

Mapping Goffman's Invisible College

Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

The mediastudies.press *Goffman in the Open* series

Mapping Goffman's Invisible College

by Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz

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Published by:

mediastudies.press

414 W. Broad St.

Bethlehem, PA 18018, USA

Copy-editing: Emily Alexander

Cover design: Yan Qiu/Natascha Chtena

Landing page: mediastudies.press/mapping-goffman

Goffman in the Open series

isbn 978-1-951399-38-2 (*print*) | isbn 978-1-951399-34-4 (*pdf*)

isbn 978-1-951399-37-5 (*epub*) | isbn 978-1-951399-35-1 (*html*)

doi 10.64629/3f8575cb.dwb73w6d | lccn 2025939788

Edition 1 published in August 2025

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CHAPTER FIVE

Minor Projects at Penn

The projects in the last chapter are those many of us knew about at the time; they were mostly large, successful, and most either were publications or resulted in publications, so they influenced others, both at Penn and beyond. Even the smallest, the Codes in Context conference, was successful, in that it was organized, held, and as demonstrated, at least some participants used the phrase later. (Students who were at Penn in the 1970s remember hearing the phrase, and one of the core topics in the doctoral program at Annenberg at the time was named “Communication Codes and Modes.”¹⁾ However, in addition to these, there were multiple less significant and/or unsuccessful collaborations at Penn involving Goffman. Mostly these efforts were intended to coordinate activities across departments at Penn; their story forms the majority of this chapter.

These activities are justifiably called minor primarily because they either had fewer substantial results (especially in terms of funding and/or publication, thus influence both across and beyond Penn) or because they were attempted but failed, yet all of them are part of the larger story to be told of Goffman’s invisible college at Penn. There are also significant differences between the two types of projects in terms of timing, involvement, and commitment. In terms of timing, most of the major projects were begun in the late 1960s and early 1970s, while most of these minor projects were begun in the late 1970s. In terms of involvement, nearly everyone in the primary peer group was involved in all the major projects in some capacity, but only some were involved in the minor projects. In terms of commitment, all the

major projects were managed by primary peer group members, and each of them except Birdwhistell took charge of at least one. But it is a different story with the minor projects: While Hymes and Labov each took charge of two, none of the others oversaw any of them. Thus, these projects can appropriately be characterized as minor in all these ways, as well as for not being either as ambitious or as successful. In addition, they were typically multidisciplinary rather than interdisciplinary; that is, they involved bringing together people from different disciplines, but did not develop new theories, approaches, methods, or ideas that would not have fit within any of the participating disciplines.

Although the names changed for several of them (typically as they were being developed, but in a few cases, even after they were formally established), the names used most often were these: the Semiotic Program (SP), the Language and Interaction Institute (LII), the Cross-Cultural Communication Center (CCCC), the Interdisciplinary Program in the Science of Symbolic Behavior (SSB), the Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior (ASB), and the Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society (LCS). Given that these names are so long, abbreviations will be used in the table below.

In addition to these specific projects, Goffman was a Benjamin Franklin Professor, and there were a few activities organized by or on behalf of the group of Benjamin Franklin Professors. These were by nature multidisciplinary, since such professors were scattered across departments at Penn, and so several activities specifically involving Goffman are included. There were other such efforts, presumably, but the documentation located thus far is limited. Even so, what has been learned establishes yet another context in which Goffman collaborated with peers at Penn. The Benjamin Franklin Professors were a small, elite group, having between six and twenty members in any given year, so it is not terribly surprising that there were only three overlaps between that list and those in either the lists of primary or peripheral group members. (Those three were Philip Rieff in sociology, Leo Steinberg in history of art, and Leonard Meyer in music, all of whom are described in the appendix.)

Multidisciplinary Coordination Efforts

Together the six endeavors below establish that Goffman was a valued and integral part of a network at Penn extending far beyond the primary peer

Table 5.1: Goffman's Penn Colleagues by Minor Project

<i>SP</i>	<i>LII</i>	<i>CCCC</i>	<i>SSB</i>	<i>ASB</i>	<i>LCS</i>
D. Hymes	Labov	Labov	Goodenough	B.H. Smith	Goodenough
Ben-Amos	Botel	Gelman	Birdwhistell	Ben-Amos	D. Hymes
Fought	Fought	Fought	Fought	Gross	Birdwhistell
Goffman	Gelman	Gleitman	Gleitman	Meyer	Feld
Goldstein	Gleitman	Goffman	Goffman	G. Prince	Fought
Labov	Goffman	Goodenough	D. Hymes	Appadurai	Glassie
Sapir	Goodenough	D. Hymes	Labov	Baker	Goffman
Szwed	D. Hymes	Joshi	W.J. Smith	Botel	Heath
Worth	Joshi	Osherson		Davenport	V. Hymes
	Osherson	Premack		Evin	Kroch
	Premack	E. Prince		Fought	Labov
	Rosner	W.J. Smith		Frappier-Mazur	Long
	W.J. Smith	Szwed		Gaeffke	Sankoff
	Szwed			Glassie	Schieffelin
				Goffman	D. Smith
				Goodenough	Szwed
				Hanaway	Wolfson
				Hiz	
				D. Hurvich	
				L. Hurvich	
				D. Hymes	
				Joshi	
				Kirshenblatt-Gimblett	
				Messaris	
				Meyer	
				Morson	
				Premack	
				E. Prince	
				Radway	
				Richman	
				Rosner	
				Ruch	
				Steinberg	

Table 5.1: Goffman’s Penn Colleagues by Minor Project (cont’d)

SP	LII	CCCC	SSB	ASB	LCS
				Steiner	
				Sutton-Smith	
				Szwed	
				Vogel	
				Winter	

group responsible for the more significant and successful projects. That means he was part of a large number of informal conversations, letters, meetings, and meals, not to mention the occasional conference or other event, with overlapping groups of colleagues across numerous departments and schools at Penn. In the table below, leaders of each group are shown first, and in bold; everyone else is listed alphabetically so it becomes possible to quickly see who was involved in which. Goffman was involved in all of them, since that is how they were chosen for inclusion here. And his small circle of primary peers was involved in most of them: Hymes led two and was part of all the others;² Labov led two and was involved in three others; Szwed was part of five; Birdwhistell was part of two; and Worth was only part of one. (The fact that Worth died in 1977 is likely a reason for his limited involvement.)

Why Was Multidisciplinary Coordination Needed?

The first question to be addressed for this set of projects is why the coordination efforts they represented were even necessary. The short answer is that overlaps between members of each group occasionally conflicted or were not adequately accounted for. A single example will make the problem abundantly clear. Labov wrote to Hymes in 1976: “We (I) slipped up badly on one point. Nobody told John Szwed about Gillian’s course on Pidgins and Creoles. So instead of teaching his course on Creole literature in the spring, when it would have had a big enrollment, he held it this fall and had to cancel it with only 3 students. This was bad coordination and we have to do better.”³ Hymes responded: “I’m very sorry to hear about the situation affecting John’s course. It is indeed hard to keep everyone informed of everything. Maybe we could benefit from a conscious decision to get together once a semester to share teaching plans, etc.”⁴ Several attempts, mostly unsuccessful, to address this issue of coordination across depart-

ments and colleges were made by overlapping sets of people. Each of these will be briefly outlined below.

Semiotic Program (SP)

As early as 1969, when Hymes was a member of the folklore graduate group but not yet based full-time in the folklore department, he argued that the department needed to expand in ways that would better tie it to other programs on campus. One specific direction he saw as obvious was a move into semiotics. His position was that “the present program of the department is not at all ‘folklore’ in the sense given the term by so many. It emphasizes communication, performance, structure, style, interdisciplinary relations; the fundamental premise is that folklore is an aspect of social science. It is distinguished within social science by its specific substantive concerns, not by its general goals.”⁵ Later in the same letter, he proposed a new name: “Terms such as ‘semiotics,’ ‘symbolic forms’ suggest themselves.”

In 1971, Hymes reported to Sebeok: “Today Ken Goldstein, Dan Ben-Amos, and John Szwed and I spoke with our graduate dean to explore the possibility of a graduate group that might call itself ‘semiotics.’ Sol Worth and Erving Goffman might join in with us.” He went on to explain that if the anthropology department would not fight to keep Sapir, he would work with linguistics instead of anthropology, and “try to get the interdisciplinary semiotics program going.”⁶ A few weeks later, Hymes wrote to Goldstein with more detailed ideas.

Here are some thoughts on the prospective “semiotic” program, a general observation or two, and a suggestion of the form that the actual graduate course of study might take. . . . we are trying to reconstruct the unity between folklore, linguistics and cultural anthropology that obtained when these disciplines flourished a half-century or more ago, and made some of their greatest contributions, had some of their greatest figures . . . [Franz] Boas, [Alfred] Kroeber, [Edward] Sapir, [Robert] Lowie, etc. . . .

Our possibly “historic” opportunity is to reconstruct such a unity on a new basis. . . . Whereas the earlier period realized its best work in study of independent symbolic forms—language, folktale, cultural pattern in abstraction, the challenge now is to discover the integration of symbolic forms, and the emergent structure of symbolic forms, in everyday life. . . . In folklore, the study of performance is the prime example. . . . We have the chance to put the interest in symbolic forms on a new footing. . . .

This focus has various labels: ethnography of communication, language in context, in part sociolinguistics, etc. “Semiotics” can serve, as concise and of appropriate scope, so long as we can make clear that our focus is not study of texts or formal structures per se, but has a specific thrust. “Dynamic semiotics” as it were . . .⁷

He then listed specific courses in anthropology, folklore, and linguistics that he was proposing be part of the program, with details about what happened in each. In addition to Ken Goldstein and Dan Ben-Amos in folklore, he named Ward Goodenough and Dave Sapir in anthropology, Labov and John Fought in linguistics, Goffman and himself as those teaching the relevant courses. For Goffman, he had no specific course listed, but only “Goffman course or seminar.” He argued that verbal art and other symbolic forms were “universal” and that “such study requires training and understanding cutting across quadrant boundaries, linking ‘humanistic’ and ‘social science’ fields.”⁸ That proposal was copied to Fought, Goffman, Goodenough, Labov, Sapir, and Worth, as likely group members who might be interested in the plan. There is no response preserved in the file from any of those concerned. This proposal seems to have died nearly as soon as it was put forward, so is primarily noteworthy for demonstrating that Hymes thought of Goffman as linked to semiotic theory, not the obvious assumption by most others, and as a precursor to later attempts. The fact that both Hymes and Goffman organized conferences jointly with Thomas Sebeok, well-known for his role in institutionalizing semiotics, provides useful background information, but was not made explicit in this proposal. (Those conferences form part of chapter 6, given that Sebeok taught at Indiana rather than Penn.)

