

Reading Basso in conjunction with De Certeau exposes an important dynamic within the study of place-making: the relation between structure and lived-experience or practice.

In Basso's account, place-making is a temporalizing practice, structuring the contours of a geographic space so that it becomes meaningful, and meaningfully accessible, to present-day Apaches. The place-name, the narration of the mythic event of that naming, and the iterative act of that narration itself, provide the generative structure for how Apaches can experience such named spaces as culturally meaningful places.

The place-making, iterative, work performed by both the place-name itself and by Apache narrators is, however, neither rigid nor hierarchical. It provides an open framework within which spaces can be meaningfully engaged with in the present, rather than a fixed structure that fully determines how this engagement is to be carried out or how this meaning is to be represented. While the Apache place-name as signifier and event is determined, its creative invocation by Apache narrators in the present is, as Basso notes, always open to reconstruction and reinterpretation while nonetheless providing a structuring framework within which the signified places can be experienced as meaningful. The work of the place-name and its narration is thus generative of a phenomenologically inhabitable space through structuring the contours of that space—yet this structuring act never exhausts the possible meanings of such spaces, or how they can be or should be experienced as meaningful.

In his text, De Certeau describes how urban design, and the production of representative models of that design, attempt to fully determine how the space of the city is to be accessed and experienced by city-dwellers—yet always fall short in that attempts. While the constructed spaces of the city are indeed structuring of—and the conditions of possibility for—the kinds of experiences and meanings possible within it, these spatial structurings and the models produced on their basis never fully determine the ways in which the city is traversed and interacted with, nor of the manifold ways in which it is experienced. Rather, the city as spatial architecture is, for De Certeau, always exceeded, repurposed, and reimagined by those moving within it—just as its meanings (e.g. the phenomenology of street and neighborhood names) always transcend their intended purposes and surface significations.

It would therefore seem that just as urban design constrains and models movement, interaction, and experience within the spaces it erects, so too does place-making as iterative practice constrain how a geographic space is experienced as historicized, diachronically meaningful, place. These structuring, constraining, acts are necessary for spaces to become navigable places, facilitating meaningful, experiential, engagement with/in them; yet both (the construction of cities and iterative place-making) never fully determines how these places are experienced or navigated. Just as there is no hegemonic, fully determinative account of place within the Apache tradition, neither (it would seem from De Certeau's account) is the urban built-environment fully determinative of its phenomenological significance for city-dwellers or how those dwellers remake it or re-order it for their own purposes and within their own spheres of meaning.

Unfortunately, I read De Certeau as being overly romantic in his description of city-life, and the ostensibly structure-exceeding practice of its denizens. The city, its urban design and representative models, may never fully encompass and determine the experiences and navigations of those living within it, yet this design and these models are nonetheless hegemonic and authoritative: they a prerequisite for any experience whatsoever within the city (the city does not exist without its architects, its models, and its inflexible, erected structures), and while individual, phenomenological transcendences of these hegemonic structuring effects are unquestionably present (city-walkers certainly do mobilize practical mastery of city spaces for their own purposes, and experience city spaces and significations within their own

coordinates of meaning), but exist only because they do not threaten the authority of these erected structures and the power relations which underlie them. This stands in contrast to the Apache place-weavers Basso worked with, whose generative invocations of place-names creatively structure place by situating and temporalizing it *without* leaving an edifice which would make those instances of iterative structuration permanent, hegemonic or fully determinative of the phenomenological possibilities of that space.