

Mapping Goffman's Invisible College

Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

The mediastudies.press *Goffman in the Open* series

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by Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

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CHAPTER THREE

People at Penn

Goffman left Berkeley for the University of Pennsylvania in 1968, staying until his death in 1982. First at Chicago, then at NIMH, and then Berkeley, and to a limited extent at Harvard, he had connected informally with scholars across disciplines, developing a nascent invisible college. Once he moved to Penn, he developed the full-blown version, creating particularly strong ties with colleagues based in several other departments, despite having uncommonly weak ties with peers in his own specialization of sociology for much of his time there. My focus in the last chapter was on Goffman's early experiences, up to and including his first academic position at Berkeley and his short-term position at Harvard. In this and the following two chapters, my focus will be on Goffman's connections and activities at Penn. The story begins with how relationships built at Berkeley helped convince Goffman to move to Penn. Then will come brief descriptions of the peers with whom Goffman worked at Penn on the various projects yet to be examined in chapters 4 and 5. Even though other faculty members on campus are noteworthy for a wide variety of reasons, only those relevant to the stories told here will be mentioned, but that includes a surprisingly large number. First, the core group of those involved in a set of major projects will be introduced, then the peripheral group members who were either minor players in major projects or only involved in minor projects. Finally, there will be a section about students who worked with Goffman at Penn. The focus will be on doctoral students who studied directly with him, but there will also be a few stories of other student interactions with him. In all cases, emphasis in that section will be on student interactions with and/or statements about Goffman and/or interdisciplinarity at Penn.

In all three chapters about Penn, the focus will be on the widening circle of those who interacted with Goffman on topics related to research, although the focus is less on conducting research and more on deciding upon and then sharing what had been learned (so, establishing journals and a book series to permit publication and share knowledge take center stage rather than a focus on joint research resulting in published articles or books). Clearly, not all members of Goffman's invisible college were equally important or received equal amounts of his time and attention. Even so, they were all part of an elaborate set of interconnected networks that seem well worth exploring. It would be interesting to document whether most scholars also either participate in or develop their own comparable interconnected networks; although that stands far beyond what this book can examine, it does seem likely, for it becomes clear that additional connections between others—even without Goffman—developed over time.

Getting Goffman to Penn

Dell Hymes moved from Berkeley to Penn in 1965. He wrote to Goffman in early 1968, suggesting that together they could build an interdisciplinary group at Penn comparable to the Saturday group at Berkeley.

I believe that we are gradually building up an informal constellation of people with related interests and affinities that is approaching a sort of critical mass, where there just would be a large enough group who understand the point, of what you are doing, and of what the rest of us are doing. . . . The place isn't perfect but it has great possibilities and I believe you would find it a good place for yourself. And I want very much for you to come. . . . The thought is that for you to work as you wish with a few students will both lead to some good work being done being done by them, and indirectly act as a very desirable stimulus to other students.¹

Specific colleagues Hymes mentioned as part of the potential group were Ward Goodenough and William Davenport in anthropology, Kenneth Goldstein in folklore, Sol Worth in communications, and William Labov (then at Columbia University in New York; he joined Penn shortly after). Ray Birdwhistell (Goffman's professor at Toronto) arrived after Goffman, and so was not mentioned as enticement, though he was already based in the same city (Philadelphia) while teaching at Temple University a short distance away, a fact that Goffman certainly knew. Even from the very beginning, the goal was to bring together a group of people sharing common research

interests, despite belonging administratively to different departments. At the time, “the department of sociology was a Parsonian stronghold not too happy about his coming to Penn” (Winkin 2022c, 10), so his initial appointment was as Benjamin Franklin Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, and his office was always in the Penn Museum, with anthropologists.² In 1977, all Franklin Professors were granted an even more prestigious title, so he became the Benjamin Franklin *University* Professor of Anthropology and Sociology.³ Hymes once inadvertently referred to Goffman in print as Professor of Anthropology and Psychology, a statement which has been widely reprinted, but the university personnel records should have the final word, and they list the title as anthropology and sociology. Presumably, the confusion came about because Goffman later was granted a secondary appointment in psychology.

Numerous faculty members in other departments were delighted to have Goffman around, just as Hymes had promised. Looking back in 1997, Hymes reflected on the shift from Berkeley to Penn:

A little later in Pennsylvania (ca. 1965) a cross-department network emerged that was important. It had diverse roots—personal drives, the earlier “communication” interest of Mead, Bateson, and others, Chicago symbolic interaction, etc. For a while there were the late Sol Worth (whose work was with film, but who interacted with all the rest), Ray Birdwhistell, Erving Goffman, myself, then Bill Labov. Again, for a certain time, affinities, not a common discipline. (126)

Here are named most of the key actors included below; presumably, John Szwed was not mentioned because he arrived a bit later, but he too will be integral to the story.

There was some small confusion about the initial invitation to Goffman. In April 1967, Provost David R. Goddard acknowledged a letter from Hymes about Goffman, in which Hymes said he would be having lunch with Goffman and “I hope that we are going to succeed in persuading him to join the University of Pennsylvania.”⁴ Then there is a gap until a letter in October 1967, from Goddard to Philip Rieff and Marvin Wolfgang (both in sociology; Wolfgang was acting department chair and graduate group chair at the time),⁵ and Anthony Wallace (in anthropology), which says: “I must apologize for having failed to send the invitation to Dr. Erving Goffman as Benjamin Franklin Professor of Sociology last spring. I have now corrected this. He has been invited to come as Benjamin Franklin Professor of Sociology, or of Sociology and Anthropology, leaving the preference to him” (Oct 4, 1967, AFCW). A few days later, Wallace sent a letter directly to Goffman,

urging him to accept, since “I have admired your work for many years and feel that you would make a great contribution to the development of the social sciences in Philadelphia” (Oct 9, 1967, AFCW). And Delaney (2014) mentions Rieff’s campaign to get Goffman to Penn, as previously noted.⁶ Clearly, it was not just Hymes trying to convince his former colleague Goffman to take the position.

A few months later, just after the Codes in Context conference held in December 1967 at Annenberg School of Communications⁷ (described in chapter 4), Dean George Gerbner wrote to Goddard, with copies to Rieff and Worth, saying that he understood that Goffman had now been offered a Benjamin Franklin professorship. He was writing because he had been told that while at the conference Goffman had expressed interest in “some special relationship or affiliation with the [Annenberg] School” and that he was in favor of that, so long as such affiliation led to actual connections. “An occasional exposure in the Proseminar and advice in the selection and guidance of some of the graduate students who would come to communications because of Professor Goffman’s presence on the list of affiliated faculty were examples I cited of the concrete forms of such participation.”⁸ Gerbner did not identify those who had reported their conversations with Goffman to him, but Hymes and/or Worth seem likely choices. In any event, Goffman began teaching at Penn in fall 1968, without an affiliation to ASC, as a Benjamin Franklin Professor only required to teach one course per year. (Chapter 5 examines his role as one of the small set of Benjamin Franklin Professors.)

There is extensive documentation for the fact that Hymes and others made multiple attempts to bring in likely colleagues to their group (elaborated upon shortly). In addition, there is at least some evidence that Goffman did the same for a few others. For example, Cicourel has written that “he [Goffman] was part of a small group at Penn that asked me if I wanted to move there” (2009). They had known each other well at Berkeley, as previously mentioned, and were both part of the Multiple Analysis Project (described in chapter 6). The “small group” mentioned here is exactly Goffman’s core group at Penn.

Colleagues

The core group of colleagues who worked with Goffman on a set of major projects were involved in many of the same minor projects; in addition, they frequently shared students because, unlike many universities, at Penn even

graduate students were (and presumably still are) encouraged to enroll in courses across multiple departments. Goffman's core group was made up of Hymes, Labov, Birdwhistell, Szwed, and Worth.⁹ Since these five were so important, they will be described first and at greatest length, to set the stage.

Primary Peer Group

First in order is a review of the major scholars at Penn with whom Goffman worked on a variety of projects. As Huber suggests, "One thing that Erving took seriously was quality of scholarship" (2009). Evidently, what he did at Penn was to look for those who not only had overlapping research interests, but who were also especially good scholars, because they all either were already well-known and frequently recognized for their contributions or became so later.¹⁰ Penn has always highlighted the interdisciplinary nature of the campus and faculty, and secondary appointments are one way to demonstrate this. Nearly all of the scholars at Penn relevant to this story held secondary appointments across departments, representing their diverse interests.¹¹ This included Goffman, who was on occasion considered a significant member of the anthropology department,¹² and was granted a secondary appointment in psychology as of 1977,¹³ in Annenberg in 1978,¹⁴ as well as in nursing in 1979.¹⁵ Since his primary appointment already included two disciplines, this made five for him. Part of the impetus for both secondary appointments, and the creation of a network of scholars based in different departments was the same: "The impulse to band together depended on a sense of marginality in a home discipline" (Hymes 1980, x). According to Penn's official explanation of secondary appointments:

When a professor's knowledge or expertise was considered to be beneficial to students outside of the department they were already affiliated with the second department would invite the professor to teach in their department also. If you were given the second appointment with voting rights that meant you had full standing in that department and could vote on issues at meetings called by the chair. (email from Tim Horning, May 5, 2023)

Members of this group supported one another's research interests and, in the process, created strong ties. For example, they shared early versions of their work with one another. Goffman had copies of unpublished papers, and prepublication versions of at least some published work of all the central actors in this circle, and many of those with peripheral involvement. We know this because Goffman kept a set of files accessible to students. "It

happens that Goffman systematically archived the many papers, published and unpublished, which he received over the years from his colleagues. In June 1998, I made a complete listing of the content of the file cabinet which ended up in the Social Sciences Library in the McNeil Building at the University of Pennsylvania” (Winkin 2022b, 169). That list makes evident that Goffman had unpublished work by Dell Hymes, Labov, Szwed, Birdwhistell, and Worth, as well as by Virginia Hymes, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Dan Rose, Gillian Sankoff, Joel Sherzer, and W. John Smith (and many, many others outside of Penn).¹⁶ This is quite standard in academia among colleagues working on related problems; as such, it documents Goffman’s willingness to work with others, to provide his feedback, and to both solicit and listen to theirs. The only surprise here is that such connections have so rarely been documented for Goffman. Among those few examples are Vienne (2022), who mentions that Goffman sent Hughes draft papers on total institutions for critique before publishing *Asylums*, and Rawls (2023), who documents correspondence about a book Goffman and Harold Garfinkel planned to write. Other chapters in this book document that Goffman exchanged drafts with Hugh Duncan, David Schneider, and Allen Grimshaw,¹⁷ so the list of people with whom he exchanged manuscripts was certainly not limited to colleagues at Penn.

Table 3.1 summarizes the half dozen scholars in Goffman’s primary peer group, with information provided on the years they were based at Penn, as well as their primary and secondary appointments.

What follows are longer descriptions of these peers.

Dell H. Hymes (1927–2009)

Dell Hymes and Goffman connected through the Saturday group at Berkeley, all five of the major projects in chapter 4, all six of the minor projects in chapter 5, as well as several of those in chapter 6, so this was probably the strongest and most productive connection of those Goffman had at Penn. (At the same time, it must be acknowledged that my view may be biased by the considerable documentation Hymes made available by donating his papers; perhaps others had more connections than we yet know.) Hymes earned a PhD in linguistic anthropology at Indiana University in 1955, where he formally studied linguistics, anthropology, and folklore (Scollon 2004); he first took a position at Harvard (1955–1960), and then Berkeley (1960–1965), where he had a dual appointment in anthropology and linguistics (Sherzer et al. 2010), moving to anthropology at Penn in 1965.¹⁸ Ward Goodenough called him

in fall 1963 about the possibility of moving. At the time, the anthropology department had not yet spoken with the dean about a new hire, but Irving Hallowell had just retired and they had high enrollments, so clearly needed more staff. Goodenough followed up the call with a letter: “But I should say that our interest is not in getting someone to teach particular courses so much as it is in getting you as the kind of person we very much want as our colleague.”¹⁹ His use of “we” here refers to Goodenough and Anthony Wallace as the senior faculty members in the department; Loren Eiseley was also senior, but part-time, with a primary appointment in the Museum. The response from Hymes: “It’s very flattering to have you think of me for the position at Penn.”²⁰

*Table 3.1: Goffman’s Primary Peer Group, by
Department, Showing Years at Penn*

Erving Goffman (1968–1982) Primary appointments: anthropology and sociology Secondary appointments: psychology, communications, nursing
Dell Hymes (1965–1987) Primary appointments: anthropology, then folklore, then education Secondary appointments: linguistics, sociology, communications, history and sociology of science, comparative literature and literary theory
John Szwed (1969–1982) Primary appointment: folklore Secondary appointment: education
William Labov (1971–2015) Primary appointment: linguistics Secondary appointments: psychology, education, communications
Ray Birdwhistell (1969–1988) Primary appointment: communications Secondary appointment: none (but strong informal affiliation with folklore)
Sol Worth (1960–1977) Primary appointment: communications Secondary appointment: education

Wallace followed this up with a letter saying that, with the vita and bibliography Hymes had sent in, they could now request a formal offer be

made. They were especially interested in “The particular combination of interests which you represent—linguistics, the history of anthropology and formal analysis” to fill in gaps in their program.²¹ Obviously, either Wallace and/or Goodenough had told Henry Hoenigswald, then chair of linguistics, that they were negotiating with Hymes, because he also wrote Hymes to say: “Yesterday I heard what I consider the greatest piece of academic news in a long time. All of us hope and trust that it will soon be topped by an even better piece of news, and that we shall see you and your family settle down here.”²² By spring 1964, Wallace sent a formal letter of offer with a starting date of fall 1965.²³ Hymes accepted a few days later and immediately got down to details, including which courses he would teach.²⁴ By fall, Hoenigswald invited Hymes to become a member of the graduate group in linguistics once he was at Penn, and started the conversation about specific courses to put into the linguistics schedule.²⁵ Hymes immediately accepted the position.²⁶ All of this is relevant to the larger story told here because this is exactly the process Hymes used in approaching Goffman (and then others) about moving to Penn: informally, often before there was a position officially available, and with support of colleagues both in the same department and beyond.

Nearly twenty years later, when asked for a history of the anthropology department at Berkeley to elaborate on his reasons for leaving, Hymes emphasized that his move was based on personal choices; it was specifically “not part of a stance toward the department or the University.” He provided several explanations: Having been invited to apply to both Columbia and Penn, the offer from Penn was most attractive, including a promotion to professor (which Berkeley tried to match, but it turned out there were two levels there, and they only offered the lower one, which “rankled a bit”). Also, his wife, Virginia, was interested in moving east. Also, he recalled that “Penn’s reputation at that time for linguistic work in anthropology, because of the presence of Wallace and Ward Goodenough, and the recent presence of Paul Friedrich and Robbins Burling, must have been a factor as well.”²⁷ When discussing the matter with Worth a few years after joining Penn, Hymes specifically named the interdisciplinarity of the campus as “the major reason” he chose to move.²⁸ This was important to him, as he explained to Vartan Gregorian in the 1970s, because: “I was trained at a broad-gauged liberal arts college (Reed), and in a graduate school program (Indiana) in which the earlier unity of anthropology, folklore, and linguistics, centered around study of the American Indians, still obtained. To me it seems that I

work within a coherent, if broad, tradition, from which the fragmentation of academic life has departed, and to which hopefully it may begin to return.”²⁹

Hymes was formally based in multiple departments at Penn over the years: Becoming unhappy with anthropology colleagues when J. David Sapir was not granted tenure (Mills 2011),³⁰ he was offered a home in sociology by Rieff,³¹ but instead chose to move his primary affiliation to folklore in 1972, where he had already been a member of the Interdisciplinary Committee since 1965.³² In addition, he held formal affiliations with the graduate groups in linguistics (from 1965),³³ communications (from 1967), history and sociology of science (from 1971), and comparative literature and literary theory (from 1980); and formal secondary appointments to sociology (from 1973)³⁴ and communications (from 1978).³⁵ In fact, with the departure from anthropology came a new, joint title to Professor of Folklore and Linguistics. “Admittedly the proposal for the title came from Erv Goffman, who felt it would give a better public impression to my leaving anthropology if linguistics were associated with the new location.”³⁶ Goffman had apparently been almost as upset about the denial of tenure for Sapir, for Hymes wrote to Wallace in spring 1971: “Erving Goffman and I, while believing that it is too late this spring for further consideration of the matter, wish to raise it again with the department, and the University subsequently, in the fall. We are not prepared to accept the decision as final.”³⁷ But it was Hymes who resigned from the department over Sapir, not Goffman.

As if all these affiliations were not enough in the way of multidisciplinary connections for Hymes, he also took on the role of dean (and professor) of the Graduate School of Education in 1975, a position for which Szwed had first recommended him (Hymes 1999).³⁸ Provost Eliot Stellar’s official announcement of that appointment said: “Dell Hymes will bring to the post of dean of the Graduate School of Education a distinguished record of accomplishment in anthropology, folklore, and linguistics, and will doubtless provide an intellectual bridge among these disciplines and the Graduate School of Education.”³⁹ Hymes wrote to Stellar a year later, saying: “I accepted the Deanship last August with two things foremost in mind: that the immediate need was to listen and care and help build a cooperative ethos; that the long-range need was to build University ties and national distinction in areas in which the University was already strong.”⁴⁰ He was perhaps blunter in a letter to Goffman: “I have a chance to affect the environment for linguistics at this university.”⁴¹ As dean, Hymes did indeed provide a bridge across departments and schools, documented extensively in chapters 4 and

5. He also had other reasons, such as when he told local teachers it was due to “my own desire to make a difference in the real world.”⁴² He stayed in that position until fall 1987, when he moved to the University of Virginia, following Sapir there (Scollon 2004).⁴³ Hymes once explained the logic of his movement from place to place thus: “The trouble is, I’m not really any of these things (folklorist, anthropologist, linguist, you name it), and have reached a point of understanding that one shouldn’t be—social scientist is about as low-level and specific a commitment as seems to me justifiable and all the rest womb-hunting and jurisdictional dispute that serves the wrong interests, not the interests of mankind.”⁴⁴ Hymes was basically against formal institutional structures, departments among them, as he made clear on several occasions. Here is how he explained his view to Labov in 1973:

(My sour attitude toward institutionalized, departmentalized, compartmentalized disciplines is evident in the introduction to REINVENTING ANTHROPOLOGY . . . I more and more move over toward the anti-institutionalized academy attitude you expressed when you came to Penn.) . . . I take it for granted that any ongoing discipline leaves out of account things that are important and that any institutionalized discipline in this society is going to beg questions that are essential to radical critique and change. . . . my recent and academic history has had one good effect: I can no longer care a damn about named disciplines.⁴⁵

A year later, Hymes told then Dean Vartan Gregorian he had “a clear commitment to the relative irrelevance of departmental and disciplinary boundaries” because “all the things I most want to find out seem to be impeded by such labels, and the boundary maintenance they inspire.”⁴⁶ Remember this focus on the insignificance of disciplines, as this attitude is central to understanding the goals of the group surrounding Goffman at Penn. Yet, whether because of or despite this dislike of departments, Hymes seemed always to become deeply involved in thinking about broad programmatic matters, whether as a member of anthropology, folklore, linguistics, or then, most significantly, as dean of education.⁴⁷

There is particularly strong documentation for Hymes’s high level of involvement with the folklore department: He wrote exam questions and discussed the spread of courses to be offered, budget issues, and not least, what he thought it would take to make folklore a success.⁴⁸ He prepared a lengthy argument for understanding the ways in which folklore had always been interdisciplinary,⁴⁹ should work to reinforce that,⁵⁰ and was already and should continue to focus on cross-disciplinary concerns.⁵¹ He taught

courses within the department through the 1970s and 1980s, even after he took on the role of dean of GSE.

In 1971, at the point when Hymes was most unhappy with his colleagues in anthropology, he wrote a letter to Goffman saying that, while he was considering leaving Penn for a new position elsewhere, “there are many reasons for staying in Philadelphia. In particular, you and Bill [Labov] . . . I don’t want to desert you and Bill, and if there is a way or a necessity of sticking it out, okay.”⁵² The letter is marked “NOT sent” in Hymes’s writing, so presumably Goffman never saw it, although in some cases a letter not sent turns out to indicate that the content had been conveyed by telephone instead, making a written version redundant rather than unshared. In any case, Hymes did not leave Penn then.

