Approaching Modernity in Translation and Adaptation through *Ssangongnu**

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Sympathetic Context in the Cultural Translation of East Asian Novels during the Early Modern Period

In early twentieth-century Korean literary history various genres of fiction coexisted: *sin soseol* (new fiction), premodern (classical/traditional) fiction, and translations or adaptations of stories from the West, Japan, and China. These genres formed competitive, dynamic literary categories. This article seeks to explain how fiction from beyond the borders of Joseon (namely, from the West and other parts of East Asia) elicited empathy in Joseon readers and how non-native (non-Joseon) cultures and sensibilities were communicated through translation and adaptation. In analyzing this literary process, this article investigates the cultural context of Joseon's modernization, as well as the diversity, complexity, and multilayered nature of the East Asia's modernization process. It seeks an answer to the question of how the communication strategies of the age might be historicized as common East Asian cultural heritage, and whether it is possible to define the borders of culture and sensibility that existed between Korean and other East Asian readers.

The analytical methodology employed in this paper is as follows: first, I consider the idea of critical reconstruction of modernity and the restoration of a multi-layered, complex form of modernity through gender, script, status, locality, and media, specifically the translation and/or adaptation of novels with their own vernacular language in the early modern period.²

Second, this article focuses on cultural communication between Joseon and the rest of East Asia (China and Japan) in the 1910s. I particularly look at regional cultural dynamics that transcended nationalism and nation-centric ideas. Various Joseon newspapers, including *Maeil sinbo* (*Daily News*), published re-created or re-written versions of classical fiction, new fiction, and translations of Chinese and Japanese fictions. These translated novels are the primary subject

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^{1.} This paper treats the term "Joseon" as premodern and early modern and "Korea" as contemporary. "Korea" is also used as a holistic term.

^{2.} In Korea, previous research into modernity has centered upon modern print media, discourses of the intelligentsia, and those elites who sought to promote the enlightenment theory of modernization. For detailed proof of this, see Choe 2016. In the cases of Japan and China, see Miyosi 2002; Komori 2003; Liu 2005.

of this research, and they will help illuminate the cultural communication and empathetic structures that developed among East Asian countries at the time.

Third, this article primarily analyzes Ssangongnu (Jade Tears), which was translated by Jo Jung-hwan (1884-1947). The story was introduced to Korean readers as a serialized fiction in Maeil sinbo from July 17, 1912 to February 4, 1913.3 Ssangongnu was based on an original Japanese text titled Onogatsumi (My Sin 己が罪) written by Kikuchi Yuho 菊池幽芳 (1870-1947). The names of the main characters, backgrounds, and place names were altered for the Joseon audience, and some paragraphs of the text were abbreviated or even deleted altogether. 4 This article will explain the adaptation strategy Jo employed to ensure that Ssangongnu could communicate with and elicit empathy in Joseon readers, focusing on the representation of new, "modern" emotions and affectations in particular.⁵

This article will show how the translating strategies taken by Jo Jung-hwan were a result of accumulated historical experiences. To trace this, I reference the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean versions of Bulyeogwi (A Little Cuckoo 不如歸) and Janghanmong (A Dream of Long Suffering 長恨夢), and Jo Jung-hwan's 1902 translation of a Japanese fiction, Konjiki yasha (The Golden Demon 金色夜叉), which itself originated from Weaker than a Woman, an English novel from 1890 written by Bertha M. Clav.6

This research uses "cultural translation" as a primary concept. As defined by Clifford Geertz (1973), the term posits translational (im)possibility and

^{3.} As comparative texts, this article uses Ssangongnu, translated by Park Jin-yeong in 2007, and Onogatsumi, an original Japanese text obtained from the National Library of Korea. Partly, this article refers to the second edition of Ssangongnu that was published in Maeil sinbo.

^{4.} Suzuki Michiko (2011, 7) and Park Jin-yeong (2011, 308) regard the text as an adaptation close to a word-for-word translation, but this paper regards it as more of an adapted version in which the author took time to consider native (Joseon) readers' understanding and sympathies rather than a literal translation. This paper uses the terms "translation" and "adaptation" elastically depending on the occasion because it is difficult to strictly discern between translation and adaptation in early modern fictions, and sometimes the two can be found side by side with various façades. I focus on the façade of re-writing and "nativization" as a strategy for communicative translation.

^{5.} For previous research on the emotions depicted in Ssangongnu and other novels serialized in Maeil sinbo in the 1910s, see Kwon 2007; Choe 2010, 9; Rhee 2015.

^{6.} This paper chooses as texts for analysis Hototogisu 不如歸 (1928) by Ozaki Koyo 德富蘆花, Bulyeogwi, which was serialized in *Maeil sinbo* in 1912, a contemporary translated version of the same (2007), the Chinese translated text Burugui 不如歸 (1981), the Japanese text Konjik yasha (1992) and its Korean translated equivalent, which was serialized in Maeil sinbo May 13 to October 1, 1913 and published as a single text in 2007.

essential asymmetries that occur when one observes and represents another's culture. The term "cultural translation" assumes that translation essentially recontextualizes the Other's language and values. The practical aspects of cultural translation are analyzed in terms of impact on the communication of foreign cultural texts, recognition of the border between things native and non-native (to Joseon), and effective overlapping of nation-specific content through adaptation.

For this, this research will inextricably historicize cultural and literary strategies in the field of novel translation and adaptation, situating the ways in which common forms of sensitive, emotional communication were developed in Joseon and East Asia in the early modern period.

Empathizing Strategies and Experiments of Translation/ Adaptation in East Asia, and *Ssangongnu*

Previous research has revealed the translation routes of fictions that went on to be serialized in newspapers or published as books in the early modern period in Joseon (Saegusa 2008; Choe 2010; Kang 2011). There were translations from Japanese and Chinese fictions and retranslations from Japanese or Chinese fictions which had been translated from Western novels (France, England, and America). Prior research has found no cases of Western novels being translated directly into Korean without first being translated into Chinese or Japanese.

In the early modern period, East Asian writers interacted with one another through circulating Western novels in translation or adaptation, and also through reading one another's novels in translation and adaptation. Common translation strategies and know-how began to accumulate, making it possible to bring exotic foreign culture to native readers in empathetically understandable and approachable terms. The translation of fictions from East Asia and the West to Korea was done in the following manner.

