Mapping Goffman's Invisible College

Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

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Contents

Major Projects at Penn

Clearly, as Hymes had promised, he and Goffman were able to develop a viable community of peers, evident not only from the comments about connections made to this point, but especially through the joint projects examined in this chapter: the Codes in Context conference (CCC), the Center for Urban Ethnography (CUE), the book series Conduct and Communication (CC), and the journals *Language in Society* (LiS), and *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* (SAVICOM). All of these were about research: a conference to share ideas; the center, which provided funding to support training a new generation of researchers and influence research conducted by already accredited scholars, as well as sponsoring conferences; the two journals and the book series providing publication outlets. None of these projects was primarily about socializing or making friends, but obviously pre-existing relationships were drawn upon and strengthened, and new relationships created. In each case, the focus will be on the various roles played by Goffman, but additional content regarding the project as a whole and other participants seems useful to fully understand what happened and why and with what result.

In the following table, the organizers of each project are shown in bold. As a reminder, all these individuals already have been named in chapter 3 (with peripheral group members described in detail in the appendix).

Table 4.1: Goffman's Penn Colleagues by Major Project

CCC	CUE	CC	LiS	SAVICOM
Sol Worth	**John Szwed**	**Erving Goffman**	**Dell Hymes**	**Sol Worth**
Dell Hymes	**Erving Goffman**	**Dell Hymes**	**William Labov**	Erving Goffman
Erving Goffman	**Dell Hymes**	Ray Birdwhistell	Erving Goffman	Dell Hymes
William Labov	William Labov	William Labov	John Fought	Ray Birdwhistell
Ray Birdwhistell	Ken Goldstein	Henry Glassie	Teresa Labov	William Davenport
Ken Goldstein	Dan Ben-Amos	Gillian Sankoff		Henry Glassie
David Sapir	Sol Worth	Joel Sherzer		Steve Feld
Percy Tannenbaum	Fred Erickson	Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett		Larry Gross
	Roger Abrahams	Brian Sutton-Smith		
	Nancy Hornberger	Sol Worth		
	David Smith	Steve Feld		
		J. David Sapir		

Codes in Context Conference (CCC)

Although small and brief, this conference is important because it was an early successful effort, and because it was Goffman's first interdisciplinary collaboration at Penn, made even more noteworthy for the fact that he was still based at Berkeley at the time.

Table 4.2: Codes in Context Conference,
December 15–16, 1967, at ASC

Primary organizers: Sol Worth (communications), Dell Hymes (anthropology)
Secondary organizer: Erving Goffman (sociology at Berkeley)
Penn participants: Percy Tannenbaum (communications), Ken Goldstein (folklore), David Sapir (anthropology)
Not-yet-at-Penn participants: Erving Goffman (sociology at Berkeley), William Labov (linguistics at Columbia)
Beyond Penn participants: Jay Haley (psychology)
Results: The phrase was used later, and it helped cement the core group; publications were discussed but never created.

Of the central people in what was to become Goffman's Penn primary network, Worth, Hymes, and Labov were all part of this event; Birdwhistell was invited but had a prior commitment; Szwed was still at Temple at the time and not yet part of the group. Goffman helped to plan it, and participated, although still based across the country at Berkeley. In October 1967, Worth invited an unknown number of colleagues to a conference that he said he and Hymes had spent the prior year discussing. Those selected were chosen because they were "all working around a set of similar problems that we have tentatively titled 'Codes in Context.'"[1] The letter continued: "We feel that a school of communication is the appropriate framework for this kind of research" and mentioned that ASC had agreed to sponsor "a small two-day work session conference" for about ten people to "meet and talk about their specific research in this area, and will try to formulate plans for an ongoing teaching and research program revolving around the study of a variety of codes in a variety of contexts." And, further on: "Erv Goffman, who will join us for this meeting, has suggested that each of us plan to present a short 'concentrated excerpt' of his work in this area, and that the rest of the time be spent exploring the possibilities of actual collaboration and interdisciplinary research among the participants and their students."[2] In addition to his organizational suggestions, Goffman not only came in from California (writing to Hymes, "Providing you are there and Labov, I would be willing to come"[3]) but also made concrete suggestions of others who might

be both interested and appropriate: Paul Ekman, Gregory Bateson, Edward Hall, Ralph V. Exline, Robert Sommer,[4] Emanuel Schegloff, David Sudnow, Norman McQuown, Ray Birdwhistell, and Harold Garfinkel.[5] Ekman, Hall, Exline, and Sommer all participated in the 1969 conference in New York which Goffman helped to put together, and Bateson, Ekman, Argyle, and Sommer were at the Amsterdam conference in 1970 which Goffman co-organized, so these were people he knew and thought of as potentially making relevant contributions on more than one occasion.

In the end, in addition to Goffman, those invited to participate were Tannenbaum, Goldstein, Sapir, Birdwhistell (still at Temple and EPPI), Labov (still at Columbia), Jay Haley (known for his collaborations related to family therapy with Bateson at the Mental Research Institute in Palo Alto; based at that point at the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic), Salvador Minuchin (Director of the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic),[6] Schegloff (then at Columbia), and Garfinkel (UCLA).[7] The final list of who was able to actually attend is shown in table 4.2. As there was no funding available to cover transportation, it makes sense that most participants were either local or only a short train ride away. Goffman was the primary exception to this rule.

The event was held all day, December 15 and 16, 1967. Hymes called it "our great working seminar" and said "there is here an emerging focus that we all will pursue."[8] Worth commented just after the event about how important it would be "to come to some commonly agreed upon set of definitions and criteria for work in the area that we have loosely called Codes in Context."[9] Important here is both the inclusion of Goffman while he was still based at Berkeley, and the influence this conference had on him, for "it was at the little seminar a year ago December that Goffman and Labov first got to know each other's work and person well."[10] At about the same time, Hymes was trying to convince colleagues in anthropology of the importance of the topic of codes in context generally, and specifically of the relevance of folklore to that topic, saying, "Some of us have talked about a seminar in which such subjects might be regularly discussed."[11] The list of recipients of that letter includes faculty members in folklore, linguistics, and communications, in addition to anthropology, as Hymes was trying to involve all of them in the same conversation.

Several of those invited to the Codes in Context conference were unable to participate and sent regrets. Birdwhistell responded to Worth that it "sounds very exciting" but he was already committed to participate in a conference in Salt Lake City across those dates. "I cannot tell you how sorry

I am because the entire group is one which I respect and I am eager to know what they are doing." He asked if it could be postponed; if not, maybe he and Worth could at least get together for dinner afterwards to talk about what he had missed.[12] Worth said he was particularly sorry, but he couldn't postpone the event because "it depends on Irv [*sic*] Goffman who I think can only make it on that date." But he immediately offered to connect for dinner after the meeting, to "give you a rundown of what we did and accomplished, and also what we are planning and doing here at The Annenberg School."[13] Birdwhistell then wrote expressing his regrets again about missing "what looks like it will be a very fine get together" and asked: "By the way, when you see the Goffman [*sic*] tell him I'm going to be at the Center for Advanced Study in Palo Alto for the year 1968–69 and we can get together then. Kenneth Pike and Kai Ericson will be there at the same time—so we might be able to work on middle-sized stuff."[14] The center's full name is Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. Birdwhistell was conducting fieldwork in Alaska at the time, which must be why he asked that word be passed to Goffman rather than writing to him directly; there were winter storms and he was having issues with mail.[15] It's unclear whether his reference to "the Goffman" is a tease or a typo. Of course, by 1968–1969 Goffman was on the east coast, not conveniently nearby Birdwhistell, who left Pennsylvania for California that year. Minuchin also had to send regrets, saying he had been away from his clinic too often to justify one more absence.[16]

Goffman was not only happy to participate but told Worth, "I am going to try to come a day early for the conference so as to get a better chance to talk to you and Dell and to look around."[17] After the conference was over, Goffman thanked Worth "for the conference, the party, the reprints, the extra day of hospitality, and for being so open about the possibility of my occasional use of Annenberg equipment."[18] It is intriguing to consider what use of Annenberg's video equipment he anticipated, and whether he ever followed up on that possibility.

A few weeks before this conference, Hymes circulated to all participants a report from the Conference on Folklore and Social Science, which he had just attended (November 10–11, 1967), on the grounds that "the conference was vigorous and full of promise for the area of concern with communication, with codes in contexts." He wanted to "stimulate feedback with regard to the importance of folklore in our concern for the development of the area of 'codes in contexts' at Penn."[19] That event was funded by Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, sponsored by the Social Science

Research Council, and held at the Wenner-Gren Foundation's offices in New York (Wenner-Gren 1967).[20] In addition to Hymes, who was one of the organizers, other participants relevant to the story told in these pages were Alan Dundes, as well as Roger Abrahams and Ken Goldstein; Ward Goodenough and Anthony Wallace were discussed as potential participants. Hymes explained that the goal was explicitly to bring social scientists, who had "an analytic bent," together with folklorists, who had "primarily literary interests." [21] Worth responded with a lengthy letter talking about how important it would be "to delineate the place of other disciplines in the general area of study which we might call Communication and Culture, or The Ethnography of Communication, or whatever. What I see you doing here is setting out a rationale for the study of Folklore within the context of Ethnography, Communication, and Codes in Context."[22] Worth used the phrase "codes in context" again in an article published a few years later: "We are not ready to propose a theory of codes in context that would be integral to a complete analysis of our data" (Worth and Adair 1970, 22). And Hymes used it in a letter to Glassie, where he said, "We have growing up through personal ties and community of interest, across departments and schools, perhaps the strongest concentration of talent for the study of—well, no one name serves, but the study of communicative conduct, of 'codes in context' (Sol Worth), 'ethnolinguistics' in some of its aspects, 'sociolinguistics' in other, verbal behavior from an ethnographic standpoint."[23] The take-away here is that the topic of codes in context was obviously timely, and useful to participants as a way of referencing shared interests across disciplines, even if there were no formal presentations, and even if no major publication resulted.

Worth had hopes of turning the conference into a book series, tentatively to be sponsored by Annenberg, and provisionally titled Codes in Context Monograph Series, but that never happened. He saw the potential series as a steppingstone, telling Hymes: "I agree with you that ultimately we went to establish Penn as a center for this kind of work." [24] A year later, in 1969, Hymes was still discussing the possibility of establishing some sort of interdisciplinary center where they could all collaborate on the ideas brought up at the conference. Interestingly, at that point he was assuming that it might also serve as the primary home for the faculty involved, for "if the university set up a new institute or department where we could do our work and get the cooperation we need in training, we might all jump."[25] Obviously, that never happened, but having different administrative homes proved no bar-

rier to collaborations. At the same time, their discussion should be noticed as an early precursor to the repeated efforts to create some sort of either multi- or interdisciplinary framework for an overlapping group of faculty members sharing interests in the minor projects. And it is important that, for at least several members of the group, Worth's phrase "codes in context" was comparable to Hymes's phrase "ethnography of communication."[26] As Worth put it, "Both Dell and I feel that the area which I call 'codes in context,' and which Dell calls the ethnography of communication, is an area that we want to develop on this campus and for which we don't have either enough of the right people."[27] Of course, they shortly would add "the right people": Goffman, Labov, Birdwhistell, and Szwed. It is perhaps worth mentioning that Gumperz at least once, in a letter to Hymes, referred to "a Goffman-ethnography of communication framework."[28] The point to be made is that there was no final agreement on what to call what they were doing, yet they had no difficulty in thinking the different approaches they were taking should be viewed as having substantial overlaps.

Center for Urban Ethnography (CUE)

The Center for Urban Ethnography was established in 1969 through a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) titled "A Program for Metropolitan Culture Studies" (Center for Urban Ethnography 1975, 1).[29] The center's name was likely a tribute to Hughes, given that Goffman, who helped write the proposal, had studied with Hughes at the University of Chicago, and once said that Hughes "developed . . . Urban Ethnography" and "what I did . . . was a version of Urban Ethnography," concluding, "If I had to be labeled at all, it would have been as a Hughesian urban ethnographer" (in Verhoeven 1993, 318).[30] In any case, the initial grant in 1969 was made to Szwed, Goffman, and Hymes; Szwed served as director, with Goffman and Hymes as associate directors, until 1974, when the funding ran out.[31] Szwed tells the story:

> Some of our writings and talks had been seen by a few people at the National Institute of Mental Health, and I was invited to apply for a sizeable grant to develop an anthropological approach to urban life in America. . . . at least some people at NIMH saw a void in our knowledge of our cities, and thought anthropological methods applied to urban culture were worth supporting. . . . I was offered a million dollar, five-year grant to create a research center that could itself sponsor research for projects that avoided the judgmental negativity and punitive research inspired by the current crisis, and also help fund minor-

ity graduate students who wished to focus on the cultures of urban life. I was then a member of the Department of Anthropology at Temple University, and they wanted no part of what they called "tramp scholars" in their midst. Erving Goffman, then new to the University of Pennsylvania, and Dell Hymes of Penn's Department of Anthropology encouraged me to locate the grant in their institution. But the Penn anthropologists were also against the idea, some of whom objected because it involved racial issues and controversies. Only the Program in Folklore at Penn was willing to take it on. So I quit my job at Temple, made formal application to NIMH through the University of Pennsylvania, located the new Center for Urban Ethnography within Folklore, and by default became a folklorist. (2015, 426–27)

A million dollars in 1969 would be equivalent to $8,547,384 in 2025,[32] so this really was an astonishingly large amount of money. Szwed provides a few more details about Goffman's role:

Erving Goffman had just arrived in town from Berkeley to assume a chair in anthropology and sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, and told me that he was looking for "something to do." We met over corned beef in a South Philadelphia deli and in a few minutes had worked out a plan to form the Center for Urban Ethnography at Penn. Within a week the administration of the University of Pennsylvania bought the idea. The Department of Anthropology chose not to get involved, however, with at least one of its faculty members accusing us of discriminating against white students. It was instead the Program in Folklore and Folklife that welcomed the Center to Penn, and asked me to teach in their unit; and with Goffman, Dell Hymes, and myself as co-directors, we recruited a talented group of young researchers and opened an office in the fall. (2005, 10–11)

Goffman supports this description in a letter to Hymes, then in England, saying: "The grant looks like it is almost in, and that is because John and I have worked so hard. Tomorrow morning when you shave, look at yourself and try to feel guilty."[33]

The center followed directly in the tradition of the Chicago School, designed to take "the best-trained pre-doctoral students ready to undertake dissertation research we could find, and to help guide and focus their interests and to put them into the urban field following the ethnographic approach" (Center for Urban Ethnography 1975, 1). Specifically, as Szwed explained to Hymes while they were waiting for final approval, there would be "7 student researchers per year, 3 (black) tuition stipends, and one faculty research assistantship for visiting scholars. . . . there'll be plenty funds for travel and seminars too."[34] In keeping with this, fellowships were advertised in places like *Anthropology News*. Here are the essentials, from one of the ads:

"In order to increase the recruitment of members of minority groups into ethnography, fellowships are available to members of ethnic groups who wish to do graduate study in the Departments of Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania. These students would continue to be supported through their doctoral research" (*Anthropology News* 1970, 7). As Szwed explains, "Incredible as it now seems, African Americans were not of that much concern to social scientists in the early 1960s" (2005, 8), and he wanted to change that by creating "a major research center that would make its focus urban ethnography—basic research on the lives of people in American cities—with African Americans and other ethnic groups at its core" (10).[35] One goal in establishing the center was finding a home for "the cluster of colleagues from anthropology, sociology, linguistics, folklore, and elsewhere, all interested in urban ethnography" (Hymes, in Hornberger 2002, 1), and among others drawn in were not only Labov, but Goldstein, Worth, and Ben-Amos (Darnell 2001b, 2011).[36] This language nicely echoes Mullins (1973), in his discussions of clusters of people making up a theory group.

Such an enormous grant made a huge difference in encouraging people to study a new topic. The center distributed numerous small grants from the funding obtained from NIMH in order to shift focus and attention to subjects typically overlooked. In addition to studies of racial and ethnic groups, there were studies of those who came into contact with these groups (such as the police) and, more generally, of public places and the "public order" (Center for Urban Ethnography 1975, 2). In the beginning, Szwed suggested it might take as much as a year before they saw substantial numbers of applications, but he was convinced they would get noticed.[37] He was right, and by 1975 it was possible to write: "To date this research has produced 23 completed dissertations (with 9 others in progress), 63 papers or chapters in books published or in press, 24 books or monographs, and nearly 100 papers delivered at conferences, meetings, etc." (Center for Urban Ethnography 1975, 3). Best known of the publications are major works by Goffman (1971, 1974), Hymes (1972a, 1972b, 1974), Labov (1972b, 1972c), and Szwed (1970; Szwed and Abrahams 1978; Szwed and Witten 1970), as well as shorter pieces by Gail Jefferson (1973, 1974; Sacks et al. 1974), John and Angela Rickford (1976), and Dennis and Barbara Tedlock (D. Tedlock 1976; Tedlock and Tedlock 1975). Some of the dissertations supported were those of Michael J. Bell, Marjorie Harness Goodwin, Gregory Gizelis, Samuel Heilman, Elizabeth Mathias, Dan Rose, and Clarence Robins. In addition, by 1975 Szwed was able to write: "We have placed 13 of our researchers in academic depart-

ments where they are pursuing the subject of urban ethnography" and "we now have on hand and pending a body of materials that demonstrates the importance of what has loosely been called 'ethnicity' for the everyday lives of a great number of people" (Center for Urban Ethnography 1975, 3).

