

Ethnolinguistic Investigation Methodology in an Urban Context: Microtoponymic and Toponymic Surveys (Translation by Henri-Charles Brenner)

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Abstract

Lorsque nous analysons l'urbanonymie recueillie par enquête orale auprès d'un informateur sélectionné pour ses qualités ethnoscientifiques, une dialectographie territoriale dynamique est dévoilée. Toponymes, microtoponymes et urbanonymes recueillis identifient autant de réalités distinctes qui composent le paysage onomastique de cet informateur. La grande variété de la terminologie urbaine échantillonnée doit être analysée de sorte qu'on puisse faire un portrait scientifique dynamique de ce langage spécialisé servant à l'orientation sociale et personnelle en contexte urbain. La méthodologie d'enquête suppose qu'on comprenne le lien entre le questionnaire d'enquête en microtoponymie urbaine et les résultats échantillonnés. Nous proposons une analyse linguistique par thématiques sociosémantiques des résultats de l'enquête orale en microtoponymie urbaine. S'appuyant sur l'appréciation qualitative du matériel recueilli, cette analyse répond aux critères de conservation, de traitement, de codification des données (ici urbanonymiques) que requiert la méthodologie toponymique en général.

Keywords: Urban geographical names, toponyms, microtoponyms, urbanonyms, surveys, sociosemantic and thematic linguistic analysis, ethnoscientific knowledge

Introduction

Microtoponymy and microtoponyms contribute, along with toponymy and toponyms, to the spatial and geographical language of our immediate urban landscape. The dynamic and dialectic relationship that exists between the landscape and the people within it is ever evolving, which is why we need urbanonyms – urban place names – as markers or points of reference to orient ourselves. Depending on their terminology, some of these urbanonyms will be official, parallel or fabricated toponyms, while others will be official, parallel or fabricated microtoponyms. Individuals in an urban setting tag the landscape both semantically and linguistically through a specific set of urbanonyms, which may or may not be part of each individual's personal itineraries within that landscape. Our relationship with the urbanonymy of a particular urban landscape is at once conscious and unconscious. In Quebec, French part of North America, there have been very few studies pertaining to this ethnoscientific phenomenon of applied cultural skills.

1.0 Microtoponymy, Toponymy, and Urban Landscape

In the context of an urbanonymic survey, both toponymic and microtoponymic elements should be investigated. The data gathered through this type of research can be analyzed ethnologically with tools borrowed from linguistics, or linguistically through ethnological methodology. We would be hard pressed to treat urbanonymy as a distinct field, separate from toponymy and microtoponymy, considering the investigation methodology we are putting forth is inspired by toponymic (Poirier 1964 and Hudon 1986) and microtoponymic (Thériault 2007) survey methods that were adapted here to the urban context. The approach itself is largely microtoponymic as it entails data collection along an urban itinerary; on the other hand, our objectivization process is firmly grounded in toponymy.

Our goal is not to ascertain the origin of a place name (odonym) nor to detail the process leading to its normalization, but rather to understand the way people name and construct space in a perspective of self-determination.

Putting it in broad terms, we could say that all toponymic or microtoponymic ethnolinguistic investigations are dynamic in nature, and that they aim to reveal the synchronic system of spatial orientation used in a specific area – urbanonyms, in the case of an urban setting. This system is representative of the ethnoscientific connection that links an individual, or native speaker, to a territory (city) or microterritory (neighbourhood) that he knows or has known. Described and defined by a comprehensive geographical vocabulary, this punctual system, which is a direct product of the intimate relationship between the speaker and his immediate environment, enables him to interact socially within the perceived boundaries of a given territory.

The itinerary, be it general or specific (*itinéraire précis*) becomes a central idea as soon as we accept the neighbourhood or territory as a microtoponymic and urbanonymic entity: it is along a target itinerary that movement through, towards, and within urbanonymically tagged places is best conceived; and it is within the context of an itinerary that urbanonyms find their true meaning as space and orientation referential. The collection and study of place names remain the prime objectives of this dynamic approach. Microtoponymic methodology dictates that there be a dialectic relationship between the researcher and his informant – this enables the two to meet and exchange ethnoscientific information regarding the landscape, which in our case is urban in nature.

