13 Adolescence

SAM KIRKHAM AND EMMA MOORE

Adolescents have long been recognised as influential in the processes of language variation and change. Survey studies have uncovered their unique role in patterns of inter-generational change, leading to the identification of the *adolescent peak* (see Section 2). Subsequent research has examined the social practice of adolescents in order to uncover what it is that makes them so influential in language change. In addition to augmenting approaches to adolescent speakers, this work has significantly influenced the scope of variationist analyses more generally. This chapter charts the progress of research on adolescence in variationist sociolinguistics and explores how this work has shaped the variationist enterprise. In particular, we explore some of the relationships between different strands of research and suggest that a combined approach could lead to a better understanding of the role adolescents play in language variation and change, as well as further enriching our knowledge of the stylistic capabilities of, and constraints on, human language behaviour.

1 Defining Adolescence

Adolescence is the period that emerges as a consequence of a series of biological, psychological and social transitions between childhood and adulthood. *Adolescence* has been studied in a number of disciplines. In psychology, it was originally conceptualised as a series of physiological and psychological processes (Hall 1904) that coincide with "the second decade of life" (Reuter 1937: 414). More recently,

The Handbook of Language Variation and Change, Second Edition.
Edited by J.K. Chambers and Natalie Schilling.

it has been associated with pubertal development, an increase in the likelihood of being depressed, and an increase in risky and delinquent behaviour (Spear 2000; Steinberg and Morris 2001; Susman *et al*. 2003). Neurobiological research suggests that adolescence represents a transitional phase in terms of brain development (Blakemore 2008; Somerville *et al*. 2011). While these biological processes generally coincide with the adolescent life stage, the effect of cultural forces on physiological processes is also well known, such as the impact of socioeconomic deprivation on the age of pubertal onset (Belsky *et al*. 2007). The extent of this relationship is illustrated by the continuing fall in the age of puberty in the United States, which some believe may eventually require a reconceptualisation of the childhood/adolescence boundary (Herman-Giddens 2007).

In sociology, adolescence was initially conceptualised as an oppositional culture, defined in relation to adults and adult institutions (Coleman 1961). Subsequent research has revealed a much more complex picture of the relationship between adolescents and adults, with adolescence acting more as a renegotiation of the parent/child relationship than a process of complete disengagement (Crosnoe and Johnson 2011: 444). Other work has focused upon the dynamics of interpersonal relations and the influence of the peer network. Adolescence marks a sharp increase in the frequency of interactions with peers, as well as a greater desire to maintain a coherent sense of identification (Brechwald and Prinstein 2011). Educational institutions force adolescents to socialise with people of their own age and offer little opportunity for meaningful contact with individuals outside this age bracket. For this reason, schools have a profound influence on the ways in which adolescents organise themselves into friendship groups, to the extent that Eckert (2003: 112) chooses to define adolescence as "a response to the constraints (and opportunities) that these conditions place on the age group".[1] Sociolinguists have seized on this situation as an opportunity for observing the evolution of sociolinguistic meaning in adolescent language and the use of variation to construct social identities.

Despite the central role of adolescents in variationist sociolinguistic research, not all variationists have drawn upon the psychological, sociological and anthropological literature in defining this life stage. Adolescents are often only defined implicitly in much research, usually in terms of chronological age. Adolescents are sometimes also included as part of a "younger" age group, which can be comprised of individuals aged anywhere between 12 and 27 years old (see, for instance, Dyer 2002; Watt 2002). Etic approaches, which group cohorts in equal time-spans (such as decades), can be convenient for graphical displays of the data and for descriptive comparisons. However, broad categorisations may obscure trends that emerge at more specific age ranges. Furthermore, as researcher-defined constructs, they may also fail to reflect the socially constructed nature of adolescence in the community under study. It is for this reason that Eckert (1997) encourages the use of emic approaches, which group speakers according to their shared experiences. In the following two sections, we demonstrate how the conceptualisation of adolescence significantly affects what it is possible to learn and explain about age-correlated language variation and change.

2 The Role of Adolescents in Language Change

2.1 The adolescent peak

Adolescents have long been a focus in variationist work for what they can tell us about inter-generational dialect transmission and change. One reason for this is that adolescents often have a highly sophisticated knowledge of adult norms, but at the same time are influenced more by their peers than by adults (Kerswill 1996: 198). Adolescence has also been claimed to represent the "critical stage" in second-dialect acquisition (Chambers 2009: 181–184), although this situation is now thought to be much more complex than has previously been assumed.

Labov's (2001: 454) discussion of the transmission of a sound change identifies a pattern that recurs in a range of studies. When a change in progress is underway, the innovative variant is used with greater frequency as the generations get younger, until adolescence, where the innovative form peaks in frequency and is then used less frequently by preadolescents. This peak around adolescence is not only found in studies of phonological variation (Trudgill 1974; Ash 1982; Cedergren 1988), but also in studies of morphosyntax and discourse features (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2009). It has been characterised as the outcome of vernacular reorganisation (Labov 2001: 415–417), the process by which children come to speak differently from their caregivers and, in doing so, advance a linguistic change. Kerswill and Williams (2000) have shown that children's speech mirrors that of their caregivers until around four years, after which social forces lead children to focus on a new linguistic norm, which may involve the steady advancement of linguistic changes. Stabilisation of the vernacular is believed to occur between the ages of 14 and 17 (Chambers 2009: 175; Labov 2001: 447; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2009: 66), although there is still much debate about the extent of that stability, given real-time evidence of linguistic change in adults (Cedergren 1988; Blondeau 2001; Sankoff 2004). However, types of linguistic modification are clearly age-related, such that vocabulary is easily acquired whereas lexically unpredictable phonological rules are not (Kerswill 1996: 200). In this sense, the adolescent peak is the result of the vernacular stabilisation of those features that are less easily acquired later in life.

While some have interpreted the adolescent peak as evidence of age-grading (Chambers 2009: 200), Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2009: 70) argue that it is a straightforward artefact of the "logistic incrementation of linguistic change". As linguistic change sweeps across successive generations, we should expect each generation to show a steady increase at adolescence. Older speakers have lower rates of use because their language use stabilised at an earlier (lower) increment than that achieved by the current group of adolescents. Similarly, younger speakers only have lower use of the incoming form because they are still in the process of incrementation and have had less time to accrue increments. Unless the change reaches completion, these younger speakers will eventually surpass the current group of adolescents when their vernacular stabilises. Viewed this way, it looks like the

peak is a consequence of a mechanical linguistic process, which concludes at the critical age of vernacular stabilisation.

