



Economic and Social Council

Distr.
LIMITED

E/CONF.79/INF/44
20 August 1987

ENGLISH ONLY

FIFTH UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE
STANDARDIZATION OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES
Montreal, 18-31 August 1987
Item 5(a) of the agenda

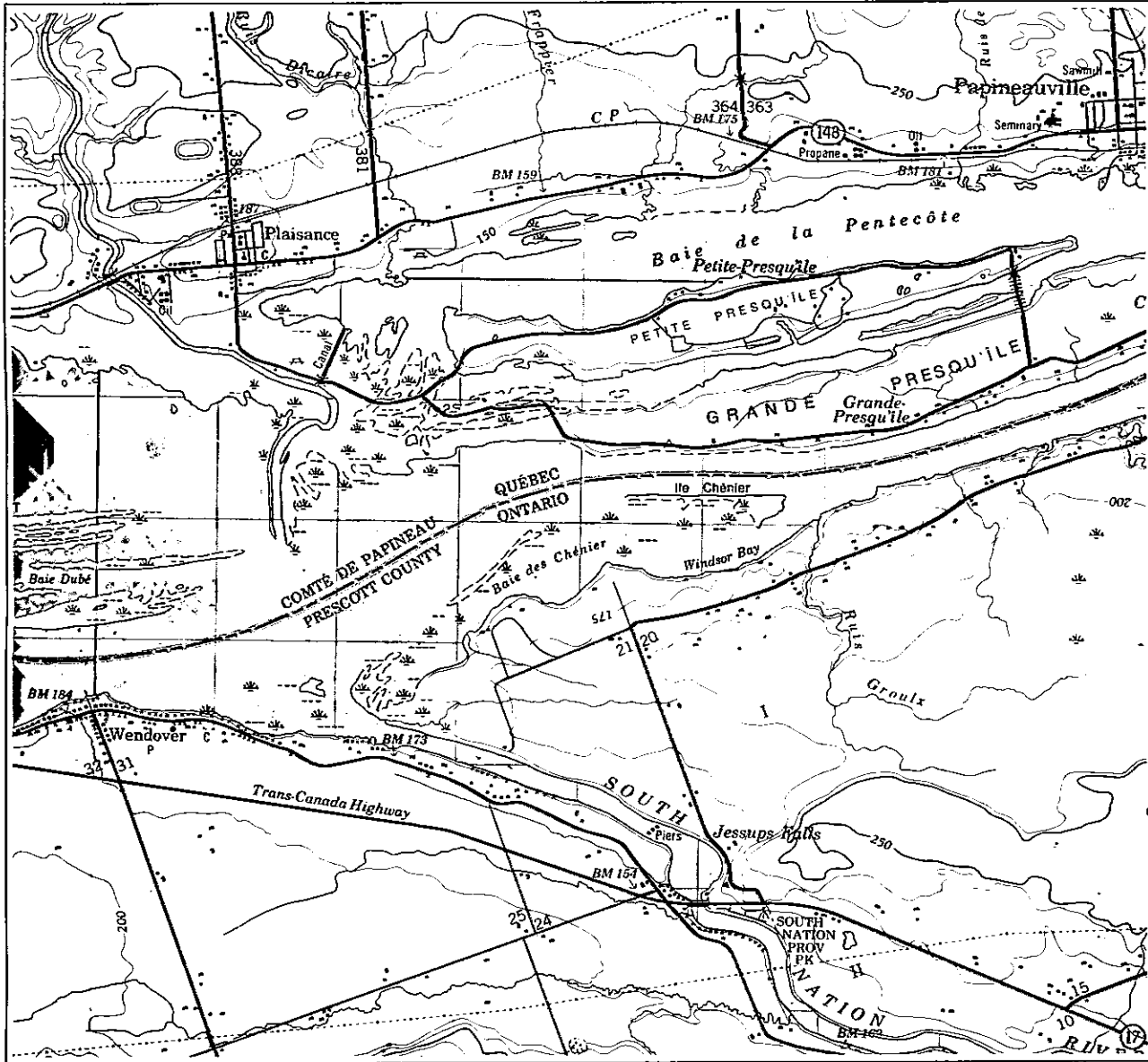
NATIONAL STANDARDIZATION
FIELD COLLECTION OF NAMES

A Manual for the Field Collection of
Geographical Names *

Paper submitted by Canada

* Prepared by H el ene Hudon

A Manual for the Field Collection of Geographical Names



Gouvernement du Québec
Commission de
toponymie



Ontario

Ministry of
Natural
Resources

Hon. Vincent G. Kerrio
Minister
Mary Mogford
Deputy Minister

A Manual for the Field Collection of Geographical Names

By H el ene Hudon

Adapted for use in
English by
L. M. Sebert

Qu ebec - Toronto, August 1987



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Printed in Ontario, Canada

Original edition
© Government of Québec, 1986
ISBN 2-55-1000-7-7

Single copies of this publication are available at
no charge from the Ontario Geographic Names Board,
Ministry of Natural Resources, 90 Sheppard Avenue East,
City of North York, Ontario M2N 6C1.

Acknowledgements

Written by Mme Hélène Hudon, this original text was
published in French by La Commission de toponymie du
Québec, 1986. Adapted by L.M. Sebert, Chairman, Ontario
Geographic Names Board, this booklet is a joint
undertaking of La Commission de toponymie du Québec
and the Ontario Geographic Names Board, 1987.
Cover map courtesy Energy, Mines and Resources Canada 31G/11, Ed. 4, 1976.

Preface

Québec and Ontario, when considered together, form a vast territory; but it is a territory with a very low geographical name density (averaging about one name per 16 square kilometres). The two provinces have quite different geographical name traditions, but in many respects they are comparable. Both provinces have a firm names base inherited from their mother countries in Europe, onto which names have been added from a minority culture (also European).

The names from the aboriginal people have always had an important place among the geographical names of the two provinces, and, although this tradition has been overlooked for some time, it is gradually resurfacing, particularly in the northern region of the provinces.

The similarity of the geographical name situation in Ontario and Québec is shown by the determination of the authorities in the two provinces to carry out a systematic inventory of their wealth of geographic names. This task will, of course, involve many participants, and it is because of this that the Manual for the Field Collection of Geographical Names has been published. This manual was originally written by

Madame Hélène Hudon for use in Québec; the English version was translated by Mr. L.M. Sebert and then modified slightly to make it suitable for use by English-speaking geographical name researchers in all parts of Canada. In the English version the various aspects of the application of names to a landscape have been illustrated by taking examples from both English and French geographical name situations. This bilingual approach should make this manual interesting to names specialists even beyond the borders of Canada.

Speaking personally, I am delighted, and applaud the dedication shown by the authorities of Ontario and Québec in undertaking the massive enterprise of compiling an inventory of the geographical names of the two provinces. This dedication is certainly demonstrated by useful and concrete projects such as the publication of this present manual.

Henri Dorion, Président
Commission de toponymie du Québec

Foreword

Ontario's 1977 publication: 'Naming Ontario: A Guide to the Collection of Geographical Names' stresses the importance of undertaking background research of the area in which a toponymic study is going to be made before going into the area. It suggests ways of finding suitable informants, and specifies how the interview should be carried out. Information is also given on the treatment of the toponymic data that has been gathered in the field. An interview questionnaire to be used with each informant rounds out the study.

We recommend Québec's 1965 and Ontario's 1977 studies on toponymic methodology, both of which have been amplified by the experience of field

techniques developed and tested in Québec, and found to be effective. These techniques have been set out in Hélène Hudon's 'Méthodologie des inventaires toponymiques' published in French in 1986, with the help of the personnel of the Commission de toponymie du Québec. It was conceived, written and furnished with examples of fieldwork problems, in the context of the predominantly French toponymy of Québec. This present work is an adaptation of Mme Hudon's manual for English-speaking Canadians.

Louis Sebert
Chairman
Ontario Geographic Names Board

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Introduction

This manual is a guide to the survey and study of geographical names, especially their usages and applications. Not only is it intended for persons specifically employed by government agencies, commissions and boards in the recording of geographical names, who normally are relied upon to provide information on the official status, linguistic and orthographic form of such names, but it is also designed to be useful as a reference work for land surveyors, hydrographers, geologists, ecologists and others whose work also brings them into close contact with particular areas, their waters, topography and communities familiar with the names given to and respected for local lakes, rivers, hills, islands, valleys and populated places.

Such a manual will prove to be of special interest and value to those whose official positions, occupations, and particular fields of research qualify them as local authorities possessing a special knowledge of geographical names. The official and systematic study of such information is proving to be more and more important as a vital part of the work of recording this component of our common cultural-linguistic heritage, including its promulgation as official standardized names for populated places and geographical features. Official names are used in both the public and private sectors. Government's role in this work is essential if this element of and monument to our national identity and history is to survive. This manual is the culmination of efforts on the part of experienced and dedicated geographical names authorities in Québec and Ontario, custodians of the legacy of geographical names inherited from what used to be the 19th century province of Canada and earlier Nouvelle France, whose objective it was, and remains, that this unique facet of our common cultural heritage does indeed remain with us.

Names given, in the course of time, to topographical features and populated places have always represented a vital part of the information contained in and provided by our official maps, charts and gazetteers. A roadmap, hydrographic chart or topographic map devoid and bereft of geographical names would present a puzzling document indeed, not unlike a hypothetical digitized telephone directory without names for people, companies, streets, avenues, squares or populated places. The familiar guideposts which one instinctively looks for on picking up such a reference would be entirely missing. It is, therefore, quite essential that the names depicted on our maps and related documents correspond as nearly as possible, in written form and pronunciation, with those used by residents of the areas in question. A traveller naturally wants the names shown on his map to be the same as those indicated on signposts and spoken by

persons in a given region when asking directions, or using his map to find his way to where he wants to go and get back to where he came from.

Even among persons who know an area well, local names remain the commonly used references in informal discourse concerning places and features. In the vast reaches of the uninhabited North, names of lakes, islands, rivers and even surveyors' lines serve as the essential geographical references and landmarks in the absence of populated places. In settled parts of Canada it is the names of hamlets, summer communities, villages and towns together with other populated places which are normally the important cartographic reference points.

Even beyond everyday use in such publications as roadmaps, hydrographic charts, train, bus, ferry and airline timetables, geographical names represent and form part of the basic geographical reference to an area's historical and cultural-linguistic heritage, and serve as a lasting memorial to its ethnographic past and demographic present. They testify to the character, sense of purpose and beliefs of a region's pioneers, explorers, missionaries and more recent community leaders, builders and developers. Names often enshrine the hopes and aspirations, some of which history records as fulfilled, some not, of our first settlers. Many names recall their hardships, their tragedies and their heroes.

Some did not survive the passage of time, having given way to the forces of bureaucratic and political precedence, not to mention demographic and linguistic change. However, even where official changes have been arbitrarily made, very often the local names will remain in use among the local communities, coming to light years later as a result of a toponymic survey, with submissions made to the appropriate names authority, and recommendations made for restoration of the original established and locally used toponyms once again to the official record.

The role of a geographical names authority is one of registrar of toponymic data and arbiter in matters concerning names and information on their local usage and application. Geographical names are differentiated on the basis of those which apply to topographic, hydrographic and other natural features and those which designate populated places, of which the incorporated variety have names set by statute. Names authorities provide advice on the selection of such names and maintain records of all such municipal decisions and amendments to those decisions, especially respecting boundaries, made by the municipalities as their populations grow and the need for amalgamation or redefinition of political

boundaries is deemed necessary.

The secretariats of Québec's and Ontario's names authorities maintain files on name locations, histories, status, derivations and, where appropriate, parallel or recognized alternate forms and meanings and local pronunciations, etc. within their respective areas as recorded, compiled and processed over the years. Such documentation is maintained by official authority to provide up-to-date information for government, private map and atlas publishers, journalists, writers, librarians, universities and all who require accurate and official data on geographical nomenclature and what it applies to.

At present Ontario and Québec maintain official records on approximately 450,000 geographical names, with every indication that there may be many more in the oral tradition yet to be recorded for entry into the respective provincial data base. It is essential that such data be kept up-to-date to be in step with the needs of users in the public and private sectors, particularly in the area of contemporary digitized mapping and automated data-bases. In response to mounting demands for realistic guidelines consistent with contemporary needs, especially in policy fields affecting language treatment, Québec and Ontario have produced a number of publications which address such themes as naming principles and procedures; official and unofficial usage; univocity in multilingual environments and the methodology of names surveys in the field. Also addressed is the rationale for according linguistic priorities in official name treatment. Two publications of particular significance in this regard deserve special mention.

In 1965 Québec geographer and toponymist, Jean Poirier, at that time secrétaire to the Commission de Géographie du Québec (1912 - 1977), published his 'Toponymie. Méthode d'enquête' (Presses de l'Université Laval). The work provides an overview of the documentary, scientific and technical ramifications of toponymy as a discipline. Toponymy is defined as the technical term for the systematic (sometimes etymological) study of the geographical names of a region. M. Poirier argues convincingly for the field interview and survey over the office-based investigation as the most trustworthy means of obtaining accurate data on name usage, variants, alternate or parallel forms and application (in terms of features named) for a given area.

The author identifies the qualities which he believes go into the making of the successful field toponymist. He identifies other qualities to be looked for in the informants on whom the toponymist must depend for the sought for field information. M. Poirier outlines and describes the various categories of toponymic data which he argues for recording in the field and inclusion in the official record.

published in 1977 by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources. Now out of print, the work is entitled 'Naming Ontario: A Guide to the Collection of Geographic Names.' The OGNB Secretariat at that time was made up of carto-toponymists: W.H. Chan; D.K. Cunningham; P.J. Roulston; A.T. Shaw and M.B. Smart. In addition to being a guide, the work is a methodology for the official treatment of toponymic information. As such it addresses the perceived needs of Ontario government personnel in the North who live close to the resources and in the areas which they manage and administer, and for whom accurate and official geographical names, and associated information, are vital to effective management and administration; thus according a priority to its timely processing by the Board.

The Ontario field manual underscores the importance of carefully researching existing documentation on a given survey area before actual work is undertaken in the field. As outlined in Jean Poirier's 1965 publication, the 1977 work defines the qualifications to be looked for in informants in obtaining information on local name usage and application.

The new manual is a translation and adaptation of the 1986 publication by Hélène Hudon published by the Commission de toponymie du Québec under the title 'Méthodologie des inventaires toponymiques.' Both the translation and the pan-Canadian adaptation for English-speaking users across Canada - indeed throughout North America - is the work of Ontario Geographic Names Board chairman, Louis M. Sebert. Editorial assistance was generously provided by Henri Dorion and Jean Poirier of the Commission de toponymie and the English language adaptation of the 1986 Québec manual went to press in 1987 in time to be included in the Canadian exhibit at the Fifth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names in Montréal, 18 - 31 August.

We are confident that the Québec-Ontario document will be well received throughout North America wherever geographical names are recorded for use by government, or the subject of research on the part of those who perceive toponymy as a vital component of our common linguistic and cultural heritage.

Michael B. Smart, Executive Secretary
Ontario Geographic Names Board
Ministry of Natural Resources
Queen's Park, Toronto

Note: Throughout this text such terms as toponymist, researcher, investigator, and informant, refer equally to men and women. In the use of pronouns it would be cumbersome to methodically use "he or she" and "him or her" in all cases. Therefore it must be clearly understood that whenever "he" or "him" are used, the

1. The purpose of a geographical names survey

Is a field survey of placenames really necessary? Why can't the names in an area be gathered from old maps, guide books, local histories and other types of documentary sources? To answer these questions one must look at the whole concept of the naming of a landscape, and the reasons why some names in use today are not those found in historic documents, and why other features seem to have no names at all.

1.1 The General Use of Placenames

The basic and common need for placenames is to identify the local landmarks that are used by the people of the area in their day-to-day conversations. Many features in Canada were given their names many years, even centuries, ago; but new features that should have names are created every season. A farmer may dam a creek to form a pond for watering his cattle, another farmer may clear out a rather useless poplar forest to create a meadow. In the real-estate business summer resorts and country residential areas can be built with surprising rapidity to form what are essentially new communities. All of these features will be named, sooner or later, and it is important that the names given fall within certain limits of good taste and appropriateness (as will be discussed in later chapters), and that they are recorded by the provincial² names authority so that they can appear on the next edition of maps and in official documents.

1.2 The Cartographic Use of Placenames

As has been mentioned, placenames are a vital part of the information contained in a topographic map. In fact, when a sheet of a Canadian 1:50 000 series is examined, and on it only the very largest features are named, one knows immediately that the area depicted must be far from settled regions and have few if any inhabitants.

