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Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life

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Abstract

The concept of *indexical order* is introduced, necessary to any empirical investigation of the inherently dialectical facts of indexicality. Indexical order is central to analyzing how semiotic agents access macro-sociological plane categories and concepts as values in the indexable realm of the micro-contextual. Through such access their relational identities are presupposed and creatively (trans)formed in interaction. We work through several classic examples of indexicality well-known in the literature of sociolinguistics, the clarification of which can be enhanced by using the concept of indexical order, viz., 'T/V' deference-indexicality, speech levels, indexically significant variation in phonetics informed by a standard phonological register. We conclude with an analysis of identity-commoditizing indexical overlays such as the American English register here dubbed "*oinoglossia*," 'wine talk'.

Keywords: Indexicality; Sociolinguistic variation; Registers; Honorifics; Language ideology; Political economy of language

1. Introduction: indexical order

The claim of this paper is this: 'indexical order' is the concept necessary to showing us how to relate the micro-social to the macro-social frames of analysis of any sociolinguistic phenomenon.

Such indexical order comes in integral, ordinal degrees, that is, first-order indexicality, second-order indexicality, etc., in the following general schema of dialectic: any *n*-th order indexical presupposes that the context in which it is normatively used has a schematization of some particular sort, relative to which we can model the "appropriateness" of its usage in that context. At the same time, there will tend to

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be a contextual entailment—a "creative" effect or "effectiveness" in context—regularly produced by the use of the *n*-th order indexical token as a direct (causal) consequence of the degree of (institutionalized) ideological engagement users manifest in respect of the *n*-th order indexical meaningfulness.

Such ideological intervention functions characteristically as a cultural construal of the *n*-th order usage, what we term an *ethno-metapragmatics* of such usage. And of course in such a metapragmatics there are characteristic modes and degrees of "misrecognizing" (Bourdieu) *n*-th order indexicality, or of "falsely" becoming conscious of it (Marx), or of forming certain "secondary rationalizations" of it (Boas). But within the *n*-th order ethno-metapragmatic perspective, this creative indexical effect is the motivated realization, or performable execution, of an already constituted framework of semiotic value.

However, once performatively effectuated in-and-by its use, the *n*-th order indexical form can itself also be conceptualized as well in terms of its $n+1$st order indexical relationship to context. That is, it is as though a coterminous (or at least formally overlapping) indexical form presupposes as well a transcendent and competing overlay of contextualization possibly distinct from the *n*-th order one with which we began, a "virtual" contextualization that is brought into being as a function of the way ideologically- (or culturally-) laden metapragmatics engages with *n*-th order indexicality in the characteristic mode of giving it motivation (for example, iconic motivation with respect to a schema of values). $N+1$st order indexicality is thus always already immanent as a competing structure of values potentially indexed in-and-by a communicative form of the *n*-th order, depending on the degree of intensity of ideologization.

It is immediately seen that (1) *n*-th and $n+1$st order indexical values are, functionally, in dialectic competition one with another; and that (2) in the continued macro-realtime course of things, with sufficient ideological "oomph"—force that follows from uniformity, intensity, and sociological spread—$n+1$st order indexicality would tend to supplant or at least to blend with such *n*-th order value; so that (3) this dialectical effect of micro-realtime indexicality must therefore constitute a major vectorial force in formal linguistic change.

A good concept like 'indexical order' brings theorized order to a large number of what once appeared to be disparate phenomena, each existing in our field's empirical literature in frameworks with different terminologies, seemingly different claims, etc. I want therefore to review some classic presentations in the sociolinguistic canon—T/V systems, speech levels, class and style stratified phonological variability—along with some material of my own on (American) English wine talk, to explain and to illustrate the dialectical process to which I am pointing. But first let me review the theoretical context in which indexical order finds its place.

2. Micro-realtime dialectics

By this time we can surely say that the work of contemporary linguistic anthropology has firmly established that any linguistic, a.k.a. sociolinguistic, fact is neces-

sarily an indexical fact, that is, a way in which linguistic and penumbral signs-in-use point to contexts of occurrence structured for sign-users in one or another sort of way. To be sure, under the normal conceptualization of conformity of linguistic signals to Saussurean structural–functional assumptions, one indexical value of any particular sign-fraction so discernible is its "value" (*valeur*) in the standard intra-linguistic or cotextual sense that derives from its network of syntagmatic distributions and paradigmatic contrast sets captured by the concept of a grammar of sentences. Recognizing this, we can set it aside to focus for the time being on the more generally contextualizing indexical value in the more straightforwardly recognized cases of sociolinguistic analysis. In Fig. 1. I try diagrammatically to capture the essence of such indexicality at a theorized interval-instant, dubbed $\mathbf{t_0}$, in semiotically parsed interactional realtime. As shown, we theorize an atomic event of contingent (historical) manifestation of an indexically-valorizable unit, shown to be taking up an interval's duration on a "time"-line of discursive contingency.

Now in relation to micro-social context in the most general sense, any such socially conventional indexical (Legi)sign [=type] is dialectically balanced between indexical presupposition and indexical entailment. That is, its indexical meaning is composed of two aspects. One is its indexical "appropriateness-to" at-that-point autonomously known or constituted contextual parameters: what is already established between interacting sign-users, at least implicitly, as 'context' to which the propriety of their usage at t_0 appeals. The other is its indexical "effectiveness-in" context: how contextual parameters seem to be brought into being—i.e., causally and hence existentially entailed—by the fact of usage of the indexical (Sin)sign [=token] itself. The presupposition/entailment relationship is not simply linear or one-dimensional, like a temporal "before" and "after" to an indexical event, even

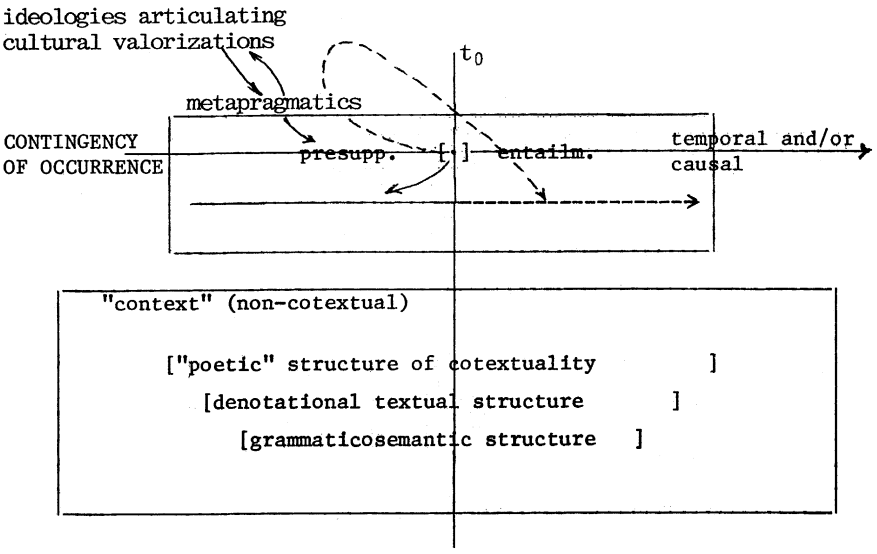


Fig. 1. Micro-contextual semiotic of indexicality.

though Fig. 1 visually might suggest the intuition of left-to-right, earlier-to-later cause-and-effect. The relationship is, rather, a complex and mediated one, as the various arrowed lines try to capture, and they end, i.e., result, in a conceptual object called a *text-in-context* that I have diagrammed as a line solid up to t_0 (in the domain of the cotextual presupposables at that point) and as an interrupted line from t_0 (in the domain of the cotextuality that projects from the indexical entailment associable with the sign-in-play at t_0).

Importantly, the mediating factor between pragmatic presupposition and pragmatic entailment is *metapragmatic function*. Hence, in the diagram, the interrupted arrow of entailment makes a diagrammatic arc "back" via the presupposable context and "up" to metapragmatics, the regimenting principles of chunking and coherence in terms of which dynamically developing context has any presupposable structure at all as part of an event understandable with respect to genred type. Then the arrow arches "forward" to the pragmatic entailments of the indexical sign. This metapragmatic or regimenting function is frequently aided by the way interactants make use of denotationally explicit *metapragmatic discourse* that renders potentially presupposable context more transparent. Thus, people sometimes use explicit primary performative constructions to denote conventional "moves" constituted by language-in-use, that is, to parse language-in-use as chunks of interactional text; this constitutes a kind of full-tilt metapragmatic discourse. In the course of communicating people more regularly use various other partial, and grammaticolexically various, metapragmatic framing devices: verbs of saying and of assorted intensionalities, nominal and verbal deictics, anchored 'evaluative' (=judgment-indexing) adjectives and adverbials, etc. that potentially serve a metapragmatic function with respect to what they might be in the course of "doing" with words as they communicate. But in general the most robust and effective metapragmatic function is implicit, not denotationally explicit. It resides in cotextual organization itself, that is, in token cooccurrence patterns of emergent entextualization itself, that transcend, encompass, and supersede any denotationally literal metapragmatic discourse that may happen to manifest simultaneously in the plane of denotational function (see Silverstein, 1993).

Here, then, is a first encounter with the inherently dialectic condition of indexicality. On the one hand, explicit metapragmatic discourse is a sufficient indicator of metapragmatic function, and of a metapragmatic intentionality. But it is predictably associable as an accompaniment of pragmatic signals only if they have certain semiotic code properties but not others (Silverstein, 2001); hence the interrupted arrow swinging up in Fig. 1, showing that at least explicit metapragmatics, one of the modes of ideologies of language-in-use, depends on—is a "function" of—indexical structure and function itself. But on the other hand, we must recognize that metapragmatic function, and hence more particularly its explicit, discursive expression in metapragmatic discourse, is ideologically saturated; it relates and, in its discursive mode even describes, explains, or rationalizes the pragmatics of language use (e.g., in terms like "appropriateness-to-context" and "effectiveness-in-context") in terms of perhaps more fundamental frameworks, cultural agenda that bespeak human interests perspectivally caught up in social-institutional processes. In

these terms such ideologically-informed metapragmatics shapes and, in the statistically measurable sense, biases our verbal and other interactional behavior; it endows otherwise mere behavior with indexical significance that can be "read" in relation to conventional norms. Hence, in the diagram of Fig. 1 the solid arrows move from ideology to metapragmatics (of our hypothetical indexical semiotic event at t_0) to the presupposed (indexed) configuration of context.

So the dependencies of predictiveness and regimentation intersecting in metapragmatic function seem to proceed in both directions simultaneously. We might, as social scientists—stressing the "Scientism" for a moment—therefore be quite unhappy with such an inherently dialectical state of indexical affairs in micro-sociological realtime. For were we "billiard-ball" sociologists (or sociolinguists) concerned with predicting rates of behavior by social category or social context-type, every time we got ready to measure some presupposing indexical relationship of signal-to-context we would have to admit that we have not probed much of what makes the statistical presupposition seem to be normatively reliable. And were we self-styled practitioners of "linguistic pragmatics" probing our intuitions about speech acts or maxims, every time we rolled back our Cartesian eyes and intuited some armchair "speech-act" example of stipulated (metapragmatically regimented) pragmatic entailment-in-context of a sentence-token (what the utterance of the token conventionally "counts as" an instance of "doing"), we would be no further in systematic understanding of the purportedly compulsive conventional entailment than our happenstance metapragmatic discursive abilities.

Such scholars as Erving Goffman, the balloon-puncturing Dwight Bolinger of interactional pragmatics, if you know what I mean, never tired of pointing out that almost any actual verbally-centered interaction is layered with so many dialectical partials of the type that can be traced along the arrows of the diagram in Fig. 1, that it is impossible to reduce "felicity's condition" (Goffman, 1983) to science (much less linguistics) in either of these vulgar senses of billiard-ball sociology or introspective intuitionism. For, neglecting the inherently dialectical character, each approach misconstrues indexicality as being micro-contextually deterministic in one or another realm of purported factuality—calquing behaviorist ethology on the one hand, or grammaticality judgments on the other. The first looks to inert social context plus behavioral rates, the second to grammatical form plus a "grammar" of conventions of intentionality (whatever that might be).