Does this mean that adolescence is only significant as a developmental watershed? Given what we know about the complexity of this life stage, this is unlikely. Adolescence marks a time in which individuals seek to differentiate themselves from the adjacent life stages of childhood and adulthood. In this sense, what is socially significant about adolescent language may not be the acceleration of vernacular use alone, but the fact that this life stage provides "a license and an imperative to begin acting on certain kinds of social knowledge that the age cohort has been developing for years" (Eckert 2000: 8). In this sense, it provides the perfect context in which to adapt, resignify and reconstrue language variation, irrespective of whether that variation has been first acquired in a probabilistic fashion or not.

The study of adolescent language is thus incredibly instructive in two important ways. First, it represents "the most uniform and characteristic variety" of vernacular English (Labov 1973: 81), as illustrated by the adolescent peaks found for change in progress. In this way, studies of adolescence provide the latest insights into processes of variation and change. We illustrate this in the next section by exploring how research on adolescents in Britain has identified a particular type of language change. Second, the fact that adolescence is "both short and intense – a social hothouse" (Eckert 2000: 15–16) makes it the perfect context in which to test the limits of the relationship between language and social categories, and language and social meaning. The nature of these relationships is explored in Sections 4 and 5, respectively.

2.2 *Dialect levelling and innovation*

Much of the research on adolescent speakers in British speech communities has been concerned with adolescents' participation in what has been termed *regional dialect levelling*. Williams and Kerswill (1999: 149) describe this as "a process whereby differences between regional varieties are reduced, features which make varieties distinctive disappear, and new features emerge and are adopted by speakers over a wide geographical area". These new forms are claimed to possess greater geographical currency than traditional features and can sometimes represent the development of a set of supra-local linguistic norms that spread across geographical regions (Kerswill 2003: 224).

Kerswill and Williams' study of Milton Keynes, a "new town" in the south of England, illustrates this process. At the time of their study, Milton Keynes was overwhelmingly comprised of incomers from different dialect areas, resulting in considerable heterogeneity amongst the adult population. The children of these incomers became the first group of native-born individuals in the new town. Kerswill and Williams (2000) investigated 10 phonological variables in the speech of these children and found that 12-year-old adolescents possessed different phonetic realisations of these variables when compared to both adults and younger children. One change occurring more broadly in the southeast of England was

fronting of the off-glide of the GOAT diphthong, giving [ɐʏ] or [ɐɪ] in place of the more traditional [əʊ] or [ɐɤ].[2] This change was found to be advanced in the 12-year-olds, suggesting that focusing – the development of norms in patterns of linguistic behaviour – was already taking place in the speech of native-born children who grew up in Milton Keynes. The greatest effects were found in the adolescents who were at once tightly integrated into a local peer group and had access to extensive social contacts (Kerswill and Williams 2000: 94). This suggests that adolescence is not only characterised by a shift to a more peer-oriented culture (in comparison to the more home-oriented culture of young children) but it may also involve a change in social networks, and changes in forms of social integration.

Writing elsewhere on this research, Williams and Kerswill (1999) observe that some of the consonantal features identified in Milton Keynes (believed to have diffused from London) have been found in other British urban communities. These features include T-glottaling (the realisation of /t/ as [ʔ] in word-medial intervocalic position) and TH-/DH-fronting (the realisation of /θ/ as [f] and /ð/ as [v]). Williams and Kerswill not only find these features in the speech of working-class adolescents in another southern city, Reading, but also in the speech of individuals with the same demographic characteristics in a northeastern city, Hull. Other features that have been identified as "a set of 'youth norms' adopted by young people in many areas of Great Britain" (Williams and Kerswill 1999: 159) include labiodental /r/ (the realisation of /r/ as [ʋ] rather than as the approximant [ɹ]; see Foulkes and Docherty 2000) and L-vocalisation, where /l/ is realised as a high back (un)rounded vowel (see Stuart-Smith 1999: 210). Kerswill (2003: 231) considers their spread to be a case of geographical diffusion, going so far as to describe T-glottaling, TH-fronting and labiodental /r/ as the "torchbearers" of this process. However, explaining how these features might have diffused from south to north is not straightforward, given Britain's well-established north–south divide, which has been described as social, linguistic and perceptual (Wales 2000, 2006; Montgomery 2006). Any diffusion account ought to be able to evidence dialect contact, at the very least, and perhaps also positive orientation to the variety from which the form has diffused. It is not yet clear how these circumstances have been met for some of the varieties in which the levelled features have been observed. This has led Britain (2009: 139) to suggest that the preponderance of these features may not be a consequence of diffusion at all. He argues that some of the levelled "youth" features are acquired early by many Anglophone children and that their increased use may be a consequence of their typologically unmarked status. This is supported by Johnson and Britain (2007), who propose that L-vocalisation is a natural development in dialects which have acquired dark /l/ in syllable rhyme contexts. Intriguingly, Beal (2010: 83) notes that dialects which lack this innovation (such as those of Newcastle and Norwich) lack the light/dark allophonic distinction.

The explanation for adolescent dialect levelling is unlikely to be simple or universal. In their analysis of the spread of TH-fronting in Glasgow, Stuart-Smith and Timmins (2010) propose a complex interaction of dialect contact, social practices, attitudes, personality and capacity to innovate. One aspect of

social practice considered in their study is media engagement. Public discourse commonly denigrates adolescent speech (Eckert 2004: 361) and blames the influence of television and the internet (as in newspaper stories such as "The teens who can barely talk", *The Daily Mail* 11 January 2011); but this influence has not been evidenced in the linguistic research. This may be because it has not been comprehensively investigated. Stuart-Smith and Timmins (2010) suggest the ways in which speakers appropriate media material through their social practice may affect, or at the very least interact with, their language use. This research suggests that variationists may have to attend to media influence in the future – at least in terms of how it interacts with other forms of social practice (Stuart-Smith *et al*. forthcoming). This is particularly pertinent in work on adolescence, given the ever increasing use technology plays in the activities of this life stage.

