Variation in Country Name Words in Early Modern Korea

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to determine how the changes in international relations of Chosŏn affected the variation of names for foreign countries used in late 19th and early 20th century Chosŏn. For 19th century text, we analyzed four kinds of textbooks and how the unique characteristics of each textbook affected vocabulary variation. For 20th century text, we studied corpora consisting of newspapers in early modern Korea to explore the frequency patterns found in the appearance of names for foreign countries at that time. We found that the Japanese influence on Chosŏn and Chosŏn’s relationship with the Sino-sphere countries and World Powers had significant effects upon the variation of names for foreign countries. In addition, we also discovered a strong correlation between the unique characteristics of each textbook and newspaper and the distinctive patterns found in the variations in foreign country names.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this research we examine the variation in names for foreign countries in early modern Korea and explore how changes in Chosŏn international relations affected the use of vocabularies. We explore four kinds of textbooks and examine corpora consisting of early modern period newspapers.

Traditionally, Chosŏn had imported new culture and technologies from China for thousands of years; however, in the late 19th century when Chosŏn opened its port to the World Powers it expanded trade routes to several other countries. This shift happened to other Sino-sphere countries and ended with the collapse of the Sino-sphere and Sino-centrism. This social change also triggered language changes. As the role of China was supplanted by other countries, other languages took the place of Chinese and Chinese characters. This was especially noticeable in vocabulary shifts.

A massive influx of information on foreign countries yielded many new loan words1 including words for foreign country names2. Before the late 19th century, only a few neighboring countries such as China, India, Japan, Mongolia and Vietnam3 were mentioned in historical texts. Conventionally, country names were written in Chinese characters because of the strong influence of Chinese. However, new words for country names appeared in the late 19th century which were mostly transliterations from Japanese and English4. Therefore, there was more than one word referring to the same country in late 19th and early 20th century Chosŏn.

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3 The 21st Century Sejong Historical Corpus, which contains historical texts ranging from the 15th and 19th centuries, shows mentions of China (the names of several dynasties), Japan, Annam, Mongolia and India before the late 19th century.
4 According to Chung (1998, 131), Japan experienced similar change earlier than Chosŏn. Until the late 16th century, Japanese words for foreign country names were the same as their Chinese names; however, after
Example (1) is a list of types of words for Oceania/Australia used in late 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} century Chosŏn. Type (1a) is the name of the continent Oceania, although it refers to a country in Sŏyugyŏnmun (1895). Type (1b) illustrates indirectly transliterated words, which were once transliterated into Japanese and then into Korean using the Korean pronunciation (tong’um) for each Chinese character. Type (1c) are abbreviated forms of (1b). Type (1d) shows the words directly transliterated from English to Korean.

(1) a. Taeyangju
   b. Hot’aeria, Hodaeria, Hodaria, Odaeria, Ot’aeri, Ho’aeri, Ho’tari
   c. Hoju, Hojyu
   d. Osŭt’uernuniya, Osŭch’ ūeria, Osŭch’ ūryeria, Osdŭraelrya, Osŭt’ueryŏrya, Osŭt’ueraelri

Previous researchers such as Seong (1983), Lee (1987), and Chung (1998) were concerned about types (1a) ~ (1c), which were written in Chinese characters, and discussed the relationships these words had with Japanese and Chinese words while focusing on certain texts, mostly Sŏyugyŏnmun. Based on the results of such previous studies, here we examine the variations in foreign country names, including type (1d), and explore the distribution of words and the competitive aspects among their variations.

Our research is comprised of two steps. First, we examine foreign country names in late 19\textsuperscript{th} century texts and describe the variations used. Specifically, we examine textbooks and travelogues. Second, we explore the distribution of each word in early 20\textsuperscript{th} century texts, with a focus on the text of newspapers.

2. VARIATIONS OF FOREIGN COUNTRY NAMES IN LATE 19\textsuperscript{TH} CENTURY TEXTBOOKS

2.1 Data

Western-style education began in Chosŏn in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century. The government established modern schools and compiled textbooks. There were several world geography textbooks, and they contained numerous foreign country names. In this section we examine the four textbooks described in Table (1): Saminp’ilchi, Kungminsohaktokpon, Chiguyangnon, and Man’gukchiji.