First, characters' names, place names, and main narrative elements were altered into those of the native land. Foreign names in the original text were renamed to reflect places in the given homeland, as seen in the fictions

^{7.} For more on the theory of cultural translation, see Bhabha 2002; Jow 2004; Yi 2011; Jeong 2012; Yi 2014, 188-98, etc.

Hongboseok (A Ruby 1913) and Haewangseong (Neptune 1916). History, culture, and customs were modified to reflect those of East Asia in the fictions Ssangongnu, Janghanmong, and Bulyeogwi. Some translators re-wrote the story's conclusion, as in the cases of Ssangongnu and Janghanmong.

Jo Jung-hwan translated the characters' names and place names literally in Bulyeogwi, but in Ssangongnu and Janghanmong, he replaced them with Korean names. In Janghanmong, the time period of the narrative shifts forward 20 years from the original text, whilst Konjiki yasha and the background location became Gyeongseong (another name for Seoul, especially in the early 20th century) and Pyeongyang (Yi 2010, 20-21). The Japanese fiction Hototogisu 不如歸, which was written by Ozaki Koyo 德富蘆花 in 1928, was translated in Joseon into three versions by three translators. In his version, Jo Jung-hwan writes the characters' names in *hanja* (the Chinese script used in Korea), but with Japanese pronunciation, while marking place names in hanja with Korean pronunciation. In Dugyeonseong (Song of the Little Cuckoo 杜鵑聲) by Seon-u Il and Yuhwau (A Shower of Pomegranate Petals 榴花雨) by Kim U-jin, the timeframe is shifts from the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) to the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). This translation strategy was appropriated in Haewangseong (Neptune 1916-1917) by Yi Sang-hyeop, which was translated from Gankutsuo (The Count of Monte Cristo 巖窟王) by Kuroiwa Ruiko 黑岩淚香 (1901-1902), which was itself translated from Le Comte de Monte-Cristo by French novelist Alexandre Dumas (1844-1846) (Park 2011, 284-86; 369).

The following examples illustrate Korean adaptations of elements of everyday life, cultural customs, and language usage found in these texts. In the story Bulyeogwi, the original Japanese text used Fudoumyouou 不動明王, the name of Buddha used in the cultural context of everyday Buddhist practices. This was replaced by the Korean term sadangbang, a family shrine for ancestral tablets (sinju 神主), which was set up and worshipped in the context of folk religion and out of the belief in a family god. The Chinese translated version maintained the phrase Bùdòng míngwáng 不動明王 because the Chinese had the same custom as the Japanese.8 In the Korean adapted text Bulyeogwi,

^{8.} The translated versions are as follows: "Let's go to Fudoumyouou" (Japanese: Hototogisu 119); "It is not far to Bùdòng town" (Chinese: Burugui 51); "Let's go to Seonghwangdang" (Korean: Bulyeogwi 126). Similarly, the scene wherein the "mother suddenly stands up and takes out a tablet from the Buddhist shrine; returning to her seat, she holds it in front of Takeo's eyes" in the Japanese original was

the Japanese names of characters, places, and backgrounds were translated literally most of the time, but some were replaced in part by Korean cultural equivalents to elicit the reader's empathy more effectively. According to previous research, *Bulyeogwi* is largely a literal translation of its original text. However, the potential for adaptation and cultural translation Jo demonstrated there was soon fulfilled in his next translated fictions, *Ssangongnu* and *Janghanmong*. For example, the *karuta no kai* 骨牌の會 of *Konjiki yasha* was replaced by *cheoksahoe* 擲個會, a gathering to play a Korean traditional game called *yut*, in the novel *Janghanmong*. One scene in which a couple drinks cognac and coffee in *Konjiki yasha* was replaced with the scene in which they drink liquor in *Janghanmong*.

Dugyeonseong, which was adapted by Seon-u II six months prior to Jo's translation of Bulyeogwi, domesticated both the character names and the temporal and spatial background. As analyzed by Choe Tae-won (2010, 28; 31-32), the former was a translated text closer to an adaptation (word for word), whereas the latter was an adapted text closer to a translation (sense for sense). This changeover from translation to adaptation (de facto cultural translation) was due to the negative response of Joseon audiences when Bulyeogwi was first put on the stage by Jo in the theater as a drama. The Joseon audience responded awkwardly to the Japanese character names, so Jo opted for Korean-style names in his second version, which hints at his personal position on literary translation (Choe 2010, 35). His position became clearer in his next work, where he actively took a domestication strategy based on his understanding of native readers. His strategy considered historical experience, cultural customs, sentiment, narrative style, and rhetoric.

East Asian translators also often chose to add some explanations of new foreign words or information that did not yet exist in their native language. In the case of *Hotonari oninari* (*Man or Ghost* 人也鬼也), a Japanese fiction re-translated from an English text that was translated from French, a French location in Paris was explained at length, and the character's age, which was not

translated into Korean as "his mother got up suddenly and went to the *sadangbang*, took out an ancestral tablet, and placed it in front of Takeo" (*Bulyeogwi* 144).

^{9.} In the early modern period, Subouchi Soyo 平內逍遙 claimed that "Japanization" is at the core of translation: connection, emotion, and affection of narrative (See Choe 2010, 8).

^{10.} For example, in the first staged version of *Bulyeogwi* and in the novel *Bulyeogwi*, the name of the heroine, "Namiko" 澳子, was written using Japanese pronunciation, but the second time her name was written as "Nangcha" 澳子 with the Korean pronunciation.

in the original text, was added to help readers understand the situation. This additional information was then translated in both the Korean and Chinese texts (Choe 2010, 112). There was crossover among the three East Asian nations in terms of strategy and know-how. When Jo Jung-hwan translated in 2014 Bibongdam (A Pond of Flying Phoenix 飛鳳潭), he changed all the proper nouns into Korean words and substituted foreign culture with native culture: the Western backdrop of a ball became that of a school in his translation. Most translators in East Asia shared a term for this strategy, "translated narration" 譯述.

In terms of writing, narrating, and rhetoric, translators all subconsciously employed their traditional narrative grammar and cultural customs. When Pilgrim's Progress and the Bible were translated into Korean, the translator used premodern Korean fiction narrative style and rhetoric (Pak 2011, 127). It is not difficult to understand how, historically, the genre of old Korean fictions became a reliable reference point for translators.