The scale of a map has a direct bearing on the size and number of the features that should be named on the map. On a 1:250 000 scale map, where one centimetre on the map represents 2.5 kilometres on the ground, a small body of water 5 mm in diameter would not be named unless it occurred in a very dry desert-like region such as south-east Alberta. But the same lake (or pond) on a 1:10 000 map (1 cm = 100 m) is now

15 centimetres in diameter, and it can be seen on a map that several summer cottages have been built on its shore. Probably the owners have given their lake a name, which, if appropriate, should be endorsed by the provincial names authority and inscribed on the map.

By far the largest percentage of the placenames of Canada was first officially gathered and recorded during the initial mapping of the country at the medium map scales between 1:50 000 and 1:500 000. These names were collected conscientiously, but at times the work was hurried and inevitably mistakes were made. Subsequent editions of these maps carry the same names unless a names survey has been carried out in the area. Obviously these names should be checked to see that they are still used locally. Also the names of smaller features should be gathered because most provinces are conducting mapping operations at larger scales than the federal mapping. It follows that proper toponymic surveys should be instituted to see that truly established names gain official recognition.

1.3 The Collecting and Verification of Geographic Names

Each year various government agencies, para-government agencies or private businesses publish new maps of Canadian territory or revise out-of-date editions. Whether it is the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources (Ottawa), provincial departments or agencies, private map publishers, or others, the cartographic work done by these organizations must be checked, as far as placements are concerned, by the appropriate names authority.³

It can happen that the area of interest to one of these agencies may not have undergone a significant toponymic survey for a number of years. If it appears necessary to make a local placename inventory, personnel from the toponymic authority are sent into the field.

It also happens that, without waiting for outside requests, the toponymic authorities may decide to undertake research in a given area because the density of placenames seems low in relation to its toponymic

2. In this and the following chapters a reference to "province" or "provincial" also implies a reference to Yukon and the Northwest Territories which both have their own placename authorities.

3. The term "names authority" has been used to cover the various names agencies in the federal and provincial governments (names boards, commissions, committees) and the position they report to, generally a cabinet minister.

potential, (because of many unnamed features, the possibility that new entities had been created, etc.). The authority could also decide to carry out a regional study of a linguistic type, for example to determine the toponymic usage (French, English or native languages) in a given area, or for many other reasons.

The first aim of a field placename survey is to note and record the well established names in the area. Those that have previously been used on official maps will be checked to see if they are still in use. Those of smaller features that have not been shown previously on topographic maps will be researched so that their history, period of use, meaning, etc. can be recorded. Field research provides at times an increase of up to 500% in the density of the names on a map. It is important to stress that each field study must record the current usage of names, both the new names and those previously recorded, in the way this usage exists in the homes and the workplaces of the local population.

But it must be emphasized that a placename survey has benefits beyond simply providing names for maps and enlarging the province's toponymic data-bank. The field study allows the gathering of valuable historic and linguistic information that is useful in understanding the area by those carrying out specific research programs in such fields as resource development, geology, archeology, ethnology, local history and linguistics.

The verification of previously recorded names is an important part of the survey. Investigations in Ontario, Québec and Nova Scotia have shown that in certain areas about 20% of the placenames appearing on official maps is no longer used by the local population. This can come about for many reasons. Marshes may dry up, ponds may grow into lakes, the ownership of an island may change hands; these and many other events may cause the local inhabitants to refer to a feature by a name different from that on recent maps. It can also happen that the application of a name varies according to the type of maps consulted (topographic, cadastral, road maps, etc.) or again according to their date of publication. Therefore it is important, during the survey, to conduct a careful examination of the names found on maps, on road and building signs, and in documents referring to the area.

The placename survey needs the careful and dedicated attention of the person carrying out the survey (called the "toponymist" in this manual). This person must collect the new names, verify the previously used names, and be certain to identify correctly the features to which they apply. Incidental to this he will carry out various types of research (historic, linguistic, anecdotal, geographic, folkloric) needed to determine the significance, origin, and usage of each placename. As will be seen in the following chapters, the collecting, verifying and officialization of placenames involves many disciplines to ensure that all aspects are systematically evaluated.

2. The training of a field toponymist

Toponymy is a discipline situated at the crossroads of many sciences. Thus, even though a placename survey depends mainly on geography, it is equally concerned with history and linguistics. The role that each of these realms of knowledge must play in a toponymic field study will now be explained in turn.

2.1 Geography

It seems obvious that when a field toponymist questions an informant, the interview must be conducted along lines that will produce accurate placename information. The main aim of the field study is of course to find out the exact name of a given geographic entity. However, because of the variety of landscapes, training in geography remains, if not essential, certainly desirable in the training of the toponymist if he is going to determine precisely the true nature of each feature named by his informant. In many instances during a field investigation, the toponymist must describe the landscape of the area to the informant in great detail. For example, most rivers divide into several tributaries up toward their headwaters. Which of these source streams properly carries the name of the river itself; and what are the others called? A careful description of the headwater area must be given if these names and streams are to be correctly sorted out. In another example, two small lakes lie side by side, and it is obviously important that the correct name be assigned to the proper lake. In both of these cases the situation would be clear if the toponymist could take his informant directly to the feature, but this is often impossible. By consulting his topographic map and then describing the lay-of-the-land to his informant, the toponymist can take the informant on a mental journey to the feature. Once there, he could check to verify that the informant has "followed" him. He could ask, for example, if the lake in question drains into another nearby lake that lies a short distance to the east. If the answer is yes, he could then enquire about the name of this second, lower, lake.

In addition to being able to describe accurately the local geographic landscape, the toponymist must be able to determine the exact nature of the entity for which a name is being sought. Consider the names **Rush Lake** or **Lac aux Herbes**; the names imply that the body of water may contain ample amounts of aquatic vegetation. Do the names refer to real lakes or more precisely to ponds or marshes? The toponymist will be better placed to make the distinction if he is trained in geography. The observations and understanding of a geographer trained in geomorphology and forestry can also allow him to trace the origin of certain placenames such as **Kettle Lake** (kettle: a cavity

in the shape of a caldron caused by the late melting of an ice mound in an accumulation plain), **Pillow Lake** (named because of the formations of pillow lava around its edge), **Lodge Pole Lake** (because pines of that species - *Pinus Contorta Douglas* - are the dominant tree in the area) or **La Fourche** (which designates the fork in a river where two tributaries come together).

To determine the exact nature of an entity, the toponymist has three options at his disposal: the evidence of the topographic map, the informant's description, and a visual inspection by actually visiting the feature. The researcher must be a good map reader and understand its symbols if he is going to ask his informant pertinent questions and identify the nature of the feature by his answers.⁴

In addition to locating the named feature on his map, the toponymist must also record the geographical coordinates of the feature (latitude and longitude), and often its map grid coordinates as well, so that the location of the feature can be entered correctly in gazetteers and computer data-bases. He must be able to do this with precision so that there is no confusion as to which is intended when two small identical features lie close together. At times the exact location of a feature can differ from one informant to another. If there is no consensus, the toponymist must be content to give the feature approximate coordinates. These are needed in the data base when further research is done in the area. He must always, in such cases, specify the uncertain nature of the coordinates.

If it is important to determine the exact nature and location of the feature, it is equally important to determine its extent. Linear features such as an esker or a beach have a beginning and an end, but these terminations are not always easily located. Where

4. As aids in the exact definition of the type of a geographic entity, the toponymist has at his disposal two official texts. In the French language there is the text titled *Terminologie géographique de la toponymie québécoise* published by the Commission de toponymie du Québec, which was produced in collaboration with the Commission de terminologie of the Office de la langue française. This work defines the geographical terms used to describe the various types of geographical features found in the landscape. The definitions in this text have been published in the *Québec Gazette* and thus have official status. For both English and French speaking Canadians the *Glossary of Generic Terms in Canada's Geographical Names: Glossaire des génériques en usage dans les noms géographiques du Canada*, published in 1987 by the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names and the Secretary of State, is a valuable reference manual.

exactly does **Keswick Beach**, on **Lake Simcoe**, start and where does it end? If one goes around the shore of **Lake Simcoe** one encounters 54 named beaches and 18 named points. If one makes a similar tour of **Île d'Anticosti** 88 named points and 120 named bays and coves are met, each seeming to merge with the next in line. Each of these features is named and each refers to a strip of shore, but where does one start and the previous end? These change-over points are usually well known locally, because in populated areas they affect postal and parcel delivery, but marking them on a new large-scale topographic map requires fieldwork. Similar "extent" problems occur with relief features. Is **Mount Templeman**, in British Columbia, part of the **Purcell Mountains** or is it one of the **Selkirks**? Are the **Collines d'Oka**, in Québec, part of the **Collines Montérégiennes** or not? These questions are important if the name of the larger collective feature is to be placed correctly on the map.

It can happen that a topographic map, because of its scale, does not show certain features, or a small area may be wrongly depicted because of a change in the topography. The toponymist can overcome these difficulties by making an enlarged sketch of the area and then adding the necessary map detail including the new names provided by his informant. Obviously some training in geography is valuable in such work.

The toponymist often finds several names in use for a single feature no matter what kind of terrain he may be working in. A descriptive name (**Clearwater Lake**, for example) may be used in parallel with the name of the owner of the land on which the feature lies (**Jones Lake**, for instance). The feature in the latter case may even have its name changed in step with the change of ownership of the land.

The frequency of double naming increases in mountainous areas. The people on one side of the mountain can give it a name quite different from the one used by the people on the other side, or those living in a neighbouring municipality. The toponymist must then question a larger number of informants in the different areas concerned. Also, when a feature is situated across a boundary (international or provincial) the name of the feature may change at the boundary. The **Rivière Harricana**, in Québec, becomes the **Harricanaw River** when it crosses into Ontario. When gathering data on such features it is desirable to pick up information from the neighbouring authorities regarding the name they are using for the feature.

Nevertheless, it is not only mountains and rivers that are prone to such ambiguities. The same situation can be encountered with other topographic features. For example, in the **Laurentides**, north of Montréal, there is a large lake situated in the municipality of **Saint-Hippolyte** which carries both the names **Lac Écho** and **Lac des Quatorze Îles**. The first name denotes the southern part of the lake while the other refers to the northern parts. This can be explained by the presence

illusion of two lakes instead of one, which is in fact the case.

Double naming is especially common in areas of multiple economic activity. To the north of Montréal, for example, the names of features can be different depending on the occupation of the person interviewed (farmer, forester, ski club operator, summer resort resident, etc.). A certain hill may be well known to skiers as **Suicide Hill**, but the local farmers would certainly not call it that.

Training in geography, or at least good understanding of the discipline, is almost indispensable in carrying out a high quality toponymic investigation.

2.2 History

All placenames have an historic dimension. In fact, one of the important facts to be ascertained about a placename is the length of time that the name has been known and used by the local inhabitants. A name recently given to a feature does not carry the weight of a name that has been in use for many years. Thus when several names exist for a feature, the toponymist must try to find the oldest and most widely used. He will try to find the first written evidence (i.e. the date at which it first appeared in a document or on a map). Very often it is the documentary use of a name that determines its true value, and it must be remembered that such authentic evidence is the best of all data collected. However, the date of the first use of a name must at times be only an approximation. This is particularly true in areas inhabited by native peoples where the oral tradition of names predominates. Despite some approximations it is useful to identify as closely as possible the first known use in order to evaluate the historical impact of the name. In starting out on the trail of written sources, the local informants can often help the toponymist by suggesting the location of documents that bear on the subject.

It happens that placenames go through changes over the years. The cause of this evolution is always of interest to toponymists because it generally indicates either a change in the local population or a change in the physical landscape. The case of the **Methye Portage** is an example of a population change. The **Methye Portage** was probably the most important of the portages on the long fur-trade canoe route from Montreal to the valley of the **Mackenzie River**. It was the link between the rivers flowing eastward across the **Prairies** and the route northward down the **Mackenzie**. It was used by the explorers going into the far northwest including **Peter Pond**, **Mackenzie**, **Franklin** and **Back**. It was mentioned in their journals and became known worldwide to those with an interest in exploration. "Methye" is the Cree word for the **Barbot**, a species of fish found in the vicinity. But the Cree moved away and their descendants, the **French**

La Loche, and that is what the portage is called today: **Portage La Loche**. In a way it is sad that a famous historical reference has disappeared from modern maps, but this cannot be helped. Local usage must prevail.

In another example, there was once a place on the *Rivière Saint-François* called by the Indians *Nikitotegwak*. By the beginning of the 18th century it was known as **Les Grandes Fourches**. Then with the colonization of the area by the Loyalists after the American Revolution it was rechristened *Sherbrooke*, the name by which it is called today.

It also happens that a placename changes because of a physical change in the feature. This may occur because of a change in the climate, the geology, the biology or the works of man. A lake can be transformed into a marsh or a marsh into a meadow. Sometimes a few houses are built between a scattering of homesteads, and a village is formed. A study of the successive editions of a topographic map will often reveal such changes. The study of the latest edition will, on the other hand, indicate new unnamed features (artificial lakes, new villages, etc.) that should be given special attention during the next field survey.

From the historical point of view, the toponymist wants to know after whom or what the feature was named. Certainly the people who live in the area are the best sources of this information. But the toponymist must not jump to conclusions. Just because an Ontario hamlet is called **Glen Miller**, it should not be presumed that it was named after the illustrious American orchestra leader. In fact it was so named because it is in a small valley where years ago a grist mill was operated. Similarly, in Québec, if an informant states that a hill is named **Mont à Wilfrid Pelletier**, it should not be immediately concluded that the hill was named after the owner of the land, or it could even happen that it carries the name of a hermit who has made his home there.

To find the source of a name, the toponymist must question his informants very carefully. He must round out his research by combing available documents containing local history. In this regard village, township and county monographs occupy a special place because of the mass of local data that can be found in them. Local newspapers, tourist folders, and other similar sources can turn out to be rich in placename information. Even local legends at times carry certain clues concerning the origin of local placenames, but here one must be cautious for this type of source includes many suggestions that are really "make-believe" or pure invention.

It often happens that the concerns of the historian and the linguist join to complement one another. For example, the spelling of the French placename **Ruisseau des Plantes** will indicate whether the stream was named after the *Plante* family (in which case the "s" will be left off) or because of the luxurious

vegetation on its banks (in which case the "s" will be included).

Transformation, or even the simple substitution of a placename (such as happened in the case of the **Methye Portage**) requires explanation by the historian and the linguist. Actually, enquiries in the field often bring to light linguistic modifications that take place over time to placenames in area that pass from one language to another, or provide evidence of a dialect peculiar to the area. Also, names can disappear and be replaced by others for a variety of reasons. The local authorities, or the people themselves, seem often to be the cause of these substitutions, possibly to honour the memory of a person who made his mark locally by promoting tourist vacations in the area, or for some similar reason.

Some linguistic changes are rather amusing, such as **Doncaster** becoming known as **Dans-le-Castor**, or **Somerset** turning into **Saint-Mauricette**. One suspects a sense of humour in the local inhabitants.

During the compiling of an inventory of placenames of an area, the toponymist must not carry preconceived value judgements on the names supplied by his informants. Only the sum of all data gathered will allow him to recommend a choice of names if more than one exists for a feature, or the inclusion of a new name on the provincial list of approved names.

In short, even if he does not always succeed in tracing the exact origin and the precise length of time that a name has been in use, the historian can, as a result of his research, submit the best possible resolution to certain problem cases.

2.3 Linguistics

In addition to geography and history, the science of linguistics holds a fundamental place in toponymy. In fact, the resources of this discipline enable the toponymist to specify in most cases the language of the placename, to note its pronunciation, to trace its origin and meaning, and to be appreciative of its syntax. The toponymist who has found the placename **Gog**, for example, would try to find what language it came from. Such a search would be complicated right from the start if he did not know if the word was a common noun in some language, or if it referred to a family or biblical name, or if it came from the English tale of **Gog and Magog**. Other obscure placenames may be the name of a foreign place or even an onomatopoeic word.

A placename consists of a specific element and, usually, a generic element. In the toponym **Bow River**, the specific is "Bow". The generic, "River", identifies the type of feature named "Bow". It sometimes happens that the local population is in the habit of dropping the generic, as in the case of **The Big Rideau** when **Big Rideau Lake** is meant. In other cases the

placename itself does not carry a generic, as in *The Needles* (a narrow water passage in British Columbia) or that charming Québec placename *Le Nombrit à Simonne* (Simonne's Belly Button) which really is a small island.

In the case of rivers with French names, the toponymist should pay attention to the gender attributed to the river when the generic is not used. *Rivière* is of course feminine, but in some cases the river itself has taken on a masculine gender (as in the case of *La Rivière Saguenay* which is referred to locally as *Le Saguenay*). The toponymist should record which gender is used with a river when the generic is dropped.

The toponymist must gather all forms of a name given by informants, even trivial variations of the name. He will therefore record *Chaffey's Locks*, *Chaffey's Lock*, *Chaffey Locks*, even though the difference is minor and the local inhabitants cannot agree on which is correct. The spelling of Scottish and Irish family names must be carefully checked because of small variations in the spelling (*McClellan*, *McLellan*, *McClelland*, *MacLellan*, etc.). Québec also has its variations on a toponym (*Lac Jean*, *Lac à Jean*, *Lac à Ti Jean*, *Lac à Jean Laberge*, *Lac Laberge*, etc.) There are many other examples.

