment of colonial ambivalence, as the interruption, the discontinuity and the fold in the homogenous time-space relationship, which "produces a generative dislocation without silencing discourse or marking the limit of knowledge" (Melas 2007: 31). It opens up the possibility of self-reflective criticism by suggesting the possibility of mutual mimicry between the colonizer and the colonized beyond the inflexible rigidity of self and other and may ease the rigidity of the binarism and caution against the ignorance of the complicity of colonialism and nationalism. With these arguments, I will demonstrate the temporalities of this colonial ambivalence embodied in the multilingual and transnational life of the colonized in the following sections.

2-2 Dislocation of the Colonized: The Temporalities in Colonial Modernity

From the late nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century, a series of historical events brought about and intensified transitions and transformations of the Taiwanese and Korean societies. The most crucial socio-historical evolution is the issue of modernity, which is about how to deal with a new century of change. As I will show

below, the issue of modernity in the two societies has two matters: it is not simply a task of dealing with the new or the other, but certainly the self; furthermore, modernity is neither singular nor Western, but multiple and interconnected. This is built upon the historical condition of transnationality, which was created with the schema of the international world in late nineteenth-century East Asia. Nonetheless, modernity is not practiced by the nation as a whole, but is embodied in and experienced by all kinds of emerging subjects. To sum up, with Henri Lefebvre's words, "modernity is an endeavour: the discovery and appropriation of desire" (Lefebvre 1995[1962]: 191).

The desire to be modern, for Taiwan and Korea, has been represented in a complicated and twisted way in the face of colonialism. Komagome Takeshi, in an essay on the colonial modernity of Taiwan, traces the life of a Taiwanese elite to demonstrate what Leo Ching elaborates "the interrelationship and interdependency of the specific Japanese case, with, and within, the generality of global capitalist colonialism" (Ching 2001: 20). Through an examination of the structure of modern education, Komagome shows how the colonial elite identified modernity as "the new type of culture" introduced by the Japanese, while at the same time, they used it to criticize colonial cultural policy. Furthermore, this "new type of culture," as Komagome elaborates, is a "cosmopolitanism based on individuality as opposed to a nationalism that emphasizes 'our language' and 'our culture'" (Komagome 2006: 151). Shin Gi-wook and Michael Robinson have also made similar comments about Korean colonial modernity: they state, "Colonialism intervened in Korea's path to modernity, but this did not automatically make Koreans mere passive recipients of modernity. Koreans participated directly and indirectly in the construction of a unique colonial modernity—a modernity that produced

cosmopolitanism (a sense of shared universals) without political emancipation” (Shin and Robinson 1999: 11). Though this kind of statement nevertheless has been received with some resentment in Korea for downplaying colonialism,⁷⁶ what these scholars highlight here is the transnationality in the colonial modernity.

The materialization of this transnationality is realized in the development of an urban culture and multilinguistic landscape. During the colonization period, especially toward the middle of the 1930s, the infrastructures of the colonial capitals, Taipei and Seoul, and of other major cities, were rapidly modernized. Modern education, popular culture, consumption, public transportation, figures of modern girls and boys, and all kinds of scientific knowledge emerged, shaping the life of the colonized. The development of the Taishō Democracy, modernism, and nativism politically and culturally elevated the colonized’s souls and minds.⁷⁷ Kim Chin-song (1999) defines the 1930s as the age of the “formation of modernity” in Korea.⁷⁸ The documentary, *Viva Tonal* (2004),⁷⁹ depicts the maturity of modern culture in 1930s Taiwan. Both Kim’s study and *Viva Tonal* demonstrate how the transnational cultural waves intersected in the colonies, where American and European cultures (e.g., movies and music) and political development competed with Japanese assimilation and the Chinese legacy, and there the “new type of culture” emerged.

Against this backdrop, a new generation of colonial writers from Taiwan and

⁷⁶ See the note in: Dirlik, Arif. “Asian modernities in the perspective of global modernity,” *Contemporary Asian Modernities: Transnationality, Interculturality and Hybridity*. YiuWai Chu and Eva Kit-wah Man eds, Berlin, Frankfurt, New York and Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010: 45.

⁷⁷ See the discussions of scholarly engagements in and the historical analyses of modernity in Taiwan and Korea in: Wakabayashi, Masahiro, and Micha, Wu Eds. *Kuajie de Taiwan shi yanjiu: yu dongya shi de jiaocuo* [Transcending the Boundary of Taiwanese History: Dialogue with East Asian History]. Taipei: Bozhongzhe wenhua, 2004.

⁷⁸ Kim, Chin-song, Su-hyŏn Mok, and Hyŏk Ŏm. *Hyŏndaesŏng ŭi hyŏngsŏng : Sŏul e ttansŭhol ŭl hŏhara* [Formations of Modernity]. Sŏul-si: Hyŏnsil Munhwa Yŏn'gu Yŏn'gusil, 1999: 12-13.

⁷⁹ Jian, Weisi, and Zhendi Guo. *Viva Tonal: Tiaowu shidai* [Age of Dancing]. Taipei: Heijiu chuanbo, 2004.

Korea with complex linguistic subjectivities began to emerge from the imperial assimilation system. Colonial writers were also learning the idiom and technology of literature from the West as it was translated through Japan and through the Japanese language. The complexity of coloniality and modernity in Taiwanese and Korean history results in confusions of the mixture of languages. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, in Taiwan, the mixtures of *wenyanwen* (Classical Chinese writing), *baihuawen* (vernacular Chinese), *Taiwanhua* (spoken and written Taiwanese), Japanese English, Taiwanese or Chinese transcription of Japanese pronunciation, and Japanese Chinese pronunciation were the confusing lingual circumstances; while in Korea, the linguistic complexity consisted of *han'gŭl* (Korean alphabet), *hanja* (“Koreanized” Chinese characters) and *hanmun* (Classical Chinese writing), Japanese English, Korean transcription of Japanese and English pronunciation, and Japanese Chinese pronunciation. Together with the political and cultural sensations, I argue that the linguistic complexity reflects the colonized’s interior ambivalence.

Take the literary icons of colonial Korea and Taiwan—Yi Gwang-su and Lai He—for example: their writings, in public and private, show the complexity and ambivalence. Ann Sung-Hi Lee has illustrated Yi Gwang-su’s ambivalent writings in his public and private life in a paper examining Yi’s letters to his wife, Hŏ Yŏng-suk (1897-1975), especially those in Japanese, to unpack his identity and collaboration with Japan. Lee argues that the particular language choices of Yi’s writing demonstrate not just submission and resistance to hegemony, but also a transcultural identity. The letters examined by Lee were written in the late 1910s and early 1920s, during the periods when Yi and Hŏ studied in Japan (1918), worked in Shanghai (1919), married in 1921, and then

resided in Korea (1922). The letters show their profound transnational experience and their complex linguistic background. Through the publication of these letters, Lee notices that many of Yi's letters to Hō have been published in Korea without the readers acknowledging that those letters were written in Japanese, as well as some classical Chinese, English, and German words. However, the complexity of language choices, to Lee, signifies the negotiation of intimacy between the couple, "through their shared transcultural identity and, moreover, by expressing his willingness to participate in household work" (Lee 2003: 7-8). Furthermore, similar to Shin and Robinson's observation, Yi and his contemporaries' linguistic experimentation and contact are the embodiment of cosmopolitanism. Lee further elaborates the multi-layered linguistic usage in Yi's letters as follows: the narrative uses code borrowing and intra-sentential code switching in order to represent a hybrid domestic space. The text uses Japanese as the base language and uses transliteration of a Western literary name and code borrowing from Korean, in order to index a shared transcultural identity, and, moreover, to negotiate for intimacy; writing in Japanese, English and Korean opened the text to give access to modernity and foreign cultures, as well as to Korean identity. However, this multilingual situation is an agonizing experience, as Yi's contemporary and critic, Kim Dong-in, once described his suffering from the painful process of forming his thoughts in Japanese and translating them into the Korean language.⁸⁰ More importantly, this linguistic complexity (and suffering) is untranslatable. It should be noted that, in translation, the profound connotations of these language choices would be dismissed, technologically, or, out of

⁸⁰ Reference from: *Kim Tongin chŏnjip* [The Complete Works of Kim Dong-in] 6, Seoul: Samjungdang, 1976: 19; also see: Kim, Yun-sik. (ed), *Yi Gwangsu wa kŭ ŭi sidae* [Yi Gwang-su and His Times]1, Seoul: Sol ch'ulp'ansa, 1999: 609.

certain political tendencies.⁸¹

Without considering the imperial language of Japanese, Lai He's case also shows the untranslatability in his language and writings. Though he graduated from Taiwan Taiwan Governor-General's Medical School (*Sotokufu Igahu Senmon Gakko*) and he was familiar with Japanese, without a doubt, Lai never published any writing in Japanese. Japanese colonialists began Taiwan's Westernization, and it was during this time that a new form of literature came into being which was to become an integral part of a new phase of socio-political resistance against the Japanese colonial rule. It was also during this time that Lai He's work began to emerge. Nevertheless, many literary critics have mentioned Lai's writing career, and how his daily life was a fulfilment of "self-translation."⁸² Lai was accustomed to writing in classical Chinese first, then transcribing into vernacular Chinese, and finally into Taiwanese. Through several short stories written during the 1920s and early 1930s, Lai satirized the brutality of colonial policemen, the indifference of the populace, and the impotence of native intellectuals. During the 1930s, Lai became more nativist in orientation and actively experimented with writing in Taiwanese. For example, "Letter From a Comrade" (1935)⁸³ is viewed as Lai's last publicly published work and one of the only two pieces of his experiments in writing in Taiwanese. The short novel depicts an intellectual who received a letter from a comrade who was sick in prison asking the protagonist for money to buy medicine. In a social

⁸¹ As briefly touched upon in Chapter 1, many Japanese writings of Yi Gwang-su or other writers were left out of their collected works in Korea; others were published in Korean without mentioning their original language. It is believed that an attitude toward decolonization and nationalistic demand in postwar Korea erased the linguistic traces.

⁸² See: Li, Xian-zhan. "Taiwan xiangtu huawen yundong," *Taiwan wenyi* 102, 1986: 155; and Wang, Jin-jiang. "Lailanyun lun: Taiwan wentan renwu lun 4," *Taiwan Times* 201, August 1936.

⁸³ Lai, He[Hui]. "Yige tongzhi de pixin [Letter From a Comrade]," *Taiwan Xinwenxue*, vol. 1, December 12, 1935. The novel was published under the pen name "Hui," and is known as his last publication in public periodicals. The quotes used in this paper are from my translation.

aspect, the novel shows the decline of and Lai's disappointment in the social movement against the colonial power and the decay of the intellectual community; in a personal aspect, the novel shows how the protagonist struggles in the new world, in which the borderline between the public and private spheres becomes ambiguous because of the new social formation of capitalist life and the political mobilization of emerging new subjects and community. In this short novel, there are a large number of terms adopted or derived from Japanese,⁸⁴ or terms like *jippu* (止卜), which demonstrates the Japanization of the English "tip." The usage of Japanese terms reflects certain socio-historical impacts: new experiences or objects; the assimilation of colonial powers; acknowledgement of globality via Japanese colonization. As for the usage of Chinese characters, some of them are used as in a Mandarin context and others are used as a phonetic tool to visualize the Taiwanese sound. When advocates published articles to propose formats of writing in Taiwanese, Lai He was one of the followers and discussants. This group of people agreed to use existing Chinese characters as a phonetic tool to form the sound of certain Taiwanese terms; for those for which characters to represent the sound could not be found, they invented new words, while there were still some terms that were more like in transition from classical Chinese to the vernacular.⁸⁵ Lai's short novel, appearing in the late period of the movement and before the strict assimilation policy of the Japanese, presents a small achievement of the movement, and demonstrates some of the stable

⁸⁴ Such as: 新聞 (xinwen=newspaper), 自動車 (zidongche=automobile), 郵便 (youbian=post mail), 便所 (biansuo=toilet), 注射 (zhushu=injection), etc. Some of them survived the decolonization movement in post-war Taiwan, so even people of my generation who speak Taiwanese in private life still use these terms.

⁸⁵ Such as: 獨語 (dúyǔ, monologue), 終究 (zhōngjiū, after all), 躊躇 (chóuchú, hesitate), 罄盡 (qìngjìn, used up).

terms in Taiwanese writing.⁸⁶ Again, this amazing complexity of linguistic usage is difficult to preserve in the practice of translation.

Nonetheless, the untranslatability does not only represent the linguistic complexity. Multilingual and multicultural contexts are characterized by a plurality of cultures and identities, which may require straddling the different cultures and identities. This “neither here nor there” positioning produces ambivalence and contradictions in one’s being, compelling one to act towards negotiating the difference. Yi Gwang-su’s writing in Japanese, or Lai He’s choosing not to, should not be comprehended as merely pro-anti colonization. The tendency to frame the issues of linguistic colonialism solely from the position of the colonized, as Leo Ching eloquently argues, may result in reifying the nationalist/imperialist discourse:

First of all, in focusing on the plight of the colonized’s mediated relationship to the colonial language, the problem of colonial language becomes a problem only for the colonized, and displaces, if not exonerates, the colonizer from the interdependent and antagonistic colonial relationship mediated through linguistic violence. Second, by placing the burden of linguistic resistance or complicity squarely on the shoulders of the colonized, it further reinforces the notions that confer upon certain people a legitimate climate or a particular language: that the colonizers are always ‘at home’ with their language, while the colonized are ‘never at home.’ In other words, this type of analysis fails to come to terms with the fact that the colonial language itself is not a constant, nor an original or that the languages of the colonies are mere variations or bad copies. While

⁸⁶ Such as: 批/批信 (phe/phe-sin, letter), 啥 (sáⁿ, what), 頭殼 (thâu-khak, head), 恁 (lín, you), 伊 (i, he or she), 安怎 (an-chó^a, how), 敢春 (kám-chhun, could it be...left), 粒積 (jit-chí, days), 暗頓 (àm-tng, supper), 目睷 (bák-tsiu, eyes).

accentuating the plight of the Taiwanese in appropriating or surrendering to the Japanese language, one unknowingly slips into a naturalization of the colonial language itself. As much as the imperial language was imposed upon the colonized, the imperial language itself is also constantly undergoing change and differentiation” (Ching 2001: 192-193).

What we witness in this era of colonial modernity is the rise of the transcultural space as the primary setting, sometimes embellished with a brief, often nostalgic sketch of the disappearing (linguistic) tradition. Language becomes the overwhelming cultural space. This new literary generation, committed as they were in some shape or form to defining Taiwanese and Korean identity and nationalism, introduced the populace to the new type of culture in terms of a massive breakdown in the colonies’ social structures and traditions. Moreover, as if this threat to the homeland did not suffice to further dislocate the colonized subject’s psycho-social space, a move to the center of that threat proved ever more debilitating. Thus, it is not only a perceived, invasive foreign/imperial culture that threatens the colonized in this literature, it is also the internalization of foreign values (via the practice of language) that creates both a subaltern status as well as a perpetually fragmented identity. In sum, the exacerbated cultural dislocation forever destabilizes a unified Taiwanese or Korean identity, which, as a consequence, ultimately thwarts the dream of political autonomy. More importantly, it is ambivalent. Cosmopolitanism may have helped the colonized to challenge the binarism, but it stymied applicable coherence to their cultural agenda, and thus many of them were forced to choose or be chosen between the positions of pro-or-anti colonizer. For example, it highlighted the ambivalence the colonial intellectuals experienced when asked to choose between going

to the north and continued American rule or affiliation in postwar Korea. That ambivalence is symbolized best by the experiences of modernist writers Wu Yung-fu and Pak T'ae-wŏn and their literary works, which I am going to discuss further. As I will show in the following two sections, the ambivalence toward language and life in the metropolises that is represented in their works illuminates a specific brand of cultural dislocation. And the “after-life” of their works, the political positions, tells the continuing stories of this ambivalence.

2-3 The Untranslatability of Colonial Literature (1): The Untranslatable

Wu Yung-fu (1913-2008) and Pak T'ae-wŏn (1909-1986) were the iconic modernist writers in colonial Taiwan and Korea. They went to study in Japan in 1929 and 1930, and made their literary debuts in 1932 and 1933. The novellas that I choose to discuss —“Head and Body” (*Kubi to karada* 首と體, 1933),⁸⁷ by Wu, and “A Day in the Life of Kubo the Novelist” (*Sosŏlga Kubo ssi ūi iril* 소설가 구보씨의 일일, 1934),⁸⁸ by Pak —were written in their early writing careers, and are their most notable pieces. In this and following sections, I will discuss two characteristics of the ambivalent

⁸⁷ “Head and Body” was written in Japanese, published in *Formosa* 1, July 1933: 59-66. Translation into Chinese by Li Yuan-ying in: *Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, Wang Changxiong heji* [Collected Works of Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, Wang Changxiong]. Taipei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1991: 173-184. Translation into English by M. Hillenbrand, in *Taiwan Literature: English Translation Series 19: Special Issue on Taiwan Literature During the Period of Japanese Rule*. 2006: 39-49. My discussion is based on the original and the Chinese translation.

⁸⁸ Written in *han'gŭl*, the novella was first published serially in the *Chosŏn chungang ilbo* (Chosŏn Central Daily) from August 1, 1934, to September 19, 1934. My discussion is based on the reprinted and English versions from: Pak, T'aewŏn. “Sosŏlga Kubo Ssi ūi iril [A Day in the Life of Kubo the Novelist],” *Kubo ssi wa tōburō Kyōngsŏng ūl kada* [Going to Kyōngsŏng with Kubo], Seoul: Param Kudu, 2005: 145-270. Translation into English in: *On the Eve of the Uprising and other stories from colonial Korea*, eds. and trans. by Sunyoung Park and Jefferson J. A. Gatrall, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2010: 145-194.

untranslatability embedded in their writings: the linguistic untranslatability and the experience of unhomeness. At this point, I want to continue the discussion of the complexities of colonial languages and to highlight the historical and material aspects of them through my readings of Wu's and Pak's novellas.

Wu and Pak were born and received higher education in the colonial era. They were part of the new generation that was educated, was seduced by, and that emerged to write in Japanese in Taiwan and Korea in the 1930s. Prior to their emergence, there was the period of the Policy of Assimilation (*Dōka*, 1915-1937) in Taiwan, and the Cultural Rule (*Bunka seiji*, 1919-1926) in Korea, together with political movements (self-determination and Taishō democracy) and failures (the March 1st movement in Korea and Petition Movement for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament in Taiwan). These cultural and political trends nurtured a generation of literati who sought to write in the local vernacular and a proletarian arts movement in the mid-1920s. However, starting in 1931, Japanese military dominance intensified and shut down the proletarian literature movement; later, in 1937, the colonial government began to severely censor cultural activities in the colonies. Under these difficult conditions, groups of modernist writers flourished abroad, particularly within the Taiwanese and Korean intellectual and literary circles in Tokyo, including the literary groups that Wu and Pak belonged to. Wu was a member of the Society for the Study of Taiwanese Arts (*Tawan yishu yanjiu hui* 台灣藝術研究會, founded in 1932) and a contributor of the society's official publication, *Formosa* (フォルモサ, 1933), where he made his literary debut and published "Head and Body." Pak was associated with the Group of Nine (*Kuinhoe* 구인회, founded by the Group of Overseas Literature [해외문학파] in 1933) in opposition to proletarian

literature (notably represented by the Korean Artist Proletariat Federation [KAPF]), and he devoted himself to modernist literature.

Literary criticism has pointed out how the influence from the Japanese writers and artists of modernism helped in shaping Wu's and Pak's literary styles.⁸⁹ Wu Yung-fu's "Head and Body" reminds one of Yokomitsu Riichi's (1898-1947) "Head and Belly" (*Atama narabi ni hara* 頭ならびに腹, 1924), in that both deal with the ambivalence of the experience of living between the imperial metropolis and the countryside at home. Pak's technique of "modernology" (*modōnnōlloji* 모던널로지) was a technique that originated with Japanese architect and ethnographer Kon Wajirō (1888-1973), who transformed an older term for the "study of antiquity" (*Kōgogaku* 考古学) into the neologism, the "study of the modern" (*Kōgengaku* 考現学), to signify the systematic and scientific description of modern life and society.⁹⁰ Furthermore, Fredric Jameson has a useful essay for those of us in East Asian literary studies, entitled "Modernism and Imperialism." He contends that imperialist novels don't have to be about empires per se, and in fact seldom are. Rather, it is the form of the novel that conforms to imperialism, not necessarily its broadcast theme. "[T]he structure of imperialism," he writes, "makes its mark on the inner forms and structures of that mutation in literary and artistic language to which the term modernism is loosely applied" (Jameson 1990: 44), and I

⁸⁹ See: Zhang, Henghao. "Introduction," *Weng Nao, Wu Yungfu, Wang Changxiong heji* [Collected Works of Weng Nao, Wu Yungfu, Wang Changxiong]. Taipei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1991; and Hanscom, Christopher P. "Modernism, Hysteria, and the Colonial Double Bind: Pak T'aewŏn's One Day in the Life of the Author, Mr. Kubo," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 21:3, 2013: 607-636.

⁹⁰ See: Ch'oi, Hye-sil. "Kyōngsōng ui tosihwa ga 1930 nyōndae Han'guk modōnijūm sosŏl e mich'in yōnghyang" [The influence of Seoul urbanization on the 1930's Korean modern novel], *Sŏulhak yŏn'gu* 9 [Seoul Studies], 1998: 179-180.

shall discuss later how we may find that this is pertinent to colonial literature in Taiwan and Korea.

Nonetheless, as a generation that was writing in Japanese and inhabiting colonial metropolises, what Wu and Pak were struggling with were the ambivalent feelings toward language and colonial daily life. Though “Head and Body” was written in proficient Japanese, Wu once expressed his anxiety about writing in the language, stating, “we are troubled by the issue of language, as well as the writing style of the language. Since, no matter if we write in Chinese or Japanese, our depictions and representations are imperfect and detracted from the desired quality. This is the common worry for people who create writings.”⁹¹ Wu’s contemporary and colleague in the literary group, Weng Nao (1908-1940), expressed the issues of writing in Japanese and in a literary style in a more specific way; he stated in a meeting of Taiwanese writers that “it’s not an issue to write in the same form as here [Japan]. Japanese literature, in terms of literary form, is comparable with world literature, but it still reserves Japaneseness by contents; similarly, [our literature] shares the literary form with Japanese literature, only if the contents are about Taiwan” (Weng 2013[1935]: 269). Weng continued to explain his solution to the problem: “When putting a noun specific to Taiwan in a writing, people in the mainland [i.e., Japanese] cannot understand the meaning of it. Thus, I always put the *furigana* [a Japanese reading aid] *hiroma* [ひろま] next to the Taiwanese term *tōa-thiaⁿ* [大廳, hall]; without doing so, people in the mainland would never be able to understand [the term]. Of course I can just use the Japanese term *hiroma* [広間], but it takes some efforts for us to express native color” (Weng 2013[1935]: 264). Wu’s and Weng’s negotiations in

⁹¹ See: Wu, Yung-fu. “Wareware no sōsaku mondai [The Issue for Our Creation],” *Taiwan bungei* [Taiwan Arts] 1, November 1937: 57.

language and writing embody the specific issue of the difficulty of self-representation, or as Christopher Hanscom elaborates, as a “crisis of representation” stemming from the loss of faith in language as a vehicle of meaningful reference to the world that became a central concern of literary modernists as they operated under Japanese colonial rule.

Hanscom’s observation of the “crisis of representation” is from his examination of Pak’s writings, in which he finds that Pak “both represents and presents the breach of referentiality to the reader, continually linking themes of disease and incommunicability with linguistic innovations that attempt to address but also point out the indefiniteness of language as an expressive medium” (Hanscom 2013: 630). Notwithstanding the issues of representation shared by colonial writers, Pak’s experimentation on writing derives from another issue of the implication of the visual (written) and audio (sound/pronunciation), and of different pronunciations in Korean writings. It should be noted that Pak and his colleagues were still writing in Korean in the 1930s, in pro-Japanese newspapers (e.g., *Maeil sinbo* [Daily News]) or the newly founded media (e.g., *Chosŏn chungang ilbo* [Chosŏn Central Daily], 1933-1936). Given that *han’gŭl* as a phonetic writing system was still competing with ideographic Chinese writing, it was also under the threat of imposed neologisms from Japanese and other Western languages. This linguistic condition resulted in a similar tension between the language and writing, though in different ways, that was experienced by Taiwanese writers who wrote in Japanese. For example, as Hanscom demonstrates, Pak was aware of this issue: “In [written] language, it is not enough simply to convey a fixed meaning through the content alone,” he writes. “Together with [the content] one should without exception also convey, via sound, a

nuanced implication to the reader.”⁹² This indeterminacy of *han’gŭl* writing results in the feeling of inadequacy of language that Pak had noticed. Furthermore, the indeterminacy of the Korean language is represented in the constant existence or juxtaposition of Chinese characters with pure *han’gŭl* writings. As Henry Em notices in the well-known novella, “The Wings,”⁹³ by Pak’s colleague, Yi Sang (1910-1937), the opening section “is heavily interspersed with Chinese characters, whereas the rest of the text is written almost completely in *han’gŭl*. Thus, the visual quality of the first page (because the Chinese characters allow the reader’s eyes to move quickly over the page without having to sound out the words, unlike this sentence) is contrasted with the auditory sense of the rest of the text (necessitated by having to sound out the *han’gŭl* spellings)” (Em 1996: 105-106).⁹⁴

In addition, there are more complex examples presented in “A Day in the Life of Kubo the Novelist,” in terms of the implication of the pronunciation of *han’gŭl*. For certain terms, the pronunciations in either Korean, Japanese or Chinese is easy to tell, from the phonetic system of Korean, even in the written form. For example, the term “Modernology,” a writing style that the protagonist Kubo is working on in the novella, is an English term pronounced in Japanese and written in Korean.⁹⁵ Another example, the term “apple” (*imgŭm* 애플), which is mentioned in the novella with a playful question:

“there are five apples, what order should we eat them in?” is written and pronounced with

⁹² See: Pak, T’ae-won. “Ch’angjak yorok: P’yohyon, myosa, kigyo [A Follow- Up to Writing: Representation, Depiction, Technique],” *Chosŏn chungang ilbo*, December 17, 1934. Requoted from Hanscom, “Modernism, Hysteria, and the Colonial Double Bind,” p. 622.

⁹³ I will discuss this novella, together with Weng Nao, in Chapter 4; detailed information of the novella will be given later.

⁹⁴ Em. Henry. “Yi Sang’s *Wings* Read as an Anti-Colonial Allegory.” In Walter K. Lew, ed., *MUÆ: A Journal of Trans-cultural Production*. New York, DAP, 1996: 104-111.

⁹⁵ It is written as ‘mo-de-rui-no-ji/모 데 르 놀 지,’ reflecting Japanese pronunciation. In Korean, it should be written and pronounced as “mo-don-no-lo-ji/모 던 널 로 지.”

Japanese *kanji* (林檎) but not with Japanese pronunciation (*ringo* リンゴ). Although the protagonist often shows those confusions in the usages of language, he also consciously manifests his resistance to the colonial language. This is obvious in some daily occasions. When meeting with different friends in various cafés or teahouses, Kubo's companions separately order Calpis and soda, both with Japanese pronunciations (*ka-lu-pi-s* 가루삐스 and *so-da-sui* 소다스이). However, when it comes to Kubo or the narrator, he tends to pronounce the drinks in Korean pronunciations (*k'alp'isŭ* 칼피스 and *chodalsu* 조달수). In addition to those ambivalent pronunciations, there is a large number of transliterations of English terms, such as 포스터 (poster), 레코드 (record), 아이스크림 (ice cream), 토스트 (toast), 캄, 히어 (come ? here), 레인코트 (raincoat), 곱뿌 (cup), etc... However, these linguistic traces are almost dismissed in translation. Throughout the English translation of this novella, there is only one translator's note in the text, which explains the medicine "3Bsu" and points out that "'su' (수) is the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese character for water. The nurse's pronunciation reflects a Japanese accent (3 *ppisŭi* 3 삐스이)" (Park and Gatrall 2010: 150). There is also another translator's note on the explanation of Pak's unique usages of verb tenses (Park and Gatrall 2010: 142-143).

Linguistic untranslatability is a specific characteristic of colonial writing, in particular, of the newly emerged vernacular scripts—Korean *han'gŭl* and written Taiwanese. As demonstrated in the previous section, Lai He's experimental writing in written Taiwanese also shows the ambivalence in the hybrid languages and his lingual

practice. It is because the socio-cultural environment in which the written scripts emerged was already multiculturalized. Driven by the desire to be modern, the scripts were mobilized, constructed to deal with the foreign, and thus became sites for the intersecting cultures and power relations. If we examine the Chinese translation of “Head and Body,” certain linguistic characteristics of the Japanese original are dismissed too. For example, most of the onomatopoeia and mimetic words—such as *yukkuri* ユツクリ, *mogumogu* モグモグ, *bon yari* ボンヤリ, *burabura* ブラブラ, *bura tsuku* ブラつく, which are used to indicate the protagonist’s interiority of “slowness”⁹⁶—in this novella are written in *katakana*, the syllabary used for transcription of foreign words into Japanese, for emphasis, or to represent onomatopoeia, but this linguistic characteristic is not highlighted in the Chinese translation. A semblance of linguistic gender neutrality could only be achieved by moving from Japanese to Chinese without jarring the reader’s sensibilities regarding gender or class hierarchies. Moreover, the translation of weights and measures—from Japanese *gō* (合) to Chinese *sheng* (升), measured with the liter—represents the “assumed measure of equivalence defined by social-scientific language” that Chakrabarty reminds us of. There is also author Wu’s linguistic struggle when writing this novella and other Japanese writings mentioned above, that is erased in the translation.

The untranslatability demonstrated above results in the colonized’s dislocation in homogeneous time-space relationships, for it symbolizes the linguistic subjects as belated and marginalized; in the way that the communicability of the modern vernacular was deferred, the positionality of the colonized writer was marked as unstable and incoherent.

⁹⁶ I will further discuss this “slowness” as a symbol of the anti-modern in the next section.

In another words, if this specific characteristic of the colonized has been meant to be doomed in the practice of translation, it only proves that the underlying logic of translation is homogenization. Thus, what is at stake here is problematizing translation with the existing linguistic heterogeneity, that is, the possibility of a different attitude of address, namely, “heterolingual address.” In addition to the linguistic untranslatability, the other symptom of the colonial ambivalence represented in the novellas (and by their authors) is the unhomed subjects that present as the untranslatability in the modern homogeneous space.

2-4 The Untranslatability of Colonial Literature (2): The Unhomed

“Head and Body“ and “A Day in the Life of Kubo the Novelist” depict a similar scene with a *flâneur* figure wandering in the urban cityscape, capturing and projecting through his reflections the sense of alienation and nostalgia (between Tokyo, and colonial Kyōngsōng and Taihoku, which are Seoul and Taipei today) that characterized the intellectual life on the landscape of colonized metropolises during the repressive decade of the 1930s colonies. The colonial version of the Benjaminean *flâneur*—which is identified as a subversive reader, an alternative version of modern Western history opposed to the paradigms of speed and progress set up by the Nazi regime—is related not only to the internal crises of Western notions of modernity, but also to the manner in which such notions were valorized in colonial Taiwan and Korea. More importantly, it reflects the estranging effect of transcultural encounters. To understand this better, I shall introduce the basic plot of the two novellas first.

The protagonist “I” in “Head and Body” is a student studying in Tokyo from the Taiwan colony. His cohort “S” has received letters from his family, urging him to go back to Taiwan and get married. However, “I” and “S” have been driven by the desire to continue studying, to pursue free love and a literary dream, and thus are reluctant to return to the colony and their old life. Throughout the novel, the two either immerse themselves in endless nights of drinking, or wander and talk with each other in the streets, department stores, theatres, cafes, and restaurants. The city landscapes bring them a modern sensation, as in Hibiya park, where they are amazed and comforted by the artificial and natural landscape; in a department store, the dazzling windows and warm atmosphere from the heaters bring them visual pleasure and a feeling of safety; watching the play of Anton Chekhov, *The Cherry Orchard* (1904), staged in the theatre at the Imperial Hotel connects them to world literature and enjoyment. Nonetheless, these physical pleasures are constantly interrupted by interior activities of unexpected silence between the two, a sense of loneliness reflected from the dead twigs and withered leaves around them, and most importantly, the struggle between social-familial duty and self-fulfillment. Accordingly, the gap or the conflict between the physical and the mental is symbolized by the title, as the split body and head.

The protagonist Kubo—the name is also the author’s art name (구보仇甫), and the protagonist is perceived as Pak’s autobiographical character—in “A Day in the Life of Kubo the Novelist” experiences a similar feeling of dislocation as “I” and “S.” The jobless, wifeless twenty-six-year-old son has been offered, by his mother, a woman as his future bride, whom he never meets. Failing to reach his inner peace when staying home, he constantly roams the streets of the city of Kyōngsōng from the late night until dawn. A

typical routine of his wandering would be: Around noon, he leaves the house near Ch'ōnggye Stream, where he lives with his mother, and proceeds through the Gwanggyo district to the Hwasin Department Store in Chongno. After his visit to the Hwasin, he jumps on a streetcar and gets off at a random spot. He may descend in front of the Chosŏn Bank, and go into the coffeehouse “Blanc Parlor”—a locale he visits multiple times during the day—to drink coffee, smoke cigarettes, and jot notes. From the coffeehouse, he wanders to Namdaemun and then settles at Kyōngsŏng Station. He might meet a friend there and set off for a night of drinking in Nagwŏnjŏng; there they meet bargirls, discuss Western or Japanese literature (Andre Gide’s lines and James Joyce’s *Ulysses*, Ishikawa Takuboku’s haiku), and love. When the friend leaves, Kubo stays and think about nothing and going nowhere.

