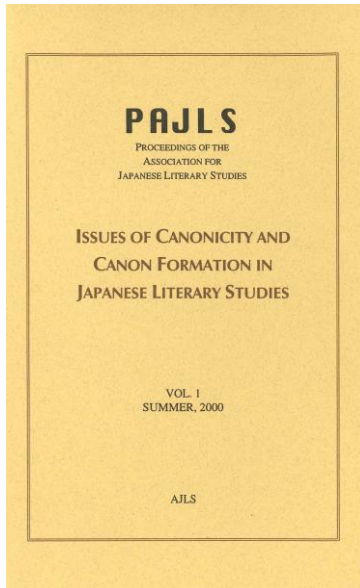


“The Boundaries of the Japaneseness Between
‘*Nihon bungaku*’ and ‘*Nihongo bungaku*’”

Faye Yuan Kleeman 

*Proceedings of the Association for Japanese
Literary Studies* 1 (2000): 377–388.



PAJLS 1:
*Issues of Canonicity and Canon Formation in Japanese
Literary Studies.*
Ed. Stephen D. Miller.

**THE BOUNDARIES OF THE JAPANESENESS
BETWEEN "NIHON BUNGAKU" AND "NIHONGO BUNGAKU"**

Faye Yuan Kleeman
University of Colorado

I. *Kokugo* or *Nihongo*?

In 1994, the journal *Gekkan Nihongo Ron* had a special issue titled "‘Kokugo’ ka ‘Nihongo’ ka."¹ The issue alleges the decline of the discipline called "kokugo." For example, one article points out that in 1953 only 19% of the departments in Japanese universities and colleges focusing on the study of Japanese literature and/or language were called "Nihongo Nihonbungaku ka" vs. the predominant "Kokugo kokubungaku ka."² In 1993, however, departments using Nihongo/nihonbungaku increased to 48%. In fact, in the past ten years, none of the newly-instituted departments chose to use the term "Kokubun." Most of the contributors to this journal attempted to decipher the difference between *kokugo* (national language) and *Nihongo* (Japanese language) through various forms of linguistic taxonomy. For example, the linguist Koizumi Tamotsu defines *kokugo* as "the language of the nation state of Japan (*Nippon kokka* 日本国家)," whereas *Nihongo* is the "language of the Japanese ethnic group (*Nihon minzoku* 日本民族)." The rhetorician Toyama Shigehiko finds a shifting usage of these two terms through time. He notes that *kokugo* has been used since the beginning of the Meiji period but *Nihongo* was used most often from the mid-1960s on, when a new interest developed for the mother tongue (*bokokugo* 母国語).

The last five years have seen a surge of interest in this subject, with studies that break new ground by placing the issue in the context of Japanese colonial language and cultural policy. This younger generation of scholars, such as Komagome Takeshi (1996), Lee Yeounsuk (1996), Koyasu Nobukuni (1996) and, most recently, Yasuda Toshio (1999), have re-examined the *kokugo/Nihongo* debate that took place among many educators, linguists,

¹ *Gekkan Nihongo Ron* 2.6 (June, 1994).

² For a detailed discussion of the formation of *kokubungaku* see Suzuki Sadami and Suzuki Tomi, 85-127.

and colonial policymakers during the 1930s and 1940s. Their research sheds light on the impact colonialism had on the conceptual evolution of the national language.