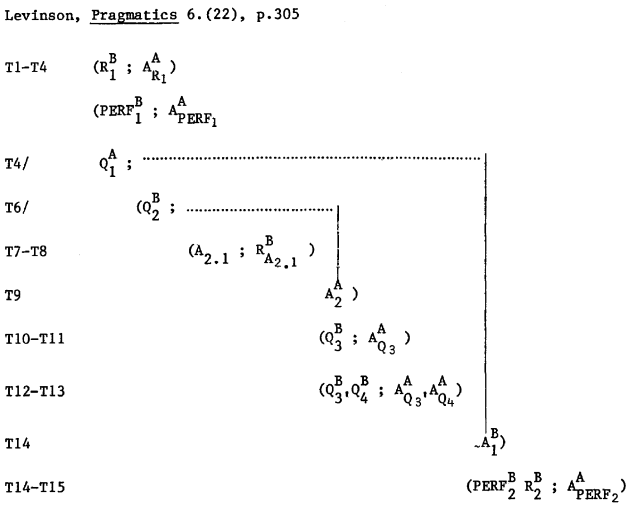
If you will recall, Goffman (1976) even doubted, with good dialectical reasoning and exemplification, the very notion that in studying two-party talk we could straightforwardly determine a finite list of necessary and sufficient conditions under which an utterance of a particular form constitutes a correct/valid/meaningful/normative second pair-part "reply/response" to a proferred first pair-part in an interactional swatch of transcript, without, in effect, all of the rest of this diagrammed baggage of Fig. 1, which provides the framework within which things "count as" adjacency pairs in the first place, of luxuriantly various sorts.

Observe how Fig. 2, in which the transcript is reproduced from Levinson's *Pragmatics* textbook (Levinson, 1983, p. 305), illustrates what Goffman pointed out by showing many of the components of our dialectical schema at work.

(22) *144/6*

T1	B: ... I ordered some paint from you uh a couple of weeks ago some vermilion	
T2	A: Yuh	
T3	B: And I wanted to order some more the name's Boyd	((R1))
T4	A: Yes // how many tubes would you like sir	((Q1))
T5	B: An-	
T6	B: U:hm (.) what's the price now eh with V.A.T. do you know eh	((Q2))
T7	A: Er I'll just work that out for you=	((HOLD))
T8	B: =Thanks (10.0)	((ACCEPT))
T9	A: Three pounds nineteen a tube sir	((A2))
T10	B: Three nineteen is it =	((Q3))
T11	A: =Yeah	((A3))
T12	B: E::h (1.0) yes u:hm ((dental click)) ((in parenthetical tone)) e:h jus-justa think, that's what three nineteen That's for the large tube isn't it	((Q4))
T13	A: Well yeah it's the thirty seven c.c.s	((A4))
T14	B: Er, hh I'll tell you what I'll just eh eh ring you back I have to work out how many I'll need. Sorry I did- wasn't sure of the price you see	((ACCOUNT FOR NO A1))
T15	A: Okay	

Levinson, Pragmatics 6.(22), p.305



	B	A
T1	...I ordered some paint from you uh a couple of weeks ago some vermillion ( )	
T2		Yuh.
T3	And I wanted to order some more (paint) the name's Boyd	
T4		Yes // how many tubes (of paint) would you like (to order) sir
T5	An-	
T6	U:hm (.) what's the price now eh with V.A.T. Do you know ( ) eh	
T7		Er I'll just work that out for you=
T8	=Thanks (10.0)	
T9		Three pounds nineteen a tube sir
T10	Three (pounds) nineteen (pence) is it=	
T11		=Yeah
T12	E::h (1.0) yes u:hm ((dental click)) e:h jus-justa think, that's what three nineteen that's for the large tube isn't it	
T13		Well yeah it's the thirty-seven cc.s
T14	Er, hh I'll tell you what I'll just ring you back I have to work out how many I'll need. Sorry I did- wasn't sure of the price you see	
T15		Okay

Fig. 2. Service encounter telephone call and its interactional structure.

Here is a service encounter of a genred sort, a would-be customer, Mr. B, interacting with a clerk, Mr. A, in a telephone call made to a store. To be sure, there is a baseline metapragmatic regimentation of the interactional form by an alternating participant role structure, B–A–B–A–... that is the essence of two-party dialogue. Within this, however, what is the nature of this interaction? Is it to be captioned in some genred way, i.e., what happens?

Consider some aspects of what is transcribed. Think of the ideologically-driven presupposable asymmetries of the relationship as it might develop in micro-contextual realtime, especially in a small-business institutional context in England in which "the customer is always right" (or, metaphorically, "...is king"). Indeed, there is a kind of power relationship easily presumed upon here, in which the would-be purchaser of paint is licensed to control the pair-part structure by disruption of expected interactional "preferences, " while the clerk adheres to the strictest maintenance of genred interactional form insofar he can. At first, in fact, he seems tropically to pile on whipped cream and maraschino cherries (as we used metapragmatically to say to describe how to index deferential politeness when we were young) to his every conversational move, ending T[urn] 4 and T9 with the honorific "sir." In T1 Mr. B had reported an earlier commercial transaction with the metapragmatic descriptor of an interactional event, the placing (and filling) of an order deictically anchored to the participants, 'I' and 'you': "I ordered some [vermilion] paint from you" (Aha! Establishing his past, and therefore, metapragmatically projecting relevance into the rest of this interaction, perhaps continuing customerhood!). Note that in T3 this Mr. Boyd even reports a more recent intention in a way that thus probably comes to count for the interactants' presupposables as the opening, informal register move of a here-and-now cooperative speech act of contract, 'placing an order': "I wanted to order some more."

Now from the point of view of the clerk role in retail commerce, there are of course institutional demands for filling out a paper or electronic order form, on which certain precise data are entered so as to constitute, legally and practically, a "response" to such a first pair-part, allowing the two parties jointly to make an "order" (cf. Merritt, 1976). So note the clerk wants to be able to give unit description and price per unit (37 cc tubes of vermilion paint @ $3.19/VAT incl.) times the number of units ordered, and thus a total price. Only Mr. B can supply the number of units desired, and we see how an elaborate structure of deferral-by-interrogation—perhaps a somewhat standardized customer's mode of power-backed temporizing—with several embedded layers of pair-part cotextuality constitutes the rest of the conversation, with the customer ending it at T14 by an excuse about "hav[ing] to work out how many [he]'ll need, " once he has heard and dithered about the price per unit. Observe that the entailment of T4, if we recognize it as the clerk's original query about the number of units being ordered so as to allow the interactants to complete the larger first part of a commercial "order, " would be for Mr. B's T5 to have to supply a number.

But look at the contingencies here, as Mr. B and Clerk A dance around the information about the price of a 37 cc tube. This (sub)routine, too, has its question-within-a-question hierarchical structure generated by the alternation of contributions

by Mr. A and Mr. B. (Perhaps, to speculate about motivation, this was Mr. B's real agenda in the call in the first place, under guise of "placing an order, " merely doing comparison shopping! In this case, the explicit metapragmatic descriptor for the event may even be interactionally irrelevant for Mr. B by this time, his only problem being how to exit.) The number of tubes Mr. B is ordering certainly has become the denotational focus over the bulk of the interaction, with its seemingly customer-located infinite deferrability of supplying a second pair-part suggested by T4, were the two interactants operating under the metapragmatic regimentation of "ordering." For this information would complete the business speech-act of—note, Mr. B's—"ordering" already partially in evidence in T3 were Mr. B to specify the critical thing about the order for Clerk A, quantity of units. Note that Mr. B himself, in terminating in T14, refers to "how many [tubes] I'll need, " parallel to Mr. A's query at T4, with added indexing of clerkish deference, "how many tubes would you like sir?"

The interaction is thus poetically pretty, having cumulatively a sequentially built hierarchical structure of turn-contributions, and it contains an explicit metapragmatic descriptor, '[customer placing an] order [with a clerk]', that seems to play a certain role in asymmetrically presupposable rights of adherence-to or violation-of form by virtue of the invoked roles of 'customer' and 'clerk'. The interaction hardly "is, " ultimately, merely an order, even a failed one, with any certainty—though we can see that Mr. A seems so to assume, with good reason, at least up to a certain point. It might be seen as a game of "how to annoy a store clerk, " but the turns notwithstanding do not constitute anything in the way of merely following an ideologically explicit routine for doing so. Note that the nestedness of various routines-within-routines all depends on the continuing relevance of a metapragmatic parsing of interaction at a certain point on the basis of which the interactants know how to complete a subroutine and continue on with the relevantly framing higher one. For example, note that the very institutional role of 'customer'—into the inhabitance of which Mr. B seems to be at least dipping his toe—is always a first pair-part contributor in a metapragmatically stipulated adjacency pair structure, even though this has to map into the most various of actual utterance-turn structures. This overarching structure gives form to many other adjacency pairs as merely subsidiary to the main interactional text, not vice-versa, though each has its outcome in transforming the indexically presupposable at each further interactional moment.

But this is to point up what we know: that what are not to the point in pragmatics are necessary conditions and grammar-like rules (conceptualized in the idiom of 'grammatical' vs. 'ungrammatical', i.e., possibly occurring and not-possibly occurring in the frictionless universe of ideal grammatical homunculi). What is to the point is a model of how, engaging with such indexical semiotic material as observers and/or interactants, we reach a sufficiency or cumulativity to make the simplifying abductive leaps from one or another of the dialectically-possible positions in the diagram to determine, at least for the moment, what the values of the other, cotextual and contextual variables must likely be, i.e., must have been (at t_0 in Fig. 1) and will have been (at some t_1 if the model-solution holds up beyond the point of computation to the realization of the metapragmatic hypothesis or projection).

So sufficiency of one's interpretive model (also called one's "understanding" of an interactional situation) is all that is required for an interpersonal happening to become an intersubjective event mediated by language use. Interpersonal smoothness, or more precisely, merely non-incoherence of alter's contribution at t_1 with respect to the entailments modeled by ego's contribution at t_0, however compelling and narrow that contribution may have been, thus becomes a positive feedback mark of ego's very own "performative" success at "doing something" with words. Such non-incoherence is sufficient empirical evidence for the semiotic participant-observer as to what **at best** is happening interactionally—even if this is not satisfying in the Cartesian realm of unobservable mental intentions or in the realm of decontextualized categories for role diacritics, where deterministic models, the linguistic-pragmatic and the sociolinguistic, purport to lurk. For there is no reason why interactants need to have actually same intentions (and intensions) toward interaction for some particular interaction in which they are engaged to be successful in the sense of entextualizing a discursive form. (How many classic farces demonstrate this on the stage with exacting explicitness!)

3. Sociocultural macro-contexts

I want to turn now to the concept of language use seen in its "macro-contextual" surround. When we think of the "context" of linguistic signals macro-sociologically, as shown in Fig. 3, we think of things that perdure in one or another intuitive sense beyond any particular token interactional moment, and which semiotic material in such an interactional moment may index. Note that the very idea of a Saussurean

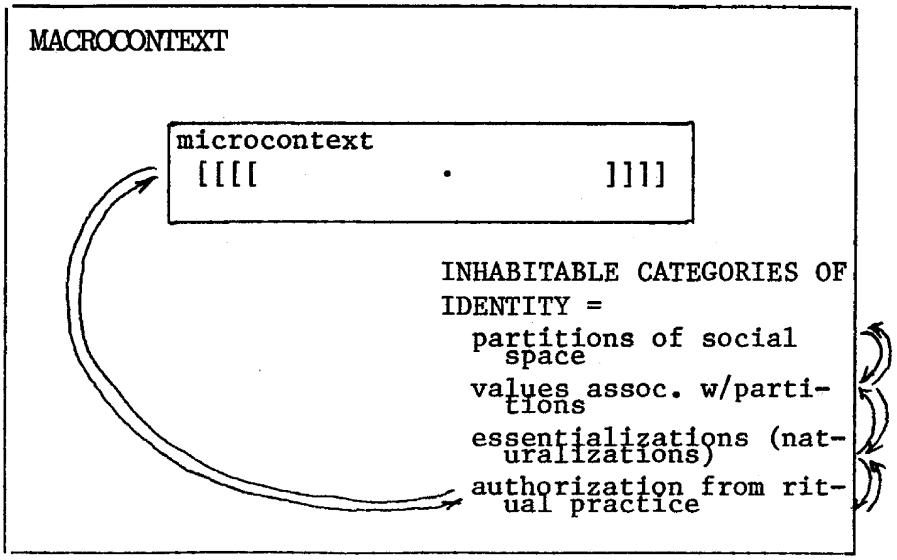


Fig. 3. Micro-/macro-contextual relations schematized.

grammatical norm is something macro-sociological in this sense, as it is thought of as a property of a whole language community of speakers indexically invoked by following grammatical rule each time an utterance is used parsable into sentence-parts under the grammar. In the same way, we think macro-sociologically of conventional or institutionalized qualitative and perhaps quantitative frameworks of social differentiation—partitions and gradations of social space, we might term them—that are presupposed/entailed in-and-by the specifics instantiated in micro-context as it develops during an interaction. Individuals inhabiting such roles as sender–receiver–referent–audience–etc. come to be identified with, even assigned to, positions in such social partitions and gradations in the course of discursive interaction. Socioculturally identified (from the presuppositional point of view) or placed, as it were (as an indexical entailment of language use). Just as at the plane of realtime denotational-textual function we assume that there are perduring grammars and (denotational) discourse genres, so also do we understand such perduring structures of categorial differentiation as sociological age, gender, social and socio-economic class, profession, and other aspects of what we term institutional/positional social identity as these are relevant to interactionally accomplished indexicality.

