

Chapter 3: Registers

Thus far in this book, I have argued that cemeteries reflect the cultural habits of their surrounding communities. Specifically, those cultural habits include the variety of languages used in the surrounding communities. Furthermore, families and friends compose the messages engraved upon gravemarkers; the messages reflect a group effort making the role of stonecutters secondary one.

As discussed in Chapter 2 above, historian Harriet Forbes assume that "mistakes" on gravemarkers could usually be traced back carelessness on the part of stonecutters. She especially found offence at their spelling errors. In this chapter this problem of "mistakes" will receive attention—and expansion.

In simple terms, spoken language, the variety that humans learn naturally, constitutes our innate, subconscious, concept of language. Learning to convert that "real" language from the mouth to the hand (speech to writing) and from the ear to the eye (hearing to reading) produces literacy—and must be taught. Literacy does not come naturally.

Literacy, in other words, amounts to lots of little pictures of language; it is "artificial language."

Written language distorts real language. For example, we use space to separate words on a page. In spoken language those words move smoothly from one to the other—we say “howdoyou do” not “how+do+you+do.” Moreover, most of the time we smash all of those words together—saying “hi!” or “howdy” instead of “howdoyou do.”

When most people grieve, they initially do so in intimate, spoken language—not in formal written language. People in grief interrupt their utterances with sobs, with wailing, with silent tears. They do not finish their sentences. They contract words. They use colloquial phrasing and slang.

Translating that language of grief into written language inevitably distorts the original utterances. In fact, part of the difficulty of translating that original grief into written English lies in retaining the emotional depth of the grief itself.

In chapter two, in effect, Harriet Forbes, is describing “mistakes” in translation not just into written English but into *Formal* written English.

But Harriet Forbes does not stand alone. Most scholars apparently expect gravemarker language to be written in formal language (Chase; Brown 137).

Linguistic analysis, however, reveals that written gravemarker language expresses grief in three different styles—or in linguistic terms “registers.” The “Formal” register exists most often in high-profile public cemeteries, the types of cemeteries that most scholars—especially epitaph aficionados—choose to explore. The “Casual” register, however, dominates the prolific number of small, family, or rural cemeteries.

The “Mixed” register, a blend of formal and casual, exists ubiquitously, yet usually undetected, in virtually all cemeteries.

Linguistic Registers.

Richard Hudson presents an excellent introduction to the linguistic concept of “register” in his introductory textbook Sociolinguistics. (For other discussions, see (Crystal and Davy, p. 48; Gregory & Carroll p. 48; Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens, p. 48.)

Hudson helpfully suggests that registers reflect usage of language—as opposed to the mere existence of language. “At the risk of oversimplification, we may say that one’s [language] shows who (or what) you are, whilst one’s register shows what you are doing . . . (Hudson 49).

He gives an example that includes both vocabulary and grammar differences among four registers (p. 50):

formal, technical register
We obtained some sodium chloride.
formal, non-technical register
We obtained some salt.
informal, technical register
We got some sodium chloride
informal, non-technical register
We got some salt.

Note that in effect, the “formal technical” and the “informal non-technical” provide “pure” registers. These two registers parallel the two cemetery registers of Formal and Casual, respectively. Hudson’s middle two registers (the formal, non-technical and the informal technical) both consist of mixtures of the two basic registers. Combined, they parallel the Mixed cemetery register.

Obviously, what all of these family members are doing is grieving. The differences in registers, however, tell us much about the differences in anticipated audience.

In his introductory own textbook to sociolinguistics, Ronald Wardhaugh prefers to use the literary term “style,” instead of “register:”

“You can speak very formally or very informally, your choice being governed by circumstances. Ceremonial occasions almost invariably require very formal speech, public lectures somewhat less formal, casual conversations quite informal, and conversations

between intimates as matters of little importance may be extremely informal and casual. (48)”

An analogy to linguistic registers exists in the choices people make when choosing which clothing to wear. We all know precisely what clothing to wear to a formal dinner dance. Conversely, we all know precisely what clothing to wear to the beach. Only those people wishing to draw attention to themselves would wear a swim suit to a dinner dance or wear a tuxedo or formal dress to the beach.