Table (1) Textbooks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Abbr.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saminp’ilchi</td>
<td>&lt;Samin&gt;</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>H. B. Hulbert</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kungminsohaktokpon</td>
<td>&lt;Kungmin&gt;</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>The faculty</td>
<td>K+C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiguyangnon</td>
<td>&lt;Chigu&gt;</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>The faculty</td>
<td>K (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man’gukchiji</td>
<td>&lt;Man’guk&gt;</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>The faculty</td>
<td>K+C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<Samin> was the first Korean textbook of world geography. It is exclusively written in Han’gul. H. B. Hulbert, a missionary dispatched from America to teach students in Japan opened its ports to Western countries, it began writing the names of foreign countries using its own system. On the other hand, Osŭt’ueryŏrya referred to a continent in Chiguyangnon (1895). Sŏyugyŏnmun (1895) was written by Kiljun Yu, who studied in Japan and America. It is a travelogue containing a lot of foreign country names. Seong (1983), Lee (1987), and Chung (1998) focused on the words written in Chinese characters. It was also the first Western-style textbook of Korea.
at Yuk’yŏng’gongwŏn, was the author. The book includes numerous foreign country names, most of which are transliterated words. Four years after its publication in Korean, it was translated into Chinese (Min 1999, 366).

<Kungmin>, <Chigu>, and <Man’guk> were all compiled by the government; however, all three had different characteristics. First, <Kungmin> was the first textbook published by the government. It was written in a combination of Korean and Chinese characters. Although it was published as a Korean language textbook, it contained content about various aspects of life. Most of the textbooks used by teaching faculty had to pass Japanese imperialist officials’ inspection before they could be used, but <Kungmin> did not go through this textbook censorship process. The publication of <Kungmin> was planned before Japanese councilors started to intervene in Chosŏn from December 1894, but because of the delay caused by the censorship policy, it was published in 1895 (Jeon 2005, 250-253). In addition, the main writers were pro-American and anti-Japanese scholars (Jeon 2005, 250-253). Next, <Chigu> consists of questions and answers on world geography and Chosŏn geography. <Chigu> was written in Korean, but Chinese characters were included only for words originating from Chinese. Finally, <Man’guk> was a textbook about world geography and written in a mixed script of Korean and Chinese characters.

We examined all the country names in the four textbooks and selected the 34 foreign country names used in more than two textbooks. Example (2) lists these names in alphabetical order. We discuss the variations of these 34 words in the textbooks and compare each variation with its Chinese and Japanese counterpart. Further, we referred to Yŏnghwajajŏn (英華字典 (1866-1869)) to determine the names for foreign countries used in late 19th century China. Additionally, we confirmed the Japanese words for country names using the ‘Taiyo (太陽) Corpus,’ which consists the Taiyo magazines issued from 1895 to 1925.

(2) Afghanistan, Africa, America, Annam, Arabia, Asia, Australia, Austria, Belgium, China, Denmark, Egypt, Europe France, German, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Judea, Mexico, Netherlands, Pakistan, Persia, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Scotland, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, U.S.A.

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8 The first Korean government school, built in 1886.
9 <Kungmin> was a not a geography textbook, but we analyzed it because it covers various academic fields and contains several country names.
10 Chosŏn abolished yejo in 1894, which had been in charge of education, and established hakpu in 1895 (Kang 1973, 13).
11 As a result, several patriotic parts remained in the contents. For example, it contains stories about the capital Hanyang and King Sejong and uses the word Taechosŏnku, which means ‘The Great Chosŏn. After the Japanese annexation of Korea, <Kungmin> became listed as a forbidden book.
12 The names included continent names.
14 The National Institute for Japanese Language introduces this corpus as follows: “The Taiyō Corpus is a text database of the periodical Taiyō, read by a wide range of readers from the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries. The individual articles exhibit a variety of writing styles and orthographic characteristics, providing an excellent resource for the study of the development of modern Japanese. The Taiyō Corpus provides texts of 3,409 articles in 60 issues published over the period of 1895-1925, amounting to approximately 15 million characters.”
2.2 The Textbooks Published by the Government

Country names in <Kungmin>, <Chigu>, and <Man’guk> are mostly comprised of Chinese characters. These government textbooks used country names written in either Chinese characters or the Korean characters that corresponded to the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese characters. What we consider most important here is whether most of the country names in these books were the same as their Japanese counterparts, despite the fact that Korean textbooks had been written in Chinese for hundreds of years. We also discuss a few exceptions.

Example (3) shows the country names that consist of the same Chinese characters as those of their Chinese and Japanese counterparts. In this case, all of the word forms were the same in each text. It is not clear whether these words directly came from Chinese, or from Chinese to Japanese and then to Korean. (‘x’ means the word did not appear in the respective text.)

(3) Word: <Kungmin> / <Chigu> / <Man’guk>
   a. Afghanistan: x / x / 阿富汗 (abuhan)
   b. Annam: x / x / 安南 (annam)
   c. Arabia: x / x / 亞剌伯 (aribaek)
   d. England: 英國 (yŏng’guk), 英吉□國 (yŏng’gilliguk) / yŏng’guk, 英國 / 英國
   e. Greece: 希臘 (hŭrap) / x / 希臘
   f. Hungary: 決牙利 (hyung’ari) / x / x
   g. India: 印度 (indo) / indoguk, 印度 / 印度
   h. Japan: 日本 (ilbon) / ilbonguk, 日本國 / 日本
   i. Mexico: x / x / 墨西哥 (muksoğa)
   j. Portugal: 葡萄牙 (p’odoa) / x / 葡萄牙
   k. Romania: x / x / □馬尼亞 (lamanía)
   l. Spain: 西班牙 (sŏbana) / x / 西班牙
   m. Switzerland: 瑞西 (sŏsŏ) / x / 瑞西
   n. Turkey: x / x / 土耳其 (t’oigi)

Japanese influence on the country names is more obvious in Example (4), which shows the country names that were different from the Chinese word but the same as the Japanese.

