

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

Language connects people to each other in social relationships and allows them to participate in a variety of activities in everyday life. This original study explores the role of language in various domains of our social life, including identity, gender, class, kinship, deference, status, hierarchy, and others. Drawing on materials from over thirty languages and societies, this book shows that language is not simply a tool of social conduct but the effective means by which human beings formulate models of conduct. Models of conduct serve as points of reference for social behavior, even when actual conduct departs from them. A principled understanding of the processes whereby such models are produced and transformed in large-scale social history, and also invoked, negotiated, and departed from in small-scale social interactions provides a foundation for the cross-cultural study of human conduct.

ASIF AGHA is Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, and editor of *The Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*.



STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF LANGUAGE

The aim of this series is to develop theoretical perspectives on the essential social and cultural character of language by methodological and empirical emphasis on the occurrence of language in its communicative and interactional settings, on the socioculturally grounded "meanings" and "functions" of linguistic forms, and on the social scientific study of language use across cultures. It will thus explicate the essentially ethnographic nature of linguistic data, whether spontaneously occurring or experimentally induced, whether normative or variational, whether synchronic or diachronic. Works appearing in the series will make substantive and theoretical contributions to the debate over the sociocultural-function and structural-formal nature of language, and will represent the concerns of scholars in the sociology and anthropology of language, anthropological linguistics, sociolinguistics, and socioculturally informed psycholinguistics.

Editors Editorial Advisers

Judith T. Irvine Marjorie Goodwin

Bambi Schieffelin Joel Kuipers

Don Kulick John Lucy Elinor Ochs Michael Silverstein

A list of books in the series can be found after the index.



LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

ASIF AGHA

University of Pennsylvania





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo
Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521576857

© Asif Agha 2007

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2007

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN-13 978-0-521-57176-0 hardback ISBN-10 0-521-57176-6 hardback ISBN-13 978-0-521-57685-7 paperback ISBN-10 0-521-57685-7 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



CONTENTS

	List	of figures	page viii
	List	of tables	X
	Ack	nowledgments	xiii
	Тур	ographical conventions	XV
	Intr	oduction	1
1	Ref	lexivity	14
	1.0	Introduction	14
	1.1	Reflexive activity	16
	1.2	Text-level indexicality and interactional tropes	24
	1.3	Reflexive activity in interaction	27
	1.4	Deixis and representation	37
	1.5	Performativity	55
	1.6	Reflexive processes across encounters	64
	1.7	Large scale cultural formations	77
2	Fro	m referring to registers	84
	2.0	Introduction	84
	2.1	Referring	85
		Propositional stance and role alignment	96
		Denotational categories	103
		Norms of denotation and interaction	124
	2.5	Dialect, sociolect and denotational footing	132
	2.6	Retrospect and prospect	142
3	Reg	ister formations	145
	3.0	Introduction	145
	3.1	Three aspects of registers	147
	3.2	Metapragmatic stereotypes	150
	3.3	Stereotypes and socialization	155
	3.4	Stereotypes and ideology	157
	3.5	Entextualized tropes	159
	3.6	Fragmentary circulation	165
			V

© Cambridge University Press



vi		Contents	
	3.7	Reflexive social processes and register models	167
	3.8	Sociological fractionation and footing	171
	3.9	Semiotic range	179
		The enregisterment of style	185
	3.11	Conclusion	188
4	The	social life of cultural value	190
	4.0	Introduction	190
	4.1	Received Pronunciation: basic issues	191
	4.2	Metadiscourses of accent	195
	4.3	The emergence of a standard	203
	4.4	The transformation of habits of speech perception	206
	4.5	The transformation of habits of utterance	219
	4.6	Asymmetries of competence and perceptions of value	223
	4.7	Changes in exemplary speaker	224
	4.8	The sedimentation of habits and the inhabitance of agency	228
5	Reg	rouping identity	233
J	5.0	Introduction	233
	5.1	From 'identity' to emblems	234
	5.2	Emblematic figures of identity	237
	5.3	Role designators and diacritics	246
	5.4	Emblematic readings	254
	5.5	Interaction rituals as emblems of group status	260
	5.6	Emergent, stereotypic and naturalized groupings	268
	5.7	Enregistered identities and stereotypic emblems	272
6	Reg	isters of person deixis	278
	6.0	Introduction	278
	6.1	Metapragmatic stereotypes and standards	279
	6.2	Reflexive processes within pronominal registers	286
	6.3	Emblems of social difference	293
	6.4	Troping on norms	295
	6.5	Social boundaries	298
7	Hor	norific registers	301
	7.0	Introduction	301
	7.1	Variation and normalization	302
	7.2	Lexeme and text	304
	7.3	Pronominal repertoires	308
	7.4	Phonolexical registers of speaker demeanor	310
	7.5	Registers of referent-focal deference	315
	7.6	Deference to referent: text-defaults	317