2.0 Methodology, surveys and microtoponymy in an urban context

The urban context, in and as of itself, forces us to reflect upon the meaning and definition of the various terms that are used for urban spatial orientation in general. Here the researcher must first define the boundaries of the survey.

2.2 Choosing a City

In choosing a city, the researcher must take into account what it means to its inhabitants, and what it represents to outsiders. The territory we have chosen here is that of the city of Montréal, located on the island of the same name in the province of Québec. It is a largely francophone city, with a dense French toponymy.

People of the Mohawk tribe, who are the first inhabitants of the Montréal territory, had named the island and its surrounding area *Tiohtiake*, which means *The place where the people and the rivers converge and separate*. (Douglas 2000: 1) The toponym ‘Mont Royal’, from which the name Montréal originates, first appears in Jacques Cartier’s *Relation de 1535-1536*: [translation] «Among these rural areas we find the city of Hochelaga, which reaches to the foot of a mountain that rises on fertile, cultivated grounds. From the top of this mountain we can see far into the horizon, therefore we have named it ‘Mont Royal’.» (Noms de lieux du Québec: dictionnaire illustré 2006) The real meaning of Hochelaga, an ancient toponym, is still being debated, and we still don’t know the exact location of this village which mysteriously disappeared sometime between the departure of Cartier in 1535 and the arrival of Champlain in 1608.

2.3 Choosing a Neighbourhood

The researcher must also choose, within the larger confines of the city, a smaller, specific territory on which to base his study. The area we have chosen for this investigation is the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve neighbourhood, which is located in the East end of Montréal. Modern historians define the area’s origins thusly: [translation] «The names ‘Hochelaga’ and ‘Maisonneuve’ originally designated two different municipalities. Hochelaga was instituted as a town in 1863, then as a city in 1883; Maisonneuve obtained city status that same year. The city of Hochelaga merged with Montréal in 1884, while Maisonneuve did the same in 1918. Hochelaga means ‘chaussée de castor’ (beaver dam), a name Jacques Cartier chose because the place reminded him of a native settlement he had visited in 1535. As for the name Maisonneuve, it refers to Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve, who founded Ville-Marie in 1642.» (Noms de lieux du Québec: dictionnaire illustré 2006)

2.4 Study of Generic Terms

The generic terms that designate territorial divisions must be analyzed lexicologically so the researcher can distinguish ethnolinguistic reality from administrative reality.

In Montréal, the population uses the generic term *quartier* (neighbourhood) to indicate the main divisions of the city. Inhabitants will say: *J'habite dans le quartier Hochelaga*, with the preposition *dans* meaning 'in' or 'inside'. The generic term may be omitted, which gives us the simplified formulation: *J'habite dans Hochelaga*. The neighbourhood may be further subdivided, or specified, by the use of the word *coin*, whose literal meaning is corner or area. People could therefore say: *J'habite dans le quartier Hochelaga, dans le coin du Marché* – near the market. We must pay close attention to the preposition when Montrealers say they live *dans tel quartier, dans tel coin*, as it indicates a space located within the city's subdivisions. In a broader sense, Montrealers say they live à Montréal, with the preposition *à*, meaning at or in, used as locative. One exception: Montrealers who live in the Plateau Mont-Royal borough say they live *sur* (dialectal form *su*) *le Plateau*, which literally means 'on the Plateau'. The term *voisinage* refers to the neighborly quality of a given locality rather than to the area itself. We will therefore talk about *bon voisinage* and *mauvais voisinage*. Such terms acquire over time a meaning bred by their ongoing use throughout the population, and they come to reflect a very specific territorial identity, their value and standing being determined by the inhabitants themselves.