Technology is not the only change experienced by present-day adolescents; recent work on dialect levelling and innovation is also exploring the changing composition of modern urban communities. A number of studies attest the use of adolescent "multiethnolects" in large multilingual cities, language varieties that are used by "several minority groups [. . .] collectively to express their minority status and/or as a reaction to that status to upgrade it" (Clyne 2000: 87). Multiethnolects have been identified across a range of European contexts (Kotsinas 1992; Nortier 2001; Quist 2008; Wiese 2009; Quist and Svendsen 2010; Cheshire *et al*. 2011; Fox *et al*. 2011). In their work on London English, Cheshire *et al*. (2008, 2011) find that non-Anglo adolescents lead in the use of variants emerging from language contact, such as the adoption of narrow diphthongs and monophthongs in the FACE, GOAT, MOUTH and PRICE vowels, while their Anglo counterparts level variants that are diffusing geographically. Most strikingly, they find that "[m]inority ethnic speakers lead innovations, regardless of which minority they belong to" (Cheshire *et al*. 2008: 3), and that adolescents who belong to multiethnic social networks are able to use features that may be associated with an ethnic group to which they do not belong. This is reminiscent of Rampton's (1995) study of "crossing", but Cheshire *et al*. find this systematic variation in everyday speech, not just in performance or stylised talk. They label the resulting "variety space" *Multicultural London English*, on the basis that "the features are only loosely associated with specific ethnicities or language backgrounds" (Cheshire *et al*. 2011: 190). Whether the rest of the adolescent community follows this pattern over time should motivate further research into this kind of dialect situation.

This work suggests that specific local factors may affect adolescents' engagement in dialect levelling, and this has been reported elsewhere. For example, Watson (2006) finds that adolescents in Liverpool are increasingly diverging from the supra-local variants discussed above. His data show no evidence of the supra-local glottal realisations of /t/. Pre-pausal /t/ is instead commonly realised as [h], a widely stereotyped feature in Liverpool English. In fact, Liverpool adolescents not only avoid the supra-local form, this is increasing their use of the localised form over time. Watson suggests that they are a consequence of Liverpool's distinctive regional identity. In reviewing this work, Beal (2010: 85) surmises that there may be little incentive for Liverpudlian adolescents to adopt /t/-glottaling when [h] already serves similar social functions in the community.

There is also evidence to show that, even if adolescents appear to be using supra-local variants, they may be using them to produce distinctively local forms of differentiation, rather than to index participation in a national "youth culture". Llamas (2007) finds an increase in glottal stops for /t/ in her data from Middlesbrough, a city in the northeast of England. Middlesbrough adolescents thus differ from those in the nearby area of Tyneside, who have typically been more resistant to this innovation (although there is some evidence that this is beginning to change, see Watt and Milroy 1999: 29–30). Llamas argues that the Middlesbrough adolescents' adoption of the glottal stop serves to differentiate them from the more traditional glottalised /t/ found in Tyneside. In this case, the supra-local variation is recruited to signal more local geographical distinctions.

Levelled forms have been found to mark local differentiation elsewhere. To return to the Glasgow patterns discussed above, Stuart-Smith *et al*. (2007) suggest that the use of TH-fronting enables working-class adolescents to reify the social divide between themselves and middle-class adults who retain the majority of the regional Scottish English forms, despite their higher levels of mobility and greater opportunity for contact with speakers of other British English varieties. Here, then, the social meaning of the diffused forms is recruited to mark local distinctions around social class status.

The work of Stuart-Smith *et al*. illustrates the benefits of further stratifying the adolescent category. Because work on language variation and change has focused on tracing language change across generations, adolescents are often represented as a single homogeneous category. This has been instructive for our description of the general advancement of language change, but may have inhibited our ability to explain fully the observed variation. For instance, while phonological changes typically show adolescent peaks in apparent time for women only, Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2009) find that discourse-pragmatic and morphosyntactic (-semantic) changes show adolescent peaks for both females and males. They are unable to explain this difference because, as they themselves observe, that would require researchers to "move deeper into the speech community and attempt to understand the contribution of individuals" (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2009: 98). Likewise, the British research on dialect levelling reveals a number of cross-community similarities, but the source and meaning of these innovations has yet to be fully established for many of the adolescent communities studied. Understanding why adolescents lead change requires that we take a more fine-grained view of this life stage. In the next section we show how, in attempting to explain the role of adolescents in language variation and change, this research has produced a more nuanced approach to the social categories considered in variationist analyses.

3 Adolescence and Social Categorisation

While we have been inured to think about adolescents leading language change, the reality is that only a subset typically advances change. This has been shown most clearly in Eckert's extensive work on the Detroit adolescents of Belten High School (see, for instance, Eckert 1989, 2000, 2009a). Eckert's work shows how two

distinct adolescent *communities of practice*, the "jocks" and the "burnouts", engage with the Northern Cities Shift (a vowel shift in the US that involves all the mid and low vowels). The jocks and the burnouts represent middle-class and working-class cultures, respectively, and their language behaviour reflects this difference. The three latest sound changes in Detroit are the backing of DRESS to [ʌ], the backing of STRUT to [ɔ], and the raising and the backing of the nucleus of the PRICE diphthong to [ɔ]. Eckert shows that the burnouts lead the jocks in all three of these sound changes. She argues that this is a consequence of the urban orientation of the burnouts, which simultaneously brings them into contact with these urban variants and provides their motivation to acquire them.

The ethnography behind Eckert's analysis provides a view on variation that would be difficult to uncover using other methods. It enables her to make more nuanced observations about the relationship between language, structural factors such as class and gender, and community of practice (CofP) membership. A CofP is "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour" and is "defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464). It captures the site at which individuals experience more abstract social categorisations. For instance, while Eckert notes the class orientations of the jock and burnout groups, she is at pains to stress that these categorisations do not always determine how individuals engage socially – some burnouts have middle-class parents and, likewise, some jocks have working-class roots. This is no small point in the context of our discussion of adolescence – Eckert (2009a: 138) argues that the correlation between adolescents' language and their parents' socioeconomic class is less robust than the correlation between children and their parents. She suggests that this is a consequence of the range of potential influences available to adolescents (such as neighbourhoods, peers and heterogeneous school networks).[3]

Perhaps the most significant implication of Eckert's work is its demonstration that adolescents seek to differentiate themselves from each other, and not just from the adjacent life stages of adulthood and childhood. Jock girls are distinguishable from jock boys by lagging in their raising and backing of the nucleus of PRICE, but they are most distinct from the burnout girls. This suggests a complex interaction between class, gender and social practice. Eckert's study shows that it is not adolescents who lead language change, but particular groups of adolescents whose innovations reflect their pursuit of social differentiation. In addition to refining our understanding of exactly who leads linguistic change, Eckert's work sets a new standard for the description of social differentiation. Her work at Belten High shows how gender and class are locally experienced, but her more recent work has focused upon the situated nature of ethnicity (Eckert 2008a). While research on adult populations has tended to treat ethnic categories as homogeneous, recent work on adolescent communities illustrates the kind of intra-group diversity already shown for other forms of social categorisation. In this way, work on adolescence is expanding our understanding of sociolinguistic heterogeneity. We exemplify this in the following section by focusing upon variation in ethnically complex adolescent groups.