Language and Interaction Institute (LII)

Labov, Hymes, and Goffman tried to build on the Codes in Context conference and simultaneously expand upon *Language in Society*, Conduct and Communication, and the Center for Urban Ethnography, developing something new, variously named the “Institute of Language Behavior,” the “Institute on Language and Interaction,” and, finally, used here to refer to all the iterations, “Language and Interaction Institute” (LII). These were all different names for the same basic structure. This provides a fascinating demonstration of the way this group saw their efforts to be interrelated and overlapping, as well as providing documentation for how they succeeded in getting what they wanted—for, unlike the Semiotic Program, this one was approved. And Goffman was in the center of it, made evident when Hymes defined it as “the Institute about which Eliot Stellar talked to Erv Goffman.”⁹

Hymes saw a way to link this institute to a conference he was already planning, through the Committee on Sociolinguistics, to be held January 1975 on Comparative Ethnographic Analysis of Patterns of Speech in the United States, and wrote to David Jenness, staff to that committee, saying, “I learned from our Provost (Eliot Stellar) that he had suggested to Erv Goffman the possibility of some sort of Institute at Penn, involving the links among the work of Erv, Bill Labov, myself and others. I don’t know if this has gone further, or where it will go, but if something concrete results, it could help to develop a larger activity beyond this conference.”¹⁰ The idea for the LII apparently originated with Labov, who discussed a potential new institute in conversation with several of the top administrators at Penn at the time: Martin Meyerson (president), Eliot Stellar (provost), and John Hobstetter (associate provost); Stellar mentions this, and then explains, “I have since discussed it informally with Erv Goffman, Leila Gleitman, and Rochel Gelman, and they reacted positively. Dell Hymes is also positive, as you can see from his letter of June 14 [described below], and so is John Szwed.” This quote comes from a proposal Stellar made for a meeting of all in this group once everyone was back on campus that fall. “The purpose of the meeting will be to discuss goals and scope of the ‘institute,’ its organization and relation to cognate departments, and the most important question of its leadership, administrative and intellectual.”¹¹ A note at the end of the copy in the APS, in Hymes’s writing, says, “Call Erv.” So, what did Hymes say in the referenced letter to Stellar? He began with an apology: “I am very sorry that I shall be gone for the summer before there is a chance to meet with you and Erving Goffman. As it happened, there was a chance to talk with Erv that evening about the general idea of an institute or the like. We are in general agreement, but let me set down a few further thoughts as to my own particular perspective.”¹² Hymes then outlined the idea in detail (over five single-spaced pages). He first summarized the topic of common interest as “the problematic nature of the organization and use of linguistic means,” arguing that “this perspective . . . is one that could be uniquely developed here at Penn.” After a quick evaluation of the relative strengths of programs at MIT, Berkeley, and Chicago, he concluded, “Nowhere is there the solid basis for empirical work, work with hard data from the speech community, as there is now at Penn, through the dynamism of Bill Labov (aided and abetted by some of the rest of us).” Then he highlighted weaknesses of Berkeley, Chicago, and Texas, concluding that the already existing connections at Penn between

folklore, linguistics, sociology, education, and psychology might easily be developed into a future strength.

The great gap which now exists in knowledge of our own society with regard to language is largely due to the absence of successful efforts by linguists and social scientists. . . . Those of us who are concerned with such a program have diverse primary foci. Bill Labov will probably continue to be primarily influenced by problems of linguistic change, and formal linguistic theory. Erv Goffman will probably continue to be primarily concerned with the development of basic method and knowledge in the observation of interaction. I will probably continue to be primarily interested in personal and cultural patterning of speech. But all of us can work together, and hopefully, through an adequate institutional arrangement, our efforts can reinforce each other and multiply fruitfully."¹³

After that lengthy explanation as to the logic of his proposal, he made a series of points: First, he highlighted the significance of *Language in Society*, the roles he, Goffman, and Labov had in making it a success, and its potential role in making Penn "a major center of sociolinguistic work." Then he talked about the Center for Urban Ethnography and the way in which it brought people together, saying that the major grant funding was about to run out, and hoping that Szwed's report of activities would demonstrate its value both for the subject and the university. He recommended Szwed for "an active part in the proposed institute," praising his past activities as director of CUE and his "deep knowledge of cultural and social history," and requested that any meetings held over the summer in his absence about the institute with Goffman and Labov might also include Szwed. He wrote:

I'm very excited about the initiative you've taken and at the prospect of an organized way to pool our efforts here. . . . We have unique resources here—not as many people as crowd the halls of Berkeley but fundamental people—no one rivals Bill, or Erv, in their own spheres. I think we could do a better job of training people, and producing significant research, than anywhere else, given the opportunity. . . . We could have here at Penn the first place in the country to seriously take as its object of study what the life of language is like in the United States. Not that we ourselves could tackle more than a fraction of the whole. But we could make a decisive difference, that would radiate very far."¹⁴

This letter was copied to Goffman, Labov, and Szwed, to keep them in the loop.

Hymes spent that summer, as he did every summer, conducting research with the Warm Springs Sahaptin in Oregon; returning to campus in the fall, he found Stellar's previously mentioned letter waiting. He responded with delight that the idea was under consideration, only asking that John Fought

be added to the group.¹⁵ Stellar invited everyone plus Fought to a meeting in October.¹⁶ As a result of that meeting, and presumably after additional conversations with the others in the group, Labov drafted a formal proposal to the university for what was then being called the Institute for Language and Interaction, circulating it to the others (which he now named “initiating members”) for comments.¹⁷ In it, he names as the central group members Fought, Gelman, Gleitman, Goffman, Hymes, Labov, and Szwed, and adds W. John Smith. Together they represented anthropology, biology, education, folklore, linguistics, and psychology. In addition, he said they had support from sociology, communications, English, and Romance languages. Labov explained the logic behind the request for establishing the institute thus:

Over the course of the last ten years, our university has brought to Philadelphia a sizeable group of scholars whose major interest centers on language and linguistic means of communication. In our efforts to understand language and the abilities that lie behind it, a number of us have individually come to the conclusion that we cannot make much further progress by studying it in isolation: that the act of speaking must be examined in its social context as the most typical form of human interaction.¹⁸

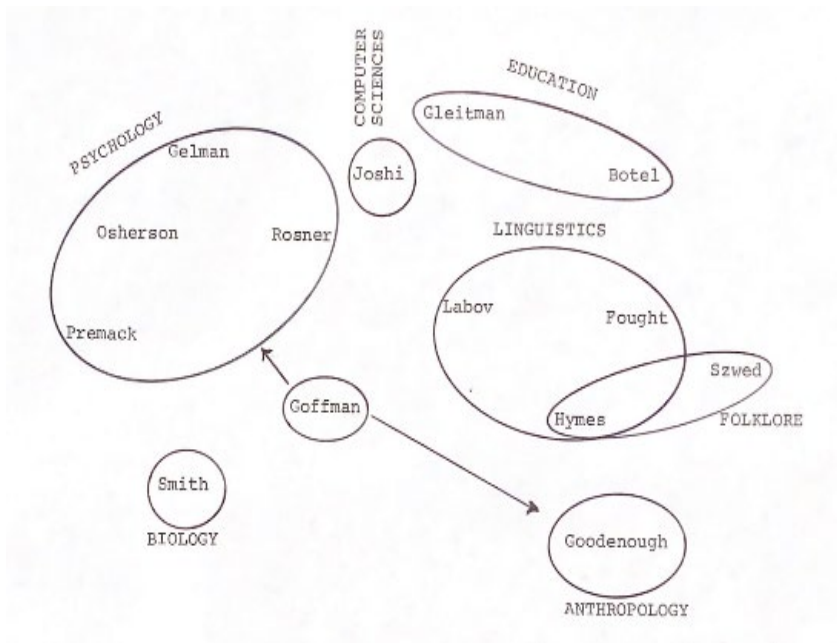
Using the figure of ten years makes clear that Labov calculated the relevant period of time spent gathering the group from the start of Hymes’s tenure at Penn, rather than his own. Labov further explained that: “The activities proposed for the Institute fall under three headings: promotion of interdisciplinary training; joint research; and publications.” He proposed a new publication, *Pennsylvania Working Papers on Language and Interaction*, and wanted to house the two existing publications (the journal *Language in Society* and the book series *Conduct and Communication*) with which group members were already involved under the auspices of the new institute.¹⁹ The group also wanted to offer an interdisciplinary program for graduate training and gave examples of how specific departments could take advantage of such training for their students (for example, “sociolinguistic research in the department of linguistics which requires experimental techniques developed in psychology and ethnographic methods developed in anthropology”).²⁰ Members of the institute would co-teach seminars, following the example of Labov and Goffman teaching Conversational Analysis in 1973 and 1975. Interdisciplinary research projects and grants would be housed within the institute, following CUE’s example.

They requested of the university:

1. Space within Eisenlohr Hall, where *LiS*, CUE, an NSF grant to Labov, as well as seminars by Labov, were already located.
2. An initial budget to start the new *Working Papers* series.
3. A small budget to support printing brochures for new and future students to learn about the institute.
4. Continuing support for *LiS*.²¹

Although currently housed in a separate folder,²² it seems likely that a series of three diagrams documenting how the initial group members overlapped belongs with the proposal for the institute.²³ However, these seem to have been intended for a later version of a proposal than the one preserved, given that they all include a few additional people. All three are undated, so it is difficult to be sure when they were created. With those caveats in mind, figure 5.2 shows departmental affiliations for members of the institute.

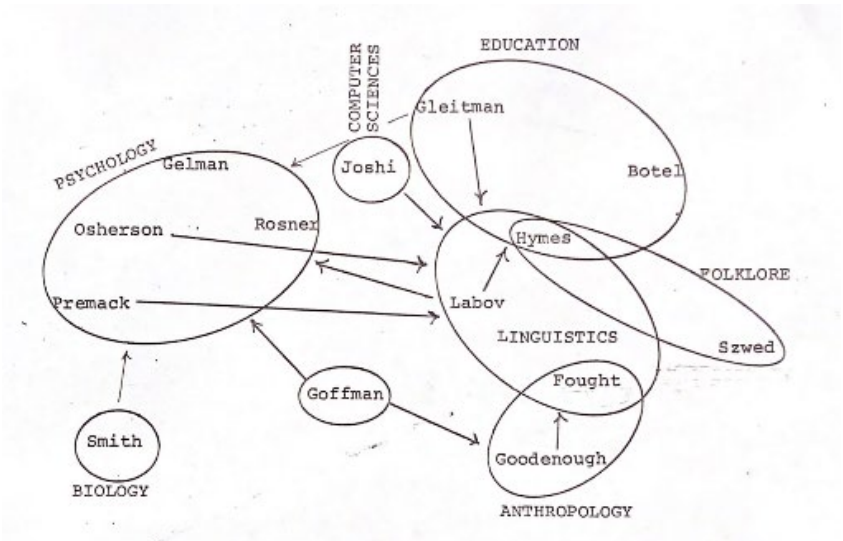
Figure 5.2: Language and Interaction Institute: Departmental Affiliations



Most of the names here will be familiar. The new people mentioned are those in psychology, education, and computer sciences. One noteworthy oddity is the choice to link Goffman to anthropology and psychology rather than to anthropology and sociology, given that the image was likely prepared after his re-integration into that department by Fox. However, it was also likely after his secondary appointment to psychology, so that may have seemed more relevant in this context.