By 1970 CUE was getting international requests for student support. An example is a request for information from Mervin C. Alleyne (a member of the editorial board of *Language in Society*), based at the University of the West Indies. Hymes responded:

> On the funds at Penn: our "Center for Urban Ethnography" cannot enroll students, or admit them. That can only be done through established departments and schools. What we can do is provide financial support to students considered members of "minority groups," if a dept. or school wishes to accept it. . . . I can't promise financial aid sight unseen. If they are admitted by the Linguistics dept (and this would be a good place to come—Labov is joining us next year), then I'm pretty confident we will be able to provide the financial support. Such money is included in our grant. The only criteria would be an interest in urban problems (which I would take dialectology to imply) and minority group status—I apologize that this sounds like "racism in reverse," but if they're black, that will suffice, despite being from the majority in their own country. "Minority" operationally means non-white.[38]

Elsewhere Hymes reported on the actual functioning of the center, this time to Courtney Cazden, at Harvard.

> The Center for Urban Ethnography, John Szwed, Director, Erving Goffman and Dell Hymes, fellow conspirators to disburse the government's millions, operates by telephone and casual conversations, gives money only for other people to do their own individual work, and doesn't insist on the work being done in Philadelphia. I have to say that Erv Goffman is more anthropological than the anthropologist, and might be unhappy about work not involving direct participation.[39]

In fact, CUE did more than just distribute research grants in the effort to "disburse the government's millions"; another activity was to organize several of what were variously termed meetings or conferences. There is documentation available for two of these.

Table 4.3: Urban Ethnography Conference,
November 14–15, 1969, New York

Primary organizers: John Szwed, Dell Hymes, Erving Goffman
Penn participants: Ken Goldstein (in addition to Szwed, Hymes, and Goffman)
CUE supported student participants: Marjorie Harness, Emma Lapsansky, Dan Rose, Jonathan Rubenstein
Not-yet-at-Penn participants: William Labov, Fred Erickson, Roger Abrahams
Beyond Penn participants: David Amidon (history, Lehigh University), Mr./Mrs. Stephen Baratz (Washington, DC), R. S. Bryce-Laporte (sociology, Yale), Joan Katcher (anthropology, Beaver College), J. L. Dillard (educational psychology, Yeshiva University), Steven Dodd (sociology, Berkeley), Edwin Eames (anthropology, Temple), W. H. Ferry (California), Herbert Gans (urban studies at MIT/Harvard), Blanche Geer (sociology/anthropology, Northeastern University), Judith Goode (anthropology, Temple), Joan Howard (anthropology, Syracuse University), Everett Hughes (sociology, Boston University), Charles Keil (American studies, SUNY Buffalo), Thomas Kochman (linguistics, Northeastern Illinois State College), Bruce Lee (Washington, DC), Elliot Liebow (NIMH), Walter Miller (urban studies, MIT/Harvard), Laura Nader (anthropology, Berkeley), Stanley Newman (anthropology, Northeastern Illinois State College), Esther Newton (anthropology, Queens College), Lee Rainwater (social relations, Harvard), Harvey Sarles (anthropology, University of Minnesota), Ethel Sawyer (sociology, Temple), David M. Schneider (anthropology, University of Chicago), A. Sivanandan (Institute of Race Relations, London), Raymond T. Smith (anthropology, University of Chicago), William Stewart (Washington, DC), Dr./Mrs. Charles A. Valentine (anthropology, Washington University), David T. Wellman (sociology, Berkeley), Carl Werthman (sociology, Berkeley), William L. Yancy (sociology, Vanderbilt University)
Results: Coordination and discussion of major ideas, no publications, but some overlaps with the second conference, which resulted in a book

The first event was held at the Statler Hilton Hotel in New York, November 14–15, 1969,[40] with Labov, Lee Rainwater, and Laura Nader giving presentations, among others. This was "a two-day meeting of most of the urban ethnographers in this United States, with papers and seminars" (Center for Urban Ethnography 1974, 3). Goffman discussed it in a letter to Hughes: "I am glad indeed that you can come and visit with us in New York. The meeting is on urban ethnography in general and race in particular. A letter from John Szwed ought to have reached you by now with the details." (Oct

24, 1969, ECH). That letter from Szwed explained that all expenses would be paid by CUE and included the list of participants.

Table 4.4: Reinventing Anthropology Conference,
May 7, 1971, Philadelphia

Primary organizers: Dell Hymes (anthropology), John Szwed (folklore)
Penn participants: Bob Scholte,[41] Sol Worth (both in communications)
Not-yet-at-Penn participants: Dan Rose (anthropology, University of Wisconsin-Madison)
Beyond Penn participants: George N. Appell (anthropology, Brandeis University), Stanley Diamond (anthropology, New School for Social Research), A. Norman Klein (anthropology, California Institute of the Arts), Alfonso Ortiz (anthropology, Princeton University), Trent Schroyer (anthropology, New School for Social Research), William Willis (anthropology, Southern Methodist University)
Results: Publication of *Reinventing Anthropology* (Hymes 1972a)

A second major event was held May 7, 1971,[42] intended to provide the opportunity for participants to talk through the issues and then publish in a book Hymes had agreed to edit, which he originally described as "the book on radical anthropology"[43] but eventually titled *Reinventing Anthropology* (1972a). Goffman was not part of this event, as it was more specifically aimed at those identifying as anthropologists, particularly those concerned with the direction of the field. Of those participating, Hymes wrote the introduction, and Szwed had a chapter (1972) as did Worth (1972a), and Scholte (1972). Diamond, Klein, and Willis were also at this meeting, as well as several others (including Eric Wolf and Laura Nader, who had participated in the earlier CUE-sponsored conference). So, in some ways it may be accurate to consider the second conference to have been a smaller, more focused event resulting from the first conference.

The transformation of the second conference into a book has an interesting back story; in fact, uncommonly, the offer to publish a book came first. Hymes wrote a review essay of *The Dissenting Academy* (the book is Roszak 1968, the review is Hymes 1968). That book's publisher, Pantheon, immediately invited Hymes to contribute to the series of their "anti-textbooks." As editor Andre Schiffrin explained: "During the last year we have

tried very hard to find someone who might undertake to edit a collection of dissenting essays in anthropology."[44] The idea intrigued Hymes, but he was over-committed and could not agree to doing anything at that point.[45] Despite that, the conversation continued based on the fact that "we have obviously found the perfect editor" and a contract was immediately offered.[46] Hymes had no time until after returning to the US, but they continued the conversation, which eventually led to the conference in spring 1971 (with a representative of Pantheon in attendance),[47] and the publication of the book in 1972. Given that Hymes's departure from anthropology happened as he was working on the manuscript, in this context he explained that move (and delays it caused) by saying, "The official dept is resolutely determined that anthropology shall not be reinvented. They like it the way it 'always was.'"[48]

Of the resulting volume, Szwed pointed out:

> We had high hopes for the book, and for the possibility of transforming the goals of anthropology: we talked of introducing reflexivity into the discourse and practice of the field, and of confronting what we saw as the arrogance with which anthropologists had limited their field to the exotic while at the same time assuming that they knew all that they needed to know about their own societies to do comparative studies. But the book was quickly disposed of in the few reviews it got. . . . Years later, however, we learned that we had struck a chord, at least among graduate students. (2005, 11)

Shirley Brice Heath later labeled the book "one of the most radicalizing texts in the history of anthropology" (2011, 402), so it was not only participants who thought it well worth the time and effort. Then, in 1999, nearly thirty years after its publication, Hymes received a request to reprint the book in paperback;[49] perhaps it was just ahead of its time.

Continuing the story of general CUE activities, in January 1973, Hymes wrote to Szwed first with a suggestion that CUE invite Martin Silverman, in anthropology at Princeton, who was doing related work on trends in social theory to campus for a talk, then turned that into a larger suggestion in a letter to Szwed.

> Maybe the Center next year could undertake a small series of talks or working meetings on aspects of the notion of performance. The key dimensions might be: performance as aesthetically tinged conduct, or behavior; performance as having emergent properties, not reducible to expressions of personal competence (knowledge); performance as having a moral dimension in the particular sense of the acceptance of responsibility, not only for knowing, but also for doing (as a performer). . . . Erv ought to be willing to join in. Marty Silverman. Who else?[50]

There is no response in the file, and it is unlikely that event happened, but this is interesting both because it was a proposal to connect what the center was doing regarding urban ethnography to Hymes's work at the time on performance, and because of the assumption that Goffman would be an obvious participant.

The variety of additional activities documented as having been supported by CUE include, among others:

- "a meeting of scholars on problems of confidentiality and ethics in field research"
- "a meeting on the problems of writing ethnography for both professional and popular purposes"
- "a meeting of scholars of Afro-American studies" (eventually leading to two books: Abrahams and Szwed 1975; Szwed and Abrahams 1978)
- partial sponsorship of the Conference on Marginal Religious Movements in America Today at Princeton in 1971
- sponsorship of "panels and symposia . . . on urban ethnography and Afro-American studies at meetings of the American Psychological Association, the American Folklore Society, the American Anthropological Association, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science" (Center for Urban Ethnography 1974, 3)
- *Urban Poetry*, a collection of poems and fiction, circulated at least once[51]

In addition to supporting research, publications, conferences, and presentations, the center occasionally appointed fellows. Labov was a research fellow; Gail Jefferson was a postdoctoral fellow,[52] accepted at Harvey Sacks's request (according to Goodwin and Salomon 2019); and Abrahams was a fellow "whenever his job at Texas allowed it" (Szwed 2016, 427). And there was at least one series of seminars sponsored by the center, with Goffman, Labov, Jefferson, Charles and Marjorie Goodwin, and other students, which has been characterized as "extraordinary" (Goodwin and Salomon 2019, 4).

The center was funded for five years only. In 1974, Hymes wrote Labov that "John [Szwed] has some hopes still that new funds will come into the center."[53] But they did not.[54] By 1977, Hymes wrote to Goffman, "Maybe the Center for Urban Ethnography could rise again, phoenix-like."[55] Hymes talked with Glassie about the same thing, how to revitalize the center, in 1979.[56] And then the phoenix did rise, more or less, although with substantial differences. First, when the Ethnography in Education Research Forum

(EERF) was started by Hymes in 1980, it operated under the auspices of CUE, which at that point had moved to the Graduate School of Education (GSE), where he was dean.[57] Surprisingly, the center is still today credited as a co-sponsor of that event,[58] despite the lack of outside funding, despite the fact that none of the original participants are now involved, and despite the fact that the topic changed to a focus solely on education. After a few years, both CUE and EERF were passed on to colleagues in GSE; later directors have included David Smith, 1980–1985; Frederick Erickson, 1986–1999; and Nancy Hornberger, 2000–2015 (Hornberger 2003, 2011; Smith 2002). This second iteration of the center was also home to several large research grants from a different funding source, the National Institute of Education (NIE), emphasizing the use of ethnography to study inner city schools, from 1979–1983, two with Hymes as PI ("Ethnographic Monitoring of Children's Acquisition of Reading/language Arts Skills In and Out of School" [Hymes 1981a] and "Ethnolinguistic Study of Classroom Discourse" [Hymes 1982]), and one with Smith as PI ("Using Literacy Outside of School: An Ethnographic Investigation" [see Smith 1982, 2002]). At least the first of these was clearly conceived as a CUE-related grant, as Hymes put it to Szwed: "The Center for Urban Ethnography could be and ought to be the vehicle for this, should it not?"[59]

Second, in 1999, what might best be described as a tribute version of the center was designed by Abrahams, the Center for Folklore and Ethnography (CFE), which still maintained a connection to Goffman. As a reminder, Szwed has been quoted as saying that Abrahams participated in discussions creating the original version, so he was well aware of the goals. CFE was part of a compromise made in 1999 to avoid completely closing the Department of Folklore and Folklife; instead, the Penn administration returned the department to the status of a graduate program (how it had begun) and a research center (see Hufford 2020 for the story). As founding director of CFE, Abrahams established the mission, maintaining some overlap with the original center's mandate, saying the new mission was "to create practical fieldwork programs for students, to co-ordinate conferences and seminars of regional, national and international significance, and to collaborate with local folklore institutions on ethnographic projects reflecting regional cultural diversity."[60]

In the announcement of CFE's inaugural conference in 2000, Goffman was specifically mentioned, along with Hymes and Birdwhistell:

> In the 1960s and 70s there was an unusually rich conversation that took place, centered at the University of Pennsylvania, arising from the work of Dell Hymes and his colleagues and very gifted students in the Ethnography of Communication; Erving Goffman, through his analyses of the cultural constructions of everyday life, explored through the metaphors of theatrical play, game play, ritual practice, and aesthetic framing; and Ray Birdwhistell, whose discussions of the microbehavioral dimension of cultural practice enlivened the intellectual environment here and elsewhere. Between them, they deeply affected the way in which ethnographic observation is now carried out.
>
> Now twenty-some years later it seems useful to bring together many of those involved in this discussion, not to lament its passing, nor to celebrate its accomplishment, but to bring back some of the questions that arose then that remain unanswered.[61]

Participants at the event included Hymes, Szwed, Glassie, Ben-Amos, and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, among many others. In 2001, Abrahams retired, and Mary Hufford, a Penn folklore PhD student from the late 1970s, returned to teach in folklore at Penn, taking over as director until it closed in 2008 (Hufford 2020). In her capacity as director, she organized additional conferences, including a symposium to honor Abrahams when he retired,[62] as well as workshops and a visiting fellows program,[63] and taught courses, including a field practicum (Hufford 2020; email to the author, June 19, 2022).

It is uncommon for a research center funded for only five years to end up lasting decades, and to have not one but two reincarnations, but then this center was uncommon in multiple ways: the amount of initial funding, the goal of bringing ethnography back to the US (when traditionally anthropologists studied other cultures and countries than their own), the focus on urban culture and minorities, and the support of mostly junior rather than senior scholars. Goffman played a role from start to finish during the first five years, from helping Szwed with the initial proposal, to serving as associate director, to participating in some of the events, although clearly not all of them. He was not around to be part of the later incarnations yet was still acknowledged for his early contributions.

Conduct and Communication (CC)

Goffman and Hymes co-edited the book series Conduct and Communication (CC) for the University of Pennsylvania Press (frequently abbreviated to just "Penn Press").[64] This series was particularly important because Goffman was the one who first suggested it, at least as early as 1968: Worth wrote

to Hymes, "In regard to Goffman's suggestion about a publication series, I think it is a superb idea, and one that is very, very needed."[65] Worth went on to talk about whether it might work out better to produce the series through ASC, since Gerbner was potentially interested in publishing monographs in communications. Worth offered to edit the series if someone else would manage the money, linking it to the conference he and Hymes had organized in 1967, suggesting they call it Codes in Context Monograph Series. That never happened, although even the suggestion makes clear the connection between these two otherwise quite different projects.