3.1 Ethnic diversity

Practice-based approaches have featured widely in research on adolescent ethnic groups. Mendoza-Denton's (1996, 2008) study of Latina girl gangs in California focused upon two communities of practice, the Norteñas and the Sureñas. She found that more central gang members produced more raised realisations of the KIT vowel /ɪ/, regardless of their specific CofP membership. While this feature clearly reflects and construes the shared ethnic identity of these girls, Mendoza-Denton shows that these girls construct quite distinct social identities. Whereas the Norteñas' practices situate them as bicultural and modern, the Sureñas' practices situate them as traditionally Mexican. Consequently, the meanings associated with raised /ɪ/ shift according to the specific Latina style in which the variant occurs. Because of her focus on social practice, Mendoza-Denton is able to show that shared ethnicity does not necessarily result in a homogeneous adolescent style.

Alam's study of adolescent Scottish Pakistani girls represents the first CofP study of an ethnic minority population in Britain (Alam 2007; Alam and Stuart-Smith 2011). Alam conducted a three-year ethnography in a high school during which she observed the social practices of Glaswegian girls of Pakistani heritage. Her analysis concentrates on the realisation of syllable-initial /t/, which has a highly stereotyped realisation in British Asian English as retroflex or postalveolar (Lambert *et al*. 2007; Kirkham 2011a; Sharma and Sankaran 2011). Based on detailed ethnographic fieldwork, she identified a number of communities of practice for the Pakistani girls, including the "conservatives" (who wear headscarves and adhere to traditional Pakistani values), the "moderns" (who wear trendy clothing and engage in more daring behaviour, but still within the boundaries of community standards) and the "messabouts" (who engage in risky social practices, such as drinking and swearing). Alam finds that the concentration of spectral energy in syllable-initial /t/ closely patterns with CofP membership and that this fine-grained variation is used in order to signal local ethnic identities. Her analysis highlights a range of intra-ethnic variation that is often erased from studies of sociolinguistic variation. In doing so, it demonstrates the rewards to be gained from carrying out ethnographic fieldwork with adolescent communities and reveals the extent to which adolescents use fine phonetic detail to communicate social information.

Mendoza-Denton and Alam focus on ethnic minority communities in contexts where the groups make up a significant proportion of the school population. In both cases, the peer networks within the school are largely replicated outside the school. This is unsurprising given the traditional correspondence in demographic make-up between schools and neighbourhoods. However, educational trends, in Britain at least, point towards a weakening of the link between the demographics of the school and the surrounding neighbourhood, with the majority of children no longer attending the school nearest to their home (Allen 2007). Kirkham's (2013) research in a multiethnic high school explores what happens when neighbourhood peer groups are not replicated in the school. His ethnographic fieldwork

was conducted at a school in an affluent area of Sheffield (a city in the north of England), but the school admits a diverse mix of children from across the city. This results in a high proportion of ethnic minority adolescents, with the main ethnic groups in the school being of White British, Pakistani, Somali, African Caribbean and Yemeni heritage. The school thus exemplifies what happens at the boundaries of social and ethnic contact, and provides a social context for studying ethnicity as a relational construct. Kirkham conducts detailed acoustic analysis of word-initial /t/ and the happY vowel /ɪ/ in order to demonstrate how different phonetic variables can be used to index different types of affiliations. These range from locally oriented friendship groups to broader demographic categories, including ethnicity. Kirkham demonstrates that understanding the relationship between phonetic variation and ethnicity depends on our ability to understand the social structure of the community under study and the relations between social groups.

The studies discussed in this section illustrate how research into adolescence is leading our understanding of the nature of the relationship between language and forms of social categorisation. In particular, they suggest a distinction between structurally constrained variation and stylistic adaptation. Both Alam and Kirkham find correlations between /t/ realisation and ethnicity, but this variation is differently construed by Pakistani speakers in Glasgow and Sheffield due to the differing relationships between the Pakistani and host communities. This kind of research on adolescence shows how the linguistic-geographical make-up of a community exerts considerable influence on available social meanings. The following section expands on these findings further by addressing the ways in which other social meanings are locally construed and negotiated in adolescent communities.

4 Adolescence and Social Meaning

Research on adolescent language variation and change has shown links to particular kinds of linguistic behaviour that typify the innovation and rebellion of this life stage. However, the previous section has shown that adolescence – like any other social grouping – is a simplification, which erases diversity of experience. So, while some adolescents are rebellious, others are incredibly conventional; and while some may enthusiastically drive innovation, others may simply be caught up in the relentless "logistic incrementation of linguistic change" (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2009: 70).

As implied in Section 3.1, how adolescents engage with linguistic variation is likely a combination of their location in the social order and their response to the freedom and constraints duly imposed upon them. This has been shown by Moore (2010), who considers how nonstandard *were* (the use of *were* in first and third singular contexts, for example, *it weren't that bad*) is distributed amongst adolescent girls in a high school in Bolton, a northwest British town. Moore considers

how the form correlates with a number of social factors: CofP, self-identification, social class and parental place of birth. Four communities of practice were identified: the "populars" (who were anti-school, sporty yet feminine, and moderately rebellious); the "townies" (who emerged from the popular group but exhibited a more extreme anti-school attitude and engaged in more risky social activities); the "geeks" (who were institutionally orientated and conformist); and the Eden Village girls (who were also institutionally orientated and named after their desirable home area). The most robust correlation was between CofP and nonstandard *were*, confirming Eckert's (2009a: 138) observation that the correlation between adolescents' language and their parents' social status is less robust than many survey studies have implied. However, Moore shows that adolescents are variably constrained by their social backgrounds, depending upon the specifics of their life experience. So, while there is no interaction between social class and the townie, popular or geek communities of practice, there is a strong interaction between social class and the Eden Village CofP. All but one of the Eden Village girls live in the prestigious locale after which their CofP is named. The village is a three-mile bus journey from their school (the majority of the other kids live within walking distance) and is a highly desirable and expensive place to live. Its population includes aspirational Boltonians who have moved there from other districts and wealthy incomers who have been drawn by the desirability of an elite home address. This means that the Eden Village girls' social engagements are largely limited to high status networks, which simultaneously isolate them from their school peers and constrain their conservative, near-categorical use of standard *was*. The social and linguistic behaviour of the other girls is less constrained because they do not experience the same sociocultural and geographical isolation. In fact, of the four townie girls, two are in the higher social class in the sample and still use very high frequencies of nonstandard *were*.

