Mapping Goffman's Invisible College

Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

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by Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Erving Goffman (1922–1982), trained as a sociologist, was an important theorist of social interaction. My focus in this book, however, will not be on his ideas; those have already been the subject of a significant number of works,[1] and so I will take for granted that most readers are at least generally familiar with his ideas. Instead, this book will be about the *context* of his ideas: the groups where an overlapping set of ideas were discussed, the projects where they were worked out, and what turns out to be necessary to encourage the development of new ideas. My focus will be on multi- and interdisciplinary groups because Goffman spent far more time with those in other disciplines than his own original home of sociology. Ideas do not respect disciplinary boundaries, so those looking to create new ideas often ignore them as well. Since Goffman was part of a surprising number of projects with colleagues from multiple disciplines during his years at the University of Pennsylvania (1968–1982), and since very few of these have been examined to date, my focus will be on that time and that place. Thus, half of the chapters in this book will describe people and projects across his years at the University of Pennsylvania (always called Penn by those affiliated with it),[2] and the other half will describe an overlapping set of people and projects based elsewhere. Dell Hymes has pointed out that "the relevant past of our field is not a known terrain to which one can be given a packaged tour. Each scholar is a personal vantage point, and so the terrain must be explored afresh by each, who must make his or her own map, find his or her own way, inheritance and epiphanies" (1983a, xix). In keeping with this perspective, these pages document the map I have constructed for Goffman

and his network of colleagues, on the assumption that it may serve as a useful starting point for others.

In his early work on theory groups, Mullins describes the significance of a *cluster*: "Clusters of students and colleagues form around the key figures in a group in one or a few institutions" and "A cluster generally includes three or more professionals (i.e., possessors of the PhD degree), who reinforce one another's interests, and several graduate students" (1973, 22–23). In his work building upon and expanding Mullins, Murray argues that "over the course of their careers, most scientists are never involved in groups advancing new theoretical perspectives" (1994, 486). So, it is noteworthy that Goffman was involved in not one, not a few, but almost a dozen projects intended to advance and/or share new theoretical perspectives just at Penn, and still more elsewhere. As such, Goffman serves as a good entry for studying the institutional context within which ideas are nurtured.

In the forty years since his death, Goffman frequently has been depicted as a "loner." To provide just a few examples, Smith says: "Goffman was a loner whose academic career consisted of a series of solo performances" (2022a, 128); Winkin says: "Goffman was a lone wolf who never built a research team" (2022a, 401); Jacobsen says: "Erving Goffman's role was that of a loner—he knew it, he pursued it and he embraced it" (2017, 225). Others agree.[3] However, the fact that he never built a research team does not mean he never participated in joint activities with colleagues, as will be demonstrated. Equally, the fact that "Goffman remained by choice an outsider to the sociology department at Penn" (Delaney 2014, 88) does not mean he was an outsider to other departments. In much the same way that Winkin (2022b) has examined the assumption that he rarely traveled and proved that to be incorrect, the myth of Goffman as loner must be subject to investigation. At least some of the explanation for this reputation is likely an artifact of researchers not having access to his papers, so his extensive correspondence with friends and colleagues has remained unread. Goffman is famous for having asked that his correspondence and other files not be made accessible, on the grounds that his work should stand on its own. This was his opinion consistently, not just at the end of his life. For example, when Irving Louis Horowitz (a sociologist at Rutgers University, and long-time friend)[4] wrote to say he had a student who wanted to write Goffman's biography, the response from Goffman was: "I feel that approaches are worth writing about but not people . . . biography strikes me as a way of reifying something that isn't worth that kind of candle. It is one thing to exploit one's social niche