This ceaseless moving from one space to another and the narrative of stream-of-consciousness of the protagonists mark the modern as well as the colonial characteristics of these two novellas; they are like Fredric Jameson’s model, Joyce’s *Ulysses* (1922), and the peripatetic appointments and encounters of Leopold Bloom over the course of a single day in Dublin, at the time (1904) a city under English rule. Similar to Kyōngsŏng or Taihoku, the Irish looked to what it wasn’t but what some wished it might be: London. In Jameson’s retelling, the most canonical modernist novel of our time restages British imperialism, but via the very peculiar quotidian wanderings of the half-Jewish Leopold Bloom, he himself indifferent to the question of Irish nationalism in a city rife with it. Jameson sees the novel’s ideological work impossible to comprehend without exposing to view the imperial architecture that keeps the roof up:

“[I]n *Ulysses* space does not have to be made symbolic in order to achieve closure and meaning: its closure is objective, endowed by the colonial situation itself.

...In Joyce, the encounter is at one with Dublin itself, whose compact size anachronistically permits the new archaic life of the older city-state. It is therefore unnecessary to generate an aesthetic form of closure distinct from the city, which in First World modernism must be imposed by the violence of form upon this last at compensation” (Jameson 1990:91).

I take Jameson to mean that the “modernism” of *Ulysses* was already guaranteed by its provincial Dublin setting; that it assumed its aesthetic form, its “closure,” by virtue of its quasi-peripheral spatial position near British imperialism. I will make a similar claim for Wu’s and Pak’s novellas. But at the same time I will argue that time is a structural vector that makes the stories colonial, just as that of space renders them modernist, and just as history has elected them the greatest single literary log of Taiwan and Korea under Japanese rule.

“Time” is represented in the novellas as a temporality of “slowness”; it articulates a separate register from the time of colonial modernity and capitalism.

The relative slowness creates an exhaustive banality: for the readers there won’t be any dramatic sequence and ending and the act is almost too ordinary, too daily. As Xie Hui-zhen has illustrated, though “Head and Body” was influenced by Yokomitsu Riichi’s literary style, different from the feeling of speed and progress derived from the modern urbanization depicted in “Head and Belly,” “Head and Body” represents a contrasting sense of slowness. The conflicts between the ideal and reality, self and tradition, spirit and flesh, are embodied in the expressions of slowness in the words and onomatopoeia:

slowly (*yukkuri* ユックリ), munching (*mogumogu* モグモグ), idly (*bon yari* ボンヤリ), swaying around (*burabura* ブラブラ), with which the pausing, delay, and hesitation are highlighted in *katakana*, to emphasize the state of “not proceeding.” In other words, “Head and Body” is a story that depicts the sense of time as being “sluggish,” and represents the reluctant subject of the protagonists. It proves Wu’s reflection on the ambivalence of a colonial young man with the logic of the “anti-speed” (Xie 2009: 226). In addition, “I” once raised a random question about the price of time. When the two were waiting for the play to start at 1 p.m., to break the silence or to interrupt his companion’s worry, “I” asked, “For example, if a four-hour play charges one 2 dollars, what’s the total for 300 people? How much is one minute worth? ...One minute in a theatre is unexpectedly expensive. We normally would never think about the value of a play, of the time for the audience” (Wu 1933: 64). I tend to read this connection of time and money with the issue of speed, the speed with which all commodities are acquired in production in a capitalist system. The slowness of the protagonists symbolizes their unproductivity in opposition to the capitalist society of reproduction, in which time and labour are the important capital. The commodity here is a play with a specific time frame, but “I” sarcastically values the play by its time duration and comes out with the conclusion that time (by the minute) is worth a lot. However, the way time appears in the novella is “to kill time,” “it’s still early,” “we still have much time,”⁹⁷ always in excess, and therefore, useless. The question about time and its value raised by “I” reflects his random thoughts on the ambivalent feelings toward the time they are living with. Moreover, it is the excess of time that drives them to go out and be out and be reluctant to

⁹⁷ See: “Head and Body,” *Formosa*, 1933: 61, 63 and 64.

be homed, including at the home in the colony. “To kill time,” they wander in the park; “it’s still early,” they move to another place; they “still have much time”; thus, even when one of them proposes going home, they end up walking into a café. The specific concept of time has the advantage of provisionally releasing us from the inevitably psychological regime of “desire” to migrate elsewhere, to the movement of people, through time organized in often incommensurable chronotropes.

The specific concept of time is embodied as an interruption of colonial time in “A Day in the Life of Kubo the Novelist.” The disturbance of temporality happens, for example, when Kubo connects the colonial present with his experiences in imperial Tokyo. Though Kubo “imagines that if he had money to go abroad, he would be almost completely happy, at least for a time. Even just to Tokyo. Tokyo is just as good. Kubo thinks that he’d like to see how Tokyo has changed since he left.”⁹⁸ But the experience in Tokyo is in fact a failure: “Ah I remember.... Oh, why do I fumble through memories for the one incident I had hoped to forget, forever? A sad and bitter memory is the last thing to help keep one’s heart calm, cheerful.”⁹⁹ The “sad and bitter memory” is related to Kubo’s failure in pursuing love in Tokyo. One can expand the reading of this psychic historical circumstance to see how it places people in a state of “internal displacement and external dependency,” as “a state of colonialism” (Choi 1997: 353). The dislocation and the ambivalence of the colonial subjects depicted in the novella can be further illustrated as the “unhomed” moment:

⁹⁸ See: Pak, T’ae-wŏn. “A Day in the Life of Kubo the Novelist,” *On the Eve of the Uprising and other stories from colonial Korea*. eds. and trans. by Sunyoung Park and Jefferson J. A. Gatrall, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2010: 158.

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 177-178.

He has been walking, seemingly with a purpose, but now he stops. Where now?

He can go anywhere. There is nowhere for him to go.”

.....

“The streetcar arrives. People get off and on. Kubo stands there for a while, absent-minded. But when he sees all those who have just been standing with him step into the streetcar, he feels sad and lonely at the thought of being left behind.¹⁰⁰

This kind of “un-belonging” or “unhomed” moment relates the ambivalences of a personal, psychic history to the wider disjunctions of political existence. The new public spaces such as the streetcars, train stations, cafes and department stores in colonial Korea, where the modern subjects chase their fashionable goods of happiness, displace the colonial circumstances. This is clear when we look at how Kubo expresses his personal traumatic ambivalence in the modern world:

All the toes, belonging to those who have a life, a life, are heading home. Home, home, they are so happily walking in search of supper, their families' faces, and some rest after the daily grind. Takuboku's haiku flows from Kubo's lips: The sorrow of everyone having a home / Like entering a grave / They return home to sleep.¹⁰¹

In this passage, Kubo, on the one hand, adopts the colonizer's (a Japanese poet) worldview (literature) to address his own inner voice through the haiku. On the other, he collocates *home* with *grave*, revealing the symptom of a desire for a vital life in the public sphere and melancholic nostalgia of the lost “home”: the home and the world,

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 173.

private and public, past and present, the psyche and the social develop an interstitial intimacy. It is an intimacy that questions binary divisions through which such spheres of social experience are often spatially opposed. These spheres of life are linked through an “in-between” temporality (in Bhabha’s word) that takes the measure of dwelling at home, while producing an image of the world of history. Pak’s stream-of-consciousness writing style entails his representative modern figure, Kubo, in an interstitial intimacy in certain moments of his modern life. This is represented in the penetrating self-reflective monologues and the anxieties within them.

Bhabha defines the “unhomeliness” as a condition of “extra-territorial and cross cultural initiations,” one that is intrinsic to the colonial and the postcolonial world. It is not a question of being “homeless,” Bhabha makes clear, but a question of being outside of “home,” of being forced to renegotiate one’s place in the world. (Bhabha 1994: 9)

Though Bhabha uses this “unhomeness” to best identify the experience of migrants and postcolonial people, as I have claimed earlier, it is important to recuperate the spirit by returning to the colonial present. Through the readings of colonial literature, I argue that the rapid development of the consumption culture over a decade from the 1920s and the construction/mobilization of individuals due to the destruction of traditional social relationships (filial duty and arranged marriage) throw the colonial modern subject from his/her private place into the public space. The “home” has been occupied by the colonial capitalist power, and at the same time, an empty space has been opened up. By the positionality of being unhomed, the colonial subjects embodied the “untranslatability” of colonial ambivalence that is irreducible to the colonial modern space (and the experience), and with which they blurred and interrupted homogenous time-space

relationships. To wrap up these thoughts, I want to propose a positive reading of the ending of Pak's novella:

Now I'll have a life. Have a life. A life for myself, and comfort and rest for my mother—. Good night, the friend says again. Kubo at last turns to him, and silently nods. See you again tomorrow night. But, Kubo, after a slight hesitation, tomorrow, from tomorrow, I will stay at home, will write—.

“Write a good novel.”

Says the friend in good faith, and they part.

I will write a truly good novel.¹⁰²

If we read literary representation as an allegory of the traumatic ambivalences of a colonial subject, then what will these expectations— “a life for myself,” “comfort and rest for my mother,” “write a truly good novel”— turn out to be? I suggest: the afterlife of Kubo, embodied with historical ambivalences and the spirit of self-reflection, not turning back to the “old home” but inhabiting the transnational space “planet,” where Gayatri Spivak proposes to overwrite the globe, is a more sensitive and attuned way of understanding the materiality of the world and our collective place and responsibility as humans within it.¹⁰³

However, my vision of the future has been proven to be in vain. The “true” afterlife of Pak T'aewŏn is the stigmatization of the “writer who went north” (*wŏlbuk chakka* 월북작가), and his works were banned in the south (Republic of Korea),¹⁰⁴ while

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 193.

¹⁰³ See Spivak's discussion of her notion of “planetarity” in: Spivak, Gayatri C. *Death of a Discipline*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003: 71-102.

¹⁰⁴ The ban on the works of writers who went north following the end of World War II was not lifted until the democratization in 1988.

Wu Yung-fu had to face a new language assimilation¹⁰⁵ imposed by the Nationalist Party (*Kuomintang* 國民黨, KMT) in postwar Taiwan, and was forced to recall his ambivalence in using Japanese. Both of them were politically and linguistically unhomed again in the postwar era. But the afterlife of their literary spirit has lasted longer. In 1970, writer Ch'oe In-hun (1936-) rewrote Pak's "A Day in the Life of Kubo the Novelist." The colonial past returns to the present of 1970s Seoul as the postcolonial Kubo. Ch'oe writes about early 1970s Seoul as the site of a rearticulated colonial modernity: with Japan displaced, the United States reenacts colonialism in Asia in a new form. Kubo offers the following as he observes a movie theater in Seoul: "The areas outside theaters always seem like a foreign country. Billboards advertising Western Movies. Giant pictures of Western actors and actresses. And below them, yellow people, scurrying about trying to buy tickets. Just as it was in the concessions, a scene out of old-time Shanghai or Hong Kong."¹⁰⁶ This "return," as Theodore Hughes elaborates, "occurs as the unreconciled image of a contemporary Kubo written over, but noncoincident with, its colonial predecessor: that which can be shown as not to be seen or, in the case of the censored literary text, that which can be alluded to as not to be acknowledged" (Hughes 2011: 120). Wu Yung-fu created the poem, "The Bird That Has forgotten Its Own Language"

¹⁰⁵ After World War II, the government of the China under the Nationalist Party (*Kuomintang* 國民黨, KMT) took over Taiwan and soon implemented *Guoyu* (Chinese Mandarin or Putonghua) as "National language" in Taiwan. Started from 1956, people in Taiwan were prohibited from speaking any kinds of language except Mandarin in public, including Taiwanese and Japanese. The ban was lifted in 1987.

¹⁰⁶ Referenced and Requoted from: Hughes, Theodore. "Return to the Colonial Present: Ch'oe In-Hun's Cold War Pan-Asianism," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 19:1, 2011: 109-131.

(*Kotoba o wasure ta tori* 言葉を忘れた鳥, 1972)¹⁰⁷ to express his reflective and

ambiguous position of writing in Japanese in postwar Taiwan. The full poem is as below:

The bird that has forgotten its own language
has also forgotten how to sing
and elatedly by itself
higher and higher
as high as the sun

Faraway from its nest
far away from parents and brothers and sisters
and even from its ancestors
as if elated if it could fly far
like a stray child not knowing how to return
Its stubborn mind has forgotten everything
It has forgotten its own spirit, custom, and ethics
and even the language it should be speaking
Thus the bird has not been able to sing anymore

It has not been able to sing at all
for its tongue was burnt out by the Sun

Haughty bird
Poor bird that has forgotten the language¹⁰⁸

The poem on the surface is criticizing pro-Japanese people who can only speak Japanese but not their own language. The sun symbolizes the Japanese empire; the bird is the colonized Taiwanese people who have been silenced by the deprivation of their own

¹⁰⁷ See: Wu, Yung-fu. "Kotoba o wasure ta tori [The Bird That Has forgotten Its Own Language]," *Li shi kan* [Li poetry magazine], issue, 50, 1972.

¹⁰⁸ The English translation is by K. C. Tu and Robert Backus, from *Taiwan Literature: English Translation Series* 27, 2011: 169. The translation is based on the version appears in: *Wu Yongfu quanji, riwen shijuan* [Complete Works of Wu Yung-fu, Japanese Poetry Volume]. Vol. 12, 1995: 135-136.

voice. However, this soul-searching gesture is not as spontaneous as what he has done in the colonial time; it is imposed by the new hegemony. This poem signifies an afterlife of his colonial ambivalence.

Back to the beginning of this chapter, the “transnational space of debate that crosses linguistic boundaries” that Meaghan Morris proposes, and as I have argued, “did exist” in colonial Taiwan and Korea. It is important to look back and find the reflection from that historical present and to caution against the legacy of colonialism, especially the nationalistic and imperialist ideologies that result in Pak’s and Wu’s, and many other colonial subjects’ second trauma in the postcolonial world. Furthermore, I propose to articulate different institutional problems to unpack the complicity of different hegemonies. In so doing, in the following two chapters, I will further demonstrate and problematize the institutionalizations of modern love and sexuality, to reveal the power relations that intersect between language and sexuality.

CHAPTER 3

SEXUAL MODERNITY AND THE COLONIZATION OF SEX

The discourses on marriage, love, and sexuality were explosively produced in Taiwan and Korea from 1900 through the 1930s, which implies that the experience of love or sex was an important moment to rediscover oneself in the process of transplanting western modernity. The signs of modern love dispersed in the school and dormitory, street and train, cafe, and department store etc., which were all signifiers of western civilization, delivered the advent of a new way of life into everyday life. The experience of love with sexual liberation was viewed as universal desire of the individual, while the home and the world, private and public, past and present, the psyche and the social, develop an interstitial intimacy among emerging subjects. Regardless of ideological or sexual differences, most scenarios of modern love constructed at that time agreed that the experience of love was by the individual's own choice.¹⁰⁹

However, this agency of colonial individuals engaged in the liberation of sexual desire and love was not so reflective and autonomous, but was reinforced by colonial power. The two colonial societies faced not just the condition of modernity experienced in the shadows of the hegemony of the West, but also a colonial hegemony; the new public spaces such as street landscapes, cafes and the department stores, where the new modern subjects chased their fashionable goods of happiness, displacing the colonial circumstances. This has been shown by the scholarship advise on the socio-historical context of colonial societies in East Asia, which that when one faces the social, political condition in a colonial situation, one should be cautious about the regulation of

¹⁰⁹ See this discussion in: Suh, Ji-yong. "Collision of Modern Desires: Nationalism and Female Sexuality in Colonial Korea," *The Review of Korean Studies* 5:2, 2002: 111-132.

nationalism and capitalism.

In these circumstances, the colonized get caught between demands for individual autonomy and social constraint, which structure the binary division of colonial power and produce, as anthropologist Elizabeth Povinelli (2006) terms as the “intimate events.” Povinelli elucidates how the “intimate events” function in this colonial situation by tracing how the conceptions of love are produced in the intersection of individual freedom and social bondage, between the “autological” and “genealogical” imaginaries.¹¹⁰ Connecting this social hierarchy to practices of state governance and capitalist production is the deeply personalized project of achieving normatively acceptable relations of sovereign governance over oneself and others. The discourse of romantic love and sexuality as the “intimate events,” as I will further demonstrate, shaped ideas about the modern self, about sex and gender differences, and about national identity. A range of ideologies about modernity, gender, and progress were produced and reproduced around the concept of love.

For a deep understanding of how the construction of ideas about love and modern sexual subjects function as “intimate events” in colonial Taiwan and Korea, I will look into the public debates and literary representations about love and sexuality produced in certain transformative moments and historical frameworks of the colonial situation. Though this paper focuses on specific regions in a specific historical period, my own attempts to think through the challenges of difference and shared colonial complexity have in the past led me to envision a political imagination that would be informed by deep knowledge of at least one culture other than one’s own. This examination of the

¹¹⁰ See her discussion in: Povinelli, Elizabeth. *The Empire of Love: Toward a Theory of Intimacy, Genealogy, and Carnality*. Duke University Press, 2006: 3-4.

colonial Taiwanese and Korean historical construction of sexuality will offer one window into the specificity of East Asian sexuality and postcolonial identities. The following analyses will demonstrate this vision.

3-1 Love and Its Discontent: The Institutionalization of Modern Love

Facing the turn of the century and various historical transitions in East Asian societies, the leading intellectuals addressed the problem of modernity in relation to Confucianism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹¹¹ This resulted in the revolution of the marriage system and family formation, the liberation of individuals from traditional kinship relations, advocacy of free love and modern education...etc. Because of that, discourses on marriage, love, and sexuality were explosively produced in early twentieth-century East Asia.

Japanese cultural and literary critic Saeki Junko, in her *A Comparative Cultural History of "Lust" and "Love"* (1998), has analyzed the important role of "love" in

¹¹¹ For example: In Japan, Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) noted a radical change in the morality of people in his "On Moral Education" (1882), a thesis which attempts to defend the new education against the criticisms of surviving Confucians and proposed thoughts of social relations and morality, starting with the premise that each individual is an independent substance and that social relations are secondary. In South Korea, there has long been criticism of Confucianism. Many Koreans believe Confucianism has not contributed to the modernization of Korea. Yi Gwang-su (1892-1950) elaborated his theory of literature and the notion of civilization and of *chŏng* (feeling or heart) in "What Is Literature?" (1916), which severely criticizes the rigidity of the Confucian moral code and Korea's "reliance" on Chinese culture as barriers preventing Korea from "progressing." He states that "literature in the past, whether prose or poetry, remained strictly within the boundaries of Confucian morality." Furthermore, transcending morality means "one should free oneself from social norms and rules." Thus, literature should "evoke the real world of thought, emotion, and everyday life as truthfully as possible for your readers" (Yi, 2011[1916]: 298-299). Lu Xun (1881-1936)'s famous work "Diary of a Madman" (1918) condemns the oppressive nature of Chinese Confucian culture as a "man-eating" society where the strong devour the weak. The madman's reading of ancient texts to discover evidence of cannibalism is a parody of traditional Confucian scholarship. The story reveals Lu Xun's interest in changing society. (See: "Tokuiku Ikan [On Moral Education]," originally published as a series of articles in *Jiji Shinpō* in 1882, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū*, vol. 5, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959. 349 - 364. Yi, Gwang-su. "Munhak iran hao [What Is Literature?]" trans. Rhee Jooyeon, in *Azalea*, vol. 4, 2011: 293-313. Lu Xun, *Diary of a Madman*, *New Youth magazine*, 1918.)

Japan's enlightenment and its influence on modern Japanese literature since the Meiji period.¹¹² According to Saeki, the Victorian concept of love, which emerged in the Meiji period and was translated in hiragana as *rabu* (ラブ) and/or the Chinese character *ai* (愛), came to replace *iro* (色), which existed outside marriage as a form of sexual desire/act in the Edo period. Furthermore, *ai*, often compounds with *ren* (恋) as *ren'ai* (恋愛), which refers to romantic love and accentuates a spiritual relationship rather than carnal desire. For Japanese writers, after 1885, the modern form of “love” was a vital element, used as a radical transformation to spiritual love and obscure physical contact to illustrate the relationships between the men and women in their writings. Writers at that time, including Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935), Ozaki Kōyō (1868-1903) and Mori Ōgai (1862-1922), subscribed to the separation of soul and flesh or body, and celebrated pure and ideal love as opposed to *iro* or the relationship involved in physical contact or desire. This Japanese experience of modern love, to a great extent, influenced the development of the concept of love in colonial Taiwan and Korea, as a strongly translational and transnational engagement with a world-shared phenomenon.

Korean cultural and literary scholar Kwon Bodurae, in her insightful book *The Age of Love* (2003) investigates the discourses of *yōnae*—romantic love—in early 1920s Korea, specifically focusing on its translational, literary, material, and paradoxical connotations. According to Kwon, the English word, *love*, can be mainly translated as *yōnae* (연애) and *sarang* (사랑) in Korean; the significant difference between the two is “the [translated] word *yōnae* only connotes the love between man and woman. The love

¹¹² For more discussions on the state technologies of love for the regulation of marriage, kinship, and reproductive health, please see: Ryang, Sonia. *Love in Modern Japan: Its Estrangement from Self, Sex and Society*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

of God, humans, parents, or friends is not *yŏnae*. [...] The word *sarang*, ...is widely known, coming from the Korean word *saranghada* [사랑하다], and has a long-existing meaning of ‘think of/feel.’... After the importing of Christianity, the idea that *sarang* meant the love of God became widespread. In the 1900s, the word was also used in the field of national discourse.... *Sarang* first became legitimized in the backdrops of God and Nation” (Kwon 2003: 15-16). Kwon distinguishes *yŏnae* from *sarang* for her central focus on the development of the term *yŏnae* and its connotation of romantic love. The term *yŏnae* first appears in a serial novel, “Tears of the Twin Jade” (*Ssangongnu* 쌍옥루), published in *Maeil Sinbo* from 1912-1913, with the sentence “I would teach you that the *yŏnae* of young men and women is a extremely sacred thing.” A similar sentence, “*yŏnae* is a sacred thing,” is found later in 1913, in “Long and Regrettable Dream” (*Janghanmong* 장한몽), by the same author and serialized in the same publication. It should be noted that these two novels are adaptations of the Japanese novels *One’s Own Sin* (*Ono ga Tsumi* 己が罪, 1899-1900), by Kikuchi Yuho (1870-1947), and *The Golden Demon* (*Konjiki Yasha* 金色夜叉, 1897-1902), by Ozaki Kōyō (1868-1903). Both of these authors inherited the heterosexual and spiritual notion of love from the Meiji culture.

During this time, the concept of love (*yŏnae* or *sarang*) remains somewhat more aspirational than real.¹¹³ The leading intellectuals in colonial times actively engaged in

¹¹³ As writer and literary critic Kim Ki-jin (1903-1985) commented in 1926, “*yŏnae* has come into use very recently.” (See the citation from: Kwon, *The Age of Love*, p 13) Kim also commented that the famous English statement “love is best” is a speculative idea: “Though there are some guys who have the leisure to say “Love is best,” saying that *yŏnae* is a kind of emotional game and product of the bourgeoisie is a prejudice against life. Though it might be right to say this in some situations, it doesn’t give the full picture. To the humans who live in the ruins of the mind or the pathetic majority, there are so many people hungry for love. If [*sarang*] has a certain condition and ideal, it’s close to “perfection.” If so, eventually the “

social reform; they thought through the problem of people's life, class and "love," and tried to connect the state of people with love. This shows how social changes effected the colonial intellectuals' shaping of love. Accordingly, it's important to revisit the different phases of the discourse of love. First, the emergence of this modern love in colonial Korea parallels the development of the "new novel" which was readied by the idea of "free marriage" (*chayu gyŏrhon* 자유결혼) in the enlightenment period. This was at a time when the Japanese imperial expansion and colonial power started to invade Asia and aroused Koreans' patriotism and led to various social reforms during the late nineteenth century to the 1900s. Kwon argues "[T]hroughout the 1900s, love became a public value under the influence of Christianity and patriotism, as Christianity preached the ethics of love, and devotion and passion for the state were strongly encouraged for nation-state formation."¹¹⁴ "Love" in this period, had little to do with *yŏnae* Kwon puts up this argument by examining the eminent new works of fiction written in the 1900s, such as Yi In-jik's "Tears of Blood," the first Korean new novel. The protagonist, Ongnyŏn, is engaged in a marriage which is neither a traditional arrangement nor free and romantic. It is a rational and transparent contract made by the young couple for their future career and better life. It appears to be a marriage of their own choice, "not based on the love between them, but on the will to enlighten people. There is no space for the individual's passion."¹¹⁵ Indeed, Ongnyŏn symbolizes the fate of colonial Korea and its struggle to be part of the civilized world. The ultimate source of modernity, Yi seems to suggest, is the

sarang" is nothing but a means of living. People who say "*Reobeu-iseu-ppeseuteu* " (러브-이스-페스트) are crazy. There is the *sarang* of fantasy. And a *sarang* as real as the ideal kind of *sarang* exists too. There, the distance between fantasy and ideal is far." (See: Kim, Ki-jin. "Maŭmŭi p'yehŏ [Ruins of Mind]," *Kaebŏk* 42, December 1, 1923: 132).

¹¹⁴ Kwon, *The Age of Love*, p. 204

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 218.

West; the growth of Ongnyŏn's intellectual ability, the development of her romance with an ideal partner, and her reconciliation with her once-lost father all happen in America. After ten years in America, Ongnyŏn's husband says that he and Ongnyŏn have come to understand the importance of marriage by choice. Ongnyŏn adds that marriage is not her priority because she wishes to study further so that she can "liberate" Korean women and educate them to become patriotic citizens.

Furthermore, after the occupation of Korea by Japan in 1910 and the failure of the March First Independence Movement of 1919, a passion for educational and cultural reform burst into the public media and coincided with all kinds of discussions on *yŏnae*. At this phase, *yŏnae* gained popularity and gradually formed its core meaning of romantic love, but it was already embedded in the ideology of nation-building and thus has its paradoxical structure of being liberating and repressive at the same time. Jung Hye-young and Ryu Jong-ryul argue in their research that "virginity" plays a dominant role in the discourse of love, within which "spiritual love" replaces carnal desire. They look into literary writings by the leading intellectuals and novelists, whose works illustrate how carnal relationships between men and women lead to tragedy and condemn it as loss of virtue, thus to secure the spiritual form of the relationship.¹¹⁶ These intellectuals and writers devoted a considerable number of writings to the reformation of marriage and the advocating of free love, influenced by European scholarship and Japanese translations of western works. For example, the highly influential idea about love from the works of Swedish feminist Ellen Key (1849–1926), specifically, *Love and Marriage* (English

¹¹⁶ See the discussion in: Jung, Hye-young and Ryu, Jong-ryul. "Kūndae'ui Sŏngnipkwa Tryŏnaet'ui Palgyŏn: 1920 Nyŏndae Munhage Nat'an'an Trch'ŏnyŏsŏngt' Sŏngnipkwajŏngŭl Chungshimŭro [The Establishment of Modern Period and the discovery of love- Centered on the process of the establishment of the 'virginity' that appears in the literary of the 1920s]," *Han'guk'yŏndaemunhangnyŏn'gu* [The Journal of Modern Korean Literature] 18, December, 2005: 227-251.

edition 1911), was shared by East Asian societies at that time.¹¹⁷ This important text for early twentieth-century feminist movements in Japan and the West was the basis for many social critics' ideas on love, marriage, and motherhood.¹¹⁸

Notwithstanding the appearance that the revolution of love was designed for all individuals, the ideal Confucian state, with its “natural” hierarchy of ruler and subject, mirrored the home—a microcosm of the state—where women were expected to both demonstrate obedience before all other virtues, and at every stage of life, to function as autonomous beings free of male control. The leading intellectuals, though, did not totally neglect the gender difference;¹¹⁹ they could not see the patriarchal subjugation of women and they unconsciously reproduced the oppression of women; thus, they advocated love while criticizing the New Women. For example, Korean writer and literary critic Kim Dong-in's *The Story of Kim Yŏn-sil* (*Kim Yŏn-sil Chŏn* 金妍實傳, 1939) is believed to have been written based on the famous New Woman, Kim Myŏng-sun;¹²⁰ in it, he criticizes the New Woman, who is pursuing modern love, by stating that “The love (*yŏnae*) she comprehends is nothing but ‘intercourse.’ Literature is love, and love can

¹¹⁷ See newspaper articles by No Chayong (1921 in Choi, 2013: 96-99) and Xing Min (in Taiwan Min Bao, vol. 2, n0. 1, 1924: 2), and discussion in Suzuki, Michiko. *Becoming Modern Women: Love and Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature and Culture*, California: Stanford University Press, 2010.

¹¹⁸ According to Michiko Suzuki, the two central aspects of modern love ideology, as articulated in the work of Key, can be delineated as follows. First, love is integral to female selfhood, a process of self-development ultimately leading to one's true identity. In her view, both the individual and the human race can become whole and attain completion through love. Second, love is both a spiritual and a sexual experience that completes the individual. Key's point is that true love, rather than following a hierarchical framework in which spiritual or platonic love is superior to sexual love, must combine both elements. This idea of love became an ideal that helped to define and shape sex/gender difference and equality; although men were understood to experience love first through sexual desires and women were perceived to feel spiritual love before awakening to sexual love, both men and women had to experience spiritual and sexual love in order to progress and attain a modern self. (Suzuki, 2010: 13-14)

¹¹⁹ This is based on my observation of a considerable number of public critiques on women's liberation. The majority of those critiques were written by male intellectuals and devoted to women's social rights, education and free will.

¹²⁰ See: Suh, Ji-Young. *Yŏksa e sarang ūl mutta : Han'guk munhwa wa sarang ūi kyebohak* [The Genealogy of Korean Culture and Love]. Seoul : Isup, 2011: 229.

not be separated by intercourse. [...] She learned this idea of love from Ellen Key and Kuriyagawa Hakuson. [...] Kim Yŏn-sil, who was born in Chŏsŏn, does not know what *yŏnae* means.”¹²¹ Similar criticism appeared in Taiwanese social media: essays or reports on the tragedy or controversy of love affairs or fraud¹²² customarily carried admonitions such as “Warning for Current New Women,” and “All New Women Should Learn from It,” intended to reinforce the regulation of New Women.

A similar social phenomenon can be found in colonial Taiwan. The early 1900s marks the heyday of the discourse on the marriage issue in Taiwan. It was soon after the occupation by Japan in 1895 that Taiwanese society went through a serious transition from the traditional social system to a modern colonial one. The discourse on free marriage underlay this socio-historical transition and provoked people’s desire for social reform. When looking at the essays about free marriage in the public media of the 1900s, one can easily see the juxtaposition of the advocacy of civilization, free love, racial superiority, and preservation of the nation, and criticisms of traditional marriage and the family system.¹²³ Different from the synchronicity of the development of discourses on free marriage and the New Novel in colonial Korea, the New Literature movement in Taiwan came later in the 1920s, and representations of free marriage or the marriage

¹²¹ Kim, Dong-in. “Kimyŏnsil Jeon [The Story of Kim Yŏn-sil],” *Munjang* vol.1, no. 2, 1939: 33-34.

¹²² See: “Nu wenxue jia molu, wei duojiao lianai bei ren chongsha, ci kewe dangjin xinnu zhi guijian” (*Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō*, 1926. 05. 19, p. 4), “Kaocha Zhanghua de lianai wenti” (*Taiwan Minbao*, 1926. 03. 14, p. 2), and “Lianai ziyou zhong bu ziyou, shensheng zhong duo zhaqi, yiban miaoling xin nu shende jian” (*Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō*, 1929. 08. 13, p. 4).

¹²³ Examples can be found in the following essays that appeared in *Taiwan nichichi shinpo*: The translation of Fukuzawa Yukichi’s “On the Interactions Between Men and Women” (Danjo kōsai ron, 1886) into Chinese as “Nann’u jiaoji lun” (1900/04/08, p.6); “Free Marriage” (1906/07/07, p. 5); “Debating Free Marriage” (1907/07/16, p. 2); “Statics of Marriage” (1908/06/09, p. 4); “Marriage Issue” (1910/10/13, p. 2).

issue in literature are found in “old novels” (*jiu xiaoshuo* 舊小說).¹²⁴ Nonetheless, regardless of the literary form and language, those old novels, which depict social issues in the transition of the new century, align with the enlightenment project and reflect a profound social ideology of civilization.

By the same token, the revolution of traditional marriage was centered as a hot issue from the very beginning of the launching of the *Taiwan Minbao* series¹²⁵ in the 1920s. Right after being made available to the public, almost each issue of these enlightening magazines included essays on the issue of marriage. Essays such as “The Women Question in Taiwan,”¹²⁶ “On Marriage,”¹²⁷ “Women and Love-Marriage in the New Age,”¹²⁸ “Co-Study of Men and Women, and the Issue of Marriage,”¹²⁹ and “The Advocacy of the Reform of Family,”¹³⁰ demonstrate the need to reform marriage and its interconnection with the role of women, new education, traditional family values, and romantic love. Statements like “[S]ince romantic love and marriage have the great mission to preserve race and promote culture,...”¹³¹ indicate an explicit civilizing ideology that was adopted by the intellectuals and writers at that time. This civilizing ideology is embodied in Xie Chun-mu’s “Where’s She Heading For?” As Zhang Wen-xun validates in her studies, the novel carries explicit implications regarding

¹²⁴ Examples can be found in the novels of Xie Xueyu (謝雪漁) and Li Yitao (李逸濤). See the discussions in: Huang, Mei-e. “Ershi shiji chuqi Taiwan tongshu xiaoshuo de nuxing xingxiang --yi Li Yitao zai Hanwen Taiwan riri xnbao de zuopin wei taolun duixiang [The Image of Women in the Popular Novels of Early Twentieth Century Taiwan: Through the Discussion of Li Yitao’s Works in Hanwen Taiwan riri xnbao],” *Taiwan wenxue xuebao* [Bulletin of Taiwanese Literature.], no.5, 2004: 1-48.

¹²⁵ The *Taiwan Minbao* series includes *Journals of Taiwan Youth* (臺灣青年, 1920-1922), *Taiwan* (臺灣, 1922-1924), *Taiwan Minbao* (臺灣民報, 1923-1930), and *Taiwan Shinminbao* (臺灣新民報 1930-1937).