Hymes acknowledged Goffman in multiple publications, including the introduction to the 1964 special issue of *American Anthropologist*, “for pointed argument as to the notion of communication” (1964a, 28n1). In the introduction to *Foundations in Sociolinguistics*, he says, “I owe a special debt to Erving Goffman: sociolinguistics is discovering that at its core lie concerns that have long been his, and this book would not exist without his intervention” (1974, x). In specific chapters he provides additional acknowledgments, such as “I owe this idea to the stimulation of conversations with Erving Goffman, but he is not responsible for it” (192n3); and in “Breakthrough into Performance,” he thanks Goffman (along with Gumperz, Labov, and Garfinkel) “for discussions over the years that have helped shape the perspective of this paper” (1975, 12n1). A few years later, he referred specifically to Goffman’s concepts of deference and demeanor (1983a, 199). In turn, Goffman thanks Hymes for discussion of the concept of performance (1974, 124), and for pointing him to Roman Jakobson’s work (211); and later used Hymes’s terms “speech events” (1981, 139, 166) and competence (202), acknowledged Hymes for pointing out problems of assuming a speaker-hearer dyad (144), and generally acknowledged Hymes for help with references (161, 202). He sent draft manuscripts to Hymes for critique, claiming, “This material is as much yours as mine (I only have monopoly of ownership), and I need your comments worse than do your most needful students.”⁵³ Elsewhere he writes: “Thank you for the prolonged and useful comments on my paper on the lecture.”⁵⁴

Hymes quite literally brought everyone in the core group together. By 1967 he was already in regular correspondence with George Gerbner, who had become dean at ASC in 1964, describing the ways in which their interests overlapped. He concluded a lengthy letter: “We have at Penn the

possibility, I think, of a unique and exciting development centered in the Annenberg School, and I shall be delighted to be of any help I can.”⁵⁵ In response, Gerbner said, “I envisage an important role for your area of interest in our PhD program and hope you will agree to serve on the committee when it is formed.”⁵⁶ When the doctorate was approved in December 1967, Hymes was in fact on the list of faculty members at Penn outside ASC who served on the graduate group supervising that program.⁵⁷ Hymes (along with Renée Fox, Peggy Sanday, and Ken Goldstein) later served also on the Committee of the Undergraduate Major in Communications, once that had been established, and which Worth chaired.⁵⁸

Not long after, Hymes mentioned the faculty at Annenberg as being “to me the most congenial group on the campus.”⁵⁹ ASC issued a press release in 1978 describing a change in structure, and the graduate group in communications was replaced by a set of associated faculty, including Goffman, Hymes, Labov, Fox, Dan Ben-Amos, and Brian Sutton-Smith, all relevant to the story told here, as well as over a dozen others.⁶⁰ If any further evidence of his multidisciplinary is required, Hymes served as president of four distinct national associations: American Anthropological Association (1983),⁶¹ American Folklore Society (1973–1974),⁶² American Association for Applied Linguistics (1985–1986),⁶³ and Linguistic Society of America (1982).⁶⁴ In fact, at the same time that Hymes learned he had been elected LSA president, he heard that Goffman had been elected president of the American Sociological Association. He immediately wrote Goffman: “I am delighted at word that you have been elected president of ASA. As you know from Gillian [Sankoff], the analogous thing has happened to me with the LSA. What is the world coming to? Maybe we could integrate sociolinguistics by going to each other’s meetings in place of each other?”⁶⁵

Hymes was not only essential to gathering most of the core group at Penn, but he also tried to bring others he knew and respected to campus as well. Just as Goodenough had encouraged Hymes to apply to Penn while he was still happy at Berkeley, so Hymes encouraged others. As early as fall 1965, when Alan Dundes (who Hymes knew well from Berkeley) wrote to say that Ken Goldstein was considering leaving Penn for a position at UCLA and there was a concern that the folklore department at Penn would be without a strong leader,⁶⁶ Hymes wrote a letter to Dean Otto Springer supporting the potential appointment of Dundes in Goldstein’s place, praising him and concluding, “If we get Dundes, we will get the man who is recognized as *the* comer in the field”⁶⁷ (emphasis in original). Hymes also worked to convince

Dundes to move, telling him all about what he had found once he moved to Penn. Perhaps the major argument was that he felt like “a somewhat bigger frog because the puddle is somewhat smaller” at Penn than at Berkeley.⁶⁸ At the same time, Hymes mentioned that he was working on getting David Sapir to Penn as well. In the end, Sapir did take a position at Penn, while Dundes did not (partly out of concern by his Berkeley colleagues that the folklore program there would fold if he left).⁶⁹ A few years later, Hymes helped his former student Bob Scholte get a job at Annenberg,⁷⁰ partly by involving Worth,⁷¹ and even Wallace in anthropology.⁷² Hymes also tried to interest Susan Philips, a Penn PhD, in a job at Penn in anthropology; that effort was unsuccessful.⁷³ Also unsuccessful was his bid to get Michael Silverstein hired by anthropology, as a way to ensure that linguistic anthropology would be adequately represented in that department after his departure from it.⁷⁴ Hymes had better success encouraging Fred Erickson apply for a position in education.⁷⁵

In addition to bringing together a group of like-minded colleagues interested in a common set of ideas, Hymes was also good at self-promotion, ensuring those in power were kept up to date on what was happening. For example, in 1971 he wrote to President Martin Meyerson (who had only begun that position in 1970 and was still fairly new to campus), documenting that the AAA had passed a resolution acknowledging the importance of studying American society (traditionally, anthropologists had studied other societies, not their own) and stressing the importance of “language and symbolic forms in culture,” another major emphasis in the field at the time.⁷⁶ He wanted to make it clear that:

With John Szwed, Erving Goffman, Bill Labov, Dan Ben-Amos, Ken Goldstein, John Fought, Ray Birdwhistell, Sol Worth, Pennsylvania has one of the strongest constellations of people in these areas in the country. Some people have begun to remark that it is perhaps the strongest. . . . we have good working relationships across the various department and school lines, and can hope to make quite a mark for the University in these areas in the years ahead.⁷⁷

The combination of these faculty members would not have been at all obvious to someone new to campus, given that they were based in five different departments. Meyerson wrote back: “You know my enthusiasm for cross-disciplinary work. I am delighted to know about the good working relationships that exist at Penn among those studying contemporary American Society and language and other symbolic forms of culture, and I look forward, as do you, to many productive results of that interrelationship.”⁷⁸

So Hymes helped facilitate the creation of the core group, and he made sure the university administration knew about them; Meyerson made clear that the emphasis should be on “productive results.” Those did in fact come about and are detailed primarily in chapter 4. (The projects in chapter 5 were less successful, leading to few of the sort of productive results Meyerson—and presumably everyone else involved—preferred.) But even when no obvious publications resulted, Hymes was also right that his “constellation of people” would be noticed. One example is a letter from well-known anthropologist Edmund Leach, of the University of Cambridge, in 1970, expressing interest in the graduate program at Annenberg that listed Birdwhistell, Goffman, and Hymes as affiliates because one of his best undergraduates was potentially interested in applying.⁷⁹

John F. Szwed (1936–)

Szwed was hired into folklore at Penn in 1969, the year after Goffman arrived, and given a secondary appointment in education as of 1976. He earned an MA in communications in 1960,⁸⁰ and a PhD in sociology/anthropology in 1965 at Ohio State University, where he also studied linguistics and folklore (Szwed 2005), so by training his interests were nearly as multidisciplinary as those of Hymes, and across some of the same topics. His dissertation research was conducted in Newfoundland, so he also shared a connection to Canada with Goffman.⁸¹ After initially teaching language and culture at the University of Cincinnati, and then taking a position at Lehigh University in social relations (1965–1967), he moved to anthropology at Temple University (1967–1969);⁸² when he left Penn for Yale University in 1982, it was for anthropology and African American studies as his primary affiliations, with secondary appointments in American studies, music, film studies, and additional teaching in literature (Szwed 2005, 9). When he later left Yale for Columbia, he became director of the Center for Jazz Studies.⁸³ Szwed explained his multiple affiliations this way:

My model for all this was Dell Hymes, who escaped his own department at the University of Pennsylvania by joining the Program in Folklore and Folklife and the Department of Linguistics, and later by becoming Dean of the Graduate School of Education. (Erving Goffman, himself a self-proclaimed academic cowboy, once admonished Hymes for his academic restlessness and suggested that he pick, say, six good departments and settle down for good.) (9)

Given this comment, it’s ironic that Szwed and his wife, Marilyn Sue Szwed, then based in education (she earned her MS in education in 1976),⁸⁴ were the

reason for Hymes's final move to GSE. Hymes says they "asked did I mind if they put in my name [as a candidate for dean]. I said 'No,' and forgot all about it" (Scollon 2004, 56).

Szwed first contacted Hymes in 1965, asking him to serve as advisor if an application to the National Science Foundation for a postdoctoral fellowship were approved.⁸⁵ Hymes agreed, but the proposal was denied.⁸⁶ Szwed was already citing Goffman before either of them moved to Penn (e.g., Szwed 1966) and he acknowledged Goffman's influence on his writing after they both arrived (see Szwed 1972, 153). He experienced inner city urban culture primarily through music, to the point of becoming a jazz musician himself (long before he became an anthropologist), which influenced how the Center for Urban Ethnography ended up with the focus it had. He was writing Hymes and meeting with Goffman extensively by 1968 while negotiating both the grant from the NIMH and a position at Penn in exchange for housing the grant there, asking their advice as he made decisions.⁸⁷ His story is central to only one major project, CUE, but that was an important resource for all of the core group.

As Hymes and Szwed corresponded, they occasionally compared their own research to that of Goffman, discussing overlaps or gaps. For example, Szwed wrote to Hymes in 1972 about Hymes's then unpublished manuscript on performance, saying he had some ideas about how to expand it if Hymes would be interested in a co-author.⁸⁸ Hymes responded: "This ties in with Erv's Georgetown paper,⁸⁹ except that where he seems to see the problem at a very general theoretical level (to show the continuity and congruity between everyday life and what is writ large on the stage) we would also want to pin it down, 'here, now, this Philadelphia,' to adapt Eliot's quartet."⁹⁰ In the end, Hymes completed that paper alone (1975).

William D. Labov (1927–2024)

William Labov, best known for his study of linguistic variation, earned a BA in English and philosophy at Harvard (Labov and Sankoff 2023) and an MA and PhD at Columbia University, where he then taught from 1964 to 1970.⁹¹ He had connected with both Hymes and Goffman when they were at Berkeley, through the recommendation of his teacher and mentor, Uriel Weinreich. At least Hymes and Labov routinely corresponded as a result of that connection, so we know that by 1966 Labov was reading work by Ken Goldstein (in folklore at Penn) on narratives.⁹² In spring 1967, Labov invited Hymes to participate in a seminar at Columbia, The Use of Language, which

included Uriel Weinreich, Emanuel Schegloff, John Gumperz, and Marvin Herzog.⁹³ The seminar seems to have been composed of faculty discussing issues across disciplinary lines over dinner, rather than being a course intended for students, so it can be thought of as one more iteration of Berkeley's Saturday group. This serves as a good reminder not to assume people stay in the same place all the time: We think of Gumperz as being at Berkeley, but in 1967 he was readily available to participate in a seminar in New York.

In January 1968, while trying to convince Goffman to take a position at Penn, Hymes told him: "Bill said that if you were to come to Penn, that would be a strong pull for him . . . I think he things [*sic*] there is much he could learn from you, and that there are things he could contribute to the kind of work you want to develop."⁹⁴ In fall 1968, after Goffman moved to Penn but before Labov did, another Columbia faculty seminar was organized, this time with Goffman's participation, which apparently worked quite well, for Labov reported to Hymes: "Goffman is a pleasure to have around."⁹⁵ By the end of the semester, Labov's opinion of Goffman was even higher.

The seminar wound up very well. It was certainly worthwhile for me, and I think Joel [Sherzer] handled it nicely. Goffman was himself worth the price of admission. He came up to my class to give a lecture once, and I drove him back down, so we had a good chance to talk. I think that Erving is one of the top people in whatever we're doing, and he's getting better all the time. You're very fortunate to have him at Penn.⁹⁶

Joel Sherzer, first graduate student and then faculty member at Penn, will be introduced shortly. Notice that phrase: "whatever we're doing." Even for the major participants, there was a sense that what they were doing was so new they were making it up as they went along. Equally important, their interest in analyzing social interaction was not based solely in any of their disciplines, standing rather at the confluence of linguistics, sociology, and anthropology.

In fall 1968, Henry Hoenigswald, then chair of linguistics at Penn, invited Labov to teach a course during spring 1969. For Labov, still based at Columbia, this course proved to be part of what convinced him to move to Penn.⁹⁷ In a lengthy explanation to Hymes of what he thought he might include that would be useful, Labov wrote: "In the last four weeks, I'll bring everybody together to worry about the limitations of rules. When you're busy breaking rules, are you really engaging in rule-governed behavior? Goffman likes to say that you are engaged in 'interpretable' behavior."⁹⁸ This demonstrates clearly how the research interests of Goffman, Labov, and Hymes overlapped,

and also shows the attention each paid to what the others were saying and/or writing. After starting the course at Penn (Hymes was in England that year, and so could not participate), Labov reported:

Goffman is a tremendous asset. . . . He never comes to any topic without leaving something with it in the way of new and striking insight. For example, I was talking about codas in narratives, and their function in cutting off any further “What happened then?” questions. Erving stuck up his hand and pointed out that maybe a coda gave a second evaluation, a new point of view to add to the first. And that *is* the case with a number of codas of the best type that I have on hand [emphasis in original].

Goffman and I are conferring regularly on some of these rules for speech events. At the moment, we’re debating the question of Type I rules—whether they are plainly and simply the set of invariant behaviors, or whether the rules of interest are those of a special sort that are close to the interactional heart of things.⁹⁹

This sort of detailed discussion of sociolinguistic analysis is not typically thought of as being what Goffman did, but it was typical of the conversations in letters between Hymes, Goffman, and Labov.

Labov wrote Hymes in December 1968 that “we ought to think about the advantages of being at the same place, with Goffman, and the other good people that you have collected at Penn.”¹⁰⁰ In January 1969, Hymes wrote Worth that “Bill Labov, incidentally, has inquired about the possibility of coming to Penn. God, if we can only swing that. We could turn out students that would transform the subject.”¹⁰¹ And indeed they did. In response to a request from Hymes to think about what kind of a situation he would prefer, Labov admitted that he would consider an interdisciplinary appointment.¹⁰² It helped considerably that he was then teaching a course at Penn, because he was impressed by the students—and enjoyed having Goffman actively participating in his course. Hymes told Labov that he had immediately written to Hoenigswald in linguistics, Wallace in anthropology, and Worth at ASC to explore possibilities.

The fact is that there are so many depts and schools at Penn that would be interested that it ought to be a small convention if they all get together. Linguistics, anthropology, folklore (Goldstein), psychology, Annenberg, to my certain knowledge . . . I wish I was on hand in Philadelphia to stir the pot personally, but am doing it to some extent long-distance by letter, and Goffman and Hoenigswald are actively concerned there.¹⁰³

So Goffman as well as Hymes and Worth worked to bring Labov to Penn. In his letter to Worth, Hymes explained that Labov

is already a luminary and will become more and more brilliant a one. . . . From the standpoint of Annenberg, the attraction, besides getting a first-rate man, who has really no peer, would be a guaranteed link with linguistics, folklore, and Goffman (to name three distinct subjects). Goff is enamored of Bill and learns from him; Goldstein et al envy him his narrative work; linguistics sees him as the white hope for social (as distinct but not opposed to formal) approach; his work on sound change will be classic. . . . I'm not sure how good a case I can make in the anthropology dept. . . . The main pitch for Bill would be urban ethnography, about which the anthro dept. is already a bit apprehensive (of becoming a dog wagged by a large-grant-tail). . . . If you think there is some prospect of Annenberg interest, could you let Hoenigswald know? and Goffman? Maybe there ought to be a lunch meeting of all you cats to plot (Hoenigswald, psychology dept. head [Burton S. Rosner], Tony [Anthony Wallace], Goff, you and George [Gerbner] and Perce [Percy H. Tannenbaum, at Annenberg] perhaps, [Kenneth] Goldstein).¹⁰⁴

As a reminder, Hymes himself could not join the others at the proposed lunch because he was still in England. And the “dog wagged by a large-grant tail” refers to the Center for Urban Ethnography. But this was far from the end of the story; over the next few months Hymes continued to discuss multiple potential placements for Labov. In May, he made it quite clear to Labov how important this was to him: “If all this about the job gets to the point where you feel it’s necessary to talk with me, I’ll find someway [*sic*] of getting back, if you can’t come here. This is too important, to me, and to Penn, and to the future of the subject, to let anything interfere with getting it right.”¹⁰⁵ As this offer to fly across the Atlantic was made at a point in time when such travel was not undertaken lightly, it was a big deal. In a letter to George Gerbner a few days later, Hymes discussed how Labov might fit into psychology, linguistics, anthropology, or ASC, and then goes on to say “Erf [*sic*] Goffman, John Szwed, and I would use the visiting appointment in our urban ethnography grant to secure him an equivalent for the year’s sabbatical he would lose” by leaving Columbia that year.¹⁰⁶ Hymes was quite excited about Labov, especially in connection with Goffman, for he told Worth at the same time that:

If there is any one person in the country, besides Goffman, who is a natural—and one would think a must—for the future of communicative research, it is Labov. At least from the standpoint of my own perspective and interests—the linguistic, anthropological, interaction aspects—they’re the two key men for what can develop at Penn, and in the country. . . . it just seems inevitable that Bill, Erv, flanked by

Dave Sapir and myself in anthropology, Goldstein and Ben-Amos in folklore, and with cooperation in linguistics, would build something multidisciplinary and worthwhile, or die in the attempt. The key thing is that the effort is in important part trans-disciplinary. . . . Erv has made the jump almost completely, following his work rather than his label, where it leads him.¹⁰⁷

So it was not just Hymes and occasionally Goffman who had become multidisciplinary, casually discussing what department might make a good fit, but also Labov—despite the fact that multidisciplinary is not something he’s known for emphasizing today. Also notice that Hymes was counting on having Sapir as a member of the group, one part of why he was so upset with the tenure decision.

In June, while continuing negotiations with Gerbner on Labov’s behalf, Hymes explained how Labov’s work overlapped with his own and that of Birdwhistell: “He is the only linguist I know to work closely with videotape, and to analyze nonverbal behavior as integral to, and essential to, explanation of linguistic facts. He is the most successful linguist I know in working in urban ethnography—indeed, he may be said to have created the possibility of a meaningful urban linguistics in American life.”¹⁰⁸ At the same time, Hymes told Worth that Labov would provide “a fantastic center of attraction for anyone interested in field study of behavior, focused on speech.”¹⁰⁹ As matters were getting clearer in late June, Goffman wrote Hymes, still in England, with an update: “My word on Labov is that psychology is going to bring him here. The Center for Urban Ethnology [*sic*] offered to give him his first year for pure research, or part-time for five years, in a decision made in your physical but not spiritual absence; but it turns out this help will not be necessary.”¹¹⁰ So Szwed and Goffman were working to do their part to make a move to Penn sufficiently attractive. Psychology was faster than linguistics, and did in fact make Labov an offer,¹¹¹ and there was confusion all around about where he could/should/would end up in terms of a home department. Meanwhile, Labov wrote that Columbia was asking him to commit to becoming department chair in linguistics for three years (apparently thinking he would like that offer, which he did not), and concluding that he hoped instead for an interdisciplinary appointment at Penn.¹¹² By January 1970, matters still had not been settled, and Hymes (now back in the US) was still exchanging detailed letters with Labov over what would make the most sense.