Table 4.5: Conduct and Communication, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970–1982

Year	Author	Title	Citations*
1970	Goffman	*Strategic Interaction*	3,587
1970	Birdwhistell	*Kinesics and Context*	6,798
1972	Labov	*Language in the Inner City*	13,681
1972	Labov	*Sociolinguistic Patterns*	19,267
1974	Hymes	*Foundations in Sociolinguistics*	11,133
1976	Kirshenblatt-Gimblett	*Speech Play*	155
1980	Sankoff	*The Social Life of Language*	675
1981	Goffman	*Forms of Talk*	16,918
1981	Worth (edited by Gross)	Studying Visual Communication	563
1981	Hymes	*In Vain I Tried to Tell You*	1,726
1981	Rose	*Energy Transition and the Local Community*	43
1981	Sutton-Smith	*The Folkstories of Children*	302
1981	Sutton-Smith	*A History of Children's Play*	171
1982	Feld	*Sound and Sentiment*	3,326

* citations in Google Scholar as of March 2025

Two years after their initial discussion of the series, Hymes told Worth, "Erv has persuaded Penn Press to have a series, on trial basis, in conduct and communication, that he and I will run,"[66] and the first books appeared remarkably quickly, in 1970. The name is likely a subtle reference to Goffman's dissertation, "Communication Conduct in an Island Community" (1953). The series continued even after Goffman's death because Sankoff and Glassie stepped in to serve as co-editors with Hymes from 1983 to 1990. The entire series has been called "distinguished and provocative" by Weigle (1988), in her review of Basso (1985), one of the volumes published in it, and indeed it was. The list of only those books published between 1970 and 1982, and thus under Goffman's supervision, is in table 4.5. They were all carefully chosen, and nearly all of them have been frequently purchased, and cited, and have influenced later work in significant ways.[67]

When the press made a formal report to the campus about recent activities in 1973, all three authors published in this series by that point (Goffman, Birdwhistell, and Labov) were highlighted.[68] A new director, Robert Erwin, began service in fall 1974 and, in the "President's Letter to the Faculty" on that occasion, Meyerson highlighted work by all the authors in this series by that time (now including Hymes).[69]

The first book to appear was Goffman's *Strategic Interaction*. There is very little documentation concerning its publication, but what has survived is a very odd example of marketing. Whether of their own volition or at Goffman's request is unclear, but Marilyn Sale, an editor at the press, sent a copy to J. Edgar Hoover, in his role as Director of the FBI, before it was even published. "We are sending to you, under separate cover, a copy of Erving Goffman's *Strategic Interaction*, which we will publish shortly and which we believe might be of interest to you and your staff. In this book, Professor Goffman uses espionage and police literature to show how men elicit, cover, and reveal information in game-like interaction" (Sale to Hoover, Jan 15, 1970, MK). A few weeks later, there was a response from Hoover, saying, "I have not yet received this book but I am looking forward to doing so. I certainly appreciate your sending it to me" (Hoover to Sale, Jan 23, 1970, MK). There is no letter, at least none in the same archival collection, showing whether Hoover read it when it did arrive, or what he thought of it.

The second book in the series, *Kinesics and Context,* was by Birdwhistell; today that is the work for which he is best known. He has explained that it "would not have appeared if it had not been envisaged by Erving Goffman" (1970, xiv). Others also acknowledged Goffman's achievement in making

this book appear, as when Robert Sommer sent Goffman congratulations on getting Birdwhistell to prepare the book, which he felt was long overdue,[70] Birdwhistell's only other book having been published in 1952.[71] Obviously, they were working on *Kinesics and Context* during Birdwhistell's first year at Penn, given that it was published in 1970. The book was neither written as a single piece, nor simply a collection of previously published papers; it consists of conference papers, unpublished manuscripts, and prior publications edited into a single narrative by a Penn graduate student. "Barton Jones[72] has tried to make a coherent whole from an assemblage of very diverse pieces" (Kendon 1972, 452). In his review of the book, Kendon not only calls attention to Jones's unusual role as a student editing the work of a professor, but also mentions Goffman, saying, "Had it not been for the insistence of Erving Goffman (the coeditor of the series in which this book is published) and the work done by Barton Jones, we might never have had these papers in print" (453). Kendon includes Goffman in the list of "others who share this perspective and who have been influenced by Birdwhistell" (453n1); he earlier defines "this perspective" as "the 'structural' approach to communicational behavior" (441). The important point to remember is that Birdwhistell's signature work likely would never have appeared if Goffman had not ensured its publication.

The third and fourth books were by Labov, who credits "the urging of Dell Hymes and Erving Goffman" for their completion.[73] Hymes similarly credits Goffman with initiating what turned out to be the fifth book in the series, *Foundations in Sociolinguistics,* telling Fought it was "through agency of Erv Goffman" that the book came to be.[74]

Goffman took quite seriously the mandate he and Hymes established that, to be included, books must address both language and society, rather than either one or the other. Hymes shares that "in the two years before his death, he [Goffman] worried that the series might have exhausted its purpose, because the manuscripts coming to attention were strongest in attention to speech genres and text, and were not balanced by manuscripts strong in social structure" (1984, 627). At the same time, Hymes reports that when the press suggested that his own work, *In Vain I Tried to Tell You* (1981b), be published within the series, a book which falls nearly entirely in the language category, with virtually nothing about society, "the logic of scholarly categories was replaced by the logic of academic kinship" (1984, 627).

At least some of the time, Goffman took the lead on corresponding with the press on whether manuscripts should be accepted,[75] and he clearly did

at least some of the administrative work of the series, including writing the hard letters rejecting proposals. Joel Sherzer submitted a manuscript in 1974 for the series to which Goffman responded:

> On behalf of Dell and myself, I inquired of Erwin, the editor of the University of Pennsylvania Press, about the possibility of the Indian language book . . . apparently the costs would run about $7000 and Erwin feels that if $5000 could be raised, there might be a possibility. We buried scholarship, praised the wage that the laboring man was getting these days, and I said goodbye. I think it's a good idea to give general courses to undergraduates, but dissertation writers ought to be trained in something practical, like screenplays, TV scripts, and grant proposal writing.[76]

The book in question was most likely Sherzer's dissertation (published as Sherzer 1976). They knew each other long before this exchange, as documented in the story told previously about Labov's hiring. Their connection was reaffirmed by the way Goffman's letter closes: "You are boobs, party poopers, etc. for not going to Mexico City. Love to the great French chef," presumably a way to ensure that the friendship would continue beyond this rejection.[77] The reference to Mexico City is mostly likely to the American Anthropological Association meeting held there in fall 1974.[78]

Another dissertation under consideration for the series was Philips's *The Invisible Culture*,[79] but that eventually was published elsewhere as well (1983). And Hymes was to have had another volume of his own in the series, a collection of essays entitled *Language as Culture*, but that never appeared (apparently because it was never submitted).[80] He was still working on it in 1980, when he explained that he couldn't agree to an invitation because he already had too many commitments, including "to Penn Press, a collection of essays, promised 5 years ago."[81] But he did manage to complete a different book for them on which he apparently was working simultaneously, *In Vain I Tried to Tell You* (1981b); he had been working on that one also at least since 1975.[82]

And there was at least an exchange between Hymes and Ray McDermott (at Rockefeller University), after the latter gave a presentation at Penn, about the possibility of publishing his dissertation from Stanford, "Kids Make Sense" (1976), as a book in the series. Hymes outlined the process they followed:

> If the manuscript came to us for the series, both Erv and I would read it, and both would make careful analytic comments. . . . Erv writes marvelously cogent accounts of papers for the journal and no doubt would do likewise for the book ms. . . . The main question Erv would raise, as you know from your talk at Penn,

> is the relation between what goes on in the classroom and what the participants, esp. the children, bring to the classroom.[83]

Indeed, Goffman's comments for the series also proved to be "marvelously cogent." In the end, that book was also not published.

A few years later there was a flurry of activity relating to Sapir's book, *The Social Use of Metaphor* (eventually published as Sapir and Crocker 1977). One problem was that Sapir was interested in submitting it to other publishers first;[84] another was that Goffman did not particularly view it as appropriate for their series. Erwin sent a letter to Goffman saying that he and Hymes were "more or less inclined" to accept Sapir's manuscript in the series, and that "Dell asks: are you disposed to go along with us on this one, so far as including the book in the Conduct and Communication Series is concerned?"[85] Apparently the answer was no, because Erwin wrote Hymes, "Erv prefers not to include the volume in the Conduct and Communication Series. . . . for him, it lacks the experimental aspect and breadth of concern that he covets for the series. He also continues to be dubious about books of papers for the series. I assume that, like the UN Security council, you and Erv extend mutual veto powers to each other."[86] Hymes responded that he would vote for publishing in the series, but that "if Erving feels definitely that the book should be separate from the conduct and communication series, I would of course defer." He then proposed that if not in their series, perhaps the book could be published in Ken Goldstein's series with the press (more on that below).[87] A month later matters still had not been resolved, because Erwin wrote, "I am reluctant to step into the line of fire between you and Goffman, but I hope we can include the book in the Conduct and Communication series. In any case, we will promote the book to the same audience."[88] Finally, there is a note from Hymes to Goffman saying, "Erwin reports that the Sapir book is approved. I don't want to make an issue of its inclusion in the Conduct and Communication series. If Dave [Sapir] comes with Penn (rather than Indiana), I would be happy to have it, because it will carry a dedication to KB [Kenneth Burke]. But not enough to make you unhappy."[89] In the end, the book was published by Penn Press, just not in their series (or Goldstein's).

A few years after that (1978), when faced with a submission to the series of which he said it "doesn't strike me as very interesting," Hymes concluded a detailed report to the press by saying, "If Erving should like it, I wouldn't object to its being published; just so long as it isn't called 'ethnography.' If others should like it, I wouldn't insist on its not being published."[90] The

point here is that Hymes and Goffman did not always agree on the value or appropriateness of submissions to their series but worked hard to resolve their differences cordially and, as Erwin suggested, did give one another veto power.

A more successful proposal was one by Sankoff for *The Social Life of Language* (1980). This one was first encouraged by Labov,[91] and put forward by Goffman to Erwin, with the comment "Sankoff won't be long in these parts, and I hope we can tie the thing down with a decision quickly."[92] (Of course, Sankoff did in fact stay both in the city and at Penn.) Hymes also wrote Erwin supporting it, saying he had had a chance to talk with Goffman about it, and "I agreed with him that such a volume is an excellent idea."[93] By the next month, Erwin offered Sankoff a contract, telling her, "Messrs. Hymes, Labov, and Goffman supplied such glowing endorsements that I believe I could have got you canonized."[94] The manuscript was submitted in early 1979, and Erwin told Hymes, "Erv Goffman told me before Christmas that he would bring you the good news. Gillian Sankoff has finished her book, and it includes the 'assertive' Introduction you counseled long ago. Erv also said that he would urge you to write a Foreword, a suggestion that I heartily second."[95] He asked whether Hymes needed a copy of the manuscript and imposed a six-week deadline. Hymes responded, "Erv and Gillian brought by her manuscript and I shall do my darndest to provide the foreword in time. . . . I very much want to help the book along."[96] He did in fact complete the foreword (Hymes 1980).

In addition to *Strategic Interaction* (1970), Goffman published a second book in the series, *Forms of Talk* (1981), and there is more documentation available for that one. Goffman sent the manuscript to John McGuigan, acquisitions editor for Penn Press in January 1980. "Betimes we have spoken of a set of papers I was preparing in my capacity as amateur sociolinguist, and these I now submit for possible publication in the Conduct and Communication Series" (Goffman to McGuigan, Jan 3, 1980, RB). He admitted to having some concern about the marketability of the book, given that "the focus is too narrow for the sociologists who might be attracted because of what I usually write about, and I have a doubtful claim on the attention of the linguistically trained." McGuigan sent the manuscript to Richard Bauman for review, with the comment that obviously they would publish it, but that he did still need a review for the editorial committee (Jan 14, 1980, RB). Unfortunately, it is not clear at this point who exactly was on that committee. Bauman responded with a Goffman-level detailed evaluation (three single-spaced pages), saying

that, while "it is always a stimulating experience to read his work," "this is some of his very best" and "certainly a case in which the whole adds up to more than the sum of its parts," concluding that the book "will have a very significant impact on the burgeoning field of conversational analysis" (Jan 28, 1980, RB). He named "The Lecture" his favorite of all the chapters he had previously read, for "the thread of reflexive and shape-shifting play that runs through it," but considered the one that was new to him, "Radio Talk," to be "superb—I've never enjoyed or profited from a Goffman paper as much as this one." Obviously, he recommended publication.

John McGuigan first brought the manuscript and this review (and possibly others) to the editorial committee, and then wrote to Hymes saying:

> As you know, the editorial committee [of Penn Press] formally approved for publication Erving's FORMS OF TALK. Erving requested that I send the manuscript to you—*sans* introduction, which is still being written—for your critical eye. He very much wants the manuscript carefully scrutinized. Also, Erving is letting the formal decision of whether or not his book appears in the Conduct and Communication series rest in your hands. Of course it ought to be included, but Erving wants to avoid the appearance of any overt conflict of interest.[97]

Goffman was not copied on that letter. Within a few days, Hymes wrote back four single-spaced pages of comments, far too much to quote in its entirety here, but the following are some of the highlights.

> As you know, I had seen all but the last long piece, "Radio Talk" before.

> I quite agree with the decision of the Editorial Committee to publish the book. I also believe that the book should appear in the Conduct and Communication Series. (Recognizing in saying that, that the precise status of the Series is presently uncertain). Certainly the book should appear in paperback simultaneously with hardcover.

> Some comments in the order of the chapters, which Erving may or may not want to take into account.

> Ch. 1. [Replies and Responses] Obviously I think this is good, having published it in LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY. . . . As the later chapters of this book show, conversational constraints may be complex but are not non-existent. . . . The fact that participants can be sanctioned by others for departing from expected constraints shows them to exist. . . . What Erving goes on to say about footing is far more valuable to the work that needs to be done to come to understand just what different people make of the means of communication available to them. But somewhere the ugly notion of norms, expectations, "rules," patterns, whatever, raises its head, often invoked by the participants we observe themselves.

Ch. 2. [Response Cries] A very nice paper and a delight to have appear in LAN-
GUAGE.

Ch. 3. [Footing] A very good paper. The Nixon instance is offensive (I hope) but
maybe thereby holds the attention. It is good of Erv to describe the first sixteen
pages as a lengthy gloss on Hymes. . . .

Ch. 5 "Radio Talk" is very interesting. It would be helpful to advertise at the
outset more clearly where the long discussion of radio talk will end. The end
opens up, using radio talk as a way of defining something not radio talk. That's
important to people who may or may not be interested in radio talk itself. . . .
Erv is perhaps too uncritical of the notion of "literacy" here. . . .

The ending is very important but not, I fear, all that it could be. The basic con-
trast is powerful and worth waiting for. But why not pursue it a little farther? . . .
Something very important might be opened up here for research. And a glancing
comment on Habermas and ideal communicative competence would seem very
much in order! Indeed, it seems strange to discuss linguistics and competencies
without a mention of CHOMSKY. No need to mention me. In writing TOWARD
LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE I drew on Erv for support in extending the
notion. But now that Habermas has made ideal communicative competence a
notion much discussed in some sociological and philosophical circles; and given
that linguists still treat it seriously in something like Chomsky's sense—some
do anyway, it would seem very strange to pass by oblivious.

To say this is not to fault the manuscript for lacking a reference and a bib-
liographical nod. What Erv has to say about competency is important to that
general discussion. I should very much like to see him address it, if only in a
paragraph or a page.

What Erv says about informal talk sounds rather like what Habermas says about
"discourse"—as distinct from ordinary talk. . . .

If Erv wants to insist on a two-way contrast between the freedom of "informal
talk" and the restraint of "formal talk," as in radio announcing, then he ought
to mention at least where that puts him in relation to the Habermas idea and
discussions of it. My own guess is that Erv could develop the two-way contrast
into a scale. . . .

Anyway a paragraph or a page, please![98]

A few notes. First, of course Hymes wanted Goffman's book to be published,
and in the series; that was likely a given. Second, Hymes's comments are
comparable in content, volume, and style to those Goffman typically wrote
for submissions, displaying clear understanding of what was said, and
frequently attempting to put it into the larger context of what others were
also saying. For example, even after noting that chapter 1 had already been

published in *Language in Society* (meaning he had already had an opportunity to critique it ahead of time), Hymes wrote half a page of discussion of it. Third, chapter 3 sparks a detailed response that is not at all critique but more a meditation on how the content fits with prior work by Ethel Albert, Hymes himself, Keith Basso, and Charles Goodwin. Chapter 4, The Lecture, has no comments at all, which seems surprising, but then Hymes had had the opportunity to provide critique ahead of time, and presumably did. The comments on chapter 5 mostly consider Goffman's ideas in relation to those of Habermas. Fourth, what surprises me most is that it seems Goffman did not take any of these suggestions into account in preparing the book for publication: Albert, Basso, Chomsky, Habermas—none of them have been added to the final version. However, Goffman did acknowledge and cite many others, including those mentioned elsewhere in these pages: both Dell and Virginia Hymes, both Teresa and William Labov, as well as Jefferson, Philips, Sankoff, and Sherzer. A few others only got acknowledgments for specific suggestions, but this makes evident at least a few of those with whom he was exchanging drafts: Lee Ann Draud, John Fought, Rochel Gelman, Anthony Kroch, W. John Smith, and Allen Grimshaw. Finally, the status of the series was at that time uncertain for two reasons: There was always an issue of funding, but also Goffman was concerned about the lack of appropriately balanced submissions (that is, ones considering both language and society). More on that shortly.