(4) Word: <Kungmin> / <Chigu> / <Man’guk>
   a. America: 亞米利加洲 (amirigaju) / amirikka, 亞米利加 / 亞米利加洲
   b. Australia: x / osūt’ āryŏlyya / 澳大利亞 (hot’aeria)
   c. Austria: 英法獨俄 塞伊 / x / 塞地利 (ojirī)
   d. Belgium: x / x / 白耳義 (paegiūi)
   e. Denmark: x / x / 丁抹 (chŏngmal)
   f. Italy: 伊太利國 (it’aeriguk), 英法獨俄 塞伊 / x / 伊太利
   g. Scotland: 蘇格蘭 (sogyŏngnan) / x / x

The Chinese word for America was 亞美利加 (amiriga), but Japan changed the second character to 米 (mi). All three textbooks followed the Japanese version of the word. Austria was written as 奧地利亞 (ojiria) and 奧地哩亞 (ojiria) in Chinese, but as 奧地利
(ojiri) and 埼太利 (ot’aeri) in Japanese; thus Chinese used the character 奥 (o) for the transliteration of the English ‘Au’ while Japanese used ‘埼’. Both <Kungmin> and <Man’guk> used the same characters as the Japanese words. The transliteration of Italy in Japanese was 伊太利 (it’aeri) and 以太利 (it’aeri). <Kungmin> and <Man’guk> used伊太利 and 伊 (i) in an abbreviated form, while the Chinese transliterations were 以大利 and 意大利 (üidaeri). Finally, the Chinese word for Australia was 新荷蘭 (sinharan) and 澳大利亞 (odaeria), for Belgium it was 比利時 (pirisi), and for Denmark, 丹抹 (tanmal). However, <Man’guk> used 濤太利亞 (hot aeria), 白耳義 (paegüi), and 丁抹 (chôngmal), which were written in the same characters as their Japanese counterparts. In addition, the Chinese word for Scotland was 蘇吉蘭 (sogillan), while the Japanese used格 (kyôk) for the second character; <Kungmin> adopted the Japanese version.

Meanwhile, (5) illustrates the words for country names which took different forms in different texts. “J” and “C” in parentheses denote whether the country name is the same as the Japanese or the Chinese, or both.

(5) Word: <Kungmin> / <Chigu> / <Man’guk>

a. Africa: 亞非利加洲 (abirigaju) (C, J) / apûrikka, 亞非利加 (C, J) / abirigaju (J)
b. China: 清國 (ch’ông’guk) (C), 支那國 (chinaguk) (J) / ch’ông’guk, 清國 (C) / 支那 (J)
c. France: 英法獨俄伊 (C) / pôpkuk, 法國 (C) / 佛國 (pulguk), 佛蘭西 (pullansô) (J)
d. Germany: 英法獨俄伊 (J) / 德國 (tôkkuk) (C) / x
e. Russia: 英法獨俄伊, 俄國 (aguk) (C) / arasaguk, 俄羅斯國 (C) / 露西亞 (rosôa) (J)
f. U.S.A.: 合衆國 (hapchung’guk), 米國 (miguk) (J) / miguk, 美國 (C) / 北米合衆國 (pukmihapchung’guk) (J)

(5a) is the example of Africa, which illustrates that <Kungmin> and <Chigu> use both the Chinese and Japanese versions of the word, just like in example (3). <Man’guk>, however, used the word that was only used in Japanese. For China, <Kungmin> used both the Chinese and Japanese words, while <Chigu> used the Chinese word and <Man’guk> used the Japanese word. In addition, when referring to France and Russia, <Kungmin> and <Chigu> used the Chinese names, but <Man’guk> used the Japanese names. Germany, however, was written using the Japanese word in <Kungmin>, using the Chinese character獨 (tok), while <Chigu> used the Chinese word. As in (5f), although <Kungmin> and <Man’guk> used the Japanese word, <Chigu> chose the Chinese word.

Example (5) illustrates the difficulty in finding any preference in a single text regarding the use of country name words originating from a particular language. Especially in <Kungmin>, some names were the same as their Japanese counterparts while

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15 China was described as 中國 (chung’guk) and 大清朝 (taech’ôngcho) in Yônghwajajôn. The Taiyo Corpus shows 4,323 occurrences of 支那 (china), 131 occurrences of 中國, but no occurrences of 清國 (ch’ông’guk) or 清朝 (ch’ôngcho).

