

# Postcolonial Urbanization and the Changes of Vernacular Toponyms around Bupyeong-gu, Incheon: A Critical Perspective

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## Abstract

*The present patterns of naming around Bupyeong-gu of Incheon reflect the long and contentious history of Japanese colonialism, the significance of reinstating Korean toponyms after liberation, and the contemporary politics of culture, identity, and belonging. The vernacular toponyms of Bupyeong have played an important role in the construction of identity among the people who identify themselves with the imagined community named Bupyeong. It is speculated that local Korean residents were still using these autochthonyms, or vernacular toponyms, as substitutes for the Japanese names during the Japanese colonial period. Since the 1980s, indigenous toponyms have disappeared in everyday conversations, while being replaced by the names of apartment complexes. Wontei Gogae, by contrast, is an old vernacular toponym that is still in use along with the creation of humorous nicknames. The toponym Datagumi can be classified as a kind of resistant toponym in that it has no alternative toponym. Since the 1940s, Samneung, the Korean pronunciation of a Japanese toponym, has been used as an alternative toponym to the official toponym Bupyeong 2-dong. The vernacular toponym Cheolmasan has been so well-known that everyone recognizes it. In the time of displacement of residents due to rapid urbanization, however, people misidentified the name Cheolmasan with two other mountains.*

**Keywords:** Bupyeong-gu, Incheon, Japanese colonialism, vernacular toponym, indigenous toponym, resistant toponym, alternative toponym, official toponym, rapid urbanization

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## **Introduction**

In modern times, toponyms in Korean cities have gone through two stages of change: from 1910 to 1945 and from 1945 to the present. In the first stage, beginning with the Japanese annexation in 1910 and through the colonial occupation, toponyms in Korean cities had to be written and spoken in Japanese. In the second stage, after liberation in 1945, they were again written and spoken in Korean. After the industrial urbanization of the late 1960s, the standardization of toponyms of Korean cities was the dominant trend among municipalities. In addition, the residential composition of Korean cities also has significantly altered. Under Japanese occupation, Japanese immigrants and Korean migrants began to outnumber the native residents who were born in the cities. Since the mid-1960s, when rapid urbanization was accompanied by industrialization, Korean migrants from the countryside have poured into cities. Under such a high degree of residential mobility, along with the radically changing land use, Korean cities have witnessed a remarkable transformation of old toponyms and the emergence of new toponyms. During these changes, the residents at times have actively and consciously contested the naming processes and the establishing of boundaries; they have shown a more complex dynamic at work rather than just an easily identifiable “us versus them” consciousness.

In general, depending on governmental intervention, toponyms are classified into two categories: official and unofficial. Official toponyms belong to the category within which the central or local government demands and controls the public use of the names. Unofficial toponyms are ones that have been named and spoken, often naturally, by the people without governmental intervention. Most unofficial names are given by residents based on the everyday customary world around them, such as local land uses, natural features, or well-known local personalities (Myers 2009, 91). The aim of this study is to examine how unofficial names have changed since Japanese annexation through liberation and to the present. To make an empirical study, the districts of Bupyeong-gu and Gyeyang-gu in Incheon has

been selected as a case study area where toponyms were examined in terms of their life cycle: birth, growth, and death. Unofficial names, however, tend to share the origin and usage with the vernacular or indigenous toponyms that residents express with their own native language. Given the functional similarities among them, in this study, I will treat the following three terms as interchangeable in the discussion of toponym changes: unofficial, vernacular, and indigenous toponyms.<sup>1</sup>

In the modern state, the public use of official toponyms is accompanied by governmental policies toward administrative standardization of geographical nomenclature. The administrative standardization chiefly has at its aim the approval, by proper authority, of a uniform written form of the respective toponym (Kadmon 1997, 179). Standardization signifies rendering a geographical name in accordance with a set of rules, standards or norms established by an appropriate authority. It is advantageous if a one-to-one relationship exists between the geographical features, their names, and a single form of writing them. The official toponyms became technocratic instruments in steering and keeping back urban systems (Vuolteenaho and Ainiala 2009, 229). In modern Korea, the Japanese colonial government implemented its own method of toponymic standardization in Korean cities after annexation. After liberation, however, the Korean government restored its own method of toponymic standardization in cities. Therefore, to examine the life cycle of unofficial names in relation to official names, this study divides the time period of its analysis into two stages: before and after Japanese annexation in 1910.

In the past, administrative standardization was often called normalization, the creation of a single list of names of approved standard form. Place naming strategies by technical experts and other elites essentially entail socially sanctioned naming practices. However, since toponyms are endowed with the ability to signify, people in marginal

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1. Autochthonym, or autochthonous place name, is the professional term that indicates the indigenous place names.

societal positions are able to transform the intended meaning of their first definitions. Hegemonic toponyms, therefore, acquire a largely taken-for-granted status. Conversely, in cases where social-cultural tensions are paramount, toponymic struggles may surface in a variety of everyday forms: from organized renaming campaigns to the spontaneous use of alternative names and pronunciations, refusals to unlearn names, and so on (Berg and Vuolteenaho 2009, 11). Beneath the surface of official names, nicknames emerge and often convey markedly different meanings from the official ones. Further, an inherently local category of toponyms has always existed, namely, linguistically indigenous toponyms or autochthonyms. In this study, issues revolving around toponyms as the foci of conflicting meanings will be explored across a range of historical and geographical contexts.

Administrative usage of toponyms refers to the forms of toponyms controlled by local or regional authorities such as local councils and municipalities. These toponyms sometimes differ markedly from, and clash with, those in oral usage by the local population. In addition to being inscribed on maps and within the landscape on signs, toponyms are also, and more frequently, spoken. In everyday conversation, toponyms have a semantic depth that extends beyond the concern with simple reference to location. Speech is performed in time and place, structured within the settings of everyday life. In addition, toponymic resistance can involve the use of alternative pronunciation for established names (Kearns and Berg 2002, 286). In this regard, a critical approach to toponyms paves a way for understanding the sociocultural “afterlife” of coined toponyms in ways that are sensitive to power.

While scholars have long studied the geography of toponyms, it is only within the last decades that there have been theoretically explicit critiques of the cultural politics of place naming. It seems that traditional name research has typically adopted theoretically (and politically) naïve empiricist foci on the nomenclatures of specific locations, provinces, nation-states or other geopolitical units. Unfortunately, the actual research undertakings by linguistic onomasticians have tended to bracket everything “extralinguistic” outside of their analyses be-

cause of unevenly strict foci on isolated language systems.<sup>2</sup> This shift toward a more critical perspective gained momentum in the 1990s as scholars began to move beyond an antiquarian interest in geographical names and toward a more critical approach to toponym studies (Rose-Redwood 2008, 432).