(1) **Japan**: "Yes. Even if you are not anxious about this, think over it calmly once more. You are still young and don't know the world well. Doesn't everyone do it? Yes. People will kill a small worm to let a big worm live." (Hototogisu 135)

Korea: "Don't hurry up so much; think over it calmly again. You are still young and have little experience of the world. Let's think it over deeply. Like the proverb of killing a small worm to let a big worm live. We can say that Namiko is the small worm, and you are the bigger worm." (Bulyeogwi 143)

China: "Man, don't hurry so much, please think it over calmly. You don't know the world well because you are still young. Haven't you heard that old proverb that sheep can be exchanged for cows? That, as it were, a small thing can be exaggerated for a bigger one? Tamaki is like the sheep, and our Kawajima family is big as a cow. The sheep's death is not my will, but it protects our Kawajima family. Namiko will be degraded to the second rank." (Buyugui 59)

The above are examples of Japanese original folk idioms substituted with native ones. In Chinese texts, Japanese idioms were substituted with native idioms, but in Korea, similar idioms were not used. Rather, Korean

translators literally translated the original idioms. Each country had the Chinese 4-character idiom each corresponding to "small sacrifice for big profit" 枉尺直尋 and "discarding a small thing to gain a bigger one" 捨小大取. However, every translator used folk idioms to appeal to the public rather than the Chinese character idioms used by elites.

It was not always easy to distinguish between the words of the narrator and those of the characters in Jo Jung-hwan's writing, though they were clearly divided in the original novels. On this, Choe Tae-won (2010, 126) offers the concept of "hyper-emotion" by way of explanation, but in truth Jo's was a narrative convention used in premodern Korean fictions to elicit the reader's sympathy. Lack of clarity when it comes to representing the subject's emotion was meant to form one unified, sympathetic bond between the narrator and characters. The intention was operative in the outside and inside of the text, all nature in heaven and earth, and the reader. Such narrative techniques guided readers' responses throughout the novel. Translated fictions during the 1910s in Korea all used traditional narrative rhetoric to forge sympathetic solidarity.

Elsewhere, *Bulyeogwi* used the idioms *gakseol* 却說, *hwaseol* 話說, and *chaseol* 且說 (all terms relating to changing the subject or resuming the story) to switch scenes. These were used in old Korean fictions to transition the narrative, but generally were not used in Chinese or Japanese translated texts. The Korean translated text of *Sindan gong-an* (*Ghostly Investigation* 神斷公案), which was translated from *Longtu gong an* (*Mystical Investigation* 龍圖公案), a Chinese fiction, used the word *gakseol*, but in the original text the word *hwaseol* was used. Hwaseol and gakseol were used in both Korean and Chinese fictions in the premodern period, but in the early modern period they were chosen according to the given cultural and literary context.

Translators changed stories or rewrote original narratives in parts, and sometimes inserted whole new episodes. For example, in *Janghanmong* the heroine keeps her virginity after marriage, but then loses it because of drinking. The story describes the incident as marital rape. Originally in *Konjiki yasha*, the heroine gives birth to a baby after marriage, but the baby dies of pneumonia, after which she decides not to get pregnant again. The narrative of not having

^{11.} I analyzed the first (美人竟拚一命 貞男誓不再娶) and second (老人郎君遊學 慈悲觀音托夢) episodes of *Sindan gong-an* from Korea and the first (阿彌陀佛講和) and second (觀音菩薩托夢) episodes of *Longtu gong an* from China.

a sexual relationship with her husband is not found in the Japanese text. Traditionally, to make a romance story in Korea it is essential for the heroine to maintain her sexual chastity. As a result, the heroine in Janghanmong tries to commit suicide after losing her virginity. This episode is also not found in the original text.

A similar case emerges in Sindan gong-an. In the second episode of the Chinese original fiction, Longtu gong an, the heroine (a married woman) is raped, but this scene is omitted in the Korean translated fiction. This is another case of rewriting and adaptation to align with Korean cultural customs and sentimental structures.

Old fictions were read widely in Korea until the early modern period. Considering this, the reasons for the adaptations outlined above can be easily understood. 12 Konjiki yasha ends without any conclusion because of the writer's death, but Janghanmong demonstrates a happy ending that culminates in marriage. This coincided with the typical ending of premodern Korean fictions. Jo Jung-hwan respected Korean narrative conventions in order to gain the readers' favor and meet their anticipation.¹³

Novel translation routes from the West were diverse. With their varied overlapping novel translations, East Asian countries shared translation strategies, and each nation's experimental work helped all readers to take on Western novels with decreasing awkwardness (related to narrative culture, customs, and sentiment). It seems there was little flow of novels from Joseon to Japan or China, but the route from Japan to China and on to Joseon was common in the early modern period. Experiences were accumulated, forming a common linguistic and cultural heritage and historical experience in the region.

East Asian translated fictions also shared common historical culture and knowledge based on Confucianism and Buddhism, as exemplified in the

^{12.} Kim Chae-seok (2004, 200-01) explains that the suicide scene in Janghanmong uses the translation method used in sinpageuk (modern Korean dramas), which was also employed as the structure of the similar scenes in Bulyeogwi and Ssangongnu. However, it cannot be said that this resulted from translating the Japanese originals; in Janghanmong, the motivation for the heroine's suicide was linked to the violation of her chastity, as it was the case in typical premodern Korean fictions. Also, Jo Jung-hwan applied the traditional narrative grammar of premodern Korean fictions in various ways. Even these two brief examples demonstrate that the influence of native (Joseon) literary (novel) traditions should be considered when interpreting Jo Jung-hwan's characteristic translation style.

^{13.} Yi Kyeong-rim (2010, 69) insists it is reasonable to claim that the clear dichotomy between good and evil in Janghanmong originated from old Korean fiction rather than from Konjiki yasha.

Asian archetypes of the "strict father and loving mother" and the idiomatic phrase "like An Lushan's stomach" 安祿山風の腹便便, which meant that An's stomach was pot-bellied because it was full of loyalty. When citing such traditional elements that spanned East Asia, there was no need to substitute for native conditions. These examples show how East Asian historical culture created a common cultural knowledge base and sentiment in the early modern period.

As analyzed above, the three nations of East Asia, Korea, China, and Japan, shared the common experience of translation/adaptation of Western novels, and also created new translations/adaptations in consideration of the reader's sympathetic context. This experience was accumulated and shared throughout East Asia as a common cultural asset and served as cultural experiences, background, and resources for translation of *Ssangongnu*.