Public administration will often use a different set of generic terms to indicate territorial subdivision: municipal authorities will use the word *arrondissement* to designate a city borough; on the provincial and federal levels of government, the term *comté* (county) is used, but one must consider that the federal and provincial governments can sometime assign a different name and/or boundary to what is essentially the same territorial divide. Such terms have not made their way into the popular lexicon, probably because friendlier terms such as *quartier* conjure up a more human and intimate microtoponymic reality.

2.5 Documentary Research on the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve Borough

After completing the preliminary cartographical, toponomical, and etymological investigation of the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve borough, we set out to find authors who had written on the subject, hoping their work would inform the researcher's intervention. The results of the preliminary research should indeed define the scientific parameters of the study as a whole. Although Hochelaga-Maisonneuve has been the subject of numerous books and articles, one publication in particular has piqued our interest because it shares a methodology similar to ours: *À la découverte d'Hochelaga-Maisonneuve* (2007) is a collaborative work between the Université du Québec à Montréal (program for teachers training to work in underprivileged communities), and the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve community history department. The main authors of this document, which is available online or in hard copy, are Robert Cadotte and Johanne Béliveau.

Through a series of photos and accompanying text, *À la découverte d'Hochelaga-Maisonneuve* lead us through three different itineraries across this Montreal borough. It is interesting to note that the authors use the term *périple* (journey) to describe these itineraries: [translation] «*These photos and explanatory texts represent three journeys through which you will discover a neighbourhood famous for the vitality of its communities. The socio-environmental journey bears witness to the social and environmental health of the neighbourhood. The architectural journey focuses on the architectural history of the district through some of its most significant heritage buildings. The cultural journey puts Hochelaga-Maisonneuve's public works of art on display, and presents the cultural organizations and artists who have been part of its landscape.* (Cadotte and Béliveau 2007)

With over 150 photographs, maps and archival documents of great historical value nestled within its pages, this publication has helped us to come up with a clear definition of the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve borough.

2.6 District Definition

The Hochelaga-Maisonneuve borough came about when the town of Hochelaga merged with the city of Maisonneuve in 1921. Hochelaga had a population of 1061 in 1871; in 2005, the district was home to more than 48 000 inhabitants and to a fair number of community organizations. (Cadotte and Béliveau 2007) Long considered an underprivileged area, Hochelaga-Maisonneuve extends to the south all the way to the St-Lawrence River, encompassing the port and its railway system; to the north to Sherbrooke Street; to the west to Moreau St. and the Canadian Pacific railway; and to the east to Viau St. and the Canadian National railway. The neighbourhood originally extended further west into what is now known as the *Centre-Sud* (South Central) area, and to the north past Sherbrooke St. all the way to the Angus Shops, which are now part of the Rosemont borough. (Cadotte and Béliveau 2007) The following statistics, taken and translated from *À la découverte d'Hochelaga-Maisonneuve's* socio-environmental itinerary, give us a glimpse of life in this district:

- Life expectancy: *'The men of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve live on average 10.6 years less than those in the affluent West Island borough of Lac-Saint-Louis.'*
- Average income: *'Hochelaga-Maisonneuve is the poorest of the Montreal boroughs with an average yearly income of \$30 309. This is more than ten times lower than the average income in Westmount, the richest borough on the Island with an average yearly income of \$337 895.'*
- Education: *'In Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, only 55% of youths under 20 have graduated high school, as opposed to 88% in the West Island.'*
- Suicide rate: *'While we find suicide cases in all the Montreal neighbourhoods and social strata, Hochelaga-Maisonneuve boasts a suicide rate six times higher than that of Lac-St-Louis, the borough with the highest standard of living on the Island.'*
- Video lottery: *'In 2006, there were 137 video lottery terminals in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, which amounts to 1 for every 351 inhabitants. There were no video lottery terminals in the wealthy neighbourhood of Westmount.'*
- Road traffic: Motor vehicle traffic in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve is intense, as the area is framed by five main roads and highways. *'On December 3rd 2003, nearly 6 500 vehicles drove by the Sainte-Jeanne-d'Arc School during three critical one-hour periods (7:30 a.m. to 8:30 a.m.; 12 noon to 1 p.m.; 4:30 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.). Drivers have been known to drive aggressively, even running red lights, while passing in front of this school.'* Some of the district's intersections see 25 000 cars go by each day between the hours of 6:30 a.m. and 6:30 p.m. There were 385 pedestrian road accidents in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve between 1999 and 2002, as opposed to only 7 in the richer West Island boroughs of Baie D'Urfé and Beaconsfield. (Cadotte and Béliveau 2007)