The researcher must take into account the dialect forms, especially where generics are concerned: "crick" in the sense of creek, or "branch" in the sense of a river tributary. There is a distinction between a swamp and a marsh (strictly speaking a marsh is open wet ground while a swamp is wet ground with trees), but this distinction is not always observed. The local usage must be recorded. In French "marche" is sometimes found as the generic for an area of wet ground. In such cases it is derived from the English "marsh" and is used in place of the more correct "marais".

Pronunciation can at times reveal the linguistic roots of a placename. For example, the name *Matagami-Station*, in *Nouveau-Québec*, has the specific "Matagami" from the Amerindian tongue. However, one does not know if "Station" comes from the French or English. The pronunciation (STA-sihon or STAY-shuhn) makes it easy to identify the linguistic root of the term. Other examples: the pronunciation of "table" or "centre" reveals whether the specific is of French or English origin. Care must be taken in the case of "crique" or "creek" because here the pronunciation is much the same in both languages.

At times a place name is pronounced with an accent borrowed from another language, such as *Le Brûlé*, a toponym found in *Estrie* that is pronounced in the English fashion by Anglophones but which, nevertheless has not lost its French character. The area within the City of Toronto called *Baby Point* is

way (BAY-bee) by others. In fact this prominent point on the *Humber River* was named after James Baby who was appointed a judge by Governor Simcoe. Although English, Baby pronounced his name in the French fashion.

Correct pronunciation of course helps to maintain the memory of the person honoured by the naming of the place. For example, *Lac Joannes* (pronounced zho-an-ES) in the *Temiscamingue* region of Québec, is often pronounced as though it were spelled *Lac Joanne* (pronounced dzo-AN). *Joannes* refers to the name of a township proclaimed on December 9th, 1916, after the name of a captain in the *Languedoc Regiment of Montcalm's Army*. Gradually the name has been transformed to *Joanne* (in honour of who knows?)! Given time the local people, in good faith, will invent some sort of justification for the replacement.

The pronunciation of a placename can sometimes provide evidence of a regional dialect. Thus the people of *Anticosti* refer orally to "Cap de l'Aise" instead of the official name *Cap de l'Est*. The toponymist must take into account the local pronunciation when he records the spelling of the name to avoid misunderstanding.

In *Newfoundland* many words that were originally French have been pronounced in the English fashion for so long that they have taken on a new spelling, and at times a new meaning. For example, *Lancy Lou* was originally *L'Anse au Loup* (Wolf's Cove) and *L'Anse aux Meadows* was on the old French charts *L'Anse aux Meduses* (Jellyfish Cove). In the case of *Bay d'Espoir* (which is pronounced "Bay Despair") the meaning has been changed from Hope to Without Hope! Similarly *Cap d'Espoir*, near *Gaspe*, Québec, which is the original and proper name of the place, is written *Cape Despair* on many old maps and documents.

Thanks to these examples it can be seen that the simplest way for the toponymist to record such names in the field is first of all to spell them according to the rules of spelling of the language of the name, which generally is the local language. This, however, often appears to be imprecise and does not always convey the real situation. It is clearly preferable to use a standardized phonetic alphabet which functions by representing phonetically the sounds of a name without reference to its spelling. Of course in recording the pronunciation of native names that have not been transliterated into the Roman alphabet such a phonetic alphabet must be used. In many countries the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet), widely adopted in 1926, is used for this purpose. In the English speaking world, some prefer using a simpler but effective phonetic system that field researchers could use. The IPA system and the *Simplified Pronunciation Guide for Geographic Names* proposed by the United States Board on Geographic Names,

toponymists to be given a special course before going into the field so that they can adequately transcribe certain phonemes.

When a toponymist gets to the processing of the placenames gathered and verified, he must indicate for each one the linguistic code which identifies the linguistic origin of the placename. The code should allow the identification of each element of the name if they differ linguistically. If generic terms in more than one language exist in a given territory, the linguistic code should also indicate the origin of those terms. Appendix B in this manual gives the linguistic code used by the Commission de toponymie du Québec.

It should be noted that in multilingual areas the toponymist must interview representatives of each linguistic group. As the question of certain names could become delicate when the time comes to make one form or the other official, it is always wise to accumulate as much data as possible concerning the different appellations.

The linguist is concerned with the etymology and meaning of placenames. It must be stressed that in many cases the origin of a name is far from clear, and in some instances a considerable amount of research is needed to uncover the true significance of a placename. Sometimes the origin of a name is so completely hidden that the talents of a cryptographer are needed to unravel it. When the Mormons settled in Southern Alberta they wanted to name their main town **Tabernacle**, but the authorities considered this much too profane. However, they did agree that the town could be called **Taber**. A short time later the Mormons asked if they could name a second town **Elcan**. The authorities had no objection to this, not noticing that this was the rest of the word **Tabernacle** spelled backward. So "**Tabernacle**" was inscribed on the map of Alberta, and no one was disturbed.

As Jean-Yves Dugas mentions, in his paper presented in 1984 at the **First International Congress on French Toponymy in North America**, "Etymology permits the establishment of relationships between a language's totality and its oldest roots. This is sharply revealed through the deciphering of many toponymic mysteries."⁵ He goes on to say that semantics (the science of the meaning of words) is closely tied to etymology, and thus there is a need for its involvement in toponymic matters. "Who better than the semantics expert can resolve the delicate problems unearthed by polysemantics (the study of ambiguity in words), neologisms (newly coined words), acronyms (words formed from the initial letters of a group of words)...., as in **Lac du Loup** (**Loup**: animal, mask, beauty mark), **Ruisseau de l'Érablier** (**Érablier**: neologism for sugar maple), **Arvida** (acronym formed by elements from the name Arthur Vining Davis), or **Lac C.I.P.** (acronym for Canadian International Paper)".

Moreover, it must be stressed that the origin and the meaning of a toponym are often intermingled. There

is a good reason, nevertheless, to decipher them.

The origin of a placename goes back to the reason for the naming that prevailed at that time. The creation of a placename can be explained by the presence of various characteristics in the name, such as:

- the physical peculiarities of the natural setting: **Lac des Cèdres** (Québec), **Cedarvale** (British Columbia);
- an anecdote: **Rivière Bay-le-Diable** ("Beat-the-Devil River" in Québec), **Rapids of the Drowned** (Northwest Territories);
- a legend: **Anse-Pleureuse** (Québec), **Forbidden Plateau** (British Columbia);
- an historic event: **Chemin des Patriotes** (Québec), **Battleford** (Saskatchewan).

As for the significance or meaning of a toponym, one must examine the literal meaning of the word. For example, **Chicoutai** in **Lac Chicoutai** (also spelled **Chicouté**) is the native name for a little fruit resembling the raspberry that is found in certain parts of Québec. The meaning is clear, but why was that name given to the lake? Unlike, **Yamachiche** means "Muddy River", but here its origin is evident because of its environment and the nature of its bed.

It is not always possible to determine with certainty the origin and meaning of a toponym. For example **Lac Creux** can mean "Deep Lake", "Trough Lake" or "Remote Lake". The first meaning could lead one to think that the water is deep, but actually it is quite shallow. One could lead one to think that the name had been given because it is far from places frequented by people; or again because it is hard to reach. If none of these reasons apply, one just does not know why it was named thus.

It sometimes happens that the placename assumes a completely different meaning over the years, or that it suggests the absence of a given element by way of contrast. For example, **Lac Caribou** has been thus named because the nature of the area is absolutely unsuited to the life of that animal, and the sight of a caribou in the area was a remarkable event worthy of giving the name to the lake. Such a case, which occurs frequently in toponymy, is called a "relative negative".

The linguist, always attentive to the syntax of toponymy, notes shades of meaning in word order and in word use. **Ripple Mountain** in British Columbia, would never be called "Mount Ripple", yet **Mount Laurier**, also in British Columbia, is never called "Laurier Mountain". In French there is a subtle

5. Jean-Yves Dugas, "Linguistique, une discipline indispensable à la toponymie?" In 450 ans de noms de lieux français en Amérique du Nord, Québec, Les Publications du Québec, 1986, pp 138 -145.

difference between Lac Caribou, Lac au Caribou and Lac du Caribou.

Finally, as with the geographer and historian, the linguist cannot be expected to have the answers to all questions about the origin and meaning of toponyms. He can, however, make a careful analysis of the facts and suggest several possibilities.

2.4 Research Skills

The final skill that a field toponymist should have is the ability to carry out local research into the toponyms of an area, and compile the results into a comprehensive and logical report. He must know the day-to-day activities in a county or municipal registry office, and know how to work with, and get help from, the permanent employees of these offices. He must know

the types of maps and files that are kept in such offices, and know which of these will provide authoritative placename information. He must be familiar with other sources of local history such as town libraries, church records and weekly newspaper files. He must be able to keep his research notes in good order so that when he returns to his headquarters he can provide the source, either the person or the document, of all information picked up in the field.

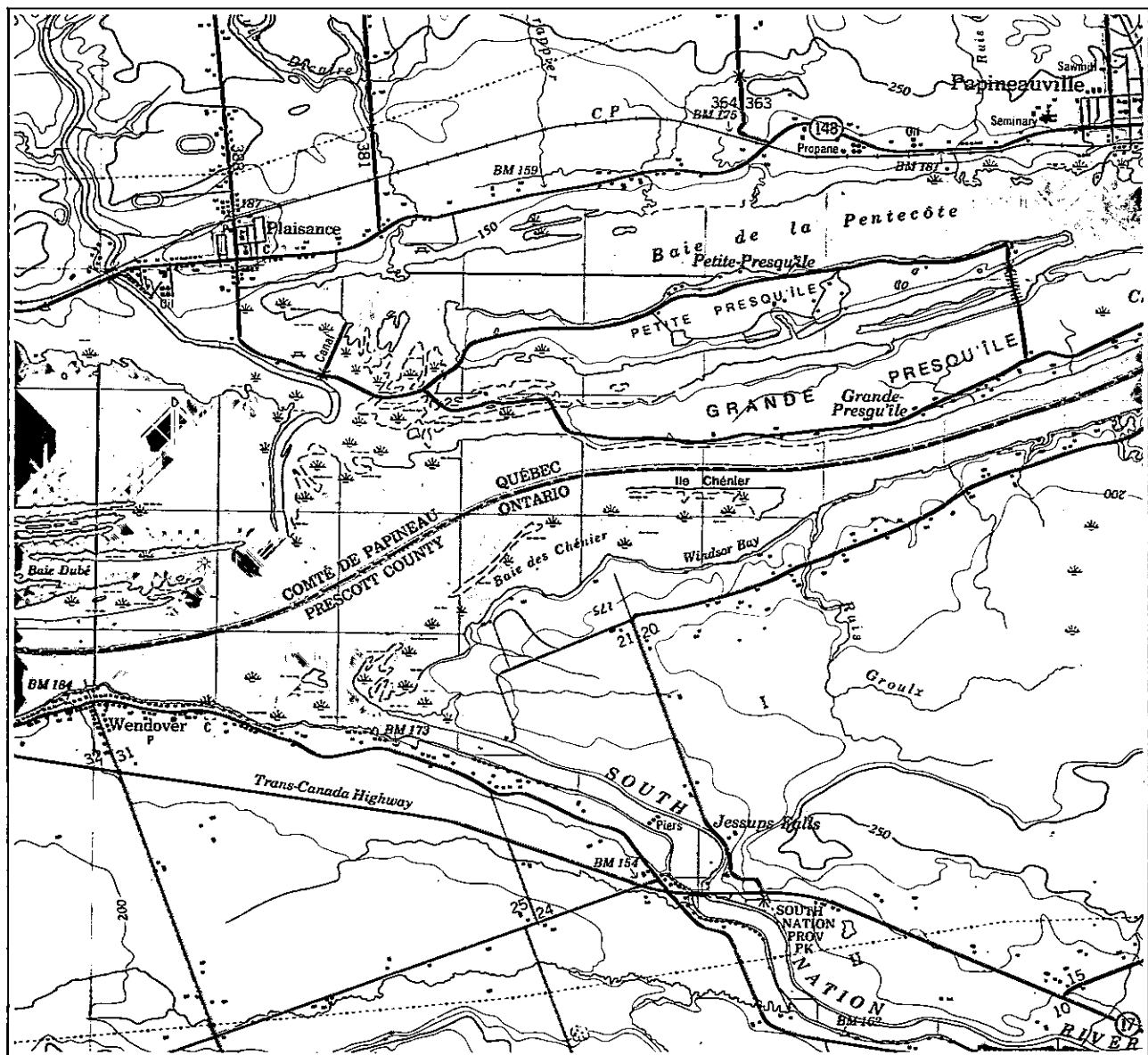
The toponymist does not have to be a genius with degrees in geography, history and linguistics. He must be genuinely interested in placenames, and he should be interested in people and rural community life. He should know the elements of good research and be able to compile complete and unambiguous data. These are skills that can be developed, and knowledge that can be acquired, by any intelligent person.

3. Preparing for a toponymic field investigation

Before setting out for the area in which toponymic fieldwork is to be done, the toponymist must collect all possible data that will help in his investigation. This very important preparatory phase will allow him to plan his work by alerting him to problem areas, and enabling him to compile a list of placenames that must be checked in the field. It has been found that such preliminary work prevents many futile journeys and interviews.

3.1 The Preliminary Study of the Area to be Researched

A detailed operational procedure has been developed by the Commission de toponymie du Québec for the preliminary study of a toponymic research area which may serve as a model for other agencies. It is based on preparing a 1:50 000 scale "working map" of the area and a project notebook. These two items are to be used together by the toponymist during the time he is



covering the area assigned to him. Before setting out he makes the following notations or underlinings on his map or in the notebook using coloured pencils or felt pens as appropriate:

- . The boundaries of municipalities (counties, rural municipalities, towns, villages, etc.) as shown on provincial maps or maps from Statistics Canada.
- . The names of main roads and streets. These can be found on city, town and county plans, and will be needed during expected interviews.
- . Placenames already listed in the latest gazetteer of the province. These will be underlined in red on the working map. If found in the gazetteer, but not on the working map, they will be written in and underlined in red.
- . Placenames registered in the data-base as variants or "alternate names". If not found already on the working map they will be written in. In either case they will be underlined in yellow.
- . New names not found in the gazetteer or in the data-base but discovered in documents or on other maps. These will be written in on the working map but not underlined. They will be listed, with their map coordinates, in the project notebook.
- . Questionable names, previously listed by the provincial geographic names office but assigned to the "Questionable" category because they appear to duplicate an official name, or for some other reason. These will be written, but not underlined, on the working map and listed in the project notebook for special investigation.
- . Other data found on township plans, county maps, tourist maps, etc. that will aid in the field research. This will include such items as lists of marinas, trailer parks, country general stores, etc.
- . Other data found in documents provided by provincial agencies that pertain to the area being researched.
- . D1, D2, D3, etc. indicates that the toponym was found in a written document (e.g. a monograph, a tourist folder, etc.) and is identified in the project notebook by the numbers 1, 2, 3, etc.
- . M1, M2, M3, etc. indicates that the name was found on a map during the preparatory phase, and is listed by number in the project notebook.
- . FPT indicates that the name appears in the "File of Popular Toponyms", a list of unofficial placenames (names of tourist camps, trailer parks, etc.) kept in the provincial geographic names office. Such a list has been found to be very useful by the Bureau de la statistique du Québec.

During the preparatory phase the toponymist must extract from the provincial toponymic files all the data available for the area of his names investigation. In addition to entering this data in the project notebook, it is useful to write it also on file cards, one card for each name. In this way the data can be sorted, feature by feature, so that all the names attributed to the same feature can be brought together.

The toponymist must add to the working map the names of streams found on maps of the provincial geological, forestry, agriculture and hydrological surveys. Most of these maps, in their most recent editions, are available from the provincial agencies mentioned or their regional offices.

The most recent topographic maps must be searched for new features that have not been given names (man-made lakes, housing developments, etc.). It is necessary to investigate these features in the field very carefully.

Finally the toponymist will check the files for the names of resource-persons who have been contacted previously and who have proved to be a valuable source of toponymic information. This step is necessary to help in finding good local informants, but also to conform with regulations concerning access to files of public agencies and the protection of personal records.

