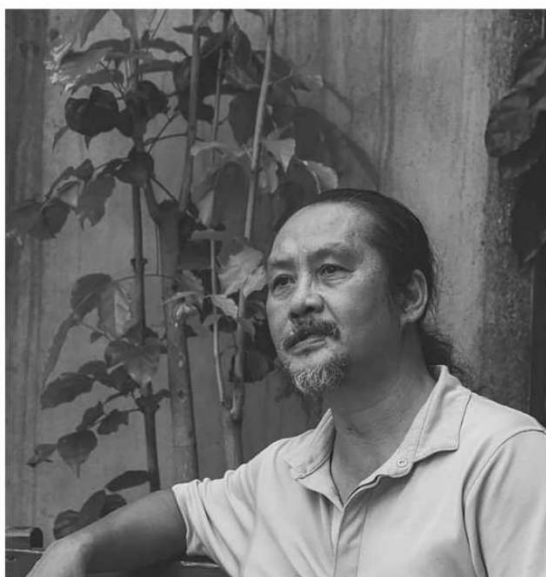


Walis Nokan 瓦歷斯·諾幹 (Liu Ao, Walis Yukan)

(22 August 1961 –)

Darryl Sterk
Lingnan University

BOOKS: *Yongyuan de buluo* [Eternal Village Community] (Taizhong: Chenxing chubanshe, 1990); *Fandao chuqiao* [The Savage Knife Unsheathed] (Taipei: Daoxiang chubanshe, 1992); *Huangye de huhuan* [Call of the Wild] (Taizhong: Chenxing chubanshe, 1992); *Taiya haizi Taiwan xin* [Atayal Child Taiwan Heart] (Taizhong: Taiwan yuanzhumin renwen yanjiu zhongxin, 1993)—includes “Miyu”; *Shan shi yi suo xuexiao* [The Mountain Is a School] (Fengyuan: Taizhong xianli wenhua zhongxin, 1994)—includes “Guting hua” (Amaryllis Flower) “Kuangong Lei” (Miners’ Tears), and “Yuren Lei” (Fishermen’s Tears); *Xiangnian zuren* [Missing the Tribespeople] (Taizhong: Chenxing chubanshe, 1994)—includes “Fuping” (Duckweed), “Guanguan shiye” (The Tourism Industry), “Women de jiazou” (Our Clan) series, “Wushe qingnian” (Youth of Wushe), and “Xiashan” (Down the Mountain); *Dai mojing de feishu* [Flying Squirrels with Sunglasses] (Taizhong: Chenxing chubanshe, 1997); *Fanren zhi yan* [Eye of the Savage] (Taizhong: Chenxing chubanshe, 1999); *Yineng zai tacha* [Inō Makes Another Survey] (Taizhong: Chenxing chubanshe, 1999)—includes “Hui buluo luo!”; *Taiwan yuanzhumen shi: Taiya zu shi pian* [A History of Taiwan’s Indigenous People: Atayal History Volume], by Walis Nokan and Yu Guanghong (Nantou: Guoshiguan Taiwan wenxianguan, 2002); *Miwu zhi lu: Jilu buluo gushi de Taiya tianye shu* [Journey through Fog: An Atayal Field Manual for Recording Buluo Stories] (Taizhong: Chenxing, 2003); *Zizi zhuji* [Each Character a Pearl] (Taipei: Guojia tushuguan, 2009);



Walis Nokan (courtesy of the author)

Dang shijie liuxia erhangshi [When Couplet Poems Are Left in the World] (Taipei: Bulage wenhua chubanshe, 2011); *Walisi Nuogan 2012: Ziyou xiezuo de niandai* [Walis Nokan 2012: The Era of Free Writing] (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin, 2012); *Chengshi canku* [Urban Cruelty] (Taipei: Nanfang jiyuan chubanshe, 2013); *Zi touzi* [Radicals] (Taipei: Yinke wenxue chubanshe, 2013); *Huangye fasheng* [Voice of the Wilderness] (Taipei: Daoxiang chubanshe, 2014); *Walisi wei xiaoshuo* [Walis’s Flash Fiction] (Taipei: Eryu wenhua chubanshe, 2014);

Zhanzheng canku [War's Cruelty] (Taipei: Yinke wenxue chubanshe, 2014);

Qiri du [Seven-Day Reading Journal] (Taipei: Yinke wenxue chubanshe, 2016).