Given the similar situation in present-day Korean toponymic studies, in this study I will make an experimental effort to bring a more critical perspective to the examination of changes in toponyms. Another set of issues in toponymic studies involves the question of methodology. There is a growing recognition that the traditional reliance on maps and gazetteers to study toponyms is inadequate. It should be supplemented with some combination of archival research, participant observation, interviews, and ethnographic methods. This study will employ such a mixed approach to try to consider toponymic space not only as a text, but also as the result of a set of performative practices.

### **The Change of Toponyms with the Proper Name “Bupyeong”**

In 1310, in the late Goryeo dynasty, the name “Bupyeong-bu” appeared for the first time in Korean history when it was used to name an administrative area at the county level. In 1413, in the early Joseon dynasty, Bupyeong-bu was changed to Bupyeong-dohobu, but its administrative boundary remained the same. In 1895, at the end of the Joseon dynasty, when the national administrative system was reorganized, eight provinces were further divided into twenty-three prefectures. At that time, the name of Bupyeong-bu was changed to Bupyeong-gun and its territory became a subunit under Incheon-bu (Bupyeong-gu, Incheon Metropolitan City 1997, 221-255). In 1914, after Japanese annexation, the Japanese colonial government reorga-

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2. Indeed, there is always a danger of succumbing too deeply to the normalized rules of specific languages, leading to a myopia regarding wider social and cultural processes.

nized Korea's national administrative system into thirteen provinces, along with the creation of municipalities called *bu* 府.<sup>3</sup> As a result, the administrative territory of Bupyeong-gun was divided into several sub-units with its main body merged into the administrative area of Bucheon-gun.<sup>4</sup> From this time, official toponym with the name Bupyeong had disappeared completely from the public scene until it was revived as the name of Bupyeong-gu in 1995.

In 1940, Bunae-myeon and Seogot-myeon were taken from Bucheon-gun to be incorporated into the territory of Incheon-bu (Bupyeong-gu, Incheon Metropolitan City 1997, 221-255). The city hall of Incheon-bu established a branch office called Bupyeong-chuljangso to take direct administrative control of these two subcity units.<sup>5</sup> This incorporation marked the reappearance of the name Bupyeong in the public scene, even if it was somewhat unofficial. Gyeyang-myeon, by contrast, was first taken from the territory of Bucheon-gun into the territory of Gimpo-gun in 1973, and later into the territory of Incheon in 1989. After liberation, Bupyeong-chuljangso had continued to function as a branch office until it was turned into an administrative area called Buk-gu, or North District, in Incheon in 1968. The territory of Seogot-myeon still remained within the territory of Buk-gu, while being under direct administrative control from the branch office called Seogot-chuljangso. In 1981, the district of Buk-gu was further divided into two districts: Buk-gu and Seo-gu. The territory of Seogot-myeon, or Seogot-chuljangso, turned completely into the territory of Seo-gu, or West District. In 1995, Buk-gu was finally subdivided into two districts: Bupyeong-gu and Gyeyang-gu. Consequently,

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3. Incheon-bu was one of these municipalities that emerged during this time. Bucheon-gun was a newly-born county that combined the territories of two administrative units from the Joseon dynasty. A part of Incheon-bu territory and most of Bupyeong-gun territory was merged into the territory of Bucheon-gun.

4. They were respectively called Bunae-myeon, Seogot-myeon, Ojeong-myeon, and Gyeyang-myeon. *Myeon*, which is officially translated as "township," is a Korean administrative unit.

5. *Chuljangso* is nothing but a branch office without financial independence from the city hall.

Bupyeong emerged as an official (and administrative) name for the first time after it completely disappeared from the public scene in 1914.<sup>6</sup>

From the birth of Buk-gu in 1968 until the birth of Bupyeong-gu in 1995, official (and administrative) toponyms with the name Bupyeong were confined only to the cases of Bupyeong-ri and Bupyeong-dong.<sup>7</sup> These were not the official (and administrative) toponyms that referred to an administrative unit as high as the county level. Bupyeong-ri was an official toponym that transformed in 1914 from Eumnae-ri, which in 1945 changed to Gyesan-dong. Bupyeong-dong was an official toponym that was named in 1945 as a Korean substitute for the Japanese toponym Sohwa-jeong around the Bupyeong Station (Chough 1999, 118-220). Likewise, the official toponym at the grass-roots level with the name Bupyeong was transferred from the location of the previous county-seat to the location around the Bupyeong Station and the branch office of Bupyeong-chuljangso. These official toponyms along with the other names with the name Bupyeong might have contributed to the birth and growth of the vernacular toponym “Bupyeong.”<sup>8</sup>

The vernacular toponym “Bupyeong” without any generic element was widely spoken by the residents to indicate a group of places at various levels. The range to which this vernacular toponym refers varies widely depending on the speakers: at the narrowest level, it refers to the range of Bupyeong-dong in the present time, but, at the widest level, to the range of Bupyeong-dohobu in the late Joseon dynasty; it may also indicate the range of Bupyeong-chuljangso which corresponds roughly with the range of present-day Bupyeong-gu, Gyeyang-gu, and sometimes Seo-gu (Song 1998, 91). The longer the

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6. The present-day territory of Bupyeong-bu corresponds roughly with the territories of: Bunaemyeon of Incheon-bu (1940-1945); Bunaemyeon of Bucheon-gun (1914-1940); and Gunnaemyeon, Dongsojeongmyeon, Majangmyeon, and Seomyeon of Bupyeong-gun (before 1914) (Chough 1992, 215).

7. Up to the present, *ri* and *dong* have been the administrative units at the grass-roots level since the Joseon dynasty.

8. The examples of toponyms with the name Bupyeong are the ones of elementary, junior high and senior high schools, military factories, and industrial plants.

residents have lived in the previous territory of Bupyeong-dohobu, the wider they recognize the range of vernacular toponym Bupyeong. If one is descendent from an ancestor who was native to Bupyeong-dohobu in the late Joseon dynasty, he or she will imagine that it refers to the entire range of Bupyeong-dohobu. In general, the residents in Incheon tend to identify the vernacular toponym “Bupyeong” with the territory of the present-day Bupyeong-gu, Gyeyang-gu, and sometimes Seo-gu. This means that the vernacular toponym “Bupyeong” has played an important role in the construction of identity among the people who identify themselves with the imagined community named Bupyeong.

