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## Cultural Assimilation in the *kokugo* (国語) Classroom: Colonial Korean Children's *tsuzurikata* (綴り方) Compositions from the Early 1930s

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For Imperial Japan dissemination of the Japanese language (*kokugo* 国語) was indispensable to the project of *dōka* (同化), or cultural assimilation, a fundamental practice in the colonies. In colonial Korea the Japanese language was promulgated as the required “national language” for all Koreans, and proficiency was understood as a quantifiable measure of Korean assimilation into the empire.<sup>1</sup> Research on *kokugo* education as the essential medium of Japan’s *dōka* is both abundant and extensive, with the bulk of the research addressing institutional history, curriculum and textbooks, and ideological underpinnings of *kokugo*.<sup>2</sup> This study examines the dynamics of *dōka* in Korean children’s *kokugo* compositions, the *tsuzurikata* (綴り方) as it was called, with particular attention paid to the way in which Korean children transcribed “sounds” in Japanese and the specificities of the writing curriculum that guided both students and *kokugo* teachers in the classroom.

I direct our attention to the under-examined aspects of *kokugo* education in the early 1930s, to the world of primary school *kokugo* classrooms in Northern Chōlla Province, focusing on the tensions and negotiations surrounding the *tsuzurikata* writing curriculum. Children’s writings—or children’s experiences, for that matter—have rarely been a central source for the investigation of *dōka*, largely because of the concern over its authenticity and reliability. If *dōka* was a process of “becoming” Japanese, *tsuzurikata* compositions written by primary school children were the curricular output produced in conversation with its pedagogy.



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Children's *tsuzurikata*, in other words, speaks to, and speaks of, the larger cultural context of their production and informs us of the particularity of their experience.<sup>3</sup> Let me introduce two instances of everyday sounds used for the purposes of fostering cultural identities. These are both sounds that lie beyond the boundaries of semantic content that typically anchored *kokugo* instruction. Produced at two very different historical moments in Korea—1934 and 1946—the following examples show how the paradigm of *kokugo*, the national language, as a tool for *dōka*, constantly exceeded the boundaries of language, ethical content, and other dimensions largely associated with *kokugo*. As such, this essay extends our understanding of *kokugo* into the materiality of everyday life, as it expressed and reflected the many sensitivities of the colonial encounter.

Let us begin with an illustration of undoing *kokugo* from 1946, one year after Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule, by considering a children's play. Appearing in *Chu'gan sohaksaeng* (Primary student weekly), a weekly magazine for grade school children, Yu Sōk-bin's "Haebangdoen chimsūngdūl" (Liberated animals) features a conversation between a mountain god and a class of talking animals. As the most authentically indigenous and widespread of the deities in the Korean pantheon, the mountain god is an appropriate teacher to oversee a lesson on how to undo the effects of what might whimsically be called acoustic colonization.

One day, the mountain god gathered all the animals to teach them how to "make sounds." To the rooster he asked, "How did you used to cry before August 15?" The rooster replied, "Koke kokkō." The mountain god said, "Hmm, ... that's not bad, but there is something not quite right about it. From now on, you will cry "kkokkiyo."

....

The goat said, "I don't even want to mention how I used to sound in Japanese. Please teach me the Korean sound at once." The mountain god replied, "I see, you will now go, 'Maeaeaeaeaeae.'"

The rabbit said, "I don't cry, but I can speak." The mountain god asked, "How did you used to speak?" The rabbit said, "*Moshi moshi, kame yo kamesan yo. Sekai no uchi de omae hodo....*" [Hello, Tortoise, Mr. Tortoise. There's no one in the world like you....] The god stopped the rabbit by saying, "Enough! From now on, you'll say, ...." All the animals applauded, saying, "Very good!"<sup>4</sup>

What is striking about this play is its focus on onomatopoeia. The rooster and the goat relearn what they are supposed to sound like in Korean, and where the animal in question lacks a unique sound that can serve as its identifiable marker, as in the case of the rabbit, it is given a speech that is as close to prelingual as possible: a nursery rhyme.<sup>5</sup> At first glance, this focus on onomatopoeia may appear to function merely to render the piece suitable for its intended readership of children; it is a simple tale for a simple audience. Reading it as an allegory of decolonization, however, we can note how the play's emphasis on the mimicry of sounds reveals an intimate, primordial connection between the acoustic and national identity. Put another way, the recognition of decolonization as a process of relearning how to use one's vocal chords to generate native sounds draws attention to an important and understudied aspect of the profoundly colonial project of educating the senses via *kokugo*.<sup>6</sup>

Another example of the “outer edges” of *kokugo* education can be seen in student compositions included in a 1934 publication, *Bunshū* (文集), published in Northern Chōlla. Here we see an example of *kokugo* learning, the sounds no less, and the *kokugo* teachers' approval and enthusiasm encouraging such output.

コケッコーとなくにはとりの聲に目がさめた。...時計がチンチンチンチンチンと五時をうった。すると間もなくがらがらがらと雨戸を開ける音がきこえ出した。箱のかなりやがチッチッチと鳴いた。<sup>7</sup>

I woke up to the sound of a rooster, *koke kokkō*. The wall clock rang *chin, chin, chin, chin, chin*, marking five o'clock. Someone opened the *amado* (storm shutter) and it sounded *gara, gara, gara, gara*. A canary from its cage chirped *chit, chit, chit*.

This essay appears as an “exemplary composition” in the teachers' section and the instructors' commentary gives it high praise: “It is an elegant, flawless piece of writing (少しもへんな所のない上品な文である).”<sup>8</sup> The accompanying instructional guidelines note how the child did a good job of transcribing sounds such as *chin, chin, gara, gara*, and *patan, patan*, and that teachers should teach how such expressions can convey a vivid, realistic portrayal to readers.<sup>9</sup> Here, the anonymous student's essay earnestly and precisely transcribes the sounds of the rooster, the wall clock, the storm shutter, and the canary.

In the next example, we see another “soft edge” of *kokugo* education in the form of a child’s poem. Appearing in the students’ section of *Bunshū*, a fourth grader Korean Yō Hyowōn based in Ok’ku, Northern Chōlla writes:

日が暮れた  
お月様は森の上で笑っている  
冷い風にサラサラと  
木の葉は落ちる<sup>10</sup>

The dusk has fallen  
The moon is smiling above the forest  
In the chilly wind  
The sounds of falling leaves

Yō’s poem captures the ambience of a late autumn evening, highlighting the way in which the leaves sway in the wind, expressed as *sara sara* (サラサラ). Together with onomatopoeia, mimetic expressions such as *sara sara* belong to “non-semantic” speech that describes mannerisms and movements. That is, it was not just the sounds that colonial children had acquired through *kokugo* instruction; they were essentially being taught in Japanese how to *perceive* the outside world as Japanese, thereby serving the purpose of *dōka*.