From these statistics, we can extract demographical characteristics that will enable us to better target our informants and that will give us an idea of the way non-residents perceive the borough and its inhabitants.

2.7 General Assertions/Informant Selection

Journeying through microtoponymic and urbanonymic itineraries is the methodological foundation that will enable the researcher to gather urbanonymic specimens through a given territory's informants. This gathering-based scientific approach will validate the process and give a dynamic outlook of local microtoponymies, as well as of the more static generic place names. The urbanonyms must be collected in a manner that will facilitate their subsequent processing, analysis, and classification. The researcher can approach this in one of several ways, as long as the method he chooses proves flexible enough and can be adapted to each informant; this adaptability will insure that we obtain an exhaustive onomastic profile of the target area. As the goal of this study is to gather an urbanonymy based on a synchronic system of spatial orientation that is socially, culturally and linguistically relevant to the native speaker of the chosen urban territory, it is important to come up with a list of criteria that will help us build a profile of our target informants. Each type of informant has to conform to specific, describable demographical characteristics. In the case of our own study, an informant had to be resident and/or natives of the neighbourhood, and each one had to be able to respond to an itinerary of the district that fit his or her profile.

In the course of our study, we have identified different types of informants who could be sensitive to the urbanonymy of Hochelaga. This opened the door to a whole host of possibilities in regards to the interview process, yet we still had to choose our informants and methodology carefully, bearing in mind that our goal was to gather precise and significant ethnoscientific data from these interviews. After careful consideration of our objectives, and taking into account the exploratory nature of our research, we decided that our key informant should be a neighbourhood native, someone, preferably an intellectual, who was born, grew up, raised his or her family there, and who still lived there. We also deemed important that our informant work in the area. All these criteria would insure that we choose an informant who sustained an intimate relationship with the neighbourhood, someone who could claim this neighbourhood as his 'natural habitat'. Ethnologists give us this definition of the 'key informant':

[translation] (A key informant is) *a unique individual selected for his experience and specialized knowledge in a specific field. He is recognized and accomplished in his field, and as such is an ideal source for the researcher who seeks in-depth information on a certain aspect of culture or technology.* (Roberge 1991:47)

For the purpose of our study, the ‘specialized knowledge’ we were seeking pertained to the urbanonymy of the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve borough. We decided to build our research around a single ‘unique’ key informant, knowing the data-gathering phase would be followed by other crucial methodological steps such as the tabulation and analysis of our toponymic data. After a series of brief preliminary discussions – an important part of the process – we arranged a formal meeting with our chosen key informant, Mrs. Carole Poirier, deputy-mayor of the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve borough and member of the Québec Parliament (Parti Québécois). The interview took place on June 25th, 2009.

2.8 Specific Assertions/Interviewing the Key Informant

In our quest for ethnoscientific information on the urbanonymy of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, we have selected the oral interview as our data-gathering method of choice. What we will be capturing is, as Roberge puts it, « *un élément de vision du monde* », a vision of the world, or at least a fragment of it, which must be based on a subjective interpretation of reality (a given in ethnolinguistics, where objectivism is not always desirable), and which calls for a contextualization of the gathered data in order for it to be scientifically relevant. As should be expected, we did documentary research before proceeding with the direct investigation.