3.2 Equipment to be Taken into the Field

The area of the toponymic investigation is almost always covered by topographic maps of the 1:50 000 National Topographic System. Occasionally full coverage of the area will require several sheets. The researcher will therefore take with him into the field at least two sets of the full 1:50 000 coverage. In addition, he will take the following maps, documents and supplies:

When the toponymist transcribes the toponyms onto his working map, he should use one of the following letter codes to facilitate tracing the origin of the name information that he has assembled in the project notebook:

- . R signifies that the information was found in the provincial geographic names records, either written in a card file or in a computer

- . The 1:50 000 working map prepared according to the instructions given in Section 3.1. This map will be used daily to record field information while it is being collected.
- . Topographic maps of areas adjacent to that being investigated. Many features run beyond the neatline of the enquiry working map, and informants can often give valuable information about placenames found on these adjacent sheets.
- . Topographic and other official maps at scales of 1:25 000 or 1:20 000 if available, especially for built-up areas.
- . The most recent road map of the province.
- . The names and addresses of village, town and municipal clerks. These are available from the provincial offices of municipal affairs, but it should be noted that even the most recent editions of such lists are often out-of-date and should be corrected in the field.
- . A list of hunting and fishing outfitters, which is available from the ministry that looks after tourism and/or hunting and fishing.
- . A list of addresses of regional provincial offices in or near the research area.
- . A directory of hotels, motels, lodges, etc.
- . The project notebook.
- . A sketch pad.
- . A camera (optional)
- . A tape-recorder (optional). If one is used, care must be taken its use to ensure that it does not disturb the informant and make him less willing to express his views on local toponyms.
- . Assorted other equipment such as a map board, pens, felt-pens, crayons, erasers, ruler, etc.

3.3 The Preparation of the Toponymist's "Frame of Mind"

If the technical preparation for the fieldwork is important, the "psychological" preparation of the researcher is no less so.

In fact, the role of the toponymist seems, in a certain way and within strict limits, to be that of a detective. It follows therefore that in certain ways the researcher must begin to think like a detective. Even before starting to gather new toponyms, the toponymist must

first conduct a systematic examination of the facts at his disposal concerning the location, usage, spelling and even the pertinence of the geographic names of his area. Of course this verification must be done right on the ground.

Take, for example, the toponym *Rivière la Fleur*, an official name given to a watercourse: is it really applicable in its present form to the river in question? Its present spelling indicates that it was given to the river because of a certain flower that grows on its banks. But what if it was really named after Mr. Lafleur who owns the farm through which it flows? In this case the spelling should be corrected to reflect the proper source of the name. On the other hand, if the name comes from a certain flower that thrives along its banks, should not this flower be identified in the toponymic record? These are the detective-like questions that should enter the toponymist's mind.

Family names are often used a toponyms, and very often confusion regarding the source can result. Some years ago it was wanted to commemorate a famous topographer, Henry West, by naming a bay on a lake in northern Saskatchewan after him. A bay was selected and called West Bay until foresters working in the area pointed out that the bay was not at the west end of the lake. The bay was finally named Wests Bay after both Henry and his father Inspector Harfield West, R.N.W.M.P., to avoid confusion.

When a toponym is investigated, the researcher must try to find out how well known the name is. Is it known to many people in the area, to just a few, or possibly to none at all? How widely known is the name? Is it known 10 kilometres away or possibly more? How long has the placename been used, for two years, or possibly for at least twenty? These are questions that the toponymist must be prepared to ask his informants without sounding too much like a detective.

A question that the toponymist must ask himself concerns the appropriateness of the toponym. It may be found that a watercourse widely known as a river is really nothing more than a brook. *Rivière du Moulin*, on *Île d'Orléans*, is in fact a brook (ruisseau). The reverse can also happen. One of the largest rivers in western Canada was once known as *Kicking Horse Creek*, but because of its size and importance its name was changed some years ago to *Kicking Horse River*. (The specific of the name comes from an incident during the Palleser Expedition on its way through the *Rocky Mountains* in 1858. One of the pack-horses put on a display of ill-tempered kicking that was sufficiently memorable to give the newly discovered turbulent river its name.

It is important during the investigation to look for these questions and search out the clues that will supply the answers.

The psychological preparation of the toponymist continues when he arrives in the investigation area and while he is travelling from one interview to another. In order to prepare himself for an interview he consults his topographic map. In this way he memorizes the countryside, the relief characteristics, the location of certain public buildings, etc. that are depicted on his map. This will greatly facilitate the task during the interview and will allow him to note quickly on his map the data given by the informant. If the toponymist shows that he has a good knowledge of the informant's home ground, the latter will feel more confident and will perceive the interviewer almost as a fellow resident of the area.

3.4 Anticipated Difficulties

In addition to the aspects already outlined, the toponymist must anticipate, before and during his investigation, various circumstances. The first day of the investigation is always the most difficult. It is a period of becoming familiar with the physical, toponymic and social environment. There are certain to be disappointments for a number of reasons:

- . two or three informants in succession will not be available,
- . an informant more sought-after than others, having been described as a "rare pearl", turns out to be of poor quality from a toponymic point of view,
- . on certain days the quality and quantity of information seems especially disappointing.

In urban areas, in particular, it is necessary to interview many informants before really useful data is obtained; and even then such data is often applicable to only a small part of the town or city.

Some informants put one's patience to the test because they waste time by running the conversation to nebulous topics that have nothing to do with the geographic names of the areas. But the toponymist-interviewer must never show his annoyance. In some way he must find a diplomatic way to bring the interview to a close.

The days will at times seem long, especially so when at the end of the day it is necessary to compile and transcribe the data gathered onto a clean copy of the topographic map that still lacks the handwritten information picked up during the course of the day's work.

It is necessary to gather the maximum amount of information in a limited time, even though the toponymist can tell in almost every case that with more time he could gather much more information. As with all research work, it would be possible and interesting to extend the work a little further. It is useful to note that, on an average, five to seven days are needed to cover the territory mapped on a standard 1:50 000 NTS sheet, even though at times, for various reasons, it is possible to update the names on five or six of these sheets in the same length of time.

Despite all efforts employed, certain toponymic problem cases remain without an apparent solution because the data given by different informants does not agree, and the documents consulted remain mute on the subject.

Insofar as it is essential and wise to be prepared for these very difficult periods, one must certainly not think that a toponymic investigation is sprinkled with ambushes. Most of the time one meets very helpful informants who put the researcher on the right path, and let him forget the little problems he meets occasionally. Generally speaking, the researcher will end the investigation of his area with a very satisfying amount of information.

4. The finding of good informants

It is quite exceptional to be able to encounter the ideal informant, but there are steps that can be taken to locate people with a good store of toponymic knowledge, and among them the "gem" is sometimes found. The task of finding such a person in the urban environment is more difficult because city dwellers are mobile, and as a consequence are less well acquainted with their physical environment than people in rural areas.

In contrast with other types of studies (sociological, economic, etc.), it is generally impossible to conduct a toponymic enquiry in a systematic manner. One could not, for example, pick out informants by a sampling technique no matter what base criteria were used (alphabetical order of surnames, age, social position, etc.). What must be done is to find people who are well acquainted with their area and who, consciously or not, have an interest in the placenames of their area. There are probably few better ways of finding such people other than searching them out in the investigation area during the course of the fieldwork.

4.1 Local Authorities

Normally when an investigation is being conducted in a municipality, the first person to contact is a municipal office. Most often this is the person occupying the position of town clerk or municipal registrar. These people do not necessarily know all the geographic names of the area, but they frequently have in their possessions maps that give the toponymist the information he needs (municipal maps, cadastral plans, planning maps, tourist maps and the like). They can also, for example, furnish the names of new subdivisions. In addition, in areas where recreational or touristic development is intense, the municipal clerk will be in a position to indicate the locale and name of seasonal communities and recently created ski resorts or artificial lakes. It does happen that such facilities are often not shown on even the most recent topographic maps.

The opposite phenomenon occurs as well, i.e. the disappearance of features. For example, the creation or removal of a dam can dry up a lake or completely change its shape. A stream may no longer be visible because of underground drainage. Also, after the people leave, a hamlet can disappear for all intents and purposes.

Other official persons can be good informants: a priest or minister, the mayor, the notary public, the postmaster, a representative of the local historical society or the committee for the promotion of tourism. There may even be a local placenames committee.

Even if some of these people cannot furnish toponymic information, their occupations always put them in contact with many of their fellow citizens. They are therefore able to point out people who would most likely be able to cooperate with the toponymist and help his investigation.

When an area is under the control of an agency, as would be the case of a national or provincial park, or in Québec a "Controlled development zone" (ZEC), it is always necessary to contact a representative of the agency. It is preferable to make this contact well in advance in order to meet the people best fitted to provide the required data. Such persons can give the toponymist information on the placenames being used by the agency, point out certain "names" problems they would like cleared up (a case of names duplication, for example) and furnish documentation and other evidence to confirm the validity of any new names collected. It must be noted that these new names must be submitted to the agency concerned, and accepted by that agency, before they are made official by the provincial geographic names authority.

4.2 The Local Population

Among the local population it is best to contact people who have travelled widely in the area, or are still doing so, whether for professional reasons or personal interests. Old people who are native to the area generally furnish the most interesting data concerning the origin and meaning of placenames. They know of the pioneers and remember the placenames, the events and the anecdotes attached to them.

One fact remains remarkable in this category of informant: the old people show more interest and have a better memory of events that they heard about or experienced in their youth than they have for recent happenings. They really prefer to talk about events that were told to them by their parents, or even their grandparents. These people often pass on precious data on the minor history of toponyms. A visit to an old people's home can be profitable. Old folks, still in good health and who know the area, take pleasure in passing on what they know about their countryside.

Other types of people also merit a visit: a storekeeper who has dealt with the farmers of the area; a former mayor who held the position for many years; a fisherman's widow who knows the names of all the features along the river.

Among the people who gather in the general store, in the garage, or slowly drink their coffee in the corner restaurant, there may be found a valuable source of toponymic information. Sometimes the questions

posed by the toponymist lead these people to compare their knowledge, and little arguments start up about the names of certain features. This can provide an excellent way to compile data on the usage of the names of the area.

While he is passing through the area the toponymist can question a passer-by about nearby features for which he is having difficulty in finding a name. In the same way it can be of interest to stop for the moment at the home of a farmer who may know little of the toponymy of the general area, but who can give pertinent information about the stream that flows across his land.

However, it is not always the inhabitants nearest the feature who provide the best information on its name. According to a certain Mr. Collins, for example, the lake on his farm has no name, but without his knowledge all his neighbours call it **Collins Pond**.

Finally, in an area with few or no inhabitants, but nevertheless accessible by boat or plane, conservation officers, fishermen, hunters and trappers often constitute informants without equal because their placenames knowledge extends over vast areas. When an informant is found whose knowledge extends beyond the area of the present investigation, his name and address should be sent to the provincial geographic names office, so that he can be contacted during the next investigation in the locality.

4.3 Amerindian and Inuit Areas

In aboriginal areas it is important that the toponymist first contact the Band Council and the political organization that exercises jurisdiction over the area where the placename investigation is taking place. It is most desirable that the natives themselves participate actively in the names research work. They can provide information themselves, but they are also in a position to know which of the elderly people of their community are most likely to provide good toponymic data.

Native people follow a particular rhythm of life, which to them is right and proper, and which the toponymist must respect and conform to if he is going to get whole-hearted cooperation from them during his research.

4.4 The Number of Informants to be Contacted

In general, the toponymist should not be satisfied with information provided by a single informant for a given placename. He should make an analysis based on the greatest amount of information available, so that he can evaluate the quality of all his data in order to be in a strong position when he recommends the officialization of each placename. When the

information must be judged, and a rating given to it according to his estimation of the value of the data given by each informant.

In order to remember the context in which he had obtained each item of information, the toponymist gives each of his informants an identification number. He notes in the project notebook the name, address, telephone number, approximate age, occupation and mother tongue of the informant. He also notes the time, date and duration of the interview.

It can also be useful to note a special characteristic of each informant, or of his home or workplace, so as to better remember the person at a later time when the data gathered is being processed. These small notations often turn out to be valuable. Furthermore, an informant of high quality constitutes for the provincial names office, a resource-person who may be contacted again if a placename problem occurs at some future date in the area in which he lives. It should be noted that access to such data, and the material that will be covered in Section 4.5 below, will be subject to the conditions set out in the law concerning access to the files of public agencies and the protection of personal information.

There is no fixed number of informants to be interviewed for each placename. Certainly the analysis made by the toponymist carries more weight if it is based on a large number of responses. Generally speaking, in order to determine as precisely as possible the usage of a placename (as will be seen in Chapter 7), the advice of at least three people should be obtained for each placename.

In very isolated areas it will happen that despite his best efforts the toponymist will be able to find only one person who can give him the name of a feature. If this is a reliable informant who knows the area, such as a forest ranger, a hunting or fishing outfitter, a trapper or a native resident, the name may be accepted. In every possible case, however, it is always preferable to obtain two confirmations.

4.5 The Evaluation of Information Given by the Informant

In order to determine the correctness of placenames, the toponymist evaluates the information given by each informant interviewed. This evaluation assumes much more importance when the single name given to a feature seems little used.

The evaluation grid used by the Commission de toponymie du Québec consists of giving a rating to informants on a scale running from 1 to 3. The informant who knows the territory well, such as a fisherman of long experience or the author of a monograph on the area, will be judged "very valuable" and will be assigned level 3. The informant instead of

little value will be given level 1.

Rather than relegate a feature into the class of the nameless, a placename furnished by a single informant of level 3 or 2 could become official if no other name appears to apply to the feature.

It is stressed, however, that an informant who is rated "very valuable" for the whole of the data he has provided, could be given a low rating (level 1) for his contribution to the study of a particular placename. In this case he could appear uncertain, he could hesitate about the location of the feature or even be unsure of the name itself. For this toponym his contribution will be assessed at level 1.

Finally, it is his estimation of the total value of all informants that the toponymist passes on to the provincial names authority regarding each placename. For example, suppose a toponymist finds that two names are attributed to a small hill that has not yet been given an official name. The two names are **Moonlight Hill** and **Juniper Hill**.

Let us suppose, also, that six informants have been interviewed in this matter, and they have been evaluated as follows:

Moonlight Hill

- Informant 1. level 1 (of little value)
- Informant 2. level 2 (intermediate value)
- Informant 3. level 3 (very valuable)

Juniper Hill

- Informant 4. level 1
- Informant 5. level 2
- Informant 6. level 2

The mean value of the informants with regard to the two placenames will be estimated to have the same level (i.e. level 2). It would be necessary in this case to consider the evaluation of the use of the placenames, as will be described in Chapter 7, before making a recommendation for one of the two names to be made official.

5. The Interview

According to the sociologist Marc-Adélar Tremblay, an interview is an occasion of "flair, finesse, psychology and intelligence. The aim of the experience is to create a natural environment that promotes mutual confidence and sincerity in a natural and confident setting. This presupposes communication in both senses of the word, the elimination of technical "static", the reduction of class differences and the removal of psychological barriers; in fact, a veritable experience of social sharing."⁶

5.1 The Attitude and Characteristics of a Good Interviewer

Past experience has shown that, generally speaking, the toponymist is well received by the local population. However, he must always remain courteous. It is necessary, in fact, for the toponymist to be open and natural in his questioning in order not to intimidate or embarrass his informant.

One must avoid terms that might appear too technical or too specialized (such as toponym, entity, specific, odonym), and speak plainly of "the name of the lake", "of a hill", "of a highway" and so on. The toponymist must clearly explain the aim of his work in order to avoid, for example, appearing to be a government inspector with investigative powers. This would only make the informant keep his knowledge to himself. If, at the beginning, an informant seems timid or reluctant to answer questions, usually once into the heart of the matter he collaborates with pleasure.

Another essential rule is to arrange with care the time of the interview. It is always preferable to set a time for a meeting rather than to break in and disturb the informant at his work or during his lunch hour. The business activities of an area can often cause delays in arranging meetings with certain informants. In spring a farmer may be away all day gathering maple syrup; during the summer a farmer may be working in his fields; in July municipal offices may be closed for summer vacations.

The comment made by Madeleine Grawitz and Roger Pinto is worth noting: "The atmosphere of the interview is more trusting, and the amount of information is greater, if in his general appearance the interviewer resembles the informant."⁷

Under the pretext of "getting close to the informant" it is, however, not necessary to imitate him or adopt a very familiar manner. Such an attitude may be offensive or at least make the interviewer seem more remote.

The toponymist often wonders if he should imitate the informant's pronunciation of placenames when it differs from the usual or traditional way the name is spoken. If, when working to the east of Ottawa, a toponymist hears an informant mention the County of Gloucester, and notices that he pronounces it GLOS-es-ter, should the toponymist do the same or should he use the traditional GLOS-ter? The answer depends on the case in point. If the informant knows well that in England the shorter form is used, and in Ontario the English pronunciation was commonly used until about 1960, then he is exemplifying a change in local usage. In such a case the interviewer should adapt to the new pronunciation for the rest of the interview. If, however, an informant is only speaking with a local dialect (as in saying "kyarp" for the community Carp), the toponymist will only appear silly, or even mocking, if he tries to imitate the local speech.

