

The Development and Regional Distribution of Korean Toponymic Back Morphemes: *With a Focus on Gogae-Related Toponyms*

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Abstract

This article is a study of gogae-related back morphemes of Korean toponyms, which are characteristic of geographic typology. In order to investigate the original forms and their development and regional distribution, I analyzed toponyms that appear in representative geography books of each historic period: Old Korean (before tenth century), Middle Korean (tenth to sixteenth century), and Modern Korean (seventeenth century to present). Gogae 고개 and jae 재 are two original forms of back morphemes of the gogae-related toponyms in vernacular Korean. Jiui 知衣 appearing in the Samguk sagi jiriji (Geographical Appendix to the Historical Records of the Three Kingdoms), compiled in 1145, can be regarded as the transcription of jae into a Chinese character. Other back morphemes in Sino-Korean characters (hanzi 漢字) include ryeong 嶺, hyeon 峴, jam 岑, jeom 岾, and chi 峙. In Modern Korean, ryeong, hyeon, and chi are the most widely used back morphemes in South Korea, whereas only ryeong is used in North Korea.

Keywords: toponymic front morphemes, toponymic back morphemes, gogae-related toponyms, native Korean toponyms, toponyms in Sino-Korean characters, *Samguk sagi jiriji*

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Introduction

Toponyms generally consist of a morpheme that represents the typological trait of a designated place and another morpheme that represents its differentiating characteristic. For example, a toponym “Bamgogae 뱀고개” (chestnut hill) is divided into the front morpheme “bam 뱀” and the back morpheme “gogae 고개.” Here, *gogae* describes its characteristic terrain and allows a categorical classification, while *bam* is a unique characteristic morpheme that distinguishes the location from others. Therefore, the front morpheme which functions as a unique noun is called the character morpheme or the differentiating part, and the back morpheme, which functions like a general noun, is called the categorical morpheme or the unit part.

In a toponym, the front morpheme, which is labeled for distinction from other places, reflects the designator’s conception of the designated. It may reflect what is directly conceived of by looking at it, or its political, economic, social, and cultural presuppositions. An example of the former is Bamgogae, which is probably named for the many chestnut trees in the area. An example of the latter is Seongsamjae 성삼재 (three sages hill), which alludes to the prophecy that three sages would be born in the area.

Front morpheme vocabularies, which are constructions that reflect the constructor’s intentionality, are more varied than and are of a more innovative nature than back morpheme vocabularies. In contrast, back morpheme vocabularies are relatively simple and conservative, and some of them are seldom used alone in everyday usage. This is evident in the fact that only native Korean and Sino-Korean characters (*hanzi* 漢字)—which are of conservative nature—exist in the back morpheme vocabularies for Korean toponyms, while there are a few Western words in front morpheme vocabularies.

The history of Korean vocabulary can be studied by analyzing the conservative back morphemes of toponyms. By categorizing them based on the intrinsic characteristics signified by the back morpheme, one can understand the confrontation, competition, disappearance, and regional variance in their usage. There has not been a

systematic discussion on the forms of the back morpheme until relatively recently, but a series of studies—hopefully including this one—will help make it more systematized.

The oldest extant reference that allows us to research on toponyms throughout Korea is the *Samguk sagi jiriji* (Geographical Appendix to the *Historical Records of the Three Kingdoms*). Geography books that were published after the production of *Samguk sagi jiriji* include the *Gyeongsangdo jiriji* (Geographical Record of Gyeongsang-do Province) (1425), *Paldo jiriji* (Geographical Record of the Eight Provinces) (1432), *Goryeosa jiriji* (Geographical Appendix to the *History of Goryeo*) (1451), and *Sejong sillok jiriji* (Geographical Appendix to the Annals of King Sejong) (1454). Then, a synthesis of all the previous geography books, the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (Survey of the Geography of Korea) was published in 1481. In my research, while referencing the aforementioned works, I reviewed the toponyms in the *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam* (Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea; hereafter *Sinjeung*), which was published in 1531 as an enlarged revision of the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (Survey of the Geography of Korea).

After the mid-Joseon period, a series of books dealing with toponyms in diverse formats were published, such as the *Dongguk jiriji* (Korean Geography) (1640), *Taengniji* (Geographical Guide to Korea) (1751), *Dongguk munheon bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (1770), *Abang gangyeokgo* (Historical Geography of Korea) (1811), *Daedong jiji* (Geography of Korea) (circa 1866), and others. A noteworthy book is the *Yeoji doseo* (Cultural Geography of Korea) (1757-1765), which was compiled as an updated revision of the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (1481), published about 270 years prior. This book is a collection of works written during the reign of King Yeongjo (1757-1765) and contains geographical descriptions of 295 *eup* 邑, 17 *yeong* 營, and 1 *jin* 鎭.

Toponyms appearing in the books of the Joseon dynasty, in most cases, were written in classical literary Chinese. Many Korean toponyms written in Hangeul (Korean alphabet) first appeared in the *Joseon jiji jaryo* (Geographical Documents on Joseon), which is

believed to have been transliterated in 1911. The native Korean names for places, or the original forms of their Chinese names were uncovered in the *Joseon jiji jaryo* because of the transliteration from the classical literary Chinese characters, which could not fully reflect the everyday spoken Korean language, to Hangeul. Later, all locales in South Korea are listed in the *Hanguk jimyeong chongnam* (Directory of Toponyms in Korea) (1964-1986) by the Korean Language Society (Hangeul Hakhoe); and, for North Korea, in the *Joseon hyangto dae-baekgwa* (Encyclopedia of North Korean Geography and Culture) by the Institute for Peace Affairs.

I conducted my research by analyzing references from each historical period—Old Korean (before tenth century), Middle Korean (tenth to sixteenth century), and Modern Korean (seventeenth century to present)—for toponyms in Korea. I examined the development of *gogae*-related back morphemes from the days of Old Korean in the *Samguk sagi jiriji* to those of Modern Korean. I also endeavored to review the regional variances in usage. This comprehensive research on the *gogae*-related back morphemes contributes to identifying the temporal and spatial traits of the back morphemes of Korean toponyms. Furthermore, it will enrich the understanding of the language, geography, and culture of Korea.