I realized that, as I said, I’d never asked myself why I wanted you to come. I knew I did, I never had to reason about it. But of course it must make a difference to

you to know what the reason would be. One, of course, as with Erv, is just that the interaction in and out of courses would be exciting, would make this so clearly the best possible world to be in. And it would help to crystallize in some ways, perhaps to cap, the cross-departmental sector of interest that we've built up over the years here—and for which in the several departments we have strong Administration support. (Incidentally, the probable new president of Penn is a friend of Erv's, which can't hurt) . . . try to imagine the place with you part of it, with all of us responding to you and your work, cooperating across dept. lines as we do actively now, drawing students who want the kind of continuation of ethnography, social interaction and linguistic analysis we can offer, with the chief journal in the field edited here, with people who think you what is not an interesting adjunct but the heart of what things should be.¹¹³

A few clarifications: The new president of Penn in 1970 was to be Martin Meyerson, who had taught at the University of Chicago 1948–1952, thus while Goffman was a graduate student there, and had been both faculty member and administrator at Berkeley 1963–1966, thus while Goffman was faculty there. In addition, he was both faculty and administrator at Harvard 1957–1953, so before Goffman spent his sabbatical year there in 1966–1967, but perhaps a small part of the reason for that choice of sabbatical.¹¹⁴ So it makes sense that Hymes went on to refer to him as “someone whose ear Erv has.”¹¹⁵ By the “chief journal in the field,” Hymes was alluding to the not yet published but already approved *Language in Society*, the first issue of which appeared in 1972. Notice that Hymes thought a university that held him, Goffman, and Labov would be “the best possible world to be in.” And notice that he highlights the cross-departmental connections already built up at Penn in the few years since he and Goffman had arrived. (He went on to mention especially good students at Penn, naming Joel Sherzer and Regna Darnell as immediate examples, and then adding Elinor Ochs, Susan Philips, Judith Irvine, and Richard Bauman.) He also put the work into context:

And I think that the analysis of discourse, st[y]le, speech acts, where grammatical structures and situational/social structures mesh, is the right place to focus now. And I want very much—I think is vital to the future of anthropology—as I said at the conference in New York in November (Szwed, Goffman, et al.)—for anthropology to work in US society effectively, to show that ethnography is a method that applies here, can apply here, as well.¹¹⁶

The Center for Urban Ethnography sponsored that conference in New York. Presumably, Labov agreed with at least some if not all of these arguments, for he did end up moving from Columbia to Penn, accepting a position in linguistics in February 1970.¹¹⁷

Labov first served as research professor at the Center for Urban Ethnography for a year¹¹⁸—a position which entailed no teaching responsibilities (though he did offer to give a series of public lectures on his research, and mentioned that he hoped to participate in a seminar with Goffman and Hymes both on “the interactional basis of discourse rules”)—before beginning a full-time position in linguistics in fall 1971, signing himself at that point, “With best regards and great expectations.”¹¹⁹ However, since Labov then received a Guggenheim fellowship applied for earlier, he actually spent the academic year 1970–1971 writing, moving his arrival at Penn back a year.¹²⁰ As explained to Allen Grimshaw in early 1970, he would be associated with Penn during this time, but would be writing rather than teaching, and participating in seminars with Goffman and Hymes (Mar 9, 1970, ADG). Later, he provided details for what happened when he began his stint as a CUE fellow:

During the year 1971–72, I served as Research Professor with the Center for Urban Ethnography, and I am deeply indebted to the Center for the support which made it possible to assemble this volume [*Sociolinguistic Patterns* 1972a], along with *Language in the Inner City* [1972b]. The original impetus to put these studies together into a single volume and organize them into a single coherent framework came from Erving Goffman, whose help and encouragement is acknowledged with many thanks. (1972b, xvii–xviii)¹²¹

As part of the negotiations with Labov, there was extensive discussion as to whether he should take a position either fully or partially within anthropology. So it is relevant that when discussions continued in that department about whether and who they needed in the area of sociolinguistics, Hymes became outraged at Goffman’s exclusion from the conversation. In January 1971, he wrote Labov:

Some points that must be kept in mind in assessing a possible appointment in sociolinguistics in the anthropology department.

First and foremost, it is shocking that Erv was not informed and not made a member of the committee. Of the committee appointed to evaluate candidates, Wallace and Goodenough are reasonable, and having Wallace as co-ordinator may be a diplomatic gesture. But the third member [name deleted] is the guy in the dept. who hates my guts; who violently has opposed urban ethnography, and wanted to [*sic*] dept. to publicly disassociate itself from same; who argued that fellowships for black students should not be given, etc. (Ask John Szwed). And none of them is competent to evaluate present training or work in sociolinguistics.

tics. . . . I could not in good conscience encourage anyone to take an appointment in the anthropology dept. at this time, esp. in this area.¹²²

Two things are important here: Hymes wanted Labov to understand the situation at Penn even before setting foot on site, and he staunchly defended Goffman's knowledge of sociolinguistics, despite his (former) peers in anthropology not thinking Goffman would be an obvious source of knowledge in that area. The gap in linguistic training within anthropology (the discipline where linguistics got its start, and where it is often still today administratively located across universities in the US) becomes relevant to this story of Goffman and various colleagues again when considering the proposal for an Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society in chapter 5. Hymes continued:

Someone who is good and who cares about training will necessarily recognize the need to work with linguistics and related fields; will recognize that the center of "sociolinguistics" at Penn is at Eisenlohr Hall [where linguistics was based]. Presumably will subscribe to *Language in Society*, and presumably will be attracted to Penn in important part because you are here. . . .

If an appointment were made that added to our strength, complementing it, well and good. Erv is entirely right, I believe, in saying that a good person will necessarily join us. . . . The crux, I think, is Erv. Any candidate should be acceptable, and more than acceptable, positively attractive, to him. The primary role such a person could play would be to help bring along a few good students in anthropology itself who would work with Erv. If such a person can help in that respect, work with Erv and in that way, then I would suppress any either reservations or feelings about the matter. On the other hand, if this person hired undercuts Erv, cannot relate to his work, then my reservations and feelings will be foremost in my mind. The situation would appear to be of the same kind as that involving Dave Sapir.

So, if you have the chance in meeting with [illegible] and Goodenough, the most important first response to this situation might well be incredulity and shock that Goffman is not the primary person involved in the appointment, let alone not even on the committee. . . .

In sum, concern for me and my position can be entirely tacit; but concern for Erv and his position ought to be forcefully explicit.¹²³

This letter was copied to Goffman. There is no response from either him or Labov in the file. But we learn several things: that Hymes looked out for Goffman's interests in anthropology; that he relied upon Labov, who was not yet even full-time at Penn, to play a supporting role; and that Hymes

and Goffman both assumed any new hire would quickly discover and join the group they were building around the study of language and culture, and which they hoped to expand by the addition of Labov. Of course, the recent history of the anthropology department (namely, Sapir being denied tenure and Hymes leaving the department over that decision) has great relevance to his anger and unhappiness with the decisions made. As he told Goodenough, much of his negative response was due to his feeling that “you have played a central role in destroying what I came here to build up, and did build up for some years.”¹²⁴ But clearly, he was nearly as angry about the way Goffman was being treated as he was about the way Sapir had been treated (attributed to antisemitism in this same letter).

Labov was formally appointed as professor in linguistics as of fall 1971 (despite not beginning to teach until fall 1972), and given secondary appointments in psychology and education starting in 1976,¹²⁵ as well as in communications in 1978.¹²⁶ Notice that it took considerable effort from not only Goffman and Hymes but also Worth and Szwed to make this happen, mostly because Labov expressed an interest in moving to Penn before the university advertised an available position for which he could apply. Also worth noting: Even letters ostensibly about getting Labov to Penn were filled with detailed discussions of draft manuscripts being exchanged, of publications by people they knew in common, and what they thought of them, as well as national associations, and also politics, especially but not exclusively in letters between Hymes and Labov.¹²⁷

To summarize Labov’s connection with Goffman and others before even getting to Penn: in addition to having been a late and peripheral member of the Berkeley Saturday group (mostly, when it came to publications, Labov 1964, 1972a), he involved both Hymes and Goffman in faculty seminars at Columbia and taught a course at Penn before his formal appointment there, which included Goffman not only sitting in but actively participating. Once he arrived on campus, Labov started in-house linguistics colloquia with faculty members presenting their own research to one another, as a way to keep up to date on who was doing what—but Goffman, not being in the department, was not included in the list of presenters, while both Dell and Virginia Hymes, John Fought, Leila Gleitman, Ellen Prince, Nessa Wolfson, and others were.¹²⁸ In terms of publications, Goffman thanks Labov for suggestions in several (1976b, 257; 1978, 787; 1983, 1), and is acknowledged in return for helpful comments in some of Labov’s.¹²⁹ It comes as no surprise that Labov’s year as a fellow with the Center for Urban Ethnography resulted

in no fewer than thirteen of his publications being listed in the final record of publications sponsored (Center for Urban Ethnography 1978).

In addition to all these activities, Labov was partially attracted to Penn by the possibility of co-teaching, as Hymes mentioned to Worth early in their discussions: Labov “would want to give a regular research seminar, involving probably Goffman and myself as well.”¹³⁰ Labov and Goffman actually co-taught several courses: Conversational Analysis in 1973, 1975,¹³¹ and 1976: “I have been teaching a course with Erving on error correction” (May 19, 1976, ADG; Tagliamonte [2015] adds that Gillian Sankoff was the third instructor for the course), and then teaching jointly with Goffman again in 1980–1981, this time Linguistics 560: The Study of Speech Community (Labov et al. 2013, 33), again apparently with Sankoff co-teaching.¹³² Goffman also mentioned co-teaching with Labov in 1973 to Hymes: In his review of a manuscript by Gail Jefferson for *Language in Society* (the published version is Jefferson 1974), he talks about possibly reorienting the paper, saying if that happens, “Gail should make mention of the appreciable body of work on malapropisms, slips of tongue, and other anomalous utterances—which indeed she and I and Labov and others looked at a little in a review of recorded bloopers.”¹³³

Raymond L. Birdwhistell (1918–1994)

Ray Birdwhistell, like Goffman, earned his PhD at the University of Chicago, but in anthropology, and a few years earlier, in 1951. He taught Goffman at the University of Toronto (1944–1946)¹³⁴ despite being only four years older and still a graduate student himself. Goffman said of him “He taught us a lot. . . . It is very difficult today to see how ground-breaking Birdwhistell was at the time” (Winkin 2022f, 153).¹³⁵ As Winkin goes on to explain: “Birdwhistell trained his students to observe micro-behavior, as fieldworkers do, with the naked eye” (154) and, of course, this is what Goffman did in the majority of his research. They stayed in touch despite Birdwhistell’s later moves to the University of Louisville (1946–1956), University of Buffalo (1956–1959), and Temple University (1959–1969), where he was based in both anthropology and psychiatry while simultaneously serving as Senior Research Scientist at Eastern Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute (EPPI).¹³⁶ In addition, Birdwhistell was a participant in the Macy Conferences on Group Processes and arranged for Goffman to participate in the 1956 event, as previously noted.

Birdwhistell attended the panel at the 1963 AAA which resulted in the publication of a special issue of *American Anthropologist* on the ethnogra-

phy of speaking (Gumperz and Hymes 1964a), and wrote Hymes after it appeared, congratulating him on the project.¹³⁷ That got an immediate response, including discussion of common interests, a statement that Hymes had been aware of Birdwhistell's work since the early 1950s, and notice that Hymes would shortly be based in Philadelphia, near Birdwhistell.¹³⁸ Their correspondence quickly drew in Bob Scholte (a former student of Hymes then still at Berkeley), who Hymes recommended Birdwhistell meet,¹³⁹ and Albert Scheflen, then working with Birdwhistell at EPPI, who Birdwhistell recommended Hymes meet. Scheflen invited Hymes to join their research project, at least as a consultant, telling him that they were studying communication patterns in American subcultures, and making film recordings across generations, with Margaret Mead and Norman McQuown both involved in the project.¹⁴⁰ Hymes agreed to serve as consultant but did not think he would have time for more.¹⁴¹ There are no letters documenting whether that did in fact happen, but the relevant point is that Hymes and Birdwhistell had made substantive contact, and had then drawn in others in their individual circles across several disciplines, before either of them even got to Penn. There was an additional relevant connection between them: In 1967, when the Gumperz and Hymes journal special issue (1964a) was being turned into a book (Gumperz and Hymes 1972), Hymes invited Birdwhistell to contribute a chapter, to be drawn from *The Natural History of an Interview* project: "We are very eager to have such a piece, and from you."¹⁴² That offer was accepted (Birdwhistell 1972).

Also in 1967, Birdwhistell was one of those invited to the Codes in Context conference at Penn. Although unable to attend, he and Worth exchanged several letters as a result of the invitation. Worth was very disappointed to hear Birdwhistell would be unable to participate. "I had been looking forward to your coming because for the past three years I have been thinking of some way in which I could involve you in the kind of work that I was doing and that we were doing here at Penn."¹⁴³ However, Worth also noted that Birdwhistell was scheduled to present a colloquium at Penn in December that year (no mention of who invited him, but presumably the talk was to be at ASC), and said he looked forward to having more time to connect then.

Once Hymes was based at Penn, he and Worth both worked behind the scenes to invite Birdwhistell to transfer from Temple to Penn.¹⁴⁴ Hymes was explicitly asked by Dean Gerbner for his opinion about Birdwhistell ("I am asking your opinion of his scholarly accomplishments, of his ability to guide student research, and of his other qualifications for a senior position

on a small graduate faculty”).¹⁴⁵ Hymes recommended him enthusiastically: “On balance I would be in favor of offering Ray Birdwhistell a position as Professor of Communication. He is a distinguished scholar in the field, internationally known for his work; and he is an enthusiastic lecturer and teacher, who, I think, would take great interest in guiding student research. He would also serve as a link to some of the other sectors of the university with interests in communication.”¹⁴⁶ Those with common interests most notably included Goffman.

Birdwhistell was not immediately appointed, and Hymes expressed his dismay to Gerbner, for “Ray would have provided a personal and close link with Goffman, and others. In retrospect that seems almost enough reason to have appointed him, especially if not appointing him should mean that someone like him is not appointed at all.”¹⁴⁷ More directly, Hymes told Worth “the school desperately needs someone like him, someone with his interests and orientations.”¹⁴⁸ A week later, Gerbner told Hymes that a visiting appointment for the next year might be possible,¹⁴⁹ and that is in fact what happened. Goffman helped convince Birdwhistell to move from Temple to Annenberg in fall 1969,¹⁵⁰ even though it was only for an initial one-year appointment; he was converted to tenure-track the next year, at the rank of professor.¹⁵¹ He taught at Penn until his retirement in 1988.

Goffman only occasionally mentioned Birdwhistell in print, but when he did, he gave substantial credit: “Persons like Ray Birdwhistell and Edward Hall¹⁵² have built a bridge from speaking to social conduct, and once you cross the bridge, you become too busy to turn back” (1964a, 134; for further discussion, see Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz 2013). When Smith suggests that “Goffman placed greater store by what he could observe rather than by what people told him about whatever they were doing or thinking” (2022c, 17), that is a very Birdwhistellian assumption.

Hymes tried to include Birdwhistell, even before he moved to Penn, in *Functions of Language in the Classroom*, a collection he co-edited with Courtney Cazden and Vera John, both at Harvard (published as Cazden, John, and Hymes 1972).¹⁵³ Cazden formally invited Birdwhistell to prepare a chapter,¹⁵⁴ and he accepted,¹⁵⁵ but four months later she wrote again, asking whether he would be able to complete a chapter on time. At that point she was able to describe the others scheduled to provide chapters for the nonverbal communication section: Edward Hall, Paul Byers, and Aaron Cicourel.¹⁵⁶ As Birdwhistell has no chapter in the book, it can be assumed that he did not in the end submit one.

One example of Birdwhistell's willingness to cross disciplinary boundaries is found in the fact that he presented colloquia in other parts of the university, as for folklore in 1981.¹⁵⁷ A second is the assumption that "no serious doctoral student at the University of Pennsylvania who was interested in culture and human conduct could avoid Birdwhistell's teachings" (Kendon and Sigman 1996, 249). A third is that he periodically served on dissertation committees for students in other departments, as with Diane Sidener-Young in folklore.¹⁵⁸ A fourth is that, unexpectedly, when looking for a home for his collection of films, books, articles, and conference presentations (often by others as well as his own), he chose the Folklore Archive, rather than ASC.¹⁵⁹ Finally, when he retired, the folklore department threw him a party,¹⁶⁰ demonstrating that they considered him a relevant peripheral member despite the fact that he never held an official secondary appointment there. He also taught students from education, frequently sent by Hymes.¹⁶¹

Birdwhistell's early influence on Goffman shows itself in such details as Goffman's casual understanding of the amount of work required to transcribe paralinguistic elements of a recording, revealed when he reviewed one submission to *Language in Society* by saying, "I was particularly touched by the statement . . . that all paralinguistic sounds 'are noted'—a modesty not likely to be found in anyone who really tried to make a full transcription from a tape,"¹⁶² or another saying: "In the linguistic tradition we would want to see something of the data base, and this might take many pages of verbatim transcription to provide. Processes lasting a half-hour or so might need to be illustrated by more data than we would have pages to print."¹⁶³ Through such statements, Goffman clearly demonstrated his familiarity with the exceedingly detailed transcription of recorded interaction that Birdwhistell pioneered, even though it was not quite what he did himself (see Winkin 2022f for details of their connection). And, as is fairly well known, Goffman convinced Birdwhistell to publish a book in the Conduct and Communication series.

While Birdwhistell did not publish in *Language in Society*, he did publish a book review (1978) in *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*, and a memorial essay about Mead in the later iteration, *Studies in Visual Communication* (1980). He did not play a role in the Center for Urban Ethnography and was the only core group member to never lead any of the projects, major or minor. He was part of two minor projects, one successful and one not. Kendon and Sigman have explained: "Above all, Birdwhistell's strength and his passion lay in his pedagogy" (1996, 248), which may be part of the

explanation for why he did not play a more substantial role in the various faculty projects. Even so, he did embody interdisciplinarity for his students, and presumably his colleagues, easily combining anthropology, linguistics, and communication into a single cohesive approach to interaction.

Sol Worth (1922–1977)

Sol Worth was a professional photographer and filmmaker who never earned a graduate degree (although awarded an honorary MA from Penn in 1971). He did take graduate courses in film production, film animation, and film editing at the New School for Social Research (1948–1950), and Margaret Mead worked with him analyzing his ethnographic films for a year (1967–1968).¹⁶⁴ From his description (published posthumously as Worth 1980), he essentially received a year of tutoring from Mead in anthropological analysis of patterns, which presumably is where he learned the anthropological approach. He served as a consultant in the early days of Annenberg, then visiting lecturer, both while commuting from New York. In 1960 he accepted a part-time position and was shortly named director of the Documentary Film Laboratory and supervisor of Media Laboratories at ASC. By 1964 he was promoted to assistant professor and moved to Philadelphia, becoming professor by 1973. Worth was Birdwhistell's colleague in communications (he was hired before Birdwhistell, remaining until his untimely death in 1977), and father-in-law to one of Hymes's children.¹⁶⁵ Like Hymes, Labov, Goffman, and Szwed, Worth held a secondary appointment in another program—in his case, education.¹⁶⁶ He worked with Mead and others to establish the Society for the Anthropology of Visual Communication (Worth 1980), serving as the first president, 1972–1974, and also on the board of directors, and he was founding editor of the affiliated journal, *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* (Chalfen 1979), a major project. He participated in one of the Center for Urban Ethnography conferences and was published in the resulting volume (Worth 1972a). He was also a member of the editorial supervisory board of the University of Pennsylvania Press, and thus loosely connected with the Conduct and Communication book series (“Sol Worth” 1977). In addition, Worth appeared in that series posthumously (Worth 1981), a stronger connection. And it seems likely that, at some point, Worth surely would have discovered that Goffman (as an undergraduate) had worked for the National Film Board in Canada where, as Winkin puts it, he “absorbed a cinematographic culture” (2022c, 3), so they shared some assumptions about the value of visual records.

Shortly after Hymes's arrival at Penn in fall 1965, Worth began exchanging papers with him and discussing common interests.

I have read your piece on Ethnographic Communication [either Hymes 1962 or 1964a]. At the risk of sounding ridiculous I'd like to say that it's the most meaningful and beautifully organized piece about the "field" of communication that I have seen.