for all the material rewards one can draw from it. Biography strikes me by way of trying to make a virtue of that kind of opportunism, affecting piety where self-respect should dictate chagrin" (Jul 12, 1976, HTP). Clearly, other scholars have not held the same assumptions about biography, because, over the past few decades, multiple colleagues and friends have donated their papers, including considerable correspondence, to various archives. These now make it possible to recreate at least a reasonable depiction of Goffman's connections and to show him to have been far from a loner in fact, or, perhaps more carefully stated, both a loner and a colleague, just at different times and for different purposes. I agree with Murray that "more than in their publications, the 'natives' of those researching the history of social science speak for themselves in their correspondence" (1994, 499), and so have spent time reading through letters and other documentation preserved in various archives as related to Goffman's connections, most of these with a small number of particularly significant colleagues. Pooley and Park argue that "there is a great deal of untapped archival material, and as-yet unconducted oral history work, that should better inform histories of communication research" (2008, 6). I have now done some of that work for this topic, and the results are reported in the following pages. At one point I estimated that I had collected approximately two thousand letters and other unpublished documents. Clearly, these could have been supplemented by more interviews, but others have already gone that route. It has seemed more useful to take a different path and emphasize what was not yet widely known. As my focus is not Goffman's biography but the associations between scholars and their ideas that often lead to enhanced results, hopefully he would have approved. I am not looking to illuminate his personality, or major events in his life in these pages, but rather to explore at least some of the research-related collaborative efforts in which he participated. There is a distinction between biography (a genre which focuses on the events in an individual's life) and intellectual biography (a genre which focuses on an individual's work, and the context in which it was carried out). Emphasis on such topics as the institutions with which a scholar was affiliated, and the interactions with other people sharing overlapping interests, play an important role in an intellectual biography, even if they would be minor points in a more traditional, event-centered, individual biography. This book, then, is a contribution to Goffman's intellectual biography.

One important lesson made clear here is that most scholars are far more productive when they work with others rather than alone, sharing ideas

prior to publication rather than only after, pushing one another to achieve new insights. "People develop ideas . . . so it is impossible to study ideas without also considering the people who invent them and elaborate upon them" (Leeds-Hurwitz 2021, 2). This is where the notion of an *invisible college* becomes relevant. An invisible college refers to connections between scholars whose ties are not evident to outsiders. The likely earliest use of the term referred to members of the Royal Society of London in the 1700s, who were close geographically, and shared scientific interests, but not an institutional affiliation (Lingwood 1969). De Sola Price (1963) expanded this to describe long-distance affiliations, and this version, as popularized by Crane (1972), is the one most often assumed by disciplinary historians today. An obvious example involves graduate students at one university who then move to new locations upon completing their degrees and taking academic positions in different locations, so that someone who does not know of their time as students together may be confused by their association—this is why it appears invisible. Lievrouw recommends a distance-neutral definition, "a set of informal communication relations among scientists or other scholars who share a specific common interest or goal," which will serve well here (1989, 622). The key element is thus multiple people who share interests without those commonalities being immediately evident to others. One way in which such connections become obvious is in citations, and so investigating who has been cited in various publications helps to make what is otherwise invisible visible. As Murray pointed out, "Patterns of acknowledgment and citation provide unobtrusive measures of connection, although only acknowledgments evidence social connection" (1998, 264). And so, some attention has been paid to who mentions who else in both acknowledgments and references, as well as the more obvious discussion of as yet unpublished drafts in correspondence.

Yet another element needs to be highlighted: the impact of collaboration on the creation of ideas. In her analysis of invisible colleges, Crane points out Coser's (1965) insight that "despite popular myth to the contrary, most intellectuals cannot produce their work in solitude but need the give and take of debate and discussion with their peers in order to develop their ideas. Not all intellectuals are gregarious, but most of them need to test their own ideas in exchange with those they deem their equals" (1972, 3–4). This is valuable for bringing ideas into the discussion and fits well both with what I experienced at Penn, and with what I have learned from reading correspondence and other documents housed in multiple archives. When scholars

share interests but not disciplinary or departmental structures in common, new ideas frequently develop since diverse approaches to the same topic can be particularly fruitful. Joshua Fishman, well-known sociolinguist familiar with many of the scholars described in these pages, supports this, saying: "I did know that I did not want to continue to be without a community of like-minded scholars" (1997, 88). The question thus becomes: *Who did Goffman deem his own "community of like-minded scholars"?* This book provides multiple answers to that question.

By naming Goffman's connections (not only at Penn, but also at a few other universities) an invisible college, I intend to turn the concept on its side from how it has been most often used recently: He had multiple strong associations to scholars at the same university (instead of across campuses), but they were based in different disciplines and departments than his own, and thus they have often been overlooked. To those who assume affiliations within a discipline as the norm, those made across disciplinary boundaries are unexpected, unlooked for, thus invisible and ignored. Delaney says that: "[Philip] Rieff's campaign to bring Goffman to Penn, reaffirmed by Rieff himself, was met by adamant objections by several colleagues of senior rank in the sociology department" (2014, 89). But this does not mean others at Penn did not want him, or did not work hard to convince him to accept a position, as will be described in detail. The fact that Goffman spent little time with peers in sociology for most of his years at Penn (something Renée Fox changed, once she became chair of sociology), should not be taken to suggest that he did not spend time with colleagues in other departments. In fact, as will be demonstrated, he was involved in multiple specific, concrete projects with overlapping sets of scholars.