From *Onogatsumi* to *Ssangongnu*, (Dis)Continuity of Emotional Representation

The translation of *Ssangongnu*, introduced to Korean readers through the advertising section of *Maeil sinbo*,¹⁶ contains interesting adaptations. An "adaptation" is, in this case, the result of the work of multiple people over a period of time rather than that of a single individual's own work.¹⁷ It follows the main story of the original text but substitutes the names, place names, and episodes characteristic of the native land. Analyzing the adaptation of *Ssangongnu* will illuminate what constituted "outside" and "inside," or native and non-native, to contemporary Korean translators and readers.

This section focuses on the rhetorical reconstruction of cultural and sentimental representations, descriptive strategies, and emotional rhetoric.

^{14.} See each text of Japanese Hototogisu 48; Korean Bulyeogwi 38; Chinese Burugui 20.

^{15.} See each text of Japanese Hototogisu 43; Korean Bulyeogwi 53; Chinese Burugui 18.

^{16.} *Maeil sinbo* (July 17, 1912: section 3) states: "*Ssangongnu* is a good, practical form of media that prompts general society to moral improvement, and is not to be consumed merely to kill time"; "Who wrote this novel? This is Munsuseongwon Jo Jung-hwan 文秀星員 趙重桓, who translated the most famous Japanese novel, *Onogatsumi*, and adapted it to Joseon customs."

^{17.} The advertising page of *Mail sinbo* said that the writer of *Ssangongnu* is Jo Jung-hwan, and when *Janghanmong* was serialized in the newspaper it introduced him as the author (Choe 2010, 10-11). This hints that the border between creation and translation is uncertain or confusing.

First, I look at the translation strategy utilized by Jo Jung-hwan to help the Joseon reader communicate and empathize with the novel; second, I review the relationship between the narrative grammar of premodern Joseon fictions and historical and cultural narrative conventions; and third, I explore the relationship between certain media characteristics of Maeil sinbo and the narrative of the novel.

By analyzing the adaptive strategies employed, this article highlights the reader's and translator's recognition of the differences and communicative possibilities between Joseon and non-Joseon. In the process, I explain the complex continuities and discontinuities that exist between tradition and modernity. Finally, I offer a point from which to reflect upon the creation of common emotions and sentiment in modern East Asian cultures. 18

The Premise of Cultural Translation and Recognition of "Things Joseon"

In the text of the Ssangongnu, Jo Jung-hwan makes a conscious effort to change the foreign culture and customs to those familiar to a Korean audience rather than simply engaging in a literal translation. In cases of intentional adaptation, not literal translation, this indicates that the translator noticed and reacted to mitigate unfamiliar concepts and non-empathetic expressions. Through recognition of "things non-Joseon" (non-native), we can also grasp what people of the day viewed as "things Joseon" (native). For example, when Jo Jung-hwan erased from the Japanese original some paragraphs critical of Confucianism (Suzuki 2011, 68), as noted by Choe Tae-won (2010, 82), it meant that he recognized that Confucian culture comprised the fundamental qualities and structure of Korean culture.

There are further adaptations Jo made to generate empathy in domestic readers while not straying too far from the original text, such as eliminating

^{18.} The reason for considering the concept of "East Asia" here is that this paper not solely aims to analyze the literal translation of Onogatsumi (Japanese) to Ssangongnu (Korean) in text-for-text terms. Rather, by proving the process of translation/adaptation from Japanese to Korean within the specific text, I investigate how a new affect of love comes to be introduced as a sympathetic emotion, even as a broader "East Asian common sense." This comparative analysis between the two texts is a case study for theorizing the formational process of affective sympathy and communication through translation between cultural eras.

the cultural heterogeneity of the original text by using familiar Korean variants. The following examples show the way he applied his translating principles ¹⁹ to the narrative material in question. He substituted the original character names, places, backgrounds, and narrative materials with Korean-style alternatives.

- ② When Madam Kim sees Yi Kyeong-ja drooping, she says, "Listen, lady! Please drink a sip of *soju*. It will be helpful to recover your strength." Yi Kyeong-ja doesn't respond at all, but the madam directs the old woman, "Go out to the floor and take a cup of *soju*." (*Ssangongnu* 138)
 - → "Madam, shall I give you a glass of wine?" She begins to decanter a bottle of wine, and says "Hasu! Would you bring me a bottle of wine and a glass?" (*Onogatsumi* 47)
- ③ O Jeong-dang flies off the handle and says, "Then, did you think Yi Kyeong-ja was a *gisaeng* or a *sampae*? As you know, she was a virgin. If she were a prostitute, you could have lived together with her for two or three months without being legally married and then split with her according to your will or feeling. However, she is an innocent young lady. You deceived her with various cunning attitudes then irresponsibly left and ignored her. How brutal you are!" (*Ssangongnu* 38)
 - → Saeko said with anger, "A prostitute differs from a virgin. Did you absolutely know from the first? A prostitute lives for money. So if you are slightly weary of her, it is okay to desert her. However, she is an innocent virgin. You deceived her this way and that, then deserted her as though you did not know her at all. How cruel you are!" (*Onogatsumi* 7)

In *Ssangongnu* there is a woman who offers *soju*, a traditional distilled Korean liquor made from rice, to the heroine to collect herself, who has just attempted suicide. In the original text, the liquid in question is wine, not *soju* 2^{20} At that time, few Koreans knew about wine, so Jo removed it. In example 3, the heroine's teacher criticizes Mr. Seo for his mistreatment of her: "You regard her

^{19.} Jo Jung-hwan confessed that he agonized over how to transplant Japanese place names in the original into those of Joseon (Choe Tae-won 2010, 82). The results are most readily visible in his translations regarding daily life, language customs, rhetoric, and so on.