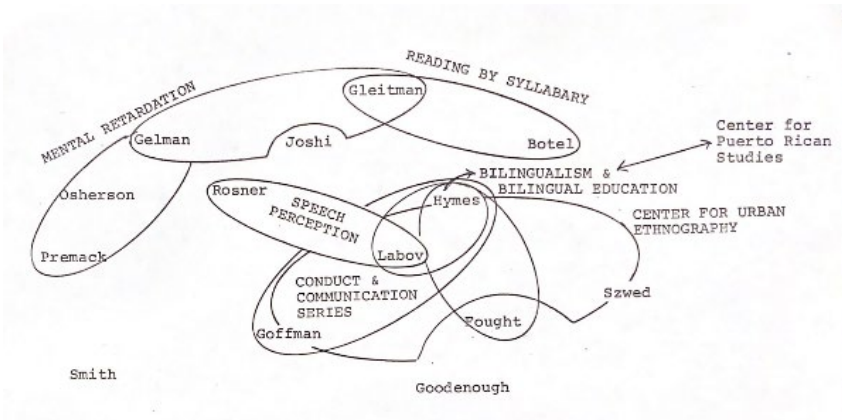
The next figure includes the same people, but this time, secondary affiliations are added.

Figure 5.3: Language and Interaction Institute: Departmental Affiliations, with Secondary Affiliations



This figure is confusing to look at, due to all the information, but it should be interpretable after a little study. What is useful is that, by showing secondary affiliations, it becomes clear that no one was an island at Penn; the majority of these people had secondary affiliations. However, given Goffman's primary affiliation with sociology as well as anthropology, it is jarring to see sociology still missing entirely. This has to have been created in the late 1970s, which was after the point when Renée Fox had convinced Goffman to participate more actively in sociology. 'Tis a puzzlement.

Figure 5.4: Language and Interaction Institute: Interdisciplinary Activities and Research Projects and Proposals



This final figure introduces a great deal of new information, documenting who was working on what, and with whom. The most directly relevant part is the inclusion of both the Conduct and Communication series (Hymes and Goffman), and the Center for Urban Ethnography (Szwed, Hymes, and Goffman). As with the omission of sociology, given the inclusion of both the book series and the center, it seems surprising that *Language in Society* was omitted.

In support of the proposal, Fought prepared three versions of a potential budget just for the new working papers series.²⁴ For some reason this documentation seems to have been submitted independently of the complete project; perhaps it was not ready at the same time, or perhaps as the discussion became serious, it was requested later. As a result, Dean Gregorian responded to Fought that there was insufficient funding available within the school for any, even the cheapest, option.²⁵ However, apparently some level of support was eventually granted to at least some other parts of the proposal for, at least by November 1976, Labov was signing himself as Director of the Language and Interaction Institute.²⁶ Unfortunately, there is little further documentation available, so it is unclear what impact the institute had. CUE and *LiS* stayed in Eisenlohr for a few years, so at least some space must have been granted. Labov edited a later publication, *Working Papers in Linguistics*; however, this was not a variation of the series initially proposed for the institute, but rather a later iteration of the series used as a model in this proposal which Labov was already editing, *Working Papers on Linguistic*

*Change and Variation.*²⁷ Most important is probably that the institute put forth a proposal for a Cross-Cultural Communication Center, explained below.

In May 1975, before the institute proposal had been resolved, Hymes sent a lengthy plan (five single-spaced pages) to Szwed for a new project intended to simultaneously re-invigorate the Center for Urban Ethnography and link it to the Language and Interaction Institute, ideally supported by obtaining funding through the SSRC Committee on Sociolinguistics (which Hymes was co-chairing at that point). Much of the logic was to take advantage of the solid cohort available at Penn. “We really have a very strong set of people already at Penn who could contribute, were they willing; hard to think of any place else with such a group, given our insistence on an ethnographic basis for the work.” The topic would be “domestic ethnography” with a focus on “cross-cultural differences in speaking.” He highlighted relevant work by “ERV obviously, not only for mode of work but for analytic contributions” (emphasis in original), Szwed, Labov, Worth, Fought, as well as Peggy Sanday (anthropology), Renée Fox (sociology), Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (folklore), Ellen Prince (linguistics), Virginia Hymes (folklore), and George Gerbner (communications). He saw the plan as involving the design of a guide (by spring 1977), hosting a summer institute at Penn, sponsored by CUE (during summer 1977), field research by core participants (fall 1977 through 1978), and a small conference “to compare experience and work, suggest revisions in guide.”²⁸ Hymes asked Szwed to make copies for the others named, given that at that point he and Virginia Hymes were traveling out to Oregon for the summer.

So, what happened to his meticulous plan? The very last sentence of this letter tells us. “The Provost’s office tried to reach me by phone. I’ll call on Monday. Don’t know what about.” In fact, the provost asked Hymes to return to Penn to interview for the role as dean of the Graduate School of Education. He did, but was neither certain he would be offered the position nor whether he would accept it, so when they got to Oregon, he wrote David Jenness at SSRC about the idea he had earlier outlined for Szwed, this time more succinctly: He wanted to study “the linguistic ethnography/sociolinguistic description of situations in the United States.”²⁹ In that same letter he mentioned that the call was about interviewing for the position of dean, which led to a question: “I trust there’s no rule against Deans as members of committees.” The provost did offer Hymes the position of dean, and he did accept, and that role absorbed much of his time, energy, and creativity for years. The project on linguistic ethnography/domestic ethnography was,

as a result, reconfigured into two major grants from the National Institute of Education having a clear focus on education.³⁰

Overlapping with the proposal for the Language and Interaction Institute, in fall 1974, Fought tried establishing a Native American Languages and Verbal Arts Program, which would have involved him and Dell and Virginia Hymes most directly, but others indirectly (not including Goffman, however). Fought was especially concerned to provide financial support for summer fieldwork by students.³¹ A few months later, in support of this effort, Fought proposed that he and Hymes meet with the person responsible for grants for Indian education at the US Office of Education; they needed only minimal funding to cover a train ticket.³² However, there is no documentation suggesting such a program was ever created.

Cross-Cultural Communication Center (CCCC)

Once the Language and Interaction Institute was established, there was a secondary move to create a new center within it, the Cross-Cultural Communication Center. Note the overlap of some of the goals of this new center with the goals of the earlier Center for Urban Ethnography. CCCC was proposed in 1976, two years after funding for CUE had run out. The proposal, signed by Rochel Gelman (in psychology) and Labov, begins:

Over the past ten years, the University of Pennsylvania has assembled a group of scholars with a wide range of competence in the study of language and social interaction, with the demonstrated ability to work together on interdisciplinary problems. Such a group has recently concluded discussions on the formation of an institute for studying language and social interaction, combining joint competences in the investigation of cognitive processes, linguistic structure, and social interaction.

Our common interests have come to a focus on the problem of failures in cross-cultural communication, as it affects children in many levels of our society.³³

The focus was to be on “Black, Hispanic, and Amerindian cultures.” It would include two phases: One would emphasize “the mapping of differences in the communicative systems that can lead to misunderstanding,” and the other “an effort to locate the factors that make individuals sensitive to the existence of such conflicts, and to design programs that build on this capacity.”³⁴ Those initiating the proposal came from various departments across campus: biology, psychology, linguistics, folklore, anthropology, education, and computer sciences. They explained that “each of us has directed research projects which

demand interdisciplinary cooperation; a description of our past and current research indicates how the needs of our subject have brought each of us to the areas where joint thinking and scientific cooperation are required.” Group members would be the existing LII members (Fought, Gelman, Gleitman, Goffman, Hymes, Labov, J. Smith, and Szwed), supplemented by the addition of Ward Goodenough (anthropology), David Premack (psychology), Dan Osherson (psychology), and Aravind Joshi (computer sciences). They emphasized the well-established links between group members, using as an example Goffman and Smith, who had “joined forces in conferences on the ethological study of human behavior and provided joint supervision of students working in this area.” (The reference is to Goffman and Sebeok’s conference on interaction ethology, described in chapter 6.) The proposal concludes: “A primary mission of the proposed center is interdisciplinary research and training of graduate students and postdoctoral fellows. Joint planning and investigation will be undertaken at all stages; colloquia and conferences will be directed to the fundamental issue of how an understanding of several aspects of human communicative competence will bear on the problems of cross-cultural communication outlined above.”³⁵ In this, the group showed themselves to be far ahead of most others who would later argue the need to study cross-cultural (or, more often, intercultural) communication.³⁶ Obviously, there was no one at ASC studying the topic at the time, or they would have been included. (His students knew that Birdwhistell was interested in the influence of culture on interaction, especially given his training in anthropology, but that is not what most of his colleagues considered to be one of his research topics.)

In January 1977, Hymes forwarded that proposal to several colleagues within education: Allan Glatthorn, Mary Hoover, James Larkin, and Nessa Wolfson. His cover letter explains that the proposal was “intended simply to register an interest with the Administration so that it could so inform the Sloan Foundation, which is understood to be considering a grant in the general area of language.” He did not invite these GSE faculty members to participate, but only wanted to let them know what was going on (“I thought you would like to see it”).³⁷ Later that month, Provost Stellar, who also worked with Sloan to award research fellowships,³⁸ formally responded to Gelman and Labov by detailing a response from Ken Klivington at Sloan to the draft proposal. Klivington felt it was “too applied,” and so Stellar sent formal guidelines for them to follow in an actual application. If they did that, Stellar felt that Penn had a good chance at being given a grant: “We

are multidisciplinary. We do have strengths in the areas he is concerned with: development of language in the child, linguistics, acquisition of native languages, brain mechanism in language, use of symbols by Chimpanzees, etc. We also have an excellent record in graduate education.”³⁹ At the same time, he warned that:

We are, indeed, further ahead than his proposal guesses and are much closer than he thinks to being an interdisciplinary center of excellence already. Knowing Ken and the Sloan Foundation, however, we must follow their time schedule. Therefore, we should talk first about workshops, visiting professorships; then training; then a center of excellence. Each step should lead to the other so that we could have our “center” after a year or two.⁴⁰

He asked that Gelman and Labov talk with the others and let him know if the group wanted to pursue the option. He attached the formal guidelines from Sloan for the new area of cognitive science, having highlighted the following (among other elements): that Sloan was interested in transdisciplinary research involving both graduate students and faculty, and that they had “identified language as a central focus in the cognitive sciences.” He highlighted those parts of the document emphasizing language, especially one sentence: “Evidently no one institution now possesses the full range of linguistic competence suggested here.”⁴¹ Presumably, his assumption was that Penn did in fact possess such a range, which would serve as a compelling argument for awarding them the grant.