Topographic conditions have also played a role in the formation of consciousness among the residents who live in the territory of Bupyeong, which is separated from the core of Incheon; this has, in turn, contributed to the construction of identity in association with the proper name “Bupyeong.” A series of mountains and hills, running from north to south and east to west, form a physical barrier that blocks the transportation and communication between the residents in the inland area and the others on the coast (Song 1998, 70). The territory of Bupyeong is the western part of a basin or a plain area called Bupyeong Basin or Bupyeong Plain, which is surrounded in the west and south by mountains and hills. People who identify themselves with the vernacular toponym “Bupyeong” think that the Cheolmasan mountain, in particular, has separated them from the residents on the coast, the core of Incheon.<sup>9</sup>

The residents in the territory of Bupyeong have also used the other vernacular toponym “Incheon” to refer to those in the core of Incheon. Even the people in the core of Incheon sometimes think that Incheon consists of two separate parts: Incheon and Bupyeong. Those who are loyal to the name Bupyeong sometimes believe that they are

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9. The name of Cheolmasan might be originally Cheonmasan. It is said that Cheolmasan is a mispronounced toponym of Cheonmasan. We will return to this issue when dealing with the change of place names that were made after Japanese annexation (1910).



different in origin from those in the core of Incheon. Those who are loyal to the name Bupyeong are mainly the elite group who are descendants of those indigenous to the territory of the previous Bupyeong-dohobu. The elite group insists that they descended from farmers while those in the area called Incheon descended from fishermen. At worst, some of them complain that they have been mistreated and even despised as if they were inferior to those who identify themselves with the vernacular toponym “Incheon” (Compilation Committee of the History of Bupyeong 2007, vol. 2, 343). Those who are loyal to the name “Bupyeong” insist that the territory of Bupyeong should be turned into an independent city called Bupyeong-si, separate from Incheon-si.

The elite group regretted that they had not proposed the name “Bupyeong” when Buk-gu was, in 1968, subdivided into two districts: Buk-gu and Seo-gu (Jo 1999, 26). In their mind, the abolishment of the official toponym with the name “Bupyeong” represented a territorial loss. In fact, the territory of the previous Bupyeong-dohobu has been subdivided into several parts to be merged into the territories of Incheon-si, Gimpo-si, and Bucheon-si. Once an eminent elite lamented: “We have lost our own territory. Even though we still live in the land where our ancestors settled many years ago, we have been treated as if we belonged to the territories of Incheon-si, Gimpo-si, and Bucheon-si” (Bupyeong-gu, Incheon Metropolitan City 1997, 1084). Such regret finally motivated the elite group to insist strongly that the main body of the previous district should be named with the name Bupyeong when Buk-gu was again subdivided into two districts in 1995. Consequently, the official name of Bupyeong-gu reappeared, with that of Gyeyang-gu, for the first time in the public scene (Jo 1999, 61).

### **The Subdivision and Toponymic Change of Administrative Area *Dong* after Urbanization**

Until the 1900s, hamlets and villages had been concentrated on the slopes of mountains and hills near the county-seat of Bupyeong-gun,

which was away from the swamp lands. After the Bupyeong Irrigation Association was formed in 1923, Bupyeong Plain was developed as a center for the production of paddy rice to be exported to Japan. Even after the Gyeongin Railroad was constructed along present-day route in 1899, there had been only a few commercial settlements around the Bupyeong Railway Station. From the 1930s, the Japanese colonial government began to turn its policy direction from the agricultural sector into the manufacturing sector. In 1938, the Government-General of Korea (Joseon Chongdokbu 朝鮮總督府) proclaimed that the Korean peninsula should be developed as a supply base, coupled with the growth of the munitions industry. It was in the late 1930s that an industrial complex was located near the Bupyeong Railway Station (Compilation Committee of the History of Bupyeong 2007, vol. 1, 288). A Japanese army arsenal, officially called Incheon-jobyeongchang, was the main body of this industrial complex. It was usually called by an abbreviated name Yukgun-jobyeongchang (army arsenal) or Jobyeongchang (arsenal). In addition, there were large and small factories whose production systems were related to the Japanese army arsenal. Around the industrial complex there were also settlements where factory workers lived in groups.

The army arsenal, popularly called Jobyeongchang, represented the arms factory on the Korean peninsula which supplied war materials to the Japanese army. By the end of Japanese occupation, the Jobyeongchang became so important in the local society and economy that the vernacular toponym “Bupyeong” conjured images of the area where the Jobyeongchang was located. It is said that thousands of servicemen and army civilian employees lived in the army arsenal at that time. Outside of the Jobyeongchang, a group of settlements were formed by those who supplied a variety of services to the servicemen and army civilian employees. There were also subcontract factories for the Jobyeongchang, and their workers formed a group of residences around the factories (Compilation Committee of the History of Bupyeong 2007, vol. 1, 335). Toward the end of Japanese occupation, a city of munitions industry was growing with its center around the Jobyeongchang and the Bupyeong Railway Station.

After liberation, the Japanese army arsenal and its subcontract factories ceased operations. All the servicemen, army civilian employees, and factory workers, either Japanese or Korean, had to leave their workplace. Consequently, after the Korean War (1950-1953), in the territory of Bupyeong, very few large factories were still at work until the mid-1950s (Compilation Committee of the History of Bupyeong 2007, vol. 1, 424). It is only after an export-focused industrial complex was constructed at the end of the 1960s that industrial activity began to enter the developmental stage. From the late 1940s to the mid-1960s, the U.S. military base called ASCOM served as the only economic engine in the territory of Bupyeong.<sup>10</sup> After it replaced the Japanese army arsenal, it provided many jobs for Koreans moving into the city in search of work. Until the end of the 1960s, when an industrial complex called Bupyeong Industrial Complex (Bupyeong Gongdan) was established, urbanization had progressed around ASCOM and the Bupyeong Railway Station.

According to the first five-year plan for economic development (1962-1967), the national government decided to locate an export-focused industrial complex called Incheon Export Industrial Complex in present-day Hyoseong-dong, Galsan-dong, and Jakjeon-dong (Compilation Committee of the History of Bupyeong, vol. 1, 2007, 468). Since then, an unofficial nickname, Bupyeong Gongdan, meaning Bupyeong Industrial Complex, began to be used as a substitute for the official name of the Incheon Export Industrial Complex. Industrial companies in this industrial complex usually employed more than one hundred workers and around the industrial complex, commercial and service activities targeting the workers grew substantially. In 1968, the Gyeongin Express Highway (Gyeongin Gosokdoro), running from east to west to connect Seoul to Incheon, was constructed to improve accessibility to the industrial complex. Along the express highway, an industrial zone where factories were concentrated began to form between

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10. ASCOM is an abbreviation of Army Support Command Korea, which was the main U.S. army supply base in Korea. In 1972, the function of ASCOM as a supply base was reduced and the name changed to Camp Market, and most of its land and facilities were taken over by the Korean Ministry of Defense.

1969 and 1979. In 1979, factories were more concentrated along the Gyeongin Express Highway than the Gyeongin Railway. In the 1970s, moreover, medium- and large-sized manufacturing companies were established beyond the territory of the industrial complex, in present-day Galsan-dong, Ilsin-dong, Jakjeon-dong, and Hyoseong-dong (Compilation Committee of the History of Bupyeong 2007, vol. 1, 496). Accordingly, a surge of rapid urbanization swept the zone between Gyeongin Railway and Gyeongin Express Highway, in present-day Hyoseong-dong, Cheongcheon-dong, and Galsan-dong. Urban land use and encroachment of the agricultural land expanded from the area around the Bupyeong Railway Station into the area around the Bupyeong Industrial Complex.