Micro-sociological contexts are in a sense composed of a dynamic structure-in-play of these categorial distinctions (see Silverstein 1992; 1993; 1998). And indeed, interactional happenings are social-actional "events" of (to a degree determinately) interpretable cultural meanings only to the degree they "instantiate"—indexically invoke—such macro-sociological partitions of social space, in terms of which cultural values can thus be said to be indexically "articulated." This connection of identity with value manifests itself in the micro-contextual order to be sure, where perspectival interests are played out; but it really constitutes a universe of cultural imagination that is part of a more encompassing order of semiotic representation, an order of connectivity of micro-contexts one to another—*interdiscursivity*, in other words—so as to license or warrant a semiotic gesture to their connectedness in any one of them. So the macro-sociological is really a projective order from within a complex, and ever changing, configuration of interdiscursivities in micro-contextual orders, some of which, it turns out, at any given moment of macro-order diachrony asymmetrically determine others.

What is to be recalled in decoding Fig. 3 is that cultural values as articulable and rearticulable in micro-contextual interaction are notoriously "ideological, " that is, they emerge in the micro-contextual dialectic as essentializations (frequently straightforward naturalizations) of a kind of "logic" of evaluational stances (good/bad; preferred/dispreferred; normal/deviant; etc.) underlying social partitioning as the the presuppositions/entailments of semiotic action that instantiate such partitions of social space. An essentialization or naturalization is a discovery of 'essences', qualities or characteristics predicable-as-true of individual things (including persons, events, signs of all sorts), and in particular predicable-as-true independent of the micro-contextual instance of presentation of the thing at issue. That is, to the ideological perception, essences perdure, and, when naturalized, they are grounded in cosmic absolutes, or at least relatively more cosmic and absolute frameworks-of-being

than the micro-contextual indexicality with respect to which they manifest themselves: "Boys will be boys!"—meaning, of course, that this/these boy(s) as (mis)-behaving are grounded in—their behavior indexes—the cosmic essence—maybe even a "natural" essence—of 'boy'hood. (Though perhaps to the ideological perception, it is merely a convention that 'boy's learn through licensed or warranted perlocutions of gendering. Ascriptions of "convention"ality, too, are essentializing, of course.) To a certain degree, this is truly ethno-science to the extent to which ideologically presented rationalization of one's social experiences in micro-context function, mutatis mutandis, in the same metapragmatic semiotic mode as "real" (social) science—how to explain the appropriateness/effectiveness of certain indexicals in the cause-and-effect of social action. So we do just what the "natives" do, schematically speaking, and we should not ever forget that.

But where does the authoritativeness of the logic of valorized partitions of social space come from? What convinces sincere believers-in-essences that such essential characteristics are "truly" predicable of things? It is, of course, the nature of what we recognize to be ritual, or at least relatively ritualized tropic invocation of essentializations (naturalizations) to make believers of us all. Ritualization's own micro-contextual semiotic modality is *indexical iconicity*, by which a ritual(ized) text appears to achieve self-grounding in the (relatively) cosmic absolute of value-conferring essences. Every macro-social framework in which micro-contextual indexicality is locatable seems to be centered on certain relatively ritualized manifestations of the indexical signs in organized configurations that license or warrant their occurrence elsewhere by a kind of either historically-unique or legitimately-recurrent *stipulative* or *'baptismal' essentialization* of their power as indices linked to a larger macro-sociological system. While thus not necessarily locatable in one total and unique experienceable or empirical micro-context of occurrence like an historically unique ritual as such, effectively baptismal essentializations are, as noted, generally tropic in this sense: they create a dynamic interactional-textual structure of figures, a concrete poetry of bricolage that makes no differentiation of "thing-y" words-and-expressions, on the one hand, and of "articulated" persons-and-things making "statements, " on the other. The fact of their co-textual and con-textual manifestation is what is central to ritualized contexts of baptismal essentialization.

And note, then, how, being a micro-context of occurrence, such figurational baptism is of course subject to the dialectical forces already discerned as central to the way indexicality operates. Hence, which ritualized contexts accomplish such indexical licensing or authorization is always a potentially shifting feature of a social system, historical change or at least dialectical dynamism being inherent in the way this centering of social semiosis seems to operate. (Note that the synchrony/diachrony distinction is quite useless for explanatory purposes, not only for denotational-code structure—Saussure's *langue*—but especially for the more general semiotic order of nondenotational indexicality. By-degrees relative perdurance of micro- and macro-structural relationships is what replaces it in the temporal order of dialectical history.) Politicoeconomic and other interests clash in a social system particularly when competing $n+1$st-order presuppositions yield different n-th-order entailments; and such $n+1$st order presuppositions are probably effective via

different ideological positions, licensed in-and-by very different ritualllly-supported essentializations that ground their indexical values.

We can thus see the critical link between the micro-contextual operation of indexical order and the semiotic operation of a macro-social framework in which indexicality is licensed or authorized by processual structures of baptismal essentialization.

Let us look at some examples of how this works.

4. Indices of relative deference entitlement: 'T' and 'V'

Brown and Gilman's classic (1960) presentation of the social indexicality of denotationally 'Second Person' pronouns in the European languages in a way started a whole sociolinguistic industry; I presume everyone knows their text by heart. As you therefore will recall, Brown and Gilman's invocation of two situation-describing interpersonal variables, 'power' and 'solidarity', provides a framework for their famous chart, reproduced in Fig. 4, showing how the two input (independent) variables describing social-psychological "context"—the labels within the

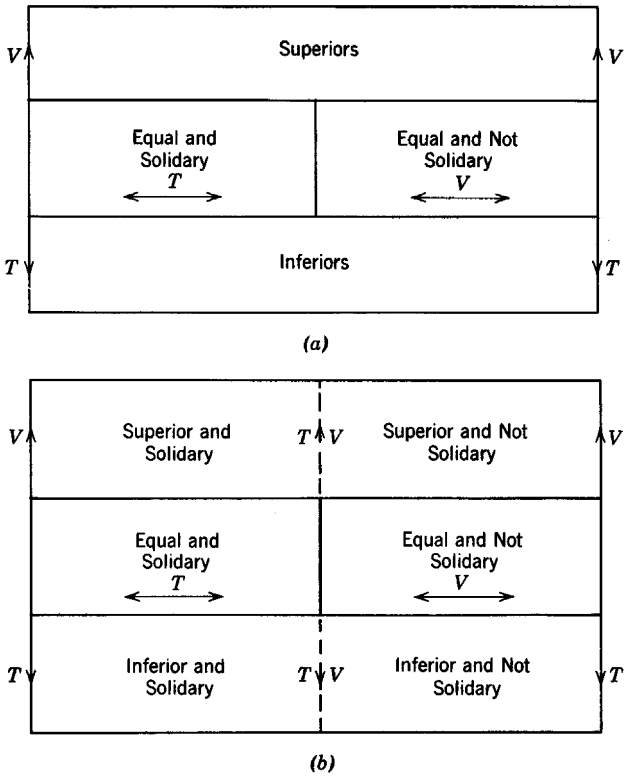


Fig. 4. Brown and Gilman's (1960) model of deference-and-demeanor indexicals.

boxes predicate a relational quality of an Addressee from the perspective of a Sender—determine as output (dependent variables) which second-personal deictic is (to be) used by a Sender to that Addressee—the labels for the directional lines or arrows.

The model purports to be a social-psychological one, fully in keeping with models of individual subjective competence/performance (rules/norms) that see language and culture as cognitive, rather than sociocultural, facts (hence perhaps its runaway popularity and influence in the era of emerging cognitive science stimulated by Chomskian linguistics). It has always seemed to me amazing that no one has observed the systematic incoherence of this account of purported social indexicality, and others based on it, except as ideological baggage of an emergently *honorific* usage of these T/V forms, an $n+1$st-order cultural account of them masquerading as an n-th-order "scientific" one. Let us see what seems to be really at issue.

First off, look at the way the independent variables are really coded by the dependent ones. 'Power' is sociologically relational in Brown and Gilman's sense of "[X's] power-over [Y]"; it is really representable as a two-place (inherently relational) predicate about interactional dyads that indicates relative deference-entitlement of one or the other of its arguments (variables standing for the individuals inhabiting the roles of Speaker and Addressee). It has values indicating that Speaker is deference-entitled with respect to Addressee, or the opposite, or neither. Of course, the dependent variable—the indexical sign-form whose meaning is at issue—is not, in fact, a single token occurrence of a discursive "T" or a discursive "V"; it can only be gauged over the interactional interval of two turns-at-talk, showing two forms of asymmetry of pair-part dyadic usage, first pair-part T followed by second pair-part V (T, V) or vice-versa (V, T), or revealing symmetry of usage, (T, T) or (V, V). Observe the iconic relationship between adjacency pairs and 'power' asymmetry: (T, T) and (V, V) are equipollent, while either of (T, V) or (V, T) are not, though the order in which the T and V appear interactionally is significant, revealing who has 'power-over' whom. Such adjacency-pair-revealing textual fragments are the minimal signs of what is going on, and no one-token form, a unique T or V, suffices to indicate what is going on with respect to the independent variable.

Similarly, 'solidarity', more or less interactionally relevant achieved "likeness" of interacting individuals in some respect or respects, is a predicable function of two variables, with symmetric properties such that $\mathrm{sol}(x, y) = \mathrm{sol}(y, x)$. Here, too, symmetry of usage over at least two known pair-part turns is the minimal diagnostic scope of denotational text we need to evaluate the 'solidarity' variable of the "context." Again, no single token suffices both to indicate (index) that this variable is in play at that moment and thus what is going on with respect to this variable. And observe again the iconic relationship in realtime practice of switching from symmetric to asymmetric pair-part usage (which can be done by the contributor of the first or of the second pair-part, note) as a behaviorally-realizable trope of the switch from emphasizing the one or the other characteristic of the interpersonal, intersubjectively-manifest context.

Brown and Gilman seem to confound the single dimensionality of each of their independent variables (three values: power $S = A$, power $S > A$, power $S < A$, crossed by two values: sol AS, $\sim$sol AS) with how one has to measure the dependent

variable by studying adjacency pairs over two-turn discourse time as the indexical signs. It is clearly not merely the case for Brown and Gilman's model, as their chart (b) reproduced in Fig. 4 tries to indicate, that at the top-left and bottom-right there will be indexical contradictions and hence conflicts, and at the top-right and bottom-left indexical reenforcements and hence ambiguities. The chart simply does not follow from the purported indexical facts at this *first order* of indexicality. But what does it follow from? I think if we follow some of the developments of the Brown and Gilman model, we will see.

Reducing the problem to the psychological decision of a single individual to say "T" or "V" is, as we can see, already a highly ideologically positioned view of the matter; it combines a unitization of performativity in single-token performances with a billiard-ball sociology (or social psychology) of presupposability and decision-theoretic computability of behavioral responses to perceived contextual stimuli. In one such development, 'power' and 'solidarity' are elaborated in terms of the presupposable characteristics of individuals recruited to the role of Addressee in relation to the Speaker such that they are/are not deference-entitled for that Speaker (hence: addressed as "V"/"T"), and are/are not in-group with respect to a Speaker (hence: addressed as "T"/"V"). Observe the Geoghegan decision-charts in Fig. 5, from Ervin-Tripp's classic presentation of paradigmatic "alternation rules" (1971, p. 25), each decision-path from Speaker's E[ntry point] to Speaker's output [decision to say:]. At the end of each such path, "T" or "V" in effect indexes a possibly multivariately scored "context" in which this respective outcome is the normative usage for the Speaker. The problem is, this multiplication of underlying variables contributing to the 'power' and/or 'solidarity' indexical meanings of any isolated token T or V form renders it even more multiply ambiguous as such, and shows that instances of T or V, considered only by themselves, could hardly be, *tout court*, the units of indexical coding of whatever is going on here. The intuition that each T/V usage is indexically meaningful is, in a sense, correct, but I would claim that this cannot be determined on a token-by-token basis outside of the metrically structuring metapragmatic regimentation of adjacency-pair structuring. Thus, the T/V system works rather differently from how it has been incorporated as a "scientific" model of n-th-order indexicality of T and V forms. The model we have from Brown and Gilman and others is, rather, an $n+1$st-order, ethno-metapragmatically-based view of these deference indexicals.