In response, in February 1977, Labov sent a note to everyone in the group bringing them up to date, passing on the documentation from Stellar as well as his letter. He outlined two opportunities: One would be to follow up with Sloan, while the other would be to apply to the National Institute for Child Health and Human Development (NICHD, one of the National Institutes of Health), through a program focusing on the health of American children. While this appears to be a quite different topic from either the initial proposal or Sloan’s focus on cognitive science, he argued that the initial proposal could be recast and submitted for that instead. He had already spoken with someone at NICHD, who “strongly suggested that we are an ideal group to make such a proposal” given that they were looking for “some initiative from the behavioral sciences, which is now missing.”⁴² Apparently, one or more meetings and discussions were held that spring, with individual group members submitting specific drafts of parts of a proposal, for Labov wrote the group in June 1977 soliciting further input. He circulated a draft requesting funding for two workshops (so they had followed Stellar’s guidelines).

One was to be organized by Joshi and Ivan Sag (a not-yet-mentioned faculty member in linguistics), and another by Gelman, Premack, Leila Gleitman, and another new name, her husband, Henry Gleitman (also in psychology). Labov acknowledged that a third workshop, on cross-cultural aspects of cognitive behavior, might be appropriate, but said they currently had no one who could offer that. He then asked that everyone think of someone not at Penn who could be brought in to work with them on joint research fellowships in the future, funded by a Sloan grant if one were obtained.⁴³

In response to that draft, Hymes suggested that the new faculty member in education, Dan Wagner, might be added to the group to manage the third workshop.⁴⁴ And then he immediately wrote to Wagner, sending the proposal, and asking if he would be interested. Although Labov was by then using the title of Director of the Institute, Hymes first referred to it as “a proposed Institute” and then said it “has been more of a nominal intention for some time than anything else.”⁴⁵ So it existed but was not terribly active.

In the end, not one but three proposals were accepted and substantial funding awarded. Penn received a small initial grant (in 1977), a second, larger one (\$500,000 across the early 1980s),⁴⁶ and then a third one (again \$500,000, across the mid-1980s),⁴⁷ all from Sloan, intended to establish a program in cognitive science. However, despite the success in obtaining funding, that support was not for cross-cultural communication; cognitive science is not an overlapping topic but an entirely different one. The project directors for the cognitive science grants were Leila Gleitman and Aravind Joshi. While Rochel Gelman and David Premack (both in psychology) of the original group participated, it appears that none of the others who were part of the institute and in the initial group proposing this center were included once the focus shifted to cognitive science.⁴⁸ (In their place, other faculty members, and graduate students, in each of their departments were brought into the project; most relevant in these pages would be Ellen Prince and Gillian Sankoff.⁴⁹) These Sloan grants led to the later Institute for Research in Cognitive Science established at Penn in 1990, with still further funding from Sloan as well as some from NSF,⁵⁰ and involving a broader group of faculty across linguistics, math, philosophy, psychology, computer science, and neuroscience,⁵¹ so they were absolutely a positive result, just not the result Labov and others had originally intended, no longer involving either cross-cultural communication or Goffman. Finally, it is worth noting that at least one of the goals of the original proposal—that of introducing courses on cross-cultural communication into the curriculum—was finally met in

1985, when Kathryn Woolard offered a new course in education, Seminar in Intercultural Communication and Miscommunication.⁵²

Interdisciplinary Program in the Science of Symbolic Behavior (SSB)

We need to take a step back in time a few years for the next project because the history of these overlapped considerably. Despite the potential for confusion, the important lesson is that multiple people at Penn were thinking about creative ways to bring together people having organizational homes in different departments, and that they always included Goffman in the mix (at least for all of the ideas outlined here). In fall 1975, Ward Goodenough (anthropology) wrote to Dean Gregorian about the possibility of creating an Interdisciplinary Program in the Science of Symbolic Behavior, because “symbolic behavior is obviously the medium through which social life is maintained, human emotions and values are expressed, culture is created and shared, and individual human beings learn to perceive themselves and their world and also learn to be functioning members of their community.”⁵³ The relevance was that it would be “central to problems in linguistics, cultural anthropology, psychology, philosophy, and sociology” and what was learned by scholars in these areas would have “direct application to problems in education, business management, and public administration (including public health).” He further pointed out that while “organized research and training programs are virtually nonexistent” because they require cooperation across disciplines, Penn already had “a group of people who can put together an integrated program” at the graduate level, and perhaps at the undergraduate level as well. He concluded, “I see this as not just another interdisciplinary program, but as an effort at building a science.”⁵⁴ So he had found a gap and thought Penn had the resources to productively fill it.

The letter was copied to Birdwhistell, Fought, Gleitman, Goffman, Hymes, Labov, and W. J. Smith, by now a familiar cast of characters. The copy to Hymes included a handwritten note, “Do you have any thoughts about this?” Hymes initially responded positively: “I certainly think that this could be a valuable thing[sic] today. It might provide a way of bringing together interests in anthropology, linguistics, sociology, folklore, and other fields here at Penn. It is my sense of the situation that there are a number of people in these different programs with interests in common which are not entirely at home together in any existing arrangement.”⁵⁵ But then Hymes went on to bring up an alternative, his original idea from 1969 of establishing a

semiotic program, “the semiotic seminar, if it were to be developed . . . the central thrust would not be to address all the many and vast problems associated with symbolism, but to develop a cadre of people able to describe and analyze symbolic activity wherever found. This might be initially a less glamorous thing to do but also might be ultimately the most important and rewarding.”⁵⁶ Neither of these interdisciplinary proposals seems to have been put into place. However, they most likely prepared the ground for the next such efforts of overlapping groups of faculty and other interdisciplinary programs on campus over the next few years, including one in East Asian studies,⁵⁷ and another in ethnohistory,⁵⁸ as well as a general campus-wide “commitment to interdisciplinary study” advertised in 1978, involving the establishment of three new administrative structures: the Institute for Social Sciences, Institute for Humanities, and Institute for Mathematical Sciences.⁵⁹ Those stories will not be told here, as none of them (so far as I have seen) involved Goffman, nor most of the others.

Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior (ASB)

In early 1979, Penn announced the establishment of a Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior. Barbara Herrnstein Smith (English) was director, with Dan Ben-Amos (folklore), Larry Gross (communications), Leonard B. Meyer (music), and Gerald Prince (Romance languages) serving as the governing board. It was funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, so we know that, unlike some of the other minor projects, this one was definitely established and financed. The goals were to “focus on the interdisciplinary study of the arts, language, literature and other forms of symbolic behavior” and to “encourage the exchange of ideas between the humanistic and social-scientific disciplines.” Faculty were drawn from anthropology, art history, communications, folklore, linguistics, music, sociology, and psychology. Activities would include “a residence program for both junior fellows and senior scholars, seminars and lectures by visiting scholars, research projects and workshops for non-academic participants interested in applying such research to their own fields, colloquia, conferences and publications.”⁶⁰

In a letter sent out by the governing committee members to the thirty-two campus faculty members invited to become “Regular Members” of the center, in addition to Goffman, Hymes, and Szwed, are many names mentioned for their connections to previous efforts, either major or minor: Davenport, Fought, Glassie, Goodenough, Joshi, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Premack, Rosner,

and Sutton-Smith. But there are also a surprising number of new names: Jean Alter (Romance languages), Arjun Appadurai (anthropology), Houston Baker, Jr. (English/Afro-American studies), Ahmet Evin (Oriental studies), Lucienne Frappier-Mazur (Romance languages), Peter Gaeffke (Oriental studies), William L. Hanaway, Jr. (Oriental studies), Henry Hiz (linguistics), Dorothea Jameson Hurvich and Leo Hurvich (both in psychology), Paul Messaris (communications), Gary Saul Morson (Slavic languages), Ellen Prince (linguistics), Janice Radway (American civilization), Michèle H. Richman (Romance languages), Barbara Ruch (Oriental studies), Leo Steinberg (history of art), Peter Steiner (Slavic languages), Amos Vogel (communications), and Irene Winter (history of art).⁶¹ Accompanying the letter was a lengthy report explaining why the center should be established. Most importantly, the argument was not just for recognition of “a blurring or even dissolving of boundary lines between traditional disciplines” but for “a comprehensive and radical reorganization of the whole intellectual map, closer to a geological upheaval in the contours of a continent than a mere re-allocation of national territories.” And there was a secondary argument that Penn “is eminently, perhaps uniquely, suited to sponsor” such a center, given “the university’s unusual strength in almost all of the individual disciplines that relate to the study of art and symbolic behavior (e.g., anthropology, sociology, psychology, folklore, linguistics, communications).”⁶²

The *University of Pennsylvania Almanac* chronicles numerous important and well-known names as guest lecturers over the next few years sponsored by this center: Among them were Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi,⁶³ Ruth Finnegan,⁶⁴ and James Fernandez⁶⁵ in 1981; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in 1982;⁶⁶ and Michel de Certeau in 1983.⁶⁷ In addition, the center sponsored a conference on Literature and Psychoanalysis, in 1986.⁶⁸ But activities had slowed down by 1986, when the center was reorganized and renamed the Center for Cultural Study, with Gerald Prince taking over as co-director. In 1987, the Mellon Foundation provided a major grant,⁶⁹ and, as a result, the name changed again to Program for Assessing and Revitalizing the Social Sciences (PARSS),⁷⁰ with additional lectures and conferences.⁷¹ PARSS continued until 1998, when it was consolidated with several other campus programs into the new Penn Humanities Forum.⁷² Clearly, the effort to bring impressive guest lectures and conferences on topics of broad interest across campus was successful, although how much the initial group members were involved in each of these activities is difficult to discern at this point. Unfortunately,

there is no record of whether Goffman's role was more than just being one of the thirty-two scholars invited to participate.

Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society (LCS)

The recognized need for information sharing led to a final effort to create a new interdisciplinary program at Penn sparked by Goodenough, involving both Dell and Virginia Hymes, Goffman, Labov, and Sankoff, to have a focus on what was originally named "language, behavior, and society." First, it may help document the overlaps in content being taught by faculty based in different departments, with relevant courses overlooked by students who presumably would have wanted to know about them. In fall 1979, Hymes asked anthropology graduate students Linda May and Ako Imamura to prepare a list of "graduate courses on Language and Culture" being offered at Penn in spring and fall 1980, with information about course numbers and readings, as well as which departments they were offered by and any they were cross-listed with.⁷³

This list demonstrates the breadth of the problem: The group of people having overlapping interests was significantly larger in the late 1970s than it had been in the late 1960s, so if students were to discover relevant courses across campus, they would need help learning of them. (Incidentally, the move to begin with this list is not mine but Hymes's; it was filed in the folder for the Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society.)