One can make this type of study *extensive* in nature if one’s aim is to document the subject on a larger scale. We opted for an approach that could be called *intensive* as it relates to one person expressing his views on a specific theme, and that was *individual* rather than *collective*. This type of research makes use of the direct method of investigation, whose results are obtained directly from the source. These choices were motivated by various considerations first raised in Roberge (1991:28): [translation] « *Most intensive investigations are conducted by a lone researcher, this for reasons at once practical (financial constraints) as well as logistical (difficulty to coordinate several investigators simultaneously, to standardize results, or to orchestrate follow-through with the informants).* »

Methodologically speaking, the oral investigation implies that an interview be conducted with the chosen informant or informants. This interview can be *free*, which means that the investigator will make his interventions as discreet and unobtrusive as possible, or *directive*, in which case the intervention structure will be more apparent. Having chosen the latter, we had to come up with a specific set of questions, a questionnaire that would be specifically designed for the type of interview we were envisioning. Such questionnaires can be *closed* (fixed and orientated questions) or *open* (flexible and orienting questions). We chose the open approach. We may lastly characterize as *centered* the interview conducted with Mrs. Poirier, as its aim was the in-depth exploration of one specific subject (the microtoponymy of the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve borough in this case) through a key informant. At certain points of our meeting with Mrs. Poirier, however, the interview took the form of a *life history*, as the informant’s answers were punctuated by more personal accounts, experiences, and considerations.

2.9 Survey Type and Procedure

As mentioned earlier, it is crucial to choose a type of ethnolinguistic survey that is relevant to the profile of the informant and to the requirements of the study. Let’s sum up the intervention before moving on to the questions, the results, and the analysis. I have chosen to conduct a direct survey, meaning one based on verbal accounts rather than on observation. The testimonies were gathered through directive – as opposed to non-directive – interviews, which calls for the elaboration of a very precise and pointed questionnaire. This is what we call a *focused directive interview*, which is different from a directive interview where the researcher simply seeks out a life story. A good directive interview questionnaire should set the boundaries of the survey while leaving room for improvisation. The questions must be formulated as statements that will elicit a commentary on the informant’s part.

As a first step, we contacted Mrs. Poirier’s administrative assistant and explained to her the purpose of our research. She then passed on my request to the deputy-mayor, and a date was set for our interview. (This simple procedure was adequate in these circumstances, but a preliminary exploratory investigation could be necessary in certain cases.)

I spent the first ten minutes of our meeting explaining the broad strokes of my research to Mrs. Poirier, and then I had her sign the required consent forms. She was not given the questionnaire beforehand, and therefore did not know what questions I would ask her – this is the best way to get candid and spontaneous responses.

As the interview was conducted in Mrs. Poirier's office rather than *in situ*, I had to analyze the interview after the fact in order to geographically map out the urbanonymic data I had extracted from it.

2.10 Informant Questionnaire

The interview questionnaire was designed so as to prompt the informant to produce a large number of urbanonyms of all kinds, as well as people names, and to encourage her to express her personal appreciation of the target urban microtoponymic territory. To this end, we chose a point-by-point questionnaire that successively introduced specific themes that touched on various aspects of urban life.

Table 1 : Mrs. Poirier's Interview Questionnaire

Perception

What does the name Hochelaga-Maisonneuve mean to you?

What type of neighbourhood is it?

How does it compare to [name other Montreal boroughs]?

How do the people of [name other Montreal boroughs] view Hochelaga-Maisonneuve?

What kind of territorial identity do we observe among the people who live here?

Borders and toponymic knowledge

What are the present territorial boundaries of the borough? What were they in the past?

What remains of these old borders and of the neighbourhood as it was originally?

Why the name Hochelaga? Why has this ancient toponym survived?

Why the name Maisonneuve?

What territory do we associate with the name Hochelaga? With that of Maisonneuve?