Translations in English: "Yineng zai tacha," translated by John Balcom as "He Makes Another Survey," *Taipei Chinese Pen*, 98 (Winter 1996): 17–19;

"Guanyu Taiya" and "Shan zhi xilie," translated by K. C. Tu and Robert Backus as "Concerning Atayal" and "The Mountain Series," *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series*, 3 (January 1999): 85–90;

"Miwu zhi lü," translated by Adela Jeng as "Journey into the Fog," *Taipei Chinese Pen*, 112 (Summer 2000): 3–10;

"Xiawu cha," translated by Lloyd Haft as "Afternoon Tea," *Taipei Chinese Pen*, 113 (Autumn 2000): 52;

"Hui buluo luo!" and "Atayal (Zhengzhan 1896–1930)," translated by Maghiel van Crevel as "Back to the Tribe!" and "Atayal (War, 1896–1930)," in *Frontier Taiwan: An Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry*, edited by Michelle Yeh and N. G. D. Malmqvist (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 453–459;

"Fuping," "Wushe qingnian," "Xiashan," and "Yineng zai tacha," translated by Balcom as "Duckweed," "Youth of Wushe," "Down the Mountain," and "He Makes Another Survey," in *Indigenous Writers of Taiwan: An Anthology of Stories, Essays, and Poems*, edited by John Balcom and Yingtsih Balcom (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), pp. 165–169;

"Wang fu shi," translated by John Balcom as "Husband-Gazing Stone," in *Sailing to Formosa: A Poetic Companion to Taiwan*, edited by Yeh, Malmqvist, and Xu Huizhi (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), pp. 158–159;

"Dai mojing de feishu," and "Moru qunshan de beiying—'pei ni yi duan' zhi er," translated by Sue Wiles as "Flying Squirrels with Sunglasses" and "The Figures Receding into the Mountains—Second 'Accompanying You Part of the Way,'" *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series*, 18 (July 2006): 69–78.

"Shan yu yuanzhumin," "Mahepo zhi ge," and "Shan shi yi zuo xuexiao," translated by Robert Backus and K. C. Tu as "Mountains and the Aboriginal People," "Song of Mahepo," and "The Mountain Is a School," *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series*, 18 (July 2006): 109–118;

"Xiao shi xuetang-woshi" and "Xiao shi xuetang-keing," translated by David Van Der Peet as "Little School of Poetry-Bedroom" and "Little

School of Poetry-Living Room," *Taipei Chinese Pen*, 158 (Winter 2011): 7–10;

"Guanyu Taiya," "Zai Bachimen," and "Yuanzhumin shengxiaotu," translated by Hsu Pao-fang as "About Atayal," "At Ba-chih-men," and "The Chinese Animal Zodiac for Aborigines"; "Buluo zhi ai," "Buluo mushi," and "Hui buluo luo!," translated by Wu Shuhwa as "Love to My Tribe," "Tribal Priest," and "Return to the Tribe," in *Anthology of Taiwan Indigenous Literature*, edited by Chen Fang-Ming (Taipei: Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2015), pp. 38–49;

"Dai mojing de feishu," "Mihu buluo," "Qiri du," and "Moru qunshan de beiying—'pei ni yi duan' zhi er," translated by Cheryl Robbins as "Flying Squirrels with Sunglasses On," "Mihu Village," "Seven-Day Reading Journal," and "In the Shadow of Uninhabited Mountains—Accompanying You for a Time Part 2," in *Anthology of Taiwan Indigenous Literature*, edited by Chen Fang-Ming (Taipei: Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2015), pp. 146–160.