¹²⁶ See in *Taiwan Youth* vol. 1 no.2, 1920. 09. 08.

¹²⁷ See in *Taiwan Youth* vol. 2 no.2, 1921. 10.0 2.

¹²⁸ See in *Taiwan Youth* vol. 3 no.1, 1921. 10. 07.

¹²⁹ See in *Taiwan* vol. 3 no.9, 1922. 11. 12.

¹³⁰ See in *Taiwan Minbao* vol. 2 No.0, 1923. 05. 01.

¹³¹ From “Women and Love-Marriage in the New Age,” *Taiwan Youth* vol. 3 no.1, 1921. 10. 07: 13.

enlightenment. It is through juxtaposing the detriments of traditional arranged marriage and the supremacy of free love that the author rationalizes the need to reform society.¹³² The protagonist of the novel is a young woman who was offered to a man in an arranged marriage. She was turned down by the man who had studied in Japan, and he insisted on rebelling against the traditional marriage system. He wanted to choose his own wife. The protagonist, filled with disappointment and shame, decided to go to Japan to study. There she met another young woman who had suffered the same situation. They encouraged each other, and resolved to “light the fire of revolution for Taiwanese women,” and “study hard for enslaved Taiwanese women.”¹³³ The enlightened tone of this novel resonates amazingly with the central theme of Yi In-jik’s “Tears of Blood,” discussed above.

After this trend of free marriage and marriage reform started, the idea of romantic love was put on a stage and it occupied a significant role in the development of literary and social reform. According to Hsu Meng-fang’s study on the discourse of “free love” in colonial Taiwan, the discussion of “free marriage” in the 1910s transformed into “love-marriage debate” in the early 1920s, and later the center of debate changed to “free love” in the mid-1920s.¹³⁴ This development, as in colonial Korea, reflects certain socio-historical implications. Hsu illustrates that from the Japanese invasion of Taiwan in 1895 to the victory of the Xinhai Revolution in 1911, the desire to achieve “freedom,” “equality,” and the spirit of “revolution” occupied people’s state of mind and accelerated

¹³² See: Zhang, Wen-xun. “Nippon touchi ki Taiwan bungaku ni okeru ‘josei’ imeeji no kinousei [The Function of ‘Woman’ in Taiwanese Literature under Japanese Rule],” *Nihon Taiwan Gakkaihō* [The Japan Association for Taiwan Studies] 7, 2005: 94.

¹³³ See: Xie, “Where’s She Heading For,” 1922: 59.

¹³⁴ See: Hsu, Meng-fang. The Modernization Progress of “Love”: The Emergence and Evolvement of Discourse on “Free Love” in Taiwan during Japanese Ruling Period (1895-1945). MA thesis of the Institute of Taiwanese Literature, National Taiwan University, 2010: 37.

the social transformation in various aspects. Later, in the late 1910s, a series of international events¹³⁵ and, particularly, the May Fourth Movement, provoked reflection on individual interiority based on the former reform of the social system. Against this backdrop, during the 1920s-1930s, the circulation of the modern idea of romantic love or free love in the Chinese language world had an important implication of the idea that was deeply embedded in articulations of cultural and national identity. Lee Haiyan, in her provocative work, *Revolution of the Heart* (2006), traces the genealogy of modern Chinese love discourse through three overlapping phases¹³⁶ and focuses on love and revolution as cultural phenomena. She demonstrates that in the late 1920s, May Fourth intellectuals produced considerable literary expressions and depictions of love, with which they proposed love as a symbol of freedom, autonomy and equality. The leading intellectuals of the May Fourth Movement, especially Hu Shi, evidently influenced Taiwan's literary and social ground through a shared anxiety of being left behind by the world. This anxiety urged people to be involved in world affairs and facilitated the flow of transnational knowledge through the means of transcription and translation. With this in mind, when examining the emergent points of the modern concept of love, one should not overlook the transnational and translational features of the cultural phenomena.

As Peng Hsiao-yen points out, Lee's study has its regional limitation and does not convey the crucial point of the transformation of Chinese love.¹³⁷ Peng proposes an understanding of the circulation of the concept of love in a transcultural linguistic

¹³⁵ Such as the Japanese Democratic movement in 1916, the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, and Wilson's announcement of "self-determination" in 1918.

¹³⁶ She calls the three overlapping phases Confucian, enlightenment, and revolutionary structures of feeling. See: Lee, Haiyan. *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900–1950*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006: 15-16.

¹³⁷ Peng, Hsiao-yen. "Yige luxing de xiandai bing — 'xin de jibing', kexue shuyu yu xingganjue pai [A Traveling Malady—The 'Malady of the Heart,' Scientific Terminology, and the Neo-Sensation School]," in *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 34, 2009: 205-248.

exchange. She articulates Japanese scholar Yanabu Akira's discussion of the neologism *ai* and its transformation; in so doing, she highlights the problems of translation as the crucial approach for grasping the transformation of certain concepts (Peng 2009: 233). According to Peng, the Chinese phrase *lian'ai* (戀愛) was first translated as English, *to love*, in the *English and Chinese Dictionary, 1847-1878*, and the phrase possibly influenced the Japanese invention of the compound word *ren'ai* (恋愛). (Peng 2009: 232)

When Japanese scholars, such as Saiki Junko and Yanabu Akira (mentioned earlier in this section), discuss the modern concept of love in Japanese literature, they cannot avoid tracing the connotations of each character in the Japanese language.¹³⁸ However, this linguistic negotiation was absent in the discussions of love in colonial Taiwan. In other words, colonial intellectuals adopted the term *lian'ai* to translate the equivalent concept from Japanese or Western sources without negotiating or questioning in order to determine the term.

I argue that this convenience of unswerving adoption of the Japanese invention of the modern concept of love, which was mediated by the shared linguistic source, brings about the naturalization and institutionalization of love. This argument can be applied to the colonial Korean use of *yŏnae* and to other new concepts¹³⁹ as well. The multi-layered *ren'ai* in Japanese becomes transparent in the Chinese *lian'ai* or the Korean *yŏnae*; this transparency is embodied in the explicit moralization of love and the obscure repression

¹³⁸ In Edo literature, the nature of love was expressed with different words like *iro* (色, *eros*), *koi* (恋, attraction/passion), and *jo* (sentiment/emotion), and yet when sexual relationships were being described, *iro* was most commonly used. In the late Meiji period the words *ai* (愛) and *ren'ai* (恋愛) began to replace *iro* in literature when referring to a romance between lovers that went beyond the sexual. When the purely spiritual aspect of the relationship was emphasized, the English term, *raabu* (ラブ/love) was used in katakana.

¹³⁹ Such as “freedom”, “equality”, “revolution”, “civilization”, to name a few.

of sex. This was examined by the essays appeared in *Taiwan Minbao*.¹⁴⁰ For example, “The Evolutionary View of Lian’ai” (1924) belittles carnal desire as an uncivilized form of *lian’ai* through a Darwinist evolutionary view; Zang Wo-jun’s “The Supreme Moral—Lian’ai” (1925) patently idealizes love as a pure and sacred spirit and is exclusive to “the things of lust”. Cai Xiao-qian’s “From Lian’ai to Marriage, 1-3” (1926) further advocates the autonomy of *lian’ai* by detaching it from the marriage system, and by introducing and reviewing Japanese and Western thoughts, such as those of Kuriyagawa Hakuson (1880-1923) and Ellen Key (1849-1926), to promote the ideal form of love— “soul and flesh in one” (*ling rou he yi* 靈肉合一), while distinguishing pure love and sexual desire as two different divisions. To put my argument further, this tendency— moralization of love and repression of sex—is not only a rhetoric issue, but underlies the state of the colonial situation.

If we go back to Lee Haiyan’s analysis of modern romantic love in Chinese social and literary writings, it is clear that she seems inclined to isolate love from sexual desire as a moral discourse;¹⁴¹ to some extent, this tendency resonates with the May Fourth intellectuals and their contemporaries’ elevation of love as a spiritual civilization and thus the repression of sex to achieve it. In so doing, the separation of love and sex (or of spirit and flesh= *ling rou fen li* 靈肉分離) generates the emergence of “modern sex.” This “modern sex,” as Karatani Kojin elucidates, is a “new” form of sex. Its existence is made by repression: “Why did Katai’s *Quilt* create a sensation? It was because “sexuality” was

¹⁴⁰ See the original articles in *Taiwan Minbao*: “The Evolutionary View of Lian’ai”, 1924. 06. 21, p. 11; Zang, Wojun. “The Supreme Moral—Lian’ai”, 1925. 10. 18, p.14; Cai, Xiaoqian. “From Lian’ai to Marriage 1-3”, 1926. 01. 17-02. 28)

¹⁴¹ I acknowledge this as Lee’s unwillingness to go against the author’s stated or perceived intentions. For example, in her analysis of Feng Yuanjun’s “Gejue,” Lee seems to be inadvertently acknowledging the sexual power of this scene while she wants to do with it what the author does: make it a demonstration of the sublime virtue of love. See: Lee, *Revolution of the Heart*, pp. 108-109.

written of for the first time in this novel. It was the sexuality brought into existence by repression, a sexuality which had been unknown prior to that time in Japanese literature” (Karatani 1993: 79. Through the investigation of social and literary discourses on romantic love, we perceive a modern formation of love-sex, which structures an emancipation-oppression mechanism, within which people are set into a compulsion to experience the ambivalence of modernity.

Throughout the period of criticism of Confucianism and nation-building, discourses on modern love are differently characterized on the basis of the ideological tendency to cultivate women. Even though the arguments on love in this period dealt directly with universalized sexual desire accompanied by love and free marriage combined with love affairs, in the critiques or literary works, women were usually doubly characterized as old and new (e.g., Korean *Kisaeng* and New Woman, traditional mother and rebellious daughter), and they usually failed in the realm of the modern family (for being too ignorant or ending up in suicide). Accordingly, the institutionalization of modern love does not just signify “marriage” or create the modern formation of family, but signifies the new form of social relation. Since, regardless of the ideological or sexual differences, most scenarios of modern love constructed at that time agreed that the experience of love was by an individual’s own choice.¹⁴² However, “choice,” as Kath Weston¹⁴³ argues in her queer reading on kinship, “is an individualistic and, if you will, bourgeois notion that focuses on the subjective power of an ‘I’ to formulate relationships

¹⁴² See: Suh Ji-yong. “Collision of Modern Desires: Nationalism and Female Sexuality in Colonial Korea.” *The Review of Korean Studies* 5: 2, 2002: 111-132.

¹⁴³ See: Weston, Kath. *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991: 103-136.

to people and things, untrammelled by worldly constraints.”¹⁴⁴ Weston implies, then, that to privilege “choice” as the core of kinship is to privilege those with the fewest bodily differences and local attachments that would preclude the full exercise of this autonomy. However, as we can see later, this agency of individuals engaged in the liberation of sexual desire and love is not so reflective and autonomous but reinforced by colonial power.

3-2 Governmentality of Sex: The Emergence of Modern Sexual Subjects

We have seen how spiritual love chases away carnal desire and converges with the regulation of women. This section focuses on how the collision of nation-building and the governmentality of sex (and its subjects) was represented in colonialism. How did the medical system contribute to the concern of the state and its agencies about matters of sexual practice? How were different subjects interconnected with/in the discourses of sex? What are the neologisms that were created and naturalized during the colonization and modernization process? I will try to deal with these questions by examining the representations of the subject matter in public media and literary writings.

The first thing that comes to my mind is the issue of terminology. Just as the terms *ren'ai* in Japanese, *lian'ai* in Chinese and, *yŏnae* in Korean have a shared linguistic base that can refer to the Chinese compound 戀愛, “sex” in East Asian cultural circles also shares a linguistic reference: 性, which becomes *sei* (せい[性]) in modern Japanese, *xing* (性) in Chinese, and *song* (성[性]) in Korean. People who are familiar with the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 110.

specific meanings of this Chinese character may also know that 性 has another significance, which refers to (human) nature or characteristic, and it is not until the early twentieth century that it began to refer to “sex.” This transformation, as Leon Rocha¹⁴⁵ explains, marks “[A] healthy, brand new sexual morality, erected on the modern edifice of western science, anchored in the direct, no-nonsense language of *xing*, would be the way to administer and manage people’s lives, to rejuvenate a nation under siege (Rocha, 2010: 618). Rocha’s investigation of Chinese and Japanese, and mine of Taiwanese and Korean cases show that the 1900s and 1910s are the transitional period, when intellectuals embarked on a serious discussion about “sexology” and created neologisms like “sexual intercourse,” “sex education,” “sexual psychology,” and “sexual desire” for local linguistic and social contexts. Take “sexual desire” (せいよく, 性慾/欲, 성욕) for example: it first appeared in a Korean periodical in 1906¹⁴⁶ and in a Taiwanese newspaper in 1911¹⁴⁷ in a discussion or introduction of sexual knowledge from China and Japan. Furthermore, the term was constantly prefixed with the term “pervert” (변태 變態) to form “sexual perversion” (變태성욕 變態性慾) and was widely used in the 1920s. This explicitly shows how modern “sex” or “sexual desire” were conveyed in early twentieth-century East Asia. In addition, the knowledge production of sex or

¹⁴⁵ Rocha, Leon. “Xing: The Discourse of Sex and Human Nature in Modern China,” *Gender and History* 22:3, 2010: 603–628.

¹⁴⁶ This appeared in a translation of Chinese enlightenment movement leader Liang Qi-chao’s essay on education policy. The term “性慾” was used to discuss teenagers’ physical and mental development. See: “My Personal View on Education Policy,” *Taehan jagangoe wŏlbo*, no. 3, 1906. 09. 25: 16-22.

¹⁴⁷ The term “性慾” appeared in a notice of the New Publication: On Sexual Desire in the newspaper. Here “性慾” is written in kanji, and it directly influenced Taiwanese intellectuals to adopt the term to use in the Chinese context. See: “New Publication: On Sexual Desire [性慾論],” *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō*, 1911. 07. 23: 3. Rocha also mentions one of the earliest uses of the phrase *xingyu* for “sexual desire,” which appeared in Du Ya-quan’s article in China in 1911. See: Du Yaquan, “Lun xuqie,” *Dongfang zazhi* 8, 191: 16-20; and Rocha, 2010: 613.

sexuality constructed the modern idea about human desire and created sexualized subjects.

From the late nineteenth century, the male body was the target for efforts to regulate individuals as national subjects in East Asia. The year 1872 marked the introduction of compulsory elementary education for both sexes and compulsory military service for twenty-year-old men in Japan. Another example is the Japanese passing the Sodomy Law of 1873 to regulate the long-existing male-male sexual intercourse behaviour in the Samurai culture. Initially, soldiers and prostitutes were the main targets of investigation by the police and military authorities. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, military surgeons and administrators had begun to plead for measures to protect soldiers from getting venereal diseases from prostitutes.¹⁴⁸ The discourse of venereal diseases, accompanied by authoritative medical rhetoric and public advertisements, continued to exist in colonial daily life.

The normalization of sex launched its flag into the field of military, where soldiers and prostitutes were regulated under the discourses on hygiene and medicine, and this came to be considered a consolidation of the nation, for progress, and for building up a strong empire. The discourse on venereal diseases further expanded its subject from soldiers and prostitutes to common people throughout the colonial period. If we look into the sample of a Taiwan language-based police language-learning publication—*Yuyuan* (lit. language school),¹⁴⁹ the contents show the variation of the

¹⁴⁸ See the discussions in: Frühstück, Sabine. *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003; Liang, Chiu-Hung. *The 'Erotic Zones' in the Social Body: Governmentality of Sex during Japanese Colonization in Taiwan*, Unpublished master's thesis, National Ching Hua University, Hsinchu, Taiwan, 2003; and Song, Youn-ok. "Japanese Colonial Rule and State-Managed Prostitution: Korea's Licensed Prostitutes," *positions: east asia culture critique* 5:1, 1997: 171-219.

¹⁴⁹ "Language textbook for the Police of the Dept. of Hygiene," from *Yuyuan*, 1923: 93-94.

terms that refer to venereal diseases in the local language, and the risks and transmission probabilities to wives and unborn babies. The serious result of the transmission to the latter would be the births of babies with psychosis, mental disability, weakness and deformity. The phrases used to describe the abnormal babies are subjective terms. The discourse on venereal diseases accompanied by authoritative medical rhetoric existed in colonial daily life, and the advocacy of sex education was featured in all sorts of public media at this time, to serve the sexual norms. Sex or sexual desire was transformed into something both private and public; it was a personal behaviour and desire in a private realm, while being regulated as a potential threat to public health and social order.

Kim Yun-gyeong (1894-1969), a Korean linguist and social reformer, once published a long essay in 1927¹⁵⁰ on the advocacy of sex education, in which he explicitly assessed the importance of sex education, with discussions of essential knowledge of sexual desire, its social function and the worldwide interests in sex education. In the first section, he criticized the society's ignorance and superstition of sex(ual) desire, how the situation continued to jeopardize current society and the following generations with the increase of venereal disease, abortion, illegitimate children, prostitution, juvenile delinquency, (love/double) suicide, general and sexual crimes, perverted sexualities, etc. After demonstrating these harmful consequences, he continued to state that: "if the desire for food is a precious and sacred instinct for maintaining and carrying on life, we can say that sexual desire is also a precious and sacred instinct for the permanent prolongation of life and our race and society."¹⁵¹ To support his views, he inaugurated the worldwide trend of "sexology," by introducing the

¹⁵⁰ Kim Yun-kyŏng, "Sŏnggyoyugŭi Chuch'ang [The Advocacy of Sex Education]," *Tonggwang* 11, 1927. 03. 05: 26-34.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. p. 28.

term in English and in German, in many foreign sexological works, and to specialists related to this business, including the most famous ones such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840-1902), Magnus Hirschfield (1868-1935), and Havelock Ellis (1859-1939).

Kim's text is an interesting case. It is worthwhile seeing how colonial intellectuals in all kinds of specialties devoted themselves to the investment of the knowledge of sexual desire and sex education. Kim's essay, together with many others produced in colonial Korea and Taiwan, emphasizes the necessity of drawing the public's attention to and regulating sex behaviour and desire. The consequences of not doing this are a detriment to good society and the prolongation of the race. If we look carefully into the social problems¹⁵² listed by Kim, they can be categorized as related to 1) reproduction (abortion, illegitimate or abandoned children, venereal diseases, premature death, physical disability, weakness and mental disability); 2) sex behaviour outside marriage (prostitution, rape, bigamy, perverted sexuality such as same-sex sexual immorality, sexual diseases, kinky abuse and homicide...etc.) and 3) mental illness (infatuation, jealousy, resentment...). To put it bluntly, sex education was advocated to secure the heterosexual reproductive sex behaviour within a marriage relationship. It resonates with the underlying logic of the discourse of love and *yōnae*, which liberates an individual from a traditional social relationship to enter a new, rational, contractual one, within which the reproductive sex act or desire is welcomed for nation-building.

Furthermore, if one looks into the complexity of the governmentality of sex, the

¹⁵² They are: 1 spread of venereal diseases; 2 increase of secret abortion; 3 increase of illegitimate children every year; 4 increase of sexual businesses and prostitution; 5 superficiality of the goal to eradicate illegal whorehouses / brothels; 6 increase of juvenile delinquency; 7 adultery, rape, bigamy, intercourse sin; 8 increase of indecency; 9 increase of abortion, baby killing, abandoned children; 10 increase of murder, violent burglary, injury, intimidation, arson due to infatuation, jealousy, resentment etc. ; 11 increase of suicide, double suicide, neurasthenia, hysteria, violence; 12 increase of premature death of babies, disability, weakness and retardedness; 13 increase of delinquency caused by perverted sexuality (same-sex sexual immorality, sexual disease, kinky abuse and homicide...etc.) Ibid. p. 27.

elimination of the traditional family model, and the regulation of the national body seem to have been enhanced by a significantly proliferating medical and pedagogical interest in the female body. Based on my investigation, I devise three categories of discourses on and regulation of the female body throughout the public media in colonial Taiwan and Korea. First, the advocacy of female education and the consumption culture created new female subjects, such as schoolgirls, new women, and modern girls. However, people devaluated the modern female subjects as being uncritical followers of western modernity, attracted to its sensational styles and signs of new desires.¹⁵³ Second, physicians and medical doctors invested in promoting knowledge of the female organs and physical conditions. Chiang Wei-shui (1891-1931), a practicing doctor in colonial Taipei and one of the founders of the Taiwanese Cultural Association,¹⁵⁴ published a series of columns titled “Female Hygiene” in *Taiwan Minbao*, which introduced readers to detailed knowledge about the female body, which was bound to reproductive duty.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ The examples can be found in two images from *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō* and *Pyōl kōn'gon* magazine, which shows the regulation of the female body regarding dressing style. The one of *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō*, titled “America, Greece, Spain clamp down on seductive female clothing—set an example for Taiwan schoolgirls” 1928. 1. 23) targets married women and teenaged girls and criticizes them for wearing miniskirts. And an issue of the *Pyōl kōn'gon* magazine titled “Which one is female?” (1930. 9) shows two people (one is female, the other is male) dressed in western-style clothing, and the photograph confuses their sex. These critics tend to regulate westernized modern subjects in a paradoxical way.

¹⁵⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 1, the association is the most important cultural enlightenment group of the Japanese Colonial Period vigorously promoted modern knowledge and cultural enlightenment by issuing an Association newsletter, establishing newspaper-reading societies and every kind of study association, holding summer schools, cultural talks, promoting a cultural theater movement, and organizing film tours of Taiwan, among other ways.

¹⁵⁵ “Female Hygiene” was published in eight chapters, and it introduces readers to detailed knowledge about the female organs (such as the womb, vagina, ovaries), the body condition when in estrus and menstruation, hygiene and problems of the female reproductive organs, pregnancy and giving birth...etc. Chiang states that women have a bigger responsibility than men in giving birth to and nursing children, so it's important to acknowledge to people, especially to women, the importance and care of the female reproductive organs. Based on the same androcentric view, in the section on menstruation, he connects periods with crime, states that “women having their periods would become psychotic, weak in self-control and thus likely to commit crimes, such as stealing, arson, promiscuity, murdering husband and children, or likely to be in melancholia and commit suicide...” (Chiang, in *Taiwan Minbao*, vol. 2, no 13, 1924: 14) Similar emphasis and regulation on the female reproductive organs can be seen in Korean critic Yun Songsang's article “Urgent call for birth control: The necessity of publicity and practice” and another

Third, psychiatrists and sexologists put their effort into the analysis of female emotion and mentality. The translations¹⁵⁶ or discussions of women's psychological conditions were inclined to make certain mental diseases, such as hysteria, appear to happen exclusively in women.

As Kim Yang-sun argues, the female body and sexuality are “discovered” and “exhibited” in the popular culture and media, which embodies a specific modernization project, as she terms the “sexualized modernity,” and which is surrounded by the knowledge production of female sexualities.¹⁵⁷ Kim puts up this argument by examining the public discourses on sexuality and female subjects such as the New Woman and the *kisaeng* in colonial Korea. As one of her examples shows, though the essay on sex education which she examines seems to objectively discuss the biological differences between men and women, “the ethics of sexual desire is not equally regulative to both genders. Women's ‘chastity’ is regulated as a means to maintain the monogamy relationship.”¹⁵⁸ Another example of the advocacy of the “Wise Mother, Good Wife”¹⁵⁹ in and around East Asia shows how women's given gender role

editorial article “Urgent call for birth control!! Four medical methods (interview with Dr. Chong Sok'ae) published in *Samch'olli* in which birth control was discussed, along with female organs and diseases. (Choi, 2013: 152-157)

¹⁵⁶ For example, an article titled “Are women becoming psychotic? Psychiatrists say yes,” juxtaposed with another article “The issue of prostitutes and Mahjong,” and published in 1928 in *Taiwan Minbao*. The article is extremely negative and hostile to women, describes women as having a lack of discipline and consciousness. However, the translator/author adds in the epilogue that the reason why women are emotional or tend to be psychotic is the inferiority of social conditions compared to men and urges women to speak for themselves. (Ke Liang, in *Taiwan Minbao*, no 190, 1928: 8) This article was translated from an unknown western author named Basil Fuller, without a source.

¹⁵⁷ See: Kim, Yang-sun. “Palgyōndoenūn Sōng, Chōnshidoenūn Sōng: Shingminji Kūndaewa Seksyuōllit'iūi Chōpsok [Discovered Sexuality, Exhibited Sexuality: The Connection Between Colonized Modernity and Sexuality],” *Shihakkwa Ōnōhak* [Poetics and Linguistics] 21, 2011: 49-72.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 54.

¹⁵⁹ The Wise Mother, Good Wife is a paradigm for constructing the ideal women. It is 良妻賢母 Ryōsai Kenbo in Japanese and 현모양처 hyeonmoyangcheo in Korean. For more information on its discussion, please see: Choi, Hyaewol, “Wise Mother, Good Wife: A Trans-cultural Discursive Construct in Modern

and subordinated position have never been redeemed by the liberation of love or sex. Being manipulated by complex political and social forces, colonial intellectuals created the category “unnatural” or “exceptions” to build up the order of desire.

These knowledge investments of the female body and mind concurrently existed with a pedagogy disposed to cultivate children. Discourses on children’s education, mental health and sexual normalcy argued against masturbation or under-aged sex to protect children from deviant sexual desires and the dangers of a modern society; it showed that infantile sexuality was of crucial importance because the child's body impersonated the empire's future. Also, birth control policies interconnected the bodies of female and children and reflected the emergent problem of population. These efforts referred to and emerged from what Frühstück states as “the rhetoric of defense and security” during the era of empire-building, and were “applied to and connected with perceptions of the national body, public health, and sexuality. Frühstück further states that “[The rhetoric] also tied in with the language of liberation and that of its counterpart, oppression,” it was granted to “elevate the value of women's reproductive organs for empire building.”¹⁶⁰ Nonetheless, this is the approach, which many colonial intellectuals took to create the new social relations and the individuals within the new social formation in early twentieth-century East Asia.

3-3 Gendering Nation: Translating Female Third-person Pronoun

I have demonstrated how the advocacies of free love and marriage, and how the

Korea”, *Journal of Korean Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2009: 1-34. And Koyama, Shizuko. *Ryōsai Kenbo: Constructing the Educational Ideal of Good Wife and Wise Mother*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

¹⁶⁰ See: Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*, p. 5.

knowledge production of sexuality in colonial societies intersected with the desire for civilization and nation building. Throughout the period, the discourses on modern love and sexuality were differently characterized on the basis of the ideological tendency towards cultivating women. Built upon these conditions, the advocacy of the liberation of women legitimated and facilitated the leading intellectuals' investment in the national and modernization project. In this section, I examine one of the neologisms invented in this period, which is the female third-person pronoun. I propose to trace the emergence and the usages of the female third-person pronoun *ta* (她) and *kũ-nyŏ* (그녀) in vernacular Chinese and Korean to see how the linguistic practice was intertwined with gender politics and nation-building.

Vernacular Chinese and Korean, as discussed in Chapter 1, were promoted as cultural symbols and used to facilitate the education of people. Through language reforms, the vernacular languages replaced the long-time privileged classical Chinese, which was widely circulated and shared by the noble and intellectual classes across pre-modern East Asia. The advocacy of the usage of vernacular languages, the secularization of literary production and education, and the liberation of women and arranged marriage were brought onto the stage and decorated with a bright future of civilization and modernization. Against this background, the third-person pronouns in vernacular Chinese and Korean were first invented. It is known that there had been no female pronouns in the Chinese and Korean languages.¹⁶¹ It was the encounter of foreign languages and the need

¹⁶¹ In Chinese, the pre-existing third-person pronoun is *ta*/他 with *ren*/human radical, which refers to all human beings. Other characters, such as *yi*/伊, *qu*/渠, *ju*/佢, *bi*/彼, have the meanings of “the,” “it,” “that,” and “there,” and sometimes connote “he” as well. The Korean language shares a similar situation in that,

to translate that led to the emergence of female pronouns. The invention and the implication of the female third-person pronouns in colonial Taiwan and Korea, as I will further show, reflect the nations' need to mobilize women as a gendered national symbol.

Chinese scholar Huang Xing-tao devotes the full-length book, *The Cultural History of the Chinese Character “ta”* (2009), to discussing the new female pronoun in the May-Fourth era. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, through experiences in translating foreign texts, Chinese intellectuals and writers debated and negotiated the way to translate the western female third-person pronoun (i.e., the English “she” or French “elle”). They appropriated and invented new words, such as *yi* (伊) and *ta* (她), as candidates to fill the lack. Though the differentiation between “he” and “she” in Chinese had appeared early in the 1870s, it was after contested debates and writing practices in the 1920s that the characters *yi* and *ta* became widely discussed and circulated to represent the female third-person pronoun; later, *ta* ultimately gained currency and replaced *yi* in the 1930s.

Lydia Liu, in her well-cited *Translingual Practice* (1995), briefly discusses the translingual representations implied by the gendering of the third-person pronoun in written Chinese. First, she points out the inequality between Eastern and Western languages, saying that “Some Chinese perceived the absence of an equivalent as an essential lack in the Chinese language itself, and efforts were made to design neologisms to fill this lack. (It seems to me that this anxiety reflects a historical situation of perceived inequality between languages rather than a failing in the language itself)” (Liu 1995: 36).

kǐ/ㄍ (and/or *kwol*/꺈/厥) connotes “the,” “it,” “that,” and “there,” and sometimes all human beings as well. The question of female pronouns was never discussed before the nineteenth-century.

Second, she highlights the idea that the construction of gender differences in linguistic practice reflects the “social relations of power in a new language,” and “how gender difference should be constructed and what kind of political investment that difference should or could represent in China’s pursuit of modernity” (Liu 1995: 38-39).

Based on Lydia Liu’s argument, Huang also draws attention to the force of modernity, but he downplays the decisive influence or dominance from western culture. He argues that the invention of the female *ta* is “fundamentally decided by the need to be modernized. ...[It is] not because of the ‘westernity,’ nor essentially the oppression by western hegemony, but the outcome that the Chinese language was reinforced by the appeal for ‘modernity’ in the new age” (Huang 2009: 154). He gives evidence to suggest that the invention of *ta* coincided with the advocacy of gender equality and female autonomy, and democratic imagination from people.¹⁶²

Prior to Liu and Huang’s discussions of the Chinese context, Japanese researcher Yanabu Akira pointed out the bordering characteristics of translation and modernity systems in his discussion of Japanese pronouns.¹⁶³ Yanabu claims that though pronouns (i.e., *kare* 彼 and *kanojo* 彼女), to a greater extent, were used in the Japanese translations of Western texts or in the writing styles affected by those translations, “it was not that this ‘filled in’ places where there had previously been gaps. There are no gaps within a given language. There are only gaps when Japanese writing is juxtaposed with Western texts, and the latter is treated as if it were a model for the former” (Yanabu 2011[1982]:

¹⁶² See detailed examples about gender equality in Chapter 5. Huang concludes that: the reason why *ta* with female radical won out over other characters is the shared pronunciation with the existing *ta* with the human radical. This is supported by Jin Fushen’s statement that “the necessary unification of speech and writing” in his discussion of “Pronouns *ta* (he) and *ta* (she) in 1921. (quote from Huang, 2009: 149-150.)

¹⁶³ See: Yanabu, Akira. “Kare, kanojo: mono kara hito e, kaibito e,” *Hon'yakugo seiritsu jijo* [The Establishment of Translated Language]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1982: 195-212. Later translated as “*Kare* and *kanojo* - the shifting referents of two translation Pronouns,” in *Translation in Modern Japan*, ed. Indra Levy, Abingdon: Routledge, 2011: 61-72.

65). Furthermore, Yanabu takes Tayama Katai (1872-1930) as an example to show that the reason why those Meiji writers used pronouns was “not because Japanese writing lacked them. Nor is it because Katai’s way of thinking demanded it. Katai was seduced by *kare* and *kanojo* as translation words” (Yanabu 2011[1982]: 69).

In addition to these insights on “why” the third-person pronouns emerged through the desire to translate and to become modern, Huang and Yanabu demonstrate “how” the pronouns were used as well. These pronouns carried different nuances as “secret code words” and “contempt mixed with curiosity” (Yanabu 2011[1982]: 66). In Huang’s analysis, the female *ta* functioned as a signifier to mean things that were “abstract, precious, and worshipped by people, such as homeland, freedom, science, literature, and etc.” (Huang 2009: 51, 160). My investigation of the colonial Taiwanese literary context¹⁶⁴ shows that the influence from the May Fourth movement (and vernacular movement) had readied Taiwanese intellectuals to use the female third-person pronouns *yi* and *ta* without public discussions or debates, while in colonial Korea, the contesting terms or words for the female third-person pronoun were influenced by Japanese.

In colonial Taiwan, the female third-person was at first not distinguished from the male pronoun, and both shared characters *yi* and *ta* with the human radical.¹⁶⁵ The time when the female *ta* emerged in Taiwanese literary circles was in the early 1920s. The first female *ta* appeared in the most important local paper, *Taiwan Minbao* in 1923, in a “new

¹⁶⁴ I targeted three major magazines: *Taiwan* (台灣), *Taiwan Minbao* (台灣民報), and *Taiwan Shinminbao* (臺灣新民報), in which the main language used was Chinese.

¹⁶⁵ The Chinese Columns in *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō*, which was the major public space for Taiwanese intellectuals to have their voices heard. Throughout the colonial period, I did not find the usage of the female *ta*, while *yi* was used to refer to *he* and *she*. In addition, the other local language used by the majority in colonial Taiwan was Taiwanese. According to *The Grand Dictionary of Taiwanese-Japanese*, edited by Japanese linguist Ogawa Naoyoshi, *yi* was also used in Taiwanese and as third-person pronouns as well. See the examples in: Ogawa Naoyoshi. *The Grand Dictionary of Taiwanese-Japanese*, vol. 1, 1931: 48.

poem” titled “Not to Worry.” There were three sections in this poem. In the first section, the female *ta* was used to substitute for a ship that was wrecked ran aground over rapids and shoals and drifted with the current, while in the second section, *ta* symbolized the moon that fell down into the Pacific Ocean and was waiting for rescue. The reader realizes in the last section that the ship and the moon are symbols of the fate of the nation or its people. Similar usage of the female *ta* can be found in Shi Wen-qi’s short novel “The Sorrowful History of Lady *Tai*.” Shi, as one of the most important writers in colonial times, published this allegorical novel to represent the political relationships between Taiwan, China, and Japan. In this novel, the naming of the main characters symbolized different countries: Lady *Tai* (*Tai* refers to Taiwan) was forced to become a concubine of the wealthy tyrant, Ri Mong (*Ri* implies *Riben*=Japan; the name literally means “fierce Japan”). Lady *Tai*’s father, Hua Da (the name is from *Dazhonghua*=Great China), could not protect his beautiful daughter due to his poverty and weakness. Lady *Tai*’s life, after become Ri Mong’s concubine, strongly implies Taiwan’s situation after becoming a colony of Japan.