In February 1980, Hymes answered a letter from Goodenough that is missing; he said he was responding to "your initiative in planning interdepartmental work in language and culture," describing what he considered a related conversation he had been having with Sankoff about "the need for a curriculum in 'ethnolinguistics.'"⁷⁴ Shortly after, Dell and Virginia Hymes, Goffman, Labov, Sankoff, and Goodenough all met and agreed it was time to attempt something new. Goodenough represented the group in writing to Dean Robert H. Dyson Jr. because "the lack of such a program was commented on adversely by the External Review Committee for Anthropology last year."⁷⁵ The group recommended that the committee to run the program should include, in addition to Goodenough and Hymes: Fought, Labov, Sankoff, and Kroch (all in linguistics); Wolfson, Heath, and Schieffelin (in education); Glassie (folklore); Birdwhistell (communications); and Goffman (anthropology and sociology). The program would not award degrees but instead play a role in coordinating existing graduate groups across campus

Table 5.5: Graduate Courses on Language and Culture at Penn, Spring/Fall 1980

<i>Department</i>	<i>Faculty Members and Courses</i>
<i>Spring 1980</i>	
Anthropology	Erving Goffman (Social Interaction) Virginia Hymes (Language and Culture)
Linguistics	Dell Hymes (Ethnography of Speaking; Problems in Ethnography of Speaking) Anthony Kroch (Research Seminar on Language in Context) Gillian Sankoff (Languages in Contact; Study of Speech Community) Virginia Hymes (Native American Languages)
Education	Sue Fiering (Classroom Discourse and Interaction) Nessa Wolfson (Languages of Inequality; Sociolinguistics in Education; Selected Topics in Educational Linguistics)
Folklore	Dan Ben-Amos (Problems in Folk Narrative Research; Structural Analysis) Brian Sutton-Smith (Play and Games; Research Seminar on Games)
Communications	Ray Birdwhistell (Interpersonal Communication Codes; Interpersonal Communication Seminar) Larry Gross (Aesthetic Communications)
<i>Fall 1980</i>	
Anthropology	Ward Goodenough (Formal Analysis of Ethnographic Data)
Linguistics	Gillian Sankoff (Introduction to Ethno- and Socio-linguistics; Pidgins and Creoles)
Education	David Smith (Anthropology and Education) Nessa Wolfson (Educational Linguistics; Selected Topics in Educational Linguistics) Leila Gleitman (The Psychology of Language) Shirley Brice Heath (Language Planning and Public Policy; Ethnographic Methodology; Community to Classroom)
Folklore	John Szwed (Creole Literatures) Dan Ben-Amos (Theoretical Aspects of Myth; Prose Narrative; The Folktale) Kenneth Goldstein (Folklore of Britain and Ireland)
Communications	Ray Birdwhistell (Advanced Seminar)

by minimizing overlap and filling in gaps. A few weeks later, Hymes wrote a note to Goodenough with suggestions for how to improve their chances of getting the program approved.⁷⁶ A few weeks after that, Hymes told Goodenough that he'd heard from Dyson that there was an issue with the term "behavior" in the name of the group, because that implied psychology should be involved, and perhaps using the term "ethnolinguistics" would solve the matter.⁷⁷ In the end, Dyson wrote a letter in May 1980 inviting all the group members who had been named initially to be members of a new Committee on Language, Culture, and Society, with Goodenough serving as chair. (This final name was likely a nod to Hymes's (1964b) and Goodenough's (1971) books, which both used the same words, just in different order.) Dyson mentioned that, in fact, not just one but two external review committees had encouraged this (those would have been for anthropology and, presumably, linguistics). The goal would be to "try to strengthen the available offerings in this interdisciplinary study area and to maximize the use of our existing resources through the elimination of overlapping course content, the strengthening of existing courses, the addition of new courses where needed, and the identification of core courses and reading lists fundamental to all students of the subject regardless of their specialized interests."⁷⁸ It only took a single day before Hymes wrote a letter to Goodenough about a coordination issue (the need for someone to teach ethnolinguistics, since there was a group of students wanting to study the topic, and pass a PhD exam question on the topic, but no one regularly teaching it, given that Hymes, who usually took responsibility for it, was too busy as dean of GSE).⁷⁹ Two days after that, Hymes notified Dyson that Heath needed to be replaced on the committee because she had just accepted a position at Stanford, recommending David Smith (also in education) as her replacement. Glassie also needed to be replaced because he would be on leave for the year; Hymes recommended Szwed for that vacancy.⁸⁰ That fall, while organizing his spring courses, Hymes decided that "those of us explicitly concerned with students in linguistics, education, and folklore" should meet and sort out logistical concerns; that meant V. Hymes, Sankoff, Schieffelin, and Wolfson. He said he wanted "a group small enough to arrive at specific proposals" by "those in 'ethnolinguistics' and 'educational linguistics.'"⁸¹

By November 1980, Feld (in communications, first in addition to, and later as a replacement for, Birdwhistell) and Long (in education) had been added to the group, and the substitutions of D. Smith and Szwed had been accepted, when Goodenough called a first meeting.⁸² But apparently something hap-

pened over the next year, because Hymes sent a note in fall 1981 to a reduced group (Birdwhistell, Glassie, Goffman, Kroch, Labov, Sankoff, Schieffelin, Wolfson) saying that Dyson had made him chair when Goodenough stepped down.⁸³ Then, in January 1982, Hymes sent a very unhappy note to an even smaller subset of the committee (Fought, Schieffelin, and Wolfson) saying that he had only gotten one reply to his fall request for details of course offerings so they could coordinate, and asking if this group thought it would be possible to get things moving again (and if so, he would recommend adding V. Hymes to represent folklore), or if he should ask Dyson to disband it. "I mentioned this to Bob Dyson Friday and he said that he had appointed the committee because asked to do so, but would of course dissolve it if there were in fact nothing to do. Which would be only appropriate."⁸⁴ Schieffelin responded with an equally unhappy message about how she had not gotten much cross-departmental enrollment in a course that she had advertised in anthropology, folklore, and linguistics.⁸⁵ Apparently, Hymes considered that more a personal note than a formal response because he wrote to Fought a few months later, saying, "There's been still no response from anyone on my memo regarding a last-ditch effort to breathe some life into the language and culture sequence." He asked for a meeting with Fought, Wolfson, and V. Hymes to sort things out, then they would bring in Sankoff and Schieffelin. Apparently, at that point all the other committee members were dropped from consideration.⁸⁶ There is no documentation of what happened next, but apparently the committee somehow kept on going because in May 1982, Dean Dyson asked Hymes to serve a further two years as committee chair, and to review the list of members. Hymes approved Goodenough, Sankoff, Labov, Kroch, Glassie, Goffman, Wolfson and Schieffelin, pointed out that Fought had been inappropriately omitted, and requested (again) that Feld serve in lieu of Birdwhistell.⁸⁷ Goffman died in November 1982; presumably, he was irreplaceable, as no one proposed a substitute. In spring 1983, a formal report by Hymes on behalf of the committee to Acting Dean Donald D. Fitts sounds as if they were at that point again a functional committee. Group members copied on that report were Birdwhistell, Feld, Fought, Goodenough, Glassie, V. Hymes, Kroch, Labov, Sankoff, Schieffelin, D. Smith, Wolfson, and Kathryn Woolard (a new name in this group, based in education).⁸⁸ In fall 1983, Hymes was reappointed chair, with the members now being Feld, Fought, Glassie, Goodenough, Kroch, Labov, Sankoff, Schieffelin, Wolfson, and Woolard.⁸⁹ By fall 1984, Goodenough resumed the position of chair, with Hymes remaining as a committee member; Glassie did not sign up for

another term, although the others all did. By that point the group was more a name than an active body; Hymes was sorry to report “that it does not seem to be able to do much, not even to exchange course descriptions regularly,” and so it was “a potential that isn’t realized.”⁹⁰ In spring 1985, Goodenough requested a group meeting to discuss its future.⁹¹ Apparently, the group was by then somehow re-energized, for the minutes of that meeting sent around by Goodenough include ten major points involving future activities. These were mostly concerned with coordination and information sharing, but also the establishment of a faculty seminar and a possible new undergraduate major.⁹² However, most of these goals were never realized. Over the next few years, members of the group dropped out, and were replaced by others, but that was long after Goffman had died, and almost none of the new members had documented contact with him.⁹³

One interesting note: In Penn’s five-year plan for 1988–1992, this committee was specifically mentioned. At one point the plan says, “The School of Arts and Sciences has a tradition of interdisciplinary innovation” and folklore is listed as a department which is “interdisciplinary by nature.” After listing other noteworthy programs, the paragraph concludes: “SAS faculty from across departments also work together on academic Committees—for example . . . language, culture and society—through which they share mutual research interests and work toward the development of pertinent courses.”⁹⁴

To summarize this committee’s activities: It involved both central and peripheral actors in Goffman’s invisible college, and he was a member until his death. The group was established to facilitate coordinating activities and offerings across multiple departments and schools, and to ensure that the topic of language and culture (or ethnolinguistics, depending on year) continued as an area of strength, despite the distribution of group members across campus. It was a final (partially successful) effort (in terms of having been approved and come into existence) to coordinate across disciplinary boundaries, so that activities of interest (especially courses) beyond a single department might be shared ahead of time, which would have the added benefit of increasing enrollments. The group faced substantial difficulty in keeping everyone consistently involved but became re-energized after several years of minimal participation. This was a successful group in terms of having been approved, and holding periodic meetings, but remarkably unsuccessful if judged by consistent effort or producing any notable results. It is unclear what role Goffman played beyond attending at least some meetings and being listed as a member for the first two years.

Center to Study Marketing to Children

There is one other minor interdisciplinary project meriting brief mention, although it was not begun by anyone at Penn and, in the end, turned out to be more thought experiment than actuality, so it has not been added to table 5.1. However, it did involve Goffman, at least tangentially, and in an unusual way. Here is the story. In spring 1972, Penn started something new, the College of Thematic Studies, established by Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education Humphrey Tonkin. The goal was to “provide undergraduate education with coherence and structure” by placing “top professors and non-academic ‘experts’ in small undergraduate seminars” open only to freshmen and sophomores (Silver 1972, 1). In spring 1973, the experiment was repeated, and Robert B. Choate Jr., then chair of the Council on Children, Media and Merchandising and nationally known as a consumer advocate, was invited to campus as one of fifteen speakers; his topic was “Children and Television Advertising” (Murphy 1973). Choate mentioned to a student reporter that he wanted to start a Center to Study Marketing to Children, and was asking for leadership rather than funding from Penn because he had already requested major funding from several foundations for “an initial multi-million dollar, five-year program”; the student wrote that he “hopes to receive a commitment from the Ford Foundation, among others, as early as next week” (Biddle 1973, 1). This center is relevant because not only had faculty across Wharton (business), Annenberg (communications), and the Law School expressed interest in the “inter-departmental and inter-institutional center,” but Goffman was specifically named, along with Dean Gerbner, Larry Gross, and President Meyerson as “having expressed ‘enthusiasm’ about the project” (7). Goffman presumably became involved because Choate was the brother of his first wife, Angelica Schuyler Choate, who had died in 1964.⁹⁵ Despite the relationship, it is unlikely Goffman was responsible for Choate’s campus visits because the family had a long prior history of involvement with Penn.⁹⁶

However, when Choate returned to present a colloquium at ASC six months later, this one on “Television Broadcasting: An Attractive Nuisance to the Child,” he was interviewed by another student reporter. This time he explained that the plans for the center were “sort of on a back burner” and he had not carried out negotiations with Penn since spring because “Penn didn’t seem any more eager to have it than any other institution, so I’m not sure it’ll come here” (Berger 1973, 2). So far as I have been able to discover, the center was never established, and certainly not at Penn. Thus, as men-

tioned earlier, this becomes a minor footnote in the story of Goffman's multidisciplinary collaborations—one that was conceived, greeted initially with enthusiasm by Goffman among others, but never put into practice.