16 While 4,043 occurrences of 護逸 (togil) were found in the Taiyo Corpus, there were no occurrences of 德國 (tôkkuk).
others were the same as their Chinese counterparts. On the contrary, <Chigu> tended to adopt the Chinese words, with a few exceptions such as America (4a), Africa (5a) and Australia (4b). On the other hand, there was not a single country name that was different from the Japanese version in <Man’guk>. <Man’guk> is considered to be either a translation of a Japanese textbook or a textbook created under the influence of the Japanese. In a word, we could say that the origin of the country names varies in accordance with the unique characteristics of each textbook.

2.3 Saminp’ilchi

In contrast to the faculty written textbooks, most country names in <Samin> were directly transliterated words. <Samin> was written by an American missionary, and as such it used direct transliterations from English. Example (6) illustrates the words for the country names appearing in <Samin>. Most contain the suffix ‘-kuk (-guk)’, which was traditionally attached to country names in Korean.

(6) Word: <Samin>
   a. Afghanistan: apkan’isūdanguk
   b. Africa: apūriga, apūrikka
   c. America: amerikka
   d. Australia: osūdūrellya
   e. Austria: osūduria, osūdūriaguk, osūdūrohōng’geriguk
   f. Belgium: belchiamguk
   g. Denmark: Tenmakkuk
   h. Egypt: ijūpkuk, ijūptūguk
   i. Greece: kūrisūguk, kkūrisūguk
   j. Hispania (Spain): isūbaniaguk
   k. Hungary: hōng’gōriguk, hōng’geria, osūdūrohōng’geriguk
   l. Mexico: meksūgoguk
   m. Netherlands: nederansūguk, rederansūguk
   n. Portugal: p’och’ugalguk, p’och’yugalguk
   o. Romania: Romaniaguk
   p. Scotland: sūkōtūlandū
   q. Switzerland: shwit’sūrandūguk, shwit’sūllandūguk
   r. Turkey: tōk’iguk

While these were transliterated, words for country names in (7) are not transliterations but Korean words originating from Chinese or Japanese.

(7) Word: <Samin> / relationship with Korea
   a. Annam: annamguk / Sino-sphere member
   b. India: indo / Sino-sphere member
   c. Japan: ilbon, ilbonguk / Sino-sphere member
   d. America: ch’ombie / Sino-sphere member
   e. America: miguk, amerikka / Since May. 1882

17 On the contrary, country names written in Hangúl in Sŏnyŏnmun seem to be simply transcriptions. Sŏnyŏnmun used Chinese characters for country names and added words in Hangúl such as ‘p’ūransu’ for France, ‘taenmakk’i’ for Denmark, ‘Ŏsūt’ürelmuy’ for Australia, to name just a few. These are thought to be transcriptions of their English pronunciations because country names were mentioned only as their names, that is, the ‘-kuk’ suffix was never attached to the words. In addition, even Chosŏn was referred to as K’oria, Japan as Cha’pan, and China as Ch’ains.
The words for the traditional Sino-sphere member countries such as Annam, India, Japan and China all originated from Chinese. (7a) annam, (7b) indo, (7c) ilbon, (7d) ch’ŏng in <Samin> were the Korean pronunciations of the corresponding Chinese characters. These were the old neighbor countries of Chosŏn, and their names had already become settled and fixed. A search of the <21st Century Sejong Historical Corpus> revealed that the first usage of annam appeared in Waeŏyuhae (17XX), indo in Wŏlinsŏkpo (1459), ilbon in Tusiŏnhae (1481) and ch’ŏng in Sansŏng’ilgi (1636). Each of these countries had already experienced hundreds years of history with Chosŏn, so they were written in the traditional way even though <Samin> was compiled by an American missionary.

Besides the Sino-sphere countries, several Western countries mentioned in (7e) ~ (7j) were also written in this way. America, for example, was written in two ways: indirect transliteration, miguk, and direct transliteration, amerikka. In addition, the words for England were the indirect transliterations yŏng’guk, yeng’gilliguk and a mixture of both indirect and direct transliteration, yeng’gilladu (yeng’gil + landu). Actually, the indirect transliteration of 英吉利 (yŏng gilli) was supposed to be yŏng’gilli, however, yŏng was umlauted to yeng. For (7e) and (7f), we were unable to conclude whether they originated from Chinese or Japanese18.