The townies' use of a local nonstandard form, irrespective of their social class status, suggests that the social meaning of nonstandard *were* may transcend its local class associations. In using this variant as a component of their unique sociolinguistic style, the townies not only exploit its historical associations, but they also construct more contemporary meanings for the feature which index the wild and rebellious social practices in which they engage. That adolescents, in particular, use nonstandard *were* to reflect their social practices, may serve to ensure the feature's robust "sociolinguistic vitality" (Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1994: 298) in the face of competing forms.

Moore's (2010) work suggests that, while adolescents may innovate by leading linguistic change, they may also innovate by expanding the social meanings associated with established linguistic variants. Understanding the social meaning of linguistic features is essential to explaining patterns of variation, but it is also necessary if we are truly to understand human language capabilities. As Moore (2011: 228) and Eckert (2012) point out, linguists interested in acquisition and psycholinguistic processing are now beginning to explore the constraints on variation, and variationists have a role to play in elaborating the social contexts of that variation. If variationists claim to explore the relationship between language

and its social correlates, then the question of what counts as "social meaning" must be tackled by those working in the field – a point which is now well established (Silverstein 2003; Eckert 2008b; Woolard 2008).

Those concerned with adolescent language are well placed to explore the granularity of social meaning, given that adolescents have been found to exploit every kind of linguistic innovation. In previous sections, adolescents have been shown to use linguistic features to index structural demographic social types associated with class, gender, ethnicity and geography; or personae associated with local social practice (jocks, burnouts, townies). Other research has illustrated how adolescents may also use language to index more fleeting social identity processes such as stance. These micro-level meanings are implicit in much of the work we have already discussed. For instance, Eckert (2008b: 459) notes that the "burned-out burnout" girls (a group of burnouts who are even wilder than the regular burnouts) lead in all of the Northern Cities Shift urban variables and in a well-known grammatical variable, negative concord. Because boys generally lead in the use of negative concord (in Belten High and elsewhere), it is tempting to assume that the burned-out burnout girls are trying to "talk like boys". However, Eckert notes that these girls engage in feminine practices as well as participating in other female-led changes. She argues that their use of negative concord reflects their urban engagement and its social associations, such as danger and diversity. In this sense, their use of negative concord simultaneously reflects their stance towards the urban environment and expands the social meanings signalled by negative concord.

Stance has been construed in a number of ways in sociolinguistic work (see Jaffe 2009), but it tends to be used to refer to a form of evaluation. This evaluation may be enacted through social orientation (as in the Eckert example) or via an expression of affect or personal alignment. In an exploration of Scottish working class adolescents from a Glasgow high school, Lawson (2009, 2011) shows that phonetic features can align boys with anti-establishment behaviour. The boys most stereotypically associated with a violent counter-culture, the "neds", tend to make greater use of vernacular features such as TH-fronting. However, they are not the exclusive users of this variant and Lawson argues that its occurrence in other speech styles is a consequence of how it can be used to index personal alignment to status (in particular whether or not one is perceived as "posh") or the establishment. The use of other variants may be more subtle. The phonetic variable CAT (equivalent to the TRAP/BATH/PALM set in other varieties of English) shows a range of variants across the communities of practice studied, but the extremes of behaviour are embodied by the neds, who tend to lower and front CAT, and the "schoolies", who have more raised articulations. However, when these tokens occur in discourse with a negative affect (primarily associated with violence), these patterns seem to be reversed: the neds' variants are more retracted and the schoolies' more fronted. The patterns are rather tenuous and Lawson (2009: 358–368) is circumspect about their significance; however, they imply that the schoolies may be using fronted tokens of CAT to perform a more violent stance, which is not generally reflected in their actual social behaviour.

While studies of stance have largely focused on L1 speech, work on speakers' second languages has also been revealing. Rindal (2010) finds that Norwegian adolescent learners of English attribute different social meanings to American and British varieties of English and that they exploit these meanings for particular social affect. Students often used more American English variants in peer conversations and more British English variants in reading word lists, reflecting their perception of different levels of formality and the prototypical stances associated with each variety. Nance's (2013) study of adolescents in a Scottish Gaelic medium high school in Glasgow also uncovers stylistic uses of a second language. She finds that the Glaswegian adolescents exclusively use English, not Gaelic, as a peer group language, but that social practice differences are nonetheless present in their Gaelic pronunciations. For example, the anti-school adolescents display more fronted productions of /u/ in their Gaelic than pro-school adolescents, illustrating the novel finding that non-peer group language can still be used to mark peer group distinctions.

Providing evidence of stance-taking is more difficult than charting a correlation between a social category and a linguistic feature, and researchers using adolescent case studies have been instrumental in developing new ways to access these social meanings. Some researchers have used perceptual experiments to uncover the stance-related meanings associated with linguistic features. In a sociophonetic ethnography of New Zealand high school girls, Drager (2009) finds that listeners are able to identify whether the speaker ate lunch in the school common room or not depending on whether the experimental stimulus featured a voice they recognised and/or contained a token of quotative *be like* that had a monophthongal vowel. Drager argues that listeners are responding to speakers' exploitation of the social meaning associated with this feature. The girls who do not eat lunch in the common room are separated into different groups (such as goths and geeks) and, while the overall styles of these groups are different from one another, their shared productions of quotative *like* reflect their stance towards a group of girls they mutually oppose: those who eat lunch in the common room.

In recent years, several studies have traced language change in the British and North American English quotative systems (see, for instance, Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Buchstaller 2006; Rickford *et al*. 2007). This work has focused on adolescents' innovative use of *be like* and *be all* in place of more traditional forms such as *say* or *go*. Buchstaller (2006) has demonstrated that, while *be like* is globally perceived as "young", listeners in different locales (Britain and the US) associate the form with different gender, personality and geo-spatial traits. This implies that quotatives can be used to enact different stances depending upon the local styles in which they occur – something that has been illustrated by Bucholtz (2011: 101–115) in her analysis of students from a San Francisco Bay area high school. Rather than using perception experiments, Bucholtz uses fine-grained discourse analysis to identify the social meanings articulated by these forms in interaction. Her study shows that *be all* occurs most frequently in the speech of "preppy" girls. These girls tended to use the form to articulate a neutral stance (that is, one which did not index a strongly affective stance to the reported talk). However, when this

form occurred in the talk of other social groups in the school, it most frequently signalled a negative stance towards the speech being quoted. Bucholtz argues that this is because *be all* is associated with a preppy identity, which, in turn, is perceived as being excessively evaluative. Thus, in using *be all* to express a negative stance, the non-preppy kids are drawing upon the association between the quotative form and the stereotypical preppy persona.