The *Gogae*-Related Back Morphemes in the *Samguk sagi jiriji*

Among the *gogae*-related back morphemes in the toponyms of Korea, *gogae* 고개/*ogae* 오개 and *jae* 재 are native words, while *ryeong* 嶺, *hyeon* 峴, *jam* 岑, *chi* 峙, and *jeom* 岾 are words originating from Chinese characters.¹ The use of *ryeong*, *hyeon*, and *jam* is clearly evident

1. *Jeom* 岾 is a Chinese character of Korean origin; it seems to have been used as a transliteration for *jae* 재 from the Old Korean period. Language users, however, regard it as a Chinese character because it can also be transliterated into Chinese. Therefore, I treat it as a Sino-Korean character used as a back morpheme in this paper. While *deung* 嶺 and *neomi* 너미 can also be considered *gogae*-related back morphemes, they usually refer to a mountain, valley, field, village, rock, or rice paddy rather than a pass, and thus, they are omitted from review.

in the *Samguk sagi jiriji*. Also, the existence of native Korean words, such as *bawi* 바위, *gogae* 고개, and *jae* 재, is presumed from the usage of *pahye* 波兮 or *pau* 波衣² and *jiui* 知衣—which should be read according to the pronunciation of their Chinese characters—being in correspondence with the Chinese character derived words.

Of the *gogae*-related endings, *ryeong*, *hyeon*, and *jam* were not found in the sources on Silla toponyms (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 34), but were used in the Goguryeo and Baekje references (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vols. 35, 37); of the three aforementioned, including both Goguryeo and Baekje, *ryeong* appears only nine times (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 37). The Goguryeo dynasty reference has but a single case of its usage, Uryeong 牛嶺; and for the Baekje dynasty, there are eight citations: Jangnyeongjin 長嶺鎭, Gollyeong 鶻嶺, Maryeong 馬嶺, Hakballyeong 鶴盤嶺, Wanggollyeong 王骨嶺, Baeryeong 裴嶺, Jangnyeong-seong 長嶺城, and Gallyeong 葛嶺.

The usage of *hyeon* 峴³ as a toponymic back morpheme was found in the Goguryeo and Baekje dynasties, but not in the Silla dynasty. In Goguryeo, seven such names that appeared in vol. 35 of the *Samguk sagi jiriji* also are found in vol. 37: Jihyeon-hyeon 砥峴縣, Samhyeon-hyeon 三峴縣, Munhyeon-hyeon 文峴縣, Jeosuhyeon-hyeon 猪守峴縣,⁴ Jukhyeon-hyeon 竹峴縣, Ikhyeon-hyeon 翼峴縣, and Pyeongjinhyeon-hyeon 平珍峴縣. Among the nine toponyms in vol. 37 of the *Samguk sagi jiriji*, only Gueulhyeon 仇乙峴 and Gusahyeon 仇史峴 were found in vol. 35. As for the Baekje dynasty references, there are eleven such citations: Jinhyeon-hyeon 眞峴縣 in vols. 36 and 37; Sahyeon 沙峴, Buhyeon 斧峴, Daebuhyeon 大斧峴, Bonghyeon 烽峴, Geum-

2. *Pahye* and *pau* 波衣 correspond to *am* 巖 (rock). They are also used in correspondence with *pau* 巴衣, as in “Gongam-hyeon 孔巖縣, originally Jechapau-hyeon 濟次巴衣縣 of Goguryeo.” There is no case in which *hyeon* or *ryeong* is used in correspondence with *pau* 波衣.

3. This character should not be confused with *hyeon* 縣, a Sino-Korean character for an administrative unit.

4. Jeosuhyeon-hyeon 猪守峴縣 is mentioned: in vol. 35, “Jeoryeong-hyeon 猪嶺縣, originally Jeosuhyeon-hyeon 猪守峴縣 of Goguryeo, was renamed by King Gyeongdeok; its present name is unknown”; and in vol. 37, “Jeoranhyeon-hyeon 猪蘭峴縣 is also called Osaengpau 烏生波衣 or Jeosu 猪守.”

hyeonseong 錦峴城, Jeokhyeonseong 赤峴城, Seokhyeonseong 石峴城, Ssanghyeonseong 雙峴城, Geumhyeonseong 金峴城, and Chimhyeon 沈峴 only in vol. 37.

As for the usage of *jam* as a toponymic back morpheme, there were no examples in the Silla records, but there was one, Ujam-gun 牛岑郡 in the Goguryeo records (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vols. 35, 37) and five such cases for the Baekje records: Gajamseong 假岑城, Dongjamseong 桐岑城, Ongjamseong 雍岑城, Aengjamseong 櫻岑城, and Gijamseong 岐岑城; in all these cases, the character “*jam*” preceded “*seong*.”

In summary, of the toponyms from the Three Kingdoms period that are mentioned in the *Samguk sagi jiriji*, there are thirty-five cases of *gogae*-related Chinese-derived words that are used as back morphemes. Among them, *hyeon* was used the most frequently (20 times), followed by *ryeong* and then *jam*. This pattern of usage is most prominent in the toponyms of the Baekje dynasty.

Among the toponyms renamed by King Gyeongdeok of the Unified Silla Kingdom, *ryeong* appears most often with seven citations, whereas *hyeon* and *jam* are found once each. Eumjam 陰岑 is listed as the alternative name for Eumbong 陰峯 (Example 1-3). Of the renamed places, there are all nine cases of *gogae*-related back morphemes, thus one might conjecture that there is a convergence to *ryeong*. Hence, the character *hyeon*, which was used in the toponyms of all the Three Kingdoms, is replaced with the letter *ryeong* in the renaming system (Example 1-1). This tendency to use *ryeong*—and not *hyeon* or *jam*—for the *gogae*-related back morpheme is illustrated by examples of Goguryeo toponyms (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 35): Ujam 牛岑 changed to Ubong 牛峯, Munhyeon 文峴 to Mundeung 文登, and Pyeongjilli 平壑泥 to Pyeonheom 偏嶮.

Example 1-1

Cheonnyeong-gun 天嶺郡, originally Sokham-gun 速含郡, was renamed by King Gyeongdeok, but today is called Hamyang-gun 咸陽郡 (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 34).