By engaging closely with the 1934 publication *Bunshū*, a collection of primary school students’ *tszurikata* compositions, children’s writing gets placed properly at the center of this study in order to explore the modality of *kokugo* education. First, I focus on the physical and affective dimensions of the colonial government’s national language policy and show how *kokugo* seized on prelingual speech forms, transitioning the sensorial realm to Japanese, thereby subjugating apolitical sensibilities and the preconscious; *dōka* was most recognizable in the sounds that colonial children made, such as with onomatopoeia. Second, I discuss how the ascendance of the free *tszurikata* movement on the Japanese main islands encouraged the expression of the self, giving colonial children some degree of agency, as they were instructed to “write from everyday life.” Coupled with the pedagogic leniency of this era, especially pertaining to Korean customs and composition topics, the professed lived realities in the 1934 publication carve out a discursive space for accessing colonial children’s consciousness and negotiation. Keeping in mind that

the authenticity of children’s voices must be “interrogated, not assumed,” I examine children’s writing as that which illuminates the “situated knowledge of children’s everyday lives.”<sup>11</sup> Lastly, I show how, by executing the pedagogic goals of *tsuzurikata* in a colonial *kokugo* classroom, the *kokugo* teachers were tasked to guide colonized Korean children to Japanese proficiency and at the same time monitor their everyday lives.<sup>12</sup> Ultimately, the “free” *tsuzurikata* curriculum was tied to self-nourishment and moral education by virtue of its exposure of the private life, thoughts, and emotions. What the 1934 publication brings to light is a phase of *dōka*, sophisticated and gradual in character, that does not attempt the immediate transformation of the cultural or the ideological; rather, it reveals a more palatable cooptation that combines policies of “live and let live” towards Korean culture, but which nonetheless demands a thorough transformation of one’s perceptive and sensorial habits, a transformation which quietly and more subtly paves the way to the thorough Japanization of Koreans in the late 1930s.<sup>13</sup> This seemingly more relaxed mode of *dōka* was wedded to the *tsuzurikata* writing curriculum, which naturally lent itself to a surveillance function.

### Placing *Bunshū* within the Colonial *kokugo* Education

*Bunshū* (文集) is an anthology of *tsuzurikata* essays, of both *futsū gakkō* (普通学校, common schools) and *shōgakkō* (小學校 or 尋常小學校, elementary schools), schools that were found in different parts of Northern Chōlla Province.<sup>14</sup> In her study of children’s *tsuzurikata* poetry in rural Tōhoku in the early 1930s, Mika Endō explains how the practice of making *bunshū* or class anthologies was pervasive and its circulation was limited to a restricted circle of classmates and largely remained within its locality.<sup>15</sup> The primary source under discussion, *Bunshū* was published by a local education bureau in Northern Chōlla Province. The volume’s first page presents a table of contents which organizes the essays into two sections—the elementary schools section and the common schools section, with essays chronologically appearing from September 1932 to March 1933. While the names appearing in the elementary schools section are Japanese, the common schools section contains Korean names, creating a structural divide between Japanese and Korean students locked within a tiered school system.<sup>16</sup> For each entry, the table of contents provides the composition’s title, the student’s town of residence and school name, followed by the student’s name. At the end of the students’ composition sections is a section reserved for teachers in a subheading,

*Futsū gakkō tsuzuri kyōjuhō saimoku* (普通学校綴り教授方細目), or “A detailed list of pedagogic guidance for writings in common school.” By featuring side-by-side sample essays and detailed instructional commentary on what should be permitted and what is to be prohibited, this section discloses the pedagogic goals at common schools in the early 1930s. With its evaluative guidelines and moral injunctions intended for a specific readership involved in colonial education, *kokugo* teachers, *Bunshū* was much more than your average curricular manual. Prohibiting its commercial circulation, the back jacket sports the label, *hibaihin* (非売品), NOT FOR SALE.

The *tsuzurikata* curriculum was shaped by Ashida Enosuke, a pedagogue who supposedly instituted the “writing from daily life” approach in early twentieth-century Japan.<sup>17</sup> Whereas the old form of composition pedagogy required regimented learning through the copying of classical texts and writing to the given topic, Ashida’s new *tsuzurikata* pedagogy encouraged a free style of writing on whatever the child found suitable.<sup>18</sup> At the heart of Ashida’s reform was the cultivation of the self through the writing of daily life, a life that the child sees, feels, thinks and describes. The art of free writing found its support in the literary coterie, including novelist Suzuki Miekichi (1882–1936), who spearheaded the launch of the children’s magazine, *Akai tori* (Red bird) in 1918. In an effort to disseminate free writing, the magazine regularly featured a *tsuzurikata* column.<sup>19</sup> Freeing children from dogmatic writing styles, *tsuzurikata* offered them a means for free-style descriptions of their daily lives, exposing their innermost thoughts and feelings, rendering the child’s interior readable, and thus governable.

One might say that the free *tsuzurikata* movement provided a medium to informally and frankly express one’s thoughts and feelings. The ironic outcome behind this seemingly permissive curricular design is that cultivation of the self grants freedom and agency to the child, but this semblance of agency serves the purpose of governability. The Foucauldian notion of governmentality is invested with indexing knowledge in order to maneuver desires and interests.<sup>20</sup> *Tsuzurikata* avails itself as a technology of discipline through the exposure of the private. In line with this disciplinary tenet, *Bunshū* sheds light on the mundane and lived experiences of both Korean and Japanese students in Chōlla Province during the early 1930s. Ashida’s pedagogy of “writing from daily life” saw writing as a means of assessing one’s daily life. The recording of daily life, *seikatsu* (生活), made attitudes within daily conduct, *seikatsu taido* (

生活態度) readable, subjecting them to prescriptive injunctions, *seikatsu shidō* (生活指導). Repeatedly indicated throughout the volume, teachers are urged to instruct pupils to write (綴らせる *tsuzuraseru*) personalized experiences from daily life with great detail and clarity. Essays with abstract or generic descriptions were shunned and corrected. Good writing, the pedagogic guidelines consistently state, can only come from living a good life.<sup>21</sup> Good *tsuzurikata*, then, is considered an expression of one's self-evaluation and self-correction, and ultimately yields self-nourishment and betterment in character.<sup>22</sup> To provide a few specific examples from the teachers' section, one essay is criticized for not providing full details as to whether a child sang Kimigayo to the end.<sup>23</sup> Another essay is introduced as an example requiring correction because the child writes a rather impersonal description of the wind.<sup>24</sup> One who draws extra attention from teachers is the child whose writing is too mature, not expressing the "traits" of a child, or the children who copy sentences from the textbook.<sup>25</sup>

### Claiming the Sounds

Along with the focus on the everyday and specificity addressed above, the sonic features of language in onomatopoeia were embraced as an aspect of self-expression that would prove useful to the aims of *dōka* (that has been associated with formal decrees, *shūshin* moral education, and other directive forms) by helping to bridge the sounds perceived and expressed in real life to the larger Japanese polity. The colonial children's command of non-semantic Japanese detectable in written form resonate with Ashida and Suzuki's support for writing from daily life; the *tsuzurikata* essays reproduce the way in which children perceive and register animal and nature sounds. Linguistic theories have established the primordial and intimate nature of onomatopoeia in shaping the "cognitive construction of the human world."<sup>26</sup> The acquisition of onomatopoeia is associated with the prelingual phase of an infant's speech, whose output parallels the input provided by the mother.<sup>27</sup> The infant learns from the caregiver (usually the mother) how to imitate the "sounds produced by people, animals, nature, machines and tools."<sup>28</sup> For colonial children, the intimate role of the mother was to a significant extent commandeered by *kokugo* teachers who taught them, as part of the national language instruction, the links between sound effects and their referents.<sup>29</sup> With their Japanized tongue, the Korean children transitioned from the Korean acoustic realm to that of the Japanese, as they transcribed the sounds of a sparrow singing *chun*

*chun* (チュンチュン)<sup>30</sup> instead of *tchaek tchaek* ( 짹 짹), or reproduced the sounds of light rain as *shito shito* (シトシト),<sup>31</sup> instead of *posŭl posŭl* (보슬보슬).