OTHER: "Taiwan yuanzhumin wenxue de quzhimin" [The Decolonization of Taiwan's Indigenous Literature] and "Cong Taiwan yuanzhumin wenxue fansi shengtai wenhua" [Reflecting on Ecological Culture through Taiwan's Indigenous Literature], in *Taiwan yuanzhuminzu Hanyu wenxue xuanji pinglun juan (shang)* [Collection of Taiwan Indigenous People's Literature in Chinese: Criticism (Book 1)], 7 volumes, edited by Sun Dachuan (Taipei: INK, 2003), pp. 127–171.

Among the most important figures in the indigenous literary movement in Taiwan, Walis Nokan is an ethnic Atayal educator, activist, and writer. He is the author of eight collections of essays, three collections of fiction, and two books on etymology, and he has co-authored a work of history. He is mainly recognized as a poet, however, and has written six volumes of poetry. Many of his poems and a few essays have been translated into English.

His family and friends recognize him by "Walis," his Atayal given name, but at his birth in 1961 the government required that indigenous people register a Chinese name, and his Chinese name was Wu Junjie. He adopted the Mandarin pen name Liu Ao ("a willow soars") when he began publishing in the 1980s. When he embraced his Atayal identity in the mid- to late 1980s, he switched to his Atayal name Walis, to which he attached the patronym Yukan to produce Walis Yukan. In 1994 he "corrected" the patronym to

Nokan, literally “Yukan’s Walis” (the “N-” in N-okan is analogous to “s” in English, and the “-okan” in N-okan is a modified form of his father’s given name Yukan). He has been Walis Nokan ever since. Walis, Yukan, and Nokan are the standard Atayal spellings of his names, but he has always transliterated his names in Mandarin, and these transliterations can be romanized differently (in standard pinyin the poet’s name rendered in Mandarin is Walisi Nuogan). Not surprisingly, his name has been spelled in many different ways in English-language publications.

He was born on 22 August 1961 in a village located to the northeast of Taizhong city that the government calls Shuangqi but which is called Mihuo by the local Atayal people. Mihuo is often described as a *tribe*, but the word *tribe* is exoticizing and imprecise, in that it can refer to either a face-to-face community or the Atayal Nation as an imagined community. Mihuo is better described as a band-based community; unlike a clan, a band is not necessarily based on lineage. In Mandarin this kind of Atayal community is called a *buluo*. In Atayal it is called a *qalang* (which is etymologically related to “fence”). In premodern times, Atayal people lived in the mountains in small *qalang* of around fifty people; following colonization by the Japanese in the early 1900s, they were relocated and their hamlets amalgamated into villages in order to facilitate governance. In his writing as Walis Nokan, he has used meaningful Mandarin transliterations for the Atayal toponym Mihuo. He has transliterated it as Mihuo (the pronunciation in Mandarin is the same as the word for “confusion”) and as Miwu (which sounds like “getting lost in the fog”). The latter is used in his fieldwork diary “Miwu zhi lu,” which was translated as “Journey into the Fog” in 2000; the Mandarin language diary was anthologized in *Miwu zhi lu: jilu buluo gushi de Taiya tianye shu* (Journey through Fog: An Atayal Field Manual for Recording *Buluo* Stories) in 2003.

He went to elementary school in Shuangqi, but as there was no junior high school in Shuangqi he had to attend junior high school in a mainly Hakka town called Dongshi, located about a half hour’s drive west from home. After junior high he went to the Taizhong Teachers College. After his compulsory military service, which he did on Quemoy from 1980 to 1983, he began a career as an elementary school teacher that lasted more than two decades, until 2007.

He started out teaching in Hualian county on the east coast, and it was there that he suffered a motorcycle accident that scarred his face, especially his upper lip. The incident focused his mind on what he wanted to achieve in life, as he relates in his introduction to his second poetry collection, *Shan shi yi suo xuexiao* (1994; *The Mountain Is a School*). To fulfill his goals

in life, he decided he had to go home. Indeed, as Ye Jingqian observed, he is one of the main examples of the “return to the *buluo*” trend in Taiwanese indigenous literature. For a few years the imagery of exile and homecoming filled his poetry; notable examples are his poems “Miyu” (Lost Fish), included in his first book of poems, *Taiya haizi Taiwan xin* (1993; *Atayal Child Taiwan Heart*), and “Fuping” (translated as “Duckweed,” 2003), which appeared in his third poetry collection, *Xiangnian zuren* (1994; *Missing the Tribespeople*). Requests he submitted for relocation brought him closer and closer to home, first to two schools in Taizhong in 1984 and 1987 and finally to his alma mater in Shuangqi in 1994.