In specifying the attitude the toponymist should adopt, certain attributes have already been suggested: courtesy, clarity of expression, a natural manner, etc. Being imaginative and responsive are two other qualities an interviewer should possess. In the field the toponymist must adjust to the rhythm of the investigation more or less in proportion to the quality and quantity of the information he is picking up during each interview. It is generally apparent that it is impossible to plan in advance how many informants are to be interviewed in a given day. It follows that the setting of the time for interviews may be difficult. Only the first interview of the morning can be set the previous evening, and, in some cases, the first interview of the afternoon.

Depending on the knowledge of the informant and his availability, the interview could last anywhere from 10 minutes to an hour, and at times even more. Thus it is impossible for the toponymist to set a precise time for the following informant. On the other hand the toponymist risks cutting short a fruitful discussion if too little time is allowed for it.

It has been noticed that some toponymists prefer to telephone an informant before arriving at his home in case he will be absent, especially when he lives at some

6. Marc-Adélar Tremblay, *Initiation à la recherche dans les sciences sociales* (Introduction to Research in the Social Sciences) quoted by Robert-J. Gravel in *Guide méthodologique de la recherche* (Methodological Guide to Research), Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1978, p. 14.

7. Madeleine Grawitz and Roger Pinto, *Méthodes des sciences sociales*, cited by Robert-J. Gravel, in *Guide méthodologique de la recherche*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, p. 14.

distance. But by doing so, one risks being denied an interview. An informant who does not understand the aim of the enquiry during the telephone conversation may declare that he has nothing to offer, that the subject is of no interest to him, or that he has no time for the interview. If, on the other hand, the toponymist arrives at his home, he would hesitate to obstruct the project. The situation would be different if the toponymist could be introduced over telephone by a call from the home of another informant. In this case the door would probably open.

5.2 The Course of the Interview

When the toponymist arrives at the informant's home he should open the conversation by stating that the informant had been recommended as a person familiar with the area and its placenames. This introduction will lead the informant to view the toponymist not as a stranger but rather a person sent by a friend or an acquaintance. Often he may even be flattered, as happened in the case of a former but now repentant poacher whose name had been provided by a game warden. Completely astonished and happy that he had been recommended by the conservation officer, the former poacher passed on his knowledge with pleasure.

During the interview the toponymist must guide the informant in order to find the exact name of the feature, its precise location, and what is known of the origin and significance of the name and its pronunciation. He must do this while trying as little as possible to influence the answers of the informant. Unfortunately there is no miracle method for conducting an interview. The toponymist tries to control its progress, but he must do this with care. He avoids interrupting the informant, but at times he must gently keep the talk on the toponymic path.

The informant may spend a certain amount of time before getting to the heart of the matter and disclosing his package of knowledge that is really interesting to the toponymist. But, as the informant has graciously given his time, a method of thanking him is simply the spending of a few additional minutes listening to an anecdote that is far from the theme of the interview.

It can happen that the informant may appear ill at ease when mentioning forms of usage which may be different from the official forms for various reasons. He could be under the impression that the toponymist only wants to verify the official forms, and think he has nothing to add to the placenames already accepted as official and printed on maps. If he hesitates to furnish a name other than the official one, it is often due to respect for the already sanctioned name, or he may be too timid to make known names he thinks are a little too picturesque or have a pejorative connotation, or possibly are even gross. In all such cases the toponymist must show patience and tact, especially when he finds the informant has good toponymic knowledge.

In the case of pejorative names he must give the informant assurance that mentioning an unfortunate name will in no way aid in its officialization. Despite the fact that the informant knows that vacationers usually call the lake in front of his luxurious cottage **Bare Naked Lake**, he can be told that the name in local usage, **Divers Lake**, will be the one recommended for official sanction.

When he questions his informant, the toponymist makes use of his topographic map. In doing so he must be careful to avoid letting his informant be influenced by the map, which always contains much topographic information.

However, when the informant is familiar with map reading, and if he casts a glance over the toponymist's shoulder, it is good to tell the informant that it is the name that matters. Is the name the one that is really used in the area, and is it the one that he, the informant, would use himself? It is not a matter of testing the informant for correct or incorrect answers. The informant must be told that just because a name appears on a map does not necessarily indicate that it correctly identifies the feature on which it is fixed.

If the informant wants to refer to the map each time a name is mentioned the toponymist must watch the informant's physical attitude, verbal or non-verbal, to see if there is any hesitation regarding the placename or its location. A mimic is often disclosed in this way. The toponymist must also assure himself of correctly interpreting the statements of the informant. For example, the informant who is very fond of fishing might point in turn to three lakes and say, "Those are good"; then to a fourth, "That one is no good". After a moment the toponymist would realize that the informant was indicating the lakes that were good for fishing, and his commentary had nothing to do with the names attached to the lakes.

It is often impossible to take the informant directly to the feature for which a name is required. In such cases one of the best ways to locate the feature is to take the informant on a mental trip from his home to the place without using a map. Once there, it is possible to confirm the location of the feature by starting from another well-known point and describing the route from the point to the feature by referring to the surrounding landscape as shown on the map.

For example, the toponymist will say, "On leaving your home, if I turn to the left I am heading toward the church; when I pass the town hall I turn again to the left at the first intersection onto the **Third Concession Line**. Behind the town hall I see two lakes. What is the name of the larger of these lakes, the one that is closest to the **Third Line**?" The informant replies, perhaps, **Lac Dumoulin**, which agrees with the official name on the map. The toponymist should then ask why it is so named. The informant's reply could put in question the validity of the official name: "Because there was once a mill on the shore of the lake near its

outlet. It burned down ten years ago." The correct form of the name should therefore be *Lac du Moulin*, even more so if, according to the informant, there has never been a Dumoulin family in the village.

Leaving that lake, the toponymist continues. What is the name of the other little lake, right next to *Lac du Moulin*? Does the stream flowing out of this second lake have a name? Into what river does this stream flow? Where does that river have its source? What is the name of the lake it flows out of? That lake, is it at the foot of a small hill? What is the name of the hill? This chain of questions allows the toponymist to keep control of the interview and ensure an adequate identification of the features. If, for example, no hill exists near the lake in question, the toponymist will know that from a certain point he and the informant are confused. *Lac du Moulin* could have two outlets, and the toponymist did not specify which of the two he wanted to identify.

When the informant does not know the name of a feature, and the toponymist already has obtained one, for example *Notch Lake*, it is important to check to see if the informant has heard of the name. In order not to lead the informant's reply, this checking must be done later in the course of the interview and not immediately after mentioning the feature. Later the interviewer could ask, "Have you ever heard of *Notch Lake*? The informant might reply, "Yes", or say, "I have heard it spoken of, but I am not sure where it is exactly", or yet again, "That is exactly the name I was trying to remember a short time ago!", etc.

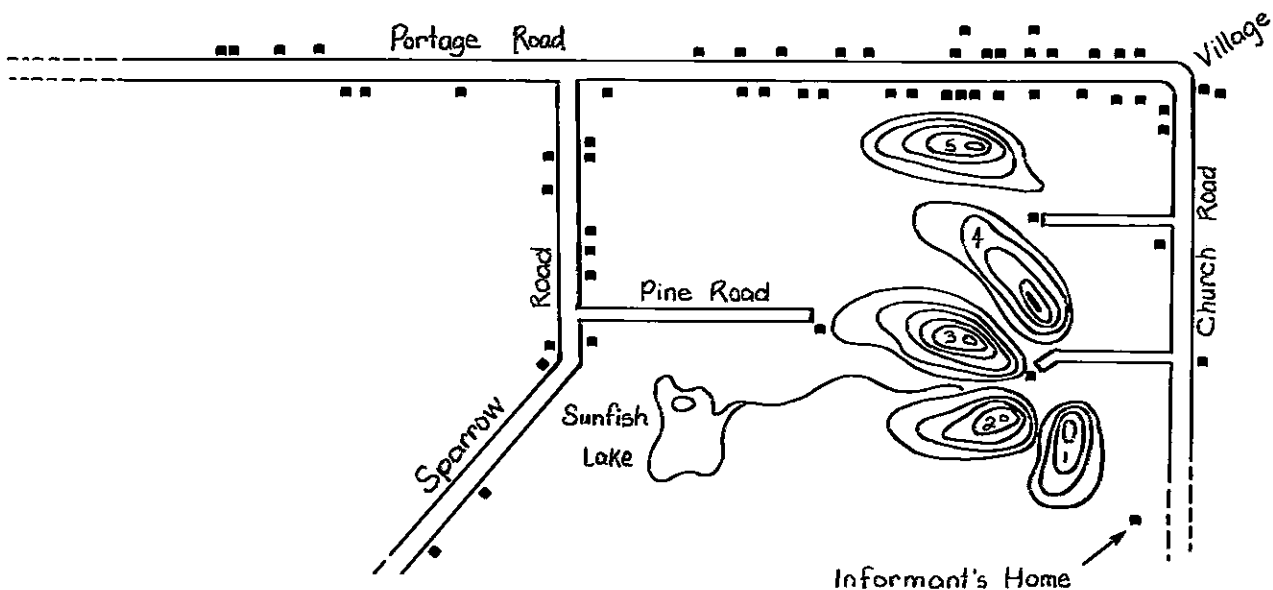
In order not to waste his time, or that of the informant, the toponymist must be precise in his questions, and carefully note the detail of the answers on his working map. It does happen that the informant takes the initiative and arrives with a list of toponyms. This situation does not create problems if the toponymist can follow the location of the names with certainty on his map. An additional point, the

toponymist must avoid "scattering" his questions by going in great leaps from one part of his research area to a distant part. This would only make the informant dizzy, and would diminish the quality and quantity of the data obtained.

5.3 The Verification of the Location of Features

We must stress very carefully the following point because of its importance. A name placed on a map in such a way that it does not give an adequate identification of the feature leads the map reader to make mistakes and causes confusion. Thus the toponymist must watch for this situation with great care, right through the interview. To do so he must question, without seeming to do so, the statements of the informant, especially the correct interpretation of these statements. In many cases the information given is clear. If not, the toponymist must verify it by questioning the informant, once again, about the name of the feature, but by using a different approach to do so.

For example, the interviewer is doubtful about the location of *Blueberry Hill* (as shown on Map 2, below). The informant locates it on the left of *Church Road* by stating that a house is located at the foot of that hill. On consulting his map the toponymist sees that four different hills might be *Blueberry Hill* (i.e. hills 2, 3, 4 and 5 on Map 2). The toponymist then asks if a stream exists at the foot of the hill. The informant replies in the affirmative, and states that it flows into *Sunfish Lake* (the only lake in a radius of five kilometres). Thus only possibilities 2 and 3 remain. Carrying on the questioning, the toponymist asks if it is possible to get to *Blueberry Hill* by taking *Pine Road*. The informant answers no, not without wading the stream just mentioned. The conclusion is that hill 2 is *Blueberry Hill*. Subsequently it was determined in another interview that the informant had been correct in all his replies.



The toponymist must pay special attention when the location of a feature must be determined among many features of the same type, as was the case with **Blueberry Hill**. The same situation could occur with a group of lakes, or again with a row of named beaches along a shore. The problem can arise in the opposite sense; this is where the similar features may be widely separated from one another in an area of difficult access, but where good landmarks to be used as reference points are scarce.

The information given by one informant is compared with that furnished by others interviewed in the same way. In each case the interview could unfold differently from one informant to the next according to their extent of knowledge, their attitude, and the area in which they live. In this sense a toponymic interview cannot be compared in an absolute way with another type of interview where the questions are prepared in advance and are asked in a definite order. Even if the information differs from one person to the next, each statement must be recorded exactly as given. It is during the data processing, after the interview, that the matter of conflicting evidence is settled.

The toponymist must be on his guard with an informant who seems not to be taking the interview seriously, or who tries hard to show how smart he is. Such an informant could thus furnish names for all manner of features, but his statements must be verified systematically during the course of the encounter. This is done by asking again for the names of features for which he has already given names. Several questions, cleverly asked, permit the discovery of such an attitude. The interviewer could ask: "Lake So-and-So that you mentioned a few minutes ago, is it really situated here?" as he points to a different lake. The reply of the informant could be quite revealing!

5.4 The Type of Questions to Avoid

It has been noted previously that leading questions must be avoided. The manner in which questions are asked is also very important.

For example, the toponymist risks losing valuable information if he asks questions such as "Is the lake situated at the head of Rabbit River called **Grass Lake**?" The informant could reply in the affirmative without indicating which of two lakes supplying water to the river actually carries the name. Perhaps he agrees with **Grass Lake**, only because he thought the toponymist was pronouncing the real name, **Grouse Lake**, with an American accent. Furthermore, if the informant does not mention why the lake carries the name (because **Grouse** are commonly seen around its shore), the toponymist leaves believing the **Grass Lake** is the correct and commonly used form.

5.5 Directional Terms to Avoid

It is necessary, also, to use with extreme prudence such directional terms as north, south, to the right of, to the left of, etc. Some people very easily confuse the directions they indicate.

If the informant does not clearly understand the cardinal directions, serious risks of confusion loom on the horizon. It is preferable to orient the informant by reference to well known landmarks.

For example, instead of saying "At the next intersection I turn to the south on **Highway 2**", it is better to say, "I turn onto **Highway 2** in the direction of **Kingston**". After a brief moment one can usually tell if the informant is pointed in the right direction.

The aim of the enquiry is always the same: to draw out the maximum amount of data from the interview, always looking for quality, quantity and in the shortest time, without bullying the informant or hurting his self-esteem.

5.6 The Importance of Obtaining Accurate and Complete Data

It must be kept continually in mind that once the interview is finished it is necessary to analyse and evaluate the data obtained. It is the sum of all items that will permit the making of the final decision on whether a toponym should be made official or not. In some cases the information picked up on an official name will be sufficient to have that name replaced by another that is more commonly used. The more precise the data, the easier it will be to set out names recommendations according to the wishes and instructions of the provincial names authority.

It is, above all, important not to say during the investigation, "I will verify this data at a later date", or "I will call again on this point for clarification". Certainly it is possible, during the office processing of the names, to make a few telephone calls to round out certain data. However, this method always turns out to be lengthy, costly if long distance calls are needed, and not very effective. It is best by far to gather as much information as possible while in the field.

5.7 The Method of Recording the Data Collected

Before 1981 toponymic field work was usually carried out by teams of two people. The role of the second person was to take notes as precisely and completely as possible, even at times transcribing the interview completely. The second person also asked some questions in order to round out the data.

Experience has shown, however, that the toponymist can well undertake the work by himself. But if working alone on a major project (say, one during which as many as 1 000 names will be recorded) the toponymist must organize his work methodically. In order to write out all the details previously mentioned, he must use symbols for writing directly on the working map while he is conducting the interview. These symbols are written beside the serial number that has been assigned to the informant in respect to each feature being investigated, (see Map 3 for examples). The symbols used are as follows:

X: The informant does not know the name of the feature, or does not recognize the name mentioned by the interviewer.

N: The informant maintains that the name mentioned is wrong and that he knows another name for the feature.

H: The informant has heard the name but does not know the feature to which it refers.

?: The informant is not sure of the information given, or the interviewer doubts the information given.

L?: The location of the feature is imprecise or uncertain.

□: This symbol is used for a toponym picked up from a road sign.

+: The informant knows more than one name for the feature. The plus sign (+) indicates that the name to which it is attached is the name more used, according to the informant, than the other names mentioned.

-: The informant knows more than one name for the feature. The minus sign (-) indicates that the name to which it is attached is less used than another.

For example, the interviewer has noted on his working map the following data for a feature:

Moonlight Hill:

1 used 20 yrs/2+/3X/4+/5 same 1/6

Juniper Hill:

2-/3?/4- Junipers grow there/5X/6N

The translation of this "shorthand" is as follows:

- Six informants were questioned and were numbered one to six. Five of them (numbers 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6) said without hesitation that the feature was called **Moonlight Hill**.

- Of those who knew the feature as **Moonlight Hill**, the following gave additional information:

- Numbers 1 and 5 said the name had been used for at least 20 years.
- Numbers 2 and 4 said they knew the feature as **Moonlight Hill** but had heard another name for it. (hence 2+ and 4+).
- Number 3 had not heard of **Moonlight Hill** (hence 3X), but thinks it may be called **Juniper Hill** (hence 3?).

- Of those who knew the feature as **Juniper Hill**, the following gave additional information:

- Numbers 2 and 4 knew two names for the hill of which **Jupiter Hill** was the less used (hence 2- and 4-)
- In addition, Number 4 stated that he had heard that the name **Juniper Hill** comes from the fact that Junipers cover the hill.

These qualified items of information are particularly useful when it is necessary to evaluate the usage of toponyms, as will be explained in Chapter 7.

It also happens at times that a toponymist is not able to find a name for a feature. The Xs written after the informants' numbers play an important role when this occurs. For example, if the toponymist has written on his map the following data next to a lake: 1X, 3X, 4X, 6X, he can state that he has questioned four people about the name of that feature and none knows its name. Thus, according to the investigation carried out, this lake has no name. It is of course possible that if he had questioned five or six more informants he might have found someone had heard a name for it, but the strong conclusion remains that such a name is little known in the community.