^{20.} In *Janghanmong*, wine was translated directly alongside a short explanation because Joseon readers at that time did not know anything about wine: "Hey, Su-il....If you cannot drink wine, let's try to have a glass of wine as though drinking God's sacrament..." (483-84). In another paragraph of *Janghanmong* (315), the word "wine" in the Japanese original, *Konjiki yasha* (246), was substituted with a term indicating general liquor.

as a gisaeng 妓生 or sampae 三牌?" The original text featured the expression, "You regard her as a prostitute 商賣人?" Jo made the changes in consideration of Korean cultural customs, to convey Mr. Seo's insulting and neglectful treatment of the heroine more effectively to Korean readers. ²¹ These are examples of cultural translation premised on cultural differences in the material dimension.²²

To accommodate the linguistic and cultural conventions of his culture, Jo added sentences and substituted original expressions with Korean alternatives. This was because he had to deal with the basic asymmetry and non-equivalence that exists between all languages.

- (4) Madam Kim was relieved when she noticed that she was moved and her mind was turning. At last she confessed her feelings: "Save us, merciful Amitabha! I can't believe how well I have come to know your mind." (Ssangongnu 141)
 - → The old madam was very pleased as soon as she knew her message had been received, and said to her, "I was so relieved." (Onogatsumi 48)
- ⑤ "This is an inappropriate remark. Saving your daughter's life might be related to your previous life. If not, how could such a strange thing happen?" (Ssangongnu 149)
 - → "No thanks. My helping your daughter seems to be my fate. It is just as well that she is safe." (Onogatsumi 51)
- (6) "He seems to think you are his mother. If not, he seems to feel some blood ties to you. I don't see why he follows you so naturally." (Ssangongnu
 - → "It must be that this boy thought you were his mother. If not, he seems to feel something in his gut. How much he missed you..." (Onogatsumi 141)

In Ssangongnu, Ms. Kim sighs and cries out, "Amitabha!" 阿彌陀佛 after listening to the heroine's sad story. "Amitabha!" (Merciful Buddha!) is a Korean conventional interjection expressing a deep sigh of desperation coupled with a sense of relief. The original Japanese text did not use this expression or anything

^{21.} The newspapers of the early 1900s often published articles about gisaeng with a negative tone. Social ignorance toward gisaeng prevailed in publications of the time.

^{22.} According to Min Nam-sik (2005, 95), the substitution of original language with a translated one belongs to the concept of adaptation.

like it (4).²³ Likewise, the translated text included new descriptions such as "A karmic connection from a previous life" (5) and "Blood is thicker than water" (6), neither of which appears in the original text. These were adaptations based on traditional Korean idioms and conventional usage in Joseon.²⁴

These sample expressions evidence Jo's strategical use of the structure, affect, emotions, and practice of colloquial language to generate empathy in Korean readers. These same structures are also generally used in premodern Korean fiction. Jo clearly recognized the cultural differences he was working with and the reality of native and non-native expressions. He performed cultural translation.

Jo also rewrote and reconstructed the conclusion of the story, following the generic conventions and narrative grammar of premodern fiction. In the original text of *Onogatsumi*, the hero and heroine re-marry and do not let anyone know of their family tragedy (165). The hero decides that even if his wife's behavior becomes known to society, he will pay it no heed. The heroine gets pregnant once more, and they place their first son's tombstone within the family gravesite. The couple rebuilds their happy family and overcomes their pain, but the tombstone remains to be a placeholder to remind them of their tragedy.

Conversely, *Ssangongnu* omits the last paragraph of the original, which reminds readers of the family tragedy, opting to end on a happy note, with the couple re-marrying and giving birth to a baby (456). The text emphasizes the reunion of a perfect family. The happy-ending structure is a familiar convention of premodern Korean fiction.²⁵ In this way, non-translation and abbreviation became active choices inextricable from thematic interpretation; they were not simple edits intended to reduce the volume of text.

Jo valued the principle that prioritizes conveying traditional, generic conventions and narrative grammar over providing a close translation of the

^{23.} In another adapted text, Janghanmong, there is a scene of a character chanting "Amitabha" to set her mind at rest (315). This was a general custom practiced to relieve one's mind in Joseon. The Japanese original, Konziki yasha, contains no scene like this.

^{24.} In addition, the Korean idiom "What a fate!" (*Ssangongnu* 258) is not found in *Onogatsumi* (100), and the grammatical custom of using "-sap" as a final ending (*Ssangongnu* 130-31) is an example of cultural translation that considered the writing style and mode of letters during the Joseon era.

^{25.} Ssangongnu's conclusion echoes those of premodern Korean fiction, as in Janghwahongnyeonjeon, in which the father of Janghwa and Hongnyeon remarries after resolving his daughters' resentment (han); and in Simcheongjeon, where the father of Simcheong remarries and has a son.

original Japanese text. Accordingly, some key narrative elements and rhetoric were changed, in most cases dramatically. This was done in recognition of the cultural differences between Joseon and Japan, things native and non-native, as dictated by traditional generic conventions, cultural customs, and living linguistics.

Intersection of Generic Conventions and (Dis)Continuity of **Emotional Representation**

Ssangongnu gives unusual weight to the emotional expressions of the characters. Emphasis on emotions is a general characteristic of the novel genre: a novel is supposed to narrate its characters' emotional experiences and share them with the reader. As Peter Brook (2013, 41) puts it, "emotional excess" is a typical feature of melodrama.

However, Ssangongnu describes the characters' emotional speech and behavior to a greater extent, something that is noticeable when compared to Jo's other adaptations, such as Janghanmong and Bulyeogwi. The main characters in Ssangongnu depict their emotional experiences, and sometimes the narrator comments on their emotions as well. In Ssangongnu, emotional representations are fully narrated in each character's speech. This is a departure from other serialized novels in the same time period, like Gomokhwa (A Flower of Old Tree), which Yi Hae-jo serialized in 1907 for Jekuk sinmun (The Empire Newspaper), Pinsangseol (Snow-White Hair), which Yi Hae-jo serialized in 1907 and 1908 for Jekuk sinmun, and Janghanmong, which Jo Jung-hwan serialized in 1913 for Maeil sinbo. Does this difference stem from the tenor of the original text? Or could it be the translator's own arbitrary choice?

In Ssangongnu, most of the dialogue is juxtaposed or postposed with emotional rhetoric in a detailed translation of the original text. However, the emotional representations in Ssangongnu are similar to those found in premodern Korean fiction. In these novels, every piece of dialogue is juxtaposed with the character "wal" \boxminus , a sign of speaking, and the addition of emotional expressions such as speaking with great laughter; speaking with a mixed sensation of joy and sorrow; and speaking in anger. This pattern of dialogue coupled with emotional expressions blended premodern fictional conventions (Choe 2013, 418-20) with the original Japanese text. This helped newspaper

readers to empathize with the content of Ssangongnu. ²⁶

Emotional narration also appears in the middle of Jo's story. This rhetorical form of exclamation does not appear in the original text.