Worth had one book published in the series (posthumously, in 1981), but his classic, *Through Navajo Eyes* (1972b), was rejected. Hymes wrote a letter to the press saying he had not had a chance to review the manuscript and asking that it be considered for the series.

> I would consider it a crime and a shame not to publish the book here. What can be the point of having people here strong in research in those areas of communication, and of launching a series to benefit from one of the University's distinctive strengths, if a book that represents both is not published by our Press? . . . I further understood when the series was initially launched, that it would have a trial period in which Erv and I would be able to select the books (monographs). I understand from Erv that he did not in fact take a clear position on Sol's ms., leaving you more or less on your own to judge it. I've told Erv my view of it, and his reservations apparently have to do with commitment to the future of the series itself, rather than with the ms. With all this in mind, I wonder if it would not be a good thing for us to get together to discuss both?[99]

As the book did not in fact appear in the series, but with Indiana University Press instead, it seems obvious that this argument was unsuccessful.

In 1979, at a point when several years had gone by with no books at all published in the series, Grimshaw wrote to both Goffman and Hymes saying he recently had been asked whether he was going to publish a collection of his sociolinguistic papers, so he wanted to explore the possibility. "It occurred to me that such a volume *might* be an appropriate for the conduct and communication series at the Penn press," he wrote (emphasis in original), and included a CV and prospectus. "If the series is defunct, or if you're not interested, just tell me. If you think the idea is a disastrous one and that I shouldn't pursue the possibility with any press, I'd consider it a personal favor if you'd tell me that. If you think the notion is a sound one and if you think that you might be interested in such a volume for your series, let me know that and I'll be delighted to send copies of whatever papers you don't already have."[100] Notice that he could assume they would both already have unpublished versions of most of his sociolinguistic papers. The response from Goffman has not been preserved. Hymes's response was:

> The idea of a book of your papers seems a good one. I can't speak with definiteness about our series. It has lagged although not disappeared. Erv and I are to have a meeting soon with the newly appointed director of the Press to talk about the series. A month from now we will know better what its prospects will be. . . . In your own interest, given the present uncertainty here, I'd suggest being in touch with Anwar S. Dil and the Stanford series. . . . We'll let you know once we have meet with the Press director what our situation is.[101]

In fact, Grimshaw did publish with Stanford (1981), rather than with Penn.

There was a connection between the Center for Urban Ethnography and the book series in addition to the fact that Hymes and Goffman were essential to both, which is that researchers or research projects funded by the former were frequently published within the latter. To give a few specific examples (taken from Center for Urban Ethnography 1978):

- Both books published by Hymes (1974, 1981b), and both books published by Goffman (1970, 1981) in their book series were listed as having been supported by CUE.
- Labov was a fellow at CUE, first receiving funding for time spent writing, and then receiving two book contracts with the series (1972a, 1972b).[102]

- Dennis Tedlock had a CUE grant for one project, resulting in two publications, neither of which was part of the series (1976; Tedlock and Tedlock 1975), and then a book contract with the series for another project (1983).
- Dan Rose received funding from CUE first for fieldwork and then for writing up his dissertation (1973; as detailed in 1987, 223), which was later published in the book series (1987). That book details Goffman's influence on his choice of research methods. In addition, Rose published a different book in the series as well (1981).

What might not be immediately obvious from the list of authors is that the series was primarily, certainly in the years considered here, a way for Penn faculty (and occasionally students, or those affiliated with CUE) to get their work published. As Hymes explained to a non-Penn author (whose work was eventually published elsewhere): "Erv and I have been intending to discuss the scope and future of the series which so far has been essentially a Penn faculty (or former student) series. Your book will provide a welcome concrete focus for this."[103] (In fact, the series did later accept work by those without Penn affiliations, but not often and not many.) Goffman was part of the larger discussion with the press of what should be accepted, and the obvious acceptance of work by faculty at Penn. As he wrote Hymes, "My position on our series is that we can insist on a couple of books that won't sell, but that for the rest the Press depends on being able to get most of its investment back. So quality and some salability would ordinarily be required. But both have accepted tacitly and tactfully a basic exception: books by full time members of the faculty when the book falls in the area covered by the series. Thus Worth and Feld."[104] (The books by Worth and Feld were in fact published in the series and are included in table 4.5.)

It is unclear whether the press knew about, or agreed with, the de facto limit to Penn-affiliated authors. Although it does seem they should have noticed, at least some of the correspondence indicates not. For example, six months later, McGuigan, the acquisitions editor, wrote to Hymes that the press should "be more than a passive receptor for manuscripts." He asked for names of those Hymes and Goffman considered potentially appropriate authors for the series, so the press could pitch the series to them.[105] There is no list of potential authors in the file, so it is unclear whether one was sent or not. The issue may have been dropped, because two weeks later Hymes wrote McGuigan an angry letter, saying, "I am outraged that the University of Pennsylvania Press will sponsor a party at the AFS meetings for a book

by someone not at Penn, while ignoring Brian and myself. If I am to be insulted in this way, I simply will withdraw from any further connection with the Press. . . . A helluva reward for years of loyalty."[106] AFS is the American Folklore Society, of which Hymes then served as president; Brian is Sutton-Smith, who had just published not one but two books in the series. The matter turned out to be a misunderstanding, triggering apologies by Malcolm Call (associate director of the press) immediately, and from McGuigan as soon as he returned from a conference, explaining that the event was a Penn party at AFS and, with Hymes not attending that event, they simply thought they might sell a few of another author's books. Hymes apologized.[107]

When a new director was being hired for the press in 1979, Hymes wrote to Provost Gregorian on Goffman's behalf as well as his own, saying:

> I should just like to express concern that the new director will be someone academically oriented, having experience with university presses and their particular problems. And I very much hope that the new director will be someone interested in maintaining the special strengths of the Press in the areas of sociolinguistics, folklore, and symbolic anthropology. It has been rewarding to see these strengths develop, and to be able to contribute something to that development. There would be a great sense of loss if these strengths were to be abandoned.
>
> Erv Goffman joins me in this concern.[108]

In fact, the crisis was averted: The next director was just as happy with their book series, so there was no difficulty.

At the same time, Goffman was unhappy with the press for another reason, as Hymes told Philips: "Erv is miffed with the Press because the late director said it could not put books out in paperback, as well as hardback, unless they were sure to sell well on the basis of established reputations."[109] And then later: "Erv is adamant that the continuation of the series depends upon the Press bringing out the books in paper as well as hard cover. I agree with him." As there had just been a change of director at the press (Erwin had left for another job, and Morris English had just been hired), they could not get a quick answer.[110] In fact, over a year later, at least for *Forms of Talk*, the press agreed to publish both cloth and paperback editions at the same time.[111]

As compared to Goffman's reviews for *Language in Society*, which frequently provided not just detailed but extensive critique, his reviews for the book series, where they have survived, are less detailed. He explained the distinction he was making to Hymes: "I felt my complaints would not be taken as those of a critic, to be attended to or not as the writer sees fit,

but as an editor who might not accept a ms if displeased by it. You might be in the same position. Let's have a chat about it."[112] It seems surprising that Goffman was so careful not to come across as heavy-handed, even when he had considerable notes that might have been useful to an author. Perhaps especially so because Hymes did not seem to share the same qualms, as evident in a letter he sent Goffman with nine single-spaced pages of notes about how he thought a collection for the series was good but might be completely reconceptualized to make it even stronger.[113]

This book series was actually one of a set having overlapping editorial responsibilities. In 1967, the Haney Foundation agreed to sponsor The Haney Foundation Series in the Humanities and Social Sciences through Penn Press, and Hymes served on the editorial committee (along with Goldstein, and several others from Penn not otherwise mentioned in these pages). Basically, it was a way to be able to publish "works of scholarly value and interest which might not otherwise easily find their way into print without financial assistance."[114] Hymes chaired the Haney Foundation Committee for much of the time,[115] meaning that he would already have known the relevant staff at Penn Press and understood the general processes they followed before *Conduct and Communication* even began. In that capacity, he asked Goffman for help in locating reviewers for at least one submitted manuscript.[116]

And there were other relevant series. Just before *Conduct and Communication* was established, in 1968, Goldstein founded Monographs in Folklore and Folklife at Penn Press, with the first one published being a book by Glassie (1968). Associate editors for that series included Ben-Amos, Hymes, and Szwed, as well as Tristram Coffin and Don Yoder, senior colleagues in the folklore department.[117] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's book was accepted into the *Conduct and Communication* series, but not before being the subject of a small tug of war. Hymes mentioned to Sherzer that "Ken Goldstein likes it for the folklore series here, and Erv is sympathetic for our series. . . . He thinks very highly of Barbara."[118] After reading the manuscript, Goffman had "reservations," mostly due to it being the first edited volume considered for the series.[119] In the end, it was accepted, but a question remained about the title. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett wrote, "I'd like to approach Erving Goffman on the title question as he has a flare for good titles."[120] In fact, the final title was slightly revised (1976), but there is no documentation showing whether that was Goffman's suggestion or not. Another example is Fought's book *Chorti Mayan Texts* (1972a), which was accepted into Goldstein's series,

with the support of the Haney Foundation, as well as reviews by Goldstein and Ben-Amos.[121]

Then, in 1980, Labov and Sankoff began co-editing a new series, Quantitative Analyses of Linguistic Structure, for Academic Press, publishing a collection edited by Labov (1980) as the first volume. Hymes and Goffman had an exchange about whether that new series should be viewed as a competitor to their own. Goffman argued that it absolutely should not. Apparently, they were both startled that Labov had not mentioned it ahead of time, given how well they knew him and how often they talked. Goffman concluded that if he were to be upset, it would be for proposing the series with Academic Books rather than Penn Press.[122] Here Hymes was the outraged party, while Goffman was the one arguing for reason and calm. Perhaps for that reason, it was signed "love, Erv," which was not the way his letters were usually signed, at least not to Hymes.

The next year, 1981, in writing about the press and its financial difficulties (there was a good chance of significant funding decreases), Labov mentioned that he and Sankoff had proposed a new series on Language Change and Variation, which would have supplemented Conduct and Communication.[123] He pointed out that if funding were withdrawn from the press, they could easily move the series to another academic press, since they had received significant interest. It seems that series never appeared (although a journal of the same title did).

Earlier, in 1974, there was discussion of a multidisciplinary research project on Native American use of language (and likely also narratives) that was to involve Fought and Goldstein as well as both Dell and Virginia Hymes, but that also never appeared in print.[124] A few years later, yet another series under consideration (or perhaps the 1974 series reconfigured?) would have involved Dell Hymes, Wallace, Fought, and John Gerard Witthoft.[125] Erwin told Hymes:

> The notion of a Native American series suits me right down to the ground. An editorial board consisting of you, Wallace, Witthoft, and Fought would be perfect, and I would ask the Editorial Committee [of the press] to delegate power of approval, so as to give you a freer hand and save time and paperwork. . . . The only thing is, books on Navajo ritual and such are not likely to be lucrative. It would be ghastly to start up and then fizzle out after a couple of books. I suggest that a sound foundation would be $10,000 and a salable book for the first offering. This base could become a revolving fund that kept us going indefinitely. Any ideas on where to see the $10,000 start-up fund?[126]

Hymes was deeply offended by the suggestion that books on Native Americans might not sell well, arguing that of all the groups, the Navajo were particularly well recognized nationally. He concluded with the beautiful phrase: "I thought I was offering you a strawberry amidst a snow."[127] After a further exchange of letters, Hymes wrote that "John Fought is enthusiastic about a series of publications in this area and will try to think about possibilities for funding,"[128] so apparently he himself had given up the fight. Without obvious funding, that series also never appeared.

A final proposal for a series at the press was made in 1978 by Sapir (years after he had left Penn), jointly with Chris Crocker and Peter Metcalf, for a series tentatively to be called Studies in the Ethnography of Symbolic Forms, adapting the title of a course Hymes originally developed at Penn, and then turned over to Sapir. "I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Dell who would be interested in making sure the series, if it ever comes to pass, would fit in and complement his and Erving's."[129] Given that notice, Erwin immediately wrote to Hymes saying, "I would appreciate your confidential advice."[130] Hymes responded fairly quickly, and was generally positive.[131] Oddly, no one seems to have copied Goffman on the issue, but presumably he was told about it in person. That series also did not appear.

The original Conduct and Communication series had a crisis in the last six months of Goffman's life. The concern he had expressed in 1980 had only grown: He apparently wanted either to expand beyond Penn affiliates, and/or to halt publication until more sociologically oriented manuscripts were submitted. In April 1982, McGuigan told Hymes, "I've gotten some strange words from Erving, concerning the series. We need to talk about this."[132] Hymes responded the next day: "I haven't heard anything from Erv about the series, but will be glad to talk to you about it," mentioning that he did know about Goffman's "general complaint about sociologically oriented work being lacking."[133] After some discussion of two volumes then under consideration for the series, Hymes went on to say:

> In regard to Erv's missing sociologically strong work, I can only agree, and wish that he could recommend some to us. That absence doesn't seem a reason for failing to publish work with other kinds of strength. I don't know whether or not he would think that William Corsaro at Indiana, or Aaron Cicourel at San Diego, or any other particular person would be likely to provide a book of the sort he would like to see. I would be glad to help encourage anyone that he thought we should encourage.[134]

It does not seem unreasonable to expect that, of the two editors, the sociologist would be the one to locate relevant submissions emphasizing society over language. An undated letter in the file from Hymes to McGuigan seems to come next, implying that they have had a conversation in person (otherwise there are missing letters):

> A few thoughts about the conduct and communication series.
>
> In terms of interest and range, Gillian Sankoff would be an obvious choice to replace Erving. And I would be willing to ask her the embarrassing question. Possibly even he would see that as a diplomatic outcome. . . .
>
> Seeking for balance on the anthropological side, I think of John Szwed, but don't know how consistently he would respond. John might be less of an overlap with the folklore series? I think Henry would be very good, but with Henry my tendency is to think we need a third person not identified with folklore to maintain the "conduct and communication" balance, even without and despite Erving. Although he is junior, Steven Feld is a possibility? Though I don't know anything about him in an editorial capacity. Larry Gross might be better, more experienced. And of sufficient standing not to make Erving think he had been traded in for a tenderfoot.
>
> On balance, my thoughts run to a trio, to make it seem less inviting to copare [*sic*] new single person with Erving: Gillian, if possible, and one or two out of the set of Szwed, Glassie, Gross, keeping in mind a need to maintain distinction from folklore . . .[135]

McGuigan responded that "with luck, the business with Erving and the Series will be resolved one way or the other."[136] Then Hymes talked with Goffman and wrote McGuigan a lengthy explanation of what was going on.

> Erv Goffman called me yesterday morning (Thursday) to tell me his views on the series and the two manuscripts now being considered for it (Bauman, Tedlock). He said he was going to call you later that morning. . . .
>
> I understand some of Erv's view but not all of it. At the heart appears to be a dissatisfaction, indeed a change of heart, about the network of personal ties and relationships that has been involved in the series. Essentially it has been a Penn-based series, bringing out collections and work by people here—Birdwhistell, Erv himself, L[a]bov, myself, Gillian, Erv and me again. That has seemed to me a virtue. There is an increasing amount of publication, almost a flood, in the areas touched upon by the series. Academic Press, Cambridge, Routledge Kegan Paul and others bringing out a great deal. The advantage to the University and to the Press, I think, is the presentation of scholarship from our own matrix, or connected closely with its strengths. It is hard to imagine a different conception,

one that would not become diffuse, eclectic and difficult to differentiate from any other collection. . . .

[Details about Bauman's manuscript under consideration] . . . The fact that we know Dick, that he was at Penn, that Texas has various personal links with us, seems to trouble Erv, almost as if incestuous; but it is hard for me to conceive of the series on another basis than one of a network, which is indeed the basis it has had. I don't feel any embarrassment, unlike Erv, about having published Worth's book. I continue to feel that it was something that should be done.

[Details about Tedlock's manuscript under consideration] . . . The essential thing, I believe, is that publishing it will strengthen the Press and the University in one of its areas of scholarly strength, verbal art, folklore, ethnopoetics, and the like, and the interaction between it on the list of the Press, my book, Henry Glassie's books, will be good for all concerned.

If it would resolve Erv's concerns to reserve final judgment on the Bauman book until we see the final manuscript, and to introduce Tedlock's book in the other series, I would be happy to agree with him this far in the interests of maintaining a longstanding partnership.