Essentially, these studies reveal that the demarcation between *kokugo* and *Nihongo* can be located on the boundary of Japanese-ness. *Kokugo* was the official, constructed language shared by the community of native speakers in mainland Japan (*naichi* 内地). *Nihongo*, on the other hand, within the context of the pan-Asiatic sphere of the 1930s and 1940s, was considered a “potential” common language for Greater East Asia (*tōa kyōtsūgo* 東亜共通語). *Kokugo* was inward-looking and self-content. As the father of modern *kokugo*, Ueda Mannen, so eloquently stated it, *kokugo* is “the protecting fence of the imperial house; the nurturing mother of the citizen” and “the spiritual blood of the Japanese.”³ The colonial educator/linguist Ando Masatsugu 安藤正次 (who was first put in charge of education policy in Taiwan; after the war, he became the Minister of Education and was at the center of the post-war *kokugo* reform movement), in arguing against many colonial educators’ call for reforming and simplifying *kokugo* to suit pedagogical purposes in the colonies, insisted: “*kokugo* is the language we inherited from our distant ancestors and belongs to all citizens (*kokumin* 国民). . . . To revamp and to reform *kokugo* and *kokuji*, paying attention only to the convenience, in order to teach the foreigners and to spread it overseas, is to damage the sacred character of *kokugo* (*kokugo no shinsei* 国語の神聖).”⁴ This quasi-linguistic theology was, in a sense, parallel to the nationalistic discourse of ethnic purity that drove the wartime ideology and later fueled the post-war *Nihonjinron* boom. *Kokugo* is a concept that should not be extended beyond the boundary of the Japanese archipelago, or *naichi* 内地, while *Nihongo* was designated as the language to be spoken in the colonies, or *gaichi* 外地.⁵

³ From a speech Ueda Mannen gave in October, 1894. Later, it was included in *Kokugo no tame* (Tokyo: Fuku sanbō, 1895). Also see Lee, 151 and Koyasu, 121. Incidentally, this (in)famous quote was left out when the speech/article was included in Hisamatsu, 108-13.

⁴ Koyasu, 122-23.

⁵ Starting from the late 1920s, the term *gaichi* was used officially by the Japanese government to avoid the term *shokuminchi* (colony). Nakamura Tetsu, 6.

During the war, Japan was for the first time faced with the daunting pedagogical task of disseminating its own language to other parts of Asia. This new urgency prompted a searching examination of just what a national language is, based on a comparatively objective consideration of Japanese as a foreign language. The situation presented a paradox: how to obligate an other, in this case, Japan's colonial subjects, to operate in a language that was not their own and could not, by definition, be theirs. If *kokugo* is a privileged birthright reserved for ethnic Japanese, how can the non-Japanese colonial subjects be persuaded to pledge loyalty to it? The response was an inclusive rhetoric of consolidation, employing slogans such as *Nissen ittai* 日鮮一体 (Japan and Korea are one entity) and *dōbun dōshū* 同文同種 (same language, same race) toward Korea, *gozoku kyōwa* 五族協和 (five ethnic groups living in harmony) to describe Manchuria, and *naigai joitsu* 内外如一 (*naichi* and *gaichi* as one) in Taiwan.⁶

Karatani Kōjin has noted, in his "Nihon no shokuminchishugi no kigen"⁷ (The Origin of Japanese Colonialism), that one of the distinguishing characteristics of Japanese colonial policy was a rhetoric that portrayed the dominant force (the Japanese) as essentially the same as the dominated.

Therefore, the decision to use *kokugo* or *Nihongo* was by no means merely the reflection of a simple trend, nor should it be seen as an inevitable stage on a clear lineal progression. Rather, this shift in terminology reflects a socio-historical shift of attitude toward the definition of Japan's national language, both in the academy and in public discourse.

II. What Is *Nihongo bungaku* (also known as *gaichi bungaku*)?

The same paradigm can be extended to the definition of Japanese literature. Unlike *Nihongo*, a term fairly well established by the 1940s, *Nihongo bungaku* as a category was coined rather recently to replace the old terms

⁶ The in/out dichotomy applied to terms such as *naichi* was not limited to these colonies only. In Hokkaidō, an earlier conquest of Japan, to this day some local residents still refer to the main island, Honshū, as "*naichi*." Similar coactive rhetoric is common too; for example, Umehara Takeshi's *Nihon ainu dōsoron* insists Japanese people and Ainu share the same ancestor. Karatani Kōjin, 94-100.