		Contents	vii
	7.7	Textually composite effects	322
	7.8	* *	332
	7.9	Speech levels	334
8	Noi	rm and trope in kinship behavior	340
	8.0	Introduction	340
	8.1	From kinship systems to kinship behavior	341
	8.2	Lexicalism, codes, and the genealogical reduction	346
	8.3	From kinship terms to text-patterns	350
	8.4	Normalized tropes	356
	8.5	Renormalization and standards	368
	8.6	Society-internal variation	372
	8.7	Sign and metasign in kinship behavior	375
	8.8	From cultural kinship formations to any cultural	
		formation	382
		Notes	386
		References	408
		Index	419



FIGURES

1.1	Metasemiotic motivation of icons	page 22
1.2	Metasemiotically motivated co-occurrence effects:	
	text-level indexicality	24
1.3	Reflexive descriptions of speech co-text and context	32
1.4	Self-reported strategies for modeling next-turn behavior	
	(Swedish)	35
1.5	Communicative transmission through a speech chain	67
1.6	Communicative networks in mass communication	69
1.7	Dyadic conversation	70
1.8	A biographic history of encounters	70
1.9	Soliloquy and inner speech	71
2.1	Referential vs. attributive uses	92
2.2	Text configurations as referring signs	93
2.3	Multi-channel sign-configurations and participant	
	alignments	101
2.4	Structural sense classes of English noun	114
2.5	Deictic signs: denotational and interactional schemas	118
2.6	Denotational stereotypes as social regularities	121
2.7	Referential prototypes	122
2.8	Reanalysis of Thai syntactic patterns into 'high' and 'low'	
	registers	130
2.9	Role configuration and denotationally-mediated	
	footing	138
3.1	Three levels of engagement with register phenomena	149
3.2	Gender tropes in Lakhota	161
3.3	Register-mediated alignments: reanalysis and	
	self-differentiation	173
3.4	Javanese Wayang Kulit: ritual comportment as implicit	
	typification	184
3.5	Calvin and Hobbes on registers, voicing, tropes and	
	recirculation	188
4.1	Bateman cartoon, 1920	198
4.2	Diagrammatic motivation of co-occurring variables	211
viii		



	Figures	ix
5.1	Role designators and diacritics	249
5.2	Textually cumulative models of personhood	252
5.3	Title page, Elements of Elocution by John Walker,	
	1806 edition	274



TABLES

1.1	Propositional content and propositional act	page 41
1.2	Non-selective deixis: from definite past queries to	
	'nomic' truths	43
1.3	Categorial text-defaults for common English deictics	47
1.4	Categorial text-defaults and cross-linguistic comparison	48
1.5	Co-textual specification of denotational schema	49
1.6	Role fractions of speaker	50
1.7	Predicate modalization and the explicit performative	
	locution	57
1.8	Cross-cultural comparisons of performative locutions	62
2.1	Reflexive evaluations presupposed in choice of	
	location-referring term	95
2.2	Denotational text as a performed diagram of	
	interactional text	99
2.3	Distributional structure and sense categories	112
2.4	Structural sense classes of suffix	115
2.5	Thresholds of normativity	126
2.6	Tamil caste sociolects and denotational footings	137
2.7	Register contrasts in Norwegian	139
3.1	Typifications of language use	151
3.2	Phonolexical registers of speaker gender in Koasati	160
3.3	Lexical registers of speaker gender in Lakhota	160
3.4	Some features of 'Sports announcer talk'	164
3.5	American military register	166
3.6	Some dimensions of register organization and change	169
3.7	Mirror-image alignments in Egyptian Arabic: a case	
	of inverse iconism	174
3.8	Reanalysis in stereotypic values of second person polite	
	pronouns (Javanese)	176
3.9	Javanese kasar 'coarse' vocabularies	181
	Javanese kasar 'coarse' prosody	182
	Multi-channel indexical icons in Javanese	183
4.1	Phonolexical changes in RP vowels: selected examples	194

X



	Tables	xi
4.2	Popular media mis-spellings of U-RP words	197
4.3	Accent speech levels in Britain	200
4.4	Patterns of accent evaluation and role alignment	
	in West Wirral	201
4.5	Rough estimates of genre circulation	217
5.1	Greeting form as emblem of speaker's status	263
5.2	Emblems of piety and honor	266
5.3	Processes that operate over role diacritics and emblems	272
5.4	Enregistered indices of refinement linked to 'Received	
	Pronunciation'	273
6.1	Common genres of metapragmatic discourse about	
	pronouns	281
6.2	Person-referring pronominal forms in Thai	285
6.3	Pronominal registers in European languages	287
6.4	Text configurations marking politeness in French	287
6.5	Reanalysis of Italian second-person pronominal address	289
6.6	Levels of second person pronominal deference in Maithili	290
6.7	Second person pronominal levels in Urdu	290
6.8	Honorific nouns used as 'pronouns' in Urdu	292
6.9	Norms of appropriateness reported for Yiddish address	296
6.10		299
7.1	Metapragmatic data used in the study of honorific	206
7.0	repertoires	306
7.2	Malayalam honorific 'pronouns'	309
7.3	Phonolexical registers in Samoan	311
7.4	Enregistered phonolexical styles in Standard Teherani Persian	212
7.5		313
7.5	Referent-focal deference: a cross-linguistic approximation	318 321
7.6	Cross-linguistic distribution of lexemic honorific forms	321
7.7	Honorific forms whose appropriate use depends on two interactional variables	330
7.8		331
7.9	Conjoined focus in Japanese verbs of giving Textually 'superposed' effects and interactional tropes	332
	Javanese [—human] common nouns	333
	Addressee honorifics in Javanese: repertoire	333
/.11	contrasts	334
7 12	Korean speech levels: the early Standard system	335
	Korean speech levels: contemporary Cihwali	336
	Lexeme cohesion and speech levels (Tibetan): five ways	330
/.1 +	of saying 'Mother went to the house'	337
7 15	Javanese speech levels: early Standard	338
	Acceptability of 'mixed' speech levels by social domain	330
7.10	of evaluator: 'conservative' vs. 'modern' speakers	339
	or orangement. Competitudite to, illuderin appearen	227



