

# **Mapping Goffman's Invisible College**

**Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz**

The mediastudies.press *Goffman in the Open* series

# Mapping Goffman's Invisible College

by Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

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## APPENDIX

# Peripheral Colleagues at Penn

This appendix includes all the Penn faculty for whom I have found documentation of a connection to Goffman through a collaborative project, major or minor; it is organized by department. As a reminder, summaries of each department and the ways in which Goffman or his small group of peers connected with them appear in chapter 3. What follows are details for each of the individuals, in the same order as these appeared in chapter 3, for consistency.

### *Anthropology*

**Anthony F. C. Wallace** was born in Canada, like Goffman. He earned a PhD in anthropology from Penn in 1950. He was affiliated with EPPI (as Birdwhistell was, both before and for a time after his arrival at Penn), from 1955 to 1960, simultaneously with a visiting position in anthropology at Penn, until he became a full-time professor and chair in 1961 (Urban 2016). He was department chair at the time Goffman was hired,<sup>1</sup> so he was the one who had the most crucial voice in making a job offer. Wallace published a review in 1962 of Goffman's book *Asylums*, making it clear that he had read not just that book but the body of work well before hiring the author. He concluded: "Goffman's essays are worth reading by any anthropologist, not only for their trenchant ideas on the nature of human organization, but for the good style. He calls a spade a spade. And, be it noted, he is able to present psychologically relevant data without indulging in psychological jargon.

His work thus has a demeanor of intellectual honesty to which we can all gladly defer" (1323). Given this, it should come as no surprise that Wallace was happy to offer Goffman an organizational home in anthropology when his then-colleague Hymes wanted to bring Goffman to Penn. Despite not being part of any of the specific projects, major or minor, successful or unsuccessful, Wallace still merits recognition for his role in that initial move.

**Ward H. Goodenough** and **William H. Davenport** were additional senior faculty in anthropology whom Hymes mentioned as likely colleagues for Goffman. Goodenough earned a PhD in anthropology at Yale in 1949 and began teaching part-time at Penn in 1949 (Kirch 2015), full-time in 1951.<sup>2</sup> When he was made a University Professor in 1980,<sup>3</sup> Hymes congratulated him, saying it was "an honor long due and well deserved," and then asked: "Am I right in thinking that the position entitles you to teach in any faculty? If so, please consider yourself invited to teach in this faculty, should you wish."<sup>4</sup> "This faculty" meant education, where Hymes was then dean. Hymes acknowledged Goodenough (as well as several others) even before he got to Penn, "for discussion through several years of the nature of ethnography" (1964a, 28n1). Also, remember that Goodenough had specifically recruited Hymes for Penn. Like Wallace, he also clearly appreciated Goffman's work even before Goffman's arrival: He cites several works by Goffman in a 1965 publication, for example, and continued citing him throughout his career (e.g., Goodenough 1997). In addition, Goodenough was one of the members of the Interdisciplinary Committee coordinating the new graduate degrees in folklore once that program was established in 1965 (Miller 2004), so he and Goffman knew people in common across campus. **Davenport** earned a PhD in anthropology from Yale in 1956. He held a dual position at Penn in anthropology and the Penn Museum as a curator, serving as associate director of the museum from 1979 to 1980.<sup>5</sup> In theory, all three of these anthropologists (Wallace, Goodenough, and Davenport) had the potential to become part of the overlapping networks as described in chapters 4 and 5, but in fact, only Goodenough did. Darnell explains at least part of the reason in comments on Goodenough and Davenport: While they shared a "meaning-based perspective" with Goffman and others who did become part of that network, their "interdisciplinary ties were forged in other directions" (2022, x). Despite this, all three of these senior anthropologists were essential to the story simply for the fact that they welcomed Goffman into their department; this could not be taken for granted, given that he was coming from a sociology department, and with a sociology PhD. If they



had not welcomed him, Goffman would never have moved from Berkeley to Penn. Wallace then played no further role in terms of projects involving Goffman, and Davenport was a small part of one minor project, the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior. However, Goodenough was involved in five of the minor projects to be discussed in chapter 5, taking the lead in two, so he is important on multiple counts.

**J. David Sapir** was linguist Edward Sapir's son. He earned a PhD from Harvard in 1964,<sup>6</sup> and joined the anthropology department at Penn in 1966, so he was junior faculty, not yet tenured when Goffman moved to Penn. Hymes was largely responsible for Sapir's hiring ("The equivalent of many days has gone into the persuading, shepherding, etc., to work something out for you here") at Sapir's request ("When you first wrote, asking if we could find a place for you . . .").<sup>7</sup> It was the denial of Sapir's tenure in 1971 that led Hymes to leave anthropology and shift his primary affiliation to folklore. Sapir's interests combined linguistics, anthropology, and folklore, like those of Hymes and Szwed. After leaving Penn for the University of Virginia, Sapir submitted a book proposal to the Conduct and Communication series, but Goffman rejected it. While still at Penn, Sapir was part of two projects, one major (the Codes in Context conference) and one minor (the failed attempt to begin a Semiotic Program). Sapir obviously knew Goffman's work, and he cited several Goffman books in a review for *Language in Society* (1979). Sapir and Goffman were colleagues in anthropology for several years and would have seen one another at department meetings if nowhere else, but there is evidence that Sapir, Goffman, and Sherzer had dinner together at least once (Sapir 2014), so they were more than just based in the same department.

**Peggy Reeves Sanday** earned a PhD in anthropology in 1966 at the University of Pittsburgh, and first took a position at Carnegie-Mellon University before moving to Penn in 1972.<sup>8</sup> She served on the Committee of the Undergraduate Major in Communications as of 1975,<sup>9</sup> was given a secondary appointment in education in 1977,<sup>10</sup> and participated in the NIE grant under the umbrella of the Center for Urban Ethnography once that center had moved to education (Hymes 1981a), so she was a late and peripheral group member. She included Wallace, Goodenough, Erickson, and Gumperz in a book she edited on fieldwork (1976). Goffman is cited multiple times across chapters and clearly was aware of that book prior to its appearance in print because he cited at least the Gumperz chapter ahead of publication (1976b). Sanday served as undergraduate chair of anthropology

(1979–1983, thus across Goffman’s years) and later held a named chair (R. Jean Brownlee Endowed Term Chair, 2001–6) at Penn, so her status there was notable.<sup>11</sup> Heath (2011) mentions Sanday as one of the faculty members at Penn who attracted education students, despite being based in another department, and she served on the board of directors of SSRC, and CAE, as well as the executive board of AAA, and reviewed proposals for NIE, so her connections both to education and anthropology, both at and beyond Penn, were substantial.<sup>12</sup>

**Arjun Appadurai** earned his MA in 1973 and PhD in 1976 at Chicago, both in social thought, and began teaching in anthropology at Penn in the fall of 1976.<sup>13</sup> He held affiliations with the Penn Museum (as consulting curator of the Asian section), and the South Asia regional studies department,<sup>14</sup> as well as ethnohistory (jointly with Wallace and Ben-Amos, among others).<sup>15</sup> He gave at least one guest lecture to folklore, on foodways, in 1978,<sup>16</sup> and folklore students were encouraged to take his courses (which I know because I was and I did). He was part of only one minor project, the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior. In addition, writing to his own department members about the problem of anthropology not having a strong program in language and culture in fall 1982, Appadurai highlighted the Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society as “an important first step towards resolving this problem.”<sup>17</sup>

### *Sociology*

**Philip Rieff** earned his PhD in 1954 from Chicago, like Goffman (McFadden 2006). Rieff taught at Chicago from 1947 to 1957, moved to Brandeis University, and then to Berkeley, where he stayed until 1961, when he took a position at Penn.<sup>18</sup> It is unclear whether or how well he and Goffman knew one another at either Chicago or Berkeley, especially given that Rieff was in political science at Chicago (Turner 2011), and education at Berkeley (Ber-shady 2009). Rieff first became a University Professor, being made Benjamin Franklin Professor along with the other seven University Professors only when Goffman was hired as a Benjamin Franklin Professor in 1968, which meant that two of these scarce and prestigious positions were awarded to a single department.<sup>19</sup> He and Goffman had multiple occasions to connect once Goffman was invited to participate in sociology department activities, but also from the start of Goffman’s time as a Benjamin Franklin Professor,

since the Benjamin Franklin Professors held not only meetings, but dinners, and a variety of other activities.