⁷ See *Geppō* 月報 5 in Ōe Shinobu, ed., et al., *Iwanami kōza: kindai Nihon to shokuminchi* 4 (March, 1993): 5-6.

such as *gaichi bungaku* or *kyūshokuminchi bungaku* 旧植民地文学.⁸ While the old terms designate the locus where the literature was produced, *Nihongo bungaku* emphasizes the language that is the medium of expression for the literary works. Again, the geographical *uchi/soto* dichotomy seems to be the underlying subtext. I emphasize the word “seems” because critics such as Hayashi Kōji argue that literary creations by some Korean-Japanese authors (*zai-Nichi bungaku*) in the period immediately following the War should be treated as one kind of “*Nihongo bungaku*.”⁹ This designation disrupts the geographical boundary; however, it is more an exception rather than the rule.

To a certain degree, in our world of rapid globalization, a clear correlation between the geographical and cultural/lingual boundary has become more and more tenuous, even in Japan. In his discussion of *Nihongo bungaku* in the 1990s, Komori Yōichi rightly calls into question the obstinate link between nation (*kokutai* 国体), national language, and the subjectivity (of the writer) in defining Japanese literature as we know it.¹⁰ For example, authors such as Mizumura Minae, who moved to the United States in her teens, was educated in English, and is a highly accomplished scholar in her own right, have chosen to write novels in Japanese. Komori mentions her biographical novel *Watakushi shōsetsu—from left to right* (1995), which was printed in horizontal format (*yokogaki* 横書き) mixing English and Japanese, as one recent example of a novel that disrupts the entrenched equation of of Japan = Japanese people = Japanese language = Japanese culture.

Another blurring of this line of demarcation occurred with the recent publication of Hideo Levy’s novels, *Seijōki no kiko enai heya* (The Room Where the Star Spangled Banner Cannot be Heard) (1992) and *Kokumin no uta* (Songs of the Citizens) (1998). Levy’s semi-autobiographical fiction has garnered much attention from the critics, who, without exception, have commented on his choice of the Japanese language as his primary creative medium. Some locate his works on a new frontier of *Nihongo bungaku*, while others hail him as the stimulating newcomer to a stagnant *Nihon bungaku*. No matter where you put Levy’s writings, *Nihon bungaku* or *Nihongo*

⁸ See Tarumi Chie (1995) and Kawamura Minato (1989; 1992; 1994).

⁹ Hayashi Kōji, 8-29.

¹⁰ See the chapter “‘Nihongo bungaku’ no yukue” in Komori, 283-315.

bungaku, the literature written by Levy in Japanese is an intimate, personal, and freely-chosen act. As Komori indicates, the key characteristic shared by this body of 1990s *Nihongo bungaku* is the "free choice" of Japanese as the creative language. This luxury (of choice) certainly was not afforded most of the writers of *Nihongo bungaku* during the colonial period.¹¹

III. Taiwanese Literature or Japanese Literature?

Colonial literature was produced throughout the Japanese empire, from Karafuto, the Sakhalin islands, Manchuria, Korea, and Taiwan to the South Pacific islands. Written by Japanese expatriates and by natives living in the colonies, this body of literature, though limited in quantity, nevertheless impresses us with its great variety of genres, styles, and subject matter. Moreover, it provides us with a glimpse into the complex, multiple identities that characterized not only the colonial subjects but also, to a lesser degree, the Japanese colonizers. It is a treasure trove for the minutia of everyday life and the intricate interactions of human psychology, which largely eluded the massive official record documenting Japan's colonial history and policies.

The fact that this body of literature lay dormant for half a century after the war and was conspicuously left out of all works of literary history (*bun-gakushi*) attests to the distinct characteristics of the decolonialization process in Japan. Unlike Britain or France, the decolonization of the Japanese empire came abruptly. The collective trauma of defeat and the burden of rebuilding the nation led Japan to repress and disavow the colonial memory. The response of Japan's former colonies to this sudden dissolution of the empire varied, ranging from total repudiation in the case of the South Pacific and Manchuria to the residual vestiges of coloniality manifested in Zainichi literature in the case of Korea.