Bucholtz's work reveals that different levels of social meaning (social type, persona and stance) are interconnected. Research on adolescent speakers has made use of Silverstein's (1976, 1998, 2003) notion of indexical orders to understand these connections. Silverstein argues that social meanings are constructed as speakers rationalise correlations between linguistic features and competing social meanings. The interpretative process occurs when a correlation of some sort (for instance, that between burnouts and negative concord) is ideologically reinterpreted (such that the social practice of the burnouts associated with rebelliousness leads to that association for negative concord, for instance). There has been a tendency to imply that indexical orders at the level of social category are indexically superior, but Silverstein (1998: 128–129) claims that there is no absolute or prior indexical order. Any correlation (be it at the level of stance, persona or social type) can be ideologically reinterpreted to generate social meaning at a different level.

This has been shown using data from the Bolton adolescents described earlier (Moore 2010). Moore and Podesva (2009) show the range of social meanings that can be assigned to a grammatically complex discourse item, the tag question. Quantitative analysis revealed two key discourse properties that were similar or identical across the townie, popular, geek and Eden Village communities of practice: all groups use tag questions at the end of turns the majority of the time, and interlocutors most frequently expressed agreement with tags which occurred at the end of speakers' turns. Drawing upon previous research on the syntax and semantics of tag questions (such as Hudson 1975 and Kimps 2007), Moore and Podesva (2009) argue that tag questions are conducive – given that their discourse placement encourages the hearer to agree with a proposition. However, by analysing variations in discourse structure, the various grammatical constructions of tag questions (whether or not they occur with standard or nonstandard phonology and morphosyntax) and the topics their structure is used to convey, Moore and Podesva show that this conducive function can be operationalised to express a number of different stances, personae and social types. For instance, the tags used by populars are moderately nonstandard in design and predominantly occur in discussions of in- and out-group status. This enables them to articulate rather evaluative and critical stances. On the other hand, the Eden Village tags tend to occur in grammatically standard, highly interactive discourse (their tags most frequently resulted in agreement, and this agreement most frequently occurred during overlap of the tag itself); they therefore convey more collective, inclusive stances. Moore and Podesva go on to demonstrate that these stances can come to index both personae and social types. For instance, the frequency with which the populars used tag questions (much higher than the other communities of practice) allowed their peers to identify these features as a key component of their linguistic

style. In this way, the popular persona itself was recognised as a higher-level indexical association. Other ideological associations were made at the level of social type. While all girls in the study unambiguously classified themselves as female, the Eden Village girls explicitly referred to themselves as "girly girls" and their ultra-collaborative style may have also allowed their specific flavour of tag to be ideologically interpreted as "female". Via the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the tag question, Moore and Podesva show the full extent of its social potential, incorporating stance, persona and social type, and filling out a comprehensive "indexical field" (Eckert 2008b) for this feature.

This section has demonstrated that researchers working on adolescent datasets have been in the vanguard of work on the social meaning of linguistic variation. In particular, this work has illustrated how perceptual experiments and discourse analysis can expand our understanding of the social meanings associated with language features. This work identifies interactional meanings associated with stance, and is at its most powerful when combined with traditional quantitative analysis which identifies correlations between linguistic variants and social group identities.

5 Future Directions

Research on adolescence has identified the importance of this life stage in processes of variation and change. It has also advanced our understanding of the stylistic capabilities of language users and the socio-indexical potential of variation. As Eckert (2003) has noted, future work would do well to apply the approaches developed in recent adolescent research to individuals of all ages and social backgrounds. Used alongside traditional variationist techniques, these approaches will continue to expand our understanding of the relationship between language and agency, identity, style, indexicality and forms of social categorisation.

To understand more about the dynamics of adolescence itself, further research on the transitions into, through, and out of this life stage would be illuminating. Some work along these lines is already in progress. Eckert's (2008a, 2009b) research on preadolescence tracks the emergence of social distinctions in this age group. Hilton's (2010) work on Hønefoss Norwegian examines the effect of adolescents' progression through local and regional schools on language ideology and usage. Wagner's (2008) longitudinal study of high school girls in Philadelphia examines the linguistic correlates of the transition from adolescence to young adulthood. Recent studies also examine the accent changes that accompany young adults' participation in new institutions, such as higher education (Evans and Iverson 2007), as well as the dynamics of sociolinguistic meaning in higher education communities (Kirkham 2011b). These are just a few examples, but there exists ample scope for development.

Research to date has demonstrated that adolescents are the leaders in sound change, as well as being heavily engaged in processes of constructing social meaning. However, there is still much to learn. For instance, more work is needed

to explore how adolescents use innovative variants in order to construct particular stances in the communities under study. Is the same supra-local feature used in similar ways in different communities? How are supra-local and/or geographically specific meanings negotiated in interaction? Addressing these questions will require that a more extensive range of adolescent communities are considered. Given the way in which adolescent research has already shaped the variationist enterprise, this future work will undoubtedly play a key role in determining the future of our discipline.

NOTES

1 This is not to say that adolescence is unique to heavily institutionalised or industrialised cultures. Bucholtz (2002) notes that similar categories occur across a range of cultures.
2 Throughout this chapter we make reference to vocalic variables using Wells' (1982) lexical sets.
3 If forms of social stratification are not identical across life stages, then we might question the reliability of approaches to social stratification that imply uniformity of social experience across time.

REFERENCES

Alam, Farhana (2007) Language and identity in "Glaswasian" adolescents. MLitt dissertation. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

Alam, Farhana and Stuart-Smith, Jane (2011) Identity and ethnicity in /t/ in Glasgow-Pakistani high-school girls. *Proceedings of the XVII International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*. 216–219.

Allen, Rebecca (2007) Allocating pupils to their nearest secondary school: The consequences for social and ability stratification. *Urban Studies* 44(4): 751–770.

Ash, Sharon (1982) The vocalisation of /l/ in Philadelphia. Dissertation. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania.

Beal, Joan (2010) *An Introduction to Regional Englishes*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Belsky, Jay, Steinberg, Laurence D., Houts, Renate M. *et al*. (2007) Family rearing antecedents of pubertal timing. *Child Development* 78(4): 1302–1321.