For children in rural Chŏlla communities, animal sounds which surrounded them were perhaps the most familiar and common subjects for mimetic practices of onomatopoeia. In the 1934 volume children addressed topics such as sparrows, cats, and pigs, the animals they encountered on a daily basis. An example of this is Kim Chŏngnye, a second grader who writes in a mixture of *katakana* and *kanji*, a phonetic practice typical among beginners.

私ハ毎朝早くオキテ、ブタにタベモノヲヤリマス。ブタハトキドキハナヲクウクウナラシナガラ、ウマソウにタベマス。<sup>32</sup>

I wake up early every morning and feed the pig [at my house].  
Sometimes the pig snorts making *kuu kuu* sounds with its nose as it enjoys the food.

Although Kim’s beginners-level *kokugo* is obvious, she seems to have mastered the Japanese onomatopoeia. To this second grader, and also for her *kokugo* teachers, once her perception of the acoustic realm has been transformed into Japanese, the finer points of Japanese writing would come to her over time. Along with the pig’s very Japanese *kuu kuu*, cats and sparrows from other areas of Chŏlla also sing the Japanese onomatopoeia in the following vignettes. Cho Yejong, a fourth grader from Kŭmjŏ writes:

私の家にはねこが三匹居ます。何所から来たのか、二三ヶ月前からうちにいるのです。昼はどこで遊んでいるのか見えませんが、夕飯の時には、いつもにやごにやごと泣きます。<sup>33</sup>

We have three cats at home. I do not know where they came from, but we’ve had them since two or three months ago. During the daytime I do not know where they are playing, but around dinner time they always come and cry *nyago nyago*.

Compared to the previous second grader, this fourth grader is able to write more complex, advanced-level sentences transcribing the sound of cats. If the scene from “Liberated animals” serves as an allegory of

decolonization, the animal sounds strewn throughout the 1934 volume testify to the colonial process of seizing the acoustic realm in which all sounds are transitioning into Japanese sounds.

As we have seen in the example by a second grader, the *kokugo* lessons taught Chōlla children a standardized, non-semantic speech before they mastered the spoken or written forms. Let us take the sound of wind as an example. Spanning the months of late autumn to winter, children profess anxiety at the coming of a frigid winter, symbolized by strong winds. Ko Chijun writes:

あー、いやな冬が又やって来ました。いやだと思うと、まわって来るのも早い。<sup>34</sup>

Ah, the horrible winter has come again. The more I hate it, the sooner it comes.

His worries climax in the sentence:

北風がひゆうひゆう吹いて来る晩、みんながふるえて居ることを思うと今から心配でたまりません。<sup>35</sup>

The thought of the wind from the north that blows *hyū hyū* at night, and how my family would be shivering in the cold, makes me feel sick with worry.

Writing from Namwōn, Yang Kiju's essay describes an account of a winter blizzard.

朝から降り出した雪は五時限目を終って見ると、何所もかも雪抱まれて真白い世界となり、北の方からは強い風がヒューヒューと降る雪を投げつける。<sup>36</sup>

It started snowing in the morning, and by the end of the fifth period everywhere was blanketed by snow and turned white. The strong winds from the north blew *hyū hyū* blowing around [the fallen] snow.

Though written in *hiragana* and *katakana* respectively, Ko Chijun in *Muju* and Yang Kiju in *Namwōn* register the sound of strong northern winds in perfect unison, *hyū hyū*, suggesting a standardized acoustic

mimicry of wind. That is to say, two unrelated colonial Korean children growing up in different parts of rural Chōlla have internalized and employ identical modes of non-semantic Japanese language through which they perceive and express nature. Ranging from *sara sara* and *kata kata* to *hyū hyū*, the onomatopoeia associated with the wind is recorded uniformly by the colonial students across Northern Chōlla Province.

While *kokugo* lessons on onomatopoeia taught colonial children a sensorial language to perceive and describe the outside world, there was another subset of non-semantic language that enabled them to express bodily responses: interjections. The use of interjections such as *ouch*, *yikes*, or *whoa* are the instantaneous, unfiltered bodily responses marking affect. Titled, “The day of school exhibition and competition fair,” Na Hanch’ōn, a sixth grader from Mangyōng, writes:

十五日の朝、ハット眼がさめた。部屋には燈がついている。「ああ、今日は展覧会並に品評会。」私の心は嬉さで踊った。井戸端にツルベの音がしている。誰かおきたのかしら、時計は五時を打った。さめきれぬ眼をこすりながら大急ぎで窓の戸を開けた。太陽はぼんやりとかすみ、あたり一ぱいこめている雲の間から「シトシト」と絲のような雨が降っている。...次から次へ来る友達の顔もニコニコ顔だ。<sup>37</sup>

On the morning of the fifteenth, I suddenly woke up. The lamp was lit in the room. “Ah—it is the day of exhibition and competition fair.” My heart was dancing with excitement. There came a sound of a bucket from the edge of the well. Maybe someone was awake. The wall clock rang five times indicating it is five o’clock. Rubbing my sleepy eyes I rushed to open the window. The sun was faintly dim and thick clouds were everywhere. From the openings among the clouds, thin, thread-like raindrops were falling... One friend after another, everyone had a smiley face.

Na Hanch’ōn’s essay is a perfect example that combines an interjection ハット, with onomatopoeia (シトシト), and mimetic expressions (ぼんやり and ニコニコ). The prosodic marker ハット underscores how he woke up suddenly in anticipation of the upcoming event, or perhaps worrying about oversleeping on an important day, giving the verb さめた an affective contextualization. In the output of non-lexical onomatopoeia such as ハット, linguists have argued this acoustic production is comparable to reflexive bodily functions.<sup>38</sup> When a Korean

child writes ハット for example, it highlights an ingrained language resembling that of a hardwired biological response, indicating a complete takeover of the child’s sensorial world. Combined with this bodily response, Na’s essay captures how the sun yields its presence to thick clouds on an overcast day by employing the mimetic expression ぼんやり meaning “vacantly” or “dimly.” The accompanying drizzle is registered as something akin to a fine thread emanating a soft sound, シトシト. When pieced together, ハット, ぼんやり, and シトシト orchestrate a vignette integrating the body (that lets out a Japanese sound as part of bodily reflex) and the senses (delivering nature in Japanese).