- (7) Jeong had a grand reputation in the town. Everyone respected his commanding appearance. There was no one who did not praise him. (Ssangongnu 181-82)
 - They respected his appearance and praised him as a viscount even they did not know each other well. (Onogatsumi 62)

In 7, the narrator speaks so as to calibrate the reader's emotional response and elicit heavenly sympathy toward the narrative. This is a typical pattern in premodern Korean fictions.²⁷ Jo elastically mixes the rhetoric of the original Japanese text and the narrative strategy of traditional fiction. Aiming to minimize the foreignness of the Japanese text, he remakes the novel into a familiar, empathetic text for Korean readers. This recognition of the differences between the two texts indicates the depth of understanding Jo exhibited regarding things native and non-native, not only in a physical sense but also in terms of emotional representation, narrative grammar, and generic conventions.

The Interrelationship between Fiction and Newspaper Surrounding New Modern Terms

As an adapted story, Ssangongnu gave Korean readers the opportunity to experience new emotions. For instance, the modern emotion of guilt was first

^{26.} Sin Keun-chae (1995) noted that the writing style of Dugyeonseong is similar to that found in premodern fiction. This hints that the writer (un)consciously regarded the traditional style of old Korean fiction as an asset to his cultural heritage.

^{27.} In Ssangongnu Jo Jung-hwan translated some original Japanese idioms and proverbs in their original form. For example, "There are many proverbs about woman across the ages and in all countries of the world, as follows: a woman is a dirty thing; the guts of a woman can't be washed out; a woman generally has several secrets which can't be revealed. Only now did I come to know that these are true sayings" (Ssangongnu 187), is translated as, "There are many proverbs about woman across the ages and in all countries of the world, as follows: a woman is a dirty thing; the guts of a woman can't be washed out; no one harbors secrets like woman; etc. I'm thinking these are very reliable" (Onogatsumi 64). Here the expression "across the ages and in all countries of the world" indicates that the specificity of Japanese proverbs might be recognized as "acceptable" from a broader East Asian perspective.

introduced to Korean readers in Ssangongnu. Korean fictions of the premodern period were mainly structured around a vivid contrast between good and evil. In this narrative structure, sin is positioned as an evil behavior. As a result, a character that commits a sin must be punished morally and legally. In comparison, Ssangongnu features a heroine who feels guilt towards receiving compassion, understanding, and forgiveness from other characters, even though she tried to kill her son out of depression and psychological trauma. The heroine receives sympathy from the narrator and readers, too, even though she has committed a crime. This sympathy fosters a new emotional response inside (in the characters and narrator) and outside (in the reader) the text; hers was a "sin that could not be hated."

To investigate this new emotional impact on readers, it will be of much help to read articles printed in *Maeil sinbo* during the same period that covered homicides within families and the abandonment and murder of children. One article involves a husband beating his wife to death because of his psychological disorder;²⁸ in another, a Japanese woman commits suicide after killing her two sons.²⁹ As in *Ssangongnu*, these crimes resulted from psychological disorders and/ or depression.³⁰

These articles in *Maeil sinbo* provided context for empathizing with the events in Ssangongnu.31 The second episode in the second part published in

^{28. &}quot;Salcheojahada" [How Many People Kill their Wife and Child], July 17, 1912, Maeil sinbo.

^{29. &}quot;Michin byeong euro jasik jugyeo" [Children Killed because of Mental Disease], October 16, 1912, Maeil sinbo.

In addition to articles about murdered children, other pieces printed in Maeil sinbo during the serialization of Ssangongnu contain news of crimes stemming from penury ("Ai reul nulleojugyeo" [A Child is Crushed to Death], October 20, 1912); divorce ("Jasik eul jugigo domang" [Parent Kills Child over Divorce and Escapes], August 8, 1912); ("Ihon haryeogo jasik jukyeo" [Parent Kills Child before Divorce], August 23, 1912), and physical punishment ("Jasik jugigo pichak" [Arrested after Killing a Child], September 15, 1912), etc.

^{30.} From an article in which the people in that area lost control because of their furious and frustrated feelings ("Bunhada motae michyeo" [Going Crazy with Fury], August 12, 1912).

^{31.} For more on the relation between newspaper articles and serialized novels, see Han 1999 and Choe 2016. Previous research only noted one direction of influence, from newspaper article to novel, but the case of Ssangongnu also indicates the reverse influence of novel to newspaper article. The newspaper published articles in which the incidents were similar to episodes in the novel being serialized. This phenomenon is important, because it evinces a dynamic tension between "reality and fiction" and "accident and novel." For example, an article in Maeil sinbo featured a divorced woman (Yi Kyeong-yeop) who becomes a nurse (Hwihwang nanjeukhan gyejip [Unpredictable Woman], July 21, 1912), a story akin to the story of the novel's heroine, Yi Kyeong-ja. This might have provided a reality-based context from which readers could sympathize with characters in Ssangongnu.

Maeil sinbo (July 27, 1912) describes the heroine suffering deep feelings of guilt during her trial for the murder of her son. Page 3 of Maeil sinbo on the same day contained a news article entitled, "Je jasik eul wae jukyeonno" (Why did they Murder their Child?). In the news article the perpetrators are regarded as criminals, but in Ssangongnu the heroine is positioned as a victim of melancholia and hysteria. As a result, the heroine receives pity and sympathy from both inside the novel (from other characters) and outside the novel (from readers).

Guilt in Ssangongnu is an influential emotion, one through which the heroine earns sympathy from the reader. She is not a criminal but a patient tormented by a psychological disease. Her abnormal behavior is introduced alongside modern medical information: hysteria, melancholia, and their symptoms. The doctor's diagnosis (Ssangongnu 153)³² and symptomatic descriptions³³ reinforced this response. Modern pathological knowledge gave the reader the chance to understand the heroine's behavior and even sympathize with her, rather than labelling her an immoral or amoral criminal. Ssangongnu offered a new opportunity for Korean modern readers to experience modern emotional empathy.³⁴

The Modern Spectrum of Love in Ssangongnu and Its Strategic Discourse

Another new dimension of Ssangongnu was its interpretation and understanding of "love," at once a new emotional experience and a new mutual representation strategy. As analyzed by Rhee Joo-yeon (2015, 73-76), sarang, as a translation of the term love, began to replace the Japanese word iro 色 K. saek, ai 爱, or renai 戀愛 during the early modern period. It has a spectrum of detailed meanings,

^{32.} For more on the description of the heroine's nervous breakdown, or hysteria, see Ssangongnu 242;

^{33.} For further description of the symptoms following the scene of her nervous breakdown, see Ssangongnu 143-44; 146.