Samnyeong-hyeon 三嶺縣, originally Samhyeon-hyeon 三峴縣 during

the Goguryeo dynasty (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 35).

Huiryeong-hyeon 豨嶺縣, originally Jeosuhyeon-hyeon 豬守峴縣 during the Goguryeo dynasty, was renamed by King Gyeongdeok; today's name is unknown (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 35).

Jungnyeong-hyeon 竹嶺縣, originally Jukhyeon-hyeon 竹峴縣 during the Goguryeo dynasty, was renamed by King Gyeongdeok; today's name is unknown (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 35)

Ingnyeong-hyeon 翼嶺縣, originally Ikhyeon-hyeon 翼峴縣 during the Goguryeo dynasty, was renamed by King Gyeongdeok; and is still called that name today (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 35).

Jillyeong-hyeon 鎭嶺縣, originally Jinhyeon-hyeon 眞峴縣 (called *jin* 眞 or *jeong* 貞) during the Baekje dynasty, was renamed by King Gyeongdeok; today's name is Jinjam-hyeon 鎭岑縣 (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 35).

Bullyeong-gun 分嶺郡, originally Buncha-gun 分嵯郡 during the Baekje dynasty, was renamed by King Gyeongdeok; today's name is Nagan-gun 樂安郡 (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 35).

Example 1-2

Songhyeon-hyeon 松峴縣, originally Busapui-hyeon 夫斯波衣縣 during the Goguryeo dynasty, was renamed by King Hyeondeok; today part of it is called Junghwa-hyeon 中和縣 (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 35)

Example 1-3

Eumbong-hyeon 陰峯縣 (or Eumjam-hyeon 陰岑縣), originally Asul-hyeon 牙述縣 during the Baekje dynasty, was renamed by King Gyeongdeok; today's name is Aju 牙州 (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 36).

When the toponyms during the Goguryeo dynasty (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vols. 35 and 37) are read according to the pronunciations of their corresponding Chinese characters, they can give rare clues as to the existence of native Korean back morphemes. As shown in the following

examples from the *Samguk sagi jiriji* (Example 2-1), it is conjectured that *hyeon* corresponds to *pahye* or *pau*, and *jam* to *ji*.

Example 2-1

Songhyeon-hyeon 松峴縣, originally Busapau-hyeon 夫斯波衣縣 during the Goguryeo dynasty, was renamed by King Heondeok; today it is part of Junghwa-hyeon 中和縣 (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 35).

Busapau-hyeon 夫斯波衣縣 is also called Gusahyeon 仇史峴 (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 37).

Samhyeon-hyeon 三峴縣 is also called Milpahye 密波兮 (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 37).

Munhyeon-hyeon 文峴縣 is also called Geunsipahye 斤尸波兮 (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 37).

Jeoranhyeon-hyeon 豬闌峴縣 is also called Osaengpau 烏生波衣 or Jeosu 豬守 (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 37).

Pyeongjinhyeon-hyeon 平珍峴縣 is also called Pyeongjinpau 平珍波衣 is also called Pyeongjinpau 平珍波衣 (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 37).

Example 2-2

Ujam-gun 牛岑郡 is also called Uryeong 牛嶺 or Sujiui (*Samguk sagi jiriji*, vol. 37).

The example of Hyuryuseong 鶻鷁城 (also called Jopau 租波衣 or Hyuam-gun 鶻巖郡) demonstrates that *pau* 波衣—which is the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese characters—corresponds to *am* 巖 (rock), which is pronounced by its meaning. One ancient text also illustrates that *pau* 巴衣 corresponds to *am*: “Gongam-hyeon 孔巖縣, originally Jechapau-hyeon 濟次巴衣縣 during the Goguryeo dynasty, was renamed by King Gyeongdeok and is still called the same.”⁵ From various sources,

5. Additional examples of toponyms taking *am* 巖 as the back morpheme are Yeongam-gun 靈巖郡 and Wiyamseong 尉耶巖城 (or Winaamseong 尉那巖城). While Yeongam 靈巖 was phonetically read as Wolna 月奈 in Chinese, Wiyamseong 尉耶巖城 (Winaamseong 尉那巖城) did not have another phonetically read name.

we can ascertain that *pau* 波衣, read phonetically, signifies both *hyeon* and *am*, but *pahye* only means *hyeon*, and *pau* 巴衣 only *am*. If *pau* 波衣, *pahye*, and *pau* 巴衣 are all expressions of *bahoe* 바회 (rock) in the fifteenth-century linguistic conventions, then it is conjectured that they probably had the same native Korean form that corresponded to the Chinese-derived *am* 巖 and *hyeon* 峴. Starting from about the Middle Korean period, *bahoe* meant only *am* and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, its form changed to *bau* 바우 or *bawi* 바위, with the intervocalic /h/ weakened. Today, it has various dialectal forms in different regions.⁶ It is true that there are more cases of *pau* 波衣, *pahye* 波兮, or *pau* 巴衣 corresponding to *hyeon* 峴 than *am* 巖 in the *Samguk sagi jiriji*, but it is not yet understood from our knowledge of Modern Korean that *hyeon* was a fifteenth-century form of *bahoe* in Old Korean. Yet their corresponding relationship is confirmed in many Goguryeo toponyms, and this makes me believe that, in Old Korean, the fifteenth-century form *bahoe* was a polysemous (a word with multiple meanings) or a homonym of *hyeon* and *am*.