Wu’s literary awakening predated his identification with his indigenous heritage. He encountered poetry in 1975 in the literary supplement of the *Qingnian zhanshi bao* (Youth Warrior News), a military publication, and while initially he may have absorbed its militancy he went on to question its idea of patriotism, which was loyalty to the Nationalist Party. The development of his literary consciousness progressed as he discovered the work of Zhou Mengdie, Yu Guangzhong, Luo Fu, Yang Mu, and other modernists in the Lanxing shishe (Blue Star Poetry Society). Under their influence he wrote a poem called “Shangdi zhi si” (Death of God) in 1976. He submitted it to the student newspaper but it was unceremoniously binned and has never seen the light of day.

He took another step in 1983 when, after reading the nativist poet Wu Sheng, he started writing in a more popular idiom about the suffering masses, though not about suffering Atayal people in particular, under the penname Liu Ao. A poem of his, “Gutinghua” (Amaryllis Flower), was included in the annual Erya poetry collection in 1985; it was eventually collected in his *Shan shi yi suo xuexiao*. The amaryllis is a symbol of lonely pride (because the character *gu* in *guting hua*, the Chinese name of the flower, means alone) but also of spring, because of when it blooms, and of the springtime of life, because the poem is about his elementary school students.

In 1984 he became interested in socialism as it was discussed in the *Xiachao* (China Tide) magazine, which was linked to literary nativism and the struggle against martial law. He joined the Gongdang (Worker’s Party), which was founded at the end of 1987, a few months after martial law was lifted. What he seems to have absorbed from *Xiachao* and the Gongdang was not just a leftist perspective but also a confrontational, critical attitude. He went on in 1987 to write a few social protest poems, including “Changji yu tian lu” (Prostitutes Appeal to Heaven). The following year he also wrote poems about the impoverished, such

as “Kuanggong lei” (1993; Miners’ Tears) and “Yuren lei” (1993; Fishermen’s Tears). But it is not for these works that he is regarded as an important poet.

According to his timeline in the appendix to *Shan shi yi suo xuexiao*, it was a Bunun indigenous classmate at Taizhong Teachers College in the late 1970s who led him to begin to reconsider the significance of his Atayal identity. At the time, indigenous people in Taiwan tended to try to conceal their indigeneity because of rampant discrimination. Though the government called them *shanbao* (mountain compatriots), most people in the general population called them “savage” (*fanzai* in Mandarin, *huana* in Taiwanese). When he and his Bunun classmate were in college together, they were not called *indigenous*; *yuanzhumin*, the Chinese translation of the English word, was first used in the early to mid-1980s.

In 1983 the launch of the first indigenous literary journal *Gaoshanqing* (The Mountains Are Green) led to an indigenous cultural awakening in Taiwan. It was in this context that a fellow educator in Hualian encouraged Wu Junjie (for he was still calling himself by his Chinese name at the time) to write about the Atayal experience in Mihu, but initially he found he could not. After relocating to the Taizhong area in 1984, he was much closer to home and in a better position to write about it. In 1985 he wrote a series of prose essays about the history of his village community and other indigenous village communities (see the author’s timeline in *Shan shi yi suo xuexiao*). He also began to treat village history in poetry, beginning with his “Women de jiazou” (Our Clan) series of poems, collected in *Xiangnian zuren*. Craig A. Smith discussed Walis Nokan’s treatment of his family’s experience of the White Terror in terms of “Taiwan’s national trauma narrative.”