While the repudiation of the colonial memory in Japan worked at a subtle, unspoken, subconscious level of the national psyche, the post-war maneuvering surrounding decolonization in Taiwan seems cynically obvious, though just as eager to propagate its own form of selective amnesia. The Nationalist government led by Chiang Kai-shek constantly reminded the locals of their colonized past in order to promote an alternative Chinese

¹¹ Komori also calls attention to the cultural and linguistic "asymmetry" that exists between Levy, Mizumura, and Zai-Nichi writers. See Komori, 291-93; 310.

identity and foster Chinese nationalism. The government moved to suppress all things Japanese, forbidding the use of Japanese language in public and banning all literature and newspapers written in Japanese. (Even well into the 1970s foreign nationals were forbidden to bring Japanese newspapers into Taiwan.) The suppression of the literature under the Japanese occupation served the political interests of both the Nationalist government in Taiwan and the postwar Japanese establishment.

The academic study of this literature developed fitfully. The earliest account of Taiwanese colonial writings, Shimada Kinji's "Gaichiken bungaku no jissō" (The true face of colonial literature) (1940) dealt only with Japanese expatriate writers such as Irako Seihaku and Satō Haruo; he made no mention of works by indigenous authors. Last year, a six-volume set was published under the title *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku: Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū* (Taiwanese literature under the Japanese occupation: Collected writings of Japanese authors), but it also dealt only with Japanese expatriate writers. The situation in Taiwan is no better. The language politics of privileging the new *Guoyu* (national language 國語, i.e., Mandarin) directed the research on this period to focus primarily on literature written in Chinese. For instance, Xu Junya's massive *Riju shiqi Taiwan xiaoshuo yanjiu* (A Study of Taiwanese Novels under the Japanese Occupation) (1995), probably the most comprehensive study of its kind to date, only deals in passing with works written in Japanese. Out of 850 pages, 20 pages are devoted to the genre called *kōmin bungaku* (literature of the imperial subjects 皇民文学). The fiftieth anniversary of the transferral of Taiwan to Chinese custody, in 1995, prompted the appearance of numerous symposiums and reflective articles on this topic. At a symposium on the 50th Anniversary of the Restoration of Taiwan, some scholars, such as the writer Chen Yingjen, questioned the use of the term "*kōmin bungaku*," arguing that the category is meaningless unless the (writing) subjects themselves acknowledge their status as "imperial subjects." A prisoner of the changing political climates on both sides, fitting neither Japan's definition of Japanese literature as that written by Japanese nationals nor the Chinese view of Chinese literature as that written in Chinese, *Nihongo bungaku* in Taiwan became, to paraphrase the words of the writer Wu Zhuoliu, the "orphan of Asia" and got lost in the shuffle.

IV. Colonial Novel or Anti-colonial Novel?

This question of the nature of Japanese literature written in Taiwan is particularly relevant to products of the Imperial Subject or *Kōminka* movement. Starting from the latter half of the 1930s, especially after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, Japan intensified its program of cultural assimilation by compelling its colonial subjects to speak Japanese in public at all times, adopt Japanese names in place of their native ones, be conscripted into the army, and abandon their native customs and beliefs by observing Shinto ritual.¹² Before this policy, writings and publications in the Chinese language, though not encouraged and subject to heavy-handed censorship, had been tolerated. But the *Kōminka* policy in effect banned all native languages in print media and set up a not-so-subtle distinction between *kokumin* (a term reserved for Japanese nationals) and *kōmin* (imperial subjects of the colonies).

Many stories written at this time grapple with the collisions and collusions of the overlapping ethnic and cultural identities. A novella entitled *Michi* 道 (The Way), by the controversial Chen Huoquan 陳火泉 (a.k.a. Takayama Bonseki 高山凡石), is particularly revealing. Set in the midst of the *kōminka* movement, this work represents one individual's take on the identity politics of Japaneseness; its subsequent treatment by critics reveals the machinations of postcolonial textual politics.