In 1974, with the electrification of transportation along the Gyeongin Railway, the commuting distance to Seoul was extended to the point of Bupyeong Railway Station. From the 1970s, many commuters to Seoul settled in the area near the Bupyeong Railway Station. In the 1980s, a commuter town to house the commuters to Seoul expanded further into the outlying areas of Gyesan-dong and Samsan-dong, relatively far from the Bupyeong Railway Station (Compilation Committee of the History of Bupyeong 2007, vol. 1, 611). Owing to the improvement of automobile transportation, a large-scale housing zone was developed on the agricultural land around Gyesan-dong and Samsan-dong. In 1991, the length of the Gyeongin Railway was doubled and in 1999, the Incheon Subway was extended to the outlying areas. Now, the function of commuter town is a leading factor in the urbanization of Gyesan-dong and Samsan-dong (Compilation Committee of the History of Bupyeong 2007, vol. 1, 623-627). Such a new trend of urbanization is not due to industrial growth, but the growth of commerce and service industry within the vicinity of commuter towns.<sup>11</sup>

Likewise, the urbanization around present-day Bupyeong-gu, which has been in progress since the 1910s, can be divided into four

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11. After 1993, the number of employees in the manufacturing sector began to decrease rapidly while commerce and service sector dominated the overall industrial structure in present-day Bupyeong-gu and Gyeong-gu.

stages: stage one from 1939 to 1945, stage two from 1945 to the 1960s, stage three from the 1970s to the 1980s, and stage four from the 1990s to the present. In each of these stages, if a *dong*, the smallest administrative area, gained a substantial resident population, its territory was subdivided with a numerical addition to its original name, the administrative standardization of toponyms. The earliest subdivision of the administrative area *dong* was made around the Jobyeongchang, which was followed by the area around the Bupyeong Railway Station, Bupyeong Industrial Complex, and the outlying areas in sequence.

In the late Joseon dynasty, in the territory of Bupyeong, there were Daejeong-ri 大井里, Mabun-ri 馬墳里, Sangok-ri 山谷里, Cheongcheon-ri 淸川里, Hyoseong-ri 曉星里, Eumnae-ri 邑內里, Dodu-ri 道頭里, Hwajeon-ri 化田里, Hujeong-ri 後井里, Garwol-ri 葛月里, Sindae-ri 新垈里, Jakjeon-ri 鵲田里, Gahyeon-ri 佳峴里, Hangdong-ri 航洞里, and Gusan-ri 龜山里, as can be seen in *Yeoji doseo* (Cultural Geography of Korea) and *Shinkyu taisho chosen zendo fugun menrido meisho ichiran* (The Directory of Old and New Names of Districts, Townships, Villages, and Neighborhoods on the Complete Map of Joseon). In 1914, Jakjeon-ri incorporated the territories of Gahyeon-ri, Sindae-ri, and Hwajeon-ri, and the name Eumnae-ri was changed to Bupeyong-ri 富平里, as can be seen in *Shinkyu taisho chosen zendo fugun menrido meisho ichiran*. In 1930, the Japanese colonial government replaced all of these Korean names with Japanese names, while incorporating a part of the territories of *ri*. All Japanese names had the generic element *jeong* 町 (*machi* in Japanese) as compared to the Korean names with the generic element *ri* 里.<sup>12</sup> Among them, Jakjeon-jeong 鵲田町 was the only exception, which was simply added by the generic element *jeong* without changing the proper name “Jakjeon 鵲田” (Table 1). After liberation, the Korean government returned all of these Japanese names to the Korean names with the generic element *dong* 洞. At that time, some of the names were simply restored to the precolonial names,

12. The Japanese names are 昭和町, 白馬町, 川上町, 署町, 大正町, 鵲田町, 東雲町, 三笠町, 吉野町, 明治町, 香取町, and 伊藤町.

while others were entirely renamed in a Korean style. The renamed areas include Bupyeong-dong 富平洞, Bugae-dong 富開洞, Gyesan-dong 桂山洞, Ilsin-dong 日新洞, Seoun-dong 瑞雲洞, Galsan-dong 葛山洞, and Samsan-dong 三山洞 (Table 1). In a comparison of present-day *dong* with those of the past *ri* and *jeong* or *machi*, vernacular toponyms Bupyeong-dong and Gyesan-dong were renamed respectively to replace Daejeong-ri and Eumnae-ri in the late Joseon dynasty. Bupyeong-dong was named to mean the administrative area in the central location with the Bupyeong Station. The names of Seoun-dong and Ilsin-dong were given in commemoration of the liberation from Japanese occupation.

Bupyeong-dong was the earliest case within which its territory was subdivided because of the resident population growth from urbanization. Here, urbanization, accompanied with the growth of the commercial and service industry, went on around the Jobyeongchang in the late Japanese colonial period (1938-1945), and around ASCOM after liberation. In 1946, Bupyeong-dong was subdivided into Bupyeong 1-dong and 2-dong, and, in 1950, Bupyeong 1-dong, 2-dong, and 3-dong (Compilation Committee of the History of Bupyeong 2007, vol. 1, 51-52). Bupyeong-dong was further subdivided through the 1960s until it consisted of Bupyeong 1-dong, 2-dong, 3-dong, 4-dong, 5-dong, and 6-dong in the late 1970s.

Other *dong*, by contrast, began to be subdivided from the late 1960s when industrial urbanization led to resident population growth. In the 1950s and the early 1960s, the territories of Bugae-dong, Ilsin-dong, Gusan-dong, Sangok-dong, Cheongcheon-dong, Galsan-dong, Samsan-dong, Gyesan-dong, and Seoun-dong were merged with the adjacent ones. Bugae-dong, Ilsin-dong, and Gusan-dong were merged into Bugae-dong, Sangok-dong and Cheongcheon-dong into Sangokcheongcheon-dong, and Galsan-dong and Samsan-dong into Galsan-dong. In 1968, however, Sangokcheongcheon-dong returned to its original state, being subdivided into Sangok-dong and Cheongcheon-dong when rapid urbanization followed the location of an industrial complex. In 1970, Sangok-dong was subdivided into Sangok 1-dong and 2-dong, and in 1993, even further into Sangok 1-dong and 3-dong.

