

- j. ↳ Sets of places, related by spirituality, e.g. *Jirndawurrunha*: During an audio recording session examining photos of landscape features, with the researchers asking for landscape terms, the Yindjibarndi collaborators spontaneously referred to spiritual aspects of the features. The collaborators talked about how the *warlu* ('mythic snake') had come up out of the ocean near Onslow and travelled up the route of the Fortescue River, chasing two boys who broke the Law, until he got to *Jirndawurrunha* (Millstream) (Ieramugadu Group 1995). This is part of an explanation of what Yindjibarndi call the 'learning times' or 'when the world was soft'. This is part of what is also known as 'the dreaming', a translation of indigenous explanations of the formation of the world into its current landscape and ongoing spiritual aspects of landscape. Hence particular places may be part of a set of places linked by a 'dreaming' path.
- k. From our discussions, it seems possible that some types of landscape features may be so rare, or even unique, in the territory of the language community that they always have a toponym and there is no generic term used for that type of feature (e.g. prominent mountains).

Other threats are more closely linked to the field methods used and the way data is interpreted. These include:

1. There may be ambiguity of reference leading the linguist to misinterpret the meaning of a term—e.g. previous Yindjibarndi dictionaries (Wordick 1982; Anderson 1986) indicate that *mankurdu* means 'Fortescue River'. However, subsequent fieldwork has shown that *mankurdu* refers to water flow that is deep and fast, and thus has a meaning similar to that of the English word *flood* (Mark and Turk 2003; Mark et al. 2007; Turk and Mark 2008).
2. One potential problem with elicitation in the field is defining and recording the referents of terms (i.e. the particular landscape features). GPS can be used to document the location where the collaborator was standing when he or she used the term, but it is more difficult to record, or even infer, the direction of, and distance to, the referent, although recorded pointing gestures and comments might partly help resolve any confusion.
3. Using landscape photographs can be problematic, as the photo may well contain several landscape features, and great care needs to be taken to ensure that the meaning of terms given are properly interpreted. Also, collaborators may misjudge the actual sizes of features in photographs, and if their language has two terms, one for larger and the other for smaller features that otherwise are similar, they might choose the 'wrong' term.
4. One problem in photograph-based elicitation is the selection of the photographs or images to be used. Should one use photographs of places or features familiar to the collaborators, or of unfamiliar places but in their traditional environment, or of far-away places? A psychologist likely would ↳ prefer neutral, unfamiliar, or even synthesized examples. But for familiar features, collaborators can bring background knowledge into their choice of terms. Also, Yindjibarndi collaborators were reluctant to give terms for features in photographs of country of their neighbouring language group: 'That's Bunjima country, you should ask Bunjima people.' A similar comment was made by a Navajo collaborator when presented with a photograph of a Western Australian landscape feature.
5. With bilingual collaborators, one can ask for the speaker to give words that mean 'river' or 'hill' in their language, but this has a higher risk of producing a greater cross-language conceptual match than might actually exist.
6. A term may be correctly documented as referring to a particular type of landscape feature, but it may also mean other things as well. In Seri, for example, *xatj* appears to have a more extensive meaning