In addition to both having been at Chicago and Berkeley prior to Penn, they were the same age, and there were some similarities in their approaches. For example, “Rieff’s analysis of culture, like Freud’s, paid careful attention to the elements of daily life in which personal and societal character stand revealed” (Eisen 2016) sounds like something Goffman might have appreciated. Rieff was not part of any of the major or minor projects but, as another Benjamin Franklin Professor, he saw Goffman more often than many. However, Fox, who saw them both up close for years, has said that “one was a kind of antithesis of the other” although “they recognized each other as major intellectual figures,” clarifying that “though they often disagreed with one another, their relationship was not an antagonistic one” (2009).

Rieff has been credited with attempting to hire Goffman at Penn (Delaney 2014; Heilman 2009), and that presumably is accurate. As mentioned in chapter 3, there was apparently an effort to offer Goffman a position at Penn in 1967, although that went awry, with an actual offer not being made until spring 1968, the point at which Hymes worked hard to convince Goffman to move to Penn. So, this may well have been one more example of a group effort across several departments to attract a good candidate to Penn.

What correspondence between Rieff and Hymes has been preserved shows him to have been quite friendly, at least to Hymes. First, when Hymes left anthropology in 1971 over a tenure decision, Rieff offered a new home in sociology.<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, Hymes jotted notes at the top of this letter, “Call [Henry] Hiz [then chair of linguistics], Renée Fox [chair of sociology].” A few days later there was a brief postscript from Rieff bemoaning the “disease of ‘departmentalism,’” and suggesting they talk about establishing some sort of committee to permit a number of people to teach first-rate students in peace.<sup>21</sup> It is unclear whether or how much Rieff knew of the frequent attempts Hymes and others made to coordinate the content offered across departments, since he was not involved in any of them. Of course, Hymes did not move to sociology, and 1971 is not even when he gained a secondary appointment in sociology (that was 1973). But there was another letter from Rieff in 1973, reminding Hymes of his evening phone call in 1971 when Hymes had said he could not remain in anthropology, and stating that Rieff had called President Meyerson the next morning offering that Hymes could move to sociology. Now that Fox had made Hymes and Goffman full voting members of the department, Rieff wanted Hymes to have a title that



reflected his new affiliation as well. The logic was that between Hymes and Goffman, the program would take a step toward “world pre-eminence.”<sup>22</sup> There is no copy of a response in the file, but Hymes did not take him up on the offer; it seems likely he was finding folklore congenial and did not feel the need to move again so soon. If Rieff truly desired to convince Hymes to move to sociology but failed, and if this example accurately mirrors how he may have managed an early effort to hire Goffman, then it is possible he had the interest but lacked the political skills needed for success.

**Renée C. Fox**, with a PhD in sociology from Radcliffe College in 1954, took a position in sociology at Penn in 1969, becoming chair in 1972,<sup>23</sup> the first woman department chair ever appointed within the Wharton School (where sociology was based at the time, although Wharton later became a business school), and also the first in the new Faculty of Arts and Sciences (where sociology moved a few years later).<sup>24</sup> She served on the Committee of the Undergraduate Major in Communications,<sup>25</sup> and by 1978, held a secondary appointment in communications.<sup>26</sup> In addition to being one of the few women to play even a peripheral role in these pages, she was just as multidisciplinary as any of the men, having connections to programs across campus, including psychiatry, nursing, medicine, and bio-ethics, as well as communications.<sup>27</sup> Most important, she played a significant role in shaping Goffman’s involvement with sociology, as she has explained: “Among my early acts in the office of chairperson was to give Erving voting rights in the sociology department, which he didn’t have, and to involve him in departmental affairs to the extent that I could” (2009). At the same time, she gave Hymes a secondary appointment in sociology and offered him voting rights as well.<sup>28</sup> “A felicitous consequence of the legitimacy that I accorded to qualitative methods and teaching was that it motivated the sociologist Erving Goffman and the ethnolinguist-anthropologist Dell Hymes, both of whom had secondary appointments in the sociology department, to become much more actively participant in it” (2011, 271n7). By fall 1974, Fox began assigning both Goffman and Hymes to committees (Personnel for Goffman, and Recruitment for Hymes).<sup>29</sup> She has provided a description of Goffman’s integration into the department:

Erving Goffman was gratified by the steps I had taken to legitimize the teaching of field methods—especially ethnography—in the department. This, in turn, contributed to the fact that he became a really good citizen in the Sociology Department who helped me in various things I tried to do as a chairman, most especially in the recruitment of new faculty members. He almost always came

to their presentations, agreed to accompany those of us who took the candidates out to dinner, and the like. He showed his appreciation for my having introduced and institutionalized qualitative methods into the department in this way. (2009)

It makes sense that if Goffman was serving on the Personnel committee, he would need to attend candidate events. It would be interesting to know which new faculty members he met during their interviews. Fox also mentions the informal network surrounding Goffman:

Erving belonged to a strong and distinguished interdepartmental and interdisciplinary ethnographic and ethnolinguistic subcultural group that existed at Penn at this time. It spanned the Anthropology, Linguistics, and Folklore/Folklife Departments, and the Annenberg School for Communication. Included in it were Dell Hymes, sociolinguist William Labov, and anthropologist Sol Worth (a protégé of Margaret Mead, well known for his research among the Navaho Indians). (2009)

Finally, she worked with Goffman when they were both committee members on Eviatar Zerubavel's dissertation in sociology (Fox 2009; that document is Zerubavel 1979); they also both served on Samuel Heilman's committee (Heilman 2009).

**Elijah Anderson** earned his MA at Chicago in 1972, and his PhD at Northwestern University in 1976, both in sociology, taking a position in sociology at Penn in 1977.<sup>30</sup> At Northwestern he worked with Howard Becker, who had been a student at Chicago at the same time as Goffman. Anderson is one of the job candidates Goffman took to dinner during his interview at Penn (Bershadsky 2009; Lidz 2009). Along with Sanday, Anderson participated in a Hymes grant (1981a). Related to this, he was first a fellow and then associate director of the Center for Urban Ethnography in its second iteration, once it was housed within GSE,<sup>31</sup> and Heath (2011) mentions Anderson as another of the faculty members at Penn outside the program to attract education students. In 2007, Anderson moved to Yale, where he started the Urban Ethnography Project "in the tradition of" Goffman and others,<sup>32</sup> and is now presented as "one of the leading urban ethnographers in the United States."<sup>33</sup>

**Teresa Labov** was Bill Labov's first wife, and moved with him from New York to Penn; like Virginia Hymes, she arrived as an ABD; unlike Virginia Hymes, she eventually earned her PhD, in political science from Penn in 1980, and then took a position in sociology.<sup>34</sup> The degree was awarded for a project having nothing to do with her husband's work in New York, in

which she had participated as an interviewer and analyst, and which had earned her an MA at Columbia (1969; her role in the project is documented in W. Labov [1973, 98n14]). She later published in *Language in Society* (1982), was acknowledged and thanked by Goffman for comments on draft manuscripts (e.g., Goffman 1976b, 257), and joined MAP at a late stage, long after Goffman had left it.

## *Linguistics*

**John G. Fought** was based in linguistics at Penn from his hiring as assistant professor in 1967<sup>35</sup> until his retirement in 1995, with secondary appointments in anthropology as of 1976,<sup>36</sup> in education the same year,<sup>37</sup> and the graduate group in folklore as of 1975.<sup>38</sup> He shows up as part of the story of one major and all of the minor projects, standing just outside the inner circle; for example, he served as a committee member on dissertations with Goffman. These are the sorts of connections that build relationships despite being invisible to those who have no role in a specific project. Fought wrote a review for *Language in Society* of Goffman's *Relations in Public*; in addition to praising the book as one "in a series of extraordinary significance and promise" (1972b, 268), he explains the ways in which Goffman's work overlaps with the concerns of Hymes, Labov, and Gumperz, scholars whose work would undoubtedly have been known to and appreciated by readers of that journal, as well as overlaps with the work of Ervin-Tripp, Sacks, and Schegloff, who were not (yet) publishing in *LiS*. In turn, Goffman acknowledged Fought's helpful comments in some of his own publications (e.g., 1978, 787). Fought was not on the editorial board of *LiS* but did write frequent book reviews (seven, in addition to the one just mentioned). He and Hymes co-authored a book chapter (Hymes and Fought 1975) which they then turned into a book (1981).