The female *ta* in this novel, which was constantly used to indicate Lady *Tai*, both feminized Taiwan and nationalized women at the same time. The nuances carried by the female *ta* were mainly used to represent nature (such as water and the moon) and nation (Taiwan or China) in Taiwanese literature of the 1920s and the 1930s. Furthermore, there is another implication from the emergence of the female pronouns (again, *yi* and *ta*), which was the need to describe or indicate women in novels that depicted intimate relationships. Many examples used female pronouns to represent an anonymous or nameless female, wife, or prostitute who was desired in a romantic relationship or who

was a victim in a failed intimate relationship.¹⁶⁶

The case of Korea is no exception to this gendering process. The female third-person pronoun emerged in the Korean context in the 1910s. Before that, similar to the Chinese and Japanese contexts, Korean writers used *kŭ* (그) for both *he* and *she*. Kim Dong-in, the most important literary critic in colonial Korea, briefly mentioned in his discussion of (Yi Gwang-su and the colleagues in the magazine *Ch'angjo*) practice of colloquial style in literary writings that “there are no pronouns like *He* and *She* in the Korean language, and the usage of *kŭ* (그) is a creation for those people who write novels in Chosŏn.”¹⁶⁷ However, these writers did not only devote their careers to writing novels; most of them had to earn their living or get their inspiration from translating Western works, and soon they encountered the problem of translating both *he* and *she*. Reformer and writer Kim Ki-jin once needed to translate an English poem that required the translation of *he* and *she*. Kim confronted the problem by putting English pronouns in parenthesis before the Korean translation as: “그이 는(She)” and “그이 는(He).”¹⁶⁸

This situation did not last long, and a female third-person pronoun soon emerged in the Korean writing system. Ko Gil-sŏp (1995), in the book chapter “The Stories of the Birth of ‘She’,” discusses the development of female pronouns in Korean from the 1910s to the postwar era. According to Ko Gil-sŏp, there are phrases like *kwŏllyŏ* (꺄녀厥女), *kŭ yŏja* (그 여자 [女子]), *kŭnyŏ* (그녀 [女]) which were used as the female third-person

¹⁶⁶ Such as: “Why I Love Her,” in *Taiwan Minbao*, 1923-12-11; “Family Resentment” in *Taiwan Minbao*, 1924-08-11; “He Demands Her for Chastity,” in *Taiwan Minbao*, 1925-09-27; “She!” in *Taiwan Shinminbao*, 1931-07-04; “To Her,” in *Taiwan Shinminbao*, 1932-01-09, to name a few.

¹⁶⁷ See: Kim, Dong-in, “Ch’unwŏn Studies [Studies of Yi Gwang-su] 5,” *Samch’ŏlli* 7:3, 1935: 172.

¹⁶⁸ See: Kim, Ki-jin. “Nunmurŭi sulye [The Pilgrimage of Tears],” *Kaebŏk* 43, 1924. 01. 01: 225-238.

pronoun in Korean literary circles from the 1910s through the 1930s.¹⁶⁹ For example, one of the leading Naturalist writers, Hyŏn Jin'-gŏn (1900-1943), uses *kwŏllyŏ* in his translations of foreign novels and his own works;¹⁷⁰ another famous writer, Yi Hyo-sŏk (1907-1942), used *kŭ* and *kŭnyŏja* for the distinction when discussing a novel by Henri-René Lenormand.¹⁷¹ What Ko did not mention was the existence and the popularity of the Japanese female pronoun *kanojo* (彼女) in literary circles. For example, another leading Naturalist writer, Yŏm Sang-sŏp (1897-1964), directly used Japanese *kanojo* in Chinese characters, 彼女, in his well-known short novels: “A Green Frog in a Specimen Room” and “New Year’s Eve,” which were published in the prestigious literary magazine, *Kaebŏk*, in the early 1920s.¹⁷² Searching the Korean History Database for the frequency of each pronoun used in the public media during the colonial time,¹⁷³ I found the term 彼女 was one of the most widely-used pronouns. It should be noted that we are not sure how the phrase written in Chinese characters was pronounced, since it can be one of the Hanja phrases, which are written in Chinese characters but pronounced in Korean. 彼女 can be pronounced the same as 그녀 (*kŭnyŏ*)

Despite the controversy, the various phrases for the female pronoun were used in writings that described women as a whole, or in the translations of foreign texts that required the distinction of gender. The emergence of Korean female third-person

¹⁶⁹ See his discussion in: Ko, Gil-sŏp. “Koetcha ‘kŭnyŏ’i t’ansaeng sŏrhwa [The Stories of the Birth of “She”],” *Uri sidae’i ŏnŏ keim* [The Language Game of Our Age]. Seoul: T’odam, 1995: 169-177.

¹⁷⁰ Examples can be found in his translation of “One Autumn Night” (Однажды осенью, 1895) by Russian and Soviet writer Maksim Gorky (1868-1936), appeared in Korean as “Kaŭrŭi harobam,” in *Kaebŏk* no. 25, 1922-07-10: 29-39; and one of his best-known novels “P’iano” in *Kaebŏk* no. 29, 1922-11-01: 22-24.

¹⁷¹ See: Yi Hyo-sŏk. “Ilgi [Diary],” *Samch’ŏlli* vol.6 no.11, 1934: 253-260.

¹⁷² See: “P’yobonsirŭi ch’ŏnggaegori [A Green Frog in a Specimen Room],” *Kaebŏk* no. 16, 1921-10-18: 107-126; and “Cheya [New Year’s Eve],” *Kaebŏk* no. 20, 1922-02-08: 35-49.

¹⁷³ Refer to the website: <http://db.history.go.kr/>, the frequency of the usage of each pronoun is approximately as below: 그녀자: 41 厥女: 70 그녀: 77 彼女: 84.

pronouns showed the need to translate, and, more importantly, the need to bring female subjects onto the stage of civilization. Specific examples can be found in articles that promoted women's rights or liberation, and in literary writings that depicted love themes. In an article titled "Celebrities' View on the Liberation of Chosŏn Women," the author claimed that education is prior to liberation of women. He stated, "Chosŏn women are not very educated. Liberating them [*kŭnyŏdŭl*] will not do harm to just family and society, but also to the human spirit" (Pak 1920: 42).¹⁷⁴ The term *kŭnyŏdŭl* here is the plural form of *kŭnyŏ*, created by adding the suffix *dŭl* (들) after the word, and it is used as the equivalent of "Chosŏn women."

During the colonial period, different combinations of phrases competed as the female third-person pronoun in Korean without compromise or unification. This continued until the postwar era, when people were becoming discontented with the language situation and tried to reach a consensus. In 1965, the literary magazine, *Modern Literature*, held a conference on the subject. There were seven writers and intellectuals, most of whom were involved in prewar literary production, who expressed their opinions on which phrase should win the dispute. The magazine also held a vote for 54 writers to choose the best phrase to represent the female third-person pronoun, and *kŭnyŏ* won 33 votes over the other candidates. The debates and discussions continued to the 1990s.

The emergence of the female third-person pronouns in East Asian societies, as discussed above, to a great extent embodies the gendering process in these countries' modernization project. These kinds of deictic constructions of gender, as Lydia Liu suggests, "reflect and participate in a larger gendering process," which I argue as

¹⁷⁴ See: Pak, Chung-wa. "Chu myŏngsaŭi chosŏn yŏja haebanggwan [Celebrities' View on the Liberation of Chosŏn Women]," *Kaebŏk* 4, 1920-09-25: 28-45.

translating “her/woman” into the historical project of nation-building.

3-4 Representations of Sexuality in 1920-30s Literature

I will conclude this chapter with the discussion of the literary works produced in Taiwan and Korea in the 1920s-1930s, to further show the complexity of the colonial structure of intimate relationships. To wrap up the analyses of the socio-historical transformation of love and sexuality that have been demonstrated above, I will focus on discussions of the literary works that represent the regulation of people’s desire and sexuality through the “repression of sex and moralization of love.” As I will show below, together with the enlightenment implications of free love, sexuality becomes a means for writers to perceive the world that acts upon them. Running around brothels and modern landscapes, and between domestic reproductive moral imperatives and the social well-being of autonomous sexual desire, colonial intellectuals reflected their own relationships with the society. They constantly pivoted on “exceptions” — obscene sex, indecent behaviour or illegitimate subjects—to approach their political testimony and a normative social relationship.

The first group of short novels depicts sex, which connotes perverse disposition of the subject or behaviour, and is connected to deviance, guilt, or venereal disease. Zhang Wo-jun was one of the leading intellectuals who engaged in the New Literature Movement and the knowledge production of modern love in colonial Taiwan; he devoted his career to translation¹⁷⁵ and literary criticism. His first three and best-known short

¹⁷⁵ He is particularly famous for introducing Lu Xun’s writings and thoughts to Taiwan via *Taiwan Minbao* and also for the translation of modern Japanese thoughts on love.

novels were written in the second half of the 1920s, which marked a new phase of the Taiwanese New Literature Movement and the heyday of both love and sexual discourses. One among those three novels is “Temptation” (*Youhuo* 誘惑, 1929),¹⁷⁶ which depicts a young intellectual’s struggles between reality and desire. The protagonist, Wu, was unemployed for a few months and finally earned an amount of money, with which he had to support his family, but he ended up spending almost half of the money elsewhere. First, he spent his money on tea and cigarettes in a park, and later on, playing Mahjong with friends. However, his surrender to these commodities was triggered by his sexual impulse toward women, which was provoked by sensations (of sight, smell, hearing, and touch).¹⁷⁷ These sensations function as what Lacan terms the *objet petit a*; from this point on, *a* denotes the object which can never be attained, which is really the cause of desire rather than that towards which desire tends; this is why Lacan calls it “the object cause” of desire. *Objet petit a* is any object which sets desire in motion, especially the partial objects which define the drives. The drives do not seek to attain the *objet petit a*, but rather they circle round it.¹⁷⁸ Some examples of *objet petit a* could be a gaze, a voice and a smell, which are represented in Zhang’s novel; while one sees that the protagonist Wu’s grasp of the lure ends up in a void: “[H]e is drunk and full, but his heart is empty;

¹⁷⁶ Originally published in Chinese as “Youhuo” in *Taiwan Minbao* no. 255-258, 1929. 04. 07-28. My discussion and translation are based on the new edition in: *Collected Works of Zhang Wojun*, Zhang Guang-zheng ed., Taipei: Ren Jian, 2003: 264-272.

¹⁷⁷ When Wu wanders in the park and struggles to sit at a table for some comforting drinks, he encounters the forces of the senses: “When the two women were walking behind him, they brought a breeze of perfume and rouge; the scent mixed with the smell of cigarettes and alcohol, became a strongly provocative smell and wafted to him whiff by whiff. Laughter, sounds from eating and drinking, and from the clinking of tableware, mixed as a kind of impulsive sound being brought to his ear. At the same moment, the scents from food, perfume and rouge, cigarettes and alcohol, again united as a kind of provocative smell, one by one wafting to his nose. Attacked by these scents, he couldn’t help walking to the counter and ordering his what he fancied.” And when playing with friends and losing his money, he mused: “His eyes and nose enjoyed the most. He surreptitiously took numerous deep breaths and stole numerous glances at those two ladies (who were playing Mahjong with him).” See: Zhang, 1929, p.267 and p. 270.

¹⁷⁸ See: Evans, Dylan. *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis*. London & NY: Routledge, 1996: 125.

there is no way for it to be satisfied. The three people behind him, laughing and joking, the closer the laughter towards him, the more he feels lonely, the more he feels the emptiness of his heart,”¹⁷⁹ one may recenter the “real” desire of Wu on love. From the very beginning of the novel, Wu sets up his desire from the distant sound of a piano. He begins to imagine who is playing it, whose delicate fingers are seducing his heart —“It should be a woman? A beautiful woman? A schoolgirl? A candidate of my love?”(p. 264)— From that point, the narrative of the novel hinges on an ideal love, by which he was thwarted in not going to brothels for comfort (that would become a “black spot” for his future romance¹⁸⁰). He was thwarted in his encounters with “modern women” (being ignored by them), and finally thwarted in his ambitions (replaced by sexual longings).

The Korean literary production in the 1920s echoes several themes that are represented in Zhang Wo-jun’s works. One of the pioneers of modern Korean short fiction, Hyŏn Jin’-gŏn, debuted as a writer in 1920, and most of his works in the early 1920s are deeply engaged with the ambivalence towards modern love and sex; love in his novels is ideal and unattainable, while sex is easy to achieve and lightweight. “Man of Degradation” (*T’arakcha* 타락자[墮落者], 1922)¹⁸¹ depicts a man, Na, (first-person pronoun “I” in Korean), who entrusted his ideal love to a *kisaeng* and experienced failure in love. The longing for an ideal romantic relationship with the *kisaeng* was generated from his escapism, and resulted in the interruption of his study abroad and ambition, because of filial duty. This escapism is considered to be the Korean people’s state of mind in the 1920s, which was caused by the failure of the March 1st Movement in 1919.

¹⁷⁹ See: Zhang, *Collected Works of Zhang Wojun*, p. 268.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Originally published in Korean as “T’arakcha” in *Kaebŏk*, no. 19-22, January to April, 1922. My discussion and translation are based on the edition in: *Collected Short Stories of Hyŏn Jin’-gŏn*, Seoul: Samjungdang, 1993[1984]: 85-154.

The literary depictions of this social condition in the 1920s represented certain characters who always anticipate his/her impending doom. This repeated theme is a path that leads the character to devastation; this path may be sex, liquor, social inhibition, or some inner compelling force, and sometimes, all of them.¹⁸² Among these factors, sex is the most mysterious one. “Man of Degradation,” together with “Violation” (*Yurin* 유린[蹂躪], 1922),¹⁸³ written in the same year, designated the “evilized” representations of sex activity or sexual desire. In “Man of Degradation,” the first sex scene that happened between Na and the *kisaeng* is depicted “like being attacked by a witch, I feel a shudder...thinking that I definitely won’t come here again” (p. 126). In “Violation,” the female protagonist Chŏng-suk, experienced her first sex supported by free love, her romantic relationship with K. However, after the sex with K, motivated by “animal instinct,” she felt “K relieved himself and laughed. His laughter sounds like devil’s” (p. 81) and she cried with unknown fear, guilt, and the sorrow that she had lost her virginity

It seems that, no matter what conditions (based on love or not) and whomever (legitimate or illegitimate) the characters have sex with, the consequence will be ruin. Na ends up being betrayed by the *kisaeng* and infected with a venereal disease from her; while Chŏng-suk suffers from the collapse of free love, together with the obstacles that Wu experienced in Zhang Wo-jun’s novel. This result embodies an unattainable ideal world to which people in the 1920s subscribed.

Nonetheless, the juxtaposition of the human sexual impulse with the animal instinct, and the venereal disease that can accompany the practice of sex, became more

¹⁸² See: O'Rourke, Kevin. “The Korean Short Story of the 1920s and Naturalism,” *The Korea Journal*, 1977: 48-63.

¹⁸³ Originally published in Korean as “Yurin” in *Paekcho*, no. 2, May 1922. My discussion and translation are based on the edition in: *Collected Short Stories of Hyŏn Jin'-gŏn*, Seoul: Samjungdang, 1993[1984]: 78-84.

candidly depicted in the 1930s. Taiwanese journalist and writer Wu Xi-sheng (1909-), in his “Pig” (*Buta* 豚, 1934),¹⁸⁴ depicts an innocent girl, A-Xiu, who sacrificed herself to marry a wealthy old man as a concubine to support her family. The failure of this arrangement is embodied in the interruption of the contractual relationship and the loss of A-Xiu’s virginity. On that account, the family continued to suffer from poverty and the young girl had to devote herself to prostitution. She ended up in contracting a venereal disease and died at the end of the story. As the title implies, A-Xiu’s fate parallels a pig’s fate, both being physically exploited (for reproducing and prostitution) and sacrificing their lives. The novel explicitly criticizes the traditional social hierarchy and relationships, while suggesting that the consequence of sexual practice leads to disease. Another important writer in colonial Korea, Yi Hyo-sŏk, whose works represent naturalism and eroticism, deploys venereal disease in his representation of the conflict between love and sex. “The Sick Rose” (*Changmi byŏngdŭlta* 장미[薔薇]병들다, 1938),¹⁸⁵ whose title and theme suggest inspiration from William Blake’s poem of the same name, depicts the loss of innocence and virtue (i.e., virginity). The female protagonist, Namjuk, dropped out of school to realize her dream of being a professional actress in a newly established troupe, but she ended up being left penniless and had to sell herself for the travel expenses to go home. Hyŏnbo, an old friend, reunited with Namjuk and later had a sexual relationship with her. He witnessed the protagonist’s transformation and stated that “[He] could not have imagined that the girl with such firm dreams would, seven years

¹⁸⁴ Originally published in Japanese as “Buta” in *Formosa* 3, June 15, 1934. My discussion is based on the original script.

¹⁸⁵ Originally published in Korean as “Changmi byŏngdŭlta” in *Samcheonli munhak*, 1938. My discussion is based on the English translation by Steven D. Capener. Seoul: Literature Translation Institute of Korea, 2014: 1-16.

later, become a lady of the evening. The once-beautiful flower had not only begun to wither but had become sick as well” (p. 15). “Sick” here refers to “loss of virtue” and “being morally sick.” However, toward the end of the story, we are informed that Namjuk was also physically sick with venereal disease, and, as in “Man of Degradation,” this story is told by the one who got infected, which is Hyōnbo in this case.

Up to this point, the novels I have discussed above share a similar plot that implies a pattern: women= promiscuity (willingly or unwillingly)=venereal disease=a menace to men (infection). The traditional relationship between men and women, a specific one-directional subjugation, has transformed into a sophisticated regulation. This regulation is more evidently represented in Ye Tao’s (1905-1970) “The Fruit of Love” (*Ai no kesshō* 愛の結晶, 1936),¹⁸⁶ in which two educated women discuss each other’s miserable lives and center the issue on giving birth to children. One lost her job because of the practice of free love with her socialist husband; the other became involved in social activities and got arrested, and then was infected with tuberculosis. The catastrophe led to the first woman’s “neuroticism,” and her child became blind from malnutrition. The other woman, though born into a wealthy family and married to an elite, suffered from a certain disease and feared giving birth to a child with “a mental disability” or “syphilis.” The phrase “fruit of love” is equivalent to “children,” and it implies that the heir is meant to be reproduced on account of love. The terminologies used by the writer reflect my analysis of the regulation of the female body and sexuality. The regulative ideas of chastity, moral imperative, and reproductive duty are forced onto women, while men (and some women) are complicit in the enlightenment project by producing normative ideas

¹⁸⁶ Originally published in Japanese as “Ai no Kesshō” in *Xinwenxue yuebao* [New Literature Monthly] 1, February 6, 1936. My discussion is based on the original script.

about sex and love to form a modern sexual relationship that has impacts on the lives of following generations.

The discussion of these novels shows that the close association of woman and nation is typical of civilized discourse; a woman's status reflects the level of the nation's enlightenment and becomes a gauge for assessing its process of growth. Nevertheless, this discovery of love and individuality could not transcend the double forces neither, thus were flawed in maintaining reflectiveness and autonomy.

It should be noted that, the explosion of sexual discourses at that time was not to repress sexual desire, but to transform it into a regulative discourse that both normative and non-normative ideas about love and sex were produced and regulated. In another words, the colonial intellectuals' fever to create the individual and his interiority via investing in the knowledge production and profound discussion was meant to deploy power into individuals, and to transform its objects to children, women, and souls from (under)determined heterosexual reproductive relationships. Hence, they also regulated and institutionalized sexual subjects into a new power relation, and at the same time created a falseness of liberation of spirit and of women. Furthermore, being manipulated by complex political and social forces, colonial intellectuals created the category "unnatural" and built up an order of desire. Thus, what at stake here is not to seek any form of internal coherence among the topics of modern love or sexuality. Rather, as I will illustrate in the following chapter, it is important to disclose the mechanism of exclusion, which actually produces heterogeneous sites for the imagination of modern society.

CHAPTER 4

CRITICAL LOVE FOR THE NATION

This chapter further examines the problem of modern love, which, as shown in Chapter 3, functions as a bordering system for distinguishing the modern and traditional forms of social relationships, for the separation of spiritual and carnal desire, and for the construction of normative and non-normative sexualities. The non-normative sexualities, which I term “critical love” in this chapter, were critical of the dominant ideology of imperialism and nation-building, and critical to the realization of the modernization project as well. In other words, “critical love” embodies the paradoxical status of language and woman in the modernization project. The internal contradictions in the institutionalization of love and language yield to the fulfilment of “civilization,” in the name of equality, liberation, and progressiveness. However, these contradictions are not obstacles to progress; they are of great importance in the realization of modernization and nation-building, in which the essential prerequisite is not the preservation of homogeneity, but the inscription of an otherness to maintain and secure the power assemblage.

I will demonstrate this “critical love” in the following four sections that make up this chapter: the first is the “fetishization of love,” which commodified the popular fiction and intersected with the (anti-)modern consumption culture; the second is the “unreachable intimacy,” which was embodied in the sociality of prostitutes as the “hinge-point-of-narrative” in the process of modernizing love; the third is the phenomenon of “love suicide,” which represented the testimony of the inequality of love; and the last is the radicality of “same-sex love,” which highlighted the foldings and unfoldings of the “colonial time,” and disrupts the temporality of the empire state.

4-1 The Fetishization of Love: Love in the Early Capitalist Era

The contradictions of democratization, however, are perhaps best illustrated in what the language of political economy would call the “fetishization” of love as a global currency. “Fetishization” here refers not only to the “subjective” or “psychological” processes of fixation, but also to the processes of commodification whereby “love” acquires an exchange value. What is fetishized or commodified is precisely the “objectivity” or public transparency of love, which progressively becomes the means with which to “communicate” within the increasingly opaque—because outmoded—world of Confucian culture, and also with the menacingly opaque—because foreign—world of the technological West.

____ Rey Chow, *Woman and Chinese Modernity*, p. 71.

Rey Chow (1991), in her provocative reading of Chinese Butterfly literature,¹⁸⁷ which marks an era of love, raises questions on the contradictions between the popularity of Butterfly literature and the May Fourth intellectuals’ advocacy of literary reform. She illustrates how the mass literacy that was carried by the popularity of Butterfly literature became a threat to the intellectual class, who despised Butterfly literature for its lack of social engagement and for its association with the degenerate classical language. Furthermore, Chow revisits C. T. Hsia and Perry Link’s studies of Butterfly literature and points out that their non-identical studies agree in considering Butterfly literature as “fiction for comfort,” (to make people feel better) and as “restorative” projects of each “tradition of Chinese literature” and “(imperialistic) knowledge,” as well as the neglect of the “question of woman.”¹⁸⁸ The reception or interpretation of Butterfly literature from

¹⁸⁷ The original term for the literary genre is “Mandarin Duck and Butterfly fiction” [Yuanyang hudiepai xiaoshuo], which emerged in Republican era (1912-1949), and were entertainment fiction written in both classical language and vernacular to depict popular love stories.

¹⁸⁸ Chow, *Woman and Chinese Modernity*, pp. 45-50.

(male) intellectuals of different generations, based on Rey Chow's arguments, fail to grasp the complex power relations embedded in the production of literary and enlightening discourses under the shadows of nationalism and imperialism. Through the proposed "reading by the way of 'Woman,'" Chow unveils a hidden mainstream ideology: behind the discourse on the "equality of love," the underlying ideology is a reinforcement and consolidation of the traditional value of women. The female protagonists in the modern romance stories were categorized as either traditional good women (wise mother and good wife) or rebellious figures that ended up in death. By the same token, male protagonists were always in the predicament of being forced to choose between two kinds of women, by moral imperative. Free love, therefore, ironically became evidence of the absence of freedom in love relationships.

The popular romance novels produced during the same era in Taiwan and Korea share a similar logic to that discussed above. What I want to further ask, through an examination of Taiwanese and Korean romance novels, is since that love has failed to set people free from traditions, why is it still widely embraced? What is the "true" value of love in a modern society? Turning to the epigraph from Chow's elucidation of the "fetishization of love," I will discuss two melodramatic romance novels: Yi Gwang-su's *Rebirth (Chaesang, 1924-25)*¹⁸⁹ and Xu Kun-quan's *The Lovable Enemy (Keai de chouren, 1936)*.¹⁹⁰ By applying the "fetishization of love" to these two novels, I will concentrate on illustrating how "love" obtains its exchange value through transcultural communication and the growth of capitalism.

¹⁸⁹ Yi Gwang-su's *Chaesang* (Rebirth) was serialized in 218 installments in *Donga ilbo* from November 9, 1924 to September 28, 1925. My discussion here is based on the original publication.

¹⁹⁰ Xu Kun-quan's *Keai de chouren* (My Loveable Enemy) was serialized in 160 installments in *Taiwan Sinmingbao*, later published in book format in February 1936. My discussion is based on the recent reprinted version: Xu, Kun-quan. *Keai de chouren* (My Loveable Enemy), Taipei: Qianwei, 1998.

Butterfly literature, as Rey Chow points out, though written in a combination of classical and vernacular Chinese, was well-received for the love theme it depicts, and it was fetishized as a global currency. She explains that the process of fetishization “has to do not simply with the apparent similarities or equivalent passages in the Chinese and Western texts. While love is fetishized as a global currency, its impact here in fact depends on the successful *translation* of ‘foreign’ paradigms into those which were specific to China at that time” (Chow 1991: 72). In the contexts of colonial Taiwan and Korea, the Western is mediated by Japan, and transferred to Taiwan and Korea through multi-layered translation and adaptation. An apt example of this is the cultural phenomenon of Ozaki Kōyō’s (1868-1903) *The Golden Demon* (*Konjiki Yasha* 金色夜叉, 1897-1902), in East Asia. What I will focus on here is not a discussion of the Chinese or Korean translation, but the “presence” of *The Golden Demon* in both the colonial societies, and in the novels of *Rebirth* and *The Lovable Enemy*.

The Golden Demon was perhaps the most popular work in Meiji melodrama and early twentieth-century East Asian popular culture. The author, Ozaki Kōyō, once stated that his intention in writing the novel was to draw the “battle between love and gold.”¹⁹¹ This intention is embodied in how the protagonist, Hazama Kan’ichi, lost love and later became a hated moneylender; this situation was initiated by the choice of his wavering lover and fiancée, Shigizawa Miya, to marry a rich man, Tomiyama. We are now more used to the melodrama’s binary morality structured by money and love, but in early twentieth-century East Asia, this contradiction could only happen through the restructuring of social relationships—through the transformation of the feudal system,

¹⁹¹ Re-quoted from: Ito, Ken K. *An Age of Melodrama: Family, Gender, and Social Hierarchy in the Turn-of-the-Century Japanese Novel*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2008: 88.

kinship system, and emergence of the capitalist system—in the modernization process. In the transitioning period, love and money became the most important capital for people to obtain their mobility in the marriage market, emerging social classes, and other affiliative ties. To a great extent, *The Golden Demon* captured this specific socio-historical condition, and thus had a great impact on its contemporaries. Nonetheless, modern technologies have helped to facilitate its popularity through motion pictures, the print market, radio, and public transportation. Against this backdrop, *The Golden Demon*, even though not completed because of the death of the author, became a sensational cultural phenomenon through various adaptations into movies, plays, songs and translations in other parts of East Asia.

The most notable translation of *The Golden Demon* in Korean is Cho Jung-hwan's (1863-1944) *Long and Regrettable Dream* (*Changanmong* 長恨夢, 1913), published in serial form in *Maeil sinbo*, from May 13 to October 11, 1913. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, Cho Jung-hwan's translations of *The Golden Demon* and the other, earlier, Japanese novel, *One's Own Sin*, by Kikuchi Yuho, first introduced the term *yōnae* (romantic love) to Korean society, and the circulation of the idea of this modern love was also closely associated with a new literary genre. Accordingly, the popular perceptions of *Long and Regrettable Dream* were represented in the following advertisement of the publication notice of the serial novel:

A New Novel (sinsosol), Changhanmong

- *It is not a usual novel.*

- *It portrays human nature and social conditions.*

- *How can anyone not cry while reading this? (Maeil sinbo, 9 May 1913: 3.)*

The advertisement introduces Cho Jung-hwan's translation as a "new novel." This was a modern literary genre that was initiated by novelists such as Yi In-jik. It influenced Cho's intention to translate *The Golden Demon* as well as his hope: "offering the spiritual food to Chosŏn young people, [Cho] made the novel in the way of 'Chosŏn.'"¹⁹² A great deal of the scholarship on the studies of Cho Jung-hwan's translation of *The Golden Demon* has illustrated the differences between the Japanese original and the Korean translation, and reasserted the popularity of both novels in colonial Korea.¹⁹³ What I want to highlight here is that Cho's translation of Japanese popular novels embodies the intersections among the conception of modern love, activities of translation, and the practice of the New Novel in a local context. More importantly, the localization of a foreign text can only be achieved in the condition that both the spiritual (desire to be modern) and the material (equipped with modern technologies) are ready to serve the modernization of a nation.

Unforeseeably, *Long and Regrettable Dream* is the only translation of *The Golden Demon* in the pre-war era.¹⁹⁴ In colonial Taiwan, *The Golden Demon* was received mainly through the original novel in the 1910s and through the film adaptation in the 1920s. A short essay, written in half-classical and half-vernacular Chinese, published in

¹⁹² Cho Jung-hwan himself wrote an essay to express his thoughts on the translation of both Japanese novels *One's Own Sin* and *The Golden Demon* in "Pönyökhoeo, Changanmong gwa Ssangongnu (Review the Translations: 'Long and Regrettable Dream' and 'Tears of the Twin Jade')," in *Samch'ölli* 6: 9, September 1, 1934: 234-236. By stating to make the novel "Chosŏn," or to localize the text, Cho changed the background setting and the names of the characters to a Korean context.

¹⁹³ For detailed discussion on Cho's translation/adaptation, please see: Park, Jin-young, "Ilchae Cho Jungwan'gwa pönan sosörui sidae [Cho Jung-hwan and the Age of Adaptation]," in *Minjongmunhaksa yŏn'gu* [Journal of Korean Literary History] 26:0, 2004: 199-230; and "1910 yöndae pönansosölgwa 'silp'aehan yönae'ui sidae- ilchae chojungwanüi Ssangongnu wa Changanmong [Adapted Novels in 1910's and the Age of 'a Failed Love' - Jo Jung-Hwan's Ssang-Ok-Nu and Jang-Han-Mong]," in *Sangöghakpo* [The Journal of Korean modern literature] 15, 2005: 273-302.

¹⁹⁴ The full translation of *The Golden Demon* is not found in colonial Taiwan, and the first full Chinese translation appeared in 1981, translated by An Ji-fang (安紀芳), published in Taipei, Taiwan by Daguan (達觀) publisher.

1912, commented that: “The novel *Golden Demon* is so popular. Even though there are so many budding works following its pace, none can compare to its reputation. Recently, there are many Chinese novels that try to depict current affairs, not many of them are adequate in considering moral issues. It [*Golden Demon*] is far more valuable than the works like *The Water Margin* [*Shuihu* 水滸] and *Journey to the West* [*Xiyou* 西遊].”¹⁹⁵

Based on these comments, the difference between Chinese novels and *The Golden Demon* is the moral issues that are depicted in the latter. Without further clarification here about what the moral issues indicated are, one can guess, from the most significant difference between classical novels and modern novels, that the theme is love. However, public reception of *Long and Regrettable Dream* or *The Golden Demon* in 1910s’ Korea and Taiwan did not find the binary of “love and money” a topic worthy of debate. Even in *Long and Regrettable Dream*, the female protagonist was depicted as being forced by her parents to marry the rich man, not marrying by her own will as Miya did. In spite of that, the binary will later become a focal theme in Yi Gwang-su’s *Rebirth* and Xu Kunquan’s *The Lovable Enemy*.

The notable relationships among *The Golden Demon*, *Long and Regrettable Dream*, and *Rebirth* have been illustrated. (Seo 2013) Yi’s contemporary, Kim Dong-in, pointed out that *Rebirth* was heavily influenced by *The Golden Demon*, without mentioning *Long and Regrettable Dream*.¹⁹⁶ Either way, *Rebirth* was one of the most popular novels in colonial Korea during the 1920s, however, because of its melodramatic aspects, among Yi’s literary works it has been relatively ignored by literary critics. The

¹⁹⁵ See: “Xiaoshuo Burugui, Jinseyecha [About the Novels: The Cuckoo and Golden Demon],” in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, February, 5, 1912: 3.