To see this, we need to reconceptualize how deference indexicality works as "interaction ritual." Fig. 6, extracted from Silverstein (1981, p. 240), charts an approximation of denotational categories of surface Noun Phrase types (headed phrasal projections) universally available for referring to entities. Columns are labeled with traditional grammatical terms, like "Third person dual anaphor" [col. I]; rows are labeled with cross-cutting denotational features, e.g. row k [±animate], Boolean combinations of which model the structure of relationships of the column-categories. Across the top are descriptive terms that describe the array as a nested series of sets with greater and greater inclusiveness of denotata.

Observe that in such purely denotational terms, factoring out as much social indexicality as one can, a single Speaker would most economically and "literally"

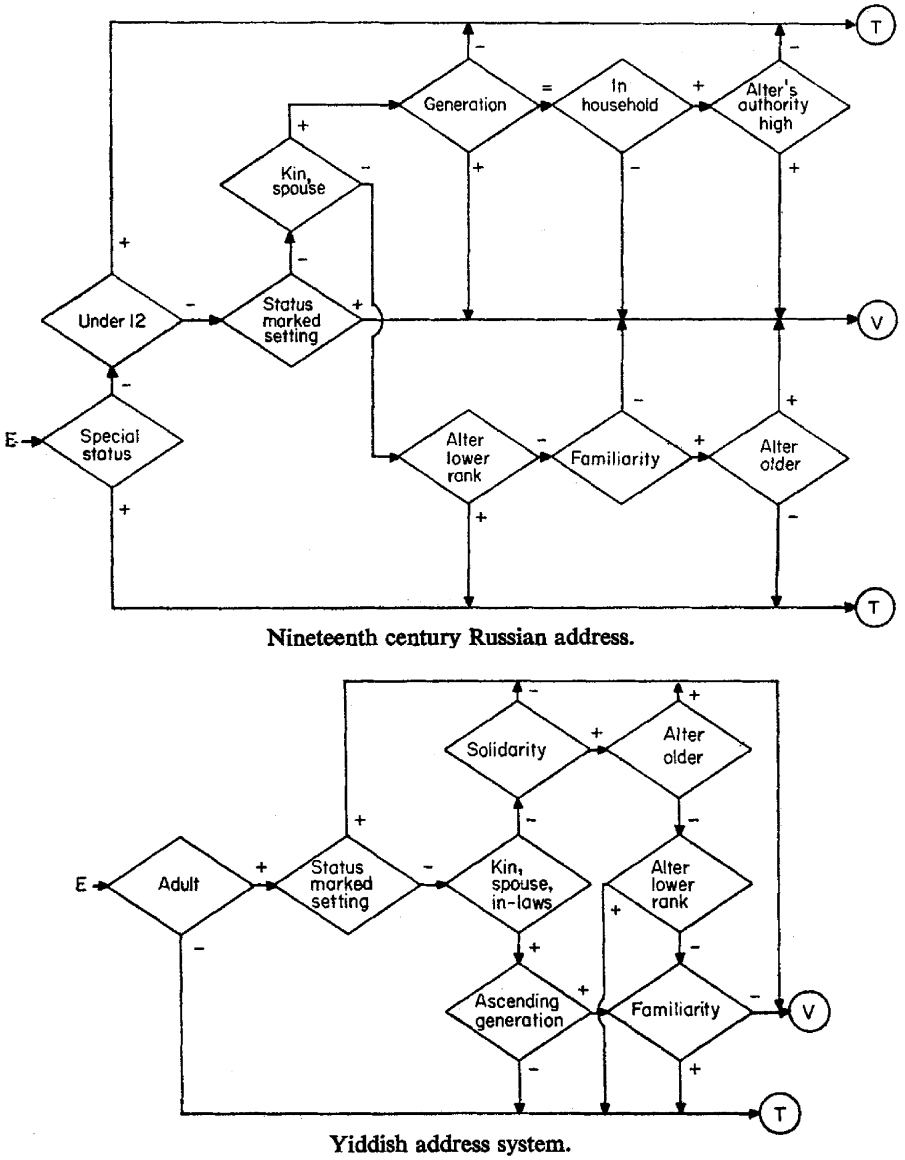


Fig. 5. Decision-trees of Speaker's T/V choices for Russian and Yiddish address.

refer to him- or herself with a denotational category located in column C, using whatever the particular language provides in the way of a *personal deictic* form. The speaker would "literally" refer to a single Addressee with a denotational category of column F (again, using the particular lexical forms in whatever particular language). We can make the empirical observation now that any "T" form in all known languages is just such a column F form, while any "V" form in known languages—not

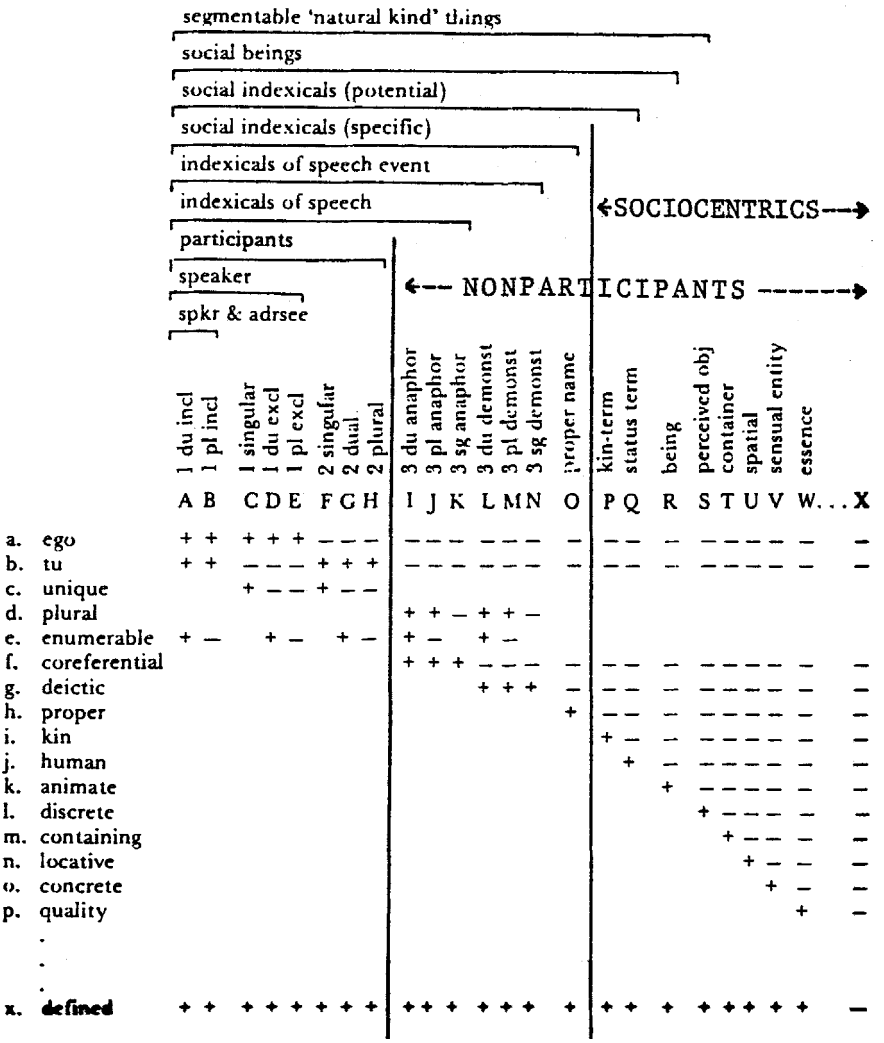


Fig. 6.

only those of Europe, but many far-flung others as well—in effect seems to displace such literal reference, i.e., figuratively to "trope" upon it by deflecting it to another categorial column, using an explicit surface form of denotational column H (e.g., French 'Second Person Plural'), or G (Yokuts 'Second Person Dual'), or J (Worora 'Third Person Plural'), or even N (Italian 'Third Person Demonstrative Singular [feminine]').

Such a tropic reading is characteristic of a folk- or ethno-metapragmatic view of the indexical facts. This construal (1) isolates and focuses upon a single, continuously-segmentable, lexical form with referring value (not an interactional adjacency pair); (2) interprets the indexical effect in terms of an interpretation of

figuration (''metaphor, '' etc.) at the denotational plane of function (though indexing deference is, of course, a nondenotational act); and (3) understands the asymmetrical value of the ''literal'' and ''figurative'' readings of the target forms-in-question, the isolable and performable indexical sign, as an *icon*—par excellence the 'natural' and 'motivated' linguistic sign—of essential social value of the form-in-context. Exactly what this essential tropic content is, depends on the language in question and the dimensions of figurative comparison of the ''literal'' vs. ''figurative'' readings: for example French displaces the expected referring form from col. F to col. H, i.e., along the denotational dimension of 'number' [row c]; German from col. F to col. J/M, i.e., along the denotational dimensions simultaneously of 'number' and 'person' [rows b, d].

Looking at Fig. 6, it is easy to see how an ideologically-driven interpretation of single uses of T/V forms as denotational tropes might in effect be comparing denotationally literal and ''expected'' 'Second Person Singular' usage [col. F] with the various ''actual'' V forms that appear further to the right of the chart. Under such an interpretation, note that a V-form is understood by a trope of ''distance/distantiation'' with respect to the otherwise expected T-form. Note that indeed the distance between 'First Person Singular' column C and 'Second Person Singular' column F being, in effect, made tropically greater by any of the language-specific displacements to the right. Ethno-metapragmatic analysis takes the T-form as neutral, the V-form by contrast as elevated or marked in value, and hence a desirable thing in and of itself for a Speaker to use.

As it turns out, then, V-talk is also talk that can be considered an index of valued ''*public*'' *register*, absent the intimacy of a one-to-one discursive 'I': 'thou' relationship. It becomes a way of saying what otherwise could be formulated that indexes that the Speaker is upholding standards of good behavior, etc. Hence note even on decision graphs in Fig. 5, analysts recognized that any ''status-marked setting'' by itself where inhabitable positional identities in a stratified organization come to the fore) suffices to yield ''V'' usage, i.e, such usage indexes the ''formality'' of the occasion directly, as folk usage frequently codes it, regardless of, independent of, and of course at a distinct order of indexicality from, other characteristics of the individual inhabiting the role of denoted Addressee. In the ethno-metapragmatically salient indexical paradigm of oppositions a use of T, by contrast, is taken to be ''informal,'' i.e., ''familiar.'' So note how bases of interpersonal ''familiarity'' between Speaker and Addressee, e.g., same group membership (in-group vs. out-group), are summoned up as the essentialized principle of role-recruitment to being the Addressee of a token of ''T.''

So in contrast to a first-order indexical fact measured in terms of two kinds of symmetrical and two kinds of asymmetrical pair-part usage, a *second-order fact*, the fact of the existence of a *register of honorification* in the ethno-metapragmatic view of the matter, creates a formally overlapping differentiation of T and V each as an isolable unit of opposed value, each normatively presupposing certain contextual dimensionalities as its indexical meaning, dimensionalities that are frequently essentialized as sociocultural identity properties of the individual in Addressee role, whether macrosociologically positional or microsociologically relational (the diagrams

in Fig. 5 include both kinds). Of course, to make such a model work in interpreting any particular token occurrence of "T" or "V"—to take account of the micro-dialectic of presupposition/entailment of which indexicality actually consists, in other words—analysts have had to invent concepts like "pronominal breakthrough" (Friedrich, 1966, pp. 239–248) or "metaphorical switching" (Blom and Gumperz, 1972, pp. 424–426) for situations in which the normatively presupposable contextual conditions for Speaker to use either T or V are present, but then the in-a-sense "wrong" form (V or T respectively) occurs. Of course the form is never "wrong"; it just breaks or resets a pattern of established pair-part usage (at the 1st-order of analysis), with all that that entails, as it invokes (makes relevant to the course of interaction) new identities or sociocultural aspects of participants and context.

We see that 'power' and 'solidarity', or various more sociological essences of whoever inhabits the Addressee role, mapped onto unitized (and therefore token-countable) T- and V-forms, are simply inadequate as analytic accounts of the phenomena with which we are concerned; they render the phenomenon of using "T" or "V" neither deterministic nor computable, in the way of a "communicative competence"-to-"performance" issue, nor certainly empirically investigable by the normal statistical methods of examining samples of occurrences-in-independently-presupposable-context. Once we see that we are dealing with a phenomenon at a well-developed dialectic boundary between (first-order) *deference indexicality* and (second-order) *enregistered honorification*, mediated by strong ethno-metapragmatic understandings of the phenomenon that lie within the expectable semiotic limits and along the expectable semiotic paths of actors' comprehension, a great deal of both the perduring quality of T/V systems, and of their history of transformation, becomes clear.