The designation of Bugae-dong was later than Sangok-dong in the subdivision of administrative area due to urbanization. It was subdivided into Bugae 1-dong and 2-dong in 1985 and in 1992, finally into Bugae 1-dong, 2-dong, and 3-dong.<sup>13</sup>

It was only after the 1990s, when urbanization followed the development of transportation and service industry, that other *dong* than Bupyeong-dong, Bugae-dong, and Sangok-dong began to be subdivided (Compilation Committee of the History of Bupyeong 2007, vol. 1, 54-57). In the 1990s, the length of the Gyeongin Railway was doubled and the service line of Incheon Subway was extended to the outlying areas, such as Gyesan-dong and Galsan-dong. Consequently, in the 1990s, a surge of urbanization was extended beyond the territory of Cheongcheon-dong and Hyoseong-dong down to the territory of Gyesan-dong and Galsan-dong. In 1990, Cheongcheon-dong was subdivided into Cheongcheon 1-dong and 2-dong, while Jakjeon-dong into Jakjeon 1-dong and 2-dong, and Gyesan-dong into Gyesan 1-dong and 2-dong. In 1992, Galsan-dong was subdivided into Galsan-dong and Samsan-dong and in 1994, Jakjeon-dong into Jakjeon 1-dong, 2-dong, and 3-dong.

### **The Change of Vernacular Toponyms that were Named before Japanese Annexation in 1910**

Before and after Japanese annexation in 1910, indigenous and vernacular toponyms, or autochthonyms, were spoken at the level of rural settlements: Saebyeori, Malgeunae, Moegolmal, Garugae, Doenbat, Saedae, Dwiumul, Kkachimal, and Dodumeori (Lim 1995, 162-164). In addition, Majei, Soemyeon, Dongsujaei, and Mabuni were spoken among the indigenous rural residents. Majei, Soemyeon, and Dongsujaei were the oral names, respectively, for the seats of Majang-myeon, Seo-myeon, and Dongsojeong-myeon. As the seats of Majang-myeon

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13. This is partly because the commuting distance to Seoul was extended along the Gyeongin Railway up to the point of the Bupyeong Station in 1974.

and Dongsojeong-myeon, respectively, Majei and Dongsujaei were used as nicknames for the rural settlements of Cheongcheon-ri and Daejeong-ri (Chough 1999, 125). Indigenous people changed their pronunciations in that way to make them more comfortable for them to speak: from Majang to Majei, and Dongsojeong to Dongsujaei. It is speculated that local Korean residents were still using all of these autochthonyms or vernacular names as substitutes for the Japanese names even during Japanese colonialism (Table 1). In particular, they still maintained the indigenous toponym Hwanggul instead of the Japanese administrative toponym Hyangchwi-jeong. Saedae, Doenbat, and Kkachimal were also the vernacular toponyms of natural villages, which comprised the Japanese administrative area called Jakjeon-jeong.<sup>14</sup>

Dongsujaei had originally been an official administrative toponym to refer to the administrative area of Dongsojeong-myeon, whose pronunciation changed to Dongsujaei (Chough 1999, 125). As Daejeong-ri was the seat of Dongsojeong-myeon in the late Joseon dynasty, people began to use the vernacular toponym Dongsujaei to refer to the administrative area of Daejeong-ri.<sup>15</sup> In a similar way, Soemyeon, an easy pronunciation of Seo-myeon, turned into the nickname for Hwa-jeon-ri, while Majei, an easy pronunciation of Majang-myeon, turned into the nickname for Cheongcheon-ri. Majangtteul is another vernacular toponym which originated from the combination of *majei* with *tteul*, literally meaning the field of Majang-myeon.

Moekkeunmal 뽕밭, literally meaning a village at the end of a hill or mountain, has been sometimes called interchangeably with Moekkolmal 뽕밭, Moekkoji 뽕꼬지, Moekkonmal 뽕꽃밭, and Kkotbatgol 꽃밭골. Their Chinese written forms are 山谷里, 山花村, and 花田谷, which, respectively, correspond with Moekkolmal, Moekkonmal, and

14. *Hwang* is an ancient word that has the same meaning with the ancient word *hang* or the modern word *han*. It was used as an adjective that meant “large in size or amount.” Hwanggul, therefore, is an autochthonym that was named to describe a large valley or village.

15. In the late Joseon dynasty, Dongsojeong-myeon consisted of Daejeong-ri, Mabun-ri, Hangdong-ri, and Gusan-ri.



Table 1. A Comparison of Present-Day Dong with Those of the Past Ri and Jeong/Machi, and Vernacular Toponyms

<i>Jeong/machi</i> 町	Vernacular toponym	<i>Ri</i> 里	<i>Dong</i> 洞
Sohwa-jeong 昭和町	Dongsujaei 동수재이	Daejeong-ri 大井里	Bupyeong-dong 富平洞
Baengma-jeong 白馬町	Moekkeunmal 뫼꼰말	Sangok-ri 山谷里	Sangok-dong 山谷洞
Cheonsang-jeong 川上町	Majei 마제이	Cheongcheon-ri 淸川里	Cheongcheon-dong 淸川洞
Seo-jeong 署町	Saebyeori 새별이	Hyoseong-ri 曉星里	Hyoseong-dong 曉星洞
Daejeong-jeong 大正町	Eumnae 읍내	Bupyeong-ri 富平里	Gyesan-dong 桂山洞
Jakjeon-jeong 鵠田町	Galgae 갈개	Gahyeon-ri 佳峴里	Jakjeon-dong 鵠田洞
	Saetae 새대	Sindae-ri 新垆里	
	Doenbat 뉘밭	Hwajeon-ri 化田里	
	Kkachimal 까치말	Jakjeong-ri 鵠井里	
Dongun-jeong 東雲町	Dodumeori 도두머리	Dodu-ri 道頭里	Seoun-dong 瑞雲洞
Samnip-jeong 三笠町	Yeongseongmi 영성미	Hujeong-ri 後井里	Samsan-dong 三山洞
Giryajong 吉野町	Garu 갈우	Garwol-ri 葛月里	Galsan-dong 葛山洞
Myeongchi-jeong 明治町	Mabuni 마분이	Mabun-ri 馬墳里	Bugae-dong 富開洞
Hyangchwi-jeong 香取町	Hwanggul 황굴	Hangdong-ri 航洞里	Ilsin-dong 日新洞
Ideung-jeong 伊藤町		Gusan-ri 龜山里	Gusan-dong 龜山洞

Source: Chough (1997, 217).

Kkotbatgol (Chough 1999, 150). Another vernacular toponym “Garu 갈우” emerged as an easy pronunciation of Garwol 갈월, the proper element of the official toponym Garwol-ri. As a Chinese written form “葛隅” is found around the same location on the maps from the late Joseon dynasty, Garwol seems to have developed from Garu 갈우, the Korean pronunciation of “葛隅.” Galgae 갈개 seems to have developed from Gaulgae 가울개, the vernacular toponym of the official toponym Galhyeon-ri 葛峴里, as found in maps such as *Yejido* (Map of Korea) and *Jiseung* (Map of the Joseon Territory). Galgae 갈개 seems to have developed from Gaulgae 가울개, the vernacular toponym of the official toponym Galhyeon-ri 葛峴里. As the Chinese written form “佳會峴” is found around the same location on the maps from the late Joseon dynasty, such as *Gwangyeodo* (Enlarged Terrestrial Atlas of Korea), *Haedong jido* (Atlas of Korea), and *Daedong yeojido* (Detailed Map of Korea), it is assumed that Gaulgae might have been used as a vernacular toponym since the late Joseon dynasty.