Neighbourhood

From what part of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve do you come from? What was your neighbourhood like when you were growing up?

In what part of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve do you live now? How would you describe that area?

Family

Do your parents and grandparents come from Hochelaga-Maisonneuve?

Does your family live in the area?

Areas and anecdotes

What are the district's main areas and neighbourhoods?

Do any anecdotes come to mind in relation to these areas and neighbourhoods?

Odonyms and their etymology

What are the district's main roads? What do those street names mean?

People of note

What important persons or known personalities live in or come from Hochelaga-Maisonneuve?

Residential areas and perception

How would you describe the borough's different residential areas?

What are the oldest inhabited sectors within the borough's limits? Do these places have names?

Where are the new residential areas? How does the population perceive these new developments?

Ergonymy

What are the district's main commercial areas?

What types of businesses do we find there?

What are your favourite shops and businesses in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve?

Vegetation/The River

Tell us about the area's vegetation. Are there any green spaces? Do they have names? What are your favourites?

What are your thoughts on the St. Lawrence River and its port?

Parks

Are there any parks in the neighbourhood?

How are you involved with them?

Factories

Are there any factories currently operating in the district? What are they?

What factories operated here in the past?

Who are the district's main employers?

Buildings

What are the area's most famous buildings? What's their story?

Are there any buildings of note among the newer constructions?

Streets

What are your favourite streets? Why?

Which streets do you like the least? Why?

Security

Are certain sectors safer than others? Which are the safe ones? Which ones are unsafe?

Social life

Tell us about social life in the neighbourhood. What are the main places where social interaction occurs? What key figures and personalities do we associate with the district's social life?

Status of Women

Tell us about the condition of women in the neighbourhood. Are there any specific places that cater to women's needs? Who are the area's most prominent or well known women?

Sports life

Tell us about the sports life of the neighbourhood. Any famous venues? What sports personalities are associated with the area?

Cultural life

Tell us about cultural life in the neighbourhood. What are the district's main cultural spots? What key figures and personalities do we associate with the area's cultural life?

Business life

Tell us about the neighbourhood's business life. What are the places and people associated with it?

Schools

Tell us about the schools in the area. What is school life like in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve? Any key figures in this field?

Community life

Tell us about the neighbourhood's community life. What are the places and people associated with it?

Demography

Tell us about the district's demographic makeup – seniors, students, young families, native people, etc. Do any of these demographic entities favour one part of the neighbourhood over another? Do they have specific meeting places?

Public services

Tell us about the public services in the area. What do you have to say about the police force?

Literature

Tell us about the literary life of the neighbourhood. Are there any known literary figures? What are their hangouts?

Sculpture

Tell us about the neighbourhood's public sculptures. Which one's your favourite?

As you can see, this questionnaire encompasses most aspects of life in an urban neighbourhood. All the while, its questions may easily be oriented in order to gather information on the specific urbanonymy of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve. My interview with Mrs. Poirier was conducted in little more than an hour, a brisk pace which necessitates a great deal of concentration both on the part of the interviewer and the interviewee. The results were extremely satisfactory, as the interview enabled me to collect ample and varied data.

3.0 Data Processing and Analysis

All the data collected through the survey's questionnaire must be compiled and revised, for only then will we have a broad overview of the results. This entails that we thoroughly organize all the material and information used at every step of the onomastic intervention, including: informant profile; research bibliography; maps; photographs; questionnaires; consent forms; list of people we met; preliminary communications and their results; research objectives; emails, list of interventions with time and date; and so forth. Once compiled and organized in this way, the data can be processed and analyzed.