For the other words in (7g) ~ (7i), however, the origin of the words is quite obvious. The Chinese words for Germany were 日耳曼 (iriman) and 德國 (tŏkkuk), and the Japanese words were 日耳曼 and 獨逸 (togil). As illustrated in (7g), <Samin> used the Chinese word 德國, which was pronounced in Korean as tŏkkuk. Furthermore, the Chinese words for Russia were 俄羅斯 (arasa) and 島羅斯 (arasa), while the Japanese word was 露西亞 (rosŏa). For Russia, <Samin> also used the Chinese word arasa (俄羅斯 or 島羅斯). For France, however, <Samin> used the Japanese word. The Chinese words for France were 法蘭西 (pŏmnansŏ) and 法國 (pŏpkuk), while the Japanese words were 佛蘭西 (pulansŏ) and 佛國 (pulguk). Pŭlnansi in <Samin> was the Korean pronunciation of 佛蘭西, but it was supposed to be pŭlnansŏ. It is unclear whether this reflected a phonological change of Korean ([s] to [i] before a sibilant) or the Chinese pronunciation of ‘西’ ([si]).

Example (7) also shows the month and year when each country signed a treaty with Chosŏn. All of the countries illustrated in (7) had a comparatively long trade history with Chosŏn. Four of them (7a ~ 7d) were traditional Sino-sphere countries, and the other five (7e ~ 7i) were countries which began trade with Chosŏn relatively early among the Western countries. <Samin> was written in 1891, and Chosŏn opened its ports to America, England, Germany, Russia and France before then. To determine if the start of trade affected word usage, we compared (7) to the words of the countries which started trading with Chosŏn after the publication of <Samin>. Austria began trade with Chosŏn from June 1892, Belgium from March 1902, and Denmark from July 1902. As can be seen in (6), the names of these three counties were transliterated from English to Korean in <Samin>.

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18 As explained in 2.2, Japanese and Chinese used the same word for England. For America, they used different words but the Korean pronunciation of the words was the same. <Samin> only used Han’gūl, and thus it is not possible to determine the origin of miguk.
The Western countries included in (7) were the World Powers, and as such their influence on Asian countries was enormous, with lively discussion about them surely occurring often. This means that the country names of the World Powers must have been introduced to Chosŏn from Japan and China, both of which opened their ports earlier than Chosŏn. Accordingly, we posit that the words for America, England, Germany, Russia and France were adopted from Japanese and Chinese and had already entered and become settled in Korean before the time <Samin> was written.

To summarize the above discussion of variations in country name words in late 19th century textbooks, all three of the faculty written textbooks illustrate the extent of the influence of Japanese words in Korean. All the words in <Man'guk> were the same as their Japanese counterparts, and even <Kungmin>, which was written by people whose political attitudes were anti-Japanese, used many Japanese country name words. On the other hand, the textbook written by a foreign missionary, <Samin>, used directly transliterated words for the most of the country names, although adopted words introduced from Japanese and Chinese were used for the traditional Sino-sphere members and the World Powers. In chapter 3, we describe variations in country names appearing in newspapers and explain the development of those variations in the early 20th century.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF VARIATIONS IN NEWSPAPERS

While textbooks introduce words intended to be spread by education, the words appearing in newspapers tend to reflect what words are actually prevailing in the society. We therefore should be able to find out whether early textbooks really affected the usage of country name words subsequently.

3.1 Corpora

We approach the variation of country name words quantitatively so that we can determine which words were frequently used and which were not. The four corpora chosen for analysis are described in Table (2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Abbr.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Corpus size (ŏjŏl)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tongnipsinmun</td>
<td>&lt;Tongnip&gt;</td>
<td>1896–1899</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>38,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheguksinmun</td>
<td>&lt;Cheguk&gt;</td>
<td>1898–1902</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>529,073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taehannmaeilsinbo</td>
<td>&lt;Taehan&gt;</td>
<td>1907–1910</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>252,607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kongnipsinbo</td>
<td>&lt;Kongnip&gt;</td>
<td>1907–1908</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>120,621</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<Tongnip> was the first newspaper written in Han'gul for the common people. It was published from 1896 to 1899. <Cheguk> was also published for the common people, and especially for women. It was published for around 5 years from 1898. We expected these two newspapers to show the words of country names prevailing in late 19th century Chosŏn society. In addition, <Taehan>, published from 1907 to 1910, had the largest circulation among the newspapers of early 20th century Chosŏn. The publisher of <Taehan> was an English man, Ernest Thomas Bethell. Finally, <Kongnip> was a newspaper made for Korean emigrants in L.A. The <Kongnip> corpus spans 1907 and 1908. It was a newspaper published outside of Chosŏn, and as such the source of its contents was different from that of the other three newspapers. Moreover, both <Taehan> and <Kongnip> were free from Japanese interference.

We aligned all of these corpora in the unit of ŏjŏl and then sorted the data in Korean alphabetical order. We examined the sorted lists and selected the words of country
names for analysis. When we were unsure whether a word was a country name, we searched for the word using the tool 'SynKDP', which creates KWIC concordances.

In the following sections we describe the results of the analysis in three parts according to the country classifications: the Sino-sphere countries, the World Powers, and others.