¹⁹⁶ See: Kim, Dong-in. “Ch’unwŏnyŏnggu [The Studies of Yi Gwangsu] 7,” *Samch’ŏlli* 7: 6, July 1, 1935: 263-264.

basic plot of *Rebirth* resembles *The Golden Demon* in that it contradicts love and money: A beautiful female student, Kim Sun-yŏng, chose to marry a rich man, Paek Yun-hŭi, which made her comrade and lover, Shin Bong-gu, desperate, and later he devoted his life to being a slave to money. Yi Gwang-su's plot has more elements related to his own experience and political, intellectual reflections. *Rebirth* in many ways contains insights both into the shifts in capitalism at the time and into the narration of the nation. For example, Kim Sun-yŏng and Shin Bong-gu were both involved in the March First Independence movement in 1919, where they fell in love with each other. After the failure of the movement, Bong-gu stated in a letter he wrote to Sun-yŏng after being released from prison: "I love Chosŏn—I love Chosŏn which gives birth to and nurtures Sun-yŏng. If there is no Sun-yŏng, what's the reason for me to love Chosŏn?"¹⁹⁷ Bong-gu associates his lover with the nation here to justify his memory of an era of passion. However, Sun-yŏng has forgotten Bong-gu. After studying at a girls' school and getting to know the world better, she was immersed in the pleasures of wine, cigarettes and other commodities, as well the physical pleasure she experienced with the rich Paek. In *Rebirth*, Sun-yŏng is depicted as the fall of a "new woman" into a "modern girl"; the latter was an embodiment of the excesses of modernity, in particular, of the crass materialism and the craze for romance that overwhelmed Korean society after 1919. The opening scene of the novel vividly described Sun-yŏng's sophistication with commodities. She was wearing "a grey skirt made with 3-8 silk cloth," she wore fragrances and make-up; her hair was tied into a deluxe knot; she had perfect taste and style. Sun-yŏng's transformation from a patriot to a material girl is explicitly depicted in the novel:

¹⁹⁷ Yi, Gwang-su. "Chaesaeng," *Tonga ilbo*, November 18, 1924.

Influenced by family, or the spirit of the age during the March 1st Movement, almost all of them were patriots. ...At that time, none of them thought about marriage, but were committed to devoting their lives for the nation. Girls like this were about four or five hundred in Seoul and local areas.¹⁹⁸

Five years after the March 1st Movement, when *Rebirth* started to be serialized, the condition of these girls had become:

Getting to the age of 23 or 24, [if a woman is] without a certain profession—wife, mother, or teacher—to put it nicely, she may be the noble class among women, or, give it a hard name, she may be a tramp.¹⁹⁹

Sun-yŏng, among those girls, was married to a rich man and lived a happy life. However, even though she eventually recalled her love for Bong-gu and sought to reunite with him, the two could not express their love to each other successfully, and this failure brought about Sun-yŏng's suicide. In Yi Gwang-su's female protagonist, the contradiction between love and money is embodied in the escapist choice from nation to consumption culture, while in the male protagonist, Bong-gu, the contradiction is between humanity and money. After Bong-gu became a moneylender, he started to feel a crisis in humanity:

“One must not take care of others. It's a finished business. In order to collect money, even a spoonful of rice should be saved. When collecting money, one's heart must be like a beast.” Recalling that he heard these words somewhere, and again if he hears these words, he would think they are correct. Bong-gu eventually does not take care of others, and decided to get rid of things like the warm humanity. [He] thought of Hazama Kan'ichi, the protagonist in the Japanese

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ From Yi Gwang-su. “Chaesaeng,” *Tonga ilbo*, July 30, 1925.

novel *The Golden Demon*. He sometimes tries to compare himself with Kan'ichi.

When he does so, he will come out with the exclamation that they are so alike in anyways many ways?²⁰⁰

The gendered portrayals of the two protagonists in *Rebirth* reflect a gendered modernity. On the one hand, in the process of modernization and nation-building, female and male seemed equally to have the chance and obligation to contribute to the liberation of the society, although they were constrained by different gender expectations. On the other hand, the “love” celebrated by the novel and the society turns out to be fundamentally destructive: man embodies the destruction of human kind, while woman ends up with self-destruction.

Similar portrayals can be observed in Xu Kun-quan's *The Loveable Enemy*. The novel has been recognized as the most popular romance novel in colonial Taiwan. It depicts three love relationships of two generations: The first generation features Qiu-qing and Zhi-zhong, a couple who could not escape from traditional arranged marriages and who both married other people. After their spouses died of diseases, they still could not express their love to each other. Zhi-zhong tried to support Qiu-qing and her children secretly through a Christian church. Their respective children, Ping-er, son of Zhi-zhong, Ah-Guo and Liru, son and daughter of Qiu-qing, developed into two love lines: first, Ping-er and Liru fell in love with each other and later went to Tokyo for their studies; second, Ah-Guo fell in love with Li-ru's friend, Hui-ying, the daughter of a rich family, whose mother was an unknown Japanese woman; her mixed blood was taboo in the society. Regardless of the complex relationships of the melodramatic storylines, *The Loveable Enemy* explicitly contrasts love with money and carnal desire; throughout the

²⁰⁰ From Yi, Gwang-su. “Chaesaeng,” *Tonga ilbo*, January 26, 1925.

novel, love was blindly celebrated while money and carnal were severely condemned. The opening scene suggests that Qiu-qing's husband was an irresponsible man who spent time and money on wine and prostitutes and who ended up losing his life to venereal disease. This is followed by the scene in which Zhi-zhong was dreaming that Qiu-qing was calling him, "Ah, love, my love," which made him feel the unification of soul and body, the supreme love.²⁰¹ Toward the end of the novel, Zhi-zhong states, "Ah, Qiu-qing, since we married others, though we never talk to each other, our minds and souls are always unified. I believe, though your body belongs to your husband, your soul completely belongs to me, we are absolutely in a sacred relationship. In this society of 'carnal desire' and 'money,' we are successful in keeping our duty."²⁰² The juxtaposition of two men, who were associated with money-sex and pure love, installs a binary designation of "love" as virtue and "money-sex" as vice. Furthermore, from Qiu-qing's view, "those women who declaim the liberation of women are nothing but superficial. They are excessively extravagant, living in a comfortable and happy life, liberating themselves by wearing make-up and commodities."²⁰³ She condemned the falseness of liberation in a consumption society, in which the competition between people and the flooding, overwhelming products are as terrifying as a tiger (*shihu*, market of tiger).²⁰⁴ Qiu-qing's daughter, Li-ru, experienced the heyday of love. Her sexual desire was initiated by romance novels, songs, and movies from Japan, as was her idea of sacred love. This sensation was aroused when she watched the film adaptation of *The Golden Demon* in a theatre:

²⁰¹ Xu, Kun-quan. *The Loveable Enemy*, Taipei: Qianwei, 1998: 36-37.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 411.

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 69.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 142.

Later, when watching *The Golden Demon*, Li-ru saw the protagonist Kan'ichi and his lover, Miya, break with each other on the sand hills under the wretched moonlight, she couldn't help shedding tears for Kan'ichi. At the same time, she hated that Miya should be misled by money and married to the evil capitalist Tomiyama. She cried seriously, held Ping-er's hand tightly, trembled with tears. ...Suddenly the lights are on for the intermission, and Li-ru rushes to let go of Ping-er's hand.²⁰⁵

Throughout the novel, all the characters participate in celebrating pure love and condemning money and sex, while men are assigned another duty, to celebrate the national revolution. Zhi-zhong once compared Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolution with the revolution of love, and further promoted the Asia Alliance (i.e., pan-Asianism).²⁰⁶ Ah-Guo, who suffered from the poverty of the family and could not go to Japan for advanced studies, had to support his family after he received a basic education. In his workplace, when he was cursed by Japanese colleagues as the "slave of Qing" (Qingguonu), he also argued against racial discrimination by stating, "I don't recognize myself as the slave of Qing, but as a part of the ethnic groups of Asia. I want to work hard for the whole of Asia."²⁰⁷ However, women are portrayed as the hidden part of racial conflicts. Li-ru's friend, Hui-ying, as briefly mentioned previously, was told to hide her biological mother's identity. The author implicitly resolves this controversy by associating Hui-ying's Japanese mother with another identity: that of a prostitute, which makes Hui-ying's father insist on burying this shameful history. Another episode featured Ping-er's sexual relationship with a Japanese woman in Tokyo. The woman, called Jun-zi, is a

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp.204-205.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 58 and 187.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 297.

figure who reminds us of Miya in *The Golden Demon*. She first married a rich man, and after her husband died, she decided to look for true love. When she met Ping-er, they had an affair in the signature spot of *The Golden Demon*: Atami (熱海). Later, Ping-er and Jun-zi's sexual affair led to the suicide attempt of Li-ru. In this case, Jun-zi is depicted as sexually depraved, and as a threat to the pure love between Ping-er and Li-ru. These contradictions become clear in the way love and money-sex impact families, both conventional and affiliative. And they prove to be deeply connected to the gendering of success and the inconsistencies of status in colonial Taiwan.

To conclude this section, I want to go back to Rey Chow's notion of the fetishization of love as a global currency. Chow's elucidation of the subject matter is based on her discussion of the Chinese translation and reception of Alexandre Dumas fils' *La dame aux camellias*. She argues that the translation of the foreign love story into Chinese "functions as the instance of an effective alibi, providing two alternative modes of meanings that constantly recede into each other according to the contexts in which they are required to work. Love is 'mere fictional entertainment' when its effects are charged for being harmful to the pressing concerns of the nation, but it is also 'universal human nature' when the reality of the West's disembodiment of China has to be faced. Either way, sentimental love works as a space for escape and for neutralizing the problems before they could be solved—if at all—by other means" (Chow 1991: 75). I expand the discussion of translation of a foreign text to the "presence" of it here, to see how it allows one to recode the new and decode the old in a colonial text. In the case of the "presence" of *The Golden Demon* in both *Rebirth* and *The Loveable Enemy*, we see the two modes of meaning from Chow each functions in *Rebirth* as a reference of

“universal human nature,” when Bong-gu seeks to reconcile himself to the decadence of humanity; and in *The Loveable Enemy* as a reference of “mere fictional entertainment,” when Li-ru seeks to expand her experience of love. Nonetheless, the contexts that require an “alibi” in each case do not follow Chow’s model, and they are far more complex than the dichotomy of the East (China, in Chow’s case) and the West.

Considering that *The Golden Demon* is also a translation of English novelist Bertha M. Clay’s (original name: Charlotte Mary Brame, 1836-1884) *Weaker than a Woman* (1878), and that its circulation is not limited to the book form, but is also available in visual and audio forms, the result of the presence of *The Golden Demon* in colonies is already multi-layered and multi-textual. Accordingly, in the process of the fetishization of love, the development of capitalism, modern technologies, local culture, and transcultural communication are the essential conditions for it to happen. Furthermore, the political status in *Rebirth* is that of the era of the post-March 1st Independence movement, in which love is embodied as political passion that has faded away, while *The Loveable Enemy* is situated in an era of “revive eastern Asia” and “China-Japan amity,” in which love is still preserved as revolutionary and supreme. However, in either case, love is fetishized in the way that it is rendered as being out of reach. To this point, what manifests to substitute the unreachable love is money. The protagonists in *Rebirth* yielded themselves to money and were never able to express their love to each other; in *The Loveable Enemy*, Zhi-zhong’s unspeakable love for Qiu-qing is substituted by his supporting her secretly with money. Paradoxically, the condemnation of money in both novels is justified by the view of money as a destructive force for love and humanity. Given the fact that love is commodified in various forms of artifacts, and

is certainly associated with money, this aspect signifies the life of people in the midst of a capitalist system. I will further discuss this aspect in the following section.

4-2 Unreachable Intimacies: Love of Exhaustion in Colonial Everydayness

Through the institutionalization of love, love itself acquires an exchange value in relation to the system, but not among human subjects. This brings about what I term the “unreachable intimacies” between modern sexual subjects, which will be discussed below. The two novellas and the authors that I examine in this section —Yi Sang (1910-1937) of colonial Korea and Weng Nao (1910-1940) of colonial Taiwan— share many similarities. Yi Sang and Weng Nao were born in the same year, later adopted by other families at the ages of 3 and 5, respectively, due to the decline of their original families. Both of them were well educated, and like most of their contemporaries, they could write adequately in Japanese and in the local language (*han’gŭl* for Yi, and vernacular Chinese, native Taiwanese for Weng). They were viewed as modernist writers in the colonial era, as their colleagues Pak T’ae-wŏn and Wu Yung-fu that have been introduced in Chapter 2. Yi and Weng both yearned to live in Tokyo, and they both went there in the mid-1930s. They died there at the ages of 27 and 30, respectively. On top of these parallels throughout their short lives, what draws my attention is the feeling of “exhaustion” in the social/sexual relationships that are depicted in their works, as well as their notable association with prostitutes. I want to draw connections between and demonstrate these

two characteristics through reading “The Wings” (*Nalgae* 날개, 1936),²⁰⁸ by Yi Sang, and “A Love Story Before Dawn” (*Yoake mae no koi monogatari* 夜明け前の恋物語 1937; hereafter, “Love Story”),²⁰⁹ by Weng Nao.

The two novellas were written and published right before Japan's acceleration of its assimilation policy and total war mobilization, starting in 1937. It was an era as Jini K. Watson (2011) puts: “The incongruity of a burgeoning consumer society, patronized by the local elite and expatriate Japanese community, and an ever-swelling population of underemployed natives was the very condition of Fanon’s bifurcated colonial world. To evoke the Heideggerian vocabulary, it results from the struggle occurring between space cleared or ‘worlded’ for the colonial bureaucracy and metropolitan consumers, and the space remaining for the colonial ‘earth’” (Watson 2011: 72). Against this socio-historical background, Yi Sang and Weng Nao’s novellas are often regarded as the most representative works of modernist colonial literature, and best represent the ambivalence of modern individual subjects, who exhausted the possibility of love (i.e., the symbol of civilization), as well as the narrative (i.e., means of self-representation).

These two novellas are narrated through monologues. “The Wings” begins with a first person narrator (*na*) addressing “you” (us, the reader) in the narrative present (-o). *Na*, twenty-six years old, tells us he is “happy” (*yu’kwae*) but we immediately wonder

²⁰⁸ Originally published in Korean as: Yi, Sang. “Nalgae,” *Chogwang* 11, September 1936. Reprinted in: Kim Yunsik, ed., *Yi Sang munhak chŏnjip—sosŏl*. Seoul: Munhak sasangsa. Pp. 318-47. The English translation is from “The Wings.” Translated by Ahn Jung-hyo. *The Wings*. Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 2001: 7-40. My discussion is based on the original and English translation.

²⁰⁹ Originally published in Japanese as: Weng, Nao. “*Yoake mae no koi monogatari*,” in *Taiwan shin bungaku* [Taiwan New Literary Art] 2:2, January 31, 1937. Chinese translation appears in: Zhang, Henghao ed. *Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, Wang Changxiong heji* [Collected Works of Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, Wang Changxiong]. Taipei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1991. Translated into English by Lili Selden in *Taiwan Literature: English Translation Series* 20, 2007: 13-34. My discussion is based on original but quoted from English translation.

why. His mind is a “white sheet of paper,” the life he lives with a woman, is “alienated from the strategies of love” (2001, 7). The narrator never cedes his point of view; the story is strictly confined to his own claustrophobic consciousness, though irony will frequently undermine our trust in his perceptions and judgment. The story has little action, no dialogue, and no character development. The narrative in “Love Story” shares all the characteristics above, apart from the addressee, “you,” who later we learn, is an eighteen-year-old prostitute from the “northern snow country.” “Love Story” begins with the statement: “I longed to be in love, and I could think of nothing else” (13), which indeed sets the niche of the protagonist and the tone for the story. Love (*yŏnae* and *ren'ai*) is the common subject of these two novellas, and, as discussed in Chapter 3, is shared with other literary productions during the era. What distinguishes these two works from others is that the love here is associated with an illegitimate counterpart (i.e., a prostitute), not with the common subjects of modern/chaste/innocent women.

Yi Sang and Weng Nao were both known for their association with prostitutes, who occupy a significant role in their life and literary works. Yi Sang lived with a barmaid named Gemhong from 1933;²¹⁰ Gem-hong was featured in Yi Sang’s several novellas, including “The Wings.” Weng Nao wrote his first poem, “To the Seashore of Tansui” (*Tansui no umi ni* 淡水の海に, 1933), to a sixteen-year-old prostitute to express his love and compassion to her, while “Love Story” and another novella, “Remaining Snow” (*Zansetsu* 残雪, 1935), involved the romantic pursuit of certain young café

²¹⁰ Yi Sang was diagnosed with tuberculosis in 1930; later he went to Paech'ŏn, Hwanghae-do (now located in North Korea) in 1933 for a period of repose, where he met Gem-hong. The relationship and the figure of Gemhong have been adapted in films, such as *My Dear Geum Hong* ? (금홍아금홍아, 1995) and *58 The Year of the Dog* (58 년 개띠, 2014), as well as in the plays like: the Korean-American play, *Yi Sang Counts to Thirteen* (1999) and the Korean play, *Our Joyful Young Days* (2008).

waitresses from Hokkaidō. Disparate from the conventional perception of women related to sex(ual) service, Yi Sang and Weng Nao possessed unique appreciation toward these women. Weng once wrote about his reflections on the prostitutes of the Port of Kobe in his last novella, “The Town with a Harbor” (*Minato no aru machi* 港のある町, 1939):

If there are people who ridiculously consider these women—the special scene of harbor—as a national shame, I am afraid that they are to be ridiculed as ignorant. The money left by foreigners in the harbor, in fact, about 30% was picked up by [these women with] their ability.²¹¹

Every day in the Police station inside the harbor, there are prostitutes being dragged into it. During that period, there were countless reports on the illegal prostitution on the society pages of newspapers. ...high school students at that time should still remember how he started the strange fantasy from such news, and thus increased the amount of masturbation.²¹²

Notwithstanding the familiarity towards and the recognition of those prostitutes, possible intimate relationships still eluded the two writers. As a result, the narrative tension of the novellas discussed in this section is produced by the gap between what the reader understands quite clearly and what the narrators disavow: they were professing love to the unlovable. Accordingly, the monologue narrative in the two novellas is indispensable for the writers’ construction of the protagonists’ interiority and the scenarios, in which the individuals were isolated from and critical of the social

²¹¹ Weng, Nao. “*Minato no aru machi* [The Town with a Harbor].” Original published in Japanese in *Taiwan Xinmingbao* in 1939, reprinted and translated in *Po Xiao Ji*, Ed. and trans. Huang, Yuting, Taipei: Ruguo chuban, 2013: 348-501. The quotation is from page 352.

²¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 399-400.

relationship in the modern capitalist state. I am not saying that one cannot love a prostitute; what I want to highlight here is that both love and prostitutes were institutionalized through the process of modernization, and thus relationships among people are mediated by their relationships with different institutions.

The institutionalization of love, as discussed in the previous section, is involved in the processes of commodification, whereby “love” acquires an exchange value, an exchange acquired by the communication between local culture and foreign technology. Prostitution, on the other hand, was processed as an economic relationship between money and commodities (sex service) that was exchanged in market trade, and the prostitute thus becomes one of the mediators in the system. Therefore, I argue that, love and sex both were commodified as the “unreachable intimacies” that haunted colonial subjects throughout the modernization process. This can be observed through the monologue narratives of the two novellas, which share the same hinge-point of the narrative: a “non-typical” relationship with prostitutes. In another words, the monologue narrative came to life only when the protagonists failed to reach either sexual intercourse or intimacy with the prostitutes.

Na, in the “The Wings,” lives with a woman who is “alienated from the strategies of love” (2001, 7). The two share a divided room in a tenement (“House No. 33”), home to eighteen other families, all of whom lead lives consistent with his “woman’s” own probable profession, prostitution. At home he cowers on his side of their room, and at night, when “men” visit the woman and leave money—Why do they do that, he wonders?—he goes out to pound the streets until he thinks it is prudent to return. He is grateful for what she does for him, including the meals she brings him to eat alone on his

side of the room, and for the spending money she leaves him at the head of his bed. But much is a mystery to him. “Does she have a job?” (16). He tries to provoke her one day by dumping silver coins into the latrine, but to no avail. She simply replaces the money, though he can think of no way to spend it. One night he returns to the room too early, and he interrupts the woman as she is entertaining a male guest. Later he apologizes, but the next morning she is nowhere to be found. Her comings and goings seem nearly random. He goes out himself that night, determined to stay away long enough to avoid the embarrassment he caused the previous night. *Na* is worried that he won’t know the hour and will mistakenly return home too soon, so he makes of point of checking the tall clock tower outside Seoul Station, which he reasons is sure to be accurate. *Na*’s mental and physical health continued to suffer under the stress and fatigue.

At this point in “Wings,” the scene switches from one space to another, but is limited to only three: *Na*’s room, his woman’s room, and the street of Kyōngsōng. The narrative moves forward by these switches, which only happened when *Na* tried to demonstrate his love for the woman, that is, by removing himself entirely from her daily life: “I had to be back to my room before her return, I retired to my room” (14); “I sneaked out of my room while my wife was out” (21); “I sneaked into my wife’s room while my wife was out” (33). The only exchange of emotional burden or transactions between them happened once when *Na* failed to avoid her, and in the moments when he had physical contact with the woman. Intimacy is unreachable between them for two reasons: *Na* removes himself not only out of the woman’s life, but also out of the daily capitalist life, and, in so doing, he is unable to use the mediators in this modern life, i.e., time and money. Moreover, his desire toward the woman is mediated by commodities:

As an exotic, sensual scent seeps into my lungs, my eyelids heavily hang down, despite myself. Definitely the scent is a segment of the smell of my wife's body. I replace the stopper and begin to think. Which part of her body did I smell this from? Various, colorful patterns fascinate me. I think I am not so respectable because I used to try to visualize her body and the possible shape her body might take inside those clothes. (13)

I made up my mind to have my hair cut today, and I took the bottles, removed the stoppers and sniffed the perfume one by one. The scent I had forgotten for so long stung my nostrils. I called my wife's name in my heart. "Yon-sim..." (34)

The commodities substitute for the object of desire, who is always absent and unreachable. While outside in the train station cafeteria, he found that the place "...was sad. But I truly loved that sadness about the place, something I cherished more than the burdensome atmosphere of other streetside tearooms. The occasional shrill screaming of the train hoots sounded more familiar and intimate to me than Mozart. I read up and down the short list on the menu several times. The names of foods looked as remote to me as the names of my early childhood friends" (31). Paradoxically, it is in the most anonymous and colonial of architectural spaces in which he finally feels intimacy and connection with others. As Watson points out, "[T]he very transience of the tearoom is simply the reverse of his disavowal of the intimacy taking place in his wife's room" (Watson 2011: 79).

This unreachable intimacy is more explicit in "Love Story," through its understanding of the institutionalization of love and prostitution. The "misrecognized"

relationships in “The Wings” are properly set in “Love Story”; that is, we certainly know that the narrator and the other (the prostitute) are in an economic relationship related to sexual service. Nevertheless, throughout the story, the only thing that the protagonist does with the prostitute is talking and telling her about his bizarre sexual experience and longing for an ideal love; he demands neither love nor sex. From the beginning of the novella, the protagonist, who was turning thirty the next day, went on and on talking about three subjects: first, his sexual desire, initiation, and frustration; second, his resentment at modern technologies, his loneliness, and his dispirited state of mind in urban life; and finally, his very “sole desire and ambition” before the end of life: true love. The listener is an eighteen-year-old prostitute from the “northern snow country”; without other information or characteristics offered, she is a knot, or a medium, set up for the narrator to transcribe his stream-of-consciousness into a form of storytelling. Though the tone is more as if he were answering his own questions or thinking to himself, the existence of the prostitute moves the narrative forward in the following ways: first, she works as an interruption or barrier for the narrator to stop endlessly addressing one topic; second, she gives the narrator a clue to opening a new topic as well (her age cues the narrator to talk about his experience at around the age of eighteen); more importantly, she represents the unreachable intimacy, with which the protagonist constructs the monologue narrative while failing to achieve any form of social relations. Even, the only economic sexual relation between a client and prostitute is denied by the protagonist.

In the novella, the protagonist constantly emphasizes that the prostitute is the very one for him to confess everything to, without any explanation: “I’m telling you this in all seriousness” (Weng 2007: 14); “Permit to say that I don’t care what might happen to me

when I'm with you" (20); "I've been wanting to tell you, and I'm sure to bring it up in bits and pieces so please do listen carefully" (22); "If I were to tell you that I don't have a single friend with whom I can share my story, then maybe you would be able to excuse my rudeness tonight" (32). However, the will to tell somehow conflicts with the "mission" of his visiting the brothel. He has to leave before dawn for work, and before he leaves he confesses that: "To think that I spent the entire night lying next to you! I can't tell you how much I wanted to hold you in my arms. And yet I couldn't do it. I am not at all proud of this. Indeed, I am terribly embarrassed for myself. A coward like me, after all, deserves only to be despised. Oh, how I want to embrace you, to hold you tightly in my arms! But, no, I'm not bold enough" (32). His cowardliness and self-contempt in this situation can be understood through an understanding of the institutionalization of love, as demonstrated in Chapter 3 and previous section, that the emancipation of spiritual love and the oppression of carnal desire coincided with each other in the emergence of modern society. Furthermore, unlike the systematic institutionalization of prostitution by the Japanese empire during World War II, with its "comfort system," or later by US militarism in the Cold War era, my notion of the institutionalization of prostitution in colonial times is realized through the structured oppression of sexual behavior outside of a reproductive context, via medicalization and sexualization of the subjects of children, homosexuals, and prostitutes. Through the examination of the unreachable intimacies embedded in the colonial social relations are reflected in these two novellas, I want to further elaborate the consequence of this situation, or what I term the "love of exhaustion."

Being embedded in the project of modernity, the institutionalization of modern love intersects with the development of the capitalist system. I argue that the “love of exhaustion,” as shown in the novellas, reflects both the spiritual and corporeal exhaustion of colonial subjects, and more importantly, signals the ideological exhaustion of the empire road to modernity. Continuing the discussion of “Love Story,” the tension, conflict between ideal love, sexual desire, and modern everydayness explicitly embody this exhausted modernity. The first part of the novella consists of the protagonist’s various unpleasant experiences of witnessing the sexual intercourse of different animals (chickens, geese, and butterflies) from the age of ten. These experiences somehow evoked in him a sense of violence and cruelty, awakened within him an understanding of his own origin (how babies are born), and accelerated his (sexual) ripening (like a banana). The second part starts with the statement, “As I told you before, all I wanted was to be in love. I dreamed about nothing but experiencing love. That was my sole desire and ambition. Being a worthless cad, I had nothing so fine as hopes or ideals” (2007, 18). After this statement, we are ready to know more about his idea or experience with ideal love, and he started to talk about his sexual impulse and carnal desire toward an imagined ideal lover. He then became a bit embarrassed and uneasy for being so frank, and confessed that “I am a beast,” who deserves condemnation. Nonetheless, this self-condemnation is followed by a sharp critique of modernization:

However contemptible they are, beasts are not meant to be laughed at. First of all, they are not even worth laughing at. Moreover, my thought is this: If the earth were once again to be taken over by wild animals, it would actually be a desirable prospect. Please don't be angry; I'm not hoping for the demise of civilization.

What I mean is that humans today might benefit from wholly rejecting their lifestyles and cultures and returning to the natural state of wild animals. In truth, I feel an unspeakable revulsion when, for example, someone drapes a several-hundred-yen scarf, meant for show rather than keeping the cold at bay, off their shoulders. From the fact that the wearer doesn't even try to wrap it around his neck, but lets it hang down his back, it is immediately obvious that the scarves perform no essential function in staving off the cold. You're not bothered by such a sight? I feel nauseated when I see things like that. (Weng 2007: 20)

It is clear to see how Weng juxtaposes sexual desire and the frustration of living in the modern world here. The critique of civilization is connected to the rehabilitation of primitive sexual desire, which is despised by and oppressed by the notion of spiritual love; the latter seems to be in complicity with commodities and other modern technologies in daily life (radios, streetcars, airplanes).

Unreachable love and life in panic, with those dangerous technologies, bring Weng a strong *fin-de-siècle* consciousness that hints that the destruction of life will be not too far in the future. He clearly states, "I've been feeling for quite some time now that I'm unsuited to human life" (21); and "I swore to myself that if that second [that love comes to be realized] didn't take place by the very last instant of my thirtieth year, I would, without fail, bring my life to an end" (22); "At the core of my spirit, my unparalleled love for humanity is about to end its fermenting process and turn into a fierce contempt" (23). He is determined to be the tragic hero and dissociates himself from the prostitute by saying that "But my destruction has nothing to do with you" (21) for

their differences in ethnicity (north and south, cold and hot), age (“you're eighteen?”), “[by telling this] you slashed and pierced my chest” [22].)

I have mentioned that the figure of a “young prostitute from the North snow country [Hokkaido]” constantly shows up in Weng Nao’s writings during his stay in Tokyo. Considering the Japanese expansion into and the colonization of Hokkaido by the Meiji Restoration, the young woman from Hokkaido shares the state of being colonized and mobilized into a metropole, as is Weng Nao. However, the colonized people were divided into different categories on the basis of their social status. On the one hand, the colonized encountered one another in the metropole through the interrelationships structured with the objects and spaces of everyday experience. On the other hand, the differences in ethnicity, class, gender, and even age were the unsolved segregations that maintained the power relations between the colonizer and the colonized, and among the colonized as well. This clearly shows that love, which contains a false assumption of being free and equal to everyone, was not the answer but reinforced the power relations.

Yi Sang’s work is also a rigorous critique of colonial modernity in relation to exhausted love. Though the setting of “The Wings” is in Kyōngsŏng, the novella was written in his last year of chaos, infirmity and fatigue in Tokyo. Yi Sang’s utopian hopes once entrusted to Tokyo were disappointed upon his arrival in 1936:

I have made it to Tokyo finally. What a disappointment. It’s in fact a waste of a place. ...No matter where I go, nothing interests me! [The place is] surfaced with Western bad customs which are imported in a molecular formula; even worse than that, people treat them as authentic, which really makes me disgusted. I didn’t

expect Japan to be such a vulgar place. I was thinking that no matter what, Tokyo is different, but it's unworthy of the name.²¹³

Certainly it is entirely reasonable to read this essay as the inevitable encounter of the colonized intellectual with the colonizers' metropole, and it has happened many times.²¹⁴

Yi Sang, the *futei Senjin* (undocumented Korean) perhaps really was lost in the phenomenal Japanese heartland, hardly able to recognize the famous landmarks of modernity that he had pictured as being so much grander; he was "racialized," too, as a displaced subject of the empire. From the colonized's reckoning, the urban experiences produced by colonial modernity are emphatically not unifying, but rather dislocating, in both public and domestic realms. Henry Em's insightful reading of the novella suggests that "Wings" can be read as an allegory of how an entire generation of intellectuals sought to survive in a colonial setting by becoming entirely private, shielding themselves with self-deceptions until even that became impossible" (Em 1995: 105-6).

This state of mind is represented as what Yi symbolizes "the genius who ended up a stuffed specimen" in the opening paragraphs of the novella. The stuffed genius has exhausted his body and soul in daily colonial life, and "might even give up the life, bored to the bones by its ordinary events" (Yi 2001: 7-8).²¹⁵ According to Henri Lefebvre, every historical form of preindustrial society has a daily life but no everydayness. Preindustrial daily life is structured by natural cycles—day and night, weeks, months, seasons, and lifecycles—and framed by religious meanings and the predominance of use

²¹³ See: Yi, Sang. *Yi Sang Chŏnjip 2* (The Full Collection of Yi Sang 2), Seoul: Garam, 2007: 369-372.

²¹⁴ See: Kim, Yunsik. "Sŏul kwa Tong'gyŏng sai [Between Seoul and Tokyo]," *Yi Sang yŏn'gu* [Study on Yi Sang]. Seoul: Munhak sasangsa, 1997: 143-72.

²¹⁵ This suicidal tendency echoes with the ending of the novella. The last scene of "Wings" has been read as occurring on the roof garden of the Mitsukoshi Department Store, and has been considered to be an attempt at suicide. Lee Kyoung-hoon recently argues that the last scene of the novella actually happened on the street, not on the roof. (See: Lee, Kyoung-hoon. "Pakcheŭi chogamdo -isangŭi nalgaee taehan il koch'al [The Bird's-eye View of a Stuffed Genius: A Study on Yi Sang's "Wings"]," in *SAI* 8: 0, 2010: 197-220.)

values. For Marx, daily life in early capitalism was the working day organized on the production site.²¹⁶ In *Na*'s daily life, normal time is completely vacated, and any notion of the exchange value of money is denied. However, the interdependent relationships between labor, money, and commodities are the very relationships currently restructuring all of colonial society and its gender roles. One cannot live daily life without these mediations, nor can he achieve intimacy that is lacking by building a certain kind of social relation with another person through sexually-charged economic relationships. The only person who has a relationship with *Na* in the novella is the one who is "alienated from the strategies of love" (7), suggesting that *Na*'s own life is also alienated from colonial daily life.

As demonstrated above, the love of exhaustion is a sign for reflective thinking on colonial modernity. The colonized exhausted the form and material of being modern, and then there was no way out of the dead end. What the protagonists of "The Wings" and "Love Story" experienced in the space of modernity is merely exhausting confusion; neither the domestic/inner space can offer them comfort. These experiences of the colonial subjects resulted in a challenge to modernity and its imperialist ideology. The consequences of unreachable intimacies and exhausted love, as I will show in the following two sections, bring about the social phenomena of double suicide and same-sex love.

²¹⁶ See the discussions in Hutchison, Ray. *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications, 2010: 447.

4-3 Critical Love for the Nation (1): Double Suicide

The recent decadence such as suicide or double suicide of young male and female students is caused by the circulation of printed matter, such as romance novels, that does harm to social customs.

“Romance Novels and School Students”²¹⁷

The cause of the tragedy—pessimism. ...It is understood that Hong Ok-im loved unto death her schoolmate Kim Yong-chu who has been unhappily married to a scamp. The excessively sentimental novels of Japanese writers—in which the heroines are never happy unless they kill or commit suicide—are doing much harm to the educated Korean girls who have none too much to make their life prospects cheering.

Yun Chi-ho, “Diary”²¹⁸

“Modern love” and “new literature,” as we have seen in the discussions of previous chapters, were institutionalized in the process of modernization, and signified civilization. Literature of free/romantic love was one of the products of this socio-historical movement. However, if we look into the discourse on love and its reflection/representation in the public media, strikingly, journalism and criticism were intrigued by and divided into two derived fields: same-sex love and love/double suicide. Moreover, as shown in the extracts from the two colonial intellectuals, love and its literary production, double suicide, and same-sex love intersected with one another, and were targeted as “bad” influences on modern subjects/readers (i.e., New Women, schoolgirls and boys), and for bringing the society a pessimistic outlook on life. The consequences of promoting the liberation of women and marriage, free love, and new

²¹⁷ See: “Romance Novel and School Students,” in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 31, 1905.