I would like very much for us to spend some time talking about 1) The implications of the piece for the Annenberg school and for me and my work personally. 2) Hearing your comments about the papers of mine you have read. 3) Telling you about current work I'm doing and asking you some specific questions about direction. 4) Listening to what you've been doing. . . . How about lunch . . . or dinner . . . or you suggest a date.¹⁶⁷

The response is not in the file, but presumably they connected, leading to further interactions at Penn.

In fall 1967, Worth organized the Codes in Context conference and, even though Goffman was still at Berkeley, Hymes got him involved. In spring 1968, still before Goffman's arrival at Penn, Hymes sent Worth a draft manuscript of Goffman's for critique. He does not provide the title, but given the timing it may well have been part or all of *Strategic Interaction* (Goffman 1970). Worth says: "The body of the paper is an incredibly good description but but [sic] really doesn't seem to tie up with the theoretical underpinnings at the beginning of the paper. . . . The problem seems to me to have not only a theory which is pretty if not elegant, but a theory which implies a direction and organization and description of the codes in context that one is talking about."¹⁶⁸ Note the reference to the conference they had all attended. Worth obviously listened closely to what Goffman said at the conference as well as reading his publications, for a month later in a letter to Hymes he casually mentioned "Goffman's notion of a team performing a 'performance,'" obviously assuming Hymes would know what he was talking about.¹⁶⁹

In spring 1969, after Goffman was settled at Penn, Worth wrote to him about a dinner that included Ray Birdwhistell, and apparently multiple others.

Ray called me on Tuesday, and we spent a long time talking about his putting together the book of papers. I suspect that you may be right about his not doing it, but I guess I am willing to appear more romantic and hopeful than you, and I believe that he may. Of course you know him longer and better than I do. I definitely feel that we should have him here. I think that the objections I

had are outweighed by the great many positive qualities that he can add to the university faculty.¹⁷⁰

Of course, the book being discussed here turned into *Kinesics and Context* (Birdwhistell 1970), published in the series that Goffman and Hymes edited. And, of course, Birdwhistell did end up at Penn, with the support of Goffman, Hymes, and Worth. Worth included several drafts of his own papers with the letter, telling Goffman: “I appreciate your agreeing to read them and to talk with me about them.”¹⁷¹

Worth and Goffman corresponded regularly. For example, Goffman sent Worth the draft of a letter he had prepared for Herbert Blau (then at Oberlin College) for review as part of an effort to recommend Worth for the position of artistic director of the Center of Communication Arts and Sciences. Worth approved the letter with only one minor spelling correction, explaining with delight, “I took the liberty of correcting the spelling which—considering I am correcting a writer second only to Kafka in our time—is no mean feat.”¹⁷² In early 1973, Herbert F. Ostrach, then teaching film studies at Boston College, wrote to Goffman, and Goffman forwarded the letter on to Worth, as being more directly relevant to his interests. Ostrach was looking for someone who shared some of his research areas, and presumably Goffman thought Worth was a likely candidate.¹⁷³ When Worth was promoted to professor later that year, Goffman sent the following teasing congratulatory note: “Dear Sol Baby, I hear you’re a professor. Big deal.”¹⁷⁴ (He then mentioned a meal they would have to celebrate.)

At one point, Worth explicitly stated what others only assumed: Talking specifically about the relationship of folklore to communication, he wrote Hymes: “I don’t care where these people are, as long as they’re around for me to be with.”¹⁷⁵ That basic sentiment seems to have been common to nearly everyone discussed in these pages, even if they did not make it as explicit as Worth does here. As part of that same letter (written before Goffman was at Penn), Worth added a paragraph distinguishing between his ideas and those of Goffman:

One thing that I haven’t said, and that I think I should make clear about my own interests, is where they differ from someone like Erv Goffman. It seems to me that he is interested in human behavior as an entity much larger and quite separate from the kind of communicative-expressive behavior that I am interested in. Where he is interested in film he is interested in it as a record which he can study to find out something about the way people behave in what might be called a physical sense. That is, he is not interested in the behavior as it is portrayed in a

visual mode by the man who is portraying it on film, but rather in the way the person himself portrays it that is caught on film. Erv himself in a conversation with me put it this way, “You’re interested in film film, I guess I’m interested in people film.” It’s hard to make a real division between his interest and mine, and it’s hard to be clear about what that division is. But I feel quite strongly that at the moment, although each is related, they are two quite different tracks.¹⁷⁶

This makes clear that it is not the case that everyone in the inner circle shared all their assumptions. But the important point is that they shared enough that they could easily work together and usefully review one another’s manuscripts. And the fact that they were formally affiliated with different departments made very little difference; ideas counted far more than administrative homes.

Peripheral Colleagues

In addition to the set of major players in Goffman’s circle at Penn, a surprising number of faculty members show up playing a role in at least one project relating to Goffman. These are organized in the following table showing their primary affiliations by department, for each discipline contributed something different to the network of people and projects. A few people played exceedingly minor roles, or were part of only a minor project, or joined quite late, but they are still part of the story and so are included. Further research will likely uncover even more connections, with these same individuals or with others, as Goffman was affiliated with Penn for fourteen years. The important point to remember is that there is substantial evidence that Goffman developed ties to a large number of colleagues at Penn, and that these were often productive connections in terms of leading to research results. Their involvement in various projects will be explained in either chapter 4 (the major projects) or chapter 5 (the minor projects). Together they considerably enlarged Goffman’s invisible college at Penn. This is absolutely not a complete list of all those who were in each of these departments at the time Goffman was at Penn—just a list of those who were part of a project at some point. Of course, the implication is that the list of peripheral colleagues actually included even more people than just those described in this book.¹⁷⁷

Table 3.2: Goffman's Peripheral Colleagues at Penn, by Department

Anthropology: Anthony Wallace, Ward Goodenough, William Davenport, J. David Sapir, Peggy Reeves Sanday, Arjun Appadurai
Sociology: Philip Rieff, Renée Fox, Elijah Anderson, Teresa Labov
Linguistics: John Fought, Gillian Sankoff, Henry Hiz, Ellen Prince, Anthony Kroch
Folklore: Kenneth Goldstein, Dan Ben-Amos, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Roger Abrahams, Virginia Hymes, Henry Glassie
Communications: Steven Feld, Larry Gross, Perry Tannenbaum, Paul Messaris, Amos Vogel
Education: Brian Sutton-Smith, Leila Gleitman, Morton Botel, David Smith, Fred Erickson, Nancy Hornberger, Michael Long, Nessa Wolfson, Shirley Brice Heath, Bambi Schieffelin
Psychology: Rochel Gelman, Leo Hurvich, Dorothea Jameson Hurvich, David Premack, Dan Osherson, Burton S. Rosner
Landscape architecture: Dan Rose
Biology: W. John Smith
English: Barbara Herrnstein Smith, Houston Baker Jr.
Romance languages: Gerald Prince, Jean Alter, Lucienne Frappier-Mazur, Michèle H. Richman
Slavic languages: Gary Saul Morson, Peter Steiner
History of art: Leo Steinberg, Irene Winter
Music: Leonard B. Meyer
American civilization: Janice Radway
Electrical engineering: Aravind Joshi
Oriental studies: Ahmet Evin, Peter Gaeffke, William L. Hanaway Jr., Barbara Ruch

Given that this list includes sixty-one faculty members, details about each of them, their roles at Penn, and how each connected to Goffman, have been relegated to the appendix. However, general comments about Goffman's links to each department fit here.

The central departments are anthropology, sociology, linguistics, folklore, and communication, for these were either where Goffman himself was officially based (anthropology and sociology) or the homes of the core faculty with whom he had the closest ties (thus adding in linguistics, folklore, and communication). What is most surprising is the range of disciplines and substantial number of colleagues involved in the various projects. They include not only education (where Hymes was based for about half of Goffman's years at Penn) and psychology (where Goffman himself held a secondary appointment), but landscape architecture, biology, English, Romance languages, Slavic languages, history of art, music, American civilization, electrical engineering, and Oriental studies. (This list is organized by the strength of the connection to Goffman.) As will become obvious, Goffman certainly did not know all these people well, and in a few cases may not even have had direct contact with them, but his name and theirs appear on common proposals for projects, and so it is important to understand at least a few basics of who they were. Again, details are in the appendix; what appears here are overviews for each of the most significant departments in terms of Goffman's connections to faculty based within them.

Anthropology

Hymes, Szwed, and Birdwhistell all had formal training in anthropology as graduate students; Worth named his area "the anthropology of visual communications" (Gross 1980, 4) and, prior to his arrival at Penn, had worked closely with Mead, the personification of anthropology. Although Goffman trained in sociology at Chicago, the use of ethnography as a method joined anthropology to sociology there, and most students took courses in both departments. That meant these members of the core group all shared some theoretical and methodological assumptions, which likely facilitated their ability to understand one another. Significantly, it was through the efforts of senior faculty in anthropology (Anthony Wallace, Ward Goodenough, William Davenport), that Goffman was even invited to join Penn, that department providing the initial welcome when sociology proved unwilling. Once at Penn, Goffman was given an office in the Penn Museum on campus, which is where all the anthropology faculty had their offices at that point, so he was in closest proximity to them, thus more likely to run into them than people organizationally based in other departments. Joel Sherzer was both student and faculty member at Penn (he taught Hymes's courses while Hymes was in England on sabbatical 1968–1969).¹⁷⁸ As he was a student far longer,

and most of his interactions were in that capacity, he will be introduced in the section on Penn students. After graduating from Penn, Sherzer began teaching at the University of Texas, Austin, and so, although he was a small part of one major project at Penn, he plays a far larger role in several minor activities once he was based at Texas. Others in anthropology with links to Goffman were J. David Sapir, Peggy Reeves Sanday, and Arjun Appadurai.

Sociology

The study of social interaction should find an obvious home in sociology, even for a department with other concerns as their primary focus, yet in the beginning the senior sociologists at Penn had little to no interest in Goffman or his publications (despite comments to the contrary about Philip Rieff). Those who came later, especially Renée Fox, understood the value of his work, and took the time to better integrate him into the department, finally giving him voting rights. It is noteworthy that one of Goffman's roles under Fox as department chair was to meet with potential new hires, implying that he was seen as someone likely to attract high quality junior faculty to the program, such as Elijah Anderson. One other person with links to Goffman was Teresa Labov, who was married to William Labov, and later shows up as a minor part of MAP.

Linguistics

William Labov, John Fought, Gillian Sankoff, Henry Hiz, Ellen Prince, and Anthony Kroch had primary appointments in linguistics, and both Dell and Virginia Hymes were given secondary appointments in linguistics. The specific focus that brought most of these scholars together was the mutual influence of language and society, and these are the scholars who represented the linguists' point of view in that conversation. Grimshaw mentions "Labov's claim that there is no sociolinguistics, but only a better informed, socially-based linguistics" (1978, 168). As Hymes wrote to the department in 1974, speaking of potential overlaps between other departments and linguistics: "Our commonality of interest, as Bill Labov states, is partly a function of institutional circumstances; but perhaps institutional circumstances function as they do because there is an important intellectual commonality, an exploratory interest that ranges beyond conventional compartments."¹⁷⁹ The use of language in the inner city was one of the major concerns of the Center for Urban Ethnography; indeed, Shuy credits Penn with "a burst

of training and research” (1990, 200) leading to the development of socio-linguistics, made possible by funding from NIMH through CUE. Beyond Labov, who was part of both major and minor projects, others in linguistics mostly played a small role in one or more minor projects.

Folklore

Ken Goldstein and Dan Ben-Amos offered a home for Szwed in folklore, and later for Hymes (once he left anthropology). Folklore was also the primary organizational home for multiple peripheral members of the network including Virginia Hymes, Henry Glassie, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, and Roger Abrahams. Dell Hymes was surprisingly active in the administration of folklore degrees. At least some of the time his ideas were taken seriously and implemented, as when Ben-Amos prepared the undergraduate major proposal in 1974, incorporating specific phrases taken from Hymes’s draft.¹⁸⁰ The immediate reason for establishing an undergraduate program was that noticeable numbers (45 to 66 percent depending on the semester) of undergraduates were enrolling in graduate courses, frustrating faculty and graduate students alike. The proposal stressed the interdisciplinarity of the program, with students encouraged to take courses across multiple departments (including American civilization, anthropology, linguistics, and more).¹⁸¹ That proposal was approved, and Virginia Hymes was given the role of undergraduate chair.

That folklore served as the first institutional home of both the Center for Urban Ethnography and *Language in Society* may seem odd to those unfamiliar with either that discipline or with the history of Penn. But looking back from a moment when this was no longer the case, Hufford tells us that “in the 1970s, Penn magnificently supported folklore’s interdisciplinarity” (2020, 111). In keeping with that, in addition to department faculty, “folklore graduate students studied with Erving Goffman, Anthony Wallace, Arjun Appadurai, Ray Birdwhistell, William Labov, Barbara Herrnstein Smith, and other transdisciplinary luminaries” (111; see also Leeds-Hurwitz and Sigman [2010] for an overlapping list of brilliant faculty members with whom we were all encouraged to study, regardless of anyone’s home disciplines). So, it made sense at that time and in that place that folklore should serve as an obvious nexus, and a natural home for this network of scholars.

Henry Glassie served as department chair in the mid-1970s, and describes the context this way:

It was just an amazing gathering of people, and it was at a time when the University of Pennsylvania was radically committed to interdisciplinary work, and particularly interdisciplinary work based upon anthropology. . . . And there was a gathering of people at Penn. Bill Labov was there. Erving Goffman was there. Saul [*sic*] Worth was there. Steve Feld was there. And then the folklore department itself was just a gathering of stars. . . . I was just a little individual of minor importance, but I was in an amazing crowd of people. (116, HG)

As a result of that amazing crowd of people, the folklore department was particularly well respected nationally through the 1970s. Hymes viewed his move from anthropology to the folklore department as a positive thing:

I want in years to come my presence in folklore dept to be understood, and seen, at least by those who are open to seeing it not as a purely historical accident which has to be explained by going back some years to a set of circumstances no longer visible, but as an obvious appropriateness, as the place one would of course expect to find someone like me, given the obvious differences between what is going on in anthropology and in folklore, or, given the obvious role of folklore in the active, exciting things that are going in [*sic*] with regard to communication and semiotics.¹⁸²

The department's significance can be demonstrated by the fact that multiple members were officers of the American Folklore Society. In addition to Hymes being elected president in 1973, Goldstein was elected president in 1975, and at the same time Kirshenblatt-Gimblett was elected second vice president (she later served as president, as did Glassie and Abrahams).¹⁸³ In fact, as Goldstein made clear in a letter to then Dean Gregorian, "For the 1975/'76 period, every officer of the Society is either a faculty member or a graduate of the Folklore Department of the University of Pennsylvania. . . . in addition, six of the nine members of the Executive Board of the Society are faculty members or graduates of our department" (Feb 19, 1975, OP; his emphasis). In that same letter, Goldstein concluded that although Penn was neither the oldest nor the largest folklore department in the US, these facts should be understood to mean that "we are regarded by our academic peers as the best department of its kind."

Despite this level of national recognition, not everyone at Penn was always cooperative, as Goldstein complained to Hymes in 1969, when he was being asked to help get both Szwed and Labov to Penn, for while Hymes, Goodenough, Sapir, and Goffman were all in favor of cooperation between anthropology and folklore, the same could not be said of everyone in anthropology.¹⁸⁴ By the mid-1980s, Goffman had died, D. Hymes had

moved to GSE, Szwed had left for Yale, and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett had left for New York University. The folklore department never recovered the same significance and never again played the same central role (either at Penn or nationally), despite the valiant efforts of Ben-Amos, Abrahams, Hufford herself, and others.

It may seem that folklore had little to do with Goffman, but his work was read across multiple courses, so even those who did not take one of his rare courses encountered his ideas. For example, in 1984, when Hymes prepared a list of doctoral exam questions, one of them was “Assess the relevance of the work of the late Erving Goffman to folklore and folklife. Cite specific works and concepts.”¹⁸⁵ Interestingly, Hymes preserved a letter of his evaluating a student’s answer to that specific question, not being entirely happy with the result.¹⁸⁶ That evaluation is several pages long, far more extensive than would be expected in this context, including not only discussion of Goffman’s work, but clarifying the relationship between Goffman and ethnomethodology.

Communications

Both Birdwhistell and Worth had their primary homes within the Annenberg School of Communications, as did Steve Feld, Larry Gross, Perry Tannenbaum, Paul Messaris, and Amos Vogel; Dell Hymes and Goffman had secondary affiliations. Hymes’s activities included being respondent to a talk at ASC by Marshall McLuhan,¹⁸⁷ and he regularly corresponded with Dean George Gerbner, even before he was a dean himself. Goffman was invited to present a colloquium at ASC shortly after his arrival but turned down the opportunity. (Worth complained to Hymes that Goffman was not yet getting involved with programs at Annenberg as “he even refused to give a colloquium.”)¹⁸⁸ Labov did present a colloquium at ASC shortly after his arrival.¹⁸⁹ Just as the role of language in social life was essential to multiple projects, so was the extension of relevant behavior to include the nonverbal (Birdwhistell) and the visual (Worth). The fact that both Birdwhistell and Worth grounded their respective research agendas in anthropology meant that they shared assumptions of theory and method with the other central players in this story, despite having their academic home in a different part of the university. Just as folklore initially housed one of the relevant journals (*Language in Society*, under the auspices of the Center for Urban Ethnography), ASC housed the other (*Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*). While Goffman facilitated the publication of Birdwhistell’s

Kinesics and Context (1970), Worth facilitated the publication of Goffman's *Gender Advertisements* (1976a). And then, when Worth died suddenly, Hymes and Goffman facilitated the publication of his collected works, *Studying Visual Communication* (1981) in their series. When Gerbner became editor of the *Journal of Communication* in November 1973, he put Worth on the editorial board, while Birdwhistell, Goffman, and Hymes appear on a long list of consulting and contributing editors.¹⁹⁰ For his part, Hymes viewed communication as an obvious home for the core peer group's interests, telling Worth as early as 1969 that he saw it as "the general frame of reference within which it all makes sense" and had "a vision of it being the answer to all the world's problems in regard to symbolic forms in communication."¹⁹¹ Worth echoed that language a few years later when he was quoted as saying, "I think Penn is the strongest center in the world in dealing with symbolic events, language, and non-verbal communication. Our faculty is delving into the sociology of communication, the psychology of art, the meaning of communication itself."¹⁹²

Interestingly, despite the connections to both Worth and Birdwhistell, and reports to Gerbner about potential interest to the contrary, and his official standing once granted a secondary appointment, Goffman never become formally involved with activities at ASC (although he did connect with other scholars in communication through several of the minor projects). However, he did participate in activities with communication faculty at Temple, a few miles from Penn. For example, Ruby reports that "Erving attended many of the Conferences on Visual Anthropology I organized at Temple" (2015, 1968–80), and provides details for two of the events: Goffman was one of several discussants for "The Anthropological Relevance of Fiction Film: A Screening of *Ramparts of Clay*" in 1971, and organizer of a session ("A Critical Approach to the Use of Videotape for Social Science Research: *Frankenstein Meets his Monster*") in 1972.

Education

In addition to Dell Hymes becoming dean of GSE in 1975, Brian Sutton-Smith, Leila Gleitman, Morton Botel, David Smith, Fred Erickson, Nancy Hornberger, Michael Long, Nessa Wolfson, Shirley Brice Heath, and Bambi Schieffelin all had their primary appointments there, although most of them only connected to Goffman via minor projects, and in small ways. Once Hymes moved into education as his primary home, he gave secondary appointments to Labov, Szwed, Worth, Fought, and Sanday, all at once in 1976,¹⁹³

thus more firmly establishing their connections with GSE. In addition, he shifted focus a bit by highlighting the use of language in the classroom as an important topic, along with outreach to K–12 students in Philadelphia, their teachers, and principals. Hymes also used his new position to host various campus colleagues and present them to faculty and students based in GSE. For example, in 1975, there was a one-day seminar, “Language in the Classroom: The Positive Implications of Cultural and Linguistic Diversity,” with Hymes presenting on “The Ethnography of Speaking,” and Labov on “Language Learning as a Social Process”;¹⁹⁴ in 1977, Hymes, Labov, and Szwed all presented on “Ethnography as Educational Methodology”;¹⁹⁵ and during the 1979–1980 Language in Education Colloquium series, invited speakers included Szwed,¹⁹⁶ Sankoff,¹⁹⁷ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett,¹⁹⁸ and Ben-Amos.¹⁹⁹ Goffman does not seem to have presented colloquia in education any more than he did in communications, however he did serve on at least one search committee, in 1976.²⁰⁰ In addition, Heath (2011) mentions multiple faculty members across multiple departments at Penn who attracted education students into their courses, thus documenting boundary crossing: Anderson, Birdwhistell, Goffman, Goodenough, Labov, Sanday, and Szwed. All of these were just the sort of connections several of the minor projects were designed to facilitate.