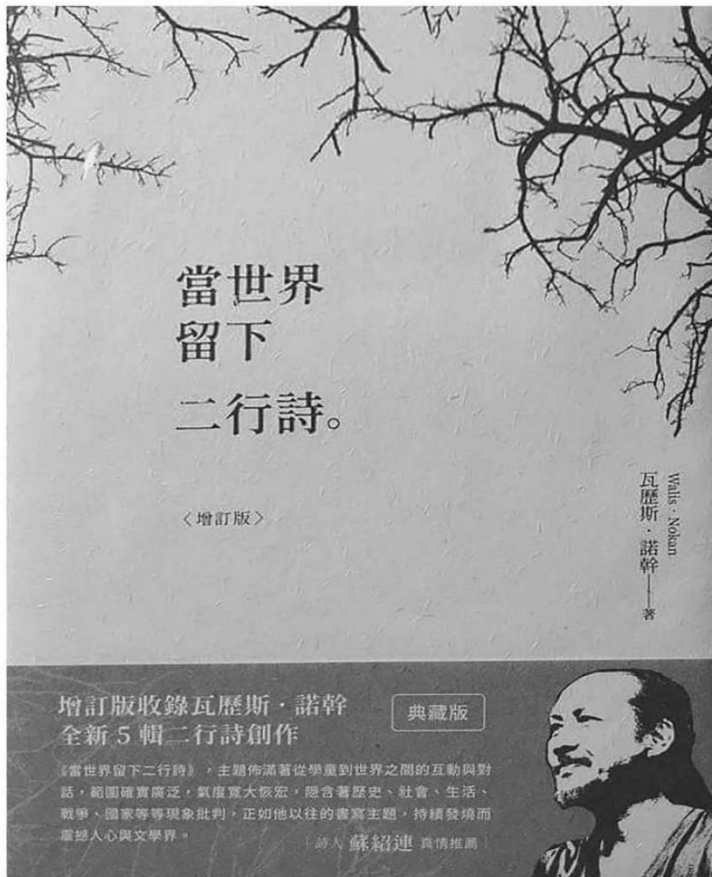
He made a decisive turn towards his indigenous identity in 1986, when he wrote “Wushe qingnian” (1994; translated as “Youth of Wushe,” 2003). This poem concerns the Atayal martyrs of the Musha Incident, the warriors who on 27 October 1930 rebelled against the Japanese at Musha (in Mandarin Wushe) and then lost their lives in the Japanese reprisal. He also wrote about his plight as an Atayal who has to conceal his true identity to be successful in the city in “Xiashan” (1994; translated as “Down the Mountain,” 2003). Another important poem from 1986 was “Hui buluo luo!” (translated as “Back to the Tribe!” 2001), in which the members of his *buluo* are described as “living amidst nature” in order to recover from exhaustion after “vanishing inch by inch” in the city—one of the most famous phrases in his entire oeuvre. “Hui buluo luo!” was first collected

in his fourth book of poems, *Yineng zai tacha* (1999; Inō Makes Another Survey).

In 1987 Walis Nokan became more explicitly critical of the treatment of indigenous people. In the poem “Guanguang shiyi” (1994; The Tourism Industry), which was discussed by Hai Ren, he accuses the Chinese of objectifying indigenous cultures in museum artifacts. He writes as “an authentic Aborigine—an Atayal” who might appear before the museum-goers and give voice to the artifacts “[i]n the display cases.” In 1987 he also widened his purview to include all indigenous peoples in Taiwan. He made a tour of indigenous villages around the island and wrote poems about them, some of which are collected in the “Women de buluo” (Our Village) section of *Xiangnian zuren*.