One *gogae*-related back morpheme that was referenced in the *Samguk sagi jiriji* is *jiui*, which is native Korean, along with *pau* 波衣 and *pahye*. We can see that *jiui* corresponds to *jam* or *ryeong* (Example 2-2), “Ujam-gun 牛岑郡 is also called Uryeong 牛嶺 or Sujiui 首知衣.” Concerning *jiui*, Park Byung-chaе (1990, 177) and Chon So Young (1990, 52) view it as the original form of *jae* 재 in Modern Korean, while Yoo Chang-Kyun (1980, 309) sees it as *deul* 들 (field). Choi Nam-Hee (2005, 141-144) argued that *sujiui* 首知衣 should be read as [su-tarV], and thus *jiui* 知衣 can be regarded as *dal* 달, which means “mountain.” Choi Jung-Ho (2008, 267-274) describes its phonetic value as [ki-ɛi] or *gae* 개 and sees it as corresponding to *gogae* in Middle Korean. While it is difficult to definitely resolve this issue, in this paper I provisionally regard it as corresponding to the native

6. In the Korean Dialect Search Program, launched under the Sejong Project for the 21st Century, many dialectal forms of *bawi* 바위 (rock) are listed: *bau* 바우, *bagu* 바구, *bao* 바오, *bai* 바이, *bae* 바에, *bawi* 바우이, *bawe* 바웨, *bai* 바이, *bak* 박, *banggu* 방구, *bangu* 방우, *bangi* 방이, *bango* 방오, *bangku* 방쿠, *bangkui* 방쿠이, *bangkwi* 방퀴, *pagu* 파구, *pau* 파우, *pawi* 파위, *panggu* 팡구, *pangu* 팡우, etc.

Korean word *jae* on the basis of, for example, “Ujam 牛岑 = Uryeong 牛嶺 = Sujiui 首知衣”; however, this does not take into account its Chinese pronunciation. Table 1 shows a summary of *gogae*-related back morphemes that are cited in the *Samguk sagi jiriji*.

Table 1. Regional Distribution of Gogae-Related Back Morphemes in the *Samguk sagi jiriji*

	Ryeong 嶺	Hyeon 峴	Jam 岑	Pahye 波兮 / pauī 波衣	Jiui 知衣	Total
Silla	0	0	0	0	0	0
Goguryeo	1	9	1	3/2	1	17
Baekje	8	11	5	0	0	24
Unified Silla Kingdom	7	1	1	0	0	9
Total	16	21	7	5	1	50

Gogae-Related Back Morphemes in the *Sinjeung* and the *Yeoji doseo*

In *Yongbi eocheonga* (Songs of Flying Dragons; hereafter, *Yongga*), there is a usage of *gogae*-related native Korean back morphemes, *jae* ㄹ and *gogae/ogae*, as illustrated in Example 3-1. As shown in Example 3-2, *bahoe*, whose original form is *pahye/pauī* 波衣, is used in correspondence with *am*, but never with *ryeong*, *hyeon*, or *jam*, thus making it difficult to classify it as a *gogae*-related back morpheme. Moreover, according to the examples of toponyms written in Sino-Korean characters in Example 3-1, *jae* ㄹ and *gogae/ogae* always corresponded to the Sino-Korean derived back morpheme “*hyeon* 峴.”

Example 3-1

Uhyeon 牛峴 or Syojae 쇼·재⁷ (meaning “cattle hill”) (*Yongga*, vol. 1, 31)

7. In Middle Korean references, side dots were used to indicate tones. One dot placed

Nihyeon 泥峴 or Hakgogae 嶽고개 (meaning “clay hill”) (*Yongga*, vol. 1, 44)

Cheolheyon 鐵峴 or Soejae 쇠재 (meaning “iron mountain pass”) (*Yongga*, vol. 1, 50)

Tanhyeon 炭峴 or Sutgogae 숯고개 (meaning “coal mountain pass”) (*Yongga*, vol. 5, 29)

Sahyeon 沙峴 or Moraegogae 몰애오개 (meaning “sand hill”) (*Yongga*, vol. 9, 49)

Example 3-2

Ambang 巖房 or Bahoetbang 바윗방 (meaning “rock chamber”) (*Yongga*, vol. 1, 47)

Gongam 孔巖 or Gumubahoe 구무바회 (meaning “pitted rock”) (*Yongga*, vol. 3, 13)

Bonghwangam 鳳凰巖 or Buheongbahoe 부형바회 (meaning “phoenix rock”) (*Yongga*, vol. 5, 27)

Baegam 白巖 or Huinbahoe 흰바회 (meaning “white rock”) (*Yongga*, vol. 7, 7)

In Example 3-1, *hyeon* 峴 is the only Chinese-derived back morpheme corresponding to the native Korean ones “*jae*” and “*gogae/ogae*.” But *ryeong* seems to have been widely used, as shown in the examples from the first two volumes of the *Yongga*: Cheollyeong 鐵嶺, Oryeong 五嶺, Maryeong 馬嶺, Jabiryong 慈悲嶺, Jeollyeong 岵嶺, Geo-yuryeong 車踰嶺, Hamgwannyeong 咸關嶺, Chohwangnyeong 草黃嶺, and Seollyeolhallyeong 薛列罕嶺. However, *jam* is used only for Jangjam 長岑, a toponym of a place mentioned in the Nangnang-gun,⁸ indicating its infrequency as a back morpheme. This is also evidenced in the *Sejong sillok jiriji* where *jam* 岑 is used only three times for Jinjam 鎭

left of the character (·◻) indicated a high tone while two dots (:◻) indicated a low-rising tone. The low tone was symbolized as ◻ with no dot.

8. “鐵方 長岑 皆屬樂浪郡” (“Lubang and Jangjam were prefectures belonging to Nangnang-gun”) (*Yongga* 3: 36b).

岑, whereas *ryeong* and *hyeon* appear eleven and twenty-nine times, respectively.

Another notable back morpheme found in the *Sejong sillok jiriji* is *jeom* 帖, which appears eighteen times more often than either *jam* or *ryeong*. It is used for places relating to “signal fire” twelve times, “rough places” twice, and once each for a “porcelain lot,” a “pottery place,” and a “fortress.” *Jeom* 帖 is used for “beacon mounds,” for example, Bohyeonjeom 普賢帖, Yongsanjeom 龍山帖, Magoljeom 麻骨帖, Yeodojeom 余道帖, Sahwaranjeom 沙火郎帖, etc. But *chi* has not yet been found to be cited in the extant literature.