The problem of analyzing registers and their utilization, of course, poses extremely complex problems. Linguistic anthropologist Dell Hymes, for example, has developed an analytical model with 13 separate variables (Hymes 27, 49, 120).

Linguist Martin Joos, one of the original scholars to study style in spoken language, used a model with five variables: Oratorical, Deliberative, Consultative, Casual, and Intimate (Joos). Joos refers to these variables as “clocks.” Quoting Joos out of context, perhaps, hides the humor in his arguments—even his tongue-in-cheek decision to use the term “clock.” (At certain times of the day, we tend to use one of these “clocks” more than at other times of the day.) Joos’s insights, however, still provide one

of the easily understandable analyses of everyday language usage.

To paraphrase Joos, politicians, reading from a prepared script into the unblinking eye of a television camera, utilize the oratorical clock. When using this clock, speakers seldom, if ever, stray from their carefully crafted texts of formal written language.

Preachers also tend to read their homilies from a prepared text, but to a live audience. At such a time, people are using the deliberative clock. If a significant number of people in a given audience begin to give non-verbal signals that they are confused—or in disagreement—the user of this clock deviates from the prepared text with spontaneous elaboration. One can quickly note the deviation because both grammatical complexity and vocabulary choice become simplified.

In both the oratorical clock and the deliberative clock verbal communication is unilateral. Listeners do not participate verbally.

Teachers in a classroom and bosses in a conference room, tend to use the consultative clock. Working from notes, they dominate the verbal exchange and do so in carefully chosen grammar, vocabulary choice and diction. But exchange does occur. Usually students or employees

will non-verbally ask for recognition with a raised hand or a nod of the head. The person in charge will then turn the dialogue over to the “lesser person,” who also tries to speak in carefully chosen grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation.

The casual clock occurs when social equals engage in dialogue. Concentrating on thought instead of on language, participants produce incomplete sentences with contracted words and in marked dialect pronunciation. They interrupt each other’s sentences, laugh, cry, make imitative sounds such as “Rrrrrrrrrrrr; Rrrrrrr, went the motor.”

The intimate clock (think of nighttime privacy time) usually makes no sense to people who might overhear it. It consists of the ultimate interruptive dialogue and depends upon considerable shared experiences.

“You remember?”

“Oh, yeah.”

“She just, just . . .”

“I know!”

“And he, he.”

“Yes. Yes! Yes!!”

[Shared laughter]

Joos’s consultative and casual clocks best typify the two “pure” registers found on gravemarkers. My use of the

gravemarker term “formal register” corresponds to Joos’s “consultative clock”; the gravemarker term “casual register” corresponds to Joos’s “casual clock.”

The “mixed register” represents what happens to consultative speech when a classroom or conference room moves from a highly structured setting to a heated exchange among all participants—everyone knows clearly who is in charge, but temporarily, at least, everyone becomes equal. On the gravemarkers the families try to show that though they know formal language, this person being memorialized was also “family.”

Malakoff, Texas

A series of cemeteries in Malakoff, Texas, provide ample data to illustrate the three gravemarker registers.

Located between Dallas and Shreveport, in the northeastern part of Texas, Malakoff received post office recognition in 1885. Not incorporated until 1948, present-day Malakoff has a population of about 2,500 people.

In the mid 1920s, lignite coal mining provided the major industry. Malakoff Fuel Company employed among other workers a sizeable number of Mexican Americans, who lived in a separate village provided by the company. The mining ceased in 1945. At present the Tarrant County Water

Board's Cedar Creek Reservoir provides employment, directly or indirectly, for Malakoff residents (Long).

Malakoff Cemeteries

Malakoff has four major cemeteries. The major cemetery, Malakoff Cemetery (Figure 3.1) contains only

Figure 3.1 Malakoff Cemetery
(INSERT SLIDE 35.Malakoff.98.#11)

English language gravemarkers. (When the citizens applied for post office recognition, their preferred names Mitcham or Purdon, had already been taken both post offices. The citizens accepted the post office officials suggestion of the name Russian name Malakoff (Long). The implied Russian influence on the language of Malakoff resides solely in the town's name.)