Accolades soon followed. Walis Nokan had won two prizes at a literary camp in 1986, and in 1989 he won the top prize in the essay category in the Sizihwan literary competition sponsored by National Sun Yat-sen University in Sizihwan (Xiziwan in pinyin) in Gaoxiong. Over the next decade he won so many major literary prizes, particularly for poetry, that it seemed that he was the only indigenous writer who could win. Wei Yijun discussed Walis Nokan’s early recognition. Whether he had become a token indigenous writer who had to be duly recognized or had friends on the judging committees, Walis Nokan obviously had talent and initiative. At any rate, by the mid-1990s he had established his reputation. In the famous seven-volume collection of indigenous literature that was published in 2003, *Taiwan yuanzhuminzu Hanyu wenxue xuanji* (Collection of Taiwan Indigenous People’s Literature in Chinese), editor Sun Dachuan included more poetry by Walis Nokan than by any other poet. (Chen Fang-Ming included translations of most of these poems in the poetry and prose volume of his four-volume 2015 *The Anthology of Taiwan Indigenous Literature*.)

In 1987 Walis Nokan met his future wife, the Paiwan essayist Liglave Awu. Together, they followed the news about the occupations of the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Square in 1988 and 1989 by indigenous activists who demanded that the state *huan wo tudi* (return our land or return the land to us, depending on how the phrase is parsed). The Japanese colonial authorities had confiscated most indigenous lands, and when the Nationalist Party took over in 1945, it took over these lands, which are still under state control to this day. The occupations made a big impression on the couple. In response, they co-founded the bimonthly journal *Lieren wenhua* (Hunter Culture) in 1990. For two years, *Lieren wenhua* covered indigenous issues in a highly critical or even combative tone. Indeed, it was published on the



Cover for Walis Nokan's 2011 book, *Dang shijie liuxia erhangshi* [When Couplet Poems Are Left in the World] (courtesy of the author)

27th of the month, because one of the occupations was launched on the 27th of the month in commemoration of the Atayal warriors' attack on the Japanese at Musha in 1930.

Walis Nokan's first book, a collection of essays titled *Yongyuan de buluo* (Eternal Village Community), was published in 1990; it was followed two years later by two more such collections, *Fandao chuqiao* (The Savage Knife Unsheathed) and *Huangye de huhuan* (Call of the Wild). Also in 1992 *Lieren wenhua* ceased publication, to be reborn as the Research Center for Taiwanese Indigenous Humanities (Taiwan yuanzhumin renwen yanjiu zhongxin), with Walis Nokan at the helm. This center also had a short life; the half dozen books it produced—including *Taiya haizi Taiwan xin*—were of low quality and appear to have been photocopied or mimeographed. His next two collections of poetry, *Xiangnian zuren* and *Shan shi yi*

suo xuexiao, were professionally published by Chenxing and Taizhong xianli wenhua zhongxin, respectively. Chenxing (Morningstar) is a trade publisher in Taizhong renowned for its series of publications of indigenous literature and culture. In 1999 Chenxing also brought out his last major collection of poetry, *Yineng zai tacha*. The volume's title poem, originally published in 1996, is literally "Inō [Kanori] Makes Another Survey," but has been translated as "He Makes Another Survey" by John Balcom. Inō Kanori was the Japanese ethnographer who in the late 1890s did the first modern fieldwork among indigenous peoples in Taiwan. In the poem, the poet-narrator addresses Inō in the second person as he travels back through time. The poem is ironic in several respects. According to Walis Nokan, Inō Kanori imagined he had penetrated "the wild forests," forests that were far from wild to the indigenous people who had lived in villages in for-

est clearings for thousands of years. A century later in 1996, a newer colonizer (the Nationalist Party) had filled the wilderness with garbage, including nuclear waste on Orchid Island. In 1996, indigenous territories had been colonized worldwide and their cultures commodified—Walis Nokan refers in this poem to Enigma's song "Return to Innocence" (1994), which was an unofficial theme song of the Atlanta Olympics and which contained unattributed Taiwanese Amis indigenous choral music, as discussed by Shyr Ee Tan.

By the latter half of the 1990s, Walis Nokan had reached a high point in his literary career, but he was no longer writing as much as he had done in the 1980s. Indeed, his collections in the 1990s are mainly made up of poems and essays published in the previous decade. He was deeply affected by the earthquake of 21 September 1999 that killed more than 2,400 people. His reconstruction efforts took on material and personal dimensions as the earthquake devastated MiHu and tore his marriage to Liglave Awu apart. His marriage falls apart on screen in the 2004 documentary *Buluo zhi yin* (Radio MiHu), about reconstruction efforts in MiHu. It also led to a creative lull that lasted about a decade. Most of the essays from his 2003 collection *Miwu zhi li* had been completed before 1999. He did, however, write two essays to take stock. Both of these essays were included in Sun Dachuan's 2003 anthology. The first is about ecological culture, the second about decolonization.