The pedagogic focus on sensorial expressions in the early 1930s provides a snapshot of *kokugo* education on the eve of transitioning to full-scale war mobilization. Though wedged between two defining military conflicts in Japan’s imperial advancement on the Asian continent—the 1931 Manchurian Incident and the 1937 Marco Polo Bridge Incident—life in colonial Korea during 1932–1933, as documented in the 1934 volume of grade school compositions, suggests an era of relative calm. Pak Changdong, a sixth grader from Muju writes in the title, “Regret”:

よくよく見るといつもくる一羽の鶏が今日も私の家の野菜畠に来て白菜を食べていた。私はあまり癩に障ったので、大きい石を目がけもせず投じたが、あたったのか鶏の音が「ぎやつ」とした。急に私は可哀そうになって涙がこぼれそうにもありおそろしくなって胸がドキドキして顔が眞青になった[sic]足の折れた鶏はチンバのやうに一足一足とたおれそうに行く。<sup>39</sup>

When I looked closely it was the same rooster. It came again today to our family vegetable plot and was eating the cabbage. Unable to control my irritation, I threw a rock without meaning to strike it, but the rooster must have been hit. The rooster exhaled a sharp scream, “squawk.” Suddenly I felt pity and my eyes were welling with tears. My heart started palpitating loudly “dub-dub” in fear. The rooster, now with a blue face and a broken leg, walked away like a cripple taking one step at a time as if it was about to fall.

While a mundane vignette of an agrarian life, Pak’s essay demonstrates his command of the Japanese onomatopoeia, *ぎやつ* and *ドキドキ*, and more importantly, his ability to assess himself. The moral takeaway of the essay is that Pak comes to realize the consequences of his thoughtless action and regrets it. This self-corrective quality makes Pak’s

essay all the more ideal and exemplary, a *tsuzurikata* that Ashida Enosuke and *kokugo* teachers all would have desired.

Mastery of both the auditory and non-auditory subsets of Japanese language on the part of colonial children meant that their tongues were already adept at representing nature—the animals, the wind, and the rain—in Japanese. This linguistic takeover was expedited, in part, due to the remarkably similar linguistic patterns between Japanese and Korean. Both languages share highly developed linguistic properties in the onomatopoeic and mimetic language. In the *tsuzurikata* compositions, children rendered a smiley faced *niko niko* (ニコニコ) replacing its Korean equivalent, *panggūt panggūt* (방긋방긋), and express the motion of a spinning top as *kuru kuru* (クルクル) instead of *ping ping* (빙빙).<sup>40</sup> The colonial children's use of Japanized interjections adds yet another layer to this acoustic takeover, the bodily reflex. Claiming the sounds, the empire seeped deep into the affective and bodily dimensions of prelingual speech.

### Straddling Two Linguistic Realms

Acquisition of the Japanese language was a slow process, and it must have not come as easily as onomatopoeia. Students who demonstrated fluency in the use of onomatopoeia did not necessarily exhibit comparable levels of fluency in writing. In the early 1930s Japanese was required in the *kokugo* classroom; once class was over, students switched to their mother tongue.<sup>41</sup> The colonial pedagogues encouraged the use of Japanese as an instructional language throughout common schools, but in reality such instruction was impossible without using Korean.<sup>42</sup> For Korean students, writing *tsuzurikata* essays meant a complicated negotiation of maneuvering with uneven exposure to the target language and semantic hierarchy. Kim Chongjung, the fourth grader from Anŏng who was able to produce the Japanese onomatopoeic sounds of a rattling paper screen (*kata kata*) in the wind writes:

まどのそとには今朝お母様のせんたくなさったチマが二枚ほしてある。  
そのチマが風の吹くたびにばたんばたんしょうじにぶつかり、しょうじ  
も風にゆれてかたかたと音をたてている。<sup>43</sup>

Outside the window two skirts that my mother laundered this morning are hung. As the wind blows, the skirts hit against the paper screen and make the sound, *batan batan*. The paper screen rattles in the wind making the sound, *kata kata*.

Kim's use of Japanese onomatopoeia to mimic the wind is perfect, yet his Japanese vocabulary is obviously lacking: "a skirt" is preserved in Korean, *chi'ma*. His essay is a prime example of writing that combines thoroughly Japanized sounds with a Korean word, *chi'ma*, in a Japanese sentence composed with perfect grammar. Kim may not have known the Japanese equivalence for a skirt but he is able to incorporate the verb, *nasatta* (did), indicating a grasp of an honorific language.

Insertion of Korean vocabulary in his otherwise perfectly Japanese *tsuzurikata* is also found in an essay by Kim P'aryong, a fourth grader in Ansong, who writes:

だいこんはくさいは毎日草をとってやったり、ほみでほってやったりして、あとからひりょうをやりましたので、いまではほんとうに大きくなっています。<sup>44</sup>

For *daikon* (radish) and *hakusai* (cabbage), I weeded every day and dug with a *homi* [making room for fertilizer] and applied fertilizer. Now they have grown big.

Here, Kim inserts a Korean word, *homi*, meaning a hoe, in an essay written entirely in *kokugo*. This insertion is, again, most likely due to the lack of Kim's knowledge of the Japanese equivalent; hence the Korean word is awkwardly placed as part of Japanese syntax. It is not likely that he intentionally inserted *homi* as a Korean ethnic marker; rather, it should be understood as a subordination of *homi* to the Japanese syntax, on the part of a beginning-level student. Kim P'aryong's essay, too, demonstrates a Korean student who has not fully acquired proficiency, but is grappling with the task of writing in *kokugo*, even at the cost of an abrupt incorporation of a Korean word. It seems that *kokugo* teachers were aware of such challenges encountered by colonial children. In the teachers' section, it is advised as follows:

普通学校児童は内容は持って居ながらも言葉を知らなくて困る場合が幾らもある。教師は深い同情を以て救済すべきである。<sup>45</sup>

There are many instances where students at common schools may not have the vocabulary, but have the substance to compose their writings. It is urged that teachers rescue those students with deep sympathy.

Kim's use of *homi*, therefore, does not become a serious concern, but a predictable task requiring pedagogic attention.

Compared to Kim's essay, the following essay adds yet another interesting dynamic to the hybridization of Korean and Japanese, this time signaling a cultural transition into the Japanized world. Kang Sŏngnok, a fourth grader from P'aldŏk, gives a nuanced account of *chusŏk* festivities, highlighting the excitement of waiting for the holiday:

私は秋夕にならないずっと前から、いらいらしたうれしい心持で 秋夕を待っておりました。まっている中にだんだんと 秋夕の日が近づいてきて、いよいよ明日となった日の午後でした。私がおちつかないうれしい心で庭で遊びながら、ああ 秋夕があしただな、と言いました。その時何かたべものをこしらへておった母さんが聞いて、「おまえは 秋夕に着る着物のないのになにがそんなに面白いか」とおっしゃいました。そこで私は、「いいえ着物はふるいのもいいですよ。」一年中でうれしいおぼんが明日だからなぜかうれしくてたまりません。」と言いました。すると母さんはにっこりさびしくわらいました。<sup>46</sup>

Long before the *chusŏk* holiday, I've been waiting for this day to come with fidgeting happiness. While I was waiting the day drew near and it was the afternoon before the day. As I was playing in the garden with a restless heart, I said, "Ah, tomorrow is finally *chusŏk*!" My mother who was preparing something to eat heard me and said to me, "You don't even have a [new] kimono to wear on *chusŏk*. Why so happy?" I responded, "No, I don't mind wearing an old kimono. I can't help feeling happy because my favorite holiday of the year, *obon* is tomorrow!" Upon hearing this, my mother had a lonesome smile on her face.