Since the rapid industrial urbanization of the late 1960s, these vernacular toponyms have largely been forgotten by residents, whose population has been increasingly dominated by migrants from other cities and provinces. Since the 1980s, in particular, in the process of post-industrial urbanization accompanied by the development of the commerce and service industries in the outlying areas, vernacular toponyms, spoken in the indigenous language, have disappeared from everyday conversation of residents, being replaced by the names of apartment complexes. For example, Doenbat, Saedae, Dwiumul, Kkachimal, and Dodumeori are the vernacular toponyms of natural villages whose locations have been occupied by large-scale apartment complexes. If such toponyms have survived in everyday conversation, then it is only in the form of nicknames for nearby apartment complexes and the official names for neighborhood parks. Since the administrative areas of Seo-myeon, Majang-myeon, and Dongsojeong-myeon were merged with adjacent areas, the vernacular toponyms of Soemyeon, Majei, and Dongsujaei ceased being used. The vernacular toponym Majeitteul has gradually been forgotten among residents after the location that it referred to was completely occupied by a

huge industrial complex called Bupyeong Industrial Complex.

Moreover, Ichonmal, Imchonmal, and Gimchonmal are the vernacular toponyms of natural villages that were once located in present-day Hyoseong-dong. They have also disappeared in the process of urbanization that followed the construction of the Bupyeong Industrial Complex. Ichonmal was the oldest clan village of the Jeonju Yi family around present-day Hyoseong-dong; Imchonmal was a clan village of the Pungsan Yim clan that was located in the west of Ichonmal. Gimchonmal, the clan village of the Andong Kim clan, was located in the plain area between Ichonmal and Imchonmal (Jo 1999, 294). Gimchonmal, in particular, has disappeared more rapidly than the other two villages as apartments began to replace the factories in the 1980s, when an economic decline struck the industrial complex.

Wonteigogae, by contrast, is an old vernacular toponym that has been in use since the late Joseon dynasty. It is an easy pronunciation of Wontonggogae, the Korean translation of the Chinese written form “元通峴,” which literally means the pass to traverse Wontongsan 元通山 mountain (Yi 1998, 81). In spite of urbanization, the vernacular toponym Wontei Gogae has even given birth to branch names, such as humorous nicknames Keun (meaning “large”) Wonteigogae and Jageun (meaning “small”) Wonteigogae. Even if migrant residents outnumbered the indigenous residents in the process of rapid urbanization, Wontonggogae continued to be a landmark that contained significant meaning for everyday life. According to historical and geographical investigation, the original location of Wontonggogae is said to be the pass from present-day city cemetery to the Yaksasa temple (Yi 1998, 42). Today, however, most residents in the territory of vernacular toponym Bupyeong think that it points at the pass that runs from Bupyeongsamgeori (a concourse of three streets) to Ganseoko-geori (a five-way crossing) along the main road called Gyeongin Saneopdoro. The location at which the vernacular toponym Wonteigogae points has changed through time, along with the creation of humorous nicknames such as Keun Wonteigogae and Jageun Wonteigogae.

Moreover, the name of the mountain from which the toponym Wontonggogae had been derived has changed through time. The resi-

dents have been vague about both the exact location and the Chinese written form of Wontongsan mountain because the correct knowledge about them has not descended through generations. The name Wontongsan 元通山, therefore, has been called at the same time with such alternative toponyms as Juansan 朱安山, Seonyusan 仙遊山, and even Manwolsan 滿月山. The Chinese written form “元通山” is found in most ancient maps and documents such as *Yeoji doseo* (Cultural Geography of Korea), *Gwangyeodo* (Enlarged Terrestrial Atlas of Korea), *Jiseung* (Map of the Joseon Territory), *Haedong jido* (Atlas of Korea), *Gyeonggiji* (Gazetteer of Gyeonggi-do Province), *Gijeon eupji* (Gazetteer of Gijeon), *Bupyeong jido* (Map of Bupyeong), and *Bupyeong eupji* (Gazetteer of Bupyeong). In the old document of *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (Survey of the Geography of Korea), it appears as Juansan 朱安山, and in the ancient maps of *Daedong yeojido* (Detailed Map of Korea) and *Cheonggudo* (Map of Korea), it emerges as Juansan 朱雁山. In the modern toponymic encyclopedia, *Hanguk jimyeong chongnam* (The Directory of Korean Toponyms), it is recorded as Juansan 朱安山 with an alternative toponym Seonyusan 仙遊山. It seems that Juansan 朱安山 is the earliest written form, and then Wontongsan 元通山, Juansan 朱安山, Seonyusan 仙遊山, and Manwolsan 滿月山 appeared in sequence through time. Most residents in the territory of the vernacular toponym “Bupyeong” tend to use the name “Wontongsan,” in contrast to those in the territory of the vernacular toponym Incheon who use the name Juansan 朱安山.

### **The Change of Vernacular Toponyms that were Named after Japanese Annexation in 1910**

Since the construction of the Gyeongin Railway in 1899, a variety of vernacular toponyms around the Bupyeong Station have experienced a life cycle: birth, growth, and death. Araenmaeul 아랫마을 was a descriptive nickname, literally meaning “a lower village,” and its Chinese written form is “下村.” This vernacular toponym was meant to distinguish the old village Daejeong-ri 大井里 from the new village

Winmaeul 윗마을 (上村), literally meaning “a upper village, which had been established in front of the Bupyeong Station.<sup>16</sup> In 1940, after the Japanese colonial government followed an urban planning mandate to concentrate commercial facilities in front of the Bupyeong Station, people felt that the village Daejeong-ri turned into a rustic village that was located at the bottom of the village in relation to the village Winmaeul in front of the Bupyeong Station (Jo 1999, 208). Likewise, the official toponym Daejeong-ri had two alternative toponyms that were vernacular: Dongsujaei and Araenmaeul.

After liberation, the village Daejeong-ri, or Araenmaeul, was buried into the public market area called Bupyeong Sijang that had grown since the late 1940s. The vernacular toponym Araenmaeul also vanished with the physical disappearance of the village Daejeong-ri. Then, when a new settlement was formed with an elementary school on the agricultural land in the east of the buried village Daejeong-ri, people began to call this new village Araenmaeul. This means that the location at which the name “Araenmaeul” pointed moved from the interior to the exterior of the public market. In the meantime, the other vernacular toponym “Dongsujaei” that referred to the village Daejeong-ri also gradually disappeared from the memory of the residents. Another nickname “Dongsujaei Jeonggeojang” literally meaning “the station near the village Dongsujaei,” had been derived from the name Dongsujaei. It is said that local Koreans liked to use this nickname instead of the official name “Bupyeongyeok,” literally meaning “Bupyeong Station” (Jo 1999, 208-209).