Of course it was not only Penn that matters here, and not only Goffman. There was a strong network of scholars, through the 1960s and 1970s, mostly based at the University of California, Berkeley and the University of Pennsylvania, but also Indiana University, and eventually the University of Texas, Austin (especially for the next generation), who kept in frequent touch, and who connected through a variety of conferences, research projects, and publications. The Social Science Research Council's Committee on Sociolinguistics, based in New York, was an important player due to helping to fund some of these activities, bringing together many of the relevant actors. Although Goffman never served on that Committee, he was part of not one but multiple projects they funded and facilitated.

A related point is that knowledge is not limited by disciplinary boundaries and that, in fact, it is often most productive to work with others sharing an interest in overlapping concepts, problems, or topics, but who approach these from divergent starting points. Of course, when group members do not share sufficient basic assumptions, definitions, or expectations in common, confusions can arise, but that does not mean it is not a worthy effort, or that there will be no useful results. Given that innovation often happens at the intersections of disciplines, rather than within the boundaries of only one, multi- and interdisciplinary collaborations frequently offer a particularly successful method of developing new perspectives, approaches, methods, etc.

The term "interdisciplinary" was only infrequently the focus of attention until the 1970s, but the basic idea was discussed much earlier. As Miller has explained:

> As early as the 1920s, the US Social Science Research Council (SSRC) recognized that, in only several decades after its invention, the departmental/disciplinary structure of the university was becoming an obstacle to effectively addressing comprehensive social problems. Especially in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, the Rockefeller Foundation and then the Ford Foundation worked with the SSRC to fund interdisciplinary research and teaching in US higher education. (2010, 3900–1)

The essential idea for now is that the concept of interdisciplinary research existed and influenced Goffman, initially as a student, and certainly later as a faculty member. Klein tells us that "interdisciplinarity is a means of solving problems and answering questions that cannot be satisfactorily addressed using single methods or approaches" (1990, 196), and this is exactly what happened—mostly at Penn, but also at Berkeley, Indiana, and Texas, as will be portrayed in detail.

Interdisciplinarity is actually one of a set of multiple related terms. The concept of discipline comes first, obviously. As Eadie suggests, disciplines "are communities of inquiry organized around a particular topic" (2022, 4), and so the beginning point is recognizing that the communities of inquiry making up disciplines are socially constructed by scholars for their own use; that is, "academic disciplines are made, not found" (Leeds-Hurwitz 2012; see also Galanes and Leeds-Hurwitz 2009; Leeds-Hurwitz 2009). As a result, disciplinary boundaries are flexible, changing over time. Therefore, it would be unrealistic to assume that scholars will always respect disciplinary boundaries when conducting research; a new topic of interest often either crosses existing borders or flourishes in the spaces between them. In fact,

"Goffman studies" itself has become a good example of at least multidisciplinary, if not interdisciplinary, collaboration.

Now, to briefly sort out the several types of disciplinarity. *Multidisciplinary* (also sometimes named *cross-disciplinary*) research is the appropriate term for describing what happens when scholars who have been trained in, and thus self-identify as, members of separate disciplines collaborate, in order to bring their varying assumptions, theories, and/or methods to bear on a common topic. Typically, what such researchers learn is then brought back to their home disciplines. It is rare that new theories or methods are developed through multidisciplinary work, which more often means employing a series of different lenses to jointly examine a common phenomenon, just in a broader fashion. *Interdisciplinary* research typically describes a new topic being studied or created which previously had been overlooked as a worthwhile topic. Or it may be when an old topic is investigated in a significantly new and different way, applying a new method or theory. An example especially relevant to this book would be the ethnography of speaking, invented by Dell Hymes (1962), when he realized that anthropologists were using ethnography to study interaction, leaving speech to the linguists, while linguists were examining linguistic structure, and ignoring actual use of language, and so no one was analyzing real people holding conversations.[5] The key to interdisciplinarity is the element of *synthesis*, something usually missing from multidisciplinary work (Klein 1990). Given these definitions, what I am describing in these pages best meets the definition of multidisciplinarity some of the time, and interdisciplinarity most of the time; I will try to be deliberate about using these terms. *Transdisciplinary* research either involves an applied focus, or participation of a larger public interested in a topic, or both (Leeds-Hurwitz, forthcoming). An example would be when Hymes as dean of the Graduate School of Education established a program permitting K–12 principals to earn doctorates based on research conducted at their own schools. Projects in which Goffman became involved were most often either multi- or interdisciplinary, not transdisciplinary, but also not based solely within sociology. Camic (1995) is one of the few scholars to have already argued in favor of more often attending to interdisciplinary interactions when writing disciplinary history, a position that makes great sense to me. He also argues for attending to "local, interdisciplinary conditions" (1027), and by "local" he means specific universities. That is precisely what I will be doing for the majority of case studies described in these pages.