In the *Sinjeung*, *hyeon* (357 times) and *ryeong* (256 times) are most dominantly used for *gogae*-related back morphemes. *Jeom*, which was first evidenced in the *Sejong sillok jiriji*, is used eighty-three times in the *Sinjeung*, which is a significant increase. *Jam* is cited only six times, seemingly decreasing in usage as a back morpheme. The frequency of how many times each is cited in the book includes toponyms of both physical and human geography (e.g., horse station, fortress, historical ruins, and beacon). The back morphemes that signify a relationship with mountains and streams in the *Sinjeung* were: *hyeon* 峴, 259 times; *ryeong* 嶺, 170 times; and *jeom* 帖, 47 times. But *jam* 岑 is not found in the Electronic Cultural Atlas of Joseon. Thus, it seems that *jeom* was increasing in usage, but conversely *jam* 岑 was decreasing; *chi* 峙 is used infrequently in the *Sinjeung*, and not as a back morpheme but as the character that signifies “soar.”

In the *Yeoji doseo*, *gogae*-related back morphemes are evidenced in the order of *ryeong* (433/177 times), *hyeon* (360/206 times), *chi* (150/52 times), *jeom* (45/29 times), and *jam* (12/0 times). The first denominator in the parentheses reflects the usage of each *gogae*-related back morpheme as a whole and the second in the section of mountains and streams. In terms of the total usage, *ryeong* (433) is more frequent than *hyeon* (360), but for mountains and streams, *hyeon* (206) was more often used than *ryeong* (177). An interesting feature of these two books is the appearance of *chi* (150/52), which is not cited in the previous literature; yet, it is used more so than *jam*

(12/0) or *jeom* (45/29). There is no citation for *jam* in the names of hills; thus, it is evident that *jam* no longer functioned as a back morpheme. In addition, *jeom* seems to have been decreasing in usage whereas the back morpheme *chi* was widely used for the names of fortress, embankments, warehouses, and military outposts.

The Chinese-derived characters *ryeong* and *hyeon* are cited side by side in the geography section of the *Hunmong jahoe* (Collection of Characters for Training the Unenlightened), but *chi* is not. In the *Sinjeung yuhap* (Newly Improved Text for Chinese Characters), they are not listed in the geography section of the first volume, but in the section of things of the second volume. Similarly, *ryeong* and *hyeon* are used but *chi* is not cited in the geography section of the *Yeogeo yuhae* (Categorical Analysis of Chinese Language Translations) and *Waeo yuhae* (Categorical Analysis of Japanese Language). This evidence, combined with the fact that *chi* does not appear in the *Samguk sagi jiriji* or *Sinjeung* but is often spotted in the *Yeoji doseo*, makes a strong case that the use of *chi* as a back morpheme in a toponym began in the modern period.

Regarding the origin of *chi*, Lee Ton-ju (1971, 14-15) raises the possibility that it was formed through the consonant aspiration of [č] in Baekje toponyms such as *ji* 只, *gi* 己, and *ji* 支, which was referenced in the *Samguk sagi jiriji*. That is, it is not a Sino-Korean character in origin, but a form developed from the native Korean toponyms which correspond to the Baekje toponym “*seong* 城” (castle).⁹ Perhaps, the Sino-Korean character “*chi* 峙” was borrowed for its similarity in meaning and pronunciation. Further research is needed to determine whether *ti* or *chi*, Korean pronunciations of the Chinese character “峙,” are aspirated sounds of *ji* 只, *gi* 己, and *ji* 支.

9. Some examples of *ji* 只, *gi* 己, and *ji* 支 that correspond to *seong* 城 in the *Samguk sagi jiriji* are: “Useong-hyeon 儒城縣, originally Nosaji-hyeon 奴斯只縣 of Baekje, was renamed by King Gyeongdeok, and is called the same today” (vol. 36); “Yeolseong-gun 潔城郡, originally Gyeolgi-gun 結己郡 of Baekje, was renamed by King Gyeongdeok, and is called the same today” (vol. 36); and “Wolseong-gun 闕支郡, originally Gweolji-gun 闕支郡, was renamed by King Gyeongdeok, and today is called Gangseong-hyeon 江城縣” (vol. 34).

The pronunciation of the Chinese character “峙” is cited as [ci] in the *Guangyun* 廣韻 (Extensive Rhymes), as [ci] in the *Jiyun* 集韻 (Collected Rhymes), and [cwe] in the *Zhengyun* 正韻 (Correct Rhymes), based on the *fanqie* 反切 (literally, “reverse cuts”) system, which expresses the phonetic value of a Chinese character using two other characters, the first for the initial consonant and the second for the rhyme and tone.¹⁰ The pronunciation of 峙 in the *Dongguk jeongun* (Dictionary of Proper Korean Pronunciation) is [tting] 텅 in a low-rising tone while it is [ti] 티 in the *Sinjeung yuhap*; furthermore, it is written as *chi* 치 in contemporary dictionaries published after the *Samun seonghwi* (Three Ways for the Pronunciation of Words), such as the *Jajeon seogyo* (Dictionary of Chinese Characters) and the *Sinja-jeon* (New Dictionary).¹¹ Therefore, this character appears to have developed in Korean as “*di* 디 → *ti* 티 → *chi* 치.” In the present day, the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese character is either [tʃi] 치, reflecting the palatalization, or in some places, [ti] 티. It is evidenced in the *Hanguk jimyeong chongnam* that many toponyms with *ti* 티 were used in Chungcheongbuk-do, Jeollanam-do, and Gyeongsangbuk-do provinces. Furthermore, there are four toponyms with *ti* at the end of a syllable in the *Joseon hyangto daebaekgwa*: Banggumoti 방구모티 (boulder corner), Keunsanneuti 큰산느티 (big mountain field), Ssariati 싸리아티 (bush clover field), and Sorati 솔아티 (pine tree field). None of these toponyms is related to *chi* 峙. Considering that palatalization spread from the north to the south in the Modern Korean period, it is notable that toponyms ending with *ti* exist in the southern region.

The distribution of *gogae*-related back morphemes in three pre-modern references is summarized in Table 2. Table 3 and Table 4

10. Based on the *fanqie* system, the sound of 峙 is marked with two different characters, as follows:

c (直) + i (里) = ci (峙)

c (丈) + i (里) = ci (峙)

c (丈) + we (几) = cwe (峙)

11. In the *Hanhan daesajeon* (Chinese-Korean Dictionary) recently published by the Institute of Oriental Studies, Dankook University, it is read as *si* only in the case of the toponym Byeonsi-hyeon 繁峙縣 in Sanseoseong 山西城.