During the interview the toponymist records the information on his working map using symbols and terse notes. He also uses the project notebook to compile historical, geographical and linguistic information. However, as long as he can write the information on the map near the feature (or in the map margin with a leading line to the feature) he should do so because then it will be easier and quicker to process the information later. Moreover, it is always useful to have these data right on the map when questioning other informants in order to assess the accuracy of the new information.

A single phrase uttered by an informant can lead to a wealth of information. "Middle Brook flows into Clode Sound at Blandford." By this statement it is learned that:

- The informant calls the feature a brook and not a stream or a river despite its considerable size.

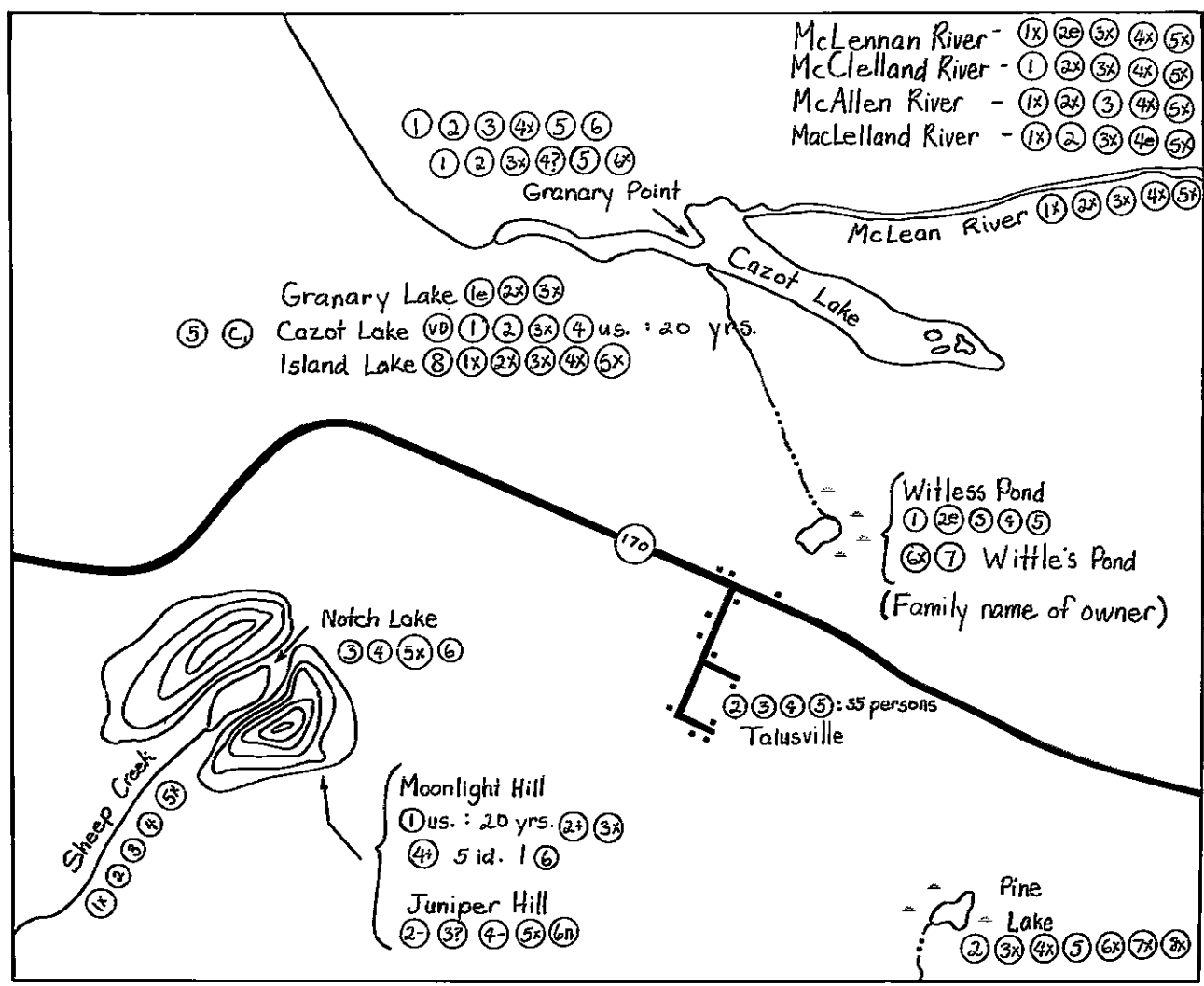
- The informant also indicates that Clode is known as a sound and not a bay or inlet.
- The informant uses the short form "Blandford" rather than the more formal "Port Blandford". He also confirms that Middle Brook has its mouth at Port Blandford.

5.8 The Re-transcription of the Data

The interview often flows at a relatively rapid pace, and the toponymist writes down as much as possible during the conversation. Then at the end of the day he makes a synthesis of all the data picked up from the informants interviewed that day, and he does this for each toponym. It is at this time that the toponymist re-transcribes this data on a clean topographic map which serves as an analytical base once his work in the field is completed. He still uses the shorthand symbols used on the working map, and he also refers to his project notebook in order to round out the data which, more often than not, has been set down in a "telegraphic" style.

This step of making a clean copy in good order is essential for two reasons. In the first place, the working map on which the toponymist writes during his conversation with the informant rapidly becomes cluttered. As a rather long period may elapse before the toponymist can begin his final analysis, he risks forgetting the significance of certain data that was hurriedly written down. At the end of the afternoon of each day the data remains sufficiently fresh in his mind to be clarified and completed, which will not be the case two, three or even eight days later, after having interviewed fifty or more informants and consulted a dozen maps and documents.

A second reason for re-working the data of the day each evening is that this permits the toponymist to balance the gathered data and to identify problem cases. Thus he will know that on the following day he must get more data on such-and-such a placename. If he waited for two or three days, he would certainly lose time in retracing his steps, having in the meantime moved along a good distance through his research area.



6. Specifications and categories of named features

6.1 The Named Feature

Geographic features that can be named may be divided into three categories: administrative features, artificial features and natural features.

Administrative features include municipalities, villages, hamlets, residential areas, seasonal communities, parks, urban neighbourhoods, wildlife preserves, trailer parks, and the like. In urban and suburban areas, the toponymist will have difficulty in delimiting entities that the Ontario Geographic Names Board calls "unincorporated urban communities", which may be described as urban agglomerations that have not been incorporated. Residential areas, neighbourhoods, and certain "localities"⁸ fall in this category.

Generally there is no sign or boundary on the ground to inform a person that he has entered a "locality". The toponymist must therefore take some trouble to find the limits of such a place. It could happen, for example, that a place is called *Le Trou des Ours* (Bears' Hollow) because many years ago the locals saw two bears wandering around the area. Or, another example, an area of Toronto is called *The Junction* simply because two railway lines come together there.

Artificial features include dams, bridges, canals, etc. and may be defined as: "All features on the surface of the earth built or completely modified by the works of man, having names or having the possibility of being named". In this category road and street names may be included.

Natural features can also be divided into three categories: hydrological (drainage) features, topographical features, and vegetation features, as shown below:

- . hydrological features: bodies of water (lakes, ponds, bays, seas, etc.), watercourses (rivers, streams, creeks, brooks, etc.), marshes, falls, glaciers, etc.;
- . topographical features: mountains, points, islands, valleys,, rocks, etc.
- . vegetation features: forests, woods, orchards, vineyards, peat cuttings, etc.

All these geographical categories interest the toponymist, no matter what their physical importance

is in the countryside. He investigates just as carefully the name of a brook that runs for only 200 metres as that of the largest river.

The toponymist must remember that the physical qualities of the feature itself designate the category and type into which it falls, not the name that has been given it. In fact, the local inhabitants may use the word river for what is really only a stream; in the same way many "lakes" are really only ponds. Thus in addition to verifying the usage of the actual placename the toponymist must also investigate the precise nature of the feature, the exact description of which the informant is not always able to provide. It may be necessary, therefore, to go directly to the feature to determine, for example, if *Baie du Coq* designates a swamp, a stream, a peat bog, or simply an intermittent lake. It should be remembered that the generic (for example "baie" in *Baie du Coq*) is the term applied locally to describe the geographic feature referred to by the name, and thus becomes part of the placename.

In Canada the provincial governments confer by statute the names of incorporated populated places (villages, towns, cities, counties, etc.). The provincial placename authority can of course give advice on the selection of suitable names for new incorporations, and once such a name is passed by parliament, it is recorded in the provincial placenames data-bank. In the field the toponymist always checks to see if the official name given to a municipality is being used by the local inhabitants.

6.2 Supplementary Names Information

The term "supplementary information" refers to data that the toponymist can easily record on the abbreviated name forms that some cities and towns have received, and colloquial "publicity names" that have been conferred on certain municipalities. Supplementary information also includes the collective terms used to describe the people who inhabit cities and regions (Hamiltonian, Québécois, etc.).

Abbreviated Name Forms

These are generally shortened forms of the official name which may be somewhat long for every-day use. It is important that they be recorded because in time they may replace the official name. For example, *Tuktoyaktuk* is commonly known as *Tuktuk*. *Norman Wells* is referred to as *The Wells*. *Penetanguishene* has been referred to casually as *Penatang* since the last

8. A "locality" (in French: lieu-dit) is in this work defined as a small area that has been given, spontaneously, a name suggested by its geography, history or folklore.

century, and the short form has been given to the town's railway station. In Québec many of the hyphenated names have been shortened in everyday speech; for instance, Valleyfield is the common name for Salaberry-de-Valleyfield.

Publicity Names

These are unofficial titles, generally bestowed by the town or city chamber of commerce in the hope that they will, in some way, attract financial benefit to the community. A common form is to call the place the "gateway" to somewhere. Thus North Bay is the "Gateway to Northern Ontario", Winnipeg is "The Gateway to the West", and, with a rather long view, Edmonton is the "Gateway to the Klondike". In Québec, Matane is "la Porte de la Gaspésie" ("Gateway to the Gaspé Peninsula").

With somewhat more imagination, Coaticook is titled "la Perle de l'Estrie (The Pearl of the Eastern Townships), and Amos is "le Berceau de l'Abitibi" (The Cradle of the Abitibi).

The various unofficial "capitals" are another form of common publicity naming. Thus we have Sudbury being called the "Nickel Capital of Canada, and Perth wanting to be known as the "Maple Sugar Capital of Ontario" (though other maple sugar producing areas are objecting!). Some suggestions along these lines are too gross to be tolerated. A small community in Saskatchewan, that shall remain nameless here, wanted to be known as the "Rape Capital of Canada" simply because rape-seed is a common local cash crop. Good taste quickly put an end to that thought.

These rather fanciful titles should be recorded by the toponymist if they appear to have local currency and some general approval.

Collective Inhabitant Names

These are the names given to the people who inhabit a town or area: for example, Torontonians, Winnipeggers, Windsorites, Ontarians, Canadians. In English the usual rule for forming such names is to take the placename and add "an" or "ian" to it, unless this produces an awkward sounding name such as Quebecian. In such cases "er" is the second choice of suffix, and "ite" the third. In French there are two widely used choices, both of which have a masculine and feminine form,

namely: "ois"/"oise" and "ien"/"ienne". A man from Roberval is a Robervalois; a woman from Lévis is a Lévisienne. As with English, the choice of suffix depends on the euphony of the word so formed.

In both languages there are a few colourful exceptions to the general rules. A person from Halifax is a Haligonian, and one from New Glasgow is a New Glaswegian. Both of these names come from established usage in the British Isles. In Québec a man from The Beauce is a Beauceron, and a woman from Saint-Hyacinthe is a Maskoutaine. A person can, of course, be a Calgarian, and Albertan and a Canadian at the same time. The term used at any one time will depend on the context.

In Québec these collective names are called "gentilés", and are taken somewhat more seriously than they are in the rest of Canada. A *Répertoire des gentilés du Québec* was published in 1987. In English there is no noun in common use for "gentilé", although the larger dictionaries list "gentilé" with such a meaning. However, as the word is both spelled and pronounced exactly the same as the word for "non-Jewish", its use can only cause confusion.

6.3 The Completion of the Documentation

To complete their work in an area, toponymists should take photographs of certain features that show those physical features that are reflected in the names given them. Rocky Narrows could be shown as a narrow waterway between two rather imposing rocky shores; Lion's Head could be pictured as a headland with a shape that resembles the head of a lion. These pictures can become valuable documents in the files of provincial and federal names authorities.

In review, it is emphasized once again that the toponymist must be able to provide the origin of each item of information brought back from the field. This will include the name and address of the informant who provided the data; on which map or in which document the item was found. If the name was seen on a road sign, information must be recorded regarding the location of the sign and who erected it (the Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Tourism, the county or township, or was it just a home-made sign). In every respect, the heart of good geographical names research is good documentation.

7. Placename usage evaluation

The usage of a placename by a community is always a delicate subject to investigate, particularly when the local knowledge of the various informants must be evaluated. Christine Bernard, in her text "Qu'est-ce que l'usage?"⁹, states that certain researchers, such as Louis-Edmond Hamelin, have found that there are over 100 usage categories in toponymy. But in this present text, which is essentially a practical manual, the types of usage are divided into three main classes: oral usage, written usage and administrative usage.

A methodical investigation into the use of a placename allows the toponymist to back up his recommendation regarding whether or not a placename should be made official. Moreover, the evaluation carried out by the toponymist in the field and then sent to the office or position whose mandate is the officialization of toponyms, allows that authority to make clear decision on the status to be given each toponym.

7.1 Oral Usage

Principle 2 of the Principles of Principles and Procedures for Geographical Naming in Canada, published in 1987 by the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names,¹⁰ reads as follows:

Names in General Public Use

First priority shall be given to names with long-standing local usage by the general public. Unless there are good reasons to the contrary, this principle should prevail.

In the case of a feature with two names with almost equal usage (called parallel use), preference should be given to the name that best complies with other criteria. In such cases the advice of the United Nations is helpful. During the UN Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, held in Geneva in 1967, it was stated that "current usage is the most important element which toponymic agencies must take into account in the adoption of new names or the modification of existing names".

9. Christine Bernard, "Qu'est-ce que l'usage?", (What Is Usage?) Commission de toponymie du Québec, 1979.

10. See Chapter 8 for the complete list of CPCGN Principles of Nomenclature.

One of the problems concerning the concept of oral usage rests in the demonstrated difficulty of outlining with precision the area of use of a name and its method of application (i.e. does the name apply to a range of hills or just to a single hill; does the name apply to a point on a lake shore or also to the beaches on both sides of it, etc.) How does a researcher determine that use of a placename is current as defined by the UN, and how does he determine that it is well-established and generally accepted as mentioned in the "Principles" of the CPCGN? What criteria should a toponymist use when carrying out a field investigation to confirm that the toponym is being used, and by virtue of this usage that it should become official? How can the members of a provincial names authority, judge that a name is being used sufficiently to warrant its officialization?

In Québec, Article 128 of the Charter of the French Language states that "Upon the publication in the Gazette officielle du Québec of the names chosen or approved by the Commission [de toponymie], the use of such names becomes obligatory in the texts and documents of the civil administration and the semipublic agencies, in traffic signs, in public signs and posters and in teaching manuals and educational and research works published in Québec and approved by the Minister of Education". While such action is not stated explicitly in the other provinces, it is certainly implied, and appropriate action by the agencies concerned usually follows. It is therefore fundamental that before a placename be made official it be recognized and accepted locally by the largest possible majority of the people of the area who will use it and who have the most to gain by keeping it in use.

Government employees and researchers must share this view of the concept of usage. To ensure this, the Commission de toponymie du Québec has developed an "evaluating grid" to assess the extent of usage of a toponym. Although relatively simple, this grid permits the field researcher to make an analysis of the usage of a placename and to pass on to the Commission, as objectively as possible, the facts revealed during the field investigation. The members of the Commission can then base their decisions on concrete and verifiable facts. A description of this system is described below in detail because it is thought that other provinces and agencies may want to adapt this Québec method for their own use.

It is necessary, first of all, to remember that the toponymist can best evaluate the usage of a toponym while he is doing his fieldwork. Actually, usage is made up of two opposite aspects:

- On one hand usage has a subjective component, and is therefore not quantifiable. The researcher can judge the ease, or difficulty, that his informants have in identifying the name of a feature, but he cannot measure this certainty or uncertainty. Because of this his judgement or estimation is relatively subjective.
- On the other hand, the researcher can evaluate the more objective and quantifiable aspects of usage by finding the percentage of his informants who know a certain toponym, the length of time the toponym has been used, etc. This is done by methodically compiling the data on the toponym and then assessing the quality of the data.