When Fought came up for promotion and tenure in 1972, Labov wrote a strong letter of support. Given that Fought was primarily a phonologist specializing in Chorti, a Mayan language, this made him an unlikely colleague for Goffman. Hymes, certainly, for his study of Sahaptin; and Labov, for his attention to small details of linguistic structure. But Goffman? That connection was not so obvious. However, in that letter of support, Labov argued: "The connections that he [Fought] was able to point out with role theory in Goffman's terms have considerable importance for the theory of grammar." Labov also highlighted the difficulties caused by the anthropology department

for linguistics: Since they had lost Sapir and Hymes, Fought had become essential as the one person left to train anthropology students in descriptive linguistics.<sup>39</sup> In this way he emphasized Fought's significance for not one but two departments on campus, something presumably taken into account during the tenure decision. Fought was one of the faculty members whose courses students were told to take even when they were formally enrolled in other departments, even when what he most often taught (phonology) and his specialty (Chorti) both might seem narrow. It worked because his interests were far broader than his own research specializations.

**Gillian Sankoff** earned a PhD in linguistics from McGill University in Canada in 1968,<sup>40</sup> and taught at the University of Montreal from 1968 to 1978. She was visiting professor in linguistics at Penn in fall 1976, hired as associate professor in 1979. By 1981 she was professor, by 1982 she was graduate program chair, and by 1988 she was department chair (Sankoff to Grimshaw, May 15, 1991, ADG). In 1972, Hymes was asked his opinion of Sankoff's research by Elisabeth Case, an editor at Cambridge University Press, and apparently praised her to the skies because, although that letter is not in the files, the response to it is: "There are times when being in publishing offers a special treat. One of these occurred this morning when I got your letter concerning Gillian Sankoff. I think Gillian Sankoff is a very fortunate woman."<sup>41</sup> Like the others here, Sankoff had substantial multi- and interdisciplinary interests. For example, she presented as part of the Language in Education Colloquium Series at Penn in 1979,<sup>42</sup> and was involved with the new cognitive science program started in 1988, along with Labov.<sup>43</sup> Goffman cites Sankoff in some of his publications (e.g., 1978, 787), and she mentions him in some of hers (e.g., 1980, 223). Goffman and Sankoff married in 1981, and, much later, Labov and Sankoff married.

Sankoff was part of two major projects (publishing in the Conduct and Communication series and also serving on the editorial board of *Language in Society*), and one minor project (the Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society). Even before arriving at Penn, she was invited to the 1972 Ethnography of Speaking conference and published in the resulting volume (1974). She was valuable at Penn not only as a linguist in her own right, but also as an obvious addition to their interdisciplinary group, as Labov wrote to Dean Vartan Gregorian in 1977 in support of her hiring, "speaking for the group of scholars who are assembling around the theme of Language and Interaction"<sup>44</sup> (specifically naming Goffman, Hymes, Szwed, Fought, Gleitman, Gelman, and Goodenough). Beyond Penn, Sankoff

was one of the younger generation brought into the SSRC's Committee on Sociolinguistics in the mid-1970s, serving with Hymes but after Labov. When it was necessary to find a replacement for Goffman as co-editor of the Conduct and Communication book series, she was one of two chosen (yes, it took two people to replace Goffman).

**Henry Hiz** earned an MA from the Université libre de Bruxelles in Belgium and a PhD from Harvard, both in philosophy, and so his first appointment at Penn was as visiting lecturer in philosophy in 1951. By 1959 he co-directed a research project with Zellig Harris in linguistics, creating "the first computer program that could analyze the grammar of a human language."<sup>45</sup> He formally moved to linguistics in 1960 as associate professor, was promoted to professor in 1964, and served as chair from 1966 to 1973. Like virtually everyone else in this book, his interests spanned multiple disciplines. (In addition to philosophy and linguistics, he had experience teaching Slavic languages and mathematics before arriving at Penn.)<sup>46</sup> He was a member of just one of the minor projects, the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior, but he was also department chair when Labov moved to Penn, and thus helped convince him to leave Columbia.

**Ellen Prince** earned an MA in 1967 in French from Brooklyn College, then a PhD from Penn in linguistics in 1974, joining linguistics as an associate professor the same year, later being promoted to professor, and serving as department chair in the 1990s. She held a secondary appointment in computer and information science,<sup>47</sup> and was part of the Institute for Research in Cognitive Science once that was established. She also connected with folklore, participating in a conference on "Yiddish in the University" in 1997 with Ben-Amos and a Penn alum having a PhD in folklore, Chava Weissler.<sup>48</sup> Prince was active nationally, and elected president of the Linguistic Society of America for 2008.<sup>49</sup> She was part of two minor projects, the Cross-Cultural Communication Center and the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

**Anthony Kroch** received his BA from Harvard in anthropology in 1967, and his PhD in linguistics in 1974 from MIT; he taught in anthropology at the University of Connecticut and Temple University. He held a fellowship in 1978 with Labov for research ("to conduct sociolinguistic interviews and analyze the language of upper-class Philadelphians"), then took a position in linguistics at Penn in 1981, later moving into cognitive science as well.<sup>50</sup>

He was included in one minor project, the Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society.

### *Folklore*

**Kenneth Goldstein** earned the first PhD in folklore awarded at Penn, in 1963, and began teaching in the department in 1965, serving as department chair on and off for twenty years (Ben-Amos 1996). As of 1975, he also served on the Committee of the Undergraduate Major in Communications.<sup>51</sup> He is particularly important for his role as the one who initially welcomed Szwed, Dell and Virginia Hymes, the Center for Urban Ethnography, and *Language in Society* to the folklore department, but he was also part of a minor project, the Semiotic Program.

**Dan Ben-Amos** was part of that welcome committee with Goldstein. He earned a PhD in folklore from Indiana in 1967 and was hired in folklore at Penn that same year, just after it had upgraded from a program to a department in need of its own faculty.<sup>52</sup> Thirty years later, when folklore was downgraded from a department back to a program again in 1999, he added an affiliation with Asian and Middle Eastern studies;<sup>53</sup> after that department was divided into sub-specializations, he joined Near Eastern languages and civilizations.<sup>54</sup> In addition, he served on the Ethnohistory Committee, which began in 1978, mostly as a collaboration between anthropology and history, but bringing in faculty based in other programs as well,<sup>55</sup> and had a secondary appointment in communications.<sup>56</sup> Finally, he had at least some contact with education once Hymes moved there, as when he gave a talk for the Language in Education Colloquium series in 1980.<sup>57</sup> He was a small part of one major project, the Center for Urban Ethnography, and two minor projects: the Semiotic Program and the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior (and served on the governing board of the latter), as well as participating in the 1972 Ethnography of Speaking conference at Texas.

**Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett** earned her MA from Berkeley, and her PhD in folklore from Indiana in 1972.<sup>58</sup> She was teaching at the University of Texas, Austin, at the time of the Ethnography of Speaking conference there in 1972, was invited to participate, and published in the resulting volume (1974). She was hired in folklore at Penn in 1973.<sup>59</sup> Like Goffman, she was Canadian.<sup>60</sup> She is most relevant to the story told here for having published a book in the Conduct and Communication series (1976). Goffman had some



of her unpublished work in his files, so they obviously talked about research together beyond that book. In addition, she was part of a minor project, the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

**Roger D. Abrahams** earned a PhD in English and folklore at Penn in 1961,<sup>61</sup> before these were two separate departments, and there is a wonderful story about how it was his dissertation describing Black folklore in Philadelphia, full of obscenities upsetting to English department faculty members, which helped give MacEdward Leach, his dissertation chair, the excuse to begin a separate folklore program, just so his colleagues would not have to deal with offensive language (Hufford 2020; Miller 2004).<sup>62</sup> Abrahams took a position at the University of Texas, Austin, but several decades later, in 1986, returned to Penn to teach in that new folklore department (Grimes 2017; Hufford 2020; Szwed 2016). He participated in the original discussions about organizing CUE and, as a result, Szwed reports, “I asked Roger to join me in this project, and he was a Fellow of the Center whenever his job at Texas allowed it” (2016, 427). It comes as no surprise that Abrahams often thanks Goffman, Szwed, and Hymes for comments on publications (as in Abrahams and Babcock 1977), or that eleven of his publications are listed in the final record of publications sponsored by the center (Center for Urban Ethnography 1978). Abrahams was also part of the discussions that led to both the *Working Papers in Sociolinguistics*, and the Ethnography of Speaking conference held in Texas (Abrahams 1974); eventually both were managed by Bauman and Sherzer. Like Hymes and Grimshaw, Abrahams wrote up an academic appreciation of Goffman after he died, talking about how he took the roles of “insider and outsider” as an “observing stranger,” before concluding that he was a “superbly accurate observer” (1984, 86, 92).

