

- (a) the 'expedition strategy', where a large group are all present in the fieldsite for a lengthy period of time;<sup>4</sup>
- (b) the 'partner strategy', where a couple carry out long-term fieldwork in a community, one specializing in language and the other in some other issue (e.g. ethnobotany, kinship);
- (c) the 'guest expert' strategy, where a linguist engages in long-term fieldwork in a community, bringing in a range of disciplinary specialists for dedicated shorter-term investigation of particular topics (e.g. botany, material culture, music) in the company of the linguist;
- (d) the 'long-haul team' strategy, where an investigator specializing in one field then places one or more students who can deal with other topics—an example being the team established by anthropologist Ralph Bulmer, initially recruiting linguist Bruce Biggs and subsequently linguist Andy Pawley, though this team also made notable use of trained native speakers like Saem Majnep and shorter-term guest experts like biologist John Dumbacher and geologist John Chappell.

Each of these strategies (and many other hybrid possibilities) has its own advantages and disadvantages. The choice between them in a particular case will depend on many factors, such as who is available, what funding support can be obtained, personality of the linguist, and so forth, so I will not adjudicate on the relative merits of these strategies here. I do believe, though, that in all cases it is crucial that the linguist have enough 'solo time' in the course of their investigations that they can immerse themselves in the language and deal directly with its speakers on a one-to-one basis. Otherwise they will find it difficult to acquire the fluency and internalized understanding of the language that is their single greatest research asset. And it is this fluency in the language that allows the field researcher to be a true participant observer, which remains the best way of ensuring that it is the speech community's own practice and expertise, rather than the question-agendas of outside experts, which find their way into a fully rounded understanding of the language.

The advantages of interdisciplinary fieldwork are most obvious in the way it can extend the detailed lexicon of targeted areas—botanical terms with the botanist, rock types with the geologist, terms for spear or personal adornment types with the material culture specialist, and so forth.

The history of interdisciplinary collaboration in field linguistics goes back a long way. An early and particularly illustrious case was the work of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún on Aztec in the mid-sixteenth century in compiling the General History of the Things of New Spain, also known as the Florentine Codex, and arguably the world's first proper ethnography. Originally this was written down in Aztec, then translated into Spanish, and now it is available in English as well (Sahagún 1970), thanks to the translation by Dibble and Anderson. Sahagún's team of Aztec scribes enlisted the expertise of local chiefs and leaders, as well as painters able to portray customs and costumes, enabling him to record a vast panorama covering just about every facet of life from religion to marriage arrangements to the appropriate ways of dealing with errant youths. Revealingly, Sahagún regarded the whole sixteen-volume masterpiece as 'a dragnet to bring in all the words of the language with their meaning'.