What I can't accept is that the series should become dormant or that in principle we ought not to look to our friends, colleagues, and former students for contributions. We ought to be judicious, of course. And in regard to strength from the sociological side, I would be eager to have any manuscripts that could be suggested of that kind.[137]

In response, a month later McGuigan wrote about a particular book under consideration, then said: "Erving returns on Monday. It's time, I think, for a final session with Erving—and for a final determination of Erving's status as series editor."[138] Hymes returned to Goffman's concerns:

My memory of Erv's telephone conversation with me, before he left, is that he thought of putting the series as such on hold for a while, on the ground of a lack of suitable books.

This seems to me the fundamental question. I should not like to see the series suspended, let alone ended, and do not share the view that there will not be a chance of suitable books in the near future. That seems to me to be the general question, separable from a judgment of a particular book's appropriateness for inclusion.

If Erving sees the possibility of continuing the series actively on a case-by-case basis, I should not want to prevent his doing so by insisting on including [a particular] book in the series. It is a good book, worth publishing, but I am not so enthusiastic about it as to rupture a long-standing relationship with Erving over it. . . .

> If, however, Erv does not think that [this] book is the issue in and of itself, but the series as such, then I feel that we should try to see what might be done to keep the series going.[139]

The question here is why Hymes was not simply meeting with Goffman to sort things out. Apparently, Goffman was out of town part of the time, but surely not across all these months. And Hymes was in Oregon in summers, but only for the few summer months. This issue extended far longer.

Then there is a large gap in the file, with no further relevant correspondence until Goffman's death in November 1982, when McGuigan writes to Hymes, saying he has just heard about Goffman from Grimshaw. "Damn, I still can't accept the fact—Erving was too much a fighter."[140] In his response, Hymes focused on the implications for the series.

> Erving's death poses the question of the Conduct and Communication Series acutely, as you realize. My immediate thought is that we should proceed to invite Henry Glassie to be an editor of the series, as we have discussed with each other and with Henry. And that it would be desirable to have a third person as an editor—I believe we discussed that as well. Earlier I mentioned Brian Sutton-Smith and Larry Gross as people whose interests might reinforce the "communication" and social science aspects of the series. Now I think it would be a good idea to invite Gillian Sankoff to be the third editor. Gillian is rooted in the linguistic side of the field, as a member of the Dept. of Linguistics full time; she has a wide network of friends in linguistics and anthropology; she knows the sociolinguistic work of Bill Labov's sort first hand, including quantitative analyses of linguistic variation.
>
> With such a set of three, I think we could responsibly cover quite a range of prospective materials, from the kind of work that might involve considerable technical linguistics (like Bill Labov's two volumes in the series) to work whose focus was more cultural and theoretical (as my first book might be said to be). Henry has a familiarity with linguistics and the ethnography of communication, as does Gillian and as of course do I, yet extends our range considerably through his knowledge of material culture and ethnography in western societies. The three together ought to be able to provide good judgment and prospects.[141]

Hymes went on to suggest that Tedlock's book should be the first item on the agenda for the new editors. It was in fact accepted and published (1983). A week later McGuigan agreed that "Henry is of course a logical successor. And your suggestion of Gillian is a marvelous idea, and would represent both a touching and appropriate gesture of continuity."[142] Sankoff did agree, as did Glassie.[143] His answer has been preserved: "It humbles me and honors me to be asked to serve with Gillian and Dell as co-editor of the Conduct

and Communication series. I accept and will do what I can."[144] Summary notes from a meeting of John McGuigan of the press, Hymes, Sankoff, and Glassie in April 1983, indicate the following agreements:

1. In public announcements (e.g., catalog and/or advertising), the Press shall announce the name of the series, the names of the new editorial board, the list of series titles, and a brief statement that will include a) our deep regrets over the loss of Erving; b) a sentence affirming the continuous existence of the Series, "devoted to well grounded work in communicative conduct and all its aspects"; c) and a concluding sentence to the effect that the Press is pleased to announce that Gillian Sankoff and Henry Glassie have agreed to join Dell Hymes as co-editors.
2. All Series books after Tedlock will carry with the series title the names of Erving and Dell as "Founding Editors," followed by the names of the present general editors.
3. Dennis Tedlock's THE SPOKEN WORD AND THE WORK OF INTER-PRETATION will be included in the Series, under the editorship of Dell and Erving.[145]

This is interesting precisely because Goffman withheld his decision about the Tedlock book until he could see the revisions, but then ran out of time before that was possible.[146] Books published in the series after Goffman's death include: Tedlock (1983), Basso (1985), Moerman (1987), Rose (1987), Briggs (1988), Errington (1988), Kuipers (1990), and Trix (1993).

There is one final part to the story of the series and the press related to Goffman. The university decided it had an interest in "recognizing Erving's contribution to its distinction in sociolinguistics and related fields—to give some practical sign of its appreciation" and so Maurice English, then director of the press, reported to Mary Ann Meyers (then secretary of the board of directors)[147] and Provost Thomas Ehrlich that he had met with Sankoff and offered that the university (not the press) would cover all reasonable costs related to preparing Goffman's unpublished papers as a book. This was to include copyediting, research, collation etc.; the time of Lee Ann Draud (who had moved from working for Goffman to being copy editor for the press); and course release for Sankoff so she would have time available to work on the project. What they wanted in exchange was an estimate of costs.[148] Obviously, such a volume was never published, in the Conduct and Communication series or elsewhere.

Language in Society (*LiS*)

In addition to the book series with Goffman, Hymes established a new journal, *Language in Society* (LiS). There was discussion of the need for a journal focusing on sociolinguistics at the SSRC Committee on Sociolinguistics in 1968, led by Hymes, supported by Charles Ferguson (then committee chair), who followed up by writing a memorandum explaining why this might be needed, for use by anyone on the committee who wanted to pursue the possibility. In that memo, Ferguson referenced comments that he, Hymes, and Paul Friedrich had been mentioned as examples of scholars who might be appropriate as editors.[149] Apparently, Hymes mentioned the possibility of a new journal to Thomas Sebeok at a conference in Urbana, Italy that summer, who then urged all haste in establishing something.[150] Hymes told Ferguson that Sebeok had offered to publish the new journal through the Language Research Center at Indiana. They had also discussed potential editorial board members, with Sebeok suggesting Grimshaw, of whom Hymes said, "I would think of him as quite possible [*sic*] a key member of the editorial committee." At the same time, he clarified: "I would like to have it always clear that in proposing such a jornal [*sic*], and arguing for the need for it, I did not envisage myself as editor, though I did have in mind being an active participant." Instead, he thought Ferguson the obvious choice, with Joshua Fishman as a possible second choice. He also thought an existing journal, such as *Word*, might agree to be "responsible for sociolinguistics" as part of a broader mandate in linguistics. He proposed potential advisory board members, including Goffman, arguing that "Goffman might take an active part on an editorial board."[151]

In early 1969, Frances Welch at Cambridge University Press wrote to John Pride at the University of Leeds about starting a new journal in sociolinguistics. She asked whether he could talk about it with Hymes who would be visiting England, and to write up their ideas for the journal, so presumably this was in response to an effort by Hymes to talk with Pride (or Welch) about whether Cambridge would be an appropriate publisher.[152] At that point, Hymes still hesitated to become editor. He wrote Elbridge Sibley (staff at SSRC), "I am ambivalent. No one is eager to undertake the work, and to add yet another title to the many that exist. At the same time it is a great weakness to the subject not to have any central place of publication, and even more, review and regular coverage. No one journal interested students can be advised to get and read."[153] Grimshaw was the committee

member delegated to look into possible publishers, so he organized meetings with University of New Mexico Press, Indiana University Press, Academic, Sage, and Cambridge University Press to gauge their interest.[154] The draft document (presumably to use in those meetings) attached to the letter says there were already "over 500 scholars on the mailing list for the Sociolinguistics Committee," so there should be an established audience available for a new journal. In response, Hymes said, "I was surprised to learn that the committee had come to the decision to launch a journal. As before, I believe it desirable, but am ambivalent about the energy required." If this were to happen, he said he would "urge giving CUP serious consideration" because it would be international, but with a New York office for convenience, and he stressed the importance of this being an international effort.[155] Ferguson told Hymes: "My chief concern in all this at the moment is that you be personally committed to a key role in the publication of the journal, preferably as its responsible editor."[156] The meeting between Hymes, Pride, and Michael Black (chief editor at CUP) occurred in June 1969, with Black agreeing to work with Grimshaw on technical details. Given a choice, Hymes clearly preferred Cambridge over other options, even Sebeok's, for the prestige and international connections. Black also asked Hymes to become the editor, but he was still hesitating. As he told Grimshaw: "All this has gone a bit further faster than I had quite prepared myself for." Hymes asked if the committee could meet with Black that fall in New York.[157] Simultaneously, he wrote much the same letter to Ferguson, to keep him in the loop.[158] Cambridge clearly was interested, as Black followed up immediately with a long letter providing details.[159] Grimshaw forwarded that on to all committee members, pointing out that they were unlikely to get a better offer, and arguing that they should ask Hymes to be editor, put together an editorial board, and immediately start commissioning manuscripts for the first two issues.[160] The committee met with Elizabeth Case representing Cambridge (and based in their New York office) in the fall,[161] asked Hymes to be editor, and the project moved forward quickly. Hymes asked Provost Goddard for support (that Penn would formally be signatory to the letter, given that the committee could not play that role, and that he be provided funding for a half-time assistant to work on the journal); both requests were granted. Basically, Hymes argued that this would put Penn "at the communicative center of the field; it would be good for our interested faculty and students, and would give Penn the reputation of being not only a center, but perhaps the center for the subject in many countries."[162] Hymes copied the chairs of

anthropology, linguistics, psychology, and sociology on his letter, because "I would expect to associate Professor Hoenigswald and Professor Goffman with me closely in the planning of the journal and one or more interested colleagues in other departments."

Six months later, in spring 1970, the committee was running out of funds and considering whether to ask SSRC to close them down. Hymes used the not-yet-started journal as part of the argument for why he did not want them to disband at that point, characterizing himself as "the editor of the yet to be born journal, who felt rather as if he had been cast out of the crib before his time."[163] He also suggested that an obvious solution for those who felt "what we need most is not a committee meeting, but time for our work" was to recommend that they bring in younger members who might have more energy (this is how Sherzer and Sankoff came to be invited to join the committee).[164] The group agreed, and decided to hold another meeting shortly to sort things out. At that meeting, Ferguson strongly suggested that they also should organize a conference to evaluate the state of sociolinguistics,[165] which led to the Georgetown University Round Table Conference on Sociolinguistics: Current Trends and Prospects, held in 1972, organized primarily by committee member Roger Shuy (published as Shuy 1973a).[166] (This is another conference in which Goffman participated, in this case as one of a set of plenary speakers, although one of the first things Shuy says in his published introduction is "It is regrettable that the presentation by Erving Goffman will not be included at the author's request" (1973b, v). The issue was likely that Goffman had arranged to publish his presentation elsewhere. All of this is relevant context for understanding the difficulties of establishing a new journal, deciding who to choose as publisher and editor, and all of that happening at just the moment the committee was running out of funds as well as energy on the part of long-serving members. In the end, instead of folding, they took reasonable steps to stay active: They did start the journal, they did hold a major conference to gauge the current state of sociolinguistics, and they did apply for, and receive, additional grant funding to keep a surprising number of widely divergent projects going across the country (especially involving Gumperz and Ervin-Tripp at Berkeley, Grimshaw at Indiana, as well Sherzer at Texas). And, perhaps most importantly, the funded projects did result in multiple conferences and publications, positively influencing the growth of sociolinguistics.

The idea of a sociolinguistics journal apparently had been on many people's minds, not just those of committee members. Both Mouton[167] and

the University of Hawaii[168] were considering starting overlapping journals; both said they would not want to compete if Hymes went ahead with the journal they had heard he was considering. After an exchange of letters, Kenneth Jackson at Hawaii offered to divide up topics so both journals could move forward.[169] Hymes declined, finding that idea "not really possible."[170] It does seem reasonable that he did not want to divide up the territory of such a new topic too quickly, thereby limiting what could be accepted by his own journal before he even got it started, especially given that a major goal was to develop a single journal for sociolinguistics as a single topic.

Hymes wrote to Gumperz (and a dozen others) in 1970, saying, "Cambridge University Press has invited me to serve as editor of a journal in the field of sociolinguistic research. I should like to invite you to be a member of the editorial board."[171] As he was getting things organized, he explained the logic: "The time for a truly 'sociolinguistic' communicative approach to speech is almost upon us. As something that will not be a principle, but a growing practice. Right now there seems a real possibility of a new journal, perhaps published by Cambridge University Press (who want to do it) that could shape this field."[172] Their first task was to choose a good name: "Suggestions so far include: Journal of Sociolinguistics; Journal of Sociolinguistic Studies; Language in Society (perhaps with the sub-title, A journal of sociolinguistic (and ethnolinguistic?) research)."[173] The first issue of what the group decided to name *Language in Society* appeared in 1972. Hymes served as editor for twenty years, until 1992. Labov and Grimshaw served as associate editors. Goffman served on the editorial board from 1974 until his death. Labov and Grimshaw began as members of the editorial board, like all the others, but after the first year, Hymes realized he was calling on their areas of expertise far more often than on others, and he decided they needed to be formally recognized.[174] In response to the invitation to become an associate editor, Labov responded by saying, "You are the activist editor a great journal needs."[175] This comment was followed by four single-spaced pages of detailed discussion of who was doing good, or not so good, work in sociolinguistics at the time. Labov concluded with the importance of having direction from a single editor who could set the tone.

Goffman never served as an official associate editor, but he reviewed an absolutely astonishing number of submissions—far more than most others in that role, so far as I have seen, and his reviews often provided far more detailed analysis. In addition to his editorial role, Goffman also published in *LiS*—specifically, "Replies and Responses" (1976b, later reprinted in *Forms*

of Talk (1981). He also submitted "Felicity's Condition" for consideration. Hymes reluctantly pointed out that, while he appreciated "your willingness to think about contributing to the journal," and it "has some neat points," it was "long for the journal, I'm afraid," both in terms of number of pages but also as "a fairly leisurely presentation,"[176] so instead Goffman published it in the *American Journal of Sociology* (1983). As well, Hymes wrote editorials and an enormous number of book reviews; Labov wrote several articles (1972e, 1973); and Fought wrote a review of a book of Goffman's (1972b), as well as many others. *LiS* was obviously a multidisciplinary journal (given that Hymes was then in anthropology, Labov in linguistics, and Grimshaw in sociology), providing an outlet for the new interdisciplinary subject of sociolinguistics, just as the Committee on Sociolinguistics had envisioned.

Hymes's "ambitious vision" in establishing the journal was characterized recently by Ehrlich and Milani as "the publication of empirically-grounded analyses that push linguistic and social theory in new and exciting directions" (2021, 1). Michael Silverstein puts it particularly well, explaining that "Hymes's editorial style at *Language in Society* was to lead, in the slow motion of a print journal, a virtual seminar in which his contributing authors spoke to and through him to their readership" (2010, 937). Similarly, Christina Bratt Paulston has said, "Submitting an article to Language in Society when Dell Hymes was editor became a tutorial in sociolinguistics" (in Johnstone 2010, 312).

Hymes documented some of Goffman's reviews of *LiS* submissions in a paper for the memorial session honoring both Goffman and Hughes at the American Sociological Association in fall 1983 (published as Hymes 1984). As he explained to Sankoff when requesting permission to quote from what Goffman wrote, "One resource I want to use are the analytic comments Erving included in evaluation [*sic*] mss. for Language in Society. Some of them show nicely his concern for certain kinds of standards, and yet also for encouraging younger people. . . . Of course I would protect the innocent (and guilty alike), not identifying individuals."[177] Goffman's comments were incisive, blunt, occasionally even cutting. But they were always carefully worded, as when he argued against the use of only minimal text for analysis: "After all, to ask us to focus on such a small strip when there is no way for us to know the *biography of the occasion* and its participants is to imply that magical unpacking is going to occur. But it doesn't." (Goffman, quoted in Hymes 1984, 624; emphasis added). So far as I can determine that wonderful phrase, "the biography of the occasion," does not even show up

in Goffman's publications, but it is perfectly clear and seems quintessential Goffman. As Hymes goes on to explain, "The controlling consideration, for Erving as editor, was rather a finely tuned sense of what would and would not suffice, given the state of the art and the advancing edge of understanding in the field" (623). Hymes emphasizes Goffman's "insistence on the situation as a whole, on doing what is required to learn about the relevant local world as well as a detail" (624), and the quotes from reviews make clear his unhappiness with "worrying a small piece of data to death" (625).