**Virginia D. Hymes** met Dell Hymes while earning her MA in anthropology at Indiana, which she completed in 1954, and enrolled officially as a PhD student in linguistics at Penn after they left California, but never finished her dissertation.<sup>63</sup> Despite this lack, she served as undergraduate chair of folklore at Penn from 1975 to 1987, teaching courses in that department as well in linguistics, where she had a secondary affiliation.<sup>64</sup> (At Penn, it was not unheard of for students who were ABD to offer the occasional course at the undergraduate or even graduate level, so this does not necessarily imply special dispensation for a faculty spouse.) She served on one minor project, the Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society, and as rapporteur at the Comparative Ethnographic Analysis Conference in

1975. Goffman occasionally cited her work (e.g., 1976b, 25, 273; 1981, 25) and had unpublished copies of some of her work in his files. In addition, she participated in numerous informal dinners with her husband and Goffman, sometimes with others in the extended group as well (especially Grimshaw and Labov), often at conferences, as evident in their correspondence.

**Henry H. Glassie** earned a PhD from Penn in folklore in 1969, initially taking a position at Indiana, but returning to folklore at Penn as a faculty member in 1976, with a secondary appointment in American civilization.<sup>65</sup> He knew Szwed well—among other things, they co-edited a book, Glassie, Ives and Szwed (1970)—which is likely how he met Goffman. Glassie and Goffman created a business card (email from Yves Winkin, Mar 20, 2022), although so far as I know, they never actually established the antiques business it represented, only enjoyed going antiquing together, including a trip to England in the summer of 1982 (Grimshaw 1983, 148). Glassie mentions that trip as part of his description of how amazing it was to join the ongoing interdisciplinary conversations at Penn:

I was thrown in among this amazingly exhilarated [*sic*] group of people who were advancing, especially in terms of a sort of anthropology of communication. So then I'm not just reading Dell Hymes, which I'd done; I'm Dell Hymes's friend. I'm not just reading Erving Goffman; I'm Erving Goffman's friend, and Erving and I became ultimately very, very close. He's, I simply loved Erving Goffman, and we, next to my father and Hugh Nolan, I mean he's up in there in the same, some kind of sainthood in my life. When he died it was just horrible for me. I was so fond of Erving. Me and my wife and he and his wife traveled through England. We shared a very great enthusiasm for English furniture. It seems to be off the deep but not. And Erving was just, I'd read his books forever before I met him." (116, HG)

In later comments, describing Goldstein, Abrahams, Hymes, and Goffman, he explained: "I feel emotional about all of those gentlemen. But not only that, all of them great theorists" (117, HG). In addition to being one of the few who traveled with Goffman, Glassie was the second person who filled Goffman's role as co-editor of the *Conduct and Communication* book series, and was part of one minor project, the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

## Communications

**Steven Feld**, who earned his PhD at Indiana in 1979 in anthropology, linguistics, and ethnomusicology, took a position at ASC in 1980.<sup>66</sup> He played an essential role in the Multiple Analysis Project on the team filming and recording the event the group analyzed, and facilitated the conference where results were presented. In addition, he published a book in the Conduct and Communication series (1982), published in the journal *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* (Feld and Williams 1975) and later served on its editorial board, and was a member of one minor project, the Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society. Hymes considered him as one possible replacement for Goffman as a co-editor of the Conduct and Communication series. In addition, he served on the Faculty Grievance Commission with Anderson,<sup>67</sup> thus demonstrating overlaps with others in the larger network.

**Larry Gross** earned his PhD in social psychology at Columbia in 1968 and immediately started teaching communication at ASC. He was promoted to professor in 1983.<sup>68</sup> Gross was part of two major projects, and one minor. After Worth's unexpected death in 1977, Gross and Jay Ruby (employed at Temple University, and so not described here), took over as editors of *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* through 1979. In addition, Gross became involved with the Conduct and Communication series by organizing Worth's papers into a book (1981); after Goffman died, Hymes thought of Gross as a possible replacement for him as editor. Gross was also one of the organizers of a minor project, the Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society. Obviously, everyone thought of Gross as particularly competent, which may explain why he ended up first as deputy dean at Annenberg at Penn, and then director of (the other) Annenberg at the University of Southern California.<sup>69</sup>

**Percy H. Tannenbaum** received his PhD in psychology from the University of Illinois in 1953; he taught at ASC and was named graduate group chair as of spring 1968 when the PhD in communications was first approved.<sup>70</sup> He participated in one major project, the Codes in Context conference (mostly as a courtesy because he approved hosting it at ASC), and was one of those Hymes suggested might help in bringing Labov to Penn, by offering a possible joint appointment.

**Paul Messaris** was born in South Africa; he earned his PhD in 1975 at ASC, studying under Gross and Worth. He initially took a position at Queens College, but after Worth died, Messaris was invited to teach visual communication courses in his place; he began as assistant professor in 1978,<sup>71</sup> being promoted to professor in 1997.<sup>72</sup> He also helped to create the digital media design major. **Amos Vogel** was born in Austria and earned a BA in economics and political science at the New School for Social Research in 1949. He had an entire career in film before joining Penn in 1973 as Director of Film at the Annenberg Center, and in 1976 became professor of communications.<sup>73</sup> Messaris and Vogel were both part of one minor project, the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

### *Education*

**Brian Sutton-Smith** earned a PhD in educational psychology at the University of New Zealand in 1954; he began teaching in education at Penn in 1977, with secondary appointments in folklore<sup>74</sup> and communications.<sup>75</sup> He came strongly recommended by Labov, who knew him from Columbia.<sup>76</sup> Kirshenblatt-Gimblett also apparently expressed interest in having Sutton-Smith at Penn, presumably the reason he was given a secondary appointment in folklore; their research on children's play overlapped significantly.<sup>77</sup> Two of Sutton-Smith's books were published in the Conduct and Communication series in 1981, so he had a role in one of the major projects; he was also a member of the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior, one of the minor projects.

**Leila Gleitman**, who earned a PhD in linguistics in 1967 at Penn, worked first at the Eastern Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute (1965–1968), where Birdwhistell also worked; once at Penn, she held joint appointments in education, linguistics, and psychology, beginning in 1972 as the William T. Carter Professor at GSE.<sup>78</sup> In that role, she was the first woman at Penn to ever be appointed to a named chair,<sup>79</sup> and served on the search committee for GSE Dean that offered Hymes the position.<sup>80</sup> Apparently, in 1974 she considered leaving Penn; Hymes told Labov he hoped a conversation had helped convince her to stay at Penn because he felt “she would be a great loss.”<sup>81</sup> Gleitman played a role in three of the minor projects (the Language and Interaction Institute, Cross-Cultural Communication Center, and Interdisciplinary Program in the Science of Symbolic Behavior) and thus was far more involved than most of the other peripheral group members.

**Morton Botel** earned a PhD in education at Penn in 1953 and worked in the local school district while teaching part-time at Penn; in 1966, he began a full-time position in what was renamed the Reading and Language Arts Program. By 1980, he was named the William T. Carter Research Chair as Professor of Education and Child Development and started the Penn Literacy Network.<sup>82</sup> With Gleitman, he served on the search committee for GSE Dean that offered Hymes that position.<sup>83</sup> He was part of two minor projects, the Language and Interaction Institute, and the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

**David M. Smith** earned a PhD in anthropology from Michigan State University in 1969 and began his career in education at Penn in 1976. He saw linguistics, anthropology, and education as “necessarily intertwined” (Gilmore and McDermott 2006, 199). He directed the second iteration of the Center for Urban Ethnography after it had moved to education (from 1980 to 1985, according to Hornberger 2011), was part of the first Hymes grant from NIE, and was PI for a related grant after those of Hymes (1982). In addition, he was a member of a minor project, the Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society.