Benjamin Franklin Professors

When Goffman was hired, it was as a Benjamin Franklin Professor. “Benjamin Franklin Professorships (which don’t exist anymore) were very prestigious appointments for especially distinguished scholars” (Fox 2009). They were invented so “the University can attract to its faculty other scholars of outstanding achievement and promise in academic areas of particular importance to the intellectual concerns of the era.”⁹⁷ Further, there was an understanding that anyone nominated “should possess three qualities, international reputation, a strong interdisciplinary dimension and a bold innovative approach,”⁹⁸ for they were “the greatest honor that the University of Pennsylvania can bestow on anyone.”⁹⁹ The Haas Community Fund provided a gift to Penn to supplement the salary of such professors.¹⁰⁰ As Louis Schwartz, chair of the Benjamin Franklin Professors in 1971, explained: “The whole idea was to make a batch of impressive appointments that would command attention in academia and the public press, and possibly start a flow of high talent in the direction of Pennsylvania.”¹⁰¹ The press release announcing Goffman’s hire mentions that, at the same time, two existing faculty members were being promoted to Benjamin Franklin Professors: Zellig Harris (in linguistics) and Robert Duncan Luce (in psychology). In addition, the press release reports that another five faculty members at Penn having the title “University Professor,” a separate honor,¹⁰² were simultaneously promoted to “Benjamin Franklin Professors.” That group included Loren Eiseley (anthropology), Lawrence Klein (economics), Charles Price (chemistry), Philip Rieff (sociology), and Louis B. Schwartz (law).¹⁰³ (Rumor suggests that these others were angry someone new would be brought in at the highest possible level and demanded to be given improved titles as well, but this is difficult to confirm so many years after the fact.) In 1977, all Benjamin Franklin Professors were converted to Benjamin Franklin University Professors, in recognition that these positions “cut across disciplinary or professional lines.”¹⁰⁴ This change included Goffman.

By 1970, there were nine in the group: those already named (Eiseley, Goffman, Harris, Klein, Price, Rieff, and Schwartz), as well as Thomas C. Cochran (history) and Robert E. Davies (molecular biology); in addition, there were

three former members who had either left the university (Robert Duncan Luce, psychology), died (Ephraim A. Speiser, Oriental studies) or resigned (Kenneth Setton, history).¹⁰⁵ The group met several times each year, most often to discuss additional candidates for membership in the group, drawn either from existing faculty at Penn, or potential new hires when departments wanted to increase the prestige of their offer. For the few meetings where minutes or letters sent to group members after a meeting have been preserved, Goffman was always one of those listed as having attended.¹⁰⁶ In addition, there were periodic dinners with President Martin Meyerson, often as an opportunity to meet with prospective new honorees, or to celebrate a current group member who was retiring.¹⁰⁷ Hymes mentions that he was nominated in 1972, although he was not accepted.¹⁰⁸ The longer story is fascinating: On the occasion of the republication of *Reinventing Anthropology*, Hymes chose to explain several controversial decisions taken by various anthropology departments with which he had been associated. One of these was at Harvard, where he was not granted tenure (despite being recommended by his department), likely for political reasons; another was at Penn, where he said he had been proposed as a Benjamin Franklin Professor (by no less a person than Penn's then-president, Meyerson), yet "the proposal was blackballed by one incumbent, an anthropologist known, it turned out, for hostility to linguistics" (1999, x). The only possible person this describes is Loren Eiseley, given that he was the sole anthropologist granted the title. Ward Goodenough and Anthony Wallace, also in anthropology, were also apparently proposed as potential members (their curriculum vitae are in the file¹⁰⁹), but if so, they also were not accepted.

A consistent theme was whether group members should take on a more active role on campus. In 1970, Davies proposed regular dinners with particularly good students drawn from different parts of the university discussing "major topics of current or universal interest," a series of seminars "on fundamental problems and progress in areas of general interest in our respective fields of scholarship," as well as proposing that they "supply members for a committee created to adjudicate in disputes over cases such as those involving tenure and promotion."¹¹⁰ And in 1974, Price wrote to President Meyerson and Stellar: "We have discussed our possible roles, from a purely 'honorific' title to a major functional activity in the intellectual life of the University."¹¹¹ It is not clear which, if any, of these activities were implemented, but there is a record of the following three group activities, one passive, the other two active.

Group Library Exhibit

What all Benjamin Franklin Professors had in common was status: They were the best of the best being recognized for their achievements. In keeping with that understanding, it makes sense that in 1972 the Van Pelt Library at Penn organized an exhibition titled “Works by Benjamin Franklin Professors” to highlight their publications, accompanied by biographies and photographs. In addition to Goffman, those included in the exhibit were Cochran, Davies, Eiseley, Harris, Klein, Price, Rieff, Schwartz, Setton, and Speiser.¹¹² No further information is available, including what books of Goffman’s would have been included in the display, but it seems reasonable to assume it would have been most if not all books he had published by 1972.¹¹³

National Politics

At least a subset of the Benjamin Franklin Professors was substantially involved in the Moratorium in 1969. This was a national event in response to the Vietnam War and the resulting anti-war sentiment evident across the US. Goffman has been said to have been indifferent to the anti-war protests while at Berkeley, but in 1969 he was one of “five Benjamin Franklin Professors who were signatories to the petition requesting dismissal of classes” (the five were Cochran, Goffman, Klein, Price, and Rieff), on what was designated a national Moratorium Day, October 15, 1969, as a form of opposition to the Vietnam War. (At that point, Price was chairing the university’s Committee on Open Expression [Riley 1969], which may have been what led to the petition.) Provost David R. Goddard turned them down, on the grounds that “it is University custom not to close classes during occasions which involve matters of conscience or belief.” Instead, he asked the petitioners “to plan and convene a campus-wide assembly for that day” (*Pennsylvania Gazette* 1969). The goal was to “have an opportunity to discuss a report entitled “The Causes of Student Unrest and the Proper Response of the Universities to that Unrest,” which had been submitted by the Committee on the Goals of Higher Education at Penn.¹¹⁴ The provost agreed to make classes that day optional and allowed for two hours of campus-wide discussions. The campus student newspaper, *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, reported that nearly three thousand students, faculty, and staff attended (while bemoaning the fact that more did not). The assembly passed multiple resolutions (condemning the war, calling for withdrawal of troops, urging amnesty for those who chose jail or exile rather than military service), but a proposed resolution recommend-

ing that Penn no longer accept contracts and grants from the Department of Defense failed to pass. Several faculty members were photographed for the paper; given his known distaste for being photographed, it comes as no surprise that Goffman was not among them.

There is a related story. In 1970, Hymes mentioned to Labov that “Cambodia has even Erv signing petitions.”¹¹⁵ Here is what he was referring to: In the continuing effort to show opposition to the Vietnam War, students called for a strike across final exams in spring 1970, but there was a concern about how many students would feel free to participate, given the impact on their grades. As a result, Sol Worth prepared a “petition supporting the student strike and agreeing to provide alternative solutions for students who cannot take their exams as scheduled.” Goffman signed, as did Cochran and Klein (Price and Rieff did not), along with Ben-Amos, Gleitman, Goldstein, Gross, Hymes, Scholte, and Szwed (of those involved in any of the other projects in these pages), and many, many dozens more not otherwise mentioned here (Faculty statement 1970).

Campus Politics

While Goffman and Rieff signed a petition in common for the Moratorium, in the next example, they came down on different sides. In 1980, choice of the next president of Penn became contentious. The search committee recommended Sheldon Hackney instead of then Provost Vartan Gregorian, who was quite popular and had been widely expected to be promoted. As a result, six Benjamin Franklin Professors signed the following statement: “We urge that Provost Vartan Gregorian’s name put before a meeting of the Trustees to be voted on for President of the University of Pennsylvania.” The six signatories were: Goffman, Davies, Klein, Schwartz, Meyer, and Steinberg—by then Price had retired.¹¹⁶ They were not the only ones writing in to the *Almanac* with opinions on the matter, of course. However, the seventh Benjamin Franklin Professor at that time, Rieff, wanted it noted “as a matter of record that he was asked to sign and refused, and that he opposes the resolution.”¹¹⁷ Rieff had served on the search committee that made the decision of who to recommend to the trustees, and he stood by that decision.¹¹⁸ Partly as a result of the position taken by the six Benjamin Franklin Professors, a special session of the Faculty Senate was held, and Gregorian was formally approved (although it turned out that this was not a legal maneuver, thus having no effect on the formal process). Shortly after, Gregorian called for one more special session of the Senate, explicitly

inviting those six Benjamin Franklin Professors, as well as his deans, and a few others who had been publicly supporting him, to thank everyone who had made the motion to place his name in nomination. At the same time, he respectfully declined the honor.¹¹⁹ Gregorian really had no choice, as the legal process simply did not permit a group outside the search committee to play a role in the decision. Hackney became the next university president, and Gregorian stepped down as provost.¹²⁰ This story, like the last few, is interesting for the fact that Goffman, often said to have been apolitical, several times joined others in this group in political activities.

Controversy

In 1979, there was substantial unhappiness among some faculty over Benjamin Franklin Professors—not with any individual having that title, but with the system itself. Briefly, the Senate Committee on the Faculty (a subcommittee of the Faculty Senate) prepared a report discussing the issues and making recommendations. They argued that “the Benjamin Franklin Professorships are defined by the trustees as ‘the most distinguished professorships the University has to bestow.’ We find this offensive to the holders of various named chairs and unseemly.” There were specific objections to the fact that only those already in the group could nominate new members, which was felt to be “inherently unwise” based on the “concentration of power” in a small number of incumbents. What they found to be even more objectionable was that “the nominal purpose of the Benjamin Franklin Professorships was to honor ‘interdisciplinary scholarship.’ Thus the University proclaims that its highest academic honor is reserved for interdisciplinary scholars, and the two Nobel Laureates at the University are thereby disbarred!”¹²¹ Faculty Senate held a meeting to discuss the matter on April 29, 1979, and the report was adopted.¹²² That meant there could be no further Benjamin Franklin Professors appointed after that date, so Goffman remained one of a tiny minority of faculty members ever granted that prestigious title.