Kang's essay title is the kanji characters for *chusŏk*, 秋夕, and in a short essay consisting of only nine sentences, the word, 秋夕 (*chusŏk*) appears five times. In the dialogue he has with his mother, the mother says *chusŏk*, while the child counters with *obon*, replacing the Korean word *chusŏk* with a Japanese word. It is within the child's speech that the word *obon* appears only once. While respecting and observing the Korean custom and still entrenched in the customary ritual, the child utters the Japanese equivalent for *chusŏk*, transitioning into the Japanized world of rituals. It is possible that the child's utterance was accidental, but it is this accidental interchangeability of Japanese over Korean words that begs our

attention. Going back to the excerpt at the beginning, the Japanized sounds of animals had to be unlearned in order to thoroughly become Korean. For *obon* to seep through the young mind, this kind of natural transition from Korean to Japanese might have been most ideal for *kokugo* teachers. The mother's lukewarm, if not bitter, response to the child's excitement provides a contrasting view toward the holiday. The word kimono complicates the sartorial distinction. First, it is unlikely that Koreans wore the Japanese kimono, as they most likely donned traditional Korean attire. In fact, it is questionable whether the mother indeed uttered kimono. What is interesting here is that Kang's experience of *chusōk* was translated into Japanese, at least in a semantic sense, and presented as a Japanized vignette of daily life. Unable to buy a new "kimono" for her child, the mother's response paints a not-so-happy account of the festivities juxtaposed by a child's naiveté that disregards the financial dimensions of the holiday. The essays by Kim and Kang suggest a project in progress—the Japanization of the Korean tongue by way of *tsuzurikata*—that sometimes manifested in an awkward amalgamation but nonetheless signaled a subordination of the Korean to the Japanese.

This linguistic and cultural negotiation was not exclusive to Korean children. An essay by Yoshida Yōko, a Japanese student living in Chōnju, introduces a vignette of a colonial contact zone involving other foreign residents.

こんどかはった私のうちのすぐとなりには、西洋人の家があります。そのうちに五つになる女の子が居ます。それがベビーであります。色のまっ白くつやつやした大きなからだに黄ろい美しいかみの毛で私どもとちがって目のいろがへんです。... いつもにこにこ笑って私どもとあそぶのを大へん喜んでいます。ことばも日本語がよくわかってえい語はちっともつかひません。<sup>47</sup>

Right next to our new house lives a Western family. In that family there is a five-year old girl. She is called "Baby." She has a big pale white body with beautiful blonde hair and a strange eye color that is different from ours. [...] She always smiles and enjoys playing with us. She also understands Japanese and does not use any English.

The essay then describes the children playing with each other. One day their playtime extends to dusk, but the Western child does not seem to want to go home. Yoshida says to her, ベビーママがよんでいるよ。

(Baby, [your] Mama is calling you). The Western child corrects Yoshida by saying, あれママでないよ。おもによ。(No, it's not *Mama*, it is *Omoni*). Then Yoshida escorts the girl to her house and other Japanese children tease the girl by calling her “Seiyōjin, seiyōjin (Westerner, Westerner).” The Western girl responds by yelling “stupid” in Korean, transliterated in katakana モントングリヤ(멍텅구리야), and runs home.

The western child has developed sufficient mastery of both Korean and Japanese to switch between the two languages and select appropriate moments of use for each. Although only five years old, the “baby” seems to have grasped the colonial dynamics between Japanese and Koreans to provoke Yoshida by rejecting the use of a Japanese word, *mama*, and replacing it with a Korean word, *omoni* instead. It seems that the Western child uses Korean in a spiteful way to provoke the Japanese children. On another level, this scene reveals that Yoshida’s knowledge of Korean is adequate enough to understand the Western child’s words and transcribe them in *katakana*. When verbally teased by the Japanese children, the Western girl fights back with a Korean word, モントングリヤ. Yoshida reveals in her essay that the western child is so fluent in Japanese that she never spoke in English. In the scene, then, the five-year-old Western girl is introduced as a third party to the Korea–Japan colonial contact zone, where she capitalizes on the tension between the languages of the colonizer and the colonized by performing calculated codeswitching to serve her own emotional needs. Through the young Western child’s manipulation of the two languages, Yoshida’s essay brings to the fore a counter-acculturation: the Koreanization of Japanese (and Westerners). The “code-switching,” however, was leverage for Yoshida and her Western neighbor, an option to be used at their discretion.

### Reading beyond the Syntax

As we have seen in the previous two sections, *Bunshū* is a “mixed bag,” and includes compositions of various proficiency levels and skills. Japanized sounds and linguistic straddling between Japanese and Korean were two markedly noticeable features that signaled *dōka* in progress via *kokugo* instruction. This section pays attention to the compositions that exhibit a modest level of proficiency in order to focus on what was professed and negotiated in student compositions. Given the latitude of topics and permissive nature of the *tsuzurikata* curriculum, the long shot mission of *dōka* seems to have prioritized Japanization of the tongue, not the heart. In other words, a mode of *dōka* that becomes discernible in the

1934 volume privileges the pragmatic use of language over the ideological transformation of the Korean child. Of the essays written by colonial students, one of the most pressing topics concerns the escalating military tensions in Manchuria. The entries discussed in this section provide insight into Korean obedience, and the manner in which their essays ironically end up accentuating their apathy with regard to Japan's military conflicts in Manchuria. Known as the Manchurian Incident of 1931, this conflict marked the beginning of a fifteen-year war in China; schools leveraged the gravity of this war to alert colonial children of its exigencies.<sup>48</sup> Third grader Yoon Danyoung's entry documents her screening of a propaganda motion picture, but her primary focus is on the rarity of its spectacle. She writes:

四五人の友達とかけ足で来て見るとさまざまな活動しゃしんがうつりましたが皆面白[sic]ございました長い汽車や馬車や電車がごうごうと音を立てながらさっさと通って行くのや生徒が唱歌をしたりゆうぎをやったりするのが大へんよく出来ました。海国男子と言うのは軍かんでせんそうをするのがほんとうに勇しうございました。まだ他にも色々ありました。<sup>49</sup>

With four or five classmates we hurried to the screening which showed a variety of motion pictures, such as long trains, horse carriages, and electric cars moving with sounds, or students singing the *shōka* or playing. The movie called *Kaikokudanshi* had fighting scenes on battleships [and the sailors] looked valiant. And there were a lot more things.

Yoon notes how the previous semester's first screening showed moving pictures with no sound, but the second screening included sound. In what must have been a propaganda screening, Yoon's level of involvement is scarcely more than that of an aloof spectator or bystander; she had no ownership of, or identification with, the film's content. She only makes note of the motion picture's visual and audio effects, without engaging the film's message.

As was common in the *shūshin* (修身) moral education of this era, pedagogic objectives resonated in the role models the schools taught. Tales of gallant Japanese soldiers were projected as models to emulate. Boys in particular were expected to respond to these tales with a determination to follow in the soldiers' patriotic footsteps. Fourth grader Choi Eunsōk writes on the first anniversary commemoration of Japanese suicide soldiers fighting in Manchuria, said to have shouted, "Long live the

emperor, *banzai*” with their dying breath.<sup>50</sup> Widely propagated as a heroic tale of The Three Human Bullets (肉弾三勇士) in the early 1930s, the war heroes that Choi and his classmates commemorated in Northern Chōlla were popular propaganda subjects on the main islands of Japan, disseminated through a variety of cultural products such as film, songs, and children’s literature.<sup>51</sup> This story of patriotism was deployed to garner public consensus on Japan’s military involvement in Manchuria.<sup>52</sup> While using terms such as *waga gun* (our army) to refer to Japanese soldiers, Choi’s essay imparts a moment of dissonance that has failed to co-opt his heartfelt commitment towards the war.