**Frederick Erickson** earned a PhD in the anthropology of education at Northwestern University in 1969; he began a position in education at Penn in 1986,<sup>84</sup> where he also took a turn directing that iteration of CUE (1986–1999), obviously after Goffman’s years at Penn. Erickson was at Harvard before Penn, again long after Goffman’s time there. However, Erickson also participated in the center’s early conference in 1969 and was part of the Multiple Analysis Project. He published a chapter in a book Sanday edited (1976), thus demonstrating his own connections across departmental lines (Wallace, Goodenough, and Gumperz all published chapters in the same book, showing Sanday’s own links to others). Goffman had at least one of Erickson’s unpublished manuscripts in his files, so they talked about research together.<sup>85</sup> Erickson cites Goffman in many of his publications (at least as early as Erickson and Schultz 1977), and in a review of one of Erickson’s books (2004; jointly with another book), Smardon suggests, “The ghost of Goffman lurks behind both of these books” (2005, 20).

**Nancy Hornberger** received a PhD in education policy studies, with a minor in linguistics, from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1985, and immediately joined the education faculty at Penn, later becoming both the Goldie Anna Trustee Term Associate Professor of Education, and acting

dean of GSE.<sup>86</sup> Like Smith and Erickson, she served as director of the second iteration of CUE, in her case from 2000 to 2015. She held a secondary appointment in anthropology and served as editor of the *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*.<sup>87</sup> (Hymes was quite active in, and served as president of, the sponsoring organization, the Council on Anthropology and Education (CAE), 1977–1978 [Hornberger 2011].) Despite arriving on campus too late to connect directly with Goffman, she both epitomizes the interdisciplinarity crucial to most of the projects examined here and carried on the CUE legacy.

**Michael H. Long** earned a PhD in applied linguistics from UCLA with a specialty in second language acquisition. He taught in education at Penn from 1980 to 1982, leaving then for the University of Hawaii.<sup>88</sup> **Nessa Wolfson** earned a PhD in linguistics in 1976 from Penn and began teaching in education at Penn the same year (Hornberger 2001). **Shirley Brice Heath** specialized in anthropology, linguistics, and education while earning her PhD from Columbia in 1970, where she studied with Mead (Heath 2011); she began teaching in education at Penn in 1977, with a secondary appointment in linguistics, leaving in 1980 for Stanford.<sup>89</sup> She briefly participated in Hymes's NIE grant with Sanday and Anderson (Hymes 1981a). **Bambi Schieffelin** earned a PhD at Columbia in anthropology in 1979, held a postdoctoral fellowship at Berkeley for a year, and began teaching in education at Penn in 1980. She was a panelist on “Discourse: Speech Acts and Contextualization” at the American Anthropological Association in 1978, for which Goffman and Hymes served as discussants.<sup>90</sup> All four of these scholars were part of one minor project, the Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society, starting in 1980, but had no other obvious connection to Goffman. Both Wolfson and Heath served a stint on the editorial board of *Language in Society*, but again, after Goffman's term.<sup>91</sup>

## *Psychology*

**Rochel Gelman** received her PhD in psychology from UCLA in 1967 and began her academic career at Brown University before joining psychology at Penn in 1968.<sup>92</sup> She established an interdisciplinary group around the topic of cognitive science with Gleitman, receiving significant funding from the Sloan Foundation, and then the National Science Foundation.<sup>93</sup> Goffman exchanged at least occasional drafts with her, and she was included in two minor projects: She was part of the group involved with the Language and



Interaction Institute, and co-leader of the proposed Cross-cultural Communication Center (staying with it after the turn to cognitive science).

**Leo M. Hurvich** earned his graduate degrees from Harvard, in psychology, in the 1930s. He did not arrive at Penn until 1962, having spent time teaching at Harvard and NYU previously,<sup>94</sup> and he began at the rank of professor.<sup>95</sup> His wife, **Dorothea Jameson Hurvich**, initially a research assistant in psychology at Harvard, was without graduate degrees, but had extensive applied experience, having been named “one of the world’s foremost theorists of color and vision.”<sup>96</sup> Given that Penn had a nepotism rule, once he was hired, she could only be given a position as a research associate in 1962 despite twenty years of research; when the rule was discontinued in 1972, she was immediately moved to the rank of professor.<sup>97</sup> In 1975, she was named University Professor of Psychology and Visual Science.<sup>98</sup> They were both members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences with Goffman (as were Labov and Hymes),<sup>99</sup> and both were part of a single minor project, the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior. In addition, as of 1977, Dorothea Hurvich would have been part of activities with Goffman (as well as Rieff, Steinberg, Meyer, and Goodenough) once Benjamin Franklin University Professors were combined with those who were “merely” University Professors in meetings convened by the provost (then Eliot Stellar) over several years “on matters of academic interest.”<sup>100</sup>

**David Premack** earned a PhD in experimental psychology and philosophy in 1955 at the University of Minnesota; he took a position in psychology at Penn in 1975.<sup>101</sup> **Dan Osherson** earned a PhD at Penn in 1973 and took a position in psychology in 1975; he was “was known for his interdisciplinary research projects.”<sup>102</sup> Premack and Osherson were both part of two minor projects, the Language and Interaction Institute and the Cross-Cultural Communication Center; only Premack stayed with the latter after the turn to cognitive science. In addition, Premack was part of one more: the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

**Burton S. Rosner** was variously affiliated with psychiatry, psychology, and the School of Medicine at Penn, from 1964 on.<sup>103</sup> He was quite active in faculty committees, including serving on the University Development Commission (with Fox, among others),<sup>104</sup> chairing the Faculty of Arts and Sciences Committee on Graduate Education (with Goldstein, among others),<sup>105</sup> and he chaired the psychology department at least once, which is when he offered a position to Labov.<sup>106</sup> He was a late and peripheral member of three

minor projects, the Language and Interaction Institute, the Cross-Cultural Communication Center, and the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior. While it is unclear whether he connected with Goffman or not, it seems likely, as they would have had lots to discuss, and he certainly knew many others in these pages. For example, he published jointly with Leonard Meyer in music (e.g., Rosner and Meyer 1982, 1986).

### *Landscape Architecture*

**Dan Rose** earned a PhD in anthropology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, in 1973, supported by a grant from the Center for Urban Ethnography.<sup>107</sup> In that capacity, he was invited to attend the center's 1969 and 1971 conferences. Although his book supported by CUE funding was published in the Conduct and Communication series much later (1987), he also had a book published while Goffman was co-editor (1981). Starting in 1974, he took a position in landscape architecture and regional planning at Penn, staying until his retirement in 1998.<sup>108</sup> He was thus a peripheral member in two of the major projects, CUE and Conduct and Communication. In addition, Goffman had some of Rose's unpublished work in his files.