In "Cong Taiwan yuanzhumin wenxue fansi shengtai wenhua" (Reflecting on Ecological Culture through Taiwan's Indigenous Literature), Walis Nokan argues that non-indigenous Taiwanese people can learn from indigenous people about knowing and taking care of the land. Critic Yang Ming-tu had written about the representation of nature in Walis Nokan's "Hui buluo luo!" in which the protagonist who goes back to the "tribe" finds that the environment has been "violated by Japanese imperialism and other colonizers." Peter I-min Huang discussed ecological issues in Walis Nokan's poetry.

Walis Nokan's essay titled "Taiwan yuanzhumin wenxue de quzhimin" (The Decolonization of Taiwan's Indigenous Literature) touches not just on content but on form, because decolonization is of language as well as the meanings language expresses—a point that is relevant to the discussions of Lin Wenxin, Sasanuma Toshiaki, and Andrea Bachner. In his essay, Walis Nokan responds to Sun Dachuan, who had advocated for indigenous literature in Mandarin, with this emphatic assertion: "That the basis of Taiwan aboriginal literary production is language (mother tongue) is a starting point that cannot be uprooted." This position seems somewhat at odds

with Walis Nokan's practice because he has seldom included Atayal in his poetry, certainly not as a grammatical influence. He occasionally uses individual Atayal words, spelling them after his own fashion, because even today, when there are standard spellings, easily accessible since 2016 in an online Atayal dictionary in the Sqoliq dialect that Walis Nokan speaks, he and many others do not check the dictionary. "Atayal (Zhengzhan 1896–1930)" (translated as "Atayal [War, 1896–1930]," 2001), originally composed at some time in the 1990s, is his only widely anthologized work containing a complete Atayal utterance. It begins with what he claims is an "Atayal saying." He spells it "ini ("not") ta ("by us") vaiti ("known") kai ("words") nkis ("ancestors") ga (topic marker), i jad (a single word meaning "are not") Atayal ("Atayal") ba lai (a single word meaning "true")." Literally, the sense is "(if) (the) words of (the) ancestors (are) not known by us, (then we) are not real Atayal." But he does not translate the line literally; instead he "domesticates" it into a formal Chinese idiom, the idiom of *The Analects* of Confucius (circa 479–221 BCE), that his readers would find familiar: *bu zhi shi, yan zhi sheng* ("if you don't know history, how can you know how to live?"). This is hardly a decolonizing translation.

The overall thesis of the essay is that Taiwanese indigenous literature should not be confined to the margins of Taiwanese literature or Mandarin-language literature. Instead, it should be understood through other contexts, such as global indigenous literature and Austronesian literature. Scott Simon provided context and argued a similar thesis in his 2018 essay. It is important to note, too, that the very category of Atayal as an ethnonym is a Japanese construct, as Paul D. Barclay has discussed. Walis Nokan's own ancestors' identity would have been much more local, at a *qalang* or *qalang*-alliance level. The concept of Atayal has been localized to some extent in his lifetime: Truku and Seediq were recognized as separate from Atayal in 2004 and 2008 respectively. Many of the battles referred to in his poem "Atayal (Zhengzhan 1896–1930)" were fought by Truku and Seediq, not by the people who are recognized as Atayal today.

By 2009 Walis Nokan had resumed his literary career more fully, as he published a non-specialist book on etymology, *Zizi zhuji* (Each Character a Pearl) in that year. Very little of his writing since then has been explicitly indigenous. He has published volumes of "how-to" couplet poems, *Dang shijie liuxia erhangshi* (2011; When Couplet Poems Are Left in the World) and *Walisi Nuogan 2012: ziyou xiezuo de niandai* (2012; Walis Nokan 2012: The Era of Free Writing). In these publications he has assumed the role of educator.