Writing Institutional History

Jansen tells us that "history matters" (2008, 98). I agree, which is why I have often written accounts of disciplinary history (or, more often, multi- or interdisciplinary history). Among the questions that have always interested me are why we study what we study, and why we study it in the ways we do; historical research supplies many of the answers. But there are multiple kinds of history, so it is worth explaining my emphasis here. Taylor (1972) and Murray (1991) both draw a distinction between being a historian of *ideas* and being a historian of *institutions*. In these pages, I clearly fall into the latter category, as my focus will be on the people and organizations supporting the ideas. Pooley and Park stress the need for "openness to institutional histories" (2008, 7), referring to what we might call the "activities of daily living" (to borrow a phrase from another context entirely, health care) that make up so much of an academic's time within a university. Institutions are the framework within which ideas are proposed and developed and, as such, merit investigation. I will be combining institutional history with interdisciplinary history.

Moore (1982) draws another useful distinction, that between *insider* and *outsider* histories. In this case, I am an insider, although standing at the far periphery of the action. My primary focus will be on Goffman's informal network at Penn, where I was a graduate student in residence from 1975 to 1979, thus during his time there (1968–1982). I came to know many of the scholars described in these pages as my professors and supervisors. I never took a course from Goffman: He offered only one course per year, which I did not manage to fit into my schedule. However, that did not mean I had no interactions with him. (Details are in chapter 3, along with the stories of other students.)

As a result of these connections, I am probably a good person to document what was happening around Goffman at Penn during his years there; I know something about the "intellectual furniture" as Smith (2022b, 90) has so gracefully referred to the given set of assumptions, ideas, and people active in a particular university at a particular moment in time. As "history is made of stories about people" (Nimura 2016), in these pages I will describe contexts I know from personal experience, substantially supplemented by what I have been able to learn from archival or published documents, and from correspondence and interviews with others who were in the right place at the right time. This book uses far more details documented by archival

sources than any other; because there were so many, and they have so rarely been described, it seemed necessary to begin with them.[6] By the time I had written up what I had learned, I already had a lengthy book, so there simply was no room left to include interviews with everyone concerned. (Given that so many others have emphasized interviews, and ignored archival sources, the gap does not seem overly concerning.) The information contained in these pages is not only important for our understanding of Goffman as a scholar but should help us to understand more about the conditions under which intellectual creativity thrives, and how institutions can develop and support that creativity. After all, regardless of someone's areas of interest, knowing how to provide the context in which new ideas are most likely to thrive should always be of interest.

Organization of the Book

In keeping with the metaphor of mapping, this book is organized geographically, by the locations (mostly universities) where Goffman held affiliations. The initial answer to the question of "how did Goffman develop his own invisible college, becoming such a good colleague in interdisciplinary contexts?" is to be found by examining his experiences as a graduate student at the University of Chicago, where he studied with W. Lloyd Warner, Everett C. Hughes, Herbert Blumer, Anselm L. Strauss, and Louis Wirth. Chapter 2 thus begins with a brief review of his time there. Given that Chicago has always taken interdisciplinarity as a goal quite seriously, it becomes important in these pages as the place where Goffman was introduced to that idea. Then there is a summary of Goffman's time at the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), focusing on relationships he built with psychologists and psychiatrists, as well as resulting conferences and publications, a stage at which multidisciplinarity became more relevant. The story gathers speed at the University of California, Berkeley, where Goffman was first part of a solid interdisciplinary group as a faculty member. There the informal Saturday group established by linguist John Gumperz became most significant, and so, while the story starts at Chicago, Berkeley becomes the focus of attention in chapter 2. At the same time, while at Berkeley, Goffman worked with David Schneider in anthropology, and they made an attempt to conduct research across three departments; he was affiliated with the Center for the Integration of Social Science Theory while writing up his NIMH research, supported by a grant; he was part of an informal group with Aaron Cicourel

based at the Center for the Study of Law and Society; he connected with Bateson and the Palo Alto group; and, finally, he helped to organize an interdisciplinary conference on "Strategic Interaction and Conflict," so those activities will also be summarized. His time at the Center for International Affairs of Harvard University merits only brief mention, for fewer activities and connections show up in available documentation for his time there (at least that have been uncovered at present).