The kinds of information that the toponymist must gather has already been described. It is necessary to add here the additional data that will be needed to evaluate the oral usage, as follows:

- Is the informant really familiar with the placename?
- Can he locate the placename mentioned with confidence?
- Does he know other names that have been given to the feature?
- If yes, does he know which name is more commonly used?
- How many informants questioned did not know of any name for the feature, and what percentage of the total did they represent?

In Chapter 5 it was explained how the toponymist can categorize such data with the aid of symbols. Consider, for example, certain facts that can be attached to the usage of the toponyms **Moonlight Hill** and **Juniper Hill**, (see Section 5.57). The field data presented in "short-hand" was as follows:

Moonlight Hill:

1. used 20 yrs/2.+/3.X/4.+/5. same as 1/6.

Juniper Hill:

2.-/3.~/4.- junipers grow there/5.X/6.N

The informants had been given the following individual ratings with reference to these placenames:

Informants 1 and 6: rating 3 (very valuable)
 Informants 2, 4 and 5: rating 2 (intermediate value)
 Informant 3: rating 1 (of little use)

In compiling these facts, the researcher can judge the extent of local usage. In a quick glance he can see that the use of **Moonlight Hill** supplants that of **Juniper Hill**. Of course, all cases are not as black and white as this example. However, this method greatly assists the analysis of local usage. The evaluation grid makes it

clear whether a toponym is widely used, moderately used, little used or not at all. Following the same sequence, it is rated 3, 2, 1 or 0.

In our example, the usage rating allotted to each placename would be:

- Moonlight Hill:** rating 3 (widely used). The researcher would add a note that the name has been used for at least 20 years.

Juniper Hill: rating 1 (little used).

Without hesitation the researcher would recommend that the provincial names authority approve **Moonlight Hill** and consign **Juniper Hill** to the file as "background data". However, if in the above example **Juniper Hill** had been listed as the official toponym for the feature, the researcher would recommend that it be replaced by **Moonlight Hill**.

Many other examples could be given to show the application of the evaluation grid to oral usage. It is, however, only necessary here to illustrate its basic functioning. One could criticize this simple and concise grid by pointing out that it is subject to the personal interpretation of the researcher, and is far from a model of subjectivity and objectivity. Nevertheless it remains very useful in the work of the toponymic field researcher, and it should be a valuable tool for use by the field workers of other provinces. It brings together the subjective and objective aspects of placename usage and allows everyone to understand that a usage rating of 2 or 3 usually indicates a name with a well established and generally accepted current usage.

7.2 Written Usage

In addition to oral usage, we must consider written usage. It comes to us from three sources: map, documents and signs and notices.

Maps are the principal instrument for the diffusion of placenames. As they are consulted and used in a variety of ways by both individuals and agencies, the information they carry can, in certain cases and up to a certain point, influence informants contacted in the field.

For example, an informant might say, "The people here call this **Lac Long**, but that's not its real name. On maps it is called **Lac Charnois**" Another informant might say "You will find **Lac Charnois** on maps, but that's not correct. Its real name is **Lac Long**." This shows that among the local people there is a different view of the "official status" of maps. One thing remains certain, however. Both the above mentioned informants use **Lac Long** in their daily life, which is the name in oral usage and not **Lac Charnois** as shown on maps.

There is no evaluation grid for cartographic usage. However, each map has its particular importance. Thus a placename written on a map published 100 years ago has a certain historic value, and depending on the extent of distribution of the map would have had an important influence in the spread of the use of the placename. A name found on a modern map of wide distribution, for example a map published by the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, is an example of modern cartographic usage that is very "ticklish" to change.

The toponymist must record the list of maps on which he has found each placename and for each map he must specify the type of map and the year of the edition. There is in fact a great variety of map types, and his list may include maps of the National Topographic System of the Federal Government, maps of other government agencies, maps of private agencies, historic maps, cadastral maps, tourist maps, municipal maps, or any of many other map types.

A second type of written usage is in documents. The documentary usage includes a wide variety of written works such as: historic papers, monographs, reviews, regional or local journals, tourist folders, or even the annual telephone directory. However, in comparison with the map, a document is at a disadvantage in that it does not provide a precise location of the named feature. It is therefore important for the researcher to use local informants to verify the usage of the placename found in a document regarding its exact location, extent and nature.

Again it must be emphasized that the bibliographic reference of each document in which the placename has been found must be carefully recorded. The variety of usage naturally gives weight to the consideration of a particular name even though it does not always play a decisive role in its officialization.

Finally, as a third type of written usage, one must consider road signs and other signs and notices. This type of usage is important because of its influence on oral usage. It stands to reason that if an informant sees a road sign, or a name on a building, each day of his life, he will be influenced, consciously or not, by the message it carries. But experience has shown that in certain cases oral usage does not always agree with that on signs and notices.

The researcher must therefore gather data without deciding right away that the name on a sign must certainly be the name used locally. He must verify this information carefully by questioning the local residents.

7.3 Administrative Use

In addition to oral and written use, there is a final category of administrative use. This involves the usage

which do business in a given area, and it is a type of usage that can differ from oral usage.

For example, the administrators of Algonquin Park pointed out that there were two entities with the name **Smith Lake** in the Park. As this could cause confusion, the **Smith Lake** on the border of Sproule and Airy Townships was changed to **West Smith Lake**. The other **Smith Lake**, in Stratton Township, was more rooted in local usage and therefore was left undisturbed. A similar situation occurred in Québec. The administrators of a Controlled Exploitation Zone (ZEC) have changed the name of **Lac des Castors** into **Petit lac des Castors** to correct the problem of having another **Lac des Castors** not far away in the same ZEC.

The presence of two or more features with the same name in the same locality often causes problems for administrators. It is often necessary to direct campers to a particular lake, or to set fishing quotas for a certain river. There can only be confusion if there are two nearby features with the same name. In cases where administrative usage differs from oral usage, and where the administrative name seems justified, it generally happens (though not always) that the local people adopt the new name in a relatively short time.

7.4 The Agreement Between Oral, Written and Administrative Usage

If toponymy is first and foremost the identification of places and features on the landscape, it is necessary to stress the concept that such features and places are seen and visited by the people who live in the area and who refer to them in their daily lives, and give directions to their neighbours, friends and strangers by referring to them. If the toponymic countryside is to be representative, coherent, correspond realistically to the desires of the local residents, and to the feeling of "belonging to the region", the names chosen to identify features must reflect, as much as possible, the oral usage of the area.

The importance of the role of placenames becomes evident when one thinks of the fire warden who must indicate precisely the area of fire, or the ambulance personnel who must go quickly to a resort area where an accident has taken place, or for any other emergency that has happened in a particular place in the region.

Modern written and administrative usage ought to adapt to oral usage. It is in this aspect that toponymic research takes on its real importance. In fact, as the placenames are gathered, analysed and officialized, so the various map producers, authors of written works, and sign painters, go about their work which results in the dissemination of the geographic names that are currently in use.

8. The principles used in the officialization of geographical names

One of the main purposes of a geographical names investigation is to discover the names of features that have not yet been entered into the federal and provincial lists of official names, and to recommend the officialization of such names if they conform to the accepted principles of geographic nomenclature. The Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names has set out the following list of principles as a guide for the adoption of names at the federal level. To a large extent they correspond to the rules and principles adopted by the provincial geographical names authorities, though in some cases the provincial rules are more specific.

8.1 The CPCGN Principles of Nomenclature

Principle 1. Names Governed by Statutory Authority

The names of municipalities, territorial divisions, reserves, parks and other legal entities as created by, or resulting from, legislation by the appropriate government shall be accepted.

Principle 2. Names in General Public Use

First priority shall be given to names with long-standing local usage by the general public. Unless there are good reasons to the contrary, this principle should prevail.

Principle 3. Names Given by Other Agencies

Names for the facilities established by postal authorities, railway companies and major public utilities shall be accepted, if they are in keeping with other principles. Names established for land divisions by federal, provincial and territorial departments shall also be accepted, if they conform to the other principles. Active encouragement should be given to such agencies to have open communication with the appropriate names authorities.

Principle 4. Naming an Entire Feature and Identifying Its Extent

A decision on a name proposal for a physical or cultural feature should specify the geographic limits of the feature to which the name applies. Future approval of different names with the same generic, for a part of what is deemed to be the same feature should be avoided.

Principle 5. Use of Personal Names

A personal name should not be given to a geographical feature unless such application is in the public interest. The person commemorated should have contributed significantly to the area where the feature is located; when such a name is applied, it should normally be given posthumously. The adoption of a personal name during the lifetime of the person concerned should only be made in exceptional circumstances. Ownership of the land should not in itself be grounds for the application of the owner's name to a geographical feature. However, where names already in common local use are derived from the names of persons, either living or deceased, Principle 2 takes precedence.

Principle 6. Approving Names for Unnamed Features

In approving names for previously unnamed features for which no local names are found to be in use, the following sources are recommended: descriptive names appropriate to the features; names of pioneers; names of persons who died during war service; associated with historical events connected with the area; and names from native languages formerly identified with the general area.

Principle 7. Form and Character of Names

Geographical names should be recognizable words or acceptable combinations of words, and should be in good taste.

Principle 8. Language Forms and Translation

A name should be adopted in a single language form, although other forms may be accepted where in use and when sanctioned by the appropriate names authority. A name should, where possible, be written in the Roman alphabet. When a name is derived from languages other than English or French, its form should be written according to the considered opinion of linguistic specialists acceptable to the appropriate names authorities and to the language communities concerned. Names of selected geographical entities of "pan-Canadian" significance as established by Treasury Board in 1983, are recognized in both English and French for use on federal maps and in federal texts.

Principle 9. Spelling Standards in English and French

The spelling and accenting of names should agree with the rules of the language in which they are written. In English, hyphenation, and the genitive apostrophe,

should be approved only when well established and in current usage.

Principle 10. Uniformity in the Spelling of Names

Names of the same origin applying to various service facilities in a community should conform in spelling with the official name of the community. Names with the same specific for associated features should agree in spelling.

Principle 11. Duplication

Where established names are duplicated or are similar in sound or spelling, and tend to cause confusion, local assistance will be obtained to achieve distinction among them. In giving new names, duplication to the extent that confusion may result in a local community should be avoided.

Principle 12. Generic Terminology

A geographical name usually includes both a specific and a generic element. The generic term in a newly approved geographical name should be appropriate to the nature of the feature. Its position in the name should be dictated by euphony and usage. The generic term will be recorded in English or French, by the names authority concerned.

Principle 13. The Use of Qualifying Terminology

Qualifying words may be used to distinguish between two or more similar features with identical specific forms. Such words may be derived from other local names or features, or may be terms such as "upper", "new", "west branch", "nouveau", "petit" and "gros". Wherever possible, however, new names should be distinctive.

Principle 14. Names of Small Features

Except where local and historic usage dictates, the official approval of names of minor features should be guided by the relative significance of the feature, the familiarity with the name, and the scale of the mapping available.

These principles can be seen being observed throughout this text. Thus in Chapter V when the toponymist recommends that the name *Moonlight Hill* become official, and the other name *Juniper Hill* be relegated to the background data file, he is complying with Principle 2 above.

Principle 4 points out that the giving of different names to separate parts of the same feature should be avoided. At one time the upper part of the Yukon River was called the *Lewes River*, but this created confusion, so the name *Lewes* was dropped. It goes without saying that having more than one name for a feature causes ambiguity. The unwritten golden rule

should be observed wherever possible.

Let us return to the three main categories of usage (oral, written and administrative) with a view of establishing criteria for the officializing of geographic names.

8.2 Oral Usage

Placenames for which usage is well established must take precedence provided that they do not conflict with other criteria. This situation is clearly dealt with in Principle 2 above. In the case of parallel usage equally widespread, preference will be given to the name that best conforms to the other principles. The other name may be consigned to the background data file or, if appropriate, to a provincial list of approved alternate names which, though not official, may be used within limits on road signs and in written works.

It has been noted in previous chapters that a placename with a usage rating of 2 or 3 is considered to have "a usage that is well established". The researcher will therefore recommend such a toponym for officialization if it does not conflict with any of the other listed principles. But it sometimes happens that a category 2 placename cannot be recommended for approval even if it satisfies all other criteria.

For example, the geographic context of the feature may influence the recommendation of the toponymist. Take the case of the toponymist who finds the placename *Pine Lake* given to him by two informants, both of whom are considered in Category 2 (intermediate value). However, five other informants that were interviewed had never heard of the name. If the feature existed in a highly populated area, the usage established for *Pine Lake* would be considered insufficient for approval. The toponymist would be correct in waiting to interview others having information about the feature simply because there are a large number of people living near it. Perhaps another name is also used for this lake. In this case it would be necessary to delve more deeply into the matter. For the time being the name *Pine Lake* should be held as a name of record in the data bank, but should not be made official.

On the other hand, if the feature is in a relatively unpopulated area the limited established usage of *Pine Lake* would be considered sufficient. It would probably not be justified to carry the investigation further. As the area is not visited often, only a slight chance would exist that others could be found who could suggest other names, and even then it would be doubtful that one of these informants could provide a name that is well known and widely used. If the two informants who have been interviewed are part of a rare group that visits the area, it can be concluded without risk of serious error that *Pine Lake* is the name being used for the feature. The only possibility

A placename with a very limited use (category 1) can in certain cases be recommended for officialization. For example, of five people being interviewed only one provided a name, but he was considered either of "intermediate value" or "very valuable", this name could be sent forward for officialization rather than leaving it without a name.

The researcher could even recommend the officialization of a name that is completely unknown to local informants if it is used by the administrators of the area in which the entity falls. On the other hand, a placename, even if it has widespread usage, cannot be officialized if it causes, for example, a problem of duplication or the toponym carries a pejorative or obscene connotation. These problems will be addressed shortly.

8.3 Cartographic Usage

Although oral usage predominates as a criterion for recommendation, it must at times give way to other criteria. In fact, in certain cases cartographic usage can supplant oral usage.

When the researcher verifies the usage of an official toponym, for example **Sturgeon Point**, as category 2, and if he finds another name a little less used, say **Granary Point**, he will examine the cartographic usage. If **Sturgeon Point** is found on maps published over many years he will recommend that it be kept official, but he will note that **Granary Point** is a variant.

8.4 Administrative Usage

Ideally administrative usage conforms with oral usage. However, it does happen, as has been mentioned in several examples, that for practical reasons a place-name is recommended for approval because of its administrative use rather than oral use. Also, administrators of an ecological reserve, a park, etc. can request the provincial names authority to name features that have no names in use. This is done to facilitate the development or the description of the area.

8.5 Name Duplication

As stated in Principle 11, it is necessary to avoid recommending the name of a feature if it is the same or very similar in spelling or in sound to the name of another feature close by. Such a situation is called "name duplication".

If two features called **Sheep Creek**, for example, are separated by less than three kilometres, only the most commonly used of the two should be made official. If it is found that both names are used to the same degree, the feature that is more important, or the one most visited by the public, would be given preference.

The other **Sheep Creek** will be kept on file without official status. If there is a real need to name the other feature, it could be given a distinctive qualification such as "little", "upper", etc.

There is no formal rule instructing the toponymist on the accepted distance that two features with the same name must be apart. The lie of the ground should be examined. Thus two features with the same name could be granted official approval, even if they are only eight kilometres apart, because they are separated by the Saguenay River, which effectively makes a clear-cut division in the landscape. They might not receive official approval if they were still eight kilometres apart but in the same township.

To get to the essentials, it is necessary to enquire if the officialization of the two names will cause confusion, or if, by some local reference system worked out by the people of the area, (after all, they are the ones using the names) they can distinguish clearly between the two.

8.6 Commonplace Names

In all provinces certain names are repeated over and over again. There are in Canada hundreds of **Moose Creeks**, **Round Islands** and **Loon Lakes**. In the mountainous provinces **Eagle Passes** are common; in Newfoundland **Long Ponds** abound; in Québec there are hundreds of **Lac Longs**. Although such names are to be avoided, it is not easy to proscribe even the most banal. If the toponymist finds that **Green Lake** has a usage the same or even slightly greater than **Princess Lake**, he will give precedence to the latter as much as possible. However, if **Green Lake** is the only name in use, or its use is much more widespread than the other name, he will propose it for approval.

8.7 Pejorative Names

Forms that should be avoided are... discriminatory or derogatory names... (Principle 7). It stands to reason that names that have a pejorative or vulgar connotation must be avoided. It would be a delicate matter, actually, to officialize or let appear on maps a name such as **Witless Pond** if it was known in the area that the name made reference to the nickname of the family owning the property on which the feature lies. A researcher must be on guard for such innuendos. But in Newfoundland there is a feature called **Witless Bay** and a town of the same name nearby. This is not a pejorative name; it commemorates one of the early families of the area, the Wittles. It is just the pronunciation that has changed over the years. In Québec there is a small watercourse called **Ruisseau aux Morpions** (Body-lice Stream). This could seem slanderous at first glance, but the local population finds nothing wrong in the name and want it retained because of its amusing connotation. In such a case the rather odd name could be recommended for approval.