Indeed, his *Walisi Nuogan 2012: ziyou xiezu de niandai* includes couplet poems written by elementary school students who have attended his workshops. He has also published two volumes of fiction and two collections of essays.

Critics who have tried to assess Walis Nokan's contributions have emphasized different aspects of his career. To Dong Shuming, writing in 2003, Walis Nokan has stood out for his work on *Lieren wenhua* and for his general combativeness. For Pu Zhongcheng, writing in 2009, his importance has been less as a voice of the indigenous protest movement of the 1980s than as a leader of the cultural reconstruction movement of the 1990s. A more comprehensive assessment of Walis Nokan that includes his work in the twenty-first century is yet to be written.

References:

- Andrea Bachner, "Cultural Margins, Hybrid Scripts: Bigraphism and Translation in Taiwanese Indigenous Writing," *Journal of World Literature*, 1 (2016): 226–244;
- Paul D. Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire: Japan's Rule on Taiwan's "Savage Border," 1874–1945* (Los Angeles: California University Press, 2017);
- Dong Shuming, "Wei feng de liliang, dadi de fanghua—shilun ba, jiu ling niandai Taiwan yuanzhumin shige zhong chonggou zhuti de yangtai," in *Taiwan yuanzhuminzu Hanyu wenxue xuanji pinglun juan (xia)* (Taipei: Yinke, 2003), pp. 212–234;
- Peter I-min Huang, *Linda Hogan and Contemporary Taiwanese Writers: An Ecocritical Study of Indigenities and Environment* (London: Lexington Books, 2015);
- Lin Wenxin, "Yuanzhumin xiandai shi zhong de houzhimin shuxie—yi Walisi Nuogan *Xiangnian zuren, Yineng zai tacha wei li*," *Taiwan shixue xuekan*, 12 (2008): 159–183;
- Lin Yuhong, "Yige yuanzhumin laoshi de tongshi xiezu—yi Walisi Nuogan wei yanjiu duixiang," *Taipei shiyuan yuwen jikan*, 7 (2002): 55–81;
- Pu Zhongcheng (Pasuya Poiconu), *Taiwan yuanzhuminzu wenxue shigang (shang)* (Taipei: Liren shuju, 2009);
- Hai Ren, "The Displacement and Museum Representation of Aboriginal Cultures in Taiwan," *Positions: Asia Critique*, 6, no. 2 (1998): 323–344;
- Sasanuma Toshiaki, "'Xiandai wenxue de zhongjie' hou, bianchui yuyan neng zuo sheme?—Walisi Nuogan yu Liwei Yingxiang (Hideo Levi)," *Duoyuan wenhua jiaoliu*, 6 (2014): 89–103;
- Scott Simon, "Ontologies of Taiwan Studies, Indigenous Studies, and Anthropology," *International Journal of Taiwan Studies*, 1, no. 1 (2018): 11–35;
- Craig A. Smith, "Aboriginal Autonomy and Its Place in Taiwan's National Trauma Narrative," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, 24 (Fall 2012): 209–240;
- Shzr Ee Tan, "Returning to and from 'Innocence': Taiwan Aboriginal Recordings," *Journal of American Folklore*, 121 (Spring 2008): 222–235;
- Wei Yijun, "Xunzhao renting de zhandou weizhi: yi Walisi Nuogan de gushi wei li," *Taiwan yuanzhuminzu Hanyu wenxue xuanji Pinglun juan (xia)* (Taipei: Yinke, 2003), pp. 97–145;
- Yang Ming-tu, "Ecological Consciousness in the Contemporary Literature of Taiwan," in *Literature of Nature: An International Sourcebook*, edited by Patrick D. Murphy (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998), pp. 304–314;
- Ye Jingqian, "Guiyu shuoyuan—shilun Walisi Nuogan *Xiangnian zuren de xianshi guanhuai*," *Fengjia zhongwen xuekan*, 1 (2008): 225–246.