Michi's protagonist, *kare*, is a low-level technician working for a Japanese camphor company in Taipei. *Kare* always thinks of himself as an "outstanding Japanese" (*rippa na nihonjin*) and is determined to not let his being an "islander" (*hondōjin*) impede his career in the company. An innovation he introduces to improve the camphor distiller wins praise from his

¹² Shortly after the beginning of Sino-Japanese war, terms such as *Senjin* and *Chōsenjin*, commonly used to refer to Koreans, came to be considered discriminatory; instead *handōjin* (peninsulan) or *handō dōhō* (fellow citizen of peninsula) were adopted. Similarly, *Taiwanjin* was avoided and *hondōjin* (islanders) was encouraged. The change reflected the increasing need to draw manpower for the great war from the colonies, thus the distinctions of national boundary were eradicated and Korea and Taiwan were incorporated into the Japanese territory. See Oguma Eiji, 417-34.

superiors, and they assign him to write a treatise, "The Way to Becoming an Imperial Subject" (*kōmin e no michi*). *Kare* is quite gung-ho, to use a term from this same period, about becoming a model *kōmin*. He believes that, "It is not because one has Japanese blood that one is a Japanese. It is those who are imbued with traditional Japanese spirit from an early age and always manifest in themselves that spirit who are true Japanese."

When promotion time comes around, however, he is passed over for the engineer position he so fervently covets, and when he hears the superior he trusts most utter contemptuous comments such as "Taiwanese are not human beings,"¹³ *kare* experiences an identity crisis. He laments, "A chrysanthemum is a chrysanthemum and a cherry blossom (*sakura*) is a flower (*hana*). Alas, a peony can never be a flower!" This collapse of his cherished values sends him into a deep depression. One day, lying in bed wallowing in self-pity, he realizes that at this moment of physical and mental weakness he is nursing his bruised ego in his mother tongue, Taiwanese. *Kare* sprints back from his depression, realizing he has been merely passing as a Japanese while all along thinking in Taiwanese like a Taiwanese. The only way to become a real Japanese is to think, speak and write in Japanese (*kokugo de omoi*, *kokugo de katari*, *kokugo de kaku*; note the use of *kokugo* here rather than *Nihongo*). Soon, voluntary military enlistment is instituted in all the colonies and *kare*, leaving behind his wife, four kids, and several farewell *waka*, eagerly joins the army to fight in the South Pacific.

As one might imagine, the fanatical, over-the-top rhetoric in this story and many others like it proved embarrassing to both postwar Japanese, who found the righteousness of colonial rhetoric discomfiting, and to Taiwanese exponents of postcolonial nativism. Many scholars relegate writers like Chen Huoquan to the category of collaborator and deem these works politically untouchable, while others view them as pedestrian authors of broad caricature unworthy of study. Both groups opt instead for writings characterized by an ambivalent mixture of deference and disobedience, by writers such as Lü Heruo 呂赫若 and Zhang Wenhuan 張文環. Chen Huoquan's writings reflect one sentiment that existed among Taiwanese of the Colonial Period and therefore merit closer scrutiny.

¹³ The word "human" was blanked out when the story was first published. After the war when Chen translated the story into Chinese himself that he filled in the blank.

Not all colonial texts are necessarily anti-colonial. Chen's *kare* is a product of his environment, born and raised in a Taiwan that was part of a greater Japanese empire. Though he might speak Taiwanese at home, his schooling was entirely in Japanese, and Japanese was his intellectual language. The hybrid identities generated in such an environment have been the subject of considerable discussion in postcolonial scholarship, but the bearers of such identities are not always given the respect due them as writers. To *kare*, Japaneseness equals modernity. His native colloquial Taiwanese has no written expression, and he was never educated in Mandarin, the official *kokugo* of China. One possible reading of the story, then, is as the tale of an ambitious young man who takes seriously the discourse of the Japanese empire being open to all the peoples of Asia and actively pursues a place that Japan has promised in the modern world. This surface reading of the text was validated by rave reviews from the Japanese *bundan* in Taipei.

