

the landscape. For some groups, watercourses are significant places worthy of names; others emphasize the eminences. For some groups, a hill may be a noticeable feature crying out for a name; for others, a well (or rockhole) beside the hill may be much more nameworthy. For some, soil types may be important, determining plants and animal habitats or what crops can be grown.

Hence, the fieldworker needs to work with speakers to document the categorization of landform types in that language, as well as the built structure types (e.g. bridges, aqueducts, irrigation channels), types of habitation (e.g. villages, hamlets, cities, parishes), and farming and forestry types (e.g. paddock, copse, forest, common).

The term 'landform' needs to be considered to include places away from land such as water features; coastal and maritime communities can be expected to have names for sandbars, reefs, currents, fishing grounds, or navigational waypoints. The fieldworker should not expect an equivalence between, say, the category of *mountain* in English, and a category used to denote eminences in the language concerned (Levinson 2008). See also Turk et al. (Chapter 16 above).

It is important to work with consultants to determine good, prototypical examples of particular landform types. This requires paying attention while travelling around the territory. A useful technique can be to ask for guidance on photographing exemplars of each landform type named within the language. This can be cross-checked by photo-matching games in which one speaker is asked to describe a photograph of a landscape to another speaker in such a way that the second speaker can pick out the correct photo from a set.

p. 396 The contribution of land use varies considerably around the world. Universally, people need fresh water, and so there will be words for sources of water, whether natural (springs, rivers, pools, soakages) or constructed (wells, dams, reservoirs, canals, irrigation channels). Communities living by rivers will have names for crossings or bridges. Communities with well-defined travel routes may have names for paths and trails. Farming communities may have names for fields and grazing land. Sedentary communities can be expected to have names for groups of dwellings. There may be no hard and fast line between landform types and places arising from the inhabitants' interaction with the landscape; for example, a particular tree may be a favourite place to camp, or some bushes may do double duty as a windbreak (Widlöck 1996). In some speech communities celestial patterns may be treated as part of the landform categorization (Cablitz 2008), and then may be named in ways which extend placename systems.

Once the landform and built structure categorization has been determined, it can be compared with the kinds of categories used in placenames. They may be the same (e.g. *bridge* and *Cambridge*). Sometimes the placenames may contain landform or built structure names not used in everyday speech, whether archaic as *-ham* in English *Birmingham*, or borrowed from an earlier occupier (e.g. *Lancaster*, which includes Latin *castra* 'camp').

Some places will gain names by virtue of their role as landmarks for travellers, whether by sea or by land. Thus navigation and mapping tasks may be helpful tools in eliciting placenames (Burenhult and Levinson 2008a). Landmarks are part of way-finding, and how people navigate and use the land may affect their place-naming systems. For example, in some communities there are placenames which derive from other placenames because a basic place is taken as a reference point for other places: so *North Sydney*, *South Sydney*. A similar pattern is evident where a base name repeats in a set of derived toponyms, even though the base is not used as a toponym absolutely, such as *Great Haseley*, *Little Haseley*; *Upper Mangrove*, *Lower Mangrove*.

Placenames live on as landmarks long after the historical circumstance that made them once important. For example, the placename *Charing Cross* in London derives from a Christian cross erected in a former hamlet