²¹⁸ Yun, Ch'i-ho, *Yun Ch'i-ho Ilgi* [Yun Chi-ho's Diary. Seoul: Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, 1973: 351.

forms of social relationships were what I term “critical love,” which is embodied in the social phenomena of double suicide and same-sex love, as counter-discourses against the normative idea supporting intimate relationships in empire-building. By the same token, the temporalities of double suicide and same-sex love enable a queer reading of the colonial (straight) time—“a recursive vision of renewal as compared with a unidirectional, linear vision of progress” (Wenzel 2009: 41).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that double suicide and same-sex love explicitly coincided with the institutionalization of love. As Michel Foucault elaborates, “There are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised; resistance to power does not have to come from elsewhere to be real, nor is it inexorably frustrated through being the compatriot of power. It exists all the more by being in the same place as power” (Foucault 1980: 142). Accordingly, it is important to examine how double suicide and same-sex love embody the normative and non-normative ideas structured in the conception of modern love, as well as the conflict between the two. As I will show in this and the fourth section of this chapter, double suicide, on the one hand, was perceived as the ultimate form of sacred love, accusing the harmful traditions of marriage; on the other hand, it was criticized, for the people who conducted it indulged in carnal desire and their ignorance of human beings’ reproductive value. In a similar fashion, the societies granted a certain group of people (i.e., schoolgirls) same-sex love to keep young people away from sex, and celebrated a spiritual civilization, and at the same time, same-sex love was medicalized and regulated to authorize sex education among children and young people to promote hetero-reproductive relationships. These two social

phenomena, thus, are critical of the paradox and dilemma of the civilization process, and of the vital importance of being “exceptions” to secure normative intimate relationships.

Double Suicide as Anti-Colonial Resistance

To begin with the discussion of double suicide, let’s go back to the extracts listed at the beginning of this chapter and talk about the sources of those harmful romance novels and double suicide. Yun Chi-ho pointed out that the influence from the “excessively sentimental novels of Japanese writers” is one of the sources. Indeed, double suicide,²¹⁹ as Sonia Ryang highlights in her book, *Love in Modern Japan* (2014), “is a recurring theme in the genre of Japanese love stories ever since medieval times,” and the plot for the incidents is “coming in the form of a pre-existing, insurmountable obstacle for the lovers, such as parental disapproval or the impossibility of divorce” (Ryang 2014: 114). Based on the archives of the most important newspapers in colonial Taiwan and Korea—*Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* and *Tonga ilbo*—during 1895 to the 1910s, almost all the news reports on the incidents of double suicide featured Japanese in both *naichi* (lit. “inner lands,” mainland Japan) and *gaichi* (lit. “outer lands,” colonies in Taiwan and on the Korean peninsula). Stories and discourses of double suicides in colonial Taiwan and Korea started to appear frequently in the 1920s and 1930s.

My research data of *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* shows that in the late nineteenth century and early 1900s, news articles on the subject were mostly written by Japanese journalists or were reprinted Japanese news reports. Critiques on the social issue

²¹⁹ The terminology is also translated as “love suicide,” in keeping with the nuances of the Japanese terms of *shinjū* (hearts contained) and *jōshi* (love death).

associated double suicide with students and romance novels, saying that “[Those popular readings among young students,] the so-called romance novels, realist novels, and the life, the world-weary are nothing but obscene, frivolity.”²²⁰ While local journalists and writers focused on the issues of traditional marriage and urged people to be free from traditions,²²¹ they also criticized double suicide as being “the enemy of reproduction. ...it’s the consequence of being the slave of sexual desire,...and an act against the aim of ‘reproduction-ism.’”²²² These critiques clearly expressed the unstable social atmosphere of colonial Taiwan during the historical transition. Furthermore, double suicide gradually put the conflicts between the colonizer and the colonized on stage, and to some extent, it became racialized in the 1910s.

The first double suicide that occurred between colonizer and colonized—, between a Taiwanese man and a Japanese prostitute— happened in 1913 in Taipei, and it became a sensation in the colony. It was reported with the title, “Double Suicide with *Hontō Jin* (islander), First Time in Taipei’s History.”²²³ The racial hierarchy between the Japanese and the islanders of Formosa was strictly enforced in colonial daily life; the people lived segregated from each other in different residences and were also separate in brothels. This incident was also the first sensational double suicide that revolved around an islander, since people in the colony tended to consider double suicide as an “evil part” of Japan. A report on another double suicide occurred in 1919, between two islanders (a teacher and a female nurse), and it was titled “Double Suicide of Islanders, The Evil

²²⁰ See: “Concerning Students’ Behavior,” in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 21, 1906.

²²¹ For example: there were two pieces of literary writings that discussed the tragedies caused by traditional arranged marriage. See: “Wu, Shen-xiu,” in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, nov. 3, 1908: 7; and “Qingsi [Double Suicide],” in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, April 27, 1912: 3.

²²² Yushangren. “Qingsiguan [View on Double Suicide],” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May, 10, 1908: 3.

²²³ See: “Double Suicide with Hontō Jin (the islander), For the First Time in Taipei’s History,” in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Sep. 21, 1913: 7.

Aspect of *Dōka* (assimilation).”²²⁴ This tragedy, like many others, occurred because of the obstacles for the lovers: the man was married, the two were in a teacher-student relationship, and they had the same surname. In addition, the report highlighted another factor: they were influenced by the love story and suicide attempt of Japanese *shingeki* (新劇, lit. new drama) director Shimamura Hōgetsu (1871-1918), and the famous actress, Matsui Sumako (1886-1919).²²⁵ Later the double suicide of Japanese novelist Arishima Takeo (1878-1923) and his companion, a married reporter, Hatano Akiko (1894-1923), in 1923, became another Japanese source for critique as well.²²⁶

To criticize the “evil aspect of assimilation from Japan,” the public media articulated both spiritual and material aspects of Japanese culture by asserting that “People of the Mainland committed suicide to save face,”²²⁷ they were the people of dignity; in materiality, cultural production, such as “The Love Suicides at Amijima” (*Shinjūten no Amijima* 心中天の網島, 1721), in which they put too much effort into finding a suicide site, newspapers and literature put too much sympathy on the deceased, and therefore, double suicides have proliferated.”²²⁸ The public perception of double suicide as anti-Japanese assimilation in colonial Taiwan reflects the dilemma of colonial

²²⁴ See: “Double Suicide of Islanders, The Evil Aspect of Dōka.” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June, 25, 1919: 5.

²²⁵ Shimamura Hōgetsu was a married man, and he and Matsui Sumako were in a teacher-student relationship, too. They worked together in the *shingeki* theatre (presenting the works of Western writers such as: Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House*, Leo Tolstoy’s *Resurrection*) and were involved in an “unethical” relationship. After Shimamura died of flu on November 5, 1918, Matsui followed his death by hanging herself on January 5, 1919.

²²⁶ An article appeared in *Taiwan Minbao* that expressed an opinion on the incident: “Because ‘love’ is generated from ‘instinct.’ Only the full instinct can approach love. The ultimate form of ‘love’ is ‘death,’ after that the love can grow again, this is why he conducted double suicide.” The author further comments that Arishima was loyal to his instinct and performed the sacredness of love at the same time. But the author was still hesitant to appreciate this kind of behavior. (See: Bin. “The Double Suicide of Arishima Takeo,” *Taiwan Minbao*, August, 1, 1923: 4.)

²²⁷ From: “View on Suicide,” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July, 25, 1909: 6.

²²⁸ From: “Sites for Suicide,” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, March, 27, 1918: 7.

policy and the modernization project. Double suicide, on the one hand, shows the incoherence between the existing social relationships and the liberation of love, and arouses a backlash against the assimilation policy on the other. Colonial Korea, nevertheless, had a different reaction to the phenomenon.

Notwithstanding that colonial Korean society also considered double suicide to be “imported” from Japan, public debates on the subject did not see it as a target for blame; instead, New Women, again, were brought onto the stage of the debates. The general response to double suicide incidents in colonial Korea was concentrated on the “meaningless death of women,” who failed to contribute their lives to society.²²⁹ This is because the public debates on double suicide were mingled with individual suicide and companion suicide (*tongban jasal*). Between 1910 and 1942, the Government-General of Chōsen reported a total of 54,053 completed suicides among Koreans. Compared with the amount of suicide incidents, double suicide occupied only 0.19% and 0.7% of the total suicide numbers in the 1920s and 1930s. (Ch’on 2010: 231). Looking for more than a collation of raw numbers, the public media sought to explain how mental or emotional distress could be caused by physical and moral factors, challenging traditional interpretations, which insisted that suicide was a voluntary act. In addition, they also explored gendered explanations and societal stressors such as early marriage, male infidelity, financial losses, unrequited love, physical illness, and the like, which were said to trigger suicidal tendencies in people. At the same time, the pathologization of deviant behavior as a neurological disorder contributed to a broader discourse on suicide as a measure of social health, which placed people’s lives under increasing scrutiny. Suicide,

²²⁹ See the articles by SYS in *Tonga ilbo* on June 1926, October 1926, and April 1931; also Chon Pongkwan's discussions on the media representation of women's love suicides during the period (Chon, Pongkwan. *Kyongsong chasal kldb* [The Seoul suicide club]. Seoul: Sallim, 2008.)

thus, was a significant site for regulative ideas operating to construct the normative national/imperial subjects.

Against this backdrop, women became the target of social critique and regulation in the matter of suicide and double suicide.²³⁰ The role of women in the process of modernization and nation-building has been illustrated in Chapter 3. In the critiques of double suicide, women, mostly New Women, who emerged in the modern society to redefine traditional systems with the desire to love freely and live (financially) independently, but, were easily considered as menaces to the society. I will elaborate on this with the remarkable double suicide incident that occurred between a female soprano, Yun Sim-dök (1897-1926), and a married playwright, Kim U-jin (1897-1926).²³¹

Yun Sim-dök was the first female student who received a Government-General scholarship to study music in Tokyo, where she met and fell in love with Kim U-jin and gained her reputation as a soprano in Western music. When Yun returned to Korea in 1923, the public treated her as a scandalous celebrity and caused serious harm to her personal life and career. She was sexualized by the public media with commentaries like “Endless Beauty of Flesh and Sound of Voluptuous Coquetry,”²³² or reports that always focused on her personal life related to sexual relationships. When the double suicide occurred, the media circles viciously attacked her to the extent that she seemed to be an

²³⁰ For more discussions on the phenomenon of double suicide and its relations to the discourses on modern love and the critique of new women in colonial Korea, please see: Kwon, Bodurae, 2003: 185-193; and Suh, Ji-young, 2011: 251-266.

²³¹ For more detailed information of the incident in English, please see: Yoo, Theodore Jun. *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910–1945*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008: 1-3. I will focus on the figure of Yun Sim-dök in the following discussion.

²³² See: “Beauty of Flesh and Sound from Voluptuous Coquetry,” *Tonga ilbo*, August, 5, 1925.

unforgivable sinner for..., well, for any possible problem that troubled the society.²³³ As Theodore Jun Yoo elaborates, “On the one hand, her death was seen as a direct consequence of Japan’s colonial project, which had allowed her to succeed in her musical career, only to end in a meaningless death. On the other hand, the public was also critical of her selfish choices, especially her choice to pursue her own personal whims rather than using her talents to serve the Korean nation” (Yoo 2008: 2-3).²³⁴ In most of the double suicide cases among opposite-sexes, the female associates were usually single but involved with married men.²³⁵ They were of a lower social status compared to their companions, and worked in public spheres as *kisaeng*, café waitresses, nurses, and others. Yun Sim-dök, among them, had unusual popularity and a higher social status than her lover or many other male intellectuals in colonial Korea. This caused her to become a target for witch-hunts; whenever a society needs to rationalize the paradoxes or conflicts within the norms that maintain the social order, women like Yun are in a vulnerable state.

Female Same-sex love double suicide

Bearing in mind the gender inequality in dealing with double suicide, one may be curious: what is the situation of same-sex (love) double suicide? A search of the databases and archives brings up the Japanese term *dōsei shinju* and the Korean term *tongsǒngae chǒngsa*, both of which mean “same-sex (love) double suicide,” and which started to circulate in the public media of colonial Taiwan and Korea from the 1920s.

²³³ For example, the magazine *Sinmin* (New People) devoted the whole issue of no. 17 (September, 1, 1926) to discuss the incident. The issue consists of 16 people’s articles and critiques on various aspects of social issues and Yun Sim-dök.

²³⁴ See: Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea*, 2008: 1-3.

²³⁵ See: Ch’ŏn, Jǒng-wan. “Chǒngsa(情死), sarajin tongbanjasal [Double Suicide, the Disappeared Companion Suicide],” in *Naeirŭl yǒnŭn yǒksa* [The History Opens Tomorrow] 41, 2010: 233.

The terminology “same-sex love” first appears as the Japanese-coined Chinese character (*Wasei Kango*), *dōseiai* (同性愛), in 1920s Japan.²³⁶ Before *dōseiai* settled as the major term for same-sex love or desire, compounds like *dōsei no ai* (同性の愛), *dōsei no ren ai* (同性の恋愛), and *dōsei ren'ai ai* (同性恋愛) began to appear in the public media from the 1910s. These compounds replaced the existing terms like *nanshoku* (男色, male color/eroticism) and mainly referred to male-male relationships or sexual desire in the 1910s; later they were used to cover all sex/love relationships between same sex; and, notably in the 1930s, same-sex love became a specific term for female-female relationships and sex/love.²³⁷ The formation and transformation of Japanese *dōseiai* in many ways had its influence on the Korean concept of *tongsōngae* (동성애), and *tongxinai* (同性愛), in Chinese, which I will discuss in detail in the next section. To this point, it should be noted that the phenomenon of double suicide and the settlement of the term *same-sex love* attached to female-female relationships came together and made the terms *dōsei shinju* (同性心中) and *tongsōngae chōngsa* (동성 정사) for same-sex (love) oriented to double suicide female. In addition, double suicide was the key incident that brought female same-sex love to public attention in Japan in 1911, and similar cases in colonial Taiwan and Korea will be discussed later.

Back to the question of what the situation of double suicide of same-sex lovers is:

Almost all the reported incidents of same-sex couples/companions were female pairs.

²³⁶ According to Japanese Furukawa Makoto, it is not easy to determine when the compound *dōseiai* was used for the first time, but approximately in a sexological text in 1922. See: Furukawa, Makoto. “Dōsei ‘ai’ kō,” *Imago* 6:12, 1995: 201-207.

²³⁷ See: Furukawa (1995) and his “Sexuaritii no henyō: Kindai Nihon no dōseiai o meguru mittsu no kōdo.” *Nichibei josei jaanaru* 17, 1994: 29-55. For more discussions on the terminology of male-male relationships in Japan, please see: Gregory M. Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600–1950*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Accordingly, the critiques of female same-sex love/double suicide centered on “women questions,” and the regulation of modern female subjects. Furthermore, even nonsexual romantic friendships between women could potentially elicit the unnatural behaviour of mutual self-destruction. Misogyny, or the great fear of female sexuality, is a symptom of a society that is extremely male-dominated. The hegemonies of masculinity in colonial societies were employed by systemic misogyny, patriarchy, colonialism and racism. The interpretation/representation of female same-sex love/suicide appeared in Taiwan and Korea in the 1920s and 1930s and revealed the intersections of these systems.

Generally speaking, the reported female same-sex double suicide incidents featured diverse modern female subjects. The titles of related articles tended to highlight their professions, with examples such as “Double Suicide of Two Barmaids,” “Same-Sex Double Suicide of Prostitutes,” “Female Workers of Same-Sex Love,” “Female Nurses Suicide Attempt,” to name a few.²³⁸ Other categories included young women, schoolgirls, and married women. Furthermore, the causes of female same-sex double suicide represented in the public media concentrated on “marriage issues”: the women either wanted to escape from marriages or were unhappy in their marriages (because of an age gap with their husbands or quarrels with family members). On top of that, in Taiwan, in terms of the “naming,” a clear racial category was used to point to these female subjects. There were two racial terms used in double suicide reports that focused on Taiwanese cases; one was *hontōjin* (islander), mentioned above, and the other was *Banfu* (蕃婦, literally meaning: barbarian woman, referring to aboriginals). In the colonial period, the

²³⁸ The listed news materials are from: “Double Suicide of Two Barmaids,” *Sidae ilbo*, May 6, 1924; “Same-Sex Double Suicide of Prostitutes,” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 20, 1937; “Female Workers of Same-Sex Love,” *Tonga ilbo*, August 28, 1938; “Female Nurses Suicide Attempt,” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 29, 1932.

Government-General had a special governing policy for aboriginal tribes, because of the need to explore for raw materials in the mountains. Aboriginal people were considered to be “wild,” “fierce,” “barbaric,” and thus were more difficult to govern. The names of land, property, and people were attached to the Chinese character *ban* to refer to aboriginals. A news report titled “Banfu’s Same-Sex Double Suicide” describes two aboriginal females who were “considered to be beauties of a fierce tribe”; they conducted double suicide by hanging themselves in a house when their husbands went out hunting.²³⁹ The underlying implication of these exotic and erotic representations of aboriginal female subjects is that the aboriginal female was not only rendered marginal through a patriarchal system, but also had a twofold racial marginalization as not-Japanese and not-Taiwanese.

Compared to Taiwan, in colonial Korea the gender and class-related factors were stronger than the racial differences. The most representative and remarkable female same-sex double suicide incident in colonial Korea was the one of Hong Ok-im and Kim Yong-chu, which occurred in 1931; the following is an extract from a news report on this incident:

*At 4:45pm on April 8th, two young females threw themselves at a high-speed train at Kyungsung Yeongdeungpo Station and committed suicide. One of the victims was Hong Ok-im, a 21-year old student of Kyungsung Ewha School, her father is Doctor Hong; the other was Kim Yong-chu, a senior student of Tong-deok Girls Senior High School (married to the elder son of a wealthy family, her father is Kim Dong-jin, who runs a bookstore). The reason for their suicide is not clear.*²⁴⁰

The double suicide occurred between two educated young women from middle class background (one is single, daughter of a Doctor; the other is married to a soldier serves in air force, daughter of an intellectual). The incident occurred in 1931 in Korea, and

²³⁹ See: “Banfu’s Same-Sex Double Suicide,” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, April 16, 1931.

²⁴⁰ Extract from: “Ch’ōngch’unduyōsōngŭi Ch’ōltojasasagōn’gwa Kūbip’an [The Incident and the Critique of the Suicide of Two Youth Women],” *Shinnyōsōng* [New Woman] 5:4, 1931. 4: 30-38.

widespread media coverage facilitated and inspired a lot of discussions and writings related to suicide issues. Media circles later defined it as a “same-sex love double suicide,” and the cause of the tragedy are the pessimism of the one, and the unhappy marriage of the other. Nonetheless, critics drew more attention to its bad influence on teenagers and to the whole society, not the personal situation or private life of the young women. Criticism, compassion or condemnation of the incident converged on the following comments: the effect of individualism causes the decline of filial piety and righteousness; how can family and school function to prevent this kind of tragedy; critique of arranged marriage; ways for the prevention of mental illness; warnings of overlooking the problem of same-sex love and chastity. Other critiques were like that of social reformer Yun Chi-ho, who commented that “the cause of the tragedy—pessimism” and “the excessively sentimental novels of Japanese writers—in which the heroines are never happy unless they kill or commit suicide, are doing much harm to the educated Korean girls...” (Yun 1931).²⁴¹ Compared to the criticism on Yun Sim-dök’s double suicide, these two women received more commiseration than hostility. Nonetheless, these critiques are apt to connect the incident with all kinds of social institutions, but fail to grasp the core of it. The high visibility of female same-sex love double suicide reveals the society’s interest on women, for they were targeted as the site for the society to develop the regulative ideas. These incidents should be read, as Jennifer Robertson comments, based on her studies on Japanese same-sex love double suicide, “Lesbian double suicides and attempted suicides were predicated on—and both used and criticized as a trope for—a revolt against the normalizing functions of ‘tradition’ (*qua* the ‘Good Wife, Wise

²⁴¹ Yun’s opinion was shared by other public critiques, such as “Fictions devalue chastity: the praise of love suicide, same-sex love should not be allowed”, in *Tonga ilbo*, September 14, 1938.

Mother') as sanctioned by the civil code" (Robertson 2000: 65). The underlying logic of the discourses on love and women will be further problematized through the investigation on the idea of same-sex love.

4-4 Critical Love for the Nation (2): Same-Sex Love

While doing research on the discourses on same-sex love during the colonial period, I discovered that the general representation of the subject attaches it to double suicide and crime. On the one hand, death and crime are indeed particularly prone to arousing public attention; on the other hand, this kind of news representation also implies that this kind of love is doomed to failure and tragedy. As demonstrated previously, double suicide among men and women was one of the conundrums facing socio-historical transformation; it reflected the duality of emancipation-oppression of the modern conceptions such as "freedom" and "romantic love" in the name of civilization and social progress. The liberation of one will also create an object of oppression. Same-sex love emerged in a specific socio-historical context. What I want to highlight is that although romantic love was advocated by the whole society, not everyone was adequate for it. This shows how these emerging sexual subjects were designed as exceptions to set up and secure the reproductive sexual normativity for empire building.

The modern knowledge of sex or sexology was imported from Japan and European countries to Taiwan and Korea in the 1910s. Examples like Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886, translated into Japanese in 1913), Sakaki Yasusaburō's (1870-1929) *Seiyoku kenkyū to seishin bunsekigaku* (The Studies of Sexual Desire and Psychoanalysis, 1919) introduced same-sex love as sexual perversion

to East Asian societies. During the 1910s to the early 1920s, the Korean word compounds for same-sex love (*tongsŏngae*, *tongsŏngyŏnae*, or *tongsŏngganŭi sarang*) appeared to replace premodern terms like *namsaek* (男色, male color) were contested in the translations of those foreign works and used as references to same-sex love or homosexuality. (Shin 2006) In colonial Taiwan, most of the discussions on the subject appeared in newspapers or magazines written in Japanese. Thus, the Japanese term *dōseiai* was widely used, while materials written in Chinese were still using male-oriented terms like *jijian* (雞姦, sodomy), *nanse* (男色, male color), or *renyao* (人妖, fairy). From the second half of the 1920s to the 1930s, the term *same-sex love* stands out from others and was used mainly to refer to female same-sex love. It should be noted that the emergence of the term *same-sex love* does not realize the existence of the certain kind of subject or identity that we are more used to now, as homosexual or gay and lesbian. The emergence of the term, instead, represents the power of *naming*. To trace the temporality, language difference, and referents of the terminologies is to locate the socio-historical specificity as well as the diachronicity and the synchronicity of those modern concepts. These points can be observed from the following examples of colonial Taiwan and Korea.

To begin with, same-sex love was pathologized and medicalized when it emerged. Colonial Korean doctor Jeong Seok-tae once stated “what is called ‘sexual desire’ is basically between different sexes and doesn’t not exist between the same sex. When it happens between the same sex, everyone would identify it as a disease. It is called

‘sexual desire between same sex,’ or in other words, ‘same-sex love.’”²⁴² This kind of perception is very common among medical experts and also other intellectuals during that period. Taiwanese medical practitioner Wu Jian-san further characterized the “disease” as “people who contract same-sex love are all very sentimental, have weakness of will. In a word, they have a psychotic personality...this disease may cause long-term depression, paranoia, and even suicide attempts. ...Even by trying various correction methods, same-sex love still can not be cured, it is because it’s a disease.”²⁴³ The essay tends to detach same-sex love from the “subject,” creating a category of illness. The implication of these medical narratives is the absence of autonomy or agency of these ill or perverted subjects. This kind of medical narrative is complicit with various social institutions, such as pedagogy, family/marriage, and medical science, to name a few, to normalize “sex” as “a natural sexual desire between men and women.” It is clear to see that the aim of these discourses is to exclude diverse sexual forms from “heterosexual productive sex”; same-sex love, together with masturbation and sex diseases like syphilis, were viewed as related to sexual behaviors without reproduction and thus were no good to empire building and military power. Paradoxically, there was one part of colonial societies where same-sex love was permitted, which was the spiritual love between schoolgirls.

The perspective of same-sex love being exclusive to women joins the common ground. Especially in colonial Korea, this viewpoint can be seen in sayings such as “when talking about *tongsŏngae*, I think it’s more imaginable and reasonable to think of women. Though the strange and even pathological phenomenon can also be found

²⁴² See: Jeong, Seok-tae. “Seongyogui saengniwa simni - namnyeo yangseongui Seongyonggo [The Physicality and Mentality of Sexual Desire-Man and Woman’s Suffering of Sexual Desire],” *Pyŏlgŏn’gon* no. 19, Feb 1, 1929: 64.

²⁴³ See: Wu, Jian-san. “Dōseiai mo isshu no byōki [The Disease of Same-sex Love],” *Taiwan Fujinkai* [Women of Taiwan] 4:7, July 1, 1937: 127-128.

between men. [...] Today, I think the general impression is that *tongsŏngae* is an exclusive possession of women.” Writer Yi Seok-un forges this statement from his analysis of the female same-sex double suicides that happened around that time; his use of terms like (*sexual*) *perversion* shows his contacts with sexology. More interestingly, after the discussion of *tongsŏngae*, Yi introduced same sex culture in the Chosŏn dynasty in the second part of the essay, which was published two days later. He discussed the terms like *namsaek*, *oipchang* (womanizer) and their specific connotations in the Chosen dynasty.²⁴⁴ Writer and reformer Kim Yeo-je (1895-1968) wrote a long essay on same-sex love in 1937.²⁴⁵ In the major part of the essay, he discusses various countries’ (including Egypt, France, Germany, England, America, Italy and etc.) same-sex love culture and each society’s specific cultural context. With the diverse understanding of the subject, Kim discusses various “causes” of same sex love, and calls the public’s attention toward the issue.²⁴⁶ One interesting thing here is that he differs from Yi’s interests in exploring the cultural history of premodern *namsaek*; instead, Kim states

²⁴⁴ The original content is: “It is said that the flourishing of *tongsŏngae* reached its zenith in the Chosen period. It was known as *namsaek*, and in that period it served as a weapon and form of capital in the pursuit of success, like the practice of corrupt officials’ scheming to offer up their beloved wives to their superiors in exchange for bureaucratic advancement. Among the civil and military yang ban it was of course common practice, but even if one had no ability, by submitting to the thrall of *namsaek* one could easily obtain a coveted official appointment and so-called worldly success and fame. With respect to all this, I have no documents and cannot provide any concrete examples, but *namsaek* in the Chŏsŏn period was probably more or less on par with the ‘male sexuality’ that played such a great role in the culture of ancient Greece. In the Chŏsŏn period the term *o-ip-chang* referred not to men who chased after women but in fact to men who chased after men. We cannot help but be surprised that the term is said to have referred to men who engaged in such activity. In the future, after thorough study, I would like to write more about the interesting *tongsŏngae* among men in this period.” (Originally appeared in: Yi, Seok-un, “Tongsŏngae Mandam 2,” *Tonga ilbo*, 1932. Re-quoted from: Kim, Haboush. Ja Hyun, ed. *Epistolary Korea: Letters from the Communicative Space of the Chŏsŏn, 1392-1910*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009: 243-244.)

²⁴⁵ See: Kim, Yeo-je. “Tongsŏngyŏnae [Same-sex Love],” *Jogwang*, 1937: 286-294.

²⁴⁶ Like many other intellectuals, Kim tends to mobilize all kinds of modern social institutions to work on the issue by stating that “simply condemning *tongsŏngyŏnae* as a dirty custom or darkness of the fin de siècle is our attitude. But I think trying to study the subject with scientific ways and treat it with a fair attitude is necessary. Parents, needless to say, and educators, religious, scholars of law, intellectuals and writers should understand the issue better” (Ibid., p. 294).

that “considering that we still can see that the words *namsaek* and *tongsŏngyŏnae* also exist in our society, the malady of the unsolved problems can be presumed.”²⁴⁷ He states that “though it is a fact that *tongsŏngyŏnae* is the expression of human nature, for the full development of male and female both sexes and the balance of sexual life, the anti-social instinct like *tongsŏngyŏnae* is, no matter what, needed to be ruled and converted, we have to keep working hard for this.”²⁴⁸

As discussed in the previous chapter, the transformation of sexual desire from carnal to spiritual influences the discourse and construction of the concept of love in early twentieth-century East Asia. The modern form of social relationships, the ideas of equality and modern love have influenced the understanding of same-sex love/desire since the 1910s. The supersession of sexual-cultural terms like *namsaek* and *nanse* (male-male eroticism) and *tongsŏngae* (female-female love) embodies the specificity of the references of language and subject during this period and requires special consideration for our discussion. Also, the governmentality of sex and the emergence of modern sexual subjects are indispensable for better understanding of the discourse on same-sex love. The normalization of love, sexual desire and the female sex and body are of great significance too. These are very apt to further discussion of the representation of same-sex love in the public media and literary world in colonial Taiwan and Korea, as follows below. Due to the limit of archival materials, the discussion of the representation of male same-sex love will focus on the texts of colonial Korea.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

Male Same-Sex Love in Colonial Korean Literary Circles

Before the representation of female same-sex love occupied the sphere of the public media in the 1930s, male same-sex love had begun to engage explicitly with literary writings in the 1910s. In its substance, the literary works that I am going to discuss below are not quite as same-sex oriented as the emergent term *tongsŏngae* and its female representations. As discussed in previous sections, literary writings by colonial intellectuals only began to engage with the notion of “love” in the 1910s. But scholarship in the field demonstrates that the discourse on love was underwritten by two political impulses that paralleled the debates about love. The first of these impulses arose out of critiques of traditional social relationships (i.e., the Confucian social order). Marriage and family were targeted for reform for the liberation of modern individuals. The second impulse was to cultivate the individual for the civilization project by enhancing spiritual love while diminishing physical desire. Love was pure, sex was for reproduction; the regulation of both soul and body served to promote nation building. Thus, as we can see below, the “love” between the male protagonists in the fictions had nothing to do with sexual desire: s it was about spiritual caring, or as they termed it, *tongchŏng* (동정, sympathy), and love was always an incomplete project.

The most prominent writer of modern Korean literature, Yi Gwang-su, produced several short pieces of fiction with same-sex love content in the 1910s.²⁴⁹ Together with other students who were studying abroad, it was a period when people were forced to act

²⁴⁹ These works include: “Ai ka [Maybe Love],” *Shirogane gakuhō* no. 19, Meiji Gakuin, 1909: 35-41. Mujeong, *Maeil Shinbo*, 1917. 1-6. “Sonyŏnŭi Piae [Sorrow of Youth],” *Ch’ŏngch’un* no. 8, 1917. 6. “Ōrinbŏsege [To Young Fellows],” *Ch’ŏngch’un* no. 9&10, 1917. 7-11. “Panghwang [Losing One’s Way],” *Ch’ŏngch’un* no. 12, 1918. 3. “Yun’gwangho [Yun Gwang-ho],” *Ch’ŏngch’un* no. 13, 1918. 4: 68-82. “H Kunege [To H],” *Ch’angjo* no. 7, 1920. Some of them are recognized by literary critic Kim Dong-in as featuring same-sex love. See: Kim, Dong-in. “Ch’unwŏnn yŏn’gu [Studies of Yi Gwang-su] 2,” *Samch’ŏlli* 6:8, August 1934: 146-149.

upon a world that was changing them, and they embodied the struggle and the experience of interiority in literary practices. Most of the characters in the literary works produced around this time were all young men who suffered unhappy childhoods, and the trauma turned into sorrow and loneliness (Hatano 2008: 303), and the remedy was usually symbolized as companionship, friendship, or love. Kim Yun-sik (1979, 2001) commented on the features in Yi Gwang-su's works as "the consciousness of orphan" and "the symptom of being hungry for love," which seemed to be the shared experience of the young people in Yi's generation. Nonetheless, one might ask what the role of "same-sex love" in their writings was?

To this question, Paek Ak in his short fiction "Tears of Sympathy" (*Tongchǒngui nu* 동정의 누, 1920) responds that "[I]n the relationship of me and B, there is an attraction of love, we spiritually comfort each other. Even when we cannot see each other for just one day, the thought of seeing the other would get stronger and the mind would be confused. I just feel sorry about B's situation and express my sympathy, and B feels my sympathy and love, he accepts them and his love towards me naturally grows and it's just simply like this. But from a third person's view, our relationship would just be called same-sex love" (p. 79). Among literary works depicting the "love" between men, Paek's is the only one mentions the term *same-sex love*, and, as expressed above, it is meant to be replaced by a broad idea of love and *tongchǒng*. As Yi Jeong-suk argues, "for the difficulty of the nation, the emotional solidarity that enables '*tongchǒng*' is necessary, and it is stabilized and realized by the relationship of 'same-sex lover' in the form of 'friendship'" (Yi 2007: 371). Yi puts up this argument by the examination of several literary works by Paek Ak, Yi Gwang-su, and others, with which he highlights the

tongchǒng as a rhetoric device for the fulfilment of enlightenment, and that coincides with same-sex love to discover the spirit of nation.

Tongchǒng certainly resonated with the idea of spiritual civilization in the 1910s. Yi Gwang-su once expressed his thoughts on the subject thus: “What is called *tongchǒng* is that my body and mind concern the other’s position and situation, also that person’s thought and behaviour. In fact, in the human beings’ noble equalities it’s the most noble one.” “*Tongchǒng* is in direct proportion to the development of spirit (which is the development of humanity...) the higher the development of spirit, individual or nation would have rich thought of *tongchǒng*, or the contrary.”²⁵⁰ Korean literary critic Seo Yǒng-ch’ae argued that the emphasis of *tongchǒng* shows that “Yi tries to connect his protagonists’ inner struggles with the passion of enlightenment to save Chōsŏn people in need and hunger” (Seo 2004: 167). And Kim Hyeon-ju (2004) further argued that the politics of *chǒng* (feeling) and *tongchǒng* in modern Korean literature was not just for the imagination of the new subjects (the individual and the nation), but also for the imagination of the meaning of a new culture and literature, and revolt against the colonial power. However, if we go back to the problem of the role of same-sex love, its catastrophic nature, which was concealed by the face of *tongchǒng*, embodied the foreshadowing of the incomplete project of the civilization and nation building.