Table 2. Distribution of Gogae-Related Back Morphemes
in Three Premodern References

	Ryeong 嶺	Hyeon 峴	Jam 岑	Chi 峙	Jeom 岾	Total
<i>Sejong sillok jiriji</i>	11 (0)	29 (1)	3 (0)	0	18 (0)	61 (1)
<i>Sinjeung</i>	256 (170)	357 (259)	6(0)	0	83 (47)	702 (476)
<i>Yeoji doseo</i>	433 (177)	360 (206)	12 (0)	150 (52)	45 (29)	1,000 (464)
Total	700 (347)	746 (466)	21 (0)	150 (52)	146 (76)	1,763 (941)

Note: The frequency of *gogae*-related back morphemes appearing in the section of mountains and streams is presented in parentheses.

Table 3. Regional Distribution of Gogae-Related Back Morphemes
in the *Sinjeung*

	Ryeong 嶺	Hyeon 峴	Chi 岾	Jam 岑	Jeom 岾	Total
Gangwon-do province	25	29	0	0	3	57
Gaeseong	2	7	0	0	0	9
Gyeonggi-do province	19	9	0	0	2	30
Gyeongsang-do province	25	85	0	0	15	125
Jeolla-do province	9	26	0	0	9	44
Chungcheong-do province	11	70	0	0	7	88
Pyeongang-do province	21	15	0	0	4	40
Hanseong	0	3	0	0	0	3
Hamgyeong-do province	52	13	0	0	0	65
Hwanghae-do province	6	2	0	0	7	15
Total	170	259	0	0	47	476

indicate a regional distribution of *gogae*-related back morphemes of mountains and streams in the *Sinjeung* and *Yeoji doseo*, respectively.

Table 4. Regional Distribution of Gogae-Related Back Morphemes in the Yeoji doseo

	Ryeong 嶺	Hyeon 峴	Chi 峴	Jam 岑	Jeom 岾	Total
Gangwon-do province	16	15	15	0	4	50
Gyeonggi-do province	11	13	0	0	2	26
Gyeongsang-do province	37	89	2	0	15	143
Jeolla-do province	8	7	13	0	4	32
Chungcheong-do province	10	33	17	0	1	61
Pyeongan-do province	41	12	0	0	0	53
Hamgyeong-do province	44	4	3	0	0	51
Hwanghae-do province	10	33	2	0	3	48
Total	177	206	52	0	29	464

Gogae-Related Back Morphemes in the *Hanguk jimyeong chongnam* and *Joseon hyangto daebaekgwa*

Even after the *Hunmin Jeongeum* (Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People) was announced in 1443 (25th year of King Sejong's reign), the official written language of the Joseon dynasty was classical literary Chinese. Thus, most reference books for toponyms were written in Chinese characters, and so were the toponyms cited therein. Many toponyms, including *dong* 洞 and *ri* 里, were transcribed into Hangeul and are found in the *Joseon jiji jaryo* (Geographical Documents on Joseon), which was completed in 1911. Later, toponyms of all places in North and South Korea were surveyed and published in the *Joseon hyangto daebaekgwa* and *Hanguk jimyeong chongnam*. The former lists toponyms of the North and the latter those of the South. I use these two standard late modern references to examine the regional usage and features of the *gogae*-related back morphemes.

In the *Hanguk jimyeong chongnam* and the *Joseon hyangto daebaekgwa*, the *gogae*-related back morphemes in Sino-Korean characters cited were, *ryeong*, *hyeon*, *chi*, *jam*, and *jeom*, as well as the

native Korean, *gogae* 고개 and *jae* 재. All the references to toponyms examined in the previous sections were written in classical literary Chinese characters; therefore, the use of native Korean back morphemes could not be ascertained. But there is strong evidence for the widespread use of native Korean back morphemes in the two most recent standard references, which are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5. Distribution of Gogae-Related Back Morphemes in the Hanguk jimyeong chongnam and Joseon hyangto daebaekgwa

	Ryeong 嶺	Hyeon 峴	Chi 峴	Jam 峯	Jeom 岾	Jae 재	Gogae 고개	Total
<i>Hanguk jimyeong chongnam</i>	867	2,737	2,964	41	5	21,963	16,049	44,626
<i>Joseon hyangto daebaekgwa</i>	2,333	226	29	1	101	4,782	17,090	24,562
Total	3,200	2,963	2,993	42	106	26,745	33,139	69,188

Of the 69,188 *gogae*-related back morphemes listed in the two standard references, the native Korean *jae* 재 and *gogae* 고개 are used 59,884 times, accounting for 86.6 percent. From the predominant use of *gogae* and *jae*, in comparison to Chinese-derived counterparts (9,304 places), it may be hypothesized that the native Korean was the primal form of *gogae*-related back morphemes. Between the two, *gogae* is more common than *jae* in the overall sense. But the ratio of *jae* to *gogae* is 22:78 in North Korea and 58:42 in South Korea. This indicates that *gogae* is favored in the North, whereas *jae* is used relatively more frequently in the South.

Among the *gogae*-related back morphemes of toponyms, *jae* is used about 49.2 percent in the South, whereas it drops to 19.5 percent in the North. The figure for *gogae* is 69.6 percent in the North, but 36.0 percent in the South. This shows that *gogae* has a relatively even distribution on the Korean peninsula, whereas *jae* is more often found

in the South. As summarized in Table 6, the *gogae*-related back morphemes are more concentrated in the regions of Jeolla and Gyeongsang, that is, the provinces of Jeollanam-do (6,735), Gyeong-sangbuk-do (4,492), Gyeongsangnam-do (3,208), Jeollabuk-do (2,891).¹² In South Korea, *gogae* is more commonly used than *jae* in Gangwon-do, Gyeonggi-do, and Chungcheong-do provinces.