For example, as I have elaborated elsewhere (Silverstein, 1985, pp. 242–251), the loss of the T/V distinction in almost all English usage, dating definitively to the last half of the 17th century, seems to illustrate this dialectic in a somewhat longer historical term, the 2nd-order indexicality taking over and decisively determining the course of the linguistic norms. As is seen in Fig. 7, taken from that discussion, folk views emerged that opposed the distinction between saying thou/thee ("T") and saying ye/you ("Y" [= V]). Such views literalized and essentialized the metaphorical reading of 'number' displacement between the T and V forms as though there were an "incorrect" or "untruthful" denotational value in effect metaphorically treating

Literalizing the Metaphor of 'Power'—Analogy from the Unmarked Function of Reference

THIRD PERSON 'NUMBER':	'One'	vs.	'More than one'
(Speaking *of* others)	Unmarked interpreted as specifically 'not' marked ←——→		Marked
SECOND PERSON 'NUMBER':	'One addressee'	vs.	'More than one addressee'
(Speaking *to/of* another)	(*thee*)		(*ye/you*)

Fig. 7. Analogic structure of ethno-metapragmatics of "T"/"Y".

the single Addressee-as-Referent as "more than one." As one would expect, clearly lurking in such an interpretation of the category-switch for indexical purposes of Addressee ('Second Person Singular') deference is the *grammaticosematic analogy* structured by (unmarked) 3rd-person categorial oppositions for dealing with non-participant ('Third Person') referents. On this analogical base, the denotationally '[−unique]' (see Fig. 6, row c) 'Second Person Plural' English "Y" of col. H is assimilated to the denotationally '[+plural]' 'Third Person' forms of columns J and M or any common noun category of columns P and rightward.

In such ethno-metapragmatic perspective, 'Third Person' cardinal 'plural'ity as a category connotatively summons up essentializations of (in)equality, to be sure: Addressee seeming to "count-as-more-than-one" vs. "(merely) one." Such groups as the "Quakers" (Friends) shunned such usage of "Y" on the basis of an explicitly articulated and essentializing politico-religious ideology of God-given Christian equality-of-each-and-all. For them, a proscriptive avoidance of "Y" use becomes an enregistered norm, an $n+1$st-order system of *counter-honorification* resting on the negative value placed on the denotational trope on 'plural'ity. Accordingly, in-group Quaker usage was stipulatively restricted to symmetrical (T, T) adjacency-pair dyads, in which something like the $n+1$st-order indexical meanings sketched in Fig. 8 would result from each token usage of a "T" form.

Hence, as shown in Fig. 9, we can contrast the older system's three possibilities of dyadic usage ('power'-asymmetric, symmetric 'solidary', symmetric 'nonsolidary'), all of which are well attested, with the late-17th century emergent result in the overall English language community. Ideologically the terms of contestation focused on the significance of token "T"- or "Y"-usage in microcontext, Quakers and ideologically like-minded "Levelers" maximizing symmetric solidary "T." Accordingly, the rest of the population eventually settled on a T-less norm, and both Friends and others moved to symmetrical usage of, respectively, T and Y, which have in effect become $n+1$st-order register indexes of **Speaker-focused** identity (Addressee deference indexicality not being part of the indexical meaning any longer). A phenomenon of indexical order has gone to completion as historical change; Standard English no longer has T for 'Second-Person Singular' forms.

5. Indexical order and lexical registers in honorification

Here is a seemingly more complex example, in which the linguistic forms are elaborate, but the principles much the same. To understand it, we must recall that

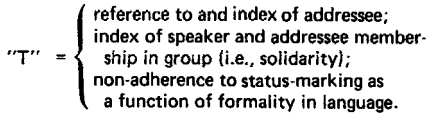


Fig. 8. Indexical loading of "T" under Quaker ideological ethno-metapragmatics.

Older and Innovative Systems Compared for Evolution of T/Y System

	Ideologically marked system	
Older, post-Norman system	Quakers	Non-Quakers
Asymmetrical		
Y "up"/T "down"	−	−
symmetric-solidary T	+	−
symmetric-nonsolidary Y	−	+

Fig. 9. Older (n-th-order) T/Y System vs. Ideologically contested (n-th/$n+1$st) T/Y System.

registers are alternate ways of "saying 'the same' thing" considered "appropriate to" particular contexts of usage. The register's forms being extractable from the sum total of all possible texts in such a context, a register will consist of particular register shibboleths, at whatever analytic plane of language structure (phonologico-phonetic, morpholexical, morphosyntactic, grammaticosemantic, etc.). While such shibboleths are strongly salient as indexes that the register is in use, the overall register itself consists of these plus whatever further formal machinery of language permits speakers to make text, such as invariant aspects of the grammar of their language. (A 'language' is thus the union of its 'registers'.) Note the essential role of metapragmatically imputed denotational equivalence—logically impossible, of course—in this characteristic ethno-metapragmatic understanding of indexical variability. Native speakers of languages tend to conceptualize—certainly to articulate—their consciousness of indexicality through such constructs, as though words and expressions from different registers could ever have actual equivalence of (Saussurean) sense (let alone of referential or predicational application).

Hence, for any indexical phenomenon at order n, an indexical phenomenon at order $n+1$ is always immanent, lurking in the potential of an ethno-metapragmatically driven native interpretation of the n-th-order paradigmatic contextual variation that it creates or constitutes as a register phenomenon. In other words, such a view conceptualizes the n-th-order indexically-meaningful variability in terms of "different ways of saying 'the same' thing, " thus yielding paradigms of putatively denotationally-equivalent words and expressions (segmental, denotational, presupposing linguistic forms, of course!) that are contextually-inflected for differences of "appropriateness" to context. The contexts to which the various paradigmatic members are appropriate will, characteristically, be conceptualized with all manner of essentializing, even naturalizing, ethno-metapragmatic explanations—the most naturalizing, of course, being some understood consubstantiality (replication of essence) of indexical form and contextual condition-of-appropriateness.

The existence of registers, we can immediately see, is an aspect of the dialectical process of indexical order, in which the $n+1$st-order indexicality depends on the existence of a cultural schema of enregisterment of forms perceived to be involved in n-th-order indexical meaningfulness; the forms as they are swept up in the $n+1$st-order valorization become strongly presupposing indexes of that enregistered order,

and therefore in particular of the ideological ethno-metapragmatics that constitutes it and endows its shibboleths with $n+1$st-order indexical value.

As exemplified in Section 4, the emergence of T/V honorification (now register-dependent indexicality, whether Addressee- or Speaker-focused) out of T/V indexicality constitutes a simple example. A somewhat more complex case is offered by any of the systems of "speech levels [=lexical registers]" such as Javanese. [My analysis is outlined in Silverstein (1979)—see refs. there; the work of Joe Errington (1985a; 19885b; 1988) has now considerably elaborated our understanding of Javanese, as has that of Asif Agha (1993; 1994; 1998) on Tibetan.]

At the first-order of indexicality, the system of Javanese speech levels operates through lexical variants that are asymmetrically valorized members of pragmatic paradigms. As shown in Fig. 10, there seem to be three and one-half such indexical schemata of valorized lexical distinctions that can be analytically distinguished according to indexical focus among the factors we can recognize in the event of communication. Their extensiveness in the lexicon varies, both as to size of leveled vocabulary and as to denotational domains coded, and of course, indexing different aspects of context, they have distinct functional characteristics.

In Fig. 10, I have not only used analytic alphabeticals, rows a–d, to distinguish the principles of indexical variation, I have assigned Javanese ethno-metapragmatic terms to the lexical distinctions themselves, identifying these labels with what we might consider their target or underlying indexical factualities, even where some indigenous commentators would claim that the terms to apply not to lexical paradigms as such, but only to grammatical construction, or to text.

One such indexical distinction, the most fundamental and pervasive one labeled [a], is familiar to us already by its comparability to T/V systems. For some 850ish lexical paradigms, the "*Ngoko*" or basic form alternates with a marked "*Krama*" form, which specifically and differentially indexes *Speaker deference to Addressee*. That is, by using a Krama form instead of a Ngoko one, the Speaker makes an indexical show of deference to Addressee. Observe two important things: first, Speaker does not have to be referring to or predicating some state of affairs about Addressee in-and-at the moment of using some Krama form, nor indeed anywhere in the communicated (text-)sentence or text in which the Krama form occurs; second, the distinction is a two-value paradigm of binary alternation as stated, one pays deference or not.

There is a second binary system, [b], in which for about 260 Ngoko items—not a proper subset of those in [a], note!—one can substitute a "*Krama Inggil*" form,

[a] Ngoko : Krama*	ca. 850	speaker deference to addressee
[b] Ngoko : Krama Inggil	ca. 260	speaker deference to referent
[c] Ngoko : Krama Andap	ca. 20	QUASI-INDEXICAL: speaker estimation of deferential relationship between 'Agent' [Subject] and 'Dative' [(Ind.) Object]
*[d] Madya	(1)ca. 35 (2)ca. 50	[modified Krama] avoided Ngoko items and Krama affixes

Fig. 10. Distinct first-order indexical systems of Javanese "speech-level" usage.

indexing *Speaker deference to (sometimes implied) Referent* (not necessarily the Addressee, note again). Theoretically orthogonal to distinction [a], note that where actual Addressee = Referent, as in grammatical 'Second Person' lexical items like personal deictics, both systems indexically converge on the individual simultaneously inhabiting both of these roles.

There is yet a third indexical system, [c], which subtly depends on the grammaticosemantic coding of an 'Agent' and a 'Dative' ("benefactee; recipient; etc.") of an interpersonal predicate. (In neutral and explicit form, this grammatical construction has an 'Agentive' grammatical Subject and 'Dative' grammatical Indirect Object; cf. English I promise (to) you that ... .). To index the Speaker's estimation of appropriateness of *'Agent' paying deference to 'Dative'*, i.e., indexing a deference relationship between the individuals in the two respectively denoted roles, there is a binary indexical system [c] of some 20 items, mostly verbs, here labeled the distinction between Ngoko and "*Krama Andhap*." Observe that the deference relationship is between denoted (or denotationally implicated) inhabitors of roles represented in the semantics of a predicate, like the 'giver' and the 'one-given-to', the 'promissor' and the 'promisee'. So obviously, when actual Speaker and Addressee are the denotata of the 'Agentive' Subject and 'Dative' Indirect Object of such constructions, as in what we term illocutionary (speech-act) or donatory (transacting) predications, there is a telescoped overlap of system [c] and systems [a] and [b], and the combinatorics of paying deference along all these indexical dimensions can become quite subtle indeed.

There is, finally, a "middle" system [d]—so designated in native terminology, as "*Madya*"—that functions as a usage level in between Ngoko and Krama in deference-indicating value. It is rather negatively definable with respect to both of these, including about 35 items that are partially or attenuatedly Kramanized forms as well as avoidance of about 50 specific Ngoko forms and certain full-Krama affixes. This partial implementation of deference-to-Addressee is really a middling usage with respect to system [a], sometimes seen as a compromise when distinct presupposable relational parameters of Speaker's and Addressee's identities indicate conflicting usages. Madya comes with all of the perspectival social valorization in a system of social stratification that such a "middling" usage implies: disdain for its very existence from the very stratificational top, while the best that some at the bottom, untutored in the subtleties of implementing [a + b + c], can hope to do.

Note that for some areas of denotation there are multiple "ways of saying 'the same' thing" because these areas of denotation participate in multiple indexical systems. Some denotational concepts have as many as five or six distinct forms per 'meaning' [= denotational value], each with its own indexed (presupposed) conditions of occurrence, while the vast majority of denotational values coded in Javanese are limited to a single Ngoko form.