Yi Gwang-su’s inter-textual short fiction, “Maybe Love” (1909) and “Yun Gwangho” (1917), are evident cases of this incomplete love. Scholarship on these short novels elucidates their colonial complexity with a close reading of the racial dimension (Kwon 2015: 6; Treat 2011: 318; Yi 2007: 374) and the ambivalence of colonial intellectuals (Lim 2010: 237). This scholarship highlights how the racial differences

²⁵⁰ See: Oe Bae [Yi Gwang-su]. “Tongchǒng [Sympathy],” *Ch’ōngch’un* no. 3, 1914: 57-63.

between Koreans and Japanese brought about an imbalanced flow of desire,²⁵¹ while the Korean youth embraced and at the same time resisted the colonial desire, which is a mixed feeling of being civilized while colonized. Mungil and Gwangho's (the colonized) love and surrender toward Misao and P (the colonizer), to a great extent embodies Frantz Fanon's notion of the mentality of the Man of Color to become a white man²⁵² and/or as Ashis Nandy (1983) terms it, the "intimate enemy" of two men in opposite colonial positions and the reflection it entails from self-colonization. However, the colonial ambivalence demonstrated by these works is obscured by their same-sex theme. The reception of "Yun Gwangho" shows the disapproval of the features of same-sex love and lost love (*shillyŏn*), which is presented as a result of suicide, by the people at that time. Pak Yeong-hui clearly identifies the story as lost love from a man (*namsaek*), not a woman, and compared to the sadness of lost love, the "unpleasant atmosphere of *namsaek*" is more curious.²⁵³ Yi Gwang-su himself also clarified this point, saying that though "Yun Gwangho" is based on a true story, for the protection of the person's reputation, he avoids revealing his identity.²⁵⁴ These comments show that, on the one hand, same-sex love was patently recognized by the readers, and on the other, it had already gained its notoriety in the late 1910s. Its catastrophic nature, along with the

²⁵¹ The beauty of the appearance and voice of Misao and P causes Mungil and Gwangho's inferiority. The background of these short pieces is a school in Tokyo. Misao in "Ai Ka" is clearly identified as a Japanese, while P in Yun Gwangho is not racially identified. I follow Yi Seong-hui's (2005) observation to identify P as possibly Japanese due to his physical superiority over Yun Gwangho here. However, one might argue that the other pair, Kim Chunwŏn and a young Japanese man, is presented as an opposite example in the fiction: Chunwŏn was a "beautiful boy" (*bishōnen*), whom the young Japanese man crazily fell in love with. In both cases, beauty in appearance wins over talents, while the former is inherent and the later is acquired. I tend to read this as a racial symbol.

²⁵² "By loving me [a white woman] proves that I am worthy of white love. I am loved like a white man. I am a white man." See: Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*, New York: Grove, 1968: 63.

²⁵³ See: Pak, Yŏng-hŭi. "Munhaksangŭro Pon Yigwangsu [Yi Gwang-su through the Lens of Literature]," *Kaebŏk* no. 55, January 1, 1925: 86.

²⁵⁴ See his statement in: Yi, Gwang-su. "Nae Sosŏlgwa Model [The Model of My Novels]," *Samch'ŏlli* 6, May 1, 1930: 64.

suicidal tendencies of the protagonists symptomize the desperate state of mind of colonial intellectuals, while it generates the reflectiveness, and as John Treat nicely puts it, “an introspective change in the protagonist’s character, and with it the manufacture of a modern, interiorized self” (Treat 2011: 320).

Representation of Female Same-Sex Love in Media and Literature

The literary writings that depict female same-sex love were mostly written by male writers. Contrary to the purely spiritual way in which male writers wrote about male-male relationships in the literature discussed above, the depiction of female same-sex relationship by male writers was related to eroticism. For example, in Yi Gwang-su’s *Heartless* (*Mujŏng* 無情, 1917), Wŏr-hwa, who is a famous *kisaeng*, became the female protagonist Yŏng-ch’ae’s mentor when the latter had to sell herself to save her family. The two became intimate, and “Once, when Wŏr-hwa and Yŏng-ch’ae came back from a party late at night, and had gone to bed together in the same bed, Yŏng-ch’ae put her arms around Wŏr-hwa in her sleep, and kissed her on the mouth. She laughed to herself. ‘So you have awakened as well,’ she thought. ‘Sadness and suffering lie ahead of you.’ She woke Yŏng-ch’ae. ‘Yŏng-ch’ae, you just put your arms around me and kissed me on the mouth.’ Yŏng-ch’ae buried her face in Wŏr-hwa’s breasts, as she though were ashamed, and bit her white breasts. ‘I did it because it was you,’ she said.”²⁵⁵ Yi Gwang-su employs female-female eroticism to replace Yŏng-ch’ae’s sexual desire toward

²⁵⁵ See the translation in English: Lee, Ann Sung-hi. *Yi Kwang-su and Modern Korean Literature: Mujong*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell East Asia Program, 2005: 148. For more discussions on Yi Gwang-su’s writings’ depiction of same-sex relationships, please see: Han, Sŭng-ok. “Tongsŏngaejŏk kwanjŏmesŏ pon mujŏng [Mu Jung in Homosexual Standpoint],” *The Journal of Korean Fiction Research* 0: 20, 2003: 7-29. Writer Yi Hyo-seok also depicts the female-female eroticism in the novella “Wild Apricots.” (See: “Kaesalgu [Wild Apricots],” *Chogwang* 24, 1937.) For other depictions on schoolgirls’ same-sex love in colonial Korea, please see: Ko, Bŏm. “Yŏjaŭi ilsaeng [Life of a Woman] 2,” *Pyŏlgŏn’gon* 32, 1933: 36-37; and Yi Gwang-su. “Aeyogŭi p’ian [The Other Shore of Sexual Desire],” *Chosŏn ilbo*, 1936.

men.²⁵⁶ Xu Kun-quan, in his *The Way of Soul and Flesh* (*Lingrouzhidao* 靈肉之道, 1935), depicts the erotic relationship between a female doctor, Lin, and a former barmaid, Meizi, in a more implicit manner: “Doctor Lin treats her [Meizi] in a special way... In the night, they sleep together, chat under the quilt.”²⁵⁷ Though without the erotic episode that happened between Wör-hwa and Youn-chae, Doctor Lin and Meizi “fell into the sea of same-sex love,” and their relationship was juxtaposed with Meizi’s sexual experiences in the past. The male writers took the middle way to replace carnal desire between men and women, which has been erased in modern literature and love, with female same-sex eroticism. Despite that, many more representations of female same-sex love place emphasis on the spiritual relationship.

The representations of female-female relationships in colonial Taiwan were mostly found in the news reports or anecdotes in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*. Though it is very difficult to locate the background of the reporter and the reported, I will analyze some of cases without seeing them as overarching or representative entities. Overall, regardless of the attitude of the reporter, these reports engaged with the issues of love, sex, and double suicides that were widespread in the era. One article titled “Inconceivable Same-sex Love,” published in 1917, began with a commentary on various kinds of love, and mentioned the popularity of female-female same-sex love in different social classes:

There are different kinds of love; some are tranquil or even ordinary, while others are dizzying, crazy without reason. And same-sex love is in the extreme among the irrational, unnatural kind of love. Compared to heterosexual love, male-male,

²⁵⁶ Right before the depiction of same-sex eroticism between the two women, there is a description: “Yōng-ch’ae had also begun to feel a longing for the male sex. Her face grew hot when she faced a strange man, and when she lay down alone at night, she wished that there was someone who would hold her” (Lee 2005: 148).

²⁵⁷ See: Xu, Kun-quan. *Lingrouzhidao* [The Way of Soul and Flesh]. Taipei: Qianwei, 1998[1935]: 287.

female-female same-sex love are more profound; love between female comrades is deep and strong to the extent that it only ends with death, female comrades often step on the road to double suicide. Such irrational love occupies one part of today's society; it exists not only between well-educated classes or young woman, but also the women in brothels.²⁵⁸

The article continues to introduce a couple, though not same-sex, reversed traditional gender temperament and division of labor. The female subject in the report is a masculine breadwinner, who is doing different kinds of jobs in the street and earns a decent living, and often spends money on "buying women." The attitude of the reporter toward the case is fairly positive (saying the case is "interesting") without enforcing moral or pathological judgments on it. Another earlier report titled "Husband and Wife of Female Comrades" holds a similar attitude towards a female-female couple:

Since the creation of the world, men and women fell in love with each other as a matter of course. However, men in Taiwan are like the autumn sky...not constant in love, it's difficult to marry a man who is honest and with efforts to support a family. Motoko and Hanako, who work in the teahouse in Daitōtei Six Hall Street were not old acquaintances, and rarely talked to each other. But because of working in the same place, being on the same boat, the love feeling between the two gradually grew and soon they fell in love. After the two took the teahouse, people acknowledged the husband-wife relationship of the couple. They treated each other with the courtesy of husband and wife, mutually promised to keep

²⁵⁸ See: "Kushiki dōsei no ai [Inconceivable Same-sex Love]," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, August, 26, 1917: 7.

chastity, will not change when their hair grows white, and will live in the same place, die in the same hole.²⁵⁹

As shown in the reports, the tendency to naturalize heterosexual relationships treats those non-normative relationships as exceptions. However, we also see the possibility of the existence and progression of these relationships in colonial Taipei. Yet the subjects in the reports are seemingly independent from the kinship system, without any contractual relationship, and are all economic individuals.²⁶⁰ These reports may suggest a possible condition for nurturing the non-normative relationships, or it could be that the governmentality of people's lives was still in a transition period. In any case, these kinds of reports on same-sex relationships disappeared later,²⁶¹ and were replaced by the discourse of double suicide and sex education, regardless of gender, race, class, or regional differences. The representation of diverse sexual subjects was transformed into a polarity of perversion and norm.

On the other hand, the representation of female same-sex love concentrated on schoolgirls. The notable special issue on "Stories on Same-Sex Love of Female

²⁵⁹ See: "Jo dōshi no fūfu [Husband and Wife of Female Comrades]," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, December 21, 1899: 7.

²⁶⁰ The two figures are popular Japanese female names. Based on the information offered in the article, the location (the specific district in Taipei) and the profession (bar, teahouse waitress), these women very possibly emigrated from mainland Japan. On the one hand, based on the survey of Taiwan's *kyōkai kaihō*, before the 1900s, many of the single Japanese women in Taiwan were engaged in the businesses of prostitution or teahouses (as barmaids). On the other hand, the Government-General instituted a project of city planning in 1905, and the district of Daitōtei (Da dao cheng in Chinese pinyin) mentioned in the article was so called "the street of islanders," and thus, most of the Japanese inhabiting this district were of the lower class.

²⁶¹ Some interesting exceptions I found are about the reports on "wedding ceremonies" of female couples. In Korea, an article titled "The Nonsense in the Wedding Ceremony of the Bridegroom and Bride of Same Sex" in 1932, which is about a same-sex wedding ceremony of two married women. In Taiwan, "Female Husband and Wife" depicts love stories of a woman, who was of a higher social class, and after some failed relationships, she settled down with another woman and held an open wedding ceremony. Though the reporters took the cases as "nonsense" and "shameful" examples in these two articles, it was very rare to see these kinds of examples in the public media. See: "Tongsōngūi Shillang, Shinbuūi Kyōrhonshigesō Saenggin Nōnsensū [Same-Sex Groom and Bride, the Wedding Ceremony of Nonsense]," *Yōin Ch'angsanho*, 1932. 6. Reprinted in *Kilbakesang*, 2001: 107. A similar case can be found in Taiwanese media. See: "Nufufu [Female Husband-and-Wife]," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, August, 15, 1927: 4.

Celebrities,” which was published in 1930 in *Pyŏl kŏn'gon* magazine, featured four New Women, including Hwang Sin-dŏk, a journalist; Hŏ Yŏng-suk, a gynecologist and Yi Gwang-su's wife; Yi Dŏk-yo, a Christian woman activist; and an anonymous fourth (readers can only tell the first and last characters of her name from the text, Ryu xx-jun).²⁶² These New Women were interviewed on their “past” experiences of “same-sex love” in their high school years, and the text was organized as a first-person narrative of each interviewee. In their narratives, same-sex love was a common shared experience and trend in the women's school days, emerged from sympathy and caring for each other, as is told by Hwang Sin-dŏk and Hŏ Yŏng-suk:

Hwang: There should be no one who has not experienced same-sex love in a girl's school period. I myself had experienced it many times. When recalling it, there were a lot interesting things. I was very close to a friend from Pongch'ŏn when studying in Sung-ŭi School. The friend was an orphan and lived in poverty. It might be the sympathy toward her situation in the beginning and then the seedling of love emotion grew. When I found something delicious at home I thought about her and wanted to share with her; when her face came into my mind on the way to school in the morning, I would speed up my pace; when she had to return to hometown during the winter vacation and we couldn't see each other for two weeks, both of us cried in sorrow in the train station; after her return to home, every time I went to church I felt so lonely that I skipped church many times. This is my very first experience of same-sex love, from then on, though I was very close to many other friends, I never experience this kind of pure love.

²⁶² See: “Yŏryumyŏngsaŭi tongsŏngyŏnaegi [Stories on Same-Sex Love of Female Celebrities],” *Pyŏl kŏn'gon* 5:11, 1930: 120-124. In the article, the middle character of the name Ryu xx-jun is veiled.

Hō: I had many experiences of same-sex love when studying in Jin-myōng School at around 14-15 years old, as many others did. When I was studying in Paehwa Girls School, I had many interesting experiences with the wife of a current professor in Central General High School named Kim Kyōng-hŭi. [...] Since she lived in the dormitory and I was at home, we could only meet once a week in the church. Wait and wait till the day came, we were so happy and had lots of things to talk to each other about when we met. [...] One more person was a senior named Pae Yōng-sun in the Jin-myōng School. She was very adorable to me. [...] One day when I heard the *ōn-ni* that I deeply loved was in love with another person, I became so angry that I seized the *ōn-ni*²⁶³ cried out loud and said to the *ōn-ni* that if she doesn't break up with the person I shall die. Anyway, I was extremely jealous. Also, when the *ōn-ni* got married, I was so heart broken that I wailed bitterly.²⁶⁴

There are several points repeated in Hwang and Ho's narratives: the popularity of same-sex love in girls' schools,²⁶⁵ the purity of the love, the scenes of the girls' dormitory and church. These points explicitly illustrate what I have argued previously: the Western

²⁶³ The term *ōn-ni* (언니) literally means older sister in Korean; it often signifies the intimate relationship between two females outside kinship.

²⁶⁴ From: "Yōryumyōngsaūi tongsōngyōnaegi [Stories on Same-Sex Love of Female Celebrities]," *Pyōl kōn'gon* 5:11, 1930: 120-122.

²⁶⁵ The schools mentioned here are missionary schools established between 1903 and 1906, which were the pioneers of modern education for women. The same-sex love culture in girls' schools is common knowledge (See: "Yōhaksaeng Sūk'ech'I [Sketch of School Girls]," *Yōsōng*, July 1937). Many articles describing the culture can be found in the media. For example, Im Yeong-gil, a dormitory-matron of Sookmyung Girls' High School once mentioned that girls who were in same-sex love would go to the bath together. (See her statement in the article in: *Samch'ōlli* 11:7, June 1, 1939: 175.) And this statement: "Love- This thing is mainly between schoolgirls, also the students in the dormitory. In their relationships, the one who tends to be masculine would be called *jakpae* (짝배 partner, companion) in this kind of love. The author listed several schools' names to show its popularity. To speak of it with a fashion term would be what is called *tongsōngae*." (in "Soch'un, Yottaeūi Chosōnshinnyōja," *Shinnyōsōng*, 1923. 11.)

Christian concept of love impacts the discourse of love in early twentieth-century East Asia and sets apart spiritual love from physical desire or sexual behaviour as a symbol of civilization. A conspicuous repression of physical desire or sexual behaviour can be observed in Ryu's narrative. Ryu's story is similar to the others, mentioning life experiences in a girls' school, scenes in the dormitory, and the mixed emotion of love and sympathy. However, Ryu revealed a detail of her past experience that disgusts her:

The way she likes me, compared to my love toward her, is somehow scarier. It's not about P's face or body, or her love; to me, it's just about her hand. In the night or day time, when I looked at her hand, I suffered from fatigue because it looks so scary and creepy that I couldn't bear it. In the night, before we sleep together, when her hand came to me, it just made me feel like a big snake attacking me, so it's very creepy and scary. Even now when thinking about her, the hand comes to my mind first. The hand and foot (of one person) are so ugly that there was no love between couples; it's truly just like this kind of people. Oh my, her hand!

Ryu, even though she did not expose her full name, had the longest text and told about more negative things than the others. The problematic "hand" raises the question of the repression of physical desire here. At the end of Ryu's narrative, she stated that the hand she experienced in the past was more scary than a "devil's hand" in a movie. One can easily connect the hand with sexual behaviour between two females and tells how Ryu evilized and disavowed it.

These New Women's practice of same-sex love was located in Christian schools and churches and thus has its socio-historical specificity.²⁶⁶ Female intellectuals (i.e., New Women) in the colonial time played an extremely complex social role. They

²⁶⁶ For more discussions on same-sex love between new women, please see: Suh Ji-young, 2011: 213-222.

embodied the hope that knowledge can bring individuals (and even the nation) toward civilization, in which the experience of love is one of the ways to release individuals from traditional social relations and toward the project of modernization. However, this embodiment also engendered New Women, such a new modern subject, as a cultural construction, and to many extents became a site for the display of knowledge-power. The text above shows both the construction (the experience of love) and the destruction (the experience has gone for good) of the self. One should ask why is that pure love never experienced again?

On top of the similar elements in their narratives/stories, the experiences of same-sex love all started and ended in a certain period: girls' high school days. In contrast to the “sustainable,” “reproductive” heterosexual relationship, the “period,” “spiritual” same-sex love relationship is meant to be a “backward glance,” as we see the remarkable pervasiveness of the memorial mode of narrating same-sex love that Fran Martin (2010) discovers in contemporary Chinese representations. Female same-sex relations in youth are represented as both cherished (mostly celebrating its pure emotion) and forcibly given up (to be qualified as a citizen in adulthood). Accordingly, while this narrative encodes critical queer agency, its proliferation also reflects the social prohibition on adult lesbianism. Looking at the special issue again, Ho remembered her failure to maintain or argue for the relationship with the *ōn-ni* when the latter got married, and Ho had nothing to do but think about death, while she herself also married Yi Gwang-su. Hwang, in the same manner, advocated love between husband and wife in another interview published earlier than this issue. Most same-sex love practitioners “gave up” the pure love and moved on to the next stage of their lives. One might ask: what if they wanted to keep the

relationship and fight against the mainstream expectation? The answer is not a positive one, at least in public records; what we can find are tragic examples, such as the double suicide committed by Hong Ok-im and Kim Yong-chu in 1930. The inconvenient truth of this social problem is that the “impossibility of the futurity” of same-sex love, which is the opposite of what Lee Edelman terms “reproductive futurism,” is a political notion about the future, while queerness “should and must redefine such notions as ‘civil order’ through a rupturing of our foundational faith in the reproduction of futurity” (Edelman 2004: 16-17).

The “impossibility of the futurity” reflecting from double suicide and same-sex love shows the limit of free love; on the one hand, the freedom is conditional and restricted to spiritual love, and on the other hand, love can only be fulfilled when carried on in a reproductive relationship. The narrative content of these same-sex love and suicide stories offers possibilities for resistance, not only through the women’ nostalgia for their youth and their refusal to grow up, but also through the tragedies (death, suicide) that are repeated in every story. This excessive dysphoria can be considered, not as passivity (or internal prohibition) but as resistance through repetition for subaltern voices.

CONCLUSION

*knowledge of the oppressor
this is the oppressor's language
yet I need it to talk to you*
____ Adrienne Rich, "The Burning of Paper Instead of Children."²⁶⁷

5-1 Return to the Colonial Present

During my research on the dissertation project, I have witnessed several cultural events that occurred in 2012 related to the issues of language and sexuality in Taiwan and South Korea. In April of 2012, the Tainan District Court passed a judgment against a prominent Taiwanese nativist writer, Huang Chun-ming (1935-), who was sued by a professor of Taiwanese Literature, Chiang Wei-wen, for Huang's public verbal assault against him. The incident happened on May 24, 2011, when Huang was delivering a speech, "Discussion on Writing and Education of the Taiwanese Language" at the National Museum of Taiwan Literature. During the speech, Chiang, in the audience, protested by holding aloft a banner declaring "Shame on a Taiwanese writer for writing in the Chinese language instead of using Taiwanese." Taken aback by the anger and the rude interruption, Huang, a highly-respected writer at the age of seventy-six, responded with a verbal attack, and later was sued by Chiang. During the martial law period (1949-1987), the Taiwanese language was forbidden by the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party; KMT) government, and Chinese Mandarin became the "National Language" (*guoyu*) of the island; more recently, the resurgence of the Taiwanese language in Taiwan is

²⁶⁷ The poem was written in 1971, later collected in: Rich, Adrienne, Barbara C. Gelpi, and Albert Gelpi. *Adrienne Rich's Poetry: Texts of the Poems: the Poet on Her Work: Reviews and Criticism*. New York: Norton, 1993[1975].

evidently tied to the rising Taiwanese nationalism endorsed by the Democratic Progressive Party (DDP). The conflict between the two ideologies has been intensifying in the past decade. Chiang, as an extreme promoter of the Taiwanese language, couldn't bear Huang's constant critique of the education or movement of the Taiwanese language. In the keynote speech, Huang argued that the current advocacy for writing and education in the Taiwanese language is blinded by its nationalistic ideology, for its political tendency without considering the historical and hybrid linguistic condition of the Taiwanese people.

Coincidentally, an artistic performance regarding the hybrid and complex linguistic condition in Taiwanese history appeared in the same year. Taiwanese artist Chu Chun-teng (1982-) presented the mixed media installation, "My Name is Little Black" (*Wo jiao xiao hei* 我叫小黑, 2012), to represent the complexity of the linguistic history of Taiwan. In the installation, there were 8 loudspeakers surrounding a caged bird, "Little Black," a native Taiwanese Crested Myna (a speaking bird) trained to mimic human speech. Every 15 seconds, each loudspeaker would play the phrase "My name is Little Black" in different languages; the total of 25 languages ranged from Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish, Japanese, Korean, English, South Asian languages, to local Taiwanese, Hakka, Chinese Mandarin, and the languages of aboriginal tribes in Taiwan. The artist intended to experiment with the question, "Can "Little Black" learn all these languages?"²⁶⁸ With this question, the artist reflected on the geopolitical influences from different countries and the on-going debates of Taiwanese (linguistic) identity.

²⁶⁸ Wu, Jia-shuan. "Taiwan! Taiwan! And the Solo Exhibition of Chu Chun-teng: My Name is Little Black," *Artitude* 30, March 2012: 120-121.

Meanwhile, if the issue of language stirred up turbulence in the cultural realm in Taiwan in 2012, it was the issue of “love” that took the same place in South Korea. In the middle of 2012, a musical performance titled *K’ongch’ilp’al Saesamnyuk* (콩칠팔 새삼륙, literally meaning “gossiping for trifles”) debuted in Seoul, with the theme of the incident of the female same-sex double suicide that happened in 1930s Kyōngsōng which I have discussed in Chapter 4. According to an interview with the writer and the composer, the musical was inspired by the “verdant and pure love” they found in the incident, and the work does not aim to make any social statement, but presents a story about “just, love.”²⁶⁹ Interestingly, later in the same year, in the *Korean Standard Dictionary*, the definition of “love” (*sarang* 사랑) was revised by The National Institute of the Korean Language (NIKL) from meaning (passionate and romantic feeling towards) “the opposite sex or men and women” to “someone or any counterpart,” at the request of groups of students and activists who promoted human rights for sexual minorities. The NIKL accepted the petition and changed the definition of love in early 2013. However, conservative forces like The Commission of Churches soon protested against the revision, arguing that specifying the “union of opposite genders” in the definition of love, romance, and affection is necessary for eschewing the encouragement of homosexuality. The NIKL later revised the definitions again, going back to using the phrases “of the opposite sex or men and women,” in January 2014. Rainbow Action, a coalition of sexual

²⁶⁹ For details of the interview, please see: Kim, Taehyōng. “Se Yōjaga Marhanūn 1930 Nyōndae 'Chintcha Chayu' Yōnaesa, Myujik’ōl 'K’ongch’ilp’al Saesamnyuk,” *The Hankyoreh*, July 3rd, 2012. (<http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/culture/music/540762.html>). For more details about the musical, please see a later interview with the production team members by Hong Da-som: (<http://culturenori.tistory.com/2733>)

minority organizations in Korea, launched an online petition²⁷⁰ against the revision, and the campaign is still going on.

These cultural events surrounded by “language” and “love” in contemporary Taiwan and Korea offer me a reflection of the colonial past and postwar East Asian societies. The on-going debates on the Taiwanese language in Taiwan show that the absence of a written script of Taiwanese does not affect the existence of this spoken language. During the era of oppression of local languages by KMT rule, the absence of the Taiwanese language in the public sphere transformed the practice of the language in the private sphere into a symbol of resistance against totalitarianism and identity-making, and the Japanese terminologies embedded in Taiwanese as a embodiment of modernity have stayed with the spirit of Taiwanese consciousness throughout the postwar era. Furthermore, the marginality of Taiwanese, no matter whether under Japanese or KMT rule, also has been symbolized as a certain kind of class struggle and should not be understood simply from an ethnocentric view. For example, language in current Taiwan is abused as a parameter for the division of two ethnicities—and also of Taiwan and China—neglecting the fact that the considerable immigrant population from South East Asian countries²⁷¹ since the 1990s and the emerging new generation of multiple ethnicities and cultures are changing the imagined unity of Taiwan. These immigrants and their heirs are labelled as internal outsiders and their way to overcome the discrimination is first to learn Taiwanese, to be “native,” and then to learn Mandarin, to be “civilized.” While the cultural events of contested “love” in contemporary Korea,

²⁷⁰ See the online petition here: <https://goo.gl/K9FNxP>

²⁷¹ The immigrants I refer to are people who married Taiwanese and were becoming citizens there. It should be noted that, these people usually married working class Taiwanese and the first language they learned when they arrived in Taiwan was Taiwanese, not Mandarin.

given above, epitomize the legacies of the socio-historical construction of love in the colonial and modernization periods, love, either in the production of a musical or the debate over a dictionary definition, is perceived as a transparent value, without recognizing its hetero-normative nature that is constructed by the modernizing and national ideology. Furthermore, as the lines of Adrienne Rich's (1929-2012) poem at the beginning of this chapter suggest, there is a link between language, knowledge and domination and how the oppressed struggle to claim language or knowledge as a place where they make themselves subject. Thus, Huang Chun-ming's use of Chinese to write, like his colonial ancestors use of Japanese, and the sexual minority's revision of the definition of love, should not be understood as submission to dominant powers, but as the revealing evidence to unveil what Bell Hooks states: "how the oppressors do with it [language or knowledge], how they shape it to become a territory that limits and defines how they make it a weapon that can shame, humiliate, colonize" (Hooks 1995: 296).

Together with the cases that I have discussed in this dissertation, I argue that the relationship between colonizer and colonized is recalibrated in the colonial texts of both states through discourses of language and sexuality that blur geographic and relational lines. In advancing this argument, I have tracked the processes of transnational exchange and translational shaping of the modern concepts of national language and literature as well as romantic love and sexual desires in early twentieth-century East Asia. In so doing, I problematize the nationalistic imaginaries of the world by inter-referencing Taiwan and Korea, together with juxtaposing the institutionalizations of language and sexuality to rupture the knowledge production of the modern nation-state. By theorizing and historicizing the construction of modern ideas of language and sexuality, I intend to

challenge the imperialist and nationalistic hegemonies with the notion of “untranslatability” in colonial linguistic and literary practices, and the “critical love” against the normative idea supporting intimate relationships in nation-building. I have illustrated the “untranslatability” as “unhomed” moments and linguistic complexities that are depicted and experienced by colonial writers, while “critical love” is embodied as love suicides and same-sex love that countered the hetero-normative reproductive relationship. This dissertation proves that in order to investigate the correlations between the translation of foreign concepts into the local society and new forms of representation of nation or gender, one should take a close look at the operation of colonialism, nationalism, and the patriarchal system, and the actual routes by which modern neologisms travel and are negotiated in modern languages.

5-2 Unpacking the Complicity of Colonialism, Nationalism, Capitalism and Sexism

In a contradictory history where the counter discourse for overcoming imperialism imitated the dominant discourse of colonialism, and where the nationalistic discourses in pursuit of the formation of an autonomous individual repressed the desire of the individual, the oppressed’s language and sexuality were ironical objects to be used by dominant powers, but also to be controlled and transformed as well. In particular, the modern patriarchy inherent in the discourses on nation in the early twentieth century tried to control the desires of women by intervening in the formation of the female subject as the modern self. This gendered nationalism subordinated women’s identity to the narratives of family and nation and otherized the female sexuality into the marginal area

of modernity. The modern self as an autonomous individual and a member at the level of the nation was arranged only for the male subject in colonial Taiwan and Korea.

Given this, when talking about the humiliation in a colonial context, people tend to symbolize and sexualize the relationship between the colonizer (military power) and the colonized (land of colony) as the invasion of a feminine (mother) land by masculine violence. The discursive strategies using gender dichotomy can be seen in colonial intellectuals' interpretation of the relationship between Japan and the colonies. By the same token, the construction of the idea of a modern vernacular as the "mother tongue," as Sakai reminds us, can only be in the register of the imaginary, and the unity of a language is posited as an idea, which could be complicit with the notion of racism and colonialism. Also, its [mother tongue] gender representation in the metaphors of translation is as Lori Chamberlain demonstrates: "the translator, as father, must be true to the mother/language in order to produce legitimate offspring" (Chamberlain 2000: 317). This metaphors of language and translation, as Chamberlain further elaborates, "takes place both in the realm of the family, as we have seen, and in the state, for translation has also been figured as the literary equivalent of colonization, a means of enriching both the language and the literature appropriate to the political needs of expanding nations" (Chamberlain 2000: 318). Accordingly, this traditional view of power/gender dichotomy needs to be problematized and a more cautious investigation on the deployment of power and sexuality is an urgent necessity.

For example, departing from the traditional approach that views categories of colonizer/colonized and feminine/masculine as givens, Ann Stoler (1995) undertakes to demonstrate that colonialism is, in fact, a project through which the nineteenth-century

European middle class sought to constitute its class identity by laying down a number of class markers. Furthermore, Stoler points out that, far from being a secure bourgeois project, colonialism “was not only about the importation of middle-class sensibilities to the colonies, but about the making of them” (Stoler 1995: 99). Among the myriad forms assumed by the cult of domesticity in imperial politics is the discourse on the family in its promotion of the importance of maternity, good childbearing, home environment, public hygiene, and moral upbringing. For it is, Stoler argues, “in the domestic domain, not the public sphere, where essential dispositions of manliness, bourgeois morality, and racial attribute could be dangerously undone or securely made” (Stoler 1995: 108). Hence the deployment of numerous strategies in the forms of medical manuals, tropical hygiene guides to ensure the physical and moral soundness of colonial living in the Dutch Indies in the nineteenth century.

The same argument can be applied to the discourses on language and sexuality in early twentieth-century Taiwan and Korea. As I have discussed, those discourses are to a large extent inspired/motivated by the Japanese colonial policy, involved in the bourgeois intellectuals’ individual-making, and also generated by the desire for nation-building. Discourses of modern language, sexuality, racial thinking, and rhetoric of nationalism have several things in common, for they all hinge on visual markers of distinction that indicate the internal traits, psychological dispositions, and moral essence on which these theories of difference and social membership are based. I have pointed out that the intellectuals’ mission of constructing modern language/love and promoting new writing/marriage systems is in fact a process of bordering knowledge as well as social orders. It is through the standardization of modern language that the borders between new

and old, civilized and vulgar, city and country, and man and woman were formed and keep transforming; it is also the construction of transparent love that sets boundaries between spiritual and carnal, modern and tradition, normative and none-normative, civilized and uncivilized desires. However, the naturalization of language and love, hand in hand with the modern concepts of equality and freedom, created a universal desire, with which people were believed to be free to love and to be equal before the (mother) language.

To problematize the binarism and the false consciousness of being equal and free, Povinelli's conceptualization of "the intimate event" offers a useful way of unpacking the legacy of hegemonic love. She describes the intimate event as the decision to enter into a self-determined monogamous heterosexual relationship, and considers it the foundational structure through which Western society bridges the gap between the sovereignty of the individual and the sovereignty of the state. Furthermore, Povinelli takes "love" as the basis for theorizing the intimate event, a moment where free choice gains a particularly modern kind of political traction through the concept of love and enforces its own social construction. If we take a look at the emerging subject of modern women around the world in the early 20th century, one of the main characteristics of this subject is that they were free to love. The freedom to enter into a conjugal partnership, and to participate in the mutual self-recognition that constitutes such a partnership, is foundational to the idea of the Western subject, as opposed to "traditional" (or indigenous or non-Western) modes of relationship. However, we (maybe) all have freedom to participate in the intimate event, "unless you happen to be, or are considered to be, a woman, a homosexual, not white," and this shows "the imaginary of the intimate event is always disrupted and

secured by the logic of exception” (Povinelli 2006: 191–93). And I would apply this argument to an understanding of the underlying logic of modern language, since the promoters of *han ’gūl*, vernacular Chinese, or written Taiwanese were using language as a universal capital to mobilize people into the modernization project and the building of a modern nation state and to bridge the gap between civilization and tradition, between the social, gender hierarchies, and various others that were constructed through the process.