Table 6. Regional Distribution of Gogae-Related Back Morphemes in the Hanguk jimyeong chongnam

	Ryeong 嶺	Hyeon 峴	Chi 峴	Jam 岑	Jeom 岾	Jae 재	Gogae 고개	Total
Gangwon-do province	143	326	366	2	0	1,069	1,267	3,173
Gyeonggi-do province	38	505	52	1	2	1,015	4,281	5,894
Gyeongsangnam-do province	97	179	188	9	1	3,208	1,825	5,507
Gyeongsangbuk-do province	327	814	215	20	1	4,492	2,590	8,459
Busan	2	0	0	0	0	10	50	62
Seoul	6	101	2	0	0	99	329	537
Incheon	0	28	0	0	0	30	91	149
Jeollanam-do province	63	141	831	0	0	6,735	1,068	8,838
Jeollabuk-do province	60	102	553	1	1	2,891	1,173	4,781
Jeju-do province	3	2	0	0	0	15	2	22
Chungcheongnam-do province	66	316	519	6	0	1,419	1,784	4,110
Chungcheongbuk-do province	62	223	238	2	0	980	1,589	3,094
Total	867	2,737	2,964	41	5	21,963	16,049	44,626

12. For the regions of Jeolla and Gyeongsang combined, *jae* is used for 17,326 toponyms, or 64.8 percent of the *gogae*-related back morphemes found in South Korea.

There are 9,304 toponyms (13.4 percent) with *gogae*-related back morphemes that use Sino-Korean characters, *ryeong*, *hyeon*, *chi*, *jam*, and *jeom*. Since it can be reasoned that the back morphemes in Sino-Korean characters were developed from the native Korean back morphemes *gogae* and *jae*, it is understandable that they were less widely used than the original forms. In addition to the native Korean toponyms, Chinese characters were adopted for transcription in most cases; thus, their original forms were retained in physical toponyms, if not in administrative toponyms. At times, native Korean toponyms and their counterparts in Sino-Korean characters exist in parallel. Among physical toponyms, however, it is quite common that the former exists without their counterparts in Sino-Korean characters. For all the above reasons, it is evident that native Korean toponyms are used more frequently than those in Chinese characters.

Among the back morphemes in Sino-Korean characters, *ryeong* was used most commonly, about 3,200 times, followed by *chi*¹³ (2,993), *hyeon* (2,963), *jeom* (106), and *jam* (42). As *gogae*-related back morphemes, *jeom* and *jam* are infrequently used, in comparison with *ryeong*, *hyeon*, and *chi*. In North Korea, *ryeong* is predominant, *hyeon* and *jeom* are much less used, and *chi* and *jam* are rare; whereas in South Korea, *ryeong*, *hyeon*, and *chi* are quite often used, but *jam* and *jeom* are not. It is notable that the greatest difference between North and South Korea in the regional distribution of *gogae*-related back morphemes is in the usage of *chi* 峙: 29 places in the North, but 2,964 in the South. As summarized in Table 7, in North Korea, *chi* is used in Gaeseong and the provinces of Gangwon-do, Yanggang-do, Hamgyeongbuk-do, and Hwanghaebuk-do, with a range of two to nine toponyms. But as summarized in Table 6, in South Korea, *chi* appears much more often than *hyeon* in the provinces of Jeollanam-do, Jeollabuk-do, and Chungcheongnam-do, and slightly more often in the provinces of Gangwon-do, Gyeongsangnam-

13. In particular, *jae* is found in only five toponyms in South Korea and *jam* is used for one toponym in North Korea, thus making them relatively rare on the list of *gogae*-related back morphemes.

do, and Chungcheongbuk-do. But it is the converse in the provinces of Gyeonggi-do and Gyeongsangbuk-do, Seoul, and Incheon. In summary, *chi* is often used in the former Baekje regions, that is, the provinces of Jeolla-do and Chungcheongnam-do.¹⁴

Table 7. Regional Distribution of Gogae-Related Back Morphemes in the Joseon hyangto daebaekgwa

	Ryeong 嶺	Hyeon 峴	Chi 岷	Jam 岑	Jeom 岾	Jae 厓	Gogae 고개	Total
Gangwon-do province	188	26	9	1	0	165	1,989	2,378
Gaeseong	7	23	3	0	0	79	637	749
Nampo	17	0	0	0	0	447	154	618
Raseon	14	9	0	0	0	25	123	171
Yanggang	283	0	7	0	0	52	269	611
Jagang	331	6	0	0	0	49	946	1,332
Pyeongannam-do province	157	16	0	0	0	725	3,115	4,013
Pyeonganbuk-do province	302	49	0	0	0	433	3,667	4,451
Pyeongyang	13	16	0	0	2	382	837	1,250
Hamgyeongnam-do province	696	10	2	0	97	1,677	1,927	4,409
Hamgyeongbuk-do province	278	8	0	0	0	164	864	1,314
Hwanghaenam-do province	13	34	0	0	1	351	1,057	1,456
Hwanghaebuk-do province	34	29	7	0	1	233	1,505	1,809
Total	2,333	226	29	1	101	4,782	17,090	24,562

14. The high usage of *chi* in the old Baekje areas highlights its relationship with the Baekje words “*gi* 己” and “*ji* 只,” as pointed out by Lee Ton-ju (1971, 14).

In North Korea, *ryeong* is used in 2,333 toponyms, accounting for 86.7 percent of all the 2,690 *gogae*-related back morphemes; it is quite predominant, compared to South Korea where *ryeong*, *hyeon*, and *chi* have a relatively uniform distribution. This seems to be because of the differences in the process of transcribing native Korean back morphemes into Sino-Korean characters; in the North, they were replaced mostly with *ryeong*; whereas in the South, *gogae* was changed into *ryeong* or *hyeon*, and *jae* into *chi*.

A notable feature of North Korean toponyms is the predominant use of *jeom* in one province. That is, in Hamgyeongnam-do province there are 97 toponyms with *jeom*, but it is rarely used in the other provinces. This leads to the hypothesis that in Hamgyeongnam-do province, *gogae* was changed into *ryeong*, and *jae* into *jeom*.¹⁵

Conclusion

A toponym has a back morpheme, which represents the typological character of a designated place, and a front morpheme, which represents its individuating characteristic. This study was an analysis of the development and regional distribution of the *gogae*-related back morphemes in Korean toponyms. I have examined the original form of *gogae*-related back morphemes during the Old Korean period and traced their changes through the Middle Korean and Modern Korean periods by analyzing toponyms that were referenced in the respective historical texts. I also discussed the regional distribution of different words representing the *gogae*-related back morphemes.