There is, however, an ideological ethno-metapragmatic account of the workings of the system in terms of a ranking of text-sentences and thus of discourse revealing which are the "higher" among the indexical systems to be implemented in the overall form. Likewise, the ethno-metapragmatic evaluation looks to the density (rates over discourse time) of activation of the systems being implemented in the text-sentence,

given positional opportunities. Observe Fig. 11, reproduced from Errington (1985b, p. 290, Fig. 1), for example. There are no fewer than five distinct and ranked forms for the 'Second-Person' pronoun; there are three distinct and ranked forms for the initial illocutionary modalilty ('Interrogative') marker; etc. Notice how the Ngoko form njupuk 'take' alternates with the special Krama Andhap form mundhut in both the second-lowest level (Errington's no. 5) and the highest (Errington's no. 1); observe by contrast that two recognized forms of Madya are distinguishable (Errington's nos. 3 and 4), a higher and a lower, by whether or not the Krama verb mendhet is implemented, as opposed to the plain Ngoko form njupuk. The ideology of indexical usage is such that *honorificational speech-levels* are defined in terms of the ranking of text-sentences by their saturation with simultaneously-implemented indexical forms. Yet the entire system is understood in terms of a focus upon

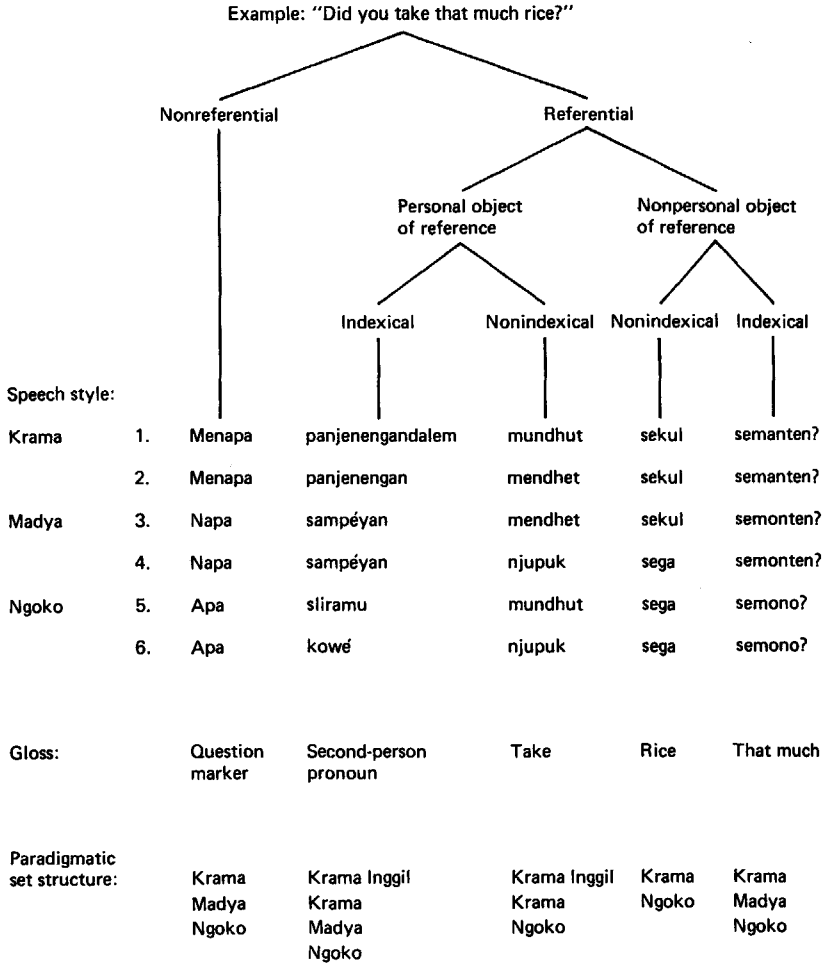


Fig. 11. Stratification of speech levels as honorific-degree registers (Errington).

deference-to-Addressee, analytically (see Fig. 10) one among several *n*-th-order indexical functions, though of course constituting the principal ideological function of deference-indexicality as understood by users of Javanese. Speech-levels, a special sociolinguistic register effect with respect to which indexical Addressee honorification exists, are ideological constructs of the 2nd-order that drive entailing indexicality at the 1st, and thus become instruments of strategic, "performative" social interaction constituted by little acts of use of *any* of the indexical forms.

But that is not all. The Javanese ideology of speech-level honorification is underlain by an ethnotheory of consubstantiality of some essence of the linguistic forms themselves (their pragmatic meaningfulness) and of the intended Addressee's *batin* [(roughly,) 'intentional core'], with its requirements of subtlety and modulation on the part of any Speaker who would take up the Addressee's perceptual attention. The local cultural theory is such as to conceptualize the appropriateness of speech-level usage in terms of *emblematic transparency*, with an aesthetic for the interlocutory behavioral wash in which the Addressee's senses are bathed with speech and perilinguistic semiosis. It seeks to match the "fineness" (along the linear dimension of *'alus* 'fine; smooth' to *kasar* 'coarse; rough') of linguistic signal to that of the Addressee's *batin*. Recognition of deference-entitlement of an Addressee is articulable in terms of degree of *'alus*ness, and the usage with which one addresses such a person should range appropriately along the gradient from complete Ngoko to usage in which all indexical systems are elegantly manifested with lexical items and grammatical constructions that subtly and modulatedly display the precise degree of deference being offered.

But *'alus* is as *'alus* does. To know how most subtly to speak with these indexical systems is to manifest—aha! to index—one's own Speakerly *'alus*ness. Hence, to manifest fineness of usage is to indicate how very much one deserves deference oneself! Here is a 2nd-order indexicality completely at variance with the 1st-order one; it is an *emergently presupposable* system not unlike the indexing of one's own distinction as a Speaker of a European language, the less T and the more V one uses, especially in symmetric dyads. The systems of 1st-order Addressee-focus and 2nd-order Speaker-focus of these indexical forms compete dialectically. Culturally essentialized, this competition is mediated by the enregisterment of the first so as to produce the presupposable indexicality of the second. This locks the two indexical orders together as two manifestations of a pervasive system of status indexing—one's own and one's interlocutor's—linked to cultural ideas of a once royally centered galactic polity. [See Siegel (1986) for how this plays out in latter-day urban Surakarta (Solo).]

6. Variability about a norm informed by standardization

We thus observe the principle that *n*-th- and $n+1$st-order indexicalities can be dialectically mediated through an enregisterment of variability, culturally construing and interpreting contextualized formal variation as different "ways of saying 'the same' thing." We can immediately see how this applies in the well-investigated case

of denotational norms informed by enregisterment of "Standard" and various "non-Standard" forms of usage. For people's allegiance to such a perhaps functionally varying, but standard-informed denotational norm is the defining property of a linguistic community with a so-called *standard language*, like (American) English.

Seeing the existence of such standard-language communities in terms of Speaker-focused indexical order shows us, furthermore, the theoretical significance of Gumperz's (1968, pp. 383–384) dichotomy of *dialectal vs. superposed variability*, on the one hand, and Labov's (1971, pp. 192–206) trichotomy of *sociolinguistic indicators vs. markers vs. stereotypes*, on the other. For these concepts really speak to the same issue of the ethno-metapragmatically mediated orderliness of sociolinguistic variability over populations of users. Each terminology is a way of trying to capture the fact that a dialectic between 1st- and 2nd-order indexicalities characterizes the absorptive stratificational regime in such communities with respect to the user-[=Speaker-] identifying indexical potential of language.

Gumperz posited a kind of 1st- vs. 2nd-order indexicality in that his 'dialectal' variation is modeled on and generalized from the concept of (*geographical*) *dialect*; it describes a situation where two groups or categories of users, nonlinguistically definable, characteristically use distinct linguistic forms. That is, the formal linguistic difference is a (presupposing) index of group- or category-identity of the Speaker, a 1st-order indexicality. 'Superposed' variability, on the other hand, is constituted by a set of variant forms normatively used by members of some group or category, the switching among which in various contexts of speaking is expected as a repertoire of alternatives a single Speaker controls. The superposed variety is informed, in other words, by a group-internal *cultural expectation of alternation*, one that, as we have already seen, is characteristicallly expressed through an ethno-metapragmatic model of enregisterment: 'superposed' varieties are obviously $n+1$st-order indexicals with respect to n-th-order, 'dialectal' ones.

Observe how similar is the trichotomous Labovian model of Standard-informed linguistic communities like anglophone New York City, on which his paradigmatic phonologico-phonetic work was conducted in the early to mid 1960s. For Labov (1972), a sociolinguistic 'indicator' is a dialectal variant, realized characteristically by every member of a group or category and a reliably presupposing index of such membership of a speaker. Whether expressed as a frequency-of-use or percentile score or through some "index"-score of rates of occurrence per measurable swatch of someone's verbal performance, the numerical indicator for a particular speaker points to (indexes values in) a macro-social partition of a sampled population of speakers that is independent of all other variables. Only the variable(s) of speaker macro-social identity are at issue (for example social class, age, ethnicity) being indexed by one's verbal performance.

By contrast, recall, sociolinguistic 'markers' for Labov show at least two independent dimensions of variability of a characteristic sort that intersect in a single dependent variable of measurable verbal performance. Observe that the dependent rates or equivalent are thus indexes in the technical sense of such a structure of intersection. In Labov's most noted examples of what he terms 'markers'—the centerpieces of his work, in fact, to this day—one independent variable is "social"—

pertaining to perduring demographics of speakers within a macro-sociological partition of the population by age, socioeconomic class (SEC), etc.—and one independent variable is "stylistic, " the latter a term that needs some unpackaging.

In Fig. 12, I have reproduced from Labov (1971, p. 194, Fig. 2, p. 196, Fig. 3) characteristic Cartesian plottings of New York City sociolinguistic markers (TH) [as in **th**ing, wi**th**] and (R) [as in floo**r**, bee**r**]. In these plots, the within-SEC-category scores are plotted as distinct curves across four or five different "stylistic" contexts of occurrence. Notice that notwithstanding the "stylistic" changes of rates of production, a speaker does not change actual macro-sociological SEC-membership, computed as a function of his or her demographic characteristics, during the course of a micro-contextual sociolinguistic interview. The separation of SEC category membership is thus really hypothesizing a 1st-order presupposing indexical value for rates of production of relatively "standard" vs. relatively "non-standard" pronunciations of (TH) and (R), all other variables factored out. Where the Labovian sociolinguistic marker differs from the mere indicator is in the inherent interaction of whatever SEC-indexing rates of production of standard with what we might term *register demand* (a species of task demands in the normal psychological sense, and having nothing inherently to do with "consciousness, " contra Labov's speculation). Register-demand is glossed in these charts as "contextual style." A degree-factor, it interacts with the 1st-order or dialectal variability inherent in differences of Speakers' SEC position to yield the characteristic curves of differently-realized convergences toward the prestige "standard" with normative postvocalic pronunciation of (R), just as characteristically away from the nonprestige "nonstandard" of pronouncing (TH) like t (thus: thin like **t**in). In the case of (R), moreover, we even see exemplified the special numerical effect that Labov termed "hypercorrection" of the second-from-highest SEC category of speaker, overshooting the rates of production of the highest category of speaker.

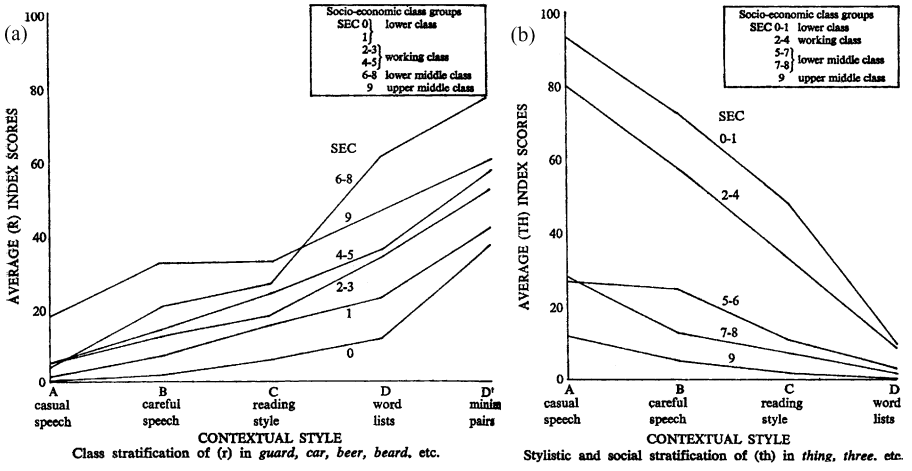


Fig. 12. Rates of "Standard" pronunciations of NYC sociolinguistic 'markers' (Labov).

When we look at the so-called contextual styles, we see that they run, in a unidimensionalized line left-to-right along the abscissa, from hypothetically unobserved in-group intimate speech (''style'' A) to the speech characteristically used in unscripted conversational answers to general questions in the formal sociolinguistic interview situation (''style'' B), with sometimes little differentiation. At this point, the task demand of ''style'' C noticeably shifts from the oral mode to the mode of grapheme-to-phoneme conversion, ''reading aloud, '' as it were, in which the speaker is asked to make the shift to something like the situation of primordial inculcation of standard register, in schools especially, where grapheme-to-phoneme conversion summons up a whole ethno-metapragmatic theory of what the ''letters'' indicate as behavioral values of aloud pronunciation in each of their occurrences, whether rigidly maintained as a pronounceable value or combinatorically (cotextually) given to variant realizations. Note the general characteristics of the slopes at ''style'' C in these figures; they bend dramatically for many speakers. At this point, of course, we simply ratchet up the register demands rather more noticeably, in ''styles'' D and D', where grapheme-to-phoneme *citation forms* are called for, pronouncing words all by themselves reading from a disjoint alphabetic visual. The last ''style'', in fact, displays minimally graphemically distinct visual approximants, like <tin> and <thin>, right next to each other, thus showing a speaker what in standard register are phonological 'minimal pairs' differing by a single phonemic segment. The standard-inducing heat, as it were, is really on at this point!

