

Areas of land may be related hierarchically, e.g. farm/parish/region/state. Basso (1984) has described what he calls 'placename partitioning' among the Western Apache, according to which, as population size increases, social differentiation occurs, and a need arises for assigning names to places within named areas. This also results in relations between places being expressed in the names *New X* and *Old X*, *East X* and *West X*, *Little X* and *Great X*, *Upper X* and *Lower X*. The need to differentiate places with the same name may add to this: *Aix-en-Provence*, *Aix-la-Chapelle* (*Aachen*), *Aix-les-Bains* are three French names for places where the base *Aix* derives from the Latin *aqua* 'water', but which are differentiated further (in Provence, 'the chapel', 'the baths'). Places may also be related linearly, as places along a path or trail as in pilgrimages, or more abstractly, as in the Australian 'Dreaming tracks' (the travels of an ancestral being).

17.2.5 Connotations of the placename

Places will have linked to them stories of events that happened at those places, and they may figure as landmarks in biography (Myers 1991) and narrative. The name of the place may be a mnemonic for an event which is believed to have happened at the place (whether in actuality or in mythology) (Merlan 2001), and so placenames may be used allusively in everyday conversation to remind people of those stories (Basso 1996). A placename may evoke a mnemonic network containing it, such as a known travel route, or (as mentioned) a mythic route such as an Australian 'Dreaming track'.

A placename may form the basis of a personal name, from a life event strongly associating a person to a place. In Australia at least, a deceased person may be conventionally referred to by their place of death (e.g. Myers 1991:132, possibly suffixed, as in Warlpiri with *-wana* 'general locative').

Places may have associated songs, dances, or designs, knowledge of which acts in part as signs of landownership, as in central Australia. Styles of cooking, clothing, or craft all may be associated with particular areas and places.

17.3 Grammatical Properties of Placenames

Here we consider the structure of placenames, and the syntactic constraints on the use of placenames. Placenames are proper names and as such may constitute a word class in some languages, with placenames as a subclass. According to the degree of shared properties in morphology, syntax, and semantics, there may also be subclasses within the toponym class.

17.3.1 Morphological structure of placenames

Placenames may be monomorphemic, they may consist of compounds, or they may consist of derived nominals with productive or unproductive suffixes. In many European languages there are binomial placenames, with generics as part of the name (e.g. *Loch Lomond*, *Lake Windermere*, *Bodensee*, where *Loch*, *Lake*, and *See* are generics denoting water features).

In some languages, placenames may consist of reduced clauses, as in some North American and Australian languages (Basso 1996; Baker 2002). Placenames may consist of phrases. These may be synchronically 'transparent', e.g. the French *Côte d'Azur* (coast of blue). A name like *Newcastle* is evidently made up of an adjective and a noun, but the initial stress alerts us to the fact that it is a proper name, and not a compound. Placenames may retain archaisms—for example, *le* in the English placename *Chester-le-Street* is a vestige of Old French *en le* 'in the'. Other examples include the lack of article found in names such as the French *Villefranche-sur-Mer* or the English *Southend-on-Sea*, where *mer* and its counterpart, *sea*, lack articles.