In 1980, after the Benjamin Franklin Professorships had been terminated, they were replaced by Distinguished Professorships. Ellen Prince wrote a dissenting statement to the *Almanac* arguing that at least some of these should be “reserved for individuals whose work has an interdisciplinary nature.” She was willing to say that not all should be, as the Benjamin Franklin Professorships had been, but strongly felt that at least some needed to be.¹²³ It is not clear whether she won or lost that argument. By August 1981, since there could be no more new Benjamin Franklin Professors appointed, that

group was combined with University Professors for most purposes. That meant that Goffman was routinely connecting with not only with the few other remaining Benjamin Franklin Professors (Davies, Klein, Meyer, Rieff, Schwartz, and Steinberg) but also with a set of University Professors that included Ward Goodenough, Dorothea Hurvich, and Barbara Herrnstein Smith, as part of the expanded Benjamin Franklin Professors and University Professors group. Of course, Goodenough, Hurvich, and Smith are all relevant because they overlapped with him on various minor projects. (There were at that point twenty combined members, including President Meyerson, Provost Gregorian, and the prior provost, Elliot Stellar—all of whom by then had been granted the additional title of University Professor—plus several who have no other role in these pages.)¹²⁴

Conclusion

Goffman was part of a series of minor projects intended mostly to expand coordination across disciplinary boundaries on Penn's campus. These were largely unsuccessful, although not all in the same way. The Language and Interaction Institute proposed and directed by Labov was holding organizational meetings in 1974, and was established by 1976, yet has left remarkably little evidence of its activities. The Interdisciplinary Program in Language, Culture, and Society was organized by Goodenough and established in 1980, and directed either by him or Hymes depending on the year, but membership changed frequently, and it is unclear whether even the basic goal of coordinating course offerings across departments was ever met; certainly Hymes complained of a depressing lack of responses in the years he chaired that group. Efforts to create a Semiotic Program, proposed by Hymes, and the Interdisciplinary Program in the Science of Symbolic Behavior, proposed by Goodenough, as well as the smaller Native American Languages and Verbal Arts program proposed by Fought (that one not including Goffman), all seem to have been stillborn. The Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior was funded and did host a series of guest lectures by notables from outside Penn, as well as several conferences, and lasted surprisingly long (although undergoing not one but two name changes); however, activities seem to have been largely limited to these special events, and their impact remains unclear. The most successful effort out of the entire set, the Cross-Cultural Communication Center, initially designed by the Language and Interaction Institute, made a significant shift away from cross-cultural communication

(the topic intended to bring together the network of members in the institute) toward cognitive science (a topic relevant to only a few institute members). As a result of this shift, the center received substantial funding, eventually becoming the Institute for Research in Cognitive Science. However, it was no longer a project involving Goffman—nor most of the others initially listed as potentially interested.

Despite the lack of any notable success for the majority of these efforts, they are all still worthy of attention given that they demonstrate the frequent conversations about multi- or interdisciplinary connections across campus, and the larger group (or rather, the set of overlapping groups) within which Goffman was situated at Penn. Goffman was part of all these efforts, although he does not seem to have been an organizer or key player for any of them. In addition, they are worth including since they highlight the effort to name the topic in which these scholars shared an interest: semiotics, symbolic behavior, language and interaction, cross-cultural communication, as well as language, culture and society. All of these terms and phrases are still in use today, although no one term is yet accepted as including them all.

The few activities of the Benjamin Franklin Professors for which there is available documentation are quite different, both in membership and focus, but demonstrate that Goffman was part of yet one more multidisciplinary cluster of faculty members on campus—in this case, all scholars whose research was explicitly interdisciplinary, and all of whom were being honored by their peers. In the process, the specific activities described reveal a Goffman who was more political than his reputation, both in terms of campus and national politics.

Just as the major projects showed what universities can do to develop and support creativity on the part of their faculty members, these minor projects expand what we understand. Despite being organized into disciplines for administrative purposes, universities can encourage and facilitate productive conversations across disciplinary boundaries, and reward interdisciplinarity (as with the Benjamin Franklin Professors). At the same time, the histories related in this chapter demonstrate just how difficult it can be for such connections to succeed, even when everyone is interested: Despite goodwill and the best of intentions, in fact, participants often become sidetracked by the administrative requirements of their own departments, and even when they have argued for the need to share information across departmental borders, doing so takes time and effort, which can be in short supply. So even with good intent, the results do not always live up to expectations.

Despite this, demonstrating the way in which Goffman was clearly connected to dozens of faculty members across so many parts of Penn during his time there, in so many ways, reveals a complexity that has until now been hidden, and often remains unacknowledged even when it is known. Goffman should be considered to have been enmeshed in over a dozen different collectives and now can more clearly be seen to have been a valued partner not only in the few successful major projects described in the last chapter, but also multiple overlapping, less successful endeavors. He clearly knew far more people, and was part of far more networks, than has generally been acknowledged. Thus, although his publications were all sole authored, they were conceived and written within a context of multiple conversations with disciplinary others.

Endnotes

¹ <https://www.asc.upenn.edu/about/mission-and-history/gerbner-years-1964-1989>.

² To some extent, this may be an artifact of the archives consulted, as the Hymes Papers proved the most useful source; obviously Hymes would not have had documentation for projects in which he was not a participant.

³ Labov to Hymes, Oct 7, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence, 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.

⁴ Hymes to Labov, Oct 13, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Subseries A: Early Correspondence, Labov, William, 1974–1987.

⁵ Hymes to Ben-Amos, Feb 26, 1972, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Ben-Amos, Dan, 1970–2004.

⁶ Hymes to Sebeok, May 4, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Sebeok, Thomas, 1955–1982.

⁷ Hymes to Goldstein, copied to Goffman, Labov, Sapir, Fought, and Worth, May 15, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goldstein, Kenneth, S., 1969–1987.

⁸ Hymes to Goldstein, copied to Goffman, Labov, Sapir, Fought, and Worth, May 15, 1971, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goldstein, Kenneth, S., 1969–1987.

⁹ Hymes to Gregorian, Jul 8, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Gregorian, Vartan, 1974–1981.

¹⁰ Hymes to Jenness, Jul 18, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries D: Social Science Research Council, Committee on Sociolinguistics, July–December 1974.

¹¹ Stellar to Donald N. Langenberg (Vice Provost), Vartan Gregorian (then Dean of Arts and Sciences), and Hobstetter (Associate Provost), Aug 13, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

¹² Hymes to Stellar, Jun 11, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Com-

mittees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

¹³ Hymes to Stellar, Jun 11, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

¹⁴ Hymes to Stellar, copied to Labov, Goffman, Szwed, Jun 11, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

¹⁵ Hymes to Stellar, Sep 3, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

¹⁶ Stellar to Fought, Gelman, Gleitman, Goffman, Gregorian, Hobstetter, Hymes, Labov, Langenberg, J. Smith, Szwed, Sep 24, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

¹⁷ “A Proposal to the University of Pennsylvania for an Institute of Language and Interaction,” n.d. [1974], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.

¹⁸ “A Proposal to the University of Pennsylvania for an Institute of Language and Interaction,” n.d. [1974], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.

¹⁹ “A Proposal to the University of Pennsylvania for an Institute of Language and Interaction,” n.d. [1974], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.

²⁰ “A Proposal to the University of Pennsylvania for an Institute of Language and Interaction,” n.d. [1974], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.

²¹ “A Proposal to the University of Pennsylvania for an Institute of Language and Interaction,” n.d. [1974], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 2, 1974–1987.

²² While Labov’s proposal was found in the folder for his correspondence, the diagrams were found in the folder for the Language and Interaction Institute. (See next footnote for details.)

²³ These are filed after the letter and attachments from Stellar discussed in the next section, so they seem likely to have been created in 1977 (Stellar to Gelman and Labov, Jan 17, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977).

²⁴ Fought to Gregorian, Jan 8, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

²⁵ Gregorian to Fought, Feb 6, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977. Fought forwarded that letter on to Hymes with the handwritten note “Any ideas?” There is no copy of a response.

²⁶ “A proposal for a research program on cross-cultural communication from the members of the Language and Interaction Institute,” Nov 18, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977. (So far, no additional documentation for the Language

and Interaction Institute has been located beyond the few pieces of the story found at APS; there is nothing in Penn's archives. Despite having been a student at Penn across 1975–1979, working with Hymes, Labov, and Fought among others, I have no memory of hearing about LII.)

²⁷ Interestingly, in 2004, the 27th Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium held a special session in honor of Goffman, and several papers were published from that event in this series (e.g., Toye 2004).

²⁸ Hymes to Szwed, Jun 15, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries D: Social Science Research Council, Committee on Sociolinguistics, May 1975.

²⁹ Hymes to Jenness, Jun 30, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, Subseries D: Social Science Research Council, Committee on Sociolinguistics, May 1975.

³⁰ These grants would more accurately be described as transdisciplinary than interdisciplinary, given that the focus was on both of the assumptions required of transdisciplinary work: practical application and involvement of practitioners. However, since Goffman had no part in them, it is relevant only as a side note to this discussion.

³¹ Fought to Gregorian, copied to Lisker (linguistics), Hymes, and John Witthoft (anthropology), Nov 4, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Fought, John G., 1972–2004.

³² Fought to Gregorian, copied to Lisker and Hymes, Apr 18, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 2, Series I: Correspondence, Fought, John G., 1972–2004.

³³ “A proposal for a research program on cross-cultural communication from the members of the Language and Interaction Institute,” Nov 18, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

³⁴ “A proposal for a research program on cross-cultural communication from the members of the Language and Interaction Institute,” Nov 18, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

³⁵ “A proposal for a research program on cross-cultural communication from the members of the Language and Interaction Institute,” Nov 18, 1976, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

³⁶ The topic existed, of course, mostly within communication programs, but it was not yet a standard option in communication departments across the US, as it is today.

³⁷ Hymes to Allan Glatthorn, Mary Hoover, James Larkin, and Nessa Wolfson, Jan 12, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

³⁸ https://sloan.org/storage/app/media/files/annual_reports/1974-1978_annual_reports.pdf.

³⁹ Stellar to Gelman and Labov, Jan 17, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

⁴⁰ Stellar to Gelman and Labov, Jan 17, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

⁴¹ “Proposed particular program in cognitive sciences” Sloan Foundation document, attached to Stellar to Gelman and Labov, Jan 17, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

⁴² Labov to Language and Interaction group, Feb 4, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

⁴³ Labov to Language and Interaction group, Jun 17, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

⁴⁴ Hymes to Labov, Jul 18, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

⁴⁵ Hymes to Wagner, Jul 18, 1977, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Language and Interaction Institute, 1974–1977.