Since 1940, commerce and service activities grew substantially to attract the soldiers and workers in the army arsenal called Jobyeongchang. A residential area was formed to house the workers who had to live outside the Jobyeongchang. Jobyeongchang became a vernacular toponym that originated from an abbreviated form of Yukgun Jobyeongchang or Bupyeong Jobyeongchang (Jo 1999, 81). In the late

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16. The vernacular toponym Winmaeul, however, disappeared when the village Winmaeul was absorbed into the construction of a traffic roundabout when the Japanese colonial government designed the street pattern in front of the Bupyeong Station in a radial fashion.

Japanese colonial period, several civil engineering and building contractors came from Japan to work for the enlargement construction of the army arsenal. One of these Japanese contractors was called Datagumi 多田組 in Japanese, and this name later developed into a vernacular toponym to refer to the place where its construction field office was located. The toponym Datagumi can be classified into a kind of resistant toponym in that it has no alternative toponym, including an officially recognized one. It is a vernacular toponym, which has remained in use despite governmental efforts to replace the vernacular toponym Datagumi in Japanese with the official toponym Huimangchon in Korean, literally meaning “a village of hope.” It is apparent that the residents have, in fact, resisted the use of an official toponym to maintain a strong sense of place in association with the name “Datagumi.”

To begin with, Datagumi is not only a descriptive, but also a commemorative toponym, and later evolved into a connotative toponym. When the civil engineering and building contractor Datagumi left for Japan after liberation, the area where it had been located was levelled. As the U.S. military base ASCOM occupied the place of the Jobyeongchang, the economy around it boomed due to the circulation of supplies from ASCOM. Those who wanted to take part in the booming economy came from all over the country to take residence in the place where the construction field office of Datagumi was once located. Within several years, more than one hundred board-framed houses were built up to make an urban settlement. From that time, the local Korean residents of the place began to call their settlement Datagumi, remembering that it was once occupied by the construction field office of Datagumi. They have continued to use the vernacular toponym “Datagumi” in everyday conversation even if it represents the Japanese pronunciation.

The urban settlement Datagumi then gradually turned into a residence for prostitutes who earned a living by providing services for the U.S. soldiers from ASCOM. Consequently, the name “Datagumi” evolved into a connotative toponym that symbolized a strong sense of place in association with prostitution. A resident proposed that

the Japanese toponym should be replaced with the Korean toponym “Hui-mangchon” (meaning “a village of hope”) because, at the time, the name implied poor neighborhoods when spoken or heard. The local government supported his proposal because it paralleled the postcolonial policy to eliminate the Japanese toponyms. However, people, both within and outside the settlement have maintained the toponym “Datagumi” partly because it is easy to pronounce. Another reason why they resisted renaming Datagumi was because the name was easy to remember for visitors who wanted to avail themselves to prostitution (Jo 1999, 198).

Sinchon is a vernacular toponym which did not originate from indigenous Korean language but from the Chinese written form. It is the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese written form “新村” of Saema-eul, literally meaning “new village.” Since the 1940s, Sinchon has been used as a vernacular toponym to refer to a settlement around present-day administrative area of Bupyeong 3-dong. This area used to be a swampy wasteland covered with thick grasses, located next to the railroad west of a stream called Wontongcheon. Around 1940, near the wasteland, a Japanese munitions factory called Hironaka 弘中 was established to produce various munitions for the Japanese army arsenal called Jobyeongchang. Many male laborers from all over the country came to work in this factory, and built their shacks on the wasteland to live together with their families. After turning the wasteland into a residential area, they began to call it Sinchon instead of Saema-eul. Until the 1960s, this area called Sinchon had been covered mainly with board-framed houses. These were later replaced by large apartment complexes and high buildings. Today, unlike the past, the vernacular toponym “Sinchon” connotes a rich neighborhood with bustling streets. Moreover, in the last twenty years, the thoroughfares in front of Sinchon have been notorious for terrible traffic jams at all times because of the vehicles entering and exiting the district center around the Bupyeong Station (Jo 1999, 210).

The vernacular toponym “Samneung” did not originate from indigenous Korean language, but rather the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese written form “三陵” of the Japanese company name Mit-

subishi. The vernacular toponym “Samneung” has also been used as a toponym alternative to the official toponym “Bupyeong 2-dong.” Even today, the old residents in the territory of Bupyeong tend to identify the name “Samneung” with the administrative area of Bupyeong 2-dong. Another vernacular toponym “Samneung Sageori,” literally meaning a four-way intersection within the territory of Samneung, was derived from Samneung. Like Samneung, it is also an unofficial, vernacular, and alternative toponym for the official toponym “Dongsu Sageori.”<sup>17</sup>

In 1940, when the Japanese army arsenal Jobyeongchang began an expansion construction, the Japanese munitions factory Hironaka 弘中 established a residential quarter located south of the railroad for its workers. This new settlement then began to be called Hironaka Sataek, literally meaning a residential quarter for workers of Hironaka. In 1943, when the Pacific War was at its climax, the ownership of Hironaka was given to Mitsubishi 三陵. After the transfer of ownership, the name “Hironaka Sataek” was also changed to Mitsubishi Sataek, literally meaning a residential quarter for workers of Mitsubishi. After liberation, the area around Mitsubishi Sataek came under rapid urbanization, and the local residents began to call the area Samneung, the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese written form “三陵” (Jo 1999, 196-197). It is said that the pronunciation, by itself, never reminds people of the Japanese company “三陵,” but of three royal tombs from the Joseon dynasty. Unlike the Japanese name “Datagumi,” the local residents chose to pronounce the Japanese name of the Chinese written form in a Korean way.<sup>18</sup>

Cheolmasan 鐵馬山, literally meaning an iron-horse mountain, is so well-known that everyone in the territory of Bupyeong recognizes it.

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17. Dongsu Sageori was named after the toponym “Dongsu-dong,” the previous official name of Bupyeong 6-dong. Dongsu Sageori became an official toponym because it was located within the territory of Bupyeong 6-dong.

18. Baengmajang is another vernacular toponym that originated from the Korean pronunciation of a Japanese toponym in Chinese characters. It is said that Baengmajang transformed from Baengma-jeong, the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese written form “白馬町,” the Japanese official name of an administrative area at a community level.