Psychology

Labov was initially offered a job in psychology, both Labov and Goffman were given secondary appointments, several minor projects involved various psychology faculty (Rochel Gelman, Leo Hurvich, Dorothea Jameson Hurvich, David Premack, Dan Osherson, and Burton S. Rosner), and Dorothea Hurvich connected to Goffman as a University Professor. In the early days (specifically, in 1969), Hymes expressed his delight that psychology was “moving toward an ethnographic sort of orientation.”²⁰¹ Of course, Goffman’s work often overlapped with psychiatric contexts (e.g., Goffman 1959b, 1961a, 1961c, 1961d, 1963a), which meant he had spent a lot of time interacting with psychologists and psychiatrists prior to his arrival at Penn, mostly while based at NIMH. In addition, Birdwhistell’s work at EPPI continued past his arrival at Penn, and he likely had connections with faculty in psychology, although available documentation does not reflect this; also, at least some of his earlier work had taken a psychiatric interview as the primary context (Birdwhistell 1972; McQuown 1971). Yet again there were overlapping interests across core group members in one more discipline.

Other departments (landscape architecture, biology, English, Romance languages, Slavic languages, history of art, music, American civilization, electrical engineering, and Oriental studies) were not ones where Goffman had any significant connections to the program. Only a few colleagues based in this set of departments connected with Goffman through major projects; most were minor parts of minor projects. For details, see the appendix.

Students

People included to this point were Goffman's faculty colleagues at Penn, but an invisible college must include students, or it cannot continue beyond the first generation. The evidence as to Goffman's interactions with students is somewhat contradictory. However, while it is frequently assumed that Goffman "did not seek to build a coterie, and also did not interact socially with students" (Murray 1998, 45), that does not mean he did not interact with students at least on matters relating to academic content. In fact, he taught students based in most of the central departments mentioned to this point (certainly anthropology, sociology, linguistics, folklore, and communications), and sporadically served on dissertation committees jointly with Hymes, Labov, Birdwhistell, Worth, Fox, and Fought, to my certain knowledge, and probably others not yet discovered. The following section thus provides brief introductions to relevant students, arranged by decade. The obvious year to mention is that of a terminal degree, even though someone would have been a student some years earlier, even occasionally considerably earlier. Most of the following descriptions are of students who completed their doctorates at Penn, as that is the most significant student group he influenced. But a few were MA students, or those in residence at Penn at one point whose degrees were completed elsewhere. Clearly, these are not the only students to have ever worked with Goffman; they are just ones for whom I have already found documentation, especially discussions of how Goffman influenced them and their research.

These descriptions of students document another dimension of the invisible college surrounding and supporting Goffman at Penn. The larger point to remember is the significance of theory groups: In order to ensure one's ideas are shared with future scholars and further developed, establishing individual connections with others is essential; publications alone are not enough (Leeds-Hurwitz 2021; Murray 1994). While Goffman is frequently said to have not done this, the following section demonstrates that assumption

to be incorrect. Even though Goffman did not build a “school” or “followers” in the traditional sense, he did influence not one but several academic generations of students, across multiple disciplines, not only through his writing but through his interactions with them, at least at Penn.

Table 3.3: Students Who Interacted with Goffman at Penn, by Decade of Degree and Department

1960s degrees	
Anthropology	Joel Sherzer, Regna Darnell
American Civilization	Richard Bauman
1970s degrees	
Anthropology	William O. Beeman, Judith Irvine, Susan U. Philips, Elinor Ochs, Marjorie Harness Goodwin, Lee Ann Draud
Sociology	Gary Alan Fine, Samuel Heilman, Eviatar Zerubavel, Michael Delaney
Communications	Charles Goodwin, Yves Winkin, John Thomas Carey
Linguistics	Marilyn Merritt, John Baugh
Folklore	Michael J. Bell
1980s degrees	
Sociology	Carol Brooks Gardner
Communications	Stuart J. Sigman, Barbara Ann Lynch
Linguistics	Deborah Schiffrin
Folklore	Amy Shuman, Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

Now, to tell their stories.

1960s degrees

Joel Sherzer earned a PhD in anthropology at Penn in 1968 (preceding Goffman’s arrival, working under Hymes). Discussing his training at Penn in 2014, Sherzer wrote: “I was fortunate to study and interact with a creative,

dynamic, and pioneering group of people in various departments. The work of my Penn teachers has remained with me all of my scholarly life. Along with others, I frequently crossed the street between the anthropology and linguistic departments.” He named Hymes, Sapir, Goffman, and Labov as particularly influential faculty members with whom he took courses. Although Labov was not yet at Penn when he was a student, Sherzer participated in Labov’s 1968 seminar at Columbia along with Goffman.

Sherzer was the rare person to experience being both student and faculty member while at Penn: He taught linguistic anthropology as a lecturer in 1968–1969, substituting for Hymes, who was on leave in England that year (“For the moment, I’m swimming not walking in your shoes”²⁰²). As a result, Sherzer wrote detailed letters to Hymes about what was happening in his absence. “Both Goffman and Fought have been coming to the seminars—makes things kind of lively. We’ve worked in a little on a film of a psychiatric interview—with the help of some Annenberg students in the seminar. We’ll be trying to write rules for both the verbal and non-verbal aspects of communication in the film.”²⁰³ Birdwhistell may have been the source of that film, due to his connections with EPPI, but he apparently was not invited to the seminar. A month later, apparently Labov had joined Sherzer’s course as well: “The seminar continues to be interesting. Goffman and Labov are good to have along.”²⁰⁴ Then he updated Hymes on difficulties between Goffman and Worth:

The misunderstanding between Goffman and Sol Worth is unfortunate. I get along very well with Erv simply by realizing that his surface structure is quite different from his deep structure which is quite serious and quite brilliant (to use a metaphor I learned somewhere). His surface structure is also quite interesting, but can be irritating if one expects consistency. All you have to do to understand all this is to read his works, of course. His contribution to the seminar has been quite good since he acts as everybody’s devil’s advocate (including his own) and makes you sharpen your thinking.²⁰⁵

Presumably the metaphor he learned “somewhere” was in fact learned from Hymes. A few weeks later, the group visiting Sherzer’s seminar had expanded again. “John Gumperz happened to be in town to speak to the South Asia dept. He and Goffman and I had dinner and then all went to seminar. Labov presented his video tape and got very good discussion in response. He seems to appreciate very much having Goffman as a sounding board and thus continues to show up every other week.”²⁰⁶ And then a final report, describing plans for the spring seminar he would teach:

Next semester Bill Labov gives his course down here—it's certain now. Should be pretty lively. He'll probably stay overnite and we'll have the seminar the next day. Hope to have presentations by Goffman, J. Szwed, Bill Stewart, as well as a couple of things by me. I'm going to try and orient the thing a little away from interaction analysis after Goffman's presentations. I think the kids have forgotten a little just how vast an area "language and culture" is.²⁰⁷

Language and Culture was the title of the course. Hymes responded with extensive discussion of Labov's interest in Penn and the possibility of his time being split between departments, including anthropology, due to concern as to whether such a move would complicate the possibility of Sherzer himself getting an appointment in anthropology.²⁰⁸ Sherzer responded immediately that he had already interviewed at the University of Texas, Austin, and thought it would make the most sense to take that position. Part of the logic was "spreading the word": "I think it's important that I am in such a place where I can communicate the type of thing we've been doing here to other scholars."²⁰⁹ And, of course, that is exactly what happened. Later that spring, Sherzer was able to update Hymes on some departmental politics within anthropology: There was some resentment by those not typically included in more recent activities. Among the issues specifically named were:

Goffman's arrival furthering the interdisciplinary approach to scholarship which they fight tooth and nail; the Szwed grant (which in a sense culminates all—focus on urban problems, especially black; liberal-radical point of view; interdisciplinary point of view with a focus on sociolinguistics; involvement of people like you, Goffman, and Szwed). I write this to keep you in touch with dept. splits. . . . Goffman presented his point of view very undogmatically in dept. meetings.²¹⁰

Sherzer was mainly concerned in this letter about the potential unintended impact of faculty disagreements on students, especially on evaluations of student doctoral exams. In the next letter, he had talked with Sapir, who had been around longer, and had more experience with departmental politics. By the end, Sherzer passed on a comment he had made to Goffman about a potential way to keep things calm between faculty factions in the anthropology department: "My suggestion to Goffman was that you people somehow try to coordinate the urban ethnography program with [faculty member name]'s field work course, at least to some degree, so that both factions will have at least this link between them. He (Goffman) seemed amenable."²¹¹ That never happened, and things blew up within anthropology when Sapir was denied tenure.

Sherzer was connected to both major and minor projects and so returns in several later chapters. He attended and then wrote up Goffman's conference in Amsterdam in 1970 (Sherzer 1971); he submitted his dissertation to *Conduct and Communication* for publication as a book. He expressed gratitude for Goffman's critique of his article "On Linguistic Semantics and Linguistic Subdisciplines," published in *Language in Society* (1973a, 127n8), and mentioned Goffman as one of several people who had reviewed an unpublished manuscript of his in 1980 that was later published in 1983 as *Kuna Ways of Speaking: An Ethnographic Perspective*.²¹² In a review essay published in that same journal, Sherzer (1973b) referenced an as yet unpublished version of Goffman's 1974 book, *Frame Analysis*. Later, he served on the editorial board of *Language in Society*. Goffman, in his turn, acknowledged Sherzer in his own publications (e.g., Goffman 1981, 78n1).

Sherzer did end up going to Texas, where he was a primary organizer of several activities sponsored by the SSRC's Committee on Sociolinguistics: the publication *Working Papers in Sociolinguistics*, the conference on The Ethnography of Speaking in 1972, and another on Comparative Ethnographic Analysis in 1975. His activities are particularly important since, just as he had said to Hymes, he used them to share with others what he had learned at Penn. Like Sankoff, he was one of the younger generation tapped for membership in the Committee on Sociolinguistics, and he worked hard to prepare one of their major grant proposals to NSF (unfortunately, at a point when funds were no longer being distributed liberally, and it was denied). All these stories are told in chapter 6.

At one point, Sherzer tried to follow up an idea that he credited to Hymes for combining programs, one that would have involved Goffman.

Do you remember a few years ago you had the idea that students could get their degrees in anthropology but not at a particular institution, sort of moving around and getting the benefit of working with various people. Of course the field and individual departments are much too rigid now for that sort of thing. But I would like to suggest an experiment on a mini scale that I think we could pull off as a sort of model as how things OUGHT to be done. This year we've got a couple of damn interesting students, just beginning as grad students in linguistic anthropology. They like it here but they are excited by the work of you, Bill, and Erv at Penn. I think we here at least are flexible enough to let them spend a semester or two in lovely Phila. taking courses with you people, then come back here and get their degrees here but also getting credit (and person benefit) from their work at Penn. (And vice versa if you've got someone say, who wants some Latin American contact.) What do you think? They'd probably be

better off to enroll in folklore at Penn if we try this than in anthropology, which would probably be against the idea anyway.²¹³

This sounds a bit like a small version of the ERASMUS scheme put into place in the European Union much later.²¹⁴ Hymes liked the suggestion: “Your cooperative idea is very much to my own liking . . . Folklore, or, if it can be arranged, the group in ‘semiotics’ (reaching into Annenberg) that Ken [Goldstein] is working on, would be good. Of course, students could use folklore/semiotics as a base and take work in linguistics. Enrolled in anthropology, there would be so far as known not anyone to guide them. Labov would welcome this sort of thing too.”²¹⁵ This was another idea that did not come to fruition, but the important point is the variety of ways in which Sherzer and others in the second generation attempted to expand upon what they had been taught about studying interaction, as well as maintaining the multi- and interdisciplinary approaches they had been taught. A few years later, Sherzer wrote to Hymes: “Your other postcard says that Penn is doing its best to keep pace with Texas. I never had any doubts or worries about Penn. . . . We don’t have the clout at Texas that you, Bill, Erving, etc. have at Penn.”²¹⁶

Sherzer obviously interacted with other faculty members at Penn beyond Hymes, Labov and Goffman; for example, in 1978 he reviewed a book by W. John Smith (1977) in *Language in Society*, arguing for Smith’s relevance to sociolinguistics, because his book “is about communication and stresses the importance of both contextual and interactional approaches to this area” (437). He concluded that “Smith is to be praised for having organized the vast and disparate research on animal communication in semiotic and interactional terms, pointing to the potential relevance of this research for the study of human communication, including language” (437–38). Also, Sherzer and Smith designed a book together, though it seems not to have been published.

Regna Darnell was a peer of Sherzer’s who completed her PhD in anthropology at Penn in 1969. Even so, she managed to take a course with Goffman (Darnell 2022), and remembers him clearly:

The addition to the Penn faculty of Erving Goffman in a cross-appointment between anthropology and sociology and of Bill Labov in linguistics, with Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth Goldstein already in Folklore and Folklife and Sol Worth at the Annenberg School of Communication, heralded a new interdisciplinary synthesis. For me at least, this synthesis was grounded in anthropology and discussed endlessly in the University Museum coffee shop. The Center for

Urban Ethnography coalesced just after I left Philadelphia, but its commitment to test theory against data from fieldwork was already central to Dell Hymes's ethnography of speaking/communication throughout the sixties. (2001a, xx)

Darnell returns to the topic later in that book, adding further details, specifically that: "Erving Goffman used to hang around with anthropologists, haranguing the graduate students in ethnography of communication at Penn that we could not, on the basis of cross-cultural fieldwork, produce insights as sophisticated as those he derived from studying his own society by member intuition" (315). She names other graduate students studying the ethnography of communication at the time in a different publication (2011), listing Michael Foster, Helen Hogan, Judith Irvine, Elinor Ochs Keenan, Susan Philips, Sheila Dauer Seitel, and K. M. Tiwari, and points out that Virginia Hymes was also part of the research cluster at the time (193; see Murray 1994 and Leeds-Hurwitz and Sigman 2010 for further details about which students were at Penn and in which department when). This makes sense, because Virginia Hymes would have been enrolled as a doctoral student in linguistics at that point. In a separate discussion, Darnell tells a story about the ethnography of speaking students trying to convince Goffman of the importance of documentation from other cultures.

Goffman argued repeatedly that anthropologists could not, on the basis of their fieldwork, produce insights nearly as sophisticated as those Goffman himself derived by supposed native intuition from studying his own society. In some very interesting sense, the whole fieldwork ethos of the first generation of ethnography of speaking people from the University of Pennsylvania, beginning in the late 1960s, derives from proving Goffman wrong, by assuming that it is possible to acquire native-like intuitions in a society in which one has not been socialized as a child. Various of us presented Goffman with evidence as detailed as his own for "other" cultures. . . . We also challenged Goffman on the claim that he was in fact studying his own society. He was not, to any public knowledge, either homosexual or mentally ill, yet his descriptions of these subgroups of "our society" are appropriately acknowledged in several disciplines as foundational. (1991, 8)

In a summary statement about what it was like to be at Penn in the 1960s, Darnell emphasizes that "ideas were important" (2001a, xx). This was taken for granted by everyone at Penn, student or faculty member, and held true across the 1970s and 1980s as well as the 1960s. Darnell was included in the 1972 Ethnography of Speaking conference in Texas, and published in the resulting volume (Darnell 1974), making clear that, even after her move to Canada, she remained part of the invisible college.

Richard Bauman earned an MA in folklore at Indiana in 1962, then enrolled at Penn, where he earned a simultaneous MS in anthropology and PhD in American civilization in 1968.²¹⁷ Like Sherzer, he took a position at the University of Texas, Austin, where he worked until 1986, returning then to Indiana as a faculty member. Bauman is important to this story for his connection with the Conduct and Communication book series (both for his own volume and his evaluation of one of Goffman's), as well as for his role in co-organizing the Ethnography of Speaking conference in 1972, and co-editing the *Working Papers in Sociolinguistics*, both with Sherzer. He cites Goffman, especially when discussing performance (e.g., Bauman 1975; Bauman and Briggs 1990). In an early letter to Hymes in 1968, just before completing his degrees, but after moving to Texas, Bauman began: "Dear Professor Hymes (Dell?—I can't no-name you in writing)."²¹⁸ No-naming refers to avoiding direct address and is especially common when there is a status differential between the people interacting, so that it might be awkward to use any of the available choices; one avoids the issue by not using any of them. Hymes replied "Dear Dick, First names are fine, titles from people one knows are disconcerting."²¹⁹

1970s degrees

The first few students listed below completed their degrees in the 1970s, but were part of the same cohort as Darnell, Sherzer, and Bauman; recall that Darnell names Irvine, Philips, and Ochs as among those who hung out at the museum talking informally with Goffman.

Judith Irvine earned her PhD in 1973 in anthropology, with a focus on linguistic anthropology. She was a participant in the 1972 Ethnography of Speaking conference and published in the resulting volume (1974). With Schieffelin, she was a panelist on "Discourse: Speech Acts and Contextualization" at the AAA in 1978 for which Goffman and Hymes served as discussants.²²⁰ She cites Goffman in her work (e.g., 1979) and served on the editorial board of *Language in Society*.

Susan U. Philips completed her PhD in anthropology in 1974; Hymes chaired her dissertation committee, with Goffman and Goodenough the other members. In the published version, she thanks Goffman, for "useful criticisms of an earlier version of the book" (1983, vii). While still a graduate student, she participated in the 1972 Ethnography of Speaking conference and was published in the resulting volume (1974). In spring 1974, Hymes

asked Fox to consider hiring Philips for a position in sociology. As part of his efforts to expand sociolinguistics on campus, he wanted to ensure they hired appropriate people, and he considered her a likely choice; apparently so did Goffman.²²¹ Hymes sent Philips's dissertation to Fox, with an explanation of the idea, letting Philips know.²²² Fox read it, and reported she had "found it a very fine piece of work, indeed," promising to have a phone conversation with Philips.²²³ A few months later, Hymes was still hopeful, telling Labov: "In terms of sociological problems and aspects of language, we do have possibly an immediate opportunity, in the sociology department. There is at least initial interest in considering a junior appointment in this area. I have suggested Susan Philips as a possibility to Rene [*sic*] Fox." A little later in the same letter, now speaking more generally of potential hires in sociology, he continued: "Like Erv, I would welcome someone interested in 'pragmatics' and such, if same was not dogmatic about relying on introspection but rather open to ethnographically based work."²²⁴ The effort to hire Philips obviously failed as she never joined Penn's faculty.

Elinor Ochs earned a PhD in anthropology at Penn in 1974, first taking a position at the University of Cambridge for a year (1973–1974) and then moving to linguistics at the University of Southern California in 1974. She explained herself in 2022 thus: "I am, simply, disciplinarily errant," going on to explain how that came about. Much of that explanation centers on Penn faculty and the connections she found there.

In 1966, I entered The University of Pennsylvania PhD program in anthropology, joining the second generation of ethnographers of communication under Dell Hymes and David Sapis. I also assisted Ward Goodenough in his kinship studies. Linguistic anthropology was an inventive program, with contributions from Sol Worth (in the Annenberg School of Communication) and Erving Goffman (from the Department of Sociology). (2)

Her inclusion of Worth here is significant, given that so few other students name him as part of the group of faculty members they worked with and/or saw working together.