Even once the center had run out of funding, Rose and Szwed obviously maintained connections, because they co-chaired a panel entitled "The Ethnography of the United States: A Meditation" at the American Anthropological Association in 1977. The other panelists were Ben Miller (Columbia), Robert Baron (a doctoral student in folklore at Penn), Theodore Kennedy (State University of New York, Stony Brook), Carol Stack (Duke University), Ray McDermott (Rockefeller University), Shirley Brice Heath (listed as Winston College, but already at Penn), Juliet Flower MacCannell (University of California, Davis), John W. Bennett (Washington University)—and Goffman.<sup>109</sup>

### *Biology*

**W. John Smith** earned a PhD in biology from Harvard in 1961. He was hired by biology at Penn in 1964,<sup>110</sup> and given secondary appointments in psychology, linguistics, and later the Institute of Neurological Sciences.<sup>111</sup> He was part of three minor projects (the Language and Interaction Institute, the Cross-Cultural Communication Center, and the Interdisciplinary Program in the Science of Symbolic Behavior), and a separate unrelated minor

event with Gelman.<sup>112</sup> Most relevant, he was part of the conference that Goffman co-organized on interaction ethology in 1970. Smith published *The Behavior of Communicating: An Ethological Approach* (1977), which not only acknowledged Goffman's help, but discussed his publications repeatedly and at great length, so the link to Goffman is clear. In that book, Smith also discusses the work of many others mentioned in these pages who are known for documenting and analyzing naturally-occurring human interaction: Birdwhistell, Hymes, Labov, Adam Kendon, Gregory Bateson, Albert Scheflen, and Starkey Duncan Jr., among them, so he not only read Goffman's work, but that of relevant others, and he does a particularly nice job of relating animal to human communication. For example:

In recent years several workers, most notably Goffman, Kendon and Duncan . . . have begun to make detailed analyses of how naturally occurring human interactions are controlled. Goffman particularly is interested in the widest range of interactional behavior and postulates control mechanisms in terms of the sanctioned rights and obligations of participants to maintain "face" and to preserve the flow and structure of encounters. Kendon and Duncan's approaches are more consistently involved with displays, and they do study particular signals in great detail. Their fundamental goal, however, is to understand the rules governing particular kinds of interactions, and they do not attempt to trace single displays through all the diversity of activity in which they occur. (1977, 223)

Goffman had a 1974 draft of that book in his files, so clearly they were exchanging unpublished manuscripts.<sup>113</sup> And one of Smith's articles acknowledges support from CUE (Smith et al. 1974), so he was connected to a major project as well. Interestingly, Gerbner tapped Smith to be a section editor of the *International Encyclopedia of Communications* (Gerbner 1989). Others mentioned in this appendix were also tapped for that project, including Gross as associate editor; Bauman, Feld, Gross, and Kendon as section editors; and Hall and Hymes as editorial advisors. Even when first organized in 1982, that was already past the time Goffman could have contributed, but it is helpful to understand that the collaborations described in detail in this book fostered comparable connections later as well.

### *English*

**Barbara Herrnstein Smith** earned an MA in 1955 and a PhD in 1964, both in English at Brandeis University, taking a position in English at Penn in 1972,<sup>114</sup> later adding a secondary appointment in communications.<sup>115</sup> She

was named University Professor of English and Communications at the same time Goodenough was a University Professor, in 1980,<sup>116</sup> so, like Hurvich and Goodenough, she would have seen Goffman at meetings integrating University Professors with Benjamin Franklin Professors. And in 1982 she was appointed to the Presidential Advisory Council to the University Press, along with Wallace (and others), meaning that she would help to supervise all of the series the press published (including *Conduct and Communication*).<sup>117</sup> Also, she and Goffman were awarded Guggenheim fellowships the same year, in 1977.<sup>118</sup> She directed one of the minor projects, the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

**Houston Baker Jr.** received his PhD in 1968 from UCLA; he taught at Yale and then the University of Virginia, and then joined Penn in 1974 as acting director of the Afro-American studies program.<sup>119</sup> He was quickly appointed professor of English, and director of the Afro-American studies program, and then Faculty Assistant to the President and the Provost in 1976.<sup>120</sup> He was involved in one minor project, the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

### *Romance Languages*

**Gerald Prince** joined Penn's Romance languages department in 1967 while still ABD at Brown University; he was awarded the PhD the next year. He was promoted to associate professor in 1973, professor in 1981, and became Lois and Jerry Magnin Family Term Professor in 1993. He was a member of the graduate groups in comparative literature, folklore, and linguistics, and associate faculty at ASC. He served as chair of general literature, comparative literature, French, and Romance languages (in some cases, several times).<sup>121</sup> His research was on narrative, and so his interests overlapped substantially with those of Ben-Amos, Labov, and Hymes; he gave at least one presentation as part of the Language in Education Colloquium (on metanarrative, in 1980),<sup>122</sup> and another to folklore students.<sup>123</sup> He served on the governing board of the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior when it began, and later, when it was renamed the Center for Cultural Studies in 1986, was co-convenor.

**Jean Alter** was born in Poland and received his PhD at Chicago. He taught French at several different universities before becoming chair of Romance languages at Penn.<sup>124</sup> Like others described here, he was active on campus

in multiple efforts, including presenting at the 1985 conference *Ways of Knowing: Comparing World Views and Methodologies*, sponsored by the liberal studies graduate group. His presentation was on knowing the future and began with semiotics; one of the other participants was Renée Fox, who talked about matters of life and death.<sup>125</sup> **Lucienne Frappier-Mazur**, born in France, began teaching at Penn in 1962 as assistant professor of French, and was promoted to professor in 1979. She was a member of the graduate group in comparative literature and literary theory, and associate director of the French Institute.<sup>126</sup> She also served on the editorial board at Penn Press and may have had contact with Goffman in that capacity. **Michèle H. Richman** began at Penn as assistant professor of French in 1974.<sup>127</sup> She also joined the comparative literature and literary theory program.<sup>128</sup> Alter, Frappier-Mazur, and Richman were all part of one minor project, the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

### *Slavic Languages*

**Gary Saul Morson** earned a PhD at Yale in Russian studies in 1974, immediately joining Penn as assistant professor of Slavic languages, with a specialty in Russian literature. He also was part of the comparative literature program.<sup>129</sup> **Peter Steiner** was hired as assistant professor of Slavic languages and literature in 1979.<sup>130</sup> He gave a colloquium at ASC on “Dual Asymmetry of Cultural Signs” in 1980.<sup>131</sup> Both Morson and Steiner were part of the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

### *History of Art*

**Leo Steinberg**, born in Russia, earned a PhD in art history from New York University in 1961, then taught at Hunter College. He joined Penn as Benjamin Franklin Professor of the History of Art in 1975.<sup>132</sup> He overlapped with Goffman and Rieff, as well as Leonard Meyer, in that role, and so would have met with them periodically. **Irene Winter** received her PhD in art history from Columbia; she joined Penn’s history of art program in 1976.<sup>133</sup> In 1983, she won a MacArthur prize, the first one for Penn. (Steinberg also won a MacArthur, in 1986.)<sup>134</sup> Both Steinberg and Winter were part of the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

## *Music*

**Leonard B. Meyer** studied music and philosophy, earning an MA in music composition at Columbia, and then, while teaching music at Chicago, earned a PhD from the Committee on the History of Culture there in 1956. He continued teaching at Chicago until moving to Penn in 1975 as Benjamin Franklin Professor of Music and the Humanities,<sup>135</sup> so he overlapped in that distinguished group with Goffman, Rieff, and Steinberg. In addition, he served on the governing board of the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

## *American Civilization*

**Janice Radway** earned a PhD in English and American studies at Michigan State University in 1977,<sup>136</sup> and began teaching at Penn as assistant professor, being promoted to associate professor in 1984.<sup>137</sup> After leaving Penn in 1988, she taught at Duke, then in communication at Northwestern, thus demonstrating her own ability to move between disciplines.<sup>138</sup> She was part of the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

## *Electrical Engineering*

**Aravind Joshi** earned a PhD in engineering from Penn in 1960 and joined the faculty in 1961; he was granted a secondary appointment in linguistics in 1964.<sup>139</sup> (While a graduate student he had worked with Harris and Hiz in linguistics on natural language parsing—the research project that helped to move Hiz into that department full-time.<sup>140</sup>) Joshi also worked with Kroch on formal grammar,<sup>141</sup> and was one of those drawn into the group organized by Gleitman, combining psychology, linguistics, and computer science into the new area of cognitive science.<sup>142</sup> He was part of three minor projects: the Language and Interaction Institute, the Cross-Cultural Communication Center, and the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

## *Oriental Studies*

**Ahmet Evim** earned a PhD at Columbia, then taught at NYU, Harvard, and Hacettepe University (in Turkey), before joining Penn as assistant professor of Turkish language and literature in 1977.<sup>143</sup> **Peter Gaeffke** earned a



PhD at the University of Mainz in Germany, worked there as well as India and the Netherlands before joining Penn as visiting professor in 1972. In 1974 he was made professor of modern Indian literature, as part of what was called South Asia regional studies then, and Oriental studies later.<sup>144</sup> **William L. Hanaway Jr.** earned a PhD from Columbia and began teaching Persian language and literature at Penn in 1971. He not only served as chair of Oriental studies in the 1980s but as associate director of the Near East Center in the 1970s.<sup>145</sup> **Barbara Ruch** was hired as assistant professor of Japanese language and literature<sup>146</sup> in the early 1960s and promoted to associate professor in 1969.<sup>147</sup> She founded the Institute for Medieval Japanese Studies in 1970, serving as director.<sup>148</sup> All four were part of the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v08pdf/n02/100161.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> [https://findingaids.library.upenn.edu/records/UPENN\\_MUSEUM\\_PU-MU.1070.2003.12](https://findingaids.library.upenn.edu/records/UPENN_MUSEUM_PU-MU.1070.2003.12).