Separated from the Caucasian section of Malakoff cemetery by a fence, the Mexican Americans, had their own burial grounds (Figure 3.2). While legally, perhaps,

Figure 3.2 Coal Miner Cemetery
(INSERT SLIDE Spanish.Malakoff.98.#15)

still part of Malakoff Cemetery, the descendants of the Mexican American families in 1986 held a reunion and dedicated an historical plaque to the fenced-off section. The heading on the plaque reads:

MALAKOFF
COALMINER'S REUNION
JUNE 15, 1986

The Malakoff Cemetery and the Coal Miner Cemetery mark the northern border of Malakoff. On the northwest corner sits Antioch Cemetery, an African American cemetery. A Texas State Historical Society plaque aptly describes the cemetery (Figure 3.3)

Figure 3.3: Antioch Cemetery
(INSERT SLIDE Antioch.98.#2)

ANTIOCH CEMETERY

PIONEERS LOCATED ON A TWO-ACRE SITE PURCHASED IN 1883 BY THE TRUSTEES OF THE NEW HOPE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH FROM J. THOMAS AND OMA HENRY, THIS CEMETERY HAS LONG SERVED THE BLACK FARMING COMMUNITY OF ANTIOCH. THE EARLIEST MARKED GRAVE IS THAT OF ALLEN DELORAH, WHO DIED IN 1894. THE CEMETERY CONTAINS NUMEROUS UNMARKED GRAVES OF EARLY SETTLERS AND MINISTERS. ONE OF THE EARLIES GRAVEYARDS IN THIS PART OF HENDERSON COUNTY, ANTIOCH CEMETERY IS THE BURIAL SITE OF MANY OF THE AREA'S PIONEERS.

Outside the city limits of Malakoff, about two miles to the southeast is located Steen Cemetery--the fourth major cemetery serving the Malakoff community. Steen, like Antioch, serves the African American citizens. (Figure 3.4)

Figure 3.4: Steen Cemetery
(INSERT SLIDE Steen.98.#13)

STEEN CEMETERY
IN MEMORY OF
RUFUS DAVID BARON, JR.
1916 - 1995
DONATED BY TOMLINSON FUNERAL HOME
1995

The oldest discernible death date on the Steen Markers is 19??.

As a cluster, these four major cemeteries in and around Malakoff utilize three registers: the Formal, the Casual, and the Blend.

The Formal Register in Malakoff Cemeteries

In the Coalminer Cemetery, three gravemarkers illustrate the use of the formal register. Each gravemarker displays a different perspective on the use of English and of Spanish, the two languages available to the coalminer community. The Lopez family (Figure 3.5) use

Figure 3.5: Lopez Formal Spanish, with English
(INSERT SLIDE SPANISH.MALAKOFF.98.#22)

AT REST
ABRAHAM LOPEZ
FALLECIO 10 DE MAY DE 1906
ALA EDAD DE 34 AÑOS
SU ESPOSA HERMANOS Y DEISES
PARIENTES DEDICATE ESTE RECUERDO
DE SU MEMORIA

Spanish exclusively, albeit on a gravemarker previously inscribed with a formalized English epitaph. The Piña Family (Figure 3.6) has written their entire message

Figure 3.6: Pina Formal English, with Spanish
(INSERT SLIDE Spanish.Malakoff.98.#19)

PIÑA
EDMUNDO GONZALEZ
NOV. 20, 1932 - JAN. 23, 1934
SON OF
JULIAN ORTEGA AND
LEONOR GONZALEZ PIÑA

memorializing their fourteen-month-old son in English, except for the use of the tilde over the letter N in the family name. Finally, the Contreras family memorializes their mother, using only formal written English (Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7: Contreras Formal English
(INSERT SLIDE Spanish.Malakoff.98.#21)

MOTHER
PETRONILA M.
CONTRERAS
MAY 31, 1878
JUNE 12, 1939

All gravemarkers in the Malakoff Cemetery express their grief in English. I have chosen three gravemarkers to illustrate the formal register in this cemetery. The Hutchison family represents well the stereotype (expensive) gravemarker that one would expect as a proper background for formal English (Figure 3.8; Figure 3.9). Two red

Figure 3.8: Hutchison Formal English (front)
(INSERT SLIDE Malakoff.98.D.#13)

SHEILA RENEE
MARCH 27, 1965

AUGUST 13, 1995

MOTHER OF
BEAU & MICHAELE

HUTCHISON

Figure 3.9: Hutchison Formal English (back)