Marjorie Harness Goodwin received a PhD in anthropology at Penn in 1978 under Goffman. She was awarded a Center for Urban Ethnography grant for her dissertation research, and acknowledges comments from Goffman, Labov, and Gail Jefferson (another CUE grant recipient) on at least her 1980 paper on gossip, a topic that Szwed had previously written about (Szwed 1966), and she cites his work. In a later paper (1982), she

again acknowledges the CUE grant, mentions comments from Goffman, Labov, and Jefferson, and cites Goffman, Hymes, Labov, and Szwed. Several later papers also credit CUE funding and acknowledge or cite overlapping members of the group. In her 1999 article on participation, she cites Goffman multiple times, highlighting the ways his insights “have been useful for linguistic anthropologists” (179). Corsaro’s review of a book that grew out of that research (Goodwin 1990) specifically compares her to Goffman: “Goodwin’s careful and insightful scholarship is one of many scholarly traits that display the influence of one of her mentors, Erving Goffman” (Corsaro 1992, 1182). Goodwin also acknowledged CUE funding for a second book (Goodwin and Goodwin 1987). As described in chapter 6, she was one of those named in a grant proposal that was to also include Goffman, but which was not funded.

William O. Beeman, who went on to get a PhD in anthropology and linguistics from Chicago in 1974, describes what it was like to be a student at Penn in 1970.

I would like to mark a debt in this book to an intellectual community of great strength. Although my former graduate studies were completed at the University of Chicago, the formal cast for this work was conceived at the University of Pennsylvania, where I was resident in 1970. At that time I was thrown into one of the most vital groups of scholars I have ever encountered, consisting of Ray Birdwhistell, John Fought, Erving Goffman, Dell Hymes, William Labov, David Sapir, Bob Scholte, John Szwed, and the late Sol Worth. These individuals would likely deny that they ever met all together as a group. Nonetheless, the atmosphere at Penn was electric at the time I was there. Communication passed through students these men had in common and through other informal means. The community broke up shortly thereafter through death and a sad set of shortsighted personnel decisions, but even a decade later, I am still sustained by the energy that was generated there at that time. (1986, xv)

In fact, those he named connected—in smaller groups at least—far more often than any of us realized at the time, as documented in the next two chapters.

Lee Ann Draud was a student in anthropology who earned an MA and then worked as Goffman’s secretary and/or research assistant through the 1970s. She is thanked in several publications for specific comments, not just the general acknowledgment typically given. For example, Goffman writes: “Note, self-induced misalignment is likely to involve mainly perception, not action, for the latter must soon face corrective action from others” and then, in a footnote: “An argument recommended by Lee Ann Draud” (1974,

112n46; see also 1976a, vi, 30; 1976b, 257; 1978, 787), and finally: “For all of which, and for much other help, I am grateful to Lee Ann Draud” (1979a, 18).

Gary Alan Fine earned a BA in sociology at Penn in 1971 but did not stay for graduate school. However, he took two courses with Goffman as an undergraduate, and Goffman wrote letters of recommendation for him when it was time to go to graduate school. In addition, Fine has written that Goffman would “on occasion . . . invite me to his home on Society Hill, a very elegant area in Philadelphia. We would sit together and talk about my career, the kind of things professors and undergraduates would do. Not talk about his career so much, although I might have asked him questions about particular things we were reading; not that I would ask about his life” (2009). Even though he was an undergraduate taking graduate courses, Fine says: “I was ready for this; it connected with some other classes I was taking. I took classes with Dell Hymes, David Sapir, and later with Ray Birdwhistell, so there was a group of men at Penn at that point interested in similar kinds of issues.” Fine further mentions that several faculty members sat in on the course, including Labov. Fine became “an unpaid research assistant,” helping Goffman to categorize bloopers in radio shows as part of the research for *Forms of Talk* (Goffman 1981), splicing together reels of those most useful (Fine 2009). A paper of his was cited by Goffman (1974), and he was invited by Goffman to participate in a panel at the American Sociological Association in 1982, the year Goffman was president but was too ill to attend (Fine 2009). Given that he was an undergraduate while at Penn, Fine played no role in any of the projects described in these pages.

Samuel Heilman earned his PhD in sociology at Penn in 1973. Unlike Fine, Darnell, Sherzer, and others, he did not participate in casual conversations over coffee with Goffman. In fact, he says about Goffman: “He worked from his home, he was seldom seen around the campus, he didn’t really present himself as a member of the University of Pennsylvania community” (Heilman 2009), so obviously they had very different experiences. Heilman’s dissertation research was funded through the Center for Urban Ethnography. As he tells the story,

at some point I was hanging around the center, with Szwed and Goffman there. They were talking about religious institutions or something like that. I remember Goffman said it would be a “gas” if somebody did a study on synagogue. I said, “Well, I could do that.” I was very much involved with the synagogue where I was living. So I said, “If I had a grant, I could do that.” They agreed to give me a grant, a dissertation grant from the center. I was still taking courses, but now

I wanted to take some more courses from Goffman. But Goffman said I wasn't ready to take his courses, I had to do a lot of reading. So I started reading. He gave me a massive reading list. We reviewed it in the form of a tutorial held at his house, just the two of us. It was not on a regular basis—I would meet him every few weeks. That is in itself a story. (2009)

CUE also funded several papers that Heilman delivered at SAA and AAA, both in 1974 (Center for Urban Ethnography 1974), and mentions one of these (Heilman 1975), as well as his dissertation about to be published as a book (Heilman 1976), as resulting from their funding (Center for Urban Ethnography 1975). In the first paper, CUE is acknowledged, along with Fox and Goffman: “who at every stage of the project helped in the deciphering of the field data and the formulation of ideas” (1975, 371). In the book, Heilman thanks Goffman and mentions him frequently. “To Erving Goffman go thanks, not only for stimulating the project, but for his continued advice through all stages of the work” (1976, xxvii). Heilman also attended the CUE-sponsored conference in 1969 on urban ethnography.

Eviatar Zerubavel's PhD in sociology was completed in 1976, under the joint direction of Goffman and Fox (Sabetta and Zerubavel 2019, 58), and both are acknowledged in the published version: “Erving Goffman has certainly influenced my thinking more than any other sociologist I have met, and I consider myself most fortunate to have studied with him” (1979, xxiii). He reports having entered Penn in 1972 specifically to study with Goffman:

What attracted me was not in the sociology department, since it was a department with strengths in demography and criminology. Instead, I was attracted by three specific individuals, three figures: William Labov (in the Department of linguistics), Dell Hymes (in the Department of folklore), and Erving Goffman (in the Department of anthropology). So, I ended up taking courses with all of them, but it was the encounter with Goffman [that was] the most fruitful from an intellectual point of view. (Sabetta and Zerubavel 2019, 58)

He was happy with his decision, for “as I had hoped, the highlight of my first semester at Penn was indeed Goffman's ‘Social Interaction’ seminar, the most intellectually transformative course I have ever taken” (2024, 525).

After Goffman's death, Zerubavel participated in an ASA panel by Goffman's students about what they had learned from him, as he relates here:

You know, two years after he died, some of us (Goffman's former students like Sam Heilman, Gary Alan Fine, Sherri Cavan—this last one, the “only one real student” that Goffman once said to [have] ever had) had a session at the ASA

annual meeting on what we learned from Goffman. What was amazing was that all of us mentioned the same thing, without preparing it in advance: the fact that we learned how to look, something that we would have never guessed from his writings only. Moreover, he never explicitly taught us anything about analytical gaze, sociological eye and similar stuff. We acquired this skill only by watching him in action: how to look at the most micro-micro-microscopic situations and visualize invisible dimensions which you couldn't have seen otherwise. (Sabetta and Zerubavel 2019, 69)

Cavan was a student of Goffman's at Berkeley (he chaired her dissertation committee in 1965 [Cavan 2013]), and so won't be discussed here.²²⁵ Gary Marx, John Lofland, Harvey Sacks, David Sudnow, and Emanuel Schegloff were other Goffman students at Berkeley rather than Penn, and so their biographies and comments are also not included here, although Sacks and Schegloff become relevant to the story of MAP in chapter 6.

Michael Delaney enrolled in graduate studies at Penn due to Goffman's presence there. He earned a PhD in sociology in 1979, taking two courses with Goffman in the early 1970s, and then "in 1973, partly owing to my continued fascination with frame analysis, Goffman invited me to provide a critical reading of the draft of the resulting book" (2014, 87). He mentions that Goffman "mostly consorted with a select, ethnographically oriented circle at Penn, including those associated with urban anthropology and ethnography, folklore, communication studies, and sociolinguistics—Dell Hymes, John Szwed, Ray Birdwhistell, among others" and highlights one connection as particularly important: "Birdwhistell and Goffman seemed to get on famously, demonstrating that Goffman was eminently capable of generous collegial solidarity with intellectually like-minded others" (90). Hopefully the details provided in this chapter and the rest of this book document that Birdwhistell was hardly the only one to benefit from that generosity.

Charles Goodwin received a PhD in communications at Penn in 1977, officially under Klaus Krippendorff's direction, but also unofficially worked with Goffman. He describes how Gail Jefferson got to Penn, and how he and his wife, Marjorie Harness Goodwin, worked with her:

When SACKS asked GOFFMAN to give Gail JEFFERSON a post-doc at the Center for Urban Ethnography he happily accepted and that is how she came to Philadelphia. . . . after she arrived there was an extraordinary series of seminars at the Center for Urban Ethnography with GOFFMAN, LABOV, Gail JEFFERSON and other students. We didn't realize at the time just how extraordinary

the education we were getting was. (Goodwin and Salomon 2019, 4; emphasis in original)

He further writes, “We were kind of his [Goffman’s] students, though I wasn’t officially, but we were working with him” (4). This was not as uncommon at Penn as it might have been at some other universities: Shared interests frequently trumped official roles. I suspect that most of us never realized how extraordinary our education was until later, when we discovered that other students at other universities had very different experiences. As described in chapter 6, both Goodwins were named in a grant proposal that was to also include Goffman, Jefferson, and Sacks.

Yves Winkin earned an MA in communications at Penn in 1979 (with Birdwhistell as his advisor and Hymes as a second reader), returning home to the University of Liège in Belgium to earn his PhD there in 1982. He first contacted Goffman because the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who he knew from Paris, had suggested he do so.

To make a long story short, Goffman invited me to come to his place. Either that visit or the next, I asked him what courses to take, and I remember him telling me bluntly: “take linguistics; it is so boring that you will never want to take such courses again later.” He also suggested that I take John Smith’s course in human ethology. So I went to the zoo and asked John Smith to “sit” in his class. Since I was sent by Goffman, he accepted. . . . As far as linguistics was concerned, I went to Labov’s first class, at Goffman’s suggestion. Bill Labov asked us to take a sheet of paper and to write in the phonetic international alphabet a few words he said. We were to hand him the sheet, or to leave the room if we hadn’t been able to write the words in phonetic alphabet. I had to leave the room. (email to the author, Feb 25, 2024)

Clearly, Goffman did not just collaborate with Labov and Smith as colleagues; he sent students their way as well.

Winkin has shared the reading list of Goffman’s course Social Interaction from 1976. In this context, what is most relevant, beyond the incredible breadth of what it includes (not to mention the length, at seventeen pages, which is long even for a graduate seminar at Penn in the 1970s), is that every one of the primary peer group (Hymes, Labov, Birdwhistell, Szwed, and Worth) is represented in it, some having multiple entries. As well, some peripheral group members are also included: Goodenough, W. J. Smith, and Rose.

After returning to Belgium, Winkin also spent considerable time in France where he served as liaison between Bourdieu and Goffman. Expanding that

role, he went on to publish multiple works on Goffman, first publishing an interview with Goffman in 1984, then translating some of his work into French and framing it with a portrait of the sociologist as a young man (1988a). These early publications were supplemented by a wide variety of others examining Goffman's life, work, and influence. Winkin has frequently translated Goffman's ideas for the French context,²²⁶ sometimes emphasizing his connections with other scholars, as with Birdwhistell (2022c) or Bourdieu (1993b, 2022f). Given that several of his books have been translated into other languages (so that his initial translations of Goffman's writings into French for 1988a then served to also introduce Goffman in Spanish, Portuguese, and Japanese), he gets credit not only for his biographical research but for spreading the word around the world. For obvious reasons, he was the one chosen to prepare the introduction to Goffman's 1953 dissertation when that was finally published (2022e).

John Thomas Carey completed a PhD at Penn in 1976, supervised by Birdwhistell. Goffman cites him several times: for working with Draud to prepare the slides Goffman used in *Gender Advertisements* (1979a, vi), and elsewhere in that book: "For this latter point, and for other suggestions incorporated without further acknowledgment, I am very grateful to John Carey" (19).

Marilyn Merritt completed her PhD in linguistics in 1976, with Henry Hoenigswald as chair and Goffman, Hymes, Labov, and Fought as committee members (1976a).²²⁷ In the published version of one chapter in *Language in Society*, she thanks Goffman, as well as Hymes, Fought, and Labov for their comments (1976b, 315; see also Merritt 1979), and she uses Goffman's publications extensively. Decades later she wrote about Goffman as "interdisciplinary anthropologist," emphasizing "Goffman's twin legacies of (1) model work in uncharted waters of the type that builds collaborative interdisciplinary knowledge and (2) useful concepts for studying face-to-face social interaction, derived from his analytical paradigm for studying the institutionalization of social order" (2018, 1). She has explained that "at Penn, Goffman served as faculty member for the Graduate Group of several university departments, including Anthropology, Sociology, Linguistics, Psychology, Folklore, and Communication, and encouraged numerous students and colleagues" (2). By this she does not mean that he was an official member of all these departments; he clearly was not. Rather he worked with students in all these programs, something which was far more important to all of us as students.

Merritt highlights Goffman's role with *Language in Society* in the detailed description she has provided for her first submission to that journal. She first "dared to informally query Erving Goffman," who she describes as "co-editor," presumably in practice though not in name, as to how to get published. By following his advice at several stages of the process, she succeeded in getting her article accepted (Johnstone 2010, 311).

John Baugh earned a PhD in linguistics in 1979, supervised by Labov, with Goffman, Hymes, and Fought as the other committee members.²²⁸ He uses Goffman's ideas throughout his work (e.g., 1983). His CV makes clear that he perfectly demonstrates the multi- and interdisciplinarity we all learned at Penn, for he describes himself as "Professor of Psychological and Brain Sciences, Anthropology, Linguistics, Education, English, African & African American Studies, American Culture Studies, Philosophy-Neuroscience-Psychology, and Urban Studies" (a list supported by the various positions he held after leaving Penn). In addition, he was principal investigator and project director for the Ford Foundation's "Linguistic Profiling in Interdisciplinary Perspective."²²⁹

Together with Sherzer, Baugh prepared a reader synthesizing what had been produced at Penn and elsewhere in sociolinguistics during the 1970s (Baugh and Sherzer 1984). They wanted to include Goffman's "Replies and Responses," initially published in *Language in Society* in 1976, but discovered it was already slated for reprinting in Goffman's *Forms of Talk* (1981).²³⁰ When first told of their idea for a book, Hymes responded with lengthy suggestions about the potential approaches they might take (summarizing new work versus providing an introductory textbook).²³¹

Michael J. Bell was awarded a grant from 1971 to 1973 from the Center for Urban Ethnography to conduct the fieldwork which led to his dissertation in folklore (1975), titled "Running Rabbits and Talking Shit: Folkloric Communication in an Urban Black Bar" (Center for Urban Ethnography 1978). John Szwed was his chair, with Ken Goldstein on his committee. He thanks Goffman, along with Szwed and Hymes, for criticizing his initial research proposal, which likely served the dual purpose of being the CUE grant proposal and his dissertation proposal. In both the dissertation and the published version (1982), he thanks Szwed, Goldstein, Abrahams, Hymes, Birdwhistell, and Goffman, and cites multiple Goffman books as relevant. In both, as well as in some of his articles, he expands upon some of Goff-

man's terms (e.g., Bell 1979, which applies impression management and remedial exchanges).

1980s degrees

Students included below earned their degrees in the 1980s, but that means they were mostly Goffman's students in the 1970s, when Goffman was a fairly recent arrival on campus, and perhaps more open to interactions with graduate students, given that he had not yet developed all of his later connections with faculty members across campus.

Carol Brooks Gardner earned a PhD in sociology with Goffman as her dissertation advisor in 1983. She acknowledges Goffman, as well as Hymes, Anderson, and others, citing Goffman frequently in the substantially revised and published version (1995). In an earlier paper on the same topic, she thanks him again: "Erving Goffman provided a detailed critique of an earlier draft" (1980, 329). She had actually first seen Goffman at Berkeley in 1968 while a student of Ervin-Tripp's, as part of "a summer institute on sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and anthropological linguistics for faculty and grad students, although I was an undergraduate" (2008; in addition to Goffman, Hymes, Gumperz, and Basil Bernstein were among the others present). That institute was sponsored by SSRC's Committee on Sociolinguistics. Once Goffman arranged for her to be accepted as a graduate student at Penn, she spent little time in the sociology department "because Goffman made it clear from the start that he required me to take or audit a long list of courses in other fields, principally folklore, Urban Studies, linguistics, and anthropology" (2008). She describes him as "both an able and an incredibly quick respondent when he received work—he read and critiqued one 80-page paper I wrote overnight, and another in the same span" (2008).

Stuart J. Sigman earned his PhD in 1982 at Annenberg with Birdwhistell as his chair. Goffman was originally included as a dissertation committee member, but as his illness worsened, he did not complete that service (email to the author, May 4, 2024). Sigman explains that "class with Goffman was to some degree an exposure to the redacted notes that had formed the basis of his previously published works, or the display of notes, pictures, newspaper clippings, and so forth, that were laying the groundwork for his next book" (Leeds-Hurwitz and Sigman 2010, 247). He goes on to describe more of what it was like taking a course with him.

After class one day, and then through a series of discussions in his home and at his office in the Penn Anthropology Museum, Goffman and I talked about my emerging views. First, he rejected the idea that I floated at one point, that it made any sense to correlate communication behavior with particular social structural “variables.” I’m paraphrasing here, of course, but I remember his response as something like, “There are too many variables. Eyebrows and gender. Eyebrows and rank. That’s not going to get us to the structure of interaction. Or to the structure of society.” (247–48)

In his May 4, 2024 email to the author, Sigman explained that “Goffman was strongly influenced both by the structural-functional sociology that was part of his own doctoral work and the interdisciplinary environment at Penn that owed much to structural linguistics. He was not interested in correlational studies, but rather in the deeper structures that give rise to the interaction order and social organization” (see also Sigman 1987).

Sigman was one of the organizers of the Ethnographic Research Group, a collection of graduate students from multiple departments who got together from spring 1978 to spring 1979 in order to practice what we were learning about in our courses, and specifically to videotape our own group’s conversation and then analyze it (see the description in Leeds-Hurwitz and Sigman 2010). I was a member, along with Yves Winkin, Barbara Lynch, Mary Moore Goodlett, and Bob Aibel. Aside from encouraging us to attempt microanalysis of filmed interaction, Sigman organized a panel at the International Communication Association’s convention in Philadelphia in 1979, providing the first major conference experience for most of us and the debut of what we called the “Penn Tradition” (Leeds-Hurwitz and Sigman 2010). In addition, the videotape developed by ERG figured in a report that Sigman presented to Goffman and subsequently published (1981).

Barbara Ann Lynch completed a PhD in 1984 in communications with Birdwhistell as her supervisor; Goffman served on her committee, along with Don Yoder in folklore, Gail Zivin (who started in education but soon moved to ASC), and Charles Wright and Paul Messaris at ASC. She reports that Goffman’s “late night reviews of early drafts (over milk and homemade cookies) helped anchor both the data analysis and researcher in a real-world larger context” (1984, vi). Since he died before she finished, she dedicates her dissertation to his memory and that of two others, saying he “helped me to see what I was observing” (iv). She quotes him extensively throughout her analysis of the religious use of space, citing more than a dozen of his

publications. She was also the senior member and primary organizer of ERG in 1978–1979.

Deborah Schiffrin completed her PhD in linguistics in 1982, supervised by Labov, with Goffman and Sankoff serving on her committee, and thanks Goffman for all he taught her and for helpful comments, both then (1982, iii) and earlier (1977, 679; 1980, 199). She has explained the transition from discovering Goffman to working with him in some detail.