<sup>3</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v27pdf/n01/071080.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> Hymes to Goodenough, Sep 12, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society.

<sup>5</sup> [http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/ead/ead.html?id=EAD\\_upenn\\_museum\\_PUMu1133200520](http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/ead/ead.html?id=EAD_upenn_museum_PUMu1133200520).

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.ias.edu/scholars/j-david-sapir>.

<sup>7</sup> Hymes to Sapir, Feb 14, 1966, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sapir, J. David, 1958–1987.

<sup>8</sup> <https://web.sas.upenn.edu/psanday/books/cv/>.

<sup>9</sup> Worth to Gregorian and Gerbner, Apr 9, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

<sup>10</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n01/071577.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup> <https://web.sas.upenn.edu/psanday/books/cv/>.

<sup>12</sup> <https://web.sas.upenn.edu/psanday/books/cv/>.

<sup>13</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n01/071577.pdf>; <https://www.lai.fu-berlin.de/en/temporalities-of-future/4-members/mercator-fellows/appadurai/index.html>.

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.lai.fu-berlin.de/en/temporalities-of-future/4-members/mercator-fellows/appadurai/index.html>; <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v25pdf/n05/092678.pdf>.

<sup>15</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n32/052378-insert.pdf>.

<sup>16</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v25pdf/n11/110778.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> Arjun Appadurai to Anthropology 5-Year Plan Committee, Nov 30, 1982, DHH, Subcol-

lection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society.

<sup>18</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v08pdf/n02/100161.pdf>.

<sup>19</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v14pdf/n06/031668.pdf>.

<sup>20</sup> Rieff to Hymes, Sep 27, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Rieff, Philip, 1967–1972.

<sup>21</sup> Rieff to Hymes, Sep 30, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Rieff, Philip, 1967–1972.

<sup>22</sup> Rieff to Hymes, Mar 26, 1973, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Sociology.

<sup>23</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v16pdf/n01/091969.pdf>.

<sup>24</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v22pdf/n28/040676-insert.pdf>.

<sup>25</sup> Worth to Gregorian and Gerbner, Apr 9, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

<sup>26</sup> “Communications #35: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania,”

<sup>1978</sup>, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg School of Communication, 1978–1984.

<sup>27</sup> Her actual title when hired was professor of sociology in psychiatry (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v16pdf/n01/091969.pdf>), and, like others, she ended up with multiple affiliations. In her case, those extended beyond the departments of sociology and psychiatry to medicine, and, in addition, in 1978 she was named the first Annenberg Professor of Social Sciences (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n16/011778.pdf>). She gave at least one colloquium at Annenberg, on “Cultural Themes in Medical Innovation: The Case of Organ Transplants” (“Communications Colloquium—Spring 1978,” n.d. [1978], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg School of Communication, 1978–1984). She held an additional appointment in nursing, and was a senior fellow at the Center for Bioethics (<https://provost.upenn.edu/sites/default/files/users/user747/Renee%20Fox%20Obit.pdf>). In 1971, before being made a full-time faculty member, she had served as Faculty Assistant to the President and the Provost at Penn (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v18pdf/n05/092871.pdf>). Finally, she served on a campus-wide committee jointly with Szwed, the Committee on Minority Recruitment, in 1973 (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v20pdf/n08/101673.pdf>), and with Hymes on the Bicentennial Coordinating Committee, that same year (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v19pdf/n22/020673.pdf>).

<sup>28</sup> Fox to Hymes, Dec 11, 1972, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Renée Fox, 1972–1977. Within a few months, Fox was asking what courses Hymes wanted cross-listed in sociology (Fox to Hymes, Feb 7, 1973). His answer was The Ethnography of Speaking, and he said he would be glad to include students from sociology as training in linguistics was not required (Hymes to Fox, Feb 16, 1973, same files). Presumably she asked Goffman the same question.

<sup>29</sup> Fox to department of sociology faculty, Sep 30, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Sociology. It may have been Hymes’s effort six months earlier to recruit Philips for sociology that gave her the idea (Hymes to Philips, Mar 19, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Philips, Susan, 1967–1984).

<sup>30</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n19/020778.pdf>.

- <sup>31</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v25pdf/n10/103178.pdf>; <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v41pdf/n10/110194-insert.pdf>.
- <sup>32</sup> <https://uep.yale.edu>.
- <sup>33</sup> [https://sociology.yale.edu/sites/default/files/elijah\\_anderson\\_cv\\_1.17.24\\_0\\_1\\_0.pdf](https://sociology.yale.edu/sites/default/files/elijah_anderson_cv_1.17.24_0_1_0.pdf).
- <sup>34</sup> [https://works.bepress.com/teresa\\_labov/1/](https://works.bepress.com/teresa_labov/1/).
- <sup>35</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v14pdf/n02/111667.pdf>.
- <sup>36</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v23pdf/n12/111676.pdf>.
- <sup>37</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n01/071577.pdf>.
- <sup>38</sup> Hymes and Fought to Leigh Lisker, May 20, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Lisker, Leigh, 1974–1980.
- <sup>39</sup> Labov to Leigh Lisker, Feb 29, 1962, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972. Lisker was chair of linguistics at that point (<https://www.ling.upenn.edu/people/in-memoriam>).
- <sup>40</sup> <https://www.ling.upenn.edu/people/sankoff>.
- <sup>41</sup> Elisabeth Case at Cambridge University Press to Hymes, May 26, 1972, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Cambridge University Press.
- <sup>42</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v26pdf/n12/110179.pdf>.
- <sup>43</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v34pdf/n21/020988-insert.pdf>.
- <sup>44</sup> Labov to Gregorian, Jan 31, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Labov, William.
- <sup>45</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/volumes/v53/n17/obit.html>.
- <sup>46</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/volumes/v53/n17/obit.html>.
- <sup>47</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/volumes/v57/n10/obit.html>.
- <sup>48</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v43pdf/032597.pdf>.
- <sup>49</sup> <https://www.lsadc.org/content.asp?contentid=161>.
- <sup>50</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/articles/anthony-kroch-linguistics>.
- <sup>51</sup> Worth to Gregorian and Gerbner, Apr 9, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.
- <sup>52</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v14pdf/n01/101667.pdf>.
- <sup>53</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v46/n16/Apps-Promos2K.html>.
- <sup>54</sup> <https://nelc.sas.upenn.edu/people/dan-ben-amos>.
- <sup>55</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n32/052378-insert.pdf>.
- <sup>56</sup> “Communications #35: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania,” 1978, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg School of Communication, 1978–1984.
- <sup>57</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v26pdf/n26/030680.pdf>.
- <sup>58</sup> <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/kirshenblatt-gimblett-barbara>.
- <sup>59</sup> <https://archives.upenn.edu/media/2017/10/19730914fac.pdf>.
- <sup>60</sup> News release, Jun 22, 1973, OP.

<sup>61</sup> <https://www.english.upenn.edu/people/roger-david-abrahams>.

<sup>62</sup> The graduate group in folklore was established in 1962 (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v09pdf/n02/100162.pdf>), and much (positive) press resulted, although in fact the department was not formally established at that point and, as the provost felt the need to explain, only “a graduate group is permitted to direct students for a doctor’s degree, but this is not a University department, nor does it have a chairman, nor does it have a budget” (David R. Goddard, Provost, to Chester E. Tucker, Vice President for Development and Public Relations, Mar 4, 1963, UPF 8.5, News Bureau, Folklore and Folklife, 1962–1985, UR).

<sup>63</sup> <https://search.amphilsoc.org/collections/view?docId=ead/Mss.Ms.Coll.189-ead.xml>.