In addition to the selections from reviews made available by Hymes, entire letters with either those or other reviews are now available as part of the Hymes Papers at the American Philosophical Society, making clear that Goffman wrote exceedingly long and detailed responses to submissions. Interestingly, many of his comments were not necessarily appropriate to pass on to authors. As when he concluded three pages of notes by saying: "Dell, I don't know what, if anything, of this can be conveyed to the authors. For me the lesson is that in inviting all the new perspectives, we should be careful not to allow shiny appearances to blind us to the absence of any substance."[178] Goffman was both funny and good at stepping back to look at the larger picture, as when he said, after reading a paper he suggested be rejected, "Perhaps there ought to be some sort of sifting process by someone not yourself or me to weed out these particular flowers of academia."[179] A week later, he apologized for that "ill-tempered" response, explaining that "I was seeking for a way, an objective correlate, to express my feeling about our having to deal with persons who have grade school intelligence and university connections."[180] Yet he continued to be just as critical, if not more so, in later reviews. A few examples of how he could be both cutting and funny follow:

- "As analysis this stuff is merely poor; as journalism, it is hopeless."[181]
- "I think this paper is more of a college try than a university success."[182]
- "The paper is entirely without merit . . . not a drop of data gets through. (I wish I could seal off my tile deck from the rain that well)."[183]
- "The paper is incomplete, unimaginative, but certainly half-worthwhile— indeed, worth publishing somewhere but not quite in LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY."[184]
- "A textbook example of trained incompetence. I'm glad he's one of theirs (psychology), not ours. I wonder how God feels about graduate schools doing this to students' heads: how sad and resigned S/He must be."[185]

Goffman was not always negative. Examples of exceedingly positive comments include:

- "a fresh and lively paper. I have learned considerably from it and I wish I had had access to it months ago."[186]
- "I think this paper deals with a significant topic and brings some significant order to it."[187]

But typically, he provided sharp critiques, worded in such a way as to be amusing, clearly intended for Hymes rather than the author of a paper he was reviewing, as made particularly obvious when he writes, "Do let me know your response to my response, so I can let you know mine to yours." And signs himself in that letter "Entanglingly yours."[188] Hymes concluded at one point, "I wish the papers we get for the journal were as much fun and worth reading as the letters you write to reject them."[189] It is revealing to see how Hymes handled Goffman's critiques in his role as journal editor: He obviously understood them as part of an extended conversation between Goffman and himself rather than automatically being intended for those submitting the manuscripts. Typically, he did not pass on Goffman's lengthy comments (often two or three single-spaced pages), but rather a gentler version of the conclusion. He did explicitly tell Goffman that "I always want your judgment . . . and value your analyses highly. . . . I don't recall offhand ever deciding to publish something you were set against."[190] At least once Hymes referred to Goffman in a letter to an author as "a very esteemed colleague" when passing on a specific positive comment.[191] Goffman was fine with not having his entire review passed on to authors, as he made clear by saying, "In any case, your job is to treat my view as merely another one and decide for yourself."[192]

Both Goffman and Hymes were well aware of the extensive relevant literature being published elsewhere, leading to casual comments about where else a submission might be published if rejected by *LiS*, or comments about already having read a prior publication by an author. As a result, when Goffman recommended rejecting a submission, he often then made suggestions for where it might better fit, as when he said: "Perhaps you might recommend Gerbner's journal *Communication* or *Public Opinion Quarterly*,"[193] neither of which was a journal most sociologists could be assumed to be reading.

Goffman was substantially involved in discussions of the direction and impact of *LiS*, not only as a reviewer or author. For example, in 1974, as

part of a long letter to Labov about the difficulties in maintaining adequate funding (since, at two years since creation, the journal was not yet fully subscribed to a sufficient level that all costs were covered), Hymes mentioned: "In talking to Erv, I found that he sees the fundamental issue, as far as he is concerned, as that of making visible our interests and activities, so that Penn will have a distinctive image that will attract good students. This makes great sense to me. Erv seems to think that the journal contributes to this image—certainly it should do so, and I hope that it does."[194] Having just documented that Goffman wanted their book series to move beyond the Penn network, it may seem surprising that he was happy to limit *LiS* to that same network. The difference is likely one of timing – what made sense in 1974 (when he considered a Penn emphasis appropriate for the journal) may no longer have seemed as reasonable in 1980–1982 (when he expressed concern about publishing only authors affiliated with Penn in the book series), given the considerable expansion in numbers of those who might write appropriate submissions over that time.

In 1976, there was an exchange of letters about whether to move *LiS* from Cambridge because the purchase price for subscribers was too high. The initial letter Hymes wrote about this has not been preserved, but Goffman's answer has; he offers to help make connections with other publishers. He begins by emphasizing the significance of *LiS*: "About the journal: I think it is crucial for us all and for the University" and ends: "We do so need continuation of what LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY does."[195] In response, Hymes explained: "I have to apologize. I flew into a fit without reading far enough." It turned out that the high purchase price was for libraries, not individuals, so the crisis was averted.[196] Even so, what we learn here is both how much Goffman valued *LiS*, and how he took on the role of being the voice of reason: stepping back to reiterate the importance of their endeavor, and providing helpful, concrete suggestions, rather than fanning the flames of anger.

In 1979, Grimshaw and Hymes corresponded about a paper that Grimshaw had submitted to *LiS*, and which was not as well received as he might have hoped (remember, he had strongly supported the establishment of this new journal and helped to find an appropriate publisher a decade earlier). Grimshaw wrote that he was "deeply distressed" by Hymes's reaction and also that "I suspect, on the basis of Erving's reactions to some earlier papers of mine, that he won't much care for this one either."[197] Hymes responded, "I asked Erv to look at the paper."[198] The next letter in the file is from Grimshaw to Hymes, thanking him for a letter not preserved, but which apparently

included "your reasons for nonenthusiasm about my paper. I withdraw it from consideration (a superfluous action under the circumstances) and will publish it elsewhere. I will publish it in spite of the fact that you and Erv think it is seriously defective because I don't, in this instance, share your view. . . . Warm personal regards, as always."[199] Presumably the closing meant that he would not let disagreement about the value of his manuscript come between friends. Indeed, two months later, he invited Hymes to submit a paper to a special issue on sociolinguistics he was organizing for the journal *Society*.[200] Hymes turned the opportunity down due to having too many other commitments, but he did so in a friendly way that makes clear he also assumed the friendship had survived.[201] It is important that for all three of them—Goffman, Hymes, Grimshaw—friendship came first, and was strong enough that it could withstand occasional disagreements, as documented in multiple places throughout this book.

In his remembrance of Goffman published in *LiS*, Grimshaw specifically points out his "valuable service to this journal" (1983, 147). The essentials about Goffman's time on the *LiS* editorial board are that he frequently reviewed submissions, that he took the time to write quite lengthy and considered responses complete with incisive comments that read like some of his publications, and that Hymes as editor nearly always trusted his judgment, even turning down manuscripts he personally found to have potential value. To extend Silverstein's evaluation, it was not only Hymes who used the journal to lead a virtual seminar in slow motion, but Goffman also, through his comments.

Service to *LiS* overlapped with that to the Center for Urban Ethnography for both Goffman and Hymes. From the start, submissions to the journal were to be sent to Hymes in care of CUE;[202] this continued until 1977, when the address changed slightly to Hymes at GSE (as a reminder, Hymes moved to GSE in 1975, and CUE ran out of funding in 1974, so this seems a reasonable and obvious move). Also, the journal was included in the list of official Center-sponsored activities: "The principal investigators, in addition to their publications, also undertook a number of activities of relevance to the grant: Dell Hymes founded and edits the journal *Language in Society* . . ." (Center for Urban Ethnography 1974, 4). In the brief notice marking the end of his time as editor of *LiS* after twenty years, Hymes thanks "all who have contributed to the journal and to its work" including "John Szwed and Erving Goffman, who, through the Center for Urban Ethnography at the University of Pennsylvania, gave it its first home" (1992, 711; see also

Center for Urban Ethnography 1974). Specifically, what the center did for the journal was to cover mailing costs (for correspondence, not mailing the journal to subscribers).[203]

In addition, there was an overlap between the journal, *LiS*, and the book series, Conduct and Communication. In 1975, Hymes wrote to Goffman:

> Bill reports to me that you mentioned to him (as you had before to me) the notion of a volume collecting articles from Language in Society. It wasn't clear to me whether or not you thought we would be able to publish such a collection with the Press here. Cambridge has copyright; whether or not they would want to release copyright to another publisher, I don't know. They haven't broken even on the journal yet (because of rising costs); if there were to be a possibility of recouping from a collection, they might want themselves to be the beneficiary.
>
> Anyway, it is worth thinking about. My own thought is that it might be possible to choose a worthwhile set from the first five years (through 1976), to find papers that could be represented as representative of something. It's not completely certain. I'd appreciate very much your own suggestions. With them in hand, I could raise the matter with Cambridge sometime soon. . . .
>
> One principle of selection might be to put modalities, devices, ways of speaking to the fore; perhaps the journal title, LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY, ought to be the title of a volume, suitably accompanied; and/or perhaps some other title would be best, but I'd hope we could use the journal title, explaining any focus in selection of contents by subtitle or preface.[204]

The remainder of the letter provides several possible arrangements of topics and articles to place in each section. He includes a plea, "Please don't go on acting as [*sic*] I had gone awol," a likely reference to the fact that Goffman was talking about this with Labov rather than with him directly (the presumed cause being that Hymes had literally just assumed the position of dean of GSE at that point, which undoubtedly kept him busier than he had been as a faculty member, and moved him physically and administratively out of the College of Arts and Sciences). The idea of a collection came up again in 1976, when Goffman wrote Hymes: "You might want to give some more consideration to bringing out a book of papers from the Journal."[205] Apparently there was at least some further discussion, because in 1977 an editor at Cambridge wrote to Hymes, "I am hoping to hear further from you, also, about a book derived from previous issues of *Language in Society*. Don't let's drop that idea."[206] In any case, such a collection was never published. Hymes explained part of the difficulty in a letter a few years later, when mentioning the idea to Sherzer and John Baugh, who had written

him about a reader they were then preparing (Baugh and Sherzer 1984). "Erv a few years ago suggested an anthology from Language in Society, and Cambridge expressed interest. Of the editors, only David Crystal replied, very much opposed, to an inquiry about the idea. There are quite a few good pieces in the 9 years, I think, but I can't find time in the foreseeable future to construct an anthology, or rather, to see one through (I did work up a table of contents)."[207] The reference to "editors" here is to "editorial board members," and so it was a combination of insufficient interest on the part of those most involved with the journal (who might have been assumed to be the most likely to want to order copies and use them in their own teaching, thus serving as a good indication of potential audience), and lack of time on Hymes's part that doomed the project.

Just as Goffman had to be replaced after his death for the book series, he had to be replaced on the editorial board of *LiS*. Barbara Colson, journals manager at CUP, sent a note in October 1983 reminding Hymes that "I don't believe an appointment has been submitted replacing Erving Goffman."[208] The immediate answer from Hymes was that "it is almost impossible to think of someone to replace Erving Goffman."[209] He asked Grimshaw who he thought would have a chance of taking Goffman's place. "A difficult question, though, is the loss of Erving. No one can write the kind of commentary he wrote, but are there people you would suggest in somewhat the same sphere? We do have Hugh Mehan on the board, as well as yourself (and Bill [Labov]). Is Fred Ericson [*sic*], now at Michigan State, an appropriate person? Or is my sense of a gap about a person, not a category?"[210] In addition to being associate editor for *LiS*, a sociologist, and a long-time friend of Goffman, Grimshaw had directly relevant experience as editor of *American Sociologist*. In answer, he sent extensive evaluation both of Goffman's past performance, and discussion of the scholars he thought might conceivably replace him on the board. Only a few segments can be quoted here.

> You remark that no one can write the kind of commentary Erving did; that is certainly true. What you don't mention is something that you may have come to take for granted in dealing with Erving as an editorial associate, i.e., his very high degree of professional responsibleness. You found, as did editors of at least several sociological journals, that Erving not only provided some very useful (and sometimes quotable) reviews, but that he also provided them with dispatch. He did an extraordinary amount of editorial reading (even more impressive in amount when his own high productivity is considered); he did it quickly and usually without complaint. Not only are there few people who can read so many

kinds of things with such insight and intelligence, even fewer work as efficiently as he apparently did. . . .

Erving's ability to simultaneously get his own work done and nonetheless accept and fulfill responsibilities for commentary on the work of others was unusual, if not unique. On a second dimension he may quite well have been unique. There are a number of sociologists who shared his interest in interaction and not a few who have interesting and insightful observations to make about what goes on in, e.g., focused and unfocused encounters. There are other sociologists who know quite a bit about talk, and even something about social accomplishment in talk.[211]

In the rest of the letter, Grimshaw reviews potential candidates for the position, searching for the perfect choice, what he called "a 'Goffman type' for your board" (mostly finding them inappropriate, often because they were so over-committed that they would not be able to make time for the necessary work). At the same time, Grimshaw describes his own future projects, ironically inviting Hymes to participate in one. In the process of the latter, he returns to his evaluation of Goffman's strengths, including the comment "I am a heavy user of Goffman" because, he explains, "Talk with him was always instructive; his writing influences most of what I did in the monograph and influences can be found scattered throughout my work."[212] The point here is not who they found to replace Goffman, but the shared high estimation of his abilities, despite the periodic times they all disagreed, and argued, and became angry with one another.

Just as there were other book series at Penn Press having overlapping editors, other journals were begun around the same time as *LiS*. There was a major complication the year after *LiS* began publishing: Joshua Fishman decided to establish the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (IJSL) and asked some of the same people to serve on his editorial board. In May 1973, when *LiS* had been operating for a year, Hymes told Grimshaw:

I have learned that Josh asked Erv Goffman, Courtney Cazden, Carl Voegelin, to be members. That sure doesn't appear to be a complementary approach. Erv thought it a bit thick and declined, and Cortney [*sic*] did also. I don't feel I can tell anyone what to do in such a case, and that I must make the best of it. Someone among middle-aged sociolinguists ought to try to rise above personal ambition and glory. It does take some edge of the pleasure of the work of the journal (for which I get nothing, and which takes much time). There has been the satisfaction of thinking oneself to be performing a unique service, bringing something into being not otherwise available. . . .

[Einar] Haugen apparently raised questions about the propriety or suitability of a second journal, and Fergie [Charles Ferguson] that he has not yet responded

> to an invitation, although probably he eventually will accept, but wishing it had not been launched at this time. Maybe in this case there is such a thing as a public opinion concerned with the best interests of the field. I do worry about financial success, viability. (May 8, 1973, ADG)

Hymes said much the same to Ferguson directly.

> I have been troubled myself that Josh is going ahead with the Mouton journal, more so when I learned that he was asking so many people to be on the board that would seem to me to be more naturally involved with the emphases of LinS (more linguistic and ethnographic) than the other (presumably more sociological and institutional). He even invited Erv Goffman, which seemed a little thick (to Erving as well as to me).[213]

Oddly, especially given Hymes's frequent shows of temper in letters to people with whom he was angry, he maintained a cordial connection with Fishman. Fishman notified Hymes as soon as his new journal was approved, saying, "I have agreed (after initially refusing to do so for more than two years so that Dell Hyme's [*sic*] journal could become well established) to edit for Mouton an *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*." He then invited Hymes to join the editorial board himself, and to edit a special issue.[214] Given the way he has phrased this, it seems likely Mouton had mentioned their earlier exchange with Hymes, and that they probably did not expect a warm response. However, the response was remarkably cordial (again, especially for Hymes, who regularly shows anger in letters and, in this case, even more surprising given his comments to others as just quoted above): "I think it is a good policy to have 'interlocking directorates' in these matters."[215] So, unlike Goffman, Hymes immediately accepted a role on Fishman's editorial board, although he did decline the offer to edit a special issue. In any case, for the larger story told here, what is most noteworthy is that Goffman was immediately asked to serve on the editorial board of not just one but also a second sociolinguistics journal. Perhaps even more noteworthy is that he immediately refused out of loyalty. Grimshaw's response to *IJSL* was also interesting; in a letter to Hymes and David Jenness, staff to the Committee on Sociolinguistics, he wrote: "I see no reason why we should abandon the sociological side of language in society to him [Fishman]."[216] Therefore, he offered to spend more time encouraging more sociologists to submit to *Language in Society*. This was likely to be productive, since Grimshaw was a sociologist, having far more connections to other sociologists than did most linguists. A year later, Hymes expressed continuing concern that perceived duplication might lead to the destruction of both journals. "I don't see much

comparison between first issues of the two journals, but the second might make just enough difference to prevent either from being solvent, and so lose both."[217] Perhaps surprisingly, both journals are still regularly publishing today, some fifty years later, a testament to the size and strength of the group of sociolinguists which developed.

Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication *(SAVICOM)*

Language in Society was not the only journal started at Penn in which Goffman was involved. *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* (SAVICOM) was established in 1974, under the auspices of the Society for the Study of Visual Communication, which developed out of the American Anthropological Association's Program in Ethnographic Film (for details of the founding of both the organization and the journal, see Takaragawa 2020; Worth 1980). Worth served both as president of the society and founding editor of the journal (Gross 1980). In his introduction to the first volume, Worth suggests: "The old disciplines are finally beginning to break down. People in Sociology, in Art History, in Psychology, as well as in Communication and Anthropology, are addressing themselves to similar problems" (1974, 1–2). He was referring specifically to visual communication, but it seems likely this comment was at least in part a result of the peer group at Penn in which both he and Goffman participated (so it is not unrelated to note that Birdwhistell and Hymes both served on the advisory committee of the Society for the Anthropology of Visual Communication). Just as Birdwhistell had earlier argued for the expansion of the study of communication to include nonverbal elements, Worth argued for it to include visual elements.

Goffman's involvement with this journal was shorter term than with *LiS*, but nonetheless significant, for one of his books, *Gender Advertisements* (1979a, was first published as a monograph in *SAVICOM* (1976a). As Fine and Manning point out, "*Gender Advertisements* could only have been developed in an intellectual context in which the content analysis of media sources was intellectually central and academically legitimate" (2003, 41). Annenberg at Penn was just such a place. Jay Ruby, who should know, reports that Goffman asked Worth to publish it there (2015). Worth's (1976) introduction does a nice job of setting the context, clearly demonstrating his familiarity with Goffman's ideas. In the acknowledgments for the version published as a book, Goffman writes: "I am very grateful for its [SAVICOM's] then editor,

the late Sol Worth, for support in working out the original edition and for permission to use its plates and glossies" (1979a, vi) and goes on to quote him (12). When Worth died suddenly in 1977, Larry Gross (at Penn) and Jay Ruby (at Temple) took over as editors of the journal through 1979. A few years later, Gross and Ruby arranged for ASC to take over the publication, and it was renamed *Studies in Visual Communication* (Gross and Ruby 1980). At that point, Goffman joined as a consulting editor from 1980 to 1982; Glassie and Davenport were also consulting editors; Feld served on the editorial board).[218] In addition to Goffman, Feld also published in the journal while Worth was editor (1974; Feld and Williams 1975). While *SAVICOM* did not last decades as *LiS* did, it still marked an important shift, leading to an entirely new topic of study (Ruby 2005).

Birdwhistell was also involved in *SAVICOM*, but only after Worth had died. He published a book review (1978), and he wrote a eulogy honoring Mead upon her death, included in the 1980 special issue of the successor journal, *Studies in Visual Communication*. As a reminder, Mead was one of the anthropologists who originally helped to found both the organization and the journal and served as an important mentor to Worth. Unlike Worth, Birdwhistell never really worked directly with Mead, but he knew her (and Bateson) for decades and considered her a good enough friend that she was godmother to his daughter (Birdwhistell 1980). That issue also included a paper Worth had presented at a conference honoring Mead at her seventy-fifth birthday the year before his death, in 1976 (Worth 1980).

Conclusion

The five projects included in this chapter demonstrate the conditions under which intellectual creativity thrives, and how Penn developed and supported that creativity. As President Meyerson at one point made explicit to Hymes, the goal was never just for faculty members to enjoy talking with colleagues, it was to have "productive results" of some concrete sort.[219] This chapter has documented exactly the sort of results that were explicitly the goal at Penn, and likely (either explicitly or implicitly) at most other universities as well. These projects are all important because they demonstrate that the small circle of colleagues around Goffman at Penn did not just find areas in common to discuss but that together they were enormously consequential. They did not just sit around and talk about new ideas and approaches. Although that is often a good beginning point, they moved far beyond that: They held

a conference on one new topic, bringing together relevant people to discuss what needed to happen next; they obtained a particularly substantial grant to start a research center on another topic, funding mostly students and some faculty fellowships, research projects, and conferences, and leading to many, many publications; and they began a book series on a third related topic and established two journals on additional, overlapping topics.

Goffman was the primary leader of one project, proposing the book series Conduct and Communication, and served as an equal partner with Hymes in deciding what to publish. He helped Worth and Hymes design the Codes in Context conference even before arriving at Penn, suggesting participants and an organizational structure for the event. He helped Szwed write the grant proposal to NIMH for funds to establish the Center for Urban Ethnography, and then served as its associate director, with Hymes in an equal role, for five years, resulting in multiple conferences and other events, as well as supporting both research and publications, with some of his own books supported by the NIMH funding given to CUE. He was an unusually active editorial board member for *Language in Society*; and extensive documentation exists demonstrating that, even though he was neither the editor, as Hymes was, nor an associate editor, as Labov and Grimshaw were, he still took considerable time to respond to significant numbers of submissions, helping to determine the direction the journal would take, and what work would be published. He was less involved with Worth's new journal, *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*, but publishing the first edition of one of his books in that venue was no small contribution. Although Goffman was the leader in only one of these projects, he clearly was an essential, involved participant in all five. The ideas he and the others proposed were significantly taken up: The conference may not have had huge impact on anyone outside the participants, but it served as a vehicle for developing vocabulary needed to discuss common interests. Certainly, the center, the book series, and the two journals were noticed, and all had substantial impact not only contemporaneously but still today. These projects provide clear evidence that Goffman was a central, active member of a steadily expanding invisible college.

Henry Glassie describes the moment in time when these major projects were being established in an interview:

> I got to be a part of that amazing moment at the University of Pennsylvania, which is now much passed. But it was a moment. It was a moment when it was, probably ought to be known as the "Hymes-Goffman era." They were co-editors

> of a magnificent series called Conduct in Communication on the, sort of the anthropology of communication. And they were the two superstars around which this larger group was gathered, and it was just exhilarating to be in their company. So that was very fortunate. (119, HG)

All of us who were present in that place at that time were equally impressed.

What can other scholars and other universities learn from these projects? Often the goal of research is assumed to be constructing a theory group to conduct original investigations, then write up and publish results for dissemination to a wider audience. Often the obvious group for this is assumed to be one or a few faculty members surrounded by a cluster of advanced graduate students, all of whom co-author articles and occasionally books. But doing team-based research is not the only goal and was not the focus of what happened at Penn during Goffman's time there. Organizing conferences, obtaining major grants, starting a book series or a journal or two—these are all obvious next steps. None of them require that colleagues conduct research jointly, yet all of these vehicles advance the research of any and all members of a group. In addition, they all involved far more scholars than just the core set of peers described in detail in this chapter and so demonstrate the influence a small group such as this can have on a far larger audience. The fact that all of the core group members were senior faculty members is relevant: They had already taken the first steps of conducting original research and publishing results. They had already argued for a set of novel ideas, whether these were called codes in context, ethnography of speaking, sociolinguistics, linguistics, interaction, urban ethnography, or communication. What they did once they came together at Penn was to take the next step: bringing their ideas to a wider group and helping that expanding group come together for discussions (as with a conference), expanding their numbers through grants for degrees as well as further research (as with CUE), and disseminating their ideas nationally and internationally (as with the book series and the two journals).

What could other institutions do to follow Penn's example in supporting intellectual creativity while also encouraging concrete results? Annenberg supported the conference, and other universities could certainly support conferences on innovative topics. Penn Press supported the book series, and other university presses could certainly support book series on novel topics. When the anthropology department at Temple was uninterested in the major grant establishing CUE, the folklore department at Penn stepped in and gladly accepted it. Presumably, in later years at least some of those at

Temple regretted their decision, so the lesson is to support such innovation. SSRC's Committee on Sociolinguistics helped get *Language in Society* off the ground, providing initial support (GSE helped as well), while the Society for the Study of Visual Communication supported the establishment of *SAVICOM* (and ASC helped there); other academic organizations, funding agencies, and schools could certainly follow suit more often. Clearly, administrative support from various parts of Penn was required for these projects to get off the ground and succeed, and so comparable support for other projects, by other faculty members, at other universities, should be just as useful. Of course, having the "right people"[220] as core group members is also important, so hiring decisions that take into account overlapping interests and concerns across not just members of a single department but also spanning departments should be useful as well. No one person at Penn did everything; it was a set of colleagues sharing overlapping interests that proved particularly effective. It would be fascinating to apply the sort of analysis proposed by Farrell, who has examined what he terms "collaborative circles," that is, peers "who, through long periods of dialogue and collaboration, negotiate a common vision that guides their work" (2001, 11). However, that effort would require considerably more—and far more detailed—documentation than I have yet found for the projects at Penn described in these pages.

Endnotes

[1] Worth to Kuno Beller at Temple, Oct 31, 1967, SW, University of Pennsylvania, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19. This is one of a series of letters that were identical except for addressee.

[2] Worth to Kuno Beller at Temple, Oct 31, 1967, SW, University of Pennsylvania, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19.

[3] Goffman to Hymes, Oct 26, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982.

[4] Goffman was citing Sommer's work at least as early as 1961 (Goffman 1961c, 23).

[5] Goffman to Hymes, Oct 26, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982. For more on the relationship between Goffman and Garfinkel, see Meyer (2022).

[6] https://minuchincenter.org.

[7] Worth to Kuno Beller at Temple, Oct 31, 1967, SW, University of Pennsylvania, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19.

[8] Hymes to Worth, May 25, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

[9] Worth to Hymes, Nov 28, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence

1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

[10] Hymes to Gerbner, Jun 10, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg School of Communication, Graduate Group in Communications, 1967–1975.

[11] Hymes to Ben-Amos, Davenport, Fought, Gerbner, Goldstein, Goodenough, Sapir, Sherzer, Tannenbaum, Wallace, Worth, Michael Studdert-Kennedy, and Harvey Winson, Nov 20, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Anthropology, 1964–1986.

[12] Birdwhistell to Worth, Nov 7, 1067, SW, University of Pennsylvania, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19.

[13] Worth to Birdwhistell, Nov 14, 1967, SW, University of Pennsylvania, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19.

[14] Birdwhistell to Worth, Nov 23, 1967, SW, University of Pennsylvania, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19.

[15] Birdwhistell's fieldwork in Alaska was never published, so it may be useful to share a summary of what he was doing. "This is my second trip to Cordova—part of my preparation for a seven week tour next fall to Antarctica to look at the men isolated for 7 weeks on the Pole Station" (Birdwhistell to Worth, Nov 23, 1967, SW, University of Pennsylvania, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19).

[16] Minuchin to Worth, Dec 5, 1967, SW, University of Pennsylvania, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19.

[17] Goffman to Worth, Nov 16, 1967, SW, University of Pennsylvania, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19.

[18] Goffman to Worth, Dec 18, 1967, SW, University of Pennsylvania, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19.

[19] Hymes to Ben-Amos, Davenport, Fought, Gerbner, Goldstein, Goodenough, Sapir, Sherzer, Michael Studdert-Kennedy, Percy Tannenbaum, Wallace, Harvey Winston, and Worth, Nov 20, 1967 DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Anthropology, 1964–1986.

[20] Lita Osmundsen, Director of Research at Wenner-Gren, to participants, including a complete list, n.d., DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries E: Other Committees, University of Pennsylvania, Conference on Folklore and Social Science, 1967.

[21] Hymes to Dundes, Dec 26, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Dundes, Alan, 1965–1975, 1977.

[22] Worth to Hymes, Nov 28, 1967, SW, University of Pennsylvania, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19.

[23] Hymes to Glassie, Feb 7, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Glassie, Henry, 1970–82.

[24] Worth to Hymes, May 7, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

[25] Hymes to Worth, May 25, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

[26] Originally the "ethnography of speaking"; these two terms were and are often used interchangeably. See Leeds-Hurwitz (1984) for the history of the relationship.

[27] Worth to John Roberts, May 16, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence

1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977. (Hymes had introduced the two, which presumably explains why a copy of the letter is in his files.)

[28] Gumperz to Hymes, Mar 11, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Gumperz, John J., 1966–1986.

[29] The Center for Urban Ethnography documents cited in these pages are in my possession because I was research assistant to Szwed for CUE in 1978–1979. They are most likely to have been prepared either by or for John Szwed but have no attribution. The dates are written on them in my own writing; Szwed handed me the first two, which I dated as 1974 and 1975 at the time, and I prepared the documentation supporting the third, dated 1978. These are final reports of activity (the grant having run 1969–1974). As I remember it, Szwed showed me into an office where every surface was covered with stacks of papers and books, and told me to prepare a bibliography, as these had all been supported by the NIMH grant to the center. The issue is that, while supported research leads to publications, they typically appear several years after the support was provided, thus the need for reports long after a grant has ended if publications resulting from funding are to be documented. The reports have not been made publicly available, so far as I am aware, although they were prepared for NIMH, and are presumably accessible in their grant files.

[30] Hymes also knew Hughes (1967, 632n1), and of course, Birdwhistell did, as he had been a Chicago student before Goffman. I remember reading an unpublished manuscript (book-length, not an article) by Hughes on fieldwork for a Birdwhistell course, which he supplied.

[31] Some documents list all three as co-directors, some just list Szwed; however, it is clear that Szwed was the one originally invited to apply for funding, and that he did so with Goffman's help in preparing the proposal, and Hymes's support from afar (he was in England that year). Rose says Szwed was director, with Goffman and Hymes serving as associate directors (1987, 17), and letters typed on CUE letterhead support that (e.g., Szwed to unnamed colleagues, Oct 29, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Center for Urban Ethnography, 1968–1971).

[32] https://www.usinflationcalculator.com.

[33] Goffman to Hymes, Dec 9, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982.

[34] Szwed to Hymes, Dec 17, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Center for Urban Ethnography, 1968–1971.

[35] "The 55 people associated with the Center for Urban Ethnography had interests in ethnicity distributed as follows: 24 researched topics concerning Black Americans, 4 with Puerto-Ricans on mainland U.S., 1 with Cape Verdeans in Rhode Island, 1 with Mexican-Americans, 2 with Italian-Americans, 4 with Native Americans, 1 with Molokans (Russian Protestants) in the U.S., 2 with Greek-Americans, 2 with Jewish-Americans, 1 with French Canadian-Americans, 1 with East Indian-Americans, 1 with Poles temporarily resident in the U.S., and 11 others carried out research among multi-ethnic populations" (Center for Urban Ethnography 1975, 2).

[36] I have no independent documentation for how Ben-Amos was connected to the Center for Urban Ethnography, but Darnell was there and should know. Worth attended at least one of the conferences, as explained below.

[37] Szwed to Hymes, May 6, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Center for Urban Ethnography, 1968–1971. To help spread the word, Hymes mentioned it at a meeting of the Committee on Sociolinguistics. "He urged members of the committee to bring this to the attention of potential claimants for grants or fellowships" (Minutes, Committee on Sociolinguistics, October 24–25, 1969,

DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries D: Social Science Research Council, Committee on Sociolinguistics, 1969).

[38] Hymes to Mervyn C. Alleyne at the University of the West Indies, Apr 30, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Editorial Board, folder 1, 1969–1970.

[39] Hymes to Courtney Cazden, Nov 27, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Cazden, Courtney, 1965–1972.

[40] Szwed to unnamed colleagues, Oct 20, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Center for Urban Ethnography, 1968–1971.

[41] Scholte was a former Hymes student (2/21/65, Hymes to Birdwhistell, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I. Correspondence 1951-1987. Birdwhistell, Ray, 1965, 1967, 1981) who Hymes helped to get a position at Annenberg (1/23/68, Dundes to Hymes, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I. Correspondence 1951-1987. Dundes, Alan, 1965-1975, 1977).

[42] Hymes and Szwed to unnamed colleagues, Apr 13, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Center for Urban Ethnography, 1968–1971.

[43] Hymes to Szwed, Feb 15, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Center for Urban Ethnography, 1968–1971.

[44] Andre Schiffrin to Hymes, Nov 15, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Pantheon Books, 1968–1974, 1980–1982.

[45] Hymes to Schiffrin, Jan 21, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Pantheon Books, 1968–1974, 1980–1982.

[46] Schiffrin to Hymes, Feb 5, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Pantheon Books, 1968–1974, 1980–1982.

[47] Paula McGuire of Pantheon to Hymes, May 26, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Pantheon Books, 1968–1974, 1980–1982.

[48] Hymes to McGuire, Dec 8, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Pantheon Books, 1968–1974, 1980–1982.

[49] Michael Kehoe of University of Michigan Press to Hymes, Apr 3, 1999, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Reprint Permissions, folder 4, "Reinventing Anthropology," 1998–1999.

[50] Hymes to Szwed, Jan 5, 1973, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Szwed, John F., 1965–1981.