Our first task in processing the data was to transcribe the interview with our key informant, a necessary step before data formatting and analysis. There are several levels of transcription, among them phonetic, literal, and normalized (Mathieu, quoted in Roberge 1994: 84). Since our goal was neither to study the verbal behaviour of our informant nor to analyze her reasoning, we discarded the phonetic and literal methods in favour of a normalized transcription that would enable us to concentrate on the interview's content rather than its form (Roberge 2006: 84), and that would help us organize our data by semantic themes – our preferred starting point for analysis. The extracted data was then classified and transferred on cards for further analysis, each card corresponding to one of the points or issues targeted during the interview. This classification method enabled us to retain a formal link between the extracted data and the items on the questionnaire (see Table 1), our ultimate goal being of codifying the data so that we can develop an adequate analysis grid for studies such as this one further down the line. No microtoponymic investigations pertaining to urban landscapes or territories have been published as of yet, which explains the lack of pre-classification tools in this field. While analyzing the interview with our informant, we have come to observe, in an empirical fashion, certain elements that could form the basis of a new urbanonymic coding system. A more detailed presentation of the results will be required in order to fully explain the scope of the intervention, but for now we will simply give you a glimpse of the raw data collected.

3.1 Toponyms and microtoponyms

The survey's questionnaire led to the production of numerous toponyms, parallel toponyms, and urban microtoponyms. This urbanonymic language reflects the personal urbanonymy of the key informant, and as such it includes urbanonyms that are closer in nature to microtoponyms than to official toponyms that have been normalized by provincial authorities. These include names associated with businesses, factories, workshops, buildings, community organizations, schools, parks, public spaces, place-names, sculptures, and the title of literary works. The cartographic representation of this particular production must actualize the informant's abstract itinerary, which allows for a dynamic rather than static synthetic perspective. The following results exemplify this.

Toponyms: Montréal, Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, Hochelaga (parallel toponym: *Deuxième Plateau*), Maisonneuve (parallel toponym: *Pittsburgh des Amériques*), Plateau Mont-Royal // Odonyms: Sherbrooke Street, Pie IX Street, Ontario Street // Microtoponyms: place Valois, place du Marché, parc Morgan, parc Champêtre // Denise-Pelletier theater, le théâtre Sans-fils, Château Dufresne (parallel microtoponym: *Le petit Trianon*), St-Émile school, collège de Maisonneuve, Moreau train station, Viauville (residential area), biscuiterie Viau (old cookie factory made into condos and social housing); Le Valois (restaurant); les jardins communautaires (community gardens)//Place-names : en haut de Sherbrooke (above Sherbrooke St.), en bas d'Hochelaga (below Hochelaga St.), la Ste-Catherine.

3.2 Specialized terminology

Some of our key informant's generic urbanonymic terminology has proven to be highly specialized. Several substantives were used to designate some of our sample places as well as territorial divisions and subdivisions. Adjectives were often affixed to these nouns, which brought a fascinating 'subjective appreciation variable' to the nomenclature. It is important, when compiling such a terminology, to record the complete phrases and expressions, for the sake of thoroughness, but also because they give us important insight on the informant's linguistic abilities. Specialized urbanonymic terminology: [translation, except italics] industrialized city, large part of the territory, incorporation (of one territory to another), working-class neighbourhood, urban neighbourhood, mixed urban neighbourhood, new areas, areas I cherish, *voisinage*, sectors, mini-sectors, two nice safe places, unsafe areas, vacant lots, condos, social housing units, coop apartments, decontaminated lots, old buildings, artist workshops, small shops, little restaurants, the north, the south, Hochelaga county, border, *arrondissement* (borough), tunnel, houses, large residences, little brown bricks, big grey stones, fractures, abandoned commercial area, port, river, railroad tracks.

3.3 Donyms and people names

Mrs. Poirier's onomastic production included people names – personalities associated with the neighbourhood, local celebrities, artists, musicians, authors, etc. We also found in her urbanonymic terminology several demonyms that could be viewed as fixed descriptive syntagmas. These elements seem to express the artistic and socio-political concerns of our key informant.