<sup>64</sup> <https://search.amphilsoc.org/collections/view?docId=ead/Mss.Ms.Coll.189-ead.xml>.

<sup>65</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n19/020778.pdf>.

<sup>66</sup> <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/545aad98e4b0f1f9150ad5c3/t/5463d237e4b05851237ddc72/1516249433057/Steven+Feld+CV.pdf>.

<sup>67</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v29pdf/n08/101982-insert2.pdf>.

<sup>68</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v30pdf/n07/101183.pdf>.

<sup>69</sup> <https://annenberg.usc.edu/faculty/larry-p-gross>.

<sup>70</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v14pdf/n05/021668.pdf>.

<sup>71</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/volume-65-number-18#paul-messariss-annenberg-school>.

<sup>72</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v44/n20/facultyplus.html>.

<sup>73</sup> [https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/volumes/v58/n32/pdf\\_n32/050112.pdf](https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/volumes/v58/n32/pdf_n32/050112.pdf).

<sup>74</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/articles/brian-sutton-smith-graduate-school-of-education>.

<sup>75</sup> “Communications #35: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania,” 1978, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg School of Communication, 1978–1984.

<sup>76</sup> Labov to Hymes, Dec 17, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.

<sup>77</sup> Hymes to Labov, Nov 15, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.

<sup>78</sup> <https://www.sas.upenn.edu/~gleitman/papers/Lila%20Gleitman's%20Vita.pdf>.

<sup>79</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v22pdf/n28/040676-insert.pdf>.

<sup>80</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v20pdf/n30/041674.pdf>.

<sup>81</sup> Hymes to Labov, May 15, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Labov, William.

<sup>82</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/articles/morton-botel-gse>.

<sup>83</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v20pdf/n30/041674.pdf>.

<sup>84</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v33pdf/n01/071586.pdf>.

<sup>85</sup> It is included in Winkin’s list of Goffman’s files from 1998.

<sup>86</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v39pdf/n35/052593.pdf>.

<sup>87</sup> <https://www.gse.upenn.edu/academics/faculty-directory/hornberger/>.

<sup>88</sup> <https://arboretum.umd.edu/long-michael-h>; <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v27pdf/n25/031081.pdf>.

<sup>89</sup> <https://shirleybriceheath.net/page.php/34>.

<sup>90</sup> <https://openanthroresearch.org/index.php/oarr/preprint/view/40/74>.

<sup>91</sup> At one point, Hymes asked Wolfson to combine her roles as a faculty member in education and an editorial board member for *Language in Society*; he was having problems getting scholars to write book reviews for most of the books sent to the journal, and it had occurred to him that it would be appropriate to ask graduate students in education to write some reviews. They would get free copies of relevant books, and it would create a stronger connection between the journal and its nominal home at GSE (Hymes to Wolfson, Jun 21, 1983, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, 1968–1992, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Editorial Board).

<sup>92</sup> <https://fabbs.org/about/in-honor-of/rochel-gelman-phd/>.

<sup>93</sup> <https://www.psych.upenn.edu/history/history.html>.

<sup>94</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/volumes/v55/n32/obit.html>.

<sup>95</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v08pdf/n04/120161.pdf>.

<sup>96</sup> <https://www.psych.upenn.edu/history/jameson.html>.

<sup>97</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v44/n30/deaths.html>.

<sup>98</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v21pdf/n36/062575.pdf>.

<sup>99</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v22pdf/n34/051876.pdf>; Goffman was made a member of AAAS in 1969 (<https://www.amacad.org/person/erving-manual-goffman>).

<sup>100</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n01/071577.pdf>.

<sup>101</sup> <https://www.sas.upenn.edu/~premack/About.html>.

<sup>102</sup> <https://www.princeton.edu/news/2022/09/16/legendary-cognitive-scientist-daniel-osherson-scientist-rare-talent-and-excellent>.

<sup>103</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v19pdf/n19/012373.pdf>; <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v36pdf/n11/103189.pdf>.

<sup>104</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v19pdf/n20/012373.pdf>.

<sup>105</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v22pdf/n09/102175.pdf>.

<sup>106</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v19pdf/n20/012373.pdf>.

<sup>107</sup> <https://danrosespace.wordpress.com/about/>.

<sup>108</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/volumes/v63/n05/arbitrary-pleasures.html>.

<sup>109</sup> <https://openanthroresearch.org/index.php/oarr/preprint/view/39/72>. Awkwardly, across the same time slot, on the same day, was scheduled a roundtable for the CAE, organized by Hymes, which included Abrahams, Bauman, and Erickson, as well as yet another panel, “Speech Events: Toward a Comparative Framework in the Ethnography of Speaking,” organized by Judith Irvine, including Susan Philips and several others, with Michael Silverstein and Hymes as discussants.

<sup>110</sup> [https://archives.upenn.edu/collections/finding-aid/upf8\\_5/](https://archives.upenn.edu/collections/finding-aid/upf8_5/).

<sup>111</sup> UPF 8.5B: University Relations, News and Public Affairs Records, Biographical Files, Labov, William, box 149, folder 29, UR.

<sup>112</sup> In 1972 there was an event called “Post Graduate ’72,” billed as “a one-day seminar program sponsored . . . by the College for Women Alumnae Society for CW alumnae and interested members of the University community,” which involved Smith and Gelman holding “a dialogue on ‘Communications in Young Children’” (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v19pdf/n08/101772.pdf>).

<sup>113</sup> It is included in Winkin's list of Goffman's files from 1998.

<sup>114</sup> <https://www.ias.edu/scholars/barbara-herrnstein-smith>.

<sup>115</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v23pdf/n29/041977.pdf>.

<sup>116</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v27pdf/n01/071080.pdf>.

<sup>117</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v28pdf/n30/050482.pdf>.

<sup>118</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v23pdf/n29/041977.pdf>.

<sup>119</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v21pdf/n03/091074.pdf>.

<sup>120</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v23pdf/n07/101276.pdf>.

<sup>121</sup> <https://french.sas.upenn.edu/sites/default/files/2019%20cv%20prince.pdf>.

<sup>122</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v26pdf/n21/013180.pdf>.

<sup>123</sup> This would have been between 1975 and 1978; I know because I attended. It may have been presented as a guest lecture in a course by Ben-Amos.

<sup>124</sup> <https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/dailycamera/name/jean-alter-obituary?id=46853117>.

<sup>125</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v31pdf/n31/042385-insert.pdf>.

<sup>126</sup> <https://www.encyclopedia.com/arts/culture-magazines/frappier-mazur-lucienne>.

<sup>127</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v46/n16/benchmarks.html>.

<sup>128</sup> <https://complit.sas.upenn.edu/people/michele-richman>.

<sup>129</sup> <https://rpert.northwestern.edu/images/morson-cv.pdf>.

<sup>130</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v25pdf/n18/012379.pdf>.

<sup>131</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v26pdf/n32/042480.pdf>.

<sup>132</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v21pdf/n30/042275.pdf>; <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/volumes/v57/n26/obit.html>.

<sup>133</sup> <https://haa.fas.harvard.edu/people/irene-j-winter>.

<sup>134</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v35pdf/n02/083088.pdf>.

<sup>135</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/volumes/v54/n17/obit.html>.

<sup>136</sup> <https://scholars.duke.edu/person/jradway>.

<sup>137</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v30pdf/n23/022184.pdf>.

<sup>138</sup> <https://communication.northwestern.edu/faculty/janice-radway.html>.

<sup>139</sup> <http://button.provost.upenn.edu/sites/default/files/users/user747/Aravind%20Joshi%20Obit.pdf>.

<sup>140</sup> <https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-history/after-eniac/part-7/>.

<sup>141</sup> <https://www.ling.upenn.edu/index.php/people/in-memoriam>.

<sup>142</sup> <https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-history/after-eniac/part-7/>.

<sup>143</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n01/071577.pdf>.

<sup>144</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v21pdf/n01/071974.pdf>.

<sup>145</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/articles/william-hanaway-asian-and-middle-eastern-studies>.

<sup>146</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v14pdf/n07/041668.pdf>.



<sup>147</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v16pdf/n01/091969.pdf>.

<sup>148</sup> <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v16pdf/n10/080770.pdf>; <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v25pdf/n05/092678-insert.pdf>.

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