(INSERT SLIDE Malakoff.98.D.#10)

I'M FREE
DON'T GRIEVE FOR ME FOR NOW I'M FREE
I'M FOLLOWING THE PATH GOD MADE FOR ME
I TOOK HIS HAND WHEN I HEARD HIM CALL
I TURNED MY BACK AND LEFT IT ALL

PERHAPS MY TIME SEEMED ALL TOO EARLY
DON'T LENGTHEN IT NOW WITH UNDUE CARE
LIFT UP YOUR HEART AND SHARE WITH ME
GOD WANTED ME NOW. HE SET ME FREE

HUTCHISON

granite Valentine hearts, side by side, have white inside surfaces on which the memorial is written. The Flagg gravemarker holds no visual nor language surprises—a perfect example of a middle-class usage of English (Figure 3.10). In like manner, the humble Thompson horizontal

Figure 3.10: Flagg Formal English

(INSERT SLIDE Malakoff.98.B.#17)

REAGAN PORTER
FLAGG
NOV. 4, 1915
APR. 1. 1991
OUR BELOVED BROTHER

sandstone gravemarker meets expectations of cemetery messages written in dignified, formal English, albeit in irregular spacing and differing font sizes (Figure. 3.11).

Figure 3.11: Thompson Formal English
(INSERT SLIDE 08.Malakoff.98.B.#8)

IN LOVING MEMORY OF
JESSIE MAE
THOMPSON
BORN AUGUST 17, 1888
DIED APRIL 27, 1925

As might be expected all gravemarkers in the two African American cemeteries, Antioch and Steen, display only English language messages. The well-kept Antioch cemetery also has the formal register engraved on expensive (Figure 3.12), middle-priced (Figure 3.13), and inexpensive (Figure 3.14) gravemarkers.

Figure 3.12: Hollie Formal English
(INSERT SLIDE Antioch.98.#4)

LEAD KINDLY ON
PEGGIE
WIFE OF
BEN
HOLLIE
MAY 12,
1816
APR. 19,
1905
SAFELY
ANCHORED IN
THE HARBOR
OF ETERNAL REST
HOLLIE

Figure 3.13: McCalister Formal English
(INSERT SLIDE Antioch.98.#18)

EARLY M^cCALISTER
JAN. 24, 1882
JAN. 4, 1946
GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

Figure 3.14: Street Formal English
(INSERT SLIDE Antioch.98.#6)

TENNESSEE
STREET
B-JAN 2 1862
D-SEPT 14 1915
A SLEEPING
MOTHER

The Steen Cemetery has no expensive gravemarkers. The Jackson family's granite gravemarker (Figure 3.15), however, sufficiently exemplifies the formal register.

Figure 3.15: Jackson Formal English
(INSERT SLIDE Steen.98.#1)

JAMES L.
JACKSON
JAN. 22, 1957
JUNE 23, 1933
BELOVED SON, GRANDSON, BROTHER

The Casual Register in Malakoff Cemeteries

As long as we are looking at the Steen Cemetery data, we might as well begin our discussion of the casual register. The primary indicator of the casual register is vocabulary. Contrast the casual word DAD in Figure 3.16 with the formal words SON, GRANDSON, and BROTHER in Figure 3.15. The casual register, however, is not limited to

Figure 3.16: Brown Casual English
(INSERT SLIDE Steen.98.#4)

WILLIAM BROWN
SUNRISE 7-15-10
SUNSET 11-17-90
OUR BELOVED DAD

Cement markers. Note the use of both MOM and DAD, instead of MOTHER and FATHER, on the granite, middle-class, Smith family gravemarker--as well as the nickname L.C. for "dad." (Figure 3.17).

