SIGNS AND SOCIETY

(ISSN 2326-4489, E-ISSN 2326-4497)

Signs and Society is published three times a year in the winter, spring, and fall by the University of Chicago Press, 1427 E. 60th St., Chicago, IL 60637-2902. The journal is produced and sustained through the collaborative efforts of the Semiosis Research Center at the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, the Semiotics Laboratory of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, and the Center for the Study of Communication and Society at the University of Chicago, with funding from the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies.

EDITOR

Asif Agha, University of Pennsylvania, USA

DIRECTOR

Ki Sun Chun, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Republic of Korea

MANAGING EDITOR

Kyung-Nan Koh, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Republic of Korea

EDITORIAL BOARD

J. Joseph Errington	Susan Gal	Martha Sif Karrebæk	Constantine V. Nakassis
Yale University, USA	University of Chicago, USA	Københavns Universitet,	University of Chicago, USA
Nancy R. Felson	Zane Goebel	Denmark	Rupert Stasch
University of Georgia,	The University of	Massimo Leone	University of Cambridge,
USA	Queensland, Australia	Università di Torino, Italy	UK

EDITOR EMERITUS

Richard J. Parmentier

Brandeis University, USA (Volumes 1-5, 2013-2017)

DIRECTOR EMERITUS

Paig-Ki Kim

Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Republic of Korea (Volumes 1-2, 2013-2014; Volumes 5-6, 2017-2018)

Signs and Society is published three times a year in winter, spring, and fall by the University of Chicago Press, 1427 E. 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637-2902. Signs and Society is an open-access online journal that is freely available worldwide. Visit the journal's website (www.journals.uchicago.edu/journals/sas) for information on access and purchase options, including e-book editions and print copy orders.

Correspondence: Potential contributors are encouraged to directly contact the Editor-in-Chief, Asif Agha, at asifagha@sas.upenn.edu. Please address all other editorial inquiries to the managing editor at sas@hufs.ac.kr.

For access assistance and technical support, please e-mail help@press.uchicago.edu.

Advertising space in *Signs and Society* is available. For information and rates, please contact the advertising sales staff by e-mail at j-advertising@press.uchicago.edu. Advertising is limited to material of scholarly interest to our readers.

Permissions: Articles may be copied or otherwise reused without permission only at the extent permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law. Permission to copy articles for personal, internal, classroom, or library use may be obtained from the Copyright Clearance Center (www.copyright.com). For all other uses, such as copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, or for resale, please contact Permissions Coordinator, Journals Division, University of Chicago Press, 1427 E. 60th St., Chicago, IL 60637-2902 USA. Fax: 773-834-3489. E-mail: journalpermissions@press.uchicago.edu. Articles in the public domain may be used without permission, but it is customary to contact the author.

 $\hbox{@ 2023 Semiosis Research Center}$ at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. All rights reserved.

SIGNS SOCIETY Spring 2023 Volume 11

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

How Forests of Qualia Emerge 115 Yuichi Asai

The Enregisterment of Luxembourgish Standards in the Nineteenth Century 146 Gabriel Rivera Cosme

On Metapragmatic Gaslighting: Truth and Trump's Epistemic Tactics in a Plague Year 173 Aurora Donzelli

Language and Neoliberalism in the Online Cosmetic Sample Business Gloria Yan Dou

The Hands as Reflex Republic 223 Terra Edwards