**Sino-sphere Countries**

The words of the Sino-sphere country names in newspapers were the same as those used in the textbooks. The words for Annam, India and Japan were the indirect transliterations, which were also used in Japan and China. Sino-sphere countries had a long history of trade with Chosŏn, and thus they shared the same country name words. The names of these countries were written the same in all four newspapers. Example (8) illustrates the variations in the name of each Sino-sphere country in the four newspapers, with the numbers in parentheses describing the frequency of each word in the corpus. Although we can compare the numbers, such comparisons should be limited to within the same line (within one newspaper) because the size of each newspaper corpus was different.

(8) a. Annam
   <Tongnip> x
   <Cheguk> annam (52), annamguk (3)
   <Taehan> annam (33), annamguk (1)
   <Kongnip> annam (8), annamguk (1)
b. India
   <Tongnip> indo (3)
   <Cheguk> indoguk (51), indo (38)
   <Taehan> indoguk (3), indo (2)
   <Kongnip> indo (73), indoguk (3)
c. Japan
   <Tongnip> ilbon (139), ilbonguk (1)
   <Cheguk> ilbon (1765), ilbonguk (18)
   <Taehan> ilbon (1103), ilbonguk (27)
   <Kongnip> ilbon (873), ilbonguk (7)
d. China
   <Tongnip> ch’ŏng’guk (62), chinaguk (1), ch’ŏng’guk (1)
   <Cheguk> ch’ŏng’guk (1088), ch’ŏng’guk (126)
   <Taehan> ch’ŏng’guk (306), china (17), ch’ŏng’guk (1)
   <Kongnip> ch’ŏng’guk (200), china (17)

As can be seen in (8), whether the suffix ‘-kuk’ was attached depended on the country. Annam and Japan were usually written without the suffix in all the newspapers, while most occurrences of India had the suffix in <Cheguk>, but the opposite tendency was seen in <Kongnip>. Meanwhile, the words for China appeared in two different forms. One was the Chinese word ch’ŏng’guk and the other was the Japanese word china. The word china appeared in most of the newspapers except <Cheguk>, but it was nonetheless low in frequency. The name of China was mostly written in Chinese even though the Japanese word filtered into the newspapers.

To conclude, the names of the Sino-sphere countries were still written in their traditional forms in early modern Korean newspapers, except for the Japanese word ‘china’, which means China.
3.2 World Powers

As discussed in chapter 2, the names of America, England, Germany, Russia and France appeared in various forms in textbooks. The words for England were the same as their Chinese and Japanese counterparts, which were indirect transliterations, and the word for America was the same as the Japanese word. Additionally, the words for Germany, Russia, and France showed different tendencies in the textbooks (See example (5)). However, the words in newspapers were even more complicated. Example (9) demonstrates the various words for each country and their frequencies in the corpus. Variation forms are described in order of frequency.

(9) a. America
   <Tongnip> miguk (57), ameriga (3), amiriga (1)
   <Cheguk> miguk (508), amiriga (13), ameriga (2), amerikka (1)
   <Taehan> miguk (292), amiriga (9), amerik’a (5), amirik’a (2), amerikka (1)
   <Kongnip> miguk (412), ameriga (8), amerikka (2), amerik’a (1)

b. England
   <Tongnip> yŏng’guk (28), yŏng’gilli (4), yŏng’gilliguk (1)
   <Cheguk> yŏng’guk (748), yŏng’gilli (7)
   <Taehan> yŏng’guk (193), yŏng’gilliguk (2)
   <Kongnip> yŏng’guk (137), yŏng’gilli (1), ing’gillaendū (1)

c. Germany
   <Tongnip> tŏkkuk (7)
   <Cheguk> tŏkkuk (436), tyŏkkuk (18), il’iman (4), chyômaen (2)
   <Taehan> tŏkkuk (63), tyŏkkuk (6)
   <Kongnip> tŏkkuk (52), tyŏkkuk (5), il’iman (2)

d. Russia
   <Tongnip> arasya (56)
   <Cheguk> arasa (604), aguk (156), arasya (87), arasaguk (18), arasyaguk (3), rōsia (1), rosyôa (1), roguk (1)
   <Taehan> roguk (103), arasa (45), aguk (28), arasya (25), arasaguk (6)
   <Kongnip> arasa (44), roguk (42), rosia (25), aguk (12), rusia (6), arasya (1), rosyôa (1), rosyea (1)

e. France
   <Tongnip> pullansyô (32), pulnansyô (6), pôpkuk (1)
   <Cheguk> pôpkuk (326), pullansyô (18), pulnansyô (6), p’uraensô (2)
   <Taehan> pôpkuk (63), pullansyô (2), pullansyôguk (2)
   <Kongnip> pôpkuk (67), pullansyô (2), pulnansyô (1)

(9a) ~ (9e) illustrate that the names of America, England and Germany were mostly written as the traditional Sino-Korean words. The gap between the most frequent and second most frequent word is clearly wide. What’s more, the most frequent forms of the names of these three countries were all abbreviated: first syllable + suffix ‘-kuk’. Their full names were also used, but these were quite low in frequency. Through these examples

19 We counted the frequency of the word denoting the continent America and that denoting the country separately, and thus the frequency of America showed in the data includes only the occurrences of the country America.
showing that the four newspapers unanimously used the same word for each country, we can conclude that the words *miguk*, *yŏng’guk*, *tŏkkuk* had already entered and become settled in early modern Korean.