[51] Issue of *Urban Poetry*, n.d., DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Center for Urban Ethnography, 1968–1971. This includes poems by Hymes and Szwed, a piece of short fiction by Rose, and several poems by others. It is filed after a letter dated December 1971, so it is most likely from the winter 1971–72.

[52] Jefferson (1974) lists the Center for Urban Ethography as her primary affiliation, and of course that article is published in *Language in Society*.

[53] Hymes to Labov, May 15, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.

[54] Szwed submitted a request for renewed funding which was denied; in a letter Hymes complains about not being able to get to a conference in Mexico as a result: "Had the Center been refunded, I might have had money to go. . . . But no refunding, and no travel money" (Hymes to Sherzer, Sep 13, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence

1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87).

[55] Hymes to Goffman, Jul 5, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982.

[56] Glassie to Hymes, n.d. [received Apr 4, 1979], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Glassie, Henry, 1970–82.

[57] https://www.gse.upenn.edu/academics/research/center-urban-ethnography-education-forum.

[58] https://2021forum.dryfta.com.

[59] Hymes to Szwed, Jan 4, 1979, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series : Correspondence 1951–1987, Szwed, John F., 1965–1981.

[60] https://www.sas.upenn.edu/folklore/center/PastDirectors.html.

[61] https://www.sas.upenn.edu/folklore/center/ConferenceArchive/secondnature.html.

[62] https://www.sas.upenn.edu/folklore/center/ConferenceArchive/voiceover/voiceover.html.

[63] https://www.sas.upenn.edu/folklore/events/index.html.

[64] Goffman had previously worked hard to help others get their books published, as with Harold Garfinkel 1962–66 (documented in Rawls 2023). Members of the network described in these pages periodically served on the Faculty Editorial Committee of the Press, as when both Fox and Glassie were on it in 1984 (https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v30pdf/n21/020784.pdf).

[65] Worth to Hymes, May 7, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

[66] Hymes to Worth, May 25, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

[67] Looking just at Goffman, Shalin (2023) examines different sorts of citation figures, including sorting citations to Goffman's publications by discipline.

[68] https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v19pdf/n17/010973.pdf.

[69] https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v21pdf/n03/091074.pdf.

[70] Sommer to Goffman, Apr 24, 1970, TS. (The letter is in the Sebeok papers because Sommer wrote to Goffman mostly in response to an invitation to the conference Goffman was organizing with Sebeok; Goffman then forwarded that letter to Sebeok.)

[71] Birdwhistell (1952) was published by Foreign Service Institute of the US Department of State, with limited circulation. See Leeds-Hurwitz (1990) for the explanation of that unlikely pairing.

[72] I have not been able to discover anything about Barton Jones or how he ended up being the one to organize Birdwhistell's papers.

[73] Labov to President Sheldon Hackney, copied to Hymes, Apr 24, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 1, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Labov, William, 1974–1987.

[74] Hymes to Fought, Jul 6, 1973, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Fought, John G., 1972–2004.

[75] For example, Erwin to Goffman, Sep 27, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[76] Goffman to Sherzer, copied to Hymes, Nov 15, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982.

[77] This sort of humor is also evident in earlier letters by Goffman to Garfinkel, as documented in Rawls (2023).

[78] https://annualmeeting.americananthro.org/general-info/future-past/.

[79] Erwin to Hymes, Jan 6, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[80] Erwin to Hymes, Jan 6, 1976 and Apr 6, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[81] Hymes to Grimshaw, Apr 10, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Grimshaw, Allen, 1966–1986.

[82] Hymes to Goodenough, Sep 28, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goodenough, Ward H., 1958, 1960, 1970–1986.

[83] Hymes to McDermott, Jul 5, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, McDermott, Ray, 1977–1986.

[84] Erwin to Hymes, Apr 15, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[85] Erwin to Goffman, copied to Hymes, May 17, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982.

[86] Erwin to Hymes, May 24, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966–1999.

[87] Hymes to Erwin, May 26, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966–1999.

[88] Erwin to Hymes, Jun 14, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[89] Hymes to Goffman, Jun 25, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1973, 1976, 1979.

[90] Hymes to John McGuigan, Feb 3, 1978, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[91] Labov to Hymes, Nov 4, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, 1968–1992, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Labov, William, 1970–1973.

[92] Goffman to Erwin, copied to Hymes, Dec 6, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982.

[93] Hymes to Erwin, Dec 9, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966–1999.

[94] Erwin to Sankoff, copied to Hymes and Goffman, Jan 31, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[95] Erwin to Hymes, copied to Goffman, Jan 4, 1979, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[96] Hymes to Erwin, Jan 9, 1979, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[97] McGuigan to Hymes, Feb 14, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[98] Hymes to McGuigan, Feb 18, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

99 Hymes to Fred Wieck, Director of the Press, May 25, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

100 Grimshaw to Goffman and Hymes, Nov 26, 1979, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Grimshaw, Allen, 1966–1986.

101 Hymes to Grimshaw, Dec 21, 1979, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Grimshaw, Allen, 1966–1986.

102 Hymes actually offered to include one or more of Labov's books in the series as early as 1969, saying, "If you want your piece out quickly, you know Erv and I would be delighted at Penn," presumably meaning in their series at the Penn Press (Hymes to Labov, Aug 10, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972).

103 Hymes to Jaber Gubrium, copied to Goffman and to McGuigan, Kuriloff, and Bosk at the Press, Apr 29, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

104 Goffman to Hymes, May 22, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

105 McGuigan to Hymes, Oct 2, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

106 Hymes to McGuigan, Oct 16, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

107 Call to Hymes, Oct 23, 1981; McGuigan to Hymes, Oct 30, 1981; and Hymes to Call, Nov 5, 1981; all in DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

108 Hymes to Gregorian, copied to Goffman, Oct 1, 1979, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Gregorian, Vartan, 1974–1981.

109 Hymes to Philips, Oct 23, 1979, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Philips, Susan, 1967–1984.

110 Hymes to Philips, n.d. [Feb 6, 1979?], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Philips, Susan, 1967–1984.

111 Maurice English to Goffman, copied to Hymes and McGuigan, Mar 11, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967––1982.

112 Goffman to Hymes, Nov 7, 1979, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982.

113 Hymes to Goffman, Aug 19, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982.

114 The Haney Foundation Editorial Committee press release, May 15, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries E: Other Committees, University of Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Press—Haney Foundation Editorial Committee, 1967–1976.

115 Goldstein to Hymes, Jan 23, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries E: Other Committees, University of Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Press—Haney Foundation Editorial Committee, 1967–1976.

116 Hymes to Goffman, Mar 11, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries E: Other Committees, University of Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Press—Haney Foundation Editorial Committee, 1967–1976.

117 https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v15pdf/n08/041669.pdf.

[118] Hymes to Sherzer, Sep 13, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.

[119] Hymes to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Oct 5, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 1974, 1985.

[120] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett to Robert Erwin, copied to Hymes, Oct 5, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 1974, 1985.

[121] For the request to publish it with Haney Foundation funding, see Goldstein to Hymes, Jan 28, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries E: Other Committees, University of Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Press—Haney Foundation Editorial Committee, 1967–1976. For a formal review, see Ben-Amos to Goldstein (Jan 18, 1971, same collection) and Ben-Amos to Fought (Jan 18, 1971, same collection): "First, let me tell you that I am really jealous! It is a magnificent work of which you should be proud."

[122] Goffman to Hymes, May 22, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[123] Labov to President Sheldon Hackney, copied to Hymes, Apr 24, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 1, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.

[124] Hymes to Labov, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.

[125] Witthoft was a faculty member in anthropology at Penn from 1966 to 1986 (https://www.museum.upenn.edu/collections/archives/findingaid/552900).

[126] Erwin to Hymes, Jan 5, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[127] Hymes to Erwin, Jan 10, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966–1999.

[128] Hymes to Erwin, Feb 2, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[129] Sapir to Erwin, Mar 17, 1978, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[130] Erwin to Hymes, Mar 28, 1978, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[131] Hymes to Erwin, Apr 7, 1978, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 1, 1969–1981.

[132] McGuigan to Hymes, Apr 5, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982.

[133] Hymes to McGuigan, Apr 6, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982.

[134] Hymes to McGuigan, Apr 6, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982.

[135] Hymes to McGuigan, n.d. [filed after the letter from Apr 6, 1982], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982.

[136] McGuigan to Hymes, Apr 19, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982.

[137] Hymes to McGuigan, Apr 30, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence

1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982.

[138] McGuigan to Hymes, Jun 9, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982.

[139] Hymes to McGuigan, Jun 9, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982.

[140] McGuigan to Hymes, Nov 23, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982.

[141] Hymes to McGuigan, Nov 23, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982.

[142] McGuigan to Hymes, Nov 30, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982.

[143] Maurice English, Director of the Press, to Sankoff, Dec 17, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982. English mentions that he understands Sankoff has agreed but wants a written acceptance; a copy is not in the files.

[144] Glassie to English, copied to Hymes and Sankoff, Feb 9, 1983, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 3, 1983.

[145] John McGuigan to Hymes, Sankoff, and Glassie, Apr 8, 1983, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 3, 1983.

[146] McGuigan to Hymes, Sankoff, and Glassie, Feb 14, 1983, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 3, 1983.

[147] https://archives.upenn.edu/collections/finding-aid/upa8/.

[148] English to Meyers and Ehrlich, copied to Sankoff, Dec 14, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 2, 1982.

[149] Minutes, Committee on Sociolinguistics, Social Science Research Council, July 12–13, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[150] Sebeok to Hymes, Aug 5, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[151] Hymes to Ferguson, Aug 14, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[152] Frances Welch to John Pride, Feb 18, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[153] Hymes to Sibley, Feb 26, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries D: Social Science Research Council, Committee on Sociolinguistics, 1969.

[154] Grimshaw to Ferguson, copied to Hymes, Mar 25, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[155] Hymes to Grimshaw, Mar 29, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[156] Ferguson to Hymes, Jun 12, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[157] Hymes to Grimshaw, Jun 22, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[158] Hymes to Ferguson, Jun 22, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[159] Black to Grimshaw, Jun 26, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[160] Grimshaw to Committee on Sociolinguistics, Jul 1, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[161] Minutes, Committee on Sociolinguistics, October 24–25, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries D: Social Science Research Council, Committee on Sociolinguistics, 1969.

[162] Hymes to Goddard, copied to Anthony Wallace (chair of anthropology), Henry Hoenigswald (chair of linguistics), Burton Rosner (chair of psychology), Wolfgang (chair of sociology), O. P. Williams (chair of political science), and Neal Gross (dean of education), Oct 31, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971. The formal decision was delayed due to Goddard being ill, but eventually the vice-provost, John Hobstetter, wrote Hymes, saying the requests had been approved, concluding, "I am really delighted at the prospect of this new journal and wish you the best of luck in launching it" (Hobstetter to Hymes, Jan 6, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971).

[163] Memorandum on Committee on Sociolinguistics by Hymes to Committee, Apr 11, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries D: Social Science Research Council, Committee on Sociolinguistics, 1970.

[164] Memorandum on Committee on Sociolinguistics by Hymes to Committee, Apr 11, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries D: Social Science Research Council, Committee on Sociolinguistics, 1970.

[165] Minutes, Committee on Sociolinguistics, June 13, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries D: Social Science Research Council, Committee on Sociolinguistics, 1970.

[166] Minutes, Committee on Sociolinguistics, March 18–19, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries D: Social Science Research Council. Committee on Sociolinguistics, 1970.

[167] Peter de Ridder of Mouton to Hymes, Dec 18, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[168] Kenneth Jackson to Hymes, Feb 11, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[169] Jackson to Hymes, Apr 5, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[170] Hymes to Jackson, Apr 16, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Language in Society, 1968–1971.

[171] Hymes to Gumperz, Jan 9, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Editorial Board, folder 1, 1969–1970.

[172] Hymes to Worth, Jun 10, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

[173] Hymes to Gumperz, Jan 9, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Editorial Board, folder 1, 1969–1970.

[174] Hymes to Grimshaw, Nov 13, 1972, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977; and Hymes to Labov, Nov 13, 1972, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V:

Language in Society, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Labov, William, 1970–1973.

[175] Labov to Hymes, Jan 17, 1973, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Labov, William, 1970–1973.

[176] Hymes to Goffman, Jan 22, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series IV: Works by Hymes, Subseries D: Other Research, "On Erving Goffman," 1979–1984.

[177] Hymes to Sankoff, Jul 7, 1983, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Gillian Sankoff, 1969–1985.

[178] Goffman to Hymes, Feb 12, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[179] Goffman to Hymes, Mar 25, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[180] Goffman to Hymes, Apr 2, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[181] Goffman to Hymes, Sep 16, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[182] Goffman to Hymes, Apr 14, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[183] Goffman to Hymes, Oct 18, 1978, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I, Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[184] Goffman to Hymes, Nov 22, 1978, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[185] Goffman to Hymes, Apr 8, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[186] Goffman to Hymes, Oct 6, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[187] Goffman to Hymes, Apr 13, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[188] Goffman to Hymes, Apr 13, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[189] Hymes to Goffman, Jun 25, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1973, 1976, 1979. Overall, Hymes appreciated Goffman's writing, in his publications as well as in letters. For example: "At least you have the comfort of being able to write in an inimitable way! Others can get the words, but not the tune!" (Hymes to Goffman, Dec 24, 1981, same collection).

[190] Hymes to Goffman, Apr 17, 1979, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1973, 1976, 1979.

[191] Hymes to Klatzky, Feb 20, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982. (As a specific sentence from Goffman's review is quoted, and that review is also available, there is no question but that he is the esteemed colleague in question.)

[192] Goffman to Hymes, Jan 21, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[193] Goffman to Hymes, Mar 31, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

[194] Hymes to Labov, May 15, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence

1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.

[195] Goffman to Hymes, Jun 10, 1876, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1973, 1976, 1979.

[196] Hymes to Goffman, Jun 25, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1973, 1976, 1979.

[197] Grimshaw to Hymes, Dec 21, 1979, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Grimshaw, Allen, folder 2, 1978–1980.

[198] Hymes to Grimshaw, Dec 21, 1979, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Grimshaw, Allen, folder 2, 1978–1980.

[199] Grimshaw to Hymes, Jan 8, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Grimshaw, Allen, folder 2, 1978–1980; Grimshaw to Hymes, Dec 21, 1979, same collection.

[200] Grimshaw to Hymes, Mar 25, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Grimshaw, Allen, folder 2, 1978–1980.

[201] Hymes to Grimshaw, Apr 10, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Grimshaw, Allen, folder 2, 1978–1980.

[202] See the "Note for Contributors" in the front matter of the first issue.

[203] Hymes to Dean Vartan Gregorian, Jul 8, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Gregorian, Vartan, 1974–1981.

[204] Hymes to Goffman, Sep 28, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goodenough, Ward H., 1958, 1960, 1970–1986. (This letter seems to have been misfiled.)

[205] Goffman to Hymes, Jun 10, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1973, 1976, 1979.

[206] Jeremy Mynott at Cambridge University Press to Hymes, Dec 22, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Cambridge University Press, folder 2, 1977–1983.

[207] Hymes to Sherzer and John Baugh, Sep 15, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Sherzer, Joel, 1972–1974, 1980.

[208] Colson to Hymes, Oct 14, 1983, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 3, 1983. (This letter may have been misfiled.)

[209] Hymes to Colson, Oct 18, 1983, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, University of Pennsylvania Press, folder 3, 1983.

[210] Hymes to Grimshaw, Oct 18, 1983, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Grimshaw, Allen, 1966–1986, folder 3.

[211] Grimshaw to Hymes, Mar 5, 1984, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Grimshaw, Allen, 1966–1986, folder 3.

[212] Grimshaw to Hymes, Mar 5, 1984, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Grimshaw, Allen, 1966–1986, folder 3.

[213] Hymes to Ferguson, May 7, 1973, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Subseries A: Early correspondence, Ferguson, Charles, 1970–1978.

[214] Fishman to Hymes, Feb 9, 1973, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Fishman, Joshua, 1968–1975.

[215] Hymes to Fishman, Mar 3, 1973, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence

1951–1987, Fishman, Joshua, 1968–1975.

[216] Grimshaw to Hymes and David Jenness, May 5, 1973, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries D: Social Science Research Council, Committee on Sociolinguistics, May–December 1973.

[217] Hymes to Sherzer, Sep 13, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–1987.

[218] https://repository.upenn.edu/handle/20.500.14332/48338.

[219] Myerson to Hymes, Dec 14, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Meyerson, Martin, 1971, 1979.

[220] Worth to John Roberts, May 16, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

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