In the age of empire, the question of who would be a “subject” and who a “citizen” converged on the linguistic and sexual politics of race. Colonial intellectuals in Taiwan and Korea, who participated in various modernization projects and played an active role in reforming the self and the society, could not see or overcome the dilemma of colonialism and nationalism, and they reproduced/reinforced the discrimination or oppression within/of them. Thus, tracing back to the emerging point of sexual discourses and modern subjects provides a mode of analysis that poses an alternative set of questions and practices for thinking and enacting the relationship between self and other(s) in a transnational context. I have endeavored to show that, although the colonial regime, patriarchy, and racism are different structures, the alliance between colonizer, capitalist, male, and heterosexual is already formed. By the same token, the subaltern subjects (colonized, working class, women, homosexual, etc.) are divided by the different structures and have their own concerns and priorities, which makes cooperation and alliances between the groups difficult to achieve. To go beyond the colonialism, nationalism, racism and sexism, an assertion of more references in the forming of all kinds of discourses and the alliances of alternative subjects should be emergent. And to

invest critical thinking on the current dominant social relationship in our societies, it requires resistance to easy conclusions and reductionisms.

5-3 Re-imagining Postcolonial Communities and the Politics of “Trans-”

This dissertation has shown that a broad archive of texts that have mediated the entanglement among East Asian societies, however, were routed through and interrupted by imaginative geographies incommensurate with the nation-state. In particular, Taiwan and Korea are perceived as cultural entities through their vertical relations with their imperial pasts and as segregated from each other as the “unimagined communities.” The legacy of this geopolitical division—the double-peripheral position of Taiwan and Korea in East Asia—has been crucial to the two societies’ postwar identity politics and the multilayeredness of coloniality. As Leo Ching suggests, they are, at least in part, related to the United States’ postwar position and its role in depriving Japan “of any sustainable discussion and debate regarding its responsibilities not only for the war, but for its overall colonial legacy” (Ching 2001: 36).²⁷² Based on the intervention of the United States, he problematizes the decolonization of Korea and Taiwan by pointing out that “not only the colonized peoples of Korea and Taiwan but also the Japanese colonizers were excluded from the liberation and decolonization process” (Ching 2001: 37). He has found postcolonialism to be a rather ineffective and limiting critical category in the contexts of Japan’s “continuous disavowal of its war crimes and coloniality” as well as the

²⁷² See the discussion in: Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”*, p. 36. For a critique of US-based modernization theory and other US approaches to the study of modern Japan that have sidestepped questions of its empire, also see Tani Barlow, ed., *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.

reconfiguration of Taiwan's conditions and consciousness. Paek Nak-ch'ŏng, in his essay dealing with the "coloniality in Korea and a South Korean project for overcoming modernity," also notes how coloniality or colonialism was always a salient feature in the rhetoric of confrontation between the two opposing regimes. (Paek 2000: 76) The two opposing North and South regimes were formed/divided along the 38th Parallel by the Soviet and US occupation troops; the division soon became consolidated by the establishment of separate regimes in 1948, and after the Korean War (1950-53), developed into what Paik has called the "division system" (*pundan ch'eje*)²⁷³ on the peninsula and has been disturbed by the neo-colonialism with the presence of US troops. The division system, as Paek points out, "even reproduces the racism/ethnicism of coloniality, and that within the same *ethnos* and among the very Koreans who so often boast of their 'homogeneity'" (Paek 2000: 77). Against this backdrop, in the face of the postwar geopolitical situation, Ching suggests a "class-based interrogation" (as opposed to the ethnocentric mode) of the articulations of Taiwanese, Japanese, and Chinese consciousness and he theorizes Taiwanese identity as a triple consciousness.²⁷⁴ Andre Schmid, based on his insightful critique on the peninsula as the preeminent spatial metaphor for the Korean nation and the North-South division, has proposed reading Korea as a "diasporic nation," regarding its significant historical movements to Manchuria and considerable outward migration that created a number of incongruities for

²⁷³ See: Paek, Nak-ch'ŏng. *Pundan Ch'eje Pyŏnhyŏk Ŭi Kongbu Kil*. Sŏul: Ch'angjak kwa Pip'yŏngsa, 1994.

²⁷⁴ By "triple consciousness," Ching elaborates: "the emergence of a specifically Taiwanese consciousness and its imagined and imaginable Chineseness are overdetermined by the specific status of Chinese nationalism on the one hand and Japanese colonialism on the other" (Ching 2001: 66). these nationalistic narratives are best exemplified by the "becoming Japanese" policies evident during the last period of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan (1937-1945), by the importance of "being Chinese" during the heyday of KMT rule (1949-1987), and by the coming to terms with what had always been "authentically Taiwanese" as the island's young democracy took hold (2000 until now).

a nationalist imaginary.²⁷⁵ These narratives not only reflect the historical conditions under which the colonial politics of nationalism played out, but also enable us today to weigh the political possibilities of postcolonial identity politics.

Nonetheless, the question that remains for me is not “is it possible to imagine Taiwan and Korea as a community?” but how to reiterate the potentiality and the political stance of the “unimagined communities” against the abstractions of nation. To this end, it is important to rethink the politics of “trans.” When talking about “trans,” some may think about a starting point and a destination, while some others may think about the process. The notion of “trans” needs to be reimagined as not just a process or outcome, but as a status. This reimagination is not unfamiliar to us, since we can see it in the cognition of “transgender” people and immigrants. In the same vein, I have highlighted the revision that the national is not prior to the transnational, just as the unity of a language is not prior to translation. However, the problem remains in the imagining of “trans,” due to the hegemonic dichotomization, for transgender people are inevitably categorized based on gender dichotomies as female to male (FTM) or male to female (MTF), and immigrants are a mobilized unbalanced flow of global capital and are expected to change from one nationality to another. It is thus with the politics of the “unimagined” and “trans” status of the relations of Taiwan and Korea, with diverse linguistic and sexual subjects, that this dissertation seeks to testify for the reimagination of the postcolonial world.

²⁷⁵ See his discussion in the chapter “Beyond the Peninsula,” in *Korea Between Empires*, pp. 224-252.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abramson, Gunnar. "Comparative Colonialisms: Variations in Japanese Colonial Policy in Taiwan and Korea, 1895-1945," in *PSU McNair Scholars Online Journal* 1:1, Article 5.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso, 1983.
- Apter, Emily S. *The Translation Zone: a New Comparative Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- _____. *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability*. London; New York : Verso, 2013.
- Asad, Talal. "The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology," *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. James Clifford and George Marcus eds, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986: 141-164.
- Ashcroft, Bill. "Forcing Newness into the World: Language, Place and Nature," *ARIEL* 36, 2005: 93-110.
- Baek, Chae-won. "20segi ch'ogi charyoe nat'an an 'ŏnmunilch'i'ui sayong yangsanggwak ŭi ŭimi [A Study on the Usage Aspect and Meaning of the 'ŏnmunilch'i' in the early 20th Century]," *Kugŏgung munhak* [Korean Language & Literature] 166, 2014: 77-108.
- Barlow, Tani E. *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.
- _____. "Debates Over Colonial Modernity in East Asia and Another Alternative," *Cultural Studies* 26:5, 2012: 617-644.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Chamberlain, Lori. "Gender and the Metaphorics of Translation," *The Translation Studies Reader*. Lawrence Venuti ed., New York and London: Routledge, 2000: 314-329.
- Chang, Sung-sheng Yvonne. "Taiwanese New Literature and the Colonial Context," *Taiwan: A New History*. Murray A. Rubinstein ed., New York: Sharpe, 1999.

- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Chen, Fang-ming. *Zhimindi modeng : xiandaixing yu taiwan shiguan* [Colonial Modernity: Historical and Literary Perspective on Taiwan]. Taipei: Rey Field, 2004.
- Chen, Pei-feng. *Tonghua de tong chuang yi meng: rizhi shiqi taiwan de yuyan zhengce jindai huayu rentong* [Different Intentions behind the Semblance of doka: Language Policy, Modernization, and Taiwan Identity during the Period of Japanese Rule]. Taipei: Rye Field, 2006.
- Ching, Leo T. S. *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Chiu, Kuei-fen. "'Faxian Taiwan': jiangou Taiwan houzhiminlunshu [Discovering Taiwan: Constructing Taiwan's Postcolonial Discourse]," *Chung-wai Literary Journal* 21:2, 1993: 151-165.
- Cho, Young-mee Yu. "Diglossia in Korean Language and Literature: A Historical Perspective," *East Asia: An International Quarterly* 20:1, 2002: 3-23.
- Choi, Chungmoo. "The Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory: South Korea," *Formation of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*. Tani E. Barlow ed., Durham: Duke University Press, 1997: 349-372.
- Choi, Hyaeweol. "Wise Mother, Good Wife: A Trans-cultural Discursive Construct in Modern Korea," *Journal of Korean Studies* 14: 1, 2009: 1-34.
- _____. *New Women in Colonial Korea: A Sourcebook*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2013.
- Ch'oi, Hye-sil. "Kyöngsöng ui tosihwa ga 1930 nyöndae Han'guk modönijüm sosöl e mich'in yönghyang" [The influence of Seoul urbanization on the 1930's Korean modern novel]," *Söulhak yön'gu* [Seoul Studies] 9, 1998: 179-180.
- Choi, Mal-soon. *Haidao yu bandao: rijü tai han wenxue bijiao* [Island and Peninsula: Comparison of Taiwanese and Korean Literature under Japanese Rule]. Taipei: Lianjing chuban, 2013.

- Chon, Pong-kwan. *Kyongsong chasal kldb* [The Seoul Suicide Club]. Seoul: Sallim, 2008.
- Ch'ŏn, Jŏng-wan. "Chŏngsa sarajin tongbanjasal [Double Suicide, the Disappeared Companion Suicide]," *Naeirŭl yŏnŭn yŏksa* [The History Opens Tomorrow] 41, 2010: 230-253.
- Chow, Rey. *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading between West and East*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Margins of Philosophy*. Alan Bass trans., Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982.
- _____. "Introduction to Kojin Karatani's 'Nationalism and Écriture,'" *Surfaces* 5, vol. 201, 1995.
- <<http://www.pum.umontreal.ca/revues/surfaces/vol5/derrida.html>>
- Dirlik, Arif. "Thinking Modernity Historically: Is 'Alternative Modernity' the Answer?" *Asian Review of World Histories* 1:1, 2013: 5-44.
- _____. "Asian modernities in the perspective of global modernity," *Contemporary Asian Modernities: Transnationality, Interculturality and Hybridity*. Yiu-wai Chu and Eva Kit-wah Man eds., Berlin, Frankfurt, New York and Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010.
- Edelman, Lee. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Em. Henry. "Yi Sang's Wings Read as an Anti-Colonial Allegory," *MUÆ: A Journal of Trans-cultural Production*. Walter K. Lew, ed., New York, DAP, 1996: 104-111.
- Evans, Dylan. *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis*. London & NY: Routledge, 1996.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove, 1968.
- Foucault, Michel, *The History of Sexuality I*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- _____. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. Colin Gordon ed., Brighton: Harvester, 1980.
- Martin, Fran. *Backward Glances: Contemporary Chinese Cultures and the Female Homoerotic Imaginary*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

- Frühstück, Sabine. *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Furukawa, Makoto. "Dōsei 'ai' kō [On Same-sex Love]," *Imago* 6:12, 1995: 201-207.
- Gaonkar, Dilip ed. *Alternative Modernities*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2001.
- Gunn, Edward M. *Rewriting Chinese: Style and Innovation in Twentieth-Century Chinese Prose*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Hall, Stuart. "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power," *Formations of modernity*. Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben eds., Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992: 275-320.
- Han, Kee-hyung. "Maech'eui ōnōbunhalgwa kūndaemunhak -kūndaesosōrui kiwōne taehan maech'eronjōk chōpkūn [The Linguistic articulation in modern print media and Literature: An approach to the origins of novel through media discourse]," *Taedong munhwa yōn 'gu* [East Asian Studies] 59:0, 2007: 9-35.
- _____. *Kūndaeō-kūndaemaeje-kūndaemunhak* [Modern Language, Media and Culture]. Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University, 2006.
- Han, Sūng-ok. "Tongsōngaejōk kwanjōmesō pon mujōng [Heartless in Homosexual Standpoint]," *The Journal of Korean Fiction Research* 0:20, 2003: 7-29
- Hanscom, Christopher P. "Modernism, Hysteria, and the Colonial Double Bind: Pak T'aewōn's One Day in the Life of the Author, Mr. Kubo," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 21:3, 2013: 607-636.
- Hatano, Setsuko. *I Gwansu, "mujō" No Kenkyū: Kankoku Keimō Bungaku No Hikari to Kage* [Study of Yi Gwang-su, Heartless: The Light and Shadow of Korean Enlighten Literature]. Tokyo: Hakuteisha, 2008.
- Heylen, Ann. *Japanese Models, Chinese Culture and the Dilemma of Taiwanese Language Reform*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012.
- _____. "The Legacy of Literacy Practices in Colonial Taiwan. Japanese–Taiwanese– Chinese: Language Interaction and Identity Formation," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 26:6, 2005: 496-511.
- Ho, Ung. *Urimalgwa kure ssodajin sarang –kugōjōngch'aengnon* [Our Language and the Love Poured into It: On the Policy of National Language]. Seoul: Munsōng ch'ulp'ansa, 1979.

- Hobsbawm, E J. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Hooks, Bell. ““This is the oppressor’s language/yet I need to talk to you’: language, a place of struggle,” *Between Languages and Cultures: Translation and Cross-Cultural Texts*. Needham, Anuradha D, and Carol Maier eds., Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995: 295-301.
- Horigan, Damien P. “Hangul and Hanja: A Brief History of the Korean Writing System,” *Asian Culture Quarterly* 20:1, 1992: 8-14.
- Hsu, Meng-fang. *The Modernization Progress of “Love”: The Emergence and Evolvement of Discourse on “Free Love” in Taiwan during Japanese Ruling Period (1895-1945)*. MA thesis of the Institute of Taiwanese Literature, National Taiwan University, 2010.
- Huang, Mei-e. *Chongceng xiandai xing jingxiang: rizhishidai Taiwan chuantong wenren de wenhua shiyu yu wenxue xiangxiang* [Mirrors of Multiple Modernities: Cultural Vision and Literary Imagination of Traditional Taiwanese Literati under Japanese Rule]. Taipei: Rey Field, 2004.
- _____. “Ershi shiji chuqi Taiwan tongshu xiaoshuo de nuxing xingxiang --yi Li Yitao zai Hanwen Taiwan riri xnbao de zuopin wei taolun duixiang [The Image of Women in the Popular Novels of Early Twentieth Century Taiwan: Through the Discussion of Li Yitao’s Works in Hanwen Taiwan riri xnbao],” *Taiwan wenxue xuebao* [Bulletin of Taiwanese Literature] no.5, 2004: 1-48.
- Huang, Xing-tao. *Ta zi de wenhua shi* [The Cultural History of the Chinese Character “ta” (the third person feminine pronoun)]. Fuzhou: Fujian Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2009.
- Hughes, Theodore. “Return to the Colonial Present: Ch’oe In-Hun’s Cold War Pan-Asianism,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 19.1, 2011: 109-131.
- Hutchison, Ray. *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications, 2010.
- Hwang, Ho-Duk. “Kūndae hanōwa modōnsinō kaenyōmūro pon hanjungil kūndaeōi chaep’yōn [From Translation to Transliteration, Reorganization of East Asian Modern Neologism – The New Dictionary of Foreign Words in Modern Korean

- (1937) and the Limit or Beginning Point of East Asian Intercommunity],” *Sangŏhakpo* [The Journal of Korean Modern Literature] 30, 2010: 263-305.
- Ito, Ken K. *An Age of Melodrama: Family, Gender, and Social Hierarchy in the Turn-of-the-Century Japanese Novel*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2008.
- Jameson, Fredric. “Modernism and Imperialism,” *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*. Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson and Edward W. Said, eds., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990: 43-66.
- Jian, Weisi, and Zhendi Guo. *Viva Tonal: Tiaowu shidai* [Age of Dancing]. Taipei: Heijun chuanbo, 2004.
- Jeong, Yeon-hee. “Kimdonginŭi sijŏmnon’gwa ŏnmunilch’i [A Study on the Point of View and Unification of the Written and Spoken Language in Kim Dong-In’s Novel],” *Hyŏndae sosŏryŏn’gu* [The Journal of Korean Fiction Research] 0:23, 2004: 207-226.
- Jung, Hye-young and Ryu, Jong-ryul. “Kŭndaeŭi Sŏngnipkwa Tryŏnaet’ŭi Palgyŏn: 1920 Nyŏndae Munhage Nat’anan Trch’ŏnyŏsŏngt’ Sŏngnipkwajŏngŭl Chungshimŭro [The Establishment of Modern Period and the discovery of love- Centered on the process of the establishment of the ‘virginity’ that appears in the literary of the 1920s],” *Han’guk’yŏndaemunhangnyŏn’gu* [The Journal of Modern Korean Literature] 18, 2005: 227-251.
- Kang, Nae-hui. “The Ending –da and Linguistic Modernity in Korea,” *Traces: a multilingual journal of cultural theory and translation*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004: 139-164.
- Karatani, Kojin. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Brett de Bary trans. and ed., Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1993.
- _____. “Nationalism and Écriture,” *Surfaces* 5, vol. 201, 1995.
<<http://www.pum.umontreal.ca/revues/surfaces/vol5/karatani.pdf>>
- Kim, Chin-song, Mok, Su-hyŏn, and Ŏm, Hyŏ. *Hyŏndaesŏng ŭi hyŏngsŏng : Sŏul e ttansŭhol ŭl hŏhara* [Formations of Modernity]. Sŏul-si: Hyŏnsil Munhwa Yŏn’gu Yŏn’gusil, 1999.
- Kim, Haboush. Ja Hyun, ed. *Epistolary Korea: Letters from the Communicative Space of the Chŏsŏn, 1392-1910*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

- Kim, Hyeon-ju. "Munhak Yesul Kyoyukkwa Tongjŏng [Literature, Art, Education, and Sympathy]," *Sanghyŏhakpo* 11, 2004: 167-194.
- Kim, Hyo-jin. "Kŭndae sosŏrŭi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏnggwa ŏnmunilch'iŭi munje(1): igwangsu ch'ogi tanp'yŏn sosŏrŭl chungsimŭro [The Formative Process of the Modern Korean Novel and the Matter of Eonmunilchi: Yi Gwang-Su's Early Novels]," *Tongbang hakchi* [Eastern Studies] 165:0, 2014: 167-191.
- Kim, Kichung. "Hyol-ui Nu: Korea's First 'New' Novel Part 2: The Power of the Press," *Korean Culture* 6:2, 1985: 17-25.
- Kim Yang-sun, "Palgyŏndoenŭn Sŏng, Chŏnshidoenŭn Sŏng: Shingminji Kŭndaewa Seksyuŏllit'iŭi Chŏpsok [Discovered Sexuality, Exhibited Sexuality: The Connection Between Colonized Modernity and Sexuality]," *Shihakkwa Ŏnŏhak* [Poetics and Linguistics] 21, 2011: 49-72.
- Kim, Young-min. *Han'guk ui kŭndae sinmun kwa kŭndae sosŏl* [Study On the Korean Narratives and Newspapers]. Seoul: Somyŏng Ch'ulp'an, 2006.
- _____. "The Development of Early Modern Korean Narratives," *The Review of Korean Studies* 9:2, 2006: 165-180.
- Kim, Yunsik (ed), *Yi Kwangsu wa kŭ ŭi sidae* [Yi Kwangsu and His Times] 1. Seoul: Sol ch'ulp'ansa, 1999.
- _____. *Han'guk kŭndae sosŏlsa yŏn'gu* [A Study of the History of Modern Korean Novel]. Seoul: Ŭlyumunhwasa, 1986.
- _____. *Yi Sang yŏn'gu* [Studies on Yi Sang]. Seoul: Munhak sasangsa, 1997[1987].
- King, Ross. "Nationalism and Language Reform in Korea: The Questione della Lingua in Precolonial Korea." *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*. Hyung Il Pai and Timothy R. Tangherlini, eds. Berkeley: Center for Korean Studies, Institute of East Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1998: 33-72.
- Kleeman, Faye Y. *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2003.
- Komagome, Takeshi. "Colonial Modernity for an Elite Taiwanese, Lim Bo-seng: The Labyrinth of Cosmopolitanism," *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-*

- 1945: *History, Culture, Memory*. Liao, Binghui and Dewei Wang Eds, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006: 141-159.
- Ko, Gil-söp. “Koetcha ‘künyö’üi t’ansaeng sörhwa [The Stories of the Birth of “She”],” *Uri sidaeüi öñö keim* [The Language Game of Our Age]. Seoul: T’odam, 1995: 169-177.
- Kono, Kimberly T. *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Koyama, Shizuko. *Ryōsai Kenbo: Constructing the Educational Ideal of Good Wife and Wise Mother*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Kwon, Bodurae. *Yōnaeüi Shidae: 1920 Nyōndae Ch’obanüi Munhwawa Yuhaeng* [The Age of Love: Culture and Trend in the first half of 1920s]. Seoul: Hyönshilmunhwayön’gu, 2003.
- Kwon, Nayoung A. *Intimate Empire: Collaboration and Colonial Modernity in Korea and Japan*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.
- Lee, Ann Sung-Hi. “Writing for a woman reader: gender, modernity and language in the multilingual letters of Yi Kwang-su to Ho Yong-suk,” *Acta Koreana* 6:1, 2003: 1-22.
- _____. *Yi Kwang-su and Modern Korean Literature: Mujong*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell East Asia Program, 2005.
- Lee, Haiyan. *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900–1950*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Lee, Hyunjung and Cho, Youngha. “Introduction: Colonial Modernity and Beyond in East Asian Contexts,” *Cultural Studies* 26:5, 2012: 601–616.
- Lee, Kyoung-hoon. “Pakcheüi chogamdo -isangüi nalgae taehan il koch’al [The Bird’s-eye View of a Stuffed Genius: A Study on Yi Sang’s “Wings”],” *SAI* 8:0, 2010: 197-220.
- Lee, Peter H., ed. *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization: Volume II: From the Seventeenth Century to the Modern*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes, September 1959-May 1961*. London: Verso, 1995.

- Levy, Indra A. *Sirens of the Western Shore: The Westernesque Femme Fatale, Translation, and Vernacular Style in Modern Japanese Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- _____. Ed. *Translation in Modern Japan*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2011.
- Li, Kenji. "Kafu no yume no sekai rijinchoku bungaku no genten [The World of 'A Widow's Dream': The Origin of Yi In-jik's Literature]," *Chosen gakuho* [Journal of the Academic Association of Koreanology in Japan]. 1999: 161-185.
- Liang, Chiu-Hung. *The 'Erotic Zones' in the Social Body: Governmentality of Sex during Japanese Colonization in Taiwan*. Unpublished master's thesis, National Ching Hua University, Hsinchu, Taiwan, 2003.
- Lim, Eun-hee. "T'alchuhanün sŏng,han'guk hyŏndaesosŏl-1910~20yŏndae sosŏrui tongsŏngaejŏk moch'ip'ŭe nat'an'an t'alsingminjuŭijŏk yŏn'gu [Sex on the Run and Modern Korean Novels - A post-colonial study on the homosexual motifs of novels in the 1910s and 1920s]," *Han'gungmunhagiron'gwa pip'yŏng* [Korean Literary Theory And Criticism] 42, 2010: 231-258.
- Lin, Pei-Yin. "Nativist Rhetoric in Contemporary Taiwan," *Cultural Discourse in Taiwan*. Chin-chuan Cheng, I-chun Wang and Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek eds., Kaohsiung: National Sun Yat-sen University, 2009.
- Liu, Lydia H. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity-China, 1900-1937*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- Liu, Shu-qin ed. *Zhanzheng yu fenjie: "zonglizhan" xia Taiwan-Hanguo de zhuti chongsu yu wenhua zhengzhi* [War and Boundaries: Reshaping Subject and cultural Politics of Taiwan and Korea Under Total War]. Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 2011.
- Marx, Anthony W. *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- McNamara, Dennis L. "Comparative Colonial Response: Korea and Taiwan," *Korean Studies* 10, 1986: 54-68.
- Melas, Natalie. *All the Difference in the World: Postcoloniality and the Ends of Comparison*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2007.

- Mitsui, Takashi. *Singminji Chosŏn ūi ŏnŏ chibae kujo : Chosŏnŏ kyubŏmhwa munje rŭl chungsim ūro* [The Dominance of Language in Colonial Korea: Regulation Policies for the Korean Language]. Seoul: Somyŏng Ch'ulp'an, 2013.
- Morris, Meaghan, "Forward," *Translation and Subjectivity*. by Naoki Sakai, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997: ix-xxii.
- _____. "Participation from a Distance," *Rogue Flows: Trans-Asian Cultural Traffic*. Iwabuchi, Koichi, Muecke, Stephen, & Thomas, Mandy eds. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004: 249-262.
- Nandy, Ashis. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Niranjana, Tejaswini. *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- O'Rourke, Kevin. "The Korean Short Story of the 1920s and Naturalism," *The Korea Journal*, 1977: 48-63.
- Paik, Nak-chung. "Coloniality in Korea and A South Korean Project For Overcoming Modernity," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 2:1, 2000: 73-86.
- _____. *Pundan Ch'eje Pyŏnhyŏk Ŭi Kongbu Kil* [The Road to the Study of the Revolution of Division System]. Seoul: Ch'angjak kwa Pip'yŏngsa, 1994.
- Park, Jin-young. "Ilchae Cho Jungwan'gwa pŏnan sosŏrŭi sidae [Cho Jung-hwan and the Age of Adaptation]," *Minjongmunhaksa yŏn 'gu* [Journal of Korean Literary History] 26:0, 2004: 199-230.
- _____. "1910 yŏndae pŏnansosŏlgwa 'silp'aehan yŏnae'ŭi sidae- ilchae chojungwanŭi Ssangongnu wa Changanmong [Adapted Novels in 1910's and the Age of 'a Failed Love' - Jo Jung-Hwan's Ssang-Ok-Nu and Jang-Han-Mong]," *Sangŏ hakpo* [The Journal of Korean modern literature] 15, 2005: 273-302.
- Park, Sun-young and Gatrall, Jefferson J. A. eds. and trans. *On the Eve of the Uprising and other stories from colonial Korea*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2010.
- Peng, Hsiao-yen. "Yige luxing de xiandai bing —'xin de jibing', kexue shuyu yu xinganjue pai [A Traveling Malady—The 'Malady of the Heart,' Scientific

- Terminology, and the Neo-Sensation School],” *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* [Bulletin of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy] 34, 2009: 205-248.
- Pieper, Daniel. *Han'gul for the Nation, the Nation for Han'gul: The Korean Language Movement, 1894-1945*. All Theses and Dissertations (ETDs), 2011.
- Pflugfelder, Gregory M. *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600–1950*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Povinelli, Elizabeth. *The Empire of Love: Toward a Theory of Intimacy, Genealogy, and Carnality*. Duke University Press, 2006.
- Rich, Adrienne, Barbara C. Gelpi, and Albert Gelpi. *Adrienne Rich's Poetry: Texts of the Poems: the Poet on Her Work: Reviews and Criticism*. New York: Norton, 1993[1975].
- Robertson, Jennifer. “Dying to Tell: Sexuality and Suicide in Imperial Japan.” *Queer Diasporas*. C. Patton and B. Sánchez-Eppler ed., Durham: Duke University Press, 2000: 38-70.
- Robinson, Michael. “Ideological Schism in the Korean Nationalist Movement, 1920-1930: Cultural Nationalism and the Radical Critique,” *The Journal of Korean Studies* 4, 1982: 241–268.
- _____. *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920–1925*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988.
- Rocha, Leon. “Xing: The Discourse of Sex and Human Nature in Modern China,” *Gender and History* 22:3, 2010: 603-628.
- Roy, Ananya, and Aihwa Ong. *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
- Ryang, Sonia. *Love in Modern Japan: Its Estrangement from Self, Sex and Society*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Saeki, Junko. “Iro” to “Ai” no Hikaku Bunkashi [A Comparative Cultural History of “Lust” and “Love”]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998.
- Sakai, Naoki. *Translation and Subjectivity: On “Japan” and Cultural Nationalism*, Minneapolis. MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

- _____. "Introduction," *Traces I: Specters of the West and the Politics of Translation*. Sakai Naoki and Hanawa Yukiko eds., Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 2001.
- _____. "Introduction: Nationalism and the Politics of the Mother Tongue," *Deconstructing Nationality*. Sakai, de Bary, and Iyotani eds., Ithaca: Cornell East Asia Series, 2005: 1-37.
- _____. "Translation", *Theory, Culture & Society* 23:2&3, May 2006: 71-7.
- _____. "The Figure of Translation -Translation as a Filter?" *European-East Asian Borders in Translation*. Liu, Jihui, and Nick Vaughan-Williams, eds., Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2014: 12-37.
- Schmid, Andre. *Korea Between Empires, 1895-1919*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Seo, Young-chae. *Sarangŭi Munbŏp: Yi Kwang-su, Yŏm Sang-sŏp, Yi-Sang* [The Rule of Love: Yi Kwang-su, Yŏm Sang-sŏp, Yi Sang]. Seoul: Minumsa, 2004.
- Shin, Gi-Wook, and Michael E. Robinson. *Colonial Modernity in Korea*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999.
- Shohat, Ella. "Notes on the 'Post-Colonial,'" *Social Text* 31, 1992: 99-113.
- Simon, Sherry. *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Sohn, Ho-min. *Korean Language in Culture and Society*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
- Song, Youn-ok. "Japanese Colonial Rule and State-Managed Prostitution: Korea's Licensed Prostitutes," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 5:1, 1997: 171-219.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, "Poststructuralism, Marginality, Postcoloniality and Value," *Literary Theory Today*. Peter Collier and Helga Geyer-Ryan eds., London: Polity Press, 1990: 219-244.)
- _____. "The Politics of Translation," *The Translation Studies Reader*. Lawrence Venuti ed., London: Routledge, 2000: 397-416.
- _____. *Death of a Discipline*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.

- Suh, Ji-yong. "Collision of Modern Desires: Nationalism and Female Sexuality in Colonial Korea," *The Review of Korean Studies* 5:2, 2002: 111-132.
- _____. *Yöksa e sarang ŭl mutta: Han'guk munhwa wa sarang ŭi kyebohak* [The Genealogy of Korean Culture and Love]. Seoul: Isup, 2011.
- Suzuki, Michiko. *Becoming Modern Women: Love and Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature and Culture*. California: Stanford University Press, 2010.
- Thornber, Karen Laura. *Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Trans-culturations of Japanese Literature*. Boston: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2009.
- Treat, John Whittier. "Introduction to Yi Gwang-su's 'Maybe Love' (Ai ka, 1909)," *Azalea: Journal of Korean Literature and Culture* 4, 2011: 315-27.
- Trinh, T. Minh-ha. *Woman, Native, Other*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Tsu, Jing. *Sound and Script in Chinese Diaspora*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Wakabayashi, Masahiro, and Micha, Wu Eds. *Kuajie de Taiwan shi yanjiu: yu dongya shi de jiaocuo* [Transcending the Boundary of Taiwanese History: Dialogue with East Asian History]. Taipei: Bozhongzhe wenhua, 2004.
- Watson, Jini K. *The New Asian City: Three-dimensional Fictions of Space and Urban Form*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Weng, Nao, and Yuting Huang. *Poxiaoji: Weng Nao zuopin quanji* [Collected Works of Weng Nao]. Taipei: Ruguo chuban, 2013.
- Wenzel, Jennifer. *Bulletproof: Afterlives of Anticolonial Prophecy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Weston, Kath. *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.
- Wu, Pei-chen. *Zhenshan Jingzhi Yu Zhi Min Di Taiwan* [Masugi Shizue and Colony of Taiwan]. Taipei: Lianjing chuban, 2013.
- Xie, Hui-zhen. "Taiwanjin sakkafueifuku ni okeru nihon shin kankakuha no juyo yokomitsu riichi atama narabini hara to fueifuku kubi to karada no hikaku o chushin ni [The reception of Japan's neo-perception school in Taiwanese writer

- WU, Young-fu's fictions: a comparative study of Yokomitsu Riichi's 'Atama narabini hara' and WU, Young-fu's 'Kubi to karada'],” *Nihon Taiwan Gakkaihō* [The Japan Association for Taiwan Studies] 11, 2009: 217-232.
- Xu, Xiqing. *Taiwan jiaoyu yange zhi* [The Evolution of Education in Taiwan]. Nantou: Guoshiguan taiwan wenxian guan, 2010 [1939].
- Yanabu, Akira. *Hon'yakugo seiritsu jijo* [The Establishment of Translated Language]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1982.
- _____. “Kare and Kanojo—The Shifting Referents of Two Translation Pronouns,” *Translation in Modern Japan*. Indra Levy trans and ed., Abingdon: Routledge, 2011: 61-72.
- Yang, Yoon Sun. “Enlightened Daughter, Benighted Mother: Yi Injik’s Tears of Blood and Early Twentieth-Century Korean Domestic Fiction,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 22:1, 2014: 103-130.
- Yi, Jeong-suk. “1910-20Nyōndaeüi ‘Dongsōngae’ Mot’ip’ü Sosōl Yōn’gu [Study of the Novels with ‘Same-Sex Love’ Motive in 1910-20s],” *Hansōngō munhak* [Hansōngō Literature] 26:0, 2007: 359-378.
- Yoo, Theodore Jun. *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910–1945*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008.
- You, Jianming, and Wu, Meihui. *Zouguo liang ge shidai di Taiwan zhiye funü fangwen jilu* [Taiwanese career women through political changes.], Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindai shi yanjiusuo, 1994.
- Zhang, Henghao Ed. *Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, Wang Changxiong heji* [Collected Works of Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu, Wang Changxiong]. Taipei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1991.
- Zhang, Wen-xun. “Nippon touchi ki Taiwan bungaku ni okeru ‘josei’ imeeji no kinousei [The Function of ‘Woman’ in Taiwanese Literature under Japanese Rule],” *Nihon Taiwan Gakkaihō* [The Japan Association for Taiwan Studies] 7, 2005: 90-105.