15. The parallel existence of native Korean and Chinese-derived toponyms found in the Section on Hamgyeongnam-do province in the *Joseon hyangto daebaekgwae* illustrates the correspondence of *gogae* 고개 with *ryeong* 嶺 and *jae* 재 with *jeom* 岫. Some examples of the former are Sampogogae 삼포고개 with Chopyeongnyeong 草坪嶺, Keunmungogae 큰문고개 with Daemunnyeong 大門嶺, Maenaemigogae 매내미고개 with Mawollyeong 馬越嶺, Changgogae 창고개 with Changnyeong 倉嶺, and Sulgigogae 술기고개 with Chayuryeong 車喻嶺; and those of the latter are Jaeanjae 재안재 with Wangnakjeom 王樂岫, Jageunjae 작은재 with Sojeom 小岫, and Sagwanamujae 사과나무재 with Bakgamyojeom 朴家墓岫.

In the *Samguk sagi jiriji*, it is notable that the Sino-Korean characters *ryeong* 嶺, *hyeon* 峴, and *jam* 岑, and native Korean words *bawi* 바위, *gogae* 고개, and *jae* 재 were used for the *gogae*-related back morpheme in toponyms. All fifty toponyms, including those renamed by King Gyeongdeok, have the *gogae*-related back morphemes; of these toponyms, the Baekje dynasty toponyms were the most commonly used (24), followed by Goguryeo (17) and Unified Silla (9). In all regions, *hyeon* (21) was the most widely used, more so than *ryeong* and *jam*. However, after the renaming by King Gyeongdeok, *ryeong* is the most commonly used and replaced *hyeon* throughout the regions. Thus, the *gogae*-related back morphemes in Sino-Korean characters were subsumed under *ryeong*.

The *Samguk sagi jiriji* also evidenced the use of native Korean back morphemes “*pahye* 波兮/*pau* 波衣” and “*jiui* 知衣”; the pronunciation is conjectured to be read as corresponding to *hyeon* (read with its meaning). These aforementioned native Korean back morphemes are found only in Goguryeo toponyms; thus, they provide valuable information. *Jiui* corresponds to *am* 巖, so it seems that *pahye* or *pau* are representations of *bahoe* 바회 (rock) in its fifteenth-century forms. Based on this research, it is conjectured that native Korean words, which correspond to Chinese characters *am* and *hyeon*, had the same form. There is an ongoing scholarly debate as to the meaning of *jiui*, which corresponds to *jam* and *ryeong*. There are four different interpretations: either *jae* 재, *deul* 돌, *dal* 달, or *gae* 개 (a variant of *gogae*). In this paper, I have provisionally opted for the hypothesis of *jae* 재. I concluded that the *gogae*-related back morphemes in Old Korean are *bahoe* and *jae*.

The *Sinjeung* is an important reference that is used to study Middle Korean toponyms. Because the *Sinjeung* is written in classical literary Chinese, hence, likewise are the toponyms. The *gogae*-related back morphemes in the *Sinjeung* are *hyeon* (357), *ryeong* (256), and *jeom* (83). The rather common usage of *jeom* is also evidenced in *Sejong sillok jiriji*, whereas *jam* is cited only six times, which suggested that it was decreasing in usage as a back morpheme; furthermore, although *chi* does appear, it is not used as a back morpheme.

Yongga, the first major work written in Hangeul, evidenced usage of the native Korean back morphemes “*jae* 재” and “*gogae* 고개/*ogae* 오개.” *Bahoe* 바회, whose original form is *pahye* or *pau*, corresponded only to *am*, thus making it difficult for it to be classified as a *gogae*-related back morpheme during the Middle Korean period.

In the *Yeoji doseo* of the early Modern Korean period, the usage frequency order of *gogae*-related back morphemes is *ryeong* (433), *hyeon* (360), *chi* (150), *jeom* (45), and *jam* (12). *Chi*, which was not found in the aforementioned books, is used about 150 times in the *Yeoji doseo*, much more often than *jam* and *jeom*. That period was characterized by the decline of *jam* and *jeom* as a *gogae*-related back morpheme, whereas there is a notable usage of *chi*. Considering that *chi* is widely used in the regions of Jeolla and Chungcheong, it is highly possible that *chi* is a developed form of Baekje toponyms “*ji* 只,” “*gi* 己,” and “*ji* 支” in the *Samguk sagi jiriji*.

Of the 69,188 toponyms that are listed in the two standard reference books on Modern Korean toponyms—*Hanguk jimyeong chongnam* and *Joseon hyangto daebaekgwa*—the native Korean back morphemes “*jae* 재” and “*gogae* 고개” account for about 87 percent; thus, they are used predominantly and clearly far more than their counterparts in Sino-Korean characters. Of the two native Korean back morphemes, *gogae* is more common than *jae*. This is particularly so in North Korea, whereas South Korea shows a wider use of *jae*. *Gogae* is found more uniformly across South Korea, but the usage of *jae* is concentrated in the regions of Jeolla and Gyeongsang.

The Sino-Korean back morphemes “*ryeong* 嶺,” “*hyeon* 峴,” “*chi* 峙,” “*jam* 岾,” and “*jeom* 岾,” which were developed from the native Korean back morphemes “*gogae* 고개” and “*jae* 재” are cited for about 13 percent of the toponyms. As the premodern transcription of native Korean toponyms into Chinese characters was practiced more commonly for administrative toponyms than for physical ones, administrative toponyms evidence many cases in which native Korean and Sino-Korean toponyms coexist. Overall, the Sino-Korean back morphemes are in the usage frequency order of *ryeong*, *chi*, *hyeon*, *jeom*, and *jam*, with the last two hardly extant in late modernity. Only *ryeong* is pri-

marily used in North Korea, whereas in South Korea, *ryeong*, *hyeon*, and *chi* are in wide usage. Notably, *chi* is used for 2,964 places in the South, whereas in the North it is infrequently used, for only 29 places. Another noticeable feature of the *gogae*-related North Korean toponyms is the predominant usage of *jeom* in a particular region, that is, Hamgyeongnam-do province.

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