^{34.} Mental disease came to be defined medically in the modern era (Foucault 2009). In Japan, when a strange or unusual issue was narrated in a serialized novel, an explanatory note was generally printed in the same newspaper. For example, Kikuchi Yuho, the writer of Onogatsumi, serialized another novel, Shinbun uriko (A Newspaper Vendor 新聞賣子) in Osaka mainichi sinbun (Osaka Daily News), in which he introduced hypnosis as a new subject matter. He printed a short explanatory note about hypnosis in the newspaper in order to help readers' understanding (Kang 2011, 181-82).

from sensual attraction to spiritual and mutual affection. It is clear that the love depicted in Ssangongnu was different from that in Chunhyangieon (Tale of Chunhyang), a well-known Korean romance of late Joseon, for example. It also differed from that in the contemporary fictional genre sin soseol (new fiction). Ssangongnu offered readers a varied definition of love that was based on the characters' emotional conflict with other characters and their inner worries.

Appreciating the detailed description and multi-faceted definition of love in the translated work of Ssangongnu required commentary for its readers.³⁵ Without any definitions or comments, the reader would neither be persuaded of by nor empathize with the important scenes. Such emotions had not been manifest as natural experiences; they were posited as modern, brand new feelings.³⁶

Strategic Discourse of Love as Modern Affective Experience

Several assertions, arguments, and narratives on love are mentioned by the main characters or narrator in Ssangongnu. The manner of defining love and perspectives on it differ. In Ssangongnu, love is regarded as an object to be defined and interpreted at an individual level, rather than being universally defined. The great importance placed on such discourse in Ssangongnu suggests that the original writer/translator exhibits a powerful desire to appeal to the emotions of the readers. Although some parts of the original text were abbreviated or completely erased, those related to the emotion of love were never omitted.

^{35.} In the original Japanese text, the definition and understanding of love varies depending on the characters' situation, just as in the case of Ssangongnu. The original also contains observation and discovery of love and offers a definition and persuasive rhetoric of love. Based on these elements, the possibility that *Onogatsumi* was also translated or adapted from a Western novel cannot be excluded. A similar case has been identified by Choe Tae-won (2010, 92-95), wherein the original texts of Janghanmong and Bibongdam were found to be adapted from English novels written by Charlotte M. Brame (1836-1884) whose pen names include Bertha M. Clay.

^{36.} Kwon Podeurae (2007) and Park Jin-yeong (2011) mention the meaning of modern love and dating, but they show no interest in the multiple meanings of love, its various definitions, or its integral meaning. For recent research into the translation of love in the Korean early modern era, see Rhee's (2015) analysis of Konjiki yasha.

- (8) Seo Pyeong-sam: This guy (Seo Pyeong-sam) insists that love is sexual desire and there is no love without sexual desire in the medical sense. He doesn't know the holy meaning and elegant taste of love. He doesn't understand that if he raped an innocent woman, the hurt to her mind and spirit could never be washed away again. (Ssangongnu 24-25)
 - → From a medical perspective, Kenzo insists that nervous disease should be opposed, and he also thinks that love is only sexual desire. He doesn't understand that when someone falls in love he or she can feel holy things. He couldn't fathom that when he had a sexual relationship with an innocent woman he left great pain in her mind and spirit. (Onogatsumi 3)

In Ssangongnu, love plays a decisive role in the characters' relationships and values. Diverse forms of love involving sexual desire and pleasure (8), spirituality (Yi Kyeong-ja of Ssangongnu 358; Onogatsumi 130), and justice and belief (Jeong Uk-jo of Ssangongnu 219-20; Onogatsumi 84) depend on the characters' perspective and values. These themes were open to interpretation, including by the narrator (Ssangongnu 97; Onogatsumi 29). This interpretive difference is the origin of interpersonal conflict in the novel.

At the novel's conclusion, however, through the main character's confession and forgiveness, and also through the re-marriage and reconciliation that followed, the meaning of love becomes broadened into a spiritual, sublime, and holy love. To make this narrative development convincing, the narrator and characters display varied iterations of love in every scene, at once highlighting a lack of consensus regarding the definition of modern love and functioning as cultural mediators integrating diverse understandings of the term. This is also the case in the original text, *Onogatsumi*, which shows that Japanese readers required an explication and interpretation of modern love in the same way. The textual treatment of emotions in interpersonal relationships further implies that research and reflections on modern love were not uncommon in early modern East Asian novels.37

^{37.} This evidence does not completely exclude the possibility that the Japanese novel Onogatsumi could be an adapted version of a Western novel. It was not until the 21st century that it was revealed that Konjiki yasha, written by Kikuchi Yuho (the original text of the Korean adapted novel Janghanmong), was a translation of a Western novel. Yanabu Akira (2008) has shown that the word "love" in that case was a translation of the modern Western one.

Modern Imaginative Structure and the Effect of Neurosis Pathology

To lead the reader of Ssangongnu to sympathize with the female protagonist, who commits a series of sins, including double marriage, lying, and attempted murder of her son, the narrative must be designed to control the reader's emotions. This is accomplished in two ways, as follows.

First, the narrative is woven to stimulate the reader's sympathy for Yi Kyeong-ja by portraying her as a victim of uncontrollable circumstances. An unwanted pregnancy results from her involving of the trick by Seo Pyeongsam and O Jeong-dang. Her father pushes her into marrying Jeong Uk-jo, not knowing of her secret first marriage with Seo Pyeong-sam. A double marriage is not her intention, but it becomes an unavoidable choice that will honor her father. The unwanted pregnancy is because she fell into the trick of Kim and Lee.