教室にはいつて四時間勉強して式場に入って、色々な話を聞きました。松村先生や、晉先生のお話を聞くと、おどろいてしまいました。私は今まで我軍は強いまたやまとだましひのあることは聞きましたが、それほど日本軍が君に忠義をつくしたことは知っていませんでしたが、今日のはじめてはっきり分かりました。てつじょうもうをばくはつするため、自分が飛びこんで、手が折れ足が折れて見るに見られない程のきずを受けても、自分の責任をはたしているかどうかという心配をしていた。此の人の心はどんなであったでしょう。そればかりではなく今息がきれよとする時「天皇陛下萬歳。」とさけんで死にました。こんな人が我が日本軍にあるから、戦争をしてもまけたことはないのだろうと考えます。<sup>53</sup>

After we finished studying through the fourth period in the classroom, we went to the venue for commemorative celebration and listened to a number of lectures. I was surprised at the lectures by Matsumura sensei and Shin sensei. I have heard about our army’s (*waga gun*) mighty strength and Yamato spirit, but I learned for the first time that Japanese soldiers (日本軍) are loyal [enough to give their lives]. In order to explode the barbed wire they threw their bodies, enduring excruciating pain, breaking their arms and legs, in order to carry out their mission. What did they feel? I wonder. That’s not all. With their very last breath, they shouted “Long live the emperor, *banzai*” and died. Because our Japanese army (我が日本軍) has such [loyal] soldiers I think we have never lost a battle.

In terms of syntax, this essay satisfies the requisites of a compliant Korean child in support of war propaganda. Upon closer reading, however, affective traces become recognizable. While using the right assemblage of phrases, such as *waga gun* (our army), Choi expresses no desire to also

enter that gallery of heroes. That is, the propagandistic language and Choi's distant position run in parallel, without intersection. The suicide soldiers' strong emotions and loyalty are noted as objects of curiosity, hence Choi writes, "I wonder"; however, he makes no effort to identify with or emulate their selfless actions. This essay promises no future, and closes at a dead-end, precisely because the Korean child remains uninvolved, uninspired, and unmotivated by the tale. During the *kōminka* (imperialization) era in the late 1930s such a perspective, that of a mere bystander, would have been alarmingly inappropriate and unpublishable. Choi Eunsōk accommodates the predictable requisites of *tsuzurikata*, but only goes as far as regurgitating what he had "learned," leaving out his personal responses. If anything, the essay's tone is dry and aloof, even mechanical, completely devoid of any personal affect.

What might have been more desirable for *kokugo* teachers, in terms of semantic content, can be found in Japanese student compositions that demonstrate a commitment of the tongue and heart. Included in the same 1934 volume, a third grade girl based in Jōnju, Hayashi Tamie, writes a *tsuzurikata* in the form of a consolation letter, "Haruki no oniisan (To brother Haruki)," thanking Haruki for his service in frigid Manchuria. The letter indicates they had previously exchanged correspondence and that Hayashi sent him a comfort pouch containing snacks, while the soldier sent her a letter with a photo in return. The girl's tone is sweet as she warmly asks:

私はいもんぶくろを作る時から、寒い寒い満州で、私たちがのかりにはたらいて下さる兵隊さんたちに、一番すきな物を上げようと思って、あめ玉やら氷ざどうやらを入れておきましたが、おいしゅうございましたか。今ならほし柿やらくりやらありますので又送って上げましょうか。<sup>54</sup>

When I was making the comfort package I thought of the soldiers who are working on our behalf in frigid Manchuria and wanted to send you something you'd like so I sent you candy and sugar blocks. Did you like 'em? It's the season of dried persimmon and chestnuts. Would you like some?

In fact, pronounced topics in the elementary schools section that are absent in the common schools section are the war and the emperor, and the flag; all of which are the timely exigencies for emperor-centered

patriotism. For Nishikawa Hiroshi, a second grader living in Kunsan, the flag itself moves him to tears.

立ててしまって、僕は國きにけいれいをいたしました[sic]そして、ばんざいとさげびました。せんそうに持って行っている國きのことを、思い出したらなんだか、なきたくなりました。ないてはほんとうの日本少年となれない。又、天皇へいかに、忠ぎは、出きないと思ってがまんしました。

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[After raising the Hinomaru flag] I saluted the flag and loudly yelled “Banzai.” The thought of the flag in the battlefield moved me to tears. If I show tears I cannot become a real Japanese boy and prove my loyalty to the emperor. Thinking this, I held back from shedding tears.

This second grader’s emotional reverence for the flag is affirmed by an older Japanese student, Kitahara Takurō, who writes of a morning school assembly consisting of flag raising and the singing of the national anthem.<sup>56</sup> The student records that there are as many as fifteen hundred students at his *shōgakkō* in Kunsan, that the flag immediately evokes the war in Manchuria, and that he is moved to pay a respectful bow.<sup>57</sup> In contrast to their Korean counterparts, the Japanese students in *shōgakkō* demonstrate that the war in Manchuria is their war, their imminent future, and their fate. For Suzuki Hanako, a sixth grader in Kūmje, the war is a reality as she sends her brother off to the frontlines, writing, 兵隊さんは二丁目で初めてだ ([The villagers exclaimed] he is the first soldier from *nichōme* neighborhood). She writes how hundreds of townspeople gathered at the station to send off soldiers, taking photos to commemorate their departure and shouting “Banzai!” in unison.<sup>58</sup> For Suzuki Hanako, the war had invaded her family life and taken her brother to the battlefield. The essays by the Japanese students of Chōlla speak to their unwavering support of the war, even at the expense of sending off a brother; conversely, their Korean counterparts profess psychological indifference, if not outright apathy, towards the ongoing war. Talk of *dōka* may have been loud in the early 1930s, but these essays suggest a fissure—a fissure not only of colonial hierarchy, but of a differing registered reality. Viewed collectively, the Korean children’s compositions convey that they had scarcely been brought onboard with the war in Manchuria.

## The Mission of *kokugo* Teachers: Taming the Colonial Tongue and Heart

Based on the instructional guidelines, the uncommitted hearts of colonial children discussed in the previous section were not at all taken as a serious concern for the *kokugo* teachers. The teacher's section in *Bunshū* begins with a reiteration of Ashida's philosophy of writing from daily life. It reminds them time and again that one of the most important responsibilities of *kokugo* teachers was to equip their Korean pupils with a command of *kokugo*, to write what they saw, heard, experienced and thought, even if their experiences were exclusively Korean in terms of content. When *kokugo* was finally attained and internalized by way of *tsuzurikata*, a sophisticated mode of Japanization would have been achieved, one that invaded and dictated perceptions and expressions. It was this functionality over the ideological that was prioritized in the early 1930s. One of the primary concerns for teachers was the rudimentary techniques in writing combined with artistic qualifications demonstrating one's command of Japanese. Take for example the following instructive guidelines:

この文は割合に言葉遣ひに無理がない。鮮語を直譯して使用したり、順序違った言葉遣ひをしたりすることにも常に注意して指導したい。この文題はすこし長すぎると言われるかも知れないが、しかし具体的のが良ろしい。文題が 抽象的のもの、例えば「春、夏、秋、水、月」等は面白くない。<sup>59</sup>

The sentences are relatively natural. It is extremely desirable to correct the student's use of direct translation from the *senko* [Korean] and the mistakes in syntax [word order]. The title is a bit too lengthy, but attention to details is laudable. Abstract topics, such as spring, summer, fall, and winter, are not interesting.