The majority of the book will emphasize Goffman's years at Penn, where he was an active participant in not one but numerous multi- and interdisciplinary efforts, some with great success (mostly the interdisciplinary projects), although others saw either minimal success or were stillborn (mostly the multidisciplinary ones). Discussion of Penn has been divided into three chapters. Chapter 3 introduces the people at Penn: his closest connections (Dell Hymes,[7] William Labov, John Szwed, Ray Birdwhistell, and Sol Worth) in greatest detail, then the more peripheral group members more briefly. The goal is not to stop after introducing the initial narrow cast of characters, but rather to demonstrate the range of people who were part of his extended network at Penn. The faculty members described are only those whose who participated in one or more of the projects discussed in chapters 4 and 5; even so, introductions must be provided for an astonishing sixty-one colleagues, based in seventeen different departments across campus. It would have been far easier (and shorter) to stop with the core group of five. However, introducing everyone involved even in only one minor project allows far more variety: Instead of focusing on five White American men of approximately the same age, including this larger network means introducing women, as well as members of various minority groups, as well as an unexpected number of people born outside the US (as Goffman himself was). To make this more readable, a summary table is included in the chapter, with details relegated to the appendix, where they are available to anyone who wants to take the time to read them.

The last section of chapter 3 introduces two dozen students. As is well known, Goffman did not often take the role of dissertation advisor, but he did serve on dissertation committees, and obviously worked with even more students, mostly at the graduate level, but occasionally undergraduates. Students were only rarely part of the projects delineated in these pages, whether major or minor; they are important simply to demonstrate Goffman's interactions with and influence on the next academic generation. As

with faculty peers, his connections with students routinely crossed over disciplinary borders.

Chapter 4 reviews the major projects at Penn: a small conference which Goffman helped to organize despite not yet being based on the east coast, Codes in Context; then four significant accomplishments: a large grant leading to the creation of a research center (the Center for Urban Ethnography, for which Goffman served as associate director); a book series, Conduct and Communication, for which Goffman was primary organizer and co-editor; and two journals, *Language in Society,* with Goffman a particularly active member of the editorial board, and *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication,* where he first published *Gender Advertisements* (1976a, 1979a). For obvious reasons, the story of the successful projects makes up the bulk of the telling, not only because there is considerable documentation available for them, but also because they had the most impact, both at Penn and far beyond, both immediately and decades later. These were all primarily interdisciplinary; that is, they developed new approaches or topics rather than just reflecting different disciplinary assumptions about the same thing.

Chapter 5 describes the efforts to create a series of typically small and unsuccessful collaborative efforts across departments at Penn: the Semiotic Program, the Language and Interaction Institute, the Cross-Cultural Communication Center, the Interdisciplinary Program in the Science of Symbolic Behavior, the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior, and the Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society. In addition, several minor activities in which Goffman participated due to his role as a Benjamin Franklin Professor will be described, including some relating to both campus and national politics, a library exhibit, and regular group meetings/dinners. Taken together these demonstrate that Goffman was part of an extensive network of colleagues at Penn, even though many of the organizational efforts were less successful, or just had less impact, than the major projects. And, despite the names, they were primarily multidisciplinary as they were more about sharing existing approaches than developing new ones. Despite these characteristics, they are still important: Sometimes we (both participants and historians) learn even more from unsuccessful ventures than from successful ones.

While at Penn, Goffman also pursued one major and several minor projects organized by people outside that university. The most substantial involved faculty based at Indiana University, and these serve as the focus of chapter 6, but several more were based at the University of Texas, Austin. Chapter 6 is

titled "Penn Adjacent" because the projects involved others at Penn as well as Goffman, but were not led by Penn faculty, nor primarily managed by anyone there. These include an international conference Goffman co-organized on interaction ethology, held in Amsterdam in 1968, and the Multiple Analysis Project (MAP), designed in 1973, completed only in 1994. Given that the raison d'être of MAP was the development of sociolinguistics, even though it was not based at Penn, it is still important, for sociolinguistics was a frequent element in the collaborations at Penn (as at Berkeley, Indiana, and Texas). This project had much in common with the activities discussed in chapter 4, but was a failure in several ways, while those projects were all successful, so it should be instructive to look for the similarities and differences, using it as a negative case study. We do not spend enough time considering failures, but there is much we can learn from them, so as to avoid making the same mistakes repeatedly. The activities begun at Texas were smaller—conferences and a working papers series—but again, they demonstrate Goffman's involvement in additional projects, and especially the assumption by others that he would be an obvious participant. These can be considered either an expansion of Goffman's invisible college at Penn, or perhaps as additional, smaller, overlapping invisible colleges.