Second, the narration towards the end of the novel is designed to garner sympathy for Yi Kyeong-ja, who now recognizes her sin and suffers from feelings of guilt. She is troubled by having deceived her father regarding her pregnancy. By positioning her as a victimized heroine, the narrator convinces the reader to sympathize with her. When she attempts to murder her son, the narrator casts the incident as resulting from her hysteric mind (Ssangongnu 143; Onogatsumi 49). The narrator continuously emphasizes Yi Kyeong-ja's delicate state, thus encouraging the reader to respond favorably to her, even though she commits the horrific crime of infanticide. This is how the reader comes to the position of embracing her as a pitiful victim of ironic fate.

The narrator maintains the consistent angle of identifying the heroine as a victim of disease by foregrounding her guilty feelings. The narrator plays on the reader's emotions by citing new pathological terms, such as mental storm, hysteria, and depression, to elicit the reader's sympathy for her. Yi Kyeongja's criminal behavior is introduced as a reasonable disease (depression, mental illness) with symptoms (hysteria, mental storm, nervousness) by juxtaposing it with modern medical knowledge. Mentioning a doctor's diagnosis and narrating the detailed symptoms helped the readers sympathize. Modern medical information led to feelings of sympathy and compassion.

After being abandoned, Yi tries to jump off the Yongsan railroad bridge. This situation differs from those typically found in premodern Korean fiction, in which a female character commits suicide to keep her chastity; in this case, Yi Kyeong-ja tries to commit suicide to atone.

Her guilty feelings result from a sense of altruism that places others' value above her own when she is conflicted about where her loyalty lies. That is, her sense of guilt originates in the suppression of her desire and will in favor of her duty to satisfy her father's expectations. She never wanted to marry Jeong Ukjo, but she ends up getting married to him. She decides to confess to him her past (her marriage with Seo Pyeong-sam), but her confession continues to be postponed (Ssangongnu 207). After the marriage she stays in her room alone, feeling anxious and full of remorse (Ssangongnu 209). Jeong Uk-jo also harbors a secret: a deep pessimism born of a betrayal by his former wife. Meeting Yi Kyeong-ja helps him overcome his mistrust in women. He despairs when he finally learns of her past affair. The two main characters' guilty feelings and inner conflicts resulting from their inescapable situation lead the readers to engage a new emotional world suffused with unconventional sympathy by juxtaposing their feelings against new pathological terms such as anxiety, depression, and hysteria. These unfamiliar emotions translated from a foreign language were absorbed as a natural experience in the new sympathetic structure of the novel.

Conclusion

By analyzing the strategies employed in the translation/adaptation of *Ssangongnu*, this paper sheds new light on Korean domestic traditions and the cultural context of novel translation in the early modern period and reveals that *Ssangongnu* is an accumulation of historical knowledge and cultural experience spanning East Asia, meaning Korea, China, and Japan, rather than exclusively Korea's. In particular, when Western novels were translated into East Asian languages, Japan, China, and Korea inter-referenced their novel translation know-how and accumulated cultural translation strategies, substituting exotic Western cultural elements with familiar East Asian sentiments and empathetic contexts across borders.

Ssangongnu is a Korean example that shows this process at work. "Rewriting" was chosen as a practical cultural translation strategy premised on pre-existing cultural and linguistic differences. *Ssangongnu* used emotion effectively to overcome these differences and thus elicit understanding and empathy. In sum, the six translation strategies for *Ssangongnu* are as follows.

First, regarding the narrative, the translator/adaptor sought to eliminate awkwardness and increase reader empathy. Second, to overcome the asymmetry between languages he positively applied Korean traditional language conventions and narrative rhetoric. Third, the conclusion was re-written as a happy ending to make it correspond to the typical structure of traditional fiction. Fourth, in Korean traditional narrative genres dialogues are often combined with emotional expressions, and this method of expression was added to the original Japanese text, thus allowing readers to sympathize with it more naturally. Fifth, when unfamiliar episodes were introduced in the text published in Maeil sinbo, the editor appears to have considered the relationship between the narrative and everyday life, between novelty and reality (news). This created a common context in which the events in the serialized novel acquired authenticity. Sixth, there was no modern agreement on the concept of love until the 1910s. Ssangongnu offers diverse meanings of love through the main characters and the narrator and so, in the end, reached an integrated definition of the term.

The three nations of East Asia have long engaged in mutual cultural communication. Focusing on the translation of novels, this paper analyzed common strategies of East Asian nations for the creation of empathy through cultural translation, common historical cultural heritage, and inter-reference. When performing a cultural translation, it is the recognition of non-domestic (or non-Asian) things that allows us to discern the shared (or Asian) things. In the process of translating the fictional representation of foreign cultures, diseases, and emotions newly known in the modern era, every country in East Asia showed a common search for negotiation and compromise between their own traditions and contemporary cultures and linguistic aspects. This paper argued that such strategies played a prominent role in embracing the modernity of East Asia.

This research sheds new light on the fact that translation and adaptation strategies were shared across East Asia, creating a culturally accumulated heritage, and provides support for the concept of "this modernity which is not one" through the translation of novels, overcoming the standard, elite-centered perspective, and showing compelling evidence of diverse translation routes for the public genre of novels (not elite writings) and Korean vernacular speech (not Chinese characters).

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Abstract

This article investigates the sympathetic translation strategies employed in Ssangongnu (Jade Tears), translated from Japanese into Korean by Jo Junghwan. The story was serialized in Maeil sinbo (Daily News) from 1912 to 1913. The original text is *Onogatsumi (My Sin)*, written by Kikuchi Yuho. This study employs the concepts of "East Asian cultural communication" and "cultural translation" as analytical tools to examine how Ssangongnu deals with asymmetry vis-à-vis the original language, cultural conventions, and emotional representations. It also examines how the original text was restructured to reflect the generic conventions, narrative grammar patterns, closing structure, and sentimental structures of traditional Korean fiction. By reconsidering the characteristics of *Maeil sinbo* and the context of modernization, it explores how the translator drew attention to unfamiliar emotional language used in the original text to convey such emotions as guilt, hysteria, and self-defining love and also engaged in such topics as child murder and mental illness, which were less familiar to Korean readers. This article argues that on one hand, the translation of Ssangongnu evidences East Asia's rapid accumulation of experiences of cultural translation both at home and abroad (the West) whereas on the other, the translator's recognition of "non-Joseon things" indicates what the people of the day might have identified as "indigenous things."

Keywords: translation, adaptation, modernity, emotion, Ssangongnu (Jade Tears)