A different reading of the text was implicit in the shroud of silence that fell over the *Nihongo bungaku* of the colonial era after the War. Taiwan was now part of China, and when China fell to the Communists in 1949, it became for the Nationalist government the sole remaining sliver of true China. Chen Huoquan adapted to the new environment, learning Mandarin and writing in his new language. His pro-Japanese past, however, was never wholly forgotten or forgiven. Finally, in 1982, he was formally rehabilitated when the Nationalist literary establishment granted him an award in recognition of his long and prolific career.

This did nothing, however, to endear him to the rising generation of nativist, postcolonial scholars who were just beginning to rediscover occupation-era Taiwan and incorporate the literature of that period into a new Taiwanese literary history. Chen Huoquan has been systematically excluded from recent collections of literature dating to this period. Moreover, it is interesting to note that these collections make available to modern readers only Chinese translations of the original *Nihongo bungaku*. There is still considerable ambiguity about Taiwan's Japanese heritage. Works that can be seen to represent nativist resistance to foreign domination are valorized.

I would like to argue, however, that *Michi* can be read as a subversive text that belongs in the canon of *Nihongo bungaku*. The host of creative anxieties, the conflicting desires, and the sense of displacement manifested in Chen's text are genuine and worthy of consideration. We might even see the text as kindred in spirit to Lu Xun's "The True Story of Ah-Q"

(阿 Q 正伝, 1921). Like Chen's *kare*, the submissive, self-deluding Ah-Q is at the center of a masochistic satire that resonates with Homi Bhabha's account of "colonial mimicry." Colonial mimicry designates the gap between the normative metropolitan vision of grand discourse and its distorted colonial (mis)imitation. It is this unsettling sense of "almost the same, but not quite"¹⁴ that sustains the irony of Chen's work. In Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, there is a well-known altercation between Miranda, daughter of Prospero, and Caliban, a dispossessed (ab)original inhabitant of the island on which the play takes place. When Miranda chastises Caliban's ingratitude for her efforts in teaching him language, he responds that the prime benefit of her instruction has been that now he can communicate his curses. This is what Leela Gandhi refers to as the "Caliban paradigm"¹⁵—when the empire talks back. One often assumes, in the colonial context, that adopting the master's language is a sign of subjugation, but this ignores the immense empowerment that may come with this act. Read as a comic parody, Chen's story symbolically illustrates the logic of protesting "from," rather than "against," the cultural vocabulary of colonialism.

Although in postwar articles Chen claimed to have been writing satire, we can never really know Chen's intentions when composing *Michi*. Both a straight and an ironic reading of the work are possible; perhaps both are valid. The shifting assessment of this work, however, can tell us much about the influence of politics on the reception of *Nihongo bungaku*.

V. Conclusion

A literary tradition is defined over time based on considerations of genre, language and identity. The literature written in Taiwan using the Japanese language has been considered an anomaly and has had difficulty finding a place within the literary canons of East Asia. In Taiwan, after the Nationalists took power in 1945, the literary works of the Occupation Era as a whole were viewed as products of an interregnum in Chinese rule and hence not really part of Chinese literature; this was especially true of those works written in Japanese. It is only with the emergence of a distinct Taiwanese identity following liberalization and the lifting of martial law that a canon of Tai-

¹⁴ Homi Bhabha (1994): 95.

¹⁵ Leela Gandhi (1998): 148-149.

wanese literature has emerged. This new canon is able to view the periods of Manchu, Japanese, and Nationalist political domination as comparable stages in Taiwanese history, each contributing to the Taiwanese literary tradition. Literature written in Japanese is a significant portion of this tradition and is increasingly claiming its rightful place within the Taiwanese literary canon.