People names: Louise Forestier, Marc Hervieux, Fernand Gignac, Angèle Coutu (artists); Louise Harel, Pauline Marois, Bernard Landry (politicians) // Descriptive syntagmas: [translation, except italics] the people of Hochelaga, the people who stay in Hochelaga, young families, couples with children, *les gens du nord* (people who live in the north end), *les gens d'en bas* (people who live in the lower part of the neighbourhood), high concentration of artists, *deux classes de société* (two social classes), *blancs catholiques francophones* (French-speaking white Catholics), immigrants, *une mixité* (reference to the area's ethnic mix), *nos filles sur la rue* (literally: 'our girls on the street', in reference to prostitution), *prostitution de fin de mois* (literally: 'end of the month prostitution', in reference to women who prostitute themselves only at the end of the month to make ends meet).

3.4 Socially-oriented terms

Being a Member of Parliament and neighbourhood resident, Mrs. Poirier's is very community-minded and her discourse is rich with a socially-oriented vocabulary that includes generic terms as well as urbanonyms. Her approach and concerns are definitely in tune with those of the borough's residents and workers, who strive for the social edification of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve. Here are some of the terms we found.

Socially-oriented terms: [translation, except italics] working class area, *pépinière d'organismes communautaires* (breeding-ground for community organizations), housing projects, coop apartments, social housing, *les gens du nord* (people who live in the north end), *les gens d'en bas* (people who live in the lower part of the neighbourhood), building typology, fracture, social movement, security, insecurity, urban individualism, small cultural community, deteriorating neighbourhood, run-down residential area, the poorest, poor community, tough neighbourhood, social melting pot, social housing area (as opposed to condo area), intervention centers, organization management, *la trame du quartier* (fabric of the neighbourhood).

3.5 Verb usage

There were a variety of verbs used in the description of the district. We thought that listing them systematically, along with the prepositional syntagma when applicable, would most likely lead to an active representation of the territory, a process that could facilitate a pluridimensional reconstruction of the urban space.

Verbs: [translation, except italics] revitalize, build, rebuild, take down, decontaminate, move, remove, expand, evolve, live in, stay, belong, hang about, loiter, bring together, confine, gain access (to the river), *faire un maillage* (creating a network), graft, reach, clash, disappear, *verdir* (make greener through planting), *reverdir* (restore a once green area).

3.6 Pure locative terms

The microtoponymic language is made up not only of locative terms such as microtoponyms, but also of pure locative terms like prepositions or prepositional syntagmas (Thériault; 2007). An exhaustive urbanonymic study must list all encountered pure locative terms, and identify the most significant ones. Here are some of those used by our key informant.

Pure locative terms: [translation, except italics] *en haut* (up, or above), *en bas* (down, or below), north of, south of, east of, west of, *le bord du*, *le bord de* (the edge or side of – or bank, when talking about the river), on the, beside, near.

Conclusion

When analyzing a personal urbanonymy, we discover a typical language that is part of the territorial dialect of the user. As such, it is always current, which makes it an ideal exploratory ground for the study of the social evolution of languages in general. Whether they be official, parallel, or fabricated toponyms or microtoponyms, urbanonyms pinpoint different realities that showcase onomastic and linguistic urban diversity. We also observed in Mrs. Poirier's case an ultra-specialized urban terminology that had to be codified and analyzed, as it is an important part of the ethnoscientific knowledge she has of her native urban landscape. An urbanonymy is the product of a collectivity of people sharing a space and using it, which is why we collected demonyms and people names. We chose to compile and analyze socially-orientated terms because they were sociolinguistic recurrences in our key informant's discourse, and as such they represented her concerns both as a citizen and as deputy-mayor.

As for verbs and pure locative terms, they should be codified and analyzed because they reflect the dynamic dimension of the surveyed territory: the verbs used by an informant dynamically complement the nouns and names that appear during the survey or interview; the pure locative terms help us to access the informant's organized mental generic space. What we have done here is simply stating the parameters of analysis, but once the actual analysis is done, it will give us a precise image of a dynamic personal itinerary within a specific urban landscape. Other types of data may also be collected in the course of a more extensive study.

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