8.8 Names of Living Persons

Principle 5 reads in part of follows: "The adoption of a personal name during the lifetime of the person concerned should only be made in exceptional circumstances." Some authorities have stricter rules on this matter and forbid the adoption of a name of a living person, as was suggested at the First United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical names.

This rule concerns cases where it is wanted to give a name to an unnamed feature. But if the placename found during a field investigation, such as *Foster's Island*, refers to the name of the owner of the place, and who has lived there for many years, the anthroponym (name of person) will be retained if it is well known and used by the local inhabitants. Certainly if another name is equally used, it will be given preference.

8.9 Standardization

Finally, certain steps can be taken to standardize the writing of geographic names. In French the appropriate particles joining the generic to the specific (*de, du, des, au, aux*) will be inserted into the name if the name itself has not received well established usage in another form. (Of course if the name is well established it will be recorded in the form it is used locally.)

For example, *Lac Caribou* will be recommended as such for approval if it is in current usage, but if it is judged to have little use it should be standardized and presented in the form *Lac du Caribou*, *Lac des Caribous* or *Lac aux Caribous*. The distinction is subtle but important to the history of the name. The following are the meaning of the above variations:

- **Lac du Caribou** indicates that a particular event involving a caribou took place at the

lake, such as an observed fight between a caribou and a wolf in which the caribou was the victor.

- **Lac des Caribous** indicates a lake where there are many caribou.
- **Lac aux Caribous** indicates a lake where the caribou pass, but are not there permanently.

The toponymist must attempt to find the appropriate meaning and then apply the correct particle.

Principle 9 points out that hyphenation and in English the genitive apostrophe (as in *Ross's Falls*) should be avoided unless the form is well established in usage.

8.10 Conclusion

One must admit, in these concluding remarks, that it is necessary to consider all shades of meaning in the treatment of placenames. Experience reveals that in 85% of the cases the decision of the toponymist regarding the status of a name (official or not) is relatively straight-forward if the research has been carefully carried out. About 12% of the cases are more difficult and require deep research. Finally, 3% remain real problems and to a certain extent are insoluble considering the lack of agreement of the data gathered in the field, or in some cases the complete lack of data.

8.11 The Toponymic Process

The schedule below retraces the complete path of the toponymic process from the picking up of the name during a field interview to its publication in the provincial volume of the *Gazetteer of Canada*. The symbols used in the schedule are those that were explained in Section 5.7.

STEPS

EXAMPLES

1. The placenames are gathered from local informants and written on a 1:50 000 working map, then transcribed onto a research map.
2. Analysis of the toponyms
 - (a) Evaluation of the informants.

Bignose Lake: 1+/2/3: has the shape of a face with a big nose/4 use 20 yrs M1, M2/5/6X;
Mine Lake: 1-near an old mine/2X/3X/4X/5X/6? M2

Informant 1 of little value (cat 1)
 Informants 2, 3, 4 intermediate (cat 2)
 Informants 5, 6 very valuable (cat 3)
 Overall value of informants (cat 2)

STEPS

EXAMPLES

- (b) Evaluation of oral usage.
- Bignose Lake:** 5 informants, name widely use (cat 3)
Mine Lake: 1 informant and according to him this name is less used than **Bignose Lake**. **Mine Lake** is little used (cat 1)
- (c) Cartographic Usage.
- Bignose Lake:** appears on maps of old White Mountain Fishing Lodge dated 1939, (M1)
Mine Lake: appears on a map drawn by owners of the old mine, dated 1939, (M2)
3. Recommendation of researcher.
- Bignose Lake:** this name is recommended for approval as it is widely used in this area. It has already appeared on a map with wide local distribution. No conflict with other criteria.
Mine Lake: recommend this name be filed with background data despite fact it did appear on a map.
4. Decision of Provincial Board on Geographic Names.
- Bignose Lake:** approved.
Mine Lake: filed as background data.
5. Publication in the provincial volume of Gazetteer of Canada.
- Bignose Lake:** forwarded to the CPCGN Secretariat as an approved provincial name to be included in the listing of approved names in the next edition of the provincial volume. In the meantime information will be circulated so that it can be used on new editions of official maps.

Conclusion

Placenames provide the most useful geographic reference system for day-to-day business communication and social conversation in an area or community. Mail and parcel delivery, emergency fire service, and a host of other community services depend on the landmarks of the area being named, and these names being widely known and used by the residents. The literature and history of a country makes countless references to its placenames. A country without placenames is almost unthinkable, but if one existed conversations there about local events and happenings would be very difficult indeed.

Apart from their usefulness, there is something inordinately fascinating about placenames. An unusual name immediately demands a reason for the place or feature being so named. A personal name given to a geographical entity urges one to find out more about the person so honoured, and to ask why

the honour was conferred. A descriptive name adds to the information found on a topographic map and helps the map reader visualize the place or feature even though it may be miles away.

With these thoughts in mind, it is easy to understand the importance in correctly recording the placenames of a region and ensuring that these correct names appear on maps, in official documents, and on signs and notices. It is a sign of lax and indifferent administration if the places and features of an area have little consistency or change from year to year on some "fashionable" notion. The advice contained in this manual provides a method for the careful recording of the proper names of places and geographical features of an area so that they can be used correctly on maps and made public in gazetteers for the use of administrators and the benefit of the community.

Appendices

A. Phonetic Transcription

It is important that the field toponymist is able to use a recognized system for recording the local pronunciation of geographical names. Two such systems are given below. The first is a simplified pronunciation guide developed by the United States Board on Geographic Names for use by English-speaking toponymists. Names with linguistic origins in most languages can be transcribed by this system which uses letters of the Roman alphabet and indicates the stressed syllable in capital letters.

The second system is the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) which has been found to be somewhat more precise in the rendition of names with origins in the Romance languages. It employs letters of the Roman alphabet together with symbols and diacritical marks. The primary and secondary stresses are indicated by stress marks.

Each names authority should select the phonetic transcription system that it wants used by its field toponymists, and instructions in its use should be given.

The United States Board on Geographic Names Alphabetized Phonetic System

Alphabetized

a
ah
aw
ay
ee
eh
eye
ih
oh
oo
oo
ow
oy
uh

b
ch
d
dz
f
g
h
hw
k
l
m
n
ng
p
r
s
sh

VOWELS

Examples

act, anger, laugh, cat
lot, honor, palm, car
bought, core, saw, ball
hay, great, bait, rate
beet, heat, key, sea
bet, said, guest, dead
buy, aisle, liar, island
bit, injury, bin, been
boat, grow, sew, toe
suit, boot, two, move
put, foot, could, wood
bow, brown, doubt, shout
boy, boil, doily, royal
but, tough, sofa, alone

CONSONANTS

big, balance, amble, blossom
church, chew, chamber, lunch
dog, drew, cad, brad
judge, budget, midget, George
fat, fish, philosophy, cough
great, guard, rag, log
hot, who, ham, whole
where, why, whale, whack
cat, kitten, technical, okra
limp, lamb, opal, apple
man, member, lamb, bomb
hand, note, winter, pin
sing, rang, long, tong
pepper, pop, lip, ample
right, wrong, roar, ring
stop, cease, pass, pseudo
sugar, sure, ship, shout

t	trip, pat, tuft, passed
th	thigh, through, think, moth
th	the, that, theirs, thine
v	valve, void, shelve, vent
w	winter, quench, wonder, went
y	you, use, yet, youth
z	adz, pans, zip, physic
zh	azure, treasure, rouge, vision

Examples of Application of the System

Geographical Name

Toronto
 Davis
 Montclair
 Québec
 Chapleau

Alphabetized

toh-RAHN-toh
 DAY-vihs
 MAHNT-klayr
 (English) kwuh-BEHK
 (French) KAY-behk
 SHAP-loh

The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)

IPA SYMBOL	EXAMPLES
æ	<i>cat, plaid, calf, laugh</i>
eɪ, e	<i>mate, bait, gaol, gauge, pay, steak, skein, weigh, prey</i>
ɛ, ɛr	<i>dare, fair, prayer, where, bear, their</i>
ɑ	<i>bar, ask, cot</i> (a vowel midway in quality between [æ] and [ɑ], used in some regional American speech)
ɑ	<i>dart, ah, sergeant, heart</i>
b	<i>boy, rubber</i>
tʃ	<i>chip, batch, righteous, bastion, structure</i>
d	<i>day, ladder, called</i>
ɛ	<i>many, aesthete, said, says, bet, steady, heifer, leopard, friend, foetid</i>
i	<i>Caesar, quay, scene, meat, see, seize, people, key, ravine, grief, phoebe, city</i>
f	<i>fake, coffin, cough, half, phase</i>
g	<i>gate, beggar, ghoul, guard, vague</i>
h	<i>hot, whom</i>
hw, ʰ	<i>whale</i>
i	<i>pretty, been, tin, sieve, women, busy, guilt, lynch</i>
aɪ	<i>aisle, aye, sleight, eye, dime, pie, sigh, guile, buy, try, lye</i>
dʒ	<i>edge, soldier, modulate, rage, exaggerate, joy</i>
k	<i>can, accost, saccharine, chord, tack, acquit, king, talk, liquor</i>
l	<i>let, gall</i>
m	<i>drachm, phlegm, palm, make, limb, grammar, condemn</i>
n	<i>gnome, know, mnemonic, note, banner, pneumatic</i>
ŋ	<i>sink, ring, meringue</i>
ɑ, ɒ	<i>watch, pot</i>
ou, o	<i>beau, yeoman, sew, over, soap, roe, oh, brooch, soul, though, grow</i>
ɔ	<i>ball, balk, fault, dawn, cord, broad, ought</i>
ɔɪ	<i>poison, toy</i>
au	<i>out, bough, cow</i>
u	<i>rheum, drew, move, canoe, mood, group, through, fluke, sue, fruit</i>
ʊ	<i>wolf, foot, could, pull</i>
p	<i>map, happen</i>
r	<i>rose, rhubarb, marry, diarrhea, wriggle</i>
s	<i>cite, dice, psyche, saw, scene, schism, mass</i>
ʃ	<i>ocean, chivalry, vicious, pshaw, sure, schist, prescience, nauseous, shall, pension, tissue, fission, potion</i>
t	<i>walked, thought, phthisic, ptarmigan, tone, Thomas, butter</i>
θ	<i>thick</i>
ð	<i>this, bathe</i>
ʌ	<i>some, does, blood, young, sun</i>
ju, iu	<i>beauty, eulogy, queue, pew, ewe, adieu, view, fuse, cue, youth, yule</i>
ɜr, ɝ	<i>yearn, fern, err, girl, worm, journal, burn, guerdon, myrtle</i>
v	<i>of, Stephen, vise, flivver</i>
w	<i>choir, quilt, will</i>
j	<i>onion, hallelujah, yet</i>
z	<i>was, scissors, xylophone, zoo, muzzle</i>
ʒ	<i>rouge, pleasure, incision, seizure, glazier</i>
ə	<i>above, fountain, darken, clarity, parliament, cannon, porpoise, vicious, locus</i>
ər, ɝ	<i>mortar, brother, elixir, donor, glamour, augur, nature, zephyr</i>

Other Symbols

- [ˈ] the principle accented syllable precedes the apostrophe mark.
- [,] the secondary accented syllable, if one exists, precedes the comma mark.
- [.] the period mark is used to separate syllables unless one of the above stress marks serves this purpose.

Unvoiced letters, i.e. letters scarcely heard in pronunciation, are written in italics. Examples: the *l* in scècle (sjeˈcl), the *r* in fiacre (fjaˈkr) and the *n* in station (staˈsɪʃn).

Examples of Application of the IPA System

Toronto	to.ran'to
Davis	de'vɪs
Montclair	mant'kler
Québec	(English) kwɛ.bɛk'
	(French) kɛ'ʔbɛk
Chapleau	ʃap'lo

B. Linguistic Code Used by the Commission de Toponymie du Québec

The linguistic code consists of a two digit number used to identify the linguistic origin of a placename. If the specific is simple, as in the examples given hereunder, the first digit indicates the linguistic origin of the specific and the second number is a zero to indicate that the specific is a single element. If the specific is

composed of two elements from different languages, two digits will be used as, for example, in Matagami Station. This name has for a linguistic code 38 (3 shows that Matagami is Ameridian and 8 shows that it is not known whether Station is of French or English origin).

The linguistic code is as follows:

1. French: **Île des Paresseux**;
2. English: **Ruisseau Pearson**;
3. Amerindian: **Lac Massawippi**;
4. Inuit: **Colline Qarliik**;
5. A language other than 1 to 4 above: **Ruisseau Mickiewitz (Polish)**;
6. (This number is not used)
7. Hybrid or Bilingual: **Drummondville**. The toponym is composed of two parts, Drummond being English and ville considered French.
8. Undifferentiated: **Île Station** where "Station" could be either English or French according to informants questioned.
9. An Unknown Language: **Lac Difistash**. No informant knew the origin. According to some it could be German. This information is entered in the records as "supposition".

C. Treasury Board List of Pan-Canadian Names

Abitibi, Lake / Lac Abitibi
Anticosti Island / Ile d'Anticosti
Appalachian Mountains /
Les Appalaches
Arctic Ocean / Océan Arctique
Athabasca, Lake / Lac Athabasca
Athabasca River / Rivière Athabasca
Atlantic Ocean / Océan Atlantique

Baffin Bay / Baie de Baffin
Baffin Island / Ile de Baffin
Beaufort Sea / Mer de Beaufort
Belle Isle, Strait of /
Détroit de Belle Isle
British Columbia /
Colombie-Britannique

Cabot Strait / Détroit de Cabot
Cape Breton Island /
Ile du Cap-Breton
Chaleur Bay / Baie des Chaleurs
Champlain, Lake / Lac Champlain
Churchill River (Man.) /
Rivière Churchill (Man.)
Churchill River (Nfld.) /
Fleuve Churchill (T.-N.)
Coast Mountains / Chaîne Côtière
Columbia River / Fleuve Columbia

Davis Strait / Détroit de Davis

Ellesmere Island / Ile d'Ellesmere
Erie, Lake / Lac Érié

Franklin, District of /
District de Franklin
Fraser River / Fleuve Fraser
Fundy, Bay of / Baie de Fundy

Georgian Bay / Baie Georgienne
Great Bear Lake / Grand lac de l'Ours
Great Slave Lake /
Grand lac des Esclaves

Quebec / Québec (province)
Queen Charlotte Islands /
Iles de la Reine-Charlotte
Queen Elizabeth Islands /
Iles de la Reine-Élisabeth

Rainy Lake / Lac à la Pluie
Rainy River / Rivière à la Pluie
Red River / Rivière Rouge
Restigouche River /
Rivière Ristigouche
Rocky Mountains / Montagnes Rocheuses

Sable Island / Ile de Sable
Saguenay River / Rivière Saguenay
St. Clair, Lake / Lac Sainte-Claire
Saint John River / Rivière Saint-Jean
St. Lawrence, Gulf of /
Golfe du Saint-Laurent
St. Lawrence River /
Fleuve Saint-Laurent

Hudson Bay / Baie d'Hudson
Hudson Strait / Détroit d'Hudson
Huron, Lake / Lac Huron

James Bay / Baie James

Keewatin, District of /
District de Keewatin

Labrador Sea / Mer du Labrador
Laurentian Mountains /
Les Laurentides

Mackenzie, District of /
District de Mackenzie
Mackenzie River / Fleuve Mackenzie
Manitoba, Lake / Lac Manitoba
Michigan, Lake / Lac Michigan
(not actually in Canada)

Nelson River / Fleuve Nelson
New Brunswick / Nouveau-Brunswick
Newfoundland / Terre-Neuve
Niagara Falls / Chutes Niagara
Nipigon, Lake / Lac Nipigon
Nipissing, Lake / Lac Nipissing
North Saskatchewan River /
Rivière Saskatchewan Nord
Northumberland Strait /
Détroit de Northumberland
Northwest Territories /
Territoires du Nord-Ouest
Nova Scotia / Nouvelle-Écosse

Ontario, Lake / Lac Ontario
Ottawa River / Rivière des Outaouais

Pacific Ocean / Océan Pacifique
Peace River / Rivière de la Paix
Prince Edward Island /
Ile-du-Prince-Édouard

Saskatchewan River /
Rivière Saskatchewan
South Saskatchewan River /
Rivière Saskatchewan Sud
Superior, Lake / Lac Supérieur

Timiskaming, Lake / Lac Témiscamingue

Ungava Bay / Baie d'Ungava

Vancouver Island / Ile de Vancouver

Winnipeg, Lake / Lac Winnipeg
Winnipegosis, Lake / Lac Winnipegosis
Winnipeg River / Rivière Winnipeg
Woods, Lake of the / Lac des Bois

Yukon River / Fleuve Yukon
Yukon Territory / Territoire du Yukon