In my senior year of college at Temple University, I read Erving Goffman's *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* during a course in sociological theory. . . . I was so excited by his work that I went on to read everything else he had written and then decided to continue studying face-to-face interaction in a PhD program in sociology at Temple. . . . While still at Temple, I wrote an article on the semiotics of the handshake, which I boldly sent to Goffman. What followed was an invitation to a personal meeting and then his permission to audit a course with him. . . . When my advisor at Temple decided to leave for another position, I had already decided to try to work with Goffman. Ironically, it was Goffman himself who first turned my thoughts toward a PhD in linguistics: during our first meeting, he proclaimed his belief that linguistics could add rigor and respectability to the analysis of face-to-face interaction.

Once I was enrolled in the PhD program in linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania, I quickly learned that, although linguists knew that understanding social interaction was important, the *study* of social interaction itself had a somewhat peripheral role in the linguistics curriculum. What I found instead was Labov's sociolinguistics: an energizing mix of fieldwork, urban ethnography, variation analysis, and narrative analysis. . . . As it became time for me to write my dissertation, I decided that I wanted to use what I had learned as a linguist to study social interaction. I remember my sense of confusion, though, when I tried to use what I had learned about the systematicity of language, as well as to follow the advice of both Labov and Goffman. Labov presented me with one mission: solve an old problem with a new method. But Goffman presented me with another: describe something that had not yet been described. After spending some time trying to apply these directives to the study of everyday arguments, I ended up focusing on discourse markers. (Schiffirin, Tannen, and Hamilton 2015, 3–4)

Elsewhere, she expressed a common sentiment among students described here, saying that Goffman “has been a major figure in my intellectual life” (2009).

Amy Shuman completed a PhD in folklore in 1981 under Szwed; she also mentions Goffman, Hymes, Labov, Ben-Amos, and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett as strong influences. She says: “They have influenced my work as much through personal help as through their printed works” (1986, ix). She thanks

Goffman in some of her publications (e.g., Shuman 1981), credits his work as central to her own in others (Shuman 2006; Shuman and Bohmer 2012), and has published an overview of his work (Shuman 2013). Like Merritt and other students in this section, she specifically discusses the invisible college at Penn, in her case during an interview:

I was very fortunate to be at Penn during (what I regard as) its heyday. I studied with not only great faculty but also, and as importantly if not more, an amazing group of students. Of my teachers, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett was particularly influential, but John Szwed, Erving Goffman, Dell Hymes, Dan Ben-Amos, and Henry Glassie were hugely important. I would be surprised if any of the students who were at Penn at the same time as I was would say that influence ended in the classroom. We all read as much out of class as in it. (Kunze 2011, 8–9)

Since I was in her cohort (we both entered Penn in 1975), I can confirm her comments.

Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz: My own story of connections to Goffman follows. These examples show the intellectual generosity from faculty to students typical at Penn, at least during the 1970s when I was there, as well as the cross-over between departments. The first story: Dell Hymes liked a paper I wrote for one of his courses (*The Ethnography of Speaking* in fall 1975), well enough that he sent it to Goffman, who responded with a lengthy critique. (The full letter is reproduced in Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz 2013, 31–2.) It goes without saying that I was delighted to have my work passed on to such an eminent scholar, and I was impressed with Goffman’s playfulness in using multiple forms of address to discuss a paper on forms of address. (Of course, I did not yet know that Goffman frequently played with forms of address in his own letters, so this was a topic bound to attract his attention, and likely much of the reason why Hymes sent it on.) More importantly, I was astonished that a professor I had never met, not to mention one so well known, would take the time to write up two pages of comments on a student paper for someone who was not even *his* student, taking a course in another department! I put these comments to use in revising the paper for my master’s thesis, which was then published (Leeds-Hurwitz 1980, 1989b).

A second story about Goffman’s generosity to other people’s students: A year later, someone suggested that Eviatar Zerubavel’s dissertation (completed in 1976, published in 1979) would be helpful as I was preparing another course paper. It was not yet available even at the campus library, but when

I left a message with Lee Ann Draud, Goffman agreed to loan his copy to me. Again, I was delighted.

And finally: Goffman opened his considerable files of articles (both published and unpublished) to his students so that they would have access to a wide range of materials otherwise inaccessible. Of course, he was not the only faculty member at Penn who was so generous to students, even those not his own. For a different project, William Labov generously opened his closet of research audiotapes to me; although I was taking a course with him at the time, the paper I was working on was for Dan Ben-Amos. In a similar vein of general collegiality, Gillian Sankoff, who I had never met, walked by the linguistics department office one day as I was explaining to another student what I was writing about for yet another course paper; she stopped to suggest a source which proved to be fantastically helpful. And, parallel to Goffman opening his files to students, Labov and Sankoff later created the Linguistics Lab library.²³² Less formally, Ray Birdwhistell kept copies of all his own papers and publications at EPPI, encouraging students to drop by and take copies for themselves.²³³ (Birdwhistell only published two books, but wrote an enormous number of articles, chapters, and conference presentations, all of which he made available to his students.)

In addition to Goffman, I had multiple connections to many of those mentioned in these pages. I took courses with Ray Birdwhistell, both Dell and Virginia Hymes, William Labov, John Szwed, John Fought, Ken Goldstein, Dan Ben-Amos, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Henry Glassie, Brian Sutton-Smith, Shirley Brice Heath, and Arjun Appadurai (as well as others who are not relevant to the larger narrative). I was teaching assistant to Dell Hymes twice, and worked on his first NIE grant (which included both Peggy Sanday and Elijah Anderson as peripheral members), serving as research assistant to Virginia Hymes, Szwed, and Ben-Amos at various times during my years at Penn. Szwed was my first dissertation committee chair, but moved to Yale before I finished, so Ben-Amos graciously took over; Dell Hymes and Fought were the other members of my committee. I also prepared the index to Hymes and Fought (1981), and Fought asked me to work on a grant in summer 1976 (which, in the end, he did not receive). The only one of the central actors here with whom I had no contact was Sol Worth, who died before I had the chance to study with him, although I did attend a showing of the Navajo films documented in Worth (1972b) at Annenberg. All this demonstrates that it was very easy for any student at

Penn to interact with faculty members across campus, beyond just enrolling in courses in multiple departments.

Beyond links to specific faculty members, I had a strong connection to one of the major projects to be examined in detail, and a weak connection to two others. Specifically, I served as research assistant to the Center for Urban Ethnography under Szwed's supervision in 1978–1979 (the grant support had ended, but the university paid for an assistantship on the grounds that they were pursuing additional funding). I published two book reviews in *Language in Society* (2000a, 2000b), although that was after all the parts of the story told here occurred. And, of course, I read all the books in the Conduct and Communication series published either before or during my time as a graduate student, either as course assignments or just because I ran across them in the campus bookstore.

Conclusion

The intent of this chapter has been to introduce three groups of people at Penn: first, Goffman's primary peer group, the small set of faculty members with whom he worked on various projects repeatedly, all of whom were part of multiple major projects, as well as minor projects. Second, a far larger group of faculty members who have been labeled peripheral because they were either only involved in one major project, or were involved in a minor way, or were affiliated with only one or more minor projects. Third, students, with a small selection included here because they are ones I know about, often ones who overlapped with my own time at Penn, or because they have chosen to write about Goffman's influence on them. Everyone shared the common assumptions that ideas matter, that multi- and interdisciplinarity were to be taken for granted, and that disciplines be understood as social constructions having permeable rather than rigid boundaries. At least on this campus, at least in the decades relevant here, ideas were to be followed where they led, not only to the edge of a discipline. Even though Goffman did not supervise many dissertations and so did not create a traditional school of followers, he had huge influence on both faculty members and students, many of us in many ways, and could be far more generous and collegial than he appears to be in some stories told by some others. People are complex; Goffman was no exception.

Obviously, Goffman had his most significant interactions with his primary peer group: They collaborated on a series of projects that were both

major and successful, and many people on campus at the time knew about them even if they were not involved in them. In addition, because most of those projects were so successful, they influenced both faculty members and graduate students on other campuses as well. But even the lesser projects involving mostly what have been termed peripheral group members (lesser because they were not often successful, and even the successful ones had little influence beyond the campus) are significant; at the very least, they demonstrate the continuing interest in sharing information across campus and beyond departmental boundaries. And some lucky peripheral group members were included in the major projects, thus exposed to what it takes to develop something larger and more significant. In terms of students, those listed here had at least one or a few interactions with Goffman, whether with or without other members of his invisible college participating, thus being exposed to both his ideas and his willingness to take us seriously as scholars (something unfortunately not true of all faculty members, especially famous ones), whether that meant critiquing our work or sharing relevant resources. In any case, he served as a model for what we might want to develop for ourselves. The creation of the Ethnographic Research Group serves as one example of how graduate students saw their faculty members coordinating their research interests, and we did the same ourselves, although on a far smaller and less influential level. As to what Goffman got from peers and students, that is more open to conjecture. At the very least, it is clear that he was exposed to a wider variety of ideas and approaches than he would have been if he had stayed within disciplinary boundaries, as so many other scholars, before and after, have done.

Endnotes

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

² <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v14pdf/n06/031668.pdf>.

³ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n01/071577.pdf>.

⁴ Goddard to Hymes, Apr 27, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982.

⁵ According to the Staff & Faculty Directory (UPM 95.1, vol. 1967–68, UR).

⁶ When Worth was organizing the Codes in Context conference in fall 1967, he wrote to Rieff asking whether he wanted some time to check in with Goffman while he would be on campus, saying that Hymes had already written to Goffman, and he had agreed to participate (Worth to Rieff, Oct 31, 1967, SW, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19).

⁷ The official name is now *Annenberg School for Communication*, but it was the *Annenberg School of Communications* until 1990, so the word communication will be shown as either singular or plural, depending on the year and the context: I understand the singular form to be the standard name for the discipline.

⁸ Gerbner to Goddard, copied to Rieff and Worth, Dec 21, 1967, SW, Codes in Context Meeting 1967, box 8, folder 19.

⁹ It will shortly become obvious that there are in fact two scholars named Hymes who are relevant in these pages (Dell and Virginia), as well as two Labovs (William and Teresa), two Hurvichs (Leo and Dorothea), two Goodwins (Marjorie Harness and Charles), two Princes (Ellen and Gerald), and three Smiths (W. John, David, and Barbara Herrnstein). When multiple actors with the same name are relevant in the same discussion, initials will be used; but given that V. Hymes and T. Labov are peripheral actors, unless clearly identified otherwise, “Hymes” will mean D. Hymes, and “Labov” will mean W. Labov. All the Smiths and both Hurvichs are peripheral actors who become relevant at different times, so it should be clear which is intended at any point.

¹⁰ Initially, I kept a list of all the major awards, honors, and grants received by these scholars at Penn, but there simply were too many. Suffice it to say that they were each recognized many times over by organizations such as the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Council of Learned Societies, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, National Science Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities, National Institute of Mental Health, National Institute of Education, etc.

¹¹ Secondary appointments led to occasional teaching in the new department. (For example, I took one course from Hymes offered by folklore, and another from him offered by linguistics.) It also led to participation in special events, as when Hymes invited those he granted secondary appointments at GSE to give presentations.

¹² As, for example, this comment: “The recent and tragic death of Erving Goffman reduces our strength to 9 cultural anthropologists in the primary faculty” (Arjun Appadurai to unknown recipients, apparently most if not all members of the anthropology department, Nov 30, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, 1979–1986).

¹³ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n01/071577.pdf>. It’s unclear who nominated him for this, but it was granted in the same year (1977) that Labov and Leila Gleitman were also given secondary appointments in psychology.

¹⁴ “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.

¹⁵ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v25pdf/n18/012379.pdf>.

¹⁶ I attempted to locate that file cabinet in 2023 but had no success.

¹⁷ Grimshaw was a sociologist at Indiana University with a Penn PhD, who knew all the key players well, including Goffman, and who stands at the heart of chapter 6, as the organizer and leader of a major project outside Penn involving Goffman.

¹⁸ UPF 1.9AR: Office of Alumni, Alumni Record Files, Hymes, Dell, UR.

¹⁹ Goodenough to Hymes, Oct 1, 1963, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, University of Pennsylvania, 1963–2006.

²⁰ Hymes to Goodenough, DHH, Sep 27, 1963, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goodenough, Ward H., 1968–2001.

- ²¹ Wallace to Hymes, DHH, Oct 16, 1963, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, University of Pennsylvania, 1963–2006.
- ²² Hoenigswald to Hymes, Nov 27, 1963, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, University of Pennsylvania, 1963–2006.
- ²³ Wallace to Hymes, Mar 16, 1964, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Wallace, Anthony F. C., 1964–1965. The year's delay was because Hymes was on sabbatical 1963–64 and would have had to repay the cost if he did not return to teach at Berkeley in 1964–65.
- ²⁴ Hymes to Wallace, Mar 19, 1964, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Wallace, Anthony F. C., 1964–1965.
- ²⁵ Hoenigswald to Hymes, Oct 28, 1964, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, University of Pennsylvania, 1963–2006.
- ²⁶ Hymes to Hoenigswald, Nov 4, 1964, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, University of Pennsylvania, 1963–2006.
- ²⁷ Hymes to Grace Buzaljko, Sep 10, 1986, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of California-Berkeley, Dept. of Anthropology.
- ²⁸ Hymes to Worth, Jun 10, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.
- ²⁹ Hymes to Gregorian, Jul 8, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Gregorian, Vartan, 1974–1981.
- ³⁰ Hymes summarized the situation for Gregorian a few years later: “The facts are these: the department voted unanimously for tenure; the faculty review committee voted in favor by a majority. . . . the Dean of the College wrote a letter of transmittal to the Provost’s staff conference such that the latter felt it had no alternative but to deny tenure. No explanation was ever offered” (Hymes to Gregorian, Jul 8, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Gregorian, Vartan, 1974–1981).
- ³¹ “I am distressed to learn that the Department of Anthropology has not been an altogether congenial home for you. How great it would be for me, and for the Department of Sociology, if your affiliations were, in whatever way you please, with this department” (Rieff to Hymes, Sep 27, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Rieff, Philip, 1967–1972).
- ³² Hymes’s curriculum vitae, n.d., ca. 1987, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series III: Research Files, Subseries D: Other Research.
- ³³ Hymes joined the graduate group in linguistics while being primarily based in anthropology when he arrived at Penn. As he later put it, “I had always been counted in Linguistics, from when I first came to Penn. And I didn’t leave it when I found a place in Folklore and Folklife, and beyond that, the Graduate School of Education” (email to the author, Feb 20, 2005).
- ³⁴ William Owen to Hymes, Feb 13, 1973, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Sociology.
- ³⁵ Hymes’s curriculum vitae, n.d., ca. 1987, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series III: Research Files, Subseries D: Other Research, Curriculum vitae, ca. 1987.
- ³⁶ Hymes to Gregorian, Jul 8, 1974, DHH Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Gregorian, Vartan, 1974–1981.
- ³⁷ Hymes to Wallace, copied to Goffman, Apr 28, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Wallace, Anthony F. C., 1961–1971, 1980, 1986.

³⁸ This was not Hymes's first connection with education. He had called Neal Gross, dean in 1969, expressing interest in learning what was happening there with regard to either psycholinguistics or sociolinguistics. He got a lengthy response, suggesting he talk to Morton Botel, as the obvious person for conversations about linguistics within GSE faculty, was invited to attend a colloquium on psycho- and sociolinguistics, and further, was invited to present his own colloquium on sociolinguistics (Gross to Hymes, Nov 26, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Graduate School of Education, 1969–1986).

³⁹ "GSE Gets New Dean," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov 1975, UPF 1.9AR, Office of Alumni, Alumni Record Files, Hymes, Dell, UR.

⁴⁰ Hymes to Stellar, Mar 3, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Graduate School of Education, 1969–1986. (This was part of a fifteen-page letter about GSE.)

⁴¹ Hymes to Goffman, Sep 28, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goodenough, Ward H., 1958, 1960, 1970–1986. (It may be misfiled, but it is indeed in the Goodenough file.)

⁴² "Remarks on the Ethnography of Speaking," 1975, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series IV: Works by Hymes.

⁴³ At Virginia, Hymes added yet one more disciplinary affiliation to his list, given that he received a dual appointment in anthropology and English (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v33pdf/n23/021787.pdf>). This made sense because at that point he was working on establishing more faithful translations of verse from Sahaptin to English.

⁴⁴ Hymes to Fox, Nov 27, 1972, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Renée Fox, 1972–1977.

⁴⁵ Hymes to Labov, Jan 25, 1973, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series V: Language in Society, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Labov, William 1970–1973.

⁴⁶ Hymes to Gregorian, Aug 7, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Gregorian, Vartan, 1974–1981.

⁴⁷ As, for example, evidenced by his detailed comments responding to a memo from Goodenough on revisions to the anthropology program (Hymes to Goodenough, n.d. [prior to 1970], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Anthropology, 1964–1986).

⁴⁸ "I say this to folklorists and think Ken [Goldstein] and Ben-Amos somewhat agree—the way to success for folklore is for it to make itself now the place in which study of on-going performances of verbal art is developed—that is a key, relatively neglected area" (Hymes to Worth, Jun 10, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977). For further documentation of Hymes's involvement in the folklore department, see DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Folklore & Folklife.

⁴⁹ "Boas was folklorist, linguist, anthropologist, all in one, as to varying degrees were his great students, Kroeber, Sapir, Lowie, Radin" ("Only the name has been kept to protect the innocent: A new traditional saying," Feb 26, 1972, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Ben-Amos, Dan, 1973–1974).

⁵⁰ "We are reviving a unity that did once exist, and that is missing now because of fragmentation and growth in the past generation or two of academic disciplines" ("Only the name has been kept to protect the innocent: A new traditional saying," Feb 26, 1972, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Ben-Amos, Dan, 1973–1974).

⁵¹ Specifically: "a) analysis of structure and functions of traditional genres, particularly

in performance; b) identification and interpretation of the traditional as reintegrated in novel forms; c) method and theory pertaining to the above, in terms of a general (universal) understanding of the role of the traditional, esp. the verbal, in human life" ("Only the name has been kept to protect the innocent: A new traditional saying," Feb 26, 1972, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Ben-Amos, Dan, 1973–1974).

⁵² Hymes to Goffman, Aug 19, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982.

⁵³ Goffman to Hymes, Nov 24, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982. It is likely this manuscript was part or all of Goffman (1971). Or, when he said, "I've also been working on the enclosed, but it's a long way from justifying the use of paper" (Goffman to Hymes, Jan 21, 1981, same collection).

⁵⁴ Goffman to Hymes, Nov 16, 1979, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982. Apparently Hymes had offered to publish "The Lecture" in *Language in Society*, because Goffman goes on to say: "Before you decide you'd best look at other things I am working on." (That paper was not published in LiS but as part of *Forms of Talk* [Goffman 1981]).

⁵⁵ Hymes to Gerbner, Jan 11, 1967, 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.

⁵⁶ Gerbner to Hymes, Jan 16, 1967, 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.

⁵⁷ "PhD in Communication, University of Pennsylvania," December 1967, 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.

⁵⁸ Worth to Gregorian and Gerbner, Apr 9, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

⁵⁹ Hymes to Dean George 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.

⁶⁰ "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.

⁶¹ <https://americananthro.org/about/leadership/presidents/>.

⁶² <https://americanfolkloresociety.org/about/board/past-afs-presidents/>.

⁶³ <https://archives.upenn.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/commencement-program-1985.pdf>.

⁶⁴ <https://www.linguisticsociety.org/content/memoriarchiv>.

⁶⁵ Hymes to Goffman, Sep 4, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series IV: Works by Hymes, Subseries D: Other Research, "On Erving Goffman," 1979–1984.

⁶⁶ Dundes to Hymes, Oct 25, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Dundes, Alan, 1965–1975, 1977.

⁶⁷ Hymes to Springer, Nov 30, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Dundes, Alan, 1965–1975, 1977.