Such characteristic indexical SEC × ''style'' rate-curves thus reveal a 1st-order indexical variation that has been swept up into an ideologically-driven metapragmatics of standard register, at the ritual center of which is, of course, the most primordial micro-context of standard pronunciation, grapheme-to-phoneme transduction in the citation-form, one-word-at-a-time mode. (Note also that speakers differentially revert to reading/spelling-pronunciation citation-form in the ''emphatic'' repetition of the phrase fourth floor in Labov's celebrated Klein's-Macy's-and-Saks department store interviews to gauge postvocalic (R) distribution [Labov, 1972, pp. 43–69].)

Standard register in well-developed standard-language communities is, as we know, hegemonic in the sense that ideologically it constitutes the ''neutral'' top-and-center of all variability that is thus around-and-below it. This hegemony of standard register differentially sweeps up people of different groups and categories into an anxiety before standard. Hence we can understand the Labovian ''hypercorrection'' phenomenon seen in the (R) graph for the anxious ''Lower Middle Class'' of SEC 6-8. This characteristic ''stylistic''-curve slope correlates with the group/category ''Index of Linguistic Insecurity'' and other tests computable on the basis of people's so-called ''subjective reactions'' to samples of their own and of others' speech (see Labov, 1972, esp. pp. 117–118, pp. 143–159; Trudgill, 1983, pp. 141–225 as classic loci). Such ideologically-informed ''stylistic'' switching demonstrated by these SEC-aggregated curves is a classic case of Gumperz's 'superposed' variability with respect to standard variants of pronunciation. Of course, superposed production of standard speech (and claims to inhabitance of identities thereby indexed), has ever been the subject of romantic plots like that of Lerner and Lowe's *My Fair Lady* (Shaw's

Pygmalion) in which one "is" (or "becomes, " if ever so temporarily) what one (manages to) speak. The superposed variability is a 2nd-order indexicality depending on a folk- or ethno-metapragmatics of standard register and its potential gradient availability as an alternative "way of saying 'the same' thing" for everyone anxious about indexing identity. What Labov and followers have graphed in the so-called sociolinguistic marker is the dialectical process of indexical order for members of the standard-register informed language community as an articulated macro-social/micro-social fact.

Labovian sociolinguistic 'stereotypes', of course, are markers that have tilted in the direction of ideological transparency, the stuff of conscious, value-laden, imitational inhabitance—consciously speaking "like" some social type or personified image (note the iconic replication intended) in a fully 'superposed' (Gumperz) paradigm of alternation intentionally performable at will. The values of stereotypes are presupposed in the social-structure-as-indexed according to an ideological model, pure and simple; $n+1$st-order indexicality has become presupposing, in other words, in effect replacing an older n-th-order indexical presupposition.

Of course none of this sociolinguistic variability around-and-below a standard register has anything but an indirect connection to Saussure's Tainean/Durkheimian (or Chomsky's psychologized) model of a *grammatical norm* of a linguistic community. When there is a well-developed socio-semiotic structure of standardization, however, native speakers' intuitions are always deflected by the fact of enregisterment of almost every variant form. In such a condition native speakers will frequently confuse their ideologically-driven sense of sociolinguistic normativity with any intuitions of the Saussurean/Chomskian norm, that is, of *langue*/grammar. And to this extent *langue*/grammar might be almost impossible empirically to distinguish from intuitions of standard-register-informed *sociolinguistic normativity*, methodologically necessary as this might be for us to claim that we are studying *langue*/grammar non-sociolinguistically.

Indeed, so vexed an issue is this that the distinction has been obliterated from both sides: on the one hand, sociolinguists like the early-vintage Labov himself claiming to be investigating "empirically" the analytic correctness of formal models of grammatical and phonological structure posited on the basis of Chomskian-method intuitionism; on the other hand, those caught up in the sociolinguistic dialectics of a standard-language community articulating views that in effect take issue with the very concept of Saussurean-or-Bloomfieldian-or-Chomskian immanent norms ("*langue*" or "structure" or "competence") as a type of fact distinct from (indexically-manifested) sociolinguistic normativity, with its ethno-metapragmaticallly mediated dialectical character.

An example of the latter is, of course, the rapid "change from above [sc., the level of awareness]" (Labov, 1972, pp. 179–180, pp. 290–192) of the standard English epicene anaphor from he/him/his ({H}) to they/them/their(s) ({TH}) or other variants. There is no disputing the sociolinguistic factuality of the ideologically-driven (entailing) indexical value that denotational-code reformers discovered or added to the use of what we might term the {H} *morphosyntactic variable* (as opposed to

{TH}). Parallel to Fig. 8, I have indicated the indexical values of its use in Fig. 13, reproduced from my discussion of this change (Silverstein, 1985).

Based on the ethno-metapragmatic consciousness of *differential reference*—not, note, on Saussurean sense correlatable with grammatical categorizations of 'Gender' categories—the continuing use of formerly standard epicene {H} became an *out-group identity index* starting with reformist equity feminists and spreading first to all elite English speakers instilled with high anxieties both about standard and about what has come to be called, retrospectively, this leading edge of "political correctness"; note that it is "change from above" in the social-stratificational sense as well as the sense of being "above the level of awareness" of the users of language. Of course, as Ann Bodine (1975) nicely pointed out years ago, the he/him/his ({H}) epicence standard, whatever its conformity to markedness universals in the sphere of grammatical categorization, was imposed on vernacular usage. The actual, common epicene anaphoric form had long been neutralized differently, along the dimension of 'Number' as well as 'Gender', thus they/them/their(s) ({TH}) that really has never gone out of use, despite its strong condemnation-and-correction within an ideology and pedagogy of standardization [cf. also Newman (1992) for current usage].

Indeed, when we look at the analogical space in denotational structure in which this change away from formerly standard {H} has been and is being propagated, we see that {TH} has always been strongly present in conditions of minimum autonomous denotational load. For example, their has always occurred in constructions with epicene animate NP-possessors embedded within headed NPs functioning as non-Subjects, anaphorizing Subject-NPs that have distributive or other enumerating quantificational categories ($_{N'}$[each/every/any/someN], $_{N'}$[every/any/some one], etc.), e.g., Let's not play around, kids; everyone put on their own coat(s). {TH} usage here has always peaked, even for those anxious about prescribed standard, and the usage has spread analogically through structural space, as such grammatical changes work, to positions where them would be appropriate, and is now spreading for many younger speakers to positions of they Subject-anaphora at the discourse plane. This analogical spread across syntactic structure has been driven, of course, by the negative elite valuation of the {H} variable, now sociolinguistically set up in paradigmatic opposition to {TH}, the erstwhile condemned vulgarity—thus always the at least emblematic darling of the political left among American cultural elites, to be sure, like wearing blue jeans in the 1960s as this generation came of ideological age. (Note that in some cases the disjunction his or her and case equivalents has served, especially in preserving *written standard* and its spoken equivalents, for the squeamish and schoolteacherly bourgeoisie.) So at this in effect 3rd-order of indexical value the erstwhile standard/nonstandard opposition of {H}/{TH} is being

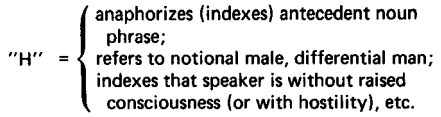


Fig. 13. Ideologically laden indexical and denotational values of {H}.

rapidly replaced by new standard {TH} or equivalents, all of which at any rate avoid {H}.

These shifting enregisterments of {H}, {TH}, and other possible members of the sociolinguistic paradigms of grammatical variability provide us a vivid example of dialectical processes of higher indexical orders going on around us even in our already-standardized condition, standard being nothing more than a particular macro-sociological condition of enregisterment caught at every moment between dialectal/superposed or indicator/marker/stereotype indexical values in micro-contextual realtime usage. Such 'order'ly indexical processes engage with the grammatically-locatable surface words and expressions onto which the indexical values at issue are laminated along with their "literal" denotational meanings in particular complex grammatical expressions, so as to create *sites of indexical innovation* that spread through analogical space. But we must never confuse the two partial "takes" on language, the indexicality of experienced "sexism" and its ethno-metapragmatics, on the one hand, and on the other hand the constitution of grammaticosemantic categories under Saussurean assumptions of structure, among which are NP-categories like 'Gender'—as some linguistic writers on this very issue of {H} are wont to do through ideological essentialization (e.g. Cameron [1992, pp. 82–98]).

7. Rarefied indexical orders of commoditized identity: *Oinoglossia*

In treating indexical order, finally, we should take account more broadly of the forces of commoditization of English variation as a "life-style" variable or emblematized speaker-defining index. Relentlessly these forces implicate new kinds of social-organizational ritual centers of indexical baptism, micro-sociological contexts of usage that authorize new and indexically potent enregisterments of usage. Notwithstanding the existence of standard English as an entrenched institutional fact of sociolinguistic hegemony, such registers as "wine talk, " which I have dubbed *oinoglossia*, show the mechanisms of life-style emblematization (convention-dependent indexical iconicity) at work via the processes of higher-order indexicality.

Within the complex pattern of class and other kinds of stratification, wine, a perduringly constant prestige comestible, has been aggressively marketed to what is sometimes called "yuppiedom" or "the yuppoisie" (viewed through age, income, profession, etc.) and has seized the imagination of a wide sectorial swatch of people concerned with or anxious about mobility. As a comestible, this aesthetic object, wine, is, of course, consumed in the aesthetic experience; but its consumption is the culminating moment of cooperative performance art, to be sure, in which "educated connoisseurship" can be manifested while doing away with the artifact of perceptual encounter. (Observe how pure is culinary art as performance, since destruction/consumption is inherently a part of the perceptual presentation of the art object, the "text" for aesthetic evaluation that the would-be connoisseur can "get" or not, as one says for example of abstract-expressionist art. (A William Hamilton cartoon from *The New Yorker* depicts a yuppie host asking the hostess, his consort, after a posh dinner party they have given, "Sure, they drank it—but did they get it?" while

holding up empty wine bottles.) Such educated connoisseurship is either avocational or professional, the latter enterprise engaging the Bernard Berensons of oenological art. They, metaphorically speaking, advise (for a price) aspiring Pierpont Morgans on which Old Masters would be good to collect, at the same time affecting the market value of the—here, drinkable—works by virtue of their having been produced by So-and-So and collected by Mr. Such-and-Such. Wine's, and oenophilia's, ritual center is called the "tasting" and in this ritual center it develops a particular discursive genre, the tasting note, in specific or generalized form, the mastery of which distinguishes professional and serious avocational tasters from all others.

Exposing one's aesthetic sensorium to the object is the moment of ritually authorized construal/construction (note the two directionalities of "illocutionary force, " as in a Searlean "representative-declarative" utterance of judgment on a reality that is brought into being by the uttering). The tasting note that one verbalizes defines both the aesthetic dimensionalities of the art object to have been experienced and the orderliness of their educated experiencing. This, too, is akin to the inherently temporal mode of engaging with a painting or sculpture, not all of the compositional, thematic, and iconographic dimensions of which can be analytically attended to simultaneously. For wine, the actual aesthetic object is approached along a stadial structure of the various senses, yielding for each dimensionalities of perceptual encounter. There is a "peak" or tropically closest stage toward which and away from which all the other stages seem to proceed. This parabolic curvilinearity of intensity of o[bserver]'s evaluative perceptual experience is shown in Fig. 14.

As diagrammed in Fig. 14, a [I] visual stage of looking for brilliance, color, and cross-sectional Gestalt of a glass's contents gives way to [II] an olfactory stage of smelling for the wine's scents, its grape-dependent aroma and its vinification-dependent bouquet. The aesthetic encounter peaks in [III] the gustatory stage after taking some wine in the mouth, in which its on-the-tongue characteristics of body, tannin-derived harshness, and acidity can be gauged. This is the perceptual closest-point in terms of the constructive semiosis of the aesthetic object, these dimension-

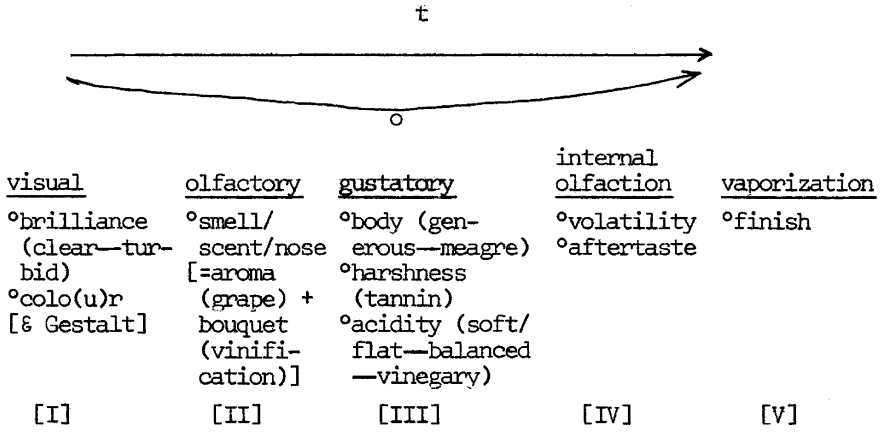


Fig. 14. Phases of wine-tasting and precipitated dimensions of aesthetic description.

alities commented upon even in the most summary (telescoped) tasting note; it is the phase for which there are most special descriptors available in the lexicon of the register. Moving away from this close encounter of the third phase, by opening the mouth so as to take in some air over the mouthful, one reaches what I have termed [IV] the internal olfactory stage, by which a wine's volatility and aftertaste are judged. Finally, spitting out (or swallowing) the wine allows one to judge its finish in [V] the vaporization phase of the encounter.