Figure 3.17: Smith Casual English
(INSERT SLIDE Steen.98.#9)

| SMITH | |
|---------------|---------------|
| MOM | DAD |
| ROBERTA | L.C. |
| FEB. 2, 1913 | OCT. 31, 1914 |
| JAN. 11, 1994 | |

Few of the approximately 200 gravemarkers in Antioch, the well-preserved African-American cemetery, utilize the casual register. Two gravemarkers, however, use nicknames instead of formal names: WILLIE on the cement Session family gravemarker (Figure 3.18) and LESSIE on the granite Granville family marker (Figure 3.19). The spelling of

Figure 3.18: Session Casual English
(INSERT SLIDE Antioch.98.#24)

WILLIE N.
SESSION
B-APR.14.1917

SWEET REST

MARRY on the Granville gravemarker is open to

Figure 3.19: Granville Casual English
(INSERT SLIDE Antioch.98.#11)

LESSIE
FEB. 23, 1895
JULY 1, 1923

MARRY
JULY 15, 1896
SEPT. 28, 1922

interpretation. That is, MARRY could be misspelled formal English or it could be correctly spelled casual English—a nickname.

I could find no casual register on any of the dozen or so legible gravemarkers in the Coalminer Cemetery. In the Malakoff Cemetery, however, the use of the casual register abounds.

A typical example of this register is quite noticeable in the proliferation of the words MOM or MOMMY and of DAD and DADDY instead of MOTHER and FATHER. In Figure 3.20,

Figure 3.20 Faulk Casual English
(INSERT SLIDE Malakoff.98.B.#3)

DADDY
BILLY D.
FAULK
SEPT. 19, 1936
APR. 19, 1998
WE LOVE YOU

The most charming usage of the casual register in Malakoff cemetery I found on a visit in the spring of 1998. In the middle of the cemetery, with neither a gravemarker nor a funeral placard close by were a series of three highly decorated wooden crosses. Each stood about two feet tall. Each was colorfully decorated. Together they wished “Snippy” a happy Valentines Day (Figure 3.23).

Figure 3.23: Snippy Casual English
(INSERT SLIDE Malakoff.98.C.#23)

BOO!!!
Happy Valentines
SNIPPY

The Blend Register in Malakoff Cemeteries

The traditional faculty “uniform” can easily be spotted at the University where I profess. Easily a dozen male faculty members wear the long-accepted dress shoes, trousers, shirt, tie, and sport coat. Easily a dozen women faculty wear long dresses.

Conversely, an equal number of faculty men and women wear sandals, jeans, and polo shirts.

The majority of us, however, dress somewhere between these two extremes—blending the formal and the casual, as it were. My own favorite gear consists of western boots, jeans, a dress shirt without tie, and a sports jacket.

In like manner, many of the families in Malakoff have chosen to use a blend of formal and casual language in the construction of their gravemarker messages.

Typical is the Julian family gravemarker (Figure 3.24)

Figure 3.24: Julian blended English
(INSERT SLIDE Malakoff.98.D.#8)

"GONE FISHING"
FREDERICK K. "BUDDY"
JAN. 31, 1912
DEC. 7, 1996
JULIAN
FOREVER LOVED
OCT.18, 1931
PAPA & MEMA
EULA C.
AUG. 24, 1913

Enscenced in the basically formal English we find casual English Phrasing: GONE FISHING, "BUDDY," PAPA & MEMA. Even the art and the inscriptions intertwine; the OCT.18, 1931 date is written on a curving banner, which in turn is circled by two wedding rings. And above the "GONE FISHING" message is sculpted a thrashing fish.

The blending of formal names with nicknames occurs often, and usually with the nickname highlighted: G.T "Tommy" Tidmore; James "Jim" Sanders; Geraldine "Jerie" Bowman Abbott. In one instance, the nickname "Chief" appears to have been earned (Figure 3.25). On another

Figure 3.25: Christopher Blended English
(INSERT SLIDE Malakoff.98.C.#20)

AN INSPIRATION TO
ALL WHO KNEW HIM
"CHIEF"
WILLARD ROYAL

CHRISTOPHER
DEC. 11, 1943
FEB. 9, 1990

gravemarker, the nickname is linked with a kinship term, "Uncle Bill" (Figure 3.26)

Figure 3.26: Taylor Blended English
(INSERT SLIDE Malakoff.98.D.#22)

WILLIAM A. TAYLOR
(UNCLE BILL)
JAN. 28, 1873
JUNE 23, 1953

Once one tunes into the emotional ties of registers, in the case of gravemarker registers the distance associated with the Formal Register contrasted with the intimacy associated with the Casual Register, the Blended Register inevitably causes reflection. What, for example, are the Johnson children telling us about their parents in Figure 3.27—about their (casual register) "Daddy" and their (formal register) "Mother"? To be fair to the Johnson