- ⁶⁸ Hymes to Dundes, Dec 26, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Dundes, Alan, 1965–1975, 1977.
- ⁶⁹ Dundes to Hymes, Feb 27, 1966, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Dundes, Alan, 1965–1975, 1977.
- ⁷⁰ Dundes to Hymes, Jan 23, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Dundes, Alan, 1965–1975, 1977. Scholte completed his PhD in anthropology at Berkeley in 1969, under Dundes, and was hired as assistant professor of communications for three years, effective fall 1969 (<https://archives.upenn.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/19690613fac.pdf>). Hymes had exchanged letters with him about a possible position at ASC several years earlier (Scholte to Hymes, Oct 6, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Scholte, Bob, 1963–1979; Scholte to Worth, copied to Hymes, Oct 16, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Scholte, Bob, 1963–1979). The connection between Worth and Scholte was an easy one: Worth had worked with Margaret Mead, and Scholte had studied with Gregory Bateson, and both Worth and Scholte were interested in the Balinese films Bateson and Mead had made together (1942). In fact, when Scholte was scheduled to give a presentation at ASC in spring 1968, apparently Mead was preceding him as guest lecturer, and he must have asked whether she would be able to stay for his talk, because Worth said he would ask her (Worth to Scholte, copied to Gerbner, Michael Studdert-Kennedy [a faculty member at ASC], and Hymes, Jan 31, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Scholte, Bob, 1963–1979).
- ⁷¹ Scholte to Worth, May 3, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Scholte, Bob, 1965–1995.
- ⁷² Wallace to Scholte, Jan 2, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Scholte, Bob, 1963–1979.
- ⁷³ Hymes to Philips, Mar 19, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Philips, Susan, 1967–1984.
- ⁷⁴ Documented in Hymes to Fought, Apr 7, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Fought, John, 1973, 1977–1986; Hymes to Goodenough, Oct 25, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goodenough, Ward H., 1958, 1960, 1970–1986; Hymes to Goodenough, Apr 20, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goodenough, Ward H., 1958, 1960, 1970–1986.
- ⁷⁵ Erickson to Hymes, Feb 12, 1999, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Erickson, Frederick, 1999.
- ⁷⁶ Hymes to Meyerson, Nov 17, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Meyerson, Martin, 1971, 1979.
- ⁷⁷ Hymes to Meyerson, Nov 17, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Meyerson, Martin, 1971, 1979.
- ⁷⁸ Myerson to Hymes, Dec 14, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Meyerson, Martin, 1971, 1979.
- ⁷⁹ Leach to Hymes, Feb 11, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Leach, Edmund, 1965, 1970. There is no response in the file, but there is a handwritten note in Hymes's writing saying "suggest write to Sol."
- ⁸⁰ Szwed to Hymes, Nov 10, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Szwed, John F., 1965–1981.
- ⁸¹ Szwed to Hymes, Nov 10, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Szwed, John F., 1965–1981.
- ⁸² Biographical Files, Szwed, John, box 159, folder 17, UR.

⁸³ <https://music.columbia.edu/bios/john-szwed>.

⁸⁴ <https://archives.upenn.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/commencement-program-1977.pdf>.

⁸⁵ Szwed to Hymes, Nov 10, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Szwed, John F., 1965–1981.

⁸⁶ Szwed to Hymes, Mar 13, 1966, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Szwed, John F., 1965–1981.

⁸⁷ Szwed to Hymes, Dec 17, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Center for Urban Ethnography, 1968–1971.

⁸⁸ Szwed to Hymes, Jul 24, 1972, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Center for Urban Ethnography, 1968–1971.

⁸⁹ This most likely refers to the 1972 Georgetown University Round Table (GURT) conference on sociolinguistics, which Goffman attended. His presentation was not included in the resulting book (Shuy 1973a).

⁹⁰ Hymes to Szwed, Jul 29, 1972, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Center for Urban Ethnography, 1968–1971.

⁹¹ Biographical Information: William Labov, 1973, UPF 8.5B: University Relations, News and Public Affairs Records, Biographical Files, Labov, William, box 81, folder 17, UR.

⁹² Labov to Hymes, Mar 26, 1966, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.

⁹³ Labov to Hymes, Oct 24, 1966, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.

⁹⁴ Hymes to Goffman, Jan 9, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982.

⁹⁵ Labov to Hymes, Oct 24, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.

⁹⁶ Labov to Hymes, Dec 16, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.

⁹⁷ In a May 3, 1970 letter, Hymes mentioned to Grimshaw that “Bill [Labov] and Erv Goffman were very much concerned with that [social interactional universals] during Bill’s course last spring” (DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Grimshaw, Allen, 1966–1986).

⁹⁸ Labov to Hymes, Dec 16, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.

⁹⁹ Labov to Hymes, Feb 15, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.

¹⁰⁰ Labov to Hymes, Dec 16, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.

¹⁰¹ Hymes to Worth, Jan 14, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

¹⁰² Labov to Hymes, Feb 15, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.

¹⁰³ Hymes to Labov, Feb 21, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.

- ¹⁰⁴ Hymes to Worth, Feb 21, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.
- ¹⁰⁵ Hymes to Labov, May 20, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.
- ¹⁰⁶ Hymes to Gerbner, May 23, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg School of Communication, Graduate Group in Communications, 1967–1975.
- ¹⁰⁷ Hymes to Worth, May 25, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.
- ¹⁰⁸ 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.
- ¹⁰⁹ Hymes to Worth, Jun 10, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.
- ¹¹⁰ Goffman to Hymes, Jun 23, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goffman, Erving, 1967–1982.
- ¹¹¹ Hymes to Worth, Jun 20, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.
- ¹¹² Labov to Hymes, Dec 9, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.
- ¹¹³ Hymes to Labov, Jan 21, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.
- ¹¹⁴ <https://president.upenn.edu/university-leadership/history/martin-meyerson>.
- ¹¹⁵ Hymes to Labov, Jan 21, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I, Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.
- ¹¹⁶ Hymes to Labov, Jan 21, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.
- ¹¹⁷ Labov to Hoenigswald, copied to Hymes, Goffman, Rosner, Feb 3, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.
- ¹¹⁸ Biographical Information: William Labov, 1973, UPF 8.5B: University Relations, News and Public Affairs Records, Biographical Files, Labov, William, box 81, folder 17, UR. This required agreement between Goffman, Szwed, and Hymes (Hymes to Hoenigswald, May 20, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Hoenigswald, Henry, 1967–1983).
- ¹¹⁹ Labov to Hoenigswald, Feb 3, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.
- ¹²⁰ Biographical Information: William Labov, 1973, UPF 8.5B: University Relations, News and Public Affairs Records, Biographical Files, Labov, William, box 81, folder 17, UR.
- ¹²¹ Essentially the same acknowledgment is made in *Language in the Inner City* (Labov 1972c, xxiv).
- ¹²² Hymes to Labov, Jan 6, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.
- ¹²³ Hymes to Labov, Jan 6, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.
- ¹²⁴ Hymes to Goodenough, Nov 27, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence

1951–1987, Goodenough, Ward H., 1970–1986.

¹²⁵ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n19/020778.pdf>.

¹²⁶ “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.

¹²⁷ See for example, Labov to Hymes, Aug 4, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.

¹²⁸ Labov to linguistics department, Feb 2 and Feb 23, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I, Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Linguistics, folder 2, 1977–1980.

¹²⁹ In addition to the quote in 1972b above, he’s also mentioned in 1972d (817). See also Labov and Fanshell 1977 for frequent mention of Goffman’s work.

¹³⁰ Hymes to Worth, Feb 21, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

¹³¹ Labov mentions that such a course occurred in 1973 and was planned for 1975 (“A Proposal to the University of Pennsylvania for an Institute of Language and Interaction,” 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977).

¹³² Hymes to Goffman, Sep 4, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series IV: Works by Hymes, Subseries D: Other Research, “On Erving Goffman,” 1979–1984.

¹³³ Goffman to Hymes, Jun 26, 1973, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

¹³⁴ For discussion of Goffman’s time at Toronto, see Bott-Spillius 2010; Smith 2003; Winkin 1984a, 1988a, 2022c, 2022f; Wrong 1990.

¹³⁵ Paterno (2022) provides a current re-evaluation of Birdwhistell.

¹³⁶ Birdwhistell CV, 1975, UPF 8.5B, University Relations, News and Public Affairs Records, Biographical Files, Birdwhistell, Ray, box 12, folder 25, UR.

¹³⁷ Birdwhistell to Hymes, Feb 11, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Birdwhistell, Ray, 1965, 1967, 1981.

¹³⁸ Hymes to Birdwhistell, Feb 21, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Birdwhistell, Ray, 1965, 1967, 1981.

¹³⁹ Birdwhistell to Hymes, Mar 3, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Birdwhistell, Ray, 1965, 1967, 1981.

¹⁴⁰ Scheflen to Hymes, Jun 2, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Birdwhistell, Ray, 1965, 1967, 1981. McQuown was a linguist and anthropologist based at the University of Chicago from 1946 until retirement who was closely involved with Birdwhistell in *The Natural History of an Interview* project, editing the final analyses (McQuown 1971; for discussion see Leeds-Hurwitz 1987; Leeds-Hurwitz and Kendon 2021).

¹⁴¹ Hymes to Scheflen, Jun 4, 1965, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Birdwhistell, Ray, 1965, 1967, 1981.

¹⁴² Hymes to Birdwhistell, Feb 21, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Birdwhistell, Ray, 1965, 1967, 1981. However, a few weeks later, he reported to Gumperz, “I fear we got over-enthusiastic and over-extended,” so Goffman (and several others) did not have their 1964 chapters reprinted in the 1972 volume (Hymes to Gumperz, Feb 22, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987,

Gumperz, John J., 1966–1986).

¹⁴³ Worth to Birdwhistell, Nov 14, 1967, SW, box 8, folder 19, Codes in Context Meeting 1967.

¹⁴⁴ Worth to Hymes, May 7, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

¹⁴⁵ Gerbner to Hymes, Apr 18, 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.

¹⁴⁶ Hymes to Gerbner, Apr 23, 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.

¹⁴⁷ Hymes to Gerbner, May 23, 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.

¹⁴⁸ Hymes to Worth, May 25, 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.

¹⁴⁹ Gerbner to Hymes, Jun 2, 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.

¹⁵⁰ Email from Harvey Sarles to the author, Jan 9, 2013.

¹⁵¹ Press release, Jun 23, 1970, UPF 1.9AR, Office of Alumni, Alumni Record Files, Birdwhistell, Ray, box 191, UR.

¹⁵² Goffman and Hall connected by mail in 1957, finally meeting in person in 1962. In the early 1960s they corresponded regularly, exchanged drafts and publications, and met periodically at conferences, including presenting together on a panel at AAA organized by Hymes (ETH).

¹⁵³ Cazden to John and Hymes, Nov 17, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Cazden, Courtney, 1965–1972. Hymes has added a handwritten note to the section on nonverbal communication which says “Birdwhistell?”

¹⁵⁴ Cazden to Birdwhistell, Oct 30, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Cazden, Courtney, 1965–1972.

¹⁵⁵ Birdwhistell to Cazden, Nov 11, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Cazden, Courtney, 1965–1972.

¹⁵⁶ Cazden to Birdwhistell, Mar 18, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Cazden, Courtney, 1965–1972.

¹⁵⁷ “Updated schedule of speakers,” n.d. [internal evidence reveals it was 1981], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Folklore & Folklife, folder 2, 1979–1981. After his presentation, the department hosted an “official department thank-you reception.”

¹⁵⁸ I know about this one in particular because Birdwhistell became ill and was unable to remain on the dissertation committee, and I was asked to take his place, which I did. The completed dissertation is Sidener-Young (1994).

¹⁵⁹ His collection was moved to the Penn Museum Archives when the folklore department was downgraded to a graduate group.

¹⁶⁰ Flyer, n.d. [Birdwhistell retired in 1988, so this must be dated that year], DHH, Subcol-

lection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Folklore & Folklife, folder 3, 1982–1985.

¹⁶¹ Birdwhistell to Hymes, Apr 13, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Birdwhistell, Ray, 1965, 1967, 1981.

¹⁶² Goffman to Hymes, Feb 25, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

¹⁶³ Goffman to Hymes, Mar 25, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Goffman, Erving, 1968–1982.

¹⁶⁴ All details about Worth's life come from the biographical note in <https://archives.upenn.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/upt50w933.pdf>, except the comment about working with Mead for a year on analyzing his Navajo films, which comes from Worth's essay about her (1980).

¹⁶⁵ Hymes described Worth to Labov as “my son Bobby’s girlfriend Debby’s father” (Hymes to Labov, May 20, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972). Another time, he called Worth his “machantenister (I may misspell)” (email from Hymes to the author, Feb 21, 2005). This is a reference to the Yiddish word “machitin,” a term for your child’s in-law.

¹⁶⁶ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n01/071577.pdf>.

¹⁶⁷ Worth to Hymes, n.d. [from internal evidence, written October 1965], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

¹⁶⁸ Worth to Hymes, May 7, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

¹⁶⁹ Worth to Hymes, Nov 28, 1967, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

¹⁷⁰ Worth to Goffman, Feb 5, 1969, SW, General Name Files, Ga–Go, box 2, folder 27, UR.

¹⁷¹ Worth to Goffman, Feb 5, 1969, SW, General Name Files, Ga–Go, box 2, folder 27, UR.

¹⁷² Goffman to Blau, with handwritten note on it from Worth to Goffman, Jan 10, 1974, SW, General Name Files, Ga–Go, box 2, folder 27, UR. (The word he changed is “loath” to “loathe,” but the original was in fact correct, as a separate note attached by Worth’s secretary pointed out.)

¹⁷³ Ostrach to Goffman, Jan 9, 1973, SW, General Name Files, Ga–Go, box 2, folder 27, UR.

¹⁷⁴ Goffman to Worth, Aug 31, 1973, SW, General Name Files, Ga–Go, box 2, folder 27, UR.

¹⁷⁵ Worth to Hymes, Jan 7, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

¹⁷⁶ Worth to Hymes, Jan 7, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.

¹⁷⁷ For example, Magali Sarfatti-Larson taught in sociology at Penn from 1975 to 1978, and has described several interactions with Goffman (Sarfatti-Larson 2009).

¹⁷⁸ Hymes to Scholte, Jan 27, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Scholte, Bob, 1963–1979.

¹⁷⁹ Hymes to linguistics department, May 15, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, University of Pennsylvania, Department of Linguistics, 1970–1980.

- ¹⁸⁰ Ben-Amos to all faculty members in folklore, Mar 1, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Ben-Amos, Dan, 1973–1974, 1980–1986.
- ¹⁸¹ Ben-Amos to all faculty members in folklore, Mar 1, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Ben-Amos, Dan, 1973–1974, 1980–1986.
- ¹⁸² Hymes to Worth, Feb 12, 1973, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.
- ¹⁸³ <https://americanfolkloresociety.org/about/board/past-afs-presidents/>.
- ¹⁸⁴ Goldstein to Hymes, Mar 20, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goldstein, Kenneth S., 1969–1987.
- ¹⁸⁵ Hymes to Goldstein, “Questions for examinations in Folklore and Folklife,” Feb 16, 1984, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goldstein, Kenneth S., 1969–1987.
- ¹⁸⁶ Hymes to Goldstein, Apr 17, 1984, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goldstein, Kenneth S., 1969–1987.
- ¹⁸⁷ <https://web.asc.upenn.edu/gerbner/Asset.aspx?assetID=2460>.
- ¹⁸⁸ Worth to Hymes, Jun 14, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.
- ¹⁸⁹ It was titled “Communication Between Therapist and Patient: An Analysis of Therapeutic Discourse” and presented November 6, 1972. (Press release, Oct 4, 1972, UPF 8.5B, University Relations, News and Public Affairs Records, Biographical Files, Labov, William, box 81, folder 17, UR.)
- ¹⁹⁰ Goffman and Worth are listed until the issue after each of their deaths, so vol. 33, no. 1 (1983) for the former, and vol. 28, no. 1 (1978) for the latter; Birdwhistell continues to be listed until vol. 26, no. 3 (1976), and never reappears. D. Hymes stayed on the list even after he moved to the University of Virginia, with a change of affiliation, until the new editor, Mark Levy, took over in vol. 42, no. 1 (1992). Neither Labov nor Szwed was ever listed.
- ¹⁹¹ Hymes to Worth, Jun 10, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.
- ¹⁹² W.K. Mandel, “Getting Serious About Flicks,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 1972, UPF 1.9AR, Office of Alumni, Alumni Record Files, Worth, Sol, box 3051, UR.
- ¹⁹³ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n01/071577.pdf>.
- ¹⁹⁴ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v22pdf/n11/110475.pdf>.
- ¹⁹⁵ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v23pdf/n24/030877.pdf>.
- ¹⁹⁶ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v26pdf/n09/101179.pdf>.
- ¹⁹⁷ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v26pdf/n12/110179.pdf>.
- ¹⁹⁸ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v26pdf/n19/011780.pdf>.
- ¹⁹⁹ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v26pdf/n26/030680.pdf>.
- ²⁰⁰ Hymes to Gregorian, Aug 8, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Gregorian, Vartan, 1974–1981.
- ²⁰¹ Hymes to Worth, Jun 10, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Worth, Sol, 1966–1977.
- ²⁰² Sherzer to Hymes, Sep 24, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.

- ²⁰³ Sherzer to Hymes, Sep 24, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²⁰⁴ Sherzer to Hymes, Oct 23, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²⁰⁵ Sherzer to Hymes, Oct 23, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²⁰⁶ Sherzer to Hymes, Nov 8, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²⁰⁷ Sherzer to Hymes, Dec 19, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²⁰⁸ Hymes to Sherzer, Feb 21, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²⁰⁹ Sherzer to Hymes, Feb 28, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²¹⁰ Sherzer to Hymes, Apr 29, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²¹¹ Sherzer to Hymes, May 10, 1969, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²¹² Sherzer to Hymes, Feb 14, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²¹³ Sherzer to Hymes, Oct 28, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²¹⁴ Thanks to Yves Winkin for the suggestion.
- ²¹⁵ Hymes to Sherzer, Nov 2, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²¹⁶ Sherzer to Hymes, Aug 31, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87.
- ²¹⁷ <https://folklore.indiana.edu/images/profiles/profiles-768x768/Bauman,-Richard-CV-Oct-2022.pdf>.
- ²¹⁸ Bauman to Hymes, May 27, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Bauman, Richard, 1968, 1971–1982, 1987.
- ²¹⁹ Jun 3, 1968, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Bauman, Richard, 1968, 1971–1982, 1987.
- ²²⁰ <https://openanthroresearch.org/index.php/oarr/preprint/view/40/74>.
- ²²¹ Hymes to Labov, Mar 11, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.
- ²²² Hymes to Philips, Mar 19, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Philips, Susan, 1967–1984.
- ²²³ Fox to Hymes, Mar 26, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Renée Fox, 1972–77.
- ²²⁴ Hymes to Labov, May 15, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.
- ²²⁵ Some of Goffman's students at Berkeley are discussed in Bergmann and Peräkylä (2022). Others have either been interviewed or have written up their memories for Sha-

lin's project *Bios Sociologicus: The Erving Goffman Archives* (https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/goffman_archives/).

²²⁶ To name only some of them: Winkin 1983, 1989, 1990, 1993a, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2010, 2015, 2020, 2022a, 2022b, 2022c, 2022d, 2023; Leeds-Hurwitz and Winkin 2022; Smith and Winkin 2012, 2013; Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz 2013.

²²⁷ <https://gwu.academia.edu/MarilynMerritt/CurriculumVitae>; <https://www.dignitymemorial.com/obituaries/falls-church-va/marilyn-merritt-10041421>.

²²⁸ <https://web.stanford.edu/~jbaugh/vita>.

²²⁹ <https://sites.wustl.edu/baugh/cv-contact/>.

²³⁰ Prospectus for *Social Orientations Toward Language Study*, sent by Sherzer to Hymes, n.d., ca. 1981, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sherzer, Joel, 1968–87. Relevant others included at that point were Gumperz, Labov, Ervin-Tripp, Schegloff, Sacks, Irvine, Hymes, Basso, Sankoff, Heath, Merritt, and Bauman. Hymes wrote a note saying “in his new book” next to the entry for Goffman.

²³¹ Hymes to Sherzer, Sep 15, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Subseries A: Early correspondence, Sherzer, Joel, 1972–74, 1980.

²³² “Bill Labov and Gillian Sankoff have an extensive, noncirculating collection of books, journals, dissertations, and photocopied papers available in the Linguistics Lab” (<https://www.ling.upenn.edu/advice/libuse.html>).

²³³ Birdwhistell maintained his affiliation with EPPI for some years after moving from Temple to Penn.

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