Even the branch names, such as Namcheolmasan, Jungcheolmasan, and Bukcheolmasan, were derived from the original name Cheolmasan. All of these branch names, in fact, are nothing but nicknames, because even “Cheolmasan” has been challenged as being an unofficial toponym. The first time that the name Cheolmasan appeared in public documents was on a topographic map that had been published in the early Japanese colonial period.<sup>19</sup> It is insisted that “Cheolmasan” could have been an incorrect transcription of Cheonmasan (meaning “a horse in the sky”) when it was surveyed by Japanese map-makers (Chough 2002, 15). This error is probable as the name “Cheonmasan” was a toponym that had descended locally in oral usage through many generations.

After Cheolmasan was used as an official toponym in the early Japanese colonial period, people became confused about which mountain the name referred to. In the time of displacement of residents due to rapid urbanization, people misidentified the name “Cheolmasan” with the mountains other than the original name “Cheolmasan”: Wonjeoksan and Geummasan. After people learned about the multiple locations to which the name referred, they renamed the mountains Bukcheolmasan, Jungcheolmasan, and Namcheolmasan.<sup>20</sup> Despite governmental efforts to change the names from Cheolmasan or Bukcheolmasan to Cheonmasan, from Jungcheolmasan to Wonjeoksan, and from Namcheolmasan to Geummasan, many people continue to use the incorrect names. There is also an incorrect branch name, still in public use, which was derived from the name “Cheolmasan”: Cheolmasan Gwanton-doro, literally meaning “the road that pierces through the mountain Cheolmasan” (Jo 1999, 157). That name was officially given because Wonjeoksan mountain, through which a main road connected to the center of Incheon-si, was misidentified with the name “Cheolmasan.”

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19. The name “Cheonmasan” is not found on any old maps and documents published in the Joseon dynasty.

20. These three names, respectively, mean Cheolmasan in the north, in the middle, and in the south. Bukcheolmasan, Juncheolmasan, and Namcheolmasan are, respectively, referring to Cheonmasan, Wonjeoksan, and Geummasan.

## **Conclusion**

Since the mid-1960s, when rapid urbanization was accompanied with industrialization, Korean migrants from the countryside have poured into cities. Under such a high degree of residential mobility, along with radically changing land use, Korean cities have witnessed a remarkable transformation of precolonial and colonial toponyms. This study examined how unofficial names have changed from the time of Japanese annexation through liberation, up to the present. To make an empirical study, the districts of Bupyeong-gu and Gyeyang-gu in Incheon were selected as a case study area where the life cycle—birth, growth, and death—of toponyms were examined. The different versions of a single toponym and the various cultural traditions they reflect can be read as indicators of cultural diversity and dynamism. In this regard, a critical approach also has been utilized to understand the sociocultural “after-life” of the once coined toponyms in ways that are sensitive to cultural politics.

The present patterns of naming in Bupyeong-gu and Gyeyang-gu of Incheon reflect the long and contentious history of Japanese colonialism, the significance of reinstating Korean toponyms after liberation, and the contemporary politics of culture, identity, and belonging. However, the desire to recover, return to, and restore precolonial names has complex and contradictory implications. Naming and boundary-making can often be part of acts of resistance to the official toponyms, particularly through performance and manipulation. Moreover, they embody the degree to which many marginalized residents hold the “power of definition.” In the case of the areas studied in this research, there has been active and conscious contestation of naming processes and the establishment of boundaries.

A vernacular toponym “Bupyeong” without any generic element was widely spoken by residents to indicate a group of places at various levels. The vernacular toponym “Bupyeong” has played an important role in the construction of identity among the people who identify themselves with the imagined community named Bupyeong. Those who are loyal to the name “Bupyeong” are mainly the elite group who

are descendants of those indigenous to the territory of the previous Bupyeong-dohobu. An elite group among them strongly insisted that the main body of the previous district should be named with the proper name Bupyeong when Buk-gu was again subdivided into two districts in 1995.

The urbanization around the study area that has been in progress since the 1910s can be divided into four stages: stage one from 1939 to 1945, stage two from 1945 to the 1960s, stage three from the 1970s to the 1980s, and stage four from the 1990s to the present. In 1930, the Japanese colonial government replaced Korean names with Japanese names, while incorporating a part of the territories of *ri*. After liberation, the Korean government returned all of these Japanese names to Korean names with the generic element *dong*. Then, if a *dong*, the smallest administrative area, gained a substantial resident population, its territory was subdivided with a numerical addition to the original name. Such a renaming of an official name was a type of administrative standardization, which has sometimes been contested by the usage of an alternative and vernacular name.

In the late Joseon dynasty, indigenous people changed the pronunciations to make them more comfortable to speak: from Majang into Majei, and Dongsojeong into Dongsujaei. It is speculated that local Korean residents were still using these autochthonyms or vernacular names as substitutes for the Japanese names, even during Japanese colonialism. In particular, they might have still maintained the vernacular toponyms of natural villages. Since the rapid industrial urbanization from the late 1960s, these vernacular toponyms have largely been forgotten by the residents. Since the 1980s, in particular, in the process of post-industrial urbanization, indigenous toponyms have disappeared from everyday conversation of the residents, while being replaced by the names of apartment complexes and neighborhood parks. In the cases where these toponyms have survived, they are only in the form of nicknames for nearby apartment complexes and the official names for neighborhood parks.

Wonteigogae, by contrast, is an old vernacular toponym that has been in use since the late Joseon dynasty. The location at which the

vernacular toponym Wonteingogae points has changed through time, along with the creation of humorous nicknames such as Keun Wonteingogae and Jageun Wonteingogae. Araenmaeul was a descriptive nickname, literally meaning a village at the bottom. The location at which the name “Araenmaeul” pointed has moved from the interior to the exterior of the public market. In the meantime, the other vernacular toponym “Dongsujaei” which referred to the village Daejeong-ri has also gradually disappeared from the memory of residents.

The toponym “Datagumi” can be classified into a kind of resistant toponym in that it has no alternative toponym, including an officially recognized one. It is a vernacular toponym that is still in use despite governmental efforts to replace the vernacular toponym “Datagumi” in Japanese with an official toponym “Huimangchon” in Korean. Since the 1940s, Sinchon has been used as a vernacular toponym to refer to the settlement around present-day administrative area of Bupyeong 3-dong. The vernacular toponym “Samneung,” the Korean pronunciation of the Japanese toponym, has also been used as an alternative toponym to the official toponym “Bupyeong 2-dong.”

Cheolmasan is so well-known that everyone in the territory of Bupyeong recognizes it. Even the branch names were derived from the original name “Cheolmasan,” and these branch names, in fact, are nothing but nicknames. After Cheolmasan was used as an official toponym in the early Japanese colonial period, people became confused about which mountain the name referred to. In the time of displacement of residents due to rapid urbanization, people misidentified the name “Cheolmasan” with two other mountain names. After people learned about the multiple locations to which the name refers, they renamed the mountains into Bukcheolmasan, Jungcheolmasan, and Namcheolmasan. Despite governmental efforts to correct the names, many people continue to use the incorrect names.

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