Chapter 7, titled "Beyond Penn," examines two activities having little to do with that campus except for Goffman's involvement in them. The first is yet another conference Goffman helped to organize, this one held in New York in 1969, Nonverbal Dimensions of Social Interaction. The second is the Committee for the Study of Incarceration, established in 1971, for which he was one of a group with various areas of expertise brought together in response to the uprising at Attica prison. There were many additional conferences in which Goffman participated—and these have been previously documented by others (especially Winkin 2022a, 2022e)—but there were only a few which he helped to organize; these are of greatest concern here since it can be assumed that any event which he took time to co-organize should point us to a topic he considered valuable, as well as involving people he respected, and with whom he wished to spend time. There has been virtually no discussion of his role in the Committee for the Study of Incarceration, so again, it seemed worth the time to sort out what can be learned at this point. The committee completes the circle, building as it did on Goffman's time at NIMH and the resulting work he published in the late 1950s/early 1960s. NIMH provided an interdisciplinary context, but the committee was better described as multidisciplinary. Again, as with chapter 6, people introduced

in this chapter can either be considered additions to Goffman's invisible college or as members of additional, smaller invisible colleges.

Finally, chapter 8 provides the conclusion, summarizing what has been presented to that point, not only about Goffman, but also about multi- and interdisciplinarity, invisible colleges, and historical research more generally. An attempt will be made to draw together all the separate threads to suggest what lessons can be learned from these examples. The intent is not only to illuminate Goffman's role as multi- and interdisciplinary colleague—to make his invisible college visible and thus reveal more about him as a scholar—but also to make suggestions about what all of us can and should (or should not) do in order to coordinate our work with that of scholars across disciplinary borders, and finally, to provide a few general suggestions for what this research reveals about how new ideas can best be encouraged and supported. As explained earlier, the focus on this book will not be on Goffman's life or ideas but on the context of his life and ideas: how those ideas were generated, who he was talking with, and what projects he worked on. Conclusions here thus should have significance not only for those who study communication (the topic about which he most often wrote), or sociology (the discipline within which he was trained) but for scholars in any discipline. Ideas serve as the basic currency of academic life, and we all should want to know more about how to generate ideas, how to improve them, and how to share them effectively through collaborating with disciplinary others.

Endnotes

[1] A list of just some of the books would include: Burns 1992; Cefaï and Perreau 2012; Ditton 1980; Drew and Wootton 1988; Fine and Smith 2000; Jacobsen 2010, 2023; Jacobsen and Kristiansen 2015; Jacobsen and Smith 2022; Jaworski 2023; Joseph et al. 1989; Lenz and Hettlage 2022; Manning 1992; Martins and Gastaldo 2024; Maseda 2017; Mondada and Peräkylä 2024; Raab 2019; Riggins 1990; Scheff 2006; Shalin 2025; Smith 1999, 2006; Treviño 2003; Winkin 1988a, 2022a; Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz 2013.

[2] I do know that current students tend to call it "UPenn," but that was not yet the term of choice during Goffman's tenure there, nor my own.

[3] Comparable comments are to be found in Elkind 1975 and Raab 2019.

[4] "Erving and I had close communication for the past 15 years—dating from a brief period when I was at the University of California. Although our work was in markedly different areas, utilizing different methodological techniques, our sense of mutual respect remained very high." Horowitz to Hymes, Nov 22, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series IV: Works by Hymes, Subseries D: Other Research, "On Erving Goffman," 1979–1984.

[5] Hymes changed the name of the topic to the ethnography of communication by 1964 (see Leeds-Hurwitz 1984 for a detailed analysis of the relationship of the two names).

[6] Also, of course, there is that wonderful comment by Goffman about the unreliability of interviews: "I find I cannot use the interview technique much. I do not believe people very much anyway, but in an interview I hardly believe them at all" (1957b, 181).

[7] While I certainly know that there has been a move to forego discussion of Dell Hymes due to inappropriate interactions with some students and colleagues, omitting him from discussion would be false history. I did not set out to highlight his role, but neither can I pretend he was not one of the central actors in much of the story told here. For another consideration of the relationship between Hymes and Goffman, see Meier zu Verl 2022.

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