What caught the attention of pedagogues is the student's direct translation from the 鮮語 (*senko*), a derogatory term referring to the Korean language, and more importantly, an indication that the student was processing his or her thoughts in Korean. In essence, the student was still practicing 鮮語 (*senko*) and his or her *kokugo* composition was a product of translation. This violates the ostensible objective of the *tsuzurikata* curriculum that sought a complete takeover of the cognitive construction of the world. The criticism against this student was, however, pitched not

as an attempt to call on the use of *senjo* in thought-processing but rather as a concern that the student's habit of thinking in *senjo* undermines the natural flow in the writing.

Despite a tolerance of content and mistakes, the harshest criticism in *tsuzurikata* discipline was directed at students who deviated from exemplary attitudes in everyday life. Take the following example by a student who was late to the morning school assembly, tried to sneak into the classroom, only to be caught by the teacher. The guidelines stated:

この文には批判すべき点や疑問の点が多々ある。作者の教室と朝会場との位置関係はどうであるか。若し先生にみつからないでそのまま通ったら作者の気持はどうだっただろうか等を児童に見つからしめること。<sup>60</sup>

There are several points that deserve criticism and questioning in the essay. What is the spatial relationship between the classroom and the morning assembly? And how would the child have felt if he had not been caught and gotten away with his tardiness? [Teachers should] instruct the child to reflect on this.

Two pedagogic aims can be identified here. The first comment reiterates the importance of detailed depiction, in this case the classroom's location in relation to the venue for the morning assembly that can track a logical sequence of the incident. The second comment raises an ethical question of the child's misconduct that requires repentance on his part. The exposure of the student's *seikatsu taido* via *tsuzurikata* opened it up to interventional supervision, *seikatsu shidō*.<sup>61</sup> The teachers' section advises a wide range of supervisory strategies, indexing desirables and undesirables, and detailing the habits and behaviors connected to larger moral concerns.

Going beyond the prerequisites of an ideal *tsuzurikata*, such as good command and exemplary attitudes, the *kokugo* teachers favored those essays indicating delicate sensibilities and sharp observation. A short essay consisting of only four sentences, writes:

うぐいすは木にいる時は「ほうほけきょう。」と鳴いてとぶおりには「けきよけきよ」と鳴きます。<sup>62</sup>

The nightingales sing *hō hoke kyō* when it is resting in the trees and *kekyo kekyo* when it flies.

The comment states, “The student ought to be applauded for his/her sharp perception to capture the sensorial differences between the two sounds.”<sup>63</sup> Students’ ability to imitate the sounds complemented with a sophisticated discernment of different sounds from the same bird drew *kokugo* teachers’ attention, which rallied and encouraged an onomatopoeic transcription of the cognitive realm.

Fundamentally, the *tsuzurikata* was considered the mirror of one’s interiority, a reflection of one’s heart.<sup>64</sup> Positing a direct causal relation between writing and one’s moral qualifications, the teachers’ section continuously emphasizes the curriculum’s prescriptive and supervisory role. Only those who pursue an exemplary life will be able to produce exemplary writing.<sup>65</sup> An essential key to the curriculum was the ability to reflect on one’s inner qualities, 内面 (*naimen*), not the mechanical cultivation of writing technique, the 手法 (*shuhō*).<sup>66</sup> Technical shortcomings, including deficiencies in Japanese vocabulary, did not raise eyebrows, but was taken as targets of pedagogic attention as long as the writings expressed genuine feelings based on experiences from daily life.<sup>67</sup> The 1934 publication is an eyewitness to the pre-*kōminka* years, to the transitional phase of *kokugo* education that did not court the ins and outs of Korean life, but focused intensely on achieving a command of the language, as far-reaching as the onomatopoeia of animal sounds. Korean children who were immersed in Korean life at home followed Ashida’s philosophy of writing from life; their *tsuzurikata* essays, filled with Korean content, were tolerated as part of a pedagogic strategy that sought to expose and supervise one’s private life through writing. As we have seen, *tsuzurikata*’s latitude did not mean that thinking in Korean was equally permitted. Fidelity to the language required equal fidelity in thought; one had to *think* in the target language—*kokugo*.

## Conclusion

This paper examined the operation of colonial power in *kokugo* education during the early 1930s. The 1934 publication, *Bunshū*, was taken as the central source to guide us into the *kokugo* classroom in the early 1930s, the *tsuzurikata* curriculum in particular. While a writing curriculum marked by its relatively lax mode of control over content, the compositions anthologized in *Bunshū* collectively illuminate Korean students’ command of the *kokugo*, especially the prelingual speech forms. Under a characteristically permissive framework, in large part shaped by Ashida’s

philosophy of *tszurikata* curriculum, the most intimate aspects of children's lives, including their attitudes, thoughts, and emotions were to become readable. Colonial children earnestly filled the pages of their *tszurikata* essays, exposing everyday lives that were distinctly Korean in substance but were expected to be articulated in perfect Japanese, employing onomatopoeia, mimetic expressions, and interjections. The essays indicate that colonial children at beginning-level Japanese mastered the fecundity in onomatopoeia before mastering basic vocabulary. In other words, mastery in Japanese onomatopoeia meant a Japanization of the sensorial realm through which colonial children recognized and registered sounds. It signaled a takeover of apolitical sensibilities and the preconscious. At the same time, the 1934 publication shows that the early 1930s was also an era that provided colonial children with some degree of agency, as they were encouraged to "write from everyday life." The vocal chords that rendered the sounds of birds and wind in perfect Japanese did not always live up to the expected level of identification with the empire.

The colonial sophistry in *kokugo* education during the early 1930s was precisely the pretension of latitude, and the persuasion of *kokugo* as the pragmatic vehicle of communication and a means of social mobility;<sup>68</sup> in the *tszurikata* classroom, the *kokugo* teachers wished only to equip their students with a command of the language, without demanding their hearts and souls, at least not yet. After all, once the *kokugo* had seized the colonial child's acoustic realm, even their use of onomatopoeia, what more was left?

## NOTES

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provided the necessary time to develop this new research project.