Figure 3.27: Johnson Blended Register
(INSERT SLIDE Malakoff.98.C.#19)

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| BONNIE R. | DAVID "DOC" |
| DEC. 18, 1938 | APR. 3, 1935 |
| | MAY 3, 1996 |
| | JOHNSON |
| MOTHER | DADDY |

family and to all of my colleagues, most people respond to my question with a condescending "Oh. That's just southern dialect: *Mother and Daddy*. Everybody says that." That

could be. But not every family writes that blend on their gravemarkers, so it deserves pointing out. The blended register especially draws attention to familial relations when, as in Figure 3.28, the formal term MOTHER is conjoined with the ambiguous (pejorative or affection?) epitaph TEACHING FOREVER.

Figure 2.28: Cliver Blended Register

(INSERT SLIDE Malakoff.98.C.#21)

| | |
|---------------|------------------|
| DADDY | MOTHER |
| LINDER RAY | SYBLE |
| JAN. 20, 1938 | AUG. 20, 1939 |
| | MAR. 8, 1983 |
| MARRIED | TEACHING FOREVER |
| NOV. 23, 1955 | |
| CLIVER | |

I found only one blended register in the Coalminer Cemetery, the Cuerrero family gravemarker, written in a mixture of English and Spanish (Figure 3.29). It tells us that MANUELA was usually called MEG. I shall discuss the

(MEG)
MANUELA F.
CUERRERO
JULY 3, 1903
MAR. 7, 1936
(illegible) MEMORIUM DE SUS
(illegible) FAM (illegible)

mixture of languages at length, in a later chapter. The small bits of Spanish legible on this gravemarker, however, all reflect the formal register.

The handful of blended register gravemarkers in the two African American cemeteries reflect the same use of casual register nicknames and/or kinship terms as found in the Malakoff Cemetery and the Coalminer Cemetery. The Cook family gravemarker in Steen illustrates this same usage and with a noticeable African American given name, LAKENDRIA (Figure 3.30).

Figure 3.30: Cook Blended Register
(INSERT SLIDE Steen.98.#10)

(KENNIE)
LAKENDRIA R. COOK
SEPT. 17, 1976
NOV. 13, 1991
WE'LL ALWAYS LOVE AND MISS YOU

In a couple of footnote references I have referred to John Gary "Brownie" Brown's excellent collection of gravemarker photographs. I also noted his concern about one particularly attractive gravemarker that had written on the bottom: "BORN'D 1918" - "DIED DEAD" 1990. Brownie had asked the craftsman about the "curious choice of words." The craftsman has assured Brownie that "...he had asked the thoroughly articulate clients several times if they were sure this was exactly what they wanted and they assured him it was" (Brown 137). I am sure the clients knew exactly what they wanted: they wanted to tell us, the viewers, the passerby folk, that Janie Brock, the person they were

memorializing had personality. That portrayal is difficult in a formal register.

REFERENCES

- Brown, John Gary. 1994. Soul in the Stone: Cemetery art from America's heartland. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- Chase, Theodore, ed. 1991. *The Papers of Dr. Ernest Caulfield on Connecticut Carvers and their Work, James A. Slater and Peter Benes, sub-editors*. Markers VIII, The Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies.
- Crystal, D. & D. Davy. 1969. Investigating English Style. London: Longman.
- Gregory, M. & S. Carroll. 1978. Language and Situation: Language varieties and their social contexts. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Gumperz, J.J. and D.H. Hymes. 1972 Directions in Sociolinguistics. The Ethnography of Communication. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Halliday, M.A.K., A. McIntosh & P. Stevens. 1964. The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching. London: Longman.
- Hudson, Richard A. 1980. Sociolinguistics New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hymes, Dell. 1972. *Models of the interaction of language and social life*. In Gumperz and Hymes, 35-71)
- Joos, Martin. 1962. The Five Clocks. Bloomington: Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics.
- Long, Christopher. *Malakoff, TX*. The Handbook of Texas Online.
{<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/View/MM/hjm2.html>} [Accessed Mon Sep 24 8:45:28 US/Central 2001]

Wardhaugh, Ronald. 1992. An Introduction to Sociolinguistics, Second Edition. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.