Blakemore, Sarah-Jayne (2008) The social brain in adolescence. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience* 9(4): 267–277.

Blondeau, Hélène (2001) Real-time changes in the paradigm of personal pronouns in Montreal French. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5(4): 453–474.

Brechwald, Whitney A. and Prinstein, Mitchell J. (2011) Beyond homophily: A decade of advances in understanding peer influence processes. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 21(1): 116–179.

Britain, David (2009) One foot in the grave? Dialect death, dialect contact, and dialect birth in England. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 196/197: 121–155.

Bucholtz, Mary (2002) Youth and cultural practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31: 525–552.

Bucholtz, Mary (2011) *White Kids: Language, Race, and Styles of Youth Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buchstaller, Isabelle (2006) Social stereotypes, personality traits and regional perception displaced: Attitudes towards the "new" quotatives in the UK. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10(3): 362–381.

Cedergren, Henrietta J. (1988) The spread of language change: Verifying inferences of linguistic diffusion. In Peter Lowenberg (ed.), *Language Spread and Language Policy: Issues, Implications, and Case Studies*. 45–60. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Chambers, J.K. (2009) *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and its Social Significance*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Cheshire, Jenny, Fox, Sue, Kerswill, Paul, and Torgersen, Eivind (2008) Ethnicity, friendship network and social practices as the motor of dialect change: Linguistic innovation in London. *Sociolinguistica* 22: 1–23.

Cheshire, Jenny, Kerswill, Paul, Fox, Sue, and Torgersen, Eivind (2011) Contact, the feature pool and the speech community: The emergence of Multicultural London English. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15(2): 151–196.

Clyne, Michael (2000) Lingua franca and ethnolects in Europe and beyond. *Sociolinguistica* 14: 83–89.

Coleman, J.S. (1961) *The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and Its Impact on Education*. New York: Free Press.

Crosnoe, Robert and Kirkpatrick Johnson, Monica (2011) Research on adolescence in the twenty-first century. *Annual Review of Sociology* 27: 439–460.

Drager, Katie (2009) A sociophonetic ethnography of Selwyn Girls High. Dissertation. Canterbury: University of Canterbury.

Dyer, Judy (2002) "We all speak the same round here": Dialect levelling in a Scottish English community. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6(1): 99–116.

Eckert, Penelope (1989) *Jocks and Burnouts: Social Categories and Identity in the High School*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Eckert, Penelope (1997) Age as a sociolinguistic variable. In Florian Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. 151–167. Oxford: Blackwell.

Eckert, Penelope (2000) *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice: The Linguistic Construction of Identity in Belten High*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Eckert, Penelope (2003) Language and adolescent peer groups. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 22(1): 112–118.

Eckert, Penelope (2004) Adolescent language. In E. Finegan and John R. Rickford (eds.), *Language in the USA: Themes for the Twenty-first Century*. 361–374. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eckert, Penelope (2008a) Where do ethnolects stop? *International Journal of Bilingualism* 12(1–2): 25–42.

Eckert, Penelope (2008b) Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(4): 453–476.

Eckert, Penelope (2009a) Ethnography and the study of variation. In Nikolas Coupland and Adam Jaworski (eds.), *The New Sociolinguistics Reader*. 136–151. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Eckert, Penelope (2009b) Affect, sound symbolism, and variation. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics: Selected Papers from NWAV37* 15(2): 70–79.

Eckert, Penelope (2012) Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41.

Eckert, Penelope and McConnell-Ginet, Sally (1992) Think practically and look locally: Language and gender as

community-based practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 461–490.
Evans, Bronwen G. and Iverson, Paul (2007) Plasticity in vowel perception and production: A study of accent change in young adults. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 121(6): 3814–3826.
Foulkes, Paul and Docherty, Gerard (2000) Another chapter in the story of /r/: Labiodental variants in British English. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4(1): 30–59.
Fox, Sue, Khan, Arfaan, and Torgersen, Eivind (2011) The emergence and diffusion of Multicultural English. In Friederike Kern and Margret Setling (eds.), *Ethnic Styles of Speaking in European Metropolitan Areas*. 19–44. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Hall, G. Stanley (1904) *Adolescence*. New York: Appleton.
Herman-Giddens, Marcia E. (2007) The decline in the age of menarche in the United States: Should we be concerned? *Journal of Adolescent Health* 40(3): 201–203.
Hilton, Nanna Haug (2010) Regional dialect levelling and language standards: changes in the Hønefoss dialect. Dissertation. York: University of York.
Hudson, Richard A. (1975) The meaning of questions. *Language* 51(1): 1–31.
Jaffe, Alexandra (ed.) (2009) *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Johnson, Wyn, and David Britain (2007) L-vocalisation as a natural phenomenon: Explorations in sociophonology. *Language Sciences* 29(2–3): 294–315.
Kerswill, Paul (1996) Children, adolescents, and language change. *Language Variation and Change* 8(2): 177–202.
Kerswill, Paul (2003) Dialect levelling and geographical diffusion in British English. In David Britain and Jenny Cheshire (eds.), *Social dialectology: In Honor of Peter Trudgill*. 223–243. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Kerswill, Paul and Williams, Ann (2000) Creating a new town koine: Children and language change in Milton Keynes. *Language in Society* 29(1): 65–115.
Kimps, Ditte (2007) Declarative constant polarity tag questions: A data-driven analysis of their form, meaning, and attitudinal uses. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39(2): 270–291.
Kirkham, Sam (2011a) The acoustics of coronal stops in British Asian English. *Proceedings of the XVII International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*. 1102–1105.
Kirkham, Sam (2011b) Personal style and epistemic stance in classroom discussion. *Language and Literature* 20(3): 201–217.
Kirkham, Sam (2013) Ethnicity, social practice and phonetic variation in Sheffield. Dissertation. Sheffield: University of Sheffield.
Kotsinas, Ulla-Britt (1992) Immigrant adolescents' Swedish in multicultural areas. In Cecilia Palmgren, Karin Lövgren and Goran Bolin (eds.), *Ethnicity in Youth Culture*. 43–62. Stockholm: University of Stockholm.
Labov, William (1973) The linguistic consequences of being a lame. *Language in Society* 2(1): 81–115.
Labov, William (2001) *Principles of Linguistic Change*: Vol. 2, *Social Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Lambert, Kirsten, Alam, Farhana, and Stuart-Smith, Jane (2007) Investigating British Asian accents: Studies from Glasgow. *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*. 1509–1512.
Lawson, Robert (2009) Sociolinguistic constructions of identity among urban adolescent males in Glasgow. Dissertation. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.
Lawson, Robert (2011) Patterns of linguistic variation among Glaswegian adolescent males. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15(2): 226–255.
Llamas, Carmen (2007) "A place between places": Language and identities in a border town. *Language in Society* 36(4): 579–604.

