focuses on responsibilities not just to the individual but also to communities and their practices, and on collaboration in research. We will see many of the principles of this protocol echoed throughout this chapter.

The large-scale picture of ethics that we get through a study of ethics codes is useful—in thinking about ethics, a researcher is thinking about dignity, about respect, about justice, about welfare, about individuals, about communities, about knowledge. We realize these principles through institutionalizing policies that require informed consent, examine confidentiality, and deal with management of data, for instance. While the codes are problematic in numerous ways (see e.g. Rieschild 2003 and the report of the Social Sciences And Humanities Research Ethics Special Working Committee 2004), the codes at their best remind us that ethics is not monolithic but multi-faceted, and that ethics principles must be ↳ interpreted relative to societal norms. They nevertheless are framed very broadly. The core ethics principles are sometimes put in other ways that are, perhaps, more easily interpretable—another way of stating them is: 'Do no harm, do some good, and show respect.' Bowern (2008: 148) develops these ideas in her statement of what ethics is: she defines ethics as 'a way of working that you, the research community and the language community think is appropriate'. These more informal notions of ethics, too, require attention in order to understand how they translate into ethical behaviour, and this is especially the case when working with people from a different culture, where the researcher must strive to learn as much as possible about the culture so as to limit the amount of unintended harm, to understand whether actions actually might lead to overall good, and to ensure an appropriate notion of respect. In the next sections I examine some specific questions that a fieldworker might want to think about in terms of linguistic fieldwork with people and communities, languages, and worldviews in hoping to adhere to these principles and understanding what it means to be appropriate.

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18.4 Ethics in the Field

I will begin again at a broad level—university-based ethics protocols—and then turn to ethics on the ground, organizing the discussion around a series of questions addressing issues that arise out of the various general principles introduced in §18.2. The following are some of the sources on ethics in linguistic fieldwork: textbooks by Bowern (2008), Crowley (2007), and Tsunoda (2005); articles by Austin (2010a), Dwyer (2006), and Rice (2006); and the special issue of *Language and Communication* edited by Innes and Debenport (2010). For some general references on ethics in fieldwork, Cameron et al. (1992), Cameron (1998), Clifford and Marcus (1986), Czaykowska-Higgins (2009), Fluehr-Lobban (1991), Geertz (1968), Shaw (2004), and Yamada (2007) are particularly valuable. See also the appendix to this chapter for some additional references.

18.4.1 What about before the fieldwork begins?

A fieldworker from a university, be they an instructor or a student, will likely have to go through a process within their university to have an ethics protocol approved. While ethics protocols differ somewhat from place to place, the core questions that they ask are similar, and are aimed at meeting the types of principles discussed above—affording dignity, beneficence, respect, showing concern for welfare.

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These protocols require that the researcher answer questions in a number of areas. Protocols typically involve questions about the research and how it will be conducted. They ask about how participants will be recruited for the research, and how they will be selected and compensated. They question whether the material to be studied is sensitive or not. They inquire about possible risks to participants in the research, be they physical, psychological/emotional, or social. They query whether deception is involved. They ask about possible harms and benefits of the research to the participants. They inquire about informed consent and