⁴⁶ Both the first and second grants are documented in the Sloan Foundation’s Annual Report for 1979 (https://sloan.org/storage/app/media/files/annual_reports/1979-1982_annual_reports.pdf).

⁴⁷ https://sloan.org/storage/app/media/files/annual_reports/1983-1986_annual_reports.pdf.

⁴⁸ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v26pdf/n16/120679-insert.pdf>.

⁴⁹ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v34pdf/n21/020988-insert.pdf>; <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v26pdf/n16/120679-insert.pdf>.

⁵⁰ <https://www.psych.upenn.edu/history/history.htm>.

⁵¹ <https://repository.upenn.edu/exhibits/orgunit/ircs>.

⁵² Course flyer for spring 1985, included in DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, 1979–1986.

⁵³ Goodenough to Dean Vartan Gregorian and Dean Richard Lambert, copied to Bird-whistell, Fought, Gleitman, Goffman, Hymes, Labov, and J. Smith, Oct 20, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goodenough, Ward H., 1958, 1960, 1970–1986.

⁵⁴ Goodenough to Dean Vartan Gregorian and Dean Richard Lambert, copied to Bird-whistell, Fought, Gleitman, Goffman, Hymes, Labov, and J. Smith, Oct 20, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goodenough, Ward H., 1958, 1960, 1970–1986.

⁵⁵ Hymes to Goodenough, Dec 1, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goodenough, Ward H., 1958, 1960, 1970–1986.

⁵⁶ Hymes to Goodenough, Dec 1, 1975, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Goodenough, Ward H., 1958, 1960, 1970–1986.

⁵⁷ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v25pdf/n05/092678-insert.pdf> (South Asia Regional Studies had been established much earlier, at least by 1954: <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v01pdf/n01/110154.pdf>).

⁵⁸ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n32/052378-insert.pdf>.

⁵⁹ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n32/052378-insert.pdf>.

⁶⁰ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v25pdf/n27/040379.pdf>.

⁶¹ Ben-Amos, Gross, Meyer, G. Prince, Herrnstein Smith to Regular Members, copied to Meyerson and Gregorian, Dec 13, 1978, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior, 1978, 1986.

⁶² Ben-Amos, Gross, Meyer, G. Prince, Herrnstein Smith to Regular Members, copied to Meyerson and Gregorian, Dec 13, 1978, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Center for the Study of Art and Symbolic Behavior, 1978, 1986.

⁶³ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v27pdf/n19/012781.pdf>.

⁶⁴ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v27pdf/n26/032481.pdf>.

⁶⁵ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v28pdf/n11/111781.pdf>.

⁶⁶ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v28pdf/n24/032382.pdf>.

⁶⁷ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v29pdf/n26/032983.pdf>.

⁶⁸ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v32pdf/n24/022586.pdf>.

⁶⁹ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v35pdf/n08/101188.pdf>.

⁷⁰ <https://french.sas.upenn.edu/sites/default/files/2019%20cv%20prince.pdf>.

⁷¹ One conference was on Jean Genet, co-sponsored with the French Institute for Culture and Technology and the Romance languages department, held in 1993 (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v39pdf/n29/041393.pdf>); a second was Code Black: Constructing Race in Early Modern England and France, held in 1994 (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v41pdf/n09/102594.pdf>). Examples of additional guest lectures were: “Historical Data and Theories of Rational Choice” (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v34pdf/n27/032988.pdf>) in 1988; “Seminar on Afro-American Intellectual History: Cultural Studies and Black Liberation” with bell hooks in 1991 (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v38pdf/n04/091791.pdf>); “Black America and the Urban Scene” with Andrew Ross in 1992 (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v39pdf/n08/102092.pdf>); and “The Environmental Situation in the Former Soviet Union” with Nikolai N. Vorontsov of the Russian Parliament in 1993 (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v39pdf/n32/050493.pdf>).

⁷² <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v45pdf/980929/092998.pdf>.

⁷³ “Graduate courses on language and culture,” 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981.

⁷⁴ Hymes to Goffman, copied to Sankoff and Glassie, Feb 14, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981.

⁷⁵ Goodenough to Dyson, Mar 7, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981.

⁷⁶ Hymes to Goodenough, Mar 27, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981.

⁷⁷ Hymes to Goodenough, Apr 17, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981.

⁷⁸ Dyson to Hymes, Sankoff, Labov, Fought, Kroch, Glassie, Goodenough, Goffman, Birdwhistell, Wolfson, Heath, Schieffelin, May 27, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981.

⁷⁹ Hymes to Goodenough, May 28, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981.

⁸⁰ Hymes to Dyson, May 30, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981.

⁸¹ D. Hymes to V. Hymes, Sankoff, Schieffelin, Wolfson, Nov 1, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981.

⁸² Goodenough to Hymes, Szwed, Feld, Wolfson, Schieffelin, Smith, Sankoff, Labov, Fought, Kroch, Goffman, Birdwhistell, Long, Nov 21, 1980, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981.

⁸³ Memo from Hymes to Birdwhistell, Glassie, Goffman, Kroch, Labov, Sankoff, Schieffelin, Wolfson, n.d. [1981], DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981. Given that spring 1982 courses are discussed, it must be from fall 1981. In fact, another letter makes clear he had agreed to the position in spring 1981 but only found out about the appointment when he saw the official list of who was on what committees (Hymes to Dyson, Sep 30, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981)! Apparently, Goodenough intended to stay on the committee, just not as chair (Hymes to Dyson, Oct 15, 1981, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 1, 1979–1981).

⁸⁴ Hymes to Fought, Schieffelin, Wolfson, Jan 10, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 2, 1982–1986.

⁸⁵ Schieffelin to Hymes, Jan 13, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 2, 1982–1986.

⁸⁶ Hymes to Fought, Apr 3, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 2, 1982–1986.

⁸⁷ Dyson to Hymes, May 20, 1982, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 2, 1982–1986.

⁸⁸ Hymes to Fitts, Apr 29, 1983, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 2, 1982–1986.

⁸⁹ Hymes to committee, Sep 30, 1983, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 2, 1982–1986.

⁹⁰ Hymes to Frank Johnston (chair of anthropology), n.d., DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 2, 1982–1986.

⁹¹ Goodenough to Feld, Fought, Hymes, Kroch, Labov, Sankoff, Schieffelin, Wolfson, Woolard, Mar 15, 1985, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 2, 1982–1986.

⁹² Goodenough to Feld, Fought, Hymes, Kroch, Labov, Sankoff, Schieffelin, Wolfson, Woolard, Mar 25, 1985, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series II: Conferences and Committees, 1955–1987, Subseries E: Other Committees, Interdisciplinary Committee for a Program in Language, Culture and Society, folder 2, 1982–1986.

⁹³ Exceptions were Ben-Amos, Anderson, Abrahams, and Sutton-Smith, but their membership in this group in the late 1980s as substitutes for members who left does not merit much attention in this context.

⁹⁴ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v33pdf/n32/042887-insert.pdf>.

⁹⁵ <https://ancestors.familysearch.org/en/LRZS-BGF/angelica-schuyler-choate-1928-1964>.

⁹⁶ For example, in 1908 Joseph H. Choate, former Ambassador to Great Britain, spoke at the annual alumni banquet, and was awarded an honorary degree (*Daily Pennsylvanian* 1908).

⁹⁷ University of Pennsylvania press release, Jan 24, 1968, UR, Biographical Files, Goffman, Erving, box 53, folder 10.

⁹⁸ Thomas Cochran to Lawrence Klein, Feb 27, 1973, RED.

⁹⁹ Robert Davies to Hugh Huxley, Oct 30, 1970, RED.

¹⁰⁰ Originally the Phoebe Waterman Foundation (1945–1970), then the Haas Community Fund (1970–1974), then the William Penn Foundation (1974–) (<https://fconline.foundationcenter.org/fdo-grantmaker-profile?key=PENN001>; <https://williampennfoundation.org/history-and-heritage>).

¹⁰¹ Louis Schwartz to Provost Curtis Reitz, Apr 15, 1971, RED.

¹⁰² “University professorships were established in 1961 to honor those faculty members who are particularly distinguished in scholarship and whose contributions to knowledge have been made in more than one discipline, rather than in a narrow field of specialization” (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v14pdf/n04/011668.pdf>). Eiseley had been appointed the first University Professor in 1961 (<https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/volumes/v54/n10/eiseley.html>).

¹⁰³ University of Pennsylvania press release, Jan 24, 1968, UR, Biographical Files, Goffman, Erving, box 53, folder 10.

¹⁰⁴ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v24pdf/n01/071577.pdf>.

¹⁰⁵ “Benjamin Franklin Professors at the University of Pennsylvania to date,” Dec 1, 1970, RED.

¹⁰⁶ Charles Price to Benjamin Franklin Professors, shows Davies, Eiseley, Goffman, Klein, Rieff, and himself in attendance, Sep 23, 1974, RED; Price to Benjamin Franklin Professors, shows Davies, Goffman, Harris, Rieff, and himself in attendance, Oct 22, 1974, RED; Price to Goffman and Rieff appoints them as a subcommittee to evaluate one of the potential candidates, Sep 23, 1974, RED.

¹⁰⁷ Lawrence Klein to Benjamin Franklin Professors, invited them to a dinner with President Meyerson honoring Cochran on his retirement, Jan 22, 1973, RED.

¹⁰⁸ “If my nomination for a Franklin Professorship had gone through two years ago” (Hymes to Dean Vartan Gregorian, Jul 8, 1974, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Gregorian, Vartan, 1974–1981).

¹⁰⁹ Their CVs appear after a letter dated 1972, but no minutes discussing them as candidates have been preserved (RED).

¹¹⁰ Robert Davies to Lawrence Klein, Nov 4, 1970, RED.

¹¹¹ Charles Price to President Meyerson and Provost Stellar, copied to Benjamin Franklin Professors, May 8, 1974, RED.

¹¹² “Notice of a campus event,” Feb 18, 1972, UR, Biographical Files, Goffman, Erving, box 53, folder 10.

¹¹³ By this time, these publications included Goffman 1959c, 1961a, 1961b, 1963a, 1963b, 1970, 1971.

¹¹⁴ Press release, Sep 26, 1969, UR, Biographical Files, Goffman, Erving, box 53, folder 10.

¹¹⁵ Hymes to Labov, May 11, 1970, DHH, Subcollection 1, Series I: Correspondence 1951–1987, Labov, William, folder 1, 1963–1972.

¹¹⁶ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v25pdf/n24/030679.pdf>.

¹¹⁷ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v27pdf/n07/100780.pdf>.

¹¹⁸ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v25pdf/n03/091278.pdf>.

¹¹⁹ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v27pdf/n09/102180.pdf>.

¹²⁰ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v27pdf/n10/102880.pdf>.

¹²¹ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v25pdf/n28/041079.pdf>.

¹²² <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v25pdf/n30/042479.pdf>.

¹²³ <https://almanac.upenn.edu/archive/v26pdf/n25/022880.pdf>.

¹²⁴ “University Professors, August 1981,” RED.

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