- <sup>1</sup> In 1943, a few years shy of the empire's collapse, the Japanese literacy among the Korean population was approximately 22%. The enrollment at common schools rose from 17% in 1930 to 20% in 1934 and jumped to 66% in 1942.
- <sup>2</sup> Morita Yoshio's (1987) impressive research on *kokugo* education, as it concerns this current study, reminds us of the imperial education policies which forcibly disseminated Japanese language in colonial Korea. In spite of these efforts, Miyada Setsuko's work (1985) shows how the state's push to mobilize Koreans as imperial soldiers was undercut by the utter failure of *kokugo* dissemination. In Korean language scholarship on this topic, prolific scholars of colonial education such as Kim Sunjŏn (2004) and Yi Pyŏngdam (2007) have emphasized how the ideological shepherding of children was crafted through curricular engineering and "moral education" strategies such as *kokugo* and *shūshin*. In the English language scholarship, Mark Caprio (2009) has examined the policies of assimilation within a broader comparative context including those of America, Britain, France, and Germany.
- <sup>3</sup> Allison James, "Giving Voice to Children's Voices: Practices and Problems, Pitfalls and Potentials," *American Anthropologist* 109.2 (2007): 265–266.
- <sup>4</sup> Yu Sŏkbin, "Haebangdoen chimśungdŭl" (Liberated animals), *Chugan sohaksaeng* (Primary student weekly), Issue 5 (1946): 33–34.
- <sup>5</sup> *Moshi, moshi, kame yo kamesan yo* is the first line of a famous Japanese children's song, *Usagi to kame*.
- <sup>6</sup> For a study on *kokugo* dissemination, see Tsuzuki Tsuguo, *Ilje sidae yahak mit haksul kangśuphoe esŏ silsidoen ilbonŏ kangśup* (Courses in Japanese at night schools and private learning courses in Korea under Japanese occupation, 1910–1945), *Asian Journal of Education* 11.4 (2010). Throughout the colonial era the *kokugo* class had the highest allocation of instruction, averaging a weekly instruction of nine to twelve hours while the Korean language was reduced to two to three hours until its elimination in 1942. Also, see Kim Sunjŏn kongjŏ. *Ilje kangjŏmgi ilbonŏ kyogwasŏ kugŏ tokpon ūl t'onghae pon sikminji chosŏn mandŭlgi* (The making of colonial Korea through the Japanese-language textbook, *kugŏ tokpon*), Seoul: Chei aen ssi, 2012.
- <sup>7</sup> *Bunshū* (文集), Chŏllabukdo kyoiku kai (Northern Cholla provincial education bureau), 1934, 52.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>11</sup> Mika Endō, “Repurposing Poetry: The Emergence of Working-Class Children’s Expression in Interwar Japan,” *Journal of Japanese Language and Literature* 50.1 (2016): 29.

<sup>12</sup> In her diary, Asano Shigeeko writes in 1942 about how her voluntary *kokugo* lessons to Korean children at Yamatojuku turn out to be an overwhelming task. She details how her pupils openly asked her to play with them or reluctantly cooperated with her instruction. While a highly personal recording by an inexperienced young teacher in an impoverished community of Koreans, Asano’s essay underscores how colonial *kokugo* education involved pedagogic cooptation to bring the children on board with its objectives. See Helen J. S. Lee, “Dying as a Daughter of the Empire,” *positions: asia critique* 21.1 (2013): 73–93.

<sup>13</sup> Leo, T. S. Ching, *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2001), 89–132.

<sup>14</sup> Chōlla Province is located in the southwestern part of the Korean peninsula. In the map of colonial geography, Northern Chōlla Province is best known for the port of Kunsan, open since 1899 to trade with Japan, and for its role as the hub of “rice export” to the main islands of Japan. In 1923, Kunsan shipped 77.4% of the total price exported to Japan. This bustling colonial economy led to the expansion of the Kunsan port in 1926, and within ten years from 1920 to 1930, its Korean population doubled while Japanese population also saw an increase by 50 percent in the district of Kunsan. For a study on Chōlla during the colonial era, see Kim Tuhōn, “1928nyōn haehang toshi Kunsan ūi t’ūngjing kwa sahoe kujo” (A study on the characteristics and social stratification of seaport city, “Gunsan” in 1928). *Haehang toshi munhwa kyosōphak* 14 (2016): 223–259; and Yi Chōngsōp, “Ilje kangjōnggi toshihwa wa ingu idong” (The urbanization and migration in the period of Japanese occupation). *Taehan chirihak hoeji* 52 (2017): 105–122.

<sup>15</sup> Endō, 39.

<sup>16</sup> All primary schools (*futsū gakkō* and *shōgakkō*) were renamed *kokumin gakkō* in 1941.

<sup>17</sup> Naoki Sakai, Brett de Bary, and Lyotani Toshi eds., *Deconstructing Nationality* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell East Asian Series, 2005), 85–111.

<sup>18</sup> Kawamura Minato, *Sakubun no naka no dai-Nippon teikoku* (The Great

Japanese Empire in compositions) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2000), 93.

- <sup>19</sup> Endō, 31–32.
- <sup>20</sup> Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power” in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, ed. Herbert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, second ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 221.
- <sup>21</sup> *Bunshū*, 93, 96, and 100.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.
- <sup>26</sup> Catherine E. Laing, Marilyn Vihman, and Tamar Keren-Portnoy, “How Salient are Onomatopoeia in the Early Input? A Prosodic Analysis of Infant-Directed Speech,” *Journal of Child Language* 44.5 (2017): 1117–1139.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 1121.
- <sup>28</sup> Maria Florencia Assaneo, Juan Ignacio Nichols, Marcos Alberto Trevisan, “The Anatomy of Onomatopoeia,” *PlosOne* 6.12 (2011): 1-11.
- <sup>29</sup> Derek Attridge, “Language as Imitation: Jakobson, Joyce, and the Art of Onomatopoeia,” *MLN* 99.5 (1984): 1116-1140.
- <sup>30</sup> *Bunshū*, 12.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.
- <sup>38</sup> Attridge, 1128.
- <sup>39</sup> *Bunshū*, 79.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 86, 112, and 122.
- <sup>41</sup> Kawamura Minato, 21. In fact, student essays describe how they were learning

Korean at the same time. In an entry that describes bidding farewell to a teacher Kim, a sixth grader writes “I wish to learn Korean from such a kind teacher Kim once again.” See *Bunshū*, 137.

<sup>42</sup> Yamada Kanto, “Sikminji Chosŏn esŏ ūi kŭndae hwa wa ilbonŏ kyoyuk” (Modernization and Japanese-language education in colonial Korea), *Hanil Yŏksa Kongdong Bogosŏ* (Korea-Japan joint historical research), vol. 4. (Seoul: Hanil Yŏksa Kongdong Yongu Uiwonhoe, 2010), 237–264.

<sup>43</sup> *Bunshū*, 106.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>48</sup> As Takashi Fujitani’s book astutely points out, imperial Japan did not see Koreans as a valuable human resource until the late 1930s. It means that most Koreans were excluded from the state concerns in the early 1930s, a period that tolerated a dissonance between the tongue and heart in *tsuzurikata*. See Takashi Fujitani, *Race for Empire: Koreans and Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2011), 35–38.

<sup>49</sup> *Bunshū*, 94.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>51</sup> Yamanaka Hisashi, *Shōkokumin sensō bunkashi* (The wartime cultural history of little citizens) (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 2013), 34.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Bunshū*, 126.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 81–82.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

- <sup>61</sup> The logical link between *seikatsu taido* (生活態度) and *seikatsu shidō* (生活指導) by way of *tsuzurikata* curriculum is reiterated throughout the volume. See *Bunshū*, 3, 6, 36, 38, and 42.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 96 and 100.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.
- <sup>68</sup> Puja Kim, “Sikminji sigi Chosōn pot’ong hakkyo ch’wihak tondgi wa ilbonō: 1930 nyōndae rül chungsim ūro” (Purposes of enrolling in common school and Japanese language in colonial Korea), *Sahoe wa yōksa* (Society and history) 77.47, 19–35.

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