xii	Tables	
8.1	Common patterns of addressee-referring and third person	
	kinterm usage	352
8.2	Role inhabitance and referential gloss (English)	354
8.3	Role inhabitance and referential gloss (Vietnamese)	355
8.4	Address inversion in Japanese: referring to self as	
	addressee would or should	359
8.5	Recentered affinal address (Bengali): addressing others	
	as someone else would	361
8.6	Address recentering in Japanese	362
8.7	Patterns of kinterm usage	365
8.8	Address recentering in Hindi	374



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A first draft of this book was completed while I was a Fellow at the Stanford Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences during 2003–04. In addition to the opportunity to work full time on the book, the Center and its extraordinary staff helped create conditions for writing and reflection that were no less than ideal. Faculty grants from the University of Pennsylvania and the University of California, Los Angeles made possible sabbatical leaves at earlier stages of writing. I am immensely grateful to these institutions for their support.

Conversations with other Fellows at the Center, especially Thomas Welskopp, Walter Johnson, Jane Hill, and Webb Keane, remained a daily source of intellectual stimulation while the book was being written. Judith Irvine, Stanton Wortham, Douglas Glick, Robert Moore, Irene Applebaum, Sabina Perrino, Michael Lempert, Luke Fleming and Constantine Nakassis read the first draft of the manuscript and responded with comments. At an earlier stage, James Kurichi provided insights into Malayalam and Ed Keenan into Malagasy. Bob Agajeenian and Andrew Schwalm worked as my research assistants. I am grateful to them all.

Thanks also to my two Cambridge editors, Judith Ayling, who first invited me to write a book proposal and then accepted it, and Andrew Winnard, who, with a kindness bordering on friendship, saw it through to the form that now lies in your hands.

Some of the material in this book has been presented at various conferences over the years, and earlier versions of parts of the argument have appeared in print. The basic view of registers underlying Chapter 3 was first presented at a panel organized by Alessandro Duranti at the American Anthropological Association's annual conference in November 1997; a portion of the chapter (perhaps two-thirds of the current version) was published as Agha 2004 in an anthology that eventually emerged from this panel. Different portions of Chapter 4 were presented at the Ethnohistory seminar at the University of Pennsylvania in November 1999, at a panel organized by Greg Urban at the American Anthropological Association in November 2000, and at the Anthropology Department Colloquium of the University of Chicago in March 2002. I'd like to thank

xiii



xiv

Acknowledgments

Ben Lee, Richard Bauman and Sue Gal for stimulating comments during these presentations and Michael Silverstein for comments on an earlier version, published as Agha 2003. A portion of Chapter 7 was first presented to the Japanese Association of Sociolinguistic Sciences in March 2002 and published in their proceedings as Agha 2002. I thank Sachiko Ide and Kuniyoshi Kataoka for the invitation to present my work at the conference and for their extraordinary hospitality during my visit. About half the material in Chapter 8 was first presented at the Symposium About Language in Society at the University of Texas, Austin, in April 2005, and is scheduled to appear in their proceedings. I am immensely grateful to the organizers of these symposia and to members of audiences for feedback and discussion.

This book is dedicated to my son Omar Sheheryar Agha, now 11, who helped me find examples of register phenomena in *Calvin and Hobbes* comic strips, and, when they were found, helped me find lots of other things too, so many that even Calvin and Hobbes had some trouble guessing what they were.



TYPOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS

I use boldface

For technical terms when first introduced and occasionally thereafter to remind the reader of their technical senses

'Single quotes'

- 1. For glosses of expressions and utterance-acts
- 2. For quotations from authors (except when numbered and set on a different line)
- 3. For everyday usages and terminologies on which I wish to comment

Italics

- 1. For forms of words and expressions in orthographic representation
- 2. For expository emphases
- "Double quotes"

To clarify levels of embedding in reported speech

As for the linguistic data cited in this book, I have used IPA conventions whenever possible, but have left intact the conventions used by the many authors I cite when these depart from them.