Although the most common words for the names of America, England and Germany were the same in the four newspapers, we found a new type of word among the low frequency words: a mixture of the existing indirect and direct transliterations. For instance, one of the words for America was ‘*ameriga*’, as illustrated in (9a). This word form can be analyzed into the direct transliterated part ‘*ame*’, just like the words ‘*amerikka*’ and ‘*amerik’a*’ in (9a) and the indirect transliterated part ‘*riga*’ as in ‘*amiriga*’ (Japanese: 亞米利加 (*amiriga*); Chinese: 亞美利加 (*amiriga*)). Furthermore, ‘*amirik’a*’ in (9a) illustrates the reversal of the order of the indirect and direct transliteration. These examples comprise a new type of loanword that haven’t been discussed in previous research.\(^{20}\)

A comparison of (9d) and (9e) reveals that the country name words for Russia and France were more diverse. These names also varied in the textbooks. We therefore assume that the country name words for these two countries were still often confused in early modern Korea. They were mostly indirect transliterations from Chinese and Japanese, although <Cheguk> used directly transliterated words such as *rōsia* and *p’uraensu*\(^{21}\).

<†Tongnip> and <Cheguk> used the word ‘*arasa*’, the Chinese transliteration of the name for Russia. These two newspapers were published for the common people, and therefore we can assume that words that were familiar to the common people were chosen. The Japanese transliteration ‘*rosyōa*’ and directly transliterated ‘*rōsia*’ also appeared in <Cheguk>, but their frequency was only once each. In the meantime, <†Taehan> mostly adopted the abbreviation from the Japanese word ‘*roguk*’. Because <†Taehan> resisted Imperialist Japan and did not go through the Japanese censorship process, we expected the words of country names in <†Taehan>. However, our analysis revealed that such political attitudes did not noticeably affect the use of vocabulary. In the meantime, the frequencies of Chinese and Japanese words in <†Kongnip> were similar. Similar to the case of <†Taehan>, <†Kongnip> also adopted the Japanese abbreviated forms of some words.

(9e) describes the example of the words used for France in the newspapers. Compared to the other country names in <†Tongnip>, France was commonly written as the Japanese word. On the other hand, the other three newspapers mostly used the abbreviated form of the Chinese word.

In this way, the country names for the World Powers used in newspapers were largely similar to those used in textbooks. In most cases, indirect transliterations from Chinese were used when referring to the World Power countries, with Russia and France being the only exceptions in certain newspapers. Even the newspapers published in America adopted the traditional Korean words originating from Chinese. The slight difference seen compared to the words used in textbooks is mostly the result of newspapers tending to prefer the abbreviated forms of country names. Although we could not clarify whether the characteristics of each newspaper influenced the use of country

\(^{20}\) The mixed forms of direct and indirect transliterations were also found in the words used for Africa. The indirect transliteration of the Japanese word was *abulliga* and that of the Chinese word was *abiriga*; the direct transliteration, meanwhile, had an aspirate ‘*p’u*’ and ‘*kka*’, corresponding to the English ‘*t*’ and ‘*ca*’, respectively. <Cheguk>, which showed the greatest number of variations for words for Africa, included several mixed forms, such as *ap’iriga*, *aep’iriga*, *ap’iriga*, *aep’iriga*.

\(^{21}\) <Cheguk> also included a direct transliteration for the word Germany (actually “German” in this case): *chyŏmaen*.  

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name words, we could, however, determine that some country name words had already become settled in Korean at that point in time through our comparison of the variations in the four newspapers.

3.4 Others

In this section we narrow down the country name words to those which appeared with sufficient frequency in the corpora for analysis. For most of the names of other countries outside of the Sino-sphere and World Power countries, a number of variations were used in the newspapers. As shown in (10), the total numbers of variations are larger than those of the countries discussed in sections 3.2 and 3.3. The first group in example (10) comprises Japanese indirect transliterations (JI), the second group Chinese indirect transliterations (CI), and the third direct transliterations (DT). Finally, an additional group is added at the end of each list if any other additional word types were found (etc.).