Mendoza-Denton, Norma (1996) "Muy Macha": Gender and ideology in gang girls' discourse about makeup. *Ethnos* 61(1–2): 47–63.

Mendoza-Denton, Norma (2008) *Homegirls: Language and Cultural Practice among Latina Youth Gangs*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Montgomery, Chris (2006) Northern English dialects: a perceptual approach. Dissertation. Sheffield: University of Sheffield.

Moore, Emma (2010) The interaction between social category and social practice: Explaining *was/were* variation. *Language Variation and Change* 22(3): 347–371.

Moore, Emma (2011) Variation and identity. In April McMahon and Warren Maguire (eds.), *Analysing Variation in English*. 219–236. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moore, Emma and Podesva, Robert J. (2009) Style, indexicality and the social meaning of tag questions. *Language in Society* 38(4): 447–485.

Nance, Claire (2013) Phonetic variation, sound change, and identity in Scottish Gaelic. Dissertation. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

Nortier, Jacomine (2001) "Fawaka, what's up?" Language use among adolescents in Dutch monoethnic and ethnically mixed groups. In Anne Hvenekilde and Jacomine Nortier (eds.), *Meetings at the Crossroads: Studies of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in Oslo and Utrecht*. 61–73. Oslo: Novus.

Quist, Pia (2008) Sociolinguistic approaches to multiethnolect: Language variety and stylistic practice. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 12(1–2): 43–61.

Quist, Pia and Svendsen, Bente A. (eds.) (2010) *Multilingual Urban Scandinavia: New Linguistic Practices*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Rampton, Ben (1995) *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity among Adolescents*. London: Longman.

Reuter, E. B. (1937) The sociology of adolescence. *American Journal of Sociology* 43(3): 414–427.

Rickford, John R., Buchstaller, Isabelle, Wasow, Thomas, and Zwicky, Arnold (2007) Intensive and quotative *all*: Something old, something new. *American Speech* 82(1): 3–31.

Rindal, Ulrikke (2010) Constructing identity with L2: Pronunciation and attitudes among Norwegian learners of English. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 14(2): 240–261.

Sankoff, Gillian (2004) Adolescents, young adults and the critical period: Two case studies from "Seven up." In Carmen Fought (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections*. 121–139. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schilling-Estes, Natalie and Wolfram, Walt (1994) Convergent explanation and alternative regularization patterns: *Were/weren't* levelling in a vernacular English variety. *Language Variation and Change* 6(3): 273–302.

Sharma, Devyani and Sankaran, Lavanya (2011) Cognitive and social forces in dialect shift: Gradual change in London Asian speech. *Language Variation and Change* 23(3): 399–428.

Silverstein, Michael (1976) Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description. In Keith Basso and H. A. Selby (eds.), *Meaning in Anthropology*. 11–56. Albuquerque, NM: University of Mexico Press.

Silverstein, Michael (1998) The uses and utility of ideology: A commentary. In Bambi Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul Kroskrity (eds.), *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*. 123–145. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Silverstein, Michael (2003) Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and Communication* 23(3): 193–229.

Somerville, Leah H., Hare, Todd, and Casey, B.J. (2011) Frontostriatal maturation predicts cognitive control

failure to appetitive cues in adolescents. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 23(9): 2013–2114.

Spear, L.P. (2000) The adolescent brain and age-related behavioral manifestations. *Neuroscience and Behavioral Reviews* 24(4): 417–463.

Steinberg, Laurence and Sheffield Morris, Amanda (2001) Adolescent development. *Annual Review of Psychology* 52: 83–110.

Stuart-Smith, Jane (1999) Glasgow: Accent and voice quality. In Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty (eds.), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*. 203–222. London: Arnold.

Stuart-Smith, Jane and Timmins, Claire (2010) The role of the individual in language variation and change. In Carmen Llamas and Dominic Watt (eds.), *Language and Identities*. 39–54. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Stuart-Smith, Jane, Timmins, Claire, and Tweedie, Fiona (2007) "Talkin' Jockney"? Variation and change in Glaswegian accent. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(2): 221–260.

Stuart-Smith, Jane, Timmins, Claire, Pryce, Gwilym, and Hunter, Barry (forthcoming) *Mediating the Local: The Role of Television in a Changing Urban Vernacular*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Susman, Elizabeth J., Dorn, Lorah D., and Schiefelbein, Virginia L. (2003) Puberty, sexuality, and health. In Richard M. Lerner, M. Ann Easterbrooks and Jayanthi Mistry (eds.), *Handbook of Psychology*: Vol. 6: *Developmental Psychology*. 295–342. New York: Wiley.

Tagliamonte, Sali and D'Arcy, Alexandra (2004) He's like, she's like: The quotative system in Canadian youth. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8(4): 493–514.

Tagliamonte, Sali A. and D'Arcy, Alexandra (2009) Peaks beyond phonology: Adolescence, incrementation, and language change. *Language* 85(1): 58–108.

Trudgill, Peter (1974) *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wagner, Suzanne Evans (2008) Linguistic change and stabilization in the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Dissertation. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania.

Wales, Katie (2000) North and South: An English linguistic divide? *English Today* 16(1): 4–15.

Wales, Katie (2006) *Northern Englishes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Watson, Kevin (2006) Phonological resistance and innovation in the North-West of England. *English Today* 22(2): 55–61.

Watt, Dominic (2002) "I don't speak with a Geordie accent, I speak, like, the Northern accent": Contact-induced levelling in the Tyneside vowel system. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6(1): 44–63.

Watt, Dominic and Milroy, Lesley (1999) Patterns of variation and change in three Newcastle vowels: Is this dialect levelling? In Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty (eds.), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*. 25–46. London: Arnold.

Wells, John C. (1982) *Accents of English* (3 vols). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wiese, Heike (2009) Grammatical innovation in multiethnic urban Europe: New linguistic practices among adolescents. *Lingua* 119(5): 782–806.

Williams, Ann and Kerswill, Paul (1999) Dialect levelling: Change and continuity in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull. In Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty (eds.), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*. 141–162. London: Arnold.

Woolard, Kathryn A. (2008) Why *dat* now? Linguistic-anthropological contributions to the explanation of sociolinguistic icons and change. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(4): 432–452.