The Japanese literature of Taiwan has also had an anomalous position within the Japanese literary tradition. During the occupation, Taiwanese writers who worked in Japanese and Japanese writers living in Taiwan both were understood to be writing Japanese literature, and both were published in Japanese literary magazines and journals. With the end of the war, the Japanese literature written by Taiwanese was forgotten and dropped out of discussions of Japanese literary history. Recently, it has been reclaimed by younger scholars under the rubric of *Nihongo bungaku*, but this designation still highlights its ambiguous status. Only when all writers using the Japanese language are understood to be contributing to *Nihon bungaku* and granted their rightful place within its canon can we say that Japanese literature has really entered the postcolonial era.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Hayashi Kōji 林浩治. *Sengo hinichi bungakuron* 戦後非日文学論. Tokyo: Shinkansha, 1997.
- Hisamatsu Sen'ichi 久松潜一, ed. *Ochiai Naobumi Ueda Mannen Haga Yaichi Fujioka Sakutarō shū* 落合直文 上田万年 芳賀矢一 藤岡作太郎. Meiji bungaku zenshū 44. Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1968.
- Kawamura Minato 川村湊. *Ajia to iu kagami: kyokutō no kindai 'Shōwa' no kuri-tikku* アジアという鏡 — 極東の近代昭和のクリティック. Tokyo: Shichōsha, 1989.
- . *Rinjin no iru fūkei* 隣人のいる風景. Tokyo: Kokubunsha, 1992.
- . *Umi o watatta Nihongo: shokuminchi no "kokugo" no jikan* 海を渡った日本語 — 植民地の国語の時間. Tokyo: Seidōsha, 1994.
- Komagome Takeshi 駒込武. *Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no bunka tōgō* 植民地帝国日本の文化統合. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996.
- Komori Yōichi 小森陽一. 'Yuragi' no nihonbungaku <ゆらぎ> の日本文学. Tokyo: Nihon hōsō shuppan kyōkai, 1998.

- Koyasu Nobukuni 子安宣邦. *Kindai chi no arukeorojii: kokka to sensō to chishikinin* 近代知のアルケオロジー 国家と戦争と知識人. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996.
- Lee Yeounsuk イ・ヨンスク李妍淑. *Kokugo to iu shisō: kindai Nihon no gengo ninshiki* 国語という思想 — 近代日本の言語認識. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996.
- Shi Gang 石剛. *Shokuminchi shihai to nihongo* 植民地支配と日本語. Tokyo: Sangensha, 1993.
- Shimada Kinji 島田謹二. "Gaichiken bungaku no jissō" 外地圏文学の実相. In *Nihon ni okeru gaikoku hikaku bungaku kenkyū kakan* 日本における外国文学——比較文学研究 下巻 (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1976), 112-259.
- Shirane Haruo ハルオ・シラネ and Tomi Suzuki 鈴木登美, eds. *Sōzōsareta koten* 創造された古典. Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1999.
- Suzuki Sadami 鈴木貞美. *Nihon no "bungaku" gainen* 日本の「文学」概念. Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 1998.
- Tarumi Chie 垂水千恵. *Taiwan no Nihongo bungaku* 台湾の日本語文学. Tokyo: Goryū shoten, 1995.
- . Sannin no "Nihonjin" sakka: Wang Changxiong, Zhou Jinbo, Chen Huoquan 三人の「日本人」作家：王昶雄・周金波・陳火泉. In *Ekkyōsuru sekai bungaku* 越境する世界文学 (Tokyo: Kawade shuppansha, 1992), 252-60.
- Xu Junya 許俊雅. *Taiwan wenxue sanlun* 台湾文学散論. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1994.
- . *Riju shiqi Taiwan xiaoshuo yenjiu* 日據時期台灣小説研究. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1995.
- Xu Minmin 徐敏民. *Senzen chūgoku ni okeru nihongo kyōiku* 戦前中国における日本語教育. Tokyo: Emuti shuppan, 1996.
- Yasuda Toshiaki 安田敏朗. *Shokuminchi no naka no "kokugogaku"* 植民地の中の「国語学」. Tokyo: Sangensha, 1997.