(10) JI / CI / DT / etc.

a. Italy
   <Tongnip> x / x / it’aehi (1), it’al’i (1), it’aeli (1)
   <Cheguk> it’aeri (4) / üidaeri (6), üidaeriguk (5), idaeri (1) / it’ahni (1) /
            it’oeri (1), üi’t’aeeri (1)
   <Taehan> it’aeri (30), it’aeriguk (17), it’aeria (1) / üidaeri (3), üidaeriguk (1)
            / x / it’aeri (1), üi’t’aeeriguk (1)
   <Kongnip> it’aeri (2), it’aeriguk (2) / idaeri (6) / it’alii (1) / it’ariguk (7)

b. Netherlands22
   <Tongnip> x / haran (4) / x
   <Cheguk> hwaran (14), hwaranguk (2) / haranguk (9), haran (6)
   <Taehan> hwaran (3), hwaranguk (1) / haran (4), haranguk (2) /
            rederansüguk (1)
   <Kongnip> hwaran (1) / haran (10), haranguk (6) / ollindu (1)

c. Austria
   <Tongnip> x / x / x
   <Cheguk> x / ojiriguk (11), odiri (7), oguk (7), odiriguk (2), ojiria (1) / x /
            osū’üria (1)
   <Taehan> x / oguk (9), odiriguk (7), ojiriguk (4), ojiria (1) / osūdūriaguk (2)
   <Kongnip> x / oguk (6), ojiri (4), odiri (2), ojiriguk (1), ojiria (1) /
            osū’üriaguk (12), osū’yuria (4), osūch’yuria (3), osūch’yullia (2),
            osū’üria (2), osūch’yuliaguk (1), osūch’yuriaguk (1), osū’t’üria (1),
            osū’t’üla’i (1), osū’t’ülia’iya (1)

As illustrated in (10), in most cases it is difficult to choose one variation that was dominantly used in the newspapers because the distributions of each variation were quite evenly scattered. Italy and the Netherlands were written in various forms in the four newspapers. Contrary to our hypothesis that <Kongnip> would prefer direct transliterations, only one DT word for each country appeared in <Kongnip>. On the other hand, as can be seen in (10c), there were numerous transliterated words for Austria in <Kongnip>. This contrasts with the other newspapers, which used few DT words for Austria; thus, whether a country’s name was directly translated in <Kongnip> seemed to be country specific. This tendency can be seen even more clearly in example (11), which shows the names of the countries forming the two American continents. In the case of Canada, the DT word k’aenada occurred much more frequently than the other variations.

22 The Chinese word for the Netherlands (Holland) was 荷蘭 (haran) and the Japanese word was 和蘭 (hwaran). There were occurrences of 荷蘭 in the Taiyo Corpus, but the frequency was quite low (23) compared to 和蘭 (454).
However, in the case of Mexico, rather than one particular variation having the highest frequency, the number of low-frequency variations was large.

(11) JI / CI / DT / etc.
   a. Canada
      <Tongnip> k’anada (1) / x / x
      <Cheguk> x / kanada (4) / k’aenada (6),
      <Taehan> x / kanada (9) / k’anada (4)
      <Kongnip> k’anada (1) / x / k’aenada (33),
   b. Mexico
      <Tongnip> x / x / x
      <Cheguk> same as CI / muksyóga (11), muksyóga (4), muksyóga (1) / x
      <Taehan> same as CI / muksyóga (1), muksyóga (4), maeks’úgo (2), maeks’úk’o (2)
      <Kongnip> same as CI / muksyóga (5) / maeks’úgo (8), maeks’úgo (4), maeks’úk’o (4), maeks’úk’o (3), maeksügo (1), meas’úk’o (1)

4. CONCLUSION

In summary, from our analyses of the variations in country names used in late 19th century textbooks in section 2, we found significant Japanese influences in all three faculty written textbooks. Directly transliterated words were used for most of the country names, but some Japanese and Chinese words were adopted for the names of traditional Sino-sphere members and the World Powers. From the patterns we discovered in our analysis of the variations of country names in early modern Korean newspapers in section 3, we found that most of the Sino-sphere country names were written using traditional forms, with the only exception being the word for China. On the other hand, the country names for the World Powers, such as was the case in the textbooks, were mostly indirect transliterations from Chinese. However, unlike the textbooks, we discovered many more abbreviated forms of country names in the newspapers. Lastly, for the names of other countries that were not closely related to Chosón, we found evidence of less degree of settlement with respect to the use of one particular word form compared to the names of the World Power and Sino-sphere countries.

The significance of this study lies in two aspects. First, in contrast to previous research that focused only on a single source material, this study targeted various types of materials in a comparative analysis of the variations in country names. It is also important to note that we took the unique characteristics of each source material into consideration. Second, in this study we not only compared the forms of country names extracted from various materials, but also conducted a quantitative analysis to compare the actual patterns of distribution and frequencies of country names.

Nonetheless, because this study focused only on discovering the patterns found in the variations of foreign country names used in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, further research is required on how such variations eventually undergo the unification process to become established in the language.

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