Observe in Fig. 15, then, the examples of three professional tasting notes by Michael Broadbent (1983, pp. 91, 189, 259), taken from among thousands reviewed for textual structure in guides for consumers. I have reproduced the language in the textual order, readable top-to-bottom and left-to-right, but I have separated the descriptors that make up the text into two columns, putting those that use the special, *terminologized oinoglossic lexicon* (so recognized by professionals) in the right column, and the more stylistic, colorful, non-terminologized descriptors in the left column, insofar as possible. [Note that there has been input recently from the applied science of oenology in the form of attempts at taxonomic and real-world standardization of wine aroma terminology (Noble et al., 1987); cf. the National Bureau of Standards and like bodies for measurements in physics and chemistry. Since reprinted widely in the avocational and popular press, and calqued for such things as sake [!], it is an ironic and amusing semiotic example of empirical terminologization run amok, but important because of the pseudo-scientific extensional backing for the ritually-centered interests actually maintained by the priestly charisma of connoisseurship. It is, however, reassuring to the anxiety ridden that the terminology of "aroma" has laboratory "Science" behind it with a University of California imprimatur.]

When we look at how the oenoglossic lexical register is employed in professional discourse, we find that the tasting note does, indeed, have a textual form, in which the phraseological occurrences of all descriptors presuppose the orlerliness of the tasting encounter. The tasting note is a discourse genre, in other words, relative to the organization of which, among those who control the register, paradigmatic sets of possible terms can appear in a report following the phased tasting encounter of Fig. 14. What we have, in other words, is [Putnamian (1975) sociolinguistic] words and expressions paired with their special *cultural concepts* (Putnam's 'stereotypes') about wine as a complex aesthetic comestible. This is a technical vocabulary of connoisseurship manifested in use only as the words and expressions form part of denotational (and even interactional) text properly cohesive and thence coherent. Of course, popular, sociolinguistically uninformed belief focuses merely on the lexical, as though this were not a matter of the senses of these words and expressions emerging from pragmatic baptism in a genre-specific register. (Apparently, even some linguists, e.g. Lehrer, 1975, 1983, apparently think we are dealing with straightforwardly ethno-scientific terms and their senses—much to the investigator's shocked disappointment!)

I call specific attention to the descriptors in the left column in Fig. 15, which are not elements of the self-consciously used specialist's vocabulary, yet which seem to be essential to the construction of the text. We immediately see two things: (1) these

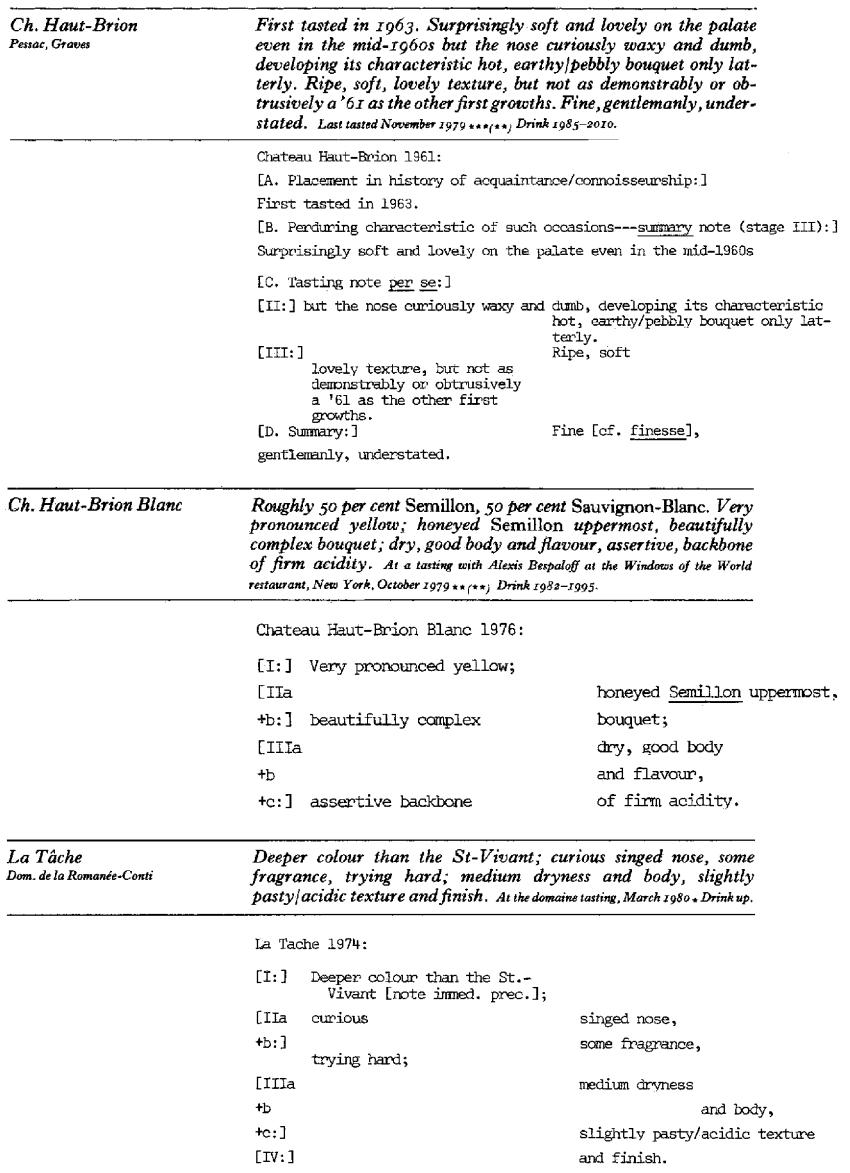


Fig. 15. Professional wine-tasting notes (M. Broadbent), lexically analyzed.

are anthropomorphizing metaphorical (figurative) usages of a characterological nature, or usages dealing with matters of "breeding, " all in the manner of an evaluative stance ('voice' in Bakhtinian parlance) indexically based in the speaker's intentionality and identity; (2) the figurations range across those used in prestige realms of traditional English gentlemanly horticulture and especially animal husbandry of prestige bred creatures such as dogs, race horses, etc. So the

connoisseurship indexed in micro-context by such evaluational terms is an identifiable and inhabitable one, macro-sociologically locatable, in other words, from its enregisterment in a cultural schema of sociolinguistic differentiation. But further, the descriptions of the wine along evaluative dimensions of figurative distinction index Speaker's Bourdivine (1984) 'distinction'. So the basis for using these figurations authoritatively is the fact that, in essence, "it takes one to know one, " that there is, in other words, a consubstantiality of inhabited/ figurated essence between the intentionality doing the evaluation and the object of the evaluation. There is a "match, " as it were, of truly worthy wine and the fineness of sensorium that emerges from whatever source the cultural view allows, whether finesse comes from "good breeding" [the elite, excluding and absolutist stance of "nature"], or from "training" [the stance of (y)upward mobility in which the training of connoisseurs' sensoria will result in authoritative use of terminologies of evaluation; more useful, certainly, to aggressive commercial interests], or even from "trainability" that uncovers "natural" or "revealed" breeding (after all!) [the prince-inside-the-pauper theme of naturalizing essentialization].

Interestingly, in macro-sociological terms, the further one moves away from the professional ritual context and its central discursive requirement, articulating a well-formed wine tasting note, the more do the characterological words and expressions constitute lay people's ideas of what "wine talk, " as an unordered lexicon of terms, is, evoking strong (positive and negative) stereotyping reactions. Why?

We can see immediately that, given our observations above, wine tasting and its all-important verbalization in the tasting note (and derivative usages) is *culturally eucharistic*: by using the lingo in context, the lingo has the indexically entailing effect or creative power to index consubstantial traits in the speaker. As we consume the wine and properly (ritually) denote that consumption, we **become**, in performative realtime, the well-bred, characterologically interesting (subtle, balanced, intriguing, winning, etc.) person iconically corresponding to the metaphorical "fashion of speaking" of the perceived register's figurations of the aesthetic object of connoisseurship, wine. The eucharistic exercise is a powerful microcontext of *higher-order indexical authorization*. This higher-than-(mere)-Standard indexical value of oinoglossic register exists in a complex, interlocking set of institutionally formed macro-sociological interests. These constitute a functioning market of production/circulation/consumption of the aesthetically-constru(ct)ed objects the interlocking structure of which is, in effect, made manifest in the indexical values and stereotypes of oinoglossic words and expressions, whether used in proper textual genre or not, whether used "straight" or with a further superposed (even higher-indexical-order) wink (as many advertising copyrighters have learned to do under the sign of Gen X irony).

Hence, to the degree that oinoglossia is a widely encountered register, a speaker of English inevitably places him- or herself in relation to this social structure of the wine world by using a word or expression either professionally terminologized in it or, somewhat more potently, penumbrally entextualized according to the tasting-note genre. Elites and would-be elites in contemporary society seek to use these enregistered forms; using them confers (indexically entails) an aspect of eliteness-before-prestige-commodities, of which 'distinction' is made.

Furthermore, the world of prestige commodities, especially prestige comestibles, is more and more an authorizing one with generative "fashions of speaking" (Whorf) emerging that are all based on oinoglossia, on the wine-tasting note. So an originally higher-order entailment about speaker identity that came from "borrowing" from the world of wine has now become a merely competing/replacive presupposed indexical of elite identity right within the macro-sociological center of influence, sometimes called consumerist "Yuppiedom." One need only go on an urban hunting-and-gathering expedition to the specialty prestige comestible shops of any affluent neighborhood to see coffee and tea tasting notes, cheese tasting notes, pâté tasting notes, etc., prominently displayed to orient (and reassure) the elite consumer that these are—right here, available for you to purchase!—the paraphernalia of the correctly-indexical "life style" (identity-by-visible-consumption). Note also that high-priced chocolates, perfumes, microbrewery beers, and so forth can all be constru(ct)ed as prestige comestibles by use of this "fashion of speaking"; you are what you say about what you eat. Lifestyle commodities exist verbally in constant dialectic tension from above the plane of mere indexicals of Labovian standardization, and the trope of aboveness bespeaks the anxiety of 'distinction' that is hegemonic for those most caught up in their indexical values.

8. Conclusion

The critical point that runs through all these examples is that all macro-sociological cultural categories of identity, being manifested micro-sociologically ("in co[n]text") as indexical categories, are to be seen as dialectically constituted somewhere between indexical n-th- and $n+1$st-order value-giving schemata of categorization, wherever we encounter them. Even though much sociolinguistic work seems to proceed as though a 1st-order analysis (of indexical presupposition of an otherwise inert macro-social order) suffices, it gives us no interesting insight; it is a dialectical partial, a beginning, at best.

An illuminating indexical analysis, as opposed to an incomplete or inadequate one, has to take account of the dialectical plenitude of indexicality in micro-contextual realtime, and has to situate itself with respect to the duplex quality of language use, always already both "pragmatic, " i.e., presuppositionally/entailingly indexical, and metapragmatic, i.e., in particular, ideologically informed. From such a perspective, the sociocultural reality manifested in-and-by discursive interaction becomes analytically visible, an immanent semiotic fact in such events of self- and other-definition. As we see, try as we might to give a single-order analysis, the dialectical semiotic plenitude of indexicality eludes such an effort, and our analysis is revealed as a poor partial, no more worthy of privilege in our professional discursive framework of "science" than over against the ethno-science of our interlocutory "subjects" or "consultants." There is, of course, no ultimate absolute of validity for even semiotically sophisticated accounts of indexicality. But it seems to me certain that without the concept of indexical order, in particular, there just can be no scientifically useful understanding of how both a micro-sociological order and a

macro-sociological order are "articulated" through language used appropriately to and effectively in context.

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